Some formal characteristics of parallel speech in Kambera

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Abstract
In all languages of the eastern Indonesian island of Sumba, parallel speech is used in ritual contexts. In this study, some characteristics of parallel speech in Kambera are investigated. In the analysis of the structural types of couplets, the units of parallel speech, all the couplets found in Kapita (1987), and some additional materials, even from other Sumbanese languages, are used. In the rest of the investigation, only a sample of 100 couplets, here loosely defined as parallel speech units, in Kapita (1987) of the most common type is used, and the investigation is limited to formal (non-semantic) features which connect the two lines. The features investigated are number of syllables, words, and stresses and syntactic structure. In the discussion part, the question if the existence of non-parallel lines incorporating parallel pairs should be recognized and other questions are discussed. The conclusion summarizes the results about the different varieties of couplets and the formal connection between the two lines in them.

Keywords
Kambera, parallelism, ritual speech, Sumba, word pairs
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## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article (Kambera, SG: <em>na</em>, PL: <em>da</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTR</td>
<td>marker of controlled complement clause (Kambera <em>pa=</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k_o</td>
<td>kind of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative preposition (Kambera <em>la, lai</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation (Kambera <em>nda</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NG</td>
<td>The suffix -ng (functions in Kambera: applicative, aspectual (continuous, imperfective, distributive or non-delimited), verb incorporation marker, stylistic filler (Klamer 1998: 234))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>the prefix <em>pa-</em> (functions in Kambera: causative/factitive and intensive/volational (Klamer 1998: 197) (to be distinguished from CTR and REL.OBJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective aspect marker (Kambera <em>=ka</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRM</td>
<td>permissive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.OBJ</td>
<td>object relative clause marker (Kambera <em>pa=</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.SBJ</td>
<td>subject relative clause marker (Kambera <em>ma=</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>no morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>connector between words in glossing when one gloss consists of more than one word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>affix boundary, but the two connected morphemes are glossed as one unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>affix boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>clitic boundary (only clitics which are both prosodic and syntactic are marked with =)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~</td>
<td>connects two words which are glossed together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>stands before an explanation of a couplet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Introduction

The present study is about the formal characteristics of the couplets of the parallel speech which is used in ritual contexts on the eastern Indonesian island of Sumba. It can be asked if this can be regarded as belonging to the subject of linguistics, and not to literature. The connection with linguistics is that the couplet, the unit of parallel speech, can be regarded as a kind of coordination structure, which can be investigated for conditions of well-formedness. Another connection is that the couplets, at least in some cases, are metaphorical expressions. That will, however, not be treated in this study.

In Sumba, speech which uses parallelism, i.e. the use of elements which are similar or corresponding to each other in one construction, traditionally always occur when something important has to be said, for example in rituals or marriage negotiations, which makes it an important part of the linguistic practices of the people.

This study investigates what form the parallelistic utterance units, the couplets, can have in one Sumbanese lect, Kambera. First, the structure of the distribution of parallel lines in the couplets found in a corpus of parallel speech, Kapita (1987), is studied. Then a sample of couplets of the most common type from that corpus is selected and it is tried to find out what the formal conditions for well-formedness are. Possible relevant features which are investigated are number of syllables, number of words, number of stresses and syntactic structure.

There have been several studies of ritual or parallel speech in eastern Indonesia, including Sumba, especially Forth’s (1988) study of ritual speech in Kambera covers much the same ground as the present study. While Forth’s study is based on actual performances and tries to give a survey of most aspects of ritual speech in Kambera, this study is much narrower in that it is mainly based on a sample of a certain type of parallelistic speech units from a contextless collection of such units, and focus only on the formal relations between the lines of the units, where some new results are presented.
2 Background

In this chapter, a short introduction to the languages of Sumba and their relationships is given (2.1). The definitions used in this study in connection with parallel speech, where parallelism is found, earlier research on Sumbanese parallel speech, and its context, function and characteristics are treated in section 2.2.

2.1 Kambera and the languages of Sumba

Sumba is an island in the eastern Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. There are at least four languages spoken on Sumba, Central-East Sumbanese (Kamberaic),\(^1\) Wewewa (Wejewa; wew), Laboya (Lamboya; lmy) and Kodi (kod), all belonging to the Sumba-Hawu subgroup of Central Malayo-Polynesian, which belongs to the Austronesian language family. Glottolog 3.0 (Hammarström et al. 2017) considers Central-East Sumbanese to include four languages, Anakalang (Anakalangu; akg), Wanukaka (wnk), Mamboru (mvd) and East Sumbanese\(^2\) (Kambera; xbr). According to lexico-statistical computations, if 80% or less shared vocabulary in a list of basic vocabulary is considered to define a language, these lects should be considered languages (Asplund 2010), but considering the close syntactical and morphological similarities between these lects, it is doubtful if an 80% limit for shared vocabulary is suitable to decide which lects should be considered languages. If the 80% criterion is maintained, the small lects Baliledu, Ponduk and Gaura could also be considered languages. This would give ten languages spoken on Sumba (Asplund 2010). However, according to the present view of the author of this study, four languages is a more reasonable view. In this study, lect is the term used in all cases where it is not clear that languages or dialects are spoken of. The dialects which will be mentioned in this study are the Kambera and Mangili dialects of East Sumbanese and the Lolina dialect of Wewewa.

The map on the next page shows the 10 lects which possibly can be regarded as languages of their own. The yellow area shows where East Sumbanese, which is often called Kambera is spoken. In this study, Kambera designates a dialect of East Sumbanese, which is spoken in the center of the easternmost part of the island.

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\(^1\) The names used in Glottolog 3.0 for languages and languages groups, together with the ISO codes for languages, are given in parentheses. The names used for languages and languages groups are those preferred by the author of the present study (see Asplund 2010).

\(^2\) The author of the present study prefers the name East Sumbanese for the language, but because the dialect researched in this study is centered on the old landscape of Kambera, the name Kambera is appropriate to use when referring to the examples, although some influence from the Mangili dialect can be found.
Map. *Sumbanese lects which possibly could be regarded as languages of their own (map created by Leif Asplund with the help of Henrik Bera; Weyewa should be corrected to Weewem)*.

The Kambera dialect of East Sumbanese is the lect on which this study of parallelism is mainly made, but to make some points clearer a few examples are also quoted from other Sumbanese lects. Only for Kambera there are both a good grammatical description (Klamer 1998) and relatively good dictionaries (Kapita 1982, Onvlee 1984). To interpret ritual language, Kapita (1987) is very useful.

### 2.2 Parallel speech

In this section terms that are needed to discuss parallel speech are defined (2.2.1). In 2.2.2 a short summary of research on parallel speech outside of Sumba is given. In 2.2.3 some of the publications of prior research on parallel speech in the different lects of Sumba are presented. In 2.2.4, when and for which purposes parallel speech is used in Sumba, according to earlier research, is treated. In 2.2.5, the characteristics of Sumbanese parallel speech, according to earlier research, is presented.

#### 2.2.1 Definitions and terminology

The definition of parallelism, parallel lines and parallel terms by Lowie (1815) is still usable:

> The correspondence of one verse, or line, with another, I call parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in sense; or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction; these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms (Lowie 1815: 258).

Roman Jakobson introduced the term ‘canonical parallelism’, which he described as: “Those poetic patterns where certain similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high preference” (Jakobson 1966: 399), and it is this form of parallelism which will be investigated in this study.

The terminology used in this study follows Lowie (1815) what concerns the terms parallel line and parallel term. The terms couplet and parallel pairs is used by Fox (2014). Not all traditions of parallelism require that parallel lines in couplets should correspond to each other in every respect, but
in the case of the tradition which is investigated in this study, i.e. parallel speech in Kambera, it is obvious that prosodic, morpho-syntactic and semantic factors are relevant.¹

The basic terms that will be used are defined below:

**Parallel line**: A part of a text,⁴ which corresponds to another part of the text prosodically, syntactically and semantically, without being identical with the corresponding line.

**Couplet**: An utterance unit which contains a collection of parallel lines which correspond to each other pairwise.⁵

**Parallel term**: A morpheme which corresponds to another morpheme in a parallel line, but is not identical with it.

**Parallel pair**: A pair of parallel terms.

**Repeated term**: A morpheme which corresponds to an identical morpheme in a line parallel to the line where the morpheme is found.

An example of a basic couplet, i.e. a couplet which consist of two lines, and every content word in the first line has a correspondent content word in the second line, is:

(1) Kambera (B2728;⁶ Kapita 1987: 305-306)

- *paraingu ma*=*pa-uli*
- settlement REL.SBJ=PA-canine_tooth
- *paraingu ma*=*pa-tara*
- settlement REL.SBJ=PA-spur

‘a settlement which has canine teeth // a settlement which has spurs’

This is a couplet which is said about a traditional settlement where many ceremonies are held. The words in boldface *pauli* and *patara* are parallel terms, and together constitute a parallel pair, while *paraingu*, which occurs in both the parallel lines is a repeated term.

Finally, some words which are used in specific or unconventional ways are noted:

‘**Syllable**’ is sometimes used instead of the more correct ‘mora’ to avoid the complication of trimoraic syllables and moraic codas.

‘**Word**’, always means ‘syntactic word’ in this study. The Kambera prosodic word consists of a root, containing two syllables, of which the first is stressed, or one long, stressed syllable, and, facultatively, one or two pretonic syllables, called prefixes in Klamer (1998) and in this study, a coda, which phonetically is followed by a non-phonemic [u], and clitics (Klamer 1998: 34). The coda and one prefix can be the result of a derivation. A simple syntactic word can be as a prosodic word minus the clitics, or two prosodic words, without clitics, which synchronically cannot be analysed as being a compound of two words.

By **‘compound word’** a word consisting at least two content words is meant, without any morphological morpheme connecting the words, of which one is a head and consists of a single morpheme, and the denotation of which has been narrowed by the other word(s).

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³ No definitions of prosody, morpho-syntact and semantics are given in this study. The prosodic and morpho-syntactic features which are investigated are included under research question 2. The semantic aspects are not touched upon in this study.

⁴ This means that parts of the parallel line can be used as parallel lines by themselves in other contexts. It seems that the definition used here is that used implicitly by Kuipers (1990: 75), while Forth (1988) calls each of the parts that can be used as single lines by themselves as lines. The main reason for adopting the present definition is that, in the limited access to expert informants, the researcher cannot always know which parts of texts can be used as parallel lines by themselves, even though Kapita (1987) is of great help in this respect in some cases. Ideally, lines should probably be defined by pauses and junctures in actual performances.

⁵ Some possible exceptions to that lines correspond pairwise are found in examples (9c), (10a) and (10b) in section 5.1.1.

⁶ Single numbers without any explanation found in the text and the headings to the examples refer to the numbering in Kapita (1987). If the number is preceded by a B, the example is found in Appendix B in the present paper. The B is not written before the couplet numbers in the appendices.
The terms which are defined in this section and which will be much used in the following, are: parallel line, couplet, parallel term, repeated term and basic couplet. It was finally noted how the words ‘syllable’, ‘word’ and ‘compound word’ are used in this study.

2.2.2 Stress patterns in Kambera
In order to investigate the stress patterns, it has to be known which syllables are stressed. In Kambera, words are stressed on the final syllable if the final syllable is long, and on the penultimate syllable otherwise. Affixes and most clitics are unstressed, the exceptions are the clitics =du ‘emphasis’, =ki ‘just, first’, bia ‘just, only’ and âru ‘polite hortative’ (Klamer 1998: 22, 28, 52). Some of the aspectual and mood clitics, like =ma ‘emphasis’ and =ka ‘perfective’, can obtain stress in certain environments (Klamer 1998: 52). In nominal compounds (Klamer 1998: 57-58), serial verb constructions (Klamer 1998: 280), foot reduplication with vowel variation (Klamer 1998: 41) and simple classifier constructions (Klamer 1998: 39), the second part gets the main stress and the first secondary stress. In word reduplication (Klamer 1998: 38) and reduplication with lengthened vowel in the reduplicated syllable (Klamer 1998: 36), the reduplicated element also gets main stress.

Pronominal clitics beginning in vowels and the prorprial article i are phonologically attached to some preceding words, but this does not influence stress (Klamer 1998: 49-51).

Klamer (1998) describes stress patterns in non-ritual speech. Now, it might be possible that other stress rules are valid for ritual speech. One indication that this might be the case comes from another Sumbanese lect, Wanukaka, where Mitchell uses stress marks to “indicate the rhythm” (Mitchell 1988: 84). In Mitchell’s transcription of Wanukaka ritual speech, the third person singular nominative pronoun prefix na= is attached to the preceding conjunctions ba and ka, which are stressed, and the object relative clause marker pa= is attached to the preceding negative particle da, which is stressed. However, according to Klamer (personal communication by email 2016-04-19), stress on conjunctions is not possible in Kambera ritual, as well as ordinary, speech. It is possible that the rhythm could be partly independent from the stress. However, in this study it is assumed that the stress rules described by Klamer (1998) for non-ritual speech are valid also for ritual speech. In any case, because of the nearly always identical distribution of functional morphemes in parallel lines, it is very unlikely that any conclusions about the distribution and importance of stress, if some other functional morphemes than those mentioned above could be stressed, would be different from that reached here, except that some functional morphemes which cannot be stressed in ordinary speech could sometimes be stressed in ritual speech.

2.2.3 Parallelism in Indonesia and worldwide
Parallelism is found in special registers, e.g. in ritual languages, in most parts of the world. It was first investigated in the Hebrew of the Old Testament and later in Chinese, Russian, Finnish and other Uralic languages, Mongolian, Mayan and other central American languages and many Austronesian languages among others (Fox 2014: 20-29).

Klamer (2002b: 370-371) suggests that parallelism is a characteristic of the languages of eastern Indonesia, where it “occurs in Roti, Sumba, Timor, the Moluccas, and Tabâ” (Klamer 2002b: 377). Parallel speech on the island of Rote has been extensively researched by James Fox, and most of his papers on the subject have been assembled in Fox (2014). The research of Fox has been seminal for all research of parallel speech in eastern Indonesia, including Sumba.

2.2.4 Earlier research on parallel speech on Sumba
2.2.5 Context and function of parallel speech on Sumba

The Sumbanese themselves regard the parallel speech as common for the whole of Sumba (Mitchell 1988: 73). This does not mean, as the Sumbanese are well aware, that the external form of the speech is the same everywhere, because most of the words and grammatical forms used are from the respective local lect, but what probably is meant is that there are many similarities, especially in the meanings expressed, between parallel speech in the different language groups. It is generally stressed that the meaning of parallel lines is not the literal one (Keane 1997: 110; Rothe 2004: 8). The meaning-bearing units are the couplets which are supposed to have a fixed meaning and index the voice of the ancestors (Mitchell 1988: 72.73; Kuipers 1990: 76).

Parallel speech is not used only in a religious context, but it is not used in all kinds of formal interaction. According to Forth (1988: 144), “[I]n eastern Sumba, ritual, or parallelistic, language can best be characterized as the verbal style that accompanies formal gift exchange.” However, Mitchell (1988: 66) thinks that, possibly, spiritual beings are always thought to be present when ritual language is used in Wanukaka. In the negotiations between two parties, which Forth regards as a communication only between humans, Mitchell notes that the ancestral spirits of the two parties concerned are present and supposed to be listening. Parallel speech is practiced only by, mostly elderly, men, if communication with the ancestral spirits is involved (Kuipers 1990). Songs, which are less strictly parallel, can be performed by both men and women in Wewewa (Kuipers 1998: 54).

Kuipers (1990) notes that “To examine ritual speech as a monolithic whole is to ignore the contrastive character of a particular performance in relation to other categories of ritual speech expression” (Kuipers 1990: 58). He shows statistically that the formal characteristics of ritual speech differ between the genres (Kuipers 1990: 58-60). He identifies 19 different genres of Wewewa ritual speech, which he divides into two groups, politico-religious genres, where the ancestral spirits are considered to participate, and personal genres, where participants and audience are human (Kuipers 1990: 58-59).

Kuipers mainly investigated ritual atonement rites, which comprise the genres “divination” (urrata), ‘placation rites’ (zaizo), ‘chants’ (oka), and ‘blessing songs’ (we’e maringi)” (Kuipers 1990: 60). In Kambera there are two main types of genres, ‘invocation’ (hamayang) and ‘oration’ (luluk) and the formal characteristics between them vary to some extent (Forth 1988).

The speed and manner of recitation seems to vary considerably between genres and areas. Generally, the speed is very high, at least in orations. In some areas the recitations are done in a ‘singing’ manner.

2.2.6 Characteristics of Sumbanese parallel speech

Forth (1988) says that Kambera parallel ritual speech is metrical, without explaining in what way, except that couplets should contain lines of “an equal or nearly equal number of syllables” (Forth 1988: 311-312). Mitchell (1988: 74, 84) says that parallel speech is rhythmic, based on stress, in Wanukaka.

The parallel pairs can appear in consecutive or alternate or at three lines remove in Kambera (Forth 1988: 146). According to Forth parallel terms can also be found in a single line, and that line can be combined with other similar lines (Forth 1988: 148). Not all lines are parallel. The last line, and often also the first, is not parallel, there are non-parallel connective lines, and also other non-parallel lines (Forth 1988: 147-150).

In Kambera, the words which can be parallel terms are verbs, nouns, numerals, classifiers and adverbs. The numbers of parallel pairs which can be found in a couplet seem to be not more than three (Forth 1988: 146). Parallel pairs can be single, where single content words making up a syntactic unit at the phrase-level are paired, and complex, where two or more content words in one syntactic unit are paired (Forth 1988: 145-146).

According to Fox (2014: 113), the parallel terms can occur in any order in Rote. In Kambera, the order of parallel terms is free to some extent, but for many pairs a fixed order is generally followed, which

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7 For a different interpretation of this fact, see section 5.1.1 in this study.
8 Forth (1988: 146) also mentions adjectives, but in Kambera there is no special class of adjectives. Words denoting property concepts are considered to be stative intransitive verbs (Klamer 1998: 116).
accords with the Sumbanese idea that one term of the pair can be identified as female and the other as male. The female term comes first and the male second, but there are exceptions. (Forth 1988: 314-315). Compare also Needham’s statement that the superior element comes second when “components of a pair are mentioned” (Needham 1987: 190) in Mamboru and the rest of Sumba.

Other characteristics of Sumbanese parallel, ritual speech which has been noted by researchers are that a part of the vocabulary is borrowed from other Sumbanese lects (Kuipers 1990: 73),10 that the meanings of some single words are unknown even to the speakers themselves (Mitchell 1988: 74; Keane 1997: 253) and that by using morphological elements more sparingly, the syntax becomes different from that in ordinary speech (Keane 1997: 108). According to Keane (1997: 104), the couplet lines, not words, are the units that form pairs, at least in names. As an example, Keane gives the ritual name of the sacred village Lai Tarung (2).

(2) Anakalang (Keane 1997: 104)
Metung Kawuku
NA(black) NA(topknot)
Kabaringu Watu
NA(pillar) NA(stone)
‘Black Topknot // Stone Pillar [Lai Tarung]’

Kuipers (1990: 76) remarks that the pairing of two words does not imply a fixed meaning, but that the meaning is context-dependent, which is an important difference with word-pairs in Rote, which according to Fox (2014: 161) have a fixed meaning. The examples he gives are the couplet (3a), which refers to a good orator, (3b), “which refers to a change of mood, pace or subject in a particular activity”, and (3c) which “refers to the fatigue of the participants in an all-night speaking event” (Kuipers 1990: 77).

(3) Wewewa Proper (Kuipers 1990: 76-77; translations copied from this work)

a. ndara ndende kiku
   horse stand tail
   bongga mette lomma
dog black tongue
   ‘horse with a standing tail // dog with a black tongue’

b. na=ndikkira=i ndara
   3SG.NOM=turn_back=? horse
   na=winggira=i bongga
   3SG.NOM=reverse_direction=? dog
   ‘the horse turns back // the dog reverses direction’

c. na=ndoli=bai ndara=nggu
   3SG.NOM=be_tired=? horse=1SG.GEN
   na=ndoda=bai bongga=nggu
   3SG.NOM=be_exhausted=? dog=1SG.GEN
   ‘my horse is tired, my dog is exhausted’

According to Kuipers’ informants, the concept of tiredness in (3c) has no connection with the parallel pair horse // dog, which are there only for euphony (Kuipers 1990: 77).

The observations mentioned above suggest some possible research questions: 1. How can parallel lines be organized structurally, including the order between the lines, 2. What are the relations between parallel lines what concerns quantity of syllables, stresses and words, and 3. What are the semantic relations between lines, and at what level, single word, compound, phrase or line are they found? The last question is, however, not treated here.

10 Note Fox (2014: 147): “As a linguistic proposition, I would suggest that all elaborate forms of parallelism possess dialect variants in their repertoire of poetic words. Language diversification is a process that parallelism exploits.”
3 Aim and research questions

The aim of this study is to investigate the conditions for well-formedness of couplets in a corpus of texts in parallel speech in Kambera.

The following research questions will be addressed:11

1. How is parallel speech structured in the examples given in Kapita (1987) for Kambera?
   a. How can parallel lines be arranged?
   b. To what extent is the order between parallel lines fixed?

The first research question is motivated by the fact that research question two is based only on basic couplets, and to give an idea of the range of types of couplets which is found in Kambera, research question 1a is about listing and classifying the different line structures which are found. Research question 1b is motivated by assertions that the second line in a couplet is more important, and that if there is an opposition between male and female elements, the male element occurs in the second line.

2. What formal (non-semantic) features are of importance for the parallelism in basic couplets in Kambera?
   a. Is there a quantitative identity between parallel lines, and if there is, in what respect?
   b. To what extent do the functional morphemes in one parallel line have corresponding, functionally and phonetically identical, morphemes in the corresponding parallel line?
   c. Is there a correlation between the word class or the syntactic position of a morpheme and the probability that it should occur as a parallel term or a repeated term?
   d. Can a hierarchy, based on the answer of question 2c above, established?

The second research question is motivated by a wish to understand the conditions for formal well-formedness of couplets as linguistic units.

The first research question has partly been touched on in Forth (1988), but the types of couplets found are bigger in this study. The correspondence between parallel lines in Kambera has never been studied from a quantitative view, which means that the answers to research question two has to be regarded as new results.

11 Only Kambera is investigated, even though better examples from other Sumbanese languages of some features will be quoted in some cases. Under each main question, the specific points that will be investigated are enumerated. That specific points are investigated under each main question does not imply that other factors are irrelevant for the main question.
4. Method and data

In this chapter, it is described how the investigation of the research questions was done in section 4.1. In 4.2, the material, how it is presented and its limitations are treated. In section 4.3 the question of permissions to use materials is raised.

4.1 Method and procedure of investigation

For research question 1, to investigate which structural types of couplets are found, the Kambera material in Kapita (1987) was looked through. For this research question it was necessary to collect couplets that deviate from the basic couplet. The numbers of all couplets which were of a different type than the basic couplet, as exemplified in example (1) above, were noted. Every couplet was read and, if needed, the Indonesian translation was checked. It is not certain that all relevant examples were identified, but hopefully all the different types. If there were better examples in other sources, including examples in other Sumbanese lects, for some types than could be found in the Kambera material, they were also quoted.

For the research questions 2, a sample consisting of 100 couplets of the basic type in Kambera, reproduced and glossed in Appendix B in this study, was prepared. These couplets were searched, and the data relevant for answering the research questions were extracted. The extracted data are given in Appendices C and D.

To answer the research question 1, obviously all the couplets in Kapita (1987) had to be searched in order to find all the different types of couplets. However, to answer research question 2, which necessitates the detailed investigation of every couplet, it was not feasible to include all the basic couplets, which form the great majority in Kapita (1987), in the investigation, because of time limits, and a sample of 100 basic couplets was selected.

The differences in morphological elements, word structure and number of syllables between the words in parallel pairs were noted in section 5.1.1. For research question 2, about the quantitative correspondence between parallel lines, the hypothesis that there is some identity of quantity between parallel lines was used as a heuristic device. First it was checked to what extent there was equality in the number of syllables in the parallel lines under the assumptions that there are at least two syllables in content words and that the paragogic vowel, a final, phonetic but not phonemic vowel, does not form a syllable. The extent of equality of number of syllables in the parallel lines were also checked when the assumptions were not made. Finally, factors which could reasonably explain the cases where the number of syllables in parallel lines was unequal were searched for in section 5.1.1, and it was determined in what respects there is a quantitative equality between parallel lines.

4.2 Materials

In this section, the materials used and how the sample in Appendix B was created is treated in 4.2.1. In 4.2.2, the way the text is transcribed, analysed, glossed and translated is explained. The limitations of the sample, mainly that the couplets are without context, are described in 4.2.3.

4.2.1 Materials used

The main source used for research question 1 was Kapita (1987), which contains 3178 couplets and combinations of couplets, some of them being doublets. For complementary materials in Kambera, Kapita (1985) and Forth (1988) were searched. Complementary materials are from Anakalang (Keane 1997), Kodi (Hoskins 1988) and Lolina (Rothe 2004).

The sample of Kambera texts used for research question 2 consists of 100 couplets of the basic type\textsuperscript{12} taken from Kapita (1987). Every 31th number was selected, but if a couplet was identical with one

\textsuperscript{12} I.e. couplets of the type found in example (1), where there are only two parallel lines and every content word correspond with a content word in the second line.
already selected or was not of the basic type, the next number was chosen instead. This means that the corpus was not the couplets found in Kapita (1987), but the couplets of the basic type found in that book. The sample is found in Appendix B. For the analysis, the description of Kambera in Klamer (1998) is used. Information about the meanings of some couplets where obtained from the specialist in Kambera ritual language, Marsel Wunang.  

4.2.2 Transcription, morphological analysis, glossing and translation

The orthographical representation of Kambera follows the practice in Klamer (1998), which means that the short vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ are transcribed as <à>, <i> and <u> and the long vowels /aː/, /iː/ and /uː/ as <a>, <i> and <u>. In Kapita (1987), the long and short /i/- and /u/-vowels are not differentiated, but in this study, vowel length has been differentiated with the help of Onvlee (1984). One other deviation from the orthography in Kapita (1987) is that the paragogic vowel is not written, even after consonants before the suffix -ng and the last part of the circumflex ka-...-k, where it is written in Klamer (1998), even though she omits it in other positions. The implosive consonants are written <b> and <d> in Kambera, because the corresponding pulmonic consonants are prenasalized, and are written <nb> and <nd>. However, in Anakalang and Lolina, the prenasalization is not found, and the implosive and pulmonic consonants have to be differentiated in another way. In this study <ɓ> and <ɗ> are written for the implosive consonants. The guttural nasal [ŋ] is written as <ng>. The morphological analysis follows that in Klamer (1998), but the notation differs; to separate some clitics she uses a dash, while an equal sign is used here, and she uses a dot to separate affixes, while that is used here only if the whole word, including the affix, is glossed together, otherwise a dash is written. Some clitics, namely “conjunctions, prepositions, articles, and the negation nda,” (Klamer 1998: 27) are written as independent words, in conformity with Klamer (1998). Sometimes there is a difference in word class between the glossing, which follows the dictionary meaning, and the translation of a word in the translation of the couplet. This is because the differences between word classes are not big in Kambera, and many words can function both as nouns and verbs (Klamer 1998: 91-115), but that is not always reflected in the dictionaries. A word glossed as an adjective, for example ‘good’, should more correctly be glossed ‘be good’, because there are no adjectives in Kambera. The translations can convey the meaning of the original only very inexacty, especially if culturally loaded terms are involved. Forth (1988: 315) asks “how to reproduce in one language the precise degree of identity and differentiation that obtains between two terms in another.” This problem cannot be solved here, so the translations have always to be taken as very approximate.

4.2.3 Sample limitations

A sample of 100 couplets and couplet combinations in Appendix B is obviously too small and not representative of all genres. The couplets are given in isolation, and not as a part of a continuous text, so it is not known in which genre(s) a couplet can be found and in what contexts they are used. For research question 1, a bigger material had to be used, but for the other research questions, only the sample in Appendix B is used, which is motivated by the fact that the research question 2 is about the internal structure of couplets. However, because the size of the sample is restricted, it is possible that some feature in the corpus which could influence the results was not found.

4.3 Ethical issues

The corpus of couplets for Kambera and all other quoted examples of parallel speech are from published sources, so no infringement of intellectual or cultural proprietary rights should occur. Permission to use private communications in a paper has been obtained from Marian Klamer (e-mail 2017-05-03) and Marsel Wunang (orally).

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13 Recordings of Marsel Wunang reading most of the couplets were available, but they were not used, except in one note, and the analysis of stress depends only on the description in Klamer (1998).
14 As is noted in Klamer (2009: 251-253), the marking of length is not always reliable in Onvlee (1984), but it seems sufficiently reliable to be used for the present purposes.
5 Results and analysis

In 5.1, the different types of couplets found in Kapita (1987) are categorized and the order between parallel lines are looked into. In 5.2, non-semantic/formal aspects of the correspondences between parallel lines are investigated.

### 5.1 The structure of parallel speech

In 5.1.1, the different types of couplets are described as the result of coordination reduction, different number of lines, inclusion of parallel lines in other parallel lines, creation of complex lines, and combinations of pairs of different types of lines. At the end, a table summarizing the structural types and their frequencies are given. With coordination reduction is meant that some content word(s), which is/are found in the first line of a couplet, generally in the beginning, is/are not found in the following lines, but have to be understood to be constructed with this/these lines as well. In 5.1.2, the order between parallel lines is looked into; mainly those lines which contain parallel pairs of male and female elements.

#### 5.1.1 The combination of parallel lines

Basic couplets have been illustrated in (1) above. Only basic couplets are included in the sample in Appendix B. A quite distinct form of the usual basic couplet is where there are two clauses in each line, and the, in most cases, first word in the second clause repeats the, in most cases, last word in the first clause, and the second clause determines the word more closely. Example (4) is about the essence of a discussion, which both parties can agree upon. This type is quite common, but it cannot be regarded as a combination of two couplets, because, as far as known, none of the clauses can form couplets by themselves, so it has to be regarded as a normal basic couplet.

(4) **Kambera (771; Kapita 1987: 104)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kinjo=nya</th>
<th>kamiti=na</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>kamiti</th>
<th>bera</th>
<th>kokur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>investigate=3SG.DAT</td>
<td>black_part=3SG.GEN</td>
<td>ART.SG</td>
<td>black_part</td>
<td>split</td>
<td>coconut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadu=nya</td>
<td>kadua=na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>kadua</td>
<td>kambaringu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look_at=3SG.DAT</td>
<td>middle=3SG.GEN</td>
<td>ART.SG</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>pole</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘investigate the black part, the black part [where] the coconut [should be] split // look at the middle, the middle of the pole’

The other types which are found in Kambera can be exemplified under different headings:

1. **Coordination reduction.** Sometimes the first part of a parallel line is not spelled out in the second line. If that is the case, it is supposed that the first part is also a part of the second line, but is unexpressed there, because of coordination reduction. (5a), (5b) and (5e) are here considered to be examples of coordination reduction.


- **a.**
  | na | ma=ndámang | ma=karangu |
  | ART.SG | REL.SBJ=be_used_to | REL.SBJ=shallow |

  ‘one who is used to what is shallow // what is deep’

---

b. mbaka  eti  
    wet  liver  sesame
lawar  kakuta  
    k_o_fish_dish  heart_of_banana
‘wet [as] the inner part of sesame // [as] lawar dish [mixed with] the heart of banana’

c.  
    pa-nua
PA-connection
    pa-kalembi-ng
PA-related-NG
‘be connected // be related’

d.  
    toma=nggu=nya  na  tula  pa=kajanga  
    reach-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT  ART.SG  support  REL.OBJ-notch
    toma=nggu=nya  na  rehi  pa=kawuku  
    reach-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT  ART.SG  determined_time  REL.OBJ-knot
‘I reach the notched support // I reach the knotted time’

e.  
    toma-nggu-nya-ka  na  kanduruku  handakung  
    reach-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-PFV  ART.SG  thunder  once
    na  katuburu  pa.njalang  
    ART.SG  turbid  pass_over
‘I have reached the first thunder // the [ir]regular turbidity’

(5a) is an example, said about an experienced person, where only one word is found in the second line. In (5b), two words are found in the second line. The couplet expresses joy and happiness. (5c), said about a family, shows that a couplet can consist of only one parallel pair. In (5d) it is shown that what could easily be expressed with coordination reduction does not have to have the reduction, but in (5e) the reduction is done.

The question arises as to what extent examples such as (5a), (5b), (5e) and even (5c) are parallel. Forth (1988: 147-150) on Kambera, Fox (2014: 113) on Rote, and Steinitz (1934: 75-8) would regard examples like these to be ‘half-pair lines’ (Halbpaarverse), i.e. non-parallel lines containing parallel pairs in one line. In this study, (5a), (5b) and (5e) are regarded as examples of coordination reduction. A discussion of this choice is found in chapter 6 below.

Coordination reduction mainly occurs in the beginning of the second line, but sometimes also at the end of the first. In (6) the reduction is done in both places. It is said about a person or family which has no descendants

(6)  
Kambera (854; Kapita 1987: 112)
    na=tumbu=nya  kanduruku
    3SG.NOM=grow=3SG.DAT  aubergine
    kandangu  na  watu  uma=na  
    basil  ART.SG  stone  house=3SG.GEN
‘The foundation of his/its house grows (is overgrown with) aubergine plants // basil’

There is a single example for reduction at the end in Kapita (1987: 38; example not given here).

2. Combinations of two couplets, each containing coordination reduction. A couplet can consist of a combination of two couplets, each containing a coordination reduction.
(7) Combinations of two couplets, each containing coordination reduction in Kambera (a. 2790, b. 496, c. 1839; Kapita 1987: 311, 74, 214)

a. **hama** tumbu **tibu**
   same grow sugarcane
   kalú banana

b. **hama** tumbu **ilah**
   same grow k_o_reed
   kambauni reed

’same as sugarcane [and] banana grow // same as rush [and] reed grow’

b. **pa-hungu** la kolak
   PA-find LOC bronze_plate
   la kapu
   LOC chalk

b. **pa-ràngga** la jungga
   PA-meet LOC lute
   la talelí
   LOC flute

’meet at the bronze plate and chalk [when chewing betel], meet at the lute and the flute’

c. **manga=nja** la nggoru mbàra
   guard=3PL.DAT LOC throat turtledove
   manginu sparrow

**manga=nja** la kambu kalung
   guard=3PL.DAT LOC stomach k_o_mouse
   kalau rat

‘(protect // (from the throats (of the turtledove // the sparrow))) // (protect // (from the stomachs (of the mouse // the rat)))

In (7a), which is said in prayer so that paddy and maize will grow fast, the reduced part is the same in both lines, while in (7b), which is about people who like each other, the parallel words are included in prepositional phrases, and the initial words which undergo coordination reduction also form a parallel pair. In (7c), a prayer that the crops should not be eaten by pests, the reduced parts contain both repeated and parallel terms, which are content words.

3. **Combinations of more than one parallel pair, with or without coordination reduction in enumerations.** More than two parallel lines can be combined in one couplet in enumerations. However, enumerations must have an even number of lines, where the lines connect pairwise semantically.

(8) Combinations of more than one parallel pair, with or without coordination reduction in enumerations in Kambera (a. 341, b. 806, c. 899; Kapita 1987: 57, 107, 117, d. Kapita 1987: 21)

a. **na ma=lawar**
   ART.SG REL.SBJ=dish_of_fine_cut_meat
   **na ma=hanàta**
   ART.SG REL.SBJ=chop
   **na ma=híndi**
   ART.SG REL.SBJ=roast
   **na ma=pa-budu**
   ART.SG REL.SBJ=PA-salt(?)

‘that which is finely cut // that which is chopped, that which is roasted // that which is salted’
b.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>en</th>
<th>Po</th>
<th>Sen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>give=HORT=1SG.EXCL</td>
<td>kamboka</td>
<td>growing_well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malala</td>
<td>fertile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mànjak</td>
<td>fresh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maringu</td>
<td>cool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘give us [something] growing well // fertile // cool’

c.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>en</th>
<th>Po</th>
<th>Sen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART.SG REL.SBJ=NG-LOC</td>
<td>la ma=kâpa</td>
<td>LOC REL.SBJ=well_hidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART.SG REL.SBJ=well_hidden</td>
<td>la ma=mamitu</td>
<td>LOC REL.SBJ=lukewarm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART.SG REL.SBJ=hidden</td>
<td>la ma=kaurung</td>
<td>LOC REL.SBJ=hidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART.SG REL.SBJ=protected</td>
<td>la ma=kambeling</td>
<td>LOC REL.SBJ=protected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘who is at a place which is well hidden // lukewarm // (?) hidden // protected’

d.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>en</th>
<th>Po</th>
<th>Sen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swing_arms_while_walking-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-PFV</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>estuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>halili</td>
<td>estuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Lumbu</td>
<td>Mananga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Lumbu</td>
<td>Kori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>lumbu</td>
<td>pipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>k_o_tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>mau</td>
<td>landa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>shadow</td>
<td>coastal_pandanus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>hingi</td>
<td>nyautu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>kadinja</td>
<td>wara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>kick</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Swinging his arms, he was walking to the wing of the estuary // to the arm\_pit of the estuary, in Lumbu Kori // in Mananga Wàti, below the pipi tree // in the shadow of the coastal pandanus, on the side of the beach // at the edge of the sand.’

(8a), which is said about a person who can cook many different dishes, contains four parallel lines. In (8b), which is a prayer to the highest spirit for good fortune, there are four lines with coordination reduction. (8c), perhaps, shows that lines need not always combine pairwise semantically. (8c) is said about being at a place where there are mystic powers, such as the upper part of the house or the dense forest. (8d) is an example from a ritual text of four combined couplets which define a location.

4. Couplet consisting of three lines. Couplets consisting of three lines are very rare, probably because uneven numbers are mostly regarded as inauspicious (Forth 1981: 35). However, there is one example in Kapita (1987) of a couplet containing, according to the division by Kapita, three pairs of parallel lines (9a). That division is followed here, but it seems that the parallelism would be more satisfactory if the whole couplet were divided into three lines.\(^{16}\)

---

\(^{16}\) Because of this uncertainty, no forward slashes to indicate the division between parallel lines are given in the translation.
(9) Couplets consisting of three lines in Kambera and Kodi (a. Kambera (321; Kapita 1987: 54), b. Kodi (Hoskins 1988: 37; translation copied from this work)

- **a.**
  - **la halura**
  - LOC NA
  - **la kiri mara**
  - LOC edge dry
  - **la manggudu**
  - LOC NA
  - **la tàlu kàmbu**
  - LOC egg house_lizard
  - **la kotak**
  - LOC NA
  - **la ngaru liang**
  - LOC mouth cave

  ‘On Salura, at the edge of the dry [land], on Mengkudu, at(?) the egg of the house lizard, on Kotak, at(?) the mouth of a cave’

- **b.**
  - **na=wongo ana minye**
  - 3SG.NOM=give child female
  - **ana mone**
  - child male
  - **na=wongo ma=nengge wuli**
  - 3SG.NOM=give REL.SBJ=thick rice_sheave
  - **ma=ndapo polano**
  - REL.SBJ=heavy ear_of_maize
  - **na=wongo labiri myanu**
  - 3SG.NOM=give plentiful fowl
  - **labongga wawi**
  - abundant pig

  ‘who gives girl children and boy children, who gives thick rice sheaves and heavy ears of corn, who gives us plentiful chickens and abundant pigs’

(9a) names three small islands to the south of Sumba. In (9b) there is a couplet from Kodi which contains three pairs of parallel lines, each pair having coordination reduction in the second line. It is a part of a call for the house deity in a divination.

5. The initial part, which is not repeated because of coordination reduction, consists of a parallel pair. An example of this is found in (10), which is a prayer to the highest spirit to be blessed with practical knowledge, discrimination, many descendants and to reach old age.

---

17 Kapita (1987: 54) translates the names of the islands: **halura** ‘ujung’ (‘tip, end’), **mangkudu** ‘lipatan’ (‘fold’) and **kotak** ‘kampung’ (‘settlement’). The word **tàlu** ‘egg’ mirrors the pronunciation in the southern East Sumbanese dialects; the form in Kambera is **tílu**.
pa-tutu
PA-be_close_to

pa-den=ngga
PA-touch=1PL.EXCL.DAT

kiha
touchable

manggana
wise

wu=a
smart

pa-ngadang
think_about

woru
be_fertile

bab=a
increase_in_number

uwa
gray-haired

kaka
white

tumbu
grow

kadu
horn

‘Hit // touch (bless) us [so that we become] knowledgeable // wise, smart // insightful, fertile // with many descendants, white-haired // with horns’^18

6. Several basic couplets are combined. No clear examples of this can be given from Kapita (1987).

(11) Several basic couplets are combined in: a. Kambera (Forth 1988: 159; translation adopted from the same source) and b. Anakalang (Keane 1997: 111-112; translation adopted from the same source) 1997: 111-112; translation copied from the same source)

a. jáka
cut=1SG.GEN=PFV

when/if
say=1SG.GEN=PFV

nàhu
now

la
LOC

ngaru
mouth

Haparuna

Ananggela

1SG.EMP
sit=1SG.GEN

NA
NA

jàka

wà=nggu=ka

now

nàhu

Haparuna

Ananggela

1SG.EMP
sit=1SG.GEN=PFV

nàhu

na=ku=ya

because
1SG.NOM=cut_off=3SG.ACC

now

la
LOC

lima
hand

Haparuna

Ananggela

1SG.EMP
sit=1SG.GEN=PFV=3SG.ACC

Palarang

Haumama

1SG.EMP
sit=1SG.GEN=PFV

NA
NA

‘as I say now, when I tear it with the mouth, I [who am] Haparuna Ananggela //
as I say now, when I slice it with the hand, I [who am] Palarang Haumama.’

^18 It is supposed that very old persons begin to grow horns (personal communication from Marsel Wunang).
b.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Abu</th>
<th>Mu=Urung</th>
<th>Ba</th>
<th>M=Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don’t</td>
<td>2SG.NOM=hear_badly</td>
<td>When</td>
<td>2SG=hear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>Mu=Tuwu</td>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Panewi=Nya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When</td>
<td>2SG=Put</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Speech=3SG.DAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Talora</td>
<td>Ina_Ama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art.SG</td>
<td>Plaza</td>
<td>Mother_Father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11a) is a good candidate for being regarded as a combination of two couplets, because the name by itself consists of a couplet. A more clear and quite elaborate example of the combination of basic couplets is (11b) from an oration (yaiwo) in Anakalang, which is addressed to the yaiwo singer. According to Keane (1997: 111-112), this is a combination of four couplets (A//A’, B//B’, C/C’, D//D’). A and B means that the words should not be misunderstood, C refers to the spirits addressed and D refers to the place. In (11b), the word-division is in accordance with that in the other examples quoted in this study; Keane divides the words quite differently, for example is 
m= always attached to 
a (Keane 1997: 111-112).

7. A couplet is divided by another couplet. Another possibility is that a couplet is divided by another couplet. This means that in (12) below, line 1 is parallel with line 4 and line 2 with line 3:

(12) Kambera (Forth 1988: 155; translation copied from this work)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Na=Nja=Ka</th>
<th>Da</th>
<th>Àmáh</th>
<th>Pa=Datù</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be_there-3PL.DAT-PFV</td>
<td>ART.PL</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>REL.OBJ-cut_fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patù</td>
<td>Ngìa</td>
<td>Marára</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Piece</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patù</td>
<td>Ngìa</td>
<td>MabaRà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Piece</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na=Nja=Ka</td>
<td>Da</td>
<td>Pàhàpa</td>
<td>Pa=Kana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be_there-3PL.DAT-PFV</td>
<td>ART.PL</td>
<td>Ingredients_for_betel_chewing</td>
<td>REL.OBJ-wrap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There are the cut-up pieces of metal, four portions of gold, four portions of silver. There are the encircling [pieces of] betel and areca.’

8. Couplets consisting of different types of parallel lines.

(13) Couplets consisting of different types of parallel lines in Kambera (a. 3099, b. 462; Kapita 1987: 341, 70)

a.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buri=Nya</th>
<th>Wai</th>
<th>Wora</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pour=3SG.DAT</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Indigo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wai</td>
<td>Kapu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Chalk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àmbù</td>
<td>Na=Pa-WiHi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg.Irr</td>
<td>3SG.NOM=PA-leg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àmbù</td>
<td>Na=Pa-Lima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg.Irr</td>
<td>3SG=PA-arm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Pour indigo water // chalk water on him, [so that] he may not have legs // may not have arms’
b. \textit{pa-mili}=nya
PA-drift\_down=3SG.DAT
tena
boat
\textit{kanjeku}=nya
sweep=3SG.DAT
ranggu
bunch
\textit{ka}
so\_that
\textit{na=hoba=ya}
3SG.NOM=swallow=3SG.ACC
\textit{hoba}
leaf\_sheath
\textit{rara}
red
\textit{wáya}
crocodile
\textit{tadanu}
wale
\textit{iu}
shark
\textit{pai}
ray\_fish
\textit{mbeni}
malicious

‘Let drift down \[to the sea\] the boat \[made from\] a leaf sheath for it // sweep \[away\] a red bunch\textsuperscript{19} for it, so that crocodiles // wales \[and\] malicious sharks // malicious ray-fishes swallow it’

In (13a), which is said to curse an enemy, the first two lines have a coordination reduction, while the two following lines are resultative subordinate clauses, and have no coordination reduction. In (13b), which is said in a ritual to remove what is unclean and bad from a house or settlement, the two first lines are basic parallel lines, while the two following, which are subordinate resultative clauses, have coordination reduction and two pairs of parallel lines.

Table 1 shows how the arrangement of the lines in couplets can be described in the examples considered so far. Two parallel lines are denoted by the same capital letter, the first without a mark and the second with an apostrophe-mark. A plus-sign (+) to the left, indicates an element which is found at the beginning of the first parallel line, but not in the following parallel line(s) in a couplet. If the plus-sign is to the right, it indicates an element which is found at the end of the last line, but not in the preceding line(s). If, as in examples (8a-c), there are parallel lines which are included in other parallel lines, the parts included in the encompassing parallel lines are written in parentheses. Parentheses are also used to disambiguate what parts undergo coordination reduction. Because it is difficult to estimate the number of couplets which are doubled in Kapita (1987), a very rough estimation to between 2000 and 2500 of the number of unique couplets found there is made. The estimated number of basic couplets is calculated from that. The frequencies of the types in percent are calculated with one decimal for both the lowest (2000) and the highest (2500) estimation of the number of couplets.

\textsuperscript{19} What is meant by ‘red bunch’ is not clear.
Table 1: Line structures and their absolute and relative frequencies in Kapita (1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Number of unique couplets in Kapita (1987)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1), (4), (5c), (5d)</td>
<td>A A’</td>
<td>1717-2217⁴⁰</td>
<td>85.9-88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5b), (5b), (5e)</td>
<td>+A A’</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>3.4-4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>A A’+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7a)</td>
<td>A(B B’) A(C C’)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.9-2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7b)</td>
<td>A(B B’) A(C C’)(C C’)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.3-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7c)</td>
<td>A(B(C C’)) A(B’(D D’))</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8a)</td>
<td>A A’ B B’ … N N’</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>4.5-5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8b), (8c), (8d)</td>
<td>+A A’ B B’ … N N’</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.7-0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>A A’)(B B’ … N N’)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11a), (11b)</td>
<td>A B … N A’ B’ … N’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>A B B’ A’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13a)</td>
<td>+(A A’) B B’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13b)</td>
<td>A A’ +B B’ C C’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0-0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 This is an estimation based on the very rough estimation that there are between 2000 and 2500 couplets in Kapita (1987) if the doublets are not counted. The interval of uncertainty is taken as 500 also for basic couplets, even though there are also doublets of the other types.
21 Examples in Kapita (1987): What is contained in the part with no correspondence in the second line are: 1. A verb with no other elements than pronominal, modal or aspectual clitics or negations: 8, 74, 173, 221, 290, 624, 697, 699, 734, 855, 888, 939, 983, 1076, 1177, 1217, 1246, 1280, 1345, 1351, 1354, 1355, 1364, 1365, 1397, 1423, 1557, 1581, 1594, 1637, 1659, 1717, 1740, 1753, 1786, 1797, 2039, 2259, 2299, 2359, 2615, 2691, 2706, 2798, 2978, 3066; 2. As 1., with additionally a free pronoun, quantifier or adverb: 72, 86, 1279, 3087; 3. A verb nominalized with (na) ma=: 89, 104, 132, 283, 313, 330, 869, 991, 992, 1505, 1718, 2230, 2286, 2398, 2960, 4. Noun as head, sometimes with attribute: 558(?), 2260, 2715, 2748, 2749, 3003; 5. Other (including uncertain cases): 144, 225, 670, 1239, 1447, 1638, 1741, 1897, 2537, 2588, 2812, 2940, 2969.
27 Examples in Kapita (1987): 1. Two pairs of parallel lines: 1. Only one word or one word preceded by an article in at least three lines: 170, 258, 280, 306, 311, 341, 356, 368, 371, 377, 405, 409, 445, 455, 505, 580, 704, 750, 751, 769, 793, 794, 798, 817, 838, 883, 885, 904, 918, 1050, 1107, 1231, 1254, 1262, 1314, 1317, 1346, 1349, 1392, 1512, 1525, 1570, 1592, 1653, 1667, 1781, 1919, 1947, 2004, 2035, 2037, 2080, 2083, 2084, 2101, 2111, 2112, 2146, 2190, 2271, 2353, 2382, 2435, 2482, 2503, 2596, 2601, 2670, 2805; 2. Only one word or one word preceded by an article in at least three lines, each line ending with a pronominal suffix: 218; 3. One word preceded by la in at least three lines: 257, 626, 832, 834, 867, 958, 1104, 1201, 2197, 2261, 2336; 4. One word preceded by an in at least three lines: 59, 66, 189, 1067, 1545, 2370; 5. Two words in at least three lines, the first word is a repeated term, except ana: 93, 140, 627, 2049, 2413, 2447, 3021; 6. Two words in at least three lines, no repeated terms: 242, 545, 563, 694, 752, 1158, 2483, 2893; Other: 16, 421, 831, 1327, 1532, 2053, 2196, 2605, 2654, 2769; II. Three pairs of parallel lines: 321(?); III. Four pairs of parallel lines: 123.

It is possible to use a limited number of operations to generate all the possible types of couplets from the basic type. Such a set of operations should include coordination reduction, merging, pair

20 This is an estimation based on the very rough estimation that there are between 2000 and 2500 couplets in Kapita (1987) if the doublets are not counted. The interval of uncertainty is taken as 500 also for basic couplets, even though there are also doublets of the other types.
generation, intertwining and cleaving. Coordination reduction would be the only operation required to account for (5a), (5c), (5e) and (6). Merging can be applied to yield (8a), (9a), (13a) and (13b). Coordination reduction and merging apply together to (7a), (7b), (7c), (8b) and (9b). In (7c), merging has to be iterated. Pair generation is needed for (10), intertwining for (11a) and (11b) and cleaving for (12).

5.1.2 Order between parallel lines

It is sometimes stated that the first term in a parallel pair is female and the second male, and that the second term is more important (Needham 1987: 190). Forth (1988: 314-315) notes that the male term is usually male in Kambera, but that there are exception. An example from Lolina that the second line is more important is in Rothe (2004: 96), where there is a couplet occurring in a hunter’s song where a parallel pair is kedu ‘monkey’ // wawi ‘pig’, although only pigs are hunted, the monkey is there only for the sake of parallelism. However, in repetitions in orations in Kambera, one line of a couplet does not have to be repeated (Forth 1988: 147-148), and in the oration text in Forth (1988: 159-160) the first line is repeated in two cases and the second in one, which would supposedly not be the case if the second line is always the more important.

A clear example that the male does not have to occur in the second line is found in (14b), where the female occupies that place. In (14a), the ‘usual’ order is found. In both cases the couplets are about people who want to emphasize their capacity. (15a) and (15b) both refer to people of noble birth, and the lines are reversed in (15b) compared to (15a). The moon turtle should probably be associated with females, because the shell of this turtle is used to make combs and other ornaments, which are worn by women, while the red crocodile probably is associated with (noble) males, because it is feared, although it is not known to ever have hurt people (Kapita 1987: 18). The missing definite article in (15b) probably depends on a misprint.

(14) Kambera (a. B1767, b. 3133; Kapita 1987: 207, 344)
a. na kawini peka ãda
   ART.DEF woman tell industrious
na mini peka wulu
   ART-DEF man tell rich
‘the woman tells about [her] industriousness // the man tells about [his] richness’
b. mini peka wulu
   man tell rich
na kawini peka ãda
   DEF.ART woman tell industrious
‘the man tells about [his] richness // the woman tells about [her] industriousness’

a. ana kara wulang
   child turtle moon
ana wuya rara
   child crocodile red
‘child of a moon turtle // child of a red crocodile’

32 Most of these ad hoc terms are probably self-explanatory if the examples are looked at; coordination reduction has already been explained in section 5.1; merging means that a couplet is added to another couplet; pair generation that a single word is exchanged with a parallel pair; intertwining that a number of couplets are combined in the way that the first line in the first couplet is followed by the first line(s) in the other couplet(s) and the second line of the first couplet by the second line(s) of the other couplet(s); and cleaving that one couplet is inserted between the first and the second line of another couplet.

33 Another example in Kapita (1987), that kawini ‘woman’ can be found in the second line with mini ‘man’ in the first is 303, while the ‘usual’ order is found in 331.
### 5.2 Non-semantic relations between parallel lines

Parallel lines tend to have the same prosodic and syntactic structure. In this section, possible deviations from this ideal pattern will be discussed. In section 5.2.1, all syntactic and morphological differences between the lines in the couplets and also differences in the number of syllables between words in parallel pairs in the sample are listed. In section 5.2.2 it is investigated to what extent the number of syllables differs between the two lines under different assumptions about how to count syllables. In 5.2.3 the reasons why parallel lines do not always have the same number of syllables are investigated. In 5.2.4 the differences in the function words in parallel lines are looked into. In 5.2.5 the distribution of repeated words is investigated and it is attempted to establish a hierarchy of words which are most likely to be repeated terms.

#### 5.2.1. Non-semantic differences between parallel lines

1. There is a difference in grammatical particles in the parallel lines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na</th>
<th>ana</th>
<th>wūya</th>
<th>rara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART.SG</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   ‘the child of a red crocodile // the child of a moon turtle’

   Another example of the male being mentioned in the first line female in the second is B2449. However, the tendency that words for females are found in the first line and for males in the second is clear. Of 20 couplets containing the pair *ina* ‘mother // ana ‘father’, all have *ina* in the first line and *ana* in the second.

   Examples of couplets where the lines can be reversed, but which do not have pairs with such clear female/male or unimportant/important meanings are: *ndewa* ‘life force’ // *pahomba* ‘shadow place’ (2044, reversed in Kapita (1985: 21)), *ahu* ‘dog’ // *njara* ‘horse’ (7, reversed in 1199), *kawau* ‘Ende’ // *humba* ‘Sumba’ (1124, reversed in 489)

2. Simple words of 2-3 syllables correspond to compound words or simple words of 4 syllables.
   a. Reduplications correspond with non-compound words: *kapātang* ‘dark’ // *ndiku ndaku* ‘impenetrable’ (B31).
   b. Compounds or words consisting of four syllables correspond with non-compound words of at most three syllables: *marađa* ‘plain’ // *ngarıngią* ‘road’ (B248), *hāba* ‘Seba’ // *rai njua* ‘Raijua’ (B279), *handoka* ‘hook’ // *kambarīngį* ‘pole’ (B310), *manuliang* ‘leather’ // *uru watu* ‘muddy water’ (B465), *kapingį* ‘origin’ // *mata wai* ‘spring’ (B930), *bai njara* ‘mare’ // *pawei* ‘origin(?)’ (B930), *wai kawirak* ‘muddy water’ // *walakeri* ‘dedap tree’ (B1147), *tilu manu* ‘hen’s egg’ // *kambora* ‘striped’ (B1953).

   Comment: Because compound words have one primary and one secondary stress according to Klamer (1998: 57-58), there is only one primary stress in each member of the parallel pairs above. If the two parallel pairs in B930, *na kapingį* *bai njara* ‘the origin of the mare’ // *na mata wai pawei* ‘the spring of origin’, are taken together, each simple word has a correspondent simple word. The separate parts of the compound words which are written separately each have their own meaning (Rai njua, which is the name of an island, probably means ‘the effervescent land’), *tilu* means ‘egg’ and *manu* ‘hen’ (B1953), but there are no plausible meanings for the putative separate parts of *kambarīngį* (B310) and *walakeri* (B1147). The second part in *ngarıngią* (B248) seems to be *ngia* ‘place’. *Ngara* means ‘name’, but it seems more likely that *ngara* should be connected etymologically with *lara* ‘way’ here.


   Comment: How *hinggi* *kombu kurang* should be analysed is not clear. If it follows the same pattern as the corresponding expression, it must be [*hinggi* *kombu kurang*], but, on the other hand, *hinggi*

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**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na</th>
<th>ana</th>
<th>wūya</th>
<th>rara</th>
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<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>kura</td>
<td>wulang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART.SG</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### References


Kapita, [Year]. "[Analysis of text](https://example.com/text-analysis)."

Rai njua, [Year]. "[Red-colored cloth](https://example.com/red-cloth)."

Walakeri, [Year]. "[The spring](https://example.com/spring)."

Hamba, [Year]. "[A place](https://example.com/place)."
kombu is a well-known expression for a ‘loin-cloth coloured red with Morinda’, so the analysis [[hinggi kombu] kurang] is more likely. Paradua must be a loanword from Indonesian (mem)perdua ‘divide into two parts’, where the in Kambera unallowed consonant combination [rd] is dissolved by a svarabhakti-vowel [a] between the two consonants. It does not seem possible to reinterpret paradua as a compound word, and also not as a non-composite word with two prefixes, because /la/ cannot be a prefix. Malamiri should be connected with na ma=kamuri ‘the youngest, the one coming afterwards’, but /ma/ in malamiri is clearly seen as a part of the word, because in (B248) it is preceded by the proclitic ma=. The prefix /ka/ can be exchanged with /la/ and /u/ with /i/ in some Central-Eastern Sumbanese lects.

4. Differences in the occurrence of -ng-suffix derivation (cases when a final /ng/ is a part of the word, and the corresponding word does not end in /ng/ are not included here).
   a. -ng corresponds to -Ø: B95, B527, B713, B1333, B2604, B2883
   b. Parallel words both end in /ng/, but in one case the /ng/ is a part of the word, in the other it is a derivational suffix: B1395, B1612, B2325

5. Differences in the occurrence of pa-prefix derivation.
   a. pa- corresponds with a non-productive prefix: B620, B651
   b. pa- corresponds to Ø-: B1395
   c. A simple pa-prefix word corresponds to a compound word: B930, B1953

6. A prefixed word corresponds to an unprefixed word (cases mentioned under 2. and 5. above are not included):
   bangga ‘verandah’ // talora ‘yard’ (B155), uma ‘house’ // kaheli ‘floor’ (B186), hihu ‘k o edible snail’ // kambàru ‘k o edible snail’ (B434), lamuji ‘suck’ // hiku ‘gouge out’ (B434), hänggu ‘offering’ // maraku (?) ‘honouring/offering’ (B497), kadodah ‘even, smooth’ // linjak ‘even’ (B620), kahilu ‘ear’ // mata ‘eye’ (B651), panu ‘be connected’ // pakalambing ‘be related’ (B713), kalumbuting ‘use as a betel bag’ // päting ‘use as a chest’ (B744), haku ‘pocket’ // halopa ‘leather belt’ (B744), pakambombu ‘make fat’ // pakobuk ‘make big’ (B807), kanditik ‘pole’ // rumba ‘grass’ (B868), papalu ‘hit repeatedly’ // kakawuku ‘tie repeatedly’ (B868), mbálarn ‘broad’ // malaiing ‘long’ (B900), kapinju ‘sprout’ // amu ‘root’ (B961), tana ‘earth’ // karumung ‘cloud’ (B1023), manjolung ‘deep’ // miting ‘black’ (B1023), kawangang ‘be deaf for’ // pokeng ‘be blind for’ (B1116), kawilu ‘kemiri’ // deli ‘grass’ (B1209), hinggi ‘loin cloth’ // pahudu ‘embroidered sarong’ (B1240), hau ‘Sawu’ // kandíru ‘aubergine’ (B1302), laring ‘road’ // halakung ‘going’ (B1395), mbulang ‘forget’ // marombang ‘miss’ (B1705), kawini ‘woman’ // minition ‘man’ (B1767), namat ‘keep’ // kapata ‘investigate’ (B1922), panduka ‘cause to bounce’ // pahandia ‘cause to lean on’ (B1922), kaheli ‘floor’ // uma ‘house’ (B2139), opah ‘foreign ruler’ // kapala ‘indigenous ruler’ (B2294), wai ‘water’ // kamara ‘dry land’ (B2294), kajanga ‘branch’ // watu ‘stone’ (B2325), pakara ‘scabby’ // witu ‘louse’ (B2346), kapuka ‘top’ // ngaru ‘mouth’ (B2387), panongu ‘ladder’ // dita ‘above’ (B2387), minition ‘man’ // kawini ‘woman’ (B2449), pituí ‘twist’ // kadalihi ‘make smooth’ (B2511), talalang ‘warm’ // mbana ‘hot’ (B2666), katiku ‘head’ // ihi ‘body’ (B2666), tíngi ‘listen’ // tanau ‘pay attention’ (B2821).

5.2.2 Number of syllables in parallel lines
   One basic assumption is that there is some kind of quantitative equivalence between the two lines in a basic couplet. The equivalence could be equality between the numbers of syllables, the numbers of stresses, the numbers of primary stresses, the numbers of stressed words or the numbers of content words. In counting syllables, some assumptions are made:

2. A word-final long vowel or diphthong counts as two syllables: E.g. lau // hinggi (B62), ka.kàlu.k // ka.ngü.k (B682).
3. A non-final long vowel or diphthong count as one syllable. E.g. bokul ‘big’ // nggailar ‘wide’ (B186), manjalitu ‘wild fig tree’ // kapalit ‘fig tree’ (B2077), wínggu ‘back’ // wihi ‘leg’ (B403), kàpa ‘well hidden’ // mamit ‘lukewarm’ (B899), líma ‘hand’ // mata ‘eye’ (B1333), lâpu ‘bag’ // njara ‘horse’ (B1457), ndiha ‘good’ // hàmu ‘good’ (B2046).
The motivations for initially making these assumptions are Klamer’s (1998: 16-22) analysis of Kambera phonotactics, and some preliminary tests (see below), which show that the opposite presuppositions will result in less parallel lines with the same number of syllables. This by no means shows that the assumptions are correct, but the analysis in 5.2.3, where, starting from the assumptions, the probable reasons for the unequal number of syllables will be shown in each case. This makes a strong case for the assumptions to be correct, although there will remain one unexplained case. The computations below use the materials in Appendix C.I.

If what is here referred to as ‘the basic assumptions for counting syllables’ are fulfilled, i.e. that the paragogic vowel is not counted as forming a syllable and a word-final, but not non-final, long vowel or diphthong counts as two syllables in the sample in Appendix B, the number of syllables is equal in the two parallel lines in 66 cases, in 14 cases there are more syllables in the first line than in the second, and in 20 cases there are more syllables in the second line than in the first.

If the basic assumptions for counting syllables are fulfilled, except that the paragogic vowel is considered to form a syllable with the preceding consonant, the number of syllables is equal in the two parallel lines in 55 cases, in 20 cases there are more syllables in the first line than in the second, and in 25 cases there are more syllables in the second line than in the first.

If the basic assumptions for counting syllables are fulfilled, except that final long vowels or diphthongs are counted as one syllable, the number of syllables is equal in the two parallel lines in 59 cases, in 19 cases there are more syllables in the first line than in the second, and in 22 cases there are more syllables in the second line than in the first if the uncertain cases are not counted; if the uncertain cases are counted, the cases are 59, 18 and 23 respectively.

If the basic assumptions for counting syllables are fulfilled, except that penultimate long vowels or diphthongs are counted as two syllables, the number of syllables is equal in the two parallel lines in 37 cases, in 25 cases there are more syllables in the first line than in the second, and in 38 cases there are more syllables in the second line than in the first. There are many uncertainties in this calculation. First, parallel pairs including words ending in long vowels or diphthongs are disregarded, secondly, what is considered long and short /i/ and /u/ is based on Onvlee (1984), although Onvlee is not always trustworthy in this respect (Klam 2009: 251-253)) and finally, that /e/ and /o/ are considered short vowels, which is based on Klamer (1998: 15), although [a:] > [e]/_[Ci] is valid only for some dialects of East Sumbanese, and /i:/ and /u:/ correspond to /e/ and /o/ in other dialects.

If the basic assumptions for counting syllables are fulfilled, except that it is supposed that a penultimate diphthong, but not a long vowel, is counted as two syllables, the number of syllables is equal in the two parallel lines in 67 cases, in 14 cases there are more syllables in the first line than in the second, and in 19 cases there are more syllables in the second line than in the first. This gives a slightly ‘better’ result than if this assumption were not made, but the result is hardly significant, because there are only three cases of a penultimate diphthong (B186, B310, B2077), and in two cases the difference in the number of syllables between the parallel lines increases.

5.2.3 Factors relevant and irrelevant for equality of quantity between parallel lines

The reasons for there not being the same number of syllables in the two lines are: a. more words have prefixes in one line than in the other, b. a reduplicated word forms a parallel pair with a prefixed word, c. a compound word or a word consisting of four syllables correspond to: c₁: a simple word with prefixes, c₂: a simple word without prefixes, or c₃: a compound of two words where one has a prefix, and d. there are more functional morphemes in one parallel line than in the other. Not counting the two

34 Klamer comes to the conclusion that content words can contain no trisyllabic roots, i.e. stems without prefixes and codas, and minimally have to be bimoraic. This means that roots which seem to have one syllable have to contain a long vowel or diphthong, which is described by Klamer as two equal vowels or two unequal vowels following each other respectively. This means that roots can be considered to always contain two syllables. A historical explanation for that these ‘one-syllable’ roots should be counted as two containing two syllables is that most such words can be shown to have contained two syllables by comparing them with other Sumbanese lects.

35 Uncertain cases are roots with a final diphthong or long vowel followed by an enclitic.
cases from B930 in c₁, because they neutralize each other, and B1953 in c₁ and d, because the extra syllable in the compound word is neutralized by the extra functional morpheme, and adding the couplets with the same number of syllables in each line with the above, 66+25+1+3+1+3=100 is obtained. This is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Factors influencing the non-equality of syllables in parallel lines (numbers in boldface are subtracted because they take out each other)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Number of influenced lines</th>
<th>Influenced lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No factor (=equality of syllables in parallel lines)</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>(not listed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different number of prefixes</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>B155, B186, B497, B620, B651, B713, B807, B900, B961, B1116, B1209, B1240, B1302, B1705, B1767, B1922, B2139, B2294, B2325, B2356, B2387, B2449, B2511, B2666, B2821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated word parallel with word with prefix</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B31: kapātangu // ndiku ndaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A compound word or a word consisting of four syllables correspond to a simple word with prefixes</td>
<td>6-3=3</td>
<td>B248: maràda // ngarangia; B310: handoka // kombaringu; B465: manulang // uru wata; B930: kapigi // mata wai; B930: bai njara // paweli; B1953: ilu manu // kambora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A compound word or a word consisting of four syllables correspond to a simple word without prefixes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B279: hàba // rai njua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A compound word or a word consisting of four syllables correspond to a a compound of two words where one has a prefix</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B1147: wai kawirak // walakeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are more functional morphemes in one parallel line than in the other</td>
<td>4-1=3</td>
<td>B1178, B1366, B1953, B2077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All factors</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(not listed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This means that if the prefixes (a) and the functional morphemes (d), which are without stress, and the first words in reduplicated words (b), compounds and the corresponding part in four syllable words (c), which have secondary stress, are disregarded, the parallel lines of each couplet in the sample have an equal number of ‘syllables’, or more correctly, an equal number of primary stresses. This also means that if compounds are counted as single word units, there are an equal number of content word units in the parallel lines of each couplet. What seems to be an exception is in B1583: handa eri // malamiri, where it seems that two words with a primary stress (‘handa ‘eri ‘hold back a younger sibling’) corresponds to a word with 4 syllables with one secondary and one primary stress (‘malamiri ‘[come] after’). It can also be concluded that it is clearly acceptable for single words of 2-3 syllables to correspond to compound words or four syllable words. In such cases it seems to be a tendency that the simple word has 3 syllables, i.e. a prefix, while the corresponding parallel term has no prefix (B31, B248, B310, B465, B930, B1953). A counter example is B279, where there is no prefix in the simple word.

There are some couplets where the number of syllables is the same in both parallel lines, but there are differences between the parallel pairs in what concerns their number of syllables or the internal structure of the words. In five cases, there is an equal number of syllables in a line, but only one word in each parallel pair has a prefix (B434, B744, B868, B930, B1023), two cases where a compound of two words correspond to a word with four syllables (B1395: paamba lata // paradua, B1583) and one case where a simple word with a prefix and a functional morpheme correspond to a compound of two
words (B1953). From what was said in the preceding paragraph, none of these present any difficulties for the conclusions which were reached there.

Finally, it should be noted that if syllables with penultimate diphthongs are counted as two syllables, which as was seen in section 5.2.2 gave one more couplet in the sample with an equal number of syllables in their parallel lines than if they were counted as one syllable, all the three couplets containing penultimate diphthongs will contain different numbers of such syllables which are relevant for the quantitative equality according to the conclusions in this section. It is thus concluded that syllables with penultimate diphthongs should count as one syllable.

5.2.4 Functional morphemes found in only one of the parallel lines
The differences in grammatical particles in the parallel lines are (repeated from 5.2.1.1):
na // Ø (B1178), Ø // la (B1178), =na // Ø (B1178), Ø // =mu=ya (B1366), Ø // na= (B2077), Ø // pa= (B1953), =ka // =ngga (B1023), =ya // =nya (B2480).

na and =na in B1178b and na= in B2077a are omitted without any discernable reason. Also, no reason can be found for the vacillation between an accusative and dative clitic in B2480. The difference between the accusative in B1023a and the dative in B1023b depends on that a pronoun is criticised on a word ending in /ng/ in B1023b, but on a vowel in B1023a. The clitic cluster in B1366 refers to both lines. In B1178 mila ‘poor’ seem to be parallel to la hibu ‘in the sty’. If that is the case, this is the only example in the sample where a functional morpheme is a part of a term in a parallel pair and where a verb corresponds with a prepositional phrase. It seems that the preposition la here gets much of the character of a prefix. In B1953, there is a syntactic difference between the lines, because a compound noun in 1953a corresponds to a relative construction where the head is an object in 1953b. The semantics of the relative construction seems to be the same as that of the compound, because the denotation of the head is narrowed in both cases. It is also possible that the proclitic pa= could be interpreted as the homonymous prefix pa-, which can have a causative function. In that case, it fits in very well with other parallel pairs where a compound word corresponds to a simple word with a prefix.

To simplify, the parts of the circumfix pa- ... -ng are counted identical with the prefix pa- and the suffix -ng respectively in the following. There are 9 examples of a word with a derivational suffix -ng corresponding with a word without it in 5.2.1.4. Of these, there are 3 cases where a word with a ng-suffix correspond with a word which end in /ng/. From Appendix D.I it can be seen that there are 12 cases where a word ending in the suffix -ng correspond with a word also ending in the suffix -ng. There are 2 cases (B620, B651) where there are words with pa- corresponding with a word with another prefix, 1 case (B1395) where it corresponds with a word without a prefix, 2 cases (B930, B1953) where a word with a prefix correspond with a four syllable word or a compound, and 10 cases where a word with a pa-prefix correspond with a word with a pa-prefix. It seems clear that there is no need for -ng or pa- to correspond to the same affix in couplets.

5.2.5 Repeated words and words in parallel pairs
In 76 couplets in the sample in Appendix B, there are no repeated terms. The other 24 have the following distribution of parallel and repeated terms:

Table 3: Distribution of parallel and repeated terms (a, b, c ... : parallel terms; x, y, z ... : repeated terms)
x a // x a': B279, B1984, B2728
x b // a' x b': B95, B125, B497, B559, B961, B1550, B1736, B1767, B2077, B2573, B2604, B2635
x a b // x a' b': B62, B342, B900 B2852
x y a // x y a': B1519, B3101
a b x c // a' b' x c': B155
x a b c y z d // x a' b' c' y z d': B1178
a b c x d e // a' b' c' x d' e': B1302

The word classes of the repeated terms are 18 nouns, 10 verbs and 1 adverb (see Appendix D.III; the function word ndedi ‘not yet’ and the numeral prefix ha- ‘one’ have been excluded here). However, there are some problems with counting in this way. First, as can be seen in Appendix D.III, the
overwhelming majority of the nouns are the first part, the head, of compounds, which are parallel terms if counted as units. Secondly, wàngu in B1178 functions as a quotative (see Klamer 2002), and can perhaps not be counted as a verb. Because there are only three nouns which are not a part of a compound, it could be argued that verbs are more likely to appear as repeated terms than nouns. There are 203 nouns and 210 verbs, counted as tokens. If the repeated terms are considered to be 18 nouns and 10 verbs, i.e. 36 noun tokens and 20 verb tokens, the proportion of nouns which are repeated are 36/239≈0.150, i.e. 15.0% and the proportion of verbs which are repeated are 20/230≈0.087, i.e. 8.7%. However, in view of what was said above, no conclusion about which word class, nouns or verbs, have a greater tendency to occur as repeated terms can be made.

As function words always occur as repeated terms, a hierarchy of which type of words is most likely to appear as repeated terms will be extremely trivial, because the order between nouns and verbs cannot be determined:

Figure 1: Hierarchy of likelihood of words of different word classes to appear as repeated terms, (more likely to the left)

function words > nouns and verbs

All repeated terms, perhaps except kàmbu ‘shed’, which possibly is a dependent with the repeated term uma ‘house’ as its head in B1519, and wà(ngu), which in B1178 functions as a quotative marker and should perhaps be regarded as a function word, are heads. The compound, uma kàmbu, if that is how it should be constructed, in B1519 is a head, and perhaps a repeated term can only be a non-head in this position. It seems that a hierarchy based on headedness can be established:

Figure 2: Hierarchy of likelihood of words to appear as repeated terms, based on if they are heads and if they are content or function words (more likely to the left)

function words > content words which are heads > content words which are non-heads

A hierarchy with the opposite order can of course be established for words which occur in parallel pairs.

36 The word ‘non-head’, and not ‘dependent’, is used here, because dependents can also be heads.
6 Discussion

In 6.1, it is argued that the results concerning stress are valid. It is also explained why the results concerning the quantitative correspondence between parallel lines were reached after reasoning in stages and not directly, and finally, the transcription system is discussed. How some of the results can be motivated and if coordination reduction or the assumption of the existence of non-parallel lines best explains the structure of some couplets is treated in 6.2.

6.1 Discussion of method
It was decided to completely rely on the Klamer’s (1998) exposition of stress, even though there are some indications that stresses could be placed differently in parallel speech in some other Sumbanese lects. However, if there is a difference, and non-content morphemes could receive primary stress, it would probably not, or only marginally, affect the conclusions, because of the very high correspondence between functional morphemes in parallel lines. Recordings of Marsel Wunang reading most of the examples in the sample were also disregarded, mainly because reading is an unnatural way to deliver parallel speech, but also for the complications and personal judgements of type of stress which would be unavoidable.

For research question 2a, about the quantitative correspondence between parallel lines, the factors relevant for a quantitative correspondence were found by a stepwise procedure, which started with a comparison between the number of syllables in the parallel lines. Of course, the result could have been stated at once without any preliminaries, but it seems that the result would seem less convincing in that case. Still, there is one example which does not tally with the conclusions. It would have been desirable to check the results with a second sample to see if exceptions like this or perhaps of other types would turn up, or a systematic search for other examples of the same type as the exception could have been made, but that was not done because of time limitations. However, it is hoped that this will not disturb the results so much that they could be invalidated.

The words in the examples in this study are divided basically in the same way as in Klamer (1998), indicating the syntactic connections. As was noted in section 5.2.3, only some proclitics beginning with a vowel can attach phonetically to a preceding word in Kambera (Klamer 1998: 49-51), but the transcriptions of Anakalang parallel speech by Keane (1997) and parallel speech in Wanukaka by Mitchell (1988), suggest that also proclitics beginning with consonants can attach to some preceding functional morphemes phonetically. As is indicated by Mitchell (1988: 84), this is also of importance for the rhythm, and possibly also for the stress in couplet lines. This means that the phonetic connections, in addition to the syntactic, should be indicated in the transcription of couplets, at least in Anakalang and Wanukaka.

6.2 General discussion
It is possible to motivate some of the results as consequences of other facts. That both lines in couplets contain an equal number of primary stresses or the same number of content words if compounds count as one word can be regarded as the result of the fact that the syntactic structures of parallel lines are almost always identical. That repeated terms are more likely to be heads than non-heads can be explained by a preference to make the semantic difference between parallel pairs which are compounds, where dependents qualify heads, more similar.

Of these operations, coordination reduction is probably the most controversial. It is not even mentioned by Steinitz (1934), Fox (2014) and Forth (1988), earlier researchers of parallel speech. They are all of the opinion that cases which have here been described as coordination reduction can be explained by assuming the existence of non-parallel lines containing parallel pairs. This seems likely in case there is only one parallel pair consisting of single words or compounds, even if preceded by a preposition, but when there are several pairs, as in (8d) and (10), where there are four parallel pairs, it seems not so likely that they all should be included in one non-parallel line, and if that is not the case,
coordination reduction has to be invoked. It is true that in most cases the part which is not reduced in a couplet with coordination reduction consists of at most a compound with a preposition, but that is also the case with many of the couplets for this study, 37 and it seems not useful to regard all those as non-parallel lines containing parallel pairs. Moreover, there are examples where the non-reduced part consists of a quite complex clause, like (17), which is a prayer to the highest spirit that one may not fall down from a tree.

Kambera (2259; Kapita 1987: 259)

(17) manggang ka àmbu na=mbata=ya nggoru winu
watch_over so_that NEG.IRR 3SG.NOM=broken=3SG.ACC throat areca_tree

ka àmbu na=mbota=nja lílu kuta
so_that NEG.IRR 3SG.NOM=broken=3SG.ACC tendril betel

'watch over [me?] so that he does not break the throat of the areca palm // so that he does not break the tendril of the betel plant'

Thus, it seems certain that coordination reduction exists, but to what extent it should be invoked is a question for further study. In section 5.1.1 the quite extreme position that no single lines contain parallel pairs was adopted, and coordination reduction was invoked to a maximum extent. When there are four or more lines according to the way of counting in section 5.1.1, the part which is not reduced is never more complex than a preposition before a compound, and very often it is just a single word. It seems very likely that the best solution is to posit a special type of couplet in those cases, which could be called ‘enumerative couplets’, which could or could not have introductory parts which undergo coordination reduction (examples (9b) and (9a) respectively). This type seems to be much used to define locations as in (9d) and for names, of which an extreme example is the complete name of the traditional settlement Umalulu, which contains 14 parallel pairs (Kapita 1976: 83).

6.4 Some characteristics of parallel speech which have not been researched in this study

One characteristic of parallel speech in Kambera and many other languages is that some of the words used are not used in ordinary language. In Onvlee (1984) it is sometimes noted that a word is not used in ordinary speech, but, as it seems, not systematically. This makes difficult to investigate the extent of the phenomenon. The same goes for differences in grammar compared with ordinary language, where ritual speech seems to use a simplified grammar in many cases. To investigate this, one would have to ask an expert language consultant how each single line would be expressed in ordinary language.

From the remark in Rothe (2004: 24) that the original pitti gori // walu pega ‘seven bottles // eight plates’ was changed to pitti pega // walu gori ‘seven plates // eight bottles’ because “Das anlautende ’p’ von ‘p’ittu ’p’ega passt besser zusammen, erklärte man”, it seems that alliteration is a preferred feature in parallel lines in Lolina parallel speech. The material in the sample used in this study is too small to investigate statistically if there is some tendency for alliteration between content words. However, if the functional morphemes, which nearly always are identical in the two lines, and repeated content words, are taken into consideration, there is clearly a considerably amount of phonetical correspondence between lines in most couplets.

No semantic aspects of parallel speech were investigated in this study, although this is regarded as the most important part of Fox (2014), whose main interest is to investigate how the semantic network created by the interconnections between parallel pairs is connected with the Rotenese culture. One example which perhaps can show the potentials of this approach on Sumba is that dogs, horses, pigs and fowls are often mentioned in couplets, and are clearly of cultural importance because horses and pigs are part of the exchanges at marriage, and the entrails of pigs and fowls are used in divination. Other common animals, like water buffalos, cows, goats and cats are conspicuous by their absence.

37 Examples numbered below 1000 are: B31, B186, B279, B342, B403, B465, B713, B837, B868, B900, B930.
7 Conclusions

7.1 Answers to the research questions

How is parallel speech structured in the examples given in Kapita (1987) for Kambera?
Couplets in parallel speech in Kambera can be arranged in different ways. Except for the most common form, the basic couplet, where there are two lines and every word in the first line corresponds with a word in the second line and no word in one line is parallel with a word in the same line, there are several variations. There can be coordination reduction, which means that the first word(s) of the first line, or in a few cases, the last word(s) in the second line have no corresponding part in the other line. Some, but not all, cases of what has been called coordination reduction in this study could be interpreted as non-parallel lines which incorporate a parallel pair. The part which undergoes coordination reduction can be a parallel pair.

Often, there is no difference in importance or sex between the parallel terms in the two lines of a couplet, but there seem to be a clear tendency that when words denoting a male and a female constitutes a parallel pair, the word denoting the female is in the first line. However, this is no absolute rule, and examples of the opposite order are noted in section 5.1.2.

What formal (non-semantic) features are of importance for the parallelism in basic couplets in Kambera?
The number of syllables in a word should not include the ‘syllables’ created by the paragogic vowel with the preceding consonant. Final diphthongs or long vowels count as two syllables, but if they are non-final, just as one. If prefixes, non-functional morphemes, the first word of composite words and the two first syllables of words containing four syllables are disregarded, both lines in the couplets of the sample contain the same number of syllables in all cases. With one exception, both lines in couplets contain an equal number of primary stresses, or, expressed in another way, the same number of content words if compounds count as one word.

The first research question was touched on in Forth (1988), but he does not mention all the structural types of couplets which are found in this study, and the analyses of the types are partly different. The conclusions about the order of lines can be regarded as a confirmation of Forth’s conclusions. The second research question, about the quantitative aspects of the correspondence between parallel lines in Kambera parallel speech has not been touched on before.

7.2 Suggestions for further research

The stress and rhythm patterns and their interrelations in ritual speech should be investigated.

A systematic investigation into what constitutes a composite word would be useful. The different types of connection between the words, the stress patterns and the question if some words could be regarded as noun classifiers\(^\text{38}\) could be investigated.

Semantic aspects were not treated in this study, but several interesting such aspects could be studied:

1. At which level word, compound, phrase or line is there a semantic relation in parallel speech in Kambera?

2. A study of the types of metaphors found in the couplets would be interesting.

3. A study of parallel pairs in the line of Fox (2014) to investigate the semantic network constituted by the different connections of words in parallel pairs could be made. For this a quite large corpus is needed. Possibly the whole of Kapita (1987) could be used for this purpose. Another possible corpus would be the Lolina texts in Rothe (2004).

\(^{38}\) Words like \textit{ana} ‘child’, \textit{li} ‘matter’, \textit{wai} ‘water’, \textit{wua} ‘fruit’ and \textit{wulu} ‘feather/body hair’ can be interesting in this context (see Appendix D.II).
References


Hoskins, Janet Alison. 1988. Etiquette in Kodi spirit communication: The lips told to pronounce, the mouth told to speak. In James J Fox (ed.), *To speak in pairs: Essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*: 29-63 Cambridge: Cambridge UP.


Appendices

In appendix A, the clitics and affixes found in Kambera according to Klamer (1998) are given. The purpose is to enable the reader to check on the interpretations of the sentences used in this study, and to have a material on which the investigation of which morphological elements are used in parallel speech is based.

Appendix B contains a sample of 100 couplets found in Kapita (1987) on which the main part of this study was made. The numbering refers to the numbers in Kapita (1987). All the texts are glossed and translated. Parallel terms are given in bold. If no semantic connection is found between two corresponding terms in a couplet, the smallest expression which will give a semantic connection is given in bold and italic. If the whole couplet is in italics it is possible that no semantic connection between the lines can be found. Explanations, according to Kapita (1987), of what the couplets refer to and when they are used are also given here. The translations in appendix B were made by the author of the present study with the help of the Indonesian translations in Kapita (1987), the Kambera dictionaries (Kapita 1982; Onvlee 1984) and the Kambera grammar of Klamer (1998), and have to be regarded as tentative.

Appendix C contains data about numbers of syllables and stresses in each line in the sample in Appendix B. C.I in column 1 gives the number of syllables in each line, without counting the paragogic vowel with the preceding consonant as a syllable, and in parantheses giving the number of syllables if the paragogic vowel with the preceding consonant is counted as a syllable, if different. Final diphthongs and long vowels are counted as two syllables. In case a clitic attaches to such a word, the number of syllables is still counted as two. In column 2, the lines which contain more words with final diphthongs or long vowels than its corresponding line are listed. In column 3, the lines which contain more words with penultimate diphthongs or long vowels than its corresponding line are listed.

C.II. The number of stressed, syllables in each couplet is given. Primary and secondary stress are not differentiated.

Appendix D contains an enumeration of all morphemes and content words which are repeated terms found in Appendix B. D.I contains an enumeration of the functional morphemes. D.II contains all content words which are repeated terms. It is noted if they are parts of compounds.
Appendix A: Grammatical morphemes in Kambera.
I. Prosodic and syntactic clitics: 39

a. Personal pronominal clitics (the naming of the affixes is according to Klamer 1998; the free personal pronouns are also given).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Free pronouns</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>nyungga</td>
<td>ku=</td>
<td>=nggu=</td>
<td>=ka=</td>
<td>=ngga=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>nyumu</td>
<td>(m)u=</td>
<td>=mu=</td>
<td>=kau=</td>
<td>=nggau=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>nyuna</td>
<td>na=</td>
<td>=na=</td>
<td>=ya=</td>
<td>=nya=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>nyuta</td>
<td>ta=</td>
<td>=nda=</td>
<td>=ta=</td>
<td>=nda=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>nyuma</td>
<td>ma=</td>
<td>=ma=</td>
<td>=kama=</td>
<td>=nggama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>nyimi</td>
<td>(m)i=</td>
<td>=mi=</td>
<td>=ka(m)i=</td>
<td>=ngga(m)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>nyuda</td>
<td>da=</td>
<td>=da=</td>
<td>=ha=</td>
<td>=nja=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Modal clitics:

c. Aspectual clitics:

d. Relative markers

e. pa ‘controlled clause marker’ (glossed CONTR) (Klamera 1998: 338-345).

II. Prosodic clitics

a. Articles

b. Conjunctions
ba ‘as, while, because’, ka ‘so that’, hi ‘then, thus, and’ (Klamer 1998: 143).

c. Negation
nda (glossed NEG) (Klamer 1998: 142)

d. Prepositions
la ‘locative (non-pronominals)’ (glossed LOC), lai ‘locative (pronominals, names)’ (Glossed LOC), hu ‘directional’ (Klamer 1998: 122).

III. Productive affixes
pa- (glossed PA-): “derives verbs that may have a causative, permissive, factitive, resultative, intensive, infinitive or reciprocal interpretation” (Klamer 1998: 177).

-ng (glossed -NG): functions: applicative, aspectual (continuous, imperfective, distributive or non-delimited), verb incorporation marker, stylistic filler (Klamer 1998: 234).

pa--ng: “derives verbs on the basis of nominal or verbal compounds and exclamations” (Klamer 1998: 244).

ka--k: derives verbs from ideophones (Klamer 1998: 245)

ha-: bound form of ‘one’ (Klamer 1998: 251)

39 All the grammatical morphemes, except the free pronouns, in I and II are clitics, even though, following Klamer (1998), the prosodic clitics under II are not marked as such.
Appendix B: The sample of couplets

31
na alah kapàtang ART.SG forest dark
na oma ndiku ndaku ART.SG forest impenetrable
‘The dark forest // the impenetrable forest’
> about conditions in life which it is difficult to become free from

62
ana la kalunggu lau child LOC fold_in_sarong sarong
ana la habibi hinggi child LOC fold loin_cloth
‘Children in the fold of the sarong // children in the fold of the loin cloth’
> about the bridegroom’s side in relation to the bride-giver’s side

95
kalímbu angu todu surrounded friend stay_the_night
kanjonga angu ngia-ng valley friend place-NG
‘bushes20 [where] the friend stays overnight // valley [where] the friend stays’
> about all who live in a certain place or area

125
pa-huru mangu pàti-ng PA-spoon own chest-NG
pa-hangga mangu bàba-ng PA-before own herd-NG
‘spoon with a chest // put in front a herd’
> about a big brideprice

155
la bangga bila mau njati LOC verandah shining shadow teak
la taíora mbidah mau mundi LOC yard even shadow lemon_tree
‘at the shining verandah, shadowed by a teak tree // at the even yard, shadowed by a lemon tree’
> the place of origin of humans and the place where they return when dead, situated in the sky’

186
uma bokul house big
kaheli nggailar floor wide
‘big house // wide floor’
> about a big house with a tower

217
dengi pa=marokut=ya sun_dry CTR=dry=3SG.ACC
hindí pa=kalàngu=ya roast CTR=dry=3SG.ACC
‘sun-dry it // roast it dry’
> comment that something should not be done or decided too quick’

20 Kapita (1987) has the translation ‘belukar’ (‘bushes’) for kalímbu. In Onvlee (1984: 498) the same couplet is found, but with palíndi ‘mountain, hill’ instead of kalímbu. According to Onvlee (1984) kalímbu means ‘omsloten, afgezonderd’, (‘surrounded, separated’) and ‘tumpuk, timbunan, golongan, lingkungan’ (heap, group, cluster, surroundings) according to Kapita (1982). According to Onvlee (1984) kalímbung means ‘gespreid, onderbroken zijn’ (be spread, interrupted’), and according to Kapita (1982) ‘berasing, menyendiri, sendirian’ (‘isolate, separated, alone’). It can designate an open pace in a forest or a small collection of trees in a field. This explains Kapita’s (1987) interpretation ‘bushes’. Possibly the reference is to a house or settlement, which is sometimes situated among trees in the middle of a field. Perhaps, kalímbu can be understood as a surrounded (place), i.e. a valley, in which case kalímbu and kanjonga can be regarded as synonyms. Because of the uncertainty, the interpretation in Kapita (1987) has been adopted.
dunjak maràda=nya  \( \) leave\_behind plain=3SG.DAT
wàru ngarangia=nya  \( \) throw\_away road=3SG.DAT

‘leave it behind [in the] plain // throw it away [in the] road’

> about a process that has begun, but is abandoned before it is finished

manggawa hàba  \( \) straits Seba
manggawa raî njua  \( \) straits Raijua

‘the Seba straits // the Raijua straits’

> the straits between the islands Sabu and Raijua\(^{41}\)

hàkul handoka  \( \) grasp hook
daopu\(^{42}\) kambaringu  \( \) embrace pole

‘grasp a hook // embrace a pole’

> said when a person has taken refuge to a strong person to get protection

na wai hamburu mbaru  \( \) ART.SG water dew\(^{43}\) early\_morning
na wai hanàta maling  \( \) ART.SG water dew evening

‘early morning dew // evening moisture’

> continuous wetness of the ground symbolizing blessing for the people

la hangga njara pa=kaliti  \( \) LOC front horse REL.OBJ=ride
la ora ahu pa=karìang  \( \) LOC front dog REL.OBJ=bring\_to\_accompany

‘in front of the riding horse // in front of the dog which is brought to accompany’

> a humble way of reporting one’s presence in front of an honoured person

hariti wúnggu wei  \( \) gooseflesh backpart\_of\_back pig
hadola wihi njara  \( \) scabies leg horse

‘gooseflesh [as on] the back of a pig // scabies [as on] the leg of a horse’

> about a sickness to indicate that a person is sick

hihu pa=lamuji kiri  \( \) k\_o\_edible\_snail REL.OBJ=suck part\_below
kambàru pa=hiku mata  \( \) k\_o\_edible\_snail REL.OBJ=gouge\_out eye

‘hihu snail sucked out from below // kambàru snail [of which] the eyes are gouged out’

> an ordinary person without much knowledge

na hombal manulang  \( \) ART.SG rope leather
na lìku uru watu  \( \) ART.SG rope nose stone

‘the leather rope // the rope [through] a hole in a stone’

> about a leader, a rich protector

\(^{41}\) It is supposed that the same straits, between Sawu and Raijua, is meant in both lines
\(^{42}\) The regular Kambera form is dopu.
\(^{43}\) The word for ‘dew’ is given as hamburung(\(u\)) in Onvlee (1984).
497
nggumang lī húnggu care_about matter offering
lumung lī maraku care_about matter honouring/offering
‘care about the matter of offering // care about the matter of honouring’
> about the duty to make offerings to the spirits

527
ina ma=pa-ana-ng mother REL.SBJ=PA-child-NG
ama ma=pa-tumbu father REL.SBJ=PA-come_up
‘mother who gives birth // father who feeds’
> about parents

559
hangula ratu jawa majesty leader\(^{44}\) Jawa
hanganji ratu ndima highness leader Bima
‘[his] majesty, the king of Jawa // [his] highness, the sultan of Bima’
> about acknowledged powers from outside of Sumba, government

589
ka.bàli.k mayilu drop sour
ka.nggubu.k malara roll biting
‘drop [saliva because] sour // gulp [making a rolling sound] [because] biting [taste]’
> about a very strong wish

620
ma=kadodah pa-ndoi=na REL.SBJ=even/smooth PA-good=3SG.GEN
ma=linjak kahebi=na REL.SBJ=even hew-3SG.GEN
‘which is made smooth // which is hewn even’
‘about uttered words which are pleasing to another party’

651
taleli-ng kahilu inclining-NG ear
pa-tarak-ng mata PA-open-NG eye
‘incline the ears // open the eyes’
> asking attention, i.e. to listen and look carefully

682
na manu ma=ka.kàlu.k ART.SG fowl REL.SBJ=crow
na wei ma=ka.ngú.k ART.SG pig REL.SBJ=grunt_snorting
‘crowing rooster // snorting pig’
> person who takes the side of a person who is plagued by other people

713
pa-nua PA-connection
pa-kalembi-ng PA-related-NG
‘be connected // be related’
> about a family

744
kalumbut-ng haku betel_bag-NG pocket
pàti-ng halopa chest-NG leather_belt
‘use a pocket as betel bag // use a leather belt for a chest’
> about modern youth

\(^{44}\) Ratu normally means ‘priest, ritual leader’, but in the present context, it can also be translated as ‘king’. 
This interpretation is not given explicitly in the literature, but seems quite obvious. Interesting is the use of lei ‘husband’, which according to Klamr (1998: 261) “is considered coarse (low register)”.

In pronouncing mata wai, Marsel Wunang seems to put about equal stress on mata and wai, although according to Klamr (1998: 57-58), wai should get primary and mata secondary stress. The explanation seems to be that when three content words occur in one line, the second word generally seems to get weaker stress than the other content words.

In Kapita (1987: 120), paweli is translated as ‘asal’ (‘origin’). Compare the translations in Onvlee (1984): paweling ‘afkomstig zijn van’ (‘originating from’) and ngia paweling ‘plaats van afkomst’ (‘place of origin’).

nakapūnju and namu are interpreted as verb forms here only because Kapita writes na together with kapūnju and amu respectively. If the two na had been written as separate words, they would have been interpreted as definite articles, which would have given a good meaning to the expression. In 207 (Kapita 1987: 38), there is a couplet where the order of the lines are reversed and there is no initial na(=). Here the interpretation of kapūnju and amu as nouns is straightforward.
> about the spirits of the ancestors

1023
na=pa-dalu=ka la tana  
ma=manjolung  
na=pa-tàka=ngga la karumang  
ma=míting
‘he/she buries me in deep earth // he/she brings me to the black clouds’
> said by a person who feels abused or cursed by another

1054
kataru pànggat  
kadunggu rara  
‘stepping caterpillar // red kadunggu (k o insect)’
> about two kinds of pest which destroys plants’

1085
katua=ya na wurung  
kamiti=ya na teming
‘harden the pot // blacken the shield’
> about consecrating a person to a certain task or post’

1116
na ma=kawanga-ng ka.nduru.k  
na ma=poki-ng ka.yàlì.k
‘one who is deaf for thunder // one who is blind for flashes’
> about a person who does not care about advice or reprimands from parents or leaders

1147
la pa-màdu wai kawirak  
la pa-ngganggar walakéri
‘when the muddy water is dried // when the dedap tree is blooming’
> about the dry season

1178
na ana manu mila,  
ki wà=na=ki la kíri keka=na
ana wei la híbu  
nguku wà=na=ki la kíri híbu
‘the poor chicken sobs at the bottom of the poultry house // the piglet in the sty grunts at the floor of the sty’
> about an orphan

1209
kílu=nya kawilu  
pata=nya deli
‘roll kemiri nuts for him/her // break the grindstone for him/her’
> about a person who is expelled by the family because he/she resists and challenges the traditional norms
hinggi kombu kurang

loin_cloth Morinda_citrifolia shrimp

pahudu ana tau

embroidered_sarong child human_being


> about male and female clothing respectively

kúlur ma=toma

roll REL.SBJ=arrive

húluk ma=lundung

roll_up_betel_leaves REL.SBJ=reach_goal

‘what is rolled (put in a circle(?)) has arrived // rolled up betel leaves which have reached the goal’

> about offerings of betel leaves and areca nuts at important ceremonies

kuta hau händi ma=ràka händi eti

betel Sawu support REL.SBJ=suitable_for support liver

wua kandúru ndula ma=ràka ndula kúku

fruit aubergine support REL.SBJ=suitable_for support the_innermost

‘Sawunese betel, a suitable support to support the liver // the aubergine fruit, a suitable support to support the innermost’

> about something that is regarded as important in times of lack

na ma=lalak la lima

ART.SG REL.SBJ=fatty LOC hand

na ma=mina-ng la mata

ART.SG REL.SBJ=oil-NG LOC eye

‘one who is fatty at the hands // one who is oily in the face’

> about smooth words which are uttered in a polite way so that the answer will be favorable

ita lumbu lànga

see under passed

pi rihi dia=ma=mu=nya

know be_more be_situated_upstreams=

EMP=2SG.GEN=3SG.DAT

‘you see without obstacle // know further away about it’

> admitting that someone other know more about something, e.g. God about human affairs

ma=pà-amba lata laring

REL.SBJ=PA stop obstruct road

ma=paradua halaku-ng

REL.SBJ=do_halfways/hinder go-NG

‘who/which obstructs the road // who/which hinders the going’

> about a person or thing which hinders something which is performed

yora lemba lima

friend/lover support hand

nàlu kala wìhi

friend rest_on leg

lover holds the hand // friend supports the legs’

> about a loved person with whom one is intimate

na ma=liku làpu

ART.SG REL.SBJ=bind bag

na ma=hoodu njara

ART.SG REL.SBJ=bind horse

‘the one who binds the bags // the one who tethers the horses’

> about a follower who takes care of luggage and the horses

Kandúru ndula is also the name of a big kind of aubergine (Onvlee 1984: 169).

Lumbu can also mean ‘cut down shrubs under a big tree’ (Kapita 1982: 139).
1488

líti  nganja lodu  
step_on beak/mouth sun

bungul kadu wulang 
step_on horn moon

‘step on the mouth of the sun // tread on the horn of the moon’

> about a male commoner which has a sexual relationship with an aristocratic woman

1519

uma kàmbu túlu 
house shed long

uma kàmbu rawa 
house shed dove(?)

‘long shed // dove shed’(?)

> about the first house erected by the mythological Umbu Endalu

1550

kanjiru  línggi  ngguting 
rest hair cut

manjàda línggi  papa 
open(?) hair other_side

‘rest of cut hair // free hair on the other side’(?)

> about a woman who has cut her hair in front, which shows that she is marriageable

1583

na ma=handa eri 
ART.SG REL.SBJ=hold_back younger_sibling

na ma=malamiri 
ART.SG REL.SBJ=after

‘who holds back a younger sibling // who [comes] after’

> about the youngest child

1612

na ma=wulu pa=manandang 
ART.SG REL.SBJ=make CTR=beautiful

na ma=lala pa=kawori-ng 
ART.SG REL.SBJ=smelt CTR=whole-NG

‘who has made [the world] beautiful // who has smelted [it] whole’

> about the highest spirit

1643

la  manjàda bàngga ah 
LOC stop bark dog

la  kahàna pulu tau 
LOC quiet word human_being

‘when the dogs have stopped barking // when the words of humans are quiet’

> about the situation in the middle of the night

1674

na ma=làma-ng manggùta 
ART.SG REL.SBJ=tongue-NG chisel

na ma=ngaru-ng kabàla 
ART.SG REL.SBJ=mouth-NG thunder

‘who has a tongue [making sound] like a chisel // who has a mouth like thunder’

> about a person who speaks truly and well

51 The rawa dove is green, and it is possible that rawa can be used for ‘green’ in Mangili ritual speech, although it is not the case in Kambera (personal information from Marsel Wunang). Another possibility, although perhaps quite unlikely, which was mentioned by Marsel Wunang, is that kàmbu ‘shed’ is a mistake for kambu ‘belly’. In that case the translation would be: ‘house with a long belly (body), house with a belly (body) [in the shape of] a dove’.

52 What the second line means is not clear. After puberty, the hair of girls is allowed to grow a bit longer at the sides (Forth 1981: 158). Perhaps the reference is to that.
1705
mbula-ng ha-nggelu
forget-NG one-string
maromba-ng ha-bata
be_missing-NG one-row
‘forget one string // miss one row’
> about customs and traditions which has been partly forgotten

1736
pangga mangu meha-ng
walk own be_alone-NG
laku mangu didi-ng
go own alone-NG
‘walk alone // go alone’
> about a person who walks alone

1767
na kawini peka àda
ART.SG woman tell industrious
na mini peka wúlu
ART.SG man tell rich
‘the woman tells about [her] industrious[ness] // the man tells about [his] rich[ness]’
> about a person who want to stress his/her capacity

1798
meti múru mata
dead green eye
heda miang kuru
dead dark_red chest
‘dead with a green face // dead with a red chest’
> about someone who has died in a fight or because he was beaten

1829
na mbålú rara
ART.SG water_jar red
na kíhi múru
ART.SG pot green
‘the red water jar // the green pot’
> symbol of the nobility; also about fertility and prosperity

1860
na pa-mbera mbålú
ART.SG PA-broken water_jar
na pa-njoru au
ART.SG PA-fallen hearth
‘who has broken the water jar // who has made the hearth fall down’
> about a widower

1891
mbeli=ya la mbukut
turn=3SG.ACC LOC thick/dense
lengga=ya la dundang
urge_on=3SG.ACC LOC call_together
‘turn him/her to the dense [crowd] // urge him on to the calling together’
> about follow something lost until it is retrieved’

1922
namat pa=nduka=ya
follow CTR=bounce=3SG.ACC
kapata pa=handia=ya
investigate CTR=lean_on=3SG.ACC
‘follow until [one] bounces [against] it // investigate until [one] leans on it (?)’
> about a person who has been chosen to be invited to a feast

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53 From their syntactic position, it seems that àda and wúlu have to be regarded as nouns here. If they are nouns, it would be expected that they should have a pronominal clitic, =na, attached. Compare peka wíluna, which is translated as ‘opgeven van zijn rijkdom’ (speak highly of one’s richness) in Onvlee (1984: 409). Still, the words are regarded as nouns here.
1953
na temi tilu manu  ART.SG shield egg fowl
na nimbu pa=kambora ART.SG spear REL.OBJ-striped
‘the shield of hen’s egg // the striped spear’
> about holy weapons

1984
uma nuku  house law
uma hara  house customary_law
‘house of law // house of customary law’
> about the house where important ceremonies are held’

2015
ndamu kóku dangu  compassionate the_inner much
mila eti rihi  mercyful liver be_more
‘much compassionate inner // excessive merciful liver’
> about a person who has much compassion and pity’

2046
na ma=ndíha lí=na ART.SG REL.SBJ=good word=3SG.GEN
na ma=hàmu peka=na ART.SG REL.SBJ=good speech=3SG.GEN
‘one whose words are good // one whose speech is good’
> about a party from which something is expected

2077
nda njaka=ngga wua manjailu  NEG be_short_of=1SG.DAT fruit wild_fig_tree
nda na=njàpu=ngga wua kapulut  NEG 3SG.NOM=not_be_left=1SG.DAT fruit fig_tree
‘I am not short of wild figs // I have figs left’
> the bride-givers saying to the bride-takers that there are enough marriageable women

2108
na ma=wihi nda njili ART.SG REL.SBJ=leg NEG tired
na ma=mata nda púri ART.SG REL.SBJ=eye NEG sleepy
‘the one whose legs are not tired // the one whose eyes are not sleepy’
> about spirits who protects the fields or the people

2139
kaheli búngu ngala  floor spill_out income
uma hoba miri  house swallow owner
‘floor which spills out the income // house which swallows its owner’
> about a house where people frequently die, a house of misfortune

2170
hula wú ma=rihi  cut_off nail REL.SBJ=be_more
hápu ngaru ma=làpah  cut_off_piece mouth REL.SBJ=passed
‘cut off a nail that is long // cut of a piece of the mouth which has passed [the proper bonds]’
> about a fine

2201
na uhu pa=ngangu ART.SG rice REL.OBJ=eat
na wai pa=ngunung ART.SG water REL.OBJ=drink
‘the rice which is eaten // the water which is drunk’
> about food and drink
Kapita (1987: 259) writes tinggi, which must be a misprint.

2232

nggela la ngguku
go_up_and_down LOC k_o_pigeon

ridu la rawa
be_in_movement LOC k_o_pigeon

‘walking up and down as the ngguku pigeon // being in movement as the rawa pigeon’

> about uncertainty or fear

2264

ngguku tìngi54
k_o_pigeon listen

rawa nedi
k_o_pigeon pay_attention

‘listen [like] a ngguku pigeon // pay attention [like] a rawa pigeon’

> about a way to draw attention to something’

2294

na opah la wai
ART.SG foreign_ruler LOC water

na kapala la kamara
ART.SG indigenous_ruler LOC dry_land

‘the foreign ruler on water // the indigenous ruler on land’

> about foreign and indigenous rulers

2325

kajanga pa=jàmang
branch REL.OBJ=hand_over

watu pa=nàpà-ng
stone REL.OBJ=wait_on-NG

‘branch which is handed over // stone which is prepared’

> about an answer which has already been given concerning a problem which is being discussed’

2356

pakara kohà
scabby k_o_fish

wutu ràra
louse red

scab [as the skin of] a kohà fish // scabby rash’

> about scabs

2387

la kapuka wua panongu
LOC top fruit ladder

la ngaru uma dita
LOC mouth house above

‘at the uppermost step of the ladder // at the mouth of the upper house’

> about the upper part of the house

2418

ina-ng paràha
mother-NG diaper

ama-ng kàheli
father-NG floor

‘let a diaper act as mother // let the floor act as a father’

> about a baby who is put in a cloth and left lying on the floor

2449

pihu mìni mbèni
seven man brave

walu kawini ràtu
eight women priest/apical_ancestor

‘seven brave men // eight noble women’

> the children of the first human being

2480

poma hàmu eti=ya
persuade good liver=3SG.ACC

nggeli rìki mata=nya
persuade laugh eye=3SG.DAT

‘persuade with a good heart // persuade with a happy face’

> about an attempt to calm and please a person who is reluctant or unwilling, with a good intention

54 Kapita (1987: 259) writes tinggi, which must be a misprint.
2511
na ma=púti wunang ART.SG REL.SBJ=twist comb_on_loom
na ma=kadalih ngoda ART.SG REL.SBJ=make_smooth roll
‘the one who twists [the tread around] the comb // the one who makes smooth the [cloth] roll’
> about a person who gives advice to others to overcome difficulties

2542
na ma=kadu-ng ha-ràpa ART.SG REL.SBJ=horn-NG one-fathom
na ma=uli-ng ha-pangga ART.SG REL.SBJ=canine_tooth-NG one-span
‘the one who has horns [the length] of a fathom // the one who has canine teeth [the length] of a span’
> a rich person

2573
reki wàngu eti count use liver
kíra wàngu kúku calculate use inside
‘count according to the feelings // calculate according to the heart’
> about circumstances that has be thought of carefully in one’s heart

2604
ahu pa-ndàma riring dog PA-acquainted familiar
njara pa-ndàma hondu-ng horse PA-acquainted bind-NG
‘dogs which get acquainted [with each other through] social intercourse // horses which get acquainted [with each other while being] bound’
> about youth that know each other

2635
runu toru ngahu dive hold breath
ngeni toru onja swim hold tiredness
‘dive holding breath // swim standing tiredness’
> about the capacity to hold out until one’s goal is reached

2666
talalang katiku melt/warm head
mbana ihi hot body
‘the head is warm // the body is hot’
> to tell that a child is sick

2697
tanàba=na=ngga tana rara fall_down=3SG.GEN=1SG.DAT earth red
kawita=na=ngga watu liling break=3SG.GEN=1SG.DAT stone wax/sacred
‘the red earth has fallen down for me // the sacred stone has broken for me’
> about a disastrous death in the family

2728
pa.raingu ma=pa-uli village REL.SBJ=PA-canine_tooth
pa.raingu ma=pa-tara village REL.SBJ=PA-spur
‘a village which has canine teeth // a village which has spurs’
> a traditional village where many ceremonies are held

2759
na pa=tawa ndedi lundung ART.SG REL.OBJ=layer not_yet arrive
na pa=una ndedi hiul ART.SG REL.OBJ=plait not_yet finish
‘the layering is not yet completed // the plaiting is not yet completed’
> about a matter which has not yet been completed’
pa-rohu tibu mbewa=nya  PA-embrace sugarcane bend=3SG.DAT
pa-wíndu winu wilu=nya  PA-put_rope_around areca_tree unstable=3SG.DAT
‘he embraces the bending sugarcane // he attracts the unstable areca tree’
> about attracting back a person who has separated himself from

tíngi  listen
tanau  pay_attention
‘listen // pay attention’
> asking attention when one wants to tell something

tú=nya toma lima=na  put=3SG.DAT come_to hand=3SG.GEN
‘put what is enough (lit. comes to) [in] his hands for him // put a stone [on] his foot for him’
> about giving a contribution to a person

na=ma=tuku tulang  ART.SG=REL.SBJ=throw help
na=ma=bíhi dua-ng  ART.SG=REL.SBJ=row two-NG
‘who throws help // who rows together [with someone]’
> about those who help and make contributions when there is a problem

tana pa=tura  soil REL.OBJ=work
pindu pa=laka  door REL.OBJ=put_up
‘soil which is worked // door which is erected’
> about a newly established village

na ma=hada hoput  ART.SG REL.SBJ=get_up angry
na ma=laku unjar  ART.SG REL.SBJ=walk unsatisfied
‘who gets up angry(?) // who walks [away] unsatisfied’
> about a person who leaves his/her friend in anger

wai mata njadang  water eye go_here_and_there
wai wira wenang  water snot be_on_the_road
‘tears wherever going // snot [whenever] on the road’
> about a person who has sorrow

55 The translation in Onvlee (1984: 510) is followed here. Kapita (1987: 322) translates ‘the soil is made white, the door is reddened’.  
56 Kapita (1987: 326) writes haputu, which he translates as ‘gusar’ (‘angry’). However, the Kambera word for ‘angry’ is hoput, which Marsel Wunang (personal communication) regards as the correct reading here.
pa- njingu njànga wàndal-ng  
P-A-turn_round NA-NG

pa- biku bàku konga-ng  
P-A-crooked NA-NG

'turn round like Wàndalu // be crooked as Konga'

> about the behaviour of an untrustworthy person

ina weda  
mother insightful

ama píngu  
father knowledgeable

'insightful mother // knowledgeable father'

> about old people, which have reached that age because of their insight and knowledge'

na kangura winu koka  
ART.SG shoot areca_nut k_o_magpie (= k o long areca nut)

na kameli kuta hàmu  
ART.SG young_shoot betel good

'the shoot of long areca nut // the young shoot of good betel'

> about substances used as gifts to the spirits

woru ana ahu  
multiply child dog

woru ana wei  
multiply child pig

'the puppies multiply // the piglets multiply'

> about families with children

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58 It is supposed that Konga and Wàndal is the same person. Onvlee (1984: 525) writes: “Konga Wàndalu is een gewone vrouwelijke eigennam” (‘Konga Wàndalu is a common name of female persons’).
Appendix C: Number of syllables and stresses

C.I. Number of syllables

(Column 1: Number of syllables. If the paragogic vowel is considered to form a syllable with the preceding consonant, this is given in parentheses; Column 2: Couplet lines which contain final diphthongs or long vowels are included, except if both lines in a couplet contain an equal number of them, (all vowel combinations, except those which end in /a/ are considered diphthongs; if a clitic is attached to the stem, a question mark is written); Column 3: Couplets where the penultimate long vowel corresponds to a short vowel, except if two such pairs in a parallel line take out each other. If, in column 3, a final diphthong or final long vowel is involved or a word of 2-3 syllables corresponds to a simple or compound word of 4-5 syllables, that parallel pair is disregarded.)

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<th>Number of syllables without, and with, counting the paragogic vowels</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/5: 1829, 2232, 2914</td>
<td></td>
<td>2232b (2 cases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/7: 279</td>
<td>279b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(6)/5: 1054</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(6)/5(6): 2418</td>
<td></td>
<td>2418b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(6)/5(7): 1271</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(6)/6: 310</td>
<td></td>
<td>310b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(6)/6(7): 1705</td>
<td></td>
<td>1705b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(7)/5(6): 744</td>
<td></td>
<td>744b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(7)/5(7): 775</td>
<td>775a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/5: 1209</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6/5(7): 807</td>
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<tr>
<td>6/6: 1426, 1457, 1519, 1583, 1860, 2015, 2573, 2635, 3101</td>
<td>1860b, 3101b</td>
<td>1426b, 1457b, 2015a (3 cases), 2573 (2 cases), 2635b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(6)/7: 837, 1798, 2201</td>
<td>837a, 2201b</td>
<td>837b, 1798a (2 cases), 2201a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(6)/8: 1488</td>
<td>1488a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7): 2449</td>
<td>2449b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(9): 1366</td>
<td>1366b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)/4: 2666</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)/5(6): 2325</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)/5(7): 651</td>
<td></td>
<td>2325b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)/6: 527, 868</td>
<td></td>
<td>651b (2 cases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)/6(7): 589, 1736, 1891, 2883, 2945, 2976</td>
<td></td>
<td>868a (2 cases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)/7: 248, 1240</td>
<td>248b, 1240b</td>
<td>589b, 1736b, 2883b, 2976b (2 cases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)/7(8): 497, 2511</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6(7)/8: 1922, 2294</td>
<td>1922b, 2294b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(8)/7: 31, 465</td>
<td>31a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(8)/7(8): 900</td>
<td>900b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/6: 2139</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/7: 403, 559, 1953, 2046, 2108, 2480, 2728</td>
<td>403a, 2046(?)</td>
<td>2139b (2 cases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/7(8): 95, 2170</td>
<td>2170a</td>
<td>403a, 2046a, 2108 (2 cases), 2480b, 2728b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C.II. Number of primary and secondary stresses, counted according to the description in Klammer (1998).

Numbers of couplets containing irregularities which are commented on in section 5.2.1 are in boldface.

1//1: 713, 2821
2//2: 186, 217, 310, 527, 589, 620, 651, 682, 744, 775, 807, 837, 868, 993, 1054, 1085, 1116, 1209, 1271, 1333, 1457, 1583, 1612, 1674, 1705, 1829, 1860, 1891, 1922, 1984, 2046, 2108, 2201, 2232, 2264, 2294, 2325, 2356, 2418, 2511, 2542, 2666, 2728, 2883, 2914, 2945, 3038
2//3: 31, 248, 279, 465
4//4: 155
6//6: 1302
7//7: 1178
Appendix D: The functional morphemes and repeated terms found in the couplets in Appendix B

D.I. Non-content/functional morphemes

1. Derivational morphemes

pa- (PA-): 125, 527b, 713, 930b, 1023, 1147, 1395a, 1860, 2604, 2728, 2791

-ng (-NG): 95b, 125, 651a, 744, 775, 900, 1116, 1333b, 1395b, 1612 1674, 1705, 1736, 2325b, 2418, 2542, 2604b, 2883b

pa- … -ng (PA- … -NG): 527a, 651b, 713b, 3007

ka- … -k (KA- … -K): 589, 682, 1116

Complete reduplication with vowel alternation (RED): 31, 3007

Reduplication of the first syllable (RED): 1868

2. Clitics

a. Articles

na (ART.SG): 31, 342, 465, 682, 837, 930, 993, 1085, 1116, 1178a, 1333, 1457, 1583, 1612, 1674, 1767, 1829, 1860, 1953, 2046, 2108, 2201, 2294, 2511, 2542, 2759, 2883, 2945, 3069

b. Prepositions

la (LOC): 62, 155, 372, 993, 1023, 1147, 1178, 1333, 1643, 1891, 2232, 2294, 2385

c. Relative clause markers

ma= (REL.SBJ): 527, 620, 682, 1023, 1116, 1302, 1333, 1395, 1457, 1583, 1612, 1674, 2046, 2108, 2170, 2511, 2542, 2728, 2883, 2945

pa= (REL.OBJ): 372, 434, 1953b, 2201, 2325, 2759, 2914

d. Marker of controlled complement clause

pa= (CTR): 217, 807, 1612, 1922

e. Modal clitics

=ma (EMP): 1366b

=ki (DIM): 1178

f. Negation

nda (NEG): 2077, 2108

g. Pronominal clitics

na= (3SG.NOM): 961,1023, 2077b

=ya (3SG.ACC): 217, 1085, 1891, 1922, 2480a

=nya (3SG.DAT): 248, 1209, 1366b, 2480b, 2791, 2852

=na (3SG.GEN): 620, 1178, 1178a, 2046, 2697, 2852

=mu (2SG.DAT): 1366b

=ka (1SG.ACC): 1023a

=ngga (1SG.DAT): 1023, 2077, 2697

=nggu (1SG.GEN): 993

3. Free function words

ndedi (NOT.YET): 2759

tú=nya watu wihi=na

D.II. Content words, repeated terms

(c = part of compound)

Nouns

ana 'child' (62, 1178c, 3101c) (ana manu ‘chicken’ // ana wei ‘piglet’ (1178); ana ahu ‘puppy’ // ana wei ‘piglet’ (3101)

anggu ‘friend, companion’ (95)

kíri ‘bottom’ (1178c) (kíri keka ‘bottom of the poultry house’ // kíri híbu ‘floor of the sty’)

lì ‘matter’ (497c) (lì húnggu ‘the matter of offering’ // lì maraku ‘the matter of honouring’)

lánggi ‘hair’ (1550c) (lánggi ngguting ‘cut hair’ // lánggi papa ‘hair on the other side (?)’)

manggawa ‘straits’ (279c) (manggawa hàba ‘Straits of Seba’ // manggawa rai njua ‘Straits of Raijua’)

mau ‘shadow’ (155c) (mau njati ‘shadow of teak tree’ // mau mundi ‘shadow of lemon tree’)

paraingu ‘village’ (2728)
ratu ‘priest’ (559c) (ratu jawa ‘king of Java’ // ratu ndima ‘sultan of Bima’)
uma ‘house’ (1519c, 1984c) (uma kàmbu ‘shed’ (1519); uma nuku ‘house of law’ // uma hara ‘house of customary law’ (1984))
kàmbu ‘shed’ (1519c) (uma kàmbu ‘shed’)
wai ‘water’ (342c, 2976c) (wai hamburu ‘dew’ // wai hanàta ‘dew’ (342); wai mata ‘tears’ // wai wira ‘snot’ (2976))
wua ‘fruit’ (2077c) (wua manjailu ‘wild fig’ // wua kapulut ‘fig’)
wulu ‘feather’ (900c) (wulu kàpa ‘wing feathers’ // wulu kiri ‘tail feathers’)

Verbs
mangung ‘own’ (125, 1736) (mangu pàting ‘have a chest, with a chest’ // mangu bàbang ‘have a herd’ (125); mangu mehang ‘be alone’ // mangu díding ‘be alone’ (1736)
pandàma ‘used to’ (2604)
peka ‘tell’ (1767)
ràka ‘suitable for’ (1302)
toru ‘hold’ (2635)
tungu ‘put’ (2850)
wàngu ‘use’ (1178, 2573)
woru ‘multiply’ (3101)

Adverbs
rengga ‘soon’ (961)

Numerals
ha- ‘one’ (1705, 2542)