

LOMBOK ISLAND

SASAK CULTURAL CHANGE, RITUAL CHANGE,
AND THE USE OF RITUALIZED LANGUAGE*

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Against a backdrop of cultural change, a new courting ceremony is emerging on Lombok. It appears to be an expression of some of the incompatibilities and tensions between the alternative idioms of interpretation found in Sasak culture, *adat* (traditional notions of how the world should work) and Islam. What this ceremony does, though the Sasak seem largely unaware of it, is to demonstrate symbolically some of these tensions by creating ritual inversions of normal courting interaction. With the normal rules for social interaction suspended, it is the elaborated use of ritualized language which provides an alternative structure and which keeps a mass gathering of unmarried women and men from getting out of control. The way in which the ritualized language is used as well as the style of the language itself serve this purpose.

Lombok and the Sasak¹

The Sasak are the largest ethnic group on the island of Lombok (Nusa Tenggara Barat), comprising some 95 percent of the island's current population of 2,000,000.² Most Sasak are subsistence farmers, and there are few alternative occupations other than those directly related to agricultural production. The principal crop is rice, and although the average population density on Lombok is slightly less than 350 persons per square kilometer, in the central third of the island, where

*This article is a revised version of a paper entitled "Sing Your Heart Out: A Sasak Happening" originally presented at the 1976 annual meeting of the American Association of Anthropologists.

¹Although in the past several years a number of researchers have done fieldwork on Lombok, little about the Sasak has yet been published. Three doctoral dissertations which have been completed are: Ruth M. Krulfeld, "The Village Economies of the Sasak of Lombok: A Comparison of Three Indonesian Peasant Economies" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974); Alfons van der Kraan, "Selaparang under Balinese and Dutch Rule, 1850-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1976); and Judith L. Ecklund, "Marriage, Seaworms, and Song: Ritualized Responses to Cultural Change in Sasak Life" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1977). See also A. Teeuw, *Lombok: Een Dialect-Geografische Studie*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 25 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1958).

²There is a noticeable Balinese minority (about 3 percent), located primarily in the regency of West Lombok, around the provincial capital and major urban area, which encompasses former foci of Balinese power on Lombok. Some Balinese are small traders and middlemen, some are civil servants, and some are landlords, but most, like the Sasak, are engaged in agriculture.

the irrigated fields are concentrated, the population is clustered much more densely. In recent years the population has suffered from crop failures, food shortages, and a rapidly increasing pressure on the land.³ Population mobility is low; most Sasak live close to where they were born and marry someone living within walking distance of their homes. Although the Sasak are statistically Moslem, the degree to which Islamic tenets are observed varies widely. Traditional social structure--patterns of marriage and exchange, family structure, inheritance, residence, and economic control--is weighted heavily in favor of males, and the growing popularity of the idiom of Islamic ideology has still effected little basic change in this situation. The changes which are occurring--and they are sometimes dramatic--are rooted in the overall decreasing ability of the nobility to provide, either individually or cooperatively, effective leadership to the commoner peasantry.

Major changes have taken place in Sasak society, especially during the past century and particularly in the sphere of leadership and political control.⁴ The net result of domination by outsiders (Balinese from the mid-eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries, and Dutch from then to World War II) was that for decades the Sasak have not had independent, completely indigenously legitimized control over their own society. After the period of Balinese and Dutch colonial administration came to an end, what nobility there was, was accustomed to being subjected to and supported by the authority of outsiders. Indigenous legitimization was complementary but insufficient in and of itself.

The late nineteenth century and the period of Dutch rule saw two parallel movements developing and competing. These movements were: (1) attempts by certain nobility to increase their power, using both the idiom of adat and Dutch support; and (2) attempts by others (largely commoners) likewise to gain influence, using the appeal of Islam, an appeal which had been used to gather support against the Balinese in the past. Thus the development of an Islamic idiom on Lombok should be regarded more as a symptom of social change than as a cause in itself.⁵ The post-Independence period has witnessed the results of the removal of artificial buttressing of the nobility.⁶ The situation is now one in which there is more than one structural line of indigenous Sasak leadership, and this is at least part of the reason why it is difficult to define exactly how Sasak society "works," both for the ethnographer and for the Sasak themselves.

³In 1973, Lombok joined Bali and Java as donor areas for the national transmigration program and became part of the pilot project for family planning.

⁴Van der Kraan, "Selaparang," details the Dutch role in these changes. For developments particularly since World War II, see my "Tradition or Non-Tradition: Adat, Islam, and Local Control on Lombok," *Proceedings of the 1976 Conference on Indonesia*, Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, in press).

⁵While the development of Islam on Lombok has certainly been part of the growing impact of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago as a whole, it has always had a strongly Sasak quality.

⁶While this was a major causal factor, it was not the only reason. Also important were the nobility's political orientation, economic conditions, and the fact that there was another organized group ready and eager to challenge their control.

The last century has seen a steady increase in the visibility of markers of orthodox Islam on Lombok. The initial "conversion" to Islam (ca. sixteenth century) entailed only nominal adoption and adaptation of Islamic custom, which was thinly overlaid on indigenous belief and practice. More recent Islamization could be viewed as a clearcut alternative to local tradition, with prestigious exterior origins, and basically at odds with indigenous Sasak culture. However, even what must be referred to as the "orthodox" version of Sasak Islam appears, on close inspection, to be quite traditionally Sasak, particularly in the social relationships it engenders and its consequent power base.⁷ The idea of Islam is more important than the ideology, and it has surpassed the appeal of the nobility. The increasing visibility of Islam is not the result of pressure applied from an exterior source; proponents of "orthodox Islam" are not members of powerful outside groups, but very much Sasak. While there is a close correlation between the nobility's decreasing overall control and the orthodox Islamic leaders' increasing social influence, in fact the latter use adat-based notions frequently. They call tradition into question only when they feel it works against them. The increasing involvement of Sasak Islamic groups in local politics has also enjoyed the support of the government, which understands very well that the Islamic leaders as a group are on the whole more influential on the village level than is the nobility and therefore more crucial to government policy-makers. Much of the nobility has oriented itself out and away from local concerns and problems, whereas the leaders of the Islamic movement have remained resident in the villages and are mainly active within them.⁸

The result has been tension internal to the culture itself. The higher levels of social organization are in flux, and the guiding hierarchical relationships are unclear. As alternative options for social relationships--to a much lesser degree, the *kind* of social relationships--are juxtaposed within the same overall system, the cultural milieu loses some of its former stability.

Given such a situation, one would expect that the repercussions would be clearly manifested on a local level. There are two major theoretical points to consider in this regard: (1) potential lack of order in social relations is often expressed in ritual; and (2) values underlying social forms are often acted out most clearly in accomplishing transitions between statuses, especially life-cycle transitions. Transitions between statuses are always rather tenuous and dangerous states. General conditions of flux may increase pressures on cultural boundaries and lead to testing or demonstrating the outer limits of social acceptability. They may even increase the crossing of boundaries, as in the Sasak practice of secret elopement, a topic which will only be touched on here. On another level, the relationship between

⁷A description of some of the similarities between Sasak Islamic leaders and leaders of early twentieth century millenarian movements is given in Sven Cederroth, "Religiösa Reformationsrörelser På Lombok" ("Religious Reformation Movements on Lombok"), paper presented at the Scandinavian Conference on Indonesian and Malaysian Studies, Kungälv, June 3-5, 1977.

⁸See Ecklund, "Marriage, Seaworms, and Song," Ch. 2, and "Tradition or Non-Tradition" for detailed descriptions of this situation.

disparate idioms may actually be maintained and clarified.⁹ A "new adat" that responds to and incorporates both idioms is quite feasible in this context.

The major conflicts one would expect between Sasak adat and orthodox Islam concern female-male relationships, interfamily relationships and family structure, parent-child and, by derivation, peer relationships, and class-status relationships of exchange. These are the primary relationships on which Sasak society is based. All are directly relevant to the formation of new relationships, especially--and unavoidably--marriage. But while many of the social forms associated with Islam are counterposed to traditional Sasak kin-context social relations and the social security of extended, localized, kin-based networks, the impact of Islam to date has been rather less in this area than in providing a new idiom of interpretation for behavior and a tangible point around which all Sasak can rally.

This is not to say that the Sasak are unaware of the inherent discontinuities between Islam and adat. One particular courting ceremony serves well to illustrate the case of norms in conflict acting as a boundary-defining mechanism which ritually tests, breaks, and restores the limits of both Islam and adat. It is an event which clearly belongs to the adat and commoner spheres, is gaining rapidly in popularity, and is becoming increasingly elaborate and expensive, most notably in recent (postwar) years.

The Ceremony

The English term which comes closest to describing this yearly event is "happening," for it is entirely secular. The Sasak simply call it *bau nyale*, which means "to catch seaworms."¹⁰ This is a reference to the natural phenomenon which occurs in conjunction with the courting festival that is now people's main rationale for attending. (Villagers walk or sail for an entire day to camp by the thousands on

⁹These thoughts are based most heavily on the works of Mary Douglas, Victor Turner, and Clifford Geertz.

¹⁰This seaworm, found largely on the southern coast, is a variety of the polychaete palolo worm (here *Palola viridis*, identified for me by Dr. Kristian Fauchald of the Department of Biological Sciences, University of Southern California) which is found in coral reefs. Its yearly mating cycle, during which posterior segments swarm to the surface of the water, is apparently triggered by the lunar cycle (and perhaps other natural stimuli). It appears annually, a few days after the February full moon, i.e., in the middle of the rainy season, and is predicted quite accurately by the Sasak calendar. The abundance and condition of the worms are taken as indicators of the probably success of the rice crop. The worms themselves are edible and may be prepared in a variety of ways: raw mixed with grated coconut, grilled, or preserved with salt and used as *trasi* (fermented shrimp paste) for cooking. They are also regarded as *owat kuat* (powerful medicine) for making one strong and sexually vital. The worms are delicious--they taste rather like caviar.

The palolo lunar cycle and related cultural activities are discussed by B. Malinowski in his "Lunar and Seasonal Calendar in the Trobriands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 57 (1927), pp. 203-15; E. R. Leach, "Primitive Calendars," *Oceania*, 20 (1950), pp. 245-62; and Leo Austen, "A Note on Dr. Leach's 'Primitive Calendars,'" *Oceania*, 20 (1950), pp. 333-35.

beaches that are deserted during the rest of the year.¹¹) The legend associated with the event is that of a beautiful princess, Denda Sukadana, who threw herself into the sea to avoid causing conflict among the eight patriparallel male cousins who each wanted to marry her. Her hair became the seaworms, and so all of them could have access to her.

The courting festival is a literal and symbolic exception to many of the accepted rules for courting behavior, although it remains within stretched cultural limits. Bau nyale is a means for ritually permitting a degree of intimate association between largely unacquainted marriageable-age women and men that is normally prohibited. Restrictions on association between them are still quite tightly upheld throughout most of Lombok; this is true for everyone from uneducated villagers to highschool students and older unmarried persons. A single woman must never be seen alone with a man, and normal courting etiquette is elaborate. The courting etiquette of bau nyale, however, runs counter to the restrictiveness of both traditional adat and orthodox Islamic practice. A controlled inversion of normally acceptable behavior, it shows people "what is" by acting out "what is not," and thereby reinforces notions of everyday propriety.

Briefly, some of the contrasts between everyday courting and courting behavior during the three or four days at bau nyale include the following, which will be discussed later (see pp. 9 ff.).

Courting (Standard)	Courting (Bau Nyale)
1. Speech or silence (love notes, etc.)	1. Song.
2. In the home, private or secret.	2. Away from home, open and public.
3. One-to-one.	3. Group-to-group.
4. Parents in the dark, children try to keep parents from knowing about their courting relationships. Parents may attempt control over child's peer relationships.	4. Parents may become advisers in the actual courting situation. Are open spectators and participants. May not assert control.
5. Go-betweens often used.	5. Direct/mediated by song.
6. Class line.	6. No class line; ability; nobility largely, if not entirely, absent.
7. For women, accepting gifts is a sign of commitment; courting not mediated by prestations.	7. Accepting prestations has different meaning (noncommittal; largely returned). Mediated by prestations.
8. Stiff, formal atmosphere.	8. Market atmosphere.
9. Asexual (sexual aspects not acknowledged openly).	9. Obvious sexual connotations (<i>nyale</i>).
10. Comparatively careful and circumspect.	10. Comparatively free.

¹¹Although participants do not come from all of Lombok, the event is known about island-wide and can easily be discussed by any villager. Most of those who attend live in the southeast quarter of the island, which includes some of the poorest areas.

That *bau nyale* is gaining in popularity is evident from the statements of some of the older adults, who recall it as an occasion when only men went, and the sole activity was catching the worms.

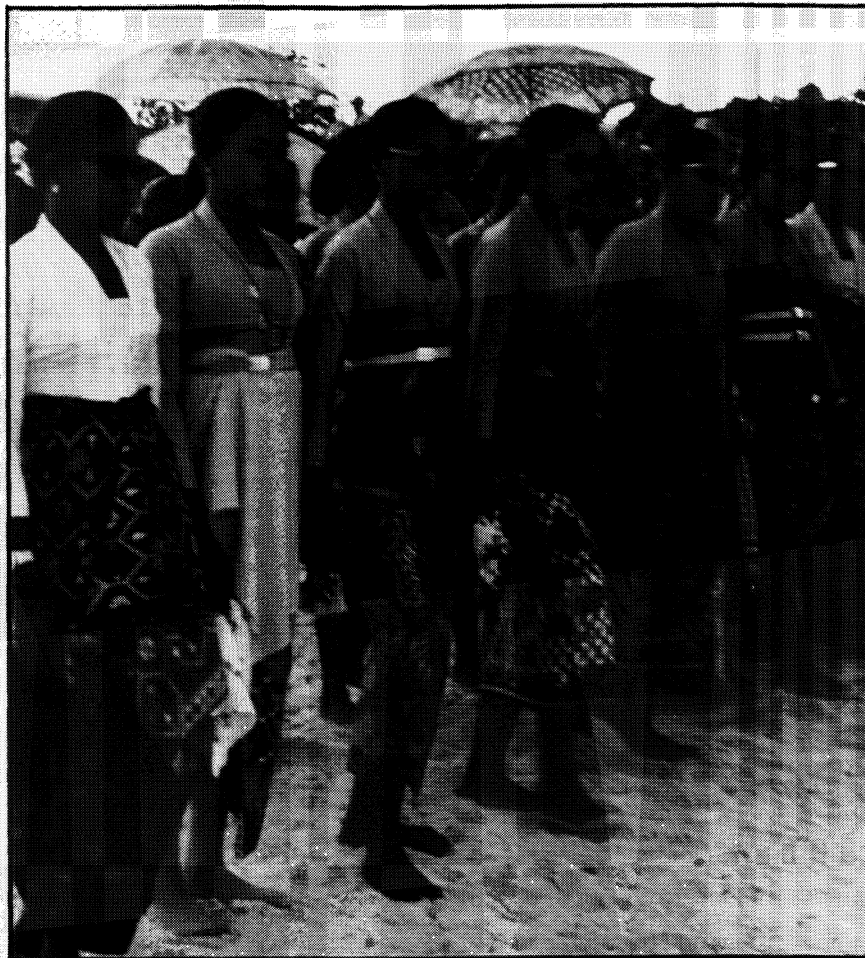


Plate 1. Sasak women walking on the beach
at *bau nyale*, dressed in their finest.

Bau nyale begins in late afternoon with a promenade. Groups of village women (aged roughly between thirteen and twenty), dressed to the nines, carrying umbrellas, and chaperoned by male relatives, stroll along the beach singing traditional *pantun* (see Plate 1).¹² Young men (aged between sixteen and twenty-five) watch from a distance. When a group that interests them passes by, the men will tag along behind, singing in unison with the group and following its leader (see Plate 2). As the twilight deepens, the women return to their shelters at the edge of the beach to prepare dinner, and the men watch where they go so that they can return later. After dinner, the beach assumes the atmosphere of a lantern-lit night market. The women sit facing the ocean in groups of four or five, trying to look modest (see Plate 3). Then a group of men comes along, trying to look nonchalant, sometimes hiding their faces behind umbrellas. Standing or sitting just out of range of the light, these men begin singing one of the fixed *pantun* verses of introduction. Sometimes there is an earlier agreement to meet, but usually there is no prior arrangement, and the women have the option of accepting or rejecting the men.¹³ If the women reply--in *pantun*--the men move forward and the *pantun* exchange begins in earnest. If they do not reply, the men soon give up and try elsewhere. By around 9 p.m., most paired groups have been formed.

¹²What I here term *pantun* is called in Sasak *bekayaq*, to sing a particular kind of tune with this particular kind of verse--a four-line verse having ± 8 syllables, abab rhyme, internal rhyme and assonance, and generally four stresses per line.

¹³Such was the situation on the occasions when I attended *bau nyale* at Kalian-tan, a very popular "singles" beach (see map).



Plate 2. Men joining up with a group of women.

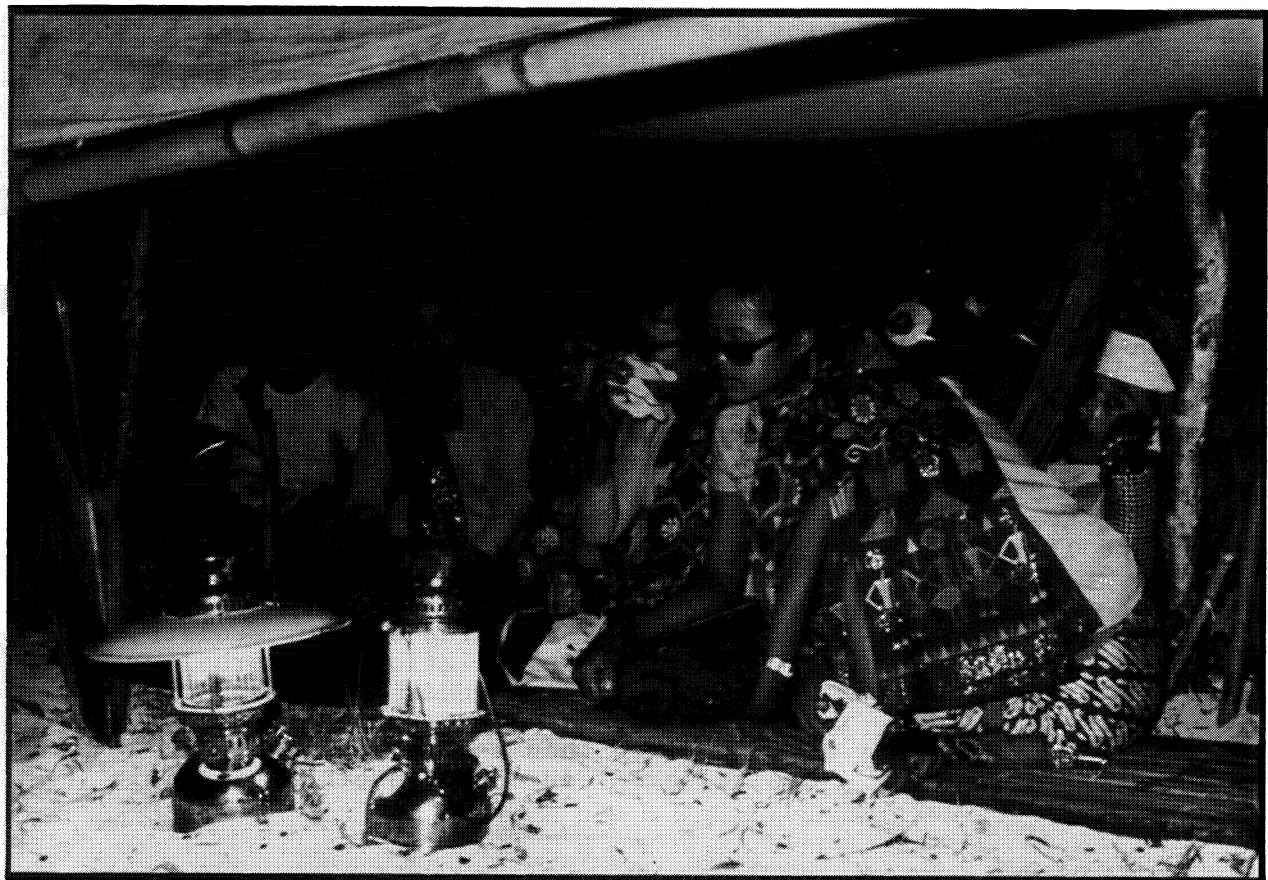


Plate 3. Women participating in group pantun exchange.

All communication is in the form of largely extemporaneous pantun verse, from the initial "excuse us, may we sit here by you" to the final "excuse us, we will go now" that comes from three to six hours later. The men begin with a bit of flattery, saying how lucky they are to meet the women, asking their names, and trying to elicit promises of later meetings or marriage. The women parry the men's requests with demands for goods before they will give them an answer. For example, the men may--more in jest than with serious intent--ask the women to marry them. The women will then demand an outlay of goods (a shirt, an umbrella, some *batik*, a *sarong*, a watch, etc.) before they will reply. After the goods have been produced and hung for display on a bamboo rod, the women may answer something like "we will marry you in ten years" or "we will marry you tomorrow night," i.e., impossible conditions. This is all received in good fun and with much laughter from the spectators. The rules of the event exclude anger and embarrassment at being rejected; a group of young men would be as surprised to have an offer of marriage taken seriously as to be given a brush-off. Women often say no when they mean yes, and only persistence will reveal their true intentions.

One by one the groups finish, and the men drift away. The promises they have made may include the following: (1) redeeming their clothes in the morning with the nyale they will catch, or, if there are few nyale, with cash; (2) arranging to meet the women in one of the women's homes a few days hence in order to redeem their possessions; (3) agreeing to continue their singing the next night, or at next year's bau nyale; or (4) arranging to meet at harvest and work together--in some southern areas pantun singing goes on then as well. The first procedure will generally be followed if either or both parties do not wish to continue the relationship, the second if they do. (This second alternative provides an acceptable method for making the transition to a normal courting situation and is in fact quite common.) The third and fourth possibilities allow for postponement of any decision.

Before dawn, everyone, except the old folks watching the shelters, paddles or wades out to the reef to catch the worms as they emerge from the coral at low tide. This is the only period which is not filled with pantun singing during the entire course of the event. During the daytime, groups take walks, fetch water, or bathe, singing all the while. For the next two or three nights the pattern repeats itself, but with different groupings.

Virtually all Sasak pantun deal with female-male relationships, and whatever can be expressed in pantun can be expressed at bau nyale. Though the men still tend to be circumspect in their advances, they are never so obvious and forthright in expressing affection as they are at bau nyale. The single motif of pantun both facilitates communication and limits its range. As a social medium, pantun provide a tangible, concrete channel for expressing feelings and a safe, convenient cover for insecurity. They convey simultaneously both modesty and brashness, intimacy and distance. The pantun buffer, mediate, regulate, and perpetuate relatively free association and verbal exchanges that would be unacceptable elsewhere under almost any other circumstances. As long as the rule of using pantun is observed, danger and freedom are actually more imagined than real. The intangible and uncontrollable (emotions, desire) are reduced to something tangible

(words, gifts), structured, regulated, and, as it were, put in quotation marks. When interacting groups stop singing, though, there can be real danger. It is a sign, among other things, that desire has gotten out of control. Structure snaps and social interaction stops. Such an instance occurred, apparently for the first time, in 1974:

One woman had promised to meet two boyfriends. Either her group or she, on behalf of her group, promised to meet the boyfriends' two groups on the same afternoon, at the same bathing place, at the same time. All of the groups went there separately, singing in pantun. When they met, the singing stopped: the two boyfriends realized that they both liked the same woman and were face to face in her presence. There was no obvious solution, since such confrontations are not supposed to happen. As neither group would give in and go away--neither felt that it was in the wrong--all three groups just walked back to the beach in silence. They were, it seemed, just short of losing control of themselves.

The woman's parents became the moderators in the case and talked it out at their shelter with all the parties present. The incident caused quite a stir on the beach that night and was the object of considerable discussion. In the end, the woman--not the rest of her group--was determined to have acted improperly and was told by her parents that it would be best if she didn't sing that night, but just went to sleep--which she did. One group of men decided that it had had enough and went away. The other sang with the remaining women.

We may recall that in the Denda Sukadana legend, too, the coveted cause of the trouble was eliminated in a similar fashion.

Social Implications of Bau Nyale

Under normal circumstances, an unmarried village woman would never consider receiving a suitor anywhere except in her own home. To do otherwise is automatically to gain a reputation as a loose woman. At bau nyale, though it is held far away from home, a home-like situation is temporarily created, in that parental supervision is still maintained. The encounter may be nondomestic, but it is also not private.

That the conversation is in fact public and open for all to hear clearly limits its scope. The exchange is, as well, an exchange between groups rather than between individuals. Though there may always be an undercurrent of interpersonal communications, it will be intra-structural, since for the formal purposes of bau nyale all exchanges are public. Private, nondomestic exchanges would be unacceptable. Courting language at bau nyale routinely incorporates topics and queries that would have high emotional impact in a normal courting context, but the new context defuses that impact.

The public aspect can bring parents (or other older relatives or chaperones) into the courting situation. Whereas normally they would be far in the background if not completely in the dark, now they aid their unwed female relatives in matching wits against the group of men. If at home speech, or even silence, is the mode of communication between courting couples (e.g., when love notes and/or a go-between are used), here communication occurs through song, which also serves to mediate and to perpetuate a relationship.

In performing pantun at bau nyale, a premium is placed on ability, and status is of no importance. Members of the nobility are largely, if not entirely, absent. For, even if a nobleman were present and participating, he would probably have a better chance of marrying a commoner woman in another situation where his status would be emphasized; and a noblewoman would be unlikely to solicit a relationship with a man whose status was unknown.

That the nature of bau nyale relationships differs considerably from normal courting can be seen most clearly from the significance given to the prestations involved. If, outside of bau nyale, a woman accepted as gifts such goods as she may demand--and demand in quantity--during a night of singing pantun at bau nyale, everyone would consider that she was committing herself to marriage with the man who had given her the goods. If she denied this interpretation, she would be breaking the social rules. But during bau nyale the group-to-group relationship of pantun singing, handing over of sarong, and the like, limits the possible implication of individual commitment. Small consumables (soap, perfume, hard candy), though frequently given by the group of men to the group of women as a whole, may also be offered by one man to a woman he is attracted to as an indication of special attention. This is done by placing the gift in front of the nearest woman (or leader) and gesturing to indicate who should receive it. She can accept or reject what he has offered. The "gift giving" and "gift returning" that follows later (when the men call on the women at home) are also outside of the normal rules for exchange, which would never permit the return of goods once given and accepted.

What the men receive by "giving twice," first giving up sarong, shirts, and so forth as wagers (*taroqan*), and later giving nyale or other small gifts of food and consumables to redeem them, is the benefit of a new relationship in which the women are, on a small scale, in their debt. Such an asymmetrical relationship is clearly to the advantage of parties who wish to keep relationships alive, and it is also typical of courting relationships. From both the women's and the men's points of view, the men's obligations resulting from bau nyale end with the redemption of their goods at the women's houses; yet an important part of the whole process is to provide a pretext, or legitimizer in the form of goods, for proceeding to normal courting. It is a situation in which the men must take risks and lose materially if they want to develop a particular relationship. The risks the men take are larger than they would ever ordinarily consider. However, the certain return of the goods underlines the open-ended, noncommittal nature of the entire sequence of events at bau nyale.

Bau nyale gives rise to a party atmosphere which compares sharply with the formality and stiffness of normal courting. In some villages, traditional etiquette insists that a courting man can not even change his sitting position, and must be treated deferentially as a guest. Formal courting takes place in the woman's family environment where the man is an outsider, but bau nyale takes place on neutral ground. In this respect it is like a night market, which is noisy, busy, crowded, and informal--and a good place to meet friends after dark. However, even night markets in Lombok do not have the clearly articulated sexual overtones and connotations of bau nyale, associations reinforced by the identification with Denda Sukadana and her suicide. The association with fertility and sexuality is obvious: the worms are

called "pubic hair" (*jabut*) and are caught in the process of mating (*kawin*). They are therefore especially powerful "medicine," and those participating in an event connected with their capture will doubtless benefit as well. In the normal courting situation, by contrast, sexual desire is kept strictly under wraps.¹⁴

The growth of a coherent ritual form at a time when adat practices are not particularly encouraged, and more particularly of a form which assigns so much direct significance to exchange--of pantun as well as material goods--suggests that bau nyale presents a reworking and re-demonstration of certain principles of traditional social relations. This reworking may be regarded as a statement concerning the nature of the role of exchange in defining interpersonal relationships, whereby it is exchange itself rather than the nature of the goods involved that is of central importance.¹⁵

Bau nyale sets exchange apart, at the forefront, outside the immediate family context, and puts it in the context of direct female-male relationships. It is elicited and is directed away from the everyday or kin context. Bau nyale is consistent with tradition, yet different from it. A family participating in bau nyale tacitly condones the existence of new relationships, without having real control over them or even any direct involvement. The men with whom a group of women ends up singing pantun indeed may be fairly random. In spite of this fact, bau nyale is positively sanctioned by adat, and the relationships growing from it serve to maintain exchange on a personal and local level, if in a somewhat looser form than previously.¹⁶

¹⁴In a very "orthodox" Sasak home, courting may be even more difficult. The only persons a suitor meets during his visit may be the woman's male kinsmen. If he is fortunate, he may catch a glimpse of the woman in a back room, or she may serve him something to drink and he can catch her eye. In this case, as in the case of a noblewoman whose family may have a preferred spouse in mind, the only way to contact and establish a relationship with her directly--at all, in fact--is secretly, behind her parents' backs. See Ecklund, "Marriage, Seaworms, and Song," Ch. 3.

The daughters of more strongly orthodox Moslems would not attend bau nyale, though I did once see several *haji* there. In general, they say that bau nyale is "too free," though it cannot be criticized on religious grounds. Bau nyale attracts most of its participants from those Sasak villagers who have neither a highly orthodox nor a highly traditional consciousness. However, the power of Islamic leaders is such that if they felt bau nyale provided a real threat, then the villagers' positive feelings about the event would in all likelihood be changed. (As long as there are good profits to be made by lending cash to villagers for the celebration, however--a common practice since it occurs at a time when villagers' finances are regularly low--such a negative attitude seems unlikely to arise.)

¹⁵Part of the formal exchanges which reestablish relations after an exchange-suspending elopement illustrates this point. The *olen-olen* at a noblewoman's adat marriage ceremony (*sorong serah*) consists of a large box or suitcase supposedly filled with all kinds of woven goods, which is taken along (with various other presentations) by the groom's family to the waiting family of the bride, "so that everything will be enough." The box is taken home again by the groom's family immediately after the ceremony. It is never opened and may even be empty.

¹⁶The actual effects of bau nyale on marriages are difficult to assess, but out of a total of 153 individuals surveyed at the 1974 Kaliaantan bau nyale and successfully traced seven months later, nearly 80 percent were still involved in relation-

The Medium of Exchange

What really marks *bau nyale* as a "thing apart" and connects many of the contrasts noted above is the use of ritualized language, the exchange of *pantun* verses. It is the structuring power of the use of *pantun* in a social context, and the structure of the *pantun* itself, which provide *bau nyale* with the greater part of its form and continuity and keep it from overstepping the outer limits of propriety. Singing or chanting in poetic form, by comparison with speech or conversation, is a medium of communication marked as nonordinary. The message is given emphasis but simultaneously made indirect, mediated by explicit formal structure and melody. Attention is drawn from the singer to the song. The exchange of verses keeps interaction going by constantly eliciting or evoking responses, which are composed on the spot on the principles of allusion and association. The *pantun* itself provides both freedom and control. The "nonsense couplet" // "message couplet" structure contributes to this dual sense.

The rules for singing a verse keep the group together and stretch a four-line *pantun* into a melodically fixed twelve-line performance that lasts for five minutes or more. Repetition, filler syllables, and filler lines extend the verse far beyond the length of what would be an ordinary recitation of it. This style of rendition gives the groups and their leaders time to think in composing their next response; it paces the speed of the interaction and lends it a degree of smoothness and predictability. The following examples, from a sixty-six *pantun* performance recorded in 1974, illustrate this point:

65. Terang bulan leq pesisir
 Saputangan bongkosan sabun
 Saya pulang minta permisi¹⁷
 Mari tangan minta ampun.
 Full moon at the beach
 A handkerchief to wrap up soap
 We'll go home now, please excuse us
 Let's shake hands; we ask forgiveness.
65. 1. Ø Terang bulan *nala* leq pe-la-sisi
 2. Ø Leq pesisir *nala ri ala* terang
 3. e Terang bulan *nala* leq pe-la-sisi
 4. Ø Saputangan *nala* bongkosan *la* sabun
 5. Ø Bongkosan sabun *nala ri ala nare*
 6. e Naro *silaq sida ma-se-la-meton*.
 7. e Saya pulang *nala* minta *la* permisi
 8. Ø Permisi *nala ri ala* saya
 9. Ø Saya pulang *nala* minta *la* permisi
 10. e Mari tangan *nala* minta *la* ampun.
 11. *Saq manggi nari nala ri ala nare*
 12. Ø Naro *la silaq sida ma-se-la-meton*.

The symbol Ø represents an optional silence.

ships dating from or furthered by *bau nyale*; and in the marriage of nine individuals (6 percent) *bau nyale* had had "some influence."

¹⁷Using Indonesian phrases, as in the last two lines of this *pantun*, is a prestige tactic.

66. Mun kemalun lengkarang tunuq
 Mun telaga Batu Putiq
 Lamun ne lalo besalam juluq
 Deq saq solah angen lampaq uleq.
 When *kemalun lengkarang*¹⁸ burns
 The pond in Batu Putiq
 If you're going to go, shake hands first
 So that you go home with good feelings.
66. 1. Ø Mun kemalun *nala* lengkarang *la* tunuq
 2. *Nala* lengkarang *nala ri ala* mun ke
 3. *Nala* mun kemalun *nala* lengkarang *la* tunuq
 4. *Nala* mun telaga *nala* Batu Ø Putiq
 5. *Nala* Batu Putiq *nala ri ala nare*
 6. *Nala naro la silaq sida ma-se-la-meton.*
 7. *e* Lamun ne lalo *mas kakaq* besalam *la* juluq
 8. *e* Besalam juluq *nala ri ala* lamun
 9. Ø Lamun ne lalo *mas kakaq* besalam *la* juluq
 10. Ø Deq saq solah angen *mas kakaq* lampaq *la* uleq
 11. *Nala* lampaq uleq *nala ri ala nare*
 12. *Nala naro la silaq sida ma-se-la-meton.*

To the extent that pantun exchange is formulaic, one might ask how much of the encounter's meaning is actually contained in the verbal messages. While the pantun are the focus and focuser of attention, their regularity and length enables all sorts of nonverbal communication to go on simultaneously.

Nevertheless, the pantun provide the real continuity of the event, in terms of message and of structure. Appendix I gives a summary and a schematization of the message content of the song of one group; it is reasonably typical of the sorts of exchanges that take place. The whole speech encounter is analogous to a bargaining situation, and indeed much of the terminology is that of bargaining and gambling. The notion is distinctly articulated that a woman's affection--at least up to a point--can be won and a man's measured by the man's ability to supply or promise material things. The women make requests but are still "not interested," even though the men do their supposed best to please them. The men try to fill the women's requests and use that as leverage to extract promises of affection. It must be remembered, however, that all the while the mood is light and relaxed. Even though both parties try to outwit each other, no one has any great emotional investment in the outcome of a night of pantun exchange. Serious relationships may develop or continue through or alongside this banter.

One-half of every pantun verse is not directed towards delivering a literal message. The first two lines are nonsense lines, filling up space and playing the role of potential complement to what follows. The structural role of these initial "rhymers" couplets will be taken up shortly, but a few comments of their content may be appropriate here. One might expect allusions and various levels of symbolic referents in these lines, such as are found in Javanese and Malay verse. But in spite of repeated inquiry, I never found evidence for this. Those Sasak most skilled and knowledgeable in pantun are among the

¹⁸*Kemalun lengkarang* is a kind of plant.

least reflective, and there was no indigenous explication of pantun to be found even among those knowledgeable in traditional lore. This "blank" is disconcerting, if for no other reason than that symbolic referents are what a Western investigator has come to expect.¹⁹ Yet while those who perform in pantun call initial couplets "meaningless" (when the question of veiled intent is raised) and say there are no restrictions on the choice of images used for these lines, provided that they do not exceed the limits of propriety, the actual images selected offer some notions of what is in the forefront of Sasak thought and experience. The images are primarily social or of things and places experienced or encountered in daily life. Less than a dozen rhyming lines from a sixty-six pantun performance (which was much longer than average, about 7½ hours) could be considered "poetic" or figurative. The final sixteen pantun of the performance are given in full in Appendix II, part 1. Things are evidently taken for what they appear to be and are named as such; as a rule, objects or quantities are simply listed without any specification of relationships between them.

The rhyming lines thus create an initial, semantically unbounded context, which is subsequently focused and structured by the semantics of the message given in the second couplet.

Pantun as Form

Structural aspects of the pantun content clarify the overall pantun form and demonstrate the relationship between sequential verses. The overall movement is noncumulative; but the interwoven, interlocking nature of the parts gives the total sequence continuity. The basic structure provides for a high degree of internal rhyming and assonance in addition to the final abab rhyme scheme.²⁰ Number 53 gives a fair example of internal rhyming. Note the symmetry of the first and third lines, and the second and fourth:

Paoq kambut leq Pejanggiq
Mun bebante laguq pait
Aoq sanggup mas ariq
Bareh to bale taoq ebait.

¹⁹The traditional Western literature on pantun includes the following: H. Overbeck, "The Malay Pantun," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 85 (1922), pp. 4-28, and "Pantuns in het Javaansch," *Djawa*, 10 (1930), pp. 208-30; Th. Pigeaud, *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* (Batavia: Volkslectuur, 1938), esp. sections 298 (pp. 296-98) and 423 (pp. 462-63), and his *Literature of Java*, 1 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967), esp. pp. 19 and 260-61; R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Literature. Pt. I. Romance, History, Poetry* (Kuala Lumpur: F.M.S. Government Press, 1924), pp. 45-58; and R. O. Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 178-207. Of these writers, Overbeck had by far the most liberal views on the content and function of initial couplets. See also James Peacock, *Rites of Modernization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 55-56. For an Indonesian view, see Takdir Alisjahbana, *Puisi Lama* (Jakarta: Pustaka Rakyat, 1963), p. 13, where the author differentiates between and recognizes two pantun styles, one having and one lacking internal semantic relations.

²⁰Pantun that were performed during a night at *bau nyale* frequently varied considerably from the more regular pattern of internal rhyme and assonance that could be seen quite clearly from pantun--presumably more standard ones--recited at other times in people's homes (see Appendix II, pt. 2).

An important characteristic of some Malay pantun series, which the Sasak also employ, entails incorporating portions of the preceding pantun verse into one's own. An ongoing associational relationship is maintained between lines in one verse and the next, often between the second and fourth lines of the former and the first and third lines of the latter. It is here, between verses, that allusions and word plays may be found, not for any symbolic purposes but in a semistructural, semisemantic fashion. The typical patterns are maintaining assonance and rhythm with slight changes in wording or phrasing, reiteration of words, and repetition of final rhymes. Numbers 63 and 64 illustrate reciprocal internal assonance: compare No. 63 (L. 2 and 4) with No. 64 (L. 1 and 3):

63. Bau tekot saq leq rurung
 Pinaq ares sedaq teri
 Endeng lempot endeq kaq burung
 Tekan bareh toq temeli.
64. Embun tekan saq ji beli
 Beli rendeng to Pemangket
 Peken embe toq taq meli
 Endeq cukup kepeng ongkos montor.

Numbers 53/54, 59/60, and 61/62 illustrate reworked wording as a response in the fourth and third lines of each pantun pair, respectively:

- 53/54. Bareh to bale taoq ebait / Endeq ke mele bait to bale.
 59/60. Uah keruan entan ketutur / Tapi pedas entan ne tutur.
 61/62. Ane keruanang unin angen / Aoa kakaq uah taq keruan angen.

Numbers 51 and 52 illustrate repeated words:

- 51 (L. 4). Den saq keruan baraq Inaq.
 52 (L. 3). Yaq ebaraq Inaq manik kakaq.

Numbers 57 and 58 illustrate repeated words for a final rhyming pair:

- 57 (L. 2 & 4). Buaq lima leq Sepapan
 Laguq sida lueq akan.
- 58 (L. 1 & 3). Beli manggis to Sepapan
 Semaiq-maiq lueq akan.

There are traditional contrastive elements that are often used to build pantun, especially those whose message is of a more general nature, such as greeting, leave-taking, or quoting from a preceding pantun. These contrastive units have a degree of built-in assonance and rhyme, and they may be selected for use depending on the message that is desired. One pair of lines that appeared with noticeable regularity in the pantun transcribed is the following:

Lamun tebu pelas mamben
 Lamun tetu pedas angen.

Sugar cane wrapped in *mamben*²¹ leaves
If it's true (you are) so inclined.

Several other phrases occur in pairs with marked regularity, but these are pairings of partial or half-lines; the use of a particular phrase in some part of the initial couplet may restrict the choice of, but does not necessarily predict, the actual pairing that will follow in the alternate line below it. Occasionally more than one pairing in the first or second line occurs for a phrase in the third or fourth lines, but this is less frequent. Note the variation in partial-line phrases in the following examples of greeting and name-asking:

Greeting

Rampeh bayan / leq Semawak
Beli barang / saq to Sepit
Tabeq walar / yaq ko bekayaq
Engkah paran ko / ndaraq tertib.

Bageq malang / olah kemak
Anaq jaran / saq leq Sepit
Tabeq walar / yaq ku bekayaq
Endaq paran / endaraq tertib.

Name-asking

Bageq malang / olah kemak
Kemak / balen Cina
Tabeq walar / ku beketuan
Ketuan / aran sida.

Bageq malang / to Keruak
Keruak / balen Cina
Tabeq walar / yaq bekayaq
Yaq ketuan / aran sida.

In the next examples of quoting words from a preceding pantun, the final pair in the first and third lines is repeated in each pantun. The slight variation in the final example transforms the line into a statement of address rather than just a quotation:

Pinaq samben *tengaq madaq*
Tekan lueq to Jerueng
Araq sopoq *unin kakaq*
Sida doang yaq berebeng.

Bau pange *tengaq madaq*
Araq baluq leq Seganteng
Piaq angen *unin kakaq*
Deq saq lampus unin angen.

Mun kepait *tengaq madaq*
Mun tengkoah jari anaq
Yaq ebait *unin kakaq*
Yaq boyaq malem solah.

²¹*Mamben* is a kind of tree. Its rather large leaves are used for wrapping up food. It is also the name of a village (now actually two, Mamben Daya and Mamben Lauq) in central East Lombok.

Pinaq kuluh *tengaq madaq*
 Mun tengkoah ara lima
 Nane koloq *mas kakaq*
 Adeq terimaq isiq ariq.²²

There are also phrases which appear frequently and which may be combined with a somewhat wider range of rhyming elements in a somewhat bricological fashion. One such "rhyme pool" includes the following:

First/Second Line	Third/Fourth Line
Araq telu	Lamun tetu
Araq baluq	Engkah menu
Lamun tebu	Piran waktu
Beli tebu	- Yaq te kadu
Bau penyu	Lamun menu
Bau tebu	Kurang tetu
	Mulan tetu
	Lebih pacu
	Asan tetu

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that while the content of the second couplet of a pantun depends considerably on assonance with the words in the first couplet, it is almost impossible to predict the actual content of the second couplet from the first. One can only say that the first couplet, by the assonance, rhyme, and rhythm which it establishes, eliminates certain possibilities and that the relationship between the parts is more than anything else associational, both within and between verses.

As mentioned earlier, the range of pantun topics is limited to female-male relationships. Exchanging pantun is thus a game of limited possibilities. Yet within those limits the variations may seem infinite. The sense of wildness and abandon so played upon by the Sasak results from not knowing exactly what cards will turn up at any given moment and being forced to play to them immediately. There is no conscious chain of thought that links a whole performance, as it proceeds from start to finish, other than the general accepted purpose of singing pantun at all. A pantun is decided upon or composed simply in order to fit and interlock with the pantun which preceded it.

In this sense the pantun fill a role parallel to goods in voluntary social exchange. They comprise in and of themselves units of exchange which are handed back and forth and which may be used to initiate, perpetuate, or terminate social relationships. As in a bargaining situation, the verbal parlay that takes place before a resolution is reached may proceed in what appear to be rather tangential directions or long discourses before the immediate purpose of the interaction is made clear.

Given the structural features described above, it follows that within each pantun there is a pattern of elicitation and response parallel to that in the broader performance. Even in this small-scale

²²But this is not to imply that *kakaq* is bound to *madaq*. It may occur paired with other words as well.

interaction there is a juxtaposition of open-ended possibilities with a constant return to structure and clearly bounded intent. Formal associations between sequential rhymed couplets connect them to one another as links in a chain, but there is no way to know how the links will lie until after they have fallen. They can point in any way and have no inherent direction of their own except that they cannot be reversed. Their lack of meaningful semantic content facilitates a free, continuous running-on of associations. They can introduce any content the performers wish. The initial couplets create an "undomesticated" situation that is unrestricted, uninhibited by the parameters of normal social interaction.

The message couplet, in contrast, works to "reimpose" social control within the context of *bau nyale*. The "rules" for *bau nyale* verbal interaction are seen in this second couplet, not in the first. The message segment of each separate pantun allows a return to control and meaning.

The pantun are an ongoing demonstration of knowing content (order, controlled interaction) by comparing it with lack of the same. At the same time there is an alternating loosening and tightening of constraints between the first and second couplets that creates a contained vacillation between semantic form and nonform. Even on the level of pantun, therefore, there are ideas about cultural boundaries being acted out within the verbal interaction that are parallel to notions found in *bau nyale* (and in elopement). The mere fact that the pantun is used instead of another verbal form gives substance to this claim. Only in this form can initial couplets create a continuous testing of boundaries, while the second repeatedly reestablish them.

Conclusion

On a very practical level, then, this use of ritualized communication provides a medium for acting out some of the tensions now felt to exist within Sasak society. The pattern of normal social relations is suspended; a ritualized language pattern is imposed instead. An understanding of the elaborated language style, where it is used, and the rules governing its use, provides insight into where the tensions between *adat* and Islam are concentrated: in the formation of new marriage alliances.

For the majority of Sasak the process of changing from one idiom to another still takes the form of slow adaptation and modification over time, although isolated events have caused noticeable and sudden shifts in allegiances. For example, the famine of 1966-67 caused many villagers to drop old patron-client relationships and to form new ones with patrons who could provide food (Islamic leaders). In addition, the 1965 coup resulted in pressures being placed on many villagers to abandon local customs. It is relatively infrequent now that such change is the result of deliberate, conscious choice. More commonly it is a consequence of changing social networks. A woman from a strongly traditional family who marries an "orthodox" man will adopt her husband's lifestyle and alliances. In the act of marrying she will sever or at least severely compromise her relationship with her own extended family and take the first step towards abandoning their social network. On the whole, however, changes are more noticeable genera-

tionally than they are within the life cycle of any given individual. The children of a traditional-wife/orthodox-husband marriage will pattern their behavior on that of the husband. A union of orthodox wife/traditional husband is virtually unheard of. It is increasingly prestigious for children to attend school as well, and many children who do not attend government schools will still attend religion classes at local mosques, where they learn prayers, excerpts from the Koran, proper ways for Moslems to behave, and new allegiances. Most models for behavior outside the kin sphere are orthodox ones, especially models of leadership.

Differences between adat and Islam are not articulated so much from a theoretical or ideological perspective as they are from a practical, behavioral one. The Sasak will comment on how much a person's acts correspond to their image of "orthodox religious behavior"--whether someone fasts, prays five times a day, and wants to go to Mecca on the *haj*--and it is largely by these criteria that they judge a person's stance vis-à-vis adat and Islam, and thereby the style of the patron to whom he is probably loyal. If someone shirks his responsibilities towards his kinsmen--for example, not attending the adat funeral ceremony of a relative nor contributing his share towards covering the funeral expenses--the pattern of disparate loyalties is reinforced. Within each alliance system cooperation and reciprocity can be expected. It is between systems that friction arises.

The descriptions the Sasak provide of the differences between "traditional" and "orthodox" behavior may be stereotyped, but they do convey an awareness of incompatibility in behavior patterns and an awareness of the consequences such differences may have for everyday social interaction. There are no guidelines for giving priority to one or the other or for providing alternative solutions. A syncretic resolution between tradition and Islam is already present in what is now considered the traditional form of Islam. Social structure in the broadest sense may still be stable, but the interpretation of it is changing, and thereby generating an aura of uncertainty. Old idioms need to be adapted or rejected, new ones incorporated. Ritualized activities are enactments of attempts to deal with this problem and to clarify the nature of the Sasak world in circumstances where inconsistencies are felt, though not easily articulated.

Appendix I

Summary and Schematization of Bau Nyale Pantun

Summary (women's verses are indented)

1. I'd like to sing with you.
2. OK, please sit down.
3. I am shy.
4. But here we are singing together.
5. I want to ask a question.
6. Make sure it's clear.
7. What is your name?
8. My name is _____.
9. Now that's straight.
10. I'll ask for something now.
11. I'll give you something, but maybe you won't like it.

12. What's important is that you give it with compassion.
13. Here it is, but all torn.
14. But I only want good things.
15. If you accept it, don't discard it.
16. I wouldn't do that. It's for remembrance.
17. That's all there is--I'm an unlucky fellow and poor.
18. You are indeed unlucky, because what you've given isn't enough.
19. I already told you what to expect, didn't I?
20. Yes, of course, and we're covetous of such a gift(?).
21. Don't be disappointed because that's all I've got.
22. Now I want to ask for a towel for each of us.
23. That's all there is, so you'll be happy.
24. I'd be much happier if you gave us each five.
25. If that's the case you'll get the towels and me along with them, just for good measure.
26. You'd give yourself, but I haven't yet been given your headcloth and sarong.
27. But the headcloth is torn and falling apart--you're just not thinking.
28. I am, too, because I like you.
29. Then why is it that we can't get anywhere?
30. That's silly. Look, I've only got one bracelet.
31. Now you've been given one--it's clear how you feel.
32. Maybe my feelings are clear, but yours aren't yet.
33. Yes, you really aren't interested, are you?
34. You're right, that just about says it.
35. But I don't want to give up--where can I go from here?
36. Better think before you speak! You're going pretty fast.
37. Think yourself! I'm already in over my head.
38. And you can't sleep for worrying about it, can you?
39. How can I change things? I've got nothing, but you still want more.
40. Well, try another way.
41. I still want to find out how you really feel.
42. It's clear how I feel. How about you?
43. If you want, I'll come get you and marry you.
44. If that's so, wait for 10 years first.
45. That's really going too far. Let's just let her mope alone.
46. Don't not marry because of me. I'm still little, you know.
47. I love you even though you're still small. I want something to cradle.
48. Let's just be friends.
49. I might just take you right now if you don't behave.
50. Why don't we walk home together?
51. Where'll we go? We'll tell mother first so everything's above board.
52. You're going to tell her? Better give us 10 more sarong.
53. Sure, I'll do that. You can get them later at the house.
54. No, that won't do. It's not right (not proper etiquette).
55. You can take them here, but it's better if we're not just friends.
56. Things will never work out the way you'd like. I really don't want to get more involved.
57. I'm serious, but you just keep joking around.
58. I ask for more gifts, but you really don't care.
59. I do care. That's been made clear.
60. It's clear, but two for each of us wouldn't be enough.
61. Come on, say how you feel.
62. It's already clear. Give us a sarong.
63. I won't refuse, but we'll buy them later.
64. Where? The money's not even enough for our bus fare.
65. We'll be leaving now, please excuse us. Let's shake hands.
66. All right, shake hands, and no hard feelings.

Schematization

<u>Verse</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1 - 9:	- Introductory formalities -	
10-11:	Request goods.	Self-deprecating and gift-deprecating response/pre-apology.
12-13:	Encouragement.	Fulfill request, with apology.
14-15:	Disappointment, criticism.	Response.
16-17:	Reassurance.	Self-deprecation, justification.
18-19:	Criticism; gift insufficient.	Defend self.
20-21:	Agree with defense.	Statement deprecating self and possessions.
22-23:	Request goods.	Fulfill request, with apology.
24-25:	Large, unfulfillable request for goods.	Agreement to request but with proposition.
26-27:	Chiding, teasing request as tactic to parry proposition.	Request put off.
28-29:	Expression of affection.	Feel stymied by way women are acting.
30-31:	Request goods.	Fulfill request. Sense women's feelings by now.
32-33:	Inquire about men's feelings.	Statement that women aren't really interested.
34-35:	Concur.	Question of despair because don't want to give up.
36-37:	Word of caution.	Caution flaunted; too late for caution.
38-39:	Tease.	Question in desperation; can't accommodate women's wishes.
40-41:	Suggest trying another approach.	Inquire about women's feelings.
42-43:	Inquire about men's feelings.	Request (propose marriage).
44-45:	Request postponed with impossible conditions.	Teasing.
46-47:	Postponement rationalized.	Rationalization isn't valid.
48-49:	Cool down relationship.	Teasing threat.
50-51:	Compromise suggestion (walk home together).	Agree with enthusiasm.
52-53:	Counter with request for goods.	Agree to fulfill request but on own terms.
54-55:	Reject terms.	Terms not needed if relationship can be warmed up.
56-57:	Discourage hopes of men.	Chiding.
58-59:	Chide back.	Denial, and statement of interest/caring.
60-61:	Request for goods.	Inquire about women's feelings.
62-63:	Request.	Request postponed.
64-65:	Disbelief.	Take leave.
66 :	Accept leave-taking.	

(Count articles left behind, and the men leave. Time, 4:30 a.m.)

Appendix II

Sasak Pantun1. Transcription and Translation of Bau Nyale Pantun (women's verses are indented)

51. Beli dipan Batu Putih
 Mun Semawak leq aro Inaq
 Embe yaq tipaq lampaq uleq
 Den saq keruan baraq Inaq.
 Buy a bed in Batu Putih
 Sumbawa, oh mother
 Where shall we go on the way home
 So that everything's above board, we'll tell mother.
52. Araq siwaq buaq kaken
 Beli rendeng to Mengkurik
 Yaq ebaraq Inaq manik kakaq
 Romboq kereng karing sepulu.
 There are nine fruits for eating
 Buy a rice-pounder at Mengkurik
 You say you're going to tell mother, older brother
 Better add ten more sarong to our pile!
53. Paoq kambut leq Pejanggihq
 Mun bebante laguq pait
 Aoq sanggup mas ariq
 Bareh to bale taoq ebait.
 Manggo fibers in Pejanggih
 Bitter *bebante* vegetable
 Yes, I'm willing to do that, little sister
 You can pick them up later at the house.
54. Sepala jarin kepalen
 Yaq tekene kanca siwaq
 Endeq kemele bait to bale
 Ki nyata-nyata toq terimaq.
 Impossible to be the head
 Nine friends together
 I don't want to go and get them at your house
 I'll only accept things that are done properly.
55. Beli lepe araq siwaq
 Mun bejukung dalem kebon
 Mun mele ite toq terimaq
 Araqan te burung besemeton.
 Buy nine *lepe*
 By *sampan* in the garden
 If you want, you can just take them here
 But it's better if we're not just friends.
-
52. Mengkurik is a settlement in the bau nyale area.
53. *Kambut* may be a kind of manggo, but I am not certain of this. *Bebante* is a small vine, the fruit of which are popped and eaten. The plant is also eaten as a vegetable.
55. *Lepe* is the leaf-sheath of the areca nut tree. It is used to wrap sweets and food. *Sampan* is an outrigger dugout canoe.

56. Beli dayung ji kemiliq
 Araq telu jari samben
 Timaq taq burung masih iniq
 Mula tetu kurang angen.
 Buy a paddle for a tuber
 There are three for sambal
 Even though it won't work out like you want, we can still keep up
 the relationship
 It's true that I'm really not inclined to carry it any further.
57. Kenyamen kataq Dasan Perek
 Buaq lima leq Sepapan
 Angen kakaq lebih beleq
 Laguq sida lueq akan.
 Young coconut (in) Dasan Perek
 Five fruits in Sepapan
 I am the one who is more serious
 But you just keep playing around.
58. Beli manggis to Sepapan
 Beli rokok bawaq bageq
 Semaiq-maiq lueq akan
 Lakoq ke romboq endeq aseq.
 Buy mangosteens in Sepapan
 Buy cigarettes under the tamarind tree
 As a matter of fact, older brother, I certainly am using my wits
 against you
 I ask for more gifts, but you have no feelings.
59. Yaq te mate Gili Mara
 Mun Keruak balen pupur
 Perasaq e doang entan berangen
 Uah keruan entan ketutur.
 We will die (at) Gili Mara
 Keruak is the place for powder
 The feeling is only of desire
 What I've said has made that clear.
60. Bentek tas saq to Tutuk
 Beli aiq to Jerue
 Tapi pedas entan ne tutur
 Endeq bau semaiq pada dua.
-
57. Dasan Perek and Sepapan are settlements in the bau nyale area.
59. Gili Mara is an offshore rock/islet in the vicinity of Kaliaantan. Gili is "off-shore rock." Mara is "to begin" or "to start."
60. Tutuk and Jerue are settlements in the bau nyale area. Tutuk is the "underpart of a loom"; it can also mean "to close, be over, to finish." Jerue is probably a shortened form of Jerowaru, the largest village in the Kaliaantan bau nyale area. Jero actually is a palace or a respectful title of address based on birth or position; it is also used in many placenames. Waru is a common tree, the leaves, flowers, and sap of which are used as medicine. The wood is light and strong and is used in making ploughs; the bark fibers are used as twine.

Bring the bag that's in Tutuk
 Buy water in Jerue
 What you say is certainly clear
 (But even) two for each of us wouldn't be enough.

61. Buaq rampe saq leq Rerek
 Olah-olah daun jeluang
 Lamun uah sampai yaq kemeleq
 Ane keruanang unin angen.

Mixed fruits in Rerek
 Vegetables of *jeluang* leaves
 If the time has come, of course I'm interested
 Come on, now, explain how you feel.

62. Pait poteng jari kaken
 Beli nangka saq to Sepit
 Aoq kakaq uah taq keruan angen
 Ketunas lempot lalo pelesir.
 Bitter sticky-rice sweets for food
 Buy jackfruit in Sepit
 Yes, my feelings are already clear, older brother
 Please give us a sarong for going on picnics.

63. Bau tekot saq leq rurung
 Pinaq ares sedaq teri
 Endeng lempot endeq kaq burung
 Tekan bareh toq temeli.

Get banana-leaf containers along the road
 Make vegetables from young banana tree trunks, mixed with tiny dried fish
 If you ask for sarong, I won't refuse
 We'll buy them later, won't we?

64. Embun taken saq ji beli
 Beli rendeng to Pemangket
 Peken embe toq taq meli
 Endeq cukup kepeng ongkos montor.
 Pick up a plank that's going to be bought
 Buy a rice-pounder in Pemangket
 Which market will we buy them at
 The money isn't even enough for our bus fare!

65. Terang bulan leq pesisi
 Saputangan bongkasan sabun
 Saya pulang minta permisi
 Mari tangan minta ampun.

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61. *Jeluang* is an edible plant used as a vegetable.
 63. *Tekot* are containers made of banana leaf and used for a variety of purposes, especially in preparation of food for ceremonial banquets, where they serve as small disposable dishes. *Ares* is known as a "poor man's vegetable."
 64. Pemangket is a settlement in the bau nyale area.
 65. Using Indonesian phrases, as in the last two lines of this pantun, is a prestige tactic.

Full moon at the beach
 A handkerchief to wrap up soap
 We'll go home now, please excuse us
 Let's shake hands; we ask forgiveness.

66. Mun kemalun lengkarang tunuq
 Mun telaga Batu Putiq
 Lamun ne lalo besalam juluq
 Deq saq solah angen lampaq uleq.
 When *kemalun lengkarang* burns
 The pond in Batu Putiq
 If you're going to go, shake hands first
 So that you go home with good feelings.

2. Collected Pantun (not performed)

Bau tebu saq leq Mamben
 Bareng ungkah ambon seda
 Lamun tetu pedas angen
 Bareng susah lalo memeta.

Belauq juan roti
 Lueq seda leq langan
 Lamun kemauq kanca sida
 Piaq desa jari taman.

Cap burung saq cap kuda
 Eskot saq orang setia
 Endeq kaq burung kanca sida
 Persekop uah sedia.

Get sugarcane in Mamben
 Digging up rotten tubers together
 If it's true you are so inclined
 Together we will somehow make a living.

Going south (seaward) selling bread
 Much goes stale along the way
 If I could make it with you
 (I'd) turn a whole village into a pleasure-ground (for us).

Burung brand, *Kuda* brand
Mascot, *Orang Setia*
 I'm not going to blow it with you
 I'm ready to put down a deposit.

66. *Kemalun lengkarang* is a kind of plant.

2. *Burung*, *Kuda*, *Mascot*, and *Orang Setia* are brands of cigarettes.

