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WOISIKA RIDDLES

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

0. The present pages do not contain much more than a set of data, collected during my stay in Alor and Timor (Nusa Tenggara Timur, East Indonesia) and are meant to be a basis for further, more serious research. In the introductory paragraphs information is given on the Woisika and, in addition, some remarks on the formal aspect of the Woisika riddle, the riddle occasion, the parties involved and the function of the riddles.¹

1. Woisika is one of the thirteen languages spoken in the Alor archipelago. It is used by a group of approximately 12,000 people in central Alor. From a linguistic point of view twelve of these languages are of interest as belonging to the so-called non-Austronesian or Papuan languages, though traces of Austronesian influence are easily demonstrable in lexis and syntax. Whether these languages belong to the so-called Trans-New Guinea Phylum as is suggested by Wurm (1975) remains to be proved (see Stokhof 1979 and forthcoming a). Swidden agriculture (rice, maize) figures prominently in the economy of the Woisika in association with chicken, pig and goat raising and intensive gardening around the houses (tubers). The men hunt throughout the year (deer, wild pigs and smaller game). Wild fruits and edible fungi are gathered. Fish and shrimps are caught in larger brooks.

During one of my visits to the area I was attracted to the riddling games played by juveniles and since I was not able to understand everything in detail I asked my informants to collect some riddles for me. Markus Mailau and Linus Kamengmai supplied me within a few days with a set of more than three hundred riddles and the collection is still increasing. The riddles offered below are the first I obtained. It should be borne in mind that they do not derive from actual riddle sessions but were elicited from informants.

2.1. On riddles and riddling in Indonesia not much seems to be known. In the literature on the subject I did not find any serious observations about riddles in Indonesian or languages spoken in Indonesia. Most recent anthropological and linguistic field studies do not mention riddles at all. Elli Kōngäs Maranda states that "It is in the nature of 'minor forms' that they easily escape the attention of the fieldworker" (1976:128). This may be true for recent work, but there is a substantial amount of material available in earlier sources from authors who did have a vivid interest in the subject but whose work almost completely escaped the attention of the riddle-scholars/folklorists. Among the more outstanding collections and studies are the ones by: Helfrich (1884) for Bengkulu, Helfrich (1891) for Lampong, Helfrich (1895) for Serawai and Besemah, Kreemer (1928) for Aceh, Van Ophuysen (1883/85) for Batak, Sunderman (1892 and 1905) for Nias, Jacobson (1919) for Simalur, Spiegel (1894), Moekadi (1908), Holwerda (1923), Abdoelmoekti (1931), Soeparman al. Sastramihardja (1931) and Kartosoedirdjo (1923) for Madura, Holle (1869) for Sunda, Hupé (1846) for Dajak, Kruyt (1929), Adriani and Kruyt (1912/1914), Bikker (1934) for Toraja, Fortgens (1928) for Tabaru, Pieters (1922) for Buru, Niemann (1886) for the Alfur(u), Poensen (1877), Kreemer (1883 and 1886), Winter (1879), Luijnenburg (1906/7), Roo de la Faille (1933/34), Meyer Ranneft (1893 and 1897), Van Dorp (1875 (?)), all for Javanese, de Clerq (1870) for Tonsea - to mention a few².

2.2. The last decades little attention seems to have been given in Indonesia to the publication of what is sometimes paradoxically called the literature of non-literate societies, pre-literate cultures or non-literary languages³, and especially to the "minor forms", such as charms, proverbs, swearings, and, in particular, riddles⁴.

This in contradiction to neighbouring countries, e.g. Santos (1958) (Tagalog riddles), Evans (1951, 1954) (on Dusun riddles).

Elsewhere (Stokhof (1976)) I have ventured the opinion that study of languages and cultures and subsequent dissemination of its results in the form of descriptions, text editions as well as more practically orientated materials for textbooks, literacy programmes and bilingual education projects, are part of the linguist's responsibilities. This work is, in my view, crucial for it is not illusory that in Indonesia certain languages, literatures and folklores may become in danger of extinction because of the ever growing influence of the national language. But there is yet another, maybe even more urging reason why the study of local languages and cultures should be taken in hand more intensively: this kind of research may eventually contribute to a better mutual understanding between ethnic minorities and ethnic majorities, between the periphery and its centre; between rulers and those ruled.

3. The Woisika riddle does not strike me as high literary achievement. But this estimation is, after all, quite an ethnocentric statement influenced by western concepts of literature or ideas of what literature should be. How true this is, appeared during the sessions with the informants where it sometimes happened that what I considered to be trite, dull or of little literary importance, was experienced as fascinating and well formulated. It is conspicuous that students of non-western cultures sometimes tend to superimpose schemes on verbal activities on the basis of home-made constructs in which vague aestheticism or functionalism play a rôle. No harm is done as long as no universalism is implied: there is nothing against fitting phenomena into one typology or another, but we should be aware of the fact that at least the assignment of aesthetic value is highly culture specific.

Instead of scholar's personal evaluations attention should rather be paid to how the community itself experiences verbal activities and from what point of view. Schärer (1966), Fox (1971, 1975), Adriani M. and A.C. Kruyt (1912/14) are instances for Indonesia where a first onset of this approach to local literature is demonstrable. Needless to say this approach is only possible after a long and intensive contact with the culture in question.

4. The Woisika know several 'minor' and 'major' forms of verbal composition/art such as myths, legends, songs, riddles, magical formulas, which they set apart from other verbal activities because of their form and content and/or use and occasion.

Needless to say, these forms are an inseparable part of daily life but it is possible to set up a kind of taxonomy with the above features as parameters. They have separate names for all these genres which indicates that they are aware of their different form and content. The Woisika distinguish these activities from other 'common' verbal activities in that they show one or more of the following properties:

1. they are used on particular occasions
2. they are aimed at a particular audience and
3. they are produced by (a) particular (group of) person(s)
4. they are (or consist of) units which show a high degree of semantic and formal cohesion.

In myths, ritual songs and magical formulas the form (and to a certain extent also the content), the producer and the target group are highly predictable since they are conditioned traditionally and occur on special occasions (e.g. death feasts, after hunting parties, etc.). This distinguishes these activities from the other verbal phenomena characterised by one or more of the above mentioned features: non-ritual songs,

anecdotes, proverbs, plays on words/puns and riddles. Songs sung during the ring-dances fit into either category depending on what occasion they are performed.

5. The riddle in Woisika, unlike in some other areas in Indonesia, is not restricted to certain periods of the day or the night, or to certain prescribed occasions or periods important in social life such as is the case for instance with the East Toraja of the Bola'ang Mongondow who are allowed to play the riddle-game only during the night vigils over the dead before burial, or the Western Toraja who do it during the period that the grains come out (Kruyt (1929), also Potter (1950)). Riddling in Woisika does not seem to be subject to any taboo or related to any taboo whatsoever. Whereas magical formulas, ceremonial songs and, quite clearly, nursery songs may all be seen as verbal warding off of unknown entities, I did not find any evidence for this hypothesis in the case of the Woisika riddles.

6. There are no formal age groups in Woisika. Generally speaking any child from 4 up until 12-14 years (for females) and 14-16 years (for males) is called /'dum moK/ 'little child'⁵, or /'dum moK ma'le/ 'little girl' and /'dum moK lam/ 'little boy', /dum/ being the general word for 'child'. Girls are considered nubile from 14-16 years onward depending on the physical development of the person in question and are then called /ma'le fon/ 'young female, virgin'. For boys this moment falls somewhat later, i.e., between 16 and 18 years. They are called then /'lam lu'teI/ 'young male'. It is exactly in this formal peer group where riddling is attested, i.e. the unmarried female and male individuals in their puberty and early adulthood. Their tendency towards riddling set them apart from the /'dum moK/ as well as from the older married people /lam ma'le sâK/. Interest in riddling normally ceases after marriage. Adults regard riddling as a diversion primarily appropriate to the young: a pastime or funny play sometimes full of criticisms and at times somewhat bawdy. It may be played wherever and whenever two (or more) adolescents feel like it: on the way to school or to the gardens, or on the way homeward, during picnics, on moonlit nights before going to sleep, after a successful hunting day. Riddling especially occurs during the long evenings when there is not much to be done for them apart from the occasional ringdances (Woisika /pi'lân/ Kupang Malay lego-lego) and listening to the discussion of the adults.

A starts propounding a riddle and B answers. When two groups are competing B may ask advice from his team-members. It is allowed to reply several times until the right solution is given. If B is not

able to solve the problem he gives up and will then in turn challenge A. This goes on until everybody (in case of group competition) has got his turn to answer as well as to question. Winner is of course the individual/group who/which has solved most riddles. The loser has to pay the reward which has been agreed upon before the play started; usually a piece of sugar cane, some fresh shrimps caught during the preparations for the picnic, a handful of kenari nuts (*Canarium commune*) or a part of the game after the kill has been divided.

7. The way in which the riddle is formulated is important. If the opponent(s) do(es) not agree upon the formulation of the riddle which may have been misleading, e.g. not in accordance with the traditional forms and imagery and thus a possible reason for the opponent's failure, the contestant(s) could come to blows.

Sometimes different solutions are allowed by the riddler, e.g. riddle no.66 where '*civet*' as well as '*cat*' are accepted as correct answers, but it also occurs that the poser rejects the solver's answer since it is not the expected solution.

The present author experimented during the interviews with what he considered to be perfectly suitable answers but not one solution was accepted. The informants simply did not see the analogy between riddle image (see par.10) and the alternatives offered. This proves for Woisika that the relation between the kernel and the expected solution is traditionally determined. This observation was corroborated conversely by the fact that sometimes the fit between problem and solution had to be explained to the author: riddling is a highly culture specific phenomenon (see also par. 9). The older people and those recently married often like to listen but do not participate in the play itself. They restrict themselves to slightly derisive remarks about the simplicity of the riddles⁶.

In general, an audience is often very stimulating for the contestants since the riddles and their solution are overtly and immediately evaluated, commented upon and teasing remarks and admiring exclamations often abound. A positive reaction is mostly expressed by laughter shared by all those present. Most riddles are traditional, i.e. they are orally transmitted from one age group to another. The /'dum moK/ are often present at riddle plays and although they do not tend to participate until they are accepted in the group (on the basis of physical criteria/ age(?)) they obtain of course their own stock of riddles and automatically learn how to pose them. The Woisika possess an unlimited set of riddles, although quite limited in form, imagery and theme. Many riddles are just different renditions of the same problem and are well known to the

whole community. Thematic innovations occur, see e.g. riddles no.7, 78, 82, 88, and 92. The riddles do not imply a special (group limited) knowledge; they are not secret or even private lore.

Since the riddles presented here result from male informants I have not been able to find out whether boys and girls show a different appreciation of/or preference for certain riddles⁷.

8. The question of what part the riddle plays in the community and what is the attitude towards it has to be answered as follows: As stated in par.6 the (married) adults take cognizance of the phenomenon, and nobody is inclined to see in riddling more than a pleasant diversion. However since riddling is characteristic of a limited group of individuals who all share the feature that they are (about to be) accepted as adults by their community and who recently attained their sexual maturity, I am convinced that there is more involved than entertainment only. Of course, it is a kind of contest: creativity in formulation and acuteness of apprehension guarantees success for riddler as well as for the riddlee. But apart from this training in verbal play, sharpening of the wit, development of competitive feelings and transfer of knowledge/experience, it is to my mind, first and foremost an informal way of social intercourse, a first verbal reconnoitering, a legitimate occasion for flirting which eventually results in courting. Moreover, riddling sessions are at least partly a kind of substitute for physical activity for the marriageable boys and girls originating from separate clans whose physical contacts are strictly controlled by the exogamous patrilineal and predominantly virilocal Woisika. But in addition I am inclined to see the riddling contests as remnants of reported but now obsolete initiation ceremonies, a kind of self-imposed extended *rite de passage*, characteristic of the transitory stage in which they find themselves: the social and physical puberty⁸.

9. Not all events of life seem to function as theme for riddles in Woisika nor did I find all sorts of enigmas known from the literature. I did not encounter onomatopoeic riddles as reported for some African cultures (Dupire and De Tressan (1955), Arnott (1957)) nor wordless riddles.

The following themes were not attested:

1. actual events (data on things just happened)
2. eschatological and transcendental themes
3. traditional themes (data on clan origin, itineraries of ancestors, warfare, etc.)
4. themes on neighbouring peoples or governmental and religious leaders.

How and what people think about things, events, etc. is partly related to a shared set of similar experiences they have had as members of the same ethnic and/or linguistic group. Riddling is only possible when there is such a set of shared experiences. Although the riddles do not cover all important aspects of Woisika life, the choice of the themes and the properties focussed on in the riddles gives an outsider an impression of certain priorities in Woisika life. Moreover, they may eventually help us to obtain an insight into the differences in ways of perceiving and thinking between outsiders and the Woisika. Using Schapera's system as adapted by Glazier and Glazier (1976) as starting point, the range of themes seems to be limited to nine domains. Table 1 shows the distribution of the themes (as formulated in the accepted solutions) expressed as a percentage of the total number of available riddles (300):

TABLE 1
Themes Used in Riddling

	%
1. Animal world	35
2. Human body and its functions	17
3. Utensils and other objects	16
4. Natural phenomena	11
5. Crops and other foods	10
6. Vegetable world	7
7. European culture	3
8. Domestic and subsistence activities	0,5
9. Abstract ideas	-
10. Ill advised and impossible acts	0,5

10.1. In Woisika the word /'tâwaŋ/ (from the verb /'tâU/ 'to establish, to determine; to understand') means 'invented story', i.e. something which is not true, and it is often translated by Woisika informants into Indonesian as *dongeng* 'tale' or *teka-teki* 'riddle'. The word is distinguished from /a'teŋ laK/ 'true story'. The Woisika riddle is an independent communicative unit. In general its model consists of two basic elements:

1. problem and 2. solution. The problem comprises:

- 1.1. Introductory formula (optional)
- 1.2. Kernel (presenting the riddle image) which usually has two elements:
 - 1.2.1. riddle subject (= the constituent on which the attention of the riddlee is focussed)
 - 1.2.2. riddle predicate (= what is stated about the riddle subject)
- 1.3. Final formulas

Example: riddle 53

1. Problem:
 - 1.1. Introductory formula

'ne-tâwaŋ	'tâwaŋ noK(-te)	<i>I know a riddle</i>
		<i>my+riddle riddle one(+and)</i>
 - 1.2. Kernel
 - 1.2.1. riddle subject(RS):

'dum noK		<i>A child</i>
	<i>child one</i>	
 - 1.2.2. riddle predicate(RP):

'almakaŋ-a	'je-biê-si	<i>that frightens people</i>
	<i>people+the it+frightens+</i>	
	<i>non-past</i>	
 - 1.3. Final formulas
 - 1.3.1.

aŋ	mu'nâU?	<i>what is that?</i>
	<i>that what</i>	
 - 1.3.2.

'alpo	'wo-tâU-h!	<i>try to guess it!</i>
	<i>you+adhortative</i>	
	<i>it+establish+expressive</i>	
2. Solution

ah		<i>Faeces</i>
----	--	---------------

The initial formula is always the same, the final is either interrogative or adhortative.

The introduction is obligatory when the riddling begins but facultative as soon as it is clear that what is said is not to be taken at face value. So, during a riddling event, after the first conundra have been lanced, the subsequent ones will usually only be completed with a final formula. The RS is posited on the basis of the solution. The informants did not have any problem in establishing which constituent in the kernel is focussed upon. However, the present author often experienced difficulties here since the RP sometimes also contains constituents which could be considered as RS. Moreover it occurs that a constituent which is used as RS in riddle X is part of the RP in riddle Y where it has to be taken at 'face value', i.e. where the referent is a manifestation of the meaning.

Compare R24 and R9 (the RSs are emphasised in upper case):

R24 dum ki'riŋ noK 'wo-funi-ŋboko
A LITTLE CHILD that is impossible to catch (water)

vs. R9 dum ki'riŋ noK 'je-karaŋ-aK i'leh-te si'lang
A little child pulls ITS BEAM up and down (snot)

In some cases the RS is not mentioned at all, see par.12.

The RP may be simple or complex:

Simple:

Riddle no.53 *a child // THAT FRIGHTENS PEOPLE*

Complex:

Riddle no.179 *a child// THAT DOES NOT USE HIS MACHETE TO CLEAN THE
 (UNIRRIGATED) ARABLE LAND, BUT TO OBTAIN
 HIS FOOD*

solution: *the crocodile (which uses its
 tail to kill people, animals, etc.)*

10.2. Georges and Dundes have proposed topic and comment where I use riddle subject and riddle predicate, respectively. Topic is, however, in linguistic literature often associated with given, that what is known to Speaker and Hearer on the basis of their shared knowledge of situation and context (frame of reference), whereas comment is viewed as new information. See, e.g., Daneš (1970, 1974) and Gundel (1977). In the riddle kernel all elements represent new information, since the frame of reference is lacking (see par.11). So, from that point of view there is no given. For that reason, I prefer in my discussion of the Woisika riddles the terms (riddle) subject and (riddle) predicate with the description as given in 10.1.

10.3. The vocabulary used in the riddle is not archaic or what the Woisika would consider 'poetic' as is sometimes the case with the songs sung by the old men during the ritual *lego-lego* or when they relate about the mythical past. That kind of words which is not always completely understood by the younger people could only create unnecessary misunderstandings when used in riddling.

Apart from the repetition in the initial formula, no 'literary' devices are attested, e.g. I find neither rhythm nor alliteration (compare, e.g. Jakobson (1966(4):458)). Though the place of the stress is relevant in the language on word level it is not used as an artifice. No syllable counting or rhyme or the like has been discovered as in other types of Woisika oral composition. However, the construction of

the central part of the conundrum, i.e. the formulation of the problem itself strikes me as very concise. According to L.L. Kamengmai this is especially characteristic of the Ateita area but I have not been able to check this out.

11. It is a well known fact that a successful transmission of a verbal message between two co-operative parties presupposes a relatively high degree of shared knowledge. This knowledge can be mapped into the following subsets:

1. language
2. cultural categories and their (cognitive) order
3. data relevant to the context (i.e. the (immediate) lingual environment of message)
4. data relevant to the pertinent situation (i.e. extra-lingual environments)
5. paralingual and kinetic data

In a 'normal' act of communication these five kinds of knowledge enable the H(earer) to understand S(peaker)'s intentions. In riddling the disambiguating function of the frame of reference constituted by 3. and 4. is almost completely missing. The H who is referent oriented in a normal speech situation is left with nothing but what is transmitted by the lingual form *per se* (its linguistic meaning). H can not obtain additional data from the preceding or following section of the discourse nor does he possess any actual, directly applicable knowledge to find out what is actually meant by the S. The only information which is available to the Wolsika riddlee and which belongs to 4. (extra-lingual data) is:

- a. the conventional signalling devices (i.e. introductory and final formulas characterise the utterance as a riddle)
- b. the intended referent (i.e. the solution of the riddle) is not a manifestation of the meaning of the sign (i.e. the kernel)
- c. the referent(s) of the riddle kernel and the intended referent share certain features
- d. the choice of the riddle subject is limited to certain domains, and
- e. the imagery used in the formation of the kernel is more or less conventionalised

Point b. is, as I see it, the most particular aspect in riddling, especially in the so-called "true riddle" (see below). The hearer/riddlee knows a priori that what has been said by the speaker/riddler should not be taken at face value. There is a difference between the meaning of the message directed to him and the thing/event meant (the intended referent).

I would like to stress this point because of the contention sometimes found in the literature that the solution (my intended referent) and the riddle subject are identical. See e.g. George and Dundes (1963:114) where they state this for their so-called literal non-oppositional riddles such as, e.g. "my fader has a tree, it bear fruit, outside green and inside white", solution: "coconut". Here not the meanings of 'fruit' and 'coconut' are identical but both utterances refer to the same thing. Harries (1976:324) does not restrict himself to the relation between riddle subject and intended referent but relates the whole kernel (his Precedent) with the intended referent (his Sequent) and states that "the meaning of the riddle lies in the semantic identity shared by both Precedent and Sequent".

As I said above, in my view, riddle subject (or kernel, for that matter) and the intended referent refer to the same thing/event but they are two different (sets of) meanings. The semantic features which converge in the linguistic meaning of a sign are only partly universal features. The linguist in his effort to give a description which covers all admissible referent tries to establish the meanings on the basis of the reactions of his informants at different occasions. He will set up oppositional relationships for the language under investigation. Consequently, his description will be to a certain degree culturally determined since "a natural language reflects a naive vision of the world" (Ebeling (1978:10)). However, his description will consist of only functional features, not of redundant ones. On the other hand the language user may have different clues at different times for recognising an utterance as a suitable designation of a given phenomenon.

It is incorrect to speak of semantic identity. Take again as example riddle 53 (par.10). In this case I can not find any shared semantic (= linguistically relevant) features. The aversion to, or fear for, faeces is not a constituent of the meaning of /ah/. Here two extremely different meanings are matched together on the basis of a culture specific analogy which from a linguistic point of view does not share any distinctive features. In this instance the feature FEAR/AVERSION is a distinctive feature in the kernel expressed by the verb but an associative (= not distinctive) feature in the intended referent: the riddlee in his search for the solution/intended referent uses not only semantic features but non-semantic features as well.

12. Many of the conundra presented here belong to what folklorists call the 'true riddle'. This is a composition consisting of a riddle subject plus a riddle predicate and where in the RP the information given about the RS is incompatible with/or contradictive to our knowledge

of the real world (the so-called block of the riddle). See the following examples:

- R273: i'li-k 'wo-bâ 'sâra-si (S: 'lanpu 'je-Ili)
water+this it+make flame+non-past lamp its+water
This water can be put to fire. (petroleum)
- R 99: i'li-k tâm â-mâ-ra-si (S: 'tama)
water+this boil rice+becomes+non-past (seawater)
When you boil this water it becomes cooked rice.
- R159: 'dum noK 'je-wa 'wo-nâ-te gal 'je-mâ-lô-ŋkan (S: ku'mə)
child one its+foot it+is+not+ it it+goes+for-a- (snake)
but walk+possible
This child does not have feet but is perfectly
able to walk.
- R 28: a'sî-K 'wo-bâ 'almakan-da-si (S: ta'ful la'kô)
faeces+these they+make people+become+non-past our+penis liquid
These faeces are made human beings. (sperm)

As can be seen from these instances, it sometimes happens that no manifestation of the meaning of a given (set of) sign(s) exists in the real world. It is one of the conventions of riddling that the riddlee accepts this fact and considers what is evoked by the riddle kernel to be a concept/image of something in a fictional world. In fact, many riddle kernels would be rejected by certain linguists as 'unacceptable' 'ungrammatical' or 'unnatural', because they are semantically odd or deviant.

The same intended referent (IR) can be evoked by different images at different times dependent on what the riddler chooses to focus the attention of the riddlee on, e.g. R99 (see above) where the production of salt from seawater is focused on (cooked rice = salt) and R127 (you can take a bath in this water, but drink only a little of it: seawater) where the impossibility to use seawater as drinking water is stressed. Compare also:

- R32 *This little child is able to bind a buffalo*
- R118 *In this village the people do not have hands or feet but they can go wherever they want*
- R159 See above
- R132 *This waistband can kill people*
- R139 *This worm can swallow a pig*
- S : *A snake (Python reticulatus)*

On the other hand, different intended referents may have the same riddle subject (but of course, a different RP), e.g.

RS string / IR (needle and) yarn (R146)
 IR pubic hair (R178)
 IR angling line (R8)
 IR worm (R196)
 IR branch of rice panicle (R221)
 IR branch of tree (R224)
 IR thread of cobweb (R221)
 IR eel (R235)

In some instances the IR of riddle X is used as the RS of riddle Y whose obligatory solution again is similar to the kernel of riddle X:

R142a P: *Mat used to wrap unhusked rice in*
 S: *The waves of the sea*

R142b P: *The waves of the sea are always rolling*
 S: *Mat for wrapping up unhusked rice*

R150a P: *If you throw a stone in this rice-container it directly hits the bottom*
 S: *Pond*

R150b P: *If you throw a stone in this pond it hits the bottom*
 S: *An empty rice-container*

Only a few sets of these mirror-images have been encountered. Sometimes two independent riddles are combined into one complex consisting of two RSs and two RPs:

R206a P: *Although it is a little child it goes far*
 S: *kuT*

R206b P: *It is an adult but he does not walk far*
 S: *ka'poran*

R206c P: *When it is far a little child goes,
 when it is near the adult goes*
 S: *kuT (arrow used for long distance) and
 ka'poran (arrow used for short distance)*

R234 P: *A little child that does not want to enter the village of
 the adults but the adults want to visit the village of
 the little child*
 S: *shrimps and fishes*

The RS may coincide with the grammatical subject (Sb) but this is not always the case (the RSs are underlined):

Sb Adv.loc.
 R233: il'wâj-aK 'woI la'paŋ-tâ (S: 'luŋwâI)
water-pond+this stone big+on-top-of lake
This pond is on top of big stones. (mountain lake)

Sb O V
 R9 : dum ki'riŋ noK 'je-karaŋ-aK i'leh-te si'laŋ
child little one its+beam+this draw-up+and go-down
A little child pulls its beam up and down.

O O Sb O V neg.
 R45 : ma'le noK 'gala sl-ga-'taK-slnâ...
woman one she wether+see+not...
We cannot see this woman...

Adv.instr. O V
 R54 : 'woj -aK mē 'nua bi'len-si
stone+this with thing write+non-past
With this stone you can write something.

O Vaux. Adv.loc.
 R150a: 'woj -aK mē 'sô-K-mi 'mi-muItan-sa-K
stone+this cause container+this+in in+falling+this
 'jêIsol jâ 'jê-pul-mlda-si (S: il'wâI)
straight go it+bottom+go+non-past (water-pond)
When you throw a stone in this rice container it goes
straight down to the bottom. (pond)

Sometimes the grammatical subject is not expressed at all when it is clear from the (non-)linguistic context; see e.g. R54 and:

O O V
 R24 : dum kl'riŋ noK 'wo-funi-ŋboko
child little one it+catch+impossible
A child that is impossible to catch.

O O V
 R60 : ga -'toK 'ahakûl 'jê-sî-K ka'tê-si
his+stomach and his+faeces+these eat+non-past
This stomach and faeces are eaten.

The 'unmarked' Woisika basic sentence pattern is SbO_dO₁V; e.g.

Sb Sb O O V
 R1 : dum ki'riŋ a'nŋ bI'aT gal 'buk-aK ga-'buh-si
child little classifier four they world+this it+lift-up+non-past
Four little children lift up this world.

Sb Sb O_d O_i O_i V V

R2 : dum ki'riŋ noK ga 'boŋ-aK mē'SâKbâI j-en ka'tê-ma
child little one it wood+this to adult him+give eat+past
A little child gave (a piece of) wood to an adult for food.

But it occurs that the grammatical object as RS is foregrounded by change of order, see R45 and, e.g.,:

O Sb O V

R27 : 'muta-K 'almakaŋ-a ga-'fâh-si
smell+this people+the it+look-for+non-past
People look for this smell.

O O Sb O V

R96 'dum noK 'gala a'niŋ 'asakâ noK 'g-aTfe-bê...
child one it classifier hundred one it+hit+too...
This child may be shot by a hundred people...

O O V

R171: 'dum-aK 'beI ga'buh-sinâ-te (loŋ mē ga-'taŋ-î 'laka-si)
child+this not it+lift+not+but (only caus.it+arm+under hang+non-past)
This little child is not carried on the arm, but it is hung under the arm.

S: ma'teI dum
bat child
young of bat

As can be seen from the instances given above, Wolsika has cross-referencing pronominal elements on certain verbs agreeing with subject, object or indirect object. Optional cross-referencing independent pronouns occur: ja ~ ga neutral forms: 'he, she, it, they' gal (slight emphasis), 'gala (definiteness) jêŋ (emphasis) 'it is he who', 'jêru (reflexivity), 'jera (antithesis), etc. In the riddles often an (non-generic) indefinite noun phrase is used e.g.: 'dum noK' 'a child' which may or may not be followed by one of the many forms of the third person pronoun. The suffix -aK abounds in the material. Elsewhere (Stokhof 1978) I have termed it an anaphoric suffix; it expresses previous knowledge of the speaker, unknown to the hearer. This view is confirmed by the many instances offered in the riddles. In the solutions inalienables often take the t-prefix for generic reference:

'eyes'	R 10	t-eŋ
'genitals'	R 27	't-âI t-a'fuI
'teeth'	R185	t-ae ⁹

For further details I refer to Stokhof forthcoming b.

13. There is a relationship between RS and IR in Woisika but it is not so obvious that we are able to predict the IR as soon as the RS has been given. Table 2 shows that 42% of all RSs are human, only 2.78 animal and 45.72 non-animate. I cannot explain this tendency to anthropomorphism, though I am aware that it occurs elsewhere too, e.g. Köngäs Maranda 1976:130 quoting Milner. It is interesting to note that a comparison of all human RSs and their pertinent IRs shows that more than 51% had an animal as its IR. Non-adults are favoured as RS. L.L. Kamengmai suggests that *child/little child* is often chosen as RS since much of what is told about it may be true:

*'a child can be ordered to do practically everything you want
(in Woisika society)'*.

This statement then would imply that *child/little child* is not more than a dummy, itself not important for the solution of the riddle, but merely the carrier of the properties assigned to it in the RP. This may be partly true, but on the basis of the further explanations given by L.L. Kamengmai I found that:

1. *little child* often points to an IR which is relatively small, e.g.,: eye, needle, star, moon, red pepper, matches, scorpion, worm, bee, faeces, fireflies.
2. *child* often point to an IR which
 - a. forms a part of a greater whole:
 - clapper* and bell
 - hammer* and gong
 - arrow* and bow
 - pestle* and mortar
 - trivet* and fireplace
 - poles* and granary/clan house
 - feet* and body,
 - b. is a heavenly body: *sun, moon, star*
3. The connection between RS and IR is often based on sensory, functional or behavioural analogy.

Examples are:

 - 3.1 visual analogy:
 - mango/egg
 - worm/snake
 - Piper Betel and fruits from the areca palm (*Areca Catechu*)/
 - male genitals
 - string/pubic hair
 - string/thread of cobweb

R241: 'muta-ŋdaŋ 'mêjâ fa'len-si (S: ton i'ten-ta)
stink+when carry wrap-up+non-past (S: *Jack fruit ripe+*
When it stinks then it is buried. resultative)

S: A ripe Jack fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*; it is eaten
 (= buried) in spite of its very strong odour)

Or only a third person is indicated in the form of an obligatory third
 person prefix on the verb, e.g.:

R26 : ka'tê-ŋkaŋ-te 'wo-funi-ŋboko (S: il)
eat+possible+but it+touch+impossible (S: *water*)
You can eat it but not touch it.

TABLE 2

Relative frequency of RSs as a percentage of
 the total number of riddles (300)

			types of RS	total %			
riddles with RS	animate	human	adults	men 0.42	2.94	44.78	
				women 2.52			
			non-adults	little child	10.92		22.68
				female child	1.26		
				male child child (gen.)	0.84 9.66		
	human beings (general)			16.38			
	non-human	animals	2.78				
	non-animate	things	plants		8.04		
			stone	3.40	37.68		
			house	3.09			
string			2.78				
water			2.78				
village			1.85				
tree			1.70				
firewood			1.24				
door			1.24				
hat			1.24				
skin			1.24				
cooked rice			1.24				
ball			0.93				
mat	0.93						
other objects (< 0.93)		14.02					
riddles without RS				9.5			

II. THE RIDDLES¹⁰

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| R1. | P. dum ki'riŋ a'niŋ bi'aT gal 'bukaK ga'buhsi | S. 'ûtiŋ bi'aT |
| | P. <i>child little human-being four they world+this it+lift-up+non-past</i> | S. <i>pole four</i> |
| | P. <i>Four little children lift this world</i> | S. <i>The four poles (of the granary/clan house)¹</i> |
| | P. Empat anak itu angkat dunia | S. Empat tiang (dari gudang besar) |
| R2. | P. dum ki'diŋ noK ga 'boŋaK mê sâK'bâI jen ka'têma | S. laku'aIla ('ahakûl pi'e) |
| | P. <i>child little one it wood+this to adult he+receives to-eat+past</i> | S. <i>mousedeer (and crocodile)</i> |
| | P. <i>A little child gave (a piece of) wood to an adult for food</i> | S. <i>Mousedeer (Tragulus pygmaeus) (and crocodile)²</i> |
| | P. Satu anak kecil kasih makan kayu kepada seorang dewasa | S. Kancil (dan buaya) |
| R3. | P. 'alma noK ja'wêsamami 'laTsimante, 'beI gal mê ka'waIlahnâ | S. ma'kaI |
| | P. <i>human-being one he flood+in-the-middle stands+but, not he falls+not</i> | S. taro |
| | P. <i>A human being stands in the middle of the flood but he does not fall</i> | S. Taro (<i>Colocasia antiquorum</i>) ³ |
| | P. Seorang berdiri di tengah banjir tetapi dia tidak jatuh | S. Keladi |
| R4. | P. ma'le noK ga 'ataŋ 'wobâ mê 'mataŋ 'wôI we | S. taPki'ri |
| | P. <i>woman one she bridge it+makes for river it+via to-cross</i> | S. <i>spider</i> |
| | P. <i>A woman who makes a bridge to cross a river</i> | S. <i>Spider</i> |
| | P. Seorang wanita membuat jembatan untuk menyeberang sungai | S. Laba-laba |

- R5. P. 'wojaK 'mitumuŋaK il 'wâI S. wa'te
P. *stone+this in+interior+this* S. *coconut*
water pond
P. *In this stone is a pond* S. *Coconut*
P. Di dalam batu itu ada kolam S. Kelapa
- R6. P. 'boŋaK il mi S. ka'mâ
P. *wood/tree+this water is* S. *sugarcane*
P. *In this wood/tree is water* S. *Sugarcane (Saccharum officinarum)*
P. Di dalam kayu itu ada air S. Tebu
- R7. P. su'muja 'almaŋ ga'buh 'mâlônkaŋ S. ban
P. *wind+the granary it+lifts-up* S. *tyre*
walk+to-be-able
P. *This wind enables the granary to go* S. *Tyre*⁴
for a walk
P. Angin itu bisa bawa gudang S. Ban
jalan-jalan
- R8. P. ka'pe 'laIkonaK mê ka'raŋ 'bâI S. wa'ne 'laka
i'lesinŋaŋ
P. *string small+this for beam big* S. *angle hangs*
draw-up+to-be-able
P. *This string is able to draw up* S. *Angling line*
a big beam
P. Tali kecil itu bisa menarik balok S. Snar pancing
yang besar
- R9. P. dum ki'riŋ noK 'jekaraŋaK i'lehte S. fa'râ
si'laŋ
P. *child little one its+beam+this* S. *snot*
draws-up+and goes-down
P. *A little child pulls its beam up* S. *Snot*
and down
P. Seorang anak kecil bisa menarik S. Ingus
balok turun naik
- R10. P. 'dum oK noK 'nuânanaK 'gaIma S. teŋ
'jenlakwo tû
P. *child two one things+these they-all* S. *our+eyes*
they+know all
P. *A pair of children that knows* S. *Eyes*
everything
P. Sepasang anak tahu segala macam S. Mata
- R11. P. 'alma noK 'jekulak 'wuI 'kanah S. ku'me
'jeweTdadîsi
P. *human-being one his+skin+this month* S. *snake*
every he+replaces+continuously+
non-past
P. *A human being who changes his skin* S. *Snake*
every month
P. Seorang menggantikan kulitnya tiap S. Ular
bulan

- R12. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jewilingdaŋ 'jêru S. ma'teI
gal'paŋ ga'wâK 'wowilisi
- P. *child one it it+defecate+when* S. bat
itself its+nose its-mouth-this
it+defecate-on+non-past
- P. *This little child dirties his own* S. Bat
face when defecating
- P. Seorang anak kecil kalau mau berak S. Kalong
dia selalu berak di mukanya sendiri
- R13. P. ma'ne nokmi 'almakaŋ 'jetândaŋ S. ma'teI
ga'maŋ ga'wâl 'tolakasi
- P. *village one+in people+the they+sleep+* S. bat
when their+neck them+turn together+
hang+non-past
- P. *In this village people sleep hanging* S. Bat
together with their necks turned
downwards
- P. Di satu kampung bila orangnya mau S. Kalong
tidur mereka selalu tidur terbalik
- R14. P. 'boŋaK gal 'woItâ 'bôsi S. 'waI ga'mû
P. *tree+this it stone+on-top-of* S. goat its+horn
grow+non-past
- P. *This tree grows on stone* S. Goat's horns
- P. Pohon itu tumbuh di atas batu S. Tanduk kambing
- R15. P. 'wojaK ba'tetiŋdaŋbo i'li 'jâŋme S. wa'te
P. *stone+this cut+when+and water+the* S. coconut
come-out
- P. *When this stone is cut the water* S. Coconut
comes out
- P. Batu itu kalau dipotong airnya keluar S. Kelapa
- R16. P. ma'le sâK noK 'jemâlôndaŋ 'alma oK S. wol'maŋ
P. *woman adult one she+goes+for-a-walk+* S. her+shadow
when human-being two
- P. *When a woman goes for a walk there* S. Shadow
are always two human beings
- P. Wanita itu kalau berjalan selalu S. Bayangan
berdua
- R17. P. ma'le noK 'jemâlôndaŋ 'almaŋ 'bâjaK S. 'sopale
'wora 'lôsi
- P. *woman one she+goes+for-a-walk+when* S. snail
granary+this she+carries walk+non-past
- P. *When this woman goes for a walk she* S. Snail
always carries her granary/clan house
with her
- P. Seorang wanita kalau jalan-jalan dia S. Siput darat
selalu bawa rumahnya sendiri

- R18. P. ma'ne nokmi 'almakaŋa 'jemâtolôndaŋ S. 'saKpe, laK,
'titlarante ma'teI, 'aUh,
'maUkubaI
- P. *village one+in people+the they+go+ S. wood/grass+pig,
together+for-a-walk+when night+become
+first civet, bat, deer,
cat*
- P. *A village where the people only go for S. Wild pig, civet,
a walk after dark bat, deer, cat*
- P. Di sebuah kampung kalau orang mau S. Babi hutan, musang,
keluar jalan-jalan selalu pada malam Kalong, rusa,
hari kucing
- R19. P. 'alma noK 'jemâlolôndaŋ fin'liŋaK S. 'saKpe, 'aUh
'womusan 'lôsi
- P. *human-being one he+goes+for-a-walk+when S. wood/grass+pig,
ground+this it+sniffs+at walks+non-past deer*
- P. *A human being who always sniffs at S. Wild pig, deer
the ground when he walks*
- P. Seorang kalau mau jalan-jalan selalu S. Babi hutan, rusa
mencium tanah
- R20. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jewilingdaŋ fi'niŋ S. 'maUkubaI
'tênte 'mijewilisi
- P. *child one it it+defecates+when ground S. cat
digs+first in+first in+it+defecates+
non-past*
- P. *This child makes a hole in the ground S. Cat
before it defecates*
- P. Seorang anak kalau dia mau berak selalu S. Kucing
gali tanah sendiri baru berak di
dalamnya
- R21. P. 'dum moK 'gala ga'fâkonbê 'jebendera S. ku'ra
mê 'jête
- P. *child little it it+self-alone+too S. horse
its+flag it+hoists*
- P. *A child that hoists its flag on its own S. Horse⁵*
- P. Seorang anak yang selalu manaikkan S. Kuda
bendera sendiri
- R22. P. dum ma'le noK 'gala 'jenih 'jekôha S. 'wuI
'paIsaŋ 'ahakûl ka'mal
- P. *child female one it it+sits it+stays S. moon
clear and cold*
- P. *There is a girl who always lives in S. The moon
a clear and cold place*
- P. Seorang nona yang selalu hidup di S. Bulan
tempat terang dan dingin
- R23. P. 'dum lam noK 'gala 'jenih 'jekôha S. waT
'beba tû
- P. *child male one it it+lives it+stays S. sun
hot all*
- P. *This boy lives in a hot place S. Sun*
- P. Seorang laki-laki yang selalu hidup S. Matahari
panas

- R24. P. dum ki'riŋ noK 'wofuniŋboko S. aTpu'na
P. *child little one it+catch+impossible* S. *fire smoke*
P. *A child that is impossible to catch* S. *Smoke*
P. Anak kecil yang tidak bisa dipegang S. *Asap api*
- R25. P. fâ mê 'ûtiŋ 'waosllaŋ S. ta'suka
P. *rat disk let housepost over-it+ goes-down* S. *we+have-intercourse*
P. *To fit a rat disk on the housepost* S. *To have intercourse*⁶
P. Gelang gudang di masukkan di tiang (gudang adat) S. *Bersetubuh*
- R26. P. ka'têŋkante 'wofuniŋboko S. il
P. *eat+possible+but it+catch+impossible* S. *water*
P. *You can eat it but not catch it* S. *Water*
P. Mudah dimakan, sulit dipegang S. *Air*
- R27. P. 'mutaK 'almakaŋa ga'fâhsl S. 'tâI ta'fuI
P. *smell+this people+the it+look-for+ non-past* S. *our+vagina our+penis*
P. *This smell is much sought after/ very popular* S. *Genitals*
P. Bau itu dicari orang S. *Kelamin*
- R28. P. a'sîK 'wobâ 'almakaŋdasi S. ta'fuI la'kô
P. *faeces+these it+make people+become+ non-past* S. *out+penis liquid*
P. *These faeces are made human beings* S. *Sperm*
P. Tahi itu dibuat jadi orang S. *Air mani*
- R29. P. 'lam sâK noK 'gala 'jetâdiŋdan S. pi'e
'duŋ mokaK a'ru ga'funsi
P. *man adult one he he+sleeps+when child little+this many them+catches+non-past* S. *crocodile*
P. *When this man sleeps he catches many little children* S. *Crocodile*⁷
P. Seorang laki-laki kalau dia tidur dia selalu tangkap banyak anak kecil S. *Buaya*
- R30. P. 'alma noK 'iltâ 'mâlôsi S. a'neI
P. *human-being one water+on-top-of goes+for-a-walk+non-past* S. *pond-skater*
P. *Human being who walks on water* S. *Pond-skater (bug of family Gerridae)*
P. Seorang yang jalan di atas air S. *Apung-apung (?)*
- R31. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jemâlôŋdan 'nuânâk S. 'sopale
bi'len 'mâsi
P. *child one it it+goes+for-a-walk+when things+these writes goes+non-past* S. *snail*
P. *A little child that when it goes for a walk writes while going* S. *Snail*
P. Seorang anak selalu berjalan sambil menulis S. *Siput darat*

- R32. P. dum ki'riŋak jêŋ 'kaUpajaK gal'falsi S. 'labê
 P. *child little+this it+is-he-who buffle+S. python*
this him+binds+non-past
 P. *This little child is able to bind a* S. *Python reticulatus*
buffalo
 P. Anak kecil itu mengikat kerbau S. Ular sawah
- R33. P. i'lîk 'makâ S. 'tama
 P. *water+this bitter* S. *sea*
 P. *This water is bitter* S. *Seawater*
 P. Air itu pahit S. Air laut
- R34. P. ta'fora 'bonaK mê 'miTsaK wu'toŋa S. 'bonko sel
 'jâŋme
 P. *iron wood+this planting+this food+* S. *Cassava stem*
the comes
 P. *You plant an iron bar and you get food* S. *Stem of Cassava*
(Manihot utilissima
Pohl.)⁸
 P. Tanam besi keluar makanan S. Batang ubi
- R35. P. 'dum nok 'gala 'jewiliŋaŋ 'kâhaK S. 'waI ah
 'jâŋme
 P. *child one it it+defecates+when green-* S. *goat faeces*
peas+these come
 P. *When this child defecates it is always* S. *(faeces of) A goat*
green peas
 P. Anak kecil kalau berak selalu keluar S. Tahi kambing
 kacang hijau
- R36. P. wu'toŋbo 'sikatêhaK 'jeIî 'sifanêŋaŋS. mûT
 sita'nelsi
 P. *food+which we+eating+this its+water+* S. *lemon*
the us+hits+when we+cry+non-past
 P. *We eat this food but when its juice* S. *Lemon (Citrus)⁹*
affects us we cry
 P. Sayur itu kita makan tetapi kalau S. Jeruk
 airnya kena kita kita menangis
- R37. P. 'kulaK mê 'miTsaK 'ihaK 'jâŋme S. ko
 P. *skin+this planting+this contents+* S. *k.o. tuber*
these come
 P. *You plant the skin and you get the* S. *k.o. yam tuber*
flesh *(genus Dioscorea)¹⁰*
 P. Tanam kulit keluar isi S. Ubi bulat
- R38. P. ma'le 'fona bâl 'wubâŋkaŋ S. 'sibe ma'le
 P. *woman young+this ball it+makes+be able* S. *chicken female*
 P. *This young woman can make a ball* S. *Hen*
 P. Nona itu bisa buat bola S. Ayam betina

- R39. P. 'bâłmi ti'muŋaK 'bila ma'leta S. 'sibe wâ
P. *ball+in inside+this white yellow* S. *chicken egg*
P. *In this ball is white and yellow* S. *Hen's egg*
P. Di dalam bola itu ada putih dan kuning S. Telor ayam
- R40. P. 'almakaŋ i'lî ku'naniŋdaŋ tâŋ 'wâItâ S. aP
'tolaTsisî
P. *people water+the dirty+when come-upwards pond+on-top-of together+stand+non-past* S. *fish*
P. *These people always appear together at the surface of the water when it is dirty* S. *Fish*
P. Orang kalau airnya kotor mereka selalu naik di permukaan air S. Ikan
- R41. P. 'dum oK 'wonâraŋ, 'alma 'mâlôŋboko S. 'tewa
P. *child two they+not+when, human-being goes+for-a-walk+impossible* S. *our+feet*
P. *When these two children are not there, a human being cannot walk* S. *Feet*
P. Kalau dua anak itu tidak ada, orang tidak bisa berjalan S. Kaki
- R42. P. 'dum noK 'wonâraŋ, 'alma ka'wâjiŋboko S. ta'wâ
P. *child one it+not+when, human-being speak+impossible* S. *our+mouth*
P. *When this child is not there, a human being cannot speak* S. *Mouth*
P. Kalau satu anak tidak ada, orang tidak bisa berbicara S. Mulut
- R43. P. 'alma 'tâkaŋdaŋ a'tîK 'sârasî S. ta'fora
P. *human-being together+fight+when fire+this flame+non-past* S. *iron*
P. *When people fight fire appears* S. *Iron*¹¹
P. Kalau orang berkelahi api menyala S. Batu (dan besi)
- R44. P. 'dum noK 'almakaŋ duni'ami 'jebiêhnâ, S. aT'sâra
'ahte i'lî 'jêbiêsi
P. *child one people world+in he+is-afraid+not, but water+the he+is-afraid+non-past* S. *fire flame*
P. *This child is not afraid of people, but it is afraid of water* S. *A flame*
P. Seorang yang tidak takut manusia di dunia, tetapi dia takut air S. Nyala api
- R45. P. ma'le noK 'gala siga'taKsinâ, 'ahte S. su'muI
'gala 'nuânana 'wobâ 'bokorasi
P. *woman one she we+her+see+not, but she things them+makes bad+become+non-past* S. *wind*

- P. *We cannot see this woman but she destroys all kind of things* S. *The wind*
- P. *Seorang wanita yang kita tidak dapat melihat, tetapi dia bisa merusak segala macam benda* S. *Angin*
- R46. P. 'âmâ ka'têhâK, 'wojaK 'jânme S. 'jokê
 P. *cooked+rice eating+this, stone+this come* S. *turtle*
 P. *It eats rice and produces stones* S. *Turtle*
 P. *Makan nasi, keluar batu* S. *(Tahi) Penyuh*
- R47. P. wu'toŋ nu'kuŋaK ka'tê 'mioKsi S. 'waI
 P. *food only-one+this eat twice+non-past* S. *goat*
 P. *Only one meal but it is eaten twice* S. *Goat*
 P. *Satu makanan tetapi dimakan dua kali* S. *Kambing*
- R48. P. 'almakaŋ 'jera 'nuâ noK jêŋ gal'paŋ ga'wâ 'wonâte 'almakaŋaK ga'fâhsi S. 'tâI ta'fuI
 P. *people they thing one it its+nose its+ mouth they+not+and people+this it+ look-for+non-past* S. *our+vagina our+penis*
 P. *People look for something without nose or mouth* S. *Genitals*
 P. *Orang mencari sesuatu yang tanpa hidung dan mulut* S. *Kelamin*
- R49. P. 'wojaK ka'têhâK, 'âmâ 'jânme S. 'sibe
 P. *stone+this eating+this, cooked+rice comes* S. *chicken*
 P. *Stones are eaten and rice appears* S. *Chicken*
 P. *Makan batu, keluar nasi* S. *Ayam*
- R50. P. ko 'têhâK po'pôsi S. ah
 P. *tuber yam digging+this continuously-breaks+non-past* S. *faeces*
 P. *You dig out yams but they break all the time* S. *Faeces*
 P. *Ubi digali, tetapi patah-patah terus* S. *Tahi*
- R51. P. ta'fora boŋ 'mibateTsaK, 'mitumuŋa su'ku S. tôn
 P. *iron wood in+cutting+this in+inside+ the hole* S. *bamboo*
 P. *When you cut this iron bar, there are holes inside* S. *Bamboo*
 P. *Besi dipotong, didalamnya lobang* S. *Bambu*

- R52. P. sâK ka'wasa wu'ton 'tâUtâUbê ka'têsi, S. ma'teI
'ahte 'dum moK 'gala mi'lâ 'jewonâte
wu'ton mal tû 'jekatêsi
- P. *adult rich-man food everywhere eat+ non-past, but child little it garden it+has-not+and food tasty all it+eats+ non-past* S. *Bat*
- P. *Rich people eat wherever they are, but this little child does not have a garden and yet it eats all sorts of tasty food* S. *Bat*
- P. Orang kaya makan segala macam makanan S. Kalong
tetapi seorang anak kecil dia tidak
punya kebun tetapi dia makan makanan
yang enak
- R53. P. 'dum noK 'almakana 'jêbiêsi S. ah
- P. *child one people+the it+frightens+ non-past* S. *faeces*
- P. *A child that frightens people* S. *Faeces*
- P. Seorang anak kecil yang ditakut orang S. Tahi
- R54. P. 'wojaK mê 'nuâ bi'leni S. aT ki'nî
- P. *stone+this with thing write+non-past* S. *fire-dust*
- P. *With this stone you can write things* S. *Charcoal*
- P. Batu itu dapat dipakai untuk menulis S. Arang
- R55. P. 'leja 'jetâdîhbê 'beI ga'mârahnâ S. pi'e
- P. *king+the he+sleeps+though not he+ makes-noises+not* S. *crocodile*
- P. *This king does not make any noise while sleeping* S. *Crocodile*
- P. Raja itu kalau sedang tidur dia tidak S. Buaya
bersuara
- R56. P. ma'ne nokmi 'almakana 'gaIma 'jelaka S. 'kuI
tû
- P. *village one+in people+the all-of-them they+nude all* S. *dog*
- P. *There is a kampong where everybody is nude* S. *Dogs*
- P. Di sebuah kampong semua orang S. Anjing
telanjang
- R57. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jemâlôhbê 'âmâ 'ilaK S. sil
'worante 'jemâlôsi
- P. *child one it it+goes+for-a-walk+ whenever rice+cooked water+this it+has+first it+goes+for-a-walk+ non-past* S. *we*
- P. *A child which always takes cooked rice and water with him whenever he goes* S. *We (human beings)*¹²
- P. Seorang anak kemana pun dia jalan dia S. Kita (manusia)
selalu bawa nasi dan air

- R58. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jetasukandan 'almakan S. 'sibe
a'rubâIbê 'jetasukasi
- P. *child one it they+together-have-inter-* S. *chicken*
course+when people many+although they+
together+have-intercourse+non-past
- P. *There is a child that when it wants* S. *Chicken*
to have intercourse it does so
although many people may be present
- P. Seorang anak kalau mau bersetubuh S. Ayam
walaupun banyak orang dia bersetubuh
- R59. P. 'wojaK kol bi'aT S. wa'te
P. *stone+this layer four* S. *coconut*
P. *This stone has four layers* S. *A coconut*
P. Batu itu punya empat lapis S. Kelapa
- R60. P. ga'toK 'ahakûl 'jêsîK ka'tês; S. 'waI
P. *his+stomach and his+faeces+these eat+* S. *goat*
non-past
P. *His paunch and faeces are eaten* S. *Goat*¹³
P. Perut dan tahinya dimakan S. Kambing
- R61. P. pêK 'idêK 'jêI noK 'bika 'jêI noK S. ta'ma il
ma'leta
P. *pig+this roast+this part one red part* S. *sea water*
one yellow
P. *This pig is roasted so that one side* S. *Salt water and*
is red and one side is yellow *fresh water*¹⁴
P. Babi itu dibakar sebelah merah sebelah S. Air laut dengan
kuning air tawar
- R62. P. dum ki'diŋ noK fi'niŋ 'têhaK 'jebaŋboko S. tî
P. *child little one soil digging+this* S. *mouse*
it+capable-very
P. *A little child that is very good at* S. *Mouse*
digging
P. Seorang anak yang jagoan menggali tanah S. Tikus
- R63. P. ma'le noK 'gala 'tâUmi 'mâlônŋan S. laK
'jemutak 'watu oK 'suhbê 'tanâ 'muta
P. *woman one she wherever goes+for-a-* S. *civet*
walk+when her+scent-this days two
three+too still smells
P. *There is a woman whose spoor you can* S. *Civet*
still smell after a few days
P. Seorang wanita bila dia berjalan di S. Musang
mana saja walaupun sudah dua, tiga
hari bekas jalannya masih berbau
- R64. P. fi'niŋaK il wu'toŋ mê 'ite S. ûŋ
P. *earth+this water food fill* S. *earthen pan*
P. *In this earth is put water and food* S. *Earthenware pan*
P. Tanah itu dimasuk air dan sayuran S. Priuk (tanah)

- R65. P. 'alma noK 'gala 'jemâlôhaK 'beI S. saK 'maUkubaI
'wogamârahna
- P. *human-being one he he+is-going+for-a- S. wood cat*
walk+this not he+makes-a-sound+not
- P. *This human being does not make a sound S. Wild cat*
when he goes for a walk
- P. Seorang yang jalan tetapi tidak S. Kucing hutan
kedengaran bunyi
- R66. P. 'dum noK gala wu'ton 'koU tû 'jekatêsi S. laK, 'maUkibaI
- P. *child one he food raw all it+eats+ S. civet, cat*
non-past
- P. *A child that eats all food raw S. Civet, cat*
- P. Seorang anak yang makan semua makanan S. Musang, kucing
mentah
- R67. P. 'alma ga'borataK 'beI mê 'motahnâ 'ide S. pe 'waI
ka'têsi
- P. *human-being he+is-dead+this not thrown- S. pig, goat*
away+not roast eat+non-past
- P. *This dead human being is not thrown S. Pigs and goats*
away but rather roasted and eaten
- P. Orang yang sudah mati tidak dibuang S. Babi dan kambing
tetapi dibakar dan dimakan
- R68. P. bon ga'buK bi'aT mê 'togafunsi S. ka'rî ga'bunan
- P. *wood/tree it+top+this four together+ S. house its+roof-top*
they+touch+non-past
- P. *Four trees touching each other S. The top of the roof¹⁵*
- P. Empat ujung pohon pegang bersama S. Bubungan gudang
besar
- R69. P. ta'kâ a'niŋ su 'jegafilina ga'fâkon S. ta'fuI
'tewe ka'rî 'ihmidasi, dum 'oka
a'wingami ga'reIdasi
- P. *thief human-being three their+it+head+ S. our+penis*
this he+alone+on-its-own enters house
inside+in+non-past, child two+
the door+in him+wait+non-past
- P. *There are three thieves; the leader S. Penis (and testicles)*
enters the house the other two wait
for him in front of the door
- P. Tiga pencuri kepalanya masuk di dalam S. Kelamin laki-laki
rumah sendiri, anak buah dua tunggu
di depan pintu
- R70. P. saK a'rubâI pu'ra ga'watâ 'bôma S. 'tâI
- P. *grass much hole its+mouth+on-top S. our+vagina*
grows+past
- P. *Much grass has grown on the lip of S. Vagina*
the hole
- P. Banyak rumput tumbuh di atas pinggir S. Kelamin perempuan
lobang

- R71. P. du'nla 'bukaK jên 'dolinaK 'jête S. ta'wâ
 P. *world+this it sky+this it+climbs* S. *our+mouth*
 P. *This world reaches the sky* S. *Mouth*
 P. Ounia itu naik bertemu dengan langit S. Mulut
- R72. P. 'boŋmîK ka'rî a'rubâI mê 'taltâ 'laTsi S. tôn
 'tama
 P. *tree-in+this house many each-other+ on-top-of to+stand move-upwards+past* S. *bamboo*
 P. *In this tree you'll find many houses stacked on top of each other* S. *Bamboo*
 P. Oi pohon itu banyak rumah yang bertingkat naik S. Bambu
- R73. P. le'tejaK 'wofuniŋkaŋ, 'ahte ta'miŋkonaK 'wofuniŋboko S. ta'taŋ buK
 P. *far-away+this it+touch+possible, but near+very+this it+touch+impossible* S. *our+arm top*
 P. *Something far away we are able to touch, but this which is very near we cannot touch* S. *The elbows*¹⁶
 P. Jauh itu bisa dipegang, dekat tidak bisa dipegang S. Siku tangan
- R74. P. le'teja ga'takuŋkaŋ, ta'miŋa ga'takuŋboko S. ta'maŋ
 P. *far-away+the it+see+possible, near+the it+see+impossible* S. *our+neck*
 P. *Something far away we can see, but not something near* S. *Neck*
 P. Jauh itu dapat dilihat, dekatnya tidak S. Leher
- R75. P. 'wofuniŋdaŋ oK, 'wofunsiŋaraŋ noK S. teŋ
 P. *it+touch+when two, it+touch+not+when one* S. *our+eye*
 P. *When you touch it there are two, when you do not touch it there is one* S. *Eye*¹⁷
 P. Kalau dipegang dua, kalau tidak satu S. Mata kita
- R76. P. dum ki'riŋ noK 'gala sâK ka'wasabê ga'besiŋkaŋ jên 'wôsi S. jâ wi'li
 P. *child little one it adult important-man+too him+orders+when, he+possesses it+follow+non-past* S. *go defecate*
 P. *When this little child orders something even important men do his will* S. *To defecate*
 P. Anak kecil itu kalau dia suruh orang besar selalu turut S. Pergi berak

- R77. P. 'wofuningdan gata'nelsi 'wofunsinâraŋ S. ku'ron
ga'beI ta'nelsinâ
- P. *it+touch+when it+cries+non-past it+touch+not+when it+not cries+not* S. gong
- P. *When you touch it, it cries, when you do not touch it, it does not cry* S. Gong
- P. Kalau dipegang dia menangis, kalau tidak dipegang dia tidak menangis S. Gong
- R78. P. ga'takunŋan 'alma oK, ga'taksinâraŋ S. 'woI su'roT
'alma noK
- P. *it+see+when human-being two, it+see+not+when human-being one* S. stone letter
- P. *When you look at it there are two human beings when you do not look there is only one* S. Mirror
- P. Kalau lihat dua orang, kalau tidak satu S. Cermin
- R79. P. ga'taKsal kaŋ 'ahte 'wofunsa 'boko S. ta'taŋ buK
- P. *It+see+it possible but it+touching impossible* S. our+arm top
- P. *You can see it but not touch it* S. Elbow
- P. Bisa dilihat tetapi pegang tidak bisa S. Siku tangan
- R80. P. dum ki'riŋ oK 'wofuningdan 'mâlônŋboko, S. teŋ
'ahte 'wofunsinâraŋ 'mâlônkaŋ
- P. *child little two it+touch+when go+for-a-walk+impossible, but it+touch+not+when go+for-a-walk+possible* S. our+eye
- P. *When you touch these two little children you cannot walk, but when you do not touch them you can walk* S. The eyes
- P. Dua anak kecil kalau dipegang jalannya tidak bisa, kalau tidak dipegang bisa jalan S. Mata
- R81. P. 'welaŋ si'llandaŋ 'jeôŋaK ga'seTsi S. 'aI 'bâI
- P. *dew comes-down+when its+ankle-bracelets+these they+jingle+non-past* S. water big
- P. *When the dew is falling our ankle-bracelets jingle* S. Rain¹⁸
- P. Kalau embun turun selalu membunyikan gelang-gelang kaki S. Hujan
- R82. P. 'woUko 'ahakûl 'jeruma 'gannoK S. ku'ron 'ahakûl
'tâkahak 'woUkoK jêŋ ta'nelsi 'jefô
- P. *his+mother and her+child+the they+two together+fighting+this his+mother+this she-is-it-who weeps+non-past* S. (church)bell and its-clapper,gong and its drumstick
- P. *When mother and child are fighting it is the mother who weeps* S. Bell and clapper, gong and drumstick
- P. Bila ibu dan anak berkelahi, ibunya selalu menangis S. Lonceng gereja atau gong

- R83. P. ga'wâ 'wokusindaŋ 'nuâ ka'têŋboko, S. ta'waI
ga'wâ 'wometindaŋ 'nuâ ka'têŋkaŋ
- P. *its+mouth it+close+when thing eat+ impossible, its+mouth it+open+when thing eat+possible* S. *our+ear*
- P. *When its mouth is closed he cannot eat, S. The ear when it is open he can eat*
- P. Kalau mulutnya ditutup dia tidak bisa S. Telinga
makan kalau mulutnya dibuka dia bisa
- R84. P. 'boŋtâ 'iTsak, fi'niŋtâ 'gaendasi S. pûK
- P. *tree+on-top-of calling+this, earth+ on-top-of it+answer+non-past* S. *fart*
- P. *You call from the tree-top, you are answered from the ground* S. *A fart*
- P. Panggil dari atas pohon, di tanah S. Kentut
membalas
- R85. P. Ka'rîK 'jewa 'wonâte, gal 'iltâ 'mâlôsi S. 'kapal
- P. *house+this its+leg it+is+not+but, it water+on-top-of goes+for-a-walk+ non-past* S. *ship*
- P. *This house has no legs but it walks on water* S. *Ship*
- P. Rumah itu tidak punya kaki tetapi bisa S. Kapal
jalan di atas air
- R86. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jefalakaK ma'selakan S. ma'teI ga'pata
- P. *child one it its+clothes+these beautiful* S. *bat its+wing*
- P. *There is a child with beautiful clothes* S. *(The wings of the) Bat*
- P. Anak kecil yang punya pakaian yang S. (Sayap) Kalong
bagus
- R87. P. 'aI'bâI si'landaŋ 'jêIsol ka'rîsama S. su'luI
'wôI si'lanŋ jâ fi'niŋtâ
- P. *water big comes-down+when straight house+in-the-middle-of it+via comes-down goes earth+on-top-of* S. *urine*
- P. *When the rain falls it falls straight through the house to the ground* S. *Urine*
- P. Kalau hujan turun, langsung turun S. Air kencing
melalui rumah tembus sampai di tanah
- R88. P. i'liK da'waŋ 'boko, 'ahte 'alma S. 'lanpu 'jeIli
'nanŋkaŋ 'ahakûl mē ûŋ 'tâmsi
- P. *water+this medicine bad, but human-being drinks+possible and for pan cook+non-past* S. *lamp its+water*
- P. *This water is poison but human beings can drink it and they use it for cooking* S. *Petroleum*¹⁹
- P. Air itu racun tetapi orang bisa minum S. Minyak tanah
dan untuk masak

- R89. P. i'lîk tol ma'kâ 'aha tol mal S. 'tama il
 P. *water+this little bitter and little sweet* S. *sea water*
 P. *This water is partly bitter and partly sweet* S. *Sea water (and fresh water)*
 P. Air itu sebagian pahit, sebagian enak S. Air laut (dengan air biasa)
- R90. P. 'duŋ moka 'gala 'titlarakandah, 'wehe S. a'teI 'bâI
 'lâpaŋmi 'jetonihsî, 'ahte 'watu ga'maI
 P. *child little+the they being+evening, go field+in they+together+sit+non-past, but day they+not-want* S. *bird big*
 P. *These little children go into the field when the evening has come, but during the day they do not want to go* S. *The stars*
 P. Anak kecil pada waktu malam mereka duduk di lapangan tetapi waktu siang mereka tidak mau S. Bintang
- R91. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'nuâ noK 'wofunsinâte S. ta'puI 'jewali
 'gala ma'ne pu'andante 'mijenihsî
 P. *child one it thing one it+touches+not+S. and it village beautiful+first in+it+stays+non-past* S. *crab its+nest*
 P. *One child that does not work at all but lives in a beautiful village* S. *The crab('s nest)*
 P. Seorang anak yang tidak mempunyai pekerjaan tetapi dia selalu tinggal di tempat yang bagus S. (Saran) Kepiting
- R92. P. 'dum moK 'kaenaK ta'fora wa'tila 'jêdâ S. 'sera ta'fora
 P. *child little little+this iron hat it+ wears-on-the-head* S. *foreign iron*
 P. *These little children wear an iron hat on the head* S. *Matches*
 P. Anak-anak itu selalu pakai topi waja S. Korek api
- R93. P. wa'tilâK 'aI 'wosilanbê 'beI pa'ransinâ S. ma'kaI wu'râ
 P. *hat+this rain over-it+goes-down+too not wet+not* S. *Taro leaf*
 P. *This hat does not become wet when it rains* S. *(The leaves of the) Taro²⁰*
 P. Biar topi kena hujan tetapi tidak basah S. (Daun) Keladi
- R94. P. 'duŋ mokak 'wofuniŋdan gal tak le'teI S. 'karet
 mâ, 'ahte 'wofunsinâraŋ gal 'ina nih
 P. *child little+this it+touch+when it runs far-away go, but it+touch+not-when it quietly sits* S. *elastic*
 P. *When you touch this little child it runs far away, but when you do not touch it, it remains quiet* S. *Elastic*
 P. Anak kecil kalau dipegang dia larl jauh, tetapi kalau tidak dipegang dia duduk tenang S. Karet

- R95. P. 'jedumaK jêŋ kô 'woUkoK 'bonadîsI S. 'aU
P. *its+child+this it+is-he-who always* S. *pounder*
its+mother+this beats+continuously+
non-past
P. *This little child beats its mother* S. *(Mortar and)*
continuously *Pounder*
P. Anak itu memukul ibunya S. Alu
- R96. P. 'dum noK 'gala a'niŋ 'asaka noK S. ma'kaI wu'râ
'gaTfebê 'beI gal lamu'ahnâ
P. *child one it human-being hundred one* S. *Taro leaf*
it+hit+too not it wounded+not
P. *Let this child be shot by a hundred* S. *The leaves of the*
people it will still not be wounded *taro plant*²⁰
P. Anak kecil seratus orang panah dia, S. Daun keladi (yang
juga dia tidak dapat luka kena hujan)
- R97. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'buKtâ 'jekôsi 'ahakûI S. 'takabaU
'ilbê 'mijekôsi
P. *anak little it land+on it+lives+* S. *frog*
non-past and water+too in+it+lives+
non-past
P. *A little child that lives on land as* S. *Frog*
well as in water
P. Satu anak dia hidup di darat dan di S. Kodok
air
- R98. P. 'woJaK 'bonahaK ta'tanaK jêŋ lamu'asi S. 'kine
P. *stone+this hitting+this our+hand+this* S. *machete*
it+is-he-who wounded+non-past
P. *When you hit a stone it is your hand* S. *Machete*
that aches
P. Pukul batu, tangan kita yang luka S. Parang
- R99. P. i'lîk tâm 'âmârasi S. 'tama
P. *water+this boil cooked+rice+become+* S. *sea water*
non-past
P. *When you boil this water you get* S. *Sea water*
cooked rice
P. Air direbus jadi nasi S. Air laut
- R100. P. 'dum moka 'alma ga'taKsinâraŋ gal S. ta'puI
'jâŋme 'wôIwo 'jemâtolôsi, 'ahte
'alma ga'takunŋaŋ ga'beI 'jâŋmenâ
P. *child little+the human-beings them+* S. *crab*
see+not+when it comes it+outside it+
goes-for-a-walk+non-past, but human-
beings them+see+when it+not comes+out
P. *When this little child does not see* S. *Crab*
human beings it comes out and goes
for a walk but when there are human
beings then it does not come out
P. Kalau anak kecil itu tidak kelihatan S. Kepiting
orang, dia keluar jalan-jalan, tapi
kalu kelihatan orang dia tidak keluar

- R101. P. 'ihaK mē dum noK 'jeningan gal 'beI S. bi'lel
 ka'tēhnā, 'ahte 'jebōK mē 'jeningan
 gal ka'tēsi
- P. *contents+these to child one it+receives S. sweet potato*
+when it not eats+not, but.its+stem+
this to it+receives+when it eats+
 non-past
- P. *When you give a child the inner flesh S. A sweet potato*
it does not want it, but if you give
it the slips it eats them (Ipomoea batatas
 Poir)21
- P. Kalau kasih isinya satu anak, dia S. Ubi petatas
 tidak makan, tetapi kalau kasih tali
 dia makan
- R102. P. ma'ne nokmi 'gala ta'wa ta'wa S. ka'kisiŋ
 'jemaIta wo
- P. *village one+in they each their+ S. ants*
dancing-place have
- P. *In a certain village each has its own S. (Kind of) Small*
*dancing-place. red ants*22
- P. Di satu kampung itu tiap orang punya S. Semut merah yang
 tempat menari sendiri kecil
- R103. P. 'woUko 'jepal 'akmîK 'jerumal ga'fâkon S. mô 'wiliŋ
 taK 'leteImidasi
- P. *its+mother its+father+this here+this S. bow arrow*
their+child+this it+on-its-own run
far+to-go+non-past
- P. *Whereas father and mother stay at home S. Bow and arrows*
their child goes far away on its own
- P. Ibu ayahnya di sini, anaknya lari jauh S. Busur dan anak panah
 sendiri
- R104. P. ma'le noK 'gala dum 'jeworandan S. 'môI
 ga'maŋa 'luKdîsi
- P. *woman one she child she+carries+when S. banana*
her+neck+the bends+continuously+
 non-past
- P. *When this woman is pregnant she bends S. A banana (tree)*
her neck continuously
- P. Seorang wanita kalau sudah beranak S. (Pohon) Pisang
 lehernya selalu tunduk
- R105. P. 'almakan gal ga'keja mē gal'paŋ su'ku S. 'kaUpaI
 'wôI te'wanŋan
- P. *human-being he his+tongue+the into S. water-buffalo*
his+nose hole it+via goes-in+be able/
possible
- P. *A human being who can insert his S. A water-buffalo*
tongue into his nose (Bos bubalus)
- P. Manusia bisa kasih masuk lidah di S. Kerbau
 lubang hidung

- R106. P. 'alma ka'têhbê kaŋ 'miIwelsibê kaŋ S. tal'paŋ
 P. *human-being eats+too well vomits+ too well* S. *our+nose*
 P. *A human being who eats and throws up as well* S. *The nose*
 P. Orang bisa makan dan bisa muntah kembali S. Hidung
- R107. P. nu'â ka'tênte nu'â 'wofuniŋdaŋ ga'maUŋ, S. 'kine
 'ahte nu'â ka'têhnâbo nu'â 'wofuniŋdaŋ ga'maI
 P. *thing eat+first-and thing it+does+ when it+wants, but/and thing eat+not+ and thing it+does+when it+does-not-want* S. *machete*
 P. *It wants to eat before work, and it does not work before eating* S. *A machete*
 P. Kalau makan baru kerja, dia mau. Kalau tidak makan baru kerja dia tidak mau S. Parang
- R108. P. 'wofusinâraŋ gai 'jebiêhnâ, 'wofuniŋdaŋ gai 'jebiêsi S. ka'pî
 P. *it+touch+not+when it it+is-afraid+not, it+touch+when it it+is-afraid+ non-past* S. *mimosa*²³
 P. *When not touched it is not afraid, but touched it is* S. *Mimosa*
 P. Kalau tidak dipegang dia berani, kalau dipegang dia layu S. Puteri malu
- R109. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jewiliŋa 'titia 'watu ga'sâ 'midisl S. 'toka
 P. *child one it its+arrow+the night day its+waits is+continuously+non-past* S. *palm*
 P. *This child keeps his arrows night and day in his belt* S. *(kind of) Palm (Arenga saccharifera?)*²⁴
 P. Satu anak dia selalu anak panahnya di pinggang terus S. Pohon Enau (?)
- R110. P. ka'rî'ihmi 'iTsak 'alma 'wôIwo 'gaŋdasi S. wa'te ii
 P. *house inside+in calling+this people outside them+answer+non-past* S. *coconut water*
 P. *They are calling from inside the house and from outside people answer them* S. *Coconut milk*²⁵
 P. Orang panggil dari dalam rumah, dari luar bisa jawab S. Air kelapa
- R111. P. 'aI si'landaŋ 'almakaŋ 'yêIŋsi, waT 'idaŋdaŋ 'almakaŋ ta'neisi S. oh, 'lumeI, aP
 P. *rain falls+when human-being they+laugh+ non-past, sun shines+when human-being weep+non-past* S. *shrimp, eel, fish*
 P. *When rain falls those people laugh and when the sun shines they weep* S. *Shrimps, eels and fishes*
 P. Kalau hujan orang tertawa, kalau matahari bersinar orang menangis S. Udang, belut dan ikan

- R112. P. 'dum noK 'gala il 'jefanêndaŋ gal'paŋ S. 'aTsâ(ra)
'bokonâ, il jefanênâraŋ gal'paŋ 'boko
- P. *child one it water it+affects+when its+nose bad+not (=harmless), water it+affects+not+when its+nose bad (=dangerous)* S. *fire glow(ing)*
- P. *When this child is affected by water it is harmless but when not, it is dangerous* S. *Fire*
- P. Satu anak kalau kena air dia tidak jahat, kalau tidak kena air dia jahat S. Nyala api
- R113. P. 'Sakak 'jêbâ 'dîndaŋ gal dî, 'jêbâ S. kul
'laTsindaŋ gal 'laTsi
- P. *grass+this it+is-told sit+when it sits, it+is-told stand+when it stands+non-past* S. *hair*
- P. *When you tell this grass to lie down it lies down, and when you say to stand up it stands up* S. *Hair*
- P. Rumput itu kalau disuruh tidur, dia tidur, disuruh berdiri dia berdiri S. Rambut
- R114. P. 'boŋa ga'buK mê 'miTsaK 'ihdasi S. 'kamâ
- P. *tree+the its+top planting+this contents+become+non-past* S. *sugar cane*
- P. *When the top of the tree is planted you get fruits* S. *Sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum)²⁶*
- P. Dari pohon ini kalau tanam pucuknya, berbuah S. Tebu
- R115. P. 'dum noK 'wofunsibê 'boko, ba'teTsibê S. il
'boko
- P. *child one it+touch+too bad, cut+too bad* S. *water*
- P. *This child you can neither touch nor cut* S. *Water*
- P. Anak kecil dipegang juga tidak bisa, dipotong juga tidak bisa S. Air
- R116. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jefalaka 'kêTindaŋ S. ma'teI
'mâlônŋboko
- P. *child one it its+clothes+the tear+when go-for-a-walk+impossible* S. *bat*
- P. *When this child's clothes are torn it can not walk* S. *A bat*
- P. Anak kecil kalau kainnya sobek tidak bisa berjalan S. (sayap) Kalong
- R117. P. ma'ne nokmi 'nuâ 'wofuniŋdaŋ 'gaIma S. ka'kisiŋ
'wofunsi
- P. *village one+in thing it+work+when they+all it+work+non-past* S. *ants*
- P. *When there is work to do in this village, they do it all together* S. *(kind of) small red ants*
- P. Di suatu kampung kalau mau kerja sesuatu, mereka kerja bersama S. Semut merah kecil

- R118. P. ma'ne nokmi 'aimakaŋ 'jewa ga'taŋ S. ku'me
'wonâte 'tôntôn mâhbê kaŋ
- P. *village one+in people their+hand S. snake*
their+feet have+not+and wherever go+
too well
- P. *In this village the people do not S. A snake*
have hands or feet but they can go
wherever they want
- P. Di suatu kampung orang tidak mempunyai S. Ular
kaki tangan tetapi mereka bisa jalan
bagaimanapun bisa
- R119. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'bontâ 'nisiŋdaŋ gal S. 'umakî
mê 'muItansi, 'ahte gal fi'niŋtâ
'nisiŋdaŋ gal 'beI 'tôhnâ
- P. *child one it tree+on-top-of sits+when S. quail*
it falls+non-past, but it ground+on
sits+when it not what+not
- P. *When it sits in a tree this child will S. A quail (Turnix*
fall out of it, but on the ground it suscitator Gmel.?)
is perfectly all right
- P. Anak kecil kalau tinggal di atas pohon S. Burung Puyuh
dia jatuh, kalau di tanah tidak apa-apa
- R120. P. dum ki'riŋ 'konaK jêŋ ma'ne pu'agak S. 'lâwaŋ
'mijenihsi
- P. *child little small+this it+is-he-who S. bee*
village beautiful+this in+it+lives+
non-past
- P. *It is a very little child and it lives S. A bee*
in a beautiful village
- P. Anak kecil yang tinggal di kampung S. Lebah
yang bagus
- R121. P. 'dum noK 'gala ga'besiŋdaŋ ga'toka S. mô
pei, ga'behsinâraŋ ga'toka a'lisa
- P. *child one it it+is-ordered-when its+ S. bow*
stomach+the swollen, it+is-ordered+
not+when its+stomach+the flat
- P. *When this child is told to do some- S. A bow*
thing its stomach swells, when it
does not get any orders its stomach
is flat
- P. Anak kecil kalau disuruh perutnya S. Busur
kembung, kalau tidak disuruh perutnya
kempes
- R122. P. 'wojaK mê fi'niŋ pa'liniŋdaŋ gal S. bâl
'sita te
- P. *stone+this to ground knocks+when it S. ball*
bounces goes+upwards
- P. *When you throw this stone to the S. A ball*
ground it bounces back
- P. Batu itu kalau banting di tanah, dia S. Bola
ke atas

- R123. P. 'bonko 'boŋaK a'baŋsaK 'jekulaK jêŋ S. 'waI ga'mû
tân, 'jebŋa 'laTsisi
- P. *Cassava stem+this pulling-out+this S. goat its+horn
its+skin+this it+is-that-which comes-
upwards, its+stem+the stands+non-past*
- P. *When you pull this cassava stem out, S. Goat's horns²⁷
it is the skin which comes off, the
stem remains on its place*
- P. Batang ubi dicabut, kulitnya naik, S. Tanduk kambing
batangnya tetap berdiri
- R124. P. 'jekulbo 'wosoikaŋa mê 'mota, 'jeoka S. pa'teI
ka'têsi, 'jesu mê 'mota
- P. *its+skin+which in-the-beginning+very+ S. corn
the throw-away, its+two+the eat+non-
past, its+three throw-away*
- P. *The first skin is thrown away, the S. Corn/Maize
second skin is eaten and third thrown
away*
- P. Kulit yang pertama dibuang, yang kedua S. Jagung
dimakan, yang ketiga dibuang juga
- R125. P. ta'kâ gal 'jêI'bâI si'leIsiŋ 'wŋŋdaŋ S. tî
gal 'beI ga'borahnâ, 'ahaK gal
jêI'bâI ka'tina 'wŋŋdaŋ ga'borasi
- P. *thief he road broad it+follows+when S. mouse
he not he+dies+not, and he road narrow
it+follows+when he+dies+non-past*
- P. *When a thief follows the highway he S. A mouse²⁸
stays alive, but when he goes via a
narrow path he'll die*
- P. Pencuri kalau dia lewat jalan yang S. tikus
lebar dia tidak mati, tetapi dia lewat
jalan yang sempit dia mati
- R126. P. mân a'wŋga jaen mânŋdaŋ gal 'beI S. 'kaIta
ga'borahnâ, maŋ a'wŋga 'wŋŋdaŋ gal
ga'borasi
- P. *who exit he+is-mistaken goes+when he S. trap
not he+dies+not who exit it+via+when
he he+dies+non-past*
- P. *Who does not pass via this exit will S. A trap
not die, who does so, will die*
- P. Siapa yang jalan tidak melalui pintu, S. Perangkap
dia tidak mati, siapa jalan melalui
pintu, dia akan mati
- R127. P. i'lîK mê ta'welsâI kaŋ, 'ahte puK nêI S. 'tama
'boko
- P. *water+this for we+taking-a-bath+this S. sea
well, but little drink+this bad*
- P. *We can bath in this water, but drink S. Seawater
only little of it*
- P. Air itu untuk mandi di dalam bisa, S. Air laut
untuk minum tidak bisa banyak

- R128. P. 'wojaK ka'têndaŋ 'jânmebê 'woI, 'âmâK S. 'ura
ka'têndaŋ 'jânmebê 'âmâ
- P. *stone+this eat+when comes-out+too* S. *bird*
stone, rice+cooked+this eat+when
comes-out+too rice+cooked
- P. *When it eats stones, stones come out,* S. *Kind of bird²⁹*
when it eats rice, rice comes out
- P. Kalau makan batu keluar juga batu, S. Burung darat (Burung
Kalau makan nasi keluar juga nasi Balam?)
- R129. P. 'wojaK 'wubâ sa'mendasi S. a'woI
- P. *stone+this it+make cement+become+* S. *limestone*
non-past
- P. *This stone can be made into cement* S. *Limestone*
- P. Batu itu bisa dibuat jadi semen S. Batu kapur
- R130. P. 'dum moK 'kaena 'titlarante 'jelanpu S. 'kanpi
'wowulehsi
- P. *child little many+the night+becomes+* S. *fire-fly*
first their+lamp them+light+non-past
- P. *Those little children light their* S. *Fire-flies*
lamps not before night-fall
- P. Anak kecil itu baru pada waktu malam S. Kunang-kunang
memasang lampu
- R131. P. 'mûtaK nuŋ 'iduka 'aha nuŋ a'leseI S. wae
- P. *citrus-fruit+this sometimes sweet and* S. *mango*
sometimes sour
- P. *This citrus fruit is sometimes sweet* S. *Mango (Mangifera*
and sometimes sour indica)³⁰
- P. Jeruk itu separuh yang manis dan S. Mangga
separuh asam
- R132. P. ta'paInaK jeŋ 'almakaŋa 'wobâ S. ku'me
ga'borasi
- P. *waistband+this it+is-that-which* S. *snake*
people+the them+makes they+diet+
non-past
- P. *This waistband can kill people* S. *A snake*
- P. Ikat pinggang yang bisa bunuh orang S. Ular
- R133. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'alma 'bonandaŋ 'jewaU S. 'jokê
'wêsi, 'beI ga'taŋnâ
- P. *child one it people hits+when its+* S. *tortoise/turtle*
foot uses+non-past, not its+hand+not
- P. *This child hits people with its feet* S. *A tortoise/turtle*
and not with its hands
- P. Seorang anak kecil kalau dia pukul S. Penyuh
orang dia pakai kaki bukan pakai
tangan

- R134. P. 'lam noK 'gala 'jemâlônđan kûl 'maIsi S. ta'fuI
 ba'kâ 'worante
- P. *male one he he+goes-for-a-walk-when* S. *our+male genitals*
must betel areca-nut carries+first
- P. *A man who always takes his betel and* S. *Male genitals*
areca nuts with him when he goes for
a walk
- P. Seorang laki-laki kalau dia berjalan S. Kelamin laki-laki
 harus bawa pinang dan sirih
- R135. P. ta'paInaK 'alma 'woraᅇboko S. ku'me
- P. *waistband+this human-being carries+* S. *snake*
impossible
- P. *This belt can not be used by people* S. *A snake*
- P. Ikat pinggang yang orang tidak bisa S. Ular
 memakai
- R136. P. waeK- 'mltumᅇᅇa 'blla ma'leta S. 'sibe wâ
- P. *mango+this in+inside+the white yellow* S. *chicken egg*
- P. *This mango is white and yellow inside* S. *A hen's egg*
- P. Di dalam mangga itu berwarna putih S. Telor
 dan kuning
- R137. P. 'kaUpajaK 'jêTtiᅇ wo S. 'sela .ku'ra
- P. *water-buffalo+this its+ladder has/is* S. *saddle horse*
- P. *This water-buffalo has its own ladder* S. *A saddle*
- P. Kerbau itu mempunyai tangga S. Sela (kuda)
- R138. P. PêK jêᅇ 'wajaK ka'têsi S. pi'e
- P. *pig+this it+is-that-which goat+this* S. *crocodile*
eats+non-past
- P. *This pig eats goats* S. *A crocodile*
- P. Babi itu makan kambing S. Buaya
- R139. P. aslᅇku'ajaK jêᅇ pêK 'lamsi S. 'labê
- P. *worm+this it+is-that-which pig+this* S. *snake*
swallow+non-past
- P. *This worm can swallow pigs* S. *Snake (Python*
reticulatus)
- P. Cacing itu bisa menelan babi S. Ular sawah
- R140. P. 'dum noK 'jera ka'tâᅇaK 'dâlôsl S. 'aUᅇ (ga'mû)
- P. *child one it twig+this carries-on-the-* S. *deer (its-horn)*
head+walks+non-past
- P. *A child which carries twigs on the* S. *A deer*
head
- P. Seorang anak selalu membawa ranting S. (Tanduk) Rusa
 pohon

- R141. P. dum ki'riŋaK jêŋ sâK'bâjaK 'wôI 'fanenêsi S. 'kuI
 P. *child little+this it+is-that-which adult+this it-via hunts+non-past* S. *dog*
 P. *This little child chases adults* S. *A (hunting) dog*
 P. Anak kecil itu mengejar orang dewasa S. Anjing
- R142a. P. ba'lelaŋ 'gaUKsi S. 'tama ga'poklâ
 P. *mat it+is-rolled-up+non-past* S. *sea it+makes-waves*
 P. *A mat is rolled up* S. *The waves of the sea*
 P. Tikar (untuk padi) di gulung S. Ombak laut
- R142b. P. 'tama ga'poklâ S. ba'lelaŋ
 P. *sea it+makes-waves* S. *mat*
 P. *The waves of the sea (are always rolling)* S. *Mat (used to wrap up unhusked rice)*
 P. Ombak laut S. Tikar untuk padi
- R143. P. bâ 'taliŋdaŋ pe gal bâ mi, bâ 'talsinâraŋ pe gal 'eliŋ 'jâŋme S. 'tâI ta'fuI
 P. *fence tie+when pig it fence is, fence tie+not+when pig it visible comes-out* S. *our-vagina our-penis*
 P. *If you make a fence the pig will stay inside, but if not it will be visible* S. *Genitals*
 P. Kalau membuat pagar babi selalu di dalam, kalau tidak buat pagar babi itu kelihatan S. Kemaluan laki-laki dan perempuan
- R144. P. noK ka'têsi, oK mê 'motasi S. wae
 P. *one eat+non-past, two throw-away+non-past* S. *mango*
 P. *The first is eaten, the second thrown away* S. *Mango*
 P. Satu dimakan, dua dibuang S. Mangga
- R145. P. noK mê 'motasi, noK ka'têsi S. 'môI
 P. *one throw-away+non-past, one eat+non-past* S. *banana*
 P. *One is thrown away and one is eaten* S. *A banana*
 P. Satu dibuang, satu di makan S. Pisang
- R146. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jemâlôŋdaŋ kûl ka'pe ga'neŋdante S. 'dafe kul ka'pe
 P. *child one it it+goes-for-a-walk+when must string it+together+first* S. *needle and cotton*
 P. *A little child that always takes a rope with him when it goes for a walk* S. *A needle and yarn*
 P. Seorang kecil kalau dia mau jalan selalu dengan tali S. Jarum (dan benang)

- R147. P. 'jeIha 'jebal 'wonâ, 'ahte 'jekula S. lô
'jebal wo
- P. *its+contents+the its+price have+not, S. tree*
but its+skin+the its+price has
- P. *Its flesh is worthless but the skin S. Kind of tree³¹*
is valuable
- P. Isinya tidak ada harga, kulitnya S. Pohon Loba (Melayu
berharga Kupang)
- R148. P. 'woûfanđan gal 'laTsisi, 'woûfahnâran S. 'aUh
gal 'mâsi
- P. *it+is-whistled-at+when it stands+ S. deer*
non-past it+is-whistled-at+not+when
it goes+non-past
- P. *When you whistle at it, it stands S. A deer*
still, when you do not whistle it
goes away
- P. Kalau dia disiuł dia berdiri, kalau S. Rusa
dia tidak disiuł dia jalan
- R149. P. ga'mañal mu'kuñ, 'ahte ga'filinjal S. wa'te ga'tañ
a'rubâI
- P. *its+neck+this only-one, but its+head+ S. cocopalın its+hand*
this many
- P. *It has one neck only but many heads S. (Spadices of) The*
palm-tree
- P. Lehernya hanya satu, tetapi banyak S. (Ranting) Kelapa
kepala
- R150a. P. 'wojaK mê 'sôKmi 'muItansaK 'jêIsol S. il 'wâI
jâ 'jêpulmidasi
- P. *stone+this into container+this+in S. water pond*
falling+this straight to its+bottom+
to+non-past
- P. *If you throw a stone in this container S. Pond*
it directly hits the bottom
- P. Batu kalau dikasih jatuh di lumbung S. Kolam
bisa langsung sampai di dasar
- R150b. P. 'wojaK mê il 'wâImi 'muItansaK 'jêIsol S. sô
jâ 'jêpulmidasi
- P. *stone+this into water pond+in falling+S. container*
this straight to its+bottom+to+non-past
- P. *If you throw a stone in this pond it S. An (empty) container*
hits the bottom
- P. Batu kalau dikasih jatuh di kolam S. Lumbung
itu bisa sampai di dasar
- R151 P. dum ki'ringkonaK jêñ 'jesâfuI ga'tansi S. 'lanşal
- P. *child little+little+this it+is-that- S. bird*
which its+ceremonial-loincloth it+
lets-hang-down+non-past
- P. *A very little child that draws his S. kind of bird of*
loin-cloth. along behind him paradise³²
- P. Seorang anak selalu melepaskan S. (Semacam) Burung
cawatnya Cenderawasih

- R152. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'alma 'bonanḡaŋ 'beI S. fal
ga'taŋoU 'wêhnâ 'jewaU 'wêsi
- P. *child one it people hits-when not its+S. scorpion*
hand uses+not, its+foot uses+non-past
- P. *When this child hits an adult it does S. Scorpion*
not use his hands but his feet
- P. Seorang anak kalau dia pukul orang S. Kala jenking
tidak pakai tangan tetapi kaki
- R153. P. 'jebona ka'têhnâ, ga'bûK ka'têsi S. pil
- P. *its+tree+the eat+not, its+top+this S. fern*
eat+non-past
- P. *Not the tree but its top is eaten S. k.o. vegetable,*
probably Diplazium
esculentum Swartz
- P. Pohonnya tidak dimakan, tetapi S. Sayur paku (=Indo-
pucuknya dimakan nesian:Pakis)
- R154. P. ka'têhal mal 'ahte 'wofunsal gal'paŋ S. 'bâI
'boko
- P. *eating delicious but it+touching its+ S. k.o. tree*
nose bad
- P. *It is a pleasure to eat but dangerous S. k.o. tree³³*
to touch
- P. Makan enak kalau dipegang jahat S. Jengkol hutan
- R155. P. 'jewurâK 'jebal wo, 'ahte 'jebona S. tem'bakaU
'jebal 'wonâ
- P. *its+leaf+this its+price has, but its+ S. tobacco*
tree+the its+price it+has+not
- P. *Its leaves are expensive but its stem S. Tobacco*
is worthless
- P. Daunnya mahal batangnya tidak ada S. Tembakau
harga
- R156. P. 'bona 'nâte ba'tetiŋḡaŋ gal 'bokorasi, S. 'woI su'roT
'ahte 'jesiteI mê ga'retiŋḡaŋ gal
'beI 'bokorahnâ
- P. *hit or cut+when it bad+becomes+non-past, S. stone letter*
but its+knife with slice+when it not
bad+becomes+not
- P. *When you hit it or hew it, it will S. Glass*
break into pieces, but when you slice
it with a knife it will not
- P. Pukul atau potong pasti rusak, tapi S. Kaca
kalau pakai pisau tidak akan rusak
- R157. P. 'wehanḡaŋ 'jeTbê jal 'wehe, 'tânmanḡaŋ S. ka'poŋ wu'râ
'jeTbê gal 'tânme
- P. *go+when he+also he goes, come+when he+S. kunai grass*
also he comes
- P. *When you go thither he goes too, when S. Kunai grass (Imperata*
you come hither he comes too cylindrica)³⁴
- P. Kalau ke sana dia juga ke sana, kalau S. Alang-alang
ke sini dia juga ke sini

- R158. P. laT'sinte mē 'motandənboko, 'nihte S. wi'li
 mē 'motandənkəŋ
- P. *stand-up+first throw-away+when+bad,* S. *to defecate*
sit(-down)+first throw away+when+well
- P. *Throwing it away while standing is* S. *To defecate*
impossible, but in sitting position
it is easy
- P. Kalau berdiri baru dibuang tidak bisa, S. Berak
 duduk baru dibuang bisa
- R159. P. 'dum noK 'jewa 'wonâte gal 'jemâlônkan S. ku'me
- P. *child one its+foot it+has/is+not+but* S. *snake*
it it+goes-for-a-walk+possible
- P. *The child does not have feet, but is* S. *Snake*
perfectly able to walk
- P. Anak kecil tidak punya kaki tetapi S. Ular
 dia bisa berjalan
- R160. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'jeTtiŋa 'kolkolnâ S. kaU
- P. *child one it stair+the many* S. *arrow*
- P. *This child has many steps* S. *An arrow*³⁵
- P. Seorang anak punya banyak tangga S. Anak panah
- R161. P. 'dum noK 'minoK 'gala 'jeIha 'puKda S. 'wuI
 kul 'minoKda ki'rin
- P. *child one sometimes it its+body+the* S. *moon*
big+becomes and sometimes small
- P. *At times this child has a huge body* S. *The moon*
and then again it is small
- P. Seorang anak sering badannya besar, S. Bulan
 ada kalanya jadi kecil
- R162. P. bâ tal 'uhdandəŋ 'alma 'tewənboko S. taeh
- P. *fence tie closed+when human-being* S. *our+teeth*
enter+impossible
- P. *When you close this fence completely* S. *Teeth*
nobody can enter
- P. Pagar itu dibuat tutup seluruhnya, S. Gigi
 orang tidak bisa masuk
- R163. P. 'dum noK 'gala 'dum moKmi fa'laK S. tōn
 'jewora, jâ sâK 'bâIida ga 'beI
 fa'laK 'worahnâ
- P. *child one it child little+in clothes* S. *bamboo*
it+wears, until adult+becomes it not
clothes wears+not
- P. *This child wears clothes in childhood* S. *Bamboo*
but grown up it wears nothing
- P. Seorang anak masih kecil dia berpakaian, S. Bambu
 sampai besar dia tidak berpakaian

- R164. P. dum ku'anbo 'inoU wao 'jânme ga'wa S. oh, ta'puI
muT wo
- P. *child suckling+which at-the-very- S. shrimp, crab*
moment he+is-given-birth-to come its+
mouth moustache has
- P. *A baby who already had a moustache the S. Shrimps and crabs*
very moment that it was born
- P. Anak kecil waktu lahir sudah berkumis S. Udang, kepiting
- R165. P. 'tentra 'jetopi mê 'jedîndan 'gala jâ S. seran ta'fora
maûnboko
- P. *soldier its+helm it-leave-behind+when S. foreign besi*
he goes go-to-war+impossible
- P. *When this soldier leaves his helm S. Matches*
behind, he can not go to war
- P. Tentara kalau meninggalkan topi, dia S. Korek api
tidak bisa pergi perang
- R166. P. i'liK 'wubâ 'sârasi S. 'lanpu 'jeIli
- P. *water+this it-make flame+non-past S. lamp its+water*
- P. *This water is made into flames S. Petroleum, oil*
- P. Air itu dibuat menyala S. Minyak tanah
- R167. P. ka'pêK jên ka'wâIsi, 'ahte 'almakan S. ka'siT 'jekape
tûl 'tokawâInboko
- P. *string+this it+is-that-which speaks+ S. cassette its+string*
non-past, but people only+this
together+speak+impossible
- P. *This string speaks, but people can S. Magnetic tape (tape*
not speak with each other recorder)
- P. Tali itu berbicara, tetapi orang S. Pita kaset
dengan orang tidak bisa bicara
- R168. P. 'alma noK gal 'nuâ ka'lelsaK 'jemutâK S. sen
'almakan 'piâbê 'jemaIsi
- P. *human-being one he something frying+ S. money*
this its+flavour+this people other+
too they+smell+non-past
- P. *When somebody fries something, some- S. coins³⁶*
body else smells it
- P. Seorang menggoreng sesuatu, lain S. Uang logam/Uang
orang juga merasa perak
- R169. P. dum a'niŋ su jên sâK'bâJaK ga'buhsI S. de'kan
- P. *child human-being three it+is-they-who S. fire-place*
old-man+big+this him+lift-up+non-past
- P. *Three children lift the old man S. The three stones of*
the fire-place

- R170. P. 'alma dum 'waohaK 'beI 'jêpul 'wôI S. 'môI
'jânmenâte ga'filiŋ 'wôI 'jânme
- P. *human-being child it+is-given-birth-to+this not its+lower-part it+via comes+not+but its+head it+via comes* S. *Banana*
- P. *This child is born not out of the lower part of the body but out of the head* S. *Banana tree*
- P. Orang melahirkan bukan keluar dari bagian pantat tetapi dari bagian kepala S. Pisang
- R171. P. 'dumaK 'beI ga'buhsinâte lôŋ mê S. ma'teI dum
ga'taŋî 'lakasi
- P. *child+this not it+is-lifted (-on-the-arm)+not+but just its+hand+under hang-up+non-past* S. *bat child*
- P. *This child is not carried on the arm but just hung under the arm* S. *Young of bat*
- P. Anak kecil itu bukan digendong tetapi digantungkan pada di bawah ketiak S. Anak kalong
- R172. P. 'almakaŋa 'duŋ moKa 'jenkula la'paŋ, S. pa'teI kul
'ahte jâ sâK'bâIdaha 'jenkul ma'ruKda
- P. *people+the child little+the its+hair+the long, but until old+becoming its+hair short+becomes* S. *corn hair*
- P. *These people have long hair in childhood, but when old their hair is short* S. *Maize/corn*³⁷
- P. Orang itu pada waktu kecil rambutnya panjang sampai dewasa rambutnya pendek S. (Rambut) Jagung
- R173. P. 'aI si'lanŋâ 'almakaŋa ka'rîmi S. lu'meI
'jetonih, 'ahte 'aI si'lanŋaŋ 'almakaŋ
'jânme 'wôIwo 'jemâ 'tolô
- P. *rain comes-down+not people+the house+in they+together+sit, but rain comes-down+when people come-out outside they+go together+walk* S. *eel*
- P. *When it does not rain those people stay at home, when it rains they go for a walk* S. *Eels*
- P. Bila tidak hujan orang berdiam di rumah, pada waktu hujan keluar semua S. Belut
- R174. P. ka'tâIbo 'muta 'beI mê fa'lensinâte S. ton i'tenta
lôŋ ka'têsi
- P. *corps+which stinks not bury+not+but just eat+non-past* S. *jack fruit*
- P. *This stinking corps is not buried but simply eaten* S. *Jack fruit (Arto-carpus integrifolia)*
- P. Mayat yang sudah bau itu tidak dibuang tetapi dimakan S. Nangka yang sudah matang

- R175. P. buK la'paŋ 'oka mē ta'niŋ la'Tsi S. am
'taŋboko
- P. *mountain high two+the each-other+ S. breast*
close stand go+upwards+bad
- P. *Those two mountains stand closely S. Breasts*
together but can not stand upright
- P. Dua gunung itu tidak bisa berdiri S. Susu wanita
rapat ke atas
- R176. P. buK la'paŋaK 'beI ka'pî saK 'woI tenâ S. am
- P. *mountain high+this not mimosa grass S. breast*
stone go-upwards+not
- P. *On this high mountain there is no S. Breasts*
grass or stone
- P. Gunung tinggi itu tidak bisa tumbuh S. Susu wanita
rumput yang berduri atau batu diatas
puncaknya
- R177. P. 'almakaŋ ga'waI ga 'watu mē 'wahka S. ku'ra ga'waI
ta'nin, 'titla mē gafu'na ta'nin
- P. *people its+ear it day to backwards S. horse its+ear*
in-the-direction-of, evening to its+ front in-the-direction-of
- P. *The ears of those people are directed S. A horse*
backwards during the day and forwards during the night
- P. Telinga manusia pada waktu siang S. (Telinga) Kuda
menghadap ke belakang malam menghadap ke depan
- R178. P. ka'pe 'jewote aŋ mē 'nuâ fa'liŋboko, S. 'tâI ta'fuI
lôŋ 'jenuâ 'wora 'lôsi
- P. *string it+has+but that with thing S. our+vagina our+penis*
bind+impossible, just its+thing have their+hair
go-for-a-walk+non-past
- P. *With this string you cannot bind any- S. Pubic hair*
thing, you walk around with it
- P. Tali tetapi tidak dipergunakan untuk S. Buluh kelamin
mengikat apa-apa, hanya dibawa-bawa saja
- R179. P. 'dum noK 'kine 'jewote aŋ 'beI mē S. pi'e 'jewuI
fi'niŋ tâKsinâ, mē wu'tonoU 'jêfâhsi
- P. *child one machete it+has+but that not S. crocodile its+tail*
for ground cut+not, for vegetable for-him+to-look-for+non-past
- P. *A child that does not use his machete S. Crocodile*
to clean the arable land, but to obtain his food
- P. Seorang anak mempunyai parang yang S. (Ekor) Buaya
tidak dipergunakan untuk membersihkan ladang, hanya untuk cari makan

- R180. P. ma'le 'fonaK ga'taKsal kaŋ, 'ahte 'wofunsal 'boko S. a'teI 'bâI; 'wuI
 P. *woman girl+this it+seeing+this well, but it+touching+this bad* S. *bird big (=star), moon*
 P. *You can see this girl but not touch her* S. *A star, the moon*
 P. Seorang nona dapat dilihat, tapi tidak bisa dipegang S. Bintang; bulan 'laIsiq
- R181. P. 'almabo ga'filiŋ 'kâhta, laIsiq mê ga'maŋ i'te S. pe
 P. *human-being+who his+head pounded (=mischievous), collar to his+neck fit* S. pig
 P. *When this man is mischievous, we put a collar around his neck* S. A pig³⁸
 P. Orang yang nakal, isi gelang di leher S. Babi
- R182. P. dum ku'aŋbo 'inoU 'waohaK gal lôŋ 'jêIsol 'jemâlôsi S. 'umaki 'jerum
 P. *child suckling+who at-this-moment it+is-given-birth-to+that simply straight-away it+goes-for-a-walk+non-past* S. *quail its+child*
 P. *This baby goes for a walk as soon as it is born* S. *Young of quail*
 P. Anak kecil yang baru dilahirkan langsung jalan S. Anak burung puyuh
- R183. P. 'atîK 'tanâ mê 'woTsinâ 'wofuniŋkaŋ, 'ahte mê 'woTtiŋdaŋ 'wofuniŋboko S. ta'fora
 P. *fire-wood+this still set-fire+not it+touch-possible, but set-fire+when it+touch+impossible* S. iron
 P. *This fire-wood you can touch when not yet lighted, but you cannot when lighted* S. Iron
 P. Kayu api yang sebelum dibakar, bisa dipegang, tetapi kalau sudah dibakar tidak bisa dipegang S. Besi
- R184. P. ga'beh 'jâhal kaŋ, 'ahte kûl ga'beh mi'jawâlsa ga'maI S. wi'lliq
 P. *he+is-ordered going+this good, but again he+is-ordered he+going-back he+does-not-want* S. arrow
 P. *When you tell him to go-no problem, but when you order him to return he does not want it* S. An arrow
 P. Suruh berangkat mau, suruh kembali lagi, tidak mau S. Anak panah

- R185. P. a'wiŋa 'jetanâmi 'tanma, 'ahte 'alma S. taeh
'wehaŋdaŋ a'wiŋa 'suldisi
- P. *door+the it+still+in close+already,* S. *our-teeth*
but human-being go-out+when door+the
open+continuously+non-past
- P. *Before the door (opening) had always* S. *Teeth*³⁹
been closed, but when the people went
away the door remained open for always
- P. Pintu itu sebelumnya sudah tertutup, S. Gigi (yang sudah
tapi kalau ada orang keluar, pintu cabut)
terbuka terus
- R186. P. 'tentra 'titlaraŋdaŋ 'gaIma jâ S. tî 'kaIta
'jêIbâja 'wokawâtan 'tolaTsisi
- P. *soldier evening+become+when they+all* S. *mouse trap*
go road+the it+guard together+stand+
non-past
- P. *When the evening falls all soldiers* S. *A mouse trap*
go to their posts to guard the road
- P. Tentara waktu malam mereka semua jaga S. Perangkap tikus
pintu/jalan
- R187. P. waeK 'wobâ su'kulsibo 'jîha 'metiŋdaŋ S. 'sibe wâ
'jekula 'tanâ 'uhmi
- P. *mango+its it+is-made hole+non-past,* S. *chicken egg*
its-contents+these take-out+when its+
skin+this still complete
- P. *You can make a hole into this mango to* S. *Hen's egg*
take out its flesh without damaging
its skin
- P. Mangga itu dibuat lobang dan isinya S. Telor ayam
diambil, kulitnya masih utuh
- R188. P. 'dum mokaK jêŋ sâK'bâI 'jenaK S. 'lûka
'wofuniŋdaŋ, ga'borasi
- P. *child little+this it+is-that-which* S. *pepper*
old-man+big its+eye+this it+touch+
when, it+dies+non-past
- P. *When this child touches the eyes of* S. *Bird's eye chilly*
an adult, he may die (Capsicum frutescens)
- P. Kalau anak kecil itu pegang mata S. Cabai rawit
orang besar, bisa mati
- R189. P. 'almakaŋa 'jekarî 'wôI 'tewe 'jânme, S. 'tewa kul
'ahte 'beI 'minoK 'jekarîmi 'tâhnâ
- P. *human-being+the their+house it+via go-* S. *our+feet skin*
out come-in, but not once their+house+
in sleep+not
- P. *Those people go in and out their house* S. *Shoes*
but never sleep there
- P. Orang itu selalu keluar masuk di S. Sepatu
rumahnya, tetapi tidak pernah menginap
di rumah

- R190. P. ka'rîK sîŋ kûl 'wôI 'tewe S. 'kare, 'bongaeh
 P. *house+this it+is-we-who must it+via go* S. *jacket, trousers*
 P. *We have to go into this house* S. *Our clothes*
 P. Rumah itu harus kita masuk di dalam S. Baju dan celana
- R191. P. 'dum mokaK 'jenih 'jelaTsi 'tôI jâ S. 'paku
 'tôI jâhbê 'jewatilâ ga'nen
 P. *child little+this it+sits it+stands* S. *nail*
wherever go wherever go+too its+hat
it+together
 P. *This child always wears its cap* S. *A nail*
wherever it goes, wherever it sits
or stands
 P. Anak kecil itu mau duduk berdiri atau S. Paku
 kemana saja, selalu dengan topinya
- R192. P. 'alamakan buK la'paŋ noKtâK su'boIta S. laK
 jâ buK la'paŋ 'piâtâraŋan
 P. *human-being mountain high one+on-top-* S. *civet-cat*
of+this spring to mountain high other+
on-top-of+become+possible
 P. *This man can jump from the top of one* S. *Civet-cat*⁴⁰
mountain to that of another mountain
 P. Orang dari gunung sebelah bisa lompat S. Musang
 ke bukit yang lain
- R193. P. 'almabo wu'toŋ wobâ mê 'sinsaK si S. 'aTsâ
 'gala 'wofuniŋboko
 P. *human-being+who vegetables it-make for* S. *fire glow/flame*
us+this we him him-touch+impossible
 P. *He makes food for us but we cannot* S. *Fire*
touch him
 P. Orang yang buat makanan untuk kita, S. Nyala api
 kita tidak bisa pegang dia
- R194. P. boŋ ka'râK 'wobâ 'gaUk si'letasi S. eh
 P. *tree balk+this it+make it+is-rolled-* S. *measure*
up straight+non-past
 P. *This balk can be folded up and* S. *Carpenter's metre*
stretched out
 P. Papan itu bisa dilipat dan dibuat S. Meter kayu
 lurus
- R195. P. 'alma a'wiŋaK 'wôI 'tewanŋan ka'rîK S. pe boŋ
 gal ta'kaeKsi
 P. *human-being door-opening+this it+via* S. *pig tree*
goes-in+when house+this it comes-down+
non-past
 P. *When this man enters the house it* S. *Trap for wild pigs*⁴¹
collapses
 P. Kalau orang masuk ke dalam pintu, S. Perangkap babi hutan
 rumah itu akan terbongkar

- R196. P. ka'pêK i'tansaK bô pa'taKsi S. a'siŋkuaI
 P. *string+this drawing fast breaks+* S. *worm*
non-past
 P. *When you pull this string it breaks* S. *Worm*
fast
 P. Tali itu ditarik cepat putus S. Cacing
- R197. P. 'almabo si 'leteja 'sikin 'wofuningdan S. 'wan̄ka
 kûl 'alma 'piâ ga'beh jâ pil
 P. *human-being+who we far+this we+want* S. *hook*
him+touch+when must human-being
other he+is-ordered go accompany
 P. *When we want to touch a man who is far* S. *Long bamboo hook*
away, we have to order another man to S. *used to pick fruits*
bring him to us
 P. Orang yang berjauhan dengan kita, S. Bambu untuk menjolok
 kalau kita ingin pegang harus suruh buah-buahan/gait
 orang lain pergi antar(kemari)
- R198. P. 'almakanak 'jêluK 'jêparuKsi S. ku'ra
 'jegamauna jên 'wôsi
 P. *human-being+this him+honour him+honour+* S. *horse*
non-past his+he+wants+this he+possesses
it+follow+non-past
 P. *We honour this man and fulfil all his* S. *A horse*
wishes
 P. Orang itu kita menghormati, kita ikut S. Kuda
 kemauannya
- R199. P. il wu'tona 'aI se 'meratâ 'milaima, S. suT
 'ahte 'alma noK su'enâran ka'tên̄boko
 P. *water vegetables+the take come table+* S. *spoon*
on-top-of is+completed+past, but human-
being one comes+not+when eat+impossible
 P. *The food is ready on the table but* S. *A spoon*
when a certain man does not come we
cannot eat
 P. Makanan itu sudah siap di meja, tapi S. Sendok
 satu orang tidak datang, kita tidak
 bisa makan
- R200. P. 'dum mokaK jên̄ 'jekurê 'lôsi S. 'wule
 P. *child little+this it+is-that-which* S. *top*
it+dances goes-for-a-walk+non-past
 P. *This little child dances while going* S. *A top*
 P. Anak kecil itu selalu menari S. Gasing

III. COMMENTARY

1. See Stokhof 1977:23.
2. Refers to the well known fable about the shrewd mouse-deer.
3. This plant grows in a moist or even slightly swampy soil; its corm, subsidiary tubers and roots which are all formed underground prevent the plant from being swept away during freshets or spates.
4. What is meant is the air in the motor tyre ('*granary*' stands for '*car*').
5. A horse lifts its tail when it relieves itself.
6. See *ibidem*; also Du Bois 1961:37, Vater 253 (Abb.20).
7. Flies tend to be attracted to the remnants of food in the jaws of the crocodile; often to their own disadvantage.
8. The plant is propagated by planting stem cuttings.
9. What is meant are the essential oils in the skin which irritate the eyes.
10. Small parts ($\pm 2 \text{ cm}^2$) of the rind of the tuber containing buds or eyes are used for planting.
11. What is meant are the implements for fire making: a flint when struck with a piece of steel gives off sparks.
12. A human being carries always his faeces (rice) and urine (water) with him.
13. The Woisika usually eat a goat's stomach plus its contents.
14. In the area where seawater and riverwater meet there is a clear difference in colour observable between salt water and fresh water.
15. What is meant are the four principal rafters of the roof tied to the ridge piece of the granary/clan house; see Stokhof o.c.23.
16. Our hands cannot touch the outer parts of the joints between their respective fore- and upper arms.
17. What is meant is the kind of double image resulting from pressing the upper eyelid with one's finger.
18. What is meant is the spattering of the raindrops falling into the puddles.

19. The Woisika drink small amounts of petroleum as medicine against tooth-ache and stomach-ache.
20. When it rains the underside of the leaves of the Taro does not become wet.
21. This plant is propagated by planting leafy stemcuttings (slips)
22. For 'maIta see Stokhof 1977:19 ff, compare also Stokhof 1979:168 ff: Sketch of old Maumang village. The ka'kisiŋ live groupwise together in a complex of separate nests.
23. Leguminous plant of genus mimosa; withers when touched.
24. There is a certain visual analogy between the arrangement of the arrows in belt (bah) of the Alor warrior and the leaves of the 'toka *Arenga Saccharifera*(?) see Nieuwenkamp 1925:58, Vatter 1932: 241.



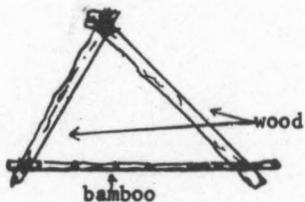
25. This riddle is somewhat unclear to me; when you shake a coconut you (people from outside) can hear its water (from inside) splashing.
26. Sugar cane is planted by stemcuttings (setts).
27. Meant is horns on head of cattle, goats etc. The epidermal sheath can be taken off when heated, the bony core remains.
28. 'Narrow path' stands for 'trap'.
29. Unidentified bird feeding on fruits and nuts (such as kenari)
30. Mangoes are sour when unripe, sweet when ripe.
31. I have not been able to identify this tree. Its skin is used in dying; compare Vatter o.c. p.220 *Roma, Agathis alba* Foxw.?
32. Unidentified little white bird with two long tailfeathers which were used in the headdress of the Woisika men: see Vatter 1932:241.
33. Probably *Pithecolobium lobatum*; its resin affects the skin.
34. For 'wehe, 'tânme, etc. see Stokhof 1978.
- 35.



'kâU

36. L. Kamengmai: when you drop a coin/coins, other people hear it.
37. Meant is the so-called 'silk', the long thin styles of the female flowers at the tip of the ear.

38. The Woisika fit a collar made from wood and bamboo around the neck of a pig when it tries to destroy its sty.



39. A better answer is probably: mouth.
40. 'Mountain' stands for 'tree'.
41. See Stokhof 1977:17; the wooden block with the arrows comes down when the pig passes through the hole in the wall fence.

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N O T E S

1. The author conducted field research in Alor in 1974-5. The investigations were made possible by grants from the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research, WOTRO, (Grants W38-7 and W38-22) and sponsored by the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Jakarta) and the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (*ibidem*). Part of this paper has been published as a contribution to the *Liber Amicorum* for C.L. Ebeling in Barentsen A.A.c.s. (eds) 1980. I am grateful to Hein Steinhauer for many helpful comments on the earlier version of this paper.

2. How little is known about riddles and riddling in Indonesia is demonstrated by data from the *Human Relations Area Files* at Cornell University extracted in 1966 by Roberts and Forman, where apart from "Indonesian" and "Malays" not any local language and/or culture in Indonesia is mentioned. They set up four sets of "cultures". "Cultures" which are reported as

1. Definitely having riddles: Afgan, Amharic, Apayao, "Arabic", Austrian, Aymara, Bemba, Bhil, Bisayan (central), Bulgarian, Bush Negro, Callinago, Cambodian, Chagga, "Chinese", Cornish, Cuna, Czechoslovakian, Dard, Dhegiha, Eskimo (central), Estonian, Fang, Fellahin, (modern) "Formosan", Gondi, Greek, Gujerati, Hausa, Hottentot, Hungarian, Iban, Ila, Indonesian, Iranian, Irish (rural), Kashmiri, Kikwyu, Kol, Korean, Kurdish, Lapp, Lithuanian, Lovedu, Malays, Maori, Masai, Mayan, (Ycatan), Mbundu, Mongolian, Ngondi, Ngoni, Nuer, Polish, Rumanian, Rundi, Rwala, Samoan, Serbia, Somalia, Soviet Union, Syrian, Thonga, Tibet, Tiv, Ukrainian, Wolof, Yao, Yakut, and Yugoslavian.
2. Definitely not having riddles: Manus, Miao, Pukapuka.
3. Being indeterminate: Aden, Burmese, Chukchee, Oraqi, Jordanian, Kuwait, Lebanese, Nahane, Nootka, Saudi, Arabian, Thailand, Tuareg, Yemen, and
4. Cultures in which the presence of riddles is unreported: Ainu, Albanian, Aleut, Andamans, Azandi, Aztec, Bahrain Islands,

Bambara, Bedouin, Bellacoola, Burusho, Bushman, Caingang, Carib, Caucasian, Cayapa, Choroti, Comanche, Creek, Crow, Delaware, Dorobo, Easter Islands, Eskimo (Copper), Gandian, Georgian, Goajiro, Gros Ventre, Guana, Hadhramut, Ifugao, Incan, Indian, Iroquois, Jivaro, Kachin, Kamchadal, Kapauku, Katub, Khasi, Koryak, Laotian, Lepha, Lolo, Luo, Manchurian, Mandan, Marquesas, Massachusetts (historical), Mende, Micmac, Mongo, Monguer, Montagnais, Mosquito, Mossi, Munduracu, Murngin, Nambicwara, Navaho, New Ireland, Nupe, Ojibwa, Orokaiva, Paiute (northern), Papago, Pawnee, Pomo, Punjab (east), Rif, Russian (great), Samoyed, Semang, Senegal, Seri, Siberian, Sinkiang, Sino-Tibetan border, Shilluk, Sirono, Siwan, Talamanca, Tallensi, Tanala, Tapirape, Tarahumara, Tarsco, Tehuelche, Tepztlan, Tewa, Tikopia, Timpisa, Tiwi, Tlingit, Tubatulabal, Tucuna, Turkestan, Tupinamba, Twi, Utter Pradesh, Yahgan, Yakut, Yoruba, Yuman (plateau), Yuman (river), Yurok, Vedda, Wogeo, and Zuni.

It is clear that in this enumeration political entities and ethnic entities have been hopelessly mixed up; for instance, what do Indonesian, Soviet Union or Yugoslavian culture mean and why are Serbia and Ukrainian mentioned separately? Why use quotation marks for Arabic and Chinese and not for instance for Indian, Indonesian or Soviet Union? Why is Russian (great) mentioned in 4. whereas Soviet Union is given in 1.? Apart from all this, it is demonstrative of the lack of knowledge about the riddle in Indonesia whereas quite a number of materials is available, see the bibliography.

Our knowledge of Papuan riddling is very limited. Held 1957 found only a few riddles in Waropen. Don Flassy, a Tehit speaker (Bird's Head, Indonesian New Guinea) became not familiar with riddles before his study in Java. Voorhoeve, Wurm, Laycock and Dutton, all members of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra, ANU, never came across conundra during their fieldwork in New Guinea (personal communication). In Wurm 1975 the phenomenon is not even mentioned once. Boaz 1927 contends that the riddle is rare in amerindian cultures. This is confirmed by Beals c.s. in 1953¹. On the other hand it is a popular entertainment in Africa, e.g. Meyer Fortes 1967, Dupire and Marquis de Tressan 1955, Arnott 1957, Bascom 1949. See Burns 1976 for bibliographical data. For Europe see, e.g. Taylor 1951, Opie and Opie 1959, Evans 1976 fnt. 2., for India, Dundes and Ved Prakash Vatak 1974. See also the bibliographical survey in: Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1976:214-218.

3. Why not call it verbal art or oral composition? This I prefer to the coining of another new term as Adams (1979) does:

'telantry' is a new word [.....] referring to the language arts which develop to be spoken and listened to, that is, utterances embellished beyond the minimal needs or ordinary discourse, such as myths, legends, tales, poetry, songs, chants, prayers, puns, name jokes, swearing, riddles, and any other special forms. With this new term [.....] we may properly limit the use of the word "literature" to written material.

4. Fortunately, this is rapidly changing: The National Centre for Language Development, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jakarta, has undertaken to publish a large set of recordings of oral literature. See Amran Halim in Rusyana and Raksanagara (1978): V ff, and other recent publications of the National Centre of Language Development,

Jakarta, e.g. Arief Budiman c.s. (eds) (1978), Tini Kartini c.s. (eds) (1979), Tini Kartini (ed.) (1978), Satyagraha Hoerip (ed.) (1979). Also Kuhjana Aid Widjaja (1979) and Kalsum (1980) (for Sundanese).

5. Woisika is written in phonemic transcription as given in Stokhof (1979):

		supraglottal				glottal
		labial	apical	palatal	velar	
non-continuant	occlusives	p	t		k	
		b	d		g	
	tap		r			
	trill					
continuant	nasals	m	n		ŋ	
	fricatives	f	s			
	lateral		l			
	centrals	w U		j I		h

Consonants

/P, T, K, U, I/ are archiphonemes of /p, b/, /t, d/, /k, g/, /u, w/ and /i, j/, respectively.

	front		central		back	
	lax	tense			lax	tense
high	i	î			u	û
mid	e	ê			o	ô
low	ae		â	a	ao	
	unrounded				rounded	

Vowels

Usually the riddle and the solution are given in Woisika followed by a word-for-word English transcription. Woisika morpheme boundaries have tentatively been indicated by '+' in the English text. English words which together constitute the meaning of a Woisika morpheme are hyphenated. In addition a free English translation is given, which in Section II is followed by a free Indonesian translation by L.L. Kamengmai.

In the Woisika examples offered in Section I, 10-13 the morphemes are separated by a hyphen. (') in front of a syllable designates the place of the stress. Fusion and (other) morphonological phenomena in Woisika have not been indicated.

6. Though adults do not participate in riddling, they may sometimes use sophisticated proverb-like expressions cognate with the imagery and themes used in riddles. This type of composition is usually resorted to in cautious warnings or mocking innuendos. However, here the traditional introduction and challenge/question are absent, of course.

7. See e.g. Hart (1964:124) "youthful Filipinos are apt to recall double-entendre riddles in the presence of young, unmarried ladies to tease or embarrass them", and Meñez (1975:139) fnt.14.

8. Compare Van Genep (1960): "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age". I do not find any evidence to regard riddles as "expressive models, or representations, of the serious and even formal interrogation of subordinates by superordinates", as stated by Roberts and Forman (1972:182) though several cultures have been reported to use interrogation techniques in initiation and puberty rites, e.g. for Indonesia: Tehit (Bird's Head, Irian Jaya - personal communication Don A.L. Flassy). Their interpretation of riddling: "Riddles may be regarded as natural models (as opposed to formal models used in mathematics W.S.) which represent interrogation [.....]" is trivial.

9. In contradistinction to, for instance, the Tallensi riddles (Meyer Fortes 1967) which seem often to consist of a very short even monosyllabic question with a more or less elaborated response, the Woisika riddles show the opposite pattern. The solution is often only one word (see e.g. Rs. 10, 27, 185), - the question, though tersely formulated, is longer.

10. The riddles given below have not been arranged according to any criteria; they form the first two hundred of the collection. In order to facilitate comparative work the Woisika riddles presented in this paragraph are indexed. See Appendices 1 and 2.

For differences in the notation such as:

(R1) ki'riŋ, (R2) ki'diŋ 'little'; (R4) dum, (R29) duŋ 'child'; (R28) 'woba, (R38) 'wubaŋkaŋ 'to make'; (R157) jal, (ibidem) gal 'he, she, it, they', see Stokhof (1979):31, 27 and 97, respectively. The numbers in the solutions (S) refer to Section III: Commentary.

APPENDIX 1

Index of Woisika riddles presented in Section II according to their domains (see Table 1) as formulated in the accepted solutions.

1. Animal world: 2, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 40, 46, 47, 49, 52, 55, 58, 60, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 86, 91, 97, 100, 102, 105, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 123, 125, 128, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 148, 151, 152, 159, 164, 171, 173, 177, 179, 181, 182, 187, 192, 196, 198.
2. Human body and its functions: 9, 10, 25, 27, 28, 41, 42, 48, 50, 53, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 84, 87, 106, 113, 134, 143, 158, 162, 175, 176, 178, 185.
3. Utensils (house and its parts included): 1, 8, 54, 56, 64, 68, 77, 82, 85, 95, 98, 103, 107, 121, 122, 126, 137, 142b, 146, 150b, 160, 169, 184, 186, 194, 195, 197, 199, 200.
4. Natural phenomena: 16, 23, 24, 26, 33, 43, 44, 45, 57, 61, 81, 89, 99, 112, 115, 127, 129, 142a, 150a, 161, 180, 193.
5. Crops and other foods: 3, 5, 6, 15, 34, 36, 37, 39, 59, 93, 96, 101, 104, 110, 114, 124, 131, 153, 154, 155, 170, 174, 188.

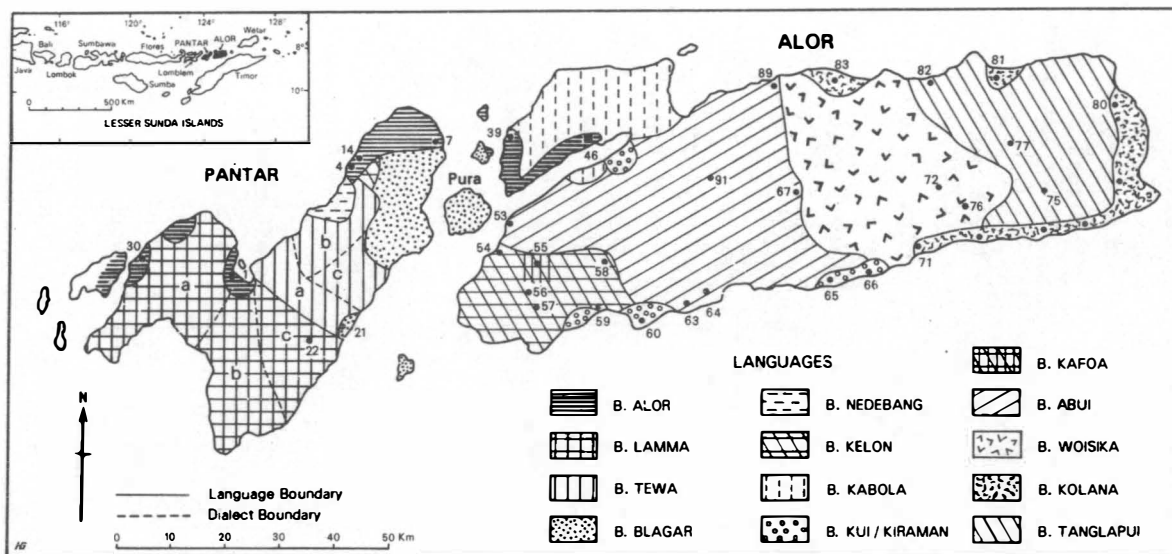
6. Vegetable world: 51, 72, 108, 109, 147, 149, 157, 163,
172.
7. European culture: 7, 78, 82, 88, 92, 94, 156, 165, 166,
167, 168, 183, 189, 190, 191.
10. Ill-advised acts: 98.
(Note: 8 and 9 are missing in Woisika)

APPENDIX 2

Alphabetical index of Woisika riddles presented in Section II (on the basis of their solutions).

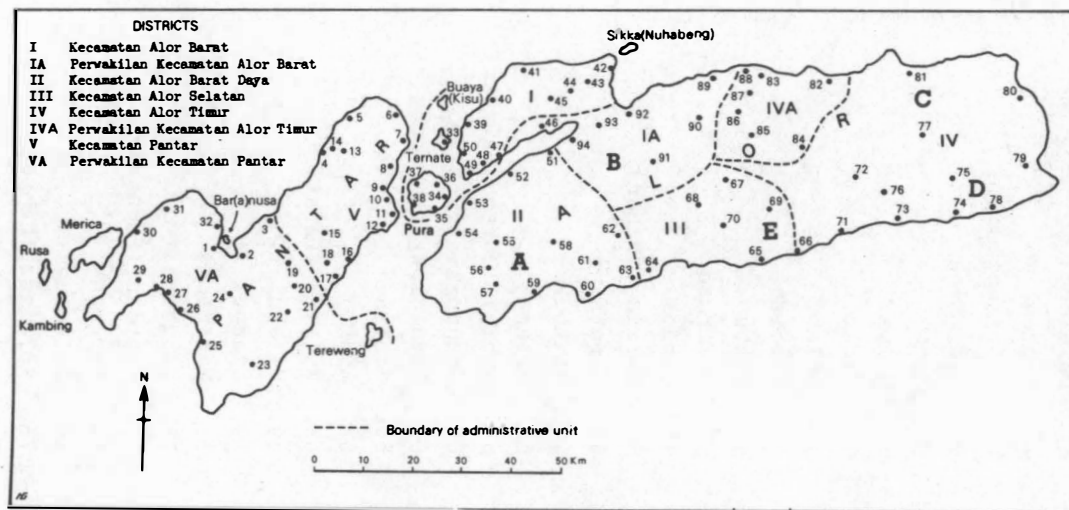
angling-line	8	defecate	76, 158
ants	102, 117	dog	56, 141
arrow	160, 184	ear	83
ball	122	eel	111, 173
bamboo	51, 72, 163	egg	39, 136, 187
banana	104, 145, 170	elastic	94
bat	12, 13, 18, 52, 86, 116	elbow(s)	3, 79
bee	120	eye(s)	10, 75, 80
bell and clapper	82	faeces	50, 53
(k.o.) bird	128, 151	fart	84
bird's eye chilly	188	feet	41
bow	121	fire	112, 193
bow and arrows	103	fire-fly	130
breasts	175, 176	fire-place	169
carpenter's metre	194	fish	40, 111
cassava (stem)	34	flame	44
cat	18, 20, 66	frog	97
cat (wild)	65	glass	156
charcoal	54	goat	35, 47, 60, 67
civet	18, 63, 66, 192	genitals	27, 48, 134, 143
coconut	5, 15, 59	gong	77
coconut water	110	gong and drumstick	82
container	150b	hair	113
corn	124, 172	hen	38, 49, 58
crab	91, 100, 164	hook	197
crocodile	29, 55, 138, 179	horns (of goat)	14, 123
deer	18, 19, 140, 148	horse	21, 177, 198

human being(s)	57	ship	85
intercourse	25	shoes	189
iron	43, 183	shrimps	111, 164
jacket	190	smoke	24
jack fruit	174	snail	17, 31
kunai grass	157	snake	11, 32, 118, 132, 135, 139, 159
lemon	36	snot	9
limestone	129	spadices (of the palm tree)	149
machete	98, 107	sperm	28
magnetic tape	167	spoon	199
maize	124, 172	star(s)	90, 180
mango	131, 144	sugar cane	6, 114
mat	142b	sun	23
matches	92, 165	sweet potato	101
mimosa	108	taro	3, 93, 96
mirror	78	teeth	162, 186
money	168	tobacco	155
moon	22, 161, 180	top (toy)	200
mouse	62, 125	top of house	68
mousedeer	2	trap	126, 195
mouth	42, 70	(k.o.) tree	147, 154
nail	191	trousers	190
neck	74	(k.o.) tuber	37
needle and yarn	146	turtle	46, 133
nose	106	tyre	7
(k.o.) palm	109	urine	87
pan	64	vagina	70
penis	69	(k.o.) vegetable	153
petroleum/oil	88, 166	water	26, 115
pig	67, 181	water buffalo	105
pig (wild)	18, 19	(k.o.) water spider	30
poles	1	waves (of the sea)	142a
pond	150a	wind	45
pounder	95	worm	196
pubic hair	178	young of bat	171
quail	119	young of quail	182
rain	81		
saddle	137		
scorpion	152		
seawater	33, 89, 99, 127		
seawater vs. fresh water	61		
shadow	16		



MAP I: LANGUAGES OF ALOR, PANTAR AND PURA

For the numbers see Map II



MAP II: LOCALITIES AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

MAP II: LIST OF VILLAGES AND FORMER LANDSCHAPPEN

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Blangmerang | 42. Mali | 83. Taramana |
| 2. Benaang | 43. Tulta | 84. Pido |
| 3. Bagang | 44. Lawahing | 85. Woisika |
| 4. Kabir | 45. Pitumbang | 86. Bukapiting |
| 5. Pandai | 46. Kalabahi | 87. Kamot |
| 6. Manuseli | 47. Dulolong | 88. Adagai |
| 7. Lamahulu | 48. Ampera | 89. Letley |
| 8. Tuwaabang | 49. Alor Kecil | 90. Awasi |
| 9. Bakalang | 50. Alor Besar | 91. Atimelang |
| 10. Kolijadi | 51. Moru | 92. Mebung |
| 11. Warsalelang | 52. Wolwal | 93. Watatuku |
| 12. Abangniwang | 53. Matap | 94. Welai |
| 13. Panggar | 54. Lola | |
| 14. Bajo | 55. Habolat | A. Kui, Mataru |
| 15. Sargang | 56. Probur | B. Alor |
| 16. Tamalabang | 57. Halerman | C. Kolana |
| 17. Nuhawalla | 58. Gendok | D. Pureman |
| 18. Lelangabang | 59. Buraga (Tribur) | E. Batulolong |
| 19. Kakamauta | 60. Lerabaing | |
| 20. Airmama | 61. Biakbuku | |
| 21. Toang | 62. Mataru | |
| 22. Mauta | 63. Eibiki (Mataru Selatan) | |
| 23. Jari | 64. Pandangalang | |
| 24. Latuna | 65. Batulolong (Kiramang) | |
| 25. Ilmake | 66. Sibera | |
| 26. Puntaru | 67. Apui | |
| 27. Bolowang | 68. Kalaisi (Barat) | |
| 28. Wolu | 69. Silapui | |
| 29. Mobubaa | 70. Sidabui | |
| 30. Kayang | 71. Mademang | |
| 31. Beangonong | 72. Langkuru | |
| 32. Kalabahi Wowang | 73. Peitoku (Purnama) | |
| 33. Bogakele | 74. Pureman | |
| 34. Apuri | 75. Salamana | |
| 35. Retta | 76. Kolomane (Mamper) | |
| 36. Harilolong | 77. Lantoka (Tanglapui) | |
| 37. Limarahing | 78. Erana | |
| 38. Bira | 79. Maritaing | |
| 39. Sebanjar | 80. Kolana | |
| 40. Seeng | 81. Takala | |
| 41. Kokar | 82. Maukuru | |

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- BTLVNI** *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, The Hague.
- IG** *De Indische Gids*, Amsterdam.
- JAF** *Journal of American Folklore*, Washington, D.C.
- MLS** *Malay Literature Series*, Singapore.
- MNZG** *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, Rotterdam.
- MSILI** *Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages of Indonesia*, Jakarta.
- NCLD** National Center for Language Development (= Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan).
- PBS** *Pengajaran Bahasa dan Sastra*, Jakarta.
- PL** *Pacific Linguistics*, Canberra.
- TNI** *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Zaltbommel, Nijmegen, Bussum, Der Haag, Amsterdam.
- TITLV** *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia.
- SMJ** *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Kuching.
- VBG** *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Batavia.
- VKITLV** *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, The Hague.

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