Ü. Sirk

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF
BUGINESE METRICS: LA GALIGO VERSE*

1. Introductory Notes

Although some data concerning poetic works in Buginese were already
recorded by J. Leyden and T. S. Raffles (their views are referred to in the
introductory chapter of R. A. Kern's monumental *Catalogus van de
Boegineesche, tot den I La Galigo-Cyclus Behoorende Handschriften
. . .*), it is none other than B. F. Matthes to whom the science of philology
is indebted for the real discovery of Buginese traditional poetry. That
pioneer of South Sulawesi philology has published a number of Buginese
poetic texts, thus laying the foundations for a corpus which has not very
markedly increased since his days. In his works, and more particularly in
the third (comments) volume of his *Boeginesche Chrestomathie* and the
booklet *Eenige Proeven van Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Poëzie*,
Matthes brings forward some data regarding the metre and sporadically
also other aspects of composition peculiar to the Buginese poetic tra-
dition.

In Matthes' conception, the metre of Buginese poetic works is based
upon units consisting of a number (either determinate or indetermi-
nate) of syllables. These units he calls '*voet*', which is reminiscent of the
English metrical term 'foot'. In the given case, however, 'foot' would be
inappropriate and even misleading (see section 2 below). Therefore I
have translated Matthes' '*voet*' with 'segment'.

Judging from Matthes' data, in the majority of Buginese poetic works
the length of the segments conforms to strict rules. This is not the case

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with various magic and ritual chants, however (in *Boeginesche Chresto-mathie* such metrically 'free' texts are represented by *Eloŋ Masagala* and the so-called *sabo*s).

Matthes is well aware of the influence of accent on segment length. This influence will be dicussed in section 2 of this article. For the moment, however, we shall leave it aside (which implies that oxytonal segments, i.e. segments where the last syllable bears the stress, will not be considered). The 'strict' metres of Buginese poetry can then be divided into two types, viz:

Type 1. The whole poem consists of segments of equal length. The domain covered by this type comprises virtually all literary poetry.

Type 2. The poem consists of segments of different length which are arranged according to a specific pattern, e.g. an 8-syllable segment is followed by a 7-syllable segment which is followed by a 6-syllable one. (In some patterns the length of a particular segment – usually the first one – may vary, irrespective of the accent, within the limits of one syllable.) This second type is characteristic of *elong*s (short songs of a popular traditional type).

Of these two types, the first comprises two kinds of metre, namely the octosyllabic and the pentasyllabic one. While the former is used in various poetic genres, the latter is peculiar to the La Galigo Cycle, which has been judged by various researchers to be one of the great monuments of world literature (see Kern 1939; Pelras 1975; Sirk 1983). Outside the said cycle, the pentasyllabic metre rarely occurs.[1]

Matthes, in his Buginese dictionary, mentions a specific method of filling in the metre, namely by the insertion of the meaningless syllable *le* before a word (Matthes 1874:527).

Judging from the works of the same author, rhyme is not a feature of Buginese poetry. The style of certain poems, however, is characterized by well-marked parallelism (Matthes 1872, 3:135).

This is virtually all the information provided by Matthes on Buginese versification techniques. No real discussion on the subject has taken place since. Matthes' views have so far remained unchallenged. However, they have not become the basis of any elaborate theory, either.

The purpose of this paper is to present the results of my research into the metric principles governing the versification of the La Galigo Cycle (further referred to as La Galigo verse). The main question I am going to deal with here may be formulated as: What are the characteristics of the constitutive unit of the metre used in the above-mentioned cycle? The metre under consideration will be analysed within the general framework of 'strict' Buginese metres.

The approach to the analysis of metre taken in this paper is the linguistic one outlined by J. Lotz (1974). In essential agreement with Lotz, I define the central concept of metrics, *metre,* as the numerical regulation of certain properties of the linguistic form of verse, the latter

being the marked member of the opposition between two types of language text, viz. prose and verse (for the definitions just given, cf. Lotz 1974: 963-965).

The principal source used for the study of La Galigo verse is the first part of the cycle included in the second volume of Matthes' *Boeginesche Chrestomathie,* there entitled 'YiNaQe PaMuLaNa SuRěGaLiGoWe'[2] [Beginning of the La Galigo Poems] (covering about 130 pages printed in running lines). This text will hereafter be referred to as *Pammulanna.* Attention is also given to Matthes' comments on *Pammulanna* (in the third volume of the *Chrestomathie*) and to the numerous, mostly very brief, textual fragments scattered throughout Kern's Catalogue (Kern 1939). The evidence of these fragments clearly testifies to the representativeness of *Pammulanna* for the cycle as far as problems of metre are concerned.

2. Oxytonal Shortening. The Nature of 'Strict' Metres
From Matthes' observations on a number of poetic genres we may infer that the metrically 'strict' part of Buginese traditional poetry adheres to the following rule: a segment in which the accent falls on the last syllable (in other words, an oxytonal segment) is one syllable shorter than one with the accent on the *vóórlaatste lettergreep* (penult) in the same position.[3] The Dutch term *vóórlaatste lettergreep* (penult) which is used consistently by the author in the given context calls for some comment. Here is what Matthes (1872, 3:263) wrote about the metre of the *La Galigo-gedicht*[4]: "Het bestaat *slechts* (my italics, Ü. S.) uit voeten van vijf lettergrepen met den klemtoon op de vóórlaatste, en soms van vier lettergrepen met den klemtoon op de laatste lettergreep". Recently Pelras (1975:245-246), discussing poems of the La Galigo Cycle, stated: "Leur métrique est fondée sur un rythme de cinq syllabes accentuées sur la pénultième, ou de quatre syllabes accentuées sur la dernière."

From these statements it evidently follows that the last, or only, accent of the segment can fall on no other syllable but the last two. Is this really the case? (Or rather, was this really the case in Matthes' time?)

When reading Buginese poetic texts, including those belonging to the La Galigo Cycle, one often comes across segments in which the rules of Buginese accentuation as expounded in Matthes' grammar (1875: passim)[5] fix the placing of the last, or only, accent on the antepenult. Sometimes it even seems as if the primary accent ought to fall on the pre-antepenultimate syllable; however, in such cases a secondary accent on the penult may be assumed.

Let us examine a fragment of *Pammulanna* (BC:417).[6] The text is divided into five-syllable segments, which are numbered. The syllables which ought to bear the accent according to the general accentuation rules are italicized.

1. TěKuMa*Tu*La   I don't refuse
2. *Ba*LiYo *Qa*Da/   to give thee my answer.
3. *Tě*Lu*Ti*KaNi/   For three days
4. Le*Tě*Lu*MPě*Ni/   and three nights,
5. *Pu*Wa/ Ma*Su*Wa   Oh Lord, none of them has been
6. Ri*Bo*Ti*La*Ŋi   in Botillangi':
7. Ru*Kě*Lě*MPo*Ba   neither Rukěllěmpoba has been,
8. MaSeLiŊeRě/   nor have his brothers.
    (End of the paragraph.)

According to the general accentuation rules, segment 3 should have its last accent on the antepenult. But the question is whether we are right in drawing the boundary between segments 3 and 4 after the syllable Ni. In principle one might imagine two alternative types of division, viz. TěLuTiKa° Ni and TěLu° TiKaNi.[7]

The first alternative cannot be assessed without considering the morphemic structure of the complex[8] TěLuTiKaNi. This structure is as follows:

těllu   _ *t* _   *tikka'*   _ *n* _   *i*
'three'   ligative   'day'   enclitic particles

As regards the enclitic particles, -*na*/-*n*- (semantically reminiscent of Malay -*lah*) is used either after a sentence-initial predicate, or after the first of several co-ordinate sentence-initial predicates. In the given case, undoubtedly the -*n*- is grammatically connected with *těllu-t-tikka'*. The same applies to the third-person pronominal morpheme -*i*, which in this case anticipates the subject (RuKěLěMPoBa MaSeLiŊeRě 'Rukěllěmpoba and his brothers'). This anticipatory -*i* as a rule follows the sentence-initial predicate. Given the relative prosodic independence of the segment in Buginese versification systems (see below), it is hardly conceivable that enclitic particles grammatically connected with the preceding word should be cut off from that word by a segment boundary.

Further, we must take into account the *pallawa* sign after Ni (the main function of which in texts edited by Matthes is to divide syntactic phrases) as well as the 'neutral' syllable Le beginning segment 4 (about *le*, see Section 4 of this paper). Further, the fragment TěLuTiKa is too short to constitute a full segment, whilst QaDa/ TěLuTiKa would be too long.

Thus the evidence militating against a scheme TěLuTiKa°Ni is strong enough. Theoretically, there is one thing that could weaken (if not completely undermine) this evidence: to assume copyist's errors and/or misprints. For the fragment under analysis here, we might then venture the conjecture: (3., 4.) LeTěLuTiKaNi TěLuMPěNi (?). However, of the first 1000 segments of *Pammulanna* there are at least 69 ending in enclitic particles (or, according to the alternative interpretation, followed by such particles). At any rate, *Boeginesche Chrestomathie* has been sufficiently carefully edited to rule out the possibility of any large

number of textual errors. Hence the scheme TĕLuTiKa°Ni is to be rejected.

The other alternative, i.e. the scheme TĕLu°TiKaNi, does not deserve lengthy discussion. Obviously the acceptance of this scheme would mean having to give up wholly the principle of isosyllabism which harmonizes so well with the lexical make-up of the La Galigo text and is, moreover, generally reconcilable with the syntactic structure of the latter.[9]

Consequently, we are justified in concluding that there is no ground for doubting the correctness of our segmentation. Provided that the general rules of Buginese accentuation apply to poetry, proparoxytonal segments (i.e. segments in which the last, or only, accent falls on the antepenult) must be a reality. Interestingly enough, segments which are presumably proparoxytonal seem to occur more frequently than oxytonal segments. To realize this, one need only compare the figures of the following table:

	Of the first 1000 segments of *Pammulanna*	Of the last 200 segments of *Daeŋ Kalĕ'bu'* (octosyllabic metre; published in Matthes (ed.) s.a.)
Presumably proparoxytonal	at least 69	at least 9
Oxytonal	52	6

In view of this ratio it is puzzling why Matthes does not mention the proparoxytonal type of *voeten*.

In principle, one might suppose that a specific rule prescribing a shift of accent from antepenults to penults came into operation when a Buginese poetic text was chanted. To my knowledge, however, no-one has made mention of such a rule. It is perhaps noteworthy that Matthes (1872, 3, 1874), when indicating accent in transcribed quotations from poetic texts, strictly follows the same rules as those followed by him for prose (i.e., what we have called 'the general rules of Buginese accentuation').

Then what is the source of the opposition *laatste: vóórlaatste* in Matthes' laconic statements concerning the metre of Buginese poetry? I am not prepared to answer this question. In any case, it is incredible that this Dutch philologist, faithfully noting the permissibility of oxytonal segments, should have simply overlooked the proparoxytonal segments, which tend to occur more frequently and are often found in examples given in his own works. Is it possible that in Matthes' usage *vóórlaatste lettergreep* designates any syllable coming before the last one, i.e. any non-final syllable? But whatever the exact scope of the above-discussed

Dutch term may be in Matthes' works, it is reasonable to claim that Buginese poetry possessed proparoxytonal segments.

In the context of the hypothesis just put forward, a final unaccented syllable following an accented one cannot be viewed simply as some kind of optional accretion (irrespective of this hypothesis, it would look strange if 'accreted segments' occurred many times more frequently than 'bare segments' – segments *eo ipso*). Evidently we must assume that in a segment-final position an accented syllable is functionally equivalent to a disyllabic unit.[10]

The available material clearly demonstrates that, except for the phenomenon of oxytonal shortening, the accentuation is irrelevant for Buginese 'strict' metres. Generally speaking, a Buginese poetic work is a succession of segments containing an unequal number of accented syllables differing in their placement (as a matter of fact, the occurring accent patterns are different in their frequency). There is no evidence that Buginese 'strict' metres are partly based on the quantity or the recurrence of segmental phonetic features such as rhyme, alliteration, and assonance. In view of this, the nature of these metres must be defined as being essentially syllabic, but including a slight accentuational component manifesting itself in the oxytonal shortening.[11]

Now let us concentrate our attention on the La Galigo verse. It is generally recognized that in syllabic versification systems there is no adequate counterpart to the unit which one would call a 'foot' when describing a quantitative ('metric') or syllabic-accentual system.[12] So we have no reason for labelling the metric segment under consideration here a 'foot'. In principle, the segment might be regarded either as being identical with the line or as a unit subordinate to the latter, i.e. part of a line.

So what is the relation between the segment and the line in La Galigo verse? The question cannot be answered without making a detailed study of the segment.

3. Segment Boundaries

The filling-in of the metric pattern of La Galigo verse is subject to strict limitations imposed on the divisibility of linguistic units by segment boundaries.

At a first glance at the text of *Pammulanna*, one can hardly avoid the impression that segment boundaries do not dissect words. This is indeed true in the case of words containing only one root morpheme, e.g.: *pitu* 'seven' (word = root morpheme), *madeceŋ* 'good' (word = prefix + root morpheme), *rielori* 'beloved' (word = prefix + root morpheme + suffix). Such words are never dissected.[13] Personal names are indivisible, even if they consist of easily recognizable lexical components as, for example, the name *We Ñili'-Timo'* (literally: 'she, the eye (look?) of the eastern monsoon').[14] In the main this is true for toponyms as well. Apart

from personal names and toponyms, it is generally possible to dissect words which contain two root morphemes (the latter may be either identical, i.e. constitute a reduplication, or different). However, such dissection occurs but rarely. When it does occur, the segment boundary comes between the root morphemes: ° CoŊa MaRaKa ° RaKa MaKĕDa ° LeMaNiŊoWe ° RiLaTiMoJo ° (BC:481) 'Having darted a quick glance, The One Who Abided on Latimojong said (. . .)' (the word *marakka-rakka* 'quick, quickly', with a reduplicated root morpheme, here is divided over two segments).

Contrary to the word, the complex is very often divided. There are two possible variants.

Variant 1. The segment boundary, placed between two words (or, incidentally, between two root morphemes of a single word), dissects the nucleus of the complex. For example, in *Pammulanna* we often come across the expression TĕLĕPĕQaDa ° MaDeCeToPa '(he) had not yet finished pronouncing (his) good words'. This is a complex whose structure may be schematized as follows:

tĕŋ	–	*lĕppĕ'*	–	*ada*	– *madeceŋ* –	*to*	–	*pa*
negator		'finished'		'word'	'good'	'also'		'yet'

left-hand periphery	nucleus	right-hand periphery

The segment boundary lies between *ada* and *madeceŋ*.

Variant 2. The segment boundary comes before the stressed (that is, the first or the only) syllable of an accent-bearing particle belonging to the right-hand periphery of the complex. There is a limitation imposed on the occurrence of variant 2, namely that the part of the complex that is transferred to the following segment must comprise at least two syllables. Frequently the segment boundary comes before a disyllabic particle closing the complex, e.g.: ° NaPaDaSoRo ° MuWa MaLĕKu ° (BC:428) 'And cowering, they just retreated a little' (particle: *-mua* 'only, just'); ° CeRo MaNuRu°ŊeDe RiLuWu ° (BC:521) 'the child who descended to Luwu' from Heaven' (*-ede* is a postpositional article). However, the boundary here does not occur before the monosyllabic accent-bearing particle *-to*, unless it is followed by at least one more particle. Compare the following two examples:
(1) *-to* closes complexes with nuclei formed by *sekua* or *sikua* 'as many, the same number': ° NaLiMaRaTu ° QuLuRiWĕTa ° LeRiYaTaNa/ ° SeKuWaTo ° LeRiYaWaNa ° LaŊKaNaLaKo ° MaNuRuŊe/ ° SiKu-WaTo ° LeRiMuNRiNa/ ° SeKuWaTo ° LeRiYoLoNa ° SaQoDĕNRa-Qe ° (BC:496), 'And five hundred heads were chopped off northward of the Golden Palace, Which had descended from Heaven, and the same number southward, and the same number in front of the Abode of the Princess, and the same number behind it'.

(2) *-to* is followed by the particle *-na* within the same complex: °
NaSePaTiRi°ToNa PuWaTa ° GuRuRiSĕLĕ ° DaTu PaLiŊe ° RiSĕ-
NRiJaWa ° (BC:429), 'And equally *(-tó-na)*, our Lord Gururisĕllĕng
and Datu Palinge' of Sĕnrijawa were born as a result of one conception'.

From the nature of the above-discussed variants of division of the
complex by the segment boundary one may derive the following two
rules:
(a) proclitic particles are never separated from the nucleus; and
(b) unaccented postpositional (enclitic) particles are never separated
from the nearest accent-bearing word.

4. *The Preposed Syllable* le. *Oxytonal Shortening Once More*
In *Pammulanna* we often come across segments beginning with *le*.
Judging from the text fragments included in Kern's Catalogue, preposed
le is frequent in other parts of the La Galigo Cycle as well.

Matthes, in his Buginese dictionary (1874:527), defines preposed *le*
as follows: "(2°. le). In gedichten dikwerf voor aan een woord, onver-
schillig welk, gehecht, enkel ten gevalle van het metrum".

In many cases it is indeed difficult to ascribe to preposed *le* any
function other than that of filling up the metre. As examples we quote
two sentences from the very beginning of *Pammulanna* (BC:416):
(1) QiNaPa MPuŊa ° MaWaJiMuWa ° LeTiKaQe ° RiBoTiLaŊi ° 'Just
now, with real splendour, the sun had blossomed over Botillangi' ';
(2) ° PaJaNĕ QoMPo ° WaLiNoNoWe ° RiRuWaLĕTe ° 'One could see
the sun rising over Ruallĕtte' '. As regards syntactic structure, these
sentences are quite similar (a fact that is masked to some degree by the
translation), while their stylistic similarity is also beyond doubt. The sun
is designated by two poetic synonyms, *tikka'* and *walinono,* both of
which are used with the postpositional article *-e*. Of the resulting combi-
nations, *tikka'é* is unacceptable in the La Galigo type of verse, unless one
syllable is preposed (or two syllables postposed) to it, and it is exactly in
this combination that we see *le*. At the same time, *le* is absent before
walinonóe, which wholly fits the metre.

Frequently, however, *le* is present in contexts where, according to the
norms of Buginese prose, the consecutive construction (see Noorduyn
1955:19; Sirk 1983:91-93) or the conjunction *na* 'and' would generally
be preferable to the simple juxtaposition of clauses. For example, we
have: ° MuTĕLuMPĕNi°WeGaMuWaNa/ ° LeTĕLuTiKa/ ° BeLa/
MaSuWa ° RiBoTiLaŊi ° (BC:417) 'For three nights and three days you,
fellows, have not been in Botillangi' '. From the point of view of the
norms of prose, syntactic links seem to be insufficiently marked in this
fragment: one would have expected to find before *tĕlluttikka'* 'three
days' either the pronominal morpheme *mu-* (marking the consecutive
construction) or the conjunction *na*. Returning once more to the frag-
ment of *Pammulanna* quoted in Section 2 of this paper above, we find

the same incongruence, in that segment 4 should read NaTĕLuMPĕNi, instead of LeTĕLuMPĕNi.

Hence the question arises whether *le* may play the role of a conjunction functionally resembling *na*. If this should be the case, we would obviously be obliged to postulate two homonymous forms *le,* one being a metre-filling syllable and the other a conjunction.

However, *Pammulanna* markedly differs from Buginese prose texts in respect of the indication of the temporal sequence of events. Unlike prose texts, *Pammulanna* seldom indicates the named sequence explicitly by grammatical means. Let us examine the narrative passage concerning a series of successive actions of the Creator, occurring at the very beginning of *Pammulanna* (BC:417). Segments containing mere epithets are omitted. Predicates are italicized.

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·   ·
RiLoDuŊiYa	(And) unbolted was
CaLaGoWaRi	the door of the chamber
GuTu/ *NaLaLo*/	of thunder, and he walked through,
LaLo SaLiWĕ/	walked out,
MaSaLiMPĕRa	shook
SaMPu RiYaPi	his sarong to which his kris-belt was fastened

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·   ·
MaJaLeKaQi	stepped over
QaLaWa GuTu/	the threshold in the middle of the palace,
SiKuRĕMPaLi	passed through
TaŊĕ PaRĕPa/	the thunder door,
SaWe MaCoKo/	went to sit

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·   ·
TuDa TaSaNRa	inclined himself
RiDaRaMoSe	upon the cushion

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·   ·
LeMaJuMaTa	washed his face
RiJaRaWĕTa	in the crackleware basin

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·   ·

Among the nine predicates of this fragment, only one (NaLaLo) includes a familiar indicator of consecutivity, the pronominal element *na-,* while preposed *le* occurs only once (in the last segment but one). The forms of all the other predicates are exactly the same as in simple sentences of non-narrative texts. It is interesting to note that at least two (MaSaLiMPĕRa and MaJaLeKaQi) can be 'consecutivized' without breaking the metre.

Since the indication of the temporal sequence of events by grammatical means is not obligatory in *Pammulanna,* we have no reason for viewing *le* as a conjunction. Hence we may safely distinguish only one kind of preposed *le* functioning as a metre-filling syllable.

Inside the segment, the *le* in question can only occupy the initial

position (I have never come across any single segment possessing the structure "word + *le* + word"). From this we may conclude that *le* does not function as an enlargement (accretion) of the word. At the same time, it is worth nothing that *le* can introduce two or more (according to my observations, up to five) successive segments. Two examples are: ° NaQoMPoRiNi ° LePiTuMPuLĕ ° LeBaBuWaNa ° (BC:476) 'The seventh month of her pregnancy began'; ° SeLiTaPeKo ° LeRiLoNaMu/ ° LeMuWaMaLĕ ° LeRiKuTaMu/ ° LeMuWaTaBu ° TaBuMaLoWa ° (BC:426) 'Come here to your own land, you shall spend the night in your own house, and you shall eat much of the viands'. The succession of segments of this type would be inexplicable if *le* were the accessory of some unit consisting of two or more segments. Hence *le* must be viewed as the accessory of a single segment.

By following a similar line of reasoning, the same conclusion can be drawn regarding oxytonal shortening. Successions of segments affected by this phenomenon occur about half as frequently as those containing *le* forms. Consider the following examples: ° NaSiLuRu ° LePĕTaŊe ° (BC:499) [i.e.: *nasilurúŋ ° le pĕttaŋŋé*] 'Everything became wrapped up in darkness'; ° LeBaTaQe ° LeWĕTĕŊe ° (BC:452) [i.e.: *le bata'é ° le wĕttĕŋŋé*] 'both sorghum and millet'. Evidently oxytonal shortening takes place in the framework of the segment.

5. The Segment Versus the Syntactic Structure of the Text

It would be quite unrealistic to expect that five-syllable segments should be correlated with syntactic structure in a language like Buginese, which has fairly long independent words[15] (in *Pammulanna,* the average length of the independent word is about 2.7 syllables) and makes frequent use of articles and functional pronominal morphemes. The segment in *Pammulanna* includes one or two independent words, these variants being virtually equally frequent. Under these conditions it is natural that a sentence should as a rule cover a number of segments.

The problem of correlation between segments and syntactic units has yet another aspect. Short though the segment is, it sometimes nonetheless consists of two parts, which are separated by a more or less pronounced syntactic boundary. In this paper, segments of this kind are termed 'heterogeneous'.

The following table sets out five short fragments of the *Pammulanna* text. Under each fragment are given: a translation/explanation of the individual words (abbreviations used: a. = article; i. = interjection-like word; m. = metre-filling syllable; p. = preposition), and two sets of lines. The upper lines (M) indicate the metric segments (among these, heterogeneous segments are indicated by a double line). The lower lines (S) are intended to indicate the syntactic structure of the text. Full translations of the fragments and source references will be given following the table.

Table of examples of text sections with heterogeneous segments

1. /RoNa MaKĕDa/ MaGi/ KaLaKi/ Na – MaSiNaLa RiYaWa CĕMPa RuKĕLĕ MPoBa ...
   and say why young and no under tamarind Rukĕllĕmpoba
   then chap they
   M _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
   S _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

2. /Tĕ – DeWaTa-Qi/ PuWa/ ReKuWa MaSuWa TaQu ...
   not deity we Lord as-long-as no human being
   M _____ _____ _____
   S _____ _____

3. /Le-ToMPo-Qe Ri-MeNe-QeMPo SoLa SiNRaNĕ-LaKo/ NaDuLu WeLoMPaLoJa/
   m. emerge a. p. top wave be palanquin gold escorted white
   together foam
   M _____ _____ _____ _____
   S _____ _____ _____ _____

4. /QaLa Si – KeDe – MaTa/ Na – LaTu Ri – ToDaToJa/
   i. one flash eye and arrive p. Toddattoja
   they
   M _____ _____ _____
   S ____ _____ _____

5. /Na – RiSeYaKĕ TaQu/ Na – LaLo MaŊKaQuQe Ri – PeReTiWi/
   and be pushed people and pass ruler p. Underworld
   they aside they
   M _____ _____ _____ _____
   S _____ _____

Translations and source references of examples in preceding table
1. And then he said: "Why, young chaps, are not Rukĕllĕmpoba (and ...) here under the tamarind tree?" (BC:416)
2. No deities are we, oh Lord, as long as there are no human beings ... (BC:418)
3. She who emerged on top of the waves together with her gold palanquin and accompanied by white foam (BC:465)
4. Only a moment, and they arrived at Toddattoja (BC:420)
5. And people were pushed aside, and the rulers of the Underworld passed ⁻(BC:430)

In the table, fragment 1 exemplifies the case of neither of the parts of a heterogeneous segment revealing any clear syntactic relations with the immediately adjacent (i.e., preceding or following) segments. This is possible where an address is incorporated in a sentence.

It is more usual, however, for at least one of the parts of a heterogeneous segment to be syntactically connected to the segment, or part of the segment, that is immediately adjacent to it. This kind of connection makes for overlapping of the metric with the syntactic units. Various types of correlation are possible (compare fragments 2-5 of the table). A syntactic unit may begin or end in the middle of a heterogeneous segment. It may also have its beginning and its end within two different heterogeneous segments (note the nominal group SiNRaNĕ-LaKo 'gold palanquin' in fragment 3). Sometimes a heterogeneous segment includes the end of one syntactic unit and the beginning of another.

In this paper, all cases of overlapping between segments and syntactic units are classified under the term 'enjambement-like phenomena'.

6. Search for the Line

From the strict limitations governing the segment boundaries and from the evidence provided by preposed *le* and by oxytonal shortening, it clearly follows that the segment is a well-marked metric unit in La Galigo verse. But is the segment the *basic* metric unit there?

The weakness of the correlation between segments and syntactic constituents of the text gives rise to some doubt about the basic character of the segment. Is it possible that the segment is subordinate to the line, the latter constituting the basic unit of the metre?

Besides the weakness of the correlation between segments and syntactic units, it is possible to adduce a little more evidence seemingly testifying against the basic character of the segment. This evidence is provided by certain graphical phenomena observable at segment boundaries. Specifically, the final consonant ŋ of a segment-final word may be linked to the initial vowel of the word at the beginning of the following segment. In *Pammulanna* we often come across the expression RiLaLĕ°NiNiNaWaNa 'in his (her) heart, in their hearts', in which the segment boundary lies between the words *lalĕŋ* 'interior' and *ininnawa* 'heart, soul'. In this connection consider the example containing the fragment MaNuRu°NeDe (from *manuruŋ + -ede*) 'who descended from Heaven', which was given in Section 3 above. Admittedly this simple kind of graphical linking may be supposed to be a convention of writing not reflecting any phonetic reality. Such a supposition is less plausible, however, in cases where the spelling follows the rules of sandhi. In *Pammulanna*, such cases occur at segment boundaries. In particular the sandhi rule $ŋ + w = mp$ is distinguishable in the fairly common expression LaMi ° MPuLaWĕNe (BC:490 et al.) 'gold *lamming* (k.o. seat)', which is made up of *lammiŋ, wulawĕŋ* (the archaic form of the

word *ulawĕŋ* 'gold'), and the article *-e.* Compare: ° LePaTiKaSĕ ° MPĕLuWĕLuNa ° SĕBuKaTiNa ° (BC:411) 'the lithe waist of their child' (*patikasĕŋ* 'waist'; *wĕlluwĕllu* 'lithe').

Notwithstanding the phenomena just discussed, the rules regulating the possible positions of the segment boundaries (as expounded in Section 3) are always strictly followed. From *Pammulanna* I cannot cite even a single instance of indubitable violation of these rules. Therefore it is quite impossible to explain the linking phenomena at any presumable segment boundary by supposing that the boundary is omitted. There even so still remains the theoretical possibility that the boundary in question does not separate two lines, but is a caesura.

To summarize the above: there is some evidence in favour of the supposition that the segment is part of the line. Yet it would be futile to make such a *claim* until the notion of the 'line' itself is clearly defined. To substantiate the claim that the segment forms part of the line, it is necessary for the text to fall into pieces, each consisting of a certain number of segments, and for these pieces (i.e. lines) to possess the following properties: (a) they are delimitated more clearly than, or at least as clearly as, the segments, and (b) they display a more systematic correlation with the syntactic structure of the text than do the segments.

Let us analyse a fragment taken from *Pammulanna* (BC:486). This particular fragment forms the opening of a paragraph. The segments are numbered.

 1. KuWa QaDaNa — Thus spoke
 2. BaTaRaGuRu/ — Batara Guru:
 3. KuWeLoRĕKo/ — I expect thee,
 4. LaDuNRuSeRĕ/ — oh La Dunrusserĕng,
 5. MaLaJaRiWi — to bring
 6. BuWaMPuWaŊĕ- — the food
 7. NRiYeLoRĕNa — coveted
 8. DaTu·PuWaMu/ — by the High Lady!
 9. QiKoNa SiYa/ — By all means, thou,
10. LaDuNRuSeRĕ/ — oh La Dunrusserĕng,
11. LaQoQaˋLaQi — go and take it
12. RiWiDeLaŊi/ — near the horizon!
13. MuWaLaSaQi — And bring, thou,
14. MaQi BuWaNa· — here the fruits
15. SĕTu PaTaLo — of the fragrant *Sandoricum* trees
16. MaKaTuQe — growing in rows
17. RiWiDeLaŊi/ — along the horizon!

Segments 1 and 2, taken together, evidently cover a complete syntactic unit. With this in mind, we may presume the line to consist of two segments. This conjecture 'stands the test' of verification in segments 3 and 4 (although the line appearing there proves to be heterogeneous). But if we continue in this way, two closely-knit groups possessing a

HEAD-ATTRIBUTE structure appear to be dissected by line boundaries. These groups are: (a) BuWaMPuWaŊě ° NRiYeLoRě 'the food that is coveted', and (b) BuWaNa ° SěTu PaTaLo 'the fruits of the fragrant *Sandoricum* trees'. In group (a) we can observe a sandhial ligature ($ŋ + r = nr$) crossing a segment boundary, while group (b) contains the possessive-attributive marker -*na* (which closes segment 14).

It is important to note that group (a) is not a complete attributive construction, but only one of the immediate constituents of one; the entire construction BuWaMPuWaŊě ° NRiYeLoRěNa ° DaTu PuWaMu 'The food coveted by thy High Lady' (having the possessive-attributive marker -*na* at the end of segment 7) covers three segments, 6, 7, and 8. At the same time, by uniting segments 13, 14 and 15 we would be able to eliminate an enjambement-like phenomenon (namely, that of the last part of segment 14 entering the attributive group (b) discussed above, while the word MaQi, semantically comparable to Malay *kěmari*, is more closely connected with the foregoing segment). After all, segments 3, 4 and 5 might also be regarded as constituting one line.

The phenomena just noted seem to justify the conclusion that the text fragment under examination includes trisegmental lines. However, an attempt to group the segments, beginning from the first, into triads would not yield a satisfactory result. Hence, provided that the trisegmental line really exists, the text fragment nevertheless evidently does not consist of such lines without some residue. If such is the case, is there any regularity in the distribution of lines of different length? The text fragment under consideration offers no evidence of any such regularity. The analysis of a number of somewhat longer fragments (each of about 40-50 segments) has not yielded any encouraging result, either.

With a view to testing the idea of the multisegmentality of the line, I carried out the following experiment. I applied to the same text, taken from *Pammulanna,* different schemes of division into lines, and with regard to each of them determined: (a) the percentage of heterogeneous lines, (b) the percentage of heterogeneous lines involving enjambement-like phenomena, and (c) the percentage of cases of line boundaries dissecting closely-knit syntactic units (that is, complexes and groups possessing a HEAD-ATTRIBUTE structure). The stretch of text put to this test represents the beginning of *Pammulanna,* and is 200 segments long (BC:416-418). The metric schemes tested were the following:

(1) line = 1 segment;
(2) line = 2 segments;
(3) line = 3 segments;
(4) strophic verse *2 + 1*:
     1st line = 2 segments,
     2nd line = 1 segment;

(5) strophic verse *3 + 2*:
   1st line = 3 segments,
   2nd line = 2 segments;
(6) strophic verse *3 + 2 + 1*:
   1st line = 3 segments,
   2nd line = 2 segments,
   3rd line = 1 segment.

Of all the schemes tested involving multisegmental lines, none guarantees that all the boundaries between semantically coherent paragraphs, into which the relevant part of *Pammulanna* is divided in *Boeginesche Chrestomathie*[16], will coincide with the boundaries of major metric units (i.e., lines or strophes). The cases of non-coincidence (contradicting the given scheme) may, in principle, be interpreted in two ways:

A. One may interpret them as representing a kind of deep enjambement and extend the reckoning of lines or strophes, in agreement with this view, beyond the paragraph limit.

B. One may assume that the last metric unit of a paragraph has remained incomplete, and start a new reckoning at the paragraph limit.

Correspondingly, all the schemes except (1) were tested in a double way:

A. for the text as a whole, and

B. paragraph by paragraph.

The results of my experiment are set out in the following table.

This result is undoubtedly spectacular enough to render the standard deviation account superfluous in the given case. None of the schemes involving multisegmental lines can eliminate the phenomenon of dissection of closely-knit groups (the number of cases of such dissection is not even significantly reduced); all these schemes, when compared with the scheme "line = 1 segment", make for a very sharp increase in the percentage of heterogeneous lines, on the other hand. Comparing the scheme "line = 1 segment" with schemes (4) and (6), one notes that the decrease of the proportion of unisegmental lines is attended with a gradual increase in the percentage of heterogeneous lines. This inverse proportion can be explained simply with reference to the relatively high degree of cohesion of the segment in comparison with the putative bi- and trisegmental lines.

Thus our experiment has not given even the slightest indication of the existence of some superior metric unit which may correlate better with the syntactic structure than does the segment. Superficial observations with regard to various other parts of *Pammulanna* have created the same impression. At the same time, no phenomena have been discovered which suggest the existence of a metric unit with more clearly defined boundaries than those of the segment. Evidently we must conclude that the segment functions as line in La Galigo verse.

Table of the results of the experiment with regard to the first 200 segments of Pammulanna

Schemes and their variations		Number of instances of a paragraph beginning in the middle of a line or, in the case of strophic verse, in the middle of a strophe	Percentage of hetero-geneous lines out of the total number of lines	Percentage of hetero-geneous lines involving enjambement-like phenomena out of the total number of hetero-geneous lines	Percentage of line boun-daries dissecting closely-knit groups (complexes, HEAD-ATTRIBUTE groups) out of the total number of line boundaries
1	line = 1 segment	—	9	78	17
2	line = 2 segments	A	4	59	86	16
		B	—	55	78	12
3	line = 3 segments	A	3	73	82	16
		B	—	70	81	16
4	strophic verse 2 + 1	A	2	26	84	16
		B	—	27	81	15
5	strophic verse 3 + 2	A	2	58	79	17
		B	—	55	77	15
6	strophic verse 3 + 2 + 1	A	4	41	76	15
		B	—	39	72	13

This fundamental conclusion cannot be accepted, however, without two reservations. Firstly, it has to be admitted that the highly developed syllabic type of metre that is constitutive of La Galigo verse has to a considerable degree freed itself from the text's grammatical structure. This assumption enables us to account for the presence of heterogeneous lines/segments and for enjambement-like phenomena.

Secondly, we must assume that, under the influence of the grammatical structure of the text, La Galigo verse tolerates some sporadic phonetic weakening of line (= segment) boundaries, which fully retain their metric relevance. As a result, line boundaries can easily dissect closely-knit units such as HEAD-ATTRIBUTE groups, complexes, and even words of certain kinds. For the same reason, sandhi-like phenomena are permissible at line boundaries.

NOTES

1 It is found in the poetic passages incorporated in the Story of Arung Singkang (see Noorduyn 1953).
2 The Buginese text as recorded in the Buginese-Makassarese (so-called *sulapa'-ĕppa'*) script is quoted in transliteration in this paper. The individual letters of that script (referred to as *inasurĕ'* in Buginese) are rendered by capital letters, making use of the combinations ŊK, MP, NR and ÑC. The *inasurĕ'* usually referred to as 'a', which indicates 'either no consonant at all or the glottal stop', is rendered by Q. For the rendering of vowels, small letters are used; the so-called inherent vowel *a* is also represented. The neutral vowel, or schwa (Buginese: *ĕccĕ'*) is designated by the letter *ĕ*. The combination Yi which is sometimes encountered in texts is an abbreviation for QiYa. The punctuation mark *pallawa* is rendered by a slanting stroke (/).
3 In metres of type 2 only positionally corresponding segments are comparable from the point of view adopted here.
4 The scope of Matthes' term 'La Galigo-gedicht' is equal to that of 'La Galigo Cycle'.
5 La Galigo verse does not follow Matthes' accentuation rules on the following point. 'Complexes' (for this term see note 8 below) with the structure [. . . +] *word ending in a consonant (' or ŋ) + the article -e,* which according to Matthes' rules should bear their (last) accent on the antepenult, in La Galigo verse behave like oxytonal units (which seems to be a general characteristic of Buginese poetic works making use of 'strict' metres). For example, the complex *salarĕŋŋe* 'the wind' as used in La Galigo verse resembles the word *makkalinóŋ* 'to look at oneself in a mirror', but does not resemble the complex *nĕnnúŋiwi* 'to follow him' (which would be exactly the case if Matthes were right). In view of this, segments ending in a complex with the above-outlined structure are classed in this paper with oxytonal segments. It is worth nothing that according to Noorduyn (1955:12), the article *-e* following a consonant-final word should be stressed. For more details on Buginese accentuation, see Sirk 1983:32-34.
6 The abbreviation BC is used in source references to indicate Matthes 1872, 2.
7 In examples printed in running lines, the sign ° indicates the segment boundary.
8 What we refer to as 'complex' (a term which was introduced by R.. Brandstetter, 1911:27) is a unit with a significant role in Buginese grammar. Before defining the term in question, one should note that Buginese words generally fall into two main classes, namely (1) independent words, and (2) particles. The first of these comprises nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, the free forms of personal pronouns, some auxiliary words, some conjunctions, and also the semantically empty word *ia* (of pronominal origin), functioning in certain cases as support for particles. The second class includes

the articles, the bound personal pronoun forms, almost all the demonstrative pro-
nouns, the preposition *ri* and the remaining auxiliary words and conjunctions. It is
characteristic of the particles that they do not occur outside constructions referred to as
'complexes'. The constitutive parts of a complex are:
(i) the nucleus, formed by an independent word or by a close combination of two or
three such words, and
(ii) the periphery (more precisely, the left-hand and right-hand peripheries), made up
of particles. The complex is characterized by its fairly regular internal structure and
displays a considerable degree of phonetic cohesion. The positions of particles and the
placing of the last accent (or sometimes that of two accents) are subject to specific
rules; various phenomena of phonetic accommodation (sandhi, insertion of ligative
sounds) can be observed at morpheme junctures. For more details, see Sirk 1983: esp.
pp. 75-78.

9 The word 'reconcilable' is used here in the sense of 'comparatively rarely conflicting'.
The degree of reconcilability (in the given sense) of the metre with the syntactic
structure does not predetermine the degree of abstraction of the former from the latter.

10 The functional 'two-syllable weight' of the accented final syllable apparently has a
historical explanation. For this we must take into account the following two develop-
ments. Firstly, the postpositional article *-e* (one of the most frequently used functors in
Buginese), which becomes accented when added to a word ending in a consonant,
originates from a disyllabic word (ultimately, from *$*ia$). Secondly, the overwhelming
majority of Buginese oxytonal words have developed from paroxytonals through the
fusion of the last two syllables. For example, the model . . . o + $-an$ = . . . $óan$ has for
the most part been replaced by . . . o + $-an$ = . . . $ón$; in cases involving sequences of
like vowels (e.g., . . . a + $-an$) such replacement has been nearly complete. A good deal
of fluctuation, and not only in suffixed words but also in the article, has probably
occurred in former times. The typical position of the article in a poetic text is segment-
final. Suffixed words also tend to occur in the segment end. Hence it seems likely that
the fluctuation between paroxytonal and oxytonal elements in the said position gave
rise to the idea that the sequence $CV(C)$ # somehow 'embodies', or 'represents' the
sequence $CV(C)V(C)$ # (C = consonant; V = stressed vowel; V = unstressed vowel;
# = segment boundary).

11 In verse compiled in 'loose' metres, the divisibility of the text is determined by a variety
of devices, including syntactic and semantic parallelism, lexical repetition, and presum-
ably some kind of phonetic organization (a feature which has not yet been investi-
gated), which are all combinable with the syllabic principle to different degrees.
Parallelism and repetition also occur in works with 'strict' metres.

12 What is usually referred to as 'foot' is the minimal recurrent segment consisting of two
or more syllables, on which certain prosodic limitations are imposed.

13 The graphic linking of the final velar nasal *n* to the following segment (about which see
Section 6) is a process that is basically different from the dissection of the word.

14 This rule does not apply to traditional descriptive designations of personages. As an
example of this kind of designation one should examine the text fragment given under
point 3 in the table of examples of text sections with heterogeneous segments below,
which refers to We Ñili'-Timo'.

15 Concerning the term 'independent word', see note 8.

16 The stretch of text tested contains five paragraph limits.

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