

# SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF ETHNOPOETICS OF PANGUNRAUN IN MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS OF MAANYAN DAYAK OF CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

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**Abstract:** This paper is intended to describe what is the content of ethnopoetic of *Pangunraunas* they are practised in negotiating marriage proposals of Maanyan Dayak of Central Kalimantan. Semantic analysis was adopted to unfold layers of meaning with observation, interview, and FGD as main data collection techniques. As most *couplets* have lost the context, word to word translation is extremely difficult to perceive. The study revealed that the negotiation is more than ordinary marriage negotiation, but there are rigid agenda, as appeal to tradition. They include: rice-wine party, negotiating the speakers, reasons for visit, marriage proposal, negotiating the seriousness, negotiating the bridal gift, agreement, and the last asking for blessing from the *adat* elders.

**Keywords:** *Maanyan Dayak, Borneo, marriage negotiations, Patatiba, Ethnopoetics, Pangunraun*

## INTRODUCTION

*Pangunraun* is a poetic variation of Maanyan language, a sub language of Dayak included in Barito Isolect languages. Maanyan is spoken in two regencies South of Barito and East of Barito, Central Kalimantan province. Hudson (1963), after two years of fieldwork in East Barito Regency, describes his personal account of dealing with the poetic language:

I would say, without hesitation, that it was the art of public speaking that was most highly developed and most appreciated. There are several speechmaking styles, ranging from a so-called "ancient language" (*basa Pangunraun*) that is characterized by the extensive use of periphrasis, to a more colloquial and comparatively laconic "modern" style (Hudson 1963: 408-9).

Fortunately, after almost fifty years *Basa Pangunraun* is somehow still exist and is still 'the premier art form of the region' today, but

as Hudson observed in the 1960s, there were few speakers who mastered it and that number has now decreased even more significantly.

*Pangunraun* is also a ritual language spoken in all rituals of the Dayak Maanyan people. The most accessible sample to the practice of *Basa Pangunraun* is found in Maanyan Marriage Negotiations. In traditional religion belief, officially called *Kaharingan* since March 31<sup>st</sup> 1980 (Schiller 1997:120), marriage negotiations involve two rituals called *Natas Banyang* and *Patatiba*. It is mandatory to include these rituals in the marriage negotiations and as such they are well maintained. Maanyan have adhered to this belief for centuries.

In this paper I would focus myself on *Patatiba*, the second rite of marriage negotiation, *Patatiba*, is always initiated with a section called *manggayung tuak*, a minor rice wine feast. As this service is organised into three rounds and

each of the rounds is initiated by a speech from either *bunsuq panakuan* or *anak panggayungan* (two wine boys).

### The First Section

To initiate the rice wine feast the *anak panakuan* recites a chant paying tribute to the spirit that takes care of the rice wine as well as giving the name (*manggalar*) to the rice wine. The following is the only example found.

#### Model 5

- (1) *Sajang ngarang tuak bantuq lawi raqan*  
Sajang ngarang rice wine bantu end of branches
- (2) *Sajang danang tingang lalutung mangun paku*  
Sajang danang tingang lalutung grows its shoots
- (3) *Samula ammay here dammung mani manyang*  
Climbed by prince taking bath on areca bud
- (4) *tungken raden ganta langit*  
ascended by prince visit the sky
- (5) *Puqay dammung kinurung lingngangk*  
Set a fire by Prince Kinurung-lingngangk
- (6) *rerey raden kangkamut raqan*  
prince waves the smoke down the branches
- (7) *Hang yiru balalu nguruweah amas junung lawuq*  
That like grains of rice the embers fall down
- (8) *nguruwusuy wulan tunyung mirah gugur*  
like golden rattles the fire fell down
- (9) *Balalu uluy here dammung timmangan kaleh*  
Then the hives are sent down through a long rope by a prince of mighty scale
- (10) *tarasat here Katian runsaq*  
sent down by mighty Katian
- (11) *Uluuy here anri uluyan kawat*  
Using a rope of wire
- (12) *ulang uey gansa walang*  
the coil of strong rattan

- (13) *uluuy anri uluyan riti ulang uey amas bansir*  
using rope of riti the coil of yellowish rattan
- (14) *Uluuy anri uluyan iket ulang*  
Using a woven rope
- (15) *uey heke ngaliura rayu*  
of heke rattan grows on top of trees
- (16) *yiru bu takam nguqut*  
therefore now we drink

These couplets are mainly a description on taking honey from a honey tree, the ingredient added to the rice wine as a sweetening.

The second round of the service is initiated with a speech by either *anak panggayungan* or *bunsuq panakuan*. This section states the reason for organising the rice wine feast, where the couplets are very brief as follows. Variations are notable if different bards deliver the speeches.

#### Model 5

- (1) *Sariak ringkay kayu masarumang baliq*  
A crying sparrow at a twisting tree
- (2) *hayu takam minum tuak tapay*  
let us drink rice wine
- (3) *tutukan takam ngitung kawan ratik basaq sadiq*  
while we remember some verses of old language
- (4) *Takam sameh-sameh ngummung juntay bakir*  
Let us come together under the shade
- (5) *pada-pada nanraq kalun berang*  
cooperatively we are below the crown
- (6) *Takut kapusunan kala iwek sahur*  
In case we might have bad luck like a sacrificed pig
- (7) *katenrekan alang manuq tagas*  
have an unfortunate incident like a tagas chicken
- (8) *Balalu kami mulai ngenney ni*  
So we start to drink

#### Model 9

- (1) *Takut barang yiti naqan*  
In case this drink contains dangerous substances

- (2) *pudis umpan inrin rasun*  
like traditional poisons, pesticides,  
poison
- (3) *atawa tampirik jujuh kikiran gansaq*  
*tampirik-jujuh*, iron powder
- (4) *elah aku nguqut dahulu*  
let me drink it first
- (5) *Tuqu Kamis kamunringen*  
It is very sweet
- (6) *kimet ngalulangut wawu*  
it sweetness touches the inside part of a  
bone
- (7) *kala Kamis wani Puning kala kimet nuan*  
*Babai*  
as sweet as the bees of Puning sweet like  
the honey of Babai
- (8) *Kala wani waqu uteh raqan*  
Like beehives freshly taken from the  
branches
- (9) *alang nuan hanyar mubuk tulung*  
like *nuan* honey freshly taken from tree's  
hollows
- (10) *Kala gula waqu punnut*  
Like sugar just put in the pack
- (11) *nimmang juruh hanyar paning*  
like a brown sugar just put in sack
- (12) *Babagi Jarang anri Hiyang*  
Share it with Jarang and Hiyang
- (13) *pahurey Jalu unru Unay*  
share it with Jalu and Unay

As soon as the third round of the service begins, the *anak panakuan* suddenly arises and delivers a speech to inform the assembly that the rice wine is finished; therefore the third round is cancelled. The main issues include in this speech are: the organisers of the party are in a terribly embarrassing situation, the rice wine is finished or is not of a good quality, and an attempt is made to find help. The lines to express the issue "the wine is finished" are incredibly various, the following are two of the models.

- (1) *Daya inun aku iwaraq hang kasampatan*  
*yiti* I will inform you this moment
- (2) *tuak galis paparitan puang tutuk*  
that the rice wine is finished but not  
everyone has had a drink

- (3) *tajaw inreng siburan halaq harung*  
the wine jar is leaning the container stands  
loosely
- (4) *bakul tummangk haut banar rabah*  
the bag has fallen down the gambling  
boss is bankrupt
- (5) *Intur ku ma bakam kasaq*  
The bottles of drink
- (6) *bakam kasa haut jatuh ipaumme tummang*  
hundreds of them have fallen each  
others
- (7) *summing ilaw haut riwu ipajujung juat*  
the bottles lean of each other
- (8) *Bakam kasaq haut galis daray hang*  
*pulempen*  
They have broken at the threshold
- (9) *summing ilaw jarah leqah hang pumatas*  
the glass containers have broken at the  
doorstep
- (10) *Luwan amun galas kammang*  
The flower-pattern glasses cannot go
- (11) *haut puang kaqiuu urik ansuh*  
back and forth
- (12) *muneng hang ruang luwuq*  
within the house
- (13) *sangker patik puang kaqiuu isahansa neteq*  
spotted cups cannot circulate around the  
house
- (14) *hang jaru lelun tuah*  
like swans
- (15) *Amun tampurung sinaq puang kaqiuu ile-ile*  
The Chinese coconut shells cannot  
circle
- (16) *muneng hang ruang luwuq*  
around the house
- (17) *amun wangeq niuy teka Tanyung Jawa*  
coconut shells from Java cannot
- (18) *ang kaqiuu user-user*  
circulate around the building

The images that the bard uses to describe that the rice wine is finished include leaning jar, container stands loosely, basket falls, gambler bankrupts, falling bottles, broken bottles, the glasses and cups can not go back and forth, Chinese of Javanese coconut shells can not circulate around the building.

## Model 2

- (1) *Ari aku iwaraq aku sa jurung ayak*  
I inform the assembly that it was I
- (2) *bannung tuwuq*  
who led the boat of *tuwuq*
- (3) *jurung esur kilang manaw*  
who pulled the boat of *manaw*
- (4) *Bahum yiri samula hanteq*  
I wish I could take the boat a great distance
- (5) *sikak hampe luyuh watuntangun*  
up to *Luyuh-watun-tangun*
- (6) *kalunsing balay anraw*  
*Kalunsing-balay-anraw*
- (7) *Nequ nganyak bannung tuwuq*  
for navigating the boat of *tuwuq*
- (8) *nequ ngesur kilang manaw*  
sailing the boat of *manaw*
- (9) *Tauq-tauq hang wuang kamalangan*  
But I encountered a serious problem
- (10) *hang wuang tummang tuju yina,*  
on my way to conduct that intent
- (11) *taripi daya kaping mahu naqan jatuh taqun*  
it has been a dry season for a hundred year
- (12) *karing kekeh jarah riwu wulan*  
a long drought for a thousand of months

The images this bard used include boat of *tuwuq* and boat of *mannaw* to describe the rice wine. These two: *manaw* and *tuwuq* are also ingredients added into the rice wine to make it is more intoxicated. Navigate the boat symbolically means to lead the rite of rice wine drinking feast. Dry season symbolically means the rice wine is finished.

## The Second Section

In section two, the *anak panakuan* asks help from *anak panggayungan*:

- (1) *Aku talip iti naqan hengawku ipapurun tunun*  
I ask my friend to share the bunch
- (2) *naan kansa ku igaganap langar*  
my companion to join the cluster
- (3) *Naqan hengawku ialah batung mira putut*  
My friend like giant bamboo trees we share the base

- (4) *anuh kansaku ialah telang nansalukan lawi*  
like bamboo trees we twist the crown
- (5) *Hi Nanyu jaga batang inupian*  
A man who guards the bathing place
- (6) *hi Lungai gaduh wiruga inungkaran*  
a man who awaits the water drinking place
- (7) *Gere nasip maqeh ialah nasip*  
Hopefully he has good luck like ancient
- (8) *ammah Jarang sadi*  
Jarang's father had
- (9) *ialah untung bapang Suga hurap*  
like a lucky man of ancient Father-Suga
- (10) *Jaga batang sumur bayu*  
Who had a drinking water well
- (11) *gaduh ummak idunriang lalung*  
owned a well called *umak-idunriang-lalung*.
- (12) *Biar kaping mahuq jatuh taqun*  
Even in a dry season for a hundred years
- (13) *karing kekeh riwu wulan*  
a drought for a thousand months
- (14) *Ibaruse sikaq puang malu kahak*  
The water volume did not reduce
- (15) *ijumpalit ngahuq mantar surut*  
the water level did not decrease
- (16) *Tatap suey tummang puru pusi*  
It was still nine times the height of a *pusi* tree
- (17) *waluq etang ruyan tanir*  
eight times the height of a *durian* tree

The images used here include sharing a bunch, (a cluster, a base and a crown) to represent sharing responsibility in leading the drinking wine feast. The images like bathing place and drinking-water hole symbolise the wine jar. Again, dry season refers to the rice wine is finished. The bard refers the situation to the ancient Jarang's Father from the story of *Pangunraun Ruampulurueh* about an extraordinary water hole that the water was always full.

In response to the speech delivered by *anak panakuan*, and *anak panggayungan* confirms that the rice wine is finished, and tells the assembly that they (as the host) are greatly embarrassed for organising a feast without being able to



provide the guests with sufficient drink. He says:

- (1) *Kami haut leteng wuwungan*  
We are on the sinking crest of flood water
- (2) *tingalam lea langki*  
reaching the roof
- (3) *haut rangi wehuq haut banar balik*  
salt stock is wet a gambler is bankrupt
- (4) *haut bakul tummang*  
the bag has fallen down.
- (5) *Puang kaqiyuh nyanak nangkeq*  
We cannot stop
- (6) *tuntunan ramaq lawatan wahay,*  
the assembly leaving,
- (7) *daya ungtus kaqadaqan kami haut galis.*  
because we have no more food.
- (8) *Kami ganyah angkeng hang ranuq mahak*  
We are on a dry river
- (9) *hang watang deleng,*  
on a worn out trunk bridge,
- (10) *muneng hang wureq ranuq hanteq*  
on the foam of flood water
- (11) *hang lelap apuy ammax.*  
on a high flame.
- (12) *Buluq muhut urung aku alang lelung,*  
Wipe my nose as if it were broken off,
- (13) *nangkur dada alang lemmah.*  
beat my chest as if I broke my ribs.
- (14) *Hanteq supan umangan malu babahe.*  
A terribly embarrassing situation.
- (15) *Ngitik uluq aku kala wuding watu,*  
Shaking my head as if it were a rock,
- (16) *mepay wulu aku alang rangkang jatang.*  
beating my hair as if it were wire.

The images utilised include big troubles like on flood, salt stock is wet, fallen bag (line 1 to 2), and shallow water, a nearly collapse bridge and house is on fire, which all refer to serious disaster. Embarrassing situation is described as to wipe nose, to beat chest, shake head and beating hair.

As a way out, the *anak panggayungan* asks the owner of the house to help, here are two examples:

- (1) *Uu ruang lewuq uu talaga rampan,*  
Please the owner of the house,

- (2) *tukat ammay wanawang suluk.*  
ladder to ascend door to enter.
- (3) *Gare masih kaqayuh nammah nanrayang,*  
Could you please add more food,
- (4) *kaqayuh mubung nimmaw.*  
more support more provision.
- (5) *Gere kaqayuh tuak baqanuh dalam,*  
Hopefully the house can provide more rice-
- (6) *kajuat pasiq bakurung kunsiq.*  
wine, more locked bottles.
- (7) *Gere ulun ruang lewuq talaga rampan,*  
Hopefully the owner of the house can provide,
- (8) *kaqiyuh lagi libu anning nyurung wureq,*  
lots of wine with bubbling foam,
- (9) *tuak bangkah mumpung sari.*  
lots of rice wine that increases the appetite.
- (10) *Kaqiyuh tuak kala kareh punte,*  
The rice wine will be like water overflowing adam,
- (11) *sajang nimmang balat jujuh.*  
the liquor like water flows from a collapsed dam.

In case the owner of the house can not provide the assembly with more rice wine, the *anak panggayungan* appeals to the owner of the house to tell the assembly the reason to call them to gather. In traditional Maanyan villagers were called by mean of gong's sound. As soon as they came to the place where the gong was beaten, they were served food and drink. Only when the villagers had enough, the reason for gathering was announced. Model 5 shows the example.

#### Model 5

- (1) *Jadi hang wuang perkumpulan*  
therefore in this assembly
- (2) *takam yinaq innaku*  
I guess
- (3) *naqan tummang tujuq naqan sungkuq santah*  
must have a direction to which trees fall to
- (4) *naqan etuk lawi jumpet papuru,*  
trees to lean to, the tops to curve to, the

- crown to bend to,
- (5) *aku puang taqu ngakira ma awe arah.*  
although I cannot tell
- (6) *Innaku naqan na itur parunru,*  
I think there is a problem that needs to be settled
- (7) *naqan ansam pamani,*  
something that has to be discussed
- (8) *arah anri maksud*  
the specific problem
- (9) *puang ku taqu iwara ma takam.*  
I cannot tell
- (10) *Jari sa taqu iwaraq mungkin here ruang lewuq*  
those who can tell are the owners of the house
- (11) *here jurung kukuy wakay jurung tangkur ladit.*  
they who banged the exposed root who pulled the vine
- (12) *Amun eaw here takam haut*  
If they say the room is silent the hall is quiet
- (13) *nasuni ruang nasuni pantay najaraq uran nataduh riwut, ha tasarah here.*  
the rain has stopped, the storm is over, what can I say ?
- (14) *Pada amun naquey musuk napukaq nyurung,*  
But if like rattan grows, like bamboo shoot
- (15) *tasarah witu here.*  
develops, it is their own business

The images the bard used include 'the direction a tree to fall to, tree to lean to, the tops to curve to', which are all indicating to 'a direction' symbolically means that there must be a reason or agenda for the meeting. This speech is also a closing section for the rice-wine feast.

### The Third Section

Section three includes a response to the speech from *anak panggayungan*, where the owner of the house expresses his embarrassment for not being able to help the situation, instead, he asks help from his clan members who are

(in Maanyan) considered as his own family (*ulun putut*). Concerned that his clan members cannot provide the required food and drink, the appeal is extended to his neighbours, friends of the same village, surrounding villagers, and visitors (*ulun hawiqen*). However, this appeal is perceived symbolically, not literally; the real intention is to give an opportunity to any individual to deliver a poetic speech for the purpose of entertainment, as well as a chance to get to know each other, especially for the couple's families. Another important point is that he has to ensure that the guests do not leave.

### Model 8

(Speech for asking help from the clan members)

- (1) *Tapi ha ammaxw kala yiru kira-kira wituq aku*  
Despite the matter, I think
- (2) *masih puang sa anule ugang pihatu guntung,*  
the owner of the house is not like a pond with no clan, like a billabong with no family,
- (3) *hawi na puang teka bunguq tane*  
he does not come from a earthen dune
- (4) *hingka dengkul wakay.*  
from a bent vine.
- (5) *Puang metuq teka tulung batang*  
Pop up from the hollow of a giant bamboo
- (6) *metuq teka tulung tamiang,*  
come up from the cavity of a little bamboo,
- (7) *daya yiru hayuq sa aku neraw*  
therefore let me call
- (8) *here purus wali pamatang asbah*  
the elders from his clan
- (9) *nampalus wat takam yina.*  
to continue the rite.
- (10) *Gare naun sa ulun dada mapeq pungung mapeq,*  
You must be men with hard chests and hard backs,

(11) *ulun mira tunun langar gagang tingkil*  
men who share the bunch, the cluster,  
the stem

(12) *mira putut parukat paqung walailuh.*  
share the root system, share the stump.

Line 1 to 4 describes that the owner of the house is not like a pond or a billabong has no brother. He did not come from earthen dune, or a hollow of a bamboo. Therefore he must have a family, clan and elders. These elders should help their clan members if they involved in such a serious trouble.

Speech for asking help from neighbours or friends of the same village:

(1) *Jakaq ngitung ma tutuk tungun rapat pirang*  
If we remember those who have close  
stumps

(2) *mira wawungan sampuk sansirang*  
close ridges, close roofs at this village,

(3) *hang tumpuk yiti, kiraq-kiraq wituq aku masih heneq iuh naheraw.*

I think there are many, we can call.

(4) *Daya yiru Uu naun tutuk tungun rapat pirang*  
Therefore those that have close stumps of  
trees

(5) *sampuk wuwungan tutuk haruqen,*  
those that close the ridges, close the  
roofs

(6) *mira natat talanyaan mira apar papara.*  
those who share the yard share the bathing  
place

(7) *Ati kami hang bala hante,*  
please help us, we are in a great crisis

(8) *gere naun sa kaqayuh nammah nanrayang*  
perhaps you could support, contribute

(9) *kaqiuuh mubung nimmauw,*  
you could add

(10) *jakaq pinang batunun luat batangkay,*  
areca nut in clusters, betel leaf in stumps

(11) *jakaq luen maerang isip makapan, awat.*  
a salty dish, crusty rice

Neighbours are mentioned as close ridges, close roof meaning that their roof of their house are closed to ours. There is also a weird term: close stumps of trees. This term is related to the land clearing practise in Maanyan by felling

down the big trees and burning them. Usually the stumps are left out by the fire and are let there to decompose and are still notable for years. In the border of the lands of two neighbours, tree stumps are closed to each others.

Speech for asking help from surrounding villagers and visitors:

(1) *Jakaq ngitung ma tumpuk isaq pajuq rueh*  
If I remember one village two  
settlements

(2) *tekaq batay rawi riuk tampungan,*  
huts, hamlets,

(3) *hingka tumpuk natat gumi halaman.*  
from the village enclosure land and  
yard.

(4) *Hingka gunung Pangunraun jatuh*  
From the mountains of Pangunraun-jatuh

(5) *watu Ngampet malem balah riwu,*  
the rock of Ngampet-malem-balah-riwu,

(6) *hingka tanyung abun hingka rantaw tutuy.*  
from the Cape of Abun from straight  
reaches.

(7) *Hingka tumpuk lawit paju uruq,*  
From distant villages, from far  
settlements,

(8) *hingka tumpuk ulun lain gumi hapa bukan.*  
from foreign villages, lands with no friendly  
connection to us.

(9) *Hampe tane ha subarang gumi mampang ipay,*  
To the shore of the other land, soil of the  
other side,

(10) *hingka tahik tayap hingka tummaq rasa iring.*

from the wide ocean, from the vast  
marsh.

(11) *Awat kami yati hang*  
Please help, we are on the

(12) *leteng wuwungan tingalam lea langki.*  
sinking crest of a flooded roof.

Two speeches that requesting the assembly not to leave:

### **Speech 1:**

(1) *Daya sebab yiru takam ada hinang*  
Therefore stay firmly seated,

(2) *rangang harung, ada hinang kinar kikat.*

do not make an unsteady sit.

- (3) *Ada hinang ngitung*  
Do not begin to remember the lovely children the
- (4) *ma anak kalelu bunsuq kakasan,*  
dearest youngest one,
- (5) *ada hinang tulak tarajang itun tarababus.*

do not hurriedly jump, go away.

- (6) *Ada hinang ialah wayuang ngitung janah*  
Do not be like a bear and go back to the jungle
- (7) *tulumpiaw ngitung hepung,*  
do not be like a *siamang* monkey and go back to the orchard
- (8) *wayu ngitung lubuk.*  
a crocodile goes back to a pool.
- (9) *Ada hinang iwawani tumur inanuan tubak,*  
Do not be like panicked bees like annoyed wasps,
- (10) *ada hinang maleng ma pangamudi mudi*  
do not turn to the way home
- (11) *mutar ma panaluan mantuk,*  
back to the home direction,
- (12) *naqan sungkuq santah etuk lawi jumpet papuru.*  
it must be a direction to where a tree leans, a tree bends, a crown curves, a top falls.
- (13) *Aku huqan luga antah leaq tenung,*  
I do not yet have clear foresight, an obvious prediction

#### speech 2:

- (1) *Amun naun ngabihue ma*  
If the visitors come like white ants to
- (2) *tumpuk natat gumi halaman yina*  
this village and yard, land and enclosure,
- (3) *himat daya naqan tulan mamuraga.*  
there must be a reason.
- (4) *Luwan kami neraw wuwu,*  
That is why we call you,
- (5) *kami marak pangil.*  
we invite the assembly,
- (6) *kami nangkur tukat nalitik waenawang.*  
we bang your ladders, knock on your doors.

- (7) *Himat daya naqan*  
Surely we have the direction to where
- (8) *sungkuq santah jungkung lawi jumpet papuru,*  
the tree leans, the tree bends, the crown curves,
- (9) *tummuk tiba sinruk pangiluwu.*  
the flowers are thrown.
- (10) *Atawa naqan pakaq rirung nyawang*  
Surely we have a branch of the *rirung* plant
- (11) *naqan huli tanruk muqang,*  
we have the horn of the *muqang* beetle,
- (12) *maupun tumpa ma Juranang-Meaq*  
another way to Juranang-meaq
- (13) *ranuq janah sinumparing lain.*  
water leaks like branches of bamboo.
- (14) *Jari innaku kawau*  
Therefore all of you
- (15) *sulin niwulian kawau riak rayu rungan*  
visitors from all directions,
- (16) *ada hinang maleng ma pangamudi mudi*  
do not turn your helm back,
- (17) *ngitar ma panaluan mantuk.*  
do not turn your prow back home.
- (18) *Ada hinang maleng upus nansarabun*  
Do not turn your boat to the jungle,
- (19) *ngitar pangkah lingar nyana.*  
turn your empty boat home.
- (20) *Ada hinnang ngetuk ma gunung bujalin*  
Do not bend to the *bujalin* mountain
- (21) *nuwet ma watu kariaqen.*  
do not curve to the rock of *kariaqen*

The issue on “real agenda” here is described metaphorically as ‘another branch of *Rirung*, horn of *muaqang* beetle, another way to Juranang-meaq and nother water leak’. ‘Going home’ is symbolically described as turn the prow, as if it were conducting a journey by a boat.

#### The Fourth Section

From here, the speaker order is rather unpredictable as there is no clear regulation. The convention is for clan members of the bride(*ulun putut*) to speak first followed by friends of the same village, and visitors including the groom’s family and friends (*ulun hawiqen*). In terms of age, the youngest bards tend to speak earlier



than the elders and the adjudicating elders dominate the closing period. Only if there is a serious infringement to the conventional guidelines of the rite does, the elders correct the bard and redirect the negotiation. In this stage the issues being discussed are still about “help to provide the rice wine”. Until this stage the terms for participants are still host and visitor, only after a marriage proposal is clearly mentioned, a change occurs.

As a reaction to the appeal from *anak panggayungan* to provide “more quality rice wine”, everybody expresses their inability to help. Like the appeal itself is not referential, the reaction is not referential. It is a standard content to reply such appeal; therefore I classify these speeches (until this stage) as phatic language. The following are some examples of such speeches.

#### Model 5 (e)

(Examples of couplets expressing inability to help)

- (1) *Haut ang kukaqiuuh ngapeut*  
I cannot squeeze
- (2) *kawan ennuq teka rammu kanrung,*  
a dew drop from the end of my long garment,
- (3) *ngampulay kawan panas wente babat.*  
cannot press the sweat from the end of my belly garment.
- (4) *Ang ku kaqiuuh ngampeut,*  
I cannot squeeze a dew drop from the end
- (5) *kawan ennuq wirun sinyang*  
of a long garment,
- (6) *ang ku kajuat ngampulay*  
cannot press the sweat from the end of
- (7) *kawan panas tampuk gunyay.*  
my garment.
- (8) *Himpan bangkaq unru*  
So that big container
- (9) *takam masih kaqiuuh inamuqun upiq,*  
is still exceedingly full,
- (10) *ginsi wulan takam kajuat inyusupan lummuq.*  
high jar is still extremely full.
- (11) *Lubuk lalem haut pada lawah tanan kahak*

- (12) *rantaw ammax haut ula luluy surut.*  
my long reach has dried up.
- (13) *Luwan rungkup puyuh haut lawah*  
*Rungkup- puyuh* has had no coins
- (14) *puang kaiuh nguray ringgit,*  
for a long time,
- (15) *pangun japuq haut ang kajuat ngugur payung.*  
*pangung-japuq* does not have shade.

Line 1 to 4 describes bard’s incapability to help, majority of his couplets are quoted from chants that a female shaman usually recites when a shamanic rite is not successful to help the ill person, in the ritual of *Miqempu*. In helping the people to find the medication, after a long recitation of the shamanic chant, a female shaman just squeezes her long garment. If the ritual is successful, the needed medication will drop from the garment automatically. The reason for him that he could not help is described in line 7 to 10, where he said that he has nothing to give.

#### Text 2 (d)

- (1) *Bujur ungkup pulaw bemeh rayun*  
It is true that I am included in the extended
- (2) *kude yati iwaraq,*  
family, but I am telling you
- (3) *turay papah desa turay wadung senay,*  
there is nothing to hope for from me,
- (4) *upah pinang haut bubar balah*  
the areca nuts have all finished
- (5) *ang maribasaq.*  
This is not just a metaphor.
- (6) *Lumiang kami galis tanan kahak,*  
Our *lumiang* beads have been left by the water,
- (7) *batumani kami jarah luluy pasang,*  
our precious stones have dried out,
- (8) *tummang kami galis ipaumme*  
we are falling on each other,
- (9) *rabah kami jarah ipajujung juat.*  
we fall upon one another.
- (10) *Bakam kasaq kami galis daray ha pulempen*  
Our bottles are all broken on the

- doorstep,  
 (11) *summing ilaw jarah leqah ha pumatas.*  
 glass containers are all smashed at the  
 threshold.  
 (12) *Taping karabung kami galis minyahanyang*  
 Our bathing place has drifted away,  
 (13) *rahayani ganning kami jarah idadirak-diray.*  
 a place to take drinking water flowed  
 away.  
 (14) *Samula haut ang uweng anraw kunuq,*  
 There is nothing to expect,  
 (15) *anuh juat hequ awe.*  
 there is nothing to hope for.

### The Fifth Section

After everybody has a chance to deliver his/her poetic performances, one speaker switches the topic to the next issue, 'to guess' why the owner of the house has organised the feast and invited so many visitors. As has been described previously, in the past, people were invited by beating a gong, once the gong sound was heard, people would leave their daily activities and come to the place of the sounding gong. As no one knew why they were called, they would ask, and make guesses as to what was happening. Symbolically 'the guess' is meant to remind the villagers that they should think about organising such rituals once they are economically capable. At the same time the forum is an occasion for the bards to show off their knowledge of traditional *adat*, hinting to the public that he/she is now qualified to be a *mantir*, a member of adjudicating committee. The following are two examples, one from a Christian bard, and the other from a Kaharingan bard.

#### Model 9b(d)

Christian bard

- (1) *Partama, amun here yina basukur ma Alatala*  
 Firstly, if this household thanks God
- (2) *nequ nepah pangantuhan muji hajat parapah,*  
 to pay their promise
- (3) *daya here ngume naqun nyasap nanaman.*

for their garden and farm.

- (4) *Here kaqiu parey muaq kala amas,*  
 They produce paddy with ears of gold,
- (5) *luleq nunrun alang mirah.*  
 rice plants bear ears of ruby.
- (6) *Hampe menuq karangking mudit karammas,*  
 That fill the bark bin, fill the rice  
 container,
- (7) *menuq durung mudit lupuq.*  
 fill the bark container, fill the rice sack.
- (8) *Kude, amun aku paung silay siluq*  
 But if I did not mishear
- (9) *mate ganta langit*  
 my eyes did not go to the sky,
- (10) *nas alkitab basaq yari huni,*  
 The bible verses that had been read,
- (11) *ialah huqan nanturungan ilay Jungak anri*  
*Jauh*  
 like Jungak is far from Jauh,
- (12) *ware nanumukan angkuh Banyar anri Kuin.*  
 like Banjar is not similar to Kuin.
- (13) *Huqan nanturungan Idung nuhi lunan,*  
 Does not match like Idung split the  
 cover,
- (14) *huqan nanumukan Ayu malah kumpang.*  
 does not suit like Ayu hacked the shield.
- (15) *Karueh,*  
 Secondly,
- (16) *eh ang, gere sa here yina*  
 Perhaps the household remembers
- (17) *daya hampe wulan duawalas*  
 this is the twelfth month
- (18) *unru hantakan taqun,*  
 the last week of the year,
- (19) *pesta natal malem barasih ngitung.*  
 the holy night, a celebration for
- (20) *pihawiqan Tuhan Yesus*  
 Lord Jesus' birthday.
- (21) *Haqawe amun iaq itaraun tampun*  
 But where is a child who brings *tampun*  
 plants
- (22) *simangerang rammu puyun*  
 one end of a cloth
- (23) *regeq kakaw ni kayawun*  
 huge pine tree, growing with needle  
 leaves,
- (24) *tummuq malar pilus raun, kayu piraqay kayu*  
*malar inyanang lawi.*

- a christmas tree, a bright tree.  
 (25) *Haqawe nyanyian telupulu isaq*  
 where is hymn number thirty one  
 (26) *malem kudus suni suwung,*  
 holy night, silent night  
 (27) *ang ku taqu tanguh.*  
 I cannot predict that.

#### Model 8 (f)

- (1) *Tanguh ku ulun yiti ngitung maq*  
 I guess they invoke  
 (2) *nanyu saniang hiang piumung tunuy diwata*  
 guardian spirits  
 (3) *tapi haqawe kawan*  
 but I do not see  
 (4) *tabak piurayan sinyang pamulakeh,*  
 tabak-piurayan sinyang-pamulakeh,  
 (5) *jumu saruku-ruku ayaw samurayung rawen,*  
 jumu-saruku-ruku ayaw-samurayung-  
 rawen  
 (6) *ma tawasan dua walas, pa uweng takam*  
*kainni.*  
*tawasan dua-walas* but I do not see any.  
 (7) *Tanguh ku daya ulun nequ ma*  
 I guess these people want to begin  
 (8) *pupuh ume ma pangkat bakas*  
 farming activities  
 (9) *nequ ulun ma parey winiq ma halun pangkan,*  
 people begin the rice planting,  
 (10) *ulun nulak banung muntia,*  
 in a rite called *nulak-dammung-Muntia,*  
 (11) *tapi ha awe uweng takam nebuq maq*  
 but we did not go  
 (12) *pupuh ume maq pangkat bakas.*  
 to any paddy field.  
 (13) *Jakaq iaq itawuaq resek*  
 If a child picks the fruits of *resék* and fills  
 up the  
 (14) *tumas para ni wangkalang*  
 bottom of a basket  
 (15) *haqawe takam kategeyan dammung ehék*  
 there is no rice-planting stick  
 (16) *uria nguris bantang,*  
 men make holes in straight lines  
 (17) *hang wuang umme jangka kereng*  
 in a paddy field

- (18) *iwu jaru pantaqunan, mahi.*  
 around the hall of cleared land, nothing.  
 (19) *Jakaq ma here wawey*  
 To the females  
 (20) *iaq itawuaq nunuk tumas para ni tabilung,*  
 a child picks fruits of the banyan they fill  
 up the bottom of an earthen jar,  
 (21) *haqawe takam kainni negey ma putiri panuk*  
 there is no little basket called  
 (22) *diang dara upak uyung. diang-dara-upak-*  
*uyung. Siangan Bintang-halun-dagang*  
 A cradle for *Bintang-halun-dagang*  
 (23) *tutuyan Jaya-layar-lengan,*  
 a swing for *Jaya-layar-lengan,*  
 (24) *jadi ang ku taqu tanguh.*  
 but I cannot guess that way.

From the two examples (Model 8(f), and Model 9b(d)) we can see the main difference of the Christian bard and Kaharingan bard. Christian bard (Model 9b(d)) constantly makes new verses adopting modern change of social cultural situation being incorporated into Patatiba, as we can see the description of Christmas celebration. Kaharingan Bard only recites the conventional verses, including Kaharingan rituals like invocation of ancestor spirits in *isirap mihampe* (line 1 to 5), and the ritual of Rice Planting (line 6 to 12) in details.

#### The Sixth Section

Only after everyone has finished delivering their speeches does the speaker for the groom tell the bride's family members the real intention to put forth a marriage proposal. Here the bard has to choose one of the four basic metaphoric models (see Chapter 2); and as I said earlier, from here the division of 'bride's group' and 'groom's group' is made. Every body who wants to deliver his/her poetic performance has to position him/herself into the party he/she belongs to. The following is the marriage proposal according to *Papak Raden Limmungk* basic metaphoric model.

#### Model 2b (h)

- (1) *Ekat itati aku ekat ijampa ma riwayat,*  
 But now I recall a story,

- (2) *sehingga kami munsul hang yiti.*  
the reason that brings us here.
- (3) *Hanya terkesah hang yiti*  
The story is only about
- (4) *hinggaq salah satu riwayat*  
an biography of one person
- (5) *hang wuang rummung yiti,*  
of this contingent,
- (6) *ulun sa ialah tuga wajib mait rampan balay,*  
like a guardian who hauls the roof of a hall,
- (7) *sangar bihara batak tihang nalu agung.*  
a house caretaker to pull a big pillar.
- (8) *Kami itannang ma here wadian Ingar*  
Therefore we asked shaman Ingar to help
- (9) *balanut nampuk gammung,*  
a shaman with beating drum,
- (10) *maq hi Ingar wulan welum*  
from shaman Ingar with full moon
- (11) *tampuk gammung awahat jari.*  
beating drum in a period of raising stars.
- (12) *Ingar parumata,*  
Ingar with a diamond,
- (13) *nampuk gammung watu lanang.*  
beating a drum with a precious stones
- (14) *Kami laku kilang antah,*  
We ask them to see
- (15) *kami lakuq inniq enteng here,*  
we ask them to predict,
- (16) *inun mamuraga kawon kenah ngapudien*  
what makes him like this? what fish makes
- (17) *iwak ranuq ngaliunen?*  
him sick, what water creatures make him suffer?
- (18) *Bu hang yaru ruwe-ruwu rawen lulu piqantahan,*  
There the leaf of a predictor is moving,
- (19) *putang lasi pitenungan ru niqen.*  
the sheet of a forecaster is shaking.
- (20) *Hang yaru naqan rawen sakur ringut raringunu,*  
There is the leaf of sakur raringunu,
- (21) *dariangaw teka gunung Alin.*  
*dariangaw* from the mountain of Alin.

- (22) *Leqe pakay ulun muras wae*  
The rest of one that had been used to cure

(23) *hi papak raden Limmungk sadi,*  
This is the speech from bard representing the groom, to put forth the marriage proposal. As has been mentioned earlier in metaphoric model of Papak Raden Limmungk, the groom is symbolically mentioned as Prince Limmungk, the leaf of *Sakur-Raringunu-Dariangaw* from Mountain Alin refers to the bride.

### The Seventh Section

The bride's family first reaction is to doubt the seriousness of the marriage proposal. There are three issues the bards generally put forth to express their doubt. The first is an allegation that the groom might not have made sufficient effort to find the right woman by venturing to many places, as in the following couplets:

#### Model 1a (f)

- (1) *Gare huqan sukup tannang,*  
You might not have made enough effort to seek
- (2) *alam tumpuk ulun lain,*  
in foreign villages,
- (3) *tarika alam gumi hapa bukan.*  
try looking in the land of strangers.
- (4) *Gare naqan tanyung luluy lunta Jarang,*  
There might be a cape that Jarang has,
- (5) *sisa rantaw parak pangil Jalu.*  
skipped, a stretch that Jalu passed over.
- (6) *Gare naqan gunung huqan hunnang Jarang,*  
There might be a mountain Jarang has missed,
- (7) *uweng watu sisa parak pangil Jalu.*  
there might be a rock Jalu has passed over.
- (8) *Gere hang yaru kaqiyuh mepay luntaq banang,*  
Possibly there we could cast the net,
- (9) *nabuh jalu rapat.*  
set a tied net.
- (10) *Gare kaqayuh tapah manaway wulu,*  
Hopefully we will catch a *tapah* fish with long hair,



- (11) *iwak raman katinawung*.  
*raman* fish with red colour.
- (12) *Gare kaqayuh tauman biru*,  
 Hopefully we will ensnare a green *tauman* fish,
- (13) *tarak tamuy gamurinsing*.  
 the scales sound like steel.
- (14) *Wadire ngutaq lumut langit*,  
*Wadire* fish eats grass of the sky,
- (15) *balida naruk tangkay bintang*.  
*balida* fish grazes on the stem of stars.
- (16) *Yaru sa taqu kahuang umme*,  
 There we will fill the backpack,
- (17) *kalimpaw kaput*.  
 we will satisfy the sack.
- (18) *Lanyung taqu inamuqun upi*,  
 A backpack will be full like taking taro plants,
- (19) *wungkalang inusupan tewu*.  
 a rattan basket will be full like taking sugar canes.
- (20) *Erang awe ha Tibalung lalum*,  
 Like the flooding of the Tabalung river,
- (21) *Balangahan-uwa nimpar pampang*.  
 like Balangahan-Uwa river breaks its banks.

The action of seeking a wife is symbolically described as catching fish, where Jarang or Jalu refers to the groom. This speech is delivered by a bard represents the bride suggest the groom to conduct another searching to find a better woman, symbolically described as some sort of valuable fish like *tapah*, *tauman*, and *wadire*, who will satisfy the groom greatly.

The next issue is whether the groom has thoroughly considered the proposal and will not regret on his decision, as in the following couplets:

- (1) *Takut teun manginelu*,  
 You might regret,
- (2) *lagi tiwas manasal*.  
 and be sorry later.
- (3) *Nganue huqan kayem hang tanyung abun*,  
 While we do not yet capsize at a long cape,
- (4) *rumpak iwu rantaw tutuy*.  
 sink at straight reaches.

- (5) *Nganue huqan kayem panyumpilang wunrung*  
 While we do not capsize like a folding
- (6) *hang Riam Epatpulu*,  
 coconut leaf at the Forty Rapids,
- (7) *rumpak tamuraku hang Ullak-tiga-likur*.  
 overturn like rubbish at the Thirty Eddys.

The images the bard used include capsize, sink, and overturn to symbolise a serious disaster, if the decision is proved to be wrong in the later days.

Still questioning the seriousness of the groom, the bride's speaker humbles the bride by saying that the bride does not meet the quality demanded by the groom, as exemplified by the Model 1b(b) in previous example. Some bards even quest on the previous girlfriends that the groom might have left, by 'suggesting him' to go back to them, as the following couplets depict.

#### Model 7 (f)

- (1) *Ware hanyu lagi ngalaulek ma*  
 You may go back to the mountain
- (2) *gunung palegungan tungkaq*,  
 where you used to step your feet,
- (3) *namunelu ma watu paninyauwan puqu*.  
 go back to the rock you used to sway your feet..
- (4) *Ngalaulek ma lasi bantan atuk*  
 Back to the smoky bush,
- (5) *namulelu ma janah merang ire*.  
 back to the old jungle of *merang*.
- (6) *Nganue utas angang nu*  
 Take advantage of the *angang* rings that may be
- (7) *masih sibabahum nyamm*,  
 used any time you wish,
- (8) *paku lungkang nu sinahana ngurut*.  
 shoot of *lungkang* may be taken any time you like.
- (9) *Daya jaraw jatuhnu hene inananan*,  
 Because you left many *jaraw* trees,
- (10) *jantang riwunu euk inanuluy*.  
 you left many *jantang* trees.

- (11) *Ware hanyu ngalaulek ma tanyung ha tupian,*  
You may go back to the cape bathing place,
- (12) *namulelu ma rantaw inungkaran.*  
go back to the reaches of drinking water,
- (13) *Hang yaru hene bilis itarata bintang*  
There are many minnows like stars,
- (14) *saluang rinu kuta manyan.*  
*saluang* fish shade the water-platform.
- (15) *Upa upi hene ma panuang umme,*  
*Upa-upi* fish will fill the backpack,
- (16) *kadintungan euk ma panimpaw kaput.*  
*kadintungan* fish will satisfy the sack.

Here the previous girlfriends are described as some beautiful places like a mountain, rock, a smoky bush, bathing place, and drinking-water hole even some beautiful objects like *jaraw* tree, *jantang* tree, and some kinds of fish.

### The Eighth Section

In this section, the groom's speaker endeavours to convince the bride's family that the groom is very serious with his proposal by "denying" all the allegations and taking a chance to impress the bride with his "flirting" verses. Here the tension on the groom's side is high for they are being "interrogated", but the witty bards of both sides have to manage to release the tension and create a cheerful situation in order to entertain the guests. Examples of couplets addressing this issue are quite numerous as they also illustrate how every bard shows his/her literary talent. Look at the following couplets, where the bard refuses some allegations of having many girlfriends by saying that he has left all of them and his hearth been captured by the bride only.

#### Model 7a (g)

- (1) *Haut wewung awe aku kayu ha Sarunai,*  
I have forgotten the tree in Sarunai,
- (2) *haut kika inun aku*  
I cannot remember
- (3) *tummu malar ngammang talam.*  
a tree that grew in Ngammang Talam.
- (4) *Daya lalan jangkungku galis emme angang,*  
Because my track has been overgrown by Angang grass,
- (5) *enuy lannakku jarak maku lungkang.*  
my porcupine's trail has been overgrown.
- (6) *Daya mangunturku galis emme padang,*  
Because my cockfighting arena has been overgrown with *padang* grass,
- (7) *kudalangunku jarak punyam panri.*  
my cockfighting arena is full of weeds.
- (8) *Daya galis inamuku kala gunung Kulun,*  
Because they have been left behind like Kulun Mountain,
- (9) *inyanapeh u alang watu Inen.*  
they have been put aside like the rock of Inen.
- (10) *Daya lumiang Tinting ni turaju*  
Because beads of Tinting are tied
- (11) *suqut gampar ni tawudien,*  
the discarded ironwood jams,
- (12) *wunrung amirueku galis tapuqanyu*  
my spirit has been given [ to the bride]
- (13) *salulunganku puang juat ampudiqen.*  
my soul cannot be taken back.

His previous girlfriends are described with some images include a tree, track, trail, cockfighting arena, which all have been put aside. Because his soul and spirit have been given to the bride only, and can not be taken back (line 10 and 11).

#### Text 3 (j)

- (1) *Jari itati lepuh ulek pepet*  
So now we come forth the broken sap,
- (2) *haut lepuh namulelu jurah.*  
go back to find the past claiming.
- (3) *Daya kakaw dangki ringin yiru uweng wayu,*  
=Because the tree of Dangki-ringin has spirits,
- (4) *here Tarusan-ilaw Lelay-bahigantan-lalaq.*  
those called Tarusan-ilaw Lelay-barigantan-lalaq.
- (5) *Wuluni maeh mapaw pungung,*  
The hair is beautiful covering her back,
- (6) *jata piu mapayungan panti.*  
the hair is good to cover a house.

- (7) *Wuluni tuntum tungkaq,*  
The hair reaches her feet,
- (8) *raun mulung natat lantay.*  
the hair reaches the floor.
- (9) *Jujung sarak hanye ingaluga,*  
On her hair is a long comb,
- (10) *hurut galuh inyaranan .*  
a girl's comb is long.
- (11) *Kaqiuh hanye*  
she can have
- (12) *pulehni maimuka batung,*  
a hair bun is like a giant bamboo shoot,
- (13) *bubuk bukurni kaqiuh hampe langit.*  
her chignon reaches the sky.
- (14) *Daya inun sa sabab,*  
Why do I want to marry her?
- (15) *daya haut luput tawah, amun siwu*  
*nantewengan,*  
because it has been cleared like a forest of  
*siwu* the trees have been felled down,
- (16) *amun lihat inatasan wakay.*  
like *lihat* the twisting vines have been  
cleared.
- (17) *Kira-kira kami*  
We think
- (18) *Puquni kaqayuh gumalutung unru,*  
her feet are like tall *lalutung* trees,
- (19) *lungunni piu gumah haur gading.*  
her feet are beautiful like a shaking yellow  
bamboo.
- (20) *Sikaq gumulutung unru*  
The tall *lalutung* trees have been
- (21) *haut maqeh tawah riwut,*  
cleared up by the wind,
- (22) *gumah haur gading piu sipat angin.*  
shaking yellow bamboo has been cleared  
by the breeze.

In the beginning couplets, the bard representing the groom, tells the reason for their visiting (line 1 and 2). It is to continue their previous agreement symbolically referred as a broken sapling. In the community, when a Maanyan finds a tree in a jungle (for the fruit or the timber), and decides to claim it, he just needs to break some saplings around the tree. Anybody comes to the tree and see the broken sapling knows that someone has claimed the tree.

Therefore bard uses this habit to signify the first agreement. The later couplets (line 3 to 21) are flirting on how beautiful is the bride, by referring her as the spirit of the banyan tree named Tarusan-Ilaw. The images the bard used include giant bamboo shoot to describe the chignon, and shaking yellow bamboos to describe her feet.

At the end the groom's speaker assures the bride's family that the decision is now for the bride's family to make, by saying:

#### **Model 1b (j)**

- (1) *Haqawe sa kami heqey*  
How could we be so brave
- (2) *ijaquju nutu rampang gabang,*  
demandingly pounding a sack of dried  
cassava,
- (3) *haqawe kami taqu*  
how could we be
- (4) *inalujungan ngutaq kulat tummuq*  
so persistent to eat a mushroom growing
- (5) *hang watang inyalungan.*  
at a regrowing trunk
- (6) *Daya rampang gabang yiru*  
Because the sack of dried cassava
- (7) *natutu hang lehung lempu luwang,*  
is being pounded at a broken mortar,
- (8) *daya kulat maka nawen*  
because the mushroom that grows at a  
regrowing
- (9) *sa tummu hang watang manyalungan.*  
trunk is poisonous.
- (10) *Tuqu elah heput kulu ma tane gunung uri*  
Let us go back to a land of mountains with  
pillars,
- (11) *impeh nyasar galang ma tane luyung*  
*nungkun.*  
let us move the wheel to the land Luyung-  
nungkun.
- (12) *Kude nelang*  
But with
- (13) *muhut urung kami nanam leping*  
wipe the nose we feel as if it pulls off
- (14) *erang awe malit wangku,*  
like wiping a coconut shell,

- (15) *nangkur dada alang lemmah*  
beat the chest as if the ribs are broken
- (16) *erang awe nangkur ayaw tulung .*  
like banging a hollow tree.
- (17) *Muhut wae kami kala wulan telen,*  
We just wipe our faces as if in a moon's  
eclipse,
- (18) *nyapuq sarukanyan kami nimmang kalam*  
*rakun.*  
wipe the face as if in a dark cloud.
- (19) *Elahni amakaq la iuh*  
No use crying over spilt porridge, what  
can we do?
- (20) *Amakaq saq iuh pukul paksa teken musti,*  
We cannot hit, force, sign, and must,
- (21) *pukul maraja teken maratu.*  
hit like a king, sign like a queen.
- (22) *Elah ma diam tangan impeh ma paker palat,*  
Let my hand be still, let my fist be idle
- (23) *elah natutup mulut impeh nakunsi*  
*mungtung.*  
let my mouth close let my mouth lock.

### The Ninth Section

After being convinced by the groom's speaker, the bride's speaker requests proof of their sincerity, by asking the *jujuran* 'bride price'. The following uses the *Angar Naniran* pattern (see the four basic metaphoric models in Chapter 2). Surprisingly that the way to ask the proof is rather uniform, here are two models.

#### Model 5 (j)

- (1) *Amun sigay sangngang lagi huqan hampe*  
*raqan,*  
If the ladder does not yet reach the  
branch,
- (2) *uyur talaq lalu nungket jangkeng.*  
the climbing rope does not reach the  
twig.
- (3) *Lagi jeke langkiq huqan hampe raqan,*  
It is still some inches from the branch,
- (4) *jama palat lalu nungket jangkeng.*  
a span from the twig.
- (5) *Lagi huqan uweng panumakat anri agung*  
*purun,*  
There is no fundament of two gongs,

- (6) *huan uweng pangulalir anri ganning raya.*  
there is no base of large gong.
- (7) *Huqan uweng pitummu anri tinting lumiang,*  
There is no ladder rung made of beads,
- (8) *tummuk sibur anri runtay batu manni.*  
stepping rungs made of chain of beads.
- (9) *Huqan uweng pawiramang anri wilaq wulu,*  
There is no security rope made of lock of  
hair,
- (10) *pamulakeh anri raun mulung.*  
no safety cord made of hair.
- (11) *Ha awe sa hi Angar taqu mammay sigay*  
How could Angar climb up the tree,
- (12) *ha awe sa hi Lungki taqu nungken uyur.*  
how could Lungky mount the ladder.
- (13) *Lawit sa hi Angar taqu*  
It would be impossible for Angar to light  
a fire
- (14) *nutung lutut widang kuning*  
on the torch of yellow bark,
- (15) *gutuk apuy katinawung,*  
flame of fire of Katinawung,
- (16) *daya nanam huqan sukup sarat.*  
because the pre-requisite is not yet  
fulfilled.
- (17) *Jari amun sa ngatatuqu naun,*  
Therefore if you are serious like the  
straight
- (18) *rammu agung nulus,*  
tassel of a gong,
- (19) *ngabubanar wente ha pinuka najam.*  
true like the knot of cockfighting 's  
knife.
- (20) *Maraq kaluar itati hadapan danrahayan harung*  
please come forward now in front of the
- (21) *tenga sabarapa.*  
attending elders.

In asking the groom, to present a proof of the seriousness of the proposal, the bard uses the basic metaphor of harvesting honey. All requirements for marriage are represented in forms of requirements to mount the honey tree. They include ladder, rope, and torch. Torch is needed to send away the bees. These symbolic items are very similar to the following model 1b(d), which are again taking a metaphoric model of *Angar-naniran*.



### Model 1b (d)

- (1) *Kude inun pintaruqan hamen ngatutuqu,*  
But what is the proof that you are serious,
- (2) *inun pantahulan jakuq ngabubanar.*  
what is the evidence that you come sincerely.
- (3) *Lakuq surung sigay ma putut pusi q puyuh,*  
Please send a ladder to the suffering *pusi* tree,
- (4) *tampi uyur ma wilas danu hanang.*  
throw a rope to the sick *wilas* tree.
- (5) *Lakuq atet tantang sigay sangngang,*  
Please send the rung of the ladder,
- (6) *talanyak uyur tantang talaq.*  
send the rope and the rungs.
- (7) *Lakuq atet pamirammang sigay sangngang,*  
Send the safety cord to hold the ladder,
- (8) *talanyak pamulakeh uyur tantang tala.*  
send the security rope and the rungs.
- (9) *Nampan kaqayuh nyungkat ma raqan buka pintu,*  
So we can jump to the first branch,
- (10) *hungkep tengah pangumatang.*  
stand on the centre of the crown.
- (11) *Nampan ngangkamut Angar mammay sigay,*  
So like Kangkangkaput bird Angar climbs up the tree,
- (12) *mampusiang Lungki nungken uyur.*  
like *pupunsiang* bird Lungki mounts the ladder.
- (13) *Nampan tarik nyanyi Angar lawi raqan,*  
So Angar will sing at the end of the branch,
- (14) *bantang saer Lungki hujung jagkeng.*  
Lungki will spell his poetry at the end of the twig.
- (15) *Nampan kaqayuh mepay ma lutut widang kuning,*  
So he can use his yellow bark torch,
- (16) *lelap apuy katinawung.*  
a flaming fire of Katinawung.

### The Tenth Section

The groom's speaker responds by saying that the quality might not meet the bride's expectations, but that it is the maximum the

groom can provide. The groom's mother usually presents the gift, received by bride's mother.

- (1) *Daya amun inturku ma taruh Aber paqunan*  
If I talk about a machete called Female Aber
- (2) *jabatang janrah nganyak anak,*  
strong iron takes its offspring,
- (3) *maq kawan wadung wulu ma kawan riwas bangkaq,*  
about some sharp axes, about long knives,
- (4) *maq kawan rayan mantawingan*  
about axe holders
- (5) *wewet ue ginsil kuyu.*  
coils of rattan rope.
- (6) *Itungku haut siap annak kami*  
I think we have put them
- (7) *hang putut pusi q pamuqayan wani,*  
at the base of the *pusi* tree, a place to harvest the honey,
- (8) *wilas panereyan nuan.*  
the *wilas* tree a place to get the honeycomb.
- (9) *Yiru samula pakay kami nawah*  
All of those instruments will be used to clear up
- (10) *putut pusi q pamuqayan wani,*  
the surrounds of the *pusi* tree where the honey is harvested,
- (11) *kami ngarariwaq*  
we want to clear up
- (12) *kakaw wilas panereyan nuan.*  
the *wilas* tree where honeycomb is collected.
- (13) *Amun uey jatuh galung*  
If a hundred coilsof rattan rope
- (14) *maq telang riwu bangkaq,*  
a thousand bunches of bamboo,
- (15) *itungku haut jungun tangis uey jatuh galung*  
I think a hundred coils of rattan have cried severely
- (16) *junre hekuq telang riwu bangkal.*  
a thousand bunches of bamboo have wept tremendously
- (17) *Kude inun ilay takam ha dunganan manik*  
But what is your comment on those

items?

- (18) *inun angkuh ha runtayan innuq?*  
what is your reaction to what we have provided?
- (19) *Amun eaw naun payu punang*  
If you say the big fish is sold
- (20) *payu burunsung, yiti takam taqu jari.*  
the small fish is sold, I think we have a deal.
- (21) *Daya amun hi Ammeq minaw hunang*  
Because if Ammeq conducts a journey
- (22) *ineh Reun turun parak pangil,*  
mother of Reon organises an adventure,
- (23) *jakaq ati kala hanye kaqayuh minaw hunang*  
if she has a journey to Java, *ma Tanyung Jawa*
- (24) *turun parak pangil ma tane pilayaran.*  
she conducts an adventure to the land of sailing.
- (25) *Ha yiru sa agung purun kaqiuuh bintang*  
There you can get twin gongs
- (26) *ma wanahan,*  
for rice containers,
- (27) *ganning raya kajuat jaya ma pakingkin.*  
big gongs you can use for cooking pots.
- (28) *Agung purun ganning ma wanahan,*  
Twin gongs may be for rice containers,
- (29) *ganning raya jaya lapik saji.*  
a big gong you may use to serve food.
- (30) *Kaqiuuh rapun junung bintang ma katupat,*  
There a bunch of rattles you may use for *katupat*,
- (31) *petan baning jaya ma pukingkin.*  
a blowpipe you may use to cook rice.
- (32) *Malawen kaqayuh ma tumpi antu,*  
a ceramic plate may be used as a big *tumpiq* plate,
- (33) *luwuk purun kajuat ma lapak sangker.*  
twin *luwuk* may be used as a tray of cups.
- (34) *Manyatiq kaqiuuh ma rawen siwu,*  
*Manyatiq* can be a *siwu* leaf,
- (35) *riwu maun ma kudayani.*  
athousand leaves may be for a *kudayani*.
- (36) *Kaqiuuh watang ulun namalinga bannung.* A tree trunk may be made into a big ship,

- (37) *ajung raya ma weta pakan.*  
a big boat is used as a floating market.
- (38) *Yiru sa kalapik puqu naun nanyu ruang luwu,*  
There the owner of the house can cover your feet,
- (39) *kajuat maq pangapar lungun*  
the owner of the house can
- (40) *naun jaru lelun tuah.*  
underlay your feet.
- (41) *Kude daya taqinaw hunnang naun*  
But because you make a trip only
- (42) *hang liung pigadungan,*  
around the dwelling,
- (43) *turun parak pangil ma tane hurwul wulu.*  
conducting a journey to a land of hairy grass.
- (44) *Babaya upa upi kajuat mihuang umme,*  
It is only *upa-upi* fish that fill the backpack,
- (45) *kadintungan panimpaw kaput.*  
just *kadintungan* fish that satisfy the sack.
- (46) *Puja manta ekat kaqiyuh naenney mudi,*  
Only uncoloured *puja* is to be taken home,
- (47) *bantan lelay kajuat nauit mantuk.*  
plain decoration is only to be taken home

Line 1 to 10 describes the requirements to harvest the honey are ready, and have been put on the base of the honey tree. However they might not the ones that the bride's family require. The bard then tells the story of female shaman Ammeq and saying that she should go to Tanyung Jawa where she can get anything with excellent quality, but because she had gone to somewhere close the house therefore she only get the ones similar to the ones that have been presented to the bride, which the bard describe as fish of *upa-upi* and *kadintungan*, the *puja* of no colour, objects of no value.

### The Eleventh Section

The bride's family usually accept the gift without checking its content, then take the gift to the adjudicating committee asking for a marriage blessing, marking the end of the

marriage negotiation rite. Later in the next rite “Kalakar and Taliwakas”, these gifts are checked carefully for they have to comply with *Adat* requirements. In Maanyan *Adat* requirements for marriage are not subject for negotiation, they are fixed.

#### *Model 1b (f)*

- (1) *Biar heneq pinukurang,*  
Although [you said] there are so many deficiencies,
- (2) *euk pinukimpaq.*  
a lot of shortcomings.
- (3) *Asal ngatutuqu rammu agung nulus,*  
As long as you are honest, as straight as a gong tassel,
- (4) *ngabubanar wente pinuluka najam.*  
you are truly like a knot of a cockfighting knife.
- (5) *Biar surung sigay anri wituq wuntu,*  
You sent the ladder with a straight feeling,
- (6) *tapi uyur inabujur harus.*  
you sent the safety rope with honesty.
- (7) *Lakuq surung sigay makay kakaw wuman jarang,*  
We ask you to send a ladder with a feeling like The *wuman* plant grows vertically,
- (8) *tampi uyur anri kayu ngalalumma Ngidung.*  
throw the safety rope with a feeling like Ngidung tree grows straight up
- (9) *Biar surung sigay makay wituq welay wulang,*  
Although you sent the ladder with a *wulang* dart,
- (10) *tamp iuyur anri wuntah anaw lalung.*  
threw the safety rope through an *anaw-lalung* dart.
- (11) *Sika puang ulaq langar gansa ulung kadunungan,*  
It does not cancel the fact that the twin cooking pots are arranged under the shade,
- (12) *ngahuq lanuq batung mingar*  
do not fail to arrange the bamboos in a line in

- (13) *tane Bummangk suangk.*  
the land of Bummangk-suangk.
- (14) *Rapat riwut gunung antuh Jawa,*  
The two mountains are closed, Javanese say,
- (15) *pijar angin watu tutup Gurun.*  
do not wind through the rock, Gurun people say.
- (16) *Rapat riwut gunung anri langit*  
tied air the mountain and the sky
- (17) *rangkup ummang watu hela anraw.*  
close together the rock and the sun
- (18) *Kaqayuh patategey tangan Jarang anri Hiang,*  
Jarang and Hiang are holding hands
- (19) *pasasunruq lungun jalu anri unay.*  
Jalu and Unay are putting their feet together
- (20) *Pataruy giling jarang anri hiang,*  
Jarang and Hiang are exchanging betel leaves
- (21) *pasunruq rapun jalu unru unay.*  
Jalu and Unay are mutually serving the betel leaves
- (22) *Kude naqan mantir panegey*  
but we have elders who hold
- (23) *pepet sampikur jangka kalulung.*  
sort of measurements
- (24) *Rengey saq eaw here.*  
we will listen to them

The beginning couplets describe that even if the requirements are not the best quality (line 1 and 2), but because the groom’s family gave them with an honest feeling the bride’s family accept them with a great happiness (line 3 to 10). Therefore the wedding ceremony proceeds promptly (line 10 to 20), the ritual now is handed over to the adjudicating elders to lead.

Similarly, this following model describes that the wedding party is performing (line 1 to 4), here the adjudicating elders are described in images of gigantic tree (line 7), strong post (line 8), those who have been to heads of water (posses many experiences) (line 9) in red costumes.

### Model 5 (I)

- (1) *Payah samula puang ure gawe*  
There is no more reason for
- (2) *batang helang ranuq,*  
the festival in Batang-helang-ranuq to be cancelled,
- (3) *puang panraw kungkan*  
no problem for the fair in
- (4) *tane ngagang wunrung.*  
the land of Ngagang-wunrung to proceed,
- (5) *Taqu haut kaqiuq repang lantang*  
The mountain and the sky may
- (6) *gunung anri langit*  
share the shirt
- (7) *rangkup ummang watu hila anraw.*  
the rock and the sun join the cloth
- (8) *Jadi hang ammaw kala yiru kami yina*  
therefore now,
- (9) *balalu ma awe kami ikuhana.*  
where do we, the parents take the couple?
- (10) *Paquweng lain kami ikuhana ma*  
nothing else we could do then asking
- (11) *jakaq kakaw pintungen rahu*  
a tree of gigantic *Pintungen*
- (12) *sigantunga agung langit,*  
supreme *Sigantunga* (Dammang)
- (13) *samula pihanrian ratu gumak wulu*  
a post to lean for the queen with waving hair
- (14) *pisanaran ratu galah gunting.*  
a tree to rest for the queen with long hair
- (15) *Jakaq here widi uluq ranuq*  
those who reach the river heads
- (16) *biring ingungkupan bahum,*  
those who are in red costumes who know our intention,
- (17) *here sabanring luhung bibit bantu hulay balay,*  
those we call *Sabanring-luhung-bibit-bantu-hulay-balay* (elders)
- (18) *maq yaruq kami ikuhana.*  
to those elders we ask help.
- (19) *Kami ikuhana laku tampalus wat kami yina*  
we ask you to continue this gathering
- (20) *maq here mantir epat panguluq isaq.*

- to the four elders and one *Panguluq* (adjudicating elder)
- (21) *Yiru sa ulun karasa hukum hadat*  
those who master the customary law
- (22) *pepet sampikur jangka kalulung,*  
and any sort of measurements
- (23) *jakaq itah ennuy muntul lalan guntulan*  
any clear tracks public ways to follow
- (24) *wakat witus tane genyung.*  
broken root and gully walking track
- (25) *Kami kadua balah pihak nyarah ma here yaru.*  
both the two families take the agenda to them

### CONCLUSION

In summary, this study is fortunate to be able to preserve these very important texts enabling the documentation of the complete marriage negotiation texts. In *Patatiba*, none of the ten texts collected during the fieldwork cover whole issues, as they used to have; fortunately they are complementary. My informants confirm that so many omissions (locally called *tewah*) occurred in all collected texts including the models. There are eleven sections in *Patatiba*, which requires poetic performances inform of speeches, they includes:

- (1) *Manggayung tuak* (rice-wine drinking feast);
- (2) Speeches from *anak panggayungan* and *bunsu panakuan* (drinking feast organisers) to inform the audience that the rice-wine is finished, or does not have good quality.
- (3) The owner of the house speech, an appeal to his clan and friends to supply more good drink.
- (4) A series of speeches from the audience regarding two points. First to tell that they can not provide help, and the second they send tribute to the owner of the house for he had provided them with more than enough food and drink, hence more food and drink are simply not necessary.
- (5) Switching the topic, a series of speeches from audience to guess (*ngawauhan*) on why the owner of the house invites them, what is the agenda for the gathering.



- (6) Speech from the groom's speaker about the reason they visit: a marriage request.
- (7) Speeches on asking about the seriousness of the proposal.
- (8) Speeches from the groom's speaker to convince the bride's side that the proposal is serious.
- (9) The bride's side asks for evidence of the seriousness.
- (10) The groom's speaker presents the evidence, a gift in a big brass basin (*sangkuq*) or in a rattan backpack (*lanyung*).
- (11) The agreement is reached; the present is accepted by the mother of the bride. The elders from both sides take the gift to the adjudicating elders for marriage blessing.

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