A grammar of Papuan Malay

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Summary of PhD thesis[1]

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This contribution summarizes Kluge's (2014) *A grammar of Papuan Malay*, an in-depth linguistic description of one Papuan Malay variety.[2] This study is based on sixteen hours of recordings of spontaneous narratives and conversations between Papuan Malay speakers, recorded from a sample of about 60 different Papuan Malay speakers; in addition, an extended word list was recorded.

"Papuan Malay" refers to the easternmost varieties of Malay; they belong to the Malayic sub-branch within the Western-Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. The Papuan Malay varieties are spoken in the coastal areas of West Papua, the western part of the island of New Guinea. The variety described here is spoken in the Sarmi area, which is located about 300 km west of Jayapura. Both towns are situated on the northeast coast of West Papua (see Map 1).

Papuan Malay is the language of wider communication and the first or second language for an ever-increasing number of people of the area; the

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[1]   The online publication of this thesis can be found at: https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/25849.
[2]   Angela Kluge (2014, Utrecht: LOT).

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number of speakers is estimated to be by about 1,100,000 or 1,200,000. While Papuan Malay is not officially recognized, and therefore not used in formal government or educational settings or for religious preaching, it is used in all other domains, including unofficial use in formal settings, and, to some extent, in the public media.

After a general introduction to the language, its setting and its history, Kluge (2014) discusses the following topics, building up from smaller grammatical constituents to larger ones: phonology, word formation, noun and prepositional phrases, verbal and nonverbal clauses, non-declarative clauses, and conjunctions and constituent combining. Of special interest to linguists, typologists and Malay specialists are the following in-depth analyses and descriptions: affixation and its productivity across domains of language choice, reduplication and its *gesamtbedeutung*, personal pronouns and their adnominal uses, demonstratives and locatives and their extended uses, and adnominal possessive relations and their non-canonical uses.

Kluge's (2014) study provides a point of comparison for further studies in other (Papuan) Malay varieties and a starting point for Papuan Malay language development efforts.
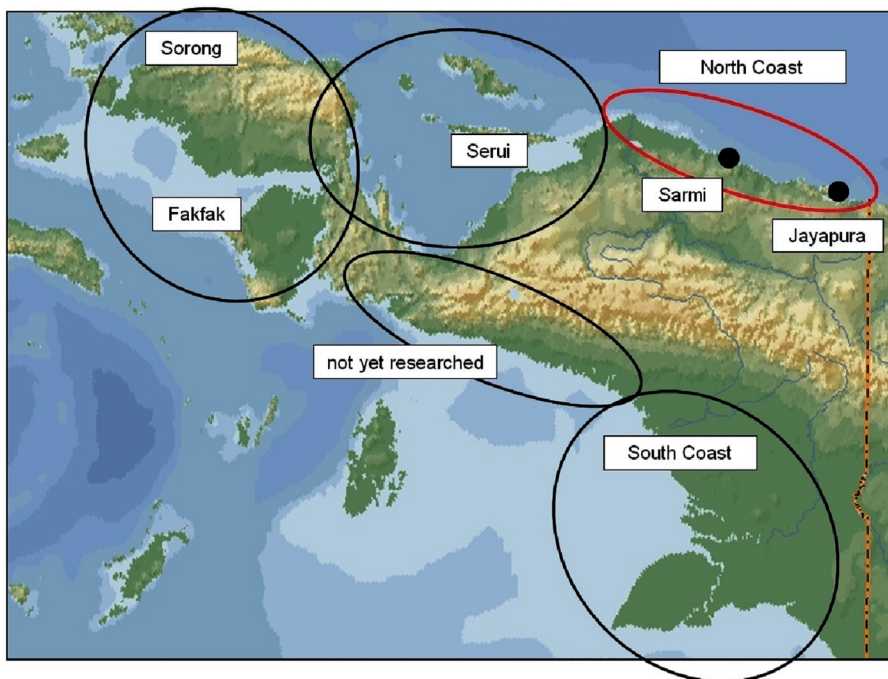
Map 1. Papuan Malay varieties (based on Donohue [to appear: 1-2]; and Kim et al. [2007]).

In the following the chapters of Kluge's (2014) study are briefly summarized, followed in the Appendices by a sample of three texts. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to Papuan Malay. After general background information about the language in terms of its larger geographical and linguistic settings and its speakers, the history of the language is summarized. Next, the classification

of Papuan Malay and its dialects are discussed, followed by descriptions of its typological and its sociolinguistic profile. Previous research on Papuan Malay is summarized next, followed by a brief overview of available materials in Papuan Malay. The final section of this introductory chapter describes methodological aspects of the study.

Chapter 2 examines the phonology of Papuan Malay. The language has eighteen consonant phonemes and a basic five-vowel system. The consonant system consists of six stops, two affricates, two fricatives, four nasals, two liquids, and two approximants. The vowel system includes two front and two back vowels, and one open central vowel. Papuan Malay shows a clear preference for disyllabic roots and for CV and CVC syllables; the maximal syllable is CCVC. Stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable, although lexical roots with ultimate stress are also attested.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 discuss word formation processes in Papuan Malay. The language has very little productive morphology. Word formation is limited to the two derivational processes of affixation (Chapter 3) and reduplication (Chapter 4). Inflectional morphology is lacking, as nouns and verbs are not marked for any grammatical category such as gender, number, or case. There is also no voice system on verbs. Reduplication in Papuan Malay is a very productive morphological device for deriving new words. In terms of lexeme formation, three different types of reduplication are attested: full, partial, and imitative reduplication. The most common type is full reduplication, which involves the repetition of an entire root, stem, or word; bound morphemes are not reduplicated. Full reduplication usually applies to content words, although some function words can also be reduplicated. Partial and imitative reduplication are rare. The *gesamtbedeutung* of reduplication is "a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF […]" in the sense of augmentation and diminution. There is, however, no specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning aspects of the reduplicated lexemes and the syntactic class of the corresponding base words. Affixation in Papuan Malay has very limited productivity. This conclusion is based on an investigation of six affixes. Given the sociolinguistic profile of Papuan Malay (substantial language contact between Papuan Malay and Indonesian with both languages being in a diglossic distribution, ambivalent language attitudes toward Papuan Malay, and lack of language awareness) no productivity testing was conducted, as a substantial amount of interference from Indonesian was expected. This interference would have skewed testees' naïve judgments. Instead, the six affixes were examined in terms of seven language internal and three language external factors considered relevant in establishing the degree of productivity of these affixes. Compounding (Chapter 3) is a third word-formation process; it remains uncertain, however, to what degree it is a productive process.

Chapter 5 discusses the Papuan Malay word classes. The main criteria for defining distinct word classes are their syntactic properties, due to the lack of inflectional morphology and the rather limited productivity of derivational patterns. Three open and a number of closed lexical classes can be

distinguished. The open word classes are nouns, verbs, and adverbs. The major closed word classes are personal pronouns, interrogatives, demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, prepositions, and conjunctions. At the same time, however, Papuan Malay has membership overlap between a number of categories, most of which involve verbs. This includes overlap between verbs and nouns which is typical of Malay varieties and other western Austronesian languages. However, nouns, verbs, and adverbs have distinct syntactic properties which warrant their analysis as distinct word classes.

Three word classes are discussed in more detail, namely personal pronouns in Chapter 6 and demonstratives and locatives in Chapter 7. Chapter 6 deals with the Papuan Malay personal pronouns. The pronoun system distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons. In addition to signaling the person-number values of their referents they also signal their definiteness. Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, with the exception of the second person singular pronoun. The use of the long and short forms does not mark grammatical distinctions but represents speaker preferences. The pronouns have pronominal and adnominal uses. In their pronominal uses, the pronouns substitute for noun phrases and designate speech roles. The long and short pronoun forms occur in all syntactic slots within the clause. Pronouns also occur in inclusory conjunction, summary conjunction, and appositional constructions. In their adnominal uses, the pronouns occur in post-head position and function as determiners. That is, signaling definiteness and person-number values, the pronouns allow the unambiguous identification of their referents. As determiners, the pronoun forms of all person-number values are employed, with the exception of the first person singular. "NP PRO" noun phrases with plural personal pronouns have two possible interpretations. With indefinite referents, they have an additive plural reading and with definite referents an associative inclusory reading.

Chapter 7 describes the Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives. They are deictic expressions that provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech situation, in spatial as well as in non-spatial domains. Both deictic systems are distance oriented, in that they signal the relative distance of an entity vis-à-vis a deictic center. At the same time, the two systems differ in a number of respects. They are distinct both in terms of their syntactic characteristics and forms and in terms of their functions. With respect to their syntactic properties, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses (adnominal, pronominal, and adverbial uses) than the locatives. Likewise, in terms of their functions, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses than the locatives. The locative system, by contrast, allows finer semantic distinctions to be made than the demonstrative system, given that the former expresses a three-way deictic contrast, whereas the latter expresses a two-way deictic contrast.

Chapter 8 examines the Papuan Malay noun phrase. The head of a noun phrase is typically a noun or a personal pronoun. Further, although less common, demonstratives, locatives, or interrogatives can also function as

heads. The canonical word order within the noun phrase is HEAD-MODIFIER. Depending on the syntactic properties of the adnominal constituents, though, a MODIFIER-HEAD order is also common. Attested in the present corpus is the co-occurrence of up to three post-head modifiers.

Chapter 9 describes adnominal possessive relations. In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive constructions consist of two noun phrases linked with the possessive marker *punya* 'POSS', such that 'POSSESSOR *punya* POSSESSUM'. Possessive constructions with *punya* 'POSS' have a number of different realizations. The possessive marker can be represented with long *punya*, reduced *pu*, clitic *=p*, or a zero morpheme. There are no syntactic or semantic restrictions on the uses of the long and reduced possessive marker forms. By contrast, omission of *punya* only occurs when the possessive construction expresses inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations. In addition to signaling adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases, *punya* 'POSS' has a number of derived, non-canonical functions, namely as (1) an emphatic marker of locational relations or relations of association, (2) a marker of beneficiary relations, (3) an attitudinal intensifier or stance, and (4) a ligature in reflexive constructions. The possessor and the possessum can be expressed with different kinds of syntactic constituents, such as lexical nouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives. In addition, personal pronouns can also express the possessor. In non-canonical possessive constructions, verbs can also take the possessor and/or possessum slots. Further, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. In canonical possessive constructions, the possessum can also be omitted. Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can denote human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents.

Chapter 10 deals with prepositional phrases in Papuan Malay. They are formed with eleven different prepositions, encoding location in space and time, accompaniment and instruments, goals, benefaction, and comparisons. Prepositional phrases take on different functions within the clause; that is, they can function as peripheral adjuncts, nonverbal predicates, or arguments. They also combine with different types of syntactic constituents, namely nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, and temporal adverbs. The complements of the prepositions take different semantic roles within the clause, depending on the prepositions they are introduced with.

Chapter 11 discusses verbal clauses in Papuan Malay. The most pertinent distinction is that between intransitive and transitive clauses. There is no one-to-one correspondence between valency and transitivity, however, as Papuan Malay verbs allow but do not require core arguments. Trivalent verbs most often occur in monotransitive or intransitive clauses rather than in ditransitive clauses. Along similar lines, bivalent verbs are very commonly used in intransitive clauses. The predicate typically follows the subject and, in transitive clauses, precedes the direct object. In negated verbal clauses, the negator precedes the predicate. Causative clauses are also very common. They are the result of a valency-increasing operation. Papuan Malay causatives are

monoclausal V_1V_2 constructions in which causative V_1 encodes the notion of cause while V_2 expresses the notion of effect. Papuan Malay has two causative verbs which usually produce causer-controlled causatives: trivalent *kasi* 'give', and bivalent *biking* 'make'. While **kasi**-causatives stress the outcome of the manipulation, *biking*-causatives focus on the manipulation of circumstances, which leads to the effect. Another common type of verbal clauses are reciprocal clauses, formed with the reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP'. In these clauses, two predications are presented as one, with two participants equivalently acting upon each other. In simple reciprocals, both participants are encoded as the clausal subject. In discontinuous reciprocals, the second participant is expressed with a comitative phrase. Both clause types typically result in a reduction in syntactic valency. Also discussed are existential clauses formed with the existential verb *ada* 'exist'. Two clause types can be distinguished: intransitive clauses with one core argument, and transitive clauses with two core arguments. In one-argument clauses, *ada* 'exist' precedes or follows the subject, or theme, depending on its definiteness. Existential clauses express existence, availability, or possession. A final type of verbal clauses discussed in this chapter are degree-marking and identity-marking comparative clauses. Degree-marking clauses denote superiority, inferiority, or superlative. In these clauses, the parameter follows the index, the comparee takes the subject slot, and the optional standard is expressed in a prepositional phrase. Identity-marking clauses designate similarity or dissimilarity. In these constructions, the parameter either precedes the index or is omitted. The comparee takes the subject slot while the standard is usually expressed with a prepositional phrase. In similarity clauses, the standard can also be encoded as the clausal subject together with comparee.

Chapter 12 examines nonverbal clauses in Papuan Malay. The language employs three syntactically distinct types of nonverbal predicate clauses, namely nominal, numeral/quantifier, and prepositional predicate clauses. These clauses are formed by juxtaposition of the two main constituents; no copula intervenes. The three clause types also have distinct semantic functions. Nominal predicates have ascriptive or equative function and also encode possession. Numeral and quantifier predicates have determining function. Prepositional predicates encode locational or nonlocational relations between a figure and the ground.

Chapter 13 describes negative, interrogative, and directive clauses. Negative clauses are formed with the negation adverbs *tida/tra* 'NEG' or *bukang* 'NEG'. Negator *tida/tra* 'NEG' is used for the negation of verbal, existential, and nonverbal prepositional clauses. Negator *bukang* 'NEG' is used to negate nonverbal clauses, other than prepositional ones, and to mark contrastive negation. As for interrogative clauses, three types of clauses can be distinguished: (1) content, or information questions which are formed with interrogatives and which elicit new information, (2) polar questions which elicit yes-no answers, and (3) alternative questions which require the interlocutor to choose the supposedly right answer from a list of possible answers. Directive

clauses in Papuan Malay include imperatives and hortatives, permissions and obligations, and prohibitives. They are used with any kind of predicate.

Chapter 14 discusses the Papuan Malay conjunctions and constituent combining. The conjunctions typically conjoin same-type constituents. Most of them combine clauses with clauses. Only two link different-type constituents, such as verbs with clauses. Typically, the conjunctions occur at the left periphery of the constituent they mark. The 21 conjunctions linking same-type constituents are divided into six groups according to the semantic relations they signal, namely addition, alternative, time and/or condition, consequence, contrast, and similarity. Almost all conjunctions occur in clause-initial position, while only two occur in clause-final position. Typically, the clause marked with a conjunction follows the unmarked clause; only a few conjunctions mark clauses which precede the unmarked clause.

The book closes with a set of appendices which include a 2,215-item wordlist which forms the basis for the phonological analysis in Chapter 2 and a sample of twelve texts, together with detailed metadata for these texts. The appendices are followed by a list of references, English and Dutch summaries of the book, and a brief curriculum vitae of the author.

Appendices

This appendix presents a sample of three Papuan Malay texts. Included are a spontaneous conversation, a spontaneous narrative, and an elicited joke. For each text the following meta data are provided: the text type, the interlocutors, and the length (in minutes).

A. Conversation: Wanting bananas

Text type: Conversation, spontaneous

Interlocutors: 1 male child, 2 younger females, 2 older females

Length (min.): 0:35

0001   Fanceria: *kecil   malam dia   menangis pisang   goreng*
                      be.small night   3SG   cry   banana   fry

Fanceria: (this) little (boy Nofi), (last) night he cried (for) fried bananas

0002   Marta: *yo,   dong   dua   deng Wili   tu   biking*
                     yes   3PL   two   with   Wili   D.DIST   make

pusing   mama
be.dizzy/confused   mother

Marta: yes! he and Wili there worried (their) mother

0003   Fanceria: *ay,   pisang   di   sana   itu   yang   mo   bli*
             aw!   banana   at   L.DIST   D.DIST   REL   want   buy

Fanceria: aw! (it was) the bananas (from) over there which (Nofi) wanted to buy

0004   Marta: [UP]   *ni   tra   rasa   sakit,   dapat   pukul   trus*
               D.PROX   NEG   feel   be.sick   get   hit   be.continuous

Marta: [UP] here doesn't feel sick, (he) gets beaten continuously

0005   Nofi: *sa   pu   sribu*
           1SG   POSS   one-thousand

Nofi: (that's) my one thousand (rupiah bill)

0006   Fanceria: *yo,   ini   kertas* ((laughter))
             yes   D.PROX   paper

Fanceria: yes, this is (only) paper (but not money) ((laughter))

0007   Nofi: *ko   gila   ka?*
           2SG   be.crazy   or

Nofi: are you crazy?

0008   Nofita: *terlalu   nakal   ana~ana   di   sini*
             too   be.mischievous   RED~child   at   L.PROX

Nofita: (they are) too mischievous the children here

0009   Fanceria: *a,   Nofi* [UP]
             ah!   Nofi

Fanceria: ah, Nofi [UP]

0010   Marta: [Is]
Marta: [Is]

0011   Fanceria: *mm-mm*
             mhm

Fanceria: mhm

0012   Marta: *tida   ada   pisang   goreng,   menangis   pisang   goreng*
          NEG   exist   banana   fry   cry   banana   fry

Marta: (when) there aren't (any) fried bananas, (then Nofi) cries (for) fried bananas

0013   Fanceria: ((laughter))
       Fanceria: ((laughter))

0014   Nofita: *ada   pisang   goreng,   tra   maw   makang*
                exist   banana   fry   NEG   want   eat

       Nofita: (when) there are fried bananas, (he) doesn't want to eat (them)

0015   Marta: *ada   pisang   goreng,   tida   maw   makang   pisang   goreng*
               exist   banana   fry   NEG   want   eat   banana   fry

       Marta: (when) there are fried bananas, (he) doesn't want to eat fried bananas

0016   Klara: *putar   balik,   ana   kecil   itu*
               turn.around turn.around child be.small D.DIST

       Klara: (Nofi) constantly changes (his) opinion, that small child

0017   Fanceria: *pisang   goreng,   pisang   Sorong   sana   tu   iii,*
                  banana   fry   banana   Sorong   L.DIST   D.DIST   oh

       besar~besar   manis
       RED~be.big   be.sweet

       Fanceria: fried bananas, those bananas (from) Sorong over there, oooh, (they) are all big (and) sweet

B. NARRATIVE: A MOTORBIKE ACCIDENT

Text type: Elicited text: Personal narrative[3]

Interlocutors: 2 older males, 3 older females

Length (min.):   10:29

0001   Maria: *saya,   Martina,   Tinus,   kitong*
               1SG   Martina   Tinus   1PL

       Maria: I, Martina, Tinus, we

0002   Hurki: *kitong   tiga   orang*
               1PL   three   person

       Hurki: we (were) three people

---

[3]   The previous evening, the narrator had already told the same story, but due to logistical problems, the author was not able to record the text. The next morning, however, the narrator was willing to retell her story, with the same audience being present.

0003   Maria: *tiga   orang,   tra   ada,   tra   usa*
                   three person NEG   exist   NEG   need.to

Maria: three people, no, no need (to mention that)

0004   Marta: *kitong   tiga   orang*
                 1PL   three person

Marta: we (were) three people

0005   Maria: *nene,   kitorang tiga   orang ((pause)), kitong lari*
               grandmother 1PL   three person   1PL   run

ke   mari   sampe   di jalangang
to   hither reach   at route

Maria: (we) grandmothers, we were three people ((pause)), we drove (along the beach back to Sarmi) here (until we) reached the road (Lit. 'reached the route')

0006   Hurki: *sampe di tenga   jalang*
             reach at middle walk

Hurki: (until we) reached the middle of the road

0007   Maria: *a,   hssst, tida bole begitu,   itu   suda   baik*
             ah! shhh! NEG may like.that D.DIST already good

maksut jadi ((laughter))
purpose so

Maria: ah, shhh!, (you) shouldn't (correct me), that's already good (enough), since the meaning (is already clear) ((laughter))

0008   Hurki: *adu,   sampe di jalangang*
             oh.no! reach   at journey

Hurki: oh boy! '(until we) reached the road' (Literally: 'reached the route')

0009   Maria: *ini   sampe di jalangang,   trus tukang   ojek*
             D.PROX reach   at road   next craftsman motorbike.taxi

ini   dia tida liat kolam   ini,   langsung   dia   tabrak
D.PROX 3SG NEG see big.hole D.PROX immediately 3SG hit.against

itu,   kolam   ke sana, langsung   mama   jatu
D.DIST big.hole to L.DIST immediately mother fall

Maria: what's-its-name, until (we) reached the route, then this motorbike taxi driver, he didn't see this big hole, immediately, he hit, what's-its-name, the hole headlong, (and) immediately, I ('mother') fell off

0010 *sa   jatu   ke   blakang,   Tinus ini   de   lari trus,*
      1SG   fall   to   backside   Tinus D.PROX   3SG   run   be.continuous

      saya suda   jatu   di   blakang,   sa   jatu begini,   langsung
      1SG   already   fall   at   backside   1SG   fall like.this immediately

      sa   taguling,   sa   guling~guling   di   situ
      1SG   be.rolled.over   1SG   RED~roll.over   at   L.MED

      I fell off backwards, Tinus here, he continued on, I had already fallen off the back (of the motorbike-taxi), as I fell, I rolled over immediately, I rolled over and over there

0011 *Tinus, dorang dua dengang Martina ini,   dong dua   lari*
      Tinus   3PL   two with   Martina D.PROX   3PL   two   run

      trus,   dong dua lari sampe di kali, baru   Martina
      be.continuous   3PL   two run   reach at river and.then   Martina

      ini   de   kas   taw   sama   tukang   ojek   ini,
      D.PROX   3SG   give   know   to   craftsman   motorbike.taxi D.PROX

      de   bilang, a,   tukang   ojek,   itu   kitong   pu
      3SG   say   ah!   craftsman   motorbike.taxi   D.DIST   1PL   POSS

      kawang suda   jatu, yang tadi   kitong lari ke   mari   tu
      friend already   fall   REL   earlier   1PL   run   to   hither   D.DIST

      Tinus, he and Martina here, the two of them drove continuously, the two of them drove on all the way to the river, but then Martina here, she let this motorbike taxi driver know, she said, 'ah, motorbike taxi driver, what's-her-name, our friend already fell off, with whom we were driving here earlier'

0012 Nofita: [Is] *ko   liat~liat   ke   sini,   baru   ko   ceritra,*
                 2SG   RED~see   to   L.PROX   and.then   2SG   tell

      *ceritra,   ko   ceritra suda   *[UP]
      tell   2SG   tell   already

      Nofita: [Is] you (have to) look over here, and then you tell the story, tell the story!, just tell the story! [UP]

0013 Maria: *yo,   biar de   juga liat sa*   ((laughter))
              yes   let   3SG   also see   1SG

      Maria: yes, (but) let her also see me[4]

0014 *skarang tukang   ojek   ini   de   pulang*
      now   craftsman   motorbike.taxi   D.PROX   3SG   go.home

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   [4]   The personal pronoun *de* '3SG' refers to the recording author.

lagi	*sampe*	*di*	*tempat*	*yang*	*dia*	*buang*	*saya*
again	reach	at	place	REL	3SG	discard	1SG

now this motorbike taxi driver, he returned again all the way to the place where he'd thrown me off

0015   Iskia:

minta	*maaf*	*e*?,	*tolong*	*ceritra*	*tu*	*plang~plang*
request	pardon	eh?	help	tell	D.DIST	RED~be.slow

Iskia: excuse me, eh?, please talk slowly

0016   Maria:

de	*buang*	*saya,*	*trus*	*dorang*	*dua*	*turung*	*dari*
3SG	discard	1SG	next	3PL	two	descend	from

motor,	*dorang*	*dua*	*liat*	*sa*	*begini,*	*sa*	*su*	*plaka*
motorbike	3PL	two	see	1SG	like.this	1SG	already	fall.over

ke	*bawa*
to	bottom

Maria: he'd thrown me off, then the two of them got off the motorbike, the two of them saw me like this, I had already fallen over to the ground

0017

dong	*dua*	*bilang,*	*adu*	*kasiang,*	*ko*	*jatu*	*ka*?,	*yo,*	*dorang*
3PL	two	say	oh.no!	love-PAT	2SG	fall	or	yes	3PL

dua	*angkat*	*saya,*	*trus*	*sa*	*tida*	*swara*
two	lift	1SG	next	1SG	NEG	voice

the two of them said, 'oh no, poor thing!, did you fall?' 'yes', the two of them lifted me, and I couldn't speak (Lit. 'didn't (have) a voice')

0018

dorang	*dua*	*goyang~goyang*	*saya,*	*dong*	*dua*	*goyang~goyang*
3PL	two	RED~shake	1SG	3PL	two	RED~shake

saya,	*trus*	*sa*	*angkat*	*muka,*	*trus*	*Martina*	*de*	*tanya*
1SG	next	1SG	lift	front	next	Martina	3SG	ask

saya,	*mama*	*ko*	*rasa*	*bagemana*?
1SG	mother	2SG	feel	how

the two of them shook me repeatedly, the two of them shook me repeatedly, then I lifted (my) face, then Martina asked me, 'mother, how do you feel?'

0019

sa	*bilang*	*begini,*	*sa*	*pusing,*	*mata*	*saya*	*ini*
1SG	say	like.this	1SG	be.dizzy/confused	eye	1SG	D.PROX

glap,	*trus*	*Tinus*	*ini*	*de*	*bilang*	*begini*	*sama*	*saya,*	*sa*
be.dark	next	Tinus	D.PROX	3SG	say	like.this	to	1SG	1SG

bisa   *bawa ko*   *ke Webro ka?, trus*   *sa*   *bilang begini,*
capable   bring 2SG   to Webro or   next 1SG   say   like.this

yo,   *sa*   *jatu,*   *sa*   *rasa kepala*   *pusing,*   *bawa saya ke*   *Webro*
yes   1SG   fall   1SG   feel head   be.dizzy   bring 1SG   to   Webro

I said like this, 'I'm dizzy, my eyes here are dark', then Tinus here, he said to me like this, 'can I bring you to Webro?', then I said like this, 'yes, I fell, my head feels dizzy, bring me to Webro'

0020   *trus kitorang tiga,*   *kitorang tiga*   *naik*   *di*   *motor,*   *sa*   *di*
         next 1PL   three 1PL   three ascend at   motorbike 1SG   at

blakang,   *Martina di*   *tenga*
backside Martina at   middle

then, we three, we three got onto the motorbike, I (was) in the back (and) Martina was in the middle

0021   *trus tukang*   *ojek*   *ini*   *de*   *bawa,*   *de*   *bawa*
         next craftsman motorbike.taxi D.PROX   3SG   bring   3SG   bring

kitorang   *menyebrang,*   *menyebrang*   *ka*   *kali,*   *menyebra*
1PL   cross   cross   TRU-river   river   TRU-cross

menyebrang   *kali*
cross   river

then this motorbike taxi driver, he took, he took us (and we) crossed, crossed the river[TRU] river, (we) crossed[TRU] crossed the river

0022   *sampe di Webro*   *sa*   *pu*   *bapa,*   *sa*   *pu*   *kaka dorang*
         reach at Webro 1SG   POSS   father 1SG   POSS   oSb   3PL

tanya   *saya,*   *sodara~sodara*   *dorang,*   *knapa?,*   *ko*   *sakit*   *ka?*
ask   1SG   RED~sibling   3PL   why   2SG   be.sick or

having arrived in Webro, my father (and) my older siblings asked me, (my) relatives and friends (asked me), 'what happened? are you hurt?'

0023   *sa*   *bilang*   *begini,*   *ojek*   *yang*   *buang*   *saya,*   *dong*
         1SG   say   like.this motorbike.taxi   REL   discard 1SG   3PL

bilang,   *ojek*   *mana?,*   *a,*   *sa*   *pu*   *motor*   *ini,*
say   motorbike.taxi where   ah!   1SG   POSS   motorbike D.PROX

sa   *pu*   *tukang*   *ojek*   *yang*   *buang*   *saya,*
1SG   POSS   craftsman motorbike.taxi   REL   discard 1SG

kurang	*ajar,*	*kitong*	*pukul*	*dia*	*suda*
lack	teach	1PL	hit	3SG	already

I said like this, 'the motorbike taxi driver threw me off', they said, 'which motorbike taxi?', 'ah, (it's) my motorbike here, (it's) my motorbike taxi driver who threw me off', 'damn him! let us beat him up!'

0024
trus	*sa*	*bilang*	*begini,*	*jangang,*	*jangang*	*pukul*	*dia,*
next	1SG	say	like.this	NEG.IMP	NEG.IMP	hit	3SG

kasiang,	*itu*	*manusia,*	*kamorang*	*jangang*	*pukul*	*dia,*
pity	D.DIST	human.being	2PL	NEG.IMP	hit	3SG

saya	*tida*	*mati,*	*saya*	*ada*
1SG	NEG	die	1SG	exist

then I said like this, 'don't, don't beat him!, poor thing, he's a human being, don't beat him, I'm not dead, I'm alive' (Literally: 'I exist')

0025
trus	*sa*	*tidor,*	*tidor,*	*dorang*	*dua*	*pulang*	*ke*	*Waim,*	*tukang*
next	1SG	sleep	sleep	3PL	two	go.home	to	Waim	craftsman

ojek	*sama*	*Martina,*	*dong*	*dua*	*pulang*	*sendiri*	*ke*
motorbike.taxi	to	Martina	3PL	two	go.home	alone	to

Waim,	*sa*	*tinggal*	*karna*	*sa*	*rasa*	*masi*	*pusing*
Waim	1SG	stay	because	1SG	feel	still	be.dizzy/confused

then I slept, (I) slept, the two of them went home to Waim, the motorbike taxi driver and Martina, the two of them went home alone to Waim, I stayed (in Webro) because I still felt dizzy

0026 Nofita:
sap	*badan*	*sakit*
1SG:POSS	body	be.sick

Nofita: my body was hurting

0027 Maria:
badan	*sakit,*	*saya*	*tidor*
body	be.sick	1SG	sleep

Maria: (my) body was hurting, I slept

0028 Nofita:
masak	*air*	*panas*
cook	water	be.hot

Nofita: (they) boiled hot water

0029   Maria: *masak   air   panas*
                cook   water   be.hot

Maria: (they) boiled hot water

0030   Nofita: *Roni   yang   masak   air   panas*
                 Roni   REL   cook   water   be.hot

Nofita: (it was) Roni who boiled hot water

0031   Maria: *Roni,   ana   mantri   ini,   de   masak   air   panas,*
                Roni   child   male.nurse D.PROX   3SG   cook   water   be.hot

dorang   tolong,   dorang   bawa   air,   dorang   bawa   daung,
3PL   help   3PL   bring   water   3PL   bring   leaf

baru   dorang   urut   sa   deng   itu,   dong   bilang,
and.then   3PL   massage   1SG   with   D.DIST   3PL   say

badang   mana   yang   sakit?
body   where   REL   be.sick

Maria: Roni, this young male nurse, he boiled hot water, they helped, they brought water, they brought leaves, then they massaged me with those (leaves), they said, 'which (part of your) body is hurting?'

0032   *adu,   sa   pu   bahu   sakit,   sa   pu   pinggang   sakit,*
        oh.no!   1SG   POSS   shoulder   be.sick   1SG   POSS   loins   be.sick

sa   pu   blakang   sakit,   trus   ana   mantri   ini,   de
1SG   POSS   backside   be.sick   next   child   male.nurse D.PROX   3SG

urut~urut   saya,   de   pegang~pegang   di   bahu,   de
RED~massage   1SG   3SG   RED~hold   at   shoulder   3SG

pegang~pegang   blakang
RED~hold   backside

'ouch, my shoulder is hurting, my loins are hurting, my back is hurting', then this young male nurse, he massaged me, he massaged (my) shoulder, he massaged (my) back

0033   *suda,   saya   tidor   sampe   sore,   sa   pu   laki   datang,*
        already   1SG   sleep   until   afternoon 1SG   POSS   husband come

Lukas
Lukas

eventually I slept until the afternoon, (then) my husband came, Lukas

0034   Nofita: *sa   pu   pacar*
            1SG   POSS lover

    Nofita: my lover

0035   Maria: *a   ini   orang Papua bilang, sa   pu   laki,*
           ah!   D.PROX person Papua say   1SG   POSS husband

    sa   pu   laki   datang, dia bilang, kitong dua pulang,
    1SG   POSS husband come   3SG say   1PL   two go.home

    sa   tanya, kitong dua pulang   ke mana?, pulang   ke   Waim
    1SG   ask   1PL   two go.home to where go.home to   Waim

    Maria: ah, this (is what) Papuans say 'my husband', my husband came, he said, 'we two go home', I asked, 'where do we two go home to?', '(we) go home to Waim'

0036   *trus kitong dua pulang,   sampe di   jalangang sa   istirahat,*
    next   1PL   two go.home reach   at   route   1SG   rest

    de   bilang, kitong   dua   jalang suda,   mata-hari suda
    3SG say   1PL   two street already sun   already

    masuk, nanti   kitong dua dapat glap,   jalang cepat suda
    enter   very.soon 1PL   two get   be.dark walk   be.fast already

    and then we two went home, on the way I rested, he said, 'let the two of us walk (on)! the sun is already going down, in a short while, we'll be in the dark, walk fast already!'

0037   *sa dengang pace ini   kitong dua jalang, ayo,   kitong dua*
    1SG with   man D.PROX 1PL   two walk   come.on! 1PL   two

    jalang cepat, kitong dua jalang cepat, kitong dua jalang,
    walk   be.fast 1PL   two walk   be.fast 1PL   two walk

    sampe di   Waim, dorang~dorang di situ,   masarakat   dong   datang
    reach   at   Waim RED~3PL   at L.MED community 3PL   come

    I and the man here, we two walked, 'come on! we two walk fast already!', we two walk fast already!' the two of us walked, having arrived in Waim, all of them there, the whole community came

0038   *dong bilang, ibu   desa   ko   jatu ka? yo sa   jatu,*
    3PL   say   woman village[SI] 2SG fall or   yes 1SG   fall

    knapa? sa   jatu dari   motor,   ko   pu   tulang su
    why   1SG fall   from   motorbike 2SG POSS bone   already

pata   ka? tra ada, kosong,   tra ada, tulang tra pata
break or   NEG exist be.empty NEG exist bone   NEG break

they said, 'Ms. Mayor, did you fall?', 'yes, I fell', 'what happened?', 'I fell off the motorbike', 'are your bones already broken?', 'no, nothing (like that), no, the bones aren't broken'

0039 *suda,   saya sampe, sa   tidor, tidor, sa   bangung, suda*
      already 1SG   reach 1SG sleep sleep 1SG   wake.up   already

      dong   bilang
      3PL   say

      eventually I arrived, I slept, (I) slept, I woke up, then they said

0040 Nofita: *minum   obat*
              drink   medicine

      Nofita: take (your) medicine

0041 Maria: *ko   minum obat,   suda   sa   ambil sa   pu*
             2SG drink   medicine already 1SG fetch 1SG POSS

      obat,   tulang sakit   punya, bahu   yang sakit
      medicine bone   be.sick POSS   shoulder REL   be.sick

      Maria: 'take (your) medicine!', then I took my medicine for (my) hurting bone, (it was my) shoulder which was hurting (Lit. 'the hurting bone's (medicine)')

0042 *sa   minum, sa   minum, sampe tenga   malam sa   minum*
      1SG drink   1SG drink   until   middle night 1SG   drink

      lagi,   pagi   sa   bangung, sa   makang sagu, makang
      again morning 1SG wake.up 1SG eat   sago   eat

      kasbi,   sa   minum lagi
      cassava 1SG drink   again

      I took (medicine), I took (medicine), when it was the middle of the night, I took (medicine) again, in the morning I woke up, I ate sago, (I) ate cassava, I took (medicine) again

0043 *trus sa   tinggal sampe besok,   suda   sa   rasa badang*
      next 1SG stay   until   tomorrow already 1SG feel body

      suda   baik
      already be.good

      then I stayed until the next day, by then my body already felt good

0044 *baru   sa   punya ana   ini,   mantri,   de   pi   ambil*
and.then 1SG   POSS   child D.PROX male.nurse 3SG   go   fetch

saya, kitong dua lari deng motor,   dengang Roni, sa   pu
1SG   1PL   two run with motorbike with   Roni 1SG   POSS

ana   mantri   di Jayapura ini
child male.nurse at Jayapura D.PROX

and then, my child here, the male nurse, he came to pick me up, the two of us drove with (his) motorbike, with Roni, my young male nurse from Jayapura

0045 MO: *malam*
           night

[A guest arrives] MO: good evening

0046 Maria: *kitorang dua datang sampe di sini, ibu   pendeta*
           1PL   two come   reach   at L.PROX woman pastor

ini   dia   tanya, ko   jatu ka?   yo   sa   jatu dari   motor,
D.PROX 3SG   ask   2SG fall or   yes 1SG fall from   motorbike

kasiang   sayang
pity   love

the two of us came all the way here, Ms. Pastor here, she asked (me), 'did you fall?', 'yes, I fell off the motorbike', 'poor thing, (my) dear'

0047 *sa   tinggal di sini,   sa   ke   ruma-sakit, sa   ceritra   sama*
1SG   stay   at L.PROX 1SG   to   hospital   1SG   tell   to

dokter, dokter, sa   jatu dari   motor,   dokter dorang bilang
doctor doctor 1SG   fall from   motorbike doctor 3PL   say

begini,   ko   jatu bagemana?
like.this 2SG fall how

I stayed here, I went to the hospital, I talked to the doctor, 'doctor, I fell off a motorbike', the doctor and his companions said like this, 'how did you fall off?'

0048 *sa   bilang, sa   jatu balik   begini,   trus tulang*
1SG   say   1SG fall turn.around like.this next bone

pata,   sa   bilang, tulang bahu   yang pata, tulang
break 1SG   say   bone shoulder REL   break bone

rusuk,   o,   a   mama   itu   hanya   ko   jatu kaget
rib   oh! ah! mother D.DIST   only   2SG   fall feel.startled(.by)

I said, 'I fell backwards like this, then the bone broke', I said, '(it's my) shoulder bone which is broken, (my) ribs', 'oh! ah, mother that is just because you're under shock'

0049 *sa   bilang begini,   adu   dokter, ini   sa   jatu sengsara*
     1SG   say   like.this oh.no! doctor   D.PROX   1SG   fall suffer

ini,   harus   tolong   saya,   a   mama,   sa   kasi   obat,
D.PROX   have.to help   1SG   ah! mother   1SG   give   medicine

mama   minum,   sa   bilang, dokter   trima-kasi
mother drink   1SG   say   doctor   thank.you

I said like this, 'oh no!, doctor, what's-its-name, I fell really painfully, (you) have to help me', 'ah mother, I give (you) medicine (and) you ('mother') take (it)', I said, 'doctor, thank you'

0050 *sa   pulang   sampe   di   sini,   sa   bilang ibu   pendeta,*
     1SG   go.home   reach   at   L.PROX   1SG   say   woman   pastor

ibu   ko   kas   sa   air,   sa   minum   obat,   sa   tinggal
woman   2SG   give 1SG   water 1SG   drink   medicine 1SG   stay

di   sini   satu minggu, e,   dua minggu, baru   sa   pulang
at   L.PROX one week   uh   two week   and.then 1SG   go.home

I went home all the way to here, I told Ms. Pastor, 'Madam, give me water (so that) I (can) take (my) medicine', I stayed here for one week, uh, two weeks, only then did I return home

0051 *sa   pulang   ke Waim   lagi,   baru   kitorang tinggal, baru*
     1SG   go.home   to Waim   again   and.then 1PL   stay   and.then

sa   pu   masarakat   dong   tanya saya, ibu   ko   su
1SG   POSS   community   3PL   ask   1SG   woman   2SG   already

sembu   ka? sa   bilang, sa   su   sembu,   trima-kasi,
be.healed   or   1SG   say   1SG   already   be.healed   thank.you

sampe   di   sini
reach   at   L.PROX

I went home to Waim again, and then we stayed (there), and then my community asked me, 'Madam, have you recovered?', I said, 'I've recovered', thank you!, this is all (Literally: 'reach here')

C. Joke: Drawing a monkey

Text type: Joke (elicited text)

Interlocutors: 2 younger males

Length (min.): 0:59

0001   *skola   ini   ibu   mulay suru   ana~ana   murit mulay*
        school   D.PROX   woman   start   order   RED~child   pupil   start

        gambar   monyet   di   atas   pohong   pisang,   suda,   ibu
        draw   monkey   at   top   tree   banana   already   woman

        mulay suru   gambar,   suda   dong   mulay,   smua   dong   gambar
        start   order   draw   already   3PL   start   all   3PL   draw

        (in) this school, Ms. (Teacher) starts ordering the school kids to start drawing
        a monkey on a banana tree, well, Ms. Teacher orders (them to) draw, well,
        they start, they all draw (a picture)

0002   *baru   ana   kecil   satu   ini   de   tra   gambar,   ana*
        and.then child   be.small   one   D.PROX   3SG   NEG   draw   child

        murit satu   ni   de   tra   gambar,   suda,   begini   de
        pupil   one   D.PROX   3SG   NEG   draw   already   like.this   3SG

        gambar   batu,   trus   de   gambar   monyet   ini   di   bawa
        draw   stone   next   3SG   draw   monkey   D.PROX   at   bottom

        pohong   pisang,   begini   dong   bawa   ke   depang
        tree   banana   like.this   3PL   bring   to   front

        but then this particular small child, he doesn't draw, this particular school
        kid, he doesn't draw, well, he draws a stone (instead), and then he draws
        this monkey under the banana tree, it goes on like this (and) they bring (their
        drawings) to the front

0003   *ibu   bilang,   ibu   kalo   toki   meja   langsung   kumpul*
        woman   say   woman   if   beat   table   immediately   gather

        ke   depang,   suda   pace   de   pikir~pikir   sampe   tra
        to   front   already   man   3SG   RED~think   reach   NEG

        jadi,   suda   begini   langsung   i   ibu
        become   already   like.this   immediately   TRU-woman   woman

        bagi   meja,   pak!,   langsung   pace   gambar   [UP]   itu,
        divide   table   bang!   immediately   man   draw   D.DIST

monyet   di   bawa   pohong   pisang,   bawa   ke   sana
monkey   at   bottom   tree   banana   bring   to   L.DIST

Ms. (Teacher) says, 'when I knock (on) the table, (you) bring (your pictures) together to the front immediately', then the guy thinks on and on (but) nothing happens, as it goes on like this immediately Ms.[TRU], Ms. (Teacher) hits the table, 'bang!', immediately the guy draws [UP], what's-its-name, a monkey under a banana tree (and) brings it to the front

0004   *ibu   bilang,   e,   ibu   priksa   selesay,   ibu   tanya,*
        woman   say   uh   woman   check   finish   woman   ask

       ini   siapa   punya?   de   bilang,   ibu,   sa   punya,
       D.PROX   who   POSS   3SG   say   woman   1SG   POSS

       de   tanya,   pace   maju   ke   sana,   ibu   tanya   dia,
       3SG   ask   man   advance   to   L.DIST   woman   ask   3SG

       knapa   ko   gambar   monyet   di   bawa   pohong   pisang?
       why   2SG   draw   monkey   at   bottom   tree   banana

Ms. (Teacher) says, uh, after Ms. (Teacher) has finished checking (the pictures), Ms. (Teacher) asks (them), 'this (picture here), whose is (it)?', he says, 'Madam, (it's) mine', she asks (him), the guy comes to the front, Ms. (Teacher) asks him, 'why did you draw the monkey under the banana tree?'

0005   *de   blang,   adu   ibu,   tadi   ibu   toki   meja*
       3SG   say   oh.no!   woman   earlier   woman   beat   table

       itu   yang   monyet   de   jatu   dari   atas
       D.DIST   REL   monkey   3SG   fall   from   top

he says, 'oh no!, Madam!, a little bit earlier you ('Madam') knocked on the table, that's why the monkey fell off from the top (of the banana plant)'

ABBREVIATIONS USED

1   : first person

2   : second person

3   : third person

C   : consonant

D   : demonstrative

DIST   : distal

IMP   : imperative

L   : locative

MED   : medial

NEG   : negation, negative

PAT	: patient
PL	: plural
POSS	: possessive
PROX	: proximal
RED	: reduplicant
REL	: relative
SG	: singular
TRU	: truncated
UP	: unclear pronunciation
V	: vowel

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