Summary of PhD thesis

A grammar of Papuan Malay

ANGELA KLUGE

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Promoter: Prof. Dr. M.P.G.M. Mous
Co-promoter: Dr. M.A.F. Klamer
Leiden University

This contribution summarizes Kluge’s (2014) A grammar of Papuan Malay, an in-depth linguistic description of one Papuan Malay variety. 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

1 The online publication of this thesis can be found at: https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/25849.
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 gesamtbefdeutung 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
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 *pun*, 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 $V_1 V_2$ 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-causeatives stress the outcome of the manipulation, biking-causeatives 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. Numerical 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
Fanceria: aw! (it was) the bananas (from) over there which (Nofi) wanted to buy

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

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

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

Nofi: are you crazy?

Nofita: (they are) too mischievous the children here

Fanceria: ah, Nofi [up]

Marta: [Is]

Fanceria: mm-mm

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

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)

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

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

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

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

Interlocutors: 2 older males, 3 older females

Length (min.): 10:29

Maria: *saya, Martina, Tinus, kitong* 1sg Martina Tinus 1pl

Maria: I, Martina, Tinus, we

Hurki: *kitong tiga orang* 1pl three person

Hurki: we (were) three people

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

Marta: we (were) three people

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’)

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

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
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.

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’.

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

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

Now the craftsman motorbike.taxi go.home
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
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’

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

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

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

then that motorbike taxi driver, he took, he took me to Webro or next 1SG say like this
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!’

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’) 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

Nofita: my body was hurting

Maria: (my) body was hurting, I slept

Nofita: (they) boiled hot water
Maria: *masak air panas*

cook water be.hot

Maria: (they) boiled hot water

Nofita: *Roni yang masak air panas*

Roni REL cook water be.hot

Nofita: (it was) Roni who boiled hot water

Maria: *Roni, ana mantri ini, de masak air panas, dorang tolong, dorang bawa air, dorang bawa daung, baru dorang urut sa deng itu, dong bilang, badang mana yang sakit?*

Roni child male.nurse PROX 3SG cook water be.hot 3PL help 3PL bring water 3PL bring leaf and.then 3PL massage 1SG with DIST 3PL say body where 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?’

*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 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

*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*
Nofita: *sa pu pacar*

1SG poss lover

Nofita: my lover

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’

*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!’

*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*

*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
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  
\[
\text{suda, saya sampe, sa tidor, tidor, sa bangung, suda} \\
\text{already 1SG reach 1SG sleep sleep 1SG wake.up already}
\]

\[
\text{dong bilang} \\
\text{3PL say}
\]

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

0040  
\[
\text{Nofita: minum obat} \\
\text{drink medicine}
\]

Nofita: take (your) medicine

0041  
\[
\text{Maria: ko minum obat, suda sa ambil sa pu} \\
\text{2SG drink medicine already 1SG fetch 1SG poss}
\]

\[
\text{obat, tulang sakit punya, bahu yang sakit} \\
\text{medicine bone be.sick poss shoulder REL be.sick}
\]

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  
\[
\text{sa minum, sa minum, sampe tenga malam sa minum} \\
\text{1SG drink 1SG drink until middle night 1SG drink}
\]

\[
\text{lagi, pagi sa bangung, sa makang sagu, makang} \\
\text{again morning 1SG wake.up 1SG eat sago eat}
\]

\[
\text{kasbi, sa minum lagi} \\
\text{cassava 1SG drink again}
\]

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  
\[
\text{trus sa tinggal sampe besok, suda sa rasa badang} \\
\text{next 1SG stay until tomorrow already 1SG feel body}
\]

\[
\text{suda baik} \\
\text{already be.good}
\]

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

MO: malam
night

[A guest arrives] MO: good evening

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’

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?’

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
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’.

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’.

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.

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, paki!, langsung pace gambar [up] itu,
   divide table bang! immediately man draw D.DIST
  
monkey at bottom tree banana bring to

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

REFERENCES
