Of mace and monkeys: Kalamang texts

Eline Visser

January 2021

Contents

Abbreviations

I adhere to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie, Haspelmath & Bickel 2015), with three exceptions. I use EX and IN instead of EXCL and INCL for exclusive and inclusive pronouns to save space. Similative is glossed as SML and not as SIM.

AN	animate
ANA	anaphoric demonstrative
AT	attributive
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
ENC	interjection of (annoyed) encouragement
EX	exclusive
EXIST	existential
FOC	focus
IN	inclusive
IAM	iamitive (a kind of perfect; 'already')
IMP	imperative
INS	instrumental
INT	interjection
INT.PEJ	interjection expressing contempt or dissatisfaction
IRR	irrealis
INTS	intensifier
LAT	lative (combined ablative and allative)
LOC	locative
MLY	(Papuan) Malay code switch

NEG	negation
N	epenthetic-like phoneme found on irregular verbs carrying certain mood or aspect markers and sometimes on uninflected irregular verbs
NFIN	non-final
NMLZ	nominaliser
OBJ	object
PH	placeholder
PLNK	predicate linker
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROH	prohibitive
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
QUOT	quotative
QNT.OBJ	quantifier object (quantifier modifying an object)
SG	singular
SML	similative
SURPR	interjection of surprise
T	epenthetic-like phoneme found on irregular verbs carrying certain mood or aspect markers
TEN	unanalysed morpheme *=ten*
TOP	topic
VOL	volitional

1 Introduction

Kalamang (kgv, kara1499) is a Papuan language of the West Bomberai family. It is spoken in eastern Indonesia, in West Papua province, on an island just off the coast of Bomberai peninsula. The island belongs to a group of three referred to as the Karas Islands. In older literature, Kalamang is known as Karas (Cowan 1953: 28, Anceaux 1958: 115, Cowan 1960: 352, Voorhoeve 1975: 434, Smits & Voorhoeve 1998: 19). The language is currently estimated to have some 190 speakers, not all of whom can be considered fluent. The speakers reside in the only villages of the biggest Karas island: Antalisa and Mas (*Tamisen* and *Sewa* in Kalamang).

The texts presented here were recorded between 2017 and 2019 by the author, during 3-month field trips that served to build a corpus for a grammatical description of Kalamang. All texts were recorded in Mas, and were transcribed and translated to Papuan Malay (the contact language, a regional variant of Malay) with the help of the speaker and/or a consultant. All texts are archived in *The Kalamang collection: an archive of linguistic and cultural material from Karas* (Visser 2020c).[1] A Kalamang dictionary is published as Visser (2020b). The grammar of Kalamang is the author's PhD thesis (Visser 2020a).

In the free translation preceding each glossed text, I have chosen to add pronouns or nominal referents that are not present in the Kalamang original to help the reader with participant tracking. In the translations in the glossed texts, inserted arguments are given within square brackets. Borrowings from Papuan Malay or other Austronesian languages are frequent in Kalamang, as the reader with knowledge of these languages may recognise. Only when there is a clear case of code-switching, such as in *Monkey and cuscus*

---

[1] http://hdl.handle.net/10050/00-0000-0000-0003-C3E8-1@view

Figure 1: The Karas Islands

when the protagonists sing their song, the glosses of Papuan Malay words are tagged with MLY.

Author bio

Eline Visser defended her PhD thesis *A grammar of Kalamang* at Lund University, Sweden, in January 2021. It is accompanied by a Kalamang - Papuan Malay - English dictionary and an extensive online archive. She has also done exploratory work on the Austronesian languages Uruangnirin and Geser-Gorom.

2 Texts

2.1 Exchanging tobacco

This is a story[2] told by Malik Yarkuran (M) on the 1st of April 2019. It tells about a time in 2014, when the new yearly batch of tobacco had just come out. To fool his friends and because he didn't believe they could taste the difference, he exchanged the new and old tobacco. The story was recorded in the kitchen of Sebi Yarkuran (S), who was also present during the recording. The storyteller had told this story before, and retold it on tape at the researcher's (E) request.

Free translation

Malik: 'Now, the event when uncle Pet wanted to apply as a candidate in 2014. Just when we wanted to make the tent, they already took out the tobacco, grandmother's family did. They took out the tobacco; I don't smoke, you know. So they already got out the tobacco, they were making a tent, then they came up and looked at that tobacco: "Ah, it's from 2013." They said: "Oh no, this tobacco, we shouldn't smoke it, otherwise our throats will get sore." I looked at them, I looked and looked... Then, one more person came up. He flipped the tobacco pouch and looked. "Oh no, 2013."'

Eline: 'You didn't believe them?'

Malik: 'I didn't believe them. I just looked at them, then I thought: "Would they know the difference or not?" Right? Then I bought this tobacco. They went down again, I got both of the tobacco pouches and brought them with me. I went to look for a 2014 pouch. After searching, and after peeling the seal off well, I filled one of them. I filled it, I put it in the other pouch, after that I brought it down and looked at them.'

Sebi: 'Didn't it open?'

Malik: 'I slowly put in a midrib in the package, to unstuck the seal. I brought it down and dropped it on a plate. You know, there was a plate with betel there.'

Eline: 'Where?'

Malik: 'At the side of that house. So Acang came up, Acang was first. He came up, flipped the pouch and looked. "Ah, I like this." He said: "Ah."'

Sebi: 'Where did you do that?'

Malik: 'Next to this house.'

Sebi: 'Didn't they see it?'

Malik: 'Oh, to do it I went home, to my house, right. Then Acang said: "Ah, I like this, 2014." They came up: "Yes, this..." I watched them, right. They opened the pouch; after opening it they rolled cigarettes: "Yes, we like this." They said: "Yes, this we like." I watched them, I was alone, right, so I was silent. Can they smoke it all or not? Oh, they came up, then one more came up: "Ah, I like this. The 2014 vintage has already come out and we were still smoking 2013. Our throats hurt." When they finished smoking, there was still one pouch. Kiba's father and Acang, they looked at the people coming and going. When people didn't see it, they quickly got the pouch and hid it. They hid it, they brought it to their house, right. They cut it and

---

[2]Archived at `http://hdl.handle.net/10050/00-0000-0000-0004-1BC5-7@view`.

after cutting they divided it. One piece per person. They smoked, oh, I wasn't bothered. I watched them; they smoked. Acang's was about to finish, then I said: "Acang, that tobacco that you smoked, how was its taste, good or what?" "Of course it's tasty, it's 2014!"' I said: "Hah!" He said: "It's 2014, right?" I said: "Hah, it's 2013, hah!" "May the sun cut your Adam's apple!" I went to get the tobacco pouch and showed them. He chased me and I ran off.'

Glossed text

(1) M: *sekarang acara om   Pet calon=kin   dua   ribu   empatbelas*
         now   event uncle P. apply.as.candidate=VOL two.MLY thousand.MLY fourteen.MLY
         'Now, the event when uncle Pet wanted to apply as a candidate in 2014.'

(2) M: *pas   in   sabuat   paruo-t=kin*
         exactly 1PL.EX tent=OBJ make-T=VOL
         'Just when we wanted to make the tent,'

(3) M: *su   tabai=at   kasi keluar nene   mu*
         already tobacco=OBJ give go.out grandmother 3PL
         'they already took out the tobacco, grandmother's family.'

(4) M: *tabai=at   kasi keluar kan   an me kan   tabai=at   kosom=nin*
         tobacco=OBJ give go.out you.know 1SG TOP you.know tobacco=OBJ smoke=NEG
         'Took out the tobacco, you know, I don't smoke, you know.'

(5) M: *jadi mu he   kasi keluar=ta   me*
         so   3PL IAM give go.out=NFIN TOP
         'So they already got out (the tobacco),'

(6) M: *tenda=at paruo ba   mu sara-t=et   tabai opa kome-t=et ah*
         tent=OBJ make then 3PL ascend-T=IRR tobacco ANA look-T=IRR INT
         'making a tent, then they came up and looked at that tobacco: "Ah,"'

(7) M: *dua   ribu   tigabelas=kin*
         two.MLY thousand.MLY thirteen.MLY=POSS
         '"it's from 2013."'

(8) M: *mu toni aduh tabai   wa   me mena   min=pe   ning*
         3PL say INT tobacco PROX TOP otherwise throat=1PL.IN.POSS sick
         'They said: "Oh no, this tobacco, [we shouldn't smoke it] otherwise our throats will get sore."'

(9) M: *an tok mu=at   kome-t kome-t kome-t*
         1PL yet 3PL=OBJ look-T look-T look-T
         'I looked at them, looked and looked…'

(10) M: *kodaet   koi sara-t=et*
          one.more then ascend-T=IRR
          'One more then came up.'

(11) M: *mayilma kome-t=et   aduh dua   ribu   tigabelas*
          flip   look-T=IRR INT two.MLY thousand.MLY thirteen.MLY
          '[He] flipped [the tobacco pouch] and looked. "Oh no, 2013."'

6

(12) E: *ka mu=at parcai=nin*
2SG 3PL=OBJ believe=NEG
'You didn't believe them?'

(13) M: *an mu=at parcai=nin*
1SG 3PL=OBJ believe=NEG
'I didn't believe them.'

(14) M: *an mu=at nak=kome-t~kome-t terus an se napikir eh*
1SG 3PL=OBJ just=look-T~DUR-T then 1SG IAM think QUOT
'I just looked at them, then I thought:'

(15) M: *kirakira mu bisa bedakan ye ge to*
approximately 3PL can difference or not right
'"Would they know the difference or not?" Right?'

(16) M: *tabai yuwane an se jie-n=i koyet*
tobacco PROX 1SG IAM buy-N=PLNK finish
'After I bought this tobacco,'

(17) M: *mu elak=ka=ta bara an eir-gan jie-n=i koyet he kuet*
3PL bottom=LAT=NFIN descend 1SG two-both get-N=PLNK finish IAM bring
'They went down again, I got both [of the tobacco pouches] and brought [them].'

(18) M: *an bo bandrol dua ribu empatbelas=kin=at sanggarie*
1SG go pouch two.MLY thousand.MLY fourteen.MLY=POSS=OBJ search
'I went to look for a 2014 pouch.'

(19) M: *sanggarie-n=i koyet nabestai kawotma-n=i koyet an se payiem*
search-N=PLNK finish well peel-N=PLNK finish 1SG IAM fill
'After searching, and after peeling well, I filled [one of them].'

(20) M: *payiem=i ra payiem=i ra-n=i koyet*
fill=PLNK move.path fill=PLNK move.path-N=PLNK finish
'Filled and put [in the other pouch], after that'

(21) M: *an se kuru bara mu=at kome-t~kome-t*
1SG IAM bring descend 3PL=OBJ look-T~DUR-T
'I brought [it] down and looked at them.'

(22) S: *ma kasawercie-t=nin*
3SG open-T=NEG
'Didn't it open?'

(23) M: *an siktak~tak=i walorteng=ki kasi masuk*
1SG slow~INTS=PLNK coconut.leaf.midrib=INS give enter
'I slowly put in a midrib [in the package, to unstuck the seal].'

(24) M: *an kuru bara-n paruak=i pingan nerunggo*
1SG bring descend-N drop=PLNK plate inside
'I brought [it] down and dropped [it] on a plate.'

(25) M: *kan pingan=bon buok=bon metko*
you.know plate=COM betel=COM DIST.LOC
'You know, there was a plate with betel there.'

7

(26) E: *tamatko*
where
'Where?'

(27) M: *kewe mul imetko*
house side DIST.LOC
'At the side of that house.'

(28) M: *mindi Acang se sara Acang borara*
like.that A.   IAM ascend A.   be.first
'So Acang came up, Acang was first.'

(29) M: *ma sara mayelma kome-t*
3SG ascend flip   look-T
'He came up, flipped [the pouch] and looked.'

(30) M: *ah wanet me*
INT PROX.OBJ TOP
'Ah, [I like] this.'

(31) M: *ma toni ah*
3SG say INT
'He said: "Ah."'

(32) S: *ka tamatko=a mindi paruo=ta me*
2SG where=FOC like.that do=NFIN TOP
'Where did you do that?'

(33) M: *kewe mul yuwatko*
house side PROX.LOC
'Next to this house.'

(34) S: *mu kona-t=nin*
3PL see-T=NEG
'Didn't they see it?'

(35) M: *o an paruo me bo kewe=ko=a paruo kewe anggon to*
INT 1SG do TOP go house=LOC=FOC do house 1SG right
'Oh, to do it I went home, to my house, right.'

(36) M: *terus Acang toni ah wanet me dua ribu empatbelas*
then A.   say INT PROX.OBJ TOP two.MLY thousand.MLY fourteen.MLY
'Then Acang said: "Ah, [I like] this, 2014."'

(37) M: *mu sara ya wa=et me*
3PL ascend yes PROX=IRR TOP
'They came up: "Yes, this..."'

(38) M: *an se mu=at kome-t~kome-t to*
1SG IAM 3PL=OBJ look-T~DUR-T right
'I watched them, right.'

(39) M: *mu kasetma kasetma-n=i koyet mu he kies ya wanet me*
3PL open   open-N=PLNK finish 3PL IAM wrap yes PROX.OBJ TOP
'They opened [the pouch], after opening they rolled [cigarettes]: "Yes, [we like] this."'

8

(40) M: *mu toni ya wanet me rasa*
3PL say yes PROX.OBJ TOP like
'They said: "Yes, this [we] like."'

(41) M: *an se mu=at kome-t~kome-t an-ahutak to jadi an nokidak*
1SG IAM 3PL=OBJ look-T~DUR-T 1SG-alone right so 1SG be.silent
'I watched them, I was alone, right, so I was silent.'

(42) M: *bisa mu kosom=i koyet ye ge*
can 3PL smoke=PLNK finish or not
'Can they smoke it all or not?'

(43) M: *oh mu he sara-t=et kodaet-nan koi sara-t=et ah wanet me*
INT 3PL IAM ascend-T=IRR one.more-too then ascend-T=IRR INT PROX.OBJ TOP
'Oh, they came up, then one more came up: "Ah, [I like] this."'

(44) M: *masa dua ribu empatbelas=ta eba met koi tabai dua*
vintage two.MLY thousand.MLY fourteen.MLY=NFIN then DIST.OBJ then tobacco two.MLY
ribu tigabelas=at kosom~kosom
thousand.MLY thirteen.MLY=OBJ smoke~DUR
'"The 2014 vintage [has already come out] and we were still smoking 2013."'

(45) M: *min=pe ning*
throat=1PL.IN.POSS sick
'"Our throats hurt."'

(46) M: *pas kosom bo koyet pas kodak tok*
exactly smoke go finish exactly just.one still
'When they finished smoking [there was] still one [pouch].'

(47) M: *mier Kiba esun=bon Acang=bon*
3DU K. father.3POSS=COM A.=COM
'Kiba's father and Acang,'

(48) M: *mu sontum=at kome ra-n mia-n ra-n mia-n*
3PL people=OBJ look move.path-N come-N look move.path-N come-N
'they looked at the people coming and going.'

(49) M: *sontum kona-t=nin mu loi~loi=tun=i jie-n=i koyet mormor*
people see-T=NEG 3PL quick~INTS=very=PLNK get-N=PLNK finish hide
'[When] people didn't see it, they quickly got [the pouch] and hid [it].'

(50) M: *mormor mu kuru bo kewe-un=ko to*
hide 3PL bring go house-3POSS=LOC right
'Hid [it], they brought it to their house, right.'

(51) M: *mu he potma mu he potma-n=i koyet mier yap*
3PL IAM cut 3PL IAM cut-N=PLNK finish 2DU divide
'They cut [it], after cutting they divided [it].'

(52) M: *som-kon seletkon som-kon seletkon*
person-one piece person-one piece
'One piece per person.'

(53) M: *mu he kosom o an-nan pusing=nin*
     3PL IAM smoke INT 1SG-too bother=NEG
     'They smoked, oh, I wasn't bothered.'

(54) M: *an mu=at kome-t~kome-t mier kosom*
     1SG 3PL=OBJ look-T~DUR-T 3DU smoke
     'I watched them, they smoked.'

(55) M: *Acang=kin se   bo koyet=kin eba an toni Acang*
     A.=POSS   IAM go finish=VOL then 1SG say A.
     'Acang's was about to finish, then I said: "Acang,"'

(56) M: *tabai   met   kosom=ta   narasaun tamandi pen ye*
     tobacco DIST.OBJ smoke=NFIN taste   how   tasty or
     '"that tobacco that [you] smoked, how was its taste, good or what?"'

(57) M: *pen some dua   ribu   empatbelas   an toni deh*
     tasty ENC two.MLY thousand.MLY fourteen.MLY 1SG say INT.PEJ
     '"Of course it's tasty, it's 2014!"' I said: "Hah!"'

(58) M: *ma toni dua   ribu   empatbelas   to an toni deh   dua   ribu*
     3SG say two.MLY thousand.MLY fourteen.MLY right 1SG say INT.PEJ two.MLY thousand.MLY
     tigabelas   deh
     thirteen.MLY INT.PEJ
     'He said: "2014, right?" I said: "Hah, 2013, hah!"'

(59) M: *yuon=ba ka=at   min-tolma-t=et-kon*
     sun=FOC 2SG=OBJ adam's.apple-cut-T=IRR-?
     '"May the sun cut your Adam's apple!"'
     This is a common curse in Kalamang. the meaning of *-kon* remains unclear, although it might express the subjunctive mood.

(60) M: *an bo bandrol-un=at   jie mu=at naunak*
     1SG go pouch-3POSS=OBJ get 3PL=OBJ show
     'I went to get its pouch and showed them.'

(61) M: *ma an=at   sarie an se kiem*
     3SG 1SG=OBJ chase 1SG IAM flee
     'He chased me, I ran off.'

2.2   Kitchen conversation

This is an excerpt from a conversation between two elderly ladies on 23 February 2017,[3] filmed in absence of the researcher. Bini Rumatiga (B) is preparing taro in her kitchen, while her friend Hawa Yorre (H) keeps her company.[4] In the excerpt, they have a good-natured discussion about what happened to a grater that Bini said she had given to Hawa. The conversation illustrates the use of the zero morpheme ∅ 'to give' well.

---

[3] Archived at `http://hdl.handle.net/10050/00-0000-0000-0004-1BBD-5@view`.
[4] Although they are from the same generation, Hawa calls Bini for 'aunt' because of a complex family relationship that I have not been able to decipher.

Free translation

Bini: 'I thought I gave a grater to you, right.'
Hawa: 'No, no.'
'Yes! What do you mean, no?'
'You didn't give me!'
'I gave you one, really! I gave you one of these!'
'No way!'
'No, no.'
'I gave it to Amina.'
'No, no, no, I gave it to you, you, you.'
'No, aunt, no. If there were one like that I'd bring it. I don't have one like that.'
'Later ask one from uncle's.'
'Dian's mother?'
'Yes, she has them, three of those.'
'I will ask one, give me one! As for me, you didn't give me.'
'I gave you one.'
'No, aunt, you didn't give me.'
'Who did I give it to?'
'I don't know, only you know. As for me, and as for that thing, you didn't give it.'
'I gave you one.'
'Really not, aunt. No, I speak truly, I'm not fooling you. I'm just what's-it-ing with a knife.'
'One of these I gave you.'
'Yes. I was just slicing, with a knife.'
'One I gave to Kambera's mother, she brought it back up. She has three, she bought two herself, she gave you one.'
'Really not, she didn't give me.'
'Yes, I gave you one but I don't know.'
'No, you gave it to someone else, me you didn't give.'

Glossed text

(1) B: *an toni ka ∅ to*
    1SG think 2SG give right
    'I thought I gave [a grater] to you, right.'

(2) H: *ge ge*
    no no
    'No, no.'

(3) B: *mm*
    yes
    'Yes!'

(4) B: *tamandi=a ge*
    how=FOC no
    'What do you mean, no?'

(5) H: *ka   di=an-Ø=nin*
        2SG CAUS=1SG-GIVE=NEG
        'You didn't give me!'

(6) B: *an kon-i   ka   Ø   some*
        1SG one-QNT.OBJ 2SG give ENC
        'I gave you one, really!'

(7) B: *wa=ba   kon-un   an di=ka-Ø=ta   me*
        PROX=FOC one-3POSS 1SG CAUS=2SG-give=NFIN TOP
        'I gave you one of these!'

(8) H: *ge.mera*
        no
        'No way!'

(9) B: *ge ge*
        no no
        'No, no.'

(10) H: *an me Amina=ki-Ø*
        1SG TOP A.=BEN-give
        'I gave [it] to Amina.'

(11) B: *ge ge ge ka   ka   ka*
        no no no you you you
        'No, no, no, [I gave it to] you, you, you.'

(12) H: *ge ge wowa*
        no no aunt
        'No, aunt, no.'

(13) H: *mindi=ten   mambon-tak an   kuet*
        like.that=AT EXIST-just   1SG bring
        '[If] there were one like that I'd bring it.'

(14) H: *anggon saerak   mindi=ten*
        1SG.POSS NEG.EXT like.that=AT
        'I don't have one like that.'

(15) B: *mena mama mu=konggo paning=te*
        later uncle 3PL=AN.LOC ask=IMP
        'Later ask [one] from uncle's.'

(16) H: *Dian emun*
        D.   mother.3POSS
        'Dian's mother?'

(17) B: *yo main   karuok=a yume*
        yes 3SG.POSS three=OBJ DIST
        'Yes, she has, three of those.'

(18) H: *kon-i   paning=et kon-i   an-Ø=te*
        one-QNT.OBJ ask=IRR   one-QNT.OBJ 1SG-give=IMP
        '[I will] ask one, give me one!'

(19) H: *an me ka an-Ø=nin   o*
1SG TOP 2SG 1SG-give=NEG EMPH
'As for me, you didn't give me.'

(20) B: *an ka=at   kon-i   Ø*
1SG 2SG=OBJ one-QNT.OBJ give
'I gave you one.'

(21) H: *ge wowa ka di=an-Ø=nin*
no aunt 2SG CAUS=1SG-give=NEG
'No, aunt, you didn't give me.'

(22) B: *an di=naman=ki-Ø=teba*
1SG CAUS=who=BEN-give=PROG
'Who did I give [it to]?'

(23) H: *yeso   ka-tain=a   gonggin*
I.don't.know 2SG-alone=FOC know
'I don't know, only you know.'

(24) H: *an me don me ka an-Ø=nin*
1SG TOP thin TOP 2SG 1SG-give=NEG
'As for me, and as for that thing, you didn't give it.'

(25) B: *an kon-i   ka Ø*
1SG one-QNT.OBJ 2SG give
'I gave you one.'

(26) H: *ge o   wowa*
no EMPH aunt
'Really not, aunt.'

(27) H: *ge yor=i   taruo-t=et an ka=at   marok=nin*
no true=PLNK say-T=IRR 1SG 2SG=OBJ fool=NEG
'No, [I] speak truly, I'm not fooling you.'

(28) H: *an me suma tektek=ki nemba o*
1SG TOP just knife=INS PH   EMPH
'I'm just what's-it-ing with a knife.'

(29) B: *yuwa=ba kon-un   an di=ka-Ø=ta   me*
PROX=FOC one-3POSS 2SG CAUS=2SG-give=NFIN TOP
'One of these I gave you.'

(30) H: *yo*
yes
'Yes.'

(31) H: *an marum~marum=teba tektek=ki=a*
1SG slice~DUR=PROG   knife=INS=FOC
'I was just slicing, with a knife.'

(32) B: *kon me an di=Kambera emun=ki-Ø=ta   ma kuru sara   yume*
one TOP 1SG CAUS=K.   mother.3POSS=BEN-give=NFIN 3SG bring ascend DIST
'One I gave to Kambera's mother, she brought it back up.'

(33) B: *main   karuok ma-tain   eir-i   jie   ma ka-∅=et*
       3SG.POSS three   3SG-alone two-QNT.OBJ buy 3SG 2SG-give=IRR
       'She has three, she bought two herself, she gave you.'

(34) H: *ge o   ma di=an-∅=nin*
       no EMPH 3SG CAUS=1SG-give=NEG
       'Really not, she didn't give me.'

(35) B: *yuo an kon-i   ka ∅   ba yeso*
       yes 1SG one-QNT.OBJ 2SG give but I.don't.know
       'Yes, I gave you one but I don't know.'

(36) B: *ge ka di=kon=ki-∅=teba   an me ka di=an-∅=nin*
       no 2SG CAUS=one=BEN-give=PROG 1SG TOP 2SG CAUS=1SG-give=NEG
       'No, you gave it to [some]one [else], me you didn't give.'

2.3   Monkey and cuscus

Hair Yorkuran tells the story about a monkey and a cuscus that sell firewood. This story[5] was told at the storyteller's own initiative on 22 March 2019. Also present at the recording is Kamarudin Gusek, who doesn't talk. The recording was made behind the village building, at the sea-side. This text contains several instances of the unanalysed enclitic *=ten*. In some cases, it seems to function as a conjunction of reason and consequence, 'so'. In others, the function remains difficult to analyse.

Free translation

Hair: 'So, a monkey and a cuscus... The cuscus asked the monkey: "Hey, monkey, let's go gather firewood and sell it." So the monkey said yes. They went to the forest to collect firewood. They collected firewood... They collected and collected, they gathered it, then they tied it. They tied and tied, oh, their bundles were big like this. They measured, ten cents each. They gathered the firewood. The monkey said: "Yes, let's go sell!" The cuscus said: "Yes," so they moved the canoe seawards. They moved the canoe seawards, put in the firewood, paddled the firewood seawards, brought it with them. The monkey said: "How do we...?" "Oh, like this, we paddle towards Antalisa. We paddle towards Antalisa." They paddled and paddled and then the cuscus went like this: "Linglonglinglonglinglong."'

   (They have made a song to announce their arrival.)

   Hair: 'Like that, they passed the cape. They passed the cape and continued to a village. A village like Tarus, that village. Like that, the people at the mainland said: "Monkey from where?" The cuscus said: "Monkey from Banda, selling firewood, one bundle for ten cents." "Oh, come and bring it here." They brought it landwards, they paddled closer. Young women said they wanted to buy firewood. The women said: "This man, this one in the back is too black. This one in the front is better, we should make love to him. The one in the front is white." They unloaded the firewood and they finished buying. The monkey was just silent. After all, those girls said he's too black, so he was angry. After he unloaded the firewood, the cuscus said: "Yes, let's go." They sailed and started doing their song until they came at another village. The people said: "Hey! Monkey from where?" "Monkey from Banda, selling firewood for ten cents per bundle." "Oh, bring it over here! Bring it over here and we'll buy." They paddled landwards. That monkey, he had gone to the back again, earlier he was in the front. They moved landwards and they unloaded the firewood. Young women came seawards: "The one in the front is better. We like him, he's white. The one

---

in the back, yech, he's very black." The monkey was shy and silent. After buying firewood, after paying, the cuscus said: "Let's go again, let's sell at another village." So they went seawards, passed a cape, and then the monkey said: "Come, then you go in the back! I go in the front again, earlier they said the one in the front is white, the one in the front is good. You're in the back, I again go in the front." After exchanging places, they started paddling. "Linglonglinglonglinglong."'

(Another four rounds follow where the cuscus and the monkey visit a village, the women comment on the appearance of both referring to their position in the boat, the monkey is offended, and the monkey asks the cuscus to swap places.)

Hair: 'The cuscus was fed up, right. After all, the monkey went from the stern to the bow to the stern to the bow, it was just the monkey that was a busybody. Then the monkey said: "How do you do it, you're white." "We'll go landwards to, like, Tarus." The tide was very low. They went landwards to Tarus, then the cuscus said: "Go up, cut one tree and some string! That way later you'll be white, we'll make you white. The same as me. I also did like that, right, and I'm white, so..." "Yes." The monkey went up with a machete. After cutting he went down and scraped the wood. Scraped until sharp; the cuscus brought the poles seawards. The tide was low, he brought the poles seawards and erected them by the sea. He rocked, rocked and rocked until they were deep. They were deep and the cuscus said: "Hey, come seawards! Come seawards, then I'll make you white!" The monkey walked seawards. "Stand here!" He stood there.'

(The monkey steps inside the cage the cuscus has built with the poles.)

Hair: 'The monkey stood, the cuscus tied him. He tied him, from his legs up to there. "Oh, later you'll be white, wait." Like that, the tide rose and came splashing landwards. It moved landwards, the tide moved landwards to his legs. Like that, the monkey went: "Hey, my feet are already white, my feet are already white! Untie me!" "Oh, not yet, when your body is all white, then..." The tide rose until here. It rose until here and the monkey said: "Hey, my legs are already white, that's it, untie me!" The cuscus said: "It's still rising more." That tide rose. It rose until here. "Hey, that's it, I'm white, it's already white from my thighs down." "Not yet, a little more, a little more. A little more, it's still coming up until all your body is covered, then you're white." The monkey was keen, right, after all he was getting white, he saw it. He laughed. Like that, that tide rose and rose. Rose until here. "Hey, that's it, that's it, untie me! My body is already white." The cuscus said: "Not yet, your head is still black, not yet." The tide rose and rose. Rose and rose and rose until here. Like that, he was keen, right. "Hey, that's it, untie me, untie me, that's it! I'm all white!" The cuscus said: "Not yet, your head is still black, your face is still black." And the tide rose until here. The monkey said that he should untie him, but the cuscus didn't want to. The tide rose until here. The monkey said that he should untie him: "Hey, I'm already white, friend!" "Oh, not yet, this is still black, up from here you're still black." Like that, the tide rose and rose until here. The monkey asked, saying to untie him. "Oh, a little more." The tide rose and rose until his mouth, until his nose. It continued until the monkey disappeared, the tide surpassed him. Before long, bubbles came up. Bubbles came up. That monkey had died. Then the cuscus said: "After all you annoyed me to death, so I did like that to you."'

Glossed text

(1) *mindi=ta   me leki=bon   kusukusu=bon*
    like.that=NFIN TOP monkey=COM cuscus=COM
    'So, a monkey and a cuscus...'

(2) *kusukusu leki=at   paning*
    cuscus   monkey=OBJ ask
    'The cuscus asked the monkey:'

(3) *eh   leki   me pier   bo kai-rep=ta   merengguen=ta bo parin=te*
QUOT monkey TOP 1DU.IN go firewood-collect=NFIN gather=NFIN   go sell=NFIN
'"Hey, monkey, let's go gather firewood and sell it."'

(4) *mindi=ta   me leki   toni yuo*
like.that=NFIN TOP monkey say yes
'So the monkey said yes.'

(5) *mier se   bo kelak=ka   kai=at   rep*
3DU IAM go mountain=LAT firewood=OBJ collect
'They went to the forest to collect firewood.'

(6) *kai=at   rep=i   rep=i   rep=i   rep=i   me*
firewood=OBJ collect=PLNK collect=PLNK collect=PLNK collect=PLNK TOP
'Collected firewood…'

(7) *rep=i   rep=i   rep=i   rep=i merengguen terus mu he   kanie-n*
collect=PLNKcollect=PLNK collect=PLNK collect=PLNK gather then   3PL IAM tie-N
'Collected and collected, gathered [it], then they tied [it].'

(8) *kanie-n kanie-n o   poup-un   wa~ra~rip*
tie-N   tie-N   EMPH bundle-3POSS PROX~DISTR~DGR
'Tied and tied, oh, their bundles were big like this.'

(9) *ukir=te   sen putkon~kon*
measure=NFIN cent ten~each
'[They] measured, ten cents each.'

(10) *mu he   merengguen=ta me*
3PL IAM heap=NFIN   TOP
'They gathered [the firewood].'

(11) *leki   toni yo pi   he bo parin=te*
monkey say yes 1PL.IN IAM go sell=NFIN
'The monkey said: "Yes, let's go sell!"'

(12) *kusikusi toni yo me he et=at   di=marua*
cuscus   say yes TOP IAM canoe=OBJ CAUS=move.seawards
'The cuscus said: "Yes," so they moved the canoe seawards.'

(13) *et=at   di=marua   kai=at   di=sara*
canoe=OBJ CAUS=move.seawards firewood=OBJ CAUS=ascend
'Moved the canoe seawards, put in the firewood,'

(14) *kai=at   yal=i   marua   kuet=ta   me*
firewood=OBJ paddle=PLNK move.seawards bring=NFIN TOP
'paddled the firewood seawards, brought [it].'

(15) *leki   toni pi   tamandi=a o   wandi=a   yal=i   bo=et Tamisen-pis*
monkey say 1PL.IN how=FOC   EMPH like.this=FOC paddle=PLNK go=IRR Antalisa-side
'The monkey said: "How do we…?" "Oh, like this, paddle towards Antalisa."'

(16) *Tamisen-pis yal=i   bo=et*
Antalisa-side paddle=PLNK go=IRR
'"Paddle towards Antalisa."'

16

(17) *me mier se yal yal=ta me*
TOP 3DU IAM paddle paddl=NFIN TOP
'They paddled, paddled and then'

(18) *kusikusi wandi linglonglinglonglinglong*
cuscus like.this linglonglinglonglinglong
'the cuscus went like this: "Linglonglinglonglinglong."'
They have made a song to announce their arrival.

(19) *mindi karimun=at kuang*
like.that cape=OBJ pass
'Like that [they] passed the cape.'

(20) *kuang=ta me leng-kon=ka*
pass=NFIN TOP village-one=LAT
'Passed, to a village.'

(21) *leng nain Tarus me leng metko*
village like T. TOP village DIST.LOC
'A village like Tarus, that village.'

(22) *mindi=ta me mu kolak=ko toni eh yaki dari mana*
like.that=NFIN TOP 3PL mainland=LOC say QUOT monkey.MLY from.MLY where.MLY
'Like that, they at the mainland said: "Monkey from where?"'

(23) *kusikusi toni yaki dari Banda jual kayu satu ikat sepuluh*
cuscus say monkey.MLY from.MLY B. sell.MLY firewood.MLY one.MLY bundle.MLY ten.MLY
sen
cent.MLY
'The cuscus said: "Monkey from Banda, selling firewood, one bundle for ten cents."'

(24) *o kuru masara*
EMPH bring move.landwards
'"Oh, come and bring [it] here."'

(25) *mu he kuru masara me mu he yal=i kokir=ta me*
3PL IAM bring move.landwards TOP 3PL IAM paddle=PLNK near=NFIN TOP
'They brought [it] landwards, they paddled closer.'

(26) *pebis towari~wa-ten toni kai=at jie-t=kin o*
woman young~RED-AT say firewood=OBJ buy-T=VOL EMPH
'Young women said they wanted to buy firewood.'

(27) *canam wa or-kadok wa me kuskap=sawe*
man PROX back-side PROX TOP be.black=too
'"This man, this one in the back is too black."'

(28) *sabar-kadok yuwa=ba lebai bes pi ma=at kasu-t=et*
front-side PROX=FOC better good 1PL.IN 3SG=OBJ make.love-T=IRR
'"This one in the front is better, we should make love to him."'

(29) *sabar-kadok=a iren*
front-sideFOC be.white
'"The one in the front is white."'

17

(30) *mier se kai=at nawaruok=ta mu jie-n=i koyet*
3DU IAM firewood=OBJ unload=NFIN 3PL buy-N=PLNK finish
'They unloaded the firewood and they finished buying.'

(31) *monyet nak=nokidak habis mu opa toni ma me kuskap=tende*
monkey just=be.silent after.all 3PL ANA say 3SG TOP be.black=so
'The monkey was just silent. After all, those [girls] said he's black, so...'

(32) *ma he kademor*
3SG IAM angry
'He was angry.'

(33) *ma kai=at nawaruok=i koyet kusikusi toni yo pi he bo=et*
3SG firewood=OBJ unload=PLNK finish cuscus say yes 1PL.IN IAM go=IRR
'After he unloaded the firewood, the cuscus said: "Yes, let's go."'

(34) *mu he yal=ta me mulai nyanyi-un=at paruo*
3PL IAM paddle=NFIN TOP start song-3POSS=OBJ do
'They sailed and started doing their song.'

(35) *bo leng kodaet=ta me mu toni hei*
until village one.more=NFIN TOP 3PL say hey
'Until another village. They said: "Hey!"'

(36) *yaki dari mana*
monkey.MLY from.MLY where.MLY
'"Monkey from where?"'

(37) *o yaki dari Banda jual kayu satu ikat sepuluh sen*
EMPH monkey.MLY from.MLY B. sell.MLY firewood.MLY one.MLY bundle.MLY ten.MLY cent.MLY
'"Monkey from Banda, selling firewood for ten cents per bundle."'

(38) *o kuru masara kuru masara in jie-t=et*
EMPH bring move.landwards bring move.landwards 1PL.EX buy-T=IRR
'"Oh, bring [it] over here! Bring it over here and we'll buy."'

(39) *mu he yal=i masara*
3PL IAM paddle=PLNK move.landwards
'They paddled landwards.'

(40) *leki opa ma he koi bo or=ko opa me ma sabar=ko-ten*
monkey ANA 3SG IAM again go front=LOC earlier TOP 3SG fron=LOC-TEN
'That monkey he had gone to the back again, earlier he was in the front.'

(41) *masara me mu he kai=at*
move.landwards TOP 3PL IAM firewood=OBJ
'Moved landwards, they [unloaded] the firewood.'

(42) *pebis towari~wari marua eh lebai sabar-kadok yuwa=ba bes*
woman young~PL move.seawards QUOT better front-side PROX=FOC good
'Young women came seawards: "Better this one in the front!"'

(43) *ma rasa iren=ta metko or-kadok adih he bo kuskap~kap=tun*
3SG be.likeable be.white=NFIN DIST.LOC back-side INT.PEJ IAM go be.black~INTS=very

18

'"We like him, he's white. The one in the back, yech, [he's] very black."'

(44) *ma he malu=te nokidak*
3SG IAM shy=NFIN be.silent
'He was shy and silent.'

(45) *me ma kai=at   jie-n=i   koyet=ta   me newer=i koyet*
TOP 3SG firewood=OBJ buy-N=PLNK finish=NFIN TOP pay=PLNK finish
'After buying firewood, after paying,'

(46) *kusukusu toni pier   koi bo=et leng   kodaet   koi   bo parin=et*
cuscus   say 1DU.IN again go   village one.more again go sell=IRR
'the cuscus said: "Let's go again, let's sell at another village."'

(47) *mindi=ta   me mu he marua   karimun=at kuang=ta me*
like.that=NFIN TOP 3PL IAM move.seawards cape=OBJ   pass=NFIN TOP
'So they went seawards, passed a cape,'

(48) *monyet toni eh   mia eba ka me or=ko=te*
monkey say QUOT come then 2SG TOP back=LOC=IMP
'the monkey said: "Come, then you go in the back!'

(49) *an=a   koi sabar=et opa   mu toni sabar-kadok=a iren   sabar-kadok=a bes*
1SG=OBJ again front=IRR earlier 3PL say front-side=OBJ be.white fron-side=FOC good
'I go in the front again, earlier they said the one in the front is white, the one in the front is good.'

(50) *ka me or=ko   an=taet   bo sabar=et*
2SG TOP back=LOC 1SG=again go front=IRR
'You're in the back, I again go in the front.'

(51) *mier se baku.tukar=i koyet=ta   mulai yal*
3DU IAM exchange=PLNK finish=NFIN start paddle
'After exchanging [places, they] started paddling.'

(52) *linglonglinglonglinglong*
linglonglinglonglinglong
'"Linglonglinglonglinglong."'

Another four rounds follow where the cuscus and the monkey visit a village, the women comment on the appearance of both referring to their position in the boat, the monkey is offended, and the monkey asks the cuscus to swap places. After that, the cuscus gets fed up with the monkey.

(53) *kusukusu he jabul   to*
cuscus   IAM be.fed.up right
'The cuscus was fed up, right.'

(54) *ma habis bo or=ka=et   bo sabar=ka=et   bo or=ka=et   bo sabar ma-autak=at=a*
3SG after.all go back=LAT=IRR go front=LAT=IRR go back=LAT=IRR go front 3SG-alone=OBJ=FOC
me taruo~taruo
TOP say~DISTR
'After all he went from the stern to the bow to the stern to the bow, it was him (the monkey) who was a busybody.'

(55) *mindi=ta   me monyet tamandi=a paruo ka iren=et   o*
like.that=NFIN TOP monkey how=FOC   make 2SG white=IRR EMPH
'So the monkey: "How do you do [it], you're white."'

(56) *pier   ra   bo nain Tarus=ka masara-t=et*
2DU.IN move.path go like T.=LAT   move.landwards-T=IRR
'"We'll go landwards to, like, Tarus."'

(57) *warkin o   kararak*
tide   EMPH dry
'The tide was very low.'

(58) *Tarus=ka masara   eba era   ror=at   ar-kon-i   potmei karek=bon*
T.=LAT   move.landwards then move.up tree=OBJ CLF.STEM-one-QNT.OBJ cut.IMP string=COM
'[They] went landwards to Tarus, then [the cuscus said]: "Go up, cut one tree, and string!"'

(59) *met   me mena ka iren ka=at paruo me sama=i   nain an=kap*
DIST.OBJ TOP later 2SG white 2SG=OBJ make TOP same=PLNK like 1SG=SIM
'So later you'll be white, [we'll] make you. The same as me.'

(60) *an-nan mindi   to   an irenden   yuo*
1SG-too like.that right 1SG white-TEN yes
'"I also did like that, right, and I'm white, so..." "Yes."'

(61) *ma he sedawak=bon era   potma-n=i koyet bara   he sarua*
3SG IAM machete=COM move.up cut-N=PLNK finish descend IAM scrape
'He went up with a machete, after cutting he went down and scraped [the wood].'

(62) *sarua bo   belbel ma he kuru marua*
scrape until sharp 3SG IAM bring move.seawards
'Scraped until sharp; he brought [the poles] seawards.'

(63) *warkin kararak=te ma he kuru marua   wilak=ko usar*
tide   dry=NFIN   3SG IAM bring move.seawards sea=LOC   erect
'The tide was low, he brought [the poles] seawards and erected them by the sea.'

(64) *muk=i   muk=i   muk=i   ma he karan*
rock=PLNK rock=PLNK rock=PLNK 3SG IAM deep
'Rocked, rocked and rocked until it was deep.'

(65) *karan=ta   me kusikusi toni hei maru*
deep=NFIN TOP cuscus   say hey move.seawards.IMP
'It was deep, the cuscus said: "Hey, come seawards!"'

(66) *maru   mena an paruo ka iren*
move.seawards.IMP then 1SG make 2SG white
'Come seawards, then I'll make you white!'

(67) *monyet se marmar=i marua   me*
monkey IAM walk=PLNK move.seawards TOP
'The monkey walked seawards.'

(68) *watko   mambarei*
PROX.LOC stand.IMP
'"Stand here!"'

(69) *ma he metko mambara*
3SG IAM DIST.LOC stand
'He stood there.'

The monkey steps inside the cage the cuscus has built with the poles.

(70) *mambara me kusikusi he ma=at kanie*
stand IAM cuscus IAM 3SG=OBJ tie
'Stood, the cuscus tied him.'

(71) *kanien kor-un=ka mengga sara bo metko*
tie leg-3POSS=LAT DIST.LAT ascend go DIST.LOC
'Tied, from his legs up to there.'

(72) *o mena ka he iren o nawanggar*
EMPH later 2SG IAM white EMPH wait
'"Oh, later you'll be white, wait."'

(73) *mindi=ta me warkin se palom=i mahara laur=i*
like.that=NFIN TOP tide IAM spit=PLNK move.landwards rise=PLNK
'Like that, the tide rose splashing landwards.'

(74) *mahara warkin se mahara kor-un=ko*
move.landwards tide IAM move.landwards leg-3POSS=LOC
'Moved landwards, the tide moved landwards to his legs.'

(75) *mindi=ta monyet eih kor-an se iren kor-an se iren*
like.that=NFIN monkey INT leg-1SG.POSS IAM white leg-1SG.POSS IAM white
'Like that, the monkey went: "Hey, my feet are already white, my feet are already white!"'

(76) *an=at kahetmei o tok kaden-ca tebonggan tok iren=i koyet eba*
1SG=OBJ open.IMP EMPH not.yet body-2SG.POSS all yet white=PLNK finish then
'"Untie me!" "Oh, not yet, when your body is all white, then..."'

(77) *o warkin se sara bo watko*
EMPH tide IAM ascend until PROX.LOC
'The tide rose until here.'

(78) *watko=ta me monyet toni eih kor-an se iren ma he me an=at kahetmei*
PROX.LOC=NFIN TOP monkey say INT leg-1SG.POSS IAM white 3s IAM TOP 1SG=OBJ open.IMP
'Until here, the monkey said: "Hey, my legs are already white, that's it, untie me!"'

(79) *kusukusu toni tamba ma tok koi sara-n=taet=et*
cuscus say add 3SG yet again ascend-N=more=IRR
'The cuscus said: "It's still rising more."'

(80) *warkin opa laur*
tide ANA.DEM rise
'That tide rose.'

(81) *lau~laur=i sara he bo watko*
DISTR~rise=PLNK ascend IAM until PROX.DEM
'It rose until here.'

(82) *eih ma he me an se iren=ten   se kolkiem-an wangga bara   ma he iren*
INT 3SG IAM TOP 1SG IAM white=TEN IAM thigh-1SG   PROX.LAT descend 3SG IAM white
'"Hey, that's it, I'm white, it's already white from my thighs down."'

(83) *o   tok   tamba tamba*
EMPH not.yet add   add
'"Not yet, a little more, a little more."'

(84) *tamba ma tok sara   bo   eren-ca   tebonggan eba ka he iren*
add   3SG yet ascend until body-2SG.POSS all   then 2SG IAM white
'"A little more, it's still coming up until all your body [is covered], then you're white."'

(85) *ma he asik to   habis   ma iren=ten   ma kome=ta*
3SG IAM keen right after.all 3SG white=TEN 3SG see=NFIN
'He was keen, right, after all he was [becoming] white, he saw.'

(86) *ma he   rap~rap*
3SG IAM laugh~DISTR
'He laughed.'

(87) *mindi=ta   me warkin opa sara   laur=i   sara~sara*
like.that=NFIN TOP tide   ANA ascend rise=PLNK ascend~DISTR
'Like that, that tide rose and rose.'

(88) *sara   bo watko=ta   me*
ascend until PROX.LOC=NFIN TOP
'Rose until here.'

(89) *eih ma he me ma he me an=at   kahetmei*
INT 3SG IAM TOP 3SG IAM TOP 1SG=OBJ open.IMP
'"Hey, that's it, that's it, untie me!"'

(90) *eren-an   se iren*
body-1SG.POSS IAM white
'"My body is already white."'

(91) *o   kusikusi toni tok   nakal-ca   tok kuskap=ta ime tok   tok*
EMPH cuscus   say not.yet head-2SG.POSS still black=NFIN DIST not.yet not.yet
'The cuscus said: "Not yet, your head is still black, not yet."'

(92) *warkin lau~laur=i   sara~sara*
tide   DISTR~rise=PLNK ascend~DISTR
'The tide rose and rose.'

(93) *sara-n   sara-n   sara-n   bo   watko*
ascend-N ascend-N ascend-N until PROX.LOC
'Rose and rose and rose until here.'

(94) *o   mindi=ta   ma he asik to*
EMPH like.that=NFIN 3SG IAM keen right
'Like that, he was keen, right.'

(95) *eih ma he   me kahetmei kahetmei ma he   me*
INT 3SG IAM TOP open.IMP open.IMP 3SG IAM TOP
'"Hey, that's it, untie, untie, that's it!"'

(96) *an se iren=i   koyet*
1SG IAM white=PLNK finish
'"I'm all white!"'

(97) *kusukusu toni tok   nakal-ca   tok kuskap=ta ime kanggirar=ca tok kuskap*
cuscus   say not.yet head-2SG.POSS still black=NFIN DIST face-2SG.POSS still black
'The cuscus said: "Not yet, your head is still black, your face is still black."'

(98) *mindi=ta   me warkin sara   bo   watko*
like.that=NFIN TOP tide   ascend until PROX.LOC
'Like that the tide rose until here.'

(99) *ma toni ma=at   kahetma-t=et kusikusi suka-un   ge*
3SG say 3SG=OBJ open-T=IRR cuscus   like-3POSS no
'He said that [he should] untie him, [but] the cuscus didn't want.'

(100) *warkin sara   bo   watko*
tide   ascend until PROX
'The tide rose until here.'

(101) *ma toni ma=at   kahetma eih an se iren an se iren sobat*
3SG say 3SG=OBJ open   INT 1SG IAM white 1SG IAM white friend
'He said that [he should] untie him: "Hey, I'm already white, friend!"'

(102) *o   tok   wa tok kuskap wangga sara   me tok kuskap*
EMPH not.yet PROX still black   PROX.LAT ascend TOP still black
'Oh, not yet, this is still black, up from here [you're] still black.'

(103) *mindi warkin sara-n   sara-n   bo   watko*
like.that tide   ascend-N ascend-N until PROX
'Like that, the tide rose and rose until here.'

(104) *ma paning toni ma he ma=at   kahetma=te o   tamba*
3SG ask   say 3SG IAM 3SG=OBJ open=NFIN EMPH add
'He asked saying to untie him, "Oh, a little more."'

(105) *warkin sara-n   sara-n   bo   bol   terus bo   bustang*
tide   ascend-N ascend-N until mouth then until nose
'The tide rose and rose until [his] mouth, until [his] nose.'

(106) *ajar=i   bo   gosomin warkin se ma=at   nemies*
continue=PLNK until disappear tide   IAM 3SG=OBJ exceed
'It continued until [he] disappeared, the tide surpassed him.'

(107) *tik=ta   me karabubu se sara*
take.long=NFIN TOP bubble   IAM ascend
'Before long, bubbles came up.'

(108) *karabubu he sara-n   sara-n   o*
bubble   IAM ascend-N ascend-N EMPH
'Bubbles came up.'

23

(109) *monyet opa se lalat*
monkey ANA IAM die
'That monkey had died.'

(110) *mera ma toni habis ka paruo an sinsara jadi ka=at mindi*
then 3SG say after.all 2SG make 1SG half-dead so 2SG=OBJ like.that
'Then he said: "After all you annoyed me to death, so [I] did like that to you."'

2.4 The *tenggelele* ritual

In this text,[6] Kamarudin Gusek (K) and Fajaria Yarkuran (F) explain the *tenggelele* ritual, which is performed when a bride-to-be from outside the Karas Islands sets foot on the island for the first time. At the researcher's request, Kamarudin gives a historical introduction and Fajaria relates what happened during the last performance of this ritual. Note the heavy use of Papuan Malay in the introduction. The recording was made in the village building, in the researcher's office, on 4 March 2018.

Free translation

Kamarudin: 'At that time there was… A man went and found himself a friend. He found that friend, so that… Because he went to sea, there was a woman. If he wouldn't have gone to sea… He grabbed; he stole her. He just brought her to… so he didn't kill her. He needed her; he brought her so that they could become friends. He thought: "If I kill her, one day when I'm dead I'm alone here too. Because men and women, in the future, they must have descendants. So I shouldn't kill her, I bring her so that we'll have descendants. When I come and meet her family, I'll say that I don't kill her. I bring her to maintain, to become friends, so that one day there are descendants." So the family feel happy, there's a song that they like to sing. "Like that, you just steal." "True, I just steal." So that was the song, they sang: "You steal, oh. Tenggelele, oh. You're like the eagle. You're becoming like an eagle, stealing things and bringing them with you." So, I just speak until there, ah, now to Kur's mother.'

Fajaria: 'Then, a while ago, Botak went to marry in Makassar. He had married; he came back with his wife. He came and we did the ritual in the village. People already told us, saying: "Later Botak will bring his wife to land." So we prepared the offering and the two-pronged spear. After that, they came to the shore from the sea and we came to the beach from our homes. Some people came with the offering and the two-pronged spear and showed them to Botak's wife. They lifted the offering in the canoe and circled her three times with it. She chewed a little betel, she chewed, and after chewing they stabbed her with the two-pronged spear. After stabbing at her three times with the two-pronged spear we lowered her down on the beach. We lowered her down; she stepped on the sand. Then they put sand on her forehead. After putting sand on her forehead, we put the spear on her shoulder. We *tenggelele'd* her; we sang, did the *tenggelele*. Did that; then they put a coconut peel on the two-pronged spear because the tip of the spear was sharp. It was sharp, so we blocked the spear, we blocked it with coconut peel. We blocked it, so they did *tenggelele*. They sang: "Tenggelele o, steal, steal." They in the back sang: "Kuewa o, steal, steal." We walked from there.'

Kamarudin: 'Because he is stealing.'

Fajaria: 'We walked and walked until Botak's family's house. There, they extended a white cloth on the floor. They brought the plate with the what's-it's offering landwards, with a machete, a comb, a needle, palm oil and cotton on the plate. After that, they went calling names.' ('Calling names' is a ritual whereby a village elder calls out the names of Kalamang ancestors, families and places. Each name is responded to by

---

[6]Archived at `http://hdl.handle.net/10050/00-0000-0000-0004-1BDC-D@view`.

the crowd with a loudly exclaimed 'wolet!'.) 'That old person, he received her, received her in the tradition. He received her in the doorway and counted the ancestors. He counted the ancestors, first the hills. After first counting the hills, the families. After the families, the grandparents. After the grandparents, the uncles, the groom's father and mother, family, and it was finished. Then he got the comb and combed her hair. After that, he then put it down and got the needle. He broke the needle at her forehead. After breaking it, he threw it on the rooftop.'

Kamarudin: 'He broke it and she already forgot, she forgot her village.'

Fajaria: 'Like the memory of her village...'

Kamarudin: 'Isn't there any more.'

Fajaria: 'Her parents, her mother, her father, she already forgot. She entered the house and sat, we shook hands. They shook hands, after shaking hands with money gifts in them, they brought the *komanian* over and did the prayer for good wishes. The good wish prayer is like a prayer for them to be happy. So that their life is good; so that they don't fight. When finished, they served tea and food. After we drank tea and ate it was finished.'

Glossed text

(1) K: *waktu zaman metko   mambon*
         time era   DIST.LOC EXIST
         'At that time there was...'

(2) K: *ma he bo=te   taman-un   opa me koluk*
         3SG IAM go=NFIN friend-3POSS ANA TOP find
         'He went and found that friend of his.'

(3) K: *ma taman-un   met   koluk sehingga*
         3SG friend-3POSS DIST.OBJ find   so.that
         'He found that friend, so that...'

(4) K: *marua-t=et   pas=a   kon*
         move.seawards-T=IRR woman=FOC one
         'If he went to sea, there was a woman.'

(5) K: *marua-t=nin=et*
         move.seawards-T=NEG=IRR
         'If he wouldn't have gone to sea...'

(6) K: *ma narampas ma kuek=teba*
         3SG grab   3SG steal=PROG
         'He grabbed; he stole [her].'

(7) K: *ma kuet=teba   untuk jadi ma rua-t=nin*
         3SG bring=PROG for   so   3SG kill-T=NEG
         'He just brought her to... so he didn't kill [her].'

(8) K: *ma parlu ma kuet=te   supaya jadi   taman*
         3SG need 3SG bring=NFIN so.that become friend
         'He needed [her]; he brought [her] so that [they] could become friends.'

(9) K: *an rua-t=et kasur   kon kalo an lalat=et an-ahutak wa=barak*
         1SG kill-T=IRR tomorrow one if   1SG die=IRR 1SG-alone PROX=too
         '"If I kill [her], one day when I'm dead I'm alone here too."'

(10) K: *karena pas   canam wa   me kasur   keirko   musti ada   keterunan*
because woman man   PROX TOP tomorrow day.after.tomorrow must EXIST descendants
'"Because men and women, in the future, there must be descendants."'

(11) K: *jadi an-mun   rua=in=ta   eba an kuet=ta   eba supaya*
so   1SG-PROH kill=PROH=NFIN then 1SG bring=NFIN then so.that
'"So I shouldn't kill [her], I bring [her] so that"'

(12) F: *keturunan-un   mambon*
descendant-1PL.EX.POSS EXIST
'"we have descendants."'

(13) K: *an kuru luk=te   keluarga ketemu an toni wa   me an rua-t=nin*
1SG bring come=NFIN family   meet   1SG say PROX TOP 1SG kill-T=NEG
'"[When] I come and meet her family, I'll say that I don't kill [her]."'

(14) K: *an untuk keir=et   untuk jadi   taman supaya kasur   kon keterunan*
1SG for   maintan=IRR for   become friend so.that tomorrow one descendant
'"I bring her to maintain, to become friends, so that one day [there are] descendants.'

(15) K: *me=tauna mu narasa gembira ada   nyanyian yang mereka ada   laksana*
DIST=so 3SG feel   happy EXIST song   that 3PL   EXIST like
'So they feel happy, there's a song that they like.'

(16) K: *mindi=ten   me ka kuek=teba*
like.that=TEN TOP 2SG steal=PROG
'"Like that, you just steal."'

(17) K: *memang an kuek=teba*
true   1SG steal=PROG
'"True, I just steal."'

(18) K: *me=tauna nyanyian mu toni ka kuek o*
DIST-so song   3PL say 2SG steal EMPH
'So [that was] the song, they sang: "You steal, oh."'

(19) K: *tenggelele o*
tenggelele EMPH
'"Tenggelele, oh."

(20) K: *ka nain tenggeles=kap*
2SG like eagle=SML
'"You're like the eagle."'

(21) K: *ka bo tenggeles=kap=te don kuek=te   kuru luk=te   yuwa*
2SG go eagle=SML=NFIN thing steal=NFIN bring come=NFIN PROX
'"You're becoming like an eagle, stealing things and bringing them [with you]."'

(22) K: *jadi sampai di   situ saja, ah, mama Kur*
so   until   LOC DIST just INT mother K.
'So, just until there, ah, Kur's mother.'

(23) F: *eba wis   me Botak bo Makassar=ko   kion*
then yesterday TOP B.   go Makassar=LOC marry

26

'Then yesterday Botak went to marry in Makassar.'

(24) F: *kion=ta   kiun=bon   mia*
marry=NFIN wife.3POSS=COM come
'Married; he came with his wife.'

(25) F: *mia=ta   in   leng=ko   sayer-un=at   paruo*
come=NFIN 1PL.EX village=LOC ritual-3POSS=OBJ do
'[He] came; we did its ritual in the village.'

(26) F: *mu he   taruo toni mena Botak kieun=at   kuru masara-t=kin*
3PL IAM say   say later B.   wife.3POSS=OBJ bring move.landwards-T=VOL
'They already told, saying: "Later Botak will bring his wife to land."'

(27) F: *jadi in   se buoksarun kasalong   met   se siap*
so   1PL.EX IAM offering   two.point.spear DIST.OBJ IAM ready
'So we prepared the offering, the two-pronged spear.'

(28) F: *koyet mu he luk in   se mia*
finish 3PL IAM come 1PL.EX IAM come
'After that, they came [to the shore from the sea], we came [to the beach from our homes].'

(29) F: *mu he buoksarun=bon kasalong=bon=at   bo mia=te   mat   nawarik=te*
3PL IAM offering=COM   two.point.spear=COM=OBJ go come=NFIN 3SG.OBJ show=NFIN
'They came with the offering and the two-pronged spear and showed her [Botak's wife].'

(30) F: *buoksarun=bon sara   et   kit=ko   mat   wan-karuok-i   ko=naurar*
offering=COM   ascend canoe top=LOC 3SG.OBJ time-three-QNT.OBJ APPL-circle
'Lifted the offering in the canoe and circled her three times with it.'

(31) F: *bolon-i   pak pak pak=i   koyet mu mat   koi kahalong=ki   konamin*
little-QNT.OBJ chew chew chew=PLNK finish 3PL 3SG.OBJ then two.point.spear=INS stab.at
'[She] chewed a little, chewed, after chewing they stabbed her with the two-pronged spear.'
This is not actual stabbing, but making a stabbing movement close to the new spouse.

(32) F: *kahalong=ki   wan-karuok-i   konamin=i koyet mat nawaruok*
two.point.spear=INS time-three-QNT.OBJ stab.at=PLNK finish 3SG unload
'After stabbing at [her] three times with the two-pronged spear we lowered her down on the beach.'

(33) F: *mat   nawaruok=i bara   ma os=at   teitei*
3SG.OBJ unload=PLNK descend 3SG sand=OBJ step.on
'Lowered her down, she stepped on the sand.'

(34) F: *mu koi os=at   di=timbang-un=ko*
3PL then sand=OBJ CAUS=forehead-3POSS=LOC
'Then they put sand on her forehead.'

(35) F: *os=at   di=timbang-un=ko=i   koyet*
sand=OBJ CAUS=forehead-3POSS=LOC=PLNK finish
'After putting sand on her forehead,'

(36) F: *kasalong=at   di=sara   bikiem-un=ko*
two.point.spear=OBJ CAUS=ascend shoulder-3POSS=LOC

27

'[we] put the spear on her shoulder.'

(37) F: *mat   tenggelele he menyanyi tenggelele=at   paruo*
3SG.OBJ tenggelele IAM sing   tenggelele=OBJ do
'[We] tenggeleled her, [we] sang, did the tenggelele.'

(38) F: *paruo-n mu he koi wat   pes=at di=kahalong   siep-un=ko   karena*
do-N   3PL IAM then coconut peel=OBJ CAUS=two.point.spear tip-3POSS=LOC because
kahalong   siep-un   kang
two.point.spear tip-3POSS sharp
'Did [that], then they put a coconut peel on the two-pronged spear because the tip of the spear
was sharp.'

(39) F: *kang=tenden kahalong-namot   wat   pes=kin   namot*
sharp=so   two.point.spear-block coconut peel=POSS block
'[It] was sharp, so [we] blocked the spear, blocked [it] with coconut peel.'

(40) F: *wat   pes=kin   namot jadi mu he tenggelele=at   paruo*
coconut peel=POSS block so   3PL IAM tenggelele=OBJ do
'Blocked [it], so they did tenggelele.'

(41) F: *mu toni tenggelele o kuek kuek*
3PL say tenggelele o steal steal
'They said [sang]: "Tenggelele o, steal, steal."'

(42) F: *me mu ep-kadok toni kuewa o kuek kuek in   se mengga marmar*
TOP 3PL back-side say kuewa o steal steal 1PL.EX IAM DIST.LAT walk
'They in the back said [sang]: "Kuewa o, steal, steal." We walked from there.'

(43) K: *karena   ma kuek=teba*
because 3SG steal=PROG
'Because he is stealing.'

(44) F: *marmar marmar=i terus se menuju bo Botak mu kewe-un=ko   metko   mu don*
walk   walk=PLNK then IAM towards until B.   3PL house-3POSS=LOC DIST.LOC 3PL cloth
iriskap=at parara-n
white=OBJ extend.on.floor-N
'[We] walked and walked until Botak's family's house. There they extended a white cloth on
the floor.'

(45) F: *pingan buoksarun neba=kin=at di=masara   sadawak=bon sisir=bon*
plate offering   PH=POSS=OBJ CAUS=move.landwards machete=COM comb=COM
'[They] brought the plate with the what's-it's offering landwards, with a machete and a comb.'

(46) F: *sin=bon   mingtun=bon kapas=bon pingan ner-un=ko*
needle=COM palm.oil=COM cotton=COM plate in-3POSS=LOC
'And a needle and palm oil and cotton on the plate.'

(47) F: *koyet mu bo wolnelebor*
finish 3PL go call.names
'After that, they went calling names.'

'Calling names' is a ritual whereby a village elder calls out the names of Kalamang ancestors, fam-
ilies and places. Each name is responded to by the crowd with a loudly exclaimed 'wolet!'.

(48) F: *sontum tua-ten opa me ma mat   tarima tarima adat=ko*
person old-AT ANA TOP 3SG 3SG.OBJ receive receive adat=LOC
'That old person, he received her, received [her] in the tradition.'

(49) F: *anggas=ko tarima wol=at   narekin*
door=LOC receive ancestor=OBJ count
'Received [her] in the doorway, counted the ancestors.'

(50) F: *wol=at   narekin=ta me turing=a borara*
ancestor=OBJ count=NFIN TOP hill=FOC first
'Counted the ancestors, first the hills.'

(51) F: *turing=at bora-n=i   narekin=i   koyet marga*
hill=OBJ first-N=PLNK count=PLNK finish family
'After first counting the hills, the families.'

(52) F: *marga koyet koi tara-mur*
family finish then grandparent-PL
'After the families, the grandparents.'

(53) F: *tara-mur   koyet koi esmumur esun   emun   keluarga koyet*
grandparent-PL finish then uncles father.3POSS mother.3POSS family finish
'After the grandparents, the uncles, [the groom]'s father and mother, family, finished.'

(54) F: *ma koi sisir=at   jie-n westal-un=at   sisir*
3SG then comb=OBJ get-N hair-3POSS=OBJ comb
'Then he got the comb; combed her hair.'

(55) F: *koyet koi di=bara-n   sin=at   jie-n*
finish then CAUS=descend-N needle=OBJ get-N
'Finished, then put it down and got the needle.'

(56) F: *sin=at   timbang-un=ko   kawarma*
needle=OBJ forehead-3POSS=LOC break
'[He] broke the needle at her forehead.'

(57) F: *kawarma-n=i koyet paruak=i   seng-keit=ko*
break-N=PLNK finish throw.aside=PLNK roof-top=LOC
'After breaking [he] threw it on the rooftop.'

(58) K: *paruak=te   ma he mamun ma leng-un   mamun*
throw.aside=NFIN 3SG IAM leave 3SG village-3POSS leave
'Broke it, she already forgot, she forgot her village.'

(59) F: *nain konenen-un   leng-un*
like remember-NMLZ village-3POSS
'Like the memory of her village...'

(60) K: *saerak*
NEG.EXIST
'Isn't there [anymore].'

(61) F: *orang tua-un emun   esun   ma he konawaruo*
person old-3POSS mother.3POSS father.3POSS 3SG IAM forget
'Her parents, her mother, her father, she already forgot.'

29

(62) F: *me ma he masuk=i kewe-neko melelu in se tan-un=at kinkin*
TOP 3SG IAM enter=PLNK house-in sit 1PL.EX IAM hand-3POSS=OBJ hold
'She entered the house and sat, we shook hands.'

(63) F: *mu se tang-un=at kinkin se sudaka kinkin=i koyet*
3PL IAM hand-3POSS=OBJ hold IAM money.gift hold=PLNK finish
'They shook hands, after shaking hands with money gifts in them,'

(64) F: *koi komanian di=masara salamat-un=at paruo*
then ? CAUS=move.landwards good.wish.prayer-3POSS=OBJ do
'then [they] brought the *komanian* over and did the prayer for good wishes.'

(65) F: *salamat me nain doa supaya mier sanang=et*
good.wish.prayer TOP like prayer so.that 3DU happy=IRR
'The good wish prayer is like a prayer so that they are happy.'

(66) F: *mier hidup-un bes mu-mun naras~naras=in*
3DU life-3POSS good 3PL-PROH fight~DISTR=PROH
'[So that] their life is good; they don't fight.'

(67) F: *koyet mu koi ter=at maraouk muap=at maraouk*
finish 3SG then tea=OBJ serve food=OBJ serve
'[When] finished, then they served tea, served food.'

(68) F: *in ter-na-n=i koyet muap=i koyet se koyet*
1PL.EX tea-consume-N=PLNK finish eat=PLNK finish IAM finish
'After we drank tea and ate it was finished.'

2.5 Nutmeg and mace cultivation

The cultivation of nutmeg is an important part of income for the inhabitants of the Karas Islands. At the researcher's request, Kamarudin Gusek explains aspects of his choice of nutmeg cultivation in this text.[7] The recording was made in the researcher's office in the village building on 25 March 2017.

Free translation

'Nutmeg: first, we weed a place. We weed a place to make a garden. We can plant things. We tie a fence, because in this Kalamang area there are many pigs. Then we make a garden. Cassava, banana, yellow taro or sweet potato we plant. Until we get all the food. Because we look for a location where we can plant nutmeg. Then we plant nutmeg. Fifty or one hundred seeds we plant. Normally we plant seeds like that. Or we already grow a seedling, a seed that has already grown. Normally, some die, some grow, so... We always keep watch; we weed... We keep watch, approximately we plant for four years, sometimes until five years. It already fruits! Up till six years, wow, this nutmeg has nice fruits. The first year we get two hundred, three hundred. It continues fruiting. The following year up till four hundred. The following year again already up till five hundred. Those small ones have grown. Then we go harvest. When they all carry fruit we harvest. We go harvest until ten thousand fruits. One season, ten thousand fruits. So if it's close to ten thousand, we make a drying rack. If we can dry on a drying rack, it's better we do so. We get the flower, bring it home.' (By flower is meant the aril: the red mace that sits around the nutmeg.) 'We go harvest the fruit. We go and make a hook. Some climb up, some sit below splitting.' (The brown nutmeg

---

[7]Archived at `http://hdl.handle.net/10050/00-0000-0000-0004-1BF1-6@view`.

seed is surrounded by the red mace, which is in turn surrounded by a yellow fruit. This fruit is split open right after it is harvested. The mace is taken off later, at home.) 'Split and split and split and split and split. We bring them back and then we sit taking off the arils. After taking off the arils, if the sun is hot, then we get the arils and dry them in the sun. We bring them to dry, those arils. We dry them and we dry the seeds too. If we dry three or four times it's already dry. You know, the flower dries quickly as long as the sun is hot. It dries well. Then the nutmeg too, if it's good and ripe… As for the seeds, when they are dried well… There are nutmegs that shake and that don't shake. There are nutmegs that knock and that don't knock.' (Nutmegs that are loose in their shells fetch a higher price. You can hear this by shaking the nutmeg. To loosen the nutmeg from the shell, people knock it on a hard surface.) 'Those that shake have one price, those that don't shake have another price. As for the flowers, the price is higher than that for the seeds. So if we can, we sell the flowers first. Because the flowers don't last long. Then later, people sell the seeds.'

Glossed text

(1) *sayang pertama tok go=at   masir=et*
nutmeg first   yet place=OBJ weed=IRR
'Nutmeg: first, weed a place.'

(2) *go=at   masir=te   untuk lahan amdir*
place=OBJ weed=NFIN for   land   garden
'Weed a place to make a garden.'

(3) *pi   bisa don-koya-n*
1PL-IN can thing-plant-N
'We can plant things.'

(4) *tal-kanie karena   daera Kalamang wa   me pep reidak*
fence-tie because area   Kalamang PROX TOP pig many
'[We] tie a fence, because in this Kalamang area there are many pigs.'

(5) *terus pi he amdir=at   paruo*
then we IAM garden=OBJ make
'Then we make a garden.'

(6) *panggala ye atau im   ye pasiem   terus yap.seran   pi   he koya-n*
cassava   or or   banana or yellow.taro then sweet.potato 1PL.IN IAM plan-N
'Cassava, banana, yellow taro or sweet potato we plant.'

(7) *sampe mendak=i   mindi bo=te   pi   he muap met   rep=i   koyet*
until like.that=PLNK like.that until=NFIN 1PL.IN IAM food DIST.OBJ get=PLNK finish
'Until we get all the food.'

(8) *karena pi   kome=te   lokasi   untuk bisa sayang*
because 1PL.IN looke=NFIN location for   can nutmeg
'Because we look for a location where [we] can [plant] nutmeg.'

(9) *terus pi   sayang=at   koya-n*
then 1PL.IN nutmeg=OBJ plant-N
'Then we plant nutmeg.'

(10) *bibit reitkon   ye atau purap ye pi   he koyan*
seed one.hundred or or   fifty   or 1PL.IN IAM plant

'Fifty or one hundred seeds we plant.'

(11) *biasa   mindi   me tang-un=at   koya-n*
normally like.that TOP seed-3POSS=OBJ plant-N
'Normally [we] plant seeds like that.'

(12) *atau pi   he nabeiding=ten   ma he koskos=ten*
or   1PL.IN IAM grow.seedling=TEN 3SG IAM grow=TEN
'Or we already grow a seedling, it has already grown.'

(13) *ikon biasa   lalat ikon ma he kos   jadi*
some normally die   some 3SG IAM grow so
'Normally, some die, some grow, so...'

(14) *selalu pi   jaga   masir*
always 1PL.IN keep.watch weed
'We always keep watch; [we] weed...'

(15) *jaga   kirakira   pi   koya-n=i   menjalang tanggon-kansuor kadan   sampe*
keep.watch approximately 1PL.IN plant-N=PLNK towards   year-four   sometimes until
tanggon-ap
year-five
'[We] keep watch, approximately we plant for four years, sometimes until five years.'

(16) *ma he tep o*
3SG IAM fruit EMPH
'It already fruits!'

(17) *sampe tanggon-raman uh sayang wa me tep-un   se rasa*
until   year-six   INT nutmeg PROX TOP fruit-3POSS IAM like
'Up till six years, wow, this nutmeg has nice fruits.'

(18) *tanggon pertama pi   rep=te   reit-eir=et   reit-karuok=et*
year   first   1PL.IN get=NFIN hundred-two=IRR hundred-three=IRR
'The first year we get two hundred, three hundred.'

(19) *ma he tep=i   pareware tep=i   pareware*
3SG IAM fruit=PLNK follow.DUR fruit=PLNK follow.DUR
'It continues fruiting.'

(20) *tanggon berikut lagi   sampe reit-kansuor=et*
year   follow again until   hundred-four=IRR
'The following year up till four hundred.'

(21) *tanggon berikut lagi   me he koi sampe reit-ap=et*
year   follow again TOP IAM then until   hundred-five=IRR
'The following year again already up till five hundred.'

(22) *kinkin-un   opa sara=te*
small-3POSS ANA ascend=NFIN
'Those small ones have grown.'

(23) *pi   he koi sara*
1PL.IN IAM then ascend

32

'Then we go harvest.'

(24) *tep-un=bon=i   koyet pi   he koser=et   me*
fruit-3POSS=COM=PLNK finish 1PL.IN IAM harvest.fruit=IRR TOP
'[When they] all carry fruit we harvest.'

(25) *pi   bo rep=et   me sampe salak*
1PL.IN go harvest=IRR TOP until   ten.thousand
'We go harvest until ten thousand.'

(26) *musim kon-i   me salak-kon=et*
season one-QNT.OBJ TOP ten.thousand-one=IRR
'One season, ten thousand.'

(27) *jadi kalo ma he   bo salak=et*
so   if   3SG IAM go ten.thousand=IRR
'So if it's close to ten thousand,'

(28) *pi   he karuar=at   paruo-n*
1PL.IN IAM drying.rack=OBJ make-N
'we make a drying rack.'

(29) *me bisa pi   karuar=et lebai pi   karuar=teba=et*
TOP can 1PL.IN dry=IRR   better 1PL.EX dry=PROG=IRR
'If we can dry on a drying rack, it's better we do so.'

(30) *bunga-un=a   jie-n kuru mia kewe=ko*
flower-3POSS=FOC get-N bring come house=LOC
'[We] get the flower, bring it home.'
By flower is meant the aril: the red mace that sits around the nutmeg.

(31) *pi he bo koser*
1PL IAM go harvest.fruit
'We go harvest the fruit.'

(32) *pi   bo ser=at   paruo=te*
1PL.IN go hook=OBJ make=NFIN
'We go and make a hook.'

(33) *ikon saran   ikon elak=ko   melelu parair*
some ascend-N some bottom=LOC sit   split
'Some climb up, some sit below splitting.'
The brown nutmeg seed is surrounded by the red mace, which is in turn surrounded by a yellow fruit. This fruit is split open right after it is harvested. The mace is taken off later, at home.

(34) *parair parair parair parair parair*
split   split   split   split   split
'Split and split and split and split and split.'

(35) *kuru ecie-n   pi   he koi kosarun=at jie-n melelu*
bring return-N 1PL.IN IAM then aril=OBJ   get-N sit
'[We] bring it back and then we sit taking [off] the arils.'

(36) *kosarun=at jie-n jie-n jie-n jie-n koyet*
aril=OBJ   get-N get-N get-N get-N finish
'After taking off the arils.'

(37) *yuon lalang pi   he koi kosarun jie=ta   yuon-keit=ko masa-n*
sun hot   1PL.IN IAM again aril   get=NFIN sun-top=LOC dry-N
'[If] the sun is hot, then we get the arils and dry them in the sun.'

(38) *deir=i   masa-t=et kosarun opa me*
brin=PLNK dry-T=IRR aril   ANA TOP
'Bring to dry, those arils.'

(39) *masa-n tang-un-nan   masa-n*
dry-N   seed-3POSS-too dry-N
'Dry, dry its seeds too.'

(40) *pi   masa=te   wan-karuok ye wan-kansuor masa-t=et ma he   kararak*
1PL.IN dry=NFIN time-three or time-four   dry-T=IRR 3SG IAM dry
'If we dry three or four times it's already dry.'

(41) *kan   bunga-un   me cepat asal   yuon lalang=et*
you.know flower-3POSS TOP quick as.long.as sun   hot=IRR
'You know, the flower is quick as long as the sun is hot.'

(42) *ma he   kararak bes*
3SG IAM dry   good
'It dries well.'

(43) *terus sayang-nan ma sawaun bes=ten=et   me*
then nutmeg-too 3SG old   good=TEN=IRR TOP
'Then the nutmeg too, if it's good and ripe...'

(44) *tang-un   me ma he kararak=te bes*
seed-3POSS TOP 3SG IAM dry=NFIN   good
'As for the seeds, [when] it's dried well...'

(45) *goyang-ten terus goyang=nin-ten*
shake-AT   then shake=NEG-AT
'[There are nutmegs] that shake and that don't shake.'

(46) *katok-ten terus katok=nin-ten*
knock-AT then knock=NEG-AT
'[There are nutmegs] that knock and that don't knock.'
Nutmegs that are loose in their shells fetch a higher price. You can hear this by shaking the nutmeg.
To loosen the nutmeg from the shell, people knock it on a hard surface.

(47) *goyang-ten harga-un   sontur kon goyang=nin-ten harga-un   sontur   kon*
shake-AT   price-3POSS example one shake=NEG-AT   price-3POSS example one
'Those that shake have one price, those that don't shake have one price.'

(48) *bunga-un   me harga-un   main   me tang-un=at   lebe*
flower-3POSS TOP price-3POSS 3SG.POSS TOP seed-3POSS=OBJ exceed
'As for its flowers, its price is higher than [that for] its seeds.'

(49) *jadi kalo bisa pi   tok bora-n=i   bunga-un=at parein*
so   if   can   1PL.IN yet first-N=PLNK flower=OBJ   sell
'So if [we] can, we sell the flowers first.'

(50) *karena bunga-un   ma tahan=i   tik=nin*
because flower-3POSS 3SG last=PLNK long=NEG
'Because its flowers don't last long.'

(51) *mena koi   sontum tang-un=at   parein=et*
later   then people seed-3POSS=OBJ sell=IRR
'Then later, people sell its seeds.'

References

Anceaux, Johannes Cornelis. 1958. Languages of the Bomberai Peninsula: Outline of a linguistic map. *Nieuw-Guinea Studiën* 2. 109–121.

Comrie, Bernard, Martin Haspelmath & Balthasar Bickel. 2015. *The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig. `https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules`.

Cowan, H. 1953. *Voorlopige resultaten van een ambtelijk taalonderzoek in Nieuw-Guinea*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.

Cowan, H. 1960. Nadere gegevens betreffende de verbreiding der West Papoease taalgroep (Vogelkop, Nieuw-Guinea). *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 116(3). 350–364.

Smits, Leo & CL Voorhoeve. 1998. The J.C. Anceaux collection of wordlists of Irian Jaya languages B: Non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages. Part II. *Irian Jaya Source Material* (10).

Visser, Eline. 2020a. *A grammar of Kalamang: The Papuan language of the Karas Islands*. Lund University dissertation. `https://portal.research.lu.se/portal/en/publications/a-grammar-of-kalamang(0773ce4b-7791-4667-8dae-ca598532ba89).html#Overview`.

Visser, Eline. 2020b. Kalamang dictionary. *Dictionaria* 13. 1–2737. `https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4297474`. `https://dictionaria.clld.org/contributions/kalamang`.

Visser, Eline. 2020c. *The Kalamang collection: An archive of linguistic and cultural material from Karas*. Lund: Lund University Humanities Lab. `http://hdl.handle.net/10050/00-0000-0000-0003-C3E8-1@view`.

Voorhoeve, C. L. 1975. Central and Western Trans-New Guinea phylum languages. In Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), *New Guinea area languages and language study volume 1: Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene*, vol. 38 (Pacific Linguistics: Series C 38), 345–460. Canberra: Research School of Pacific & Asian Studies, Australian National University.