

**A text in the Bobongko language  
(Central Sulawesi, Indonesia)  
with sound**

told by  
Nurlan Andy Massa

recorded, transcribed, glossed and translated by  
David Mead

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## LANGUAGES

Subject language : Bobongko  
Language of materials : English, Bobongko

## DESCRIPTION

'The Story of Monkey and Turtle,' a thirty-four sentence folktale in the Bobongko language of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, is presented with morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and English free translation. This text, which originally appeared in print in 2001, is published here for the first time with the original sound recording electronically embedded in the portable document format (pdf) file.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction; Text; Notes on the text; List of abbreviations; Notes about the speaker and text collection; References.

## SOURCE

This story was originally published on pages 83–88 of: Mead, David. 2001. A preliminary sketch of the Bobongko language. *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics, part 7* (NUSA Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia, 49), edited by Wyn D. Laidig, 61–94. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya.

## VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [31 August 2010] Story originally recorded January 2001; transcribed, translated and glossed January and February 2001; minor updates August 2010.

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# A text in the Bobongko language (Central Sulawesi, Indonesia) with sound

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## Introduction

Bobongko is a language belonging to the Saluan-Banggai microgroup. Bobongko is spoken by an estimated 1500 speakers divided between the villages of Lembanato and Tumbuwaha in the Togian Islands, located in the Tomini Bay of Sulawesi, Indonesia.

The following folktale, ‘The Story about Monkey and Turtle,’ was told by Nurlan Andy Massa. At the time this story was recorded in January 2001, he was forty-three years old.

This story first appeared in print as a supplement to “A preliminary sketch of the Bobongko language” (Mead 2001). The reader is referred to this article for additional information about the grammar of Bobongko. The text is published here for the first time with sound.

For the most part, orthographic conventions adopted for this text follow Indonesian, viz. the palatal affricate /tʃ/ is written as *j*, the palatal approximant /j/ is written as *y*, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is written as *ny*, and the velar nasal /ŋ/ is written as *ng*. The letter *f* is used to symbolize a bilabial fricative /ɸ/ which varies in actual articulation between [ɸ], [β] and [h]. Glottal stop is symbolized word-medially and word-finally by an apostrophe (’). For practical reasons (lack of solid data), glottal stop is not symbolized word-initially, even though there is evidence to suggest that glottal stop contrasts with its absence in this position (Mead 2001:66–67).

Abbreviations used to gloss the text are listed following the story.

The spoken version of this text contains six instances of repaired speech. Repaired speech is indicated by including the material in square brackets, and has been left unglossed. See sentence (1) for the first instance.

To listen to the text in its entirety, click on the red speaker icon (play time is approximately three and a half minutes):



To listen to an individual sentence, click the small speaker icon which appears below the sentence number.

**Text**

- (1) *I ande' boi kalapuang [no...] nosangalu.*  
 PN monkey and turtle RLZD:be\_friends  
 Monkey and Turtle were friends.

- (2) *Jadi nosangalu ka'a, no-tugal lampi'.*  
 so RLZD:be\_friends this RLZD:ACT-plant banana  
 So they being friends, they planted bananas.

- (3) *Bagitu mo-tugal lampi' ka'a,*  
 like\_that UNRZ:ACT-plant banana this  
 When they were planting bananas,

*nako nom-bungko' samasama,*  
 RLZD:go RLZD:ACT-dig\_up together  
 they went and dug up (a banana plant) together,

*[anu i ande' pu'u...]* *anu i kalapuang pu'un-nyo,*  
 REL PN turtle trunk-3sG  
 Turtle's was the trunk,

*anu i ande' tu'-nyo.*  
 REL PN monkey top-3sG  
 Monkey's was the top.

- (4) *Jadi bagitu t[in]ugal,*  
 so like\_that RLZD.INV:plant  
 So when it was planted.

*nimbua' mai,*  
 RLZD:bear\_fruit hither  
 it was fruiting out,

*[anu i ande'...]* *anu i ande' inate,*  
 REL PN monkey RLZD:die  
 Monkey's died,

*anu i kalapuang inimbua' k[in]opian sampe inara.*  
 REL PN turtle RLZD:bear\_fruit RLZD:good until RLZD:ripe  
 Turtle's fruited well until it was ripe.

- (5) *Jadi bagitu mong-ala-mo bua'-nyo,*  
 so like\_that UNRZ:ACT-fetch-PERF fruit-3sG  
 so when she was about to get the fruit,

- i kalapuang o-penek tingka-tingkayang mba' poko'ala,*  
 PN turtle UNRZ.INV-climb REDP-on\_back NEG able  
 Turtle was climbing on her back, she was not able,
- o-penek ingki-'ingkili' mba' poko'ala,*  
 UNRZ.INV-climb REDP-on\_side NEG able  
 she was climbing on her side she was not able,
- o-penek kampa-kampa' mba' poko'ala.*  
 UNRZ.INV-climb REDP-on\_stomach NEG able  
 she was climbing on her stomach she was not able.
- (6) *Nara ia nako non-tiang i ande'.*  
 forced 3s RLZD:go RLZD:ACT-invite PN monkey  
 She was forced to go call Monkey.
- (7) *Kon-nyo, "Ande', penek-kakon-nai pe'e lampi'-ku."*  
 say-3sG monkey climb-BEN-hither INCOMP banana-1sG  
 She said, "Monkey, please climb up for my bananas."
- (8) *Jadi nontoka mai ande' p[in]enek-nyo.*  
 so RLZD:come hither monkey RLZD.INV:climb-3sG  
 So Monkey came and climbed it.
- (9) *Bagitu p[in]enek-nyo,*  
 like\_that RLZD.INV:climb-3sG  
 When he had climbed it
- kon-nyo, "Ne-pe'e, da-ku-tontan-i."*  
 say-3sG don't-INCOMP still-UNRZ.INV.1sA-taste-LP  
 he said, "Patience, I'm still tasting it first."
- (10) *Koi kalapuang, "Dabu'akon-o mai asi."*  
 say turtle drop-PERF hither also  
 Said Turtle, "Drop some hither too."
- (11) *Kon-nyo, "Ne-pe'e, da-o-tontan-i."*  
 say-3sG don't-INCOMP still-UNRZ.INV-taste-LP  
 He said, "Patience, it's still being tasted."
- (12) *Sampe iningkot buah'-u lampi' k[in]aan-nyo terus.*  
 until RLZD:finished fruit-GEN banana RLZD.INV:eat-3sG continually  
 Until the bananas were finished off he ate them continuously.
- (13) *Bagitu, ningkot-o k[in]aan-nyo,*  
 like\_that RLZD:finished-PERF RLZD.INV:eat-3sG  
 When he had finished eating them,

- kon-nyo*, “*Buka payung-ung.*”  
say-3sG open headcloth-3sG  
he said, “Open your headcloth.”
- (14) *Bagitu b[in]juka i kalapuang,*  
like\_that RLZD.INV:open PN turtle  
When Turtle had opened her headcloth
- d[in]abu’akon-nyo mai ungka’ nya’u-nyo.*  
RLZD.INV:drop-3sG hither only feces-3sG  
he dropped only his feces.
- (15) *Terpaksa, i kalapuang ka’a, no-lio daya*  
as\_a\_result PN turtle this RLZD:ACT-seek method  
As a result, Turtle sought some way
- o-pate-i-nyo i ande’.*  
UNRZ.INV-kill-LP-3sG PN monkey  
to kill Monkey.
- (16) *P[in]ate-an-nyo, n-alap-akon-nyo polau,*  
RLZD.INV:die-LP-3sG RLZD.INV-fetch-BEN-3sG stake  
She killed him, she fetched stakes for him
- bo ta’je t[in]a’an-an-nyo polau [i kalapua...] i ande’.*  
and afterward RLZD.INV:set-LP-3sG stake PN monkey  
and then she set them for Monkey.
- (17) *Ningkot t[in]a’an-an-nyo polau,*  
RLZD:finished RLZD.INV:set-LP-3sG stake  
Having finished setting the stakes,
- i-laya’an-nyo mule’ i ande’ no-menek*  
RLZD.INV-call-LP-3sG again PN monkey RLZD:ACT-climb  
She called Monkey again (and) he climbed.
- (18) *Bagitu no-menek, nanabu’ i ande’.*  
like\_that RLZD:ACT-climb RLZD:fall PN monkey  
When he climbed, Monkey fell.
- (19) *Nanabu’ i ande’,*  
RLZD:fall PN monkey  
(When) Monkey fell,
- t[in]unu-nyo, b[in]jau-nyo bubudon.*  
RLZD.INV:burn-3sG RLZD.INV:make-3sG lime  
she burned him, she made lime.

- (20) *B[in]oa-kon-nyo                    bele-nu    sangalu-nyo,    anu   to-pomangan.*  
 RLZD.INV:bring-BEN-3sG for-GEN companion-3sG REL person-chew\_betel  
 She brought it for his companions, who were betel chewers.
- (21) *P[in]omangan-nyo,                    ningkot-o                    nomangan                    ara,*  
 RLZD.INV:chew\_betel-3sG RLZD:finished-PERF RLZD:chew\_betel 3p  
 (When) he had chewed it, (when) they had finished chewing,
- g[in]eleng-an-nyo                    i                    kalapuang.*  
 RLZD.INV:laugh-LP-3sG PN turtle  
 turtle laughed at them.
- (22) *Koi    kalapuang,*  
 say turtle  
 Said turtle,
- “Buku-buku-mo-nu                    sangalu-miu,                    k[in]aan-niu.”*  
 REDP-bone-PERF-GEN companion-2pG RLZD.INV:eat-2pG  
 “You ate your companion’s bones.”
- (23) *Jadi    terpaksa    karena    sanga-sangalu-nu                    ande’    narutu,*  
 so    as\_a\_result    because    REDP-companion-GEN monkey    just\_then  
 So as a result, because the monkey’s companions
- [kino...]    k[in]osolom-an-nyo                    “Mungkin    ungka’*  
 RLZD.INV:remember-LP-3sG    perhaps    only  
 were struck by the thought, “Perhaps it was only
- buku-nu                    sangalu-ngku                    ka’a    k[in]aan-nami,”*  
 bone-GEN    companion-1sG    this    RLZD.INV:eat-1pG  
 my companion’s bones that we ate,”
- n-umpar-an-nu                    ara    i    kalapuang.*  
 RLZD.INV-chase-LP-GEN 3p PN turtle  
 they chased the turtle.
- (24) *N-umpar-an-nu                    ara    i    kalapuang,*  
 RLZD.INV-chase-LP-GEN 3p PN turtle  
 They chased the turtle,
- s[in]ampa-nu                    ara,    [os...]    o-pate-i-nu                    ara.*  
 RLZD.INV:get-GEN 3p                    UNRZ.INV-kill-LP-GEN 3p  
 they caught her, they were going to kill her.
- (25) *Sadangkan    i    kalapuang    ka’a    mo-gele-gele’                    ampung,*  
 although    PN    turtle    this    UNRZ:ACT-REDP-request forgiveness  
 Although Turtle asked forgiveness,

- Ah, mba',*      *kon-nu ara,*  
 oh    NEG      say-GEN    3p  
 "Oh no," they said,
- Pomura-nyo    o-boa                    o-po'ipit."*  
 better-3sG      UNRZ.INV-bring      UNRZ.INV-squeeze  
 "It's better she be brought and squeezed."
- (26) *Eh,*      *kon-nyo,*      *bo      o-po'ipit-tiu,*  
 eh      say-3sG      and      UNRZ.INV-squeeze-2pG  
 "Eh," she said, "if you squeeze me,
- aku      noko-damping      butong-ku      ka'a,*  
 1s      RLZD:APT-flat      body-1sG      this  
 me, this body of mine can become flat
- karena      p[in]o'ipit                    i      inde      boi      mama'."*  
 because      RLZD.INV:squeeze      PN      mother      and      father  
 from being squeezed by Mother and Father."
- (27) *Ah,    o-boa                    mimenek      kita'      mai      tu'-u      kau'*  
 oh    UNRZ.INV-bring    UNRZ:climb    up\_there    hither    top-GEN    tree  
 "Well, we will bring her up to the top of a tree
- bo      o-dabu'akon."*  
 and      UNRZ.INV-drop  
 and drop her."
- (28) *Eh,    bo    o-boa-miu                    mimenek      aku,*  
 eh    and    UNRZ.INV-bring-2pG    UNRZ:climb      1s  
 "Eh, if you carry me up
- noko-limbung      butong-ku      ka'a*  
 RLZD:APT-round      body-1sG      this  
 this body of mine can become round
- bai      b[in]oa                    i      inde      boi      mama'      nimenek."*  
 because      RLZD.INV:bring      PN      mother      and      father      RLZD:climb  
 from being carried up by Mother and Father."
- (29) *Jadi    mosiaa,    o-bau-akon                    ia?*  
 so    how?      UNRZ.INV-do-BEN    3s  
 So, what was to be done with her?
- (30) *Kon-nu    ara,      "Pomura-nyo,    batakon-o                    ikio                    i      ue."*  
 say-GEN    3p      better-3sG      throw\_away-PERF    over\_there      at      water  
 They said, "Rather, throw her into the water."



- (31) “*Sadangkan o-batakon ikio i ue,*” *kon-nyo,*  
 although UNRZ.INV-throw over\_there at water say-3sG  
 “Although you throw me into the water,” she said,  
 “*aku noko-kudamol kilit-tu.*”  
 1s RLZD:APT-thick skin-1sG  
 “me, my skin can become thick.”
- (32) *B[in]atakon-nu ara ikio i ue,*  
 RLZD.INV:throw\_away-GEN 3p over\_there at water  
 They threw her into the water  
 “*Mba’, kana batakon-o.*”  
 NEG must throw\_away-PERF  
 (saying) “No, we must throw her away.”
- (33) *Bagitu b[in]atakon, komingkot-tu ingguli’on-nyo*  
 like\_that RLZD.INV:throw\_away end-GEN story-3sG  
 When they had thrown her away, the end of her saying was,  
 “*Lipu-lipu i inde boi mama’ p[in]om-pobakas-an-niu iyau’.*”  
 REDP-village PN mother and father RLZD.INV:FOC-release-LOC-2pG 1sP  
 “The village of Mother and Father is where you have released me.”
- (34) *Ningkot-o.*  
 RLZD:finished-PERF  
 That’s all.

## Notes on the text

1. *boi* ‘and.’ In the glossing this word is treated as monomorphemic, but it could possibly be parsed as *bo* ‘and’ followed by the personal name marker *i*.
3. *anu i* ‘that of.’ Here and in the following sentence the full form is transcribed. In the original, spoken version the storyteller contracted these two morphemes to /ane/.
6. *nara* ‘forced, finally, in the end’ is possibly nothing other than a special use of the verb *marā* ‘ripe.’ In *penek-kakon-nai*, the doubling of the final *k* of *penek* is unexplained.
10. *koi* ‘say’ (in quote margin), omitted in the spoken version. Possibly *koi* contains the personal name marker *i*; see comment above (sentence 1) regarding *boi*.
11. *kon-nyo* ‘he said’ (quote margin), omitted in the spoken version.
25. *o-po’ipit* ‘squeezed,’ more specifically, ‘squeezed or stuffed into a crack.’

## List of abbreviations

### Pronouns

1s	first person singular
1pn	first person plural inclusive
1px	first person plural exclusive
2s	second person singular
2p	second person plural
3s	third person singular
3p	third person plural
G	genitive (suffix)
A	non-focused agent (prefix)
P	non-focused patient (independent pronoun)

### Other

APT	aptative
ACT	active voice
BEN	beneficiary
FOC	focus prefix (instrument, location and beneficiary focus only)
GEN	genitive linker
INCOMP	incompletive marker
INV	inverse voice
LOC	location focus suffix
LP	locative patient suffix
NEG	negator
PERF	perfective
PN	personal name marker
REL	relative clause marker
REDP	reduplication
RLZD	realized aspect
UNRZ	unrealized aspect

### Punctuation used in the gloss line

- (hyphen)	morpheme boundary
: (colon)	used when glossing infixes and morphemes of nasal replacement; two morphemes are present but cannot be linearly separated
. (period)	the entire meaning is to be ascribed to a single morpheme in the text line; for example in <i>b[in]oa</i> , glossed as ‘RLZD.INV:bring,’ <i>-in-</i> is a portmanteau infix that indicates both realized aspect and inverse voice
_ (underscore)	a single Bobongko morpheme is glossed with two or more English words, e.g. <i>batakon</i> glossed as ‘throw_away’

## Notes about the speaker and text collection

Speaker	:	Nurlan Andy Massa
Age	:	43
Occupation	:	farmer
Education	:	primary school
Languages spoken	:	Bobongko, Indonesian, Togian
Born	:	Katupat village, Una-Una subdistrict, Poso district, Central Sulawesi; moved to neighboring Lembanato village in 1959; also spent one year in Libiti village, Una-Una subdistrict
Father	:	born in Lembanato
Language(s) of father	:	Bobongko
Mother	:	born in Lembanato
Language(s) of mother	:	Bobongko
Wife	:	Togian
Language(s) of wife	:	Togian, Bobongko
Date recorded	:	originally recorded on magnetic cassette tape January 2001; converted to digital format February 2001
Location recorded	:	Lembanato village on Kilat Bay on the north coast of Togian Island in the Togian Archipelago, Una-Una district, Donggala regency, Central Sulawesi
Context	:	this story was told by Nurlan Andy Massa in response to a request by David Mead. Eight or so other Bobongko speakers were also present in the room, listening to the story.
Transcription	:	this text was recorded, transcribed, glossed and translated by David Mead

## References

Mead, David. 2001. A preliminary sketch of the Bobongko language. *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics, part 7* (NUSA Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia, 49), edited by Wyn D. Laidig, 61–94. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya. [Reproduced online. URL: <http://sealang.net/archives/nusa/pdf/nusa-v49-p61-94.pdf> (accessed May 25, 2013).]