

Hul Topol - Fall of the Moon

A narrative of etiologies from the Bunaq of Lamaknen

ANTOINETTE SCHAPPER

ABSTRACT

This article makes a contribution to the documentation of the genre of oral literature known as *zupal* amongst the Bunaq, a Papuan-speaking group of central Timor. I present an annotated and translated version of the elaborate *zupal* entitled *Hul Topol* or Fall of the Moon. *Hul Topol* is a lengthy, multi-event narrative which gives etiologies spanning the realms of subsistence, cultural practice and natural order including animal behaviour and appearance.

KEYWORDS

Folktales; etiology; Bunaq; Timor.

1. INTRODUCTION¹

In the book *Comment fut tranchée; La liane céleste et autres textes de littérature orale bunaq* (Timor, Indonésie), Claudine Friedberg (1978) gave us the first view of the genre of oral literature of folktales called *zupal* by the Bunaq people of Timor.² This work followed in a great ethnographic tradition in the south-eastern corner of the Malay Archipelago (and indeed beyond) whereby folktales of diverse groups were documented. Shining examples from the Timor region are: Jonker's (1911) *Rottineesche teksten met vertaling*;

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² In 1966, on his second fieldtrip to Timor, Louis Berthe collected over dozens of *zupal*. On account of his premature death in 1968, Berthe never came to publishing even a selection of them. Instead, this onerous task fell to Claudine Friedberg. Her 1978 selection of *zupal* has been recently followed by Schapper (2015, 2016), part of which are drawn from the Berthe collection.

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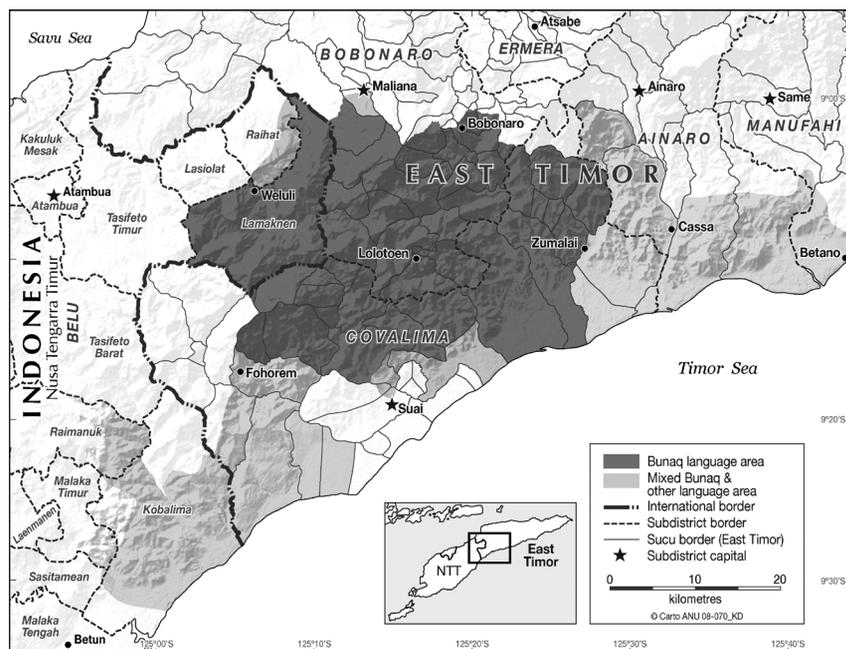
Mathijsen's (1915) *Eenige Fabels en Volkslegenden van de Onderafdeeling Beloe*; Middelkoop's (1939) *Amarassische-Timoreesche teksten*; Campos' (1967) *Mitos e Contos do Timor Português*; Santos' (1967) *Kanoik; Lendas e Mitos de Timor, inter alia*. In more recent times, the documentation of such folktales has sadly fallen out of fashion as an ethnographic pursuit, and today publications presenting them to a wide audience are few and far between.

Since the collection of the *zupal* published in Friedberg (1978), Bunaq traditions of *zupal* telling have been greatly eroded. As foreshadowed by Barnes (1980), the Bunaq position on the border between East and West Timor during the Indonesian military occupation led to much social upheaval and disruption in the intergenerational transmission of traditions, such as *zupal*. The more recent arrival of electricity and television in Bunaq villages has further seen the traditional night-time forum for telling *zupal* lost. As a result, Bunaq children know little of their oral traditions and literature; only elderly community members and some adults have knowledge of more than a few individual narratives from the vast canon of *zupal* that the Bunaq once had. Encapsulating and elucidating aspects of the Bunaq worldview, *zupal* – as with other forms of oral literature – are of undeniable ethnographic interest.

With this article, I seek to add to the documentation of Bunaq oral literature and continue the work of Claudine Friedberg to draw scholarly attention to the *zupal* of the Bunaq. In doing so, I present here an elaborate *zupal* entitled *Hul Topol* or Fall of the Moon. This *zupal* is notable for the fact that it presents a large number of etiologies; a typical *zupal* presents either a single etiology or a set of interrelated etiologies stemming from a single event. *Hul Topol* is a lengthy, multi-event story which gives etiologies spanning the realms of subsistence, cultural practice and natural order including animal behaviour and appearance. Before coming to the text itself, I offer some ethnographic and linguistic background on the Bunaq (Section 2), general information on *zupal* as a genre of oral literature (Section 3), followed by comparative notes on the etiologies found in the text (Section 4). Finally, I present the venacular Bunaq text of *Hul Topol* and a translation into English (Section 5).

2. ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The Bunaq people occupy a large area of the central mountainous region of the island of Timor, straddling both sides of the modern border between Indonesian West Timor and independent East Timor (Map 1). They hold a unique position in central Timor. Speaking a Papuan or non-Austronesian language, the Bunaq are surrounded on all sides by Austronesian languages: Kemak to the north, Mambai to the east and Tetun to the south and west. The other Papuan languages of Timor – Fataluku, Makasai and Makalero – are located in a contiguous coastal area on the island's eastern tip.



Map 1. The Bunaq in central Timor.

The Bunaq language is widely recognized by the Bunaq and their Austronesian neighbours as “different”, and, while Bunaq is rarely learnt by non-Bunaq, almost all Bunaq are fluent in at least one Austronesian language. This bilingualism in Austronesian languages has meant that borrowing and adaptation from Austronesian language and society pervades every aspect of the Bunaq language (see, for example, Berthe 1959, 1963). The sheer number of foreign words and constructions in Bunaq points not merely to millennia of Austronesian contact and multilingualism on the part of the Bunaq, but to their readiness to borrow in order to make their language’s stock richer and more subtle (Schapper 2010, 2011a, 2011b).

The Bunaq also present a distinct social character in Timor, in particular, in their lineal organization. In contrast to the other groups in Timor which are either matrilineal (for example, Wehali Tetun), or more commonly patrilineal (for example, Kemak), the Bunaq allow both forms of descent and marriage (Claudine Friedberg personal communication). Similarly, Bunaq constitutes an exception to the pan-Timorese pattern of lineal distinctions in the first ascending generation, whereby father (F) and father’s brother (FB) are equated but distinguished from mother’s brother (MB) just as mother (M) and mother’s sister (MZ) are equated and are distinguished from father’s sister (FZ). The Bunaq distinguish father and mother’s brother but do not distinguish between mother, mother’s sister and father’s sister. This “incomplete” lineality has implications in the organization and fluidity of social groupings among the Bunaq. Fox (2011: 248-249) sees this as the Bunaq having made an incomplete transition to the Austronesian pattern of lineality.

In short, the frequently novel manner in which the Bunaq integrate

Austronesian social and linguistic structures shows not simply accommodation of alien powers, but a mixture of covert resistance and inspired collaboration.

3. ZAPAL AS A GENRE OF ORAL LITERATURE

Zapal (also *sapal* or *zupal* depending on the individual, small dialectal differences between speakers in Lamaknen) is a genre of oral literature among the Bunaq people of Lamaknen. In other parts of the Bunaq area in East Timor, folktales of the kind denoted by *zapal* in Lamaknen are not known as such, and instead constitute an unnamed genre of oral literature.³ In this article, I will restrict myself to *zapal* as understood by the Bunaq of Lamaknen.

Traditionally, *zapal* are typically told by the adults of a house using the Bunaq of everyday communication after the evening meal when children are going to bed.⁴ According to the Bunaq tradition, *zapal* cannot be told during the daytime; if they are, the anuses of the collected individuals, both speakers and listeners, will fill with worms. Despite their frequent comic elements, most *zapal* are seen to have a serious end: preparing children for life by illustrating a particular moral lesson. At the end of a telling, the lesson of the *zapal* is often explicated by the adults to the children. The lessons which are reoccurrent and emphasized in *zapal* comprise:

- the importance of respect for and deference to one's elders, be they one's own parents, from one's family or in the wider world, including those in authority.
- the principle that good deeds will result in good outcomes for the person who does them, whilst bad deeds will only be returned with bad.
- that diligence, resilience and patience are the best ways in which to achieve one's aspirations in life.
- courage, intelligence, prosperity are three wordly means through which in death a person achieves reunification with the ancestors.

Thus *zapal* are seen not only as entertainment but also as contributing to children's education and developing their characters to become useful and productive members of society.

Many *zapal* have further, etiological functions, which occur either in combination with or independent of any moral. Etiological *zapal* seek to provide explanations for the origins of the order in the Bunaq world as it is today, in particular, traits of animals and plants, rituals, social practices, geographical features of the landscape, and physical properties of materials.

³ This is not to say that the term is unknown outside of Lamaknen, rather where it is known it has a different reference. Lúcio de Sousa (personal communication) found that *zupal* referred to a genre of riddles among the Bunaq of Lamakhitu in East Timor.

⁴ *Zapal*, unlike other forms of Bunaq oral literature, do not typically use the ritual language involving parallelistic half-lines. Very occasionally, short *zapal* may be told in simple parallelisms, such as in *zapal Keu o Apa takirik* (Schapper 2016). This may be seen as a "soft" way of introducing children to parallelistic speech. See Berthe's (1972) *Bei Gua, itinérate des ancêtres: mythes des Bunaq de Timor* for an extended view of the ritual language.

Set in the remote past, these *zapal* typically feature anthropomorphized animals, plants, inanimate objects, often cast in the role of ancestors.

In the collection of *zapal* published by Friedberg (1978), etiological *zapal* with characters of this kind were not represented. That is not to say that the *zapal* presented were not etiological; "How the heavenly liana was cut" explains how the earth and sky, the two inhabited realms of Bunaq cosmology once bound together by a liana, became separated. However, in this *zapal* humans are the only actors. By contrast, in *Hul Topol* the etiological focus is on the reigning order in the earthly realm alone and non-human actors dominate, as will be seen in the following section.

4. THE ETIOLOGIES OF *HUL TOPOL*

The etiologies in *Hul Topol* are set around the descent of the Moon to the earth. The Moon represents the paternal half of the primordial couple symbolized by the parallelism *eme hot - ama hul* 'mother sun - father moon'. The Moon's presence brings all the creatures of the earth together in worship. Set in the early years after the separation of the earth from the sky when humans were still united with other life, this gathering represents the defining event in the history of the earth. It is at this time that natural ordering of the diurnal rhythm, the distribution of creatures and the splintering off of humans from animals. In what follows in this section, I provide comparative notes on the etiologies presented in *Hul Topol*. At this point, the reader may wish to skip forward to section 5 and read the *zapal* itself.

WHY RICE IS THE FOOD OF OFFERING

Once the Moon is settled on earth and all are gathered around him in adoration, the question arises as to what he will eat. The food of both humans and animals is offered to the Moon, but he refuses it. Then, three women strike upon the idea of offering the Moon rice, a grain which was, at this early time of the earth, not eaten. The Moon accepts the rice and all rejoice.

Traditionally, amongst the Bunaq rice is consumed on ritual occasions and was offered to guests and to the ancestors. The Moon's eating of rice provides the etiology of its use as the ritual food used in offerings. Whilst this specific etiology is not made explicit by the teller, it is, however, implied from the narrator's observation that, whilst rice was known at the time, it was not eaten, with other cereals such as millet being preferred. I have confirmed the etiological interpretation in discussions with Bunaq people.

This event is one of several Bunaq stories concerning the origin of rice and rice eating among the Bunaq. In another story, the stealing of rice grain among other seeds is the origin of death among humans (Friedberg 1971).

WHY NIGHT FOLLOWS DAY, WHY THE FRIARBIRD WEARS A HELMET, WHY THE CROW IS BLACK

Amongst the creatures collected in close quarters around the Moon, fights begin to break out. First and foremost amongst these is the dispute between

two birds, Bunaq *koak* = Helmeted Friarbird (*Philemon buceroides*) and *laqo* = Large-billed Crow (*Corvus macrorhynchos*). The friarbird contends that one day should alternate with one night, while the crow maintains that seven days in succession should be followed by seven nights in succession. The crow becomes angry at the friarbird's insistence and pummels the friarbird's head stripping its head of feathers. The friarbird retaliates dousing the crow in indigo soaked water and turning his feathers back. The Moon intervenes and agrees with the friarbird that night and day should alternate one after the other, as today.

Forth (1992) was the first to identify the wide dispersal of stories in Southeast Indonesia centred on a quarrel between the Friarbird and an avian antagonist of variable species. In this narrative set, as in this Bunaq story, the friarbird contends that there should be one day and one night alternating with one another as at present, while the other bird demands that there be seven nights followed by seven days. Of the set described in Forth (1992, 2007, 2008) and Hicks (1997, 2006), the Bunaq friarbird narrative most closely resembles the friarbird story of the Mambae, eastern neighbours of the Bunaq, presented by Hicks (2006).

The Mambae narrative, as in this Bunaq version, tells of a contest between a friarbird and a crow, and not a pigeon, as in the stories on Flores identified by Forth. Both the Mambae and Bunaq narratives are etiological, setting out the origin of the earth's diurnal cycle, the distinctive featherless head of the friarbird, and the black colour of the crow. A unique feature of this Bunaq friarbird narrative is that the quarrel between the friarbird and crow is just one of several etiological disputes occurring around the Moon. This is important in that in this Bunaq version of the narrative it is the Moon who then settles the dispute in the favour of the friarbird.

The Bunaq also tell the friarbird story as a *zapal* in its own right without reference to the Moon or Moon Fall. See *zapal Laqo halali Koak* in Schapper (2015: 61-62).

WHY THE WATER BUFFALO HAS NO TEETH, WHY THE SWALLOW IS SO SMALL

The next dispute erupts between Bunaq *apa* = domestic water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*) and *bokekiraq* = Pacific Swallow (*Hirundo tahitica*). The fight begins when the swallow brags to his friends that he is as big and as strong as the buffalo. Annoyed, the buffalo offers to swap bodies with the swallow, who replies that no one would want to have the cavernous, unsatiatable belly of a buffalo. At this, the buffalo tramples the bird resulting in his diminutive stature. In response, the swallow kicks the buffalo in the head, causing his upper teeth to scatter.

As in the friarbird and the crow sub-narrative, here we have two interrelated etiologies for observed characteristics of animals: water buffalo lack teeth in their top jaw and instead have a dental pad which aids them in chewing their food; the Pacific swallow is the smallest of swallow species found in Timor, especially with its tail being shorter than that of other swallow species.

Stories of how the water buffalo lost its teeth are recurrent throughout

the Malay archipelago. The geographically closest narrative of this kind that I have identified is found among the Donggo or Bimanese of Sumbawa Island (Asmarini et al. 1998). Thematically, the Donggo narrative is, however, not related, with the water buffalo's teeth being knocked out by its human owner when he refuses to obey commands. Stories of how the water buffalo lost its teeth are common among South Sulawesi, but here too there is little resemblance to the Bunaq narrative: the water buffalo loses its teeth when it laughs too hard at another animal, in some cases a crocodile (Wajo: Rasyid and Nur 1999), in others a snake (Toraja: Sikki et al. 1986) who had been tricked. The closest narratives are found in Borneo and westwards into the Malaysian Peninsula: here a quail rather than a swallow, kicks out the water buffalo's teeth, prompting the water buffalo to trample the quail's tail causing him to lose it (for instance, among the Tagal Murut of Sabah: Nygren 1991). This latter narrative is also told amongst the Bunaq (see *zupal Keu o Apa takirik*, Schapper 2016).⁵

WHY THE QUAIL DOESN'T FLY, WHY THE LORANTHUS GROWS IN TREES

Next, *keu* 'quail' and *ai kereleluq* 'loranthus plant, epiphyte' get into an argument. Loranthus argues that day light should be done away with so that he could steal food from the trees under the constant cover of darkness. By contrast, the quail maintains that it is that night should be discarded so that he could continually look for food on the forest floor. When it comes to a fight, both are scared off by the sight of one another, each fleeing to safety. Thus today, the loranthus never descends to the forest floor, and the quail never flies up into the trees.

Like that between the friarbird and the crow, the dispute between the quail and the loranthus centres on the diurnal cycle. In this case, however, the combatants want to abolish the interchange between night and day, retaining only the one or the other. Unlike the friarbird-crow contest, the cowardice of the quail and the loranthus means that it never comes to a fight. As such, the Moon is never brought in to resolve the dispute, though both suggestions would have presumably been rejected, since the Moon had already decided that night and day should alternate with one another.

WHY MUNIAS FEED ON RICE CROPS

When the Moon decides to return to the sky, he is unable to ascend without assistance. Various large animals are called upon to lift the Moon, but they fail. Only two small munia birds (Bunaq *ipi a gol* and *loton gol*) are able to lift the Moon and return him to his place in the sky. As payment for their services, the Moon grants the munias licence to feed on rice grain, the food of the Moon himself. That is, why today munias are always found collected together feeding in gardens where rice is grown.

This etiology is interesting for its essentially positive view on birds feeding

⁵ The Bunaq have a further story for how the quail lost his tail (see *zupal Keu o Orel*, Schapper 2015: 55). In this, the quail is invited to stay the night with his friend, the monkey. Whilst asleep, the monkey ties the quail's tail to the bedpost. He then rushes into the bedroom and wakes the quail saying a cat has broken in. The quail flees leaving his tail behind.

on crops. Amongst the Minahasa, as in many other parts of Indonesia, such pests are seen to embody unappeased ancestors menacing humanity (David Henley personal communication).

WHY HUMANS AND ANIMALS CAN'T TALK TO ONE ANOTHER, WHY DOGS HUNT

Once the Moon is returned to the sky, all the creatures gather together for a ritual of collective eating. The food needs to be divided up between the creatures, but the question then arises as to who can carry out the task. The monkey recuses itself, before the dog reluctantly agrees to take on the job. The dog warns those gathered that he is a simple animal and that his person should not be mocked as he carries out the public task of dividing the food. Whilst standing before the animal collective, the dog unwittingly exposes his genitals and the inevitable result is hysterics. The dog becomes angry and chases away all the animals to the farthest corners of the earth.

This narrative contains several etiologies. In the first instance, it gives the origins of the dog's enmity with all other animals, explaining why dogs will attack them on sight. It further explains why different animals have different habitats, with the dog chasing them into the trees or into the ground and so forth. In addition, the dog's unwillingness to hunt in the rainy season is explained by the fact that the collective eating rituals of the Bunaq year have not been conducted, and so the dog has not yet begun its enmity with the other animals. More than these, the story of the dividing of the food is significant for the fact that it marks a defining, Babel-like event in the history of the earth, the separation of humans from animals. The dog chasing away the animals means that the beings of the earth never come together again, so their languages diverge and they never speak to one another again.

The substory about the dividing of food between the animals is one that is also told independently of the Moon's descent to earth (see also *zupal Bei Zap* in Schapper 2015 or *zupal Bai a neq* in Schapper 2016). In all tellings, as in *Hul Topol*, the dog is tasked with a public duty whereby he must stand before the animal collective. The dog is cast as an uncouth creature, whose assumption of public office is always blighted by some inadvertent indecency.

5. THE TEXT

This *zupal* was collected in the 1970s by A.A. Beretallo, the *loro* or *raja* of Lamaknen and the first governor of Belu, the West Timorese *kabupaten* where Bunaq is spoken.⁶ It was told to him by Mali Lesuq, an elder of Gewal village, where Beretallo himself came from and is today buried. The unpublished manuscript of this *zupal* was given to me by Dr. Anton Bele. It is with his permission that I reproduce it here. Following the original Bunaq text, I include my own English translation and annotations.

⁶ Beretallo is a local hero and significant figure in Belunese late colonial history. A huge stature of him stands over the central square of Atambua, the capital of Belu.

Hul Topol

Tutu gene bu, i en bare naran bai gewen muk wa no bare gutu tiol tara taq. Hina galika gie ai, hina mona gie ai, hos, hina il mil gie, hotel, hol ai han gutu tiol tara bital liol.¹

Baqa gie ba, esen Hul beri muk uen hini Hul Topol bare no, det debel na baqa no mit. Homo na, naran bai dairai muk wa no bari, i en utu na gubul, haqe Hul Topol gene bolu gutuq-wen gaqal, Hul garahul gie.

Baqa no ba, naran hina ai, i en ai, irak dege ten hoqon, leo dele Hul gawa gini gie. I en doe pioq o leboq, niq, a bukas baqa dele na ten hoqon. Ipi paqol, en baqa no bi bu, tara niq taq.²

Homo no, Hul bai a meten honal ba, i en ie ai, hina ginil gie ai, a heten niq los. Hasi, i en ai, hina real ai, doloq sa tara niq.

Daurau en pana goniqon, uen gini Lika Hunin, uen gini Olo Bakin, uen gini Soi Bakin, halaqi die a ipi dele gawa gini. Homo naq na, Hul meten ipi ba a.³ Hasi le ai-le ai, en hosu bu Hul gege ten hoqon niq oa. Halaqi pana goniqon baqi na ret Hul gege ten hoqon los oa.

Bai real tita rubak man o si, rahul ene hocinoq darik niq. Homo soq, bai gewen-gewen o hiu bulu - ha bulu kirun mel-wen leo,⁴ toe na doi, sesuq-lesiq na doi, tue-toqon na doi.

Homo na, Koak o Laqo doi toe, pan hini le o ene gie ata. Laqo be, ene hitu naq na, pan hini le gie. Hasi die dila gini dotol za gie taq, pan le hati mien dila za na gia liol. Homo naq na, tebe le hitu hini tua gene gie. Baqi hasi homo gin:

Fall of the Moon

In the beginning, we humans and all the other creatures on earth could talk to one another. We knew the language of domestic animals, of wild animals, of birds, of fish, of trees, and of stones.¹

During this time, the Moon came down to the Earth and took up residence at a place named Moon Fall. All the beings of Earth, with we humans in the lead, were drawn together at Moon Fall to worship the Moon.

There, both animals and humans brought offerings with which to feed the Moon. We humans made offerings of foxtail millet, finger millet as well as sorghum. In those days, people weren't yet acquainted with rice or maize.²

The Moon did not like the food that was offered, regardless of whether it came from us humans or from the various animals. Neither human nor animal knew what to give to the Moon in offering.

Finally, three women called Lika Hunin, Olo Bakin and Soi Bakin, went and fed the Moon rice.³ The Moon ate it. After that, no one prepared other food for the Moon. And only those three women could give the Moon his food.

All the beings collected together to reveal night and day. And so it was that, like tamarind sprouting all around in the monsoon⁴, fights broke out, with arguing here and scrapping there.

First, the Friarbird and the Crow got into a fight about the arrangement of night and day. The Crow contended that there should be seven nights followed by seven days. This was so that papayas could be left to ripen,

and then when it stayed light all the time, he could eat them continuously. Only then should there be seven nights one after the other again. So he declared:

- *Ga - ga! Ene hitu, le hitu.*

- Ga-ga! Seven nights, seven days.

Koak be ciaoq, ene uen le uen talak no, han le-le doe goet on gie, homo dele tiki-taiq honal, tiki-taiq man. Toek o likaq na go mak here, lero goet on, Laqo dagar mil uen, Koak dagar mil hik hiloqon, goniqon soq oa, homo goet on kereq:

The Friarbird disagreed, contending that there should be one night and then one day, as there is nowadays, and as he did so he strutted back and forth. They hardly heard each other, but for every word that the Crow spoke, the Friarbird spoke twice as many, like this:

- *Koakoq - koakoq! Ene uen, le uen.*

- Koako - Koako! One night, one day.

Homo na, Laqo heta niq. Heta niq, die tanutuk danap no lai homo hukat, hini Koak gubul mugun ba deran honal. Homo no na, Koak gubul mot, pisi koun han le-le doe.

The Crow lost his patience. He grabbed the club at his side and pummeled the crown of the Friarbird's head. The result was that the Friarbird's head was razed, and he has stayed bald until today.

Homo gie, Koak gotok saqe. Liol en gie taun nil nila mil gene homo hukat. Hukat, liol Laqo bi han gita seta rebel. Homo no na, Laqo doi guzu han le-le doe. Niq gie bu, Laqo doi belis dina Kakaq goet.⁵

The Friarbird was furious. He immediately grabbed a pale of water with indigo soaking in it. The Friarbird poured it over the Crow. As a result, crows today are black all over. If it hadn't happened, the crow would be white in the manner of the cockatoo.⁵

Toe homo rele, halali mal Hul gege irak die hasaqe. Homo na, Hul hini tol, Koak gie no na lomar, ene uen le uen talak no on.

After the fight, they each went to the Moon to give their account. The Moon decided that the Friarbird was right, one night and one day should follow each other in turn.

Homo haqal, tebe Apa o Bokekiraq doi toe teni, tubu tuqal gie ata.⁶ Bokekiraq na dotil mil gege ret doe gin on:

Next, there was a fight between the Buffalo and the Swallow about the exchange of bodies.⁶ The Swallow spoke to his companions:

- *Apa gezel ota doe masak be, sala nezel doe o hini ota Apa gie homo goet, neto hos deal gazal milik niq.*

- The Buffalo's belly is big, and mine is similarly big, such that I am not scared of any other bird.

Apa hukat giol homo mak-mak homo gin:

Hearing this, the Buffalo spoke up:

- *Bokekiraq, baqa bu, mele ili Hul go gene si, ili dubu tuqal wa! Dezel masak doe ie wa! Iwiq o mun lolan-wen doe, nege wa!*

Bokekiraq hukat apa giol homo hosok dele Apa gimil hota on na doe gin:

- *Ezel sa ota tasu masak lolit-wen, baqi a gie ol mil-mil tolo sa, wal niq. Ciro na utu dubu tuqal gie? Nei mete ba det toek ba, utu na toek e?*

Apa hukat gotok saqe, Bokekiraq himo muk ata gerequt gini belak liol. Homo no na, Bokekiraq doi zol heta niq, beqek han le-le doe.

Bokekiraq tebe dopol baqa goet mel, Apa himo gapakter, gewe goq hohon gie sa ul tuk haqal. Homo no na, Apa gewe goq hohon gie doe lagaq han lel-e doe. Halali tazal milik niq, han ai.

Homo haqal, Keu o Ai Kereleluq doi dina ene o le gie ata, toe teni.⁷ Ai Kereleluq be, pan hini ciaq le, ene na ziqu-ziqu gie, hasi hotel gie bai a gotol rumi a ruquk gie. Keu be heten niq, pan hini le ziqui on gie, hasi bai a sagal koleq niq.

Homo gie, halali tege rotik soq, toqon liol niq ai, tazal milik han le-le. Homo no na, Keu doi hotel wa saqe niq doe. Ai Kereleluq doe muk rebel niq los doe, hotel wa gene na u doe.

- Swallow, if that's so, let's go to the Moon and have our bodies swapped. My stomach's the bigger! Your body is skinny like a rope, swap it with me!

The Swallow, intent on hurting his feelings, replied to the Buffalo:

- Your belly is fat like a big pot upside-down, no matter how much food you pour in, you never get full. Who would want to swap bodies with you? We were talking amongst ourselves, we weren't talking to you, were we now?

The Buffalo got angry and threw the Swallow to the ground and trampled him flat. That's the reason why swallows don't get big, but are still today stunted.

Swallow got up again and gave the Buffalo a kick such that his upper teeth were all knocked out. As a result, buffalo are toothless today. Buffalo and swallows remain scared of one another and avoid each other even today.

Next, the Quail and the Loranthus plant got into their own fight about night and day.⁷ The Loranthus contented that there didn't need to be day, it should just be night forever, so that it would be able to feed from the trees ceaselessly and unimpeded. The Quail disagreed, he wanted day to be perpetual, so that it could look for food tirelessly.

And so it was that they challenged one another to a fight, but it never got so far, they scared each other off and that fear remains until this very day. That's why the quail will not go up a tree even today. Similarly, the loranthus plant won't go down to the ground, but instead today lives high in the trees.

Muk wa no nare-wen o si, Hul tebe saqe doloq mal gie oa. Doloq mal gie hali, Hul naran en deal gege seq man gaqal. Gege diol hiqil, a ipi paqol, pao, tir, hotel gomo, turul gie ukur, naran ba hoqon hini pir-pir gie, lesin-lesin na ipi o paqol gie ukur. Baqa hua gene no na, i a gie ukur gewen hoqon bare.⁸

Once the Moon had already been on earth for some time it was time to go back to his home. Before departing, the Moon called everyone together. The Moon gave out orders about the yearly rituals around beans, pigeonpeas, bees and sandalwood, and especially about the rituals around rice and maize. Since then there have been rituals for the different kinds of food and this continues up until the present day.⁸

Hahu ola Magil o Leosogo gene daurau huqe Lamaknen pir. Hahu niat Magil o Leosogo no Zobel Sau, hua gene Tueq Paqul, An Gene, hua gene Mahui gene Hos Gasai, huqe Lamaknen gene Tubi Lai, tebe Magil o Leosogo gene Koul Uku, Salan Hatama, Il Suq, homo soq, Paqol Sau, Hohon A, Tir Duzuk, liol Lamaknen pir.⁹

The rituals are found from Magil and Leosogo all the way to Lamaknen. The rituals begin in Magil and Leosogo with Zobel Sau, and these are followed by Tueq Paqul and An Gene. This is followed in Mahui by the ritual Hos Gasai and in Lamaknen by the ritual of Tubi Lai. This is followed by the ritual of Koul Uku, Salan Hatama and Il Suq in Magil and Leosogo. Then come the rituals of Paqol Sau, Hohon A and Tir Duzuk which are found all the way to Lamaknen.⁹

Hul diol hiqil soq, gasaqe gini tebe doloq gene gie na, ata solu hali.

Once the Moon had made clear these arrangements, there was once again consideration of how to return the Moon to his place of origin.

Homo na, Zon o Pip¹⁰ Hatu Depal Daholo gie gege seq, gini Hul guhukat gie. Homo be, halaqi Hul guhukat heta niq. Homo soq, Ipi A gol o Loton gol Manuama Koitopoq gie gege seq man, gini Hul guhukat gie.¹¹ Homo en naq na, Ipi A gol o Loton gol na Hul tebe gasaqe gini doloq gene.

First, they called on the Wild Pig and the Deer¹⁰ from Hatu Depal Daholo to lift up the Moon. But they weren't able to do it. Next, the Munia birds were called from Manuama Koitopoq and given orders to lift up the Moon.¹¹ The Munias took the Moon back up to his home.

Hul gini doloq gene soq, Ipi A gol Loton gol die koleq gie sura. Homo na, gini i ie ipi mar mil gene gini waqen a han le-le doe, gie koleq gie na baqa.

Once the Moon was installed in its place, the Munias asked what their reward would be. As their payment, the Munias were allowed to eat some of the rice from human gardens, that continues until today.

Hul himo gasaqe haqal soq, mete muk got deal Hul garahul gie tita rubak man bi solu a si, rese gie oa.¹² A o si ton haqal oa, real o doloq-doloq gene mit daraq-daraq oa. Homo na, bai a neq gie hotol timil sura.

Once the Moon had ascended, the many creatures who had collected together to celebrate the Moon set about organising the collective eating ritual.¹² Once the food and the meat

- Orel gini neq gie, Orel doe gin:* had been arranged together, everyone took their places in a row. They all wondered to themselves who could do the dividing of the food. The Monkey was asked to do it, but he said:
- *Nei bu neq o loi, nei nomil bekaq si, homo be, nei nuloq legul bere, hele ei iral kisu sal.* - I could do it because my palms are broad, but this tale of mine is very long and could poke your eyes out.
- Homo na, Zap gini na neq gie oa. Zap homo gin:* The Dog was asked to do the dividing. The Dog said:
- *Nei o neq bu loi, homo be, nei nie tais na loi niq. Hasi hani nei nazal higal.* - I can do a good job of the dividing, even though, my clothes are no good. So don't laugh at me.
- Homo na, real o terel sasi piqu:* They all replied at once:
- *Nei ba nego on na azal higal gie? Nei azal higal niq.* - Why would we laugh at you? We're not laughing at you.
- Homo na, Zap na a si neq. Deal go pir higal niq, Zulo himo go pir, han higal dauq-rauq, dagar kumu tepel na on.* So it was the Dog who divided up the food and meat. Everyone managed not to laugh, until it came to the Civet, who almost laughed but then managed to hold it in.
- Orel go pir baqa goet gin, Orel hukat higal kakakaq karoyi liol. Zap hukat a o si ba oba no lusa honal, haqe gi-huqe gi. Baqa no, solu gie real boto hatak gaqal, solu a dari niq.* When it came to the Monkey, he couldn't stop himself from roaring with laughter. The Dog lept up, overturned the food and meat laid out and snapping left and right. At that, all the gathering broke up and the ritual of collective eating was abandoned.
- Pip ruan goli gerel Guruguq mil tama. Zon goli gerel Hatu Depal gene. Zulo o Orel goli gerel zobuq mil tama, hotel tubuk gene rumi. Zulo bu muk lete be, pan ene naq na sai. Orel bu han muk lete niq han le-le, hotel wa na gene. Zul goli gerel Loebauq Maulaho gene. Laqo goli gerel Lakirun gene. Koak goli gerel Lakuloq gene. Kumu o Pok goli gerel Dasilakaq Abelaluq gene. Kakaq o Suliq goli gerel Kakaq Uman Holsoq gene. Ipi a gol o Loton gol goli gerel Manuama Koitopoq gene. Zi o Loa mal hotel tubuk o hol tubuk gene rumi. Goma ai, Naer ai, Pepiq ai,* The Deer was chased all the way to Guruguq. The Wild Pig was hunted to Hatu Depal. The Civet and the Monkey were chased into the forest and hid there in tree hollows. Now the civet only descends to the ground, once night has fallen. The monkey does not go down to the ground today, but rather stays high up in the trees. The Mouse was hunted all the way to Loebauq Maulaho. The Crow was hunted all the way to Lakirun. The Friarbird was hunted all the way to Lakuloq. Kumu and Pok were

mal na bobu guzup o muk tubuk mil gene rumi liol. hunted all the way to Dasilakaq Abelaluq. The Cockatoo and the Parrot were hunted all the way to Kakaq Uman Holsoq. The Munia and the Loton bird were hunted all the way to Manuama Koitopoq. Snake and Viper hid in a hole in a tree and a hole in a rock. The ants, termites and earthworms fled down a hole in the ground and hid in the white ant nest.

Boto haqal baqa no bu, i en, naran bai muk got muk wa no bare gutu, tiol tara niq oa. Hina galika ai, hina mona gie ai, hos, hina il mil gie, hotel, hol, i utu tiol tara niq oa. Once the gathering was broken up, we humans were no longer able to speak with the other creatures of the earth. We could no longer talk to domestic animals, wild animals, birds, fish, trees and stones.

*To ai-to ai, mete solu a hoqon nota ba no hahu, zap o naran hina real bari gutu mek piqu kereq. Pan salan, ukur on nota niq taq, homo Zap o hina real gutu mek niq taq. Homo no na, pan porat naq na, Zap o bai holi doe. Pan salan, i Zap gutu mele mesaq bu, Zap i ege bai holi niq oa, halaqi mek niq taq si.*¹³ Year in year out, before it is time for the communal eating ritual, the dog begins its enmity with all other animals. In the rainy season, it not yet the time of the food being organized, that's why the dog is not yet the enemy of the other animals. That's the reason why today the dog can only be used for hunting in the dry season. In the rainy season, the dog will not hunt animals, because at that time of year the dog has not yet begun its enmity with the other animals.¹³

Ope goq.

The End.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

1. In the Bunaq view, trees and stones, not just animals, are animate creatures. This is reflected linguistically in their frequent assignment to the ANIMATE grammatical noun class (Schapper 2010: 172-187). In folktales, the power of speech is frequently given to trees. For instance, in the *zapal Atis o Nolu*, a child in despair addresses the trees surrounding him as he searches for the parts for his mother's loom. We see in (a) *hotel* 'tree' is treated as INANIMATE, but then in (b) it is treated as ANIMATE. According to native speaker introspections about this variation, the initial INANIMATE classification implies that the child addresses the trees but does not believe that they can hear him, while the later ANIMATE assignment suggests that they are sentient and that the child expects a response to his imploration.

- a. *Hotel ba g-o di-e eme gi-e atis o nolu sura*
 tree DEF.INAN 3-SRC REFL-POSS mother 3-POSS p.o.loom AND p.o.loom ask
 '(The child) asked the trees about his mother's loom parts.' [Bk-49.010]
- b. *Atis o nolu sura, hotel bi g-ege baqa*
 p.o.loom AND p.o.loom ask tree DEF.AN 3 AN-BEN NPRX.INAN LIKE DO
 'Asking about the loom parts, (he) went like this to the tree,...' [Bk-49.011]

Similarly, stones and rocks are also treated as ANIMATE by the Bunaq. For them, the apical ancestors are believed to have turned into stone on death, and rock features in the landscape are often identified as ancestral personages. This is a feature of traditional religion across Timor, and multiple anthropological studies have recognized the importance of "rock" in the traditional religions of Timor (for example, Fox 1989, 2006; McWilliam 2006).

2. In many *zapal* set in the time before the separation of humans from other creatures, only older cereal crops are mentioned, in particular, *iter* (Job's Tears, *Coix lacryma jobi*) and *pioq* (Foxtail Millet, *Setaria italica*). Traditionally, several varieties of *bukas* (sorghum, *Sorghum bicolor*) were grown amongst the Bunaq, but only in small quantities, indicating that its significance was more limited (Friedberg 1971).
3. I treat the Moon as masculine in the translation not because the Bunaq language itself has a sex-based gender system, but on account of the status of the moon as "father".
4. *Bai gewen-gewen o hiu bulu - ha bulu kirun mel-wen leo* is a Bunaq figurative expression for "inevitable".
5. Amongst the Bunaq this narrative etiology for the crow's black feathers competes with another narrative in which the crow's white feathers are stolen by the cockatoo (= Bunaq *kakaq* or *bulis*). The crow is then left to wear the black feathers originally belonging to the cockatoo. According to this tradition, the story also explains why the cockatoo has a black beak and blackish skin beneath its white feathers, a remnant of the cockatoo's earlier black colouring.
6. Bunaq *apa* in the past referred to the domesticated water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), as in this narrative. However, today in the Bunaq Lamaknen lands water buffalo are uncommon and *apa* in its unmarked form has come to refer to the now more common domestic cattle breeds (*Bos spp.*), while *apa guzu* 'black cattle' is now used specifically for water buffalo.

7. The species of quail known to the Bunaq in Lamaknen is not a true quail, but rather the barred buttonquail (*Turnix suscitator*). *Loranthus* is a genus of parasitic plants that grow on the branches of woody trees. Plants belonging to this genus are known as *benalu* in Indonesian and *Ai Kereleluq* in Bunaq, an Austronesian term probably borrowed from the Tetun.
8. Bunaq *a ipi* = cooked rice (literally: eating rice); *paqol* = maize; *pao* = legume spp. with twining stems and short wide pods, *tir* = pigeonpea (*Cajanus cajan*), *hotel gomo* = bee (literally: master of the tree), *turul* = sandalwood (*Santalum album*). The Moon (along with its other half the Sun) as the highest being is represented here as the originator of the rituals of the agricultural year.
9. The rites named here concern the cultivation and harvest of different food crops. I do not regard the Moon leaving orders for humanity to conduct these rites as a true etiology. As is clear from the text, the rites vary from village to village in Lamaknen. Today, in many villages none of these traditional rites are any longer adhered to and I do not have descriptions for all of them.

Zobel Sau: Harvest of the first vegetables. In Lower Lamaknen in the Magil area there is a ritual around the first vegetables to be harvested (*zobel* = young) that follows the rice harvest. Friedberg (1971) observes that it is a complex ceremony concerned with the harvest of ginger, sugarcane, coconuts, and areca/betel nut in particular, and perhaps at one stage, also yams and taro.

Tueq Paqul: Extraction of the palm wine. Rite around the extraction of palm wine from the palm species *dilu* (lontar palm, *Borassus flabellifer*), *kubus* (sugar palm, *Arenga pinnata*), and *hak* (gebang palm, *Corypha utan*).

Paqol Sau. Harvest of the maize. The picking of the older, fully ripened maize that will be kept in the house as the main supply of food for the year is surrounded by several stages of ritual and is described in detail by Friedberg (1971). The communal event of lifting the prohibition on the harvest of the late maize involves men from each house cutting long stalks of maize and bearing them together to the mot or altar of the village. Maize kernels are scattered about the altar whilst ritual words are spoken by *a lal gomo* 'word master'.

Hohon A: Uppermost/first of the rice. This is ritual conducted by each house privately. In this, the new rice is offered to the ancestors and shared with the allies who were invited.

Tir Duzuk: Rubbing of the pigeonpea. This ritual involves rubbing rice and pigeonpeas wrapped in betel vine leaf on various body parts, particularly of children and adolescents. This is done symbolically to “open up” the person being rubbed so that they might become clever or acquire a special skill. The ritual may be carried out in a lineage house or within a nuclear family and even with the person who is to teach the skill one wants to acquire.

Tubi Lai: Laying of the caked. This is a ritual in which cakes of rice, Job’s Tears, millet and even cassava flour are made and offered to the ancestors in thanks for a successful harvest. In the past, the cakes were laid out on the graves of ancestors, but today they are often simply set out in offering in the house.

10. Bunaq *zon* = wild pig. Bunaq *pip*, similar to *apa* ‘cattle, water buffalo’, has more complex semantics. Bunaq *pip* in the past referred to deer (*Rusa timorensis*), as in this narrative. However, today it refers in the most common usage to the domesticated goat (*Capra hircus*). The deer is typically either referred to with the Indonesian term *rusa*, or with the marked term *pip rusa* ‘goat deer’ or even *bibi rusa*, where *bibi* is the Tetun term for goat. Forth (2012) presents similar cases of name changes involving marking reversals between goats and deer in Flores.
11. Bunaq *Ipi a gol* (literally: ‘little one (who) eats rice grain’) and *Loton gol* refer to *Munia* (*Lonchura*) species that are known for destroying crops, especially rice, possibly the Black-faced *Munia* (*Lonchura molucca*) and Scaly-Breast *Munia* (*Lonchura punctulata*) respectively.
12. *Solu A*: Collective Eating. This ritual occurs at the end of the dry season before the planting of the maize begins and is one event in a larger series of rituals that take place over several days before the start of planting. Before *Solu A*, men from the village set out on a hunt and when they return with the captured pigs, they enter the village loudly blowing whistles. The hunt and the whistle blowing is intended to warn off animals that might eat the maize of the crops. *Solu A* begins with the roasting of the pig and the dividing of portions of it with rice between all houses in the village. People sit in lines grouped by house with the baskets set out in front of them.
13. This component is unique to this telling of the dog narrative. The reasoning appears to be that, because *Solu A* takes place in the dry season (*pan porat*), the dog’s enmity with the other animals is in swing and he will hunt them throughout it. At the start of the new year, marked for the Bunaq by the arrival of the monsoon (*pan salan*), the dog is not yet their enemy and will not hunt them.

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