

# **A Loinan story**

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2010

**Sulang Language Data and Working Papers:  
Translations from the Dutch, no. 2**



Sulawesi Language Alliance  
<http://sulang.org/>

## LANGUAGES

Subject language : Saluan  
Language of materials : English, Saluan

## DESCRIPTION

This paper presents a short, 28-sentence Saluan folktale, 'The Story of Tarsier and Monkey,' with free translation and grammar notes.

## SOURCE

Gobée, E. 1929. Een Loinansch verhaal. *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150-jarig bestaan 1778–1928*, volume 1, 187–201. Weltevreden: Kolff. Original pagination is indicated by enclosing the page number in brackets, e.g. [p. 187].

## VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [12 October 2010] Translated 2002; revised 2006, 2007, and 2010; formatted for publication October 2010.

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## A Loinan Story

by

E. Gobée

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The following Loinan<sup>1</sup> story is one of an otherwise for the most part unworked series, written for me by the capable hand of the clerk of the Sangaji (district head) of Luwuk (next to Banggai). Early in 1926 Dr. Adriani went through further texts and notes with me, and through numerous remarks thereupon enabled me to make many improvements. For all the comparisons with neighboring and related languages which occur in these notes, I have him to thank.

To all who, like me, were—or still are—in the position to collect data in the field of linguistics in this archipelago, I would like to take this opportunity to say what our exceptional, now deceased<sup>2</sup> predecessor Adriani on more than one occasion remarked, namely that it is a duty of everyone that is capable of doing so, to pay off in this way something of our honorable debt to Indonesia. Next to the golden coin given by him, let this be a penny among what the Royal Batavia Society can offer in its memorial volume.

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### Hikayat bonsing tiba balan.<sup>3</sup>

Dagi (1) ko balan binasaende (2) tiba bonsing. Angko i balan inda'  
(3) nakita mamba mombuling malisa i ingke-ingkele (6). Yo, aha (4) na-  
mbamo (5) hi sohipi nuu bondoi, ka aha nongala (5) malisa, tobuku  
kinaan. Angko i balan ibe-ibe kinolaap (7)! He he! anko (8) i bonsing,  
5 boli hengge, inde'kita nutumput i ingke-ingkele. Bai madi ko i balan  
mompajuli. Sangkuka (10) asi ka hongo (9) nu tumpu nu bondoi  
(11), ka tinumputnyo naha (12) i bonsing ba'aha (13) tiba i balan. I  
bonsing nalai hi pu'un nu pe'eas, madi mohumpak i balan. Ka  
tobuku lio i balan na i bonsing, tolo toka'anyo hi pu'un nu pe'eas  
10 angko i balan: aba-aba asi nai bela, aku aide sinongkomo na nolio oko.

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<sup>1</sup> [footnote 1, p. 187] Loinan or Luinan is spoken in the eastern part of the arm of Celebes, which forms the southern border of the Tomini Bay.

<sup>2</sup> [translator's note: Adriani died on May 1st, 1926, at the age of 60.]

<sup>3</sup> [translator's note: The spelling of Saluan and other native words has been consistently updated by making the following replacements: *oe* → *u*, *dj* → *j*, *tj* → *c*, *nj* → *ny*, and *j* (elsewhere) → *y*.]

Yo, atina apa na nubau (14). Ee! angko i bonsing, montamongi sipada [p. 188] i Ina'. Angko i balan: soba na kububut. Angko i bonsing: pe'e da'aku mamba jo'o-jo'on, bubutje (15). Sangkuka ka binubut i balan, ka mimbela (16) nalima i balan. Satan mimbela naidekmo  
 15 naia, angko i balan tanda (17) pe'e, na bonsing (18) uka kupatei, talu nongakalimo aku; anu o pe'eas (19), angkonyo sipada. Pobele (20) asi (21) lionyo nai bonsing, tolo toka'annyo hi patu (22) nu uani. Ha! angko i balan, okomo atina na nongakali aku; yo, yo, angko i bongsing, kai ola (23) aku na bonsing, bonsing tambu-tambun. Nomohokotmo  
 20 nai balan. Yo, ii, apa atina nubau? Angko i bonsing: montamongi goong i Ina' (24). Angko i balan: soba na kubatong, angko i bonsing: pe'e naaku mamba jo'o-jo'on, batongje. Nambamo nai bonsing, ka binatang i balan, aba-aba asi ka kinabekkabek nu uani nai balan, sangkiding nate. Se', tanda pe'e nabonsing — bonsing uka nongakalimo  
 25 aku, angkonyo da goong, talu uani. Nambamo lioi balan nai bonsing, tinoka'annyo hi bolo'nu lomontik (25). Ha! angko i balan, okomo bonsing na nongakali aku. Angko i bonsing: da oko bela, bolong ola aku na bonsing, bonsing tambu-tambun. Yo! ii, apa atina bela nubau. Ee, angko i bonsing, montamongi lian manau (26) i Ina', aide lamu-  
 30 lamun (27) hi tano. Angko i balan: soba nakukeke (28), angko i bonsing boli pe'e, naaku mamba jo'o-jo'on. Pobele kineke i balan, aba ka kinabekkabek nu lomontik, nalima i balan binangkak.

Se'! tanda pe'e, na bonsing uka talu nongakali aku. Nambamo lionyo, tinoka'annyo nai bonsing hi pu'un nu lambangan. Ha! oko  
 35 atina na nongakali aku. O! angko i bonsing, bolong ola aku nabonsing, bonsing tambu-tambun. Yo! ii, apa atina bela nubau? Ee, angko i bonsing, montamongi maliam i Ina'. Angko i balan: soba na hopolontup. Angko i bonsing, lako (29) laga maa pe'e, nasangaluyum ingko-iingkot. Paha (30) poliba (31) hi aide, lapas, hopolontupje. Na-  
 40 mbamo nai balan nolaga sangalunyo ingko-ingkot, ka aha noliba hi lambangan. Angko i bonsing: o! toutu-utus (32) balan, sampe lumontupmo namaliam aide, boli komiu malai (33), ola hagai (34). Angko nu balan: ya, ma'ima'mo. Satan sumo aitu, pobele pinapuu i bonsing nalambangan. Pobele asi lumontup na lambangan. Angko i  
 45 bonsing: hagai bela. Pobele nolohaga nabalan, aha ingko-ingkot: ha lele (35), ha lele. Sangkuka asi ka nopapuu naha i balan, ingko-ingkot, nahopu (36).

Tammat

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[p. 189] **Story of the tarsier and the monkey.**

There once was a monkey who had become friends with a tarsier. The monkey said: come, let us go steal chilis from the old woman. Now they went to the edge of the garden, and they took away chili peppers. These they ate all up. The monkey said: yow, was that hot! Hey, hey, said the tarsier, don't make such noise; soon we'll be chased by the old woman. But the monkey paid no heed. Now it wasn't long before the owner of the garden heard it, then she set off after them, the tarsier together with the monkey. The tarsier fled into a stand of tall grass, the monkey could not find him. Because the monkey had done nothing other than seek the tarsier, said the monkey when he found him in a stand of tall grass: this is really too bad, friend, I've been all over looking for you. What are you doing there anyway? Hey, said the tarsier, guarding Mother's sword. Said the monkey: let me draw it out once. The tarsier said: wait, let me go a little ways from the area, then pull it out. No sooner had the monkey drawn it, than the monkey's hand was cut. As soon as he was wounded, the monkey became angry. The monkey said: just wait, that tarsier who was just here, I'm going to kill him, he has done nothing other than play me for the fool; what was long grass, he said was a sword. He then went to seek the tarsier, and found him under a bee (nest). Ha, said the monkey, you are the one who played me for a fool. Tisk, tisk, said the tarsier, why, am I the only tarsier? There are heaps of tarsiers. The monkey fell silent. So okay, what are you doing there? The tarsier said: tending Mother's gong. The monkey said: let me hit it once. The tarsier said: wait, let me go a little ways off, then hit away! The tarsier went off, then the monkey hit away; how the monkey was stung by the bees, he was nearly dead. So, just wait, tarsier, the tarsier has just now played me for the fool. He said it was a gong, but it was nothing other than bees. The monkey went seeking the tarsier, he found him in a hole with large black ants. Ha, said the monkey, you are the tarsier who played me for the fool. The tarsier said: hey you, there, friend, I am not the only tarsier, there are lots of tarsiers. So, okay, what are you doing there? Well, said the tarsier, tending Mother's old plate, it lies buried here in the ground. The monkey said, let me dig it up, the tarsier said, not yet, let me go a little from the area. Then it was dug up by the monkey. How he was bitten by the black ants, the monkey's hands swelled up.

Now just wait, the tarsier all along played me for the fool just now. [p. 190] He went seeking him, he found the tarsier in a stand of bamboo. Ha, you are the one who has taken me to be a fool. Oh, said the tarsier, not just I am a tarsier, there are lots of tarsiers. Now, okay, what are you doing there friend? Well, said the tarsier, tending Mother's cannon. The monkey said: let it be shot off once. The tarsier said, go first and call all your friends here, let them all climb in here, only after that will it be shot off. The monkey went and fetched all his companions, then they climbed into the bamboo. The tarsier said, oh, monkey brothers, when the cannon goes off, then you must not take to flight, only just scream. The monkeys said: okay, that's good. When it was like that, the bamboo was set on fire by the tarsier. Then the bamboo started cracking. The tarsier said, yell loud, friends. Then the monkeys screamed loudly altogether: "ha lele, ha lele". It wasn't long before the monkeys were all burnt and dead.

The end.

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### Notes.

(1) *Dagi* stands against *madi* ‘there is’ versus ‘there is not.’ *Madi* is from a root word *di*, which is encountered as a negative in Philippine languages. *Dagi* has the sense of being present, being over, remaining, left. *Dagi komian hi aia?*: ‘Are people still here?’ *Dagi dodop nambamo naibalan*: ‘When it was still early in the morning, the monkey went on his way.’ *Kita toutu-utus dagi hi aide pe’e*: ‘You brothers, just remain here.’ *Mee sapu antian-tianan, dagi noko’ala nalai*: ‘There remained more only a pregnant one, who could still flee.’

The small word *ko* gives the impression of being an article. *O* is also used as such (see note 19). The expression *ko’ikan* ‘fish’ can be encountered by itself, e.g. in answer to a question: what is that in the water? answer: *ko’ikan*. As a rule one encounters this article nevertheless after one of the words *dagi* or *madi*, in the sense of: there is, or there is not, this or that. In the expression: *ihe anu koajahan?*: ‘who has a horse, who maintains a horse?’, *ko* is also once more the article that indicates the genus horse, so that the expression could stand for *ihe anu (dagi) koajahan*. So closely is *ko* connected to the [p. 191] word with which it belongs, that it can take a personal pronoun after it as a unit therewith, e.g. *madi’mo kotuumanyo*: ‘it (the child) no longer had a father,’ literally ‘not was him a father.’ Constructed in entirely the same way is: *madi ko’i balan nompajuli*: ‘the monkey paid no heed.’ Before the article *i* of proper names *ko* here actually has no sense; it gives the impression that a sentence such as this is formed in imitation of that wherein *madi* is followed by a substantive made indefinite by *ko*. Likewise: *adi koaku malai*: ‘I shall not run away.’ In these last examples it has become an emphatic marker.

The difference of this prefix with the adjective-forming *ko* in Bare’e, compare *kobangani*: ‘with contents,’ *kore’e*: ‘in the possession of goods, rich,’ lies not so much in the meaning of the Loinan words formed with *ko*—these can have an entirely corresponding meaning—as herein that the words are not used as adjectives. ‘Are there people in this house?’ cannot be rendered by *\*komianmo nabonua aide?* but by *dagi komian ki bonua aide*. Loinan *komian*, *ko’ikan*, *koajahan* therefore cannot easily be placed next to Bare’e *kobangani*.

(2) *Binasaende*: perfective of *basaende*: ‘be friends.’ *Basaende* next to *basabela* or *mosaende* and *motobela*: ‘be friends.’ *Saende* and *sabela* have the unity prefix *sa-* which is here to be rendered with our *co-* in *co-partners*, etc. Compare *basindua*: ‘love each other,’ of young people who are agreed with respect to their upcoming engagement. Apart from the last expression, which is in general use, the prefix *ba* in the other examples is [particular to] the Luwuk dialect. *Saende*: ‘girlfriend’ of young women and girls, *ihe nasaendeum?*: ‘who is your girlfriend?’ *Bela* is also used between women and women: *oo bela*, *boa utan da mongoli*: ‘say girlfriend, just bring some vegetables, in order that I buy them.’ (For the prefix *ba*, see *De Bare’e-sprekende Toradja’s*, vol. III, p. 279.)

(3) *Inda'* or *inda'mo* is the usual word for 'come on,' 'get going.'

(4) *Aha*, third person plural pronoun. *Aha*, Bobongko *ara*, could well be a substantive, perhaps an independent form of *ra* which is also encountered in Bara'e *sira*, while the old [p. 192] third person pronoun in Loinan has at present become *o-* from *ho-*, from *ro* from *ra*. The independently used pronouns are: *aku*, *oko*, *ia*, *kami*, *kita* (also for the second person singular toward elders or people of rank or respect), *komiu* and *aha*. Possessively used pronouns are *ku* (presanalized after an open syllable to *ngku*), *um* (metathesis of *mu*, e.g. *bonuaum*: 'your house,' sometimes with an off-glide *yum*,<sup>4</sup> e.g. *sangaluyum*: 'your companion'), *nyo*, *mami*, *to* (presanalized to *nto*, which pronominal suffix also has become used and very frequently for the polite form of the second person singular), *miu* and *nu aha*.

In place of the above mentioned independent pronouns are also used: *belengku*, *belemami*, *belento* and *belemiu*, in the sense of I (my person), we excl., we incl. (you polite) and you all. See also *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's*, vol. III, p. 280.

The pronouns preceding verb stems come up for discussion below.

(5) *Nambamo* and *nongala*, past tense of the respective intransitive and transitive verb forms *mamba* and *mongala*. For the meaning of these forms compare *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's*, vol. III, p. 85, second paragraph. As appears from this text and from the examples given by Dr. Adriani, in addition to the changing of *m* into *n*, in many cases there is the attaching of the suffix *mo*. A peculiarity of this suffix in Loinan, such as that spoken in the interior of Lingketen—owing to little contact with Malay-speaking people, the language here has remained the purest—is that it assimilates itself to the final consonant; if this is glottal stop, then the *m* falls away and only after an open syllable does *mo* remain unaltered, e.g. *mobosu* 'satisfied,' *nobosumo*; *mamba*, *nambamo*; *mobuke*: 'full,' *nobuke'o*; *mokujun*: 'blunt,' *nokujunno*; *piin* 'long-lasting,'<sup>5</sup> *piinno*; *mapalak*: 'sick,' *napalakko*; *mombilang*: 'count,' *nombilangngo*; etc.

(6) *Ingke-ingkele*: 'old woman,' Balantak *bingkele*, Bare'e *bangkele*: 'woman.' With the reduplication it remains to be remarked that not more than two syllables can be reduplicated; if the word has a final consonant, then with reduplication this falls away, e.g. [p. 193] *jo'o-jo'on*: 'a bit far,' *paha-pahai*: 'playthings,' *pati-patimba*: 'on both sides,' *ingko-ingkot*: 'all,' *tiku-tikup*: 'all around,' *lapiso-pisok*: 'the blind,' *labongo-bongon*: 'the deaf' (in these last two words *la* is an article encountered in the Luwuk dialect which has been borrowed from Buginese), *kinabe-kabek*: 'repeatedly bitten.' With two syllable words naturally only word repetition occurs, e.g. *iwi-iwi* and *songko-songko*: 'all.' Full word repetition of more than two syllable words gives a slightly different meaning in Bare'e, e.g. *saeo-eo*: 'on the same day,' *saeo-saeo* 'day by day.' In Loinan no examples

<sup>4</sup> [footnote 1, p. 192] Other languages have a *w* for this *y*. The fact that this *y* occurs here, does not take way from the remark in Adriani and Kruyt (1914:84) that Loinan does not have *y*.

<sup>5</sup> [footnote 2, p. 192] In the articulation one hears *piyn*, with which the *y* is spoken through the nose. A consonant which is articulated strongly nasal in various words is *h*, e.g. *mahaap* 'swamp.'

are known to me of entire versus partial reduplication of the same stem. Next to *sangkuka*: ‘how many’ and *sambiha*: ‘to the side’ are *sangkuka-sangkuka* and *sambiha-sambiha* meaning ‘certain’ and ‘on both sides.’

(7) The prefix *kino*, *ko* with infix *in*, sometimes indicates having in strong measure or in great quantity what is denoted by the stem word. *Kinolaap* and *kinolompa* for example are perfective of *kolaap* and *kolompo*, be with hotness, with bigness, which are used in the sense of strong heat, unusually thick or fat. *Mian kiita kodaka*: ‘the man up there is enormously big’; *kinomoton*: ‘plagued by swarming mosquitoes.’ For the meaning of the infix *in* the reader is referred to *De Bare’e-sprekende Toradja’s*, vol. III, p. 84, last paragraph.

(8) *Angko* or *angkonyo* is the same as Sangirese *angkueng* or *ungkueng*, which also has the meaning: ‘say, say that.’ It must be considered as a substantive, because the words which mean ‘I say’ are readily used in substantive form, e.g. Pamona *panto’oku* ‘I say.’ Outside of Luwuk one says instead of *angkonyo*, *konyo*. *Kongku* (originally from *koongku*), means ‘I think, I feel,’ *koyum* ‘you think.’ Bare’e here uses the verbal form *kuto’o*: ‘I think.’

I have encountered the stem *ko* only in the verb *mongkoo*: ‘stammer’ of young children. Exhibiting similarity with the form *angkonyo* are *anokaan*: ‘rice, what is eaten,’ *anompolee*: ‘the forefathers, circumstance, the created,’ *angkinabekum*: ‘that, wherein you have been bitten.’ Originating from the stem *ko* one must consider the possibility here that *a* in this word has demonstrative force, and the word thereby gets the sense of ‘what he said.’

(9) *Hongo* here is a passive perfect, originally formed [p. 194] with the prefix *ni*, which became *i* and which similarly in Luwuk has fallen away, but which in the interior and in other parts of the Loinan language area has remained preserved. The passive of stems beginning with a vowel, *h*, *l* or nasal, is namely formed by the prefixation of *ni*, *in* (for vowels) and part from that *i*. Thus one finds at present in the various dialects next to each other *nalanyo* and *inalanyo*: ‘taken by him,’ from the stem *ala*; *nakalangkumo* next to *inakalangkumo* from the verb *mongakali* ‘make a fool of’; *tolo nepenyo* (for *inepenyo*) *mami*: ‘when it was proved by him to be sweet’; *apâ na ngimanakonnyo*: ‘where awaited by him’; *madi koikan humpak* (for *ihumpak*) *nuaha*: ‘they caught no fish’; *laganyo* and *lionyono* next to *ilaganyo* and *ilionyono*: ‘called by him’ and ‘sought by him’; *nohenyo* for *inohenyo*: ‘obtained by him.’ Next to the already mentioned preterit forms of active verbs in subsection (5), I mention here these active verb forms: *numoti*: ‘went along the low tide beach,’ from the present *umoti*, elsewhere *mongoti*; *numapos*: ‘performed the war dance,’ from the present *umapos*, imperative *apos!* By analogical reasoning one can presume that these forms originate from *inumoti* and *inumapos*.

(10) *Sangkuka*, which means ‘how many,’ has here the sense of: ‘it didn’t last long.’ The expression is elliptical and stands for *madi sangkuka*, such as in French *personne, jamais, rien* and in Bare’e *ngkabongo* (‘for nothing, without reason’), often used in a negative sense without negation. After similar time adverbials, also after a question, what



is said thereafter is introduced by the small conjunction *ka*; the same is the case with this sentence, which in this way stands in causal relationship with the preceding, *sangkuka ka hongo nu tumpu nu bondoi ka tinumputnyo i bonsing*: ‘it wasn’t long before the owner of the garden heard it than he set after the tarsier’; *kadaa ka na momea mataum?*: ‘why is it that your eyes are red?’; *sangkuka ka binubut i balan ka mimbela na limanyo*: ‘it wasn’t long before it (the grass) was pulled out by the monkey, and his hand got a wound.’

*Ka* has the same meaning in Loinan as it does in Mori, or at least a very close similarity therewith. As indicated for Mori in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, vol. 62, [p. 195] part 3, pp. 215 ff., one can also say for this language that *ka* has the force to subsume into a unity that which is compounded by it, which has left the stage of “becoming” and reached the stage of “being”. *Ka* also has the same summing up meaning where it introduces a conclusion, such as in the second part of the first mentioned example here above, such as also in: *lapasje mokoakat kamontugal*: ‘first when one shall be finished with the cleaning out of the burnt wood (in the dry field), then one goes and makes dibble holes’; *lapasje monoso ka mompapui*: ‘only after the clean-cutting of the felled trees, one goes and burns.’ *Ka* must have freed itself from such expressions in order to become a conjunction. Once having become a conjunction, it was also so used that its original meaning is no more to be felt (p. 216 of the mentioned article), e.g.: *monsoop ka mosabat* ‘go in and go back out,’ *dedeng ka tute*: ‘dog and cat.’ As the conjunction between substantives, in the coastal areas one mostly uses *tiba*: *balan tiba buaa*: ‘the monkey and the crocodile.’

(11) *Bondoi* ‘garden,’ where all sorts of vegetables for daily use are planted. *Ale*, in particular ladang,<sup>6</sup> where rice and corn are planted. *Pongale’an*: ‘place where one makes a ladang,’ *pinongale’an*: ‘place where one has already made a ladang.’ To garden (verb) *mombondoi* and *mongale*. For the laying in of a rice field one says *mongkaeng*. An abandoned ladang, young forest, not yet prepared for ladang cultivating, and already long-abandoned ladangs are named: *togolopo* (shaper of the forest, of the wood), *kuhat monguha* or *labong* and *umoi*; uncultivated forest: *alas*.

(12) *Naha* probably stands for *naaha*, third person plural personal pronoun *aha* with the emphatic marker *na*. The particle *na* is added to both independent nouns as well as pronouns and verbs. Dr. Adriani calls it an article (*De Bare’e-sprekende Toradja’s*, vol. III, p. 85, third paragraph from the bottom). Seeing that it is also used before proper names, which already have their article, *naibela*, *naibalan*, *naibonsing*, it would perhaps be better to give it another name. Sometimes before a substantive or pronoun one sees *da* in place of *na*, *angkonyo dagoong*, *taluuani* (line 26), *da oko bela* (line 27), which gives no difference in meaning. [p. 196] *Na* is originally identical with *da*, also with Bare’e *da* and with Buginese *na*; mostly it is our ‘and’ with concluding meaning ‘and thus’ or ‘and then’; it is the same word as Malay *hendak*, Napu *ina*. Not the same, however, is *pe’e da’aku mamba* (line 13) and *pe’e na’aku mamba* (line 31), because *da* before a verb form already has the meaning ‘so that,’ *boa maa (maa’i) dakutoa*: ‘bring it here so that I can

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<sup>6</sup> [translator’s note: Indonesian *ladang* refers to a dry field (as opposed to *sawah*, a wet or flooded field, paddy).]

see it.’ Malay *supaya jangan* is here *da boli: da boli mahome* ‘so that it doesn’t get wet, lest it get wet.’

(13) *Ba’aha* or *ba’a-ba’aha*: ‘with the two of them’; elsewhere than in Luwuk, normally *ua-ua aha*, literally ‘they two.’

(14) *Apa na nubau?*: ‘what are you doing?’ The various prefix-forms of the pronouns in singular and plural here follow, attached to the verb stem *sumbu*: ‘know.’

<i>kusumbu</i>	‘I know it’
<i>nusumbu</i>	‘you know it’
<i>usumbu, nusumbu</i>	‘he knows it’
<i>osumbu</i>	‘one knows it’
<i>osumbunto</i>	‘we (incl.) know it,’ also ‘you (polite sg.) know it’
<i>osumbumami</i>	‘we (excl.) know it’
<i>osumbumi</i>	‘you all know it’
<i>osumbu’u’aha, osumbunu’aha</i>	‘they know it’

These forms are relatively little used, because in many cases priority is given to the nominal form of the verb. Very frequently, especially in the spoken language, use is made of the impersonal form, with which *o-* is added before the stem. *O-* is from *ro-*, corresponding with Bare’e *ra-* or *nda* (see *De Bare’e-sprekende Toradja’s*, vol. III, p. 84, third paragraph from the bottom). Third person *nusumbu* has caused a certain amount of confusion with second person *nusumbu* and this has certainly facilitated the wearing away of the *n*. I have noticed that in the coastal areas, where these forms are little used, both occur next to each other. In the interior the *n* of *nu* has already fallen away. *Nusumbu* must have originated from *nosumbu*, from *nasumbu*, compare *nyo* from *nya*. The change of *u* from *o* is a lightening of the vowel in the syllable, which stands immediately before the stressed syllable and therefore is articulated with little stress. Both for *osumbu* as for *nusumbu* the changes to the existing forms are consequently to be cited in the Bare’e language. Differing, however, is the forming [p. 197] of plural verb forms, with which the indefinite prefix *o* remains preserved and the possessive pronoun for the corresponding persons is added after. In the customary way, the first person plural is employed as the polite form of the second person singular.

(15) *Bubutje*: ‘just pull it out first.’ As emerges from the examples under (10), the meaning of this suffix, which often makes a short sentence construction possible, is something like ‘just, merely, only, only ... left, only ... so far.’ It is the Bare’e *ja*, which is probably also found in Malay *sahaja* and *sangaja*, e.g.: *atina’je naaha*: ‘they are still yonder’; *sangkutmo sumo aiaje ka aku nompeja tano aia*: ‘now (lit. up to so long as only now) is it that I have set foot on this ground’; *ohanije naoko mamba i mona*: ‘when we are still just at a small distance, then you go ahead’; *toloje dodop*: ‘only when it was the day of the morrow,’ thus the following morning.

(16) *Mimbela*: ‘have a wound.’ The same prefix is used for the wearing of articles of clothing: *mimbaju*, *minsapato*. For wounded, something more like: beset with wounds, the stem with *bela* with the suffix *on* is also used (cf. *De Bare’e-sprekende Toradja’s*, vol. III, p. 278, third paragraph), *jaga naoko belaoon*: ‘be careful that you don’t get wounded.’ The prefix *mi* is probably an older form of Bare’e *mě* and is perhaps Minahassan *mě* in *mělawě*; ‘wear a loincloth,’ *měporong*: ‘wear a headcloth,’ *měwěra*: ‘play.’

(17) The expressions *tanda pe’e*: ‘wait a moment,’ *boli pe’e*: ‘jangan dahulu’<sup>7</sup> are in general used in the same sense. In spoken polite register *pe’e* is constantly in use in the sense of: ‘just (do this or that) in a moment, (will you) just (do this or that),’ *laga pe’e*: ‘call a bit,’ *imbo maa (maa’i) pe’e*: ‘come here a moment,’ etc.

(18) *Nabonsing uka* (line 15). *Uka* here stands for *u’uka*: ‘so, exactly, just like that.’

(19) *O pe’eas* (line 16). Next to the well-known article for proper names and similar words, which is also *i* in the genitive (see the reference to Dr. Adriani in note (12) above and *De Bare’e-sprekende Toradja’s*, vol. III, p. 277, second paragraph from the bottom), I have been inclined to see in this *o* an article for common nouns. It is heard extremely seldom. To my question of what a certain kind of millet (Bare’e *jole koju*) in a field was called, I was answered *òjole*. Speaking about this plant, one said further *jole*, not *ojole*. Another story gives: *misa koatina nalimangku, obakat nu tongke naatina angkinabekum*: ‘that is not my hand, it is a mangrove root, [p. 198] into which you have bitten’; *kai bau apaa, naobinatang opoosoa*: ‘why have you taken an animal as your wife?’

(20) Especially for Luwuk, *pobele* is a much used conjunction—in the mountain villages it is not used—which can often be translated as ‘then’: *pobele aha ninsusule*: ‘then they went home.’ In combination with the adverb of time *saje*: ‘just, exactly,’ thus: *saje ... pobele*, alternatively *satan ... pobele*, also *sangkuka ... pobele*, it has the sense of: ‘no sooner ... than, barely ... than, just as ... then.’ There lies in the word in these connections a use something like: ‘suddenly, unexpectedly occurred this or that.’ *Saje montoluk naia, pobele kinabek nu buaa*: ‘no sooner had he laid hold of it than he was bitten by a crocodile.’ If *pobele* thus points to an event which is not yet known to the hearer, then for reminding of an already known or mentioned fact one uses *belemo*, e.g.: *hi mona madi komiu nongka’aho belemo otoamiu binatang*: ‘before you didn’t want to, then you saw the animal (wherein the beautiful lad was hidden).’ *Bele* is also encountered (note 4) in the pronouns *belemami*, *belengku*, etc. This word is synonymous with Bare’e *koju* ‘actually,’ that is further identical with *koro* ‘body,’ whereby the two meanings of this word stand out well in Loinan. The above mentioned *belemo*: ‘then,’ gets the sense of ‘what you actually saw,’ *pobele* that of Bare’e *koju* ‘actually, indeed, really.’ As interjection, articulated with stress *beleemo*, this same word has the sense of Malay *biarlah*.

(21) In *pobele asi lionyo nai bonsing*, *asi* has the meaning of the interjection now: ‘now then the tarsier was sought by him,’ or such as in the translation, ‘he went then

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<sup>7</sup> [translator’s note: *jangan dahulu*, Indonesian for ‘don’t (for the time being).’]

seeking the tarsier.’ *Madi asi piniin nasagin i he’a nimbu’amo*: ‘now it wasn’t long before the turtle’s bananas began to bear fruit’; *dodop asi dagi subu nambamo naibalan* ‘the following morning now, when it was still early, the monkey set out.’

(22) *Hi patu nu bonua*: ‘under the house’; below in the depths: *i aluknyo* (e.g. at the bottom of a ravine, where one goes along above); *hi natan*: ‘in front of the house’; *hi popasan* or *hi padut*: ‘behind the house,’ *popasan*: ‘lot, premises’ (*mompaas*: ‘to weed’); *hi une nu bonua*: ‘in the house’; *i ahopku* ‘in front of me’; *i hikungku*: ‘behind me’; *mamba i mona*: ‘go before, [p. 199] go in advance’; *i mihi*: ‘come after, come behind’; *sambiha koanan*: ‘right’; *sambiha koi*: ‘left.’ *Hi* originates from *ri*, and *i* again from *hi*. It is identical with Malay *di*.

(23) *Kai ola aku*: ‘why only me?’ *Bolong ola aku*: ‘not only me,’ *kai bau apa*: ‘why, what for?’; *bolong bau apa*: ‘not for anything, without any reason’; *bolong ola aku nongkaan*: ‘not alone I ate.’ The article *ola* occurs in the priestly register of Bare’e in the sense of the causative *aka*, further it is found in Bare’e *oja*: ‘standing alone,’ *poja*: ‘a lone tree.’

(24) *Goong i Ina*: ‘Mother’s gong.’ *Ina* is the root word, which lives on in stories as an archaism, since the usual word for mother is *tina*, originating from *tuina*, where *tu*, just as in *tuuma*: ‘father’ and Bare’e *tuama*, *tukaka*, *tuea’i*, likewise for example in Sundanese *tubagus* (a title), is an honoring prefix. Grandfather and grandmother are *kai’* and *kele*. *Tuuma* and *tina* are in the vocative *mama’* and *nene*. These are vocatives from child speech. Children readily allow words of two syllables, which begin with a vowel, to commence with the same consonant as that with which the second syllable begins, for example Bare’e *sasu* for *asu*: ‘dog,’ with us: *tante*, Latin *amita*, syncopated to *anta*, English *aunt*. Thus the old form of *uma*, namely *ama*, has become *mama’* and *ina*, *ine* to *nina*, *nine*, *nene*. The Malay forms *mamak* and *nenek* also originated this way. In Tontemboan *apo’*: ‘grandfather,’ *ito’*: ‘uncle,’ *ama*: ‘father’ became *papo’*, *tito’* and *mama’* in the vocative. The Loinan stem *baba* also originates from child language. In the interior small children say to their fathers only *baba*; in Luwuk (coastal) in general children say it to their father and to other people of respect, *oo baba kai bau apa naobinatang opo’osoa?* (see note 19). The name which a mother bears according to her child, as Mother of so-and-so, is the *pontotina’ian*, of the father it is *pontotuma’ian*; the verbs belonging herewith are: *montotina’i* and *montotuma’i*. The *i* herein is the article in the sense of *tuma i* or *tina i*: ‘the father of...’, ‘the mother of...’. *Olili* a name not used (for *o* see note 14) because it is that of a father, mother, or an older family member. *Tatu* names in general a small boy, actually only a young boy of good family; to a small girl one says in Luwuk *iki* (from *piki* ‘vagina,’ compare Bare’e *i eti* from *leti* ‘id.’), elsewhere one uses *udu*. [p. 200]

(25) The usual small ant is called *soom*, Bare’e *sojo*, Minahassan languages: *sěřěm*, *sěřěm*. The red biting ant *atak*.

(26) *Manau* is the word generally used for old of objects; new is *bu’oo* or *bu’oi*.

(27) From the stem *lamun* is formed *polamunan*, the usual word for ‘cemetery.’

(28) In connection with note (12), it still needs to be pointed out the examples contained in this story of the prefixing of emphatic *na* before the personal pronoun used as prefix, *soba nakububut* (line 12), *soba nakubatong* (line 21), *soba nakukeke* (line 30), *soba naopolontup* (line 38), with which *o* is the third person impersonal form.

(29) *Lako* imperative ‘go!’ *Lako polio doi* ‘go seek money’; *lako pinsusule*: ‘go and return home’; *lako lamba*: ‘go away.’ For that matter *lajang* in its various derivations such as *lumajang*, *lalajang*, *laja-lajang*, *kolaja-lajang* etc. which come up for further discussion below, is used in the sense of ‘go, wander,’ *lako* only in the imperative form.

(30) *Paha*: ‘all.’ *Paha pojiji nakomiu*: ‘go stand all in a row’; *pahamo bineannyo momangan*: ‘all were given sirih by him.’ *Paha* is the same word as Javanese *para*, which forms a plural. Compare Bare’e *parasi pae* ‘the rice is the lot used up.’

(31) *Poliba* is also the usual word for requesting someone to come up the ladder and inside: *poliba maa (maa’i)*: ‘come up.’

(32) *Motoutus*: ‘be brothers, be brother and sister,’ *motoutu-utus*: ‘be family of each other.’ The ‘oh brothers’ is thus not to be interpreted in the strictest sense. *To* also occurs in *tominsan mo’ane*, *tominsan boune*: ‘nephew’ and ‘neice.’ With respect to the meaning of *to*, this could here be: ‘become as what the prefix *to* indicates.’ Although in some soon-to-be mentioned words one is inclined to identify *to* with Bare’e *to* in *Tolaga*, *Topebato*, *Topobare’e*, which have the sense of: ‘the inhabitants of Lage, of Pebato, speakers of the Bare’e language,’ *to* probably has the same sense here. Nevertheless in Loinan one finds at present at least *to* no more in the meaning of person, people; Loinan or Saluan speakers are named *mian loinan*, *mian saluan*, not *toloinan*, etc. The words alluded to above are *tomomo’ane* ‘men,’ *toboboune* ‘women,’ *toana-anak* ‘children’ (*poita tulu hi antoana-anak*: [p. 201] ‘ask help of the children’), *antotuu-tuumo* ‘people advanced in years,’ *tominuat* ‘the spirits of the deceased ancestors.’

(33) *Malai*: ‘run away, flee’; *palaimo boli humaang*: ‘get out of the way, don’t cry’; *mompalarii*: ‘abandon someone’; *kampung aijo pinalaian nu mian*: ‘the village was abandoned by the people’; *aku tinompalai*: ‘I have escaped,’ literally ‘I was able to escape (from a danger).’ The *to* in *tompalai* is comparable with Bare’e *te* in *tepangkoni*, *tepowose*, *teponuntu*: ‘gotten to eat,’ ‘gotten (been able) to row,’ ‘able to come up with the word.’

(34) *Hagai*: ‘shout, yell, cheer!’ *Mohagai*: ‘in large number shout, cheer’; *molohaga*: ‘yell, shout, cheer hard’;<sup>8</sup> *moloboo* call somebody very loudly by calling, *boo* . . . (followed by the name of the one called); *moloais*: ‘strike up the war cry.’

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<sup>8</sup> [footnote 1, p. 201] In Parigi *haga* has the sense of chase after, pursue one another.

(35) The stem *lele* occurs in *monsalelei*: ‘the squealing of the women who are jumping to and fro, while the men perform a war dance.’ When doing this they hold a cloth in the hands, with which they try, as it were, to stop him, while others, more at a distance, incite the brave man on while squealing and jumping. In Bare’e *lele* has the meaning of ‘go to and fro,’ also: ‘hawk, peddle,’ *ju’a lele*: ‘communicable disease,’ *melele*: ‘cross over a small plank.’

(36) *Nahopu*: ‘dead, perished in large numbers.’ Used of people it is coarse: *paha pahopu nakomiu*: ‘fall all of you dead, damn you!’ In Bare’e *hopu* is *ropu*: *naropu nto Napu*: ‘massacred by the To Napu.’ *To Payapi maropumo*: ‘the To Payapi have become extinct.’

(37) *Hikayat* is a Malay word. The Loinan have *sisikon* for ‘story, report’; *monsisik*: ‘make a report, tell’; *ondu-onduon*: ‘folk tradition, folktale.’

*Bonsing*, the animal which is named with the monkey in the title of the story, in all probability is the tarsier. In Bobongko, an archaic Loinan, that animal is called *boncing* and in Tomini *bunsili*.

*Sipada* (line 11) is Portuguese *espada*, ‘sword.’

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