

Information about the language of Mekongga

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DESCRIPTION

The Genesis story of creation, recounted in the Mekongga dialect of Tolaki, is followed by an English translation and lexical and grammatical notes.

SOURCE

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VERSION HISTORY

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Information about the language of Mekongga¹

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In the third volume of *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden Celebes*, one can find on pages 235–239 some remarks concerning the language of Mekongga, extracted from information provided by Mr. W. Muller, at that time civil administrator at Kolaka. In addition some information about the language can be obtained from the first volume of Dr. Elbert's work, *Die Sunda-Expedition* pages 252 to 259. However, one must be very cautious with the language work of this naturalist, as he conducted his research rapidly, which is not possible in the area of language, regardless of how it is done. Fortunately I now have the opportunity to bring together some more language material from Mekongga, on account of the placement of Hendrik van der Klift in Mekongga as missionary-pastor through the Dutch Missionary Union.² As the first fruits of his language study, I have received from him a bit of translation work, "The Creation Story in Mekongga," with a word-by-word translation, furthermore a grammatical sketch of the language and a word list.

It appears to me that I can make best use of these data by publishing the text and translation just as I have received them, and from the grammatical information and word list to put together some notes about the text. The material here following is thus from Mr. H. van der Klift. I am responsible for its adaptation and arrangement.

¹ [translator's note: Mekongga is spoken along the western coast of the southeastern peninsula of Sulawesi (Celebes). At the time this paper was composed, the authors considered Mekongga to be a separate language, even though Adriani himself had published four years earlier on the close relationship it shared with Tolaki (Adriani and Kruyt 1914:238). Today Mekongga is considered to be one of the two principal dialects of Tolaki, the other principal dialect being Konawe. In preparing this translation, I am indebted to Scott Youngman's deep knowledge of Tolaki and the many helpful comments which he offered on an earlier version of this paper.]

² [translator's note: Dutch *Nederlandsche Zendingsvereniging*.]

Bobaino o lino³

Pu'a Ala nabobai le'esu lahuene rongga o lino. O lino inggiro hinela'ako raino, hende-hende o tahi, nabatutu roroma, Roh Ala meluma-luma ri babono iwoi. Nateni Pu'a Ala: [p. 150] Dadi mengгаа! telalo mengгаа. Ario inggirono, Pu'a Ala natinangge mengгаа rongga roroma; mengгаа ritamongge: "oleo," rongga roroma ritamongge: "o wengi." Ario inggirono dadi kinibia ma'oru-oru; inggirono ole'o me'aso.

Ole'o me'oruo, Pu'a Ala nabobai udara ritamongge lahuene; inggirono natinangge iwoi ri babono rongga iwoi ri loluno.

Ole'o me'otolu, Pu'a Ala natinangge o tahi rongga bawokamba; rongga nateni Pu'a Ala: "Laiki toro ri bawokamba inggirono, o kuro rongga petoro-toroa rongga o kasu-kasu."

Ole'o me'o'omba, Pu'a Ala nabobai ole'o rongga o bula rongga lulu'ako ana butiti. Ole'o me'olimo Pu'a Ala nabobai lulu'ako raino kolele metoro i uneno iwoi, rongga lulu'ako manu-manu rongga kolele-kolele⁴ mepani inggirono rongga diberkati Pu'a Ala nateni: "Dadi-dadio inggomiu."

Ole'o me'ono ripelu'ako Pu'a Ala ari inggirono nateni Pu'a Ala: Me'ambo inggami mebobai to'ono hende-hende inggami, supaya inggirono naparindai lulu'ako o bete i uneno o tahi, rongga lulu'ako manu-manu, rongga kolele bawokamba, rongga ihino o lino lulu'ako.

Nabobai Pu'a Ala to'ono hende-hende raino inggirono, o'aso langgai ritamongge: Ada, rongga ripebei o'aso o more itomu. Lalo diberkati Pu'a Ala oru'ono rongga nateni: "Dadi-dadio inggomiu, pono i o lino rongga meparindai lulu'ako ihino."

Pu'a Ala nakikii hapo-hapo nabobaino inggiro, ma'ena lalo me'ambo'a.

Ole'o me'opitu inggiro ariarioto Pu'a Ala ari lulu'ako bobaino arito.

Diberkati Pu'a Ala ole'o me'opitu inggiro, napokoobosei.

The creation of the earth

The Lord God in olden times made the heavens and the earth. The earth was desolate in appearance, like the sea; darkness surrounded it; the Spirit of God hovered over the water. God spoke: "let it become light," then there was light. After this, the Lord God divided

³ [translator's note: For how the spelling of native words has been updated in this translation, see the Postscript.]

⁴ [translator's note: In the original written *kolele*², with a superscripted numeral 2 to indicate reduplication. However, as never more than the first two syllables are reduplicated in Mekongga, the correct form is *kole-kolele*.]

the light from the darkness. The light was named [p. 151] ‘day’ and the darkness was named ‘night.’ After this, there was evening and morning, that was the first day.

The second day the Lord God made the air, which was named the heaven, which divided the water above and the water below.

The third day God divided the sea and the dry ground, and God said: “Let there be life upon the ground, grass and herbs and trees.”

The fourth day the Lord God made the sun, the moon and all the stars. The fifth day the Lord God made all sorts of animals which live in the water and all birds and winged animals, and they were blessed by God. He said, “may you all surely thrive.”

The sixth day all sorts of land animals were called forth by God upon the earth. After that time, the Lord God said, “It is good that we should make people, similar to our self, that they should wield dominion over all the fish in the sea and the birds and land animals and whatever is upon the earth.”

The Lord God made men of this sort, a man named Adam and he was given a woman also. Afterward they were both blessed by the Lord God, saying “may you all flourish, occupy the earth and rule over its entire contents.”

The Lord God saw all that He made, it was really good.

The seventh day the Lord God rested from all his work that was past.

The seventh day was blessed by the Lord God, He made it great.

Bobaino o lino. ‘the making of the earth.’ A genitive relation is expressed in Mekongga through compounding, which is encountered in three forms:

1. Coordination: the two elements follow each other and constitute one notion, without any particle being added in between. For example:

<i>pu’u kasu</i>	‘tree trunk’
<i>ahu api</i>	‘fire smoke’
<i>ana manu</i>	‘baby chicken (chick)’ [p. 152]
<i>iwoi mata</i>	‘tears’
<i>mata ole’o</i>	‘sun disc’
<i>mumu raha</i> ⁵	‘ridge of the roof’
<i>ana bula</i>	‘child of the moon (star)’

⁵ [translator’s note: In the original spelled *woemoe raha*, but initial *w* must be regarded as a typesetting error.]

2. An insertion comes between the two elements. This is an article or relative pronoun, and rightly our old friend *nu* or *anu*, which occurs in so many Indonesian languages as an indefinite or interrogative pronoun or as general indicator of relationship. As an insertion between two words which stand in genitive-relationship, it is often shortened to *nu* or to a simple prenasalization of the second element. The latter is the case in the following examples:

<i>lalo ngkasu</i>	‘wilderness’
<i>ana mbutiti</i>	‘star’
<i>ana mbu’u</i>	‘grandchild’
<i>ana ngkasu</i>	‘undergrowth’
<i>ana ngkai</i>	‘pinky finger’
<i>ina ngkai</i>	‘thumb’
<i>ana ngkare</i>	‘small toe’
<i>ina ngkare</i>	‘big toe’
<i>iwoi ntawaro</i>	‘sago water’
<i>ponda mbelo</i>	‘sago ladle’

The compound *lalo ngkasu* is thus to be analyzed as *lalo* ‘the inside, the interior, inside of’ plus *ngkasu* from *nu kasu* ‘namely the tree, that is to say the tree.’ *Nu*, or the prenasalization, lends a certain emphasis to the second element.⁶

This is clearly to be seen in the Bare’e language (Central Celebes). A person whose sight is not sharp, points to a round, black, moving object, and asks, “What is that?” He is answered with emphasis, “A pig!” with heavy stress placed on the syllable *pig*, such as we place when we say, “You don’t see it? It’s a *pig*!” In Bare’e one says in response, *Nu wawu*, while *wawu* ‘pig’ by itself is the same as no emphasis being placed. In the familiar story of the ape and the turtle, the ape has captured the turtle and wants to punish him. The turtle makes as if he is afraid of the water and the ape, [p. 153] supposing now he has found the right means of revenge, cries out with pleasure, *Nu ue!* “The water!” (with heavy stress on *wa*), meaning something like: that is what we must have.

In Bare’e ‘my coconut’ is *kayukuku*, but ‘my coconut’ is *anuku kayuku* (for: *anu kayukuku*). *Nu* thus sharply defines, clearly indicates, elevates the word which it modifies.

The example given under 1: *pu’u kasu*, ‘tree trunk’ is thus as different from *lalo ngkasu* ‘inside space of the trees, inside in the trees, wilderness’ as *ngkasu* is the emphatic form of *kasu*, because it is allocated more emphasis when designated with the article than without. On the other hand, the frequent use of this article has caused its particular meaning to fade.⁷

⁶ [translator’s note: Although not mentioned by Adriani, he had published an extensive article concerning the ligature *nu* and its variants in Bare’e (Pamona) and other languages; see Adriani (1897).]

⁷ [translator’s note: This is not true for Tolaki, where *pu’u nggasu* is the common, expected form. There is no variation *kasu* ~ *nggasu* expressing emphasis.]

3. The first element is compounded with the third person pronoun suffix *-no* ‘his, her, its.’ For example:⁸

<i>buano pu’u</i>	‘tree fruit’
<i>tawano pu’u</i>	‘tree leaf’
<i>ra’ano pu’u</i>	‘tree branch’
<i>menda’ano bangka</i>	‘boat’s length’

In these examples the first element always denotes a part of a greater whole. In many Indonesian languages such words contain the third person pronominal suffix as a fixed component part, because they always imply the notion of a greater whole.

In the Tontemboan language (Minahassa), words such as *lalaina* ‘leaf,’ *rondora* ‘stem,’ *tu’ura* ‘stem,’ *pangana* ‘branch’ and *wua’na* ‘fruit’ always occur with the third person pronoun attached. *tu’anana* and *tu’dana*, which both also mean ‘stem,’ have the very same suffix twice.

Also Bare’e has words which are always thought of in genitive-relationship, and therefore always suffixed with *-nya*, such as *galonya* ‘side dish,’ *tadunya* ‘priestess,’ *kabosenya* ‘village chief’ and *koronya* ‘river.’

In the mountain languages of the East-Toraja group the word *tauna* ‘people’ is regularly encountered, which we also find in Mekongga *to’ono*. People are thus not conceived of as separate, but always as part of a group, a family, a tribe. So also [p. 154] the word *ana* ‘child’ is not to be used alone in the Torajan languages (just as for that matter Javanese *anak*); it must always stand in genitive-relationship. If one wants to use it alone, then one must say *ana nggodi*, literally ‘small child.’

If we now look at the expression *bobaino o lino*, ‘the making of the earth,’ then we must place it in this third group. The stem *bobai* means ‘work, make,’ compare Napu *babehi* ‘make, perform, have in hand.’ Supposing that *bobai* and *babehi* are cognate and the root word is to be found in Bare’e *babe* ‘look at, consider, examine closely,’ then *bobai* has a suffix *-i*, such as also encountered in the following examples:⁹

<i>dungkui</i>	‘come to’
<i>mehawai</i>	‘think on’
<i>pobosei</i>	‘make big’

⁸ [translator’s note: Van der Klift’s transcription omits a prosthetic vowel on the second, two-syllable member of this construction. The data should be cited as *wuano opu’u*, *tawano opu’u*, etc. (In the current, established orthography for Tolaki, the prosthetic vowel is written as one word with the stem.)]

⁹ [translator’s note: At this point in the discussion, there is an unfortunate conflation of the derivational suffix *-i* (which has applicative uses) and the third person singular suffix *-i*. The forms which follow should be understood as *dunggu’i* ‘come to it,’ *mehawa’i* ‘think on it,’ *poko’owose’i* ‘make it big,’ *konggo’i* ‘gather it,’ and *meronga’i* ‘accompany it.’ The corresponding formation with stem *wowai* (not *bobai*) is *wowai’i* ‘make it.’]

<i>konggoi</i>	‘gather’
<i>merongai</i>	‘accompany’

However, it is not yet clear how on its own *bobaino o lino* can mean ‘making of the world’ (creation). *Bobai* is a verb stem, not a verbal noun, treated here as a substantive. How it can control a genitive object and not an accusative object remains obscure nevertheless.

O lino ‘the world.’ The word *lino* is common in the languages of South and Central Celebes; as an adjective it has the meaning ‘clear, distinct,’ and thus originally means ‘all that is visible.’

The article *o*, which is much encountered in the languages of the Bungku-Mori group, to which Mekongga belongs, modifies common nouns. Examples are:

<i>o wete</i>	‘the fish’
<i>o wengi</i>	‘the night’
<i>o kuro</i>	‘the grass’
<i>o kasu</i>	‘the wood’
<i>o bula</i>	‘the moon’
<i>o tahi</i>	‘the sea’
<i>o buta</i>	‘the land’
<i>o sa’o</i>	‘the snake’
<i>o tembi</i>	‘the loincloth’
<i>o tambu</i>	‘the sword’ [p. 155]
<i>o beli</i>	‘the blood’
<i>o bala’a</i>	‘the daybreak’
<i>o tampo</i>	‘the door’
<i>o bine</i>	‘the seed’
<i>o tusa</i>	‘the pole’
<i>o hio</i>	‘the salt’ ¹⁰
<i>o dula</i>	‘the wall’
<i>o bundo</i>	‘the honey’ ¹¹
<i>o bulu</i>	‘the hair’
<i>o sisi</i>	‘the ring’
<i>o raha</i>	‘the house’
<i>o dara</i>	‘the horse’
<i>o me’o</i>	‘the cat’
<i>o uti</i>	‘the monitor lizard’

¹⁰ [translator’s note: In actuality *ohio* ‘salt’ is a trisyllabic stem, the initial syllable of which happens to be *o*. It thus differs from the other examples cited here, which are disyllabic noun stems that, in certain defined grammatical contexts, take the addition of a prosthetic vowel *o*.]

¹¹ [translator’s note: Probably incorrectly cited, compare *owondu* ‘honey’ as reported in a Mekongga Holle wordlist collected in 1932 (Stokhof 1985:876).]

Pu'a Ala ‘the Lord God.’ *Pu'a* is the well-known word for ‘lord, owner, master,’ which has as its root *pu*, *pun*, *pung*, from which the various forms: *puan*, *opu*, *ěmpu*, *ěmpung*, *ompu*, *apo*, *pue*, *ampu*, etc. originate.

In Mekongga the word exhibits a glottal stop. According to Van der Klift, a glottal stop is always pronounced between two vowels, which may be considered a very strange peculiarity of the Mekongga language. In words such as *sa'o* ‘snake’ (Malay etc. *sawa*); *ole'o* ‘sun’ (Bobongko, Loinang *dolag*, Gorontalo *dulahu*); *bala'a* ‘daybreak’ (Parigi *babaja*, Bugis *baja*, Bada *bada* ‘yellow’); *bu'u* ‘well, source’ (Bare'e *tibubu*); *menda'a* ‘long’ (Gorontalo *daka* ‘large’); *bula'a* ‘gold’ (Mongondow *bulawan*); *pu'u* ‘trunk, stem’ (Malay *pohon*); *ra'a* ‘branch’ (Malay *dahan*); and *nda'u* ‘year’ (Malay *tahun*); the glottal stop may be explained as the remnant of a former consonant. But in words like *me'o* ‘cat,’ *pu'a* ‘lord,’ *to'ono* ‘people,’ *pa'u* ‘to speak,’ and *ino'i* ‘who?’ the glottal stop is not organic. The rule should probably be considered general.¹²

Nabobai. In this word *na-* is probably the third person singular pronominal prefix, so that *nabobai* is a conjugated form, which means ‘he makes, he made, he has made.’ *Na-* thus refers to the immediately preceding subject *Pu'a Ala*. The literal translation is thus ‘The Lord God, he made.’ [p. 156]

le'esu ‘former, first.’ Besides this, *mbelesu* also occurs, compare Bare'e *mbele puri = ri puri*.

lahu'ene ‘the heaven, the firmament.’ The clear part of this word is *lahu*, which in Sangir is the name of a sickness-carrying spirit. In Tagalog, Bisayan we find *laho*, and in Pampanga *lauo*, the name of a monster that devoured the moon, by lunar eclipsing. In Mori they have *lahumoa*, and in Bare'e *lamoa*, with the meaning ‘gods, spirits,’ in which *moa* can be identified with Malay *moyang*. The Mekongga and Laki have *lahuene*. Faced with *moa*, *moyang*, this leads one to think about Malay *nenek*; if this comparison is correct (Bare'e has *tete* ‘aunt,’ and *nene* ‘mother’), then *lahuene* is an alternate for *lahumoa*, which probably became made through the similar meaning of words. *Lahuene* should originally mean, then: ‘the atmosphere and the spirit which lives therein’ (see Adriani and Kruyt 1914:49).

ronga ‘and, with.’ Compare with Malay *děngan*, Sangir *dingang*, and Bare'e *rangani* ‘to increase,’ *ronga* ‘quick, early,’ originally ‘immediately, at the same time,’ and *rongo* ‘spouse,’ originally ‘companion.’

o lino inggiro ‘the earth, the aforementioned earth.’ *Inggiro* is the deictic pronoun for second and third person; that of the first person is *ne'o* ‘this, these,’ compare *nu'o*, *nudo*, deictic pronoun in West Mori. One finds *inggiro* back in Tolaki *inggiro'o*, third person personal pronoun and at the same time deictic pronoun. Another form of *inggiro* is the

¹² [translator's note: In hindsight it is clear that Van der Klift is mistaken on this point, because the rule is not general. See the Postscript.]

deictic adverb *ikiro* ‘over there,’ next to which stand the deictic adverbs of the first and second person: *ikeni* ‘here’ and *ikutu* ‘there.’

hinela’ako raino ‘it was found desolate, waste in appearance.’ The word *hinela’ako* contains the suffix *-ako*, which has this form throughout the Bungku-Mori languages, and is to be identified with Javanese *-akĕn*, Bare’e *-aka*, with which causative verbs are formed. Other examples are:

<i>peluako</i>	‘come out’
<i>mehuiako</i>	‘hide, conceal’
<i>tumenako</i>	‘order, force’

furthermore *lulu’ako* ‘every, all’¹³ and *tinamo’ako* ‘renowned.’ It is not yet clear from these examples what the force of *-ako* is. For that matter the causative meaning is not original to this suffix. In addition, *hinela’ako* possibly also contains the infix *in*, of which the following examples may be cited: *tinunggai* [p. 157] ‘plan, intention.’ The stem of this word, *tunggai*, also occurs in Bare’e, with the same meaning that *tinunggai* has in Mekongga.

<i>tinu’enga</i>	‘hung up’
<i>inehe</i>	‘missing, wanted’

Also to be brought up is *tinarungku*, ‘prison, captivity,’ of which the stem is the familiar word *tarungku* (which was borrowed from Portuguese via Malay), which by itself means ‘prison, captivity.’ Thus one should probably ascribe to *tinarungku* the meaning ‘caught,’ all the more because the infix *in*, which originally had a preterit meaning, has preserved it especially in the passive-perfective meaning.

How now, on the other hand, *hinela’ako* is to be further explained, I cannot yet determine based on the available data.

hende-hende o tahi ‘like the sea.’ The expression *hende-hende* means literally ‘leap up to, try to reach, endeavor to come as high as.’ *Hende* is Bare’e *sende* ‘spring up, with a jump try to reach something’; *hende-hende ne’o* ‘thus, like this’ (referring to what follows); *hende-hende inggitu* ‘thus, like that’ (referring to what precedes).

hende and *tahi* are examples of *h* which originated from *s*. The consonant *s* occurs very widely in Mekongga, but yet has to a great extent become *h*. Other examples are:

<i>haki</i>	‘pain’	cf.	Malay <i>sakit</i>
<i>hiwu</i>	‘small’	"	Bare’e <i>siwu</i>
<i>mohina</i>	‘morning, following day’	"	Malay <i>sinar</i>

¹³ [translator’s note: Incorrectly cited. The correct form is *luwuako*, not *lulu’ako*.]

<i>hio</i> ¹⁴	‘salt’	"	Batak <i>sira</i>
<i>bohu</i>	‘satisfied’	"	Bare’e <i>bosu</i>
<i>ahu</i>	‘smoke’	"	Bare’e <i>rasu</i>
<i>nohu</i>	‘rice mortar’	"	Malay <i>lěsung</i>
<i>baho</i>	‘to bathe’	"	Malay <i>basah</i>

nabatutu roroma ‘it closes it off, encloses it, the darkness.’ Thus, ‘the darkness encloses the earth.’ The same prefix *na-* is present in *nabatutu* as in the above mentioned *nabobai*. The stem *batutu* contains a prefix *ba-*, which also occurs in Bare’e *watutu* ‘sack which one carries with oneself, containing sirih-pinang [betel nut] and that which one again and again must have,’ and *botutu* ‘mosquito net.’ The stem is *tutu* ‘to shut,’ cf. Malay *tutup*.

roroma ‘darkness.’ Compare Bare’e *doloma* ‘twilight, half-light, half-darkness.’ [p. 158]

Roh Allah ‘the Holy Spirit.’ Borrowed from Malay. Such a borrowing can be excused to a first attempt at translation, but in general it is dubious to import terms from Malay for concepts which one cannot yet express in the language. With a foreign word the people do not master the foreign concept, but later it becomes impossible to uproot the foreign word. It is better to wait until one finds the correct word, or one which the people themselves make.

meluma ‘to fly,’ *meluma-luma* ‘to hover, be suspended.’

ri babono iwoi ‘on the upper surface of the water.’ *Babo* ‘above surface, upper surface’ is one of the place-designating words with which the preposition *ri* ‘in, at, to’ becomes elaborated. As a substantive *babo* requires second case,¹⁵ here expressed by the suffix *-no*.

teni ‘speak,’ *nateni Pu’a Ala* ‘he spoke, namely God.’¹⁶

dadi ‘become,’ originally borrowed from Bugis *jaji*.

menggaa ‘bright, clear.’ Compare Bare’e *manggaa* ‘yellow,’ *nggaanya* ‘egg yolk.’

telalo ‘at once.’ The stem of this word is *lalo*, a word which in Bare’e means ‘advanced in ripeness or age’ and by extension ‘past time, gone past a certain stage.’ The base meaning

¹⁴ [translator’s note: Incorrectly cited. The correct form is *ohio*. See footnote 10.]

¹⁵ [translator’s note: Dutch *den tweeden naamval*, that is, genitive case.]

¹⁶ [translator’s note: Adding ‘namely’ is not necessary. This is simply verb-subject word order, with the subject indexed on the verb. ‘God said’ would be an accurate translation.]

of Mekongga *telalo* is thus originally ‘attaining to the next period, subsequently, thereupon, at once, after that.’¹⁷

The prefix *te-* indicates an accidental-passive state. Examples are:

<i>tekokomi</i>	‘frightened’ ¹⁸
<i>telonggo</i>	‘raised’
<i>tesolo</i>	‘forgotten’
<i>tekonggo</i>	‘collected’
<i>tebuti-buti</i>	‘deceived’
<i>tekale-kale</i>	‘dispersed’
<i>te’aro’a</i>	‘fixed, settled, certain’

ario inggirono ‘that having occurred, that having past, after this, hereupon.’ The word *ario* consists of *ari* and the enclitic *-o*; the meaning of *ari* is ‘from’; *inggirono* ‘that,’ namely *inggiro* with the third person pronoun suffix; *ario inggirono* ‘from that, from there on, thereupon, subsequently.’

natinangge ‘he separated.’ The form *tinangge* consists of the stem *tina* and the suffix *-ke*, which sometimes becomes prenasalized. Van der Klift means that the prenasalized [p. 159] form of this suffix occurs where the last syllable of the stem begins with a nasal. It is very possible that this observation is correct; it is confirmed by most of the presently known examples.

<i>tamo</i> ‘name’	<i>tamongge</i> ‘name something’
<i>ka’u</i> (stem)	<i>peka’uke</i> ‘summon somebody’
<i>hanu</i> (stem)	<i>hanuke</i> ‘bind, punish, oppress someone’
<i>teni</i> (stem)	<i>teningge</i> ‘inform’
<i>riri</i> (stem)	<i>ririke</i> ‘love someone’
<i>katu</i> (stem)	<i>pekatuke</i> ‘send on’
<i>biari</i> ‘weep’	<i>pobiarike</i> ‘weep about, mourn over’
<i>suke</i> ‘ask’	<i>sukeke</i> ‘ask for’ ¹⁹

Form these examples it appears that the suffix *-ke* (*-ngge*) is the same as the general Indonesian *-kan*, Bare’e *-ka*. The same relationship exists between *-ke* and *-ka* as between the West Mori words *use* ‘rain,’ *saire* ‘sickle,’ *wute* ‘ground,’ *wue* ‘fruit,’ and East Mori *usa*, *saira*, *wuta*, *wua*; the final *-a* has become *e*. The prenasalization of *-ke* appears to be

¹⁷ [translator’s note: The expression referred to here is actually *telalo mengga’a*, literally ‘gone past / exceeding (*telalo*) the place of brightness (*mengga’a*)’ but which idiomatically means ‘very bright, exceedingly bright.’]

¹⁸ [translator’s note: Incorrectly cited. The correct form is *tekokoni*.]

¹⁹ [translator’s note: Incorrectly cited. The correct forms are *suko* ‘ask’ and *sukokee* ‘ask for.’]

associated with the beginning of the final syllable of the root word. Only in *hanuke* is no prenasalization to be observed.

ritamongge. This word is translated as ‘be named.’ The prefix *ri-* must thus have the same meaning as Bugis *ri-* and Malay *di-*. Still other examples are: *ripeluako Pu’a Ala*, translated as ‘were summoned forth by God’; *ripebei* ‘was given.’ Concerning the true nature of this prefix, at present it still cannot be judged.

kinibia ‘evening, afternoon,’ Bare’e *ngkinowia*, Par. *manggowia*. These words probably have as stem *gowi*, a co-form of *rowi* and *owi*, which long ago must have meant ‘night.’ Compare Sangir *hēbi*, Talaut *rabi*, Tagalog, Bisayan, Iban. *gabi*, Ponosakan *gowii*, Nias *owi*; *ngkinowia* thus actually means ‘overtaken by the night.’ The word indicates the time from 4 to 6 pm and can be translated by our word *evening*, because the time immediately after 6 o’clock is named *night*.

ma’oru-oru ‘dawn, early morning.’ Compare Parigi *maingolu*, *mengolu*, ‘the break of dawn,’ Tawaelia *naingolu*, in which *mai*, *nai* is a locative preposition. [p. 160]

ole’o me’aso ‘first day.’ In Mekongga the ordinal numbers are formed with the prefix *me-*, thus *me’aso* ‘first,’ *me’oruo* ‘second,’ *me’otolu* ‘third,’ *me’o’omba* ‘fourth,’ etc.

iwoi ri loluno ‘water in the deep, water below.’ This *lolu* is identical with Malay *dalam*, Javanese *dalēm* ‘in, inside, deep.’

bawokamba ‘the dry land, the coast.’ Of the two elements from which this expression is compounded, *bawo* ‘upper surface, up, up above’ and *kamba*, the second is not known to me in isolation. Perhaps it is identical with Javanese *kambang* ‘to float, to come above water.’

laiki toro ‘it, they live.’ In addition to *laiki*, there is also reportedly *laika*, and furthermore *laipo*, *laito* ‘it is still, moreover, meanwhile.’ The element *lai* must thus well have the meaning ‘be, be present.’ In Bare’e *lai* is a preposition which in use and meaning does not differ from *ri*; it is the locative ‘to.’

toro ‘live,’ in Bare’e *toro* means ‘turn, turn round.’ Compare also Mekongga *petoroo* ‘life, flourishing, prosperity, well-being,’ *petoro-toroo* ‘various living things,’ for example grass, plants, etc.

kasu-kasu ‘all sorts of trees.’ The word reduplication frequently indicates a plural with diversity. Other examples are: *gau-gauno* ‘one’s various deeds, their way of acting, their behavior,’ *hapo-hapono* ‘various goods,’ *o aso-o aso* ‘the one and the other, this and that one, everyone.’²⁰

Reduplicated words also indicate multiplicity or plurality, for example:

²⁰ [translator’s note: The expected form with reduplication is *oa-oaso*.]

<i>mebulu-bulu</i>	‘hairy’
<i>mepa’u-pa’u</i>	‘talk, prattle’
<i>mangoni-ngoni</i>	‘implore, beg’
<i>melako-lako</i>	‘stroll’
<i>meluma-luma</i>	‘hover’
<i>mami’u-mi’u</i>	‘move’
<i>tekale-kale</i>	‘scattered, strewn’

The *s* of *kasu* must have originated from *j*. An original *j* necessarily underwent a change in the languages of the Bungku-Mori group, because these languages have an aversion to *j* and in general do not possess palatal consonants. More examples are:

<i>sa’a</i>	‘evil’	cf.	Malay <i>jahat</i>
<i>sala</i>	‘road’	"	Malay <i>jalan</i>
<i>so’u</i> ²¹	‘carry on one’s head’	"	Malay <i>junjung</i>
<i>tusa</i>	‘post, pole’	"	Bare’e <i>tinja</i>
<i>usa</i>	‘rain’	"	Malay <i>ujan</i>
<i>pala’usa</i>	‘steps, ladder’	"	Bare’e <i>eja</i>
<i>inisa</i>	‘threshed rice’ (stem: <i>isa</i>) ²²	"	Bare’e <i>tuja</i> [p. 161]

kasu thus originates from *kaju* and this from *kayu*.

lulu’ako ana butiti ‘all stars.’ In Laki the word for *lulu’ako* is *luwuako*, the stem of which is *luwu*, a word that often occurs with the sense of ‘all,’ for example Padoe *luwu-luwuno*, Maronene *luwuno*. Thus it is probable that *lulu’ako* and *luwuako* are identical. In any case *-ako* is the same suffix discussed above in connection with *hinela’ako*.

ana butiti ‘star.’ For ‘star’ Laki has *ana wula* and *ana wotiti*, Maronene has *olimpopo*, compare Bare’e *alipopo* ‘firefly.’ *Butiti*, *wotiti* is the name of a kind of wart, which frequently occurs on small children and which contains a white substance. People assert that they are kernels of rice, which the child has let cling to his face and his hands, and which have turned into warts. In addition, *butiti* is the name of a fish that inflates its belly when touched. *Ana butiti* or *ana mbutiti* thus means literally ‘small kernels.’

kolele ‘beast, animal.’ This probably refers to smaller animals, such as creeping animals and insects.²³ The stem *lele* with the infix *um* (*lumele*) means ‘to creep, crawl.’ *kolele* is an

²¹ [translator’s note: In the original spelled *do’oe*, but clearly *d* in this form was a typographical error.]

²² [translator’s note: Incorrectly attributed (*inisa* ‘pestled rice’ is from the Moronene language, which borders Mekongga to the south). The corresponding Mekongga root is *usa* ‘pound with a pestle,’ from which is derived *inusa* ‘pounded with a pestle.’ The Mekongga word for ‘pestled rice’ is *woha*.]

²³ [translator’s note: The term *kolele* refers to animals that move about primarily on legs, from spiders to large mammals.]

adjective, formed with *ko-*, such as for example *ko'u'o* 'thirsty,' *kole'ali* 'tired,' *kome'aro* 'hungry.'²⁴ Also in the Torajan languages adjectives are often formed with *ke-* and *ko-*.

Lumele has the infix *um*, of which other examples are: *tumena'ako* 'command,' stem *tena*; *sumokoko* 'ask,' stem *sokoko*.²⁵

i uneno iwoi 'inside in the water, in the interior of the water.' *Une* 'core, middle part, inside part,' just like *bawo*, is a locative noun which elaborates the meaning of the preposition *i*. Compare Torajan languages *une*, Minahasan *uněr*, Sangir *unidě*.

mepani 'birds, having wings (*pani*).' The prefix *me-* is very common in Mekongga. In this example it has a possessive meaning, just as in *metolo'a* 'dressed, wearing a sarong (*tolo'a*).'

ari o lino 'from out of the earth.'

perambui 'after that, thereupon.' The stem is *rambu*; cf. *tarambuo* 'begin.' [p. 162]

me'ambo 'good.' Compare Bare'e *meawa*. Many adjectives in Mekongga are formed with the prefix *me-*, such as:

<i>mebatu</i>	'dry'
<i>metoro</i>	'living'
<i>mekora</i>	'strong'
<i>mebohu</i>	'satisfied'
<i>me'ilo</i>	'far'
<i>mengga'u</i>	'long (of time)'
<i>merare</i>	'rapid'
<i>me'eto</i>	'black'
<i>mepute</i>	'white'
<i>metataku</i>	'afraid'
<i>merambi</i>	'nearby'

naparindai 'they order, they govern over.' *Parinda* is borrowed from Malay (*pěrentah*).

o bete i uneno o tahi 'the fishes in the sea.'

ihino o lino lulu'ako 'the entire contents of the world.'

²⁴ [translator's note: According to how they are used in the grammar, *ko'uo* 'thirst' and *koliiali* 'dizziness' are nouns, not adjectives as the author supposes. Compare further *kohanu* 'shame,' *ko'uko* 'sweat,' and *kosisi* 'dirt.' Formations based on the stem *aro* run *o'aro* 'hunger,' *me'aro* 'hungry' and *mokome'aro* 'feel hungry.')

²⁵ [translator's note: The stem is *suko*. The formation *sumokoko* means 'ask you' (with second person singular marker *-ko*), cf. *sumoko'i* 'ask him/her.')

langgai ‘man.’ Compare Bare’e *langkai*.

ripebei ‘was given.’ The stem is *bee*, with suffix *-i*. *Bee* originates from *bai* and this in turn from *bari*, compare Malay *běri*, Bare’e *wai*, Tontemboan *we’e*.

o more ‘woman, wife.’ Mr. Van der Klift notes that *more* never means ‘husband, spouse,’ but always ‘wife.’ Nevertheless I think it is possible to make a connection with Bare’e (also Padoe) *sombori* ‘spouse.’ Probably *more* stands for *mbori*.

ponoi o lino ‘fills the world.’ *Ponoi* is from the stem *pono* (Malay *pěnuh*), with the suffix *-i*.

Pu’a Ala nakikii hapo-hapo nabobaino ‘the Lord God, he looked on everything that he had made.’ The stem *kiki* means ‘see’; *nakikii* has the pronominal prefix *na-* and the suffix *-i*.²⁶

hapo-hapo is the repetition of *hapo*, Malay *apa*, Tontemboan *sapa*; *o hapo* ‘what,’ *hapo-hapo* ‘everything what.’

ma’ena with the prefix *ma-* and the stem *ena*, means ‘indeed, certain.’

ari-arioto ‘stop, come to an end.’ This word is the repeated stem *ari* ‘of, from,’ suffixed with *-oto*, which denotes past time. Compare *ario* ‘already,’ *arioto* ‘past, beyond.’ *-ito* has the same meaning, for example *mateito* ‘died,’ *le’uito* ‘arrived,’ *dungkuito* ‘reached, arrived.’

napokoobosei ‘he made it great.’ The stem of this word is *obose* ‘large, great,’ Malay *běsar*, Umalalasa *basag*,²⁷ Bare’e *bose*. *Poko-* is the causal *po-*, compounded with *ko-* that creates nouns and at the same time verb stems of adjective stems. So the compounded prefix *poko-* thus creates the causative form of the adjective stem. [p. 163]

The language of Mekongga, which is called *konio* after its negative term, is a language of the southeastern peninsula of Celebes. The subdistrict of Mekongga (so sounds the name, and not Mengkoka), lies to the south of the Malili subdistrict, between the Pakue River to the north and the Toari River to the south, both of which empty into the sea on the east coast of the Gulf of Bone. The number of Mekongga speakers amounts to about 20,000. The sea coast has become inhabited by Bugis, who in addition to their native language also yet speak Mekongga.

²⁶ [translator’s note: The root is *kii* ‘see’; the verb form is to be correctly cited as *nokikii’i* (*no + ki + kii + ’i*) ‘he looked at it.’]

²⁷ [translator’s note: Presumably Umalalasa = Umalasa = Pendau, a language of Central Celebes; Becky Quick (2013:pers.comm.) confirms the presence of a stem *basag* ‘large’ in this language.]

At this time here are some improvements concerning what was stated about Mekongga in the third volume of *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's* (Adriani and Kruyt 1914:235–239).

Mr. Van der Klift was so good to send them, and I welcome this opportunity to make them public.

The three dialects of the Mekongga language, denoted according to the negative words respectively *Konio*, *Tamboki* or *Tambuoki* and *Norio*, are widespread over the entire Mekongga language area; fixed regions where they are exclusively spoken are not to be indicated. The term *konio* is dominant; it is understood and spoken just as well in Lapai, the northern part of the language area, as it is in Lambandia, the southern part. Besides *konio*, *tanio* and *kenio* are in use as negative words. Another negation is *kio* 'by no means, it is not.' Likewise besides *tambuoki* or *tamboki*, there is also the negative particle *kioki*, which is a synonym for *kio*.

The report of the first person plural inclusive personal pronoun, *inggito* 'we' appears to Mr. Van der Klift to be incorrect: Mekongga does not know this form.²⁸ If so it must have gone lost, because the personal pronoun that at present occurs as Malay *kita*, etc., must be ascribed to the Austronesian source language.

In the examples on page 237, *pae* 'unhusked rice' must be corrected to *pai*;²⁹ *mumu* does not mean 'roof' but 'cluster, bunch,' for example *aso mumu pundi* 'a bunch of bananas.'³⁰ At the same time *pundi* is an example given of voicing of prenasalized *t*, because *pundi* is originally from *punti*.

'Husked rice' is *woha* (not *boha*), 'star' *ana wula* (not *ana bula*), and 'tree trunk' *pu'u kasu* (not *pu o kasu*). [p. 164]

On page 238 it needs to be corrected: *po'usa* 'rice pestle' (not 'rice mortar').

Many *-um-* forms, says Mr. Van der Klift, are used in the 'high language.' What is meant by that I do not rightly understand; I think one may conclude from it that *-um-* forms are old-fashioned and that thus the infix has begun to become disused. The following may be cited as examples of such 'high' forms:³¹

²⁸ [translator's note: The Mekongga people, who used *inggito* in Adriani's day, continue to use it in the present day.]

²⁹ [translator's note: In fact *pae* 'rice' is correct; *pai* is incorrect.]

³⁰ [translator's note: Tolaki *mumu* means both 'top, peak, ridge' and 'stalk (of bananas).']

³¹ [translator's note: All of the author's illustrative forms have been cited with third person singular marker *-i*, although without indication of glottal stop. Correctly cited and glossed, these forms should run *tumambo'i*, *tambo'i* 'shut it' (stem *tambo*); *humoto'i*, *hoto'i* 'lop it off' (stem *hoto*), etc. See footnote 9. In the last example we observe the *-o* allomorph of the third person singular marker: *rumurukio*, *rurukio* 'choose it' (stem *ruruki*).]

<i>tumampoi</i>	‘shut’	stem: <i>tampoi</i>
<i>humotoi</i>	‘lop off’	stem: <i>hotoi</i>
<i>humongoi</i>	‘to cough’	stem: <i>hongoi</i>
<i>rumabui</i>	‘pull out’	stem: <i>rabui</i>
<i>tumowoi</i>	‘chop off’	stem: <i>towoi</i> ; cf. <i>tinowoi</i> ‘the chopped off’
<i>rumurukio</i>	‘choose’	stem: <i>rurukio</i>

Whether the forms without *-um-* are in use in the daily language, is still not known to me.

The race of people which until now I have called the To Lalaki, because I have heard that name given by the inhabitants of Central Celebes, and have always encountered them in that form along with other writers on Southeast Celebes, name themselves the To Laki, according to the testimony of Mr. Van der Klift. Thus also ‘Laki’ should serve to name the language.

On the language map of Central Celebes the Maronene language area can be taken still a bit greater. To the south of Tanjung Pakar, thus a good deal to the north of the Toari River, Maronene already begins to become the native language.

Postscript: A note on spelling conventions

[by the translator]

The spelling of native words in this paper has been updated by making the following global replacements:

<i>oe</i>	→	<i>u</i>
<i>dj</i>	→	<i>j</i>
<i>nj</i>	→	<i>ny</i>
<i>j</i> (elsewhere)	→	<i>y</i>

Apart from that, in this very early work there were a number of errors and inconsistencies in transcription, which I have *not* sought to correct in the body of the text. Errors of a somewhat systematic nature (occurring in more than one word form) include the following:

1. *ngk* for *ngg*, *nt* for *nd*, and *mp* for *mb*. Combinations of a nasal followed by a voiceless stop are unknown in Mekongga, in other words the stop following a (homorganic) nasal is always voiced.

<i>lalo ngkasu</i>	→	<i>lalo nggasu</i> ‘wilderness’
<i>ana ngkasu</i>	→	<i>ana nggasu</i> ‘undergrowth’
<i>ana ngkai</i>	→	<i>ana nggae</i> ‘pinky finger’
<i>ina ngkai</i>	→	<i>ina nggae</i> ‘thumb’
<i>ana ngkare</i>	→	<i>ana nggare</i> ‘small toe’

<i>ina ngkare</i>	→	<i>ina nggare</i> ‘big toe’
<i>bangka</i>	→	<i>bangga</i> ‘boat’
<i>dungkui</i>	→	<i>dunggu</i> ‘i’ ‘come to’
<i>iwoi ntawaro</i>	→	<i>iwoi ndawaro</i> ‘sago water’
<i>tampo</i>	→	<i>tambo</i> ‘door’
<i>tampoi</i>	→	<i>tambo</i> ‘i’ ‘close it off’

2. indication of glottal stop where none occurs, and the reverse. Besides the following, some additional examples have been noted in footnotes 9, 26 and 31 to the main text.

<i>ino</i> ‘i	→	<i>inae</i> ‘who’
<i>ko</i> ‘u’o	→	<i>ko</i> ‘uo’ ‘thirst’
<i>le</i> ‘uito	→	<i>leu</i> ‘ito’ ‘arrived’ (<i>leu</i> + ‘i’ + <i>to</i>)
<i>lahu</i> ‘ene, lahuene	→	<i>lahuene</i> ‘sky’
<i>lulu</i> ‘ako	→	<i>luwuako</i> ‘all’
<i>ma</i> ‘ena	→	<i>meena</i> ‘true, real’
<i>menda</i> ‘a	→	<i>mendaa</i> ‘long’
<i>mengga</i> ‘u	→	<i>menggau</i> ‘long (in time)’
<i>me</i> ‘o	→	<i>meo</i> ‘cat’
<i>mepa</i> ‘u-pa’u	→	<i>mepau-pau</i> ‘talk, prattle’
<i>ole</i> ‘o	→	<i>oleo</i> ‘day’
<i>oru</i> ‘ono	→	<i>oruono</i> ‘the two of them’
<i>Pu</i> ‘a	→	<i>Pua</i> ‘Lord’
<i>ra</i> ‘a	→	<i>raa</i> ‘branch, twig’ ³²
<i>sa</i> ‘o	→	<i>sao</i> ‘snake’
<i>tolo</i> ‘a	→	<i>toloa</i> ‘sarong’

3. no indication of geminate vowels, including the suffixes *-ngge* (correct form: *-nggee*) and *-ke* (correct form: *-kee*).

<i>itomu</i>	→	<i>itoomu</i> ‘you also’ (< <i>itoo</i> + <i>mu</i>)
<i>laika</i>	→	<i>laa</i> ‘ikaa’ ‘it just is’ (< <i>laa</i> + ‘i’ + <i>kaa</i>) ³³
<i>laiki</i>	→	<i>laa</i> ‘iki’ ‘it certainly is’ (< <i>laa</i> + ‘i’ + <i>ki</i>)
<i>laipo</i>	→	<i>laa</i> ‘ipo’ ‘it still is’ (< <i>laa</i> + ‘i’ + <i>po</i>)
<i>laito</i>	→	<i>laa</i> ‘ito’ ‘it already is’ (< <i>laa</i> + ‘i’ + <i>to</i>)
<i>luma-luma</i>	→	<i>luma-lumaa</i> ‘hover’
<i>mbelesu</i>	→	<i>mbele</i> ‘esu’ ‘first’

³² The stem *raa* is reported in Muthalib et al. (1985:107). However these authors are also inconsistent in the representation of glottal stop. The forms *Raá* and *raä* ‘branch, twig’ are recorded in two Holle lists, one for Mekongga and one for Tolaki (Stokhof 1985:82, 1987:187), but present similar problems in interpretation. In actuality the form recorded by Van der Klift (*ra* ‘a’) would be the expected, regular reflex of Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *daqaŋ ‘branch, bough.’

³³ Note that *laa* ‘ikaa’ (*laa* + ‘i’ + *kaa*) ‘it just is’ contrasts with *laa* ‘ikaa’ (*laa* + *ikaa*) ‘still is,’ and both of these contrast with *laika* ‘house, building.’

<i>me'ono</i>	→	<i>me'o'ono</i> 'sixth'
<i>ne'o</i>	→	<i>neeo</i> 'this, these' ³⁴
<i>peluako</i>	→	<i>pelua'ako</i> 'come out' (stem <i>lua</i>)
<i>tarambuo</i>	→	<i>tarambu'uo</i> 'begin it' (stem <i>tarambu'u</i>)
<i>teni</i>	→	<i>te'eni</i> 'say'
<i>teningge</i>	→	<i>te'eninggee</i> 'inform'
<i>tumenako</i>	→	<i>tumena'ako</i> 'order command' (stem <i>tena</i>)

4. *b* mistranscribed for correct *w*.

<i>bawo</i>	→	<i>wawo</i> 'above'
<i>bawokamba</i>	→	<i>wawokamba</i> 'dry land'
<i>bete, wete</i>	→	<i>wete</i> 'fish'
<i>bine</i>	→	<i>wine</i> 'rough (unhulled) rice'
<i>bobai</i>	→	<i>wowai</i> 'do, make'
<i>botutu</i>	→	<i>wotutu</i> 'mosquito net'
<i>bua</i>	→	<i>wua</i> 'fruit'
<i>bula</i>	→	<i>wula</i> 'moon'
<i>bula'a</i>	→	<i>wulaa</i> 'gold'
<i>bulu</i>	→	<i>wulu</i> 'body hair, feathers'
<i>buta</i>	→	<i>wuta</i> 'earth'
<i>butiti</i>	→	<i>wotiti</i> 'star'
<i>kinibia</i>	→	<i>kiniwia</i> 'evening'
<i>pokoobose</i>	→	<i>poko'owose</i> 'enlarge'
<i>tebuti-butu</i>	→	<i>tewuti-wuti</i> 'deceived'

5. *i* mistranscribed for correct *e*, and the reverse:

<i>kai</i>	→	<i>kae</i> 'hand'
<i>pai</i>	→	<i>pae</i> 'field rice'
<i>parindai</i>	→	<i>parenda'i</i> 'govern it'
<i>hiwu</i> (stem)	→	<i>hewu</i> 'small'
<i>kole'ali</i>	→	<i>koliali</i> 'dizziness'
<i>wengi</i>	→	<i>wingi</i> 'night'

6. *a* (or other vowel) for expected *o* in prestress syllables:

<i>mami'u-mi'u</i>	→	<i>momiu-miu</i> 'move'
<i>mangoni-ngoni</i>	→	<i>mongoni-ngoni</i> 'pray'
<i>tarungku</i>	→	<i>torunggu</i> 'prison'
<i>ma'oru-oru</i>	→	<i>mo'oru-oru</i> 'morning'
<i>mebatu</i>	→	<i>mowatu</i> 'dry'

³⁴ The usual Tolaki form for 'this' is *ni'ino*, but it has given rise to variant (dialectal) forms *neeno* and *neeo*. The last rarely occurs, but apparently was the form used by Van der Klift's respondent.

<i>mekora</i>	→	<i>mokora</i> ‘strong’
<i>mebohu</i>	→	<i>mowohu</i> ‘satiated, full’
<i>mepute</i>	→	<i>mopute</i> ‘white’
<i>metataku</i>	→	<i>mototaku</i> ‘afraid’
<i>pebei</i>	→	<i>powee</i> ‘i’ ‘give it’
<i>perambui</i>	→	<i>perombui</i> ‘come after, follow behind’

Besides Malay lexical influence (*Roh* ‘spirit’, *udara* ‘air, atmosphere’, *supaya* ‘so that’ and *diberkati* ‘blessed’), there are also indications of Bugis grammatical influence in Van der Klift’s Mekongga, including passive marker *ri-* (for bona fide Mekongga *in-* or *-in-*), preposition *ri* (for *i*), and third person singular *na-* (for *no-*).

Lastly, the following four Mekongga words, reported by Van der Klift, have yet to be corroborated in the present day. When a similar form, however tenuous the connection, is known from the Konawe dialect of Tolaki, it is noted below.

<i>bala’a</i>	‘daybreak’
<i>dula</i>	‘wall’ (cf. Konawe <i>dula</i> ‘large wooden bowl with handles’)
<i>peka’ukee</i>	‘summon someone’
<i>tinu’enga</i>	‘hung up’ (cf. Konawe <i>tinuengako</i> ‘hung vertically’)

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