

The languages of the Togian Islands

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LANGUAGES

Subject language : Bobongko, Indonesian Bajau, Pamona (Ampana dialect)
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DESCRIPTION

In this paper Adriani clarifies the language situation of the Togian Islands in the Gulf of Tomini, Celebes (Sulawesi), and presents sketches of three languages found there: Bobongko, Bajo (Bajau), and the Togian subdialect of the Ampana dialect of Bare'e (Pamona). Topics include phonology (the sound system and phenomena such as stress, contraction, nasalization and paragogic vowels), morphology (affixes), certain word classes with closed membership (pronouns, deictics, numerals), and finally his thoughts concerning the etymologies of selected words. For Ampana Adriani discusses the practice of taboo word replacement and presents two folktales and four riddles representing the Togian subdialect.

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References.

SOURCE

Adriani, N. 1900. De Talen der Togian-Eilanden. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 42:428–490, 539–566. Original pagination is indicated by enclosing the page number in brackets, e.g. [p. 428].

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The languages of the Togian Islands*

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The majority of the Togian islanders speak a dialect of Ampana, which we shall call Togian. It is not possible to study this dialect in any depth, without also learning of the true Ampana at the same time. Since I presently have opportunity to make notes on this language, I shall treat Togian after some time in a conclusion to this paper, and for now will provide some information about the other two languages which I encountered on the Togian Islands, Bobongko and a Bajau dialect. For the time being, for Togian I cite that which can be found about it in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendeling-genootschap*, volume 42 (1898), pp. 546–554. Ampana—the mother language of the Ampana colonists who at present are called the To Togia or the To Togiani—is spoken in the interior of the stretch of land which stretches southwest from Tanjung Api to the Bongka River. Further west the Ampana border on the To Lalaeo, who speak a variety of Bare'e that stands between that of the To Ampana and Bare'e proper. This middle dialect is named *aunde'e* after its negative term. Also the To Wana, on the upper course of the Bongka River, speak *ta* (Ampana). See the language map included with the above-mentioned article.

In volume XXXIII of *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1868), Dr. Riedel treats Posso and Tojo separately (numbers 20 and 21 respectively on his language map). This is not correct. The Ampana are citizens of Tojo, but the capital itself, Tojo, speaks Bare'e. What [p. 429] Mr. Riedel thus gives as Tojo on page 37 of the cited treatise, is therefore nothing other than Bare'e, except a bit worse still than the preceding pieces. Already on the first line one reads *iaku bare'emo kupokono*. What Mr. Riedel gives on page 38 as Togian¹ is the dialect of Ampana which is spoken on Togian, at any rate in so far as it is good language. Nevertheless on the map this is confused with

* [translator's note: I would like to thank René van den Berg and Frank Doejaaren for their help in understanding the meaning of certain Dutch phrases and sentences. Without such capable assistance, I could not have brought this work to completion. All shortcomings in the final translation are solely my responsibility.]

¹ [footnote 1, page 429] And not Touhia. Dr. Riedel's informant must have had a speech impediment, to which we should also have to credit the appellation "Pahigi" for Parigi.

Bobongko, which also happens in the text on page 44. And because Bobongko indeed is related to Loindang,² one has Togian colored as a dialect of Loindang on the *Schets-taalkaart van Celebes* (Batavia 1894), with Dr. Riedel's information adopted unaltered into the accompanying text.

I. BOBONGKO

Bobongko is an entirely different language than Togian-Ampana. It is even less close to Loindang than Togian is to Ampana. At present there are yet also Loindangs or Saluans established on the small islands of the Togian group. so that it is clear that the colonization of the southern coast opposite already dates from a very long time. At present the Bobongko people amount to only a handful, living on the west side of the great bay which is formed along the coast there. What is given on the language map of Celebes as Togeian Island is in actuality Batu Daka. The island lying to the northeast of it, and separated from it by only a narrow strait, is Togian. The form which this name has in Bare'e is Togia; the To Ampana and the islanders themselves say Togiani. Togeia or Togeian probably owes its origin to a derivation from Buginese; the word should then be a compound of *to* 'people' and *geang* or *giang*, Buginese 'shudder, shiver' [p. 430] because whoever first climbed the highest mountain top of the island must have shivered when they looked down on the sea from this height. I believe that rather the To Bobongko—who have also named the other islands of the group—should have given the name Togian to the island where at present the remainder of their colony is. More shall be said below concerning the origin of this name.

The remnant of these original colonists number not more than twenty adult males and can thus at most be placed at a hundred souls.³ They have not yet been converted to Islam, and their customs and practices are found very laughable by the Togianers. Their language must be poorer than that of the Loindang, because with their few numbers they no longer observe great feasts, and a number of ceremonies and customs of their ancestors are no longer followed.

² [translator's note: Besides Loindang (Dutch *Loindangsch*), in the text Adriani sometimes referred to this language as *Loinansch* and *Loinangsch*. In this translation I have also used Loindang, Loinan and Loinang in keeping with Adraini's own usage. However, where Adriani used the abbreviation *Loin.*—which could stand for any one or even all three together—I have consistently expanded this to 'Loindang.' (As an aid the reader, I have expanded all abbreviations of language names, for example *Bar.* here becomes Bare'e, *Mal.* becomes Malay, and *San.* becomes Sangirese, among many others.)]

³ [footnote 2, page 430] These are evidently the people intended by Von Rosenberg when he talks about "a forty-strong Alfur tribe from the Saluan region, which is situated on the Celebes coast directly opposite Togeian" (page 121).

After their negative term the Bobongko are named *imba*, *mba*⁴ or *imbaoo*. This *imba* may possibly contain the root *ba*, which is the actual negative constituent of the negator *bare'e*.

Although it is firmly established that the closest relations of Bobongko lie to the east of Tanjung Api, it does not follow that they are a part of the peoples who speak the *madi*-language, the To Loina, also To Loindangi or To Salua. The following list demonstrates that in word stock the two languages somewhat differ from each other. The examples are taken at random from two word lists which each contain 800 words. I believe that Bobongko and Loindang differ as much in word stock as do Parigi and Bare'e; the grammatical forms of the first-mentioned languages are more alike than with the last-mentioned. [p. 431]

Bobongko	Loindang	English
kereke	lepak	armpit
guos	bese	tooth
bangkang	tahaku	skull
dugu	baso	blood
wowo	baho	uncle
bulud	bungkut	mountain
rata	lempek	plain
momban	monganjam	plait, weave
orop	lapas	hungry
bagu	buong	new
asu	dedeng	dog
ande	balan	monkey ⁵
gianan	laigon	house
bulan	bitu'on	moon
usae	besak	axe
bulawan	mosoni	gold
dolag	sinaa	sunlight
kelu	tageo	bent
masikat	mokat	hard
baya	houp	face
mongingusa	mingkinyonyoa	breathe
agu	abu	ash
bombong	hohok	grass
motuagi	motam	answer
atina	katina	this

⁴ [translator's note: In the original written *imba'mba*, but the apostrophe is a typesetting error for an intended comma. It is correctly rendered on page 454. Other typesetting errors of a similar nature include *aundée* (page 428, corrected to *aunde'e*), *Barée* (pages 428 and 429, corrected to Bare'e) *reé* (page 541, corrected to *re'e*), and *rée* (page 542, corrected to *re'e*).]

⁵ [translator's note: Dutch *aap*, but translated here (and throughout) as 'monkey,' since there are no apes on Sulawesi, only macaques (with stub tails).]

taio	aia	that	
liuton	togong ⁶	island	
tau	lasu	penis	
kopian	maima	good	
undam	pakulit	medicine	
gale	uhang	prawn	
milu	malangu	drunk	[p. 432]
tombalanga	pentedean	bridge	
mancuncu	moncu'un	carry on the head	
bogot	segot	tie, bind	
motakut	mobuhuk	afraid	
balo	lambangan	bamboo	

One sees that the difference in words in daily use is great enough that Bobongko is to be given a special place next to Loindang or Saluan.

Bobongko has a comparatively large number of words in common with Gorontalo. These two languages lie a very great distance from each other, and the traffic of the Bobongko with the northern coast is minor, so that one feels inclined to seek the explanation of this fact in the Gorontalo or rather the Limbotto domination mentioned by Riedel in volume XIX of this journal, pages 105 and 115, or in the movement of a portion of the inhabitants of Boalemo to Limbotto in the middle of the 18th century. See the same article, page 49. However, the conforming words in the two languages—the sound systems of which fairly differ—have their typical, peculiar forms, so that borrowing cannot be considered. Nevertheless, that the Boalemo sought protection with Limbotto demonstrates nevertheless that there had existed traffic between these two lands long before, and that the Boalemo were well enough acquainted with Limbotto that they desired to move there.

Here follow a list of words which are equivalent in Gorontalo and Bobongko.

Bobongko	Gorontalo	English	
baya	baya	face	
sule	hilao	heart	
bako	bo'o	shirt	
dugu	duhu	blood	
kompong	ombongo	belly	
dolag	dulahu	daylight	
mata nu dolag	mato lo dulahu	sunshine	[p. 433]
katina	utia	this	
binte	binte	corn	
iladi	iladu	dry in the sun	
tete	tute	cat	

⁶ [footnote 3, page 431] Provided this word, which is well known in the entire Tomini Bay (in the form *togongi*) originates from *togan*, then *togian* or *togean* could be a Bajo lengthening thereof, so that then *Togian* should mean 'island.'

gugorong	bunggohu	throat
luli	luli	antidote
molet	molet	bad
binoli	biloli	debt, guilt
lugut	luhuto	areca
ompu	wombu	grandchild
susu	hutu	shell
sanggor	tanggulo	name
daka	da'a	large
dagat	deheto	sea
taru	tal	wax
tumigol	tihulo	stand
salu	talolu	floor
montotoi	motota	know
korongian	olongia	headman
tal	tali	buy
mogogono	mohuhulo	cold
ugulang	panggola	old
lampi	lambi	banana
katotolopan	otolopan	west
longit	lango	fly
pelepek	polopio	wing
lumuango	lumualo	go out
gorung	hulungo	heavens, sky

This list could easily be enlarged with a great number of examples. Nevertheless, the data given here amply corroborate the assertion that Bobongko stands closer to the Gorontalo languages than it does to the languages which lay to the west of Tanjung Api.

With which languages Bobongko is still more closely related, I cannot determine, because of all the languages to the east of [p. 434] Tanjung Api, only Loindang is known to me. Nevertheless, Gorontalo roughly stands in proportion to Tomini as Ampana stands to Loindang, therefore one can roughly draw the language border straight north from Tanjung Api. The Togian Islands can also be placed to the east of this line, provided that therewith one bears in mind that to a large extent it was wrested from the Bobongko by the later-intruding Ampana. The hypothesis that a language border runs between Tomini and Gorontalo, I support with certain data which I hope in due time to be able to augment in full measure, in order to raise the probability to certainty. Dr. Riedel's information (1868, 1871) concerning Tomini shows a language which lies between Gorontalo and the languages of the west coast, but which stands closer to the latter than to the former. I hope some time soon I can be clearer concerning this.

Sound System of Bobongko.

Vowels.

- a* for example *mata* ‘eye,’ *anak* ‘child.’
e for example *sule* ‘heart,’ *ate* ‘liver,’ *tengker* ‘leg.’
i for example *isi* ‘flesh,’ *lima* ‘hand.’
o for example *momota* ‘cut rice,’ *atop* ‘roofing thatch,’ *buto* ‘body,’ *puso* ‘navel.’
u for example *siku* ‘elbow,’ *susuk* ‘stick, pierce,’ *susu* ‘breast.’

Consonants.

Gutturals.

glottal stop, occurs especially as the onset of a non-initial syllable, for example *pa’a* ‘leg,’ *mo’ane* ‘man,’ *minja’u* ‘defecate,’ *magu’ar* ‘fall,’ *tutu’u* ‘very, truly, thoroughly.’

k for example *kompong* ‘belly,’ *siku* ‘elbow,’ *ubak* ‘head.’

ngk nasalized *k*, for example *tongkolok* ‘Adam’s apple,’ *lumengkad* ‘go.’ [p. 435]

g in *giup* ‘wind,’ *ugat* ‘tendon, vein,’ *wiwig* ‘lip.’

ngg nasalization of *g*, *sanggor* ‘name,’ *nggola’u* ‘egg.’

ng for example *mingo’ap* ‘yawn,’ *ugulang* ‘elder brother or sister,’ *bongol* ‘deaf,’ *nganga* ‘mouth cavity.’

h is not encountered.

Supradentals and Linguals.

t for example *buto* ‘body,’ *tina* ‘mother,’ *usut* ‘brother, sister.’

nt *buntetan* ‘calf of the leg,’ *lumontik* ‘black ant.’

d *dula* ‘spittle,’ *dumuak* ‘arrive.’

nd *tundek* ‘flood,’ *dondoyog* ‘porridge,’ *maindang* ‘scratch.’

n for example *unoyan* ‘lower back,’ *sopun* ‘snot,’ *mian* ‘person,’ *noncu* ‘rice mortar.’

l *liasa* ‘sweat,’ *tipol* ‘wall,’ *bongol* ‘deaf,’ *dula* ‘spittle.’

- s* *bisul* ‘pimple,’ *guos* ‘tooth,’ *sung* ‘nose.’
r *ngarar* ‘palate, roof of the mouth,’ *biring* ‘ear,’ *ribut* ‘thousand.’

Palatals.

- nc* for example *manguncu* ‘carry on the head,’ *tonci* ‘bird,’ *boncing* ‘tarsier.’
j *aje* ‘chin,’ *jila* ‘tongue,’ *nguju* ‘snout,’ *joloji* ‘eel.’
nj *kanjiling* ‘pinky,’ *mongunjang* ‘cook.’
y *layas* ‘bald,’ *makayame* ‘itch inducing,’ *bantayang* ‘council house.’

Labials.

- p* in the prefix *pe-*, *po-*, *atop* ‘roof,’ *puso* ‘navel,’ *giup* ‘wind.’
mp for example *ompu* ‘grandchild,’ *kompong* ‘belly.’
b *boune* ‘woman,’ *buto* ‘body,’ *kotob* ‘cutting, catching, performing its function.’
mb *borombang* ‘back,’ *otalembang* ‘carried on the back,’ *momburô* ‘sigh.’ [p. 436]
m *mama* ‘father,’ *mona* ‘former, previous,’ *mian* ‘person,’ *undam* ‘medicine.’
w *wiwig* ‘lip,’ *ginawo* ‘heart, mind, interior.’

Word Form.

Unlike the languages to the west of Tanjung Api, Bobongko is not a vocalic language. The majority of consonants are encountered as coda, including the semivowels, which in Loindang intensified to voiceless stops in final position. Only the palatals never occur finally, nor is a final consonant ever prenasalized. The following thus occur as final consonants:

- k* for example *ubak* ‘head,’ *burak* ‘finger,’ *anak* ‘child.’
g for example *wiwig* ‘lip,’ *biniag* ‘raised, reared,’ *motuag* ‘mutter, whisper.’
ng for example *biring* ‘ear,’ *bagang* ‘molar,’ *kompong* ‘belly.’
t for example *ugat* ‘vein,’ *kilit* ‘skin,’ *usut* ‘brother.’
d for example *tingkod* ‘heel,’ *bulud* ‘mountain,’ *lumengkad* ‘go.’
n for example *mian* ‘person,’ *sopun* ‘snot,’ *mongkan* ‘eat.’
p for example *sirup* ‘slurp,’ *giup* ‘wind,’ *maorop* ‘hungry.’

- b* for example *tangkob* ‘lid, cover,’ *morakob* ‘catch, grasp.’
- m* for example *dalom* ‘in,’ *monginum* ‘drink,’ *solom* ‘ant.’
- l* for example *tumigol* ‘stand,’ *bongol* ‘deaf,’ *modu’ol* ‘sick.’
- r* for example *tengker* ‘foot,’ *sanggor* ‘name,’ *ngarar* ‘palate.’
- s* for example *ampas* ‘mat,’ *mopanas* ‘warm,’ *guos* ‘tooth.’

Ligatures occur with the attachment of the third person personal pronominal suffix *-nyo*, for example *biringnyo* ‘his ear,’ *tingkodnyo* ‘his heel,’ *bisulnyo* ‘his pimple.’ On its own a final *n* melts into the *ny*, for example *sopunyo* ‘his snot.’ The nasalized *s* is sometimes articulated as *nc* or *nj*, as in the languages to the west of Tanjung Api, sometimes also as *ns*, for example *kanjiling*, Bare’e *kasili* ‘pinky finger,’ *moncusuk* ‘stick, pierce,’ stem *susuk*, *monsibat* ‘cut,’ *aminsing* ‘cheek,’ *monsibat* ‘slurp.’

A non-final nasal belongs with the following vowel or consonant, provided that it nasalizes them, but nevertheless it imparts a closed articulation to the vowel preceding it. [p. 437] Thus the *o* in the syllable *ko* of *kompong*, just like that of the syllable *mpong*, is essentially like the *o* of Dutch *long*, but the *o* of *nyo* in *kompongnyo* is open and sounds like the *o* of Dutch *geboren*.

Particulars Concerning the Sounds.

The vowel *a* is usually the Indonesian *a*, for example *anak* ‘child,’ *lima* ‘hand,’ *ualu* ‘eight.’

At the end of words it often became *o*, see under *o*.

The vowel *e* has partly originated from an older *ai*, for example *ate* ‘liver,’ Malayo-Polynesian *atai*; *ue* ‘water,’ Buginese *uwae*, Napu *owai*; *aje* ‘chin,’ Ponosakan *ajoi*; partly it stems from an older *i*, for example *kereke* ‘armpit,’ Bare’e *kariki*; *tengker* ‘foot, leg,’ Negrito *tigid*; *pae* ‘field rice,’ Javanese *pari*; *tera* ‘part,’ Bare’e *tila*; *me-* and *mi-*, two forms of the same prefix; also the *a* in the sequence *ai* has become *ei* under influence of the following *i*, such as in *mobei* ‘give,’ Bare’e *wai*, from **wari*, for example *mian toka*, *bei momangan* ‘someone has come, give betel nut.’

The vowel *i* is mostly original, for example *wiwig* ‘lip,’ *lima* ‘hand,’ *siku* ‘elbow,’ *isi* ‘flesh,’ *tina* ‘mother.’ An *i* has originated from *u* under the influence of an *i* in the following syllable, for example *piki* ‘vagina,’ Malay etc. *puki*; *kilit* ‘skin,’ Malay etc. *kulit*; *sumbini* ‘hide, conceal,’ Malay etc. *sěmbuni*. In *siu* ‘comb,’ Parigi *suyu*, the *y* has affected the first *u*.

The vowel *o* to begin with has originated from the other vowels, for example *oko* ‘you,’ Sangirese *kau*, Malay *ěngkau*, etc.

Next it originates from *a*, especially at the end of words, for example *-nyo* third person pronominal suffix, Bare'e *-nya*; *olimo* 'five,' Bare'e *alima*; *buayo* 'crocodile,' Parigi *buaya*; *tano* 'land, ground,' Bare'e *tana*; *boa* 'bring,' Bare'e *wawa*; *mandoro* 'grasp a red-hot object, in order to establish one's innocence (trial by ordeal),' Bare'e *rara*; *popitu* 'seven,' Bare'e *papitu*; *to'u* 'growing season of a plant,' Malay *tahun*, etc.

An *o* has originated from a former schwa in *anom* 'six,' Javanese *nēm*; *opat* 'four,' Javanese *ěpat*; *totolu* 'three,' Javanese *tělu*; *dalom*, Javanese *dalēm* 'inside'; *toka* 'come,' Javanese *těka*; *ponu* [p. 438] 'full,' Malay *pěnuh*; *boat* 'heavy,' Malay *běrat*; *puso* 'navel,' Javanese *pusěr*; *atop* 'roof,' Javanese *atěp*; suffix *-on* next to *-an*.

The vowel *u* is partly original, for example *ujan* 'rain,' *kutu* 'head louse,' *tuma* 'clothes louse,' *bulud* 'mountain,' *buku* 'bone.'

A *u* has been nudged down to *o* in *tomuju* 'index finger,' from the stem *tuju* with infix *-um-*, and in *gotal* 'storm,' Bare'e and Kaili languages *rusa*.

It has also in part originated from *a*, for example *buto* 'body,' Loindang *butang*, Malay *batang*; *dugu* 'blood,' Tagalog *dugo*, Malay *darah*; *bugani* 'brave,' Tagalog *bayani*, Buginese *warani*.

In general *g* takes the place of the typical consonant of the first of Van der Tuuk's sound laws, for example *ugat* 'vein,' *dugu* 'blood,' *dolago* 'maiden,' *patig* 'sandbank,' *bagu* 'new,' *wiwig* 'lip,' *layag* 'sail,' *lindug* 'earthquake,' *kugito* 'octopus,' Bisayan, Ibanag *kugita*, Malay *gurita*, Makassarese, Buginese *kurita*; *biag* 'live,' Sangirese *biahě*, Malay *biar*, Mongondow, Iloko *biag*, Tagalog *bihag*; *bugani* 'brave,' *bagu* Indonesian linden (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese *waru*, Malay, Makassarese *baru*, Buli *wahu*; *gatul* 'hundred.'

A *g* sometimes also takes the place of *w*, which sound has often been pushed aside in Bobongko, for example *agu* 'ash,' Bare'e *awu*; *monugang* 'son-in-law,' Loindang *monian*, Bare'e *mania*. Here thus *monugang* stands for *monuwang*.

A *g* has apparently fallen away in *ugulang* 'older brother or sister,' which must stand for *gugulang*, formed from reduplication of the stem which in Sangirese and Bentenan runs *gurang*, in Bisayan, Tagalog *gulang*, and which in general means 'old.' The Tawaili also know this word, see *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* volume 42, page 564.

It has originated from *r* in the word *dugian* 'durian,' a word which in most Indonesian languages appears not to be straightforwardly derived from the language's equivalent of Malay *duri* 'thorn,' such as for example Bare'e *oria* 'durian,' next to *rui* 'thorn'; Parigi, Napu, Palu, Sausu *tamadue*, next to *rui*; Javanese *duren* next to *ri* (*rwi*); Lampung *darian* next to *rui*. Loindang has *duhian*; [p. 439] unfortunately I cannot say what the Loindang

and Bobongko say for ‘thorn.’⁷ — Likewise in *gotal* ‘storm,’ Bare’e and closely related languages *rusa*, the *g* stands for *r*. — In *giup* ‘wind’ the *g* could stand for *k*, an alternate of Malay *tiup*, Sangirese, Bentenan *tiu*, but Mongondow *girup* and Gorontalo *hipo* also have *g*.

One encounters *t* in Bobongko where the Posso-Tojo languages among others have *s*, for example *gatul* ‘hundred,’ Malay *ratus*; *patig* ‘sandbank,’ Malay *pasir*; *gotal* ‘storm,’ Bare’e *rusa*; *toga* ‘dammar,’ Bare’e *soga*; *tambean* ‘hunting spear with barb,’ Talaud *sambean*. This alternation of *s* and *t* is reminiscent of Gorontalo and Mongondow.

Concerning the palatals, undoubtedly the same can be said as what applies to the same sounds in Bare’e, namely that they are a later development. As has already been made clear above, *nc* is a nasalized *s*; *j* appears to be a later stage of development of *d*, compare for example Bobongko *modu’ol* with Bare’e *maju’a* ‘sick.’ The *nj* is a nasalized form of *j*; in *kanjiling* ‘pinky finger’ it is voicing of *nc*, as is usual in the Parigi-Kaili languages, compare for example Bare’e *kasili*, Sausu *konjili*. In general *ny* originates from *n*, for example *kanyuku* ‘fingernail, toenail,’ formed from *kuku* with infix *-an-*. In Bobongko *c* is even less encountered than in Loindang, Posso-Tojo, or the Parigi-Kaili languages.

The *p* is foreign in *ma’orop* ‘hungry,’ a word which otherwise corresponds with Minahassan *arēm*.

An *l* alternates with *d* and *r*, and conversely *r* with *l*, for example *kolagi* ‘prisoner of war,’ Parigi *dagi* ‘defeat’; *peling* ‘a kind of large bamboo,’ Bare’e *peringi*, Javanese *pring*; *doluo* ‘two,’ for *doduo*; *ali-ali* ‘younger brother or sister,’ Malayo-Polynesian *adi*, *ari*. Possession of the sound *r* distinguishes Bobongko from Loinan, which has *h* or *l* for the articulation of *r*, for example *biring*, Loindang *bihing* ‘ear’; *gogorong*, Loindang *gogohong* ‘throat’; *kororong*, Loindang *kohohon* ‘rope’; *ron* ‘leaf,’ Loindang *hon*; *morongo* ‘hear,’ Loindang *mohongo*. — The *r* has fallen away in *i*, the locative preposition, for *ri*, [p. 440] which the Posso-Tojo and most of the Parigi-Kaili languages have, and in the prefix *o-* for *ro-*. An *r* stands in the place of *l* in *gura* ‘sugar’ from *gula*, and perhaps also in *korongian* ‘head,’ which must be a borrowed word. — In *sirup* ‘slurp’ and *ribut* ‘thousand’ the *r* remains preserved against the rule, and did not become *g*. In *mendî* ‘bathe’ it has fallen away, compare Malay *dirus*, etc.

A *w* has often been elided, for example in *tû* for *tuwu* ‘alive,’ *bau* for *bawu* ‘pig’; by *bau* the Bobongko refer to the deer-pig (*Babirusa alfurus*),⁸ which is much encountered on the Togian Islands, while the usual wild pig is absent; *momboa* ‘bring,’ Bare’e *wawa*, Malay *bawa*; *bû* ‘basket trap,’ Bare’e *wuwu*; *liuton* ‘island,’ Bare’e *liwuto*; *inau* ‘rice field,’ Bare’e *nawu*; *tou* ‘sugarcane,’ Bare’e *towu*. It has probably fallen away at the beginning of

⁷ [translator’s note: Bobongko has *dugi*’ (borrowed from Gorontalo-Mongondow languages); Loindang (today known as Saluan) has *hii*’.]

⁸ [translator’s note: Today *Babyrousa celebensis*.]

inongi, the name for the musk of the marsupial *Phalangista ursina*,⁹ from which a fragrance is derived; the word would thus stand for *winongi*, from the stem *wongi*, Bare'e 'fragrant,' Javanese *wangi*, etc.

The *y* sometimes equates with Bare'e *y*, which in large measure has originated from *l*, for example *yopo* 'forest,' Bare'e identical, Napu *lopo*. Sometimes it is equivalent to other consonants, for example *layas* 'bald,' Tonsea *logas*, Ponosakan *loas*, Mongondow *logat*. It has elided in *kau* 'wood.'

The consonant *s* has already been mentioned with *t*. An *s* has been added as coda in *ta'is* 'rust,' while an initial *s* has elided in *umongot* 'pain,' for *sumongot* from *songot*, compare Malay *sangat*.

Stress.

In Bobongko stress falls on the penultimate syllable of each word; with compounding and the attachment of suffixes stress jumps from the penultimate syllable of the root word to the penultimate syllable of the combined word, for example *súsu*, *susúnyo*; *báya*, *bayányo*; *antáta*, *antatámo*; *mále*, *malémo*; *búto*, *butóngku*; *sangálu*, *sangalúum*.

Because prefixes do not affect accent, [p. 441] when a single-syllable stem is combined only with prefixes, stress remains on the final syllable of the stem, for example *mendî* 'bathe,' from *dî*; *mongkân* 'eat,' from *kân*; *mompokotû* 'live, reside,' from *tû*; *pinotû*, *opotû* 'animal, domesticated animal,' from the same stem.

Contraction.

$a + a = \hat{a}$

kâsi-asi from *asi* with prefixed *ka-* 'poor, destitute.'

$i + i = \hat{i}$

mendî from *mendii* for *mendiu*.

$o + o = \hat{o}$

môsoa 'marry,' from *osoa* 'spouse' with the prefix *mo-*.

pasôk, in *pasôk u layag*, for *pasook*, compare Bare'e *so'o* 'bind, tie,' thus 'that to which one ties the sail.'

mômong 'swallow' from *omong* with prefix *mo-*.

⁹ [translator's note: Today *Ailurops ursinus*.]

$u + u = \hat{u}$

anûm ‘yours’¹⁰ from *anu* and second person pronominal suffix *-um*.

tumû for *tumuwu* ‘living.’

bû from *buu* for *buwu* ‘basket trap.’

*Reduplication and Word Repetition.*¹¹

Word repetition hardly ever occurs with nouns. In most cases word repetition creates long words; with the repetition people would rather just let the first syllable remain. Reduplication is thus word repetition shortened, and is as frequent as word repetition is uncommon. The general meaning of word repetition and reduplication is that of strengthening, repeating and multiplying the action or quality expressed by the root word. With nouns reduplication has its usual function of forming the name of a work tool, just as in Philippine and sub-Philippine languages. The reduplication there also very surely means that [p. 442] one regularly, repeatedly or frequently performs the action with the indicated tool.

Thus for example Tompakēwa *wiwilit* ‘needle’ is a shortened form of *wilit-wilit*, repetition of the stem which means ‘sew.’

Examples of word repetition.

ali-ali ‘younger brother or sister’; the word repetition here is equivalent with the repetition in *ugulang*, for *gugulang* ‘older brother or sister’ and here very probably indicates a plurality, thus in general all older or younger relations who are not addressed as father, mother, child or grandchild. Compare also Sangirese *goghurang* ‘elders,’ and the indication of plural with adjectives through reduplication (*Sangireesche Spraakkunst* p. 68).

kasi-asi, from *asi* with prefix *ka-* ‘poor, destitute.’

kosungu-sungu ‘smile.’

mokida-kida ‘nod.’

momo-mo, *mongea-ngea* ‘sing.’

¹⁰ [translator’s note: Text reads *anum*, but doubtless a typesetting error. The expected form *anûm* appears on page 444.]

¹¹ [translator’s note: By *Reduplicatie* ‘Reduplication’ Adriani means the reduplication of a single syllable. By *Woordherhaling* ‘Word Repetition’ he means the reduplication of two syllables. In some cases this does indeed result in the reduplication of an entire word.]

moncolo-solomi ‘think about, remember.’

kowiro-wiro ‘squint.’

mobela-bela ‘be friendly.’

Examples of reduplication.

matitimbanud ‘lie.’

metitingkayang ‘lie on the back.’

mangingilu ‘painful, having pain.’

mokokoletan ‘be at enmity with each other,’ from the stem *let* ‘bad, evil.’

matitingkili ‘slanting, oblique.’

Names of tools with reduplication.

boborong ‘drum.’

kukula ‘spoon.’

sasangku ‘ladle.’

tontoulin ‘rudder, steering oar.’

totoi ‘needle.’

popota ‘small knife for cutting rice.’

tutujak ‘dibble.’

kakaesi ‘broom, whisk.’ [p. 443]

As one can see, the reduplication is entirely regular. Only with *tontoulin* is there nasalization.

A peculiar reduplication is that of the independent¹² cardinal numbers *doluo* ‘two,’ *totolu* ‘three,’ *olimo* ‘five,’ *popitu* ‘seven.’ Likewise in the Posso-Tojo and Parigi-Kaili languages.

¹² [translator’s note: Dutch *onbenoemde*, literally ‘unmentioned, unnamed,’ but meaning numerals that do not occur with a classifier or measure word. See Adriani’s *Sangireesche Spraakkunst*, page 227.]

Nasalization.

This phenomenon can particularly be observed with the attachment of the prefixes. Thus for example *mandalom* ‘deep’ from *ma-* and *dalom*; *mompuri* ‘blow’ from *mo-* and *puri*; *mongkan* ‘eat’ from *mo-* and *kan*; *monginum*, *monganak*, *mongipi*, from *mo-* and *inum* ‘drink,’ *mo-* and *anak* ‘give birth,’ *mo-* and *ipi* ‘dream’; also in combinations of prefixes, for example *mompo-*, *mongko-*, *mingko-*, *mompoko-*; *motambiwig* ‘stutter’ from *wiwig*.

Nasalization is likewise to be pointed out in some other words, for example *ande* ‘monkey,’ Bare’e *kadi’a*; *mâmbang* ‘ashamed’ (originally ‘red’) and *babang* ‘red onion’; *ompu* ‘grandchild,’ Parigi *upu*; *mombumbur* ‘sow,’ from the root *wur*.

Nasalization also occurs with the attachment of some pronominal suffixes, see Pronouns.

Transposition.

Some examples of transposition are:

usut ‘brother, sister,’ next to Loindang *utus*.

sung ‘nose, protuberance,’ for example *sung u susunyo* ‘nipple of her breast,’ next to Petapa *ngus*, Malay *ingus* ‘snot,’ Bare’e *engo* ‘nose.’

orop ‘hunger,’ possibly cognate with Malay *lapar* and thus originating through metathesis, compare Loindang *lapas*, where the *r* must have fallen away since Loindang doesn’t have *r*. In that case the comparison with Buli *arēm* is incorrect.

Ligature.

The ligature, which is mostly encountered between two substantives that stand in genitive relationship to each other, has the form *nu* in Bobongko when the final syllable of the governing [p. 444] substantive is open, and has the form *u* when it is closed. Here thus *nu* has become *u*, just as in Sangirese, to avoid a piling up of consonants.

Examples: *ue nu susu* ‘breast sap, milk,’ *buku nu mian* ‘human bones,’ *mata nu dolag*, *batu nu dolag* ‘orb of the sun,’ *burak u lima* ‘fingers of the hand,’ *sulat u pae* ‘ear of rice,’ *wiwig u dagat* ‘seashore.’

Pronouns.

Personal Pronouns.

Full forms.				Short forms.			
1.	sing.	<i>aku</i>	pl. <i>kami, kita</i>	sing.	<i>-ngku</i>	pl.	<i>mami, -nta.</i>
2.	sing.	<i>oko</i>	pl. <i>komiu</i>	sing.	<i>-um</i>	pl.	<i>miu.</i>
3.	singular and plural		<i>ara</i>	singular and plural		<i>-nyo.</i>	

Combined with the short forms of the personal pronouns, the word *binoli* ‘debt’ runs as follows:

1. *binolingu, binoli mami, binolinta.*
2. *binolium, binoli miu.*
3. *binolinyo.*

The word *anu* ‘thing, something’ with the pronominal suffixes:

1. *anungku, anu mami, anunta* ‘mine, ours.’
2. *anûm, anu miu* ‘yours.’
3. *anunyo* ‘his, hers.’

The first person has the usual forms. The short forms of the singular and of the inclusive plural, *-ku* and *-ta*, are always attached to the substantive with the intervention of a nasal ligature, as in Parigi and in the language of the To Pu’u mBoto, to the southwest of the Lake,¹³ who speak the Are’e dialect of Bare’e. For example where the Bare’e say *taliku* ‘my headcloth,’ the Are’e say *talingku*; Bare’e *paleta* ‘our hands,’ Are’e *palengki*; namely, in this language people use the first half of *kita* as the short form.

Oko originates from *ĕkau*. The first *o* originates from schwa, the second from contraction of *au*. [p. 445]

Without doubt *ara* is a deictic pronoun, which has come into use for the third person. Perhaps it was a plural form or a polite form, because it appears to contain the root *ra*, which among others Bare’e has in *sira* ‘His Grace or His Highness.’ It is remarkable that the third person deictic form *taio* appears to have as stem the well-known form *ia*, which one rightly should expect as personal pronoun.

Mami is a well-known doublet of *kami*; see concerning this Codrington, *Melanesian Languages*, page 113 (Api: *mimi*), page 114 (Fiji: *mami*), page 115 (Savo: *mai*) and pages 119–120, and Kern, *Fidjitaal*, pp. 20 ff., also further Bimanese *nami*, Dr. Jonker’s *Spraakkunst*, page 255. In the Bare’e of Tojo, people use *kami* next to *mami* as possessive pronoun.

¹³ [translator’s note: Dutch *het Meer*, namely Lake Poso.]

Komiu also occurs in Palu, short form likewise *miu*. Tawaili has *kamiu* and *miu*, Napu *kamu* and *mi*. *Kamu* and *komiu*, *komi* and *komiu*, must thus be old doublets of each other. – *Um* is transposed from *mu*.

It is notable that the personal pronouns are not preceded by any of the name markers *i* or *si*, as in Bare'e *jaku*, *siko*, *si'a*, *sira*.

The proclitic form of the first person singular preceding certain verbal forms is also known in Bobongko, for example *imba kuotoi* 'I don't know,' from *oto*, Gorontalo *tota* 'know.'

Deictic Pronouns.

1st person	<i>ka'a</i> 'these,' also 'here.'
2nd person	<i>katina</i> 'that,' also 'there.'
3rd person	<i>taio</i> 'that there, that yonder,' also 'there, yonder.'

The last takes the place of *taia*, as appears from Loindang *aia*.

All three deictic pronouns appear to contain a prefix *ka-*, which shows up as *t* in *taio*. These three pronouns are also locative.

Interrogative Pronouns.

<i>ka'a</i> 'which?'
<i>ire</i> 'who?'
<i>olo</i> 'what?' [p. 446]

olo katina? 'what is that?' *ire katina* 'who is that?' *olo binoaum?* 'what do you bring?'

That *ka'a* is interrogative and deictic, can similarly be observed with *imbe'i* and *se'i* in Bare'e. *Imbe'i* 'where?' is formed with *i* and prenasalization from *we'i*, in Parigi meaning 'this,' synonym of Bare'e *se'i*. 'Where?' in Bare'e is thus a questioning 'here?' Likewise in Bobongko 'which?' is a questioning 'this?'

Olo is cognate with Buginese *ala* 'perhaps,' originally nothing other than 'what?' (Dr. Matthes, *Boegineesch Woordenboek*, s.v.).

Numerals.

1 *isa*, 2 *doluo*, 3 *totolu*, 4 *opato*, 5 *olimo*, 6 *onom*, 7 *popitu*, 8 *ualu*, 9 *sio*, 10 *sampulu*.

11 *sampulu bo samba'an*, 12 *sampulu bo doluo*, etc.

20 *uampulu*, 30 *tolu no pulu*, 40 *opato pulu*, 50 *limo no pulu*, 60 *onomo pulu*, 70 *pitu no pulu*, 80 *walu no pulu*, 90 *sio nu pulu*, 100 *mogatut*, 1000 *saribut*.

That some numerals exhibit reduplication has already been remarked upon. *Olimo* stands for *lolimo*, compare Bare'e, Parigi *alima*, Palu *lalima*.

That the nasalization in *sampulu* and *uampulu* (for *luampulu* or *duampulu*) is equivalent to the above-mentioned ligature, appears from the use of *o* and *no* (*nu*), entirely similar to the use of *(n)u* with substantives.

Numeral Adverbs.

mincan 'once,' *pokoluo* 'twice,' *pokotolu*, *pokôpat*, *pokolimo*, *pokônom*, *pokopitu*, *pokowalu*, *pokosio*, etc.

Mincan is nasalized from *misan* and contains the stem *isa* 'one,' or *sa*; the nominal form *pisa*, *pise*, *pisan* is known from Sadan and Wotu (*Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume 42, page 142) and from Javanese. – For the forms with *poko-*, see with the prefixes.

Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes.

Prefixes.

I have encountered the following prefixes in Bobongko: [p. 447]

mo-, *po-*, *mota-*, *moku-*, *mompo-*, *moko-*, *poko-*, *mongko-*,
me-, *pe-*, *mi-*, *meti-*,
o-, *ota-*, *ro-*,
ma-, *mati-*,
ko-.

A nasal may or may not separate the prefix from the stem to which it is added.

Nasalization of the stem has no grammatical meaning. Nasalized onsets are preserved in their entirety, except for glottal stop which fades away into an *ng*. Thus *mongkan* 'eat' from *kan*, *monginum* 'drink' from *inum*.

Examples of *mo-*:

moingusa 'breathe,' *mômong* 'swallow,' *mongipi* 'dream,' *mongkan* 'eat,' *monginum* 'drink,' *mompuri* 'blow,' *monganak* 'give birth,' *môsoa* 'marry.'

For the most part these words indicate body functions. Among the stem words *ingusa* 'breath,' *anak* 'child,' and *osoa* 'spouse' are still usual in everyday language.

According to our linguistic understanding, *mo-* thus forms both transitive as well as intransitive verbs. It is clear that the form has nothing to do with whether the verbal form is transitive or not.

In a number of examples *mo-* is synonymous with the well-known characterizing prefix *ma-*, which also occurs in Bobongko. For example:

modu 'ol 'sick,' *mopanas* 'hot,' *moletto* 'rotten, spoiled,' *molompo* 'thick,' *moninti* 'thin.'

malêt 'bad,' *mangingilu* 'rheumatic,' *mabusi* 'stinking,' *matakut* 'afraid,' *marisi* 'small,' *mandalom* 'deep,' *masikat* 'hard.'

The nominal form of *mo-* is *po-*. *Mo-* occurs together with *po-* as *mompo-*, for example *mompotalui* 'make buy,' from *talui*. In other examples on the other hand no causal meaning is to be assigned, but the double prefix makes the meaning of the verbal form transitive. In [p. 448] Bare'e *po-* following *mo-* often has a causal meaning, for example: *moana* 'give birth,' *mompoana* 'make someone one's child.' in other environments it is only transitive, for example *morongo* 'marry, get married,' *momporongo* 'marry someone.'

In other forms the meaning of *mompo-* has already so much weakened that the verbal form is made with *mompo-* in place of *mo-*, especially when the imperative has the prefix *po-*. Thus from *mopea* 'wait,' *popea* is used as imperative, and therefore *mompopea* is also much used in place of *mopea*. Which of these two cases should be kept in front in the following examples cannot be resolved here, because the actual meaning of the stem is not known: *mompokilawa* 'ask,' *mompotilib* 'commit adultery.'

Definitely causal is *mompoko-*, whatever the meaning of the stem may be, for example *mompokorondor* 'bring into order,' from *rondor* 'straight, in order'; *mompokomingkoto* 'stop, bring to an end,' from *mingkoto* 'over, at an end'; *mompokotung*,¹⁴ from *tung* unknown.

A principal function of this *poko-*, Malayo-Polynesian *paka-*, *vaka*, etc. is in the formation of numeral adverbs, thus *pokoluo* 'twice,' *pokotolu*, *pokôpat*, *pokolimo*, *pokônom*, *pokopitu*, *pokowalu*, *pokosio*. Compare *maka-* as formative of numeral adverbs in the Minahassan languages and of ordinals in the Philippine languages, Makassarese and Buginese.

Moko-, *mongko-* and *moku-* are three forms of the same prefix, which have been compounded from *mo-* and *ko-* or *ku-*. This *ko-* is identical with Bare'e *ka-*; it is also very similar with it in meaning, likewise with *ke-*, for example *kowiro-wiro* 'completely, entirely'; *kopongko*, Bare'e *kepongko* 'afflicted by an evil spirit'; *kororong*, Bare'e *kayoro* 'rope,' literally 'twined'; *kolagi* 'prisoner-of-war,' Parigi *kadagi*, *nidagi*; *kodoyo* 'short,' *kedio* 'small'; *kolowigi*, Bare'e *kai* 'left'; *koanan* 'right.'

Examples of forms with *ko-* which are further prefixed with *mo-* are:

¹⁴ [Translator's note: Although not defined by Adriani, Bobongko *mompokotûng* (not *mompokotung*) means 'keep oneself quiet, be quiet.']

mongkosusa ‘hold a death feast.’ [p. 449]
mokolibos, Loindang *kalibosi* ‘love.’
mokubongol ‘shout, yell,’ from *bongol* ‘deaf, disobedient.’
pokuanakon ‘nephew, niece,’ from *anak*.

The form *mokubongol* resembles Bare’e *makaliwongo* ‘noisy, boisterous’; Bare’e *wongo* ‘deaf, naughty’ is identical with Bobongko *bongol* ‘deaf’; *wongo* is thus: ‘incompliant, disobedient, East Indies deaf.’

Pokuanakon from *anak* ‘child’ means ‘consider as one’s child, as good as one’s child’; in Bare’e the same is expressed with *pinoana*. The stem of *mongkosusa* is *susa*, which in all the languages of Central Celebes means ‘feast,’ especially ‘death feast.’ From the Loindang form it is clear that *mokolibos* contains the prefix *ka-*.

Formerly these forms probably did not have the prefix *mo-*. In Bare’e the form with *ka-* is often used as a verbal form with a personal pronoun, for example *kami se’i bare’e kaincani* ‘we do not know it.’ Compare the function of *ka* in *Bimaneesch Spraakkunst*, p. 58 ff.

Mota- doubtless consists of *mo-* and *ta-*, as appears from the form *motambiwig* ‘stutter’ from the stem *wiwig* ‘lip,’ thus ‘move the lips’; with *motampiulu* ‘speak,’ *piulu* must thus be the stem.

Me- and *mi-* occur in roughly the same function as *mo-*. This is also the case in Bare’e: the To Pebato use *me-* more than *mo-*, the To Lage more *mo-* than *me-*. Of the definite meaning of ‘fetch what the source word indicates’—which *me-* has in Bare’e, next to some other meanings, for example *mekaju* ‘fetch wood,’ *mewoyo* ‘fetch bamboo,’ *mebau* ‘go fishing’—I have not found any examples in Bobongko.

<i>mendi</i> ‘bathe’	<i>mindula</i> ‘spit,’ <i>dula</i> ‘spittle’
<i>mesou</i> ‘piss,’ <i>sou</i> ‘pee’	<i>mibân</i> ‘sneeze’
<i>mesopun</i> ‘have a cold,’ <i>sopun</i> ‘snot’	<i>migau</i> ‘cough’
<i>mesumpul</i> ‘knock against’	<i>mingo’ap</i> ‘yawn’
<i>mesapu</i> ‘deny’	<i>mimpû</i> ‘pass gas,’ <i>pu</i> ‘fart’ [p. 450]
<i>mekalimumu</i> ‘rinse the mouth’	<i>mendako</i> ‘climb.’

In these examples no consistent point of difference is to be recognized between *mo-* and *mi-*, *me-*. The nominal form is *pi-*, *pe-*, for example *pepintongan* ‘handrail of a staircase or bridge.’

Me- is also often the prefix with verbal forms combined with *ti-*, which have a reflexive meaning, for example *metingkampa* ‘lie on one’s belly,’ *metingkayang* ‘lie on one’s back.’ Also *ma-* comes before *ti-*, for example *matimbanud* ‘lie down.’

Next to *o-*, which remains to be covered, and which is also encountered in Loindang, there is also an example of *ro-*, which is similar in meaning therewith and which is certainly an older form of *o-*. This *ro-* is identical to Bare’e, etc. *ra-*, which constitutes the passive-

without-agent marker. The To Lage use the nasalized form *nda-*. With *nakoni* ‘is, was eaten’ one expects or presumes an agent, while *rakoni* or *ndakoni* has the sense of ‘is eaten in general, is to be eaten, edible.’ It has an aorist meaning, versus the present or past meaning of *na-*.

Examples: *otalembang* ‘to carry on the back,’ *otông* ‘carry with the hand,’ *opotû* ‘to raise, rear,’ *manuk opotû* ‘breeding chicken, tame chicken,’ in Bare’e *rapatuwu*. Alongside this *rouba* ‘carry on the back in a sarong.’

Otalembang has after *o-* the prefix *ta-*, compare Bare’e *lemba*, *molemba* ‘carry on a stick over the shoulder.’

In *ojo’on* ‘far,’ the *o-* must be identical with the *a-* or *ha-* in Bisayan *halayo*, Iloko *adayo*.

Infixes.

The following infixes are known to me in Bobongko:

-um-; *-in-*; *n*, *l*, *r* with preceding vowel.

All of these infixes are living in Bobongko and in active use, in contrast to the languages to the west of Tanjung Api, which still exhibit *-um-* and *-in-* in only a few [p. 451] examples, but at present they no more have life in order to create new forms therewith.

I have encountered *-um-* only with intransitive verbs, for example:

tumigol ‘stand,’ *sumurang* ‘sit,’ *lumengkad* ‘run,’ *lumangoi* ‘swim,’ *dumolok* ‘dive,’ *gumeleng* ‘laugh,’ *rumâng* ‘cry,’ *tumû* ‘live,’ *sumese* ‘run hard,’ *kumampet* ‘stick, adhere,’ *lumayan* ‘fly,’ *tumumpol* ‘blaze up,’ *dumuak* ‘arrive,’ *lumuango* ‘leave, depart.’

Most of the stems of these words also occur in Bare’e and Parigi, for example *surang*, Bare’e *tunda*; *lengkad*, Bare’e *dengka*; *langoi*, Bare’e *nangu*; *dolok*, Parigi *loyo*; *geleng*, Bare’e *gele*; *tû*, Bare’e *tuwu*.

Lumontik ‘a type of ant’ is undoubtedly formed with *-um-*, as appears from Parigi *nonti*, Bare’e *onti*.

The infix *-in-* is also still living, and it occurs no less often than *-um-*, likewise in Loindang. The meaning is roughly that of the Dutch prefix *ge-* (perfective passive participle). Examples:

tinongkoliling, stem *tongkoliling*.
ginawo ‘heart, mind,’ stem *gawo*.
pinungku ‘paralyzed,’ Bare’e *pungku* identical.
dinayo ‘grave,’ Bare’e *dayo* identical.
minate ‘dead,’ Bare’e *mate* identical.

tinolomakas ‘loose,’ stem *tolomakas*.
binoli ‘debt,’ stem *boli*, Malay *běli*, etc.
pinagele ‘in demand,’ stem *gele*.
biniag ‘raised, brought up,’ stem *biag*.

Some of these forms are in use as adjective, others as substantives, such as *binoli* ‘debt,’ for example *binolium* ‘your debt,’ *mobinoli* ‘be in debt.’ Originally *dinayo* ‘grave’ meant ‘dug,’ perhaps more correctly ‘deepened,’ since *dayo* must be identical with Malay *dalam*, etc. The stem of *ginawo* is identical with *wawo*, be it articulated with a *g*. In Bare’e they have from this stem [p. 452] *mawo raya* ‘desired,’ literally ‘rise, come up (of desire)’; *ginawo* thus means ‘the springing up (of desire).’

Biniag, in the expression *anak biniag* ‘adopted (brought up) child,’ is from the stem *biag*, which was already mentioned above. Following Rodriguez’s dictionary, in Ibanag *biag* means ‘prisoner,’ probably originally ‘someone whose services are retained.’

The following forms are examples of the frequentative infix *-al-*, *-an-*, *-ar-* (or with a different vowel):

kereke ‘armpit,’ Sigi, Palu *keke*.
kolowigi ‘left,’ Loindang *kowi*, Parigi *koiri*.
kanyuku ‘fingernail,’ from *kanuku*, Loindang *kanduku*, cf. Malay *kuku*, etc.
joloji ‘eel,’; stem *joji*, Parigi *joli*, Bare’e *tinjoli*.
barubu ‘land wind,’ stem *bubu*, cf. Malay *puput*.

Suffixes.

-an, *-on*, *-i*.

The suffixes *-an* and *-on* are identical and are used entirely synonymously. This suffix has a locative meaning, namely that of ‘place where that which is indicated by the source word is located.’ Examples:

ulunan ‘head pillow,’ from *ulu*, which thus also must have had the meaning of ‘head’ in Bobongko. The insertion of an *n* between the stem and the suffix is unfamiliar; one would expect *uluan*, *uluon*, cf. Old Javanese *hulon* ‘head end of a sleeping place.’ *Ulunan* gives the older form of Parigi *luna*, Togian *yuna* ‘head pillow.’

buntetan ‘calf (of the leg),’ probably from a stem *buntet*, identical to *binti*, *winti*.

punguan ‘wrist.’ In Bare’e the stem *pungu* means ‘tie up,’ such as for example a prisoner or a difficult animal. The meaning of *punguan* is thus probably ‘place where the hands are tied.’

dosunan ‘haven, mooring place,’ stem *dosu(n)* unknown.

gianan ‘house,’ perhaps from a stem *gian* which could also [p. 453] be present in *Togian*. Provided that *Togian* is Bobongko, *to* must be something other than the well-known doublet of *tau* ‘person,’ since this is *mian* in Bobongko. It could be a prefix for a verbal stem *gian*, which could mean ‘live,’ so that *Togian* would mean ‘inhabited (land)’ as opposed to the uninhabited islands of this group.

pote’an, the white dove, which in Bare’e is named *puti’a*. The word *puti* in the meaning ‘white’ is also in use among others in Palu.

wiwigan ‘talkative,’ from *wiwig* ‘lip,’ is an example of a meaning of *-an* which is very usual in the Philippines, namely ‘beset with.’ *Wiwigan* is thus someone who talks too much, or as we would say, their tongue is too long.¹⁵

In combination with different prefixes:

potinaon ‘aunt,’ literally ‘where (to whom) one says *tina* (mother)’; *montina* ‘say *tina* (mother).’

poluntuan ‘bird’s nest,’ stem *luntu* unknown.

pepintongan ‘handrail’ of staircase or bridge, stem *pintong* unknown.

binalian ‘enemy,’ from *bali* ‘opposite, enemy, someone who opposes.’

katotolopan ‘the West,’ literally ‘place where (the sun) regularly (reduplication) sets,’ from the stem *tolop*, cf. Javanese *sěřěp*, Bare’e *soyo* ‘go down,’ *kasoyoa* ‘the West.’

In *aguon* ‘gray,’ from *agu* ‘ash,’ thus ‘ashy, ashen,’ *-on* has a diminutive meaning.

Of the suffix *-i*, I have only the example *kutoi* ‘I know.’ Attachment of *-i* without the insertion of a consonant is also not unknown in Bare’e, however sparse the examples may be, e.g. *mewuso’i* ‘wash’ next to *mebusu*. Examples are more numerous in Ampana.

Particles.

Temporal particles are: [p. 454]

kaka’a ‘now,’ a reduplicated form of *ka’a* ‘this, these,’ thus entirely synonymous with Bare’e *se’i-se’i* ‘now,’ cf. *se’i* ‘this, these.’

saidi ‘presently, next,’ *saidi ka’a* ‘in the blink of an eye,’ both indicating a near future. In Bare’e *saidi* is to be translated as *naini*, which probably stands for *lai* or *nai ini*. This *lai* or *nai* is synonymous with *ri* and means ‘to’; if now *ini* is the well-known first person

¹⁵ [translator’s note: The Dutch expression here is *een te lang tong heeft*.]

demonstrative pronoun, one can, by analogy therewith, see in *idi* a variant form, if need be parallel with Buginese *ede*, so that *saidi* is to be translated as ‘at present, at this moment.’

mabongi ‘yesterday,’ literally means ‘night’ and is thus comparable to Bare’e *iwengi*, literally ‘at night,’ in use for ‘yesterday,’ compare also Bare’e *owi* ‘formerly,’ Palu *gawi*, identical with Philippine *gabi*, *hēbi*.

moulop ‘morning,’ identical with Bare’e *mawuro* ‘morning’ in the sense of ‘early’; from *wurau* ‘half blind’ and the expression *wuro uja* ‘the rain has cleared up,’ it appears that the original meaning is ‘in the half-light, in the gray of morning.’

Serving as confirmation and negation are:

indo ‘yes’ must have originated from *io* or *iyo*, the usual confirmation word in the languages of the Tomini Bay. Possibly it is a prenasalized form of *ido*, which could stand for *io*, as in Sangirese *kaduda*, *bode*, *sēmbadu*, *sēmbuda* in the Manganitu dialect stand for *karua* ‘two,’ *bo’e* ‘come on’ and *sembau*, *sēmbua* ‘a piece.’

imba, *mba*, *imba o* ‘no’ and *bape’e* ‘not yet’ contain the stem *ba*, the actual negative element in *bare’e*. The *o* following *imba* is a strengthening, which I have only heard if a question is being answered with denial, for example *olo binoaum? imba o* ‘what did you bring with you? ‘well, nothing,’ with which *o* is articulated with lengthening; but *imba kuotoi* ‘I don’t know.’ This *o* is undoubtedly the same as that which Bare’e speakers use to reinforce the strength of words which indicate distance, for example, *i mbe’i kare’anya? o lawa* ‘where does he live? very far’; *ri sa kanjo’unya? o ndeku* ‘where has he gone off to? all the way to the top.’ [p. 455]

misan ‘by no means, not, *bukan* (Malay)’ is identical with the negative in the dialect of the Bajorese of Celebes, *misa* ‘no’ in that of the Bajorese of the Togian Islands, *měsa*’ in that of the Bajorese of Sidate (west coast of the Minahassa, between the bay of Amurang and the mouth of the Poigar). For ‘no’ the Loinan have *madi*, a word that hangs together with the negator in the Philippine languages (Tagalog, Bisayan *di*, *dili*, Iloko *di*, Ibanag *ari*, *ji*, Sangirese *ari*’, the vetative particle, *madiri* ‘will not,’ *ta’di’e* ‘not be’), for ‘not’ it has *misa* and for ‘not yet’ *maisai*. This last form makes one think that the stem of this word is *isa* or *isan*, which for all that does not explain the meaning.

bo ‘and’ is the usual conjoining conjunction. The Parigi-Kaili languages also use it in the same meaning. Perhaps it is a short form of Bare’e *wo’u* ‘also,’ which is identical with Malay *baru* (*bēharu*) and related forms, all the more probably so because the Parigi-Kaili languages do not have this *wo’u*. For example *kami bo i wobo* ‘me and my uncle,’ *sampulu bo samba’an* ‘ten and one.’

The above-mentioned *madi*, the negator in Loindang, is exhibited in Bobongko in the expression *de* ‘will not,’ e.g. *aku de* ‘I will not.’

Synonymous with Bare’e *kuja*, Baria *kua*, Parigi, etc. *kuya* is Bobongko *kuka* in *sangkuka* ‘how many,’ cf. Bare’e *sangkuya*, Parigi *sangguya*; *nangkuka* ‘why,’ Bare’e *makuja*,

Parigi *nakuya*; *naikuka* ‘when’ in which *kuka* is synonymous with *pira*, *pila* of the Philippine languages, Bare’e *pia*, because in Bare’e *i mpia* means ‘when,’ in Napu *i mpira*. See also *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume 42, page 585. *Nai* of *naikuka* is also known in Bare’e as a synonym of *ri*, *i*, also in the form *lai*, for example *naipua* ‘the day before yesterday,’ from *pua* ‘formerly, in the past,’ *naipata* ‘three days ago,’ *lai tana*, *njai tana*, *nji tana* ‘on the ground.’ *Naikuka* is thus entirely synonymous with Bare’e *impia*. Of the stem *kuka*, I know of no equivalent that has a sound in the middle related to the *k*. Loindang likewise has *kuka*, Buli *kura*. Perhaps [p. 456] the *k* has originated from a *g*, which then became *y* in the Parigi-Kaili languages.

Bobongko has even fewer prepositions than in the other languages of the Tomini Bay. The well-known *ri*, Bobongko *i*, has the same function as for example in Buginese and Bare’e. For ‘in’ *dalom* is used; further *i* is usually supplemented with a substantive if the meaning must be described more clearly, for example *i baonyo* ‘above,’ Bare’e *ri wawonya*. For ‘from’ people use *mako*, which in the verbal form *nolumako* means ‘go.’ *Mako* can thus very well be shortened for *lumako*.

Finally I would like to draw attention to *a* in *iâ* ‘where?’ and *masiâ* ‘how?’ *mako iâ komiu?* ‘where have you come from?’ *kami ka’a mako i Tojo* ‘we have come from Tojo.’ *Masiâ* probably consists of *ma-*, the well-known prefix, *si*, variant of *i* and *ri*, locative, and *â*, which must be synonymous with Malay, etc. *apa*. The To Pebato (West Bare’e) use *sâ* very much in the meaning of Bobongko *a*, for example *ri sâ?* ‘where, whence’ also ‘how’ in the sense ‘how could that be,’ for example *bara marau siko? – marau ri sâ?* ‘perhaps you’re angry? – how could I be angry?’ literally, ‘anger, where?’ *Sa* thus probably consists of *a* with a locative *si*, contracted to *sa* and subsequently resupplied with a prefixed *ri*.

Some Notable Words.

baya ‘face, appearance,’ is identical with Bare’e *wayo* ‘shadow,’ *limbayo* ‘reflection,’ *lamboyo* ‘ghost of a werewolf,’ Malay *bayang*, Javanese *wayang*, with a number of equivalents in related languages. In connection with what Dr. Hazeu has said on page 20 of his dissertation about the root of this word, we can adopt ‘floating appearance’ as its general meaning.

lolu ‘tear’ is not known to the west of Tanjung Api; in Bare’e, Parigi, etc. one uses *ue mata*. In the Philippine languages one finds [p. 457] *lua* (Philippine islands), *lue* (Minahassan), *lo* (Bentenan), *ělo* (Sangirese).

liasa ‘sweat,’ Loindang identical, Gorontalo *wulato*, with palatalized *l*, is to be compared with Sangirese *liasě* ‘urine.’ A similar sort of shift is found in Parigi *wasa* ‘snot’ and Bare’e *gasa* ‘semen.’ These words are probably from the same root as Malay *basah* ‘damp.’

mo’ane ‘man,’ Loindang identical, Makassarese *burane*, Buginese *worowane* (via metathesis from *woworane*, plural form of *worane*), Sangirese *mahuane* ‘brother’ (cf.

bawine ‘sister’), Bentenan *mohane*ⁱ, appears to have originated from *morane*, so that here the Makassarese exhibits the oldest form.

boune ‘woman,’ from *bowune*, *bowine*, *bawine*, also in Napu *to wawine*, Kulawi, Sigi *mombine*, which exhibits the genuine stem *bine*.

mongodolago ‘maiden’ and *mongolita* ‘young man’ have the prefix *mongo*, which in the form *manga* is a plural marker in the Philippine languages. In Sangirese *manga* is preserved in a still older meaning, namely that of an indefinite conjunction, to be rendered with ‘somehow, in one way or another,’ more correctly still with German *etwa*. Thus Miss C. Steller translates the text of Matthew 4:6 : *madirin laedu kai manga mitangga su watu* ‘so that your foot does not somehow strike against a stone.’ The same meaning is found in Malay *barang*. *Dolago* is identical with Tagalog, Bisayan *dalaga*, Minahassan *raraha*, Malay, Buginese *dara*, etc.¹⁶ The stem of *mongolita*, Bare’e *mangalita* must then be *lita*, of which the element *li* is unexplained, while *tau*, which means ‘penis’ in Bobongko, is identical with the well-known *tau* ‘person,’ which then must have originally meant ‘man.’

i mona ‘formerly, before this,’ compare Sangirese *mona* ‘stem, prow,’ *kalimona* ‘first, front.’

osoa ‘spouse,’ harkens back to the Philippine [p. 458] languages. Dr. Pardo de Tavera (*El Sanscrito en la lengua Tagalog*, 1887) asserts on page 17 that Tagalog *asawa* “evidently comes from Sanskrit *swamin*.” Because of the occurrence of *osoa* in Bobongko and Loindang, which could not have undergone the least influence from Sanskrit, this assertion must be placed aside. Neither does Prof. Kern mention it in his lists of Sanskrit words in Tagalog and Bisayan, in *Bijdragen van wege het Koninklijk Instituut* 1880, page 535 and 1881, page 128. Here follow some more equivalents: Pampanga *asawa*, Ibanag *atawa* ‘spouse,’ Sangirese *sawa* ‘mistress,’ Solog Island¹⁷ *asawa* ‘woman’ (see this journal, volume XX, page 449, 1872 [sic → 1873]). In the language of the Bajorese, *atoa* means ‘man.’

male ‘sleep’ is used in Bare’e for the falling asleep of limbs. The imagery is thus the same as in Dutch. Also Bobongko *beketon* for sleeping of the limbs agrees with the Dutch expression *mierenkriewel*, because it is formed with *-on* from *beket*, which must have meant ‘mouse’ and in Toggian has been borrowed as *beketi*. Bobongko and Loindang say at present *botoki*. *Beketon* thus means ‘be troubled by mice,’ cf. Sangirese *mahēme* ‘sleep (of the limbs)’ and *kahēmisē* ‘ant.’

¹⁶ [footnote 1, p. 457] It would not surprise me if the name of the Dolago River (southern border of Parigi) were identical with this word. The name could likewise have given inducement to the origin of the legend of the Balinggi maiden related in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, vol. 42, p. 391.

¹⁷ [translator’s note: today better known as Jolo.]

mâmbang ‘ashamed’ originally meant ‘red,’ compare Bare’e *maea* ‘ashamed,’ Loindang *momea* ‘red,’ Malay *merah*; of the above-mentioned stem also Javanese *abang* ‘red,’ Malay *bawang* ‘onion,’ which in Bobongko and Loindang is called *babang*.

ngak ‘crow’ is certainly identical with *nga*, a kind of teal of Lake Lindu; both birds are named after their call.

giwang ‘monitor lizard’ is undoubtedly synonymous with the stem of Buginese *mangiwěng*, Bare’e *mangibani* ‘shark.’

moilo ‘unripe,’ *mara* ‘ripe,’ the first is identical to Bare’e *maila* ‘wild, untamed,’ from which it is easily concluded to bring the second into connection with *naya*, *nara* (and various other forms) ‘tame, accustomed, not shy’; compare our custom to distinguish wild and tame plants.

ronyo ‘leaf,’ particularly ‘betel,’ from *ron* and *nyo*, thus ‘the [p. 459] leaf par excellence.’ At present people in Central Celebes chew only the betel fruits, and people complain deeply when, for want of fruits, one must chew the leaves; the same is the case in Minahassa, and yet also there they call betel *ranina*, Bentenan *raunge*. Thus perhaps the chewing of the fruit is a later development, especially because they are stronger than the leaves. That people cannot obtain fruits in heavily populated areas goes without saying.

punteng ‘cluster’ of fruits, is probably identical with the well-known *punti* ‘banana’ (cf. Malay, Buli, Pakēwa, Parigi, etc.). This meaning is certainly the original, the banana is the cluster-fruit par excellence. In Bare’e, whenever the local name *loka* is taboo, bananas are called *malengga*, cf. Gorontalo *lengge* ‘a hand of bananas.’

tanuana ‘life spirit, life ether’ is an example of an *o* which has become *u* in a light syllable. In Bare’e *tanoana* and *tanuana* occur next to each other, more examples from the language are *butolo* ‘bottle,’ from Buginese *botolo*; *butoro* ‘play dice,’ from Buginese *botoro*. *Tanoana* probably has an infix *-an-*, which here has a diminutive meaning; the remaining *to ana* is to be translated as ‘small person, homunculus.’

kilalang, a sea-roving bird, explains the name which this animal has in Bare’e, because it clearly contains the stem *lalang* ‘float, hover’ (see what is said above concerning *baya*), compare also Bobongko *lumayang* ‘fly.’ At the same time, it appears from this form that *l* has also changed to *y* in Bobongko.

mibân ‘sneeze’ also occurs in the Philippine languages, compare Buli, Ponosakan, Pakēwa, Dan.¹⁸ *mawân*, Mongondow *mobân*, Sangirese, with infix, *měbinang*, Bentenan *muwunan*.

mogete ‘young’ explains the original meaning of Ampana *gete* ‘friend,’ also much in use as a stopgap, like the Dutch word *vrind* ‘pal, buddy, fella.’

¹⁸ [translator’s note: I have not been able to interpret the abbreviation Dan.]

I never managed to take down a story or [p. 460] master a bit of language, from which I should have been able to ascertain the existence of tense-forms in Bobongko. Bobongko probably does have them, because Loinan and Gorontalo employ such forms. Because the To Bobongko in traffic with the Togianers use the language of the latter, and also always answered me in Togian, that which I could learn from them was restricted to individual words. The people in general are shy, and only a couple of young men dared come close to me.

II. BAJO

On certain of the Togian Islands there are from old settlements of the Bajorese, which in Bare'e, just as in Makassarese, are called Bajo. They move sometimes to one place, and sometimes another, but they have never entirely abandoned the Togian Islands. Their language must therefore be counted among the languages of the Togian Islands.

In volume XXVI of this Journal, on page 264, Dr. Riedel in 1880 [sic → 1881] gave two stories with translation in the dialect of the *Orang Laut* or *Orang Sĕkah* of Bĕlitung (Biliton). In word stock this dialect does not have the least similarity with the language of the Bajo of Togian. Only in the treatment of the nasal-prefix in the Javanese way is it equivalent to the Bajo of Togian, for example *nimul* 'come above water,' compare Malay *timbul*; *nyangkut* 'fasten oneself on,' compare Malay *sangkut* in Sĕkah, versus *njumpa* 'swear,' compare Malay *sumpah*; *nanam* 'plant,' compare Malay *tanam* in the Bajo of Togian.

Dr. Matthes speculates in his entry *Tidung* in his *Makassarsch Woordenboek* that the region *Tidung* on the east coast of Borneo has the Bajo to thank for its name, because they are also called Tidungers. I have therefore consulted the "Woordenlijstje der Tidoengsche taal" of W. Aernhout in *De Indische Gids* 1885, I, 536, but I also [p. 461] found nothing therein that would make one think of a connection with the Togian Bajo. In Ling Roth's "The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo," in volume II, page 273 is cited a quotation from Spencer St. John, according to which the Bajo language is entirely different from the Ida'an languages, which belong to the Philippines group. Concerning Bajo, Vosmaer says in volume XVII of the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, page 126, that, following the testimony of the Bajo themselves, "it is spoken nowhere on shore."

Regretfully, I have to confess that until now no Indonesian language is known to me which can be considered a close relation of the Bajo of Celebes, even though it is unquestionable that this language belongs to the Indonesian group.

Of Bajo I have been able to compile no more than a few hundred words. In Wallace's well-known work¹⁹ there is a list of something over 100 words in a Bajo dialect. This

¹⁹ [translator's note: *The Malay Archipelago*.]

scanty supply, however, is importantly supplemented by a more comprehensive word list, which was kindly offered for me to process by Mr. J. Alb. T. Schwarz, Assistant Preacher of Sonder (Minahassa), who in 1878 made use of a forced delay in Sidate (on the coast between the gulf of Amurang and the mouth of the Poigar River), to research the language of the Bajo located there. Without this considerable help, my own material should not be worth the trouble of working up. We thus have to thank Mr. Schwarz for the principle portion of what is communicated here.

I have taken the following from that which Mr. Schwarz communicated to me concerning the Bajo who are located on the coast of Minahassa.

“By the *To ntemboan* (vulgar: *To mpakěwa*) the Bajorese are called *se Waro*. To my question of how they call themselves, Giling (the head of the settlement at Sidate) answered me: We call ourselves *Sama* and other [p. 462] people we call *bagai*, such as *bagai Jewe* ‘Javanese,’ *bagai Minehese* ‘Minahassan.’ What *Sama* means, he could not say. The Bajorese I met up with were no Mohammedans, but Heathen. They believe in numerous spirits; the greatest and most majestic is *Papu*. They call on him when making solemn oaths and when they fall into great distress, out of which, they contend, no other spirit can rescue them. With usual sicknesses *Papu* is not called upon.

Circumcision (incision), Bajo *pendang*, was still in full use by them.

In Minahassa one finds settlements of Bajo at *Kima* (district of Manado), on the island Naeng Běsar, at Talawaän (district of Bantik), at Sidate (district of Bumoöng), at Maäsin (Bay of Amurang). This people group numbers about 1000 altogether, living in the aforementioned places.

Since about two or three years ago, the Bajorese at Maäsin have gone over to Islam.”

The article of Mr. F. H. van Verschuer (*Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, volume 7, 1883, pages 1–7) “De Badjo’s,” written in 1881, contains no data about their language. The Bajo of Borneo are treated in that work. In Vosmaer’s above-cited treatise, he only gives the names of a few turtle and sea cucumber species. Wallace’s word list agrees almost entirely with mine. It is, leaving aside the peculiar spelling, very accurate; here and there one finds an *h*, where a glottal stop must have been articulated. I have no doubt that Wallace’s list is of the same Bajo descent as mine. The dialect of Mr. Schwarz’s word list is somewhat different than that of the Bajo of the Tomini Bay, but they are two dialects of the same language. The Bajo of Celebes are thus also divided into clans, such as has already been said by Vosmaer. Nevertheless it is curious that Spencer St. John (cited in Ling Roth, volume 1, page 29), speaking about the Bajo on the west coast of Borneo’s [p. 463] most northern part, says that they call themselves Orang Sama, thus the same name with which the Bajo of the west coast of Minahassa name themselves.

In the discussion of the Bajo language, Mr. Schwarz's list will be the foundation, and I shall mention my list only where it deviates from that of Mr. Schwarz. It will also be reported where Wallace's list differs from mine. The Bajo of Minahasa I will indicate with an M., that of Togian with a T.; what occurs only in Wallace's list, with Wall.

Sound System.

Vowels.

a, original, for example M. *talinge* 'ear,' *dela* 'tongue,' *asa* 'whet, sharpen,' *laha* 'blood,' *aran* 'name,' T. *mata* 'eye,' *arang* 'name,' *walu* 'eight.'

e, in general not original. In M. often originating from *a*, also from *i*, for example: *mete* 'eye,' T. *mata*; *bueje* 'crocodile,' Malay *buaya*; *meme* 'mother,' from *mama*; *jele* 'net,' from *jala*; *utere* 'north,' from *utara*; *Walende*, *Jewe*, *Minehese*, from *Walanda*, *Jawa*, *Minahasa*.

This sound change is unknown in T.

From *i*, for example M. *keked* 'bite,' Parigi *kiki*; *tele* (*nele*) 'see,' Malay *tilik*; T. *ngeno* 'drink,' Malay *minum*; *ngenta* 'eat,' M. *nginta*.

i, original, for example M. T. *gigi* 'tooth'; M. *kulit*, T. *kuli* 'skin'; M. *talinge*, T. *talinga* 'ear'; M. T. *siku* 'elbow.'

In T. often originating from schwa, for example *ningge*', M. *něngge*' 'stand'; *dinde*, M. *děnde* 'woman, wife.'

ě, the schwa, original in M. for example *pědu* 'gall,' *těntěnga* 'middle,' *pědi* 'pain,' *pěteang* 'blind,' cf. Malay *pětang*; *tělu* 'three.'

In T. often weakened from *a*, for example *aě* 'man, person,' M. *aa*'; *papě* 'cheek,' M. *papa*; *ningkelě* 'youth, lad,' M. *ningkěla*; *ěndi* 'younger brother, sister,' M. *adi*'; *tilěu* 'ask,' M. *tilau*; *ěнау* 'sugar palm,' M. *anau*.

o, not original, usually originating from *a*, *ě* or *u*, for example M. T. *tikolo* 'head,' Sangirese *tanggulu*; M. *ponsot* 'navel,' [p. 464] Malay *pusat*; M. *boto*', T. *boto* 'penis,' Malay *butuh*; M. T. *pote* 'white,' Malay *putih*; M. *bono*', T. *bono* 'kill,' Malay *bunuh*; M. *saol* 'answer,' Malay *sahut*; M. *bisol* 'pustule,' Malay *bisul*; M. *ladion* 'knife,' next to *ladian*; M. *baliong* 'axe,' Malay *baliung*; M. *pario*' 'cook pot,' Malay *pěriuk*; T. *luso* 'rice mortar,' Malay *lěsung*; M. *odeang*, Malay *udang* 'shrimp'; M. *bolo*', T. *wolo* 'bamboo,' Malay *buluh*; M. *apo* 'lime,' Malay *kapur*; M. *toe* 'old,' Malay *tua*.

u, usually original, for example M. *bulu*', T. *bulu* 'hair'; M. T. *susu* 'breast, udder'; M. *kulit*, T. *kuli* 'skin'; M. T. *kuku* 'nail,' M. T. *bulan* 'moon,' *tělu* 'three,' *pitu* 'seven,' *walu* 'eight.'

Sometimes originating from *ě* in T., for example *luso* ‘rice mortar,’ M. *lěsung*; *buas* ‘hulled rice,’ Malay *běras*; *kulo* ‘neck,’ M. *kělo*; *umbo* ‘grandfather,’ M. *ěmbo*.

Two consecutive vowels in the writing must be articulated separately, with a weak *h*, *y* or *w* between them, never as our [Dutch] diphthongs, for example M. *nai* ‘foot,’ *baom* ‘language,’ *sěrau* ‘weep,’ *saol* ‘answer,’ *matai* ‘dead,’ *datai* ‘ripe, done,’ *ělau* ‘sun,’ *langau* ‘fly,’ *bariu* ‘wind,’ *mugai* ‘do,’ *busai* ‘paddle,’ *kiong* ‘scabies,’ *tiup* ‘blow,’ *pasungian* ‘anus,’ in T.: *atai* ‘liver,’ *baong* ‘language,’ *parai* ‘rice in the ear,’ *sangei* ‘wind,’ *boe* ‘water,’ *ngoa* ‘gape.’

Consonants.

Gutturals.

- glottal stop*, in M. *pu’u* ‘body,’ *pe’e* ‘thigh,’ *munda* ‘face,’ *boe* ‘water.’ In T. *ba’a* ‘arm,’ *ko’ol* ‘cough.’ In T. I have not observed glottal stop as coda.
- h* in M. *gogohia* ‘skin disease,’ *laha* ‘blood.’ In T. *tuhu* ‘knee,’ *laha* ‘blood,’ *uroh* ‘nose,’ *tamparoh* ‘skull’ [sic? → *tamporoh*], *kuloh* ‘neck.’
- k* M. *keked* ‘bite,’ *kakape* ‘wing’; not found as final coda. T: *kokoranga* ‘throat,’ *kape* ‘wing,’ *bakas* ‘bones.’ [p. 465]
- ngk* M. *talengkian* ‘pinky finger,’ *kaseangku* ‘I love,’ *karata’angku* ‘I am angry’; *ěngko* ‘tail.’
T. *ningkolo* ‘sit,’ *ongkor* ‘tail,’ *engke* ‘finger,’ *talengke* ‘pinky finger,’ *katonangku* ‘I know.’
- g* M. *gigi* ‘tooth,’ *bageang* ‘molar,’ *gogol* ‘ichthyosis.’
T. *gigi*, *baga* ‘molar,’ *igě* ‘rib,’ *goya* ‘wave, billow.’
- ngg* M. *něngge* ‘stand,’ *tengge* ‘ladder.’
T. *jangu* ‘beard,’ *ěnggo* ‘sing,’ *ranggas* ‘branch,’ *ningge* ‘stand.’
- ng* M. *talinge* ‘ear,’ *uruong* ‘nose,’ *nginta* ‘eat.’
T. *talinga*, *tangan* ‘forearm,’ *lalangi* ‘roof of the mouth,’ *pusarang* ‘crown of the head.’

Labials.

- p* M. *pu’u* ‘body,’ *tiup* ‘blow,’ *dapu* ‘lord, owner,’ *api* ‘fire.’
T. *ponso* ‘navel,’ *puě* ‘grandfather,’ *taipa* ‘mango.’

- mp* M. *ěmpu* ‘grandchild,’ *karompeang* ‘midsection, waist.’
T. *pompě* ‘leg,’²⁰ *umpu* ‘grandchild,’ *tamporoh* ‘skull.’
- b* M. *bėtis* ‘calf (of the leg),’ *be’e* ‘shoulder,’ *boe* ‘water,’ *ělab* ‘good,’ *kabea* ‘bat.’
T. *boa* ‘mouth,’ *kuleber* ‘lip,’ *bětah* ‘belly,’ *tubo* ‘stomach,’ *ba’a* ‘upper arm.’
- mb* M. *kumba* ‘liver,’ *jambeang* ‘beard,’ *sambolong* ‘hair bun,’ *ěmbo* ‘grandfather.’
T. *lembar* ‘carry on the shoulder,’ *komba* ‘betel,’ *ambulo* ‘sago palm.’
- m* M. *inum* ‘drink,’ *matai* ‘dead,’ *luman* ‘alive, living.’
T. *romangi* ‘swim,’ *ěma* ‘mother,’ *mata* ‘eye.’

Supradentals.

- t* M. *mete* ‘eye,’ *bukut* ‘back,’ *těbuě* ‘bowels.’
T. *tubo* ‘stomach,’ *pote* ‘white,’ *puto* ‘uncle.’
- nt* M. *ontol* ‘eat raw food,’ *buntar* ‘round,’ *antělo* ‘egg.’
T. *nginta* ‘eat,’ *karaginta* ‘star,’ *dintang* ‘remember.’ [p. 466]
- d* M. *tidor* ‘sleep,’ *pědu* ‘gall,’ *pakelad* ‘open the eyes,’ *due* ‘two.’
T. *diri* ‘body,’ *dela* ‘tongue,’ *ada* ‘confess, admit.’
- nd* M. *munda* ‘face,’ *děnde* ‘woman,’ *pěpěnda* ‘short.’
T. *ěnda* ‘woman,’ *patotondo* ‘nod,’ *tandalo* ‘rainbow.’
- n* M. *kinakan* ‘food,’ *bono* ‘kill,’ *nambar* ‘medicate.’
T. *ngeno* ‘drink,’ *numalang* ‘walk,’ *danakang* ‘brother, sister,’ *ana* ‘child.’

Palatals.

- c* M. *cincin* ‘ring,’ *cěbi* ‘chili pepper,’ *ěcin* ‘salt,’ *licam* ‘sour,’ *cecea* ‘lizard.’
T. no examples.
- nc* M. *cincin*, *manciěn* ‘angle (for fish).’
T. no examples.
- j* M. *rěja* ‘saliva,’ *jěnat* ‘pus,’ *weje* ‘steel.’
T. *jongor* ‘chin,’ *ruja* ‘spittle,’ *jangu* ‘beard.’
- nj* M. *tunju* ‘finger,’ *těnja* ‘step on, tread on,’ *manjele* ‘fish with a net.’
T. *ponyawa* ‘heart.’

²⁰ [Translator’s note: The Dutch here is *been* ‘leg, bone,’ but Bajau *pompě* may refer specifically to the thigh.]

Liquids.

- l* M. *lěla* ‘man,’ *saol* ‘answer,’ *balolong* ‘evil spirit,’ *ělinan* ‘religious song.’
T. *toler* ‘stammer, speak in broken language,’²¹ *ko’ol* ‘cough,’ *kalaki* ‘relative, relation,’ *lendo* ‘forehead.’
- r* M. *aran* ‘name,’ *tidor* ‘sleep,’ *rěja* ‘saliva.’
T. *panoro* ‘index finger,’ *toroh* ‘nipple,’ *ongkor* ‘tail.’

Semivowels.

- y* M. *ayuan* ‘son-in-law,’ *dayeang* ‘fish,’ *bueye* ‘crocodile,’ *uye* ‘sing.’ [p. 467]
T. *ayě* ‘aunt,’ *ayuan* ‘son-in-law.’
- w* in M. not encountered, in T. only in *ponyawa* ‘heart,’ perhaps borrowed.

The *s* can be included among the dentals, even though it is not truly dental. The ligature *ns*, which is not uncommon, could be merely dental, but the *s* there is under influence of the supradental *n*; this sound is articulated with the tongue tip against the roots of the upper teeth. Examples:

- M. *se’e* ‘comrade,’ *sama* ‘Bajo,’ *ěsa* ‘one,’ *remis* ‘hate’ [sic → *rěmis*], *niansea* ‘breath,’ *ansělan* ‘oil,’ *ponsot* ‘navel.’
T. *sěpong* ‘sneeze,’ *nangis* ‘weep,’ *ngeěnsa* ‘sigh.’

Word Form.

Bajo is no vocalic language, especially not M., which uses most of the consonants and endings. T. is on its way to becoming a vocalic language. Glottal stop no longer exists as an ending, and of the consonants only *n*, *ng*, *h*, *l*, *r* and *s* occur finally. In many cases in which M. still has a consonantal ending, the equivalent form in T. has an open final syllable.

Final consonants in M.

- ng* *uruong* ‘nose,’ *bageang* ‘molar,’ *běteang* ‘belly,’ *pendang* ‘circumcision,’
pineang ‘areca.’
- m* *pekědam* ‘blink the eye,’ *nginum* ‘drink,’ *baom* ‘speak,’ *lalam* ‘deep,’ *licam* ‘sour,’ *ngolo’om* ‘black.’
- n* *lěngan* ‘arm,’ *buyuong* ‘testicle,’ *raban* ‘coir,’ *kanan* ‘right,’ *danakan* ‘brother, sister,’ *tu’un* ‘dive,’ *goan* ‘garden,’ *ladion* ‘knife.’

²¹ [Translator’s note: Dutch *brauwen*, *krom spreken*. I am uncertain about the English translation given here.]

- glottal stop* *laha* ‘blood,’ *bulu* ‘hair,’ *anea* ‘child,’ *adi* ‘younger brother, sister,’ *ruma* ‘house,’ *tělea* ‘light,’ *pario* ‘cook pot,’ *tunu* ‘light (a fire).’
- t* *jambut* ‘chin beard,’ *bukut* ‘back,’ *kulit* ‘skin,’ *songot* ‘sweat,’ *bakat* ‘wound,’ *sumangat* ‘soul,’ *sěmuět* ‘ant.’
- d* *soped* ‘kind of boat,’ *ingkad* ‘binding,’ *sulad* ‘hair needle,’ [p. 468]
tampopod ‘swallow,’ *bakulud* ‘*Anoa depressicornis*,’²² *bulid* ‘buttock,’
keked ‘bite.’
- p* *tiup* ‘blow,’ *ngěkap* ‘brood, sit on eggs,’ *dakap* ‘catch,’ *ingkap* ‘sting,’ *pasědap*
‘set (of sun),’ *ngětap* ‘chop off.’
- b* *ělab* ‘good.’
- l* *kidal* ‘left,’ *jujul* ‘near,’ *gěnyěl* ‘cold,’ *patěgal* ‘slow,’ *bisol* ‘pustule,’ *ko’ol*
‘cough,’ *gogol* ‘ichthyosis.’
- r* *basar* ‘big,’ *tidor* ‘sleep,’ *tambar* ‘medicine,’ *kalalawar* ‘bat,’ *cěkur* ‘*Kaempferia*
rotunda.’
- s* *bara’as* ‘the phosphorescence of the sea,’ *rěmis* ‘hate,’ *buas* ‘hulled rice,’ *tikus*
‘mouse,’ *rěbus* ‘cook.’

Final consonants in T.

- h* *uroh* ‘nose,’ *bulu kineh* ‘eyebrow,’ *tamporoh* ‘skull,’ *kuloh* ‘neck,’ *bětah* ‘belly,’
toroh ‘nipple.’
- ng* *pusarang* ‘hair crown,’ *danakang* ‘brother, sister,’ *arang* ‘name,’ *telang*
‘swallow,’ *numalang* ‘walk,’ *sěpong* ‘sneeze,’ *abaong* ‘answer.’
- n* *ajuan* ‘son-in-law, daughter-in-law,’ *kamanakan* ‘nephew, niece,’ *tangan* ‘hand,’
dialan ‘inside.’
- l* *ko’ol* ‘cough.’
- r* *kuleber* ‘lip,’ *jangor* ‘chin,’ *ongkor* ‘tail,’ *ipar* ‘brother-in-law,’ *lembar* ‘carry on
the shoulder,’ *toler* ‘babble,’ *lapar* ‘plain.’
- s* *ranggas* ‘branch,’ *atos* ‘hundred,’ *buas* ‘hulled rice,’ *nangis* ‘weep,’ *bakas*
‘bones.’

Original final consonants in T. have thus often weakened or fallen away, such as emerges for example from:

²² [translator’s note: Today *Bubalus depressicornis*.]

T. *boto*, M. *boto* 'penis.'
 T. *tamporoh*, Malay *těmpurung* 'skull.'
 T. *uroh*, M. *uruong* 'nose.'
 T. *bětah*, M. *běteang* 'belly.'
 T. *ngeno*, M. *nginum* 'drink.'
 T. *abaong* 'answer,' M. *baom* 'speak.'
 T. *buli*, M. *bulid* 'buttock.' [p. 469]
 T. *alla* (Wall.), M. *ělab* 'good.'
 T. *buku*, M. *bukut* 'back.'
 T. *kuli*, M. *kulit* 'skin.'
 T. *songo*, M. *songot* 'sweat.'

Some Sound Phenomena.

In M. the *a* as vowel in the final syllable has often become *e*, for example *talinge*, T. *talinga* 'ear'; *taipe* 'mango,' Palu *taipa*; *due*, Malay *dua* 'two'; *lime*, Malay *lima* 'five'; *leye* 'ginger,' Parigi *leia*; *ie* 'he, she,' Malay *ia*; *kite* 'we,' Malay *kita*; *baruge* 'field hut,' Buginese *baruga*; *manusie* 'people,' Malay *manusia*.

Two consecutive syllables which have *a* as vowel, frequently allow both *a*-sounds to become *e* when the last is not closed, for example *mete* 'eye,' T. *mata*; *bueye* 'crocodile,' Malay *buaya*; *ete* 'slave,' Makassarese, Buginese *ata*; *meme* 'mother,' from *mama*; *pe'e* 'thigh,' Bare'e *pa'a*; *utere* 'north,' Malay *utara*; *Walende* 'Holland,' *weje* 'steel,' *jele* 'net,' *Jewe* 'Java,' even *Minehese* 'Minahassa,' from *Walanda*, *waja*, *jala*, *Jawa*, *Minahasa*.

On the other hand *aran* 'name,' *lalan* 'road,' *ba'an* 'sneeze,' *ta'at* 'forbid,' *basar* 'big,' *la'at* 'village,' *tanam* 'plant,' *garam* 'salt,' *panga'an* 'python,' *aa* 'wish, desire,' *laha* 'blood,' *para* 'many,' *papa* 'cheek,' *karama* 'crab.'

The M. exhibits a peculiar kind of *lengthening* in the final syllable of a number of words, which in related languages, or in variant forms in the language itself, end in *-ang*, *-ong*, *-ung*, *-ing* or in one of certain vowel sounds. There are also some examples of lengthening in syllables closed by *t* and *r*. Examples:

bageang 'molar,' Ampana *bagangi*.
jambeang 'beard,' Buginese *cambang*.
běteang 'belly,' T. *bětah*, Makassarese *batang*.
pineang 'areca,' Malay *pinang*.
piseang 'banana,' Malay *pisang*. [p. 470]
gandeang 'drum,' Malay *ganrang*.
běneang 'thread,' Malay *běňang*.
baweang 'onion,' Malay *bawang*.
nguteang 'debt,' Malay *hutang*.
kasieang 'affection,' Malay *kasian*.
padeang 'grass,' Malay *padang*.

angeang ‘hornbill,’ Malay *ěnggang*.
kěmbeang ‘shoot (of a plant),’ Javanese *kěmbang*.
binateang ‘animal,’ Malay *binatang*.
gěleang ‘armband,’ Malay *gělang*.
pěteang ‘blind, darkness,’ next to *pětang*.
dajeang ‘fish,’ T. *deja* (Wall.)
pamueang ‘maleo,’ Parigi *momua*.
anea ‘child,’ Malay *anak*.
niansea ‘breath,’ next to *niansang*.
sarea ‘tear,’ next to *sara* ‘separate.’
tělea ‘light,’ next to *těla*.
těmbea ‘sprout,’ Malay *těmbak*.
momolaene ‘the first,’ Malay *mulanya*.

Lengthening of *-ing* to *-iong*, of *-ir* to *-iěr*:

pěriong ‘kind of bamboo,’ Javanese *pring*.
ladion ‘knife,’ Malay *lading*.
baniěr ‘buttress root,’ Malay *banir*.

-un to *-uěn*, *-ut* to *-uět*:

sěpuěn ‘have a cold,’ Minahassan *sěpun* ‘snot.’
sěmuět ‘ant,’ Malay *sěmut*.
lěmuět ‘porpoise,’ Bare’e *lombudi* (for *lěmbud*).

-ong becomes *-uong*:

aguong ‘gong,’ Malay *gong*.
lěsuong ‘rice mortar,’ T. *luso*.
ambuluong ‘sago,’ T. *ambulo*.
gunuong ‘mountain,’ next to *gunong*.
pětuong ‘kind of bamboo,’ Malay *bětung*.
jaguon ‘corn,’ Malay *jagung*.

Besides as mentioned above, another way of lengthening the vowel is found in these examples: [p. 471]

maniě ‘bead,’ Malay *manik-manik*.
panciě ‘hook,’ next to *panci*, Javanese *pancing*.
nutuě ‘pound,’ Bare’e *tutu*.
tu’uě ‘nipa palm,’ T. *tuho*.

The *a*, *ang* and *ong* are lengthened by a preceding inserted vowel. Provided that M. did not have the tendency to turn *u* to *o*, one would rather consider *uong* to be a lengthened *ung*, but the cognate forms clearly show that the lengthening is of the same nature as that of *ang* to *eang*. In the lengthened forms *eang* and *uong*, stress jumps to the inserted

sound, in the other forms (*iong, uĕn, uĕt, iĕr*) it occurs on the original vowel of the final syllable; only here can one actually speak of lengthening, the other case is an example of epenthesis, without doubt favored by the nasal coda, and in the cases in which glottal stop is the coda, probably originating with a former form of the word.

Next to *manu* ‘chicken,’ *ĕgo* ‘pig,’ *takolo* ‘head,’ *kuyu* ‘dog,’ the list also gives *manue, ĕgoe, takoloe, kuyue*, in which in all probability the attached element is or formerly was a demonstrative. The expression for ‘wild pig’ is *ĕgoe darat*, which makes one think that it no longer has any deictic force, no more than in Bare’e *anake* next to *ana*, *kurue* next to *kuru*, or *uyue* next to *uyu*.

Geanteang exhibits double epenthesis, Malay *gantang*.²³

The sound phenomena mentioned above are not encountered in T.

In the treatment of the typical sound of Van der Tuuk’s law, Bajo is partly like Javanese; namely it sometimes loses this sound, and in other examples exhibits *r* (*h, g*). When a final *r* has fallen away, this is to be ascribed to the working of this law as well in M. as in T., because in both dialects *r* is often a final consonant.²⁴

Here follow some examples:

English	M.	T.	
lime	apo		[p. 472]
tail	engko	ongkor	
brother-in-law		ipar	
saliva		elo	
egg	antĕlo		
east	timur		
sleep	tidor		
blood	laha’	laha	
west	barat		
new	bau’		
molar	bageang	baga	
hulled rice	buas	buas	

²³ [translator’s note: A *gantang* is a unit of measure, approximately equal to one quart.]

²⁴ [translator’s note: Van der Tuuk’s first law, also called the R-G-H law, refers to the regular correspondence of an *r* in Malay with *g* in Tagalog and *h* in Ngaju Dayak in a number of word sets (e.g. Malay *barah* Tagalog *bagáq* and Ngaju Dayak *baha* ‘abscess’). Today Austronesianists use *R to symbolize the proto-sound (which was possibly a uvular trill), for example *baReq ‘abscess, boil.’ The Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) reconstructions which are relevant to the examples given by Adriani are: *qapuR ‘lime,’ *ikuR ‘tail,’ *hipaR ‘sibling-in-law,’ *iluR ‘spittle, saliva,’ *qateluR ‘egg,’ *timuR ‘east monsoon,’ *tiduR ‘sleep,’ *daRaq ‘blood,’ *habaRat ‘west monsoon,’ *baReqan ‘molar,’ *beRas ‘rice between harvesting and cooking,’ *linduR ‘earthquake,’ *Ratus ‘hundred,’ *Ribu ‘thousand,’ *Rumaq ‘house,’ *Rusuk ‘rib’ (but cf. Javanese *iga* ‘rib’), and *baRani ‘brave.’ The last item, *banir ‘buttress root,’ is reconstructed with *r rather than *R.]

earthquake	lindur	lonro
hundred	atus	atos
thousand	ribus	
house	ruma'	
rib		iga
brave	barani	
buttress root	baniěr	

Out of sixteen examples, M. thus has eight of *r* and six of no consonant, while exhibiting one example of *h*, and one of *g*.

In nine examples, T. gives two examples of *r*, two of *g*, one of *h*, and four of no consonant. It can thus be said with some certainty that the typical sound, in original or weakened form, usually does not disappear.

Of the second law,²⁵ in four out of six examples M. exhibits *d*, namely *padi* 'rice in the ear,' *pědu* 'gall,' *adi* 'younger brother, sister,' *ponsot* (for *ponsod*) 'navel,' while *arang* 'name' and *uruong* have *r*.

In five examples, T. has three of *r*, one of *nd* (probably prenasalized *d*), and one in which the sound has fallen away, *ponso* 'navel,' *r* in *parai* 'field rice,' *arang* 'name,' and *uroh* 'nose,' and *ěndi* is the example of *nd* (= *adi*).

Stress.

As well in M. as in T., stress falls on the next-to-last syllable of the word, be it a root word or a compounded [p. 473] word, except where an original single-syllable word has become disyllabic through appoggiatura, such as *ěma* 'mother' in T., *ěla* 'husband' in M. This appoggiatura then also falls away when the word is suffixed, thus *maku* 'my mother,' *laku* 'my husband'; thus with first person pronominal suffix *áran* becomes *arángku* 'my name,' *gógol* 'ichthyosis' *gogólan* 'beset with ichthyosis,' *sóngot* 'sweat,' *songótan* 'perspire.'

That stress jumps to the already mentioned lengthening and epenthesis, has been noticed above.

Compounding, elision, nasalization, etc. do not illustrate anything which deserves particular mention. The nasalization of stem onsets which occurs with prefixation, as with the making verbal forms, will be mentioned with the prefixes.

²⁵ [translator's note: Van der Tuuk's second law, also called the R-L-D law, refers to the regular correspondence of *r* in Old and Modern Javanese with *l* in Tagalog and Bisayan, and *d* in Malay and Balinese (e.g. Javanese *irung*, Tagalog *ilong*, and Malay *hidung* 'nose'). Today most Austronesianists use *j to symbolize this sound. The relevant PMP reconstructions are: *pajey 'rice in the field,' *qapeju 'gall, gall bladder,' *huaji 'younger sibling,' *pusej 'navel,' *ajan 'name,' and *ijuj 'nose.']

A *nasal ligature* is found among other places between numerals and the noun thereby modified, namely when the noun is used as a measure word, in which case the numeral always precedes, for example *dangelau* ‘a day,’ *duengĕlau*, *tĕlu ngelau* ‘two, three days long,’²⁶ *damba’a*, *dambua* ‘one piece,’ *baroang dambua* ‘one boat,’ *dĕpo’ungĕlau* ‘a half day,’ so also with *pulu* ‘ten,’ *telu’mpulu* ‘thirty,’ *sangampulu* ‘ninety.’

Genitive relationship is formed through co-ordination, without any intervening element, for example *aran ma’ku* ‘the name of my mother,’ *pulau ĕmbo* ‘island of the ancestors’ (Manado Tua Island), *indu tangan* ‘mother of the hand’ (the thumb), *pĕlĕpa tangan* ‘palm of the hand,’ *bakas tutubu* ‘shoulder blade,’ *tali ponso* ‘umbilical cord,’ *bulu pu’u* ‘body hair,’ *rĕja pineang* ‘betel nut spittle,’ *antĕlo pamueang* ‘maleo eggs,’ *gule buani* ‘bee honey,’ *panci ama* ‘father’s hook,’ *gĕleang nai* ‘ankle ring,’ *ingkad karompeang* ‘waistband,’ *goan padi* ‘rice field,’ *abeang jaguon* ‘corn chaff,’ *po’on saloka* ‘coconut palm,’ *taru’ĕnau* ‘sugar palm frond,’ *mete elau* ‘disc of the sun,’ *pusu piseang* ‘banana sprout,’ *tĕtĕbu gunuong* ‘mountaintop,’ *dapu’ baroang* ‘owner of a boat,’ *gigi taipe* ‘mango seed.’ [p. 474]

Word Repetition and Reduplication.

Also in Bajo reduplication is abbreviated word repetition; in the word lists only two examples of the latter are to be found, namely *rumpu-rumpu* ‘filthy, filthiness’ and *nutu-nutu* ‘rice pestle,’ from the stem *tutu*. In the first example, the word repetition expresses a plural with diversity, in the second the name of a work tool, whereby word repetition indicates the repeated application to the same work. In many languages, as also in Bajo, reduplication is used especially for the names of tools, for the same reason.

Examples in M.: *titiup* ‘flute,’ *kakape* ‘wing,’ *dedego* ‘rest bench,’ from *dego-dego* (Moluccan Malay), *lalipan* ‘centipede,’ *papalu* ‘snakehead fish,’ *titibu* ‘kind of perch or bass,’ *bebesiĕng* ‘another fish species,’ *dĕdĕki* or *dĕdiki* ‘small,’ *pĕpĕndea* ‘short,’ next to *pĕpĕnda*, Malay *pendek*; *tĕtĕna* ‘long,’ stem *tĕna*; *nananeane* ‘a little bit,’ from *naneane* ‘little’; *lalagisanan* ‘in the morning,’ from *lagisanan* ‘morning’; *tĕntĕnga* ‘middle, in the middle.’

In T.: *lalangi* ‘roof of the mouth’ (cf. *langi* ‘sky’).

Pronouns.

<i>Personal:</i>	1	sing.	<i>aku</i>	pl.	<i>kite</i>	shortened:	<i>-ku, -ke</i>
	2.	"	<i>kau</i>	"	<i>ka’am</i>	"	<i>-(n)u -gi</i>
	3.	"	<i>ie</i>	"	<i>isianu ie</i>	"	<i>-(n)e</i>

²⁶ [translator’s note: Spelled here as in the original, but perhaps *dangĕlau* ‘a day long’ and *tĕlu dangĕlau* ‘three days long’ (with schwa) should be understood?]

For the first person plural, I found no form reported which corresponds with Malay, etc. *kami*.

For the most part the forms are those which one would expect, thus the regular ones.²⁷ Concerning *ie* and *kite*, see what was said under sound phenomena. The lengthening or rather the splitting of the original vowel of *ka'am* was promoted by the loss of the final vowel (a weak *i*) in order to preserve two syllables, something which is further promoted by the character of the nasal.

The short forms serve as possessive pronouns. The attachment results in nothing peculiar: *rumaku* [p. 475] *rumake*, *rumanu*, *rumagi*, *rumane*. To avoid consonants meeting together, also *-u* and *-e*, for example *basare* 'his largeness.' If one would explicitly say, 'those people's house,' then one uses *ruma disianu ie*, in which a locative of the pronoun is used, thus something like 'the house at their place.' The form *isianu ie* is not very clear. It does indeed contain the case marker *i*, which is not used before the other pronouns, and as far as the element *si anu* is concerned, it is a locative of *i anu* 'what's-his-name'; the entire expression is to be rendered as 'they with what's-his-name,' that is, 'what's-his-name along with his.'

Of the short forms, *-ke* has weakened from *ki*, a shortening of *kita*. Makassarese and Sangirese also have a form *nu* next to *mu* in other languages; Van der Tuuk considers the form *nu* to be older; following Van der Tuuk (*Tobasche Spraakkunst*, page 63), the *u* has caused the change of *nu* into *mu*.

More difficult to explain is *-gi*, for example *rumagi* 'your all's house,' *anagi* 'your children.' It is difficult to imagine that it has anything to do with *kami*, *kame*, or whatever the older form of *ka'am* might have been. It could indeed stand for *ki* and be a shortening of *kita* (*kita*), which is also used in Wotu (*ita*) as a second person plural. For example, it doesn't strike the right note to say to a Pebato²⁸ person, *komi To Pebato bare'e maincani tasi* 'you To Pebato have no understanding of (crossing) the sea.' Herein the addressee hears a disparagement; the speaker as much as says, 'I'm lucky not to be among those poor suckers.' *Komi tau pangkoni wawu* 'you are pig eaters' (but I am above that). Rather, it is proper to equate oneself with one's addressee and say, *kita To Pebato bare'e maincani tasi*, whereby one says, 'we To Pebato do not understand sea navigation'; if necessary the addressee would then answer, *pai kanya kita To Belanda maincani mpodago* 'but we Hollanders have it thoroughly understood.' Thus here *kita* practically means 'you,' but a complimentary 'you.' [p. 476] See what is said concerning Wotu in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume 42, page 145 (1898).

²⁷ [translator's note: Adriani is speaking here comparatively, that is to say, these are mostly the pronouns one would expect by regular inheritance from a common 'Indonesian' ancestor.]

²⁸ [translator's note: The Pebato are a division of the Bare'e (Pamona).]

<i>Deictic:</i>	1st person	<i>itu</i>	‘this’	<i>ruma’ itu</i>	‘this house’
	2nd person	<i>iru</i>	‘that’	<i>ruma’ iru</i>	‘that house’
	3rd person	<i>ore’, ore</i>	‘yonder’	<i>ruma’ ore</i> or <i>ore</i>	‘yonder house’

The adverbs which indicate place are formed with these deictic pronouns, namely *ma itu* ‘here,’ similar to Malay *di sini*, where *ma* is the preposition indicating place; *more’* or *more*, possibly from *ma ore (ore’)* ‘there, *di sana.*’

The name marker is *i*, for example *i Tope*. In the third case and locative, *si* is used, for example *tedeka si ama* ‘give it to Father,’ *tatakean si kau: dambua nutu-nutu, due nguer-nguer* ‘a riddle for you: one pestle, two sweepers,’ the riddle of a chicken, one beak and two feet.

The ‘article’ *e* has already been mentioned above.

Questioning is *oi* ‘what, what kind of?’, *bagai oi kau* ‘what kind of countryman are you?’, *soi* ‘who?’ (cf. *apa* and *sapa*).

Numerals.

M. 1 *ěsa*, 2 *due*, 3 *tělu*, 4 *ěmpat*, 5 *lime*, 6 *ěnam*, 7 *pitu*, 8 *walu*, 9 *sanga*, 10 *sapulu’*.

11 *sapulu’ dambua’*, 12 *sapulu due*, 13 *sapulu tělu*, 14 *sapulu’ ěmpat*, 15 *sapulu lime*, etc. 19 *sapulu’ sanga*.²⁹

20 *duempulu’*, 21 *duempulu’ dambua’*, 30 *tělumpulu’*, 40 *ěmpampulu’*, 50 *limempulu’*, 60 *ěnampulu’*, etc.

100 *daatus*, 101 *daatus beke dambua’*, 700 *pituatus*, etc.

1000 *daribus*, 1002 *daribus beke due*, 10,000 *sapulu’ ribus*, while *dasabu* and *dalaksa* are designations for ‘indefinitely many.’

‘A half’ is *děpo’*, for example *děpo’ ngělau* ‘half a day,’ *děpo’ geanteang* ‘half a *gantang*.’ ‘The first’ *momolaene*, ‘the second’ *kaminduene*, ‘the tenth’ *kaminsapulune*, ‘the hundredth’ *kamindaatusne*. [p. 477]

‘Once’ *měnte de*, for example *aku nania lagi měnte de* ‘I will go once again.’

‘Twice’ *mindue*, ‘three times’ *mintělu*, ‘ten times’ *minsapulu’*; ‘four times five is twenty’ *miněmpat lima jadi duempulu’*; ‘seven times two’ *mimpitu due*; ‘eight times six’ *mimbalu ěnam*.

²⁹ [translator’s note: It is unclear whether the omission of glottal stop in some of these forms was intentional or not.]

Distributive numbers are elucidated thus: *dangan dambua* ‘one each,’ *dangan due* ‘each one two,’ *dangan ěnam* ‘each one six.’

‘Two by two,’ *due-due*; *nimalan tĕlu-tĕlu* ‘they went three by three.’

Dapo ‘one piece,’ *diapo* ‘*tĕlu* ‘divided into three pieces’; ‘one fathom’ *dandĕpe*; ‘one span’ *dake*, ‘two spans’ *dueke*. *Tungku itu due ke lambune* ‘this hearth is two spans wide.’

The numerals in T.

1 *ěšě*, 2 *duě*, 3 *tĕlu*, 4 *ěmpě*, 5 *lima*, 6 *ěnang*, 8 *uĕlu*, 9 *sanga*, 10 *sapulu*, 11 *sapulu dakau*, 12. *sapulu duě*, etc. 20 *duampulu*, 21 *duampulu dakau*, 30 *tĕlumpulu*, 80 *uĕlumpulu*, 90 *sangampulu*, 100 *daatos*, 1000 *dasabu*, 10,000 *sapulu sabu*.

The differences between the forms in M. and T. yield no irregularities. I only call attention to *ribus* ‘thousand’ in M., and in T. *sabu*, likewise in Bare’e, Parigi *sowu*, Napu *sobu*, Wotu *sabu*, Buginese *sĕbu*, Makassarese *sa’bu*; in Bare’e, Wotu, Napu, Parigi, *riwu* is ‘ten thousand,’ in Javanese, Malay, Batak, Sangirese, etc. ‘thousand.’

In both dialects one finds *sanga* for ‘nine’; likewise Javanese has *sanga* ‘nine’ as the Kromo form of *sia*.

The M. and T. form *sa*, used as a prefix (*sampulu*), also has next to it the form *da*, for example *dambua*, *dapo* (from *da* and *apo*), *dakau*, *daatos*. The *s*, which here must also be the original sound, had perhaps alternated with *t*, which later became voiced, as with *-gi* from *-ki*.

The prefix *mi** which forms ordinal numbers, reminds one at once of *pi**, which has the same function in Javanese, Makassarese, Wotu and other languages. [p. 478]

Particles.

Indicating time are: ‘yesterday’ *di lau*, in which *lau* is the short form of *ělau* ‘daylight, sun, day,’ *ělau itu* ‘today,’ *dabui* ‘*di lau* ‘the day before yesterday,’ *lagisangan* ‘tomorrow,’ *salalagisangan* ‘in the morning,’ *tada dangĕlau* ‘every day,’ *saluong* ‘the day after tomorrow,’ *saluong dambua* ‘after the day after tomorrow,’ *sanbantar* (Moluccan Malay) *itu* ‘at present, in the blink of an eye.’

Confirmation and denial are accomplished with *ao* ‘yes,’ *mĕsa* (T. *misa*) ‘no,’ *ngai* ‘not, by no means,’ for example *aku basumpa pĕnteku ma Papu*, *amon aku tai sala, ngai tĕgal aku matai* ‘I swear, imploring Papu, if I am wrong, may I die not long (after this).’

Some prepositions are: *ma*, indicating location, also our ‘than’ in comparatives, *basar ma itu* ‘bigger than this’; *ka* ‘to, toward,’ *tede ka si ama* ‘give it to Father,’ *kite ka Poigar* ‘we’re going to Poigar,’ *sameran kau ka lau?* ‘when are you going to sea?’ Compounded with *ma* are: *mandiata* ‘*dedego* ‘on top of the rest bench’; *mandia* ‘under,’ for example

mandia' ruma' 'under the house'; *ma munda'* 'in front,' synonym with Malay *di muka*; *ma bukut* 'behind,' Malay *di bĕlakang*. *Mandia'* contains the stem *dia'* 'earth, ground,' thus also *kadia'* 'downward, to below,' *aku kadia'* 'I'm going down,' *makadia' dakanea'* 'take the child below.' As with *mandia'* and *mandiata'*, a nasal is also inserted in *mangkidal* 'left' and *mangkanan* 'right.'

Some conjunctions are: *beke, along, alon* 'and, with,' for example *aku along kau* 'me and you,' *padatain dayeang itu alon sayor* 'this fish was cooked with greens'; *ĕmboku sara' alon dene* 'my grandfather is separated from (with) his wife'; *along* is also used in the sense of 'by' in the passive: *tikus uda didakap along meong* 'the mouse has been caught by the cat.' The conjunction *lamon* is contrastive, 'but, however'; cf. Javanese, Malay *lamun* 'if, provided that.'

Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes. [p. 479]

Prefixes.

I have encountered the following prefixes in the word lists:

Related nasal of the stem onset, which has supplanted this onset.

*pa**, *pĕ**, *po*,
ma, *na**, *nga*,
di, *de*, *ndi*,
ka

The first-mentioned formation is the most usual, that which has largest number of examples compared to the much more limited number of examples of the other prefixes. In general it is formed the same way as in Javanese, as the following examples clearly show:

Glottal stop and *k* are replaced by *ng*.

ĕbut – *ngĕbut* 'cry, shout'
inta – *nginta* 'eat'
inum – *nginum* 'drink'
ĕpi – *ngĕpi* 'dream'
uta – *nguta* 'vomit'

ke'et – *nge'et* 'tap sago sap, tap toddy'
keked – *ngeked* 'bite'

p and *b* are replaced by *m*.

pugai – *mugai* 'make'
bolobieang – *molobieang* 'practice magic, tell fortunes'

busai – *musai* ‘paddle’
bono’ – *mono*’ ‘kill’

t is replaced by *n*, and *s* by *ny*.

tu'un – *nu'un* ‘dive’
tanam – *nanam* ‘plant’
tagu – *nagu* ‘combine, mix with’
těmbea’ – *němbea*’ ‘shoot’
tede – *nede* ‘give’
tilau – *nilau* ‘ask’
tube – *nube* ‘poison with tuba (*Millettia sericea*)’³⁰
tampi – *nampi* ‘winnow’
tutuě – *nutuě* ‘pound’
tiup – *niup* ‘blow’
těnja – *něnja* ‘step on’
tandau – *nandau* ‘set aside mourning’
tambar – *nambar* ‘medicate’

sěrau – *nyěrau* ‘weep’
saol – *nyaol* ‘answer’
sumpa – *nyumpa* ‘curse’
sepa – *nyepa* ‘kick’
sele – *manyele* ‘raise the war cry’

As one can see, this formation is applied to both transitive as well as intransitive verb forms. particularly where the meaning of the source word is known, one can keep track of this, [p. 480] for example *ao* ‘yes,’ *ngao* ‘say yes,’ *ěpi* ‘a dream,’ *ngěpi* ‘to dream,’ *busai* ‘a paddle,’ *musai* ‘to paddle,’ *tube* ‘fish poison,’ *nube* ‘poison the fishing grounds,’ *tambar* ‘medicine,’ *nambar* ‘treat medicinally.’

Without thorough knowledge of the living language and without some written text, one cannot determine the significance of this formation, at least not indicate which particular use the Bajo make of it in distinction to related languages. A number of examples can be given of verbal terms (predicate words) which outwardly bear no marker to indicate their function, for example *aku tidor* ‘I sleep,’ *aku* [sic → *kau*] *baom* ‘you speak,’ *ie ruja* ‘he spits’ (but *ie nguta* ‘he vomits’), *ka'am ko'ol* ‘you all cough’ (but *ka'am něgpi* [sic → *ngěpi*] ‘you all dream’), *kite kutu* ‘we refuse,’ *ie sara* ‘he separates,’ *aku sarea* ‘I tear.’

The character of words such as *saki* ‘sickness, sick,’ *pědi* ‘pain, painful,’ is that of subject words which are also in use as predicate forms. This is also the case with a number of

³⁰ [translator’s note: *Millettia sericea* (Vent.) Wight & Arn. ex Hassk. is restricted to Vietnam, Thailand, peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra and Java, therefore this identification must be regarded as doubtful. Perhaps a different *Millettia* species or some other poisonous legume is intended.]

adjectives. Also the adjectival nouns which no longer serve as subject words generally have no outward identifying mark. Examples:

pote ‘white,’ *bulu’pote* ‘white hair, gray hairs.’

taa ‘long,’ *baroang taa* ‘long boat,’ *taa’bulune* ‘her hair is long.’

toe ‘old’ also *atoe*, *lěla toe* ‘old man,’ *atoene* ‘the elders, the old, the leader, the priest.’

belou ‘crossed (of the eyes),’ *mata belou* ‘cross-eyed.’

pětang, pětang ‘blind, dark,’ *uda pětang* ‘already dark.’

taram ‘sharp,’ *tampilang taram* ‘sharp sword.’

langau ‘drunk,’ *aa’langau* ‘drunk person.’

bau ‘new,’ *bulan bau* ‘new moon.’

těla, *tělea* ‘bright,’ *mamau těla* ‘bright star,’ *lalam* ‘deep,’ *basar* ‘big,’ *langa* ‘high,’ as subject words: ‘depth, largeness, height,’ *dedego itu palěbi basare ma ie* ‘this rest bench is bigger than this,’ *palěbi langane ma kau* ‘he is taller than you,’ *lalame* ‘its depth.’ [p. 481]

lini ‘small,’ *lini sakali* ‘very small.’

With *děděki* ‘small,’ *tětěna* ‘low,’ *pěpěndea* ‘short’ the root form is used as the subject word, for example *dakanea’itu palěbi dėkine ma itu* ‘this child is smaller than this.’ Nevertheless, reduplication is such a usual phenomenon with adjectives, that one cannot see therein a definite adjective formation, while in general it is infrequent with substantives, so that these serve the function as subject words, the old form retained.

Ngěri ‘shallow,’ which is comparable with Malay *kěring*, also exhibits traces of a former prefix, as does *nipis* ‘thin,’ which alternates with *tipis* in Malay, cf. Bare’e *manipi*.

For ‘warm,’ M. has *lawan*, *panas*, *gěsang*, the last in Javanese Kromo means ‘living.’

pa, whether or not with a following nasal, which ousts the stem onset, is partly the same prefix as Malay *pě-*, and partly identical with the causal prefix known from, among others, Makassarese and Buginese. In the first case, it sometimes stands as a nominal form next to *ma* (more about this later). Examples: *ělau palau* ‘the sun rises,’ from the same stem as Malay *keluar*; *ělau pasědap* ‘the sun sets,’ from *sědap*, Sangirese *sěda*, Mongondow *soyop*, Javanese *sěrěp*; here *pa* cannot be causal, but forms predicate words out of *lua* and *sědap*. In *dipake’et*, next to *dike’et* ‘tapped (for toddy),’ *pa* is as vacuous as in Bare’e *momperapi* next to *merapi* ‘ask, request,’ *mompeoasi* next to *meoasi* ‘ask, inquire,’

membule and *mompewule*,³¹ which are used as an entirely equivalent jumble. Of these forms, the imperative is always used with a prefix. Of *merapi*, *meoasi*, *mewule* or *membule*, the imperatives are *perapi*, *peoasi*, *pewule*, the passive *naperapi*, *napeoasi*, *napewule*, and, starting with the imperative as stem, the above-mentioned active forms were created by analogy from the passive forms. On page 91 of his *Boegineesche Spraakkunst*, Dr. Matthes speaks of forms in which *pa* is superfluous, for example *mupasolangi*, similar to *musolangi* ‘you ruin,’ [p. 482] *pawuno*, similar to *mpuno* ‘kill,’ *paisěng* similar to *madisěng* ‘know,’ and on page 92 concerning forms with the prefix *pa* (and the suffixes *-ang*, *-ěng*), which from time to time take the place of qualificative verbs. It is difficult to say whether in such forms the prefix *ma*, or one of its equivalents, has not fallen away. In Buginese (Matthes, page 93) both *pe-* and *ma’pe-* stand before the stem in similar meaning (causal), for example *pesaki* ‘cause pain,’ *pelele* ‘make go around,’ *mapesiri* ‘make ashamed,’ *ma’petau* ‘make afraid, frighten’ *ma’pesau* ‘make stop.’ In the casting off of the nasal prefix, of which then only the nasal remains, Bajo likewise follows in the path of Buginese; with all this, it is very probable that in *palua*’ and *pasědap* we are not dealing with unadulterated forms. Thus the nasal-prefix form of the borrowed word *karěje* ‘work’³² is *ngarěje*, for example *aku ngarěje ruma’ ore* ‘I build yonder house,’ but in the passive this sentence runs, *ruma’ ore dipakarěje*. If there were an active *pakarěje*, then it would have to be derived straight from *dipakarěje*.

Pakědam ‘blink the eye,’ cf. Makassarese *pakadangi matana* ‘close the eyes,’ Malay *kělam*, Makassarese *kalang*, Buginese *kěləng* ‘dark, obscure,’ reflect the source meaning; thus herein the *pa-* can be taken as causal, and probably also in *pakělad* ‘open the eye.’ In *patěgal* ‘slow’ from *těgal* and *palěbi* ‘more,’ we can consider *pa-* to be an adverbial formative, such as in Bare’e *po* in *podago* ‘well, really, truly,’ for example *nce’e bangke mpodago* ‘this is really big,’ *suaiku matasa mpodago* ‘my cucumbers are good and ripe’; compare the formation of adverbial expressions with *paka-* in Old Javanese and Sangirese.

pa- is also causal in *dipalama*’ ‘set sail,’ from *lama*’ ‘sail,’ *kita* [sic → *kite*] *lama*’ ‘we sail,’ *baraong dipalama*’ ‘the boat has been brought under sail’; *dipatidor* ‘put down to sleep.’ [p. 483]

Difficult to explain is *pamono*’ ‘murder, homicide’ (*bono*’, *mono*’ ‘kill’), especially in the absence of further examples of a similar meaning of *pa*.

Pakumian ‘bladder’ from *kumi* ‘urine’ and *pasungian* ‘anus’ from *sungi*, cf. *sěngut* (Tonsawang), *sangit* (Javanese), *sěngi*’ (Sangirese and Buginese), *senge* Parigi ‘sharp of scent, having a sharp odor, like reeking urine,’ are examples of *pa-* as a nominal form next to *ma-*, likewise *padatai*, nominal form next to *madatai* ‘cook.’

³¹ [translator’s note: *Mewule* (not *membule*) and *mampewule* are respectively intransitive and transitive verbs meaning ‘watch from nearby.’ The active transitive forms here would be better cited with /a/ in the onset syllable, thus *mamperapi*, *mampeoasi*, and *mampewule*.]

³² [translator’s note: From Malay *kerja*, which in turn is a borrowing from Sanskrit.]

From T. I have the following examples: *padupe* ‘lie on the belly,’ *patotondo* ‘nod, bend the head,’ *palea* ‘sleep,’ *pakinong* ‘smile,’ *patutalanga* ‘lie on the back’; of all the examples, none exhibits a causal meaning of *pa-*; perhaps this is provided in *panoro* ‘index finger,’ from *toro*, identical with Javanese *trus*.

Of *pě-* in M. examples, in T. none.

pělea ‘lie,’ identical with T. *palea*.

pěleakang ‘lying place,’ formed from *pělea* with *-ang*, see below; *pětidoran* ‘sleeping place.’

pěnyěrau ‘crier, crybaby,’ from *sěrau* (*nyěrau*) ‘cry,’ a nominal form of **měnyěrau*, with very regular meaning.

Of *po-* in T. only *ponyawa* ‘heart,’ literally ‘breath fetcher.’

Of *ma-* the following examples (all in M.):

malutu ‘mourn,’ from *lutu* ‘sorrow,’ *soe malutu?* ‘who is mourning?’³³

malau ‘call,’ probably from the stem *lau*, cf. *tilau* ‘ask,’ Buginese *elau*.

manjele ‘fish with a net (*jele*),’ attached with nasalization, likewise:

manguling ‘steer, hold the rudder,’ probably from *uring* (Sangirese *uling* ‘rudder,’ Makassarese, Buginese *guling*).

madatai ‘cook,’ from the stem *datai*, Mal. [sic → Mak. = Makassarese], Buginese *rede*, cf. Malay *madidih* [sic? → *měndidih*]. [p. 484]

makadia ‘bring down,’ from *dia* ‘earth, ground,’ *kadia* ‘toward the ground, downward.’

*na** in *nanusa* ‘suck’ (T.)³⁴ and *nasasa* ‘fight,’ *kite nasasa* ‘we (will) fight.’

nga- is to be noted in the following examples:

ngarepe ‘bear, give birth,’ from the stem *repe*.

ngaraět ‘sew,’ stem *raět*, Malay *jahit*, Bat. [sic → Bal. = Balinese] *jait*.

³³ [translator’s note: On page 476, the interrogative pronoun is given instead as *soi* ‘who?’]

³⁴ [translator’s note: Dutch here is *zuigen* ‘suck, suckle.’ I suspect a typographical error in the original and that the Bajau form should be given as *nanusu* (stem *susu*) ‘suckle.’]

ngandakap ‘catch, seize,’ stem *dakap*, for example *meong uda ngandakap tikus* ‘the has caught a mouse,’ *tikus uda didakap olong meong* ‘the mouse has been caught by the cat.’

This *nga* stands next to the nasal prefix just as in Bare’e *manga-* stands next to the nasal prefix (*ma**, *mo**, *me**). It is mostly used for sounds which do not tolerate a nasal preceding them; thus it is used with *yali* ‘pull out,’ *lulu* ‘follow’ in distinction to the forms with *ma-*: *mangayali* ‘pull out,’ *mayali* ‘pull out, be out’; *mangalulu* ‘follow,’ *malulu* ‘mild, docile, pliant.’ It is often used without this reason, for example *mangawai* ‘give,’ *manganto’o* ‘say.’ I have also encountered it in Wotu (see *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume 42, page 134). The same reasoning applies with *repe* and *raět*, but not with *dakap*, since here a second nasalization is used. Nonetheless, there is no reason to suppose that some other prefix is present *ngandakap* than in *ngarepe*, all the more seeing that there are also enough examples of the use of this prefix in Bare’e by analogy with forms where it is employed for phonetic reasons.

di, de, ndi.

This prefix is entirely comparable to Malay *di-*, Buginese *ri-*, Bare’e *ndi-* (a variant of *nda-* and *ra-*). As preposition it is probably still left in *di lau* ‘yesterday’ (literally ‘on the day,’ thus ‘when it was still day’) and *di atai* ‘above’; neither does it differ from *di, ri* in meaning. Examples: [p. 485]

dibono ‘(be) killed,’ *aa’ uda dibono* ‘someone who has been killed, a murder victim.’

ditepe ‘smoked’ (Bare’e *tapa*), *dayeng ditepe* ‘smoked fish.’

didakap ‘caught, seized,’ examples, see above.

disambe ‘(be) stabbed,’ as the Bajo do to certain fishes.

dike’et ‘tapped, drawn off,’ from *ke’et*, Buli *kehet, keet* ‘tap toddy.’

dilēkat ‘(be) peeled,’ *piseang dilēkat* ‘peeled banana’

diontot ‘(be) eaten raw,’ Bare’e *onta, mangonta* ‘eat raw food.’

ditunu ‘(be) roasted,’ *jaguon ditunu* ‘roasted corn.’

dipugai ‘(be) made,’ *bideang dipugai* ‘commercial fabric.’

ditēmbeai [sic → *ditēmbea*] ‘(be) shot’

The suffix *-an* is also very usual with forms with the prefix *di-*; concerning this see the suffixes.

de- and *ndi-* are two doublets of *di*, which I have encountered only in T. Examples:

detelang ‘(be) swallowed,’ compare Malay *ditelan*.

ndisompo ‘carried on the head.’

ndibaba ‘carried on the hip.’

ndigendo ‘carried on the back.’

ndikopi ‘carried in front of the belly’

nditaga ‘carried in the hand.’

di- is also a constituent of *diso*’, which in the word list is given as an indicator of the factitive form, for example *diso*’ *ngita* ‘make eat,’ in which *so*’ is identical with Malay *suruh*, the *r* of which is the sound of the Van der Tuuk law (Tagalog *sugo*, Sangirese *suho*); *diso*’ *mono*’ is thus literally translated in Malay as **di suruh mēmbunuh*.

ka.

It has already emerged that *ka-* is used in the formation of ordinal numbers [p. 486] in Bajo just as it is used in related languages.

Further examples of *ka-* are:

kasememon ‘jointly, together,’ *kite kasememon* ‘we all,’ from *samemon* ‘all,’ for example *ruma*’ *samemon* ‘all houses.’

kapataian ‘death,’ from *patai*, with suffix *-an*; thus also in the following examples:

karēmisan ‘aversion, hatred,’ from *rēmis*, for example *karēmisan* *ku aa*’ *iru* ‘I hate that man.’

karata’ *angku aa*’ *iru* ‘I am angry with this man’; from which stem this is a formation, I cannot determine.

kasean ‘love, compassion,’ *kaseangku memeku* ‘I love my mother,’ from the root which runs *sih* in Javanese, compare Buginese, Bare’e *asi*.

katonangku ‘I know,’ from a stem which is cognate with Buginese *tangěng*, Sangirese *těngedě*, Bentenan *tungar* ‘true, real.’

kawuntar ‘round,’ in *bolo*’ *itu kawuntar* ‘this bamboo is round,’ but *bulan buntar* ‘full moon.’

This way of making verbal forms not only occurs with the *ka-* formations, but similar forms are also derived from certain stem words, of which the list gives some examples:

tiupku ma api ‘I blow in the fire,’ next to *aku tiup api* ‘I fan the fire on’;³⁵ *pěnteku* ‘I ask, I invite,’ also *aku měnte*; *letěku kau* ‘I hit you,’ from which it emerges that in practicality these forms are inflected as verbs.

Infixes.

The infixes are *um*, *im*, *in*, *al*, *ar*.

The first two infixes are two forms of the same infix; I have not been able to determine whether any tense difference is indicated by them, as in Sangirese, but I consider it very improbable, all the more because they are not both reported in the same dialect. The examples are sparse.

M. *rumangi*, T. *romangi* : *lěla itu pande rumangi* ‘this lad swims well,’ Javanese *langi* ‘swim.’ [p. 487]

M. *nimalan*, T. *numalang* ‘walk,’ *aku nimalan* ‘I walk.’ Provided that the stem *nalang* is the same as Sangirese *nalang* ‘amuse oneself,’ then this ‘walking’ must be understood as ‘go out, take a stroll’; or else perhaps the *n* here has taken the place of another *l*. The latter is more probable, as ‘path’ in Bajo is *lalan*.

The presence of *um* is uncertain in *lěměngat* ‘mosquito’ and *sumangat*, the well-known word for ‘life spirit’ in Javanese and Malay.

-*im*- is also present in *kimoap* ‘(late) afternoon,’ stem *koap* ‘dark,’ thus *kimoap* ‘already dark.’

-*in*- is found in *kinakan* ‘cooked rice, food.’ It is not entirely clear what the stem of this word is, probably a reduplicated *kan*, the well-known stem of Indonesian words for ‘eat.’ Another example is *tinabur* ‘net for capturing turtles,’ from *tabur*, a stem whose root in general means ‘spread out’; this net is thus ‘that which is spread out.’

al, *ar* are only in a few examples:

karompeang ‘middle of the body’ stripped of the infix *ar*, this word yields *kompeang* as its stem, the Bajo form of Bobongko *kompong*, Bare’e *kompo*, etc. ‘belly.’

karěka ‘breast,’ Makassarese from Selayar *karaka*, and *karongkong* in *bulu* ‘*pakarongkong* ‘curly hair’ perhaps also have *ar* in them; of the latter there remains then the reduplicated stem *kong*; in many Indonesian languages the root *kěng*, *kong*, *kung* indicates a notion of ‘twist, curl, curved.’

palěpa (M.), *pělēpa* (T.), *palěpa tangan* ‘palm of the hand,’ possibly from a stem *papa*, compare Malay *papak* ‘flat, level.’

³⁵ [translator’s note: In these two examples the Dutch reads *ik blaas in het vuur* and *ik blaas het vuur aan*.]

Suffixes.

The suffix *-an* or *-ang* is very frequent, and in general it has its customary place-indicating function. Just as with many cases of Sangirese *-ang* or *-eng*, it appears to be used in some Bajo words to mark the passive. The well-known meaning ‘beset with, supplied with’ is also very usual in Bajo. [p. 488]

Examples of the meaning ‘place of’:

pěleakan ‘lying place,’ from *lea* ‘lie.’

panginta’an ‘eating place, from *inta*, *nginta* ‘eat.’

pakumian ‘bladder,’ from *kumi* ‘urine.’

pasungian ‘anus,’ see above.

dapuran ‘fire hearth.’

Of the meaning ‘supplied with, beset with’:

kiongan ‘scabby,’ from *kiong* ‘scabies.’

gogolan ‘have cascado,’ from *gogol* ‘ichthyosis.’³⁶

untungan ‘lucky,’ from *untung* ‘luck.’

ěngkoan ‘tailed,’ from *ěnko* ‘tail.’

songotan ‘sweaty,’ from *songot* ‘sweat.’

lumutan ‘filthy,’ from *lumut* ‘filth, deposit.’

ngitan ‘have a fish odor,’ probably for *sungitan* or *sěngitan*, see above.

lěla’an ‘married, have a husband,’ from *lěla* ‘man.’

Of the meaning, ‘object of the action’:

inuman ‘drink’ (noun), from *inum* ‘drink’ (verb).

ělinan ‘song,’ from *ělin* ‘sing.’

³⁶ [translator’s note: It is probable that the terms ‘cascado’ and even ‘ichthyosis’ are being used here in different senses than how these diseases are understood medically today. Although not always reported in dictionaries, even Indonesian *kaskado* in colloquial speech may refer to any kind of itching with sores or secondary infection.]

tuturan ‘story,’ from *tutur*, not reported as a stem; it could thus be that this word is borrowed.

tatakean ‘riddle,’ probably from the stem *take*.

Of the meaning, ‘a particular kind of that which the source word indicates’:

danakan ‘brother, sister,’ stem *anak*; probably *da* herein = *sa* and the expression means something like ‘fellow child.’

pusarang ‘crown of the head,’ stem *pusar*, compare Javanese *pusěr* ‘navel, middle point,’ in Bajo becoming *ponsot*.

lautan ‘sea, ocean,’ stem *laut* ‘sea.’

ayuan ‘son-in-law, daughter-in-law,’ from *ayu* ‘beautiful,’ compare Javanese *ayu* and Bajo *mayu* ‘beautiful.’

Attached to stems which are already supplied with the passive prefix *di-*, it illustrates the same function as that which in the *Sangireesche Spraakkunst* is called the Second or Local Passive. In this language *-ang* and *-eng* have [p. 489] often become usual indicators of the passive. For example, one says correctly *ipěrbera* [sic? → *ipěbera*] ‘be said, be spoken,’ and *ipěberâng* ‘be spoken about, be reprimanded over,’ but *pěberâng* often loses its *i-* and then *pěberâng* becomes used synonymously with *ipěbera*, so that sometimes one further adds *-eng* behind, and then for *ipěberâng* one gets the form *pěberangeng*. Thus in the Bajo list one finds *tilauanu* ‘asked by you,’ from *tilau* (*silau*) ‘ask,’ *tilauan* ‘asked.’ Complete forms are then *digaraman* ‘salted,’ or rather ‘salted on,’ *diaranan* ‘named, given a name to,’ but the suffix has entirely lost its meaning in *direpea ma Kima* ‘born to Kima,’ in which the coda has assimilated to the *m* of *ma*. The stem is *repe* (*ngerepe* ‘bear’). Nevertheless, *tilauan* can also be used as a substantive, thus *tilauanu* ‘your question, that which is asked by you,’ compare the use of nominal forms with pronominal suffix in place of the verbal form, already mentioned above (under *ka-*), to which can yet be added *kalupaangku* ‘forgotten by me.’

Our one example of the causative with *diso*’ has already been mentioned above; here are further mentioned some examples of the perfective tense with *uda*, which must be identical with Malay *sudah*. Examples: *aa’ uda dibono* ‘a person already killed,’ *uda lělaan ie* ‘she already has a husband,’ *uda datai kinakan* ‘the food is all prepared,’ *lěla iru uda toe* ‘that man is already old,’ *uda koap* ‘it is already dark,’ *uda dipendang* ‘already circumcised.’

The Bajo are well known to be quick in picking up foreign languages, which of itself becomes a necessity what with their roaming lives. Those which I have met speak Bare’e and Togian, Makassarese, Buginese and Malay. So long as in the interim one does not know in the main the sound laws of the language, it is tricky to make out which words are borrowed. Nonetheless it can with certainty be said that the language in its word stock [p. 490] is reminiscent of both Malay as well as Makassarese and Buginese, and in its grammar of Buginese.

In anticipation of further data, for the time being I suffice with this small amount. Nevertheless, it is sufficient to show that the language of the Bajo is worth the trouble of a full investigation.

[p. 539]

The Languages of the Togian Islands

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III. TOGIAN

By Togian one has to understand the language of the To Ampana, who settled in very large numbers in the Togian Islands, in order to be safer from the raids of the Loindang, who regularly come headhunting in their lands, since they are their next-door neighbors. The Ampana therefore have a great debt to atone for, the reckoning of which for the most part falls on the To Lage, the To Tora'u, the To Wingke-mPoso, the To Pebato, in short most of the Bare'e-speaking tribes. They themselves are a peaceable people, who will attack no one who do not disturb them.

The Ampana language, named *ta* after their negator, is also spoken by the To Wana ('forest dwellers') who live on the upper course of the Bongka River. Also the coastal stretch of Tokala belongs to the Ampana language area, which thus reaches to the Gulf of Tolo. On page 5 of his "Toelichting tot de Schetstaalkart van Celebes," Dr. Brandes correctly surmised that de Clercq's 'Alfur language of Tokala' (page 140 of his *Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Residentie Ternate*, 1890) is nothing other than Ampana. The words given on page 139 of that book as 'Alfur,' namely *jua* (read *ju'a*) 'lance,' *kanta* 'shield' (usually *kantari*), *ngomu* (read *guma*) 'sword,' and *pada* [p. 540] (read *wada*) 'cleaver' are to be identified as Ampana,³⁷ and the numerals on page 40 are also Ampana except for *radua* which must be *dua* 'two.' The 'Alfurs' on page 142 ff. however are once more speakers of Petasia. It is very much to be hoped that this ethnologically entirely meaningless name will quickly fall out of use.

The To Ampana have taken their name from a small river, the *Koro Ampana*, that empties into the Tomini Bay in the bay of Rato to the west of Tanjung Api. At present they are still settled there in limited numbers, but the majority have migrated further to the west to the lower and middle course of the Bongka River, where they are safer from the Loindangs.

On pages 121 and 122 of his *Reistochten [sic] in de Afdeeling Gorontalo* (1865). Mr. C. H. B. von Rosenberg gives a word list of the Ampana, spelled according to central

³⁷ [footnote 1, p. 540] One sees [in this data] how much this writer surrenders of his accuracy, which he demands in his criticisms of others.

German pronunciation (he was from Darmstadt), such as *wiedie* ‘foot,’ spoken as *witi*; *dasie* ‘sea,’ for *tasi*; *timbono* ‘betel,’ for *timpono*; *koyuku* ‘coconut,’ spoken *kiyuku*; *fubu* ‘iron,’ spoken *wubu*; *balufuyu* ‘bamboo,’ spoken *balo wuyu*; *marrafuyu* ‘green,’ spoken *mariwuyu*; *faando* ‘stupid,’ spoken *wando* (the meaning is ‘crazy’); *tonji* ‘bird,’ spoken *tonci*; and so forth. For ‘sun’ he gives *batu mata nu eu*, with the (kindly said) very free translation ‘the stone glittering like an eye.’ The data is to be improved to *watu* or *mata nu eo*. ‘body or disk of the sun.’ Namely, one can just as well say *watu nu eo* as *mata nu eo*, when *eo* is not clear enough (beside ‘sun’ *eo* also means ‘daylight, sunlight, day’). *Watu* and *mata* are classifiers, just as is *mata* in Malay *mata hari* and in the equivalent expression in a number of Indonesian languages. In *kulit hari* ‘epidermis’ according to Von de Wall, more correctly by Klinkert ‘blister, thin skin, membrane, also the epidermis’ *hari* also has the meaning of ‘sun,’ compare Bare’e *pela eo* ‘the skin which peels after a sunburn.’ Also the months (moons) [p. 541] are counted in Malay with *mata*, which in this meaning is thus equivalent to *mata* in *mata hari*.

With that list, Von Rosenberg had intended thereby to provide a small sample of the language of the original Togianers. In II [sic → part I] of the present paper it emerges that the Bobongko are the nearly extinct original colonists, and that their language is very distant from that of Togian-Ampana.

The language of the Togian Islanders distinguishes itself from the Ampana of the mainland only in small measure. The principle differences are a different accent when speaking, and the use of some words which Ampana does not have. In order to distinguish the two types of *ta*-languages, the natives name the *ta* of the To Ampana *ta re’e* and that of the Togianers *ta njo’u* (in Von Rosenberg *tanyo* ‘no’). *Ta re’e* means ‘there is not’; *ta njo’u* is used in the same meaning, but *njo’u* means ‘there yonder,’ so that *ta njo’u* is to be rendered in German as *nicht da*.

Here follow some words in daily use, which differ between Ampana and Togian.

English	Togian	Ampana
back	tongo	bengo
shin	dulugi	wuku mbuyu
sit	tumunda	motunda
smile	mogumiringi	mogiringi
stretch the legs out	mokondogi	mangojo
window	pilombo	mbolo
cooking place	taingani	rapu
rice porridge	dondoyogi	winola
heron	bobangkoli	timbako
mouse	beketi	walesu
red tree ant	laga	lea
butterfly	kalibombangi	aliwombo
loincloth	pedeti	pewe
chili pepper	malisa	kuya
rainbow	pinorai	pindurai

arrive	dumuaki	mesua [p. 542]
anchorage	dosunani	sompo
mud	bayali	gege
coffin	payasa	lalungi

A further peculiarity of the Togianers is the frequent use of *ko* at the beginning of a sentence, an inconsequential particle something like our ‘say!’ For example, *ko! yako umba siko, gete?* ‘say, where have you come from, buddy?’ *ko kasâ idasogimu, gete?* ‘say, what have you loaded, pal?’ The genuine To Ampana do not use *ko*.

Among the words mentioned above, there are some that have been borrowed in Togian, for example *dondoyogi* ‘rice porridge’ from Bobongko *dondoyog*; *beketi* ‘mouse,’ Bobongko *bokoti*; *pedeti* ‘loincloth,’ Bobongko *pedet* (only the Bobongko still wear this article of clothing, the Togianers as Muslims no longer do); *dumuaki* ‘arrive,’ Bobongko *dumuak*; *dosunani* ‘landing place,’ Bobongko *dosunan*; *kalibombangi* ‘butterfly,’ Bobongko *kalibombang*. Others they have borrowed from the Bare’e of Tojo, such as *laga*, *malisa*, *pinorai*.

Apart from these few differences, Togian is the same language as Ampana. And because the latter is the mother language, we shall speak here further only of Ampana.

Sound System, Word Form, Stress.

The sound system of Ampana is the same as that of the Bare’e language. In general the glottal stop is weakly articulated, especially between two like vowels. Indeed in this case it is also lost, e.g. *re’e*, Bare’e *re’e* ‘be.’

Some articulate the *s* as palatal, others as supradental; one hears *bocu* next to *bosu* ‘drunken,’ *maculi* next to *masuli* ‘expensive, rare.’

Stress falls in the same place as in Bare’e, on the next-to-last syllable of the stem. Only the suffixes *-a* and *-aka* cause stress to shift to the next-to-last syllable of the word compounded therewith, for example *kámba*, *kambaráka* ‘spread out,’ *ndoróa* ‘worm,’ stem *ndoro*. With the coalescence of *aku* ‘I’ with the suffix [p. 543] *-ka* of verbal forms, stress falls on the syllable *ka* of the *kaku* that arises from it, and the stress of the stem becomes a secondary stress, for example *ika* ‘make’ *ikakáku* ‘make for me.’

Because the Ampana speak very fast, especially the women, and make the stress clearly heard, the lightest syllable (the syllable which immediately precedes stress) is often articulated with a nearly imperceptible vowel. In slower speech the vowel of the lightest syllable is often altered. Thus the vowel of the lightest syllable always becomes *i* when the stressed syllable begins with *y*, for example:

<i>kiyuku</i> ‘coconut’	Bare’e	<i>kayuku</i> .
<i>kiyoe</i> ‘parakeet’	"	<i>koyoe</i> .
<i>wiyâ</i> ‘liana, line, rope’	"	<i>wayâ</i> .

<i>wiyua</i> ‘head hair’	"	<i>wuyua.</i>
<i>kiyupa</i> ‘fingernail’	"	<i>kayupa.</i>
<i>miyusa</i> ‘soft’	"	<i>mayusa.</i>
<i>miyunu</i> ‘small’	"	<i>mayunu.</i>
<i>iyuta</i> ‘wood’	"	<i>ayuta.</i>
<i>iyawa</i> ‘handrail’	"	<i>ayawa.</i>
<i>kiyori</i> ‘poem’	"	<i>kayori.</i>
<i>piyura</i> ‘shoulder blade’	"	<i>payura.</i>

Also in cases in which the vowel of the lightest syllable is not immediately followed by *y*, it is articulated as *i*, especially preceding liquids. For example:

<i>tilinga</i> ‘ear’	Bare’e	<i>talinga.</i>
<i>kiriki</i> ‘armpit’	"	<i>kariki.</i>
<i>miasa</i> ‘suspicious, portending evil’	Bare’e	<i>measa.</i>
<i>liusa</i> ‘wood pigeon’	Bare’e	<i>leusa.</i>
<i>limbori</i> ‘kind of reed’	Parigi	<i>lambori.</i>
<i>tikie</i> ‘poor’	Bare’e	<i>takie.</i>
<i>biyangi</i> ‘in vain’	Parigi	<i>bayangi.</i>
<i>lingkai</i> ‘man’	Bare’e	<i>langkai.</i>

Weakening to *u* is also encountered, for example:

<i>wulili</i> ‘return’	Bare’e	<i>walili.</i>
<i>puai</i> ‘dry in the sun’	Bare’e	<i>poi.</i> [p. 544]
<i>wulenga</i> ‘coconut shell’	Parigi	<i>walenga.</i>
<i>tanuana</i> ‘life spirit’	Bare’e	<i>tanoana.</i>
<i>pinuana</i> ‘nephew, niece’	"	<i>pinoana.</i>
<i>rapumuya</i> ‘planted’	"	<i>rapomuya.</i>

Especially vowels of prefixes are articulated nearly colorlessly when they immediately precede the stressed syllable. Only when one listens to a person speaking slowly is it possible to discern which vowel was suppressed in pronunciation. The word *pasuli* ‘house’ for example could be written as *psuli*, which without doubt is how it is rendered in the speech of a great number of the To Ampana. Even with *pasuli* it must be kept in mind that the *a* is very short, likewise for example in *pakuli* ‘medicine,’ *malawi* ‘bad,’ *kalando* ‘basket,’ *paneki* ‘bat,’ *kare’e* ‘abode, whereabouts,’ roughly as *pkuli*, *mlawi*, *klando*, *pneki*, *kre’e*; *ngkalionya* ‘just him’ as *ngklionya*; *raparara* ‘roasted’ as *raprara*; *mapoi* ‘spicy, hot, warm’ as *mpoi*; *kasâ* ‘what?’ as *ksâ*.

Now when a two-syllable stem begins with a nasal, or the onset becomes nasalized with the attachment of a prefix, then in articulation the prefix often falls away, provided that it begins with *m*, which must be ascribed to the suppression of the vowel and the fusing of

the *m* and the nasal. From the stem *suli* one forms *manuli* or *manculi*,³⁸ articulated almost as *nculi*; *mancopo* ‘cough’ sounds like *ncopo*; *mameko* ‘cook porridge’ (from *beko*) becomes *meko*, so that often one thinks that a word doesn’t have any prefix until one hears it spoken slowly, so that the prefix becomes audible.

Concerning word forms it remains to be said that they differ from word forms in Bare’e only in the last syllable. Bare’e and Ampana are both vocalic languages, but formerly that wasn’t the case. It is well known that languages which don’t allow a consonant as coda, allow it to fall off after it has first been weakened, [p. 545] or else spare it with the articulation of an empty vowel,³⁹ so that a new syllable is formed. Usually both ways of treatment are found in the same language. In the Torajan languages in general the first method is the most usual, and one finds only a few examples of the second, but concerning Ampana one must say that in many words the original coda has been retained by expanding it into an empty syllable (articulated with *i*). Because this syllable is not reckoned for stress, it doesn’t count much in articulation and thus easily falls away, so that by this round-about way once more a form arises which would have been obtained through the direct loss of the final consonant. A number of examples of a coda expanded into a syllable have already been given in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume 42, page 548. Since they have especially been borrowed from Togian, I give a few more examples here.

gurogoli ‘Adam’s apple’
sambangi ‘sideburns’
badangi ‘body’
jarangi ‘horse’
tawangi ‘prisoner of war’
gulingi ‘rudder’
duangangi ‘boat’
romongi ‘silent’
patomboni ‘ladder’
gumati ‘sheath’⁴¹
kantari ‘shield’
suogi ‘bay, inlet’

bonatangi ‘swine’
tondoki ‘fence’
indangi ‘debt’
popaki ‘leaf sheath’
palepengi ‘adze’
gonggangi ‘stand of sago palms’
momporayangi ‘long for, yearn for’
tandasangi ‘anvil’
dandangi ‘bird perch’⁴⁰
ogutani ‘seaweed’
orungi ‘bottom’⁴²
sampangi ‘canoe’

³⁸ [translator’s note: Ampana *manculi*, etc. means ‘costly, dear, difficult, trying’ (Adriani 1928:737), cf. Malay *sulit*.]

³⁹ [translator’s note: In the present day usually termed a paragogic vowel; regarding the loss of final consonants across Sulawesi, see further Sneddon (1993).]

⁴⁰ [translator’s note: Specifically a stand or perch for a pet parrot, etc.; the captive bird wears an anklet ring attached to the perch (Adriani 1928:101).]

⁴¹ [translator’s note: That is, a sheath for a sword or machete.]

⁴² [translator’s note: Namely the bottom of a river, the floor of the sea, etc.; also the bottom or floor of a boat (Adriani 1928:530).]

At the same time, with Ampana one finds again the feature which is peculiar to half-vocalic languages, to velarize final nasals. Compare for example *badangi* with Malay *badan*; *sampangi* with Malay *sampan*; *tabangi* with Buli *tawa'an*; *indangi* with Malay *pinjam*; *duangangi* [p. 546] with Bare'e *duangani*; *momperayangi* with Bare'e *momperayani*. With this last example analogy comes into play, because here *i* is the well-known suffix *-i* of certain verbal forms.

The *i* added therewith is so weakly articulated that often one thinks one has to do with a half-vocalic language.

Also within the territory of the Bare'e language one finds older forms with the empty *i*, especially in toponyms next to newer names in which the original coda has fallen away, for example the river names *Lombugiani* which according to the newer formation should be named *Lombua*;⁴³ *Tawongani*; *Maetangi* 'black' (at present *maeta*);⁴⁴ cape *Pemandingi*; *urungi* 'cape' next to *nju* 'snout, muzzle.' The curious form *pinora* has already been mentioned in the above-cited article.⁴⁵

t (*ti*) has been appended in *gumati*, next to *guma* 'sheath,' Malay *rumah*, etc. and in *gurogoti* 'throat,' Bobongko *gurogong*, while an *ng* (*ngi*) was appended in *tu'angi* next to *tu'a* 'old.'

Some Sound Phenomena.

Probably through the influence of stress, some words are missing a beat in Ampana that they have in Bare'e, for example:

<i>lipa</i> 'centipede'	Bare'e	<i>alipa</i> .
<i>linta</i> 'leech'	"	<i>alinta</i> .
<i>wati</i> 'sago grub'	"	<i>awati</i> .
<i>poju</i> 'gall'	"	<i>apoju</i> .
<i>ju'u</i> 'wild banana'	"	<i>aju'u</i> .
<i>wani</i> 'bee'	"	<i>uani</i> .
<i>wase</i> 'axe'	"	<i>uase</i> .
<i>wayu</i> 'eight'	"	<i>uayu</i> .

In some of these words, for example *poju* (Malay *hampědu*, Buli *apěru*, Mongondow *apoyu*, Malagasy *aferu*, Tagalog, Bisayan *apdu*, Javanese *rěmpělu*), *lipa* (Malay *halipan*, Bimanese *arifa*, Bisayan *alahipan*, Formosan *aripas*, Makassarese *alipang*, Buginese *alipěng*), the onset vowel (in addition to the reduplication) is undoubtedly very old; thus in

⁴³ [translator's note: The Lombugiani is a tributary of the Poso River. Lombugiani and Lombua are based respectively on the stems *lombugi* and *lombu* 'mud' (Adriani 1898:548).]

⁴⁴ [translator's note: The Maetangi, 'the Black River,' is located in the Tojo area.]

⁴⁵ [translator's note: Adriani (1898:548) hypothesized that *pinora* 'rainbow' was created by backformation from *pinoragi* 'colored,' stem *ragi*.]

these examples the onset vowel must have elided in Ampana. In [p. 547] other cases it is uncertain, because especially liquids and semivowels readily take an onset vowel, and also the cardinal numbers (2 through 9) are not reduplicated in Ampana, while in Bare'e some are reduplicated while others have an onset vowel, a phenomenon which must certainly postdate the differentiation of Bare'e and Ampana. See further below the section on numerals.

Shortening of words is a phenomenon which may be expected in Ampana as a byproduct of the short, fast way of speaking which is in style among the To Ampana. Thus people say *nda* 'up there' for *ndate* (stem *rate* 'high'); *lo* 'yonder' from *lau*, next to *yau*; *kidua* 'we two (inclusive),' *kadua* 'we two (exclusive),' for *kita dua*, *kami dua*; *dumpuyu* 'twenty' for *duampuyu*, etc.

A *y* between two like vowels is often left out, for example *nga*, Bare'e *ngaya* 'sort, kind'; *su*, Parigi *suyu* 'spoon, ladle'; *ju*, Bare'e *juyu* 'honey'; *sa*, Bare'e *saya* 'side channel of a river'; *lokâ*, Bare'e *lokaya* 'raspberry.'

Besides these examples, there remain to be pointed out a number of other contractions, particularly where a glottal stop has fallen away between two like vowels, for example *pâ* next to *pa'a* 'mountain';⁴⁶ *sê* and *sî*, from *se'e* and *si'i* 'this, here'; *tôlo* 'forest,' Bare'e *to'olo*; *panapi* 'gun,' from *pana api* (literally 'fire bow'); *rê* from *re'e* 'be, exist.'

Contraction can also be invoked in the merger of the weakened vowel of the lightest syllable into the vowel of the following syllable, as their separation is supported only by a weak transitional consonant. Examples hereof are:

<i>mêka</i> 'afraid, fearful'	Bare'e	<i>maeka</i> .
<i>môro</i> 'hungry'	"	<i>maoro</i> .
<i>papûmba</i> 'carry-sarong'	for	<i>papoumba</i> .
<i>nômo</i> 'swallowed'	Bare'e	<i>naomo</i> .
<i>môa</i> 'moo, low'	for	<i>maoa</i> .
<i>môsa</i> 'recovered, past, beyond'	"	<i>maosa</i> .
<i>môngka</i> 'squat'	"	<i>maongka</i> .
<i>nile</i> 'morning (tomorrow)'	"	<i>naile</i> .
<i>puria</i> 'all'	"	<i>pura ia</i> . [p. 548]
<i>juya</i> 'floor'	"	<i>jauya</i> .
<i>ruro</i> 'rattan'	"	<i>rauro</i> .
<i>rupa</i> 'bat'	Bare'e	<i>raupa</i> .
<i>wilo</i> 'riddle'	"	<i>wailo</i> .

⁴⁶ [translator's note: The Dutch here is *vader*, but the gloss 'father' for *paa/pa'a* is unsupported elsewhere. The gloss supplied here, 'mountain,' is from the Bare'e dictionary (Adriani 1928:534).]

So also *to rarue* ‘water spirit,’ for *to rara ue*; *untu nûe*, *yuro nûe* for *untu*, *yuro nu ue* ‘origin of the water, deposit of the water.’⁴⁷ Similar contractions are frequent in clauses, but don’t yield anything peculiar.

Nasalization and *Reduplication* have already been treated for Togian on page 549 of the above-cited article. For Ampana there is nothing particular to add to it. As far as form and use is concerned, reduplication is entirely as in Bare’e, to wit a shortened word repetition: *kangkingkinde* ‘continually with the head nodding,’ from *kinde*; *njonjonjo* ‘shake, tremble,’ stem *njonjo*; *ngkengkemu* ‘swarm, crawl,’ stem *ngkemu*; *kakalingani* ‘forget,’ stem *linga*; here the reduplication has worked on the prefix, which is also not at all unusual in Bare’e; *kololopa*, for *kolopa-lopa* ‘shake, tremble’; *jojotusi* ‘stinging, giving a painful sting’ of a wound or a sick part.

Concerning the nasal ligature, nothing remains to be said other than in form and use it is entirely the same as in Bare’e, as emerges fully from the following examples: *wawo mpale* ‘back of the hand,’ *dada mpale* ‘palm of the hand,’ *nuju ncusu* ‘nipple of the breast,’ *wiyâ mpuse* ‘umbilical cord,’ *kantu ntubu* ‘kneecap,’ *benu ngkiyuku* ‘coconut fiber.’

Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes.

Prefixes.

The Ampana prefixes differ but little from the prefixes of the Bare’e language, to the extent that there are few which have an altered form.

Next to *ra-*, the prefix of passive forms, with which the agent is not indicated, Ampana has *ri-* in entirely the same function. One finds *rapungkeli* ‘buried,’ *rasapu* ‘packed up,’ *rapumuya* ‘planted,’ *raposi* ‘sucked’ with *ra-*, and with *ri-*: *riwungesi* ‘unwrapped,’ *rilerungi* ‘overshadowed,’ *rigolika* ‘massaged.’ [p. 549]

When the stem begins with a vowel and the prefix stands in the place of the lightest syllable, it assimilates to the vowel at the beginning of the stem, and it cannot be determined whether it was weakened from a prior *a* or *i*; for example from *epe* ‘feel’ *rêpe*; from *aya* ‘believe, follow’ *râya*.

Likewise in Ampana *ki-* occurs next to *ka-* and *ke-* in entirely the same meaning, for example *katuntu* ‘story, tale,’ *kapinto’o* ‘saying, adage,’ *kiogu* ‘in granular form, composed of granules,’ *kiso-so* ‘dripping down, by drips,’ from *so*, onomatopoeic for the falling of drops, grain, and the such;⁴⁸ *kiyangu* ‘drunk,’ *kiwuku* ‘with seeds.’

⁴⁷ [Translator’s note: Dutch *oorsprong van ’t water*, *aanslag van ’t water*, apparently referring to moss growing on rocks in streambeds (Adriani 1928:s.v. ‘joero’).]

⁴⁸ [Translator’s note: Adriani equates Ampana *so* with Dutch *tip*, an onomatopoeic sound for which there is no ready equivalent in English.]

The same varieties also occur with other prefixes, for example *miyai* ‘go,’ Bare’e *malai*; *minto’o* ‘say,’ Bare’e *manto’o*; *miyunu* ‘small,’ Bare’e *mayunu*; *mumuya* ‘plant,’ Bare’e *momuya*, always in the lightest syllable so that there is no reason to attribute other prefixes to Ampana than occur in Bare’e. Even in Bare’e *na-* and *ni-*, *nda-* and *ndi-*, occur next to each other.

Thus also the prefix *ba-* (Bare’e) is encountered in various forms. This prefix indicates ‘someone who is used to doing what the source word indicates,’ mostly in an unfavorable sense. For example *batangi* ‘crybaby,’ *bagele* ‘giggly person,’ *burenge* ‘whiner, belly-acher,’ *buta’i* ‘pooper,’ *biyoi* ‘pisser.’

Nevertheless an important difference is that Ampana knows and often uses the passive with personal exponence; the usual prefixes with this passive are *ni-* and *i-*. Bare’e no longer knows *i-* as a prefix in the living language; it remains merely in some names of tools where it means ‘in order to ... with,’ e.g. *ijau* ‘needle,’ *idoa* ‘fishing pole,’ *iyu* ‘rice pestle,’ *ikae* ‘digging stick,’ *isu’a* ‘dibble stick,’ *ipaho* ‘rice-planting stick.’ Ampana likewise knows *na-*, but *ni-* and *i-* far and away surpass it in frequency of use.

An example of the passive with personal exponence here follow; the stem is *lo’a* ‘see.’
[p. 550]

<i>ilo’angku</i>	‘seen by me.’
<i>ilo’amu</i>	‘seen by you.’
<i>ilo’anya</i>	‘seen by him.’
<i>ilo’a mami</i>	‘seen by us (exclusive).’
<i>ilo’anta</i>	‘seen by us (inclusive).’
<i>ilo’ami</i>	‘seen by you all.’
<i>ilo’anya, ilo’a ncira</i>	‘seen by them.’

Ampana also knows the conjugated form with prefixed first person singular pronoun, *kulo’a, kuwai*, always used in transitive meaning just like in Bare’e, ‘I see it, I give it.’

The passive with pronominal suffix is entirely unknown in Bare’e. In the upland of Lage (upper course of the Tomasa River), a passive with third person is formed, for example *nakitanya* ‘seen by him,’ *nato’onya* ‘said by him.’ As far as I know, a first or second person is not formed from it; the first person can be supplanted by the form with *ku-*, which are so actively used that one can already form intransitives with it, for example *kunjo’u*, *kusawi* ‘I’m going there, I have arrived above’ and even *kumalai* ‘I go away,’ *kumelinja* ‘I go,’ *kumoliu* ‘I go past,’ which strictly speaking is gibberish. In Parigi on the contrary, the form with *ku-* has become less common through the frequent use of the form with *ni-* *-nggu*; one hears for example *nito’onggu* much more frequently than *kuto’o*.

It is indeed peculiar that such a useful form has by and large died off in Bare’e. When I first observed these forms among the Bare’e of Tojo, I misunderstood them, because it was still unknown to me at that time that the passive with personal exponence had formerly been no more odd in Bare’e than in its relatives (Parigi-Kaili languages). I thus

amend my statement in volume 43 of *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, pages 18 and 19, where *napedongekanya* is translated as ‘was listened to him,’ *napebokanya* ‘was called to him’; the correct translation is: ‘(it) was listened to by him,’ [p. 551] ‘(it) was called to by him.’ The comparison with certain Malay forms, *loco citato* page 19, note 1, thus also lapses. That these forms should have been borrowed from Parigi and Palu speakers (both of whom have settled in great numbers in Tojo) is very improbable, because the Bare’e of Tojo have only borrowed a number of words from Parigi and especially from Buginese, but no grammatical forms. This passive thus cannot be taken as a distinguishing feature of the Parigi-Kaili languages as opposed to the Posso-Tojo, as was adopted on page 544 in volume 42 of the already often cited *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*.

The manner of prefixing is entirely the same as in Bare’e, except that the nasal ligature is somewhat more actively used than in Bare’e. As a consequence thereof voiceless stop onsets and even voiced ones at the beginning of verbal stems are more frequently omitted than in Bare’e, where for example a *k* is never omitted,⁴⁹ *p* and *t* seldom, and *s* and *d* very seldom. Nevertheless the retention of the onset is by far and away the usual case. Examples:

p is lost (*m* from *mp*) in *momali*, Bare’e *mompali* ‘taboo, under a ban’; *momule*, Bare’e *mompule* ‘wear (the hair) in a bun.’

b is lost (*m* from *mb*): *momeko*, Bare’e *mebeko* ‘cook porridge’; *pumobaki* ‘beater for pounding tree bark,’ Bare’e *pombobaki*.

s is lost (*n* from *ns*, *ny* from *nc*): *monengu* ‘kiss,’ from *sengu*; *monyangke* ‘grab in flight,’ from *sangke*.

t is lost (*n* from *nt*): *monombu* ‘draw water,’ from *tombu*; *manoto* ‘proper, certain, enduring,’ from *toto*.

d is lost (*n* from *nd*): *manongo* ‘stingy,’ from *dongo*; *maneru* ‘warm oneself by a fire,’ from *deru*.

Forms such as *mintali* ‘pound maize’ from *pitali*, *mosoki* ‘break into pieces, shatter’ from *poso*, *mungku* ‘draw in’ from *pungku*, *miesi* ‘eat outside the fixed mealtimes’ from *piesi*, have originated through the suppression of the vowel of the [p. 552] prefix, allowing the *m* to coalesce with the intermediate nasal sound.

Infixes.

Infixes are the same as in Bare’e: *um*, *in*, *al*, *ar*, *an*; in the present-day language all are dead. Besides the examples in the just-cited article, page 551, I also mention here:

⁴⁹ [footnote 1, page 551] Perhaps in *mengeru* ‘spit,’ assuming that the stem thereof is *karu* ‘phlegm’ (in Bare’e to the east of the Posso River *kari*). In that case *ngeru* ‘spittle’ has been backformed from *mengeru* and is not the original stem.

of *-um-*: *sumisi* ‘be sucked,’ compare Bare’e *mencisi* ‘suck,’ stem *sisi*; *kumobo* ‘be swollen up,’ from *kobo* ‘swell.’

of *-in-*: *winola* ‘rice gruel,’ stem *wola* ‘make into gruel.’ Further are some examples that are the same in Bare’e: *winanga* ‘river mouth,’ *pinuana* ‘nephew, niece,’ etc.

of *-al-*, *-ar-*, *-an-*: *kiriki* ‘armpit’ (Bare’e *kariki*); *mokarimpida* ‘blink the eyes’ (Bare’e *kampida*); *borubu* ‘land wind,’ from the stem *bubu*; *salaga* ‘comb’ (Bare’e *sara*), *kalando* ‘basket,’ *tanuana* ‘life spirit’ (Bare’e *tanoana*, from *toana* ‘homunculus’).

Suffixes.

These also do not differ from those in Bare’e; one finds *-ka*, *-aka*, *-i*, *-a* or *-ani*, *-angi*.

-ka is normally to be translated as ‘for,’ for example *ika* ‘make,’ *ikaka* ‘make for,’ *to’oka* ‘say to,’ *timaka* ‘fetch for,’ *peripaka* ‘ask for.’ With *aku* ‘I’ it is contracted to *-kâku*, as has already been mentioned above.

In Ampana and Bare’e the use of *-ka* has undergone an expansion, since it has also become used in some functions which originally belonged to a prefix. Thus one often hears a sentence such as ‘I chop wood in order to shore up my house’ expressed as: *kutowo kaju raposungkoka banuaku*, whereas strictly speaking *raposungko* or *rapomposungko* is sufficient. If one says *raposungko* (or *raponcungko*) *banua*, then the correct translation is ‘in order to shore up the house’ *rapomposungko banua* ‘in order to shore up the house with it.’ However one also hears *raposungko mbanua*, that is to say ‘in order to serve as a house support’; probably it is still even better to render it in an Afrikaans sentence [p. 553] as *om ver die huis te stut* ‘in order to shore up the house.’ Compare the misuse of *akan* in the shabby Malay of the Moluccas, *por bekin akan rumah punya tongka*; *dafo akan* ‘hang it up’; *sidoa akan* ‘hand it over’; *lego akan* ‘shove it away’ in which *akan* governs the object.

Just like in Bare’e, *-aka* is on the way to replacing the ancient causative, compare Malay *-kan*. As a rule, next to forms with *ma-* stand causatives with *paka-*, and next to *mo-*, *me-* causatives with *po-*, *pe-*, *pa-*. In addition there has now come into use a causative with *-aka*, principally superceding the causal forms with *po-*, *pe-*, *pa-*; and thereafter also those with *paka-*. Thus next to *mompatoto* ‘direct, give direction to, cause to take a direction’ one often hears *mantotoraka*; for *papeole*, *pepeole* ‘show’ *olesaka*; and from *manawu*, *madungka* and *metende* no causatives are formed other than *menawusaka* ‘let fall, drop,’ *medungkalaka* ‘turn over,’ *metendelaka* ‘toss, throw up’; so one hears *sowanaka* next to *pakasawa* ‘bring out,’ *meyawataka* next to *mopayawa* or *mompayawa* ‘stop, obstruct, step in the way,’ etc.

-i is used as frequently as it is in Bare’e. Concerning its attachment it should be remarked that forms such as *mewusoi*, *metunggai*—where the *i* is appended without an intervening consonant—are a little more numerous in Ampana than in Bare’e.

-a, Indonesian *-an*, *-ang*, as has already been said above, still often has the older form *-angi*, for example *tandasangi*, Bare'e *tondosa* 'anvil'; nevertheless *rakeangi* 'loft' on the other hand is younger than Bare'e *rakeani*.

Numerals.

The cardinal numbers are: *isa*, *dua*, *togo*, *opo*, *lima*, *ono*, *pitu*, *wayu*, *sio*, *sampuyu* (1–10), *duampuyu*, *togompuyu*, *opompuyu*, etc. (20, 30, 40), *satu* 100, *sincowu* (*sowu*) 1000. For 10,000 people say *salasa*, just as in Tojo, to the avoidance of *sariwu*, which has been placed outside of use because the presently reigning prince of Tojo (whose subjects the To Ampana are) is named *La-Riwu*; people have thus borrowed from Buginese. [p. 554]

With these numerals it is further to be remarked that of the numerals 2 through 9, none of them have reduplication or a prosthetic vowel. In Bare'e people say *radua* for 'two,' for twenty *ruampuyu*; *rua* is thus the older form, and *radua* should be from dissimilation of *raru*. The Ampana have *dua* and *dumpuyu* or *duampuyu*; one may conclude from this that the cardinal numbers 2 through 9 should have had reduplication or an onset vowel, even though in this matter Ampana stands entirely isolated between its sister and half-sister languages, which all have reduplication or a prosthetic vowel. The attendant form *pata* for 'four' (in compounds) does not occur in Ampana; people say *opompuyu*, and the Bare'e *patampuyu*, for 'forty.'

Pronouns.

Personal: *aku*, without name marker, Bare'e *yaku*. for third person singular and plural, the Ampana use *sira*, a word which in Bare'e to the east of the Posso River is used in the meaning 'His Grace, His Highness.' The shortened personal pronouns are the same as in Bare'e, except that *-ku* and *-ta* (shortening of *kita*) are attached with nasalization, *anungku* and *anunta*, and next to *anunya* one hears *anuncira* or *anu nsira*.

Deictic: *si'i* 'this, here,' older form of Bare'e *se'i*; *setu*, *etu* 'that, there'; *se njau*, *sinjau* 'that, there, yonder.'

Interrogative: *sema*, *i sema* 'who?' Bare'e identical. For 'what?' Ampana has *kasâ?* (*ksa*). The stem of this word is found back in West Bare'e *sa*, in the expression *ri sa?*, synonymous with *ri mbe'i* 'whence.' *Sa* is thus synonymous with *we'i*, Parigi *wei* (synonymous with Bare'e *se'i*, first person pronominal deictic). This *wei* is known back in Ampana in *mawei*, *sawei*, Bare'e *makuja*, *sangkuja* 'how much, how many?' *Sa* is thus also synonymous with *kuja* and means 'what, where, how?' Compare also Ampana *umba* 'where?' *wimba* 'how?' and Bare'e *rimbe'i* 'where?' *ewa mbe'i* 'like what, how?'

Word Replacement.

Among all the Torajan clans there are a number of words that have been placed outside of daily use, because they are entirely or [p. 555] partly identical with, or in some way resemble, the names of principal persons, dead or living. Furthermore a number of terms are forbidden under particular circumstances (hunting, sailing, fishing, seeking forest products, harvesting, etc.); when needed to be said, one then elucidates it or replaces it with a synonym or near synonym. To that end, not infrequently people borrow from nearby languages, use an old synonym which is still understood, or if need be substitute in its place the teknonym (*pompeindo*) of the person whose name recalls the word to be avoided, which often gives rise to peculiar formations. Thus for example a mother, named *i Wailo*, has two daughters *i Goki* and *i nDo'i*, neither of whom may thus use the word *wailo* for 'riddle.' *Goki*, who is reluctant to name her own name, paraphrases *wailo* (which doesn't have a synonym) with *Indo i nDo'i*, since she is accustomed to speaking of her mother as 'the mother of *nDo'i*.' For the same reasons *nDo'i* says *Indo i ngGoki* for *wailo*. Thus the form *napowailoka* 'a riddle has been concocted' becomes *napoindoindo'ika* in the mouth of *Goki*, and *napoindoingokika* in the mouth of *nDo'i*. In *Bare'e* the night owl is named *poa*, and for 'moldy, mildewed' people use *kewuyu mpoa* 'overgrown with owl down.' However the children and nephew and nieces of *i Poa* say for this *kewuyu ntampetuna*, because to one of his nephews or nieces *Poa* is named *Ta mPetuna* 'uncle of *Petuna*.' As for *Petuna* himself, in place of his own name he uses that of one of his brothers or sisters, and says for example *kewuyu ntamperama*, which is understood just as well.

The *To Ampana* call such replacement terms *pangki*. I give some examples here following. Nonetheless their use is not strict among the *To Ampana*, because they have already lost much of their originality. Thus one says for *uja* 'rain' *sira mayusa* 'the soft one'; for *wawu* 'pig' *to ra mparopo* 'forest dweller' (wild pig); for *tambarari* 'babirusa' *kabuyanya* 'His Whiteness, Mr. White'; [p. 556] for *tadulako* 'civet' *to marade guma* 'someone with a long sword' (its tail); for *menco* '*Anoa depressicornis*'⁵⁰ *panga tinuku* 'with a forked shock of hair' (its horns) or *ko'o tingkado* 'with hard heels' (its hooves); for *wonti* 'monkey' *to lempe peko* 'flat butt,' *to mara'a* 'branch dweller,' *to malawi lio* 'ugly fellow.' So one describes the penis, *keje*, using *pangkarausi* 'what makes angry,' that is, 'term of abuse,' because it is so frequently used as a term of abuse. On the sea one says *pani* 'wing' for *layagi* 'sail' and replaces 'sail the high seas' with *metingkasou njo rao* 'descend through space.'

Some Notable Words.

Some noteworthy words can here be mentioned. The choice has usually fallen on words that give a wider view on a portion of the word stock of *Bare'e*, since *Ampana*, even if one would call it a separate language, must be considered next-of-kin to *Bare'e*.

⁵⁰ [translator's note: The *anoa*, today known as *Bubalus depressicornis*.]

For ‘not, by no means, Malay *bukan*, Bare’e *banya*’ Ampana has *si’a*, *si’anya*. On Togian I also heard *ta si’anya* used, in which *si’a* is undoubtedly identical with *si’a*, the third person pronoun in Bare’e, a word that is used for persons as well as things. The Togian expression thus means ‘not he; not this, that’ and is undoubtedly the full form; Ampana *si’a* has thrown off its disaffirming element, just like Tojo *more’e* ‘no longer’ for *bamore’e* and Bare’e *pojo* for *bare’e kupojo* ‘I will not,’ Malay *salah suatu*, Javanese *salah siji*, in which the negative has been omitted, compare Bare’e *bare’e masala kaju* ‘it doesn’t matter which wood.’ It could be that this use of *si’a* has brought about the use of *sira* as third person personal pronoun in Ampana, see above under Pronouns.

to we’a, for certain the full form of Bare’e *we’a*. For ‘friend, girlfriend’ *wega*, shortened to *ega*, of which the Ampana have a still shorter form *ga*, used exclusively in the meaning of ‘girlfriend.’ This [p. 557] must also be the old meaning of *wega*, which is something like our familiar ‘lassie!’ The Bare’e proper name *to beka* has the fullest form, of which *eka* and *be’a* are shorter forms, all of which have the meaning of ‘small girl.’ As a verbal stem *beka* means ‘to split,’ as a noun it is used in the meaning ‘slit, fissure.’ Obviously one must suppose that in old times it had meant ‘vagina.’ A synonym of *beka* is *bira*; *sabira* is now ‘hind, doe,’ *bira ntu’a* ‘female carabao which has already calved.’ Bare’e *ongga* ‘girlfriend,’ with which women address each other, could be an expansion of *ga*, or a contraction of *o ngga!* vocative of *ga*.

wombo ‘door opening, entrance, mouth,’ is a nasalized form of *wobo*. In terms of both meaning and form it is to be identified with *bamba* ‘mouth of a river.’ In a remarkable way this is confirmed by the word for ‘butterfly,’ which runs *aliwombo* in Ampana and *kalibamba* in Parigi.

a’i, Malay *adik*, Bare’e *tua’i*, has in Ampana taken on the meaning of ‘brother, sister’; *maa’i* ‘be brothers,’ *maa’i ngkoro* ‘be blood brothers.’ For ‘older brother (sister)’ Ampana has *a’i totu’anya*, for ‘younger brother (sister)’ *a’i tokodi*.

In Ampana *kuya* is the name for chili pepper. Among the To Napu this plant is named *kula goa*. Now *kuya* originally was the name for ginger, as emerges from Bare’e and Napu, where *kuya*, *kula* alone means ‘ginger,’ and further from Ampana where ginger is called *kuya kojo*, that is ‘true *kuya*.’ As emerges from its name, the chili pepper was thus originally not native to Central Celebes, any more than the papaya, which in Ampana is called *loka kaju* ‘tree banana.’ In Napu *kula goa*, *goa* is apparently the name of the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa, which formerly had much influence in the Tomini Bay, and from where maize was also introduced. Among the To Pebato, maize is still called *jole goa*, because it much resembled *Coix-lacryma*, the actual *jole*, which then is also called *jole kojo*, [p. 558] compare Javanese *jali*, Buginese *warēle*, Makassarese *birale*, Sangirese *dēle*, Talaud *lale*.

kariyangi, name of the three stars that compose ‘Orion’s Belt,’ of entirely the same formation as *kariue*, a descriptive appellation for the crocodile, literally ‘water animal,’ from *ri ue* ‘in the water and *ka-*. The meaning of *ka-* should indeed be the same as our ‘-ship’ in ‘lordship, friendship,’ used in the sense of ‘lord, friend,’ such as is found in Bare’e

kapue ‘aristocrat,’ thence *pue* ‘lord’ and in *kabosenya* ‘the great, His Greatness, His Highness.’ *Kariangi* is thus to be translated as ‘the Heavenly one.’

yusa, Togian also *usa* ‘other,’ *yusanya* ‘another,’ is possibly a doublet of *isa* ‘one.’ Perhaps it is identical with *osa* ‘cure,’ thus ‘become otherwise,’ compare also the expression *osamo rayaku* ‘I no longer have an interest, my heart is otherwise.’

lindu, in *ue lindu* ‘still-standing water, pool,’ especially one that forms at the mouth of rivers whose egress is obstructed. The name of Lake Lindu is hereby explained. The river Lâ, which empties into the Gulf of Tolo, broadens out at a certain place which is called Kalindua.

nono ‘heartwood,’ is in Bare’e the name for ‘house post,’ that is to say, the posts on which the entire house rests. Here also Ampana has preserved the older meaning.

to na’asi, a very remarkable word, which was explained to me with *to tu’angi* ‘old, oldest,’ also ‘village head, predecessor,’ which is reminiscent of the *tou nahas* of the old Minahassans. In *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume VII, page 128, note (1), Mr. N. Ph. Wilken says, “*Tou nahas* means: a pithy man or person. *Nahas* is: core or pith of something. *Tou nahas* is also used in the sense of boss, especially among carpenters.” Of these it is said further on page 127: “He employs as symbol of his [p. 559] dignity a piece of wondrous wood named *tahas*.” Now *tahas* is Malay *têras*, Javanese *tos*, Tagalog *tigas*, Bisayan *togas*, Sangirese *toghasě*, etc. In Bare’e there is encountered a word *toga*, in the expression *ganci toga*, by which in the story is indicated a wondrous top, usually in the possession of a princely adventurer, which is so powerful that it cannot be damaged by any other top, while it itself can strike all other tops into pieces. Etymologically this *toga* is Malay *têras*, etc., because in older words the Van der Tuuk sound⁵¹ is still *g*, while in younger words it is lost. Apparently *toga* combines in itself the meanings of ‘heartwood’ and ‘strong.’ Sangirese *matoghasě* means exclusively ‘solid, strong,’ while a doublet *tuhasě* means ‘truly, positively’ in *papûng tuhasě* (northern dialect *turasě*) ‘true nobility.’ For ‘heartwood’ Sangirese has *těhasě*. Tagalog *ligas*, Bare’e *yora* (with *r!*), at present the usual word for ‘heartwood.’⁵² The root of this word is thus *ras* (with its varieties). It appears to me that Makassarese *tonasa* and Buginese *toně* are identical with Ampana *tona’asi* and that these languages have treated the *r* sound in these words the way Javanese has.

This must then also be the case in Bare’e *tonâ*, stem of *motonâ* ‘divine, auger, especially with chicken entrails.’ Especially the lengthened articulation of the *a*, which must have originated from *a’a*, argues for this view.

⁵¹ [translator’s note: Austronesianists today reconstruct the ancestral (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian) word as *teRas, where capital *R represents the sound of Van der Tuuk’s first law. This sound was probably an alveolar or uvular trill (Blust 1990:235). See further footnote 24 above.]

⁵² [page 559, footnote 1] In the *Acten van het 6e Orientalisten-Congres*, volume 4, section 5, page 104, Aristide Marr gives Bisaya’ *lobas* for ‘heartwood.’ I cannot verify this report, but I am surprised by the *b*. [Translator’s note: A more complete citation for Marr’s work cited here has eluded me.]

soma, the sides of the roof, in Bare'e 'premises, cleared piece of ground around a house.' In Ampana the premises are called *ju ata* 'the edge of the roof.' Thus also here again Ampana has retained the older meaning. The source word of *soma* is probably *oma*, an appellation for a section of roof that is one panel of *atap* in width. The sides are always but one *oma* (*saoma*, Ampana *soma*) wide.

For 'solar, lunar eclipse,' Ampana has respectively *eo nômo i nTolo*, *wuya nômo i nTolo*, which [p. 560] means 'the sun, moon is swallowed by Tolo.' I have written something about this Tolo in volume 40 of this journal, pages 364 and 379. As a result of a note made there concerning Minahassan *Tou ntulus*, I received from Mr. J. A. T. Schwarz, assistant preacher at Sonder, considerable information concerning the Pakëwa' tradition about this figure, from which it appears to me that the Torajan *Tolo* or *Ta nTolo* and the Minahassan *Tou ntulus* have but very little in common. I thus rather bring the stem *tolo* in connection with Malay *tëlan*, Batak, Bisayan *tolon*, Dayak *telen*, of which it should etymologically be an entirely regular equivalent. *Tolo* thus means 'swallower,' a name which completely befitted the monster that swallowed sun or moon. At present Bare'e uses *omo* for 'swallow,' just like Buginese (*ëmë*), next to which stands on the other hand Makassarese with *talang*.

lawi or *malawi* 'bad, ugly' Bare'e has as *lawi* or *lawinya*, synonymous with Malay *memang* 'already, from of old, from the beginning.' Probably the original meaning of *lawi* is thus 'old, used up, worn out.'

Texts.

On page 38 of volume XXXIII of *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1868, Mr. Riedel gave a Togian story, which I render again here in improved form, since the text and annotations were full of errors. It is merely the same text in improved form. Nevertheless the story does not yet count as Togian literature, since Riedel's original text must have already been translation work.

Singkani beketi samba'a, matida rayanya, mototoe ngkalionya: Tamo kuporoe maro-ro iri'i ri lipungku, yaumo aku mandake ri pâ ntana, mena'u, da kulo'a lipu usa, da kuliwumo baku nu beketi anu matao. Malinjamo bara dua mburi, togo mburi, tudumo ri wi ntasi, naratamo susu kanganga sangkodi. Nito'o i Beketi: kasâ etu? tawa kakitangku ewa sî ongunya ri ra mparopo. Nipepesuamo beketi wo'onya ri raya ncusu, niliumaka [p. 561] wiwinya, nikeketi nu susu wo'o mbeketi, nawaremo koronya.

Beketi, mouse; *matida* 'sick, painful'; *matida raya* 'discontent'; *mototoe* 'spoke continuously,' stem *toe*, *motoe* 'speak,' in Bare'e still in use only just for 'give an address after a banquet.' *Tamo kuporu* 'I will no longer,' in place of this Riedel has *buoku*, read *bo'ongku*, which has the same meaning, thus for example *bo'onya* 'he will not,' *bo'o mami* 'we will not,' etc. *Pâ ntana* is the usual word for 'mountain' in Ampana, formerly it must have also been known more to the west, since up to the land of the To Pebato *pa*

occurs in the proper names of mountains; *baku*, Ampana ‘food, cooked rice,’ Bare’e ‘provisions, supplies for a journey’; for this last Ampana has *baeli*, a word which is also in use among the To Pu’u mBoto for ‘supplies’ alongside *matao* ‘goods’; the fact that two Bare’e-speaking clans, who live at such a great distance from each other (the To Pu’u mBoto live to the southwest of Lake Posso) have such words in common, demonstrates that the separation isn’t yet old; *paropo* ‘forest’ is from the stem *ropo*, Bare’e *yopo*.

Translation: There once was a mouse, who was discontent, saying to herself: I will no longer stay in my abode, let me go uphill, downhill, to see other lands, to seek nourishment that is good for mice. After traveling about two or three days (nights), she came to the seashore and found a shellfish that was opened a little. Said the mouse, What is that? I have never seen anything like it in the forest. The mouse inserted her head into the shellfish until past the edge of it, whereupon the head of the mouse was crushed by the shellfish and severed from her body.

On Togian the well-known story of the Monkey and Tortoise was given to me thus:

I Wonti pai i Kalapuangi mompumuya loka: ani i Kalapuangi matuwu matao-tao, anu i Wonti ta, ojo nakeketi, naselati uwunya. Upu nikoni, tuwu muni, upu tuwu ma’i, nikoni wo’u; anu i Kalapuangi ndara nipatuwu, reria pai [p. 562] mawua. Ri rayanya mawua, ipakabokonya lokanya; rayanya matasa, mempone ta mayanya, mekipone ri Wonti lokanya, nito’okanya i Wonti: Popeasi, da kupompenami sangkodi lokamu. Mesono i Kalapuangi: Sounakakaku nempo ojo kulinya! Bo’onya mesounaka loka i Kalapuangi, nikoni i Wonti, upumo nikoninya, ta njo’u nikoni i Kalapuangi. Mangikamo saia i Kalapuangi, tina’anya saia njau raya mparopo, nato’o: Puka rimbese ma’i, Wonti. Upumo kinoninya, mokarimbese raya mparapo i Wonti, nakono saia, matemo.

Wonti ‘monkey,’ nasalized form of Bare’e *boti*; *kalapuangi* ‘tortoise,’ Ampana *rare’a*, Bare’e *kolopua*; *ojo* ‘merely, just,’ Bare’e *podo*; *nikoni*, *nakoni*, *kinoni* are used higgledy-piggledy in this piece in similar meaning ‘eaten.’ Likewise also *tina’anya*, *nita’anya*.

Translation: Monkey and Tortoise planted bananas; that of the Tortoise grew well, that of the Monkey didn’t, he took the pith out of it and broke it off. When he had eaten it, it grew back again, when it had grown back he ate it up again; that of the Tortoise was well tended so that it bore fruit. When it bore fruit he let his bananas become tasty; when they were ripe, he tried to climb up the tree but he could not; he let Monkey climb up his banana tree and said to Monkey: Drop my bananas for me. Monkey answered: Wait, let me test a few of your bananas. Tortoise answered, Drop for me, even if it is only the peels. He would not drop Tortoise’s bananas, Monkey ate them up; he ate them entirely up, it did not happen that any were eaten by Tortoise. Tortoise made pointed bamboo stakes; when he had set them in the grass, he said: Jump down, Monkey! When Monkey had eaten them all, he jumped, he landed on the stakes and he died.

Riddles.

Gete, polo nca wilongku ‘friend, tell me a riddle.’ [p. 563]

1. *Mokole bae ta borosi taunya, mokole miyunu borosi taunya. Sesenya: Eo pai Wuya.*

The great prince does not have many people (subjects, followers), the small prince has many people. Solution: The Sun and the Moon.

2. *Kalondo nakoyo lo wo’o. Sesenya: Engo.*

A basket which is carried upside down. The Nose.

3. *Ule itungkunya pasuli. Sesenya: Jaya.*

A snake which bites the house. The road.

4. *Ia wuro ma’i ia wengi yau. Sesenya: Eja, maka ane rajompo, ratumburaka.*

In the morning it comes here, in the evening it goes away. The Ladder, because when it is closed it is shoved out of the way.

Relationship of Ampana with Its Neighbors.

Finally, something remains to be said about the relationship of Ampana to its closest neighbors. Geographically it lies in between Bare’e (especially the *aunde’e* of the To Lalaeo) and Loinang. Their connections with Loinang are very limited, owing to their hereditary animosity, on account of which also the region between Tanjung Api and Bunta is uninhabited. Thus not much can be said about the borrowing of words. Already the long-remembered enmity points to racial differences, and a quick look at Loindang makes it immediately clear that a language border runs between Ampana and Loindang. Nevertheless one may expect that Ampana stands closer to Loindang than does Bare’e, and so it does in reality. The passive with infix *-in-*, still entirely living in Loindang, is not so entirely dead in Togian as it is in Bare’e. Further, Ampana has a number of terms in common with Loindang and Bobongko, not all of which could have been borrowed, not to mention words such as *batu*, *mata*, *wiwi* and similar general-Indonesian words. One can well say of nautical terms that they have been borrowed by the Togianers from the Bobongko, because these people live entirely at peace with each other, and the Bobongko, as evidenced by their earlier colonization of the Togian Islands, did not remain so exclusively ‘mountain dwellers’ like the majority of [p. 564] Bare’e-speaking clans, who for the most part have left the sea coast uninhabited. Words such as *tundeki* ‘flood,’ *luoki* ‘bay, cove,’ *dolangoni* ‘strait,’ and some other words which have already been mentioned above, might be considered as borrowed from Bobongko, in which language they run *tundek*, *luok*, *bokol*, *dolangon*. Also *liutoni* (Togian) must be Bobongko *liuton*, since the true Bare’e form of this word is *liwuto*, compare Bentenan, Ponosakan *liwuton*, Sawang, Mongondow *libuton*, Buginese *libukěng*, Makassarese *liukang*.

Here follow some words which Bobongko and Loindang have in common with Ampana and Togian, without there being any reason to suppose direct borrowing.

toka Loindang and Bobongko ‘arrive,’ Javanese *těkā*, compare Bare’e *totoka* ‘guest, foreigner,’ replacement term for *linggona* or *tau*.

mapisok ‘blind’ (Loindang), Bare’e *pisa* ‘half-blind in one eye.’

kele ‘grandmother’ (Loindang) Bare’e *bangkele* ‘woman,’ stem *kele*, an old word for ‘vagina.’ Compare Baria *kela*, which at present in Bare’e indicates the groin region.

tindoli (Loindang) ‘eel,’ Bare’e *tinjoli*, stem *joli*, Parigi *najoli* ‘fast, quick,’ Bare’e *majoli* ‘fast flowing (of current).’

metatoe ‘speak,’ Bare’e *motoe*.

monian (Loindang), *monugang* (Bobongko) ‘parents-in-law, children-in-law’; for both notions Bare’e has *mania*, Ampana has *to monua* for ‘parents-in-law,’ *mania* for ‘children-in-law.’ Both words are probably identical, but the tangled derivation is unknown to me.

bobali (Loindang and Bobongko) ‘hit,’ Bare’e, Ampana *bombali*.

tabasi (Loindang) ‘cut,’ Bare’e *taba(si)* ‘hit’ (compare German *hauen*).

male (Loindang, Bobongko) ‘sleep,’ Bare’e ‘sleep of the limbs.’

nobuki (Loindang) ‘full,’ Bare’e *buke*.

popeai (Loindang) ‘await,’ Bare’e *popeasi*. [p. 565]

ue (Loindang, Bobongko) ‘water,’ Bare’e *ue*.

mobê (Loindang) ‘refuse,’ Bare’e *bebe* ‘unwilling, reluctant.’

mimpû (Loindang, Bobongko) ‘pass gas,’ Ampana *mimpû*.

mian (Loindang, Bobongko) ‘people, someone,’ over in Bare’e *pemia* ‘mask, imitation head of the dead,’ literally ‘what serves as a person, substitute.’ See Alb. C. Kruyt in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* volume 39, page 231.

anggalau (Loindang), *nggolau* (Bobongko) ‘egg,’ Ampana *gura’u*. The older form is preserved in Loindang and Bobongko. Loindang indeed has no *r* and regularly turns it into *l*, but Bobongko does not, thus there is no reason not to consider the *l* here as original. The glottal stop in Ampana probably is not original, compare Ampana *nja’u* and Bare’e *njau*. *Au* must then have originated from *ag* or *ar* or perhaps from *ay*, unless it first arose from *ou*, which in turn originated from *og*, *or*. The syllable *nggo* (*gu*) then stands for *kě* and that for *tě*. *Nggolau* most resembles Mahaga *kindoru* (from *těndoru*), reported by

Kern, *Fidjitaal*, page 200. Even with all this, the identification of Malay *tělor*, Bare'e *toyū*, etc. with Bobongko *nggolau* etc. remains uncertain.

tute (Loindang, Bobongko) 'cat,' Ampana *tute*.

susu (Loindang) *suso* (Bobongko) 'shellfish,' Ampana *susu*.

montujak (Bobongko) 'make planting holes,' Bare'e *mantuja* 'pound rice.'

kogito (Bobongko) '*Holothuria edulis*,' Ampana *kuita*. This word may certainly be considered general Malayo-Polynesian, but nevertheless the Bare'e don't it. The here-intended echinoderm animal is named there *pulutani*. In both Bobongko and Ampana the word has its regular form.

peling 'type of large bamboo,' compare Javanese *pring*, Bare'e *peringi*.

mogete (Bobongko) 'young,' Ampana *gete* 'friend.'

In this list, where Bare'e is reported, the Ampana is implied; where Ampana is given, Bare'e is excluded.

Loindang and Bobongko undoubtedly stand closer to Gorontalo to the north and to Bungku and [p. 566] Mori to the south, than they do with Bare'e to the west; but Mori on its western side also borders once more with Bare'e, and on closer examination it appears these two languages do not stand so far off from each other as they seem to do at first glance.

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