The languages of the Togian Islands

by

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translated by

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2014

Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Translations from the Dutch, no. 8

Sulawesi Language Alliance
http://sulang.org/
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.
The languages of the Togian Islands*

BY

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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 Zendelinggenootschap, 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
Bobongko, which also happens in the text on page 44. And because Bobongko indeed is related to Loindang, 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 Togian 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. Togea or Togean 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. 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.

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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 Adriani’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 Togean” (page 121).
After their negative term the Bobongko are named *imba, mba*\(^4\) or *imbaao*. 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]

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

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\(^4\) [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 *réé* (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).]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bobongko</th>
<th>Gorontalo</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baya</td>
<td>baya</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sule</td>
<td>hilao</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bako</td>
<td>bo’o</td>
<td>shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugu</td>
<td>duhu</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kompong</td>
<td>ombongo</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolag</td>
<td>dulahu</td>
<td>daylight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata nu dolag</td>
<td>mato lo dulahu</td>
<td>sunshine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katina</td>
<td>utia</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binte</td>
<td>binte</td>
<td>corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iladi</td>
<td>iladu</td>
<td>dry in the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tete</td>
<td>tute</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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,’ dumua’k ‘arrive.’

\(nd\)  tundek ‘flood,’ dondo’yog ‘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.’
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.’

b for example uruk ‘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.’
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 kompongyo 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 ataui; ue ‘water,’ Buginese uwae, Napu owai; aje ‘chin,’ Ponosakan ajoj; 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. sēmbuni. 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 ëngkau, 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 *ano* ‘six,’ Javanese *nĕm*; *opat* ‘four,’ Javanese *ĕpat*; *totolu* ‘three,’ Javanese *tĕlu*; *dalom*; Javanese *dalĕm* ‘inside’; *toka* ‘come,’ Javanese *tĕka*; *papitu* ‘seven,’ Bare’e *papitu*; *tano* ‘land, ground,’ Bare’e *tana*; *buaya* ‘crocodile,’ Parigi *buayo*; *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.

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 *biahê*, Malay *biar*, Mongondow, Iloko *biag*, Tagalog *bihag*; *buguri* ‘brave,’ *bagu* Indonesian *linden* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese *waru*, Malay, Makassarese *baru*, Buli *wahru*; *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* (rwèi); Lampung *darian* next to *ruí*. Loindang has *duhian*; *p. 439* unfortunately I cannot say what the Loindang
and Bobongko say for ‘thorn.’ 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 sanbean. 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 arèm.

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 Loindang, 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 mendì ‘bathe’ it has fallen away, compare Malay dirus, etc.

A w has often been elided, for example in tū 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 hit’.]

8 [translator’s note: Today Babirousa 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, Ponasakan 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; bítu, 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 mendí ‘bathe,’ from dí; mongkân ‘eat,’ from kân; mmpokotú ‘live, reside,’ from tú; pinotú, opotú ‘animal, domesticated animal,’ from the same stem.

**Contraction.**

\(a + a = â\)

\(kâsi\)-asi from asi with prefixed ka ‘poor, destitute.’

\(i + i = î\)

\(mendî\) from mendii for mendiu.

\(o + o = ô\)

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

tumû for tumuwu ‘living.’

bû from buu for buwu ‘basket trap.’

Reduplication and Word Repetition.

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 Tompakêwa 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-nga ‘sing.’

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

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

- **moncolo-solomi** ‘think about, remember.’
- **kowiro-wiro** ‘squint.’
- **mobela-bela** ‘be friendly.’

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.

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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; mongininum, 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:

\textit{usut} ‘brother, sister,’ next to Loindang \textit{utus}.

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

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

Ligature.

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

Pronouns.

Personal Pronouns.

Full forms. | Short forms.
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3. singular and plural *ara* | singular and plural *-nyo.*

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

1. *binolingku, binoli mami, binolinta.*
2. *binoliium, 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 *Spraaakkunst*, 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.]
Comiu 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  ka’a ‘these,’ also ‘here.’
2nd person  katina ‘that,’ also ‘there.’
3rd person  taio ‘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.**

ka’a ‘which?’
ire ‘who?’
olo ‘what?’ [p. 446]

olo katina? ‘what is that?’ ire katina ‘who is that?’ olo binoum? ‘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 opat, 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-, pok-, mongko-, me-, pe-, mi-, meti-, o-, ota-, ro-, ma-, matt-, 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-:


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,’ *moleto* ‘rotten, spoiled,’ *molompo* ‘thick,’ *moninti* ‘thin.’

*malêt* ‘bad,’ *mangingilu* ‘rheumatic,’ *mabusí* ‘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 *talu*. 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,’ *mopoana* ‘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’; *mompokingkoto* ‘stop, bring to an end,’ from *mingkoto* ‘over, at an end’; *mompokotung,* 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,* *pokòpat,* *pokolimo,* *pokònom,* *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.

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

*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*.
- *ginavo* ‘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 bĕli, 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.

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.’

katotolopian ‘the West,’ literally ‘place where (the sun) regularly (reduplication) sets,’ from the stem tolo, cf. Javanese sĕrĕp, 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 idî a variant form, if need be parallel with Buginese ede, so that saidî 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, hêbi.

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 kadudu, bode, sêmbadu, sêmbuda in the Manganitu dialect stand for karua ‘two,’ bo’e ‘come on’ and sembau’, sêmbua ‘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 answering 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’ennyà? o lawà ‘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 Bajoese of Celebes, misa ‘no’ in that of the Bajoese of the Togian Islands, mêsa’ in that of the Bajoese 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, Ilokano 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’ maisa. 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 (bêharu) 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 sangkuja, 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 mpiira. 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, sî, 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 sî, 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), ēlo (Sangirese).

liasa ‘sweat,’ Loindang identical, Gorontalo wulato, with palatalized l, is to be compared with Sangirese liasē ‘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, 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 mongolitau ‘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 mongolitau, Bare’e mangalitau must then be litau, 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 Togian has been borrowed as beketi. Bobongko and Loindang say at present botoki. Beketon thus means ‘be troubled by mice,’ cf. Sangirese mahĕme ‘sleep (of the limbs)’ and kahĕmisĕ ‘ant.’

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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 momeа ‘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 mangiwĕng, 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 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, Pakêwa, 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 bayâ), 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, Pakêwa, Dan.18 mawân, Mongondow mobân, Sangirese, with infix, mĕbinang, 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 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 Loiman 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 of 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 work there is a list of something over 100 words in a Bajo dialect. This

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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 mpakēwa) 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 pendant, was still in full use by them.

In Minahassa one finds settlements of Bajo at Kima (district of Manado), on the island Naeng Bĕsar, 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 Minahassa 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. *nêngge* ‘stand’; *dinde*, M. *dênde* ‘woman, wife.’

*ê*, the schwa, original in M. for example *pêdu* ‘gall,’ *têntênga* ‘middle,’ *pêdi* ‘pain,’ *pêteang* ‘blind,’ cf. Malay *pêtang*; *têlu* ‘three.’

In T. often weakened from *a*, for example *aê* ‘man, person,’ M. *aa*; *papê* ‘cheek,’ M. *papa*; *ningkelê* ‘youth, lad,’ M. *ningkêla*; *êndi* ‘younger brother, sister,’ M. *adi*; *tilêu* ‘ask,’ M. *tilau*; *ênau* ‘sugar palm,’ M. *anau*.

*o*, not original, usually originating from *a*, *ê* 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 *periuk*; T. *lusu* ‘rice mortar,’ Malay *lêsung*; 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,’ *têlu* ‘three,’ *pitu* ‘seven,’ *walu* ‘eight.’
Sometimes originating from ė in T., for example luso ‘rice mortar,’ M. lēsung; buas ‘hulled rice,’ Malay bēras; kulo ‘neck,’ M. kêlo; umbo ‘grandfather,’ M. ēmbo.

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,’ sērāu ‘weep,’ saol ‘answer,’ matai ‘dead,’ datai ‘ripe, done,’ ēlau ‘sun,’ langau ‘fly,’ bariu ‘language,’ 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. kkekè ‘bite,’ kakape ‘wing’; not found as final coda. T: kokoranga ‘throat,’ kape ‘wing,’ bakas ‘bones.’ [p. 465]

ngk M. talengkian ‘pink finger,’ kaseangku ‘I love,’ karata’angku ‘I am angry’; ēngko ‘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,’ igē ‘rib,’ goya ‘wave, billow.’

ngg M. nēngge ‘stand,’ tengge ‘ladder.’
T. janggu ‘beard,’ ēnggo ‘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,’ puē ‘grandfather,’ taipa ‘mango.’
M. ěmpu ‘grandchild,’ karompeang ‘midsection, waist.’
  T. pompĕ ‘leg,’ umpu ‘grandchild,’ tamporoh ‘skull.’

b M. bĕtis ‘calf (of the leg),’ be’e ‘shoulder,’ boe ‘water,’ ělab ‘good,’ kabea ‘bat.’
  T. boa ‘mouth,’ kuleber ‘lip,’ bĕtah ‘belly,’ tubo ‘stomach,’ ba’a ‘upper arm.’

mb M. kumba ‘liver,’ jambeang ‘beard,’ sambolong ‘hair bun,’ ěmbo ‘grandfather.’
  T. lemar ‘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,’ tēbuĕ ‘bowels.’
  T. tubo ‘stomach,’ pote ‘white,’ puto ‘uncle.’

nt M. ontol ‘eat raw food,’ buntar ‘round,’ antĕlo ‘egg.’
  T. nginta ‘eat,’ karaginta ‘star,’ dintang ‘remember.’ [p. 466]

do M. tidor ‘sleep,’ pĕdu ‘gall,’ pakelad ‘open the eyes,’ due ‘two.’
  T. diri ‘body,’ dela ‘tongue,’ ada ‘confess, admit.’

nd M. munda ‘face,’ dĕnde ‘woman,’ pĕpĕnda ‘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,’ cĕbi ‘chili pepper,’ ěcin ‘salt,’ licam ‘sour,’ cecea ‘lizard.’
  T. no examples.

cnc M. cincin, manciĕn ‘angle (for fish).’
  T. no examples.

j M. rĕja ‘saliva,’ jěnat ‘pus,’ weje ‘steel.’
  T. jongor ‘chin,’ ruja ‘spittle,’ janggu ‘beard.’

nj M. tunju ‘finger,’ tĕnja ‘step on, tread on,’ manjele ‘fish with a net.’
  T. ponyawa ‘heart.’

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

l  M. lēla ‘man,’ saol ‘answer,’ balolong ‘evil spirit,’ ēlinan ‘religious song.’
   T. toler ‘stammer, speak in broken language,’₂²¹ ko’ol ‘cough,’ kalaki ‘relative,
   relation,’ lendo ‘forehead.’

r  M. aran ‘name,’ tidor ‘sleep,’ rēja ‘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. ayē ‘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,’ ēsa ‘one,’ remis ‘hate’ [sic → rēmis], niansea
   ‘breath,’ ansēlan ‘oil,’ ponsot ‘navel.’
   T. sēpong ‘sneeze,’ nangis ‘weep,’ ngeēnsa ‘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 a
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,’ bēteang ‘belly,’ pendang ‘circumcision,’
    pineang ‘areca.’

m  pekēdam ‘blink the eye,’ nginum ‘drink,’ baom ‘speak,’ lalam ‘deep,’ licam
    ‘sour,’ ngolo’om ‘black.’

n  lēngan ‘arm,’ buyuong ‘testicle,’ raban ‘coir,’ kanan ‘right,’ danakan ‘brother,
    sister,’ tu’un ‘dive,’ goan ‘garden,’ ladion ‘knife.’

₂²¹ [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,’ têlea ‘light,’ pario ‘cook pot,’ tunu ‘light (a fire).’

t  jambut ‘chin beard,’ bukut ‘back,’ kulit ‘skin,’ songot ‘sweat,’ bakat ‘wound,’ sumangat ‘soul,’ sêmuët ‘ant.’


p  tiup ‘blow,’ ngêkap ‘brood, sit on eggs,’ dakap ‘catch,’ ingkap ‘sting,’ pasêdap ‘set (of sun),’ ngêtap ‘chap off.’

b  êlab ‘good.’

l  kidal ‘left,’ jujul ‘near,’ gênyêl ‘cold,’ patêgal ‘slow,’ bisol ‘pustule,’ ko’ol ‘cough,’ gogol ‘ichthyosis.’

r  basar ‘big,’ tidor ‘sleep,’ tambar ‘medicine,’ kalalawar ‘bat,’ cêkur ‘Kaempferia rotunda.’

s  bara’as ‘the phosphorescence of the sea,’ rêmis ‘hate,’ buas ‘hulled rice,’ tikus ‘mouse,’ rêbus ‘cook.’

Final consonants in T.

h  uroh ‘nose,’ bulu kineh ‘eyebrow,’ tamporoh ‘skull,’ kuloh ‘neck,’ bêtah ‘belly,’ toroh ‘nipple.’

ng  pusarang ‘hair crown,’ danakang ‘brother, sister,’ arang ‘name,’ telang ‘swallow,’ numalang ‘walk,’ sépong ‘sneeze,’ abaaong ‘answer.’

n  ajuan ‘son-in-law, daughter-in-law,’ kamanakan ‘nephew, niece,’ tangan ‘hand,’ dialan ‘inside.’

l  ko’ol ‘cough.’


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 têmpurung ‘skull.’
T. uroh, M. uruong ‘nose.’
T. bêta, M. bêteang ‘belly.’
T. ngeno, M. nginum ‘drink.’
T. abaong ‘answer,’ M. baom ‘speak.’
T. buli, M. bulid ‘buttock.’ [p. 469]
T. alla (Wall.), M. âlab ‘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.
bêteang ‘belly,’ T. bêta, Makassarese batang.
pineang ‘areca,’ Malay pinang.
piseang ‘banana,’ Malay pisang. [p. 470]
gandeang ‘drum,’ Malay ganrang.
bêneang ‘thread,’ Malay bêngang.
baweang ‘onion,’ Malay bawang.
nguteang ‘debt,’ Malay hutang.
kasieang ‘affection,’ Malay kaisian.
padeang ‘grass,’ Malay padang.
angeang ‘hornbill,’ Malay ēnggang.
kĕmbeang ‘shoot (of a plant),’ Javanese kĕmbang.
binateang ‘animal,’ Malay binatang.
gĕleang ‘armband,’ Malay gĕlang.
pĕteang ‘blind, darkness,’ next to pĕtang.
dajeang ‘fish,’ T. deja (Wall.)
pamueang ‘maleo,’ Parigi momua.
anea ‘child,’ Malay anak.
niansea ‘breath,’ next to niansang.
sarea ‘tear,’ next to sara ‘separate.’
tĕlea ‘light,’ next to tĕla.
tĕmbea ‘sprout,’ Malay tĕmbak.
momolaene ‘the first,’ Malay mulanya.

Lengthening of -ing to -iong, of -ir to -iĕr:

pĕriong ‘kind of bamboo,’ Javanese pring.
ladion ‘knife,’ Malay lading.
baniĕr ‘buttress root,’ Malay banir.

-un to -uĕn, -ut to -uĕt:

sĕpuĕn ‘have a cold,’ Minahassan sĕpun ‘snot.’
sĕmuĕt ‘ant,’ Malay sĕmut.
lĕmuĕt ‘porpoise,’ Bare’e lombudi (for lĕmbud).

-ong becomes -uong:

aguong ‘gong,’ Malay gong.
lĕsuong ‘rice mortar,’ T. luso.
ambuluong ‘sago,’ T. ambulo.
gunuong ‘sago,’ next to gunong.
pĕtuong ‘kind of bamboo,’ Malay bĕtung.
jaguon ‘corn,’ Malay jagung.

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

manië ‘bead,’ Malay manik-manik.
pancië ‘hook,’ next to panci, Javanese pancing.
nutuĕ ‘pound,’ Bare’e tutu.
tu’uĕ ‘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,’ ēgo ‘pig,’ takolo ‘head,’ kuyu ‘dog,’ the list also gives manue, ēgoe, takoloe, kuyue, in which in all probability the attached element is or formerly was a demonstrative. The expression for ‘wild pig’ is ēgoe 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>T.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lime</td>
<td>apo</td>
<td>ongkor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>engko</td>
<td>ipar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
<td>salvia</td>
<td>elo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egg</td>
<td>antĕlo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east</td>
<td>timur</td>
<td>laha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>tidor</td>
<td>laha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>laha’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west</td>
<td>barat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>bau’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molar</td>
<td>bageang</td>
<td>baga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulled rice</td>
<td>buas</td>
<td>buas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 baḥa ‘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,’ *hīpaR ‘sibling-in-law,’ *iluR ‘spittle, saliva,’ *qateluR ‘egg,’ *timuR ‘east monsoon,’ *tiduR ‘sleep,’ *da Raq ‘blood,’ *habar “west monsoon,” *baRaq “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.]
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 \textit{padi} ‘rice in the ear,’ \textit{pĕdu} ‘gall,’ \textit{adi} ‘younger brother, sister,’ \textit{ponsot} (for \textit{ponsod}) ‘navel,’ while \textit{arang} ‘name’ and \textit{uruong} have \( r \).

In five examples, T. has three of \( r \), one of \textit{nd} (probably prenasalized \( d \)), and one in which the sound has fallen away, \textit{ponso} ‘navel,’ \( r \) in \textit{parai} ‘field rice,’ \textit{arang} ‘name,’ and \textit{uroh} ‘nose,’ and \textit{ĕndi} is the example of \( nd (= adi) \).

\textbf{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 \textit{ĕma} ‘mother’ in T., \textit{ĕla} ‘husband’ in M. This appoggiatura then also falls away when the word is suffixed, thus \textit{maku} ‘my mother,’ \textit{laku} ‘my husband’; thus with first person pronominal suffix \textit{árán} becomes \textit{arángku} ‘my name,’ \textit{gógo}l ‘ichthyosis’ \textit{gogólan} ‘beset with ichthyosis,’ \textit{sóngot} ‘sweat,’ \textit{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 \textit{iřung}, Tagalog \textit{iłong}, and Malay \textit{hidung} ‘nose’). Today most Austronesiansists 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 *ijuŋ ‘nose.’]
A nasal ligature is found among other places between numerals and the noun thereby modified, namely when the numeral is used as a measure word, in which case the numeral always precedes, for example *dangelau* ‘a day,’ *duengēlau,* *tĕlu ngelau* ‘two, three days long,’ *damba’a,* *dambua* ‘one piece,’ *baroang dambua* ‘one boat,’ *dĕpo ungēlau* ‘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,’ *tari nai* ‘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 *rumput-rumput* ‘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.: *titu* ‘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,’ *pĕpĕnda* ‘short,’ next to *pĕpĕnda,* Malay *pendek*; *tĕnena* ‘long,’ stem *tĕna*; *nananeane* ‘a little bit,’ from *naneane* ‘little’; *lalagisangan* ‘in the morning,’ from *lagisangan* ‘morning’; *tĕntĕnga* ‘middle, in the middle.’

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

Pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>aku</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>kite</th>
<th>shortened:</th>
<th>-ku, -ke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>ka’am</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-(n)u -gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>isianu ie</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-(n)e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[translator’s note: Spelled here as in the original, but perhaps *dangēlau* ‘a day long’ and *tĕlu dangēlau* ‘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. 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 Pebato 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).

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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).]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic:</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>itu</th>
<th>‘this’</th>
<th>ruma’ itu</th>
<th>‘this house’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>iru</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>ruma’ iru</td>
<td>‘that house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ore’, ore</td>
<td>‘yonder’</td>
<td>ruma’ ore or ore</td>
<td>‘yonder house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-natu, 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 ĭsa, 2 due, 3 tēlu, 4 ĭmpat, 5 lime, 6 ĭnam, 7 pitu, 8 walu, 9 sanga, 10 sapulu’.

11 sapulu’ dambua’, 12 sapulu due, 13 sapulu tēlu, 14 sapulu’ ĭmpat, 15 sapulu lime, etc. 19 sapulu’ sanga. 29


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 dēpo’, for example dēpo’ ngĕlau ‘half a day,’ dēpo’ geanteang ‘half a gantang.’ ‘The first’ momolaene, ‘the second’ kaminduene, ‘the tenth’ kaminsapulune, ‘the hundredth’ kamindaatusne. [p. 477]

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

‘Twice’ mindue, ‘three times’ mintĕlu, ‘ten times’ minsapulu’; ‘four times five is twenty’ minĕmpat lima jadi duempulu’; ‘seven times two’ mimpitū due; ‘eight times six’ mimbalu ĭnam.

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 ĕnam* ‘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 ĕsĕ, 2 duĕ, 3 tĕlu, 4 ĕmpĕ, 5 lima, 6 ĕnang, 8 uĕlu, 9 sanga, 10 sapulu, 11 sapulu dakau, 12. sapulu duĕ, 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 *ĕlau* ‘daylight, sun, day,’ *ĕlau itu* ‘today,’ *dabui* *di lau* ‘the day before yesterday,’ *lagisangan* ‘tomorrow,’ *salalagisăngan* ‘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 belakang. Mandia’ contains the stem dia’ ‘earth, ground,’ thus also kadıa’ ‘downward, to below,’ aku kadıa’ ‘I’m going down,’ makadiar’ 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, olong, alon ‘and, with,’ for example aku olong kau ‘me and you,’ padatain dayeang itu alon sayor ‘this fish was cooked with greens’; ēmboku sara’ alon dene ‘my grandfather is separated from (with) his wife’; olong is also used in the sense of ‘by’ in the passive: tikus uda didakap olong 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*, pē*, 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.

- ēbut – ngēbut ‘cry, shout’
- inta – nginta ‘eat’
- inum – nginum ‘drink’
- ēpi – ngēpi ‘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’
tėmbea’ – nėmbea’ ‘shoot’
tede – nede ‘give’
tilau – nilau ‘ask’
tube – nube ‘poison with tuba (_Millettia sericea)_’
tampi – nampi ‘winnow’
tutuē – nutuē ‘pound’
itiup – niup ‘blow’
tēnja – nēnja ‘step on’
tandau – nandau ‘set aside mourning’
tambar – nambar ‘medicate’
sērau – nyērau ‘weep’
saol – nyaol ‘answer’
sumpa – numpa ‘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, for example _ao_ ‘yes,’ _ngao_ ‘say yes,’ ēpi ‘a dream,’ ngēpi ‘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_ nēgpi [sic → ngēpi] ‘you all dream’), _kite_ _kutu’ _we refuse,’ _ie_ _sara’ _he separates,’ _aku_ _sarea’ _I tear.’

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

[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,* *lēla toe* ‘old man,’ *atoene* ‘the elders, the old, the leader, the priest.’
- *belou* ‘crossed (of the eyes),’ *mata belou* ‘cross-eyed.’
- *pĕtang,* *pĕteang* ‘blind, dark,’ *uda pĕtang* ‘already dark.’
- *taram* ‘sharp,’ *tampilang taram* ‘sharp sword.’
- *langau* ‘drunk,’ *aa’ langau* ‘drunk person.’
- *bau* ‘new,’ *bulan bau* ‘new moon.’
- *tĕla’,* *tĕlea’* ‘bright,’ *mamau tĕla’* ‘bright star,’ *lalam* ‘deep,’ *basar* ‘big,’ *langa* ‘high,’ as subject words: ‘depth, largeness, height,’ *dedego itu palĕbi basare ma ie’* ‘this rest bench is bigger than this,’ *palĕbi langane ma kau* ‘he is taller than you,’ *lalame* ‘its depth.’ [p. 481]
- *lini* ‘small,’ *lini sakali* ‘very small.’

With *dĕdĕki* ‘small,’ *tĕtĕna* ‘low,’ *pĕpĕnda’* ‘short’ the root form is used as the subject word, for example *dakanea’ itu palĕbi dĕkine 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.

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

For ‘warm,’ M. has *lawan,* *panas,* *gĕsang,* 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 *pĕ-,* 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: *ĕlau palau* ‘the sun rises,’ from the same stem as Malay *keluar;* *ĕlau pasĕdap* ‘the son sets,’ from *sĕdap,* Sangirese *sĕda’*, Mongondow *soyop,* Javanese *sĕrĕp;* here *pa* cannot be causal, but forms predicate words out of *lua’* and *sĕdap.* 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, which are used as an entirely equivalent jumble. Of these forms, the imperative is always used with a prefix. Of merapi, mepoasi, mewule or membule, the imperatives are perapi, peoasi, pewule, the passive naperapi, napoasi, 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,’ paiseng similar to madiseng ‘know,’ and on page 92 concerning forms with the prefix pa (and the suffixes -ang, -êng), 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 pasêdap we are not dealing with unadulterated forms. Thus the nasal-prefix form of the borrowed word karêje ‘work’ is ngarêje, for example aku ngarêje ruma’ ore ‘I build yonder house,’ but in the passive this sentence runs, ruma’ ore dipakarêje. If there were an active pakarêje, then it would have to be derived straight from dipakarêje.

Pakêdam ‘blink the eye,’ cf. Makassarese pakadangi matana ‘close the eyes,’ Malay këlam, Makassarese kâlang, Buginese kêlêng ‘dark, obscure,’ reflect the source meaning; thus herein the pa- can be taken as causal, and probably also in pakêlad ‘open the eye.’ In patêgal ‘slow’ from têgal and palêbi ‘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. sêngut (Tonsawang), sangit (Javanese), sêngi’ (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 padatangi, nominal form next to madatagi ‘cook.’

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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 *pĕ*- in M. examples, in T. none.

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

   *pĕleakang* ‘lying place,’ formed from *pĕlea* with -ang, see below; *pĕtidoran* ‘sleeping place.’

   *pĕnyĕrau* ‘crier, crybaby,’ from *sĕrau* (nyĕrau) ‘cry,’ a nominal form of *mĕnyĕrau*, 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?’

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of *nga*- is to be noted in the following examples:

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


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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 raêt, 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.’

dilĕkat ‘(be) peeled,’ piseang dilĕkat ‘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.’

ditĕmbeai [sic → ditĕmbea’] ‘(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 ditèlan.
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 mèmbunuh.

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:

kasesemon ‘jointly, together,’ kite kasesemon ‘we all,’ from samemon ‘all,’ for example ruma’ samesemon ‘all houses.’
kapatawan ‘death,’ from patai, with suffix -an; thus also in the following examples:
karëmisani ‘aversion, hatred,’ from rëmis, for example karëmisangku 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 sîh in Javanese, compare Buginese, Bare’e asi.
katonangku ‘I know,’ from a stem which is cognate with Buginese tangêng, Sangirese têngedê, 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’; penteke ‘I ask, I invite,’ also aku mente; letēku kau ‘I hit you,’ from which it emerges that in practicality these forms are inflected as verbs.

Infixed.

The infixed are um, im, in, al, ar.

The first two infixed are two forms of the same infixed; 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: lēla 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 lēmēngat ‘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.’

karēka ‘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 kēng, kong, kung indicates a notion of ‘twist, curl, curved.’

palēpa (M.), pēlēpa (T.), palēpa 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’:

- *pĕleakan* ‘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.’
- *untungan* ‘lucky,’ from *untung* ‘luck.’
- *ĕngkoan* ‘tailed,’ from *ĕnko* ‘tail.’
- *songotan* ‘sweaty,’ from *songot* ‘sweat.’
- *lumutan* ‘filthy,’ from *lumut* ‘filth, deposit.’
- *ngitan* ‘have a fish odor,’ probably for *sungitan* or *sĕngitan*, see above.
- *lĕla’an* ‘married, have a husband,’ from *lĕla* ‘man.’

Of the meaning, ‘object of the action’:

- *inuman* ‘drink’ (noun), from *inum* ‘drink’ (verb).
- *ĕlinan* ‘song,’ from *ĕlin* ‘sing.’

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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 *pusĕr* ‘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 *ipĕbera* [sic? → *ipĕbera*] ‘be said, be spoken,’ and *ipĕberâng* ‘be spoken about, be reprimanded over,’ but *pĕberâng* often loses its *i-* and then *pĕberâng* becomes used synonymously with *ipĕbera*, so that sometimes one further adds *-eng* behind, and then for *ipĕberâng* one gets the form *pĕberangeng*. 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 lĕlaan ie* ‘she already has a husband,’ *uda datai kinakan* ‘the food is all prepared,’ *lĕla 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.
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, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Togian</th>
<th>Ampana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>tongo</td>
<td>bengo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shin</td>
<td>dulugi</td>
<td>wuku mbuyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>tumunda</td>
<td>motunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smile</td>
<td>mogumiringi</td>
<td>mogiringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stretch the legs out</td>
<td>mokondogi</td>
<td>mangojo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>window</td>
<td>pilombo</td>
<td>mbolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooking place</td>
<td>taingani</td>
<td>rapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice porridge</td>
<td>dondoyogi</td>
<td>winola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heron</td>
<td>bobangkoli</td>
<td>timbako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>beketi</td>
<td>walesu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red tree ant</td>
<td>laga</td>
<td>lea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butterfly</td>
<td>kalibombangi</td>
<td>aliwombo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loincloth</td>
<td>pedeti</td>
<td>pewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chili pepper</td>
<td>malisa</td>
<td>kuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rainbow</td>
<td>pinorai</td>
<td>pindurai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 kasà 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 dondo yogi ‘rice porridge’ from Bobongko dondo yog; 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; dosunan ‘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 kamba, kambara ka ‘spread out,’ ndoro ‘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’ ikakaku ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Togian</th>
<th>Ampana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiyuku ‘coconut’</td>
<td>Bare’e kayuku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyoe ‘parakeet’</td>
<td>&quot; koyoe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiyâ ‘liana, line, rope’</td>
<td>&quot; wayâ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wiyua ‘head hair’  wuyua.
kamupu ‘fingernail’  kayupa.
miyusua ‘soft’  mayusa.
miyunu ‘small’  mayunu.
iyuta ‘wood’  ayuta.
iyawa ‘handrail’  ayawa.
kamuri ‘poem’  kayori.
payura ‘shoulder blade’  payura.

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:

tilinga ‘ear’  Bare’e talinga.
kiriki ‘armpit’  kariki.
miausa ‘suspicious, portending evil’ Bare’e measa.
liusa ‘wood pigeon’ Bare’e leusa.
limbori ‘kind of reed’ Parigi lambori.
tikie ‘poor’  Bare’e takie.
biiyangi ‘in vain’  Parigi bayangi.
lingkai ‘man’  Bare’e langkai.

Weakening to u is also encountered, for example:

wulili ‘return’  Bare’e walili.
puai ‘dry in the sun’ Bare’e poai. [p. 544]
wulenga ‘coconut shell’ Parigi walenga.
tanuana ‘life spirit’  Bare’e tanoana.
pina ‘nephew, niece’  pinoana.
rapumuya ‘planted’  rapomuya.

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, pnek, kre’e; ngklionya ‘just him’ as ngklionya; raparara ‘roasted’ as raprara; mapoi ‘spicy, hot, warm’ as mpoi; ksa ‘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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
gurogoli & ‘Adam’s apple’ & bonatangi & ‘swine’ 
sambangi & ‘sideburns’ & tondoki & ‘fence’ 
badangi & ‘body’ & indangi & ‘debt’ 
jarangi & ‘horse’ & popaki & ‘leaf sheath’ 
tawangi & ‘prisoner of war’ & palepengi & ‘adze’ 
gulingi & ‘rudder’ & gonggangi & ‘stand of sago palms’ 
duangangi & ‘boat’ & momporayangi & ‘long for, yearn for’ 
romongi & ‘silent’ & tandasangi & ‘anvil’ 
patomboni & ‘ladder’ & dandangi & ‘bird perch’\textsuperscript{40} 
bumat & ‘sheath’\textsuperscript{41} & ogutani & ‘seaweed’ 
kantari & ‘shield’ & orungi & ‘bottom’\textsuperscript{42} 
suogi & ‘bay, inlet’ & sampangi & ‘canoe’
\end{tabular}

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

\textsuperscript{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).]

\textsuperscript{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).]

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

\textsuperscript{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 *duangan*; *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 *nu*ju* ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ampana</th>
<th>Bare’e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>līpa</em> ‘centipede’</td>
<td><em>alipa.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>linta</em> ‘leech’</td>
<td>&quot; <em>alinta.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wati</em> ‘sago grub’</td>
<td>&quot; <em>awati.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>poju</em> ‘gall’</td>
<td>&quot; <em>apoju.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ju’u</em> ‘wild banana’</td>
<td>&quot; <em>aju’u.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wani</em> ‘bee’</td>
<td>&quot; <em>uani.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wase</em> ‘axe’</td>
<td>&quot; <em>uase.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wayu</em> ‘eight’</td>
<td>&quot; <em>uayu.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some of these words, for example *poju* (Malay *hampēdu*, Buli *apēru*, Mongondow *apoyu*, Malagasy *aferu*, Tagalog, Bisayan *apdu*, Javanese *rēmpēlu*), *līpa* (Malay *halipan*, Bimanese *arifa*, Bisayan *alahipan*, Formosan *aripas*, Makassarese *alipang*, Buginese *alipēng*), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bare’e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mëka</td>
<td>maeka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>môro</td>
<td>maoro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papûmba</td>
<td>papoumba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nômo</td>
<td>naomo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûsa</td>
<td>maoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûsa</td>
<td>maosa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>môngka</td>
<td>maongka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nile</td>
<td>naile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puria</td>
<td>puria ia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juya</td>
<td>jauya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruro</td>
<td>rauro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rupa</td>
<td>raupa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilo</td>
<td>wailo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 [translator’s note: The Dutch here is *vader*, but the gloss ‘father’ for *paalpa’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.’ 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: kangkinginde ‘continually with the head nodding,’ from kinde; njonjono ‘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 ngkiju ‘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’ rêya.

Likewise in Ampana ki- occurs next to ka- and ke- in entirely the same meaning, for example katuntu ‘story, tale,’ kapintóo ‘saying, adage,’ kiofu ‘in granular form, composed of granules,’ kiso-so ‘dripping down, by drips,’ from so, onomatopoetic for the falling of drops, grain, and the such; 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 onomatopoetic 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-* and *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,’ *iayu* ‘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]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ilo’a angku</em></td>
<td>‘seen by me.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ilo’amu</em></td>
<td>‘seen by you.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ilo’anya</em></td>
<td>‘seen by him.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ilo’a mami</em></td>
<td>‘seen by us (exclusive).’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ilo’anta</em></td>
<td>‘seen by us (inclusive).’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ilo’ami</em></td>
<td>‘seen by you all.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ilo’anya, ilo’a ncira</em></td>
<td>‘seen by them.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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:

\[\begin{align*}
p & \text{ is lost (m from mp) in momali, Bare’e mompali ‘taboo, under a ban’; momule, Bare’e mompulse ‘wear (the hair) in a bun.’} \\
b & \text{ is lost (m from mb): momeko, Bare’e mebeko ‘cook porridge’; pumobaki ‘beater for pounding tree bark,’ Bare’e pombobaki.} \\
s & \text{ is lost (n from ns, ny from nc): monengu ‘kiss,’ from sengu; monyangke ‘grab in flight,’ from sangke.} \\
t & \text{ is lost (n from nt): monombu ‘draw water,’ from tombu; manoto ‘proper, certain, enduring,’ from toto.} \\
d & \text{ is lost (n from nd): manongo ‘stingy,’ from dongo; maneru ‘warm oneself by a fire,’ from deru.}
\end{align*}\]

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:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[footnote 1, page 551]} & \text{ Perhaps in mengeru ‘spit,’ assuming that the stem thereof if karu ‘phlegm’ (in Bare’e to the east of the Posso River kari). In that case ngeru ‘spittle’ has been backformed from mengeru and is not the original stem.}
\end{align*}\]
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, -angi, 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 though 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 rarua. 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?’
Among all the Torajan clans there are a number of words that have been placed outside of daily use, because they are entirely or 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 napoindoinggokika 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 it 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 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 jalı, Buginese warĕle, Makassarese birale, Sangirese dĕle, 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 tĕras, Javanese tos, Tagalog tigas, Bisayan togas, Sangirese toghasĕ, 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 tĕras, etc., because in older words the Van der Tuuk sound is still g, while in younger words it is lost. Apparently toga combines in itself the meanings of ‘heartwood’ and ‘strong.’ Sangirese matoghasĕ means exclusively ‘solid, strong,’ while a doublet tuhasĕ means ‘truly, positively’ in paping tuhasĕ (northern dialect turase) ‘true nobility.’ For ‘heartwood’ Sangirese has tĕhasĕ. Tagalog ligas, Bare’e yora (with r!), at present the usual word for ‘heartwood.’ The root of this word is thus ras (with its varieties). It appears to me that Makassarese tonasa and Buginese tonĕ 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 nd 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 Pakêwa’ 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 (émê), 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.


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 kuporoe ‘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 *bael*, 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:


*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]


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


   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 Loindang. Their connections with Loindang 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 Togians 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 *tundeke*, *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 *libukēng*, 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 _têkâ_, 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).’

_metatore_ ‘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_.

_mobè_ (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 _or_. The syllable _nggo_ (gu) then stands for _kê_ and that for _tê_. Nggolau most resembles Mahaga _kindoru_ (from _iêndoru_), reported by
Kern, *Fidjetaal*, page 200. Even with all this, the identification of Malay *tĕlor*, Bare’e *toyu*, 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.
References


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