

**Introduction to
“Guide to the study of the Ledo
language”**

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DESCRIPTION

In 1934 the linguist Samuel J. Esser published a guide to learning Ledo Kaili, at that time one of the principal lingua francas of Central Celebes (Sulawesi), Indonesia. His guide, *Handleiding voor de Beoefening der Ledo-taal*, comprised three sections: an introduction (pages 1–25) followed by Ledo texts with translation and grammar notes (pages 26–50), and finally an extensive Dutch-Ledo lexicon arranged alphabetically according to the Dutch (pages 51–90). In this work we present the 25-page introduction in its English translation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Sound system and stress; II. Tense; III. Participles; IV. Substantive forms of verbs and adjectives; V. A few remarks concerning the prefixes; VI. A few remarks concerning the suffixes; VII. A few remarks concerning numerals.

SOURCE

Esser, S. J. 1934. *Handleiding voor de beoefening der Ledo-taal: Inleiding, teksten met vertaling en aantekeningen en woordenlijst*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 72/1.) Bandoeng: Nix. This is a translation of the Introduction only (pages 1 through 25), not the entire work.

VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [31 March 2015] translated orally into English in a somewhat free, summarizing style by Anneke de Vries, July 1989, and recorded on two cassette tapes; recordings partially transcribed by Donna Evans circa 1990; recordings converted to electronic format by Sung-wook Kim, July 2005; translation reworked by David Mead in August 2005, based on the original Dutch, Anneke's recordings, and the transcription; formatted for publication March 2015.

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[p. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Ledo is the most important of the so-called Kaili dialects, and is spoken in a large part of the districts of Palu, Donggala, Parigi and Mamuju. Its proper area is the northern part of the Palu plain, but a number of Ledo-speaking settlements or population elements are also found outside of this area, while Ledo is used as the lingua franca in the entire area of the so-called West Toraja languages, especially in a northerly direction to far outside the borders thereof.

The following sketch outlines in broad strokes a description, intended for practical use,² of the grammatical framework of the language. Knowledge of this outline is necessary in order to make sense of the texts in the second part of the guide, and to be able to learn to speak and understand the language. The annotations which have been added to the texts have the aim of elucidating certain expressions and turns of phrases. What is to be found in this introduction is not to be found repeated again therein (although sometimes there is a citation to it using a Roman and an Arabic numeral, e.g. IV 2). A number of grammatical phenomena are indeed brought up in the annotations which have not found a place in the introduction. In general, the rule is followed of allowing phenomena which are sufficiently clear in and of themselves to also speak for themselves, and are thus not discussed separately in both the introduction and the annotations. This applies especially of syntactic peculiarities and of what Ledo has in common with other Indonesian languages.

This guide, which is nothing more than an introduction, is naturally insufficient for going deeper in the language. For that, you need practice. To get deeper insight into the West Toraja languages, Dr. N. Adriani's *Spraakkunst der Bare'e-taal* can fruitfully be consulted, and when encountering an unknown word, one has a good chance of finding it

¹ [Translators' note: Original pagination is indicated by enclosing the page number in brackets, e.g. [p. 1]. Square brackets are also used for other additions by our own hand. In cases where we have deemed that it may be helpful to know the original Dutch, it follows the English translation in double angle quotation marks « ... ».]

² [footnote 1, p. 1] Some remarks of a more theoretical nature are accommodated in notes.

explained in the *Bare'e-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* by the same author, especially when one takes into account the phonetic differences between the two languages.³ By the nature of things, [p. 2] this is not to say there never once in a while exist differences in meaning between similar-sounding or corresponding words in Ledo and Bare'e.

I. SOUND SYSTEM AND STRESS.

1. Ledo has the following sounds and consonant combinations:⁴ *a, e, i, o, u; p, mp, b, mb, w, m; t, nt, d, nd, n; j, nj, y; k, g, ngg, ng; l, r, s, h, '.* In foreign words one finds yet various other sounds, such as *c, nc, ny* and *ngk*.

Concerning the pronunciation the following must be remarked:

E and *o* sound roughly like *è* and *ò*, e.g. *ledo* 'not,' pronounced *lèdò*. A following vowel can make these sound respectively more like *é* and *ó*, e.g. *eo* 'day' (pronounced *éyò* with a very weak *y*), *naea* 'ashamed' (*naéya* with weak *y*), *dei* 'girl' (as term of address or as proper name) (sounds like *deei*), *naboa* 'empty' (with a very weak *w* between the *o* and *a*), *doi* 'money' (sounds like Dutch *dooi*), *sou* 'hut' (sounds roughly like *soouw* would be pronounced in Dutch).

Ledo *i* always sounds like Dutch *ie* in *ziek*, never as *i* in *sik*.

The *w* is formed between the lower lip and the upper teeth and is best compared with French *v*. In the middle of a word it sounds clearly like *v*, and thus in actuality the spelling with *w* is less correct, but has practical advantages. Examples of words with this sound are: *watu* 'stone,' *uwe* 'water.'

³ [footnote 2, p. 1] The most notable of these differences are: Ledo *nj* can correspond with Bare'e *nj* as well as with *nc*, Ledo *n* to Bare'e *n* and *nj*, Ledo *ngg* to Bare'e *ngg* and *ngk*. Ledo *a* is sometimes represented in Bare'e by *o*, Ledo *l* often by *y*, Ledo *d* and *b* at the beginning of a word often by *r*, respectively *w*, while Ledo *d* also corresponds in some frequency with Bare'e *j*. Bare'e *j* can also correspond with Ledo *y*, while sometimes in the middle of a word Ledo has a *w* which is absent in Bare'e. Finally the glottal stop, which is still encountered in Bare'e, is absent in Ledo.

These phonetic details are also important for Kaili [as a whole], because most Kaili dialects very often employ the Bare'e form of a word and not the Ledo form. The sound *ny*, the sound combinations *nc* and *ngk*, and the change from *l* to *y* and *y* to *j*, however, don't occur in the Kaili dialects.

⁴ [Translators' note: In accordance with current orthographic practices in Indonesia, we have made the following changes in the spelling of Ledo sounds and words: *oe* → *u*; *dj* → *j*; *ndj* → *nj*; *tj* → *c*; *ntc* → *nc*; *nj* → *ny*; and *j* (elsewhere) → *y*. An exception are the first three paragraphs of Chapter 1, § 2, where the discussion concerning dieresis necessitates retaining *oe*.]

The *l* is pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the roots of the upper teeth. Often it is so unclearly articulated that it is barely or not even heard. *Nangala* ‘take’ sounds like *nangaa* (with long *a*), etc.

The *r* is often pronounced rolled.

Concerning glottal stop, the sound which is represented by the symbol ‘, see § 2.

The remaining consonants are similar to those of Malay (*ng* is pronounced as in Dutch *zingen*, *ngg* as in English *anger*).

NOTE. There is also a *w* sound which is formed using both lips, but this doesn’t need to be indicated in the orthography because it seems to automatically exist between *u* and a following vowel (except *u*) and between *o* and a following vowel (except *o*), e.g. *randua* ‘two,’ *karui* ‘thorn.’ [p. 3] Between *o* and a following vowel this *w* is often almost not to be heard, e.g. *koi* ‘go’ (pronounced *kooi*).

There is, nevertheless, yet another case in which this *w* sound can be heard, namely when an unstressed *u* comes to stand between vowels, e.g. *ri uatu hai* ‘at that time,’ which is pronounced as *ri watu hai*, in which the lower lip does not touch the upper teeth and the air passes out between the two lips, just as with the English *w*. This is to be distinguished from *ri watu hai* ‘at that stone,’ with French *v*. In the same way an *i* (without stress) between two vowels is pronounced as *y*, e.g. *ka iaku* ‘for me,’ which sounds like *kayaku*. In the same circumstances, even an *e* between two vowels is pronounced as *y*, e.g. *doeata* ‘yard,’ pronounced *doyata*; *saeona* ‘another day,’ pronounced *sayona*.

2. For the sound which in German is written as *u*, in § 1 the digraph *oe* is used.⁵ In order to differentiate this from the sound combination of *o* followed by *e*, dieresis is used in the spelling adopted for the languages of Central Celebes, e.g. *niloë* ‘hung up’ (pronounced as *nilòwè*, with a very faint *w* as described in § 1, Note; in the sound combination of *oë*, *o* does not sound like *ó*).

For the sake of clarity, dieresis is usually used in the combination *oeë*, although in this case it could actually be omitted. So in *poeë* ‘lord,’ pronounced *poewè* (with weak *w* as in Malay *tua*).

It must be further pointed out that in the schools, etc. in the Kaili area, dieresis tends to be used in another way, namely as an indication of the so-called ‘hamza,’ the sound (often less correctly called a ‘hiatus’) which is heard between the *e* and *a* of Dutch *geacht* and between the first two *e*’s of Dutch *geëerd*, in which word the sound is likewise represented by a dieresis (however, in *zeeën*, in which a dieresis is also used, no glottal

⁵ [Translators’ note: In this translation we have adopted the convention of writing phonemic /u/ orthographically as *u* rather than *oe* (see the preceding footnote), thus rendering dieresis and the discussion about it in these three paragraphs superfluous. In this way Esser’s *watoe* ‘stone’ becomes *watu*, Esser *niloë* ‘hung up’ becomes *niloe*, and *poeë* ‘lord’ simply *pue*.]

stop occurs, since this word roughly sounds like *zeeyen*). The glottal stop sound is better represented by ' , with dieresis reserved for the combinations *oë* and *oeë*, so that the foreign way of writing *oE* and *oeE* can be dropped.

The glottal stop is a sound which often gives difficulties to Europeans, because they are not prepared for it being where in general they think it never is. Namely, a consonant can be present between two vowels which do not run into each other and where thus no glide⁶ is heard. In Ledo⁷ this can only occur between two like vowels which butt up against each other, be it because a stem beginning with a vowel is placed against a prefix which ends with the same vowel, or because a word ends with the same vowel with which the following word begins. In both cases the glottal stop mostly also drops off, and the two like vowels following one after the other [p. 4] are contracted into a single vowel, e.g. *naara* or *na'ara* 'hungry,' *neewa* or *ne'ewa* 'resist,' *si iko* (pronounced as *si'iko* or *siiko*) 'to you.'

From what has just been said, it follows that within a sentence, no 'hiatus' is heard between the vowel which ends one word and a following word which begins with a different vowel.

The above words *naara* and *neewa* bring us to the question of long vowels. Long vowels are vowels which (theoretically, at least) are twice as long in duration as normal vowels, and because of this are represented in the following spelling by two vowel characters one after the other, e.g. *raa* 'blood' (pronounced *rā*, with a long *a*), *see* 'cent' (with long *è*), *hii* 'this,' *boo* 'book' (with long *ò*), *netuu* 'come down' (stress on the long *u*), *nadaa* 'bad,' etc. A peculiarity of Ledo at present, however, is that these long vowels keep their full length only when, as in the given examples, they occur at the end of a word. If, on the other hand, they are followed by one or more syllables (whether the syllable belongs to the word or consist of a possessive pronoun, a particle such as *-mo* or *-pa* or something similar), then they are often shortened to not much more than the length of an ordinary (short) vowel, e.g. *netuumo* (frequently pronounced *netúmo*) 'then he came down,' *naasi* (frequently pronounced *nasi*) 'feel sorry.'

NOTE. This shortening in the articulation of long vowels can sometimes make it difficult to decide how to spell a certain word.

3. As mentioned in § 1, the consonant sequences *ns* (*ngs*), *nc* and *ngk* are absent in Ledo, at any rate in bona fide Ledo words. However, it is possible for a nasal to be placed before one of the consonants *k*, *p*, *t* or *s*. In that case a nasal + *k* goes to *ngg*, and a nasal + *s* to *nj* (by the nature of things a nasal + *p* goes to *mp*, and a nasal + *t* to *nt*). This is, for instance, the case whenever a word beginning with *k*, etc. is placed in 'genitive case.' In that case one tends to use a nasal, which has the meaning of our 'of.' Examples thereof are:

⁶ [Translator's note: Dutch *overgangsmeklinker*, literally 'transitional consonant.']

⁷ [footnote 1, p. 3] In most of the other Kaili dialects, however, glottal stop occurs more regularly, e.g. *da'a*, the negative word of a West Kaili idiom.

biwi ‘lip, edge,’ *karona* ‘Palu River,’ *biwi nggarona* (from *biwi ng karona*) ‘bank of the Palu River.’

uwe ‘water, liquid,’ *susu* ‘breast, udder,’ *uwe njusu* ‘milk.’

NOTE. When a word does not begin with one of the four consonants *k*, *p*, *t* or *s*, then *nu* is used for ‘of’ (genitive case), rather than the single nasal.⁸ Thus one says *tatanga ntasi* ‘the middle of the sea’ (far from land), *peburu mpoiri* ‘the blowing of the wind,’ but *sabingga nu dala* ‘the side of the road,’ *biwi nu uwe* ‘edge of the water,’ etc. [p. 5]

Also when a word begins with one of the four consonants *k*, *p*, *t* or *s*, then *nu* can be used in place of the single nasal (sometimes this form even appears to be required). In some cases the indication of genitive case is entirely absent, e.g. *ri ara nu kayu*, *ri ara nggayu* or *ri ara kayu* ‘in the woods’ (*ri ara* originates from *ri rara*; *rara* is the same as Malay *dalam* ‘inside’). For proper names, whether or not supplied with the article for persons, *i*, indication of genitive case is always absent, e.g. *kantoro (i) Pua Magau* ‘the office of the Autonomous Administrator «Zelfbestuurder»’ (*pua* = lord).

Concerning the meaning of ‘for’ of *nu*, respectively the nasal, see II 2. Concerning the meaning ‘with’ (instrumental), see story III, annotations.

4. Stress in Ledo always falls on the next to last syllable, and shifts with the attachment of suffixes and single syllable particles.⁹ From *banua* ‘house’ (stress on *u*) are thus formed: *banuáku* ‘my house,’ *banuámu* ‘your house,’ *banuána* ‘his house, her house,’ also ‘their house,’ *banuáta* ‘our house’ (with inclusion of the person or persons spoken to), also ‘your house’ (very polite), *banua kámi* ‘id.’ (with exclusion of the one(s) spoken to), *banua míu* ‘your (pl.) house,’ ‘your (sing.) house’ (polite), *banuára* or *banua geíra* ‘their house.’

NOTE 1. It is not inconsistent to write the form *banua miu* as two words (*kami* and *geira* are not true possessive pronouns, but rather independent personal pronouns which take the place of possessives), because two syllable suffixes have a greater measure of independence than single syllable suffixes. The forms *miu*, *kami* and *geira* can even be separated from the word with which they belong by a small word such as *mo* (particle which among other things emphasizes something), thus *banua miumo* or *banuamo miu* (this is also possible in genitive case collocations). There are, for that matter, a number of word combinations in Ledo which are actually a single form and thus should be required to be written as a single word, with or without a hyphen (-) in between. However, they would not make for the clearest and simplest of forms.

Note that *kita* (along with *-ka*) and *kami* are not interchangeable, as happens in babble-Malay.

⁸ [footnote 1, p. 4] Combinations such as *mb*, *nd* are possible in compounds, e.g. *nasala-ndala* ‘take the wrong path,’ *nasala-mbiwi* ‘make an error with the lips (*biwi*), in other words, misspeak.’

⁹ [footnote 1, p. 5] This situation is not original, but borrowed from Bugis. One still encounters traces of the old accentual pattern, e.g. *niulina* ‘says he,’ with roughly the same stress on *u* as on *li*.

In § 2 it emerges that long vowels count for two syllables, and thus receive stress whenever they occur at the end of a word. It is also mentioned there how to articulate a long vowel followed by another syllable.

When a word has an *i*, *u* or *o* in the penultimate syllable which is immediately preceded by another vowel, in fast speech these two vowels easily contract into a diphthong, which has the accent on the first of the two compounded sounds, e.g. *kamáimo* ‘come here!’ *kaláuna* ‘he went.’ With slow, emphatic speech stress occurs again on the next to last syllable, e.g. *ka-ma-í-mo* ‘come on then heeere!’ [p. 6]

NOTE 2. I can’t place enough emphasis on the fact that a *good pronunciation* is of first importance to anyone who wishes to learn to speak the language properly. It may arouse surprise that the pronunciation of the language as produced by Europeans often leaves so much to be desired, because the sound system cannot be taken as anything outside of the ordinary. The sounds form themselves as it were naturally, and since the language has no words which end in a consonant, there is little chance of breaking one’s tongue. One should practice slowly enunciating short and longer words, if possible with the help of a Kaili person for guidance and control. Some common mistakes are:

The pronunciation of *e* and *o* as *é* and *ó* rather than as *è* and *ò*.

The weakening of the vowel of unaccented syllables (especially *e*) to schwa (de *ě* of Malay *běsar*). In general this *ě* does not occur in Kaili. *Napane* ‘warm’ has a clear *e* sound at the end, *ne’epe* ‘hear’ (intrans.) doesn’t sound like *ně’ěpě* but like *nè’èpè*, *nomore* ‘play’ not like *němorě*, etc.

The hard pronunciation of *j* and *nj*, as in Dutch *hoedje*, *mandje*, instead of the Malay pronunciation in *saja*, *tanjung* (the pronunciation of *j* and *nj* is not so far from that of the English words *duty* and *endue*).

The production of all kinds of annoying, and merely ‘reception’-ensuring co-articulations with the enunciation of simple sounds such as *k*, *p*, *t*, etc.

The articulation of a glottal stop (hiatus) between two successive words. Ledo must be pronounced as English and French, that is to say, successive vowels must flow into each other.

The form of a vowel which precedes a word which begins with a nasal plus consonant. This difficulty hangs together with the fact that Ledo doesn’t have any words (and likewise no syllables) which end in a consonant. It is all too easy to combine the concerned nasal with the preceding word, and thus for example pronounce *nabelo mpuu*, *nabelo ntoto* ‘very good, very pretty’ as if they were *nabelom puu*, *nabelon toto*, *biwi nggarona* ‘river bank’ as *biwing garona*, etc. When the nasal sound occurs at the beginning of a sentence, this is naturally not possible.

The incorrect placement of stress.

II. TENSE.

1. In Ledo there are two tenses, a ‘usual tense’ «gewone tijd» and a ‘future tense’ «toekomstige tijd».¹⁰ The ‘usual tense’ serves both for the present as well as the past, and in general is marked (except for the two cases mentioned under 2) by the initial sound *n*, versus the future tense which has *m*. This applies of both verbs and adjectives, e.g. *nolipa* ‘run,’ *molipa* ‘will run,’ *namate* ‘die, dead,’ [p. 7] *mamate* ‘will die,’ *nambaso* ‘large,’ *mambaso* ‘will be or become large.’

The future tense can sometimes also have reference to the past, namely when the speaker places himself at some time in the past, with respect to which another time—also lying in the past—is in the future, e.g. *ane nisaniku mauda ledo aku molipa-lipa* ‘if I had known that it was going to rain, I wouldn’t have gone out,’¹¹ *berimbano iaku ledo mabongi?* ‘how should I not come late in the evening?.’ Also in Dutch we speak of a ‘past future tense’ «verleden toekomstige tijd».

For other particulars concerning the use of the two tenses, see § 3.

2. With conjugated forms¹² the difference between the usual and future tenses is made in an entirely different way, such as may be seen from the following paradigm:

stem *epe* ‘hear, feel’

usual tense	future tense
<i>niepeku</i> I hear (it), have heard (it), etc.	<i>kuepe</i> I shall, will hear it, etc.
<i>niepemu</i> you hear (it), etc.	<i>muepe</i> (dialectally also <i>nuepe</i>), you will hear (it), etc.
<i>niepena</i> he, she hears (it), (also) they hear (it), etc.	<i>raepena</i> he will hear (it), etc.
<i>niepe kami</i> we (with exclusion of the one(s) addressed) hear (it), etc.	<i>raepe kami</i> we (not you) will hear (it), etc.

¹⁰ [Translators’ note: In current linguistic terminology the terms ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ would be more apropos.]

¹¹ [footnote 1, p. 7] Sometimes in the sentences given as examples, phenomena occur which are only explained later. One should consult as necessary the annotations with the stories and the Wordlist.

¹² [footnote 2, p. 7] For the sake of simplicity, in this work the forms with *ni-* are considered conjugated forms, although theoretically this is not to be commended.

<i>niepeta</i> we (with inclusion of the one(s) addressed) hear (it), etc.	<i>raepeta</i> we (I and you, we and you) will hear (it), etc. you (very polite) will hear (it), etc.
<i>niepe miu</i> you all, you (polite) hear (it), etc.	<i>raepe miu</i> you all, you (polite) will hear it, etc.
<i>niepera, niepe geira</i> they hear (it), etc.	<i>raepera, raepe geira</i> they will hear (it), etc.

The suffixes *-ku*, *-mu*, *-na*, etc. are the possessive pronouns (I 4). The forms *niepe* and *raepe* mean respectively ‘one heard (it)’ and ‘one will hear (it),’ etc., or, what amounts to the same thing, [p. 8] ‘(it) is, was, becomes heard’ and ‘(it) will become heard.’¹³

If the subject of a form such as above is not ‘he’ or ‘she’ but a noun or proper name, then it is added in genitive case (I 3) after the *ni-* or *ra-* form (*niepe*, *raepe*, etc.), e.g. *nikawa nu langgai hai tona* ‘the man came to the people,’ *jara niken ntona hai* ‘the horse which the people had brought.’

Conjugated forms are encountered only with transitive verbs. This use corresponds, speaking in general, with that of the conjugated forms in Malay (with the understanding that this language doesn’t have different tenses). These conjugated forms are thus employed in cases in which the *object*—not the subject nor the activity—stands in the conceptual foreground. The use (out of laziness and in imitation of spoken Malay) of a personal pronoun with a participle in cases in which the situation calls for a conjugated form, is a form of language corruption which one should take the greatest care to avoid.

Likewise to be avoided is the used of superfluous personal pronouns. In the table given above, the word ‘it’ is every time placed in parentheses, in order to indicate that whenever the object of a verb is nothing more than ‘it, him, her, them,’ in Ledo it is usually not expressed. If it is expressed, then it is almost always (at any rate in the third person) a noun (or a word such as ‘what,’ etc.), e.g. *niepeku karebana uatu nu duria sii-sii ri Pelawa* ‘I have heard news that in Pelawa it is durian season now,’ *nuapa nisambale ntona ri posusa hai?* ‘what did the people slaughter at the feast?’ But a personal pronoun is used only when stress falls on it, or it cannot be omitted for the sake of clarity. This

¹³ [footnote 1, p. 8] This last translation, however, is less accurate than the first, because the conjugated forms (as well as *ni-* and *ra-* without indication of the agent) are clearly active in character: *hilau mpuumo nikae dayo* is not ‘the grave indeed went and was dug’ but ‘people indeed went and dug the grave,’ and *madota rakande nu goruda* and *ledo rapakulena raala nu goruda* do not mean respectively ‘she would readily be eaten by a griffin’ and ‘she won’t be able to be «niet in staat zijn te» taken away by the griffin,’ but ‘a griffin intended to eat her up’ and ‘the griffin will not be able «niet kunnen» to take her away.’ [Translators’ note: Ledo *goruda*, rendered here as Dutch ‘griffioen,’ English ‘griffin,’ probably refers instead to a large, man-eating bird (cf. Malay *garuda*) as found in folktales from a number of languages across Sulawesi.]

applies both when it is object as well as subject. Examples: *isema nantagi?* ‘who has forbidden it?’ *ne mongei-ngei iko itu, kukatundu ngena* ‘don’t make fun of it, you, otherwise (lit. ‘soon’) I will give you a rap with the knuckles (on the head),’ *ledo namala* ‘it is not permitted,’ *ledo mamala* ‘it will not be permitted, it should not be permitted.’

NOTE. In this connection another error can be pointed out, namely not taking into consideration proper word order. The rule is that the predicate (verb or adjective) goes in front and the [p. 9] subject follows. If the subject precedes, then emphasis «nadruk» falls on it, even though this emphasis is not always of the same nature nor always evenly strong. Europeans have the tendency, for example, to speak of *ia nanguli*, which is to say something like ‘he (in opposition to someone else, for example) said,’ when they actually intend *nanguli ia* ‘he said.’

The subject can also be brought to the front when one or another modifier, particularly a negative word, precedes, e.g. *mamate ngena iaku – ledo iko makuya* ‘I will soon die – nothing will happen to you’ (*nakuya* ‘how’).

3. The future tense has a very wide meaning in Ledo. Forms which stand in future tense thus needn’t always be rendered with the help of ‘shall...’, indeed far from it. Often a wish or resolve is expressed by it, e.g. *aga hii kupekutana si komiu: ...* ‘only this will I ask of you: ...’ Future tense is also regularly used in making requests, e.g. *tumai merapi doi iaku si kita* ‘I come to ask money of you,’ and the word *madota* ‘will, want, wish,’ which by the nature of things directs itself to something which lies in the future and is usually followed by a future form, has then also only the form with *n* (*nadota*) when there is talk of something which has taken place in the past, e.g. *madota iko kutana nte bereimu? – ledo aku madota* ‘do you want me to bury you with your wife? – I am not inclined to it.’

Second, a form which stands in future tense often expresses a ‘must,’ e.g. *manjilimo kita ri banua* ‘you (sg. polite) must return home,’ *siimo kande rakandeta* ‘here is rice which you may eat up.’ One can see that the future tense can also be used in a soft, imperative way. A form such as this is often to be rendered with a subjunctive or with an expression such as ‘let...’ or ‘let’s...’, e.g. *kita hilau mangangga* ‘let’s go stealing,’ *ranikamo ia ante ara* ‘let her be joined in marriage to the Arab.’ *Ra-* ‘one, someone, people’ often occurs in the sense of ‘I, you, he,’ etc., e.g. *mai rapeinta ruru* ‘give it here, so that I can just (lit. ‘first, once’) have a look at it.’

The future tense can also make reference to the past (other than as ‘past future tense,’ see § 1), and then expresses that the action or state took place or existed iteratively, e.g.:

i Ura ipangane hia mapane-pane raepena mowanawu wai ri bobo hai ‘every time the Lobster got warm, he jumped back in the coconut shell with water’ (a *bobo* is a coconut shell with a hole on the upper side, and used to put water in).

ane mariamo tona mombaju pae raperapinamo wonena; radekei ntona wone hai, niken ri banua, niporiapu ‘whenever there were people pounding rice, he would ask for the broken kernels; when people had given the broken kernels, he brought it home and cooked it.’

As one can see, whenever it is clear through the use of a single future [p. 10] tense that an iterative situation is being spoken of, the usual tense is used in a subsequent part of the sentence.

Finally it must be pointed out that the *m*-form is used in geographical and other names, e.g. *Bulu Mosomba* ‘Mountain with a Sail.’ By the nature of things these forms cannot distinguish tense.

NOTE. An *m* is also found in forms such as *tomadua* ‘sick person,’ *tomaoge* ‘great lord’ (Assistant Resident, Resident, etc.), versus *tonabelo* ‘important person’ (*nabelo* ‘good’), *tonadaa* ‘bad person,’ and *tomate* ‘dead person,’ *tokata* ‘dirty person.’ For verbs, mostly the *p*-form (IV 1) is used, e.g. *topodoi*, *topoua* ‘rich person,’ *topoledo* ‘Ledo speaker,’ *topalai* ‘refugee,’ etc.

To- is not used solely for people but can, in certain collocations, also be used for animals and things.

III. PARTICIPLES.

1. Whenever one wants to cite a verb, it is usual to do this using the participial form (in Malay known as the form with ‘*mě-* and the nasal’ or the form with *běr-*). In Ledo, for this aim one doesn’t use the form beginning with *m-* (seeing as how this occurs only in future tense), but rather the form with *n-*.

Every participial form in Ledo begins with *n-*, else *m-*, and the same applies of adjectives. Only exceptionally one encounters forms such as *silau*, *hilau*, *halau* ‘go,’ *tumai* ‘come toward here’; in actuality these are not verbs or adjectives, but rather directionals for which the literal meanings are respectively ‘thither’ and ‘hither.’

It has already emerged in the preceding section that there is a considerable difference between intransitive and transitive verbs, and this also comes out in the formation of participles.

In general, the participle of a transitive verb is formed by adding ‘*na-* with the nasal’ preceding the stem, e.g. *nantana* ‘bury,’ stem *tana*. Herewith apply the following rules:

a. If the stem begins with a vowel, then just as in Malay *ng* occurs as the nasal. Thus for the stems *ala* ‘take,’ *elo* ‘seek,’ *inda* ‘lend,’ *ome* ‘swallow’ and *uli* ‘say,’ the participle forms run respectively *nangala*, *nangelo*, *nanginda*, *nangome*, *nanguli*.

b. If the stem begins with a *k* or *s*, then according to the rules given in I the nasal + *k* goes to *ngg* and the nasal + *s* to *nj*, thus *naggenggenisi* ‘hold fast, seize,’ stem *kenggenisi*; *nanggaru* ‘scratch,’ stem *karu*; *nanjingara* ‘warn,’ stem *singara*; *nanjubi* ‘vaccinate,’ stem *subi*. An exception is the stem *kande*, from which is formed the participle *nangande*.

c. If the stem begins with a *p*, then *nam-* becomes *nom-*; the participles of the stems [p. 11] *patesi* ‘kill’ and *pokio* ‘call’ are thus respectively *nompatesi* and *nompokio*.

d. If the stem begins with a consonant other than *k*, *p*, *s* or *t*, then in the place of *na-* with nasal there occurs a prefix *nomba-* or *nompa-*, without nasal, e.g. *nombaboba* ‘hit,’ *nombadekei* ‘give,’ *nombajeje* ‘tread on, set one’s foot on,’ *nombagoliaka* ‘turn around,’ *nombahakuraka* ‘take everything for oneself,’ *nombaliu* ‘pass by,’ *nombameka* ‘fish with a fishing rod,’ *nombanika* ‘marry someone,’ *nombaraka* ‘chase, pursue,’ *nombawala* ‘fence off.’¹⁴

The stems of these forms are obtained by dropping the prefix *nomba-* (or *nompa-*), thus: *boba* ‘hit him,’ *dekei* ‘give it,’ *jeje* ‘step on it,’ *goliaka* ‘turn it around,’ *raga* ‘chase after him,’ etc.

Occasionally one also finds stems beginning with *k*, *p*, *s* or *t* supplied with *nomba-* or *nompa-*, e.g. *nombakiki* next to *nanggiki* ‘bite,’ *nombasambei* or *nanjambei* ‘replace,’ *nombairi* or *nangiri* ‘hunt’ (from one place to another), etc. In some cases the form with *na-* appears not to be usual (see the Wordlist). Undoubtedly has to do with the need to keep the stem intact, which is often fairly altered with the prefixing of *na-*. Likewise there is also a clear tendency—albeit only in the capital «hoofdplaats»—for consistency’s sake to replace the single nasal which indicates genitive case with *nu*.

Conversely, one sometimes also finds participles of stems with *b* formed with *na-* and the nasal, e.g. *nomboli* (here again we see the change of *na-* into *no-* in connection with a following *b*; see above subsection c), the same as *nombaboli*, *nompaboli* ‘lay, set, put down,’ *nombeso* next to *nombabeso*, *nompabeso* ‘split’ (of wood), etc.

NOTE. Forms with *nompa-* should not be confused with derivations of *na-* (*no-*) and the nasal plus a stem beginning with the syllable *pa-*, e.g. *nompatesi* ‘kill’ (stem *patesi*), *nompatuwu* ‘feed, keep’ (of domesticated animals, etc.), stem *patuwu*, etc.

2. The participial forms of intransitive verbs begin with *na-*, *ne-* or *no-*, e.g. *nalai* ‘run away, flee,’ *nesana* ‘answer,’ *nolipa* ‘go.’ A number of these verbs exhibit a nasal before the stem, e.g. *nandiu* ‘bathe’ (intrans.), stem *diu* ‘bathe’ (trans.; participle *nomba-*, *nompadiu*, in the stem form *diu* ‘bathe it’). Some of these, the stem of which expresses a transitive concept, are identical in form to the corresponding transitive forms, e.g. *nantanu* ‘weave,’ both intransitive (‘perform the action of weaving’) as well as transitive (‘weave something specific,’ e.g. *nantanu buya* ‘weave a sarong’); *nompene* ‘climb’ and ‘climb in.’ [p. 12]

Which of the three mentioned prefixes must be employed in any particular case must be learned. A fixed rule can be given with respect to the use of *no-* and *ne-*, added to nouns.

¹⁴ [footnote 1, p. 11] Stems beginning with *y* are—except for interjections—in all probability entirely absent.

In function *no-* corresponds with Malay *běr-*; when placed before nouns it thus means ‘use, occupy oneself with, do with the object what one tends to do with it,’ e.g. *jara* ‘horse,’ *nojara* ‘ride a horse’; *oto* ‘car,’ *no’oto* ‘ride in a car’; *berei* ‘spouse,’ *noberei* ‘marry, be married’ (also in the sense of ‘marry each other, be married to each other,’ just as in our language); *buya* ‘sarong,’ *nobuya* ‘wear, put on a sarong’; *sigā* ‘headcloth,’ *nosigā* ‘wear, put on a headcloth’; *sakaya* ‘boat,’ *nosakaya* ‘travel by boat’; *jala* ‘net,’ *nojala* ‘fish with a net’; *pae* ‘rice,’ *nopae* ‘grow rice’; *panaguntu* ‘gun,’ *nopanaguntu* ‘go hunting with a gun’; *ladi* ‘knife,’ *noladi* ‘have a knife on one’s person’; *suli* ‘flute,’ *nosuli* ‘play on a flute’; *ana* ‘child,’ *noana* ‘have, get a child, bear young.’

Noasu, however, means not only ‘hunt with dogs,’ but also ‘keep a dog or dogs.’ Likewise *nojara*, *no’oto*, *nosakaya* can also mean ‘keep a horse, possess a car, have a boat.’

Forms which consist of *ne-* + noun mean ‘go out for, go fetch,’ e.g.:

taipa ‘mango,’ *netaipa* ‘go out for mangoes, go fetch mangoes.’

bau ‘fish,’ *nebau* ‘go out for fish, go fetch fish.’

lauro ‘rattan,’ *nelauro* ‘go fetch rattan.’

kayu ‘wood,’ *nekayu* ‘go fetch wood.’

By the nature of things, the number of these forms with *ne-* is not great.

3. It emerged above (III 2) that sometimes intransitive verbs are encountered which have the same form as the corresponding transitive, such as *nantanu* ‘weave.’ Such cases are, however, exceptional. Usually if a stem expresses a transitive notion, one finds a form with *na-* and the nasal (else *nompa-*, *nomba-*, see III 1) which is transitive, and a form with *no-* or *ne-* (without nasal) which is intransitive, e.g.: *nanteba* ‘chop, cut something from something,’ ‘hew’ (a boat), intransitive form *noteba*; *nanggoto* ‘cut through transversely,’ intransitive form *nokoto*; *nombaboba*, *nompaboba* ‘hit,’ intransitive form *neboba* (e.g. *ne meboba* ‘don’t hit!’).

Forms with *no-* are less clearly intransitive than those with *ne-*. They are often (just as the corresponding Malay forms with *běr-*) joined with an object, e.g. *noteba sakaya* ‘hew a boat,’ *nobeso kayu* ‘chop wood.’ In origin these forms are intransitive (just as with our compounded expression ‘wood-chop’ «houthakken»), and thus the appended [p. 13] noun is no object but only a further specification of the action, but in the present language this history is barely perceptible.

NOTE. Now and again *ne-* has a reflexive meaning, e.g. *negoli* ‘turn oneself around,’ stem *goli* ‘turn, spin.’

4. From what has been said above, it does not follow that of every intransitive verb which expresses a transitive notion, the prefix *no-* or *ne-* merely needs to be removed and

replaced by *na-* with nasal (else *nompa-*, *nomba-*) to obtain the corresponding transitive participle. There are a number of similar intransitive verbs with *no-* and *ne-* for which the transitive participle has respectively *nompo-* and *nompe-*,¹⁵ e.g. *nombayu* ‘pound’ (rice, etc.), transitive *nompombayu*; *nerapi* ‘ask, request,’ *nomperapi* ‘request something, ask for something’; *nekutana* ‘ask, inquire,’ *nompekutana* ‘interrogate someone’ or ‘inquire about something, ask something (in this sense).’

The intransitive forms *nombayu*, *nerapi*, etc. can, however, also be joined with an object (and thus actually occur as transitive) in the same way as mentioned in the conclusion of the preceding §, e.g. *nombayu dale* ‘pound corn,’ *nerapi ampu* ‘implore for mercy,’ *nekutana poboti* ‘ask about a wedding.’

IV. SUBSTANTIVE FORMS OF VERBS AND ADJECTIVES.

1. Of every verb, transitive or intransitive, of which there occurs a participial form (as emerges below, this is not always the case), a substantive form can be derived, of which the first consonant is *p*, occurring in place of the characteristic *n* or *m* of the participle. Apart from that, the participial and substantive forms are the same, as emerges from the following examples: *nerapi* ‘request,’ *perapina* ‘his request’; *nonturo* ‘sit,’ *ponturona* ‘his sitting’; *nalai* ‘go away,’ *palaina* ‘his leaving’; *nosimpatesi* ‘fight with each other,’ *posimpatesi* ‘fight, combat’; *nanggeni* ‘bring,’ *panggenina* ‘his bringing.’

The meaning of these substantive forms is very broad; besides the action itself, substantive forms can also indicate: the place (or time) of performance, sometimes also the object of the action (as in the given examples *perapi* and *panggoni*, or the instrument with which it is performed, as in *pomei* ‘fishing rod.’ [p. 14]

Of particular importance is the locative meaning: *ponturona* is thus not only ‘his sitting, his manner of sitting,’ but also ‘his sitting place, his living place’; *powia* is, apart from ‘working’ and ‘work,’ also ‘field’ (the ‘work place’ par excellence), etc.

NOTE. Forms such as *paturua* ‘sleeping place’ next to *naturu* ‘sleep,’ in which a locative suffix *-a* (Malay *-an*) is present, belong to an older period of the language.

2. Substantive derivations can also be formed from adjectives. These substantive forms, the so-called ‘abstracta,’ are distinguished in that they begin with the sound *k*, and thus, where every adjective has *na-* (*ma-*), this is replaced with *ka-*. Examples: *nambaso* ‘big,’ *kambasona* ‘the bigness of it’; *nandate* ‘long,’ *kandatena* ‘the length of it.’

¹⁵ [footnote 1, p. 13] Said another way: in this case the transitive participial form is not derived from the stem, but from the *p*-form (substantive form, see IV 1) of the intransitive verb (*pombayu*, *perapi*, etc.), preceding which *nom-* is added in the regular way.

Sometimes *ka-* is omitted, e.g. *kadeana* or *deana* ‘the quantity of it, the number,’ with *nadea* ‘many.’

The *ka-* form has the same meaning as the *p-*form of § 1, particularly the locative, e.g. *ne molipa ri kadaana*, *polipa ri kabelona*, literally ‘don’t go on the bad place of it, but go on the good place of it,’ ‘don’t go where (the way) is bad, go where (it) is good.’

NOTE. There are a number of words which we would tend to call ‘verbs,’ but which in Ledo must be considered to be adjectives, because their substantive form doesn’t begin with *pa-* but rather with *ka-*. An example is *nalau* ‘go,’ substantive form *kalau*, e.g. *ri umba kalaumu pangane?* ‘where are you going to just now?’ Other examples are *nanawu* ‘fall down,’ *nadungga* ‘fall over,’ *namate* ‘die,’ but also ‘dead,’ etc. Compare V 2 d Note 2 and the footnote.

The reverse also occurs, e.g. *nosulapa* ‘square,’ *neturusi* ‘docile.’

3. The above mentioned substantive forms, thus with *pa-*, *pe-*, *po-* and *ka-*, occur in imperative mood, thus:

palai iko risitu ‘get away from there.’

pesua tumai ‘come inside from there, come in here.’

kanawumo ri tangga itu ‘just fall off the ladder!’ (ironic).

The above applies, however, only of intransitive forms and adjectives. For transitive verbs, the stem is the imperative, e.g. *ala* ‘take it, fetch it,’ *keni* ‘bring it, take it with you,’ etc.

NOTE. Sometimes the usual future tense is used imperatively, see II 3. In the vetative mood one uses *ne* or *nee* with the future tense, e.g. *ne* or *nee motumangi* ‘don’t weep!’

4. In Ledo not very much remains of the so-called ‘substantive construction’ of Indonesian languages. Notice the syntax in cases such as:

lima-ndapa ndatena, *lima-njiku binana* (with omission of *ka-*) ‘five [p. 15] fathoms is the length of it, five yards is the depth of it.’

sapulu eona kasaena ‘ten days the length of it,’ ‘ten days long.’

berimbamo kalau miu ri madika? ‘how was your going to the *madika?*’, ‘how did your visit with the *madika* turn out?’

nasaemo pompalaisimu bereimu ‘a long time (ago) is your leaving of your wife,’ ‘you left your wife a long time ago’ (but *nipalaisimu bereimu* ‘you left your wife’).

narawamo pompeinta ntinana ‘clear became the looking (the sight) of his mother.’

kaganana sapulu mbulana noberei i Labusantana, literally, ‘there was a fullness of ten months Labusantana had been married,’ that is to say, ‘when Labusantana had been married ten months.’

jadi pangane hia, pantendeakana ngana hai, nikenimo mpoiri ‘then, (with) her throwing up of the child, it was carried away by the wind,’ that is to say, ‘when she threw the child up high (*nantendeaka*), he was carried away by the wind.’

kabongina ‘when it (*-na*) had become night (*nabongi*).’

The substantive construction thus consists herein, that a modifier on which emphasis falls is placed preceding as predicate, and that which in our language would be the predicate occurs after it as object, thus in substantive form. In such cases one must guard against [following] Dutch syntax. On the other hand, Dutch syntax is indeed followed back in cases such as the following, in which the ‘substantive construction’ would likewise be used in related languages:

maipia ratanda mata nu boti hai? ‘when will the date of the wedding be determined?’ (*boti* is actually the bridal couple, *poboti* the wedding).

ipia nosumomba kapala? (but also: *ipia posumomba nggapala?*) ‘when does the boat set sail?’

dopa nasae noana ia (also: *dopa nasae poanana*) ‘she gave birth not long ago.’

The substantive construction has been lost in the Ledo area particularly in sentences which contain a temporal expression.

5. Insight into the substantive construction is necessary in order to understand a phenomenon which can be called the ‘reversed substantive construction,’ and which consists of this, that in cases such as mentioned at the beginning of the preceding §, the substantive form, thus the *pa-*, *pe-*, *po-* or *ka-* form, is used as the basis (stem) of a transitive (conjugated) verb form.¹⁶ Thus the nominal or substantive constructions of the language thus develop into the usually verbal forms of European languages, but verbs originating in this way still contain traces of their origin. [p. 16]

Let us take as our example the short sentence *ri samaimo ponturona* ‘there was his living place, there he remained living.’ The emphasis in this sentence does not fall on the living, but on the place where this happens, thus on *ri samai* (and further strengthened through *-mo*), which is therefore placed in front, while the verb in substantive form (as object) follows after it. This sentence can also run: *ri samaimo niponturuna*, in which *ponturo* occurs as the stem of a transitive verb, and—entirely following the rules given in II 2—is

¹⁶ [footnote 1, p. 15] These verbs thus exhibit a certain similarity with those mentioned in III 4, but distinguish themselves therefrom in that they mostly don’t occur in the participial form (thus not in the form with *na-* and the nasal), which hangs together with the meaning.

supplied with a prefix *ni-* and a suffix *-na*. In this form the sentence is difficult to translate into Dutch. We could, in order to approximate the meaning, render *ri samai* ('there') with 'the place' and thus translate [the entire sentence as] 'the place he lived.' This, however, does some injustice to the meaning of *ri samai*, and the sense is thus actually only to be captured when we return to the original *ri samaimo ponturona*.

Other examples are:

ri umba mukalau? 'where are you going to?' (this can also be expressed as *hau ri umba iko?*)

ri umbamo kupangelo taipa? from **ri umbamo pangeloku taipa?* 'where should I, where must I look for mangoes?' (cf. *kuelo taipa* 'I will look for mangoes').

koi elo mboto untamu bara ri umba nipalaina (or: *palaina*) 'go and seek your camel yourself, wherever he has run away.'

nialakamo luna nipaturuna 'a cushion was fetched for him on which he laid himself to sleep' (from *luna paturuna* 'a cushion (which was) his place-of-sleeping'; the possessive pronoun is not expressed).

aga nitambuka uwe nipandiuna 'only water was bought for him to bathe in.'

kalakati rapobingga gula 'a *pinang* cutter'¹⁷ with which the (palm) sugar will be split' (from *pobingga gula* 'object for splitting sugar with.')

V. A FEW REMARKS CONCERNING THE PREFIXES.

1. The pattern for verbs and adjectives has been given above. For every transitive verb there occurs: the imperative,¹⁸ the conjugated forms (usual and future tenses), the participial forms (usual and future tense), and the substantive derivation; the same derivations occur with intransitive verbs and adjectives with the exception of the conjugated forms. The prefixes which now come up for discussion (and of these only the principle ones [p. 17] are going to be named) fall entirely within that scheme, but must be considered separately, because they bring about alterations in the meaning of the root word, which can be captured in fixed formulas. I divide these into three groups.

¹⁷ [Translators' note: *pinang* is Malay for the areca palm, *Areca catechu* L. The endosperm of the areca nut is, of course, well known as one of the three main ingredients of a betel nut quid. However, the areca palm is not associated with sugar production, and what tool is meant by a *pinang* cutter or *pinang* shears (Ledo *kalakati*, Dutch 'pinangschaar') is unclear.]

¹⁸ [footnote 1, p. 16] For the plural of the imperative, see the annotations with story V.

2. In the first place to be mentioned are the prefixes *neki-*, *-peki-* (participial form *mompeki-*), *nosi-* and *nate-*, which are added preceding transitive stems.

a. *Neki-* mostly means ‘request to be ...-ed,’ e.g. *nekikeni* ‘request to be brought,’ *nekiala* ‘ask to be taken away,’ *nekieki* ‘request to be kissed,’ *nekiganggo* ‘ask to be picked up’ (as a child with outstretched arms), etc., from the stems *keni*, *ala*, *eki*, etc.

Neki-, however, is also intransitive with the *nompeki-* forms mentioned below, such as in *nekipowia sakaya* ‘request a boat to be made,’ *nekiala* ‘request to fetch.’ Cf. III 4.

NOTE. *Neki-* sometimes occurs with other than transitive stems, as in *nekinaasi* ‘ask for pity.’ Further, *meki-* is placed preceding participles of adjectives in the sense of ‘want,’ e.g. *mekimantanu* ‘want to weave.’

b. *Nompeki-* is the active counterpart of the passive *neki-*. It means ‘request to carry out on the object the action expressed by the stem which follows *neki-*,’ e.g. *nipekikenina* ‘he requested to bring it,’ *nipekialana* ‘he requested to get it,’ *rapekiala sampesuwuna* ‘they must go and get her brother (nephew, etc.),’ *nipekitaurakana kaliawo nte guma* ‘he had shield and sword brought down (*nantauraka*).’

NOTE. The element *peki-* is sometimes replaced by *tudu*, stem of *nantudu* ‘order, send it out,’ e.g. *nitudu-alana i Oro* ‘he sent for Oro,’ *aginamo ratudu-pokio pura* ‘well then, let them call them all.’

c. *Nosi-*, which is sometimes followed by a nasal, has a reciprocal meaning: *nosikapui* or *nosinggapui* ‘embrace each other,’ *nosibaga* ‘fight with each other,’ *nosilumba* ‘compete with each other, race against each other,’ *nosipatesi* or *nosimpatesi* ‘(try to) kill each other, fight against each other,’ *nosimpokono* or *nosipokono* ‘be fond of each other,’ *sura mposimpokono* ‘a letter of (*m*) mutual affection, a love letter,’ *nosipoberei* ‘have each other as spouse, be married to each other’ (*mompoberei* ‘have as spouse’), *nosikenggenisi pale* ‘hold each other by the hand’ (stem *kenggenisi* ‘hold fast’), etc.

NOTE 1. Now and again *nosi-* also occurs with other than transitive verb stems, e.g. *nosisala* ‘differ from each other,’ *nosintoto* ‘be located against each other,’ *nosimpotare* ‘mixed together,’ *nosinggarau* ‘be angry with each other’ (from *karau*, with *narau* ‘angry’), *nosinggabelo* [p. 18] ‘be good (*nabelo*) with each other,’ etc. etc. For *nasi-* see § 3a Note 1.

NOTE 2. Also *-posi-* (*nomposi-*) can occur, e.g. *nomposidai kaluku* ‘two coconuts joined to each other with a portion of the coir,’ *niposikandemo geira randua* ‘then (*-mo*) the two of them ate (it) up together.’ See also VI.

d. The forms with *nate-* are adjectives. In meaning this prefix corresponds with Malay *těr-*; this is found back in the syllable *te-*, while *na-* only occurs in that every adjective in Ledo must have the prefix *na-*, *ma-*, in order to express a tense distinction. When placed before transitive verb stems, it thus forms the ‘accidental’ passive past participle, which presents the concerned person or thing as having come into a particular condition without

foreknowledge, ‘by accident,’ under the influence of an external circumstance, or when no thought is given to an active person (animal, thing). They thus stand alongside the derivations with *ni-* (II 2), with which indeed an active person is brought to mind, even if not expressed. Examples are:

natelendu ‘withdrawn from view’ (stem *lendu*), *nateanggatakamo banua* ‘the house got lifted up’ (stem *anggataka*), *natekande* ‘eaten up (unintentionally, by accident),’ *natetaurakamo pae* ‘the rice has been brought down.’

NOTE 1. *Nate-* also occurs in derived, ‘accidental’ forms of non-transitive verb stems, e.g. *natekaja* ‘be frightened,’ or in non-passive meaning, e.g. *natetora ri* ‘happen to think about’ (*nantora* ‘think about’).

In a number of cases one finds *note-*, e.g. *notewulu* ‘spit.’ These forms are intransitive participles.

NOTE 2. Besides *nate-*, sometimes only the prefix *na-* occurs with transitive verb stems. The adjectives formed in this way are not past participles, but usual statives, which indicate the condition which can come about when the action expressed by the stem has taken place, but also just as well without it. Examples hereof are: *nabasaka* ‘loose, come loose’¹⁹ (*nombabasaka* ‘set loose’), *naaliaka* ‘removed, be out, be off,’ etc. (of things which were not affixed to that which they had been taken or pulled out of, off of, etc.), *natongga* idem (when a connection is broken) (with *nangaliaka* ‘take away,’ *nantongga* ‘take it off’), *nabingga* ‘split’ (stative, intransitive) (*nombabingga* ‘split in two’), etc. [p. 19]

3. A second group of prefixes occurs principally with intransitive verbs and adjectives. To be mentioned hereof are: the causative prefix *pa-*, *po-*, *pe-* (*nompa-*, *nompo-*, *nompe-*) and *neti-*.

a. The causative prefix occurs in three forms: *pa-*, *po-* and *pe-*. Which of these forms is used depends on the syllable which follows.

With adjectives, *nompa-* is added before the substantive form. One could thus say that in this case the prefix is *nompaka-*, provided one doesn’t lose sight of the fact that, as mentioned above, *ka-* is sometimes omitted. The causative meaning has differing nuances, as emerges in the following examples:

nompakagali ‘make clean (*nagali*).’

¹⁹ [footnote 1, p. 18] It is a peculiarity of Indonesian languages that the same verb or adjective can serve to express the performance of an action «het verrichten van een handeling» or being in a state «het verkeeren in een toestand», and of the *going* to perform an action «het *gaan* verrichten van een handeling» an action, respectively *coming* into a state «het *komen* in een toestand». It is especially because of this that what are adjectives in Ledo must so often be rendered as verbs in our language.

nompakambaso ‘make big (*nambaso*).’

pakabelo ruru ‘make it right’ or ‘wait first until he is better.’

nompakatasa ‘let ripen’; *pakatasa ruru taipa* ‘wait first until the mangoes are ripe.’

pakadii sakide ‘pull it tight!’

Some of these forms have an intransitive meaning, e.g. *pakabelo* ‘take care’ (literally, ‘see to it that it is good’), *pakabelo manawu* ‘take care that you don’t fall,’ *pakamosu risii* ‘come here close by,’ *nemo mompakarapa tumai* ‘don’t come near, don’t come close to me.’

NOTE 1. In the combinations *nompasi-* and *nompasa-*, *-ka-* is usually omitted, e.g. *nompasinjori* ‘lay, place oneself next to,’ *nompasinjorika* ‘lay, place next to’ (*nosinjori* ‘next to each other,’ *sinjoriku* ‘that which is located next to me,’ *ri sinjoriku* ‘next to me’); *nompasirapa* ‘put against each other (*nosirapa*)’; *nompasintuwu* ‘make evenly long,’ also ‘place, lay oneself next to’ (literally ‘measure oneself against’); the stem *tuwu* means ‘measure’); *nompasanggani nantaa* ‘stake in one turn’ (of money); *nompasantibo* ‘make into one heap (*santibo*), heap up’; etc.

NOTE 2. In a number of old words, *pa-* is added immediately before the stem, e.g. *nompakande* ‘give to eat’ (stem *kande* ‘eat’), *nompainu* ‘give to drink, water’ (stem *inu* ‘drink’), *nompatuwu* ‘feed, care for, keep’ (of domesticated animals) (stem *tuwu* ‘live’). As one can see, some of these stems are transitive.

b. Nompo- is added before the substantive forms (*p*-forms) of intransitive verbs with *no-* or *na-*, e.g.:

nompopoberei ‘let marry,’ also ‘let marry to each other,’ from *noberei* (III 2). [p. 20]

nompopalai ‘order to go away, send away,’ also ‘set free (of an animal which one has in one’s hand, so that it can run away)’; e.g. *nasukamo pompopalaiku iko* ‘I have told you enough (often enough) that you must go away.’

Nompe- is added before the *p*-form of intransitive verbs with *ne-*, e.g. *nompepembangu* ‘make rise’ (*nembangu* ‘get up’), *nipepeongana balenggana* ‘he let his head emerge (*neonga*).’

NOTE. *Nompopa-* and *nompepe-* can, mostly in combination with the suffix *-ka*, also be attached to transitive verb stems and then form causatives with the meaning ‘make, let (a definite object) ... to (a specific person),’ e.g. *rapopokitaka kita* (or *rapepekitaka kita*) ‘they will show it to you,’ *rapepeintaka kita* (probably shortening of **rapepepeintaka kita*), idem, *nipopaisanika kita* or *nipepeisanika kita* ‘someone has informed you (polite).’ One also finds: *dopa nipaepeka kita?* ‘have you not yet been allowed to hear?’ which, however, could well be a shortening of *nipopaepeka*, which likewise occurs and is to be considered as more pure Ledo.

c. The meaning of *neti-* (a very rare prefix) may emerge from the following examples: *netidoyo* ‘intentionally present oneself as stupid, pretend to be stupid, make as if one is stupid (*nadoyo*),’ *netibobo* ‘pretend to be mute, make as if one is dumb, mute (*nabobo*),’ *netidungga* ‘allow oneself to fall on purpose,’ *netisae* ‘intentionally do something over and over for a long time (*nasae*).’

4. A third group of prefixes is places before nouns. Of these, *no-* and *ne-* have already been treated in III 2.

a. *Na-* can be placed before a group of words with the meaning ‘have the character of, be characterized by, supplied with, afflicted with,’ e.g. *nabugi* ‘afflicted with eczema «schubziekte» (*bugi*),’ *namari* ‘afflicted with a swollen spleen (*mari*),’ *nabisu* ‘afflicted with an abscess (*bisu*),’ *nawasa* ‘have a cold’ (literally ‘beset with mucus’), *nakarui* ‘thorny’ (*karui* ‘thorn’).

Another meaning of *na-* preceding nouns is treated in the annotations to story II.

b. *Nompo-* has the meaning of ‘have as, take as, use as,’ e.g. *nompoberei* ‘have, take as spouse’; *nomposakaya* ‘use as boat’; *dayo rapodayo ntuamana* ‘a grave which would serve as the grave of his father.’

If the noun is derived from an adjective (IV 2), then the meaning is at base the same as what was just mentioned above, but this source meaning has, according to circumstances, developed in different directions, e.g. *ledo nipobeloku pakuli hai*, literally ‘I did not have the medicine as (cause of) recovery (*kabelo*),’ that is to say ‘I have not gotten better (*nabelo*) from it’; *ledo nipobelona* [p. 21] *tona hai* ‘he is not on good standing with that man, he lives in enmity with him’; *nomporaus* ‘be angry (*narau*) with,’ *raposalana* ‘he will have it as fault,’ that is to say ‘he will be held at fault’; *nuapa niposusa nu raramu?* ‘why is your heart anxious?’

NOTE. Various of the mentioned prefixes can also occur with meanings other than the ones given above. Indeed, as emerges from what was said concerning *nompo-* (see above subsections 3b and 4b), more than once one encounters the same, homophonous elements which nevertheless are entirely different in origin and meaning.

VI. A FEW REMARKS CONCERNING THE SUFFIXES.

1. The most important suffixes encountered in Ledo are *-i*, *-aka* and *-ka*. The latter two have a common origin, but in practice this is of no concern.

It must be remarked about *-i* that often a consonant separates it from the stem to which it is attached. Sometimes the consonant is the original final consonant of the stem, as in *nantangisi* ‘weep for,’ Malay *měngangisi* (stem *tangis*), but in other cases not, e.g. *nangasuki* ‘hunt with dogs’ (stem *asu* [‘dog’], general Austronesian). Thus apparently

originate the suffixes *-si*, *-ki*, *-ti*, etc., but in actually one always has to do with the same suffix *-i*.

One also finds a similar ‘inserted sound’ «tusschenklank» with *-aka*, with which the suffix has apparently widened into *-raka*, *-taka*, *-saka*, *-maka*, etc., as in *nombanawusaka* ‘let fall to below,’ *nantenteraka* ‘lay out,’ *nantuntumaka* ‘follow,’ *nanjosobaka* ‘stick between somewhere,’ etc.

In other cases such a consonant is omitted, as in *nombamarisai* ‘rub with chili pepper (*marisa*),’ *nantadiaka* ‘throw away,’ *nantendeaka* ‘throw upwards,’ *nantuduaka* ‘show, point out.’

It must also be remarked about *-i* that it is sometimes not attached to the stem but to the substantive form (*p*-form) of a verb, e.g. *nompesaiki* ‘collect (a person), stop by in order to fetch (something),’ with *nesai* ‘pay a visit, stop by.’

In this short sketch, the meanings of *-i* and *-aka* are left out of consideration.

2. The suffix *-ka* is of a somewhat different character than *-i* and *-aka*. The latter two elements form—in combination with the word to which they are attached—a new concept (be it that this notion generally has a compounded character). This applies only exceptionally of *-ka*: as far as the meaning is concerned, as a rule this suffix stands by itself and does not become fused with the meaning expressed by the stem into a new notion. As emerges below, this also finds expression in the form. [p. 22]

That which was just said is a consequence of the meaning of *ka-*. In the main its meaning is threefold; it indicates:

- a. ‘to, for, on behalf of’
- b. ‘with respect to, with’ (especially with reciprocal forms)
- c. ‘through, owing to, on account of’

As far as form is concerned, the looseness of the connection between the suffix and the stem to which it is attached emerges primarily with the attachment of possessive suffixes (II 2). The following table illustrates this:

niulikana ‘he told (him it)’ (the two objects, ‘it’ and ‘him’ are not expressed, compare *niulikanamo tinana*: ... ‘he said to his mother: ...’).

niulika kami ‘we told (him it).’

niulikata ‘we (with inclusion of the one(s) spoken to) told (him it).’

niulika miu ‘you told (him it).’

niulikara ‘they told (him it).’

niulikuka ‘I told (him it).’

niulimuka ‘you told (him it).’

In the last two forms (those with *-ku* and *-mu*) one finds the order reversed: the possessive element is added first, immediately followed by *-ka*. This is not the case with *-kana*, etc.

Second, *ka* can also stand entirely free from the verb on which it depends,²⁰ or even occurs entirely independently without any verb or adjective. In this case it always has the meaning of ‘to, for, on behalf of,’ as in the following examples:

ka iaku sanu or *ka aku* (said *kaku*) *sanu* ‘a portion is set apart for me’ or ‘give me whatever’ (in the latter meaning also *mai sanu*, *mai kaku sanu*).

ka iko sanu ‘a portion is set aside for you.’

ka ia sanu ‘a portion is set aside for him.’

ka kami sanu ‘a portion is set aside for us.’

ka kita sanu ‘a portion is set aside for us (or: for you, polite)’

ka komiu sanu ‘a portion is set aside for you all (or: you, polite)’

ka geira sanu ‘a portion is set aside for them’

NOTE. Actually, no objection is to be brought against the spelling *kaku* in place of *ka aku*. It can give rise to unclarity only when *kaku* is attached to the end of a verb form, e.g. *nuapa ntoto nitagimukaku hilau mandiu ri karona?* ‘for what reason (literally ‘for what’) do you still prevent me from going to bathe in the Palu River?’, in which *aku* is object of *nitagimu* and *-ka* (‘for, because of’) goes back to *nuapa* ‘what.’ The spelling in two words *nitagimuka aku* would thus be more clear, but this [p. 23] inadequately represents the pronunciation, because the two *a*’s following each other are contracted into a single *a*.

Examples of *ka* as an independent preposition, but with accompanying verb, are:

nikeninamo hau ka i Bungko-bungko ‘he brought them thither to Bungko-bungko.’

niuliku ka tinaku, the same as *niulikuka tinaku* (see above) ‘I told it to my mother.’

dopa niulina ka tinana, the same as *dopa niulikana tinana* ‘he has not yet told it to his mother.’

It can even happen that a suffix *-ka* gets reduplicated again in independent form, apparently because its meaning as a subpart of an entire verb form is no longer sufficiently powerful, e.g. *nipepeisanika ka kita* = *nipepeisanika kita* (V 3 b Note); *niulikaku ka*

²⁰ [footnote 1, page 22] This is still not the case with *niulikuka*, etc., as emerges from the stress.

tinaku (see above) ‘I told it to my mother’; *niulika kami ka ia* ‘we told it to him.’ In this case one does not find *-kaku* and *-kamu* transposed to *-kuka* and *-muka*.

Likewise entirely in connection with the loose connection between *-ka* and the word to which it is attached, is that when this word is an intransitive verb or adjective, it remains entirely unaltered, e.g.:

nabiaka suana ‘he is brave (*nabia*) because of his own surroundings, because he is in his own surroundings’ (said of a rooster).

nobereika ‘marry with.’

nosimpagoka ‘try to trick each other.’

Nevertheless, one also finds cases in which—just as emerges with some of the above *-i* derivations—an entirely new transitive stem is formed, which consists of a substantive form + *-ka*, e.g. *nomporiapuka* (the same as *noriapuka*) ‘cook for (someone),’ from *noriapu* ‘cook.’ It is clear that when conjugated forms must be made of such compounds with *-ka* (which, for example, is not possible with *nobereika*, since a form **nipobereikana* would mean the same as *nipobereina*, see V 4 b), nothing other than the just mentioned stem (substantive form + *-ka*) can occur, thus *nuapa nikasugikana?* ‘how has he become rich?’, *nuapa nikabiamuka?* ‘how is that you are so brani?’²¹ Forms such as *noriapuka* thus actually stand in a single line with those mentioned at the conclusion of III 4, with the understanding that the participles of the longer stems (such as *nomporiapuka*) are not always encountered because one can make do with the shorter forms.

NOTE. In the reciprocal forms with *-ka*, we make do in Dutch with a somewhat simpler expression than what Ledo does, e.g. *nosintomuka* ‘have a reciprocal meeting with,’ that is to say, ‘meet (someone or something),’ *nosipatesika* ‘fight, make warfare with.’ [p. 24]

VII. A FEW REMARKS CONCERNING THE NUMERALS.

1. The cardinal numbers occur in two forms, independent and compounded. The latter consist of a short form of the numeral under consideration, followed by a ‘numeral auxiliary’ or ‘measure word.’ The latter sorts of words are very numerous.

From one to ten, the forms which occur in compounds run: *sa-*, *rua-*, *tal-*, *pata-*, *lima-*, *ono-*, *pitu-*, *walu-*, *sio-*, *sapulu-* (for the independent forms, see the wordlist).

Whenever the ‘numeral auxiliary’ or ‘measure word’ begins with a *k*, *p*, *t* or *s*, then the numeral is usually followed by a nasal, which naturally with *k* is fused into *ngg* and with *s* into *nj* (I 3), e.g. *sanggaku* ‘a handful’ (stem *kaku* ‘grasp by the handful’), *rua-njiku* ‘two yards’ (stem *siku* ‘elbow’). Exceptions to this rule are, among others: *sapulu* (10),

²¹ [Translators’ note: Malay *berani* ‘brave’.]

ruapulu (20), etc. (cf. Malay *sěpuluh* etc.), and *sakuya* ‘how many,’ from *sa* + *kuya*, a word which is not encountered alone and which has the meaning ‘what’ (compare *nangguya* ‘do what to?’, *kukuyamo iko?* ‘what shall I do to you?’, *nokuya* ‘do what?’, *mokuya iko?* ‘what do you want to do?’, *nompokuya* ‘do what with, what is it used for?’, *mupokuya dopi itu?* ‘what will you use this plank for?’)

A nasal sometimes also occurs before an initial *b* and *d*, e.g. *talū mbula* ‘three months,’ from *bula* ‘moon, month’; *sakuya-mbongi* ‘how many nights,’ from *bongi* ‘night’; *pata-ndapa* ‘four fathoms,’ stem *dapa*.

A peculiarity of Ledo and its close relations is that in a number of cases the above mentioned nasal remains preserved, even though not standing in compound relationship with a numeral. In this way thus originate new words, with a nasal at the beginning, e.g. *mbula* ‘month’ (as a measure of time, e.g. *nagana mbulana* ‘her months were fulfilled’), *mpae* ‘year’ (id.; *paē* is ‘rice’; the actual meaning of *sampae* is ‘a rice period,’ ‘a rice year’), *ntapi* ‘layer.’

The above mentioned ‘measure words’ often consist of the stem of a verb, the meaning of which lends itself thereto, e.g. *sabingga* ‘a half’ (split along its length), stem *bingga* ‘split’; *sanggoto* ‘a piece cut off crosswise,’ stem *koto* ‘cut through crosswise,’ etc.

Of the numeral auxiliaries (which are amply known from the grammar of Malay), the word *angu* deserves special mention, because when it is compounded with *sa-*, thus in the form *sangu* (actually *saangu*), it takes the place of the nonexistent independent numeral for ‘one.’ Its meaning, which can be approximately rendered as ‘piece,’ lends itself thereto very well. *Sangu*, however, must not be used when idiomatic usage requires another numeral auxiliary. Thus for persons one usually uses *saito* (= *sěorang*) and of small animals *sambaa*, *ruambaa*, etc. For cutting objects one says *samata*, etc., e.g. *taono samata* ‘a machete.’ Also *angu* can be joined with other [p. 25] numerals, thus *ruangu* (*ruaangu*) ‘two pieces,’ *taluanu* ‘three pieces,’ etc. *Ruaito*, etc. however are not used; instead the full forms *randua*, *tatalu*, etc. are used.

The compounded forms above ten run:

sapulu (bo) sa-, *sapulu (bo) rua-*, etc. (mostly without *bo*), *ruapulu-* (twenty), *ruapulu bo sa-*, etc. *talupulu-*, etc., *saatu-* (100), etc. *saatu sapulu bo sa-*, *satu bo sapulu sa-* (111), etc., *ruaatu-* (200), *sanjobu-* (1000), etc. *sariwu-* (10,000), etc. The independent forms hereof are similar except for the last element (*randua* in place of *rua-*, *tatalu* in place of *talū-*, etc.).

NOTE 1. Notice the difference between *sanjakaya* ‘a boatful’ and *sangu sakaya*, which can also have this meaning, but usually means ‘a boat,’ etc. (but *nosanjakaya kami hilau* means ‘we went in one boat’).

NOTE 2. The above mentioned words for ‘one’ are only used when establishing that one actually has to do with no more than one individual or exemplar. Unfortunately, Dutch and

other European languages possess two words, 'one' «een», a numeral and an indefinite article (an) «'n», with the consequence that many Europeans have the tendency that everywhere that the indefinite article 'an' «een» occurs, to render this in Indonesian languages with a numeral. At the slightest provocation, they use *sangu*, *saito* or *sambaa*, and in Volapük Malay²² *satu*, when these words are entirely out of place. As a rule, their native subordinates walk diligently in their footsteps. Avoiding this error is of great importance.

2. The ordinal numbers are formed by prefixing *ka-* and suffixing *-na* after an independent or compounded numeral, e.g. *karanduana* 'the second,' *karuangganina* 'the second time.' Sometimes a suffix *-ka* is encountered, e.g. *kapitungganikana* 'the seventh time.' This *-ka* also occurs in other cases, but specifying its meaning can be left out of consideration.

²² [Translators' note: Volapük is an artificial language based on English, French, German, Latin, and other languages developed by Johann Schleyer in the 1880's. The reference here to a Volapük Malay is sarcastic.]