

Napu stories, with translation and notes

by
P. ten Kate

edited by
Nicolaus Adriani

translated by
Anneke de Vries

2015

**Sulang Language Data and Working Papers:
Translations from the Dutch, no. 10**



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

LANGUAGES

Subject language : Napu
Language of materials : English, Napu

DESCRIPTION

In the article the author presents three short folktales in Napu, a Badaic language of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. Two of the stories concern the death of the mythic figure Buriro, while the third is the tale of a man who accidentally killed his wife. Each story is accompanied by an English translation and notes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Buriro; 2. Fight of Bantawata and Buriro; 3. The couple; References.

SOURCE

Kate, P. ten. 1919. Napoe-sche verhalen, met vertaling en aantekeningen, uitgegeven door N. Adriani. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 63:45–59. Original pagination is indicated by enclosing the page number in brackets, e.g. [p. 45].

VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [30 June 2015] Translated into English November 1989, keyboarded with minor edits April 2004, formatted for publication June 2015.

Original Napu texts are in the public domain. English translation
© 1989–2015 by Anneke de Vries, All Rights Reserved.

Napu Stories¹

with translation and notes by P. ten Kate, (E.'s son),
Missionary-Teacher of the Dutch Missionary Society
edited by N. Adriani

In what follows below, the missionary-teacher P. ten Kate, who lived among the To Napu from 1909 until 1917,² gives material for studying Napu, just as he had done before in Volume LV (1911), pp. 391–416, LVII (1913) pp. 35–55, LIX (1915) pp. 65–79. More information about Napu is found in Part 3 of *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden Celebes*, pp. 116–127.

The story of Buriro below was given to Ten Kate by *nTaroi*, a Napu schoolboy. In the notes, some mistakes of this storyteller are corrected. Mr. Ten Kate provided the contents of the notes; I have altered their form a little, because the Author hadn't intended them for publication. Certain additions by my own hand are marked (Adr.).

1. Buriro

Hangkoia ara hadua tauna, hangana Buriro. Bitina i hambali i Wawowula, hambali i Mungku. Nodo-nodo pea kai, mopakala seo de tauna, napoopa i tahi, mangala kareue.	Formerly there was a man, his name was Buriro. His one leg stood on (the mountain) Wawowula, his other on Mungku. Continuing like that (in that posture), he caught people, they say, as if they were frogs, and used them a bait in the sea to catch crocodiles.
---	---

Napeita kai nTalinga, ina opemi tauna napoopa Buriro. Kamainami kai nTalinga nauli: Apa andeamu? Mehanai Buriro: Kareue pea andeaku.	Then nTalinga saw, they say, that the people on earth would run low, as they were used as bait by Buriro. After nTalinga had come to him, he said: What is your food? Buriro answered: [p. 46] Only crocodiles are my food.
---	--

¹ [translator's note: I would like to thank David Mead for offering amendments to an earlier version of this translation. The footnotes are primarily his responsibility.]

² [translator's note: The author, P. ten Kate, worked among the Napu from September 1909 until November 1917 and died the following year at the age of thirty-six (Adriani 1919:32). This article was published posthumously.]

Napekune nTalinga: Matama andeamu?
 Kanaandenami nTalinga nauli: Oi, bara wei
 matama andeamu. Mehanai wori Buriro:
 Apa andeamu? Mehanai nTalinga: Andeaku
 bara apa-apa pea, watu pea. Mehanai
 Buriro: Matama?

Then nTalinga asked: Is your food nice?
 After nTalinga had eaten he said: Yuck,
 your food is not nice. Buriro answered:
 What is your food? nTalinga answered
 again: My food is nothing other than stones.
 Buriro answered: Is it nice?

Kanatununami nTalinga watu bula haogu.
 Kamawaanami, kanaulinami nTalinga:
 Penganga! Kapengangana Buriro,
 kanahupinami nTalinga, nanawo i ngangana.
 Kangugu-ngugumi kai i taina.

Then nTalinga roasted a white stone. When
 it had become red, nTalinga said: Open
 your mouth. When Buriro opened his
 mouth, nTalinga took that stone between a
 pair of tongs and dropped it in his mouth.
 The stone made, they say, bubbling in his
 stomach.

Liu kai pitu wengina, matemai Buriro.

After seven nights, they say, Buriro was
 dead.

Notes

Buriro and *nTalinga* are mythical figures. In Bada', *Buriro* is a god whom the garden priest calls upon at the beginning of planting, to make what is planted successful. In the Napu village Peore there is a stone with a human face (without mouth) on it, which is named Buriro and which is honored. Others say that Buriro, Singkana, Bantawatu and nTalinga were only people like us, except bigger.

The Napu told the following stories to me (Adr.) about nTalinga and Singkana:

“nTalinga and his mother went to buy rice in Besoa; for fifty pieces of sago roofing thatch they bought a large pig and one hundred bundles of rice. When they arrived at the point where the Urama and the Tawaelia flow together (on the way from Besoa to Napu, not far from Besoa), they stayed there one night. In the morning his mother had vanished. Guessing that she had been stolen by the water spirits, nTalinga pulled a *polo*-stem out of the ground and hit the surface of the water seven times where the rivers flow together; [p. 47] The water streamed away, and from the dry bottom his mother appeared. She told that she had been stolen by the water spirits, who had brought her into their house. But now that her son had brought her back, he had to carry her: she didn't want to walk. He carried his mother on his back, together with all his other stuff, but when he got home, he put her in the house, pounded and cooked the 100 bundles of rice, and ate them, with the whole pig as dessert. His mother became angry that nothing had been left for her, and vanished: she let the wind blow her away. When nTalinga could not find his mother any more after a long time of searching for her, he wanted to be dead. He dressed nicely in order to arrive in the realm of the spirits in an appropriate way. He went between a herd of buffaloes. There he was knocked dead and eaten by the buffaloes.”

“Singkana’s village Salodo in Napu was once surrounded by people from Besoa. Singkana fought against them on his own, just him, killing 1000 and setting the other half to flight. Five days later he went to take his revenge on them, but he lost his amulet and the bell³ that hung on his sword, so he was only able to take two heads. After he had had a feast for that, he returned to find what he had lost. The Besoa people also had a feast. He hung his scabbard in the temple, so that it looked as if he was without a sword. But he had put his sword in a bamboo tube and when they asked him: What is inside? he answered: Water to drink. In the evening he sat at the table with them, but he threw all the food through the floor, because, if he had eaten it, he would not be allowed to consider the Besoa people enemies. When they slept, he lit a torch, found his lost things by the light of it, put them on, took his sword from the bamboo container, and started hacking away. 100 people were killed by him. But now he was followed and he fled. When he came to the Tawaelia River, he jumped over it, and so they couldn’t follow him anymore. Now the To Bada’ helped, they besieged the village of Salodo, but Salodo made a sally and killed 2000 To Bada’. When the To Bada’ asked for peace, they had to pay 400 *lombe*⁴ of gold.” [p. 48]

These are thus the usual hero stories, such as the To Napu also tell about their national hero *Guma ngkoana* (Adr.).

Hangkoia or *hangko ia* ‘formerly,’ a stronger word for it is *iao*.

Hadua, compound from *ha-*, the prefix for ‘one’ with *dua*, a classifier for counting people; this word is only compounded with *ha-*, for example *haduduana* ‘completely alone,’ *haduduanguku* ‘just me, by myself,’ and with *ro-* (two), for example *roduduanda* ‘the two of them.’ It is not used of more than two; ‘three people’ is *talutauna*. *Dua* also occurs in Bada’, Besoa, Kulawi, Lindu and Pipikoro as a classifying numeral. It is possible that *sadua* or *hadua* originated by analogy from *rodua* ‘two,’ a reduplicated form which nevertheless sounds as if it were composed of *ro-*, prefixed numeral, and *dua*, classifying numeral. That may be why only *hadua* and *rodua* are used in the languages mentioned. Likewise Pipikoro also has *hameha* and *romeha* for ‘one, two pieces,’ in which *meha* = *mesa* is an *um* form of the numeral *isa*, which here too has been considered a classifier.

Other classifiers in Napu are: *-bua*, for general things; *-peka*, for flat things; *-ogu* for round things; *-tepe* for cubical blocks of gambier; *-dolo*, for rolled up things; *-kau*, for long things; *-tere*, for things standing in rows; *-tobu*, for things which have been piled into heaps. In the singular and the dual, the numeral prefixes *ha-* and *ro-* are attached before the stem of these words, the further numerals do not have prefix forms and don’t form a compound with the classifier, but the latter is followed by the third person pronominal suffix, thus *hambua*, *rombua*, *talubua*, etc. These constructions are indeed equivalent.

³ [translator’s note: Dutch *klokje*, but the usual meaning ‘small clock, watch’ is not supported in this context.]

⁴ [translator’s note: Compare Pamona *lombe* ‘shaft of a feather, especially that of the *alo*-bird, in which gold was kept’ (originally meaning ‘hollow in which to lay something’), *wuyawa salombe* ‘a quill full of gold’ (Adriani 1928:405).]

The prenasalization originates from *anu* or *nu*, which is an article of the following word. And *-na* is that too; *mbua* is thus equivalent to *buana*. (Adr.)

Tauna ‘person’ has already been mentioned in Vol. 59, page 76 of this journal, among the words which always occur with the suffix *-na* (one typing mistake there is *touna*). [p. 49]

Hanga ‘name’ keeps its original *s* in the form *kahasangana* ‘namesake,’ because the sequencing of two *h*’s is avoided. Similar forms are: *hasiu* ‘one yard’ (*hiu* ‘elbow’), *hasoi* ‘a spoonful’ (*hoi* ‘spoon’). Here the numeral *ha-* is prefixed, but in the reduplicated form the *h* is unchanged, e.g. *mohimada* ‘to associate as friends (*mada*)’; *hihimbela* ‘be similar to each other’; in these cases one also hears *sisimada* and *sisimbela*.

Wawowula is the name of the eastern mountain to the north of the mountain *Sadanga*. *Wawowula*, which means ‘above the moon,’ can be considered the reverse of our [Dutch] expression *ondermaansch* [‘earthly, terrestrial,’ literally ‘under the moon’]. It is strange that this ‘above the moon’ is the land of souls, or rather: is one of soul places of the To Napu. Others are: *Kapepea* ‘the plain, the level,’ *Tineba* ‘that which has been supplied with stairs.’

Wawowula or *Wawo wula* can also mean ‘the mountain Wula,’ or ‘Moon Mountain.’ (Adr.)

Mungku (‘mountain’) is the name of one of the western mountains which bounds the Napu area. *Buriro* is thus a giant who can cover the breadth of Napu (5 or 6 hours walking) in one step.

Nodo-nodo: the reduplicated form of this word for ‘thus, like that’ means that it was *Buriro*’s habit to do like that. *Nodo* ‘like that’ and *node* ‘like this’ have already been discussed in *Mededeelingen* LIX, page 78. The formative *no* of these words is equivalent to Bare’e *ewa* ‘like, as,’ e.g. *node* ‘like this,’ Bare’e *ewase’i*; *nodo* ‘like that,’ Bare’e *ewasetu*; *noumba?* ‘how?’, Bare’e *ewambe’i?* I have never encountered *no* independently.

mopakala: etymologically it would be more correct to write *mopakaala*. The root is *ala*; *mo-* and *paka-* are prefixes. The Bada’ say *mopaka’ala*. In Napu an original *aa* has been shortened to *a*; no difference is to be heard between *taala* ‘we take it’ and *tala* ‘bamboo.’ *Mala* ‘caught’ should thus be written as *maala*, but it is pronounced as *mala*. (Bare’e, which otherwise retains *aa*, has *maya* and not *maaya*. Adr.)

seo is a kind of small frog. Other kinds of frogs are *tumpe* (large kind) and *tongke* (tree frog). [p. 50]

de, which follows after *seo*, is not entirely clear to me. If it were *node seo tauna*, then it could mean: catch people as frogs. Perhaps *node* was formerly separated into: *no seo de tauna*.

opa ‘bait’ which fishermen use. Another meaning is not known to me.

kareue ‘crocodile’ originates from Bare’e, where it runs *kariue*. It means ‘water animal’; *riue* is ‘in the water’ and *ka-* is (next to *ta-*) a very common prefix for the names of plants and animals. Next to *kariue* stands *kakaju* ‘jungle animal,’ which is used as a modifier of animal names to indicate the wild sort, e.g. *manu kakaju* ‘jungle hen,’ *wawu kakaju* ‘wild pig.’ Perhaps this *ka-* is indeed present in *kapuna*, Bada’, Tawaelia ‘crocodile,’ Bentenan, Siau (dialect of Sangir), Gorontalo (*apula*) ‘dog.’ The crocodile is ‘the hound’ of the gods; they send him to people who have to be killed or punished, just as a hunter sends his dog. Probably ‘dog’ is the original meaning of the word. *Kariue* has without doubt been borrowed from Bare’e, because *ri ue* in Napu is *i owai*. In Bare’e it is also a replacement word, and in Napu there are no crocodiles. (Adr.)

napeita is prefixed by *pe-* which indicates a trying or attempting. As such it is also an honorific prefix: *mai kupeala* ‘I come to try and take it’ is more modest than *mai kuala* ‘I come take it’; *mai kupeita tomboku* ‘I come to try and see my wages’ is the usual expression of someone who has come to ask for his wages, thus in other words, ‘at your pleasure may I see my wages?’

kai which was also already encountered in the third sentence of this short tale, is to be translated with ‘he says.’ Tawaelia (spoken in the northern part of Napu) have *kari*.

ina opemi literally means ‘it was already finished.’ An incident which one sees coming, and concerning which one would sound a warning, one states it as if it had already happened, in order from this standpoint to make others see how precarious it should be if it should ever be like that. A Bare’e speaker will, for example, urge his travel companions to hurry up in the morning with the words, *da mawengimo* ‘it shall already be dark,’ namely before we arrive where we want to. [p. 51] Apart from that, *da* and *mo* in Bare’e, and *ina* and *mi* in Napu, are mutually exclusive, because in general *da* indicates the future, *mi* the preterit.

kamainami, the nominal form of *mai* with suffix *-na* and enclitic *mi*, originally indicated that the ‘coming’ was already finished. The translation is thus ‘After (he) had come.’ This construction is very common in Napu, such as for example is to be seen in the remainder of this text and in the stories to follow. In present-day Napu, however, this form has a past tense meaning, so that here one could also translate it ‘Then he arrived.’

andea, from the stem *ande*, from *kande* ‘eat’; the initial *k-* has been lost in all forms in Napu; in Makasarese *kande*, *kanre*, Palu *kandea* (food), Duri, Sa’dan, Mandar *kumande* the full form still occurs. Napu *andea* has the suffix *a(n)*; it is a passive participle, to be translated as ‘what is eaten’; usually it means ‘rice,’ but it can also indicate ‘food,’ such as beer.

mehanai ‘answer, reply,’ stem *hana*, Bare’e *sono*, with prefix *me-* and suffix *-i*.

pea ‘merely, only,’ perhaps to be equated with Bare’e *podo* ‘merely’ and *pada* ‘ready, finished,’ cf. *wa’anya* which means not only ‘all, everything,’ but also ‘only, not more than, nothing more further.’ *Pea* must originate from *paya*, and further back *pada*. (Adr.)

napekune ‘he asked for (information),’ *naperapi* ‘he asked for (seeking to get something)’

matama, Tawaelia *matomo* ‘nice, tasty’; *katama-tamana* ‘at its nicest,’ a typical Napu expression for indicating the time of 8 a.m., as the sun has risen and it begins to be nicely warm in cold Napu. Another word for ‘nice’ is *mapea*, which is said of morsels such as pork, which glide down the throat. It is also sometimes used maliciously, by someone who finds it ‘nice,’ when someone has had some or another accident.

wei, see *Mededeelingen* LIX (1915), page 78.

wori ‘also,’ thus synonymous with Bare’e *wo’u*.

motunu ‘to roast,’ for example as one does to corn.

modaka ‘to cook,’ Bare’e *jaka*, Minahasan *rakan*, *dakan*. [p. 52]

monahu ‘cook in water,’ *mopewo* ‘cook in bamboo,’ *moumpalo* ‘roast in ashes.’

bula is an adjectival noun which has no prefix *ma-* in front of it, such as is also the case with *bilo* ‘blind,’ *bongo* ‘deaf,’ *langa* ‘afraid,’ *tinda* ‘quiet,’ *koi* ‘small,’ *wou* ‘new.’

kamawaanami; here the entire word *mawaa* ‘red’ (in Napu very nearly lost), is supplied with the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-na*, as had also been done with conjugated verb forms, e.g. in this story *kanatununami*. When two such forms immediately follow each other, it means that the one is barely finished than the other is already following it.

penganga ‘open your mouth, yawn,’ *penganga mbulangi* ‘open your mouth wide,’ stem *nganga* ‘mouth opening, interior of the mouth.’

hupi, Bare’e *supi*, Malay *sēpit*, is the name of a pair of tongs used in the smithy.

konggugu-nggugu, also *kongu-nguu*, is an onomatopoeic word, with which the rumblings of the intestines are indicated.

2. Poiwalinda Bantawatu hai Buriro.

Moiwalihe Bantawatu hai Buriro.
Hidupape, mombealamohe i nTiniwini.

Roomohe mombeala indo, matemai Buriro;
matemai Buriro, nabata Bantawatu.

Roomo ido, masulemohe Bantawatu,
masulemi mai i paidaanda.

2. Fight of Bantawatu and Buriro.

Bantawatu and Buriro waged a fight. When they met each other, they grabbed hold of each other at nTiniwini.

After they had grabbed onto each other, Buriro died, beaten by Bantawatu.

When it was over, Bantawatu and those with him returned hither to their living place.

Notes

The above is a different account of the death of Buriro than was given in the preceding story. Buriro was beaten by Bantawatu, an indication that the latter was in the right versus the former. [p. 53]

Poiwalinda is *poiwali* ‘fight’ (Bare’e *po’iwali*) with the third person plural suffix *-nda*, that is, *-ra*, the short form of *i hira* ‘they’ (from *sira*), with inserted nasal. The *r* of *ra*, *sira*, is subject to the R-L-D rule.⁵ Napu has *r* in place of this sound, likewise Javanese *r*, Bare’e *y*, Malay *d*, thus: Napu *pare*, Javanese *pari*, Bare’e *pae* (from *payay*), Malay *padi* ‘rice in the shell,’ so also Napu *hira*, Old Javanese *sira*, Bare’e *si’a* (from *siya*) and *sira* (archaic form), Malay *-da*, in *anakda*, ‘their child,’ majestic plural for *anaknya* ‘his child,’ with the meaning of ‘His Grace’s child, His Highness’s child,’ thus ‘the prince, the princess.’ From this form *nda*, which this suffix frequently has in Malay, e.g. *bunda*, *kakanda*, *ayahanda*, *anakanda*, *sahayanda*, *adinda*, it appears that Malay also had the inserted nasal with the attachment of the pronominal suffix. In *poiwalinda*, *-nda* is the indicator of the genitive. If a person’s name occurs in the genitive, thus as a modifier it follows the word which it modifies, then the latter takes *-na* if only one name follows, and *-nda* if further proper names follow as modifiers (thus in the genitive), e.g. *ahena Soli* ‘Soli’s machete,’ *darana Peando* ‘Peando’s horse,’ *baulanda Rutu hai Ngela* ‘Rutu and Ngela’s buffalo.’ See in this journal Vol. 59, pp. 75, 76.

moiwalihe consists of the participle *mowali* and the enclitic *he*, the third person plural pronoun in its enclitic form. *Moiwalihe* thus means ‘they fought’; in what follows one finds: *hidupahe* ‘when they met each other,’ and *mombealamohe* ‘they grabbed onto each other.’ See the previously cited article on page 71. In the last sentence one finds *masulemohe Bantawatu* ‘they returned back, Bantawatu,’ from which it appears that ‘Bantawatu and his companions’ are intended.

hidupa, from *sidupa*, stem *dupa* ‘meet,’ Buginese *sidupa*. Other forms in Napu are *medupa* ‘go to meet,’ e.g. a relative who returns from afar, *pedupa* ‘gift which the one returning from afar brings with him for his relatives.’ Just as in Bare’e, Napu seldom uses the prefix *hi-* (*si-*) for the reciprocal form. Examples are: *himada* ‘friend (male, female),’ *higulu* ‘gathered,’ *hintuwu* ‘live in peace with each other,’ [p. 54] *hinuntu* ‘stand in a queue,’ *higalo* ‘mixed.’ The usual prefix of the reciprocal form is *mombe-*, just as in Bare’e, e.g. *mombeala* ‘take hold of each other,’ *mombepoadi* ‘be brothers and sisters of each other,’ *mombepokaahi* ‘love each other,’ *mombepapate* ‘kill each other,’ *mombeusu-usu* ‘lie on each other in layers,’ *mombedii* ‘pull each other.’ New words are also formed with this prefix.

⁵ [translator’s note: The “R-L-D rule” is in fact not a ‘rule’ but rather a recognition, first made in print by Van der Tuuk (1864), of the frequent correspondence of *r* in Javanese, *l* in Tagalog, and *d* in Malay, as seen for example in the middle consonant of Javanese *irung*, Tagalog *ilong* and Malay *hidung* ‘nose.’]

nTiniwini; the location of this place is not known. The name can mean: ‘cleared off land, piece of ground where the forest has been cleared off,’ from the stem *tiwi*, *motiwingi* ‘fell trees,’ Malay *těbang*; *nTiniwini* thus stands for *nTiniwingi*.

indo; in “The Pronouns,”⁶ page 77, *indo* ‘there’ is said to be old fashioned, and compounds are mentioned where it still occurs. Here is thus an example of the independent occurrence of this deictic adverb. In the next sentence the demonstrative *ido* ‘this, that’ also occurs.

mosule, a form with the seldom encountered prefix *mo-*; also *mesule* occurs in the same meaning. Next to the form *sule* occurs *kule*, which has the particular meaning ‘reversed, upside down, inside out.’

paidaanda, from the stem *ida* ‘live,’ formed with the suffix *-a* as locative suffix, still very usual in Napu. Examples are: *pokarajaa* ‘place of performing corvée labor,’ *pogorea* ‘baking pan,’ both derived from Malay words: *kěrja* and *goreng*; *podakaa* ‘cooking place’; *Pobohoa*, name of a place where formerly people’s heads were cut off (*meboho*).

3. To Hamboko

Nodo pea hai dia: Roomohe kai ratauna do to hamboko, kalaondami kai menahe i pandulu.

Hawemohe kai i tampaka pada hai nauli kai tobalilona: Indemoko mengkaroo; iko peami mai lao menahe. Hai nauli kai to wawinena: Io, laomoko.

Kalaona mpuumi kai tobalilona menahe hai naulia mbuli kai tobalilona: Inee mpuuna nukukulele, nee! Hai nauli kai towawinena: Io.

Mahaemi kai tobalilona padu, kalaonami kai moala nahe au i wiwi pada. Ba kai mahae natilo hawa; pekakaenami kai i tobalilona, nauli: Peruruina!

3. The Couple

They say, it happened like this: When the couple was married, they went to get screwpine leaves in the woods.

When they arrived at the edge of the grassy field, the man said: Stay here, I will go by myself to get screwpine leaves. [p. 55] Then the woman said: Okay, go.

When the man actually set off to get screwpine leaves, he said again: Don’t follow me. And the woman said: Okay.

A long time after her husband had gone, she went to get screwpine leaves too, which were at the edge of the grassy field. It wasn’t long before a great snake caught her; she called to her husband, she said: Help me!

⁶ [translator’s note: That is to say, Ten Kate’s 1915 article on Napu pronouns that appeared in *Mededeelingen*, volume 59. See the References at the end of this paper for complete citation.]

Nahadimi kai tobalilona pekakaena
towawinena, kapelangkanami kai mai.
kahawena kai indo, kanabatanami kai do
hawa. Mole barari kai kana hawa nabata,
mole tambolona ri kai towawinena nabata.
Natente rai kai hambela nabata, hangko
kanari kai hawa do nabata, matem.

The man heard the calling of his wife and
quickly ran to her. When he arrived he hit
the snake. But he didn't hit the snake,
instead he hit his wife's neck. He did it
again, and then he hit the snake for the first
time, and it died.

Kanaangkanami kai towawine, lao i
paubanda, agaiana towawine matem, hawa
wori matem.

He took his wife and went to their sarongs,
but the woman was dead and so was the
snake.

Bara kai mahae, naita mai hawa, mai
mopakuli rangana. Kapentabunginami kai.
Roomi kai napakulii hawa do rangana,
kapadundami kai. Agaiana naisami kai
pakulinda hawa.

After a short time he saw a big snake
coming to cure his friend. Then he hid.
After the snake cured his friend, they
disappeared. But now he too knew the
medicine of the snakes.

Kanaalana wori kai do pakuli hawa,
napopopakulii towawinena, tuwo mbulimi
kai do towawinena. Kapesulendami kai
bapo he moanti nahe.

Now he got the medicine of the snakes and
he cured his wife with it and she revived.
Then they returned, but they didn't bring
screwpine leaves with them.

Notes

I know a story like this from the Tondano language; however, it is not yet published in that language. In Tontemboan text No. 66 (page 215 of the translation), a snake licks the bones of a dead person and thereby makes them connect back to each other. (Adr.) [p. 56]

The above story is a so-called: *Lolita mpaturu* 'story when lying down to sleep,' *moturu* is 'lie down to sleep, lie on a sleeping bench.' It is thus a story for relaxing. There are several of them in circulation; they usually begin: *Nodo pea kai dia* 'Like this, they say, it happened.' The teller of the story puts the responsibility for the truth on someone else by means of *kai* 'they say,' which he uses repeatedly.

tohamboko, Bare'e *tau samboko*. The root word of this expression for a married couple is found in Besoa *boko* 'two bundles of rice which are bound together,' such as when one puts them over a stick to carry them, thus: *pare talu bokona* 'three pairs of rice bundles.' Possibly *boko*, which should be *woko* in Bare'e if it occurred separately, is the same word as Bare'e *waka*, Malay *bēkas*; in that case *woko* is an earlier form of *waka*. In Bare'e people also say *tepasambaka* 'gathered,' literally 'brought to one place.' The meaning of *samboko* is then also: 'together, unified.'

ratauna, third person plural of the stem *tauna*, here to be translated as a passive. *Metauna* is 'marry,' literally 'seek a person, seek someone,' *petauna* 'wedding,' *petaunaa* 'wedding place.'

menahe is ‘seek *nahe* (broad screwpine leaves, Bare’e *tole*).’ They tear these leaves into strips and weave rain mats and rice sacks from them.

pandulu is the high, old forest, *lopo* are the wild shoots which sprout up on abandoned fields, *wana* refers to woods on the mountains, *kakau* is the forest in general; with it one also indicates the dry fields.

tampaka is the edge of a level area (*paka*), as are so often encountered in Napu, which for that matter is itself one large *pada*.

mai lao menahe, literally ‘(I) come hither from going to look for screwpine leaves,’ that is, I go to look for screwpine leaves.

naulia ‘he said to,’ stem *uli*, third person singular prefix, suffix *-a*, Bare’e *-ka*, Malay *-kan*, Javanese *akĕn*, Tawaelia *-kaka*, for example *nuperadekaka tamamu ane imba nukadelo* ‘ask your father where you have to search.’

mbuli, Tawaelia *mbui*, Bare’e *muni*, Mongondow *bui* (‘return’) [p. 57] in general has the meaning: ‘once more, again,’ mostly in the opposite direction of the preceding act, for example Bare’e *nasapu muni* ‘he has denied it again’ (after first having acknowledged it), *natima muni* ‘he has taken it back,’ *mewalili muni* ‘return back.’ Probably Bare’e *bui* ‘bad outcome of a magical event’ is the same word. By it one expresses the return of the magical power which flowed out here or there, as a bad consequence of the return hit of the rebound. (Adr.)

nukukulele, reduplication in negation is very usual, in order to strengthen the power of the negative, ‘you must by no means.’ By the continual use of reduplication after a negative word, reduplication has lost its peculiarity and has become a fixed form which no longer has a special meaning. *Mekulele* is ‘follow, go after’; the stem *lele* means ‘rumor,’ *moanti lele* ‘spread a rumor,’ *mopalele* ‘id.’

nee, an entirely different word from the vetative particle *inee*. It is pronounced short, as if it were closed by a glottal stop, because it is a kind of interjection, with the meaning of Flemish ‘zulle?’ or our: will you? okay? yes? at the end of a sentence, e.g. *ane mesuleko mai, nuanti kalewangku, nee?* ‘when you return, bring a jacket for me, okay?’

padu ‘vanished, gone out of sight,’ synonym with Bare’e *paya*.

au, relative pronoun, see Pronouns, page 79. The full form *anu* doesn’t occur in Napu.

ba is the negative, which is usually compounded with *ara* ‘be’ to become *bara*. For particles such as *kai*, *pa*, *pi*, *po* the single form *ba* is used, so that one gets *bapa*, *bapi*, *bapo*. Nevertheless, the form *bara* also occurs with these clitics, thus *barapa*, etc.

natilo; the stem *tilo* means ‘beak’; *motilo* is ‘peck or bite with the extended beak,’ such as chickens and snakes do.

hawa is the name of the python, which is not poisonous, but which can exhibit great strength in its coils. A young python, which had not eaten for a month and which had wound itself around [p. 58] a man's arm, could not be removed by Mr. Ten Kate.

pekakaenami; mekakaē 'shout' is originally from *mekakai*, Bare'e 'id.' In Napu *i* often goes to *e* whenever it follows another vowel. Likewise the semivowel *y*, when it stands between two vowels, regularly becomes *e*, such as is exhibited by the examples in Vol. LV, pp. 406, 407 of this journal. Another stem *kai*, Malay *kait*, *kail* 'hook,' occurs in *tekai* 'hooked fast,' *petokai*, name of a kind of raspberry; *mokaiki* 'wipe off' comes from a stem which is identical with Minahasan *ka'is* 'wipe,' while the stem of Bare'e *mekakai*, Napu *mekakaē* is identical with the *kai* mentioned on page 65,⁷ Tawaelia *kari*, Bare'e *ngari* 'shout,' cf. also *tongare* 'shouter,' in Bare'e the name of a bird (*Megacephalon maleo*).

perurui is the usual word with which one calls for help. The stem *ruru* is identical with Malay *jurit*, Bare'e *juyu* 'do or possess together'; also to be mentioned is Bare'e *dudu*, stem of *mekadudungi* 'help, assist.' The Napu also use *modurui* 'help,' but this is probably a different word.

mobata 'cut, with a sword or machete,' Bare'e 'cut off'; Napu *mombebata* 'cut into each other.'

mole 'but, however, on the other hand, nevertheless' indicates a stronger opposition than *agaiana*. The enclitics *-ra* and *-ri* are often added after *mole*. Here *mole* is the correct opposition word, because one expects the man to hit the snake, but he hits his wife instead.

agaiana 'but' is difficult to explain. If it is composed of *agai* and *ana*, *agai* must be an older form of the present *hai* 'and'; *ana* must then stand for *kana*, that is *ka* (the prefix, independently used) with suffix *-na*; the entire expression means, then, just as Bare'e *paikanya*, 'and the truth of it, the substance of it, that which is really important of it.' It is also possible that *agaiana* stands for *kakaiana*, derived from *kaia* 'many, great' and thus originally indicated: 'the majority, for the most part, chiefly.'

kanari is *kana* + *ri*; *kana* is identical with Malay *kěna* 'hit.' [p. 59] The Indonesian schwa becomes *a* in Napu, e.g. *kanau* 'sugar palm,' Malay *ěnau*; *bala* 'split,' Malay *bělah*; *lata* 'burst (of the ground),' Malay *rětak*.

tambolo 'neck,' cf. *tawolo* 'bamboo tube for blowing on the fire' and *bolo* 'gap.'

natente, stem *tente*, *motente* 'repeat'; *nutente mani hambela* 'repeat it once more one time, do it once more'

rai 'still' has the same meaning as *mani*.

⁷ [translator's note: Of *Mededeelingen*, volume 59.]

hangko, Bare'e *ungka*, Malay *hingga* 'from'; when it has the meaning 'then for the first time,' such as is the case here, it is always followed by *ri*.

naangka, stem *angka*, Tawaelia *ongko*, Bare'e *oko*, Malay *angkat* 'lift up.'

uba, *mouba* 'carry in a sarong.' The carry-sarong is not called *pauba* (as it is in Bare'e), but rather *komo*, Bare'e *kumu*. A sarong is also called *komo* when it is used as a blanket. To distinguish, a carry-sarong is as a result called: *komo popokahao* 'walk-sarong'; to carry a child in a sarong is: *mopauba ana ngkoi*.

mopakulii, stem *kuli*, *makuli* 'cold, cool,' *pakuli* 'medicine,' originally 'cooling remedy,' *mopakulii* 'to use medicine on.'

mentabungi has the compound prefix *menta-* which, just like *mengka-*, indicates the reflexive. Other examples are: *mentabongo* 'keep oneself deaf,' *mengkapusa* 'get in, cram oneself into,' *mengkanawo* 'let oneself fall,' *mengkaware* 'fly up' of birds, *mengkaore* 'mount,' *mengkaliwo* 'get oneself ready to leave.'

Next to *buni* Napu has *wuni* and *mowuni* 'hide something,' *mowuniangi* 'keep secret,' *inee mowuniangina* 'don't keep it from me.'

napopopakulii; the prefix *po-*, reduplication of *po-*, means 'use for,' thus *kupopo-*, *nupopo-*, etc.

bapo or *bapa* consists of *ba* and *po* or *pa*, which with *-i* becomes *pi*, for example *bapiara* 'there is no more,' *barapi* 'id.' If in place of *-i* there now occurs an enclitic pronoun, e.g. *he*, then the *pa* or *po* remains. The *To Winua*, who use the negative word *da*, say: *dapana ara* 'I don't have any more of it.' Compare what is said on page 66.⁸

References

(supplied by the translator)

Adriani, N. 1919. In memoriam P. Ten Kate, geboren 6 Juli 1880, overleden 29 November 1918. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 63:32–44.

Adriani, N. 1928. *Bare'e-Nederlandsche woordenboek met Nederlandsche-Bare'e register*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Adriani, N.; and Alb. C. Kruyt. 1914. *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden Celebes*, part 3: *Taal- en letterkundige schets der Bare'e-taal en overzicht van het taalgebied Celebes–Zuid-Halmahera*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

⁸ [translator's note: Of *Mededeelingen*, volume 59.]

Kate, P. ten. 1911. Een eerste schrede op Napoesch taalgebeid. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 55:391–416.

Kate, P. ten. 1913. Het *ende*-feest. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 57:35–55.

Kate, P. ten. 1915. De voornaamwoorden in het Napoesch. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 59:65–79.

Schwarz, J. Alb. T. 1907. *Tontemboansche teksten*. volume 2: *Vertaling*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Tuuk, H. N. van der. 1864. *Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van eene taalkundige bijdrage van den Hoogleraar T. Roorda*. Amsterdam: Loman en Verster.