

# **The numerals in Napu**

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2015

**Sulang Language Data and Working Papers:  
Translations from the Dutch, no. 11**



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

## LANGUAGES

Subject language : Napu  
Language of materials : English

## DESCRIPTION

In this paper the author describes the numerals of Napu, a Badaic language of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. Beginning with cardinal numbers and their use with classifiers and measure words, he continues with a discussion of the derivation and use of ordinal numerals, iterative numerals, and distributive numerals. He concludes with indefinite numerals. On each topic the author supplies his reader with numerous examples.

## SOURCE

Wesseldijk, J. W. 1923. De telwoorden in het Napoesch, met medewerking van Dr. N. Adriani. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 67:59–64, 141–164. Original pagination is indicated by enclosing the page number in brackets, e.g. [p. 59].

## VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [30 June 2015] Pages 141–153 translated by Anneke de Vries, October 1989; keyboarded and edited by David Mead, March 2004; remaining pages translated by David Mead August & September 2007; formatted for publication June 2015.

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## The Numerals in Napu<sup>1</sup>

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The numerals in Napu are to be divided into two primary groups: the definite and the indefinite numerals.

The definite numerals constitute the more significant group, and are to be further divided into cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, iterative numerals and distributive numerals. We shall discuss these types one after the other, and at the end say something about the indefinite numerals, which constitute only a small group, and which are not numerals in the same sense as the first group.

The cardinal numbers are:

*isa* ‘one’; *dua* ‘two’; *talū* ‘three’; *iba* ‘four’; *lima* ‘five’; *ini* ‘six’; *pitu* ‘seven’; *ualu* ‘eight’; *hahio* ‘nine’; *hampulo* ‘ten’; *hampulo (hai) isa* ‘eleven’; *hampulo (hai) dua* ‘twelve’; *hampulo (hai) talū* ‘thirteen’; *rompulo* ‘twenty’; *rompulo hai isa* ‘twenty-one’; *rompulo hai ini* ‘twenty-six,’ etc.; *talū pulona* ‘thirty’; *iba pulona* ‘forty’; *pitu pulona* ‘seventy’; *hangatu* ‘hundred’; *rongatu* ‘two hundred’; *talū atuna* ‘three hundred,’ etc.; *hasobu* ‘one thousand’; *rosabu* ‘two thousand’; *talū sabuna* ‘three thousand,’ etc.; *hariwu* ‘ten thousand’; *roriwu* ‘twenty thousand’; *talū riwuna* ‘thirty thousand,’ etc.; *hauu* ‘hundred thousand’; *rouu* ‘two hundred thousand.’

Still further I have heard: *hatai* for ‘million’; *hamparapa* ‘ten million’; *haingu* ‘hundred million’; *hameliu* ‘billion.’

*Isa*, the word for ‘one,’ is exclusively used with counting. Next to this occurs *hadua*, which will be discussed with the “numeral auxiliaries”, the nouns which are compounded with a number to become measure words. [p. 60]

The Napu numerals one through ten are the generally used Malayo-Polynesian numerals. The following is to be remarked concerning the form.

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<sup>1</sup> [translators’ note: We hereby wish to acknowledge Dick Kroneman for his helpful feedback on portions of this translation.]

*Isa*, *iba* and *ini* exhibit the vowel *i* in place of the schwa: they stand for *ěsa*, *ěba(t)*, and *ěně(m)*. *Talu*, from *tělu*, has *a*, the regular reflex of the schwa in Napu.

*Dua* exhibits *d* as onset; in compounds one encounters *ro*, shortened from *rua*, e.g. *rompulo* ‘twenty’; *rongatu* ‘two hundred’; *roogu* ‘two pieces,’ etc. The regular form for ‘two’ in Napu should be *rua*; the initial consonant falls under the R-L-D rule,<sup>2</sup> the typical form of which should be *r* in Napu, e.g. *impira* ‘when,’ Javanese, etc. *pira*, Toba Batak *piga*; Bisayan *pila*; *ihira* ‘they,’ Javanese *sira*, Tagalog *silá*, Toba Batak *-sida*; *pare* ‘rice in the husk,’ Javanese *pari*, Malay *padi*, Toba Batak *page*; *puru* ‘gall, gall bladder,’ Malay *ampědu*, Javanese *ampěru*, Toba Batak *pogu*. However, there are also a number of cases in Napu in which the R-L-D sound is *d*; e.g. *daa* ‘branch,’ Malay *dahan*; *dui* ‘thorn,’ Malay *duri*, Javanese *ri*; *(ha)dingi* ‘hear,’ Malay *děngar*, Javanese *rungu*. Besides, the alternation between *d* and *r* is so usual, that the appearance of *dua* and *rua* next to each other in the same language is unsurprising.

In *iba* ‘four’ the *b* is irregular; one expects *ipa*, from *ipát*, from *ěpat*. This *iba* is also peculiar to Besoa and Bada, and to Leboni. An intentional deformation of an original *ipa* is not to be considered; in Napu there is no word *ipa*, which for one or another reason should have been avoided. The most likely explanation is that Napu must have originally had a form of the numeral with prenasalized *p*, such as e.g. Malay *ěmpat*, Palu *ampa*, Mori *ompa*, etc. Through prenasalization the *p* must have become *b*, as in e.g. Tolaki and Mekongga *omba*. From this *imba* must *iba* then have originated. Apart from that, the voicing of a voiceless prenasalized stop is not regular in Napu; in Parigi this is indeed the case. [p. 61]

The second form of the numeral four, namely *pata*—which occurs in compounds in most of the other Torajan languages, Javanese, Makasarese, Bugis, Mandar, Mori, Tomini and still a number of other languages (Bare’e *patampuyu* ‘forty,’ next to *opompuyu*; *patambuya* ‘four months,’ next to *opombuya*)—does not occur as such in Napu.

For that matter, in Napu only the numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ are used in compounds. Nevertheless the form *pata* is known to me in Napu, namely it is used in the counting of days with temporal adverbs, e.g. *kahalo* ‘tomorrow,’ *naipua* ‘day after tomorrow,’ *naitalu* ‘three days from now’; *naipata* ‘four days from now.’ If one counts further, then follows: *naipata-kahalo*, *naipata-naipua*, *naipata-naitalu*, *naipata-naipata*. Bare’e also employs the form *naipata* ‘after the day after tomorrow.’

In *ualu*, from *walu*, it is to be remarked that the bilabial onset has become vocalized, just as in other Torajan languages. In Napu one would expect *owalu*, with denti-labial *w*, according to the examples *owahe* ‘axe,’ from *wase*; *owani* ‘honeybee,’ from *wani*.

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<sup>2</sup> [translators’ note: The so-called R-L-D rule conflated two sounds which are now regarded to have been distinct phonemes in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, written by Austronesianists today as \*j and \*d.]

*hahio*, from *sasio*, is reduplicated from *sio*. In Bare'e, the numbers from two to nine are all reduplicated, except *ualu*, which is already trisyllabic and therefore without reduplication in keeping with the rhythm of the other numerals, thus *papitu*, *uayu*, *sasio* 'seven, eight, nine.' This reduplication probably indicates a plurality, and thus it begins with *radua* 'both, all two.' In Napu *sasio* could have originated from the requirement to have a three-syllable form *hahio* between the three-syllable forms *ualu* and *hampulo*, in order not to interrupt the number rhythm.

*hampulo* means 'one ten'; it is the substantive *pulo* with the unity prefix *ha-* (from *sa-*). In some forms *ha-* is followed by prenasalization, in others it is not.

*hai* in: *hampulo hai isa* is the usual coordinating conjunction 'and,' Bare'e *pai*. Often I have [p. 62] noticed that this conjunction is not employed in counting from eleven to nineteen, but it is above twenty. People say that this is actually a regular rule, but that school children, because of their Minahasan teachers, have learned to also use *hai* after *hampulo*, whereby now both ways of counting have come into use.

*rompulo* 'twenty' has the prefix form of *dua*, namely *ro-*, with prenasalization added.

This *ro-*, placed in front with or without prenasalization, along with *ha-* is the only numeral prefix in Napu. The numerals *talū* through *hahio* are not prefixed; after *rompulo* one counts *talū pulona*, *iba pulona*, *lima pulona* 'the tens are three, four, five.' Probably because of these numerals not having a single-syllable form, they have not been attached as prefixes. Forms such as *talū pulona* and *iba pulona* are equivalent to (uncustomary) forms such as *talū mpulo*, *iba mpulo* 'three, four with respect to tens,'<sup>3</sup> while *talū pulona* and *iba pulona* are to be rendered as 'three, four are tens,'<sup>4</sup> compare Bare'e *ma'ai ngkaja'a* 'great of wickedness'<sup>5</sup> with *ma'ai kaja'anya* 'his great wickedness.'<sup>6</sup>

*hangatu* 'one hundred' and *rongatu* 'two hundred' consist of *atu* 'a hundred' and prefixed *ha-* and *ro-* with prenasalization. It is possible that *hangatu* and *rongatu* stand for *hangaatu* and *rongaatu*, from *sa-ngkaatu*, *ro-ngkaatu* 'one hundredfold, two hundredfold,' but most probably *ng* here is likewise the insertion which has become prenasalization, as in *hampulo* and the such, also in *hangalo* 'a day long,' because glottal stop—with which the syllable *a-* begins—as a velar is prenasalized as *ng*.

*hasabu* 'thousand'; the unity prefix is added without prenasalization; *sabu*, Makasarese identical, Bugis *sěbu*, Bare'e *sowu* is of the same root *bu*, *wu*, as *riwu*, which means 'ten thousand.' In the Torajan languages which employ both of these terms, they are always

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<sup>3</sup> [translators' note: Dutch *drie*, *vier aan tientallen*.]

<sup>4</sup> [translators' note: Dutch *drie*, *vier zijn tientallen*.]

<sup>5</sup> [translators' note: Dutch *erg van slechtheid*.]

<sup>6</sup> [translators' note: Dutch *erg z'n slechtheid*.]

kept distinct. This is not the case with the expressions *hauu*, *hatai*, *haingu*, and *hameliu*. [p. 63]

The amounts which are indicated by these numbers, lie outside the imagination of the To Napu. Possibly *uu* is the same as Bare'e *ruu*, which means 'over, across,' and actually the sound mimics a leap over a divide; in Bare'e *meruu* means 'go above the original measure.'

The expressions *hatai* and *hamparapa* are figurative: *hatai* is 'a cut off piece,' *hamparapa* 'a torn off piece.' They are comparable to the descriptive phrases for ten, hundred and thousand in Bare'e, namely *sancila* 'a part' (= ten); *sambenci* 'a layer (of things stacked on top of one another)' (= hundred); and *santamungku* 'a mountain' (= thousand).

*haingu* is also known in Pamona, namely as *saingu* 'uncountably many,' from the stem *ingu*, which is identical to *lingu* 'entangled, lost.'

*hameliu* has as stem a corrupted form of the Dutch word *millioen*; how this word came into Napu is not clear to me. Also in Karo Batak people use *sēmēliun* for an uncountable number. Perhaps with a Napu person, *hameliu* brings to mind *meliu* 'pass by, proceed on around something,' whereby the expression *hameliu* draws some meaning. For that matter, expressions for amounts higher than *riwu* are little known. They go under the rubric of 'language of the Elders,' but what one has to conceive of thereby is sufficiently indicated by a borrowed word such as *meliu*.

As a rule, numerals are placed before the noun which they modify. Also with the use of numeral auxiliaries and classifiers, these precede the modified word. Only when the substantive is emphasized does the numeral usually follow after. Examples are:

*Hangkia baulana hai hangkia darana Umana Masi? Baulana Umana Masi talu pulona hai rombaa, darana iba* (also: *iba baana*). 'How many buffaloes and how many horses does Masi's father have? Umana Masi's buffaloes are two and thirty animals, his horses are four.' *Kupobalu i tua talu pulona hai lima kotona pare, parena* [p. 64] *ranganku au naholomi tua talu pulona hai rongkoto*. 'I sold thirty-five bundles of rice to rice to the gentleman; my friend's rice, which the gentleman already bought, was thirty-two bundles.'

*I tabangaangki bosa ngaana binata, lima boe, towau talu, dike iba, kiki ualu, manu rompulo hai pitu hai ara mani wori rombaa meo*. 'On our premises there are many kinds of animals: five pigs, goats three, dogs four, ducks eight, chickens twenty-seven and there are also two cats.'

*Talu tauna kalewangku, winingku rontau*. 'I have three blouses and two skirts.'

*Tanga moosusangki i Lamba, talu baana baula rapapate, boe hambaa pea*. 'During our feast in Lamba, three buffaloes were killed, but pigs only one!'

(to be continued)

[p. 141]

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(continued)

CLASSIFIERS AND MEASURE WORDS. Napu uses a lot of classifiers, e.g. for long objects, round objects, etc. These classifiers have the same function as in Malay, Javanese, Batak, etc., confer our words 'piece, pound,' etc.

Here I shall take up the most general: these words in Napu are only compounded with *ha-* and *ro-*; if the numeral is higher than two, the classifier follows the numeral and takes the third person singular, as is the case with the tens, hundreds, and thousands, etc.; *talupulona* 'thirty,' *ini atuna* 'six hundred.' Here follow the principal [classifiers]:

*dua*, only used to count humans. It occurs in the same function in Bada, Besoa, Kulawi, Lindu and Pipikoro, the first two East Torajan, the last three West Torajan mountain languages. In Pipikoro you find, next to *hadua*, *rodua* which in the general mean 'one, two pieces,' likewise *hameha*, *romeha* 'one, two pieces,' but more of round or massive things. Also Ganti and Lole, two West Torajan languages, count: *samesa* 'one,' *huamesa* (G.) *ruamesa* (L.) 'two.' This *meha*, from *mesa* from *misa*, occurs among other places in the languages of Mandar and Mamuju in the meaning of 'one'; it is thus nothing other than an [p. 142] *um-*form of *isa*. Thus *hameha*, *romeha* mean 'a unity, two unities.' In Mandar one counts: *mesa*. *dadua*, in Mamuju: *mesa*, *dedua*. In order to analyze *dua* as a classifier, you have to assume that Napu had *radua* as the numeral for 'two' (confer Bare'e *radua* from *raru*), from the root form *rua*, so that *radua* replaced *raru*, in order to avoid a sequencing of *r-*sounds. From this *radua* the syllable *ra-* assimilated to the syllable *ro-* (from *rua*) of the numerals compounded with *ro*, whereby naturally the interpretation arose, that *rodua* was compounded with a classifier *dua*, so that in addition they have formed *hadua*. The present-day numeral *dua* is thus a shortened form of *rodua*, which explains the *d*.<sup>7</sup> Examples: *hangkia he? talu duana* 'how many are they? three persons,' *pitu duana he* 'they are seven.' One thus hears these forms, only when they are spoken with great emphasis. *Hadudua*, a reduplicated form of *hadua*, with a following possessive

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<sup>7</sup> [footnote 1 page 142] Prof. Kern in his "Fidji-taal" (*Verspreide geschriften*, V, 37) discusses the Fiji numeral *dua* 'one' ('two' is *rua*) and considers this identical to Old and New Javanese *tunggal*, Buginese *tungkě*, Ibanag *tunggal*. If this is correct, in Fiji *dua* is another word than we discuss here, and our word cannot be identified with Javanese *tunggal*.

pronoun, means, ‘just me, you, them’; *haduduanguku* ‘only me, I by myself,’ *haduduana* ‘only him.’

*-mbua* is a classifier for general objects. *Rombua* ‘two pieces,’ *talū mbuana* ‘three pieces,’ *hambua duku kupebolo*, *hambua iko ampuna* ‘I’ve borrowed one rice fan, the other is my own (the other, I am the owner of it),’ *Ilalu sou iba mbuana bingka*, *agaiana bukemi ope-ope*, *hambua bingka pare baeibana*, *hambua gogoa*, *hambua kopi*, *hai kaibana rapambulii lehune* ‘There are four baskets in the house but they are all filled up, one [p. 143] contains pounded rice, one corn, one coffee and the fourth is filled with onions.’

*-ogu* indicates that the counted things are of a roundish shape. It is a word which often alternates with *-mbua*, especially when it is not clear whether or not an object belongs to the category ‘round’ or not. For example, for *kandupa* ‘shoe’ (originally the hoof of a horse or buffalo), one can say *hambua kandupa* as well as *haogu kandupa*. *Kuantiako hahio oguna tulu manu hai hampulo ini oguna gampaya* ‘I bring nine chicken eggs to you and sixteen papaya fruits,’ *Natuduna Guru mangala pakuli hai kuantī mai talū oguna botolo au soa* ‘The teacher sent me to bring medicine back, and I’ve brought three empty bottles with me,’ *Towawine ide lima oguna sisikalena*, *talū oguna rapusa i karawena*, *roogu rataka i pangkuruna* ‘this woman has five rings, three on her fingers, two are bound on the band of her clothes,’ *Naina irio merapi pakuli molugu*, *talū oguna iriko hai ini oguna*, *i rangankuhe* ‘I’ve come to ask you for round medicine (quinine tablets), three for me and six for my friends.’

*-peka* (*mapeka* ‘flat’) is used for flat things, coins, planks, letters, etc., for example Nadongkokingkai Keto, *lawi i Wuasa nauli nodo: ane nuanti hapiku uwi solanu*<sup>8</sup> *kuweiko holona ini pekana rupia*. *Roomi kianti iti*, *naweingkai hampeka ringgi rompeka rupia hai hampeka tali-tali* ‘Keto has deceived us, because in Wuasa he said: if you bring a picul of potatoes, I will pay you six guilders for it. [p. 144] When we had brought them he gave us a rix-dollar,<sup>9</sup> two guilders and a quarter-guilder.’ *Hangkia kolona pata ide hampeka hampeka?* (Also: *Hampeka hampeka pata ide hangkia holona?*) *Ane maroa kamahilena*, *hampeka pata*, *hampeka rupia* ‘How much is the price of each of these planks? If the size is good, one plank for one guilder.’

*-tepe* is used for cubes and for lump- or block-shaped forms, e.g.: *Kihumba hambela haminggu hantepe sabu* ‘We get a piece of soap a week,’ *Kuweikau lima tepena tagambe*, *hadua hadua hantepe* ‘I give you five pieces of gambier, for everyone a piece.’

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<sup>8</sup> [footnote 1 page 143] *solanu* ‘potato’ is Latin *Solanum*; the official name for potato. Missionary P. ten Kate introduced the potato into Napu, and used *solanu* for it. [translators’ note: The pretonic vowel has since shifted, so that in the present day Napu speakers refer to potatoes as *silanu*.]

<sup>9</sup> [translators’ note: Dutch *rijksdaalder*, worth two and a half guilders.]



*-dolo* is used for rolled or roll-forming things, e.g. *handolo hahawi* ‘a roll of mustard leaves,’ *taludolona baulu* ‘three rolls of betel leaves.’ (Greens and betel are rolled in banana leaves in order to bring them home from the garden; a roll is thus a *dolo*.)

*-kau* is employed when one counts long objects, e.g. *Nuanti mai inde hangkau tuwu* ‘You bring a piece of sugar cane over here,’ *Iapa belana? i hangkau karawena* ‘In what (where) is his wound? On one of his fingers,’ *Kulambi inona hangkau welua i andeangki* ‘I found a hair in our food (cooked rice),’ *Kuperapi meholona rongkau sabu* ‘I want to buy two long pieces of soap,’ *Mentara mani lima kauna peuki* ‘there are five slate-pencils leftover.’

*-tau* indicates pieces of clothing, and lengths of bark cloth, cotton and also rope, e.g. *To Tamadue mampobalumi lima tauna koloro dara* ‘the people of Tamadue sold five pieces of horse rope,’ *Hantau koloro u pitu dupana hampeka tali-tali holona* ‘a piece of rope seven fathoms long costs a quarter-guilder,’ *Kuholo ba hangkia wengina liumi i Nangananga hantau puruka i surodado, holona talu pekana suku-suku* ‘Some nights ago [p. 145] at Nanga-nanga I bought a pair of trousers from a soldier, the price was three half-guilders.’ *Hantau wini* ‘a shirt,’ *hantau kalewa* ‘a blouse,’ *rontau hampi* ‘two pieces of bark cloth.’

*-tonga* is used next to *-tau*, but when *-tau* is used the clothes are long, e.g. *hantau puruka* is a pair of trousers with long legs; if one says *hantonga puruka*, then one has in mind usual trousers, which come up a bit above the knees, *Hantonga siga* ‘a headcloth,’ *Hantonga badu*, one also hears *hantau badu* ‘a shirt.’

*-baa* (Bare’e wa’a) is employed with the counting of animals, e.g. *Hangkia manu? rompulo hai iba baana* ‘How many chickens? Twenty-four animals,’ *Baulana tauna bambanguna ara iba baana meloho* ‘from the whole herd of buffalo, four have gone off,’ *Mambihemi tulu manu, pitu baana ana manu mesupami* ‘the eggs have hatched, seven chicks have come out.’

*-mata* serves to count tools, *talumatana pemangki* ‘three hoes,’ *romata piho* ‘two swords,’ *abe ini matana* ‘six machetes,’ *hamata tali* ‘a headband’ (for females).

The stems of verbs which: part, divide, break, tear in pieces, cut, split and other related meanings, serve as classifiers for pieces that are so separated from a whole. The same is the case for stems of verbs which indicate putting together, binding together, gathering, etc. Examples thereof are:

*-sila* is the indicator of incomplete things, torn things or divided things, e.g. one says, *hasila tali* which is a lady’s head band that is small and merely painted with red paint, or not painted at all, a small headband; *hasila tawe* is a torn off piece of leaf which is used to pack something, *hasila tawe loka* ‘a piece of banana leaf.’

*-poa* serves to indicate plants such as rice, [p. 146] banana, celery, which grow in clumps; e.g. *hampoaheki* ‘a tussock of grass,’ *Ane nupobalu tala, hangkia holona*

*hampoa?* ‘if you sell bamboo, how much is the price of a clump?’ *Hampoa loka* ‘a banana plant,’ *hampoa pare* ‘a rice plant.’

-*wuli* is the word with which ears and bunches are counted: *talū wulina pare* ‘three ears of rice,’ *hambuli loka* ‘a bunch of bananas.’

-*paka* is the stem of the word which one uses for separating bunches of bananas into various combs, also for ears into their spikelets, *hampaka loka* ‘a hand or comb of bananas consisting of sixteen or seventeen fruits.’

One also uses -*paka* in conversations and addresses, e.g. *hampaka mani kuuliakau* ‘yet another thing, matter, still something else, I say to you all,’ *ara rompaka* ‘there are two ways (to do something).’

-*tombo* is the word for things which have been bound together, e.g. *hantombo kampuda* ‘a bunch of ijuk fiber,’ *rontombo tuwu* ‘two bundles of sugar cane,’ *talū tombona kau* ‘three bundles of wood.’

-*koto* is used only with the counting of bundles of rice: *lima kotona pare* ‘five bundles of rice,’ *kualami hangko i bondengku rongatu kotona pare au kehi* ‘I have already taken 200 full bundles of rice from my field.’

-*boko* is the word with which one counts things which belong with each other, which form a pair or set. *Hamboko puruka hai badu* ‘a set of man’s clothes,’ *romboko wini hai kalewa* ‘two sets of women’s clothes,’ *hamboko kandupa* ‘a pair of shoes,’ *topohamboko* ‘a married couple’; (*mohamboko*: marry, be married; of animals: mate).

-*tepo*, *hantepo* a broken off or broken through piece: *hantepo gogoa* ‘a piece of a corn cob.’

-*bika* indicates something which is cut along its length, *rombika temu* ‘two pieces of cucumber,’ *talū bikana balongka* ‘three pieces of pumpkin.’

-*tobu* serves to count groups which are with each other, e.g. *hantobu lopo* ‘a young forest (in the middle of a [p. 147] field),’ *hantobu pada* ‘a field in the middle of a forest’; *talū tobuna tauna* ‘three groups of people.’

-*polo* indicates the bamboo tubes, in which one or another food is cooked, *rompolo bau*, *talū polona manu* ‘two tubes with fish, three tubes with chicken,’ *hampolo pewo* ‘a tube with some cooked or roasted food.’

-*botu* indicates a spool, e.g. *hambotu karisi* ‘a spool of fine rope,’ *rombotu koloro* ‘two spools of rope,’ *talū botuna lero* ‘three spools of thread.’

-*wanua*, a pack or box of something’ (originally home, living place), *hambanua lero* ‘a box of thread,’ *hambanua solo* ‘a box of matches.’

-*nawa* indicates a section of roofing thatch, be it *alang-alang*,<sup>10</sup> palm fronds or something similar (not roof planks or flattened bamboo, which fall under the rubric *-peka*), *lima pulona nawana atudana* ‘fifty sections of roofing thatch made of *alang-alang*.’

-*langu* is used when one divides cooked greens or side dishes into portions, *Iko mokola halo, halanga halo kuwolia ranganku i boko, lima langana halo kukira-kirami i ranganku (ba: kuangkaamohe ranganku)* ‘I serve out the vegetables, one portion I keep behind for my friend who is behind, five portions I give to my friends.’

-*poto* is used when one divides cooked rice into portions: *rompoto andea* ‘two portions of rice in packets.’

-*kumbu* has reference to meat: *hangkumbu babu* is a piece of meat which has been cut into a small block, clump, or chunk and is put in the cook pot.

-*iso*, *hangiso pare*, that amount of rice which can be pestled in a rice mortar (*iso* ‘rice mortar’), thus ‘one pounding.’

-*dapo* the tube in which water or palm wine is carried, *Hangkia dapon a owai ratambu tauna hangalo? talu dapon* ‘How many tubes of water do the people draw a day? Three tubes,’ *Topobatu [p. 148] mesule, rondapo baru naanti* ‘the palm tappers have returned, they bring two tubes of palm wine with them.’

-*panga* is a forked branch; with it one counts objects which are forked, e.g. *panga kau* ‘a forked piece of wood,’ also necklaces of beads, chains, etc. have *-panga* as their classifying word: *hampang kamagi* ‘one expensive golden necklace,’ *hampang rante* ‘one chain,’ *hampang loegi* ‘an expensive bead necklace.’ Moreover there occurs *mopenga* ‘divided, branched, unsure’; *mopenga laluna* ‘his heart is pulled in two directions, uncertain (is branched).’

-*gaa* means ‘part, portion’ (Bare’e: *ga’a* ‘divide’), *mogaa* ‘divide, separate from a place, portion, etc.’; *hangaa boe* ‘a part of a pig’; *rongaa baula* ‘two pieces of a buffalo.’<sup>11</sup>

-*ngaa* is ‘sort, kind’ (Bare’e *ngaya*, Javanese *ngaran*); *bosa ngaana binata* ‘many sorts of animals’; *ara rongaa kiki bua, hangaa au ntembe, hangaa au mapangka haodi* ‘there are two kinds of ducks in the village, one kind that is short and another kind that’s a bit taller.’

-*lapi* is ‘layer,’ also used for sequences of generations, e.g. *Salanda to ioru au bara mepoinalai iti kuhaoki i ananda, i ampunda, i pemuleanda, hawe-hawe i kaiba lapina* ‘the sons of the elders who were disobedient, I look for them among the children, their

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<sup>10</sup> [translators’ note: *Alang-alang* is Indonesian for cogon grass, *Imperata cylindrica*.]

<sup>11</sup> [translators’ note: Perhaps mistranscribed, should these be *hangaa boe* and *rongaa baula*?]

grandchildren, their descendants up to the fourth generation.’ *Rolapi waruna*, ‘two layers of clothes,’ *karolapina* ‘the second layer,’ *lapi kau* ‘wood chip’; *rakarolapii kalewa* ‘the shirt is lined.’

There are still many more similar words, because any word that indicates a storage container of one kind or another, can also be used as a classifier in the meaning ‘a containerful,’ ‘a mouthful,’ ‘a houseful,’ ‘a handful,’ etc. The difference between classifiers and measure words is best considered theoretical, because with both kinds of words one intends to further indicate the amount, the contents, the dimensions, the form. [p. 149]

Hereunder I follow with some others. These are words which are formed with the unity prefix *ha-*, and which for the most part at the same time allow themselves to be compounded with *ro-* and further with higher numerals, in the way which is usual for the latter (with suffix *-na*, see above).

*halalu*, of one interior: *halalungku* ‘my brother or my sister’; *mohalalu* ‘be related’; *mohalalu ntepuu* ‘to be closely related’; *mohalalu i raoa* ‘be distantly related’; *hamboka* ‘a piece’; *habala* ‘a bolt (length) of cloth (cotton); *halawa* ‘one joint of bamboo, one section’; *haliku* ‘a part of a river, between two curves’; *hambanguna* ‘one cow,’ *talubangunana* ‘three cows’; *hangalo* ‘one day’; *hangaloo* ‘a day long’; *hahangaloo* ‘every day, all the time’; *hangalongalo* ‘in one day’; *anangkoi diti rapoanaka hangalongalo pea rodia* ‘those children were born on the same day’; *hambengia* ‘during one night’; *mohambengi* ‘stay overnight’; *mawengi* also means ‘long of time,’ *oo mawengi kapaduna* ‘oh, long has he been away’; *mosambengia*, or also: *mohambengia* ‘to perform a pagan ritual, which takes place at night for the sake of a sickness’; *morongalo* ‘many days, a long time’; *morombula* ‘many months, very long’; *morombela* ‘many times, again and again’; *morominggu* ‘many weeks’; *hanggowu* ‘one pack (of salt or lime)’; *hanggowu bure* ‘one pack of salt’ (roughly equivalent to ten catty, such as delivered by the salt vendors on the coast); *hanggowu peda* ‘a pack of lime’; *hanginangina* ‘of one mother’; *hangumanguma* ‘of one father’; *hampai* ‘for a little while (in the same broad meaning as Dutch *eventjes*), at present, temporarily’; *neba hampai* ‘wait a bit’; *nupegiana hampai* ‘wait a bit for me’; *kupalehiko hampai* ‘I’ll be out for a second (temporarily)’ is the expression which one employs after a visit, when one wants to return; *inee hampai* ‘not yet’; *hampalai* ‘the blink of an eye’; *hasepa sura* ‘a part of a letter, [p. 150] a piece of paper’; *halimbo bonde* ‘a site for a garden’; *limbo* ‘spot, place’; *hambolo* ‘a place like when one speaks about a wound on the sole of the foot’ (*bolo* ‘opening’); *palantangku kebela, hambolo maroami haodi, rombolo rumihi kamahainda* ‘the sole of my foot has wounds, one place is a bit better, two are very sore’; *hambolo rara baula* ‘a buffalo path’; *hambolo rara boe* ‘wild pig trail’ (*mebolo* means ‘appear forth from an opening’); *hamboko* ‘a cut off, hacked off piece’ (from *meboho* ‘cut off, headhunt, chop off the head’). In addition there is *boso* in *mamposamboso* ‘to gather in one place,’ *mamposamboso tampo, mamposamboso owai* ‘the land in one place with itself, the water gathered in one place’; *hamboho tampo, hamboho owai* ‘the one part land, the other part water’; *halenggea, halengge-lenggena* ‘one in form, of the same appearance’; *lengge* ‘facial expression, form, image.’

*hantudo owai* ‘one drop of water’; *hampidoko* ‘one mouthful’; *doko* ‘greedy’; *hambali* ‘the one,’ also ‘the other side’; *hambali taie* ‘the one arm’; *hambali kalolu* ‘the one opening,’ also ‘on one side of an opening’; *hampipina* ‘the one side,’ also ‘the other side of it’; *pipi* ‘the side of something,’ *mopipi* ‘sided, rectangular’; *hampuhu* ‘one blade’; *hampuhu hehi* ‘one blade of grass’; *hamponga* ‘a half of something which has been split,’ e.g. a coconut; *hasanga* in *kahasangana* ‘namesake, of one name, with the same name,’ stem: *hanga*, but with the prefixing of *ha-*, the initial *h* goes back to original *s*. Likewise in *hasoi* ‘one spoonful,’ from *hoi* with *ha-*; *hoi* is ‘spoon’; *hasiu* ‘one yard, the length from the fingertip of the middle finger of one hand to the elbow of the other arm, thus an arm’s length, the width of chest and upper arm’; *hiu* ‘elbow’ (Bare’e *siku*). Other measures of length are: *hambuku* ‘one finger joint,’ *rombuku* ‘two finger joints long’; *hasenga* ‘one finger long.’ Further one also has measures, which I will mention here, with which one likewise starts off from the tip of the middle finger, namely: *i polimbonga* ‘to the [p. 151] middle of the palm of the hand’; *i kakumbaka* ‘to the ball of the thumb’; *i kaluduludea* ‘to the wristbone’; *i pekala tobalilo* ‘to the wrist’; *i pekala towawine* ‘a measure, which is something longer than the preceding, to just under half of the forearm’; *i kabekea* ‘to the half, the thickest part of the forearm’; *i hiu* ‘to the elbow’; *i pobelaa* ‘to the biceps’; *masumpu kaleda* ‘to nearby the armpit’; *hangkaleda* ‘one arm’s length’; *hampaga* ‘one palm, the width of the hand’; *handanga* ‘one span’; *handupa* ‘one fathom’; *hampihi* ‘a pinch’ (e.g. of salt, between thumb and forefinger); *mapii* ‘pressed, wedged’; *hangkambiha gogoa* ‘a basketful of corn,’ *handota*, from *ha-* plus *rota*, ‘one *rota*-full’ (a basket which the women carry on the back, when they go to the garden, in order to carry back vegetables and fruit on the homeward journey; it is woven from rattan with large interstices, also from screwpine leaves or also from *komba*, the broad, woody bottoms of sugar palm fronds); *hangkabubu owai* ‘one calabash-flask full of water’ (*kabubu* is a kind of gourd, which roughly has the form of a *kěndi*,<sup>12</sup> which is hollowed out and used as a water bottle); *hangkalumba* ‘one evening’; *hahangkalumba* ‘during each evening’; *hambutanga* ‘almost half full’ (from the stem *buta*); *hantere* ‘a line, a row’; *hantutuma* ‘a group of people on the way’; *hantutuma au laomi* ‘a group that has already left’; *handutu* ‘areca’; with prefix *ha-* from the stem *rutu* ‘stamp, pound’; *handutu* is a descriptive word and indicates literally ‘one pounding,’ such as what one pounds from a single nut.

*hampo* is, like the prefix *ntali-*, to be rendered as ‘together with that which is indicated by the root word.’ The formative *po-* is the prefix of the nominative forms next to *mo*, the participle which indicates ‘possesses,’ ‘has with itself,’ ‘is supplied with.’ Thus *hampo* is to be rendered as ‘one with that which one possesses....’

*hampohimada: ntalesimada* ‘with his friend’; *hampanaka: ntaliana* ‘with his child’ [p. 152] *hampohalalu* ‘with his family’; *hampoadia: ntaliadi* ‘with his younger brother.’

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<sup>12</sup> [translators’ note: Indonesian *kendi*, defined by Echols and Shadily (1989) as a ‘kind of earthenware flask with a neck and spout (usually for drinking water).’]

*hambo*, from *ha-* with *wo*, ‘perhaps also more.’ e.g. *ala pandemi* ‘take and eat,’ *hambo loka?* ‘perhaps bananas too?’ *impirako roo?* *kahalo, hambo oio?* ‘when will you be finished? morning, perhaps also you?’ or: ‘and you?’

*haua* is: ‘ten rooster doits,’ *roua* ‘twenty rooster doits’; *hantali* ‘thirty rooster doits’ *rontali* ‘sixty rooster doits,’ *hampeka tali-tali* ‘a quarter; ninety rooster doits.’<sup>13</sup>

Further, one encounters forms with the unity prefix *ha-*, which also have a suffix *-nga*. A suffix *-a* (identical with Malay, etc. *-an*) is also at home in formations with *ha-*, since *-an*, Napu *-a*, also has a collecting meaning, and here, together with the prefix, means: so much as the stem, taken as a whole, indicates. When the stem is an independent noun, this emerges very clearly: *hangaloo* ‘a day long, an entire day’; *hambengia* ‘a night long, an entire night’; *halenggea* ‘the entire amount of it.’ The suffix *-nga* has the same meaning as *-a*, namely a collecting meaning. It appears to me that *-nga* is used following verb stems, which through the prefix and suffix come to have the meaning of ‘so much as you can accomplish by doing the action indicated by the stem one time.’ The *ng* has only the meaning of a sound separator.

Examples: *hasariringa* ‘so much as one can carry on one handle,’ from *hariri* ‘carry with a handle,’ e.g. a *dapo* (short palm-wine tube), *embe* (betel pouch), etc.; *hasalenga* ‘so much as one can carry on the back’; *hampahaanga* ‘so much as one can carry on the shoulder’; *hantalondonga* ‘so much as one can carry on a pole over the shoulder’ (the goods are tied fore and aft on the pole); *hamkambihanga* ‘so much as one can carry in a funnel basket’; *hangkabobanga* ‘so much as one can transport in a *kaboba* (a kind of *rota*);<sup>14</sup> *halungguna* ‘so much as [p. 153] is put together in one pile, e.g. corn which has been shucked and placed in the sun to dry’; *hampaubanga* ‘so much as one can carry in a *pauba* (carry-sarong)’; *hampaawinga* ‘an armload full’; (*ambi* is a sarong used as a sling, *moambi anangkoi* ‘carry a child slung in a sarong’).

*hi-* is also a unity-indicating prefix, and just like *ha-* it means: ‘together with, mutually, the one with the other,’ e.g. *himbela* ‘the same as, of the same type’; *hihimbela* ‘together with, simultaneously with, the same’; *kupahimbela* ‘I am similar to, I am in agreement with’; *mohimada* ‘be mutual friends’; *himadangku* ‘my friend’; *mosintuwu* ‘live together,’ *hintuwu, pohintuwu* ‘society.’ Here one does not use the true Napu form of the stem: *tuwo* ‘live,’ but rather *tuwu*, the form which they have in Bare’e. Probably the expression has been borrowed from Bare’e. Further: *mosisala* ‘differ mutually’; *mohidupa* ‘meet each other’; *mohiola* and *mohiawe*, ‘sit or walk next to each other’; *mohigalo* ‘mixed together, mixed with each other’; *mohidai* ‘bound together.’ In this way *hi-* (from *si-*) thus turned into a marker of the reciprocal, but in this function it has for the most part been supplanted

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<sup>13</sup> [translators’ note: A ‘rooster doit’ was a kind of copper coin commissioned and imported from England by the large trading companies in Singapore. Whilst made in imitation of Dutch doits, they were not the official coinage of any country. See further Reid (1990).]

<sup>14</sup> [translators’ note: For the meaning of *rota*, see above page 151, first paragraph.]



by the prefix *be-*, e.g. *mombeala* ‘fight with each other,’ *mombengangai* ‘quarrel with each other.’ *hi-* has thus become antiquated as the marker of the reciprocal, just as it also has in Bare’e. In the West Torajan languages *si-* is still the usual prefix of reciprocal forms.

ORDINAL NUMBERS. In Napu, ordinal numbers are derived from the cardinal numbers and formed with the prefix *ka-*. In the usual use of these ordinal numbers, the third person pronominal suffix is not attached; this occurs only with enumeration, e.g. *kalimana* ‘the fifth of the number, the fifth in succession, the fifth of it.’ With the ordinal numbers very often one hears the possessive pronoun *au* employed. The iterative numerals are: *nguru-nguruna* ‘first.’ Just as in so many languages, so also in Napu the ordinal number for ‘the first’ is not [p. 154] derived from the number ‘one,’ because ‘one’ isn’t actually a number, as it doesn’t indicate an amount which needs to be counted. *Nguru* actually means ‘the primary, the projecting part,’ cf. Bare’e *nguru* ‘protrude the lips,’ *nguju* ‘snout, landspit,’ *urungi* ‘landspit, cape, headland,’ Malay *ujung* ‘landspit,’ etc. In place of *nguru-nguruna*, one often hears *nguruna*. *Kaisa* indeed occurs in the meaning ‘first,’ but this has been introduced through school, and thus is not original Napu. Following are the regular forms: *kadua* ‘second,’ *katalu* ‘third,’ *kaiba* ‘fourth,’ *kalima* ‘fifth,’ *kaini* ‘sixth,’ *kapitu* ‘seventh,’ *kaualu* ‘eighth,’ *kahahio* ‘ninth,’ *kahambulo* ‘tenth.’ *Karodua* means ‘both, the two of them,’ while *napokarodua* means ‘be as companion to somebody,’ e.g. *laomoko i Palewa, bona napokaroduako* ‘go to Palewa, so that he might have you as companion (so that he has you as second).’

From eleven to nineteen, one counts: *kahampulo (hai) isa* ‘eleventh’; *kahampulo (hai) dua* ‘twelfth,’ etc. Further *karompulo* ‘twentieth’; *karompulo hai lima* ‘twenty-fifth’; *katalu pulona* ‘thirtieth’; *katalu pulona hai pitu* ‘thirty-seventh,’ etc. After thirty, thus where no compounding of the numeral occurs, with addition of *talū* and prenasalization, the tens as nouns get *-na* attached. The hundredth is *kahangatu*; the thousandth is *kahariwu*.

If ordinal numbers are compounded with numeratives, then from ‘the second’ they get *ka-* attached preceding, and from ‘the third’ also get *-na* attached following. thus: *haogu, karoogu, katalu oguna*, etc.; thus *haogu* is no longer compounded with *ka-*.

ITERATIVE NUMERALS. Iterative numerals are formed by compounding with one of the words *bela* or *pali* ‘turn, time.’ This compounding has the same regular formation as with the classifiers, thus: *hambela* or *hampali* [p. 155] *rombela* or *rompali, talu belana* or *talū palina*, etc. Further is just like above: ten times, twenty times, a hundred times are all derived regularly in Napu.

*Bela* is more used than *pali*. The meaning of *bela* is actually ‘stroke, blow, wound’; *pali* also means ‘stroke,’ but only in the sense of ‘wound on something,’ e.g. a rope which is turned around a pole in further winding. One also says of going from one side of something to the other side and back again: *mopapali*.

Just as in Pamona, ordinal numbers can be further derived from iterative numerals by prefixing *ka-* and suffixing *-na*. However, one hears *karombela* just as well as *karombelana* ‘the second time’; with three, etc. it is again regular: *katalu belana*, etc.

For ‘certain’ they have the word *ntoo*. This, however, also has the meaning of ‘ordinary,’ e.g. ‘ordinary people’: *tauna ntoo*. *Apa nuande? bara, andea ntoo* ‘what are you eating? Nothing, just rice (or ordinary rice).’

The Napu also employ *pindua*, originally an iterative numeral, cf. Makasarese *pinruang*, Mori *pendua* ‘two times.’ In its present use, *pindua* has entirely become an adverb. In itself this is not unexpected, since by their nature the iterative numerals are also all adverbs. At present it means: ‘similar with, together with, at the same time, with that’: *pindua kuweimi tauna* ‘at the same time, simultaneously I gave it to someone’; *pindua padu rangamu, haweko oio* ‘at the same time your friend disappeared, you arrived’; *pindua arami tauna ioru* ‘just like that (just at the same time, just now) there were people who came prior.’

A word *ngkali* is also in use. It must be translated as: ‘only then, merely then, only in the case that,’ e.g. *Peita ide iko, hangkoia lawi barana raunde halalungku, ngkali peana au mounde, batenami Umana Nuki* ‘look at me, previously my family members were not fond of me, if there was still one who was fond of me, it was Umana Nuki’; *ngkali kuita, arami* ‘only then, when I look at it, [p. 156] is it there’; *ngkali kuisa, kupekunea tauna apa pepongkana* ‘only then did I come to know, when I asked the people what was the cause of it’; *ngkali kau tuwo, ane padumo kau* ‘only then can you remain alive, if you go away’; *ngkali kuwei tambue* ‘only then I will give you beans.’

The word *labi* ‘more than’ is mentioned with the indefinite numerals.

DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS. In Napu the distributive numbers are formed by reduplication of that which begins the forms with *ha-* and *ro-*; also they are formed by reduplication of the numeral; *ha-* and *ro-* are compounded with the classifier as fits the case. For example with people: ‘one by one’ *hahadua*, here however often also *hadua-hadua*; *rorodua* ‘by twos, each time two, two by two’; of animals: *hahambaa*, or *hambaa-hambaa*, *rorombaa*; *hahaogu* or *haogu-haogu*, *roroogu*, etc. Further: *talutalu* ‘by threes’; *iba-iba* ‘by fours’; *pitu-pitu* ‘by sevens.’ By eevens is: *hahampulo (hai) isa*; *rorompulo* ‘by twenties’; *hahangatu*, also *hangatu-hangatu* ‘by hundreds.’

If one would say, ‘each one one,’ ‘each one two,’ ‘each one three,’ etc., then one expresses oneself thus: *pantakau hampeka-hampeka* ‘give all (without exception) each one’; or also *pantake hahadua* (or: *hadua-hadua*) *roroogo* ‘we all, one by one, two pieces.’

There also occurs this way of saying:

*kapala nauli: takira-kira pare ide, hampulo-hampuloke kotona* (or: *hahampuloke kotona*) ‘the chief said: we divide up the rice bundles by tens,’ also *hahaduake rorompulo*



*hai rongkota* ‘each one with twenty-two bundles’; *hahaduake talu-talu pulona hai iba mbuana* ‘each one of us, thirty-four pieces.’

If it concerns things, then one follows this manner of expressing oneself: *laomoko i bonde hai nuala tuwu, hangaa hangkau, hangaa hangkau* [p. 157] ‘go to the garden and fetch sugarcane, from each kind one piece’; also: *hangaa-hangaa hangkau. Nuame pakuli, ide, hangalo talu oguna* ‘take this medicine, each day three pieces.’

INDEFINITE NUMERALS. To the indefinite numerals belong the words for ‘many’ and ‘few,’ such as: *bosa* (Malay *běsar*), *ngkaia* (Malay *kaya*) ‘many’; *melodu* ‘very many, unusually many,’<sup>15</sup> e.g. *melodu lolitana* ‘very many, excessive were his words’; *anuna melodu* ‘his goods were unusually many’; *haodi* ‘few,’ *melubi* ‘very few.’ The word *bosa* is used in specific cases. Thus one speaks of: *bosa tauna, bosa baula, bosa manu, bosa ngaana, bosa oguna, bosa kauna*, etc., ‘many people,’ ‘many buffaloes,’ ‘many chickens,’ ‘many kinds,’ ‘many round things,’ ‘many long objects.’ As a rule *bosa* is employed with living beings, people and animals, and if one can distinguish the indicated objects by their form and are largely independent. Compounds can be formed from a classifier and *bosa*, and also with the compounding elements *-bela* and *-pali*: *bosa belana nihadimi* ‘you all have heard it many times.’

*Tauna bosa* is a fixed expression and means: ‘the many, the masses in general, the public’; *walanga rapodakai tauna bosa, mahile hai ngkaia ihina* ‘the cook pot, in which is cooked for the masses, is big and has a large capacity.’

Liquids, fine things such as seeds, etc. are indicated by *ngkaia*. Thus one says: *ngkaia owai, ngkaia pare* (if the rice is in bundles, then one says: *bosa kotona pare*), *ngkaia mina tana, ngkaia hebi*, etc. ‘much water,’ ‘much rice,’ ‘much kerosene,’ ‘much grass’; *ngkaia* also has the meaning of ‘big, great’; this emerges most clearly from a few names. We might possibly describe the meaning of *ngkaia* as: [p. 158] ‘beyond the border of the usual.’ *Ngkaia* has the meaning ‘big, great’ in the expressions: *Owai ngkaia*, the great river, which originates in Tawaelia and flows through Napu; *tadasi ngkaia*, a bird of prey, which seeks its prey among chickens and small birds; *tai ngkaia* ‘the stomach’ (literally ‘the great intestine’).

*haodi*—and the derivations *haodidodi, haodi*—and *melubi* mean ‘few’ and ‘very few’; *haodi* is ‘few,’ *haodi-odi*, with stress on the final *o*, which is articulated a bit drawn out, in order to make it come out clearly, ‘how few indeed.’ Also a few times one hears *hadodidodi*. The three forms are all compounded with the unity prefix *ha-*. *Melubi* means ‘very few, extremely few.’ Yet another word is *hambise*, which is actually a measure

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<sup>15</sup> [footnote 1, p. 157] Compare Bare’e *lodu* ‘crash, of something heavy, which again and again falls down’ and Malay, Makasarese, Bugis *ladung* ‘piece of lead or iron which weighs down a hook for angling.’ The actual meaning of *melodu* is thus ‘crash, clash,’ multiplied by the number of objects present.

word; it is used of stuff which constitutes powder. For example, *hambise peda* ‘a small bit of chalk’ (something like a pinch).

*kangkaiana* ‘the amount’ is derived from *ngkaia*; yet other derivations of *ngkaia* are *mampangkaia* ‘make many, increase’; *nupangkaia andea* ‘make ready much food’; *hangkia* means ‘how much’; *hangkia wengina pane mosusake* ‘how many more nights before we feast?’ In order to express ‘various some’<sup>16</sup> one says *ba hangkia* ‘how many it may be’; *ba hangkia wulana liumi kuitahe* ‘some few months ago I saw them’; *ba hangkia-hangkia* or *ba hahangkia* means ‘be it ever so many.’ So one also encounters *hanoumba*; *noumba* is the word for ‘how’; the meaning of *hanoumba* is ‘how many’; *ba hanoumba* is ‘not many, few?’<sup>17</sup>

‘A few, some’ is *hantanga*, actually ‘a portion’; *tanga* means ‘the middle of something’; [p. 159] *hantanga parengku marugimi* ‘a part of my rice is ruined’; *hantanga baula mahai*, *hantanga bara* ‘some buffaloes are sick, some not’; *hantanga tauna madota*, *hantanga bara* ‘some people are willing, some not.’

The usual word for ‘all’ is *ope-ope*. *Ope-ope tauna padu lao mangala baula* ‘all the people are out, gone to fetch buffaloes’; *ope-ope kuhadimi hai kuisa* ‘I have heard all and I know it (understand it).’

Further there exist yet other words for ‘all, everyone, everything, the entire lot.’ See following below.

*panta* ‘all’; I have already given examples of this with the distributive numerals; *panta-panta* means ‘enough, entirely in order, sufficient, so that everyone gets a share’; *roomi iti pakuli pantangaanami raruru* ‘after that all kinds of medicine were put together.’

*paka* is actually an emancipated prefix. In the sense of an indefinite numeral it means ‘everyone, everything, all, the entire lot, one and all’; *paka hehi hai kau* ‘every grass and tree.’

*kapa* is probably a transposed form of *paka*. Transposition of words occurs not infrequently in Napu (see the examples in: “De Voornaamwoorden in het Napu” (The Pronouns in Napu), *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, vol. 59 (1915), p. 67). Here are still other examples of transposition: *mendoi* ‘wash, bathe,’ Bare’e *riu*; *laba* ‘shield’: *bala* ‘split’; the tree from which shields are made is called *laba*; Bare’e *bala'ani* ‘splittery,’ because its wood is so easily split; *mobala-bala* ‘hew out

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<sup>16</sup> [translators’ note: Dutch *verscheidene eenige*, in this context meaning an indefinite, undefined, ‘loose’ number.]

<sup>17</sup> [footnote 1, p. 158] The element *no* in *noumba* is *nu, anu*; *umba* occurs in *iumba* ‘where?’; *hanoumba* is thus literally ‘a number of which are where, a number of who, what?’ Compare Bare’e *sangkuja* (*kuja* is synonymous with Malay, etc. *apa*), Salayarese *sikura*, Loinang *sangkuka*, Makasarese *siapa*, Mandar *sangapa* ‘how many,’ thus singular *sa-* with a question word.

boards'; *nepa*, also *pane* 'afterwards, then'; *onge* 'nose'; Tawaelia *engo*; *baramba* 'lungs,' Bare'e *bambara*. The meaning of *kapa* is entirely like that of *paka*, e.g. *kapa pea i bua ide* 'everybody merely women in the village at the moment'; *kapa to Pekurehua* 'one and all people of Napu.'

*haha* is reduplication of the unity-prefix *ha-*; it [p. 160] also means 'all' and at the same time 'each one separately,' *mogahi hahake* 'we all play tops'; *masala hahakau* 'you all all stand guilty';<sup>18</sup> *haha* is also often bound with one of the enclitic personal pronouns. Once and again one hears the independent forms used. In comparison with the above-mentioned example, the use of *haha* and *ope-ope* distinguish themselves thus: *masala kau ope-ope* 'guilty stand all of you.'<sup>19</sup>

*podo* is also a word for 'all,' or perhaps the meaning is 'merely all, it is used up, it is out.'

*Nodo?* *podonami* 'is it so? (thus), that is all, with that it is out'; *podona pea* 'that is merely all.' Perhaps *podo* is a word which consists of *po-*, the prefix of nominal forms, and *do-*, the element *do* in the words *nodo* 'thus, so'; *indo* 'there,' *ido* 'that,' *indohou* 'thither,' *indowei* 'thither, far.'<sup>20</sup>

*bate* 'all, every, the entire lot.' This word is used in the same way as *podo*, e.g. *rapeita raranda ba iumba hou, bara ara, batena pea mengkanawo i owa* 'they went their way seeking somewhere yonder, there was none, all merely (what happened) was they fell in the water'; *batenami kuuli, ane nodo, maroa* 'all that I said was: if it is so, it is good'; *mehana nTalinga: iko, batenami andea hai watu ratunu mawaa-waa* 'nTalinga answered: all my food is merely glowing, roasted stones'; *batena pea* 'merely all, not more than that'; *batengkimi* 'that is all of us, no one else,' *batendami* 'no one more than them'; *bate-batena* [p. 161] means 'the original quantity remains, not increased and not lessened.'<sup>21</sup>

*hinangka* is formed from *hangka* with infix *-in-*; *hangka* is compounded from the unity prefix *ha-* with a prefix *ka-*; *hinangka* means 'come to completeness'; *hinangka baula hai*

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<sup>18</sup> [translators' note: Dutch *gijlieden allen zigt schuldig*.]

<sup>19</sup> [translators' note: Dutch *shuldig zigt gij allen*.]

<sup>20</sup> [footnote 1, p. 160] Bare'e also has *podo*, exclusively in the meaning 'merely.' It is a younger form of *pada* 'finished, over, at an end,' compare *parasi* (with plural ending *-si*) 'eaten bare by insects,' and *mepara-para* 'say all kinds of things, scold.' The meanings 'all' and 'merely' also fall together in *wa'anya*, e.g. *wa'anya nakenimo* 'he has taken everything away,' and *wa'anyamo setu?* 'is that all?' (is merely that it?). Also Layolo (on Selayar Island) has *pada* 'merely.'

<sup>21</sup> [footnote 1, p. 161] It is thus synonymous with Bare'e *waka* (Malay *bĕkas*) 'place where someone had been and mark or signs that his presence left behind'; *waka-wakanya* 'in the same place, in the same state.' The Bare'e also know *bate*, but on the sense of 'mark which one makes somewhere,' for example prohibition marks.

*binata* ‘all buffaloes and animals’; *hinangka tauna i bua* ‘all people from the village’; *hinangka kau, hehi hai aru ratuda* ‘all trees and grass and what is planted’; *bara mewali powia, lawi naande pea dena hai boe hai hinangkana pantangaana* ‘the garden work came to nothing, as rice birds and pigs and all kinds (of animals) together ate it.’

*handa* (Pamona *sondo* ‘many’; Besoa *handa* identical) means in Napu ‘sufficient, enough’; *ineemi hampai, kuhumbami handa* ‘no more for now, I have gotten enough’; *handa tauna nutudu, bati marugi mongkai* ‘you must send enough people, so that we don’t come to harm’; *kupohandai* ‘I replenish it until it is sufficient.’ *Handa* is also used in the following way: *hangkia tauna lao? bara mani handa hampulo* ‘how many people have gone out? still not ten (not to ten full)’; *hangkia gogoa nuanti? kupekiri bara mani handa hampiku* ‘how much corn have you brought? I think not yet to a picul full’; *hangkia holona iti? bara mani handa talu pulona see* ‘how much is the price of it? not even to thirty cents.’

*labi* (Malay *lebih*) would say, ‘more than, exceed the number,’ e.g. *hangko ibondengku kualadeade hangaa-ngaa hangatu labi kotuna* ‘from my garden, in each case just now I took more than a hundred trees’; *ba hampulo labi arami* ‘perhaps [p. 162] there were more than ten’; *i boeangki maida ualu pulona labi topeasale* ‘in our village live more than eighty taxpayers.’

‘Something’ is expressed by *ara*; *ara loli angku irio* ‘there is something that I have to say to you’; *manoto ara, au bara kiisa* ‘there is something fixed, which we do not know.’ People also say: *apa-apa* ‘something, a few things, what else’; also ‘something’ is rendered with: *ba apa* ‘or what, perhaps what’; *ara ba apa, au tababehi* ‘there is something that we do.’

‘Nothing’ is expressed by *bara*, the negative word. Sometimes one hears it with emphasis: *bara apa*, or *bara apa-apa* ‘entirely nothing, there is not anything.’

Here follow certain words which are connected to the subject of ‘Numerals.’

To ‘count’ is *moimba*, which can also be used for ‘calculate’; *moreke-reke* is borrowed from Dutch, as is also the word for ‘to photograph’: *moteke-teke* from Dutch *tekenen*. The Napu word for ‘draw’ is *mobati*, like the way one paints women’s jackets and decorates headbands and headcloths, and also sarongs. The word for ‘sum, total’ is *poimba*. The number added to is called: *u rararangi*, literally ‘that which is increased’; the second number is: *u merarangi*; the outcome of the addition: *poguluana*. The form *rarangi* receives stress on the penultimate syllable; the word stands for *rangangi*, as emerges from *ranga* ‘friend, companion,’ Malay *děngan*, and from Bare’e *rangani* ‘increase.’ The stem of *rarangi* is now considered to be *rangi*, because in *rarangi* people saw a reduplicated form; *kurarangi* ‘I increase it,’ *rararangi* ‘they increase it, it is increased’; *u merarangi* = *porarangi* ‘addition, that which one adds,’ *rapoporarangi* ‘they have as something added.’

*poguluana* is ‘the gathering of that which is brought in’; *mogulu* ‘gather,’ *morampu* also means ‘gather, get together, bring together’; *mogulu* is ‘add to, add with it,’ *morampu* ‘here and [p. 163] there, with this and that, collect something, until one has brought together, accumulated a little bit.’ Another word yet is *moruhu*, which can also indicate ‘gather, bring together,’ but more said of people and animals; *moruhu tauna* ‘the people come together’; *teruhu tauna* ‘the people have assembled (gathered).’

The usual terms with a subtraction are: subtrahend: *u raingihi*; difference, outcome: *pentaraana* ‘the remainder of it.’

One hears *morombela*, *mopobela*, *mobela* employed for ‘multiply’; this is nothing other than a translation of Malay *pukul*, brought in by Minahasan teachers. So also: *mopali*, *mopopali*, *morompali*; these last words however are not so often used as the former.

Divide is *mogaa*, actually ‘separate off, remove from each other.’ The subparts of the operation are described through terms which are formed just like those mentioned with addition and subtraction.

For determination of time, one says *mopatempo*, from *tempo* ‘time’ borrowed from Malay; also: *mopakanoto alona* ‘establish the day of it.’ For the counting of days, see the beginning of this article. For the various indications for time of the day, people direct themselves to the sun, and therefore have the following expressions:

*madondo-dondo* ‘very early in the morning, before sunrise’; *dumondo* ‘morning, before midday’; *madondo* and *dumondo* are derived from a stem *dondo*, which must have originated from *ando-ando*, reduplication of *ando*, Leboni ‘sun,’ Minahasan *ěndo*, Tontoli *ondo*, Ngaju *andau*. The meaning of this *ando-ando* must be ‘barely light, just a bit light.’ From this *dondo*, *madondo* is a *ma-* form, *dumondo* an *-um-* form.

Within the ‘*dumondo*’ time-space fall the following indications of time: *hangkau doa alo* ‘the sun is a *doa* high, a fishing rod high, above the mountains,’ in the morning half an hour after sunrise, and in the evening half an hour before sunset; *katama-tamana alo*, from [p. 164] *matama* ‘delicious, tasty,’ thus ‘when the sun is still delicious,’ in Napu in the morning between 9 and 10 o’clock; *mapeloloi alo*, roughly 11 o’clock. Further: *tebua alo* ‘midday, 12 o’clock,’ when the sun is at its highest; *tebuami alo* ‘the sun is already at its highest, it is already midday’; *pualo* ‘afternoon, between 12 and 4 o’clock’; herein falls: *tepilemi alo*, roughly between one and two hours after midday; *pile* ‘slanting, oblique’; *teligi alo* has the same meaning as *tepilemi alo* and *luemi alo*. *Luemi alo*, indicating roughly the same time span (related to the word *malelue* ‘sleepy, drowsy,’ literally ‘hanging down’); *indowei alo*, roughly 4 o’clock (‘the sun already has a slanting stance’); *mempindi-mpindi alo* ‘the sun is still visible a bit above the western mountains’; *hambali mata alo* ‘a small portion of the sun is still visible’; *tampu alo* ‘6 o’clock, sunset’; *marimau* ‘dusk, twilight,’ *kalumba* ‘evening’; *kaindi* ‘darkness, night’; *wengi* ‘night.’

*pantu* means ‘moment, period,’ also ‘direction’; *mahaē* is a word for ‘long of time’; *haē ensae* is ‘old’; *tosae* ‘the elders, the adults’; *oru* means ‘formerly, earlier’; *ioru* ‘in former

times, first,’ *moioru* ‘precede, go ahead’; *io-ioru* strengthened means ‘at the very first, before anything’; *alo-alona* ‘every day’; *minggu-minggu* ‘every week’; *wula-wulana* ‘every month’; *pare-parena* ‘every year, each year.’

*mohia* ‘torn,’ of a banana leaf into shreds, which people use to count, each strip standing for a person or an object or a part. People use this way of counting to determine the number of a group of people who are sitting or walking in a disordered manner, and are difficult to count in other ways, and so the only way to count them is to take up a number of leaf strips, of which everyone has placed one in a basket.

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