

The Minahasan languages

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DESCRIPTION

The author begins this paper with an enumeration of the ten languages spoken within the geographical boundaries of the Minahasan Residency located at the northern tip of Celebes (Sulawesi). Thereafter he concentrates on the five Minahasan languages proper, discussing the basis first for their inclusion in a Philippine language group, and second for their internal division into two groups, one comprising Tombulu', Tonsea' and Tondano, the other Tontemboan and Tonsawang. This is followed by a lengthy review of Tontemboan literature, including synopses of a number of folktales. The author considered all five Minahasan languages to be threatened, and closes with an appeal for similar work to be carried out in the other languages. A bibliography comprehensively lists previously published works concerning the Minahasan languages.

SOURCE

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FROM AND ABOUT THE MINAHASA.

III. THE MINAHASAN LANGUAGES.

BY

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The Minahasa as a whole, with the islands that belong to it, is not occupied exclusively by the Minahasan languages. Although its territory is already not extensive, it further yields a small part to five non-Minahasan languages: Sangir, Bentenan, Bantik, Ponosakan and Bajo.

When we view Minahasa as a whole, we find that its territory is occupied by the following languages:

1. Tombulu', in the districts of Manado, Kakaskasën and Tombariri of the Manado section, and Tomohon-Sarongsong of the Tondano section.

2. Tonsea' in the Tonsea' and Maumbi districts of the Manado section.

3. Tondano or Tolour, in the Tolian, Tolimambot and Ka'kas-Rëmbokën districts of the Tondano section.

4. Tontemboan, in the Langowan district of the Tondano section and the Sondër, Kawangko'an, Tompasö', Rumö'ong and Tombasian districts of the Amurang section.

5. Tonsawang in the Tonsawang district of the Amurang section.

6. Sangir, on the islands to the northeast and west of the Minahasan coast, in so far as they are inhabited.

7. Bantik, in the Bantik district of the Manado section.

8. Bentenan, in the northern portion of the Pasan-Ratahan-Ponosakan district of the Amurang section.

9. Ponosakan in the southern portion thereof.

10. Bajo, here and there on the coast, in temporary settlements which change from time to time.

Something is known about all these languages, but of some only a very little.

The long list of books and articles devoted to the languages of Minahasa, given in this article, would suggest that they were studied with great interest, but it is not at all so.

Concerning Tondano or Tolour, Tonsawang, Bentenan and Ponosakan we have nothing but the glossary published in 1869; of Bantik we only have Riedel's contribution from the same year. Only the following have been studied systematically: Tontemboan, Sangirese and to some extent also Tombulu'. However, we can state with certainty that Tombulu', Tonsea' and Tondano are closely related to each other and can be regarded as distinct dialects or regional variants of the same mother tongue, which has now disappeared. Next to this group is that of Tontemboan and Tonsawang, which stand closer to each other than to any of the three previously mentioned languages. Together these five languages, or two language groups, 1. Tombulu', Tonsea', Tondano and 2. Tontemboan, Tonsawang compose the Minahasan languages.

Sangirese is the language of the Sangir Islands, especially: Great Sangir, Siau and Tagulandang, with the islands between them. The Sangirese have colonized the Minahasan islands, principally Bangka, Mantëraw, Naeng, Siladin and Bunakeng, so that these islands must be counted among their language area.

Closely related to Sangirese are Bentenan and Bantik. Bentenan is spoken exclusively in Minahasa; Bantik also has some territory on the northern coast of Bolaang-Mongondow. Ponosakan, already disappearing, is no different from an old-fashioned dialect of Mongondow, although its territory is also entirely within the borders of Minahasa.

All these languages, however, fall within one large group, which is clearly distinct in the Indonesian language region: the Philippine language group. The northern border of it is the southern part of Formosa; the eastern border is formed by the Marianas or Ladrões and the Palau Islands; the western border runs to the west of the Philippines and from the [p. 136] the southern tip of the Palawan Island to northern Borneo (which is partly part of the area of the Philippine languages), along the western border of Bolaang-Mongondow, where it reaches its southern border on the Gulf of Tomini, and thence runs along the eastern coast of Minahasa to rejoin the indicated eastern border of the Philippine languages.

In the Dutch Indies, therefore, there are Philippine languages: Talaut, in the north, which is also spoken on the island of Miangas, further south Sangirese, the languages spoken in Minahasa and Mongondow. Outside of the Dutch Indies, numerous speakers of Tagaal (Tagalog) are located on the east coast of northern Borneo, from the northern cape to the Dutch border. There are also a few colonies of Tagalogs located in Sërawak. A large number of the inhabitants of the Solog (Sulu) islands have settled on the east coast of British North Borneo, especially around Darvel Bay (Tëluk Giong) and the islands therein; further in Dutch Borneo (southern and eastern sections), on the coast of Tidung, Bulungan and Gunung Tabur as far as Cape Kaniungan, an extension of the Tindah Hantung Mountains (1° N. latitude). The Dusun languages are spoken in the highlands of northern Borneo, that is, entirely inland, including Ida'an or Iria'an and Lanun (Iranun,

Ilanun), from Marudu Bay to the south. The tribes that speak these languages come from Magindanau.

The Minahasan languages are thus located in the southern half of the Philippine language region. They are distinguished from the Indonesian division of the Austronesian language area by a great wealth of prefixes, infixes and suffixes and their very active use in word formation. Together with reduplication, these affixes serve to indicate different tenses and moods, or also to indicate the plural forms of nouns and verbs. Articles, which occur in various forms, therefore indicate some cases, or also the singular and plural uses of the nouns they modify. In addition to the many verbal forms, there are just as many nominal forms, which, like the verb forms, carry an indication of tense and mood by the affixes or the reduplication with which they are formed. When reading a text in a Philippine language, one [p. 137] is struck by the small number of words that remain in their stem form and the large number of derived and compounded words. This does not make it easy to teach these languages.

In particular, the number of prefixes is particularly large in the Philippine languages, and the Minahasan languages are certainly no exception among this language complex when it comes to wealth of prefixes.

As noted above, the nouns, derived from verbal stems, carry an indication of tense and mood by the affixes with which they are formed, just as verb forms do. To make this clear, I give here a series of examples, all derived from the Tontemboan stem *ai*, which means ‘come hither.’

aian ‘place to which one will come’

niaian ‘place to which one has come’

paaian ‘place to which one presently comes’

pinaaian ‘place where one came’

pěaian ‘place where one would come’

piněaian ‘place where one would have come’

pěngaaian ‘place where one usually comes’

piněngaaian ‘place where one has been used to coming’

pěngěkiaian ‘place where one is usually ordered to come’

piněngěkiaian ‘place where one was usually ordered to come’

kaaian ‘place where one can come’

kinaaian ‘place where one could have come’

papaaian ‘on whose coming hither is expected’

pinapaaian ‘on whose coming hither was expected’

pengapaaian ‘place where one is usually allowed come’

pinəŋgapaaian ‘place where one was usually allowed to come’

pakaaian ‘place where all will come’

pinakaaian ‘place where all have come’

The great regularity of these forms immediately catches the eye. The rich treasure of the Minahasan languages is therefore not confusing when one examines how the language is ordered. It goes without saying that not all formations can be made from all stems, but it is by no means a rarity to find stems with upwards of eighty derivations.

Other examples of tense derivations for nouns include: [\[p. 138\]](#)

Tombulu’ *si lumalukar* ‘the keeper,’ *si limalukar* ‘the former keeper.’

Tontemboan *siito* ‘uncle,’ *sinimaito* ‘late uncle.’

The sound system of the Philippine languages is somewhat reduced compared to that of the more westerly Indonesian languages, but it is still robust. The palatal sounds are missing; where there is a *c* or *ny* here and there, this represents a localized and more recent sound development. In some Philippine languages like Sangirese and Talaut all or almost all words terminate in a vowel, to which end final consonants are also sloughed away, but most Philippine languages do not.

The five Minahasan languages—of which we will call Tombulu’, Tondano and Tonsea’ Group I, and Tontemboan and Tonsawang Group II—alike use the very same derivational material to construct words: repetition, reduplication, compounding, intensive forms, prefixes, infixes and suffixes. There are only differences in how the language treats these constituents mechanistically, that is to say, the derivations are put together a little differently in one set of languages than another. Some examples will make this clear.

All five Minahasan languages have the stem *туру* ‘point out, give instruction.’ Using the prefix that in Tombulu’ has the form *maha*, in Tonsea’ *maa*, and in Tondano *ma*, the following are formed: *mahaturu*’, *maatudu*’, *maturu*’, a durative form that means ‘occupied with, regularly pointing out or giving instruction.’ Also in Tontemboan people express the same meaning with *maturu*’, and in Tonsawang with *maturo*’. The Past Tense of that form is created with the same affix in both groups, but in Group I it is an infix, in Group II a prefix, thus:

Group I.

Group II.

Tombulu' *minahaturu'*
 Tonsea' *minaatudu'*
 Tondano *minaturu'*

Tontemboan *nimaturu'*
 Tonsawang *imaturo'*

The meaning of all five of these forms is the same: 'gave instructions, was busy with or usually pointed out or taught,' but while in Group II *ni-* is placed before one and the same form *maturu'* (in Tonsawang *ni-* is shortened to *i-*), Group I converts this *nima-* into *mina-*, or (as one usually expresses it) [p. 139] places the infix between the initial consonant and the following vowel.

This is a characteristic difference between Group I and Group II. It can also be mentioned in passing that in the western part of the Tombulu' language area, Tara-tara and surroundings, people say *nimahaturu'*. In this respect, half of the Tombulu' language area belongs to Group II.

The same is seen in other verbs. Future Tense is formed in both groups by the infix *um*, inserted between the initial stem consonant and the following vowel. Thus in all groups people say: *tumuru'*, *tumuro'* 'will point out, will instruct.' In Group II the Past Tense hereof is again formed by prefixation of *ni-*, and in Group I by infixation of *in*.

One would therefore expect a double infix in Group I. It used to be like that; in fact it is still this way in Talaut, Mongondow, and other Philippine languages. But this *inum* is fused into *im* and so one gets the following forms.

Group I.

Group II.

Tombulu' *timuru'*
 Tonsea' *timudu'*
 Tondano *timuru'*

Tontemboan *nitumuru'*
 Tonsawang *itumuro'*

The meaning is: 'has pointed out, indicated, taught.' The forms *timuru'*, *timudu'* thus originate from *tinumuru'*, *tinumudu'*, which had first become *tinmuru'*, *tinmudu'*. Such forms also occur in some Philippine languages. It can also be seen here that both groups have worked with the same material, but in different ways.

In this case the forms of Group II are older than those of Group I. But in general the languages of Group I have a more old-fashioned character than those of Group II. This is shown, for example, by the form of the following words:

Group I.		Group II.	
Tombulu'	<i>rangdang</i>		
Tonsea'	<i>rungdang</i>	Tontemboan	<i>raindang</i> 'red'
Tombulu'	<i>sarongsong</i>	"	<i>saroinson</i> 'gutter' [p. 140]
"	<i>rimbĕngbĕng</i>	"	<i>rimbĕimbĕng</i> ¹ 'dark'
"	<i>tungtung</i>	"	<i>tuintung</i> 'forehead'
"	<i>palungpung</i>	"	<i>paluimpung</i> 'sprout'
"	<i>lumalungdung</i>	"	<i>lumaluindung</i> (proper name)
Tonsea'	<i>dungdung</i>	"	<i>ruindung</i> 'lie together in one nest'

This clearly shows that the forms of Group I originated from repeated roots, namely *rang*, *song*, *wĕng*, *tung*, *pung*, *lung*, *dung*. In Group I when these roots are repeated they become *rangdang*, *songsong* (with infix *ar*), *mbĕngbĕng*, *tungtung*, *pungpung* (with infix *al*), etc. In Group II, the final consonant of the first of the two repeated syllables becomes a nasal sound that assimilates to the following consonant, while the preceding vowel is pronounced with *i*. Thus the forms of Group I are here the oldest.

The same is true of repeated roots such as *kaskas* 'scratch,' *korkor* 'dig,' *koskos* 'descend' in Group I, and *ka'kas*, *ko'kor*, and *ko'kos* in Group II. Likewise Group I has *liklik* 'go around' versus *li'lic* in Group II.

In Group I, the formation of Past Tense with certain verb forms is also old fashioned, which express this tense with an auxiliary verb, which means 'has come hither, has returned.' In such cases, the performance of the act is represented as a going and coming back. The thought 'has been done' is then expressed by 'has come back,' in Group I *nimei*. In Group II this should be *nimai*, but this is reduced to a single *a*. Thus for example Group I says *nimei ituke* 'has been swung' (literally: has come here, returned from being swung). Gr. II says *aituke*, for: *nimai ituke*. Here the Group II form would not have been interpretable, had not the better-preserved form of Group I pointed in this direction.

The five languages are very similar in vocabulary, but the languages of Group I have far more words in common with each other than with any of the languages of Group II, which again have most of their vocabulary in common. In the Sondĕr dialect of Tontemboan, [p. 141] a *k* after an *i* becomes *c* and an *ng*² after *i* becomes *ny*; if *ngk* is preceded by *i*, then *ingk* becomes *inc*. This sound change is unknown in Group I; Tontemboan *tincas* 'run away,' *sicu* 'elbow,' *wulinya* 'egg' are articulated in Group I as Tombulu' *tingkas*, *siku*, Tondano *wurenga* '.

¹ [Translator's note: In the original spelled *rimbĕngbĕng*, corrected here to *rimbĕimbĕng* based on Schwarz (1908:374), likewise *toeingtoeng*, corrected to *tuintung* based on Jellesma (1892:49).]

² [translator's note: In the original *n*, corrected here to *ng*. Adriani was clearly aware of the phenomenon, see his statement about it in *Hoofdstukken uit de spnaakkunst van het Tontemboansch* (1908:40).]

Often the same words in the different groups have different meanings. Often this shift is so modest that there is no doubt one has to do with the same word. Thus for example *peret* in Tombulu' and Tonsea' means 'mouse,' in Tontemboan 'bat'; in Tontemboan *kontoy* means 'to squat,' in Tonsea' 'to perch on a branch' as birds do. In Group I *kan* has the meaning 'cooked rice,' while in Group II it occurs only in a few compounds, where it means 'food in general.'

Languages in the same group also show differences in sound systems, etc., but not as frequently as between the groups. Tombulu' and Tondano both have two different *r* sounds, Tonsea' does not. The latter articulates *l* as *d*,³ but in a way that still makes it clear that the *d* originated from *l*.

A separate dialect of Tombulu' is spoken in the Kakas-Rëmbokën district. In the Tontemboan area the district of Sondër has its own dialect, similarly the districts of Langowan and Tompaso. The Tara-tara dialect of Tombulu' was already mentioned above.

Despite the incompleteness of the above presentation, it can nevertheless give an idea of the orientation of the Minahasan languages. The Philippine languages in general are particularly worth studying. Up until now, Old Javanese has had an even higher place in the comparative study of Indonesian languages than Sanskrit in the study of Indo-Germanic languages. At any rate only from Javanese can we know something about the old language, because writing had already been introduced so long ago by the Hindus to the Javanese, so that the former Javanese language has not been forgotten, as is the case with all other Indonesian peoples and their ancient languages. But the Philippine languages, including the Minahasan languages, are certainly as good as Old Javanese, because much has been preserved in the Philippine languages that must have been possessed by Indonesian languages generally, [p. 142] but which has already been lost in most of them. When one examines the different language areas on Celebes, beginning with Mongondow and moving outward, one sees the languages becoming increasingly poor in their resources for expressing concepts of tense and mood in the multitudinous ways this is done in the Philippine languages through alterations in word form. Following Mongondow, the Gorontalic and Tominic groups still indicate tense distinctions in the verb, but in the eastern half of the Torajan language group the loss of tense forms in the verb can already be noted.

The further one goes from Minahasa, the more the loss of prefixes, infixes and suffixes can be seen. One also finds reduplication used less and less; the general formation of tool names in the Philippine languages by reduplication (*wiwilit* 'needle,' from *wilit* 'to sew') falls away in the Torajan languages and the vocabulary continues to deviate more and more.

³ [translator's note: E.g. Tombulu *buʔul*, Tondano *wuʔul*, Tonsea *buʔud* 'rotten' (James Sneddon, *Proto-Minahasan: Phonology, Morphology and Wordlist*, 1978:32).]

Old Javanese can only be known from writings; the study material that the Philippine languages furnish is a living language. The Minahasan languages are still alive, but they are no longer thriving. The Minahasan people have turned to Malay, because in that language Christianity and school education have been brought to the population, and they have never opposed it. As a result, the way forward for the mother tongue has been closed off.

The Minahasan people felt, quite rightly, that Malay would open up the way for them through the entire archipelago. They are now going a step further and turning to Dutch, which gives them access to European science. This is certainly a great progress. The Malay used in Minahasa not only has a vocabulary that is a mixture of all kinds of languages, it is also treated with complete arbitrariness in morphology and syntax, since it is not the mother tongue of its speakers nor is it systematically practiced by the great majority of them.

People call Malay 'the lingua franca of the Indies Archipelago.' This beautiful-sounding name is not an honorific title. What the ship and port people on the coasts of the Mediterranean have pieced together to make themselves intelligible to each other [\[p. 143\]](#) is, from a linguistic point of view, not very beautiful; it is a long way from a proper language, no matter what services it may provide as a means of commerce. Likewise the Malay spoken by people in Minahasa: it is a disorganized language, and this has had a disastrous effect on the inward sense that its speakers have for good language.

The fact that the Minahasans, as long as they do not know Dutch, use this Moluccan Malay to provide themselves with wider movement is very understandable. However they neglect their own language, look down on it with disdain, and accept that their children do not learn it or only learn it imperfectly. This is extremely short-sighted of them and proves that they are so much filled with the future that they do not stop to think about the heritage their fathers have left them in the Minahasan languages.

As is understandable, the literature of the Minahasan languages has not developed along with the people, because those languages have not served as a vehicle for Christianity or education, to which the people of Minahasa owe their progress. Thus one has to speak of Old Minahasan literature, because very little has been written in any Minahasan language since the arrival of a new period for Minahasa.

This Old Minahasan literature is far from known in its full extent. Among Minahasans themselves, Tombulu' literature has always taken precedence over those of the other tribes; Tombulu' songs are also often sung outside the area of this language, and among the foreign words that non-Tombulu' poets use in their poetry, the vast majority have been borrowed from Tombulu'. Tombulu' ways of singing used to be used a lot at non-Tombulu' festivities, but the use of the Tombulu' language, like that of other the Minahasan languages, has always been limited to its own area. There is no mention of one language area conquering another, unless it be that a clan settled in the area of another and, by the second or third generation, had more or less adopted the language of its environment, or at least eventually came to speak their mother tongue impurely.

The Minahasan languages of which something has been published about its literature are: Tontemboan, Tombulu', and Tonsea'. [p. 144]

What has been published of Tombulu' literature has not been carefully edited and this is partly true of the little Tonsea' that has been produced. The few disconnected pieces that have appeared concerning the other Minahasan languages are hardly worth mentioning.

Only the Tontemboan literature can be given a somewhat complete overview, thanks to the late Mr. J. Alb. T. Schwarz, who worked for many years in Minahasa as a missionary-teacher and as an assistant preacher, and who took an interest in the Tontemboan language and literature. He was the first scientific practitioner to speak of in the Minahasan languages.

In the collection of 141 pieces of Tontemboan literature collected by Mr. Schwarz, twelve groups are distinguished, of which only the last group contains poetry. The overview of Tontemboan literature given here will be a discussion of each of the twelve groups. It may be assumed that this is also a sketch of Minahasan literature in general, since the Minahasan groups have usually developed along the same lines.

The first group includes animal stories, a kind of narrative that has spread across the Indonesian language region. In this collection one finds the story of the Monkey and the Turtle, who plant bananas; only the Turtle takes care of its planting; The Monkey spoils his plants. When the turtle's bananas have matured, she asks the Monkey to pick them, since she cannot climb the tree herself. The Monkey climbs into the tree, eats all the bananas and lets the Turtle watch. In retaliation the Turtle sets a trap for the Monkey, resulting in his death. The Turtle now takes the Monkey's bones and burns them into lime, which she places before the other monkeys, who come to find their comrade. The monkeys chew the lime with the betel and areca nut that the Turtle offers them, but when they discover where the lime had come from, they capture the Turtle and want to drown her in a pond, in which the Turtle swims merrily. The monkeys have an Anoa come drink up the pond water, but it can't swallow all of it and returns the water, so that the pond is refilled, and the Turtle remains out of the monkeys' reach. [p. 145]

Another story tells about the Anoa who challenges the Leech to see who can run fastest. The Leech attaches itself to the Anoa's tail. Whenever the running Anoa asks, "Where are you?" the Leech therefore can always answer: "Here, right behind you." The Anoa, desperate, continues running until he falls dead.

Another well-known story is that of the Crab, the Shrimp and the Shellfish. The Crab cooks food for the two others, but falls into the fire. The Shrimp wants to take her out but also dies in the fire, and the Shellfish, in mourning, sneezes its body out of its shell and also meets its end.

The Civet acts as a trickster when he deceives the Monkey into thinking that a nest of wild bees hanging from a tree branch is a gong, so that the Monkey hits it and gets stung.

Afterwards the Civet lies to him that chili pepper fruits hanging from a bush are wild raspberries; The Monkey eats them and burns his mouth. Finally, the Civet makes him believe that a patch of bast fibers from the sugar palm is warm clothing, especially if it is set on fire. The Monkey wraps itself in the fibers, the Civet lights them and lets the Monkey burn.

The second group consists of stories that explain how some animals get certain characteristics. It is told about the Cinnamon Dove that she has retained her habit of shouting louder and louder from a singing competition against another bird. And the Small Hornbill is said to make a complaining sound, because the casque he used to wear on his beak was borrowed from him by the Great Hornbill, who keeps showing it off and doesn't want to give it back. This legend is so well known that the name of the Great Hornbill in Tontemboan (*uwak*) is now the common word for 'to deceive.' As the reason for why the Minahasan monkey is black with red buttocks, the legend that exists about it tells that there was once a mother who punished her disobedient son by giving him popped corn instead of rice. The boy got angry, set the pan on the fire, and sat down in it, so that his buttocks became chapped and his skin burned. He then fled into the woods and became the monkey from whom all Minahasan monkeys descended. [p. 146]

This is followed in Group 3 by stories of people in animal or plant form. In the animist view, inwardly the animal is no different from man, but its physique prevents it from walking, speaking, or using its hands, or forces it to swim, fly, crawl or jump. But if the animal can remove this outer shell (in the stories called its clothing), then its human form also emerges from it and it turns out to be entirely human. If its 'clothing' is now destroyed, it will permanently remain a person; otherwise, as often as it wants, it can return to its monkey, bird, snake, monitor lizard, gourd, or whatever other form.

These stories are all of the same type, so that it will be sufficient to relate just one of them. A woman gives birth to a son, a Monkey. When he grows up, he has his mother ask the eldest of the king's daughters for her hand in marriage. The girl refuses in mocking tone. Likewise, her six younger sisters, who receive the marriage proposal of the Monkey one by one. Only the youngest princess agrees. At the bathing place, the Monkey removes his 'clothes' and appears as a beautiful prince. Out of envy the disappointed older sisters want to do away with their younger sister, but their treachery is discovered and they receive their just deserts.

Related to these are the stories in group 4, which relate events, all of which were able to happen only with the help of animals.⁴ Here the animals do not step out of their animal-like shell, but exhibit their human side by repaying benefactors or helping the unfortunate.

⁴ [translator's note: Dutch *welke alle hebben kunnen geschieden* 'all of which could have happened,' but clearly something is missing. I have inserted the qualifying text 'only with the help of animals' based on the introduction to the Group 4 stories in Schwarz (1907, II:72).]

A very well-known story in Indonesia takes this form in Minahasa: Two boys, who are orphans, are neglected by their uncle and have to fend for themselves, whereby they lead a pitiful existence. One day they find a quail in the grass, which addresses them: "Take me from here, Brothers, and I will lay eggs." The Boys take the animal, put it in a basket and notice that the bird fills it with rice. Thus they soon become wealthy, so that their uncle becomes envious and asks for the bird on loan. However, this does not help him much, because when he puts the quail in a basket, it only becomes full of wild maize. The uncle gets angry, slaughters the bird, eats it, and throws the bones in the fireplace. So [p. 147] then the boys find nothing of their quail but the bones, but they bury it, and out of it grows a wonderful tree. It has objects of silk and precious metal for leaves and fruit, so that from what the tree yields the boys live even more comfortably than before.

Such stories show that the helpful animal is considered to be an emissary of the Ancestors of the helpless ones, or an incarnation of a deceased ancestor. The fact that a human or animal grows up again from its bones is a common folk conception in Indonesia. The bones are the solid and permanent part of the human body; the meat is the transient part. Just as the flesh of a fruit rots and out of the pit sprouts a new plant, likewise a new body can sprout from the planted bones. The wonder tree mentioned here is thus actually a new existence of the animal helper, because it grows up from its bones.

A story of an animal helping a person out of gratitude is the tale about Wutul, who releases a caught fish and receives the assurance of help when he needs it. Wutul elopes with a princess, takes her to a foreign land, and is forced by the ruler there to carry out difficult undertakings, so that he might perish, so that the ruler can take his wife. The fish helps him perform his feats, so that in the end Wutul defeats the ruler.

The last story in this group tells of a crocodile, which manages to throw a newlywed woman into an abyss, and then takes on the woman's form in order to insinuate itself with her husband. However, even though the crocodile has taken on all the form and manners of the woman, it still retains a scent, which is peculiar to the crocodile, so that the man is distrustful. When he is warned by a house lizard, he goes looking for his wife. He finds her in the abyss and kills the crocodile.

Assembled in the fifth group are stories about forest dwarves (*lolok*), storm spirits (*mawěris*), vampires (*songko'*) and other spirit beings. Out of these stories come to light the folk beliefs that people have about nature spirits. One of these stories runs as follows: In a certain country the [p. 148] King's daughter suddenly disappeared; two brothers go to the King and offer to look for her. While one goes searching in the surrounding area, the other stays behind to cook. The latter is attacked by a dwarf, who wrestles with him, overpowers him, and eats his rice. The next day the other brother remains behind to cook. He is also attacked by the Dwarf, but the Dwarf cannot defeat him. The Brother, who is now in charge, forces the Dwarf to reveal where the Princess is. The Brother then has to fight the Guardian of the Princess. With help from the Dwarf, he emerges victorious.

The last story in this group is curious, because the whole corresponds to the well-known story of Frau Holle from the fairy tale collection of the Brothers Grimm. A woman

has a stepdaughter and a child of her own; the stepdaughter is treated roughly and badly, while her own daughter is favored and spoiled. One day the stepdaughter sadly goes to the water immediately after having received a punishment. She goes to wash her clothes, but it escapes her; she follows after it in the stream, until she finally comes to the house an old woman, who gives the clothing back to her, but also asked her to help her feed the chickens and the pigs. The chickens are owls and the pigs are all kinds of snakes, but the girl makes no comment and does what she is asked. Then she has to cook; the cooking pot is only a coconut shell, but the girl boils the rice in it and, after all this evidence of good will, is sent back by the old woman to her stepmother by a special way, on which all kinds of articles of clothing and necklaces fall down on her, so that she returns to her stepmother richly attired. The latter lets her own daughter imitate everything, but the girl derisively laughs at the Old Woman for her owls and snakes and her coconut shell. When the Old Woman then shows her the way back, it is a bad path, full of thorns and stones, on which she falls and is wounded and bruised, so that she returns to her mother in a lamentable state. Her mother now clearly sees which of her two daughters is the best.

Group 6 consists of twelve stories, all of which relate to folk beliefs. Herein are accounts of old agricultural practices, *pontianaks*,⁵ vampires, *ngiungs*,⁶ of the *mawëris* [p. 149] and other spirits. These stories also seek to explain more or less all the customs mentioned in them, but it goes without saying that only a comparison with similar customs among other animistic peoples can lead to their explanation. As an attempt at explanation, these stories are especially notable, because they show how later generations always tend to seek an entirely rational interpretation for customs of which they no longer understand the meaning or aim.

Following this are twenty stories in Group 7 about the founding of places and the explanation of place names. All kinds of customs are naturally discussed, which were observed when choosing a site where one wanted to start a new village. Besides the opening up of the terrain, the erection of the first huts, the search for a few large stones, which were considered the habitation of the guardian spirits of the village, all sorts of other customs took place, all of which are mentioned in these stories. That is why these stories are of considerable importance for anthropology and linguistics, and, insofar as I can say, they are one of a kind in Indonesian literature. The derivations of place names are for the most part according to the sound;⁷ they are therefore sometimes correct or nearly correct, but usually incorrect. The story of how the head of Sondër village came to be recognized as district head is nice. Before that, he was subordinate to the district head of Kawangko'an. The sergeant who commanded the garrison of the Dutch East India Company in Manado regularly called on the district chiefs of the interior to come and

⁵ [translator's note: Malicious spirits that seek to harm pregnant women and newborns.]

⁶ [translator's note: Spirits that cry "Ngiung, ngiung!" announcing someone's death; they frighten people then follow them to their home or field (Schwarz 1907, II:177).]

⁷ [translator's note: That is to say, they are folk etymologies in which the meaning of a place name is explained by its sound resemblance to a more familiar word.]

perform mandatory service and to provide wood for the maintenance of the fort at Manado. That summons was transferred by the district head of Kawangko'an to the village chief of Sondër, but he did not respond—not until he received a separate summons from the sergeant. He was therefore recognized as an independent district head.

The thirty-two stories that compose Group 8 are of a semi-mythical nature and deal with gods, demigods and renowned ancestors. For the most part they are notable because of the features of animist folk belief found in them. Thus the story of Ramopoli'i contains the story of a girl whose mother that gave birth to her was a rattan stem; the father is a man who, without knowing it, had impregnated the rattan by regularly relieving himself [p. 150] at the foot of the plant. Later this girl marries Ramopoli'i and both go on a journey. As they pass by the rattan plant that is her mother, the rattan seizes the young woman with her thorns and makes her disappear. Only when Ramopoli'i piles all kinds of goods next to the rattan plant as bride price does it let the young woman go. Every rattan plant they pass by in that forest holds the young woman with its thorns and lets go of her only after some gifts have been deposited with it.

Before Ramopoli'i had met his wife, he once bathed in the River Rano i Apo'. A *kowal* fruit⁸ came drifting with the current and washed up against Ramopoli'i. He picked it up,⁹ looked at it and saw that it had been bitten by someone who had to have very fine teeth. Suspecting that it had to be a girl, he had his slaves travel to the upper reaches of the river, to see if they could find the girl with the fine teeth. After a long search they found a village, where the chief's fine-looking house stood in the middle of the other homes. Hoping that here they would find the girl they were seeking, they came up with a ploy to lure her out and get her to show her teeth. They took two cocks, plucked the feathers off of them, and let them fight with each other in the square in front of the main house. All the villagers crowded around to enjoy the amusement. At one point, the roofing of the main house was lifted up, and a young girl looked out to watch the plucked cocks go at each other. She was of exceptional beauty, and was staying in the attic of that house. Laughing at the strange spectacle, she showed her teeth. Ramopoli'i's slaves had been keeping an eye on her, and were thereby assured that they had found the fine-toothed girl for their master. They brought him news about their discovery, and soon after Ramopoli'i sought her hand in marriage, and she became his wife.

Six stories tell about Manimporok and Kalangi'. Manimporok is the personification of the great mountain Manimporok, which constitutes the southeastern part of the Soputan Mountains. In that story, Kalangi', who lives near the sea, visits the great hunter Manimporok, who regales his guest with prepared game. Kalangi' repeats his visits, and one time when he finds [p. 151] that Manimporok isn't home, he kidnaps his wife. To

⁸ [translator's note: A water apple (*Syzygium* species) (Schwarz 1908:181).]

⁹ [translator's note: In the original given as plural: "... picked *them* up, looked at *them*, and saw that *they* ...," but this is inconsonant with the preceding context, or the story as originally told (Schwarz 1907, II:285–286).]

console himself, Manimporok makes an image of his wife out of *sangkiow* wood,¹⁰ and places it on the road, in order to hear the criticisms of passers-by. He benefits from people's observations and comments, so that soon the image bears a perfect resemblance to the stolen woman. Some time later he regularly finds his food has been cooked; he spies on the cook and discovers that the image has become animated. So his kidnapped wife is fully restored to him.

Among the further stories of importance are those of Lincambene' and Muntu-untu, the legend of the stealing of rice, and the story of Pamagian. The people who play the leading roles in these stories can be counted among the demigods.

In the Lincambene' stories, Kěrito is the husband of Lincambene' and Kumokomba' is their son. Muntu-untu, the supreme god, is Kumokomba's foster father. Now we are told how Kumokomba' managed to change name and rank with Muntu-untu. He comes inside Muntu-untu's place of residence and finds him with other experts in the palace yard of his home, busy with the enumeration of genealogical registers. Muntu-untu held a staff in his hand, drawing stripes and lines on the ground at the naming of the generations. Kumokomba' sat down behind him, causing Muntu-untu to stab him in the eye with the upper end of his staff. Now Kumokomba' began to cry and made a violent outburst, and didn't want to stop until he had switched names and rank with Muntu-untu. Thus it became the task of Kumokomba' to list the genealogical registers and that of Muntu-untu to determine everything left fate. In truth, Muntu-untu 'the most elevated' and Kumokomba' 'the controller of destiny' are one the same person; the story therefore indicates this in its own way.

Previously rice was not known on earth. At that time the people ate *kěliat* fruits,¹¹ but they knew that the heavenly beings possessed rice. A certain Tumilěng then made a plan to steal rice from the Upper World, as he knew that the inhabitants there would not give away or sell their food. He then traveled to Heaven and overnighed with the priest of the village where he had arrived. That night he lay down [p. 152] on top of the vat of rice, which had been covered with a mat. He loosened his hair, and when he felt that his hair was full of rice grains, he tied it back into a bun, tied his headscarf and made his getaway. But the distrustful host sent some people after him, who managed to discover the stolen grains and took them all back. So he returned to earth unsuccessful, but the next time he succeeded. As a peddling vendor he entered the village of heaven, where people were busy drying rice in the sun and chasing away the chickens that came towards it. He helped diligently and made sure that he stepped on the rice from time to time. Beforehand, he had carved out notches in the calluses on the soles of his feet, and when he felt that some grains had penetrated, he left. But again the inhabitants did not trust him and set after him. Tumilěng descended Mount Klabat, but when he noticed that the heavenly beings were approaching him, he asked his brother Sumantri for help. Sumantri took his sword

¹⁰ [translator's note: *Evodia minahassae* (Schwarz 1908:411).]

¹¹ [translator's note: *Gnetum latifolium* (Schwarz 1908:113).]

and cut off the peak from Mount Klabat, so that the road between heaven and earth was severed and Tumilëng could no longer be overtaken by his pursuers. Since then Mount Klabat has had a stump top.

Now Tumilëng sowed the grains, let them multiply and, after a few planting seasons, had a large stock. People could have started eating rice now, but no one knew the sacrificial ceremonies that were necessary for warding away the calamity to be feared from it. In order to worm the secret of this out of the inhabitants of heaven, a certain Mokointëmpai went to the Upper World after hearing that the priest Mamarimbing had died there. He knew the model of the spear, the machete, and the betel-nut bag of the deceased and had faithfully recreated these objects. With a pig and a small bag of rice, he arrived in the village where the priest had lived and set up a loud lament. People asked him why he did so, and he replied that he was the eldest son of Mamarimbing, and that he had been brought to Earth at a young age and raised there, so that his existence had been forgotten by the inhabitants. He came now with offerings to attend the death ceremonies for his father. He showed them his spear, his machete, and his betel-nut bag, which were quite similar to those of his father. People therefore believed his story, and they asked him which part of the inheritance he [p. 153] wanted. Nothing other than the birds with which Father practiced divination, he answered. But when he received one, he immediately demanded information about divination practices, and so he was taught the whole series of sacrifices that are necessary to rid the eating of rice of all danger and make it a useful food for people. Back on Earth he shared his knowledge, and after that rice became a great blessing for the people.

The story of Pamagian (or Pandagian, as she is called in Tombulu') tells about a beautiful girl, who took a great interest in participating in songs and dance. She would sing with others in the village square until late at night, and when all the others had fallen silent, she could still be heard singing:

“O Gods, let your conveyance descend.”

Finally, she went home to sleep. But neither her parents nor her other family members would let her in. They wanted to punish her and called out to her, “Go to sleep with the dogs, with the pigs, with the goats.” In desperation, the poor girl went back to the village square and repeated the above-mentioned line of verse for so long, until a litter was lowered from heaven. Pamagian sat in it. Just as the day dawned, and in front of the eyes of all her relatives, she rose to heaven in the litter. With flattery and fine promises, her repentant relatives sought to induce her to return, but Pamagian rose to heaven and was received there by the supreme god. Her body was dismembered: her eyes became the sun, her face became the moon, and the other pieces of her body were scattered everywhere in the sky like stars.

In this story the mythical origin has not been completely lost, because the name Pamagian or Pandagian can mean ‘rainbow.’ The same is true of the following two stories from this group. The substance thereof is this: A poor man borrows a fishhook from a rich man and promises to give it back; if he didn’t, he with his people would become

slaves of the rich man. The Poor Man goes fishing and gets a bite, but the cord breaks and the hook is lost. In desperation, the Poor Man jumps in after it, lands on the bottom of the sea, and there learns [p. 154] that the ruler of the underworld has a serious throat ailment. The Poor Man now passes himself off as a healer. He looks down his throat and sees that it is his hook, which had been swallowed by the ruler when he saw it lowered from above. The Poor Man pulls out the hook and afterward looks for an opportunity to come back to earth. He is carried by the sun as it ascends from the underworld to the earth, protecting himself against the sun's glow by a ninefold layer of banana stems. He thus returns to the earth, where he returns the fishhook to the Rich Man.

Stories of gods and creation stories form Group 9. They all date back to the time when the gods were all considered ancestors, including those that were originally personified by natural phenomena and forces of nature.

In the Minahasan creation stories, one and another thing are always assumed to pre-exist. Thus the tribal mother of the Minahasans, Lumimu'ut, is said to have arisen from the sweat of a stone heated by the sun. Lumimu'ut, who was completely alone, let herself be blown upon by the west wind, whereby she became pregnant and gave birth to a son, To'ar. When he was old enough to marry, his mother sent him on a journey and gave him a *goloba* (*Amomum*) stem, while she also took a piece of the same length. Then she too set off in a similar direction as To'ar. After a long time they met; the tops of the stems had sprouted and were no longer of the same length. From this it appeared that Lumimu'ut was not his mother, so that To'ar could marry her and together they produced the Minahasan people.

The attributes of various gods and goddesses are further enumerated in these stories. The traditions about this do not always correspond, but sometimes the meaning of the name can still be determined, leading to greater certainty. It is said that Tantumoitow¹² marks on a slate how long people will live. When a child was born, this god asked the child whether it wanted the mark indicating its lifetime at the top or bottom of the slate, that is, whether it wanted a long or a short life. Tantumoitow, however, always did the opposite of what he was asked, so that still again people [p. 155] did not get their way with respect to the length of their lives.

Group 10 gives some jokes and anecdotes, which are instructive for the use of hunting terms used in these narratives, whereby a misunderstanding arises in which the pleasantry stings. The main story of this group is the last, which contains a series of Eulenspiegel pranks. Many Indonesian peoples have their own Eulenspiegel; his name in Minahasan is *si Towo* 'the Liar.' Some of the tricks recounted about him are significant in that they are told about many Indonesian Eulenspiegels and are also well known in Europe. Towo has stolen and must face punishment; he is tied to a tree, to be mocked by passers-by. A Hunchback comes along, who asks him what he's doing there. "I'm undergoing a cure,"

¹² [translator's note: The name Tantumoitow appears to be a case in point: the stem here is *toitow* 'make a sign or mark in a tree or on a stick by giving it a light hack or chop' (Schwarz 1908:488, 526).]

says Towo. "I used to have a hunchback, but now that I have been tied to this tree for a while, my back has become straight. Now you can take my place." The hunchback is persuaded and Towo is released. But now they want to kill him, to get rid of him for good. Two men have to row him out to sea and throw him overboard. But Towo manages to escape and swims to shore. In the evening he comes to his mother, who thought he was dead, for the men who had to drown had said that they had done their job. Towo asks his mother to make him clothing that looks exactly like the clothes that the late father of the current ruler was wearing when he was buried. His mother complies with the request. Towo puts the clothes on and goes to the ruler, who asked him where he comes from. "From the Underworld," he answers. "When I had been thrown into the sea and had fallen to the bottom, I came upon a great road, which led to a beautiful city, where now your late father reigns. He sent me back to ask you all to go to a party that he wants to give, and to remove any doubt, he has given me his clothes." The ruler recognizes the clothes, believes the message and lets himself be thrown into the sea with all his officials, so that Towo can take his place and from now on lead an easy life.

The last group of prose literature contains four narratives, [p. 156] one of which recalls Solomon's judgment in a difficult matter. A spirit has embodied itself in the form of a man who is away, and was thereby able to insinuate itself with the man's wife. When the real man returns home, it must be decided which of them is the impostor, but the judges cannot decide the case, all the less so since the woman herself is unable to identify her husband. Day after day they meet without making progress, until a young boy mocks the judges and says he could solve the case instantly. With great promises, he is allowed to live up to his words. The boy takes an empty bottle, drops a needle in it, and says: "Whichever of the two men can crawl into this flask and take out the needle, he is the woman's husband. The woman's real husband becomes desperate, but the spirit easily slips into the flask. In doing so, however, he immediately proved that he was not a man. The bottle is plugged and thrown into the sea, and the real husband is returned to his wife.

The last group, the twelfth, contains chants, riddles, lists of replacement terms, and some pieces of ethnographic value, namely prayers, details regarding priests and priestesses and about circumcision. Of this entire collection poetry thus composes only a small part. All the same, this should not be taken to mean that Tontemboan or the Minahasan literature is poor in terms of the poetry it produces.

Much could be gathered in this area provided that Europeans in Minahasa were a little more knowledgeable about, and Minahasans themselves a little more interested in, the vernacular languages at hand. But the outlook on this point in Minahasa is sad; there is no money to be made from the mother tongue, and so people don't pursue it!

The first song in this group is a long lament from a daughter about her dead mother. Such songs are entirely improvisations to praise the dead for all the good they had done in life, for the help, the support, and the comfort they gave to the people around them in life. The sacrificial prayers that follow are to invite the gods and spirits to come and enjoy the sacrifices intended for them and in return to grant long lives, health, and prosperity to the ones making the offerings. [p. 157]

The enumeration of the activities of Minahasan priests and priestesses gives a good picture of the important place these people occupied in the old Minahasan society and also of the tyranny they exercised. Following this is the *reindeng* chant, which the priestess usually sang to the goddess Lumimu'ut, the mother of the Minahasans who taught them agriculture.

This is followed by a number of lines such as one hears sung by Minahasan young people. They all have the same tune, which lends itself very well to performing loudly, as is desirable when singing in the open air. In general, these verses are full of teasing banter and mutual courtship, which is often quite transparent.

Of the Tontemboan riddles, it can only be said that they are in nature no different from the riddles in use elsewhere. In the past, the posing of riddles was customary at gatherings in a death house, where a watch was being held for the corpse during the night before the funeral. Above all it was a way to keep each other from falling sleep, because it was considered dangerous to sleep in the presence of a dead person, i.e. to let one's soul leave one's body. It could then of course be taken along the soul of the dead, which still hovers around the corpse, as long as it has not yet been buried. Posing riddles on such occasions has fallen out of use at present; people now tell riddles entirely as a diversion, whenever and wherever they take an interest in doing so. Some examples of Tontemboan riddles are:

What can be chopped, but not injured? — Water. When you fetch it, it arrives before the one who went to get it? — A coconut, which is taken from the tree and tossed down. What drags its guts behind it? — A needle with thread.

Finally is a list of a number of replacement terms. In the performance of religious ceremonies, in hunting and fishing, in harvesting and making salt, and on all kinds of occasions where previously danger was seen in the use of everyday language, people made use of replacement terms, so as not to arouse the dangerous power that is released by naming something by its name. While out hunting, one would call the dogs 'fellow killers'; the tongue of the quarry would be called 'the [p. 158] speaker,' the feet 'the scratchers,' and the blood 'the dew.' Making salt by boiling was called 'drinking seawater'; returning home was called 'making for the front.' When harvesting, the rice was called 'firewood,' pestling rice was called 'husking food.'¹³ 'There are ants' meant 'the birds have given an inauspicious call.' The moon was referred to as 'the boat' because the crescent moon is like a boat that sails through the sky, and a slave was indicated by the name 'withered tree,' because he couldn't offer anyone protection or shade, since he was of no account in society. About a quick-tempered man it was said 'he wears a red headscarf' and about a spendthrift 'he has a hole in his money bag.'

¹³ [translator's note: Dutch *schillen* 'peel, shell, husk,' but the Tontemboan stem here is *pěse* 'to press, apply pressure with the fingernails,' as in *měse im bene* 'press out grains of rice with the fingernails' (Schwarz 1907, I:337; 1908:318).]

What has been given above is far from a complete picture of the literature in the Minahasan languages, or even just in Tontemboan. It should be pointed out that, as a language area, Minahasa is a long way from being one of the well-known regions of the East Indies Archipelago. This is very regrettable for a number of reasons. First, because the increasing use of Malay and Dutch is slowly causing the native languages die away, so that they are already impoverished and debased, although they are still much spoken. Second, the Minahasan languages are among the most richly developed and therefore, when it comes to comparative linguistics, also some of the most important languages of Indonesia. They are much better even than Old Javanese for teaching us how highly developed an Indonesian language can be.

It does not speak well of the Minahasan people, that they look down on their beautiful mother tongue, and interpret efforts to restore the language as a cunning industry designed to arrest them in their development. The flowering time of the Minahasan languages is over; they will no longer be able to be the means of fulfilling the Minahasan people's present desires. However it bespeaks of a defective understanding of the concept of 'progress' that present-day Minahasans no longer desire knowledge of their language and literature and to the extent they still speak them they do so without reflecting on them.¹⁴ Only first, when there arises a less selfish concept of the notion of 'progress' and people also come to understand the treasures from the past that the Minahasan languages contain within themselves, [p. 159] is there a chance that these languages will come to be esteemed once more. There is still much to learn from the fine men and women who preserved a record of the Minahasan languages of the Minahasan people's past. Nevertheless, to that end it is necessary to collect at present what has not yet been lost. If a few prominent Minahasans themselves set to work with that aim, there would indeed be found—among the ones who up until now have left off such work as being of too little advantage—those who will help to collect what otherwise would be lost of their mother tongues. To the extent these materials are known and understood, they will contribute to the renown of the former Minahasan people, which should not be lost.

Bibliography¹⁵

I list here, as fully as possible, what has been written about the Minahasan languages. Much of it is unusable, but I'm not going to stand in judgment here. The inferior language contributions are risky for beginners to use, but people with more experience can benefit from them.

In chronological order:

¹⁴ [translator's note: Dutch *en ze alleen nog kennen voor zoover ze hun automatisch eigen zijn geworden*, literally: only insofar as they have become a part their automatic/mechanical selves.]

¹⁵ [translator's note: I have made numerous silent corrections and amendments to the bibliography, including when necessary reordering entries when a date of publication was given in error.]

1817. Thomas Stamford Raffles, *History of Java*, 2 volumes. (In volume II, Appendix F, column 3, a short Tombulu' wordlist of 49 words.)
1833. M. Gaimard. "Vocabulaire de la langue des Harfours de Manado (Célèbes)," in: *Voyage de Découvertes de l'Astrolabe, sous le Commandant Dumont d'Urville, Philologie*, pages 193–194. Paris, Ministère de la Marine. (A short wordlist is presented, without mentioning the name of the concerned language.)
1841. A. Mattern. *Pëngadjaran iang pendek. An Toetoeroe' potot. Tomohon*. (A catechism booklet in Tombulu', reprinted in Menado in 1905 by C. van der Roest, text in Malay and Tombulu'.)
- Id. P. P. Roorda van Eysinga. *Handboek Der Land- En Volkenkunde, Geschied-, Taal-, Aardrijks- En Staatskunde Van Nederlandsch Indie*, volume I. Amsterdam, L. van Bakkenes. (On pages 227–243, a brief wordlist and grammatical notes concerning Tombulu' along with a translation of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Twelve Articles of Faith.)
1844. J. F. G. Brumund. "Proeve over de Aroe-taal," *Tijdschrift voor Neêrlands Indië*, volume 6 part 2, page 321–340. (On page 326ff., remarks concerning the above-mentioned work.)
- Id. E. H. Röttger. *Briefe über Hinter-Indien während eines zehnjährigen Aufenthalts daselbst an seine lieben Freunde in Europa*. Berlin, Enslin. (On pages 136–140, a few things concerning the languages of Minahasa.) [p. 160]
1848. Catechism booklet in Malay and Tontemboan, published in Batavia. Malay title: *Pëngadjaran agama mēsehi jang pendek*. (I have not been able to locate a copy of this book.)
1852. K. F. Herrmann, missionary-teacher at Amurang. *Si Indjil in Lënnas itu kele aipatikēm i Mattheus*, published by the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap. Amsterdam, C. A. Spin & Zoon.
1855. A. J. F. Jansen, resident of Menado. "Vergelijkende Woordenlijst van Talen en Dialecten in de Residentie Menado," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, volume 4, pages 521–548. (List of 105 words from all Minahasan languages.)
1857. S. A. de Lange and J. G. F. Riedel. "Proeve van Alfoersche Poezij." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, volume VI, pages 528–267.
1862. P. van der Crab. *De Moluksche Eilanden*. Amsterdam, Lange. (Includes wordlists of three Minahasan dialects.)
1863. J. F. G. Brumund, "Alfoersche Legendes," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume VII, pages 114–116.

- Id. N. Ph. Wilken, "Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Zeden en Gewoonten der Alfoeren in de Minahasa," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume VII, pages 117–159, 289–332, 371–391. Errata and improvements, *Ibid.*, volume IX (1865), pages 372–375. (Songs, stories, derivation of place names, Tombulu'.)
1864. J. G. F. Riedel, "De Eedaflegging bij de Tooe-oen-boeloe in de Minahasa," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, volume XIV, pages 369–374. (Oath formulas in Tombulu'.)
- Id. Id. "Een Tooe-oen-Boeloesch Ordaliem," *Ibid.*, pages 506–510. (Formula used with the diving trial by ordeal, in Tombulu'.)
- Id. Id. "De *tiwoekar* of Steenen Graven in de Minahasa," *Ibid.*, pages 379–380.
- Id. N. Graafland, "Morgenzangen der Mapaloes van Tanawangko'," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volume VIII, pages 14–17. (Fragment of a Tombulu' poem.)
1866. Id. *De Minahasa*. Rotterdam. (The second volume contains information concerning the Minahasan languages, which was omitted in the second (1898) edition.)
- Id. N. Ph. Wilken (published by G. K. Niemann). *Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Alfoersche Taal in de Minahassa*, published by the Bestuur van het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap, Rotterdam. (Tombulu' texts of 16 stories and 24 riddles, [p. 161] for the most part freely translated in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, volumes VII (1863) and XXX (1886); also included in this work is an introduction to Tombulu' grammar.)
1868. J. G. F. Riedel. *Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Talen en Dialecten, Voorkomende op de Eilanden Luzon of Lesoeng, Panai of Ilong-Ilong, Balangingi, Solog, Sangi, alsmede op Noord- en Midden-Celebes*. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, volume XXXIII. (On page 10ff., some short stories translated from Malay into all the Minahasan languages.)
- Id. Id. *Ijai jah nunuwuhun totor maendoh paturuhan ne kokih, sei si pahar mangilek un tuturuh*. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij. (Reader in the Tombulu' language.)
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¹⁶ [translator's note: Adriani gives the date of publication as 1871.]

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