

Bugis and Makasar

two short grammars



edited and translated

by

Campbell Macknight

South Sulawesi Studies 1

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Foreword

THIS FIRST VOLUME in the series, *South Sulawesi Studies*, is devoted to English translations — from Dutch originals — of two short linguistic works on Bugis and Makasar, the major languages of the peninsula. The notes on AA Cense's lecture on Makasar, almost certainly taken by JL Swellengrebel in circumstances explained in a later section, are sufficiently remarkable in their origin to justify publication both in facsimile and translation. J Noorduyn's account of the Bugis language was based, as he gratefully acknowledges, on Cense's field research in the 1930s so it comes from the same scholarly world. It is a linguistic *tour de force* in precision, clarity and scope, despite its brevity.

The publication of such materials, now more than half a century old, reflects a degree of scholarly *pietas*, a desire to honour the memory of a previous generation of scholars who, in circumstances which were far from easy, carried forward the study of the languages and literature of South Sulawesi to such good effect. I have been privileged to know two of those involved. Both Professor Cense and Dr Noorduyn assisted me by letter in the late 1960s as I worked on the history of the trepang industry in northern Australia. In 1969, on my first visit to South Sulawesi, I was shown the manuscript collection of the former Matthesstichting (then known as the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara) by Abdurrahim, long a valued colleague of Cense, and A Abubakar Punagi, who later did so much to assist my work. The building up of this collection was Cense's great contribution from his early years in South Sulawesi and I am pleased that my microfilming projects in 1972 and 1974 have helped to preserve some part of it.

I first met Koos Noorduyn in early 1971 at the International Orientalists' Congress in Canberra. By that time I had already glimpsed the potential for working on the early history of South Sulawesi and it was apparent that any approach to the subject on the basis of indigenous written sources had to follow in Noorduyn's footsteps, most especially the

superlative scholarship of his 1955 thesis from which this translation is taken. My debt to this most generous of scholars was much increased by all the help he gave me in the course of a long visit to Leiden in 1975, when I also had the great pleasure of meeting Professor Cense, and on later visits.

In the case of Noorduyn's account of Bugis, in particular, the effort of translation and publication is justified by more than sentiment. As those of us who have come after know, this is a reliable guide and primer for the formal language of the manuscripts in which the rich treasure of Bugis literature and historiography is preserved. To have access to this account in English will help younger scholars, including some Indonesians whose command of Dutch is limited, draw on these sources for understanding the Bugis heritage. Despite much recent scholarly attention to the history, societies and cultures of South Sulawesi, including linguistic research, the potential for further study and appreciation of written Bugis works of all kinds is considerable.

SEVERAL PEOPLE have helped in the making of this book. In the first place, I am grateful to Mrs Noorduyn for allowing this translation of her late husband's work to be published. The position with regard to the first item is a little more complicated. As explained in the introduction to the translation, I own the original typescript pages. Mrs Noorduyn discussed the project with Professor Cense's widow and Mrs Cense was delighted to know that this very indirect version of her late husband's work is to appear. I have not been able to trace Dr Swellengrebel's family, but I hope that they too would be pleased to see this outcome of his work in dark days.

For their interest and help with particular points, I owe much to Greg Acciaioli, Ian Caldwell, Anthony Jukes, Sirtjo Koolhof and the late Hank Nelson. In particular, I thank Ian Caldwell for championing the use of the term 'Makasar' which, together with 'Bugis', are the most convenient English forms to describe the two languages in question here and in related usages.

Campbell Macknight
Canberra

Makasar

Introduction

SOME TIME during the 1980s I ordered from the catalogue of van der Peet, the antiquarian bookseller in Haarlem, a copy of the 1885 edition of BF Matthes' *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*. I had long owned a copy of the 1859 edition and in 1979 both editions had been superseded for most purposes by the posthumous appearance of AA Cense's *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek*, but the cost (of which I no longer have a record) seemed justified by my respect for Matthes' work and my desire to possess such a major fruit of his labour. When the large, black volume arrived, I noticed on the fly-leaf the signature of 'JL Swellengrebel', dated '1. '47', and tucked inside were the four pages of typescript of which a facsimile and translation are presented here.

It seems reasonable to assume that these pages are based on notes taken by Swellengrebel from a lecture given by Cense in the prisoner of war camp at Cilacap on Java during 1943. It is not possible to tell, however, when the notes were typed up or when the pages were placed in the dictionary, though that was presumably after 1947. That Swellengrebel had an interest in Matthes and some use for the dictionary — and perhaps for the outline grammar — may be seen in his fine account of Matthes as a Bible translator published in 1974 and mentioned below.

DR JL SWELLENGREBEL was born in Rotterdam in 1909 to a family with various links to the Indies and to the Netherlands Bible Society. As a student in Leiden, he was taught by the great Indologists of the period and in 1936 completed an edition of an Old Javanese prose text as his doctoral thesis, promoted by Professor CC Berg. Shortly afterwards, he married and departed for the East with the intention of working for the Bible society in Bali. Tragically, his wife died within the year, but Swellengrebel himself continued his linguistic work in Bali, helping particularly with the preparation of a new dictionary. He also married again, and most happily. When the Japanese came in early 1942, the family was interned in Java and separated. Particularly to begin with, conditions were reasonable and the men, who had managed to

retain some books, entertained themselves by courses of lectures and study. It is from this period that the notes presented here come. Swellengrebel was fortunate that, because of an injury, he was not moved further than Singapore. After the war, the family was reunited and returned to Europe, where the younger daughter died as a result of her wartime experiences.

In 1947, Swellengrebel returned to Indonesia, at first to Bali again and later to Jakarta, where he was closely involved with the so-called 'new translation' of the Indonesian Bible. In 1959, however, the political situation compelled him to leave and the remainder of his life was spent in the Netherlands as a highly productive scholar. He continued to write on Balinese matters, but his chief interest lay in the task of Bible translation. In particular, he published two excellent volumes on the history of the Netherlands Bible Society in Indonesia and its translators.¹ One of his last publications was a summary of the description of six Malay manuscripts from the Vatican collections, found among the papers of Cense, who had died two years earlier.² Swellengrebel himself died in 1984.³

PROFESSOR AA CENSE was born in 1901 and was thus eight years older than Swellengrebel.⁴ His extraordinary talent for languages and his scholarly nature led him as a student to Leiden. As well as his study of Malay and other languages associated with it, he devoted himself to Persian, Turkish and

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1. J.L. Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers voetspoor: anderhalve eeuw Bijbelvertaling en taalkunde in de Indonesische talen*, I 1820–1900, II 1900–1970, (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 68 and 82), Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1974 and 1978.
 2. J.L. Swellengrebel, 'Verkorte weergave van Prof. Dr. A.A. Cense's ontwerp-beschrijving van zes Maleise handschriften in de Bibliotheca Vaticana', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 135 (1979), pp. 359–67.
 3. CD Grijns provides an excellent obituary of Swellengrebel in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 141 (1985), pp. 215–24. This contains a portrait and a list of publications follows.
 4. Most of the details of Cense's life are drawn from J Noorduyn, 'In memoriam A.A. Cense 25 September 1901 — 8 December 1977', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 134 (1978), pp. 403–14. This contains a portrait. I have also consulted Cense's papers held in the KITLV.

Russian. His doctoral thesis in 1928 was an edition of a Malay text, the chronicle of Banjarmasin, and immediately following its promotion he left to become a government linguist in the Indies.

After some initial experience of Java, he was assigned, in June 1930, to the study of South Sulawesi languages and culture. With the active support of the governor, LJJ Caron, who was no mean scholar himself, the Matthesstichting (Matthes Foundation, later known as the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara) was established in 1933 to further the study of local culture. Cense enjoyed a hardworking and productive decade in South Sulawesi; he had the training, the support and the opportunity to master Makasar and Bugis, to collect and copy manuscripts and to study the culture in depth, particularly with a view to offering relevant advice to the colonial government. It seems to have been with some reluctance that he left in 1941 to take up the chair of Malay in the emerging university in Batavia (Jakarta). The news of the bombing of Pearl Harbour caused his inaugural lecture to be cancelled.⁵ He was duly interned on Java and Sumatra. After the war, Cense resumed his academic career and played an important part in the establishment of Indonesian universities, but his return to the Netherlands in 1949 was final.

It would have been easy to have been crushed by the problems of the time and by the loss of much of his research material from the 1930s, but Cense was a quiet organiser and played a key role in the maintenance of Dutch scholarly interest in Indonesia through the next few decades. He also served for six years as director of the Dutch Institute for Archaeology and History in Istanbul. Administration, however, did not consume all his energies and he maintained his scholarly work. His published articles on Malay matters as well as subjects relating to South Sulawesi are of the highest quality, and there is much too in his surviving papers which deserves publication.

In 1967, Cense formally retired as honorary secretary of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) (Royal

5. It was eventually published posthumously as AA Cense, 'Maleise invloeden in het oostelijk deel van de Indonesische archipel', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 134 (1978), pp. 415–32.

Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies). His assistant and colleague in Makassar in the 1930s and then briefly in Batavia, Abdurrahim, had managed to preserve not only most of the manuscript collection of the Matthesstichting, but also a copy of Cense's work towards a new dictionary of Makasar. Cense devoted the final ten years of his life to completing this project, with the active assistance once more of Abdurrahim who even endured the cold of Leiden for a year to help in person. By the time of his death in 1977, Cense could see that the new dictionary was essentially ready and, with some final help from his friend and former student, Noorduyn, it was published posthumously in 1979, dedicated to the memory of Matthes.⁶

THE SKETCH of Makasar grammar presented here can be seen, perhaps, as a slight pendant to the great dictionary with which it is in essential agreement. It shows, in the barest outline, how far Cense had progressed by 1943 in his understanding of the language. Matthes had published a grammar in 1858, but that is seriously deficient in many respects. With Cense's guidance and his dictionary, one can at least make a start on reading Makasar.

Cense's view of Makasar is also very similar to his understanding of Bugis which he transmitted to Noorduyn. The scale and circumstances of the two sections of this volume may be different, but the style of their linguistic description is not. The two accounts represent an important stage in the history of Austronesian linguistics.

Most happily, there has been a good deal of recent work by both Indonesian and foreign linguists on Makasar. Noorduyn has surveyed the field up to 1991.⁷ The most important of more recent work is that by Anthony Jukes.⁸ There are also some further notes on Makasar among Cense's papers held in the KITLV in Leiden.

6. AA Cense in samenwerking met Abdoerrahim, *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek met Nederlands-Makassaars register en voorwoord door J. Noorduyn*, Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1979.

7. J Noorduyn, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Sulawesi* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Bibliographical Series 18), KITLV Press, Leiden, 1991, pp. 139–68.

As mentioned above, it is not possible to be sure when the notes were typed up or even by whom. The careful use of all the available space on the page, at least for the first three pages, and the extensive corrections rather than retyping both suggest that the typing may have been done in the camp. The blunt style and extensive use of abbreviations show that these are notes only, not the lecture as delivered. Whoever was responsible clearly had some knowledge of Malay and understood contemporary linguistic usage such as the Arabic ‘hamza’ for the glottal stop and the use of ‘tenuis’ for the voiceless stops. There is nothing here which would preclude Swellengrebel as the author of the notes or to suggest that he has done anything but faithfully record the content of Cense’s delivery.

In the English translation, I have not hesitated to fill out abbreviations, lay the material out more generously, add some explanatory material in square brackets and some further discussion in footnotes. I have also converted the orthography of the Makasar to accord with the system currently used for Indonesian.

Whatever the limitations of this sketch may be, both in terms of modern linguistics and arising from the circumstances of its delivery and recording, it deserves publication as a tribute to the memory of both Cense and Swellengrebel and their assertion of the value of such work in the most difficult of times.

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8. Anthony Jukes, Makassar, in Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P Himmelmann (eds), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, Routledge, London and New York, 2005, pp. 649–82 and his unpublished thesis, Makassarese (basa Mangkasara’): a description of an Austronesian language of South Sulawesi, Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, University of Melbourne, 2006.

Notes from Makasar lesson

By Cense, Cilacap, January '43

THE DICTIONARY arranges the characters of the present-day Bugis-Makasar alphabet in the formal order.¹ There also exists an older, curlier script which was also used in the previous century (Bungaya Treaty of 1667).²

There is no written indication of:

- the nasals at the end of a syllable
- the hamza [glottal stop, written as] -' -'
- doubling [or gemination] of consonants.

Thus the following have the same written form: *tata*, *tanta*, *tantang*, *tata'*, *tatta*, *tattang*. (*Ta'ta'* does not occur since the hamza [or glottal stop, and represented by -'] is assimilated to an unvoiced stop [in this case -t-].) In the same way, *koko*, *kokko'* and *kongkong* all have the same written form. A form

-
1. The Dutch original reads '... in de off. volgorde.' I take the abbreviated adjective to be 'officieel'; the reference is certainly to the two editions of BF Matthes' *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* (1859 and 1885) — now superseded by Cense's own *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek* (1979). The sentence indicates that Matthes (but not Cense) arranges his entries in the conventional order of the Bugis-Makasar aksara and vowel markers: *Ka*, *Ki*, *Ku*, *Ke*, *Ko*, *Ga*, ... *NGa*, ... and so on. It is perhaps better to refer to this system of writing as an aksary, than as an 'alphabet', and thus indicate its essentially non-alphabetic nature.
 2. For further details and reliable discussion of the Makasar scripts, see J Noorduyn, 'Variation in the Bugis/Makasarese Script', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149 (1993), pp. 271–97. The reference to the Bungaya Treaty probably reflects the publication, in 1939, by FW Stapel in *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsche Indië*, 3 (Van den Vondel, Amsterdam) of two pages in the older script from a Makasar version of this famous treaty between the Dutch East India Company and the realm of Goa. This illustration shows pages 76 and 77 of manuscript 668/216 in the collection of the museum of the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.

with a suffix attached, of course — for example *tantanga*, *konkonga* — also indicates the character for *-nga*.

At the end of words, the only phonemes are *-ng* and *-ʔ*. Final stops, unvoiced [*-p*, *-t* and *-k*] and voiced [*-b*, *-d*, *-j* and *-g*], in related languages are represented in Makasar by hamza, while all nasals fall back into final *-ng*. Final *-r*, *-l* and *-s* are represented by the consonant + vowel of the last syllable + hamza, without affecting the stress [indicated here by a circumflex].

[Malay] *beras* → *bêrasaʔ* [hulled rice]

(where *bê-* is an exception [to the usual rule for pepet as set out below].)

[Malay] *baris* → *bârisiʔ*³ [line]

[Malay] *lepas* → *lâppasaʔ* [free]

Pepet [or schwa] followed by unvoiced stops, [*-p-*, *-t-* and *-k-*] *-l-*, *-r-* and *-s-* in related languages becomes in Makasar *-a-* + doubled consonant.

[Malay] *terus* → *târrusuʔ* [straight]

[Malay] *selat* → *sallaʔ* [strait]

[Malay] *teken* → *takkang* [stick]

[Javanese] *telu* → *taʔlu*⁴ [three]

[Malay] *senang* → *sannang* [contented]

With these words, the first syllable in the Makasar always takes the stress.

Standard Makasar is taken to be that of royal circles on the Gowa plain.

The article

[This is indicated by] the suffix *-a*, without affecting the stress, except when the headword ends in *-i*, *-e*, *-u* or *-o* and then the stress shifts to the last syllable of the base word.⁵ When the headword ends in *-a*, the suffix becomes

3. This word does not appear in Cense's *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek*. The stress on this and the next two examples is not shown in the original.

4. This word is given as *tallu* in Cense's *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek*. It is not clear why that form is not given here.

5. I have translated the Dutch 'h.wrd.' (*hoofdwoord*) as 'headword'; 'grwrd.' (*grondwoord*) as 'base'; and 'stamu.' (*stamwoord*) as 'root'.

-ya and the stress shifts to the last syllable [of the base word]. A final hamza becomes *-k-* before *-a*. For example:

<i>koko</i>	→	<i>kokôa</i>	[the field]
[<i>ta'bu</i>]		<i>ta'bûa</i>	[the sugar cane]
[<i>takkang</i>]		<i>tâkkanga</i>	[the stick]
[<i>tarrusu'</i>]		<i>târrusuka</i>	[the going through]
[<i>ce'la</i>]		<i>ce'lâya</i>	[the salt]
[<i>balla'</i>]		<i>bâllaka</i>	[the house]

Possessive suffixes

[1st person singular]	<i>-ku</i>
[2nd person singular]	<i>-nu</i>
[3rd person singular]	<i>-na</i>
[1st person plural]	<i>-ta</i> (inclusive, and also polite form)
[1st person plural]	<i>-mang</i> (exclusive, now also obsolete)

The remaining plurals are formed by adding words meaning 'all'.

Phonetic rules [for attaching possessive suffixes]:

Final hamza is assimilated before *-k-*, *-t-* and occasionally before *-m-*, but is retained before *-n-*.

Final *-ng* is assimilated before *-n-* and *-m-*, and becomes *-n-* before *-t-*.

Stress falls on the syllable before the suffix. For example:⁶

<i>bâlla'</i> [house]	→	<i>ballâkku</i>
		<i>ballâ'nu</i>
		<i>ballâ'na</i>
		<i>ballâtta</i>
		(<i>ballâmmang</i>)

<i>pâpang</i> [plank]	→	<i>papângku</i>
		<i>papânnu</i>
		<i>papâнна</i>
		<i>papânta</i>
		(<i>papâmmang</i>)

6. The stress on the examples is not shown in the original.

Many words which end with a vowel acquire a homorganic nasal before the suffix:

lima [hand] *limangku*
 limannu
 limanna
 limanta
 (*limammang*)

With the words *bura'ne* (man) and *baine* (woman), the use of the possessive suffixes preceded by a nasal indicates the sense of husband or wife:

bainengku my wife.

The nasal is never inserted with words cognate with Malay words ending in *-h*:

[Malay] *suluh* [torch] Makasar *sulo, suloku, sulonu*, etc.

Genitive linking occurs in the Javanese manner using the third person suffix:

balla'na karaenga the house of the ruler;
 the royal house (as a particular type) is *balla' karaeng*.

Personal suffixes

[1st person singular]	<i>-a'</i>
[2nd person singular]	<i>-ko</i>
[3rd person singular]	<i>-i</i>
[1st person plural inclusive]	<i>-ki'</i>
[1st person plural exclusive]	(<i>-kang</i>)

They occur on substantives, on adjectives used as predicate and on verb forms. The suffix has no influence on the stress. The usual assimilation occurs before the *-k-*: that is, a hamza is assimilated to the *-k-*, *-ng-* remains before the *-k-*, just as with the article. A final *-a* elides with *-a'* to form *-á'*, and a final *-i* with *-i* becomes *-i*. For example:

<i>karaenga'</i>	I am ruler	[<i>karaeng</i> – ruler, on a substantive]
<i>karaengko</i>	you are ruler	
<i>karaengi</i>		
<i>karaengki'</i>		
(<i>karaengkang</i>)		

<i>lompoa'</i>	I am big	[<i>lompo</i> – big, on an adjective]
<i>lompoko</i>		
<i>lompoi</i>		
<i>lompoki'</i>		
(<i>lompokang</i>)		

The independent personal pronouns are only used to mark emphasis:

[1st person singular]	(<i>i</i>) <i>nakke</i>
[2nd person singular]	(<i>i</i>) <i>kau</i>
[3rd person singular]	<i>ia</i>
[1st person plural inclusive]	(<i>i</i>) <i>katte</i>
[1st person plural exclusive]	(<i>i</i>) <i>kambe</i>

Plurals are formed with the word for 'all':

<i>iangasèng</i>	they
<i>ikaungasèng</i>	you (plural)

in which the pronunciation of *-è-* much resembles our [Dutch] *-i-* in '*pit*', as is usual in closed syllables.

In some cases, among others after the negative *taena* (*tena*), personal prefixes occur in place of personal suffixes; thus

[1st person singular]	<i>ku-</i>
[2nd person singular]	<i>nu-</i>
[3rd person singular]	<i>na-</i>
[1st person plural inclusive]	<i>ki-</i> (note no hamza)
No exclusive form	

For example:

<i>taena ku-karaeng</i> ⁷	[I am not ruler]
<i>taena ku-lompo</i>	[I am not big]
<i>taena kilompo</i>	[We are not big]

7. It is not clear why there is a hyphen in this and the next example, but not the third. The use is not significant here or in several similar cases below.

Verbs

[Firstly,⁸ there are] root verbs:

<i>tinro</i>	to sleep
<i>nai'</i>	to go up
<i>naung</i>	to go down

[Secondly] in older texts and in some standard expressions, one also finds these verbs with the prefix *ma-*. This is the old adjectival prefix. (In Bugis this is still used for adjectives.) Some older Makasar manuscripts from 1700⁹ display a transitional stage with *ma-* giving way to *a-* and then dropping out altogether. For example *atinro*. See also under *mër*.

Personal affixes occur in the same way as with adjectives:

<i>naikko</i>	[you (singular) go up]
<i>taena kutinro</i>	[you (singular) do not sleep]

[Thirdly] the Indonesian prefix *mër-* in old Makasar [appears as] *ma'* and is now *a'* or *'*. Its meanings are comparable with the Malay *ber-*.

<i>ma'baju</i>	[to wear a jacket]
<i>a'baju</i>	
<i>'baju</i>	

(Matthes did not hear — or transcribe — the independent hamza in these cases and this led to Jonker's faulty understanding.) The *a'*-¹⁰ occurs more in writing than in speech:

<i>a'bajua'</i>	I have on a jacket
<i>taena ku-'baju</i>	I do not have on a jacket

Sometimes too:

<i>taena ku-(m)a'baju</i>	
<i>a'jaranga'</i>	I am on a horse

-
8. I have inserted these numerical additions to distinguish more clearly the five 'types' of verbal formation. The Dutch original uses the word *vormen* (forms) both for these 'types' of verbal formation and for the two processes of affixation described below as 'conjugated forms' and as used with 'participles'.
9. The intention may be to indicate manuscripts from the eighteenth century.
10. The Dutch original has *a-*, omitting the hamza, but this is clearly a slip.

The hamza in this prefix assimilates to an initial unvoiced stop [-p-, -t-, -k-] and -s-. In all other cases, it is retained:

akkokoko you (singular) are gardening [*koko* garden, field]
appulo (= *berpuluh* in Malay) in tens

[Fourthly] some bases with verbal meaning have the prefix *a'*. For example:

Transitive	<i>accini'</i> ¹¹	to see
	<i>accinika'</i>	I see
	<i>taena kuccini'</i>	I do not see
	<i>attunu</i>	to burn or roast
		to make ready, used of buffalo (or <i>tedong</i> . [The term] <i>karambau</i> ¹² is still also used in mountain dialects of Makasar.)
	<i>appare'</i>	to make (probably the prefix <i>pa-</i> + the obsolete form <i>re'</i> . Compare the dialect form <i>ria'</i> for <i>nia'</i> to be or exist; in dialects and in old literary Makasar, <i>a'bayu</i> to make. Compare modern Makasar <i>bayuang</i> beloved.) ¹³
Intransitive	<i>a'lampa</i>	to go
	<i>a'jappa</i>	to go, to walk

With transitives of this type, the conjugated forms (see below) are used with a definite object. With an indefinite object, one uses the participles [also see below]+ the personal suffixes or prefixes.¹⁴

11. The Dutch original has a note in brackets explaining that the double form of -*tj-*, in the orthography then used for -*c-*, is rendered as -*ttj-*.

12. Cense's *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek* gives this as *karambu*.

13. More detail is given on the history of these usages in Cense's *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek* under *pare'* and *bayu*.

14. The meanings of 'conjugated forms' (*vervoegde vormen*) and 'participles' (*deelwoorden*) are specified after the fifth type of verbal formation. Noorduyin does not use these terms in his description of similar processes in Bugis.

[Fifthly, there are verbs with] $(m)(a)$ +nasal — roughly similar to the Malay me +nasal:

<i>kanre</i>	to eat	<i>manganre</i> (Old Makasar)
		<i>anganre</i> or <i>nganganre</i> (modern Makasar)
<i>gappa</i>	to get	(a) <i>nggappa</i>
<i>de'de'</i>	to forge	(a) <i>nde'de'</i>
<i>polong</i>	to cut	(a) <i>mmolong</i>
<i>no'no</i>	to shake	(a) <i>nno'no</i>
<i>buno</i>	to kill	(a) <i>muno</i>
<i>cokko</i>	to hide	(a) <i>nnyokko</i> — but <i>accokko</i> to hide oneself
<i>ta'bang</i>	to cut down	(a) <i>nna'bang</i>
<i>jakkala'</i>	to catch (a thief, cf. Javanese <i>cekel</i>)	(a) <i>njakkala'</i>
<i>nyu'nyuru'</i>	to eat noisily	(a) <i>nnyu'nyuru'</i> ¹⁵
<i>rasa</i>	to feel	<i>anrasa</i>
<i>langgere'</i>	to hear	(a) <i>llanggere'</i>
<i>si'ru'</i>	to scoop	(a) <i>nnyi'ru'</i>

Sometimes, however, $-s-$ changes to $-nn-$ as in:

<i>soso'</i>	to push or squeeze through	(a) <i>nnyoso'</i> or (a) <i>nnoso'</i>
<i>somba</i>	to press the hands together to scoop up water	(a) <i>nnyomba</i> (The ruler is called <i>somba</i> : <i>sombaya ri Goa</i> ; <i>sombangku</i> , cf. [Malay] <i>sembah</i> [a respectful greeting made with the hands])

$w-$ — only with some foreign words

<i>wakkele'</i> or <i>wakkelang</i>	to change	(a) <i>nwakkelang</i> (Malay/Arabic <i>wakil</i>)
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15. The Dutch original has '*slibberen*' 'to slither', as the gloss, but this seems to be an error for '*slobberen*' 'to slobber or eat noisily, used particularly of ducks and geese'. See Cense's *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek* under *nyu'nyuru'*. The typescript originally had only a single first consonant after the prefix, thus ' (a) *njoenjoeroe*'; the intention of a pencil correction is not entirely clear, but the consonant should be geminated, as in Cense's dictionary.

y- — no examples

vowels

*alle*¹⁶ to take (*a*)*ngngalle*
(Balinese *alih* ?)

The type dealt with here can have transitive and intransitive senses. With intransitives, we find the attachment of personal suffixes in order to make verbal forms (or in appropriate cases prefixes, after *taena* etc.) One could regard them as participles. With transitives, we find personal suffixes (or prefixes) in cases when the object is indefinite. If, however, the object is definite, then one uses the conjugated forms.

The conjugated forms are formed from the root with the addition in front of the personal prefixes to indicate the subject and with the personal suffixes to indicate the logical object. A definite object in the third person following the verb is always introduced proleptically by the suffix *-i*. The conjugated form is also used in cases when the object precedes [the verb] whether for reasons of emphasis or as a consequence of the sentence construction. Thus the conjugated form applies to both the nasalised [type] and the few transitives of the (*m*)(*a*)- type. For example:

I see a horse	<i>accinika' jarang</i>
I see the horse of the ruler	<i>kucciniki jaranna karaenga</i>
I see him	<i>kucciniki</i>
I pull up the seedlings	<i>kubu'buki binea</i>
We pull up seedlings	<i>ammu'bukki' bine</i>
We do not pull up seedlings	<i>taena kimmu'bu' bine</i>
He builds a house	<i>appareki balla'</i>
I do not build a house	<i>taena kuppere' balla'</i>
You [singular] eat fish	<i>ngnganreko juku'</i>
He eats up my fish	<i>nakanrei jukukku</i>

16. The original renders this with an initial glottal stop, *'alle*.

You [singular] do not eat fish *taena nungngare juku'*
 Fish is what he eats *juku' nakanre*

Several intransitives with the prefix *(m)(a)mm-* are probably old intransitive *-um* types. There are now, along with bases beginning with a vowel, a few cases of bases beginning with *m-*. The personal affixes apply as with adjectives and the 'ber-' forms.

(a)mmempo to sit [in a particular way] (cf. Malay *timpuh*)
empona his way of sitting
appaempo to cause to sit in a particular way
ammempoko you [singular] sit in a particular way

(a)mmenteng to stand
 (a Kromo [or high status form] of **biri*,
 **diri*. cf. the Bugis *alliri*,¹⁷ 'house post', for
 which the Makasar is *benteng*.)
appamenteng to cause to stand
enteng a formation, on the field of battle
taena nammenteng he does not stand

(a)mmotere' to go home (cf. *puter* [Javanese – to turn])
 (dialectically) to turn around
otere' (spun) rope

(a)mmaliang to turn back¹⁸

There are still a few words which have the *-um-* infix, e.g.

numera to weep, as well as *rerai* to mourn
numakkala' to laugh, as well as, in derivatives, *kakkala'*
numalo to pass by
tumigisi' to lie on one's side

17. The typescript has '*a'liri*', but the geminated consonant is normal here in Bugis.

18. From *bali*. See Cense's *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek* under *bali* II.

Moreover, a few words with *-im-* take their origin from the *-um-* type:

simombala' to sail, from *sombala'* [a sail]

in old texts, *sumombala'*

Sometimes, these types recur as a secondary base, sometimes abbreviated:

mmakkala' as well as *numakkala'*

Aantekeningen van Makassaarse les
door Gense, Tjilikatjap, Januari '43.

Het woordenboek heeft de lettertekens van het huidige Mak. Boeg.
sluipet in de off. volgorde. Er bestaat ook een ouder, on-
gebruikt schrift, in de vorige eeuw nog wel gebruikt (Bongaais ver-
dr. van 1667 !)

Niet geschreven worden: de nasalen op het eind van ta lettergr.
de hamza (')
verdubbeling van consonanten

tata, tanta, tantang, tata', tatta, tattang dus gelijk geschr.
(ta'ta' komt niet voor want hamza assimileert aan tenuis.); e-
venzo koko, kokko', kongkong. Gesuffigeerde vorm, b.v. tantanga,
kongkonga heeft natuurlijk wel de letter voor de nga uitgedrukt.

Aan het slot van woorden slechts de klanken ng en ' ; Slot-tenuis
en -media van verwante talen worden in het Mak. vertegenwoordigd
door hamza, terwijl alle nasalen samnevalen in slot-ng; slot-
er, el, es worden vertegenwoordigd door cons. + voc. van de i
laatste lettergr. + hamza, zonder invloed op de klemtoon.
beras - berasa' (waarbij be uitzondering)
baris - barisi'
lepas - lappasa'

Pepet gevolgd door tenuis, l, r, s, in verwante talen, wordt in
Mak.: a + verdubb.cons. :
teroes - tarroesoe'
selat - salla'
teken - takkang
teloe - ta'loe
senang - sannang, waarbij 1e lettergr. in Mak steeds met klemtoon

Als standaardtaal geldt die van de omgeving der vorsten, in het
benedenland van Goa.

Lidwoord : suff. a, zonder invloed op klemtoon, behalve als h.
wrđ. eindigt op i, e, oe, o, waarbij de klemtoon op de laatste
lettergr. v.h. grwrđ. komt te vallen; eindigt het woord op -a,
dan suff. ja, waarbij ook klemtoon op de laatste lettergr. ;
eind-hamza wordt woor. a tot ka.
BV koko - kokoa; ta'boea, takkanga, tarroesoeka, tje'laja, balla
ka.

Poss.suff.: -koe, -noe, -na
-ta (incl., ook beleefd); -mang (excl., is aan het
verdwijnen)

Overige meervoudsvormen worden gevormd door toevoeging van wooren
voor "allen", - Klankregels :

slot-hamza wordt geassimileerd voor de k, t, en, bij uitz., voor
m, handhaaft zich voor n;
slot-ng wordt geass. voor n en m, wordt n voor t;
klemtoon komt op de lettergr. voor het suff. te vallen.
Bv balla - ballakkoe, balla'na, balla'noe, ballatta, (ballamma)
papang - papangkoe, papannoe, papanna, papanta, papammang.^{ng}
Vele woorden die op een voc. uitgaan krijgen voor het suff. een
homogene nasaal :
lima - limangkoe, limannoe, limanna, limanta, (limammang)

- Van boerane (mann.) e baine (vrouw.) Betekenen de vormen met poss. suff. voorafgegaan door de nasaal : echogenoot (enote) : bainengkoe mijn ega. -
 Deze invoeging van een nasaal komt nooit voor bij woorden corr. met Mal. woorden die uitgaan op een h : Mal. soeloeh - Mak. soelo, soelokoe, soelonoe, etc.

Genitief verbinding op Jav. wijze met suff. 3e pers. : balla'na karaenga het huis van den vorst; vorstenhuis (als een bep. type) is balla' karaeng.

Persoonssuffixen : -a', ḥkax -ko, ḥ -i
 -ki', (-kang)

treden op bij substantieven en adjectieven als praedicaat, en bij verbale vormen. Op de woordaccent heeft dit suff. geen invloed; voor de k treden de gewone assimilaties op : -hamza wordt geassimileerd aan k, -ng blijft voor k. Voor -a' en -i wordt slot-hamza tot k, evenaas bij het lidwoord. Slot-a trekt met -a' samen tot a', slot-i tot i.
 Bv karaenga' ik ben vorst, karaengko jij bent vorst, karaengi, karaengki', (karaengkang); lompoa' ik ben groot, lompoko, lompoi, lompoki', (lompokang).

Zelfst. pers. voornaamwoorden, alleen gebruikt bij nadrukkelijke vermelding : (i) nakke, (i) kaoe, ia
 (i) katte, (i) kambe

Meerv. met "allen" : langaseng zij, ikaoengaseng (waarbij, als steeds in gesloten syll. de e zeer onze i van pit nadert)

In sommige gevallen, o.a. na de negatieve taena (tena) treden voor de pers. suff. pers. praefixen in de plaats en wel : koe-, noe-, na-; ki- (n.b.: zonder hamza), geen excl. BV: taena koe-karaeng, taena koe-lompo, taena kilompo

Werkwoord.
 Stamm. ww : tinro slapen, nai' stijgen, naoeng dalen. In oudere teksten en in enkele staande uitdrukkingen vindt men deze woorden ook met praefix ma- = het oude adject.praef. (in Boeg. nog steeds bij adjectiva in gebruik). Enkele oudere Mak.hss. van 1700 getuigen van overgangsstadium ma - a - wegvallen. Bv atinro. Z. ook o. mer.
 Pers. affixen op zelfde wijze als bij adjectiva : naikko; taena koetinro.

Indon. praefix mer-. Mak. oud ma'-, ḥkaxsxkaxkaxkaxkax' → ḥfx!kaxkax thans a'- ḥkaxkaxkaxkax' of '-. Betekeningen vergelijkb. met Mal. ber.: ma'badjoe, a'badjoe, 'badjoe. (Matthes hoorde - en transcribeerde de zelfst. hamza in deze gevallen niet, wat aanl. werd tot een foutieve opvatting van Jonker). De a- wordt meer geschr. dan gesproken. a'badjoea' ik heb een baadje aan; taenaxkax' koe-'badjoe, soms wel taena koe-'badjoe; a'djaranga' ik rijd paard.
 De hamza van dit praefix assimileert aan begin tenuis en s, in alle andere gevallen blijft hij: akkokoko jij bewerkt de tuin; apnoelo(= berpoeloeh) bij tientallen.
 Enkele grondwoorden met verb. betekenis hebben praefix a', bv.

(trans.) ~~attjini~~ attjini' (verdubb. tj wordt ttj geschr.) = zien
 attjinika' ik zie, taena koettjini' ik zie niet; attoenoe ver-
 branden, toebereiden van karbouwen (= tedong, bergMak. nog wel
 karambae); appare' maken (ws. praef. pa- + veroud. re', cf.
 dial. ria' = nia' = zijn; in dial. en in oud litt. Mak. ook
 a'bajoe maken, cf. mod. Mak. bajoeang verloofde); - (intrans/)
 a'lampa gaan, a'djappa stappen, lopen
 Bij de transitieven van deze vorm worden bij een bep. obj. de
 vervoegde vormen gebruikt (zie hierna); bij onbep. obj. bezigt
 men de deelwoorden + de pers. suff. of praefixen

(m)(a)nasaal- ongeveer gelijk aan Mal. me + nas.
 kanre eten manganganre (oudMak.), mod. annganganre, nnganganre;
 gappa krijgen, (a)nggappa; de'de' smeden, (a)nde'de';
 polong snijden, (a)mmolong; no'no' schudden (a)nno'no';
 boeno doden, (a)mmoeno; tjokko verbergen (a)nnjokko;
 ta'bang omhakken, (a)na'bang; (maar attjokko zich verb.)
 djakkala' pakken (een dief, cf. Jav. tjekel), (a)ndjakkala';
 njoe'njoeroe' slibberen (a)njoe'njoeroe'
 rasa gevoelen, anrasa; langngere' horen, (a)langngere'
 si'roe'x opschoppen, lepelen, (a)nji'roe' (soms bij s echter m:
 soso' duikend binnendringen (a)njoso', (a)nosos'); ~~saxax~~
 somba (a)nnjomba de handen samnevoegen om water te scheppen
 (de vorst heet somba: sombaja ri Goa; sombangkoe, cf. sembah)
 W, alleen bij enkele vreemde woorden, wakkele' - wakkelang vervan-
 gen, (a)nwakkelang (MalAr. wakil).
 J, geen voorbeelden.

Vocalen: 'alle (bal. alih ?) nemen (a)ngngalle.
 De hier behandelde vorm kan trans. en intrans. betekenis hebben.
 Bij intrans. krijgen de aanhechting van pers. suff. (c.q. praef.
 achter taena, etc.) om ww. vormen te maken. Men zou ze kunnen be-
 schouwen als deelwoorden. - Bij de transitieven krijgen we de
 pers. suff. (praef.) wanneer het obj. onbep. is, is het echter
 bepaald, dan gebruikt men de vervoegde vormen.

De vervoegde vormen gaan uit van de stam met voorvoeging van de
 pers. praef. ter aanduiding v.d. agens en met de pers. suff. ter
 aanduiding van het logisch object. Een bepaald object van deze
 persoon achter het ww. wordt steeds prolpetisch ingeleid door
 het suffix -i. De vervoegde vorm wordt ook gebruikt wanneer het
 obj. voorafgaat, ter accentuering of ten gevolge van de zinscon-
 structie. De vervoegde vorm staat dus zowel tegenover de genasal-
 als tegenover de enkele transitieve (m)(a)-vormen. Vbb. :

Ik zie een paard	attjinika'djarang
Ik zie het paard van de karaeng	koettjiniki djaranna karaenga
ixxixixixixix	(koettjiniki)
Ik zie hem	koettjiniki
Ik trek de zaailingen uit	koeboe'boeki binea
Wij trekken zaailingen uit	ammoe'boekki' bine
Wij trekken geen " uit	taena kimmoe'boe' bine
Hij bouwt een huis	appareki balla'
Ik bouw geen huis	taena koeppare' balla'
Hij eet vis	ngnganreko djoekoe'
Hij eet mijn vis op	nakanrei djoekoekoe

Dij eet geen vis
Vis eet hij

taena nõengnganre djoekoe'
djoekoe' nakanre

Verschillende intransitiva met praef. (m)(a)mm- zijn vermoedelijk oude intransitieve -oem-vormen. Men heeft thans met vocaal beginnende grondwoorden hierbij, een enkele maal grondwoorden die met m beginnen. De personaalaffigering als bij adjectiva en "ber-vormen".

(a)mmempo zitten (cf. Mal timpoeh), empona zijn positie, appaempo doen zitten, ammempoko gij zit;

(a)mmentnteng staan (Krama van * biri, * diri, cf. Boeg. a' liri = huispaal = Mak. benteng)

appamenteng doen staan, enteng opstelling, op slagveld;

taena nammenteng hij staat niet;

(a)mmotere' naar huis gaan (cf. poeter)
(dial.) omdraaien.

otere' (gedraaid)touw

(a)mmaliang terugkeren.

Er zijn nog enkele woorden die het infix -oem- hebben, bv.

noemera wenen, naast rerai bewenen;

noemakkala' lachen, waarnaast, in afleidingen kakkala';

noemalo voorbijgaan; toemigisi' opzijn kant liggen;

Voorts enkele woorden met -im- ontstaan uit -oem-:

simombala' zeilen van sombala', oude teksten: soemombala'.

Soms komen deze vormen weer als secundair grondwoord voor, soms verkort: mmakkala' naast noemakkala'.

Bugis

Introduction

JACOBUS NOORDUYN, known as Koos to his friends — and he early told me not to pronounce it as a native English speaker might — was a superb scholar and a key figure in postwar Dutch scholarship on Indonesia. He was born in 1926. In 1945 he enrolled to study Indonesian languages and literatures at Leiden University with the eventual prospect of working as a linguist for the Netherlands Bible Society. His first three years of study gave him the broad background of languages and cultural knowledge of ‘Indology’ as it was understood in the Dutch tradition. In the following couple of years, he moved more specifically to linguistic work and, with Cense’s return to the Netherlands, was able to take up the study of Bugis. By the middle of 1952, he was ready to begin his doctoral work.¹

His dissertation, that is a fully printed book as required by the Dutch system, was ready to be defended on 16 March, 1955. Perhaps even more remarkable than the book itself, which runs to 332 pages, are the sixteen *stellingen* or theses for which he was prepared to argue. Only seven of these relate in any way to Sulawesi; others range through the many fields of Indology, as well as anthropology and theology. The book’s title, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo: Buginese historiographie* [An

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1. The formal details of his life are drawn from the long and appreciative obituary by his two friends and colleagues, CD Grijns and A Teeuw, ‘In memoriam Jacobus Noorduyn 9 July 1926 — 20 April 1994’, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 152 (1996), pp. 1–22. This also contains a portrait and list of his publications. There is some further material in introduction to the festschrift, HA Poeze and P Schoorl (eds), *Excursies in Celebes: een bundel bijdragen bij het afscheid van J. Noorduyn als directeur-secretaris van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, KITLV Uitgeverij, Leiden, 1991 and in JL Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers voetspoor: anderhalve eeuw Bijbelvertaling en taalkunde in de Indonesische talen*, II 1900–1970, (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 82), Martinus Nijhoff, ’s-Gravenhage, 1978, pp. 252–8.

eighteenth-century chronicle of Wajo': Bugis historiography], hints in its sub-title that this is more than just the edition of a text.² In reality, it lays out an approach to the study of Bugis historical writing and provides, not just an extended and detailed example of the approach, but also a great deal of preparatory material for further work.

The first of his *stellingen* — 'to write the history of Southwest Sulawesi inescapably involves an investigation, using the methods of philology and critical history, of the products of Makasar and Bugis historiography' — points to the need to bring the methods of Western scholarship to bear on the materials supplied by an Indonesian tradition of writing about the past. For example, his chapter listing and categorising the manuscripts relating to the history of Wajo' — even if, with characteristic modesty, he does not claim completeness — demonstrates the scope and complexity of such work.

Even more fundamentally, Noorduyn provides in the modest scope of thirteen pages an outline of the Bugis language itself and it is this chapter of the book which is translated here.³ Admittedly, he had the help and guidance of Cense in his understanding of the language, as he gratefully acknowledges, but the elegance and precision of the presentation are his alone. Moreover, '[f]rom his approach and the terminology he uses it is clear that he was quite knowledgeable about modern structural linguistics.'⁴ The great merit of the account, especially for non-linguists, and that which makes it worth publishing this translation, is that it provides enough information about the language to make it possible to read Bugis manuscripts with the help of a dictionary.

Even before the completion of his dissertation, it had been decided that Noorduyn would not proceed to Sulawesi to pursue his work for the

2. J Noorduyn, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo': Buginese historiographie, proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor in de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Dr. J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, Hoogleraar in de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, publiek te verdedigen op Woensdag 16 Maart 1955 te 16 uur*, N.V. de Nederlandse Boek- en Steendrukkerij v.h. H.L. Smits, 's-Gravenhage, 1955, .

3. Noorduyn, *Kroniek*, pp. 8–20.

4. Grijns and Teeuw, 'In memoriam', p. 8.

Bible Society; instead, he and his family went to Bogor in West Java where, from 1957 to 1961, as well as his duties for the society, he began research on Sundanese history and literature. In due course this led into a wider interest in Java. Only just before his departure from Indonesia, did he manage to visit Makassar for the first time.

In March 1962, shortly after his return to the Netherlands, he took up a position with the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde where he continued to work in various capacities until his retirement in 1991. Despite heavy administrative responsibilities, he produced a steady stream of scholarly work, always of the highest quality. His quiet assistance to many younger researchers — including myself — was also much appreciated.

He — and many friends — hoped that his retirement in 1991 would provide him with the time to complete some major projects in which he had long been interested, but it was not to be and he died two and half years later in 1994.

THE HISTORY of linguistic research on the Bugis language is comprehensively described in the relevant section of Noorduyn's review of the languages of Sulawesi published in 1991.⁵ Surprisingly little has appeared in the last two decades, though a revised second English edition of Sirk's excellent grammar appeared in 1996.⁶ This is essentially a much expanded version of Noorduyn's outline and should be consulted for finer points of detail.

There has been more work on dictionaries of Bugis. As with Makasar, the dictionary produced by BF Matthes, his *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* ('s-Gravenhage, 1874), is remarkably complete, and remarkably difficult to use until one learns one's way. It and its *Supplement* and *Ethnographische Atlas* are now available in digital form through the National Library of Australia. M Ide Said DM, *Kamus Bugis-Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1977) is a much slighter work and more directed to the

5. J Noorduyn, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Sulawesi* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Bibliographical Series 18), KITLV Press, Leiden, 1991, pp. 168–98.

6. Ü Sirk, *The Buginese language of traditional literature*, Moscow, 1996.

spoken language. M Rafiuddin Nur, *Aku Bangga Berbahasa Bugis: Bahasa Bugis dari ka sampai ha* (Makassar, 2008) is useful for its discussion of many words; it focuses on the Soppeng dialect, rather than that of Bone. The most recently published is by Asmat Riady Lamallongeng, *Kamus Lengkap Bahasa Bugis-Indonesia* (eds Darmawati and Rima Gustini, de la macca, Makassar, 2011); this is clear to read, but provides no examples of use and discovers yet another way in which to order the entries. The current Bugis Dictionary Project aims to produce some more accessible material in English; see www.karuda.com.au

THE TRANSLATION closely follows the Dutch original. Footnotes are as in the original except where specifically indicated.

Note on the orthography of Bugis

THERE IS NO AGREED ORTHOGRAPHY for rendering the Bugis language in the Latin alphabet, which is remarkable given that the phonology of the language is relatively straightforward. Noorduyn's transcription follows that of Cense, as he explains below in note 2, and I have adapted that to agree with the conventions of the modern system used for Indonesian. The tables of consonants and vowels are set out in section 1 of the translation.

This is, however, not quite the end of the matter.

In a later publication,¹ Noorduyn himself recommended writing the preglottalised voiced occlusives as geminated consonants; that is **bb** rather than **'b**; **dd** rather than **'d**; **gg** rather than **'g**; and **jj** rather than **'j**. In the translation, I have kept to Noorduyn's original practice of writing the glottal stop since that occasionally affects the flow of the exposition, but where relevant, I have added the geminated form in square brackets. I now prefer the geminated forms. Sirk states in relation to this issue that '[t]here is much idiolectal variation but in general gemination of voiced stops is characteristic of Bone dialect, preglottalization being typical of the Soppeng one'.² In the light of his very thorough discussion of Makasar, much of which applies to Bugis, Jukes writes the glottal stop.³

A case can be made that, since the prenasalisation of **c** is a palatal, the prenasalised form should be written **nyc**, rather than **nc**. In reality, the difference is very hard to hear and no ambiguity arises from the **nc** form (which is used by Noorduyn as **ntj**). The **nc** form, which is used here, also follows usage in Indonesian.

1. J Noorduyn, 'Consonant gemination in Buginese', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146 (1990), pp. 470–3.

2. Ü Sirk, *The Buginese language of traditional literature*, Moscow, 1996, p. 36.

3. A Jukes, *Makassarese (basa Mangkasara')*: a description of an Austronesian language of South Sulawesi, unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, University of Melbourne, 2006, p. 74.

The glottal stop is rendered by some scholars as **k**. This raises an unnecessary confusion with the voiceless velar occlusive. More commonly in some recent work, the glottal stop is rendered as **q**. In my experience, this causes more uncertainty in pronunciation for non-Bugis speakers than the use of ' . It also raises the possibility of confusion with the Arabic letter *qaaf*, (though it must be admitted that in some dialects of Arabic this is pronounced as a glottal stop). In the Dutch original from which this translation is taken, Noorduyn uses the Arabic character for hamza. In my view, the character ' (that is the formed apostrophe — not vertical apostrophe — or closing single quotation mark) is the most convenient way of indicating the glottal stop. Convenience over-rides any possible confusion with the acute accent on *é* or its uses as an apostrophe or to close a quotation.

Some recent scholars have taken to separating out certain elements of the complexes or polymorphemic words which are such a feature of Bugis. Most notably, they leave a word space between an initial morpheme and following 'particles' (including, in Noorduyn's terms, the second type of suffix described in section 5) and, where relevant, between the 'particles'. Noorduyn, again following Cense, writes the complexes as one word, even if this produces some impressively complicated results. The matter is most usefully addressed by Sirk, who also, on balance, favours writing the complexes as one word.⁴

Noorduyn omits the glides, that is **y** after *é* and **i**, and **w** after **o** and **u**. This is a matter on which manuscripts in the Bugis aksary are often inconsistent; one can find both **ia** and **iya** on the same page.

In the end, any system of orthography should allow the language to be rendered correctly and, as far as possible, be readily accessible to non-native speakers. The system adopted here meets those requirements. Furthermore, it also allows unambiguous transliteration into the Bugis script, even if the same cannot be said of the reverse process. There is, finally, some element of aesthetic choice — or perhaps just familiarity.⁵

4. Sirk, *The Buginese language*, pp. 54–8.

5. Given the many similarities between Bugis and Makasar, it is worth drawing attention to the very sensible discussion of the orthography of Makasar in Jukes, *Makassarese (basa Mangkasara')*, pp. 111–28.

The Bugis language

J Noorduyn

THE PUBLICATION of a text found initially in the phonologically defective Bugis script raises the problem of the best means of reproducing it. One has the choice of a transcription, a transliteration or publication in the Bugis script itself. This last method, which has been used up till now for the publication of texts, gives less than one can derive from an enquiry into the spoken language, and less also than is needed for a proper phonological rendition. Traditionally, some elements of speech are seldom or never written: the velar nasal as final consonant and the glottal stop are never shown, gemination is very rarely shown and prenasalisation is far from consistent. These elements have an important role not only in distinguishing words,¹ but also in grammar. A full transcription, however, gives more than can be supplied by the text as originally written, since the necessary additions must be made on the basis of knowledge gained other than from the text itself. This is of particular concern with a text which is older than the earliest linguistic research or which comes from a region whose dialect has not been investigated, in that there always remains for these 'additions' the possibility of differences between the rendition and what the text really intends.

The historical and even dialectical difference between the language of the known Bugis manuscripts (excepting the Old Bugis La Galigo material) and the modern standard language is, however, most probably minimal. Although a limited margin of uncertainty remains, the shortcomings inherent in a transcription, while not absent, are still much less either than those of the Bugis script or than those of a transliteration. Both these alternatives cannot avoid giving an incomplete picture. In such circumstances, we believe that a transcription is the most responsible choice.

1. A few examples of opposition must suffice. The characters $\wedge \vee$ may be rendered: *tapa* – to roast; *tappa* – to form; *tappa'* – gleam; *tampa'* – sort of gift; *tampang* – string or tape.

Furthermore, a transcription is the most useful option for a linguistic study of Bugis. The works of Matthes, which are the only linguistic publications based on original research, lack reliability precisely on the question of these 'additions' and, as a result, display vital deficiencies in grammar. Hence, the study of the Bugis language has remained backward and a text, presented as reliably as possible from a linguistic point of view, is very much required.

Professor Cense has carried out linguistic research in the field and has kindly made his results available to us. This research has, in fact, finally made possible such a transcription with a high degree of reliability.² A number of uncertainties³ have been cleared up by correspondence with Makassar and, thirdly, we are grateful to have had the chance to obtain some verbal information from Abdul Jalil Énré' from Soppéng, who was a student in the Netherlands until the summer of 1953.

In these circumstances, we cannot omit a somewhat broader and more general grammatical introduction than is usual in an edition of a text. We thus set out in short compass below some major points of grammar as determined by Professor Cense, but naturally in our own formulation.⁴

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2. For practical reasons, we have adopted for our transcription the system devised by Professor Cense. This agrees as far as possible with the system now prevailing for Indonesian. [See previous Note on the orthography of Bugis. Translator]
 3. These uncertainties concern particularly the spelling of many names. The spelling remains uncertain for many personal names and especially place names not now well known or not known in Makassar.
 4. The following bald sketch makes no claim to completeness in any regard. All kinds of exceptions and subtleties must be passed over and the treatment of morphology definitely contains gaps. We hope, at least, that sufficient guidelines have been sketched to make the published text intelligible and to serve as the basis for a further linguistic enquiry. The description is intended to be purely synchronic, even when terms are occasionally used which suggest a process. The few remarks of a diachronic nature are noted as such.

1

The Bugis consonants are:

	occlusive		nasal	fricative	lateral	trill
	voiceless	voiced				
labial	p	b	m	w		
dental	t	d	n	s	l	r
palatal	c	j	ny	y		
velar	k	g	ng			
glottal		'		h		

Only **ng** and **'** (glottal stop) occur as final consonant. The **y** only occurs in loan words (e.g. *yaomile'ahira* – Judgement Day) except as a transitional sound between two vowels the first of which is **é** or **i**, and in such cases it is omitted in the transcription. Similarly **w** is omitted after **o** or **u**.

The voiceless occlusives, nasals, **s**, **l** and **r** may be geminated (written as double in the transcription), the occlusives and **r** may be prenasalised⁵ and the voiced occlusives (except the glottal stop) may be preglottalised.*

After **e** in a non-final position, there always follows a cluster or geminated consonant, except in some special cases. This is the so-called *pepet* rule formulated in a synchronic way. Phonetically, the gemination is a lengthening brought about by holding on to the sound a little or by slightly postponing the explosion of the occlusives, and since according to the *pepet* rule, the geminated consonants are equivalent to prenasalised and preglottalised consonants in the structure of words, it follows that the gemination is phonologically a reduplication. In structure, the geminated consonant is not a single, long consonant, but a reduplicated consonant. We may therefore treat them as clusters.

Before certain suffixes beginning with a vowel, **ng** is always geminated (see 5.2).

5. Prenasalisation of **t**, **b**, **d** and **j** is very rare.

* Translator's note. See preceding Note on the orthography of Bugis for discussion of this point. The preglottalised voiced occlusives are written as geminated consonants in this translation.

Clusters of a glottal stop with an voiceless occlusive, a nasal, **s** or **h** may occur as a consequence of attaching suffixes beginning with a consonant (and possibly by other mechanisms) (see 5.2, 6.5 and 10.3).

2

The Bugis vowels are:

		a		
	o		é	e
u			i	

The *pepet* or schwa, **e**, is the only vowel which does not occur at the end of words, but as a final vowel it is always followed by **ng** or **'**.

Stressed **i** and **u** before a single intervocalic consonant are phonetically longer than if non-stressed. The phonemes **a**, **é** and **o** also occur in two variants, which, as far as we can see at the moment, seem to be determined by the following conditions:

1. as **à**, **ě**, and **ò** (closed) before a cluster⁶ and before a final consonant when the stress falls on the penultimate syllable
2. as **á**, **é** and **ó** (open) in other positions, e.g. *w'éré*, *mmònró*, *séng*, *ttettòng*.

In dialect, for example in the Bugis of Soppéng and Wajo', **é** and **o** often replace **i** and **u** in the standard dialect of Boné, e.g. *maétta* for *maitta* (long-lasting), *mménung* for *mminung* (to drink). Thus homonyms can occur in these dialects which are formally distinguished in the standard language.⁷ One notices relatively few such dialectical variations from the standard

6. The middle consonant of words borrowed, for example, from Malay is often geminated or, where appropriate, preglottalised in Bugis. Apparently this arises from the fact that, according to this rule, the quality of the prior vowel makes a cluster necessary. E.g. *kápál* becomes *káppala'*, *nàbi* becomes *nà'bi*, but *membácá* becomes *bácá*.

7. Jalil Énré' pronounced *matoa* (old), for example, as a homonym with *matua* (parents-in-law). For discussion of dialectical peculiarities, see also CCFM Le Roux, 'Boegineesche Zeekaarten van den Indischen Archipel', *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2de ser., deel 52 (1935), p. 706.

language in the Wajo' writings. At most, there is a preference for writing *sé-* rather than *si-*. Even Wajo' placenames are often written only in the standard form, e.g. Sakuli for Sakoli. Apparently the written language was modelled, as far as possible, on the standard language. The attempt can go so far that one can come across forms which are hypercorrect, e.g. *puada* for *poada*. In other cases, the influence of non-Wajo' copyists can also come into play.

3

Word stress is only distinctive on the morphonological level — unless there are loan words unknown to us which do not follow the stress rules and thereby have a stress which is distinctive to the individual morpheme. Stress in a word normally falls on the penultimate syllable.⁸ In some words, mostly borrowed from or through Makasar, it falls on the antepenultimate, e.g. *kântoro'*, *âmélé'*. A number of words, which from an historical point of view contain a suffix, carry the stress on the final syllable as follows from their origin, e.g. *arûng* (from *âru* + *^-ng*) and some placenames such as *Malâng* and *Singkâng* (from *si* + *engka* + *^-ng*).

4

A strongly sustained *sandhi* or elision is characteristic of Bugis, both within words and between words in a sentence. The rules in either case are all but the same. There are not only forward and backward assimilations, but also a combination of both.

4.1. An **-ng** becomes assimilated to a following voiceless occlusive, a nasal, **l** or **s**; it becomes **n** before **r**; it becomes a glottal stop before a voiced occlusive; and it becomes **m** before **w**, which itself becomes **p**,

e.g.	<i>Arung Tanété</i>	becomes	<i>ArutTanété</i>
	<i>Arung Sinkang</i>	becomes	<i>ArusSinkang</i>
	<i>Arung riBoné</i>	becomes	<i>ArunriBoné</i>
	<i>Arung Bélawa</i>	becomes	<i>Aru'Bélawa</i> [<i>ArubBélawa</i>]
	<i>rilaleng wanua</i>	becomes	<i>rilalempanua</i>

8. This applies even when the penultimate vowel is **e**.

An exception sometimes occurs with **b-**. According to a rule which is no longer in operation, **b-** is regarded for the purposes of elision as **w-**,

e.g. *Arung Boné* becomes *ArumPoné*
Tellung bocco becomes *Tellumpocco*

See also paragraph 8.4.1 note 14.

4.2. A glottal stop becomes assimilated to a following voiceless occlusive, a nasal, **l** or **s**, though not in all cases. (When it does and when it does not is still in question; see under paragraph 1.) After a glottal stop, **r** and **w** become **d** and **b**,

e.g. *riBoné* produces *ma'diBoné* [*maddiBoné*]
wenni produces *ma'benni* [*mabbenni*]

4.3. It is not possible to have a cluster of three consonants. This might arise from a word or suffix beginning with a cluster of two consonants. In some cases, it is clear that the first of three consonants has dropped out,

e.g. *ana' + mmeng* becomes *anammeng*

4.4. The *pepet* or schwa, **e**, may sometimes be omitted after a vowel. Thus one finds

nangka for *naengka*
nakkongka for *nakko engka*

5

Morphonologically, two types of suffixes may be distinguished. Suffixes of the first group always precede those of the second when they occur together in combination. The first group are also more firmly assimilated into words by both placement of stress and the nature of other modifications.

5.1. In words containing a suffix of the first group, the stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable. It is thus transferred to a later syllable than that stressed in the original,

e.g. *nânré* produces *nanrěi*

If the original word ends with the same vowel as that with which the suffix begins, an alternative form of the suffix without the initial vowel is used, and the stress falls on the final syllable,

e.g.	<i>inânré</i>	contrasted with	<i>inanrě</i> (transcribed here as <i>inanrée</i>)
	<i>lâri</i>	contrasted with	<i>larî</i>
	<i>ppoâda</i>	contrasted with	<i>ppoadâng</i>

The suffix **-ang** (as it appears after vowels other than **a** and, in texts, after consonants also) or **-eng** (as it appears after consonants) may sometimes take the form [^]**-ng** after vowels other than **a**,

e.g.	<i>w'éré</i>	produces	<i>wérěng</i>
	<i>kâdo</i>	produces	<i>kadông</i>

After vowels, the form **-ngeng** also occurs. If the original word ends in a glottal stop, then suffixes beginning with a vowel are added to an alternative form of the word in which the final glottal stop is replaced by **r**, **k** or, in some limited cases, **s**,

e.g.	<i>mmana'</i>	produces	<i>mmanareng</i>
	<i>ttetti'</i>	produces	<i>ttettiki</i>
	<i>ttinro'</i>	produces	<i>ttinroseng</i>
	<i>leppe'</i>	produces	<i>lepperri</i> and <i>leppesseng</i>

5.2. In words containing a suffix of the second group, the stress falls either on the same syllable as in the original or (in a few cases only) on the suffix itself: **-ng** before a suffix beginning with a vowel is always geminated,

e.g.	<i>nânré</i>	produces	<i>nânréi</i>
	<i>nanrěi</i>	produces	<i>nanrěiwi</i>
	<i>îanaro</i>	produces	<i>iatônaro</i>
	<i>ttanrěang</i>	produces	<i>ttanrěangngi</i>
	<i>nrěwe'</i>	produces	<i>nrěwe'si</i>

The modal suffixes belong to this second group.⁹

-na	already
-pa	still, yet
-ga	interrogative
-mûa, -mô, -ma, or -mû	merely, only
-tô	also
-si	again, once more
-sa or -ha	nevertheless
-sia or -sio	certainly

They can occur at the end of various types of words and also in combination. Also in the second group are the verbal personal suffixes (see paragraph 10.3) and the demonstrative suffixes:

-é	this
-tu	that
-ro	that over there

The modal suffixes **-na**, **-pa**, **-ga**, and **-mua** (or **-ma**) lose their a when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a vowel,

e.g.	<i>îapa</i>	produces	<i>îapi</i>
	<i>llâona</i>	produces	<i>llâono</i>

5.3. The article **-é** belongs partly to the first group (after vowels) and partly to the second (after consonants).¹⁰

e.g.	<i>âda</i>	produces	<i>adâé</i>
	<i>âna'</i>	produces	<i>ana'ě</i>
	<i>arûng</i>	produces	<i>arungngě</i>

9. They commonly have various shades of meaning. We can only supply here a general indication of meaning for each.

10. If another suffix follows the suffix **-é**, then it takes the form **-é'** before a voiced occlusive [but written here as geminated. Translator], **-é + gemination-** before an voiceless occlusive, nasals and s, or **-éngng-** before vowels (see paragraph 12).

6

Nouns are formed monomorphematically or with the following affixes.

6.1. From adjectives, intransitives (8.1, 8.2) and nouns, nouns are formed with **a-** + **-ang**

e.g.	<i>alampéng</i>	length	from	<i>malampé'</i>	long
	<i>atéang</i>	refusal	from	<i>téa</i>	to refuse
	<i>atinróng</i>	sleeping place	from	<i>matinro</i>	to sleep
	<i>arenringeng</i>	bulwark	from	<i>renring</i>	wall

6.2. From intransitives (8.3), nouns are formed with **-ang**

e.g.	<i>rengngengngeng</i>	hunting	from	<i>nrengngeng</i>	to hunt
	<i>éngngaláng</i>	harvest	from	<i>méngngala</i>	to harvest
	<i>anréang</i>	eating place	from	<i>mmanré</i>	to eat
	<i>tonangeng</i>	vehicle	from	<i>ttonang</i>	to sit

6.3. From intransitives (8.4, 8.6, 8.7) and from nouns (but only with **a+geminati-** + **-ang**), nouns are formed as follows:

ar- + **-ang**

e.g.	<i>aréngngerrangeng</i>	memory	from	<i>maréngngerrang</i>	to remember
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akk- + **-ang**

e.g.	<i>akkarungeng</i>	rulership	from	<i>makkarung</i>	to be ruler
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angng- + **-ang**

e.g.	<i>angngé'dàng</i>	resting place	from	<i>mangngé'da</i>	to rest
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a'- + **-ang**

e.g.	<i>a'botoreng</i>	gambling	from	<i>ma'botó'</i>	to gamble
	[<i>abbotoreng</i>]			[<i>mabboto'</i>]	

a+geminati- + **-ang**

e.g.	<i>ammusureng</i>	warfare	from	<i>mammusu'</i>	to wage war
	<i>assikadongeng</i>	agreement	from	<i>sikado</i>	to agree
	<i>akkéanûng</i>	property	from	<i>mak-kéanu</i>	to own property
	<i>appainrengeng</i>	claim	from	<i>mappainrengto</i>	lend

pakk- + -ang

e.g. *pakkutanâng* question from *makk-utana* to ask

pangng- + -ang

e.g. *pangnganuang* property from ?

pa'- + -ang

e.g. *pa'gulingeng* steering place from *ma'guling* to steer
 [*paggulingeng*] [*magguling*]

pa+geminati- + -ang

e.g. *pammulâng* beginning from *mammula* to begin

6.4.1. From the same intransitives in the sense of the person or instrument carrying out the action, nouns are formed as follows:

par-

e.g. *paréngngala* harvester from *maréngngala* to harvest
paréngkalinga audience from *maréngkalinga* to hear

pakk-

e.g. *pakkita* vision from *makk-ita* to see

pangng-

e.g. *pangnganroang* watcher from *mangnganroang* to watch

pa'-

e.g. *pa'boto'* gambler from *ma'boto'* to gamble
 [*pabboto'*] [*mabboto'*]

pa+geminati-

e.g. *pakkaja* fisher from *mak-kaja* to fish
pappalélé person from *mappalélé* to take round
 taking round
pappakalampé' extension from *mappakalampé'* to lengthen
pappédécéng good deed from *mappédécéng* to do good

6.4.2. Some exceptions are:

pajala fisher
padangkang trader
palili' vassal ruler
pasampo ? lid

6.5. Nouns can be qualified by the possessive suffixes and the article suffix *-é*.

	<i>âna'</i>	<i>âma</i>	<i>kâka</i>	<i>pûang</i>
	child	father	older brother	lord
1.	<i>anâ'ku</i>	<i>amâkku</i>	<i>kakâu</i>	<i>puâkku</i>
2.	<i>anâ'mu</i>	<i>amâmmu</i>	<i>kakâmu</i>	<i>puâmmu</i>
3.	<i>anâ'na</i>	<i>amâna</i>	<i>kakâna</i>	<i>puâna</i>
1. inclusive	<i>anâ'ki'</i>	<i>amâkki'</i>	<i>kakâki'</i>	<i>puâkki'</i>
1. exclusive	<i>anâmmeng</i>	<i>amâmmeng</i>	<i>kakâmmeng</i>	<i>puâmmeng</i>
1. inclusive or	<i>anâ'ta</i>	<i>amâta</i>	<i>kakâta</i>	<i>puâta</i>
2. polite	<i>ana'ë</i>	<i>amâé</i>	<i>kakâé</i>	<i>puanggë</i>

All words ending in *-i* or *-u* follow the paradigm *amakku*, as well as some ending in *-a*.*

A noun that is qualified by another noun, which is itself not provided with the prepositional prefix, always takes the suffix *-na*.

e.g. *adanna Wajo'* the words of Wajo'

6.6. Nouns can take the prepositional prefix *ri-* (in, out, to, etc.) as a prefix.

6.7. The central morphemes of adjectives can appear as a noun in a sentence.

e.g. *ssappa' décéng* to look for something good (*madécéng*, good)

* Translator's note. An apparently reliable way to distinguish which paradigm is followed for a word ending in *-a* is to refer to the Malay cognate. If the cognate ends in a consonant, then the *kâka* paradigm applies: e.g. Malay *tanah* (land), Bugis *tana*, gives *tanana*. If the cognate ends in a vowel, then the *âma* paradigm applies: e.g. Malay *tua* (old), Bugis *toa*, gives *toanna*.

7

Adjectives are characterised by the prefix **ma-** and the following procedures of reduplication and addition. All but two of these are fully productive.

e.g.	<i>malampé'</i>	long
ma- + reduplication	<i>malampé'-lampé'</i>	fairly long
ma- + -ang	<i>malampé'eng</i>	longer
pomma-	<i>pommampé'</i>	longest
sing- or seng-	<i>sillampé'</i> or <i>sellampé'</i>	as long as (not fully productive)
sing- or seng- + reduplication	<i>sillampé'-lampé'</i>	about as long as (not fully productive)
si- + reduplication + -na	<i>silampé'-lampé'na</i>	as long as possible

Some adjectives lack affixes, e.g. *warani* (brave), and a few are formed with the non-productive prefix, **ba-**

<i>baiccu'</i>	small
<i>baiccu'-iccu'</i>	smaller
<i>po'baiccu'</i> [<i>pobbaiccu'</i>]	smallest, and so on

8

Intransitive verbs are monomorphemic or formed by the following morphological processes:

8.1. Monomorphemes are

e.g.	<i>polé</i>	to come
	<i>téa</i>	to be unwilling
	<i>maté</i>	to die
	<i>tuo</i>	to live

8.2. With **ma-** (without the processes as for adjectives)

e.g.	<i>maélo'</i>	to want
	<i>matinro</i>	to sleep
	<i>mabuang</i>	to fall

8.3. With initial doubling or addition of an initial glottal stop, **n-** before **-r-**, **mm-** before vowels and **mp-** in place of **w-**,¹¹

e.g.	<i>ttudang</i>	to sit			
	<i>'joppa</i> [<i>jjoppa</i>]	to run, walk, go			
	<i>nréwé'</i>	to return			
	<i>mmuling</i>	to return			
	<i>mpe'ding</i> [<i>mpedding</i>]	to be able			

8.4. Primary intransitives and formations based on nouns and from transitives (1, 2, 3)¹² with:

mar-

e.g.	<i>maréngkalinga</i>	to hear			
	<i>marana'</i>	to have children from	<i>ana'</i>		child

makk-

e.g.	<i>makkita</i>	to see			
	<i>makkarung</i>	to be ruler	from	<i>arung</i>	ruler

mangng-

e.g.	<i>mangnguru'</i>	to have in common			
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ma'-

e.g.	<i>ma'béré</i>	to give	from	<i>-wéré</i>	to give
	[<i>mabbéré</i>]				
	<i>ma'bola</i>	to have a house from		<i>bola</i>	house
	[<i>mabbola</i>]				

11. One can summarise this, taking account of normal elision, as **ng-** before consonants and **mm-** before vowels. Possibly both go back as least for these intransitives, to an historical prefix (infix?) **-um-**. Initial doubling, the initial glottal stop and pre-nasalisation probably only occur in elision within the sentence after a directly preceding vowel. This point deserves further investigation.

12. The intransitives of these transitives are apparently always found in the appropriate form. It may be asked, however, whether there is always a sharp distinction to be drawn here between transitive and intransitive in the sense of 10.3.1.

ma + gemination-

e.g. *massu'* to go out
mammusu' to wage war from *musu'* war
mappakkarung to become ruler from *pakkarung* to make ruler

8.4.1. The distribution of **mar-**, **makk-** and **mangng-** between words beginning with a vowel is, as far as the first two are concerned, not fixed by any firm conditions today.¹³ No formations on the basis of nouns occur with **mangng-**. **Ma'**- and **ma + gemination-** always occur with voiced occlusives or **w-** and with words beginning with other consonants respectively. Some words beginning with **w-** take **mamp-** in place of **ma'**-

e.g. *mampawa* to carry from *wawa*

Compare this with

ma'benni to stay overnight from *wenni* night.¹⁴
 [*mabbeni*]

8.5. Intransitive forms with **pa-** from transitives (1, 2) indicate the action in general or for one time.

e.g. *pawuno* to kill
pawélai to die (literally to depart)¹⁵

13. **Makk-** occurs particularly (?always) before words which by comparison with other languages seem to have originally begun with **k-**. The prefix goes back to a **mang-** or **mar-** (this via **ma'**-), assimilated to that **k-**:

e.g. *makkélong* to sing an *élong* (Makasar and Tae' *kelong*)
makkanré to eat (Makasar *kanre*, food; Tae' *kande*, food)
makkita to see (Tae' and Bare'e *kita*, to see)
makkeda (from *makkada*) to say (Tae' *kada*, word; Makasar *kana*, word)

14. Here, therefore, it is possible to distinguish two prefixes: **ma'**- (historically from **mar-**) and **mangng-**. Usually they take the same form because of the effect of elision. Other examples in which this has not happened are *mancaji* (*mang-* + *jaji*) and *mangkau'* (*mang-* + *gau'*) in which one can see a special (and currently unproductive) elision.

15. See also page 145. [Translator's note. This refers to Noorduy's later discussion of the use of such verbal forms as personal names having a particular meaning.]

8.6. Intransitive forms with **si-** (**s-** before words beginning with **i-**) from transitives indicate reciprocity and from intransitives and adjectives with **si-** + **-ang** indicate conjointness.

e.g.	<i>sita</i>	to see each other
	<i>siwér'èng</i>	to give to each other
	<i>sipadécéngi</i>	to do good to each other
	<i>sipakainge'</i>	to remind each other, to warn
	<i>situdangeng</i>	to sit together
	<i>simadécéngeng</i>	to be reconciled with someone
	or <i>siadécéngeng</i>	

8.7. Formations with **makké-**, **kké-** or **mé-** occur on the basis of substantives with the meaning of 'to be in possession of'.

e.g.	<i>kkéana'</i> or <i>meana'</i>	to have children
	<i>makkéanu</i>	to have possession

9

Transitive verbs are formed in the following ways:

9.1. With initial doubling etc. (see 8.3)

e.g.	<i>ttiwi'</i>	to take
	<i>'bali [bbali]</i>	to answer
	<i>nrapa</i>	to rob
	<i>mmita</i>	to see
	<i>mpuno (-wuno)</i>	to kill

9.1.2. Some transitives beginning with **é-** take only an **m-** before it

e.g.	<i>méngkalinga</i>	to hear
	<i>ménnau</i>	to steal
	<i>mémmau'</i>	to smell
	<i>méngngala</i>	to harvest ¹⁶

16. Historically, there seems to be a prefix **meng-** here.

9.2. Transitives with a causative meaning

9.2.1. From primary intransitives and intransitives formed from substantives

ppar-

e.g. *pparola* to make follow (*marola* to follow)

ppakk-

e.g. *ppakkarung* to cause to be ruler (*makkarung*)

ppangng-

e.g. *ppangnguru'* to cause to be in common (*mangnguru'*)

ppa'-

e.g. *ppa'diolo* to cause to be in front (*ma'diolo* to be in front)
 [*ppaddiolo*] [maddilo]

ppa + gemination-

e.g. *ppassu'* to put out (*massu'*)

9.2.2. With **ppa-** from intransitives (1, 3 and 6), transitives (1) and adjectives formed with **sing-**

e.g. *ppatunru'* to make bend (*tunru'*)
 pparéwe' to make return (*nréwe'*)
 ppassita to make people see each other (*sita*)
 ppaita to allow to see (*mmita*)
 ppasillampé' to make as long as (*sillampé'*)

9.2.3. With **ppaka-**, from adjectives and with a comparative meaning

e.g. *ppakaponco'* to make shorter (*maponco'* short)

9.2.4. With **ppa-** + **-i** from adjectives

e.g. *ppaponcori* to make short

9.2.5. With **ppé-** + **-i** from adjectives (and possibly with the sense of trying or striving)

e.g. *ppédécéngi* (to try) to make good

9.3. Formations on the basis of substantives and from adjectives and intransitives with the meaning of ‘to have for (a cause or reason)’ with **ppo-**

e.g.	<i>ppoata</i>	to have as a slave (<i>ata</i>)
	<i>pporennu</i>	to have for the purpose of being happy (<i>marennu</i>)
	<i>pposolang</i>	to have as the cause of being ruined (<i>masolang</i>)
	<i>ppotéa</i>	to have as the reason for not being willing (<i>téa</i>)
	<i>ppoutana</i>	to have as a question

9.4. Formations with initial gemination etc. [see 8.3] + **-i** are formed from
 substantives and numerals,
 those with **ma + gemination + -i** from intransitives (6),
 those with **ma-** + **-i**, or **-i** from adjectives
 and those with **-i** from other intransitives and transitives:

e.g.	<i>mmessoi</i>	to lay out to dry in the sun (<i>esso</i>)
	<i>ttellui</i>	to appear as three (<i>tellu</i>) against
	<i>massiturusi</i>	to be in agreement (<i>situru</i> ¹⁷) about
	<i>magelli</i>	to be angry (<i>magelli</i>) at
	<i>mangngelli</i>	to deal with (<i>mangngelli</i>)
	<i>ttudangi</i>	to sit on
	<i>ttaroi</i>	to lay on
	<i>ttanerri</i>	to lay a burden on (<i>matane</i> , heavy)

9.5. Transitives are formed with **-ang** from intransitives (3, 4) and transitives (1, 2, 3 and 4) with the meaning of:

- on behalf of
- by means of
- on or at a place or time
- together with

e.g.	<i>llariang</i>	to flee with (<i>llari</i>)
	<i>mangngelliang</i>	to buy (<i>mangngelli</i> intransitive) for (a sum of money), or on, or at (a place or time), with one object ¹⁷

17. Sometimes in place of a second object an adjunct with **ri-** can follow which indicates what is bought; see BF Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* under *elli*.

<i>mmelliang</i>	to buy something (second object) (<i>melli</i> transitive) for (someone, or a sum of money; first object)
<i>ttanerriang</i>	to make heavy (<i>ttanerri</i>) for (<i>matane'</i> , heavy)

10

Some prefixes, as listed below, are attached before the root form of verbs. In such a root form there is neither initial gemination nor, as seems to be much the same thing, is there the **m** of prefixes beginning with **ma-** (with the exception of **ma-** for intransitives (8.2) and also the **ma-** of adjectives (7).

10.1. This root form, which is usually (always?) provided with a following personal suffix, has the meaning of an imperative

e.g.	<i>winru'ko</i>	(you) make!	<i>mpinru'</i>
	<i>assu'ko</i>	(you) go away!	<i>massu'</i>
	<i>tiwi'i</i>	take it!	<i>ttiwi'</i>

10.2. The passive prefix **ri-** (**r-** before an initial **i-**) occurs before the roots of transitives and (some?) intransitives

e.g.	<i>riassuro</i>	to be ordered		
	<i>ritiwi'</i>	to be taken		
	<i>rita</i>	to be seen	(<i>mmita</i>	to see)
	<i>ripassu'</i>	to be expelled	(<i>ppassu'</i>	to expel)
	<i>riagelli</i>	one is angry at	(<i>magelli</i>)	

10.3. Verbs can have attached to them verbal personal prefixes and suffixes. The prefixes occur before the root. The final vowel of a prefix is usually lost before a similar vowel. The suffixes beginning with **k-** optionally lose this after a vowel and always after some modal suffixes (see 5.2). Those suffixes that begin with a vowel, after a similar vowel take an alternative form with an initial **w-**. After a glottal stop, **-ka'** replaces **-a'**. Instead of **ku-**, there is an optional form **u-**, and instead of **-ki'** after an **-ng**, an optional form **-i'**.

Prefixes

	<i>massuro</i>	<i>ssuro</i>
	to give orders (intransitive)	to order someone or something (transitive)
1.	<i>(k)uassuro</i>	<i>(k)usuro</i>
2.	<i>muassuro</i>	<i>musuro</i>
3.	<i>nassuro</i>	<i>nasuro</i>
1. inclusive	<i>tassuro</i>	<i>tasuro</i>
2. polite		
1. exclusive	<i>kiassuro</i>	<i>kisuro</i>
2. polite		

Suffixes

	<i>maélo'</i>	<i>ttonang</i>	<i>llao</i>	<i>llari</i>	<i>téa</i>
	to want	to sit	to go	to flee	to refuse
1.	<i>maélo'ka'</i>	<i>ttonangnga'</i>	<i>llaoa'</i>	<i>llaria'</i>	<i>téawa'</i>
2.	<i>maélo'ko</i>	<i>ttonakko</i>	<i>llao(k)o</i>	<i>llari(k)o</i>	<i>téa(k)o</i>
3.	<i>maélo'i</i>	<i>ttonangngi</i>	<i>llaoi</i>	<i>llariwi</i>	<i>téai</i>
1. inclusive and 2. polite					
	<i>maélo'ki'</i>	<i>ttonakki'</i>	<i>llao(k)i'</i>	<i>llariki'</i>	<i>téa(k)i'</i>
		<i>ttonangngi'</i>		<i>llariwi'</i>	
1. exclusive					
	<i>maélokkeng</i>	<i>ttonakkeng</i>	<i>llaokkeng</i>	<i>llarikkeng</i>	<i>téakkeng</i>

10.3.1. The prefixes indicate the subject. The suffixes indicate the subject for intransitives and the (first) object for transitives. Intransitives have no object or only an undefined object or an adjunct provided with the 'prepositional prefix'.

e.g.	<i>makkitai</i>	<i>ribolaé</i>	He looks to the house
	sees-he	to-house-the	
	<i>mattiwi'ka'</i>	<i>waramparang</i>	I take along goods
	take-I (intransitive)	goods	

10.3.2. With transitives, both prefixes and suffixes occur together whenever neither object nor subject precede the verb.

e.g.	<i>nasuroa'</i>		He sends me
	he-send-me		
	<i>nasuroi</i>	<i>atanna</i>	He sends his slave
	he-send-him	slave-his	
	<i>nanrei</i>	<i>api</i>	Fire burns the palace
	it-eat-it	fire	palace-the

If the object precedes the verb, then the verb lacks the suffixes, but they can be attached behind the object.

e.g.	<i>atanna</i>	<i>nasuro</i>	His slave he sent	
	slave-his	he-send		
	<i>iami</i>	<i>naseng</i>	<i>madécéng</i>	This alone he declares to be good
	this-only-it	he-declare	good	

If the subject comes first, then the prefixes are omitted.

e.g.	<i>iami</i>	<i>mmonroangngi</i>	<i>wanuaé</i>	He alone guards the land
	he-only-he	guard-it	land-the	

and by analogy with intransitives

e.g.	<i>mmonroi</i>	<i>riBoné</i>	He lives in Boné
	live-he	in-Boné	
	<i>riBonéi</i>	<i>mmonro</i>	In Boné he lives
	in-Boné-he	live	

10.3.3. Prefixes for intransitives and prefixes without suffixes for transitives with following objects are used in the so-called consecutive relationship in order to express the subordination of the relevant verbal form to the preceding verb. This covers various meanings such as

- in order that
- with the result that
- if ... then ...
- and.

The relationship also occurs after certain words such as *dé'* (not), or *aga* (next then).

e.g.	<i>onrono</i>	<i>kkotu</i>	<i>uréwe'</i>	Now (you) stay there and I return
	stay-now-you	there	I-return	
	<i>aga</i>	<i>naréwe'</i>		Then he returns
	then	he-return		
	<i>dé'</i>	<i>namaraja</i>		He is not big
	not	he-big		

11

Substantives and adjectives can be used as intransitive verbs by use of the verbal personal affixes.

e.g.	<i>arungngi</i>	He is ruler
	<i>ana'ko</i>	You are a child
	<i>muana'</i>	and you are a child
	<i>marajai</i>	His is big

12

All verbal forms can be made into substantives in two ways.

Firstly, by replacing the verbal personal suffixes by the corresponding possessive. These forms are thereby subordinated either by several immediately preceding words (e.g. conjunctions), such as

<i>gangka</i>	until
<i>agana</i>	then
<i>saba'</i> or <i>mukka</i>	because
<i>tallalo</i> or <i>temmaka</i>	very much
<i>wettu</i>	then
<i>ia</i>	as regards

or in a causal or temporal sense to a verb elsewhere in the sentence.

e.g.	<i>wettu</i>	<i>mutikkeku</i>	then you seized me	cf. <i>mutikkengnga'</i>
	then	you-seize-my		you-seize-me
		[or my 'you-seizing']		

ia *riasekku* *mpunoi*
 as regards claimed-my kill-him
 as regards the claim against me that I killed him
 compare *riasengnga'* [I am claimed to ...]
 claimed-me

natellumpenni *lletu'na* *toWajo'é*
 it-three-days [lit.nights] come-their people-Wajo'-the
 and three days after the people of Wajo' had come
 compare *lletu'i*
 come-they

naiamua *kuwéréngngi* *naéllaunna*
 and-this-only I-give-to-him he-ask-his
 and I have only given him (it) because he asks for (it)
 compare *naéllaui*
 he-ask-it

*naitâna*¹⁸ *ana'na* *riparéwe'* *marennuni*
 he-see-his child-his returned happy-now-he
 when he saw that his child had been returned he was happy

Secondly, with the suffix *-é* that

- a) serves as a relative for the subject or for transitives for an object, or
- b) serves as an article suffix for the verbal form itself, indicating its subordinate position in the sentence. It is inserted before any personal prefix.

e.g. a) (transitive)
 subject *'bolaiéngngi* *gau'na* which houses his business
 [*bbolaiéngngi*]
 houses-which-it business-his

18. In such a case, one can only distinguish between the modal suffix *-na* and the possessive suffix *-na* by the position of the accent: *naitana* (and he has now seen) [i.e. modal] and *naitâna* (then he saw) [i.e. possessive]. In *naitânana*, the first *-na* is possessive and the second modal.

object	<i>napogau'é</i> he-do-what	what he has done
1st object	<i>musapparenggé</i> <i>décéng</i> you-look-for-whom good	for whom you seek some good
2nd object	<i>naélorenggé</i> <i>séajikku</i> he-want-of-what brother-my	what my brother wants (of me)
	(intransitive)	
subject	<i>malempu'é</i> is-just-who	the just person (or people)
b)	(transitive)	
	<i>aja'</i> <i>mupa'békkaduai</i> <i>mméwaéngngi</i> <i>Wajo'</i> [<i>mupabbékkaduai</i>]	
	do-not you-times-two-it opposing-the-it <i>Wajo'</i> do not for the second time oppose <i>Wajo'</i>	
	(intransitive)	
	<i>kuéllau</i> <i>ana'éngnga'</i> I-ask to-be-child-the-I	and I ask whether I am a child
	<i>makkedaé</i> saying-the	as he says, namely

13

The negative prefix **teng-**¹⁹ can be attached to all verbal forms except the imperative.

e.g.	<i>tennaitako</i>	He does not see you
	<i>te'baiccu'i</i> [<i>tebbaiccu'i</i>]	He is not small
	<i>tenriala</i>	[It] is not taken
	<i>tengngarungngi</i>	He is not ruler

19. In the word *tennia* or *tania* (not), the final **-n** is still preserved (*tan-ia*, 'not-it'). Compare the Tae' word *tannia* from *tangngia* (not). The Makasar form is *taia* (*ta-ia*, 'not-it'); the Makasar word *tania*' is not directly comparable since it is the negative of *nia*' (there is).

Bugis and Makasar are the major languages of South Sulawesi in Indonesia. They were both studied intensively by AA Cense, the Dutch government linguist in the 1930s. In 1943, interned in a prisoner of war camp in Java, he gave a lecture summarising the grammar of Makasar. Notes of this lecture, almost certainly taken by his fellow internee, JL Swellengrebel, are presented here in facsimile and English translation.

J Noorduyn's brilliant outline of Bugis grammar, contained in his Dutch thesis of 1955, builds on Cense's work on Bugis. This English translation makes Noorduyn's work conveniently available to a wider audience. It is especially useful for anyone wishing to learn the language.

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