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Tondano and not Toulour

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 143 (1987), no: 4, Leiden, 552-554

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Dr. van den Haspel is geen jurist, laat staan een rechtshistoricus, laat helemaal liggen dat zij ook maar iets heeft kunnen leren op het gebied van de buiten-Europese geschiedenis van het internationale recht m.b.t. de op verdragen, tractaten enz. gebaseerde, dus op wederkerige wilsovereenstemming in wederzijdse soevereiniteit gefundeerde leenrelaties in Indonesië c.q. de Vorstenlanden. Het Leiden van Van Asbeck, Kollewijn, Korn en Logemann, kenners o.a. van de geschiedenis van het internationale (adat-) recht in Indonesië, is echter nu eenmaal 'voorbij, o, en voorgoed voorbij'. Zij heeft dus van hen, evenmin als van al die andere Nederlandse auteurs, die daarover schreven en wier werken uitvoerig vermeld staan in de bibliografie van *Indonesia's History between the Myths*, kennelijk niets gelezen, hoe uitvoerig zij ook door mij geciteerd zijn. Ik kan haar dit niet ten euvel duiden, maar zij had als academisch gevormd promovendus kunnen weten wat zij niet kón weten en dus beter kunnen zwijgen over de internationale leenverhoudingen evenals over het gezantschapsrecht van de Indonesische vorstenrijken en het Indisch gezantschapsrecht van de koloniale of Nederlands-Indische staat – maar daarover een volgende keer.

Niettemin ben ik haar en vooral Dr. Holtzappel dankbaar dat zij na bijna vijftig jaren de 'discussie zonder eind' (Geyl) over de leenverhoudingen in Indonesië weer op gang hebben gebracht, zij het niet in haar gedachtenrichting maar wel in die van hem.

F. S. WATUSEKE

TONDANO AND NOT TOULOUR

Tondano, the well-known town in the centre of the Minahasa region of North Sulawesi, situated on the northern side of Lake Tondano on the Tondano high plain, has been the capital of the Kabupaten (Regency) of Minahasa since June 1962. It is inhabited by a people who speak the Tondano language. They belong to the Tondano ethno-linguistic group, which is found not only in the town of Tondano, but also in the regions on the western and eastern sides of Lake Tondano, while to the southeast and southwest of this lake there are people who speak the Ka'kas and the Remboken dialect of the Tondano language.

The people speaking the main Tondano dialect inhabit the area formerly formed by the *walak* (autonomous administrative territory) of Tondano, which in about the middle of the eighteenth century was divided into two *walak* (which term was changed to 'district' in 1830; these districts were abolished in the Minahasa region in 1966), namely that of Tondano-Toulimambot and that of Tondano-Touliang. The people speaking the Ka'kas dialect live in the area formed by the former *walak* (later district) of Ka'kas and those who speak the Remboken dialect in the former *walak* (later district) of Remboken. Since 1966 this area of the main Tondano dialect has been administratively divided into

three *kecamatan* (sub-district), the *kecamatan* of Tondano, Eris and Kombi, and that of the other dialects has been formed by the *kecamatan* of Ka'kas and of Remboken. The location of these linguistic areas is shown in Watusuke 1956:66, 1957a:41-42, and 1983:150; Salzner 1960, map 20; Wurm and Hattori 1983, map 43. In 1920, the above-mentioned four districts were combined into one, incorrectly named Toulour, which name was used officially for 46 years until it was abolished on the division into the five said *kecamatan* in 1966.

In my earlier articles on the main Tondano dialect (Watusuke 1957a:4 and 34, 1957b:343-4) I pointed out why *Tondano* and not *Toulour* should be used as name for the language and the ethno-linguistic group. The name Toulour, to which Mieke Schouten has consistently changed the name Tondano as used in older publications in her annotated bibliography of Minahasa (Schouten 1981), or the corrupted form Tolou, or Tolour, used by Richard Salzner (1960:9) and after him by C. F. and F. M. Voegelin (1965:22) and J. N. Sneddon (1970:16 and 1978:3), is not indigenous to Tondano, but has been taken from the Tombulu' language. Many Tombulu' names are used to refer to other Minahasan ethno-linguistic groups as well: for example, Tompakewa, which is a Tombulu' name for Tontémboan. As is known, these names were used in early times by officials living in the town of Manado, the capital of the former Residency of Manado, and of the later Afdeeling of Minahasa, in the Tombulu' area.

The name Tondano is a corruption of *Toundano*, nowadays pronounced *Toudano* as a result of denasalization in the main dialect of Tondano. It is made up of the morphemes *tou* (not *tow*, as others have claimed) = mankind, people, men, + *(e)n* = genitive marker + *rano* = water (where a stem with an initial *r* is preceded by a genitive marker *e*, then this latter becomes *en* or *n*, while the initial *r* changes into *d*). Thus we arrive at *Tou-en-dano*, meaning 'water people' or 'water folk', i.e. people living on or near the water.

What are the Tondano people called by other Minahasan ethno-linguistic groups? The Tontémboan people call them by the name Tondano; the Tonséa' call them *Tou-doud* (*doud* being Tonséa' for 'water'); and the Kalawat-Atas (a group of Tonséa' people speaking a Tonséa' dialect) call them *Tou-dour* (*dour*, like *rano*, meaning 'water').

The incorrect name Toulour, as was said above, crops up increasingly frequently in the literature of the nineteenth century, principally as a result of the influence of the government administration. All information on the Minahasa region was collected in the town of Manado.

The word *toulour* in Tondano means 'lake people' (*lour* = lake or mass of water; it still occurs in modern Tombulu' with the meaning 'water', like the Tondano word *rano*, as in the word *lolouren*, finger bowl (Tondano *reranoan*)). Among the Tondano people living on the coast, *lour* has acquired another meaning, namely that of sea. That is why some Tondano people incorrectly use the name Tou-lour, because of its ambiguous meaning. Younger people today have no clear knowledge of the difference between the names Tondano and Toulour. They tend to use the name Tondano more for the town and Toulour for both the language and the ethno-linguistic group. This is not correct. Speakers of

the Tondano language do not properly use the name Toulour either for the language or for the ethno-linguistic group, but only, of course, as the official name of the district between 1920 and 1966. Whenever mention is made of the language, the name *Tondano* should be used. This is testified by sentences such as:

Niaku ku mete-Toudano-ité = I am speaking in the Tondano language only;

En sangawéténg witu ng Kaol, néinou-ipa-Toudano = A part of the Bible has already been translated into Tondano.

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