

THE WEST MAKIAN LANGUAGE, NORTH MOLUCCAS, INDONESIA:  
A FIELDWORK REPORT

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KATA PENGANTAR

Karangan yang pendek ini adalah laporan tentang penyelidikan bahasa Makian Barat yang dilakukan dalam rangka penelitian bahasa-bahasa non-Austronesia di Maluku Utara pada bulan Januari 1981. Penelitian itu dapat dilakukan dengan bantuan Departemen Pendidikan & Kebudayaan, khususnya Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) dan dibiayai oleh Universitas Nasional Australia (Australian National University, ANU). Penulis sangat berterima kasih dan menyatakan penghargaan kepada segala pihak yang telah sudi membantu dengan berbagai cara, terutama kepada: Dr. E.K.M. Masinambow dari Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Jakarta; kepada Bapak Rochyani, Kepala Daerah Tingkat II Maluku Utara, Ternate; kepada Dr. Saleh Saheb, Rektor Universitas Khairun di Ternate; kepada Bapak Abdul Hamid Hasan dari Universitas Khairun, Ternate, dan kepada informannya Muhammad Sehe di Ngofakiaha.

Agar dapat dibaca oleh masyarakat luas, laporan ini disajikan dalam bahasa Inggris dan suatu ikhtisar singkat ditulis dalam bahasa Indonesia (Bab V).

Canberra, Nopember 1981

1. INTRODUCTION

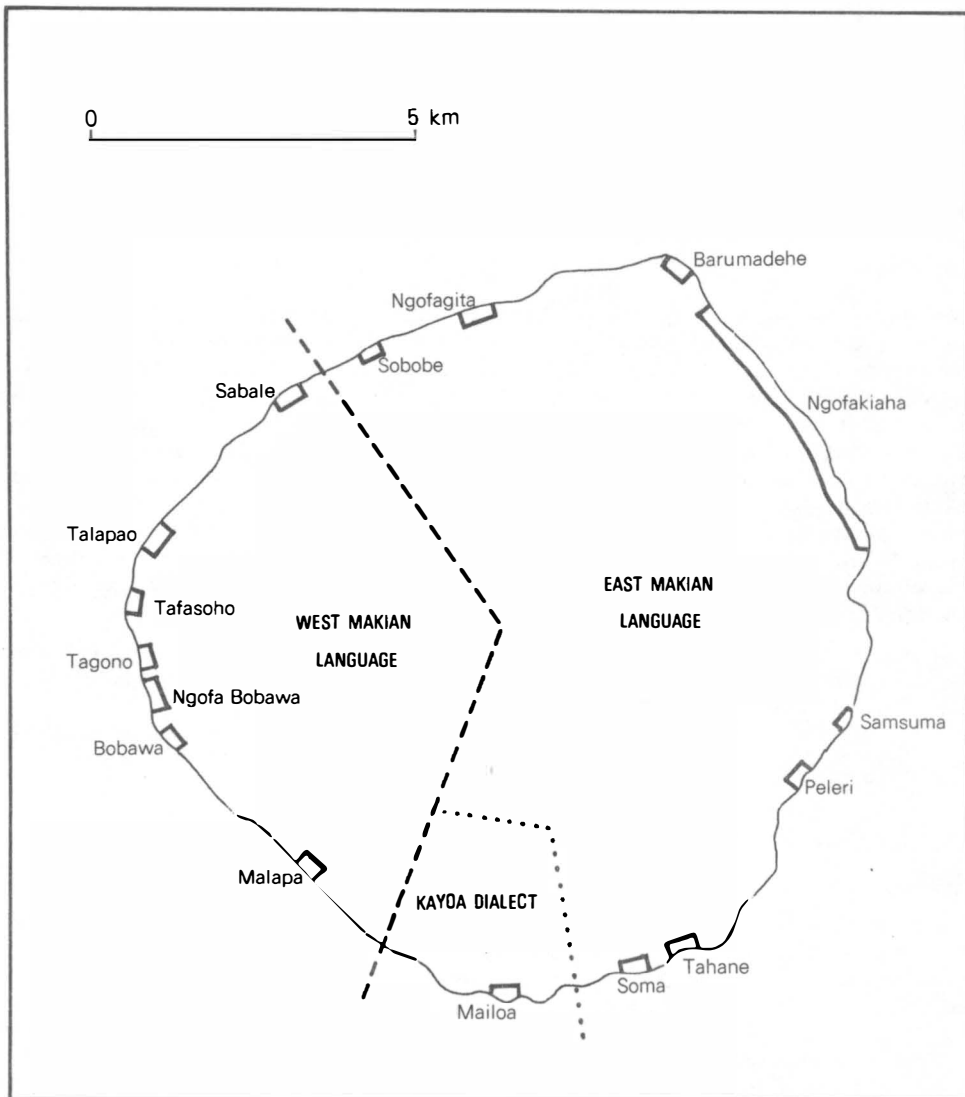
1.1. Fieldwork particulars, scope of the report

The data on which this report on the West Mákian<sup>1</sup> language is based were collected during a short stay from 5–9 January 1981 in Ngofakiaha, the main village and government centre of Mákian Island. My principal informant was Muhammad Sehe from Bobawa village, a young man in his early thirties who was employed at the Government Office in Ngofakiaha. Pak Kabir, an elderly man in Sabalé, acted as an informant during a visit to that village. Apart from general background information, I collected lexical and grammatical data and a

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Map 3: MAKIAN ISLAND

text in the Bobawa dialect and a wordlist in the dialect of Sabalé. Part of these materials I recorded in 60-minute cassettes using a pocket-size Sony TCM-600 recorder. The recordings in the Bobawa dialect total 70 minutes, those in the Sabalé dialect 45 minutes.

The report is mainly descriptive; the only section which deals with comparative matters is section 4 where I present the sound correspondences between West Máikian and Tidore. Its aim is no more than to draw an outline of the phonological and grammatical structure of West Máikian which can be used as a starting point for further research into that language. This means that all generalisations made in this report are valid only for the present corpus of data and need to be tested when further data come to hand.

## 1.2. Earlier sources

Although the first data in the West Máikian language were collected 120 years ago little more than a few wordlists had been published by the time I began my investigation. In fact, it was only in 1976 that West Máikian was positively identified as a member of the group of non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera (see below, Watuseke 1976). In this section I shall list the earlier publications which contain information on, or data in, West Máikian together with short summaries of their relevant contents. The order of presentation is chronological.

- 1862 Crab, P. van der, *De Moluksche Eilanden*. Batavia: Lange.  
Contains amongst others a wordlist of the West Máikian language of approximately 400 items.
- 1872 Robidé Van der Aa, P.J.B.C., *Vluchtige opmerkingen over de talen der Halmahera-groep*. *BijdrTLV* 19:267-273.  
Links for the first time the West Máikian language with the North Halmaheran languages rather than with those of South Halmahera on the basis of lexical comparison of the numerals and a few nouns.
- 1890 Clercq, F.S.A. de, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.  
Contains a note on the mutual unintelligibility of the East and West Máikian languages (p.82).
- 1908 Heuting, A., *Iets over de 'Ternataansch-Halmaherasche' taalgroep*. *BijdrTLV* 60:370.  
Expresses the opinion that the grounds on which Robidé van der Aa bases his proposition are weak, but that nonetheless there is a possibility that he is right.
- 1976 Watuseke, F.S., *West Makian, a language of the North-Halmahera Group of the West-Irian Phylum*. *AnL*.18:274-285.  
Presents further lexical evidence that West Máikian belongs to the group of non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera.
- 1980 Teljeur, D., *Short wordlist from South Halmahéra, Kavoa, Máikian, Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan*. MS. (published in this volume, p.129)  
Slightly modified Swadesh 100-item word lists collected in 23 locations including all West Máikian villages on Máikian Island.

- 1980 Lucardie, G.R.E., 'The Makianese'. *Indonesian Journal of Cultural Studies* 8/3:347-373.  
Summarises what is known about the linguistic affiliation of West Mákian and gives useful historical and ethnographical background information.
- 1980 Shuji Yoshida, Folk orientation in Halmahera with special reference to insular Southeast Asia. In: Naomichi Ishige, ed. *The Galela of Halmahera, a preliminary survey*. (Senri Ethnological Studies No.7.) Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology: 19-88.  
Contains a section on the locational and directional roots and their use in West Mákianese folk orientation (pp.49-51).

### 1.3. Setting

The island of Mákian lies at 0° 20' N, 127° 30' E off the west coast of the large island of Halmahera in the North Moluccas, Indonesia. It is one of a string of small volcanic islands flanking Halmahera in the west: Ternate, Tidore, Mare, Moti, Mákian, Kayoa, Bacan, and many others. The West Mákian language is spoken by an estimated 12,000 people, 7000 of whom live on the western half of Mákian Island and the remainder on four islands in the Kayoa group south of Mákian: Moari, Lelei, Gunage, and Gafi (Watusoke 1976).<sup>2</sup> There are seven West Mákian speaking villages on Mákian. They are, from north to south: Sabalé (Sebelewi, Sebelei), Talapao (Talapaun), Tafasoho (Mateketen), Tagono, Ngofabobawa, Bobawa, and Malapa (see the map).<sup>3</sup> The bracketed names are those used by the West Mákian speakers themselves; the others are the official names.

Apart from having their own names for several of the villages, the West Mákianese have own names for the island itself and parts thereof, as well as for several islands in the neighbourhood. Thus Mákian is called *Moi*<sup>4</sup>; the western half - officially called Mákian Luar - is *Moi Tesité* and the eastern half (Mákian Dalam) is called *Moi Ciawi*. They call Moti Island *Teketén*<sup>5</sup> and Kayoa, *Kián*. The West Mákian name for the mainland of Halmahera is *Difaidawó*. The name Mákian is only used for the main government and commercial centre of the island, Ngofakiaha.

On the eastern half of Mákian the East Mákian language is spoken and on the south coast, wedged in between East and West Mákian, is one village, Mailoa, where one speaks the Kayoa language. This language is very similar to East Mákian and judging by Teljeur's lists East Mákian and Kayoa are in fact dialects of one and the same language.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.4. Local variation

The Bobawa and Sabalé data represent two slightly different dialects, a fact recognized by the informants and expressed by them as a difference in 'lagu' (melody). There seem indeed to be some differences in intonational patterns, but this is only an impression gained during my visit to Sabalé. In addition there are a few lexical differences as will become clear when one glances through the wordlist (section 6.1). Still, no sharp dialect boundaries can be drawn, at least not on Mákian Island itself. Teljeur's lists show that there are some lexical differences between all the villages but they form a network rather than bundles of heteroglosses. At best one can roughly distinguish between a northern variant spoken in Sabalé, Talapao, and Tafasoho, and a southern variant spoken in Bobawa and Malapa with a transition zone extending over Tagono and Ngofabobawa.

### 1.5. Linguistic stratification

West Máikian knows a stratification into polite and common language. The former is used when speaking to or about a person, or persons, to whom one owes respect either because of their social status or because of their age. Polite language is characterised by the use of special vocabulary and the use of the plural forms of personal and possessive pronouns, and verbs, in contexts in which, in the common language, one would use the singular forms.

The full extent of the polite vocabulary is unknown to me; my data are restricted to names of body parts, a few verbs which express actions connected with bodily functions, and some numerals.<sup>7</sup> The polite and common forms of the numerals will be presented in 2.2.10; instances of the 'polite plural' can be found in 2.2.5, 2.2.10, and in the text. The following nouns and verbs have been found to have common and polite forms:

	Bobawa		Sabalé	
	common	polite	common	polite
<i>arm</i>	kamma	jowjow	ia	jowjow
<i>eye</i>	afe	sado	afe	sado
<i>head</i>	apota	tabia	apota	tabea
<i>leg</i>	gow	tarotaro	gufi	tarotaro
<i>tooth</i>	wi	fakar	wi	?
<i>mouth</i>	mada	?	mada	pasul
<i>to eat</i>	fiam	fajow	fa	fajow
<i>to drink</i>	bebé	?	bebé	jowbe
<i>to sleep</i>	tifi	?	tifi	kadu
<i>to defecate</i>	fu	?	fu	i (go) + locative phrase

### 1.6. Linguistic interference

Both in its lexicon and in its grammar West Máikian shows considerable interference from languages with which it came into contact in the course of its history. Thus far the following sources of interference may be identified: Indonesian, Moluccan Malay, East Máikian, Ternate, Dutch, and possibly Portuguese. That so many languages influenced West Máikian is not surprising. First of all, the West Máikianese shared their small island for centuries with the East Máikianese and although the relations between the two groups were usually unfriendly<sup>8</sup> this did not prevent the borrowing of many East Máikian words into West Máikian. Secondly, Máikian Island provided good anchorage and ample supplies of fresh water and food and for those reasons was a favourite port of call for traders from other parts of the Moluccas and further abroad.<sup>8</sup> Portuguese and Dutch, attracted by the excellent quality of the cloves grown on the island built forts there. Politically, the island came under the rule of the Sultan of Ternate in 1608 and remained so till 1915.<sup>8</sup> And finally, after the end of the Dutch

colonial rule the Indonesian government started vigorously to promote Indonesian, the national language, through the educational system. All those contacts have left their marks on the West Máikian language. I shall discuss here first the lexical borrowings and then the way in which West Máikian grammar appears to have changed under their influence.

The most conspicuous and nowadays most important source of lexical interference, or lexical borrowing, is Indonesian. Scores of loanwords have already been adopted in the open word classes - nouns and verbs - to cope with the requirements of modern life. Examples of these can be found in the wordlist (section 4). In the closed classes one finds them mainly among the conjunctions. I shall discuss these in detail in section 2.4.2.2.

It is often impossible to determine whether a loanword has entered West Máikian from Indonesian or from Moluccan Malay as the two languages have a lot of vocabulary in common and many words have very similar or the same forms in both<sup>9</sup>. Only where Moluccan Malay has characteristic word forms or terms entirely different from those used in Indonesian can one recognize borrowings from this source. Such Moluccan Malay loans are for instance *mancia* (IN<sup>10</sup> *manusia*) *people*, *peda* (IN *pedang*) *bush knife*, *patola* (IN *ular sawa*) *python*, *beti* (MM *pece*, IN *lumpur*, *rawa*) *swamp*, *mud*.

As said earlier, West Máikian has borrowed many words from its neighbour East Máikian. Many instances can be found in the wordlist (section 4) and the following examples will suffice here: *sobol* (EM *sobal*) *sail*, *puas* (EM *poas*) *paddle*, *lagey* (EM *lagay*) *old man*, *kamma*, *kamama* (EM *kamo*) *hand*, *lo* (EM *lo*) *and*. At least one East Máikian word found its way into the polite vocabulary: *sado eye*, from EM *sado face*. East Máikian in its turn borrowed words from West Máikian but as far as I can judge not nearly as frequently. Thus we find:

	East Máikian	West Máikian	Other North Halmaheran languages
<i>stone</i>	mai	may	mari, ma'di, mamaling
<i>fruit</i>	sipo	sopo	sopo, sofo, sowoko, howo'o
<i>to dig</i>	pait	pai	paiti, faiti, waiti, fai
<i>swollen</i>	mosi	bosi	obos, doboho

The fact that West Máikian in most cases has been the receiver and East Máikian the donor suggests that of those two languages East Makian enjoyed the higher status.

There are a number of apparently very old loanwords of Austronesian origin whose exact source remains obscure, e.g. *fati four*, *siwe nine*, *imi we* (exclusive). Also the verbal prefixes *i-* (3rd person singular) and *di-* (3rd person plural), the demonstrative *ne this*, and the locative root *na yonder*, seem to be of Austronesian origin.

The only clear instances of Ternate loanwords I found in the polite vocabulary: *jowjow*, *fajow*, and *jowbe* all contain the Ternate root *jow lord*. Also *kadu to sleep* comes from Ternate. We can expect the Ternate language to have had the strongest influence on this part of the West Máikian vocabulary as it was for so long the language of the ruling class on the island. Detection of

Ternate loanwords in the common vocabulary is hampered by the similarity of the phoneme inventories of the two languages and because the sound correspondences between them have not yet been worked out in any detail.

Finally there are a few words of Dutch and possibly Portuguese origin: *uas* (DU *wassen*) *to wash*, *balak* (DU *balk*) *wooden beam*; *kastela tinea* may be a Portuguese loan and *bebe to drink* looks as if it could have come from the same source but the presence of *be water* makes it unlikely. The 'verb' *bebé* is in fact a cognate-object construction of the type found in Papuan languages of south-west Irian Jaya: Asmat *mbu water*, *mbu mbu to bathe*, *mboc weeping*, *mboc mboc to weep*, and it may therefore be a non-Austronesian feature of West Máikian.

Originally West Máikian must have had a grammatical structure much like the one of its relatives in North Halmahera who have a clearly non-Austronesian — or more exactly, Papuan-type — grammar. In West Máikian several of the non-Austronesian characteristics shared by the North Halmaheran languages have disappeared and have been replaced by features also shared by the Austronesian languages. It is highly probable that this shift from a Papuan-type grammar to a more Austronesian-type grammar has been caused by prolonged contact with Austronesian languages and is a case of grammatical interference, although it is impossible to point out a particular language, or particular languages, as the source. Thus, the order of the verb, subject, and object in West Máikian declarative sentences is not Subject-Object-Verb as generally in Papuan languages, but Subject-Verb-Object, common in Austronesian languages. Like the Austronesian languages West Máikian has prepositions instead of postpositions, and it lacks the object-marking prefix which in the languages of North Halmahera<sup>11</sup> comes between the subject prefix and the transitive verb stem. And finally, it does not have the masculine-feminine gender distinction in the 3rd person singular pronouns found in the other members of the North Halmahera Family. On the other hand it has noun classes which are similar to those found in the other North Halmaheran languages both in content and in concord requirements; like the latter, it has a possessive construction in which the possessor precedes the possessed and is linked to it by a possessive pronoun and finally it marks at least some transitive and causative verbs by a special prefix, as the other languages in the family do. These are all non-Austronesian features.

### 1.7. Folk orientation

The most recent contribution to our knowledge of the West Máikian language is in the field of ethnolinguistics and consists of two pages devoted to the orientational system of the West Máikianese in Yoshida's article on folk orientation in Halmahera (see 1.2). In that part of his article Yoshida surveys the locational and directional roots in the language.<sup>12</sup> What he barely touches upon is how the West Máikianese orient themselves with respect to places on and outside the island of Máikian. Since folk orientation is relative orientation (Yoshida, p.24) its notions will shift with the circumstances, that is, they depend on the place the speaker takes as his orientational reference point. I shall present here some data on the way the inhabitants of Bobawa (the village of my principal informant) orient themselves.

The position of places outside Bobawa is described in the following terms: *na over there (but not very far away)*, *naso below*, *ney above*, *nao in the direction of the sea*, and *nanga in the direction of the interior*. Malapa and Tagono, the nearest villages to the south and north respectively, are *na*. All other villages on the island with the exception of Ngofakiaha are *ney*, that is,

going there is going 'up'. This has nothing to do with actual climbing as all traffic on the island has to follow the coastline. The steep volcano in the centre makes crossing the island extremely difficult. Ngofakiaha however is again na contrary to all expectations. There is no ready explanation for this irregularity. My guess is, that the ancestors of the Bobawa people lived somewhere near Ngofakiaha at a time when this perhaps was the only East Mákian settlement on the island<sup>13</sup> and that na in this case is a remnant or their orientational system of that time.

The islands nearest to Mákian, Moti and Kayoa, are both nao *in the direction of the sea*, and so are remote overseas places like Ambon. Ternate however is naso *below* and Bacan is ney *above*. This fits in with the spatial orientation reported by Yoshida for the Galela and by Teljeur for the Gimán.<sup>14</sup> The up-down orientation with respect to places outside one's own territory seems to be basically the same in the three groups and can be formulated as follows: at any point of a sea route running from the tip of North Halmahera along the west coast to the tip of the southern peninsula and then east to the Raja Ampat Islands and the Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya, going *towards* Irian Jaya is going *up*, going *away* from Irian Jaya is going *down*. Finally, any place to the east of Mákian on the mainland of Halmahera is nanga *in the direction of the interior*.

## 2. GRAMMAR SKETCH

### 2.1. Phonology

#### 2.1.1. Vowels

West Mákian has six vowel phonemes: a [a,ɑ], e [e,ɛ], i [i], u [u,ʊ], o [o,ɔ] and ɛ̃ [ə̃]. The latter is found only in loan words from Indonesian or Moluccan Malay. The details of the allophonic distributions have still to be worked out. a, o, and u tend to be nasalised word finally after a nasal consonant; a and e have been observed to become mid-central [ə] immediately preceding or following a stressed syllable. Word-initial vowels are often preceded by a weak glottal stop which does not seem to have phonemic status as it alternates freely with its absence. All vowels can occur word initially, medially, and finally. Sequences of two vowels, including like vowels, are common. A few sequences of three vowels have also been noted. Non-syllabic i and u will be written as y and w.

#### 2.1.2. Consonants

The consonant phonemes are:

p	t	k	c
b	d	g	j
m	n	ng	ny
f	s		h
	r		
	l		

The phoneme symbols have the following phonetic values:

p: unvoiced bilabial stop [p]  
 t: unvoiced interdental stop [t̪]  
 k: unvoiced velar stop [k]



The voiceless stops are unreleased in word-final position when followed by a pause.

- c: unvoiced alveopalatal stop [č]
- b: voiced bilabial stop [b]; a fricative allophone [β] has been noted between two o's: [obo].
- d: voiced dental stop [d] which is retroflexed [ɖ] after a, o, and u.
- g: voiced velar stop [g]; a fricative allophone [ɣ] was noted between two a's: [aɣa].
- j: voiced alveopalatal stop [j̥].
- m: voiced bilabial nasal [m].
- n: voiced dental nasal [n].
- ŋ: voiced velar nasal [ŋ]
- ny: voiced alveopalatal nasal [ɲ]
- f: unvoiced bilabial fricative [ɸ], in word-initial position often preceded by a weak [p]: [pɸ].
- s: unvoiced alveodental fricative [s].
- h: unvoiced glottal fricative [h].
- r: voiced trilled or flapped vibrant [r̄, ɾ].
- l: voiced alveodental lateral [l] which has a retroflexed allophone [l̄] following a or o.

The voiced stops b, d, g, the alveopalatal consonants c, j, ny, and the glottal fricative h do not occur in word-final position. There are no restrictions on the distribution of the other consonants. Consonant clusters are restricted to word-medial position, at least in slow speech and in word elicitation situations. They include non-geminate as well as geminate clusters. In connected speech also word-initial consonant clusters have been observed; they are the result of vowel elision, see 2.1.5.2.

ny is found almost exclusively in loan words from Indonesian; the only example of ny in an original West Mákian word is *minyé one*.

### 2.1.3. Stress placement

The majority of the words carry the word stress on the penultimate syllable. In addition there are a number of words which carry it on the antepenultimate or on the last syllable. Stress is therefore potentially phonemic, but actual cases of contrastive stress have not yet been observed. As mentioned before (fn<sup>1</sup>) I shall indicate the word accent only when it does not fall on the penultimate syllable.

### 2.1.4. Intonational patterns

Two types of sentence intonation have thus far been observed:

1. The tone rises sharply on the last syllable of the utterance, sometimes followed by a sudden drop. This kind of intonation is heard in yes-no questions, in emphatic imperatives, and sometimes in interrogative sentences which contain a question word (information questions).
2. The tone drops significantly on the last syllable of the utterance. This intonation is heard in declarative sentences, in information sentences (where it seems to be more common than the first type) and in non-emphatic imperatives.

Within the sentence, clauses and other word groups are sometimes marked by a falling-rising intonation on the last syllable, followed by a pause. This is a stylistic device for creating a mood of expectation: it signals that something special is to follow.

## 2.1.5. Phonological changes

### 2.1.5.1. Vowel assimilation

A striking feature of West Máikian is a tendency towards vowel harmony which manifests itself in regressive vowel assimilation across morpheme as well as word boundaries. It affects many verb prefixes, several possessive pronouns, the particle *dV* (2.3.2.1.) and the preposition *tV* *to, from, at, on* (2.3.3). All these morphemes have the general form CV (consonant + vowel). The following assimilation rules apply:

1. CV > Ca / — (C)a  
CV > Ce / — (C)e  
That is: the final vowel assimilates to a following a or e regardless whether a consonant intervenes or not.
2. CV > Ce / — Ci  
A final vowel becomes e if followed by a consonant + i.
3. CV > Ci / — i
4. CV > Co . —  $\begin{cases} (C)o \\ (C)u \end{cases}$   
A final vowel becomes o if followed by an o or u regardless whether a consonant intervenes or not.

The details of the application of these rules will be given in the section on word classes. There are a few exceptions to them which will be discussed in section 2.2.2.1.

5. CV > CV<sub>1</sub> / — (C)V<sub>1</sub>  
A final vowel assimilates to any following vowel regardless whether a consonant intervenes or not. This more general rule applies only to the subject prefixes in imperative verb forms.

### 2.1.5.2. Vowel elision

Vowel elision occurs only in connected speech and seems to affect only the vowel i. It can result in word-initial consonant clusters; if the i carried the word stress then the stress shifts to the next vowel. Examples are:

carita > cartá *story*

kafiti > kaftí *young (of fruit)*

badan de gigo > badan de ggó (*body-its-hair*) *body hair*

ni sitó > ni stó (*you-where*) *where are you going?*

## 2.2. Word classes and morphology

## 2.2.1. Morphological processes

Word-building processes in West Máikian are those of prefixing, reduplication, duplication, and compounding. Prefixing is restricted to verbs and numerals. Reduplication is found in noun qualifiers and stative verbs; duplication occurs in nouns, noun qualifiers, and stative verbs; compounding can form nouns and demonstrative pronouns.

## 2.2.2. Verbs

## 2.2.2.1. Verb Stems

Verb stems can be simple, reduplicated, duplicated, or derived. All reduplicated and duplicated stems noted so far are stative verbs:

sasafo	<i>to be hot</i>	(safo <i>be warm, have fever, pain</i> )
kakawi	<i>to be crooked</i>	(kawi <i>bend</i> )
bolabola	<i>be lying down, resting</i>	(bola ?)
berebere	<i>be weak of body</i>	(bere ?)

Derived verb stems are formed from verb roots and verb stems by prefixing fV-, mV-, mefe-, or fi-.

fV- is subject to assimilation rules 1-4 although it sometimes has the form fa before a following e, as in fa-gey *to kill*. This prefix combines the following functions:

1. It makes transitive verbs from intransitive verbs:

abo	<i>to be wounded</i>	fa-abo	<i>to wound</i>
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2. It forms causative verbs from transitive and intransitive verb stems:

dadi	<i>to become</i>	fa-dadi	<i>to cause to become</i>
milinga	<i>to think of, to love</i>	fe-milinga	<i>to make somebody think of</i>

3. It forms transitive verbs from nouns:

carita	<i>story</i>	fa-carita	<i>to tell a story</i>
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fV- can have a reciprocal meaning:

galeng	<i>to abuse</i>	fa-galeng	<i>to abuse each other</i>
ruju	<i>to thump</i>	fo-ruju	<i>to thump each other</i>

It is possible that fV- verbs allow this interpretation only in certain contexts. The prefix which marks a verb unequivocally as reciprocal is mefe:

kerekiri	<i>to tickle</i>	mefe-kerekiri	<i>to tickle each other</i>
isi	<i>to kiss</i>	mefe-isi	<i>to kiss each other</i>

However, one also finds mofumete, *to go together, accompany each other* which is based on the root mete *to follow*. Why it is mofu-mete and not mefe-mete is not clear.

There are very few examples of the prefix mV- and its function is still unclear. It seems to follow assimilation rules 1-4. mV- contrasts with fV- in magey *to die, be dead* versus fagey *to kill*. When prefixed to dadi *become* it changes the meaning of this verb into *to exist, to be* as against fa-dadi *to cause to become*. The Indonesian word asal *origin* is found as a loan word in West Máikian

with the changed meaning *topic, contents*; its mV- derivative ma-asal seems to have retained something of the original meaning as in i-so i-ma-asal *he went down to be ?united with his source?*, a polite way of saying *he died*. The examples suggest that mV- verbs are intransitive and belong to the class of stative verbs (2.2.2.2).

The prefix fi- is kept separate from fV- firstly because it does not seem to assimilate the vowel to the next one and secondly because its function seems to be different. So far only three clear cases of its occurrence have been noted: fi-có *to look at, keep an eye on* : co *to see*; fi-téng *to say to somebody* : teng *to say*; fi-ám *to eat* : am *to eat something* (in the Sabalé dialect the corresponding forms are fa and a). In ficó, fi- signals an active involvement in the act of visual perception which is lacking in co; fiténg always is followed by an object whereas teng is not. These two cases would perhaps just fit under the semantic umbrella of fV-, in which case one would have to account for the formal irregularity of the prefix. In fiám (and fa) however its function is the opposite of fV- in that it signals that the verb *cannot* take an object. Fiám is irregular in this respect, as is am with respect to the subject prefixes it takes (2.2.2.2).

#### 2.2.2.2. Verb inflection

The only inflectional affixes which verbs take are subject prefixes. One can divide the verbs into three classes on the basis of differences in the sets of prefixes they take. I have provisionally labelled them Action Verbs, Directional Verbs, and Stative Verbs.

##### ACTION VERBS

Action verbs take the following set of subject prefixes:

Singular 1st person	tV-	Plural 1st person inclusive	mV-
2nd person	nV-	1st person exclusive	a-
3rd person	i-	2nd person	fV-
		3rd person	dV-

All prefixes with an initial consonant are subject to assimilation rules 1-4 (2.1.5.1). Examples are:

ti-i	<i>I go</i>	to-có	<i>I see</i>
te-fiam	<i>I eat</i>	no-có	<i>you see</i>
te-bebe	<i>I drink</i>	i-có	<i>he/she/it sees</i>
		mo-có	<i>we inclusive see</i>
ta-baso	<i>I hear</i>	a-có	<i>we exclusive see</i>
to-toba	<i>I bathe</i>	fo-có	<i>you plural see</i>
to-uba	<i>I carry</i>	do-có	<i>they see</i>

Since West Mákian verbs carry no tense marking they depend on their context for tense specification. In context-free examples they can be translated in the past, present or future tense.

If the verb is in the imperative mode its 2nd person prefixes assimilate according to rule 5:

ni-í, fi-í!	<i>go!</i>	no-ogosó, fo-ogosó!	<i>put it down!</i>
ne-é, fe-é!	<i>get it!</i>	nu-uba, fu-uba!	<i>carry it!</i>
na-tala, fa-tala!	<i>cut it!</i>		

Imperative verbs can also occur without subject prefixes:

dupe        de    ngeu        ne  
*throw away art left-overs these*  
*Throw these left-overs away!*

bali        me  
*tie up him*  
*Tie him up!*

#### DIRECTIONAL VERBS

Directional verbs differ from action verbs in that the subject markers which follow assimilation rules 1-4 in the latter all have the vowel *i*:

ti-naso Ternate	<i>I am going to Ternate</i>
ni-naso Ternate	<i>you singular are going ...</i>
i-naso Ternate	<i>he is going ...</i>
mi-naso Ternate	<i>we inclusive are going ...</i>
di-naso Ternate <sup>15</sup>	<i>they are going to Ternate</i>

The roots belonging to this class with one exception all express a movement into a certain direction. Such roots are: *no* to come towards the speaker, *so* to go down, *fi* to come up, *fo* to come down, *fia* to come from the sea towards the land and the locative roots given in section 2.2.8 when they function as verbs.

The prefixes could derive, historically, from the inflected verb *i* to go so that *ti-i naso* became *ti-naso*, etc.

The only non-directional root which seems to belong to this class is the verb *am* to eat which takes the same set of subject prefixes: *ti-am*, *ni-am* etc.

#### STATIVE VERBS

Stative verbs seem to take the same subject prefixes as the directional verbs except for the 3rd person singular which distinguishes between animate and inanimate gender, animate being defined as human or animal, inanimate as non-human, non-animal<sup>15</sup>. The subject prefix 3rd person singular for animate gender is *ma*, for inanimate gender: *i*. Roots belonging to this class are *dadi* become, and roots expressing a state rather than an action such as *bele* be hungry, *kaku* be small. Many of these roots can also function attributively as noun qualifiers, see 2.2.4:17. Examples are:

ti-bele	<i>I am hungry</i>	ni-dadi puni	<i>you became a spook</i>
i-dadi	<i>it happens</i>	ma-dadi sangaji	<i>he became a chief</i>

di	oma	ma	ma-kaku	i
<i>their</i>	<i>child</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>it-small</i>	<i>still</i>
<i>Their child is still small.</i>				

pala	ne	i-kaku
<i>house</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>it-small</i>
<i>This house is small.</i>		

### 2.2.3. Nouns

#### 2.2.3.1. Noun stems

Noun stems are simple, duplicated, or compound. Examples of duplicated noun stems are *sarusaru* rib, *ragaraga* finger, *barubaru* wall. Some duplicated stems have been formed from verb roots. They denote the person who performs the action or has the quality expressed by the verb:

tedi *to steal*                      teditedi *a thief*  
 mato *to be old*                    ma<sup>o</sup>mato *an old man*

A special kind of duplication involves vowel variation:

gataguta *lid of a receptacle (guta to close)*  
 langalongi *rope*  
 perepiri *grass*

Only a few compound stems have been noted. They contain two juxtaposed noun roots, or two noun roots in possessive construction, or a numeral plus noun root:

afebebé *afe + bebé eye + water; tears*<sup>16</sup>  
 mudéfete *mu + de + fete ?? + its + tree; nose*  
 dimáedepá *dimáede two persons + pa wife; husband and wife, a couple*

pa is a bound allomorph of papa *woman, wife*. Nouns do not take any affixes.

### 2.2.3.2. Noun classes

West Máikian nouns fall into two major classes, Animate and Inanimate, each of which is divided into two smaller classes here labelled Animate High (AH), Animate Low (AL), Inanimate High (IH), and Inanimate Low (IL). Animate Nouns denote human beings and animals, Inanimate Nouns plants, trees and objects. Nouns belonging to the AH class denote persons to whom one owes respect (cf 1.5). They require the use of special 'polite' forms of the personal pronouns, numerals, and verbs. Those of the AL class denote common people and animals. The IH class only contains names of trees and the word 'tree' itself and the IL class names of plants and inanimate objects. The concord requirements of the four classes are set out in the matrix below.

	Animate		Inanimate	
	AH	AL	IH	IL
Choice of special lexical items denoting body parts or expressing bodily functions (cf. 1.2.4:5)	+	-	-	-
Choice of the plural instead of the singular form of the 3rd p. pronoun and the 3rd p. subject marker with action verbs (1.2.4:5)	+	-	-	-
Choice of ma as subj.prf. 3rd p. sg. with stative verbs (cf. 2.2.2.2:15)	+	+	-	-
Choice of the poss.pr. mV (cf. 2.2.6:19)	+	+	-	-
Choice of the go- numerals (cf. 2.2.10:24)	+	-	+	-
Choice of the di- numerals (cf. 2.2.10:24)	-	+	-	-
	+ = yes, - = no			

Animate and inanimate noun classes are found in many non-Austronesian languages in the area, both in North Halmahera and in New Guinea. The distinction of an AH class is not a Papuan feature and must be due to cultural influence from the Austronesian part of Indonesia. The classification of trees as 'High' for the purpose of counting could also be a Papuan feature. In the (Papuan) Asmat language in Irian Jaya old people are sometimes referred to as 'trees', and in many Papuan languages body-parts are equated with parts of trees.

#### 2.2.4. Noun qualifiers

There are a number of roots which occur attributively as noun qualifiers but it is not yet clear whether they form one class which can be labelled 'adjectives'. I noted a few instances of such roots immediately following the noun they qualify:

sawan gawi     *a lonely spot*  
 loka sinanga   *fried bananas*  
 oma sibafong   *(child, male & adolescent) an adolescent boy*

Much more frequently the qualifying root is linked to the noun by a particle dV which like the article dV (2.3.2.1) and the possessive dV (2.2.6) follows assimilation rules 1-4. Some of these roots also occur as nouns:

papá             *a woman, a female*  
 da papá         *the woman*  
 oma da papá     *a female child, a girl*  
 ayo             *older sibling*  
 da ayo          *the older sibling*  
 da ayo da papá *the older sister*  
 do oma da ayo   *the older child (of two)*

When they function as nouns these roots all denote human beings; in their attributive function they always qualify animate nouns so there is no possibility of confusing the linking particle dV with the possessive particle dV which always follows a noun of the inanimate class. Thus:

da pala da gasi *the posts (gasi) of the house, but:*  
 da oma ma ayo *the child's older sibling (v.2.2.6).*

Other qualifying roots also function as stative verbs:

win da safo       *a hot sun, a hot day*  
 de ti afe i-safo *I my eye it-hot, my eye hurts*

Other examples are:

mai da magol     *a huge stone*  
 afi da rata      *level ground*

rata in the last example is a borrowing from Indonesian (tanah rata *level ground*).

#### 2.2.5. Personal pronouns

There are seven personal pronouns which have the same form in whatever syntactic function they occur. They embody two number distinctions, singular and plural, and distinguish between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person with an extra inclusive-exclusive distinction in the 1st person plural. They are:

Singular 1st person	de	Plural 1st person exclusive	imi
2nd person	ni	1st person inclusive	ene
3rd person	me	2nd person	ini
		3rd person	eme

The plural forms of the 1st person inclusive, 2nd person, and 3rd person can be derived from the singular forms by prefixing a plural marker V which assimilates to the root vowel and by postulating the morphophonemic change of de > ne. The 1st person exclusive pronoun is built on the same principle but the root seems to be of Austronesian origin: mi < AN kami.

To express dual, trial, or higher numbers a numeral root (2.2.10) is added to the personal pronouns. For dual number this is the root je which is found only in this context, in the compound jepa *husband and wife* (2.2.2.1.) and by itself with the meaning *the two of them*. Thus:

imi je	<i>the two of us</i>
eme je, je	<i>the two of them</i>
ene unge	<i>the three of us, etc.</i>

## 2.2.6. Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are:

Singular 1st person	ti	<i>my</i>
2nd person	ni	<i>your</i>
3rd person Animate	mV	<i>his/her/its</i>
3rd person Inanimate	dV	<i>its</i>
Plural 1st person exclusive	mi	<i>our</i>
1st person inclusive	nV	<i>our</i>
2nd person	fi	<i>your</i>
3rd person	di	<i>their</i>

The pronouns mV, dV and nV are subject to assimilation rules 1-4; the others do not vary their form.

The 3rd person singular pronoun mV occurs with animate possessors, dV with inanimate possessors. The possessive pronouns are often preceded by the corresponding personal pronouns. This construction seems to be slightly more emphatic than the other; one context in which it always occurs is as complement in a verbless sentence. Examples:

di oma	<i>their child(ren)</i>
da kabi mo gow	<i>the goat's leg</i>
da pala do bungbangi	<i>the floor of the house</i>
mené de ti pala	<i>this is my house</i>
mené me mo oma	<i>this is his child</i>

As mentioned before (1.5) some social situations demand that one uses personal and possessive pronouns and verbs in a polite way, that is, that one uses the plural forms of those pronouns and verbs instead of the singular. Some examples of polite usage are given here:

mene de ti deto	di musala
<i>this I my Grandmother Her mat</i>	
<i>This is my Grandmother's mat.</i>	



da lagéy ma de-iteng  
*the old man that He-said*  
*The Old Man said ...*

i-fteng eme  
*he-said to Him*  
*He said to Him ...*

### 2.2.7. Demonstrative pronouns

The following demonstratives have been noted:

	I	II	III
<i>this/these</i>	ne	mené <sup>17</sup>	nema
<i>that/those</i>	ma	mena	-

The demonstrative roots in column I function as noun qualifiers. The forms in column II function as Subject or Object, and also as noun qualifiers. In the latter case they seem to be more emphatic than the roots. Morphologically they are compound, consisting of the 3rd person singular pronoun *me* followed by a demonstrative root. *Nemá* was observed only twice, in the text (section 3). Its semantic relation to *ne* and *mené* is not clear. Used attributively the demonstratives follow the noun. Examples:

pala ne i-lamo  
*house this it-large*  
*This house is large.*

da aso ma i-kiki ni?  
*the dog that it-bite you*  
*Did that dog bite you?*

ni-am do loka mené yo  
*you-eat the banana this not*  
*Don't eat this banana!*

mene de ti pala  
*this I my house*  
*This is my house.*

mena omo  
*that already (2.3.1.1)*  
*That is enough.*

### 2.2.8. Locative words

The locatives form a system which is based on eight roots. Two of these are the demonstratives *ne* and *ma*. Although not locative themselves they form the basis of derived locatives which fit into the pattern of forms derived from locative roots. Five of the locative roots are speaker-oriented: they define

the position of points in space in terms of the position of the speaker. The sixth, *ía*, does not seem to be speaker-oriented but to refer to a location near another, context-determined point of reference. The locatives are:

	Roots	Derived forms		
		I	II	
Demonstrative	ne	siné	sesiné	<i>here</i>
	ma	somá	sosomá	<i>there</i>
Locative	na <sup>18</sup>	soná	[sosona] <sup>19</sup>	<i>yonder</i>
	naso	sonaso	[sostonaso]	<i>below, down there</i>
	ney	sonéy	sosonéy	<i>above, up there</i>
	nanga	sonanga	[sostonanga]	<i>on the landward side</i>
	nao	sonao	[sostonao]	<i>on the seaward side</i>
	ia	soía	?	<i>?there near X?</i>

The locative roots can have a locational or a directional meaning. Examples of the former are:

ne-e      da    tas    nao    to    motor  
*you-take art bag loc on the boat*  
*Fetch the bag (which is) over there on the boat.*

motor    i-dee      naso    Ternate    omo  
*boat it-reach loc Ternate already*  
*The boat has already reached Ternate down there.<sup>20</sup>*

wolot    nao    ma      i-maulu    pake  
*sea loc that it-deep very*  
*The sea over there is very deep.*

When they have a directional meaning they function as verbs. These directional verbs have been discussed in section 2.2.2.2.

The forms in column I are derived from the roots by the prefixing of *so-* which has an allomorph *si-* when prefixed to *ne*.<sup>21</sup> *So/Si* restricts the general locative deixis of the root to the indication of a particular location:

ni-sitao    de    sona  
*you-wait me loc*  
*Wait for me (on that spot) over there!*

no-ogo    sonéy  
*you-put loc*  
*Put it (on that spot) up there!*

win    iwu              fa-wá      siné?  
*day how many you-stay here*  
*How long will you (plural) stay here?*

The forms in column II are derived from those in column I by the prefixing of a second so- which has an allomorph se when prefixed to siné. Their semantic relation to the forms in column I is not yet clear; in some examples they seem to be no more than variants of the column I forms, as in:

imu ma-dadi sangaji sesiné?  
*who he-become Camat<sup>22</sup> here*  
*Who has become the Camat here?*

ni-fó sesiné i  
*you come down here mod*  
*Please come down here.*

Another possibility, which needs further investigation, is that the second so is the verb root so *to go down, descend* (i-so fete he climbs down a tree) which can follow another verb to indicate a downward movement: toro so *to sit down*, ogo so *to put down*, so that the sentence no-ogo sosoney should be re-analysed as no-ogo so soney *Put it down up there*. sesiné however does not seem to fit in with this explanation.

### 2.2.9. Interrogatives

The following interrogatives have been noted:

sitó, stó *from where, where to*

ni sto  
*you where*  
*Where are you going?*

na-ay stó  
*you-depart where*  
*From where did you depart?*

sesitó *where*

Kampong Sabalé ma sesitó  
*village Sabale that where*  
*Where is the village of Sabale?*

Note that the semantic contrast between sito and sesito (directional-locative) is parallel to that between the locative roots and their derivatives, e.g. naso-sonaso (2.2.8). This makes it possible to identify se in sesitó as the same prefix found in sonaso etc.

pamá *what*

mené pamá or pamá mené *What is this?*

ni aym pamá  
*you name what*  
*What is your name?*

imu *who*

imu i-tulis mené  
*who he-wrote this*  
*Who wrote this?*

iwu *how many/how much*

no-poli namu de esi iwu  
*you-buy chicken eggs how many*  
*How many eggs did you buy?*

paruwia *when*

fo-podo paruwia  
*you-come when*  
*When did you (plural) come?*

paruwia refers to events in the past.

putuiwu *when*

fi-í putuiwu  
*you-go when*  
*When will you (plural) leave?*

putuiwu refers to events in the future. Originally it must have meant *how many nights*. Cognates of putu meaning *night* are found in all North Halmaheran languages. In West Máikian the common word for night is now kaman.

sapmá }  
 sapmá amo } *why*

ni sapmá (amo) no-podo yo  
*you why you-came not*  
*Why didn't you come?*

apato *how*

kalau ta-maa eme, apato?  
*if I-seize them, how*  
*If I seize them, what then?*

## 2.2.10. Quantifiers

### NUMERALS

There are four sets of numerals: (1) numerals used to count nouns of the Inanimate Low class, (2) numerals used to count nouns of the Animate Low class, (3) numerals used to count Animate High and Inanimate High nouns (2.2.3.2), and (4) a set of numeral roots. The numerals 1-9 have been elicited in all four sets, the higher numerals only in set 1. The four sets of numerals 1-9 are:

	Roots	IL	AL	AH/IH
1	minyé	minyé	meminyé	gominyé
2	edéng, edé, je	medéng	dimáede	gomedéng
3	unge	iunge	dimaunge	goiunge
4	fati	ifati	dimfati	goifati
5	foy	mafoy	dimfoy	gomafoy
6	dam	idam	dimdam	goidam
7	tepedingi	tepedingi	ditepedingi	gotepedingi
8	tukbange	tukbange	ditukbange	gotukbange
9	siwe	isiwe	dimsiwe	goisiwe

The numeral roots occur attributively with nouns of the IL class and with plural personal pronouns to indicate dual, trial etc. number. Of the three allomorphs of *two* we find *edéng* in the former case and *je* in the latter:

*win edéng*    *two days*  
*ini je*        *the two of you*  
*ini unge*     *the three of you*

The numerals in the second column are used by themselves to count inanimate objects (except trees), and in 'enumerative' counting. Those in the third and fourth columns occur both attributively and by themselves. In the latter case they can also function as nouns meaning *one person*, *two persons* etc.

*loka minyé*    *one banana*                      *da lagey gominyé*    *one Old Man*  
*loka gominyé* *one banana tree*    *meminyé*                *one person*  
*oma dimáede*   *two children*                *gominyé*                *one respectable person*

The numbers 2-9 of the AL set contain the pronominal root *di* '3rd person plural' which occurs in this form as possessive pronoun and as subject marker in directional verbs. If we strip these numerals of *di-* we are left with forms which are very similar to the numeral adverbs meaning *two times*, *three times* etc.:

*di-maede* : *madeng*    *two times / for the second time*  
*di-maunge* : *maunge*   *three times / for the third time*

Exceptions are the numerals 7 and 8 in which *di-* is prefixed directly to the root. These two roots have cognates in all North Halmaheran languages and are clearly of non-Austronesian origin. On the other hand the roots *fati*, *siwe*, and *dam* are clearly of Austronesian origin. The origin of the remaining roots is uncertain. Finally, *meminyé* in this set contains the 3rd person singular personal pronoun *me*.

The numerals in the AH set all contain a prefix *go-* added to the forms of the IL set. For the latter the numerals from 10-100 have also been noted. They are:

10    *ainyé*  
 11    *ainyé lo minyé*  
 12    *ainyé lo medéng* etc.  
 20    *awedéng*  
 21    *awedéng lo minyé* etc.  
 30    *aweiuunge*  
 40    *awEIFate* etc.  
 100   *atus minyé*

Indefinite quantifiers are:

*folo*    *many*                                *feberesi* }  
*otu*    *few, a bit*                            *famasi*    } *all*

## 2.3. Phrases

### 2.3.1. Verb Phrases

There are three types of verb phrases:

- I. Non-imperative Action-verb Phrase (AVP<sub>1</sub>)
- II. Imperative Action-verb Phrase (AVP<sub>2</sub>)
- III. Stative verb Phrase

2.3.1.1. Action verb phrase<sub>1</sub>

The AVP<sub>1</sub> has the structure: (mode) Verb (Aspect). Modals are:

musti *have to, must*  
 seba (Sabalé: tope) *want, intend to*  
 suka *want very much to, like to*

musti and suka are loan words from Indonesian: seba and tope seem to be original WM words.

Aspect markers are:

omo *already* (completive aspect)  
 i *still* (incompletive aspect)  
 epe *again* (repeated action)

There are no examples of verbs accompanied both by modals and by aspect markers. Aspect markers come clause finally but precede the Sentence Modal if any. That is, they can be separated from the verb by other post-verbal sentence constituents. Examples:

de seba te-fiám	(Sabalé: de tope ta-fá)
S <sup>23</sup> -----VP-----	S ----VP----
<i>I want I-eat</i>	<i>I want I-eat</i>
<i>I want to eat.</i>	<i>I want to eat.</i>

Dené musti ti-dadi puni
S -----VP ----- Comp
<i>I have to I-become spirit</i>
<i>I have to become a spirit.</i>

Coba ni suka ni-dadi puni,
Cj S -----VP----- Comp
<i>if you like you-become spirit</i>
<i>If you like to become a spirit, ....</i>

Te ne i-sasafo i
--S-- ----VP----
<i>tea this it-hot still</i>
<i>This tea is still hot.</i>

Motor ne i-dée naso Ternate omo
---S--- [ ----AdvP---- ]
[ -----VP----- ]
<i>The boat has already reached Ternate.</i>

Terus o-jaga epé
Cj -----VP-----
<i>and he-watch again</i>
<i>And again he kept watch.</i>

omo and epe have also been observed without verb in the elliptical sentences occurring in the second part of the following discourse:

Speaker 1:

Ni-i ta pasar no-poli namu de esi lo ifa!
<i>go to market buy chicken eggs and canarium nuts</i>
<i>You (sg) go to the market and buy eggs and canarium nuts!</i>

Speaker 2:

Lo pamá epé?
<i>and what again?</i>
<i>And what else?</i>

Speaker 1:

Memá omo.
<i>that already</i>
<i>That'll do.</i>

2.3.1.2. Action verb phrase<sub>2</sub>

The AVP<sub>2</sub> has the structure: Verb (mode).

The verb is always an imperative. The modal, which occurs clause final, is *i*. It 'softens' the imperative to a more polite request. Examples:

ni-í i no-poli de ti tabako  
 --vp<sup>23</sup>-- VP -----O-----  
*you-go mod you buy my tobacco*  
*Please go and buy tobacco for me.*

ni-fí sesiné i  
 [-----vp-----]  
 AdvP  
*you come up here mod*  
*Please come up here.*

## 2.3.1.3. Stative verb phrase

The Stative Verb Phrase differs from the AVP<sub>1</sub> in that it can contain the intensifier adverb *pake*. Examples:

pala ne i-golo omo  
 ---S--- ----VP----  
*house this it-old already*  
*This house is already old.*

wolot nao ma i-máulu pake  
 -----S----- ----VP-----  
*sea there that it-deep very*  
*The sea there is very deep.*

té ne i-sasafo i  
 -S -- ----VP----  
*tea this it-hot still*  
*This tea is still hot.*

(The possibility of modals in this Verb Phrase, and the co-occurrence of *pake* and aspect markers has not been investigated.)

## 2.3.2. Noun phrases

Four types of noun phrases will be distinguished here:

1. General Noun Phrase
2. Possessive Noun Phrase
3. Coordinate Noun Phrase
4. Complex Noun Phrase
5. Personal Pronoun Phrase

## 2.3.2.1. The general noun phrase

A general noun phrase contains at least a noun which can be preceded by the particle *dV* and followed by a Qualifier, a Demonstrative or Locative root, and a Quantifier: (dV) Noun (Qual.) (Dem.Loc.) (Quant.)

The particle *dV* which follows assimilation rule 1 seems to have as its most general function that it signals that the root which follows stands in a certain relationship to something else, whether this 'something else' is represented in the context or not. If it is not, then *dV* imparts to the following root a certain definiteness. The root then is always a noun, and *dV* signals that the speaker assumes that the listener knows what or whom he is talking about. In this case *dV* can often be translated by 'the'. That it is not a real definite article is shown by the fact that a noun with *dV* can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun as in *da lagey ma that old man* in which *dV* has to remain untranslated.

If *dV* links two nouns however it signals a possessive relationship in which the possessor precedes and the possessed follows. There is one restriction on the occurrence of *dV* in this context: the possessor is always inanimate—an animate possessor requires the use of the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun *mV*, e.g. *da pala da gasi the house posts*, but: *kabi mo gow goat's leg*.

If *dV* links a noun and an 'adjective' root, two animate nouns, or a verb and a noun, it signals a qualifying relationship in which the qualified precedes and the qualifier follows. For example: *tebe tail end*; *de tebe the tail end*; *eti de tebe the tail end of a canoe*; *i-so de tebe (literally) it descended at the rear* which, said about a new glass for instance means *it has just come out of the factory*. And: *at man*; *da á't the man, husband*; *oma da at a male child, boy*; *may da magol a large stone*.

Examples of General Noun Phrases are:

*omo (a) child*

*do omo*  
*art<sup>23</sup> child*  
*the child*

*da lagey gominyé*  
*art old man one*  
*one Old Man*

*do gupa ma feberesí*  
*art coconut that all*  
*all those coconuts*

*da sawan gawi minyé*  
*art spot lonely one*  
*(spot lonely one) one lonely spot*

*mai da magol ne*  
*stone Q1 large this*  
*this large stone*

### 2.3.2.2. The possessive noun phrase

The structure of a possessive NP is:  
 (NP/Personal Pronoun) + Possessive Pronoun + General Noun Phrase.

When the Possessive Pronoun is *dV* it is obligatorily preceded by a Noun Phrase with an inanimate head, otherwise the first constituent is optional.  
 Examples:



(de) ti papá            *my wife*  
 mo oma meminyé        *her one child*  
 (de) ti oma da át       *my male child, my son*  
 de ti ayo ma kabi      *my older sibling's goat*  
 de eti de tebe          *the tail of the canoe*

### 2.3.2.3. Coordinate noun phrases

These noun phrases contain two NPs linked by the coordinating conjunctions *lo and* or *fa or*. Examples are:

Muhammad lo Hasan    *Muhammad and Hassan*  
 namu de esi lo ifa      *chicken eggs and canarium nuts*  
 da at fa da papá?      *(Is it) a male or a female?*  
 win edéng fa iunge     *Two days or three?*

### 2.3.2.4. Complex noun phrases

Complex Noun phrases consist of a General Noun Phrase and one or two embedded clauses. The embedded clause either follows the General Noun Phrase or is contained in it as in the first example below:

mancia yang di-puni ma  
 people L-Emb.Cl<sup>23</sup>--J *those*  
*those people who are evil spirits*

mancia di-isa ramián  
 people L-- Emb.Cl --J  
*people who are holding a feast*

da mancia de-sedór ia, yang di sifat i-tiahi  
 people L- Emb.Cl --J, L-----Emb.Cl-----J  
*People who passed there and whose features were complete....*

### 2.3.2.5. Personal pronoun phrases

These phrases have a Personal pronoun as head, optionally followed by the demonstrative *ne* or a numeral root:

de ne            *I, I here*  
 eme unge       *the three of them*

See also section 2.2.5.

### 2.3.3. Adverb phrases

Adverb phrases will here be divided into two distributional classes: those which precede the verb and those which follow it. Pre-verb phrases include time phrases, the modal adverb *tarsa perhaps*, the intensifier adverb *paling very much* and the manner adverbs *happa like this*, *hapáapa like this and that* and *wa also*. Examples of time phrases are:

maidne	today	marungo minyé	in three days' time
ibulang	tomorrow	win tanuawi	at noon
do bulang fi	the following day	ianso, anso	newly, just
maitiso	yesterday	terahir	at last
mardinge	the day after tomorrow		

If the sentence contains a Subject they precede it; only anso has been noted in post-subject position.

Post-verb adverb phrases can be divided into manner phrases and locative phrases. Manner phrases include instrument phrases, numeral phrases, and *li also*. Instrument phrases are characterised by the presence of the preposition *pe with*. They can precede or follow the Object. Examples are:

na-tala pe peda da langalongi ne  
*you-cut with bushknife art<sup>23</sup> rope this*  
*Cut this rope with a bushknife!*

yakor te pe sosodik  
*stir tea with spoon*  
*Stir the tea with a spoon.*

Numeral adverb phrases are:

mamínye one time, for the first time  
 madéng two times, for the second time  
 maunge three times, for the third time etc.

These have been formed from numeral roots by the prefixing of *ma-*.

maminye epe yet another time, once more  
 minyé fa minyé in one respect or another

Locative phrases fall into two categories:

1. those which consist of a root which immediately follows the verb and indicates the direction into which the action takes place. Roots which function as such directional adverbs also function as directional verbs (2.2.2.2). Examples are:

no-ogo so Put it down! nu-uba no Bring it here!  
 de to-toro so I sat down de ta-áw fi I came climbing up

2. those which contain a noun phrase preceded by the preposition *tV* (Assimilation rules 1-4) or *pe*, and/or a locative root. *tV* and *pe* seem to be mutually exclusive; *tV to, at, in, on* is followed by a Noun Phrase with an inanimate noun as Head, *pe to* by a Noun Phrase with an animate noun as Head, or a personal pronoun. Only one case was noted in which a locative root and a preposition occur together. Examples are:

te meja do tubo  
*on table its top*  
*on the table*

to motor to/on the boat  
 te fito to/in the kitchen

i-wako pe de may  
*he-threw to me stone*  
*He threw a stone at me.*

nu-uba da tas ne nao to motor  
*you-take bag this loc to boat*  
*Take this bag to the boat over there.*

There are a number of verbs which 'govern' the preposition *pe* and are always followed by it even if no overt object is present:

*fimege pe to ask*  
*mamae pe to obey*  
*folsoma pe to send (a letter) to*

I noted one case of a post-verb time adverb. It is the case of *de tebe* mentioned earlier in section 2.3.2.1:

*gėlas ne i-so de tebe ne*  
*glass this it-went down at the rear this*  
*This glass is new (i.e. has just come out of the factory).*

## 2.4. Sentences

The following main sentence types will here be distinguished: simple sentences, complex sentences, and compound sentences.

### 2.4.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences contain only one non-embedded clause.<sup>24</sup> They can be declarative, imperative, or interrogative. Since all imperative sentences observed so far have the same grammatical structure as declarative sentences they will be subsumed under these. Simple sentences which contain a verb phrase are verbal sentences and those which do not contain a verb phrase are non-verbal sentences.

#### 2.4.1.1. Verbal declarative sentences

Two types of sentences will be distinguished here. The first type consists of a verbal phrase optionally accompanied by one or more of the following sentence constituents, generally in the order as given below:

(AdvP)<sup>23</sup> (S) VP (IO) (O) (AdvP) (SM)

The functions of Subject, Object, and Indirect Object are fulfilled by a Noun Phrase. Sentence Modals are *ne*, *yo*, *waí*, *wayó*, and *moía*. *ne*, in origin the demonstrative pronoun *ne this* seems to lend a certain emphasis to the sentence. The other modals signal the negative mode: *yo not*; *wayó* seems to be used to negate states and can be translated by *there is/was not, it is not*; *waí not yet* and *moía no more*.

The verb of the verb phrase can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive depending on whether it cannot take an object, can take an object, or can take an indirect object as well as an object. Examples:

#### I. With intransitive verb

*de ti-í*  
*s<sup>23</sup> VP*  
*I I-go*  
*I went.*

de te-fiám yo  
 S VP SM  
 I I-eat not  
 I am not eating.

de anso to-osu ne  
 S AdvP VP SM  
 I just I-get up  
 I just got up!

maidema meminyé i-podo siné  
 AdvP S VP AdvP  
 shortly a person he-came here  
 A few moments ago somebody came here.

hapáapa i-sagál  
 AdvP VP  
 like this and that he-walk  
 He walked this way and that way.

## II. With transitive verb

da aso ma i-kiki de  
 -----S----- VP O  
 art dog that it-bite me  
 That dog bit me.

nu-uba kursi ne ta pala  
 VP ----O---- --AdvP--  
 you-take chair this to house  
 Take this chair to the house!

na-tala pe piso da langaloni ne  
 VP ---AdvP--- -----O-----  
 you-cut with knife art rope this  
 Cut this rope with a knife!

paling de-milinga eme omo  
 AdvP VP O  
 very much they-love them already  
 They already love them very much.

ne-bebé de te mene yo  
 VP -----O----- SM  
 you-drink art tea this not  
 Don't drink this tea!

## III. With ditransitive verb

ne-pí de te  
 VP IO O  
 you-give me tea  
 Give me (some) tea!

## 2.4.1.2. Non-verbal declarative sentences

These have the structure: Adverb Phrase + Subject + Complement. The complement is manifested by a Noun Phrase, an Adverb Phrase, a numeral, or by an embedded non-verbal sentence. The subject of the embedded sentence refers anaphorically to the sentence subject either by itself as in the third example below, or through one of its constituents as in the fourth example.

mené Hasan mo oma  
 S<sup>23</sup> -----Comp-----  
*this Hasan his child*  
*This is Hasan's child.*

anso di oma dimáede  
 AdvP ----S----- Comp  
*newly their children two*  
*They had only two children.*

mama mená te fito  
 S -----Comp-----  
           S          Comp  
*Mother she-there in kitchen*  
*Mother is there in the kitchen.*

dimáedepa di oma dimáede  
 S -----Comp-----  
           ----S----          Comp  
*man & wife their children two*  
*The man and his wife had two children.*

## 2.4.1.3. Interrogative sentences

Yes-no questions: these differ from declarative sentences only by having a question intonation (2.1.4).

Information questions: these differ from declarative sentences in that a Noun Phrase, an Adverb Phrase, or a Quantifier has been replaced by an interrogative word. Also the order of the constituents can be different from the order in declarative sentence. Thus *paruwia* and *putuiwu when* (2.2.9) which replace the time adverb phrase occur in sentence-final position. And *imu who* precedes the Subject when it is the complement in a non-verbal sentence.

Examples are:

fo-uba pamá  
 VP O  
*you-carry what*  
*What are you carrying?*

imu ini  
 Comp S  
*who you (pl)*  
*Who are you?*

ni sapma no-podo yo  
 S AdvP VP SM  
*you why you-come not*  
*Why didn't you come?*

imu i-tulis mené  
 S<sup>23</sup> VP O  
*who he-write this*  
*Who wrote this?*

Kampong Sabalé ma sesitó  
 -----S----- Comp  
*village Sabale that where*  
*Where is the village of Sabalé?*

win iwu fa-wá sine  
 --AdvP--- VP AdvP  
*days how many you-stay here*  
*How long will you (pl) stay here?*

fo-podo paruwia  
 VP AdvP  
*you-come when*  
*When did you come here?*

#### 2.4.1.4. The pre-verb object

In all the examples of simple sentences given above the object follows the verb. But the object can also precede the verb namely when it is topicalised. It then also precedes the Subject. The vacated post-verbal position is then occupied by what I would like to label an 'echo Object', i.e. a pronoun which refers anaphorically to the pre-verb Object. Examples of the object in pre-verbal position are:

ti oma ma puni i-am me  
 ----O<sup>23</sup>----- S VP EO  
*my child that evil spirit it-eat him*  
*My child was eaten by an evil spirit*

jadi di oma ma, paling de-milinga eme omo  
 Cj -----O----- AdvP [-----EO-----]  
 [-----VP-----]  
*So their children those, very much they-love them already*  
*Therefore they loved their children very much.*

Another example will be given in the section on embedded clauses.

#### 2.4.2. Complex sentences

Complex sentences contain two or more concatenated clauses. The intraclausal relations are expressed not by morphological means but either by juxtaposition or by a number of coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. Both ways of clause linking can be found within the same sentence.

##### 2.4.2.1. Juxtaposed clauses

Juxtaposition signals that the action expressed by the verb in the second clause either simply follows the action expressed by the verb in the first clause, or that it is an intended action to which the first action is a preliminary. Also juxtaposition can throw two actions into contrast. Examples are:

ni-i ta pasar no-poli namu de esi lo ifa  
 VP<sup>23</sup> -- AdvP -- VP -----O-----  
*you-go to the market you-buy chicken eggs and canarium nuts*  
*Go to the market and buy eggs and canariums nuts.*

de ti-i to-tobo  
 S VP VP  
*I I-go I-bathe*  
*I go bathing.*

na-wá te do yuwi fatta, de ta-wá fatta  
 VP -----AdvP----- S VP AdvP  
*you-stay at the end one side I I-stay one side*  
*You stay at the end on one side, and I stay at the other.*

#### 2.4.2.2. Clauses linked by conjunctions

Most of the conjunctions we find in West Máikian have been borrowed from the Indonesian language. Not all of them are also conjunctions in Indonesian; some became conjunctions in West Máikian by a functional and semantic shift. Thus,

West Máikian	coba <i>if</i>	Indonesian	coba <i>to try, see if</i>
	serta <i>because</i>		serta <i>with, together with</i>
	těrus <i>then (at once)</i>		těrus <i>straight, directly</i>

The only conjunctions which seem not to have been borrowed are *amo because*, *lo and*, *fa or*, *ma then*, *te so that* and *situ until*.

All conjunctions occupy clause-initial position. Coordinating conjunctions are:

lo	<i>and</i>	jadi	<i>so, therefore</i>
fa	<i>or</i>	těrus	<i>and then, and at once</i>
tapi	<i>but</i>		

Subordinating conjunctions are:

coba	} <i>if</i>	sětělah	<i>after</i>
kalaw		waktu	<i>when, at the time that</i>
sěbap	} <i>because</i>	serta	<i>since, because</i>
káreña		situ	<i>until</i>
amo		te	} <i>so that, so</i>
	supaya		

There seems to be no difference in meaning between *coba* and *kalaw*. The semantic shift in *coba* suggests that it is an older loan than *kalaw*. *sěbap* and *karěna* are synonyms as they are in Indonesian. *amo* was found in two contexts: (1) following *sapma why*: *sapma amo...* can be translated by *why is it that...*; (2) clause initially; in that case it can be rendered by *it is that/the reason is that/because*. *supaya* and *te* seem to have the same meaning, but *supaya* is an Indonesian loan and *te* (probably) the original West Máikian conjunction. *coba* clauses are often followed by a clause introduced by *ma then*. Examples:

i-máa me lo i-dó me  
 VP O Cj VP O  
*he-grab it and he-hold it*  
*He made a grab for it and got hold of it.*

i-wakis fa i-fór  
 vp<sup>23</sup> CJ VP  
*he-slap or he-beat with stick*  
*Did he slap (you) or did he beat (you) with a stick?*

ah, coba hapa ma ti-í te-sefo de ne wa ti-dadi puni  
 int<sup>23</sup> Cj Comp Cj VP VP --- S --- VP Comp  
*ay if like this then I-go I-seek I too I-become evil spirit*

supaya ti-ám mancia  
 Cj VP O  
*so that I-eat people*  
*Well, if that's the case, then I'll go searching for a way to become an evil spirit too, so that I can eat people!*

### 2.4.3. Embedded clauses

Embedded clauses can be verbal or non-verbal. Non-verbal embedded clauses do not differ structurally from their non-embedded counterparts. They occur as complements in non-verbal sentences (examples in 2.4.1.2). Verbal clauses occur embedded in other clauses and in Noun Phrases. In the latter case they sometimes are introduced by the relative pronoun yang (an Indonesian loan). Examples:

dené, karěna ti-puni ti-am me  
 S ----Emb.Cl----- VP O  
 L----- Cl -----J  
*I because I-evil spirit I-eat it*  
*Because I am an evil spirit I ate it!*

iamá da mancia de-sedór ia, yang di sifat i-tiahi  
 AdvP ----S---- --- Emb.Cl --- -----Emb.Cl-----  
 L-----NP-----J  
*there people they-pass there, who their features it-complete*  
*People who passed there and who did not miss any part of their bodies....*

dené te-sefo mancia yang di-puni ma supaya da-fadidi de puni  
 S VP -----O----- Cj VP O Comp  
*I I-seek person who he-evil spirit that so he-make me evil spirit*  
*I am looking for someone who is an evil spirit, so that he makes me an evil spirit.*

na-jaga mancia di-isa ramián  
 VP -----O-----  
*you-watch people they-make feast*  
*Look out for people who are having a feast!*

### 3. TEXT

The following text is about a man who loses one of his two children and, as is often the case in the Moluccas, ascribes its death to the work of an evil spirit or puni. A puni is a person who has the power to leave his body and roam around killing other people by eating their spiritual bodies. Frustrated by his loss the man decides to become a puni himself. With the help of an old sorcerer



he succeeds but only to find that his second child dies too because he himself unknowingly has eaten its spiritual body. Aghast, he asks the sorcerer to change him back into an ordinary human being, but his request falls on deaf ears.

The text offers several examples of polite speech when the man addresses the old sorcerer. In both the word-by-word and the free translation which accompany it I have written the English equivalents of the polite terms and prefixes with initial capitals. Also the translation of *lagey old man* has been written with initial capitals. In the West Máikian version, which is a transcription of the original recording, non-final pauses are marked by a slash /, and sentence-final pauses by a double slash //.

#### The man who wanted to become an evil spirit

no toro só te ta-facarita minyé // jadi da carita nemá /  
*you sit down so that I-tell a story one So art story this*  
*Sit down so that I can tell you a story. So this story is about an*

da asal puni // Jadi kěbětulan dimáede / di oma  
*its topic evil spirit. So it happened that man & wife their child*  
*evil spirit. So it happened that there were a man and his wife*

dimáede // anso di oma dimáede // Jadi di  
*two just their child two Therefore their*  
*who had two children. They had only two children. And therefore they*

oma ma / paling de-milingá eme oma // terús satu saát /  
*children those very much they loved them already then one time*  
*loved their children very much. Then one day one of*

těrus di oma ma magéy // do oma da ayo ma magéy //  
*then their child that die art child eldest that die*  
*their children died. Their eldest child died.*

dimáede bukan / jadi do oma da ayo magéy // kărena magéy / eme  
*two not so art child eldest die Because dead they*  
*They had two, hadn't they, so, the elder died. Because it died and they*

jepá de-milingá me / těrús da át ne i-sefo // dé  
*man and wife they loved it then art man this he sought I*  
*had loved it, the man at once began to look for ways (to take revenge). 'I*

ne musti ti-dadi puni li / sěbáp da-baso teng ti oma  
*this must I become evil spirit too because I heard word my child*  
*must become an evil spirit too (he thought) because I have heard people*

ma puni i-ám me bukan // Jadi těrús da at  
*that evil spirit it ate him, not? So then art man*  
*saying that an evil spirit ate my child, didn't he? So then he man said:*

ma i-iténg / a / coba hapa ma ti-í te-sefo te supaya de  
*that he said well if like this then I go I seek so that I*  
*'Well, if this is the case, then I go searching for a way to become an evil*

ne wa ti-dadi puni / supaya ti-ám mancia // ta-balas  
*here also I become an evil spirit so that I eat people I revenge*  
*spirit too, so that I can eat people! In this way*

hapá //                    těrús    i-sefo                    i-sagál //    hapáapa  
 thus                    at once he searched he walked    like this and that  
 I take revenge!' At once he set out on his search. This way and that way

i-sagál / těrús i-do    da lagéy    gominyé / da lagéy    ma de-  
 he walked then he met art Old Man One    art Old Man that He-  
 he went, and then he met one Old Man.                    The Old Man asked him:

fimegepe me / a / ni stó    ne // těrús me i-jawap    eme bukan /  
 asked him hey you where this then he he-answered Him not  
 'Hey you there where are you going?' And he answered Him, you know, he said

i-fténg eme / a / dene    te-sefo    mancia    yang di-puni    ma  
 he-said Him oh I this I-look for somebody who He-evil spirit that  
 to Him: 'I here I'm looking for somebody who is an evil spirit so that He

supaya da-fadadi                    de puni //                    sětěláh i-fténg    eme ma  
 so that He-cause to become me evil spirit after he-said to him that  
 makes me into an evil spirit'.                    When he had told him that the

těrús    da lagéy    ma de-téng / 0 / bole sesné omo // coba ni-  
 at once art Old Man that He-said Oh fine here already if you-  
 Old Man at once said: 'Oh, that can be done right here!                    If you like

suka ni-dadi    puni /                    ma i-dadi // jadi těrús je                    di-  
 like you-become evil spirit that it-happens so then they two they  
 to become an evil spirit, it will happen'.                    So then the two of them made

isa do sów    ma bukan / di-isa    do sów    ma / těrús  
 made art magic that you know they-make art magic that then  
 the magic (for it), you know, in order to make the magic the two of them

je                    di-í                    da-sagal //    sagal je                    di-í                    te<sup>25</sup> da sawan  
 they two they-went they walked walk the two they-went to art spot  
 they went on their way and walked to a lonely spot.

gawi minye // těrús de-dée                    so somá do-dó                    da may  
 lonely one                    then they-arrived down there they-found art stone  
 They arrived down there and they found this large oblong

da magol ne / těrús da lagéy    ma de-fiténg me / a / na-wá  
 large this then                    Old Man that He-said to him: ah you-stay  
 stone, and the Old Man said to him: 'well, you have to stay at one end of it,

te<sup>26</sup> do yuwi fattá /                    te    ta-wá fattá // sětěláh eme je  
 at art end on one side at(?) I-stay one side after they two  
 and I stay at the other end.                    When they had taken

da-wá    te teta /                    da lagéy    ne de-fténg me / a / jaga  
 they-stay at both ends art Old Man this He-said to him hey keep  
 their places at the ends, the Old Man said to him: 'Hey, keep looking at me!

ne-fico    de //    coba no-có    de / a ma berarti ni-puni  
 you-look at me                    if you-see me                    that means you-evil spirit  
 If you see me, that means that you have become an evil

ma i-dadi                    coba no-có    de yó / i-dadi                    wai //                    těrús  
 that it-happened                    if you-see me not it-happened not yet                    then  
 spirit.                    If you don't see me, that has not yet happened'. Then

anso maminye / těrús i<sup>27</sup>-fténg no-có de omo fa wai //  
*only one time and he-said you-see me already or not yet*  
*after the first time (he made magic) he said to him, he asked him: 'Do you*  
*see me already or not?'*

těrús da át ma i-teng / a / to-có ini wai těrús i-isa  
*And art man that he-said ah I-see You not yet then he-made*  
*And the man said: 'I don't see you yet'. Then he made it*

maminye epe / ártinya i-isa do sów ma maminye epe /  
*one time again that's to say he-made art magic that one time again*  
*another time, that's to say, he made that magic one more time;*

i-isa yang madéng i-fimegepe me / do lagéy ma  
*he-made it the second time he-asked him art Old Man that*  
*when he had made it the second time he asked him - the Old Man asked him:*

i-fmegepe me / a / no-có de omo fa wai // a / to-có ini  
*he-asked him hey you-see me already or not yet oh I-see You*  
*'Hey, do you see me now or not?' Oh, I see You already*

omo tapi i-těráng wai // ya / towpama na-jaga te ti-isa  
*already but it-clear not yet well if so you-wait so that I-make*  
*but not yet clearly. 'Well if that's the case stay where you are*

maminye epe // i-isa do sów ma maminye  
*one time again he-made art magic that one time*  
*so I can make it yet another time'. Once more he made the magic - so that*

epe / jadi maunge bukan / a těrús i-fmegepe me / a / no-có de  
*more so third time isn't it and then he-asked him hey you-see me*  
*was the third time, you know - and then he asked him: 'Hey, do you see*

mó // a / to-có ini omo / to-có ini těráng omo // sětěláh  
*already oh I-see You now I-see You clearly now after*  
*me already?' 'Oh, I see You already, I see You clearly now'. When he had*

i-có eme omo těrús i-fténg me / yang da lagéy ma i-fténg  
*he-saw Him already then he-told him that art Old Man that he-told*  
*seen Him he told him - the Old Man said to the man:*

da át ma / e / ni-dadi puni omo ne / těrús na-jaga  
*art man that you-become evil spirit already this now you-watch*  
*'Right, you have become an evil spirit! Now you must*

mancia da-wá te da sawan ma // ártinya na-jaga mancia  
*people they-stay on art spot that that's to say you watch people*  
*watch the people who stay on that spot, that's to say you look out for*

di-isa ramián / ramián hapa na-wá te gopao da  
*they-make feast feast like this you-stay on path its*  
*people who are having a feast; when there is a feast you have to stay at the*

saga te supaya na-jaga eme te na-máa eme / těrús  
*branch in order to you-watch them so you-catch them then*  
*path junction in order to look out for them so that you can catch them and*

ni-ám eme // jadi terús i-jaga epe / i-milingá de-bicara  
*you-eat them so then he-watched again he-took notice of He-spoke*  
*eat them!' So he again watched; he did what he was told to do and he*

ma těrús i-jaga // waktu ramián maminye / de-sedór oma jongi  
*that and he-watched when feast one time they-passed boys*  
*stood on the lookout. The first time there was a feast boys and girls*

oma sbafongi de-sedór / oma oma í de-sedór // a de-sedór /  
*girls they-passed children still they-passed they passed*  
*passed along there, those who passed there were still children. As they came*

těrús de-femilinga me / kalau waktu de-sedór / coba di sifat  
*then He-ordered him when time they-pass if their features*  
*along He ordered him: 'When they pass (you) and they don't miss any body*

i-tiahi / ma na-máa eme yo // jadi i-fmegepe eme / kalau  
*it-complete then you-seize them not so he-asked Him if*  
*parts, then you may not seize them!' So he asked Him: 'What happens if*

ta-máa eme / apatow // a / coba na-máa eme / ma ne-dée eme  
*I-seize them how ah if you-seize them then you-reach them*  
*I (try to) seize them?' 'O, if you (want to) seize you'll not be able to*

yo // tapi di sifat i-kurang minye fa minye ma  
*not but their appearance it-lacks one or one then*  
*reach them!' But if they miss some body parts, then you can seize them,*

na-máa eme ma no-dó eme // na-máa eme no-dó  
*you-seize them then you-get hold of them you-seize them you-get hold of*  
*then you can get hold of them. When you have caught them,*

eme / těrús ni-ám eme // a / těrús i-jaga epe // iamá da  
*them then you-eat them so then he-watched again there art*  
*then you eat them up!' So he watched again. People who did*

mancia de-sedór iá / yang di sifat i-tiahi / i-máa  
*people they-pass there who their appearance it-complete he-seize*  
*not miss any body part passed by and he could not catch them.*

eme wayó // situ terahir meminye do oma meminye i-sedór  
*them was not until at last one person art child one it-pass*  
*Until finally one person, one child passed along there, and*

iá / a těrús ma apota wayo // a / serta ma apota wayo  
*there and then its head there was not head was-not*  
*it didn't have a head! And, since it had no head he*

ma / terús i-máa me // i-máa me lo i-dó  
*that at once he-grabbed it he made a grab for it and he-got hold of*  
*immediately grabbed it. He made a grab for it and got hold of it.*

me // i-dó memá / těrús i-ám me // a / do bulang  
*it he-got hold of it and he-ate it then art light*  
*When he had caught it he ate it. Then, the following*

fi / mo oma meminye magéy epe // jadi do oma ma magéy /  
*come up his child one dead again so art child that died*  
*morning again a child of his died. So, when that child died he*

těrús i-bafikir / Allah / de ne puni nemá / tarsá ti-ám me  
*then he-thought God I here evil spirit this perhaps I-ate it*  
*thought: 'God, it's me who is an evil spirit, perhaps I ate it!*

omo // ártinya de ne kárěna ti-puni ti-ám me // a /  
 already that's to say I here because I-evil spirit I-ate it so  
 That's to say, because I am an evil spirit I ate it! So

i-bafikir memá těrús ia i-fténg da lagéy ma / a dé ne  
 he-thought that at once there he-told art Old Man that I here  
 when he realised that he at once told the Old Man there: 'I don't

ti-dadi puni moya // a / sapmá / amo ni-dai puni  
 I-be evil spirit no more hey why that you-be evil spirit  
 want to be an evil spirit any more!' 'Hey, why is it that you don't want to

moya // amo ti-ám ti oma ela // a /  
 no more because I-ate my child therefore oh  
 be an evil spirit any more?' 'Because I ate my own child, that's why!' 'Oh,

memá // jadi kalau puni nemá feberesí ma-mamae pe te /  
 that so if evil spirits these all we-obey (?)  
 is that it? But as evil spirits we all obey, don't we, we all obey!'

mamae pe feberesí / bukan // ártinya mancia wa mamae pe /  
 obey all not that's to say people also obey  
 That means: people (know how to) obey, but

puni wa mamae pe // sěľěsái //  
 spirits also obey finished  
 spirits too! That's the end.

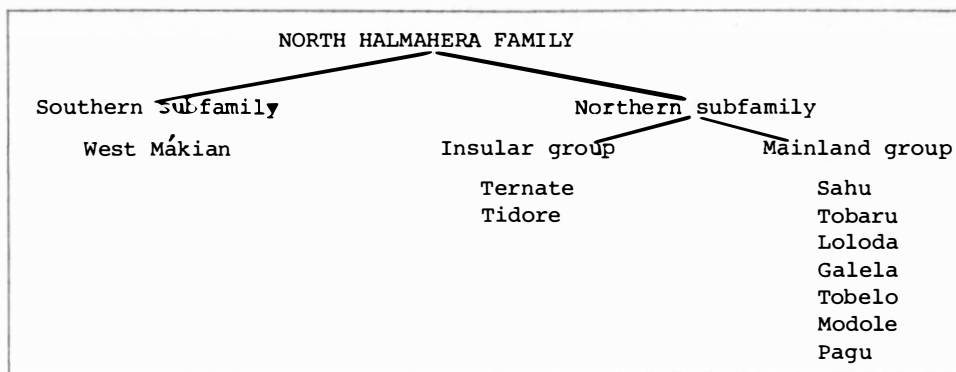
#### 4. SOME COMPARATIVE NOTES ON WEST MAKIAN AND TIDORE

##### 4.1. Introductory remarks

As mentioned in 1.2. and 1.6. there are both lexical and grammatical grounds for classifying West Máikian as a member of the group of non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera. In this chapter I shall first say something about the classificatory status of the group itself and the subgrouping of its member languages. Following that I shall present further evidence that West Máikian is a true member of the group by showing that regular sound correspondences obtain between it and the Tidore language.

##### 4.2. The North Halmahera family

The languages of the group of which West Máikian is a member have become known as the North Halmaheran languages although three of them—Ternate, Tidore, and West Máikian—have their centre on islands off Halmahera's west coast. In my recent survey of these languages<sup>28</sup> I have classified them as a language family which I labelled the North Halmahera Family, and subgrouped them in the following way:



The family tree is based on quantitative evidence, i.e. on a preliminary lexicostatistical analysis which gave the following results:

1. The languages of the mainland group are closely related. They score between 70 and 85 per cent shared cognates and possibly form a dialect chain.
2. Ternate and Tidore are also closely related. They score about 80 per cent shared cognates and could be considered dialects of one language. With the languages of the mainland group they share between 50 and 70 per cent cognates.
3. West Máikian shares about 30 per cent cognates with Tidore. Other percentages involving West Máikian have not yet been calculated, but the figure of 30 per cent is sufficient to show the isolated position of West Máikian within the family.

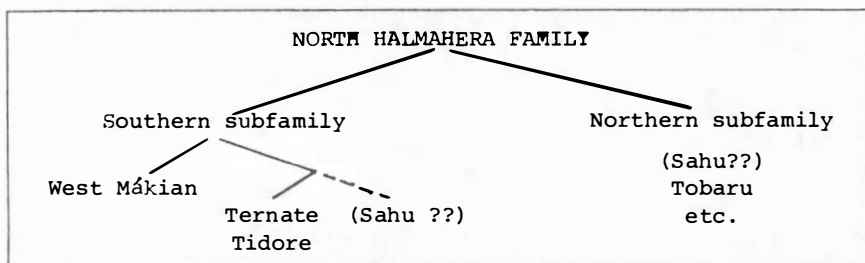
The qualitative evidence however suggests a quite different arrangement at least with regard to West Máikian, Tidore, and Ternate. There are a number of cognates and phonological features which are shared only by West Máikian, Tidore and Ternate and in a few cases also by Sahu. Exclusively shared cognates are for example:

West Máikian	Tidore	Ternate	Sahu	
mada	moda	mada	madang	<i>mouth</i>
fete	hate	hate	ate	<i>tree</i>
jupi	-	kul-cifi	-	<i>finger nail</i>

Phonological features shared by West Máikian, Tidore and Ternate are for instance:

1. The loss of initial k in the word for *skin*: West Máikian fi, Tidore, Ternate ahi but Galela kahi, Modole 'ai, and all others except Sahu<sup>29</sup> kai.
2. t + u where the other languages have d + i in the word for *sky*: West Máikian tupam, Tidore, Ternate tufa; dipa, diwanga, dihanga, diwama in the other languages.
3. The presence of an initial alveopalatal nasal in the word for *fish*: West Máikian yao (from earlier nyao), Ternate, Tidore, nyao, Sahu nyao'o; all other languages have initial n: nao, naoko, nao'o.

These are only random observations, but they already suggest that West Mákian Tidore, Ternate, and perhaps Sahu hang closer together than a lexicostatistical analysis shows. The family tree would then look like this:



The subgrouping of the North Halmahera languages appears to be a complicated matter and further detailed study is needed before firm conclusions can be reached.

### 4.3. West Mákian – Tidore sound correspondences

#### 4.3.1. Preliminaries

West Mákian and Tidore have identical phoneme inventories. Both languages have five vowels /a, e, i, o, u/, two semi-vowels /w, y/, and seventeen consonants /p, t, c, k, b, d, j, g, m, n, ny, ng, f, s, r, l, h/. All observations on the sound correspondences between the two languages are based on the list of lexical correspondences given in section 4.3.4. First the consonant correspondences will be presented, then the vowel correspondences. Each list is followed by relevant notes. The numbers behind each set of correspondences and behind the examples given in the notes refer to the list numbers of the lexical sets in 4.3.4.

#### 4.3.2. Consonant correspondences

Consonant correspondences fall into 17 sets; within each set a distinction is made between correspondences in word-initial, word-medial, and, where relevant, word-final position. The latter position is not relevant for voiced stops and alveopalatals as they occur only word initially and medially. In some cases more than one correspondence is found in a particular position, as e.g. in set 5 in which West Mákian initial t corresponds to Tidore t or s. They will be commented on in the notes that follow the list. The abbreviations used are I = Initial, M = Medial, F = Final position.

		West Mákian : Tidore		Lexical set no:
1.	I	p	: f	5 19 28 38 58
	M	p	: f	25 43 46
	F	no data		
2.	I	f	: h	13 29 52 54
	M	f	: h	22 24 27 36 45 47
	F	f	: ø	40

		West		
		Mákian	Tidore	Lexical set no:
3.	I	b	: b	4 50
	M	b	: b	35 44 49 51 59
4.	I	m	: m	7 33 34
	M	m	: m	6 16 42 57
	F	m	: ø	20 46
5.	I	t	: t	17 42 44 46 48
		t	: s	18
	M	t	: t	11 18 29 39 54
	F	t	: ø	41 47
6.	I	s	: s	1 16 25 26 27 35 36 47
	M	s	: s	24 55
	F	no data		
7.	I	d	: d	12
		d	: d	3 33
	M	d	: r	8 32 48
8.	I	n	: n	7
	M	n	: n	15 52 56
	F	n	: ø	5 12
9.	M	ø	: r	9 44
	I	no data		
	F	no data		
10.	I	l	: l	6
		l	: n	9 37
	M	l	: l	4 17 28 38 41
	F	l	: ø	44 51
11.	I	ø	: k	31
		k	: k	14
	M	k	: ø	14
	F	no data		
12.	I	ø	: g	2 21 30 51
	M	g	: g	10
13.	I	ø	: ng	40 41 56 57
	M	ng	: ng	1 9 37 53
	F	no data		
14.	I	j	: c	43
	M	j	: c	40
15.	I	ø	: ny	59
		y	: ny	23
	M	no data		
16.	I	ø	: y	3 49 60
	M	ø	: y	20 58
	F	y	: y	13 19
17.	I	w	: ø	41
	M	w	: w	26 30
	F	w	: w	34



## NOTES:

Set 1: There are a number of lexical correspondences between West Mákian and Tidore which show West Mákian p: Tidore p. All those sets consist of Austronesian loans and therefore have not been included in 4.3.4. There is evidence that Tidore p was introduced in the language via Austronesian loan words after the original \*p had shifted to f.

Set 2: West Mákian f: Tidore h form part of the larger series:

West Mákian:Tidore:Ternate:Sahu:Tobaru:Loloda:Galela:Tobelo:Modole:Pagu  
 f : h : h : ø : ø : h : h : ø : ø : ø

The earlier reconstruction of the Proto-North Halmaheran sound underlying this series (Wada 1980, Voorhoeve 1981<sup>30</sup>), which did not take into account the West Mákian data, was \*h. West Mákian f now raises the question whether it is not more correct to set up \*f, the argument being that the change of \*f to h (and its subsequent loss in several languages) could be seen as part of the same process of lenition which caused \*p to change to Tidore f (and in other North Halmaheran languages f, w or h). There is however a counter argument: in all North Halmaheran languages except, it seems West Mákian, noun roots can be derived from verb roots by a process of modification of verb root initial consonants. Not all consonants are subject to this process; for those who do the following rules apply<sup>31</sup>:

Verb root		Noun root
p- f- w- }	>	b-
t-	>	d-
k-	>	g-
h-	>	ng-

Sound shifts affecting the verb root initial consonants do not seem to have had any effect on the direction of the process: in Sahu, where original \*k became a glottal stop ' , and \*h has disappeared, ' still becomes g and roots which originally had initial \*h still have initial ng in the derived form. If the proto-sound of the series had been \*f, one would expect the rule to be h → b, not h → ng. However, if Proto-North Halmaheran first split into Proto-West Mákian and a language ancestral to all other North Halmaheran languages as the lexicostatistical analysis suggests, then it could be that the whole morphological process is an innovation of the latter, post-dating the shift from Proto-North Halmaheran \*f to Proto-Northern Subfamily \*h.

Sets 2, 4, 5, 8, 10: In a number of words West Mákian has retained a final consonant which was lost in Tidore. There is comparative evidence that Proto-North Halmaheran allowed all consonants<sup>32</sup> except voiced stops in word-final position. In Tidore, Ternate and Galela all word-final consonants have been dropped. West Mákian retained them in some words and lost them in others; the reasons for this seemingly erratic behaviour are unclear.

Set 5: West Mákian t: Tidore s: is the only case in which both members of the set are followed by i: West Mákian tita, Tidore sita and it is reasonable to assume that the presence of i is the conditioning factor. There is no comparative evidence from other languages which either supports or refutes the assumption.

Set 7: The two correspondences in medial position reflect the merger, in West Máikian, of two proto-phonemes: Proto-North Halmaheran \*d and \*s. Proto-North Halmaheran \*d is reflected by d in all North Halmaheran languages; Proto-North Halmaheran \*s by West Máikian d, Tidore, Ternate, Sahu, Loloda r, Tobelo, Modole h, Tobaru, Galela s, and Pagu l. Examples of the latter are:

Galela	ngoosa	moon	Galela	tosí	to steal
Ternate	ara		Ternate	torí	
Tidore	ora		Tidore	torí	
West Máikian	odo		West Máikian	tedí	
Sahu	ngara		Pagu	tolík	
			Tobelo	tohíkí	
			Modole	tohi'i	
			Tobaru	tosíkí	
			Sahu	torí'i	

Set 10: As yet there is no explanation for West Máikian l-: Tidore l- as well as n- in this set.

Sets 11, 12, 13: All the original word-initial velar consonants seem to have been dropped in West Máikian. The k : k correspondence is found in West Máikian koko: Tidore oko *chin* from earlier \*okok. Tidore lost the final k, and West Máikian the initial vowel, apparently after the loss of initial velar consonants had occurred, so that the newly initial k was retained. The question of the loss of initial vowels in West Máikian will be discussed in more detail in the next section. The final vowel in the West Máikian form is irregular; such a 'supporting vowel' however occurs quite regularly in several other North Halmaheran languages. Thus, \*okok > Pagu okok, Tobelo, Tobaru okoko, Modole o'o'o, Galela, Ternate, Tidore oko, West Máikian koko.

It is possible that not all cases of West Máikian  $\phi$ : Tidore ng represent cases of phonological change. There is comparative evidence that Tidore ngone *we* (incl.) and ngomi *we* (excl.) (West Makian ene, imi) contain an old prefix ngo-. Did the West Máikian forms ene and imi once contain this prefix too, but lost all trace of it, or did the prefix not occur in Proto-West Máikian? The question can not yet be answered. There is however some evidence that West Máikian once possessed a noun prefix ngV<sup>33</sup> or ng- (perhaps a class marker) corresponding to a prefix ngo-/ng- in other North Halmaheran languages. Two bits of evidence will be cited here; the first is the word for *moon* given above (set 7): Galela has ngoosa (ngo-osa), Sahu ngara (ng-ara); The second is the word for *canoe* which in Ternate, Tidore, Pagu and Sahu is oti, in Tobelo ngotiri, Modole ngootili, Tabaru ngootiri, and in West Máikian eti. In these words the prefix does not appear (any more) in Ternate and Tidore. The fact that the West Máikian words odo and eti did not lose the initial vowel (see 4.3.3, notes) suggests that they originally contained the prefix but that ng- was lost in accordance with the 'loss of initial velar consonant' rule. It is at present not possible to say whether the noun prefix ngV-/ng- and the pronominal prefix ngo- were different prefixes or different applications of the same prefix.

Sets 11, 12: There are two Austronesian loans in West Máikian which must have entered the language early enough to be affected by the loss of initial velar consonants. They are West Máikian aso (Tidore kaso) *dog* and West Máikian ase (Tidore gasi) *salt*.

Set 15: West Mákian  $\phi$ ,  $y$ :- Tidore  $ny$ :- no conditioning factor is evident.

Set 16: West Mákian  $\phi$ : Tidore  $y$  in 20, 49, and 58 are part of the larger series:

West Mákian:Tidore:Ternate:Sahu:Tobaru:Loloda:Galela:Tobelo:Modole:Pagu  
 $\phi$  :  $y$  :  $h$  :  $r$  :  $d$  :  $j$  :  $d$  :  $\text{d}^{34}$  :  $d$  :  $y$

The proto-sound underlying this series is written  $*D^{35}$ . Tidore  $y$  in 3 and 6 has no corresponding consonants in any of the other North Halmaheran languages and may be an accretion restricted to Tidore.

#### 4.3.3. Vowel correspondences

West		
Mákian	: Tidore	Lexical set no.
1. a	: a	1 2 3 6 7 13 16 17 18 19 23 24 26 27 28 33 35 38 43 46 47 51 59
2. e	: e	4 35 53 54 56
3. i	: i	2 5 11 18 21 29 31 43 45 48 50 52 55 57
4. o	: o	1 6 7 9 14 15 23 25 29 32 34 41 49
5. u	: u	8 10 39 40 46 51
6. a	: o	16 17 20 26 28 33
7. a	: e	38
8. e	: o	3 4 11 21 44 48 56
9. e	: a	52 54
10. i	: u	42
11. o	: u	27
12. o	: a	31 32
13. u	: i	8 40
14. u	: o	22 36
15. $\phi$	: V-	5 10 14 15 22 45 55

#### NOTES

Sets 6-14: In section 2.1.5.1. it was noted that West Mákian has a tendency towards vowel harmony which manifests itself in regressive vowel assimilation across morpheme and word boundaries. The same tendency, from a historical point of view, has been at work within morphemes, only here progressive assimilation has occurred more frequently than regressive assimilation. Thus the following assimilation processes in West Mákian have led to the correspondences in sets 6-14:

- Set 6:  $oCa$  >  $aCa$ <sup>36</sup> In all cases except 20
- 7:  $eCa$  >  $aCa$
- 8:  $oCi$  >  $eCi$  }  
 $oCe$  >  $eCe$  } In all cases except 3 and 56
- 9:  $aCe$  >  $eCe$   
 $iCa$  >  $iCe$

Set 10: uCi > iCi

Set 11: aCu > aCo

Set 12: 0Ca > oCo In 32; 31 is the only instance in which the Tidore vowel seems to have assimilated to the preceding one: io > ia

Set 13: iCu > uCu  
uCi > uCu

Set 14: iCo > iCu In 22 only

The exceptions are all cases in which no assimilation is apparent; at present no explanation can be offered.

Set 15: It seems that at an early stage in its history West Máikian lost all initial vowels in bisyllabic words. Later, new bisyllabic words with initial vowels were created when West Máikian lost all word-initial velar consonants and the reflex of Proto-North Halmaheran \*D (cf. sets 11-13, and 16 in the preceding section). Examples are:

Loss of V-:

pin < *opin	<i>bee</i>	(5)
si < *isi	<i>urine</i>	(55)
no < *ino	<i>come</i>	(15)

Loss of k-, g-, ng-, and \*D-:

io < *kio	<i>to marry</i>	(31)
esi < *gosi	<i>egg</i>	(21)
ujuf < *ngucih	<i>saliva</i>	(40)
bosi < (*obosi) < *Dobosi	<i>swollen</i>	(49)
bual < (*ubual) < *gubual	<i>termite</i>	(51)

These examples show that bisyllabic words with a newly acquired initial vowel did not lose it but that trisyllabic words did. There is some evidence that the loss of initial vowels in trisyllabic words occurred only after the sound change which involved the loss of initial velar consonants had ceased to exist. *gua* < \*ugua *buttocks* (10) and *koko* < \*okoko *chin* (14) retained the initial velar consonant after the initial vowel had been dropped. The assumed order of these sound changes is then:

1. loss of V- in bisyllabic words
2. loss of initial velar consonants
3. loss of V- in trisyllabic words

The loss of \*D can have accompanied or preceded the second of these sound changes; the present data do not allow a more exact ordering<sup>37</sup>.

There are a number of cases in which West Máikian does not seem to have lost the initial vowel in bisyllabic words. They are:

West Máikian	Tidore		
eti	oti	<i>canoe</i>	(11)
odo	ora	<i>moon</i>	(32)
utu	utu	<i>root</i>	(39)
udu	iru	<i>to blow</i>	(8)

In the first three cases there is evidence that at least in West Mákian these words contained an initial ng- (cf. 4.3.2, notes to set 11-13) which prevented the loss of what are now initial vowels. Thus Tobelo has ngotiri, Sahu has ngara and Galela ngutu. Only West Mákian udu remains unexplained for lack of comparative data.

#### 4.3.4. List of lexical correspondences

The list given below includes only non-Austronesian words and Austronesian loan words which were borrowed early enough to be affected by the regular sound changes in West Mákian and Tidore.

	West Mákian	Tidore	
1.	sango	sango	<i>to answer</i>
2.	ia	gia	<i>arm, hand</i>
3.	ade	yado	<i>to arrive</i>
4.	bele	bole	<i>banana</i>
5.	pin	ofi	<i>bee</i>
6.	lamo	lamo	<i>big</i>
7.	namo	namo	<i>bird</i>
8.	udu	iru	<i>to blow</i>
9.	longo	nongoru	<i>younger brother</i>
10.	gua	ugu	<i>buttocks</i>
11.	eti	oti	<i>canoe</i>
12.	don	doadoa	<i>cape</i>
13.	fay	hay	<i>centipede</i>
14.	koko	oko	<i>chin</i>
15.	no	ino	<i>to come</i>
16.	samami	soma	<i>crocodile</i>
17.	tala	tola	<i>to cut</i>
18.	tita	sita	<i>daylight</i>
19.	pay	fay	<i>to dig</i>
20.	am	oyo <sup>38</sup>	<i>to eat</i>
21.	esi	gosi	<i>egg</i>
22.	fu	iho	<i>faeces</i>
23.	yao	nyao	<i>fish</i>
24.	fati	ra-ha <sup>39</sup>	<i>four</i>
25.	sopo	sofo	<i>fruit</i>
26.	sawa	sowasowa	<i>goanna</i>
27.	safo	sahu	<i>hot</i>
28.	pala	fola	<i>house</i>
29.	fito	hito	<i>kitchen</i>
30.	awo	gaw	<i>long (of distance)</i>
31.	io	kia	<i>to marry</i>
32.	odo	ora	<i>moon</i>
33.	mada	moda	<i>mouth</i>
34.	mow	mow	<i>mute</i>
35.	seba	seba	<i>near</i>
36.	sufu	soho	<i>pig</i>
37.	linga	ninga	<i>to remember</i>
38.	pala	fela	<i>to rise (sun)</i>
39.	utu	utu	<i>root</i>
40.	ujuf	nguci	<i>saliva</i>

	West Máikian	Tidore	
41.	wolot	ngolo	<i>sea</i>
42.	timi	tum	<i>to set (sun)</i>
43.	japi	cafi	<i>coconut shell</i>
44.	tebel	torobe	<i>to shoot</i>
45.	fi	ahi	<i>skin</i>
46.	tupam	tufa	<i>sky</i>
47.	safat	saha	<i>sole of foot</i>
48.	tedi	tori	<i>to steal</i>
49.	bosi	yobo	<i>swollen</i>
50.	biso <sup>40</sup>	bi	<i>tail</i>
51.	bual	gubua	<i>termite</i>
52.	fine	hina	<i>thin</i>
53.	i-unge	ra-nge <sup>41</sup>	<i>three</i>
54.	fete	hate	<i>tree</i>
55.	si	isi	<i>urine</i>
56.	ene	ngone <sup>42</sup>	<i>we (inclusive)</i>
57.	imi	ngomi <sup>42</sup>	<i>we (exclusive)</i>
58.	paa	faya	<i>woman</i>
59.	abo	nyabo	<i>wound</i>
60.	ufi	yufi	<i>to flow</i>

## 5. IKHTISAR SINGKAT

Bahasa Makian Barat adalah suatu bahasa non-Austronesia yang digunakan oleh kira-kira 7000 orang penduduk di sebelah barat pulau Makian (Maluku Utara) dan sekitar 5000 orang di beberapa pulau di kepulauan Kayoa. Bahasa itu termasuk rumpun bahasa Halmahera Utara (North Halmahera Family) sama dengan bahasa-bahasa yang berikut: Ternate, Tidore, Sahu, Tobaru, Loloda, Galela, Tobelo, Modole, dan Pagu. Pengaruh yang kuat pada kosakata dan tatabahasa dari bahasa-bahasa Austronesia nyata sekali dalam bahasa Makian Barat. Karena itu dulu bahasa Makian Barat dianggap termasuk bahasa Austronesia. Hanya baru-baru ini diketahui berkat penelitian Bapak Watuseke,<sup>43</sup> bahwa bahasa Makian Barat itu adalah bahasa non-Austronesia. Klasifikasi itu berdasarkan perbandingan beberapa kata benda dan kata bilangan dalam bahasa Makian Barat dan bahasa Halmahera Utara yang lain.

Dalam karya ini disajikan hasil dari penelitian setempat di pulau Makian yang dilakukan dari 5 Januari sampai 9 Januari 1981. Hasil itu berupa deskripsi pertama tatabahasa Makian Barat, terutama dialek yang dipakai oleh penduduk kampung Bobawa. Pembagian tulisan ini seperti berikut: 1. Keterangan umum tentang bahasa Makian Barat; 2. Uraian singkat tenta tatabahasanya; 3. Contoh teks; 4. Pengklasifikasian dan perbandingan; 5. Ikhtisar; 6. Apendiks.

Bahan-bahan yang dibicarakan dalam Bab 1 ialah:

- (1.1) Perincian keadaan penelitian lapangan.
- (1.2) Beberapa karya mengenai bahasa Makian Barat yang telah diterbitkan.
- (1.3) Deskripsi keadaan umum di pulau Makian: nama kampung-kampung di sebelah barat, jumlah pemakai bahasa Makian Barat, nama-nama geografis yang dipakai oleh orang Makian Barat sendiri. Keadaan kebahasaan di pulau Makian: disitu ditemukan tiga bahasa yang berlainan, yaitu: bahasa Makian Barat, bahasa Makian Timur (East Makian) dan bahasa Kayoa.

Dua bahasa yang terakhir itu berbeda sedikit dan harus dianggap dua dialek dari satu bahasa. Bahasa Makian Timur—Kayoa itu ialah suatu bahasa Austronesia.

- (1.4) Variasi lokal dalam bahasa Makian Barat. Ada perbedaan kecil diantara dialek semua kampung tetapi batas dialek yang jelas tak dapat ditentukan.
- (1.5) Stratifikasi dalam bahasa Makian Barat. Bahasa Makian Barat mempunyai tingkat tuturan: bahasa *halus* dan bahasa *kasar*. Bahasa halus itu dipakai dalam percakapan dengan orang yang harus dihormati, misalnya orang yang lebih tua atau berpangkat lebih tinggi dari pembicara. Ciri bahasa halus ialah penggunaan kata-kata khusus, kebanyakan berupa kata-kata pinjaman, terutama dari bahasa Ternate.
- (1.6) Pengaruh dari bahasa lain atas kosakata dan tatabahasa bahasa Makian Barat. Bahasa Makian Barat mempunyai banyak kata yang berasal dari bahasa-bahasa lain seperti Makian Timur, bahasa Maluku, bahasa Indonesia, bahasa Ternate, dan beberapa dari bahasa Belanda dan bahasa Portugis. Dalam tatabahasanya pengaruh bahasa Austronesia dipertunjukkan oleh (a) penghilangan prefiks penanda obyek pada verba; (b) penggantian urutan subyek—obyek—verba (SOV) ke urutan SVO; (c) penghilangan postposisi dan penggunaan preposisi, seperti dalam bahasa Austronesia.
- (1.7) Orientasi rakyat. Bahan-bahan yang diberikan di sini melengkapi bahan-bahan yang disajikan oleh Yuichi Wada dalam karyanya mengenai sistem-sistem orientasi rakyat di Halmahera.<sup>44</sup>

Bab 2 terbagi atas empat bagian utama:

- (2.1) Satu sketsa fonologis yang meliputi inventarisasi fonem bahasa Makian Barat, penempatan tekanannya, biasanya pada suku kata yang kedua dari belakang (penultima), pola intonasi, dan asimilasi bunyi vokal (vowel harmony). Bahasa Makian Barat menunjukkan kecenderungan untuk menyelaraskan vokal pada tingkat morfofonemis dan sintaksis. Gejala itu juga dapat ditunjukkan secara diakronis. Asimilasi yang terakhir ini akan dibicarakan dalam bab 4.
- (2.2) Bagian kedua mengenai golongan kata dan morfologinya. Golongan kata yang diuraikan yaitu kata kerja, kata benda, kata sifat, kata lokatif dan kata bilangan. Kata kerja berinfleksi untuk kategori jumlah dan persona saja; prefiks verbal menandai subyek. Kata benda terbagi dalam empat kategori seperti berikut:

1. bernyawa		2. tak bernyawa	
a. halus	b. kasar	a. halus	b. kasar

Oposisi bernyawa—tak bernyawa dan halus—kasar tampak dengan adanya penyesuaian pada kata pronomina, kata bilangan dan kata kerja.

- (2.3) Bagian ketiga memperlihatkan hasil penelitian jenis frasa, dan bagian keempat (2.4) menguraikan jenis kalimat.

Dalam bab 3 diberikan suatu contoh ceritera rakyat beserta terjemahan kata demi kata dan terjemahan bebas dalam bahasa Inggris. Terjemahan bebas dalam bahasa Indonesia diberikan dalam bab 6.

Bab 4 terdiri atas dua bagian. Bagian pertama mengenai klasifikasi bahasa Halmahera Utara. Terlihat hasil klasifikasi itu tergantung pada metode yang digunakan: metode leksikostatistik atau metode komparatif. Penyilsilahan bahasa berlandaskan metode leksikostatistik diberikan pada halaman 38; percabangan yang dihasilkan oleh metode komparatif terlihat pada halaman 39. Perbedaan antara dua silsilah itu memperlihatkan bahwa klasifikasi bahasa Halmahera Utara masih merupakan masalah yang belum terpecahkan.

Bagian kedua mengenai korespondensi vokal dan konsonan antara bahasa Makian Barat dan bahasa Tidore. Korespondensi tersebut cukup beralasan untuk membenarkan klasifikasi Makian Barat sebagai anggota rumpun bahasa Halmahera Utara.

Akhirnya, bab 6 berisi tiga tambahan: daftar kata Makian Barat—Inggris, daftar kata Inggris—Makian Barat, dan terjemahan dalam bahasa Indonesia dari ceritera rakyat yang telah diberikan dalam bab 3.

Tiga peta (pada halaman vi, vii, p.2) melengkapi tulisan ini.

## 6. APPENDICES

### 6.1. West Máikian—English vocabulary

The list is based on the Bobawa dialect but the words collected in Sabalé have also been included. All entries are Bobawa words unless followed by S which marks an entry as a Sabalé word. In that case no Bobawa equivalent has been collected. If the Bobawa and Sabalé forms are the same, the entry is marked by an asterisk at the end. If the Sabalé form is different from the Bobawa form it follows the entry and is preceded by S:. The following abbreviations have been used in the list:

<i>excl</i>	exclusive		
<i>id</i>	idem	<i>sg</i>	singular
<i>incl</i>	inclusive	<i>sp</i>	species
<i>intr</i>	intransitive	<i>tr</i>	transitive
<i>pl</i>	plural	<i>v</i>	see
<i>pol</i>	polite	<i>vulg</i>	vulgar

Source of loan words:

<i>AN</i>	Austronesian (unspecified)		
<i>DU</i>	Dutch	<i>MM</i>	Moluccan Malay
<i>EM</i>	East Makian	<i>PO</i>	Portuguese
<i>IN</i>	Indonesian	<i>TE</i>	Ternate



## A

a cooked, done  
 abamo handle; peda da abamo  
 handle of a bush knife  
 abey\* snake  
 abo\* be wounded, have a wound;  
 fa-abo to wound  
 abulo forehead  
 ae\* to laugh  
 afe\* eye, front; te ti afe in  
 front of me; ta pala da afe in  
 front of the house  
 afebebé tears  
 afi\* ground, earth (in S also:  
 garden)  
 ainye S: awinye ten; ainye lo  
 minye eleven; ainye lo medéng  
 twelve  
 alus IN da alus still young,  
 small  
 am S: a to eat tr.  
 amo (the reason) that, because;  
 sapma amo... why is it that....  
 amo liver  
 ano part (of something)  
 anso just, recently  
 áoro\* frog  
 apato\* how  
 apota\* PO? head  
 artinya IN that's to say...  
 arufe\* mouse, rat  
 asal IN contents, topic  
 ase\* salt  
 aso\* dog  
 at\* man, male; da at (1) the  
 man, husband, (2) male  
 atipa S, MM drum  
 ato\* thatch  
 atus IN hundred

aw\* to climb, ascend: ta-aw to pu  
 I climb the mountain; to rise  
 (moon)  
 awedéng twenty; awedéng lo minyé  
 twenty-one  
 aweifate forty  
 aweiunge thirty  
 awo\* long, deep  
 ay to come back (?)  
 aym\* name  
 ayo\* older sibling; ayo da at\*  
 older brother; ayo da papa, S:  
 ayo da pa older sister

## B

ba vagina  
 baabá S: baabaa mad, crazy  
 baba father (address)  
 badan IN body  
 bafikir MM to think  
 bafo to grow  
 baju IN dress, shirt  
 baku\* EM sago, sago palm  
 balak DU beam (timber)  
 balas IN to revenge, to pay back  
 balat waves  
 bali\* to bind, to tie  
 barenti MM to stop  
 barubaru wall of house  
 baso\* to hear  
 be\* water  
 bebé to drink; fe-be to give a  
 drink  
 bebewi, bebei S: dijahiri to be  
 angry  
 beebóm S: kalbo butterfly  
 bele\* to be hungry; de ti bele I  
 am hungry

belebele\* (1) soft, weak; (2) going slowly  
 belo tongue  
 bene\* louse  
 berarti *IN* to mean  
 berebere weak  
 beti\* *MM* swamp, mud  
 bicara\* *IN* to speak, speech  
 bilu\* *AN* bamboo  
 birahi\* beautiful (of women)  
 birbori\* grindstone  
 bisi\* calf of leg  
 biso\* tail  
 biti to bail water  
 bo penis  
 boba *S*: buba to call; to boba ti baba call your father!  
 bodo\* belly  
 bodok *S, IN* stupid  
 bokoboko round and flat  
 bolabola to be lying down for a rest (but not asleep)  
 bole *IN* good, fine!  
 bori\* to sharpen  
 bosì\* swollen; de ti bodo i bosì omo my belly is already swollen, I have had plenty to eat  
 bual\* white ant, termite  
 bukan *IN* isn't it?, you know, didn't he?, etc.  
 bulang : i-bulang tomorrow; bulang fi the following day  
 bule to twine (a rope)  
 bulo\* *AN* white  
 bungbangi floor  
 buréy yellow

## C

cahaya *IN* to shine  
 cako taratíp to sit cross-legged  
 capati\* *IN* quick(ly)  
 carita *IN* story; fa-carita to tell a story  
 ciawi the inside; so-ciawi in, inside  
 cio = co to see  
 co\* to see; fi-co to look at  
 coba *IN* if

## D

dV multifunctional particle, v. 2.3.2.1.  
 dadano friend  
 dadi to become; fa-dadi to cause to become; ma-dadi to live, be alive  
 dam *S*: dami six; idam, dimdam, goidam *id.* v. 2.3.10  
 dama\* forest  
 de\* I, me; de né I (emphatic)  
 dee to arrive, reach; dee pe to arrive at; i-dee yo it's not enough  
 degów real, true  
 deto\* grandmother  
 di their  
 diaínye ten (people) v. 2.2.10  
 dimáede two (people) v. 2.2.10  
 dimáedepá husband and wife, couple  
 dimaúnge three (people) v. 2.2.10  
 dimdám six (people)  
 dimfati four (people)  
 dimfóy five (people)  
 dimsíwe nine (people)  
 ditepedingi seven (people)

ditukbange eight (people)  
do to find, to get hold of, to receive  
dogo to increase, add  
don cape, headland  
dootu : so-dootu in a few moments, shortly  
dudu to sink  
dupe\* to throw away, to drop (the anchor)  
durian\* *IN* durian (fruit, tree)

## E

e\* to fetch, to take  
edéng two; medéng, dimáede, gomedéng *id.* v. 2.2.10.  
efií *S:* efiwí to be raw  
ekor to make noise  
elá that's why!  
eme they, them  
ene we, us *incl.*  
epe again, once more  
esi *S:* isi egg  
eta a half, half; yao de eta half a fish  
eti\* canoe

## F

fa or  
faabo v. abo  
fadadi v. dadi  
fae to feed  
fafos\* a boil  
fafu\* to touch, feel  
fagaleng v. galeng  
fagéy\* to kill (*S:* of animals, of people: kuba), to extinguish (fire)

fay\* millepede  
fajów\* *pol.* to eat; v. fiam  
faka *S:* fakar *IN* fence  
fakaéri to scratch the ground for food (chickens)  
fakar *pol.* tooth  
falaaki to sew  
famasi all  
fao father (reference)  
fapasi v. pasi  
fari handle; puas da fari the handle of a paddle  
faruju v. ruju  
fasá to pull down (a house)  
fatala\* v. tala  
fati\* four; ifati, dimfati, goifati *id.* v. 2.2.10.  
fatta\*: fatta... fatta (on) one side... (on) the other side  
fatum\* to smell *tr.*  
fay shoulder  
fay *S:* payapaya wing  
fayangi *S:* fayang light in weight  
febé v. bebé  
feberesí all  
feléy *S:* faley to search for lice  
femilinga v. milingá thin  
feni\* bat, flying fox  
fete\* tree  
fi\* skin; fete de fi bark; mada de fi lips  
fi to come up from below, to come up  
fi your *pl.*  
fiá to come towards the land from the direction of the sea  
fiam *S:* fa to eat *intr*  
fico v. co  
fidí to pull out (plants)

filów *S*: fiogo to fill (a bag)  
 fimegepe *S*: fimegepe to ask  
 fisi\* sea water  
 fitá right, correct (e.g. the  
 solution of a problem)  
 fiteng, fteng *v.* teng  
 fito\* kitchen  
 fo to come towards the sea from the  
 land side  
 fofú to have diarrhoea  
 fokow *v.* kow  
 folo many  
 folouju *S*: nguju to wash (clothes)  
 folsomá pe to send (a letter) to  
 fono *S* ti-fono I don't want...  
 for to hit (repeatedly) with a  
 stick or other object  
 fotola *S*: fatola to break  
 earthenware  
 foutu to harvest (rice)  
 fu\* faeces  
 fuae to dry in the sun

## G

ga: be da ga bamboo water  
 container  
 gafa\* crab  
 gafe: jubil da gafe arrow  
 gagáraró\* cold, feel cold  
 gagi\* meat, blade of a knife:  
 peda da gagi the blade of a bush  
 knife  
 galeng to scold, abuse; fa-galeng  
 to scold, abuse, each other  
 galof\* to swim  
 gamati\* already cold, cooled off  
 (e.g. of food)  
 gapu\* back of body, backside;  
 ta gapu at the back, behind

gasi posts (of house)  
 gataguta lid (of a pot, jar etc.)  
 gawi lonely (of a place), deserted  
 gegele *S*: gele blunt  
 gělás *IN* glass  
 gelewí breadfruit  
 gifi sticky tree sap  
 gigo\* body hair, feathers  
 gilit throat  
 gina cargo (of boat)  
 giresí yaws, framboesia  
 gode *AN?* thick, fat (of people)  
 goli nasal mucus  
 golo\* to be old (objects); far  
 away  
 gominye one (person, tree) *v.* 2.2.10.  
 gono to be old (objects?)  
 gopao track, footpath  
 gopo incorrect, not right  
 gow *S*: gufi foot, leg  
 gua *S*: pani buttocks; fay do gua  
 armpit  
 gulani\* thorn  
 guma full  
 gunange red ant  
 gupa\* coconut (fruit, tree)  
 guta to close (a lid of a jar etc.)

## H

hapa like this, thus  
 hapáapa like this and that  
 haywan *IN, S*: namu bird

## I

i\* to go, to leave  
 i still

iá there  
 ibulang\* v. bulang  
 idam six v. 2.2.10.  
 ifa canarium nut  
 ifati four v. 2.2.10.  
 imi we, us *excl.*  
 imu\* who; imu mV whose  
 ini you *pl.*  
 io\* to marry  
 ipi\* IN fire  
 isa\* to make; isa pala to build a house; isa ipi to make a fire; isa musala to plait a mat  
 isi to kiss; mefe-isi to kiss each other  
 isiwe nine v. 2.2.10.  
 iunge three v. 2.2.10.  
 iwu how many, how much

## J

ja\* to cry  
 jadi IN so, therefore  
 jaga IN to watch, look out for, to keep doing  
 jajow TE, *pol.* to hold  
 janela\* IN window  
 japi shall (of coconut)  
 jarangahe *pol.* faeces  
 je two, they two v. 2.2.10.  
 jepa husband and wife, the couple  
 jongi : oma jongi adolescent boy  
 jowbe S, TE, *pol.* to drink  
 jubil IN bow  
 jupi\* (finger)nails  
 juwi\* earthquake

## K

kabali\* AN left side  
 kaban\* wet.  
 kabi\* IN goat  
 kadu S, TE, *pol.* to sleep  
 kadukadu\* TE to be sleepy  
 kaelo to capsize  
 kafití, kafti unripe, green (of fruit)  
 kailomé to lie on one's belly  
 kakawi S: kakai bent, crooked  
 kaku\* small  
 kalaw IN if  
 kámama S ia da kámama finger  
 kaman\* night  
 kameu S: kamow ear  
 kamma S: ia hand, arm  
 kampong IN village  
 karanga to lie on one's back  
 kárěna IN because  
 kasana\* prawn  
 kastela PO? tinea, cascado  
 katoba\* short, shallow  
 kaulo straight  
 kauwa S to carry in the hand  
 kawe\* to vomit  
 kayawi S: kayai the right side  
 kebetulan IN it so happened that, accidentally  
 kekey\* black; maaru de kekey rain clouds  
 kelida : i-safo i-kelida he is very sick  
 kerekiri to tickle; mefe-kerekiri to tickle each other  
 kida to split wood  
 kiki IN to bite  
 ko to carry on the back

kohi slow, not on time  
 koko\* chin  
 komudu *EM* thick (of objects)  
 kow to break *intr.* (of wood);  
   fo-ków to break *tr.*  
 kuat *IN* to be strong  
 kuba to cut  
 kulot keel (of a canoe)  
 kurang *IN* less, lacking  
 kursi *IN* chair  
 kurus *IN, S:* lalus skinny  
 kusu\* kunai grass, alang-alang

## L

lagéy *EM* old man  
 laia\* shell fish; laia de fi shell  
 lalati *EM?* worm  
 lalów to howl (of dogs)  
 lamo\* large  
 langalongi\* rope  
 lawa\* door  
 li also  
 liala to know  
 lilipo *S:* lilipong house fly  
 likokawi winding (of a path)  
 lo *EM* and  
 logos *AN* coral (reef)  
 loka\* *EM* banana  
 lola\* thigh  
 lolupa\* red  
 lome to be present  
 longo\* younger sibling; longo da  
   át younger brother; longo da  
   papá younger sister  
 loto\* dry; de ti gilit i-loto my  
   throat is dry, I am thirsty  
 lukaman to be dark

## M

mV his, here v. 2.2.6.  
 ma that, those  
 ma then  
 maa to hold, seize  
 maaru\* cloud  
 mada\* month  
 madadi v. dadi.  
 maedéng two times, the second  
   time v. 2.3.3.  
 mafóy\* five; dimfóy, gomafóy  
   *id.* v. 2.2.10.  
 mager *S* twig  
 magéy\* to die, to be dead  
 magol large (of longish objects  
   like canoes, trees)  
 máidne *S:* maydiné today  
 maitiso\* yesterday  
 maki to plant  
 malawan to be sick, have pain  
 mama mother  
 mamae pe to obey  
 maminye one time, the first time  
 mamo\* thumb  
 mamu mother (reference)  
 mamút : ipi da mamút glowing embers  
 mancia\* *MM* people, person  
 mangot sharp (of blade, point)  
 mararíng *S:* marareng afternoon,  
   evening  
 mardingi *S:* mardíng the day after  
   tomorrow, the day before yesterday  
 marungo minyé in three days time  
 masi finished, nothing left  
 mato *AN* to be old (of people)  
 matomato\* *AN* old man, old people  
 maulu very deep  
 maungi three times, the third time

mawi\* star  
 mawiji to have malaria  
 may S: mai stone  
 maydemá not long ago  
 maya ashamed  
 me he, she, it, him, her  
 medéng\* two; dimáede, gomedéng  
   *id.* v. 2.2.10.  
 mefeisi v. isi  
 mefekerekiri v. kerekiri  
 meja IN table  
 mema\* that  
 meminye one (person) v. 2.2.10.  
 mená there, yonder  
 mené S mine this, this one  
 mi our excl.  
 mia\* good  
 milingá\* to think of, pay attention  
   to, remember, love; fe-milingá to  
   make someone think of, to instruct  
   someone to do something  
 minyé\* one; meminye, gominye *id.*  
   v. 2.2.10; minye fa minye in one  
   respect or another  
 mo come! come on!  
 mo to swallow  
 mo v. omo  
 moci S: moki blind  
 mofumete to accompany  
 mollooli attractive (of girls) *vulg.*  
 momua empty; gelas do momua an  
   empty glass  
 motor DU? motorboat  
 mow\* mute  
 moya no more (?)  
 mu S: mo to be ripe  
 mudefete\* nose  
 murmari S: maramari blue fly  
 musala mat

musti IN to have to, must  
 mut S: maamut charcoal  
 muteeti sweat

## N

nV our *incl.* v. 2.2.6.  
 na S: ana there, over there, to go  
   over there  
 naka IN nangka (fruit, tree)  
 nama\* flower  
 namu\* chicken  
 nanga (in) the direction of the  
   land, to go in the direction  
   of the land  
 nao S: ho (in) the direction of the  
   sea, to go in the direction of  
   the sea; so-nao on the seaward  
   side  
 naso to downward side, to go in  
   downward direction; so-naso on  
   the downward side  
 nawi palm wine  
 ne (1) this, these; (2) sentence-  
   modal, v. 2.4.1.1.  
 nemá this  
 nepin S: nguninguni shin(bone).  
 ney the upward side, above, to go  
   in upward direction; so-ney up  
   there, above  
 ni you *sg.*, your *sg.*  
 no to come towards the speaker,  
   coming towards the speaker  
 nuri MM parrot

## NG

ngaba IN midrib of palm frond,  
   gabagaba  
 ngaji outrigger  
 ngalalupé S: ngalipé to forget

ngeu (1) dry grass; (2) left overs,  
scraps (of food)

ngursa to cheat

## O

odo\* moon

odo\* to jump

ofat S: wofat wide

ofa a fart, to fart

ogo to put

ogo so\* to put down

oi ginger

okit S: woki navel

oma child; omaoma children

omo, mo already

onu\* spider

onga\* hair of head

ongo thing (?), property (?);  
de ti ongo mine; ene no ongo  
ours; imu mo ongo whose

oso\* to enter (a house)

oso S: oso fete cassava; oso  
langalongi\*, oso dosodusi sweet  
potato sp.

oso pe S: osu pe to put something  
into, to fill

osu to get up (from sitting,  
sleeping)

oto to cough

otu : do otu a little (bit), shortly,  
in a moment

oy S: oi mosquito

oy full

## P

paa S to hit with the hand

páapú S: papú knee, elbow, corner  
(of room)

painge to count

pait to rise (of the moon)

pala\* AN house, nest

palao\* village

palat to rise (of the sun)

paling IN very much

pamá\* what

pamanó goods, cargo

pande S, IN clever, adroit

pangan\* grass sp.

papá\* woman, wife

papa S: pa female; oma da papa/  
oma da pa a girl

paruwia when (in the past)

pasar IN market

pasi to fight; fa-pasi to fight  
with each other

pasul S, pol. mouth

pateng shoulder blade

patola S, MM python

pay to dig

pe with, to v. 2.3.3.

peda S: weda MM bushknife

peléy bottom side

perepiri\* grass

pi S: pula to give, to sell

pia S: pea rice

piga dish, plate

pigir IN side; te ti pigir  
beside me

pikir IN to think

pilang\* food

pin\* bee

pipot black ant

piri S: afi garden

piso IN, S: kobi EM knife

podo\* to come, arrive, to be born

poli IN to buy

polu to collect, gather



pongi\* rain  
 pongol\* deaf  
 posa to boil tr.  
 poso cooking pot  
 posowi S: posoi  
 pu\* mountain  
 puas EM paddle  
 pundak\* EM? pandanus tree  
 puni malevolent spirit who kills  
 people  
 putuiwu when (in the future)

## R

ragaraga S: kamama finger  
 ramián IN feast  
 raring\* thunder  
 rawa\* wave  
 rebot\* to close (a door)  
 rero\* lightning  
 rerre to shiver  
 reu to carry on the shoulder  
 ru\* neck  
 ruju\* to thump; fa-ruju to thump  
 each other  
 ruru\* ashes

## S

sa\* bad, rotten  
 saawa, sawa\* goanna  
 sado\* EM, pol. eye  
 safat\* palm of hand, sole of foot  
 safo\* warm, have a fever; ti bodo  
 i-safo I have a belly ache  
 saga\* branch, junction of paths  
 sagal\* to walk; sagal gow to go  
 on foot  
 saló resin

samami\* crocodile  
 sangaji MM District Head, Camat  
 sangani splinter  
 sango\* to answer  
 sao\* to roast over fire  
 sapma why  
 sarangati have a grudge against  
 sarke S: saraké to shove  
 sarusaru rib  
 sasafu\* hot  
 saw\* to burn tr.  
 sawan place, spot  
 sawramu fog  
 seba\* nearby  
 seba S: tope want to, intend to  
 sěbáp IN because  
 sedór to pass by  
 sefo\* to look for, to seek  
 serero S: sirero to run away  
 serta IN since  
 sesifil S: sisifil slippery (path)  
 sesiné here, on this spot  
 sesitó where, on which place  
 sětěláh IN after  
 sii\* urine, to urinate  
 sibafong, sbafongi : oma sibafong  
 adolescent girl  
 sibato to wait for  
 siesu to stand  
 sifat IN appearance  
 sinanga TE fried; loka sinanga  
 fried bananas  
 simur IN a well  
 sinaot S: sinao narrow, small  
 siné, sne here  
 sitao, stao to wait  
 sité outside  
 sito, sto\* where, to which place

situ until  
 siew\* nine; isiwe, dimsiwe, goisiwe  
*id. v. 2.2.10.*  
 so *S:* soso (?) to go down, descend,  
 climb down; to-so to pu I go down  
 the mountain, *S:* to-soso to pu;  
 to pu to-so I come down the  
 mountain  
 sobol\* *EM* to sail  
 sodulo to hide (oneself)  
 so'ía on that spot there *v. ia*  
 somá on that spot there *v. ma*  
 soná on that spot over there, yonder  
*v. na*  
 sonanga on that spot on the landward  
 side *v. nanga*  
 sonaso on that spot below *v. naso*  
 sonéy on that spot up there *v. ney*  
 songa old woman  
 songa *IN* river  
 sopo\* fruit  
 sosodik *IN* spoon  
 sosenéy on that spot up there (?)  
 sow magic, sorcery; isa do sow  
 to perform magic, sorcery  
 sowi *S:* soi smoke  
 subal to pour  
 subebi\* bone  
 sufala, sfala diligent  
 sufú\* pig  
 suka *IN* to like  
 supaya *IN* so that, in order that  
 susu *IN* breast

## T

tV on, at, to, from *v. 2.3.3.*  
 tabiá *S:* tabea *pol.* head  
 tagar\* to fly  
 taji to stab with a knife

tala\* to cut, to cross (a river);  
 fa-tala to break a rope  
 tano *S:* tanu sugar cane  
 tanuawi : win tanuawi the middle  
 of the day, noon  
 tanusi island  
 tapi *IN* but  
 tapoke tired  
 tapu *TE* anchor  
 tarotaro\* *pol.* leg  
 tarsa perhaps  
 tas *DU* bag, handbag  
 tawado *S* to know  
 te tea  
 te so, so that  
 tebe rear end: eti de tebe the  
 tail of a canoe; i-so de tebe  
 he went down after the others, he  
 went down later  
 tebel to shoot (with a rifle)  
 tedengí *S:* tedengingi chest  
 tedi to steal  
 teditedi a thief  
 tege\* to lift, take up  
 telia front side; eti de telia  
 the stem of a canoe  
 telida hard  
 telo *S:* adu to fell a tree  
 teng\* to say; fi-teng to say to  
 someone, to tell someone  
 tepedingi seven; ditepedingi,  
 gotepedingi *id. v. 2.2.10.*  
 terahir *IN* at last  
 těráng *IN* clear  
 těrús *IN* then, and then, and at  
 once  
 teta end, far end  
 teto\* grandfather  
 teto lo osi the ancestors  
 ti my  
 tiahi complete, without defect

tibá *S*: tibé *IN* scoop up, draw  
(water)  
tifi\* to sleep  
timi to set (of the sun); win  
i-timi the sun is setting  
tita daylight, at day  
tite in front, formerly  
tobo\* to bathe *tr. intr*  
toga to pull up (anchor)  
togi to bark  
toni son-in-law  
too *S* to wrap up  
topo : do topo new; do toptopo  
the first  
toro só\* to sit down, to sit  
towgu finished  
towó\* cheek  
towpama in that case, if that's the  
case  
tubo\* top side, top; te meja do  
tubo on top of the table  
tukubange *S*: tukbange eight;  
ditukbange, gotukubange *id. v*  
2.2.10  
tupam\* sky  
tupe\* to open  
tusa *MM* cat  
tuso hole; mudefete do tuso  
nostril; gua do tuso anus

## U

uas *DU* to wash (dishes, floor)  
uba to bring, carry  
ubu\* grandchild  
udu\* to blow, wind  
ujuf to spit, spittle  
umí voice  
uni *S*: wuni blood

unge\* three; iunge, dimaunge,  
goiunge *id. v.* 2.2.10  
usi\* a scar  
usufí *S*: sawria (in the) morning  
utu to push  
utu root of tree, vein

## W

wa to stay  
wa also  
waí *S*: aywí not yet  
wakis to hit with the hand, to  
beat  
wako\* to throw  
waktu *IN* when, at the time that  
wawau *S*: wao to play  
wayo there is not; lome wayo he  
is not here, he is absent  
we\* leaf; puas de we blade of a  
paddle; meja de we a table top  
weri\* rattan  
wewei *S*: wewei ant  
wi\* tooth  
win\* day, sun  
wolot the sea  
wom\* sand

## Y

yakor to stir  
yang *IN* who *v.* 2.3.3  
yao\* fish  
yaya mother (address)  
yekor to make noise  
yo not  
yofoyoyo slippery (stone)  
yono areca nut  
yuwi point

## 6.2. English—West Máikian finder list

This list is only a key to the preceding West Máikian—English vocabulary and should not be used as a vocabulary in itself. The English entries have been kept as general as possible. The West Máikian given behind them do no more than refer to the entries in the vocabulary under words which the reader may find the West Máikian word he is looking for. The following abbreviations have been used in the list:

v	verb	t	transitive
n	noun	i	intransitive

## A

above ney  
 absent lome  
 abuse galeng  
 accidentally kěbětulan  
 accompany mofumete  
 ache v. safo  
 add dogo  
 after tebe, sětěláh  
 afternoon mararing  
 again epe  
 alive dadi  
 all famasi, feberesi  
 already omo  
 also li, wa  
 ancestor teto loosi  
 anchor tapu  
 and lo  
 angry bebewi, sarangati  
 answer v. sango  
 ant gunange, pipot, wewewi  
 anus tuso  
 areca nut yono  
 arm kamma, jowjow  
 armpit gua  
 arrive podo, dee  
 arrow gafe

ascend aw  
 ashamed maya  
 ashes ruru  
 ask fimigepe  
 at tV  
 attractive mollooli  
 averse fonó

## B

back gapu  
 bad sa  
 bag tas  
 bail v. biti  
 bamboo bilu  
 banana loka  
 bark v. togi  
 bark n. fi  
 bat feni  
 bathe tobo  
 beam balak  
 beat v. wakis  
 beautiful birahi  
 because amo, kárěna, sěbáp  
 become dadi  
 bee pin  
 behind gapu

belly bodo  
 bent kakawi  
 bind v. bali  
 bird haywan  
 bite v. kiki  
 black kekey  
 blade gagi, we  
 blind moci  
 blood uni  
 blow v. i. udu  
 blunt gegele  
 body badan  
 boil v. i. posa  
 boil n. fafos  
 bone subebi  
 born podo  
 bottom peley  
 bow n. jubil  
 boy jongi, oma  
 branch n. saga  
 breadfruit gelewi  
 break v. fotola, tala, kow  
 breast susu  
 bring uba  
 brother ayo, longo  
 build v. isa  
 burn v. t. saw  
 bushknife peda  
 but tapi  
 butterfly beebom  
 buttocks gua  
 buy v. poli

## C

calf of leg bisi  
 call v. t. boba

canarium nut ifa  
 canoe eti  
 cape don  
 capsized kaelo  
 cargo gina, pamano  
 carry kauwa, ko, reu, uba  
 case towpama  
 cassava oso  
 cat tusa  
 chair kursi  
 charcoal mut  
 cheat v. ngursa  
 cheek towo  
 chest tedengi  
 chicken namu  
 child oma  
 chin koko  
 clear tǎráng  
 clever pande  
 climb v. aw  
 close v. t. rebot, guta  
 cloud maaru, kekey  
 coconut gupa  
 cold gagararo, gamati  
 collect v. polu  
 come ay, fi, fia, fo, mo, no, podo  
 complete tiahi  
 container ga  
 contents asal  
 cooked a  
 coral logos  
 corner paapu  
 correct fita  
 cough oto  
 count painge  
 crab gafa  
 crazy baaba

crocodile samami  
 crooked kakawi  
 cross v. tala  
 cry v. ja  
 cut v. kuba, tala

## D

dark lukaman  
 day win, bulang  
 daylight tita  
 dead magey  
 deaf pongol  
 deep awo, maulu  
 descend so  
 deserted gawi  
 diarrhoea fofu  
 die v. magey  
 dig v. pay  
 diligent sufala  
 dish piga  
 District Head sangaji  
 dog aso  
 done a  
 door lawa  
 downwards naso  
 draw v. tiba  
 dress baju  
 drink v. bebe, jowbe  
 drop v. dupe  
 drum atipa  
 dry v. t. fuae  
 dry loto

## E

ear kameu  
 earth afi

earthquake juwi  
 eat am, fiam, fajow  
 egg esi  
 eight tukubange, ditukbange  
 elbow paapu  
 eleven ainye  
 embers mamut  
 empty momua  
 end n. teta  
 enter oso  
 evening mararing  
 eye afe, sado

## F

faeces fu, jarangahe  
 far golo  
 fart n. v. ofo  
 fat gode  
 father baba, fao  
 feast ramián  
 feather gigo  
 features sifat  
 feed fae  
 feel v. fafu  
 fell v. t. telo  
 female papa  
 fence faka  
 fetch e  
 fever sado  
 fight v. pasi  
 fill v. filow, oso pe  
 find v. do  
 fine! bole  
 finger kámama  
 finished masi, towgum  
 fire ipi

fish yao  
 five mafoy, dimfoy  
 floor bungbangi  
 flower nama  
 fly v. tagar  
 fly n. murmari, lilipo  
 flying fox feni  
 fog sawramu  
 food pilang  
 foot gow  
 forehead abulo  
 forest dama  
 forget v. ngalalupe  
 formerly tite  
 forty aweifate  
 four fati, ifati, dimfati  
 fried sinanga  
 friend dadano  
 frog aoro  
 from tV  
 front telia, tite, afe  
 fruit sopo  
 full guma, oy

## G

garden piri  
 gather v. polu  
 get hold of do  
 get up osu  
 ghost puni  
 ginger oi  
 girl sibafong  
 give pi  
 glass gélás  
 go i  
 go down so

goanna saawa  
 goat kabi  
 good! bole  
 good mia  
 goods pamano  
 grandchild ubu  
 grandfather teto  
 grandmother deto  
 grass kusu, ngeu, pangan, perepiri  
 green kafiti  
 grindstone birbori  
 ground afi  
 grow bafo  
 \_grudge sarangati

## H

hair gigo, onga  
 half eta  
 hand kamama, kamma, jowjow  
 handle n. fari, abamo  
 hard telida  
 harvest v. foutu  
 he me  
 head apota, tabia  
 hear baso  
 her me, mV  
 here sesiné, siné  
 hide v. sodulo  
 him me  
 his mV  
 hit v. wakis, paa, for  
 hold maa, jajow  
 hole tuso  
 hot sasafu  
 house pala  
 how apato

how many iwu  
 howl v. lalow  
 hundred atus  
 hungry bele  
 husband at  
 husband & wife dimaedepa, jepa

## I

if coba, kalaw  
 incorrect gopo  
 increase v. dogo  
 inside ciawa  
 instruct milinga  
 intend seba  
 island tanusi  
 it me

## J

jump v. odo  
 junction saga  
 just anso

## K

keel kulot  
 kill v. fagéy  
 kiss v. isi  
 kitchen fito  
 knee paapu  
 knife piso  
 know liala, tawado

## L

lacking kurang  
 landwards nanga

large lamo, magol  
 last terahir  
 laugh v. ae  
 leaf we  
 leave v. i  
 left side kabali  
 left-overs ngeu  
 leg gow, tarotaro  
 less kurang  
 lid gataguta  
 lie down bolabola, karanga, kailome  
 lift v. tege  
 light fayangi  
 light v. isa  
 lightning rero  
 like v. suka  
 like hapa, hapaapa  
 lips fi  
 little n. otu  
 liver amo  
 lonely gawi  
 long awo  
 look at co  
 look for sefo  
 look out for jaga  
 louse bene  
 love v. milinga

## M

mad baaba  
 magic sow  
 make v. isa  
 malaria mawiji  
 male at  
 man at  
 man, old matomato, lagey



many folo  
 market pasar  
 marry io  
 mat musala  
 me de  
 mean v. berarti  
 meat gagi  
 midrib ngaba  
 millepede fai  
 moon odo  
 morning usufi  
 mosquito oy  
 mother mama, yaya  
 motorboat motor  
 mountain pu  
 mouse arufe  
 mouth mada, pasul  
 much paling  
 mucus goli  
 mud beti  
 must musti  
 mute mow  
 my ti

## N

nail jupi  
 name aym  
 narrow sinaot  
 navel okit  
 nearby seba  
 neck ru  
 nest pala  
 new topo  
 nine siwe, isiwe, dimsive  
 noise ekor, yekor  
 no more moya

noon tanuawi  
 nose mudefete  
 nostril tuso  
 not yo, wayo  
 not yet wai

## O

obey mamae pe  
 old mato. golo. gono  
 on tv  
 one minye, meminye, maminye,  
 gominye  
 open v. t. tupe  
 or fa  
 our mi, nV  
 outrigger ngaji  
 outside site

## P

paddle puas  
 pain malawan  
 palm of hand safat  
 palm wine nawi  
 pandanus tree pundak  
 parrot nuri  
 part n. ano  
 pass by sedor  
 path gopao  
 penis bo  
 people mancia  
 perhaps tarsi  
 person mancia  
 pig sufu  
 place sawan  
 plait v. isa  
 plant v. maki

play v. wawaw  
 point yuwi  
 post n. gasi  
 pot poso  
 pour out subal  
 prawn kasana  
 present lome  
 property ongo  
 pull down fasa  
 pull out fidi  
 pull up toga  
 push v. utu  
 put v. ogo  
 put down ogo so  
 python patola

## Q

quickly capati

## R

rain pongi  
 rat arufe  
 rattan weri  
 raw efii  
 reach v. dee  
 real degow  
 rear n. tebe  
 receive do  
 recently anso, maydema  
 red lolupa  
 remember milinga  
 resin salo  
 rest v. bolabola  
 revenge v. balas  
 rib sarusaru

rice pia  
 right fita  
 right side kayawi  
 ripe mu  
 rise v. aw, pait, palat  
 river songa  
 roast v. sao  
 root n. utu  
 rope langalangi  
 rotten sa  
 round bokoboko  
 run away serero

## S

sago baku  
 sail v. sobol  
 salt ase  
 sand wom  
 sap gifi  
 say teng  
 scar n. usi  
 scold galeng  
 scoop v. tiba  
 scratch v. fakaeri  
 sea wolot  
 search for v. feley  
 seawards nao  
 sea water fisi  
 see co  
 seek sefo  
 seize maa  
 sell pi  
 send folsoma pe  
 set v. i. timi  
 seven tepedingi, ditepedingi  
 sew v. falaaki

shallow katoba  
 sharp mangot  
 sharpen bori  
 she me  
 shell laia, japi  
 shell fish laia  
 shin nepin  
 shine v. cahaya  
 shirt baju  
 shiver rerre  
 shoot tebal  
 short katoba  
 shortly otu, dootu  
 shoulder fay  
 shoulder-blade pateng  
 shove sarke  
 sibling longo, ayo  
 sick kelida, malawan  
 side pigir, fatra  
 since serta  
 sink v. dudu  
 sister longo, ayo  
 sit v. toroso, cako taratip  
 six dam, idam, dimdam  
 skin fi  
 skinny kurus  
 sky tupam  
 sleep v. tifi, kadu  
 sleepy kadukadu  
 slippery sesifil, yofoyoyo  
 slow kofi  
 slowly belebele  
 small alus, kaku, sinaot  
 smell v. t. fatum  
 smoke n. sowi  
 snake abey

so jadi  
 so (that) te, supaya  
 soft belebele  
 sole of foot safat  
 son-in-law toni  
 sorcery sow  
 speak bicara  
 speech bicara  
 spider onu  
 spirit puni  
 spit v. ujuf  
 spittle ujuf  
 splinter sangani  
 split v. t. kida  
 spoon sosodik  
 stab taji  
 stand v. siesu  
 star mawi  
 stay v. wa  
 steal tedi  
 still i  
 stir v. yakor  
 stone may  
 stop v. barenti  
 story carita  
 straight kaulo  
 strong kuat  
 stupid bodok  
 sugar-cane tano  
 sun win  
 swallow v. mo  
 swamp beti  
 sweat muteeti  
 sweet potato oso  
 swim v. galof  
 swollen bosu

## T

table meja  
 tail biso  
 take e  
 take up tege  
 tea te  
 tears afe bebe  
 tell v. teng, carita  
 ten ainye, diainye  
 termite bual  
 that ma, mema  
 thatch ato  
 their di  
 them eme  
 then ma, těrús  
 there ia, na, mena, sona, soma, soia  
 therefore ela, jadi  
 these ne  
 they eme, je  
 thick gode, komudu  
 thief teditedi  
 thigh lola  
 thin fenefine  
 thing ongo  
 think milinga, bafikir, pikir  
 thirsty loto  
 thirty aweiunge  
 this ne, nemá, mené  
 those ma  
 three unge, iunge, dimaunge, goiunge,  
 maunge  
 throat gilit  
 thorn gulani  
 throw n. wako  
 throw away dupe  
 thumb mamó  
 thump v. ruju

thunder raring  
 thus hapa  
 tickle v. kerekiri  
 tie v. bali  
 tinea kastela  
 tired tapoke  
 to pe, tV  
 today maidne  
 tomorrow bulang  
 tomorrow +1 mardinge  
 tomorrow +2 marungo minye  
 tongue belo  
 tooth wi  
 top tubo, we  
 topic asal  
 touch v. fafu  
 track n. gopao  
 tree fete  
 true degow  
 twelve ainye  
 twenty awedeng  
 twig mager  
 twine v. bule  
 two medeng, dimaede, maedeng,  
 edeng, je

## U

unripe kafiti  
 until situ  
 upwards ney  
 urinate sii  
 urine sii  
 us imi, ene

## V

vagina ba  
vein utu  
village palao, kampong  
voice umi  
vomit kawé

## W

wait v. sibato, sitao  
walk v. sagal  
wall barubaru  
want seba, fono  
warm safo  
wash v. t. folouju, uas  
watch v. jaga  
water be  
wave balat, rawa  
we ene, imi  
weak belebele, berebere  
well n. simur  
wet kaban  
what pama  
when paruwia, putuiwu, waktu  
where sesito  
white bulo

whither sito  
who imu, yang  
whose imu  
why sapma  
wide ofat  
wife papa  
wind n. udu  
winding likokawi  
window janela  
wing fay  
with pe  
woman papa, songa  
worm lalati  
wound v. abo  
wrap up too

## Y

yaws giresi  
yellow buréy  
yesterday maitiso  
yonder mena  
you sg. ni  
you pl. ini  
young alus  
your sg. ni  
your pl. fi

## 6.3. Indonesian paraphrase of the text

The following is an Indonesian paraphrase of the text given in section 3, told by the same speaker. His speech is a variant of Indonesian which lies somewhere between official Indonesian and the dialect spoken in Moluccas. Some features of the latter are: dropping of final consonants, change of final *n* to *ng*, *ai* to *e*, *au* to *o*, *ə* to *u*, *ber-* to *ba*, and contracted forms like *pa* from *pada*, *pi* from *pergi*, *su* from *sudah*; the speaker further uses *ngana you* (sg), a Ternatan loan, instead of the Moluccan *kamu*.

Dudu supaya saya carita satu. Carita ini, diapunya judulnya itu suanggi. Jadi pada satu hari, dua orang laki-bini bukan, a jadi dua orang laki-bini itu dorang punya ana dua orang. Jadi ana itu memang paling dorang sayangi suda itu ana. Jadi begitu... tiba saat, artinya satu saat, ana yang tua itu dia meninggal. Setelah dia meninggal si laki ini, suami ini, dia karena terlalu ingat sama dia punya ana itu dia terus pi cari: 'Saya ini, kalau bole saya jadi suanggi supaya saya makan itu... orang lagi seperti dorang makan saya punya ana ini!' Jadi dia jalan-jalan, pi cari itu orang yang suanggi itu. Serta dia pigi, sampai di... satu paitua, a disana dia terus... paitua dia tanya: 'Mo kemana? Tujuan kemana?' 'Tida, saya ini saya cari orang yang bisa ajar jadi suanggi. Maksudnya supaya saya ini jadi suanggi.' Begitu. A, terus, 'O, bole, kalo mau jadi suanggi disini juga saya bisa... orang jadi suanggi bisa'. Setelah ada persetujuan, keduanya jalan-jalan di satu tempat yang kosong, sunyi dimana disitu ada batu batu besar. Setelah mereka sampe disitu, terus si paitua ini... dia di sebelah, sebelah batu, batu yang besar itu sedangkan yang lelaki yang dia mau ingin jadi suanggi ini, di sebelah. Jadi sebelah menyebelah. A disitu, terus si paitua ini tanya-paitua ini bilang sama si lakilaki: 'Ngana liat, ngana liat pa saya' begitu. A, jadi, dia terus liat. 'Kalau ngana dapa lia pa saya, ngana bilang!' Jadi begitu dia bilang: 'Ngana dapa lia pa saya ka terada?' 'O, saya tara lia'. Itu baru pertama. A, kedua kali. Begitu dia bikin dia pun uba, uba-uba itu. Dia tanya: 'Ngana su lia?' 'Ow, masi samarsamar, saya lia itu masi belum terang.' 'Kalau begitu, ngana tunggu saya bikin dia punya uba yang ketiga supaya ngana lia.' Begitu dia bikin yang ketiga kali dia tanya pa itu lakilaki: 'Su lia?' 'A, memang, saya su lia terang! Saya su lia terang sekali!' Setela itu, setela dorang... setela selesai itu uba, do bikin uba, terus si paitua ini terus kasi tau, bilang sama si laki itu: 'A ini, sekarang ngana su jadi suanggi. Jadi, kalau ngana mau ini makan orang, ngana pigi di masuomasuo<sup>5</sup> begitu, baru ngana jaga. A, jadi kalo ngana jaga itu orang yang bikin rame, a itu! Ngana jaga kalau dorang datang'. Begitu dia inga itu pesan itu, terus dia... satu saat... ada bikin rame. Dia suda jaga di persimpangan jalan. Dia jaga. Begitu orang lalulalu itu jalan itu, jalan jalan jalan... lakilaki itu, nonanona, nyongnyong, dorang bajalan. Ana-ana... begitu bajalan, itu, ada pesan dari orang tua itu: Kalo ngana lia itu orang punya sifat itu lengkap, artinya dari anggota semua anggota itu lengkap, itu jangan ngana tangkap! Kalo ngana tangkap memang sala! A, jadi kalo ngana mo ingin tangkap pa dia, itu ngana tangkap orang anggotanya kurang! Ya, begitu. Terus, serta... yang terahir, ana satu dia lewat, dia kepalanya tida ada. A, setelah dia dapa lia itu kepalanya tida ada terus dia tangkap! Tangkap, dapa! A dapa pa dia terus dia makan. A, makan pa dia, itu suanggi dia makan pa dia. Dia makang, jadi begitu dia pe beso kebawa, dia pe ana meninggal. Ana satu itu dia meninggal lagi! A, begitu dia pikir pikir... 'Allah! ini mungkin karena saya suanggi saya makan saya punya ana sendiri!' Dia terus pikir punya fikir: 'Ah, ini suanggi ini... lebe bai kasi pulang suda supaya saya jangan jadi suanggi lagi!' A begitu terus dia sampe itu... sampe sama orang tua, guru itu, orang tua itu, dia bilang: 'A, saya ini tera mo jadi suanggi lagi!' Jadi orang tua itu tanya: 'Biki apa ko... suda tida suka lagi itu suanggi?' 'O, begini, saya... mungkin karena saya suanggi saya makan saya punya ana!' Jadi orang tua tadi dia bilang: 'A, jadi itu! Samua kita orang, suanggi juga dapa perintah, manusia juga dapa perintah! Itu selesai.

Indonesian equivalents of Moluccan Malay words found in the text:

ana	anak	nyongnyong	pemuda
bai	baik	pa	pada
bajalan	berjalan	paitua	orang tua
biki	bikin	pe	punya
bole	boleh	pi } pigi }	pergi
dapa	dapat	rame	ramai
do } dorang }	mereka	sala	salah
inga	ingat	sampe	sampai
kalo	kalau	su	sudah
lebe	lebih	tau	tahu
lia	lihat	tera	tidak
makang	makan	terada	tidak ada
mo	mau	uba	obat

#### NOTES

1. In general the placement of word-stress in West Mákian, as in the other North Halmaheran languages, is on the penultimate syllable (see 2.3.3). I shall mark word-stress by an acute over the stressed vowel, but only in words which deviate from the general rule.
2. For further details see Watuseks 1976. I did not visit those islands and shall restrict myself to the situation on Mákian Island.
3. De Clercq (p.80) gives the same village names with only a few differences in spelling (Sabelé, Talapaoe, Molapa). He further mentions the name of another village on the west side of Mákian: Tabalolo, situated between Malapa and Mailoa. This village which has since disappeared was probably not West Mákian but East Mákian speaking (Lucardie, pers. comm.).
4. De Clercq gives Waikiong as the local name of Mákian. Lucardie informs me that Waikion is the name given to Ngofakiaha in the northern dialect of East Mákian (in the southern dialect it is Waikian).
5. De Clercq calls the island Keten. This is the East Mákian name for Moti (Lucardie, pers. comm.).

6. Teljeur's lists also show that East Máikian-Kayoa is closely related to the Gane (Gimán) language in the southern peninsula of Halmahera. The two languages belong to the South Halmahera-West New Guinea subgroup of the Austronesian languages.
7. R. Lucardie has since informed me that the stratification into polite and common language is not nearly as restricted as my data suggests.
8. Lucardie 1980, p.351 (see 1.2). For further bibliographical references the reader is referred to this article.
9. Naturally this is not the case with very recent loans such as terms belonging to modern technology which must have reached West Máikian via Indonesian.
10. Language names have been abbreviated as follows: IN = Indonesian, MM = Moluccan Malay, WM = West Máikian, EM = East Máikian.
11. Note that I distinguish here between *North Halmaheran languages* = languages of the North Halmaheran Family (see section 3) and *languages of North Halmahera* = those North Halmaheran languages which are spoken in the northern peninsula of Halmahera.
12. Although my own data are far from complete I have some reservations as to the correctness of some parts of Yoshida's analysis, especially the semantic and structural interpretation of the directional roots fi, fia and fo. A full discussion of the matter will have to wait until my field notes on the other North Halmaheran languages have been worked out.
13. The name Ngofakiaha and its local equivalents Máikian (WM) and Waikion (EM) all mean *children of Kian* (Kayoa) or better: *those who have come from Kian* (Lucardie, pers. comm.). This would be a likely name for the earliest group of immigrants from Kayoa.
14. D. Teljeur, Spatial orientation among the Gimán of South Halmahera. Paper read at the Seminar Halmahera dan Raja Ampat, Jakarta 1-5 June 1981.
15. Full paradigms have not been elicited.
16. The form bebé in this example is a reduplication of be *water*.
17. The Sabalé form is mine; it shows that both mene and mine are probably contractions of me and ine; ine is of Austronesian origin (< Proto-Austronesian \*ini *this*). ne is a shortened form of ine.
18. Like ne, na is a root of probable Austronesian origin (cf. Proto-Eastern Oceanic na *yonder*).
19. The bracketed forms have been taken from Yoshida 1980:50.
20. In the West Makianese folk orientation Ternate is located *below* Máikian (1.7).
21. From a diachronic point of view sine is a contraction of so + ine, cf. Sabalé mine < me + ine, section 2.2.7.
22. A Camat is the Head of a district (Kecamatan) who resides under the Bupati, the Head of a Province (Kabupaten).



- |     |       |                     |        |                    |
|-----|-------|---------------------|--------|--------------------|
| 23. | AdvP  | Adverb Phrase       | NP     | Noun Phrase        |
|     | art   | article             | O      | Direct Object      |
|     | Cj    | Conjunction         | PersPr | Personal Pronoun   |
|     | Comp  | Complement          | PossPr | Possessive Pronoun |
|     | Dem   | Demonstrative root  | S      | Subject            |
|     | EmbCl | Embedded Clause     | SM     | Sentence Modal     |
|     | EO    | Echo Object         | Qual   | Qualifier          |
|     | GenNP | General Noun Phrase | Ql     | Qualifier Link     |
|     | Int   | Interjection        | Quant  | Quantifier         |
|     | IO    | Indirect Object     | VP     | Verb Phrase        |
|     | Loc   | Locative Root       |        |                    |
24. Sentences containing embedded clauses are often discussed under Complex Sentences. The complexity however is not on the sentence but on the phrase level. Embedded clauses will here be discussed at the end of section 2.
25. One would expect ta but the speaker uses te a few times instead of an assimilated form.
26. Instead of to; see the previous note.
27. The speaker is not consistent in the use of the polite prefix dV. In this and several other cases he uses the ordinary i- instead.
28. The non-Austronesian languages in the North Moluccas. To be published in: E.K.M. Masinambow, ed. *Proceedings of the 2nd Halmahera Conference, 1-5 June 1981*, Jakarta, 1982.
29. The Sahu word is not cognate.
30. Voorhoeve, C.L. The Halmahera connection: a case for prehistoric traffic through Torres Strait. In: Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Vol.2: Tracking the travellers. Pacific Linguistics C-75*, 1982.
31. This is a generalised and simplified account of the process of modification as it occurs in the North Halmaheran languages. All language specific variations have been left out.
32. It is still unclear whether Proto-North Halmaheran had alveopalatal stops or not. If it had them, they too did not occur in word-final position.
33. I write here V to indicate a vowel of unknown quality.
34. Tobelo  $\text{d}$  is an interdental voiced fricative.
35. Wada 1980 writes  $\text{D}$ ; the diacritic serves to distinguish it from D which I write as \*d.
36. That is, the earlier sequence o + consonant + a became a + consonant + a, etc.
37. The case of West Mákian am < \*oDom to eat does not solve the matter since either the initial vowel or the reflex of \*D could have been the first one to disappear.
38. From Proto-North Halmaheran \*oDom.
39. The Tidore form contains a petrified prefix ra-.
40. The West Mákian form possibly is an old compound (bi-so).
41. Both the West Mákian and the Tidore forms contain old prefixes. cf. fn. 2.
42. ngone and ngomi contain an old prefix ngo-, see 4.3.2., notes to set 11-13.

43. Lihatlah bibliografi pada halaman 2.
44. Lihatlah bibliografi pada halaman 2.
45. This word is not known to me from Indonesian or Moluccan Malay; the meaning seems to be *junction (of tracks)* = persimpangan jalan.