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THE MAKIAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

C.L. Voorhoeve, ed.

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Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies

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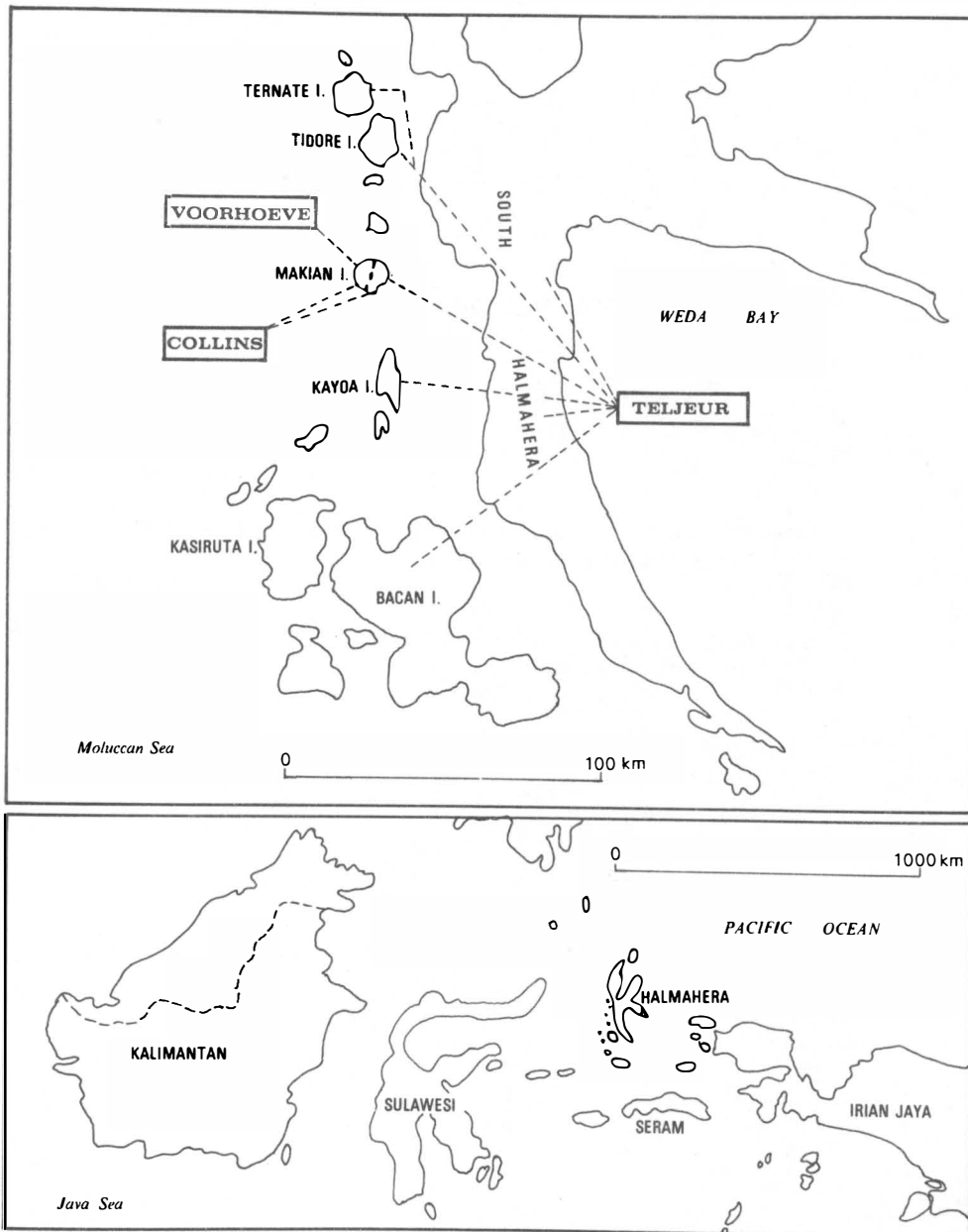
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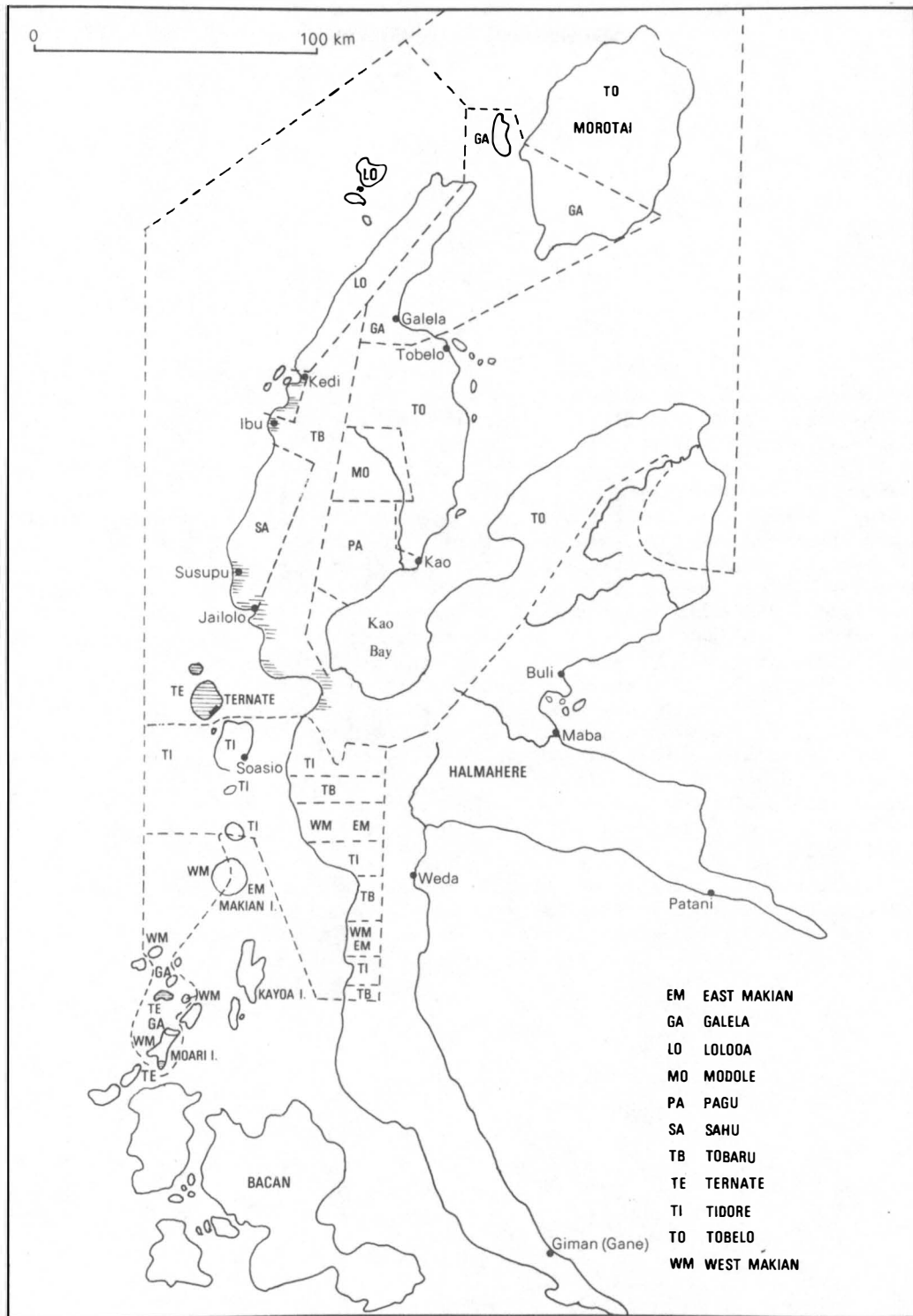
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Map 1: LOCATION MAP



Map 2: HALMAHERA

INTRODUCTION

One of the linguistically least known parts of the Moluccas, Indonesia, is the southern peninsula of Halmahera and the offshore islands to the west: Bacan, Kayoa, Makian. Until recently all that was known of the languages in this area was based on a few wordlists dating from the late 19th and early 20th century. Since 1979 however surveys conducted by Collins, Teljeur and myself have yielded a substantial amount of new data in these languages, especially in the languages of Makian Island. J.T. Collins collected materials in the East and West Makian languages during a stay of six days in Laiwui on Obi Island in February 1979; D. Teljeur collected comparative wordlists in many villages in the region during his anthropological fieldwork in South Halmahera from August 1978 to March 1980; I obtained data in West Makian during a five-day visit to Makian Island in January 1981. Although varying widely in scope and size, the four papers which are the result of those surveys have enough in common to warrant their inclusion in one volume: all of them deal wholly or partly with the languages of Makian Island. They further supplement each other in various ways. The first paper is a short sketch of the West Makian language followed by a wordlist; it is commented on by the second paper which in addition gives supplementary lexical data. The third paper presents East Makian materials: some grammatical notes and a wordlist. The last, comparative paper covers a much wider area. Its lists, though short, allow us to form an opinion on the mutual relationships of the languages in the area and their internal variation.

It goes without saying that the four papers, being the product of short surveys, do no more than scratch the surface of the languages with which they deal. The series *Materials in languages of Indonesia* seem therefore the most appropriate place to make them available to the public.

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

C.L. Voorhoeve

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

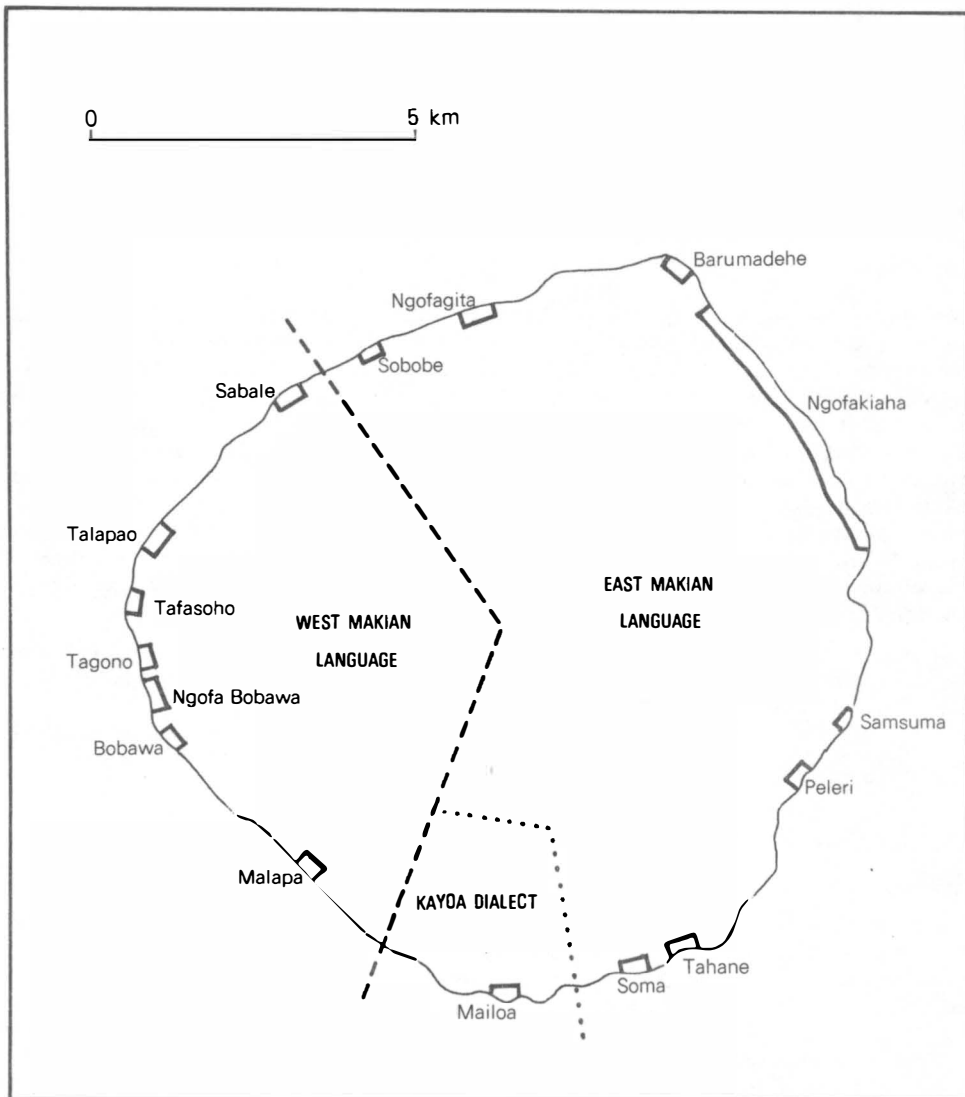
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Fieldwork particulars, scope of the report

The data on which this report on the West Mákian¹ 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 (Watuseke 1976).² 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).³ 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 Moi⁴; the western half - officially called Mákian Luar - is Moi Tesité and the eastern half (Mákian Dalam) is called Moi Ciawi. They call Moti Island Teketen⁵ 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.⁶

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.⁷ 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 unfriendly⁸ 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.⁸ 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 1915.⁸ 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 both⁹. 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* (IN¹⁰ *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 Halmahera¹¹ 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.¹² 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 island¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 (fn¹) 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 > CV₁ / — (C)V₁
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 Máikian 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 ¹⁵	<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-animal¹⁵. 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^omato *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*¹⁶
 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 Mákian 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</i>	<i>Her</i>	<i>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 ¹⁷	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 ¹⁸	soná	[sosona] ¹⁹	<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.²⁰

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*.²¹ *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 Camat²² 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.

<i>loka minyé</i>	<i>one banana</i>	<i>da lagey gominyé</i>	<i>one Old Man</i>
<i>loka gominyé</i>	<i>one banana tree</i>	<i>meminyé</i>	<i>one person</i>
<i>oma dimáede</i>	<i>two children</i>	<i>gominyé</i>	<i>one respectable person</i>

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 : *madéng* *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:

<i>folo</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>feberesi</i>	} <i>all</i>
<i>otu</i>	<i>few, a bit</i>	<i>famasi</i>	

2.3. Phrases

2.3.1. Verb Phrases

There are three types of verb phrases:

- I. Non-imperative Action-verb Phrase (AVP₁)
- II. Imperative Action-verb Phrase (AVP₂)
- III. Stative verb Phrase

2.3.1.1. Action verb phrase₁

The AVP₁ 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 ²³ -----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 phrase₂

The AVP₂ 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
 --vp²³-- 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 AVP₁ 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
art²³ 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.Cl²³--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	<i>today</i>	marungo minyé	<i>in three days' time</i>
ibulang	<i>tomorrow</i>	win tanuawi	<i>at noon</i>
do bulang fi	<i>the following day</i>	ianso, anso	<i>newly, just</i>
maitiso	<i>yesterday</i>	terahir	<i>at last</i>
mardinge	<i>the day after tomorrow</i>		

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 art²³ 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.²⁴ 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)²³ (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
s²³ 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
 S²³ -----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
 S²³ 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
 ----O²³----- 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
 VP²³ -- 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>
kářeņa		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 *karěņa* 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
 VP²³ 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
 int²³ 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 te²⁵ 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,

te²⁶ 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 i²⁷-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.

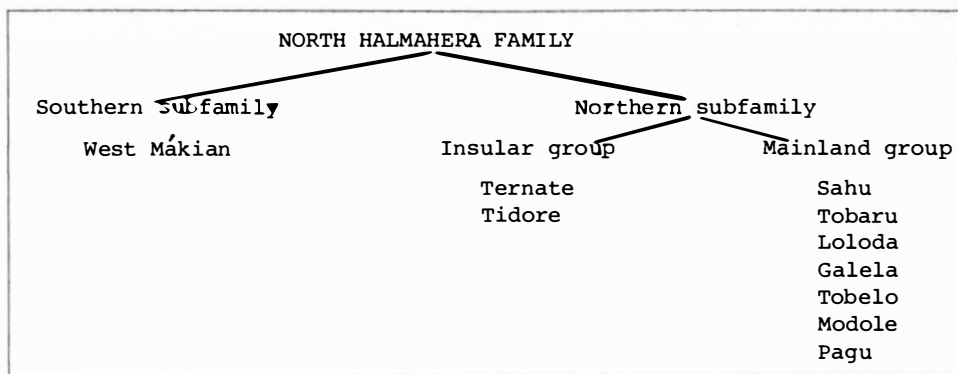
4. SOME COMPARATIVE NOTES ON WEST MAKIAN AND TIDORE

4.1. Introductory remarks

As mentioned in 1.2. and 1.6. there are both lexical and grammatical grounds for classifying West Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Mákian is a member have become known as the North Halmaheran languages although three of them—Ternate, Tidore, and West Mákian—have their centre on islands off Halmahera's west coast. In my recent survey of these languages²⁸ 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.

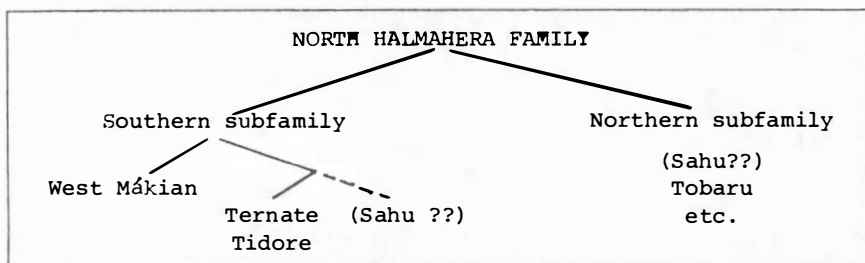
The qualitative evidence however suggests a quite different arrangement at least with regard to West Máikian, Tidore, and Ternate. There are a number of cognates and phonological features which are shared only by West Máikian, Tidore and Ternate and in a few cases also by Sahu. Exclusively shared cognates 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 Sahu²⁹ 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 1981³⁰), 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 apply³¹:

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 consonants³² 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 ϕ : 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 ngV³³ 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 ϕ , y :- Tidore ny :- no conditioning factor is evident.

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

West Mákian:Tidore:Ternate:Sahu:Tobaru:Loloda:Galela:Tobelo:Modole:Pagu
 ϕ : y : h : r : d : j : d : 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. ϕ	: 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 ³⁶ 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 ordering³⁷.

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 ³⁸	<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 ³⁹	<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 ⁴⁰	bi	<i>tail</i>
51.	bual	gubua	<i>termite</i>
52.	fine	hina	<i>thin</i>
53.	i-unge	ra-nge ⁴¹	<i>three</i>
54.	fete	hate	<i>tree</i>
55.	si	isi	<i>urine</i>
56.	ene	ngone ⁴²	<i>we (inclusive)</i>
57.	imi	ngomi ⁴²	<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,⁴³ 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 diterbit dulu.
- (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.⁴⁴

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
 bisu* 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
 bosu* swollen; de ti bodo i bosu 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
 dia'nye 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)
 dimsuwe 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
 gagáraro* 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

ofo 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
 sébáp 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)
 soía 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
yofoyofu 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 fono

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 masuomasuo⁵ 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 terakhir, 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 Mákian-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 Mákian via Indonesian.
10. Language names have been abbreviated as follows: IN = Indonesian, MM = Moluccan Malay, WM = West Mákian, EM = East Mákian.
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 Mákian (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* Mákian (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 d is an interdental voiced fricative.
35. Wada 1980 writes 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 Máikian 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 Máikian form possibly is an old compound (bi-so).
41. Both the West Máikian 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.

FURTHER NOTES TOWARDS A WEST MAKIAN VOCABULARY

James T. Collins

It is with considerable hesitation that this short wordlist is presented here. Not only are non-Austronesian languages beyond the scope of my studies but the data upon which this list is based were collected during only four working sessions while I was conducting a linguistic survey in the Moluccas.¹ Nonetheless because, as Dr Voorhoeve notes, our knowledge of West Makian is very limited, the data are presented here in order to complement Voorhoeve's important contribution.

1. THE DATA AND FORMAT

The words cited in this auxiliary vocabulary are divided into two sections. In Part I, the words which are listed are among those which I recorded (7-12 February 1979) in Laiwui, Pulau Obi. My informant, Hassan Kamaluddin, was born and raised in Talapao, Makian; at that time, he was a 27 year old school teacher recently posted to Obi. In addition to his cooperation during my stay there, he also kindly agreed to fill out an additional wordlist which he later posted to me.² The words listed in Part II are drawn from that list with no spelling changes. A cumulative English-West Makian index is also included.

In order to avoid duplication of Voorhoeve's vocabulary of Sabale and Bobawa, I have not listed the Talapao entries which are already cited in the same form in his list. In a few cases, however, I have noted some words found in that list if the definition is slightly different or implies a broader range of meaning. More frequently words are repeated here because there appear to be small phonetic differences between my fieldnotes and Voorhoeve's entries. For example, in my notes diphthongs such as [a^hi] are distinguished from vowel sequences such as [ai]. This may be a case of overdifferentiation in the unanalysed fieldnote transcription but the distinction is retained here because it may indicate a dialectal difference. Voorhoeve, too, occasionally suggests the same kind of interdialectal variety, e.g. Bobawa may but Sabale mai *stone*.

Voorhoeve, C.L., ed., *The West Makian languages and their neighbours*.
(*Materials in languages of Indonesia*, No.12; W.A.L. Stokhof,
Series ed.) *Pacific Linguistics*, D-46, 1982.

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Note that in Part I the palatal and velar nasals are indicated by the usual symbols η and η respectively. In other respects this list uses the phonemic symbols suggested by Voorhoeve. This means that I have followed him in noting only non-penultimate stress. For example, [buréi] is cited as burei but [bedagá] is bedagá. In some cases vowel length and stress placement in Voorhoeve's vocabulary differs from the forms cited in this list. This does not occur often; it may reflect real dialect differences or merely the hurried manner in which the data were collected. Bapak Hassan also notes long vowels but sometimes his orthography is at variance with one or both of the linguists' notes. Could this reflect a writing convention or inaccuracy?

2. SOME TENTATIVE ELABORATIONS OF VOORHOEVE'S REPORT

In the course of preparing this auxiliary wordlist, some additional phonological and morphological details of West Makian surfaced. Furthermore, one of the apparent dialectal differences in this material may have some bearing on one of the sound correspondences between West Makian and other North Halmahera languages. Despite my inadequate knowledge of the comparative evidence, the data seems important enough to present for consideration.

2.1. A phonological rule of deletion

In Section 2.2.5. Voorhoeve notes that 'Vowel elision occurs only in connected speech and seems to affect only the vowel i'. That this rule affects the Talapao dialect as well is quite clear; for example, we note:

putuwu	beside V	putuiwu	<i>when</i>
sesu	beside V	siesu	<i>to stand; and</i>
manca	beside V	mancia	<i>person (Loanword).</i>

Perhaps, however, his entry folsomá pe *to send (a letter) to* should be compared to the entry (Part II) folosoma *something (?) sent*. In this case, it seems that both Sabale and Bobawa have deleted a vowel other than i (and notably not in the penultimate syllable). That this may not be a historical change but part of the synchronic phonology of West Makian is indicated by other forms of the {fVIV-} morpheme discussed below.

In addition to that evidence, I also recorded fnii *bat* (but V feni) and kamuma *finger* beside V kamma *hand, arm*. These two entries suggest that at least there was (or is) vowel deletion in the dialects of West Makian. The scant evidence suggests that i, e, u, and o could be deleted, usually in the penultimate position. That is, all non-low penultimate vowels may be deleted, presumably in the circumstances which Voorhoeve mentions, namely in connected (or casual?) speech. The consequent shift in stress which he indicates does not seem to occur in kamma and it is rather different in folsomá. Further research may resolve this inconsistency.

2.2. Morphological processes

On the whole, the additional material available in these auxiliary wordlists supports Voorhoeve's notes on West Makian morphology. There are numerous entries illustrating the prefix fV (2.3.2.1.). Indeed, one entry in the Talapao dialect

displays the root word predicted by Voorhoeve on the basis of fagey *to kill* and magey *to be dead* in the other dialects; in Talapao we note gei *dead*. There is at least one more case of the prefix noted by Voorhoeve, fi-, that is fitoga *withdraw a machete* which can be compared to V toga *to pull up (anchor)*. There is also at least one more example of the kind of reduplication which involves vowel variation mentioned in V 2.3.3.1, namely malanoli *plug, bung*. There are several examples of complete reduplication:

belu belu	<i>tongue</i>	manok manok	<i>whale</i>
cinga cinga	<i>hair bun</i>	fato fato	<i>stand in a line</i>
ngafo ngafo	<i>a stand</i>	taji taji	<i>to jab at</i>

It is worth noting, however, that in the example above we can see that complete reduplication results in more than stative verbs as Voorhoeve commented. We observe here nouns and transitive verbs are also derived by reduplication.

Furthermore, several other kinds of reduplication seem to occur in West Makian. There are at least four examples of fv- and complete reduplication: famato-mato *be quiet*, fopoti-poti *to inlay*, fawayo-wayo *to grub (of a pig)* and fapula-pula *to share out* (beside V pula *give*).³ In at least one case we note the possibility that in complete reduplication the final consonant of the word base is not repeated in the first element, i.e. bala balat *roller for beaching a boat* beside V balat *wave*.

Voorhoeve cites two examples (2.3.2.1.) of the kind of partial reduplication which yields stative verbs, for example safo → sasafo. In fact another kind of partial reduplication is very productive; it derives instrumental (or locative) nominalisations from transitive verbs. The morphological rule duplicates the initial consonant of the verb; and then between these two consonants the non-high vowel closest to the first vowel of the base word is inserted.⁴ For example biti *bail* becomes bebiti *bailing bucket*. This seems to be a morphological process essentially different from the sasafo type noted by Voorhoeve. Among the many examples found in the wordlists (Part I and II) are: bobuli, bebese, jejela, jojoho, kakalu, roruga, sasaku, sesikat, sosoya, wowoden, leliwat, tatapa, etc.

In addition to the derivation of instrumental nominalisations (tool-nouns) through partial reduplication outlined above, there is yet another very productive morphological process in West Makian which comes to light in the wordlists. Even a casual perusal of the first few pages of the lists shows a very large number of words which begin with fala-. A number of these words are related to the burning of swidden fields (falapari, falarari, falasao). At first glance it may seem that the fala- element is part of a compound; perhaps fala means *burn*. But sao means *burn* and this occurs beside falasao *to burn a field*.

This dilemma is resolved by a more careful consideration of the material available. In the wordlists we note folobori *to sharpen* (beside V bori *to sharpen*), folokuda *to weed* and folowuju *to launder*. This suggests a verbal prefix, presumably {fv|v-}. The affixation of this morpheme to transitive verbs results in intransitive verbs⁵ of continuous (habitual?) activity. This formation occurs especially when describing tasks. So, falasao should probably be glossed as *to be engaged in burning*.

In addition to the evidence provided by the pairs of words noted above, sao/falasao and bori/folobori, there are also:

wudu	to blow	folowudu	to smoke (cigarettes)
jejela	broom	felejela	to sweep
sasaku	sago mattock	falasaku	to scrape (sago pith)

Comparison with Austronesian roots yields some additional support:

*tapis	falafati	to winnow
*muRmuR	filimumu	to gargle
*uki(r)	fuluukir	to carve ⁶

An apparent independently motivated morphophonological rule likewise lends support to the contention that fV|V- is a morpheme. In my fieldnotes, a glottal stop ordinarily occurs between like vowels only when that glottal stop marks a morpheme boundary. For example, in de?eta *some*, do?otu *a little*, {dV-} functions as the third person plural marker. If this is true, then in fala?aki *to be engaged in sewing* the glottal stop presumably marks a morpheme boundary.

It seems fairly certain then that on the basis of the pairs of affixed and non-affixed entries as well as the morphemic signal provided by the intervocalic glottal stop, at least one more prefix, {fV|V-}, should be added to the inventory outlined by Voorhoeve. The vocalic adjustments (V → e, a, o) demonstrated in the occurrence of this morpheme strengthens the claim that it is a regular morpheme of West Makian because precisely this kind of vocalic harmony is typical of the morphemes of this language.

The comparative North Halmahera evidence is not at my disposal but certainly many Austronesian languages in the Moluccas display morphemes similar in form and/or meaning to {fV|V-}. Stresemann (1918) cites two kinds of pala- prefixes in Paulohi (Southern Seram), although admittedly it is not clear that this morpheme was productive in that language. In Asilulu (Collins to appear b) pala- appears as an apparently non-productive affix in palaheha *to call (each other)* beside heha *to call* and palamumu *to gargle* etc. Throughout the Moluccas the notion of habitual activity is conveyed by affixation (usually /pa-/ and the infix /-ən-/). It may be that similar to the widespread occurrence of verbal (inflectional) marking among Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of the Moluccas, the affixation of a morpheme of habitual activity may be an areal feature.

2.3. A dialectal difference

One of the chief differences between Talapao and the dialects described by Voorhoeve seems to be a slight phonetic variation in the initial sound of some words. We note, for example:

	Sabale/ Bobawa	Talapao
<i>blood</i>	uni	wuni
<i>saliva</i>	ujuf	wujuf
<i>blow</i>	udu	wudu
<i>tuber</i>	oso	woso
<i>enter</i>	oso	woso <i>exit (?)</i>
<i>get up</i>	oso	woso pe aso <i>hunt</i>

This could indicate an onset characterised by an added semivowel, w. On the other hand, there is no regular correspondence between Talapao and Sabale or Bobawa because there are also many words which occur with no *excrecent* w-. For example, we note ula *planting stick*, ufi *flow (?)*, utu *root, vein*, ofa *pit trap*, ota *stairs* and others. Do these forms indicate a case of irregular correspondence due to interdialectal borrowing or is there some other explanation?

Voorhoeve (4.3.3.) has reconstructed '*ngucih saliva' as the protoform which is reflected by Sabale-Bobawa ujuf. It is possible then that in West Makian *ŋ became w- before round vowels.⁷ In Talapao this w- was retained but in the other dialects it was lost.⁸

On the other hand, all dialects of West Makian agree in displaying *odo moon*, although the comparative North Halmahera material (Voorhoeve 4.3.2.) suggests a form prefixed with *ŋV-. Similarly utu in all West Makian dialects is matched by ŋutu in Galela. That Talapao does not display initial w- in these words weakens the claim that w- is a reflex of *ŋ. Nonetheless it is possible that *ŋ-, the inherited protosound underwent innovations which did not affect *ŋV-, an old prefix. Certainly grammatical elements often display unique retentions and innovations. If that is the case, it is *ŋ- which has been partially retained as w- in Talapao while *ŋV- was lost (but only after the loss of initial vowels in bisyllabic words, as noted by Voorhoeve). This suggests that udu, uni and oso should be reconstructed with *ŋ-, just as ujuf is reconstructed as *ŋucih.

Certainly, this proposal can only be validated through comparison with a broader sample of North Halmahera materials which unfortunately are not available to me.⁹

3. THE WORDLISTS: WEST MAKIAN — ENGLISH

3.1. Part I

A	B
aefi; laia aefi a kind of large clam	bafo alive; V to grow
afi dirt, earth, cultivated field	bala balat roller (for beaching boats); V balat wave
afo <i>LwAN</i> lime eaten with betel nut	baru <i>LwI</i> boat caulking
ale bait	bata maize (?)
amot to suck at (hose)	bebiti bailing 'bucket'; V bitit to bail
ariŋ see yariŋ	bedagá bamboo vessel; V ga: be da ga
asi <i>LwAN</i> (?) house rafter	belu belu tongue; V belo
awoipe ten; V ainye, awoi deŋ twenty	bio <i>LwAN</i> taro, bio paŋan a kind of tuber
awuo long; V. awo	boba <i>LwI</i> ? father; V baba. See kei

bobie lemon grass
 buré ginger
 burei yellow; V burey

C

calanpe one thousand
 cofa *LWM?* raft

D

dapu sister-in-law (woman speaking)
 dare fall (from a height)
 dono mother-in-law or daughter-in-law

E

efi raw; V efii
 eni plaited fish trap
 eti boat with outrigger; V canoe

F

fáano nephew, niece
 fáamo: fáamo fasó inhale
 fafá ray fish.
 fasó breath (?). See fáamo
 faiyese different
 fajou eat; V fajow
 fala?aki sew; V falaaki
 falapariŋ to burn field a second time
 falarari slash, burn and clear field
 falasao to burn a field
 falatafi *LWAN* sift, winnow; de tafalatafi pea I winnow rice
 fatawani yawn
 fatuŋ sniff; V fatum

fau faya male sibling; V fao father
 fegini feverish, sick, spicy (food)
 felejela sweep
 feletiso: feletiso pe to chisel
 See peepi
 fidupe give
 fiji jou grasp
 fikini to caulk (a boat)
 fnii *LWAN* bat; V feni
 folobori to sharpen (with water)
 folokuda to weed
 folowudu to smoke (cigarettes)
 folowuju wash (clothes); V folouju
 fou to paddle
 fou sireh leaf
 fulo sago porridge

G

gaagó old
 gagi *LWAN(?)* scratch ¹⁰
 gaji *LWI(?)* animal fat; gaji-gaji dirty
 gale-gale *LWM* guts
 galema *LWM* eagle ray
 gamati chilled (of cooked food)
 gargaji *LWM* saw
 gei dead
 goloŋi *LWI?* machete 'ring' (joining blade and hilt)
 gomu *LWM* a kind of breadfruit
 gou torch of coconut fronds
 guagasi comb

H

haiwani *LWI* animal; V haywan bird
 haamasi all
 hapaato how

I

ia hand
 iao fish; V yao.
 idami six; V idam
 ifaŋ *LWAN* skin fungus ¹¹
 ija pestle
 ilui guma full tide
 imú who; V imu
 iono areca nut; V yono
 isa pamá why
 iwaso low tide

J

jape-jape dirty
 jihi oyster
 jojo mother's or father's sister,
 father's sister's spouse, father's
 brother
 juame fallow field

K

kabali *LWAN* left (hand)
 kaban wet
 kaiyai right; V kayai
 kaka *LWM* elder sibling (vocative
 only)
 ka?iaf dolphin
 kalawoliŋ seasick, nauseous
 kalili to stumble and fall
 kameja octopus
 kamou ear; V kamow
 kamuma finger
 karanunu *LWAN*(?) pillow
 kasi house post; V gasi
 kawin *LWI* to wed
 kei: boba kei grandfather

kekei black; V kekey
 keketo drunk
 kolili scabies
 korutu bite
 kusu *LWM* phalanger

L

laalio spring trap
 lalio hearth
 lei lei bamboo lice crusher
 losoŋ *LWM* mortar

M

maabati duyong
 maasona grandmother
 mabaje gill
 mafoi five; V mafóy
 mai stone; V may, mai
 malamoli plug, bung
 mama *LWM* mother; mamá mother
 (reference), V mama
 manca *LWM* person, V mancia
 manok manok whale
 marica *LWM* chile pepper
 mijo fear
 mija cured, healthy
 mo to suck up (sago porridge);
 V to swallow
 momala hook
 momoa empty; V momua
 morea *LWM* freshwater eel
 mumu to smoke (meat, fish)

N

nepin roof ridge cover; V shin

nimiomit a kind of small crustacean(?)
 noni *LWM* you (respectful)
 nou fallen leaves, rubbish¹²
 pani *LWI* sing

O

ofa pit trap
 ofupe fold
 ole yes
 oma faya female sibling¹³
 omu already; V omo
 ota stairs, ladder

P

paapudal hand net¹⁴
 paapuu knee; V paapu
 paagigi a kind of burrowing crustacean
 (Stomatopoda?)
 pai dig; V pay
 palo sister-in-law (man speaking),
 brother-in-law (woman speaking)
 palolas ringworm
 pana *LWAN* bow, to shoot a bow;
 tapana me I shot him
 pancona torch of bamboo and oil
 pañan undergrowth, forest; V grass sp.
 pariama star
 pato to strike (with an instrument)
 patu-patu *LWM*(?) adze (boat making)
 paya-paya wing, fin; V wing
 peepi chisel
 pison coconut crab
 polase rub
 poparo Spanish mackerel
 poo seed, pit
 punnpaŋi seat in boat
 putuwú *LWAN* (?) when; V putuiwu

R

rafot press, squeeze
 raŋo *LWM* shark
 rekeŋ *LwD* count
 ruo spouse of one's sibling-in-law
 (of the same sex)

S

sabap *LWM* because; V sebaŋ;
 sebaŋ iponji jadi tasagal io
 Because it rained, I didn't go
 safo painful due to a blow; V warm,
 have a fever
 salawa sharpen with back and forth
 motion but no water
 sampan *LWI* dugout canoe
 sapupu *LWI* cousin
 saron *LWI*: peda da saron machete
 sheathe
 sasafu hot; V sasafu; win sasafu
 the day is hot; de tisasafu I'm
 hot
 sao burn; V saw, sao
 saufi garfish
 sesu stand; V siesu
 siimu fish poison
 sinef heart
 soa to plant
 sogili mantis shrimp
 soma *LWM* (?) net (dragged)
 somó needle
 soosu squid
 sonamu mist
 supepi suck (finger)
 susu *LWAN* to suckle, breast; V
 breast

T

tadik *LwI* horn
 tado mother's brother
 taiyum sea urchin
 talatulak punting pole¹⁵
 ta?ai inside¹⁶
 tapu brother-in-law (man speaking)
 tarusi *LwM* barracuda
 tatapa winnowing basket
 tasbé bead necklace
 taubu conch shell
 taun *LwI* year
 tediqi chest; V tedengi
 tei plait
 tetimi smoking rack
 timu *LwIN* cucumber
 toga to pull, to lift up (from
 water) i.e. fish trap; V to pull
 up (anchor)
 toi if; toi eponi ma tasagal io
 if it rains, I won't go
 tokubane eight; V tukubange
 toni father-in-law or son-in-law;
 V son-in-law
 topo new¹⁷
 totooroso sit; V toroso
 tuka *LwAN* to change; ituka mefi
 it's shedding it's skin (of a snake)
 tunio fish's scale

U

ufi see yufi
 ula planting stick

W

wagol tuna
 wado recognise, know¹⁸
 wayoi not yet; V wayo there is not
 wiji cold; de tiwiji I'm cold
 woso laqalangi yam; V oso cassava
 woso; woso pe aso hunt; V oso pe
 to fill
 wudu wind, blow; V udu
 wujuf spit; V ujuf
 wuni blood; V uni

Y

yaabé rudder
 yariq float
 yofo yofo greasy; V slippery
 yorík citrus fruit
 yufi flow

3.2. Part II

A

aba cradle in arms
 afe face; V eye, front
 ami (?): iyami burnt
 atur *LwI* arrange
 au climb; V aw; au fi climb
 (mountain); V fi come up

B

baare sago meal; baare dolou lou
 large container (for sago)
 baase: ibaase accidentally knocked
 down
 bale *LwM* return
 bebese coconut scraping tool
 belet slice
 belu lick; V belo tongue
 bilik *LwI* room
 bobule rope twisting tool; V bule
 to twine (a rope)
 bubufu talk in sleep

C

cinga cinga hair bun; bali
 cinga-cinga fasten hair bun
 cobl blink, wink
 coo fi gaze upward; V co

D

dare to fall (fruit)
 durumaso coconut fibre filter in
 sago processing apparatus
 dusu drive away
 duu to fell

E

e wudu sip (see blow); V e to
 fetch
 egit groan

F

faae to feed (child); V fae, ae
 to laugh (?)
 faago hide (something); see ogo
 faboba call; V boba
 fado insult, cuss out
 fagetes splash; see getes
 fakaelo turn over; V kaelo capsizel
 fakar *LwI* fence (house), fence
 (garden); V tooth *pol*
 fakalawoling cause to turn around¹⁹
 fakou break (wood); V fo-ków
 falasaku scrape sago pith; see
 sasaku
 famalise; bola-bola famalise lie
 on side
 famato-mato be quiet; V mato to
 be old?
 famodeyo to pant²⁰
 fangi: fangi dangafó-ngafo low
 bench in kitchen
 fapula-pula share out; V pula to
 give
 faracak to rip
 fasaro *LwAN* to lean (something)
 fasubal spill; V subal to pour
 fategu to carry
 fatola to shatter (plate)
 fato-fato sit with legs stretched
 forward
 fato-fato stand in line
 fawayo-wayo to grub (pig)
 felerebo pry out (thorn)

femegepe ask
 fendemen *LwD* foundation
 fidi do meet; V fidi yank out, to find
 filkeker to stub (toe)
 filimumu *LwAN* to gargle
 filtibuk to stub (toe)
 filyaose whisper
 fimou admit to, agree to
 fitoga withdraw machete; V toga to pull up (anchor)
 fofoi itchy
 fogogoto to bury
 folosoma something send; V folsoma pe to send (a letter) to
 folobule twist (rope fibre); V bule
 fopoti-poti to inlay
 forre: ifrore accidentally struck; V for
 fosol strangle
 fu explode
 fubusbesi to compete
 fuluukir *LwI* carve

G

gagae a rack for drying sago bread (?)
 gagu *LwM* stutter
 galapean fish
 gani floor
 garo *LwM* to scrape (coconut)
 ge las thatch peg of bamboo
 getes see fagetes; igetes to cast (chicken feed)
 gisi crush (lice)
 gopau see sidangi
 gotir sago processing trough

I

ima mai cough
 irus *LwM* spoon, coconut shell ladle
 iyo-iyo never mind; V yo no

J

jahil *LwI*(?) to pout
 jejela broom
 jojaga hut in garden; V jaga to watch
 jojoho upper basin of sago apparatus

K

kaeloso: bola-bola kaeloso lie on belly
 kaeri touch
 kakalu *LwAN* stirring utensil, spatula; see kalu; kakalu besi iron spatula
 kako cloth sling for carrying children
 kalah *LwI* lose
 kalili collapse
 kalu *LwAN* stir; see kakalu; kalu fulo stir up sago porridge
 kamar *LwD* room
 karabaya coarse container of plaited pandanus
 karja *LwM* work
 kasian *LwM* too bad
 kini pinch
 koki whistle
 kukusan *LwM* coconut steamer (of plaited bamboo)
 kuti *LwM* snap finger on

L

ladu peel, pare, skin
 lae thread
 lalou to shout; V to howl (of dogs)
 leliwit coconut grater
 lonter *LwM* (?) attic
 lupa; ilupa ignite, be aflame
 lut hug

M

mame catch
 manyangkal *LwM* deny
 manyasal *LwM* regret
 masi; imasi finished
 mesel *LwM* stone (cement) wall;
 mesel sego pe rawa sea wall
 mok *LwD* mug
 mou *LwI* want
 mutu to pound

N

nane dream
 ngafo-ngafo stool, support; fangi
 dangrafo-ngafo low kitchen stool;
 pang dangrafo-ngafo trivet; poso
 dangrafo-ngafo loosely woven rattan
 stand for pots

O

ogo hide (oneself); V to put
 ori tadik-tadike to bob with
 drowsiness

P

pa slap; V paa
 pa request

pake *LwI* wear
 palisite approach, move nearer
 pane to cross over
 pang *LwM* pot; see ngafo-ngafo
 pangko *LwM* put in lap
 paorang stick (bamboo) of thatch
 paras *LwI* (?) to shave
 paru *LwM* to grate (coconut)
 pastaka sago mold leveler
 pesupe; ipesupe stretch (on
 rising)
 peu peg
 pili *LwI* choose
 poos to cane
 poso to boil; V posa
 poso pot; poso besi wok; poso
 afi earthenware basin; see
 ngafo-ngafo
 pou pay
 pung panggi board
 pusoma shift away

R

rano soak
 raro a broad bench of split
 bamboo
 riri kick with heel
 robo sago meal container (made of
 sago leaves)
 roruga a pole used to dislodge
 fruit
 ruang tamu *LwI* living room
 rube a large earthen vessel for
 water
 ruu squat, sit

S

sabe to hang
 sagal to walk; sagal dare-dare
 to be lame²¹
 sang reach for
 sango to answer (when one's name is
 called)
 sapo bowl
 sara to chip at, chop fine
 sasaku *LwAN* sago mattock; see
 falasaku
 sego obstruct (path)
 sepak *LwI* kick (forward)
 siedi sneeze
 sidangi to lose; sidangi gopau to
 lose one's way
 sidula: isidula slash
 sikat *LwI* scrape; sikat beti lo mai
 scrape (body) dirt with a stone;
 sesikat sosoya sago mould wiper
 sile point out
 silo to order
 singeru to grunt (pig)
 soino go home
 soor pour
 sosoo descend; V soso
 sosoya sago mould (pottery)
 sudelle; isudelle slipped
 surabi *LwI* porch
 susun *LwI* arrange

T

tadateden connection
 taji *LwI* (?) pierce; taji be to
 dive; taji taji kamma to jab;
 V taji to stab with a knife
 tani rub (aches)
 tarima *LwM* receive
 tatapa sifting basket

teden connect (ropes); see
 tadateden
 teko *LwI* water vessel, tea pot ?
 timalle dip
 tinef massage
 tiso: itiso penetrate
 to to package; V too; toto a
 package
 toki *LwM* rap
 tolos badan wipe body
 torori sedimentate; V toro so to
 sit down
 tuka *LwT* change

U

ujumi make a noise; V umi voice
 untung *LwI* win
 uring snore

W

waaso live at; V wa to stay
 wakole: wakole fulo stir up and
 serve a helping of sago porridge
 wasoma io move (?)
 wiji shiver, cold
 womu chew (?)
 woso exit?; V oso enter
 wujuf spit; V ujuf
 wowudu tube for blowing on fire;
 V udu to blow

Y

ya mongo don't
 yayakis tongs, cooking chopsticks;
 yayakis ipi tongs for embers

4. CUMULATIVE ENGLISH — WEST MAKIAN INDEX OF WORDS IN PART I AND II

	A		
admit	fimou	board	pung pang
adze (boat making)	patu-patu	boat seat	puŋpaŋi
aflame	lupa	bob with drowsiness	ori tadik-tadike
agree to	fimou	boil	poso
alive	bafo	bow	pana
all	haamasi	bowl	sapo
already	omu	breadfruit	sp. gomu
animal	haiwani	break (wood)	fakou
answer	sango	breast	susu
approach	palisite	breath (?)	fasó
arrange	susun, atur	broom	jejela
areca nut	iono	brother	kaka, fau faya
ask	femegepe	brother-in-law	tapu, ruo, palo
attic	lonter	bung	malamoli
aunt	jojo	burn	sao
		burn (field)	falasio, falarari falapariŋ
		burnt	ami
		bury	fogogoto
	B		
bailer	bebiti		
bait	ale		
barracuda	tarusi		
basin	poso afi		
basin (sago technology)	jojoho		
basket (winnowing)	tatapa		
bat	fnii		
beat	poos		
because	sabap		
bench	raro, fangi		
bite	korutu		
black	kekei		
blink	cobi		
blood	wuni		
blow	wudu		
			C
		call	faboba
		canoe	sampan
		carry	fategu, aba
		carve	fuluukir
		cast (chicken feed)	getes
		catch	mame
		caulk (a boat)	fikini
		caulking	baru
		change	tuka
		chest	tediŋi
		chew (?)	womu
		chile	marica

chilled gamati
 chip at sara
 chisel peepi
 chisel (something) feletiso pe
 choose pili
 chop up sara
 chopsticks yayakis
 citrus fruit yorík
 clam sp. laia aefi
 clear (field) falarari
 climb au
 cold wiji
 collapse kalili
 comb guagasi
 command silo
 compete fubusbesi
 conch taubu
 connect (ropes) teden
 connection tadateden
 container toto
 container (large) baare do lou lou
 container (plaited pandanus) karabaya
 container (of sago leaves) robo
 container (bamboo) bedagá
 cough ima mai
 count rekeŋ
 cousin sapupu
 crab pisonŋ
 cradle in arms aba
 cross over pane
 crush (lice) gisi
 crusher (lice) lei lei
 crustacean (?) nimiomit, paagigi
 cucumber timu
 cured miŋa
 cuss out fado

D

daughter-in-law dono
 dead gei
 debris (organic) ŋou
 deny manyangkal
 descend sosoo
 different faiYese
 dig pai
 dip timalle
 dirt afi
 dirty jape-jape, gaji-gaji
 dive taji be
 dolphin ka'iaf
 don't ya mongo
 dream nane
 drive away dusu
 drunk keketo
 duyong maabati

E

eagle ray galema
 ear kamou
 earth afi
 eat fajou
 eel morea
 eight tokubane
 empty momoa
 exit? woso
 explode fu

F

face afe
 fall (from a height) dare
 fasten (hair bun) see cinga-cinga
 fastening (machete) goloŋi

fat faji
 father boba
 father-in-law toni
 fear mijo
 feed (child) faae
 fell (a tree) duu
 fence fakar
 feverish fegini
 field afi
 field (fallow) juame
 filter (in sago technology) durumaso
 fin paya-paya
 finger kamuma
 finished masi
 fish iao
 five mafoi
 float yariŋ
 flow yufi
 fold ofupe
 forest paŋan
 foundation fendemen
 fungus (skin) ifaŋ

G

garfish saufi
 gargle filimumu
 gaze upward coo fi
 gill mabaje
 ginger buré
 give fidupe
 go home soino
 grandfather see kei
 grandmother maasoŋa
 grasp fiji jou
 grate (coconut) paru
 grater leliwit

greasy yofo yofo
 grill for fish galaPeaŋ
 groan egiŋ
 grub fawayo-wayo
 grunt (pig) singeru
 guts gale-gale

H

hair bun cinga cinga
 hand ia
 hang sabe
 healthy miŋa
 heart sinef
 hearth lalio
 hide ogo, faago
 hook momala
 horn tadik
 hot sasafu
 how hapaato
 hug lut
 hunt woso pe aso
 hut jojaga

I

if toi
 ignite lupa
 inhale fáamo fasó
 inlay fopoti-poti
 inside ta?ai
 insult fado
 itchy fofoi

J

jab taji taji kamma

K

kick (forward) sepak
 kick with heel riri
 knee paapuu
 knocked down baase
 know wado

L

ladder ota
 ladle irus
 lame sagal dare-dare
 launder folowuju
 lean fasaro
 leaves ŋou
 left kabali
 lemon grass bobie
 lick belu
 lie on belly see kaeloso
 lie on side see famalise
 lift up toga
 lime afo
 live at waaso
 living room ruang tamu
 long awuo
 lose kalah, sidangi
 lose one's way sidangi gopau

M

mackerel poparo
 maize (?) bata
 make a noise ujumi
 mantis shrimp sogili
 massage tinef
 mattock (sago) sasaku
 meet fidi do

mist sonamu
 mould sosoya
 mould leveler pastaka
 mortar losoŋ
 mother mamá
 mother-in-law dono
 move (?) wasoma io
 move nearer palisite
 mug mok

N

nauseous kalawolin
 necklace tasbé
 needle somó
 nephew fáano
 net paapudal, soma
 never mind iyo-iyo
 new topo
 niece fáano
 not yet wayoi

O

obstruct sego
 octopus kameja
 old gaagó
 order silo
 outrigger boat eti
 oyster jihi

P

package to
 paddle fou
 painful safo
 pant famodeyo
 pare ladu

pay pou
 peel ladu
 peg peu, ge las
 penetrate tiso
 person manca
 pestle ija
 phalanger kusu
 pierce taji
 pillow karanunu
 pinch kini
 pit poo
 plait tei
 plant soa
 plug malamoli
 point out sile
 pole (dislodge fruit) roruga
 poison (fish) siimu
 porch surabi
 post kasi
 pot poso, pang
 pound mutu
 pour soor
 pout jahil
 press rafot
 pry out (thorn) felerebo
 pull toga
 punting pole talatulak
 put in lap pangko

Q

quite famato-mato

R

rack gagae, tetimi

raft cofa
 rafter asi
 rap toki
 rattan pot stand see ngafo-ngafo
 raw efi
 ray fish fafá
 reach for sang
 receive tarima
 recognise wado
 regret manyasal
 remove skin ladu
 request pa
 return soino, bale
 right kaiyai
 ringworm palolas
 rip faracak
 roller bala balat
 roof ridge cover nepin
 room kamar, bilik
 rub polase
 rub (aches) tani
 rubbish ŋou
 rudder yaabé

S

sago meal baare
 sago porridge fulo
 saw gargaji
 scabies kolili
 scale (fish) tunio
 scrape sikat
 scrape (coconut) garo
 scrape (sago pith) falasaku
 scraper bebese
 scratch gagi
 sea urchin taiyum

seasick kalawolin	sneeze siedi
sedimentate totori	sniff fatuŋ
seed poo	snore uring
send see folosoma	soak rano
serve wakole	son-in-law toni
sew fala?aki	spatula kakalu
share out fapula-pula	spicy (food) fegini
shark raŋo	spill fasubal
sharpen folobori, salawa	spit wujuf
shatter fatola	splash fagetes
shave paras	spoon irus
sheathe saron	squat ruu
shed (skin) tuka	squeeze rafot
shift away pusoma	squid soosu
shiver wiji	stairs ota
shoot (bow) pana	stand sesu
shout lalou	stand in line fato-fato
sick fegini	star pariama
sift falatafi	steamer (rice) kukusan
sifter tatapa	stick (for planting) ula
sing pani	stir kalu
sip wudu	stone mai
sireh leaf fou	stool ngafo-ngafo
sister kaka, oma faya	strangle fosol
sister-in-law dapu, palo, ruo	stretch (on rising) pesupe
sit totooroso, ruu	stretched out (legs) fato fato
sit (stretched out) fato-fato	strike pato
six idami	struck (accidentally) see forre
slap pa	stub filkeker, filtibuk
slash sidula	stumble kalili
slash (field) falarari	stutter gagu
slice belet	suck supepi
sling (for carrying children) kako	suckle susu
slipped sudelle	suck at amot
smoke (meat, fish) mumu	suck up mo
smoke (cigarettes) folowudu	support ngafo-ngafo
snap finger kuti	sweep felejela

T

talk in sleep bubufu
 taro bio
 tea pot teko
 tear faracak
 tear down fakalili
 ten awoiŋe
 thatch 'spine' paorang
 thousand calanpe
 thread lae
 tide (high) ilui guma
 tide (low) iwaso
 tongs yayakis
 tongue belu belu
 too bad kasian
 torch pancona, gou
 touch kaeri
 trap laalio, ofa
 trap (fish) eni
 trivet see ngafo-ngafo
 trough (sago technology) gotir
 tube (for fire) wowudu
 tuber sp. bio paŋan
 tuna wagol
 turn around fakalawoling
 turn over fakaelo
 twenty awoi den
 twist (rope) folobule
 twisting tool bobule

U

uncle jojo
 undergrowth paŋan

W

wall (cement) mesel
 walk sagal
 want mou
 wash (clothes) folowuju
 water vessel teko, rube
 wear pake
 wed kawin
 weed folokuda
 wet kaban
 whale manok manok
 what ? jou
 when putuwú
 whisper filyaose
 whistle koki
 who imú
 why isa pama
 win untung
 wind wudu
 wing paya-paya
 wink cobí
 winnow falatafi
 wipe tolos badan
 wiper sesikat sosoya
 withdraw (machete) fitoga
 wok poso besi
 work karja
 wrap to

Y

yam woso laŋaloni
 yawn fatawani
 year taun
 yellow burei
 yes ole
 you ŋoni

NOTES

1. This survey was undertaken during fieldwork in the Moluccas, October 1977 to August 1979. I am grateful to the staff of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, under whose auspices I conducted my enquiries. The staff of the Indonesian government in the province of Maluku was always helpful, in particular Bapak A. R. Tjoa, B.A. who, as camat of Obi at that time, was my thoughtful host during my visit to that island. My deepest thanks go to the generous people of Maluku who assisted and encouraged me wherever I went. I am especially grateful to Bapak Hassan Kamaruddin, my capable and cooperative informant.
2. This additional wordlist was developed for research in the Central Moluccas. Consequently, some of the concepts as well as the terms (written in Ambonese Malay) were occasionally baffling to the North Moluccan informants. These problems were easily worked out in elicitation sessions; however, in this case, the informant completed the wordlist by himself without the benefit of elaboration in such a session. It is likely that due to this interdialectal problem (Ambonese vs. Ternatan Malay) some distortions have crept into a few of the definitions in Part II.
3. It is not clear why the expected form *fopula-pula* does not appear.
4. This vowel adjustment can be compared to Voorhoeve's notes (2.3.2.1.) regarding the choice of the vowel in the prefix *fV-*.
5. This analysis of the process is seemingly contradicted by the entry in the wordlist: *de ta-falatafi pea I winnow rice*. Here an apparent object immediately follows the verb. The suggestion that affixation of {*fV|V*} results in intransitive verbs *only* may be inaccurate.
6. Note, however that we would predict the forms *folo?ukir* and *folomumu*. Do the irregular vowels of these words indicate that both words were borrowed *in toto*, that is with the affixes, from some unidentified source? Or are there special kinds of vowel adjustment for loanwords?
7. This can be seen as a kind of assimilation. Both *o/u* and *ŋ* are acoustically similar; both round vowels and this velar nasal are grave and resonant. Thus, *ŋ* has shifted its degree of consonantality to adjust to the following vowel. Note, that the changes *p > k* and *k > p* are not unusual in the languages of the world or of the area (Collins, to appear a). The shift of *ŋ* to *w* is precisely parallel to the shift of *k* to *p* but at a different grade of consonantality.
8. In fact, one of Voorhoeve's lexical correspondences between West Máikian (Sabale/Bobawa) and Tidore suggests that there has been sporadic retention of *w-* in those dialects as well. Note: West Máikian *wolot*, Tidore *ngolo sea*. This may, however, be a misinterpretation on my part because I do not know the Proto-North Halmahera form for this correspondence (which is curiously identified as the *w:ϕ* consonant correspondence [Voorhoeve 3.2.2.]).
9. It is perhaps pertinent that some forms which Voorhoeve records with initial *y-* are listed in my wordlist with initial *i-* (probably with a semivowel transition). For example:

yono : *iono* ([*iYono*]?) *areca*
yao *iao* ([*iYao*]?) *fish*

Similarly, Voorhoeve lists yo *no* but Bapak Hassan writes iyo-iyo *never mind*. This phonetic difference could indicate that the occurrence of i- in Talapao is a sort of diphthongisation phenomenon involving original y- and this may be compared to the w- appearing before original o or u. The absence of a close parallel (semi-vowel + vowel compared to vowel + semi-vowel), however, does not support this analysis.

10. This might be compared to V *knife blade*. If that is so, there should probably be two separate entries in the wordlist for gagi because Talapao also has gagi *flesh*. But Bapak Hassan writes gaagi *irerre* which seems to mean *the flesh shudders*; this suggests a long vowel which neither linguist writes. Or is this an orthographic strategy to disambiguate an actual homonym?
11. It may be that the initial i- in this entry is a verbal marker (third singular person marker); so ifaŋ may mean *He is afflicted by skin fungus*.
12. Voorhoeve cites 'ngeu *dry grass*'; the difference in the vowel is unexplained.
13. Compare this entry to fau faya *male sibling*.
14. Voorhoeve cites 'paa *to hit with the hand*'. Is paapudal, then, a compound word?
15. Should this be compared to V tala *cross a river*?
16. As mentioned in the introductory notes, the intervocalic glottal stop suggests a morpheme boundary, presumably ta is tv *at*. In that case, ai might be compared to V ay *to come back*.
17. Voorhoeve lists this word under dotopo but almost certainly do- is a bound morpheme (3s pl verbal marker). In my fieldnotes, most *adjectives* appear with i- or dV. In fact, dotopo appears in the sequence de'eta, dotopo, dagaago, dakafiti etc.
18. Voorhoeve cites 'tawado *S to know*'. Again ta- is most likely a bound morpheme (1s verbal marker). See Voorhoeve 2.3.2.2.
19. Compare to kalawoliŋ (Part I) *dizzy, seasick*.
20. In Part I we note faamo *inhale*. Voorhoeve cites mo *swallow*. Is faa- (or fa- as Bapak Hassan writes it) a prefix or part of a compound?
21. Compare to dare dare *to fall*.

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A SHORT VOCABULARY OF EAST MAKIAN

James T. Collins

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite considerable linguistic research in the North and South-east Moluccas during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, there remain enormous areas which are practically uncharted. For a variety of reasons, among these understudied areas is the southern part of the administrative region of Maluku Utara. Recently Blust (1978) made a considerable contribution towards the charting out of the inter-relationships of some of the Austronesian languages in this area. Nonetheless in some cases this important work relied on a very limited data base. In particular his information about East Makian (Makian Dalam) was drawn from very old sources (van der Crab, 1882; de Clercq, 1890) and the brief list collected by C. Molony. In view of this paucity of data, this preliminary vocabulary of East Makian is presented, although it is far from satisfactory. The vocabulary¹ is the result of a very brief visit to Laiwui, Obi (North Maluku) in early 1979. At that time less than fifteen hours of informant sessions were devoted to collecting information about the languages of Makian. In preparing this manuscript for publication the numerous inconsistencies in the transcription as well as some serious gaps in the phonological analysis became embarrassingly apparent. Any academic value this list has must be attributed to the conscientiousness of my sole informant for Makian Dalam, Bapak Junus Djabir (35 years of age), a government official posted at the Obi district office. Bapak Djabir was born and raised in Tahani (Tahane) on Makian Island where East Makian, locally known as Makian Dalam² or as Makian Timur, is spoken. Not only was he a patient and cooperative teacher of the language but also he agreed to complete an additional wordlist which he posted to me some months later.

Consequently, the vocabulary published here has two parts. The first was collected (hurriedly) in Obi; the second is the wordlist filled in (with numerous comments and elaborations) by the informant. Both lists have been rearranged alphabetically. A minimum of cross-referencing within each list has been attempted. The only changes made in Bapak Junus's orthography have been the use of *ŋ* and *ɲ* for his 'ng' and 'ny', respectively. There is a small amount of overlap in the material largely because words which he volunteered in sample phrases have also been incorporated in the list.³

Voorhoeve, C.L., ed., *The West Makian languages and their neighbours.*
(*Materials in languages of Indonesia*, No.12; W.A.L. Stokhof,
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In both of these lists no attempt has been made to isolate affixes, even where very clear morphological processes are involved. For example, in at least some cases *ha-* seems to be a prefix which marks a continuous activity. Note for example:

with verbs:

tut *strike with the hand*
 hatut *fight*
 tetal *cut*
 hatetal *attack with a machete*
 beit *string fish through gills*
 habeit *sew*

with nouns:

baku *sago, sago tree*
 habaku *extract sago pith*
 susu *breast*
 hasusu *suckle*

Further analysis of *ma-* and *ta-* would probably demonstrate their status as bound morphemes as well. Similarly, reduplication of the initial consonants of verbs results in instrumental nominalisations, although the details of that process are not clear. For example:

benat *shut, obstruct* bulai *turn, twist*
 binbenat *door* bibbulai *tool used to twist fibres into rope*

However, because so little data is available and not all the roots have been recorded, arrangement by individual entry rather than by root word was chosen.

In some instances, there are pairs of entries which are clearly forms of the same word. For example, we note *mama/mamo mother*, *matal msisseh/matal neisseh have a muscular twitch*, *sa/ca climb* and so forth. It is not clear whether phonological assimilation or dialect mixing in the informant's speech has resulted in these variations. At least in part grammatical factors may be involved. At one point the informant volunteered that *matua* meant *ripe* for things at hand but *matuo* meant *ripe* for things out of sight. This suggests a postposed reference article, perhaps *o*, which is common enough in both Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of the area. Again because this possibility is difficult to test with the limited data available, both *matua* and *matuo* and other such pairs are cited independently.

On the other hand, in this vocabulary an attempt has been made to isolate the verbs from the obligatory markers which accompany them. This system of verbal marking is wide-spread in East Indonesia and elsewhere. In *Má kian Dalam* it appears to take the form of prefixing markers to verbs to indicate the person and number of the sentence subject. For example:

/mlih/ to laugh	Singular	Plural
	1 kamlih	1(in) tamlih 1(ex) amlih
2 mamlih	2 hamlih	
3 namlih	3 lamlih	

These obligatory verbal markers should not be confused with the optional (?), emphatic pronouns: *lak, au, i/n, kit, am, meu* and *si*. Note, too, that the process of verbal marking is linked to conjugational systems which involve modification of the verbal root. For example:

/sobal/ to sail	Singular	Plural
	1 ksobal	1(in) tcobal 1(ex) asobal
	2 msobal	2 shobal
	3 ncobal	3 isobal

/pe/ do, make	Singular	Plural
	1 kpe	1(in) tpe 1(ex) ape
	2 mpe	2 phe
	3 npe	3 lpe

In view of this complicated verbal marking system and the apparent existence of at least three conjugations, usually entries in this word list are made under the apparent verbal root. But this is probably not always the case; entries such as ncal *incorrect*, ncepa *bear fruit* or ncisseh *twitch* indicate the possibility of a third person singular marker prefixed to the verb.

A parallel problem occurs in the listing of nouns. As noted by numerous linguists for the past 100 years, languages in East Indonesia and elsewhere are often characterised by two genitive systems: one for alienable possessions and the other for inalienable properties. Makian Dalam is no exception to this widespread semantic categorisation. This phenomenon is reflected in the two genitive marking systems in the language. For example:

INALIENABLE /mta/ eye		ALIENABLE /um/ house	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 mtag	1(in) nid mta 1(ex) ma mtam	1 nig um	1(in) nid um 1(ex) mam um
2 nim mtam	2 meu mta	2 nim um	2 meu um
3 nim mta	3 nidi mta	3 ni um	3 nidi um

Note that in the plural paradigm there is some overlapping of forms. However, taken as a whole, it is clear that we are dealing with two different systems: the one (largely) a suffixing system; the other a prefixing system. In the wordlists here, the entry is cited with no genitive marker. The genitive pronouns and ligature (ni-) have been listed separately.

Finally, this introductory note should explain some of the details of the transcription. Stress, where it is noted, is indicated with ' and, rarely, ` . Diphthongs are marked with ^ . In several cases strongly checked final consonants are marked with ˘ . Glottal stops [ʔ] are sometimes noted, although their phonological status is unclear. Geminate consonants are written as double consonants but long vowels are indicated by a colon. A close study of Makian Dalam will certainly reveal errors in this transcription as well as in the meanings assigned to the words. Let us hope that that study takes place soon.

2.1. Vocabulary, Part I

A

a-	numeral connector; see niwi a tol	áda	mortar
a-	lp(ex) verbal marker; see am	ádo	with (instrumental)

ai wood; ai weo leaf
 áit climb (hill)
 akmó mother-in-law, son or daughter-
 in-law
 ála bait
 am we (exclusive); see a-
 au you; see m-
 awil hook

B

bába father; baba kutu youngest
 born paternal uncle; baba lalo
 eldest born paternal uncle
 babakoam see bakoam
 bábas fallow field
 bai see dado bai
 bakóam night; babakoam dark
 baku sago tree, bread made from sago
 pith; see habaku
 bala see bib' bala
 balibin belimbing, a kind of fruit
 balisa drunk
 bálit left (hand)
 baráŋka pit trap
 basálaŋ a k.o. palm used to make buckets
 batál star
 bataláŋ sit; batálaŋ gáu seat in
 boat; see gau
 batalán sit
 bāu snake
 bébaŋ butterfly
 béit to string fish; see habeit
 bélu a small crustacean
 bía kind of tuber
 bib' bála roller (for beaching boats)

bib' bóka round
 bib' búyo ear
 bilátu spear trap
 bimmbáŋ level
 bobia above
 boka see bib' boka
 bolit sharpen a blade with water
 and stone
 bop' to stagnant water in bamboo
 vessel (?)
 bósok sea crab; bosok basalaŋ
 land crab; see basalaŋ
 búlaŋ white
 búlho raw
 búna grandchild
 buyo see bib' buyo

C

ca one; see psa
 ca rise; see sa; pait ca the
 moon rise
 calan ca 1000; see psa
 ci them; see si
 ciccúdil adze (boat making)

D

-d our (inclusive)
 dába cultivated field
 dábo a lot
 dádo maternal uncle; dádo báí
 paternal aunt's spouse
 damá sibling of the opposite sex
 damána related, relation
 dat raft
 dáyo tip, cape

ddaba dirt; see daba
 ddewa grass, weeds
 ddewaló forest
 ddóbo stomach
 ddu east
 ddúpilì shoot a bow
 di their; see si
 dia there, that
 dindiŋ wall
 díne here
 dla seaward
 dle landward
 dodoku bridge
 dula merayap
 dulaŋ punt, pole
 dupil bow

E

em see
 éno plait
 éta? find

F

fa? ray (stingray)
 fakat split (wood)

G

-g my; nig um my house; mtag
 my eye
 gadum maize
 gag scratch
 gagam sea urchin
 gáji animal fat
 galál areca nut
 gálegàle guts

gamas dry (of clothes)
 gamis dry (of a river bed)
 gamis sweet
 gamuna scraps, vegetable debris to
 be swept away
 gau place; see batalaŋ gau
 gías sireh leaf
 gígim Stomatopoda, a seaside
 creature
 go neck; see gowo
 gógi ringworm
 gola mantis shrimp
 golo snot, mucus
 gómo a k.o. bread fruit
 gowo neck; see go
 gulo unripe, immature

H

ha- 2p verbal marker
 ha pué how
 habaku to harvest sago pith;
 see baku
 habbóan slash, burn and clear field
 habéit sew; see beít
 habóba call
 hagáras to weed
 haídis to spit
 haísa when
 haisaki to use a sago hoe; see
 sisaki
 haisáŋ to burn a field
 haitún give birth
 haiyó? tooth
 hakalílik lie down
 háko wing
 haliam see ŋan
 halím bailing 'bucket', to bail
 water from boat

halómi to gather
 halúsa say
 hamasik rice (cooked and uncooked)
 hamúl rudder
 han go
 han skin fungus
 hanan̄ argue
 hapánlik' to burn a second time (of
 swidden)
 hapún kill
 hasále all
 hasódas suck at (cigarette)
 hasóp bathe
 hasúsu suckle; see susu
 hat four
 haték' lak weave
 hatetal attach (each other) with
 machete; see tetal
 hatótas wash (clothes)
 hattulo body hair, feathers
 hatút' fight; see tut
 hawól call
 hen sea tortoise
 héto calf, shin
 hia alive
 hilho navel cord
 hílik slow
 hóas a boil
 hol' fish trap
 hóol rap (head, door)
 huat a dragging net

I

i he, she, it; see n
 ia yes
 ián fish
 ího brother-in-law

ila to lift
 in drink
 íne this
 i:óna bone
 ipo saliva
 ip' iáp' dust

J

ja up
 jàilóla north
 jojo paternal aunt; jojo youngest
 maternal aunt(?)
 jou 'What did you say?' (respectful),
 'Me?' 'Huh?'
 jubi see uru jubi

K

k-, ka- ls verbal marker
 kabát dirty
 kábin goat
 kabús wet
 kaías dolphin
 kaióliŋ spun about
 kaipaya to winnow rice
 kaka open (of mouth)
 kalai bird
 kaluáŋ fall from a height
 kammídiŋ feel cold
 kámo? hand
 kápil pillow
 kat' rafter
 katno chest
 kau seed, pit
 kawiji porridge (of maize)
 kíhis flow
 kina female genitals

kit we (inclusive)
 kíit octopus
 kíťno to caulk (a boat)
 kíu fear
 kku tail
 klál recognize
 kóbus rotten
 kodo bite
 kolano ruler, chief
 kolo spider
 kpáya to winnow rice
 kúda black
 kúhin fold
 kúl' bread fruit
 kúlan water vessel
 kúsok phalanger
 kut' louse; kut' ni tolo louse nits;
 see tolo
 kutu small; see baba kutu
 kuyo, kuyo? finger nail

L

la- 3p verbal marker
 la see ŋan
 lahat press, squeeze
 lái big
 lai just now; lai kpe 'I just did
 it'; lai ipe just now
 lak I
 láko trunk
 laŋa a large green parrot
 láŋit sky
 lálá blood
 lalái stone
 lalían hearth
 lalo see mama, baba, lala
 lata lata south

laulaŋ shrimp, lobster
 lekto wicked
 lhían centipede
 li at, on; meja li on the table
 lik outside of
 líko skin
 likso edge
 lipaŋ keep (ginger) in ground to
 keep it from drying out, bury
 lit worm; llit' earthworm
 lli pole
 lo with (accompaniment), numerical
 connector; yahasa lo psa 21;
 utinca lo yahasa 120
 lo inside
 loan stairs, ladder
 lobi lobi cloud
 loh fathom
 lóka banana
 lómo friend
 lu two
 luhoar garfish
 luo see peda
 luói high tide
 lusiŋ pestle
 lútan fire; lutan muŋko smoke

M

-m your (singular); nim um your
 house; mtam your eye
 ma- 2s verbal marker
 ma? tongue
 maáp yawn
 mabátim Dugong dugong
 maddodaŋ straight
 madímal yellow
 mag' lo branch

mai shy
 mái peáŋ a fly; mai peañ mumin a
 kind of large fly
 mailiŋak forget
 makát red
 makáwa feverish, hot
 malá village
 maléo different
 maleosi foreigner, outsider
 malóŋo hear
 mam our (exclusive)
 máma mother; see mamo; mama lalo
 eldest maternal aunt
 mamaól play
 mámo mother; see mama
 maŋele? laugh loud
 maŋíŋis smile
 máŋo dry (of coconuts or maize)
 mapi-mapi bead necklace
 man male, man, husband
 manáw inhale
 maníl sour
 mánik fowl
 manitap work
 mapín female, woman, wife
 marícaŋ chile pepper
 masúre good
 máat dead
 mat⁷ person (especially used in
 enumerating)
 matitélas brackish
 matua ripe
 matuo ripe
 mauka rat
 mawetis sharply pointed
 máwi hungry
 mbós swollen
 me who
 megan shattered (glass, plate)

meu you (plural), your
 mhánas painful (from a blow)
 mhón full
 mhúit fish poison
 mialin drift
 mígno chilled (of food and drink)
 mlálut greasy
 mláŋa long
 mlíh laugh
 mména sand
 mnamna hurry, quickly
 mnigis thin
 mntét fall on flat surface
 mnúnit scabies
 móda wind
 mólo empty
 mómas rub, wipe off
 momoŋok forget
 mpúdal float
 mtá eye
 mtuli sleep; see tuli
 múmik to smoke (fish)
 mumin see mai peañ
 muŋko see lutan

N

n- 3s verbal marker
 na- 3s verbal marker
 nagón correct
 nahabíto near
 náiko fin
 nalau far
 nalhúak seasick
 nan sharp (of blade)
 naú howl (dogs)
 ncál wrong
 ncepa to bear fruit

ndadik therefore, so; ulan ndadik
 khan te 'It rained so I didn't go'
 nene grandmother
 nhik⁷ small bat; nhik⁷ bulan fruit
 bat
 ni genitive marker
 niwi coconut; niwi a tol 3 coconuts
 nkih^{is} leak (bowl, pot)
 nkiso leak (boat, house)
 nmáda ripe
 nmálat spicy (food)
 nmás low tide
 nnápa wide
 nóbat plugged up
 nómi dew
 nu it

N

nahin coil of cloth (to rest burdens
 on head)
 nan sun
 nan day; nan halu 2 days; nan
 haliam noon time; nan la daytime
 nkih^{is} runny nose; see nkih^{is}
 ngela hair

N

nani sing
 no dog

O

oik put, want
 ópa to fly
 ósal stand
 ótap whale
 otik give
 ótin tuna
 owáí ginger

P

pa down
 pa carry on shoulder
 páda to strike, rap
 págil to hoist up (fish trap)
 páit dig
 páit moon
 páko coarse
 paku nail
 pálo some
 pancona a torch of bamboo
 papa father; see baba
 pápis lice-crushing blade of bamboo
 pára paráu smoking rack
 pát west
 pe make
 pean see mai pean
 peda machete; peda lúo machete
 hilt; peda saru machete sheathe;
 peda sópak ring of iron securing
 machete blade to hilt
 pelalóin cook
 pehá cook; see pe
 pilai taro
 pilai lekto a kind of tuber;
 see lekto
 pip⁷ chisel
 pìp pák a small frog
 pip pid spring trap (snare)
 pis lick, suck; pis pis suck at
 (candy)
 písa? how many
 pit seven
 plim five
 póas paddle, to paddle
 poenam six
 pókal short
 poló if, where, which

popáro Spanish mackerel
 pówo new
 póyo head
 ppoás to paddle
 psa one; see ca
 psio nine
 ptóli thick
 púduŋ blunt (of a spear tip)
 púe what; see ha pue
 púik malodorous
 púko knee
 púŋan ridge cover
 pupi sago porridge

R

rébal eagle ray (fish)

S

sa climb (tree); see ca
 sada face
 sadúal rub on
 sadulak rub on (something)
 ságu stab
 sái sweep
 saléwai to whet blade without using
 water
 sámpan dug-out
 saŋ burn
 saŋo answer
 sanáwat narrow, tight
 sapá^lYak sniff
 saruŋ see peda
 sau to wed
 sawá? monitor lizard
 sélak tie
 sépo fruit

si they
 siróa an inedible sea urchin
 sisáki mattock-like tool to extract
 sago pith
 sobal to sail
 sódol suck up (porridge)
 sogíli freshwater eel
 sóman outrigger pontoon
 samo needle
 sóna name
 sopak see peda
 sóri cross-eyed
 ssei comb
 ssiab oyster
 su see te
 su: squid
 súa grasp
 súan dibble stick
 súlo? point out
 súmo mouth; súmo wilo lips
 súsu breast; see hasusu
 súwat shell fish; súwat kaka
 large clam; see kaka
 súyu casting net

T

ta- lp (inclusive) verbal marker
 tában wait
 tádi throw
 tadópas snapped
 taggúlo back
 tahák push
 takis seawater
 táko horn
 talúba torch of coconut fronds
 támno? elder sibling
 taŋepu flawed, chipped edge

tánam to plant
 tanáwan remember
 tapága broken
 tápin ash
 taplód exploded (balloon)
 taraca split (dry bamboo)
 tarúsi barracuda
 tatámpa winnowing basket (for rice)
 taúbu ritual conch
 taun year; taun hasio 9 years
 te not; te hu not yet; te su
 not yet
 tepul taste with the tip of the
 tongue
 tetal cut; see hatetal
 tete grandfather
 théna younger sibling
 timun cucumber
 timur east
 togál pull
 tol three
 tólo male genitals
 tólo egg; see kut³ ni tolo
 top sugarcane
 tóp to rap sharply
 túa old
 tubúku navel
 tukal to moult (snake)
 túli sleep; see mtuli
 tulíem dream; see em
 tut strike (with the hand); see
 hatut

U

uas wash (plate, face)
 úho blow
 úlan rain

um house
 ùmhó nose
 únak know
 únco scale
 úp³ a kind of tuber; up wále³ yam
 uru júbi coconut crab
 utin cá 100
 ùtusá a little
 úwet mountain

W

wág sail boat
 wágau bamboo water vessel
 wáiqu child
 wal eight
 wála rope
 wale see up³
 wam come
 wáhto flesh
 wáo root
 wáya water
 wáyan right (hand)
 wé? vomit
 wéli rattan, a rod made of rattan
 wélik pig, boar
 wena leg, foot; see wwe?
 weo see ai weo
 wet strike with a rod
 wilo see sumo
 wilwalo vein; see wwalo
 wói shark
 wólat sea
 wulo? liver
 wwalo vein; see wiwalo
 wwe? leg, foot; see wena
 wwi mango

Y

ya reply to hearing one's name called, 'Huh?'
 yáeco heart
 yaha- ten marker; yahasa 10;
 yahalu 20
 yahalu 20; yahalu lopsa 21;
 yahalu loplu 22
 yahasa 10; yahasa lopsa 11;
 yahasa lu 12
 yáhi lime, chalk
 yál take
 yáqho gill
 yas swim

yásin salt
 yátas thatch
 yáwa? run
 yohán count
 yórik citrus fruit
 yúm stonefish

?

ʔan eat

2.2. Vocabulary, Part II

A

ada exist, there is
 ai tree
 alo grasp, catch
 angka number
 aru stirring paddle; aru besi
 iron spatula
 atur arrange
 atut touch

B

baku sago
 balas respond in kind
 balat: balat pupi serve sago
 porridge
 bale buy
 barjalaim living room
 bawa door

benat shut (door, window), obstruct
 (path); benat bawa shut the door;
 see binbenat
 bess peel, pare, skin
 bet cradle in arms
 bibbulai rope twisting tool; see
 bulai
 binbenat wall; see benat
 bita to package
 blawis penetrate (?); nablawis
 penetrated
 bola thread
 borhak shift away
 bota hug, carry on hip (child)
 bulai turn; see bibbulai;
 bulai wala twist fibre into rope
 bum disappear
 bumm disappear, lose

C

cako taratib sit cross-legged
cocak sip

D

dafi dafi steamer
daŋto a floor or raised platform
made of bamboo or wood
dego dego split bamboo bench
dikak move
dimo noise; nidimo its noise
dod request
dopas to cause to snap; see tadopas;
kdopas 'I cause (it) to snap'
dukon erupt (volcano)
dumik expired, finished

E

egan to cause to shatter; see megan;
kegan 'I shatter (it)'
em see
emus blink
eŋkar deny
eta find; see makaeta; eta lalan te
not find one's way (be lost)

F

fandasi foundation
fati obstruct (path)

G

gail poke at, touch
galapean wire clamp for roasting
fish
gamas send
gamuno leave (scraps) behind

genas rip; see tagenas
geo sauce
giak sway, shake, bob
gogan to hide (something); see op
gono put; see gono
gotil sago trough

H

habaku scrape sago pith; see baku
habesik see habess
habess compete; habesik wag to
race boats
haboba call
habokak bring closer together
hadud carry on head
hagono put; see gono
hajak cast (chicken feed)
haidil stretch (on rising)
haiŋuŋi gargle
ahito show
haiy to feed (a child)
hajo to splash (someone)
hakal house fence
hakaluŋ tear down, cause to
collapse
hakaop turn (it) over; see hakop
hakop face downwards; see hakaop;
tuli hakop lie on belly
halail to scrape coconut; see lail
halomik gather
halopi hut in a garden
haluat share out
hanaŋ argue
hapalihara bury the dead
haparas to shave, have a haircut
hapuak rub with (stone); hapuak
lalai rub with a stone

haselap cut down, to have been
felled; see selap
hasikat wash (hair); hasikat niwi
treat hair with coconut
hasiktak rub with (stone);
hasiktak lelai rub with a stone
hasipan pry out (thorn)
hasop wipe (body)
hasselik lean back
hasubut fasten hair bun
hasulit to grub, root about; welik
nhasulit the pig is grubbing
hatalen on one's back; tuli hatalen
lie on back
hatalikis on one's side; tuli
hatalikis lie on side
hatinas have a massage; see tinas
hattom pout
hatukal change clothes; see tukal
haunak inform
hawik to sun (something)
hayas whisper; see makahayaso
hool hit with a length of wood or
iron

I

ihod run
irus coconut shell ladle
iyok weep

J

jajar stand in line
jendela window

K

kabin goat
kakaua reach for

kakaua climb (under duress)
kalah lose
kalai pound
kaluan collapse, fallen down
kamar room
kapid snap finger on (another's
hand)
kasian too bad
katt thatch peg of bamboo
kautik shout
kawele hang
kerja work
kidam niwi remove coconut husk
kinit pinch
kiu fear
kuba slit throat (Islamic ritual
slaughter)
kulai stir
kulan earthenware pot, iron
skillet, wok
kutan ask
kuyum body grime

L

lail coconut scraping tool; see
halail
lala blood
lalan road, path, way
lante floor (on ground level);
lante semen cement floor
leb ignite; see lebo; nleb it's
aflame
lebo a flame; see leb
leger foundation
lelai insult, cuss out
-li interior; tasli inside the
bag
liba drive away

loba sago container
 lois steal
 loteŋ attic
 luk squat; see lukuluku
 lukuluku to be squatting; see luk

M

magagi shaken
 magesi burn crisp, thoroughly
 destroyed by fire
 magun quiet
 mailiŋak forget
 makaeta meet; see eta
 makahayaso whisper to each other;
 see hayas
 makauju one on top of the other
 maladua sit with legs stretched
 forward
 malasam shiver
 mama grope in the dark
 mamasula thief; see masula
 manao breath (compare manak);
 manao dumik to pant
 manau to rest
 manitap work
 maŋaku admit to, agree to
 mapasal regret
 mapup cough; mapupak lala to cough
 up blood
 masula thief; see mamasula
 matal itchy; see msisseh
 mau want
 mayuyu sleepy
 megan shattered (plate); see egan
 mesel stone (cement) wall
 mlayo splashed
 momoŋok forget
 mosi satiated

msisseh twitch; matal msisseh
 twitch; see matal
 mtet fall
 mul go home, return
 musala mat

N

namat to chop off
 nani sago mattock
 natut stubbed; see tut
 ncebak approach
 ncisseh twitch; see msisseh;
 matal ncisseh twitch
 ndudus to fall (ripe fruit)
 nhabito nearby
 nhasshathakki extremely near,
 right up against
 niwi coconut
 nmada ripe
 nmasa cooked
 nnat sedimentate
 ŋahaŋ grunt (pig); welik naŋahaŋ
 the pig grunts
 ŋarak grow; badan ŋarak to grow
 ŋiŋahin pot support
 ŋo dog

O

ohal rub (aches)
 oik don't
 oŋat pole used to knock down fruits
 op hide (oneself); see gogan
 otal strangle, choke

P

pa carry on shoulder
 pacitakan sao mold leveler
 pada rap with knuckles
 paga break; see tapaga; kpage I
 break; mpaga you break
 pake wear; see paken
 paken clothes
 palan open (door)
 palas pay
 paŋin get up
 papan board; papan tulis black
 board
 paruda to grate
 paso serving bowl for sago porridge
 patin yank out
 pe do, make; pe ŋhan to cook
 pe to twist fibre into rope; pe
 wala to twist fibre into rope
 pilih choose
 piriŋ plate
 piss lick
 piyi whistle
 poci water vessel with spout
 poroco basket
 posa boil
 posol unfasten (knots); posol kabin
 walo unfasten the goat's rope
 powolan bamboo 'spine' of thatch
 puko corner
 pupi porridge made of sago pith
 putar turn

R

rube a large earthen water vessel

S

sa climb (tree)
 saada sneeze
 sada face
 sahat slap
 saleap slash
 saŋ burn, bake
 saŋo to answer (a question)
 sapa bowl
 sapalik exit
 sapawagao drinking mug
 sasaŋ broom
 selap to fell (tree); see haselap
 semen cement
 sepak kick
 ser desire
 sikat haiyona brush teeth
 sipaŋ prying tool (?)
 sissipaŋ a tool for removing
 coconut flesh from shell
 soak spill
 sobak throw away
 sowo pour water while bathing
 ssodik spoon
 ssoya pottery sago mould
 ssulo point out with finger
 suku papat low bench in kitchen
 sulak order, command
 sule plate
 suŋ enter
 surambi porch
 susun arrange

T

taban later, wait
 tabee burnt

tadapas snapped; see dopas;
wala tadapas the rope snapped

tagenas torn; see genas

taibiklak accidentally knocked down

taisudik slipped

takik accidentally struck

tam to reply (to a greeting)

tan press; yaŋo ntan talk in one's
sleep (because he is pressed by a
spirit)

tanak to cover (with a lid); tanak
kulan cover the pot

tanam plant

tanawan remember

tano jja gaze upward

tapaga broken; see paga

tapin kitchen

taplod explode

tarima receive

tas bag, suitcase

tatampa winnowing basket, sifting
basket

te no, not

tebal shoot (gun)

teden connect (ropes), splice (?);
titeden connection

tega carry in hand, lift

tetal-tetal to chop up, dice

tiba bucket

timo crush (louse)

tinan to massage; see hatinas

tindis press down

titeden see tedan

tobi descend

tolan stay behind

ton to bark; no nton the dog
barks

top hit with a stone

torop bamboo tube used to blow on
flames

tou pour (on plants, fire, dust)

tukal change; see hatukal

tul jab (with finger)

tuli sleep

tuli em dream

tut punch

U

uas wash

udul a basket of bamboo

uiŋ snore

ukir carve

untuŋ win

uto hill

uwat mountain

W

wag sailboat

wagik sell

wala rope; see walo

walo rope, line

wulona feelings; wulona bum
faint; see bum

Y

yag jump

yalo take out; yalo paken tasli
take the clothes out of the
suitcase

yaŋo a shade, an image; yaŋo ntan
talk in one's sleep; see tan

yatis cooking tongs of bamboo,
tongs for coals

yawa search for

3. ENGLISH — EAST MAKIAN (CUMULATIVE) INDEX

A

above yasa, bobia
 abutting nhasshathakkii
 admit to maŋaku
 adze ciccudil
 aflame leb
 agree maŋaku
 alive hia
 all hasale
 animal fat gaji
 answer saŋo
 approach ncebak
 areca nut galál
 argue hanáŋ
 arrange atur, susun
 arranged vertically makauju
 ash tapin
 ask kutan
 at li
 attack (machete) hatetal
 attic loten
 aunt jojo, mama lalo

B

back taggulo
 bag tas
 bailer halím
 bait ala
 bake saŋ
 banana loka
 bark (dog) toŋ
 barracuda tarusi
 basket poroco, tatampa, udul
 bat nhík'
 bathe hasóp
 beads maŋi-maŋi
 bear fruit ncepa
 bench dego-dego suku papat
 betel gias
 big lai
 bird kalái
 bite kodo
 black kuda
 black board papan tulis
 blink emus
 blood lala
 blunt puduŋ
 blow uho
 blowing tube torop
 boar welik
 board papan
 bob giak
 boil v posa
 boil hoas
 bone i:ona
 bow dupil
 bowl paso,sapa
 brackish matitelas
 branch mag' lo
 break paga
 bread (sago) baku
 breadfruit gomo, kul
 breast susu
 breath manao
 bridge dodoku
 bring together habokak
 broken tapaga; see paga
 broom sasaŋ
 brother dama, tamno?, thena

brother-in-law iho
 brush (teeth) sikat haiyona
 bucket tiba
 burn saŋ
 burn (field) hapaŋlik⁷, haisaŋ
 burnt magesi, tabee
 bury hapalihara, lipaŋ
 butterfly bebaŋ
 buy bale

C

calf heto
 call haboba, hawól
 cape dayo
 caulk (a boat) kit⁷no
 carry hadud, pa, tega
 carve ukir
 cast hajak
 catch alo
 cause to snap dopas
 cause to shatter egan
 cement semen
 centipede lhian
 chalk yahi
 change tukal
 change clothes hatukal
 chest katno
 chief kolano
 child waiŋu
 chile maricaŋ
 chilled migno
 chipped (edge) taŋepu
 chisel pip⁷
 choke otal
 chop off namat
 chop up tetal-tetal

choose pilih
 citrus fruit yorik
 clam suwat
 clamp galapean
 clear (field) habboan
 climb ait, kakaua, sa
 clothes paken
 cloud lobi-lobi
 coarse pako
 coconut niwi
 coil (cloth) ŋahin
 cold kammidiŋ
 collapse kaluaŋ
 comb ssei
 come wam
 compete habess
 conch taubu
 connect teden
 connection titiden
 container loba
 cook pelaloin, perháu
 cooked nmasa
 corner puko
 correct nagon
 cough mapup
 count yohan
 cover tanak
 crab bosok, uru jubi
 cradle in arms bet
 creep dula
 crisp magesi
 crush timo
 crustacean belu, gigim
 cross-eyed sori
 cucumber timun
 cuss out lelai
 cut tetal

cutdown haselap

D

dark babakoam
 daughter-in-law akmó
 day ŋan
 daytime ŋanla
 dead mat
 debris gamuna
 deny eŋkar
 descend tobi
 desire ser
 destroy (fire) magesi
 dew nomi
 dibble stick suan
 dice tetal-tetal
 different maleo
 dig pait
 dirt ddaba
 dirty kabat
 disappear bum, bumm
 do pe
 dog no
 dolphin kaias
 door bawa
 don't oik
 down pa
 dream tuli em, yaŋo ntan
 drift mialin
 drink in
 drive away liba
 drunk balisa
 dry gamis, gamas, maŋo
 dugout sampan
 dust ip'íáp'
 duyong mabátim

E

eagle ray rebal
 ear bib'buyo
 earthworm lliť
 east timur, ddu
 eat ?an
 edge likso
 eel sogili
 egg tolo
 eight wal
 empty mo'lo
 enter suŋ
 erupt (volcano) dukon
 exist ada
 exit sapalik
 expel liba
 expired dumik
 explode taplóđ
 eye mta

F

face sada
 face downwards hakop
 faint wulona bum
 fall mtet, ndudus
 fallen down kaluaŋ
 fallow babas
 far nalau
 fasten (hair) hasubut
 father baba, papa
 fathom loh
 fear kiu
 feather hattulo
 feed haiy
 feelings wulona
 fell (tree) selap

felled haselap
 female mapín
 fence hakal
 feverish makawa
 few ùtusá
 field daba
 fight hatút'
 fin naiko
 find eta?, eta
 finger nail kuyo?
 finished dumik
 fish ian
 fish poison mhúit
 fish trap hol'
 five plim
 flame lebo; see leb
 flawed taŋepu
 flesh waŋto
 float mpudal
 floor lante
 flow kihis
 fly V opa
 fly mai peaŋ
 fold kuhin
 foot wena, wwe?
 foreigner maleosi
 forest ddewalo
 forget mailiŋak, momoŋok
 foundation fandasi, leger
 four hat
 fowl manik
 friend lomo
 frog pip pak
 fruit sepo
 fruit sp. balibin
 full mhon
 fungus han

G

garfish luhoan
 gargle haiŋuŋi
 gather halomi, halomik
 gaze upward tano jja
 genitals (female) kina
 genitals (male) tolo
 genitive marker ni
 get up pangin
 gill yaŋho
 ginger owai
 give otik
 give birth haitun
 go han
 go home mul
 goat kabin
 good masure
 grandchild buna
 grandfather tete
 grandmother nene
 grasp alo, suo
 grass ddewa
 grate paruda
 greasy mlalut
 grime kuyum
 grope mama
 grow ŋarak
 grub hasulit
 grunt ŋahaŋ
 guts gale gale

H

hair ŋiela
 hair (body) hattulo
 hair cut haparas
 hand kamo?

hang kawele
 harvest (sago) habaku
 he i, n-
 head poyo
 hear malogo
 heart yaeco
 hearth lalian
 here dine
 hide gogan, op
 high tide luoi
 hill uto
 hilt peda luo
 hit hool, top
 hoist up pagil
 hook awil
 horn tako
 hot makawa
 house um
 how ha pué
 how many pisa?
 howl naú
 hug bota
 huh ? ya
 hundred utin cá
 hungry mawi
 hurried mnamna
 husband man
 hut halopi

I

I lak
 if polo
 ignite leb; see lebo
 image yago
 inform haunak
 inhale manáw

inside lo; see li
 insult lelai
 interior -li
 island weh
 it i, n, nu
 itchy matal

J

jab tul
 jump yag

K

kick sepak
 kill hapún
 kitchen tapin
 knee puko
 knocked down taibiklak
 know unak

L

ladder loan
 ladle irus
 landward dle
 later taban
 laugh mangle?, mlih
 leaf ai weo
 leak nkihís, nkiso
 lean back hasselik
 leave behind gamuno
 left (hand) balit
 leg wena, wwe?
 level bimmbaq
 leveler pacitakan
 lice crusher papís
 lick pis, piss

lie down hakalilik
 lift ila, tega
 line walo
 lips sumo wilo
 liver wuló?
 living room banjalaim
 long mlaŋa
 lose kalah
 lost see eta
 lot dabo
 louse kut̃
 low tide nmás

M

mackerel poparo
 machete peda
 machete ring peda sopak
 maize gadum
 make pe
 male man
 malodorous puik
 man man
 mango wwi
 mantis shrimp gola
 massage hatinas, tinas
 mat musala
 mattock nani, sisaki
 meet makaeta
 moment ago lai
 monitor lizard sawa?
 moon pait
 mortar ada
 mother mama, mamo
 mother-in-law akmó
 mould (pottery) ssoya
 moult (snake) tukal

mountain uwet
 mountain uwat
 mouth sumo
 move dikak
 much dabo
 mug sapawagao
 my -g

N

nail paku
 name sona
 narrow sanawat
 navel tubuku
 navel cord hilho
 near nahabito, nhashshathakki
 nearby nhabito
 neck go, gowo
 necklace mapi-mapí
 needle somo
 net huat, suyu
 new powo
 night bakoam
 nine psio
 nits kut ni tolo
 no te
 noise dimo
 noon time ŋan halaim
 north jailola
 nose `umhó
 not te
 not yet tehu, tesu
 number aŋka
 numeral marker (ten) yaha
 numeral connector lo

O

obstruct benat, fati
 octopus kiit
 old matuo, tua
 on li
 on one's back hatalen
 on one's side hatalikis
 one psa
 order sulak
 open kaka, palan
 our -d, mam
 outside lik
 outsider maleosi
 oyster ssiab

P

package bita
 paddle v ppoas
 paddle poas
 painful mhanas
 palm sp. basalaŋ
 pant manao dumik
 pare bess
 parrot laŋa
 path lalan
 pay palas
 peel bess
 peg katt
 penetrate (?) blawis
 person mat'
 phalanger kusok
 pig welik
 pillow kapil
 pinch kinit
 place gau
 plait eno

plant tanam
 plate piriŋ, sule
 platform daŋto
 play mamaól
 plugged up nobat
 point out sulo?, ssulo
 pointed mawetis
 poke at gail
 pole lli, oŋat
 pontoon soman
 porch surambi
 porridge (of maize) kawiji
 porridge (sago) pupi
 pot kulan
 pot stand ŋiŋahin
 pound kalai
 pour sowo, tou
 pout hattom
 press lahat, tan
 press down tindis
 pry out hasipaŋ
 prying tool sipaŋ
 pull togál
 punch tut
 punt dulaŋ
 push tahak
 put hagono, gono, oik

Q

quickly mnamna
 quiet magun

R

race habess
 rack para paráu

raft dat
 rafter kat?
 rain ulan
 rap hóol, top
 rap (knuckles) pada
 rat mauka
 rattan weli
 raw bulho
 ray fish fa?
 reach for kakaua
 receive tarima
 recognise klal
 red makát
 regret mapasal
 related damana
 relation damana
 remember tanawan
 remove (husk) kidam niwi
 remove (skin) bess
 reply tam
 request dod
 respond in kind balas
 rest manau
 return mul
 rice hamasik
 right (hand) wayan
 ringworm gogi
 rip genas
 ripe matua, nmada
 rise ca
 road lalan
 rod weli
 roller (boats) bib' bála
 roof ridge cover puñan
 room kamar
 root wao
 rope wala, walo

rotten kobus
 round bib' boka
 rub hapuak, hasiktak, momas, ohal,
 . sadual
 rub on sadulak
 rudder hamúl
 run ihod, yawa?
 runny nose ŋkihis

S

sago baku
 sail sobal
 sailboat wag
 saliva ipo
 salt yasin
 sand mmena
 satiated mosi
 sauce geo
 say halusa
 scabies mnunit
 scale unco
 scrape (coconut) halail
 scrape (sago) habaku, haisaki
 scraper lail
 scraps gamuna
 scratch gag
 sea wolat
 search for yawa
 sea urchin gagam, siroa
 sea water takis
 seasick nalhuak
 seat (boat) batalan gau
 seaward dla
 sedimentate nnat
 see em
 seed kau

sell wagik
 send gamas
 serve (sago) balat
 seven pit
 sew habeit
 shade yaŋo
 shake giak
 shaken magagi
 share out haluat
 shark woi
 sharp nan
 sharpen bolit, salewai
 shattered megan
 share haparas
 she i,n
 sheathe peda saruŋ
 shellfish suwat
 shift away borhak
 shin heto
 shiver malasam
 shoot ddupili, tebal
 short pokal
 shot golo
 shout kautik
 show haito
 shrimp laulaŋ
 shut benat
 shy mai
 sifter tatampa
 sing pani
 sip cocak
 sister dama, tamno?, thena
 sit balataŋ
 sit cross-legged cako taratib
 sit (stretched legs) maladua
 six poenam
 skin liko

sky lanit
 slap sahat
 slash saleap
 slaughter (ritual) kuba
 sleep mtuli, tuli
 sleepy mayuyu
 sling on hip bota
 slipped taisudik
 slit throat kuba
 slow hilik
 small kutu
 smile maŋiŋis
 smoke lutan muŋko
 smoke (fish) mumik
 snake baŋ
 snapped tadopas
 snare pippid
 snap finger kapid
 snapped tadopas
 sneeze saada
 sniff sapaiYak
 snore uiŋ
 so ndadik
 some palo
 son-in-law akmó
 sour maníl
 south lata lata
 spatula aru
 spicy nmalat
 spider kolo
 spill soak
 spit haidis
 splash hajo
 splashed mlayo
 split fakat, taraca
 spoon ssodik
 spun about kaioliŋ

squat luk, luku-luku
 squeeze lahat
 squid su:
 stab sagu
 stairs loan
 stand osal
 stand in line jajar
 star batál
 stay behind tolaŋ
 steal lois
 steamer dafi dafi
 stick (thatch) powolan
 stir kulai
 stomach ddo
 stone lalai
 stonefish yum
 store (below ground) lipaŋ
 strangle otal
 straight maddodaŋ
 stretch (on rising) haidil
 strike pada, tut, wet
 string (fish) beit
 struck takik
 stubbed natut
 suck at hasodas
 suck up sodol
 suckle hasusu
 sugarcane top
 suitcase tas
 sun ŋan
 sun (something) hawik
 sway giak
 sweet gamis, sái
 swim yas
 swollen mbós

T

tail kku
 take yal
 take out yalo
 taro pilai
 taste tepul
 tear down egan, hakaluang
 ten yahasa
 thatch yatas
 their di
 them ci
 there dia
 therefore ndadik
 they si
 thief masula, mamasula
 thick ptoli
 thin mnigis
 this ine
 thousand calan ca
 thread bola
 three tol
 throw tadi
 throw away sobak
 tie selak
 tight sanawat
 tip dayo
 too bad! kasian
 tool (coconut) sissipaŋ
 tool (twisting) bibbulai
 tooth haiyo?
 tongs yatis
 tongue ma?
 torch pancona, taluba
 torn tagenas
 tortoise hen
 touch atut, gail

trap barangka, bilatu, pippid
 tree ai
 trough (sago technology) gotil
 trunk lako
 tuber *sp.* bia, pilai lekto, up'
 tuna otin
 turn bulai, putar
 turn over hakaop
 twist into rope pe
 twitch msisseh, ncisseh
 twenty yahalu
 twenty-one yahalu lopsa
 twenty-two yahalu loplu
 two lu

U

uncle baba, dado
 unfasten posol
 unripe gulo
 up ja
 up there yasa

V

vein wiwalo, wwalo
 verbal marker a-, ha-, ka-, la-,
 ma-, na-, ta-
 vessel kulan, poci, rube, wágau
 village mala
 vomit we?

W

wait taban
 wall binbenat, dindiŋ, mesel
 want mau
 wash hasikat, hatotas, uas

water waya
 water (stagnant) bop' to
 we am, kit
 wear pake
 weave hatek' lak
 wed sau
 weed hagaras
 weep iyok
 west pat, ta (?)
 wet kabús
 whale otap
 what jóu, pue
 when haísa
 where poló
 whet salewai
 which polo
 whisper hagas, makahayaso
 whistle piyi
 white bulan
 who me
 wicked lekto
 wide nnapa
 wife mapín
 win untuŋ
 wind moda
 window jendela
 wing hako
 winnow kaipaya, kpaya
 winnow kpaya
 wipe (body) hasop
 wipe off momas
 with ado
 with lo
 wok kulan
 woman mapín
 wood ai
 work kerja, manitap

worm lit
 wrap bita
 wrong ncál

Y

yam up'wala
 yank out patin

yap toŋ
 yawn maáp
 year taun
 yellow madinal
 yes ia
 you au, meu
 your -m

NOTES

1. This survey was conducted during my doctoral research in Maluku, 1977-1979. I am grateful to the staff of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, under whose auspices the research took place, as well as the civil servants and staff of the Indonesian government in Maluku Province who, along with the people of Maluku, provided me with generous assistance and encouragement. I am especially grateful to Bapak A.R. Tjoa, the camat of Obi at that time. He and his family were generous hosts during my unexpected visit. Of course, I am deeply grateful to Bapak Junus Djabir who proved himself a reliable, thoughtful and energetic informant.
2. According to Bapak Junus, they are Soma, Mailoa, Peleri, Samsuma, Ngofakiaha, Ngofageta and Tahani. These villages face Halmahera, hence the name of the language, Makian Dalam 'Inner Makian'. While there are some dialectal differences, all these villages share the same language, which is sharply distinguished from Makian Luar, spoken on the western part of the island. Due to the dense population on Makian as well as the very active volcano there, speakers of both languages have migrated and formed new settlements on nearby islands, especially Halmahera, Kayoa and the Bacan group. A more complete analysis of the factors involved in this migration is found in Lucardie (1980:351-365).
3. The wordlist submitted to Bapak Junus was a portion of an auxiliary questionnaire developed for use in informant sessions in Central Maluku. The portion which he filled out was a wordlist of about 200 verbs and some tool and indigenous technology terms. One of the problems was that the wordlist was written in Ambonese Malay not in Indonesian. This was extremely useful in Central Maluku but not in North Maluku. The informant's uncertainty about some words resulted in the volunteering of several forms with detailed glosses in Indonesian.

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n.d. Comparative wordlists of Halmahera languages, MS.

SHORT WORDLISTS FROM SOUTH HALMAHERA,
KAYOA, MAKIAN, TERNATE, TIDORE, AND BACAN

Dick Teljeur

1. INTRODUCTION

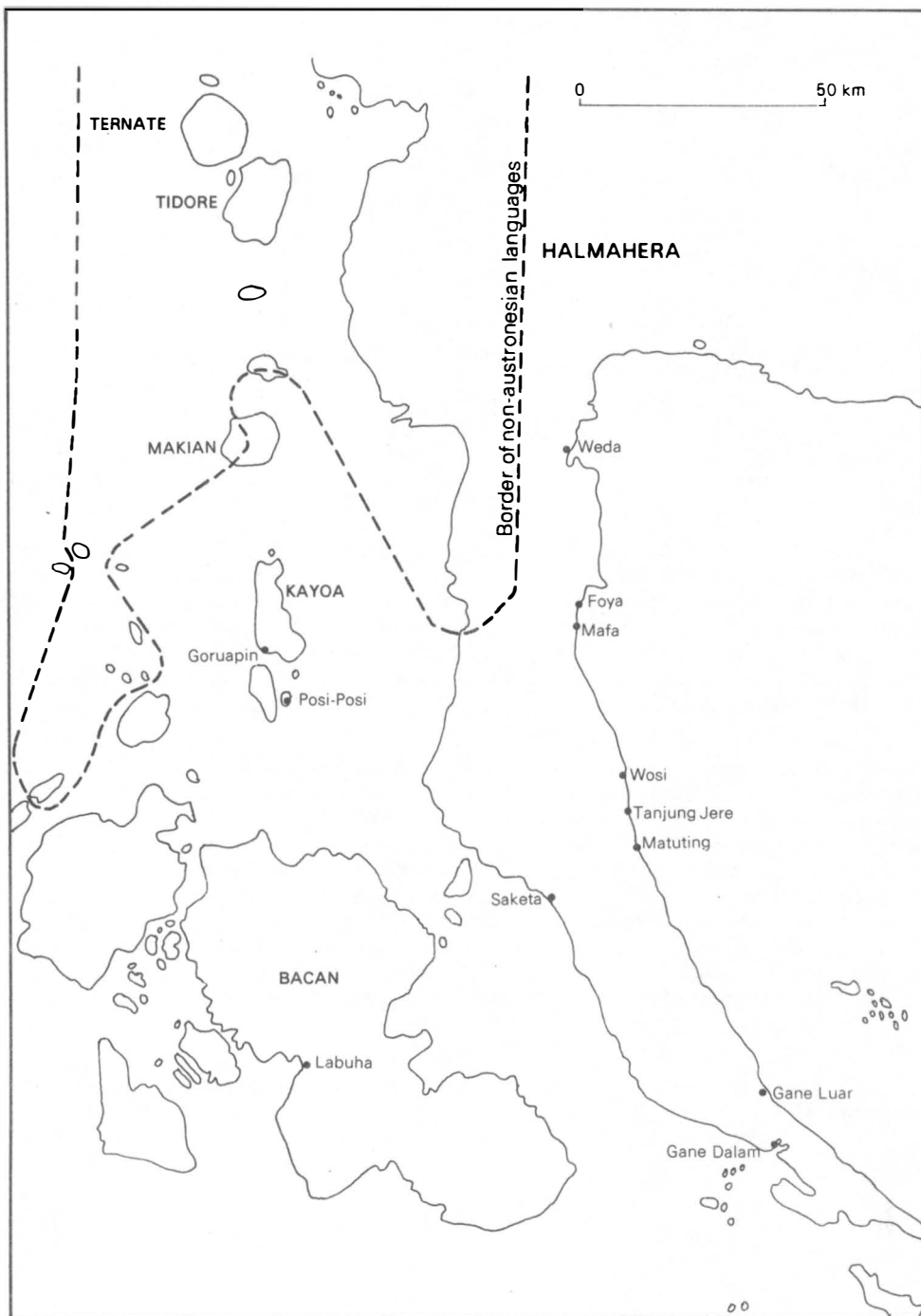
During anthropological fieldwork in South Halmahera in the North Moluccas, Indonesia, from August 1978 until March 1980, I collected some short wordlists in the languages spoken by the original inhabitants of the area, using a modified version of Swadesh's basic wordlist. The original list was shortened to a hundred words, and nine new words were added (41 house, 42 door, 43 kitchen, 69 island, 98 six, 99 seven, 100 eight, 101 nine, 102 ten). The list was then translated into Indonesian.

A language in this area is usually named after the village where it is spoken so the indigenous distinction between these languages (bahasa) is on social rather than on linguistic grounds. For instance, Foya and Mafa speak the same language and although the people are aware of this they talk about the 'language' of Foya and the 'language' of Mafa. Makianese maintain that on their island fourteen 'languages' are spoken. However they also speak of the 'language' of Makian although on the western part of the island a totally different, in fact non-Austronesian, language is being used. Furthermore they also distinguish between an 'inside' and an 'outside' part of Makian which correspond with the language areas of the East Makian and the West Makian language respectively. On the other hand Ternate, Tidore and Bacan are considered each to have one language. These different classifications probably reflect differences in social structure.

The purpose of the paper is not to produce yet another classification of these 'languages' but to supply raw linguistic materials from a rather unknown language area. There are wordlists in the following 'languages' (local names are in brackets):

Voorhoeve, C.L., ed., *The West Makian languages and their neighbours.*
(*Materials in languages of Indonesia*, No.12; W.A.L. Stokhof,
Series ed.) *Pacific Linguistics*, D-46, 1982.

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Map 4: SKETCH MAP OF SOUTH HALMAHERA, TERNATE
TIDORE, MAKIAN, KAYOA, AND BACAN

I. In South and Central Halmahera

1. Weda (Were), spoken in the village of Weda in Central Halmahera.
2. Foya (Foya), spoken in the village of Foya in South Halmahera; about 900 speakers.
3. Mafa (Boli), spoken in the village of Mafa in South Halmahera; about 1000 speakers.
4. Wosi (Wos), spoken in the villages of Wosi, Tanjung Jere and the Moslim part of Matuting in South Halmahera; about 700 speakers.
5. Gane (Gimán), spoken in the villages of Gane Dalam (Gimán Puliló) and Gane Luar (Giman Pulikin) in South Halmahera; about 1500 speakers.
6. Saketa (Saketa), spoken in the village of Saketa in South Halmahera; about 700 speakers.

II. On Kayoa Island

1. Kayoa (Ngelo), spoken in the village of Goruapín.
2. Bajo. This Bajo dialect is spoken in the village of Posiposi.¹

III. In the eastern part of Makian Island

1. Mailoa (Wailoa), spoken in the village of Mailoa (the language is very close to the Kayoa language).
2. Soma (Soma), spoken in the village of Soma.
3. Tahene (Dáori), spoken in the village of Tahane.
4. Pelerí (Ploli), spoken in the village of Pelerí.
5. Samsuma (Suma), spoken in the village of Samsuma (Pelerí and Samsuma languages are identical).
6. Ngofakiaha (Waikión), spoken in the villages of Sangapati, Matangtengin, Tiowor (Kiowor), Gitang, Ngofakiaha and Barumadehe.
7. Ngofagita (Waigitang), spoken in the villages of Ngofagita and Sobobé.

IV. In the western part of Makian Island

1. Sabalé (Sebelei), spoken in the village of Sabalé.
2. Talapao (Talapao), spoken in the village of Talapao.
3. Tafasoho (Tafasoho), spoken in the village of Tafasoho.
4. Tagono (Tagono), spoken in the village of Tagono.
5. Ngofabobawa (Ngofabobawa), spoken in the village of Ngofabobawa.
6. Bobawa (Bobawa), spoken in the village of Bobawa.
7. Malapa (Malapa), spoken in the village of Malapa.

V. On the Island of Ternate

1. Ternate. The language is also spoken on Hiri Island and is used as a lingua franca in the North Moluccas.

VI. On the Island of Tidore

1. Tidore. This language is also spoken on Mare Island, on the northern half of Moti Island and along the coast of the Oba subdistrict in Central Halmahera.

VII. In the Bacan archipelago

1. Bacan. Spoken in the village of Labuha on Bacan Island, and used as a lingua franca in the Bacan archipelago.²

The wordlists are written in the official spelling of the Indonesian language. The sounds are more or less identical with those of Indonesian. Weda, Foya, and Mafa have the o sound usually more like the English oa in *coat* but shorter; the other languages more like the English aw in *law* but shorter. $\bar{e}i$ sounds like the English a in *make* whereas the e in ei is more like the English e in *pet*. Geminate consonants as in *dilla*, *daddoba* are to be pronounced twice as long as a single consonant. Stress is indicated by the symbol ' , as in *kiklé*, *pobóilo*, if the word does not stress the penultimate syllable.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
English	head	hair	ear	eye	nose	mouth	tongue	tooth	neck
Indonesian	kepala	rambut	telinga	mata	hidung	mulut	lidah	gigi	leher
Weda	uto	bebo	tanglu	mtó	fliko	sumo	pepleu	ngango	koko
Foya/Mafa	uto	bebone	tanglo	mtó	filko	sumo	pepleo	ngango	koko
Wosi	poyo	kiklé	tingé	mtó	ufno	sumo	mimowo	hahó	kokó
Gane	poi	kikle	tinge	mtó	usnu	sumu	mimou	afo/fafo	kokú
Saketa	poyo	kiklé	tingé	mtó	ufno	sumo	mimó	hahó	kokó
Kayoa	poyo	kiklé	tingé	mtó	usno	sumo	mmó	ahló	gowo
Mailoa	poyo	kiklé	tingé	mtó	usno	sumo	mmó	ahló	gowo
Soma	poyo	ngelo	bibio	mtá	umhó	sumo	má	hayó	gowo
Tahane	poyo	ngela	bibuyo	mtá	umhó	sumo	mmá	hayó	goó
Peleri/Samsuma	poyo	ngela	bibio	mtá	hungo	sumo	mmá	hayó	go
Ngofakiaha	poyo	kakle	baibio	mtó	hungo	sumo	plelo	lalho	gowo
Ngofagita	poyo	kaklé	baibio	mtó	hungo	sumo	plelo	lalho	gowo
Sabale	apota	onga	kamou	afe	mudéfete	mada	belu	wi	ru
Talapao	apota	onga	kamou	afe	mudéfete	mada	belbelu	wi	ru
Tafasoho	apota	onga	kamou	afe	mudéfete	mada	belbelu	wi	ru
Tagono	apota	onga	kamou	afe	mudéfete	mada	belbelu	wi	ru
Ngofabobawa	apota	onga	kamēu	afe	mudéfete	mada	belo	wi	ru
Bobawa	apota	onga	kamēu	afe	umlefete	mada	belo	wi	ru
Malapa	apota	onga	kamēu	afe	umlefete	mada	belo	wi	ru
Ternate	dopolo	hutu	ngau	lako	ngun	mada	aki	ing	cama
Tidore	dofolo	hutu	ngau	lao	ngun	moda	aki	ing	sako
Bacan	kepala	rambut	telinga	mata	hidung	sumo	leda	gigi	nganggo
Bajo	tikolo	bulu tikolo	telinga	mata	uro	boa	dilla	gigi	kullo

	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
English	heart	liver	back	foot	hand	bone	blood
Indonesian	jantung	hati	belakang	kaki	tangan	tulang	darah
Weda	melá ³	yocu	poli/towo	sowo	fau	mom	leió
Foya/Mafa	jantung	yoco	too	soo	poo	mom	leló
Wosi	kusi-kusi	yoco	bayao	we	komo	mom	git
Gane	kusi-kusi	yocu	bayau/bawai	we	komu	moma/momu ⁵	git
Saketa	kusi-kusi	yoco	bayao	we	komo	momo	git
Kayoa	kusi-kusi	yoco	tiwló	we	komo	bebi	llo
Mailoa	kusi-kusi	yoco	tiwló	we	komo	bebi	llo
Soma	kusi-kusi	yaco	tagulo	we	kamo	bebi	lala
Tahane	kusi-kusi	yaco	taggulo	we	kamo	yo	lala
Peleri/Samsuma	kusi-kusi	yaco	taggulo	we	kamo	yo	lala
Ngofakiaha	kusi-kusi	yoco	taggulo	we	komo	yoyo	lo
Ngofagita	kusi-kusi	yoco	taggulo	we	komo	bebi	lo
Sabale	sinef	amo	gapu	gufi	kamama/ia ⁴	subebi	wuni
Talapao	sinef	amo	gapu	gofi	kamama/ia ⁴	subebi	wuni
Tafasoho	sinef	amo	gapu	gofi	kamma	subebi	wuni
Tagono	sinef	amo	gapu	gofi	kamma	subebi	wuni
Ngofabobawa	sinef	amo	gapu	gofi	kamma	subebi	wuni
Bobawa	sinef	amo	gapu	gou	kamama	subebi	wuni
Malapa	sinef	amo	gapu	gou	kamma	subebi	uni
Ternate	kusi-kusi	gate	dudu	hohu	gia	obo	au
Tidore	kusi-kusi	gate	dulu	yohu	gia	goka	au
Bacan	jantung	hati	bangkurung	tiól	tangan	tulang	dara
Bajo	karika	átei	buku	nai	tangan	bakas	laha

	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.
English	skin	eat	drink	sleep	stand	walk	sit	laugh
Indonesian	kulit	makan	minum	tidur	berdiri	jalan	duduk	tertawa
Weda	liko	nom	inem	yenef	wosel	fan	toleng	mlif
Foya/Mafa	liko	mnom	inem	yenef	osel	fan/han	toleng	mlif
Wosi	kakuto	haón	imin	imtuli	wosal	han	bol	imlíf
Gane	kakutu	fon	imin	imtuli	wosal	han	bol	imlíf
Saketa	kakuto/liko	hawón	imin	imtuli	wosal	han	bol	imlíf
Kayoa	liko	hawón	imin	imtuli	wosal	han	bol	imlíh
Mailoa	liko	awon	imin	imtuli	wosal	han	bol	imlíh
Soma	liko	ahán	imin	antuli	wosal	han	batalán	amlíh
Tahane	liko	ahán	in	amtuli	wosal	han	batalán	amlíh
Peleri/Samsuma	liko	ahán	imin	antuli	wosal	han	batalán	amlíh
Ngofakiaha	liko	ahón	imin	antuli	wosal	han	batalón	amlíh
Ngofagita	liko	ahón	imin	antuli	wosal	han	batalón	amlíh
Sabale	fi	fa	bebé	tifi	siesu	sagal	totóroso	ae
Talapao	fi	fa	bebé	tifi	siesu	sagal	torosó	ae
Tafasoho	fi	fa	bebé	tifi	sesu	sagal	torosó	ae
Tagono	fi	fa	bebé	tifi	sesu	sagal	torosó	ae
Ngofabobawa	fi	fa	bebé	tifi	sesu	sagal	torosó	ae
Bobawa	fi	fiám	bebé	tifi	sesu	sagal	torosó	ae
Malapa	fi	fiám	bebé	tifi	siesu	sagal	torosó	ae
Ternate	ahi	oho	oke	hotu	koko	tagi	tego	hohe
Tidore	ahi	oyo	yuru	otu	koko	tagi	torini	ohe
Bacan	kulit	makan	longgar	tidur	badiri	balampo	duduk	tatawa
Bajo	kulit	nginta	ninung	tidur	ningge	dumalang	ningkolo	tittoa

	25.	26.	27. ⁶	27a. ⁷	28.	29.
English	die	kill	wash	wash	know	hear
Indonesian	mati	bunuh	cuci	cuci	tahu	dengar
Weda	mot	pun	tewús	fetotef	unek	longe
Foya/Mafa	mot	pun	tewús	fetotef	unek	longe
Wosi	mot	pun	awás	hatotaf	unak	longa
Gane	mot	pun	awós	hatotaf	unak	longa
Saketa	mot	pun	awás	totaf	unak	longa
Kayoa	mot	pun	was	hatotas	unak	longa
Mailloa	mot	pun	was	hatotas	unak	malongo
Soma	mat	pun	uás	hatotas	unak	malongo
Tahane	mat	pun	uás	hatotas	unak	malongo
Peleri/Samsuma	mat	pun	uás	hatotas	unak	malongo
Ngofakiaha	mot	pun	uás	hatotas	unak	longa/malongo
Ngofagita	mot	pun	uás	hatotas	unak	longa/malongo
Sabale	gēi	kuba	uás	folouju	wado	baso
Talapao	gēi	kuba	uás	folouju	wado	baso
Tafasoho	gai	fakuba	uás	folouju	wado	baso
Tagono	gai	fakuba	uás	wuju	wado	baso
Ngofabobawa	gai	kuba	uás	folouju/folopós	wado	baso
Bobawa	gēi	kuba	uás	folouju/folopós	wado	baso
Malapa	gēi	kuba	uás	folouju/folopós	wado	baso
Ternate	sone	koru	fiki	uju	waro	ise
Tidore	sone	koru	roca	uju	waro	baso
Bacan	mati	bunu	sasa	basasa	tahu	danga
Bajo	matei	mapatei	ngoso	mopu	takatonangku	takaleku

	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.
English	see	dig	come	play	person	name	man	woman
Indonesian	lihat	gali	datang	main	orang	nama	laki-laki	perempuan
Weda	mnau	ólēi	wom	monge	mutu	ngosnu	mon	mepín
Foya/Mafa	mnai/mnau	ole	wom	monge	motu	ngosno	mon	mepín
Wosi	am	ólai	wom	bisa	metu/manusia	fsona	maón	mapín
Gane	am	ólai	wom	bisa	manusia/matu	fsona	maón	mapín
Saketa	am	ólai	wom	bisa	metu	fso	maón	mapín
Kayoa	am	pait	wom	liulawa	manusia	ssona	mon	mpín
Mailoa	am	pait	wom	liulawa	manusia	sso	mon	mpín
Soma	em	pait	wam	mamól	manusia	ssona	man	mapín
Tahane	em	pait	wam	mamaul	manusia	ssona	man	mapín
Peleri/Samsuma	em	pait	wam	mamaúl	manusia	sso	man	mapín
Ngofakiaha	am	pait	wom	lalawa	manusia	sso	mon	mapín
Ngofagita	am	pait	wom	lalawa	manusia	sso	mon	mapín
Sabale	co	pai	podo	wao	manca	aim	ati	papati
Talapao	co	pai	podo	wao	menca	aim	aát	papá
Tafasoho	co	pai	podo	wao	manca	aim	aati	papati
Tagono	co	pai	podo	wao	manca	aim	aati	papati
Ngofabobawa	co	pai	podo	wao-wao	manusia	aim	aát	papá
Bobawa	cio	pai	podo	wao-wao	manusia	aim	aát	papá
Malapa	cio	pai	podo	wao-wao	manusia	aim	aát	papá
Ternate	hida/mina	fai	kado	tuniru	diki	ronga	nonau	foheka
Tidore	hoda	fai	haro	biso	manusia/mansia	ronga	nonau	fayá
Bacan	lia	gali	kapo	baulak	manúsia	nama	laki-laki	perempuán
Bajo	narinta	ngali	nia	kukuri	manusia	aran	lilla	dinda

	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.
English	father	mother	child	house	door	kitchen	fire	ashes
Indonesian	bapak	ibu	anak	rumah	pintu	dapur	api	abu
Weda	papa	mama	ntu	um	ngoraklá	beap gou	luten	beáp
Foya/Mafa	momo/papa	nono/mama	ntu	um	ngoweng	apemdí	luteng	beáp
Wosi	bapa	mamo	tu/mtuna	um	ngoán	tapin	lutan	tapin
Gane	bapa	mamu	tu/mtuna	um	ngara	tapin	lutan	tapin
Saketa	bapa	mamo	tu/mtuna	ábai	ngoan	tapin	lutan	tapin
Kayoa	papa	mma	mtu	ábai	ngoan	tapin	lutan	tapin
Mailoa	papa	ma	mtuna	ábai	ngoan	tapin	lutan	tapin
Soma	baba	mama	mtuna	um	bawa	tapin	lutan	tittapin
Tahane	baba	mama	mtuna	um	bawa	tapin	lutan	tapin
Peleri/Samsuma	baba	mama	mtu	um	bawa	tapin	lutan	tapin
Ngofakiaha	aba	mama	mtu	um	boa	tapin	lutan	tatapin
Ngofagita	baba	mama	mtu	um	boa	tapin	lutan	tatapin
Sabale	baba	ma	oma	pala	lawa	fito	ipi	ruru
Talapao	boba	ma	oma	pala	lawa	fito	ipi	ruru
Tafasoho	boba	ma	oma	pala	lawa	fito	ipi	ruru
Tagono	boba	mamá	oma	pala	lawa	fito	ipi	ruru
Ngofabobawa	baba	mama	oma	pala	lawa	fito	ipi	ruru
Bobawa	baba	mama	oma	pala	lawa	fito	ipi	ruru
Malapa	baba	mama	oma	pala	lawa	fito	ipi	ruru
Ternate	baba	yaya	ngofa	fala	ngara	hito	uku	fika
Tidore	papa	yaya	ngofa	folá	ngora	hito	uku	fika
Bacan	bapa	ibu	anak	ruma	pintu	dapur	api	abu
Bajo	ua	mma	anak	ruma	bulawa	dapurang	api	abu

English	46. meat	47. fish	48. salt	49. bird	50. egg	51. tail
Indonesian	daging	ikan	garam	ayam ⁹	telur	ekor
Weda	wonget/wongto	ing	gasi	manek	bon	keú
Foya/Mafa	wongto	ing	gasi	manek	tele/manek telu	kekú
Wosi	wonto	ian	gasi	manik	toli/manik tolo	wauyó
Gane	wontu	ian	gasi/myasing ⁸	manik	toli/manik toli	walu
Saketa	wonto	ian	gasi	manik	toli/manik tolo	wauyó
Kayoa	wokno	ian	yasing	manik	toli/manik ni tolo	kikkú
Mailoa	wokno	ian	yasin	manik	toli	kikú
Soma	wanto	ian	yasin	manik	manik tolo	kikkú
Tahane	wanto	ian	yasin	manik	manik tolo	kku
Peleri/Samsuma	wanto	ian	yasin	manik	manik tolo	kku
Ngofakiaha	wokno	yan	yasin	manik	manik tolo	kaku
Ngofagita	wokno	ian	yasin	manik	manik tolo	kaku
Sabale	gagi	yao	ase	namu	esi/namu desi	biso
Talapao	gagi	yao	ase	namu	nam desi	biso
Tafasoho	gagi	yao	ase	namu	nam desi	biso
Tagono	gagi	yao	ase	namu	nam desi	biso
Ngofabobawa	gagi	yao	ase	namu	nam desi	biso
Bobawa	gagi	yao	ase	namu	nam desi	biso
Malapa	gagi	yao	ase	namu	nam desi	biso
Ternate	rehe	nyao	gasi	namo	boro	biki
Tidore	rehe	nyao	gasi	toko	gosi	bi
Bacan	daging	lao	gasi	manuk	telur manuk	ekor
Bajo	daging	daya	garam	mano	antullu mano	ngko

	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.
English	dog	snake	louse	tree	root	leaf	flower	fruit
Indonesian	anjing	ular	kutu	kayu	akar	daun	bunga	bush
Weda	yau	bai	kut	ai/yai	wowu	longku/wlu	bunga	pono
Foya/Mafa	yau	bau	kit	yai	wole/wolu	lu	bunga	pon/pono
Wosi	yo	bau	kut	gagí	wolo	longko	sayo	sapo
Gane	yo	bau	kut	gagí	wolu	longku	bungan/sai	bobu
Saketa	yo	bau	kut	gagí	wolo	longko	sayo	sapo
Kayoa	yo	bau	kut	ai	wolo	llu	bunga	sapo
Mailoa	yo	bau	kut	ai	wolo	llu	bunga	sapo
Soma	ió	bau	kut	ai	wau	weo	bunga	sepo
Tahane	nyo	bau	kut	ai	wau	weo	bunga	sepo
Peleri/Samsuma	nyo	bau	kut	ai	wao/wau	weo	bunga	sepo
Ngofakiaha	nnyo	kólai	kut	ai	wowo	llu	bungan	sapo
Ngofagita	nnyo	ledang	kut	ai	wowo	llu	bunga	sapo
Sabale	aso	abēi	bene	fete	utu	wewé	nama	sopo
Talapao	aso	abēi	bene	fete	utu	we	nama	sopo
Tafasoho	aso	abei	bene	fete	utu	we	nama	sopo
Tagono	aso	abēi	bene	fete	utu	we	nama	sopo
Ngofabobawa	aso	abí	bene	fete	utu	we	nama	sopo
Bobawa	aso	abai	bene	fete	utu	we	nama	sopo
Malapa	aso	abai	bene	fete	utu	we	nama	sopo
Ternate	kaso	mohia	gan	hate	wutu	rau	saya	sofo
Tidore	kaso	ega	gan	luto	utu	rau	saya	sofo
Bacan	yoyo	ular	tuma	kayu	akara ¹⁰	dauna ¹⁰	bungana ¹⁰	buanya ¹⁰
Bajo	asu	pangahang	kutu	kayu	uraga	kaun	bunga	bua

	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.
English	sky	sun	moon	star	earth	rain	wind	water
Indonesian	langit	matahari	bulan	bintang	tanah	hujan	angin	air
Weda	langet	ngengán	sni	ngo	betbét	felfele	mure	woye
Foya/Mafa	langet	ngengán	sni	ngo	betbét	felfele/fele	more	woye
Wosi	langit	hawé	pait	batól	gigyát	ulan	moda	waya
Gane	langit	hawé	pait	batól	gigyát	ulan	moda	waya
Saketa	langit	hawé	pait	batól	gigawat	ulan	moda	waya
Kayoa	langit	ngngán	pait	batól	glat	ulan	moda	woya
Mailoa	langit	ngngán	pait	batól	glat	ulan	moda	woya
Soma	langit	ngngán	pait	batál	didaba	ulan	moda	waya
Tahane	langit	ngngán	pait	batál	daba	ulan	moda	waya
Peleri/Samsuma	langit	ngngán	pait	batál	daba	ulan	moda	waya
Ngofakiaha	langit	ngngán	pait	batól	daddoba	ulan	moda	woya
Ngofagita	langit	ngngán	pait	batól	daddoba	ulan	moda	woya
Sabale	tupam	win	odo	bintang ¹¹	afi	pongi	wudu	be
Talapao	tupam	win	odo	mai	afi	pongi	wudu	be
Tafasoho	tupam	win	odo	mawi	afi	pongi	wudu	be
Tagono	tipam	win	odo	mai	afi	pongi	wudu	be
Ngofabobawa	tupam	win	odo	mawi	afi	pongi	wudu	be
Bobawa	tupam	win	odo	mawi	afi	pongi	wudu	be
Malapa	tupam	win	odo	mawi	afi	pongi	wudu	be
Ternate	tufa	wange	ara	ngama	kaha	besa	kore	ake
Tidore	tufa	wange	ora	ngoma	hale	bosa	kore	ake
Bacan	langit	matahari	bulan	bintang	tana	ujan	angin	paisu
Bajo	langi	mata lloi	bulan	mamau	tana	urang	sángei	boi

	68.	69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.
English	sea	island	mountain	woods	river	stone	sand
Indonesian	laut	pulau	gunung	hutan	kali	batu	pasir
Weda	wolet	yef	elepó	banga	woye	loi	bebét seselapu
Foya/Mafa	wolet/olet	wef	elepó	banga/rom	woye te	loi	betbét kaleá
Wosi	wolat	waf	uat	dom	wali	lai	minyana
Gane	wolat	waf	uát	dom	wali	lai	minyana
Saketa	wolat	waf/waho	uat	dom	wali	lai	minyana
Kayoa	wolat	wah/waho	uto	dom	songai	lai	myana
Mailoa	wolat	wah	uat	dom	songai	lai	myana
Soma	olat	wweh	uto	ngada	songai	lalai	mena
Tahane	olat	weh	uto	ngada	songai	lalai	mena
Peleri/Samsuma	olat	weh	uto	ngada	songai	lalai	mena
Ngofakiaha	wolat	wah	uto	ngodo	songai	lalai	nyannyana
Ngofagita	wolat	wah	uto	ngodo	songai	lalai	nyannyana
Sabale	wolot	tanusi	pu	dama	songa	mai	wom
Talapao	wolot	tanusi	pu	dama	songa	mai	wom
Tafasoho	wolot	tanusi	pu	dama	songa	mai	wom
Tagono	wolot	tanusi	pu	dama	songa	mai	wom
Ngofabobawa	wolot	tanusi	pu	dama	songa	mai	wom
Bobawa	wolot	tanusi	pu	dama	songa	mai	wom
Malapa	wolot	tanusi	pu	dama	songa	mai	wom
Ternate	ngolo	gura ma ngofa	kie	banga	ake	mari	dówong
Tidore	ngolo	kie	buku	banga	ake	mafu	ui
Bacan	lauta	pulo	bukit	rimba	songai	batu	lecak
Bajo	silla	pulau	bullu	roma	lubbangan	batu	guso

	75.	76.	77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.
English	big	small	long	short	thin	straight	sharp	warm
Indonesian	besar	kecil	panjang	pendek	tipis	lurus	tajam	panas
Weda	pelól	myakè	mlonge	ketobe	mlifes	meloleng	mdalem	foncs/pseng
Foya/Mafa	pelól	myá/myakè	mlonge	ketobe	mlifes	meloleng	mdalem	pseng
Wosi	lóal	waio	mlonga	katobat	manihis	milolang	magamin/non	psan
Gane	lóal	wai	mlonga	katobat	manifis	milolang	magamin/non	psan
Saketa	lóal	waio	mlonga	katobat	manihis	milolang	magamin/non	psan
Kayoa	lol	kutu/myasi	mlonga	pokal	mnihis	milolang	nawata	matutin
Mailoa	lol	myasi	mlonga	pokal	mnihis	milolang	non ¹²	matutin
Soma	lalo	kutu	mlanga	pokal	mlihis	madodang	nan	makawa
Tahane	lalo	kutu/myasi	mlanga	pokal	mnihis	maddodang	nan	makawa
Peleri/Samsuma	lalo	utu/myasi	mlanga	pokal	mnihis	maddodang	nan	makawa
Ngofakiaha	lolo	myasi	mlongan	pokal	mnihis	maddodang	non/nwata	makoai
Ngofagita	lolo	kutu	mloas	pokal	mnihis	maddodang	non/nwata	makoai
Sabale	lamo	kaku	awó	katoba	fenifine	kaulo	mangot	sasafo
Talapao	lamo	kakú	awó	katoba	fenifine	kaulo	mangot	sasafo
Tafasoho	lamo	kaku	awó	katoba	fenifine	kaulo	mangot	sasafo
Tagono	lamo	kaku	awó	katoba	fenifine	kaulo	mangot	sasafo
Ngofabobawa	lamo	kaku	awó	katoba	fenifine	kaulo	mangot	sasafo
Bobawa	lamo	kaku	aiwó	katoba	fenifine	kaulo	mangot	sasafo
Malapa	lamo	kaku	aiwó	katoba	fenifine	kaulo	mangot	sasafo
Ternate	lamo	ici	gila	podo	hina	loa	mango	sosahu
Tidore	lamo	kene	gira	podo	hina	loa	paha	sahu
Bacan	ra	dikit	tinggi	pendek	tipis	lurus	tajam	panas
Bajo	basar	didikki	taha	pipinda	ninipis	lurus	tarang	panas

	83.	84.	85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.
English	cold	dry	wet	good	bad	new	white	black
Indonesian	dingin	kering	basah	baik	jelek	baru	putih	hitam
Weda	bebobel	mang	melom	fie	le	nobeng	mfus	beblút
Foya/Mafa	bebobel	mángék/gemós	belbilek	fie	le	wobnu	mfus	beblót
Wosi	makuhin	gamós	detas	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kidkuda
Gane	makufin	gamós	baloám	fia	lekat	pou	bulang	kidkuda
Saketa	makuhin	gamós	gabús	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kidkuda
Kayoa	miding	gamós	kabús	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kuda
Mailoa	miding	gamós	kabús	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kuda
Soma	miding	gamós	kabús	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kuda
Tahane	miding	gamás	kabús	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kuda
Peleri/Samsuma	miding	gamás	kabús	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kuda
Ngofakiaha	miding	gamós	kabús	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kuda
Ngofagita	miding	gamos	kabus	hia	lekat	powo	bulang	kuda
Sabale	gagararo	loto	kaban	minyá	sa	topo	bulo	kekēi
Talapao	gararo	loto	kaban	miá	sa	topo	bulo	kekēi
Tafasoho	gagararo	loto	kaban	miá	sa	topo	bulo	kekēi
Tagono	gagararo	loto	kaban	miá	sa	topo	bulo	kekēi
Ngofabobawa	gararo	loto	kaban	miá	sa	topo	bulo	kekēi
Bobawa	gararo	loto	kaban	miá	sa	topo	bulo	kekēi
Malapa	gagararo	loto	kaban	miá	sa	topo	bulo	kekēi
Ternate	alo	otu	musa	laha	ira	sung	bobudo	kokotu
Tidore	alo	hotu	hobo	laha	jira	sung	bulo	kotu
Bacan	dingin	kering	basa	majang	kasalmo	baru	puti	nggoa
Bajo	jarinni	toho	base	ala	buntu	babau	pote	lohong

	91.	92.	93.	94.	95.	96.	97.	98.
English	red	yellow	one	two	three	four	five	six
Indonesian	merah	kuning	satu	dua	tiga	empat	lima	enam
Weda	mekót	bengbongel	puso	pelú	petēl	pefót	pelím	pewonem
Foya/Mafa	mekót	gelpó	puso	pelú	petēl	pefót	pelím	pewonem
Wosi	mikoát	madimal	pso	plu	ptol	phot	plim	pwonam
Gane	mikoát ¹³	madimal	pso	plu	ptol	pfot	plim	pwonam
Saketa	malaka	madimal	pso	plu	ptol	phot	plim	pwonam
Kayoa	malaka	madimal	pso	plu	ptol	phot	plim	pwonam
Mailoa	malaka	madimal	pso	plu	ptol	phot	plim	pwonam
Soma	makát	madimal	psa	plu	ptol	phat	plim	pwonam
Tahane	makát	madimal	psa	plu	ptol	phat	plim	pwonam
Peleri/Samsuma	makát	madimal	psa	plu	ptol	phat	plim	pwonam
Ngofakiaha	makót	makninis	pso	plu	ptol	phot	plim	pwonam
Ngofagita	makót	makninis	pso	plu	ptol	phot	plim	pwonam
Sabale	lulupa	burēi	minye	medéng	iunge	ifat i	maafoi	idami
Talapao	lupupa	burēi	minye	medéng	iunge	ifat i	maafoi	dami
Tafasoho	lulupa	burēi	minye	medéng	iunge	ifat i	maafoi	idami
Tagono	lulupa	burēi	minye	medéng	iunge	ifat i	maafoi	idami
Ngofabobawa	lulupa	borēi	minye	medéng	iunge	ifat i	maafoi	idami
Bobawa	lulupa	borēi	minye	medéng	yunge	ifat i	maafoi	idam/dam
Malapa	lulupa	borēi	minye	medéng	iunge	ifat i	maafoi	idami
Ternate	doliha	kuraci	rimoi	romdidi	raange	raha	romtoha	rara
Tidore	kohori	kuraci	rimoi	malofu	range	raha	romtoha	rora
Bacan	sela	kunyit	habua	dua	tolu	ampat	lima	enám
Bajo	mi ro	kune	dakkau	dua	tullu	mpa	lima	anam

	99.	100.	101.	102.	103.	104.
English	seven	eight	nine	ten	when?	day
Indonesian	tujuh	delapan	sembilan	sepuluh	kapan	siang
Weda	pefít	pewál	pepupet	yofesó	feifís	ngengngán
Foya/Mafa	pefít	pewál	pepopet	yofesó	ngane fís	ngengngán
Wosi	phit	pwal	psiwo	yohasó	nganohís	balanto
Gane	pfit	pwal	psiu	yagimsó	hafisák	balantu
Saketa	phit	pwal	psiwo	yohasó	nganohís	balanto
Kayoa	phit	pwal	psiwo	yohasó	haisák	mowodo
Mailoa	phit	pwal	psio	yohasó	haisak	moa
Soma	phit	pwal	psio	yahasá	haisák	nganmalat
Tahane	phit	pwal	psio	yahasá	haisá	nganlá
Peleri/Samsuma	phit	pwal	psio	yahasá	haisák	nganlá
Ngofakiaha	phit	pwal	psio	yohasó	pohiso/poiso	nganlól
Ngofagita	phit	pwal	psiwo	yohasó	opohiso/poiso	nganlól
Sabale	tepedingi	tukubange	isie	awonye	putuwú	wilalá
Talapao	tepedingi	tukbange	isiwe	aunge	putuwú	wilalá
Tafasoho	tepedingi	tukbange	isiwe	awoinye	putuwú	wilalá
Tagono	tepedingi	tukbange	isiwe	aunge	putuwú	wilalá
Ngofabobawa	tepedingi	tukbange	isiwe	aunge	putuwú	ilalá
Bobawa	tepedingi	tukbange	isiwe	ainye	pitwú	ilalá
Malapa	tepedingi	tukbange	isiwe	awoiwinye	putuiwú	wilalá
Ternate	tomdí	tufkange	sio	nyagimoi		wangelamo
Tidore	tomdí	tufkange	sio	nyaboi	fio	wangelamo
Bacan	pitu	dualapan	selapan	sepulu	apabila	caya
Bajo	tuju	delapan	sembilan	spulu	sumerang	lloi

English	105. night	106. leftside	107. rightside	108. where?	109. not
Indonesian	malam	kiri	kanan	dimana	tidak
Weda	merorem	balet	wónēi	pobóilo	tise
Foya/Mafa	dorem	balet	wone	pua	tise
Wosi	bakemo	abalit	awoyan	paloi	tes
Gane	bakomu	abalit	awoyan	paloli/aloli	tes/tesin
Saketa	bakemo	abalit	awoyan	paloli	tes/tesin
Kayoa	bakél	abalit	awoyan	paleli	tesen
Mailoa	bakél	abalit	awoyan	paleli	tesin
Soma	bakoam	balit	wayan	loli	tes
Tahane	bakoam	balit	wayan	pololi	tes
Peleri/Samsuma	bakoam	balit	wayan	paloli	te
Ngofakiaha	galmumit	balit	woyan	pololi/loli	te
Ngofagita	galmumit	balit	woyan	loli	te
Sabale	kaman	kabali	kayai	sito	io
Talapao	kaman	kabali	kayawi	sito	io
Tafasoho	kaman	kabali	kayawi	sito	io
Tagono	kaman	kabali	kayawi	stó	io
Ngofabobawa	kaman	kabali	kayai	sitó	io
Bobawa	kaman	kabali	kayawi	sitó	io
Malapa	kaman	kabali	kayawi	sitó	io
Ternate	sifutu	gubadi	gunyira	kasá	ua
Tidore	sifutu	kubali	kunyira	kabé	ua
Bacan	patang	kiri	kanan	dimana	moyo
Bajo	sangang	kikida	kanan	maningge	nggai

NOTES

1. I met a native speaker of this dialect in Gane Dalam
2. I have not been to Bacan, but met a native speaker of this language in Wosi.
3. melá also means *areca nut*.
4. kamama *arm including the hand up to the fingers.*
ia *the fingers.*
5. moma *bones in itself*
mom-u *bones in relation to the body*
6. to wash clothes, etc.
7. to wash dishes, etc.
8. myasing is seen as the original word, but this is seldom used. It also means *salty (water)*. Instead they use the Ternatan gasi.
9. ayam *chicken* has been taken instead of burung, because most languages have no general word for 'bird'.
10. These forms differ from the Indonesian, and have probably possessive suffixes.
11. bintang is used in this village, probably because mai also means *stone* (73.). Stars become thus batu di langit *stones in the sky* in the local Moluccan Malay of the village.
12. non = n-on *he eats*. on is the transitive form of awón (18.). Also they say in Moluccan Malay dia makan if the sharpness of a knife is meant.
13. In Gane Luar mikoát is used, but in Gane Dalam: malaka.