THE MAKIAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

C.L. Voorhoeve, ed.

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C.L. Voorhoeve

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C.L. Voorhoeve, The Australian National University, Canberra.
Map 1: LOCATION MAP
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


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

Canberra, Nopember 1981

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Fieldwork particulars, scope of the report

The data on which this report on the West Mákian 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
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 Mákian and Tidore. Its aim is no more than to draw an outline of the phonological and grammatical structure of West Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Mákian 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.


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.


Summarises what is known about the linguistic affiliation of West Mákian and gives useful historical and ethnographical background information.

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 (Watusuke 1976).² There are seven West Mákian speaking villages on Mákian. They are, from north to south: Sabalé (Sebelei, 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 Mákinese 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 Tesite 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, Ngofakiahā.

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 Mákian 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. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bobawa</th>
<th>Sabalé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>common</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>kamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>afe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>apota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>gow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>mada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>fiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>bebé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td>tifi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to defecate</td>
<td>fu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.6. Linguistic interference

Both in its lexicon and in its grammar West Mákian 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 Mákian, Ternate, Dutch, and possibly Portuguese. That so many languages influenced West Mákian is not surprising. First of all, the West Mákianese shared their small island for centuries with the East Mákianese and although the relations between the two groups were usually unfriendly this did not prevent the borrowing of many East Mákian words into West Mákian. Secondly, Mákian 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. 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. 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 Mâkian language. I shall discuss here first the lexical borrowings and then the way in which West Mâkian 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 Mâkian from Indonesian or from Moluccan Malay as the two languages have a lot of vocabulary in common and many words have very similar or the same forms in both. Only where Moluccan Malay has characteristic word forms or terms entirely different from those used in Indonesian can one recognize borrowings from this source. Such Moluccan Malay loans are for instance mancia (IN manusia) people, peda (IN pedang) bush knife, patola (IN ular sawa) python, beti (MM pece, IN lumpur, rawa) swamp, mud.

As said earlier, West Mâkian has borrowed many words from its neighbour East Mâkian. 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 Mâkian word found its way into the polite vocabulary: sadoe eye, from EM sado face. East Mâkian in its turn borrowed words from West Mâkian but as far as I can judge not nearly as frequently. Thus we find:

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

The fact that West Mâkian in most cases has been the receiver and East Mâkian 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 jowe 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 Mâkian 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' bebe 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 Mákian.

Originally West Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Mákian has prepositions instead of postpositions, and it lacks the object-marking prefix which in the languages of North Halmahera 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 Mákian language is in the field of ethnolinguistics and consists of two pages devoted to the orientational system of the West Mákianese 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 Mákianese orient themselves with respect to places on and outside the island of Mákian. Since folk orientation is relative orientation (Yoshida, p.24) its notions will shift with the circumstances, that is, they depend on the place the speaker takes as his orientational reference point. I shall present here some data on the way the inhabitants of Bobawa (the village of my principal informant) orient themselves.

The position of places outside Bobawa is described in the following terms: na over there (but not very far away), naso below, ney above, nao in the direction of the sea, and nanga in the direction of the interior. Malapa and Tagono, the nearest villages to the south and north respectively, are na. All other villages on the island with the exception of Ngofakiaha are ney, that is,
going there is going 'up'. This has nothing to do with actual climbing as all traffic on the island has to follow the coastline. The steep volcano in the centre makes crossing the island extremely difficult. Ngofakiaha however is again na contrary to all expectations. There is no ready explanation for this irregularity. My guess is, that the ancestors of the Bobawa people lived somewhere near Ngofakiaha at a time when this perhaps was the only East Mákian settlement on the island\textsuperscript{13} 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 nao below and Bacan is ney above. This fits in with the spatial orientation reported by Yoshida for the Galela and by Teljeur for the Gimân.\textsuperscript{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, α], e [ε, e], i [i], u [u, ū], o [o, o] and ē [ē]. 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, e, and u tend to be nasalised word finally after a nasal consonant; a and e have been observed to become mid-central [α] 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:

\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
 p & t & k & c \\
 b & d & g & j \\
 m & n & ng & ny \\
 f & s & h & r \\
 l & \\
\end{tabular}

The phoneme symbols have the following phonetic values:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
 p: & unvoiced bilabial stop [p] \\
 t: & unvoiced interdental stop [f] \\
 k: & unvoiced velar stop [k] \\
\end{tabular}
The voiceless stops are unreleased in word-final position when followed by a pause.

c: unvoiced alveopalatal stop [ɺ]
b: voiced bilabial stop [b]; a fricative allophone [b̪] has been noted between two o's: [o̞bo̞].
d: voiced dental stop [d] which is retroflexed [ɖ] after a, o, and u.
g: voiced velar stop [g]; a fricative allophone [γ] was noted between two a's: [ay̞a̞].
j: voiced alveopalatal stop [ɲ].
m: voiced bilabial nasal [m].
n: voiced dental nasal [n].
ng: voiced velar nasal [ŋ]
ny: voiced alveopalatal nasal [ɲ̞]
f: unvoiced bilabial fricative [p], in word-initial position often preceded by a weak [p]: [p̞].
s: unvoiced alveodental fricative [s].
h: unvoiced glottal fricative [h].
r: voiced trilled or flapped vibrant [ɾ, ɾ̞].
l: voiced alveodental lateral [l] which has a retroflexed allophone [ɭ] 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 mínyé 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 Mákian 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 / (C)i
   A final vowel becomes e if followed by a consonant + i.

3. CV > Ci / i

4. CV > C0 . {[(C)0]}
   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 > cortá story
- kafiti > kaftí young (of fruit)
- badan de gigo > badan de ggó (body-its-hair) body hair
- ní sitó > ní stó (you-where) where are you going?
2.2. Word classes and morphology

2.2.1. Morphological processes

Word-building processes in West Mákian 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** to be hot  (safo be warm, have fever, pain)
- **kakawi** to be crooked  (kawi bend)
- **bolabolobolabola** be lying down, resting  (bola ?)
- **berebere** be weak of body  (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** to be wounded  fa-abo to wound

2. It forms causative verbs from transitive and intransitive verb stems:
   
   - **dadi** to become  fa-dadi to cause to become
   - **milinga** to think of, to love  fe-milinga to make somebody think of

3. It forms transitive verbs from nouns:
   
   - **carita** story  fa-carita to tell a story

fV- can have a reciprocal meaning:

- **galeng** to abuse  fa-galeng to abuse each other
- **ruju** to thump  fo-ruju to thump each other

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** to tickle  mefe-kerekiri to tickle each other
- **isi** to kiss  mefe-isi to kiss each other

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 Mákian
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-tén-g 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 fícó, fi- signals an active involvement in the act of visual perception which is lacking in co; fíténg 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 fíám (and fa) however its function is the opposite of fV- in that it signals that the verb cannot take an object. Fíám 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1st person</th>
<th>tV-</th>
<th>Plural 1st person inclusive</th>
<th>mV-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>nV-</td>
<td>1st person exclusive</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>fV-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>dV-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ti-i} & \quad \text{I go} & \text{to-có} & \quad \text{I see} \\
\text{te-fíam} & \quad \text{I eat} & \text{no-có} & \quad \text{you see} \\
\text{te-bebe} & \quad \text{I drink} & \text{i-có} & \quad \text{he/she/it sees} \\
\text{ta-baso} & \quad \text{I hear} & \text{mo-có} & \quad \text{we inclusive see} \\
\text{to-toba} & \quad \text{I bathe} & \text{a-có} & \quad \text{we exclusive see} \\
\text{to-uba} & \quad \text{I carry} & \text{fo-có} & \quad \text{you plural see} \\
\text{to-có} & \quad \text{they see}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni-í, fi-í!} & \quad \text{go!} & \text{no-ogosó, fo-ogosó!} & \quad \text{put it down!} \\
\text{ne-é, fe-é!} & \quad \text{get it!} & \text{nu-uba, fu-uba!} & \quad \text{carry it!} \\
\text{na-tala, fa-tala!} & \quad \text{cut it!}
\end{align*}
\]
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti-naso</td>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>I am going to Ternate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-naso</td>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>you singular are going ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-naso</td>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>he is going ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-naso</td>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>we inclusive are going ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-naso</td>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>they are going to Ternate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, fla 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti-bele</td>
<td>I am hungry</td>
<td>ni-dadi puni you became a spook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-dadi</td>
<td>it happens</td>
<td>ma-dadi sangaji he became a chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di oma ma ma-kaku i</td>
<td>their child that it-small still</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Their child is still small.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala ne i-kaku</td>
<td>house this it-small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This house is small.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, barubar u 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
matomato an old man

A special kind of duplication involves vowel variation:
gataguta lid of a receptacle (guta to close)
langalangi 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
mudefete mu + de + fete ?? + its + tree; nose
dimádepá dimáde 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 Makian 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of special lexical items denoting body parts or expressing bodily functions (cf. 1.2.4:5)</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>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)</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of ma as subj.prf. 3rd p. sg. with stative verbs (cf. 2.2.2.2:15)</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of the poss.pr. mV (cf. 2.2.6:19)</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of the go- numerals (cf. 2.2.10:24)</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of the di- numerals (cf. 2.2.10:24)</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+= 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 2nd person ni 3rd person me
Singular 2nd person ene
Singular 3rd person ine

Plural 1st person exclusive imi
Plural 1st person inclusive ene
Plural 2nd person ini
Plural 3rd person ine

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 the two of us
eme je, je the two of them
ene unge the three of us, etc.

2.2.6. Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are:

Singular 1st person ti my
2nd person ni your
3rd person Animate mV his/her/its
3rd person Inanimate dV its

Plural 1st person exclusive mi our
Plural 1st person inclusive nV our
Plural 2nd person fi your
Plural 3rd person di their

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

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
this I my Grandmother Her mat
This is my Grandmother's mat.
The following demonstratives have been noted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this/these</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>mené</td>
<td>nema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that/those</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mena</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 that 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, īa, does not seem to be speaker-oriented but to refer to a location near
another, context-determined point of reference. The locatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Derived forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>na₁⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  sinē?
  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 sangaj i sesiné?
who he-become Camat 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 stó
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 sitó and sesitó (directional-locative) is parallel to that between the locative roots and their derivates, 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-f 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 Mákian the common word for night is now kaman.

sapmá }  why
  sapmá amo

  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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>AH/IH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>minyé</td>
<td>minyé</td>
<td>meminyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>edéng, edé, je</td>
<td>medéng</td>
<td>dimáéde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>unge</td>
<td>iunge</td>
<td>dimaunge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fatí</td>
<td>ifati</td>
<td>dimfatí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>foy</td>
<td>mafoy</td>
<td>dimføy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>idam</td>
<td>dimdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tepedingi</td>
<td>tepedingi</td>
<td>ditepedingi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tukbangé</td>
<td>tukbangé</td>
<td>ditukbangé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>siwe</td>
<td>isiwe</td>
<td>dimsiwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 jé the two of you
- ini unge the three of you

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

- loka minyé one banana
- loka gominyé one banana tree
- oma dimáede two children

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.

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

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

Exceptions are the numerals 7 and 8 in which di- is prefixed directly to the root. These two roots have cognates in all Northern Halmaheran languages and are clearly of non-Austronesian origin. On the other hand the roots fa, siw-, and dom 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 ainya
- 11 ainya lo minyé
- 12 ainya lo medeng etc.
- 20 awedeng
- 21 awedeng lo minyé etc.
- 30 aweiunge
- 40 awelfate etc.
- 100 atus minyé

Indefinite quantifiers are:

- folo many
- otu few, a bit
- feberesi
- famasi all

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 phrase

The AVP \(_1\) has the structure: \((\text{mode}) \text{Verb} (\text{Aspect})\). 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dené musti ti-dadi puni} & \\
& \text{I have to I-become spirit} \\
& \text{I have to become a spirit.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Coba ni suka ni-dadi puni,} & \\
\text{If you like you-become spirit} \\
& \text{If you like to become a spirit, . . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Te ne i-sasaf o i} & \\
& \text{This tea is still hot.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Motor ne i-dée naso Ternate omo} & \\
& \text{The boat has already reached Ternate.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Terus o-jaga epé} & \\
\text{And again he kept watch.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

**Speaker 1:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ni-i ta pasar no-poli namu de esi lo ifa!} \\
& \text{You (sg) go to the market and buy eggs and canarium nuts!}
\end{align*}
\]

**Speaker 2:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lo pamá epé?} & \\
\text{And what again?}
\end{align*}
\]

**Speaker 1:**

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Memá omo.} \\
& \text{that already}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{That'll do.}
\end{align*}
\]
2.3.1.2. Action verb phrase

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-ff i no-poli de ti tabako
---VP--- VP ------O------
you-go mod you buy my tobacco
Please go and buy tobacco for me.
```

```
i-fi sesine i
      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 nalo ma i-malu 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 åt the man, husband; oma da at a male child, boy; may da magol a large stone.

Examples of General Noun Phrases are:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{omo (a) child} \\
&\text{do } \text{omo} \\
&\text{art } \text{child} \\
&\text{da lagey gominyé} \\
&\text{art old man one} \\
&\text{one Old Man} \\
&\text{do gupa ma feberesí} \\
&\text{art coconut that all} \\
&\text{all those coconuts} \\
&\text{da sawan gawi minyé} \\
&\text{art spot lonely one} \\
&\text{(spot lonely one) one lonely spot} \\
&\text{mai da magol ne} \\
&\text{stone Q1 large this} \\
&\text{this large stone}
\end{align*}
\]

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:
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
- namu de esi lo ifa
- da at fa da papá?
- win edéng fa iunge

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.ClJ those
- those people who are evil spirits

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

- da mancia de-sedor ia, yang di sifat i-tiahi
- people L-Emb.Cl-J, L-----Emb.Cl-------- 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, hapāapa like this and that and wa also. Examples of time phrases are:
maidne  today  marungo minyé  in three days’ time
ibulang  tomorrow  win tanuawi  at noon
do bulang fi  the following day  ianso, anso  newly, just
maitiso  yesterday  terahir  at last
mardinge  the day after tomorrow

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

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

na-tala pe  peda  da  langalongi ne  you-cut with bushknife  art 23  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-.

mamínye  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-św 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-waxo  pe  de  may
he-threw to me stone
He threw a stone at me.
uu-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:

- gēlas 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. 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) e (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, waï, wayó, and moïa. 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; waï not yet and moïa 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-ê
  - S e VP
  - I I-go
  - I went.
I am not eating. I just got up!

A few moments ago somebody came here. He walked this way and that way.

That dog bit me. Take this chair to the house! Cut this rope with a knife!

They already love them very much. Don't drink this 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.

\[
\text{mené Hasan mo oma} \\
S^{23} \text{------Comp------} \\
\text{this Hasan his child} \\
\text{This is Hasan's child.}
\]

\[
\text{anso di oma dimáede} \\
\text{AdvP ------S----- Comp} \\
\text{newly their children two} \\
\text{They had only two children.}
\]

\[
\text{mama mená te fito} \\
S \text{-------Comp-------} \\
S \text{Comp} \\
\text{Mother she-there in kitchen} \\
\text{Mother is there in the kitchen.}
\]

\[
\text{dimáedepea di oma dimáede} \\
S \text{---------Comp---------} \\
-----S----- \text{Comp} \\
\text{man & wife their children two} \\
\text{The man and his wife had two children.}
\]

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:

\[
\text{fo-uba pamá} \\
\text{VP o} \\
\text{you-carry what} \\
\text{What are you carrying?}
\]

\[
\text{imu ini} \\
\text{Comp S} \\
\text{who you (pl)} \\
\text{Who are you?}
\]

\[
\text{ni sapma no-podo yo} \\
\text{S AdvP VP SM} \\
\text{you why you-come not} \\
\text{Why didn't you come?}
\]
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:

```
Cj -----------O-------- AdvP  EO
Their children those, very much they love them already
```

```
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:
2.4.2.2. Clauses linked by conjunctions

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

West Makian coba if

Indonesian coba to try, see if

serta because

térus then (at once)

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 and jadi so, therefore
da or térus and then, and at once
tapi but

Subordinating conjunctions are:

coba ) if sētēlah after
kalaw) when, at the time that
serta since, because
situ until
amo } because te } so that, so

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. sēbāp and kārēna 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 Makian conjunction. coba clauses are often followed by a clause introduced by ma then. Examples:

i-māa me lo i-dō me

he grab it and he hold it

He made a grab for it and got hold of it.
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:

2.4.3. Embedded clauses

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 Makian 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 kēbētulan dimāedepea / 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
dimāede // anso di oma dimāede // 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

öffus 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.

dimāede bukan / jadi do oma da ayo magéy // kārena 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

je pas de-milingá me / tērūs 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 / sēbāp 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 tērūs 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-itēng / a / coba hapa ma ti-i 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 mancio yang di-puni ma
he-said Him oh I this I-look for somebody who He-evil spirit that
so that He-cause to become me evil spirit after he-said to him that
that makes me into an evil spirit'. When he had told him that the
těrús da lagéy ma de-fténg / 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 to
then they become an evil spirit, it will happen'. So then the two of them made
isa do sów ma bukan / di-isá 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-i da-sagal // sa-gal je di-i 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-deé 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-fténg 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-vá fattá // sêtéláh 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 ýó / 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 waí //
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-fimegepe me / a / no-có de omo fa waí // 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-téráng 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-fimegepe 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 // sëtéláh
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 —
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'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 těrús 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-sedor oma jonga
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-sedor / oma oma i de-sedor // a de-sedor /
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 ma / kalau waktu de-sedor / 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-dee 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-get 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-sedor 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 wayo // situ terahir meminye do oma meminye i-sedor
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 / těrús 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!'
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!

i-bafikir memâ têrus ia i-ftêng da lagêy ma / a de 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

omoh // ártinya de ne kârêna 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!

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 clas­
sificatory 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 Mákian shares about 30 per cent cognates with Tidore. Other percentages involving West Mákian have not yet been calculated, but the figure of 30 per cent is sufficient to show the isolated position of West Mákian within the family.

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

West Mákian    Tidore    Ternate    Sahu
mada           moda      mada      madang   mada
fete           hate      hate      ate       jupi

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

1. The loss of initial k in the word for skin: West Mákian fi, Tidore, Ternate ahi but Galela kahi, Modole 'ai, and all others except Sahu²³ kai.

2. t + u where the other languages have d + i in the word for sky: West Mákian 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 Mákian 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 Makian Tidore, Ternate, and perhaps Sahu hang closer together than a lexicostatistical analysis shows. The family tree would then look like this:

```
\begin{verbatim}
NORTH HALMAHERA FAMILY

Southern subfamily   Northern subfamily

West Makian          (Sahu??)
Ternate (Sahu ??)    Tobaru
Tidore

\end{verbatim}
```

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 Makian – Tidore sound correspondences

4.3.1. Preliminaries

West Makian 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 Makian 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Makian</th>
<th>Tidore</th>
<th>Lexical set no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I p</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>5 19 28 38 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M p</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>25 43 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>no data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>13 29 52 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>22 24 27 36 45 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F f</td>
<td>\emptyset</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Tidore</td>
<td>Lexical set no:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>I b</td>
<td>4 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M b</td>
<td>35 44 49 51 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>I m</td>
<td>7 33 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M m</td>
<td>6 16 42 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F m</td>
<td>φ 20 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>I t</td>
<td>17 42 44 46 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M t</td>
<td>11 18 29 39 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F t</td>
<td>φ 41 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>I s</td>
<td>1 16 25 26 27 35 36 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M s</td>
<td>24 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>I d</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M d</td>
<td>3 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>8 32 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>I n</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M n</td>
<td>15 52 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F n</td>
<td>φ 5 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>M φ</td>
<td>r 9 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I l</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>9 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M l</td>
<td>4 17 28 38 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F l</td>
<td>φ 44 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>I φ</td>
<td>k 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M k</td>
<td>φ 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>I φ</td>
<td>g 2 21 30 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M g</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>I φ</td>
<td>ng 40 41 56 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M ng</td>
<td>1 9 37 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>I j</td>
<td>c 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M j</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>I φ</td>
<td>ny 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ny 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>I φ</td>
<td>y 3 49 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M φ</td>
<td>y 20 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F y</td>
<td>y 13 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>I w</td>
<td>φ 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M w</td>
<td>26 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F w</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES:

Set 1: There are a number of lexical correspondences between West Makian and Tidore which show West Makian 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 Makian f: Tidore h form part of the larger series:


The earlier reconstruction of the Proto-North Halmaheran sound underlying this series (Wada 1980, Voorhoeve 198136), which did not take into account the West Makian data, was *h. West Makian 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 Makian, noun roots can be derived from verb roots by a process of modification of verb root initial consonants. Not all consonants are subject to this process; for those who do the following rules apply:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Noun root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f-</td>
<td>d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-</td>
<td>g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>ng-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sound shifts affecting the verb root initial consonants do not seem to have had any affect 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 Makian 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 Makian has retained a final consonant which was lost in Tidore. There is comparative evidence that Proto-North Halmaheran allowed all consonants except voiced stops in word-final position. In Tidore, Ternate and Galela all word-final consonants have been dropped. West Makian retained them in some words and lost them in others; the reasons for this seemingly erratic behaviour are unclear.

Set 5: West Makian t: Tidore s: is the only case in which both members of the set are followed by i: West Makian 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 Mâkian, 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 Mâkian d, Tidore, Ternate, Sahu, Loloda r, Tobelo, Modole h, Tobaru, Galela s, and Pagu l.

Examples of the latter are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galela</td>
<td>ngoosa</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidore</td>
<td>ora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Mâkian</td>
<td>odo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahu</td>
<td>ngara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galela</td>
<td>tosi</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>tori</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidore</td>
<td>tori</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Mâkian</td>
<td>tedi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagu</td>
<td>tolik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobelo</td>
<td>tohiki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modole</td>
<td>tohi'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobaru</td>
<td>tosi ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahu</td>
<td>tori'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 10: As yet there is no explanation for West Mâkian 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 Mâkian. The k : k correspondence is found in West Mâkian koko: Tidoreoko chin from earlier *okok. Tidore lost the final k, and West Mâkian 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 Mâkian will be discussed in more detail in the next section. The final vowel in the West Mâkian 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 Mâkian koko.

It is possible that not all cases of West Mâkian ṣ: Tidore ng represent cases of phonological change. There is comparative evidence that Tidore ngone we (incl.) and ngomi we (excl.) (West Mâkian ene, imi) contain an old prefix ngo-. Did the West Mâkian forms ene and imi once contain this prefix too, but lost all trace of it, or did the prefix not occur in Proto-West Mâkian? The question can not yet be answered. There is however some evidence that West Mâkian 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-os), Sahu ngara (ng-ar); 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 Mâkian eti. In these words the prefix does not appear (any more) in Ternate and Tidore. The fact that the West Mâkian 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 Mâkian which must have entered the language early enough to be affected by the loss of initial velar consonants. They are West Mâkian aso (Tidore kaso) dog and West Mâkian ase (Tidore gasi) salt.
Set 15: West Mákian $\phi$, $\gamma$: Tidore $\gamma$: no conditioning factor is evident.

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


$\phi$ : $\gamma$ : $h$ : $r$ : $d$ : $j$ : $d$ : $\phi$ : $d$ : $\gamma$

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

4.3.3. Vowel correspondences

West Mákian : Tidore  
Lexical set no.

1. a : a  1 2 3 6 7 13 16 17 18 19 23 24 26 27 28 33 35 38 43 46 47 51 59
2. e : e  4 35 53 54 56
3. i : i  2 5 11 18 21 29 31 43 45 48 50 52 55 57
4. o : o  1 6 7 9 14 15 23 25 29 32 34 41 49
5. u : u  8 10 39 40 46 51
6. a : o  16 17 20 26 28 33
7. a : e  38
8. e : o  3 4 11 21 44 48 56
9. e : a  52 54
10. i : u  42
11. o : u  27
12. o : a  31 32
13. u : i  8 40
14. u : o  22 36
15. $\phi$ : V-  5 10 14 15 22 45 55

NOTES

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

Set 6: $oCa > aCa$  $^36$ In all cases except 20

7: $eCa > aCa$

8: $oCi > eCi$

$oCe > eCe$

$oCy > eCy$

9: $aCe > eCe$

$iCa > iCe$
Set 10:  uCi > iCi
Set 11:  aCu > aCo
Set 12:  oCa > 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 Mákian lost all initial vowels in bisyllabic words. Later, new bisyllabic words with initial vowels were created when West Mákian lost all word-initial velar consonants and the reflex of Proto-North Halmaheran *0 (cf. sets 11-13, and 16 in the preceding section). Examples are:

Loss of V-:
in   < *opin  bee  (5)
isi  < *isi  urine  (55)
ino  < *ino  come  (15)

Loss of k-, g-, ng-, and *D-:
io  < *kio  to marry  (31)
esi  < *gosi  egg  (21)
ujuf  < *ngucih  saliva  (40)
bosi  < (*obosi)  < *Dobosi  swollen  (49)
bual  < (*ubual)  < *Dobosi  termite  (51)

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

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

The loss of *D can have accompanied or preceded the second of these sound changes; the present data do not allow a more exact ordering.\(^{37}\)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Mákian</th>
<th>Tidore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eti</td>
<td>oti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odo</td>
<td>ora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utu</td>
<td>utu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udu</td>
<td>iru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

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


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.

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.


(1.6) 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:


(2.2) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. bernyawa</th>
<th>2. tak bernyawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. halus</td>
<td>b. kasar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. halus</td>
<td>b. kasar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 cerita rakyat beserta terjemahan kata demi kata dan terjemahan bebas dalam bahasa Inggeris. Terjemahan bebas dalam bahasa Indonesia diberikan dalam bab 6.


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

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

6. APPENDICES
6.1. West Mákian—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:

- **excl**: exclusive
- **id**: idem
- **incl**: inclusive
- **intr**: intransitive
- **pl**: plural
- **pol**: polite
- **sg**: singular
- **sp**: species
- **tr**: transitive
- **v**: see
- **vulg**: vulgar

Source of loan words:
- **AN**: Austronesian (unspecified)
- **DU**: Dutch
- **EM**: East Makian
- **IN**: Indonesian
- **MM**: Moluccan Malay
- **PO**: Portuguese
- **TE**: Ternate
A

a cooked, done
abamo handle; peda da abamo
handle of a bush knife
abeys* 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
afebebe tears
afis* ground, earth (in S also:
garden)
aingly S: awingly ten; aingly lo
mingye eleven; aingly lo meden
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)
awedén twenty; awedén lo minyé
twenty-one
aweifate forty
aweinunge 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
bebebóm S: kalbo butterfly
bele* to be hungry; de ti bele I
am hungry
belebele* (1) soft, weak; (2) going slowly
belo tongue
bene* louse
berarti IN to mean
berebere weak
beti* MM swamp, mud
bicara* IN to speak, speech
bilu* AN bamboo
birahi* beautiful (of women)
birbori* grindstone
bisi* calf of leg
biso* tail
biti to bail water
bo penis
boba S: buba to call; to boba ti baba call your father!
bodo* belly
bodok S, IN stupid
bokoboko round and flat
bolabola to be lying down for a rest (but not asleep)
bole IN good, fine!
bori* to sharpen
bosi* swollen; de ti bodo i bos i 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 taratip to sit cross-legged
capati* IN quickly
carita IN story; fa-carita to tell a story
ciawi the inside; so-ciawi in, inside
cio = co to see
coa* to see; fi-co to look at
coba IN if

d
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
dek I, me; de né I (emphatic)
dee to arrive, reach; dee pe to arrive at; i-dee yo it's not enough
degow real, true
deto* grandmother
di their
dia'nye ten (people) v. 2.2.10
dimáede two (people) v. 2.2.10
dimáedepa husband and wife, couple
dimáunge three (people) v. 2.2.10
dimdám six (people)
dimfati four (people)
dimfóy five (people)
dimsiwe nine (people)
ditépedingi 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
dupesto throw away, to drop (the anchor)
durian* IN durian (fruit, tree)

c
E
e* to fetch, to take
edéng two; medéng, dimáede, gomédéng id. v. 2.2.10.
efí S: efíwi to be raw
ekor to make noise
élá that's why!
eme they, them
ene we, us incl.
epe again, once more
esi S: isi egg
etá a half, half; yao de etá 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. fiám
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. bébé
feberesí all
feléy S: faley to search for lice
femilinga v. milingá thin
feti* 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
fiám S: fa to eat intr
fico v. co
fidí to pull out (plants)
flow $\rightarrow$ fiogo to fill (a bag)

fimegepe $\rightarrow$ femegepe to ask

fisi $\rightarrow$ sea water

fitá $\rightarrow$ right, correct (e.g. the solution of a problem)

fiteng, fteng v. teng

fito $\rightarrow$ kitchen

fo $\rightarrow$ to come towards the sea from the land side

fofú $\rightarrow$ to have diarrhoea

fokow v. kow

falo many

folouju $\rightarrow$ nguju to wash (clothes)

folsomá pe to send (a letter) to

fono $\rightarrow$ ti-fono I don't want...

for $\rightarrow$ to hit (repeatedly) with a stick or other object

fotola $\rightarrow$ fatola to break earthenware

foutu to harvest (rice)

fu $\rightarrow$ faeces

fuæe to dry in the sun

G

gaja: be da ga bamboo water container

gafa $\rightarrow$ crab

gafe: jubil da gafe arrow

gagáro $\rightarrow$ cold, feel cold

gagi $\rightarrow$ 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 $\rightarrow$ to swim

gamati $\rightarrow$ already cold, cooled off (e.g. of food)

gapu $\rightarrow$ 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

gegèle $\rightarrow$ gele blunt

gelás $\rightarrow$ glass

gleewi breadfruit

gifi sticky tree sap

Gigo $\rightarrow$ body hair, feathers

gilit throat

ginà cargo (of boat)

giresi yaws, framboesia

gode $\rightarrow$ thick, fat (of people)

goli nasal mucus

golo $\rightarrow$ 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 $\rightarrow$ gufi foot, leg

gua $\rightarrow$ pani buttocks; fay do gua armpit

gulaní $\rightarrow$ thorn

guma full

gunange red ant

gupa $\rightarrow$ coconut (fruit, tree)

guta to close (a lid of a jar etc.)

H

hapa like this, thus

hapâapa like this and that

haywan $\rightarrow$ In, S: namu bird

I

+i $\rightarrow$ to go, to leave

i still
íá there
ibulang* v. bulang
idam six v. 2.2.10.
ifa canarium nut
ifati four v. 2.2.10.
im 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.
junge 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)
jarangaha 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
kafiti, 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 kámmama finger
kaman* night
kameu S: kamow ear
kamma S: ia hand, arm
kampong IN village
karanga to lie on one's back
káréna 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

M
mV his, here v. 2.2.6.
ma that, those
ma then
maa to hold, seize
maaru* cloud
mada* month
madadi v. dadi.
maedeng 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
mamoo* thumb
mamu mother (reference)
mamút : ipi da mamút glowing embers
mancia* MM people, person
mangot sharp (of blade, point)
mararing S: marareng afternoon,
evening
mardingi S: marding 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
maungí three times, the third time

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
lia la 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
mawi: star
mawiji: to have malaria
may: mi: stone
maydem: not long ago
maya: ashamed
me: he, she, it, him, her
medéng: two; dimáede, gomédéng
id. v. 2.2.10.
mefeisi v. isi
mefekerekiri v. kerekiri
meja: IN table
mema: that
meminye: one (person) v. 2.2.10.
mené: 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
molooli: 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
mudafete: 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.
nem: 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, gabanaga
ngaji: outrigger
ngalalupé: S: ngalipé to forget
ngeu (1) dry grass; (2) left overs, scraps (of food)
ngursa to cheat

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
usu 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

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

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

S
sagį* bad, rotten
saawà, sawa* goanna
sado* EM, pol. eye
safo* 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
sangol* to answer
sao* to roast over fire
sapma why
sarangati have a grudge against
sarke S: saraké to shove
sarusaru rib
sasafo* hot
saw* to burn tr.
sawan place, spot
sawramu fog
seba* nearby
seba S: tope want to, intend to
sébap 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)
esiné here, on this spot
sesitó where, on which place
sétéláh IN after
sii* urine, to urinate
sibafong, sbafo: 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
site outside
sito, sto* where, to which place
situ until
siwe\footnote{nine; isiwe, dimiwe, goisiwe} id v. 2.2.10.
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\footnote{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\footnote{fruit}
sosodik IN spoon
sosonéy on that spot up there (?)
sow magic, sorcery; isa do sow to perform magic, sorcery
sowi S: soi smoke
subal to pour
subebi\footnote{bone}
sufala, sfala diligent
sufú\footnote{pig}
suka IN to like
supaya IN so that, in order that
susu IN breast
tala\footnote{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\footnote{pol. leg}
tarsa perhaps
tas DU bag, handbag
tawado S to know
ttea
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
tegeda thief
tegeda 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\footnote{to say; fi-teng to say to someone, to tell someone}
tepedingi seven; ditepedingi, gotepedingi id v. 2.2.10.
terahir IN at last
térang IN clear
térus IN then, and then, and at once
teta end, far end
teto\footnote{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 topotopo 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 uso nostril; gua do uso anus
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 wé blade of a paddle; mejadé wé 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
yofoyofo slippery (stone)
yono areca nut
yuwi point
6.2. English—West Mákian finder list

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{v} & \quad \text{verb} & \text{t} & \quad \text{transitive} \\
\text{n} & \quad \text{noun} & \text{i} & \quad \text{intransitive}
\end{align*}
\]

A

above ney  
absent lome  
abuse galeng  
accidentally kěbětulan  
accompany mofumete  
ache v. safo  
add dogo  
after tebe, sětělāh  
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  
arow gafe

ascend aw  
ashamed maya  
ashes ruru  
ask fimigepe  
at tV  
attractive molooli  
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, kárēna, sěbāp  
become dadi  
bee pin  
behind gapu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>Makian Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belly bodo</td>
<td>canarium nut ifa</td>
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<tr>
<td>bent kakawi</td>
<td>canoe eti</td>
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<tr>
<td>bind v. bali</td>
<td>cape don</td>
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<tr>
<td>bird haywan</td>
<td>capsize kaelo</td>
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<tr>
<td>bite v. kiki</td>
<td>cargo gina, pamano</td>
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<tr>
<td>black kekey</td>
<td>carry kauwa, ko, reu, uba</td>
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<tr>
<td>blade gagi, we</td>
<td>case towpama</td>
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<tr>
<td>blind moci</td>
<td>cassava oso</td>
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<tr>
<td>blood uni</td>
<td>cat tusa</td>
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<tr>
<td>blow v. i. udu</td>
<td>chair kursi</td>
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<tr>
<td>blunt gegele</td>
<td>charcoal mut</td>
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<tr>
<td>body badan</td>
<td>cheat v. ngursa</td>
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<tr>
<td>boil v. i. posa</td>
<td>cheek towo</td>
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<td>boil n. fafos</td>
<td>chest tedengi</td>
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<td>bone subebi</td>
<td>chicken namu</td>
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<tr>
<td>born podo</td>
<td>child oma</td>
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<tr>
<td>bottom peley</td>
<td>chin koko</td>
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<tr>
<td>bow n. jubil</td>
<td>clear tērāng</td>
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<tr>
<td>boy jongi, oma</td>
<td>clever pande</td>
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<tr>
<td>branch n. saga</td>
<td>climb v. aw</td>
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<tr>
<td>breadfruit gelew{ }i</td>
<td>close v. t. rebot, guta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break v. fotola, tala, kow</td>
<td>cloud maaru, kekey</td>
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<td>breast susu</td>
<td>coconut gupa</td>
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<td>bring uba</td>
<td>cold gagararo, gamati</td>
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<tr>
<td>brother ayo, longo</td>
<td>collect v. polu</td>
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<tr>
<td>build v. isa</td>
<td>come ay, fi, fia, fo, mo, no, podo</td>
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<tr>
<td>burn v. t. saw</td>
<td>complete tiahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>bushknife peda</td>
<td>container ga</td>
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<td>but tapi</td>
<td>contents asal</td>
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<td>butterfly beeboom</td>
<td>cooked a</td>
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<td>buttocks gua</td>
<td>coral logos</td>
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<tr>
<td>buy v. poli</td>
<td>corner paapu</td>
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<td>correct fita</td>
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<td>cough oto</td>
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<td>count paiinge</td>
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<td></td>
<td>crab gafa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>crazy baaba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
crocodile samami
crooked kakawi
cross v. tala
cry v. ja
cut v. kuba, tala
earthquake juwi
eat am, flam, fajow
egg esi
eight tukubange, ditukbange
elbow paapu
eleven ainye
embers mamut
empty momua
end n. teta
enter oso
evening mararing
eye afe, sado

D
dark lukaman
day win, bulang
daylight tita
dead magey
def deaf pongol
depth awo, maulu
descend so
deserted gawi
diarrhoea ofu
die v. magey
dig v. pay
diligent sufala
dish pig a
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, flam, 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. ofu
fat gode
father baba, fao
feast ramián
feather gigo
features sifat
feed fae
feel v. fahu
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

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 sasafo
house pala
how apato

G
garden piri
gather v. polu
get hold of do
get up osu
ghost puni
ginger oi
girl sibafong
give pi
glass gēlás
go i
go down so
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>how many</td>
<td>cuu</td>
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<td>howl v.</td>
<td>lalow</td>
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<td>hundred</td>
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<td>bele</td>
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<td>at</td>
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<td>husband &amp; wife</td>
<td>dimaepa, jepe</td>
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<td>if</td>
<td>coba, kalaw</td>
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<td>gopo</td>
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<td>increase v.</td>
<td>dogo</td>
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<td>ciwa</td>
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<td>instruct</td>
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<td>intend</td>
<td>seba</td>
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<td>island</td>
<td>tanusi</td>
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<td>it me</td>
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<td>jump v.</td>
<td>odo</td>
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<td>saga</td>
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<td>just</td>
<td>anso</td>
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<td>keel</td>
<td>kulot</td>
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<td>kill v.</td>
<td>fagéy</td>
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<td>kiss v.</td>
<td>isi</td>
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<td>fito</td>
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<td>knee</td>
<td>paapu</td>
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<td>knife</td>
<td>piso</td>
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<td>know</td>
<td>liala, tawado</td>
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<td>lacking</td>
<td>kurang</td>
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<td>landwards</td>
<td>nanga</td>
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<td>large</td>
<td>lamo, magol</td>
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<td>last</td>
<td>terahir</td>
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<td>laugh v.</td>
<td>ae</td>
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<td>leaf v.</td>
<td>we</td>
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<td>leave v.</td>
<td>i</td>
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<td>left side</td>
<td>kabali</td>
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<td>left-overs</td>
<td>ngeu</td>
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<td>leg</td>
<td>gow, tarotaro</td>
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<td>less</td>
<td>kurang</td>
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<td>lid</td>
<td>gataguta</td>
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<td>lie down</td>
<td>bolabola, karanga, kailome</td>
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<td>lift v.</td>
<td>tege</td>
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<tr>
<td>light</td>
<td>fayangi</td>
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<tr>
<td>light v.</td>
<td>isa</td>
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<td>lightning</td>
<td>rero</td>
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<td>like v.</td>
<td>suka</td>
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<td>like</td>
<td>hapa, hapaapa</td>
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<td>lips</td>
<td>fi</td>
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<td>little n.</td>
<td>otu</td>
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<td>liver</td>
<td>amo</td>
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<td>lonely</td>
<td>gawi</td>
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<td>long</td>
<td>awo</td>
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<td>look at</td>
<td>co</td>
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<td>look for</td>
<td>sefo</td>
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<td>look out for</td>
<td>jaga</td>
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<td>louse</td>
<td>bene</td>
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<td>love v.</td>
<td>milinga</td>
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<td>mad</td>
<td>baaba</td>
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<td>magic</td>
<td>sow</td>
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<tr>
<td>make v.</td>
<td>isa</td>
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<td>malaria</td>
<td>mawiji</td>
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<td>male at</td>
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<td>man at</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>man, old</td>
<td>matamoto, lagey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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

obey mame 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

paddle puas
pain malawan
palm of hand safat
palm wine nawi
pandanu tree pundak
parrot nuri
part n. ano
pass by sedor
path gopao
penis bo
people mancia
perhaps tarsa
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

quickly capati

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

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 tebel
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, yofoyofo
slow kohi
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. kita
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 bosi
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, têrûs

there ia, na, mena, sona, sama, 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, nemâ, mené

those ma

three unge, iunge, dimaunge, goiunge, maunge

throat gilit

thorn gulani

throw n. wako

throw away dupe

thumb mamo

thump v. ruju

thunder raging

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, maideng, edeng, je

U

unripe kafiti

until situ

upwards ney

urinate sii

urine sii

us imi, ene
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, e 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.
**Indonesian equivalents of Moluccan Malay words found in the text:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moluccan Malay</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ana anak nyongnyong pemuda</td>
<td>bai baik pada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajalan berjalan</td>
<td>paitua orang tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biki bikin</td>
<td>pe punya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bole boleh</td>
<td>pi } pergi }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapai dapi</td>
<td>rame ramai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do } mera }</td>
<td>sala salah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inga ingat</td>
<td>sampe sampai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalo kalau</td>
<td>su sudah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebe lebih</td>
<td>tau tahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lia lihat</td>
<td>tera tidak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makang makan</td>
<td>terada tidak ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo mau</td>
<td>uba obat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 Ketan. 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 (Gimân) 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.


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 ìne; ìne is of Austronesian origin (< Proto-Austronesian *ini this). ìne is a shortened form of ìne.

18. Like ìne, 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 + ìne, cf. Sabalé mine < me + ìne, 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 to 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.


29. The Sahu word is not cognate.


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 ō; the diacritic serves to distinguish it from Ô which I write as #d.

36. That is, the earlier sequence o + consonant + a became a + consonant + a, etc.

37. The case of West Mákian am < *oDom to eat does not solve the matter since either the initial vowel or the reflex of *D could have been the first one to disappear.

38. From Proto-North Halmaheran *oDom.

39. The Tidore form contains a petrified prefix ra-.

40. The West Mákian form possibly is an old compound (bi-so).

41. Both the West Mákian and the Tidore forms contain old prefixes. cf. fn. 2.

42. ngone and ngomi contain an old prefix ngo-, see 4.3.2., notes to set 11-13.
43. Lihatlah bibliografi pada halaman 2.

44. Lihatlah bibliografi pada halaman 2.

45. This word is not known to me from Indonesian or Moluccan Malay; the meaning seems to be *junction (of tracks) = persimpangan jalan*. 
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. 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. 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 [al] 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.

Note that in Part I the palatal and velar nasals are indicated by the usual symbols \( r \) and \( \eta \) 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 [bedagå] 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 when
- sesu beside V siesu to stand; and
- manca beside V mancia person (Loanword).

Perhaps, however, his entry folsomá pe to send (a letter) to should be compared to the entry (Part II) folsoma 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 \{fV1V-\} 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, presumabley 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  | tongue      | manok manok  | whale      |
|  cinga cinga | hair bun    | fato fato    | stand in a line |
| ngafo ngafo | a stand     | taji taji    | to jab at   |

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 grab (of a pig) and fapula-pula to share out (beside V pula give). 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 sao + 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. 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 (falapariq, 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 {fVlV-}. The affixation of this morpheme to transitive verbs results in intransitive verbs 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:
Comparison with Austronesian roots yields some additional support:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Austronesian</th>
<th>West Makian Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wudu</td>
<td>to blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je jela</td>
<td>broom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasaku</td>
<td>sago mattock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folowudu</td>
<td>to smoke (cigarettes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>felejela</td>
<td>to sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falasaku</td>
<td>to scrape (sago pith)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An apparent independently motivated morphophonological rule likewise lends support to the contention that fvlv- 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, {fvlv-}, 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 {fvlv-}. 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 palahiha 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 /-an-/). 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sabale/ Bobawa</th>
<th>Talapao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>uni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>ujuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blow</td>
<td>udu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuber</td>
<td>oso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter</td>
<td>oso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get up</td>
<td>oso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

exit (?)
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 excrescent 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. In Talapao this w- was retained but in the other dialects it was lost.

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 ŋtu 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.

3. THE WORDLISTS: WEST MAKIAN — ENGLISH
3.1. Part I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aefi; laia aefi</td>
<td>baf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afi</td>
<td>bala balat roller (for beaching boats); V balat wave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afo LWAN</td>
<td>baru LWI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ale</td>
<td>bata maize (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amot</td>
<td>bebiti bailing 'bucket'; V biti to bail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariŋ</td>
<td>bedagā bamboo vessel; V ga: bedagā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asi LWAN(?)</td>
<td>belu belu tongue; V belo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awoiñe</td>
<td>bio LWAN taro, bio pahan a kind of tuber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty</td>
<td>bob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boba LWI father; V baba. See kei</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bobie  lemon grass
buré  ginger
burei  yellow; V burey

calanpe  one thousand
cofa  LwM?  raft

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

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

faano  nephew, niece
faamo: faamo fasó  inhale
fáfá  ray fish.
fasó  breath (?). See faamo
faiyese  different
fajou  eat; V fajow
fala?aki  sew; V falaaki
falaparinj  to burn field a second time
falarari  slash, burn and clear field
falasao  to burn a field
falatafi  LwM  sift, winnow; de tafalatafi  pea  I winnow rice
fatawani  yawn
fatuj  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

gaagó  old
gagi  LwAN(?)  scratch

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
goloji  LwI?  machete 'ring' (joining blade and hilt)
gomu  LwM  a kind of breadfruit
gou  torch of coconut fronds
guagasi  comb

haiwani  LwI  animal; V haywan bird
haamasi  all
hapaato  how
I
ia hand
ia o fish; V yao.
idami six; V idam
ifaq *LwAN* skin fungus
ija pestle
ilui guma full tide
imú who; V imu
iono areca nut; V yono
isa pamá why
iwaso low tide
kekei black; V kekey
keketo drunk
kolili scabies
korutu bite
kusu *LwM* phalanger

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
kalawoliI 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
laalio spring trap
lalio hearth
lei lei bamboo lice crusher
losolu *LwM* mortar
maabati duyong
maasoga grandmother
mabaje gill
mafai 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
miña 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)
ne pin roof ridge cover; V shin
nimio mit a kind of small crustacean (?)
ŋoni LwM you (respectful)
ŋou fallen leaves, rubbish
ŋani LwI sing

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

P
paapudal hand net
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
paŋan 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
pee pi chisel
pisoŋ coconut crab
polase rub
poparo Spanish mackerel
poo seed, pit
punŋpaŋi 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 sebap;
sebap ipoŋi 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 sasafo; 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
FURTHER NOTES TOWARDS A WEST MAKIAN VOCABULARY

T

tadik *LwI* horn
tado mother's brother
taiyum sea urchin
talatulak punting pole
ta'ai inside

tapu brother-in-law (man speaking)
tarusi *LwM* barracuda
tatapa winnowing basket
tasbe' bead necklace
taubu conch shell
taun *LwI* year
tedangi 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; toei epoŋi 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 new

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, know
wayoi not yet; V wayo there is not
wiji cold; de tiwiji I'm cold
woso laŋaloiŋi 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
yariŋ float
yofo yofo greasy; V slippery
yoríŋ 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
cobi 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 bobo
fado insult, cuss out
fagetes splash; see getes
fakaelo turn over; V kaelo capsize
fakar LwI fence (house), fence
(garden); V tooth pol
fakalawoling cause to turn around
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 pant
fangi: fangi dangafo-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)  
fileyoase  whisper  
fimou  admit to, agree to  
fitoga  withdraw machete;  V toga to pull up (anchor)  
fofoi  itchy  
fofgoto  to bury  
oflosoma  something send;  V folsoma pe to send (a letter) to  
ofolobule  twist (rope fibre);  V bule  
ofopoti-poti  to inlay  
forre:  iforre accidentally struck;  V for  
fosol  strangle  
fu  explode  
fobusbesi  to compete  
fuluukir  LwI carve  

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

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

J  
jahi LwI(?) to pout  
ejela  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  
kaliili  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
dangafo-ngafo low kitchen stool;
pang dangafo-ngafo trivet; poso
dangafo-ngafo loosely woven rattan stand for pots

O
ogo hide (oneself); V to put
or i 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)
pau 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
pungangi board
pusoma shift away

R
rano soak
raro a broad bench of split bamboo
rir i 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
sabe to hang
sagal to walk; sagal dare-dare to be lame
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
sidang 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

tadededen 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 tadededen
teko LwI water vessel, tea pot?
timalle dip
tinef massage
tiso: itiso penetrate
to to package; V 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 (?)
wijji 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
adze (boat making) patu-patu
aflame lupa
agree to fimou
alive bafo
all haamasi
already oμu
animal haiwani
answer sango
approach palisite
arrange susun, atur
areca nut iono
ask femegepe
attic lonter
aunt jojo

board pung pangi
boat seat pungpangi
bob with drowsiness ori tadik-tadike
boil poso
bow pana
bowl sapo
breadfruit sp. gomu
break (wood) fakou
breast susu
breath (?) fasó
broom jejela
brother kaka, fau faya
brother-in-law tapu, ruo, palo
bung malamoli
burn sao
burn (field) falasao, falarari falaparĩ
burnt ani
bury fogogoto

B

bailer bebiti
bait ale
barracuda tarusi
basin poso afi
basin (sago technology) jojohu
basket (winnowing) tatapa
bat fnii
beat poos
because sabap
bench raro, fangi
bite korutu
black kekei
blink cobi
blood wuni
blow wudu

call faboba
canoe sampan
carry fategu, aba
carve fuluukir
cast (chicken feed) getes
catch mame
caulk (a boat) fikini
caulking baru
change tuka
chest tedĩni
chew (?) womu
chile marica
chilled gamati
chip at sara
chisel peepi
chisel (something) feletiso pe
choose pili
chop up sara
chopsticks yayakis
citrus fruit yorîk
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 tadatededen
container toto
container (large) baare do lou lou
container (plaited pandanus) karabaya
container (of sago leaves) robo
container (bamboo) bedagā
cough ima mai
count reken
 cousin sapupu
crab pisoŋ
cradle in arms aba
cross over pane
crush (lice) gisi
crusher (lice) lei lei
crustacean (?) nimiomit, paagigi
cucumber timu
cured niŋa
cuss out fado

ddaughter-in-law dono
dead gei
debris (organic) ŋou
deny manyangkal
descend sosoo
different faîse

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

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

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 mio
feed (child) faae
fell (a tree) duu
fence fakar
feverish fegini
field afi
field (fallow) juame
filter (in saga technology) durumaso
fin paya-paya
finger kamuma
finished masi
fish iaø
five mafoi
float iar qa
flow yufi
fold ofupe
forest paqan
foundation fendemen
fungus (skin) ifaŋ

G

garfish saufi
gargle filimumu
gaze upward coof i
gill mabaje
ginger bare
give fidupe
go home soino
grandfather see kei
grandmother maasona
grasp fiji jou
grate (coconut) paru
grater leliwit

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

H

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

I

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

J

jab taji taji kamma
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K</th>
<th>L</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kick (forward) sepak</td>
<td>ladder ota</td>
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<tr>
<td>kick with heel riri</td>
<td>ladle irus</td>
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<tr>
<td>knee paapuu</td>
<td>lame sagal dare-dare</td>
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<tr>
<td>knocked down baase</td>
<td>launder folowuju</td>
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<tr>
<td>know wado</td>
<td>lean fasaro</td>
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<td></td>
<td>leaves gyou</td>
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<td></td>
<td>left kabali</td>
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<td>lemon grass bobie</td>
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<td>lick belu</td>
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<td>lie on belly see kaeloso</td>
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<td>lie on side see famalise</td>
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<td>lift up toga</td>
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<td>lime afo</td>
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<td>live at waaso</td>
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<td>living room ruang tamu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>long awuo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lose kalah, sidangi</td>
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<td>lose one's way sidangi gopau</td>
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<td>mist sonamu</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>mould sosoya</td>
<td>nauseous kalawoliŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>mould leveler pastaka</td>
<td>necklace tasbé</td>
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<tr>
<td>mortar losoŋ</td>
<td>needle somó</td>
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<tr>
<td>mother mamá</td>
<td>nephew faano</td>
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<tr>
<td>mother-in-law dono</td>
<td>net paapudal, soma</td>
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<tr>
<td>move (?) wasoma io</td>
<td>never mind iyo-iyo</td>
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<tr>
<td>move nearer palisite</td>
<td>new topo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mug mok</td>
<td>niece faano</td>
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<td></td>
<td>not yet wayoi</td>
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<td>O</td>
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<td></td>
<td>obstruct sego</td>
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<td></td>
<td>octopus kameja</td>
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<td>old gaagó</td>
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<td>order silo</td>
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<td>outrigger boat eti</td>
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<td>oyster jihi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>package to</td>
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<td>paddle fou</td>
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<td>painful safo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pant famodeyo</td>
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<td>pare ladu</td>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mackerel poparo</td>
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<td>maize (?) bata</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>make a noise ujumi</td>
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<td>mantis shrimp sogili</td>
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<td>massage tinef</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mattock (sago) sasaku</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>meet fidi do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 nou
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 kalawoliŋ
sedimentate totori
seed poo
send see folosoma
serve wakole
sew falaʔaki
share out fapula-pula
shark raŋo
sharpen folobori, salawa
shatter fatola
shave paras
sheathe saroŋ
shed (skin) tuka
shift away pusoma
shiver wiji
shoot (bow) pana
shout laľou
sick fegini
sift falatãfi
sifter tatapa
sing ŋani
sip wudu
sireh leaf fou
sister kaka, oma faya
sister-in-law dapu, palo, ruo
sit tootooroso, ruu
sit (stretched out) fato-fato
six ñami
slap pa
slash sidula
slash (field) falarari
slice belet
sling (for carrying children) kakô
slipped sudelle
smoke (meat, fish) mumu
smoke (cigarettes) folowudu
snap finger kuti
sneeze siedi
sniff fatuŋ
snore uring
soak rano
son-in-law toni
spatula kakalu
spicy (food) fegini
spill fasubal
spit wujuf
splash fageties
spoon irus
squat ruu
squeeze rafot
squid soosu
stairs ota
stand sesu
stand in line fato-fato
star pariama
steamer (rice) kukusan
stick (for planting) ula
stir kalu
stone mai
stool ngafo-ngafo
strangle fosol
stretch (on rising) pesupe
stretched out (legs) fato fato
strike pato
struck (accidentally) see forre
stub filkeker, filtibuk
stumble kalili
stutter gagu
suck supepi
suckle susu
suck at amot
suck up mo
support ngafo-ngafo
sweep felejela
### T

- Talk in sleep: **bubufu**
- Taro: **bio**
- Tea pot: **teko**
- Tear: **faracak**
- Tear down: **fakalili**
- Ten: **awoîne**
- Thatch: **'spine': paorang**
- Thousand: **calanîne**
- Thread: **lae**
- Tide (high): **ilui guma**
- Tide (low): **iwaso**
- Tongue: **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 pañan**
- Tuna: **wagol**
- Turn around: **fakalawoling**
- Turn over: **fakaelo**
- Twenty: **awoi deñ**
- Twist (rope): **folobule**
- Twisting tool: **bobule**

### 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: **cobi**
- Winnow: **falatafi**
- Wipe: **tolos badan**
- Wiper: **sesikat sosoya**
- Withdraw: **(machete) fitoga**
- Wok: **poso besi**
- Work: **karja**
- Wrap: **to**

### Y

- Yam: **woso lañaloñi**
- Yawn: **fatawani**
- Year: **taun**
- Yellow: **burei**
- Yes: **ole**
- You: **ñoñi**
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 folo-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 {fVIV} results in intransitive verbs only may be inaccurate.

6. Note, however that we would predict the forms folokir 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 η are acoustically similar; both round vowels and this velar nasal are grave and resonant. Thus, η 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 η 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 Máxian (Sabale/Bobawa) and Tidore suggests that there has been sporadic retention of w- in those dialects as well. Note: West Máxian wolot, Tidore ngolo seja. 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 gagii flesh. But Bapak Hassan writes gaagii 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 faa 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 deʔeta, 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 kalawolŋ (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 vocabulary 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 Dalam 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 η and π 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


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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: with nouns:
---
tut *strike with the hand* baku *sago, sago tree*
hatut *fight* habaku *extract sago pith*
tetaI *cut* susu *breast*
hatetetl *attack with a machete* hasusu *suckle*
beit *string fish through gills* habeit *sew*

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 Mákan Dalam it appears to take the form of prefixing markers to verbs to indicate the person and number of the sentence subject. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/mlih/ to laugh</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kamlih</td>
<td>1(in) tamlih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(ex) amlih</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mamlih</td>
<td>2 hamlil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nanlih</td>
<td>3 lamlih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
A SHORT VOCABULARY OF EAST MAKIAN

_INCLUDE TEXT HERE_

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 /nca/ incorrect, /ncepa/ bear fruit or /nca/seh/ 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:

INeALIENABLE /mta/ eye

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mtag</td>
<td>1(in) nid mta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(ex) ma mtam</td>
<td>1(ex) mam um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nim mtam</td>
<td>2 nim um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nim mta</td>
<td>3 nidi mta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ALIENABLE /um/ house

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 nig um</td>
<td>1(in) nid um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(ex) ma um</td>
<td>1(ex) mam um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nim um</td>
<td>2 nim um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nidi um</td>
<td>3 nidi um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (/n/-) 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 ['?] 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)
akné mother-in-law, son or daughter-in-law
álta 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
basálanta a k.o. palm used to make buckets
batál star
batalág sit; bataláŋ gau 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 basalanta land crab; see basalanta
búlaŋ white
búlho raw
búna grandchild
buyo see bib'buyo

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

D
-d our (inclusive)
dába cultivated field
dábo a lot
dádo maternal uncle; dádo bí paternai 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 |
| ddúpili | 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 |
| gamas | dry (of clothes) |
| gamis | dry (of a river bed) |
| gamis | sweet |
| gamuna | scraps, vegetable debris to be swept away |
| gau | place; see batalan gau |
| gfas | 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 |

| E |
| em | see |
| éno | plait |
| ét’a? | 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 |
| galégale | guts |

| H |
| ha- | 2p verbal marker |
| ha pué | how |
| habaku | to harvest sago pith; see baku |
| habbóan | slash, burn and clear field |
| habéit | sew; see beit |
| habóba | call |
| hagáras | to weed |
| ha'idis | 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 jinan |
| 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
hanaŋ 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
hatú' 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
ila to lift
in drink
íne this
i:óna bone
ipo saliva
i'áp' dust
ja up
jálóla north
jojo paternal aunt; jojo youngest maternal aunt(?)
jou 'What did you say?' (respectful), 'Me?' 'Huh?'
jubi see uru jubi
k-, ka- ls verbal marker
kabát dirty
kábin goat
kabús wet
kafás dolphin
kaiólíŋ 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
kawiwi porridge (of maize)
kí'his flow
kina female genitals
kit we (inclusive)  
kīt octopus  
kīt'no to caulk (a boat)  
kū fear  
kku tail  
klāl recognize  
kōbus rotten  
kodo bite  
kolo spider  
kpāya to winnow rice  
kúda black  
kūhin fold  
kūl' bread fruit  
kūlān water vessel  
kūsok phalanger  
kut' louse; kut'ni tolo louse nits; see tolo  
kutu small; see baba kutu  
kuyo, kuyo? finger nail  
la- 3p verbal marker  
la see ṇan  
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  
lánjit sky  
lála 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  
líkso edge  
lipaŋ keep (ginger) in ground to keep it from drying out, bury  
lit worm; lit' earthworm  
lili pole  
lo with (accompaniment), numerical connector; yahasa lo psa 21; utinca lo yahasa 120  
lo inside  
loan stairs, ladder  
lobi lobi cloud  
loh fathom  
ľoka banana  
ľōmo friend  
lų two  
luhoar garfish  
luo see peda  
luői high tide  
lusin' pestle  
lūtan fire; lutan mun'ko smoke  
-m your (singular); nim um your house; mtăm your eye  
ma- 2s verbal marker  
ma? tongue  
maāp yawn  
mabātim Dugong dugon  
maddodaŋ straight  
madimal yellow  
mag'lo branch
mai shy
mái pean a fly; mai pean mumin a kind of large fly
mailjak forget
makat red
makawa feverish, hot
malá village
maleo different
maleosi foreigner, outsider
malongo hear
mam our (exclusive)
mam mother; see mamo; mama lalo eldest maternal aunt
mamaol play
mamo mother; see mama
majele laugh loud
majinis smile
mano dry (of coconuts or maize)
manimani bead necklace
man male, man, husband
manaw inhale
manil sour
manik fowl
manitap work
mapin female, woman, wife
marcan chile pepper
masare good
mat dead
mat person (especially used in enumerating)
matitebas brackish
matua ripe
matuo ripe
mauka rat
mawetis sharply pointed
mawi hungry
mbos swollen
me who
megan shattered (glass, plate)

meu you (plural), your
mhanas painful (from a blow)
thon full
muuit fish poison
mialin drift
migno chilled (of food and drink)
mlalut greasy
mlana long
mlih laugh
mmena sand
mnamna hurry, quickly
mnigis thin
mntet fall on flat surface
mnunit scabies
moda wind
molo empty
momasa rub, wipe off
momonjok forget
mpudal float
mta eye
mtuli sleep; see tuli
mumik to smoke (fish)
mumin see mai pean
munjko see lutan

N
n- 3s verbal marker
na- 3s verbal marker
nagon correct
nahabito near
naiiko fin
nalau far
nalhuk seasick
nan sharp (of blade)
nai howl (dogs)
ncal wrong
ncepa to bear fruit
ndadik therefore, so; ulan ndadik
khan te 'It rained so I didn't go'
nene grandmother
nhik' small bat; nhik'bulaŋ fruit
bat
ni genitive marker
niwi coconut; niwi a tol 3 coconuts
nkiihis 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
ŋahin coil of cloth (to rest burdens
on head)
ŋan sun
ŋan day; ŋan halu 2 days; ŋan
haliam noon time; ŋan la day time
ŋkihis runny nose; see nkihis
ŋela hair

N
ŋani sing
ŋo dog

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

P
pa down
pa carry on shoulder
páda to strike, rap
págil to hoist up (fish trap)
pāit dig
pāit 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
peanj see mai peanj
peda machete; peda lóo machete
hilt; peda saruŋ machete sheathe;
peda sópak ring of iron securing
machete blade to hilt
pelalóin cook
penhá cook; see pe
pilai taro
pilai lekto a kind of tuber;
see lekto
pip' chisel
pip 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)
púé 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
saduíal rub on
sadulak rub on (something)
ságu stab
sái sweep
saléwai to whet blade without using water
sáman dug-out
saŋ burn
saŋo answer
sanawat narrow, tight
sapáŋak sniff
sarunŋ see peda
sau to wed
sawá' monitor lizard
sélak tie
sépo fruit
si they
síroá an inedible sea urchin
sisáki mattock-like tool to extract sago pith
sobal to sail
sídol suck up (porridge)
sogíli freshwater eel
sóman outrigger pontoon
somo 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
tañepu flawed, chipped edge
tánam to plant
tanáwan remember
tapága broken
tápín ash
taplód exploded (balloon)
taraca split (dry bamboo)
tarúsí 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
tetā cut; see hatetā
tete grandfather
théna younger sibling
timun cucumber
timur east
togál pull
tol three
toló male genitals
toló egg; see kut’ni tolo
top sugarcane
tóp to rap sharply
túa old	
tubúku navel
tukal to moult (snake)
túli sleep; see mtuli
tulém dream; see em
tut strike (with the hand); see hatut

um house
ùmhó nose
únak know
únco scale
úp’ a kind of tuber; up wále’ yam
uru júbi coconut crab
utin cá 100
útusá a little
úwet mountain

wág sail boat
wágau bamboo water vessel
wáinu child
wal eight
wála rope
wale see up’
wam come
wán'to 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
wóí shark
wólat sea
wulo? liver
wwaló vein; see wiwalo
wwe? leg, foot; see wena
wwi mango
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
yágho gill
yas swim

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 püpi serve sago porridge
bale buy
baghala'im living room
bawa door

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

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
A SHORT VOCABULARY OF EAST MAKIAN

C
cako taratib sit cross-legged
cocak sip

dafidafi steamer
dañto a floor or raised platform
made of bamboo or wood
degodego split bamboo bench
dikak move
dimo noise; nidimo its noise
dod request
dopasto 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; etalalante
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
go 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)
haiŋuni gargle
ahito show
haiy to feed (a child)
hajo to splash (someone)
hakal house fence
hakaluaŋ tear down, cause to
collapse
hakop 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
hase lap  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
hasipaŋ  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

kakaua  climb (under duress)
kalah  lose
kalai  pound
kaluanj  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

ihod  run
irus  coconut shell ladle
iyok  weep

jajar  stand in line
jendela  window

kabin  goat
kakaua  reach for

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
loetej 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
makuju 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;
maŋasal regret
mapup cough; mapupak lala to cough up blood
masula thief; see mamasula
matal itchy; see msisseh
maw want
mayuuŋu sleepy
megan shattered (plate); see egan
mesel stone (cement) wall
mlayo splashed
momooŋok 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
ŋinahin pot support
no dog

O
ohal rub (aches)
oik don't
ŋat pole used to knock down fruits
op hide (oneself); see gogan
otal strangle, choke
pa carry on shoulder
pacitakan sao mold leveler
pada rap with knuckles
paga break; see tapaga; kpaga I break; mpaga you break
pake wear; see paken
paken clothes
palan open (door)
palas pay
pağin get up
papan board; papan tulis black board
paruda to grate
paso serving bowl for sago porridge
patin yank out
pe do, make; pe ężhan to cook
pe to twist fibre into rope; pe wala to twist fibre into rope
pilih choose
piriŋ plate
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

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putar turn

R
rube a large earthen water vessel

S
sa climb (tree)
saada sneeze
sada face
sahat slap
sa déjà burn, bake
saño to answer (a question)
sapa bowl
sapatlik exit
sapawagao drinking mug
sasaiy broom
selap to fell (tree); see haselap
semen cement
sepak kick
ser desire
sikat haiyona brush teeth
sipajo prying tool (?)
sissippiŋ 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
tadopas snapped; see dopas;
   wala tadopas the rope snapped
tagenas torn; see genas
taibiklak accidentally knocked down
taisudik slipped
takik accidentally struck	tam to reply (to a greeting)
tan press; yano nta 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
ten 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)
tinas to massage; see hatinas
tindis press down
titeden see teden
tobi descend
tolaŋ stay behind
toŋ to bark; no ntoŋ the dog barks
top hit with a stone
torop bamboo tube used to blow on flames
toa pour (on plants, fire, dust)
tukał change; see hatukał
tul jab (with finger)
tuli sleep
tuli em dream
tut punch

U
tuas 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 nta talk in one's sleep; see tan
yatis cooking tongs of bamboo, tongs for coals
yawal search for
3. ENGLISH — EAST MAKIAN (CUMULATIVE) INDEX

A
above yasa, bobia
abutting nhashathakkii
admit to maŋaku
adze ciccudíl
afíame 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) hatetaŋ
attic lotéŋ
aunt jojo, mama lalo

B
back taggulo
bag tás
bailer halím
baitala
bake saŋ
banana loka
bark (dog) toŋ
barracuda tarusi
basket poroco, tatampa, udul
bat nhík'
bathe hasómp
beads maŋi-maŋi
bear fruit ncepa
bench dego-dego suku papat
betel gias
big lai
bird kalái
bite kodo
black kuta
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 sasaiy
brother dama, tamno?, thena
brother-in-law iho
brush (teeth) sikat haiyona
bucket tiba
burn saŋ
burn (field) hapaglik', haisaŋ
burnt magesi, tabee
bury hapalihara, lipaŋ
butterfly bebaŋ
buy bale
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 taibu
connect teden
connection titiden
container loba
cook pelaloin, penhâu
cooked nmasa
corner puko
correct nagon
cough mapup
count yohan
cover tanak

crab bosok, uru jubi
cradle in arms bet
creeper dula
crisp magesi

 crush timo
crustacean belu, gigim
cross-eyed sori
cucumber timun
cuss out lelai
cut tetal
cutdown haselap

dark babakoam
daughter-in-law akmó
day ṣan
daytime ṣanla
death mat
debris gamuna
deny enkar
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 po
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'iap'
duyong mabátim

eagle ray rebal
ear bib'buyo
earthworm lilit'
est timur, ddu
eat ṣan
des edge likso
teel sogili
egg tolo
eight wul
empty molo
enter suŋ
erupt (volcano) dukon
exist ada
exit sapalik
expel liba
expired dumik
explode tapolód
eye mta

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 haŋ
feelings wulona
fell (tree) selap
felled haselap
garfish luhoan
female mapín
gargle haijung
fence hakal
gather halomi, halomik
feverish makawa
gaze upward tano jja
few útusá
genitals (female) kinaield daba
ngenitals (male) tolo
fight hatút’
genitive marker ni
fin naiko
get up pangin
find eta?, eta
gill yano
finger nail kuyo?
ginger owai
finished dumik
give otik
fish ian
give birth haitun
fish poison mhotit
go han
fish trap hol’
go home mul
five plim
go home mul
flame lebo; see leb
good masure
flawed taŋepu
grandchild buna
flesh waŋto
grandfather tete
float mpudal
grandmother nene
floor lante
grasp alo, suo
flow kihis
grass ddewa
fly V opa
grate paruda
fly mai peaŋ
greasy mlalut
fold kuhin
grime kuyum
foot wena, wwe?
grope mama
foreigner maleosi
grow ñarak
forest ddewalo
grub hasulit
forget mailiŋak, momonoŋ
grunt ñahaŋ
foundation fandasi, leger
guts gale gale
four hat
H
fowl manik
hair ñiela
friend lomo
hair (body) hattulo
frog pip pak
hair cut haparas
fruit sepo
hand kamo?
fruit sp. balibin
full mohon
fungus han
hang kawele
harvest (sago) habaku
he i, n-
head poyo
hear malongo
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 nau
hug bota
huh ? ya
hundred utin cá
hungry mawi
hurried mnamna
husband man
hut halopi

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

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

jab tul
jump yag

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

ladder loan
ladle irus
landward dle
later taban
laugh majele?, mlih
leaf ai weo
leak nkihis, nkiso
lean back hasselik
leave behind gamuno
left (hand) balit
leg wena, wwe?
level bimbaŋ
leveler pacitakan
lice crusher papis
lick pis, piss
lie down hakalilik
lift ila, tega
line walo
lips sumo wilō
liver wulō?
living room banjalaim
long mlaŋa
lose kalah
lost see eta
lot dabo
louse kut’
low tide nmás

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

N
nail pakú
name sono
narrow sanawat
navel tubuku
navel cord hilho
near nahabito, nhasshatakkí
nearby nhabito
neck go, gowo
necklace manį-manį
needle somo
net huat, suyu
new powo
night bakoam
nine psío
nits kut ni tolo
no te
noise dimo
noon time šán halaim
north jailola
nose ūmhó
not te
not yet tehù, tesu
number anka
numeral marker (ten) yaha
numeral connector lo

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?
mood pait
mortar ada
mother mama, mamo
mother-in-law akmó
mould (pottery) ssoya
moult (snake) tukal

N
nail pakú
name sono
narrow sanawat
navel tubuku
navel cord hilho
near nahabito, nhasshatakkí
nearby nhabito
neck go, gowo
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no te
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noon time šán halaim
north jailola
nose ūmhó
not te
not yet tehù, tesu
number anka
numeral marker (ten) yaha
numeral connector lo
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

package bita
paddle 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 kapii
pinch kinit
place gau
plait eno

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

quickly mnamna
quiet magun

race habess
rack pàra parāu
raft dat
rafter kat?
rain ulan
rap hóol, top
rap (knuckles) pada
rat mauka
rattan welli
raw bulho
ray fish fa?
reach for kakaua
receive tarima
recognise klal
red makát
regret mañasal
related damana
relation damana
remember tanawan
remove (husk) kidám niwi
remove (skin) bess
reply tam
request dod
respond in kind balas
rest manau
return mul
rice hamašik
right (hand) wayan
ringworm gogi
rip genas
ripe matua, nmada
rise ca
road lalan
rod welli
roller (boats) bib’bala
roof ridge cover puran
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 wagi
saliva ipe
salt yasin
sand mména
satiated mosi
sauce geo
say halusa
scabies mnunit
scale unco
scrape (coconut) halai
scrape (sago) habaku, haisaki
scrapper 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 mmat
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 ɲani
sip cocak
sister dama, tammo?, thena
sit balataŋ
sit cross-legged cako taratib
sit (stretched legs) maladua
six poenam
skin liko

sky laŋit
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 maŋiŋi
smoke lutan munko
smoke (fish) mumik
snake bāu
snapped tadopas
snare pippid
snap finger kapid
snapped tadopas
sneeze saada
sniff sapāŋYak
snore uŋ
so ndadik
some palo
son-in-law akmō
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
A SHORT VOCABULARY OF EAST MAKIAN

squat luk, luku-luku
squeeze lahat
squid su:
stab sagu
stairs loan
stand osal
stand in line jajar
star batál
stay behind tolanq
steal lois
steamer dafi dafi
stick (thatch) powolan
stir kulai
stomach ddobo
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 ḫan
sun (something) hawik
sway giak
sweet gamis, sāi
swim yas
swollen mbōs

T

tail kku
take yal
take out yalo
taro pilai
taste tepul
tear down egan, hakaluan

ten yahasa
thatch yatas
their di
them ci
there dia
therefore ndadik
they si
thief masula, mamasula
thick ptoli
thin mnigi
this ine
thousand calan ca
thread bola
three tol
throw tadi
throw away sobak
tie selak
tight sanawat
tip dayo
too bad! kasi an
tool (coconut) sissipaŋ
tool (twisting) bibbulai
tooth haiyo?
tongs yatis
tongue ma?
torch pancona, taluba
torn tagenas
tortoise hen
touch atut, gail
trap baran'ka, 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, wágãu

village mala

vomit we?

W

wait taban

wall binbenat, dindin, 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 ha' sa

where poló

whet salewai

which polo

whisper hagas, makahayaso

whistle piyi

white bulaŋ

who me

wicked lekto

wide nnapa

wife mapín

win untuŋ

wind moda

window jendela

wing hako

winnow kaipay, kpaya

winnow kpaya

wipe (body) hasop

wipe off momas

with ado

with lo

wok kulan

woman mapín

wood ai

work kerja, manitap
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 Djahir 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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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):

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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. Ngofakiha (Waikión), spoken in the villages of Sangapati, Matangtengin, Tiwow (Kiowor), Gitang, Ngofakiha 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


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 ow in coat but shorter; the other languages more like the English aw in law but shorter. ei 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, pobölö, if the word does not stress the penultimate syllable.
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Weda | pelól | myakè | mlonge | ketobe | mlifes | meloleng | mdalem | fones/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 | madodang | nan | makawa  
Peleri/Samsuma | lalo | utu/myasi | mlanga | pokal | mnihis | madodang | nan | makawa  
Ngofakiaha | lolo | myasi | mlongan | pokal | mnihis | madodang | non/nwata | makoai  
Ngofagita | lolo | kutu | mloas | pokal | mnihis | madodang | 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
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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.