

THE TERNATE LANGUAGE

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(TRANSLATED, EDITED AND WITH A FOREWORD AND POSTSCRIPT BY C.L. VOORHOEVE)

The Ternate language (Bahasa Ternate) adalah tatabahasa singkat yang ditulis oleh Watuseke, seorang ahli bahasa dari Manado Indonesia, pada tahun 1958.

Karangan ini cukup menarik karena ini merupakan deskripsi bahasa Ternate yang pertama, dan satu-satunya yang ada sampai sekarang.

Penerjemahan dan penyuntingan dilaksanakan oleh C.L. Voorhoeve, dan terjemahannya dilengkapi dengan beberapa catatan tambahan. Tatabahasa ini berisi pokok-pokok dasar mengenai fonologi, pronomina, numeralia, verba, dan konstruksi posesif.

FOREWORD

In July 1985 when I was in Manado to attend the Seminar Penelitian Indonesia Bagian Timur hosted by the Universitas Sam Ratulangi, Mr Watuseke whom I already knew as the author of articles on Manado Malay and the West Makian language approached me with a manuscript which, he said, might interest me. Written in Indonesian and entitled *Bahasa Ternate* it contained a short grammar sketch of the Ternate language and a Ternate-Indonesian wordlist. The manuscript dated from 1958 and had been shelved for more than 25 years before its author decided to give it to me. I was pleasantly surprised because it appeared to be a neat little sketch and, since the scanty notes in de Clercq 1890, the first description of the Ternate language worth that name. I therefore proposed to have it published in *Pacific Linguistics* after translating it into English and some minor editing. Mr Watuseke agreed and so, in consultation with him, the grammar sketch was prepared for publication. The wordlist which accompanied it was not included as a more comprehensive wordlist of the Ternate language is already in the making and scheduled to appear as a separate publication. Mr Watuseke's lexical data will form an acknowledged contribution to this list.

The sketch is based on work with one Ternate-speaking informant and unavoidably contains a number of gaps even within the limits set by the author. I have therefore added a short postscript in which some necessary supplementary data are given.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Ternate language, which is one of the languages spoken in the Halmahera area in the North Moluccas, has not yet been properly studied. There is not even one publication which deals exclusively with the Ternate language. In F.S.A. de Clercq's *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (1890) one can find a section devoted to the language,¹ and in the *Adatrechtbundel* XLII, 1943, p.268 *Kitab arti logat Ternate* is mentioned but I have not yet come across that book.² Publications which deal wholly or in part with other languages in the Halmahera area are Adriani 1981, Adriani and Kruyt 1914, Baarda 1895, 1908, Fortgens 1912, 1917, Hueting 1907, 1908, 1935, 1936, Schmidt 1900-1901 and Veen 1915.³ Finally there is a list of 'Ternate terms of traditional law'⁴ in *Adatrechtbundel* VII, p.166-192, but the legal terms given in this list have been culled from Hueting's Tobelo-Dutch dictionary and are not Ternate words. I have to mention this here because of my analysis of that list in my article 'Bahasa-bahasa di daerah Minahasa' (1956). Of the publications mentioned above only Adriani 1918, Adriani and Kruyt 1914 and *Adatrechtbundel* VII, 1913, were available to me.

For the present preliminary investigation which I conducted early in 1958 I had as my informant Mr Ibrahim, a student of the P.T.P.G. (F.K.I.P.)⁵ in Tondano, a native of Ternate who spoke his mother tongue fluently. I should like to express here my heartfelt gratitude for his willingness to assist me in all I wanted to know about the language during the investigation.

The Ternate language is important because of its influence on many languages in the North Moluccas, in North Sulawesi and in the eastern part of central Sulawesi. Its influence is related to the role played by the sultanate of Ternate in the 16th and 17th centuries. The sphere of influence of this sultanate extended from the island of Mindanao in the south Philippines to the island of Sumbawa in Nusa Tenggara.⁶ In another way its influence extended even further, that is, through the Moluccan Malay language which had absorbed many Ternate words and which, possibly because it was used by the 'Borgos',⁷ was brought to many places on the coast of north Sulawesi where it became the local form of Malay, now known as Manado Malay.

Thus we see that the Ternate language influenced not only the languages of Halmahera, but also a number of languages which belong to the Austronesian language group. The Malay language on the other hand was also influenced by Arabic (in the Islamic religious context), Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch. As a mother tongue the Ternate language is spoken in the city of Ternate itself except in those quarters which are inhabited by immigrants, such as the kampung Makasar, kampung Palembang, kampung Tiong Hoa, kampung Sarani. Further, it is spoken in about 20 villages on Ternate island and in several places on Halmahera, viz. Susupu (kecamatan⁸ Sahu), Ibu (kecamatan Ibu) and in the kecamatan Jailolo in the township of Jailolo and the villages Tuada, Todowong, Tataleka, Tauro, Sidangoli, Payo, Saria and Bobuo. All those villages are located on the west coast of Halmahera.

The grammatical sketch which follows is divided into seven parts: The sound system, Word structure, The genitive construction, Pronouns, Numerals, The preposition *toma*, and Some notes on the verb.

2. THE SOUND SYSTEM

2.1 VOWELS

There are five vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. They can all occur at the beginning, the end and in the middle of words.

a is usually a fairly long vowel. Examples are:

<i>ake</i>	water	<i>ngana</i>	you (sg)
<i>ace</i>	footprint	<i>rara</i>	six
<i>ara</i>	moon	<i>wange</i>	sun
<i>ata</i>	chest	<i>hira</i>	to lose
<i>alo</i>	cold	<i>besa</i>	rain
<i>afa</i>	don't (prohibitive marker)	<i>banga</i>	forest
<i>adi</i>	also, again	<i>guraka</i>	ginger
<i>raha</i>	four	<i>guraci</i>	gold

The vowel *a* is long when it is word final and stressed.⁹ A long *a* is written *aa* as in *papáa* 'frog', *taláa* 'a file'.

e is pronounced in almost the same way as the vowel *e* in Javanese. It is a little shorter than the Dutch vowel *ee* in words such as *mee*, *zee*. Examples are:

<i>ese</i>	to rub	<i>dehe</i>	tired
<i>ema</i>	uncle	<i>hena</i>	areca nut
<i>tego</i>	to sit	<i>wange</i>	sun
<i>tege</i>	to drip	<i>popoje</i>	bag

i is a rather long vowel. Examples are:

<i>ira</i>	bad	<i>bifi</i>	ant
<i>ing</i>	tooth	<i>dungi</i>	tinea
<i>ici</i>	small	<i>konyihi</i>	to chase away
<i>ari</i>	to cry	<i>kufiri</i>	thick
<i>pila</i>	wing		

In the word *kursí* 'chair', which is a loan from Indonesian but has shifted the stress to the last syllable, the vowel *i* is long and is written *ii*.

o is rather long except in closed syllables. Examples are:

<i>ogo</i>	quiet, still	<i>cako</i>	to beat
<i>otu</i>	dry	<i>ngolo</i>	the sea
<i>oke</i>	to drink	<i>podo</i>	short
<i>oho</i>	to eat	<i>dowong</i>	sand
<i>wosa</i>	to enter	<i>dotolo</i>	sparrow
<i>sone</i>	dead		

u is also rather long. Examples are:

<i>uku</i>	fire	<i>kulano</i>	sultan
<i>uge</i>	vegetables	<i>gunaga</i>	face
<i>uga</i>	sugarcane	<i>gumuru</i>	waist
<i>ugu</i>	buttocks	<i>susahu</i>	hot
<i>butu</i>	market	<i>salawaku</i>	shield
<i>nguti</i>	mouse		

In a stressed open syllable at the end of a word *u* is long and is written *uu* as for instance in *kukúu* 'to crow'.

2.2 CONSONANTS

The consonants are the velars *k*, *g*, *ng*; the labials *p*, *b*, *m*; the dentals *t*, *d*, *n*; the palatals *c*, *j*, *ny*; the fricatives *f*, *s*, *h*; the liquids *l* and *r*; and the semivowels *w* and *y*. They are generally pronounced as in the Indonesian language except for *f* which is pronounced as in Dutch, and *w* which in word-initial position is bilabial, but in word-medial position is labiodental. The consonant inventory is about the same as that of Indonesian, but it should be noted that Indonesian *f* is not original to that language and that the glottal stop which very frequently occurs in Austronesian languages is not found in Ternate.

2.2.1 VELARS

The voiceless velar stop *k* occurs word initially and word medially:

<i>keho</i>	rusty	<i>rumbaka</i>	beach
<i>kokotu</i>	black	<i>salawaku</i>	shield
<i>kokehe</i>	to cough	<i>joko</i>	to step on
<i>kololi</i>	around	<i>duduku</i>	midwife
<i>kanyigo</i>	yesterday	<i>jiko</i>	cape

The voiced velar stop *g* likewise occurs word initially and word medially:

<i>gucefa</i>	raft	<i>agi</i>	sauce
<i>gofu</i>	grass, weeds	<i>wigo</i>	to shake
<i>gogola</i>	sick	<i>sogili</i>	eel
<i>gurahe</i>	oath, curse	<i>tego</i>	to set
<i>gogo</i>	body hair	<i>tagi</i>	to go, walk
<i>gia</i>	arm, hand	<i>gaga</i>	fever
<i>duga</i>	only	<i>ruregu</i>	different

The voiced velar nasal *ng* is found word initially, word medially and word finally:

<i>ngana</i>	you (sg)	<i>tufkange</i>	eight
<i>ngon</i>	you (pl)	<i>pongo-pongo</i>	cheek
<i>ngofa</i>	child	<i>jang</i>	good
<i>ngolo</i>	sea	<i>hang</i>	not yet
<i>ngongare</i>	young man	<i>ing</i>	tooth
<i>ngara</i>	door	<i>lahang</i>	palm wine
<i>wange</i>	sun	<i>kolong</i>	to embrace
<i>janga</i>	to sparkle	<i>nong</i>	charcoal
<i>banga</i>	forest		

Prenasalised *k* (*ngk*) and *g* (*ngg*) are not found in the Ternate language. The only word containing *ngg* that has come to my attention is *tinggalu* 'civet cat', but this probably has been borrowed from an Austronesian language, as it occurs in several of these, e.g. Sunda *tinggalung*, Jawa *trenggalung*, Bare'e *tinggalu*, Bikolo *singgalung*, Malau *tenggalung*.

2.2.2 LABIALS

The voiceless bilabial stop *p* is found in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>pilo</i>	blind	<i>turpopo</i>	explosion
<i>polulu</i>	round	<i>popare</i>	kind of plant
<i>pongo</i>	deaf	<i>pompom</i>	kind of bamboo
<i>pilatu</i>	to squeeze	<i>tapu</i>	anchor
<i>pajeko</i>	plough	<i>dopolo</i>	head
<i>papáa</i>	frog	<i>yoyoga</i>	crazy
<i>tutapa</i>	winnow		

The voiced bilabial stop *b* also occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>butu</i>	market	<i>dabu-dabu</i>	kind of side-dish
<i>bati</i>	boundary	<i>hoba</i>	to visit
<i>bato</i>	only	<i>gabú</i>	foam
<i>boki</i>	princess	<i>babu</i>	to fall
<i>boboho</i>	tired, weak	<i>matobo</i>	to swim
<i>nyabo</i>	wound	<i>laba</i>	to flee

The labial nasal *m* is found in all positions:

<i>mari</i>	stone	<i>namo</i>	bird
<i>murú-muru</i>	epilepsy	<i>ngama</i>	firefly
<i>meme</i>	forehead	<i>dofoma</i>	provisions
<i>moho</i>	fathom	<i>gam</i>	village
<i>moi-mói</i>	all	<i>curum</i>	to cook
<i>mancia</i>	people	<i>gamam</i>	dark
<i>hema</i>	prow	<i>malom</i>	to come together
<i>gomutu</i>	palm fibre	<i>cum-cúm</i>	riddles
<i>suramo</i>	fog, cloud	<i>tabam</i>	water-barrel
<i>amo</i>	breadfruit	<i>pompóm</i>	kind of bamboo

The prenasalised stops *mp* and *mb* do not occur. In the few cases in which a sequence *mp* or *mb* is found other factors are at work. The word *pompom* 'kind of bamboo' contains *mp*, but is a reduplication of the form *pom*: *pom-pom*. Reduplication is a very frequent phenomenon in the Ternate language. The sequence *mb* is found in the words *sambiki* 'pumpkin' and *rumbaka* 'beach' but it is possible that at one stage there was a vowel between the two consonants which now has disappeared as we can see in the word *golfinó* 'afraid' which is also pronounced *golofino*. The word *pombo* 'pigeon' is of foreign origin.

2.2.3 DENTALS

The voiceless dental stop *t* occurs word initially and word medially:

<i>tano</i>	to peep at	<i>toho</i>	to sharpen to a point
<i>tera</i>	to settle (of birds)	<i>toti</i>	to cut
<i>torifu</i>	replete	<i>titi</i>	base, foot
<i>toca</i>	candle	<i>huhati</i>	to angle
<i>toru</i>	to withdraw	<i>rete</i>	to pile up
<i>tare</i>	to crawl	<i>ngute-ngute</i>	stairs, ladder

The voiced dental stop *d* also occurs word initially and word medially:

<i>dehe</i>	cape	<i>kado</i>	to arrive
<i>dogo</i>	to increase, add	<i>idi</i>	voice
<i>dudeso</i>	knot	<i>makusedu</i>	to joke
<i>dibo-dibo</i>	middleman, purchasing agent	<i>podo</i>	low, short
<i>diti</i>	house-lizard	<i>kolotidi</i>	worm
<i>ngido</i>	deep (water)	<i>dudai</i>	a chest
		<i>mahodo</i>	to bathe

The dental nasal *n* is found in all positions:

<i>ne</i>	this	<i>kulano</i>	king
<i>naro</i>	pull, drag	<i>ino</i>	hither
<i>nonau</i>	man, male	<i>tuniru</i>	to play
<i>namo</i>	bird	<i>gunaga</i>	face, front
<i>nong</i>	charcoal	<i>bobane</i>	anchorage
<i>nora</i>	pillow	<i>sone</i>	dead
<i>nao</i>	firm	<i>ngon</i>	you (pl)
<i>nonako</i>	to know	<i>ngun</i>	nose
<i>nane</i>	dream	<i>fin</i>	seed
<i>tono</i>	to soak	<i>gan</i>	louse
<i>gono</i>	fill with water	<i>ngan</i>	to boil

Prenasalised stops *nt* and *nd* do not occur, although they are found in loan words such as *kintal* '(front) yard'.

2.2.4 PALATALS

The unvoiced palatal stop *c* occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>cako</i>	to weave, to beat	<i>ici</i>	small
<i>cilu</i>	to shave	<i>toca</i>	candle
<i>cama</i>	throat	<i>gucefa</i>	raft
<i>curum</i>	to cook	<i>kacoa</i>	narrow
<i>cobi</i>	to close the eyes	<i>paceda</i>	armband
<i>cafala</i>	diligent	<i>pece</i>	mud
<i>cabúu</i>	little, few	<i>maguci</i>	former

The voiced palatal *j* is found in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>jujaru</i>	woman	<i>loloji</i>	sour
<i>jaha</i>	to sink, drown	<i>ija</i>	price
<i>jou</i>	lord	<i>faja</i>	dirty
<i>jara</i>	horse (from Javanese)	<i>luja</i>	clean
<i>joa</i>	to scold	<i>popoje</i>	bag
<i>jiko</i>	bay	<i>gaji</i>	grease
<i>jungihi</i>	place	<i>fajaru</i>	I (female speaking)
<i>jongutu</i>	sleeping mat		

The palatal nasal *ny* is also found only in initial and medial positions:

<i>nyagimói</i>	ten	<i>nyiha</i>	to permit
<i>nyiku</i>	above	<i>konyihi</i>	to chase away
<i>nyinga</i>	heart, feeling	<i>sonyiha</i>	kind of tree
<i>nyao</i>	fish	<i>gonyira</i>	right (side)
<i>nyabo</i>	wound	<i>kanyigo</i>	yesterday
<i>nyodi</i>	to look	<i>sonyinga</i>	to think of, love

2.2.5 FRICATIVES

The labiodental fricative *f* which is pronounced as the Dutch *f*¹⁰ is only found at the beginning and in the middle of words:

<i>fira</i>	sister	<i>kefe</i>	shoulder
<i>fin</i>	seed	<i>nyefo</i>	smoke
<i>fiaro</i>	scattered	<i>difutu</i>	tomorrow
<i>foko</i>	pregnant	<i>dofoma</i>	provisions
<i>foro</i>	sit on eggs	<i>totofore</i>	to shiver
<i>fala</i>	house	<i>kafo</i>	dull
<i>fana</i>	roof-ridge	<i>gofu</i>	grass
<i>dofu</i>	many		

The *f* in foreign words is retained in Ternate whereas in the Indonesian language it becomes *p*: Indonesian *kopi*, *sekap*, *pikir*, *paham* = Ternate *kofe*, *skaf*, *fikir*, *faham*, etc.

The voiceless alveodental fricative *s* is found in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>seho</i>	sugar palm	<i>gasa</i>	to bring
<i>soho</i>	pig	<i>kaso</i>	dog
<i>sodidi</i>	earthquake	<i>gasi</i>	salt
<i>sara</i>	forked	<i>duso</i>	hole
<i>supu</i>	to go outside	<i>gosora</i>	nutmeg
<i>saki</i>	tasty	<i>ngasu</i>	pole
<i>sabua</i>	shed, shelter	<i>hisa</i>	hedge
<i>susahu</i>	hot	<i>tusa</i>	cat
<i>haso</i>	heavy	<i>kusu-kusu</i>	alang, or sword grass

The glottal fricative *h* is found in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>hang</i>	not yet	<i>laha</i>	good
<i>hoku</i>	snot	<i>guhi</i>	flood in river
<i>hotu</i>	to sleep	<i>koho-koho</i>	thorn
<i>hito</i>	kitchen	<i>ahu</i>	to live
<i>hako-hako</i>	to scratch	<i>keho</i>	rusty
<i>hafo-hafo</i>	dark	<i>romtoha</i>	five
<i>hira</i>	lost, disappeared	<i>raha</i>	four
<i>hohe</i>	to laugh	<i>moho</i>	fathom
<i>seho</i>	sugar palm	<i>kokehe</i>	to cough

2.2.6 LIQUIDS

The liquid *l* occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>loloji</i>	sour	<i>palaka</i>	turned over
<i>lae</i>	thread	<i>pulia</i>	ragged
<i>lamo</i>	big	<i>polulu</i>	round
<i>lule</i>	to roll	<i>tela</i>	maize
<i>logi</i>	to bite	<i>hale</i>	to lick
<i>lom</i>	to come together	<i>pilo</i>	blind
<i>lako</i>	eye	<i>dopolo</i>	head
<i>loleko</i>	aslant		

In a very small number of words we find *l* at the end, e.g. in *trosol* 'to disturb' and *kintal* 'yard', but these two words are borrowings from other languages.

The liquid *r* occurs only in word-initial and word-medial positions:

<i>roriha</i>	red	<i>toru</i>	to withdraw
<i>raku</i>	to fold	<i>goroho</i>	oil
<i>romtoha</i>	five	<i>gura</i>	garden
<i>roro</i>	slow	<i>dero</i>	to find
<i>ruregu</i>	other	<i>mari</i>	stone
<i>romdidi</i>	two	<i>ara</i>	moon
<i>reno</i>	to slice	<i>bira</i>	rice
<i>raga-raga</i>	finger	<i>fere</i>	to climb
<i>rimoi</i>	one	<i>dudara</i>	pity
<i>rara</i>	six	<i>guraka</i>	ginger
<i>ratumoi</i>	one hundred		

2.2.7 SEMIVOWELS

The semivowel *y* is found in all positions but it occurs only in a few words. The *y* which is heard after the vowel *i* when it is followed by another vowel is not written in the spelling used here. Word-final *y* which is preceded by a vowel is written *i*. Some examples are:

<i>yaya</i>	mother	<i>hio</i>	to blow
<i>yoyoga</i>	crazy	<i>kai</i>	to marry
<i>saya</i>	flower	<i>hai</i>	grub
<i>mia</i>	monkey	<i>koi</i>	banana
<i>kie</i>	island	<i>doi</i>	to carry on the shoulder
<i>bia</i>	oyster		

The semivowel *w*, as mentioned above, is bilabial in word-initial position and is then preceded by a weak *u*, that is, it is similar to the English *w* and the *w* in Buli (South-Halmahera). Word medially, however, *w* is labiodental. Some examples are:

<i>wange</i>	sun, day	<i>wola-wola</i>	loose
<i>wehe</i>	to dry in the sun	<i>woka-woka</i>	crow
<i>wigo</i>	to shake	<i>dowong</i>	sand
<i>wele</i>	to hang	<i>salawaku</i>	shield
<i>waho</i>	rotten	<i>siwasu</i>	to send, instruct
<i>wosa</i>	to enter	<i>diti dawana</i>	gecko
<i>walomoi</i>	once		

3. WORD STRUCTURE

The only consonants which can occur in word-final position are the nasals *m*, *n* and *ng*. We can therefore characterise Ternate as a vocalic language. The words which now end in a nasal consonant may originally have ended in a vowel as well. This would be in agreement with the fact that the word *kanang* 'a moment ago', which now has become archaic, is pronounced as *kanange* by the old people. Further proof can be found in old loan words which originally ended in a nasal consonant but have lost it in the Ternate language. For example:

<i>jara</i>	horse	(Jawa <i>jaran</i>)
<i>manjanga</i>	deer	(Jawa <i>menjangan</i>)
<i>tinggalu</i>	civet cat	(Sunda, Jawa <i>tinggalung</i>)
<i>kurunga</i>	cage	(Indonesian <i>kurungan</i>)

If words which were borrowed long ago from other languages originally ended in a consonant, either they have lost it or they have received a final vowel:

<i>tafi</i>	sieve	from Indonesian	<i>tapis</i>
<i>ratu</i>	hundred	" "	<i>ratus</i>
<i>raci</i>	poison	" "	<i>racun</i>
<i>lasa</i>	kind of fruit	" "	<i>langsar</i>
<i>capati</i>	quick	" "	<i>cepat</i>
<i>sababu</i>	because	" "	<i>sebab</i>
<i>asali</i>	origin	" "	<i>asal</i>
<i>kapa</i>	cotton	" "	<i>kapas</i>
<i>bonci</i>	bean	" "	<i>boncis</i> (from Dutch <i>boontjes</i>)
<i>kanci</i>	button	" "	<i>kancing</i>
<i>tapa</i>	patch	" "	<i>tampal</i>

But recent loan words generally retain the final consonant although they have been adapted to the Ternate pronunciation:

<i>gamber</i>	kind of plant	from Indonesian	<i>gambir</i>
<i>walirang</i>	sulphur	" "	<i>belarang</i>
<i>kabal</i>	immune	" "	<i>kebal</i>
<i>kapal</i>	boat	" "	<i>kapal</i>
<i>kaptenlaut</i>	admiral	from Malay	<i>kaptenlaut</i>
<i>kas</i>	cupboard	from Dutch	<i>kast</i>

There are not many monosyllabic words in the Ternate language and they usually end in a nasal consonant, for example:

<i>nong</i>	charcoal	<i>ngan</i>	to boil
<i>hang</i>	not yet	<i>hal</i>	expensive
<i>fin</i>	seed		(Indonesian <i>mahal</i>)
<i>gam</i>	village	<i>tum</i>	to dive
<i>jang</i>	beautiful	<i>ngo</i>	pulp
<i>ing</i>	tooth	<i>ne</i>	this
<i>lom</i>	to meet	<i>ge</i>	that
<i>gan</i>	louse	<i>ma</i>	its

The majority of the root words are bisyllabic. Several of these are reduplications of monosyllabic roots such as *pompom* 'bamboo water container', *cumcum* 'riddle'. There are also many trisyllabic words. Possibly they originally consisted of a bisyllabic root plus a monosyllabic affix which has become petrified and can no longer be recognised, for example:

<i>nongoru</i>	younger brother	<i>gurumi</i>	shadow
<i>durure</i>	threshold	<i>dofoma</i>	provisions
<i>pilatu</i>	pair of tongs	<i>gabura</i>	kind of duck
<i>suramo</i>	cloud	<i>fiaro</i>	scattered
<i>dokasáa</i>	how		

There are only a few root words with more than three syllables, for example:

<i>tabadiku</i>	bamboo	<i>cakelele</i>	war dance
<i>galafea</i>	fish holder	<i>koloomi</i>	kind of millepede
<i>kolotidi</i>	worm	<i>golofino</i>	afraid
<i>cakaiba</i>	masked person	<i>tulubutu</i>	to bargain
<i>cafaruni</i>	filthy		

The origin of some of these is still clear, of others it is not.

Sequences of consonants are found only in the middle of words, as in:

<i>tufkange</i>	eight	<i>pancona</i>	torch
<i>romdidi</i>	two	<i>gulcifi</i>	(finger) nail
<i>tomdí</i>	seven	<i>gurmakusu</i>	lemon grass
<i>turpopo</i>	explosion, thunder	<i>golfino</i>	afraid
<i>mancia</i>	people		

It is very well possible that such sequences came into being by the joining of a final consonant and an initial consonant of two words which formed a compound. If we compare the numeral *romtoha* 'five' with the Galela word *motoha* 'five' in which the element *mo* is a numeral formant and *toha* the numeral root, then it is clear that *toha* in *romtoha* is the root and *rom* is another word, or at least some kind of formative. Based on this we see that *romdidi* 'two' and *tomdí* 'seven' may contain the roots *didi* and *di* and the formatives *rom* and *tom*. By analogy we can analyse the form *tufkange* 'eight' as *tuf* + *kange*, etc.

Another possibility is that originally there was a vowel between the two consonants which was the final vowel of the first constituent of the compound. This is very clear in the word *golfino* which has an alternant form *golofino*. Also the word *mancia* 'people' is an adaptation of the Malay word *manusia* in which the vowel *u* has disappeared and the resulting cluster *ns* has become *nc*.

4. THE GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION

In the Ternate language the genitive construction is as follows:

<i>uku ma detu</i>	(fire its embers)	embers
<i>diso ma ngofa</i>	(mortar its child)	rice pounder
<i>lako ma gogo</i>	(eye its hair)	eyebrow
<i>Kamis ma wange</i>	(Thursday its day)	Thursday
<i>wange ma lakilaki</i>	(sun its shine)	sunshine
<i>hohu ma lako</i>	(foot its eye)	ankle
<i>namo ma au</i>	(chicken its blood)	chicken blood
<i>gia ma sahadat</i>	(hand its 'sahadat' ¹¹)	index finger
<i>ragaraga ma hera</i>	(finger its mother)	thumb
<i>cama ma dola</i>	(throat its base)	neck
<i>dudu ma hera</i>	(back its mother)	spine
<i>ngau ma iho</i>	(ear its dirt)	ear-dirt
<i>fala ma fana</i>	(house its ridge)	the roof-ridge of the house

The genitive, which is used very often, is formed by placing the modifying noun in front, followed by the particle *ma* and the modified noun. We see here that the genitive construction in the Ternate language is the so-called reversed genitive. The reversed genitive is a feature of all the languages which are reckoned to belong to the North Halmahera-Ternate group of languages (Adriani and Kruyt 1914:300).

In addition I came across the form *saha gia* (palm + hand) 'palm of hand', = *saha ma gia*. It refers to the gesture of stretching out the arm upwards with the hand open and the palm facing up as is done by Muslims when they pray. I have not been given any other examples of this construction.

5. THE PRONOUNS

5.1 GENERAL

The personal pronouns have free and bound forms. This feature is not only found in the languages of the North Halmahera-Ternate group, but also in the Austronesian languages of South Halmahera, for example in the Buli language. In contrast with the Austronesian languages which do not possess a gender distinction in the personal and possessive pronouns, such a distinction is present in the Ternate language. It is found in the third person singular and in the polite forms first person singular and plural. The inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person plural which is present in the Austronesian languages is also found in Ternate. The free and the bound forms of the personal pronouns are:

		Free form	Bound form	
Singular	1st person	<i>ngori</i>	<i>to-</i>	I
	1st person masc. pol.	<i>fangare</i>	<i>to-</i>	
	1st person fem. pol.	<i>fajaru</i>	<i>to-</i>	
	2nd person	<i>ngana</i>	<i>no-</i>	you (sg)
	2nd person pol.	<i>ngon</i>	<i>ni</i>	
	3rd person masc.	<i>una</i>	<i>o-</i>	he
	3rd person fem.	<i>mina</i>	<i>mo-</i>	she
Plural	1st person excl. masc. pol.	<i>fangare-ngom</i>	<i>mi-</i>	we
	1st person excl. fem. pol.	<i>fajaru-ngom</i>	<i>mi-</i>	
	1st person excl.	<i>ngom</i>	<i>mi-</i>	
	1st person incl.	<i>ngone</i>	<i>fo-</i>	
	2nd person	<i>ngon</i>	<i>ni-</i>	you
	3rd person	<i>ana</i>	<i>i-</i>	they

fangare and *fajaru* are polite forms. *fangare* is used only by male speakers; the word contains a prefix *fa* and a root *ngare* which in its reduplicated form, *ngongare*, means 'young men'. Female speakers use *fajaru* which consists of the prefix *fa* and the root *jaru* which in its reduplicated form, *jujaru*, means 'young woman, maiden'. *ngori* is not used in polite conversation.

ngana 'you' is used only when one addresses someone younger and lower in status or rank – an elder brother uses it when speaking to his younger brother. On the other hand a younger brother uses *ngon* when speaking to his elder brother; the same applies when someone of low rank addresses a person of higher rank. *ngana* therefore is the 'low', *ngon* the 'high' or polite form. There is no gender distinction in the second person.

In the third person a gender distinction is present: *una* 'he', *mina* 'she'. The first person plural has an exclusive-inclusive distinction: *ngom* 'we (but not you)', *ngone* 'we (you included)'. In polite speech a gender distinction is introduced in the first person plural exclusive by the addition of *fangare* or *fajaru*: *fangare ngom* 'we (men)', *fajaru ngom* 'we (women)'. In the second person plural the form *ngon* is used. As we saw above, this word is also used as the polite form of the second person singular. The third person plural pronoun is *ana* 'they' without a gender distinction.

5.2 SUBJECT MARKING PREFIXES

When a personal pronoun functions as subject the verb takes the corresponding bound form as a prefix:

<i>ngori to-gulaha</i>	I make it
<i>fangare (fajaru) to-gulaha</i>	I (male, female) make it (polite)
<i>ngana no-gulaha</i>	you (sg) make it
<i>ngon ni-gulaha</i>	you (sg, polite) make it
<i>una o-gulaha</i>	he makes it
<i>mina mo-gulaha</i>	she makes it
<i>fangare ngom mi-gulaha</i>	we (men) make it (polite)

<i>fajaru ngom mi-gulaha</i>	we (women) make it (polite)
<i>ngom mi-gulaha</i>	we (excl) make it
<i>ngone fo-gulaha</i>	we (incl) make it
<i>ngon ni-gulaha</i>	you (pl) make it
<i>ana i-gulaha</i>	they make it

In sentences the free subject-pronoun can be omitted, leaving only the bound form:

<i>kitab ne fangare to-haka se mina</i>	}	I (male) gave this book to her.
book this I I-give to her		
<i>kitab ne to-haka se mina</i>	}	I (female) gave this book to her.
<i>kitab ne fajaru to-haka se mina</i>		
<i>kitab ne to-haka se mina</i>	}	You gave this book to her.
<i>kitab ne ngana no-haka se mina</i>		
<i>kitab ne no-haka se mina</i>	}	

As we can see in these sentences the dative case is constructed by placing the particle *se* in front of the personal pronoun.

<i>se fangare</i>	to me	<i>se mina</i>	to her
<i>se fajaru</i>	to me	<i>se ngom</i>	to us
<i>se ngana</i>	to you (sg)	<i>se ngone</i>	to us
<i>se ngon</i>	to you (sg, pol.)	<i>se ngon</i>	to you (pl)
<i>se una</i>	to him	<i>se ana</i>	to them

5.3 THE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

In the possessive construction the personal pronoun is followed by the possessed noun and between them is placed a possessive particle which corresponds with the preceding pronoun.

<i>fangare</i>	<i>ri</i>	+ possessed noun
<i>fajaru</i>	<i>ri</i>	
<i>ngana</i>	<i>ni</i>	
<i>una</i>	<i>i</i>	
<i>mina</i>	<i>mi</i>	
<i>ngom</i>	<i>mi</i>	
<i>ngone</i>	<i>na</i>	
<i>ngon</i>	<i>na</i>	
<i>ana</i>	<i>nga</i>	

For example:

<i>fangare ri kitab</i>	my book	<i>fangare ri dué</i>	mine
<i>fajaru ri kitab</i>	my book	<i>fajaru ri dué</i>	mine
<i>ngana ni kitab</i>	your book	<i>ngana ni dué</i>	yours
<i>una i kitab</i>	his book	<i>una i dué</i>	his

<i>mina mi kitab</i>	her book	<i>mina mi dué</i>	hers
<i>ngom mi kitab</i>	our book	<i>ngom mi dué</i>	ours
<i>ngone na kitab</i>	our book	<i>ngone na dué</i>	ours
<i>ngon na kitab</i>	your book	<i>ngon na dué</i>	yours
<i>ana nga kitab</i>	their book	<i>ana nga dué</i>	theirs

5.4 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns are:

<i>nagé</i>	who
<i>koa</i>	what
<i>wangerao</i>	when
<i>ngairao</i>	how many (objects, animals)
<i>naruo</i>	how many (people)
<i>dokasáa</i>	how
<i>kasáa</i>	where

Examples are:

nagé na dué
whose (is it)

haiwán nagé ma ronga koa
animal that its name what
What is the name of that animal?

wangerao ngone fo-tagí toma Ternate
when we incl. we-go to Ternate
When are we going to Ternate?

fala daka ngairao
houses there how many
How many houses are over there?

mancia naruo i-tagí toma ngoko ma daha
people how many they-walk on road its inside
How many people are walking on the road?

gulaha dokasáa momami ge
make how cakes those
How does one make those cakes?

ma ija dokasáa
its price how
What's the price?

The word *haiwán*, which is a borrowing from Arabic, not only means 'animal' but also 'goods, stuff'.

6. THE NUMERALS

6.1 CARDINAL NUMBERS

The numerals one to ten are as follows:

1	<i>rimói</i>	6	<i>rara</i>
2	<i>romdidi</i>	7	<i>tomdí</i>
3	<i>raange</i>	8	<i>tufkange</i>
4	<i>raha</i>	9	<i>sio</i>
5	<i>romtoha</i>	10	<i>nyagimói</i>

nyagimói 'ten' contains the root *nyagi* 'unit of ten' and *moi* 'one' a shortened form of *rimói*. Contrary to the Austronesian languages which place the digits before the tens, the Ternate language places them after:

<i>nyagimói</i>	ten
<i>nyagiromdidi</i>	twenty
<i>nyagiraange</i>	thirty
<i>nyagiraha</i>	forty
<i>nyagiromtoha</i>	fifty, etc.

The same applies to numerals with *ratu* 'hundred' and *cala* 'thousand':

<i>ratumói</i>	one hundred	<i>calamói</i>	one thousand
<i>raturomdidi</i>	two hundred	<i>calaromdidi</i>	two thousand
<i>raturaange</i>	three hundred	<i>calaraange</i>	three thousand
<i>raturaha</i>	four hundred	<i>calaraha</i>	four thousand
<i>raturomtoha</i>	five hundred, etc.	<i>calaromtoha</i>	five thousand

The numerals from eleven to nineteen, twenty-one to twenty-nine etc., are formed by the numerals for ten and multiples of ten, followed by *se* 'and' and the digit:

11	<i>nyagimói se rimói</i>
12	<i>nyagimói se romdidi</i>
13	<i>nyagimói se raange</i>
14	<i>nyagimói se raha</i>
15	<i>nyagimói se romtoha</i>
21	<i>nyagiromdidi se rimói</i>
22	<i>nyagiromdidi se romdidi</i>
31	<i>nyagiraange se rimói</i>
44	<i>nyagiraha se raha</i>
56	<i>nyagiromtoha se rara</i>
67	<i>nyagirara se tomdí</i>
78	<i>nyagitomdí se tufkange</i>
85	<i>nyagitufkange se romtoha</i>
99	<i>nyagisio se sio</i>
201	<i>raturomdidi se rimói</i>
232	<i>raturomdidi nyagiraange se romdidi</i>
1564	<i>calamói raturomtoha nyagirara se raha</i>
9999	<i>calasio ratusio nyagisio se sio</i>
10000	<i>calanyagimói</i>
35600	<i>calanyagiraange se romtoha se raturara</i>

6.2 ORDINAL NUMBERS

The ordinal numbers are nowadays usually formed as in Indonesian, that is they are preceded by *yang ka-*:

<i>yang karimói</i>	the first
<i>yang karomdidi</i>	the second
<i>yang karaange</i>	the third, etc.

6.3 MULTIPLYING NUMERALS

Multiplying numerals are formed by placing *walo* before the numeral:

<i>walo-mói</i>	once
<i>walo-romdidi</i>	twice
<i>walo-raange</i>	three times
<i>walo-nyagimói</i>	ten times
<i>walo-ratumói</i>	a hundred times
<i>walo-calamói</i>	a thousand times, etc.

6.4 FRACTIONS

There are no numerals with a fractional value in the Ternate language, but fractions can be expressed in the following way:

<i>ma sunanga</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ (one half of something)
<i>gakimói</i>	$\frac{1}{4}$

A *gaki* is a quarter part of a smoked tuna fish.

Another way of expressing fractions is by adding *suka ka-* or *sibula ka-* to the cardinal numerals, (*suka* means 'to split', *sibula* means 'to divide'):

<i>sibula ka-raha</i>	}	one fourth
<i>suka ka-raha</i>		
<i>sibula ka-romtoha</i>	}	one fifth
<i>suka ka-romtoha</i>		
<i>sibula ka-nyagimói</i>	}	one tenth
<i>suka ka-nyagimói</i>		

6.5 SPECIAL NUMERALS

In addition to the basic numerals there are also special numerals for counting human beings, animals and objects. The following numerals are used when counting human beings:

<i>amói</i>	one person	<i>narura</i>	six persons
<i>namdí</i>	two persons	<i>natomdí</i>	seven persons
<i>narukange</i>	three persons	<i>natufkange</i>	eight persons
<i>naruha</i>	four persons	<i>nasio</i>	nine persons
<i>namtoha</i>	five persons	<i>nanyagimói</i>	ten persons

In principle the numerals for counting people are derived from the basic numerals by adding the prefix *na-*. But *amói* has lost the *n* of *na-*, and the first syllable of *rimói* is always lost when it is combined with another numeral; *amói* therefore derives from **narimói*. In *namdí* we see that *romdidi* has been shortened to *mdi*. In *narukange*, *naruha*, *narura*, the first syllable *ra* of the basic numeral has become *ru*, and the hiatus in the form *raange* has been strengthened by inserting *k*.

All numerals higher than ten just take the prefix *na-*:

<i>nanyagiromdidi</i>	twenty people
<i>nanyagiraange se amoi</i>	thirty-one people
<i>nacalamói</i>	one thousand people

When counting animals or objects one adds the prefix *ngai-* to the basic numeral except for *rimói* 'one' which becomes *ngaimói*:

<i>ngairomdidi</i>	two objects/animals
<i>ngainyagimói</i>	ten objects/animals
<i>ngairatumói</i>	hundred objects/animals
<i>ngaicalamói</i>	a thousand objects/animals

7. THE PREPOSITION *toma*

One preposition that I found in the Ternate language is *toma*. Its equivalents in the Indonesian language are *di* and *ke*, as it encompasses the meanings 'being present at the designated spot' and 'moving towards the designated spot'. As in Indonesian it occurs before the noun:

<i>toma daha</i>	in the inside, inside
<i>toma gunaga</i>	at the front
<i>toma dite</i>	at the side
<i>toma dudu</i>	at the back
<i>toma adu</i>	below, underneath
<i>toma dopolo</i>	on the head
<i>toma ngute ma adu</i>	at the foot of the ladder
<i>toma ngolo ma nyeku</i>	on the surface of the sea
<i>toma ngolo ma gonora</i>	in the middle of the sea
<i>toma dodika</i>	on the fireplace
<i>kado toma rumbaka</i>	to arrive at the beach

fangare to-welewele tas tagi toma sekola
 I I-swing bag go to school
 Swinging my bag I went to school.

8. SOME NOTES ON THE VERB

8.1 VERBROOTS

Ternate verbs are not much used with affixes as the root by itself is adequate. Examples of verbs without affixes are:

fangare waro ua
I know not
I don't know.

ngana waro nagé?
you know that
Do you know that?

fangare lefo raima
I write already
I have already written.

mancia palisi ika
people go past there
(Some) people went past to that place over there.

namo temo
cock crow
The cock is crowing.

In addition to the roots several affixes have been recognised, amongst others *ma-*, *si-* and *maku-*.

8.2 VERBS WITH *ma-*

The prefix *ma-* is used in the same way as *me-*, *ma-* etc. in the languages of Indonesia, only in the Ternate language it is not often used:

<i>fangare to-malefo</i>	I am writing.
<i>fangare to-madorio una</i>	I am helping him.
<i>to-malule se mi nyiho</i>	I am lying in her lap.

There are verbs which occur only with this prefix *ma-*, such as:

<i>maruru</i>	to float downstream	<i>malom</i>	to come together, meet
<i>maruku</i>	to stoop	<i>mafato</i>	to form a row
<i>maria</i>	to be noisy	<i>madoto</i>	to learn

8.3 VERBS WITH *si-*

The prefix *si-* is used in the imperative:

<i>siwasu</i>	(from <i>wasu</i> 'to order')	order (him)!
<i>sidika</i>	(from <i>ika</i> 'to leave, abandon')	leave it! don't bother!
<i>sidurari</i>	(from <i>turari</i> 'to present')	present it!
<i>sipasa</i>	(from <i>pasa</i> 'free, loose')	let it go! set it free!

8.4 VERBS WITH *maku-*

The prefix *maku-* is used to form reciprocal verbs:

<i>makudagimói</i>	to be friends
<i>makudero</i>	to meet each other
<i>makumote</i>	to walk together
<i>makusedu</i>	to make jokes with each other
<i>makudusu</i>	to chase one another
<i>makuginado</i>	to ask each other

This prefix has entered the Malay variants spoken in Ternate and Manado as *baku-*: *baku-dapa* 'to meet each other', etc.

POSTSCRIPT

In the following, more information is given on some of the topics dealt with by Mr Watuseke. The numbers in the margin refer to the (sub)sections in the grammar sketch.

- 2.1 The terms long and short used here have been borrowed from traditional Dutch grammar in which 'long' and 'short' vowels contrast not only in length but also in degree of openness. Thus, long [a:], [e:], [i:], [o:], [u:] contrast with short [a], [ε], [ɪ], [ɔ], [u]. In Ternate vowels are phonetically short except when stressed and word-final, and the terms long and short should be interpreted as 'close' versus 'open'. Thus, Ternate /a/ = [a] or [a]; /e/ = [ě] or [ε] (in closed syllables); /i/ = [i]; /o/ = [o] or [ɔ] (in closed syllables) and /u/ = [u].

Word stress on the ultimate syllable is found in:

1. words formed by prefixing or reduplication on the basis of a monosyllabic root, for example *o-dín* 'he is sewing', *maku-cúm* 'to entertain one another with riddles', *cum-cúm* 'riddles', *ngai-mói* 'one (object)', *ngam-dí* 'two (people)'.

2. compounds with a monosyllabic second constituent, for example *dagimói* 'friend' (from *tagi* 'to walk' and *mói* 'one, together'), *falalóm* 'servant' (from *fala* 'house' and *lom* 'be together'), *enané* 'this here' (from *ena* 'it' and *ne* 'this').

3. A small residue of words which cannot be subsumed under the above rules, amongst them a number of Indonesian loans which originally carry the stress on the penultimate, such as *kursí* 'chair', *Hamís* 'Thursday' (from *Kámis*).

- 2.2 A non-phonemic glottal stop is often heard preceding a word-initial vowel and between two like vowels, as in *raange* [řa'ángě] 'three'.
- 5.1, 5.2 There are in fact three major noun classes in Ternate: a non-person class manifested in the use of the pronoun *ena* 'it', the subject marker *i-*, the possessive marker *ma* and the numerals with the prefix *ngai-*; a masculine person class; and a feminine person class. The only noun which denotes a human being and belongs to the non-person class is *ngofa* 'child': *ngofa i-tego* 'the child sits', *ngofa ma gia* 'the child's arms'.
- 5.3 The possessive particle for the 1st person incl. pl., 2nd person pl. and 3rd person pl. is either *na* or *nga*. *na* is felt to be more refined or cultured than *nga* and is therefore

found in polite conversations and formal texts. The same connotational difference is found between the *na*- and *nga*- prefixes to the numerals, see below, 6.5.

- 6.2 The true Ternate way of saying 'the first' is *ma sosira: fala ma sosira* 'the first house'.
- 6.5 The person-marking prefix with numerals higher than one is *na*- or *nga*-. As with the homophonous possessive markers, *na*- is felt to be more refined than *nga*-. So beside *namdí* 'two' we find *ngamdí*; beside *naruha* 'four' we find *ngaruha* etc. This difference extends to the interrogative numeral counterpart *naruo/ngaruo* 'how many people'. Moreover, some nouns referring to large, longish objects require the numeral classifier *hutu*: *fala hutu mói* 'one house', *guae hutu mói* 'one mango tree'.
8. The morphology of the Ternate verb is much more complex than is described here. I shall deal with this part of Ternate grammar in a separate paper.

NOTES

1. See part C (pp.191-318) which contains a short introduction to the language (191-196), some grammatical notes (197-202), three texts in Jawi inserted between pages 244 and 245 preceded by a free Dutch translation (202-244), and a Ternate-Dutch wordlist to the texts (245-318). A transcription in Roman script of the texts, accompanied by a more literal translation was published by Fortgens (1930).
2. This is the Ternate-Indonesian-Dutch wordlist published by J. Fortgens in 1917; see the bibliographical references.
3. New publications on the same area which have appeared since I wrote this article are: Collins 1982; Collins, ed. 1983; Collins and Voorhoeve 1983; Lucardie 1980; Salzner 1960; Stokhof, ed. 1980; Taylor 1983; Voorhoeve 1981, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1988; Wada 1980; Watuseke 1976; and Wurm and Hattori 1983. A bibliography of the North Moluccas which is complete up to 1981 has been compiled by K. Polman (1981).
4. In the Dutch original: Ternataansche adatrechtstermen.
5. P.T.P.G. = Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru
F.K.I.P. = Fakultas Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan
They can be seen as the forerunners of the present Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan (I.K.I.P.).
6. In the Luwuk-Banggai district the influence of the Ternate language was felt till 1908. Up to that year that district fell under the sphere of influence of the sultanate of Ternate.
In the city of Manado, north Sulawesi, there still exists a Ternatan quarter (kampung Ternate), but the Ternate language is no longer spoken there.
7. Borgo: adaptation of the Dutch word *burger*.
8. *kecamatan*: District.
9. Word stress, here indicated by an acute accent on the stressed vowel, is usually carried by the penultimate syllable (*áke, píla, turífa, golofíno*). In a small number of words the last

syllable is stressed, e.g. *kursfi*. In the spelling of the Ternate words stress is indicated only when it falls on the last syllable.

10. That is, it is a voiceless labiodental fricative.
11. The index-finger is called *sahadat* 'confession' because Muslims, when uttering the confession of faith during their prayers have to stretch the index-finger of the right hand. This gesture is widespread in the areas that have been influenced by Ternate and Tidore (see Adriani and Kruyt 1914:338).

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