THE LANGUAGES OF THE NORTH HALMAHERAN STOCK

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended as a preliminary to a comparative study of the languages of the North Halmaheran Stock, which will appear as 'The languages of the North Halmaheran Stock II'. It is based on a short survey paper entitled 'The non-Austronesian languages of the North Moluccas' which I wrote for the Seminar Halmahera dan Raja Ampat held in Jakarta in June 1981. It was scheduled to appear in the proceedings of the Seminar, but adverse circumstances have so far delayed the publication. In the meantime work by myself and others[1] has contributed significantly to our knowledge of the North Halmaheran languages so that the Seminar paper, when it finally sees the light, will be dated to such a degree that preparing an updated and expanded version seems fully warranted. In contrast to the earlier paper however I shall include only a select bibliography. In 1981 an annotated bibliography of the North Moluccas appeared which contains amongst others all the known publications dealing in one way or another with the languages in that area (Polman 1981). They span the period from 1862 to 1980. In the present paper I shall therefore restrict myself to giving full bibliographical references only for the most important works of that period and for more recent publications (a few publications which appeared in 1980 fall also in this category). Whenever in this paper reference is made to a work listed in the annotated bibliography, its list number in that work will be added after the publication date. If it is also included in the bibliography at the end, the name of the author will be starred. Thus, '*Veen 1915 [56]' indicates that the full bibliographical reference is given in this paper and that it can also be found under number 56 of the annotated bibliography.

2. THE NORTH HALMAHERAN STOCK

On the northern half of the North Moluccan island of Halmahera and on the offshore islands to the north and west a group of four related languages is spoken which form a non-Austronesian enclave in Austronesian language territory. They are: West Makian, Ternate-Tidore, Sahu, and North-east Halmaheran, collectively known as the North Halmaheran (NH) languages. The group has its closest linguistic ties with the languages in the western tip of the Bird's Head Peninsula, Irian Jaya, and is distantly related to most of the other languages in the Bird's Head. The superordinate group to which all these languages belong is the West Papuan Phylum[2].

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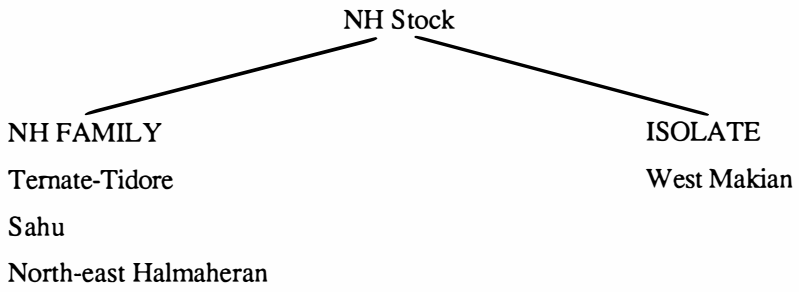
On the basis of percentages of shared cognates in a 100-item basic wordlist the NH languages can be classified as a stock divided into one Family and one Family-level Isolate:



The criteria adopted for the classification are: 100% - 81% for dialects of the same language; 80% - 28% for different languages belonging to the same family; 27% - 13% for languages belonging to different families but the same stock; 6% - 12% for languages belonging to different stocks of the same phylum. A further division into groups of dialects, subfamilies, etc. is possible if within a range clustering of cognation percentages is found to occur.

The classification presented above is not without problems. I shall deal with these in the course of the discussion of the individual languages.

Occasionally I shall mention diagnostic sound correspondences to highlight the differences between lexically very similar dialects or subdialects. A full account of the often very complex patterns of sound correspondences between the NH languages and even between dialects of the same language, will be given in the sequel to this paper.

Earlier Dutch surveys of the languages of the NH Family are Hueting 1908 [44][3] and *Veen 1915 [56]. They distinguish nine languages or dialects (the terms are used interchangeable): Ternate, Tidore, Sahu, Tobaru, Loloda, Galela, Tobelo, Modole, and Pagu. The latter six are now classified as dialects of North-east Halmaheran. Hueting's survey contains short comparative wordlists; Van der Veen focusses on those grammatical points which characterise the NH languages as non-Austronesian.

In the following survey of the NH languages I shall describe their location only in general terms, and mention village names only when something has to be said about particular villages. For full details the reader should consult the maps and village lists at the end of the paper.

2.1 WEST MAKIAN

West Makian is spoken on the western side of Makian Island, in a few villages on the west coast of the southern peninsula of Halmahera, and in a number of villages on the islands of Moari, Lelei, Gunage, and Gafi.[4] An estimated 12,000 people speak West Makian as their first language. Of these about 7,000 live on Makian Island.

West Makian shares 28% cognates with Ternate-Tidore and Sahu, and 21% - 25% cognates with the dialects of North-east Halmaheran. The cognation percentage with Ternate-Tidore and Sahu would be just enough to classify West Makian as a subfamily isolate within the NH Family. Both West Makian and Sahu however have been strongly influenced by the Ternate dialect of Ternate-

Tidore so that the figure of 28% is probably somewhat inflated by undetected borrowings. The present classification takes this into account. There are seven West Makian speaking villages on Makian Island. Judging by the existing wordlists (Teljeur 1982) each village speaks its own variant of the language, characterised by minor lexical differences with other variants. It is not known whether separate dialects of West Makian are spoken in West Makianese settlements outside the island.

The most recent publication on West Makian is Voorhoeve, ed. 1982 which contains a general introduction to the language, a grammatical sketch, a wordlist and text by Voorhoeve, a supplementary wordlist and grammatical notes by Collins, and short comparative wordlists by Teljeur.

2.2 TERNATE-TIDORE

This language is spoken in two main dialects, Ternate and Tidore. In earlier publications (Hueting 1908 [44], *Veen 1915 [56], Masinambow 1972 [69]) the two have been treated as separate languages. My own data show that they are very closely related, sharing 80% cognates in the basic wordlist. This figure would put them at the top of the percentage range for languages of one family, but according to my informants the two are mutually intelligible so that I prefer to classify them as dialects of the same language.

2.2.1 TERNATE

The Ternate dialect is spoken on the islands of Ternate and Hiri, on Talimau and on the southern tip of Moari (the latter two islands are in the Kayoa group), in a number of villages on the west coast of North Halmahera and by Ternatese settlers on Obi and Bacan. Masinambow (1972) citing the 1930 census gives the figure of 10,000 for Ternatans living on Ternate Island and 32,000 for Ternatans living elsewhere. According to the 1976 census there were at that time 20,000 Ternatans living on Ternate Island outside the town of Ternate which itself had a largely immigrant population of 42,000. This would mean that within half a century the native population on Ternate had more than doubled. The present number of Ternate speakers on the island can be expected to exceed 30,000. How many of the tens of thousands expatriate Ternatans still speak their native language is not known. I have not been able to obtain from my informants any information on subdialectal variation on Ternate Island. However, that no local variants would exist is unlikely and this is a matter for further investigation.

In earlier times the Ternate dialect was widely used as a lingua franca in the regions under the political dominance of the Sultan of Ternate. The most explicit statement on its role as a vehicle of interethnic communication I have been able to find is from De Clercq, resident of Ternate from 1885 to 1888 and author of the important *Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate* (Contributions to the knowledge of the Residency of Ternate), who had this to say (translation mine):

> The Ternate language is, so to say, the lingua franca of the Moluccan Archipelago in a narrower sense because the native tongue of the original Ternatans is understood by almost all the subjects of the Sultan who live in the coastal settlements of his vast territory. It is commonly used by traders in their dealings with the [local] populations, and Alfoors[5] who have been converted to Islam often prefer it to their own native language. (*Clercq 1890 [120]:191)

In the 16th century the sultans of Ternate claimed a territory reaching from Halmahera in the east to the eastern and southern shores of Sulawesi in the west, and from Mindanao in the north to the Lesser Sunda Islands (Sumbawa, Flores) in the south (Clercq 1890:153). The 'Moluccan Archipelago in a narrower sense' referred to by De Clercq probably is the area which was still under the jurisdiction of Ternate at the end of the nineteenth century: the west coast of North Halmahera and nearby islands; the Bacan, Sula, and Banggai Archipelagoes, and on the east coast of Sulawesi the Batanta and Mandono Districts and the kingdom of Tombuku. Now, a hundred years later, the Sultanate of Ternate belongs to the past and Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, asserts itself vigorously as the medium of inter-ethnic communication. It is to be expected therefore that the role of Ternate as a lingua franca is now greatly diminished. Unfortunately no one has so far made a study of this use of the Ternate dialect.

Apart from a few grammatical notes by De Clercq (1890:197-202) and Van der Veen (*Veen 1915 [56], passim) no grammatical description of Ternate has been published. Wordlists can be found in Van der Crab 1862 [386], Robidé van der Aa 1872 [29], Bastian 1894 [33], *Clercq 1890 [120], Hueting 1908 [44], *Fortgens 1917 [61], and Teljeur 1982. The most extensive and useful of these are the wordlists of De Clercq and Fortgens. The latter gives Dutch and Malay equivalents of the Ternate words; only Teljeur's list has English equivalents.

Ternate texts with Dutch translation have been published by Riedel 1871 [72], Van der Crab 1878 [74], Van Campen 1885 (a few *pantun*), Van Baarda 1923 [95], and *Fortgens 1930 [97]. The text published by Van der Crab also has a Malay translation. This text shows influences from the Tidore dialect.

A grammatical sketch accompanied by texts and an extensive wordlist, by Voorhoeve and Watuseke, is presently in preparation.

2.2.2 TIDORE

Tidore is spoken on the islands of Tidore, Maitara, and Mare; on the northern half of Moti, and on the mainland of Halmahera in the coastal areas round Oba, Payahi, and Lifofa. Tidorese settlers are also found in the Obi and Bacan Islands and along the south coast of Halmahera. According to the 1930 census 15,000 Tidorese were living on Tidore Island and 11,000 elsewhere (Masinambow 1972 [69]). If the population growth on Tidore Island has matched that on Ternate (see 2.2.1) the number of Tidore speakers on the island should now exceed 30,000. Again, it is now known how many expatriates still speak the Tidore dialect.

Although the power of the Sultanate of Tidore extended nominally over the south coast of Halmahera, the Raja Ampat Islands, and the south coast of West New Guinea as far as Etna Bay, no mention has come to my attention of its use as a lingua franca in this area. If it was ever used as such the changed political circumstances will probably have obliterated any traces of it.

On Tidore Island, as in West Makian, there are many local variants of the dialect. According to my informants every Tidorese village speaks its own brand of Tidore and it is possible to identify a speaker's home village by the peculiarities of his/her speech. Still, some villages at least share some linguistic peculiarities which makes it possible to distinguish two subdialects. My Mareku informant was quite explicit about the fact that in the villages Mareku, Oma, and Afa-afa the same subdialect is spoken and that it differs from the subdialect spoken in Soasio and the Kalodi villages in the following respects:

1. Mareku uses *da* 'here' where the Soasio variant has *re*. (According to a Kalodi informant however *da* is also used in the Soasio subdialect but only in polite speech whereas the people of Mareku use it in all speech situations).

2. Soasio words sometimes begin with *y* when the corresponding Mareku form has an initial vowel: *yeno* - *eno* 'rubbish, waste'; *yega* - *ega* 'snake'.

Further inspection of variant forms proffered by the informants brought two more systematic differences to light:

3. Word-final mid vowels in Mareku correspond regularly to high vowels in Soasio: *tage* - *tagi* 'to go'; *gase* - *gasi* 'salt', *kato* - *katu* 'thatch'.

4. Reduplications of CVCV words have often lost the first syllable in Mareku: *galegale* - *legale* 'intestines'; *belabela* - *labela* 'lightning'.

Further research is needed to establish whether the two subdialects extend beyond the villages mentioned above, and whether still other subdialects can be identified.

The only published data in Tidore are word lists: Van der Crab 1862 [386], Wallace 1869 [9], Robidé van der Aa 1872 [29], *Clercq 1890 [120] (a list of corrections of errors in the list of Robidé van der Aa), Hueting 1908 [44], Stokhof, ed. 1980 (contains two lists, one dating from 1904, the other from about 1933), and Teljeur 1982. A short grammatical sketch, texts, and a wordlist by Voorhoeve are presently in preparation.

2.3 SAHU

Sahu is spoken in the south-western corner of the northern peninsula of Halmahera in the valley of the Akelamo River and along the west coast from Jailolo Mountain to the mouth of the Ibu River. There are four dialects, Tala'i, Pa'disua[6], Waioli, and Gamkonora. A fifth dialect, Ibu, was formerly spoken near the mouth of the Ibu River but now only a few very old people living in the villages Gamlamo and Gamici still know it to some extent. There are no exact data on the number of Sahu speakers. A rough estimate based on the number and size of the Sahu-speaking villages is 12,000, of which 4,000 speak Tala'i, 3,500 Pa'disua, 3,000 Waioli, and 1,500 Gamkonora.

Sahu (Pa'disua dialect) shares 77% cognates with Ternate and 66% cognates with Tidore. The cognation percentages with the dialects of North-east Halmaheran range from 65% to 81%. The latter value presents a problem to which I shall return in section 6.1.

Tala'i and Pa'disua share 99% cognates; their cognation percentage with Waioli is 98% and with Gamkonora and Ibu about 90%. The cognation density between Waioli, Gamkonora, and Ibu is also about 90%.[7] These percentages group Tala'i, Pa'disua, and Waioli together against the other dialects. The subdivision can be further refined if we take phonological features into account. Tala'i and Pa'disua group together because they share a feature which is unique among the NH languages: the presence of a series of voiced implosive stops */'b, 'd, 'j, 'g/*. These regularly correspond to voiced (explosive) stops in the other dialects with the exception of Ibu */l/* which corresponds to Tala'i/Pa'disua */'d/*. Other diagnostic sound correspondences are: Tala'i */p, c, k/* : Pa'disua */b, j, g/* respectively; and Tala'i/Pa'disua/Waioli */r/* : Gamkonora/Ibu */l/* ; Tala'i/Pa'disua/Waioli/Gamkonora /'/ : Ibu /w/ or *Ø*.

For Sahu we now have a dictionary and grammar which also gives more details for the dialects (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987). The older sources - Van der Crab 1862 [386], Bastian 1894 [33], Fortgens 1905 [41], 1912 [51], 1928 [64], *Veen 1915 [56] - contain only lexical data and a few comparative notes. They are more fully discussed in Visser and Voorhoeve.

2.4 NORTH-EAST HALMAHERAN

There are six dialects of North-east Halmaheran: Galela (Ga), Loloda (Lo), Tobelo (To), Modole (Mo), Tobaru (Tb), and Pagu (Pa). They group together in the following way: (Ga, Lo), (To, Tb, Mo), (Pa), as their cognation percentages show:

Lo	91				
To	83	86			
Tb	83	84	90		
Mo	82	83	91	91	
Pa	77	81	85	87	89
	Ga	Lo	To	Tb	Mo

Within the northern peninsula Ga and Lo form the northern group, To, Tb, and Mo the central group, and Pa the southern dialect. They clearly form a dialect chain with the members at the ends sharing a cognation percentage which falls below the dialect level. It is noteworthy that Loloda consistently shares somewhat higher cognation percentages with the dialects of the central group and Pagu than Galela although it is geographically further removed from them. This could be an accidental by-product of the choice of items in the basic word list, but it could also reflect a historical situation in which Loloda was in closer contact with the southern dialects than it is now.

2.4.1 GALELA

Galela is spoken in the southern half of Morotai Island and along the east coast from the tip of the peninsula to the southern shore of Galela Bay. Outside this area Galelarese settlements are found in the Kao District (Tabobo village), on the south coast of Halmahera, on Gunage and Moari Islands, on Bacan and Obi, and on the north-west coast of Halmahera south of the Loloda dialect area. In several Galela villages also other North-east Halmaheran dialects are spoken. The northern village of Susupu is mixed Galela-Loloda, three of the villages on Lake Galela are partially Tobaru speaking, and the five villages on the south shore of Galela Bay are mixed Galela-Tobelo. An estimated 30,000 people, of whom 6,000 live on Morotai Island, speak Galela.

There is almost no information on subdialectal variation. The Galela spoken near the township of Kedi on the north-west coast is said to be slightly different from Galela as spoken on the east coast. My sample of that variant does not show any sound shifts and only one lexical difference.

One feature which, among the North-east Halmaheran dialects, is characteristic of Galela (but which it shares with Ternate-Tidore) is that bisyllabic words which originally ended in a consonant have lost this consonant, whereas Loloda, Tobelo, Tobaru, and Modole added a vowel, e.g. Ga *odo:* Lo *ojomo:* To *odomo*[8]*:* Tb *odomo:* Mo *odomo:* Pa *oyom* 'to eat'.

Galela was the first North-east Halmaheran dialect to be studied in detail as the Galela people were the first to be christianised by the missionaries of the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging (a Dutch Protestant Mission organisation based in Utrecht). In the 1860s these were allowed to establish a mission station on a small peninsula in Lake Galela which, the Galelarese believed, was infested with evil spirits who would ensure the speedy departure of the unwelcome intruders. However, things turned out quite differently and in the decades that followed the missionaries not only made many converts, but also produced readers and religious literature (Polman, 1981 [73, 75, 82, 83, 84, 96]), a collection of folktales with Dutch translation (*Dijken 1895 [77]), two grammars (Baarda 1891 [30], reviewed by Kern 1891 [31], and *Baarda 1908 [45]), and a dictionary with supplementary grammatical notes and some folktales (*Baarda 1895 [34]). More recent studies are Yoshida 1980 (on folk orientation), Wada 1980 (a comparative study), and Shelden 1986. Two old wordlists, one dating from 1895 and one from 1904 have been published by Stokhof (Stokhof, ed. 1980). The Galela dialect is at present being studied by Howard and Deidre Shelden of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (see also Shelden 1985).

2.4.2 LOLODA

This dialect is spoken along the north-west coast from the tip of the peninsula to just north of Kedi, on the North Loloda Islands of Salangadeke, Dedeta, Tuakara, and Doi; in Bosala village south of Kedi, and in Tuguraci village on the north shore of Dodinga Bay. In the northernmost Loloda villages Galela and Tobelo are spoken as well. The village of Posiposi consists partly of Loloda speakers and partly of immigrants from the Sangir and Talaud Islands. The number of speakers is approximately 13,000. Locally one distinguishes between a northern and a southern variant of Loloda. However, the latter although nominally 'Loloda' is in fact a variant of Galela (see 2.4.1).

The only diagnostic sound correspondence for Loloda is Lo *j* : Ga *d*, To *ɗ*, *y*, Tb, Mo *d*, *Ø*, Pa *y*, *Ø*[9] (see the example in 2.4.1).

Old wordlists of Loloda can be found in Bastian 1894 [33] and Stokhof, ed. 1980 (a list compiled by Van Baarda in 1904). Comparative notes on Loloda and Galela grammar supplemented by a few folktales were published by Van Baarda (*Baarda 1904 [40]). The only religious publication is the Gospel of St Matthew (Metz 1915 [92]). More recent studies involving Loloda are those of Yoshida and Wada mentioned in 2.4.1.

2.4.3 TOBELO

Tobelo is the most widespread of all North-east Halmaheran dialects. It is spoken on North Morotai, on the shores and in the hinterland of Kao Bay, except for an area south of the township of Kao where Pagu is spoken (see 2.4.6), and in the northern part of the north-eastern peninsula. In South Halmahera, Tobelorese settlers are found in Patani, Weda, and Gane. Outside Halmahera they live on Bacan, Obi, and the Raja Ampat Islands. It is not known how many expatriate Tobelorese there are and how many of them still speak Tobelo. On Morotai Island there are an estimated 5,000 Tobelo speakers, round Kao Bay there could be as many as 15,000.

On the northern peninsula at least six variants of Tobelo are spoken. Two of these extend beyond the peninsula: the Heleworuru[10] variant is spoken along the east coast from Galela Bay to Katana village, about 20 km south of the town of Tobelo, as well as on north Morotai and in Fayaul village on the eastern shore of Kao Bay; the Boeng variant is spoken in all other Tobelo villages on Kao Bay

except for three villages at the bottom of the bay where the Dodinga variant is spoken. Boeng even stretches past the tip of the north-eastern peninsula to its east coast. Tobelo-Dodinga is spoken only in the isthmus of Dodinga which connects the northern peninsula with the hub of Halmahera. The other three variants are all spoken in the interior. Formerly they were lumped together under the name Togutil or Tugutil, the local label for all Tobelo speaking people living in the interior of Halmahera. One of them is spoken west of Lake Paca, in a new settlement at the southern end of the lake, and in the villages of Kusuri and Toboulamo. Another is spoken in Kukumutuk village, and the third in Popon, Sasur, and perhaps also in the coastal village of Patang which 70 years ago migrated from the Popon area to its present location, and in part of the township of Kao (see fn.15). But it is possible that these migrants now have adopted the Boeng variant.

The sound correspondences diagnostic for the six variants are:

He	Bo	Pa	Ku	Po	Do
d^{11}	*d*	*y*	*y*	*y*	*y*
h	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*h*
h	*h*	*s*	*s*	*h*	*h*
k	*k*	'	*k*	*k*	*k*

(He - Heleworuru, Bo - Boeng, Pa - Lake Paca, Ku - Kukumutuk, Po- Popon, Do - Dodinga).

In the interior of the north-eastern peninsula still more 'Togutil' variants are said to be spoken, but so far no data have become available.

Apart from readers and religious literature (Polman 1981 [78, 79, 80, 81, 87]) the early missionaries published a Tobelo-Dutch dictionary plus supplement (*Hueting 1908a [46], 1935 [65]), a grammar (*Hueting 1936 [66]) and folktales (*Hueting 1908b [86]), all dealing with the Heleworuru dialect. There is one word list which purports to be in the Boeng variant (Roest 1905 [42]) but the Tobelo words in it do not have the *f* which is one of the characteristics of Boeng (see above). Other topics which attracted early attention were the practice of name taboo (Hueting 1901 [36], 1910 [47]) and name giving (Fortgens 1911 [49]). Modern works are the study of Tobelorese deixis by Taylor (1984), the comparative study by Wada (1980), and a number of ethnolinguistic studies: *Masinambow 1976 [69], Taylor 1980, and Yoshida 1980.

2.4.4 TOBARU

The main concentration of Tobaru speaking villages is round the Ibu Mountain west of the Modole area. To the north only a few Tobaru villages are found, all in the interior. To the south there is one Tobaru village on the upper Akelamo River, and a string of villages on and near the coast between Jailolo and Dodinga. The present distribution of these villages is a reflection of the former nomadic habits of the Tobaru people, who till the beginning of the 20th century used to roam the central mountain ranges between Mount Ibu and the isthmus of Dodinga, and from Mount Ibu as far north as Loloda Bay. Tobaru is also spoken by part of the inhabitants of four villages on Lake Galela (Map IV-B, No.15, 16, 19, 20), and in some settlements on the west coast of the southern peninsula: at Akelamo, in the bay of Payahi, and near Lifofa. The total number of Tobaru speakers lies somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000.

The Tobaru people round Mount Ibu recognise the existence of two subdialects characterised by the presence versus loss of *w*. The two variants seem to coincide with the traditional division into Upper Tobaru (Tobaru Nyeku) and Lower Tobaru (Tobaru Adu), with the former retaining *w*. For example Tb Nyeku *iwi* 'rattan', is Tb Adu *ii*.

The only study of Tobaru to date is a grammar by Fortgens (*Fortgens 1928 [64]) with added texts. Fortgens presumably based his grammar on the Tobaru variant spoken in the Jailolo-Dodinga area where he had his base as a missionary. Judging by his data this is the same variant as spoken by the Tobaru Nyeku. Old Tobaru word lists can be found in Bastian 1894 [33] and Hueting 1908 [44]. There is some religious literature by Fortgens: a bible translation and hymns (Polman 1981 [88, 89]).

2.4.5 MODOLE

Modole is spoken by about 1,800 people living on the headwaters of the Kao River. There are two subdialects, a northern and a southern. The northern variant has *h* where the southern has *s*. The people of Dimdim village on the lower Kao River formerly lived in the south Modole village of Soahukum of which they formed a division called Soasengaji. From there they moved to Leleseng, the northernmost Pagu village, before settling in their present location. According to my informants they now speak Pagu (see 2.4.6). Modole word lists have been published by Hueting 1908 [44], *Ellen 1916a [58], and Stokhof, ed. 1980 (a list dating from 1933). Ellen also published a collection of folktales and riddles (*Ellen 1916b [90]). More recent studies containing Modole data are Yoshida 1980 and Wada 1980. In the introduction to his word list, Ellen gives as a phonological characteristic of Modole that it has a glottal stop ' which corresponds to *k* in the other North-east Halmaheran dialects. I found the same feature in the inland variety of Tobelo spoken west and south of Lake Paca (see 2.4.3), which is the eastern neighbour of Modole. The shift from *k* to ' probably originated in Modole and spread from there to the Lake Paca variant of Tobelo.

2.4.6 PAGU

Pagu is spoken by between 2,000 and 3,000 people living in the south-eastern part of the peninsula. This dialect differs from the other North-east Halmaheran dialects (and in fact from all other NH languages) in that it allows consonants in word-final position (cf. 2.4.1). The oldest source on Pagu, Hueting 1908 [44], distinguishes two variants, Isam and Tololiku but the differences between the lists are so slight and unsystematic that they are probably due to notational errors more than to anything else. *Ellen 1916c [59] gives just one Pagu wordlist without mentioning any subdialectal variants. Grimes, in a recent conference paper (Grimes 1984) mentions three variants: Isam, Toliwiku (= Tololiku), and Pagu. Isam is spoken in the northern village of Leleseng and in Gayok village on the lower Kao River. Gayok was formerly located not far south of Leleseng on the Isam River; at that time the village was called Bililait. Toliwiku is spoken in Toliwang village on the river of the same name, not far south of the former village of Bililait. The Toliwang variant has *h* where the other Pagu variants have *s*, a phonological feature which it could have borrowed from the neighbouring Popon variant of Tobelo. The Pagu variant, according to Grimes, is spoken in the villages of Ngoali, Waringin-Lelewi, Wangeotak, and Balisosang. To these have to be added the villages Gagaapok, Momoda, the Pagu speaking quarter of the township of Kao, and possibly also the southernmost coastal village of Dumdum. Waringin and Lelewi now form the village of Golgol; Balisosang has moved south along the coast to Cape Loleo and has changed its name to Tomabaru.

My own data are restricted to a short word list of the Toliwang (Toliwiku, Tololiku) variant and three lists of the Pagu variant, collected in Kao, Ngoali, and Gagaapok. My 'Pagu' lists are practically identical to Hueting's Isam/Tololiku lists, so that either Hueting's lists are not Isam but 'Pagu', or the Isam - Pagu distinction is not a linguistic one but one of territorial groups.

As mentioned before, Pagu shares 81% cognates with its western neighbour Sahu. From the lexicostatistical point of view this would be an argument for including Sahu in the dialect chain of North-eastern Halmaheran. But there are three arguments against this. Firstly there is a sharp drop in cognation percentages when Sahu is compared with the other dialects of North-east Halmaheran (taking the Pa'disua dialect to represent Sahu): 75% with Modole, 69% with Tobelo, 67% with Tobaru, 65% with Loloda, and 64% with Galela. Secondly grammatically and typologically Sahu is clearly distinct from North-east Halmaheran (although the typological differences in Sahu might be attributable to recent external causes, see 3); and finally the oral tradition of the Sahu people traces their origin to the eastern side of the peninsula, from where they crossed the central ranges before settling in the Akelamo valley and along the west coast. This would mean that they at one time were the immediate neighbours of the Pagu speakers, and the high figure of 81% could therefore reflect an early borrowing relationship between Pagu and Sahu.

Apart from the literature mentioned above there is a collection of folktales (*Ellen 1916d [91]) and a word list dating from 1933 (Stokhof, ed. 1980).

3. THE NON-AUSTRONESIAN FEATURES AND TYPOLOGICAL CHANGE OF THE NH LANGUAGES.

The 'un-Indonesian' features of the North Halmaheran languages were already noticed as early as 1872 by Robidé van der Aa (1872 [29]). After comparing the numerals and a few nouns in those languages with the corresponding ones in some of the Austronesian languages in South Halmahera he concluded that the NH languages form a very divergent group, but believed that further research might eventually be able to prove their Austronesian character.

Of essentially the same opinion was Kern in his review of Van Baarda's Galela grammar (Kern 1891 [31]:494). The German missionary-linguist W. Schmidt however argued that the NH languages do not belong to the Austronesian languages but that they share important structural features with some Papuan languages in north-east New Guinea and Melanesia. On the basis of those features he classified them as 'Papuan' rather than Austronesian (Schmidt 1900-1901). Schmidt's arguments were later elaborated by Van der Veen in his Ph.D. dissertation in which he convincingly argued for the non-Austronesian character of the NH languages (*Veen 1915 [56]). He did not go into the question of a possible genetic relationship with Papuan languages however, as he considered this to fall outside the scope of his thesis (1915:226).

Van der Veen drew his arguments mainly from the dialects of North-east Halmaheran because grammatical data in Sahu were almost completely lacking and Ternate (-Tidore) had lost most of the non-Austronesian characteristics. West Makian, probably due to lack of reliable data, was not included in his study. The most important non-Austronesian features discussed by Van der Veen are:

1. In sentences containing a noun object this usually follows the noun subject (if any) and precedes the verb, for example:

o namoro no-totiri
NM bird you-carry
'you carry the bird!' (Tobaru example)

o uku to-taul
NM fire I-light
'I'm lighting the fire' (Pagu example)

o in these and the following examples is an obligatory noun marker (NM).

2. Transitive verbs can take prefixed subject and object markers; the object marker always follows the subject marker, for example:

ti-ni-paasana
I-you pl-beat
'I (shall) beat you (pl)' (Tobaru example)

The presence of the object marker is described by Shelden in a recent conference paper as a foregrounding device signalling high transitivity of the verb (Shelden 1985). The verbs in Example 1 would therefore be less transitive than the form *tinipaasana*. For Sahu the difference has been described as one of focus: in transitive verbs without an object marker the focus is on the action rather than on the patient (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987, Ch.4).

3. Nouns fall into two main classes, a person class and a non-person class, which require concord in the verbs, pronouns, and numerals. Within the person class there is a gender distinction manifesting itself in the pronouns and the pronominal verb prefixes, for example:

o nauru wo-tagi / unanga wo-tagi
NM man he-go / he he-go
'the man goes'/'he goes'

o moholehe mo-tagi / munanga mo-tagi
NM girl she-go / she she-go
'the girl goes'/'she goes'

o kaho i-tagi / enanga i-tagi
NM dog it-go / it it-go
'the dog goes'/'it goes' (Tobelo examples)

o nyawa yaruange
NM people three
'three persons'

o tahu saange
NM house three
'three houses' (Galela examples)

In Sahu the non-person class is subdivided into houses, trees, small objects, and other non-persons, with concord in the numerals (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987, Ch.8).

4. The use of postpositions instead of prepositions as in the Austronesian languages, for example:

o	*naaraka*	*ma*	*igu*	*ka*
NM	spider	its	web	in

'in the spider's web' (Galela example)

However, prepositions also occur, as in

to-ni-gosa	*de*	*o*	*gota*
I-you-beat	with	NM	stick

'I'll beat you with a stick' (Pagu example)

5. In possessive noun phrases the possessor precedes the possessed and the two nouns are linked by a third person possessive pronoun[12], for example:

o	*baba*	*awi*	*tahu*
NM	father	his	house

'father's house'

o	*kaso*	*ma*	*pago*
NM	dog	its	tail

'the dog's tail' (Galela examples)

The full set of non-Austronesian features given above is only present in North-east Halmaheran. In Sahu the noun object is placed after the verb, and only prepositions are used. This language has subject and object prefixes, but the object marker is often omitted and replaced by a free pronoun following the verb. Ternate-Tidore and West Makian likewise place the noun object after the verb, have only prepositions, and in addition do not have prefixed object markers. West Makian has noun classes, like the other NH languages, but they are based on an animate-inanimate distinction, not on the person-non person contrast; it further lacks the masculine-feminine gender distinction. Summarising, the distribution of the five non-Austronesian features over the NH languages is as follows (NEH = North-east Halmaheran, SA = Sahu, TT = Ternate-Tidore, WM = West Makian; + = feature present, - = feature absent, x = noun classes based on different criteria).

Feature nr.	NEH	SA	TT	WM	
1	+	-	-	-	(SOV word order)
2	+	(+)	-	-	(subj. + obj. prefixes)
3	+	+	+	x	(noun classes)
4	+	-	-	-	(postpositions)
5	+	+	+	+	(Possr-Possd construction)

Thus, one of the four NH languages has a dominant clause constituent order Subject-Object-Verb, the others have Subject-Verb-Object order. Cross-linguistically there is a high correlation between SOV order and postpositions. The presence of these in NEH is therefore what could be expected. Similarly, there is a high cross-linguistical correlation between SVO order and prepositions; SA, TT, and WM conform to this pattern. As the four languages ultimately derive from one protolanguage it is obvious that a typological change has taken place. This must have been a change from a dominant constituent order SOV to SVO. Cross-linguistic research has shown that there are no known cases in which a language changed naturally from SVO to SOV order (Steele 1978, see also the discussion in Ross 1986:18). Where such a change has occurred, as in a number of Austronesian languages in

New Guinea, the new order is due to borrowing from non-Austronesian languages with a dominant SOV order. Such conditions are absent in the North Halmahera area, where all the surrounding Austronesian languages have SVO as the dominant constituent order. On the other hand, the change from SOV to SVO can occur both naturally and as the result of borrowing. In the case of the NH languages it seems probable that the change from SOV to SVO has been caused by centuries or even millennia of contact with speakers of Austronesian languages.

4. EXTERNAL GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS: THE WEST PAPUAN PHYLUM

As early as 1900 the German linguist Schmidt attached the label 'Papuan' to the NH languages because of the structural features they shared with some Papuan languages in north-east New Guinea and Melanesia. The total lack of lexical correspondences did not carry any weight in his opinion, because at that time the lack of lexical correspondences between Papuan languages, even when spoken in one another's immediate vicinity, was thought to be a peculiarity of them as a group (*Veen 1915 [56]:226). Schmidt's use of the label 'Papuan' can therefore not be taken to refer to a genetic relationship but at the best to a typological relationship. The first to posit a genetic relationship between the NH languages and other groups of non-Austronesian languages was Cowan who in a series of articles between 1957 and 1965 posited the existence of a large phylum of languages which included the NH languages, almost all the languages in the Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya, the Yawa language on Yapen Island in Cenderawasih Bay, a few languages on the Bomberai Peninsula, and the non-Austronesian languages in the Timor-Alor-Pantar area (see Cowan 1965, especially the bibliographical references cited in fn.7 of that article). The peculiar lexicostatistical method he used however allowed him to posit genetic relationship between languages which later research has shown to be unrelated. Moreover, the quality of the data he worked with was often poor, and he sometimes did not recognise lexical correspondences caused by borrowing from Austronesian sources. But in two respects he was right: there is genetic relationship between the non-Austronesian languages in the Timor-Alor-Pantar area and languages on the Bomberai Peninsula and along the south coast of the Bird's Head Peninsula; and there is genetic relationship between the NH languages and all the other languages in the Bird's Head except for the Tinam (Hatam) language in the Arfak mountains in the east of the peninsula. The Yawa language, called Mantembu by Cowan, is not related to any of those languages. The first group is now included in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (Voorhoeve 1975a, 1975b; Capell 1975, editor's note), the second is still called the West Papuan Phylum.

Cowan based the claim for genetic relationship between the NH languages and those in the Bird's Head mainly on the observed similarity between the subject prefixes in the languages of the North Halmahera and West Bird's Head Families. To these morphemic correspondences he was able to add eight lexical correspondences. The West Bird's Head Family, consisting of the languages Moi, Seget, Tehit, and Moraid, is the nearest relative of the NH languages, and later research has shown that many more shared cognates can be added to Cowan's list. It is not my intention to go into details here, as this would fall outside the scope of the present paper. A selection of the prefixal correspondences and a few lexical correspondences are given below.

SUBJECT PREFIXES IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE NORTH HALMAHERA FAMILY AND IN MOI AND TEHIT OF THE WEST BIRD'S HEAD FAMILY

		NHF	Moi	Tehit
Sg.	1	*to-*	*t(e)-*	*t-*
	2	*no-*	*n(e)-*	*n-*
	3 masculine	*wo-, o-**	*w(e)-*	*w-*
	feminine	*mo-*	*m(e)-*	*m-*
Pl.	1 inclusive	*po-, fo-, wo-**	*waw-*	*f-*
	exclusive	*mi-*	*mam-*	*m-*
	2	*ni-*	*nan-*	*n-*
	3	*yo-*	*y-*	*y-*

*: forms in different languages

SOME LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN NORTH-EAST HALMAHERAN AND THE MOI AND TEHIT LANGUAGES

	NEH (Galela, Pagu)	Moi	Tehit
'head'	*sahe, saek*	*sawa*	*safakos*
'fruit, eye'	*sopo, sowok*	*suwo*	*sfuon*[13]
'egg'	*gosi*	-	*esyen*
'man'	*ya-nau, naul*	*ne*	*nau*
'meat'	*lake, lakem*	*kem*	*qan*
'tree'	*gota*	-	*kot*
'water'	*ake, akel*	*kala*	*kla*
'to drink'	*oke, okel*	*ook*	*ooqo*
'to stab'	*saka, sakal*	*saa*	*sqaa*

5. AUSTRONESIAN INFLUENCE ON THE NORTH HALMAHERAN LANGUAGES

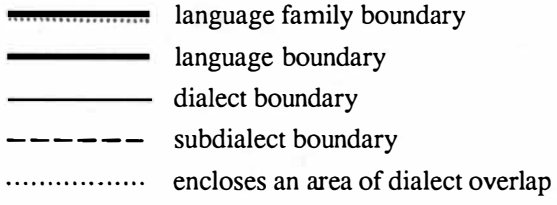
All North Halmaheran languages show the effect of long-lasting contact with Austronesian languages. Sahu, Ternate-Tidore, and West Makian have lost part of their non-Austronesian features and have moved towards a more Austronesian type grammar. And they all have absorbed considerable numbers of Austronesian loan words. Examples of the most obvious Austronesian loans abound in the early publications, but the extent to which Austronesian words have been borrowed and integrated into the North Halmaheran lexicons has always been underestimated. Around the turn of the century the comparative study of the Austronesian languages was still in its infancy and lists of reconstructed Proto-Austronesian forms which could facilitate the identification of loan words were simply not available. Thus Van der Veen (*Veen 1915 [56]:203) still writes that their number is restricted and he gives a short list of 46 words of 'Malayo-Polynesian' origin found in one or more NH languages. The publication of a Proto-Austronesian finderlist (Wurm and Wilson 1975), and numerous later lists of reconstructions at various levels has put us in a much better position to detect Austronesian borrowings. When collecting data for a preliminary lexicostatistical analysis of the NH languages I found that across the board more than 30% of the basic vocabulary was definitely or probably of Austronesian origin. Many of the loan words must be very old as they partake in all the regular sound shifts between the languages. Also, they seem to have come from

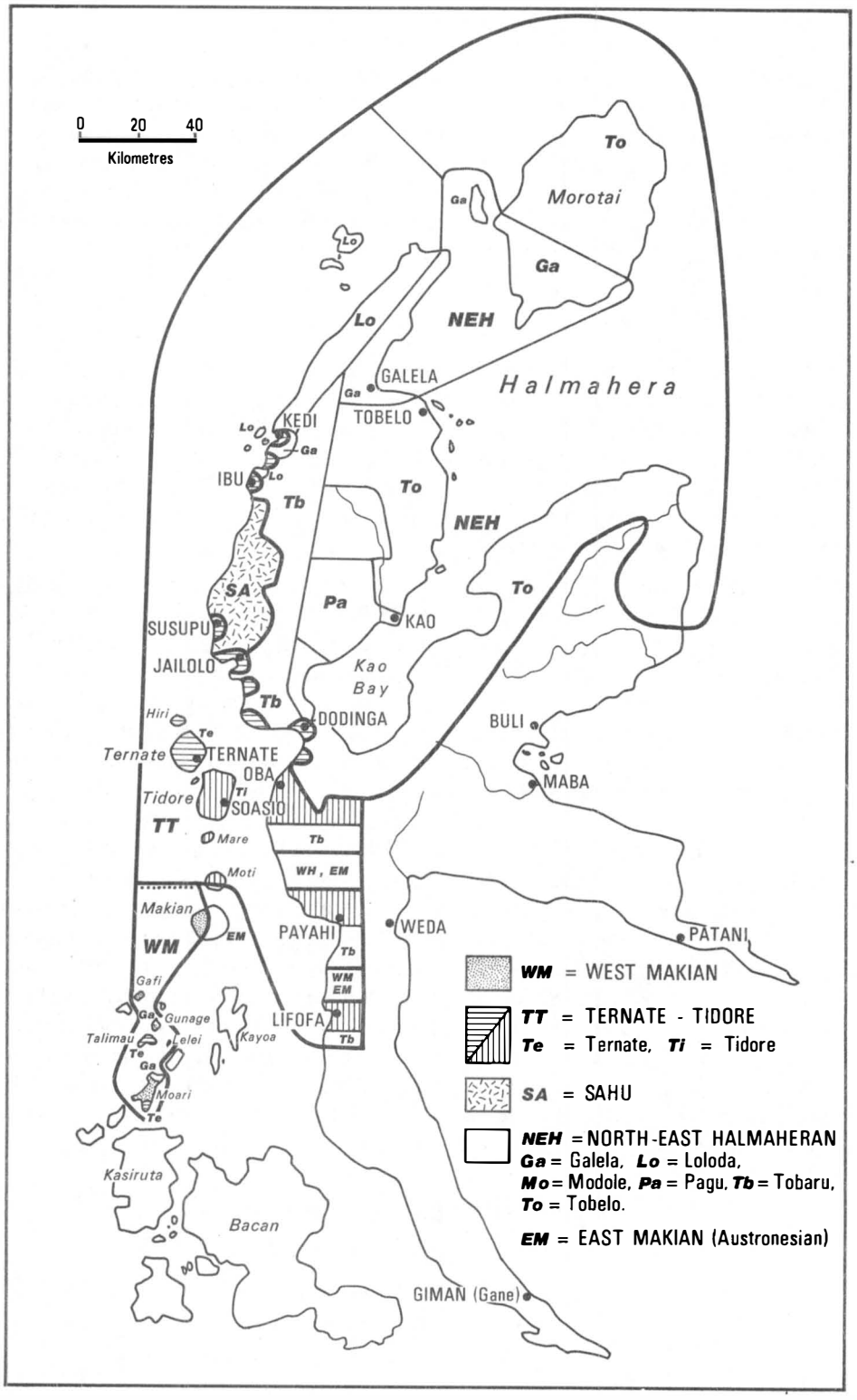
widely different sources. Many seem to have an Oceanic origin, quite a few have a Philippine origin, and still others seem to have come from the Central Moluccan languages (Ambon, Seram). The presence of such a variety of old Austronesian loans in the NH languages raises the question whether they can tell us something about the linguistic prehistory of the region. A first attempt to draw from them some conclusions regarding prehistoric contacts between the North Moluccas and other areas was made in my paper for the TICAL conference (Voorhoeve 1982b). In it I argued for the probability of prehistoric traffic between the North Moluccas and the eastern tip of Papua New Guinea. Whether the hypothesis will stand up to further research remains to be seen.

6. MAPS AND VILLAGE LISTS

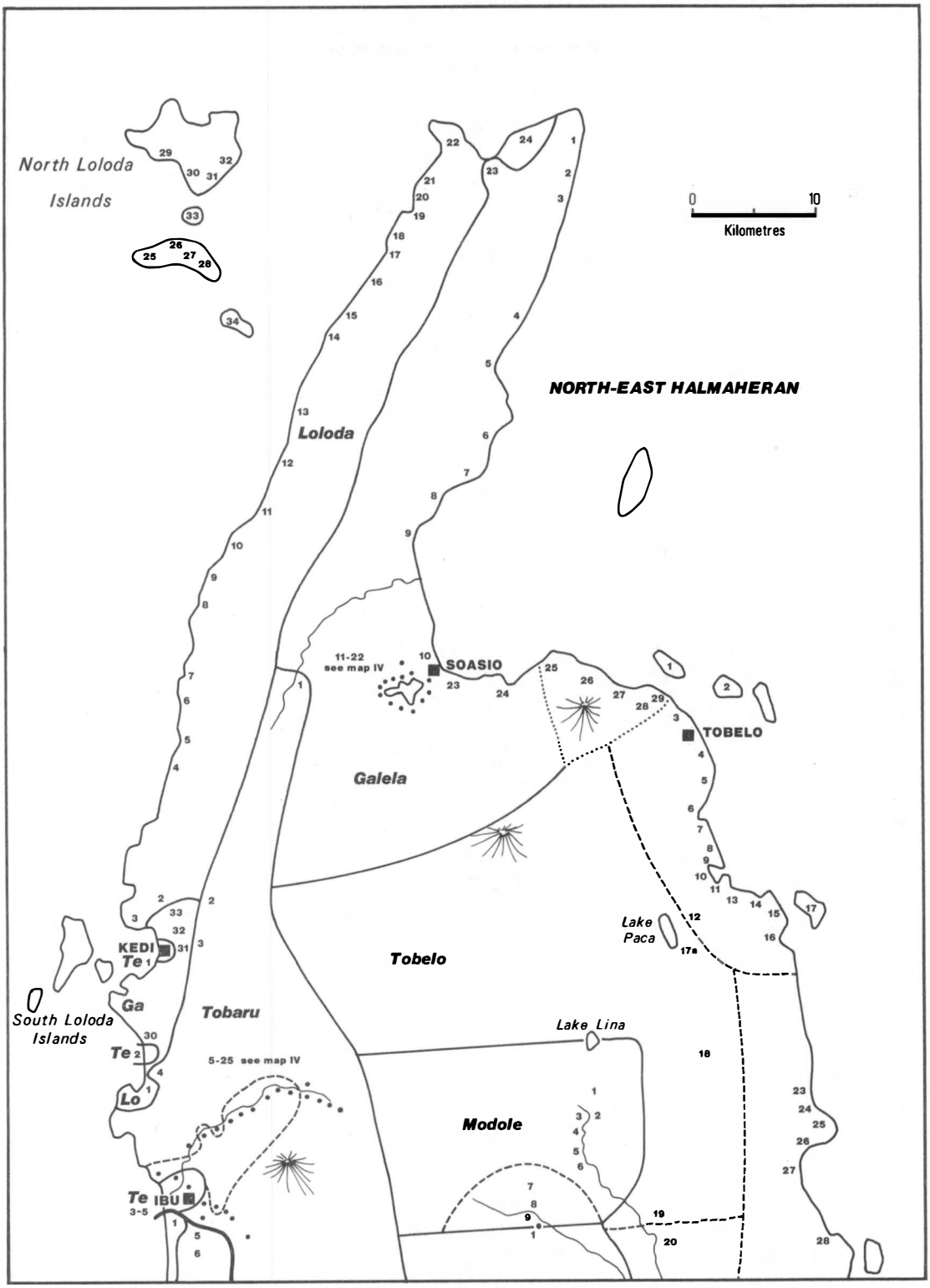
The first language map of the North Halmaheran languages was published by Hueting in his survey article 'Iets over de "Ternataansch-Halmaherasche" taalgroep' (Hueting 1908 [44]). The map shows the approximate location of 13 'dialects': Ternate, Tidore, Waioli, Ibu, Tabaru, Loda, Galela, Tobelo, Madole, Isam, Tololiku, Tugutil, and Kau.[14] It is not very accurate and the Isam area is erroneously labelled Tololiku and vice versa. A special Kao dialect – according to Hueting a mixture of Ternate, Tobelo, Modole, and Pagu – may perhaps still be spoken in the township of Kao, but certainly not in the interior as the map suggests.[15]

In the 50 years following Hueting's article very little was added to the knowledge of the geographical distribution of the NH languages as is shown by the map of the area in Salzner's *Sprachenatlas des indopazifischen Raumes* (Salzner 1960, Map No.29). Though richer in non-linguistic detail it contains little more linguistic information than Hueting's map and where it adds to it, as in the indication of Sahu and Tobelo dialects, it is inaccurate. The most recent language map of North Halmahera (in Wurm and Hattori 1983, No.45) although better than the earlier ones, still contains several inaccuracies due to the fact that my field data on which it is based had not yet been properly worked out when the cartographer needed them. Thus the division into languages and dialects is still the old one, the location of the Sahu dialects is inaccurately indicated, and the indication of subdialects in Tidore, Pagu, Tobelo, Galela, and Loloda needs to be revised. I have therefore added here a revised general map of the area and three more detailed maps showing dialect and subdialect boundaries as far as they are known, as well as all the villages whose location I could identify. As the scale of the maps did not allow the inclusion of all the village names these have been listed separately together with an indication of the language, dialect, and subdialect (if known) spoken in them. On the maps most villages are identified by a number corresponding to their number in the list. The level of completeness and reliability of the maps varies from area to area. The most complete and accurate data are from the northern peninsula, Ternate, Tidore, and Makian, the areas which I visited personally. For the north-eastern peninsula I had to rely on information supplied by Taylor (personal communication) and for the southern peninsula and the islands south of Makian on Watuseke (Watuseke 1976 [70], and personal communication). Linguistic boundaries are indicated in the following way:

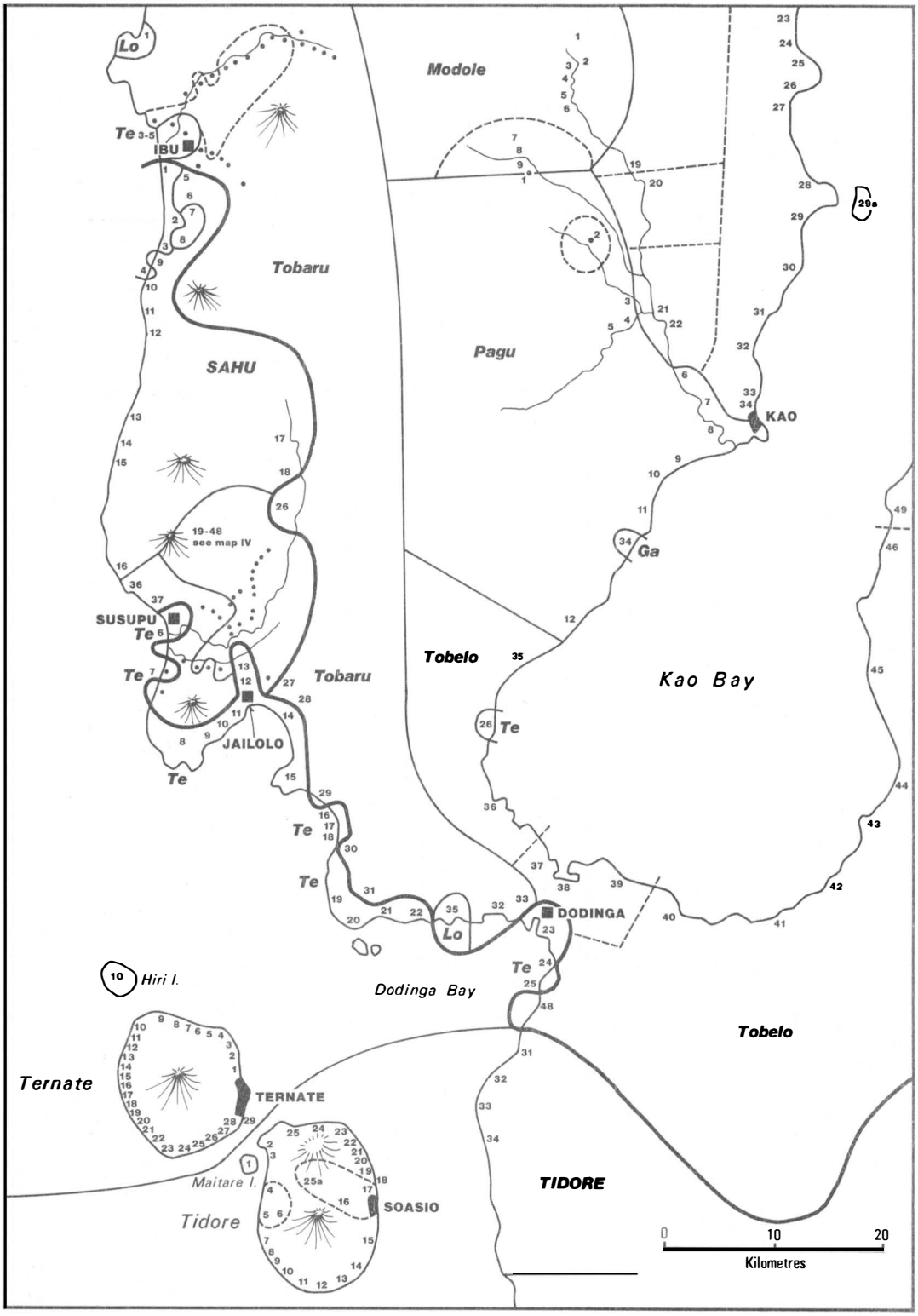




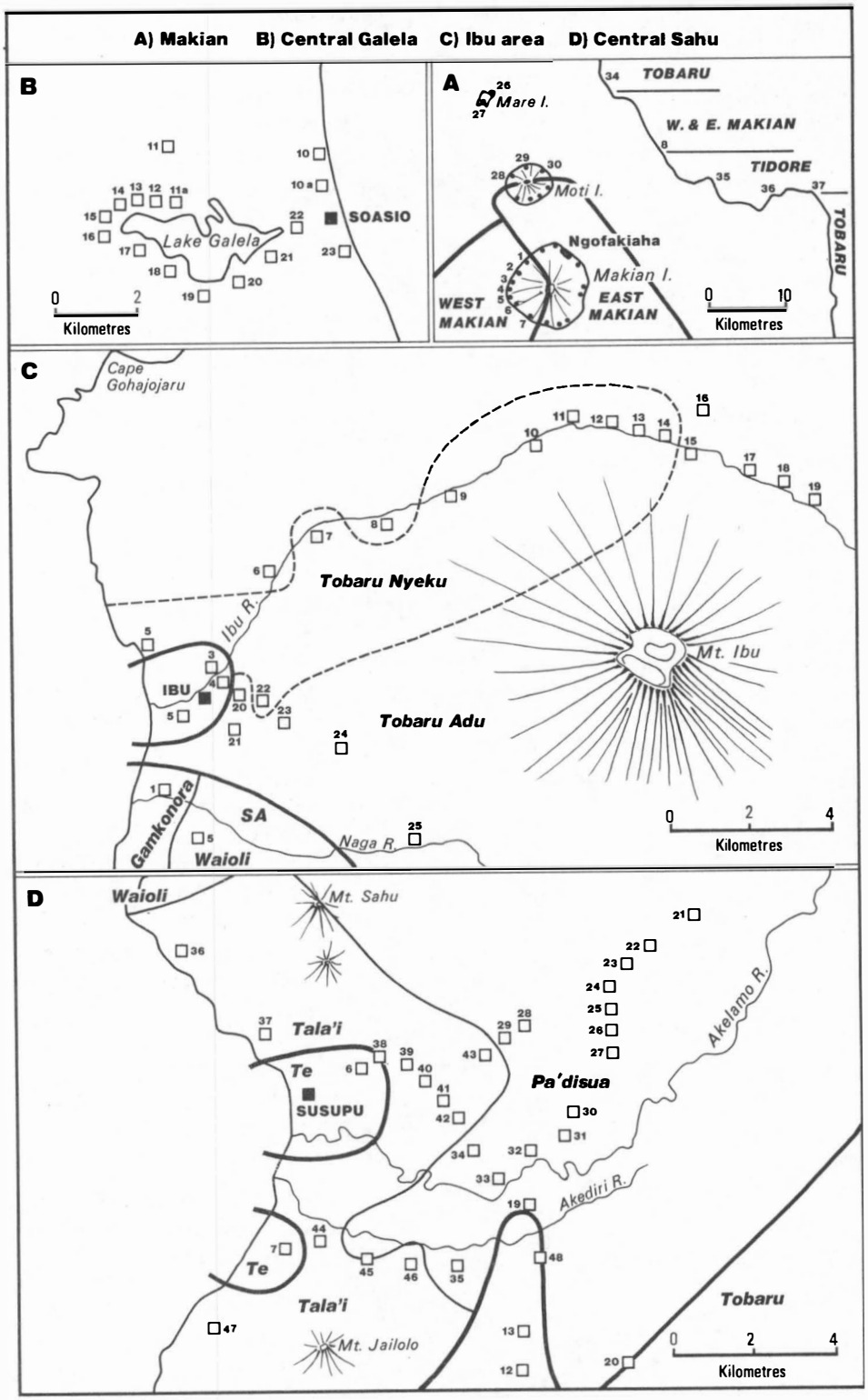
MAP I: THE NORTH HALMAHERAN LANGUAGES



MAP II: NORTH HALMAHERAN LANGUAGES



MAP III: NORTH HALMAHERAN LANGUAGES


A) Makian B) Central Galela C) Ibu area D) Central Sahu
B
Lake Galela
SOASIO
Kilometres
A
Mare I.
TOBARU
W. & E. MAKIAN
TIDORE
Moti I.
Ngofakiaha
Makian I.
WEST MAKIAN
EAST MAKIAN
Kilometres
C
Cape Gohajojaru
Tobaru Nyeku
Ibu R.
IBU
Mt. Ibu
Tobaru Adu
Gamkonora
SA
Waioli
Naga R.
Kilometres
D
Waioli
Mt. Sahu
Tala'i
Te
SUSUPU
Pa'disua
Akelamo R.
Akediri R.
Te
Tala'i
Mt. Jailolo
Tobaru
Kilometres

MAP IV:

LIST OF VILLAGE NAMES		MAP No.
WEST MAKIAN		IV-A
1	Sabale	IV-A
2	Talapao	IV-A
3	Tafasoho	IV-A
4	Tagono	IV-A
5	Ngofa Bobawa	IV-A
6	Bobawa	IV-A
7	Malapa	IV-A
8	Lola (on the Halmahera mainland)	IV-A
TERNATE-TIDORE		
Ternate (on the islands Hiri and Ternate)		III
1	Dufa-dufa	III
2	Akehuda	III
3	Tafure	III
4	Sango	III
5	Tarau	III
6	Kulaba	III
7	Bula	III
8	Tobolulu	III
9	Sulamadaha	III
10	Dorari Isa	III
11	Takome	III
12	Labuha	III
13	Banedinga	III
14	Loto	III
15	Akerica	III
16	Togafo	III
17	Afe	III
18	Taduma Doropedu	III
19	Monge	III
20	Batumerah	III
21	Rua	III
22	Kastela	III
23	Jambula	III
24	Sasa	III
25	Gambesi	III
26	Fitu	III
27	Ngade	III
28	Kalumata	III
29	Sorofo	III
Ternate (on the mainland of Halmahera)		
1	Kampung Soasio (part of Kedi)	II
2	Tolofu	II
3	Gamlamo	IV-C
4	Gamici	IV-C
5	Ibu Pantai	IV-C
6	Tacim (partly Sahu speaking)	IV-D
7	Marimbati	IV-D
8	Bobo-Payo	III
9	Bobane-Hena	III
10	Galala	III
11	Guae-ma-adu	III
	Jailolo (kota)	III
12	Gufasa	III
13	Soakonora	III
14	Toada	III
15	Matui	III
16	Tauro	III
17	Tataleka	III
18	Gamlenge (partly Tobaru speaking)	III
19	Sidangoli Gam	III
20	Sidangoli Dehe	III
21	Ake Jailolo	III
22	Bia-ma-ahi (immigrants with Austronesian language background)	III
23	Dodinga (partly immigrants with Austronesian language background)	III
24	Tewe (partly Tobelo speaking)	III
25	Toniku (partly East Makian speaking)	III
26	Akelamo Kao	III

In the Sahu language area, Ternate is spoken by part of the inhabitants of Tedeng (Sahu 19) and Akediri (Sahu 48).

TIDORE		
1	Kailupa	III
2	Rum Lama	III

3	Rum Baru	III
4	Ome (Mareku subdialect)	III
5	Mareku (Mareku subdialect)	III
6	Afa-afa (Mareku subdialect)	III
7	Bobo	III
8	Toloa	III
9	Dokiri	III
10	Tuguiha	III
11	Tomalou	III
12	Gurabati	III
13	Tongowai	III
14	Sele	III
15	Soadara	III
16	Folarora	III
17	Gamtofkange, Kota ma Bopo, Indonesiana	III
18	Goto	III
19	Dowora	III
20	Doyado	III
21	Akesahu	III
22	Suru-ma-lao	III
23	Gamgau	III
24	Mafututu	III
25	Cobo	III
25a	Kalodi cluster: Gulili, Kola, Dola, Dola Gosora, Togona (Soasio subdialect)	III
26	Mare	IV-A
27	Kofo	IV-A
28	Fitako	IV-A
29	Tafamutu	IV-A
30	Kota	IV-A
31	Guraping	III
32	Sofifi	III
33	Oba	III
34	Somahode	III
35	Fita	IV
36	Toseho-Tobabu	IV
37	Payahi	IV
38	Lifofa	I

SAHU

Gamkonora:

1	Tahafo	II, III
2	Gamkonora	III
3	Talaga	III
4	Gamsungi	III

Waioli:

5	Togola Sangir (originally immigrants from Sangir)	II, III
6	Togola Waioli	II, III
9	Bataka	III
10	Jere	III
11	Nanas	III
12	Kampung Baru	III
13	Tabobo	III
14	Goro-goro	III
15	Sasur	III
16	Peot	III
17	Tosoa	III
18	Togoaer	III
19	Tedeng (plus speakers of Ternate, Tobaru, and Austronesian languages)	IV-D

Pa'disua:

20	Porniti (mainly Tobaru speaking)	IV-D
22	Gamsungi (originally Loloda speakers)	IV-D
23	Ngaon	IV-D
24	Campaka	IV-D
25	Gamniel	IV-D
26	Hoku-hoku Gam	IV-D
27	Tibobo	IV-D
28	Taraudu	IV-D
29	Tacici	IV-D
30	Aketola	IV-D
31	Awer	IV-D
32	Kusu	IV-D
33	Akelamo	IV-D
34	Gamomeng (Pa'disua + Tala'i)	IV-D
35	Hoku-hoku Kie	IV-D
48	Akediri (partly Ternate speaking)	IV-D

Tala'i:

36	Todahe	IV-D
37	Taruba	IV-D
38	Tacim (partly Ternate speaking)	IV-D
39	Balisoan	IV-D
40	Golo	IV-D
41	Idam Gamlamo	IV-D

42	Loce (Tala'i + Pa'disua)	IV-D
43	Worat-worat	IV-D
44	Gamtala	IV-D
45	Lolori (Tala'i + Pa'disua)	IV-D
46	Taboso	IV-D
47	Idam Dehe	IV-D

Intrusive languages:

7	Sarau (speak a mixture of Tobelo and Galela locally known as 'Tobelo Tiana')	III
8	Tobelos (speak a mixture of Tobelo and Galela locally known as 'Tobelo Tiana')	III
21	Taba Campaka (East Makian immigrants)	IV-D

NORTH-EAST HALMAHERAN

Galela:

1	Jere	II
2	Kampung Baru	II
4	Saluta	II
5	Tutu-ma-loleo	II
6	Salimuli	II
7	Bobisingo	II
8	Lalonga	II
9	Limau	II
10	Simau	II, IV-B
10a	Toweka	IV-B
11	Ngidiho	IV-B
12	Gotalamo	IV-B
13	Duma	IV-B
14	Dokulamo	IV-B
15	Soatobaru (partly Tobaru speaking)	IV-B
16	Samuda (partly Tobaru speaking)	IV-B
17	Bale	IV-B
18	Igobula	IV-B
19	Soakonora (partly Tobaru speaking)	IV-B
20	Togawa (partly Tobaru speaking)	IV-B
21	Seki	IV-B
22	Tuara	IV-B
23	Pune	IV-B
24	Mamuya	II
25	Luari (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
26	Ruko (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
27	Mede (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
28	Popilo (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
29	Goru (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
30	Tuguis (south of Loloda)	II
31	Kedi (except for Kampung Soasio which is Ternate speaking)	II
32	Laba Besar	II
33	Laba Kecil	II
34	Tabobo (enclave in Pagu territory)	III

Intrusive languages:

3	Pelita I (Sangir immigrants)	II
11a	Makete (Sangir immigrants)	II

Loloda:

1	Bosala	II
2	Bakum	II
3	Puo	II
4	Bakun Pantai	II
5	Tosomolo	II
6	Barataku	II
7	Gamkahe	II
8	Pumadada	II
9	Baja	II
10	Apulea	II
11	Asimiro	II
12	Momojiu	II
13	Dotia	II
14	Ngajama	II
15	Dorume	II
16	Kailupa	II
17	Gisik (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
18	Galuo (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
19	Kapa-kapa (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
20	Pocao (partly Tobelo speaking)	II
21	Tate (partly Tobelo speaking)	II

22	Posi-posi (part of the inhabitants come from the Sangir - Talaud Islands)	II
23	Supu (partly Galela speaking)	II
24	Igo	II
25	Jikolamo	II
26	Dagasuli	II
27	Dedeta	II
28	Fitako	II
29	Cerah	II
30	Dowonggila	II
31	Dama	II
32	Salube	II
33	Tuakara	II
34	Tobo-tobo	II
35	Tuguraci (located on Dodinga Bay)	III

Tobelo:
(Heleworuru subdialect)

1	Tolonuo	II
2	Kokara	II
3	Wari (has many Sangir immigrants)	II
4	Wosia	II
5	Pitu	II
6	Upa	II
7	Gamhoku	II
8	Efi-efi	II
9	Tomahalu	II
10	Kupa-kupa	II
11	Paca	II
12	Tobe (partly Tobaru speaking)	II
13	Leleoto	II
14	Yaro	II
15	Mawea	II
16	Katana	II
17	Miti	II
49	Fayaul (on the opposite shore of Kao Bay)	II

(Inland subdialects)

17a	Telaga Paca (variant I)	II
18	Kusuri (variant I)	II
19	Toboulamo (variant I)	II
20	Kukumutuk (variant II)	II, III
21	Popon (variant III)	III
22	Sasur (variant III)	III

(Boeng subdialect)

23	Gulo	III
24	Tunuo	III
25	Wateto	III
26	Pediwang	III
27	Bori	III
28	Doro	III
29	Daru	III
29a	Bobale	III
30	Gamlaha	III
31	Biang	III
32	Patang (Boeng? migrated to the coast from the Popon-Sarur area, see 2.4.3)	III
33	Kusu	III
34	Jati	III
35	Akesahu	III
36	Akelamo Gamsungi	III
40	Pintatu	III
41	Ekor	III
42	Minamin	III
43	Saulat	III
44	Waijoi	III
45	Loleba	III
46	Wasile	III
47	Tewe (partly Ternate and East Makian)	III
48	Rioribati	III

(Dodinga subdialect)

37	Tetewang	III
38	Bobane Igo (also speakers of Ternate and Gorap, an Austronesian language)	III
39	Pasir Putih	III

Tobaru:
(Tobaru Nyeku subdialect)

5	Tobato	IV-C
7	Teongowango	IV-C
9	Duon	IV-C
10	Tokuoku	IV-C
11	Goin	IV-C
12	Soasengaji	IV-C
13	Sengaji Nyeku	IV-C
14	Tuguis	IV-C
22	Tongute Goin	IV-C

(Tobaru Adu subdialect)

6	Podol	IV-C
8	Togowo	IV-C
15	Borona	IV-C
16	Todoke	IV-C
17	Poralulu	IV-C
18	Tolisaor	IV-C
19	Togoreba Tua	IV-C
20	Tongute Sungi	IV-C
21	Akesibu	IV-C
23	Maritano	IV-C
24	Keici	IV-C
25	Naga	IV-C

(subdialect unidentified)

1	Roko	II
2	Jano	II
3	Tasie	II
4	Totala	II
26	Goal	III
27	Buku-ma-titi	III
28	Todowongi	III
29	Bukubualawa	III
30	Gamlenge (partly Ternate speaking)	III
31	Domato	III
32	Akeura	III
33	Akelaha	III
34	Akelamo (on the southern peninsula)	IV-A

Modole:

(northern subdialect)

1	Kai	III
2	Pitago	III
3	Bailengit	III
4	Soa-ma-etek	III
5	Parseba	III
6	Tuguis	III

(southern subdialect)

7	Soahukum	III
8	Tolabit-Torawat	III
9	Soasengaji	III

Pagu:

(Isam subdialect)

1	Leleseng	III
8	Gayok	III

(Toliwiku subdialect)

2	Toliwang	III

(Pagu subdialect? possibly = Isam)

3	Gagaapok	III
4	Ngoali	III
5	Momoda	III
6	Dimdim (originally south Modole)	III
7	Lelewi	III
9	Wangeota	III
10	Malifut (also many East Makian immigrants)	III
11	Tomabaru (formerly Balisosang)	III
12	Dumdum	III

POSTSCRIPT

The maps and village list give only a very simplified picture of the linguistic situation in the area. Nothing has been said about the variety of languages spoken in the larger and smaller towns, and the degree of multilingualism present in towns and villages alike. How complex the situation is, can be deducted from Paul Taylor's informative article 'North Moluccan Malay: notes on a "substandard" dialect of Indonesian' *(NUSA, linguistic studies of Indonesian and other languages in Indonesia,* vol.17, 1983:14-27) in which he describes the multilingualism present in Wasile village on Kao Bay. Unfortunately such sociolinguistic studies are sadly lacking for the remainder of the North Halmahera area.

C.L. Voorhoeve, Canberra, December, 1986.

NOTES

1. See the entries Chlenov, Collins, Shelden, Taylor, Teljeur, Visser and Voorhoeve, Voorhoeve, Wurm and Hattori in the bibliography.
2. More details are given in section 4.
3. The Annotated Bibliography erroneously gives 1907 as the year of publishing.
4. A detailed map of the West Makian villages on these islands can be found in *Watuseke 1976 [70].
5. Alfoors (Dutch: Alfoeren) the local term was *(h)alifuru*. It referred to the 'uncivilised' autochthonous populations living in interior of the larger islands of the Moluccas.
6. *'d* symbolises a voiced implosive alveolar stop. *'* followed by a vowel stands for a glottal stop.
7. The Ibu list is somewhat shorter than the lists in the other Sahu dialects, counting only 83 items. According to lexicostatistical theory the resulting cognation percentages should then be inflated by about 2%. My impression from the additional (non-basic) lexical data in Ibu is that adding the missing items would hardly make any difference.
8. For Tobelo *ɗ* see Note 11.
9. In some phonological environments the corresponding sound is *d* in Modole, *y* in Pagu; in others it has disappeared (symbolised by *Ø*). In Tobelo, *ɗ* and *y* are distributed over different subdialects (see 2.4.3).
10. The name Heleworuru for this dialect was first used by Taylor (1980). In older publications it was simply called 'Tobelo' as distinct from Tobelo-Boeng and Tobelo-Dodinga.
11. Tobelo *ɗ* confounded the early Dutch missionaries who described it as an 'impure' *l*. It is in fact a sound which is realised by some speakers as a palatalised lateral *[lʸ]* or a palatalised voiced interdental fricative *[ðʸ]* (I noted both variants in the speech of one and the same speaker), by others as a voiced interdental fricative *[ð]*. Sophisticated Tobelo speakers sometimes substitute *l* for it in conversation with speakers of other North-east Halmaheran dialects.
12. Capell (1975) when discussing the non-Austronesian features of the North Halmaheran languages remarks that the possessive construction 'is not an AN type, but is found in some AN languages where it calls for an explanation'.
13. The Galela and Pagu forms mean 'eye', the Moi and Tehit forms 'fruit'. The semantic shift from 'fruit' to 'eye' is well attested in Papuan languages on the New Guinea mainland, where often a parallel is drawn between parts of the body and parts of trees.
14. Some of the names are now spelled differently: Tabaru = Tobaru, Madole = Modole, Loda = Loloda, Kau = Kao.
15. According to my Kao informants the township of Kao is divided into three quarters, Kusu, Jati, and Kao, which formerly were separate settlements but now form one built-up area. Kusu and Jati speak Tobelo-Boeng; within Kao one distinguishes Kao (Kristen) and Kao Islam. The former is a Pagu speaking community; the Kao Islam people originally came from Popon. They still go to the burial ground at the old village site on the upper Kao River to ask the ancestors for their blessing.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

AnL *Anthropological Linguistics.* Bloomington, Indiana.

BijdrTLV *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.* Foris Publications, Dordrecht-Holland. (Journal of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden).

PL *Pacific Linguistics.* Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

ZAOS *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische, Ozeanische und Ostasiatische Sprachen.* Berlin.

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1916c Woordenlijst van het Pagoe op Noord-Halmahera. *BijdrTLV* 72:65-102.
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