

NORTH MOLUCCAN MALAY: NOTES ON A "SUBSTANDARD" DIALECT OF INDONESIAN

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Based on a household survey, Taylor demonstrates the high degree of multilingualism in at least one North Halmahera community (Wasile). Following this, a number of topics concerning North Moluccan Malay are covered, ranging from phonology and affixation to pronouns and function words. Each of these parts of NMM grammar reflects the influence of indigenous languages, whether directly, in loanwords, or indirectly, by reshaping semantic categories, for example the deictic system. Three texts of a colloquial register of NMM with transliteration and translation are appended.

1 INTRODUCTION

The dialect of Indonesian/Malay presently spoken throughout Halmahera and surrounding islands is everywhere considered by its own speakers to be an inferior form of Indonesian. The dialect I have elsewhere (Taylor 1980) called "North Moluccan Malay" (NMM) is locally referred to as either (*bahasa*) *Məlayu pasar* 'marketplace Malay (language)', or as either *bahasa sə-hari-hari* or *bahasa hari-hari* 'everyday language'. It is distinguished from *bahasa Indonesia asli* 'true Indonesian language' or Standard Indonesian (SI) and from *bahasa daéra* (cf. SI *bahasa daerah*) 'regional languages' or 'local languages,' the latter term used for all the other (both Austro-nesian and non-Austronesian) languages of the area.

The fact that NMM is locally considered an inferior form of SI has important implications for the linguistic description of NMM speech. Among European languages, the study of this dialectal situation may perhaps best be compared to the study of substandard dialects of Italian, where speakers recognize the inferiority of their dialect to a relatively recently imposed standard language. Speakers of the "inferior" dialects are familiar to some extent with the standard language and can switch registers in accordance with changes in circumstances; each dialect also tends to form its own variety of "standard" speech for use in registers in which the standard language is judged appropriate. (See Cortelazzo 1976:esp. 9-42.)

All modern NMM speakers regularly switch speech registers, using SI, or forms approximating or attempting to approximate SI, for particular kinds of discourse: (1) almost all written language (book-keeping, written schoolwork, official documents, business letters, love letters, letters among

friends); (2) the discourse of official conversation or oratory, such as that of government officials speaking to each other or to the populace, government trials, etc.; (3) the discourse of religious leaders preaching or conducting prayer; (4) short excerpts, of single words or phrases, drawn from one of the contexts mentioned above, and integrated into NMM discourse; examples include short legal or "official" phrases, and terms or phrases involving religious phenomena or alluding to written material; and (5) (sometimes) oratory on other occasions, such as oratory at marriage ceremonies whenever that oratory is in Indonesian rather than a "local language." The last is most variable, for in parties and marriage ceremonies both the NMM register and the "local languages" may also be used, as, for example, when families of the bride and groom are called upon to orate their advice to the couple. These conditions seem to govern the use of speech registers, but the speech that results is more complicated, depending upon the speaker's and the listener's familiarity with NMM and SI. I have here primarily limited myself to consideration of texts reflecting NMM speakers speaking in NMM registers, for the NMM texts in SI registers introduce added complexities. For example, NMM speakers who attempt to speak SI in a register for which SI is appropriate will introduce many constructions not found in SI (such as incorrect affixation of *meng-*, *-kan*, or *di-*, which are not productive affixes in NMM). Yet such forms must be considered in some sense "acceptable" in NMM *within* the SI register.

This compartmentalization of present-day NMM into the NMM and the SI registers may result from the standardization of the Indonesian language, which is a comparatively recent phenomenon. The distinctiveness of NMM as a dialect undoubtedly preceded the standardization of the Indonesian language, and it is characterized by

an apparent convergence with the non-Austronesian (non-AN) languages of the area. Thus, while such non-AN languages as Ternate and Tidore reflect great influence from their extended contact with Malay (relative to other non-AN languages such as Modole or Tobelo), the Malay spoken in the North Moluccas has acquired lexical, morphological, and syntactic influences from the non-AN languages of the region.

In this paper I shall concentrate on the NMM spoken around Kao Bay (Kao, Wasile, and Jailolo Districts), on Halmahera Island, where I carried out fieldwork for thirty-three months (1977-79 and 1981), primarily among bilingual speakers of NMM and Tobelo (Tobelorese). After first presenting a survey of language use at Wasile Village, to illustrate the multilingualism and linguistic complexity of the area, and briefly considering NMM phonology, I will review the local language influence on NMM deixis, then note differences from SI in verb and noun affixation, pronouns, and selected other topics. This preliminary discussion of some differences between SI and NMM hopefully will supplement material already presented by Voorhoeve (this volume). A few texts will illustrate NMM as spoken in NMM registers.

2 NMM AND MULTILINGUALISM

Halmahera's geographical position at the source of the spice trade historically made the region an important trade emporium, and active trade encouraged the early use of Malay throughout the region. (See Collins 1980, Collins this volume on early use of Malay in the Moluccas.) In addition, the high mobility of many Halmaherans and the continuing migration of outsiders to the island has encouraged the present great intermixture of ethnic groups and languages in many coastal Halmaheran villages. This has also encouraged the continued use of NMM as the local interethnic *lingua franca*. Halmahera has attracted immigrants from other islands for many reasons. Certainly the most significant has been the ease of opening up choice new land in Halmahera's uncut forests, while for other immigrants opportunities for commercial profit as traders seem the most significant factor. There were also large-scale efforts pre-dating independence and, during World War II, to transport workers from Tanimbar, Kei, Flores, North Sulawesi, and other places for wage labor on Halmaheran plantations such as the copra *onderneming* at Akeselaka, from which many nearby towns added to their populations. Many inhabitants of ethnically diverse villages speak NMM as a first language in the home, especially in cases of intermarriage among ethnic groups.

Wasile (pronounced *wasilé*) Village (Wasile District, Halmahera), with a resident population of about 400 people in 1978, provides an example of such an ethnically and religiously integrated community within an area generally populated by Tobelo speakers. In April 1978 I surveyed heads of households and their wives at Wasile Village, asking among other questions which languages they "commanded". (See responses, Table 1.) All responses referring to "Indonesian" in this census refer to NMM, the dialect spoken there.

TABLE 1

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AMONG HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND THEIR WIVES

Wasile Village Survey, April, 1978

		N	%
Ind	6 Total monolingual	6	4.9%
Ind, Tbl	72		
Ind, Dutch	1		
Ind, Maba	5		
Ind, Tte	3		
Ind, Larat	3		
Ind, Gorap	2		
Ind, Tdr	1		
Ind, Adonara	3		
Ind, Yamdena	1		
Ind, Pagu	1		
Ind, Sangir	1 Total bilingual	93	75.6%
Ind, Tbl, Larat	1		
Ind, Tbl, Maba	2		
Ind, Tbl, Sawai	2		
Ind, Tbl, Kao	2		
Ind, Tbl, Pagu	1		
Ind, Tbl, Galela	1		
Ind, Tte, Galela	1		
Ind, Tte, Gorap	1		
Ind, Tte, Kao	1		
Ind, Bugis, Kalabahi	1		
Ind, Tdr, Maba	1		
Ind, Talaud, Sangir	2 Total trilingual	16	13.0%
Ind, Tbl, Galela, Maba	1		
Ind, Tte, Tdr, Maba	1		
Ind, Tte, Galela, Maba	1		
Ind, Tbl, Tte, Tdr, Maba	1		
Ind, Tbl, Tte, Tdr, Kao	1		
Ind, Tbl, Tte, Tdr, Pagu	1		
Ind, Tbl, Tte, Tdr, Kao, Galela, Sangir, Maba	1		
Ind, Tbl, Tte, Tdr, Sawai, Gorap, Kao, Galela, Maba, Buli	1 Other	8	6.5%
TOTAL household heads responding, plus wives of married household heads		123	100.0%
Ind: Indonesian	Tdr: Tidore		
Tbl: Tobelo	Tte: Ternate		

The results illustrate the degree of multilingualism that pervades many Christian and Islamic coastal North Moluccan villages. Six persons (4.9%) claimed to be monolingual NMM speakers. The majority of respondents (75.6%) are bilingual; speakers bilingual in Tobelorese and Indonesian account for 58.5% of the total number of respondents (or 77.4% of all bilingual respondents). More importantly, the 123 adults responding collectively spoke nineteen "languages" (if, for example, we recognize closely related Kao and Pagu as separate languages, as is done locally).

Language use in the home, rather than language competence, is restricted to far fewer languages. Some figures for language use at Wasile Village (Table 2) are based on survey questions asking: (1) What language do the household head and his wife normally use when speaking with one another?; (2) What language do they normally use when speaking to their children?; and (3) What language do their children use among themselves? The responses in Table 2 have been separated into those from households in which neither "spouse" (head of household or his wife), one spouse, and both spouses are Tobelo. Heads of households and their wives who have no children responded only to the first question. Note that five pairs of spouses claimed to speak both Tobelo and NMM equally and one pair to speak Tidore and NMM equally (total six pairs or 9.8%). In one case a seventy year old man and his sixty year old wife stated that he always spoke to her in Tobelo and she spoke to him in Pagu. (Others verified that this was the case.) They both usually speak Tobelo to their children. (Several other cases of such linguistic "arrangements" were observed in other villages.) In cases where two languages were used about equally by parents when speaking to their children, *both* parents used both languages, except in one case where both parents are Tobelo and the father speaks to the children in Tobelo and NMM while the mother speaks only in NMM.

TABLE 2

LANGUAGE USE AT WASILE VILLAGE
Wasile Village Survey, April, 1978

1. Language Usually Spoken Among Spouses (per pair of spouses)			
Neither spouse Tobelo	Ind: 10 Tte: 1	Ind, Tdr: 1	
One spouse Tobelo:	Ind: 16 Tbl: 7	Ind, Tbl: 2 Tbl, Pagu: 1	
Both spouses Tobelo:	Ind: 8 Tbl: 12	Ind, Tbl: 3	

2. Language Usually Used by Parents to their Children (per nuclear family):			
Neither parent Tobelo:	Ind: 11		
One parent Tobelo:	Ind: 22 Tbl: 2		
Both parents Tobelo:	Ind: 15 Tbl: 3	Ind, Tbl: 5	
3. Language Usually Used Among Full Siblings (per set of full siblings)			
Neither parent Tobelo:	Ind: 8	Ind, Tdr: 1	
One parent Tobelo:	Ind: 22 Tbl: 1		
Both parents Tobelo:	Ind: 19		
Ind:	Indonesian	Tdr:	Tidore
Tbl:	Tobelo	Tte:	Ternate

The figures seem to suggest that local language use is disappearing, NMM growing. Among households in which one or both parents are Tobelo, the parents speak Tobelo among themselves in 19 households (37.2%), but transmit the language to their children by primarily speaking Tobelo in only five households (10.6% of those with children). Of households with more than one child, in only one (2.3%) is Tobelo said to be the language normally used in communication among children. By including households in which both Tobelo and NMM or both Tobelo and Pagu are used, the figures even more strongly contrast the older and younger generations; 25 households (51.0% of all Tobelo or partly Tobelo households) use Tobelo among spouses; in only 10 of those households (21.3%) do parents speak Tobelo to children; and still in only one household (2.3%) is Tobelo used among children. Perhaps it is premature to conclude that NMM is growing at the expense of local languages even in this one village, let alone throughout Halmahera, for this survey did not ask parents whether they spoke NMM or local languages in the home when *they* were children. It is possible that local languages have in some villages like Wasile become relegated to a subordinate but stable position, and it is also true that some individuals who primarily used NMM were quite fluent in Tobelo. Nevertheless, the degree of multilingualism and the widespread use of NMM in this ethnically mixed coastal village is apparent from this survey.

3 BRIEF NOTES ON PHONOLOGY OF NMM AND SI

In keeping with the above observation that NMM is felt to be an "inferior" dialect of SI, it follows that all forms considered acceptable in SI are considered acceptable, at least in SI registers, within NMM. The NMM inventory, excluding forms acceptable only in SI registers, will include twenty consonants (*p, t, c, k, b, d, j, g, m, n, ny, ng, f, s, sy, h, r, l, w, and y*), and one also hears NMM speakers produce the unvoiced velar fricative *kh* as in *khusus* (alternatively *husus*) 'special', and the glottal stop ' as in *ra'yat* (alternatively *rakyat* or most commonly *rayat* 'people', although these two sounds would be acceptable *only* in SI registers. Six vowels (*i, e, ə, a, o, u*) and six diphthongs (*au, ao, ai, ae, oi, ei*) are clearly acceptable, although occasionally *ui* is heard (e.g. *duit* as an alternative to *doit* 'money'). Isolated cases require that we consider stress phonemic (e.g. *kadó* 'gift', *kádo* 'person with the skin disease *kaskado*'; *júmat* 'Friday' *jumát* 'congregation'; *barát* 'heavy' *bárat* 'west').

Voorhoeve (this volume) has already noted many of the phonological correspondences between NMM and SI. The most common include the loss or replacement of word-final stop consonants. As in SI, all final stop consonants which are not lost or replaced in NMM are unvoiced and unreleased (e.g.: *bafeot* 'tap and drink palm wine'; *cet* 'paint'; *harap* 'hope', *mabok* 'drunk', etc.); though word-final stop consonants are frequently lost when a speaker switches from an SI to a NMM register, these NMM forms with word-final stops indicate that we are not dealing with a pervasive rule, but only a "tendency." Similarly, the common tendency toward loss of initial *h* leads to a great deal of free variation, e.g. such pairs as *habis, abis* 'finished'; *hutan, utan* (and also, because final nasals and *ng* also tend to vary), *hutang* and *utang* all meaning 'forest'. Final *h* is almost always dropped, so that we might conclude that whenever a final *h* is pronounced this represents a foray into an SI register, or the pronunciation of an "official" word drawn from SI discourse (e.g. *syah* or *sah* 'valid'), although the common expression *toh* or *to* (from Dutch *toch*) 'really, isn't it so!' seems an exception. Several clearly NMM words cannot lose initial *h* (*hantam* 'hit', *hosa* 'to pant'), while apparently no examples can be found, with the sorts of exceptions mentioned above, which always keep final *h*. These and other "tendencies" have produced a great deal of free variation in the phonetic realization of NMM words. For example, the tendencies noted above, and the further tendency for final or penultimate *u* to vary with *o* (*bangku, bangko* 'bench'; *mabuk, mabok* 'drunk') have pro-

duced six acceptable forms of the SI *masuk* 'enter', all acceptable in NMM registers: *masuk, masok, masu, maso, masung, masong*. Many more such examples can be found.

Among vowel and diphthong correspondences, the most pervasive are the replacement of SI final *ai* with *e* and of SI final *au* with *o* in words of more than one syllable (SI *sungai* NMM *sunge* 'river', SI *pandai* NMM *pande* 'bright'; SI *hijau* NMM *hijo* or *ijo* 'green'; SI *pulau* NMM *pulo* 'island'). In the examples cited, it is safe to say that use of the SI diphthong would be interpreted as a foray into an SI register, but many NMM words keep that final diphthong without any alternative form. For example final *ai* cannot become *e*: *tupai* 'flying phalanger', *mulai* or *mulaing* 'begin'; examples ending in *au* are more difficult to find although *marantau* 'wander' and other relatively uncommon words qualify as polysyllabic exceptions. Words consisting only of consonant followed by the irreducible *au* diphthong include *lau* 'fish lure' and the non-auxiliary *mau* 'to be willing' (cf. the auxiliary verb *mau* which may be shortened to *mo* 'wishes to, is going to', thus *dia mo mau* 'he is going to be willing').

It should be clear from these brief remarks that the study of SI-NMM correspondences could profitably be undertaken using statistical methods to quantify the relative prevalence of these tendencies, although careful attention to the speech registers used in the texts would be required.

4 SPATIAL DEIXIS AND THE INFLUENCE OF "LOCAL LANGUAGES" ON NMM

The distinctive treatment of spatial deixis in North Moluccan Malay, one of the most initially striking features of the dialect, may be ascribed to the influence of local Austronesian (AN) and particularly non-Austronesian (non-AN) languages. Some of the AN and non-AN systems of "folk orientation" in the area have been described using a comparative perspective by Yoshida (1980) with special reference to the Galela system, although an alternative analysis of the closely-related Tobelo deictic system has been offered (Taylor, in press).

The primary influence of local languages on NMM deixis has been in the terms of orientation used to describe directional movement. The three axes of orientation used in non-AN languages and some local AN languages are expressed by prepositional phrases in NMM using *di* 'at, to' and *kə* or *ka* 'to', although those axes are much less pervasive in NMM than in non-AN languages such as Tobelo (Taylor, in press). The three axes of orientation are: (1) 'landward' vs. 'seaward', (2) 'this direction' vs. 'that direction',

and (3) 'upward' vs. 'downward'. In Halmahera, NMM preserves local language usage by using the 'upward'-'downward' dimension both to describe location in the vertical 'up'-'down' dimension and also to describe location or movement that is generally northward parallel to the coasts (downward) and southward parallel to the coasts (upward). Thus movement from a place on the coast to a place even slightly further inland is movement *ka dara* 'landward', and movement in the opposite direction is *ka lao* 'seaward', while movement along the coast in a generally northward direction is movement *ka bawa* 'downward' and movement in the opposite direction is *ka atas* 'upward'. Movement across major topographic obstacles (a bay, river, or one of Halmahera's peninsulas) is movement *ka sana* 'in that direction' relative to the speaker, while movement in the opposite direction is movement *ka mari* 'in this direction'. In the North Moluccas, however, even reference to location of objects a short distance away, or motion even from one side of a room to another, is often made using the prepositional phrases with the 'seaward', 'landward', 'upward', and 'downward' terms rather than 'here' or 'there', which would more commonly be used in SI.

Tobelo and related non-AN languages have associations between most verbs of motion and particular "expected" directions of the verbs' action ('sleep *landward*', 'hang *downward*', 'eat *seaward*', etc.); these are expressed in Tobelo by directional enclitics attached to noun phrases or directional suffixes attached to the verb. A few of these associations have entered NMM as optional, but generally used, prepositional phrases following the verb: *pete (ka mari)* 'pluck (this direction)', i.e., 'pluck' (cf. SI *petik*); *ika* or *ikat (ka mari)* 'tie (this direction)', i.e., 'tie together'. Thus: *ambel kamari de pe daun baru tumbu pa dia* 'Take (let.: take this direction) its leaf then pound it' (e.g., to prepare herbal medicine). Among Tobelo speakers speaking NMM other such influences are common. Though widely used on Halmahera, they are not necessarily accepted by all speakers of NMM (e.g. *tidur situ ka dara* 'Sleep there landwards', i.e., 'Sleep there'; *dudu sini ka bawa* 'Sit here downwards', i.e., 'Sit here'). Also similar to non-AN languages of the area is the widespread use of the notion of 'downward' to indicate finality of the action of the verb, thus *so mati ka bawa* 'already dead downward', emphasizing the finality of the death, or *so bakuatur ka bawa* 'already come to an agreement downward', i.e., 'already come to an agreement with each other in a final way'.

5 PRELIMINARY NOTES ON MORPHOLOGY IN NMM

Most cognates of SI affixes which

occur in NMM words are "frozen" forms clearly derived from some dialect of Malay in which such affixes are productive, although they have lost their identity as productive morphemes in NMM. The passive prefix *di-* and the "causative" and other suffix *-kan* may be considered so clearly foreign to NMM that their use indicates a switch to an SI register. Cognates of SI *men-* occur in words like NMM *malawan* or *məlawan* 'resist, argue'; *manangis* or *mənanangis* 'cry'; *mandidi* or *məndidi* 'boil', and *manyásal* or *mənyásal* 'regret', where the *maN-* or *məN-* must be considered part of the verb base, as evidenced by the further affixation of *pang-* (cf. SI: *peng-*) in NMM *pangmalawan* 'one who usually resists, is contrary', *pangmanangis* 'one who often cries; crybaby'.

However, I believe that NMM *ba-* and *ta-*, cognates of SI *ber-* and *ter-*, must be considered productive verb affixes in NMM, although as in SI these prefixes cannot be attached to all verbs, and the rules for affixation of these prefixes will be found to differ in SI and NMM. In some cases, the *ba-* or *ta-* must indeed be considered a "frozen," unproductive part of the verb base, as in NMM *balabu* 'ride at anchor' (cf. SI *berlabuh*), NMM *barénti* 'stop' (cf. SI *berhenti*), or NMM *bakalai* 'to fight' (cf. SI *berkelahi*). However, the *ba-* prefix can also be productively used in NMM. First, it is a prefix making the action of the verb "reflexive," that is, directed at the actor himself, as in NMM *cukur* 'shave', *bacukur* 'shave oneself'; *simpan* 'hide', *basimpan* 'hide oneself'; *putar* 'turn', *baputar* 'turn oneself'. Consistent with the related meaning of "reflexivity" in Indo-European languages, this "reflexive" use of *ba-* also includes the use of the prefix to indicate that the action of the verb is for the benefit of the subject. The non-AN languages of the area have cognates of the Tobelo prefix *maa-* which is also "reflexive" in both these senses, and NMM uses the *ba-* prefix with these meanings much more productively than does SI: *ambe*, *ambel*, or *ambil* 'take', *baambe*, *baambel*, or *baambil* 'take for oneself'; *bəli* or *bili* 'buy', *babəli* or *babili* 'buy for oneself'; *dapa* or *dapat* 'get', *badapa* or *badapat* 'get for oneself'; *cari* 'search for', *bacari* 'search for for oneself'. In Halmahera, one also frequently hears this *ba-* prefix applied to verbs which take the reflexive prefix in Tobelo and other non-AN languages, but which cannot be translated by the notion of activity "for or directed to the actor," such as *lia* or *balia* 'see' (cf. SI *lihat* 'see'), *haga* or *bahaga* 'stare', although it is possible that not all NMM speakers would accept these usages of the *ba-* prefix.

Another productive use of the *ba-* prefix is its common prefixation meaning 'to work at (the action of the verb)', or, 'to set oneself to working on (the action of the verb)'. For example, *pete* 'pick, pluck', *bapete* 'work at picking (e.g. harvesting rice)'; *potong rumpu*

'cut weeds', *bapotong rumput* 'work at cutting weeds'; *tanam* 'plant', *batanam* 'work at planting'; *cuci* 'wash', *bacuci* 'work at washing (e.g. laundry)' (N.B.: alternatively, in e.g. *bacuci muka* 'wash one's face', the reflexive *ba-* may be used with *cuci* 'wash'). This should not be confused with the interpretation frequently given for SI *ber-* as 'to do (the action of the verb) as an occupation'; this is not implied by NMM *ba-* (cf. SI *tanam* 'plant', SI *bertanam* 'grow . . . for a living'). In all examples given above for productive uses of the *ba-* prefix in NMM, the cognates of SI *meng-* cannot be used in NMM registers.

The *ba-* prefix can be attached to some nouns to mean 'having (the noun)', thus *pece* 'mud', *bapece* 'be muddy'; *air* 'water, liquid', *baair* 'be watery'. However, NMM avoids the use of this prefix in many contexts in which it would be used in SI; in such cases the NMM speaker must either use another expression (NMM *ada wang* or *ada doit* for SI *beruang* 'have money'; NMM *pake capato* for SI *bersepatu* 'wear shoes', etc.), or use the word with the SI cognate *ber-* (e.g. SI *bermaksud* 'intend') which, whenever used in NMM, can be considered a foray into an SI register.

The prefix *sə-* 'one' is not used productively in NMM, although it is "frozen" in many expressions, where it is generally pronounced *sa-* (e.g. *səlama* or *salama* 'while'), *səpulu* or *sapuluh* 'ten', etc.). The numeral *satu* 'one' is always used instead (e.g. NMM *kalapa satu biji* 'one coconut'; cf. SI *se-biji kelapa* 'one coconut'). Similarly, although pronominal suffixes of SI are not used in NMM, the third person singular *-nya* 'its' is "frozen" in many common NMM expressions (*pokonya* 'the point is', *ahirnya* 'finally', *soalnya* 'the problem is', etc.).

One SI nominalizing prefix, *peng-*, has as its cognate the form usually pronounced *pang-* in NMM. This prefix can be attached to some verbs to indicate 'the habitual doer of the action of the verb'; thus the examples given above *pangmanangis* 'crybaby; one who often cries'; *pangmalawan* 'one who resists, is contrary'; also *foya* 'to lie, deceive', *pangfoya* 'liar'.

The verb prefix *baku-*, cognate with similar prefixes in local non-AN languages (e.g. Tobelo *makV-*) is also productively used in NMM. Like its non-AN cognates, it is used with two meanings: (1) *baku-* + verb to mean 'do (the action of the verb) to each other', e.g. *dapa* 'meet, find', *bakudapa* 'meet/find each other'; *bilang* 'say', *bakubilang* 'say to each other'; *malawan* 'resist, argue', *bakumalawan* 'argue with each other'; (2) *baku-* + verb may also mean 'do (the action of the verb) separately to objects of the same kind', thus *pili* 'choose', *bakupili* 'choose from among similar objects', e.g. *dia bakupili bras* 'she chooses (separates good from bad) rice (e.g., in a winnowing basket)'; *cari* 'look for', *bakucari* 'look for among

similar things', e.g. *kita bakucari itu kertas* 'I looked for that paper (e.g., among many other papers and similar objects)'. (Note: *bakucari* may also be used with the other meaning of the *baku-* prefix, as in *kitong bakucari kong tara bakudapa* 'We looked for each other and yet we did not find each other'.) Occasionally, the meaning of *baku* + verb has come to acquire an idiomatic sense not entirely predictable from the meaning of the component morphs, thus *atur* 'arrange', *bakuatur* 'come to an agreement', *pukul* 'hit', *bakupukul* 'engage in a fist-fight', although in these cases it is easy to see how the meaning of the idiom may have been derived.

Finally, reduplication of both verb and noun roots is productive in NMM as in SI, and while it is not necessary to review here the many meanings associated with this morphological phenomenon in SI, all can occur in NMM. In addition, NMM frequently uses the reduplicated form of a transitive verb to indicate 'the object or device used to perform (the action of the verb)'. This use is parallel to the reduplication or partial reduplication of verb roots in local non-AN languages to form the nominal form also meaning 'the object used to perform (the action of the verb)'. Thus NMM *falo* 'to bail', *falo-falo* 'bailer'; *timba* 'to draw (water)' + *air* 'water', *timba-timba air* 'water bucket'; *loku* 'carry' + *rumpu* 'weeds, trash', *loku-loku rumput* 'device used to carry out trash (to throw it away)'; *lingkar* 'to coil round' + *nilon* 'nylon (fishing line)', *lingkar-lingkar nilon* 'reel for fishing line'; *kore* 'gouge', *kore-kore* 'device used to gouge, coconut-gouger'.

6 PRONOUNS

The normal pronouns used in NMM registers by NMM speakers differ from those of SI.

(1) First person. The singular is *kita* 'I', although SI *saya* 'I' or Ambonese Malay *beta* 'I' can be used to emphasize the "official" or formal nature of the discourse. A higher-generation kin term which the listener would call the speaker (such as *om* 'uncle', *papa* 'father') may also be used in place of the first person pronoun by the speaker; use of such a term emphasizes either the kinship tie or the generationally higher status, e.g.: *tadi papa panggél kong ngana tara kamari* 'Earlier I (lit.: father) called and yet you did not come here (said by father to child)'. The first person plural (historically derived from *kita* + *orang* 'people') is *kitorang*, or shortened forms *kitong*, *torang*, or *tong* 'we (exclusive and inclusive)'. Any use of SI *kita* 'we (incl.)' or *kami* 'we (excl.)' clearly indicates that the speaker is switching to an SI

register.

(2) Second person. The normal second person singular pronoun used for people not of high status is the Ternate loan *ngana* 'you'; while plural for people not of high status is the Ternate loan *ngoni* 'you (pl.)'. For persons of higher status than the speaker, a noun is usually substituted for the second person singular pronoun, either a kinship term (*bu* 'older brother', *om* 'uncle', *tanta* 'aunt', etc.), or the SI kinship-derived titles *bapak* 'sir, Mr.' or *ibu* 'madam, Mrs.' for school or government officials; alternatively, even the name or title of the individual may be used. The SI *kamu* is also used as either 'you' singular or plural, but may be considered, like the use of SI *saya* 'I', the intervention of an "official" term from an SI register into the discourse. Occasionally, the NMM second person plural *ngoni* 'you (pl.)' is also used as a "formal" singular pronoun in addressing people of relatively higher status than the speaker. Finally, to address a group of people including one person of high status who would alone be addressed by a title or kinship term, NMM speakers use the construction *dong* + title, e.g. *dong om* 'Uncle and those with you', *dong Bapa Guru* 'Mr. Teacher and those with you'. This is a particular use of the third person plural pronoun (*dong*) and will be considered below.

(3) Third person. The third person pronouns are not strictly distinguished as singular and plural; like their counterparts in non-AN languages of the area, *dia* is both third person singular human and either singular or plural non-human — thus 'he, she, it, they (non-human)'. The plural human form is *dorang*, or its shortened form *dong* 'they (human)' (historically derived from *dia* + *orang* 'people'). I have already referred above to an interesting use of these plural forms (either *dorang* or *dong*) which has no parallel in SI, but which does have parallels in the non-AN languages of the area; this is the use of the pronoun followed by the name or title of an individual to address or refer to 'all those associated with (that person)'. Thus: *Ini dorang Pongo pe ruma* 'This is the house of Pongo and his family'; *Dong Habel bolong datang* 'Habel and those accompanying him have not yet come' (cf. the same sentences in Tobelo using *nao* followed by the name or title: *nenanga nao Pongo manga tau*; *nao Habel yoboauahi*). As has been noted above, this construction can substitute for a second person plural pronoun when one of the persons addressed has a high status, e.g. *Dong Om pigi mana?* 'Where are you (Uncle and others with you) going?'.

As noted above, SI pronominal suffixes are not used in NMM, although *-nya* 'its' occurs as a "frozen" form in some

words. Any productive use of such suffixes must be considered a sign of switching to an SI register. Possession is indicated by the construction consisting of the possessor followed by *punya*, or its shortened form *pe* used only before nouns (*pu* is also rarely heard before nouns). The expression *dia punya* 'his, her(s), its' may be shortened to *dia pe* or *de pe* when used before nouns. Even when the pronoun chosen is drawn from an SI register (e.g. *saya* 'I' or *kamu* 'you'), the construction of possessives may take place in the NMM manner if the discourse is taking place in the NMM register (e.g., *saya pe* 'my' *kamu punya* 'your', etc.). (See Collins, this volume, on *punya* in Ambonese Malay.)

7 OTHER OBSERVATIONS

A few final observations on NMM forms which differ from those of SI may help interpret the short texts which follow. The determiners *itu* 'that' and *ini* 'this' can occur either before or after the noun in NMM, and in cases of special emphasis may both precede and follow the noun. Voorhoeve (this volume) has presented an interesting hypothesis relating the position of the determiner in NMM to marked and unmarked (emphatic and non-emphatic) forms used for subject and object of the sentence. Because determiners can either precede or follow the noun in both subject and object positions, this hypothesis is difficult to test from my available texts, for which the speaker's intended markedness or "emphasis" is unknown. However, it is interesting that the expressions *ini dia* 'this' (lit.: this it) and *itu dia* 'that' (lit.: that it) may also be used like determiners following the noun in NMM, as in: *dia so bili teip itu dia* 'He already bought that tape recorder'; *kita tara makang ikang ini dia* 'I don't eat this fish'.

As has already become apparent from examples given above, negation of the verb in NMM uses, instead of the SI *tidak*, *tak*, etc. 'not', the form *tara* 'not' before the verb. The expression *tara ada* 'not have' is usually shortened to *tarada* or *trada*. Although these forms *tarada* and *trada* 'no, not have' cannot occur immediately before the verb (where *tara* 'not' is used), they, rather than *tara* 'not', occur in other places where SI *tidak* 'no, not' would be used, e.g.: *tarada, kita tara lia* 'No, I did not see (it)'; *ngana so makang ka tarada?* 'Have you already eaten or not?'. The form *tiada* 'not have' is occasionally used like *tarada*, although it also cannot appear immediately before the verb.

Only one conjunction in NMM appears to have been borrowed from local non-AN language conjunctions, that is the Tobelo and other non-AN *la* 'in order to', used either instead of NMM and SI *supaya* 'in

order to', or in addition to it (*la supaya* 'in order to').

The very frequently used NMM word *kong*, however, which does not appear to be a loan from any non-AN language, is often used like a conjunction. It can often be translated as 'then' or 'so', indicating a transition in actions in the sentence: *dia maso di kamar kong tutu pintu* 'He entered the room then shut the door'; *kita lia kita pe tamang kong panggel* 'I saw my friend then called (him)'; *dia so rasa lapar kong dia pulang makang* 'He already felt hungry so he went home to eat'. Used as a question, NMM *kong*? asks 'And then what happened?'. In other uses, however, NMM *kong* seems closely related to SI *kok*, used before a predicate to indicate surprise that the action of the predicate is taking place; in such instances *kong* may be translated 'and yet': *kita so bilang jang pigi kong ngana malawan!* 'I already said don't go and yet you argue!'; *panas bagini kong ngana mo minum te!* (The weather is) hot like this and yet you want to drink tea!.

Finally, in order to aid interpretation of the few sample texts given below, I would like to call attention to the NMM additive adjunct *me* 'also, even', which can translate, and may be derived from, Ternate or other non-AN cognates of Tobelo *ma* 'also, even': *kita me gigi* 'I am going too'; *ana-ana kacil me dorang bacari kalapa* 'Even little children are looking for coconuts for themselves'. When used in the construction *me . . . me* (a construction paralleling Tobelo *ma . . . ma*) these additive adjuncts may sometimes be translated by English 'both . . . and': *kita me tara pigi, kita pe bini me tara mau* 'Both I am not going, and my wife does not want (to go)'.

8 CONCLUSION

These notes on North Moluccan Malay have emphasized that, because speakers of this dialect consider it an inferior form of standard Indonesian, they consider the dialectal forms described here inappropriate to some speech registers, and in those cases attempt to speak a more standard form of Indonesian (SI). While a complete account of modern spoken North Moluccan Malay would have to take into account local attempts to approximate the standard language in those registers, I have concentrated here on describing aspects of North Moluccan Malay as used in registers for which the NMM dialectal forms are considered appropriate. Though the speech described here is taken from speech of the Kao Bay region of Halmahera, where almost all villagers speak NMM and many are monolingual NMM speakers, there seem to be so many similarities to the speech forms used elsewhere in Halmahera and its surrounding islands to the west

and north that we are probably justified in calling this dialect "North Moluccan Malay."

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APPENDIX — SAMPLE TEXTS

The three sample texts given below reflect the speech of people who speak NMM as a first language in Wasile District (Kao Bay), Halmahera Island. Texts are given in a three-line format. The first line gives the text word for word as recorded. The second line gives a translation of each word or construction beginning immediately below the word or construction translated. Punctuation is my own, and a period marks the sentence boundary. The third line begins immediately below the first word in each sentence and gives a running English translation of the entire sentence.

This short text, recorded at Kampung Loleba, Wasile District, recounts the story of a fight which occurred at Kampung Wasile between the narrator and his brother-in-law, and is told entirely in the NMM register. (I have changed the personal name to "Yunus".)

Waktu itu Yunus dia pulang
time that Yunus he return home
At that time, Yunus had come home after

minum. Jadi dia ka lao
drink. So he to sea (seaward)
drinking. He came home (seawards, i.e.,

turus tanya dia pe bini.
then, right away ask after his wife.
he had been drinking landwards) then he
asked about his wife.

Dia abis tanya itu dia turus
he finish ask that he right away
After asking that, he immediately got

mara, pokonya bafeto
get angry the point is babble out words
angry and, in short, started babbling

rupa-rupa. Skarang
in anger of many sorts. Now
out all kinds of angry things. At the

kita dng kita pe papa tong ada
I with my father we be in
time, both I and my father were lying down

tidor-tidor, tapi kita pe
the act of relax, lie down, but my
but my father was not asleep yet,

papa bolong sono, cuma kita sono.
father not yet asleep, only I asleep.
though I was asleep.

Papa dengar Yunus ini bafeto
Father hear Yunus this babble out
Dad heard Yunus just babbling out angrily,

talalu
words in anger too much (SI: terlalu)
more than should be allowed, so

lebe, Papa trus bangun
more (SI: lebih), Father then rise up
Dad got right up to

togór. Papa togór
admonish (SI: menegur). Father admonish
admonish him. Dad admonished

pa dia kong dia turus
to (SI: pada) him then he right away
him, and then he stopped being angry

berenti mara pa dia pe bini,
stop be angry to, at his wife,
with his wife and he

kong dia mara ulang
then (surprisingly) he be angry again
got angry with Dad instead!

pa papa. Kita ini ada
to, at Father. I this be in the
I was asleep,

tidor; kita dengar dong bari-
act of sleep; I hear they make
(but) I heard them making noise and

but kong kita bangun. Kita bangun
noise so I wake up. I wake up
woke up. When I woke

itu, Yunus so mara hebat,
that, Yunus already be angry extremely,
up, Yunus was already extremely angry,

kong kita tanya, "Biki apa ini?",
then I ask, "make what this,"
so I asked, "What's going on?"

Kong mama dia bilang biki apa,
then Mother she say make what,
Then Mom told me what was going on,

"Yunus dia mara pa dia pe
"Yunus he be angry to, at his
"Yunus was mad at his

bini kong ngoni pe papa togór
wife then your (pl.) father admonish
wife then your father admonished him

pa dia kong dia cuma bale
to him then he only turn around
so he just turned around and got

mara ulang pa ngoni pe
be angry again to, at your (pl.)
angry with your father."

papa disitu. Turus kita ka
father there. right away I to
So I went straight up

lao. Kita pegang pa Yunus.
sea (seaward). I grab, hold Yunus.
to (Yunus). I grabbed him.

Kita pegang pa dia kong dia turus
I grab him then he immediately
As I grabbed him he punched me, and I

tumbu pa kita dng kita juga mulai
punch me and I also start
started hitting too.

pukul. Suda, kita pukul satu kali
hit. Well, I hit (at) one time
Well, I tried to hit him once

sala pa dia, turus dia lagi
mistake at him, right away he also
but the punch didn't land right, then he

pukul. Dia pukul
hit he hit
tried to hit (me) right back. The first

pertama kali sala, dia ulang
first time mistake, he repeat
time he tried to hit (me) it didn't land

pukul lagi kə-dua kali sala juga.
hit again second time mistake also.
right; he tried hitting again a second

Kong kita
so I
time (but) it was off too. So I started

lagi mulai pukul so tarada
again start hit no longer have
hitting him back pitilessly.

ampung-ampung,
any pity.

Text 2

The second text, recorded at Wasile Village (Wasile District, Halmahera), recounts the story of the final stage of a marriage ceremony following Tobelo *adat* (custom), in which the family of the groom brings the new bride to her husband's house and "displays" her as villagers share in dancing and other festivities. In the case of Pongo's wedding, however, the family's failure to obtain a permit to hold a party in the village leads the resident *BABINSA* 'village management non-commissioned officer' (an SI acronym for *Bintara Pembina Desa*), who is the local army representative and law-enforcing officer, to punish the offenders in a novel way. The receipt of the bride (here also called *mohoka*, the Tobelo word for 'daughter-in-law' of the wife-receiving family) follows an agreement set at an earlier ceremony for the payment of bride-price and other wedding arrangements. The bride comes from Fayaul Village which, being north of Wasile on the coast, is 'downward' in the North Moluccan directional system. Wasile Village is organized into two kampungs; the Christian kampung is 'landward' of the Islamic kampung, where the *BABINSA*'s post is located. I have indicated by a double asterisk (**) in line 2 those words which seem to be drawn from the SI register.

Waktu itu Pongo kawin rame bukan
time that Pongo marry festive not
When Pongo got married there was no

sadiki. Mau tara
little. going to not
shortage of festivity. How could it

rame bagemana, Pongo pe orang tua
be festive how, Pongo's parents
not be festive, (when) both Pongo's parents

me sətujū, orang tua dari pərəmpuan
and agreed, parents of female
had agreed to the wedding, and the bride's

me mau. Jadi waktu
and be willing. so time
parents were also willing. That day fell

itu kanal Hari Ming-
that hit, occur on (SI: kena) Sunday.
on a Sunday.

gu. Pagi dorang Manado ini dorang
morning they Manado this they
That morning, Manado and the others

pigi di Fayaul, ambel pa itu
go to, at Fayaul, to get that
accompanying him went to Fayaul, to get

Pongo pe bini. Dorang ka bawa,
Pongo's wife. they to down(ward),
Pongo's wife. They went north,

sampe di Fayaul, langsung pigi
arrive at Fayaul, straightaway go
arrived at Fayaul, then went straight to

pa dorang Pongo pe nona pe ruma.
to they Pongo's girlfriend's house.
the house of Pongo's girlfriend and her

Dorang ka sana dudu sakiki,
they to there sit little,
family. They went there, sat for a lit-

Manado ini dia turus bicara,
Manado this he straightaway speak,
tle while, then Manado spoke up, (saying)

"Torang datang ini ada punya maksud
"we come this have purpose
"We have come here (because) we have a bit

sadiki. Torang punya maksud ini
little. our purpose here
of a purpose. Everyone probably already

kira-kira səmuə orang so tau,
probably all people already know,
knows our purpose in coming here, that

bahwa torang datang ini mau ambel pa
that** we come this want take
we come here wishing to pick up Pongo's

Pongo pe bini, dan tida ada punya
Pongo's wife, and not** have
wife, and there should not be much

komintar banyak karna səsui
commentary much because in accord-
discussion (about this) because (it is)

dengan keputusan yang
ance** with decision** which
in accordance with the decision that was

tələ bərlaku pada waktu-waktu
already** in effect** at times
in effect some time ago."

yang lalu,"
past."

Dorang jawab, "Bagini, skarang
they respond, "like this, now
They answered, "It's like this, you

bole kamu bawa kamu punya
may you (pl.)** take your (pl.)**
may now take your daughter-in-law

mohoka tapi ngoni musti
daughter-in-law but you (pl.) must
but you must (first) put down your money,

taru wang sebanyak səratus lima
put money in the sum of** one hundred
a total of one hundred fifty thousand

pulu ribu rupia baru bisa bawa,
fifty thousand rupiah before can take,
rupiah, before you can take her, because

karna sesuai keputusan
because in accordance with** decision**
(that is) in accordance with the decision

yang tələ bərlaku," Manado,
which already** in effect**. Manado,
which is in effect." Manado,

disitu turus Manado ini, dia
there right away Manado this, he
right then and there, reached into his

lolo di popoji kong ambil
reach inside in pocket then get
pocket and took out one hundred fifty

wang səratus lima pulu ribu rupia,
money one hundred fifty thousand rupiah,
thousand rupiah,

dəng dia mulai taru suda. Dia
and he start put already. he
and just started putting it down! After

abis taru itu turus dorang
finish put that then they
he finished putting it all down, they

kase kaluar pa Pongo pe bini. Suda,
let go out Pongo's wife. Well,
let Pongo's wife come right out. Well,

kong mulai bawa ka atas di
then start take to up(ward) to
then they started taking her south to

Wasile. Dorang bawa ka atas di
Wasile. They take to up(ward) to
Wasile. They took her south to Wasile,

Wasile, pe malam itu dəng iko
Wasile, its night that and in addi-
(and) that night they put her on display.

teru suda. Dorang
tion (SI: ikut) display already. they
When

teru dorang pe mohoka itu
display their daughter-in-law that
they put their new daughter-in-law on

tara minta surat isin.
not request permit.
display they did not request a permit (to

Turus langsung
right away straightaway
have a party). They just went right

bikin pesta, baru tau
make party, furthermore (you) know
ahead and had a party (anyway) — and

orang Wasile kalu dorang dengar
people Wasile if they hear
you know how Wasile villagers are when

pesta, kendati so kawing me
party, even if already married even
they hear there's a party — even if

dorang pigi baronggeng.
they go dance the rongge(ng) dance
they're already married they still go

Skarang torang səməntara
now we in the process
dancing! Now, we were in the midst of

bapesta babinsa ini dia
of have a party BABINSA this he
our party when the BABINSA came to make

datang cek ana muda pe nama-nama.
come check youths' names.
note of the names of the youths present.

Turus dia pulang. Pe pagi
then he return home. its morning
Then he went back home. The next morning

nota dinas satu so ka
official letter** one already to
an official letter came to us (from the

dara panggel itu ana-ana muda
land(ward) call those youths
BABINSA's post in the Islamic village)

samua di kampung kresten.
all in village Christian.
calling all those youths in the Christian

Torang dapa itu surat
we get that letter
village. As soon as we got that letter

turus torang bakumpul kong
right away we come together then
we all got together and asked each other

bakutanya, torang ada sala
ask each other, we have mistake
what exactly we all did wrong.

apa ini sebenarnya. Baru
 what this exactly. In addition
 Furthermore,

dalam nota itu babinsa ada tulis
 in letter that BABINSA write
 in the letter the BABINSA had written,

bilang saterimanya nota dinas
 say upon receipt** official letter**
 "Upon receipt of this official letter all

ini supaya semua menghadap
 this** so that** all** appear before**
 of you will report to appear before me

saya di pos. Torang ka lao,
 me** at** post**. we to sea-
 at the Post." We went to (the

babinsa dia turus tanya
 (ward), BABINSA he then ask
 post), then the BABINSA asked each of

satu-satu, "Tadi malam sapa-
 each individually "last night who
 us, "Last night, which of you did not

sapa yang tara masong
 (which ones) who not participate
 participate in the party?"

pesta?" Tiada satu yang tara
 party?" not have one who not
 There was not one (of us)

maso, semua baronggeng abis.
 participate, all dance without
 who did not participate, everyone had

exception. "Jangan
 danced without exception. "Don't deny

manyangkal ini ada nama-nama,
 deny it here have names
 it, (I) have (your) names here, (the

orang-orang yang barongge tadi malam.
 people who dance last night.
 names of) the people who danced last night.

Bagus! Ngoni bikin pesta
 Very well! you (pl.) make party
 Very well! You all had a party without

tarada surat isin. Jadi skarang
 not have permit. so now
 a permit. So now you will

ngoni dapa hukuman: pigi ambel
 you (pl.) get punishment: go get
 get your punishment: go get your musical

ngoni pe musik, bawa
 your (pl.) musical instruments bring
 instruments and bring them here.

ka lau. Kong bakuti
 to sea(ward). then play (music)
 Then play them here;

disini, lain bakuti lain baronggeng.
 here, some play some dance.
 some of you play, others dance.

Sapa tara baronggeng bilang pa kita."
 who not dance say to me.
 Tell me if anyone doesn't dance."

Terpaksa semua baronggeng barang
 perforce all dance because
 We all had to dance because we were

tako.
 be afraid.
 afraid (of him).

Text 3

This third text, recorded at Kampung
 Pediwang (Kao District, Halmahera) de-
 scribes a situation arising from the sale
 of copra to two Chinese traders (here re-
 named simply "A" and "B") in the narrator's
 home village in Wasile District (Kao Bay),
 as villagers unite to bypass local traders
 and sell directly to warehouses in Tobelo
 City. Once again, the BABINSA ('village
 management non-commissioned officer') is
 referred to, here pronounced *babingsa*.
 Copra is the main cash crop of the North
 Moluccas, and semi-monopolies on its trade
 rest on the previous extension of credit
 by traders.

Skarang di kampong hampir so
 now at village almost already
 There are now only a few people left

kurang orang jual kopra pa (A)
 few people sell copra to (A)
 in (my) village who still sell copra to

deng (B), soalnya dorang bili
 and (B), the problem is they buy
 (A) and (B); the problem is that they buy

kopra so talalu di bawa. Dorang
 copra already too down, low. they
 copra at a price that is too low. They

bili kopra harga di bawa baru
 buy copra price down, low then
 buy (our) copra at a low price, then they

dorang pe barang-barang harga di atas.
 their goods price up, high.
 sell (us) their goods at a high price.

Itu yang orang kampong tara suka.
 that which people village not like.
 That is what the villagers don't like.

Me bagitu kong torang marasa
 and like that (!) we feel
 How can we feel content when things are

sənanɔŋ baɟimana? Coba, umpama
happy how? try for example
like that? For example, if

kita pe utang ampa ribu pa
I have debt four thousand to
I have a debt of four thousand rupiah

(A), lantas barang dua bulan
(A), then approximately two months
owed to A, then for around two months

bagitu bolong kasi maso
like that not yet put in (SI: memasukkan)
or so I still have not turned in any copra,

kopra, itu deng dia mulai cari-cari
copra that and he start look around
he will start seeking something to argue

səbab. Suda, dia
for reason (for argument). Well, he
about. Well, he

tunggu sala bae-bae kong satu
wait offence rather good so one
waits for some rather good offence, so

kali torang tasala sadiki,
time we accidentally wrong little
once we do anything slightly wrong, he'll

itu deng dia mulai mara.
bit, that and he start be angry.
get angry with us.

Dia abis mara itu dia, jangan
he finish be angry that, do not
After he has gotten angry like that,

sabarang pigi
haphazardly (SI: sembarangan) go
don't just think you can go right up

rabu-rabu mo baambe
hastily want to get for oneself
wanting to get (on credit) anything for

apa-apa, jangan harap lagi
anything, do not hope any longer
yourself; there's no hope he will give

bilang mo kase. Dia
say going to give. he
it to you (on credit) any longer. He

so tara kase bautang deng
no longer allow, give have credit and
no longer allows us to buy things on

dia mulai bikin rekening, kirim
he start make accounting, send
credit then he starts calculating our

pa torang, suru capat bayar itu
to us, order quickly pay those
accounts, and he sends them to us, telling

utang. Ini
debts. this
us to pay up the debts quickly. This

yang torang tara ingin.
which we not want.
is what we don't want.

Disitu turus kitorang di səblá
there then we on side
Then those of us on the north side

jembatan ka atas torang mulai
bridge to up(ward) we start
of the bridge started

bikin kapala angin.
do (here, act like) rambunctious person
acting mischievous.

Kong torang bikin
(lit.: wind head). so we make
We made a plan;

satu rəncana torang samua bakumpul
one plan we all come to-
we all got together and said to each

kong bakubilang bagini,
gether then say to each other like
other, "We'd all better not sell copra

"Lebe bae torang jangan jual
this, "better we not sell
here anymore, so we can sell it in

kopra disini lagi, supaya
copra here any longer, so that
Tobelo (instead).

torang bawa Tobelo. Kalau torang
we take Tobelo. if we
If we keep selling

jual disini turus, tara lama
sell here continually, not long
it here, we'll be in a bad way before

tong paya." Disitu turus
we in a bad way. there then
long." Then we started

torang mulai biking percobaan,
we start make, do try,
trying that; ten people went to sell

səpulu orang pigi jual di Tobelo.
ten people go sell at Tobelo.
(copra) in Tobelo.

Disitu turus yang lain ini karna
There then others here because
And now others, because they saw there

dorang lia talalu rame
they see too festive, active
was so much activity with us going

torang pigi turus, ahirnya
we go continually, finally
(to Tobelo) continually, have also

dorang juga so mulai baiko.
they also already start going along.
finally started going along with us.

Jadi skarang orang-orang kampung
so now people village
So while there are still people who do

memang masi jual kopra di kampung
truly still sell copra in village
sell copra within the village, they

tapi so kurang, dan so tara
but already less, and no longer
(sell) less now, and there are no longer

banya orang. Yang terbanyak cuma
many people. most only
many sellers. Most (villagers) just

jual di Tobelo.
sell in Tobelo.
sell in Tobelo.

Biar torang ada utang di
even if we have debts with
Even if we owe debts to (A) or (B),

(A) atau (B) tapi tetap torang pe
(A) or (B) yet still our
we still sell our copra in Tobelo.

kopra musti jual di Tobelo. Kalu
copra must sell in Tobelo. if
If

dorang lapor di babingsa kong
they report to BABINSA then
they report (our debts) to the BABINSA

babingsa dia panggil pa torang,
BABINSA he call us,
and the BABINSA calls us to report,

torang mənghadap. Kalu dia mo
we appear. if he want to
we appear before him. If he wants to

tahan tong pe kopra, torang tara
hold back our copra, we not
hold back our copra we disagree.

mau. Paling tinggi bikin surat
want. at the most make letter of
At the most, (we will) draw up

pəngakuan untuk bayar itu
acknowledgement to, for pay those
a letter of acknowledgement (promising to)

utang, tapi untuk mau tahan
debts, but as for hold back
pay those debts, but as for holding back

torang pe kopra jangan harap mo
our copra don't hope going to
our copra there is no way we are going to

mau. Apalagi
be willing. especially
be 'willing' (to allow that). Especially

kalau harga kopra di Tobelo kong
if price copra in Tobelo ---
if the price of copra in Tobelo is rather

bae-bae, itu dia biar dapa
rather good, that even if receive
high, in that case even if the BABINSA

mara dari babingsa tapi torang
anger from BABINSA yet we
gets mad at us we must (still) go to

musti pigi di Tobelo. Paling tinggi
must go to Tobelo. At the most
Tobelo (to sell our copra). At most, we

bale dari Tobelo baru bayar
return from Tobelo before pay
can pay our debts after we get back from

utang.
debts.
Tobelo.

* * *