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 (baha)sal Molayu paar 'marketplace Malay (language)', or as either bahasa sa-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 daerah (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 dī-, 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 in-
fluence from their extended contact with
Malay (relative to other non-AN languages
such as Modole or Tobelo), the Malay spo-
ken in the North Moluccas has acquired
lexical, morphological, and syntactic in-
tuences 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 Is-
land, 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 multi-
lingualism and linguistic complexity of the
area, and briefly considering NMM
phono-semantics, I will review the local lan-
guage influence on NMM deixis, then note
differences from SI in verb and noun af-
fications, pronouns, and selected other
topics. This preliminary discussion of
some differences between SI and NMM hope-
fully 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 em-
porium, and active trade encouraged the ear-
ly 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 en-
couraged the continued use of NMM as the
local interethnic lingua franca. Halmaha-
hera 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 plan-
tations such as the copra oenomening at
Akeselaka, from which many nearby towns
added to their populations. Many inhab-
tants of ethnically diverse villages
speak NMM as a first language in the home,
especially in cases of intermarriage
among ethnic groups.

Wasile (pronounced wasile') Village
(Wasile District, Halmahera), with a resi-
dent population of about 400 people in
1978, provides an example of such an eth-
ically and religiously integrated commu-
nity within an area generally populated
by Tobelo speakers. In April 1978 I sur-
veyed 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 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tbl</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>75.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mba</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tte</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorap</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tdr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adonara</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamedna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL household heads responding,
plus wives of married household
heads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>123</th>
<th>100.0%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ind: Indonesian</td>
<td>Tbl: Tobelo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tte: Ternate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Tobeloese 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 Tobelo and Indonesian 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neither spouse Tobelo</th>
<th>Ind: 10</th>
<th>Ind, Tdr: 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One spouse Tobelo:</td>
<td>Ind: 16</td>
<td>Ind, Tbl: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tbl: 7</td>
<td>Tbl, Pagu: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both spouses Tobelo:</td>
<td>Ind: 8</td>
<td>Ind, Tbl: 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tbl: 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Language Usually Used by Parents to their Children (per nuclear family):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neither parent Tobelo:</th>
<th>Ind: 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One parent Tobelo:</td>
<td>Ind: 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tbl: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents Tobelo:</td>
<td>Ind: 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tbl: 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Language Usually Used Among Full Siblings (per set of full siblings)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neither parent Tobelo:</th>
<th>Ind: 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One parent Tobelo:</td>
<td>Ind: 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tbl: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents Tobelo:</td>
<td>Ind: 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tbl: Tobelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tdr: Tidore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tte: Ternate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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, ng, f, s, sh, h, r, l, w, a), and one also hears NMM speakers produce the unvoiced velar fricative kʰ as in khau (alternatively hau) '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, a, o, u) and six diphthongs (au, ao, at, ae, oì, et) are clearly acceptable, although occasionally uì is heard (e.g. du't as an alternative to d'o't 'money'). Isolated cases require that we consider stress phonemic (e.g. kâ'dò 'gift', kâ'dò 'person with the skin disease kaskado'; jâmät 'Friday' jumât 'congregation'; bárát 'heavy' bârát '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.: bâjot 'tap and drink palm wine'; oet 'paint'; harap 'hope', mabôk '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'; hutân, utan (and also, because final nasals and ng also tend to vary), hutang and utan 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 tokh or to (from Dutch tooh) '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, mabôk 'drunk') have produced 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 affricates and SI final au with o in words of more than one syllable (SI sungat NMM sunge 'river', SI pandai NMM pande 'bright'; SI hiaju NMM hijio or tjo 'green'; SI pulau NMM pula '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 at cannot become e: tupa' 'flying phalanger', mulai or mulaing 'begin'; examples ending in au are more difficult to find although maranta '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 Galeha 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 preposition-al phrases in NMM using di 'at, to' and ko 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 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 dint 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 bakuatu 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. Of SI meng- occur in words like NMM malawan or malawan 'resist, argue'; manangrio or manangrio 'cry'; mandidi or mandidi 'boil', and manydeal or manydeal 'regret', where the man- or men- must be considered part of the verb base, as evidenced by the further affixation of pang- (cf. SI: pang-) in NMM pangmalawan 'one who usually resists, is contrary', pangmanangrio '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, a prefix cannot be said to be a "frozen," unproductive part of the verb base, as in NMM balabu 'ride at anchor' (cf. SI berlabu), NMM berentti 'stop' (cf. SI berkenti), or NMM bakalal '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 ambur 'shave', baakur '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: ambel, ambel, or ambel 'take', baambel, baambel, or baambel 'take for oneself'; boor or boor 'buy', babol or babol 'buy for oneself'; balls or balls 'get for oneself'; badapa or badapat 'get for oneself'; ball 'search for', bacak 'search 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 lita or lita 'see' (cf. SI lita 'see'), naga or naga 'stare', although this 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 rumpu 'work at cutting weeds'; tanam 'plant', batanam 'work at planting'; cuci 'wash', bacakut 'work at washing' (e.g., laundry) (N.B.: alternatively, in e.g., bacuoci 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 pecce 'mud', bapece 'be muddy'; air 'water', 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 pape capot for SI berepatu 'wear shoes', etc.), or use the word with the SI cognate ber- (e.g., SI bermaskus 'intend') which, whenever used in NMM, can be considered a foray into an SI register.

The prefix sa- 'one' is not used productively in NMM, although it is "frozen" in many expressions, where it is generally pronounced sa- (e.g., salama or salama 'while'), sapulu or sapuluh 'ten', etc.). The numeral satu 'one' is always used instead (e.g. NMM kalapa satu biit ju 'one coconut'; cf. SI see-bijji kalapa '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', akhinya '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 pangmanangla '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', bakuqpata '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', bakuqipi 'choose from among similar objects', e.g. dia bakuqipi 'takes good from bad' rice (e.g., in a winnowing basket); oari 'look for', bakuqauri 'look for among similar things', e.g. kita bakuqari itu kartas 'I looked for that paper (e.g., among many other papers and similar objects).' (Note: bakuqari may also be used with the other meaning of the bakuq- prefix, as in kitong bakuqari kong tara bakuqapa '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', bakuata 'come to an agreement', pukuq 'hit, bakupukui '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 fallo 'to ball', faloo-falo 'bailer', timba 'to draw (water) + air 'water', timba-timba air 'water bucket'; lokoo 'carry' + rumpu 'weeds, trash', lokoo-lokoo rumpu '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 panggel kong ngana kina kamarra 'Ear- lier 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 in- clusive)'. Any use of SI kita 'we (incl.) or kami 'we (excl.) clearly indicates that the speaker is switching to an SI
(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', ambohole 'aunt', etc.), or the SI kinship-derived titles tapak '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 dōng + title, e.g. dōng o m 'Uncle and those with you', dōng boha gumi 'Mr. Teacher and those with you'. This is a particular use of the third person plural pronoun (dōng) 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, dīa 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 dōng 'they (human)' (historically derived from dīa + orang 'people'). I have already referred above to an interesting use of these plural forms (either dorang or dōng) 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'; Dōng Habel bolong datang 'Habel and those accompanying him have not yet come' (cf. the same sentences in Tobelo using nāo followed by the name or title: nēnanga nāo Pongo mangta; nāo Habele yoboaahu). 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. Dōng Om pīgi mana? 'Where are you (Uncle and others with you) going?'

As noted above, SI pronominal suf-
fixes are not used in NMM, although -nya 'its' occurs as a "frozen" form in some words. Any productive use of such suf-
fixes must be considered a sign of switch-
ing 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 dīa punya 'his, her(s), its' may be shortened to
dīa 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 reg-
ister (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.
Voorspoedt (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 marked-
ness or "emphasis" is unknown. However,
it is interesting that the expressions
ini dīa 'this' (lit.: this it) and itu
dīa 'that' (lit.: that it) may also be
used like determiners following the noun
in NMM, as in: dīa so bīti teip itu dīa
'He already bought that tape recorder';
kīta tara makang inī dīa '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 tīdak, 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 tīdak 'no, not' would be
used, e.g.: tarada, kīta tara liā 'No, I
did not see (it)'; ngana so makang ka
tarada? 'Have you already eaten or not?'.
The form tīada '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 the NMM
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 ila kita pe tamang kong panggel 'I saw my friend then called (him)'; dia so rasu tapar kong dia pulang makang 'He already felt hunger 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 pti kong ngana malawan! 'I already said don't go and yet you argue!'; panas baginti kong ngana mo minum teh' (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 baari 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 pti, kita pe bint me tara ma 'Both I am not going, and my wife does not want (to go)'.

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

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APPENDIX — SAMPLE TEXTS

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

8 CONCLUSION

The three sample texts given below reflect the speech of people who speak NMM as a first language in Wagile 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.

21
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.

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

kita dong kita pe papa tong ada
I with my father we be in

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.
thought I was asleep.

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

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

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 go 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 dong 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
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 BABINSIA '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 BABINSIA'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.

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

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

kira-kira somua 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 sesuai commentary much because in accord-
discussion (about this) because (it is)

ance** with decision** which in accordance with the decision that was
"Telad brolaku pada waktu-waktu already** in effect** at times in effect some time ago."

yang lalu,"
past."

Dorang jawap, "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 sabanyaknya sŭrateus 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 sosuai kaputusan because in accordance with** decision** (that is) in accordance with the decision
yang telad brolaku," 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 popoj kong ambil reach inside in pocket then get pocket and took out one hundred fifty
wang sŭrateus lima pulu ribu rupia, money one hundred fifty thousand rupiah, thousand rupiah,
dong 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 domo tiko 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 iain, not request permit. display they did not request a permit (to
Turus langleung right away straightforward 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 you hear you know how Wasile villagers are when
pesta, kendati so hawing 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 somontara now we in the process dancing! Now, we were in the midst of
bapesta babina in 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.
ote of the names of the youths present.
Turu 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)
sama 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 sobonarnya. Baru
what this exactly. In addition
Furthermore,
dalam nota itu babinsa ada tulis
in letter that BABINSIA write
in the letter the BABINSIA had written,
bilang sentermiana nota dinas
say upon receipt** official letter**
"Upon receipt of this official letter all
ini supaya samaa 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), BABINSIA he then ask post), then the BABINSIA asked each of
satu-satu,
"Padi 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, samaa baronggeng abis.
participate, all dance without
who did not participate, everyone had

"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.
Terpakea samau 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) describes a situation arising from the sale of copra to two Chinese traders (here renamed 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 BABINSIA ('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
dang (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
buy 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
sowang bagimana? 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 rupliah

(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 dong dia mulai cari-cari
kopra that and he start look around
he will start seeking something to argue

sabab. Suda, dia for reason (for argument). Well, he
for reason (for argument). Well, he

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

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

itu dong dia mulai mara.
bet, that and he start be angry.
get angry with us.

Dia abis mara itu dia, jangan
After he has gotten angry like that,
Din abis mara itu dia, jangan
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 doong
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
debits. 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 sambil
there then we on side
Then those of us on the north side

jambatang 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 rencana torang sama bakumpul
one plan we all come to
we all got together and said to each

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

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

kopra disini lagi, supaya
kopra here any longer, so that
Tobelo (instead).
torang bawa Tobelo. Kalau torang
we take Tobelo. if we
If we keep selling

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

sopulu 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, abhiraya
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.

26
Jadi skarang orang-orang kampong 
so now people village
So while there are still people who do

memang masi jual kopra di kampong 
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 sama 
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 panggel pa torang, 
BABINSA he call us,
and the BABINSA calls us to report,

torang manghadap. 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

pengakuan 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
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.

* * *