

# A FIRST LOOK AT TIDORE PHONOLOGY

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The phonological system of Tidore, a language of the North Halmaheran Family of the West Papuan Phylum is described. The data and analysis presented represent the dialect spoken in the villages of Soa Sio and Gura Bunga on the island of Tidore in the province of Maluku, Indonesia. A description of the 19 consonants and five vowels is given along with syllable patterns. Attention is given to the process of consonant alternation with the addition of the N- prefix. Discussion is also given to the manner in which Tidore adapts borrowed words to fit its phonological system.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

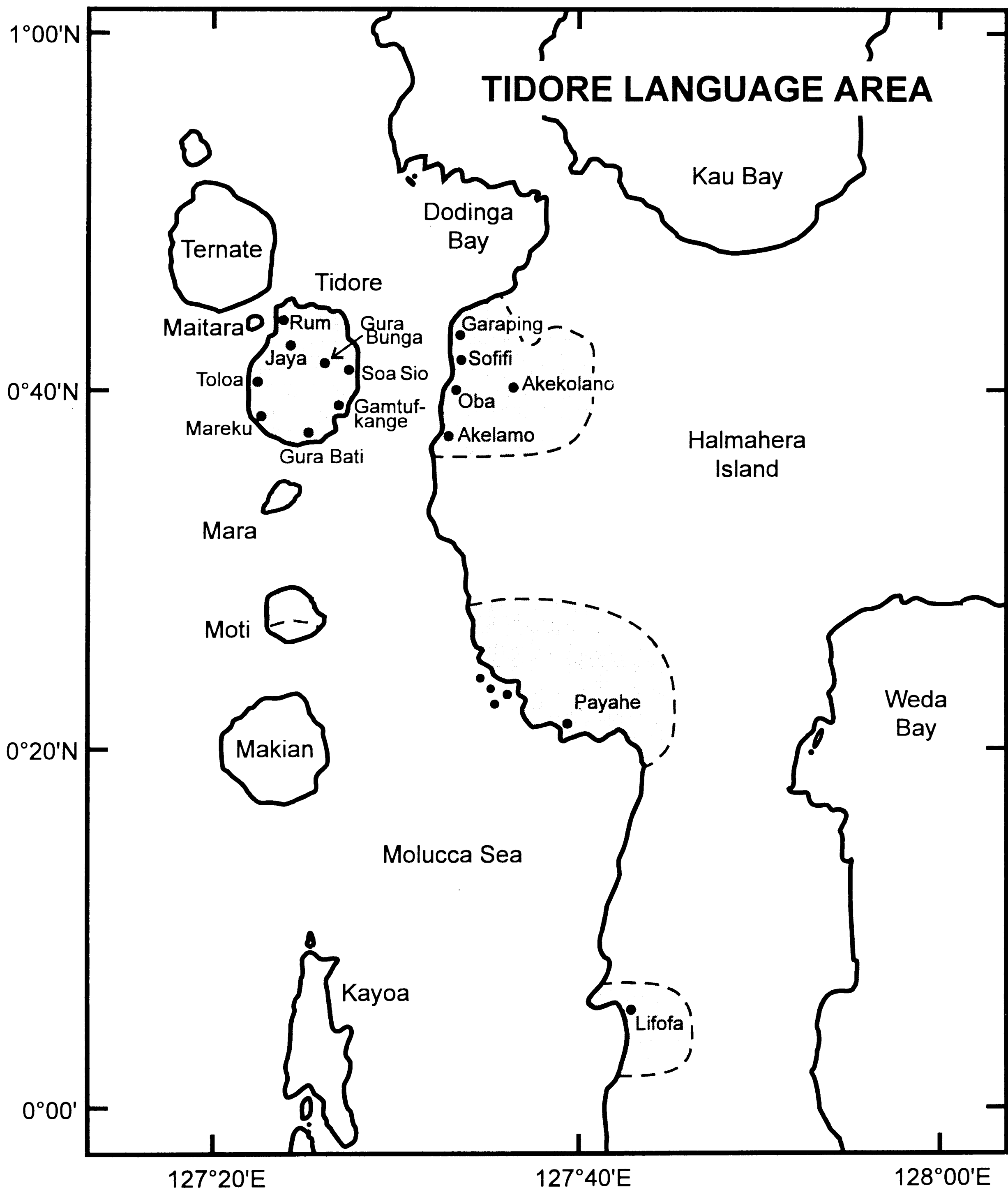
This article presents a brief first look at the phonology of the Tidore language and attempts to make some initial comparisons between Tidore and the related languages in Halmahera. Tidore is a North Halmaheran language of the West Papuan Phylum (Voorhoeve 1984). The North Halmaheran Family, which consists of ten languages indigenously spoken on the northern peninsula of Halmahera, includes the distinct features of masculine-feminine gender distinction both in the third person singular pronouns, and in verb agreement markers. These languages are: West Makian, Ternate, Tidore, Sahu, Tabaru, Loloda, Galela, Tobelo, Pagu, and Modole and are shown on Map 2 (page xii). Tidore is spoken on the islands of Tidore, Maitara, Mara, and the northern half of Moti, and coastal regions of western Halmahera, as shown by Map 4 (page 44). On Tidore there are two dialects, one encompassing the Soa Sio region, and one the Mareku region. The only difference in the two dialects is the occasional change in vowel choice, or the addition of a front high vowel word finally. The dialects are mutually intelligible.

Research on this paper was done on the island of Tidore in the villages of Gura Bunga, Gamtufkange and Soa Sio<sup>1</sup>. The Soa Sio dialect spoken in the before mentioned villages was the main source of data. The data was gathered from July-December 1993 and March-April 1994.

## 2. THE NORTH HALMAHERAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

Up until now there has been an almost complete lack of study and research regarding the Tidore language. To the authors' knowledge, this is the first study of Tidore phonology, with the exception of an informal paper researched by *Proyek Penelitian Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia Dan Daerah Maluku* (Lilipaly et. al. 1981/82), and a cursory glance by Voorhoeve (1982:37-45) in his attempt to compare Tidore with West Makian. In past research of North Halmaheran languages, Tidore has been placed in a subfamily within the North Halmaheran Stock separated from West Makian (Grimes 1984:31). This grouping shown in Figure 1, comes not from an analysis of shared innovations and retentions, but rather from a more simplistic comparison of lexical items.

Voorhoeve had also initially posited this grouping using quantitative evidence (based on lexical similarity), but upon closer examination of West Makian, Ternate and Tidore, he came up with a different classification which places these languages in a subfamily of their own. Voorhoeve divides the North Halmaheran Stock into two families, classifying West Makian, Ternate, Tidore and possibly Sahu as part of the Southern Subfamily, and classifying all remaining languages within the Northern Subfamily (Voorhoeve 1982:38,39).



Map 4. Tidore language area, spoken primarily on the island of Tidore, and also on adjacent islands and neighboring regions of the west Halmaheran coast.

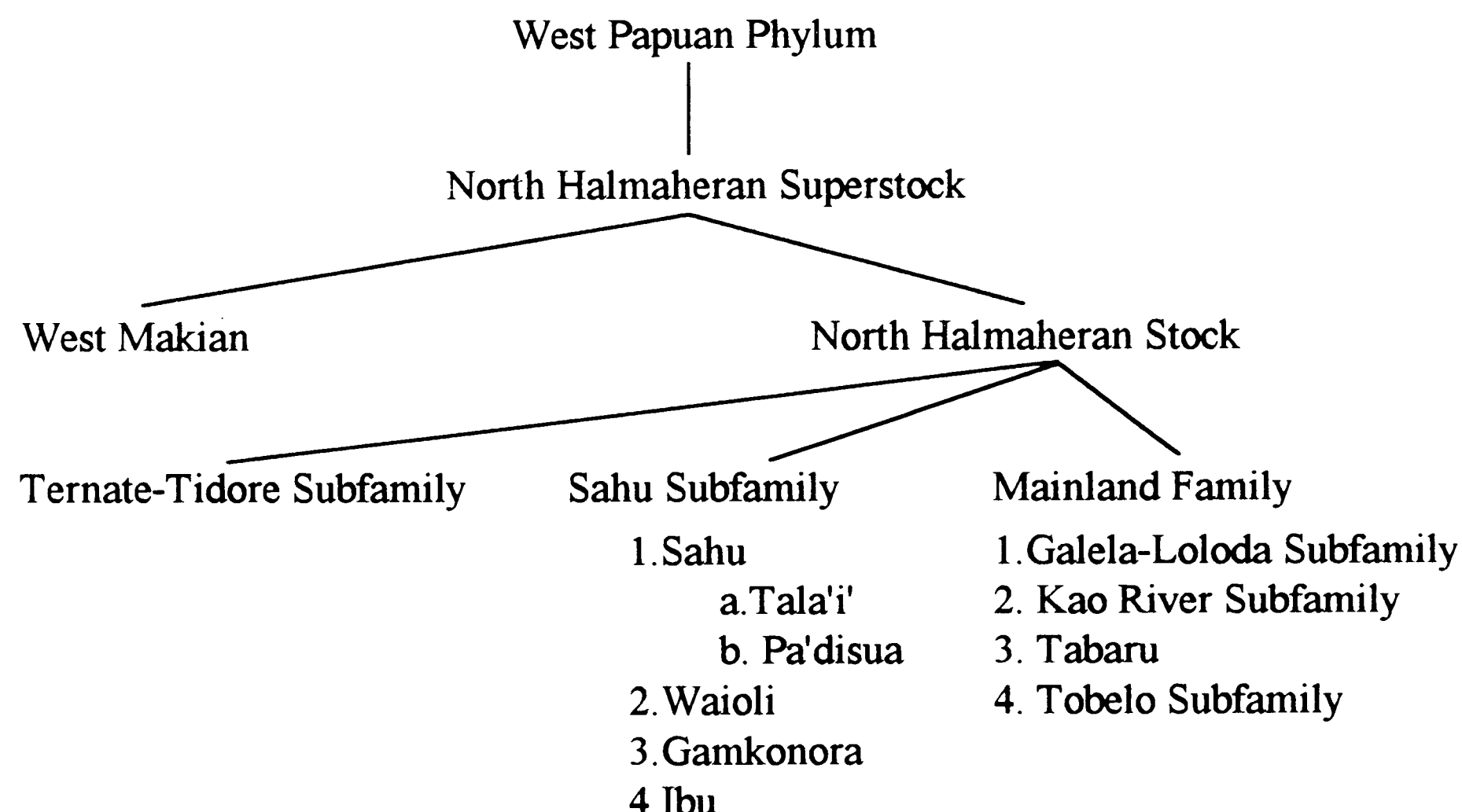


Figure 1. Grimes' Lexico-statistic grouping of the North Halmaheran Family.  
(Grimes 1984:42)

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There are also arguments placing both Ternate and Tidore in a separate sub-group of the Southern subfamily, apart from West Makian and other mainland languages. Quantitatively, Ternate and Tidore show a 75% shared lexical similarity with only a 50% similarity with its next language relative, Sahu (Grimes 1984:25). It is also interesting to note that Tidore and Ternate do not have some of the features of the Northern Subfamily: (1) West Makian (Voorhoeve 1982:12), Tidore and Ternate generally place the noun object after the verb. (2) Tidore and Ternate do not have the object markers on the verb which is a unifying feature of other North Halmaheran languages. (3) Tidore has prepositions as well as postpositions which is in contrast with neighboring languages. (4) Voorhoeve gives a lengthy discussion of several phonological evidences shared by West Makian, Tidore and Ternate (Voorhoeve 1982:38). His arguments include the following:

- a. The loss of initial [k] in the word for *skin*: West Makian **fi**, Tidore, Ternate **ahi**, but Galela **kahi**, Modole **'ai**, and all others except Sahu **kai**.
- b. [t]+[u] where other languages have [d]+[i], for example in the word for *sky*: West Makian **tupam**; Tidore, Ternate **tufa**; **dipa**, **diwanga**, **dihanga**, **diwama** in other languages.
- c. The presence of an initial alveopalatal nasal in the word *fish*: West Makian **yao** (from **nyao**), Ternate, Tidore **nyao**; Sahu **nyao'o**; all other languages have initial [n]: **nao**, **naoko**, **nao'o**. (Voorhoeve, 1982: 38).

Finally, Tidore and Ternate have a very distinctive feature not found elsewhere - that of a 1st person pronoun which differentiates between masculine and feminine speakers. The following is a brief example from Tidore:

- (1)            **Fajaru**    **totagi**    **toma**    **gam.**  
                  1sg.f.    go        to        village.  
                  *I (feminine) go to the village.*

- (2)           **Fangare**       **toloya**       **dedo-dedo.**  
                   1sg.m.       run           quickly.  
                   *I (masculine) run quickly.*

Thus, based on the phonological and grammatical evidences listed above, it seems most likely that Tidore is grouped together with Ternate as a subgroup of the Southern Subfamily, following Voorhoeve's proposed classification as shown in Figure 2.

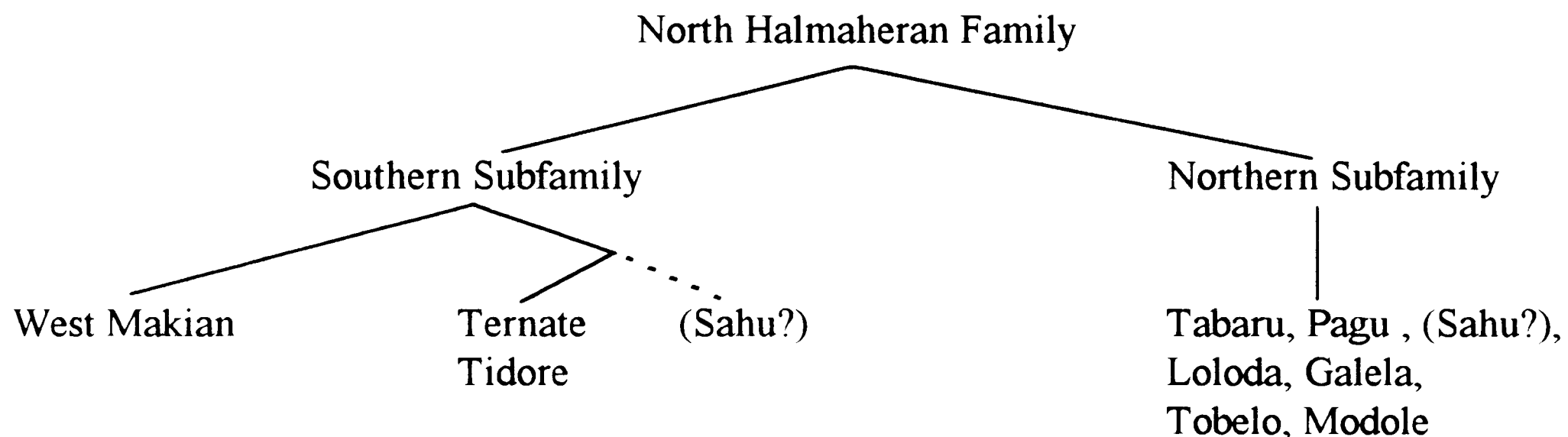


Figure 2. Voorhoeve's classification of the North Halmaheran Language Family.  
 (Voorhoeve 1982:39)

### 3. PHONOLOGY

#### 3.1 Word Stress

Word stress is on the penultimate syllable of multisyllabic roots.<sup>2</sup> This is much the same as Galela (Shelden 1989), but different from Loloda and Tobelo (van Baarda 1904:356-9) and Tabaru, where stress can occur on the antepenultimate or penultimate syllable depending on affixation (Kotynski 1988:156). This is also much different than Sahu, where the stress is phonemic (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987:19). Tidore stress is as follows:

- |     |               |           |             |
|-----|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| (3) | <b>ane</b>    | [ʼane]    | ‘forehead’  |
|     | <b>gumi</b>   | [ʼgumi]   | ‘moustache’ |
|     | <b>dofolo</b> | [doʼfɔlo] | ‘head’      |

There are several words in Tidore which at first glance sound as if they have ultimate stress, but when listened to in slow speech the last vowel appears to be lengthened (see discussion on geminate vowels, Sec. 3.2.7). These geminate vowels, however, were not used in the Tidore orthography since the people themselves felt uncomfortable writing them. Instead, an accent mark was chosen when it was proved to be phonemic. The following examples show how geminate vowels affect stress:

- |     |              |           |           |
|-----|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| (4) | <b>karé</b>  | [kaʼree]  | ‘here’    |
|     | <b>katá</b>  | [kaʼtaa]  | ‘there’   |
|     | <b>mafú</b>  | [maʼfuu]  | ‘to sell’ |
|     | <b>halí</b>  | [haʼlii]  | ‘family’  |
|     | <b>kombó</b> | [komʼboo] | ‘little’  |

### 3.2 Phonemes

#### 3.2.1 Consonant Inventory

Tidore has a total of 19 consonants including eight stops, three fricatives, four nasals, one lateral, one vibrant, and two semivowels. These are listed in the table below.

Table 1. Tidore Consonants.

	<u>labial</u>	<u>alveolar</u>	<u>alveopalatal</u>	<u>back</u>
	p	t	c	k
voiced stops	b	d	j	g
fricative	f	s		h
nasal	m	n	ny	ng
laterals		l		
vibrant			r	
semivowels	w			y

Phonetically Tidore has a glottal stop, but this is not phonemic, so it will not be written in any further discussion of Tidore. When the glottal stop is used, it is found word initially before vowels, and word finally after vowels. This is different than in Sahu where the glottal stop is phonemic (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987:12-16). Some examples of the phonetic occurrence of the glottal stop are shown below:

(5)	['ʔuku]	‘fire’
	['ʔing]	‘tooth’
	['neneʔ]	‘grandmother’
	['teteʔ]	‘grandfather’

#### 3.2.2 Consonant Description

All stops (p,b,t,d,c,j,k,and g) occur in syllable initial position and word medial position, but not in word final position. Examples of each are presented below:

/p/	[p] voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop				
	(6)	<b>peka</b>	‘to fall’	<b>bapo</b>	‘cutting board’
		<b>pane</b>	‘to drive’	<b>pipi</b>	‘money’
/b/	[b] voiced bilabial stop				
	(7)	<b>bao</b>	‘current’	<b>kabi</b>	‘goat’
		<b>baso</b>	‘to hear’	<b>tubu</b>	‘peak’
/t/	[t] voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop				
	(8)	<b>tamao</b>	‘ax’	<b>otu</b>	‘to sleep’
		<b>tagi</b>	‘to walk’	<b>foturu</b>	‘strong’

/d/	[d] voiced alveolar stop			
	(9)	<b>dahe</b> <b>dulu</b>	‘true’ ‘back’	<b>kadu</b> <b>moda</b> ‘sack’ ‘mouth’
/c/	[c] voiceless alveopalatal stop			
	(10)	<b>cici</b> <b>cako</b>	‘knife’ ‘time, hour, hit’	<b>guraci</b> <b>yaci</b> ‘gold’ ‘to rip’
/j/	[j] voiced alveopalatal stop			
	(11)	<b>jiko</b> <b>jang</b>	‘curve’ ‘good’	<b>faja</b> <b>moju</b> ‘dirty’ ‘still’
/k/	[k] voiceless unaspirated velar stop			
	(12)	<b>kamo</b> <b>kabi</b>	‘white clouds’ ‘goat’	<b>aki</b> <b>ake</b> ‘tongue’ ‘water’
/g/	[g] voiced velar stop			
	(13)	<b>gosi</b> <b>gia</b>	‘egg’ ‘arm, hand’	<b>dagilom</b> <b>tagi</b> ‘friend’ ‘to walk’

Fricatives occur word initial and word medially. There are labial, alveolar and glottal fricatives, all of them voiceless.

/f/	[f] voiceless labio-dental fricative			
	(14)	<b>foturu</b> <b>faja</b>	‘strong’ ‘dirty’	<b>difutu</b> <b>toforo</b> ‘tomorrow’ ‘nervous’
/s/	[s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.			
	(15)	<b>sahu</b> <b>soro</b>	‘hot’ ‘fly’	<b>simo</b> <b>gosa</b> ‘old person’ ‘to carry’
/h/	[h] voiceless glottal fricative			
	(16)	<b>hai</b> <b>hula</b>	‘tired’ ‘sago’	<b>lahi</b> <b>yohu</b> ‘to ask’ ‘foot, lower leg’

There are four voiced nasals: bilabial, alveolar, alveopalatal and velar. All nasals with the exception of /ny/ can occur word finally.

/m/	[m] voiced bilabial nasal			
	(17)	<b>mega</b> <b>mom</b>	‘what’ ‘wake up’	<b>coma</b> <b>sema</b> ‘add’ ‘to be’

/n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal

(18)	<b>nau</b>	‘boy’	<b>kornono</b>	‘dark’
	<b>nigo</b>	‘yesterday’	<b>madin</b>	‘to sew’

/ny/ [ny] voiced alveopalatal nasal

(19)	<b>nyao</b>	‘fish’	<b>kanyafo</b>	‘to swim’
	<b>nyabo</b>	‘wound’	<b>nyiha</b>	‘peanut’

/ng/ [ng] voiced velar nasal

(20)	<b>ngofa</b>	‘child’	<b>fangare</b>	‘1 pers. sg. masc.’
	<b>ngunu</b>	‘nose’	<b>ngong</b>	‘cracked’

There are two voiced liquids: an alveolar lateral and an alveopalatal flap.

/l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral

(21)	<b>lao</b>	‘eye’	<b>ngolo</b>	‘sea’
	<b>lamo</b>	‘large’	<b>jolojo</b>	‘Adam’s apple’

/r/ [r] voiced alveopalatal flap

(22)	<b>roka</b>	‘to pass’	<b>ora</b>	‘moon’
	<b>ronga</b>	‘name’	<b>karo</b>	‘to call’

There are two semivowels: one voiced labiovelar and one voiced palatal.

/w/ [w] voiced rounded labiovelar semivowel

(23)	<b>waro</b>	‘to understand’	<b>dowongi</b>	‘beach’
	<b>wange</b>	‘sun, day’	<b>hawa</b>	‘angry’

/y/ [y] voiced unrounded palatal semivowel

(24)	<b>yam</b>	‘to question’	<b>loya</b>	‘to run’
	<b>yali</b>	‘still, again’	<b>uyu</b>	‘sand’

### 3.2.3 Consonant Contrast

p/b contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially

(25)	<b>bosa</b>	‘rain’	<b>bopo</b>	‘stump’
	<b>posa</b>	‘before’	<b>dobo-dobo</b>	‘pool’

t/d	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(26)	<b>tofa</b> <b>dofa</b>	‘to poke’ ‘pole’	<b>hotu</b> <b>hodulu</b>	‘hair’ ‘to touch’
k/g	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(27)	<b>gam</b> <b>kam</b>	‘village’ ‘water container’	<b>sago</b> <b>sako</b>	‘to split’ ‘neck’
p/f	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(28)	<b>fola</b> <b>posa</b>	‘house’ ‘before’	<b>bofo</b> <b>bopo</b>	‘leftovers’ ‘stump’
b/m	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(29)	<b>bulo</b> <b>mula</b>	‘white’ ‘morning’	<b>seba</b> <b>sema</b>	‘near’ ‘to be’
b/w	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(30)	<b>banga</b> <b>wange</b>	‘tall grass, forest’ ‘day’	<b>sowohi</b> <b>soboi</b>	‘shaman (chief)’ ‘to put’
m/w	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(31)	<b>moju</b> <b>wotu</b>	‘still’ ‘navel’	<b>sowayo</b> <b>toma</b>	‘to crumble’ ‘towards’
t/s	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(32)	<b>subu</b> <b>tubu</b>	‘wick’ ‘peak’	<b>bato</b> <b>kaso</b>	‘just’ ‘dog’
s/h	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(33)	<b>haki</b> <b>saki</b>	‘to peel’ ‘tasty’	<b>gahi</b> <b>gasi</b>	‘to make’ ‘salt’
d/n	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(34)	<b>dagilom</b> <b>nage</b>	‘friend’ ‘who’	<b>moda</b> <b>ona</b>	‘mouth’ ‘3 pers. pl.’
d/l	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(35)	<b>due</b> <b>lua-lua</b>	‘to own’ ‘wave’	<b>fola</b> <b>moda</b>	‘house’ ‘mouth’



n/l	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(36)	<b>lao</b> <b>nao-nao</b>	‘eye’ ‘recognize’	<b>fola</b> <b>ona</b>	‘house’ ‘3 pers. pl.’
k/ng	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(37)	<b>kora</b> <b>ngora</b>	‘to lie’ ‘door’	<b>paka</b> <b>banga</b>	‘to walk, climb’ ‘tall grass, forest’
k/w	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(38)	<b>karo</b> <b>waro</b>	‘call’ ‘to understand’	<b>koko</b> <b>sowohi</b>	‘stand’ ‘shaman (chief)’
ng/w	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(39)	<b>ngong</b> <b>wonge</b>	‘cracked’ ‘to count’	<b>ngowora</b> <b>pongo</b>	‘python’ ‘tree roots’
n/ng	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(40)	<b>nau</b> <b>ngau</b>	‘boy’ ‘ear’	<b>ngona</b> <b>ronga</b>	‘2 pers. sing.’ ‘name’
m/n	contrast both syllable initially and syllable finally				
	(41)	<b>monge</b> <b>nong</b>	‘tasty’ ‘charcoal’	<b>ngom</b> <b>ngon</b>	‘1 pers. pl. excl.’ ‘2 pers. pl.’
n/ny	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(42)	<b>nao-nao</b> <b>nyao</b>	‘to recognize’ ‘fish’	<b>panaka</b> <b>kanyafo</b>	‘to lie face down’ ‘to swim’
ny/ng	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(43)	<b>nyao</b> <b>ngau</b>	‘fish’ ‘ear’	<b>kanyafo</b> <b>fangare</b>	‘to swim’ ‘1 pers. sg. masc.’
y/ny	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(44)	<b>yale</b> <b>nyale</b>	‘lick’ ‘snack’	<b>saya</b> <b>kanyafo</b>	‘flower’ ‘to swim’
l/r	contrast both syllable initially and syllable medially				
	(45)	<b>laha</b> <b>raha</b>	‘good’ ‘four’	<b>fola</b> <b>ora</b>	‘house’ ‘moon’

3.24 Vowel Inventory

Tidore has five underlying vowels which is much in keeping with the other North Halmaheran languages. A simple table is presented below.

Table 2. Tidore Vowels.

	<u>front</u>	<u>central</u>	<u>back</u>
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

3.25 Vowel Description

The front vowels /i/ and /e/ occur in stressed and unstressed syllables and in open and closed syllables.

/i/	[i] high tense front unrounded vowel				
	(46)	'wati	'comb'	so'ninga	'to remember'
		'simo	'old person'	'madin	'to sew'
/e/	[e] mid tense front unrounded vowel				
	(47)	'ende	'this'	'sedu	'funny'
		'sema	'to be'	'lae	'thread'

The central vowel /a/ occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables, and in open and closed syllables.

/a/	[a] low lax mid unrounded vowel			
(48)	ngam	‘food’	ha'wa	‘angry’
	ma'hoga	‘to shower’	'soha	‘hungry’

The back vowels /u/ and /o/ occur in stressed and unstressed syllables and in open and closed syllables.

/u/	[u] high tense back rounded vowel				
	(49)	<b>dum-dum</b>	‘bathroom’	<b>'tua</b>	‘bed’
		<b>gu'raci</b>	‘gold’	<b>'uyu</b>	‘sand’
/o/	[o] mid tense back rounded vowel				
	(50)	<b>ngom</b>	‘1 pers pl. excl’	<b>'nyao</b>	‘fish’
		<b>si'garo</b>	‘to leave’	<b>dagi'lom</b>	‘friend’

3.26 Vowel Contrasts

e/i	contrast in both the ultimate and penultimate open syllable				
(51)	<b>ake</b>	‘water’	<b>peti</b>	‘box’	
	<b>aki</b>	‘tongue’	<b>pita</b>	‘ribbon’	

o/u contrast in both the ultimate and penultimate open syllable

(52)	<b>otu</b>	‘to sleep’	<b>oro</b>	‘to take’
	<b>uto</b>	‘to plant’	<b>yuru</b>	‘to drink’

a/e contrast in both the ultimate and penultimate open syllable

(53)	<b>fato</b>	‘to arrange’	<b>woha</b>	‘wide’
	<b>feto</b>	‘to gossip’	<b>wohe</b>	‘to dry’

### 3.2.7 Vowel Sequences

Vowel sequences in Tidore are not uncommon, and occur most frequently in the word-final position, although they do occur in both word-initial and word-medial positions. Although a phonetic inventory of Tidore reveals the presence of diphthongs and lengthened vowels, these are best analyzed phonemically as consisting of separate VV sequences, with each vowel representing a nuclear vowel.

One of the reasons for analyzing the ambiguous VV sequences and all lengthened vowels as two phonemic vowel segments is that, with the exception of /ie/, /iu/, /eo/, /eu/, all vowels can occur in a VV sequence:

(54)	iV	<b>buria</b> <b>halí</b> <b>fio</b>	[bu'ria] [ha'lii] [fio]	‘baby-sitter’ ‘family’ ‘when’
(55)	eV	<b>tabea</b> <b>karé</b> <b>gelei</b>	[ta'bea] [ka'ree] [ge'lei]	‘excuse me’ ‘here’ ‘little finger’
(56)	aV	<b>katá</b> <b>lae</b> <b>rasai</b> <b>tamao</b> <b>yau</b>	[ka'taa] [lae] [ra'sai] [ta'mao] [yau]	‘there’ ‘thread’ ‘pretty’ ‘ax’ ‘to fish with a line’
(57)	uV	<b>ua</b> <b>bue-bue</b> <b>tui</b> <b>fuo</b> <b>mafú</b>	[ua] [bue-'bue] [tui] [fuo] [ma'fuu]	‘no, not’ ‘swing’ ‘bamboo’ ‘green bean’ ‘to sell’
(58)	oV	<b>toa</b> <b>oe</b> <b>rimoi</b> <b>kombó</b> <b>cou</b>	[toa] [oe] [ri'moi] [kom'boo] [cou]	‘to give’ ‘yes’ ‘one’ ‘little’ ‘tribute’

The second reason for regarding vowel sequences as two separate phonemic segments is that this analysis is compatible with the generalized stress rule, which, as pointed out previously, states that stress normally falls

on the penultimate syllable. If sequences were treated as monosyllabic diphthongs, each instance would produce an exception to an otherwise highly regular penultimate stress rule.

The third reason for analyzing VV sequences as separate segments is that such sequences often occur in word-final position. This would mean that if the /i/ or /u/ were considered to be the semivowels /y/ or /w/, the result would be a consonant in the word-final position. Such a pattern would be very inconsistent with Tidore phonology, which has no word-final consonants with the exception of nasals and those found in borrowed words (see Section 4).

Finally, one may be tempted to posit the hypothesis that ambiguous VV sequences ending in /i/ and /u/ should be viewed either as diphthongs or as vowel-semivowel combinations ending in /y/ and /w/. This hypothesis however would be unacceptable, since the ambiguous segments which need to be considered are not just limited to Vi and Vu. Instead, we see /ae/ and /ao/ sequences as well, which pattern in the same way as Vi and Vu. Since all the VV examples below are spoken with the same timing by native speakers, it would be undesirable to consider some of the examples as diphthongs, while considering others VV combinations.

(59)	<b>gelei</b>	[ge'lei]	'little finger'
	<b>jau</b>	['jau]	'to hold on'
	<b>dae</b>	[dae]	'weapon'
	<b>lao</b>	['lao]	'eye'

In the light of the above discussion, it seems best to interpret all VV sequences as separate vowels rather than as diphthongs or as semivowel sequences.

#### 4. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The basic syllable pattern in Tidore may be written as (C) V (C). The possible combinations from this basic pattern are as follows; V, CV, CVC. However, Tidore does not exhibit the VC syllable sequence. This is different from both Pagu (Wimbish 1991:11) and Galela (Shelden 1989:83) which have a VC syllable sequence, but similar to Sahu (Voorhoeve 1987:19) which does not. Thus Tidore syllable patterns are limited to V, CV, and CVC.

The V pattern can occur word initially or word finally

(60)	<b>ofu</b>	'bee'	V.CV
	<b>ea</b>	'sleepy'	V.V

The number of V syllables in succession is limited to two without an intervening C.

(61)	<b>ea</b>	'sleepy'	V.V
	<b>limau</b>	'city'	CV.CV.V

CV is the most common syllable formation.

(62)	<b>danata</b>	'to pickpocket'	CV.CV.CV
	<b>laga</b>	'to jump'	CV.CV

CVC combination also occurs frequently in both initial and final syllables.

(63)	<b>tufang</b>	'numb'	CV.CVC
	<b>honci</b>	'kerosene lamp'	CVC.CV

Of the consonants found in syllable-final position, the nasals are most common with the exception of /ny/. The following non-nasals have also been found, but very infrequently: /l/, /r/, and /d/. Below are some examples of consonants in the syllable-final position. All also occur in the CVC syllable structure.

(64)	<b>dalfuku</b>	‘knot’
	<b>kornono</b>	‘dark’
	<b>had</b>	‘week’
	<b>fang</b>	‘to pay’
	<b>gam</b>	‘village’
	<b>gan</b>	‘louse’

All consonant clusters occur across syllable boundaries and are rare. Only /ng/, /m/ and /n/ were found with any frequency in syllable-final monosyllabic words. There were only 10 words in 2500 that had syllable-final consonants other than nasals within consonant clusters, making these ten highly suspect; possibly they should be attributed to loan words or frozen forms of Proto-North Halmahera.

All consonants occur word initially and word medially in Tidore. However word-final consonants are limited to seven. Of these seven, /l/, /k/, /t/, and /s/ only occur in loan words or frozen forms of Proto-North Halmahera which included these forms (Wada 1980:508; Voorhoeve 1984:6), while /n/, /m/, /ng/ occur more generally in Tidore words. While Tidore has word-final nasals, Galela (Shelden 1989:82) and Sahu (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987:12,18) do not have any. There is comparative evidence that Proto-North Halmahera allowed all consonants except voiced stops in word-final position. In contrast to previous statements positing Tidore as a language with no word-final consonants (Shelden 1989:86; Voorhoeve 1982:41) Tidore does in fact allow three nasal consonants to occur word finally. Other than these three nasals, it appears that Tidore, like other North Halmaheran languages has dropped the word-final consonants (Wada 1980:508; Voorhoeve 1984:6). A few examples of word-final nasal consonants are as follows:

(65)	<b>nong</b>	‘charcoal’
	<b>mom</b>	‘to wake up’
	<b>dun</b>	‘daughter-in-law’

It should also be noted that although Tidore allows stems of up to five syllables, two-syllable stems are the most common.

## 5. MORPHOPHONEMICS

### 5.1 N- Prefix

The N- prefix which is consistently found in North Halmaheran languages (Kern 1891: 493-530) has also been found to be productive in Tidore. Although there remains many questions regarding the use of this prefix, it appears that in Tidore, the N- prefix can (1) derive nouns from verbs, and (2) change the transitivity of a verb. This is much in keeping with other North Halmaheran languages such as Galela (van Baarda 1908:18-29), Tabaru (Fortgens 1928:373-4, 401-4; Kotynski 1988:187), Tobelo (Hueting 1936:320-23), Sahu (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987:20-22), and Pagu (Wimbish 1991:30-32). When the N- prefix is added, it creates a number of phonological changes at morphophonemic boundaries (van der Veen 1915:105).

In Tidore, the surface form of the N- prefix is [g] which evidences itself when affixed to vowel initial roots.<sup>3</sup> This is quite similar with Pagu (Wimbish 1991:30-32) where in all but a very few cases, the N- prefix surfaces as a [g] on vowel-initial roots. Those that do not appear as a [g] in Pagu and Loloda (van Baarda 1904:344) appear as an [ng]. When a root begins with a voiceless consonant, the manner and point of articulation stay the same, but a voicing rule is added, much like Tabaru (Kotynski 1995:8). Since the surface form of the N- prefix in Tidore is g-, all subsequent references will follow that identification rather than N-. The phonological changes in Tidore at the boundaries of consonant-initial roots are shown in the table below:

Table 3. Root-initial changes with N-prefix.

k	→	g
t	→	d
h	→	ng
p, f	→	b
j	→	c

Several examples of the modification of the consonant-initial syllable roots that serve to derive nouns from verbs are shown in the following examples:

(66)	<b>talabutu</b>	‘to bargain’	→	<b>dalabutu</b>	‘sale items’
	<b>caga</b>	‘to branch out’	→	<b>jaga</b>	‘branch, stalk’
	<b>ciko</b>	‘to turn, bend’	→	<b>jiko</b>	‘a curve’
	<b>forero</b>	‘to order’	→	<b>borero</b>	‘an order’

Modification may be coupled with reduplication in which case the initial consonant is reduplicated along with the vowel /o/. The order of application is that modification comes first, with reduplication following. In this case, nouns are also derived from verbs as shown in the examples below.

(67)	<b>toa</b>	‘to give’	→	<b>dodoa</b>	‘gift’
	<b>tila</b>	‘to divide’	→	<b>dodila</b>	‘section, part’
	<b>uci</b>	‘to go down’	→	<b>goguci</b>	‘descendant’
	<b>togu</b>	‘to stop’	→	<b>dodogu</b>	‘the end’

When prefixes are applied to roots, the same phonological changes take place as shown in Table 3. The set of examples below show intransitive roots becoming transitive by adding the so- prefix. In this case, the modification process takes place first, with the affixation following.

(68)	<b>tagi</b>	‘to walk’	→	<b>sodagi</b>	‘to walk someone’
	<b>pane</b>	‘to ride’	→	<b>sobane</b>	‘to transport something’
	<b>fugo</b>	‘to go out’	→	<b>sobugo</b>	‘to throw away something’

The second set of examples show transitive roots receiving an increase in valency by adding the so-prefix.

(69)	<b>hotu</b>	‘to dry’	→	<b>songotu</b>	‘to dry something out’
	<b>ciko</b>	‘to bend, turn’	→	<b>sojiko</b>	‘to bend something’
	<b>toa</b>	‘to give’	→	<b>sodoa</b>	‘to hand over something’
	<b>kone</b>	‘to tie’	→	<b>sogone</b>	‘to tie something up’
	<b>togu</b>	‘to stop’	→	<b>sodogu</b>	‘to stop something’

## 5.2 Borrowings

Tidore restructures borrowed words to fit the phonological system. This is done by the simplification of consonant clusters as shown in the following examples of Tidore words borrowed from Indonesian and Dutch.

(70)	<b>campur</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>capu</b>	‘to mix’
	<b>knoop</b>	(Dutch)	→	<b>kenop</b>	‘button’
	<b>semangka</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>samaka</b>	‘melon’
	<b>jendela</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>janela</b>	‘window’
	<b>tanduk</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>tadu</b>	‘horn’
	<b>stopfles</b>	(Dutch)	→	<b>tafales</b>	‘glass jar’

In the case of other borrowed words ending in a consonant, Tidore restructures the syllable to fit the favored CV syllable pattern. This may mean dropping or adding a vowel after the final consonant to maintain a CV pattern. This is different than Galela which only adds a vowel (Shelden 1989:85). Some examples are as follows:

(71)	<b>cobek</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>cobe</b>	‘mortar’
	CV.CVC		→	CV.CV	
	<b>gunting</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>guti</b>	‘to cut’
	CVC.CVC		→	CV.CV	
	<b>layang-layang</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>lianga</b>	‘kite’
	CV.CVC-CV.CVC		→	CV.V.CV	
	<b>tas</b>	(Indonesian)	→	<b>tasi</b>	‘bag’
	CVC		→	CV.CV	

## 6. CONCLUSION

This paper presents an initial glance at the phonology of Tidore, a member of the North Halmaheran Family of the West Papuan Phylum. The data presented describes the consonant and vowel inventory, as well as word stress and syllable structures. A brief look was taken in terms of the N- prefix found in North Halmaheran languages, and how Tidore manifests this prefix in the surface form. Finally, word borrowings are analyzed to ascertain how Tidore phonology accommodates unfamiliar segment clusters.

In addition to any linguistic contribution aiding research in Halmaheran languages, it is hoped that this paper will contribute in a practical manner to the development of an orthography which is planned for the Tidore language by the *Kantor Wilayah Daerah Halmahera Tengah*. It will also assist future research in comparisons with other regional languages, including a precise description of Proto-North Halmahera. It is also hoped that this paper will assist the Indonesian government and the Tidore people in documenting one of the many important languages in the Indonesian archipelago.

## APPENDIX: INTERLINEARIZED TEXT <sup>4</sup>

### Line 01

<b>Toma</b>	<b>buku</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>you</b>	<b>sema</b>	<b>gam</b>	<b>rimoi</b>	<b>kagé</b>	<b>ahu</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>se</b>
toma	buku	ma	you	sema	gam	rimoi	kagé	ahu	nene	se
in	hill	GEN	top	there is	village	one	there	live	grandmother	and

<b>ma</b>	<b>dano</b>	<b>rimoi</b>	<b>ironga</b>	<b>Abdul.</b>
ma	dano	rimoi	i-ronga	Abdul
GEN	grandchild	one	3sm:P-name	Abdul

*In a mountain village lived a grandmother with her grandson named Abdul.*

### Line 02

<b>Wange</b>	<b>moi</b>	<b>wange</b>	<b>moi</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>mokerja</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>gura</b>	<b>maha</b>
wange	moi	wange	moi	nene	mo-kerja	toma	gura	maha
day	one	day	one	grandmother	3sf:S-work	in	garden	later

<b>Abdul</b>	<b>wotagi</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>sekolah.</b>
Abdul	wo-tag	toma	sekolah
Abdul	3sm:S-go	to	school

*Everyday the grandmother worked in the garden while Abdul went to school.*

### Line 03

<b>Sekolah</b>	<b>koliho</b>	<b>Abdul</b>	<b>wobiasa</b>	<b>madigali</b>
sekolah	koliho	Abdul	wo-biasa	ma-digali
school	return home	Abdul	3sm:S-usually	REFL-help

<b>inene</b>	<b>ngam</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>la</b>	<b>oyo</b>	<b>wange</b>	<b>konora.</b>
i-nene	ngam	bira	la	oyo	wange	konora
3sm:P-grandmother	food	rice	so that	eat	day	middle

*After school Abdul would help his mother cook rice for lunch.*

### Line 04

<b>Ona</b>	<b>yongam</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>kotu</b>	<b>rimoi</b>	<b>yang</b>	<b>ngowo</b>	<b>rai.</b>
ona	yo-ngam	bira	toma	boso	kotu	rimoi	yang	ngowo	rai
3p	3p:S-food	rice	in	pot	black	one	that	old	already

*They would cook the rice in an old black pot.*

### Line 05

<b>Boso</b>	<b>kotu</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>ngowo</b>	<b>rai</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>tapi</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>sabarang</b>
boso	kotu	ma	ngowo	rai	ena-gé	tapi	boso	sabarang
pot	black	GEN	old	already	3nh-DET	but	pot	no particular object

<b>ua</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ajaib.</b>
ua	ena-gé	boso	ajaib
NEG	3nh-DET	pot	magic

*The old black pot was not an ordinary pot, but a magic pot.*



Line 06

<b>Oras</b>	<b>ona</b>	<b>sogui</b>	<b>ake</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ena</b>	<b>ge</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>doya</b>
Oras	ona	so-gui	ake	toma	boso	ena	ge	ma	doya
time	3p	TR-fill	water	in	pot	3nh	DET	GEN	inside

<b>nene</b>	<b>mowaje,</b>
nene	mo-waje
grandmother	3sf:S-say

*When the grandmother poured water into the pot, she said,*

Line 07

<b>“E</b>	<b>soyuka</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>yuka</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>bira.”</b>
e	so-yuka	ma	boso	yuka	ma	bira
hey	TR-cook	GEN	pot	cook	GEN	rice

*“Hey, cook pot, cook the rice.”*

Line 08

<b>Oras</b>	<b>ena</b>	<b>ge</b>	<b>bato</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>yosahu</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>yopele</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>yoyoma</b>
Oras	ena	ge	bato	boso	ena-gé	yo-sahu	se	yo-pele	si	yo-yoma
time	3nh	DET	just	pot	3nh-DET	3p:S-hot	and	3p:S-boil	and	3p:S-full

<b>sema</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>sahu-sahu</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>nyoa</b>	<b>tubo-tubo.</b>
sema	bira	sahu-sahu	si	ma	nyoa	tubo-tubo
with	rice	hot-hot	and	GEN	steam	rise-RED

*Then the pot would get hot and boil and fill with steaming hot rice.*

Line 09

<b>“Laha</b>	<b>rai</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>boso,</b>	<b>gahi</b>	<b>yuka</b>	<b>refa,”</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>mowaje</b>
laha	rai	ma	boso	gahi	yuka	refa	nene	mo-waje
good	already	GEN	pot	make	cook	enough	grandmother	3sf:S-say

<b>waktu</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>yuka</b>	<b>rai.</b>
waktu	bira	ena-gé	yuka	rai
time	rice	3nh-DET	cook	already

*“That’s good enough pot, cook no more,” the grandmother would say when the rice was done.*

Line 10

<b>Abdul</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>ahu</b>	<b>sanang</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>gam</b>	<b>enagé.</b>
Abdul	se	nene	ahu	sanang	toma	gam	ena-gé
Abdul	and	grandmother	live	enjoy	in	village	3nh-DET

*Abdul and his grandmother enjoyed living in the village.*

Line 11

<b>Meski</b>	<b>ona</b>	<b>yokaya</b>	<b>ua,</b>	<b>mai</b>	<b>wange</b>	<b>moi</b>	<b>wange</b>	<b>moi</b>	<b>ona</b>	<b>yoooyo</b>
meski	ona	yo-kaya	ua	mai	wange	moi	wange	moi	ona	yo-oyo
although	3p	3p:S-wealthy	NEG	but	day	one	day	one	3p	3p:S-eat

<b>bira</b>	<b>saki-saki</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ajaib</b>	<b>enagé.</b>
bira	saki-saki	toma	boso	ajaib	ena-gé
rice	delicious-RDP	from	pot	magic	3nh-DET

*Although they were not wealthy, each day they ate delicious rice from the magic pot.*

Line 12

<b>Toma</b>	<b>wange</b>	<b>rimoi</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>musti</b>	<b>tagi</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>gam</b>	<b>regu.</b>
toma	wange	rimoi	nene	musti	tagi	toma	gam	regu
in	day	one	grandmother	has	to	go	to	village another

*One day the grandmother had to go to another village.*

Line 13

<b>“Abdul,”</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>mowaje,</b>	<b>“Nene</b>	<b>motagi</b>	<b>moju</b>	<b>ngona</b>
Abdul	nene	mo-waje	nene	mo-tag	moju	ngona
Abdul	grandmother	3sf:S-say	grandmother	3sf:S-go	still	2s

<b>aku</b>	<b>ua</b>	<b>pake</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ajaib</b>	<b>ngona</b>	<b>maha</b>	<b>notorine</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>nibibi.”</b>
aku	ua	pake	boso	ajaib	ngona	maha	no-torine	se	ni-bibi
may	NEG	use	pot	magic	2s	later	2s:S-live	with	2s:P-aunt

*“Abdul,” the grandmother said, “while I am away you may not use the magic pot; you will be staying with your aunt.”*

Line 14

<b>Terus</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>motagi.</b>
Terus	nene	mo-tag
Straight away	grandmother	3sf:S-go

*Immediately the grandmother left.*

Line 15

<b>Wange</b>	<b>moi</b>	<b>wange</b>	<b>moi</b>	<b>Abdul</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>idagilom</b>	<b>tulu</b>	<b>te</b>	<b>ma</b>
wange	moi	wange	moi	Abdul	se	i-dagilom	tulu	te	ma
day	one	day	one	Abdul	and	3sm:P-friend	stop by	to	GEN

<b>Nene</b>	<b>mifola</b>	<b>yolila</b>	<b>kalau</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>mokoliho</b>
nene	mi-fola	yo-lila	kalau	nene	mo-koliho
grandmother	3sf:P-house	3p:S-see	if	grandmother	3sf:S-return home

<b>rai</b>	<b>bolo</b>	<b>yang.</b>
rai	bolo	yang
already	or	not yet

*Everyday Abdul and his friend would stop by his grandmother's house to see if she had come home yet.*

Line 16

<b>Wange</b>	<b>rimoi</b>	<b>Abdul</b>	<b>wowaje</b>	<b>te</b>	<b>idagilom,</b>	<b>“Ngon</b>	<b>nonyinga</b>	<b>dahe</b>
wange	rimoi	Abdul	wo-waje	te	i-dagilom	Ngon	no-nyinga	dahe
day	one	Abdul	3sm:S-say	to	3sm:P-friend	2p	2p-wish	get

<b>lila</b>	<b>ngori</b>	<b>nanene</b>	<b>miboso</b>	<b>ajaib</b>	<b>bolo</b>	<b>ua?"</b>
lila	ngori	na-nene	mi-boso	ajaib	bolo	ua
see	1s	1pi:P-grandmother	3sf:P-pot	magic	or	NEG

*One day Abdul asked his friend, "Do you want to see my grandmother's magic pot?"*

Line 17

<b>"Coba</b>	<b>ngon</b>	<b>nowaje</b>	<b>ena</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>bobeto</b>	<b>alu</b>	<b>romtoha</b>	<b>boso</b>
Coba	ngon	no-waje	ena	ma	bo-beto	alu	romtoha	boso
if	2p	2p-say	3nh	GEN	RED-magic formula	times	five	pot

<b>enagé</b>	<b>langsung</b>	<b>yosoyuka</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>saki</b>	<b>foloi."</b>
ena-ge	langsung	yo-so-yuka	bira	ma	saki	foloi
3nh-DET	immediately	3nh:S-TR-cook	rice	GEN	delicious	very

*"If you say five words the pot will immediately begin cooking very delicious rice."*

Line 18

<b>"Coba</b>	<b>sobai</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>te</b>	<b>fangare?"</b>	<b>una</b>	<b>idagilom</b>
coba	so-bai	boso	ena-ge	te	fangare	una	i-dagilom
if	TR-perform	pot	3nh-DET	to	1sm	3sm	3sm:P-friend

<b>womalahi,</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>Abdul</b>	<b>wooro</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>si</b>
wo-ma-lahi	si	Abdul	wo-oro	boso	ena-ge	si
3sm:S-REFL-request	and	Abdul	3sm:S-take	pot	3nh-DET	and

<b>wosogui</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>ake</b>	<b>doya.</b>
wo-so-gui	toma	ake	doya
3sm:S-TR-fill	water	to	inside

*"Can you show me this pot?" his friend asked. So Abdul took the pot and added water.*

Line 19

<b>Rasi</b>	<b>wowaje,</b>	<b>"E!"</b>
rasi	wo-waje	E
first	3sm:S-say	hey

*First he said, "Hey"*

Line 20

<b>"Soyuka</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>yuka</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>bira."</b>
so-yuka	ma	boso	yuka	ma	bira
TR-cook	GEN	pot	cook	GEN	rice

*"Cook pot, cook some rice."*

Line 21

<b>Oras</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>marua</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>doya</b>	<b>mulai</b>	<b>komi</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>yopele</b>	<b>si</b>
Oras	ena-ge	ma-rua	boso	ma	doya	mulai	komi	si	yo-pele	si
time	3nh-DET	GEN-content	pot	GEN	inside	begin	move	and	3nh:S-boil	and

yoyoma	sema	bira	sahu-sahu	se	manyoa	tubo-tubo.
yo-yoma	sema	bira	sahu-sahu	se	ma-nyoa	tubo-tubo
3nh:S-full	with	rice	hot-RED	and	GEN-steam	rise-RED

*Immediately the pot began to bubble and boil and fill with steaming hot rice.*

#### Line 22

Ngofa-ngofa	enagé	yomatoro	lage-lage	toma	boso	ma	gomuru
Ngofa-ngofa	ena-ge	yo-ma-tora	lage-lage	toma	boso	ma	gomuru
child-RED	3nh-DET	3nh:S-REFL-sit	squat-RED	by	pot	GEN	side

si	yolila	boso	enagé	yoyoma	sema	bira.
si	yo-lila	boso	ena-ge	yo-yoma	sema	bira
and	3p:S-see	pot	3nh-DET	3nh:S-full	with	rice

*The children squatted by the pot and watched it fill with rice.*

#### Line 23

“Oras	enare	sulo	boso	enagé	yotogu	la	ngone	fooyo
oras	ena-re	sulo	boso	ena-ge	yo-togu	la	ngone	fo-oyo
time	3nh-DET	command	pot	3nh-DET	3nh:S-stop	so	that	1pi:S-eat

bira	una,”	idagilom	wowaje.
bira	una	i-dagilom	wo-waje
rice	3sm	3sm:P-friend	3sm:S-say

*“Now make it stop so we can eat it,” his friend said.*

#### Line 24

Tapi	oras	sari	wowaje	ena	ma	bobeto	ge	Abdul
tapi	oras	sari	wo-waje	ena	ma	bo-beto	ge	Abdul
but	time	look for	3sm:S-say	3nh	GEN	RED-magic formula	DET	Abdul

wosoninga	rewa,	si	wowaje	“Songam	ge	toguma,”
wo-so-ninga	rewa	si	wo-waje	so-ngam	ge	togu-ma
3sm:S-TR-remember	finished	and	3sm:S-say	TR-food	DET	stop-ADH

tapi	boso	ajaib	enagé	yotogu	maya	ua.
tapi	boso	ajaib	ena-ge	yo-togu	maya	ua
but	pot	magic	3nh-DET	3nh:S-stop	can	NEG

*But when Abdul tried to say the magic words, he had forgotten them. “Stop cooking,” he said, but the magic pot kept on cooking.*

#### Line 25

Ena	songam	terus.
ena	so-ngam	terus
3nh	TR-food	continue

*It kept cooking.*

Line 26

<b>Capati</b>	<b>lau</b>	<b>bato</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>yoyoru</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>hobura</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>hale.</b>
Capati	lau	bato	bira	ena-ge	yo-yoru	si	hobura	toma	hale
immediately	very	just	rice	3nh-DET	3nh:S-spill	and	cover	on	ground

*Immediately the rice spilled out and began to cover the ground.*

Line 27

<b>Ngofa-ngofa</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>usaha</b>	<b>yolou</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>hono</b>	<b>mai</b>	<b>boso</b>
Ngofa-ngofa	ena-ge	usaha	yo-lou	bira	toma	hono	mai	boso
child-RED	3nh-DET	try	3p:S-scoop	rice	in	bowl	but	pot

<b>enagé,</b>	<b>tetap</b>	<b>yosoyuka</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>terus.</b>
ena-ge	tetap	yo-so-yuka	bira	terus
3nh-DET	continually	3nh:S-TR-cook	rice	continue

*The boys tried to put it in bowls, but the pot just kept cooking.*

Line 28

<b>“Togu-togu</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>yado</b>	<b>rai,”</b>	<b>Abdul</b>	<b>woria-ria</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>boso</b>
Togu-togu	bira	yado	rai	Abdul	wo-ria-ria	toma	boso
Togu-RED	rice	enough	already	Abdul	3sm:S-shout-RED	to	pot

<b>waktu</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>yoyoru</b>	<b>sado</b>	<b>yofugo</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>ngora.</b>
waktu	bira	yo-yoru	sado	yo-fugo	toma	ngora
time	rice	3nh:S-spill	until	3nh:S-outside	to	door

*“Stop, Stop! Enough rice,” Abdul yelled at the pot as the rice spilled out the door.*

Line 29

<b>Mansia-mansia</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>fola</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>seba</b>	<b>loya</b>	<b>dedo-dedo</b>	<b>ino</b>	<b>yogosa</b>
Mansia-mansia	toma	fola	ma	seba	loya	dedo-dedo	ino	yo-gosa
person-RED	in	house	GEN	near	run	fast-RED	here	3p:S-carry

<b>hono</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>boso.</b>
hono	se	boso
bowl	and	pot

*Soon the neighbors came running with their bowls and pots.*

Line 30

<b>Ona</b>	<b>yousaha</b>	<b>yooro</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>enagé.</b>
Ona	yo-usaha	yo-oro	bira	ena-ge
3p	3p:S-try	3p:S-take	rice	3nh-DET

*They tried to take the rice.*

Line 31

<b>Atas</b>	<b>ena</b>	<b>yoyoru</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>linga</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>yomasusu</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>gam</b>
Atas	ena	yo-yoru	toma	linga	se	yo-ma-susu	toma	gam
but	3nh	3nh:S-spill	to	street	and	3nh:S-REFL-enter	in	village

<b>ma</b>	<b>doya.</b>
ma	doya
GEN	inside

*It spilled into the street and down into the village.*

Line 32

<b>Ma</b>	<b>yuke-yuke</b>	<b>ge</b>	<b>mansia</b>	<b>hamoi-hamoi</b>	<b>yosanang</b>	<b>foloi</b>	<b>atas</b>
ma	yuke-yuke	ge	mansia	hamoi-hamoi	yo-sanang	foloi	atasi
GEN	begin-RED	DET	person	each-RED	3p:S-enjoy	much	because

<b>yodahe</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>dofu</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>ona</b>	<b>yooyo.</b>
yo-dahe	bira	dofu	si	ona	yo-oyo
3p:S-get	rice	much	and	3p	3p:S-eat

*At first everyone was happy to have so much rice to eat.*

Line 33

<b>Mai</b>	<b>suru</b>	<b>ua</b>	<b>bato</b>	<b>ona</b>	<b>sorai</b>	<b>yorasa</b>	<b>kolofino</b>	<b>yohoda</b>	<b>bira</b>
mai	suru	ua	bato	ona	sorai	yo-rasa	kolofino	yo-hoda	bira
but	long time	NEG	just	3p	all	3p:S-feel	afraid	3p:S-see	rice

<b>enagé</b>	<b>yoyoru</b>	<b>terus-terus.</b>
ena-ge	yo-yoru	terus-terus
3nh-DET	3nh:S-spill	continue-RED

*But soon the people became afraid when the rice continued to spill (out of the house).*

Line 34

<b>Bira</b>	<b>mulai</b>	<b>yoyohu</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>linga</b>	<b>sado</b>	<b>masusu</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>folafola.</b>
bira	mulai	yo-yohu	toma	linga	sado	ma-susu	toma	folafola
rice	begin	3nh:S-flow	to	street	until	REFL-enter	in	house-RED

*It flowed over the street and into the houses.*

Line 35

<b>Gam</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>tolamo</b>	<b>wowaje,</b>	<b>“Abdul</b>	<b>ngona</b>	<b>nosingafu</b>
gam	ma	tolamo	wo-waje	Abdul	ngona	no-singafu
village	GEN	village head	3sm:S-say	Abdul	2s	2s:S-must

<b>nosodogu</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>la</b>	<b>ena</b>	<b>yosoyuka</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>refa.”</b>
no -so-dogu	boso	ena-ge	la	ena	yo-so-yuka	bira	refa
2s:S-TR-stop	pot	3nh-DET	so	that	3nh:S-TR-cook	rice	already

*The head of the village said, “Abdul, you must stop the pot from cooking more rice.”*

Line 36

<b>“Ngone</b>	<b>nigam</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>rai</b>	<b>yowayo.”</b>
ngone	ni-gam	ma	rai	yo-wayo
1pi	1pi:P-village	GEN	already	3nh:S-destroy

*“Our village will be destroyed.”*

Line 37

<b>Abdul</b>	<b>wohobuturu</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>wocoba</b>	<b>mai</b>	<b>una</b>	<b>wosoninga</b>
Abdul	wo-hobuturu	si	wo-coba	mai	una	wo-so-ninga
Abdul	3sm:S-force	and	3sm:S-try	but	3sm	3sm:S-TR-remember

<b>ma</b>	<b>bobeto</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>maya</b>	<b>ua.</b>
ma	bo-beto	ena-ge	maya	ua
GEN	RED-magic formula	3nh-DET	can	NEG

*But try as he might, Abdul could not remember the magic words.*

Line 38

<b>Pas-pas</b>	<b>waktu</b>	<b>Abdul</b>	<b>wosari</b>	<b>gahi</b>	<b>wayo</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>enagé</b>
Pas-pas	waktu	Abdul	wo-sari	gahi	wayo	boso	ena-ge
exactly-RED	time	Abdul	3sm:S-look	for make	destroy	pot	3nh-DET

<b>sema</b>	<b>tamao</b>	<b>una</b>	<b>wohoda</b>	<b>inene</b>	<b>mopala</b>	<b>ine</b>
sema	tamao	una	wo-hoda	i-nene	mo-pala	ine
with	ax	3sm	3sm:S-see	3sm:P-grandmother	3sf:S-arrive	upwards

<b>toma</b>	<b>buku</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>you.</b>
toma	buku	ma	you
to	hill	GEN	top

*He was just about to smash the pot with his ax when he saw his grandmother coming up the mountain.*

Line 39

<b>Una</b>	<b>wokaro,</b>	<b>“Nene!”</b>
una	wo-karo	nene
3sm	3sm:S-call	grandmother

*“Grandmother!” he cried.*

Line 40

<b>“Haso</b>	<b>foloi</b>	<b>fangato</b>	<b>lahi</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ajaib</b>	<b>sulo</b>	<b>ngam</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>mai</b>
haso	foloi	fangato	lahi	toma	boso	ajaib	sulo	ngam	bira	mai
heavy	much	1sm	request	to	pot	magic	command	food	rice	but

<b>fangato</b>	<b>lupa</b>	<b>tosodogu</b>	<b>ena.”</b>
fangato	lupa	to-so-dogu	ena
1sm	forget	1sm:S-TR-stop	3nh

*“I’ve done a terrible thing. I asked the pot to cook some rice but I’ve forgotten how to make it stop.”*

Line 41

<b>“Gatebe</b>	<b>ena</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>oli-oli</b>	<b>bobeto</b>	<b>enagé?”</b>
gatebe	ena	ma	oli-oli	bo-beto	ena-ge
how	3nh	GEN	voice-RED	RED-magic formula	3nh-DET

*“What are the magic words?”*

Line 42

**“Ha!”**

Ha

Hey!

*“Hey!”*

Line 43

<b>“Ngona</b>	<b>nobaso</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>miborero</b>	<b>ua,”</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>mowaje.</b>
ngona	no-baso	nene	mi-borero	ua	nene	mo-waje
2s	2s:S-listen	grandmother	3sf:P-command	NEG	grandmother	3sf:S-say

*“You did not obey my orders,” said grandmother.*

Line 44

<b>“Towaje</b>	<b>rai!”</b>
to-waje	rai
1s:S-say	already

*“I told you!”*

Line 45

<b>“Pake</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ajaib</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>ifa!”</b>
pake	boso	ajaib	ena-ge	ifa
use	pot	magic	3nh-DET	NEG

*“Don’t use the magic pot!”*

Line 46

<b>Kagé</b>	<b>rai</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>momasusu</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>hito</b>	<b>si</b>
ka-ge	rai	nene	mo-ma-susu	toma	hito	si
?-DET	already	grandmother	3sf:S-REFL-enter	in	kitchen	and

<b>mokoko</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>yang</b>	<b>pele-pele</b>	<b>moju</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>gomuru</b>	<b>si</b>
mo-koko	toma	boso	yang	pele-pele	moju	ena-ge	ma	gomuru	si
3sf:S-stand	by	pot	that	boil-RED	still	3nh-DET	GEN	side	and

<b>mowaje,</b>	<b>“Sotogu</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>boso,</b>	<b>soyuka</b>	<b>refa!”</b>
mo-waje	so-togu	ma	boso	so-yuka	refa
3sf:S-say	TR-stop	GEN	pot	TR-cook	already

*Grandmother went into the kitchen, stood over the boiling pot and said, “Stop pot, cook no more.”*

Line 47

<b>Oras</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>bato</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>yotogu</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>yosoyuka</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>rewa.</b>
oras	ena-ge	bato	boso	ena-ge	yo-togu	si	yo-so-yuka	bira	rewa
time	3nh-DET	just	pot	3nh-DET	3nh:S-stop	and	3nh:S-TR-cook	rice	finished

*Immediately the pot stopped cooking the rice.*



Line 48

<b>Mansia</b>	<b>somore</b>	<b>sorai.</b>
mansia	so-more	sorai
person	TR-jubilant	all

*All the people were jubilant.*

Line 49

<b>“Atas</b>	<b>ngona</b>	<b>nosogise</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>ua</b>	<b>kambu</b>	<b>bato</b>	<b>ge</b>
atas	ngona	no-so-gise	nene	ua	kambu	bato	ge
because	2s	2s:S-TR-listen	grandmother	NEG	almost	just	DET

<b>gam</b>	<b>enaré</b>	<b>yoruba.”</b>
gam	ena-re	yo-ruba
village	3nh-DET	3nh:S-destroy

*“Because you did not listen to me the village was almost destroyed.”*

Line 50

<b>“Oras</b>	<b>enaré</b>	<b>ngona</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>nidagilom</b>	<b>nyafu</b>	<b>tero</b>	<b>hukum.”</b>
oras	ena-re	ngona	se	ni-dagilom	nyafu	tero	hukum
time	3nh-DET	2s	and	2s:P-friend	must	get	punishment

*“Now you and your friend must be punished.”*

Line 51

<b>“Re</b>	<b>sema</b>	<b>hono</b>	<b>se</b>	<b>jobobo</b>	<b>oyo</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>enaré</b>	<b>sado</b>	<b>sorai,”</b>
re	sema	hono	se	jobobo	oyo	bira	ena-re	sado	sorai
DET	is	bowl	and	spoon	eat	rice	3nh-DET	until	all

<b>Nene</b>	<b>mowaje.</b>
nene	mo-waje
grandmother	3sf:S-say

*“Here is a bowl and spoon and don’t stop eating until all the rice is gone,” said the grandmother.*

Line 52

<b>Mote</b>	<b>wange</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>Abdul</b>	<b>kama</b>	<b>pake</b>	<b>boso</b>	<b>ajaib</b>	<b>enagé</b>	<b>rewa.</b>
mote	wange	ena-ge	Abdul	kama	pake	boso	ajaib	ena-ge	rewa
join	day	3nh-DET	Abdul	never	use	pot	magic	3nh-DET	finished

*After that day Abdul never again used the magic pot.*

Line 53

<b>Sado</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>suru</b>	<b>ora-ora</b>	<b>una</b>	<b>wooyo</b>	<b>bira</b>	<b>maya</b>	<b>rewa.</b>
sado	ma	suru	ora-ora	una	wo-oyo	bira	maya	rewa
until	GEN	long time	month-RED	3sm	3sm:S-eat	rice	can	finished

*For many months he didn't want to eat rice.*

Line 54

<b>Alumoi</b>	<b>yali</b>	<b>una</b>	<b>akan</b>	<b>womote</b>	<b>mega</b>	<b>yang</b>	<b>Nene</b>	<b>mowaje.</b>
alu-moi	yali	una	akan	wo-mote	mega	yang	nene	mo-waje
under-one	more	3sm	will	3sm:S-join	what	that	grandmother	3sf:S-say

*Next time he would listen to his grandmother.*

## NOTES

1. Field research for this paper included four visits to Tidore between July 1993 and April 1994. The sponsorship for this project came from the *Bupati's* office in *Halmahera Tengah* stemming from the *Bupati's* desire to have the Tidore language documented in a useable form. The authors wish to express their thanks to Bupati Drs. Andili as well as the many people of Tidore who were so helpful. The authors are also grateful to Edward Kotynski, Wyn Laidig, and Howard Shelden for comments on drafts of this paper, and to Jan Perry for help with manuscript preparation.
2. Some exceptions to the penultimate stress rule are as follows:
  - a. words formed by reduplication of monosyllabic roots (e.g. **dum-dum** 'bathroom')
  - b. compound words with a monosyllabic second constituent such as **enage** from **ena** 'it' plus **ge** 'this', and **jibobomoi** from **jibobo** 'spoon' plus **moi** 'one'.
3. One example that appears to be more in keeping with Tabaru which has [+voice] [+nasal] and [+velar] as the default settings (Kotynski 1995:8) is as follows:

**hotu**      →      **songotu**      'to dry, to dry something out'

It is not clear whether the above example is an exception, since it was the only such example found among 2500 words.

4. The following is a list of abbreviations used to gloss examples in this paper:

1sm	1st person singular masculine
1sf	1st person singular feminine
1s	1st person singular
1pe	1st person plural exclusive
1pi	1st person plural inclusive
2s	2nd person singular
2p	2nd person plural
3sf	3rd person singular feminine
3sm	3rd person singular masculine
3p	3rd person plural
3nh	3rd person nonhuman
ADH	Adhortative marker
CLASS	classifier
DET	determiner
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative marker
incl	inclusive
NEG	negative marker
P	possessive marker
Ph	phrase
QUANT	quantifier
QM	yes/no question marker
RCPR	reciprocal marker
RED	reduplication
REFL	reflexive marker
S	subject marker
TR	transitive marker

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