Tobelo

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Contents

Abbreviations and symbols

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses

1	first-person singular
1e	first-person plural exclusive
1i	first-person singular inclusive
2	second-person
2p	second-person plural
3	third-person non-human
3f	third-person feminine
3m	third-person masculine
3p	third-person plural
ABL	ablative
ALL	allative
APL	applicative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative
DIST	distributive
DIR	directional
DOWN	downward
DUR	durative
DUAL	dual
EPEN	epenthetic
FEM	feminine
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
HEST	hesitation
IMPF	imperfective
INTENS	intensifier
LAND	landward
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NM	noun marker
PERF	perfective
POSS	possessive
PUNCT	punctual
RDP	reduplication
RECIP	reciprocal
REP	repetitive
RFLX	reflexive
RNM	relational noun marker
SEA	seaward
SEQ	sequential
UP	upward
V	verb formative

0. Introductory remarks

The Tobelo language (know in Tobelo as *o Tobelohoka manga demo*) is spoken by approximately 15,000 people, primarily on the island of Halmahera in the Indonesian province of Maluku Utara (North Maluku).[1] Tobelo and several neighboring languages comprise the North Halmahera (NH) group, a closely-related language family with no other relatives outside of the island of New Guinea. Tobelo and other NH languages have been described in previous studies, particularly via the work of Dutch missionary-linguists during the early part of the twentieth century. This grammatical sketch is intended to provide a more complete and comprehensive overview of the language than can be gleaned from other sources and also includes significant results of recent field work with the language.

0.1. The linguistic setting

Tobelo is spoken primarily on the island of Halmahera, located in the extreme northeast of the Indonesian archipelago, between the island of New Guinea and the Philippine archipelago. The Tobelo-speaking heartland is in the district (Indonesian *kecematan*) of Tobelo, located on the western shore of Kao Bay. the district capital, also known as Tobelo, serves as a regional commercial and administrative center and is the largest settlement on Halmahera. As such Tobelo town also includes a significant population of immigrants from elsewhere in Halmahera as well as from across Indonesia.

Figure 1: Map of Halmahera and environs showing Tobelo language area

Conversely, many Tobelo have emigrated and settled elsewhere on Halmahera and the surrounding islands. Hence, significant Tobelo populations are found on Morotai, Bacan, Obi

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[1] Until 1999 Maluku Utara was administered as a district (Indonesian *kabupaten*) within the province of Maluku. The new province of Maluku Utara was created on January 1, 2000. Hence, the name Maluku now refers administratively to an area which excludes Maluku Utara and most of the Tobelo speaking region. However, I will continue to use the term Maluku to refer to the entire region encompassing both the provinces of Maluku Utara and Maluku.

and the Raja Ampat islands. The degree to which Tobelo is still spoken by these emigrant populations is not known.

Halmahera is a large island consisting of four narrow peninsulas joined by an isthmus. The northern peninsula is volcanic in origin and includes several active volcanoes. The northeastern peninsula is not volcanic but is equally rugged. Most Tobelo settlements are located on the coast, though gardens are often located some distance inland. There are also some small settlements in the interior near Lake Paca, including the village of Kusuri. In addition, several groups of Tobelo speakers continue to subsist in the interior forests. These groups are known collectively by the Tobelo name *Tugutil*, though they do not form a single coherent social group (cf. Duncan 1998). Travel within the region is generally by motorized canoe or small boat. There is also a well-developed system of roads within Tobelo district, and a rough road now extends south to the isthmus, from which the provincial capital of Ternate can be reached by a two-hour boat ride.

The economic base of the region is centered on the production of copra and, to a much lesser degree, small-scale commercial fishing. Major resource extraction industries, including timber, off-shore fishing and mining are now becoming an important part of the larger economy, however, these industries employ primarily migrant labor and hence do not directly affect the Tobelo economy.

0.2.   Genetic classification and typology

Based on lexico-statistical comparison of short vocabulary lists, Voorhoeve (1988) classifies Tobelo and neighboring Galela, Tabaru, Modole, Loloda, and Pagu as dialects of the Northeast Halmaheran language; however, the degree of mutual intelligibility between the Northeast Halmaheran languages/dialects is difficult to measure due to extensive multilingualism throughout the region. There are in any case significant structural differences between the so-called Northeast Halmaheran languages. Hence Tobelo is here described as a distinct language rather than a dialect of the putative Northeast Halmaheran language. This recognition agrees with Tobelo speakers' attitudes regarding language status as well. Most Tobelo speakers are able to understand neighboring Galela only with some difficulty, in spite of extensive and continuing contact between the two languages.

Together with Ternate/Tidore, Sahu, and West Makian, Tobelo and the other Northeast Halmaheran languages/dialects form the North Halmaheran (NH) family. This family was first recognized by Robide van der Aa (1872) and later rigorously established in Van der Veen's (1915) Rijkuniversiteit thesis. The remaining fifty or so languages spoken in Maluku and North Maluku are Austronesian. The NH family is in turn related to the Bird's Head stock, a group of approximately ten languages spoken west of Cendrawasih Bay in the Indonesian province of Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) on the island of New Guinea (Voorhoeve 1975; Wurm 1982). These Bird's Head languages, together with the languages of the NH family, comprise the West Papuan Phylum. The NH family is not related to the non-Austronesian languages spoken in Southwest Maluku and Timor (as claimed for example by Cowan 1957).

The are at least six principal dialects of Tobelo: Heleworuru, Boeng, Dodinga, Lake Paca, Kukumutuk, and Popon (Voorhoeve 1988). This study is based primarily on the Heleworuru dialect, with some data from the Boeng dialect. These dialect differences are defined phonologically. The Heleworuru and Boeng dialects differ from the others in having a palatal lateral where the others have palatal approximants.

Among the NH languages Tobelo is most conservative in its retention of non-Austronesian typological features, including SOV word-order; the use of subjective and

objective person-marking prefixes on verbs; the use of postpositions; and the use of noun markers. However, Tobelo does exhibit many contact-induced Austronesian features. For example, a distinction between first-person plural inclusive and exclusive; a single preposition; an elaborate maritime/riverine directional system (cf. Voorhoeve 1994).

0.3.   Language use

The regional lingua franca is North Moluccan Malay, a local Malay variety which traces its origins to the Malay-speaking sultanates of Ternate and Brunei and has acquired many lexical and grammatical features from the NH languages (Taylor 1983; Voorhoeve 1983). With the increase of broadcast media from the Indonesian capital, many Tobelo also have some degree of fluency in standard Indonesian. Most Tobelo speakers are conversationally fluent in Malay. However, this situation of bilingualism is not new. Some variety of Malay has probably been used as a trade language by the Tobelo since at least the time of the sultanates in the sixteenth century. The missionary Hueting advocated the use of Malay in Halmahera mission work, arguing that it was well-established as a regional language (1903).

Outside of the regional center of Tobelo town, Tobelo is still learned as a first language and still spoken as the language of every-day communication. Indeed, in many villages school teachers who do not speak Tobelo are frustrated by the lack of fluency in Malay among school-age children. However, in Tobelo town itself (population approximately 10,000) the situation is rapidly changing. Tobelo town has long been populated by immigrants from the surrounding region as well as from across the Indonesian archipelago. The resulting mix of speakers of NH languages, indigenous Austronesian languages, Javanese, Chinese and standard Indonesia has lent a linguistically cosmopolitan atmosphere to this small town, with a concomitant rise in the use of North Moluccan Malay and standard Indonesian. Within Tobelo town it is not uncommon to hear Malay or Indonesian spoken in the homes of persons of Tobelo ancestry. Many of the children of these families no longer grow up speaking Tobelo. Ethnic unrest in the Tobelo region in 1999 led to a mass emigration of refugees from Tobelo town and the surrounding region (see Duncan 2001). It is as yet unknown how the events of 1999-2001 and the ensuing reconciliation has altered the socio-linguistic patterns of Tobelo town.

0.4.   Previous studies

Lexical and cursory morphological information on Tobelo can be found in the early comparative works of Robide van der Aa (1872) and van der Veen (1915). A large amount of descriptive information was compiled by the Dutch Protestant missionary Anton Hueting, who worked in the Tobelo area between 1896 and 1915. Hueting's linguistic works include a dictionary (1908a; 1935), a grammatical sketch (1936), a collection of folktales (1908b) and a comparative study (1907). Other Dutch missionaries who worked in neighboring areas during this time also produced descriptive materials for NH languages. These include van Baarda (Galela), Ellen (Modole, Pagu), Fortgens (Tabaru, Ternate) and Roest (Tobelo). The quality of both the data and the analyses varies greatly in these early works; among the most useful are van Baarda's dictionary (1895) and grammar (1908) of Galela. Bible translations exist for the New Testament and portions of the Old Testament (Ellen 1933; Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia 1993). Additional references can be found in Holton (1996).

Modern study of the Tobelo language begins with the work of Taylor, including a study of directionals (1984) and folk taxonomy (1990). SIL linguists Howard and Diedre Sheldon have produced several short studies of Galela (D. Sheldon 1986; 1991; H. Sheldon 1989; 1991). Visser & Voorhoeve (1987) is a dictionary and grammatical sketch of Sahu. Work on the Ternate-Tidore language includes, most notably, van Staden's (2001)

comprehensive description of Tidore. A brief sketch of Ternate can be found in Watuseke (1991). A comprehensive survey of the NH languages is in Voorhoeve (1988).

0.5.   Current study

This description is based primarily on field work conducted in Halmahera between May and August of 1995. This work was carried out under the auspices of the University of Hawaii—Universitas Pattimura Sago Research Project, with support from the Henry Luce Foundation (grant #P95280F348B164). Field work was conducted in many places throughout the Tobelo-speaking region, but most of the material on which this description is based comes from just three villages: Labi-Labi, Miti, and Gura Belakang (a suburb of Tobelo town). All of these villages are located within the Heleworuru dialect region. Additional data were collected in the villages of Telaga Paca, Kusuri, Tomahalu, Kupa-Kupa. Primary language consultants include Yohanis Labi, Matias Oga, Paltiel Oga and family, Elkana Kukihi and family, Domingus Diba, Frans Diba, Paulina Tindagi, Tobias Tjileni, and Jason Moloku. Many thanks to these and countless others who generously shared their language with me during my stay in Halmahera.

Unless otherwise indicated, the Tobelo language data cited here are from the author's elicited field notes, elicited texts, and un-elicited naturally-occurring conversation. Wherever possible examples cited here are drawn from texts rather than elicitation. In addition, this description also draws in part on data and analyses from previous studies, in particular Hueting's dictionary (1908a), grammar (1936), and text collection (1908b); and the work of Taylor (1984) on directionals. Data from these sources are appropriately cited.

1.   Phonology

1.1.   Vowels

The Tobelo vowel inventory consists of five vowels *i, e, a, o, u*; with pronunciations corresponding approximately to the cardinal values. Phonemic vowel contrasts are exemplified below.

(1)   *-ake*   'lean'
       -eke   'k.o. mat'
       -oko   'seaward'
       -úku   'downward'
       -ika   'away'

The vowel *e* may range in phonetic value between [ɛ], and [e]. It is slightly lowered in stressed syllables.

(2)   *ngone* ['ŋone] 'we (INCLUSIVE)'
       eko ['ɛko] 'or'
       akere ['akere]   'water'

Other vowels exhibit less variation in pronunciation.

1.2.   Consonants

The Tobelo consonant inventory includes voiceless aspirated and voiced stops *p, t, k* and *b, d, g*, respectively; voiced palatal affricate *j*; voiceless fricatives *s, h*; labial, alveolar, palatal and velar nasals *m, n, ny, ng*; alveolar and palatal lateral approximants *l* and *ly*; labial-velar approximant *w*; and the rhotic *r*. The complete set of consonant phonemes is shown in the

table below. Non-obvious phonetic values are given in square brackets. Those sounds indicated in parentheses occur only in loans or in other dialects of Tobelo.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stop	p	t		k	
	b	d		g	
Affricate			(c [tʃ])		
			j [dʒ]		
Fricative	(f)	s [ɕ]			h
Nasal	m	n	ny [ɲ]	ng [ŋ]	
Lateral		l	ly [ʎ][2]		
Non-lateral	w		(y [j])		
Rhotic		r			

Table 1: Tobelo consonants in practical orthography (phonetic values in square brackets)

Examples of phonemic contrasts are given below.

(3)   Phonemic contrast between stop consonants

       -akere 'water'
       -agere 'stubble'
       -dokara 'red'
       -tokara 'ignite'
       -boa 'arrive'
       -poa 'be able'

(4)   Phonemic contrast between nasal consonants

       -moana 'yawn'
       -noa 'fill'
       -ngoa 'k.o. tree'
       -nyoa 'k.o. fish'

(5)   Phonomeic contrasts between labial consonants

       -woa 'loosen'
       -boa 'arrive'
       -poa 'be able'
       -wewe 'k.o. wood'
       -bebe 'loose'

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[2] The symbol <l> is used for the palatal lateral in some publications (e.g. Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia 1993).

(6)   Phonemic contrast between /r/ and /l/

ngaro 'yet'
-ngalo 'crossbeam'
-rabu 'hoist'
-labu 'k.o. watermelon'
-rako 'attach'
-lako 'eye'

(7)   Phonemic contrast between /l/ and /ly/

-laho 'broil'
-lyaho 'calf (of leg)'
-lou 'copy'
-lyou 'foot'

The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless aveolo-palatal (palatalized post-alveolar) fricative [c] (cf. Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996).[3] For many younger speakers this sound appears to have fallen together with the Malay alveolar fricative [s]. (In the Dodinga dialect it is pronounced as a palatal affricate and has merged with /c/.) However, older Malay loans containing [s] are borrowed as [h]. Thus -huha 'difficult' from Malay susah. In any case, the phoneme /s/, whether pronounced as [c] or [s], remains phonemically distinct from /t/.

(8)   Phonemic contrast between /s/ with /t/

-solo 'dye'
-tolo 'knock'
-sengo 'unrecognizable'
-tengo 'alone'

The phoneme /s/ is also distinct from /h/.

(9)   Phonemic contrast between /s/ with /h/

ho 'thus'
-so 'hold'
-hereko 'border'
-sere 'kettle'

The phone [s] also occurs in loans, especially from Ternate, e.g., -suba 'swear'. This sound also occurs in the Dodinga dialect as the regular reflex of Heleworuru [h]. Old Malay loans containing the palatal affricate [c] are nativized as /s/, though modern loans may be borrowed wholesale using the foreign phoneme /c/. Thus, -sara 'manner' from Malay cara. Also, some more recent modern Malay loans with original /s/ may be borrowed as [s]. Thus, o-mesin from Malay mesin 'machine'.

The phoneme /f/ occurs only in borrowings, especially from Ternate. This sound also occurs as the regular reflex of /h/ in the Boeng dialect. It does not contrast with /s/ in native vocabulary.

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[3] This sound was described by Hueting (1908a) as a dental-palatal affricate and transcribed by him as [tɣ].

(10)   Examples of /f/

o-fala 'house' (< Ternate)
ma-foto 'photograph' (< Dutch via Malay)
ma-fau 'widow'
ma-fam 'family descent group (< Dutch)

The phoneme /y/ occurs natively only in the third-person plural subject prefixes yo- and ya-. These might be better analyzed as phonemic diphthongs (e.g., io-, ia-), but the established practice is to write them using y-. The phoneme /y/ also occurs in certain names and loans, such as the man's name o-Yahe.

The phoneme /c/ is a voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ]. It occurs only in loan words in the Heleworuru dialect (though in Dodinga dialect it occurs as the phonetic realization of /s/). The corresponding voiced palatal affricate occurs both in loans and as the voiced counterpart to /s/. Thus, where regular morpho-phonemic processes require voicing a consonant, /s/ [c] is voiced to /j/ [dʒ].

(11)   -sobo 'depart'
        -hi-jobo 'go do something'

The Tobelo phoneme /s/ is borrowed into Indonesian as [tʃ], written <c> in the standard Indonesian orthography. Thus, in well-known Tobelo words, such as place names, the phoneme /s/ has been represented orthographically as <c>. For example, the well known name of the lake pronounced [paca] is phonemically /pasa/ but usually written <paca>.

1.3.   Vowel sequences and diphthongs

Adjacent vowels are generally pronounced as sequences of distinct vowels. Exceptions include the sequences oi, au, ao and ou, which may be pronounced as a diphthongs.

(12)   Examples of diphthong [o͡i]

moi [mo͡i] 'one'
-holoi [ho'lo͡i] 'more'
-toimi ['to͡imi] 'speargun'

(13)   Examples of diphthong [a͡u]

-nauru ['na͡uru] 'man'
-hauku ['ha͡uku] 'warm'
-tau [ta͡u] 'house'
-tauru ['ta͡uru] 'pull'

(14)   Examples of diphthong [a͡i]

-wai [wa͡i] 'valley'
ai-ama [a͡i-'ama] 'his father'
-baiti ['ba͡iti] 'hole'
dodiai [dodi'a͡i] 'right, correct'
-hailoa [ha͡i'loa] 'beautiful'

(15)   Examples of diphthong [o͡u]

-torou [to'ro͡u] 'bad'
-hou [ho͡u] 'remainder'
-lyou [lyo͡u] 'foot'
-houru ['ho͡uru] 'medicine'

Where the second vowel of a sequence is lexically stressed, the sequence is always pronounced as two vowels rather than as a diphthong.

(16)   koíwa [ko'iwa] 'not exist'
noíki [no'iki] 'you go'
haíno [ha'ino] 'bring'

In other cases adjacent vowels are pronounced as sequences of distinct vowels. Syllable boundaries are indicated below with a period.

(17)   -haeke ['ha.e.ke] 'head'
manaoko [ma.'na.o.ko] 'twenty'
motoa [mo.'to.a] 'five'
-boa ['bo.a] 'arrive'
-giama ['gi.a.ma] 'hand'
-kuama ['ku.a.ma] 'spear'
-ngoere ['ngo.e.re] 'sarong'

Adjacent identical vowels are generally pronounced separately. Examples are given below.

(18)   -haaka ['ha.a.ka] 'silver'
-taága [ta.'a.ga] 'lake'
-ngooto ['ngo.o.to] 'ocean'
-tuuku ['tu.u.ku] 'to shape'

In some cases it may be difficult to distinguish separate articulations for each of a sequence of identical vowels, particularly when stress falls on the first vowel in the sequence. In these cases the sequence may be realized as a lengthened vowel. For example -saana 'thousand' may be trisyllabic ['sa.a.na] or disyllabic ['sa·.na], the latter containing a long vowel.

There are no triphthongs, however, it is possible for a sequence of diphthong plus vowel or vowel plus diphthong to occur,

(19)   yataioka [ya.ta͡i.'o.ka] 'they carried them'
dodiai [do.di.'a͡i] 'good'

or even a sequence of three distinct vowels,

(20)   tomaiete [to.ma.'i.e.te] 'I laughed'

1.4.   Syllable structure

The syllable structure of native Tobelo vocabulary consists of open syllables, with or without an onset consonant. Vowel nuclei may be short or long, the latter consisting of a phonetic diphthong or long vowel.

(21)   Minimal syllables

(C)V͡V
(C)V

In other words, the syllable may or may not contain an onset, and the nucleus may consist of a single vowel or diphthong. The minimal Tobelo root morpheme contains at least two vowels (or a single diphthong). That is, a root cannot consist of a single vowel V. Examples of minimal roots are given below.

(22)   -oa 'aunt'
-so 'hold tight'

Because noun and verb roots require one or more prefixes or proclitics, the minimal Tobelo word is somewhat longer. Tobelo minimal words have the form CV͡V or (C)VCV

(23)   Minimal words

iti 'only'
aha FUTURE
moi 'one'

Most roots are polysyllabic. Examples of admissible root shapes are given below.

(24)   CV   -co   'hold tight'
       VV   -oa   'aunt'
       CVV   moi   'one'
       VCV   -uku   'fire'
       CVCV   -bole   'tired'
       CVVCV   -naoko   'fish'
       CVCVCV   -ngohaka   'child'
       CVCVCVV   -totaleo   'bird'
       CVCVCVCV   -kakatama   'tongs'
       CVCVCVCVCV   -balahadada 'k.o. long dress'

Closed syllables occur only in borrowed words. Some examples follow:

(25)   o-gobang 'kind of coin'
       -mancing 'fish with pole'
       o-barang 'things'
       -bongkar 'bomb'

More often words containing closed syllables are borrowed into Tobelo with the deletion of non-final coda consonants and insertion of an epenthetic echo vowel following originally word-final consonants.

(26)   o-kapongo 'village' (< Malay kampung)
       o-tukanga 'craftsman' (< Malay tukang)

No native words contain complex onsets, however, syllables with complex onsets may occur in borrowed words.

1.5.   Word Stress

Word stress on polysyllabic words is generally on the penultimate vowel. Stress is realized phonetically by both increased duration and higher pitch.

(27)   [ahi-dodi'awo] 'my friend'
       [o-'nuhu] 'island'

If the final syllable of a word contains a diphthong, this syllable attracts stress.

(28) [ngiˈmoî] 'ten'

If the penultimate vowel forms the second member of a diphthong, then that diphthong receives stress.

(29) [ˈtoîmi] 'speargun'

In words which contain more than two syllables, the final two of which contain the same vowel, stress is on the antepenultimate syllable.

(30) o-ˈhongana 'forest'
      ihiˈgogama 'I'm shivering'
      tomaˈlyohini 'I'm urinating'
      imaˈlyahini 'it's drifting away'
      o-ˈakere 'water'
      o-ˈngotiri 'canoe'
      mi-ˈlingiri 'we look for'
      o-ˈhaaka 'silver'

Exceptions to these rules of stress assignment are indicated orthographically with an accute accent on the stressed vowel. Examples of words which do not follow these stress-assignment pattern are given below.

(31) gúrati 'gold'
      hinóto 'two'
      polúlu 'pinch'

Word stress is assigned post-lexically, after the word formation process. Thus, stress may shift after suffixation. For example, compare the following two examples, where the form in slant brackets indicates the underlying morphological form.

(32) [i.hi.ˈbo.le]
      /i-hi-bole/
      3-1SG-tired
      'I'm tired'

(33) [i.hi.bo.le.ˈu.a]
      /i-hi-bole-ua/
      3-1SG-tired-NEG
      'I'm not tired'

Affixation of the negative suffix -ua shifts the location of the penultimate syllable, which then attracts stress in the suffixed form.

(34) [mo.ˈbo.a]
      /mo-boa/
   . 3f-arrive
      'she arrive'

(35) [mo.bo.ˈa.hi]
      /mo-boa-ahi/
      3f-arrive-DUR
      'she's still arriving'

Affixation of a the durative aspectual suffix -ahi in the example (35) leads to a sequence of identical vowels, triggering a regular process of deletion (see morphological processes below). Stress is then assigned to the penultimate syllable of the affixed word.

Some suffixes also contain underlying lexical stress patterns. For example, the suffixes -óko 'seaward' and -úku 'downward' stress the penultimate syllable when occurring word-finally. Thus in the examples below, suffixation of -óko does trigger deletion of the preceding vowel, but stress remains on the penultimate (not antepenultimate) syllable, even though the final two vowels in the resulting word are identical.

(36) [mi.ˈli.o]
      /mi-lio/
      1e-return
      'we returned'

(37) [mi.li.ˈo.ko]
      /mi-lio-óko/
      1e-return-SEA
      'we returned to the coast'

As with root morphemes, inherent stress on suffixes is indicated orthographically via an acute accent.

1.6. Word-formation processes and morpho-phonemics

Word formation processes are generally agglutinative. However, when sequences of adjacent vowels arise as a result of suffixation, one of the two vowels may be syncopated. Where two identical vowels arise, the first vowel is syncopated. In particular, words formed from suffixes with lexical stress on the penultimate syllable retain penultimate stress after syncopation.

(38) -tapayu + úku --> -tapayúku (*-tapáyuku)
      cover   down

An exception to the above rule is found in the negative suffix -ua. Syncopation is optional when this suffix follows the vowel u. Thus,

(39) ihidaluk(u)ua
      i-hi-daluku-ua
      3-1-palm.wine-NEG
      'I'm not drunk'

Where suffixation leads to a sequence of unlike vowels, syncopation is governed both by vowel quality and stress patterns. If the stress on the stem (root plus any already affixed suffixes) falls on the antepenultimate syllable, or if the stress is on the penultimate syllable and that syllable is a diphthong, then the first vowel of the sequence is syncopated.

(40) -aiki + oka --> -aoikoka
      remove PERF

      -woere + oli --> -woeroli
       dry   REP

      -ohaka + oka --> -ohakoka
      cooked   PERF

If the stress on the stem falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, including when stress has been already altered by suffixation, then both vowels are retained.

(41) -solo + ika --> -soloika
      dye   ALL

      -boa + ino --> -boaino
      arrive ABL

Exceptions to this rules occur when the vowel *a* precedes *o*. In these cases the initial *o* of the suffix is syncopated, regardless of the location of stress on the stem.

(42) -boa + oka --> -boaka
      arrive ALL

These regular processes of vowel syncope are not indicated in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses found in the examples in this book. Thus, for example [hoboaka] 'we arrived' is represented as *ho-boa-oka*, with no syncope represented.

2.   Lexical categories

The major open-class Tobelo lexical categories of noun and verb are unambiguously determined via the type of morphology present on a word: verbs always occur with pronominal person-marking prefixes; nouns always occur with a noun marker. However, the categoriality of Tobelo root morphemes can be more difficult to determine. Many, if not most, Tobelo roots may occur with either verbal or nominal morphology. The semantic relationship between the corresponding noun and verb lexemes is not always predictable. Some examples are given below. In (43) the root *ija* may occur as a verb meaning 'buy', with concomitant personal prefix, or as a noun meaning 'price', with concomitant noun-marking prefix.[4]

(43) a.   o-ngotiri   to-ija
            NM-canoe   1-buy
            'I bought a canoe'

      b.   ma-ija   i-lyamoko
            RNM-price 3-large
            'the price is high'

In (44) the root *pokoro* may occur as a verb meaning 'have dysentery' or as a noun meaning 'abdomen'.

(44) a.   i-hi-pokoro
            3-1-have.dysentery
            'I have dysentery'

      b.   ahi-pokoro
            1POSS-abdomen
            'my abdomen'

This system of zero-derivation co-exists with a system of marginally productive nominalizing morphology, achieved either via reduplication of the initial syllable of the verb stem with a pre-specified mid back vowel or via voicing of the initial segment of the stem (see section 3.1.2.4).

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[4] In the Tobelo practical orthography, noun and verb prefixes are generally written as separate words, for example, *o ngotiri to ija.* Tobelo examples are written here with hyphens between prefixes and roots.

An important subclass of roots which may occur as either nouns or verbs are those denoting property concepts. For ease of exposition these are discussed as a separate lexical category below, though this category is semantically delineated. Other minor closed-class lexical categories differ from nouns and verbs in having a much more circumscribed set of derivational possibilities.

2.1.   Nouns

Tobelo nouns are morphologically distinguished by the presence of a noun marker immediately preceding the noun. This prefix may be *o-*, *ma-*, or a possessive pronominal prefix indexing the person and number of the possessor. The default or unmarked noun marker is *o-*. Nouns which have an (implicit or explicit) relation to another entity are marked with the relational noun marker *ma-* or a possessive pronoun. Noun markers are written here with a following hyphen, though Hueting and many literate speakers prefer to write these morphemes as distinct words.

(45) o-kaho 'dog'
      ma-kaho 'dog'
      ahi-kaho 'my dog'

Proper names also occur with a noun marker

(46) o-Yahe   '(man's name)'
      o-Matias '(man's name)'
      o-Amerika 'America'
      o-Tobeloho 'Tobelo'

Noun markers occur on every noun in a noun phrase. Only the noun marker on the head (initial) noun varies according to the external relationships of the noun phrase.

(47) o-kaho ma-dimono   'dog'
      ahi-kaho ma-dimono 'my old dog'

Compound nouns are distinguished by the presence of two nouns roots with a single noun marker (see section 3.1.2.4 below).

2.1.1.   Number

Nouns are not specified for number, though number may be indicated via person-marking prefixes on the verb.

(48) o-nauru   wo-boa
      NM-man   3m-arrive
      'a man is coming'

(49) o-nauru   yo-boa
      NM-man   3p-arrive
      'some men are coming'

Number may also be indicated via the use of quantifiers (see section 2.1.4 below).

2.1.2.   Gender

Nouns referring to female humans are optionally marked by the prefix *ngo-*. This prefix precedes the possessive prefix and follows the noun-maker *o-*.

(50) ngo-ai-ayo
FEM-3mPOSS-mother
'his mother'

o-ngo-Rian
NM-FEM-NAME
'Rian'

The use of *ngo-* is more common in formal respectful address. Thus, one commonly hears *ahi-ayo* 'my mother' rather than *ngo-ahi-ayo*.

2.1.3. Numeral classifiers

Noun classes may be indicated via a system of numeral classifiers.

-nyawa	people
-gahumu	3-dim objects, default
-utu	long thin
-ngai	fish
-belaka	long 2-dim objects
-guriti	long 1-dim objects
-liranga	cloth
-uhanga	bunches of discrete objects
-tudili	palm roof thatch
-biono	sago bread
-nahiri	bamboo
-dehoro	torches
-baha	aren palm fibers

Table 2: Tobelo numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers occur as nouns in an appositional construction. The noun marker *o-* is used with the numeral classifier. Some examples of numeral classifiers are given below.

(51) o-gakana o-gahumu hinóto
NM-knife o-CL two
'two knifes'

(52) o-tau o-utu tumidi
NM-house NM- CL seven
'seven houses'

(53) o-nauoko o-ngai ngimoi
NM-fish NM- CL ten
'ten fish'

(54) o-aoto o-belaka hange
NM-plank NM- CL three
'three planks'

(55) ami-mane-mane o-guriti hinóto
3fPOSS-RDP-bead.necklace NM-CL two
'her two necklaces'

(56) o-hidete o-liranga hange
NM-sail NM-CL three
'three sails'

(57) o-bole o-uhanga moi
NM-banana NM-CL one
'one bunch of bananas'

(58) o-katu o-tudili moi
NM-roofing NM-CL one
'one piece of roofing material'

(59) o-keteko o-biono hange
NM-sago.bread NM-cl three
'three sago breads'

(60) o-tiba o-nahiri tuhange
NM-bamboo NM-CL eight
'eight sticks of bamboo'

(61) o-hilo o-dehoro hange
NM-torch NM-cl three
'three torches'

(62) o-kudohua o-baha moi
NM-hair.net NM-CL one
'one hair net'

2.1.4. Quantification

In general, quantification in Tobelo is achieved via the use of nouns and verbs. Thus, for example, the roots *-woe/ngoe* 'many', *-hutu* 'few', *-moruono-naga* 'one', and *-ngodumu* 'all' can function as nominal and verbal quantifiers. Examples of this type of quantification are given below.

(63) ani-tabako ma-hutu
2POSS-tobacco NM-little
'a little of your tobacco'

(64) o-ngotiri ma-ngoe
NM-canoe NM-many
'many canoes'

(65) o-nyawa manga-ngoe
NM-person 3pPOSS-many
'many people'

In addition, there is a very small number of particles which indicate quantity. These are generally reduplicated roots. When a full noun or noun phrase is present, these quantifiers immediately precede the noun. Where no noun is present, the quantifier may precede or follow the verb. The quantifier *mata-mata* 'all, every, each one' indicates an event involving multiple participants.

(66) ngomi mata-mata mi-ma-okoino o-gahi ma-deteke-oka
1e RDP-all 1e-RFLX-stand.watch NM-sea NM-beside-LOC
'we all stood watch beside the water'

(67) ka   i-honenge mata-mata
      still 3-die   RDP-all
      'still they all died'

This quantifier may occur with the distributive verb prefix *koki-*.

(68) mata-mata i-ma-koki-habeba-ilye
      RDP-all   3-RFLX-DIST-loin.cloth-UP
      'each one was wearing a loin cloth'

The particle *moi-moi* 'one-by-one' indicates an action carried out by each participant in succession.

(69) moi-moi o-nyawa   i-wi-ngaku
      RDP-one NM-person 3-3m-believe
      'each one believes'

The particle *duga-duga* 'only, except' indicates an event carried out by all except one participant or a certain group of participants.

(70) mata-mata y-oiki, duga-duga unanga w-oluku
      rdp-all   3p-go   RDP-only   3m   3m-refuse
      'everyone went, except he refused' (Hueting 1908a)

(71) duga-duga unanga ko   wo-tagi-tagi
      RDP-only   3m   well 3m-RDP-go
      'only he went'

The particles *hara-hara* 'each one' is similar to *moi-moi*, though it lacks the sequential meaning. This quantifier usually follows the noun.

(72) ma-dorou hara-hara
      RNM-bad   RDP-each.one
      'each one is bad' (Hueting 1908a)

2.1.5. Independent pronouns

Independent pronouns differ morphologically from nouns in that they are not marked with a noun marker *o-* or *ma-*.

2.1.5.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns, like full nouns, are not marked for case. The pronominal system distinguishes first-person plural inclusive and exclusive. Third person singular distinguishes masculine and feminine (human). Third-person plural distinguishes human and non-human. The complete set of independent personal pronoun is listed in the table below.

	singular	plural
1	*ngohi*	*ngomi* (EXC) *ngone* (INC)
2	*ngona*	*ngini*
3	*una(nga)* (MASC) *mun(anga)* (FEM)	*ona(nga)* (human) *ena(nga)* (non-human)

Table 3: Tobelo personal pronouns

The third-person forms have both long (e.g., *unanga*) and short (e.g., *una*) forms.

2.1.5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives are used to indicate reference to a referent in a particular location or direction. The demonstratives fall into two semantic categories, locational and directional. While they have identical syntactic distribution, they may be differentiated primarily because the directional demonstratives function as part of a larger directional system which includes directional locative adverbs and directional suffixes (see section 4.2 below). Both locational and directional demonstratives differentiate punctual versus areal reference. The punctual forms refer to a specific, definite location or time, whereas the areal forms refer to a general non-specific location or time.

2.1.5.2.1   Locational demonstratives

The locational demonstratives indicate both spatial and temporal dimensions. The proximal demonstratives *nenanga* (short form *nena*) and *naanga* (*naa*) may be translated as 'this', 'this one', 'here' or 'now'. The distal demonstratives *genanga* (*gena*) and *gaanga* (*gaa*) may be translated as 'that', 'that one', 'there' or 'then'. The forms in parentheses are alternate forms which occur freely with no semantic apparent contrast with the full forms.

	PUNCTUAL	AREAL
PROXIMAL	*nenanga* (*nena*)	*naanga* (*naa*)
DISTAL	*genanga* (*gena*)	*gaanga* (*gaa*)

Table 4: Locational demonstrative pronouns

Short forms of the areal demonstratives are not permitted when a suffix is present. Thus, in the example below the directional suffix *-óko* 'seward' is affixed to the proximal areal demonstrative *naanga*, yielding *naangóko*, not *naaóko

(73) ma-ngoha-ngohaka yo-hupu-hupu naanga-óko
      NM-RDP-child   3p-RDP-go.out PROX.AREAL-SEA
      'his children came out to the coast'

Short forms of punctual demonstratives have special forms when a suffix is present. Generally, the suffixed short form can be derived from the long form by dropping the penultimate syllable and the final vowel. Thus, the suffixed short form of the proximal punctual demonstrative *nenanga* is *neng-*. This is exemplified below, where the ablative suffix *-ino* is affixed to the proximal punctual demonstrative *nenanga*, yielding *nengino*.

(74) moi neng-ino   wo-pea
      one PROX.PNCT-ABL 3m-head
      'one with his head coming this way'

This could alternately be rendered using a long form of the demonstrative as *nenangino*.

2.1.5.2.2   Directional demonstratives

Directional demonstratives locate a referent in space with respect to an already established location. Location is achieved using a coordinate system with two orthogonal axes: a seaward-landward dimension and an upward-downward dimension. The upward-downward dimension may refer to location along the coast or vertically. In additional to these two orthogonal dimensions, there is a general directional demonstrative which specifically

indicates a location which is off the coordinate system (see section 4.2 below). Like the locational demonstratives they also have punctual and areal forms. Also, each directional demonstrative has a short form which lacks the final *-nga*.

	PUNCTUAL	AREAL
seaward	*danenanga (danena)*	*danaanga (danáa)*
landward	*dinenanga (dinena)*	*dinaanga (dináa)*
upward	*dakenanga (dakena)*	*dakaanga (dakáa)*
downward	*daenanga (daena)*	--
general	*dokenanga (dokena)*	*dokaanga (dokáa)*

Table 5: Directional demonstrative pronouns

Note that there is no downward punctual demonstrative. The general demonstratives are not general in the sense that they can refer to any direction. Rather, the general demonstratives explicitly refer to a location which lies on neither the upward-downward or seaward-landward axes, or a location which lies across a significant obstacle.

The same restrictions on the use of short forms with suffixes discussed for locational demonstratives above also apply to directional demonstratives. Examples of directional demonstratives are given below.

(75) o-Miti de mi-oara dakena ma-dobik-ilye
NM-M. and 1e-run UP.PNCT NM-part-UP
'we ran up to the upward part of Miti Island'

(76) o-Gogaili dakena
NM-G. UP.PNCT
'that Gogaili River up there'

When demonstrative pronouns occur with a directional or locative suffix, the final *-a* of the demonstrative is dropped and the final nasal of the short form changes to velar *-ng*. Thus, for example, *dakenangiha* (long form) and *dakengiha* (short form) 'landward from that (punctual) in a upward location'.

2.1.5.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns and deictic determiners

Demonstratives may function as pronouns or as deictic determiners. In other words, demonstratives may replace a noun phrase or occur in apposition to a noun phrase. When demonstratives replace a noun phrase, they function as demonstrative pronouns, as shown below.

(77) jadi ma-Kobubungu naa wa-ato
so NM-K. PROX.AREAL 3.3-say
'so Kobubungu said this'

(78) genanga ona duru yo-igo
DIST.PNCT 3p very 3p-love
'they really loved [to eat] that'

Like full nouns, demonstrative pronouns may take directional suffixes.

(79) nako to-oiki genang-ika
if 1-go DIST.PNCT-ALL
'if I go there,'

Demonstratives may also occur in apposition to a noun or noun phrase, in which case they function as deictic determiners. In this function the demonstrative appears phrase-finally.

(80) mi-wi-domoteke mia-ngohaka nenanga
1e-3m-support 1ePOSS-child PROX.PNCT
'we supported this child of ours'

(81) o-kapa danena ka to-ngona ani-kapa
NM-ship SEA.PNCT only POSS-2 2POSS-ship
'that ship down there is your ship'

(82) o-oraha genanga to-karajanga
NM-time DIST.PNCT 1-work
'at that time I was working'

(83) o-momoholehe de o-gogoduru naa i-maka-make
NM-young.woman and NM-young.man PROX.AREAL 3-RECIP-discover
'this young woman and man fell in love with each other'

(84) o-bole o-uhanga moi nenanga
NM-bole NM-CL one PROX.PNCT
'this one bunch of bananas'

As a deictic determiner, demonstratives may also occur in apposition with personal pronouns.

(85) no-oiki n-a-taaere ona gaa
2-go 2-3p-reprimand 3p DIST.AREAL
'you go reprimand them!'

Determiners are discussed further in section 4.1.2 below.

2.1.6. Names

2.1.6.1. Personal names

Personal names are usually marked with the noun marker *o-*.

(86) ngohi-o t-i-modeke o-Matias
1-also 1-3-agree NM-M.
'I also agreed with Matias'

(87) tapi ahi-ngohaka Markus wa-tobiki-oka
but 1POSS-child M. 3m.3-break-PERF
'but my son Markus broke it'

Personal names may also occur with the relational noun marker *ma-*.

(88) ngohi wo-hi-dotoko ma-Yahe ma-romanga o-baatuku
1 3m-1-teach NM-Y. NM-name NM-k.o.snare
'it was Yahe who taught me about those things called baatuku'

Names of mythological characters are usually marked with the relational noun marker *ma-*. Female names may also include the prefix *ngo-*.

(89) jadi ma-Kobubungu naa wa-ato
      so   NM-K.   this 3m.3-say
      'so this Kobubungu said'

(90) i-mi-bole-oka ma-ngo-Memeua
      3-3f-tired-ASP NM-FEM-M.
      'Memeua was already tired'

Names referring to a person of a particular region or, more generally, the people of a particular region are indicated using a noun phrase consisting of a place name followed by the noun *nyawa* 'person'

(91) o-Miti ma-nyawa mi-ma-toomu
      NM-M.   NM-person 1e-RFLX-gather
      'we people from Miti gathered together'

2.1.6.2. Place names

Place names occur with the noun marker *o-*.

(92) to-karajanga daku o-Gonga
      1-work   up   NM-G.
      'I worked up the coast at Gonga'

(93) jadi mi-oara-oli o-UboUbo-iha
      so   1e-run-REP   NM-U.-LAND
      'so we ran back inland to Ubo-Ubo'

(94) o-Miti   naa   yo-uti-iha
      NM-M.   here 3p-arrive-LAND
      'they came here to Miti'

(95) ma-lanpangan yo-diai   o-Miti   ma-nuhu-oka
      NM-airstrip   3pS-make NM-M.   NM-island-LOC
      they made an airstrip on the island of Miti'

2.1.7. Vocatives

A limited number of vocative forms exist, in particular for addressing mother and father. The vocative forms do not occur with a noun marker. Thus compare the following,

(96) meme 'mother!' (cf. *ahi-ayo* 'my mother')
      baba 'father!' (cf. *ahi-ama* 'my father')
      hobata 'sir' (VOCATIVE)

In very respectful address vocative forms may be used with possessive noun prefixes, thus, *ahi-baba* 'my dear father!'.

2.1.8. Relational nouns

Certain nouns cannot occur with the *o-* noun marker. These nouns must occur either with a possessive prefix or with the relational noun marker *ma-*. These nouns are referred to as

relational nouns.[5] Tobelo relational nouns include nouns referring to kinship, as exemplified below.

(97) Kinship Nouns

      ma-ayo   'mother, mother's elder sister'
      ma-ama   'father, father's elder brother'
      ma-elye   'grandmother'
      ma-ete   'grandfather'
      ma-owa   'paternal aunt'
      ma-pepe   'maternal uncle'
      ma-jaru   'maternal aunt (mother's younger sister)'
      ma-dodo   'paternal uncle (father's younger brother)'
      ma-riaka   'older same-sex sibling'
      ma-dodoto   'younger same-sex sibling'
      ma-hiranga 'opposite-sex sibling'

Relational nouns also include many nouns referring to body parts, regardless of whether they are attached to the body. For example,

(98) ma-lako   'eye'
      ma-lyou   'foot'
      ma-haeke   'head'
      ma-ngauku 'ear'
      ma-kai   'skin'

Not all body fluids, parts, and products are relational nouns. Examples include *o-awunu* 'blood', *o-gului* 'tail', *o-taduku* 'horn', and *o-gumi* 'mustache'.

2.2. Verbs

Tobelo verbs are morphologically distinguished by the presence of person-marking prefixes cross-referencing a t least one and as many a s two nominal a rguments. Since most T obelo roots may occur as either a noun or a verb, for a given root the question of whether the noun or verb form is more basic is somewhat moot. There is no obligatory verbal inflection other than the person-marking prefixes. Inflected verbs can be divided into three categories according to which set of person-marking prefixes is used. Transitive verbs employ both subjective and objective pronominal prefixes.

(99) to-ni-gohara
      1-2-hit
      'I hit you'

Active intransitive verbs employ only the subjective prefixes.

(100) to-tagi
      1-go
      'I go'

Stative intransitive verbs employ only the objective prefixes, though the objective prefix must be preceded with third-person non-human subjective prefix *i-*.

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[5] This term is inspired by van der Veen's (1915) use of the term "betrekking-aanduider" to refer to the prefix *ma-*.

(101) i-hi-bole
       3-1-tired
       'I'm tired'

Most verb roots admit only a subset of these three inflectional patterns. A large class of verbs may inflect in either the active intransitive or stative intransitive patterns. For example,

(102) wo-eluku
       3m-tell.lie
       'he lies'

(103) i-wi-eluku
       3-3m-tell.lie
       'he is a liar'

In principle, a given verb root may not occur with both transitive and active intransitive morphology without additional morphology. For example, the root *-ohiki* 'bathe' is generally transitive but may occur as active intransitive with the addition of reflexive morphology. Thus,

(104) ho-wi-ohiki
       1i-3m-bathe
       'we are bathing him'

(105) ho-ma-ohiki
       1i-RFLX-bathe
       'we are bathing'

Similarly, the root *-kilianga* 'disperse' is generally active intransitive but may occur as transitive with the addition of causative morphology. Thus,

(106) yo-kilianga
       3p-disperse
       'they dispersed'

(107) ya-hi-gilianga
       3p.3-APL-disperse
       'they separated it'

However, because the cross-referencing of third-person non-human objective arguments is governed by discourse factors, it may be difficult to determine whether a given verb is transitive or active intransitive. For example, the form *yo-hi-gilianga* 'they separated it' is equally possible as an alternative to (107), given appropriate discourse context.

2.3. Property concept words

Adjectives do not form a distinct morphologically-defined lexical category in Tobelo. Rather, root morphemes referring to property concepts may be expressed as either nouns or verbs depending on the discourse context. Verbal adjectives are inflected just like other intransitive verbs and may occur with either subjective or objective pronominal prefixes. Attributive adjectives are generally expressed as nouns.

(108) o-toimi   ma-doto
       NM-spear   NM-sharp
       'sharp spears'

Predicative adjectives may be expressed as either nouns or verbs, depending on the discourse context (cf. Holton 1999).

(109) o-ode   ma-pako
       NM-pig   RNM-large
       'the pig is large'

(110) o-ode   i-pako
       NM-pig   3-large
       'the pig is large'

2.3.1. Scalar constructions

As with other adjectival constructions, Tobelo scalar constructions can be formed from either verbal or nominal property words. This section describes superlative, equative, and comparative constructions. While property words are unique in their ability to participate in scalar constructions, scalar constructions do not single out either nominal or verbal forms of property words. Comparative, equative and superlative constructions can be formed with both nominal and verbal property words.

2.3.1.1. Comparative constructions

Verbal comparative constructions are formed by affixing the durative aspectual suffix *-ohi* to a verbal property word. The subject of the comparison occurs as the single core argument of the verbal property word, and the object of the comparison occurs as an oblique marked with the instrumental/comitative preposition *de-*.

(111) o-boki   ya-torou-ohi   de   o-kaho
       NM-cat   3p.3-bad-DUR   with NM-dog
       'cats are worse than dogs'

(112) o-gota   i-kurutu-ohi   de   ami-tau
       NM-tree   3-tall-DUR   with 1iPOSS-house
       'the tree is taller than our house'

Nominal comparative constructions are formed using the verb *i-holoi* 'more' immediately following a nominal property word. The subject of the comparison precedes the property word. Again, the object of the comparison occurs as an oblique marked with the instrumental/comitative preposition *de*.

(113) o-mia-mia   nena ma-amoko i-holoi de   o-kaho
       NM-monkey   this RNM-large 3-more   with NM-dog
       'this monkey is bigger than a dog'

2.3.1.2. Equative constructions

Equative constructions may also be formed from either nominal or verbal property words. Verbal equative constructions are formed using the particle *ho* 'like' immediately preceding the object of comparison.

(114) o-kaho   i-kurutu ho   o-mia-mia
       NM-dog   3-long   like NM-monkey
       'the dog is as long as the monkey'

Nominal equative constructions may be formed using the verb *imatero* 'same' immediately following a nominal property word. The subject and object of the equation are conjoined and precede the property word. The verb is explicitly marked as reflexive.

(115) o-kaho de o-mia-mia ma-kurutu i-ma-tero
NM-dog and NM-monkey RNM-long 3-RFLX-same
'the monkey and the dog are as long as each other'

A less common method of indicating equality is the use of the suffix *-ani* on one of the two nouns being compared.[6]

(116) ma-tiba-ani ma-amoko
RNM-bamboo-EQUAT RNM-large
'as large as a bamboo' (Hueting 1936:340)

2.3.1.3.   Superlative constructions

Superlative constructions are similar in form to comparatives, except they lack an object of comparison, as in (117).

(117) o-Yahe i-wi-kuata-ohi
NM-Y.   3-3m-strong-DUR
'Yahe is stronger/strongest'

2.4.   Minor lexical categories

Minor lexical categories include adverbs, numerals, and prepositions. Unlike nouns and verbs, these words do not occur with inflectional morphology and often occur without derivational morphology. A separate category of particles could arguably be included here, though this would be largely a remainder category, consisting of those words which do not fit into any other class. Particles are discussed separately in section 4.8.2 below.

2.4.1. Adverbs

The category of adverb includes a small number of words which take neither verbal nor nominal morphology and function to modify the entire proposition. The term adverb is thus used here in a strictly formal sense; many words which function as verbal modifiers occur with verbal morphology as verbs (though often with reduced inflectional possibilities). Such words are not described as adverbs here.

Adverbs are distinguished syntactically from numerals in that they cannot occur with the noun marker *ma-*. Adverbs are distinguished from prepositions in that they do not function as oblique case markers. Five categories of adverbs are distinguished here on a largely semantic basis. Note that Tobelo lacks manner adverbs; manner is expressed using verbs.

2.4.1.1.   Temporal adverbs

The adverb *boteani* 'now, presently' indicates an event which is occurring at the time of reference or is just about to occur.

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[6] Examples of this type are rare in modern speech and may be archaic. Hueting also acknowledges that this construction was not common in his data from more than a century ago.

(118) ho boteani yo-hutu-úku
thus presently 3p-dark-DOWN

ma-goduru gena wo-boa-kali ma-koano ngo-ai-ora-ika
RNM-young.man that 3m-come-FREQ RNM-king FEM-3mPOSS-daughter-ALL
'presently it became dark and the young man came to the king's daughter' (Hueting 1908b)

The adverb *botino* 'soon, shortly' indicates a greater length of time than *boteani*.

(119) yo-oiki o-tiwi yo-lingiri botino de yo-lio ma-tau
3p-go NM-money 3p-look.for soon and 3p-return RNM-house
'they went looking for money [but] soon returned to their house'

With complex clauses this adverb can also have the meaning 'until, as soon as'.

(120) yo-goana botino i-ma-ngumo, naga yo-goli
3p-watch.over soon 3-RFLX-jump exist 3p-bite
'they are on guard and as soon as it jumps, they bite'

(121) nako botino mi-ngodumu-ua bote i-wi-ciho
if soon 1e-all.together-NEG sure 3-3m-aggressive
'as soon as we were not all together, he was aggressive'

The adverb *boto* 'later, afterward' indicates an event which takes place after a short time has elapsed. (Compare the verb stem *-boto* 'finished'.)

(122) de boto onanga yo-lio
and later 3p 3p-return
'and later they went home' (Hueting 1908b)

The adverb *kangano* 'previously' indicates an event which has occurred in the recent past.

(123) naa kangano o-ade-ade mengenai o-Paca ma-taaga, huh?
here previously NM-RDP-story about NM-P. RNM-lake right?
'we were just a moment ago talking about Lake Paca, right?'

The adverb *kangano* may be combined with the future marker *aha* to indicate an event which has occurred very recently.

(124) kangano aha de wo-honenge
previously FUT and 3m-die
'he only just recently died' (Hueting 1936:383)

The adverb *hara* 'times' is used before numerals to indicate the number of times which an action occurs.

(125) hara hinóto mi-oiki o-berera-ika
times two 1e-go NM-town-ALL
'we have gone two times to [Tobelo] town'

(126) hara moi-oli t-a-diai
times one-REP 1-3-make
'I made it one more time'

The adverb *aha* marks future events. The future is not a true tense, in that it does not indicate time with respect to a fixed reference point. Rather, *aha* has an epistemic sense, characterizing a potential event which is likely to occur.

(127) i-arehe   aha w-a-lega-lega   to-ngohi   ahi-ngekomo
3-morning FUT 3m-3-RDP-go.see POSS-1PRO 1POSS-road
'In the morning he will find my road'

The adverbs *aha* is often used together with the coordinator *de* to indicate a temporal linkage between clauses (see section 4.7 below).

(128) ya-aiki-oka   de aha ya-polulu
3p.3-take.away-PERF and FUT 3p.3-pinch
'after removing them they will pinch them'

(129) genanga-oka de aha i-pali   ma-kakatama-ino
that-LOC   and FUT 3-roll.up NM-tongs-ALL
'after that they will roll it up with tongs'

The particle *dahao* 'before, then' indicates that an event takes place in sequence. It is actually a contraction of *de aha-o*, which consists of the coordinator *de* 'and', future marker *aha*, and the suffix *-o* 'also'. It almost always occurs in the contracted form.

(130) o-wange hange dahao t-a-hidere
NM-day   three before 1-3-rub.between.hands
'three days [pass] before I rub it'

(131) ya-moi ya-hinoto yo-kuranga-ohi gaanga hiadono kiani yo-boa-ahi   dahao
3p3-one 3p.3-two 3p-missing-DUR there until   must 3p-come-IMPF before
'if one or two are missing, we hold up until they come'

2.4.1.2. Evaluative adverbs

Evaluative adverbs usually occur immediately preceding the verb which they modify. Evaluative adverbs may also occur in equational sentences, as in example (137). The adverb *kiani* indicates obligation.

(132) nako no-ao   kiani o-todoku-ŭku
if   2-carry must NM-k.o.bamboo-DOWN
'if you carry [water], you must [put it] in the bamboo'

(133) o-akere i-na-olu   gaanga kiani ho-ma-tai-taiti
NM-water 3-1i-flood that   must 1i-RFLX-RDP-hurry
'the water is flooding us -- we must hurry'

(134) i-arehe   kiani t-a-tobiki
3-morning must 1-3-break.up
'In the morning I must break it up'

The deontic adverb *tanu* 'should' indicates an event which is desirable or obligatory.

(135) tanu   ngone ho-morene
should 1i   1i-rejoice
'we should rejoice'

(136) tanu h-oiki ho-ma-ohiki
should 1i-go 1i-RFLX-bathe
'we should go bathe'

In a few cases, *tanu* may have an epistemic sense, indicating the truth or certainty of proposition, as in the following example.

(137) tanu   ma-dutu   o-Paca ma-dutu
should RNM-origin NM-P.   RNM-origin
'that should be the origin of [Lake] Paca'

2.4.1.3. Epistemic adverbs

The adverb *bote* 'sure, certainly' indicates the speaker's assertion of certainty (compare the verb stem *-bote* 'to be sure').

(138) bote   o-nauoko ya-olyomo
certainly NM-fish   3p.3-eat
'of course we will eat the fish'

(139) nako botino mi-ngodumu-ua,   bote i-wi-hiho
if   then   1e-all.together-NEG sure 3-3m-punch
'if we're not all together, then he surely must have been punched'

2.4.1.4. Directional locative adverbs

Directional locative adverbs function as part of the larger directional system to indicate location with respect to a two-dimensional coordinate system contrasting a seaward-landward axis with an upward-downward axis. In addition, a general directional locative adverb *doka* indicates location without reference to the coordinate system.

dai	seaward ('at a seaward location')
dina	landward ('at a landward location')
daku	upward ('at an upward location')
dau	downward ('at a downward location')
doka	general ('at a location away')

Table 6: Directional locative adverbs

Since the directional locative adverbs are inherently locative, they do not occur with the locative suffix *-oka*. However, the locative suffix may occur with a noun in construction with a directional locative adverb.

(140) dina   o-lyoku-oka
landward NM-mountain-LOC
'landward in the mountains'

Directional locative adverbs may occur with directional suffixes. The resulting form indicates motion from a location specified by the directional locative adverb in a direction specified by the suffix.

(141) dina-iha
landward-LAND
'from a landward place in an inland direction'

The order directional adverb plus directional suffix may be reversed by the use of the prefix *ng-*.[7] Thus,

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[7] The inverted suffix plus adverb construction is reportedly rare in the Boeng dialect (cf. Taylor 1984:115). In the Heleworuru dialect it appears quite frequently in un-elicited speech, though there is considerable inter-speaker variation.

(142) ng-iha-dina
NG-LAND-landward
'from a landward place in an inland direction'

(143) ya-*pindah* manga-kapongo ng-ika-dina
3p.3-move 3pPOSS-village NG-ALL-landward
'they moved their village away from a landward location'

2.4.1.5. Emphatic adverbs

The adverb *dika* 'just, only' has a concessive, restrictive, or contrastive quality. It is often used to indicate contrast. It may occur in any position in the clause.

(144) ngohi naanga o-Kobubungu, mo-hi-ahoko dika ngohi o-Teteua
1 this NM-K. 3f-1-call just 1 NM-T.
'I am Kobubungu, she just calls me Teteua'

(145) ona i-ma-idu manga-baju koiwa i-ma-habeba-ie dika
3p 3-RFLX-sleep 3pPOSS-shirt not.exist 3-RFLX-loin.cloth-UP only
'When they sleep they don't wear a shirt, only a loincloth.'

(146) to-ma-dumule-okahi dika de to-ma-datomo o-igo
1-RFLX-garden-SEQ just and 1-RFLX-plant NM-coconut
'I just keep on gardening and planting coconuts'

The adverb *duru* 'very, really' is an intensifier.

(147) genanga ona duru yo-igo
that 3p really 3p-love
'they really loved [to eat] that'

(148) o-gohomanga duru i-woe
NM-crocodile very 3-many
'there are very many crocodiles'

The adverb *ka* 'still, yet, only' is similar in meaning to the clause-combining particle *ngaro* (section 4.7.2.2.3 below), yet *ka* may also occur within a simple clause.

(149) o-hidaioko i-wuwu ka o-tonaka-ie i-wuwu
NM-wind 3-blow yet NM-ground-UP 3-blow
the wind blew, still up from the ground it blew

(150) manga-gurutu-ika ka yo-tagi
3pPOSS-long-ALL only 3p-walk
he could move far while only walking,

2.4.2. Numerals

Cardinal numerals contrast with nouns in that they may occur without a noun marker. While the original system may have differed, it appears to operate now as a base ten counting system. The numbers one through nine and corresponding multiples of ten from ten through ninety are shown in the table below.

1	*moi*	10	*ngimoi*
2	*hinóto*	20	*monaoko*
3	*hange*	30	*moruange*
4	*iata*	40	*moruata*
5	*motoa*	50	*moritoa*
6	*butanga*	60	*moributanga*
7	*tumidi*	70	*moritumidi*
8	*tuhange*	80	*morituhange*
9	*hiwo*	90	*morihiwo*

Table 7: Tobelo numerals

There are two additional numeral bases which differ from those in the table above in that they do occur with nominal morphology, namely *-ratuhu* 'hundred' and *-saana* 'thousand'.[8] These numeral bases occur with the noun marker *o-*, and must be followed by another numeral. Thus, *o-ratuhu moi* 'one hundred' and *o-saana hinóto* 'two thousand'. Other numerals are formed by using the conjunction *de* beginning with the larger numeral bases.

(151) 11 ngimoi de moi
47 moruata de tumidi
123 o-ratuhu moi de monaoko de hange
1234 o-saana moi de o-ratuhu hinóto de moruange de iata

There is no generally accepted way of forming much larger numerals, as Malay is most often used to express these.

Numerals may appear as particles with no additional morphology immediately following the noun or noun phrase which they modify.

(152) o-hutu hange
NM-night three
'three nights'

(153) o-tau ma-gare-garehe hinóto
NM-house NM-RDP-white two
'two white houses'

Numerals may also appear with verbal morphology, with the meaning 'to be NUMBER'.

(154) i-mi-hinóto mi-lio-ka
3-1e-two 1e-return-PERF
'the two of us returned'

Ordinal numbers are differentiated from cardinal numbers in that they are marked with the relational noun marker *ma-*.

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[8] While *-ratuhu* is clearly borrowed from Malay *ratus* 'hundred', Hueting speculates that *-saana* may have originally referred not to 'thousand' but to any large quantity (1936:372).

(155) o-tau   ma-hinóto
      NM-house NM-two
      'the second house'

(156) o-mede   ma-hange
      NM-month three
      'the third month'

2.4.3. Prepositions

There is a single preposition in Tobelo, the instrumental/comitative preposition *de*. This preposition occurs in complementary distribution with the locational enclitics and likewise marks oblique arguments, which are hence not cross-referenced via pronominal prefixes on the verb. The semantic range of this single preposition is quite broad, as exemplified below (here *de* is by convention glossed simply 'with').

(157) de   ma-kakatama n-a-lye-ino
      with NM-tongs   2-3-roll-ALL
      'Roll it up with the tongs'

(158) ngohi-o   to-modeke de   o-Matias
      1PRO-also 1-agree   with NM-M.
      'I also agreed with Matias'

(159) ho   mo-hi-tamunu-oli   de   o-dedeta
      thus 3f-APL-cover-REP   with NM-sago.sieve
      'So she covered it again with a sago sieve'

(160) ma-Jepang-oka *juga sama-sama* yo-niki   de   ngomi
      NM-J.-LOC   also together   3p-follow with 1e
      'the Japanese also came along with us'

(161) *tapi* mangali de   o-jou   ai-dora   ta-akunu
      but because with NM-lord 3mPOSS-compassion 1.3-able
      'but because of the lord's compassion I was able to'

(162) tanu   ma-hi-kawing de   ami-ngohaka o-goduru   genanga
      should 3f.3-APL-marry with 3fPOSS-child NM-young.man this
      'she should marry her child to the young man'

3.   Morphology

Because many Tobelo roots can occur as nouns or verbs, morphology is discussed here in three subsections, according to the domain of the particular morphemes or morphological processes. Some morphology is restricted to either nouns or verbs, but not both, while other morphology can occur with any word class, including both nouns and verbs.

3.1.   Nominal morphology

3.1.1.   Noun prefixes

3.1.1.1.   Noun markers *o-* and *ma-*

All Tobelo nouns, if not overtly possessed, occur with either the absolute noun marker *o-* or the relational noun marker *ma-*. Possessed nouns are marked by a possessive prefix which indexes the person and number of the human possessor (see following section). The choice of

noun marker depends largely on discourse context. For most nouns the citation form occurs with *o-*. The prefix *o-* is the unmarked prefix; its presence signals the absence of other noun-marking prefixes.

(163) o-kaho   'dog'
      o-wange   'sun'
      o-Matias   PERSONAL NAME
      o-Tobeloho   'Tobelo' (PLACE)

Nouns which are inherently possessed or stand in an inherent relationship to another entity are marked with the relational noun marker *ma-*. Such nouns depend on another entity for their interpretation.

(164) ma-koana   'king'
      ma-dokara   'red'
      ma-sononga   'other side'

A 'king' must be the king of some kingdom; the color 'red' must be the color of some object; the 'other side' must be the other side of something. All of these nouns thus have an inherent relationship to another (unexpressed) entity.

The relational noun maker *ma-* may also be used to indicate relational dependencies established in discourse. Thus, nominal referents tend to be introduced using the *o-* marker, while succeeding references use the *ma-* marker. For example, the referent *-gaharu* 'eaglewood' in (165) is first introduced with *o-* and then later referred to with *ma-*.

(165) o-oraha   genanga,
      NM-time   that

      o= --
      HEST

      o-gaharu   yo-ija,
      NM-eagle.wood 3p-buy

      yo-uti   ..o-LabiLabi-ha.
      3p-arrive NM-L.-LAND
      'At that time they arrived in Labi-Labi to buy eagle wood.'

          ((lines omitted))

      dina   mi-a-iha,
      inland 1e-3-go.inland

      o-hutu   hange,
      NM-night three

      mi-lingiri   .. **ma-gaharu**.
      1e-look.for NM-eagle.wood
      'We went inland for three nights to look for eagle wood.'

When these noun markers immediately precede the head noun of a noun phrase, they take the entire noun phrase under their scope. In this sense they function as proclitic particles; however, every noun—not only the head—within the noun phase is preceded by a noun marker.

(166) o-kaho   ma-are-garehe i-oara-ilye
      NM-dog NM-RDP-white 3-run-DIR
      'a white dog ran by'

(167) ma-kaho ma-gare-garehe i-oara-ilye
NM-dog NM-RDP-white 3-run-DIR
'the white dog ran by'

3.1.1.2. Possessive prefixes

Possession is indicated via a prefix on the possessed NP. For human possessors, number and person of the possessor is indicated via choice of possessive prefix.

	singular	plural
1	*ahi-*	*mia-* (EXCLUSIVE) *nanga-* (INCLUSIVE)
2	*ani-*	*nia-*
3	*ai-* (MASC) *ami-* (FEM)	*manga-* (human)
	ma- (non-human)	

Table 8: Possessive prefixes

The possessive construction may optionally be proceeded by an independent pronoun prefixed with *to-*. The longer form appears to be the older and more formal construction.

(11) (to-ngohi) ngo-ahi-hiranga
POSS-1 FEM-1POSS-opposite.sex.sibling
'my sister'

(12) (to-ngohi) ahi-hiranga
POSS-1 1POSS-opposite.sex.sibling
'my brother'

(13) o-ngo-Rian (to-munanga) ami-hiranga
NM-FEM-R. POSS-3f 3fPOSS-opposite.sex.sibling
'Rian's brother'

Non-human possessor's are marked by the prefix *ma-*.

(14) ma-ode (to-enanga) ma-inomo
NM-pig POSS-3nhum NM-food
'the pig's food'

(15) to-enanga ma-inomo
POSS-3nhum NM-food
'their food'

3.1.1.3. Feminine *ngo-*

The prefix *ngo-* may optionally be used with nouns referring to female humans. This prefix precedes the possessive prefix, if present, and follows the noun-makers *o-* and *ma-*.

(168) ngo-ai-ayo
FEM-3mPOSS-mother
'his mother'

(169) o-ngo-Rian
NM-FEM-R.
'Rian' (woman's name)

3.1.1.4. Nominalization

There are three types of productive nominalizing morphology: reduplication, voicing, and instrumental. These are realized morphologically via prefixation or modification of the initial consonant of the noun. In addition, since many roots can occur as nouns or verbs with appropriate inflectional morphology, zero-derivation might be considered to be a fourth type of nominalizing morphology.

3.1.1.4.1 Reduplication

The reduplicative prefix Co-, where C corresponds to the initial consonant of the root, may be used to indicate agentive, instrumental, manner or objective reduplication.

(3) -riwo 'to help'
ma-ro-riwo 'helper'

-dowiti 'carry on shoulder'
ma-do-dowiti 'stick used for carrying on shoulder'

-tagi 'to walk'
ma-do-dagi 'way of walking'
awi-do-dagi 'his way of walking'

-leha 'to ask'
ma-lo-leha 'question'

-mane 'to court'
o-ma-mane 'lover'

3.1.1.4.2 Voicing

Many types of nominalization may also be achieved by voicing the initial consonant of the root.

(6) -toro 'pass thru waves'
o-doro 'passage thru the waves'

-puku 'to swell'
ahi-buku 'knee'

It is possible for there to be a semantic contrast between nominalization achieved by reduplication, voicing and zero-derivation.

(170) ahi-buku 'my knee' (voicing)
ahi-puku 'my knucke' (zero-derivation)

ma-ro-riwo 'helper' (reduplication)
ma-riwo 'help' (zero-derivation)

Of course, for roots which contain an initial voiced consonant it is not possible to contrast nominalization achieved via voicing with that achieved via zero-derivation.

3.1.1.4.3   Instrumental nominalization

The prefix *hi-* may be used with a noun root to derive a verb which refers to the action carried out using that noun or an action which results in the creation of that noun.

(171) ai-payu   i-ma-hi-hidete
      3mPOSS-umbrella   3-RFLX-NOM-sail
      'He used his umbrella as a sail'

(172) yo-hi-bait-oka
      3p-NOM-hole-PERF
      'they buried him'

This prefix has the same form as the applicative verb prefix, discussed in section 3.2.5 below.

3.1.2.   Noun suffixes

Noun suffixes include the locative, allative, ablative, and directional suffixes, which function as oblique case markers, as well as the suffix *-o* 'also'.

3.1.2.1.   Locative suffix

The primary function of the locative suffix *-oka* is to mark locative arguments. Nouns suffixed with *-oka* cannot be cross-referenced on the verb via person-marking prefixes and thus cannot be core verbal arguments.

(173) o-akere-oka   to-ma-ohiki
      NM-water-LOC   1-RFLX-bathe
      'I bathed at/in the river'

Place names used without the suffix *-oka* refer to location at a place.

(174) o-Kata mi-ma-toomu
      NM-K.   1e-RFLX-gather
      'we gathered at Kata'

When suffixed to place names, *-oka* derives nouns which refer to the people of that place. This is the standard way of deriving ethnonyms in Tobelo.

(175) o-Tobelohoka 'Tobelorese'
      o-Galelaka 'Galelarese'
      o-Moroka 'Moro'

Unlike true locative arguments, ethnonyms derived with *-oka* can be cross-referenced on the verb as core arguments.

(176) ya-tuduku   ma ya-yabo-ua   o-Tobeloho-oka gaa
      3p.3-throw.spear but 3p.3-injure-NEG   NM-Tobelo-LOC   those
      'they speared but they didn't wound those Tobelorese'

(177) ma-Moro-oka naanga h-a-make-ua   de   nanga-laki
      RNM-M.-LOC   these   1i-3-find-NEG with 1iPOSS-eye
      'we can't see these Moro people with our eyes'

Tobelo nouns are unmarked for core case roles. Instead, subject and object case roles are indicated via obligatory pronominal prefixes which index core nominal arguments. Oblique case roles are often, though not always, marked with an oblique case marker. These oblique case markers never occur on core arguments. The case marker may be either a locative or directional suffix or a preposition.

3.1.2.2.   Allative and ablative suffixes

Like the locative suffix, the allative and ablative suffixes mark oblique arguments which are not cross-referenced on the verb as core arguments. The allative *-ika* indicates motion toward the noun; the ablative *-ino* indicates motion away from the noun.

(178) o-Amerika-ika   to-oiki
      NM-America-ALL   1-go
      'I'm going to America'

(179) ahi-tau-ino   wo-boa
      1POSS-house-ABL 3m-come
      'He's coming to my house'

These suffixes could also be viewed as a subset of the directional suffixes, discussed in the following section.

3.1.2.3.   Directional suffixes

Four directional suffixes indicate motion toward the noun in the direction specified by the suffix. Directional suffixes indicate direction along two orthogonal dimensions. One dimension contrasts seaward versus landward; a second dimension contrasts up and down the coast or river (defined locally), or up and down vertically (see section 4.2 below). As with the locative, allative and ablative suffixes, nouns marked with a directional suffix cannot be cross-referenced on the verb as core arguments.

(180) o-Jakarta-óko   to-oiki
      NM-Jakarta-SEA   1-go
      'I'm going to Jakarta'

(181) o-Iyoku-iha   to-oiki
      NM-mountains-LAND 1-go
      'I'm going to the mountains'

(182) ahi-dumule-úku   to-oiki
      1POSS-garden-DOWN 1-go
      'I'm going down the coast to my garden'

(183) o-akere-ilye   to-oiki
      NM-water-UP   1-go
      'I'm going up the coast to the river'

Directional suffixes are not obligatory. Thus, the goal argument in (184) is marked with the directional *-iha* 'landward' (see below), while that in (185) is unmarked.

(184) o-takoro butanga mi-ma-togumu,
      NM-hour six   1i-RFLX-rest

      mi-lio   mia-tau-iha.
      1e-return 1ePOSS-house-LAND
      'We rested for six hours and returned to our houses.'

(185) y-ato i-aman-oka,
      3p-say 3-safe-PERF

      ho   ho-lio   o-kapongo.
      thus 1i-return NM-village
      'They said it was safe, so we returned to the village'

Directional suffixes may also occur on verbs (see section 3.3.3 below). When direction is indicated via a verb suffix, allative and ablative nominal arguments may occur with the locative enclitic -oka, with appropriate directional enclitic on the verb.

(186) o-baiti-oka   yo-wohama-úku
       NM-hole-LOC 3p-enter-DOWN
       'They went down in a hole'

Directional suffixes may be used to create a predication from a noun. Thus, in the following example the downward suffix -úku indicates motion downward toward the nominal referent to which the suffix is attached.

(187) kiani o-todoku-úku
       must NM-k.o.bamboo-DOWN
       'you must [put it] in the bamboo'

Directional suffixes may also be used as verbs, with appropriate derivational morphology (see section 3.3.3 below).

3.1.2.4. Noun suffix -o

The suffix -o has the meaning 'also, too'. It may affix to nouns or pronouns. It follows other noun suffixes, if present.

(188) ngohi-o to-lio
       1-also 1-return
       'I also returned home'

(189) ni-akunu-ua ni-manarama ma-JouMadutu-ika de   o-arata-ika-o
       2p-able-NEG 2p-work   RNM-Lord -ALL   and NM-treasure-ALL-also
       'you can not serve both the Lord and things' (LAI 1993)

3.1.3. Nominal compounds

Compound nouns are distinguished morphologically from noun phrases and appositions of two nouns by the presence of a single noun marker or possessive prefix. Thus compare the noun phrase,

(190) o-hekata ma-rokata
       NM-wife RNM-husband
       'the wife's husband'

with the compound below,

(191) o-hekata-rokata
       NM-wife-husband
       'married couple'

Several examples of compounds from different semantic classes are given below.

Compound nouns comprised of kinship words form words which refer to a group of relations including those referred to by the individual parts of the compound.

(192) o-geri-doroa   'all of a man's in-laws'
       o-geri   'brother-in-law'
       o-doroa   'son-in-law'

(193) o-hekata-rokata   'married couple'
       o-hekata   'wife'

o-rokata   husband

Nouns referring to kinship or other social relationship concepts may be formed with gia-, a reduced form of the noun -giama 'hand'.

(194) ma-gia-hiranga   'brother and sister'
       hiranga   'opposite sex sibling'

(195) ma-gia-dutu   'basis of Tobelo social structure'
       dutu   'owner'

Compounds are especially common in names for biotic forms.

(196) o-gului-tubo   'k.o. small black snake'
       o-gului   'tail'
       tubo   'to erupt'

(197) o-namo-daro   'k.o. red bird'
       namo   'bird (Galela)'
       daromo   'red'

Apparent compounds may also occur with borrowings, where an entire phrase has been borrowed as a single noun with a single Tobelo noun marker.

(198) o-ayam-balanda   'turkey' (<Malay)
       ayam   'chicken' (Malay)
       balanda   'Dutch' (Malay)

(199) o-kecematan Tobelo 'Tobelo district'
       kecematan   'district' (Malay)

3.2.   Verbal morphology

The relative Tobelo verb is obligatorily inflected for at least one and as many as two arguments via system of subjective and objective pronominal person-marking prefixes. The order of verb morphemes is quite rigid and can be described by the template below.

SUBJ	OBJ	RFLX RECIP	APPLICATIVE	DISTRIBUTIVE HABITUAL INTENSIFIER	ROOT	ASPECT/NEGATION/ DIRECTIONAL

Table 9: Verb template

The order of individual aspect, negative and directional suffixes is discussed in section 3.3.1 below.

3.2.1. Person-marking

Tobelo verbs cross-reference at least one and as many as two core arguments via a system of personal prefixes. There are two paradigms of personal prefixes, subjective and objective.[9] For intransitive verbs the choice between these two paradigms is governed by lexical aspect (cf. Holton 1997). Active intransitive predicates cross-reference their single argument via the

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[9] These terms are intended as descriptive labels only and are not intended to represent the patterning of Tobelo grammatical relations, which are much closer to an active-stative than to a nominative-accusative system (see section 4.5).

subjective paradigm; stative intransitive predicates cross-reference their single argument via the objective paradigm. Both paradigms index the person and number of the referent.

	SG	PL
1	*to-*	*ho-* (INC)
		mi- (EXC)
2	*no-*	*ni-*
3m	*wo-*	*yo-*
3f	*mo-*	
3		i-

Table 10: Subjective person-marking prefixes

The third-person singular subjective prefixes distinguish masculine, feminine and non-human. The third-person plural prefixes distinguish animate and inanimate. Both singular non-humans and plural inanimates are indexed by the prefix *i-* (cf. H. Sheldon 1991 on Galela). First and second person subjective inflection is straightforward. (Note that Tobelo has borrowed the Austronesian inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural.) The third person inflection is slightly more complicated. For referential human arguments a gender distinction is maintained in the singular but not in the plural.[10]

(200) yo-honenge
       3p-die
       'They [human] died'

The third person *i-* prefix is used primarily to refer to non-humans and inanimates.

(201) i-honenge
       3-die
       'It/they [non-human] died'

In cases where the gender of the human argument is unknown, the third person plural subjective prefix is used.

(202) o-nyawa   yo-boa
       NM-person   3p-come
       'Someone is coming'

The objective paradigm makes the same semantic distinctions as the subjective paradigm. Objective prefixes always occur together with a subjective prefix. In the case of intransitive verbs which inflect for the objective paradigm, the *i-* subjective prefix is used.

(203) i-hi-pehaka
       3-1-wet
       'I am wet'

(204) i-ni-pehaka
       3-2-wet
       'You are wet'

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[10] Diedre Sheldon describes the discourse factors which condition the use of non-human person-marking to refer to human referents in Galela, a closely related North Halmaheran language (1986:236). Galela differs somewhat from Tobelo, in that subject person-marking prefixes may be omitted for non-topical participants, whereas in Tobelo they are obligatory.

(205) i-mi-pehaka
       3-3f-wet
       'She is wet'

The objective person-marking prefixes are shown in the following table.

	SG	PL
1	*hi-*	*na-* (INC)
		mi- (EXC)
2	*ni-*	*ni-*
3m	*wi-*	*aa-*
3f	*mi-*	
3		*a-*

Table 11: Objective person-marking prefixes

Many intransitive verbs may inflect with either the subjective or objective paradigm, with concomitant difference in lexical aspect.

(206) to-birahi
       1-happy
       'I am rejoicing'

(207) i-hi-birahi
       3-1-happy
       'I am happy'

For transitive verbs the more agent-like participant is cross-referenced via the subjective paradigm. The less agent-like participant is cross-referenced via the objective paradigm.

(208) to-ni-gohara
       1-2-hit
       'I hit you'

(209) no-hi-gohara
       2-1-hit
       'You hit me'

(210) mi-hi-goli
       3f-1-bite
       'She bit me'

In transitive constructions the human vs. non-human distinction is neutralized for third person plural subjective arguments.

(211) i-hi-goli   *(*yohigoli)*
       3-1-bite
       'It/they bit me'

As noted in section 4.8.1 only referential participants may be indexed using the objective paradigm.

3.2.2. Aspect and negation

Multiple aspect markers may be combined in a templatic fashion. The perfective, repetitive and durative suffixes precede the negative suffix -ua, while the imperfective suffix -ahi follows the negative suffix.

ROOT	PERF	REP	DUR	NEG	IMPF

Table 12: Order of aspectual verb suffixes

(212) ho-ma-hi-adono-ua-ahi   ho-ma-togu-togumu
1i-RFLX-APL-reach-NEG-IMPF   1i-RFLX-RDP-rest
'Before we arrived we rested'

3.2.3. Reflexive

There are no independent reflexive pronouns; instead, reflexive constructions are formed using the reflexive prefix *ma-* in the same slot of the verb template where the objective pronominal prefix would be used. The reflexive prefix does not co-occur with objective prefixes.

(213) to-mi-ohiki
1-3f-wash
'I washed her'

(214) to-ma-ohiki
1-RFLX-wash
'I washed myself'

(215) hiadono o-Kata mi-ma-toomu,   moi-moi naga o-Miti ma-nyawa
until   NM-K. 1e-RFLX-gather.together one-one exist NM-M. NM-person
'we finally gathered at Kata, the people of Miti'

The reflexive prefix occurs lexically with several intransitive verbs. Some examples are given below.

(216) -ma-idu   'sleep' (cf. -idu 'lie down')
-ma-hohongo   'take shelter'
-ma-doa   'climb'
-ma-guti   'descend'
-ma-iete   'laugh'
-ma-demo   'speak'
-ma-dotoko   'learn' (cf. -dotoko 'teach')
-ma-dudu   'smoke (cigarette)'
-ma-hibatongo   'rest'
-ma-hikagoro   'decide'
-ma-hioru   'paddle'
-ma-ija   'buy'
-ma-tumunu   'dive'
-ma-waloko   'be naked'
-ma-lyahini   'drift in a boat' (cf. -lyahini 'object drifts away')
-ma-lyohihi   'urinate'

3.2.4. Reciprocal

The reciprocal prefix *maka-* follows the subjective person-marking prefix. It cannot co-occur with objective prefix or with the reflexive *ma-*. The participants may be treated as singular or plural for the purposes of person-marking on the verb.

(217) o-momoholehe   de o-gogoduru   i-maka-make
NM-young.woman   and NM-young.man 3-RECIP-find
'The young woman and the young man found [married] each other'

(218) ngaro o-hongana-oka ho-maka-make ma wo-na-temo
yet   NM-forest-LOC 1i-RECIP-find but 3m-1i-speak
'Although we met each other in the forest, he still spoke with us'

3.2.5. Applicative

The applicative prefix *hi-*, which occurs immediately preceding the verb root, derives verbs which include an additional argument, though that argument may not always be cross-referenced on the verb as core argument. The applicative voices following stops. It does not affect root stress when affixed to disyllabic roots. For example, *-doto* 'sharp', with penultimate stress, becomes *-hi-dóto* 'sharpen', also with penultimate stress, rather than *-hi-doto*. Four common functions of the applicative morpheme are exemplified below: causative, valency increase, sentential complements, and instrumental. While these functions could clearly be united under the common label of applicative, they are discussed separately below for ease of exposition.

3.2.5.1. Causative

As a causative *hi-* derives verbs which may translate as 'cause to do V', though in many cases these forms are highly lexicalized with unpredictable semantics.

(219) -ahumu   'be whole'   -hi-ahumu   'mend'
-romanga   'to be named' -hi-romanga   'name something'
-kilianga 'disperse'   -hi-gilianga 'separate'
-tailako   'look at'   -hi-dailako   'look after something'

The causative prefix always derives active verbs, that is either active intransitive or transitive verbs. It may occur with both active intransitive verbs roots, as below,

(220) wo-hupu   'he went out'
w-a-hi-hupu   'he sent it out'

and with stative intransitive verbs roots, as in the following example.

(221) i-wi-hauku   'he is hot'
w-a-hi-hauku 'he heated it'

However, since cross-referencing of objective arguments is governed by discourse factors relating to referentiality (see section 4.8.1 below), verbs derived with the causative prefix are not always morphologically transitive. That is, they do not always cross-reference two core arguments on the verb.

3.2.5.2. Valency increase

The applicative may also add an additional argument to the verb, thus forming three place predicates. This additional argument is not cross-referenced on the verb, but its presence is signaled by the applicative morpheme *hi-*.

(222) wo-modeke iti   i-wi-hi-toaka o-baju de o-ngoere
3m-consent if.only 3-3m-APL-give NM-shirt and NM-sarong
'he would only consent if he was given a shirt and a sarong'

3.2.5.3. Sentential complements

Related to its function as a marker of valency increase, the applicative may indicate the presence of a sentential complement. The sentential complement is not otherwise marked.

(223) mi-ma-hi-kagaro   mi-oiki o-lyoku-iha
1e-RFLX-APL-decide 1e-go NM-mountain-LAND
'We decided to go toward the mountains'

(224) i-wi-hi-garo   yo-gareja   wo-niki
3-3m-APL-coax 3p-go.to.church 3m-follow
'He was coaxed to follow us to church'

3.2.5.4. Instrumental

The applicative may also reference instrumental arguments. In this case the argument is not marked with an instrumental preposition. Thus compare the following. In the first example the oblique object is marked with an instrumental preposition *de*, while in the second example the oblique object is unmarked.

(225) t-uiti de   o-gakana
1-cut with NM-knife
"I cut with a knife"

(226) o-gakana to-hi-luiti
NM-knife 1-APL-cut
"I cut with a knife"

Note that in the latter case the object remains an oblique. That is, it is not cross-referenced on the verb. Some further examples of instrumental applicatives are given below.

(227) -hakai   'cook'   -hi-hakai   'cook with something'
-ehe   'rub'   -hi-éhe   'rub with something'
-tuma   'push'   -hi-duma   'push with something'

3.2.6. Intensifier

The intensifier prefix *hido-* precedes the verb root and indicates an intense event.

(228) ahi-tau   neng-oka dau moi ka i-ma-hido-le-letongo-úku
1POSS-house there-LOC down one thus 3-RFLX-INTENS-RDP-lightning-DOWN
'one bolt of lightning came down on my house'

(229) *jadi permerintah* yato   kiani to-ma-hido-diai
thus government 3p-say   must 1-RFLX-INTENS-make
'Thus the government said I must make it'

(230) ma ma-Japangoka manga-sejarah gena, naga ka ho-hido-tobik-ika
but NM-Japanese 3pPOSS-army that exist thus 1i-INTENS-break.up-ALL
'But as for the Japanese army, we broke it apart'

3.2.7. Distributive

The distributive prefix *koki-* indicates that an action is carried out by or affects each member of a group individually. This prefix occurs immediately preceding the verb root.

(231) ma-homoa yo-koki-honeng-oka
NM-other   3PL-DIST-die-PERF
'the others all died (each one of them)'

(232) o-Morotai-iha gaanga yo-koki-boa   yo-karajanga
NM-M.-LAND there 3p-DIST-come 3p-work
'We all came to Morotai to work'

(233) mi-a-baluhu gaa kiani ho mi-koki-dagi
1e-3-answer that must thus 1e-DIST-run
'We answered that we all must run'

(234) gang-oka dau o-tau   muruono naga i-ma-koki-tingaka-ika
there-LOC below NM-house how.many exist 3-RFLX-DIST-separate-ALL
'so many houses were scattered around down there'

(235) jadi y-a-koki-nako   o-popareta   nang-oka ma y-a-nako
thus 3p-3-DIST-know NM-government.official here-LOC but 3p-3-know
'So the district government here, they all know [about the sale of the lake]'

(236) mia-ama   de mia-ayo   de mia-riaka   de
1ePOSS-mother and 1ePOSS-father and 1ePOSS-older.sibling and

mia-biranga   y-a-koki-toma-oka
1ePOSS-sister 3p-3-DIST-kill-PERF
'they killed our mother, our father, our older brother and our sister'

3.2.8. Habitual

The verb prefix *toba-* indicates a habitual activity. This prefix occurs immediately preceding the verb root. This prefix is extremely rare in my data.

(237) ma-nauru gena i-wi-toba-daluku
RNM-man that 3-3m-HAB-palm.wine
'that man is always drunk' (Hueting 1936:334)

3.2.9. Continuative

The aspectual verb prefix *kete-* indicates continued action repeated over an extended period of time.[11]

(238) i-boto   ho-ma-kete-ade-ade
3-already 1i-RFLX-CONT-RDP-tell.story
'we've already talked about that many times'

(239) i-ma-kete-parang
3-RFLX-CONT-war
'they made war again and again'

---

[11] Hueting (1936) lists this prefix as *teke-*, however, only the form *kete-* is found in modern speech. This may indicate recent metathesis.

(240) de i-ma-kete-tururu   o-gumi
   and 3-RFLX-CONT-move NM-potato
   "they moved their potatoes [gardens] many times"

3.3. Category-independent morphology

Many Tobelo morphemes may attach to either nouns or verbs. These are described here as category-independent morphology. This class includes most notably aspect and negation.

3.3.1. Aspectual suffixes

Aspect is optionally marked via a suffix. Aspect is a derivational category in that it is not obligatory. Tobelo aspect markers include perfective -*oka*, repetitive -*oli*, imperfective -*ahi*, and durative -*ohi*. These suffixes may also combine as portmanteau sequential -*okali* and frequentive -*okahi* aspectual suffixes.

3.3.1.1. Perfective -*oka*

The perfective suffix -*oka* occurs with verbs to emphasize an holistic view of an event or state. In particular, the perfective indicates completion of an event or long established states.

(241) i-hi-timono-oka
   3-1-old-PERF
   'I'm already old'

The perfective suffix may also occur on nouns, though here it must be distinguished from the homophonous locative suffix. Nouns with aspectual suffixes naturally lend themselves to a predicative interpretation. The following is an example of the use of the perfective suffix on a noun.

(242) nako o-Galela gaa dau de ma-akere-oka
   if NM-G. there downward with RNM-water-PERF
   'as for Galela down the coast, they already have a lake'

This example comes from a story about the role of Lake Paca in Tobelo history, drawing a comparison with the role of another lake in the history of neighboring Galela.

3.3.1.2. Repetitive -*oli*

The repetitive suffix -*oli* indicates an event or state which occurs an additional time. It does not necessarily imply a sense of multiple repetitions.

(243) i-wi-hiri-oli
   3-3m-sick-REP
   'He's sick again'

(244) mi-a-hukunu-oka ahi-dodiawo ya-hinóto i-hi-garo-oli ya-ato mi-oiki-oli
   1e-3-sell-PERF 1POSS-friend 3p.3-two 3-1-coax-REP 3p.3-say 1e-go-REP
   'Having sold (it) my two friends coaxed me again, saying, "Let's go again!"'

The repetitive may also occur with numerals, where it indicates that number of repetitions.

(245) o-hutu hinoto-oli dina o-hongana-oka
   NM-night two-REP landward NM-forest-LOC
   'for two more nights in the forest'

3.3.1.3. Imperfective -*ahi*

The imperfective suffix -*ahi* indicates an event or state which is ongoing or for which the endpoint is not relevant.

(246) i-mi-hiri-ahi
   3-3f-old-IMPF
   'She's still sick'

(247) la ka to-boa-ahi
   thus still 1-come-IMPF
   'thus I will still come'

(248) Ho de t-a-tobiki-oka to-malyeke-ahi. i-tagi-ohi i-tutuku.
   thus and 1-3-break-PERF 1-unfinished-IMPF 3-go-DUR 3-stamp
   'Thus after I break it I am still not done. Then the stamping begins.'

The imperfective suffix follows the negative suffix.

(249) de i-wi-timono i-kiria-ua-ahi
   and 3-3m-old 3-many-NEG-IMPF
   'for he was not yet very old'

3.3.1.4. Durative -*ohi*

The durative suffix -*ohi* indicates an event or state which for which the initial and terminal endpoints are not relevant. It is often used in complex clause constructions to denote events which occur at the same time.

(250) wo-lio-ohi o-Galela-úku w-ato ma-muruono-oka naga
   3m-return-DUR NM-Galela-DOWN 3m-say RNM-how.many-PERF exist
   'Returning to Galela he said, how many already exist?'

(251) de ka wo-dogu-ohi
   and yet 3m-hold.up-DUR
   'and yet he kept holding up [his fingers]'

The durative suffix can also lend a customary aspectual reading.

(252) muna gaanga o-baluhu mo-ma-tengo-ohi
   3f that NM-answer 3f-RFLX-alone-DUR
   'she always answered alone'

3.3.1.5. Sequential -*okahi*

The sequential suffix -*okahi* is a combination of the perfective and durative suffix. It is used to indicate an event which occurs in sequence.

(253) mi-hupu gaa kiani mi-etongo-okahi
   1e-go.out that must 1e-count-SEQ
   'When we went out we had to count off in sequence'

(254) ngohi naanga de ngohi-hiranga   mi-hinóto-okahi
   1PRO this and 1POSS-opposite.sex.sibling 1e-two-SEQ
   'my sister and I were two (in sequence)'

(255) o-Ubo-Ubo o-hutu moi de mi-oara-okahi o-hongana-iha
   NM-U. NM-night one and 1e-run-SEQ NM-forest-LAND
   'in Ubo-Ubo one night we ran out one by one to the forest'

(256) ma-hou   ngohi-okahi
RNM-remainder 1-SEQ
'only I still remained again'

3.3.1.6. Frequentive *-okali*

The use of the perfective and repetitive suffixes together indicates a sense of frequent repetition. When combined these suffixes are realized as *-okali* and denote an event which re-occurs with some frequency.

(257) mi-lio-oka-oli   naanga-oka dau   o-kapongo-oka
1e-return-PERF-REP here-LOC downward NM-village-LOC
'We returned again to the village here'

3.3.1.7. Domain of aspectual suffixes

Aspectual suffixes usually occur on verbs but may also occur on other word classes, including nouns, pronouns, numerals, and existential particles.

(258) hara moi-oli t-a-diai
also one-REP 1-3-make
'I also made one more'

(259) ma-hangihara koiwa-oka
NM-suffering not.exist-PERF
'their suffering never existed'

(260) jadi ma-hou   ngohi-okahi de ngohi-hiranga-okahi
thus NM-remainder 1PRO-SEQ and 1POSS-opposite.sex.sibling-SEQ
'thus all that remained were me and my sister'

3.3.2. Negation

Negation is indicated via the suffix *-ua*. The domain of this suffix varies with the scope of negation. On verbs this suffix negates the verb phrase; on nouns or pronouns this suffix negates nominal arguments. If aspect morphology is present, the negation marker usually follows the aspect marker, though in some cases it may precede the aspect marker.

(261) ona   y-a-magawe-ua
3pPRO 3-3-diligent-NEG
'They aren't hard-working'

(262) o-gohomanga dure i-woe tapi i-na-goli-ua
NM-crocodile very 3-many but 3-1i-bite-NEG
'There were very many crocodiles, but they didn't bite us'

(263) ma-hira   y-a-nako-ua yato gaa o-Lina, tapi gaa o-Lina-ua
NM-beginning 3-3-know-NEG 3-say that NM-L. but that NM-L.
'In the beginning they didn't know, saying it was Lina, but it wasn't Lina'

(264) hokogaanga-ua
like.that-NEG
'not like that'

(265) ma-gakana i-doto-ua
NM-knife 3-sharp-NEG
'the knife is not sharp'

Negative existential constructions are formed with the particle *koiwa* (see section 4.3.3 below).

(266) o-akere koiwa
NM-water not.exist
'there was no water'

With the perfective suffix *-oka* the negative existential indicates an action or state which never occurs.

(267) ma-hangihara koiwa-oka
NM-suffering not.exist-PERF
'they never suffered'

3.3.3. Directional suffixes

The system of directional suffixes includes suffixes indicating each of four directions as specified by a two-dimensional coordinate system contrasting a seaward-landward axis with an upward-downward axis, as well as ablative and allative suffixes indicating motion away and toward, respectively.

-óko	seaward (SEA)
-iha	landward (LAND)
-ilye	upward (UP)
-úku	downward (DOWN)
-ika	away (ABLATIVE)
-ino	toward (ALLATIVE)

Table 13: Directional suffixes

When affixed to nouns, directional suffixes function as oblique case markers indicating motion with respect to an oblique argument (see section 3.1.2 above). When affixed to a verb of motion, directional suffixes indicate motion in the direction specified by the suffix. Some examples of the use of directional suffixes with verbs are given below. Generally, within a clause directional suffixes may occur on either a noun or verb, but not both. When used with verbs, directional suffixes describe the direction of motion of the action described by the verb rather than motion toward a particular location.

(268) ya-liko-ino
3p.3-tie.up-ABL
'they tied it up (together)'

(269) yo-gelenga-úku
3p-put-DOWN
'they put it down'

The downward suffix *-úku* may have a completive aspectual sense rather than a directional sense.

(270) i-hi-tamunu-úku
3-APL-cover-DOWN
'it was completely covered'

(271) i-hutu-úku
3-dark-DOWN
'it was completely dark'

Directional suffixes may be used together with the semantically null verb formative *a-* or *aka-* to derive verbs indicating motion in the direction specified by the directional suffix.[12]

(272) mi-a-ino
    1e-V-ABL
    'we came'

(273) ngohi t-a-iha-oka-ua   dina-iha   o-hongana-iha
    1   1-V-LAND-PERF-NEG landward-LAND NM-forest-LAND
    'I will never again go inland into the forest.'

3.3.4. Dual

The dual prefix *bori-* (also *ri-*) optionally marks verbs or nouns with exactly two participants. This prefix is not found in my data. The following examples are from Hueting (1936:334).

(274) manga-lako yo-bori-ruhutu-oka
    3pPOSS-eye 3p-DUAL-close-PERF
    'they both closed their eyes'

(275) manga-ngohaka yo-bori-ngoheka
    3pPOSS-child   3p-DUAL-woman
    'their children are both girls'

The dual prefix may also be found lexicalized in some roots, as exemplified below.

(276) -himanga   'front'
    -ri-himanga 'opposite'

4. Syntax

4.1. Noun phrase

A noun phrase consists minimally of a noun or pronoun. Noun phrases may contain additional modifiers, including numerals and deictic determiners. Two or more nouns may be combined as a noun phrase. Each noun in a noun phrase must be marked with a noun marker or possessive prefix. The choice of noun marker or possessive prefix depends on the relationship between the two nouns. A noun phrase may consist of a noun, a numeral classifier, a numeral and a demonstrative determiner, as exemplified below.

(277) o-bole   o-uhanga   moi nenanga
    NM-bole NM-CL   one this
    'this one bunch of bananas'

4.1.1. Possessive construction

Possessive noun phrases are head-final, and the person and number of human possessors are indexed via a possessive prefix on the head noun (see section 3.1.1.2 above). Non-human possessors use the noun marker *ma-*.

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[12] The form *a-* may be a reduced form *aka-*, which itself may ultimately consist of a verb formative *ka-* preceded by the third-person objective prefix *a-*. Thus, Hueting (1936:334) cites forms such as *ho-ka-iha* 'we go landwards', but this appears to have been replaced by *h-a-iha* in modern speech.

(278) o-nyawa ai-ingiri
    NM-man 3mPOSS-tooth
    'the man's tooh'

(279) o-kaho ma-ingiri
    NM-dog 3POSS-tooth
    'the dog's tooh'

The possessive prefix occurs only on the head (i.e., initial) noun of a noun phrase.

(280) o-Yahe ai-ayo   ma-ingiri
    NM-Y. 3mPOSS-mother RNM-tooth
    'Yahe's mother's tooth'

4.1.2. Determiners

Locational demonstrative pronouns (see Table 4) may function as noun phrase determiners, in which case they occur phrase-finally. Punctual demonstratives *gena(nga)* and *nena(nga)* are usually used with nouns referring to objects.

(281) ma-hihika gena ya-aiki
    RNM-thorn that 3p.3-remove
    'they remove those thorns.'

(282) mi-wi-domoteke mia-ngohaka nenanga
    1e-3m-support 1ePOSS-child this
    'we supported this child'

Areal demonstratives *naa(nga)* and *gaa(nga)* are usually used with nouns referring to time and location.

(283) o-oraha   gaa o-akere   koiwa
    NM-time that NM-water not.exist
    'at that time there was no water'

However, the distribution of punctual and areal demonstratives determiners is not completely governed by lexical semantics. Some exceptions are given below.

(284) o-momoholehe   de o-gogoduru   naa i-maka-make
    NM-young.woman and NM-young.man this 3-RECIP-find
    'this young woman and young man fell in love with each other'

(285) tapi ma-helewo gaa o-nagona ya-ao?
    but RNM-stone that NM-who   3p.3-carry
    'but who carried that big stone?'

There is quite a bit of inter-speaker variability in the use of punctual and areal locational demonstratives as noun phrase determiners.

4.1.3. Apposition

Co-referential nouns or noun phrases may occur in apposition with no additional morphological or prosodic marking. For example, in (286) the noun phrases *o-gahi ma-nyawa* and *ngomi* occur in apposition.

(286) o-gahi ma-nyawa ngomi mi-poa-ua
    NM-sea NM-people 1ePRO 1e-strong-NEG
    'we coastal people aren't strong [enough]'

(287) ahi-ngohaka Markus wa-tobiki-oka
1POSS-child M. 3m.3-break-PERF
'my son Markus broke it'

(288) ami-ngohaka o-goduru genanga
3fPOSS-child NM-young.man this
'her child this young man'

4.1.4. NP-coordination

Noun phrases may be conjoined with the particle *de*. The same particle is used to conjoin clauses. Conjoined NP's trigger plural agreement on the verb.

(289) ma-dodeke de ngo-ai-ayo yo-gogogere
NM-puffer.fish and FEM-3mPOSS-mother 3p-remain
'the puffer fish and his mother remained'

(290) ma-baha-úku o-Mawea de o-Miti i-mi-duhuku ho
NM-end-DOWN NM-M. and NM-M. 3-li-shoot thus
'In the end we of Mawea and Miti were shot at'

However, reciprocal constructions with conjoined subjects may trigger singular agreement:

(291) o-momoholehe de o-gogoduru naa i-maka-make
NM-young.woman and NM-young.man this 3-RECIP-discover
'this young woman and man fell in love with each other'

Noun phrases may be disjoined with the particle *eko* or *ekola*. The same particles are used to disjoin clauses.

(292) ya-solo-ika ko ma-doka-dokara eko ma-gare-garehe gaa i-hi-kitingaka-ika
3p.3-dye-ABL thus NM-RDP-red or NM-RDP-white that 3-APL-separate-ALL
'they dye it red or white separately'

(293) de nako ho-olyomo o-ode ekola o-maijanga
and COND li-eat NM-pig or NM-deer
'When we eat pig or deer,'

4.2. Directional system

Like many of the languages of Maluku, Tobelo employs a complex directional system which specifies location and motion with respect to a two-dimensional coordinate system. This appears to an areal typological feature. The directional system employs three different subsystems of the grammar: directional demonstratives, directional locative adverbs, and directional suffixes. The morphology of these individual subsystems is discussed in the relevant sections above. This section describes the syntax and semantics of the system as a whole.

4.2.1. Syntax of directionals

Both directional locative adverbs and directional demonstratives indicate location. The primary syntactic difference is that only the latter my be used for nominal reference. Thus in particular, directional demonstratives may have a pronominal or determiner function, but directional adverbs may not. Thus, in the following examples the demonstrative *dakena* is acceptable, but the corresponding adverb *daku* is not.

(294) wo-gogere o-Gogaili dakena ma-biono-oka
3m-stay NM-G. upwards RNM-front-LOC
'He lived up the coast at the mouth of the Gogaili river.'

Directional demonstratives, but not directional adverbs, may serve as the head of a possessive construction

(295) danena ma-paitua
that.seaward RNM-older.man
'that older man in a seaward location'

(296) i-mi-tururu dakena ma-dobiki-ilye
3-le-move UP.PUNCT RMM-little.bit-UP
'we were moved to a location a little ways up the coast'

As noted in section 2.4.1.5 above, directional demonstratives, but not directional adverbs, may occur with the locative suffix -*oka*.

(297) dakeng-oka de wo-lio ai-tau-óko
UP.PUNCT-LOC and 3m-return 3mPOSS-house-SEA
'he returned to his house (going seaward) from a location upward' (Taylor 1984)

Directional adverbs are free to stand on their own, whereas, directional demonstratives must occur as a satellite to a verb. Thus, Taylor notes the following contrast, in which the adverb *dai* is acceptable, but the demonstrative *danena* is unacceptable.

(298) dai de w-a-iha (*danena de w-a-iha)
seaward and 3m-V-LAND
'he comes landward from a place seaward' (Taylor 1984:105)

Directional suffixes may occur both with directional adverbs and with directional demonstratives. The combination of a directional suffix and directional adverb refers to movement in a particular direction at a location specified by the adverb. Thus, in the following example, *dau-(k)-iha* (with epenthetic *k*) refers to movement inland (in this case, from the water toward the land) at a location down the coast (i.e., toward the head of the bay). In this example the motion inland is further reinforced by the presence of the directional suffix -*iha* on the first verb.

(299) dau-(k)-iha yo-wohama-iha ya-tuhuku
downward-EPEN-LAND 3p-enter-LAND 3p.3-shoot
'they landed at a location down the coast, shooting'

Examples of directional demonstratives with directional suffixes have similar meanings, but unlike the directional adverbs, the demonstratives are referential. Thus, the following example refers to a specific, previously mentioned location up the coast.

(300) daenga-iha wo-lio
UP.PUNCT-LAND 3m-return
'he returned (going inland) from that (specific) location up the coast'

4.2.2. Semantics of directionals

The two major axes of the directional system are the seaward-landward axis and the upward-downward axis. The orientation of these axes is relative to the location of the established deictic center in the discourse. The seaward-landward axis is typically oriented perpendicular to, or at least orthogonal to the coastline. On land, seaward indicates a direction toward the coast. and landward indicates a direction further inland. On the water, seaward indicates a

direction further offshore, and landward indicates a direction toward the coast. The upward-downward axis is typically oriented parallel to the coast. The upward direction refers to a direction away from open water, that is, along the coast toward the head of a bay. The downward direction refers to a direction toward open water, that is, along the coast toward the mouth of a bay.

The relative nature of the directionals can be exemplified for the region around Labi-Labi village as shown on the following map. Labi-Labi is located on the western shore of the northeastern peninsula of Halmahera (see Figure 1), thus the upward direction lies to the south toward the head of Kao Bay.
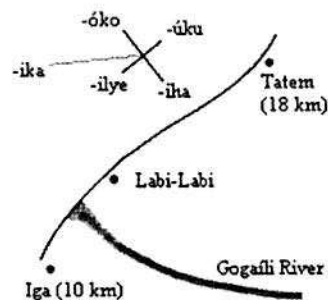

Figure 2: Map of coast near Labi-Labi showing position of directional axes
(with corresponding directional suffixes)

A sentence such as the following has a different interpretation depending on the location of the participant.

(301) o-Labi-Labi-ilye mo-oiki
NM-L.-UP 3f-go

If the participant is located between Labi-Labi and Iga, then this sentence indicates that the participant is traveling up the coast *from* Labi-Labi. On the other hand, if the participant is located between Labi-Labi and Tatem, then this sentence indicates that the participant is traveling up the coast *to* Labi-Labi. In some cases, a given situation may be described by more than one directional. For example, a person traveling from a location far up the Gogaíli River to Labi-Labi, which lies near the mouth of the Gogaíli River, might describe the motion as seaward, moving toward the coast, or downward, moving vertically down the mountains and down the river (with directional axes reoriented along the river). Thus, *o-Labi-Labi-óko to-oiki* 'I'm going seaward to Labi-Labi', and *o-Labi-Labi-úku to-oiki* 'I'm going downward to Labi-Labi' (down the river and down the mountains).

Where appropriate, such as when the deictic center lies in a mountainous region or when the scope of reference is restricted to an object of some height, the upward-downward axis may alternatively be oriented in vertical dimension.

(302) mi-ma-motumu o-dowingi-úku
1e-RFLX-lie.face.down NM-beach-downward
'we lay face down on the beach'

(303) dau o-wai-úku ho-honenge nako i-na-otaka
downward NM-valley-down 1i-die if 3-1i-fall
'we would die down in the valley if we fell'

When the deictic center is sufficiently far from the coast, the upward-downward axis may alternatively be oriented parallel to a river course. In this case upward refers to a direction toward the head of the river, and downward refers to direction toward the mouth of the river. Seaward refers to a direction toward the river, and landward refers to a direction away from the river.

(304) i-tagi hokonaa dau o-ngairi
3-walk like.this downward NM-stream
'they walked down the stream like this'

The directional coordinates may also be reoriented via several established metaphors. For example, the body is considered to exist in an upward-downward axis with the head located at the upward end. Thus, in the following example clothing is worn in a downward direction.

(305) jadi ngaro mi-ma-galyoko-úku de o-ngoere
thus yet 1e-RFLX-use.as.sarong-DOWN with NM-sarong
'even though we were clothed in sarongs'

Similarly, houses are considered to be oriented as if the door faces toward water, so that entering a house is done in a landward direction.

(306) o-tau wo-wohama-iha
NM-house 3m-enter-LAND
'he entered the house'

The combination of an areal directional (or locational) demonstrative with a directional suffix may be used to refer to a region or surface area (cf. Taylor 1984:113).

(307) naang-óko wo-hupu
PROX.AREAL-SEA 3m-go.out
'he came out to the coastal region here'

4.3. Simple clauses

A simple clause consists of a single predicate. There are three main types of simple clauses: verbal, equational, and existential.

4.3.1. Simple verbal clauses

The simplest verbal clause consists entirely of a single verb. Since core nominal arguments are indicated via pronominal prefixes, no additional nominals need be present.

(308) t-a-ija
1-3-buy
'I bought it'

Noun phrases may occur as satellites to the verb.

(309) o-pine t-a-ija
NM-rice 1-3-buy
'I bought the rice'

Independent pronouns may occur as satellites, but in this case they have an emphatic sense.

(310) ngohi o-pine t-a-ija
     1 NM-rice 1-3-buy
     '*I* bought the rice (i.e., not *you*)'

4.3.2. Equational constructions

Equational constructions are formed without an overt copula. Equational constructions may function to indicate membership in a particular class, as in the following example.

(311) una o-pendeta
     3mPRO NM-priest
     'he is a priest'

Equational constructions may also express nominal predicates. This is typical when property concepts are expressed using nouns, as in the following example.

(312) o-senjata ma-ilingi i-maka-duhuku ma-rame
     NM-gun RNM-voice 3-RECIP-shoot RNM-loud
     'the sound of the shooting guns was loud'

Equational constructions may be negated by suffixing the negation marker *-ua* to the predicate nominal.

(313) ngohi o-pendeta-ua
     1PRO NM-priest-NEG
     'I'm not a priest'

Simple clauses may also consist of equational constructions, as discussed above.

4.3.3. Existential constructions

Positive existential constructions are formed with the particle *naga*, which usually occurs phrase-initially.

(314) naga o-hoana iata
     exist NM-village four
     'there are four villages'

(315) naga o-ngairi-ika moi ma ma-nauoko i-ma-tero hoka o-dodiha
     exist NM-stream-ALL one NM RNM-fish 3-RFLX-equal like NM-snake
     'there was one stream who's fish (looked) like a snake'

Negative existential constructions are formed with the particle *koiwa*, which usually occurs phrase-finally.

(316) ngohi-daluku koiwa
     1POSS-palm.wine not.exist
     'I don't have any palm wine'

With plural human referents the form *koyaiwa* may optionally be used.

(317) manga-ngohaka koyaiwa
     3pPOSS-child not.exist
     'there children were gone'

4.4. Word order

Tobelo word order is generally SOV, though other patterns are possible and it is in any case rare to encounter two full nominal core arguments in a single clause. The preservation of

verb-final word order distinguishes Tobelo from most of its NH neighbors, which have been more heavily influenced by the prevailing SVO order in surrounding Austronesian languages. However, as in other SOV languages, VO word order is also common in Tobelo, usually functioning to highlight the O argument. The following example has VOS word-order.

(318) ya-koki-duhuku o-Miti ma-nyawa, o-Jepangoka
     3p.3-DIST-shoot NM-M. RNM-people NM-Japanese
     'they shot each Miti person, the Japanese'

Adverbial elements such as directional adverbs may occur before or after the verb.

(319) daku ma-dobiki-oka mi-a-ilye
     upward RNM-little.bit-LOC 1e-V-UP
     'we went up the coast a little ways'

(320) to-guhe-úku de ma-uku to-dofo dau-k-ilye
     1-pour-DOWN and RNM-fire 1-feed downward-EPEN-UP
     'I pour it in and heat it from below with a fire'

Oblique arguments may also occur either before or after the verb.

(321) ai-tau-oka to-gogere
     3mPOSS-house-LOC 1-stay
     'I stay at his house'

(322) mi-oara-oli dau o-Kiwu-úku o-KupaKupa ma-porete-iha
     1e-run-REP downward NM-K.-DOWN NM-K. RNM-behind-LAND
     'we ran back down toward the Kiwu river behind (inland from) Kupa-Kupa'

4.5. Grammatical relations

Grammatical relations follow an active-stative or "split-intransitive" pattern in that clauses with a single core argument cross-reference the single argument via subjective or objective pronominal prefixes on the verb, depending on the lexical aspect of the construction. Dynamic, telic events cross-reference a single argument via the subjective paradigm, as in the following examples.

(323) mo-bata
     3f-jump
     'she jumped'

(324) mo-hángeru
     3f-sneeze
     'she sneezed'

(325) mo-honenge
     3f-die
     'she died'

The prototypical semantic agent is a controlling participant in a temporally dynamic event who also performs, effects or instigates the event, as with the verb *-bata* 'jump'. Other verbs which follow this pattern include the following.

(326) Controlling, performing participants of intransitive events

mo-hioru	'she paddles'
mo-hoho	'she flies'
mo-oara	'she runs'
mo-ohiki	'she bathes'
mo-olyomo	'she eats'
mo-temo	'she speaks'
mo-dumunu	'she dives'
mo-toimi	'she shoots'

Even arguments which are not semantic controllers of an event use the subjective paradigm, as with the verb *-hángeru* 'sneeze'. Other verbs which follow this pattern include the following.

(327) Performing, non-controlling participants of intransitive events

mo-adono	'she reaches'
mo-ari	'she cries'
mo-gegoto	'she worry'
mo-gehanga	'she yawn'
mo-gogere	'she lives, dwells'
mo-guroko	'she snores'
mo-iete	'she laughes'
mo-wunenge	'she vomits'

Participants which are non-controlling and non-performing but still employ the subjective cross-reference paradigm are less common. Besides *-honenge* 'die', the example *-lyahini* 'drift away' is given below.

(328) de i-sobo-oli   i-lyahini,
     and 3-depart-REP 3-float

     ka   yo-dotoaka   o-iwi   ma-pako.
     because 3p-break.off   NM-rattan REL-large
     'and they floated away again, because the big rattan lines broke'

From these examples it is clear that semantic agency is not the governing factor determining the choice of verbal cross-reference paradigm for intransitive verbs. Events, not just actions, follow the "active" subjective paradigm.

In contrast, states (non-events) employ the objective paradigm. That is, stative intransitive verbs cross-reference their single argument via the objective pronominal prefixes on the verb. Stative verbs still require a pleonastic subjective prefix *i-* to precede the object prefix.[13] Examples include the following.

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[13] Comparative evidence suggests that Tobelo is highly conservative in retaining the pleonastic *i-* subject prefix in stative constructions. For neighboring Galela, H. Sheldon (pers. comm.) reports that use of the *i-* prefix with stative verbs is ill-formed today, though both van Baarda (1891)and van der Veen (1915) list stative verbs with this prefix. And in Tabaru the pleonastic subject is found only with first-person (singular and plural) arguments (Fortgens 1928:362). Even in Tobelo the *i-* prefix frequently elided from stative verbs in fast speech, indicating that Tobelo may soon follow Galela and Tabaru in this change.

(329) i-mi-gogama
     3-3f-shiver
     'she's shivering'

(330) i-mi-kioko
     3-3f-sleepy
     'she's sleepy'

(331) i-mi-puturungu
     3-3f-strong
     'she's strong'

(332) i-mi-bole
     3-3f-tired
     'she's tired'

Due to the presence of the subjective prefix in the examples above, these constructions have sometimes been referred to as passives (cf. van Baarda 1908:80-81). However, there is no overt voice marker, nor are there corresponding "active" forms for all stative verbs. Other descriptions interpret stative verbs as participial adjectives (cf. Fortgens 1928:362); however, the range of intransitive verbs which employ the objective cross-reference paradigm is not limited to those which describe property concepts or adjectival concepts. For example,

(333) i-mi-mongoro-oka
     3-3f-faint-PERF
     'She has fainted'

Indeed, some verbs denoting property concepts may occur with the subjective paradigm, while others occur with the objective paradigm. Thus compare the verb *-rahai* 'good' with the verb *-magawe* 'diligent' below.

(334) i-wi-magawe una   de   ai-hininga i-rahai
     3-3m-diligent 3mPRO and 3mPOSS   3-good
     'He was diligent, and his heart was good.'

Stative verbs may include both those with affected and unaffected participants.

(335) Stative intransitive verbs with affected participants
mo-darato	'she is storm-bound'
mo-gogama	'she is shivering'
mo-mongoro	'she is fainting'
mo-pehaka	'she is wet'
mo-tilibu	'she is pregnant'

(336) Stative intransitive verbs with unaffected particpants
mo-dapaɪyu	'she is depressed'
mo-hahini	'she is hungry'
mo-hauku	'she is hot'
mo-kuata	'she is strong'
mo-modongo	'she is angry'
mo-omu	'she is jealous'

A substantial number of Tobelo instransitive verb roots may occur in either active or stative form, that is, with subjective or objective cross-reference paradigm. The attendant semantic difference is based on lexical aspect. Active forms have a more telic, dynamic sense. Some examples are given below.

(337)		active	stative
	-birahi	'rejoice'	'be happy'
	-eluku	'tell lies'	'be a liar'
	-hihanga	'go astray'	'be lost'
	-kioko	'go to sleep'	'be asleep'
	-lihiti	'sprain'	'have a sprain'
	-modongo	'fear'	'be afraid'
	-ngamo	'quarrel'	'be quarrelsome'
	-tikiti	'cough'	'cough continuously'
	-tohata	'angry'	'evil'

A subclass of such verb roots is a set of verbs in which the difference in construal between active and stative forms distinguishes inchoative meanings. For these verbs, the active intransitive form, cross-referenced by the subjective paradigm, denotes coming into the state described by the stative form. Thus, for each of the following three pairs of verbs, the first cross-references the single argument using the subjective paradigm and has an inchoative meaning. The second cross-references the single argument using the objective paradigm and has a stative meaning.

(338) a.   wo-daluku-ohi
           3m-intoxicated-DUR
           'He getting drunk'

      b.   i-wi-daluku
           3-3m-drunk
           'He's drunk'

(339) a.   mo-hiri
           3f-sick
           'She's getting sick'

      b.   i-mi-hiri
           3-3f-sick
           'She's sick'

(340) a.   uha no-lepa
           NEG 2-muddy
           'Don't get muddy!'

      b.   i-ni-lepa
           3-2-muddy
           'You're muddy!'

Grammatical relations are realized overtly only via the pronominal prefixes. There is no case-marking for core grammatical roles, nor strict word-order requirements based on grammatical relations.

4.6.   Interrogative and indefinite constructions

Interrogative and indefinite constructions employ a subclass of nouns and verbs which has interrogative and indefinite reference. There is no interrogative particle or other interrogative

morphology. For questions referring to inanimate nouns the noun *o-kia* 'what, how, where' is used.

(341) o-kia   no-oíki?
      NM-where 2-go
      'Where are you going?'

(342) o-kia   no-olyomo?
      NM-what 2-eat
      'What are you eating?'

The root *-kia* may occur with aspectual or directional suffixes.

(343) ngona naa o-kia-ino?
      2   here NM-where-ABL
      'where are you coming from?'

The root *-kia* may also be used in a compound with *-sara* 'manner' to question the manner.

(344) ma-sara-kia   gena
      NM-manner-what that
      'how is that?', 'in what way is that?'

The root *-kia* is also used as a form of hesitation to mean 'whatever' when a speaker is searching for a word.

(345) to-ona   manga-kia,...   manga-ádati
      POSS-3p   3pPOSS-whatever 3pPOSS-customs
      'their whatever, ... their customs'

The root *-kia* may also be used in a construction with the root *-ngoe* 'many' to indicate 'how many?', as in the following example.

(346) to-leha o-kia   manga-ngoe
      1-ask   NM-what 3pPOSS-many
      'I asked how many'

However, more commonly 'how many' is expressed with the root *-moruono*, either as a noun, as below,

(347) o-moruono i-adono neng-ino
      NM-many   3-arrive here-ABL
      'how many times (have you) come here?'

or as a verb, as in the following example,

(348) ani-kaho   o-gahumu ya-moruono
      2POSS-dog NM-CL   3-3-how.many
      'How many dogs do you have?'

The root *-muruono* is not strictly an interrogative, as it may also be used to indicate quantity.

(349) o-Jepang   manga-tentara y-a-muruono yo-uti   o-Miti ma-nuhu-iha
      NM-Japan 3pPOSS-soldier 3-many   3p-descend NM-M. NM-island-landward
      'many Japanese soldiers came to Meti'

For questions referring to humans, the noun *o-nagona* 'who, whom' is used.

(350) o-nagona genanga?
NM-who that
'who is that?'

(351) o-nagona n-a-make?
NM-who 2-3-find
'whom did you find?'

(352) ma-helewo gaa o-nagona ya-ao?
RNM-stone that NM-who 3p.3-carry
'but who carried that big stone?'

The root *-dodoa* 'matter' is used for questions 'why', 'how'.

(353) ya-dodoa ho i-ma-dadi hokogena
3p.3-matter thus 3-RFLX-become like.that
'how/why do they come to be like that?'

Indefinite reference is made by combining the existential particle *naga* with an interrogative noun. Thus *o-kia-naga* 'whatever' and *o-nagona-naga* 'whoever, whomever'.

(354) o-nauoko de o-hegala o-kia-naga i-wango o-gahi-oka de o-akere-oka
NM-fish and NM-all NM-what-exist 3-live NM-sea-LOC and NM-water-LOC
'the fish and whatever things live in the sea and the water' (Ellen 1933)

(355) nako o-kia-naga ho-temo gaa bisa i-dadi
as.for NM-what-exist 1i-speak that able 3-happen
'whatever we speak about can happen'

(356) o-nagona-naga ahi-wuhi de ahi-gogoli ya-lye-ley de mi-ma-teke-tagali
NM-who-exist 1-comb and 1-bracelet 3p.3-RDP-get and 1e-RFLX-DIST-exchange
'whoever takes my comb and bracelet, we will exchange them' (Hueting 1908b)

4.7. Complex clauses

Complex clauses are those which consist of more than one simple clause. There is no formal distinction between finite and non-finite verbs, thus it is not always possible to formally distinguish subordinate from coordinate structures. Furthermore, because objective arguments are not always cross-referenced on the verb, it is not always possible to distinguish verbal complements, in which one clause serves as an argument of the other, from other subordinate structures such as adverbial clauses. In this section we make a primary distinction between two types of complex clauses, based on the presence or absence of a formal marker of clause combination.

4.7.1. Juxtaposition

Tobelo complex clauses may be formed via a paratactic construction in which two or more clauses are juxtaposed. Each verb may be independently inflected with pronominal prefixes. If aspectual suffixes are present, they usually, though not always, appear on only one of the verbs in the complex clause. Full NP or independent pronominal arguments, if present, appear only once in the complex clause. The agent of the complement verb need not be co-indexed with that of the matrix verb, however, in that case the nominal argument of the complement verb is lexically null and co-indexed to the complement verb via agreement morphology. Where no full NP is present in the second clause, the construction has the appearance of a serial verb construction.

Paratactic complex clauses may be adverbial in the sense that one clause functions as a modifier of the other. In this case the semantically subordinate clause follows the main clause. Some examples follow.

(357) to-ao-ino t-a-hukunu
1-carry-ABL 1-3-sell
'I carry it back to sell'

(358) ngohi-o i-hi-ahoko to-karajanga
1-also 3-1-call 1-work
'I was also called to work'

(359) yo-mulanga-oka yo-ruae
3p-begin-PERF 3p-make.noise
'they had begun to make noise'

(360) to-hupu-óko ahi-kongo i-tiha
1-go.out-SEA 1POSS-tears 3-fall
'I came out with tears falling'

When the first verb in a paratactic construction occurs with the perfective suffix *-oka*, juxtaposition is commonly used to indicate temporal relationships.

(361) ho-olyomo-oka ho-sobo-oli
1i-eat-PERF 1i-depart-REP
'after eating we departed again'

In some cases it may be possible to view the second clause in a paratactic construction as verbal complement, that is, a clausal argument of the first verb. However, this distinction must be made largely on a semantic basis, because these putative clausal arguments are not cross-referenced on the matrix clause verb.

(362) nako yo-lega-lega mi-akunu-ua
if 3p-RDP-notice 1e-able-NEG
'if they discovered (that) one of us was not able'

(363) no-temo n-a-mata
2-speak 2-3-use.up
'you said (that) you had used [drank] it up' (Hueting 1908b)

Where a full NP or pronoun is present in the complement clause but not cross-referenced on the matrix clause verb, this NP occurs following the matrix clause verb and preceding the complement clause verb.

(364) yo-karajanga o-lapangan yo-diai
3p-work NM-field 3p-make
'we worked to make an airfield'

(365) mo-lega naa i-mulanga-oka i-doa
3f-notice this 3-begin-PERF 3-climb
'she noticed (that) this [water level] had already begun to rise'

(366) mo-lega ma-dedeta gaa i-lyahi-lyahini i-puda-ino
3f-notice RNM-sieve that 3-RDP-drift.away 3-surface-ABL
'she noticed (that) that sieve drifting away on the surface'

4.7.2. Formally-marked complex clauses

In contrast to juxtaposition, formally marked complex clauses include one or more particles which explicitly mark the complex construction. These include structures in which the particle must occur between the two clauses and structures in which the particle may occur preceding the first clause. The former can be loosely considered to be coordinate structures, while the latter can be loosely considered as subordinate structures. However, these labels should not be taken too literally. Among the latter we can readily distinguish subordinate clauses which modify verbs from those which modify nouns. The latter are treated here as relative clauses.

4.7.2.1. Coordination

4.7.2.1.1 Conjunction *de*

The conjunction *de* is used to conjoin both noun and verb phrases.

(367) i-wi-magawe una de   ai-hininga   ma-rahai
 3-3m-diligent 3m and   3mPOSS-heart NM-good
 he was a hard worker and he had a good heart,

(368) i-ma-hijojo-ika o-gota-ika   de ya-ngauru de   ya-pidili
 3-RFLX-lean-ALL NM-wood-ALL and 3.3-pull   and 3.3-release
 He leaned on a stick and pulled and released

4.7.2.1.2 Disjunction *eko/ekola*

The disjunction *eko* or *ekola* is used to disjoin both noun phrases and clauses. It usually has the meaning of either one or the other, but not both.

(369) ahi-ale-ale genanga o-nyawa   ya-tohiki eko ngohi dika to-hihanga
 1POSS-ring that   NM-person 3p.3-steal or   1   just 1-lost
 'either someone stole that ring of mine or I just lost it' (Hueting 1908b)

The following example combines both juxtaposition and disjunction. The second and third clauses are disjoined with *ekola*. The resulting complex clause is then juxtaposed with the first clause.

(370) yo-goana   o-maijanga i-ma-ngumo ekola o-ode   i-ma-ngumo
 3p-wait.for NM-dear   3-RFLX-jump or   NM-pig 3-RFLX-jump
 'they wait for a deer to jump or a pig to jump'

4.7.2.1.3 Contrastive conjunction *ma*

The conjunction *ma* 'but' indicates contrast between two clauses.

(371) y-a-duhuku-oka   ma y-a-lyabo-ua,   y-a-oto   ma y-a-lyabo-ua
 3p-3-shoot-PERF but 3p-3-sharp-NEG 3p-3-cut but 3p-3-sharp-NEG
 'They shot but they weren't sharp, they cut but they weren't sharp'

(372) ona ma-inomo koiwa   ma ka   i-dadi   yo-olyomo
 3p NM-food not.exist but only 3-become 3p-eat
 'they don't have any [other] food, but just that they eat'

The contrastive conjunction may also occur as a discourse particle phrase-initially with simple clauses.

(373) ma wo-honenge-oka
 but 3m-die-PERF
 'but he died'

4.7.2.1.4 Implicational conjunction *la*

The implicational conjunction *la* 'so, thus, so that' conjoins clauses in which the second follows from the first.

(374) t-a-ika   t-i-tauru no-maoko la   no-ma-tagi
 1-V-ALL 1-3m-pull 2-stand   CONJ 2-RFLX-walk
 I pulled him up so that he could walk,

(375) o-wange moi la   i-arehe-oka   gena ma-buho   gaanga,
 NM-day   one CONJ 3-turn.white-PERF this RNM-pandanus that
 '[let is dry] one day so that the pandanus turns white'

(376) uha no-hi-toma neng-oka dau, la   no-hi-ao dika ani-tau-ika
 NEG 2-1-kill   here-LOC down CONJ 2-1-carry just 2POSS-house-ALL
 'you shouldn't kill me down here, so that you can just carry me to your house'
 (Hueting 1908b)

This particle may also function as a discourse particle (see section 4.8.2 below).

4.7.2.1.5 Temporal *i-paha*

The verb *i-paha*, literally 'it passes', is often used to indicate temporal relationships between clauses with the meaning 'after, following'. It usually occurs in the highly lexicalized construction *de i-paha*, often contracted to *daha,* which occurs between the two clauses.

(377) ya-solo-oka   de i-paha ya-kururu.
 3p.3-dye-PERF and 3-pass 3p.3-scrape
 'after dying it then they scrape it'

(378) bari yo-okere de i-paha mo-lega-oli   i-lyamoko-oka
 just 3p-drink and 3-pass 3f-notice-again 3-large-PERF
 'after they ate she noticed [the water level] was increasing'

(379) ho-olyomo de i-paha o-daluku   ho-okere
 1i-eat   and 3-after NM-palm.wine 1i-drink
 'after we eat let's drink palm wine!'

4.7.2.1.6 Temporal *i-boto*

Temporal relationships between clauses may also be marked with the verb *i-boto* 'past, completed'.

(380) ya-woere i-boto-oka,   ya-toomuo-oli
 3p.3-dry 3-finish-PERF 3p.3-gather-REP
 'after it is finished drying, they gather it up again

The verb *i-boto* may also be used more directly as a verb indicating completed action.

(381) t-a-diai i-boto-oka
 1-3-do 3-finish-PERF
 'I have done it'

(382) i-boto   ho-ma-kete-ade-ade
      3-finish 1i-RFLX-CONT-RDP-tell.story
      'we're finished telling stories'

4.7.2.2. Subordination

Subordination is not readily distinguished from coordination. For the purposes of this exposition, subordination refers to clauses There is no formal distinction between subordinate and main clauses; nor in fact any formal distinction between finite and non-finite clauses.

4.7.2.2.1   Causal *mangale*

The particle *mangale* 'because' is used to combine clauses for which a causal relationship is indicated.

(383) mangale de   o-jou   ai-dora   ya-akunu t-a-akunu
      because with NM-Lord 3mPOSS-compassion 3p.3-able 1-3-able
      'because the Lord had compassion, I was able'

(384) ngohi nenanga ti-ni-ahoko mangale ahi-ale-ale moi i-hihanga
      1   this   1-2-call   because 1POSS-ring one 3-lost
      'I'm calling you because my ring is lost' (Hueting 1908b)

4.7.2.2.2   Conditional *nako*

Conditional clauses may be formed with the particle *nako* preceding the conditional clause.

(385) dau   o-wai-úku   ho-honenge nako i-na-otaka
      downward NM-valley-DOWN   1 i-die   if   3-1i-fall
      We would die down in the valley if we fell.

When the subordinate phrase precedes the matrix clause, the particle *done* 'then' may optionally occur preceding the matrix clause.

(386) nako to-tiboko doka   o-aker-ika   done to-honenge
      if   1-swim   DISTAL NM-water-ABL then 1-die
      'If I swim in the water there, then I will die' (Hueting 1908b)

The particle *nako* may sometimes function as a form of left-dislocation or topicalization, with the translation 'as for'.

(387) nako dina   o-lyoku-oka   ma-hasil i-woe   o-kolano
      if   landward NM-mountain-LOC NM-yield 3-many NM-k.o.tree
      'As for landwards in the mountains, there were many kolano trees'

(388) nako o-hongana ma-nyawa, ona ya-biaha-oka
      if   NM-forest NM-person 3p 3.3-custom-PERF
      'As for the Tugutil, he was used to it'

The particle *la* 'thus' may occur preceding the main clause.

(389) nako ami-rokata   wo-boa la   wo-ahoko
      if   3fPOSS-husband 3m-come CONJ 3m-call
      'if her husband comes, he will call'

Related to the conditional *nako* is the desiderative *iti* 'if only', which is used to indicate a necessary condition. It precedes the subordinate clause, which usually follows the matrix clause.

(390) wo-modeke iti   i-hi-hi-toaka o-baju   de o-ngoere
      3m-consent if.only 3-1-APL-give NM-shirt and NM-sarong
      "he would only consent if he was given a shirt and a sarong"

4.7.2.2.3   Concessive *ngaro*

The particle *ngaro* 'although, even though' is used to mark concessive clauses. It precedes the subordinate clause. In concessive constructions the particle *ma* often occurs between the subordinate and matrix clauses with a meaning 'still, yet'.

(391) ngaro   ahi-ngotiri koiwa   ma t-oiki dika
      although 1POSS-canoe not.exit still 1-go away
      'although I didn't have a canoe I went on'

(392) ngaro   mi-ma-baju-úku   ma mia-gogama
      even.though   1e-RFLX-shirt-DOWN still 1ePOSS-cold
      'even though we wear shirts we still shiver'

4.7.2.2.4   Resultative *hiadono*

The particle *hiadono* 'until, to the point of' precedes clauses which occur as a result or outcome of another clause.

(393) onanga i-ma-mahau   hiadono manga-biono i-tebini
      3p   3-RFLX-wash.face   until   3pPOSS-face 3-shine
      'they washed their faces until they shone' (Hueting 1908b)

The particle *hiadono* can be used preceding each clause to indicate both necessary and sufficient conditions, as in 'not until'.

(394) hiadono i-aman, hiadono mi-lio
      unitl   3-calm unitl   1e-return
      'not until it was calm did we return'

4.7.2.2.5   Direct speech complements

The verb *-ato* has partially grammaticized as a marker of direct speech. When *-ato* follows a matrix clause utterance verb it indicates that the speech reported in the complement clause is direct rather than indirect. Deixis shifts in the complement clause to the perspective of the speaker in the complement clause.

(395) mo-temo m-ato [ti-ni-niki]
      3f-speak 3f-say 1-2-follow
      'she said, "I will follow you"'

Reported speech is discussed further in section 4.8.3 below.

4.7.2.3. Relative clauses

Tobelo exhibits p ostnominal p aratactic r elative c lauses, a nd the relative clause v erb i s n ot morphologically distinguished from the matrix clause verb. The demonstrative *gena(nga)* 'that' may optionally function as a relative marker occurring clause-finally. The possible syntactic roles of the relativized NP are restricted to subject and object, or to possessor of the subject or object role. The role of the relativized NP is recoverable via the agreement marking on the relative clause verb. That is, the relativized NP controls pronominal cross-reference on the relative clause verb. The syntactic role of the head NP within the matrix clause is unrestricted.

The following are examples of S-S relative clauses, in which the head NP and the relativized NP are both cross-referenced by the subjective paradigm in the matrix and relative clauses, respectively.

(396) naga o-nyawa   mo-ma-tengo   [mo-oiki ami-dumule-ika]
      exist NM-person 3f-RFLX-alone 3f-go   3fPOSS-garden-ALL
      'there was a woman who went to her garden'

(397) [to-ma-iete   gena] ka t-ato
      1-RFLX-laugh   that so 1-speak
      'I'm the one who laughed so I'll speak'

Examples of O-S relative clauses, in which the head NP is cross-referenced via the objective paradigm in the matrix clause and the relativized NP is cross-referenced via the subjective paradigm in the relative clause, are given below. In the first two examples the head NP is the object of a transitive verb. In example (400) the head NP is the single argument of a stative verb which cross-references its single argument via the objective paradigm.

(398) o-nyawa   [o-ngohaka wo-mi-tidingi] t-a-make
      NM-person NM-child   3m-3f-punch   1-3-see
      'I saw the man who punched the girl'

(399) ngohi t-a-make   o-nyawa   [yo-boa   o-Tobeloho-ino]
      1   1-3-see   NM-person 3p-come NM-Tobelo-ABL
      'I saw a person who was coming from Tobelo'

(400) o-nyawa   [o-ngohaka wo-mi-tidingi] i-wi-tidingi
      NM-person NM-child   3m-3f-punch   3-3m-evil
      'the man who punched the girl is evil'

Examples of an S-O relatives also exist. In the following example, the head NP is the subject of the matrix clause and the object of the relative clause.

(401) o-nyawa   [ti-tidingi] wo-oara-oka
      NM-person 1.3m-punch 3m-run-PERF
      'the man I hit already ran away'

O-O relatives are also possible, though in the example below the main clause verb uses the objective paradigm because it is an intransitive stative verb. Thus, both the head NP and the relativized NP are cross-referenced via the objective paradigm.

(402) o-nyawa   [ti-tidingi] i-wi-hiri-oka
      NM-person 1.3m-punch 3-3m-sick-PERF
      'the man I hit became sick'

The relativized NP may be possessed, with the possessor indicated via a pronominal prefix which is co-referential with the head NP, as in the following example.

(403) o-nyawa   [ai-giama   i-tobi-tobiki] w-i-hi-romanga   ai-boss
      NM-person 3POSS-hand 3S-RDP-break 3m-3m-APL-name 3mPOSS-boss
      'he called the man whose arm was broken his boss '

Tobelo relative clauses occur relatively infrequently and usually function to identify a referential indefinite head NP (usually human). This is evidenced morphologically by the preponderance of head NPs marked with the noun marker o- rather than ma-.

In some cases it is difficult to syntactically distinguish paratactic relative clauses from attributive property concept constructions which are encoded by verbs. For example, the

verb -tohata 'evil' in the following example may be interpreted as a relative clause verb or as an attributive property concept.

(404) [o-nyawa i-wi-tohata] wo-gogere-úku ma-meja-oka
      NM-person 3-3m-evil   3m-sit-DOWN   NM-table-LOC
      'a man who is evil sat down at the table' or 'an evil man sat down at the table'

Such clauses may be highly lexicalized, as with the phrase o-kapa i-hohoho 'airplane' (lit: 'ship which flies') in the following example.

(405) [o-sekutu manga-kapa   i-hohoho] i-ma-idulu
      NM-allies 3pPOSS-ship 3-fly   3-RFLX-turn.over
      'some allied planes turned around'

4.8.   Discourse phenomena

4.8.1.   Definiteness and referentiality

Definiteness and referentiality are not indicated directly.[14] However, referentiality is criterial in transitive constructions in that only referential objective arguments are cross-referenced on the verb. Thus non-referential arguments are not considered morphological core arguments of the verb. In the following examples the arguments -pine 'rice' and -gota 'wood' are cross-referenced on the verb via the third-person non-human objective prefix a-.

(406) o-pine   t-a-ija
      NM-rice 1-3-buy
      'I bought the rice'

(407) o-gota   mi-a-tobiki de   mi-a-bela-belaka
      NM-wood 1i-3-break and 1i-3-RDP-split
      'We bucked and split the wood'

In contrast, the semantic patients in non-specific constructions, such as -pine 'rice' in (408), and negative constructions, such as -hilo 'resin' in (409), are not cross-referenced on the verb, and hence are not considered core arguments.

(408) o-pine   to-ija
      NM-rice 1-buy
      'I went rice-shopping'

(409) jadi   ngohi to-lye-ua   o-hilo
      therefore 1PRO 1-get-NEG NM-resin
      'Therefore I didn't get any resin'

Referentiality may also be a factor in the cross-referencing of subjective arguments in transitive clauses. When the subjective argument of a transitive clause is unknown or not relevant to the discourse, it is cross-referenced via the non-human i- marker. This yields a construction which is syntactically similar to an agentless passive or impersonal construction, as in (410); however, no passive morphology is present.

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[14] Recent studies of Tobelo and other Northeast Halmaheran languages have often referred to ma- as a definite article (cf. H. Sheldon 1991; Taylor 1984). However, as noted by Hueting: "These words [o- and ma-] are not articles, as they form a part of the word. They are noun markers, in the sense that a noun always follows these words" (Hueting 1936:347, my translation).

(410) ngohi-o   i-hi-ahoko   to-karajanga
       1-also   3-1-call   1-work
       'I was also called upon to work' (or: 'They called me to work')

If explicit reference is made to the agent argument of a clause, then that argument must be cross-referenced with a human cross-reference marker, as in (411).

(411) o-Jepangoka   manga-haeke,
       NM-Japanese   3pPOSS-head

       wo-hi-ahoko   to-wohama   o-Heiho.
       3m-1-call   1-enter   NM-indigenous.militia
       'The Japanese leader called me to enter the Heiho'

Similarly, in connected discourse, the non-human *i-* marker may be used to refer to human agents only when they are not particularly topical or locally relevant within the discourse. The non-human marker *i-* cannot be used to refer to humans which are highly topical, for example, those referents which have just been mentioned in the discourse.[15]

4.8.2. Discourse particles

In addition to its function as a coordinator, the particle *la* may function as a discourse particle expressing resolve or emphasis. In this function *la* usually occurs phrase initially or phrase finally.

(412) la   ka   to-boa-hi
       well still 1-come-IMPF
       'well still I will come'

(413) ngomi mi-olyo-olyomo-ua   la
       1e   1e-RDP-eat-NEG   well
       'well we (exc) didn't eat it'

The particle *ho* 'so, thus' behaves in may respects like a coordinator, as shown below.

(414) i-ma-liporete   ho   moi w-aka-úku moi m-aka-ilye
       3-RFLX-back.to.back   thus one 3m-V-UP   one 3f-V-SEA
       'they were back to back, so one went up the coast and one went down the coast'

(415) i-hi-gogama   ho   ho-lio   o-kapongo-óko
       3-1-shiver   thus 1i-return NM-village-seaward
       I was shivering so I returned seaward to the village.

(416) i-hi-bole-oka   i-hi-timono-oka   ho   to-oiki-oka-ua
       3-1-tired-PERF   3-1-old-PERF   thus 1-go-PERF-NEG
       I was old and tired, so I didn't want to go again.

However, *ho* occurs frequently in simple clauses as well.

(417) ya-dodoa   ho   i-ma-dadi   hokogena
       3p.3-matter   thus 3-RFLX-become   like.that
       'how/why thus do they come to be like that?'

(418) ho de   t-a-tobiki-oka   to-ma-lye-kahi
       so and 1-3-break-PERF   1-RFLX-get-SEQ
       'so after cutting it, I leave it awhile'

The particle *ho* also occurs in highly lexicalized constructions followed by *ko* plus a locational demonstrative, with the meaning 'like this/that' or 'in this/that way'. These idiomatic phrases are written here as single words, as they function more like adverbs.

(419) ngone gaa ho-akunu-ua   hokogaa
       li   that li-able-NEG   like.that
       'as for us, we weren't able to do like that'

(420) hokonaa   ya-pali   ya-moi-moi,
       like.this   3p.3-roll.up 3p.3-RDP-one
       'they roll them up one by one like this,'

Words formed in this way may even serve as predicates or even as an entire phrase, for example, *hokogaanga* 'that's all, the end'.

(421) ma-hira,   o-dimo-dimono   manga-ade-ade,   o-taaga i-dadi   hokonaa
       RNM-begin   NM-RDP-old.people   3pPOSS-RDP-story   NM-lake 3-become like.this
       'the old people's story, of how the lake [Paca] first came to be, [goes] like this…'

The particle *ka* 'yet, still, only' indicates contrast with a preceding statement.

(422) muna-o   naa i-mi-bole-oka   ma-ngo-Memeua
       3f-also now 3-3f-tired-PERF   RNM-FEM-M.

       de   ka   mo-ma-hi-booteke   o-torobuku
       and still 3-RFLX-APL-split   NM-k.o.tree
       'now she was also tired, Memeua, and still she forced herself into a split in a tree'

(423) nako de   y-okere-úku,   ka   yo-ruae   ho ka   to-hawana
       if   and 3p-drink-DOWN   still 3p-make.noise so still 1-dislike
       'if they drink, still they are rowdy, so still I don't like it'

The particle *ko* 'well' is used often as a form of verbal hesitation.

(424) yo-duhuku   ma-bion-úku,   de   ko   i-dadi-ua   ma-bomu
       3p-shoot   RNM-front-DOWN   and well 3-become-NEG   RNM-bomb
       'they shot down toward the front [of the bunker], and well, the bomb didn't have any effect'

(425) ya-solo-ika   ko,
       3p.3-dye-ALL   well

       ma-doka-dokara   eko ma-gare-garehe   gaa i-hi-kitingaka-ika.
       RNM-RDP-red   or   RNM-RDP-white   that 3-APL-separate.two.things-ALL
       'they die it, well, white and red separately'

The particle *bari* is an interjection which may indicate scorn or sarcasm, or even a response to a speech error. Thus, in the following example the speaker uses *bari* to correct himself.

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[15] Deidre Sheldon has analyzed a similar situation in Galela, noting that "in any stretch of discourse, *only* the topical participants will be marked by prefixes on the verbs" (1986:236, original emphasis).

(426) i-ma-kete-ade-ade-oli   de   y-olyomo,
      3-RFLX-CONT-RDP-tell.story-REP and 3p-eat

      bari,
      INTERJ

      y-okere,
      3p-drink

      de   i-paha mo-lega-oli
      and 3-pass 3f-ask-REP
      'the story continues, and they ate--no!--they drank, and then she asked again,'

The particle *uha* is used to form negative imperative constructions. It occurs phrase-initially.

(427) uha ni-gigoro!
      NEG 2p-talk
      'Don't talk!'

(428) uha ni-a-ruae   mia-inomo
      NEG 2p-3-disturb   1iPOSS-food
      'don't disturb our food'

4.8.3. Reported speech

Direct and indirect reported speech is marked by the verb *-ato* 'say', which occurs immediately preceding the quoted speech. When *-ato* occurs as a main clause verb, it may mark either direct or indirect speech. The reported speech occurs as the complement to the verb *-ato*. Direct speech is accompanied by corresponding deictic shift in the pronominal prefixes on the verb, as shown below.

(429) ona y-ato   ho-ma-bole-bole
      3p   3pl-say   1i-RFLX-RDP-slow
      'they said, "let's go slowly"'

(430) de   wa-ato   to-hioriki-ua
      and 3m.3-say   1-know-NEG
      And he said "I don't know"

Indirect speech has no deictic shift in the pronominal prefixes on the complement verb, as shown in the following examples.

(431) wa-ato   marai una wo-huloko
      3m.3-say   must 3m 3m-order
      'he said maybe he was responsible for it'

(432) wa-ato   i-mi-toma... ya   i-ma-idu-oka
      3m.3-say   3-1e-kill   HEST 3-RFLX-sleep-PERF
      'He said we [exc] would be killed [if we stay up there] ... in our sleep'

The verb *-ato* may also occur as part of a serial construction following an utterance verb such as *-temo* 'speak' or *-haluhu* 'reply'. In this case, *-ato* always signals direct, rather than indirect speech.

(433) o-Matias wo-temo   wa-ato   baba   i-boto   no-oiki done no-panyake
      NM-M.   3m-speak 3m.3-say   father 3-finished   2-go   then 2-ill
      'Matias said, "father, enough, if you go then you will get sick"'

(434) wo-haluhu   w-ato   ngohi t-oik-ua   o-berera-úku
      3m-reply   3m-say   1   1-go-NEG   NM-town-downward
      'he replied, "I'm not going to Tobelo"'

Reference to the act of speaking is always achieved with an utterance verb such as *-temo* rather than with the verb *-ato*.

(435) ngaro o-hongan-oka   ho-maka-make   ma   wo-na-temo
      yet   NM-forest-LOC 1i-RECIP-find   but 3m-1i-speak
      'yet we met each other in the forest, and he spoke to us'

5. Texts

The following texts were recorded by the author in 1995 and transcribed by the author with the assistance of Mr. Yohanis Labi. Individual phrases or intonation units are transcribed on separate numbered lines. In some cases significant pauses or pitch resets may occur within the lines; these are not indicated here. Each numbered line contain a morpheme-by-morpheme transcription, an inter-linear English gloss, and a free English translation.[16]

5.1. Personal narrative: Experiences in the forest

The following narrative was recorded June 12, 1995 in the village of Labi-Labi. The speaker is Mr. Paltiel Oga, a male approximately fifty years of age. Several family members and neighbors were present during the recording. In this narrative Mr. Oga recounts his experiences traveling in the forest with his friend Yahe, a Tugutil or "forest person". Most of the events described in the narrative probably occurred in the late 1970's or early 1980's. While even today it is not uncommon for the Tugutil of the Gogaili river to come to the coast, not many coastal villagers have traveled in the forest with the Tugutil. Mr. Oga's narrative is told in an informal, unplanned style. It is typical of Tobelo conversational style. The total running time of the original recording is approximately 48 minutes.

(1.1) o-oraha   genanga o-gaharu   yo-ija   yo-uti   o-Labilabi-iha
      NM-time   that   NM-eaglewood   3p-buy   3p-arrive NM-L.-LAND
      'That time they came to Labi-Labi to buy eaglewood,'

(1.2) ma-ija   i-amoko
      RNM-price   3-large
      'the price was high,'

(1.3) jadi ngomi mi-ruange mi-ma-hi-kagaro   mi-oiki mi-lye o-lyoku-iha
      thus 1e   1e-three   1e-RFLX-CAUS-decide   1e-go   1e-get NM-mountain-LAND
      'so we three decided to go to the mountains to get some.'

(1.4) dina   mi-a-iha   o-hutu   hange mi-lingiri   ma-gaharu
      landward 1e-3-landward   NM-night three 1e-look.for   RNM-eaglewood
      'We went landwards for three nights to look for eaglewood.'

(1.5) mi-a-make   ma
      1e-3-find   but
      'We found some, but'

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[16] Lines in the text are distinguished from numbered examples above by the presence of a numeral plus period preceding the line number. Thus, (1.3) refers to the third line of the first text, and (2.4) refers to the fourth line of the second text.

(1.6) ma-hasil koiwa
RNM-yield not.exist
'there wasn't much yield.'

(1.7) ma-hasili koiwa mi-lio
RNM-yield not.exist 1e-return
'There wasn't any yield so we went home.'

(1.8) mi-lio-oko mi-ma-hi-kagaro-oli mi-oiki-oli
1e-return-seaward 1e-RFLX-CAUS-decide-REP 1e-go-REP
'We went home and decided to go inland again'

(1.9) o-hutu hinoto-oli dina o-hongana-oka
NM-night two-REP landward NM-forest-LOC
'for two more nights in the forest'

(1.10) mi-a-make ma-huhutulu
1e-3-find RNM-little
'but we found little.'

(1.11) mi-lio-oka-oli naanga-oka dau o-kapongo-oka mi-ma-bukunu
1e-return-PERF-REP here-LOC downward NM-village-LOC 1e-RFLX-sell
'We returned again to the village here to sell it.'

(1.12) o-nyawa moi o-saana hange de o-ratuhu motoa o-nyawa moi
NM-person one NM-thousand three and NM-hundred five NM-person one
'Each person got 3500 rupiah.'

(1.13) mi-a-hukunu-oka ahi-dodiawo ya-hinoto i-hi-garo-oli ya-ato
1e-3-sell-PERF 1POSS-friend 3.3-two 3-1-coax-REP 3.3-say
'Having sold (it) my two friends coaxed me again saying,'

(1.14) mi-oiki-oli
1e-go-REP
'Let's go again!'

(1.15) ma ngohi ta-ato to-oiki-oka-ua i-hi-bole-oka i-hi-bole-oka
but 1 1.3-say 1-go-PERF-NEG 3-1-tired-PERF 3-1-tired-PERF
'but I said I didn't want to go again because I was tired.'

(1.16) ma-gurutu-iha o-lyoku ma ha-doa
NM-long-landward NM-mountain but 1i.3-climb
'from climbing mountains,'

(1.17) o-wai ho-guti
NM-valley 1i-descend
'descending valleys,'

(1.18) de naanga-gogama nako ho-ma-idu o-hutu-hutu
and 1iPOSS-shiver COND 1i-RFLX-sleep NM-RDP-night
'and shivering with cold when we slept at night.'

(1.19) naanga-gogama de i-mi-bole
1iPOSS-shiver and 3-1e-tired
'we shivered and were tired.'

(1.20) a ho ona ahi-dodiawo yo-oiki-oli ya-hinoto yo-oiki-oli dina
HEST thus 3p 1POSS-friend 3p-go-REP 3.3-two 3p-go-REP landward
'thus my friends went just the two of them to look,'

(1.21) ya-iha yo-lingiri ya-make-oka-ua
3.3-landward 3p-look.for 3.3-find-PERF-NEG
'but they didn't find anything'

(1.22) jadi yo-lio ma-hasili koiwa
thus 3p-return RNM-yield not.exist
'so they returned empty-handed.'

(1.23) mia-dodiawo yo-woe-woe o-kapongo-oka nenanga
1ePOSS-friend 3p-RDP-many NM-village-LOC this
'Many of my friends in the village,'

(1.24) ona ma-hasili ya-make
3p RNM-yield 3.3-find
'they did find some.'

(1.25) utu ya-make ma-ija o-saana o-ratuhu moi i-holoi
other 3.3-find RNM-price NM-thousand NM-hundred one 3-more
'These others got a price of one hundred thousand or more,'

(1.26) o-saana o-ratuhu iata holoi
NM-thousand NM-hundred four more
'four hundred thousand or more'

(1.27) a tapi ngomi koiwa
HEST but 1e not.exist
'but we got nothing,'

(1.28) o-nyawa moi o-saana hange i-holoi jadi ngomi mi-hasil-ua
NM-person one NM-thousand three 3-more thus 1e 1e-yield-NEG
'only three thousand or so per person, so we didn't succeed.'

(1.29) o-lyoku-oka dina ha-iha
NM-mountain-LOC landward 1i.3-landward
'We went inland to the mountains'

(1.30) nako ho-pulo-pulono naanga-oko o-Morotai
COND 1i-RDP-look.at here-seaward NM-M.
'and if we looked down we could see Morotai [Island],'

(1.31) hokonaa ho-bonu-uku
like.this 1i-bend.forward-down
'bending down like this,'

(1.32) nako ho-doa-ie daku ma-lyoku-oka
COND 1i-climb-UP upwards (33) NM-mountain-LOC
for we had climbed up into the mountains.

(1.34) nako o-kapa i-ho-hoho ya-kaino
COND NM-airplane 3-RDP-fly 3.3-come.here
'When a plane flew by,'

(1.35) i-ma-hi-tigi-tigi-uku　　　　de　o-domoata jadi naanga-gogama
　　　 3-RFLX-CAUS-RDP-near-down and NM-mist 　thus 1iPOSS-shiver
　　　 'it was very low, and the mist made us shiver.'

(1.36) jadi ngohi to-temo ta-ato　ngohi ta-poa-oka-ua
　　　 thus 1　　1-speak 1.3-say 1　　 1.3-strong-PERF-NEG
　　　 'So I said that I wasn't strong enough to go any more'

(1.37) i-hi-gogama ho　ho-lio　 o-kapongo-oko
　　　 3-1-shiver　thus 1i-return NM-village-seaward
　　　 'I was shivering so I returned seaward to the village.'

(1.38) jadi yo ahi-dodiawo i-hidomoteke ho　mi-lio　 o-kapongo-oko
　　　 thus 3p 1POSS-friend 3-decide　　 thus 1e-return NM-village-seaward
　　　 'Thus my friends decided to return to the village.'

(1.39) moi ma-paitua　　　ahi-dodiawo naanga-oko de mi-ma-hi-adono
　　　 one RNM-older.man 1POSS-friend here-SEA and 1e-RFLX-CAUS-reach
　　　 'Along the way before we arrived the older of my two friends'

(1.40) ma-hinoto wo-ruba i-wi-bole　wo-ruba
　　　 RNM-two 3m-trip 3-3m-tired 3m-trip
　　　 'tripped two times because he was tired,'

(1.41) t-a-ika　t-i-tauru　no-maoko la　no-ma-tagi
　　　 1-V-ALL 1-3m-pull 2-stand　CONJ 2-RFLX-walk
　　　 'I pulled him up so that he could walk,'

(1.42) la　　ho-lio　 i-wi-bole　ai-　　ai-tas　　wa-taino
　　　 CONJ 1i-return 3-3m-tired 3mPOSS 3mPOSS-bag 3m.3-carry
　　　 'thus as we returned I carried his bag because he was tired.'

(1.43) ngomi i-mi-hinoto i-mi-bole　ma mi-ruba-ua
　　　 1e　 3-1e-two　3-1e-tired but 1e-trip-NEG
　　　 'The remaining two of us were tired but we didn't trip,'

(1.44) ma una i-wi-timono jadi i-wi-bole　de wo-ruba
　　　 but 3m 3-3m-old　thus 3-3m-tired and 3m-trip
　　　 'but he was old so he was tired and he tripped'

(1.45) jadi ta-ika　　ti-tauru　　paitua　　no-maoko
　　　 thus 1.3-ALL　1.3m-pull　older.man 2-stand
　　　 'thus I had to pull the old man up'

(1.46) ho-ma-hi-adono-oka　　ho　ho-ma-tai-taiti
　　　 1i-RFLX-APL-reach-PERF thus 1i-RFLX-RDP-hurry
　　　 'so we could arrive without delay.'

(1.47) jadi mi-a-hiri　　o-tiwi　　 mi-lingiri, ma mi-a-hiri
　　　 thus 1e-3-suffer NM-money 1e-look.for but 1e-3-suffer
　　　 'So we suffered to get money, how we suffered'

(1.48) naa　naga yo-ija-oli
　　　 here exist 3p-buy-REP
　　　 'now they came again to buy'

(1.49) tapi ngohi to-oiki-oka-ua
　　　 but 1　　1-go-PERF-NEG
　　　 'but I didn't want to go again.'

(1.50) o-Matias wo-temo wa-ato　baba i-boto　 no-oiki done no-panyake
　　　 NM-M.　 3m-speak 3m.3-say father 3-finished 2-go　 then 2-ill
　　　 'Matias said, "father, enough, if you go then you will get sick,'

(1.51) hababu o-alo　　ma-maata dina　ha-iha
　　　 because NM-cold RNM-cold landward 1i.3-landward
　　　 'because it is cold there inland,'

(1.52) wa-ato　i-boto　　no-oiki
　　　 3m.3-say 3-finished 2-go
　　　 'he said "you have gone enough.'

(1.53) jadi ngohi-o ti-modeke　o-Matias to-oiki-oka-ua
　　　 thus 1-also　1.3m-consent NM-M.　1-go-PERF-NEG
　　　 'Thus I also agreed with Matias and did not go.'

(1.54) de wo-hi-hi-gumalya-oka-ua　o-karajanga ma-dodobuho o-igono　to-karajanga
　　　 and 3m-1-APL-permit-PERF-NEG NM-work　　RNM-burden NM-coconut 1-work
　　　 'He didn't allow me because I had to work on the coconuts'

(1.55) wa-ato　　baba i-boto　　no-karajanga o-nyawa　dika
　　　 3m.3-say　father 3-finished 2-work　　 NM-person only
　　　 'he said "father, enough of you working alone'

(1.56) i-na-huloko la　　o-nyawa　　yo-karajanga
　　　 3-1i-order　so.that NM-person 3p-work
　　　 'we should order another person to work."'

(1.57) la　ma-hidoku dahao ngona na-make
　　　 CONJ RNM-share then 2　　2.3p-find
　　　 'You could then have a share.'

(1.58) i-ni-timono-oka baba i-boto　　no-karajanga
　　　 3-2-old-PERF　father 3-finished 2-work
　　　 'You are old father, you are finished working.'

(1.59) ngo-ai-ayo-ika　　　　ma wo-temo hokogaanga wa-ato
　　　 SEQ-3mPOSS-mother-ALL but 3m-speak like.that　3m.3-say
　　　 'He spoke to his mother like that saying,'

(1.60) meme i-boto
　　　 mother 3-finished
　　　 'mother, the work is finished'

(1.61) o-karajanga ma-dodobuho no-goraka i-ni-timono-oka
　　　 NM-work　　RNM-burden 2-carry　3-2-old-PERF
　　　 'you are too old to carry such a burden.'

(1.62) no-ma-hakai　dika no-ma-ija　o-inomo
　　　 2-RFLX-cook　just 2-RFLX-buy NM-food
　　　 'You cook and you buy food,'

(1.63) o-nauoko
NM-fish
'fish'

(1.64) o-pine
NM-rice
'rice,'

(1.65) de o-gauku la ni-ma-hakai la ni-olyomo dika i-boto
and NM-vegetable CONJ 2p-RFLX-cook CONJ 2p-eat just 3-finished
'and vegetables to cook and to eat,'

(1.66) ani-karajanga ma-dodobuho
2POSS-work RNM-burden
'so that is enough burden for you.'

(1.67) jadi ngomi-o mi-wi-domoteke mia-ngohaka nenanga
thus 1e-also 1e-3m-support 1ePOSS-child this
'Thus we also supported this child.'

(1.68) nako dina o-lyoku-oka ma-hasil i-woe o-kolano
COND landward NM-mountain-LOC RNM-yield 3-many NM-k.o.tree
'Landwards in the mountains there were many kolano trees'

(1.69) ma de ma-enanga tapi ma-hangihara ho-lye ma-hangihara
but CONJ NM-3inam but RNM-pain 1i-get RNM-pain
'but it was a pain to get them, a pain.'

(1.70) o-lyoku hokonaa naanga-ika ho-boa kiani ho-ma-hijojo hokonaa
NM-mountain like.this here-ALL 1i-come must 1i-RFLX-lean like.this
'Coming from the mountains we had to walk like this.'

(1.71) i-howono ho-ma-hijojo i-na-otaka
3-wrong 1i-RFLX-lean 3-1i-fall
'If you leaned the wrong way you would fall.'

(1.72) dau o-wai-uku ho-honenge nako i-na-otaka
downward NM-valley-DOWN 1 i-die COND 3-1i-fall
'We would die down in the valley if we fell.'

(1.73) jadi ngohi to-lye-ua o-hilo
thus 1 1-get-NEG NM-resin
'So I didn't get any resin.'

(1.74) ma naanga-oka ma-nyawa o-kapongo ma-nyawa
but here-LOC NM-person NM-village RNM-person
'But one of the people here in the village went'

(1.75) ona yo-oiki manga-hangihara
3p 3p-go 3pPOSS-pain
'and he got a lot of pain'

(1.76) ngomi o-tiwi mi-lingiri ma-hangihara
1e NM-money 1e-look.for RNM-pain
'We (usually) suffered to get money,'

(1.77) i-ma-tero-ua ma-kangela de ma-tiwi
3-RFLX-equal-NEG NM-burden and RNM-money
'but the pain and the money were not equal.'

(1.78) ma-tiwi i-hutulu ma-kangela i-amoko
RNM-money 3-little RNM-burden 3-large
'The money was little and the burden was large,'

(1.79) jadi ngohi to-niki-oka-ua dina-iha yo-oiki
thus 1 1-follow-PERF-NEG landward-landward 3p-go
'thus I didn't follow them landwards'

(1.80) i-hi-bole-oka i-hi-timono-oka ho to-oiki-oka-ua
3-1-tired-PERF 3-1-old-PERF thus 1-go-PERF-NEG
'I was old and tired, so I didn't want to go again.'

(1.81) ngohi ahi-umuru moruata de butanga i-boto
1 1POSS-age forty and six 3-finished
'I was already forty-six years old.'

(1.82) o-hongana ma-nyawa i-hi-higaro ya-ato mi-lye
NM-forest RNM-person 3-1-awake 3.3-say 1e-get
'The Tugutil woke me up saying we should get some,'

(1.83) tapi ngohi ta-ato to-oiki-ua i-hi-bole-oka ma-gurutu-iha
but 1 1.3-say 1-go-NEG 3-1-tired-PERF RNM-long-LAND
'but I said I didn't want to go because I was tired and it was a long way inland'

(1.84) ona ya-ato ho-ma-bole-bole ho ya-dodoa-ua
3p 3.3-say 1i-RFLX-RDP-slow thus 3.3-matter-NEG
'he said let's go slowly, it doesn't matter;'

(1.85) ta-ato to-oiki-ua ka ma-gurutu-iha
1.3-say 1-go-NEG only RNM-long- LAND
'I said I don't want to go-- it's a long way yet.'

(1.86) o-ngorumino de ho-sobo o-wange hokonaa
NM-daybreak and 1i-depart NM-day like.this
'At daybreak we departed on a day like this'

(1.87) ho-ma-hi-adono-ua-ahi ho-ma-togu-togumu
1i-RFLX-CAUS-reach-NEG-IMPF 1i-RFLX-RDP-rest
'and before we arrived we rested'

(1.88) ho-olyomo-oka ho-sobo-oli
1i-eat-PERF 1i-depart-REP
'after eating we departed again'

(1.89) i-na-bole ho-ma-togumu ho-olyomo-oka ho-sobo-oli
3-1i-tired 1i-RFLX-rest 1i-eat-PERF 1i-depart-REP
'we were tired so we rested and ate and then departed again'

(1.90) ho-uti ho-doa
1i-descend 1i-climb
'descending and climbing.'

(1.91) ho-kelehoro   naa ma-lyoku   hokonaa
li-mountainside here RNM-mountain like.this
'we followed the mountainside like this,'

(1.92) naanga-ika ho-boa ho-kelehoro   ho-hangihara ho-ma-hijojo kiani hokonaa
here-ALL li-come li-mountainside li-pain   li-RFLX-lean must like.this
'coming along the mountainside we had to lean like this and it was very painful;'

(1.93) ha-howono ho-sobo
li.3-wrong li-depart
'if we made a wrong move'

(1.94) ho-lulu   ho-honenge ho-ma-hi-boa   o-helewo-uku
li-tumble li-die   li-RFLX-CAUS-come NM-stone-down
'we could tumble and die in a landslide.'

(1.95) nako o-hongana ma-nyawa ona ya-biaha-oka
COND NM-forest RNM-person 3p 3.3-custom-PERF
'As for the Tugutil, he was used to it,'

(1.96) ya-biaha-oka   jadi ya-bole-ua
3.3-custom-PERF thus 3.3-tired-NEG
'he was used to it, so he wasn't tired.'

(1.97) nako yo-uti   o-lyoku-uku   ona i-ma-popata
COND 3p-descend NM-mountain-down 3p 3-RFLX-run.hard
'When he went down the mountain he ran hard,'

(1.98) ngone ho-akunu-ua ho-ma-popata   kiani ho-ma-hijojo
li   li-able-NEG li-RFLX-run.hard must li-RFLX-lean
'but we weren't able run hard, we had to lean into the mountain,'

(1.99) ona i-ma-popata
3p 3-RFLX-run.hard
'but he could run hard.'

(1.100) i-ma-hijojo-ika o-gota-ika   de ya-ngauru de ya-pidili
3-RFLX-lean-ALL NM-wood-ALL and 3.3-pull   and 3.3-release
'He leaned on a stick pulling and releasing'

(1.101) manga-gurutu-ika ka   yo-tagi
3pPOSS-long-ALL only 3p-walk
'he could move far while only walking,'

(1.102) ngone gaa ho-akunu-ua   hokogaa
li   that li-able-NEG like.that
'as for us, we weren't able to do like that,'

(1.103) ha-duru   o-hongana ma-nyawa ho-akunu-ua
li.3-very.bad NM-forest RNM-person li-able-NEG
'we weren't at all like the Tugutil, we were very bad.'

(1.104) nako o-kapongo-oka yo-hupu-ino i-ma-tagi   i-ma-bole-bole
COND NM-village-LOC 3p-go.out-ABL 3-RFLX-walk 3-RFLX-RDP-slow
'When they come out to the village they walk slowly,'

(1.105) ma nako o-hongana ya-doko   manga-dodagi
but COND NM-forest 3.3-step.on 3pPOSS-trail
'but in the forest they step on the trail'

(1.106) ya-tururu i-taiti   i-ma-tagi
3.3-move 3-hurry 3-RFLX-walk
'and move along in a hurry.'

(1.107) o-ngairi   i-haharu ngone ho-dobongo ho-akunu-ua
NM-stream 3-flow   li   li-wade   li-able-NEG
'We weren't able to wade across the fast-moving streams,'

(1.108) ona yo-tobongo nako o-hongana ma-nyawa
3p 3p-wade   COND NM-forest NM-person
'but as for the Tugutil, he waded.'

(1.109) jadi ngone ngomi o-gahi ma-nyawa mi-a-poa-ua
thus li   le   NM-sea RNM-person le-3-strong-NEG
'So we, we (exc) coastal people aren't strong.'

(1.110) nako mi-a-niki   mi-a-poa-ua
COND le-3-follow le-3-strong-NEG
'We aren't strong enough to follow them.'

(1.111) ona i-ma-idu   manga-baju koiwa   i-ma-habeba-ie   dika
3p 3-RFLX-sleep 3pPOSS-shirt not.exist 3-RFLX-loin.cloth-UP only
'When they sleep they don't wear a shirt, only a loincloth.'

(1.112) i-ma-idu   moi naanga-ika wo-pea
3-RFLX-sleep one here-ALL 3m-head
'They sleep with one person's head going this way,'

(1.113) moi dokeng-ino   wo-pea
one that.PUNCT-ABL 3m-head
'one head coming that way,'

(1.114) moi neng-ika wo-pea
one that-ALL 3m-head
'one head going another way,'

(1.115) moi neng-ino wo-pea
one that-ABL 3m-head
'one head coming this way.'

(1.116) i-mi-kutuno-ika-ua   ona i-ma-idu
3-le-go.together-ALL-NEG 3p 3-RFLX-sleep
'They don't sleep all in a line'

(1.117) moi neng-ika moi hokonaa i-ma-idu
one that-ALL one like.this 3-RFLX-sleep
'they sleep one this direction and one like this,'

(1.118) ma-uku   ma-goronaka
RNM-fire RNM-contents
'around the fire.'

(1.119) ma-hangihara de ona manga-gogama-ua
RNM-pain and 3p 3pPOSS-shiver-NEG
'Even though it's difficult they don't shiver,'

(1.120) ngaro o-demoata de ma-maata ma manga-gogama-ua
yet NM-mist and RNM-cold but 3pPOSS-shiver-NEG
'even in the mist and the cold they don't shiver.'

(1.121) ngomi mia-gogama ngaro mi-ma-baju-uku ma mia-gogama
1e 1ePOSS-cold yet 1e-RFLX-shirt-down but 1ePOSS-cold
'we (exc) shiver even though we wear shirts we still shiver,'

(1.122) ma ona manga-gogama-ua
but 3p 3pPOSS-cold-NEG
'but they don't shiver.'

(1.123) de nako ho-olyomo o-ode ekola o-maijanga
and COND 1i-eat NM-pig or NM-deer
'When we eat pig or deer [with them],'

(1.124) ona ma-inomo koiwa ma ka i-dadi yo-olyomo
3p RNM-food not.exist but only 3-become 3p-eat
'they don't have any [other] food, but just that they eat.'

(1.125) ma o-ode dika ya-olyomo ma-inomo koiwa ma ka ya-olyomo
but NM-pig only 3.3-eat RNM-food not.exist but yet 3.3-eat
'They just eat pig, they don't eat any other food,'

(1.126) ngomi mi-a-poa-ua
1e 1e-3-strong-NEG
'we are not strong enough,'

(1.127) jadi kiani de o-inomo dahao mi-a-olyomo ma-ode ma-maijanga
thus must with NM-food then 1e-3-eat NM-pig RNM-deer
'thus we must eat pig and deer with other food.'

(1.128) ona i-hiode ma-akeme de ma-haki ngomi mi-a-poa-ua jadi mi-hangihara
3p 3-side.dish RNM-flesh and NM-fat 1e 1e-3-strong-NEG thus 1e-pain
'They eat just flesh and fat,'

(1.129) ngomi mi-a-poa-ua jadi mi-hangihara
1e 1e-3-strong-NEG thus 1e-pain
'we aren't able so it's difficult.'

(1.130) naga o-ngairi-ika moi ma ma-nauoko i-ma-tero hoka o-dodiha
exist NM-stream-ALL one NM RNM-fish 3-RFLX-equal like NM-snake
'there was one stream who's fish (looked) like a snake'

(1.131) genanga ona duru yo-igo
that 3p very 3p-love
'they loved to eat that.'

(1.132) nako ya-lye-ino gaa ya-hakai o-tiba-uku yo-noa-uku
COND 3.3-get-ABL that 3.3-cook NM-bamboo-down 3p-fill-down
'To cook it they put it in bamboo'

(1.133) daha ya-harongo
then 3.3-roast
'and roasted it.'

(1.134) ya-harongo yo-haka-oka ya-teta
3.3-roast 3p-peel-PERF 3.3-pour.out
'They roasted it, peeled it open, and poured it out,'

(1.135) ya-teta-uku daha ya-olyomo
3.3-pour.out-down then 3.3-eat
'they poured it out and then they ate it'

(1.136) ngohi ta-pulo-pulono to-moroene-ua ta-olyomo
1 1.3-RDP-look.at 1-enjoy-NEG 1.3-eat
'I looked at it but didn't like to eat it'

(1.137) ma-rupa hoka o-dodiha ma ona ya-olyomo de
RNM-appearance like NM-snake but 3p 3.3-eat and
'It looked like a snake but they ate it;'

(1.138) ha-pulo-pulono ma-rahai ma-akeme ma-haki
1i.3-RDP-look.at RNM-nice RNM-flesh RNM-fat
'the flesh and the fat looked good when I looked at it,'

(1.139) tapi ngohi to-moroene-ua
but 1 1-enjoy-NEG
'but I didn't like it.'

(1.140) ngomi mi-olyo-olyomo-ua la
1e 1e-RDP-eat-NEG well
'We (exc) didn't eat it,'

(1.141) mi-olyo-olyomo-ua jadi to-moroene-ua ta-olyomo
1e-RDP-eat-NEG thus 1-enjoy-NEG 1.3-eat
'we didn't eat it thus I didn't have the pleasure of tasting it,'

(1.142) ma-guru-gurutu hokonaa ma-guru-gurutu
RNM-RDP-long like.this RNM-RDP-long
'it was very long like this.'

(1.143) nako i-tagi hokonaa dau o-ngairi
COND 3-walk like.this downward NM-stream
'Walking down the stream'

(1.144) ma-goronaka de i-tagi hokonaa i-wohama o-helewo ma-pidaha-ika
RNM-contents and 3-walk like.this 3-enter NM-stone RNM-hole-ALL
'the water entered a hole in the rock,'

(1.145) jadi yo-tumunu-uku de manga-toimi yo-tingi-oko de ya-toimi
thus 3p-dive-down with 3pPOSS-spear.gun 3p-tighten-seaward and 3.3-shoot
'they dove down with their speargun to shoot.'

(1.146) ngohi to-modongo hoka o-dodiha ma-rupa
1 1-afraid like NM-snake RNM-appearance
'I was afraid that a snake would show up.'

(1.147) moi ai-hininga i-rahai ai-romanga o-Yahe
one 3mPOSS-heart 3-good 3mPOSS-name NM-Y.
'That guy named Yahe had a good heart'

(1.148) ma wo-honenge-oka
but 3m-die-PERF
'but he died.'

(1.149) naanga-oka nako wo-hupu-oko o-baju o-ngoere i-wi-ke
here-LOC COND 3m-go.out-seaward NM-shirt NM-sarong 3-3m-give
'When he went out to the coast a shirt and a sarong were given to him,'

(1.150) i-wi-huloko wo-tumule
3-3m-order 3m-garden
'and he was ordered to garden,'

(1.151) wo-tumule wo-idu-ika o-hongana-oka wo-tumule
3m-garden 3m-sleep-ALL NM-forest-LOC 3m-garden
'While gardening he would sleep in the forest.'

(1.152) wo-tumule ai ai-hewa o-ngoere o-baju
3m-garden 3mPOSS 3mPOSS-rent NM-sarong NM-shirt
'His wages for gardening were a sarong and a shirt;'

(1.153) i-wi-magawe una de ai-hininga ma-rahai
3-3m-diligent 3m and 3mPOSS-heart RNM-good
'he was a hard worker and he had a good heart,'

(1.154) ma wo-honenge-oka
but 3m-die-PERF
'but he died.'

(1.155) doka wa-ika o-Akelamo-oko dina ma-utu-oka de
there 3m.3-ALL NM-A.-seaward landward RNM-little-LOC and
'Up there on the way to Akelamo'

(1.156) wo-panyake ho wo-honenge-oka
3m-ill thus 3m-die-PERF
'he became ill and died.'

(1.157) nako danena ma-paitua moi ai-giama i-tobi-tobiki
COND that.seaward RNM-older.man one 3mPOSS-arm 3-RDP-break
'There was an old man inland with a broken arm,'

(1.158) ai-dumule gaa una wo-tumule
3mPOSS-garden that 3m 3m-garden
'He [Yahe] worked in his garden.'

(1.159) o-igono wo-datomo ma-utu o-ribuhu moi i-holoi
NM-coconut 3m-plant RNM-stem NM-thousand one 3-more
'He planted a thousand or so coconuts,'

(1.160) gaa una wo-tumule o-hongana ma-nyawa
that 3m 3m-garden NM-forest RNM-person
'that Tugutil did.'

(1.161) jadi una ai-hininga i-rahai
thus 3m 3mPOSS-heart 3-good
'So he had a good heart.'

(1.162) nako utu naa naga ha-huloko yo-oluku ya-tebeturu
COND other here exist 1i.3-order 3p-not.want 3.3-lazy
'Now there were others who when asked to work didn't want to because they were lazy,'

(1.163) i-ma-howono de o-Yahe
3-RFLX-wrong with NM-Y.
'but that wasn't true of Yahe.'

(1.164) o-Yahe wo-pako de wo-kurutu-ie de wo-kuata
NM-Y. 3m-large and 3m-long-UP and 3m-strong
'Yahe was big and tall and strong.'

(1.165) nako wo-bahuku wo-kuata gaa wo-tumule
COND 3m-axe 3m-strong that 3m-garden
'He was powerful chopping with axe when he gardened.'

(1.166) ngohi wo-hi-igo wo-hi-ao nako wo-hupu-oko
1 3m-1-love 3m-1-care.for COND 3m-go.out-seaward
'He loved me and cared for me when he came out to the coast,'

(1.167) ahi-kaho o-gahumu hange ho wo-hi-garo
1POSS-dog NM-not.damaged three thus 3m-1-coax
'he coaxed me to take my three good dogs'

(1.168) mi-wohama o-hongana-iha mi-lingiri o-ode o-maijanga
1e-enter NM-forest-landward 1e-look.for NM-pig NM-deer
'into the forest to look for pigs and deer.'

(1.169) o-hongana ma-nyawa ma ai-hininga i-rahai
NM-forest RNM-person but 3mPOSS-heart 3-good
'That Tugutil had a good heart.'

(1.170) ma-oraha wo-honenge-oka de ngohi to-ihene de
RNM-time 3m-die-PERF and 1 1-hear and
'When he died and I heard about it,'

(1.171) ti-hininga hababu wo-dodiawo de
ngohi ma-rahai
1.3m-think.about because 3m-friend with 1 RNM-good
'I thought about him because he was a good friend to me.'

(1.172) wo-hi-tulung-oka una ngohi to-tumule
3m-1-help-PERF 3m 1 1-garden
'He helped me with my garden,'

(1.173) wo-hi-riwo o-hongana ma-nyawa
3m-1-help NM-forest RNM-person
'that Tugutil helped me.'

(1.174) nako wo-hupu-oko la
COND 3m-go.out-seaward CONJ
'When he came out to the coast.'

(1.175) i-wi-hi-garo   yo-gareja wo-niki   wo-gareja
     3-3m-APL-coax 3p-church 3m-follow 3m-church
     'he was encouraged to go to church with us.'

(1.176) ma nako o-pendeta   wo-temo una wo-temo wa-ato   ngohi-ua
     but COND NM-preacher 3m-speak 3m 3m-speak 3m.3-say 1-NEG
     'But when the preacher spoke, he [Yahe] spoke, saying "it's not me".'

(1.177) a   i-paha i-wi-temo   ya-ato ngone uha ho-temo
     HEST 3-pass 3-3m-speak 3.3-say 1i   NEG 1i-speak
     'Then he was told that we don't speak [in church],'

(1.178) wa-ato   ho-temo una dika wo-temo ngone uha
     3m.3-say 1i-speak 3m just 3m-speak 1i   NEG
     'he just said we don't.'

(1.179) ho una wo-temo wa-ato
     thus 3m 3m-speak 3m.3-say
     'So he spoke, saying,'

(1.180) to-bote wo-hi-leha jadi wo-hi-tumutu ngohi
     1-sure 3m-1-ask thus 3m-1-point   1
     'I thought he [the preacher] was asking me and so pointing at me.'

(1.181) ma moi gena yo-gareja de i-wi-ao-ika
     but one that 3p-church and 3-3m-carry-ALL
     'That one time he went to church,'

(1.182) de ka de wo-temo de wa-ato   a   ngohi-ua
     and yet and 3m-speak and 3m.3-say HEST 1-NEG
     'yeah, he was taken there, he spoke saying, "it's not me.'

(1.183) ai   wo-honenge-oka de ai-ngoere   de ai-baju
     3mPOSS 3m-die-PERF   and 3mPOSS-sarong and 3mPOSS-shirt
     'After he died his sarong and his shirt'

(1.184) ai-dodiawo   i-ma-hidoku-oka
     3mPOSS-friend 3-RFLX-divide.up-PERF
     'were divided up among his friends.'

(1.185) o-oraha gaanga naanga-oko wo-hupu ai-hekata   koiwa mo-honenge-oka
     NM-time that   here-seaward 3m-go.out 3mPOSS-wife notexist 3f-die-PERF
     'At the time he came out to the coast he had no wife because she had already died.'

(1.186) wo-gogere o-Gogaili dakena   ma-biono-oka
     3m-stay   NM-G.   upwards RNM-front-LOC
     'He lived up at the mouth of the Gogaili river.'

(1.187) ai-dodiawo   yo-hupu dina-oko   ma-ngoheka ya-ao   de
     3mPOSS-friend 3p-go.out landward-seaward RNM-woman 3.3-carry and
     'His friend came out to the coast to take,'

(1.188) yo-molyoka wa-niki   doka o-Akelamo-oko ma-utu-ika
     3p-marry   3m.3-follow there NM-A.-seaward RNM-stem-ALL
     'well marry, a women, and he [Yahe] followed him [his friend] out to the headwaters
     of the Akelamo river.'

(1.189) doka wa-ika   wo-panyake ho wo-honenge-oka
     there 3m.3-ALL 3m-ill   thus 3m-die-PERF
     'Along the way he became ill and died'

(1.190) ai-ngoere   de ai-baju   ai-dodiawo   i-ma-hidoku-oka
     3mPOSS-sarong and 3mPOSS-shirt 3mPOSS-friend 3-RFLX-divide.up-PERF
     'his friends divided up his sarong and shirt.'

(1.191) nako naa naga ma-ngoha-ngohaka yo-hupu-hupu naanga-oko
     COND here exist RNM-RDP-child   3p-RDP-go.out here-seaward
     'One time his children came out to the coast.'

(1.192)   ha-huloko yo-oluku   ya-magawe-ua
     1i.3-order 3p-not.want 3.3-diligent-NEG
     'we asked them [to work] but they didn't want to, they weren't hard-working,'

(1.193) nako una hi-huloko gaa
     COND 3m APL-order that
     'if they were asked'

(1.194) wo-oiki o-hitakono wo-lye gaa wo-oiki wo-tumule
     3m-go   NM-log   3m-get that 3m-go   3m-garden
     'to go get a log from the garden'

(1.195) wo-modeke iti   i-wi-hi-toaka o-baju   de o-ngoere
     3m-consent if.only 3-3m-APL-give NM-shirt and NM-sarong
     'he would only consent if he was given a shirt and a sarong'

(1.196) jadi una o-habeba   i-kuranga-oka wa-pake
     thus 3m NM-loin.cloth 3-absent-PERF 3m.3-wear
     'so he he didn't wear a loincloth.'

(1.197) nako wo-hupu o-kapongo-ino gaa o-haluara   biaha
     COND 3m-go.out NM-village-ABL that NM-trousers usually
     'If he went out to the village he usually just wore pants.'

(1.198) doka o-berera-ika   wo-gogilio
     there NM-Tobelo-ALL 3m-returning
     'He kept returning to Tobelo,'

(1.199) wa-niki   naanga-oka dau   o-berera   ma-nyawa
     3m.3-follow here-LOC downward NM-Tobelo RNM-person
     'following the Tobelo people'

(1.200) naanga-oka dau   o-berera-ika   yo-oiki gaa wa-niki
     here-LOC downward NM-town-ALL 3p-go   that 3m.3-follow
     'down here and going with them when they went to [Tobelo] town.'

(1.201) o-oto   wo-hi-romanga wa-ato   o-parapara
     NM-vehicle 3m-APL-name 3m.3-say NM-copra.drying.rack
     'He called cars copra drying racks'

(1.202) o-oto   wa-ato   marai   o-parapara
     NM-vehicle 3m.3-say approximately NM-copra.drying.rack
     'because he said they looked like copra drying racks,'

(1.203) o-hapi wa-make de wo-temo wa-ato
     NM-cow 3m.3-discover and 3m-speak 3m.3-say
     'He found a cow and said,'

(1.204) nako ahi-toimi ta-ao ta-toimi
     COND 1POSS-spear.gun 1.3-carry 1.3-shoot
     "if I had my spear gun I would shoot it."

(1.205) de ona i-wi-temo ya-ato uha gaa ya-paliara
     and 3p 3-3m-speak 3.3-say NEG that 3.3-raise
     'They spoke to him saying, don't, people are raising those [cows].'

(1.206) naa naga ona yo-hupu-hupu manga-hininga kuranga i-rahai
     here exist 3p 3p-RDP-go.out 3pPOSS-heart less 3-good
     'Now the others who came out were not good-hearted'

(1.207) ha-huloko yo-oluku
     1i.3-order 3p-not.want
     'we would ask them [to work] but they didn't want to,'

(1.208) nako una o-nyawa ma-oa
     COND 3m NM-person NM-good
     'but as for him, he was a good person.'

(1.209) o-lihanga ma wo-ma-ija
     NM-gong NM 3m-RFLX-buy
     'He bought a gong for himself'

(1.210) wo-ija ai-giama i-tobi-tobiki-oka dina wa-ao-iha
     3m-buy 3mPOSS-arm 3-RDP-break-PERF landward 3m.3-carry-landward
     'He bought a gong from old broken-arm there and took it inland'

(1.211) o-Iga ma-nyawa ya-ija-oli to-una ai-lihanga
     NM-I. RNM-person 3.3-buy-REP POSS-3m 3mPOSS-gong
     'the people in Iga had always wanted to buy his gong,'

(1.212) ma-ija ka ha-amoko tapi una wa-akunu wa-ija
     NM-price only 1i.3-large but 3m 3m.3-able 3m.3-buy
     'but even though the price was high, he was able to buy it.'

(1.213) daha wa-hukunu-oli o-Iga ma-nyawa-ika
     then 3m.3-sell-REP NM-I. RNM-person-ALL
     'Then he sold it to the people in Iga,'

(1.214) jadi ma-lihanga naa naga daku o-Iga to-una ai-lihanga
     thus RNM-gong here exist upwards NM-I. POSS-3m 3mPOSS-gong
     'so now his gong is up there in Iga.'

(1.215) gena to-una ai-lihanga moi daku o-Iga to gaa to-una
     that POSS-3m 3mPOSS-gong one upwards NM-I. HEST that POSS-3m
     'That gong of his is up in Iga,'

(1.216) ai-lihanga ma-Yahe gena nenga-oka-o
     3mPOSS-gong NM-Y. that there-LOC-also
     'yeah that Yahe's gong is too there.'

(1.217) ma-medemo ma-pako hokonaa
     RNM-speech RNM-large like.this
     'He speech was very loud like this,'

(1.218) ho nako ha-tidingi ma-ilingi ma-kuati-ie
     thus COND 1i.3-punch RNM-voice RNM-strong-UP
     'so when he spoke his voice boomed out.'

(1.219) o-oraha gaanga ai-giama i-tobi-tobiki wo-ija
     NM-time that 3mPOSS-arm 3-RDP-break 3m-buy
     'That time he bought [the gong] from the broken-arm'

(1.220) o-fenes-oka de i-paha
     NM-k.o.boat-LOC and 3-pass
     'in the boat,'

(1.221) wi-huloko wo-tumule de ai-hewa o-lihanga
     3m-order 3m-garden and 3mPOSS-wages NM-gong
     'he was asked to work in the garden and the gong was his wages.'

(1.222) ai-bohoko wo-ma-ija
     3mPOSS-pot 3m-RFLX-buy
     'He bought a pot.'

(1.223) nako wo-ma-gula ma-kofi
     COND 3m-RFLX-sugar RNM-coffee
     'and if he wanted to sweeten his coffee,'

(1.224) ma-tiba-uku wo-noa-uku ma-gula
     RNM-bamboo-down 3m-fill-down RNM-sugar
     'he put sugar down in the bamboo.'

(1.225) ma-akere daha wa-harongo ho de i-tuhara-oka wa-iki
     RNM-water then 3m.3-roast thus and 3-boil-PERF 3m.3-take.away
     'Then he heated the water and the heated it and after it boiled, he took it off.'

(1.226) wa-iki dahao wa-uhe o-payae-uku
     3m.3-take.away then 3m.3-pour NM-palm.leaf.cup-down
     'He took it off then he poured it into a palm leaf cup,'

(1.227) o-payae ekola o-derihi wo-uhe
     NM-palm.leaf.cup or NM-palm.leaf.cup 3m-pour
     'he poured it in the palm leaf cup, that is, the derihi.'

(1.228) hi-dora nako hi-make ai-hininga i-rahai
     1-have.compassion COND 1-find 3mPOSS-heart 3-good
     'He was compassionate and good-hearted,'

(1.229) nako o-maijanga wa- wa-toma de o-ode
     COND NM-deer 3m.3 3m.3-kill and NM-pig
     'if he killed a deer, or a pig,'

(1.230)wo-hi-hupu   o-kapongo-ino wi-ao
       3m-APL-go.out NM-village-ABL 3m-carry
       he carried it out to the village

(1.231)ai-giama   i-tobi-tobiki wi-hi-romanga ai-boss
       3mPOSS-arm 3-RDP-break 3m-APL-name 3mPOSS-boss
       'He called broken-arm his "boss".'

(1.232)nako o-berera-ika   wo-oiki wo-huloko kiani i-wi-guti
       COND NM-Tobelo-ALL 3m-go 3m-order must 3-3m-descend
       'When he went to Tobelo he ordered that he must get there.'

(1.233)gaa wa-niki   o-berera-ika   wo-oiki
       that 3m.3-follow NM-Tobelo-ALL 3m-go
       'So he went with them to Tobelo.'

(1.234)nako   hariminggu ya   o-gareja   ma-wange wa-nako
       COND   Sunday   HEST NM-church   RNM-day 3m.3-know
       'In order to know which day was Sunday,'

(1.235)wa-riri   o-gota-ika   tumidi gaa o-gareja   gaa wo-hupu
       3m.3-scratch NM-tree-ALL seven that NM-church that 3m-go.out
       'he scratched marks on a tree, and after seven marks he went out to church

(1.236)ngohi ti-leha   ta-ato
       1   1.3m-ask 1.3-say
       'I asked him, saying,'

(1.237)hobata ngona o-nagona na-modongo
       sir   2   NM-who 2.3p-afraid
       'who are you afraid of?,'

(1.238)de wa-ato   ngohi ta-modongo
       and 3m.3-say 1   1.3-afraid
       'and he said, "I am afraid"—'

(1.239)wa-tumutu ta-ato
       3m.3-point 1.3-say
       'he pointed while saying—'

(1.240)nako   o-nyawa   yo-toma-toma
       COND   NM-person   3p-RDP-kill
       'that a person will kill [me].'

(1.241)ta-modongo-ua nako o-dodiha to-modongo-ua
       1.3-afraid-NEG COND NM-snake 1-afraid-NEG
       'but as for snakes, I am not afraid of them.'

(1.242)nako o-tokata   to-modongo-ua
       COND NM-evil.spirit 1-afraid-NEG
       'As for evil spirits, I'm not afraid of them,'

(1.243)ta-ato   ho   o-nagona n-a-modongo
       1.3-say thus NM-who 2-3-afraid
       'so I said who are you afraid of?'

(1.244)ta-ato   o-nagona genanga
       1.3-say NM-who   that
       'I said who is that,'

(1.245)de wa-ato   hoka ngone-oli
       and 3m.3-say like 1i-REP
       'and he said it was us again [that he was afraid of].'

(1.246)wa-ato   hoka ngone-oli
       3m.3-say   like 1i-REP
       'He said it was us again,'

(1.247)wa-ato   ti-modongo nako una ti-modongo
       3m.3-say 1.3m-afraid COND 3m 1.3m-afraid
       'he said "I am afraid of him, as for him, I am afraid of him.'

(1.248)o-tokata   wo-modongo-ua
       NM-evil.spirit 3m-afraid-NEG
       'He wasn't afraid of evil spirits,'

(1.249)o-dodiha wo-modongo-ua
       NM-snake 3m-afraid-NEG
       'he wasn't afraid of snakes,'

(1.250)o-nyawa   wa-modongo-ua nako una wi-modongo
       NM-person 3m.3-afraid-NEG COND 3m 3m-afraid
       'he wasn't afraid of people, but as for him, he was feared.'

(1.251)ti-leha   nako o-dotoreke de o-leletongo
       1.3m-ask COND NM-thunder and NM-lightning
       'I asked, as for thunder and lightening,'

(1.252)o-nagona   gaa yo-huloko
       NM-who   that 3p-order
       'who is responsible for it?'

(1.253)de wa-ato   to-hioriki-ua
       and 3m.3-say 1-know-NEG
       'And he said "I don't know,'

(1.254)wa-ato   marai una wo-huloko
       3m.3-say must 3m 3m-order
       'he said maybe he was responsible for it.'

(1.255)nako wo-panyake-ua hokonaa wo-honenge-ua-ahi
       if   3m-ill-NEG   like.this 3m-die-NEG-IMPF
       'If he wasn't sick like, then [perhaps] he wouldn't yet be dead,'

(1.256)de   i-wi-timono i-kiria-ua-ahi
       and 3-3m-old   3-many-NEG-IMPF
       'for he was not yet very old.'

(1.257)o-oraha gaanga naanga-oko wo-hupu
       NM-time that   here-SEA   3m-go.out
       'At that time he came out to the coast'

(1.258) ai-umuru marai o-taongo moruata i-holoi
3mPOSS-age approximately NM-year forty 3-more
'his age was about forty or so years.'

(1.259) ai-ama ngo-ai-ayo de ai-dodiawo utu-ohi
3mPOSS-father FEM-3mPOSS-mother and 3mPOSS-friend other-DUR
'His father, his mother, and his friends,'

(1.260) ai-riadodoto
3mPOSS-brothers
'his brothers,'

(1.261) ya-toma
3.3-kill
'they had all been killed.'

(1.262) ya-toma-oka ho una wo-oara
3.3-kill-PERF thus 3m 3m-run.away
'They had already been killed so he ran away,'

(1.263) wo-oara de wo-hupu-oka naanga-oko
3m-run.away and 3m-go.out-PERF here-seaward
'he ran away and came out to the coast.'

(1.264) jadi wo-hupu-oko wo-temo wa-ato
thus 3m-go.out-seaward 3m-speak 3m.3-say
'Thus he came out to the coast and said,'

(1.265) ngohi t-a-iha-oka-ua dina-iha o-hongana-iha
1 1-V-landward-PERF-NEG landward-LAND NM-forest-landward
'I will never again go inland into the forest.'

(1.266) to-gogere naanga-oka dau dika
1-stay here-LOC downward just
'I will just stay down here.'

(1.267) wa-ato i-mi-toma... ya i-ma-idu-oka
3m.3-say 3-1e-kill HEST 3-RFLX-sleep-PERF
'He said we [exc] would be killed [if we stay up there] ...' in our sleep,

(1.268) ma-ngangi-oka i-ma-idu-oka
NM-foundation-LOC 3-RFLX-sleep-PERF
'if he was sleeping down in the foundation of the house,'

(1.269) de y-a-ino de ya-toma
and 3p-V-ABL and 3p.3-kill
'they would kill him if they came along'

(1.270) una wo-jarita
3m 3m-story
'so he told us.'

(1.271) ngomi mi-ihene de mi-wi-dora
1e 1e-hear and 1e-3m-have.compassion
'We [exc] listened with compassion.'

(1.272) wa-ato ngohi to-ma-tengo-okahi to-ma-oara
3m.3-say 1 1-RFLX-alone-SEQ 1-RFLX-run.away
'He said, "I will always be alone because I have run away,"'

(1.273) ta-poaka-ua
1.3-cry-NEG
'but I will not cry'

(1.274) wa-ato ona manga-ngoi
3m.3-say 3p 3pPOSS-many
'He said they are many [Tugutil],'

(1.275) ho ngohi to-lehahoka o-kia manga-ngoi
thus 1 1-asklike NM-what 3pPOSS-many
'so I asked him how many'

(1.276) de wa-turu ai-hagarara hokonaa de ai-you
and 3m.3-follow 3mPOSS-finger like.this from 3mPOSS-toe
'And he traced his finger like this from his toes,'

(1.277) de ka wo-dogu-ohi
and yet 3m-hold.up-DUR
'and yet he kept holding up [his fingers].'

(1.278) ta-ato o-
1.3-say HEST
'I said,'

(1.279) ni-a-poa-ua
2p-3-strong-NEG
'you are not strong enough,'

(1.280) de wa-ato ia mi-a-poa-ua
and 3m.3-say yes 1e-3-strong-NEG
'and he said, yes, we [inc] are not strong enough.'

(1.281) wa-ato ahi-baba
3m.3-say 1POSS-father
'He said, "my father,'

(1.282) de naa ngo-ahi-meme gaa ona ya-toma-oka
and here FEM-1POSS-mother that 3p 3.3-kill-PERF
'and my mother they have already killed,'

(1.283) wa-ato ma-hou ngohi-okahi
3m.3-say NM-remainder 1-SEQ
'he said, "only I survived,'

(1.284) de ta-poaka-ua de to-oara
and 1.3-cry-NEG and 1-run.away
'and I didn't cry and I ran away.'

(1.285) una o-nyawa ma-oa
3m NM-person RNM-good
'He was a good person.'

(1.286) ngaro o-hongana-oka ho-maka-make ma wo-na-temo
yet NM-forest-LOC 1i-RECIP-find but 3m-1i-speak
'Although we met each other in the forest, he still spoke with us'

(1.287) de wa-ino wo-gogere-uku naanga-dateke-oka
and 3m.3-ABL 3m-stay-DOWN 1iPOSS-beside-LOC
'and came by and sat down next to us,'

(1.288) o-tabako wo-ma-gahoko wo-ma-huyu
NM-tobacco 3m-RFLX-request 3m-RFLX-smoke
'asking for tobacco to smoke,'

(1.289) nako ho-ike-oka la ho-gahoko o-totaleo ma-gohi
COND 1i-give-PERF thus 1i-request NM-bird RNM-egg
'having given, thus we asked to dig up some [maleo] bird eggs,'

(1.290) gaa wo-faiti
that 3m-dig.up
'so he dug,'

(1.291) wo-faiti wo-na-hi-toaka
3m-dig.up 3m-1i-APL-hold.out
'he dug some up and offered them to us.'

(1.292) de nako dina ma-hongana-iha ma-ngekomo ma-modorou
and COND landward NM-forest-landward RNM-path RNM-bad
'Inland toward the forest the path was bad,'

(1.293) o-bakoro de o-helewo i-tolyo-tolyomo-oka
NM-cliff and NM-stone 3-RDP-sharp-PERF
'the cliffs and the rocks were very sharp,'

(1.294) ho nako i-na-otaka gaa ho-honenge ha-banga o-helewo-uku
thus COND 3-1i-fall that 1i-die 1i.3-bury NM-stone-down
'so if we were to fall we would die and be buried in stones.'

(1.295) o-helewo ma-ago-agomo de i-toyo-tolyomo-oka
NM-stone RNM-RDP-large and 3-RDP-sharp-PERF
'The rocks were very large and sharp,'

(1.296) de o-gahi ma-nyawa ngomi mi-a-poa-ua
and NM-sea RNM-person 1e 1e-3-strong-NEG
'and we [exc] coastal people weren't strong enough'

(1.297) mi-wohama-iha mi-tedekana
1e-enter-LAND 1e-long.time
'to spend a long time [in the forest].'

(1.298) bisa mi-honenge nako i-tedekana ma-alo de o-domoata
possible 1e-die COND 3-long.time RNM-cold and NM-mist
'We [exc] could die if we stayed a long time in the cold and the mist,'

(1.299) nako o-mede hokonaa ma-dodararono nako dina i-tararono-ua
COND NM-moon like.this RNM-bright COND landward 3-shine-NEG
'and even if the moon was bright like this, landwards it wouldn't shine'

(1.300) o-domoata hoka o-uku ma-nofo de ma-hidaioko
NM-mist like NM-fire RNM-smoke and RNM-wind
'because of the mist which was like smoke from a fire,'

(1.301) de o-hidaioko
and NM-wind
'And the wind,'

(1.302) o-hidaioko i-wuwu ka o-tonaka-ie i-wuwu
NM-wind 3-blow yet NM-ground-UP 3-blow
'the wind blew up from the ground, it blew'

(1.303) jadi ngaro mi-ma-galyoko-uku de o-ngoere
thus even.though 1e-RFLX-use.as.sarong-down with NM-sarong
'Even though we were clothed in sarongs,'

(1.304) ma-hidaioko dau-ie i-wuwu hoka o-rato ma-ruruhu
RNM-wind downward-up 3-blow like NM-storm RNM-sound
'the wind blew up like the sound of a storm,'

(1.305) jadi gaa ta-temo ahi-dodiawo-ika ta-ato ngohi ta-poa-ua
thus that 1.3-speak 1POSS-friend-ALL 1.3-say 1 1.3-strong-NEG
'so I spoke to my friends, saying, I'm not strong enough'

(1.306) ho ho-hupu done ho-panyake i-na-gogama done
thus 1i-go.out then 1i-ill 3-1i-shiver then
'so we went out and we were ill with shivering.'

5.2. Instructional text: How to make pandanus mats

The following instructional text was recorded June 13, 1995 in the village of Labi-Labi. The speaker is Dirsa, a woman approximately thirty years of age.[17] Several other women were present during the recording and interacted with the speaker. Interjections from other participants are enclosed in double-parentheses. In this text Dirsa describes the process of making a woven mat. The total running time of the recording is approximately two and one half minutes.

(2.1) to-ma-iete gena ka ta-ato.
1-RFLX-laugh that yet 1.3-say
'I laughed so I will talk [about making mats]'

(2.2) dahao ya-diai gena ma-hoka ya-lye-ino,
then 3p.3-make that RNM-leaf 3p.3-take-ABL
'to make that they take [pandanus] leaves and then they straighten them out'

(2.3) de i-paha,
and 3-pass
'and then'

(2.4) ya-hakoto.
3p.3-straighten.out
'they straighten them out'

(2.5) ya-kia--
3-what
'what is it?'

(2.6) ma-hihika gena ya-aiki.
RNM-thorn that 3p.3-remove
'they remove those thorns.'

(2.7) ya-aiki-oka de i-paha,
3p.3-remove-PERF and 3-pass
'after removing them, then'

(2.8) ya-kia--
3-what
'what is it?'

(2.9) ya-polulu gena ya-kia bari?
3p.3-pinch that 3p.3-what just
'they pinch it and they, what is it?'

(2.10) ya-pali.
3p.3-roll.up
'they roll it up'

(2.11) hokonaa ya-pali ya-moi-moi,
like.this 3p.3-roll.up 3p.3-RDP-one
'they roll them up one by one like this,'

(2.12) de i-paha,
and 3-pass
'and then'

(2.13) i-boto-oka ya-liko-ino.
3-finished-PERF 3p.3-tie.up-ABL
'after that they tie them up'

(2.14) ma-barene done i-hehoto ho ya-liko-ino,
RNM-rise then 3-press.together thus 3p.3-roll.up-ABL
'they press them together and roll them up'

(2.15) dahaoke ya ya-bohoko.
then HEST 3p.3-pot
'then they put them in a pot of water'

(2.16) ya-bohoko gaanga ..kiani o-akere.
3p.3-pot that must NM-water
'they must put them in a pot of water'

(2.17) o-akere tapi hokonaa yo-noa-úku.
NM-water but like.this 3p-fill-DOWN
'they put it down in the water like this'

(2.18) o-akere yo-noa-úku de i-paha yo-doko.
NM-water 3p-fill-DOWN and 3-pass 3p-step.on
'they put it down in the water and then push on it'

(2.19) yo-doko-ika,
3p-step.on-ALL
'they step on it'

(2.20) me!
mother
'mom!'

(2.21) done ka i-puda ma-akere gena i-lyamoko ka i-puda ho kiani?
then yet 3-surface RNM-water that 3-large yet 3-surface thus must
'there must be enough water on top [of the pandanus]'

(2.22) o-dodapayu yo-gelenga-úku o-helewo gena i-hi-tapayu-úku,
NM-heavy.object 3p-put-DOWN NM-stone that 3-APL-cover-DOWN
'they cover it with something heavy like a stone'

(2.23) hokogaanga-oka,
like.that-PERF
'having done like that'

(2.24) de i-paha,
and 3-pass
'and then'

(2.25) yo-doto-oka ho i-hauku-oka kogena i-ohaka-oka ma-buho,
3p-cut-PERF thus 3-heat-PERF thus 3-cooked-PERF RNM-pandanus
'having cut it and heated it, thus the pandanus is cooked'

(2.26) de i-paha ..ya-mao-ino-oka,
and 3-pass 3p.3-touch-ABL-PERF
'then having felt it,'

(2.27) oh,
EXC
'oh!'

(2.28) ya-aiki-oka ma-buho de i-paha ya-riri-oli.
3p.3-remove-PERF RNM-pandanus and 3-pass 3p.3-scrape-REP
'after removing the pandanus they scrape it again'

(2.29) ya-riri,
3p.3-scrape
'they scrape it'

(2.30) ya-riri-oka,
3p.3-scrape-PERF
'having scraped it,'

(2.31) ya-woere.
3p.3-dry
'they dry it'

(2.32) ya-woere i-boto-oka,
3p.3-dry 3-finish-PERF
'after it is finished drying,'

(2.33) ..ya-toomuo-oli   ya-woere gaa kiani i-tore.
       3p.3-gather-REP 3p.3-dry that must 3-dry
       'they gather it up again and must let it dry in the sun'

(2.34) de i-paha gena i-arehe-oka,
       and 3-pass that 3-white-PERF
       'and then that which is already [dried] white,'

(2.35) de i-paha ya-toomu-oli   o-ngairi-ika.
       and 3-pass 3p.3-gather-REP NM-water-ALL
       'then they gather it up and put it into the water'

(2.36) o-ngairi-oka   ya-tono-ika,
       NM-water-LOC 3p.3-hold.underwater-ALL
       'they hold it under water'

(2.37) ((o-wange hinoto,))
       NM-day two
       'two days'

(2.38) ((moi))
       one
       'one'

(2.39) o-wange moi,
       NM-day one
       'one day'

(2.40) ((o-wange hinoto o-kia!))
       NM-day two NM-what
       'two days !?''

(2.41) o-wange moi de i-paha ya-lye   o-ngairi-ika   gaanga
       NM-day one and 3-pass 3p.3-take NM-water-ALL that
       'one day and then they take it from the water'

(2.42) o-ngairi-oka   ya-lye-ino,
       NM-water-LOC 3p.3-take-ABL
       'they take it out of the water'

(2.43) ya-woere-oli.
       3p.3-dry-REP
       'they dry it'

(2.44) ya-woere o-hutu   hinóto ia?
       3p.3-dry NM-night two   yeah
       'they dry it for two nights, right?'

(2.45) oh,
       EXC
       'oh!'

(2.46) o-wange moi.
       NM-day one
       'one day'

(2.47) o-wange moi la   i-arehe-oka   gena ma-buho   gaanga,
       NM-day one so   3-white-PERF this RNM-pandanus that
       'one day so that the pandanus turns white [dries]'

(2.48) dahaoke,
       then
       'then'

(2.49) ... ya-solo--
       3p.3-dye
       'they dye it'

(2.50) ya-solo-oka   de i-paha ya-kururu.
       3p.3-dye-PERF and 3-pass 3p.3-scrape
       'after dying it then they scrape it'

(2.51) ya-kururu   gaanga,
       3p.3-scrape that
       'they scrape it'

(2.52) ya-solo-ika   ko,
       3p.3-dye-ALL well
       'they die it'

(2.53) ma-doka-dokara eko ma-gare-garehe gaa i-hi-kitingaka-ika.
       RNM-RDP-red   or   RNM-RDP-white that 3-APL-separate.two.things-ALL
       'white and red separately'

(2.54) gaanga-oka de i-paha i-pali   ma-kakatama-ino.
       that-LOC   and 3-pass 3-roll.up RNM-tongs-ABL
       'rolled up with tongs'

(2.55) de ma-kakatama gaa o-tiba   gena,
       and RNM-tongs   that NM-bamboo that
       'those bamboo tongs,'

(2.56) ya-lye-ino,
       3p.3-take-ABL
       'take them'

(2.57) de i-paha,
       and 3-pass
       'and then'

(2.58) ...ma-buho   gaa i-pali   ma-kakatama.
       RNM-pandanus that 3-roll.up RNM-tongs
       'roll it up with tongs'

(2.59) hokogaanga.
       like.that
       'That's it'

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