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# 1. Introduction to the comparative Austronesian dictionary

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**Darrell T. Tryon**

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This volume is one of a series of comparative dictionaries planned to cover the major language families of the world. It deals with the Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian language family, members of which account for at least twenty percent of the world's languages today. The family ranges from Madagascar off the east coast of Africa through Southeast Asia and right across the Pacific as far as Easter Island.(See Maps A - C). Details of the Austronesian family and related matters are provided in Chapters 2 and 3.

Like others in the series, this volume follows broadly the design of Carl Darling Buck's *Dictionary of Indo-European Synonyms* (University of Chicago Press, 1949). There are, however, some significant differences. While Buck's weighty tome consists almost entirely of a heavily annotated comparative lexicon of Indo-European roots, the present volume contains a number of other inclusions, discussed below, largely because of the fact that while the phonological and morpho-syntactic characteristics of the Indo-European languages are well known, for the languages of the Austronesian family this is much less the case.

The *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* consists primarily of an annotated dictionary of synonyms for some 1200 lexical items in 80 different Austronesian languages. The lexicon very largely follows that used by Buck for Indo-European, with the deletion of some items inappropriate to the Austronesian world. Buck divided his corpus into twenty-two semantic domains, for example, the physical world, mankind, animals, body parts and bodily functions, food and drink, clothing etc. These same domains have been preserved here as has Buck's item numbering system, so as to ensure ease of comparison for any given lexeme across volumes. This arrangement will be maintained throughout the series. For each lexical item the equivalents are given for the 80 languages selected to represent the Austronesian family. In addition for each item there is considerable footnoting, indicated by an asterisk beside each language name or acronym. This footnoting is designed to provide information on synonyms, alternative forms and semantic mismatches, along with relevant comparative-historical and sociological information. For each item only one head word has generally been admitted, alternative or variant forms being discussed in

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footnotes for individual items. Borrowings are indicated in the tables by the use of square brackets. Where borrowings are numerous for any given lexical item, the source or sources are listed in a separate box at the head of each list.

The lexicon is preceded by a number of chapters treating the Austronesian language family, apart from the present chapter which is designed to provide rather an introduction to this volume. Chapter 2 describes the membership and geographical distribution of the Austronesian family. It also provides a broad brush sketch of the subgrouping of the Austronesian languages by means of a number of family tree diagrams so as to indicate the relevance and position of the 80 languages represented in the volume. This is followed by a brief discussion of the spread and development of the Austronesian languages through time and space. Chapter 3 examines some specific problems confronting Austronesian linguistics today, especially in terms of subgrouping, and gives a detailed account of past and present solutions subgroup by subgroup, pointing out areas for which subgroupings are reasonably well established, while at the same time indicating the not insubstantial problem areas which remain, and which the material in this volume may go some way towards resolving, since nearly 50% of the languages represented in it are currently still unrepresented in the literature. Chapter 3 also deals with Proto-Austronesian phonology. Chapter 4 consists of an alphabetical listing of all known Austronesian languages, together with details of higher level classification, alternative names, dialects, location and current numbers of speakers.

It is in Chapter 5 that the present volume departs most radically from Buck's Indo-European volume, for the reason mentioned above, that little or nothing is known of many of the languages represented in this volume. This section consists of a series of 80 language sketches detailing briefly demographic and linguistic details for each language, each sketch accompanied by a locator map and including a phonological statement and the principal morphosyntactic characteristics of the language in question, devised with the aim of rendering the comparative lexical material as intelligible as possible, especially for languages where complex morphology and multiple verb forms are derivable. This is of particular relevance for the languages of Indonesia and the Philippines. Each individual language introduction is completed by a brief set of bibliographical references designed to provide further information and orientation for the reader.

This in turn is followed by a select Austronesian Bibliography, which also includes the language specific references provided throughout the introductory chapters. Ethnographic, geographic and other non-linguistic

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references mentioned in the language-specific introductions are excluded from this bibliography. The Austronesian Bibliography is followed by a glossary of reconstructed forms, mostly at the level of Proto-Austronesian (PAN) and/or Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP). These reconstructions are putative original forms from which the modern day forms evolved and developed. The methodology employed in making the reconstructions follows, of course, the classical comparative method evolved in the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European. The comparative lexicon follows, completed by an index of English glosses.

The volume is illustrated by some eighty-three maps, three for the Austronesian family as a whole, and one for each of the eighty language sketches preceding the comparative lexicon.

While the editors tried to include as wide a range of Austronesian languages as possible, a comparative dictionary such as this cannot hope to include material from every Austronesian language. What is important from a comparative standpoint is that all of the more major subgroups of Austronesian are represented in the lexicon.

In response to the difficulties encountered in attempting to carry out comparative-historical linguistic studies based on materials collected at widely different periods, often dictionaries produced up to one hundred years apart, it was decided to attempt to present materials collected at roughly the same period. Accordingly, all the material contained in the *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* was collected between 1986-1989. It was collected and compiled by recognised authorities on the languages listed above, based on extensive fieldwork and thus on a first-hand knowledge of the languages concerned. While representatives of every major Austronesian subgroup are included, and while the distribution of the languages is fairly even across the family, it was disappointing that a couple of poorly known areas were not directly represented, namely Kalimantan in Indonesia, and the Chamic languages of mainland Southeast Asia. Unfortunately no linguists of sufficient experience were available in the field for these two areas. These gaps are more than amply compensated for, however, by the wealth of materials from many previously unpublished languages included, especially from Indonesia, from areas which are now felt to be critical for Austronesian subgrouping.

The *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* is aimed both at linguists and at people with no special or prior knowledge of the languages of this widespread family. It is designed to serve as a resource document which will hopefully stimulate interest and research in the Austronesian world and at the same time heighten cultural awareness of this region.



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## 2. The Austronesian languages

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Of the 5000-6000 languages spoken in the world today, some 2000, or nearly 40% are spoken on the islands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and in Australia. With some exceptions these Indo-Pacific languages belong to one of three distinct families: Austronesian, Papuan or Australian.

The Australian language family consists of between 200 and 300 languages (Wurm 1972, Dixon 1980), spoken on the Australian continent and formerly on the Australian island state of Tasmania to its south. (It has not been conclusively established, however, that the languages of the Australian mainland and those of Tasmania are genetically related.) The last speaker of a Tasmanian language is known to have died in 1877. For a cartographical representation of the Australian Family, see also Wurm and Hattori (1981).

The Papuan languages constitute the second largest linguistic division in the Pacific and South-east Asia area (Wurm 1982, Foley 1986). They occupy nearly all of the great island of New Guinea (West Irian/Papua New Guinea), except for some coastal areas. Papuan languages are also spoken in northern Halmahera, and in Eastern Indonesia on Alor and Pantar and parts of Timor. On the eastern side of the great island of New Guinea, Papuan languages are also spoken in parts of New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville, and scattered parts of the Solomon Islands as far south-east as the Santa Cruz group. Wurm reports (1982: 13) that there are 741 known Papuan languages, 507 of which belong to a single language grouping, the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. He estimates that this higher level grouping includes about 80% of all Papuan speakers. It should be observed, however, that traditional classic comparative historical techniques have been applied to very few Papuan languages, so that while a broad-brush picture is emerging, it will be some time before any definitive subgrouping can be contemplated. Indeed, the term "Papuan" is a convenient term for the non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea and Eastern Indonesia, not all of which are demonstrably related.

The Austronesian language family, formerly known as Malayo-Polynesian, (see Maps A-C) is arguably the largest language family in the world, and certainly extends over the largest geographical area of any

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language family today outside of Indo-European. Current estimates (see Chapter 4 this volume) put the total number of Austronesian languages at somewhere around 1,200 or roughly 20% of all the languages of the world.

Austronesian languages extend from the island of Mayotte in the Comoro group off the coast of Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the eastern Pacific, a distance of some 15,000 kilometres. Austronesian languages are spoken not only in Madagascar, but also in almost all of Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia (with the exception of Irian Jaya, North Halmahera, Alor, Pantar and east Timor, where many Papuan languages are spoken). They are also spoken in parts of southern Vietnam and Cambodia, in Taiwan and throughout the Philippines. Further to the east, they are spoken in the coastal areas of Papua New Guinea (but not generally the interior, see Map B), in New Britain and New Ireland and right down the Melanesian chain through the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu as far as New Caledonia and Fiji. From there they extend eastwards to include all of the languages of Polynesia and northwards to take in all of the languages of Micronesia. Austronesian languages are also reported to be spoken in the Mergui archipelago off the coast of Burma, in the Andaman Islands and on Hainan Island in southern China.

The total number of Austronesian speakers today is estimated at around 270 million. The distribution of the Austronesian-speaking population is spectacularly uneven, with all but about 2 million speakers living west of a line north-south at about 130° east longitude, extending from just west of the Caroline Islands and just east of the Bird's Head on the island of New Guinea. However, the distribution of languages over the Austronesian-speaking region is relatively even. On either side of the north-south line just described, there are something like 500 languages spoken. (For a detailed listing see Chapter 4 below.)

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### **Language distribution**

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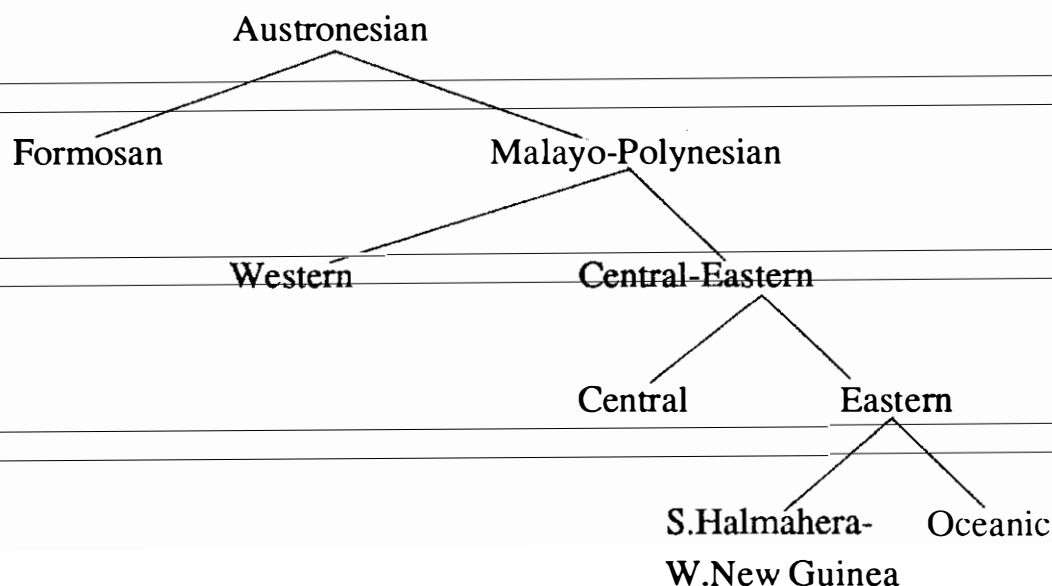
The higher order subgrouping of Austronesian remains controversial. The following grouping (after Blust 1977, 1978, 1982) is, however, followed by many scholars as a working hypothesis. (Subgrouping issues are discussed in more detail in a later section and by Ross, this volume. See also Figs. 1-8 for a more detailed representation):

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It is widely reported that the island of Taiwan (Formosa), considered by many to be the Austronesian homeland, was formerly inhabited solely by Austronesian speakers. However, as a consequence of continued Chinese settlement from the mainland since the seventeenth century, today the Austronesian languages of Taiwan are largely confined to the mountainous interior of the island. Thus they constitute a minority population, subject to constant cultural and linguistic assimilation by the Chinese. Approximately 25 Austronesian languages have been recorded for Taiwan, some of which have become extinct (for example Hoanya and Kulun) and some of which have become Sinicised. Remaining speakers number no more than about 200,000. The Formosan languages, crucial to understanding the history of the Austronesian language family, are internally diverse. They are considered by a number of scholars to fall into three highest order subgroups, Atayalic, Tsouic and Paiwanic, these three enjoying co-ordinate status with a single other highest order subgroup, Malayo-Polynesian, which includes all of the Austronesian languages spoken outside Taiwan (see Figure 1 below). The major subdivisions of the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian are the Western and Central-Eastern subdivisions, as set out in Figure 2.

The Western subgroup of Austronesian (see Fig.3) is controversial. Diagnostic phonological and morpho-syntactic innovations are not clear-cut. At present, this subgroup consists of all of the languages of the Philippines as well as the Indonesian islands of Sumatra, Java, Madura, Bali, Lombok, and, to their north-west, Kalimantan (Borneo). Also included are the Malay Peninsula (with the exception of a few Mon-Khmer languages in the interior of Malaysia), and the Chamic languages of Vietnam and Cambodia, whose

nearest relative is Aceh, spoken in Sumatra. Added to these are the language(s) of Madagascar and two languages of Oceania, namely Chamorro (Mariana Islands) and Palau (Western Carolines), believed to have derived from the Philippines-Indonesia area.

While all of these languages are clearly Austronesian, they have undergone considerable cultural influence from mainland Asia and, more recently, from Europe. Indian culture reached Java and Sumatra in the first century AD, and from the 4th century diffused to Borneo and Sulawesi. Accordingly, many of the languages of the region contain extensive borrowings from Sanskrit. From the end of the 12th century Islam took root in island south-east Asia, spreading right across Indonesia and the Philippines, gradually supplanting Indian religions. In fact, Hinduism is practised today mainly on the island of Bali in eastern Indonesia. A third layer of borrowings was added with European colonisation of the region in the 16th century.

Malay, in its many manifestations, is the most important language of the region, for it has long been the principal lingua franca right across the Malaysia/Indonesia area. Today it is the national language in four countries of Southeast Asia, namely the Republic of Indonesia, the Federation of Malaysia, the Republic of Singapore and the Sultanate of Brunei. It was originally the mother tongue of some 6,000,000 people occupying both sides of the Strait of Malacca. Until the 13th century it was confined to east and south Sumatra and the facing coastline of the Malay Peninsula. It was a simplified form of the language, called Bazaar Malay, that came to be used as the regional lingua franca, for centuries prior to European contact. This situation came about partly because of the strategic position of Malacca on the trade routes and the fact that it was an important dispersal point for Islam, in addition to the role of the seafaring Malay traders throughout this island region. Malay was also adopted by later Dutch and British administrations. In the 20th century Malay, called Bahasa Malaysia in Malaysia, was adopted as the national language of the Republic of Indonesia, where it is known as Bahasa Indonesia. In Indonesia the language has undergone spelling reforms and a huge number of technical terms have been coined to accommodate modern technological advances. Indeed, there is collaboration across the whole Malay/Indonesian-speaking world in the area of language development.

Many languages of Sumatra are closely related to Malay, for example Minangkabau and Kerinci, and to a lesser extent Sundanese in west Java and Madurese, spoken in east Java and on Madura Island. Other important Sumatran languages include Aceh and Toba-Batak, with several million speakers each. Enggano, spoken on an island of the same name, off the south-east coast of Sumatra, has long been considered aberrant because of the

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extremely low percentage of vocabulary shared with other languages in the area. However, Nothofer (1986) considers that Enggano and the other Barrier Island languages subgroup with the Batak languages.

Java is the most populous island in Indonesia, with more than 110,000,000 inhabitants. Yet there are only three indigenous languages spoken in the area. These are Javanese, the largest Austronesian language, with 75,000,000 speakers, Sundanese, with 27,000,000, and Madurese, with 9,000,000. Malay / Indonesian, which itself has several varieties, actually has more speakers than Javanese, although these are largely second language speakers for reasons discussed above. Javanese is spoken throughout central and east Java, and in some areas of west Java. It has an ancient written tradition, with early inscriptions dating from the 8th century AD, and a major literary tradition. However, there are records of a form of Malay heavily interlaced with Sanskrit going back even further, with stone inscriptions from southern Sumatra reaching back to the 7th century AD (Teeuw – Emanuels 1961). Old Javanese was a flourishing literary language. It was subject to extensive influence from Sanskrit during the period of the Indianised kingdoms of central and east Java. Modern Javanese is still used on radio and in newspapers and is generally written in Roman script (where previously an Indian-derived script was used). As with a number of other regional languages, Javanese has several registers or speech styles distinguishing degrees of respect and marked mainly by vocabulary differences, a product of the elaborate stratification of Javanese society.

Sundanese, with 27,000,000 speakers, is spoken throughout west Java, with minor exceptions, notably along the north coast of Banten and in the region of Indramaju, where Javanese is spoken. The Bandung dialect is taken as the standard today. Sundanese has been a written language since the 14th century. Madurese, with 9,000,000 speakers, has two principal varieties, western and eastern, the latter being adopted as the language of education. Balinese, with about 3,000,000 speakers, is spoken on the island of Bali and on the western part of Lombok.

Borneo (Kalimantan) is but sparsely populated, and most coastal areas are today occupied by speakers of languages closely related to Malay, for example Iban (Sea Dayak), Brunei Malay, Kutai Malay and Banjarese. Perhaps the most important Bornean language is Ngadju Dayak, spoken natively in the southwest of the island and used throughout southern Borneo as a lingua franca. The languages of northern Borneo are typologically similar to the languages of the Philippines. Examples include Kadazan and the Murut dialects of Sabah. Maanyan and its close relatives, spoken in south Borneo,

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are the closest relatives of the languages/dialects of Madagascar (for a recent discussion, see Adelaar 1989, 1991).

The Malagasy dialects are spoken today by some 10,000,000 speakers, in a variety of dialects which show considerable internal diversity, sufficient perhaps to classify them as distinct languages. Merina, the official dialect of the Malagasy Republic has more than 5,000,000 speakers. Malagasy is also spoken on the island of Mayotte, to the northwest of Madagascar. The Malagasy dialects are reckoned to have originated in southern Borneo, in the South-east Barito area. They had contact with Sumatra, and then moved on to Madagascar sometime during the Srivijaya period, between the 7th and the 13th century A.D., and most probably at the beginning of this period. This was achieved through the agency of Malay/Bornean traders who travelled to Indian, Arabian and east African ports, from which Madagascar is believed to have been settled. It has even been suggested that the Barito-speaking Borneans may have been brought to Madagascar as slaves by the Malays (Adelaar 1989, 1991). The Austronesians are believed to have been the first inhabitants of Madagascar, although today there are a number of ethnic African racial groups represented in the population.

There are approximately 150 languages spoken in the Philippines today. Tagalog, the largest of the Filipino languages, has about 10,000,000 first language speakers, mainly in central and southwestern Luzon. A standardised variety of Tagalog, called Pilipino, has been the national language of the Philippines since 1946. It is estimated that it is understood by more than 25,000,000 Filipinos today. As the national language, it is widely used in education and government, and in the news media.

The languages of the Philippines fall into six major subgroups, as follows: a Batanic or Far Northern Subgroup, a Northern or Cordilleran subgroup, a Central or Meso-Philippine subgroup, a Southern Philippines subgroup, a South Mindanao subgroup. and a Sama subgroup. The Far Northern subgroup includes a number of languages with small numbers of speakers, such as Ibatan (Babuyan) in the Batan Islands north of Luzon, with only 1000 speakers, and Yami, spoken on Orchid Island (Lanyu), Taiwan by only 2600 speakers. The Northern group contains most of the languages of northern Luzon. The most important language in this area is Ilokano, which has some 5,300,000 speakers. In northern Luzon it is used as a lingua franca. Other languages in this group include Bontok, Ifugao, Gaddang, Isnag and Kalinga. Pangasinan, with 1,635,000 speakers in Pangasinan province, is another important member of the Northern subgroup. Pampangan (Kapampangan), with 1,853,000 speakers is also spoken on Luzon, to the northwest of the Tagalog-speaking area. The status of the Northern

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Philippine subgroup is important in terms of Austronesian higher level subgrouping and as such will be further discussed below and in the chapter by Ross in this volume.

The Meso-Philippine subgroup, in addition to Tagalog, contains a number of important languages with very large numbers of speakers. These include: Cebuano (also known as Visayan and Sugbuhanon) with 12,000,000 speakers on Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Visayas and parts of Mindanao; Hiligaynon (also known as Ilonggo), with 4,500,000 speakers in the Iloilo and Capiz provinces, Panay, Negros Occidental and Visayas; Bikol, with 2,500,000 speakers in southeastern Luzon; Cebuano is used as a trade language throughout Mindanao as is Hiligaynon in Panay and adjacent islands and on Negros.

The Southern Philippines subgroup contains a number of important languages also, for example Maranao (600,000 speakers) on Mindanao, Subanon (50,000 speakers), Sarangani Manobo (35,000 speakers), and Kagayanen (30,000 speakers). Important members of the Southern Mindanao subgroup include Blaan (100,000 speakers) in the South Cotabato Province, and Tiruray (35,000 speakers). Although the Sama subgroup is geographically within the Philippines, it is more closely related to the languages of Indonesia. It includes such languages as Balangingi Sama and Central Sama, with 60,000 and 100,000 speakers respectively, in the Sulu Archipelago northeast of Jolo and on the Zamboanga coast of western Mindanao. The Sama dialects are also spoken outside the Philippines, in Sabah, Flores and Sulawesi. The total number of Sama speakers has not been determined fully, but it is certainly in the order of several hundred thousand. In the Sulu Archipelago there is also Tausug, also known as Sulu, with first language speakers totalling close to 500,000, of whom 330,000 live in the Philippines, but with significant populations also in Sabah and Kalimantan, used by the same number of speakers again as a second language. Tausug is a Bisayan language.

There are relatively very few Austronesian languages spoken on the Asian mainland, only Malay on the Malay Peninsula, and the Chamic group of Austronesian languages spoken by ethnic minorities in Vietnam and Cambodia, some 500,000 in all. There is also a group of Chamic speakers on the southern part of Hainan Island in the People's Republic of China. Completing the picture in this area is the Moklen language spoken in the Mergui archipelago off the west coast of southern Myanmar (formerly Burma).

Sulawesi (formerly known as Celebes) with over 100 languages, is the most diverse area outside the Oceanic region. The languages of the northern

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part of the island show closer agreement with the languages of the Philippines than with the other languages of Sulawesi. These include Gorontalo (900,000 speakers), and Sangir (200,000 speakers). By far the largest language in the area is Buginese, with something over 3,500,000 speakers. Apart from southeastern Sulawesi, Buginese is also spoken by enclaves in Kalimantan (Borneo), Maluku, Irian Jaya and Sumatra. Other important Sulawesi languages include Makassarese (1,600,000 speakers), Muna (220,000 speakers) and Konjo (200,000 speakers).

The Central-Eastern subgroup of Austronesian (see Figs 4-5) consists of the languages of Eastern Indonesia, namely the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Moluccas and the coastal regions of Irian Jaya, as well as the Oceanic subgroup discussed below. The Indonesian part of the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian subgroup contains some 150 Austronesian languages. Within this area, Papuan languages are spoken on Alor and Pantar, on parts of Timor, on northern Halmahera and the inland regions of Irian Jaya. The Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia are extremely diverse and even today their inter-relationships are not well established. Evidence has been adduced, however, which would separate the Austronesian languages of South Halmahera and Irian Jaya from the other languages of Eastern Indonesia. Important languages within the region include Bima (500,000 speakers), Manggarai (400,000 speakers), Solor (310,000 speakers), Sumba (200,000 speakers), Sika (180,000 speakers), Roti (130,000 speakers), and Ngada (70,000 speakers). There are also many languages with only relatively tiny numbers of speakers scattered around the myriad of small islands in the region, most of them not at all closely related, for example Asilulu (8700 speakers) on Ambon, Dobel in the Aru Islands (5,000 speakers), and Boano (3200 speakers) on Ceram. This remains perhaps the least known area in the Austronesian world today.

The huge Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages (see Map A and Fig.6) lies to the east of a north-south line drawn about 130° east longitude. It begins on the great island of New Guinea and extends eastwards right across Oceania. The Oceanic languages are rather different from their western counterparts. As noted above, they number approximately 500, depending on the language/dialect criteria adopted. Yet they have no more than two million speakers. Melanesia exhibits one of the highest linguistic densities in the world, in terms of number of languages relative to total population, with an average of a little over three thousand speakers per language.

The higher order classification of the Oceanic languages can still only be regarded as tentative, especially those of Melanesia (Papua New Guinea,

Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia). Some scholars distinguish three higher level subgroups, (1) a large Western Oceanic subgroup, consisting of all of the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, including New Ireland, New Britain and Bougainville, plus the Austronesian languages of the Western Solomons as far south-east as Bughotu on the island of Santa Ysabel (Ross 1988), (2) an Admiralties group, consisting of the languages of the Admiralty Islands to the north of the island of New Guinea, (3) Central-Eastern Oceanic, consisting of the remaining Austronesian languages of Melanesia, together with those of Polynesia and Micronesia.

In Papua New Guinea there are an estimated 220 distinct Austronesian languages. As with Irian Jaya, the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea are basically limited to coastal areas, the interior of the island being occupied by Papuan speakers. They extend in patches along the north coast and also along the southeast coast of Papua as far west as Cape Possession, some 150 kilometres west of Port Moresby. Austronesian languages are also spoken in the northeast, in the Sepik, Morobe and Madang areas and on the offshore islands. In these areas the languages have been influenced to varying degrees by neighbouring Papuan languages. Austronesian languages, some of which are extremely diverse, are also spoken on the larger islands of New Britain and New Ireland as well as Bougainville. The Admiralty Islands to the north of the Papua New Guinea mainland also host a large number of Austronesian languages. In comparison with the Austronesian languages of the Philippines and Indonesia, individual Oceanic languages have relatively few speakers. The largest Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea is Tolai on east New Britain with approximately 60,000 speakers, well ahead of Motu, with 14,000, in the region of Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea. Both of these languages have acquired considerable status, as they were formerly the languages of important administrative areas, Tolai being spoken in and around Rabaul, the old German capital on New Britain and Motu up and down the Papuan coast. In fact a simplified variety of Motu known as Hiri Motu (or Police Motu) is widely used throughout Papua as a lingua franca. A number of other Austronesian languages have also been used as mission lingua francas, for example Yabem and Graged in the Madang Province.

In the Solomon Islands to the south-east of Papua New Guinea, there are 62 languages spoken, 57 of which are Austronesian (see Map C), this for a population of something around 300,000. The largest of these languages, Kwara'ae, spoken on the island of Malaita, has more than 20,000 speakers. Here again, a number of languages have been adopted as mission languages,

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for example Roviana on New Georgia, with something like 6,000 first language and 16,000 second language speakers. Other such languages include Babatana (Choiseul), Ghari (Guadalcanal), Bughotu (Santa Ysabel) and Nggela (Florida and San Cristobal). A number of Polynesian languages (also known as Polynesian Outliers) are spoken in the Solomons, namely Luangiua (Ontong Java), Sikaiana, Rennell-Bellona, Pileni, Tikopian and Anutan. These languages, the result of back migrations from Polynesia, are spoken over a wide area of Island Melanesia, from Papua New Guinea to New Caledonia. At the same time, there are a number of Papuan languages spoken in the Solomons, dotted along the chain from Vella Lavella in the northwest to the Santa Cruz group in the southeast.

Further still to the south-east, there are 105 Austronesian languages spoken in Vanuatu (the former New Hebrides Condominium) by some 140,000 inhabitants. All of the languages of the northern and central parts of Vanuatu are members of a single large subgroup. The best known languages are Mota, the language of the island of the same name in the Banks Islands, and Efatese from the Efate-Shepherds area. Mota was the lingua franca of the Melanesian Mission (Anglican) in Vanuatu and the southeast Solomons from 1864 until 1931 (when it was officially replaced by English) while Efatese, especially in the Nguna-Tongoa dialect, was and is widely used by the Presbyterian Church. There are no Papuan languages spoken in Vanuatu, but there are three Polynesian languages: Emae, Mele-Fila and Futuna-Aniwa.

In New Caledonia, at the southern end of the Melanesian chain, there are approximately 25 languages spoken by an indigenous population of approximately 45,000. The languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands are considered to form a single subgroup, even though they are internally rather diverse. The languages are characterised by complex phonologies, and a number of them in the centre and south have developed tone. Again, the languages have small numbers of speakers, the best known being A'jië (Houailou), with 7,000 first language speakers. A'jië was also used as a mission lingua franca by the Eglise Protestante. There is one Polynesian language spoken in New Caledonia, namely West Uvean, on Ouvea in the Loyalty Islands.

In Island Melanesia, then, the ratio of languages to numbers of speakers is spectacularly high. The causes of this proliferation of small, discrete language communities are discussed in Pawley (1981) and Lynch (1981).

In Fiji, Polynesia and Micronesia, languages often extend over a number of neighbouring islands, making for relatively large speech communities. The Fijian dialects, considered by many to constitute two distinct languages,

have over 200,000 speakers. Bauan, an eastern dialect, became the lingua franca of all Fiji in the nineteenth century and remains so today. It is widely used in the press and on radio. 300 kilometres to the north of Fiji, Rotuman, spoken on the island of Rotuma, is a “Melanesian” language strongly influenced by Polynesian languages.

Polynesia covers a vast area in the central and eastern Pacific. The Polynesian Triangle, as it is commonly known, is bounded by Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand (see Map A). The 16 languages of Triangle Polynesia belong to a well-defined “Polynesian” subgroup, which also contains some 14 Polynesian languages spoken outside Triangle Polynesia proper in the Melanesian area and in the southern reaches of Micronesia. These “Polynesian Outliers” resulted from back migrations from central Polynesia. As will be seen from Figs. 7-8, the Polynesian languages have their nearest relatives in southeastern Melanesia, and almost certainly developed their distinctive characteristics during a period of isolation in the Fiji-Tonga area. Among the leading Polynesian languages, Samoan has well over 200,000 speakers, and Tongan 130,000. Both of these languages have large migrant communities of speakers in New Zealand and to a lesser extent in the USA. Tahitian has approximately 120,000 speakers in the Society Islands. It is generally used throughout French Polynesia as a working language, in the Marquesas Islands, the Tuamotus, the Gambiers (Mangareva) and the Austral Group, since it is a required language for all Polynesians within the administration. New Zealand Maori has approximately 100,000 speakers. It has assumed considerable political importance within that country in recent years, having belatedly been granted official status. Indeed, the major Polynesian languages are used daily in the press and on radio and television (in French Polynesia, New Zealand and American Samoa). Hawaiian has barely survived the ravages of its extensive contact with the non-Polynesian world. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Hawaiian speakers numbered around 100,000, but today Hawaiian is used by only a few hundred speakers as a language of daily communication. The Polynesian languages fall into two major subgroups, Tongic (Tongan and Niuean) and Nuclear Polynesian (the remaining Polynesian languages). Within the Nuclear Polynesian subgroup, Marquesan, Hawaiian, Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Mangarevan, Rapanui, Cook Islands Maori, and New Zealand Maori fall into one well-marked Eastern Polynesian division, while the remainder, Samoan, East Futunan, East Uvean, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan, Niufo’ouan, Pukapukan and all of the Polynesian Outlier languages, are sometimes assigned to another less well-defined subgroup.

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The languages of Micronesia are spoken on a multitude of tiny islands in an area which lies to the north of Melanesia, between the Philippines and Triangle Polynesia. The Micronesian languages number around 12 - 15, depending on the distinguishing criteria used. Some of these languages extend over large areas as dialect chains, as for example Trukic, with more than 40,000 speakers occupying most of the western Caroline Islands. Other major Micronesian languages include Chamorro, spoken on Guam and the Marianas by more than 70,000 speakers, Kiribati (formerly known as Gilbertese) with a similar number, and Marshallese with more than 29,000 speakers. The Micronesian languages proper, for example Trukese, Marshallese, Kiribati, Ponapean, Kusaiean, Carolinian and Ulithian are all members of a single subgroup, Nuclear Micronesian, whose origins lie almost certainly in Island Melanesia. Of the languages of Micronesia, two are Polynesian, namely Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi, spoken on atolls south of Truk and Ponape. Two others, namely Chamorro, already discussed above, and Palauan, spoken in the Belau Group, are non-Oceanic languages. Chamorro is a Philippine-type language, while Palauan also has its immediate affiliations in the Philippines-Indonesia area. Two of the Micronesian languages, namely Yapese, spoken on the island of Yap, and Nauruan, spoken on Nauru, are still of uncertain affiliation in that they have not been definitely assigned to the Nuclear Micronesian subgroup. The Micronesian languages have complex phonologies and equally complex numeral and classifier systems. Although there is a high degree of literacy throughout Micronesia, the orthographical systems devised for these phonologically complex languages are complicated and not as readily employed as in most Austronesian language areas, where literacy in local languages is widespread, especially in Polynesia and the Indonesia-Philippines area.

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### **Ranking of major Austronesian languages 1990**

While the great majority of the Austronesian languages have few speakers by world standards, there are twenty five Austronesian languages with more than one million speakers today. They are as follows:

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Language	Location	Speakers
Javanese	Indonesia	75,000,000
Malay/Indonesian	Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia	52,000,000
Sundanese	Indonesia	27,000,000
Cebuano	Philippines	12,000,000
Tagalog	Philippines	10,500,000
Malagasy	Madagascar	10,000,000
Madura	Indonesia	9,000,000
Minangkabau	Indonesia	6,500,000
Ilokano	Philippines	5,300,000
Hiligaynon	Philippines	4,500,000
Bugis	Indonesia	3,600,000
Balinese	Indonesia	3,000,000
Bikol	Philippines	2,500,000
Aceh	Indonesia	2,400,000
Waray-Waray	Philippines	2,180,000
Banjar	Indonesia	2,100,000
Sasak	Indonesia	2,100,000
Toba Batak	Indonesia	2,000,000
Pampangan	Philippines	1,853,000
Pangasinan	Philippines	1,635,000
Makassar	Indonesia	1,600,000
Lampung	Indonesia	1,500,000
Dairi Batak	Indonesia	1,200,000
Pattani Malay	Thailand	1,000,000
Rejang	Indonesia	1,000,000

These twenty five languages alone account for more than 240,000,000 speakers, or something like 87% of all Austronesian language speakers. As the table indicates, Javanese has by far the greatest number of speakers, with 75,000,000. Although it has fewer native speakers, Malay (known as Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia) has achieved the widest currency of any of the languages spoken in the region, since it has been the lingua franca of the whole Malay Archipelago for centuries, and is presently the national language of both Indonesia and Malaysia. As such it would have over 100,000,000 speakers today.



## History and classification

Dyen (1971: 5) records that the first notions of a language family that today is known as Austronesian probably goes back to the year 1706, when Hadrian Reland, a Dutch scholar, noted resemblances between the languages of Madagascar, the East Indies and Cocos Island. However, the definite establishment of the Austronesian family (originally known as Malayo-Polynesian) was due to Lorenzo Hervas y Panduro in his *Catalogo delle lingue* (1784). The name Malayo-Polynesian itself first appeared in Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java* (1836-39). It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, before the full extent of family membership was realised, and the languages of Micronesia and Melanesia added. Indeed the name Austronesian was given to the family by Wilhelm Schmidt in 1899 in his article "Die sprachlichen Verhältnisse Ozeaniens". Clark (1987) reports that evidence goes back even further, to the early seventeenth century, when the earliest Polynesian wordlists collected by Dutch explorers were compared with Malay, already well known at that time as the lingua franca of the East Indies. He refers presumably to the material collected in during the Schouten and Le Maire expedition, which visited the northern outliers of Tonga, Futuna and Alofi in 1616.

A comparison of some basic lexical items from widely separated areas gives a preliminary idea of the similarities encountered by earlier Austronesian scholars:

	MGY	IND	TAG	ROV	EFI	SAM
two	<i>rua</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>dalawa</i>	<i>karua</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>lua</i>
four	<i>efatʳa</i>	<i>empat</i>	<i>āpat</i>	<i>made</i>	<i>βā</i>	<i>fā</i>
five	<i>dimi</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>
six	<i>enina</i>	<i>enam</i>	<i>ānim</i>	<i>onomo</i>	<i>ono</i>	<i>ono</i>
fish	<i>hazandʳanu</i>	<i>ikan</i>	<i>isdaʳ</i>	<i>iyana</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>iʳa</i>
bird	<i>vuruna</i>	<i>buruṅ</i>	<i>ībon</i>	<i>kurukuru</i>	<i>manumanu</i>	<i>manulele</i>
stone	<i>vatu</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>bato</i>	<i>patu</i>	<i>βatu</i>	<i>maʳa</i>
louse	<i>hau</i>	<i>kutu</i>	<i>kūto</i>	<i>ṽutu</i>	<i>kutu</i>	<i>ʳutu</i>
eye	<i>masu</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mata</i>
die	<i>mati</i>	<i>mati</i>	<i>matay</i>	<i>mate</i>	<i>mate</i>	<i>mate</i>
road	<i>lalana</i>	<i>jalan</i>	<i>daʳan</i>	<i>siraṅa</i>	<i>sala</i>	<i>ʳau-ala</i>
coconut	<i>vuaniu</i>	<i>kālapa</i>	<i>niyog</i>	<i>ṅohara</i>	<i>niu</i>	<i>niu</i>

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a number of extensive grammars and dictionaries of Austronesian languages had appeared, covering such

languages as Javanese, Malay, Dayak, Bisayan, Batak, Makassar, Seram, Fijian, Samoan, Tahitian and New Zealand Maori. The availability of this material set the scene for the first attempts to reconstruct the language ancestral to these widespread but clearly related languages. H.N. van der Tuuk (1861, 1864, 1865, 1867) was the first to apply the principles of Indo-European comparative linguistics to the Austronesian languages. His work on Batak, Batavian Malay, Malagasy, Old Javanese and Balinese provided a starting point for the next generation of Austronesian historical linguists.

Van der Tuuk's material was collected together and analysed by Brandes (1884), and Kern, also using his own materials as well as that collected by his predecessors, wrote a number of major essays, the most influential of which concerned the Austronesian homeland. He argued that the linguistic evidence from lexical reconstruction pointed to an area of origin either in Indonesia or on the east coast of Farther India, but concluded that the Indo-China coast was a better hypothesis for a number of reasons (Kern 1889). In the Pacific region, Codrington (1885) published an extensive comparative study on the Melanesian languages, based on his missionary work in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Using materials mainly from the languages of Indonesia, the Philippines and Taiwan, Brandstetter (1893) undertook a systematic reconstruction of the phonology, grammar and lexicon of the original ancestral language, Proto-Austronesian.

Perhaps the greatest single contribution to Austronesian comparative linguistics was made by a German scholar, Otto Dempwolff, who conducted extensive fieldwork in the Papua New Guinea area in the 1900s, the materials from which he added to the by then considerable body of material available in Austronesian languages. Until Dempwolff's era and indeed even in later decades, it was common to classify the Austronesian languages into four linguistic groups corresponding with the major geographical regions of Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia (see Map A). Dempwolff demonstrated the regular sound correspondences which existed between many of the languages known at that time, and reconstructed a lexicon of Proto-Austronesian, the putative ancestral language from which all Austronesian languages descend. His monumental three volume work, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes* (1934-38) contains a reconstructed lexicon of some 2215 items (including a good many doublets). His greatest contribution was the reconstruction of the historical phonology of Proto-Austronesian (to a level now equated with Proto-Malayo-Polynesian), Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Polynesian. In the area of subgrouping he demonstrated that the geographically-based grouping previously espoused was linguistically untenable and that the Austronesian

languages of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia (with the exception of Palauan and Chamorro in Micronesia and a small group of languages on the western end of New Guinea) are members of a single subgroup, called by him Ur-Melanesisch, but known today as the Oceanic subgroup (see Map A).

Since World War II, and especially since the 1960s, research into Austronesian languages has greatly increased, and the interrelationships between the languages have become better understood. There is now some consensus as far as the broader groupings are concerned. Dyen re-examined Dempwolff's material and included important material from the languages of Taiwan in his suggested revisions of Dempwolff's reconstructions. One of the more important contributions made by Dyen involved his recognition of a series of laryngeal sounds and an expanded lateral series in Proto-Austronesian (Dyen 1953). In 1965 Dyen published his *Lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages*. This highly controversial work was an attempt at subgrouping the languages of the Austronesian family using statistical techniques measuring lexical replacement. For a critical discussion of this classification see Grace (1966). In the early post-war years Dahl also made an important contribution to the study of the Austronesian languages by demonstrating the close relationship between Malagasy on Madagascar, and the Barito languages of southwest Borneo (Dahl 1951). In more recent times his *Proto-Austronesian* (1973, 1976) has proposed further modifications to Dempwolff's reconstructed sound system. There have also been some significant advances made in the Pacific region. Among these are the reconstruction of a first Proto-Oceanic lexicon by Grace (1969) and the reconstruction of the morphology and syntax of Proto-Oceanic and its major subgroups (Pawley 1970, 1972, 1973, Pawley – Reid 1980, Lichtenberk 1983, 1985, Geraghty 1983). Ross (this volume) surveys current work on Austronesian subgrouping.

Blust has recently proposed the highest order subgrouping of Austronesian represented in Figs.1 and 2. He subdivides the Austronesian languages into four first order subgroups, three from the island of Taiwan (Atayalic, Tsouic and Paiwanic) and a single extra-Formosan subgroup embracing all other Austronesian languages, this subgroup being labelled Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 1978). Blust's claim that the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup constitutes a single first order subgroup of Austronesian is based largely on evidence from the reconstruction of the Formosan versus extra-Formosan pronouns (see Ross, this volume).

Blust further subdivides Malayo-Polynesian into two lower order groups, Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP). As discussed above, the Western Malayo-Polynesian subgroup

comprises all of the Austronesian languages of the Philippines, Indonesia to the west of Sumbawa (see Map A), Borneo, the Malay Peninsula, Madagascar, and the Chamic languages of Kampuchea and Vietnam, Hainan, and the Mergui islands off the coast of Burma. The Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian subgroup subdivides into Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) and Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (EMP). The Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (see also Map A), includes the Austronesian languages of Indonesia in the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Moluccas. Eastern Malayo-Polynesian contains two subgroups, namely a small South Halmahera-West New Guinea group (SHWNG), which extends as far eastwards as Cenderawasih Bay in Irian Jaya, and the huge Oceanic group (OC), with close to 500 languages, extending as far east across the Pacific as Easter Island.

Blust's interpretation of the highest order subgroups of Austronesian is set out in Figures 1 and 2. It should be pointed out, however, that although there is a certain consensus concerning the major subgroups, there are also difficulties even at this level (Ross, this volume). The major problem is that the left-branching subgroups are largely grouped by default, the right-branching subgroups sharing phonological or morpho-syntactic innovations not shared by those to the left. Thus the lower order subgroups, represented in Figures 3 - 8, are, with a couple of notable exceptions, still problematic at all but the lowest levels. For example, Figure 3, the Western Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, is put forward by Blust (1978) and supported by Dyen (1982: 31). The lower order subdivisions of the Western Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, however, are based in part on McFarland (1980, 1983) for the Philippines subgroups, and on Ruhlen (1987) for the extra-Philippines subgroups. Ruhlen's subgroupings represent a very free reinterpretation of Blust (1978). The higher order subgrouping of the Philippines languages is still the subject of ongoing debate (Ross, this volume), with important implications for the higher level subgrouping of Austronesian languages. At the same time, Ruhlen's Sulawesi, Borneo and Sundic subgroups of Western Malayo-Polynesian are convenient geographic groupings only, rather than lower order subgroups based on substantial linguistic evidence. As such they will be subject to major revisions as research progresses in those areas. Figure 4, Central Malayo-Polynesian, is based on Blust (1990) and Grimes (1990), while Figure 5, the South Halmahera-West New Guinea subgroup, largely reflects the picture adduced in Blust (1978). Figure 6, the major subdivisions of Oceanic, is based on recent work by Ross (1988) on the languages of western Melanesia, and may be regarded as well documented.

The Central-Eastern Oceanic subgroup is proposed by Lynch – Tryon (1985), based on shared innovations, while the Central Pacific subgroup, Figure 8, is largely the result of extensive work by Pawley (1970, 1972, 1979) and Geraghty (1983).

The aim of this chapter is not to argue the pros and cons of the different subgroupings proposed by various scholars (for which see Ross this volume), but rather to present an orientation into the Austronesian family and a framework in which to couch the comparative materials which constitute the core of the volume.

AUSTRONESIAN FAMILY SUBGROUPINGS:

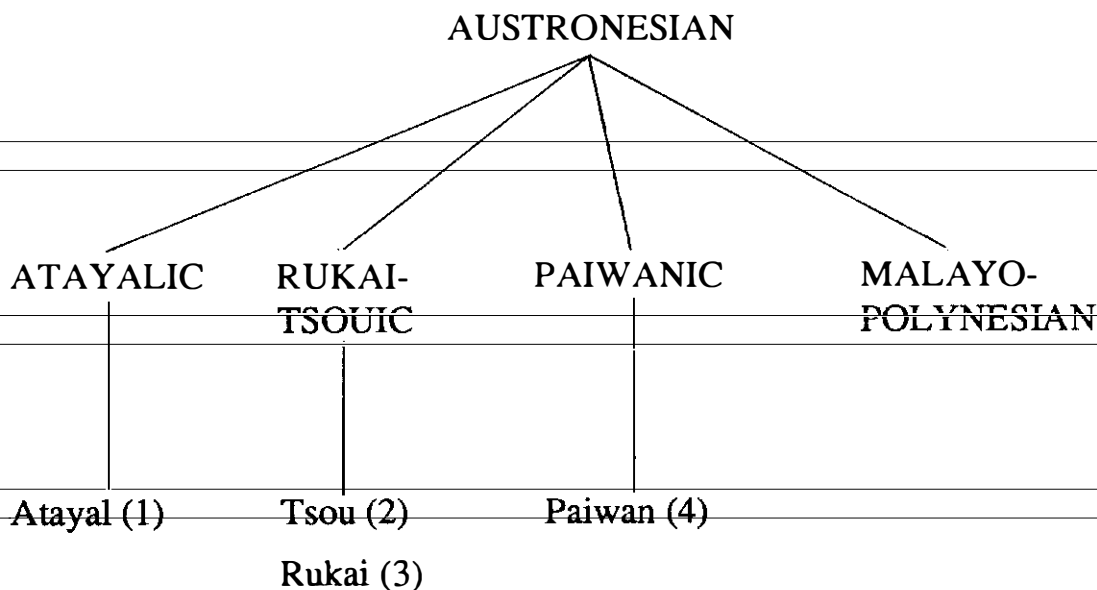


Figure 1. (After Blust 1978)

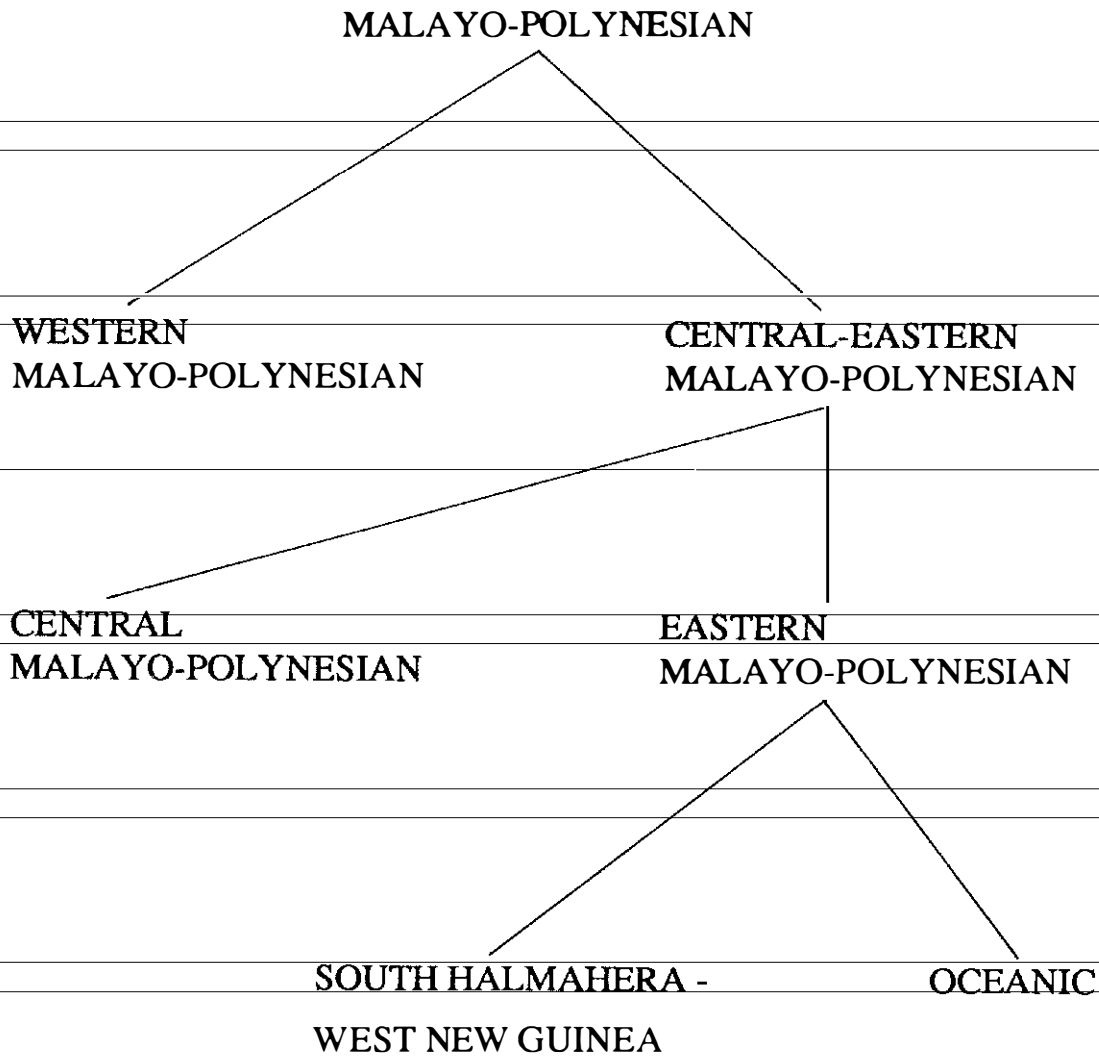


Figure 2. (After Blust 1978)

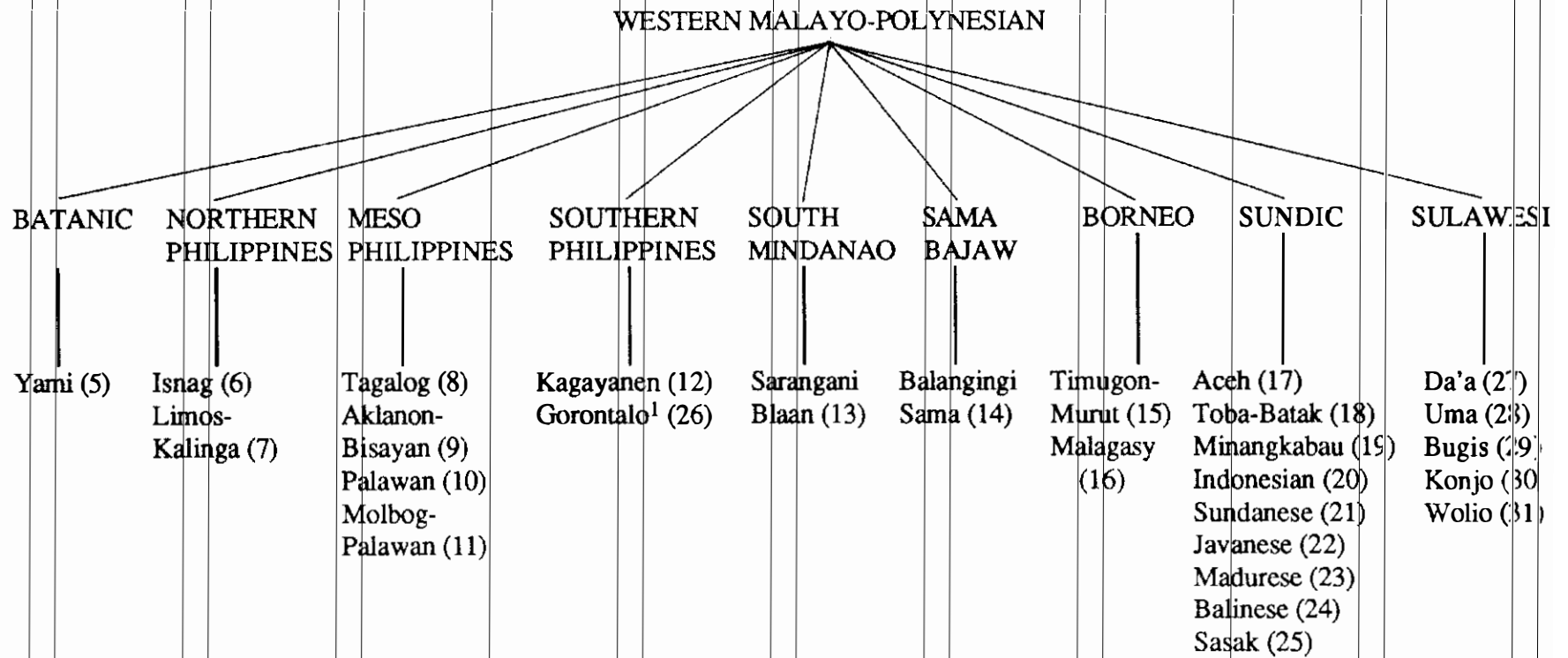


Figure 3. (After C.D. McFarland 1980, 1983, M. Ruhlen 1987)

1. Gorontalo is actually a Southern Philippine language and not a member of the Sulawesi subgroup as listed in Ruhlen (1987).

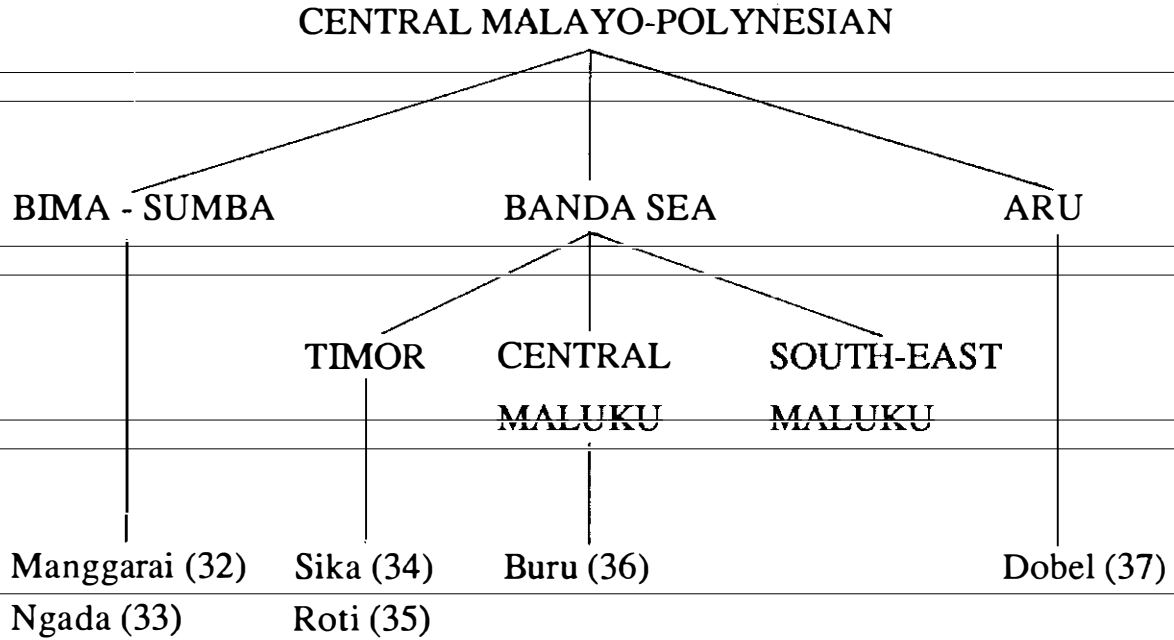


Figure 4. (After Grimes 1990, Blust 1990)

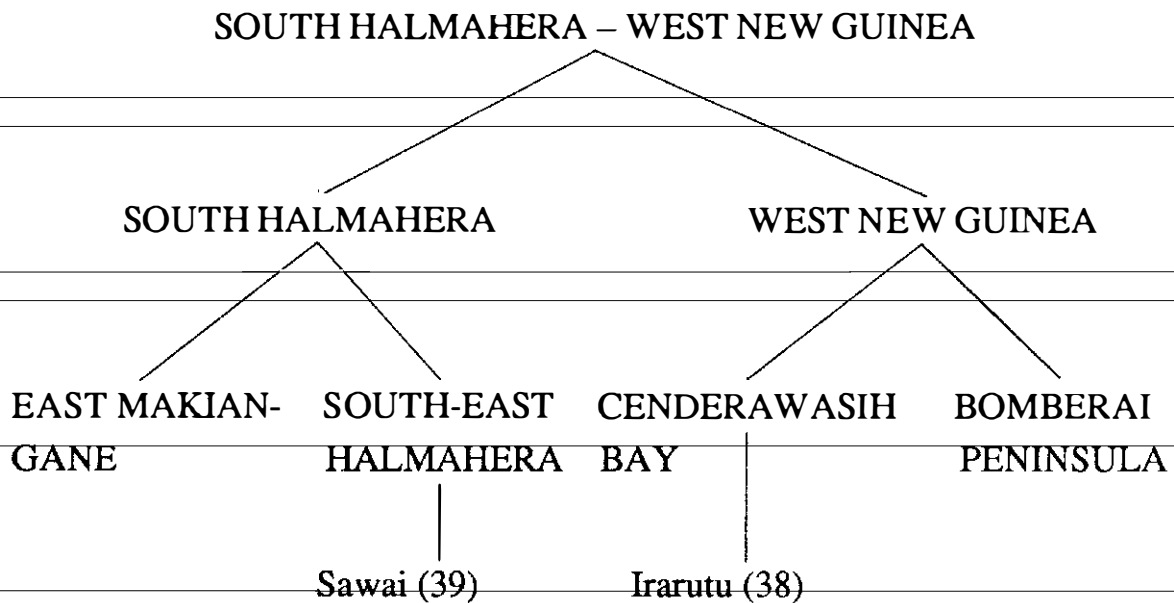
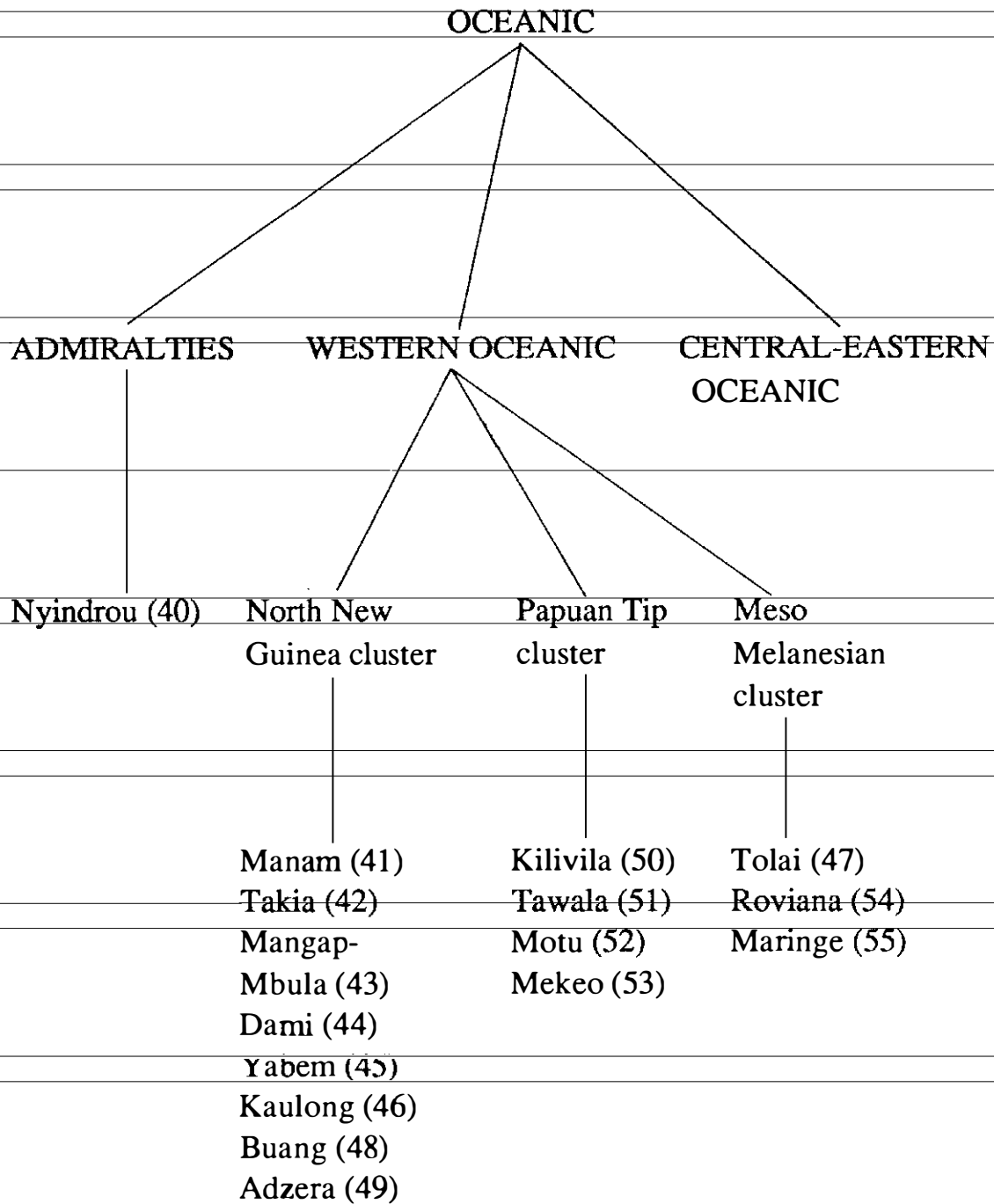


Figure 5. (After Blust 1978)





*Figure 6.* (After Ross 1988)

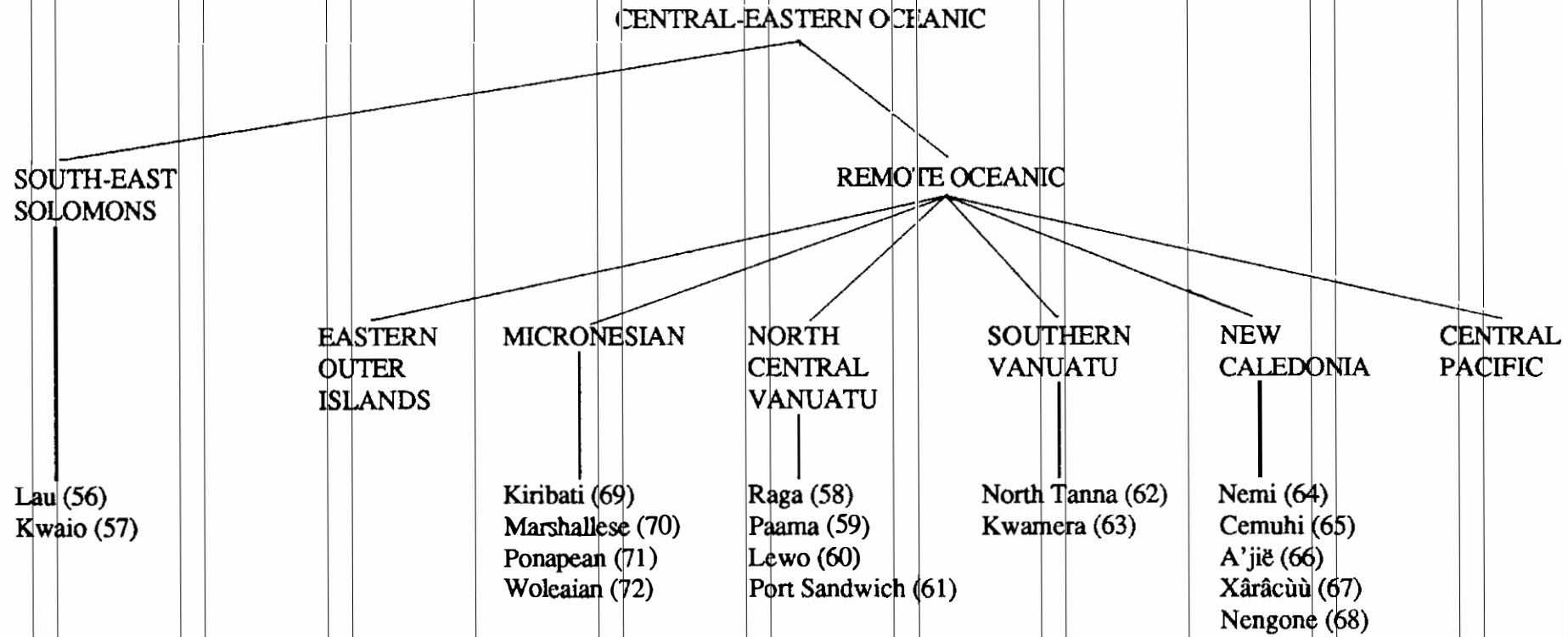
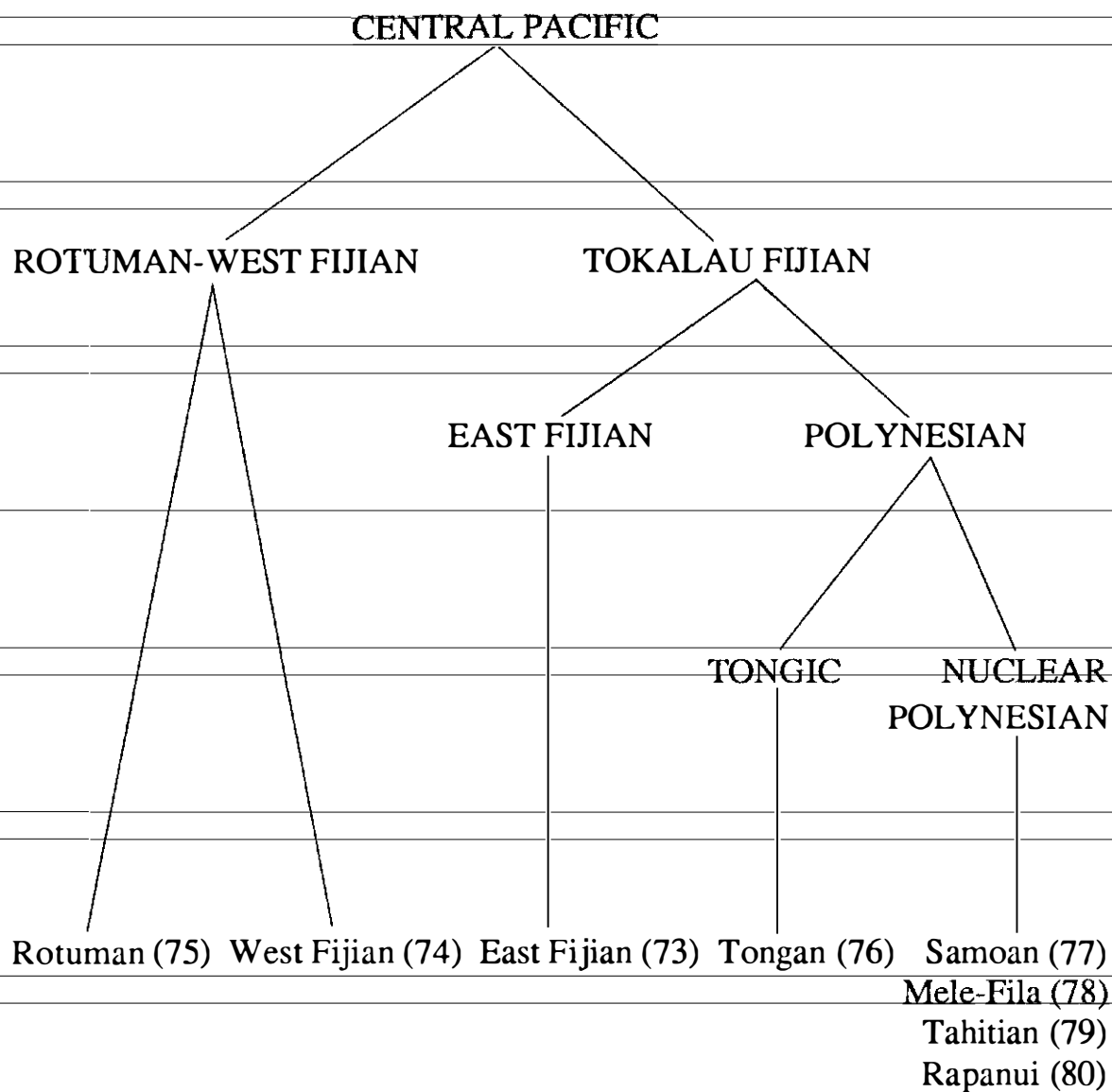


Figure 7. (After Lynch – Tryon 1985)



*Figure 8.* (After Pawley 1979, Geraghty 1983)

## Settlement/migrations

The first Austronesians are thought to have originated in the South China area. Some of their number moved off from the Asian mainland about 5,000-6,000 years ago and settled on the island of Taiwan, where they remained relatively undisturbed until Chinese migrations in the seventeenth century. As discussed above, the aboriginal languages of Taiwan are currently considered by many scholars to constitute three of the four first order subgroups of Austronesian. The linguistic evidence has made them prime candidates for Austronesian homeland status, based on the principle that the centre of the greatest linguistic diversity is likely to be the major dispersal point (Dyen 1956, 1965). It should be added that an earlier Austronesian presence on the China mainland has been based on prehistoric evidence from material culture.

The Austronesian languages outside Taiwan are considered to be members of a single first order subgroup called Malayo-Polynesian. Members of this subgroup moved south from Taiwan to the Philippines and eventually spread right through that archipelago. From the Philippines one group apparently moved south-west, through Borneo and subsequently Sumatra and Java, with branches penetrating the Malay Peninsula and eastern parts of Indochina, Vietnam and Kampuchea. This migration corresponds partly to the putative Western Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (Figs.2 and 3) (see Ross, this volume). A second migration from the Philippines carried the Austronesians south, first probably to northern Sulawesi. From there they are believed to have followed two paths. One would have moved south through Sulawesi and into the Ceram-Ambon area and Timor, corresponding to the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (Fig.4). The other was directed towards southern Halmahera and Irian Jaya, and along the north coast of the great island of New Guinea, corresponding to the South Halmahera-West New Guinea subgroup (Fig.5). It was formerly believed that the Austronesians reached the Irian Jaya area about 3500 B.C. (Bellwood 1980), but today this date is believed to be nearer to 2500 B.C. (Bellwood, personal communication).

Apart from the migrations discussed above, there were evidently numerous and more or less continuous smaller scale migrations criss-crossing the Austronesian-speaking area to the west of the island of New Guinea, especially in the Philippines and western Indonesia. In this context it is noteworthy that the large island of Madagascar off the east coast of Africa was settled by an Austronesian migration from south-eastern Borneo (Kalimantan), via Sumatra, probably about 1300 years ago (Dahl 1951, Adelaar 1989, 1991).

Speakers of what were to become the Oceanic languages probably moved from the Halmahera/Irian Jaya area, passing along the northern coast of Papua New Guinea before settling in the New Britain/New Ireland area somewhere around 2000 B.C. They appear to have remained in this area for some time, relatively undisturbed by resident Papuan populations, judging by the number of phonological and morpho-syntactic innovations shared by the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian.

Migrations subsequently radiated out from the New Britain/New Ireland area. Austronesian speakers moved relatively quickly south-east, making their way right through the Melanesian chain, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, reaching Fiji about 1200 B.C.

A number of additional migrations are attested a little later, a most noteworthy one being the gradual spread of a Western Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian across much of Papua New Guinea and as far south-east as the island of Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands after the initial settlement of the Papua New Guinea region (Ross 1988). This spread also included later moves westwards to the north and northeast coast of the mainland of Papua New Guinea and moves south to various parts of the coast of the main island, right around to the Papuan Gulf on the south coast. Another set of migrations perhaps originated in northern/central Vanuatu. One moved north, spreading the Austronesian languages throughout Micronesia (for which there is evidence of an east to west spread) (Shutler and Marck 1975, Jackson 1986). Another moved south-east to the Fiji group. From that area, after a period of consolidation (Geraghty 1983) the Polynesian languages evolved (see fig.8), moving probably east from the Tonga-Niue area sometime around 1000 B.C.

The migration history of the Polynesians has been fairly unequivocally established over the past thirty years. From the Tonga area, they spread first to the Samoas and the Tokelau group. From Samoa the Polynesian languages moved further eastwards, to the Marquesas, the Society Islands, the Tuamotus, Mangareva and Easter Island. Hawaii was settled from the Marquesas, while from the Society Islands the Polynesian languages/dialects found their way to the Cook Islands and finally to far-off New Zealand. Rapanui, the language of Easter Island, is still regarded by many as problematic, for while it is widely recognised as being the first to break away from the subgroup east of Samoa (the Eastern Polynesian languages), details of its development are still uncertain.

One further remark is needed concerning the Polynesian Outliers. These are Polynesian languages which originated from movements from Polynesia which have drifted westwards into parts of Melanesia and Micronesia during

the past 2000 years. They are all Nuclear Polynesian languages (see Fig.8). This subgroup is represented in the present volume by Mele-Fila from Vanuatu.

## Characteristics of Austronesian

### I. Phonology

Ross (this volume) has presented his interpretation of the phonology of Proto-Austronesian, the putative parent language from which all modern-day Austronesian languages are descended. He posits a voiced and voiceless stop/affricates series as follows:

p	t	C [ç]		k	q [k̟]	ʔ
b	d <sub>1</sub> [d]	d <sub>2</sub> [dʒ]	d <sub>3</sub> [d̥]	Z	g	

He posits voiceless and voiced series with bilabial, dental/alveolar, alveolar affricate and velar articulations, and also a voiceless uvular, a voiceless glottal, a voiced palatal and a voiced retroflex stop. He counts three nasals:

m	n	ŋ
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four fricatives:

s	S [ʃ, ʂ]	h
ʃ [z]		

two laterals:

L [l, ɭ]	l [l, ɭ]
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two trills:

r	R (a uvular trill)
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Proto-Austronesian also had four vowel phonemes and four word-final diphthongs, as follows:

i	u	-iw	-uy
e [ə]			
a		-ay	-aw

The phonemic systems of Austronesian languages vary greatly, some quite complex, for example those of the languages of New Caledonia, some of which have developed three stop series, oral and nasal vowels and a three tone system, plus phonemic vowel length, see Rivierre (Cèmuhi, No.65), this volume. Others, such as the Polynesian languages, have extremely reduced phoneme inventories, such as Hawaiian, with a total of only 13.

These are:

<i>p</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>		<i>h</i>
<i>i</i>			<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>			<i>o</i>
		<i>a</i>	

Most Austronesian word bases consisted of two syllables. The most common shape was CVCVC or CVCCVC. Only a very restricted range of consonant clusters was allowed, the most widespread being nasal + stop, usually occurring word medially. While this system is still well preserved in many of the languages to the west of the Oceanic subgroup, in the Oceanic languages there have been some dramatic changes, with phonetic nasal plus stop sequences being treated as single prenasalised consonants. In very many of the Oceanic languages the original word final consonants of Proto-Austronesian are systematically lost.

The western or non-Oceanic languages have fairly similar phonologies. A typical Philippines phonological table would include the following:

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives		<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	
Semi vowels	<i>w</i>	<i>j</i>		

## Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid		<i>e</i>	
Low		<i>a</i>	

Most of the Indonesian languages, especially those in the west, have a phonological configuration as follows:

	Bilabial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	<i>c</i> <i>j</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>		
Semivowels	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

Among the languages of Indonesia, only Madurese and Javanese distinguish between alveolar and retroflex stops. It is considered that this distinction is due to the influence of Sanskrit on Javanese. Retroflex stops and laterals are also found in the Austronesian languages of Taiwan, and have been reconstructed (Ross, this volume) for Proto-Austronesian.

In terms of vowels, the Indonesian languages have developed more elaborate systems than that of the original Proto-Austronesian. Some have six-vowel systems, for example Malay, Buginese and Balinese, while Javanese is considered in some analyses to have eight. Malagasy and some of the other Indonesian-type languages have retained the original four vowel system.

The Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian, developed a five vowel system from Proto-Austronesian, whereby /i, u, a/ were retained, and the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ became /e/ and /o/ respectively.

The Proto-Oceanic consonant and vowel system has been reconstructed as follows:



	Velarised bilabial	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Post-velar
Stops	<i>bw</i>	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>
Trills			<i>r dr</i>			
Sibilants			<i>s</i>			
Nasals	<i>mw</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Liquids			<i>l</i>			<i>R</i>
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

## 2. Morpho-syntax

Austronesian languages are not nearly as complex, morphologically, as the neighbouring Papuan and Australian languages. Typically, verbs are prefixed, infixes or suffixed to indicate focus, voice and transitivity, and also to produce nominalised forms. Reduplication is used quite commonly with verbs to indicate aspect and with nouns to indicate number. Many roots may be used either as a verb or a noun indifferently. Adjectives and numerals very commonly act like verbs, as do some negative markers. Almost universally in the Austronesian languages, there are inclusive and exclusive forms for first person plural pronouns, the inclusive forms including both speaker and hearer while the exclusive form excludes the hearer. Nouns bear suffixes to indicate pronominal possession almost throughout the Austronesian family, although in the Oceanic subgroup this form of possession indication is restricted to body parts and kin terms. Normally pronouns marking subject or possessor are formally different from those marking object or focus.

In terms of the grammar of the major subgroups of Austronesian, the non-Oceanic languages (see Figs. 1 and 2) may be broadly represented by the Philippines languages. These languages are well known for their rather complex voice systems. Apart from distinguishing between active and

passive constructions, the languages of this area distinguish at least three other kinds of passive. The noun phrase which occurs as the “topic” of the sentence may represent the actor, the object or goal, the referent (benefactive or locative) or the instrument. These distinctions are marked in a number of ways. The voice of the verb is indicated by affixation. The subjective voice (active) is normally indicated by an infix *-um-* or the prefixes *ma-*, *mag-* and *maka-*. Objective voice is indicated by a suffix *-in* or *-an*.; referential voice is indicated by the suffix *-an*, and instrumental by the prefix *i-*. There are other ways of distinguishing passives, such as the marking of case with nominal particles and transposing phrases and changing stress. The following examples from Palawan exemplify the Philippine focus system (Revel-Macdonald 1979):

a. Agent focus

<i>mog</i>	<i>lamu?</i>	<i>libun</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>lugow</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>mosakit</i>	<i>sot</i>	<i>apuy</i>
make	cook	woman	that	the	rice soup	for	sick	on	fire
VP		NP		NP		NP		NP	

‘*The woman* will cook the rice soup on the fire for the sick person.’

b. Object focus

<i>lalamu?</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>libun</i>	<i>lugow</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>mosakit</i>	<i>sot</i>	<i>apuy</i>
be cooked	by	woman	soup	that	for	sick	on	fire	
VP		NP	NP		NP		NP		

‘*The rice soup* will be cooked by the woman on the fire for the sick person.’

c. Attribute focus

<i>lalamu?</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>libun</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>lugow</i>	<i>sot</i>	<i>apuy</i>	<i>mosakit</i>	<i>in</i>
be cooked	by	woman	that	soup	on	fire	sick	that	
VP		NP	NP	NP	NP	NP		NP	

‘It is *for the sick person* that the rice soup will be cooked on the fire by the woman.’

d. Locative focus

<i>lalamu?</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>libun</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>lugow</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>mosakit</i>	<i>apuy</i>	<i>in</i>
be cooked	by	woman	that	soup	for	sick	fire	the	
VP		NP	NP	NP	NP		NP	NP	

‘It is *on the fire* that the rice soup will be cooked by the woman for the sick person.’

## e. Instrumental focus

i-lalamu? ot libun lugow kot mosakit apuy in  
 be cooked by woman soup for sick fire the  
 VP NP NP NP NP

'It is *with fire* that the rice soup will be cooked by the woman for the sick person.'

The other major subgroups of Western or non-Oceanic languages, the languages of Taiwan especially, and Indonesia also, although on a reduced scale, share a great deal of the morpho-syntactic characteristics of the Philippines languages. They are, however, less homogeneous than their Philippine counterparts. As indicated above, with all subgroups of Austronesian most word bases may function as nouns or verbs. There are numerous formative and transformative affixes in the languages of the Western Malayo-Polynesian subgroup which derive adjectives, nouns, adverbs, comparative and ordinal forms, in addition to various verbal constructions.

The languages of the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, in eastern Indonesia, are less complex morphologically than their Western counterparts. In fact their morphology is quite similar to that found in the languages of the Oceanic subgroup. It should be observed, however, that they retain a number of distinctions which have been lost in the Oceanic languages.

In the languages of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian it is evident that morphological simplification has occurred compared to the historically older groups to their west. A number of verb and noun affixes were lost in the languages of the Oceanic subgroup. Indeed, some prefixes from the western languages were simply assimilated into the word base as non-productive elements, and some affixes in the western languages became reinterpreted as free-form particles in the languages of the Oceanic subgroup. New prefixes developed and the function and/or shape of certain earlier inherited ones changed.

With verbs, the languages outside the Oceanic subgroup use affixes to indicate tense, aspect and mode, as in the Palawan examples cited above. The languages of the Oceanic subgroup tend to use free form particles for this purpose. Many original verb bases function as post-verbal particles in the Oceanic languages, indicating direction such as upward or downward movement, or as tense-aspect markers, indicating for example a progressive aspect.

With nouns here are four common classes, indicated by the use of articles. The categories commonly distinguished are common nouns, personal

pronouns and personal names, locative nouns and temporal nouns. Personal pronouns fall into two sets, subject and possessive forms versus cardinal and object forms. The Oceanic languages have also developed a possessive system more elaborate than that which characterises the western Austronesian languages. Whereas noun possession in those languages is generally indicated by a suffix to the possessed noun, in the Oceanic languages this system has been retained only for a sub-set of nouns, namely body parts and kin terms. In the Oceanic languages two and sometimes three additional possession classes have developed, one for edibles, a neutral category, and in a large number of the languages of island Melanesia, a drinkable category.

In terms of syntax, the Austronesian languages are basically verb-initial or verb-second and prepositional. In contrast, the neighbouring Papuan languages are typically verb-final and postpositional. A number of Austronesian languages in the New Guinea area have come to follow this pattern under Papuan influence. Among noun modifiers, articles precede the noun, while all other modifiers (adjectives, numerals, relative clauses) generally follow.

### **Languages represented in this volume**

The eighty languages represented in the comparative lexicon, which constitutes the main body of this volume, represent all of the major and most of the minor recognised subgroups of the Austronesian language family. These language names, followed by numbers in parentheses, appear on the classificatory tree diagrams presented above. These numbers correspond to the introductions to individual languages given in Chapter 5. Within the comparative lexicon, the languages are identified by three-letter acronyms, listed below. (A separate Language Index Card is included with the volume.) These are listed below, together with major subgrouping details of the languages included, as follows:

	<b>Language</b>	<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Major subgroup</b>	<b>Location</b>
1.	Atayal	ATA	Atayalic	Taiwan
2.	Tsou	TSO	Tsouic	Taiwan
3.	Rukai	RUK	Tsouic	Taiwan
4.	Paiwan	PAI	Paiwanic	Taiwan

5.	Yami	YAM	WMP	Taiwan
6.	Isnag	ISN	WMP	Philippines
7.	Kalinga	KAL	WMP	Philippines
8.	Tagalog	TAG	WMP	Philippines
9.	Aklanon	AKL	WMP	Philippines
10.	Palawan	PAL	WMP	Philippines
11.	Molbog	MOL	WMP	Philippines
12.	Kagayanen	KAG	WMP	Philippines
13.	Blaan	BLA	WMP	Philippines
14.	Sama	SAB	WMP	Philippines
15.	Murut	MUR	WMP	Sabah
16.	Malagasy	MGY	WMP	Madagascar
17.	Aceh	ACE	WMP	Indonesia
18.	Batak	BAT	WMP	Indonesia
19.	Minangkabau	MIN	WMP	Indonesia
20.	Indonesian	IND	WMP	Indonesia
21.	Sundanese	SUN	WMP	Indonesia
22.	Javanese	JAV	WMP	Indonesia
23.	Madurese	MAD	WMP	Indonesia
24.	Balinese	BAL	WMP	Indonesia
25.	Sasak	SAS	WMP	Indonesia
26.	Gorontalo	GOR	WMP	Indonesia
27.	Da'a	DAA	WMP	Indonesia
28.	Uma	UMA	WMP	Indonesia
29.	Bugis	BUG	WMP	Indonesia
30.	Konjo	KON	WMP	Indonesia
31.	Wolio	WOL	WMP	Indonesia
32.	Manggarai	MAG	CMP	Indonesia
33.	Ngada	NGA	CMP	Indonesia
34.	Sikka	SIK	CMP	Indonesia
35.	Roti	RTI	CMP	Indonesia
36.	Buru	BUR	CMP	Indonesia
37.	Dobel	DOB	CMP	Indonesia
38.	Irarutu	IRA	SHWNG	Indonesia
39.	Sawai	SAW	SHWNG	Indonesia
40.	Nyindrou	NYI	OC	Papua New Guinea
41.	Manam	MAM	OC	Papua New Guinea
42.	Takia	TAK	OC	Papua New Guinea

43.	Dami	DAM	OC	Papua New Guinea
44.	Mbula	MAP	OC	Papua New Guinea
45.	Yabem	YAB	OC	Papua New Guinea
46.	Kaulong	KAU	OC	Papua New Guinea
47.	Tolai	TOL	OC	Papua New Guinea
48.	Buang	BUA	OC	Papua New Guinea
49.	Adzera	ADZ	OC	Papua New Guinea
50.	Kilivila	KIL	OC	Papua New Guinea
51.	Tawala	TAW	OC	Papua New Guinea
52.	Motu	MOT	OC	Papua New Guinea
53.	Mekeo	MEK	OC	Papua New Guinea
54.	Roviana	ROV	OC	Solomon Islands
55.	Maringe	MAR	OC	Solomon Islands
56.	Lau	LAU	OC	Solomon Islands
57.	Kwaio	KWA	OC	Solomon Islands
58.	Raga	RAG	OC	Vanuatu
59.	Paama	PAA	OC	Vanuatu
60.	Lewo	LEW	OC	Vanuatu
61.	Port Sandwich	POR	OC	Vanuatu
62.	Nth.Tanna	NTA	OC	Vanuatu
63.	Kwamera	KWA	OC	Vanuatu
64.	Nemi	NEM	OC	New Caledonia
65.	Cèmuhî	CEM	OC	New Caledonia
66.	A'jië	AJI	OC	New Caledonia
67.	Xârâcùù	XAR	OC	New Caledonia
68.	Nengone	NEN	OC	New Caledonia
69.	Kiribati	KIR	OC	Kiribati
70.	Marshallese	MSH	OC	Marshall Islands
71.	Ponapean	PON	OC	Fed.States Micronesia
72.	Woleaian	WOL	OC	Fed.States Micronesia
73.	East Fijian	EFI	OC	Fiji
74.	West Fijian	WFI	OC	Fiji
75.	Rotuman	RTU	OC	Fiji
76.	Tongan	TON	OC	Tonga
77.	Samoa	SAM	OC	Samoa
78.	Mele-Fila	MEL	OC	Vanuatu
79.	Tahitian	TAH	OC	French Polynesia
80.	Rapanui	RAP	OC	Easter Island (Chile)

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### 3. Some current issues in Austronesian linguistics

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**Malcolm D. Ross**

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#### **Introduction**

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A brief history of Austronesian studies and a thumbnail sketch of some current opinions concerning the genetic classification of Austronesian languages is provided by Tryon (this volume). A major purpose of this chapter is to provide for readers outside the narrow confines of Austronesian linguistic prehistory some indication of the strengths and weaknesses in our current knowledge, to point to possible directions of development in this understanding, and to indicate where fresh research is especially necessary. The issues to be reviewed here concern the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian phonology and morphosyntax and the internal and external genetic relationships of Austronesian languages.<sup>1</sup>

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#### **Subgrouping methodology**

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The tree diagrams in Figures 1 to 8 of the previous chapter provide a sketch of our present understanding of the subgrouping of Austronesian languages. However, these diagrams entail a certain ambiguity, as they fail to distinguish between two different ways in which Austronesian languages and subgroups have diverged from each other: some have diverged by *dialect differentiation*, others by *separation*.<sup>2</sup>

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Divergence by *dialect differentiation* has occurred when the dialects of a language spoken in different areas of the speech community have gradually become more and more different from each other, until the differences are so great that we must speak of different languages rather than of dialects. The process of differentiation has often been accelerated by the fact that among Austronesian speakers in the past the most important unit of political organisation was typically the village, and people have tended to identify with their village rather than with other speakers of their language. Peculiarities of a village's speech have tended to become an emblem of village identity both for the speakers and their neighbours, and as a result

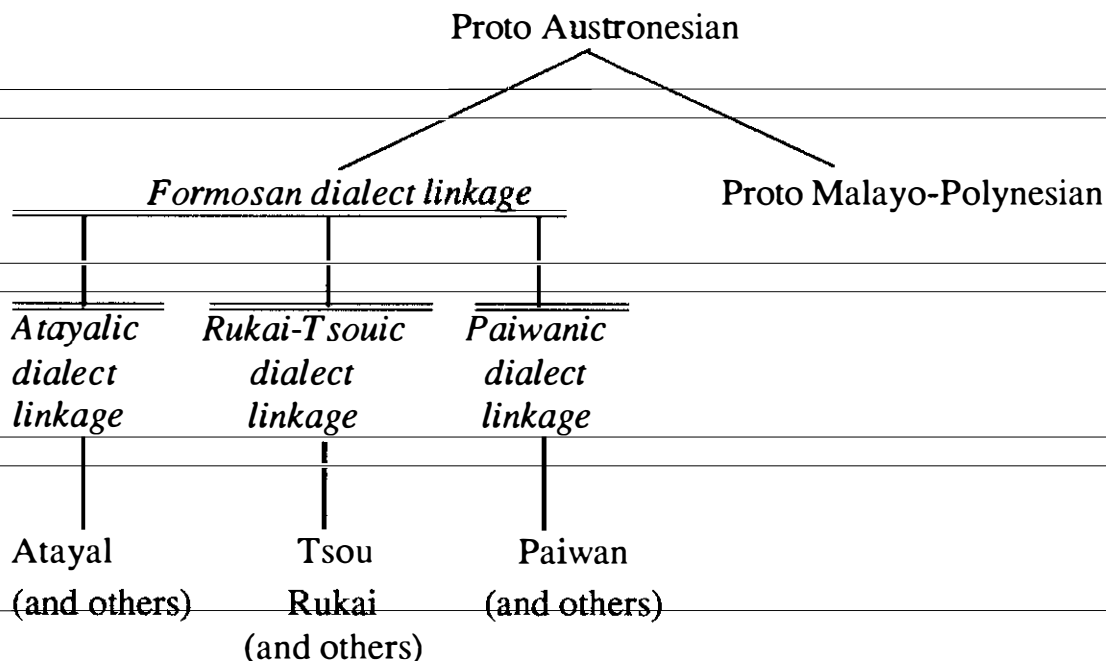
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Whether languages diverge by dialect differentiation or by separation, it is clear that languages which belong to the same subgroup must be descended from a common ancestor at some time-depth or other. Thus in Figure 1, which shows the primary branches of the Austronesian language family, we could be pedantic and label the top node “Proto-Austronesian” instead of “Austronesian”, since in linguistic terminology a putative earlier language is labelled with the prefix “Proto-”, whereas an unprefixed term like “Austronesian” is taken to refer to a group of languages. At this point, however, a difficulty arises. Consistency would seem to require that we also label the branches “Proto-Atayalic”, “Proto-Tsouic”, “Proto-Paiwanic” and “Proto-Malayo-Polynesian”, rather than simply “Atayalic”, “Tsouic” and so on. But we can be reasonably confident that Proto-Austronesian (henceforth PAN) was spoken on Taiwan (see previous chapter; also Blust 1985, Bellwood 1985), and that the languages of the Atayalic, Tsouic and Paiwanic groups have had a continuous history of at least five thousand years on that island. It is therefore plausible that the languages of the Atayalic, Tsouic and Paiwanic groups have arisen by gradual dialect differentiation from the PAN (or its early descendant dialects) of those who stayed behind. This could mean that there never was a “Proto-Atayalic”, a “Proto-Tsouic” or a “Proto-Paiwanic”.

If we were to attempt to redraw Figure 1 less ambiguously using the conventions above, we might arrive at something like Figure 9. This says that Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (henceforth PMP) diverged from the Austronesian languages of Taiwan as the result of separation (when its speakers left Taiwan more than 4,500 years ago). This is a reasonable assumption. Figure 9 also says that the languages of the Atayalic, Tsouic and Paiwanic groups are descended, not from separate proto-languages, but from three dialect linkages which resulted from the break-up of the Formosan dialect linkage<sup>3</sup> into which PAN had differentiated around the time of the departure of PMP speakers. Whilst this is a plausible sequence of events, it is by no means the only possible one. There is some evidence, for example, that Atayalic forms one subgroup of languages and all the other Austronesian languages on Taiwan another, and that this latter subgroup is then divisible into the Tsouic and Paiwanic (and perhaps other) groups. However, even if this is so, we do not know (a) whether the primary split into Atayalic and non-Atayalic took place before or after or at about the same time as the departure of the speakers of PMP, and (b) whether these divisions took place by dialect differentiation or by separation, i.e. whether there ever was a “Proto-Atayalic”, a “Proto-Tsouic” or a “Proto-Paiwanic”. (Available evidence makes Proto-Paiwanic less likely than the other two.)



*Figure 9.* A hypothetical (but not necessarily correct) representation of the earliest branchings of the Austronesian language family

The point of this discussion is not to debate the early diversification of Austronesian languages, but rather to show that figures 1-8 are ambiguous — and that this ambiguity is a virtue, since to be more precise would imply that we know considerably more than we actually do.

We turn now to the question of how we can know what subgroups languages belong to and whether they have diverged by dialect differentiation or by separation.

Two methods are commonly used to determine the genetic relationships of languages and thereby to combine them into subgroups. These are the “classical” *comparative method* and the method of *lexicostatistics*.

Under the comparative method, a set of related languages is systematically compared and the proto-language from which they are supposedly descended is reconstructed. The languages in the set are then examined to determine what innovations in phonology and morphosyntax each reflects relative to the proto-language. These innovations typically pattern across languages in one of two ways, indicating whether the languages have diversified by separation or by dialect differentiation. When separation has occurred, groups of languages share discrete bundles of innovations. For example, within a set of languages A to Z whose reconstructed proto-language is Proto-AZ, languages A to M share a given

bundle of innovations (which are not shared by languages N to Z). From this we infer that A to M are descended from Proto-AM (itself a descendant of Proto-AZ) and that they share this bundle of innovations because the innovations occurred in Proto-AM itself.

In the second patterning of innovations, which characterises divergence by dialect differentiation, shared innovations form overlapping, rather than discrete, bunches. For example, among a set of languages A-G scattered in a line along a coastline, A, B and C may reflect one bunch of innovations, C, D, and E another bunch, and D, E, F, and G yet another bunch: that is, the bunches overlap in chain-like fashion. In an inland area or an archipelago, overlapping bunches of innovations may form a more complex network-like pattern. We might find innovations shared, for example, by A, B, and C, by C, D, E, and F, and by A, D, F, and G. Such overlaps arise because at some stage in the past proto-language AG has differentiated out into a dialect linkage (i.e. a chain or a network) whose member-dialects have remained in sufficient contact with each other for an innovation generated in one dialect of the linkage to diffuse through adjacent dialects of the linkage, i.e. undetected early borrowing has occurred.

There is one set of elements in language change which the classical comparative method does not readily recognise. Contact-induced change (change brought about in a dialect or language through its speakers' contact with a neighbouring dialect or language) does not only occur when neighbouring languages are closely related; it may also occur when they are genetically only distantly related or completely unrelated. For example, there are Austronesian languages in Melanesia whose grammars have undergone wholesale modification in the direction of neighbouring Papuan (non-AN) languages. Their speakers have become so much at home in the language of their neighbours that they have reshaped their language along Papuan lines. Interestingly, the basic vocabulary of such languages often includes few borrowings, because it is in the words themselves (and not in the structures in which the words are used) that speakers perceive the essence of the language and therefore the emblems of their own identity. Although the importance of this kind of change has been recognised for eighty years (see Ray 1911, 1926), it has received only sporadic attention from linguists working in Austronesian languages (Capell 1943, 1976, Lynch 1981, Pallesen 1985, Ross 1987) and is a major research need.

There is, however, a second, rather different kind of contact-induced change where vocabulary is borrowed, sometimes on quite a large scale, from a culturally dominant language, and the word lists note many such borrowings: from Sanskrit in western Indonesia (as a result of Indian cultural

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influence), from Arabic in the Islamicised sections of the region, from Malay throughout Indonesia and the Philippines (through its long-time use as a *lingua franca*),<sup>4</sup> and throughout the Austronesian region from the languages of colonial powers (Chinese and Japanese in Formosan languages, Spanish and English in the Philippines, Dutch in Indonesia, Spanish and Japanese in Micronesia, and French and English in the south Pacific islands). Borrowing of this kind has also occurred in small-scale societies, as Dutton (1982a) has documented for a south-east Papuan case.

A third kind of contact-induced change occurs when, after a period of bilingualism, a group changes its first language, and features of the former first language are retained in the adopted language, for example, in the way they pronounce it.<sup>5</sup>

Contact-induced change also causes problems for the second method referred to earlier, lexicostatistics. The procedure in lexicostatistics is to collect a list of words for the same set of meanings from a number of languages, and for every pair of languages marking each pair of words as either “cognate” (i.e., the words with the same meaning in the two languages are deemed to be related) or “non-cognate”, and calculating the percentage of the items in the list which are deemed cognate for each pair of languages. This “cognate percentage” is then taken to be a measure of the degree of genetic relationship between the two languages: the higher the percentage, the closer the assumed relationship.

Apart from the difficulty of deciding whether words of similar meaning in two languages are in fact cognate,<sup>6</sup> the lexicostatistical method encounters the problem that words, like other features of language, may be subject to contact-induced change, that is, they may be borrowed by one language from its neighbour. Items of vocabulary will readily pass between two Austronesian languages which are not necessarily each other’s closest relatives, and thereby distort a lexicostatistical classification.

This difficulty is manifest when the comparative and lexicostatistical methods are applied to the same group of languages and give conflicting results. In a well-known study, Dyen (1965b) used lexicostatistics to derive a genetic tree of the Austronesian language family. However, a number of the groupings which Dyen proposed have not stood up under the magnifying glass of the comparative method.<sup>7</sup> Since the classical comparative method sets out to reconstruct the prehistory of the morphemes of a set of languages as well as their divergences, whereas the lexicostatistical method reconstructs only the history of language splits, the former method, complicated and time-consuming as it may be, is clearly preferable to the

latter, and it is therefore important to ask with regard to any classification of languages which method it is based on.

An extension of lexicostatistics known as “glottochronology” has also been applied in Austronesian studies. Glottochronology is based on the assumption that words associated with the non-cultural meanings in a lexicostatistical list are replaced at a constant rate over time, and that the lexicostatistical percentage of shared cognates for a pair of languages can therefore be used not only to ascertain the genetic relationships between them, but also to determine the date at which their parent language split into the two daughter-languages. However, if the lexicostatistical method is unreliable, the associated glottochronological method must also be unreliable (see Grace 1966). Blust (1981b) has demonstrated on the basis of a study of Austronesian languages that words are *not* replaced at a constant rate over time. Bellwood (1978: 125-126), seeking to date the break-up of Proto Oceanic (the language ancestral to all the Austronesian languages of Oceania) found a puzzling discrepancy between the glottochronological dating of its break-up to no later than 3000 B.C. and the archaeological dating of Austronesian-related artefacts from the area of the Proto-Oceanic homeland in western Melanesia, for which the earliest dates were only about 1500 B.C. The discrepancy is at least partly attributable to the unreliability of glottochronology.

In the comparative method, reconstruction and subgrouping are interdependent. A prerequisite for the tenability of any subgrouping hypothesis must be an adequate reconstruction of the proto language: subgrouping under the comparative method is based on innovations which have occurred in present-day languages relative to a proto language. If the reconstruction of the proto language is inadequate, then wrong inferences are likely to be made about innovations and consequently about subgrouping. Conversely, however, decisions about reconstruction are dependent on hypotheses about subgrouping.

An example will serve to illustrate this interdependence. Phonemes in a proto language are reconstructed from correspondences among sounds in the languages descended from it. In Table 1, cognate sets for six items are given across twelve Austronesian languages. Atayal, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Amis and Bunun are all spoken in Taiwan; Tagalog in southern Luzon (Philippines); Toba Batak in north-western Sumatra (western Indonesia); Uma on Sulawesi (north central Indonesia); Manggarai on Flores (south central Indonesia); Kairiru on the island of the same name off the north coast of Papua New Guinea; and Samoan in the central Pacific. The words listed in Table 1 illustrate two sound correspondences. The words for ‘ear’, ‘eye’

Table 1. Cognate sets reflecting PAN \**t* and \**C*<sup>8</sup>

	ear	eye	head		freshwater	
			louse	three	eel	seven
Atayal (Atayalic)	čajia <sup>?</sup>	-	kuču <sup>?</sup>	tu-ya†	tu†a-kiy	ma-pitu <sup>?</sup>
Tsou (Rukai-Tsouic)	-	mɕō	kɕū	туру	tuŋ-roza	pitu
Rukai (Rukai-Tsouic)	ɕaɭiŋa	maɕa	koɕo	toɭo	tola	pito
Paiwan (Paiwanic)	ɕaɭiŋa	maɕa	kaɕiɭu	caɭu	cul <sup>?</sup> a	picu
Amis (Paiwanic)	taɭiŋa <sup>?</sup>	mata <sup>?</sup>	kutu <sup>?</sup>	tulu	tuɭa	pitu
Bunun (Paiwanic)	taɭiŋa	mata <sup>?</sup>	kutu <sup>?</sup>	tau <sup>?</sup>	-	pitu <sup>?</sup>
Tagalog (WMP)	tēŋa	mata	kūto	ta-tlo	-	pito
Toba Batak (WMP)	-	mata	hutu	tolu	-	pitu
Uma (WMP)	tiliŋa	mata	kutu	tolo	-	pitu
Manggarai (CMP)	-	mata	hutu	təlu	tuna	pitu
Kairiru (Oceanic)	tiliŋe	mata	ku†	tuol	tun	-
Samoa (Oceanic)	taɭiŋa	mata	ʔutu	tolu	tuna	fitu
PAN	*Calɭiŋa	*maCá	*kúCuh	*telúh	*tuLá	*pitú
PMP	*talɭiŋa	*matá	*kútuh	*telúh	*tuná	*pitú

and ‘head louse’ exemplify the correspondence between č in Atayal, ɕ in Tsou, Rukai and Paiwan, and *t* in the other eight languages. The words for ‘three’, ‘freshwater eel’ and ‘seven’ exemplify a second correspondence, between *c* in Paiwan and *t* in all the other listed languages. From these two sound correspondences, the two PAN proto-phonemes \**C* and \**t* are conventionally reconstructed, and we can attribute to them the probable phonetic values [ɕ] and [t].

This reconstruction both suggests and entails a subgrouping hypothesis. The lower eight languages in our sample all have *t* where Atayal has either č or *t* and Tsou, Rukai and Paiwan have either ɕ or *t*, that is, they share in the merger of the PAN proto-phonemes \**t* and \**C*. This suggests a hypothesis that these eight languages belong to a subgroup (but see below): they share a common ancestor in which the merger of \**t* and \**C* had taken place. But note that the reconstruction itself already entails such a hypothesis. An alternative hypothesis would be that PAN had only the proto-phoneme \**t*, which split in a common ancestor of Atayal, Tsou, Rukai and Paiwan into \**t* and \**C*. Whichever reconstruction is adopted, it entails an implicit subgrouping decision.

How can we escape this circularity? In the case of PAN,<sup>9</sup> we are dependent on evidence based on likely directions of phonetic change. Is it more likely that PAN \**C* [ɕ] and \**t* [t] merged as [t], or that PAN \**t* [t] split

into [ç] and [t]? A split would be the more likely hypothesis if it could be shown that [ç] was the outcome before high or front vowels and [t] elsewhere, since such splits are quite common in the world's languages. But the data show no such conditioning, leaving the merger as the more likely direction of change.<sup>10</sup>

In practice, decisions of this kind are rarely dependent on a single innovation. In the present case, the weight of evidence, both phonological and morphosyntactic, suggests that several innovations besides the merger of \*C and \*t should be attributed to the lower *six* languages of Table 1 and to all Austronesian languages outside Taiwan and that these languages form a subgroup which is labelled "Malayo-Polynesian" (Figure 1).<sup>11</sup> This decision leaves no innovations shared by all the languages on Taiwan, implying that they constitute several first-order subgroups of Austronesian. It is this decision which informs the reconstruction of PAN phonology below.

This example illustrates how reconstructing something of the phonetics of the proto-language is vital to subgrouping procedure. PAN \*C has been written thus by most scholars since Dyen (1965a), and there has been a tendency among Austronesian scholars (and among comparative linguists in general) to treat reconstructed proto-phonemes as algebraic cover symbols of unknown phonetic value, such that the actual choice of symbol is unimportant.<sup>12</sup> However, a consequence of this convention is that identifying the direction of phonetic change becomes impossible, and we have no means of knowing whether \*C > t or \*C > ts is an innovation, because the phonetic value of \*C is unknown. For example, Li (1985) adduces five shared innovations to show that the languages of the Atayalic group and several languages placed by other scholars in the Paiwanic group on the contrary share a common ancestor and therefore form a Northern Formosan subgroup. One of these innovations is that PAN \*C becomes ts or s. But as we have seen, this is probably not an innovation: the innovation occurs instead in those languages where \*C ([ç]) has become t.

The "algebraic" tendency in PAN reconstruction is rooted in its history. When Dempwolff (1934, 1937, 1938) initially reconstructed his *Ur-Austronesisch* ('Proto-Austronesian'), he used no Formosan data. As a result, what he reconstructed was what we would now call PMP. When Formosan data became available to Dyen, he added new proto-phonemes to Dempwolff's reconstructed system (see Dyen 1965a) to take account of his new insights. However, with these and other additions, the conventionally accepted PAN phoneme system became overloaded with symbols to which it was no longer possible to attach phonetic values.<sup>13</sup> Various scholars (Dahl

Table 2. Approximate equivalences among reconstructed phoneme systems<sup>14</sup>

Dempwolff (PMP)	Dyen (PAN)	Tsuchida (PAN)	Dahl (PAN)	Ross (PAN)
p	p	p	p	p
h	b	b	b	b
m	m	m	m	m
v	w	w, W	u	w
t	t	t	t <sub>1</sub>	t
ṭ	T	T	...	...
...	C	C	t <sub>2</sub>	C
d	d	{ D <sub>3</sub> , d- D <sub>2</sub> , -d D <sub>1</sub>	d <sub>1</sub> d <sub>2</sub> d <sub>3</sub>	d <sub>1</sub> d <sub>2</sub> d <sub>3</sub>
ɖ	D	D	...	...
n	n	n	n	n
...	s <sub>2</sub>	ɸ	ɸ	...
t'	s <sub>1</sub>	s	t'	s
d'	z	z	d'	...
...	Z	Z, d-	Z	Z
n'	ñ	ñ	n'	...
l	l	l	l	l
...	L/N	N	ɭ	L
ɭ	r	r	r	r
...	S, X, ʷ	S, X, ʷ	S	S
j	y	y	i	y
k'	c	...	k'	...
k	k	k	k	k
ɕ	ɕ	ɕ	ɕ	ɕ
g'	j	j	g'	J
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
ɣ	R	R	ɣ	R
h	q	q, Q	q	q
...	h	h	H	h
...	?	?	...	?
i	i	i	i	i
ü	ü	ü	ü	ü
ə	e	ə	ə	e
a	a	a	a	a

1973, 1981; Harvey 1982; Wolff 1974a, 1982, 1988) have protested at this overloading, and have attempted to reconstruct a plausible PAN phoneme system.

A second reason for the continued use of the “algebraic” notation is that it has come to be used for both PAN and PMP, and its use for both proto-languages facilitates comparison. However, if the phonological system of PMP differed significantly from that of PAN (as seems to be the case), then the use of the same orthography for both proto-languages is somewhat misleading.

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### **Reconstructing Proto-Austronesian phonology**

Because of the importance of attributing phonetic values to the symbols used in reconstruction, this section is devoted to a presentation of these symbols and a discussion of their likely values. The views presented here differ in some respects from those of other scholars, and are certainly not the last word on the PAN phonology; on the contrary, they are presented in order to show that unresolved issues remain in this connection. A detailed account of academic debate about PAN phonology would require several chapters to itself. The issues under debate are discussed by Dahl (1973, 1976, 1981), Wolff (1974a, 1982, 1988), and in Blust’s (1976) review of Dahl (1973). Blust (1990b) includes a brief overview of the PAN phonological system and its putative phonetics. Ross (1991b) provides a more detailed account of some of the matters which receive comment here. There are a number of orthographic conventions used in the literature, and Table 2 provides equivalences between the orthographies of Dempwolff, Dyen (also used by Blust, Zorc and many other scholars), Tsuchida (1976), Dahl, and that adopted in the present discussion. Dyen’s system is the most widely used orthography, and provides the basis of the latter.

In attributing values to the symbols of the PAN orthography, it is assumed here that the languages of Taiwan represent several first-order subgroups of Austronesian and, as illustrated above, are of considerable importance for reconstructing PAN. Distinctions which Dempwolff reconstructed, but which do not occur in Formosan languages, are taken to be innovations which occurred in PMP (or later) and are not reconstructed for PAN. By the same token, distinctions not reconstructed by Dempwolff but warranted by the Formosan data *are* reconstructed here.<sup>15</sup> In Table 3, which summarises the data on which our interpretation of PAN phonology is based, these distinctions are marked by adding subscripts to Dyen’s orthography in the leftmost column.

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Table 3. Formosan evidence for the reconstruction of PAN phonemes<sup>16</sup>

PAN	Proto-Atayal	Saisiyat	Bunun	Thao	Saaroa	Proto-Rukai	Proto-Puyuma	Proto-Paiwan
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
b	b	β	b	ϕ	β	b	b [b β]	β
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
w	w	w, ?	v	w	∅	w	w	β
t	t	t̥	t	t̥	t	t	t	c
C	l/_ (V)N č-č-i	ʃ	t	θ	ϕ	ϕ	t̥	ϕ
Z	d	ɾ	d	ʒ	s, ϕ	d	d [d ð]	ɟ
d <sub>1</sub>	d	ɾ	d	ʒ	s, ϕ	ɖ	d [d ð]	ɟ
d <sub>2</sub>	d	ɾ	d	ʒ	s	ɖ	ɖ [ɖ, z]	z
d <sub>3</sub>	d	ɾ	d	t̥, ʃ	s	ɖ	ɖ [ɖ, z]	ɖ
L	ʈ	l̥	n	ð [ð, ʈ]	ʈ	l	l, n	l <sup>y</sup>
l	r [r, r̄]	l [l, l <sup>y</sup> ]	∅	r̄	r̄	l̥	ɾ	l̥
r̄	...	...	...	...	r̄	r̄	r̄	r̄
S	ʃ, h [h]	ʃ	s	ʃ, ∅	s, ∅	s	∅	s
s	h, x	h	č	t̥	s, ∅	θ	s	t
j	∅/_ ə; ɣ	z̥	∅	ð	∅/i; ʈ	∅/_ i; g	d [d, ð]	d
n	n	ɲ	n	n	n	n	n	n
y	y	y	ð	y	ʈ	-ð-y	y	y
k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
g	...	...	k	...	k	...	g [g, h]	g
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	n	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
q	k̥	?	k̥	k̥	?, ∅	∅	? [ʔ ∅]	k̥
h	h [h]	h	h-∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
?	∅	∅	?	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
R	r/_ i; g	l	l	l	r	r, ?	r [r̄]	∅
i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
u	u	œ/*q,s	u	u	u	o	u	u
a	a	u œ/*q,s	a	a	a	a	a	a
e	ə, u	a i/*q,s	i, u, a	i, u	ə	ə	ə	ə
		ə						

Table 4. Possible phonetic values of the reconstructed Proto-Austronesian phoneme system

	bi-labial	dental/alveolar	alveolar affricate	retro-flex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stop vl	p	t	C [tʃ]			k	q [k̠]	ʔ
stop vd	b	d <sub>1</sub> [d]	d <sub>2</sub> [dʒ]	d <sub>3</sub> [ɖ]	Z [j]	g		
nasal	m	n				ŋ		
fricative vl		s		S [s, ʃ]				h
fricative vd		j [z]						
lateral		L [l, ɭ]		l [l, ɾ]				
trills		r [r̥]					R	
semivowels	w	y						
	i		u	-iw				-uy
		e [ə]						
		a				-ay	-aw	

Over the last twenty years scholars working in Formosan languages have done a great deal of careful comparative work, reconstructing proto-languages ancestral to the various Formosan language groups, and these largely provide the basis of the material in Table 3. Before this work became available, major difficulties in using Formosan data had been that the latter often contained errors, data from different dialects of a language were mixed, and the phonologies of individual languages were poorly understood (this is true of some of the material in Dahl 1973). The collection of comparative data and the reconstruction of lower-order proto-languages has greatly enhanced our understanding of Formosan languages, and the data underlying Table 3 are accessible in published form. Where relevant, these data have also been cross-checked against the lists in the present work.

For comparison's sake, the orthographies of the various sources represented in Table 3 have been replaced by a standard representation of their phonetic values. Two unbracketed symbols separated by a comma represent an apparent phonemic split: e.g. PAN \*S split in Proto-Atayal into \*š and \*h. Two symbols in square brackets represent allophones of the phoneme preceding the brackets: e.g. Thao ɖ has the allophones [ɖ] and [ɭ]. The bilabials and velars of the PAN phonological system shown in Table 4 are uncontroversial, except for \*g. Wolff (1973, 1982) has suggested that \*g



and *\*r* not be reconstructed. However, in any language there are phonemes which are used much less often than others, and it seems that the PAN consonants with lower functional load were *\*g*, *\*r* and *\*j*. Certainly, Formosan data require their reconstruction, and one item, *\*garuʃ* ‘comb’, contains both *\*g* and *\*r*.<sup>17</sup>

The dental/alveolar, alveolar affricate, palatal and retroflex — collectively the coronal — proto-phonemes are most easily discussed together. There is good evidence for the reconstruction of a contrast between dental/alveolar and retroflex coronals, at least in the cases of the voiced stops and the liquids. Note, however, that the phonemes to which a retroflex value is attributed here are not those which have been conventionally reconstructed as retroflex. At the same time, we find no direct Formosan evidence for the reconstruction of the conventionally recognised palatal consonants. Apart from the probable palatal *\*Z*, the conventionally reconstructed retroflexes and palatals are reflected only in extra-Formosan languages, and are therefore more appropriately reconstructed — if at all — either within the phonological system of PMP or in a descendant thereof. We return to this matter below.

The voiceless dental/alveolars *\*t* and *\*C* were illustrated and discussed above. Dahl (1976: 55-60) proposes that the Formosan data require the reconstruction of three voiced dental/alveolars, namely *\*d<sub>1</sub>* [d], *\*d<sub>2</sub>* [dz] and *\*d<sub>3</sub>* [ɖ]. The data in Table 3 support these with consistent correspondences among Formosan languages. Whilst only Proto-Paiwan has this three-way distinction (reflected in some present-day Paiwan dialects; Ho 1978), the contrast between PAN *\*d<sub>1</sub>* on the one hand and PAN *\*d<sub>2</sub>* and *\*d<sub>3</sub>* on the other is also reflected in Proto-Puyuma. The Formosan reflexes of *\*Z* are identical to those of *\*d<sub>1</sub>*, except in Proto-Rukai, where *\*Z* is reflected as alveolar /d/ and *\*d<sub>1</sub>* merges with *\*d<sub>2</sub>* and *\*d<sub>3</sub>* as retroflex /ɖ/. However, as Tsuchida (1976) and Dahl (1981: 98) note, correspondence between Proto-Rukai /d/ and PMP *\*Z* requires the reconstruction of PAN *\*Z*, probably a palatal stop or affricate. These matters are examined in more detail in Ross (1991b).

The phonetic values attributed to PAN *\*d<sub>1</sub>*, *\*d<sub>2</sub>* and *\*d<sub>3</sub>* are based on two factors. Firstly, the distinction between dental/alveolar and retroflex coronals is clear across a substantial portion of Taiwan (see Table 3), accounting for *\*d<sub>1</sub>* and *\*d<sub>3</sub>*. Secondly, the evidence of Paiwan /z/ and the reconstruction of the voiceless affricate *\*C* [tʃ] suggests that what we reconstruct as PAN *\*d<sub>2</sub>* [dz] was indeed the voiced counterpart of *\*C*.

Note that the retroflex *\*d<sub>3</sub>* of PAN in Tables 3 and 4 is not identical with the retroflex *\*ɖ* reconstructed by Dempwolff (see Table 2). Dempwolff

reconstructed both a voiceless retroflex *\*t̚* (Dyen's *\*T*) and a voiced retroflex *\*d̚* (Dyen's *\*D*), neither of which is separately reflected in the Formosan data: they seem to be the result of later developments from PAN *\*t* and *\*C* (Dahl 1981: 22-25) and PAN *\*d<sub>1</sub>*, *\*d<sub>2</sub>* and *\*d<sub>3</sub>*. It is mildly surprising that a retroflex voiceless stop is not reconstructible in PAN, but the only case of such a segment in Table 3 is Proto-Puyuma *\*t̚*, reflecting PAN *\*C*, and the latter's reflexes in Saisiyat /s/, Thao /θ/, and Proto-Rukai/Proto-Puyuma *\*t̚* all imply that PAN *\*C* was dental.

The two contrasting liquid proto-phonemes shown in Tables 3 and 4 as PAN dental/alveolar *\*L* and retroflex *\*l̚* have been recognised since Dyen (1965a). The difference in point of articulation between these two liquids is clear from Table 3. It is also clear from the table that PAN *\*l̚* was a lateral, contrasting with PAN *\*r*, a trill at the same dental/alveolar point of articulation. The reflexes of *\*l̚* in Table 3 imply that it had both lateral [l] and non-lateral [r̥] allophones. It is unfortunate that the symbol *\*L* has come to be used for the dental/alveolar liquid and *\*l̚* for the retroflex: this is an artefact of the history of PAN reconstruction.

It is also appropriate to note at this point that the PAN dental/alveolar trill *\*r* contrasted with what was apparently a uvular trill *\*R*. PAN *\*R* has three kinds of reflex throughout much of the Austronesian world: liquid (some variety of *r* or *l*), deletion (as in Proto-Paiwan), or a velar (as in Proto-Atayal and many Philippine languages). It is a ready inference from this that *\*R* was a liquid with a weak (easily subject to deletion) dorsal articulation, a description best filled by the uvular trill.

PAN *\*s* and *\*j* (Dempwolff's *\*t'* and *\*g'*) have been widely assumed to be palatals, and to be members of a palatal set which also includes, in Dyen's orthography, *\*c*, *\*z*, and *\*ñ*. However, among the Formosan languages in Table 3, only Proto-Paiwan has phonemically distinct palatal consonants, and these do not reflect PAN palatal proto-phonemes. Hence there is no Formosan evidence for the reconstruction of PAN palatals other than *\*Z* (discussed above),<sup>18</sup> and it appears that the extra-Formosan evidence for these palatal proto-phonemes reflects changes which occurred in PMP and/or after its break-up. Of these putative palatals, *\*c*, *\*z*, and *\*ñ* did not occur syllable-finally, but *\*s* and *\*j* did (Blust 1990b). The segments *\*c*, *\*z*, and *\*ñ* are not distinctively reflected in Formosan languages, whilst Dyen's *\*s* and *\*j* are better interpreted as dentals [s] and [z]. The following paragraphs show why.

The Proto-Paiwan palatals *\*c*, *\*j*, and *\*l̚* (retained in the Butanglu, Tyuabar and Tyuvuali dialects of Paiwan; Ho 1978) and the dental/alveolars *\*t* and *\*d* represent an interesting reconstructive conundrum. The Proto-Paiwan

palatals correspond with dental/alveolar segments in other Formosan languages and reflect the PAN dental/alveolar proto-phonemes *\*t*, *\*d*, and *\*L*, whilst the Proto-Paiwan dental/alveolars reflect what have traditionally been reconstructed as *palatals* (*\*s* and *\*j*). Under this interpretation of PAN phonology, the PAN dental/alveolar and PAN palatal sets have changed places in Proto-Paiwan — a swap for which it is very difficult to find a plausible motivation. If, however, there were no PAN palatals other than *\*Z*, this problem disappears. Since the Proto-Paiwan palatals reflect the palatalisation (i.e. a backward shift in point of articulation) of PAN dental/alveolars, it is likely that the the Proto-Paiwan dental/aveolars result from a drag chain effect whereby the vacated dental/alveolar slots in the system were filled either by a second backward shift in point of articulation or by a change in manner of articulation, or both. This allows two hypotheses. Either *\*s* and *\*j* were articulated further forward than the dental/alveolars, i.e. they were fronted dental or interdental, and/or they were continuants. Apart from Proto-Paiwan, the weight of evidence indicates that their point of articulation was well forward *and* that they were continuants, either [ʃ] and [ʒ] or [θ] and [ð]. Since *\*s* becomes Atayal, Saisiyat /h/ and Saaroa zero (probably via [h]), and [s] to [h] is a common sound change, [ʃ] is the more natural value to attribute to *\*s*. Hence we posit the two-stage change below:

- |                                     |   |  |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. PAN <i>*t, *d, *L</i> [l]        | > | Proto-Paiwan <i>*c, *J, *l<sup>y</sup></i> |
| 2. PAN <i>*s</i> [ʃ], <i>*j</i> [ʒ] | > | Proto-Paiwan <i>*t, *d</i>                 |

The attribution of a dental value to PAN *\*j* follows from the Paiwan evidence referred to above, and is supported by its reflection as Thao /ð/ and Saisiyat dental /z/. The velar reflexes in Proto-Atayal and Proto-Rukai are less readily explained, until it is recognised that Proto-Atayal *\*γ* is but one of several possible interpretations of the Atayalic correspondence set, which includes word-medially [r], [s], [w] and [g] and word-finally [y], [s], [ʔ] and [g] (this proto-phoneme, which Li 1981 labels as *\*g'*, does not occur word-initially). It can be plausibly derived from a lateral fricative, which is perceptually quite similar to and derivable from an interdental fricative.

The proto-phoneme which Dyen (1965a) wrote as *\*S* subsumed several overlapping correspondence sets, which Dahl (1981: 26-39) has reduced to two, labelled by him *\*S<sub>1</sub>* and *\*S<sub>2</sub>*. Dahl regards these as two separate phonemes, but this is questionable, since they are reflected identically in Paiwan (as *s*) and in several other Formosan languages. The Formosan sound correspondences for *\*S<sub>1</sub>* show that it was phonetically something like [s] or [ʃ]. The Formosan reflexes of *\*S<sub>2</sub>* are either [s], [h] or zero.<sup>19</sup> Since changes

from [ʃ] to [s], from [s] to [h] and from [h] to zero are quite common among the world's languages, it is probable (as Zorc 1982 suggests) that the reflexes of \*S<sub>2</sub> represent a sound change from [s] to [h] in some but not all relevant vocabulary items,<sup>20</sup> i.e. that they reflect the same PAN proto-phoneme as \*S<sub>1</sub>. Hence they are here both treated as \*S.

If we are correct in attributing the phonetic value [ʃ] to PAN \*s, then \*S must be a sibilant with a different point of articulation. The modern reflexes suggest that it was a lamino-alveolar, [ʃ]. This is certainly possible, but since a distinction between dental/alveolar and retroflex consonants was clearly present in PAN, it is more economic to attribute to it the perceptually similar retroflex value [s].

One small area of controversy remains with regard to the sibilants. Dyen (1971) and Tsuchida (1976) recognise two phonemes \*s and \*θ where I have reconstructed PAN \*s. Tsuchida argues that the two are reflected separately in Maanyan and Malagasy, but Dahl refutes this (1981: 80-82). However, he agrees that the two phonemes must be reconstructed in PAN on the strength of their different reflexes in Kakanabu, Saaroa and Rukai, with [θ] as the probable articulation of \*θ (1981: 83). I have not accepted this argument, since the three languages all belong to the same putative Formosan subgroup, Rukai-Tsouic.

The hypothesis that PAN did not have a full set of phonemically palatal consonants also receives support from morpheme-structure evidence. Uhlenbeck (1949, 1950) showed that it is a general principle of Javanese morpheme structure that in a morpheme of the canonical shape C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>V[C], the segments C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> may have the same point of articulation only if they are identical (i.e. *p-b*, *p-m*, *b-m*, *b-p*, *m-p*, *m-b* do not normally occur, but *p-p*, *b-b*, *m-m* do occur). Thus we may say, using an expression from Mester (1988), that the bilabials *p*, *b*, *m* form an "exclusion set". The coronals and velars also form exclusion sets. Adelaar (1983, 1985: 122-125) shows that similar morpheme-structure constraints also applied to Proto-Malayic and probably also to PMP; Clynes (1990) has shown that such constraints occur in Paiwan, and he suggests that they may therefore be reconstructible for PAN. However, if the PMP (and post-PMP) palatals developed from the PAN coronals, we would expect these palatals to form an exclusion set with the coronals, rather than an exclusion set of their own. This hypothesis is confirmed by Mester's (1988: 94, 162-164) statistical analysis of morpheme structure, which shows that in Javanese the coronals and palatals form a single exclusion set.

The reconstruction of the three postvelar phonemes \*q, \*h and \*ʔ may appear odd at first sight. However, such a three-way contrast occurs in

languages scattered in various parts of the world, as the data in Maddieson (1984) show.<sup>21</sup> Zorc (1982) shows that the three proto-phonemes are reflected by distinct correspondence sets in Taiwan (where Amis and Bunun both reflect them as /q/, /h/ and /ʔ/), the Philippines and western Indonesia.

The PAN consonant system reconstructed in Table 4 may also appear somewhat eccentric in its overall structure to some readers. However, if a reconstructed phonological system pretends to some sort of realism, we should expect it to resemble the phonology of real languages. Although Dempwolff (1934: 13-23) set out to reconstruct a “symmetrical” system for PMP, and Wolff (1988) attempts something similar for PAN, the consonant systems of real languages are often eccentric in their structures, and the reconstructed PAN system resembles one of these.

The reconstruction of the PAN system of four vowels (\*i, \*u, \*e, \*a) and four word-final diphthongs (\*-iw, \*-uy, \*-ay, \*-aw) (Table 4) is uncontroversial. Some scholars have suggested that \*-ey and \*-ew should also be reconstructed (Dyen 1965b, Nothofer 1984), but they are indistinguishable from \*-ay and \*-aw in Formosan languages, and are therefore not reconstructed here.

Many languages of the Philippines show contrasts between long and short vowels, and Zorc (1978, 1983) has shown that for a number of languages in which the long/short contrast is limited to the vowel of the penultimate syllable this is best explained by the reconstruction of word stress (which, however, he writes as vowel length). Roots either have word stress on the penultimate syllable (reflected in relevant Philippine languages by a long vowel) or on the final syllable (no long vowel occurs in the root). Recent work suggests that Zorc’s system is reconstructible for PAN, since there are relics of it in a few Formosan languages (Ross 1991b).

The canonical shape of PAN roots has long been held to be CVCCVC, where each consonant is optional.<sup>22</sup> The majority of reconstructed roots are disyllabic, although trisyllables also occur. Monosyllabic roots (as opposed to grammatical morphemes) occur only in reduplicated form, giving disyllables. Dempwolff (1934: 28) divided roots with a medial -CC- sequence into two categories: those in which the sequence resulted from reduplicating a monosyllable, like \*-rg- in PAN \*gergér ‘tremble’, and those in which the sequence consisted of a nasal and a stop at the same point of articulation, like \*-nd- in PAN \*\*pandan ‘pandanus’ (the double asterisk indicates this is not considered a correct reconstruction). In a number of reconstructions of the latter type, Dempwolff and others since have written the nasal phoneme in brackets because it occurs in some reflexes but not others. Thus we find reconstructions like PAN \*\*ma(n)taq ‘green, unripe’ to account for Paiwan macaḱ, Yami mata, Isnag na-māta, Balinese matah, Proto-Oceanic (POC)

\**mataq* but Malagasy *manta*, Acehnese *muntah*, Javanese *məntah*; PAN \*\**Cu(m)buq* ‘grow, sprout’ to account for Saaroa *ɕuvuʔu* ‘bamboo shoot’, Paiwan *ɕuvuk*, Tagalog *tūbo*, but Malagasy *-tumbu*, Acehnese *tumbōh*, Indonesian *bər-tumbuh*, Balinese *tumbuh*, POC \**tubuq*; and PAN \*\**qe(n)tut* ‘break wind’ to account for Paiwan *ɕæcuc*, Yami *atot*, Tagalog *utot* but Balangingi Sama *untut*, Murut *antut*, Indonesian *kəntut*.

Apart from the fact that the theory which allows the insertion of an “optional nasal” is not well motivated, examination of Formosan and other data suggests that the canonical shape of PAN roots was in fact CVCVC, i.e. that the only syllable-final consonants occurred at the end of the root, and that medial consonant sequences in daughter-languages can be accounted for in three basic ways.

The first of these was mentioned above: when monosyllabic roots of the form CVC were reduplicated, they resulted in forms like \**gerger*. It is noteworthy, however, that in those Formosan languages which add an extra vowel after an original final consonant (for example, Mantauran Rukai *-kan-ə* and Kanakanavu *-kaən-ə* from PAN \**káʔen*), the extra vowel is added after *both* occurrences of the reduplicated monosyllable: Mantauran Rukai *-hər-ə* *hər-ə* and Kanakanavu *-kər-ə* *kər-ə* from PAN \**ger-ger* ‘tremble’. This suggests that in PAN these reduplications were treated phonologically as the repetition of a root, not as a lexical compound.

The second source of medial consonant sequences is PAN trisyllables of the form CVCVCV(C) with an unstressed penultimate syllable whose vowel is subsequently lost, giving CVCCV(C). Thus the source of forms like Ilokano *paŋdan* ‘pandanus’, Isn *paŋdān* ‘k. o. screw pine’, Tagalog *pandan* ‘pandanus’, POC \**padran* is not a putative PAN \*\**pandan* ‘pandanus’, but PAN \**paŋud,aL*, as indicated by Formosan reflexes: Budai Rukai *paŋoɖalə* ‘pineapple’, Paiwan *paŋuɖalʔ* ‘pineapple’. In this example the resulting CC- sequence consists of nasal + stop, but other sequences can also result from this process, which is plentifully exemplified by Blust (1982b).

The third source of medial consonant sequences, referred to in the literature as “nasal infixation”, is less easily explained. Cognate sets like that given with PAN \*\**Cu(m)buq* ‘grow, sprout’ require a different explanation from those above. The fact that the “infix nasal” (Dempwolff called it an “optional nasal”) never occurs in Formosan languages indicates that the PAN form should be reconstructed without it: \**Cúbuq*. It is noteworthy that items in which the infix nasal occurs mostly seem to have been PAN verbs, and that it does not occur consistently in Philippine cognate sets, i.e. its presence seems to be the result of borrowing, perhaps from Malay, since the nasal is

prone to occur in languages of western Indonesia. This is a matter which urgently needs research: since the nasal is reflected in some POC items, it was probably (as Dempwolff 1934: 109 notes) the result of a verbal infixation process in a proto-language of quite high order. But since the process does not seem to regularly affect Philippine languages, that proto-language was not PMP. If this is found to be an innovation which defines a large Austronesian subgroup, then it may contribute importantly to our understanding of Austronesian prehistory. Reid (1982) has used this innovation to define a subgroup, and we return to this below.

Considerable space has been devoted here to the reconstruction of PAN phonology, because this is the area of PAN reconstruction in which most work has been done and in which most reconstructive issues have been raised. A much smaller amount of work has been done on the reconstruction of PAN grammar.

### Reconstructing Proto-Austronesian grammar

There is an urgent need for more comparative-historical work on Austronesian morphosyntactic and verbal systems. Those of some of the languages of Taiwan, the Philippines and western Indonesia constitute quite unusual structural types among the world's languages. A plausible PAN reconstruction, outlined below, has some of the more unusual features of a number of these languages, and work is needed in order to support or refute this reconstruction. In any case, the PAN system has given rise to a plethora of different systems in modern Austronesian languages, and careful reconstruction of their histories would not only provide copious examples of how grammars change, but would probably also cast additional light on the subgrouping of Austronesian languages.

A number of Austronesian languages in Taiwan, the Philippines and parts of western and northern Indonesia retain what was probably the verbal system of PAN: this has come to be known as the system of "topic" and "focus", but because these terms have many conflicting uses among grammarians, they will be avoided here. Instead of "topic", we will use the term "pivot", following Foley – van Valin (1984). The following Squaliq Atayal examples, from Ferrell (1972), illustrate this system (for a Philippine example, see Tryon, this volume).

- a) *k<m>alup saku? bziok ryiax*  
 <AP>hunt PV:IS boar mountain  
 'I am hunting boar in the mountains.'

- b) *ḵlup-un makuʔ ryiax bziok*  
 hunt-UP GEN:1S mountain boar  
 ‘The boar is being hunted by me in the mountains.’
- c) *ḵlup-an makuʔ bziok ryiax*  
 hunt-LP GEN:1S boar mountain  
 ‘The mountains are having boar hunted in them by me.’
- d) *s-ḵalup makuʔ bziok lalau qani*  
 IBP-hunt GEN:1S boar knife this  
 ‘The knife is being used to hunt boar by me.’

The clumsiness of the English sentences below the examples reflects the attempt to capture by quasi-literal translation something of the sense of the Atayal. In this system, each sentence has a pivot (translated as the English subject): the pivot is always definite, i.e. the speaker refers to it in such a way as to indicate that the hearer knows its identity (this is a function of English *the*), and it normally refers to an entity that has been previously mentioned. English, however, has only two subject options — the active *I am hunting* (actor *I* is subject) and passive *The boar is being hunted* (undergoer *the boar* is subject). Atayal, on the other hand, has four pivot options — the actor, the undergoer, the location and the instrument or beneficiary. An affix on the verb indicates what relationship the pivot has to the verb: <*m*> actor pivot (AP), *-un* undergoer pivot (UP), *-an* location pivot (LP) and *s-* instrument or beneficiary pivot (IBP). The noun phrase which is in the pivot relationship to the verb is sentence-final, except when it is a pronoun, as in (a), in which case it occupies the normal pronoun position after the verb, but its form *sakuʔ* indicates that it is the pivot (PV; 1S = first person singular) rather than a non-pivot marked by the genitive (GEN) form *makuʔ*.<sup>23</sup> An important difference from English is that Atayal is a discourse-ergative language: the event line in a narrative is carried by transitive clauses in which the most usual pivot is undergoer, not actor as in English (see McCune 1979, Hopper 1979a, 1979b, 1983, 1988, Wouk 1986, Cooreman – Fox – Givón 1984).

The Atayal system outlined here is very similar to the probable PAN system, which had the four affixes: \*<*m*> ‘AP’, \**-en* ‘UP’, \**-an* ‘LP’ and \**Si-* ‘instrument pivot’ (IP) (Starosta – Pawley – Reid 1982).<sup>24</sup> The one respect in which the PAN system probably differed from Atayal was that it used not only different pronoun forms but also different noun phrase markers to indicate the relationship of the noun phrase to the verb, thereby allowing greater freedom of phrase order in the sentence. A Paiwan equivalent of (d) above illustrates these markers (Ferrell 1972):



*ku si-kaɫʷup a vuluŋ tua vavuy*  
 GEN:1S IP-hunt PV spear NPV pig

‘The spear is being used to hunt boar by me.’

Here Paiwan *a* ‘PV’ and *tua* ‘non-pivot (NPV)’ reflect the PAN noun phrase markers *\*a* ‘PV’ and *\*sua* ‘NPV’ respectively. The instrument pivot marker *si-*, a reflex of PAN *\*Si-*, indicates that the noun phrase marked by *a* is the pivot of the sentence and is semantically the instrument of the verb.

Starosta – Pawley – Reid (1982) suggest that these affixes were originally nominalisers, which had been or were being reinterpreted as pivot-marking affixes at the time that PAN was breaking up (or they were thus reinterpreted independently in a number of daughter-languages). Under this hypothesis, the phrase *klup-un makuʷ* meant ‘my hunted thing’, and the original meaning of the whole sentence was something like ‘The boar was my hunted thing of the mountains’. According to Pecoraro’s (1979) description of Sediq, a language closely related to Atayal, this ambiguity between nominalisation and verbal pivot marking still exists today. Certainly reflexes of the affixes *\*-en*, *\*-an*, and *\*Si-* often have meanings derived from their PAN sense, respectively ‘something being X-ed’, ‘place where one X-es’ and ‘thing one X-es with’. A further affix, PAN *\*<in>*, meant ‘something already X-ed’, and has assumed the function of a verbal perfective marker in many modern languages.

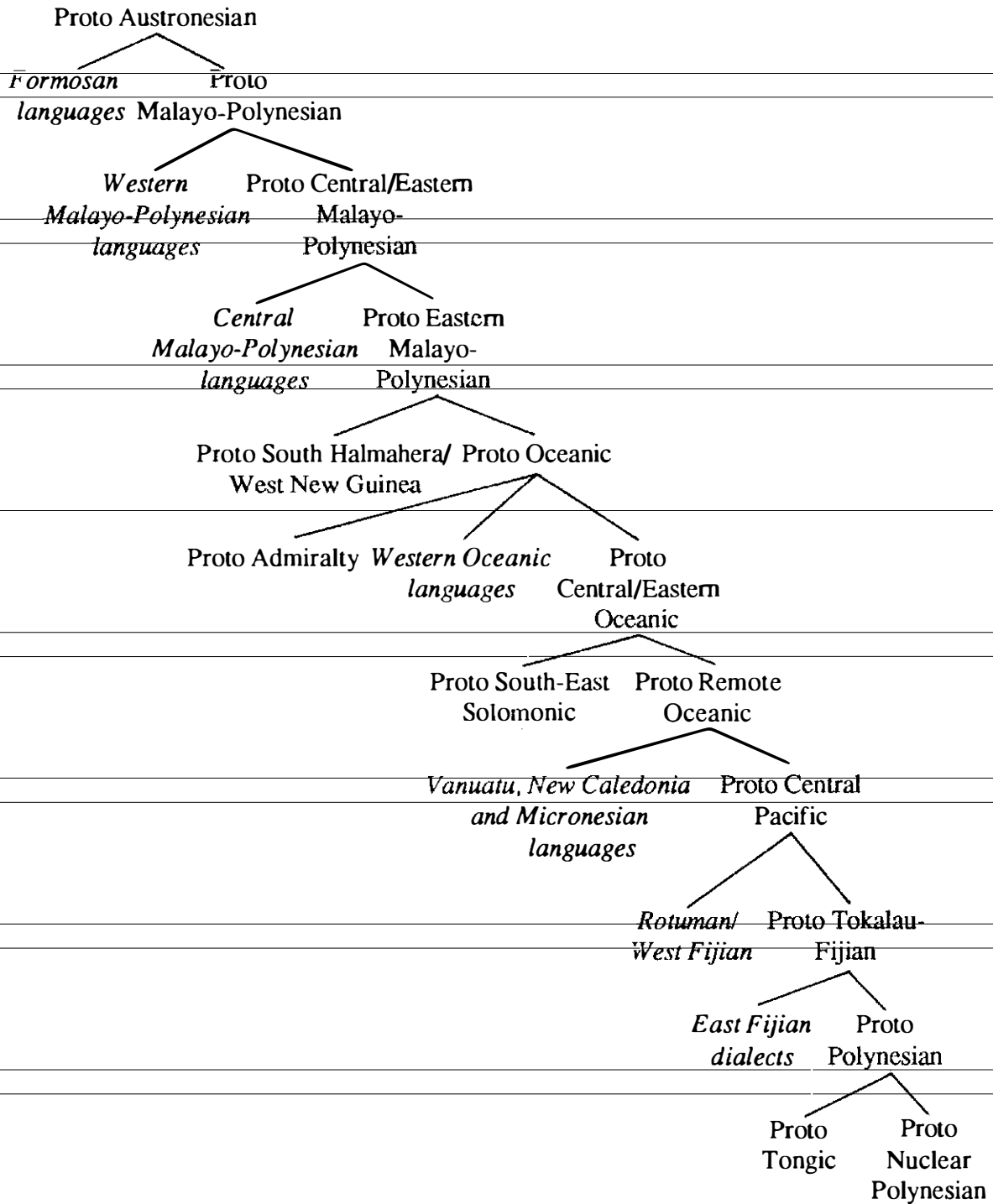
This set of affixes appears to be historically secondary, and to have been imposed on an earlier, primary system. One reason for thinking that it is secondary is that it consists of a mixture of a prefix, infixes and suffixes, an indicator that a system has been constructed from affixes which originally had other functions. The primary system, which in PAN seems to have been used only for imperative and irrealis verbs, consisted entirely of suffixes: *\*-a* ‘AP imperative/irrealis’, *\*-u* ‘UP imperative’, *\*-aw* ‘UP irrealis’, *\*-i* ‘LP imperative’, and *\*-ay* ‘LP irrealis’. The suffix *\*-aw*, for example, is reflected in Paiwan *ku kaɫʷup-aw* ‘I’ll probably hunt’ (Ferrell 1982). There has been relatively little discussion of *\*-a*, *\*-i*, and *\*-ay* in the literature and apparently no discussion of *\*-u* and *\*-aw*. Wolff (1973) refers to *\*-a*, *\*-i*, and *\*-ay*, and Starosta – Pawley – Reid (1982) refer to *\*-a* and *\*-i*.

## Issues in Austronesian subgrouping

Tryon (this volume) sketches some present views of Austronesian subgrouping. However, the tree diagrams in Figures 1 to 8 are not only subject to the methodological *caveats* discussed earlier: they encapsulate hypotheses which vary widely in quality when they are assessed by the criteria of the comparative method. The method of subgrouping languages on the basis of the innovations which they share relative to a proto language is obviously recursive in its application. Thus Figure 1 shows the primary subgroups of Austronesian languages which developed out of PAN. Figure 2 shows the major subgroups which developed from one daughter-language of PAN, namely PMP. It follows that just as the primary subgroups in Figure 1 need to be determined relative to PAN, so too the highest-order subgroups in Figure 2, namely Western Malayo-Polynesian and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, need to be determined relative to PMP — and so on down through the tree diagrams in Figures 2 to 8. The purpose of the current section is to give some assessment of the quality of the various hypotheses implicit in those diagrams.

A fairly consistent pattern can be discerned in Figures 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, which is summed up in Figure 10. At each node is the language of a settled population: the right-hand or right-most branch from each node represents the speech of a segment of that population which migrated from the settled area, so that a new language arose by divergence as a result of that separation. The one case in which a clean separation of the right-hand branch probably did not occur is Proto-Tokalau-Fijian, to which I return below. Together the right-hand nodes represent the main migratory path of Austronesian speakers from Taiwan to Polynesia. What is of note, however, is that most of the left-hand branches do *not* appear to represent a discrete proto language, since they represent the “stay-at-homes”. It seems — and we would expect this to be the case — that in most of the cases of separation represented by the nodes in Figure 10, the settled proto language had already diversified into a local linkage before separation occurred. In these cases, the dialects or languages of the stay-at-homes have no exclusively shared ancestor; instead they share only an ancestor at the node above with the language of the departed migrants.

The difficulty of subgrouping the languages of stay-at-homes was examined above with regard to the first Austronesian separation, namely that of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian from the Austronesian linkage on Taiwan. Whilst there is a fair measure of agreement about lower-order subgroups of the stay-at-home languages on Taiwan, there is much less agreement about their higher-order groupings. Scholars agree about the small *Atayalic*,



*Figure 10.* Schematic diagram of the diversification of Austronesian languages

*Tsouic*, *Rukaic* and *Paiwanic* groups. Detailed comparative work and reconstruction has been carried out for the Atayalic (Li 1980, 1981, 1985), Tsouic (Tsuchida 1976) and Rukaic (Li 1977) groups, and Tsuchida (1976: 10-12, 216-218) has also shown that the Rukaic and Tsouic probably group together as Rukai-Tsouic. There is general agreement that the Paiwanic group consists minimally of Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis and Bunun. Beyond this, however, there is little agreement about the subgrouping of Formosan languages, with Tsuchida (1976, repeated in Wurm – Hattori 1983, map 30) and Li (1985) providing quite different genetic trees. The determination of higher-order groups among the Formosan languages is hampered by the fact that many languages have become either extinct or heavily sinicised since the Chinese annexation in the late seventeenth century, with the result that investigators are dependent either on poorly recorded written materials or on data from dying languages. Another difficulty obstructing the subgrouping of Formosan languages is that, because these are stay-at-home languages, it is quite likely that the lower-order subgroups have developed out of a dialect linkage and are *ipso facto* incapable of being subgrouped. Although Tsuchida (1976: 13) points out that the Formosan languages all appear to share certain retentions not shared by Malayo-Polynesian languages, this is not evidence for a Formosan subgroup of Austronesian languages. Rather, the features in which all Malayo-Polynesian languages appear to share innovations are evidence for the unity of the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup.<sup>25</sup>

Circumstantially, it is almost certain that PAN had diversified into a linkage of dialects and/or languages before speakers of what was to become PMP left Taiwan. It is therefore relevant to ask from which part of the linkage this pre-PMP broke off. In the discussion of Table 1, it was noted that the Formosan languages Amis and Bunun share with PMP the merger of PAN \*C and \*t. If one or both of them were found also to share other innovations with PMP, then we would have a probable source for pre-PMP.<sup>26</sup> However, research in this direction remains to be done.

The unity of the *Malayo-Polynesian languages* is probably not open to serious question, and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian is readily reconstructible. Blust (1977) argued that Malayo-Polynesian languages share certain innovations in pronoun forms which are not found in Formosan languages. In particular, Malayo-Polynesian languages reflect the “second Austronesian politeness shift”, whereby the morpheme \*-*mu* ‘you (plural)’ came to be used as a polite alternative to \*-*Su* ‘you (singular)’ to mark the possessive. This was apparently followed by the unexplained addition of \*-*i-Su* ‘you (singular)’ to \*-*kamu* ‘you (plural)’ to form a compound alternant (\**kamu-i-Su*) to the latter. Another innovation which is reflected right across the

Malayo-Polynesian region is the use of the PMP verbal derivational prefix *\*paN-*, and *\*maN-* (< *\*p<m>aN-* where *\*<m>* is the actor pivot infix discussed above), to form verbs where the actor is the pivot from verbs where the undergoer is pivot and from other items. The *-N-* represents a nasal segment which often coalesces with the root-initial consonant to form a nasal. In Tagalog, for example, *maN-* combines with the root *sakit* 'be sick' to form the verb *manakit* 'injure', and with *tālo* 'defeated' to form *manālo* 'win (a prize)'. In standard Malay, *məN-* combines with *ikut* 'be followed' to form *mənikut* 'follow'. This innovation is mentioned by Dahl (1976: 127-128) and Reid (1982: 211). Its reflexes are ubiquitous in western Malayo-Polynesian languages. However, they are also preserved in fossilised form in Oceanic languages (Ross 1988: 39-43), indicating that the innovation must have occurred in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Another pair of infixes with a similar function is *\*maR-* and *\*paR-*, but they occur in this function over a narrower area.

Malayo-Polynesian languages also share in a number of phonological innovations relative to PAN. Ideally, it would be desirable to tabulate evidence concerning the phonetic values of PMP phonemes in much the same way as we did for PAN phonemes in Table 3. However, enough is not yet understood about Malayo-Polynesian subgrouping for this to be feasible, and so Table 5 shows the correspondences between the reconstructed PAN, PMP and POC systems, together with reflexes in four western Malayo-Polynesian languages. The POC system is included because it disambiguates local, western Malayo-Polynesian innovations from PMP.

The conventionally accepted PMP innovations are (Blust 1990b):

- a) PAN *\*C* and *\*t* merged as PMP *\*t*.
- b) PAN *\*L* and *\*n* merged (with some unexplained exceptions)<sup>27</sup> as PMP *\*n*.
- c) PAN *\*S* became a glottal spirant of some kind, but did not merge with *\*h*. However, the reconstruction of PAN phonology above rejected some conventionally accepted features on the grounds that they were reflected only in Malayo-Polynesian languages, and not in Formosan, and were therefore PMP (or lower-order) innovations. Hence the list of PMP innovations grows.
- d) PAN *\*d<sub>1</sub>*, *\*d<sub>2</sub>* and *\*d<sub>3</sub>* merged as PMP *\*d*.
- e) PMP acquired a palatal nasal *\*ñ*.

Table 5. Correspondences between the PAN, PMP, some western Malayo-Polynesian and the POC phoneme systems

PAN	PMP	Tagalog	Javanese	Toba Batak	Malay	POC
p	p	p	p	p	p	p, b
b	b	b	b,w-b,w-b	b-b-p	b-w-p	p, b
m	m	m	m	m	m	m
w	w	w	w	∅	h-w-	w
t } C }	t	t	t	t	t	t
s	s	s	s	s	s	s, j
Z	Z	d-l-	d-d-	d-d-	J-J-	s, j
d <sub>1</sub> } d <sub>2</sub> } d <sub>3</sub> }	d	d-r-d	d,r-d,r-d	d-d-t	d-d-t	r, dr
	(z)	d-r,l-	J-J,r-	J-g-	J-J-	r, dr
	(D)	d-l-d	d,r-d,r-d	d-d-r	d-d-r	r, dr
	(T)	t	t	t	t	t
r	r	l	r	r	r	r, dr
n } L }	n	n	n	n	n	n
l	l	l	l	l	l	l
...	(c)	s	c	s	c	s, j
S	h	h	∅	∅	∅	∅
j	j	-l-d	r	-g-k	-d-t	c, j
...	ñ	n	ñ	n	ñ	ñ
y	y	y	y	∅	y	y
k	k	k	k-k-?	h	k-k-?	k, g
g	g	g	g	g-g-k	g-g-?	k, g
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
q	q	?	h	∅	h	q
h } ? }	-?-H	h	∅	∅	∅	∅
R	R	g	∅	r	r	R
i	i	i	i, e	i	i, e, ə	i
u	u	u, o	u, o	u	u, o, ə	u
a	a	a	a	a	a, ə	a
e	e	i, a, u	e	ɔ	ə, a	o
-aw	-aw	-aw	-o	-o	-aw	-o
-ay	-ay	-ay	-e	-e	-ay	-e
-uy	-uy	-oy	-i	-i	-i	-i

The phoneme which Dempwolff symbolised as \**d*' and which Dyen writes as \**z* is not found in basic vocabulary and has no good Formosan cognates. Its reflexes are limited to western Indonesia, and it is assumed to be a local phenomenon, probably spread through borrowing.

The phoneme which Dempwolff symbolised as \**k*' and which Dyen writes as \**c* has an even more limited distribution. It is distinguished from \**s* only by Javanese, Malay, Acehnese and in loan words in Malagasy. Blust (1988a: 47) argues tentatively that the presence of \**c* in six monosyllabic roots (in the sense discussed in the previous section) supports its attribution to PAN, since this is unlikely to be due to borrowing; however, he admits that the argument is weak.

Dempwolff also reconstructed the two retroflex phonemes now written as \**T* and \**D*. These have clearly separate reflexes (retroflexes) only in Madurese, Javanese and Balinese, and apparent differences in reflexes in other languages are now usually attributed to borrowing from Sanskrit. Blust (1990b) omits them from his paradigms of PAN and PMP reflexes. PMP \**ñ* is indisputably reconstructible. It appears to be a PMP innovation, however, since there are no separate reflexes of it in Formosa. A survey of the PAN items containing \**ñ* listed by Tsuchida (1976) reveals that there are very few of them and that the Formosan correspondences are more consistently interpreted as reflexes of PAN \**n* or \**L* (which became PMP \**n*) followed by a high vowel.

It was mentioned above that some scholars have reconstructed the PAN diphthongs \**-ey* and \**-ew* but that these are not supported by the Formosan evidence. Since they are reflected differently from \**-ay* and \**-aw* only in a few languages of western Indonesia (Malay, Sundanese, Madurese and Javanese), they appear to represent a local development, and are therefore also not reconstructible in PMP.

The left-hand branch of Malayo-Polynesian in Figures 2 and 10 is *Western Malayo-Polynesian* (see Maps A and B). As the lack of stratification in Figure 3 implies, we know unsatisfyingly little about the subgrouping of Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, and, as Blust (1985) concedes, there is no evidence that languages assigned to "Western Malayo-Polynesian" form a single Austronesian subgroup (although terms like "Western Austronesian" and "Western Malayo-Polynesian" have often been used in the literature as if these languages did form a genetic unity).

Indeed, Reid (1982: 211-213) has suggested that the *South Mindanao* (his Bilic) subgroup, shown in Figure 3, seems to lack some of the innovations characteristic of Malayo-Polynesian languages and may be descended from "a very early migration south of Formosa by an Austronesian-speaking

people". If this were true, then the South Mindanao group would be coordinate with the Atayalic, Rukai-Tsouic and Paiwanic groups of Taiwan. However, the South Mindanao group does reflect the second Austronesian politeness shift, and Blust (1991) points out that some of its atypical features are retentions, not innovations, and are not grounds for exclusion from Malayo-Polynesian. Reid (personal communication) suggests that the idiosyncrasy of the South Mindanao languages in comparison with their neighbours is probably to be attributed to the influence (presumably through language shift) of now defunct Negrito languages spoken in the Philippines before the arrival of Austronesian speakers.<sup>28</sup>

Students of Philippine languages have traditionally spoken of a "Philippine" subgroup that includes all languages of the Philippine archipelago (except the Sama-Bajaw "sea gypsy" languages), the languages of the Batan Islands between the Philippines and Taiwan, and several groups of languages spoken in the northern arm of Sulawesi, namely Sangiric, Minahasan and Gorontalo-Mongondic. These are often taken to be descended from "Proto-Philippine" (Zorc 1986). However, this grouping has been assumed on typological grounds (as evidenced by the "Proto-Philippine" reconstructions in Wurm – Wilson 1975) rather than justified. Two attempts have been made to justify it on the basis of the comparative method, by Charles (1974), who also includes within the Philippine subgroup the North-East Borneo group, and by Zorc (1986). Reid (1982: 202-203) points out that the innovations which Charles lists as shared by the languages of his Philippine subgroup are based on features of PAN phonology which "do not stand close scrutiny" (and which are not included in the reconstruction of PAN phonology above). Instead, Reid proposes a major Malayo-Polynesian subgroup including all languages in which nasal infixation occurs (see above): he takes this to include perhaps all Malayo-Polynesian languages *except* those of the Northern and Southern Philippine and South Mindanao groups. Since this would leave the Meso-Philippine group and most or all other Malayo-Polynesian languages in the nasal infixation subgroup, but exclude the rest of the Philippines, there could clearly be no Philippines subgroup and no reconstructible "Proto-Philippines".<sup>29</sup> This argument is difficult to evaluate, however: as we observed earlier, the nasal infixation process seems to have its centre in western Indonesia and its nature and distribution are not yet known.

Reid's hypothesis is challenged by Zorc (1986), who argues for a discrete Philippine grouping on the basis of a large number of putative lexical innovations shared by languages in the Philippine archipelago. It is also difficult to assess Zorc's position, because of the need to demonstrate that his



lexical innovations are not in fact vocabulary items which have been retained from, say, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (but lost in extra-Philippine languages) and which have gained currency across the Philippine archipelago as a result of language contact. In this connection it is worth noting Reid's (1982: 212) comment, "As one moves south in the Philippines ... the degree of influence of one or more of the central Philippine languages becomes more and more pervasive, so that it becomes more and more difficult to separate the strata in the languages."

The possible fragmentation of the Philippine languages into genetically distinct Malayo-Polynesian subgroups extends the already lengthy list of groupings which fall under the cover term "Western Malayo-Polynesian". For ease of discussion I will divide the "Western Malayo-Polynesian languages" of Figure 10 into twenty-four groups rather different from those of Figure 3 (the latter are also used in the "Listing of Austronesian languages" in this volume). They are discussed below, together with a statement of the representative languages of each group for which word lists are given in this volume. It should be understood, however, that the grouping together of certain languages does not necessarily entail a commitment to their genetic unity, but is a device for highlighting the "current issues" with which this essay is concerned. The numbers and names in italics refer respectively to map numbers and to language groups in Wurm – Hattori (1981, 1983). The twenty-four groups are:

- 1) *Batanic (30, 32: Batanic or Ivatan group)*
- 2) *Northern Philippines (32: North Philippine group)*
- 3) *Meso-Philippines (32-33)*
- 4) *Southern Philippines (33-34)*
- 5) *South Mindanao (34)*
- 6) *Chamorro (Mariana Islands) and Palauan (Belau) (18)*
- 7) *Sangiric (Talaud and Sangir Islands and north-eastern Sulawesi) (34, 43)*
- 8) *Minahasan (north-eastern Sulawesi) (43)*
- 9) *Gorontalo-Mongondic (northern Sulawesi) (43)*
- 10) *Sama-Bajaw (Sulu Archipelago and other scattered locations in the Philippines, East Malaysia and Indonesia) (33, 34, 40, 43-45)*
- 11) *Malayo-Chamic (35-39, 41-42: Acehnese, Chamic, Malayan, Sundanese, Madurese)*
- 12) *Moken and Moklen (islands off the west coast of Thailand and Myanmar (formerly Burma)) (36)*
- 13) *North-West Borneo (41, 42: North-East Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Kayan-Kenyah groups)*

- 14) Land Dayak (inland south-west Borneo) (41)
- 15) East Barito (south-east Borneo and Madagascar) (42)
- 16) Barito-Mahakam (south-east Borneo) (42)
- 17) West Barito (southern Borneo) (42)
- 18) Lampung (south-east Sumatra) (38)
- 19) North-west Sumatra/Barrier Islands (38: *Gayo, Batak, Nias, Mentawai, Enggano*)
- 20) Java-Bali-Sasak (39-40)
- 21) Central Sulawesi (43-44)
- 22) South Sulawesi (43-44)
- 23) Muna-Buton (islands off south-east Sulawesi) (44)
- 24) Tamanic (central Borneo) (41: *Mbaloh*)

The first five groups were discussed above. Zorc (1978) combines the Batanic subgroup (which includes Yami) and the Northern Philippine subgroup (including Isneg and Limos Kalinga) shown by McFarland in Wurm – Hattori (1983). The *Meso-Philippines* group is equivalent to Zorc's (1978) Central and Meso-Philippine groups and includes Tagalog, Aklanon Bisayan, Palawan and Molbog. The *Southern Philippines* group includes Kawayan Manobo, the *South Mindanao* group Sarangani Blaan. The most thorough comparative work on a Philippines group is Zorc's (1977) study of the (Meso-Philippine) Bisayan dialects. More piecemeal comparative work has also been published for the Meso-Philippine East Mindanao subgroup (Gallman 1979, Pallesen 1985: 125-156, 289-297) and for subgroups within the Southern Philippine group (Elkins 1973-74, 1983-84, Allison 1979, Harmon 1979, Fleischmann 1981).

The languages of Groups 6-10 have generally been associated by scholars with languages of the Philippines (hence Gorontalo, group 9, is included with the Southern Philippines languages in Figure 3). However, this association is based on the shared retention of PMP morphosyntactic features rather than on shared innovation, and these are not grounds for subgrouping.

*Chamorro* and *Palauan* are combined in Group 6 because both belong geographically to Micronesia, and are situated to the east of the Philippines. However, they share no known innovations, and little can be said about their genealogy other than that they are clearly Malayo-Polynesian but do not belong to the Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian group (i.e. they are "Western Malayo-Polynesian"). Starosta and Pagotto (1991) have suggested on syntactic grounds that Chamorro's closest relatives could be either in Taiwan or the Philippines. However, both Chamorro and Palauan reflect the second politeness shift and verbal derivation with *\*maŋ-*: they are therefore Malayo-Polynesian, and their closest relatives cannot be on Taiwan. The

difficulty in assigning these two languages to a subgroup or subgroups of Malayo-Polynesian lies in our ignorance of many western Malayo-Polynesian languages: good descriptions of both Chamorro (Topping 1973, 1975) and Palauan (Josephs 1975, McManus 1977, Hagège 1986) are available.

The languages of Groups 7, 8 and 9 are all located in the region which includes northern Sulawesi and the islands to its north towards Mindanao. The proto-languages of the three groups have been reconstructed and their implications for subgrouping examined, for *Sangiric* by Sneddon (1982), for *Minahasan* by Sneddon (1978) and for *Gorontalo-Mongondic* by Usup (1986) and Sneddon – Usup (1986). Group 9 is represented here by Gorontalo. Sneddon (1989) concludes that no innovations can be identified which are shared by any of the groups with each other or with any of Groups 1-4.

*Sama Bajaw* (Group 10) is a collection of dialects spoken by “sea nomads” who live in a symbiotic relationship with various more powerful land-based groups scattered across the central and southern Philippines (and especially locations in the Sulu Archipelago, from which the Balangingi Sama word list is drawn), Sabah, Sulawesi and the Moluccas (Pallesen 1985, Verheijen 1986: 29-30). Proto-Sama-Bajaw has been reconstructed by Pallesen, who believes that it has its affiliations in Indonesia (1985: 245-246), but work to show where has yet to be done.

Group 11, the *Malayo-Chamic* group, covers substantial areas of western Indonesia and West Malaysia. It is represented by word lists from Aceh, Minangkabau, Indonesian, Sundanese, and Madurese (the geographic “Sundic” group of Figure 3 includes languages from Groups 19 and 20, as well as Group 11). The Malayo-Chamic group is proposed by Blust (1981a, 1985), but needs further work for its definition in terms of shared innovations. Within the group, two major subgroups can be distinguished, Malayic and Aceh-Chamic.

The internal subgrouping of *Malayic* is not yet fully understood, but it includes the subgroup which Wurm (in Wurm – Hattori 1983) has labelled “Malayan” (centred on the Malay Peninsula, east Sumatra, and southern Borneo), and possibly Sundanese (west Java) and Madurese (Madura Island, off east Java). However, the Malayic subgroup is not without controversy. Nothofer (1988) proposes on the basis of lexical innovations that Tamanic (his “Maloh”, our Group 24) also belongs to it, but that it excludes Madurese.<sup>30</sup>

Adelaar (1985) provides a well founded reconstruction of the proto-language of “Malayan”, somewhat confusingly named “Proto-Malayic”. He

argues that this proto-language was probably spoken somewhere in western Borneo, in the region where today's Malayic Dayak languages are spoken (Adelaar 1988, forthcoming). According to Blust (1988b), by about two thousand years ago "Malayan" speakers had also established themselves on both coasts of the Strait of Malacca (on the Malay Peninsula and in the south-eastern half of Sumatra), and from about a thousand years ago settled various enclaves in central and eastern Indonesia, giving rise to such varieties as Ambonese Malay, Bacan Malay and Menado Malay.

The integrity of the *Aceh-Chamic* group has been demonstrated by Cowan (1948, 1974, 1988) and Durie (1989). The Chamic languages are spoken in inland relic areas in southern Vietnam and Kampuchea (and one language on the Chinese island of Hainan), and are surrounded by languages of the Austro-Asiatic Mon-Khmer family which have apparently reduced what was once a much larger Austronesian speaking territory. Aceh of north-west Sumatra represents a colony established from this mainland region and, like the Chamic languages, has undergone changes resulting from contact with Mon-Khmer languages.

Group 12 consists of the dialects of the *Moken* and *Moklen* "sea gypsies" along the coast of the Andaman Sea. Reid (pers. comm.) suggests that this language is probably a member of the Aceh-Chamic group, as it also has Mon-Khmer phonology: it is basically monosyllabic, with a "pre-syllable", whereby full vowel contrasts occur only in the full syllable, not in the pre-syllable. Moken/Moklen has often been confused with Urak Lawoi', the language of the sea gypsies of the islands to their south (Hogan 1988: 1-2). The latter, however, is a "Malayan" dialect belonging to Group 11.

The geographic "Borneo" group in Figure 3 includes the area of Groups 13-17 and 24 in the present classification.

The unity of Group 13, *North-West Borneo*, all of whose members are situated on the island of Borneo, is argued on the basis of shared innovations by Blust (1974b, 1985, pers. comm.). However, Adelaar (pers. comm.) suggests that Rejang-Baram may belong with Group 14. Group 13 is represented here by Timugon Murut.

The genealogy of the *Land Dayak* languages of south-west Borneo (Group 14) remains unknown, but Adelaar (1991) gives evidence that, like the Aceh-Chamic languages and Moken/Moklen, these languages show signs of contact with Mon-Khmer languages: they may be the result of language shift by a group of the Mon-Khmer speakers related to those of the Malay Peninsula.

Groups 15, 16 and 17 were combined by Hudson (1967) into the *Barito* group. However, in his 1978 paper they are split into three without

explanation, and there are no known grounds for combining them. Dahl (1977) reviews the phonological evidence for Hudson's groupings and largely agrees with them, but offers no qualitative evidence for the larger Barito grouping. East Barito (Group 15) is well known for the fact that one of its members is Malagasy, the language (or group of languages) spoken on Madagascar, as Dahl (1951) has shown. Until recently, it has been accepted that Barito speakers arrived on Madagascar by the fourth or fifth century A.D., but recent work by Adelaar (1989) on Malay loan words in Malagasy indicates that the migration must have occurred between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries, with the seventh century A.D. as the most probable period. No detail is available with regard to the genetic affiliations of Groups 15-17, nor of Group 18.

Group 18 contains only *Lampung*, of extreme south-east Sumatra. Although it has been suggested in the past that it belongs to the Malayic group, current opinion regards it as not yet classified (Blust, pers. comm., Nothofer 1988). Comparative dialect material and a short grammar of one dialect have been published by Walker (1975, 1976).

Although the languages of *north-west Sumatra* and *the Barrier Islands* off Sumatra's south-west coast (Group 19) appear superficially quite diverse, there is comparative evidence that they form a single genetic group. Adelaar (1981) demonstrated the unity of the Batak languages and reconstructed Proto-Batak, and Nothofer (1986) has shown that the members of the group share a number of innovations in common. The best described language of the group is Toba Batak, for which a word list is provided here.

Group 20, the *Java-Bali-Sasak* group, was proposed by Esser (1938), but he provides no supporting evidence for it. The Bali-Sasak connection is well established, but its relationship to Javanese requires formal demonstration. It is possible that similarities between Balinese and Javanese owe more to intense contact before the sixteenth century A.D. islamicisation of Java than to shared inheritance. It has also often been assumed that Javanese is quite closely related to Malayo-Chamic, but again the similarities may well be largely due to contact. Hopefully, the inclusion here of word lists for Javanese, Balinese and Sasak will assist scholars working in this area. Linguistic study of Old Javanese and Old Balinese texts is also needed in order to reconstruct their linguistic history and the effects of contact, although it is probable that the texts are linguistically conservative in relation to the spoken languages contemporaneous with them.

Groups 21, 22 and 23 are all spoken on or near the island of Sulawesi, and are shown as a "Sulawesi" group in Figure 3. The *South Sulawesi* group is well established, as a result of Mills' (1975) work, but the integrity of the

*Central Sulawesi* and *Muna-Buton* groups is uncertain (C. Grimes, pers. comm., van den Berg 1991). The term “Muna-Buton group” is due to Esser (1938), who includes in it the *Wolio* language, for which a list is included in the present work. Relationships among the languages attributed to the three groups are unclear, although impressionistically those of the South and Central Sulawesi groups seem to be connected. The inclusion of two Central Sulawesi (Da’a, Uma) and two South Sulawesi (Bugis, Konjo) lists in the present work will improve this situation.

Interestingly, Adelaar (1991, forthcoming) has recently presented a set of innovations shared by the *Tamanic* languages of Central Borneo (Group 24) and the languages of South Sulawesi (Group 22), and proposes a genetic relationship between them.

Blust (1985 and pers. comm.) suggests that Malayo-Chamic, the three Barito groups, and Java-Bali-Sasak are all descended from a language which we may call Proto-South-East Borneo. This language separated into Proto-Barito, ancestral to the Barito groups, and a proto-language ancestral to Malayo-Chamic and Java-Bali-Sasak.

The broadest-brush approach to the subgrouping of “Western Malayo-Polynesian” languages is that taken by Nothofer (1991), who suggests that much of the western Malayo-Polynesian region was once occupied by speakers of languages belonging to a group which he dubs “Palaeo-Hesperonesian”. At a later date, much of this area was then occupied by speakers of “Hesperonesian” languages, who became culturally dominant, in western Indonesia and West Malaysia, displacing Palaeo-Hesperonesian languages, which today survive around the periphery of the Western Malayo-Polynesian region. If I interpret Nothofer correctly, the five Philippine groups (1-5), the six Sulawesi groups (7-9, 21-23), the north-west Sumatra/Barrier Islands group, and probably the North-West Borneo group would all be assigned by him to the Palaeo-Hesperonesian grouping, whilst Malayo-Chamic, the three Barito groups, and Java-Bali-Sasak (i.e. the higher-order grouping also proposed by Blust) form the Hesperonesian grouping.<sup>31</sup> Much of the evidence which Nothofer uses is lexical, and subject to the same difficulties as Zorc’s use of lexical evidence in the Philippines. Nonetheless, his proposal would do much to make sense of the chaos in western Malayo-Polynesian classification, and deserves careful investigation by the comparative method.

Reid (pers. comm.) points out that the Meso-Philippine languages and those which Nothofer groups as “Hesperonesian” exclusively share an innovation whereby the PAN ligature \*(n)a (Starosta – Pawley – Reid 1982) has become -ŋ, reflected for example in Tagalog aŋ ‘pivot common noun

phrase marker' (< \*a-ŋ noun phrase marker + ligature), Indonesian *yaŋ* 'relative clause marker', Aceh *ŋaŋ* 'relative clause marker', and the Old Javanese ligature *-ŋ*. This suggests, among other things, a possible modification to Nothofer's scenario, in that it would group the Meso-Philippine languages with his Hesperonesian. However, the split in this hypothesised group would have had to occur before PAN \*R became Proto-Meso-Philippine \*g.

The confusion which shrouds the subgrouping of western Malayo-Polynesian languages makes it difficult to reconstruct much of what happened immediately after speakers of an early Austronesian communalect migrated southward from Taiwan to the Batan Islands or to Luzon and their speech became Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Proto-Malayo-Polynesian speakers probably spread through the Philippines, where their speech gradually diversified into a number of languages. However, the languages of the Philippines today are less diverse than we would expect, and Blust (1985) suggests that at various times in the past five thousand years what he calls "linguistic levelling" has occurred, i.e. one prehistoric language has expanded at the expense of its neighbours and/or massive contact-induced change has occurred, reducing linguistic diversity. It is perhaps this situation which has given rise to controversy over Philippine subgrouping, as scholars have attempted to separate archaic features and shared innovations from borrowings and other contact-induced changes.

There are three general routes by which speakers of Malayo-Polynesian communalects could have entered the Indo-Malaysian archipelago from the Philippines, carrying with them their rice-growing culture: through north-east Borneo, through northern Sulawesi, and through Halmahera in the northern Moluccas.

The first of these routes was certainly used, and a Malayo-Polynesian language was spoken in north-west Borneo, perhaps by 2500 B.C. when rice was already growing in the neighbourhood of the Gua Sireh archaeological site in Sarawak (Bellwood pers. comm.). The North-West Borneo group may well consist of descendants of those first Austronesian settlers, who have remained more or less *in situ*, or it may be the result of a later incursion into Borneo. Some Malayo-Polynesian speakers probably interacted with Mon-Khmer speaking hunter-gatherers, to judge from the evidence of Land Dayak. More importantly, however, they established a strong presence in the west of Borneo, where the Barito and Malayic Dayak languages are now located, and on both Blust's and Nothofer's hypotheses this area was the centre from which the languages ancestral to the Malayo-Chamic and Java-

Bali-Sasak groups originated. However, this is a speculative reconstruction which requires a great deal of both linguistic and archaeological support.

The second route was evidently also used and Malayo-Polynesian communalects entered Indonesia through northern Sulawesi. It is unlikely that all the groups in Sulawesi are descended from a single Malayo-Polynesian migration. The three northern groups (7-9) in particular may be descended from more recent incursions.

Clearly these speculations would require some adjustment to fit Nothofer's Palaeo-Hesperonesian hypothesis and/or Reid's Meso-Philippine/South-East Borneo connection. All these proposals require detailed data collection and careful comparative work for their confirmation or refutation.

It is unclear whether the third route into Indonesia, through Halmahera, was used at an early date: speakers of a Malayo-Polynesian communalect apparently entered the Moluccas between 3000 and 2500 B.C., and their speech became Proto-Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (PCEMP). But whether they came from the Philippines directly to Halmahera or, as seems geographically more likely, through Sulawesi is not yet known. The speakers of PCEMP dispersed quite rapidly, one group settling probably on Halmahera, where their language evolved into Proto-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian (PEMP), and another group occupying a location further south, where their language became Proto-Central-Malayo-Polynesian (PCMP). From here, sometime before 2000 B.C., Central Malayo-Polynesian speakers spread across the south Moluccas and the eastern part of Nusa Tenggara (the lesser Sunda Islands; see Map B).

Of all the right-hand branches in Figure 10, the Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP) is the least well supported by the comparative method. The grouping was proposed by Blust (1974a) and evidence put forward in its support by Blust (1982a, 1984, 1990a).

In relation to the reconstruction of PMP phonology outlined above, PCEMP underwent no innovations in its phoneme system. However, all CEMP languages reflect a reduction of heterorganic consonant clusters arising through reduplication, except where this resulted in a nasal + stop sequence. For example, PMP *\*bukbúk* 'wood weevil' became PCEMP *\*bubuk*, but PMP *\*demdém* 'dark' became PCEMP *\*dendem*. There are also a number of irregular phonological changes which occurred in single words, although as Blust (1990a) admits, some of these may be the result of independent parallel innovation (e.g. many languages reflect *\*sei* 'who?' rather than *\*sai*). The irregular change from PMP *\*maRi* 'come' to PCEMP *\*mai*, on the other hand, is significant.



Blust (1990a) also provides a number of PCEMP lexical and semantic innovations. The most telling of these were published in Blust (1982a), where he argues that as Malayo-Polynesian speakers crossed the Wallace Line, which divides the region occupied by placental mammals from the region inhabited by marsupial mammals, they required names for the new animals they encountered. Since languages in both the Central Malayo-Polynesian and Eastern Malayo-Polynesian groups (including some in the Oceanic subgroup) reflect the etyma *\*kandoRa* ‘cuscus’ and *\*mansar* ‘bandicoot’, he argues that there must have been a PCEMP language in which these innovations occurred.

In Figures 2 and 10 the left-hand branch of CEMP is Central Malayo-Polynesian. As with the previous left-hand branch, Western Malayo-Polynesian, there is also little evidence that the Central Malayo-Polynesian languages form a closed subgroup. It is probable that PCEMP had diversified into a local linkage before PEMP separated from it, leaving the “stay-at-home” Central Malayo-Polynesian languages with no exclusively shared ancestor. Blust (1990a) describes a number of phonological and lexical innovations which seem to have originated in different parts of the early Central Malayo-Polynesian linkage and to have spread through part, but not all, of the linkage. The result is patchily distributed innovations and differences in rule ordering among languages. Thus many Central Malayo-Polynesian languages show what Blust calls “glide truncation”: the final glide of inherited *\*-ay*, *\*-aw*, or *\*-uy* is deleted, leaving *-a* or *-u* (for example, PMP *\*matáy* ‘die’ > Buru *mata*, PMP *\*pánaw* ‘walk’ > Buru *pana*, PMP *\*bábuy* ‘pig’ > Buru *fafu*).<sup>32</sup> But this innovation does not occur in all Central Malayo-Polynesian languages, nor in all eligible items in languages where it does occur. One possible innovation that Central Malayo-Polynesian languages have in common is their sharing of the pronominal subject proclitic forms *\*ku-* ‘1S’, *\*mu-* ‘2S’, *\*na-* ‘3S’, *\*ma-* ‘1EP’, *\*ta-* ‘1IP’, *\*mi-* ‘2P’, and *\*da-* ‘3P’ (Blust 1990a). However, the fact that sets of very similar proclitic forms occur in western Malayo-Polynesian and South Halmahera languages casts doubt on this as an innovation.

Recognised groupings of Central Malayo-Polynesian languages are listed here under the same conventions as were used above for Western Malayo-Polynesian (the first five are as shown in Figure 3).

- 1) Bima-Sumba (eastern part of Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores) (40)
- 2) Timor (40: *Timor and Waima’a groups*)
- 3) South-East Maluku (Tanimbar and Kai island groups) (4, 40)
- 4) Aru (4)
- 5) Central Maluku (Seram, Buru, and their offshore islands) (45)

- 6) North Bomberai (south coast of MacCluer Gulf, Irian Jaya) (2)  
 7) Koiwai (south coast of Bird's Neck, Irian Jaya) (2: *Kaiwai*)

These groups form the basis of Figure 4. I am indebted to Charles Grimes, who provided most of this classification and is the source of much of the commentary below.

Group 1, the *Bima-Sumba group* is represented in this work by word lists from Manggarai and Ngada. The Bima language on Sumbawa Island is at the interface between the Bima-Sumba group and the Western Malayo-Polynesian Sumbawa language (closely related to Sasak and Balinese). Although the Bima-Sumba group has long been recognised (by Esser 1938, who followed Jonker's work thirty years earlier), no work appears to have been done to establish its validity in terms of shared innovations.

The *Timor group* (Group 2) is represented in this work by Sikka and Roti. It matches Fox and Wurm's "Timor Area group" in Wurm – Hattori (1983) with the addition of the Waima'a languages, which appear superficially rather different from other Timor languages because of contact-induced change associated with their locations, surrounded by Papuan languages. Again, there is no published work presenting shared innovations of this group.

The *South-East Maluku group* (Group 3) is as recognised by Wurm – Hattori (1983) and by Collins (1982) but with the exclusion of the languages of the *Aru Islands*, treated here as Group 4 and represented in this work by a Dobel word list. Collins places the languages together because of their shared merger of PMP \**R*, \**r*, and \**j*, but recognises that the Aru languages are otherwise quite different from those of Tanimbar and Kai. However, this innovation occurs elsewhere in the region and is therefore not exclusively shared by these languages.

The *Central Maluku group* (Group 5) has long been recognised, as Collins (1983) shows in his survey of Central Maluku studies. Collins (1981) shows that, in terms of the reconstruction of PMP adopted here, Proto-Central Maluku merged PMP \**mb* and \**mp* as Proto-Central Maluku \**mb*, and PMP \**nd* and \**nt* as Proto-Central Maluku \**nd*. PMP \**j* became Proto-Central Maluku \**-t* word-finally. He also (1983) identifies some morphological innovations. However, in both works he remarks that this is not a large collection of innovations, and that further research is needed to determine whether these innovations are exclusively shared by the members of Group 5 or whether they define some higher-order group. In the latter case, they would cease to be grounds for recognising the Central Maluku group, although most or all of the groups which Collins has defined *within* Central Maluku would continue to stand. Collins (1982) is hesitant to group the

Teor-Kur languages (to north-west of Kai Islands) with Group 5 because they fail to undergo some of the innovations of their neighbours. However, they reflect the innovations which define Central Maluku. It is possible that Groups 3 and 5 will eventually prove to be descended from an ancestral chain.

Groups 6 and 7 are assigned by Wurm – Hattori (1981, 1983) and in Figure 5 to the South Halmahera/West New Guinea group of Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages. However, Blust (1990a) shows that they reflect Central, rather than Eastern, Malayo-Polynesian innovations. Group 6, which he labels “*North Bomberai*” includes the Sekar, Onin, and Uruangnirin languages, and possibly Arguni, as well perhaps as other nearby Austronesian languages for which no data are available. Blust also argues for a subgrouping relationship between the North Bomberai group and Yamdena, here assigned to the South-East Maluku group, and suggests that Groups 3, 4, and 6 (and perhaps other languages too) will eventually prove to form a higher-order grouping.

Group 7 consists of a single language, *Koiwai*, spoken by an Islamicised group in the south coast of Irian Jaya.

The comparative method has as yet been little applied to questions of subgrouping within the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch. This is an area in which there is enormous scope for research.

The right-hand branch of the PCEMP node in Figure 10 is occupied by PEMP. It is again one of Blust’s papers (1978) which is the source of this subgrouping hypothesis. Evidence for the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian grouping consists essentially of putative lexical innovations (Blust gives 56), but some of these may be exclusively shared inherited features. There are no convincing phonological innovations shared in common by the two member groups, South Halmahera/West New Guinea (SHWNG) and Oceanic (see Maps A and B).

PEMP in its turn gave rise to two languages, Proto-SHWNG and Proto-Oceanic (POC).

Proto-SHWNG is one of the few cases in Figure 10 where we find at the left-hand branch a single proto-language, as opposed to a group of “stay-at-homes” who have no exclusively shared ancestor. Because the unity of Proto-SHWNG is remarkable, it is worth summarising its phonological innovations here, relative to the PMP phonology reconstructed above. They are:<sup>33</sup>

- a) PMP \**p* became Proto-SHWNG \**f*
- b) PMP penultimate \**e* became Proto-SHWNG \**o*

- c) PMP initial *\*a-* became Proto-SHWNG *\*ya-*
- d) PMP *\*t* became Proto-SHWNG *\*s* before *\*j*
- e) PMP *\*-j-* merged with *\*s* as Proto-SHWNG *\*-s-*
- f) PMP *\*k, \*q, \*h, \*H* and *\*ʔ* were lost
- g) PMP *\*d, \*Z, \*l* and *\*r* merged as Proto-SHWNG *\*l*
- h) PMP *\*n* and *\*ñ* merged as Proto-SHWNG *\*n*
- i) PMP final syllable *\*e* merged with final syllable *\*a* as Proto-SHWNG *\*ə*

Although some of these innovations (a, c, d, f, h) occur with sufficient frequency in Austronesian languages for us to infer that they could have occurred independently after the break-up of Proto-SHWNG, others (b, g, i) are quite striking and their occurrence in combination proves the integrity of Proto-SHWNG as a language. Blust (1978) also demonstrates the integrity of each of the two SHWNG subgroups, and my unpublished research bears this out: Proto-SHWNG split into Proto-South-Halmahera and Proto-West-New-Guinea. The South Halmahera group is represented in this work by Sawai and Irarutu.

The fact that PEMP split into two discrete proto-languages and did not give rise to a collection of “stay-at-homes” casts some light on why it is defined by no exclusively shared innovations outside the lexicon. It indicates that PEMP did not diversify into a linkage of dialects before it split, but either spent a relatively short period as a discrete language or spent its time as a discrete language in a small and remote location where the possibility of dialect differentiation was very limited. Positing the smallest number of migratory moves, this location was either Halmahera or the Cenderawasih Bay area, to the east of the Bird’s Head of Irian Jaya — more probably the former, on the principle that the location of the more conservative members of a language group is likely to be its homeland (Ross 1991c). Either Halmahera or the Cenderawasih Bay qualifies as an isolated location. It was probably from here sometime around 2000 B.C. that speakers of the immediate ancestor of POC made their way via the offshore islands of the north coast of Irian Jaya and mainland Papua New Guinea to a new homeland in the Bismarck Archipelago. The people they left behind them spoke a virtually undifferentiated form of PEMP, which underwent a series of phonological innovations to become Proto-SHWNG before some of its speakers moved from Halmahera to the coast and islands of Cenderawasih Bay or vice versa.

In his attempt to delineate the Irian Jaya boundary between Central and Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages, Blust (1990a) has questioned whether Irarutu, one of the languages for which a word list appears in this work and

which has previously been attributed to the SHWNG group, belongs to SHWNG or to Central Malayo-Polynesian. Since the latter is ill-defined, realistically we can only ask: is Irarutu a SHWNG language? The answer appears to be that it is. Because Irarutu has undergone extensive lexical replacement, probably through contact with a neighbouring Papuan language or languages, it is often difficult to find relevant examples. However, there is evidence of the SHWNG innovations (a), (b), (f) and (g) as follows:

- a) PMP \**penúq* ‘full’ > Irarutu *nə-φonə*  
PMP \**páqa* ‘thigh’ > Irarutu *fa* ‘leg’
- b) PMP \**telú* ‘three’ > Irarutu *torə*  
PMP \**deŋéR* ‘hear’ > Irarutu *nafa-roŋ-kərə* (and \**penuq* above)
- f) PMP \**káyuh* ‘tree’ > Irarutu *ε*  
PMP \**kútuh* ‘louse’ > Irarutu *utə*  
PMP \**panákaw* ‘steal’ > Irarutu *mbana*  
PMP \**iakú* ‘I’ > Irarutu *ǰa*  
PMP \**qatéluR* ‘egg’ > Irarutu *təru* (and \**páqa* above)
- g) PMP \**dáhun* ‘leaf’ > Irarutu *rə*  
PMP \**sidá* ‘they’ > Irarutu *irə* (and \**deŋeR* above)  
PMP \**Zálan* ‘path’ > Irarutu *randəni*  
PMP \**lágit* ‘sky’ > Irarutu *ragətə*  
PEMP \**bitəl* ‘hungry’ > Irarutu *mbitərə* (and \**qatéluR* above)

Although these groupings are well established on the basis of the available data, there remain languages in Halmahera for which the only published information is that contained in the Holle lists (Stokhof (ed.) with Saleh-Bronckhorst 1980), lists collected by Dutch amateurs (mainly colonial officials), and languages around the Bird’s Head and Cenderawasih Bay area of Irian Jaya for which we have no data at all.

Although the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages covers a larger area than any of the other major groups, its integrity is quite clear and its internal subgrouping reasonably well understood. Table 6 sets out the correspondences between the reconstructed PMP and POC phoneme systems. The POC symbols have their expected values, except that voiced stops were prenasalised. The development of the POC consonant system is analysed in some detail in Ross (1988, chapter 3). The table also shows the equivalences between the POC orthography used here (from Ross 1988) and that used by Grace (1969) and other scholars.<sup>34</sup>

*Table 6.* Correspondences between the reconstructed phoneme systems of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Proto-Oceanic

PMP		p, b	t	d, r	s, Z	j	k, g			
POC	oral	p	p <sup>w</sup>	t	r	s	c	k		
	nasal	b	b <sup>w</sup>	d	dr	j	j	g		
Grace	oral	p	...	t	d	s	j	k		
	nasal	mp	ŋp	nt	nd	nj	nj	ŋk		
PMP		m	n	n̄	ŋ	w	y	l	q	h, H, ? R
POC	m	m <sup>w</sup>	n	n̄	ŋ	w	y	l	q	∅ R
Grace	m	ŋm	n	n̄	ŋ	w	y	l	q	∅ R
PMP	i, -uy	e, -aw	-ay	a	u					
POC	i	o	e	a	u					

The innovations which occurred in POC were a set of mergers and splits. The PMP consonant pairs *\*p*/*\*b*, *\*d*/*\*r*, *\*s*/*\*Z* and *\*k*/*\*g* each merged in POC. However, where a PMP obstruent was preceded by a nasal in the language immediately ancestral to POC, a unitary prenasalised voiced consonant resulted. Thus, for example, PMP *\*k* and *\*g* merged as POC *\*k* [k], but earlier *\*ŋk* and *\*ŋg* merged as POC *\*g* [<sup>0</sup>g]; POC *\*k* is known as an oral grade obstruent, whilst *\*g* is its nasal grade equivalent. I write “earlier” rather than “PMP” because PMP probably had no word-initial nasal + stop sequences, whereas the immediate ancestor of POC certainly did. For example, PMP *\*kúden* ‘cooking pot’ became POC *\*kuron*, but PMP *\*kabut* ‘mist’ became POC *\*gabu(t)*, evidently via a Pre-POC form *\*ŋkabu(t)*. In the case of the PMP bilabials an additional complication intervened, as they split into plain and labialised bilabials. PMP *\*e* became POC *\*o*, and the PMP word-final diphthongs merged with plain vowels.

It is very probable that there were morphosyntactic innovations in POC. However, although we can claim to understand POC morphosyntax in some measure (Pawley 1973, Pawley – Reid 1980, Lichtenberk 1985a, 1985b,

Crowley 1985, Ross 1988, chapter 4), we do not know enough about PEMP grammar to reconstruct the innovations of POC with reasonable certainty. There were also numerous lexical innovations in POC, but no list of these has ever been compiled. For example, PMP \**limaw* 'citrus fruit' was replaced by POC \**molis*.

It seems unlikely (but not impossible) that the immediate ancestors of POC speakers should have migrated from Halmahera or the Bird's Head directly to somewhere in the Bismarck Archipelago, and there is no need to posit a single direct migration. There is linguistic evidence that Pre-POC speakers were in contact with Papuan speakers on the coast and offshore islands of the Madang area of Papua New Guinea's north coast, perhaps *en route* to the Bismarcks (Ross 1988: 21), and the contiguity of several Oceanic subgroups in the Bismarck Archipelago makes it the most likely location for POC. I have argued elsewhere that the north of New Britain, around the Willaumez Peninsula, is linguistically a probable POC homeland (Ross 1989a). It is generally accepted by scholars that there is an association between the spread of Oceanic languages and the dispersal of Lapita pottery and associated artefacts from western Melanesia into the central Pacific (Shutler – Marck 1975, Spriggs 1984, Pawley – Green 1984), and this gives a clue as to why Pre-POC speakers might have settled at a New Britain location. One of the more important materials in Lapita culture was obsidian (volcanic glass), used to make cutting tools, and the Willaumez Peninsula with its string of volcanoes provides one of the most important sources of obsidian in the Indo-Pacific region: it was traded widely by Lapita potters — our putative Oceanic speakers — into the Pacific, and has also been found as far west as Borneo (Bellwood 1989). The association between POC and the Lapita bearers also helps us to date POC: Lapita pottery appeared in the Bismarck Archipelago sometime between 1900 and 1500 B.C. (Spriggs 1990).

POC speakers must have remained together long enough for the innovations listed above to have occurred in their speech. However, this need not have been more than a century or two. Linguistic and archaeological evidence indicates that from about 1250 B.C. Oceanic speakers spread rapidly across most of island Melanesia and into western Polynesia and Micronesia (Spriggs 1990). POC is shown in Figure 10 as dividing into three branches: Proto-Admiralty, Western Oceanic languages, and Proto-Central/Eastern-Oceanic. However, this division is a controversial simplification, to which we return below.

Again it is useful to put together a listing of groups as a basis for discussion:

- 1) Admiralty Islands (14)
- 2) St Matthias Islands (14)
- 3) Western Oceanic (Papua New Guinea and the western Solomon Islands) (6-10, 13-15)
- 4) Sarmi/Jayapura Bay (Irian Jaya) (3: *Yotafa-Sarmi group*)
- 5) Southeast Solomonian (15: *Gela-Guadalcanal and Malaita-San Cristobal groups*)
- 6) Utupua and Vanikoro (Te Motu Province, Solomon Islands) (15)
- 7) North/Central Vanuatu (16: *North and Central New Hebrides, East Santo, and Malekula Interior groups*)
- 8) South Vanuatu (16: *Erromanga, Tanna and Aneityum groups*)
- 9) Southern Oceanic (New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands) (17)
- 10) Nuclear Micronesian (18)
- 11) Central Pacific (Rotuma, Fiji, Polynesia, New Zealand) (19)
- 12) Yapese (18)

Groups 1 and 2, the *Admiralties family* and the *St Matthias group*, are each clearly defined by a set of innovations, and Proto-Admiralty has been reconstructed (Blust 1978, Ross 1988: chapter 9). The St Matthias group may yet prove to be specifically associated with the Admiralties family; it is not closely relative to its southern neighbours on New Ireland. The Admiralties family is represented here by a word list from Nyindrou.

The *Western Oceanic* grouping, Group 3, was proposed by Ross (1988: 386-389). Because so little lexical material has been published for these 220 or so languages, they are represented here by fifteen word lists. With a few exceptions, POC *\*r* and *\*R* have merged in these languages, and they share reflexes of the innovative disjunctive pronoun *\*idri[a]* 'they' (instead of POC *\*(k)ira*). Western Oceanic languages also sporadically reflect other features which imply that the languages of the region are descended from a dialect linkage with a history separate from that of other Oceanic groups. Its internal structure is discussed below.

Two groups of Oceanic languages have been recognised in Irian Jaya (Group 4), the Jayapura Bay and Sarmi Coast groups. The latter was the subject of a preliminary investigation by Grace (1971) and I have analysed the skimpy material for the other, the Jayapura Bay group.<sup>35</sup> It is sufficient to indicate that the two form a single higher-order *Sarmi/Jayapura Bay group*. Grounds for this grouping are (a) that POC *\*r*, *\*R* and *\*l* are merged in all member languages, and (b) that all member languages have a voiceless reflex of POC *\*b*.



Group 5, the *Southeast Solomonian* family is well defined by innovations and has been the subject of several pieces of reconstruction (Pawley 1972, Levy 1979, 1980, Tryon – Hackman 1983, Lichtenberk 1988). Its apparent conservatism makes it valuable for Oceanic comparative studies, and two word lists from the family are given in this work: Lau and Kwaio.

The languages of the tiny islands of *Utupua* and *Vanikoro* (Group 6) have been documented by Tryon – Hackman (1983), but have yet to be linked directly to any other group. Their speakers share their island group with speakers of the easternmost Papuan languages.

The languages of Group 7, *North/Central Vanuatu*, show innovations none of which is shared by all members of the group. Documented by Pawley (1972), Tryon (1976) and Clark (1985), the last-named describes the group as the outcome of a dialect linkage which has gradually differentiated out into local languages. He places an important boundary between North and Central Vanuatu, “with the boundary running between Santo and Malekula and between Raga and the remainder of Pentecost” (1985: 221). North/Central Vanuatu languages for which word lists appear in this work are Raga, Paama, Lewo and Port Sandwich.

The languages of the *South Vanuatu* group (Group 8) are spoken on the islands of Erromanga, Tanna and Aneityum, and extensive reconstruction of Proto-South Vanuatu and of interstage proto-languages has been done by Lynch (1978, 1983, 1986, 1990). They are represented here by North Tanna and Kwamera word lists. Clark (1985: 219-220) has also presented innovations shared by some languages in Groups 7 and 8, suggesting their descent from an ancestral linkage.

Group 9, the *Southern Oceanic* group includes all the languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands: its shared innovations were noted by Geraghty (1989). Representative word lists in this volume are provided for Nemi, Cèmuhi, A’jië, and Xârâcùù, on New Caledonia, and for the Loyalty Islands language Nengone. Geraghty also suggests that Groups 8 and 9 form a larger group, and implies that 9-10 may form a yet larger linkage. These hypotheses are circumstantially reasonable, but need more research.

The *Nuclear Micronesian* group (Group 10) covers all of Micronesia except Belau and part of the Marianas (see Western Malayo-Polynesian Group 5 above), and probably Yap. Group 10 is documented by Bender (1971) and Bender – Wang (1985), and Proto-Micronesian reconstruction has been done by Jackson (1983), who also provides a set of shared innovations. Although long considered an isolate, it is now considered that Nauruan probably also belongs to this group (Nathan 1973). It is represented

in the present work by word lists from Kiribati, Marshallese, Ponapean and Woleaian.

The integrity of the *Central Pacific* linkage (Group 11), covering a vast area of the Pacific, has long been recognised (Grace 1959, Pawley 1972), and its shared innovations and history (to be discussed below) have been reconstructed by Geraghty (1983, 1986, 1989).<sup>36</sup> Its representatives among the word lists here are Rotuman, West Fijian, East Fijian and, from the Polynesian subgroup of Central Pacific, Tongan, Samoan, Mele-Fila, Tahitian and Rapanui.

Group 12 consists of only one language, *Yapese*, which is also located on a Micronesian Island. Scholarly opinion is that it is not a member of the Nuclear Micronesian group, but is an Oceanic language whose exact position in the Oceanic group requires investigation.

The Oceanic group is perhaps the best understood of all the major groups in the Austronesian family in terms of the comparative method, and its areas of controversy are perhaps rather insignificant in comparison with those of other parts of the family.<sup>37</sup> Probably most Oceanic linguists now agree with Pawley's (1981) view that Oceania was settled quite rapidly from a POC homeland in the Bismarck Archipelago. The first Lapita assemblages in several regions of Remote Oceania (i.e. Oceania east of the Solomons) are all at around 1100-1000 B.C. (Spriggs 1990). The area of potential controversy among linguists concerns the details of the settlement process, and whether, because of the speed of settlement, we should regard Melanesia (the area bounded by Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, and Fiji) as one great linkage (as Pawley 1981 suggests), within which only fairly localised groups of languages, each descended from a local interstage language, are recognisable, or whether, as we have done in Figure 10, we can treat the languages of the region as a set of subgroups from Proto-Oceanic to Proto-Central Pacific.

The truth doubtless lies somewhere between these two extremes. Linguistically, the integrity of the Admiralty Islands group is not in doubt, and the islands were almost certainly settled from the POC homeland at an early date (assuming that it was not the homeland: this possibility is remote, but not to be excluded). At about the same time, there was an eastward migration or migrations into the region represented in Figure 10 by the "Proto-Central/Eastern Oceanic" node, leaving behind in the Bismarck Archipelago speakers of dialects ancestral to the Western Oceanic languages. Although the dispersal of the latter was probably rather slower than the dispersal of Austronesian speakers into Remote Oceania, it is convenient to discuss the Western Oceanic languages first.

Although there are innovations which have affected most Western Oceanic languages, the fact that not all are affected suggests that this is another “stay-at-home” group, descended perhaps from a geographically fairly small linkage, which spread out rather more slowly than its departed sisters. The reasons for this tardiness are almost certainly associated with the fact that the mainland and at least the larger islands of Papua New Guinea had long been occupied by Papuan speakers, and in most areas of the mainland, Austronesian speakers have gained little more than a toehold on the coast.

Western Oceanic speakers spread first in two directions, to the east and to the west of the Willaumez Peninsula. To the east, they settled the north coast of New Britain coast and the islands of New Ireland (apparently from south to north), Bougainville, Choiseul, New Georgia, Santa Ysabel and their outliers to form the *Meso-Melanesian cluster*. Details of this dispersion are given by Ross (1988). The Meso-Melanesian languages share a set of innovations, setting them apart from the offshoots of Western Oceanic described in the next paragraph. It is probable either that Meso-Melanesian speakers encroached on territory already occupied by “Central/Eastern Oceanic” speakers or vice versa, as there is a sharp line dividing the Meso-Melanesian and South-East Solomonic groups from each other in the middle of the Solomons. The Meso-Melanesian cluster is represented here by word lists from Tolai, Roviana and Maringe.

To the west, Western Oceanic speakers settled the New Britain coast, and occupied islands in the Vitiaz Strait and close to the New Guinea mainland around the Huon Peninsula. Some speakers found their way into south-east Papua, forming the *Papuan Tip cluster*, whilst others later migrated along the north coast of Papua New Guinea, their dialects forming the *North New Guinea cluster*. The separate shared history of the two clusters is reflected in some exclusively shared lexical innovations. The migration to south-east Papua seems to have entailed initially a single settlement rather than a diffusion into the region, as the Papuan-Tip cluster is defined by a set of shared innovations and Proto-Papuan-Tip is readily reconstructible (Ross 1988, chapter 6). After settlement in the south-east Papuan region, speakers of a Papuan Tip language moved westwards along the south coast of Papua. This last movement can be correlated with the appearance of a pottery-bearing culture in the Central Province around 2000 years ago (Vanderwal 1973, Allen 1977a, 1977b, Bulmer 1982).

The North New Guinea cluster is characterised by the overlapping pattern of innovations which defines a linkage, but by no innovation defining the whole group (Ross 1988: 120). It is probably the outcome of a “stay-at-home” linkage which has diffused in fits and starts westward along the north

coast of Papua New Guinea, into the Huon Gulf, and around the south coast of New Britain. Circumstantially, at least, it is likely that the languages of the Sarmi/Jayapura Bay group are an extension of the north coast limb of the New Guinea cluster, and the limited evidence available tends to confirm this.<sup>38</sup> The earliest archaeological dates which can be confidently associated with North New Guinea speakers (on the New Britain coast west of the Willaumez Peninsula, and on the islands and the mainland coast of the Vitiaz Strait) are only about 1500 years ago (Lilley 1988, 1990).

Eight word lists are provided here from the North New Guinea cluster — Manam, Takia, Dami, Mangap-Mbula, Yabem, Kaulong, Buang and Adzera — and four from the Papuan Tip cluster — Kilivila, Tawala, Motu and Mekeo.

The eastward migration(s) into the Pacific shown in Figure 10 as the third branch of Proto-Oceanic are there labelled “Proto-Central/Eastern-Oceanic”. However, neither this nor the next right-hand branch, “Proto-Remote Oceanic”, has been satisfactorily defined in terms of shared innovations (although the next, Proto-Central-Pacific, has the characteristics of a linkage). The Central/Eastern Oceanic grouping, consisting of Groups 5-11, was proposed by Tryon – Lynch (1983) and is based on shared morphological innovations. However, reconstruction of POC morphology is as yet insufficient to be certain that these are innovations, rather than shared inheritances (Ross 1988: 393). Various other attempts have been made to define a large Oceanic subgroup in Eastern Oceania. In the published version of their paper, Tryon – Lynch (1985) exclude Southern Oceanic because the evidence for its inclusion seemed weak. Pawley’s (1972) “Eastern Oceanic” included Groups 5, 7, 10 and 11, but for similar reasons was later withdrawn in favour of a “Remote Oceanic” which excluded South-East Solomonic (1977). This leaves us uncertain about the right branch(es) of Figure 10 between POC and Proto-Central-Pacific.

The question which underlies these subgrouping attempts is whether eastern Oceania was settled by a straightforward series of eastward movements of Oceanic speakers (which somewhere in Vanuatu would presumably have forked into Southern Oceanic and Central Pacific) or whether there was a more complex pattern of settlement involving multiple migrations (and perhaps back migrations) in various areas.

The definition of such a large subgroup in eastern Oceania cannot avoid evaluation of one innovation: loss of POC \*R. Geraghty (1990) re-examines this loss and suggests a widespread pattern, namely that across much of the region which he labels “Eastern Oceanic” (coterminous with groups 5 to 11), POC \*R is lost in a growing number of words, the further one moves

away from western Melanesia. If it could be shown that there is an implicational relationship whereby any word in which \**R* is lost at a given distance from western Melanesia is reflected without it in all more distant languages, then there would be grounds to posit a single, gradual movement of Oceanic speakers into the Pacific. However, this is not the hypothesis that Geraghty investigates, and since POC \**R* was evidently an unstable phoneme (probably a uvular trill), the possibility that its loss represents a series of independent parallel innovations is strong. It seems likely that growth in our understanding of larger-scale settlement patterns in eastern Oceania will depend on a number of pieces of detailed, localised research.

The presentation of the Central Pacific group in Figure 8 includes an interesting feature, namely that West Fijian and East Fijian, which many would assume to be variants of a single language, are not shown as each other's closest relatives. Rather, there is some evidence indicating that West Fijian is closer to Rotuman and East Fijian to the Polynesian languages. How has this arisen? Proto-Central-Pacific evidently was spoken in the Fijian islands from their settlement in 1200 B.C., where it diversified into a dialect linkage. This linkage became separated into two sections, a western and an eastern. Geraghty (1983) has labelled the eastern linkage "Proto-Tokalau-Fijian". Speakers of a western dialect reached Rotuma, and their speech became the ancestor of Rotuman (Pawley 1979). Speakers of a Tokalau-Fijian dialect found their way to one of the island groups east or north-east of Fiji sometime around 1000 B.C., where their language evolved into Proto-Polynesian (Geraghty 1983).<sup>39</sup> Since these departures, the stay-at-home western and Tokalau-Fijian linkages have through contact been resynthesised into the Fijian dialect network, within which western and eastern sections remain identifiable. Proto-Polynesian diversified into the languages of the Polynesian family. A final twist to this tale is that Polynesian speakers at least twice also settled on Rotuma, so that modern Rotuman has a very large Polynesian contribution to its lexicon (Biggs 1965).

Although they cover an enormous area, the Polynesian languages are linguistically one of the most coherent groups in Oceania, characterised by a clear set of phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical innovations. The languages are well documented and there is a fairly clearly defined internal subgrouping (Clark 1979). Extensive reconstruction has been carried out of Proto-Polynesian phonology (Dempwolff 1934, Elbert 1953, Biggs 1978), morphosyntax (Pawley 1966, 1967, 1970, Clark 1976, Wilson 1982), syntax (Hohepa 1969, Clark 1973, 1976, Chung 1978) and lexicon (Biggs – Walsh – Waqa 1970, Biggs 1979, n.d.).

### External relationships of the Austronesian family

Over the years a number of proposals about the external relationships of the Austronesian languages — that is, about the closest relatives of PAN — have been made. The four most plausible proposals have to do, not unexpectedly, with the east Asian region. They are:

- a) the Japanese-Austronesian hypothesis, connecting Japanese with Austronesian;
- b) the Austro-Tai hypothesis, connecting Tai-Kadai and other languages of south China with Austronesian;
- c) the Sino-Austronesian hypothesis, connecting Old Chinese with Austronesian;
- d) the Austric hypothesis, connecting the Austro-Asiatic family with Austronesian.

In the case of Japanese, it is now generally accepted that putative Austronesian elements (if indeed they *are* Austronesian) are the results of borrowing or of a substratum left over after language shift rather than of genetic relationship, since neither sound correspondences nor shared grammatical morphemes have been found (Shibatani 1990: 103-109).

Before we turn to the other three proposals, it will be instructive to examine some internal Austronesian evidence about the origins of PAN. As we have seen, a large majority of reconstructed PAN items are disyllabic, with the form CVCV(C). Brandstetter (1906, 1916) drew attention to the fact that items with related meanings often share the same final syllable or “root”, a matter which Blust (1988a) followed up in considerable detail (the term “root” is used in this section for the monosyllabic root, rather than as in the previous section for the PAN mono-, di- or trisyllable). For example, the root *\*pit* ‘press, squeeze together; narrow’ is shared by PAN *\*ke(m)pit* ‘hold together, clamp’, *\*Sa(m)pit* ‘hold together’, PMP *\*ga(m)pit* ‘hold together’, *\*qi(m)pit* ‘jammed, wedged close together’, *\*le(m)pit* ‘fold’, *\*li(m)pit* ‘press between two flat surfaces’, *\*sipit* ‘squeeze, pinch, narrow’, and a number of other forms, including the reduplicated *\*pitpit* ‘pinch’ (Blust 1988a: 140-141). As Blust shows, the initial syllables of such items (in our example, *\*ke-*, *\*Sa-*, *\*ga-*, *\*qi-*, *\*le-*, *\*li-*, and *\*si-*) also constitute an open class (1988a: 34-35). Since both elements in the many segmentable disyllabic reconstructions thus represent open classes, it is reasonable to suggest that these items may result from the compounding of monosyllabic roots, probably at some pre-PAN stage. But Blust points out that if this were so, we would also expect to be able to reconstruct the meanings of the initial

elements, and this he has been unable to do (1988a: 53). Work building on Blust's, however, suggests that some initial elements may be prefixes (Zorc 1990: 182) whilst others do have reconstructible meanings (Nothofer 1990). If this proves to be more widely the case, then the compounding hypothesis will be better supported than it is at present.

If PAN should prove to contain a large number of disyllabic items derived by the compounding of monosyllables, then an inference can be made about the typology of Pre-PAN, namely that it was monosyllabic and tonal. When a language with mainly monosyllabic roots forms a large number of disyllabic compounds which are then fossilised into new single-morpheme items, this usually happens because the language at its monosyllabic stage was tonal, and loss of tone is resulting in homophones. Compounds are then formed to compensate for homophony, and these compounds finally become unsegmentable items, as perhaps in PAN. The inference that pre-PAN may have been a mainly monosyllabic tone language is not particularly surprising, since such languages (belonging to several language families) occupy much of the region comprising China and mainland south-east Asia. It must be admitted, however, that we do not know when or where the monosyllabic tonal type originated in this region.

The proposal that PAN and the Tai-Kadai family are genetically related was initially made by Benedict (1942). The Tai-Kadai languages are scattered across southern China and cut a swathe down the centre of Indo-China, their best known member being Thai ("Tai" is used for the group of languages to which Thai belongs). In later papers, re-published together as Benedict (1975), he included the Ong-Be language and the Kam-Sui and Miao-Yao language groups in this macro-group, and named it "Austro-Thai", today usually spelled "Austro-Tai".<sup>40</sup> The languages of these groups and the Tai-Kadai languages are generally monosyllabic tone languages, and Benedict set out to show that monosyllabic roots in Tai-Kadai languages show sound correspondences with the stressed syllable of reconstructed PAN items. Benedict's hypothesis has received little support from Austronesianists, largely because his methods of establishing sound correspondences have been considered too loose. However, Reid (1985) has extended and re-evaluated Benedict's data base and suggests "that the similarities we find are of such kinds and in such quantities that they are highly unlikely to be accidental, and probably point to a genetic relationship". An important direction for future research is the systematic reconstruction of the proto-language or languages of the non-Austronesian members of the putative Austro-Tai grouping, so that comparisons can be

made with a thoroughness similar to that involved in the reconstruction of PAN.

A proposal that Old Chinese is a close relative of PAN has been put forward by Sagart (1990), who lists sound correspondences between PAN roots and Old Chinese monosyllables (a form of Chinese spoken around 1000 B.C) and derives both from an earlier Proto-Sino-Austronesian (PSAN). The following are typical comparisons:

PAN		Old Chinese <sup>41</sup>	
* <i>seli</i>	‘young shoot’	* <i>lǎi</i>	‘bamboo sprout’
* <i>aliq</i>	‘move, change place’	* <i>lǎi?</i>	‘come to’
* <i>tulis</i>	‘stripes, writing’	* <i>lǎih</i>	‘pencil the eyebrows’
* <i>suliq</i>	‘sucker’	* <i>l-y-ǎi?</i>	‘the sucker tree’
* <i>uliq</i>	‘be in a position to’	* <i>l-y-ǎi?</i>	‘using, by means of’
* <i>daliq</i>	‘cause, motive’	* <i>l-y-ǎi?</i>	‘because’

Final *\*-?* and *\*-h* of the Old Chinese reconstructions are posited on the basis of Haudricourt’s (1954) proposal that Middle Chinese rising and falling tones were the outcomes of Old Chinese *\*-?* and *\*-h* respectively (whilst level tone reflected their absence). Sagart suggests that Old Chinese *\*-?* and *\*-h* in turn correspond with PAN *\*-q* and *\*-s* and were derived from PSAN *\*-q* and *\*-s*.

The lower three Old Chinese reconstructions above have recourse to infixation (*-y-*), which Sagart suggests was a characteristic of PSAN.

The main strengths of Sagart’s paper lie in his presentation of 106 regular comparisons and in his ability to account for the development of Middle Chinese tones from PSAN in a way which agrees with accepted theories of tonogenesis. One weakness lies in the fact that the semantic distance between the items compared is sometimes greater than desirable — but semantic identity can hardly be expected in comparisons between proto-languages allegedly spoken around 1000 B.C. (Old Chinese) and 3000 B.C. (PAN). Other weaknesses lie in the difficulties inherent in reconstructing Old Chinese (see Norman 1988: 42-48) and in the shortness of Chinese forms, which increases the chance of accidental resemblance.

Whereas it was inferred above from Blust’s theory of the PAN “root” that PAN disyllables developed from Pre-PAN monosyllables, Sagart makes the opposite assumption, proposing that Old Chinese monosyllables developed from PSAN disyllables by deleting the first syllable of the latter. His evidence for this lies in dialects of Middle Chinese which allowed initial consonant clusters. He cites the comparison PAN *\*buLút* ‘fibre’ and Old Chinese *\*l-y-ut* ‘writing brush’, together with its Middle Chinese (seventh



century A.D.) outcome *yuət*. He then points out that several Middle Chinese dialects have *p*-initial forms, e.g. Yan *pyuət*, as evidence that Old Chinese (or an earlier stage of Chinese) must have had a form such as *\*pl-y-ut*, i.e. a form which retained a reflex of the PSAN initial consonant reflected in PAN *\*buLút*. From forms like this, Sagart argues that whilst mainstream Old Chinese acquired monosyllabism by deleting PSAN initial syllables, some dialects deleted only the vowel of the initial syllable, at least in some items.

Sagart's PSAN hypothesis appears promising, but more decisive evidence for or against requires the amassing of a larger body of comparisons between Old Chinese and PAN and also further research into the reconstruction of a Proto-Chinese which would take account of a wider range of Chinese dialects. As Sagart points out, support for his hypothesis would not necessarily contradict the claim that Chinese belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family, which is probably "unassailable" (Norman 1988: 13). It would mean, however, that the Austronesian family was a subgroup of an extended Sino-Tibetan.

The Austric hypothesis has its origins in Keane (1880), but it was Schmidt (1906) who proposed an "Austric" grouping comprising the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian families and who coined these three terms. From the language map of mainland south-east Asia (see Wurm – Hattori 1983, map 25), it seems probable that the whole of this region — and perhaps a much larger area — was once occupied by Austro-Asiatic speakers. However, Tai-Kadai and Sino-Tibetan speakers have cut swathes into the region from the north and Austronesian speakers have taken over the coastal regions of the Malay Peninsula, leaving Austro-Asiatic speakers in occupation of scattered areas of mainland south-east Asia. Further afield, Austro-Asiatic languages are spoken in parts of India.

Perhaps the most conservative Austro-Asiatic language is spoken in the Nicobar Islands, some 200 kilometres north-west of Sumatra, and it is this which shows the clearest signs of a relationship with Austronesian. Reid (forthcoming) shows that Nicobarese has morphemes which are similar in both form and function to the PAN verbal morphemes *\*pa-* 'causative', *\*-um-* 'actor pivot/agent nominaliser', *\*ka-* 'inchoative', *\*ma-* 'undergoer pivot, involuntary', *\*-in-* 'perfective/patient nominaliser', and *\*-a* 'actor pivot, irrealis', the PAN ligature *\*na*, and perhaps also to PAN noun phrase markers ("determiners"). Reid argues that these are most unlikely to be Austronesian borrowings and indicates evidence that they are reconstructible for Proto-Austro-Asiatic. If this proves to be so, then it will be hard to deny a relationship between Proto-Austro-Asiatic and PAN. To support the Austric hypothesis, however, research is needed to seek out cognate vocabulary in

Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages and to establish sound correspondences between the two proto-languages.

Study of the external relationships of PAN is clearly still in its infancy, but we should note that the Austro-Tai, Sino-Austronesian and Austric hypotheses are not necessarily incompatible. Archaeological evidence suggests the possibility that the Tai-Kadai, Miao-Yao, Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian language families may all ultimately have arisen out of the cultures which resulted from the domestication of rice in the Yangtze Delta and spread across southern China as far as northern Thailand between about 6500 and 3000 B.C. (Bellwood forthcoming). The speakers of PAN or Pre-PAN were rice cultivators who probably first reached Taiwan from southeastern China between 4000 and 3000 B.C. The place of the Sino-Austronesian hypothesis in this scenario is less clear, since the ancestors of the Chinese came from north of the Yangtze and apparently adopted rice-growing later than this period.

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### **Closing remarks**

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Because this chapter is an attempt to expose the strengths and weaknesses of Austronesian linguistics — to indicate where I believe some of the “cutting edges” of the field may be — it is in a number of respects quite subjective and personal. This is inevitable: a scholar’s view of the needs for future research in his field is a product of his personal synthesis of that field and of the speculations which grow from it. Some of what is written here is certainly speculative and hopefully, provocative.

There are several areas which could have been included here but were not. One of these is sociolinguistic studies of situations involving Austronesian speakers. I did not write about this, because there is nothing archetypally Austronesian about Austronesian sociolinguistics. But such studies are certainly a prerequisite to a more thorough understanding of the linguistic history of the Austronesians. In this connection it is also clear that there are far too few detailed studies of single languages and of languages in contact — in short, too few data. We hope that the present volume will give some impetus to rectifying this situation.

A large portion of this essay has been taken up with a survey of Austronesian subgrouping — of what we understand and what we don’t understand. This is a choice which reflects my interests, but it is also the area in which scholars in other disciplines are most prone to ask questions, and sometimes to believe there must be answers where in fact there are still none. One point that emerges from this survey is that much research is needed not

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only by linguists but also by archaeologists: the comparative linguist can reconstruct a sequence of events, and sometimes he can locate them, but he can never date them.

## Notes

1. I would like to thank Alexander Adelaar, Tom Dutton, Mary Ritchie Key, Bernd Nothofer, Andrew Pawley and Darrell Tryon for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter. Of course, I am responsible for the use I have made of these. I have also benefitted considerably from discussions with Peter Bellwood, Adrian Clynes, Charles Grimes, Laurence Reid, and David Zorc and from letters from Robert Blust.
2. These terms are taken from Ross (1988: 7-8). Pawley – Green (1984) use the terms *network-breaking* and *radiation* in senses similar to our *dialect differentiation* and *separation*.
3. I use the term “Taiwan”, rather than “Formosa”, for the island, since this is its modern name, but retain conventional usage among Austronesian linguists by speaking of the island's Austronesian languages as “Formosan”, since the term “Taiwanese” is used for the island's most widely spoken Chinese dialect.
4. Dyen (1956) documents massive Malay borrowing in the Ngaju Dayak language of Borneo.
5. Cases of this are hard to document among Austronesian languages, but see Ross (1991a) for a probable case.
6. To determine cognacy with reasonable certainty, the investigator needs to know what phonological innovations each of the languages in question has undergone. But this entails the application of the time-consuming comparative method, which lexicostatistics was designed to avoid.
7. Examples of cases among the Austronesian languages of western Melanesia where language A has its highest percentage of shared cognates with language B, whilst language A shares a number of innovations with some third language which language B does not share, are given by Ross (1988, chapter 1).
8. Gaps occur in the table where no cognate occurs: for example, the Toba Batak word for ‘ear’ is *pingol*, a word which has replaced the expected form *\*taliŋa*.
9. If the proto-language under reconstruction is not at the apex of the genetic tree, evidence can be drawn from languages which are *not* descended from it. For example, if a decision were needed about whether to reconstruct two proto-phonemes or one in Proto-Oceanic (see Figure 2), we might examine languages of the putative South Halmahera/West New Guinea and Central Malayo-Polynesian groups. If all agreed in having two phonemes where some Oceanic languages had one, we could tentatively conclude that Proto-Oceanic had inherited two proto-phonemes and that some Oceanic languages shared a merger (and perhaps formed a subgroup). If all agreed in having one

phoneme, then the alternative conclusion would be supported. Until much more is known about the external relationships of Austronesian languages, however, PAN is at the apex of the genetic tree, and external evidence is not available.

10. Some scholars have argued for a conditioned split, but this enjoys only limited currency among Austronesian scholars (see Wolff 1991 and Ross 1991b).
11. As noted, the Formosan languages Amis and Bunun also share in the merger of PAN *\*C* and *\*t*, and may therefore form a subgroup with PMP. This is a hypothesis which needs further research.
12. Exceptions are Harvey (1982), who writes *\*t* and *\*t<sub>s</sub>*, and Dahl (1973, 1981), who writes *\*t<sub>1</sub>* and *\*t<sub>2</sub>*; both attribute the values [t] and [ʔ] to these proto-phonemes. Blust (1990a) writes *\*t* and *\*C*, but also attributes the values [t] and [ʔ] to them.
13. This problem was to some degree already present in Dempwolff's reconstructed system. His pairs *\*t'/\*d'* and *\*k'/g'* both ostensibly represented palatal sounds (1934: 15-16), but the phonetic distinction between them was not made clear.
14. Dyen and Tsuchida make considerable use of subnumeration, but this is shown here only where it affects equivalence between orthographies. The convention 'd-d-d' refers to word-initial, -medial, and -final instances of the phoneme.
15. The most radical attempt to make sense of PAN phonology is Wolff's (1988) reconstruction. However, his assumptions about Austronesian subgrouping differ from those described here, with the result that he gives less weight to Formosan data than other scholars have done and arrives at conclusions both about the phonological system and about phonetic values which are quite different from Blust's (1990b) account and from the account given here.
16. Sources of the materials in Table 4 are Li (1981) for Proto-Atayal, Tsuchida (1964) and Li (1978) for Saisiyat, Li (1976) for Thao, Tsuchida (1976) for Saaroa, Li (1977) for Proto-Rukai, Ting (1978) and Tsuchida (1983) for Proto-Puyuma, Ho (1978) for Proto-Paiwan. Materials for other languages are available (e.g. in Tsuchida 1976, Mei 1982, Li 1987) but they add no additional information to that present in Table 4.
17. Data supporting this reconstruction are found in the word lists under 06.910 and 09.265. See also the discussion in Harvey (1982).
18. Although Tsuchida (1976) retains the PAN palatals, it is noteworthy that he has few examples which contain any palatal other than *\*Z*.
19. Dahl (1981: 152) suggests tentatively that the value of *\*S<sub>2</sub>* was [z], whilst Li (1985) suggests [ʃ], but neither suggestion is justified by the Formosan reflexes.
20. There is substantial evidence that sound changes do occur which are stopped before they have affected all the relevant words in the language. For general discussion, see Chen – Wang (1975). For an Austronesian example, see Lincoln (1973).
21. Maddieson's data show a three-way phonemic contrast between /q/, /ʔ/ and /h/ or /fi/ in Kurdish (Indo-European), Arabic and Neo-Aramaic (Semitic), Sui (Kam-Tai), and in

- languages from a variety of Amerindian groups, as well as in the Formosan language Atayal (where present-day /ʔ/ does not, however, necessarily reflect PAN \*ʔ).
22. Dempwolff (1934) recognised only the form CV(C)CVC, positing no initial or final vowels and no vowel sequences. The modern reformulation is due to Dyen (1953).
  23. Egerod (1965, 1966) gives an account of the Atayal verb system, but in different terminology from mine.
  24. Starosta – Pawley – Reid (1982) present a revision and extension of proposals made by Pawley – Reid (1980).
  25. The hypothesis that all Austronesian languages outside Taiwan belong to a single subgroup was first proposed by Dahl (1973).
  26. Since the name of the Amis, who live on the south-west coast of Taiwan, seems to be derived from PAN \*qámiS ‘north’, (see item 12.470 in the word lists, and Reid 1982: 212, who makes a similar point.) it is possible that they were given this name by the Malayo-Polynesian speakers of the islands to the south, who remembered the Amis as their stay-at-home relatives. However, there is currently no linguistic support for this.
  27. The reader is referred to Dahl (1976: 74-75, 101, 131; 1981: 101-105) and to Blust (1976) for discussion of this seemingly incomplete merger.
  28. Reid (1990) discusses Negrito influence in certain Philippine languages, but does not refer to the South Mindanao group.
  29. Reid proposes a re-definition of terminology: the conventionally accepted Malayo-Polynesian group would become “Extra-Formosan” and the nasal infixation group would become “Malayo-Polynesian”.
  30. Nothofer (1988) continues a controversy ranging from Nothofer (1975) through Blust (1981) and Adelaar (1985, 1988). Here, however, I have attempted only to summarise the most recently expressed views of the protagonists.
  31. Note that this is a different use of the term ‘Hesperonesian’ than that coined by Dyen (1965b) and used by Tsuchida (1976) and Zorc in various publications.
  32. I am indebted to Charles Grimes for these examples.
  33. These innovations differ in their formulation somewhat from Blust’s not only because my reconstruction of PMP differs from his PAN, but also because I have checked data from a larger number of SHWNG languages and obtained somewhat different results.
  34. Grace’s orthography also included \*ns, but this is interpreted by Ross (1989b) as representing reflexes of \*s which arose independently by lenition processes in daughter-languages after the break-up of POC. Hence there is no POC symbol for it in the orthography used here.
  35. This material consists of word lists in Galis (1955), Cowan (1952) and Voorhoeve (1975), and short unpublished word lists by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
  36. Geraghty’s work builds on foundations laid by others, chiefly Grace (1959), Biggs (1965), Pawley (1970, 1972), Hockett (1976) and Wilson (1982).

37. A more extensive account of the dispersal of Oceanic languages is given by Pawley and Ross (forthcoming).
38. Data and argument supporting this are contained in an unpublished manuscript by the writer.
39. Although on subgrouping grounds Tonga is a good candidate for the location where a Central Pacific dialect evolved into Proto-Polynesian, the fact that Samoa was settled at about the same time as Tonga causes some puzzlement. Proto-Polynesian is so rich in innovations that its immediate break-up is not tenable. Either Proto-Polynesian developed as a dialect chain embracing Tonga, Niuafo'ou, Samoa and perhaps Futuna and Uvea, or (more probably) it developed in one island group and replaced Central Pacific dialects spoken in the others. (I am grateful to Andrew Pawley for bringing this point to my attention.)
40. In more recent work, Benedict's "Tai-Kadai" and Kam-Sui groups and the "Ong-Be" language are combined into a Kam-Tai grouping with three subgroups: Tai, Li ("Kadai") and Kam-Sui. "Ong-Be" (spoken on Hainan Island) is known as Lingao or Vo Limkou, and is attributed to the Tai subgroup (Wang 1987). The Miao-Yao language is not considered to belong to this grouping (Sun 1987).
41. Sagart's transcriptions are here re-transcribed in accordance with the conventions of the present work.

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## 4. Listing of Austronesian languages

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The inventory of Austronesian languages that follows is adapted from the Cornell-SIL Language Archive, the data base from which the 1988 *Ethnologue: languages of the world* (eleventh edition) was drawn. The Archive itself is the work of the first two authors: the last three present significant updates within that framework, particularly in the language classification.

Such a catalogue of languages necessarily depends on the quality and availability of the primary sources. The list represents interaction with primary researchers over a period of years. One aim has been to clarify what the primary researchers mean by relative terms such as “language”, “dialect”, “closely related”, and “clearly distinct”. Why have they chosen to use one particular name for a language in place of others used in the literature previously? Do their figures for number of speakers reflect the number of active users? the total number of those identified with the ethnic group regardless of whether or not a significant portion of the ethnic group have shifted completely to another language? first and second language speakers together?

The issues are varied and complex, and each language listed is a fascinating reflection of the sum of the linguistic, social, historical, political and geographical factors that belong to the speech community in question. In one area the social attitudes and political dynamics may force two speech communities that are linguistically close (in phonology, morpho-syntax, and lexicon) to be considered separate languages. In another area different social dynamics may create pressure to list as a single language two speech communities that are linguistically much more diverse and where intelligibility is marginally or significantly blocked. Or there may be extensive chaining effects that have simply not been sorted out well enough yet to give a partitioning of an area that reflects the actual communication potential of the speech varieties that are in use. The issues are complex, and the quest for an accurate picture is not made easier when one linguist’s “dialect” is another linguist’s “language”.

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The reader is referred to the *Ethnologue* and its companion *Ethnologue index* for more details related to each language, a bibliography, and an index of language names, alternate names, dialect names and dialect alternates.

The listing of Austronesian languages presented here includes alternate names, dialects, current classification, location, and number of speakers, where known. Further details on such things as bilingualism, number of speakers of each dialect, second language speakers, evaluation of accuracy of the data for an area, and more may be found in the 1988 *Ethnologue*.

**Alternate Names:** Many times the language name used by its neighbours is not the name used by the speakers themselves. Furthermore, the literature on a language often uses different terms altogether, often using the name of a village where initial contact was made as a term for the language group as a whole. Listing alternate names is an attempt to keep these networks of information tied to the proper speech communities.

**Dialects:** The assumption is that all the dialects listed for a language are intelligible with neighbouring dialects, or with a standard variety where chaining is involved.

**Classification:** Higher-level classification for Austronesian languages follows Blust (various). The basis for intermediate-level classification and problems with that is discussed by Tryon (this volume) and Ross (this volume). Sources for lower-level classification are listed in the bibliography of the *Ethnologue* and the introductory chapters to this present volume.

**Location:** The primary country with which a language is associated is listed along with more specific details.

**Population:** Figures are given for many languages. In most cases these figures represent the total number of speakers for all areas in which a language is spoken.

The present listing does *not* include languages that are confirmed to be extinct.

#### Summary breakdown of Austronesian languages

Formosan languages		14
Western Malayo-Polynesian languages	WMP	529
Central Malayo-Polynesian languages	CMP	150
Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages (unclassified as to CMP or SHWNG)	CEMP	2
South Halmahera-West New Guinea languages	SHWNG	39
Oceanic languages	OC	468
<b>TOTAL Austronesian languages listed</b>	<b>AN</b>	<b>1202</b>

A'ARA see MARINGE.

ABADI see GABADI.

ABAI SUNGAI *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Lower reaches of the Kinabatangan River. *Pop.* 500.

ABAKNON see SAMA, ABAKNON.

ABENLEN see AYTA, ABENLEN.

ABORLAN TAGBANWA see TAGBANWA.

ABUNG *Dial.* JABUNG, MENGGALA (NORTHEAST LAMPUNG), KOTA BUMI (NORTHWEST LAMPUNG). *Class.* WMP, Lampungic, Abung. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. South. *Pop.* 500,000.

ABURLIN NEGRITO see AYTA, ABENLEN.

ACEH *Alt.* ATJEH, ATJEHNESE, ACHINESE, ACHEHNESE. *Dial.* BANDA ACEH, BARUH, BUENG, DAJA, PASE, PIDIE (PEDIR, TIMU), TUNONG. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Aceh. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Northern, Aceh Province, northern and southern coasts around tip of Sumatra. *Pop.* 2,400,000.

ACHEHNESE see ACEH.

ACHINESE see ACEH.

ACIRA see ADZERA.

ADASEN *Alt.* ADDASEN TINGUIAN, ADDASEN, ADASEN ITNEG. *Dial.* EASTERN ADDASEN, WESTERN ADDASEN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, northeastern Abra Province. *Pop.* 4,000

ADASEN ITNEG see ADASEN.

ADDASEN see ADASEN.

ADDASEN TINGUIAN see ADASEN.

ADJIO see TAJIO.

ADLAI see ROGLAI, NORTHERN.

ADZERA *Alt.* AZERA, ATZERA, ACIRA. *Dial.* CENTRAL, AMARI, NGAROWAPUM, YARUS, GURUF/NGARIAWANG, TSUMANGGORUN. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Upper Markham, Adzera. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Markham Valley, Kaiapit District. *Pop.* 20,700.

'AEKE see HAEKE.

AEKE see HAEKE.

AETA NEGRITO see SAMBAL, BOTOLAN.

AGERLEP see AIKLEP.

AGIYAN see AGTA, CAMARINES NORTE.

AGOMES see HERMIT.

**AGTA, ALABAT ISLAND** *Alt.* ALABAT ISLAND DUMAGAT. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat. *Loc.* Philippines. East of Quezon Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 50

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**AGTA, CAMARINES NORTE** *Alt.* MANIDE, AGIYAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Santa Elena and Labo, Camarines Norte. *Pop.* 200

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**AGTA, CASIGURAN** *Alt.* CASIGURAN DUMAGAT. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat, Northern. *Loc.* Philippines. East coast of Luzon, north Quezon Province. *Pop.* 1,000

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**AGTA, CENTRAL CAGAYAN** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat. *Loc.* Philippines. Northeast Luzon. *Pop.* 1,000

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**AGTA, EASTERN CAGAYAN** *Alt.* DUPANINAN AGTA. *Dial.* YAGA, TANGLAGAN, SANTA ANA-GONZAGA, BARONGAGUNAY, PALAUI ISLAND, CAMONAYAN, VALLEY COVE, BOLOS POINT, PEÑABLANCA, ROSO (SOUTHEAST CAGAYAN), SANTA MARGARITA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat, Northern. *Loc.* Philippines. Northeast Luzon, from below Divilacan Bay in the south to Palau Island in the north. *Pop.* 1,200

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**AGTA, ISAROG** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol. *Loc.* Philippines. Mt. Isarog east of Naga City, Bicol Province, Luzon. *Pop.* A few speakers.

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**AGTA, MT. IRAYA** *Alt.* INAGTA OF MT. IRAYA, RUGNOT OF LAKE BUHI EAST, LAKE BUHI EAST, ITBEG RUGNOT. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol. *Loc.* Philippines. East of Lake Buhi, Bicol Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 200

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**AGTA, MT. IRIGA** *Alt.* SAN RAMON INAGTA, LAKE BUHI WEST, MT. IRIGA NEGRITO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol. *Loc.* Philippines. East of Iriga City, west of Lake Buhi, Bicol Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 1,500

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**AGTA, REMONTADO** *Alt.* HATANG-KAYEY, SINAUNA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic, Sinauna. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon; Santa Inez, Rizal Province; Paimohuan, General Nakar, Quezon Province. *Pop.* 1,000 to 2,000

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**AGTA, VILLAVICIOSA** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Abra Province.

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**AGUSAN** see **MANOBO, AGUSAN.**

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**AGUTAYNEN** *Alt.* AGUTAYNON, AGUTAYNO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Kalamian, *Loc.* Philippines. Agutaya Island, five smaller surrounding islands, and the municipalities of Roxas, San Vicente, and Brooke's Point, Palawan. A few also in Taytay, Linapacan, on Mindoro, and in Manila. *Pop.* 10,000

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**AGUTAYNO** see **AGUTAYNEN.**

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**AGUTAYNON** see **AGUTAYNEN.**

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**AHAMB** see **AXAMB.**

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**AHE** *Alt.* AHE DAYAK see **KENDAYAN.**

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**AHTIAGO** see **BOBOT.**

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**AHUS** see **ANDRA-HUS**.

**AIDUMA** see **KOIWAI**.

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**AIKLEP** *Alt.* EKLEP, AGERLEP, MOEWEHAFEN. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, A Viklo Island near Kandrian.

**AIKOA** see **MORI ATAS**.

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**AJIE** see **A'JIË**.

**A'JIË** *Alt.* HOUA!LOU, WAILU, WAI, ANJIE, AJIE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Wailic. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Houailou: east coast Monéo to Kouaoua and inland valleys. *Pop.* 7,000

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**AJO** see **PADOE**.

**AKEI** *Alt.* TASIRIKI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwestern Santo. *Pop.* 650

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**AKI** see **BANGGAI**.

**AKLAN** see **AKLANON**.

**AKLANO** see **AKLANON**.

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**AKLANON** *Alt.* AKLAN, AKLANO, PANAY, AKLANON-BISAYAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, West, Aklan. *Loc.* Philippines. Aklan Province northern Panay. *Pop.* 350,000

**AKLANON-BISAYAN** see **AKLANON**.

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**AKOLET** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, southwest coast. *Pop.* 955

**AKU** see **LIO**.

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**'ALA'ALA** see **LALA**.

**ALABAT ISLAND DUMAGAT** see **AGTA, ALABAT ISLAND**.

**ALALAO** see **PADOE**.

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**ALANGAN** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Northern Mindoro. *Loc.* Philippines. North central Mindoro. *Pop.* 4,000

**ALAS-KLUET BATAK** see **BATAK ALAS-KLUET**.

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**ALFOEREN** see **ALUNE**.

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**ALI** *Alt.* YAKAMUL. *Dial.* ALI, YAKAMUL. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Siau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West Sepik Province, coast between Paup and Yakamul, and Ali, Seleo, and Angel islands. *Pop.* 2,120

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**ALTA, SOUTHERN** *Alt.* KABULUWEN, KABULOWAN, KABULUWAN, BALUGA, PUGOT, ITA *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Meso-Cordilleran, Alta. *Loc.* Philippines. Eastern Nueva Ecija, Sierra Madre and the coast areas of Quezon Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 1,000

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**ALTA, NORTHERN.** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Meso-Cordilleran, Alta.

**ALU** see **MONO-ALU**.

**ALUNE** *Alt.* SAPOLEWA, SAPALEWA, PATASIWA ALFOEREN. *Dial.* KAIRATU, NINIARI-PIRU, RIRING, RAMBATU, NIKULKAN, BURIAH. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram, Ulat Inai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 5 villages in Seram Barat District, and 22 villages in Kairatu and Taniwel districts, west Seram, central Maluku. 27 villages total. *Pop.* 13,000 to 15,000

**AMAHAI** *Alt.* AMAHEI. *Dial.* MAKARIKI, RUTAH. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Uliase, Hatuhaha, Elpaputi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 4 villages near Masohi, southwest Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 50

**AMAHEI** see **AMAHAI**.

**AMARA** *Alt.* LONGA, ARIA, BIBLING. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Amara. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northwest interior. *Pop.* 1,170.

**AMBA** see **NEMBAO**.

**AMBAE, NORTHEAST** *Alt.* OMBA, OBA, AOBA, WALURIGI, NORTHEAST AOBA, LAMBAHI. *Dial.* WALURIGI, LOMBAHA (LOBAHA, LONGANA, LOLOPWEPWE), TAVALAVOLA, LOLOKARO (LOLOKARA, LOLSIWOI). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Ambae (Leper's) Island. *Pop.* 3,000

**AMBAI** *Alt.* AMBAI-MENAWI. *Dial.* RONDAWAYA, AMBAI (WADAPI-LAUT), MANAWI. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. On Ambai Island south of Yapen Island, along south coast of Yapen Island from 136.20' to 136.45', 10 villages. *Pop.* 7,150.

**AMBAI-MENAWI** see **AMBAI**.

**AMBALA AGTA** see **AYTA, AMBALA**.

**AMBALA SAMBAL** see **AYTA, AMBALA**.

**AMBELAU** *Alt.* AMBLAU. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, Ambelau. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Ambelau Island off southeastern coast of Buru Island. Wae Tawa village on the coast of Buru, opposite Ambelau. 8 villages. Central Maluku. *Pop.* 5,700.

**AMBENU** see **ATONI**.

**AMBER** *Alt.* AMBERI, WAIGEO, WAIGIU. *Dial.* AMBER, SAONEK. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Central Waigeo Island west of Bird's Head, villages of Warsanbin, Selegop, Waifoi, Go, Kabilol, Kabare, Nyandesawai. *Pop.* 300

**AMBERI** see **AMBER**.

**AMBLAU** see **AMBELAU**.

**AMBLONG** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Santo. *Pop.* 150.

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**AMBONESE** see **MALAY, AMBONESE**.

**AMBRYM, NORTH** *Dial.* MAGAM, OLAL. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North Ambrym Island. *Pop.* 2,850.

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**AMBRYM, SOUTHEAST** *Dial.* TAVEAK (TAVIAK), ENDU, TOAK, PENAPO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southeast Ambrym Island. *Pop.* 1,800.

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**AMBUL** see **APALIK**.

**AMI** see **AMIS**.

**AMIA** see **AMIS**.

**AMIS** *Alt.* AMI, AMIA, PAGCAH, PANGTSAH, BAKURUT, LAM-SI-HOAN, MARAN, SABARI, TANAH. *Dial.* CENTRAL: AMIS (HAIAN AMI, HSIUKULAN AMI), TAVALONG-VATAAN (KWANGFU, KUANGFU), SOUTHERN AMIS (PEINAN, HENGCH'UN AMIS, TAITUNG), CHENGKUNG-KWANGSHAN, NORTHERN AMIS (NANSHI AMIS). *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic, *Loc.* Taiwan. Plains in the valley along the railroad between Hualien and Taitung, and on the east coast near the sea between Hualien and Taitung. *Pop.* 130,000.

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**AMIS, NATAORAN** *Alt.* NATAORAN AMIS, SAKIZAYA, SAKIRAY. *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic, *Loc.* Taiwan. Villages in Hualien area and north of Fenglin.

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**AMPANANG** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Barito, Mahakam, *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. East central, southeast of Tunjung, around Jambu and Lamper. *Pop.* 30,000.

**AMPIBABO** see **LAUJE**.

**AMUTOURA** see **SAISİYAT**.

**ANAKALANG** see **ANAKALANGU**.

**ANAKALANGU** *Alt.* ANAKALANG. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Sumba Island, southwest coast, east of Wanukaka. *Pop.* 14,000.

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**ANAKOLA** see **BATAK ANGKOLA**.

**ANDIAN** see **MANDAR**.

**ANDIO** *Alt.* BOBONGKO, ANDIO'O, IMBAO'O, MASAMA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Eastern, Saluan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, Lamala Subdistrict, Taugi and Tangeban villages. *Pop.* 1,600.

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**ANDIO'O** see **ANDIO**.

**ANDRA-HUS** *Alt.* AHUS, HA'US. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Andra and Hus Islands. *Pop.* 810.

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**ANEITEUM** see **ANEITYUM**.

**ANEITEUMESE** see **ANEITYUM**.

**ANEITYUM** *Alt.* ANEITEUM, ANEITEUMESE, ANEJOM. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Aneityum. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Aneityum Island. *Pop.* 600.

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**ANEJOM** see **ANEITYUM**.

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ANESU see XÂRÂCÛÛ.

ANEWA see FUTUNA-ANIWA.

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ANGANIWAI see KAHUA.

ANGANIWEI see KAHUA.

ANGKOLA see BATAK ANGKOLA.

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ANJIE see AʔJIË.

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ANSUS *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Miosnun and south coast of Yapen Island, from 135.35' to 135.50', villages of Ansus, Kairawi, Aibonden, Yenusi. *Pop.* 4,600.

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ANTIPOLO IFUGAO see KALLAHAN, KELEY-I.

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ANTIQUENO see KINARAY-A.

ANUKI *Alt.* GABOBORA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Anuki. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North coast, Cape Vogel, Milne Bay Province. *Pop.* 540.

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ANUS see SOBEL.

AOBA, NORTHEAST see AMBAE, NORTHEAST.

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AOHENG *Alt.* PENIHING. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Muller-Schwane 'Punan'. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. North central near Sarawak border. *Pop.* 2,630.

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AORE *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Mafea Island, East Santo. *Pop.* 1.

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APAE'AA see SAA.

APALIK *Alt.* PALIK, AMBUL. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, Ambugi Island off southwest coast.

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API see LAMPUNG.

APMA *Alt.* CENTRAL RAGA. *Dial.* BWATNAPNI, LOLTONG, MELSISI, SURU-BO, SURU-MARANI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Pentecost (Raga). *Pop.* 4,500.

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APURHUANO see TAGBANWA.

APUT see PUNAN APUT.

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APUTAI *Alt.* ILPUTIH, OPOTAI. *Class.* CMP, Southwest Maluku, Wetar, *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Ilpuh village in south-central Wetar and Lurang village in north-central Wetar Island, north of Timor, south Maluku. *Pop.* 150.

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ARA see ARHA.

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ARADIGI see RATAGNON.

'ARAGURE see XARAGURE.

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**ARAGURE** see **XARAGURE**.

**ARAKI** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Araki Island, south Santo. *Pop.* 105.

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**ARALLE-TABULAHAN** *Dial.* ARALLE, TABULAHAN, MAMBI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, PUS. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, between Mandar and Kalumpang. *Pop.* 12,000.

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**ARAWE** see **AROVE**.

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**ARE** *Alt.* MUKAWA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Are. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, tip of Cape Vogel. *Pop.* 1,230.

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**AREARE** *Alt.* 'ARE'ARE. *Dial.* AREARE, MARAU (MARAU SOUND). *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Southern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. South Malaita Island. *Pop.* 10,800.

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'ARE'ARE see **AREARE**.

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**ARGOENI** see **ARGUNI**.

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**ARGUNI** *Alt.* ARGOENI. *Class.* CMP, North Bomberai, Arguni. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Northwest coast of Bomberai Peninsula on island in Maccluer Gulf. *Pop.* 200.

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**ARGUNI BAY** see **IRARUTU**.

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**ARHA** *Alt.* ARA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Wailic. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Poya, upper valleys. *Pop.* 250.

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**ARHO** *Alt.* ARO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Wailic. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Poya, south central Balabio Island: Cradji and Nékliai villages. *Pop.* 10 to 100.

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**ARIA** see **AMARA**.

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**ARIA** see **MOUK-ARIA**.

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**ARIBWATSA** *Alt.* LAE, LAHE. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Lower Markham, Busu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, lower Wamped River. *Pop.* 1.

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**ARIBWAUNGG** *Alt.* YALU, JALOC. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Lower Markham, Busu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, lower Markham Valley. *Pop.* 590.

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**ARIFAMA-MINIAFIA** *Alt.* MINIAFIA-ARIFAMA. *Dial.* ARIFAMA, MINIAFIA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Arc. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Four locations along the coast of Cape Nelson and Collingwood Bay, Oro Province, Tufi Subprovince. 20 to 25 villages. *Pop.* 2,150.

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**ARMOPA** see **BONGGO**.

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**ARO** see **ARHO**.

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**AROP** see **LUKEP**.

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**AROSI** *Dial.* WANGO, AROSI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, San Cristobal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Northwest Makira (San Cristobal) Island. *Pop.* 2,800.

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**AROVE** *Alt.* ARAWE, PILILO. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngro/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, southwestern coast. *Pop.* 2,200.

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**ARTA** *Class.* Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Cordilleran. *Loc.* Philippines: North Luzon, Impuyan, Villa Gracia.

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**ARUI** see **SERUI-LAUT**.

**AS** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. West Bird's Head, north coast, villages of Asbakin (main centre), Maklaumkarta, and Mega. *Pop.* 250.

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**ASENGSENG** see **SENGSENG**.

**ASILULU** *Dial.* ASILULU, URENG, NEGERI LIMA (LIMA, HENALIMA). *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, West, Asilulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Asilulu, Ureng, Negeri Lima villages, northwest Ambon Island. Also known as second language in parts of west Seram, Manipa, Boano, Kelang islands. *Pop.* 8,750.

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**ASIQ** see **BANTOANON**.

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**ASUMBOA** *Alt.* ASUMUO, ASUMBUO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Eastern Outer Islands, Utupua. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Asumboa village, Utupua Island, Temotu Province. *Pop.* 60.

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**ASUMBUO** see **ASUMBOA**.

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**ASUMUO** see **ASUMBOA**.

**ATA** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine. *Loc.* Philippines. Mabinay, Negros Oriental. *Pop.* Nine or more families.

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**ATA OF DAVAO** see **MANOBO, ATA**.

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**ATA-MAN** see **MAGAHAT**.

**ATAIYAL** see **ATAYAL**.

**ATAMANU** *Alt.* YALAHATAN, JAHALATAN, JAHALATANE, AWAIYA. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. West Seram, villages of Yalahatan and Haruru, central Maluku. *Pop.* 400.

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**ATAO MANOBO** see **MANOBO, ATA**.

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**ATAYAL** *Alt.* TYAL, TAIYAL, TAYAL, ATAIYAL, ATTAYAL, TAIJYAL, BONOTSEK, SHABOGALA, TAKONAN, TANGAO, YUKAN. *Dial.* SQOLEQ (SQULIQ), TS'OLE' (CI'ULI). *Class.* Formosan, Atayalic, *Loc.* Taiwan. Mountains in the north, south of the Ketagalan area. *Pop.* 76,000.

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**ATCHIN** *Alt.* NALE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Atchin Island, northeast Malekula area. *Pop.* 1,375.

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**ATI** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central. *Loc.* Philippines. Panay Island, small groups in all provinces. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**ATI** see **BUTMAS-TUR**.

**ATI** see **KINARAY-A**.

**ATIAHU** see **BOBOT**.

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**ATINGGOLA** see **BOLANGO**.

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**ATJEH** see **ACEH**.

**ATJEHNESE** see **ACEH**.

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**ATONI** *Alt.* TIMOR, TIMORESE, TIMOL, TIMOREESCH, TIMOREEZEN, DAWAN, AMBENU, VAIKENU, VAIKINO, BAIKENU, BIKENU, BIQUENO, UAB ATONI PAH METO, ORANG GUNUNG, RAWAN. *Dial.* AMARASI, AMFOAN-FATULEU-AMABI (AMFOAN, AMFUANG, FATULEU, AMABI), AMANUBAN-AMANATUN (AMANUBAN, AMANUBANG, AMANATUN), MOLLO-MIOMAFO (MOLLO, MIOMAFO), BIBOKI-INSANA (BIBOKI, INSANA0, AMBENU (VAIKENU), KUSAMANLEA (KUSA, MANLEA). *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Western Timor Island. *Pop.* 650,000.

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**ATTA, FAIRE** *Alt.* SOUTHERN ATTA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic. *Loc.* Philippines. Near Faire-Rizal, Cagayan Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 400 to 550.

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**ATTA, PAMPLONA** *Alt.* NORTHERN CAGAYAN NEGRITO. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic. *Loc.* Philippines. Northwestern Cagayan Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**ATTA, PUDTOL** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic. *Loc.* Philippines. Pudtol, Kalinga-Apayao Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 100 to 150.

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**ATTAYAL** see **ATAYAL**.

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**ATUI** *Alt.* LESING, LESING-ATUI. *Dial.* LESING, ATUI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea, West New Britain Province. *Pop.* 930.

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**ATZERA** see **ADZERA**.

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**AUA-VIWULU** see **WUVULU-AUA**.

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**AUHELAWA** *Alt.* KURADA, NUAKATA, URADA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, Suaucic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Normanby and Nuakata Islands. *Pop.* 935.

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**AULUA** *Alt.* AULUA BAY. *Dial.* ONESSO, BOINELANG. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. East Malekula. *Pop.* 300.

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**AULUA BAY** see **AULUA**.

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**AUSTRAL** see **TAHITIAN**.

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**AVAU** *Alt.* GASMATA, AWAU. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, southwest coast. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**AVEKE** see HAVEKE.

'**AVEKE** see HAVEKE.

**AWAIYA** see ATAMANU.

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**AWAU** see AVAU.

**AWO-SUMAKUYU** see ULUMANDA.

**AXAMB** *Alt.* AHAMB. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Malekula. *Pop.* 525.

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**AYTA ABENLEN SAMBAL** see AYTA, ABENLEN.

**AYTA, ABENLEN** *Alt.* ABENLEN, AYTA ABENLEN SAMBAL, ABURLIN NEGRITO. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Tarlac Province, Maontoc, Labnay, Maamot, San Pedro, Dalayap, Pilyen. *Pop.* 6,850.

**AYTA, AMBALA** *Alt.* AMBALA AGTA, AMBALA SAMBAL. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. A few barrios of San Marcelino, Zambales, several of Subic City, Zambales, a few of Olongapa, Zambales, a few of Castillejos, Zambales, a few of Dinalupinan, Bataan Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 1,660.

**AYTA, BATAAN** *Alt.* MARIVELES AYTA, BATAAN SAMBAL, BATAAN AYTA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. Mariveles, Bataan Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 570.

**AYTA, MAG-ANCHI** *Alt.* MAG-ANCHI SAMBAL. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. East side of mountain, Botolan Sambal area, close to Tarlac-Pampanga border, several barrios of Capas, Tarlac, several of Bamban, Tarlac, several of San Marcelino, Zambales, 2 of Castillejos, Zambales, 2 of Mabalacat, Pampanga, several of Sapang Bato, Angeles City, central Luzon. *Pop.* 4,170.

**AYTA, MAG-INDI** *Alt.* BALOGA, MAG-INDI SAMBAL, INDI AYTA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. A few barrios of Florida Blanca, several of Porac, Pampanga Province, several of San Marcelino, Zambales, Luzon. *Pop.* 2,485.

**AYTA, SORSOGON** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine. *Loc.* Philippines. Prieto Diaz, Sorsogon Province. *Pop.* 40.

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**AZERA** see ADZERA.

**BAANGINGI'** see SAMA, BALANGINGI.

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**BABA MALAY** see MALAY, BABA.

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**BABAR, NORTH** *Class.* CMP, Babar, North. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Six villages on the north side of Babar island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**BABAR, SOUTHEAST** *Alt.* MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR. *Class.* CMP, Babar, South, Masela-South Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Southeast Babar island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 3,325.

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**BABATANA** see CHOISEUL, EAST.

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**BABUSA** see BABUZA.

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**BABUYAN** see BATAK.

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**BABUYAN** see IBATAN.

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**BABUZA** *Alt.* BABUSA, FAVORLANG, FAVORLANGSCH, JABORLANG, POAVOSA. *Dial.* POAVOSA. *Class.* Fornosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. West central coast and inland, Tatu and Choshui rivers and beyond, around 24°N. *Pop.* A few speakers.

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**BACAN** see MALAY, BACANESE.

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**BADA** *Alt.* BEHOA, BESOJA, TI'ARA, BADA'. *Dial.* BADA, BESOJA, AKO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Pamona. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South-central portion of central Sulawesi. Besoja dialect in 7 villages in Lore Utara Subdistrict. Bada dialect in 14 villages of Lore Selatan Subdistrict, two mixed villages of Pamona Selatan Subdistrict, four mixed villages of Poso Pesisir Subdistrict, and part of Lemusa village in Parigi Subdistrict. Ako village is in northern Mamuju District, Pasangkayu Subdistrict. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**BADA** see TOBADA.

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**BADA'** see BADA.

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**BADANG** see MADANG.

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**BADJAVA** see NGADA.

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**BADJAW** see BAJAU, INDONESIAN.

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**BADJO** see BAJAU, INDONESIAN.

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**BADUI** *Class.* WMP, Sundanese, Sundanese. *Loc.* Indonesia, Java. West Java, Mount Kendeng, Kabupaten Rangkasbitung, Pandeglang, and Sukabumi. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**BAEBUNTA** see LEMOLANG.

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**BAETORA** *Dial.* NASAWA, TALISE, NAROVOROVO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Macwo Island. *Pop.* 540.

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**BAGOBO** *Alt.* JANGAN, GIANGAN, GUANGA, GULANGA, CLATA. *Class.* WMP, South Mindanao, Bagobo. *Loc.* Philippines. Davao City, Mindanao; eastern slopes of Mt. Apo, Davao del Sur. *Pop.* 17,000.

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**BAGOBO** see MANOBO, OBO.

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**BAHASA MALAYSIA** see MALAY.

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**BAHAU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, north and southeast of Busang. *Pop.* 3,200.

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**BAHAU RIVER KENYA** *see* **KENYAH, BAHAU RIVER.**

**BAHNAR CHAM** *see* **HAROI.**

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**BAIAP** *see* **DAKAKA.**

**BAICIT** *see* **KENDAYAN.**

**BAIKENU** *see* **ATONI.**

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**BAJAO** *see* **BAJAU, INDONESIAN.**

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**BAJAU BUKIT** *see* **PAPAR.**

**BAJAU KAGAYAN** *see* **MAPUN.**

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**BAJAU, INDONESIAN** *Alt.* BADJAW, BADJO, BAJO, BAJAO, BAYO, GAJ, LUAAN, LUTAOS, LUTAYAOS, SAMA, ORANG LAUT, TURIJE'NE'. *Dial.* JAMPEA, SAME', MATALAANG, SULAMU, KAJOA, ROTI, JAYA BAKTI, POSO, TONGIAN 1, TONGIAN 2, WALLACE. *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Borneo Coast Bajaw, Indonesian. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. In south Sulawesi in Selayar, Bonc, and Pangkep districts. On the east coast of southeast Sulawesi on Wowonii, Muna, northern Buton, Kabaena. Widely distributed throughout Sulawesi, north Maluku (Bacan, Obi, Kayoa, and Sula Islands), Kalimantan, and the islands of the East Sunda Sea. Other Bajau languages are in Sabah, Malaysia, and southern Philippines. *Pop.* 50,000.

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**BAJAU, WEST COAST** *Alt.* LAND BAJAW, WEST COAST BAJAO. *Dial.* WEST COAST BAJAU, PITAS BAJAU, SANDAKAN BAJAU, KOTA BELUD, KAWANG, PUTATAN. *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Borneo Coast Bajaw, North Borneo. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kuala Penyu to Kudat, northern and some eastern areas, west coast of Sabah. Also Brunei. *Pop.* 50,000.

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**BAJAVA** *see* **NGADA.**

**BAJO** *see* **BAJAU, INDONESIAN.**

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**BAKATAN** *see* **BUKITAN.**

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**BAKATIQ** *see* **BEKATI.**

**BAKI** *Alt.* BURUMBA, PAKI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Epi. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West Epi. *Pop.* 200.

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**BAKITAN** *see* **BUKITAN.**

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**BAKOVI** *see* **BOLA.**

**BAKUMPAI** *Alt.* BARA-JIDA. *Dial.* BAKUMPAI, MENGGATIP (MANGKATIP, OLOH MENGGATIP). *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Southwest Barito. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Kapuas and Barito rivers, northeast of Kualakapuas. *Pop.* 40,000 or more.

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**BAKUNG KENYA** *see* **KENYAH, BAKUNG.**

**BAKUNG** *see* **KENYAH, BAKUNG.**

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**BAKURUT** *see* **AMIS.**

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**BALA'U** *see* **BALAU.**

**BALABAN** *see* **TADYAWAN.**

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**BALAESAN** *Alt.* BALAESANG, BALAISANG, PAJO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Balaesan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, Balaesang Subdistrict, 5 villages. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**BALAESANG** see **BALAESAN**.

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**BALAISANG** see **BALAESAN**.

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**BALANGAO** *Alt.* BALANGAO BONTOC, BALANGAW, FARANGAO. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuelear Cordilleran, Balangao. *Loc.* Philippines. Eastern Bontoc Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 6,560.

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**BALANGAO BONTOC** see **BALANGAO**.

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**BALANGAW** see **BALANGAO**.

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**BALANTAK** *Alt.* KOSIAN. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Eastern, Saluan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. East central Sulawesi; Luwuk, Balantak, Tinangkung, and Lamola subdistricts; 49 villages or parts of villages. *Pop.* 30,000.

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**BALANTIAN** see **NYADU**.

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**BALANTIANG** see **NYADU**.

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**BALAU** *Alt.* BALAU'U. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak, Ibanic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Southwest Sarawak, southeast of Simunjan. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**BALI** *Alt.* BALINESE. *Dial.* LOWLAND (KLUNGKUNG, KARANGASEM, BULELENG, GIANYAR, TABANAN, JEMBRANA, BADUNG), HIGHLAND (BALI AGA), NUSA PENIDA. *Class.* WMP, Bali-Sasak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Bali. Island of Bali, northern Nusapenida. Also western Lombok Islands and east Java. 7,000 in south Sulawesi. *Pop.* 3,000,000.

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**BALI-VITU** *Dial.* BALI, VITU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, Bali/Vitu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, islands off the northwest coast. *Pop.* 8,720.

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**BALINESE** see **BALI**.

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**BALIWON** see **GADANG**.

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**BALOGA** see **AYTA, MAG-INDI**.

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**BALUAN-PAM** *Dial.* BALUAN, PAM. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, South-East Admiralties. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Baluan and Pam Islands. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**BALUD** see **BLAAN, SARANGANI**.

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**BALUGA** see **ALTA, SOUTHERN**.

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**BAM** see **BIEM**.

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**BAMBAA** see **HUKUMINA**.

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**BANAN BAY** see **BURMBAR**.

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**BANAULE** see **BEBELI**.

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**BANDA** *Dial.* ELI, ELAT. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Banda-Geser. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. West and northeastern side of Kei Besar Island in Kei Islands, villages

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of Banda-Eli and Banda-Elat, south Maluku. There may be a third village. The people originally came from the Banda Islands, but the language is no longer spoken there. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**BANDJARESE** see **BANJAR**.

**BANGA** see **RUKAI**.

**BANGAY** see **BANGGI**.

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**BANGGAI** *Alt.* AKI. *Dial.* EAST BANGGAI, WEST BANGGAI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Eastern, Banggai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Banggai, Liang, Bulagi, Buko, Totikum, Tinangkum, Labobo Bangkurung subdistricts; 157 villages or parts of villages. *Pop.* 100,000 to 115,000.

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**BANGGI** *Alt.* BANGAY, BANGGI DUSUN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Palawan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Banggi Island in Kudat District. *Pop.* 1,200.

**BANGGI DUSUN** see **BANGGI**.

**BANGINGI SAMA** see **SAMA**, **BALANGINGI**.

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**BANGON** see **BUHID**.

**BANGON** see **TAWBUID**.

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**BANJAR** *Alt.* BANJARESE, BANDJARESE, BANJAR MALAY. *Dial.* KUALA, HULU, BUKIT. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Around Banjarmasin in south and east, one pocket on east coast south of the Kelai River mouth. Also in Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 2,100,000.

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**BANJAR MALAY** see **BANJAR**.

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**BANJARESE** see **BANJAR**.

**BANONI** *Alt.* TSONARI. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Piva/Banoni. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, southwestern. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**BANTALANG** see **RUKAI**.

**BANTAURANG** see **RUKAI**.

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**BANTIK** *Class.* WMP, Sangiric, South, Bantik. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeast section of northern peninsula of Sulawesi; three villages. *Pop.* 11,000.

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**BANTOANON** *Alt.* BANTON, BANTUANON, ASIQ, SIMARANHON, CALATRAVANHON. *Dial.* SIBALENHON (SIBALE), ODIONGANON. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Banton. *Loc.* Philippines. Banton, Simara, Maestro de Campo, and Tablas Islands, Romblon Province, between Masbate and Mindoro. *Pop.* 65,000.

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**BANTON** see **BANTOANON**.

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**BANTUANON** see **BANTOANON**.

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**BANYUWANGI** see **OSING**.

**BAO** see **PSOHOH**.

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**BARA** see **NAPU**.

**BARA-JIDA** see **BAKUMPAL**.

**BARAAN** see **BLAAN, KORONADAL**.

**BARAKAI** *Alt.* **WORKAI**. *Dial.* **MESIANG, BARAKAI**. *Class.* **CMP**, Aru, Nuclear Aru, *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Barakai Island, southeast Aru Islands; 4 villages on Barakai and one on Gomo-Gomo Island northeast of Barakai, south Maluku. *Pop.* 2,435.

**BARAM KAJAN** see **KAYAN, BARAM**.

**BARANGAN** see **TAWBUID**.

**BARAS** *Alt.* **ENDE**. *Class.* **WMP**, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Kaili. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, south Pasangkayu Subdistrict in Mamuju District between Lariang and Karossa rivers. *Pop.* 250.

**BARE'E** see **PAMONA**.

**BAREE** see **PAMONA**.

**BAREKE-VANGUNU** see **VANGUNU**.

**BARIA** see **SEDOA**.

**BARIAI** see **KABANA**.

**BARIM** *Class.* **OC, WOC**, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Korap. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, southwestern Umboi Island. *Pop.* 915.

**BAROK** *Alt.* **KOMALU, KANAPIT, KULUBI, KOLUBE, KANALU**. *Dial.* **USEN, BAROK**. *Class.* **OC, WOC**, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Madak. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland, south central, east and west coasts. 15 villages. *Pop.* 1,880.

**BARUNAI** see **BRUNEI**.

**BASAP** *Dial.* **JEMBAYAN, BULUNGAN, BERAU, DUMARING, BINATANG, KARANGAN**. *Class.* **WMP**, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Sajau. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Scattered throughout Bulungan, Sangkulirang, and Kutai. *Pop.* 17,000.

**BASAYA** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI**.

**BASAYA** see **BISAYA, SABAH**.

**BASING** see **MOKEN**.

**BATAAN AYTA** see **AYTA, BATAAN**.

**BATAAN SAMBAL** see **AYTA, BATAAN**.

**BATAK ALAS-KLUET** *Alt.* **ALAS-KLUET BATAK**. *Dial.* **ALAS**. *Class.* **WMP**, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Batak, Northern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Northern, northeast of Tapaktuan and around Kutacane. *Pop.* 80,000.

**BATAK** *Alt.* **BABUYAN, TINITIANES, PALAWAN BATAK**. *Class.* **WMP**, Meso Philippine, Palawano. *Loc.* Philippines. North central Palawan. *Pop.* 300.

**BATAK ANGKOLA** *Alt.* **ANGKOLA, ANAKOLA**. *Class.* **WMP**, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Batak, Southern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. North central, Sapiro area. *Pop.* 750,000.

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**BATAK DAIRI** *Alt.* DAIRI, PAKPAK. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Batak, Northern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Northern, southwest of Lake Toba around Sidikalang.

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**BATAK KARO** *Alt.* KARO BATAK. *Dial.* SINGKIL. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Batak, Northern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Central and northern, west and northwest of Lake Toba. *Pop.* 600,000.

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**BATAK MANDAILING** *Alt.* MANDAILING BATAK, BATTA. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Batak, Southern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Northern. *Pop.* 400,000.

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**BATAK SIMALUNGUN** *Alt.* TIMUR. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Batak, Simalungan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Northern, northeast of Lake Toba. *Pop.* 800,000.

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**BATAK TOBA** *Alt.* TOBA BATAK, BATTA. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Batak, Southern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Samosir Island and east, south, and west of Toba Lake in north Sumatra. *Pop.* 2,500,000.

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**BATANGAN** see BUHID.

**BATANGAN** see TAWBUID.

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**BATAVI** see BETAWI.

**BATI** *Alt.* GAH. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Banda-Geser, Geser-Gorom. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Eastern Seram in the mountains between Kian Darat and Keleser, and along the coast. *Pop.* 3500.

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**BATJAN** see MALAY, BACANESE.

**BATTA** see BATAK TOBA.

**BATU** see NIAS.

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**BATULEY** *Alt.* WATULAI, GWATULEY. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 7 villages in Aru on small islands off the east coast of Wokam Island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 2,400.

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**BAU-JAGOI** see JAGOI.

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**BAUBAU** see WOLIO.

**BAUKAN** *Dial.* BAUKAN (BAOKAN, BOKAN, BOKEN, BOKUN, BUKUN, BOKON, ULUN-NO-BOKON, ULUN-NO-BOKAN, PINGAS), KOKOROTON MURUT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic, Northern. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Keningau and Kinabatangan Districts around the headwaters of the Sook and Kinabatangan Rivers. *Pop.* 1,500 to 1,800.

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**BAURO** *Alt.* MARMAREGHO. *Dial.* HAUNUNU (HAUHUNU), BAURO, RAWO (RAVO). *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, San Cristobal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Central Makira (San Cristobal) Island. *Pop.* 2,800.

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**BAYO** see BAJAU, INDONESIAN.

**BEAUFORT MURUT** *Alt.* TIMUGON, SANDIWAR, SANDEWAR, DABUGUS, LOWER MURUT, MURUT PADASS. *Dial.* BUKAU (BUKOW), BINTAQ. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic, Northern. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Beaufort District along the Bukau and the lower Padas Rivers. *Pop.* 1,200 to 1,700.

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**BEBELI** *Alt.* BENAULE, BANAULE, KAPORE, BELI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, Stettin Bay, Cape Hoskins area. *Pop.* 1,050.

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**BEDOANAS** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Bomberai, Onin. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Northwest coast, Bomberai Peninsula. *Pop.* 250.

**BEHOA** see **BADA**.

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**BEKATI** *Alt.* BAKATIQ. *Class.* WMP, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan, Kabupaten Sambas. Northwestern near Sarawak border, in the neighbourhood of Seluas. *Pop.* 4,000.

**BEKETAN** see **BUKITAN**.

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**BEKIAU** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI**.

**BEKIAU** see **BISAYA, SARAWAK**.

**BEL** see **GEDAGED**.

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**BELANA'U** see **MELANAU**.

**BELI** see **BEBELI**.

**BELO** see **TETUN**.

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**BELOM** see **LOM**.

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**BELU** see **TETUN**.

**BENAULE** see **BEBELI**.

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**BENCOOLEN** see **BENGGOLU**.

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**BENGGOI** *Alt.* BENGGOI, KOBI-BENGGOI, UHEI-KAHLAKIM, UHEI-KACHLAKAN, UHEI KACHLAKIN. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Manusela-Seti. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North coast, east Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 350.

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**BENGGOLU** *Alt.* BENKULAN, BENCOOLEN. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Small area around Bengkulu city, western end of southern Sumatra. *Pop.* 55,000.

**BENGOI** see **BENGGOI**.

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**BENGUET-IGOROT** see **IBALOI**.

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**BENKULAN** see **BENGGOLU**.

**BENTENAN** see **RATAHAN**.

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**BENTOENI** see **WANDAMEN**.

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**BENTONG** *Alt.* DENTONG. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Makassar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, southeast corner of southern tip of peninsula; parts of Maros, Bone, Pangkep, and Barru districts. *Pop.* 25,000.

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**BENTUNII** see **WANDAMEN**.

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**BENUA** see **TEMUAN**.

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**BENYADU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northwestern Kalimantan near Sarawak border. *Pop.* 45,000.

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**BERAWAN** *Dial.* BATU BLA (BATU BELAH), WEST BERAWAN, LONG PATA, LONG TERAWAN, LONG JEGAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Baram-Tinjar. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Tutoh and Baram rivers in the north. *Pop.* 870.

**BESAYA** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI.**

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**BESAYA** see **BISAYA, SABAH.**

**BESEMAH** see **PASEMAH.**

**BESOA** see **BADA.**

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**BETAWI** *Alt.* JAKARTA MALAY, BETAWI, MELAYU JAKARTA. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Java. Jakarta.

**BGU** see **BONGGO.**

**BIADJU** see **NGAJU.**

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**BIAK** *Alt.* NUMFOR-BIAK, BIAK-NUMFOR, NUMFOOR, NOEFOOR, MAFOOR, MEFOOR, NUFOOR, MAFOORSCH, MYFOORSCH. *Dial.* ARIOM, BO'O, DWAR, FAIRI, JENURES, KORIM, MANDUSIR, MOFU, OPIF, PADOA, PENASIFU, SAMBERI, SAMPORI (MOKMER), SOR, SORENDIDORI, SUNDEI, WARI, WADIBU, SORIDO, BOSNIK, KORIDO, WARSA, WARDO, KAMER, MAPIA, MIOS NUM, RUMBERPON, MONOARFU, VOGELKOP. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Biakic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Islands of Biak and Numfor to the north and on numerous small islands east and west of the Bird's Head, including Mapia Island. *Pop.* 40,000.

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**BIAK-NUMFOR** see **BIAK.**

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**BIATAH** *Alt.* BIDEYU, SIBURAN, LUNDU, LANDU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. 1st Division, Kuching District, 10 villages. Also in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Pop.* 20,100.

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**BIBLING** see **AMARA.**

**BIBLING** see **MOUK-ARIA.**

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**BICOLANO, ALBAY** *Dial.* BUHI (BUHI'NON), DARAGA, LIBON, OAS. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol, Inland, Buhi-Daraga. *Loc.* Philippines. Western Albay Province and Buhi, Camarines Sur, Luzon. *Pop.* 480,000.

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**BICOLANO, CENTRAL** *Alt.* BIKOL. *Dial.* NAGA, LEGASPI. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol, Coastal. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Catanduanes, Northern Sorsogon, Albay, Camarines Norte and Sur, Luzon. Naga City and Legaspi City are centers. *Pop.* 2,500,000.

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**BICOLANO, IRIGA** *Alt.* RINCONADA BICOLANO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol, Inland, Iriga. *Loc.* Philippines. Iriga City, Baao, Nabua, Bato, Camarines Sur, Luzon. *Pop.* 180,000.

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**BICOLANO, NORTHERN CATANDUANES** *Alt.* PANDAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol, Pandan. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Northern Catanduanes, east of Bicol. *Pop.* 65,000.

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**BICOLANO, SOUTHERN CATANDUANES** *Alt.* VIRAC. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bikol, Coastal, Virac. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Southern Catanduanes, east of Bicol. *Pop.* 85,000.

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**BICOLI** see MABA.

**BIDEYU** see BIATAH.

**BIEM** *Alt.* BAM. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Manam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East Sepik Province, Viai, Blupblup, Kadovar, and Bam islands east of Wewak. *Pop.* 1,455.

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**BIEREBO** *Alt.* BONKOVIA-YEVALI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Epi. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West Epi. *Pop.* 450.

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**BIERI** see BIERIA.

**BIERIA** *Alt.* BIERI, VOVO, WOWO. *Dial.* BIERIA, VOVO (WOWO). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Epi. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southeast Epi. *Pop.* 170.

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**BIG BAY** see TOLOMAKO.

**BIGA** see SOBEI.

**BIKENU** see ATONI.

**BIKOL** see BICOLANO, CENTRAL.

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**BIKOL SORSOGON** see SORSOGON, WARAY.

**BILAAN** see BLAAN, SARANGANI.

**BILANES** see BLAAN, KORONADAL.

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**BILBIL** see BILIBIL.

**BILIAU** *Alt.* SENGAM. *Dial.* BILIAU, YAMAI, SUIT. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, 7 villages west of Saidor, Astrolabe Bay area. *Pop.* 800.

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**BILIBIL** *Alt.* BILBIL. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, coast just south of Madang town. *Pop.* 700.

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**BILUR** *Alt.* BIRAR. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, Gazelle Peninsula, 9 villages south-east of Cape Gazelle.

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**BIMA** *Alt.* BIMANESE. *Dial.* KOLO, KOMODO, SANGAR (SANGGAR), TOLOWERI, BIMA. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Sunda Islands, eastern Sumbawa Island. *Pop.* 500,000.

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**BIMANESE** see BIMA.

**BINA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, Oumic, Magoric, *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, north of Baibara, *Pop.* 2.

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**BINATANGAN** see TAWBUID.

**BINGKOKAK** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeastern Sulawesi. *Pop.* 150,000.

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**BINISAYA** see **CEBUANO**.

**BINISAYA** see **WARAY-WARAY**.

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**BINOKID** see **BINUKID**.

**BINONGKO** see **TUKANGBESI**.

**BINTAUNA** *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Gorontaloic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeast Sulawesi, around Bintauna. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**BINTULU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Northeast coast around Sibuti, west of Niah, around Bintulu, and two enclaves west. *Pop.* 4,200.

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**BINTUNII** see **WANDAMEN**.

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**BINUANG** see **PATTAE**.

**BINUKID** *Alt.* BINUKID MANOBO, BINOKID, BUKIDNON. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, North. *Loc.* Philippines. North central Mindanao, southern Bukidnon, northeastern Cotabato, Agusan del Sur. *Pop.* 100,000.

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**BINUKID MANOBO** see **BINUKID**.

**BIPI** *Alt.* SISI-BIPI. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, west coast, Maso, Matahei, and Salapai villages, Bipi and Sisi islands. *Pop.* 530.

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**BIQUENO** see **ATONI**.

**BIRAAN** see **BLAAN, KORONADAL**.

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**BIRAO** *Alt.* MBIRAO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonian, Gela-Guadalcanal, Guadalcanal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Eastern Guadalcanal Island. *Pop.* 3,485.

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**BIRAR** see **BILUR**.

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**BISAIA** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI**.

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**BISAIA** see **BISAYA, SABAH**.

**BISAYA BUKIT** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI**.

**BISAYA BUKIT** see **BISAYA, SARAWAK**.

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**BISAYA, BRUNEI** *Alt.* BISAYAH, BISAYA BUKIT, VISAYAK, BEKIAU, LORANG BUKIT, BASAYA, BESAYA, BISAIA, JILAMA BAWANG, JILAMA SUNGAI, SOUTHERN BISAYA. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Bisaya, Southern. *Loc.* Brunei. East of Tutong 1 and east to the coast, west of Seria. *Pop.* 14,000.

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**BISAYA, SABAH** *Alt.* BASAYA, BESAYA, BISAIA, BISAYAH, JILAMA BAWANG, JILAMA SUNGAI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Bisaya. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. On the coast north of and around Brunei Bay, mainly in west Beaufort along Padas River, south of Weston, and south Kuala Penyu districts to coast. *Pop.* 10,000 to 12,000.

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**BISAYA, SARAWAK** *Alt.* BISAYAH, BISAYA BUKIT, VISAYAK, BEKIAU, LORANG BUKIT. *Dial.* LOWER BISAYA, MID BISAYA, UPPER BISAYA. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Bisaya, Southern. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Southeast of Marudi, 5th Division. *Pop.* 7,000.

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**BISAYAH** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI.**

**BISAYAH** see **BISAYA, SABAH.**

**BISAYAH** see **BISAYA, SARAWAK.**

**BISAYAN** see **CEBUANO.**

**BISINGAI** see **SINGGI.**

**BITJOLI** see **MABA.**

**BLAAN, KORONADAL** *Alt.* KORONADAL BILAAN, BILANES, BIRAAN, BARAAN, TAGALAGAD. *Class.* WMP, South Mindanao, Bilic, Blaan. *Loc.* Philippines. South Cotabato Province, Mindanao. *Pop.* 100,000.

**BLAAN, SARANGANI** *Alt.* BILAAN, BALUD, TUMANAO. *Class.* WMP, South Mindanao, Bilic, Blaan. *Loc.* Philippines. South Cotabato Province, Sarangani Peninsula, Mindanao. *Pop.* 100,000.

**BLABLANGA** *Alt.* GEMA, GOI. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Santa Ysabel. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Santa Isabel Island, villages of Popoheo and Hovukoilo in Maringe District and from Ghoive to Biluro on Hograno coast. *Pop.* 550.

**BLANCHE BAY** see **TOLAI.**

**BOANAI** see **BOIANAKI.**

**BOANAKI** see **BOIANAKI.**

**BOANO** *Alt.* BUANO. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, West, Hoamoal, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Boano Island west of Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 3,240.

**BOANO** see **BOLANO.**

**BOBONGKO** see **ANDIO.**

**BOBOT** *Alt.* WERINAMA, HATUMETEN, ATIAHU, AHTIAGO. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Bobot. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Southeast Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 4,500.

**BOEGINEESCHE** see **BUGIS.**

**BOEGINEZEN** see **BUGIS.**

**BOEROE** see **BURU.**

**BOETONEEZEN** see **CIA-CIA.**

**BOETONEEZEN** see **WOLIO.**

**BOEWE** see **OROWE.**

**BOGU** see **BONGGO.**

**BOHUAI** *Alt.* PAHAVAI, PELIPOWAI, BOWAI, POHUAI (TULU-BOHUAI). *Dial.* KELI, BOHUAI, TULU (TULUN, TJUDUN). *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Bohuai, Peli Island, Pelinowai. *Pop.* 1,400.

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**BOHUTU** see **BUHUTU**.

**BOIANAKI** *Alt.* GALAVI, BOINAKI, BOANAKI, BOANAI. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Are. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, the coast west from Vidia to Rabaraba and Wagi to Uga. *Pop.* 1,700.

**BOINAKI** see **BOIANAKI**.

**BOLA** *Alt.* BAKOVI, BOLA-BAKOVI, HARUA (KARUA, XARUA, GARUA, MAI). *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, Willaumez. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northeast coast. *Pop.* 7,530.

**BOLA-BAKOVI** see **BOLA**.

**BOLAANG MONGONDOW** see **MONGONDOW**.

**BOLANGO** *Alt.* BULANGA, BULANGA-UKI, DIU, ATINGGOLA. *Dial.* BOLANGO, ATINGGOLA. *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Gorontalic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central North Sulawesi; Bolango on south coast around Molibagu; Atinggola on north-central coast between Kaidipang and Gorontalo. *Pop.* 20,000.

**BOLANO** *Alt.* BOANO, DJIDJA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, Montong Subdistrict, Bolano village. *Pop.* 1,600.

**BOLINAO** *Alt.* BOLINAO SAMBAL, BOLINAO ZAMBAL. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. West Pangasinan Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 50,000.

**BOLINAO SAMBAL** see **BOLINAO**.

**BOLINAO ZAMBAL** see **BOLINAO**.

**BOLONGAN** *Alt.* BULUNGAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Tidong. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, around Tanjungseler, lower Kayan River. *Pop.* 15,000.

**BONERATE** *Dial.* BONERATE, KAROMPA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Bonerate, Madu, Kalaotoa, and Karompa islands. *Pop.* 5,000.

**BONFIA** see **MASIWANG**.

**BONGA** see **MALALAMAI**

**BONGGO** *Alt.* ARMOPA, BGU, BOGU, BONGO. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea (?), Sarmi/Jayapura Bay, Sarmi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Northeast coast east of Sarmi and west of Demta near Betaf; villages of Taronta, Tarawasi, Armopa. *Pop.* 435.

**BONGO** see **BONGGO**.

**BONKOVIA-YEVALI** see **BIEREBO**.

**BONOTSEK** see **ATAYAL**.

**BONTOC** see **BONTOK, CENTRAL**.

**BONTOK, CENTRAL** *Alt.* BONTOC, IGOROT. *Dial.* SADANGA, GUINAANG  
**BONTOC, BAYYU**. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central

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Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Bontok-Kankanay, Bontok. *Loc.* Philippines. Central Mountain Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 30,000.

**BONTOK, EASTERN** *Alt.* SOUTHERN BONTOC, KADAKLAN-BARLIG BONTOC. *Dial.* LIAS, BARLIG, KADAKLAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Bontok-Kankanay, Bontok. *Loc.* Philippines. Central Mountain Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 6,000.

**BOSILEWA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Dobu-Duau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, north shore of Fergusson Island. *Pop.* 350.

**BOTEL TABAGO** see YAMI.

**BOTEL TOBAGO** see YAMI.

**BOTI** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, East Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East Seram, central Maluku.

**BOTOLAN ZAMBAL** see SAMBAL, BOTOLAN.

**BOTTENG-TAPPALANG** see ULUMANDA.

**BOUIOK** see SAISIYAT.

**BOWAI** see BOHUAI.

**BROOKES POINT PALAWANO** see PALAWAN.

**BRUNEI** *Alt.* BARUNAI, BRUNEI-KADAIAN, KADAIAN, KADAYAN, KADIAN, KADIEN, KADYAN, KARAYAN, KEDYAN, KEDAYAN, KEDIEN, KERAYAN, ORANG BUKIT. *Dial.* BRUNEI MALAY, KEDAYAN. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Brunei. Also in Sabah and Sarawak, Malaysia. *Pop.* 140,000.

**BRUNEI-KADAIAN** see BRUNEI.

**BU-HWAN** see TAROKO.

**BUAL** see BUOL.

**BUANG, MANGGA** *Alt.* MANGA BUANG, KAIDEMUI. *Dial.* LAGIS, KWASANG. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Hote/Buang, Buang. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, mid-upper Snake River area, Mumeng District. *Pop.* 3,000.

**BUANG, MAPOS** *Alt.* MAPOS, CENTRAL BUANG. *Dial.* WAGAU, MAMBUMP, BUWEYEU, WINS, CHIMBULUK, PAKAKENE, MAPOS. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Hote/Buang, Buang. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Upper Snake River area, Mumeng District. 10 villages. *Pop.* 6,670.

**BUANO** see BOANO.

**BUASI** see VEHES.

**BUBUKUN** see BUNUN.

**BUDIBUD** *Alt.* NADA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Kilivila/Louisiades, Kilivila. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Lachlan Islands, 50 miles east of Woodlark Island. *Pop.* 170.



**BUDONG-BUDONG** *Alt.* TONGKOU. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Mamuju District, Tongkou village. *Pop.* 11 households.

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**BUDONG-BUDONG** see TANGKOU.

**BUGHOTU** *Alt.* BUGOTO, BUGOTA, MAHAGA, BUGOTU, MBUGHOTU. *Dial.* HAGEULU, VULAVA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Gela-Guadalcanal, Bughotu. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Santa Isabel Island, southeast end from Suma to Horara, and on Furona Island off the northwest coast of Kia District. *Pop.* 1,900.

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**BUGI** see BUGIS.

**BUGINESE** see BUGIS.

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**BUGIS** *Alt.* BUGINESE, BUGI, BOEGINEESCHE, BOEGINEZEN, UGI, DE', RAPPANG BUGINESE. *Dial.* BONE (PALAKKA, DUA BOCCOE, MARE), PANGKEP (PANGKAJENE), CAMBA, SIDRAP (SIDENRANG, PINRANG UTARA, ALITTA), PASANGKAYU (UGI RIAWA), SINJAI (ENNA, PALATTAE, BULUKUMBA), SOPPENG (KESSI), WAJO, BARRU (PARE-PARE, NEPO, SOPPENG RIAJA, TOMPO, TANETE), SAWITTO (PINRANG), LUWU (LUWU', BUA PONRANG, WARA, MALANGKE-USSU). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Bugis. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, 3.5' to 5' South, other areas of coastal swamp such as Bulukumba, Luwu, Polewali in Polmas, Pasangkayu in Mamuju districts. On the western coast of southeast Sulawesi in Kolaka, Wundulako, Rumbia, and Poleang districts. Also in major towns of Sulawesi. Large enclaves also in other provinces of Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Maluku, Irian Jaya, and Sumatra. *Pop.* 3,600,000.

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**BUGKALUT** see ILONGOT.

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**BUGOTA** see BUGHOTU.

**BUGOTO** see BUGHOTU.

**BUGOTU** see BUGHOTU.

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**BUHID** *Alt.* BUKIL, BANGON, BATANGAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso-Philippine, South Mangyan, Buhid-Taubuid. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Mindoro. *Pop.* 7,000.

**BUHUTU** *Alt.* BOHUTU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, Suauic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Eastern tip of Papua, Sagarai Valley, Milne Bay Province. *Pop.* 1,065.

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**BUKA** see BUKAR SADONG.

**BUKABUKAN** see PUKAPUKA.

**BUKALOT** see ILONGOT.

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**BUKAR SADONG** *Alt.* SADONG, TEBAKANG, BUKA, BUKAR, SERIAN, SABUTAN. *Dial.* BUKAR BIDAYUH (BIDAYUH, BIDAYAH), BUKAR SADONG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Serian 1st Division, Sarawak, 30 or more villages. Also Indonesia, Kalimantan. *Pop.* 34,600.

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**BUKAR** see BUKAR SADONG.

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**BUKAT** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Muller-Schwaner 'Punan'. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan, Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu. North central near Sarawak border, Kapuas River, southeast of Mendalam, 3 areas. *Pop.* 400.

**BUKAUA** see **BUKAWA**.

**BUKAWA** *Alt.* BUKAUA, KAWA, BUKAWAC, KAWAC. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, North Huon Gulf. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, coast of Huon Gulf. *Pop.* 9,700.

**BUKAWAC** see **BUKAWA**.

**BUKIDNON** see **BINUKID**.

**BUKIDNON** see **MAGAHAT**.

**BUKIDNON** see **SULOD**.

**BUKIL** see **BUHID**.

**BUKITAN** *Alt.* BAKITAN, BAKATAN, BEKETAN, MANGKETTAN, MANKETA, PAKATAN. *Dial.* PUNAN UKIT, PUNAN BUSANG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, East Kalimantan. Iwan River, on Sarawak border. Also in Sarawak, Malaysia. *Pop.* 410.

**BULANGA** see **BOLANGO**.

**BULANGA-UKI** see **BOLANGO**.

**BULI** *Dial.* BULI, WAYAMLI (WAJAMLI, JAWANLI). *Class.* SHWNG, South Halmahera, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, central Halmahera, east coast, three villages. *Pop.* 1,800 to 2,000.

**BULU** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, Willaumez. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, Willaumez Peninsula. *Pop.* 570.

**BULUD UPI** see **IDAAN**.

**BULUNGAN** see **BOLONGAN**.

**BUMA** *Alt.* TEANU, PUMA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Eastern Outer Islands, Vanikoro. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Buma village, Vanikoro Island, Temotu Province. *Pop.* 60.

**BUNAMA** *Dial.* BUNAMA, BARABARA, SAWATUPWA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Dobu-Duau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, southern Normanby Island. *Pop.* 1,200.

**BUNAN** see **BUNUN**.

**BUNDA** see **SUWAWA**.

**BUNGKU** *Alt.* NAHINE. *Dial.* BUNGKU, MENUI, TO RETE, WATU, EPE-ROUTA, TALUKI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Bungku. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, Bungku Utara, Bungku Tengah, Bungku Selatan, and Menui Kepulauan subdistricts; 93 villages or parts of villages. Also in northern southeast Sulawesi, Lasusua, Pakue, Mowewe, Lasolo, Unaaha, Asera districts, where there is difficult access. *Pop.* 35,000.

**BUNTI** see **BUNUN**.

**BUNUM** see **BUNUN**.

**BUNUN** *Alt.* BUNTI, VONUN, BUNAN, BUBUKUN, VUNUM, VUNUN, VUNUNG, BUNUM. *Dial.* RANDAI, TONDAL, SHIBUKUN (SIBUKUN, SIBUKAUN, SIBUCOON, SIVUKUN), NORTH BUNUN (TAKETODO, TAKEBAKHA), CENTRAL BUNUN (TAKBANUAO, TAKEVATAN), SOUTH BUNUN (ISHBUKUN), TAKOPULAN. *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. East central plain, south of the Sediq (Taroko). *Pop.* 32,000.

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**BUOL** *Alt.* BUAL, BWO'OL, DIA. *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Gorontaloic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Paleleh, Bunobogu, Bokan, Momunu, Biau, Baolan subdistricts; 68 villages. *Pop.* 75,000.

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**BURMBAR** *Alt.* VARTAVO, BANAN BAY. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southeast Malekula. *Pop.* 525.

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**BURU** *Alt.* BOEROE, BURUESE. *Dial.* MASARETE, WAE SAMA, RANA, LISELA (LICELA, LI ENYOROT, LI ENJOROT) FOGI (LI EMTEBAN). *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, Buru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Buru Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 43,000.

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**BURUESE** see **BURU**.

**BURUMBA** see **BAKI**.

**BURUSU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Sajau. *Loc.* Indonesia, East Kalimantan. Northeast, around Sekatakunyi, north of Sajau Basap language. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**BUSAMI** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. North coast, Yapen Island near 136', villages of Kamanap, Masiaroti, Kaonda. *Pop.* 600.

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**BUSANG** see **KAYAN**, **BUSANG**.

**BUSH MEKEO** see **MEKEO**.

**BUSH MENGEN** see **POENG**.

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**BUSHMAN'S BAY** see **LINGARAK**.

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**BUSOA** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Munic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, Batauga District, southwest coast of Buton Island, south of the Katobengke-Topa-Sulaa-Lawela area.

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**BUTMAS-TUR** *Alt.* ATI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. East central Santo. *Pop.* 525.

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**BUTON** see **CIA-CIA**.

**BUTON** see **WOLIO**.

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**BUTONESE** see **CIA-CIA**.

**BUTONESE** see **WOLIO**.

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**BUTUANON** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, South, Butuan-Tausug. *Loc.* Philippines. Butuan City, Mindanao.

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**BUTUNG** see **CIA-CIA**.

**BUTUNG** see **WOLIO**.

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**BWAIDOGA** *Alt.* BWAIDOKA, IDUNA. *Dial.* MATAITAI, WAGIFA, KILIA, LAUWELA, BWAIDOGA, IDUNA (VIVIGANA, VIVIGANI) (WAIBULA, UFAUFA, IDAKAMENAI, BELEBELE, KALAUNA, GOIALA, UFUFU, CENTRAL VIVIGANI).

*Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Bwaidoga. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, southeast tip of Goodenough Island and west Fergusson Island. *Pop.* 12,000 (?).

**BWAIDOKA** *see* **BWAIDOGA**.

**BWATOO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Voh-Kone: Baco, Gatope, Oundjo; Poya: Népou. *Pop.* 300.

**BWATVENUA** *see* **RAGA**.

**BWO'OL** *see* **BUOL**.

**CAAC** *Alt.* MOENEBENG. *Dial.* POUÉBO (PWEBO), LA CONCEPTION (ST. LOUIS). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, Extreme Northern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Pouébo, northeast coast. *Pop.* 750.

**CABARAN** *see* **KAVALAN**.

**CADOE LOANG** *see* **CHRU**.

**CAELI** *see* **KAYELI**.

**CAGAYAN DE SULU** *see* **MAPUN**.

**CAGAYAN** *see* **GADDANG**.

**CAGAYANCILLO** *see* **KAGAYANEN**.

**CAGAYANO CILLO** *see* **KAGAYANEN**.

**CAGAYANO** *see* **MAPUN**.

**CAGAYANON** *see* **MAPUN**.

**CAJELI** *see* **KAYELI**.

**CAKKE** *see* **DURI**.

**CALAMIANO** *see* **CALAMIANO**.

**CALATRAVANHON** *see* **BANTOANON**.

**CALUYANEN** *Alt.* CALUYANUN, CALUYANHON. *Dial.* SEMIRARA. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, West. *Loc.* Philippines. Caluya Islands, Antique. *Pop.* 20,000.

**CALUYANHON** *see* **CALUYANEN**.

**CALUYANUN** *see* **CALUYANEN**.

**CAMBODIAN CHAM** *see* **CHAM, WESTERN**.

**CAMOTES** *see* **POROHANON**.

**CAMPALAGIAN** *Alt.* TALLUMPANUAE, TJAMPALAGIAN, TASING. *Dial.* CAMPALAGIAN, BUKU. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi. Campalagian. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Majene Kabupaten, Polmas, south coast. *Pop.* 30,000.

**CAMUCONES** see **TIDONG**.

**CAMUHI** see **CÈMUHÍ**.

**CAMUKI** see **CÈMUHÍ**.

**CANALA** see **XÂRÂCÙÙ**.

**CAPISANO** see **CAPIZNON**.

**CAPISEÑO** see **CAPIZNON**.

**CAPIZNON** *Alt.* CAPISANO, CAPISEÑO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central. *Loc.* Philippines. Northeast Panay. *Pop.* 445,716.

**CAPUL** see **SAMA, ABAKNON**.

**CAPULEÑO** see **SAMA, ABAKNON**.

**CAROLINIAN** *Alt.* SAIPAN CAROLINIAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Saipan, Pagan, and Agrihan islands, Carolines. *Pop.* 2,500.

**CARRAGA MANDAYA** see **MANDAYA, KARAGA**.

**CASIGURAN DUMAGAT** see **AGTA, CASIGURAN**.

**CATEELENYO** see **MANDAYA, CATAELANO**.

**CEBUANO** *Alt.* SUGBUHANON, SUGBUANON, VISAYAN, BISAYAN, BINISAYA, SEBUANO. *Dial.* CEBU, BOHOLANO, LEYTE, MINDANAO VISAYAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Cebuan. *Loc.* Philippines. Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Visayas and parts of Mindanao. Also USA. *Pop.* 12,000,000.

**CÈMUHÍ** *Alt.* CAMUHI, CAMUKI, TYAMUHI, WAGAP. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, Central. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Touho: east coast from Congouma to Wagap and inland valleys. *Pop.* 3,000.

**CENTRAL AMBON** see **LAHA**.

**CENTRAL BUANG** see **BUANG, MAPOS**.

**CENTRAL KADAZAN** see **DUSUN, CENTRAL**.

**CENTRAL KANKANAËY** see **KANKANAËY**.

**CENTRAL MURUT** see **KENINGAU MURUT**.

**CENTRAL RAGA** see **APMA**.

**CENTRAL SINAMA** see **SAMA, CENTRAL**.

**CHAM** see **CHAM, WESTERN**.

**CHAM, EASTERN** *Alt.* TJAM, CHIEM. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Coastal, Cham-Chru. *Loc.* Vietnam. Mainly in Phan Rang and Phan Ri areas, scattered through Thuan Hai. *Pop.* 80,000.

**CHAM, WESTERN** *Alt.* CAMBODIAN CHAM, TJAM, CHAM, NEW CHAM. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Coastal, Cham-Chru. *Loc.* Kampuchea. Most in

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Kampuchea, but several thousand in Viet Nam near Chau Doc and Tay Ninh and in Saigon  
Cholon. *Pop.* 155,000.

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**CHAMORRO** *Alt.* TIAMORO. *Dial.* CHAMORRO, ROTINESE CHAMORRO. *Class.*  
WMP, Chamorro. *Loc.* Guam. Northern Mariana Islands. *Pop.* 73,500.

**CHAU KO'** see MOKEN.

**CHAU POK** see MOKLEN.

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**CHAW TALAY** see URAK LAWOI.

**CHAWNAM** see URAK LAWOI.

**CHE-HWAN** see TAROKO.

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**CHEKE HOLO** see MARINGE.

**CHIEM** see CHAM, EASTERN.

**CHINESE INDONESIAN** see INDONESIAN, PERANAKAN.

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**CHINESE MALAY** see MALAY, BABA.

**CHOISEUL, EAST** *Alt.* BABATANA, MBAMBATANA. *Dial.* BABATANA  
(MBAMBATANA) SENNGA (SENGAN, SISINGGA, SENGA), KUBORO  
(KUMBORO), KATAZI, LÖMAUMBI, AVASÖ. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian,  
New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Choiseul. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. East  
Choiscul Island. *Pop.* 5,000.

**CHRAU HMA** see CHRU.

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**CHRU** *Alt.* CHURU, CHRAU HMA, CADOE LOANG, RAI, SEYU, CRU, KRU. *Dial.*  
RAI, NOANG (LA-DANG). *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Coastal, Cham-  
Chru. *Loc.* Vietnam. Lam Dong Province. *Pop.* 15,000 to 20,000.

**CHUI-HUAN** see THAO.

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**CHUIHWAN** see THAO.

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**CHURU** see CHRU.

**CI** see PAICI.

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**CIA-CIA** *Alt.* SOUTH BUTON, SOUTHERN BUTUNG, BUTON, BUTUNG,  
BUTONESE, BOETONEEZEN. *Dial.* KAESABU, SAMPOLAWA (MAMBULU-  
LAPORO), WABULA, MASIRI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Buton. *Loc.*  
Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Buton Island. *Pop.* 15,000.

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**CINAMIGUIN** see MANOBO, CINAMIGUIN.

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**CIRI** see TIRI.

**CLATA** see BAGOBO.

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**COCOS** see MALAY, COCOS ISLANDS.

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**COOK ISLAND** see RAROTONGAN.

**COOK ISLANDS MAORI** see RAROTONGAN.

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**CRAIG COVE** see LONWOLWOL.

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**CRU** see **CHRU**.

**CUYO** see **CUYONON**.

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**CUYONO** see **CUYONON**.

**CUYONON** *Alt.* CUYONO, CUYUNON, CUYO, KUYUNON. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, West, Kuyan. *Loc.* Philippines. Palawan coast, Cuyo Islands between Palawan and Panay. *Pop.* 93,000.

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**CUYUNON** see **CUYONON**.

**DA'A** see **DAA**.

**DA'ANG** see **LAIYOLO**.

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**DAA** *Alt.* DA'A, PEKAWA, PEKAVA, INDE. *Dial.* SIGI (IJA, IDJA), BUNGGU. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Kaili. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi. Bunggu is in south Sulawesi, Mamuju District, Pasangkayu Subdistrict. *Pop.* 32,000.

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**DABUGUS** see **BEAUFORT MURUT**.

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**DAI** *Class.* CMP, Babar, North Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. South, Dai Island. *Pop.* 800.

**DAIRI** see **BATAK DAIRI**.

**DAIYA-ATAIYAL** see **TAROKO**.

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**DAKAKA** *Alt.* BAIAP, SOUTH AMBRYM. *Dial.* SESIVI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Ambrym. *Pop.* 600.

**DAKKA** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Polewali-Mamasa District, Wonomulyo Subdistrict. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**DAMAR, EAST** *Alt.* SOUTH DAMAR. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, East Damar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Six villages on east side of Damar Island, north of eastern tip of Timor Island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 2,800.

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**DAMAR, WEST** *Alt.* NORTH DAMAR. *Class.* CMP, West Damar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Two villages on the northwest side of Damar Island, north of eastern tip of Timor, south Maluku. *Pop.* 800.

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**DAMI** *Alt.* HAM. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, Madang Subprovince. 10 villages inland around Gogol River. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**DAMPELAS** see **DAMPELASA**.

**DAMPELASA** *Alt.* DIAN, DAMPELAS. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Dampal Selatan and Dampelas Sojol subdistricts, 8 villages. *Pop.* 9,500.

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**DANG** see **TUNGAG**.

**DANGAL** see **WATUT, SOUTH**.

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**DANGGAL** see **WATUT, SOUTH**.

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**DARO-MATU** *Dial.* DARO, MATU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Lower Rejang. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Matu River from north channel of Rejang River to the sea, around Daro and Matu. *Pop.* 7,600.

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**DATAGNON** see **RATAGNON**.

**DAVAOÑO** see **DAVAWENYO**.

**DAVAWENO** see **DAVAWENYO**.

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**DAVAWENYO** *Alt.* MATINO, DAVAOÑO, DAVAWENO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Davaweño. *Loc.* Philippines. Davao Oriental, Davao del Sur, Mindanao. *Pop.* 125,000.

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**DAVELOR** see **DAWERA-DAWELOOR**.

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**DAWAN** see **ATONI**.

**DAWANA** see **DAWAWA**.

**DAWAWA** *Alt.* DAWANA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Kakabai. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West and inland from Wedau in Milne Bay Province. *Pop.* 1,700.

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**DAWERA-DAWELOOR** *Alt.* DAVELOR. *Class.* CMP, Babar, North Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Six villages on Dawera and Daweloor islands to the east of Babar. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**DAYAK, LAND** *Dial.* KUAP (BETA, QUOP, BIKUAB), MURANG PUNAN, SERMAH (BIONAH), BEHE, BERANG, RIBUN, BEKIDO, AYE-AYE, SABUNGO, BUDANO, GUGU, IPOH, KROKONG, KUPA, MANUKAI (MANYUKE, MANJUKE, MENYUKAI), MATAN, MENTUH TAPUH, MERATEI (MERETEI), SANTAN, GURGO, SAU (SAUH, BIRATAK), SERING, SIDIN (SIDING, SINDING), SINAN, STANG, SUMPO, TUBBIA, TEMILA. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Southern Sarawak. Also in West Kalimantan in the Sambas-, Landak-, Tayan- and Sanggau areas. *Pop.* 57,620.

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**DE'** see **BUGIS**.

**DE'U** see **DEHU**.

**DEAH** see **DUSUN DEYAH**.

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**DEBABAON** see **MANOBO, DIBABAWON**.

**DEHU** *Alt.* DE'U, DREHU, LIFOU, LIFU, MIN. *Dial.* LOSI, WETE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Loyalty Islands. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Lifou, Loyalty Islands. *Pop.* 12,000.

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**DEJAH** see **DUSUN DEYAH**.

**DENGALU** see **MUMENG**.

**DENTONG** see **BENTONG**.

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**DESINDOLA'** see **DUANO**.

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**DIA** see **BUOL**.

**DIAHOUE** see **JAWE**.

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**DIAN** see **DAMPELASA**.

**DIBABAON** see **MANOBO, DIBABAWON**.

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**DIBAGAT-KABUGAO-ISNEG** see **ISNAG**.

**DIO** see **K AidIPANG**.

**DIODIO** *Dial.* IAUIAULA, UTALO, AWALE, CENTRAL DIODIO. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Bwaidoga. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, west coast of Goodenough Island. *Pop.* 1,200.

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**DIU** see **BOLANGO**.

**DIXON REEF** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwest Malekula. *Pop.* 50.

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**DJAKUN** see **JAKUN**.

**DJANG BELE TEBO** see **REJANG**.

**DJANG** see **REJANG**.

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**DJARAI** see **JARAI**.

**DJAUL** see **TIANG**.

**DJAWA** see **JAVANESE**.

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**DJIDJA** see **BOLANO**.

**DJONGKANG** *Class.* WMP, Bornco, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northwest, south of Balai Sebut. *Pop.* 45,000.

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**DOBEL** *Alt.* KOBRO'OR, KOBROOR, DOYBEL. *Dial.* INLAND DOBEL, SOUTHEAST DOBEL, NORTHEAST DOBEL, KOKA. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Aru Islands, along the whole east coast of Koba Island, one village in southeast of Wokam Island, several villages on eastern end of Selat Barakai (Sungai), Koba Islands and three Koba villages on Baun and Fukarel Islands. 20 villages. Southeast Maluku. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**DOBU** *Dial.* GALUEWA, SANAROA, UBUIA, CENTRAL DOBU, LOBODA (ROBODA, DAWADA-SIAUSI). *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Dobu-Duau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Sanaroa, Dobu, and parts of Fergusson and Normanby islands. 500 villages. *Pop.* 8,000.

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**DOGA** *Alt.* MAGABARA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Are. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, north coast of Cape Vogel. *Pop.* 200.

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**DOHOI** *Alt.* OT DANUM, UUT DANUM. *Dial.* OT BALAWAN, OT BANU'U, OT MURUNG 1 (MURUNG 1), OT OLANG, OT TUHUP, SARAWAI (MELAWI), DOHOI. *Class.* WMP, Bornco, West Barito, Northwest. *Loc.* Indonesia, Central Kalimantan. Extensive area south of the Schwaner Range on the upper reaches of south Borneo rivers. *Pop.* 80,000.

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**DOMDOM** see **GUMAWANA**.

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**DONDO** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Galang, Baolan, and Dondo subdistricts; 18 villages or parts of villages. *Pop.* 9,000.

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**DOOMPAS** see **DUMPAS**.

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**DORIO** *Alt.* KWAREKWAREO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomon, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Southern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. West central Malaita Island. *Pop.* 900.

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**DOURA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Nuclear West Central Papuan. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, around Galley Reach. *Pop.* 800.

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**DOYBEL** see **DOBEL**.

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**DREHU** see **DEHU**.

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**DRUBEA** see **DUMBEA**.

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**DRUKAI** see **RUKAI**.

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**DRUKAY** see **RUKAI**.

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**DUANO** *Alt.* ORANG KUALA, DESIN DOLA'. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia, Peninsular. South coast around Pontian Kecil and northwest. *Pop.* 1,920.

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**DUAU** *Dial.* LOMITAWA, SIPUPU, WEYOKO, MEUDANA, KEROROGEA, MWALUKWASIA, SOMWADINA, GULEGULEU (GURAGUREU), KUMARAHU, SAWABWALA, DUAU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Dobu-Duau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Sawabwala, Normanby islands. *Pop.* 6,050.

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**DUAU PWATA** see **SEWA BAY**.

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**DUAURU** see **NUMEE**.

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**DUBEA** see **DUMBEA**.

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**DUINDUI** see **NDUINDUI**.

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**DUKAI** see **RUKAI**.

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**DUKE** *Alt.* NDUKE, NDUGHORE, KOLOMBANGARA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomon, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Kolombangara Island, Western Province. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**DUKE OF YORK** see **RAMOAINA**.

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**DUMAGET, UMIRAY** *Alt.* UMIREY DUMAGAT, UMIRAY AGTA., TAGABULOS ANGAT. *Dial.* PALAUI ISLAND AGTA, ANGLAT AGTA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat, Umiray Dumagat. *Loc.* Philippines. Quezon Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**DUMBEA** *Alt.* NDUMBEA, NAA DUBEA, DUBEA, DRUBEA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, Extreme Southern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Paita west coast, Ounia east coast. *Pop.* 1,400.

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**DUMPAS** *Alt.* DOOMPAS. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Perancangan village in Labuk-Sugut District. *Pop.* 500 to 1,000.

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**DUPANINAN AGTA** see **AGTA, EASTERN CAGAYAN**.

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**DURI** *Alt.* MASENREMPULU, CAKKE, KALOSI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Masenrempulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, mountains of Enrekang District. *Pop.* 80,000.

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**DUSAN** see **DUSUN, CENTRAL**.

**DUSNER** *Alt.* DUSNIR. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Biakic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Around town of Dusner, west coast of Cenderawasih Bay, Wandamen Bay area. Only one village. *Pop.* 6.

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**DUSNIR** see **DUSNER**.

**DUSUM** see **DUSUN, CENTRAL**.

**DUSUN DAYAK** see **RUNGUS**.

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**DUSUN DEYAH** *Alt.* DEAH, DEJAH. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, East Barito, Central-East. *Loc.* Indonesia, South Kalimantan. Tabalong River northeast of Bongkang. *Pop.* 20,000.

**DUSUN MALANG** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, East Barito, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, South Kalimantan. East central, west of Muarainu, northeast of Muarateweh. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**DUSUN MURUT** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic, Northern. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Central Keningau area around Ambual, Liau Laut. *Pop.* 1,000 to 1,200.

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**DUSUN** see **DUSUN, CENTRAL**.

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**DUSUN** see **KADAZAN, SUGUT**.

**DUSUN SEGAMA** *Alt.* SAGA-I, SOGHAI, SEGAI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic, Upper Kinabatangan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Segama River area of Lahad Datu District. *Pop.* 500.

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**DUSUN WITU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, East Barito, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, South Kalimantan. Southeast, regions of Pendang and Buntokecil; south of Muarateweh. *Pop.* 25,000.

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**DUSUN, CENTRAL** *Alt.* DUSUN, DUSAN, DUSUM, DUSUR, KADAYAN, KEDAYAN, KADASAN, CENTRAL KADAZAN. *Dial.* DUSUN SINULIHAN (SINULIHAN), KADAZAN-TAGARO (TAGARO), KIUNDU, PAHU', SOKID, TINDAL, MENGGATAL (KIULU, TELEPOK), RANAU, BUNDU (TAGINAMBUR), BEAUFORT, LUBA. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Beaufort, Kota Belud, Kota Kinabalu, Kota Marudu, Kinabatangan, Keningau, Labuk-Sugut, Penampang, Papar, Ranau, Tambunan, Tenom, Tuaran, and Tawau Districts. *Pop.* 140,000.

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**DUSUN, TAMBUNAN** *Alt.* TAMBUNAN, TAMBUNAN DUSUN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Throughout Tambunan District and parts of Keningau.

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**DUSUN, TEMPASUK** *Alt.* TINDAL, KEDAMAIAN DUSUN, TAMPASUK, TAMPASSUK, TAMPASOK, TEMPASOK. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Area around Tempasuk village, Kota Belud. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**DUSUR** see **DUSUN, CENTRAL**.

**DUWET** *Alt.* GUWOT, GUWET, WAING. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Lower Markham, Busu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Busu River. *Pop.* 400.

**DYOKAY** see **RUKAI**.

**EAST LITTORAL** see **SEPA**.

**EAST MORI** see **MORI BAWAH**.

**EAST SUMBANESE** see **SUMBA**.

**EAST TORAJA** see **RONGKONG-LUWU**.

**EAST TORAJA** see **TOALA**.

**EAST UREPARAPARA** see **LEHALURUP**.

**EAST UVEAN** see **WALLISIAN**.

**EASTER ISLAND** see **RAPA NUI**.

**EASTERN KADAZAN** see **KADAZAN, LABUK-KINABATANGAN**.

**EBON** see **MARSHALLESE**.

**ÉDANG** see **KEDANG**.

**EDE** see **RADE**.

**EFATE, NORTH** *Dial.* NGUNA (GUNA, TONGOA, NGUNESE), LELEPA (HAVANNAH HARBOUR), BUNINGA, SESAKE, EMAU, PAUNANGIS, LIVARA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Central Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northern Efate Island, Nguna, Tongoa, and several smaller islands, southeast Epi. *Pop.* 3,000.

**EFATE, SOUTH** *Alt.* FATE, ERAKOR. *Dial.* ETON (EPWAU, EASTERN EFATE), ERAKOR (SOUTHERN EFATE). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Central Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Efate Island. *Pop.* 3,750.

**EFIRA** see **MELE-FILA**.

**EKLEP** see **AIKLEP**.

**ELLICE** see **TUVALU**.

**ELLICEAN** see **TUVALU**.

**ELPAPUTI** see **ELPAPUTIH**.

**ELPAPUTIH** *Alt.* ELPAPUTI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Uliase, Hatuhaha, Elpaputi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. West Seram, central Maluku.

**ELU** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern, Manus, East. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, north coast of Manus Island. *Pop.* 215.

**ELU-KARA** see **LELE**.

**EMA** see **KEMAK**.

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**EMAE** *Alt.* EMWAE, MAE, MWAE, EMAI, MAI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Southern. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Emae; Three Hills Island, Sesake Island, two villages. *Pop.* 200.

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**EMAI** see **EMAE**.

**EMBALOH** *Alt.* AMBALO, MBALOH, MALOH, MALO, MEMALOH, MATOH, PARI, PALIN. *Class.* WMP, South Sulawesi, Tamanic. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan. (Northeastern part), just south of Sarawak border, tributaries of the upper Kapuas River. *Pop.* 7,000.

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**EMIRA** see **MUSSAU-EMIRA**.

**EMIRA-MUSSAU** see **MUSSAU-EMIRA**.

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**EMPLAWAS** *Class.* CMP, Babar, South, Southwest Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Village of Emplawas, southwest Babar Island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 250.

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**EMWAE** see **EMAE**.

**ENDE** *Alt.* ENDEH. *Dial.* ENDE (ENDEH, JA'O, DJAU), NGA'O (NGAO, WEST ENDE). *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba, Ende-Lio. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Flores, west of Sika, Lesser Sundas. *Pop.* 87,000.

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**ENDE** see **BARAS**.

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**ENDEH** see **ENDE**.

**ENDEKAN BARAT** see **PATTINJO**.

**ENDEKAN** see **ENREKANG**.

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**ENDEKAN TIMUR** see **ENREKANG**.

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**ENGGANESE** see **ENGGANO**.

**ENGGANO** *Alt.* ENGGANESE. *Class.* WMP, Enggano. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Enggano Island, southwest of Sumatra and on four smaller nearby islands. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**ENIM** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

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**ENREKANG** *Alt.* MASENREMPULU, ENDEKAN, ENDEKAN TIMUR. *Dial.* ENREKANG, RANGA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Masenrempulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, foothills of Enrekang District. *Pop.* 80,000.

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**ERAANS** see **IDAAN**.

**ERAI** see **PERAI**.

**ERAKOR** see **EFATE, SOUTH**.

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**ERE** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, south coast, Drabitou, Lohe, Londru, Metawari, Pau, Piterait, Taiu-Undrau, Hatwara, and Loi villages. *Pop.* 800.

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**EROKWANAS** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Bomberai, Onin. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Northwest coast of Bomberai Peninsula, north of Baham language. *Pop.* 250.

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**EROMANGA** see **SIE**.

**ERRAMANGA** see **SIE**.

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**ERRONAN** see **FUTUNA-ANIWA**.

**ESIRIUN** see **WATUBELA**.

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**ESPIEGLE BAY** see **MALUA BAY**.

**EVAV** see **KEI**.

**FAGA-UVÉA** see **UVEAN, WEST**.

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**FAGANI** see **FAGHANI**.

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**FAGHANI** *Alt.* **FAGANI**. *Dial.* **FAGHANI**, **RIHU'A**, **AGUFI**. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, San Cristobal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Northwest Makira Island. *Pop.* 300.

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**FALI** see **LONWOLWOL**.

**FANTING** see **LONWOLWOL**.

**FARANGAO** see **BALANGAO**.

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**FATAKAI** see **NUAULU, NORTH**.

**FATAKAI** see **NUAULU, SOUTH**.

**FATALEKA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Malaita Island. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**FATE** see **EFATE, SOUTH**.

**FAUR** see **URUANGNIRIN**.

**FAVORLANG** see **BABUZA**.

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**FAVORLANGSCH** see **BABUZA**.

**FEAD** see **NUGURIA**.

**FESOA** see **NALIK**.

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**FESSOA** see **NALIK**.

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**FIJI** see **FIJIAN, EASTERN**.

**FIJI** see **FIJIAN, WESTERN**.

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**FIJIAN** see **FIJIAN, EASTERN**.

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**FIJIAN** see **FIJIAN, WESTERN**.

**FIJIAN, EASTERN** *Alt.* **FIJI**, **FIJIAN**, **STANDARD FIJIAN** *Dial.* **KADAVU** (**ONO**, **TAVUKI**, **NABUKELEVU**), **SOUTH-EAST VITI LEVU** (**NAMOSI**, **WAIDINA**, **LUTU**, **NANDRAU**, **NAIMASIMASI**, **BAU** (**BAUAN**, **MBAU**)), **NORTH-EAST VITI LEVU** (**TOKAIMALO**, **NAMENA**, **LOVONI**), **WESTERN VANUA LEVU** (**NAVATU-B**, **SOOLEVU**, **BUA**, **NAVAKASIGA**, **GONE DAU**), **CENTRAL VANUA LEVU** (**BAARAVI**, **SEAQAAQAA**, **NABALEBALE**, **SAVUSAVU**), **NORTH-EAST VANUA LEVU** (**LABASA**, **DOGOTUKI SAQANI**, **KOROLAU**), **SOUTH-EAST VANUA LEVU** (**NAVATU-C**, **TUNULOA**, **NAWENI**, **BAUMAA**), **LAU** (**LAU**, **VANUA BALAVU**). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, East Fijian. *Loc.* Fiji. Eastern half of Viti Levu and its eastern offshore islands, Kadavu Island, Vanua Levu

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and its offshore islands, Lau, Nayau, Lakeba, Oneata, Moce, Komo, Namuka, Kabara, Vulaga, Ogea, Vatoa islands. *Pop.* 340,000 (including West Fijian).

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**FIJIAN, WESTERN** *Alt.* FIJI, FIJIAN, NADROGA, NADRONGA. *Dial.* NUCLEAR WESTERN (NADROGAA (TUBANIWAI, BAARAVI)), WAYA, NAMOSI-NAITAASIRI-SEERUA (BATIWAI, TUBAI, NALEA). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, West Fijian/Rotuman, West Fijian. *Loc.* Fiji. Western half of Viti Levu, Waya Islands. *Pop.* 50,000 or more.

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**FILA-MELE** see **MELE-FILA**.

**FIRA** see **MELE-FILA**.

**FIU** see **KWARA'AE**.

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**FLORIDA ISLANDS** see **GELA**.

**FORDAT** see **FORDATA**.

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**FORDATA** *Alt.* LARAT, FORDAT, FORDATE. *Dial.* LARAT (LARAT-FORDATA I), FORDATA (LARAT-FORDATA II), MOLU-MARU, SEIRA. *Class.* CMP, Southeast Maluku, Kei-Tanimbar, Kei-Fordata. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Southeast Maluku, northern Tanimbar Islands of the Fordata, Larat, the Molu-Maru group, a few villages on the northwest part of Yamdena, and on Seira off the west coast of Yamdena. 30 villages. *Pop.* 20,000 to 25,000.

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**FORDATE** see **FORDATA**.

**FORTSENAL** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Santo. *Pop.* 150.

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**FOTUNA** see **FUTUNA-ANIWA**.

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**FUTUNA, EAST** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier. *Loc.* Wallis and Futuna. Futuna and Alofi islands in Horne (Hoorn) Islands Group. Distinct from Futuna Island (West Futuna) in Vanuatu. *Pop.* 6,600.

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**FUTUNA-ANIWA** *Alt.* FOTUNA, ANEWA, WEST FUTUNA, ERRONAN. *Dial.* WEST FUTUNA, ANIWA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Southern. *Loc.* Vanuatu. (West) Futuna and Aniwa Islands, east of Tanna. *Pop.* 600.

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**FWA-GOUMAK** see **KUMAK**.

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**FWAI** *Alt.* POAI, YENGEN, YEHEM. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, North, Nemi. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Hiènghènc east coast: Ouenguip to Pindache and lower valleys. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**GA'DANG** see **GADANG**.

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**GABADI** *Alt.* KABADI, ABADI. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Gabadi. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, north of Galley Reach. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**GABOBORA** see **ANUKI**.

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**GADANG** *Alt.* GA'DANG, BALIWON, GINABWAL, KALINA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic, Gaddang. *Loc.* Philippines. Paracelis, foothills, Mt. Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**GADDANG** *Alt.* CAGAYAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic, Gaddang. *Loc.* Philippines. Central Isabela, and Bagabag, Solano, and Bayombong in Nueva Vizcaya, Luzon. *Pop.* 30,000.

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**GAEI** see **KAYELI**.

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**GAGE** see **TOLITOLI**.

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**GAH** see **BATI**.

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**GAJ** see **BAJAU, INDONESIAN**.

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**GAJO** see **GAYO**.

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**GALAVI** see **BOIANAKI**.

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**GALEYA** *Alt.* GAREA. *Dial.* WADALEI, GAMETA, URUA, BASIMA, SEBUTUIA, GAREA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Dobu-Duau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, northeast coast, Fergusson Island. *Pop.* 1,875.

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**GALI** see **ROINJI**.

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**GALOLE** see **GALOLI**.

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**GALOLENG** see **TALUR**.

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**GALOLI** *Alt.* GALOLE. *Dial.* NA NAHEK, EDI, DADUA, GALOLI, BABA, HAHAK. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Timor Island, north coast between Mambai and Makasai, regions of Laklo, Manatutu, Laleia, and We-Masin, Wetar Island. *Pop.* 50,000.

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**GALUMPANG** see **KALUMPANG**.

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**GANA** *Alt.* GANAQ, GANA', MINANSUT, KENINGAU DUSUN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Minusut and Kuangoh, Keningau District along the Baiaya River, a tributary of the Pegalan River, north of Keningau town. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**GANA'** see **GANA**.

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**GANAQ** see **GANA**.

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**GANE** *Alt.* GANI, GIMAN. *Class.* SHWNG, South Halmahera, East Makian-Gane. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, Halmahera Island, south part of southern peninsula. *Pop.* 2,900.

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**GANI** see **GANE**.

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**GANONGGA** see **GHANONGGA**.

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**GAO** *Alt.* NGGAO. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Santa Ysabel. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Central Isabel Island, from Tausese southeast to Floakora Point. Principal village is Poro. *Pop.* 500.

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**GAPA** see **GAPAPAIWA**.

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**GAPAPAIWA** *Alt.* MANAPE, GAPA, PAIWA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Are. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, south coast of Cape Vogel. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**GAREA** see **GALEYA**.

**GARI** see **GHARI**.

**GARO** see **KOTA MARUDU TALANTANG**.

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**GARUWAHI** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Taupota. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Between Taupota, Wedau and East Cape, Milne Bay Province. *Pop.* 225.

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**GASMATA** see **AVAU**.

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**GAUA** see **LAKONA**.

**GAUA** see **NUME**.

**GAYO** *Alt.* GAJO. *Dial.* DOROT, BOBASAN, SERBODJADI, TAMPUR. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Gayo. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Mountain region of north Sumatra around Takengon, Genteng, and Lokon. *Pop.* 180,000.

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**GEBE** *Alt.* GEBI. *Dial.* UMER, *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, Gebe, Yoi'umiyal, and Gag Islands between southern Halmahera and Waigeo Island, Irian Jaya. *Pop.* 1,000 to 3,000.

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**GEBI** see **GEBE**.

**GEDAGED** *Alt.* BEL, GRAGED, STAR, STAR-RAGETTA, TIARA, MITEBOG, RAGETTA, RIO, SEK, SZEAK-BAGILI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province; small offshore islands and coastal villages around Madang town. *Pop.* 2,765.

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**GELA** *Alt.* NGGELA, FLORIDA ISLANDS. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Gela-Guadalcanal, Gela. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Gela, Florida Islands, Guadalcanal (immigrants), and Savo Islands, central Solomons. *Pop.* 5,325.

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**GELA** see **KELA**.

**GELE'** see **KELE**.

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**GELIK** see **PATPATAR**.

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**GEMA** see **BLABLANGA**.

**GESA** see **GESER**.

**GESER** *Alt.* GESER-GOROM, GESA, GORAM, GORONG, SERAM, SERAN, GORAN, SERAN LAUT. *Dial.* GESER, GOROM. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Banda-Geser. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Eastern end of Seram and the Seram Laut Islands. *Pop.* 40,000.

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**GESER-GOROM** see **GESER**.

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**GHANONGGA** *Alt.* GANONGGA, KUBOKOTA, KUMBOKOTA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North Ranonga Island (Ghanongga), Western Province. *Pop.* 1,900.

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**GHARI** *Alt.* GARI, TANGARARE, SUGHU, WEST GUADALCANAL. *Dial.* GAE (NGGAE), GERI (NGGERI), NDI (VATURANGA), NGINIA, TANDAI-NGGARIA (TANAGHAI), GHARI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Gela-Guadalcanal, Guadalcanal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Guadalcanal Island, west, northwest and north central coast. *Pop.* 5,270.

**GIA-RAI** see **JARAI**.

**GIANGAN** see **BAGOBO**.

**GILBERTESE** see **KIRIBATI**.

**GILIPANES** see **IFUGAO, KIANGAN**.

**GIMAN** see **GANE**.

**GIMI** *Alt.* LOKO. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawe. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, southwest coast and inland, Johanna River to Anu River. *Pop.* 3,700.

**GINABWAL** see **GADANG**.

**GITOA** see **GITUA**.

**GITUA** *Alt.* GITOA, KELANA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Ngero, Tuam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, north coast of Huon Peninsula. *Pop.* 483.

**GOA** see **MAKASSAR**.

**GOG** see **LAKONA**.

**GOI** see **BLABLANGA**.

**GONE DAU** see **GONEDAU**.

**GONEDAU** *Alt.* GONE DAU. *Class.* OC, Remote Oceanic, Central Pacific, Rotuman-Fijian, Fijian, East. *Loc.* Fiji. Eastern Fiji, Gone and Dau islands off western Vanua Levu. *Pop.* 500.

**GONI** see **YERETUAR**.

**GORAM** see **GESER**.

**GORAN** see **GESER**.

**GORONG** see **GESER**.

**GORONTALO** *Alt.* HULONTALO. *Dial.* EAST, GORONTALO, LIMBOTTO, WEST, TILAMUTA. *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Gorontalic, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Western North Sulawesi. *Pop.* 900,000.

**GRAGED** see **GEDAGED**.

**GUANGA** see **BAGOBO**.

**GUBAT** see **SORSOGON, WARAY**.

**GULAALAA** see **KWAI**.

**GULANGA** see **BAGOBO**.

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**GUMASI** see GUMAWANA.

**GUMAWANA** *Alt.* GUMASI, DOMDOM. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Gumawana. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Amphlett Islands; a barren group north of Fergusson. 2 or 3 villages. *Pop.* 250.

**GUNANTUNA** see TOLAI.

**GURAMALUM** *Class.* OC, New Ireland-Tolai, Patpatar-Tolai. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province. *Pop.* 3 to 4.

**GUWET** see DUWET.

**GUWOT** see DUWET.

**GWATULEY** see BATULEY.

**HA MEA** see MEA.

**HA'US** see ANDRA-HUS.

**HA'UWA** see RAMPI.

**HA-TIRI** see TIRI.

**HABU** *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, Waima'a. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. East Timor Island, northeast of Laclubar and the Idate language. *Pop.* 1,000.

**HAEKE** *Alt.* AEKE, 'AEKE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Haekic. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Voh-Kone: Baco. *Pop.* 100 or fewer.

**HAHON** *Alt.* HANON. *Dial.* KURUR, RATSUA, ARAVIA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Nehan/North Bougainville, Saposia-Tinputz. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Northwest North Solomons Province. *Pop.* 1,300.

**HAHUTAN** see ILIUN.

**HAI** see LELE.

**HAINAN CHAM** see HUIHUI.

**HAKU (HAKO)** see HALIA.

**HALIA** *Alt.* HANAHAHAN, TULON, TASI, HAKU (HAKO). *Dial.* HANAHAHAN, HAKU, KILINAILAU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Nehan/North Bougainville, Buka. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, Buka Passage Subprovince, northeastern Buka Island. *Pop.* 14,000.

**HAM** see DAMI.

**HAMEHA** see MEA.

**HAMTIKNON** see KINARAY-A.

**HANAHAHAN** see HALIA.

**HANO** see RAGA

**HANON** see HAHON.

**HANONOO** see HANUNOO.

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**HANUNOO** *Alt.* HANONOO. *Dial.* GUBATNON (GUBAT, SORSOGONON), BINLI, KAGANKAN, WAIGAN, WAWAN, BULALAKAWNON. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, South Mangyan, Hanunoo. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Oriental Mindoro. *Pop.* 7,000.

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**HAPA** see LABU.

**HARAGURE** see XARAGURE.

**HARANEU** see XÂRÂCÛÛ.

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**HAROI** *Alt.* HRWAY, HROI, BAHNAR CHAM, HROY. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Plateau. *Loc.* Vietnam. Phu Yen, Binh Dinh and Phu Bon Provinces. *Pop.* 15,000 to 20,000.

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**HARUA** see BOLA.

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**HARUKU** *Dial.* HULALIU, PELAUW, KAILOLO, ROHOMONI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Haruku Island, Lease Islands, central Maluku. *Pop.* 13,000.

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**HATANG-KAYEY** see AGTA, REMONTADO.

**HATUE** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, East Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East Seram, central Maluku.

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**HATUE** see SALEMAN.

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**HATUMETEN** see BOBOT.

**HAVEKE** *Alt.* AVEKE, 'AVEKE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Voh-Kone: Gatope, Oundjo, Tiéta. *Pop.* 300.

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**HAVUNESE** see SAWU.

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**HAWAI'I** see HAWAIIAN.

**HAWAII** see HAWAIIAN.

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**HAWAIIAN** *Alt.* HAWAII, HAWAI'I. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Marquesic. *Loc.* USA. Hawaiian Islands, mainly Ni'ihau Island and the Big Island of Hawai'i. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**HAWU** see SAWU.

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**HELON** see HELONG.

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**HELONG** *Alt.* HELON, KUPANG. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Helong. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Western tip of Timor Island near the port of Tenau and several villages on Semau. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**HERMIT** *Alt.* AGOMES, LUF, MARON. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Western Manus Province, Luf and Maron Islands in Hermit Islands. *Pop.* 20.

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**HIGAONON** see MANOBO, HIGAONON.

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**HILA-KAITETU** *Alt.* SEIT-KAITETU. *Dial.* HILA, SEIT (SEITH), KAITETU. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Ambon. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seit (Seith), Kaitetu, and Hila villages, north coast of Ambon Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 10,200.

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**HILIGAINON** see **HILIGAYNON**.

**HILIGAYNON** *Alt.* ILONGGO, HILIGAINON. *Dial.* HILIGAYNON, KAWAYAN, BANTAYAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central, Peripheral. *Loc.* Philippines. Iloilo and Capiz provinces, Panay, Negros Occidental, Visayas. *Pop.* 4,500,000.

**HILL DUSUN** see **KUIJAU**.

**HINARAY-A** see **KINARAY-A**.

**HITU** *Dial.* WAKAL, MORELA, MAMALA, HITU. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Ambon. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 4 villages, Wakal, Hitu, Mamala, Morela, Hitu Peninsula, Ambon Island. *Pop.* 16,000.

**HIW** *Alt.* TORRES, TORRES ISLAND. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Torres Islands. *Pop.* 120.

**HMWAEKE** see **VAMALE**.

**HMWAVEKE** *Alt.* 'MOAVEKE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, North, Hmwaveke. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Voh: Tiéta. *Pop.* 300.

**HO'TEI** see **HOTE**.

**HOAVA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North Marovo Lagoon, New Georgia Island, Western Province. *Pop.* 600.

**HOG HARBOUR** see **SAKAO**.

**HOGIRANO** see **MARINGE**.

**HOGO** see **TAROKO**.

**HOGRANO** see **MARINGE**.

**HOLO** see **MARINGE**.

**HONITETU** see **WEMALE, SOUTH**.

**HOP** see **MARI**.

**HORURU** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seram, central Maluku.

**HOTE** *Alt.* HO'TEI, HOTE. *Dial.* HOTE, YAMAP, MISIM. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Hote/Buang, Hote. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Francisco River area. *Pop.* 3,900.

**HOTEC** see **HOTE**.

**HOTI** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, East Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 10 possibly.

**HOUAILOU** see **A?JIË**.

**HOVONGAN** *Alt.* PUNAN BUNGAN. *Dial.* HOVONGAN, SEMUKUNG UHENG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Muller-Schwaner 'Punan'. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. North central near Sarawak border, 2 areas. *Pop.* 575.

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**HROI** see **HAROI**.

**HROY** see **HAROI**.

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**HRWAY** see **HAROI**.

**HUAULU** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Manusela-Seti. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East Seram, central Maluku, northwest of Manusela. *Pop.* 300.

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**HUIHUI** *Alt.* HAINAN CHAM. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, North. *Loc.* China. Hainan Island. *Pop.* 3,800.

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**HUKUMINA** *Alt.* BAMBAA. *Class.* Unclassified. May be migrant WMP language from Buton area. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Formerly spoken in northwest Buru Island, central Maluku. One old speaker now in village of Masarete-Kayeli in east Buru. *Pop.* 1.

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**HULA** see **KEAPARA**.

**HULONTALO** see **GORONTALO**.

**HULUNG** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram, Hulung. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Hulung village, west Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 10 or fewer.

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**HUMBOLDT JOTAF** see **TOBATI**.

**I-WAK** *Alt.* IWAAK. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Southern Cordilleran, Pangasinan, Benguet, Iwaak. *Loc.* Philippines. Reported to live in the following villages: Tojongan, Bakes, Lebeng, Domolpos, Bujasjas, Kayo-ko, Salaksak (in Kayapa), extreme eastern Itogon, Benguet Province, Luzon. I-wak people also live in Capintalan in Nueva Ecija, but speak only Kallahan.

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**IAAI** *Alt.* IAI, YAI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Loyalty Islands. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Ouvéa Island, Loyalty Islands. *Pop.* 2,200.

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**IAI** see **IAAI**.

**IAMALELE** see **YAMALELE**.

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**IBADOY** see **IBALOI**.

**IBALOI** *Alt.* IBALOY, IBADOY, INIBALOI, NABALOI, BENGUET-IGOROT, IGODOR. *Dial.* DAKLAN, KABAYAN, BOKOD. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Southern Cordilleran, Pangasinan, Benguet, Ibaloi-Karao. *Loc.* Philippines. Central and southern Benguet Province, western Nueva Vizcaya Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 87,750.

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**IBALOY** see **IBALOI**.

**IBAN** *Alt.* SEA DAYAK. *Dial.* BATANG LUPAR, BUGAU, SEBERUANG, KANTU', DESA, KETUNGAU (AIR TABUN, SIGARAU, SEKALAU, SEKAPAT, BANJUR, SEBARU', DEMAM, MAUNG). *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak, Ibanic. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan. Also Sarawak and Sabah, Malaysia, and Brunei. *Pop.* 377,000.

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**IBANAG** *Alt.* YBANAG. *Dial.* NORTH IBANAG, SOUTH IBANAG. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic. *Loc.* Philippines. Isabela and Cagayan Provinces, Luzon. *Pop.* 300,000.

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**IBANGA** see **LAMOGAI**.

**IBATAAN** see **IBATAN**.

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**IBATAN** *Alt.* **BABUYAN**, **IBATAAN**, **IVATAN**. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Bashiic, Ivatan. *Loc.* Philippines. Babuyan Island, north of Luzon. *Pop.* 950 or more.

**IBOHO** see **TAROKO**.

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**IDA'AN** see **IDAAN**.

**IDAAN** *Alt.* **ERAANS**, **BULUD UPI**, **IDA'AN**, **IDAHAN**, **IDAN**, **IDAYAN**. *Dial.* **BEGAHAK** (**BAGAHAK**, **BEGAK**), **SUBPAN** (**SUPAN**, **SUNGAI**), **IDA'AN**. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Ida'an. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. East coast, Lahad Datu, Kinabatangan, and Sandakan districts. *Pop.* 6,000.

**IDAHAN** see **IDAAN**.

**IDAN** see **IDAAN**.

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**IDATE** *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Timor, mountains of part of the Laclubar area, surrounded by the Mambai, Galoli, Kairui, and Tetum. *Pop.* 5,000.

**IDAYAN** see **IDAAN**.

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**IDNE** see **MALEU**.

**IDUNA** see **BWAIDOGA**.

**IFUGAO**, **AMGANAD** *Dial.* **BURNAY IFUGAO**, **BANAUE IFUGAO**. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Ifugao. *Loc.* Philippines. Ifugao Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 27,000.

**IFUGAO**, **AYANGAN** *Dial.* **AYANGAN IFUGAO**, **BATAD IFUGAO**, **DUCLIGAN IFUGAO**. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Ifugao. *Loc.* Philippines. Ifugao Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 43,000.

**IFUGAO**, **KIANGAN** *Alt.* **GILIPANES**, **QUIANGAN**, **TUWALI**. *Dial.* **HAPAO IFUGAO**, **HUNGDUAN IFUGAO**, **LAGAWE IFUGAO**. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Ifugao. *Loc.* Philippines. Ifugao Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 25,000.

**IFUGAO**, **MAYOYAO** *Alt.* **MAYOYAO**, **MAYAOYAW**. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Ifugao. *Loc.* Philippines. Ifugao Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 15,710.

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**IGODOR** see **IBALOI**.

**IGORA** see **KAKABAI**.

**IGOROT** see **BONTOK**, **CENTRAL**.

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**IHA** *Dial.* **LATU**, **IHA**. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram, Iha. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Latu, Hualoy, Tomalehu villages, and some in Kairatu village, west Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 4,520.

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**IHA** see **IH**.

**IKALAHAN** see **KALLAHAN, KAYAPA**.

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**IKIRIBATI** see **KIRIBATI**.

**ILANUN** *Alt.* ILLANUN, ILLANOAN, ILLANOON, IRANON MARANAO, IRANUM, IRANUN, LANOON, YLANOS, LANUN, ILLANOS. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Danao, Maranao-Iranon. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. 17 villages around Lahad Datu and Kota Belud districts; also reported to be in Kudat and Marudu. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**ILIUN** *Alt.* ILMAUMAU, HAHUTAN, LIMERA. *Class.* CMP, Southwest Maluku, Wetar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Villages of Telemar, Karbubu, Klishatu, Ilmaumau, Eray, Nabar, and Esulit on west end of Wetar Island, north of Timor, south Maluku. Also in Istutun village on Lirang Island off southwest tip of Wetar. *Pop.* 1,400.

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**ILIWAKI** see **TALUR**.

**ILLANOAN** see **ILANUN**.

**ILLANOON** see **ILANUN**.

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**ILLANOS** see **ILANUN**.

**ILLANUN** see **ILANUN**.

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**ILMAUMAU** see **ILIUN**.

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**ILMEDU** see **TALUR**.

**ILOCANO** *Alt.* ILOKO, ILOKANO. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Ilocano. *Loc.* Philippines. Northwestern Luzon, La Union and Ilocos provinces, Cagayan Valley, Babuyan, Mindoro, Mindanao. *Pop.* 5,300,000.

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**ILOKANO** see **ILOCANO**.

**ILOKO** see **ILOCANO**.

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**ILONGGO** see **HILIGAYNON**.

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**ILONGOT** *Alt.* BUGKALUT, BUKALOT, LINGOTES. *Dial.* ABAKA (ABACA), EGONGOT, IBALAO (IBILAO), ITALON, IYONGUT. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Southern Cordilleran, Ilongot. *Loc.* Philippines. Eastern Nueva Vizcaya, Western Quirino, Luzon. *Pop.* 6,120.

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**ILPUTIH** see **APUTAI**.

**ILWAKI** see **TALUR**.

**IMANDI** *Class.* OC, Siassi, Sepik-Madang, Sepik, Eastern. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East Sepik Province. *Pop.* (Existence unconfirmed).

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**IMASI** see **SOBEI**.

**IMBAO'O** see **ANDIO**.

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**IMROING** *Class.* CMP, Babar, South, Southwest Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Village of Imroing, southwest Babar Island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 450.

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**INABAKNON** see **SAMA, ABAKNON**.

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**INAGTA OF MT. IRAYA** see **AGTA, MT. IRAYA**.

**INBAKNON** see **SAMA, ABAKNON**.

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**INDE** see **DAA**.

**INDI AYTA** see **AYTA, MAG-INDI**.

**INDONESIAN** *Alt.* BAHASA INDONESIA. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia. *Pop.* 35,000,000 native speakers.

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**INDONESIAN, PERANAKAN** *Alt.* CHINESE INDONESIAN, BABA INDONESIAN, PERANAKAN. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia. East and central Java. *Pop.* Many thousands.

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**INGLI** see **MABA**.

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**INIBALOI** see **IBALOI**.

**INMEAS** see **ISINAI**.

**INSINAI** see **ISINAI**.

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**INTERIOR SALUAN** see **SALUAN, KAHUMAMAHON**.

**IRAHUTU** see **IRARUTU**.

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**IRANON MARANAO** see **ILANUN**.

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**IRANUM** see **ILANUN**.

**IRANUN** see **ILANUN**.

**IRARUTU** *Alt.* IRAHUTU, IRUTU, KASIRA, ARGUNI BAY, KAITERO. *Class.* CEMP, Unclassified. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. East Bomberai Peninsula southwest from Arguni Bay north to Bintuni Bay, 44 villages. *Pop.* 5,000-6,000.

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**IRAYA** *Dial.* ABRA-DE-ILOG, ALAG-BAKO, PAGBAHAN, PALAUAN-CALAVITE, PAMBUHAN, SANTA CRUZ. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Northern Mindoro. *Loc.* Philippines. Northern Mindoro. *Pop.* 8,000.

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**IRAYA, RUGNOT OF LAKE BUHI EAST** see **AGTA, MT. IRAYA**.

**IRESIM** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cendrawasih Bay, Iresim. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. South Cenderawasih Bay west of Nabire and around Yamur Lake. *Pop.* 100.

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**IRUTU** see **IRARUTU**.

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**ISAL** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, East Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East Seram, central Maluku.

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**ISINAI** *Alt.* INSINAI, ISINAY, ISNAY, INMEAS. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Isinai. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon: Bambang, Dupax, and Aritao, Nueva Vizcaya. *Pop.* 5,650.

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**ISINAY** see **ISINAI**.

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**ISNAG** *Alt.* ISNEG, DIBAGAT-KABUGAO-ISNEG. *Dial.* BAYAG, DIBAGAT-KABUGAO, CALANASAN, KARAGAWAN (DARAGAWAN), TALIFUGU-RIPANG (TAWINI). *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic. *Loc.* Philippines. Northern Apayao, Luzon. *Pop.* 27,000.

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**ISNAY** see **ISINAI**.

**ISNEG** see **ISNAG**.

**ITA** see **ALTA, SOUTHERN**.

**ITAWES** see **ITAWIT**.

**ITAWIS** see **ITAWIT**.

**ITAWIT** *Alt.* **ITAWIS, TAWIT, ITAWES. Dial.** MALAWEG (MALAUEG), ITAWIS. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Ibanagic. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, southern Cagayan. *Pop.* 105,555.

**ITBEG RUGNOT** see **AGTA, MT. IRAYA**.

**ITNEG, BINONGAN** *Alt.* TINGUIAN, TINGGUIAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Itneg. *Loc.* Philippines. Ba-ay Valley and Licuan Abra Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 7,000.

**ITNEG, INLAOD** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg. *Loc.* Philippines. Northern Luzon, southwest of Binongan Itneg, northwest of Masadiit Itneg.

**ITNEG, MASADIIT** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg. *Loc.* Philippines. Sallapadan and Bucloc, Abra Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 7,500.

**ITNEG, SOUTHERN** *Alt.* LUBA-TIEMPO ITNEG. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, southern Abra Province.

**IVANGA** see **LAMOGAI**.

**IVATAN** *Dial.* ITBAYAT (ITBAYATEN), BASCO IVATAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Bashiic, Ivatan. *Loc.* Philippines. Basco, Batanes Islands. About 1,000 relocated on Mindanao near boundary of Bukidnon, Lanao del Sur, and Cotabato; some in Manila, Luzon. *Pop.* 30,000.

**IVATAN** see **IBATAN**.

**IWAAK** see **I-WAK**.

**IWAL** *Alt.* KAIWA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Kaiwa. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Lae District, between Wau and Salamaua. *Pop.* 1,500.

**IWATENU** see **NENGONE**.

**JABANA** see **KIA**.

**JABEM** see **YABEM**.

**JABIM** see **YABEM**.

**JABORLANG** see **BABUZA**.

**JAGGOI** see **JAGOI**.

**JAGOI** *Alt.* SENTAH, SARAWAK DAYAK, JAGGOI, BAU-JAGOI. *Dial.* GROGO, SENTENGGAU JAGOI, GUMBANG, SERAMBAU (SERAMBO), EMPAWA, ASSEM, SUTI, TENGOH, DONGAY, TAUP (TAHUP). *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Bau, 1st Division, Sadong, Samarahan and Lundu Rivers, about 20 villages. *Pop.* 19,000.

**JAHALATAN** see ATAMANU.

**JAHALATANE** see ATAMANU.

**JAJAO** see ZAZAO.

**JAKARTA MALAY** see BETAWI.

**JAKOON** see JAKUN

**JAKU'D** see JAKUN.

**JAKUD'N** see JAKUN.

**JAKUN** *Alt.* JAKU'D, JAKUD'N, JAKOON, DJAKUN, ORANG HULU. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia, Peninsular. East coast and inland, Pairang River, Pekan to Sri Gading, east to Benut, northwest to around middle Muat River. *Pop.* 9,800.

**JALOC** see ARIBWAUNGG.

**JAMA MAPUN** see MAPUN.

**JAMDEN** see YAMDENA.

**JAMDENA** see YAMDENA.

**JAMDERA** see YAMDENA.

**JANG** see REJANG.

**JANGAN** see BAGOBO.

**JARAI** *Alt.* DJARAI, GIA-RAI, JORAI. *Dial.* PUAN, HODRUNG, JHUE, ARAP, HABAU, TO-BUAN, SESAN, CHUTY, PLEIKLY, GOLAR. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Plateau, *Loc.* Vietnam. Gia Lai-Cong Tum and Dac Lac provinces. Also in USA. *Pop.* 200,000.

**JAUR** see YAUR.

**JAVANESE** *Alt.* JAWA, DJAWA. *Dial.* JAWA HALUS, CIREBON (TJIREBON, CHERIBON), TEGAL, INDRAMAYU, SOLO, TEMBUNG, PISISIR, SURABAYA, MALANG-PASURUAN, BANTEN, MANUK. *Class.* WMP, Javanese. *Loc.* Indonesia, Java. Central Java, eastern third of west Java, southwestern half of east Java. Also resettlements in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Irian Jaya. Also in Sabah, Malaysia *Pop.* 75,200,000.

**JAVANESE, CARIBBEAN** *Alt.* SURINAM JAVANESE. *Class.* WMP, Javanese. *Loc.* Surinam and French Guiana. *Pop.* between 60,000 and 90,000.

**JAVANESE, NEW CALEDONIAN** *Class.* WMP, Sundic, Javanese. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Noumea. *Pop.* 5,000.

**JAWA** see JAVANESE.

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**JAWE** *Alt.* NJAWE, DIAHOUE, OUBATCH, UBACH. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, North, Nemi. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Northeast coast from Tchamboenne to Tao and upper valleys. *Pop.* 900.

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**JAYAPURA** see TOBATI.

**JILAMA BAWANG** see BISAYA, BRUNEI.

**JILAMA BAWANG** see BISAYA, SABAH.

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**JILAMA SUNGAI** see BISAYA, BRUNEI.

**JILAMA SUNGAI** see BISAYA, SABAH.

**JORAI** see JARAI.

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**JOTAFI** see TOBATI.

**JUANGA** see YUAGA.

**KAAGAN** see KALAGAN, KAGAN.

**KABADI** see GABADI.

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**KABALAN** see KAVALAN.

**KABANA** *Alt.* BARIAI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Ngero, Bariai. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, east of Cape Gloucester, northwest coast. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**KABARAN** see KAVALAN.

**KABULOWAN** see ALTA, SOUTHERN.

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**KABULUWAN** see ALTA, SOUTHERN.

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**KABULUWEN** see ALTA, SOUTHERN.

**KADAI** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, Sula, Taliabo. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, Sula Islands, Taliabu Island, interior mountains. Possibly in the mountains of Mangole Island also. *Pop.* 300 to 500.

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**KADAIAN** see BRUNEI.

**KADAKLAN-BARLIG BONTOC** see BONTOK, EASTERN.

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**KADAS** see PAIWAN.

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**KADAS** see PYUMA.

**KADAS** see RUKAI.

**KADASAN** see DUSUN, CENTRAL.

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**KADAYAN** see BRUNEI.

**KADAYAN** see DUSUN, CENTRAL.

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**KADAYAN** see KADAZAN, SUGUT.

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**KADAZAN, COASTAL** *Alt.* PENAMPANG KADAZAN, PAPAR KADAZAN, MEMBAKUT KADAZAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. West coast of Sabah, Penampang and Papar districts. *Pop.* 60,000.

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**KADAZAN, KLIAS RIVER** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Klias River area, Beaufort District. *Pop.* 1,000.

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~~**KADAZAN, LABUK-KINABATANGAN** *Alt.* EASTERN KADAZAN, LABUK KADAZAN, SOGILITAN, TINDAKON, TOMPULUNG. *Dial.* MANGKAAK (MANGKAHAK, MANGKOK, MANGKAK), SUKANG, LABUK, LAMAG SUNGAI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Eastern Kadazan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Northeast Sabah, Sandakan, Labuk-Sugut, and Kinabatangan districts. *Pop.* 14,000 to 16,000.~~

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**KADAZAN, SUGUT** *Alt.* DUSUN, SUGUT, KADAYAN, TALANTANG, TINAGAS, TANGGAL, TILAU-ILAU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Headwaters of Sugut River, Labuk-Sugut District. *Pop.* 8,000 to 9,000.

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**KADIAN** see BRUNEI.

**KADIEN** see BRUNEI.

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**KADO** see ULUMANDA.

**KADYAN** see BRUNEI.

**KAGAN KALAGAN** see KALAGAN, KAGAN.

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**KAGAYAN** see MAPUN.

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**KAGAYANEN** *Alt.* CAGAYANO CILLO, CAGAYANCILLO. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, North. *Loc.* Philippines. Cagayan Island, between Negros and Palawan, and communities on the coast of Palawan. *Pop.* 15,000-20,000.

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**KAHAIAN** see KAHAYAN.

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**KAHAJAN** see KAHAYAN.

**KAHAYAN** *Alt.* KAHAIAN, KAHAJAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, West Barito, Southwest. *Loc.* Indonesia, Central Kalimantan. Kapuas and Kahayan rivers, south central, northeast of Ngaju. *Pop.* 45,000.

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**KAHUA** *Alt.* ANGANIWAI, ANGANIWEI, WANONI, NARIHUA. *Dial.* TAWARFA (STAR HARBOUR), SANTA ANA (OWA RAHA), SANTA CATALINA (OWA RIKI), KAHUA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, San Cristobal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. South Makira (San Cristobal) Island. *Pop.* 4,040.

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**KAI** see KEI.

**KAIBOBO** *Alt.* KAIBUBU. *Dial.* KAIBOBO, HATUSUA. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Kaibobo, Hatusua, Waisamu, Kamarian, Seruawan, Tihulale, and Rumahkay villages in Kairatu District; 8 villages total, Piru Bay, west Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 500.

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**KAIBUBU** see KAIBOBO.

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**KAIDEMUI** see BUANG, MANGGA.

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**KAIDIPAN** see KAIDIPANG.

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**K AidIPANG** *Alt.* KAIDIPAN, DIO. *Dial.* KAIDIPAN, BOLAANG ITANG (BOLANG ITANG). *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Gorontalic, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northern Sulawesi, northern coast on both sides of Bolang Itang. *Pop.* 22,000.

**K AIEP** *Alt.* SAMAP. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Kairiru. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East Sepik Province, coast at Kaiep. *Pop.* 150.

**K AIMANGA** see MBULA.

**K AIMBULAWA** *Dial.* LANTOI, KAMBE-KAMBERO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Munic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, part of Siompu Island.

**K AIRIRU** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Kairiru. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East Sepik Province, Kairiru, Yuo, Karesau Islands, several coastal villages on mainland between Cape Karawop and Cape Samein, and northern and western Mushu Island. *Pop.* 3,500.

**K AIRUI-MIDIKI** *Dial.* KAIRUI, MIDIKI (MIDIK). *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, Waima'a. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Timor Island, small mountainous area surrounded by Makasai, Waima'a, Tetum, Galoli. *Pop.* 2,000.

**K AITAROLEA** see KILENGE.

**K AITERO** see IRARUTU.

**K AITETU** see SEIT-KAITETU.

**K AIWA** see IWAL.

**K AIWAI** see KOIWAI.

**K AJAMAN** *Alt.* KAYAMAN, KEJAMAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Near Belaga on the Baloi River in central Sarawak, 7th Division. *Pop.* 500.

**K AJAN** see KAYAN, BUSANG.

**K AJANG** see KAYAN, BUSANG.

**K AJANG** see KAYAN, KAYAN RIVER.

**K AJELI** see KAYELI.

**K AJUMERAH** see KOIWAI.

**K AJUPULAU** see KAYUPULAU.

**K AKABAI** *Alt.* IGORA. *Dial.* POVA, KAKABAI, IGORA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Kakabai. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Inland villages, eastern tip of Papua, Milne Bay Province. *Pop.* 880.

**K AKUNA** see MAMUSI.

**K AL-UWAN** see KALINGA, MABAKA VALLEY.

**K ALABAKAN MURUT** *Alt.* TAWAU MURUT, TIDUNG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Tidong. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Tawau District along the Kalabakan River. *Pop.* 450 to 600.

**K ALABIT** see KELABIT.

**KALABUAN (KOLOBUAN)** see **KINABATANGAN, UPPER.**

**KALAGAN** *Dial.* ISAMAL, PISO, TUMUAONG, LACTAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Western. *Loc.* Philippines. Along east and west shores of Davao Gulf in Davao del Sur and Davao Oriental. *Pop.* 60,000.

**KALAGAN, KAGAN** *Alt.* KAAGAN, KAGAN KALAGAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Western. *Loc.* Philippines. Davao City, Mindanao. *Pop.* 6,000.

**KALAGAN, TAGAKAULU** *Alt.* TAGAKAOLO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Western. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Mindanao, South Cotabato, south of Kalagan. *Pop.* 37,830.

**KALAMIAN** see **CALAMIANO.**

**KALAMIANON** see **CALAMIANO.**

**KALANGOYA** see **KALLAHAN, KAYAPA.**

**KALANGOYA-IKALAHAN** see **KALLAHAN, KAYAPA.**

**KALANGUYYA** see **KALLAHAN, KAYAPA.**

**KALAO** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Kalao. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, eastern Kalao Island south of Selayar Island. *Pop.* 500.

**KALE-WHAN** see **PAIWAN.**

**KALEDUPA** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi.

**KALIAI** see **LUSI.**

**KALINA** see **GADANG.**

**KALINGA, BUTBUT** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Butbut, Tinglayan, Kalinga-Apayao Province. *Pop.* 4,000.

**KALINGA, LIMOS** *Alt.* LIMOS-LIWAN KALINGA, NORTHERN KALINGA. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Kalinga-Apayao Province. *Pop.* 20,000.

**KALINGA, LOWER TANUDAN** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, southern Kalinga-Apayao Province. *Pop.* 5,500.

**KALINGA, LUBUAGAN** *Dial.* GUINAANG, BALBALASANG, BANAO ITNEG, LUBUAGAN, ABLEG-SALEGSEG. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Eastern Abra and Kalinga-Apayao Provinces, Luzon. *Pop.* 40,000.

**KALINGA, MABAKA VALLEY** *Alt.* MABAKA ITNEG, KAL-UWAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, southeastern Kalinga-Apayao Province.

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**KALINGA, MADUKAYANG** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Mountain Province, Luzon.

**KALINGA, SOUTHERN** *Alt.* SUMADEL-TINGLAYAN KALINGA. *Dial.* MALLANGO, SUMADEL, BANGAD. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Kalinga-Apayao Province, Luzon. About 12 villages. *Pop.* 12,000.

**KALINGA, UPPER TANUDAN** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Kalinga-Itneg, Kalinga. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, southern Kalinga-Apayao Province. *Pop.* 6,000.

**KALISUSU** see **KULISUSU**.

**KALKALI** see **KALLAHAN, KAYAPA**.

**KALLAHAN, KAYAPA** *Alt.* KALANGOYA, KALANGUYYA, KALKALI, IKALAHAN, KALANGOYA-IKALAHAN. *Dial.* TINOC, KAYAPA (AKAB). *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Southern Cordilleran, Pangasinic, Benguet, Kallahan. *Loc.* Philippines. Western Nueva Vizcaya, northeastern Pangasinan, western Ifugao, Luzon. *Pop.* 15,000.

**KALLAHAN, KELEY-I** *Alt.* ANTIPOLO IFUGAO, KELEYQIQ IFUGAO. *Dial.* BAYNINAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Southern Cordilleran, Pangasinic, Benguet, Kallahan. *Loc.* Philippines. Napayo, Kiangnan Ifugao Province, northwest of Aritao, Nueva Vizcaya, Luzon. *Pop.* 5,000.

**KALOKALO** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Bwaidoga. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, northwest tip of Fergusson Island. *Pop.* 725.

**KALOSI** see **DURI**.

**KALUMPANG** *Alt.* MAKKI, MANGKI, MAKI, MA'KI, MANGKIR, GALUMPANG. *Dial.* BONE HAU, KARATUAN (MAKKI). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Toraja-Sa'dan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, southeast Mamuju District, Kalumpang Subdistrict. *Pop.* 8,000.

**KAMALAN** see **KAVALAN**.

**KAMARIAN** *Alt.* KAMARIANG, SERUAWAN. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Uliase, Kamarian. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. West Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 10 or fewer.

**KAMARIANG** see **KAMARIAN**.

**KAMARU** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Munic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeastern Buton Island, southeast Sulawesi. *Pop.* 2,000.

**KAMAYO** *Dial.* NORTH KAMAYO, SOUTH KAMAYO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, North. *Loc.* Philippines. Surigao del Sur between Marihatag and Lingig, Mindanao.

**KAMBERA** see **SUMBA**.

**KAMIGIN** see **MANOBO, CINAMIGUIN**.



**KANALA** see **XÂRÂCÛÛ**.

**KANALU** see **BAROK**.

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**KANAPIT** see **BAROK**.

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**KANDAS** *Alt.* KING. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, south-west coast, Watpi, King and Kait villages. *Pop.* 480.

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**KANGEAN** *Class.* WMP, Madurese. *Loc.* Indonesia. Kangean Islands east of Madura.

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**KANINJAL DAYAK** see **KENINJAL**.

**KANINJAL** see **KENINJAL**.

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**KANKANAEY** *Alt.* CENTRAL KANKANAEY, KANKANAI, KANKANAY. *Dial.* MANKAYAN-BUGUIAS, KAPANGAN, BAKUN-KIBUNGAN, GUINZADAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Bontok-Kankanay, Kankanay. *Loc.* Philippines. Northern Benguet Province, southwestern Mountain Province, southeastern Ilocos Sur, northeastern La Union, Luzon. *Pop.* 110,000.

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**KANKANAI** see **KANKANAEY**.

**KANKANAY** see **KANKANAEY**.

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**KANKANAY, NORTHERN** *Alt.* SAGADA IGOROT, WESTERN BONTOC. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Bontok-Kankanay, Kankanay. *Loc.* Philippines. Western Mountain Province, southeastern Ilocos Sur, Luzon. *Pop.* 70,000.

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**KANOWIT** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Lower Rejang. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Middle Rejang River, below Tanjong language, 3rd Division. *Pop.* 170.

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**KANYAY** see **KENYAH, UPPER BARAM**.

**KANYAY** see **KENYAH, WESTERN**.

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**KAPAMPANGAN** see **PAMPANGAN**.

**KAPIANGAN** see **PAIWAN**.

**KAPIN** *Alt.* SAMBIO, TAIK, TAYEK, KATUMENE. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Hote/Buang, Buang. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Mumeng District, Bulolo District, 5 villages in the hills southwest of Mumeng. *Pop.* 1,223.

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**KAPINGAMARANGI** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Micronesian. *Loc.* Micronesia. Kapingamarangi and Ponape. *Pop.* 1,300.

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**KAPONE** see **NUMEE**.

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**KAPORE** see **BEBELI**.

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**KAPUL** see **SAMA, ABAKNON**.

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**KARA** *Alt.* LEMUSMUS, LEMAKOT. *Dial.* EAST KARA, WEST KARA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Lavongai/Nalik. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, northern. *Pop.* 2,500.

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**KARAMIANANEN** see CALAMIANO.

**KARAO** *Alt.* KARAW. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Southern Cordilleran, Pangasinan, Benguet, Ibaloi-Karao. *Loc.* Philippines. Karao and Ekip, Bokod, Benguet Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 1,300.

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**KARAW** see KARAO.

**KARAY-A** see KINARAY-A.

**KARAYAN** see BRUNEI.

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**KAREY** *Alt.* KEREI, KREI. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Village of Karey, east coast of Trangan Island, southern Aru Islands, south Maluku. *Pop.* 525.

**KAROLANOS** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine. *Loc.* Philippines. Mid-central Negros.

**KASIGURANIN** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat, Northern. *Loc.* Philippines. Quezon Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**KASIMBAR** see TAJJO.

**KASIRA** see IRARUTU.

**KASIUI** see WATUBELA.

**KASUI** see WATUBELA.

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**KATAUSAN** see PAIWAN.

**KATBOL** *Alt.* TEMBIMBE-KATBOL (TAREMP), TISVEL. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Malekula. *Pop.* 450.

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**KATINGAN** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, West Barito, Southwest. *Loc.* Indonesia, Central Kalimantan. Katingan River, south central. *Pop.* 45,000.

**KATOVA** see LAGHU.

**KATUMENE** see KAPIN.

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**KAULONG** *Alt.* PASISMANUA, KOWLONG. *Dial.* KAULONG, EAST INLAND. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Pasismanua. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, southwest hinterland. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**KAUR** *Alt.* KA'UR. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

**KAVALAN** *Alt.* KUWARAWAN, KIWARAWA, KUVARAWAN, KIBALAN, KIWARAW, KUVALAN, KAVARAUAN, KVALAN, SHEKWAN, CABARAN, KABALAN, KABARAN, KAMALAN, KAVANAN, KBALAN. *Dial.* KAREOVAN (KAREOWAN). *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. Northeast coast, above Toucheng to Ilan, nearly to Suao, and inland to Atayal language area. *Pop.* A few speakers.

**KAVANAN** see KAVALAN.

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**KAVARAUAN** see **KAVALAN**.

**KAWA** see **BUKAWA**.

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**KAWAC** see **BUKAWA**.

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**Kawe** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. West end of Waigeo Island off west coast of Bird's Head, Raja Ampat Islands, villages of Salio, Selepele, Bianci, Menyefun. *Pop.* 300.

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**KAYAMAN** see **KAJAMAN**.

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**KAYAN MAHAKAM** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. North central, Mahakam River, 2 areas. *Pop.* 1,300.

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**KAYAN RIVER KAJAN** see **KAYAN, KAYAN RIVER**.

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**KAYAN RIVER KENYA** see **KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER**.

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**KAYAN, BARAM** *Alt.* BARAM KAJAN. *Dial.* LONG ATIP, LONG AKAHSEMUKA. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Baram River area, Upper Sarawak. Also in Brunei. *Pop.* 4,150.

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**KAYAN, BUSANG** *Alt.* KAJAN, KAJANG, BUSANG. *Dial.* MAHAKAM BUSANG, BELAYAN, LONG BLEH. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. On the upper Mahakam, Oga, and Belayan rivers. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**KAYAN, KAYAN RIVER** *Alt.* KAYAN RIVER KAJAN, KAJANG. *Dial.* UMA LAKAN, KAYANIYUT KAYAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, Kayan River, 2 areas. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**KAYAN, MENDALAM** *Alt.* MENDALAM KAJAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. North central, northeast of Putus Sibau, Mendalam River. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**KAYAN, MURIK** *Dial.* LONG BANYUQ (BANYUQ), LONG SEMIANG (SEMIANG). *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Murik. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Below Long Miri (Banyuq) and below Lio Mato (Semiang) on the Baram River. *Pop.* 1,120.

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**KAYAN, REJANG** *Alt.* REJANG KAJAN. *Dial.* MA'AGING, LONG BADAN, UMA DARO, LONG KEHOBBO (UMA POH), UMA JUMAN, LONG MURUN, LONG GENG, LEMENA, LISUM. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Rejang, Balui river areas. *Pop.* 3,030.

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**KAYAN, WAHAU** *Alt.* WAHAU KAJAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, north of Muara Wahau. *Pop.* 500.

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**KAYELI** *Alt.* KAJELI, CAJELI, CAELI, GAELI. *Dial.* KAYELI, LELIALI (LILIALI), LUMAETE. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Kayeli. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Southern Namlea Bay, Buru Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 4.

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**KAYU AGUNG** *Class.* WMP, Sundic, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

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**KAYUMERAH** see **KOIWAI**.

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**KAYUPULAU** *Alt.* KAJUPULAU. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea (?), Sarmi/Jayapura Bay, Jayapura Bay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Island villages of Kayubatu and Kayupulau in Jayapura harbor. *Pop.* 575.

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**KBALAN** see **KAVALAN**.

**KEAPARA** *Alt.* KEREPU, KEOPARA, HULA. *Dial.* BABAGA, HULA (VULAA), KALO, KEAPARA, AROMA (ARONA, ALOMA, GALOMA), MAOPA, WANIGELA, KAPARI, LALAU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, Sinagoro/Keapara. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, coast from east of Hood Peninsula to Lalau west of Cape Rodney. *Pop.* 19,400.

**KEDAMAIAN DUSUN** see **DUSUN, TEMPASUK**.

**KEDANG** *Alt.* ÉDANG, KÉDANG, KEDANGESE. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Flores-Lembata. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Northeast Lombok, Lesser Sunda. *Pop.* 25,000.

**KÉDANG** see **KEDANG**.

**KEDANGESE** see **KEDANG**.

**KEDAYAN** see **BRUNEI**.

**KEDAYAN** see **DUSUN, CENTRAL**.

**KEDIEN** see **BRUNEI**.

**KEDYAN** see **BRUNEI**.

**KEHJA** see **KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER**.

**KEHJA** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU**.

**KEHJA** see **KENYAH, MAHAKAM**.

**KEI** *Alt.* KAI, EVAV. *Dial.* KEI KECIL, KEI BESAR, TAYANDO, TANIMBAR KEI (ATNEBAR), TA'AM. *Class.* CMP, Southeast Maluku, Kei-Tanimbar, Kei-Fordata. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Kei Kecil, Kei Besar, and surrounding islands, except the villages of Banda Eli and Banda Elat on Kei Besar, and the Kur Islands, where Kei is used as a lingua franca. About 207 villages. South Maluku. *Pop.* 86,000.

**KEJAMAN** see **KAJAMAN**.

**KELA** *Alt.* GELA, KELANA, LAUKANU. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, North Huon Gulf. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, southern coast of Huon Gulf, between Salamaua and Kui, Paiawa River. 10 villages. *Pop.* 2,145.

**KELABIT** *Alt.* KALABIT, KERABIT. *Dial.* BRUNG, LIBBUNG, LEPU POTONG, BARIO, LON, BANGAG. *Class.* WMP, Bornco, Apo Duat. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Northern Sarawak, in remotest and highest of Borneo mountains. Also Indonesia, Kalimantan. *Pop.* 1,650.

**KELANA** see **GITUA**.

**KELANA** see **KELA**.

**KELE** *Alt.* GELE'. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, south coast inland, Buyang, Droia, Kawaliap, Koruniat, Tingau. *Pop.* 600.

**KELEYQIQ IFUGAO** see **KALLAHAN, KELEY-I**.

**KELIMURI** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, East Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East Seram, Kelimuri village, central Maluku.

**KELINJAU** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU.**

**KELINYAU** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU.**

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**KEMAK** *Alt.* EMA. *Dial.* NOGO, KEMAK. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Timor Island, north central. *Pop.* 50,000 or more.

**KEMBAYAN** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northwest, near Sarawak border, around Balaikarangan, Kembayan, Landak River. *Pop.* 45,000.

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**KENDAYAN** *Alt.* KENDAYAN DAYAK, KANAYATN. *Dial.* AMBAWANG, KENDAYAN, AHE. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak, West Malayic-Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Kalimantan Barat, Kabupaten Pontianak (in Mempawah, Karangan, Mandar, Ngabang, Pahauman, and the intermediate areas, also in the Ambawang region) *Pop.* 150,000.

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**KENDAYAN DAYAK** see **KENDAYAN.**

**KENDAYAN-AMBAWANG** see **KENDAYAN.**

**KENINGAU DUSUN** see **GANA.**

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**KENINGAU MURUT** *Alt.* CENTRAL MURUT. *Dial.* APIN-APIN KUIJAU (KUIJAU), NABAY (NABAI, NEBEE, DABAY, DABAI, RABAY, RABAI), TAMBUAL. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic, Northern. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Keningau District within a 10-mile radius to the north of Keningau town along the Pegalan River. *Pop.* 3,000 to 4,000.

**KENINJAL** *Alt.* KANINJAL DAYAK, KANINJAL. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. West central, Sayan and Melawi rivers, around Nangapinoh, Nangaella, Nangasayan, Gelalak. *Pop.* 35,000.

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**KENJA** see **KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER.**

**KENJA** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU.**

**KENJA** see **KENYAH, MAHAKAM.**

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**KENJA** see **KENYAH, UPPER BARAM.**

**KENJA** see **KENYAH, WESTERN.**

**KENYA** see **KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER.**

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**KENYA** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU.**

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**KENYA** see **KENYAH, MAHAKAM.**

**KENYAH** see **KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER.**

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**KENYAH** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU.**

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**KENYAH** see **KENYAH, MAHAKAM.**

**KENYAH** see **KENYAH, UPPER BARAM.**

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**KENYAH, BAHAU RIVER** *Alt.* BAHAU RIVER KENYA. *Dial.* LONG ATAU, LONG BENA, LONG PUYUNGAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Main Kenyah. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, on Sarawak border, around Longkemat, Iwan River. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**KENYAH, BAKUNG** *Alt.* BAKUNG, BAKUNG KENYA. *Dial.* BOH BAKUNG, OGA BAKUNG, KAYAN RIVER BAKUNG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Bakung. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, near Sarawak border, Oga River and southeast of Datadian, and around Kubumesaai. Also in Sarawak, Malaysia. *Pop.* 2,000.

**KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER** *Alt.* KAYAN RIVER KENYA, KENYA, KENJA, KENYAH, KINJIN, KINDJIN, KEHJA. *Dial.* LOWER KAYAN KENYAH, LONGBIA, KAYANIYUT KENYAH, LONG NAWAN, LONG KELAWIT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Main Kenyah. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, Apo Kayan highlands where Kayan River begins, Iwan River, and around Longbia. *Pop.* 6,000.

**KENYAH, KELINYAU** *Alt.* KELINYAU, KELINJAU, KENJA, KENYAH, KENYA, KINJIN, KINDJIN, KEHJA. *Dial.* UMA BEM, UMA TAU, LEPO' KULIT, UMA JALAM. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Main Kenyah. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, Kinjau River, around Long Laes, and Telen River. *Pop.* 1,200.

**KENYAH, MAHAKAM** *Alt.* MAHAKAM KENYA, KENYA, KENJA, KENYAH, KINJIN, KINDJIN, KEHJA. *Dial.* MAHAKAM KENYAH, BOH. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Main Kenyah. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, east of Bahau, and on Mahakam River, 5 areas. *Pop.* 7,000.

**KENYAH, SEBOB** *Alt.* SIBOP, SEBOP, SEBOB, SABUP, SAMBUP. *Dial.* TINJAR SIBOP, LIRONG, LONG POKUN, BAH MALEI (BA MALI), LONG ATUN, LONG EKANG (LONG IKANG), LONG LUYANG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Sebob. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. On the upper Tinjar River in northern Sarawak, 4th Division, between Rejang and Baram Rivers, several large villages. *Pop.* 1,730.

**KENYAH, TUTOH** *Alt.* TUTOH KENYA. *Dial.* LONG WAT, LONG LABID, LUGAT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Tutoh. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Northeast, Tutoh River. *Pop.* 600.

**KENYAH, UPPER BARAM** *Alt.* UPPER BARAM KENJA, KENJA, KENYAH, KINJIN, KANYAY, KINDJIN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Main Kenyah. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Upper Baram River near Kalimantan border. Also in Kalimantan, Indonesia, and Brunei. *Pop.* 2,660.

**KENYAH, WAHAU** *Alt.* WAHAU KENYA. *Dial.* UMA TIMAI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Main Kenyah. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, north of Muara Wahau and Wahau Kayan. *Pop.* 1,000.

**KENYAH, WESTERN** *Alt.* WESTERN KENYA, KENJA, KINJIN, KANYAY, KINDJIN. *Dial.* LONG BANGAN, KEMENA PENAN, KAKUS PENAN, UMA BAKAH (LONG BULAN), LUNAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Main Kenyah. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Balui, Belaga, Kalua, Kemena rivers. *Pop.* 1,250.

**KEO** *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba, Ende-Lio. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. South central Flores, east of Ngada.

**KEOPARA** see **KEAPARA**.

**KEPO'** *Alt.* KEPOQ. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Flores, between Manggarai and Rembong with separate enclave between Manggarai and Wac Rana.

**KEPOQ** see **KEPO'**.

**KERABIT** see **KELABIT**.

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**KERAYAN** see **BRUNEI**.

**KEREHO-UHENG** *Alt.* PUNAN KERIAU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Muller-Schwane 'Punan'. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. North central near Sarawak border, south of Bukat and Hovongan. *Pop.* 200.

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**KEREI** see **KAREY**.

**KEREPUNU** see **KEAPARA**.

**KERINCHI** see **KERINCI**.

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**KERINCI** *Alt.* KERINCHI, KERINTJI, KINCHAI. *Dial.* ULU, MAMAQ, AKIT, RAWA, TALANG, SAKEI, MOKOMOKO. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Western mountains around Sungaipenuh and north and west. *Pop.* 300,000.

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**KERINTJI** see **KERINCI**.

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**KESUI** see **WATUBELA**.

**KIA** *Alt.* JABANA, ZABANA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Santa Isabel. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Santa Isabel Island from Samasodu on the southwest side up to Kia village and down the northeast side to Baolo village. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**KIBALAN** see **KAVALAN**.

**KIDAPAWAN MANOBO** see **MANOBO, OBO**.

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**KIJAU** see **KUIJAU**.

**KILENGE** *Alt.* KAITAROLEA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Kilenge/Malco. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, Talasea Subprovince, north-western tip. *Pop.* 400.

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**KILIVILA** *Alt.* KIRIWINA. *Dial.* KITAVA, VAKUTA, SINAKETA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Kilivila/Louisiades, Kilivila. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Trobriand Islands. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**KILOKAKA** see **ZAZAO**.

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**KIMARAGAN** see **KIMARAGANG**.

**KIMARAGANG** *Alt.* KIMARAGAN, KIMARAGANGAN, MARAGANG, MARIGANG. *Dial.* TANDEK (GARU), PITAS KIMARAGANG, SANDAYO. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kota Marudu and Pitas districts. *Pop.* 8,000.

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**KIMARAGANGAN** see **KIMARAGANG**.

**KINABATANGAN MURUT** see **TENGARA**.

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**KINABATANGAN SUNGAI** *Alt.* LAMAG SUNGAI, ORANG SUNGAI, SUNGEI, TINDAKON SUNGAI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Eastern Kadazan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kinabatangan and Sandakan districts, numerous villages along the

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Kinabatangan River from Balat up to Keramuak and along the Segaliud River, one half mile from Sukang. *Pop.* 7,000 to 8,000.

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**KINABATANGAN, UPPER** *Dial.* KALABUAN (KOLOBUAN), MAKIANG, SINARUPA (SINARUPO), KUAMUT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic, Upper Kinabatangan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Primarily the upper reaches of the Kinabatangan River, also Lahad Datu and Sandakan districts. *Pop.* 4,000 to 5,000.

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**KINAMIGIN** see **MANOBO, CINAMIGUIN.**

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**KINARAY-A** *Alt.* HINARAY-A, KINIRAY-A, KARAY-A, ANTIQUEÑO, HAMTIKNON, SULUD, ATI, PANAYANO. *Dial.* PANDAN, HAMTIK, ANINI-Y, POTOTAN, LAMBUNAO, MIAG-AO, GUIMARAS ISLAND (GIMARAS). *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, West, Kinarayan. *Loc.* Philippines. Iloilo and Antique provinces, western Panay. *Pop.* 288,000.

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**KINCHAI** see **KERINCI.**

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**KINDJIN** see **KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER.**

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**KINDJIN** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU.**

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**KINDJIN** see **KENYAH, MAHAKAM.**

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**KINDJIN** see **KENYAH, UPPER BARAM.**

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**KINDJIN** see **KENYAH, WESTERN.**

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**KING** see **KANDAS.**

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**KINIRAY-A** see **KINARAY-A.**

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**KINJIN** see **KENYAH, KAYAN RIVER.**

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**KINJIN** see **KENYAH, KELINYAU.**

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**KINJIN** see **KENYAH, MAHAKAM.**

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**KINJIN** see **KENYAH, UPPER BARAM.**

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**KINJIN** see **KENYAH, WESTERN.**

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**KIOKO** see **KIOKO-UEESI.**

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**KIOKO-UEESI** *Alt.* KIOKO. *Dial.* KIOKO, KAMBOWA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, Kulisusu and Mowewe districts.

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**KIPUT** *Alt.* LONG KIPUT. *Dial.* KIPUT, LEMITING, BALAIT JATI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Baram-Tinjar. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Northeast around Marudi and north into Brunei. *Pop.* 2,460.

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**KIRIBATI** *Alt.* GILBERTESE, IKIRIBATI. *Dial.* KIRIBATI, BANABAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Kiribati. *Loc.* Kiribati and Marshall Islands. *Pop.* 60,000.

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**KIRIWINA** see **KILIVILA.**

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**KIS** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Manam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East Sepik Province, inland from Murik Lakes. *Pop.* 220.

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**KISAR** *Alt.* MEHER. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, Kisar-Roma. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Kisar Island east of Timor Island, 19 villages, villages of Hila and Likagraha (Solath) on Roma Island, and in Ambon city (several hundred). Used as a second language by Oirata speakers on Kisar. South Maluku. *Pop.* 10,000.

**KIWARAW** see KAVALAN.

**KIWARAWA** see KAVALAN.

**KOBI-BENGGOI** see BENGGOI.

**KOBRO'OR** see DOBEL.

**KOBROOR** see DOBEL.

**KODEOHA** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi. *Pop.* 300.

**KODI** *Alt.* KUDI. *Dial.* KODI BOKOL, KODI BANGEDO, MBUKAMBERO. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. West Sumba, Lesser Sunda. *Pop.* 40,000.

**KOIJOE** see KUIJAU.

**KOIO** see KWAIO.

**KOIWAI** *Alt.* KOWIAI, KAIWAI, KUIWAI, AIDUMA, KAYUMERAH, KAJUMERAH. *Dial.* ADI, NAMATOTA (NAMATOTE). *Class.* CMP, South Bomberai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Bomberai Peninsula of Irian Jaya; southwest coast at Kaimana and in Kamrau Bay on several islands, villages of Keroi, Adijaya, Namatota, Waikala, Kayumerah. *Pop.* 600.

**KOKOS** see MALAY, COCOS ISLANDS.

**KOKOTA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Santa Isabel. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Santa Isabel, villages of Sisiga and Ghoveo on the northeast coast and Hurepelo on southwest coast. *Pop.* 170.

**KOLA** *Alt.* WARILAU. *Dial.* WARIALAU, KULAHA, MOHANG SEL. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Aru Islands, all around coast of Kola Island and adjacent islands, south Maluku. 22 villages. *Pop.* 5,900.

**KOLAKA** see TOLAKI.

**KOLINSUSU** see KULISUSU.

**KOLOD** see OKOLOD.

**KOLOMBANGARA** see DUKE.

**KOLOUR** see OKOLOD.

**KOLUBE** see BAROK.

**KOLUR** see OKOLOD.

**KOMALU** see BAROK.

**KOMBE** see KOVE.

**KOMERIN** see KOMERING.

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**KOMERING** *Alt.* KOMERIN, NJO. *Class.* WMP, Lampungic, Pesisir. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. South Sumatra, Martapura, Kangkung, nearly to Kayuagung, and east to coast. *Pop.* 700,000.

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**KOMFANA** see **KOMPANE**.

**KOMODO** *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Komodo Island between Sumbawa and Flores.

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**KOMPANE** *Alt.* KOMFANA, KONGAMPANI. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Northeast Aru in Kompane village on the east coast of Kongan Island, south of Kola and north of Wokam islands, south Maluku. *Pop.* 255.

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**KONDJO** see **KONJO, COASTAL**.

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**KONGAMPANI** see **KOMPANE**.

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**KONJO PEGUNUNGAN** see **KONJO, HIGHLAND**.

**KONJO, COASTAL** *Alt.* KONDJO, TIRO. *Dial.* KONJO PESISIR (ARA, BIRA), TANA TOA (TANA TOWA, BLACK KONJO, KAJANG, KADJANG). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Makassar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, southeast corner of southern tip of peninsula; parts of Sinjai and Bulukumba districts. *Pop.* 125,000.

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**KONJO, HIGHLAND** *Alt.* KONJO PEGUNUNGAN, KONYO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Makassar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, central mountain area, Sinjai, Bone, Gowa, Bulukumba districts. *Pop.* 75,000.

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**KONOMALA** *Dial.* LAKET, KONOMALA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, southeastern coast. 8 villages. *Pop.* 800.

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**KONYO** see **KONJO, HIGHLAND**.

**KORO** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province. *Pop.* 400.

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**KORO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Gaua Island of the Banks Islands, villages of Koro and Mekeon. *Pop.* 105.

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**KORONADAL BILAAN** see **BLAAN, KORONADAL**.

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**KOSIAN** see **BALANTAK**.

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**KOSRAE** see **KUSAIE**.

**KOSRAEAN** see **KUSAIE**.

**KOTA MARUDU TALANTANG** *Alt.* GARO. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kota Marudu District, area around Talantang village and Mangkalua. *Pop.* 800 to 1,000.

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**KOTA MARUDU TINAGAS** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Southern Kota Marudu and Parong, a migrant village in northern Kota Marudu. *Pop.* 1,250.

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**KOUMAC** see **KUMAK**.

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**KOVE** *Alt.* KOMBE. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Ngero, Bariai. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northwest coast. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**KOVIO** see MEKEO.

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**KOWIAI** see KOIWAI.

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**KOWLONG** see KAULONG.

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**KREI** see KAREY.

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**KROE** see KRUI.

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**KRU** see CHRU.

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**KRU'I** see KRUI.

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**KRUI** *Alt.* KROE, KRU'I, WESTERN LAMPUNG, NJO. *Dial.* KRUI, RANAU. *Class.* WMP, Lampungic, Pesisir. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Southern, south Bengkulu Province around Krui, Sanggi, Kotajawa, and possibly into Lampung Province. *Pop.* 70,000 to 80,000.

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**KUALA MONSOK DUSUN** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. 1 village in Tambunan District. *Pop.* 500.

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**KUAMUT** see KINABATANGAN, UPPER.

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**KUANUA** see TOLAI.

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**KUBIRI** see UBIR.

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**KUBOKOTA** see GHANONGGA.

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**KUBONITU** see MARINGE.

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**KUBU** *Dial.* LALANG, BAJAT, ULU LAKO, TUNGKAL, TUNGKAL ILIR, DAWAS, SUPAT, DJAMBI, RIDAN, NOMADIC KUBU. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Spread across Jambi, Riau in south Sumatra, eastern swamp region. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**KUDI** see KODI.

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**KUIJAU** *Alt.* KIJAU, KUJAU, KWIJAU, MINANSUT, KULIOW, KUIYOW, KURIYO, KOIJOE, MENINDAL, TINDAL, MENINDAQ, TIDUNG, HILL DUSUN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Sabah, Keningau District to the west and north of Keningau town within a 12-mile radius. *Pop.* 5,000 to 6,000.

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**KUIWAI** see KOIWAI.

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**KUIYOW** see KUIJAU.

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**KUJAU** see KUIJAU.

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**KUKI AIRANI** see RAROTONGAN.

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**KUKUS** see MALAY, COCOS ISLANDS.

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**KUKUYA** see MINAVEHA.

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**KULAWI** see MOMA.

---

**KULIOW** see KUIJAU.

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**KULISUSU** *Alt.* KALISUSU, KOLINSUSU. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Bungku. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi. *Pop.* 18,000.

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**KULIVIU** *see* MASKELYNES.

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**KULUBI** *see* BAROK.

**KUMAK** *Alt.* KOUMAC, NENEMA, FWA-GOUMAK. *Dial.* KUMAK, NENEMA (NELEMA). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, Extreme Northern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Northwest coast Koumac (Kumak dialect) and Poum (Nenema dialect). *Pop.* 900.

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**KUMBOKOTA** *see* GHANONGGA.

**KUNI** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Nuclear West Central Papuan. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, Kairuku and southwest Goilala subprovinces, towards Port Moresby, south of Mekeo. *Pop.* 2,400.

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**KUNIE** *see* NUMEE.

**KUPANG** *see* HELONG.

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**KUR** *Class.* CMP, Teor-Kur, *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Kur Island and nearby islands, western Kei Kecil District, south Maluku. *Pop.* 2,000 to 3,000.

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**KURADA** *see* AUHELAWA.

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**KURI** *see* NABI.

**KURIYO** *see* KUIJAU.

**KURTI** *Alt.* KURUTI, KURUTI-PARE. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, north central coast. *Pop.* 2,300.

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**KURUDU** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Kurudu Island between eastern tip of Yapen Island and mainland of Irian Jaya to east, villages of Kurudu, Kaipuri, Poiwai. *Pop.* 1,100.

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**KURUKO** *see* PIU.

**KURUTI** *see* KURTI.

**KURUTI-PARE** *see* KURTI.

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**KUSAGE** *see* KUSAGHE.

**KUSAGHE** *Alt.* KUSAGE. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North New Georgia Island, Western Province. *Pop.* 1,060.

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**KUSAIE** *Alt.* KOSRAE, KOSRAEAN, KUSAIEAN. *Dial.* LELU-TAFUNSAK, MALENTWE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Kusaiean. *Loc.* Micronesia. Kusaie Island, Caroline Islands. Also in Nauru, possibly Marshall Islands, Ponape. *Pop.* 4,700 or more.

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**KUSAIEAN** *see* KUSAIE.

**KUVALAN** *see* KAVALAN.

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**KUVARAWAN** see **KAVALAN**.

**KUWARAWAN** see **KAVALAN**.

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**KUYONON** see **CUYONON**.

**KWAI** *Alt.* GULAALAA, NGONGOSILA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Kwai and Ngongosila islands on east side of Kwara'ae, Malaita. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**KWAIO** *Alt.* KOIO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Central Malaita Island. *Pop.* 10,000.

**KWAMERA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Tanna. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southeast Tanna. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**KWANDANG** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Gorontalo-Dila, Gorontalo, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northern peninsula of Sulawesi between the Bolaang Mongondow and Toli-Toli, mostly on the Gorontalo Plain.

**KWARA'AE** *Alt.* KWARAAE, FIU. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Central Malaita Island. *Pop.* 21,000.

**KWARAAE** see **KWARA'AE**.

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**KWAREKWAREO** see **DORIO**.

**KWENYII** see **NUMEE**.

**KWIJAU** see **KUIJAU**.

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**LABEL** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, south-west coast, Nasko and Tampakar villages.

**LABO** *Alt.* MEWUN, MEAUN, NIDE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwest Bay, Malekula. *Pop.* 350.

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**LABO** see **LABU**.

**LABU** *Alt.* LABU', LABO, HAPA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Lower Markham, Labu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, coast near mouth of Markham River. *Pop.* 1,600.

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**LABU'** see **LABU**.

**LABUK KADAZAN** see **KADAZAN**, **LABUK-KINABATANGAN**.

**LACTAN** see **RATAGNON**.

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**LAE** see **ARIBWATSA**.

**LAEWAMBA** see **WAMPAR**.

**LAEWOMBA** see **WAMPAR**.

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**LAGANYAN** see **LEGENYEM**.

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**LAGHU** *Alt.* LAGU, KATOVA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Santa Ysabel. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Santa Isabel, villages of Baolo and Somasodu in the Kia District. *Pop.* 5.

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**LAGU** see **LAGHU**.

**LAHA** *Alt.* CENTRAL AMBON. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Ambon. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Laha village, and several nearby smaller villages, south central coast of Ambon Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 3,900.

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**LAHANAN** *Alt.* LANUN, LANAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Central, east of Belaga, southwest of Long Murum. *Pop.* 350.

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**LAHE** see **ARIBWATSA**.

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**LAIWOMBA** see **WAMPAR**.

**LAIYOLO** *Alt.* LAYOLO, LAJOLO, DA'ANG. *Dial.* BARANG-BARANG (LOWA), LAIYOLO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Kalao. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, villages of Laiyolo and Barang-Barang on southern tip of Selayar Island. *Pop.* 1,050 or more.

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**LAJOLO** see **LAIYOLO**.

**LAKALEI** *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Timor, north of Same, northeast of Ainaro. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**LAKE BUHI WEST** see **AGTA, MT. IRIGA**.

**LAKI** see **TOLAKI**.

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**LAKON** see **LAKONA**.

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**LAKONA** *Alt.* LAKON, GAUA, GOG. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Gauda (= Santa Maria = Lakona), Banks Group. *Pop.* 300.

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**LALA** *Alt.* POKAU, NARA, NALA, 'ALA'ALA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Nuclear West Central Papuan. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, between Kuni and Roro, just in from the coast south of Yule Island. *Pop.* 7,630.

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**LALAKI** see **TOLAKI**.

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**LAM-SI-HOAN** see **AMIS**.

**LAMAG SUNGAI** see **KINABATANGAN SUNGAI**.

**LAMAHOT** *Alt.* SOLOR, SOLORESE. *Dial.* WEST LAMAHOT (MUHANG, PUKAUNU), SOUTH LAMAHOT (TAKA, LEWOTOBI, LEWOLAGA, ILE MANDIRI, TANJUNG BUNDA, ADONARA, SOLOR), EAST LAMAHOT (ALOR, ALORESE, COASTAL ALORESE). *Class.* CMP, Timor, Flores-Lembata. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Lesser Sundas, Solor Island off eastern tip of Flores Island, Lomblen, northern coast of Pantar and Alor islands. *Pop.* 310,000.

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**LAMALANGA** see **RAGA**.

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**LAMASONG** *Alt.* LAVATBURA-LAMUSONG. *Dial.* UGANA, KONTU, LAVATBURA, LAMASONG (LAMUSONG). *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Madak. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, central. *Pop.* 1,300.

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**LAMASSA** see SIAR.

**LAMBAHI** see AMBAE, NORTHEAST.

**LAMBRON** see SIAR

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**LAMBOYA** *Dial.* LAMBOYA, NGGAURA. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Sumba Island, southwest coast, southwest of Waikabubak. *Pop.* 15,000.

**LAMBUMBU** see VINMAVIS.

**LAMENU** *Alt.* LEWO, VARMALI, NIKAURA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Epi. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Lamenu Island, Epi Island, Varmali region. *Pop.* 750.

**LAMETIN** *Dial.* WINIV. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Santo, north of Morouas. *Pop.* 150.

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**LAMOGAI** *Alt.* PULIE-RAUTO, ROTO, RAUTO, IVANGA, IBANGA. *Dial.* LAMOGAI, IVANGA, RAUTO. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Bibling. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northwest interior and two regions on south coast. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**LAMPONG** see LAMPUNG.

**LAMPUNG** *Alt.* API, LAMPONG. *Class.* WMP, Lampungic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Southern Sumatra, entire province of Lampung. *Pop.* 1,500,000.

**LANAN** see LAHANAN.

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**LAND BAJAW** see BAJAU, WEST COAST.

**LANDU** see BIATAH.

**LANGALANGA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonian, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. West central Malaita Island. *Pop.* 4,900.

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**LANGILANG** see MANOBO, ATA.

**LANOON** see ILANUN.

**LANUN** see ILANUN.

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**LANUN** see LAHANAN.

**LANZOG** see PIU.

**LAPUYEN** see SUBANUN, LAPUYAN.

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**LARA'** *Alt.* LURU. *Class.* WMP, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan, Kabupaten Sambas. Upper Lundu and Sambas rivers, around Bengkayang east of Gunung Pendering, and farther north, Pejampi and two other villages. Also Sarawak, Malaysia. *Pop.* 12,000.

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**LARA** see FORDATA.

**LARAVAT** see LAREVAT.

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**LAREVAT** *Alt.* LARAVAT. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Malekula. *Pop.* 150.

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**LARIKE-WAKASIHU** *Dial.* ALLANG, WAKASIHU, LARIKE. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, West, Hoamoal, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Larike, Wakasihu, Tapi, Allang, and Liliboi villages, southwest Hitu Peninsula, Ambon Island, and 3 or more villages in West Seram. *Pop.* 12,500.

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**LASALIMU** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Munic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeastern part of Buton Island, Lasalunu District, southeast Sulawesi. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**LATAGNUN** see RATAGNON.

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**LATAN** see RATAGNON.

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**LATEP** see MUMENG.

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**LATOD** see LOTUD.

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**LATU** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Uliase, Hatuhaha, Saparua. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Latu village, Elpaputih Bay, southwest Seram Island, central Maluku.

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**LATUD** see LOTUD.

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**LATU** see IH.

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**LAU** *Dial.* SUAFA, LAU, DAI (NDAI). *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Northeast Malaita Island. *Pop.* 10,300.

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**LAU** see LAUAN.

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**LAUAN** *Alt.* LAU. *Dial.* LAU, VANUA BALAVU. *Class.* OC, Remote Oceanic, Central Pacific, Rotuman-Fijian, Fijian, East. *Loc.* Fiji. Eastern Fiji Islands, Lau, Nayau, Lakeba, Oneata, Moce, Komo, Namuka, Kabara, Vulaga, Ogea, Vatoa islands. *Pop.* 16,000.

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**LAUDJE** see LAUJE.

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**LAUJE** *Alt.* LAUDJE, TINOMBO, AMPIBABO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, on Tomini bay, Sidoan River area. *Pop.* 125,000.

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**LAUKANU** see KELA.

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**LAULABU** see YABEM.

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**LAVANGAI** see TUNGAG.

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**LAVATBURA-LAMUSONG** see LAMASONG.

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**LAVONGAI** see TUNGAG.

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**LAWANGAN** *Alt.* LUWANGAN, NORTHEAST BARITO. *Dial.* TABUYAN (TABOYAN, TABOJAN, TABOJAN TONGKA), AJUH, BAKOI (LAMPUNG), BANTIAN (BENTIAN), BANUWANG, BAWU, KALI, KARAU (BELOH), LAW, LOLANG, MANTARAREN, NJUMIT, PURAI, PURUNG, TUWANG, PASIR, BENUA. *Class.* WMP, East Barito, Northeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Around the Karau River in southern Kalimantan. *Pop.* 120,000.

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**LAWOI** see URAK LAWOI.

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**LAWTA** see **URAK LAWOI**.

**LAYOLO** see **LAIYOLO**.

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**LEBEI** see **LEVEI-NDREHET**.

**LEBONI** see **RAMPI**.

**LEDO** *Alt.* KAILI, PALU, PALOESCH. *Dial.* LEDO, SINDUE-TAWAILI (TAWAILI-SINDUE), PARIGI-TARA, UNDE-BANAVA (BANAVA, BANAWA). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Kaili. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central and south Sulawesi, mainly central. *Pop.* 130,000.

**LEGENYEM** *Alt.* LAGANYAN. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Raja Ampat Islands, Waigeo Island in northwest end of main bay and on south coast, villages of Beo, Lempintol and Wawiai.

**LEHALI** *Alt.* TEQEL, TEKEL. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Ureparapara Island, Banks Group. *Pop.* 150.

**LEHALURUP** *Alt.* UREPARAPARA, EAST UREPARAPARA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Ureparapara Island, Banks Group. *Pop.* 90.

**LEIPON** *Alt.* PITILU, PITYILU. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Lolo village, Hauwai, Ndrilo, and Pityilu Islands. *Pop.* 650.

**LEKWHAN** see **PAZEH**.

**LELAK** *Dial.* LELAK, DALI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Baram-Tinjar. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Northcast, east of Sibuti (Dali) and Tinjar River (Lelak). *Pop.* 220.

**LELE** *Alt.* HAI, USIAI, MOANUS, MANUS, ELU-KARA. *Dial.* SABON. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Island. *Pop.* 1,300.

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**LEMAKOT** see **KARA**.

**LEMATANG** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

**LEMBAK** *Alt.* LINGGAU. *Dial.* LEMBAK BLITI (BLITI), LEMBAK SINDANG. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Interior south Sumatra around Lubuklinggau and east of Bengkulu; 2 areas. *Pop.* 50,000.

**LEMOLANG** *Alt.* BAEBUNTA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Lemolang. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Luwu District, inland from northeast coast, around village of Baebunta just north of the town of Sabbang. *Pop.* 1,000 to 2,000.

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**LEMUSMUS** see **KARA**.

**LENAKEL** *Dial.* LOANATIT, NERAUYA, ITONGA, IKYOO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Tanna. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West central Tanna. *Pop.* 6,500.

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**LENGILU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Apo Duat. *Loc.* Indonesia, East Kalimantan. Northeast, between Sa'ban and Lundayeh. *Pop.* 10.

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**LENGO** *Alt.* RUAVATU, TASEMBOKO. *Dial.* AOLA, PARIPAO, GHAIMUTA (GHUA), LENGU. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomon, Gela-Guadalcanal, Gela. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North and east central Guadalcanal Island. *Pop.* 5,342 to 5,442.

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**LENKAITAHE** see LIAMBATA.

**LENKAU** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, South-East Admiralties. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, southwest Rambutyo Island. 1 village only. *Pop.* 250.

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**LESING** see ATUI.

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**LESING-ATUI** see ATUI.

**LETEMBOI** *Alt.* SMALL NAMBAS. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Malekula. *Pop.* 305.

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**LETRILGONA** see LUANG.

**LETTI** see LUANG.

**LEUANGIUA** see ONTONG JAVA.

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**LEVEI** see LEVEI-NDREHET.

**LEVEI-NDREHET** *Alt.* LEVEI, LEBEI. *Dial.* LEBEJ (LEVEI), NDREHET (KHEHEK, CHECHEK), BUCHO. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province. *Pop.* 1,160.

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**LEWO** *Alt.* VARSU. *Dial.* TASIKO, MATE-NIUL-FILAKARA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Epi. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Epi Island, Varmali, and Varsu regions. *Pop.* 750.

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**LEWO** see LAMENU.

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**LGONA** see LUANG.

**LI-LI-SHA** see PAIWAN.

**LIABUKU** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, north of Baubau in Bungu and Kapontori districts.

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**LIAMBATA** *Alt.* LENKAITAHE. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, East Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seram Island, central Maluku.

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**LIAMBATA** see SALAS GUNUNG.

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**LIAMBATA-KOBI** see SETI.

**LIFOU** see DEHU.

**LIFU** see DEHU.

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**LIHIR** *Alt.* LIR. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Tabar. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, Lihir Island and 3 smaller islands. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**LIKI** see SOBEI.

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**LIKUM** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province. *Pop.* 100.

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**LIMBOTO** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Gorontalic-Dila, Gorontalic, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northern peninsula.

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**LIMERA** see **ILIUN**.

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**LIMOS-LIWAN KALINGA** see **KALINGA, LIMOS**.

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**LINDAU** see **NYINDROU**.

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**LINDROU** see **NYINDROU**.

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**LINDU** *Alt.* LINDUAN, TADO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, Kulawi Subdistrict; villages of Anca, Tomado, Langko. *Pop.* 1,700.

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**LINDUAN** see **LINDU**.

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**LINGARAK** *Alt.* BUSHMAN'S BAY. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Malekula. *Pop.* 210.

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**LINGGAU** see **LEMBAK**.

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**LINGKABAU** *Alt.* LINKABAU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Southern Kota Marudu District, headwaters of Lingkabau River, Linkabau village, 7-hour walk from Gana. Some near Marak Parak village. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**LINGOTES** see **ILONGOT**.

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**LINKABAU** see **LINGKABAU**.

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**LINTANG** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. *Pop.* 70,000.

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**LIO** *Alt.* AKU, TANAH KUNU. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba, Endc-Lio. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Flores, west of Sika, Lesser Sundas. *Pop.* 130,000.

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**LIR** see **LIHIR**.

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**LIR TALO** see **TALUR**.

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**LISABATA** see **LISABATA-NUNIALI**.

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**LISABATA-NUNIALI** *Alt.* LISABATA, NUNIALI, NONIALI. *Dial.* SUKARAJA. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Spread across north coast of West and North Seram, 5 villages, central Maluku. *Pop.* 1,830 or more.

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**LITERI LAGONA** see **LUANG**.

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**LITZLITZ** *Alt.* LITZLITZ-VISELE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Malekula. *Pop.* 330.

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**LITZLITZ-VISELE** see **LITZLITZ**.

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**LO** see **TOGA**.

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**LOBU, LANAS** *Dial.* LOBU, RUMANAU (RUMANAU ALAB, ROMANAU, ROOMARROWS). *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic, Upper Kinabatangan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Lobu in Keningau District near Lanas, Rumanau in Masaum, Mangkawagu, Minusu, Kinabatangan District. *Pop.* 2,800.

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**LOBU, TAMPIAS** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic, Upper Kinabatangan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. 3 villages in Ranau around Tampias. *Pop.* 1,800.

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**LOGU** see **LONGGU**.

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**LOH-TOGA** see **TOGA**.

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**LOINANG** see **SALUAN, COASTAL**.

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**LOINDANG** see **SALUAN, COASTAL**.

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**LOKEP** see **LUKEP**.

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**LOKO** see **GIMI**.

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**LOLA** *Dial.* LOLA, WARABAL. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 3 villages of Lola, Warabal, and Jambuair on 3 islands east of Kobroor and Baun Islands, Aru Islands, southeast Maluku. *Pop.* 475.

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**LOLAK** *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Gorontaloic, Lolak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern Sulawesi, villages of Lolak, Mongkoinit, and Motabang.

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**LOLAKI** see **TOLAKI**.

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**LOM** *Alt.* BELOM, MAPOR, MAPORESE. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay, Lom. *Loc.* Indonesia, northeast Bangka Island, Belinyu District. *Pop.* 50.

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**LOMBOK** see **SASAK**.

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**LONCHONG** see **LONCONG**.

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**LONCONG** *Alt.* LONTJONG, LONCHONG, ORANG LAUT. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. East coast on both sides of the mouths of the Kampat and Inderagiri rivers, nearby islands, and coasts of Bangka and Belitung islands.

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**LONG BANO** see **SIMEULUE**.

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**LONG KIPUT** see **KIPUT**.

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**LONGA** see **AMARA**.

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**LONGGU** *Alt.* LOGU. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonian, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Longgu. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. East coast of Guadalcanal Island. *Pop.* 750.

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**LONIO** see **LONIU**.

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**LONIU** *Alt.* LONIO, NDROKU. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, Mokoreng/Loni. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Lolak and Loni villages, south coast of Los Negros Island. *Pop.* 460.

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**LONTJONG** see **LONCONG**.

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**LONWOLWOL** *Alt.* CRAIG COVE, FALI, FANTING. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West Ambrym Island and several hundred in Maat village on Efate Island. *Pop.* 600.

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**LOOCNON** *Alt.* LOOKNON, UNHAN. *Dial.* BULALAKAW, DISPOHOLNON, LOOKNON, ALCANTARANON. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine,

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Bisayan, West, North Central. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Tablas Island. *Pop.* 30,000 to 40,000.

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**LOOKNON** see **LOOCNON**.

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**LORANG BUKIT** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI**.

**LORANG BUKIT** see **BISAYA, SARAWAK**.

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**LORANG** *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Village of Lorang, center of Aru, on Koba Island. *Pop.* 210.

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**LORD HOWE** see **ONTONG JAVA**.

**LOREDIAKARKAR** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central east coast, Santo Island. *Pop.* 50.

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**LOTE** see **UVOL**.

**LOTUD** *Alt.* LATOD, LATUD, SUANG LOTUD, TUARAN DUSUN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Tuaran District, just north of Kota Kinabalu, a 10-mile radius around Tuaran town. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**LOU** *Dial.* REI. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, South-East Admiralties. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Lou Island. *Pop.* 600.

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**LOUN** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram, Loun. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North central Seram, village of Latea, central Maluku. *Pop.* a few speakers.

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**LOWER MORI** see **MORI BAWAH**.

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**LOWER MURUT** see **BEAUFORT MURUT**.

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**LUAAN** see **BAJAU, INDONESIAN**.

**LUANG** *Alt.* LETRILGONA, LETI, LETTI, LGONA, LITERI LAGONA, WETAN. *Dial.* LETI (LETTI), LUANG, WETAN (WETANG). *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, Luang. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Leti, Moa, Lakor, Luang, Sermata, Wetan, northwest Babar islands east of Timor, south Maluku. *Pop.* 24,000.

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**LUANGIUA** see **ONTONG JAVA**.

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**LUBA-TIEMPO ITNEG** see **ITNEG, SOUTHERN**.

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**LUBU** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Central region of east Sumatra. *Pop.* 30,000.

**LUF** see **HERMIT**.

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**LUGAGON** see **NALIK**.

**LUHU** *Dial.* LUHU, BATU MERAH, KELANG. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, West, Hoamoal, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Luhu village on Hoamoal Peninsula, west Seram, and Boano and Kelang Islands, off of west Seram. *Pop.* 6,500.

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**LUKEP** *Alt.* AROP, SIASI, SIASSI, TOLOKIWA, LOKEP. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Korap. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Tolokiwa,

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north tip of Umboi Island, Long Island, one village in north coast of mainland between Sidor and Seure. *Pop.* 1650.

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**LUN BAWANG** see **LUNDAYEH**.

**LUN DAYA** see **LUNDAYEH**.

**LUN DAYAH** see **LUNDAYEH**.

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**LUN DAYE** see **LUNDAYEH**.

**LUN DAYEH** see **LUNDAYEH**.

**LUN DAYOH** see **LUNDAYEH**.

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**LUN LOD** see **LUNDAYEH**.

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**LUNDAYA** see **LUNDAYEH**.

**LUNDAYEH** *Alt.* LUN DAYAH, LUN DAYE, LUN DAYEH, LUN LOD, LUN BAWANG, LUN DAYA, LUN DAYOH, LUNDAYA, SOUTHERN MURUT. *Dial.* LUN BAWANG (SARAWAK MURUT), LUN DAYAH, ADANG, BALAIT (TABUN, TRENG), KOLUR, PADAS, TRUSAN (LAWAS, LIMBANG), LEPU POTONG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Apo Duat. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Southwestern border of Sabah and Sarawak. Also in Brunei, and parts of Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Pop.* 15,700.

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**LUNDU** see **BIATAH**.

**LUNGALUNGA** see **MINIGIR**.

**LUNGA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. South Ranonga Island, Western Province. *Pop.* 1,350.

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**LURU** see **LARA**.

**LUSI** *Alt.* KALIAI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Ngero, Bariai. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northwest coast. *Pop.* 5,625.

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**LUTAOS** see **BAJAU, INDONESIAN**.

**LUTAYAOS** see **BAJAU, INDONESIAN**.

**LUWANGAN** see **LAWANGAN**.

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**LUWU'** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

**LUWU'** see **TOALA**.

**M'BUNAI** see **TITAN**.

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**MA'ANJAN** see **MAANYAN**.

**MA'KI** see **KALUMPANG**.

**MAANYAN** *Alt.* MAANYAN DAYAK, MA'ANJAN, SIANG. *Dial.* (BULUH KUNING), SIHONG (SIONG), DUSUN BALANGAN. *Class.* WMP, East Barito, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, South Kalimantan. South around Tamianglayang, area of the drainage of Patai River. *Pop.* 70,000.

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**MAANYAN DAYAK** see **MAANYAN**.

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**MABA** *Alt.* BITJOLI, BICOLI, INGLI. *Class.* SHWNG, South Halmahera, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, northern coast of southeastern peninsula of Halmahera, also in Wasilei area. *Pop.* 3,000 to 7,000.

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**MABAKA ITNEG** see **KALINGA, MABAKA VALLEY.**

**MACASSAR** see **MAKASSAR.**

**MACASSARESE** see **MAKASSAR.**

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**MADAK** *Alt.* MANDAK. *Dial.* DANU, KATINGAN, LELET, MESI, MALOM. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Madak. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**MADANG** *Alt.* BADANG, MEDANG, MALANG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo. Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Tinjar River, 4th Division.

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**MADARA** see **TABAR.**

**MADEGUGUSU** see **SIMBO.**

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**MADEN** *Alt.* SAPRAN. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Raja Ampat Islands, northwestern Salawati Island. *Pop.* 400.

**MADHURA** see **MADURA.**

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**MADI** see **SALUAN, COASTAL.**

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**MADURA** *Alt.* MADURESE, MADHURA. *Dial.* BAWEAN, BANGKALAN, PAMEKESAN, SAMPANG, SUMENEP, SAPUDI. *Class.* WMP, Madurese. *Loc.* Indonesia. Island of Madura, Sapudi Islands, northern coastal area of eastern Java. *Pop.* 9,000,000.

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**MADURESE** see **MADURA.**

**MAE** *Dial.* NORTH SMALL NAMBAS. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Malekula. *Pop.* 750.

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**MAE** see **EMAE.**

**MAE-MORAE** see **MAII.**

**MAENG** *Alt.* MENGEN 2, ORFORD, MAENGE. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Mengan. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, east of Jacquinot Bay. *Pop.* 8,400.

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**MAENGE** see **MAENG.**

**MAEVO** see **MAEWO, CENTRAL.**

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**MAEWO, CENTRAL** *Alt.* MAEVO, TANORIKI. *Dial.* LOTORA, TANORIKI, PETERARA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Maewo (Aurora) Island. *Pop.* 350.

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**MAFEA** *Alt.* MAVEA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. East Santo, Mafea Island. *Pop.* 50.

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**MAFILAU** see **MAII.**

**MAFOOR** see **BIAK.**

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**MAFOORSCH** see **BIAK**.

**MAG-ANCHI SAMBAL** see **AYTA, MAG-ANCHI**.

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**MAG-INDI SAMBAL** see **AYTA, MAG-INDI**.

**MAGABARA** see **DOGA**.

**MAGAHAT** *Alt.* BUKIDNON, ATA-MAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine. *Loc.* Philippines. Southwestern Negros, Mt. Amiyo near Bayawan.

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**MAGINDANAON** *Alt.* MAGUINDANAO, MAGINDANAW. *Dial.* LAYA, ILUD, BIWANGAN, SIBUGAY, IRANUN (ILANON, ILLANON, ILANUM, IRANON), TAGAKAWANAN. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Danao, Magindanao. *Loc.* Philippines. Maguindanao, North Cotabato, South Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, and Zamboanga del Sur provinces; Iranun also in Bukidnon, Mindanao. *Pop.* 915,000.

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**MAGINDANAW** see **MAGINDANAON**.

**MAGORI** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, Oumic, Magoric. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, eastern end of Table Bay, lower reaches of Bailebo-Tavenei River. *Pop.* 200.

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**MAGUINDANAO** see **MAGINDANAON**.

**MAHAGA** see **BUGHOTU**.

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**MAHAKAM KENYA** see **KENYAH, MAHAKAM**.

**MAI** see **EMAE**.

**MAII** *Alt.* MAE-MORAE, MAFILAU. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Epi. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Mafilau village, west Epi. *Pop.* 100.

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**MAIRIRI** see **MARIRI**.

**MAISAN** see **MAISIN**.

**MAISIN** *Alt.* MAISAN. *Dial.* UYAKU (UIAKU), KOSIRAVA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, Maisin. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Oro Province. Kosirava swamp and coastal villages. *Pop.* 1770.

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**MAIWA** *Alt.* MASENREMPULU. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Masenrempulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, lowlands of Enrekang District extending slightly into Pinrang and Sidenrang districts. *Pop.* 50,000.

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**MAKASAR** see **MAKASSAR**.

**MAKASSA** see **MAKASSAR**.

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**MAKASSAARSCHE** see **MAKASSAR**.

**MAKASSAR** *Alt.* MAKASAR, MACASSARESE, MACASSAR, MAKASSA, MAKASSARESE, TAENA, TENA, GOA, MENGKASARA, MANGASARA, MAKASSAARSCHE. *Dial.* GOWA (GOA, LAKIUNG), TURATEA (JENEPONTO), BANTAENG (BONTHAIN), MAROS-PANGKEP. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Makassar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, southwest corner of peninsula, most of Pangkep, Maros, Gowa, Bulukumba, Jeneponto, Takalar, and Bantaeng districts. *Pop.* 1,600,000.

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**MAKASSARESE** see **MAKASSAR**.

**MAKI** see **KALUMPANG**.

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**MAKIAN DALAM** see **MAKIAN, EAST**.

**MAKIAN TIMUR** see **MAKIAN, EAST**.

**MAKIAN, EAST** *Alt.* MAKIAN TIMUR, MAKIAN DALAM. *Dial.* EAST MAKIAN, KAYOA (KAJOA). *Class.* SHWNG, South Halmahera, East Makian-Gane. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Eastern Makian Island, southern Mori Island, Kayoa Islands, west coast of south Halmahera, Bacan and Obi Islands, north Maluku. Transmigration project near Kao. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**MAKIANG** see **KINABATANGAN, UPPER**.

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**MAKKI** see **KALUMPANG**.

**MAKURA** see **NAMAKURA**.

**MALAGASY** *Alt.* MALGACHE. *Dial.* MERINA (HOVA), (AN)TAISAKA, (AN)TANOSY, TAIMANAMBONDRO, (AN)TAIFASY, (AN)TAMBAHOAKA, ZAFISORO, BETSIMISARAKA, SIHANAKA, BEZANOZANO (ANTAIVA), TANALA (ANTANALA, MENABE-IKONGO), BARA, BETSILEO, TSIMIHETY, SAKALAVA, VEZO, MAHAFALY, (AN)TANDROY (AN)TANKARANA, (AN)TAIMORO. *Class.* WMP, East Barito, Southeast, Malagasy. *Loc.* Madagascar. Also in Comoro Islands on Mayotte Island. *Pop.* 10,000,000.

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**MALALAMAI** *Alt.* BONGA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Ngero, Bariai. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, Rai coast east and west of Saidor: \*Malalamai and Bonga villages. *Pop.* 340.

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**MALANG** see **MADANG**.

**MALANGO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Gela-Guadalcanal, Guadalcanal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Central Guadalcanal Island. *Pop.* 1,800.

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**MALASANGA** *Dial.* MALASANGA, SINGORAKAI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Korap. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, north coast: two villages, Malasanga and Singorakai.

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**MALAY** *Alt.* MELAYU, MALAYU, MELAJU, BAHASA MELAYU, BAHASA MALAYU, STANDARD MALAY, BAHASA MALAYSIA. *Dial.* RIAU (RIOUW-LINGGA, JOHOR), JAKARTA, SAMBAS, DELI, MELAYU PASAR (LOW MALAY, TRADE MALAY, BAZAAR MALAY, PASIR), BORNEO (SINTANG), KOTA WARINGIN, MAKAKAU, IRIANESE, MAKASSARESE MALAY, MANADONESE MALAY, KUPANG (BASA KUPANG), LARANTUKA MALAY, LABU (LEBU, LABU BASAP), RITOK (SIANTAN, PONTIANAK), MERATUS, BALIKPAPAN, SAMPIT, BAKUMPAI, WEST BORNEO COAST MALAY, BELIDE, LENGKAYAP, AJI, DAYA, MULAK, BANGKA, BELITUNG, TRENGGANU, KEDAH, KELANTAN, PERAK (SOUTHERN MALAY), SARAWAK MALAY, SABAH MALAY. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Malaysia. All districts of Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah, and Sarawak. Also in Kalimantan, Java, Maluku, Sulawesi, Irian Jaya. Brunei, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Netherlands, Thailand. *Pop.* 17,500,000 native speakers.

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**MALAY, AMBONESE** *Alt.* MELAYU AMBON, AMBONESE. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Central Maluku, Ambon, Haruku, Nusa Laut, Saparua Islands, along the coastal areas of Seram, and southern Maluku. *Pop.* 235,000.

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**MALAY, BABA** *Alt.* CHINESE MALAY, BABA. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay, Malay-Kerinci. *Loc.* Malaysia, Peninsular. Singapore, Melaka Tengah, Malacca Straits, Peninsular Malaysia. Ethnic Babas in Penang speak Penang Hokkien rather than Baba Malay. *Pop.* More than 15,000.

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**MALAY, BACANESE** *Alt.* BACAN, BATJAN. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, Bacan Island west of southern Halmahera. Centred around the site of the former palace in Labuhan, also 1 village within about 5 km. walking distance from Labuhan, and another 1 hour by dugout (Indomut). *Pop.* 2,000.

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**MALAY, BERAU** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan.

**MALAY, BUKIT** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan.

**MALAY, COCOS ISLANDS** *Alt.* COCOS, KOKOS, KUKUS. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Tawau and Lahad Datu. Also in the Cocos Islands (Keeling Islands), an Australian territory. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**MALAY, JAMBI** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

**MALAY, KEDAH** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia, Kedah, Thailand. A few villages near Satun.

**MALAY, KUTAI** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan.

**MALAY, NORTH MOLUCCAN** *Alt.* TERNATE MALAY. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, Halmahera, Sula, and Obi Islands. Mother tongue speakers in one neighbourhood of Labuhan (Christian), and some other families with parents of different ethnic origins. *Pop.* A few hundred mother tongue speakers.

**MALAY, PATTANI** *Alt.* THAI ISLAM. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Thailand. East coast of south Thailand below Songkhla, Yala to Suratthani, near Rangsit. *Pop.* 1,000,000.

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**MALAYIC DAYAK** Term referring to Malayic languages and dialects spoken in Borneo by non-Muslim (= "Dayak") communities. (It is therefore not a purely linguistic classificatory term). The internal classification of Malayic Dayak has not yet been sorted out, but it is possible to distinguish, among others, an Ibanic subgroup (consisting of e.g. Iban, Suhaid, Kantu', Mualang, Sebuyau, Seberuang, Air Tabun), and a West Malayic Dayak subgroup (e.g. Kendayan, Salako, Belangin) along with other languages and dialects for which as yet no further classification can be made. *Class.* WMP, Malayic. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan. Malaysia: Serawak and (sporadically) Sabah; Brunei. *Pop.* 650,000 plus.

**MALAYNON** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, West. *Loc.* Philippines. Malay, northwest Aklan Province, lowland, Panay. *Pop.* 8,500.

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**MALAYU** see **MALAY**.

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**MALEU** *Alt.* IDNE. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Kilenge/Maleu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, Talasea Subprovince, western tip. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**MALFAXAL** *Alt.* MALVAXAL-TOMAN ISLAND, TAMAN, TOMMAN. *Dial.* ORIERH (NAKAHAI). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Malekula. *Pop.* 600.

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**MALGACHE** see **MALAGASY**.

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**MALIMPUNG** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Masenrempulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Patampanua, Bugis region, South Sulawesi.

**MALMARIV** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North central Santo. *Pop.* 150.

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**MALO** *Dial.* AVUNATARI (NORTH MALO), ATARIPOE (SOUTH MALO). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Malo Island, three adjacent small islands and south Tangoa. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**MALO** see **EMBALOH**.

**MALOH** see **EMBALOH**.

**MALOL** see **SISSANO**.

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**MALOLO** see **SISSANO**.

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**MALON** see **SISSANO**.

**MALU** see **RAMOAINA**.

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**MALU** see **TOABAITA**.

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**MALU'U** see **TOABAITA**.

**MALUA BAY** *Alt.* ESPIEGLE BAY, MIDDLE NAMBAS. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northwest coast of Malekula. *Pop.* 300.

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**MALVAXAL-TOMAN ISLAND** see **MALFAXAL**.

**MAMANWA** *Alt.* MAMANWA NEGRITO, MINAMANWA. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mamanwa. *Loc.* Philippines. Agusan del Norte and Surigao provinces, Mindanao. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**MAMANWA NEGRITO** see **MAMANWA**.

**MAMASA** *Dial.* NORTHERN, CENTRAL (MAMASA), SOUTHERN (PATTAE') *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Toraja-Sa'dan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, eastern half of Polmas District along Mamasa River. *Pop.* 50,000.

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**MAMBAE** see **MAMBAI**.

**MAMBAI** *Alt.* MAMBAE, MANBAE. *Dial.* DAMATA, LOLEI, MANUA, MAMBAI. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Mountains of central Timor, around Ermera, Aileu, and Ainaro. *Pop.* 80,000.

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**MAMBORU** *Alt.* MEMBORO. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Northwest Sumba Island, coast around Memboro. *Pop.* 16,000.

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**MAMOEDJOE** see **MAMUJU**.

**MAMOEDJOESCH** see **MAMUJU**.

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**MAMUDJU** see **MAMUJU**.

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**MAMUJU** *Alt.* MAMUDJU, UDAI, MAMOEDJOE, MAMOEDJOESCH. *Dial.* MAMUJU, SUMARE, RANGAS, PADANG, SINYONYOI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Mamuju. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Mamuju District from the south border to the mouth of the Budong-Budong River. *Pop.* 95,000.

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**MAMUSI** *Alt.* KAKUNA. *Dial.* MAMUSI, MELKOI (KAKUNA). *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Mengen. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, southeast coast, inland on the Melkoi and Torlu rivers. Inland villages are up to 40 km. from the coast. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**MANAM** *Alt.* MANUM. *Dial.* WANAMI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Manam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manam Island, Madang Province. *Pop.* 7,000.

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**MANAPE** see **GAPAPAIWA**.

**MANAY MANDAYAN** see **MANDAYA, KARAGA**.

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**MANBAE** see **MAMBAI**.

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**MANDAK** see **MADAK**.

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**MANDAR** *Alt.* ANDIAN, MANJAR, MANDHARSCHE. *Dial.* MAJENE, BALANIPA (NAPO-TINAMBUNG), MALUNDA, PAMBOANG, SENDANA (CENRANA, TJENDANA), LENGGO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Mandar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Majene and Polewali-Mamasa districts, scattered villages in Mamuju Subdistrict, islands of Kab, Pangkajene, and in Ujung Lero near Pare-Pare. *Pop.* 250,000.

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**MANDARA** see **TABAR**.

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**MANDAYA MANSAKA** see **MANSAKA**.

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**MANDAYA** see **MANOBO, DIBABAWON**.

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**MANDAYA, CATAELANO** *Alt.* CATEELENYO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Eastern, Mandayan. *Loc.* Philippines. Town of Cateel, Davao Oriental, Mindanao. *Pop.* 19,000.

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**MANDAYA, KARAGA** *Alt.* CARRAGA MANDAYA, MANAY MANDAYAN, MANGARAGAN MANDAYA. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Eastern, Mandayan. *Loc.* Philippines. Lamiyawan area, Davao Oriental, Mindanao. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**MANDAYA, SANGAB** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Eastern, Mandayan. *Loc.* Philippines. Head of Carraga River, Banlalaysan area, highland, Davao del Norte, Mindanao.

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**MANDEGHUGHUSU** see **SIMBO**.

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**MANDHARSCHE** see **MANDAR**.

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**MANGA BUANG** see **BUANG, MANGGA.**

**MANGAABA (MANGAAWA, MANGAAVA, MANGAP)** see **MBULA.**

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**MANGAP-MBULA** see **MBULA.**

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**MANGARAGAN MANDAYA** see **MANDAYA, KARAGA.**

**MANGAREVA** *Alt.* MANGAREVAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Marquesic. *Loc.* French Polynesia. Gambier Islands. *Pop.* 1,600.

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**MANGAREVAN** see **MANGAREVA.**

**MANGASARA** see **MAKASSAR.**

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**MANGGARAI** *Dial.* WESTERN MANGGARAI, WEST-CENTRAL MANGGARAI, CENTRAL MANGGARAI (RUTENG), EAST MANGGARAI, FAR-EAST MANGGARAI. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Western third of Flores Island, Lesser Sundas. *Pop.* 400,000.

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**MANGKETTAN** see **BUKITAN.**

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**MANGKI** see **KALUMPANG.**

**MANGKIR** see **KALUMPANG.**

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**MANGOLE** *Alt.* MANGOLI, SULA MANGOLI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, Sula. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, southern coast of Mangole Island and northern tip of Sulabesi of the Sula Islands. *Pop.* 4,000 to 7,000.

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**MANGOLI** see **MANGOLE.**

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**MANGSENG** see **MANGSING.**

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**MANGSING** *Alt.* MASEGI, MASEKI, MANGSENG. *Dial.* SAMPANTABIL, ROKO (RUGO, ROGO), MIRAPU, KUKULA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Arawc. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West and East New Britain provinces, northwest coast inland to southwest coast. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**MANIDE** see **AGTA, CAMARINES NORTE.**

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**MANIPA** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, West, Hoamoal, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Manipa Island west of Seram, central Maluku, 4 villages. *Pop.* 1,500.

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**MANJAR** see **MANDAR.**

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**MANKETA** see **BUKITAN.**

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**MANOBO, AGUSAN** *Alt.* AGUSAN. *Dial.* OMayAMNON (UMAYAMNON), ADGAWAN. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, Central, East. *Loc.* Philippines. Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Mindanao. *Pop.* 40,000.

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**MANOBO, ATA** *Alt.* ATA O MANOBO, ATA OF DAVAO, LANGILANG. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, Central, South, Ata-Tigwa. *Loc.* Philippines. Mindanao, northwestern Davao. *Pop.* 15,000 to 20,000.

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**MANOBO, CINAMIGUIN** *Alt.* CINAMIGUIN, KINAMIGIN, KAMIGIN. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, North. *Loc.* Philippines. Camiguin Island, north of Luzon.

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**MANOBO, COTABATO** *Dial.* TASADAY, BLIT. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, South, Cotabato. *Loc.* Philippines. South Cotabato Mindanao. *Pop.* 12,000.

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**MANOBO, DIBABAWON** *Alt.* MANDAYA, DIBABAON, DEBABAON. *Dial.* MANGUAGAN MANOBO. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, Central, East. *Loc.* Philippines. Manguagan, Davao del Norte, Mindanao. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**MANOBO, HIGAONON** *Alt.* HIGAONON, MISAMIS HIGAONON MANOBO. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, North. *Loc.* Philippines. Misamis Oriental, Mindanao. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**MANOBO, ILIANEN** *Dial.* LIVUNGANEN, PULENIYAN. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, West. *Loc.* Philippines. Northern Cotabato, Mindanao. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**MANOBO, MATIG-SALUG** *Dial.* KULAMANEN, TIGWA, TALA INGOD, LANGILAN. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, Central, South, Ata-Tigwa. *Loc.* Philippines. Davao del Norte, southeast Bukidnon, Mindanao. *Pop.* 30,000.

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**MANOBO, OBO** *Alt.* OBO BAGOBO, BAGOBO, KIDAPAWAN MANOBO. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, Central, South. *Loc.* Philippines. Northeastern slope of Mt. Apo between Davao del Sur and North Cotabato, Mindanao. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**MANOBO, RAJAH KABUNGSUAN** *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, Central, East. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Surigao del Sur.

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**MANOBO, SARANGANI** *Dial.* GOVERNOR GENEROSO MANOBO. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, South, Sarangani. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern and eastern Davao Mindanao. *Pop.* 35,000.

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**MANOBO, TAGABAWA** *Alt.* TAGABAWA, TAGABAWA BAGOBO. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, South, Tagabawa. *Loc.* Philippines. Mindanao, Davao City, slopes of Mt. Apo. *Pop.* 40,000.

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**MANOBO, WESTERN BUKIDNON** *Dial.* ILENTUNGEN, KIRIYENTEKEN, PULANGIYEN. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Manobo, Central, West. *Loc.* Philippines. Mindanao, southern Bukidnon Province. *Pop.* 10,000 to 15,000.

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**MANOMBAL** see WOKAM.

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**MANSAKA** *Alt.* MANDAYA MANSAKA. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Mansakan, Eastern, Mandayan. *Loc.* Philippines. Eastern Davao and Davao Oriental provinces, Mindanao. *Pop.* 30,000 to 35,000.

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**MANUM** see MANAM.

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**MANUS** see LELE.

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**MANUS** see TITAN.

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**MANUSELA** *Alt.* WAHAI, WAHINAMA. *Dial.* KANIKEH, HATUOLO, MANEO (MANEO RENDAH, MANEO RATU), SAUNULU, HATUMETAN, WAHERAMA, NUSAWELE (NUSAWILIH). *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Manusela-Seti. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 30 villages, east central Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 7,000.

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**MAORI** *Alt.* ROTORUA-TAUPO, NEW ZEALAND MAORI. *Dial.* NORTH AUCKLAND, SOUTH ISLAND, TARANAKI, WANGANUI, BAY OF PLENTY. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Tahitic. *Loc.* New Zealand. Far north, east coast, North Island. *Pop.* 100,000 speakers.

**MAPOR** see LOM.

**MAPORESE** see LOM.

**MAPOS** see BUANG, MAPOS.

**MAPUN** *Alt.* SAMA MAPUN, CAGAYAN DE SULU, JAMA MAPUN, CAGAYANON, KAGAYAN, BAJAU KAGAYAN, ORANG CAGAYAN, CAGAYANO. *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Borneo Coast Bajaw, Jama Mapun. *Loc.* Philippines. Cagayan de Sulu and Palawan Islands. Also in Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 15,000 or more.

**MARA MA-SIKI** see OROHA.

**MARAGANG** see KIMARAGANG.

**MARAG AUS** see MARAGUS.

**MARAGUS** *Alt.* MARAG AUS. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central north Malekula. *Pop.* 10.

**MARALANGO** see WATUT, SOUTH.

**MARALIINAN** see WATUT, MIDDLE.

**MARALIINAN** see WATUT, NORTH.

**MARALINAN** see WATUT, MIDDLE.

**MARALINAN** see WATUT, NORTH.

**MARAN** see AMIS.

**MARANAO** *Alt.* RANAO, MARANAW. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Danao, Maranao-Iranon. *Loc.* Philippines. Mindanao, Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur provinces. *Pop.* 603,000.

**MARANAW** see MARANAO.

**MARAU** *Dial.* WARABORI (NATABUI, WAREMBORI). *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. South coast of Yapen Island, 5 villages. *Pop.* 1,700.

**MARÉ** see NENGONE.

**MARGOSATUBIG** see SUBANUN, LAPUYAN.

**MARI** *Alt.* HOP. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Upper Markham, Mountain. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, Upper Ramu. *Pop.* 810.

**MARIGANG** see KIMARAGANG.

**MARINA** see TOLOMAKO.

**MARINGE** *Alt.* A'ARA, KUBONITU, CHEKE HOLO, HOLO, HOG RANO, HOGIRANO, MARINGHE. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New

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Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Santa Ysabel. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Central Santa Isabel Island, on Maringe side from village of Gnulahaghe southeast to Kuma'ihai; on Hograno coast in several villages in Kia district; and scattered villages in Gao-Bughotu region. *Pop.* 7,500.

**MARINGHE** see **MARINGE**.

**MARINO** *Alt.* NAONE, NORTH MAEWO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North Maewo. *Pop.* 180.

**MARIRI** *Alt.* MAIRIRI. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Eastern Aru on Mariri Island east of Kobreor Island, 1 village, south Maluku. *Pop.* 225.

**MARIVELES AYTA** see **AYTA, BATAAN**.

**MARMAREGHO** see **BAURO**.

**MARON** see **HERMIT**.

**MARONENE** see **MORONENE**.

**MAROVO** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. South New Georgia Island, Marovo Lagoon, Vangunu Island, and Nggatokae Island; Western Province. *Pop.* 4,575.

**MARQUESAN** *Dial.* NORTH MARQUESAN (NUKUHIVA, UA POU, UA HUKA), SOUTH MARQUESAN (HIVA OA, FATU HIVA, TAHUATA). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Marquesic. *Loc.* French Polynesia. Marquesas Islands. *Pop.* 5,500.

**MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR** see **BABAR, SOUTHEAST**.

**MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR** see **MASELA, CENTRAL**.

**MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR** see **MASELA, EAST**.

**MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR** see **SERILI**.

**MARSHALLESE** *Alt.* EBON. *Dial.* RÄLIK, RATAK. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Marshallese. *Loc.* Micronesia. Also on Nauru. *Pop.* 29,500.

**MASAMA** see **ANDIO**.

**MASBATEÑO** see **MASBATENYO**.

**MASBATENYO** *Alt.* MINASBATE, MASBATEÑO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central, Peripheral. *Loc.* Philippines. Masbate Province, three islands. *Pop.* 333,000.

**MASEGI** see **MANGSING**.

**MASEKI** see **MANGSING**.

**MASELA, CENTRAL** *Alt.* MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR. *Class.* CMP, Babar, South, Masela-South Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Marsela island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 1,000.

**MASELA, EAST** *Alt.* MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR. *Class.* CMP, Babar, South, Masela-South Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Marsela island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 1,000.

**MASENREMPULU** see **DURI**.



**MASENREMPULU** see **ENREKANG**.

**MASENREMPULU** see **MAIWA**.

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**MASIWANG** *Alt.* BONFIA. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Masiwang. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seram Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 1,000.

**MASKELYNE ISLANDS** see **MASKELYNES**.

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**MASKELYNES** *Alt.* KULIVIU, MASKELYNE ISLANDS. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Malekula, Maskelyne Islets. *Pop.* 930.

**MATABELLO** see **WATUBELA**.

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**MATBAT** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Raja Ampat Islands, Misool Island, Segaf Islands. *Pop.* 1,000.

**MATINO** see **DAWAWENYO**.

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**MATUKAR** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, 40 miles north of Madang town at Matukar. *Pop.* 220.

**MAVEA** see **MAFEA**.

**MAWKEN** see **MOKEN**.

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**MAYA** *Alt.* SALAWATI, SAMATE, SAILOLOF. *Dial.* MA'YA, KAWIT, BANLOL, BATANTA ISLAND. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Raja Ampat Islands, central Waigeo Island and central Salawati Island. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**MAYAOWAW** see **IFUGAO, MAYOYAO**.

**MAYOYAO** see **IFUGAO, MAYOYAO**.

**MBALOH** see **EMBALOH**.

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**MBAMBATANA** see **CHOISEUL, EAST**.

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**MBIRAO** see **BIRAO**.

**MBUGHOTU** see **BUGHOTU**.

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**MBULA** *Alt.* MANGAP-MBULA, MANGAABA (MANGAAWA, MANGAAVA, MANGAP), KAIMANGA. *Dial.* GAURU, CENTRAL, NORTHERN. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Mangap-Mbula. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, 6 villages on eastern Umboi Island and 1 village on Sakar Island. *Pop.* 2,500.

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**MEA** *Alt.* HA MEA, HAMEHA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. La Foa: upper valleys. *Pop.* 300.

**MEAUN** see **LABO**.

**MEDANG** see **MADANG**.

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**MEDEBUR** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Manam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, coast at Medebur. *Pop.* 430.

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**MEFOOR** see **BIAK**.

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**MEHER** see **KISAR**.

**MEKEO** *Alt.* MEKEO-KOVIO, BUSH MEKEO, KOVIO. *Dial.* EAST MEKEO ("MEKEO"), WEST MEKEO (BUSH MEKEO), NORTH MEKEO (AMOAMO), NORTH-WEST MEKEO (KOVIO). *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Nuclear West Central Papuan. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, Goilala Subprovince, inland, bounded on west by Roro, on east by Kuni and Kunimaipa. Extends into Gulf Province. *Pop.* 10,000.

**MEKEO-KOVIO** see **MEKEO**.

**MEKONGGA** *Alt.* MEKONGKA. *Dial.* NORIO, KONIO, TAMBOKI (TAMBUOKI). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Tolaki. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, near Soroako. *Pop.* 25,000.

**MEKONGKA** see **MEKONGGA**.

**MELAJU** see **MALAY**.

**MELAMELA** see **MERAMERA**.

**MELANAU** *Alt.* MILANAU, MILANO, BELANA'U. *Dial.* MUKAH-OYA (MUKAH, MUKA, OYA, OYA', OGA), BALINGIAN, BRUIT, DALAT (DALAD), IGAN, SARIKEI, SEGAHAN, PREHAN, SEGALANG, SERU, SITENG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Lower Rejang. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Coastal area of the Rejang delta up to the Balingian River, 3rd Division. *Pop.* 25,320.

**MELAYU AMBON** see **MALAY, AMBONESE**.

**MELAYU JAKARTA** see **BETAWI**.

**MELAYU** see **MALAY**.

**MELE-FILA** *Alt.* FILA-MELE, EFIRA, FIRA. *Dial.* FILA, MELE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Southern. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Fila Island in Vila Harbor, Mele village on South Efate. *Pop.* 1,800.

**MELOBONG RUNGUS** see **RUNGUS**.

**MEMAGUN** see **RUNGUS**.

**MEMALOH** see **EMBALOH**.

**MEMBAKUT KADAZAN** see **KADAZAN, COASTAL**.

**MEMBORO** see **MAMBORU**.

**MEMOGUN** see **RUNGUS**.

**MENDALAM KAJAN** see **KAYAN, MENDALAM**.

**MENGEN 1** see **POENG**.

**MENGEN 2** see **MAENG**.

**MENKASARA** see **MAKASSAR**.

**MENINDAL** see **KUIJAU**.

**MENINDAQ** see **KUIJAU**.

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**MENTAWAI** *Alt.* MENTAWEI, MENTAWI. *Dial.* SIMALEGI, SAKALAGAN, SILABU, TAIKAKU, SAUMANGANJA, NORTH SIBERUT, SOUTH SIBERUT, SIPURA, PAGAI. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Mentawai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Mentawai Islands off the west coast of Sumatra. *Pop.* 50,000.

**MENTAWEI** see **MENTAWAI**.

**MENTAWI** see **MENTAWAI**.

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**MEOSWAR** *Alt.* WAR. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Biakic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Meoswar Island, west Cenderawasih Bay.

**MERAMERA** *Alt.* UBILI, MELAMELA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, Willaumez. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northwest coast. *Pop.* 1,560.

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**MERELAVA** see **MERLAV**.

**MERLAV** *Alt.* MERELAVA, MERLAV-MERIG. *Dial.* MWERIG (MERIG), WEST MWERELAWA, MATLIWAG. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Mere Lava Island and Merig Island, Banks Group. *Pop.* 1,350.

**MERLAV-MERIG** see **MERLAV**.

**MEWUN** see **LABO**.

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**MIDDLE NAMBAS** see **MALUA BAY**.

**MILANAU** see **MELANAU**.

**MILANO** see **MELANAU**.

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**MILIKIN** *Alt.* MILLIKIN. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak, Ibanic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Southwest, south of Simunjan. *Pop.* 4,000.

**MILLIKIN** see **MILIKIN**.

**MIN** see **DEHU**.

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**MINAHASA** see **TOMBULU**.

**MINAHASSA** see **MONGONDOW**.

**MINAMANWA** see **MAMANWA**.

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**MINANG** see **MINANGKABAU**.

**MINANGKABAU** *Alt.* MINANG, PADANG. *Dial.* AGAM, PAJOKUMBUH, TANAH, SI JUNJUNG, BATU SANGKAR-PARIANGAN, SINGKARAK, ORANG MAMAK, ULU, KERINCI-MINANGKABAU. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Minangkabau. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. West Sumatra around Padang, throughout the Indonesian archipelago. *Pop.* 6,500,000

**MINANSUT** see **GANA**.

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**MINANSUT** see **KUIJAU**.

**MINASBATE** see **MASBATENYO**.

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**MINAVEGA** see **MINAVEHA**.

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**MINAVEHA** *Alt.* MINEVEHA, MINAVEGA, KUKUYA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Taupota. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Southwest projection on Fergusson Island, Milne Bay Province. *Pop.* 1,300.

**MINDIRI** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, on the Rai Coast west of Saidor. *Pop.* 95.

**MINEVEHA** see **MINAVEHA**.

**MINHASA** see **TOMBULU**.

**MINIAFIA-ARIFAMA** see **ARIFAMA-MINIAFIA**.

**MINIGIR** *Alt.* LUNGALUNGA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, Gazelle Peninsula, Lungalunga village on Ataliklikun Bay.

**MINOKOK** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Headwaters of Kinabatangan River. *Pop.* 2,000.

**MISAMIS HIGAONON MANOBO** see **MANOBO, HIGAONON**.

**MISATIK** see **MUSOM**.

**MISIMA** *Alt.* MISIMA-PANEATI, PANAIETI, PANAEATI, PANEYATE, PANEATE, PANAYETI. *Dial.* NASIKWABW (TOKUNU), TEWATEWA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Kilivila/Louisiades, Misima. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Misima Island, Panaieti and all the islands of the Calvados Chain to (not including) Panawina, Alcester, Ole, and Tewatewan Islands, and Bowagis on Woodlark Island. 22 villages. *Pop.* 11,700.

**MISIMA-PANEATI** see **MISIMA**.

**MITEBOG** see **GEDAGED**.

**MIU** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Pasismanua. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, southwest interior. *Pop.* 395.

'**MOAEKE** see **VAMALE**.

**MOANUS** see **LELE**.

**MOANUS** see **TITAN**.

**MOAR** see **SOBEI**.

'**MOAVEKE** see **HMWAVEKE**.

**MODAN** see **NABI**.

**MODANG** *Dial.* KELINGAN (LONG WAI, LONG WE), LONG GLAT, LONG BENTO', BENEHES, NAHES, LIAH BING. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Modang. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Around Segah, Kelinjau, and Belayan rivers in northeast Kalimantan, 5 areas. *Pop.* 15,300.

**MOENEBENG** see **CAAC**.

**MOEWEHAFEN** see **AIKLEP**.

**MOK** see **MOUK-ARIA**.

**MOK-ARIA** see **MOUK-ARIA**.

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**MOKARENG** see **MOKORENG**.

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**MOKEN** *Alt.* MAWKEN, BASING, SELUNG, SELONG, SALON, CHAU KO'. *Dial.* DUNG, JA-IT, L'BE. *Class.* WMP, Moklen. *Loc.* Burma, Thailand. Mergui Archipelago, Dung and other islands in south Burma. Phuket, Phangnga, Krabi, Ranong. West coast of south Thailand and south Burma. *Pop.* 5,000 or more.

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**MOKERANG** see **MOKORENG**.

**MOKIL** *Alt.* MOKILESE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Ponapeic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Mokil Atoll, east of Carolines. *Pop.* 1,050.

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**MOKILESE** see **MOKIL**.

**MOKLEN** *Alt.* CHAU POK. *Class.* WMP, Moklen. *Loc.* Thailand. West coast of south Thailand, Phuket, Phangnga. *Pop.* 1,500 or fewer.

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**MOKORENG** *Alt.* MOKARENG, MOKERANG. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, Mokoreng/Loni. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, north Los Negros Island and Ndrilo Island. *Pop.* 200.

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**MOLBOG** *Alt.* MOLBOG PALAWAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso-Philippine, Palawano. *Loc.* Philippines. Balabac Island, southern Palawan, and Banggi Island, Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 6,000 or fewer.

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**MOLBOG PALAWAN** see **MOLBOG**.

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**MOLIMA** *Alt.* MORIMA. *Dial.* TUTUBELA, EBADIDI (SALAKAHADI), MOLIMA, FAGULULU (FAGALULU). *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Bwaidoga. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, south central Fergusson Island and inland villages of Salakahadi area. *Pop.* 3,200.

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**MOMA** *Alt.* KULAWI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Kaili. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi. *Pop.* 5,500.

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**MOMOGUN** see **RUNGUS**.

**MONDO** see **SULOD**.

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**MONDROPOLON** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, north central coast, Manus Island. *Pop.* 300.

**MONGONDOU** see **MONGONDOW**.

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**MONGONDOW** *Alt.* BOLAANG MONGONDOW, MONGONDOU, MINAHASSA. *Dial.* LOLAYAN, DUMOGA, PASI. *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Mongondic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeast Sulawesi, between Tontemboan and Gorontalo. *Pop.* 900,000.

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**MONO** see **MONO-ALU**.

**MONO-ALU** *Alt.* ALU, MONO. *Dial.* MONO, ALU (ALO), FAURO. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Mono/Uruava. *Loc.*

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Solomon Islands. Treasury Island (Mono), Shortland Island (Alu, Alo), Fauro Island (Fauro). *Pop.* 1,700.

**MOR** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Mor. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Mor Islands in east Cenderawasih Bay near Nabire. *Pop.* 700.

**MORI ATAS** *Alt.* AIKOA, WEST MORI, UPPER MORI *Dial.* TAMBE'E, AIKOA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Mori. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi at the neck of the southeastern peninsula; Mori Atas subdistrict; 9 villages; also in South Sulawesi. *Pop.* 3,000.

**MORI BAWAH** *Alt.* EAST MORI, LOWER MORI, NAHINA. *Dial.* NAHINA, PETASIA, SOROAKO, KARONSIE (KARONGSI). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Mori. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi at the neck of the southeastern peninsula; Petasia, and Lembo subdistricts; 40 villages; also in South Sulawesi. *Pop.* 15,000.

**MORIMA** see **MOLIMA**.

**MORO JOLOANO** see **TAUSUG**.

**MOROMIRANGA** *Class.* OC, Siassi, Sepik-Madang, Madang. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province. 3 villages immediately east of Saidor.

**MORONENE** *Alt.* MARONENE. *Dial.* RUMBIA, KABAENA, WOWONII (WAWONII). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Bungku. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, Rumbia and Poleang districts. *Pop.* 85,000.

**MOROUAS** *Alt.* MORUAS. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Santo. *Pop.* 150.

**MORTLOCK** *Alt.* MORTLOCKESE. *Dial.* LUKEISEL, LOWER MORTLOCK. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Mortlock Islands, 70 miles southeast of Truk, Caroline Islands. *Pop.* 6,000.

**MORTLOCK** see **TAKUU**.

**MORTLOCKESE** see **MORTLOCK**.

**MORUAS** see **MOROUAS**.

**MOSIN** see **MOSINA**.

**MOSINA** *Alt.* MOSIN. *Dial.* VETUMBOSO, VURAS (VUREAS, AVREAS). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Vanua Lava, Banks Group. *Pop.* 400.

**MOTA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Mota (Sugarloaf) Island, Banks Group. *Pop.* 450.

**MOTALAVA** see **MOTLAV**.

**MOTLAV** *Alt.* MOTALAVA. *Dial.* VOLOW (VALUVA, VALUWA, VALUGA). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Mota Lava (Saddle) Island, Banks Group. *Pop.* 1,275.

**MOTU** *Alt.* TRUE MOTU, PURE MOTU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Motu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, in

and around Port Moresby, villages along coast from Manumanu, Galley Reach, to Kapakapa. *Pop.* 14,000.

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**MOTU, HIRI** *Alt.* POLICE MOTU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Motu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Lingua franca in Central, Oro, Gulf, Western and Southern Highlands Provinces.

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**MOUK-ARIA** *Alt.* MOK-ARIA, ARIA, MOK, BIBLING. *Dial.* MOUK, ARIA (LONGA), TOURAI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Bibling. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northwest interior. *Pop.* 1,790.

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**MOUNAN** see **MUNA**.

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**MPOTOVORO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North tip of Malekula. *Pop.* 180.

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**MT. IRIGA NEGRITO** see **AGTA, MT. IRIGA**.

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**MUALANG** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak, Ibanic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Along the Ayak and Belintang Rivers, about 200 miles upstream from Pontianak. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**MUGABA** see **RENNELL**.

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**MUKAWA** see **ARE**.

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**MUKO-MUKO** *Class.* WMP, Sundic, Malayic, Minangkabau. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. *Pop.* 30,000.

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**MUMENG** *Alt.* LATEP, PATEP, YANTA, DENGALU. *Dial.* PATEP, YANTA, ZENAG, LATEP, DAMBI, KUMARA (KUMALU), MUMENG, DENGALU. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Hote/Buang, Buang. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Mumeng Subprovince. *Pop.* 6,600.

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**MUNA** *Alt.* WUNA, MOUNAN. *Dial.* STANDARD MUNA (NORTHERN MUNA, TONGKUNO, KABOWO, LAWA, KATOBU, TOBEA BESAR), GUMAS (SOUTHERN MUNA, GU, MAWASANGKA, WALE-ALE, LAWAMA, KADATUA, LOWU-LOWU, KALIA-LIA, KATOBENGKE, TOPA, SULAA, LAWELA, LAOMPO, BURUKENE) SIOMPU, TIWORO (EASTERN MUNA). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Munic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Muna Island off southeast Sulawesi, and part of Buton and surrounding islands. *Pop.* 227,000.

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**MUNGGAVA** see **RENNELL**.

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**MUNGGUI** *Alt.* NATABUI. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. North coast of Yapen Island near 135.50', villages of Munggui, Windesi, Murui, Ascii Puramati. *Pop.* 800.

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**MURUA** see **MUYUW**.

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**MURUT PADASS** see **BEAUFORT MURUT**.

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**MURUT, TIMUGON** *Alt.* TEMOGUN, TENOM MURUT, TIMOGUN, TIMIGAN, TIMIGUN, TIMOGON, TIMUGUN. *Dial.* KAPAGALAN, POROS. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic, Northern. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Tenom District along the Padas River from Melalap to Batu. *Pop.* 6,000 to 7,000.

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**MURUWA** see **MUYUW**.

**MUSI** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Interior south Sumatra, both sides of Musi River northwest of Sekayu and to Palembang language. *Pop.* 150,000.

**MUSOM** *Alt.* MISATIK. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Lower Markham, Busu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, tributary of Busu River. *Pop.* 140.

**MUSSAU-EMIRA** *Alt.* EMIRA, EMIRA-MUSSAU. *Dial.* EMIRA, MUSSAU (MUSAU). *Class.* OC, WOC, St. Matthias. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Mussau or St. Matthias Islands, to the north of New Ireland. *Pop.* 3,650.

**MUTU** see **TUAM-MUTU**.

**MUYU** see **MUYUW**.

**MUYUA** see **MUYUW**.

**MUYUW** *Alt.* MUYU, MUYUA, MURUA, MURUWA. *Dial.* YANABA, LOUGAW (GAWA), WAMWAN, NAWYEM. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Kilivila/Louisiades, Kilivila. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Losuia Subprovince, Woodlark Island. *Pop.* 3,000.

**MWAE** see **EMAE**.

**MWATEBU** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Dobu-Duau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, one village, north central coast, Normanby Island. *Pop.* 170.

**MYFOORSCH** see **BIAK**.

**NA'AHAI** see **SOUTH WEST BAY**.

**NAA DUBEA** see **DUMBEA**.

**NAA NUMEE** see **NUMEE**.

**NAA WEE** see **NUMEE**.

**NABALOI** see **IBALOI**.

**NABI** *Alt.* MODAN, KURI. *Class.* CEMP, Unclassified. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Southwest Bomberai Peninsula, along Nabi (Kuri) River west from Wandamen Bay, 16 villages. *Pop.* 500.

**NAD'A** see **NGADA**.

**NADA** see **BUDIBUD**.

**NADROGA** see **FIJIAN, WESTERN**.

**NADRONGA** see **FIJIAN, WESTERN**.

**NAFI** *Alt.* SIRAK. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Azera, Busu. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Busu River. *Pop.* 160.

**NAGARIGE** see **PIVA**.

**NAGE** *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba, Ende-Lio. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Flores, northeast of Ngada. *Pop.* 83,000.

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**NAHINA** see **MORI BAWAH**.

**NAHINE** see **BUNGKU**.

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**NAHOA** see **NUGURIA**.

**NAKAELA** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram, Ulat Inai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Kairatu village, northwest Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 5.

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**NAKANAI** *Dial.* LOSA (LOSO, AUKA), BILEKI (LAKALAI, MUKU, MAMUGA), VERE (VELE, TAROBI), UBAE (BABATA), MAUTUTU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, Willaumez. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, northwest coast. 42 villages. *Pop.* 13,000.

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**NALA** see **LALA**.

**NALE** see **ATCHIN**.

**NALI** *Alt.* YIRU. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, southeast Manus Island. *Pop.* 1,800.

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**NALIK** *Alt.* LUGAGON, FESOA, FESSOA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Lavongai/Nalik. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, north central. *Pop.* 2,620.

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**NAMAKABAN** see **TSOU**.

**NAMAKIR** see **NAMAKURA**.

**NAMAKURA** *Alt.* MAKURA, NAMAKIR. *Dial.* TONGOA ISLAND, TONGARIKI ISLAND, BUNINGA, MAKURA (EMWAE ISLAND), MATASO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Central Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North Efate, Tongoa, Tongariki. *Pop.* 2,850.

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**NAMBAS, BIG** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northwest Malekula. *Pop.* 1,800.

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**NAMONUITO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Magur, Ulul islands, Carolines. *Pop.* 600.

**NAMOSI-NAITASIRI-SERUA** *Dial.* BATIWAI, TUBAI, NALEA. *Class.* OC, Remote Oceanic, Central Pacific, Rotuman-Fijian, Fijian, West. *Loc.* Fiji. Fiji Islands, south central Viti Levu, Namosi, Serua, Naitasiri provinces.

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**NAONE** see **MARINO**.

**NAPU** *Alt.* BARA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Lore Utara and Poso Pesisir subdistricts; 12 villages. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**NAPUANMEN** see **WHITESANDS**.

**NARA** see **LALA**.

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**NARANGO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Santo Island. *Pop.* 160.

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**NARIHUA** see **KAHUA**.

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**NAROM** *Alt.* NARUM. *Dial.* NAROM, MIRI. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Baram-Tinjar. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. South of the mouth of the Baram River around Miri and to the south. *Pop.* 2,420.

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**NARUM** see **NAROM**.

**NASARIAN** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwest coast of Malekula. *Pop.* 20.

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**NATABUI** see **MUNGGUI**.

**NATAORAN AMIS** see **AMIS, NATAORAN**.

**NATI** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu, Southwest coast of Malekula. *Pop.* 10

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**NAUETI** *Dial.* NAUMIK, OSO MOKO. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, Naueti. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. East Timor Island, west of Tiomar. *Pop.* 1,000.

**NAUNA** *Alt.* NAUNE. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, South-East Admiralties. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Nauna Island. 1 village. *Pop.* 130.

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**NAUNE** see **NAUNA**.

**NAURU** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Nauruan. *Loc.* Nauru. Nauru Island, Pleasant Island, isolated atoll west of Gilbert Islands. *Pop.* 4,250.

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**NAVUT** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West central Santo. *Pop.* 525.

**NDA'U** see **PENDAU**.

**NDAO** *Alt.* NDAONESE, NDAUNDAU. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Lesser Sundas, island of Ndao off the west coast of Roti, and on Sumba, Roti, and Timor. *Pop.* 3,500.

**NDAOE** see **PENDAU**.

**NDAONESE** see **NDAO**.

**NDAU** see **PENDAU**.

**NDAUNDAU** see **NDAO**.

**NDROKU** see **LONIU**.

**NDUGHORE** see **DUKE**.

**NDUINDUI** *Alt.* DUINDUI, OPA, WEST AMBAE. *Dial.* WALAHA, NDUINDUI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West Ambae (Aoba, Leper's) Island. *Pop.* 4,500.

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**NDUKE** see **DUKE**.

**NDUMBEA** see **DUMBEA**.

**NEGERI SEMBILAN** *Alt.* NEGERI SEMBILAN MALAY. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia, Peninsular. *Pop.* 300,000.

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**NEHAN** *Alt.* NISSAN. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Nehan/North Bougainville, Nehan. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Nissan Island, midway between New Ireland and North Solomons provinces. *Pop.* 15,000.

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**NEKU** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Wailic. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Bourail, lower valley. *Pop.* 200.

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**NEMBAO** *Alt.* AMBA, UTUPUA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Eastern Outer Islands, Utupua. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Aveta, Matembo, and Nembao villages, Utupua Island, Temotu Province. *Pop.* 280.

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**NEMI** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, North, Nemi. *Loc.* New Caledonia. East coast: upper valleys north of Hièngghène, and west coast at Voh: Ouélis and upper valley. *Pop.* 325

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**NENAYA** *Alt.* NENGAYA, NINEIA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Roinji/Nenaya. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, north coast of Huon Peninsula. *Pop.* 315.

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**NENEMA** see **KUMAK**.

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**NENGAYA** see **NENAYA**.

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**NENGONE** *Alt.* MARÉ, IWATENU. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Loyalty Islands. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Marc, Loyalty Islands. *Pop.* 6,500.

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**NERE** see **ZIRE**.

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**NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGE** see **TOLAI**.

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**NEW CHAM** see **CHAM, WESTERN**.

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**NEW ZEALAND MAORI** see **MAORI**.

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**NGA'DA** see **NGADA**.

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**NGAD'A** see **NGADA**.

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**NGADA** *Alt.* NGADHA, NGAD'A, NGA'DA, NAD'A, BAJAVA, BADJAVA. *Dial.* SOA, CENTRAL NGADA, BAJAVA, SOUTHEAST NGADA, SOUTHWEST NGADA. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. South central Flores, between Manggarai and Ende-Lio. *Pop.* 60,000-70,000.

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**NGADHA** see **NGADA**.

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**NGADJU** see **NGAJU**.

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**NGAJU** *Alt.* NGADJU, NGAJU DAYAK, BIADJU, SOUTHWEST BARITO. *Dial.* PULOPETAK, KAPUAS (NGAJU, BARA-DIA), BA'AMANG (BARA-BARE, SAMPIT), MANTANGAI (OLOH MANGTANGAI). *Class.* WMP, Borneo, West Barito, Southwest. *Loc.* Indonesia, Central Kalimantan, West Kalimantan. Kapuas, Kahayan, Katingan, and Mentaya rivers, south. *Pop.* 250,000.

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**NGAJU DAYAK** see **NGAJU**.

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**NGATIK** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Ponapeic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Ngatik Atoll, east of Carolines. *Pop.* 500.

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**NGGAO** see **GAO**.

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**NGGELA** see **GELA**.

**NGONGOSILA** see **KWAI**.

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**NIAP** see **TEMUAN**.

**NIAS** *Alt.* **BATU**. *Dial.* **NIAS**, **BATU**. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Northern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Nias and Batu Islands off west coast of Sumatra. *Pop.* 480,000.

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**NIBON** see **PUNAN-NIBONG**.

**NIBONG** see **PUNAN-NIBONG**.

**NIDE** see **LABO**.

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**NITAKA** see **TSOU**.

**NIKAURA** see **LAMENU**.

**NILA** *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, TNS, Nila-Serua. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Transmigration area (6 villages) in south-central Seram Island, central Maluku. (Originally Nila Island in south-central Maluku). *Pop.* 1,800.

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**NIMOA** *Alt.* **NIMOWA**. *Dial.* **PANA WINA**, **SABARI**, **PANATINANI**, **WESTERN POINT**. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Kilivila/Louisiades, Nimoa/Sudest. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Misima Subprovince, group of islands just west of Sud-Est. *Pop.* 1,100.

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**NIMOWA** see **NIMOA**.

**NINEIA** see **NENAYA**.

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**NINIGO** see **SEIMAT**.

**NISSAN** see **NEHAN**.

**NIUAFOOU** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Niuafu'ou. *Loc.* Tonga. Niuafu'ou and Eua Islands. *Pop.* 690.

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**NIUATOPUTAPU** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Tongic. *Loc.* Tonga. Niuatoputapu Island. *Pop.* 1,630.

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**NIUE** *Alt.* **NIUEAN**, **NIUEFEKAI**. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Tongic. *Loc.* Niue. Also in New Zealand, Tonga, and Cook Islands. *Pop.* 11,750.

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**NIUEAN** see **NIUE**.

**NIUEFEKAI** see **NIUE**.

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**NJADU** see **NYADU**.

**NJAWE** see **JAWE**.

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**NJO** see **KOMERING**.

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**NJO** see **KRUI**.

**NOEFOOR** see **BIAK**.

**NOGUGU** see **NOKUKU**.

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**NOKUKU** *Alt.* NOGUGU. *Class.* OC, CEOC. Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northwest Santo. *Pop.* 160.

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**NONIALI** see LISABATA-NUNIALI.

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**NORTH DAMAR** see DAMAR, WEST.

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**NORTH MAEWO** see MARINO.

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**NORTH RAGA** see RAGA.

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**NORTHEAST AMBON** see TULEHU.

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**NORTHEAST BARITO** see LAWANGAN.

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**NORTHERN CAGAYAN NEGRITO** see ATTA, PAMPLONA.

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**NORTHERN KALINGA** see KALINGA, LIMOS.

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**NORTHERN SINAMA** see SAMA, BALANGINGI.

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**NORTHERN SORSOGON** see SORSOGON, MASBATE.

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**NOTSI** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Tabar. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, east coast. *Pop.* 1,100.

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**NUA** see YUAGA.

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**NUAKATA** see AUHELAWA.

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**NUAULU** see NUAULU, NORTH.

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**NUAULU** see NUAULU, SOUTH.

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**NUAULU, NORTH** *Alt.* NUAULU, PATAKAI, FATAKAI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Sawai-Nuauulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Villages of Openg and Rumaholat in north-central Seram Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 500.

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**NUAULU, SOUTH** *Alt.* NUAULU, PATAKAI, FATAKAI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Sawai-Nuauulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Six villages in the foothills of Amahai District. South-central Seram Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**NUFOOR** see BIAK.

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**NUGUOR** see NUKUORO.

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**NUGURIA** *Alt.* FEAD, NUKURIA, NAHOA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Northern. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, northeast of Bougainville Island, Fead or Nuguria Atoll, villages of Puhuria and Sauma. *Pop.* 200.

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**NUKORO** see NUKUORO.

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**NUKUMANU** *Alt.* TASMAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Northern. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Tasman Atoll, Amotu village. *Pop.* 200.

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**NUKUORO** *Alt.* NUKORO, NUGUOR. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Micronesian. *Loc.* Micronesia. Nukuoro Island, Caroline Islands, Ponape. *Pop.* 550.

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**NUKURIA** see **NUGURIA**.

**NUMBAMI** *Alt.* SIPOMA, SIBOMA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Numbami. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Lae District, one village on coast. *Pop.* 270.

**NUME** *Alt.* TARASAG, GAUA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Gaua Island. *Pop.* 450.

**NUMEE** *Alt.* NAA NUMEE, KAPONE, TOUAOURU, OUEN, KWENYII, KUNIE, TUAURU, DUAURU, UEN, WEN, NAA-WEE. *Dial.* NUMEE (TOUAOURU), OUEN, KWENYII (KUNIE). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, Extreme Southern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Yate, Touaouru and Goro on main island south coast (Numee dialect), Isle Ouen (Ouen dialect), and Isle of Pines (Kwenyii). *Pop.* 1,800.

**NUMFOOR** see **BIAK**.

**NUMFOR-BIAK** see **BIAK**.

**NUNIALI** see **LISABATA-NUNIALI**.

**NUSA LAUT** *Alt.* NUSALAUT. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Uliase, Hatuhaha, Elpaputi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Titawai village, Nusa Laut Island, Lease Islands, central Maluku. *Pop.* 10 possibly.

**NUSARI** see **WORIASI**.

**NYADA** see **NYINDROU**.

**NYADU** *Alt.* NJADU, BALANTIANG, BALANTIAN. *Class.* WMP, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan, northwestern part, Landak, tributary of Sambas River. *Pop.* 9,000.

**NYALAYU** *Dial.* YALAYU, BELEP. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, Extreme Northern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. North coast, Belep Island, Arama and Balade. *Pop.* 1,400.

**NYINDROU** *Alt.* LINDROU, LINDAU, SALIEN, NYADA. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province. 9 villages. *Pop.* 2,550.

**NYISUNGGU** see **TANIMBILLI**.

**NYUA** see **YUAGA**.

**OBA** see **AMBAE, NORTHEAST**.

**OBO BAGOBO** see **MANOBO, OBO**.

**OELOEMANDA** see **ULUMANDA**.

**OEMA** see **UMA**.

**OEMALASASCH** see **PENDAU**.

**OGAN** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. South Sumatra around Baturaja, Pagerdewa, and north and west of Kayuagung. *Pop.* 300,000.

**OKOLOD** *Alt.* KOLOD, KOLOUR, KOLUR, OKOLOD MURUT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Sabah southwest of Tenom

and Sipitang Districts on some of the plantation estates and some along the headwaters of the Padas River. Primarily in Sarawak and Kalimantan, Indonesia Northeast along Sabah border, east of Lumbis, north of Lundayeh. *Pop.* 2,000 to 3,500.

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**OKOLOD MURUT** see **OKOLOD**.

**OKRO** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern, Manus, East. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, south central coast, northwest of Titan. *Pop.* 200.

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**OMBA** see **AMBAE, NORTHEAST**.

**OMO** see **TIGAK**.

**ONANK** see **WATUT, NORTH**.

**ONIN** *Dial.* NIKUDA, OGAR, PATIPI, SEPA. *Class.* CMP, North Bomberai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. North and northwest Bomberai Peninsula. *Pop.* 600.

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**ONTONG JAVA** *Alt.* LUANGIUA, LEUANGIUA, LORD HOWE. *Dial.* LUANGIUA, PELAU. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Ontong Java Atoll (Lord Howe Island), 130 miles from Santa Isabel Island. *Pop.* 1,100.

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**ONUA** see **UNUA**.

**OPA** see **NDUINDUI**.

**OPOTAI** see **APUTAI**.

**ORAHA** see **OROHA**.

**ORAK LAWOI'** see **URAK LAWOI**.

**ORANG BUKIT** see **BRUNEI**.

**ORANG CAGAYAN** see **MAPUN**.

**ORANG GUNUNG** see **ATONI**.

**ORANG HULU** see **JAKUN**.

**ORANG KANAQ** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia, Peninsular. Southeast, northeast of Mawai. *Pop.* 34.

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**ORANG KUALA** see **DUANO**.

**ORANG LAUT** see **BAJAU, INDONESIAN**.

**ORANG LAUT** see **LONCONG**.

**ORANG SELETAR** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia, Peninsular. Southeast coast around Kukuio, Johore Bahru, east and north, and north coast of Singapore. *Pop.* 541.

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**ORANG SUNGAI** see **KINABATANGAN SUNGAI**.

**ORANG SUNGAI** see **TOMBONUO**.

**ORANG SUNGEI** see **TOMBONUO**.

**ORFORD** see **MAENG**.

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**ORMU** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea (?), Sarmi/Jayapura Bay, Jayapura Bay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. North coast area just west of Jayapura, villages of Ormu Besar and Ormu Kecil, north of Cyclops Mountains. *Pop.* 745.

**OROHA** *Alt.* MARA MA-SIKI, ORAHA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Southern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. South Malaita Island. *Pop.* 100.

**OROWE** *Alt.* BOEWE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Wailic. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Bourail upper valleys: Ni, Pothé, and Bouirou. *Pop.* 750.

**OSING** *Alt.* BANYUWANGI. *Class.* WMP, Javanese. *Loc.* Indonesia, Java, Bali. East and northeast coast of east Java. *Pop.* 200,000 to 500,000.

**OT DANUM** see **DOHOI**.

**OT SIANG** see **SIANG**.

**OUBATCH** see **JAWE**.

**OUEN** see **NUMEE**.

**OUMA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, Oumic, Ouma. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, south coast around Labu. *Pop.* 4.

**OUIVEAN** see **UVEAN, WEST**.

**PA'UMOTU** *Alt.* TUAMOTUAN, PAUMOTU. *Dial.* MIHIROA (TARAVAIA), VAHITU, TAPUHOE, NAPUKA, REAO, RANGATAU (TUPITIMOAKE), PARATA (PUTAHI), MARANGAI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Tahitic. *Loc.* French Polynesia. *Pop.* 14,400.

**PAACI** see **PAICI**.

**PAAFANG** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Hall Islands (Nomwin, Fananu, Marilo, Ruo), Carolines. *Pop.* 1,200.

**PAAMA** see **PAAMESE**.

**PAAMA-LOPEVI** see **PAAMESE**.

**PAAMESE** *Alt.* PAAMA, PAAMA-LOPEVI, PAUMA. *Dial.* NORTH PAAMA, SOUTH PAAMA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Paama, one village on east Epi (Lopevi), large group in Vila. *Pop.* 4,000.

**PADANG** see **MINANGKABAU**.

**PADOE** *Alt.* SOUTH MORI, PADOÉ, AJO, SINONGKO, ALALAO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Mori. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, eastern Luwu District in Nuha and Malili subdistricts. *Pop.* 7,000 to 10,000.

**PADOÉ** see **PADOE**.

**PAGCAH** see **AMIS**.

**PAHAVAI** see **BOHUAI**.



**PAICI** *Alt.* PATI, PAACI, CI, PONERIHOUEN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, Central. *Loc.* New Caledonia. East coast between Poindimié and Ponérihouen and inland valleys. *Pop.* 5,500.

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**PAITAN** see **TOMBONUO**.

**PAIUAN** see **PAIWAN**.

**PAIWA** see **GAPAPAIWA**.

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**PAIWAN** *Alt.* PAIUAN, PAYOWAN, LI-LI-SHA, SAMOBI, SAMOHAI, SAPREK, TAMARI, KADAS, KALE-WHAN, KAPIANGAN, KATAUSAN. *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. Southern, southeastern mountains. *Pop.* 53,000.

**PAJO** see **BALAESAN**.

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**PAK-TONG** *Alt.* TONG-PAK. *Dial.* PAK, TONG. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, Pak-Tong. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Pak and Tong Islands. *Pop.* 970.

**PAKATAN** see **BUKITAN**.

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**PAKEWA** see **TONTEMBOAN**.

**PAKI** see **BAKI**.

**PAKPAK** see **BATAK DAIRI**.

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**PAKU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, East Barito, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Southeast, south of Ampah. *Pop.* 20,000.

**PALAMUL** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cendrawasih Bay, Raja Ampat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Raja Ampat Islands, southwestern Salawati Island around Sailolof. *Pop.* 200.

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**PALANENYO** see **PARANAN**.

**PALAU** *Alt.* PALAUAN. *Class.* WMP, Palauan. *Loc.* Belau. Palau Islands and Guam, west Carolines. *Pop.* 15,000.

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**PALAUAN** see **PALAU**.

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**PALAWAN** *Alt.* PALAWANO, BROOKES POINT PALAWANO. *Dial.* SOUTH PALAWANO (BUGSUK PALAWANO). *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Palawano. *Loc.* Philippines. Southeastern Palawan. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**PALAWAN BATAK** see **BATAK**.

**PALAWANEN** see **PALAWANO, CENTRAL**.

**PALAWANO** see **PALAWAN**.

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**PALAWANO, CENTRAL** *Alt.* QUEZON PALAWANO, PALAWANEN, PALAWENO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Palawano. *Loc.* Philippines. Central Palawan. *Pop.* 12,000.

**PALAWANO, SOUTHWEST** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Palawano. *Loc.* Philippines. Southwest Palawan from Canipaan to Canduaga. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**PALAWENO** see **PALAWANO, CENTRAL**.

**PALEMBANG** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Southeast Sumatra, Palembang area. *Pop.* 500,000.

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**PALIK** see **APALIK**.

**PALIN** see **EMBALOH**.

**PALU'E** see **PALUE**.

**PALUAN** *Dial.* PALUAN (PELUAN), DALIT MURUT, SOOK MURUT, TAKAPAN, MAKACHELIGA (MAKIALIGA), PANDEWAN (SAPULUT). *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Sabah, Tenom, Keningau, and Pensiangan districts along some tributaries of the Padas River, and along the Dalit and Keramatoi rivers, and the lower Sook River valley, and around the headwaters of the Talankai and Sapulut rivers. *Pop.* 6,000 to 7,000.

**PALUE** *Alt.* PALU'E. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Palu Island, north of central Flores. *Pop.* A few thousand.

**PAMALE** see **VAMALE**.

**PAMONA** *Alt.* BARE'E, BAREE, POSO. *Dial.* PAMONA (BARE'E), LAIWONU (IBA), BATUI, SINOHOAN (DAIDO, IDO, IDORE'E), MBELALA (BARIA, BELA, BELALA), RAPANGKAKA (ARIA), TOMONI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Pamona. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Poso Kota, Poso Pesisir, Parigi, Lage, Pamona Utara, Pamona Selatan, Tojo, Ulubongko, Ampana Kota, Ampanatete, Una-una, Mori Atas, Petasia, Bungku Utara, Bungku Tengah subdistricts; 193 villages. South Sulawesi in Mangkutana Subdistrict and north Wotu and Bone-Bone subdistricts in Luwu District. *Pop.* 106,000.

**PAMPANGAN** *Alt.* PAMPANGO, PAMPANGUEÑO, KAPAMPANGAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Pampangan. *Loc.* Philippines. Pampanga Province, Tarlac and Bataan, Luzon. *Pop.* 1,853,000.

**PAMPANGO** see **PAMPANGAN**.

**PAMPANGUEÑO** see **PAMPANGAN**.

**PANAEATI** see **MISIMA**.

**PANAIETI** see **MISIMA**.

**PANAPANAYAN** see **PYUMA**.

**PANASUAN** *Alt.* TO PANASEAN, TO PAMOSEAN. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Seko. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, northeast of Kalumpang speaking area and west of Seko area merging into Kalumpang area in Mamuju District. *Pop.* 645.

**PANAY** see **AKLANON**.

**PANAYANO** see **KINARAY-A**.

**PANAYETI** see **MISIMA**.

**PANCANA** *Alt.* SUAI, PANTJANA. *Dial.* KAPONTORI, KAMBOWA, KALENDE (LAWELE), LABUANDIRI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Munic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, near Muna. *Pop.* 15,000.

**PANDAN** see **BICOLANO**, **NORTHERN CATANDUANES**.

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**PANDEWAN MURUT** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic, Northern. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Pensiangan District along Nabawan, Pamentarian, and Mesopo rivers. *Pop.* 1,200 to 1,400.

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**PANEATE** see **MISIMA**.

**PANEYATE** see **MISIMA**.

**PANGASINAN** *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Southern Cordilleran, Pangasinic. *Loc.* Philippines. Pangasinan Province, Luzon. *Pop.* 1,635,000.

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**PANGKUMU BAY** see **REREP**.

**PANGKUMU** see **REREP**.

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**PANGTSAH** see **AMIS**.

**PANNEI** *Alt.* TAPANGO. *Dial.* TAPANGO, BULO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, PUS. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Polewali-Mamasa District, Wonomulyo Subdistrict. *Pop.* 9,000.

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**PANTJANA** see **PANCANA**.

**PAPAPANA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Nehan/North Bougainville, Papapana. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province. *Pop.* 150.

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**PAPAR** *Alt.* BAJAU BUKIT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kuala Penyu District. *Pop.* 600 to 800.

**PAPAR KADAZAN** see **KADAZAN, COASTAL**.

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**PAPITALAI** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern, Manus, East. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Naringel and Papitalai, Los Negros Island. *Pop.* 520.

**PAPUMA** *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. South coast Yapen Island near 135.50', village of Papuma. *Pop.* 600.

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**PARAN** see **TAROKO**.

**PARANAN** *Alt.* PALANENYO. *Dial.* PALANAN DUMAGAT (PALANAN VALLEY AGTA, PALANAN VALLEY DUMAGAT). *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Dumagat, Northern. *Loc.* Philippines. East coast, Isabela Province, Luzon; surrounded by hills. Isolated. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**PARI** see **EMBALOH**.

**PASAN** see **RATAHAN**.

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**PASCUENSE** see **RAPA NUI**.

**PASEMAH** *Alt.* BESEMAH. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Central Bukit Barisan highlands. *Pop.* 400,000.

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**PASISMANUA** see **KAULONG**.

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**PATAKAI** see **NUAULU, NORTH**.

**PATAKAI** see **NUAULU, SOUTH**.

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**PATANI** *Class.* SHWNG, South Halmahera, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, the entire narrow tip of the southeastern peninsula of Halmahera, extending west along coast of peninsula. Nine villages: Patani, Peniti, Tepeleu, Gemya, Kipai, Wailegi, Yeisowo, Banemo, Moreala, Sibenpopu (with some Tobelo speakers). *Pop.* 7,000 to 9,000.

**PATASIWA** see ALUNE.

**PATEP** see MUMENG.

**PATI** see PAICI.

**PATPARI** see PATPATAR.

**PATPATAR** *Alt.* GELIK, PATPARI. *Dial.* PALA, SOKIRIK, PATPATAR. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso-Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, south central. *Pop.* 4,685.

**PATTA' BINUANG** see PATTAE.

**PATTAE** *Alt.* PATTA' BINUANG, BINUANG, TAE'. *Dial.* BINUANG, PAKU, BATETANGA, ANTEAPI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Polmas District, Polewali Subdistrict. *Pop.* 35,000.

**PATTINJO** *Alt.* ENDEKAN BARAT. *Dial.* LETTA, BATULAPPA, KASSA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Masenrempulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, northern half of Pinrang District. Letta is in the north, Batulappa around the mouth of the Sa'dan River and northward, Kassa around the mouth of the River and inland. *Pop.* 50,000.

**PAULOH** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Soléhua. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Central Maluku, West Seram, western shore of Elpaputih Bay in south central Seram Island, 2 villages, Kecamatan Amahai. *Pop.* 50 possibly.

**PAUMA** see PAAMESE.

**PAUMOTU** see PA'UMOTU.

**PAYOWAN** see PAIWAN.

**PAZEH** *Alt.* PAZZEHE, PAZEHE, PAZEX, PAZEH-KAHABU, SHEKHOAN, SEKHWAN, LEKWHAN. *Dial.* KAHABU, PAZEH. *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. Near the west coast just north of 24°N, east of Tayal, around Cholan, Houli, Fengyuan, Tantz, Taichung, Tungshih. *Pop.* Possibly extinct.

**PAZEH-KAHABU** see PAZEH.

**PAZEHE** see PAZEH.

**PAZEX** see PAZEH.

**PAZZEHE** see PAZEH.

**PEKAL** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Minangkabau. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

**PEKAVA** see DAA.

**PEKAWA** see DAA.

**PELAM** see PYUMA.

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**PELIPOWAI** see **BOHUAI**.

**PENAMPANG KADAZAN** see **KADAZAN, COASTAL**.

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**PENAN** see **PUNAN-NIBONG**.

**PENCHAL** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, South-East Admiralties. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Rambutyo Island. *Pop.* 550.

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**PENDAU** *Alt.* NDAU, NDAOE, NDA'U, UMALASA, OEMALASASCH. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, Balaesang Subdistrict, village of Walandano and part of Sibayu, and Simatang Island. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**PENESAK** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

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**PENIHING** see **AOHENG**.

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**PENRHYN** *Alt.* TONGAREVA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Tahitic. *Loc.* Cook Islands. Northern Cook Islands. *Pop.* 600.

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**PERAI** *Alt.* WETAR, ERAI. *Class.* CMP, Southwest Maluku, Wetar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Villages of Uhak and Moning, Wetar Island, north of Timor, south Maluku. *Pop.* 280.

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**PERANAKAN**

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**PESISIR, SOUTHERN** *Dial.* KOTA AGUNG (SOUTHWEST LAMPUNG), WAY LIMA, KALIANDA (SOUTHEAST LAMPUNG), TELUKBETUNG, TALANG PADANG. *Class.* WMP, Lampungic, Pesisir. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. South Sumatra. *Pop.* 400,000.

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**PETAPA** see **TAJE**.

**PETATS** *Dial.* HITAU-PORORAN, MATSUNGAN. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Nehan/North Bougainville, Buka. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, Buka Passage Subprovince, Petats, Pororan, and Hitau islands off the west coast of Buka Island. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**PEWANEAN** see **SEKO TENGAH**.

**PEWANEANG** see **SEKO TENGAH**.

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**PIAMATSINA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northwest Santo Island. *Pop.* 150.

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**PIJE** *Alt.* PINJE, PINDJE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, North, Nemi. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Hièngghènc: Tipindjé, Tiendanite, and Pouépaï. *Pop.* 100.

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**PILAM** see **PYUMA**.

**PILENI** *Alt.* PILHENI. *Dial.* MATEMA, TAUMAKO (DUFF), NUPANI, NUKAPU, AUA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Pileni. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Matema, Taumako, Nupani, Nukapu, Pileni, Nifiloli in the Duff and Reef islands. *Pop.* 880.

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**PILHENI** see **PILENI**.

**PILILO** see **AROVE**.

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**PILIPINO** see **TAGALOG**.

**PINDJE** see **PIJE**.

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**PINGELAP** *Alt.* PINGILAPESE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Ponapeic. *Loc.* Micronesia. *Pop.* 1,300.

**PINGILAPESE** see **PINGELAP**.

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**PINJE** see **PIJE**.

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**PIPIKORO** see **UMA**.

**PIRU** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Amalumute, Northwest Seram. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 1 village, west Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 10 or fewer.

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**PITILU** see **LEIPON**.

**PITU ULUNA BINANGA** see **PITU ULUNNA SALU**.

**PITU ULUNNA SALU** *Alt.* PITU-ULUNA-SALO, PITU-ULUNA-BINANGA, PUS, TENETE. *Dial.* BUMAL, BAMBANG (BAMBAN, BAMBANG HULU), MEHALA'AN-EASTERN RANTEBULAHAN, WEST RANTEBULAHAN (RANTEBULAWAN), PATTAE (GALUNG), MATANGNGA, ISSILITA', SALU MUKANG, PAKKAU. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, PUS. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, watershed of the Maloso and Mapilli rivers in Mambi Subdistrict of western Polmas District, overlapping into Majene and Mamuju districts. *Pop.* 22,000.

**PITU-ULUNA-SALO** see **PITU ULUNNA SALU**.

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**PITYILU** see **LEIPON**.

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**PIU** *Alt.* SANBIAU, LANZOG, KURUKO. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Hote/Buang, Buang. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Upper Watut River, one village. *Pop.* 130.

**PIVA** *Alt.* NAGARIGE. *Dial.* AMUN. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Piva/Banoni. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, Piva River. *Pop.* 550.

**PIYUMA** see **PYUMA**.

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**POAI** see **FWAI**.

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**POAMEI** see **PWAAMEI**.

**POAPOA** see **PWAPWA**.

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**POAVOSA** see **BABUZA**.

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**PODNA** see **SOBEI**.

**POENG** *Alt.* MENGEN I, BUSH MENGEN. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Mengén. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, west of Jacquinet Bay.

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**POHNPEIAN** see **PONAPEAN**.

**POHONEANG** see **SEKO TENGAH**.

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**POHUAI (TULU-BOHUAI)** see **BOHUAI**.

**POKAU** see **LALA**.

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**POLICE MOTU** see **MOTU, HIRI**.

**POLONOMBAUK** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southeast Santo Island. *Pop.* 225.

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**POM** *Dial.* JOBI. *Class.* SHWNG. WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Miosnum Island and west Yapen Island, villages of Pom, Serewen, Mias Endi. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**PONAM** *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Ponam Island. *Pop.* 420.

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**PONAPE** see **PONAPEAN**.

**PONAPEAN** *Alt.* POHNPEIAN, PONAPE. *Dial.* KITI, PONAPE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Ponapeic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Ponape Island, Caroline Islands. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**PONASAKAN** see **PONOSAKAN**.

**PONERIHOUEN** see **PAICI**.

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**PONOSAKAN** *Alt.* PONASAKAN. *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Mongondic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeast Sulawesi around Belang. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**POROHANON** *Alt.* CAMOTES. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central, Peripheral. *Loc.* Philippines. Camotes Islands. *Pop.* 23,000.

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**PORT SANDWICH** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southeast Malekula Island. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**PORT VATO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwest Ambrym Island. *Pop.* 750.

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**POSO** see **PAMONA**.

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**PRIANGAN** see **SUNDA**.

**PSOHOH** *Alt.* BAO. *Dial.* BAO, AIGON, SOKHOK (PSOKHOK, PSOKOK). *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Pasismanua. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province. *Pop.* 1,100.

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**PUBIAN** *Class.* WMP, Lampungic, Pesisir. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. South Sumatra. *Pop.* 400,000.

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**PUGOT** see **ALTA, SOUTHERN**.

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**PUKAPUKA** *Alt.* BUKABUKAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Pukapuka. *Loc.* Cook Islands. Pukapuka Island, northern Cook Islands; some in Rarotonga and New Zealand. *Pop.* 785.

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**PULA** see **TADYAWAN**.

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**PULIE-RAUTO** see **LAMOGAI**.

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**PULUWAT** *Dial.* PULUWAT, PULAP, PULUSUK. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Puluwat, Pulap, Pulusuk islands, Carolines. *Pop.* 1,300.

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**PUMA** see **BUMA**.

**PUNAN APUT** *Alt.* APUT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Muller-Schwaneer 'Punan'. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, west and north of Mt. Menyapa. *Pop.* 370.

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**PUNAN BAH-BIAU** *Dial.* PUNAN BAH (PUNAN BA), PUNAN BIAU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Sajau. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Central, around Merit, Rejang River, 7th Division. *Pop.* 450.

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**PUNAN BATU 1** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Central Sarawak, west of Long Geng, southeast of Belaga. *Pop.* 50.

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**PUNAN BUNGAN** see **IIOVONGAN**.

**PUNAN KERIAU** see **KEREHO-UHENG**.

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**PUNAN MERAH** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kayan, Muller-Schwaneer 'Punan'. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, Mahakam River, east of Ujohhilang. *Pop.* 137.

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**PUNAN MERAP** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Sajau. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, east of Longkemat. *Pop.* 200.

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**PUNAN TUBU** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Kenyah, Punan Tubu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, Malinau, Mentarang, and Sembakung rivers, 8 locations. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**PUNAN-NIBONG** *Alt.* PENAN, NIBONG, NIBON. *Dial.* NIBONG, BOK PUNAN (BOK), PUNAN SILAT, PUNAN GANG (GANG), PUNAN LUSONG (LUSONG), PENAN APO, SIPENG (SPENG), PUNAN LANYING, JELALONG PUNAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Punan-Nibong. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Upper Baram and Balui Rivers around Mt. Dulit, 3 villages, 4th to 7th Divisions, and Nibong branch of Lobong River, a tributary of the Tinjar River. *Pop.* 1,350.

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**PURE MOTU** see **MOTU**.

**PUS** see **PITU ULUNNA SALU**.

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**PUTOH** *Dial.* PA KEMBALOH, ABAL. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Apo Duat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, west of Lundayeh and Sa'ban, Mentarang River, around Longberang, Mensalong, and Bangalan. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**PUYUMA** see **PYUMA**.

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**PWAAMEI** *Alt.* POAMEI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, North. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Voh: Ouélis, Témala, Tiéta. *Pop.* 325.

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**PWAPWA** *Alt.* POAPOA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern, North. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Voh: Boyen. *Pop.* 130.

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**PYUMA** *Alt.* PUYUMA, PILAM, PELAM, PIYUMA, PANAPANAYAN, KADAS, TIPUN. *Dial.* NANWANG. *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. Along east coast south of Taitung and inland. *Pop.* 7,225.

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**QATVENUA** see **RAGA**.

**QUEZON PALAWANO** see **PALAWANO, CENTRAL**.

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**QUIANGAN** see **IFUGAO, KIANGAN**.

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**RADAY** see **RADE**.

**RADE** *Alt.* RHAEDE, RADAY, RDE, EDE. *Dial.* BIH, NDHUR, ADHAM, BLO, KODRAO, KRUNG 1, RDE KPA. *Class.* WMP, Acch-Chamic, Chamic, South, Plateau. *Loc.* Vietnam. Dac Lac and part of Phu Khanh provinces, centred around Banmethuot. Also USA, possibly also Kampuchea. *Pop.* 120,000.

**RADLAI** see **ROGLAI, NORTHERN**.

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**RAGA** *Alt.* HANO, LAMALANGA, NORTH RAGA, VUNMARAMA, QATVENUA, BWATVENUA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North Pentecost (Raga, Whitsuntide Island) and southern Maewo (Aurora) Island. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**RAGETTA** see **GEDAGED**.

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**RAGLAI** see **ROGLAI, NORTHERN**.

**RAHAMBUU** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi *Pop.* 500.

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**RAI** see **CHRU**.

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**RAJONG** *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Flores, between Manggarai, Wae Rana, Ngada and Rembong.

**RAKAHANGA-MANIHIKI** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Tahitic. *Loc.* Cook Islands. Northern Cook Islands. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**RALUANA** see **TOLAI**.

**RAMOAINA** *Alt.* DUKE OF YORK, MALU, RAMUAINA. *Dial.* MAKADAM (MAKADA), MOLOT, ULU, MIOKO, KERAWARA, MANDAN, KABOTIRAI, UTAM. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, Rabaul Subprovince of Gazelle Peninsula. *Pop.* 8,600.

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**RAMPI** *Alt.* LEBONI, RAMPI-LEBONI, HA'UWA. *Dial.* RAMPI (LAMBU), RATO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, 6 villages in isolated mountain area of Masamba Subdistrict in Luwu District. About 10 villages in Poso and Donggala districts of Central Sulawesi. Rato speakers have moved elsewhere. *Pop.* 7,000.

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**RAMPI-LEBONI** see **RAMPI**.

**RAMUAINA** see **RAMOAINA**.

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**RANAO** see **MARANAO**.

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**RAPA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central. *Loc.* French Polynesia. Austral Islands, Rapa Island, 2 villages. *Pop.* 400.

**RAPA NUI** *Alt.* EASTER ISLAND, PASCUENSE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Rapa Nui. *Loc.* Easter Island, Chile. Easter Island, 3,800 km. from Chile, 4,000 km. from Tahiti. Some on Chilean mainland, Tahiti. *Pop.* 2,645.

**RAPPANG BUGINESE** see **BUGIS**.

**RAROTONGAN** *Alt.* COOK ISLAND, COOK ISLANDS MAORI, KUKI AIRANI. *Dial.* MITIARO, MAUKE, ATIU, MANGAIA, RAROTONGA, AITUTAKI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Tahitic. *Loc.* Cook Islands. 13 inhabited Cook Islands. Also in New Zealand. *Pop.* 43,000.

**RATAGNON** *Alt.* DATAGNON, LATAGNUN, LATAN, LACTAN, ARADIGI. *Dial.* RATAGNON, SANTA TERESA. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, West, Kuyan. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern tip of western Mindoro. *Pop.* Very few speakers.

**RATAHAN** *Alt.* BENTENAN, PASAN. *Class.* WMP, Sangiric, South, Ratahan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern section of northern peninsula of Sulawesi, around Ratahan and to the southeast coast. *Pop.* 30,000.

**RAUTO** see **LAMOGAI**.

**RAWAN** see **ATONI**.

**RAWAS** *Class.* WMP, Sundic, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

**RAYGLAY** see **ROGLAI, NORTHERN**.

**RDE** see **RADE**.

**REDJANG** see **REJANG**.

**REJANG** *Alt.* REDJANG, REJANG-LEBONG, JANG, DJANG, DJANG BELE TEBO. *Dial.* LEBONG (DJANG LEBONG). *Class.* WMP, Rejang. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Southwest highlands, north Bengkulu Province, around Argamakmur, Muaraaman, Curuo, and Kapahiang. *Pop.* 1,000,000.

**REJANG KAJAN** see **KAYAN, REJANG**.

**REJANG-LEBONG** see **REJANG**.

**REMBONG** *Dial.* REMBONG, WANGKA, NAMU. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. North central Flores, between East Manggarai and Far East Manggarai.

**RENNELL** *Alt.* RENNELLESE, MUNGGAVA, MUGABA. *Dial.* MUNGGAVA (RENNELL), MUNGIKI (BELLONA). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Rennell. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Rennell and Bellona Islands, Central Solomons. *Pop.* 1,950.

**RENNELLESE** see **RENNELL**.

**REPANBITIP** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. East Malekula Island. *Pop.* 90.

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**RREP** *Alt.* PANGKUMU, PANGKUMU BAY. *Dial.* TISMAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. East Malekula Island. *Pop.* 375.

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**RHADE** see **RADE**.

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**RIBUN** *Class.* WMP, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan, Northwest, Kabupaten Sanggau. *Pop.* 45,000.

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**RINCONADA BICOLANO** see **BICOLANO, IRIGA**.

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**RIO** see **GEDAGED**.

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**RIRIO** *Class.* OC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Choiseul. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Choiseul Island. *Pop.* 200.

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**RIUNG** *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. North-central Flores Island. *Pop.* 14,000.

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**ROBIANA** see **ROVIANA**.

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**ROGLAI, CACGIA** *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Coastal, Roglai. *Loc.* Vietnam. On the coast northeast of Phan Rang. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**ROGLAI, NORTHERN** *Alt.* RADLAI, ADLAI, RAYGLAY, RAGLAI. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Coastal, Roglai. *Loc.* Vietnam. In mountains west and south of Nhatrang, and some near Dalat. *Pop.* 25,000.

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**ROGLAI, SOUTHERN** *Dial.* RAI. *Class.* WMP, Aceh-Chamic, Chamic, South, Coastal, Roglai. *Loc.* Vietnam. Thuan Hai Province, and a few in Tuyen Duc, south Vietnam. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**ROINJI** *Alt.* GALI. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Roinji/Nenaya. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North coast, Huon Peninsula, two villages, one in Madang Province and one in Morobe Province. *Pop.* 230.

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**ROMA** *Alt.* ROMANG. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, Kisar-Roma. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Roma Island, north of Timor Island, east of Wetar Island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 2,360.

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**ROMANG** see **ROMA**.

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**ROMBLOMANON** *Alt.* ROMBLON. *Dial.* SIBUYAN, ROMBLON, BASIQ. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central, Romblon. *Loc.* Philippines. Romblon and Sibuyan Islands, parts of eastern Tablas Island, north of Panay. *Pop.* 200,000.

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**ROMBLON** see **ROMBLOMANON**.

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**RON** see **ROON**.

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**RONGGA** *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. South central Flores, between Manggarai and Ngada and south of Wae Rana.

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**RONGKONG KANANDEDE** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

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**RONGKONG** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

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**RONGKONG-LUWU'** *Alt.* RONGKONG, RONGKONG KANANDEDE, TO RONGKONG, TOALA, TOALA', TOALA-PALILI, LUWU', TORAJA TIMUR, EAST TORAJA, SADA, TOWARE, SANGANGALLA'. *Dial.* SEKO LEMO, RONGKONG ATAS, LUWU' UTARA (RONGKONG BAWAH), MASAMBA, PALILI', TOALA'. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Toraja-Sa'dan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Luwu District from Masamba south and west. *Pop.* 60,000.

**ROON** *Alt.* RON. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Roon Island west of Cenderawasih Bay, north of Wandamen Peninsula.

**ROONGAS** see RUNGUS.

**RORIA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Santo Island. *Pop.* 150.

**RORO** *Alt.* WAIMA. *Dial.* WAIMA (WEST RORO), BEREINA, RORO (EAST RORO), YULE-DELENA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, West Central Papuan, Nuclear West Central Papuan. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province, near Kairuku, shores of Hall Sound, between Yule Island and mainland 65 miles northwest of Port Moresby. *Pop.* 7,630.

**ROROVANA** see TORAU.

**ROTE** see ROTI.

**ROTI** *Alt.* ROTTI, ROTINESE, ROTE. *Dial.* BILBA (BILBA, DIU, LELENUK), RINGGOU (LANDU, RINGGOU (RENGGOU), OEPAO), KORBAFFO (KOLBAFFO), TERMANU (TERMANU (PADA), TALAE, KEKA), BA'A (BA'A (BAÄ), LOLE (LOLEH)), TI (THIE), DENGKA (DENGKA, LELAIN), OENALE (OENALE, DELA (DELHA)). *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, West. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Roti Island southwest of Timor and adjacent Timor Island and Semau Island. *Pop.* Over 125,000 to 133,000.

**ROTINESE** see ROTI.

**ROTO** see LAMOGAI.

**ROTORUA-TAUPO** see MAORI.

**ROTTI** see ROTI.

**ROTUMAN** *Alt.* ROTUNA, RUTUMAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, West Fijian/Rotuman, Rotuman. *Loc.* Fiji. Rotuma Island. *Pop.* 7,600.

**ROTUNA** see ROTUMAN.

**ROVIANA** *Alt.* ROBIANA, RUVIANA, RUBIANA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso-Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North central New Georgia, Roviana Lagoon, Vonavona Lagoon; Western Province. *Pop.* 6,000.

**RUAVATU** see LENGU.

**RUBIANA** see ROVIANA.

**RUK** see TRUK.

**RUKAI** *Alt.* DRUKAY, DRUKAI, DYOKAY, DUKAI, RUTKAI, TSARISEN, TSALISEN, SARISEN, BANGA, BANTALANG, BANTAURANG, TALOMA, KADAS. *Class.* Formosan, Tsouic, Rukai. *Loc.* Taiwan. South central mountains, west of the Pyuma, 11 villages around Ping Tung, and 2 or 3 villages near Taitung. *Pop.* 6,100.

**RUNGUS** *Alt.* DUSUN DAYAK, MELOBONG RUNGUS, MEMAGUN, MEMOGUN, MOMOGUN, ROONGAS, RUNGUS DUSUN. *Dial.* NULU, GONSOMON, RUNGUS. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kudat, Pitas, and Labuk-Sugut districts. *Pop.* 14,000.

**RUNGUS DUSUN** see **RUNGUS**.

**RUTKAI** see **RUKAI**.

**RUTUMAN** see **ROTUMAN**.

**RUVIANA** see **ROVIANA**.

**SA** *Dial.* PONORWAL (SOUTH RAGA), LOLATAVOLA, NINEBULO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. South Raga Island. *Pop.* 1,800.

**SA'A** see **SAA**.

**SAA** *Alt.* SA'A, SOUTH MALAITA, APAE'AA. *Dial.* ULAWA, UKI NI MASI (UGI). *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Southern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. South Malaita Island, Ulawa Island, Three Sisters Islands. *Pop.* 6,500.

**SABAN** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Apo Duat. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast on Sarawak border, south of Lundayeh. Also in Sarawak, Malaysia. *Pop.* 1,000.

**SABARI** see **AMIS**.

**SABU** see **SAWU**.

**SABUP** see **KENYAH**, **SEBOB**.

**SABUTAN** see **BUKAR SADONG**.

**SABUYAN** see **SEBUYAU**.

**SABUYAU** see **SEBUYAU**.

**SA'DAN** see **TORAJA-SADAN**.

**SA'DANSCHÉ** see **TORAJA-SADAN**.

**SADA** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

**SADA** see **TOALA**.

**SADAN** see **TORAJA-SADAN**.

**SADANG** see **TORAJA-SADAN**.

**SADONG** see **BUKAR SADONG**.

**SAEDIQ** see **TAROKO**.

**SAGA-I** see **DUSUN SEGAMA**.

**SAGADA IGOROT** see **KANKANAY**, **NORTHERN**.

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**SAILOLOF** see **MAYA**.

**SAIPAN CAROLINIAN** see **CAROLINIAN**.

**SAISET** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SAISETT** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SAISIAT** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SAISIETT** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SAISIRAT** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SAISIYAT** *Alt.* SAISET, SEISIRAT, SAISETT, SAISIAT, SAISIETT, SAISIRAT, SAISYET, SAISYETT, AMUTOURA, BOUIOK. *Dial.* TAAI (NORTH SAISIYAT). *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. Western mountains, west of the Atayal. *Pop.* 3,200.

**SAISYET** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SAISYETT** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SAJAU BASAP** *Alt.* SAJAU, SUJAU. *Dial.* PUNAN SAJAU, PUNAN BASAP, PUNAN BATU 2. *Class.* WMP, Bornco, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Sajau. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Northeast, northeast of Muaramalinau. *Pop.* 6,000.

**SAJAU** see **SAJAU BASAP**.

**SAKAO** *Alt.* HOG HARBOUR, SANTO, SAKAU. *Dial.* LIVARA (LIARA). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northeast Santo Island. *Pop.* 1,500.

**SAKAU** see **SAKAO**.

**SAKIRAY** see **AMIS, NATAORAN**.

**SAKIZAYA** see **AMIS, NATAORAN**.

**SALAJAR** see **SELAYAR**.

**SALARU** see **SELARU**.

**SALAS GUNUNG** *Alt.* LIAMBATA. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku. East, Seram, Manusela-Seti. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seram Island, Waru Bay, Central Maluku. *Pop.* 50.

**SALAWATI** see **MAYA**.

**SALAYAR** see **SELAYAR**.

**SALAYER** see **SELAYAR**.

**SALEIER** see **SELAYAR**.

**SALEMAN** *Alt.* SAWAI, SELEMAN, HATUE, WAHAI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Sawai-Nuaulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Saleman Bay area, 5 villages, north central Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* 4,800.

**SALIEN** see **NYINDROU**.

**SALON** see **MOKEN**.

**SALUAN, COASTAL** *Alt.* LOINANG, LOINDANG, MADI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Eastern, Saluan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. East central Sulawesi; Luwuk, Balantak, Lamala, Buko, Totikum, Kintom, Batui, Pagimana, Bunta subdistricts; 136 villages. Loinang dialect is in the mountains. *Pop.* 74,000.

**SALUAN, KAHUMAMAHON** *Alt.* INTERIOR SALUAN. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Eastern, Saluan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. East central Sulawesi.

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**SAMA MAPUN** see **MAPUN**.

**SAMA** see **BAJAU, INDONESIAN**.

**SAMA SIBUTU'** see **SAMA, SOUTHERN**.

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**SAMA, ABAKNON** *Alt.* ABAKNON, INBAKNON, INABAKNON, CAPUL, CAPULEÑO, KAPUL. *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Abaknon. *Loc.* Philippines. Capul Island near San Bernardino Strait, Northwest Samar. *Pop.* 16,000.

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**SAMA, BALANGINGI** *Alt.* BAANGINGI', BANGINGI SAMA, NORTHERN SINAMA. *Dial.* LUTANGAN (LUTANGO), SIBUCO-VITALI (SIBUKU), SIBUGUEY (BATUAN), BALANGINGI. *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Inner Sulu Sama. *Loc.* Philippines. Sulu Archipelago northeast of Jolo, Zamboanga coast, western Mindanao. Also in Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 60,000 or more.

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**SAMA, CENTRAL** *Alt.* SIASI SAMA, CENTRAL SINAMA, SAMAL, SINAMA. *Dial.* DILAUT-BADJAO. *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Inner Sulu Sama. *Loc.* Philippines. Sulu Province. Also east coast of Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 100,000.

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**SAMA, PANGUTARAN** *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Western Sulu Sama. *Loc.* Philippines. West central Sulu, west of Jolo, Mindanao. Also southern Palawan, Cagayan de Tawi-tawi. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**SAMA, SOUTHERN** *Alt.* SAMA SIBUTU', SOUTHERN BAJAU. *Dial.* BAJAU BANARAN, BAJAU DARAT, BAJAU LAUT (MANDELAUT, PALA'AU, SAMA LAUT, SAMA MANDELAUT, SAMA PALA'AU, SEA BAJAU, SEA GYPSIES), BAJAU SEMPORNA (BAJAU ASLI, KUBANG, SAMA KUBANG), LAMINUSA (LAMINUSA SINAMA), SIBUTU (SIBUTUQ, SAMA SIBUTU, SAMAH-SAMAH, SAMAH LUMBUH), SIMUNUL (SAMA SIMUNUL), SIKUBUNG (KUBUNG, SAMA KUBUNG), SAMA (A'A SAMA, SAMA', SAMAH, SAMAL, SAMAR), UBIAN (OBIAN, SAMA UBIAN, TAU UBIAN). *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Inner Sulu Sama. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. East coast of Sabah. Also southern Sulu, Philippines. *Pop.* 50,000 to 100,000.

**SAMAL** see **SAMA, CENTRAL**.

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**SAMAP** see **KAIEP**.

**SAMAR-LEYTE** see **WARAY-WARAY**.

**SAMARAN** see **WARAY-WARAY**.

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**SAMAREÑO** see **WARAY-WARAY**.

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**SAMATE** see **MAYA**.

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**SAMBAL, BOTOLAN** *Alt.* AETA NEGRITO, BOTOLAN ZAMBAL. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. Central Luzon, Zambales Province. *Pop.* 31,500.

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**SAMBAL, TINA** *Alt.* TINO. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Central Luzon, Sambalic. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, northern Zambales Province. *Pop.* 65,000.

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**SAMBIO** see **KAPIN**.

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**SAMBUP** see **KENYAH, SEBOB**.

**SAMIHIM** *Class.* WMP, East Barito, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, South Kalimantan, close to eastern coast.

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**SAMOAN** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Samoan. *Loc.* Samoa, American Samoa. West Samoan Islands. Also Fiji, New Zealand. *Pop.* 328,000.

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**SAMOBI** see **PAIWAN**.

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**SAMOHAI** see **PAIWAN**.

**SAN RAMON INAGTA** see **AGTA, MT. IRIGA**.

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**SANANA** see **SULA**.

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**SANBIAU** see **PIU**.

**SANDEWAR** see **BEAUFORT MURUT**.

**SANDIWAR** see **BEAUFORT MURUT**.

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**SANGANGALLA'** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

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**SANGANGALLA'** see **TOALA**.

**SANGGIL** see **SANGIL**.

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**SANGI** see **SANGIR**.

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**SANGIHE** see **SANGIR**.

**SANGIL** *Alt.* SANGIRE, SANGGIL. *Dial.* SARANGANI, MINDANAO. *Class.* WMP, Sangiric, North, Sangir-Sangil. *Loc.* Philippines. Balut Island, off of Mindanao. *Pop.* 7,000 to 10,000.

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**SANGIR** *Alt.* SANGIRESE, SANGIHE, SANGI. *Dial.* SIAU, KARIKITANG, MANGANITU, TAMAKO, NORTH TABUKANG (TABUKANG, TABUKAN, TABUKAM), SOUTH TABUKANG, CENTRAL TABUKANG, KANDAR, TARUNA. *Class.* WMP, Sangiric, North, Sangir-Sangil, Sangir. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. North Sulawesi, Great Sangir Island, and north Maluku. Also Philippines. *Pop.* 205,000.

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**SANGIRE** see **SANGIL**.

**SANGIRESE** see **SANGIR**.

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**SANTO** see **SAKAO**.

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**SANTO** see **TANGOA**.

**SAO** see **THAO**.

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**SAPALEWA** see **ALUNE**.

**SAPARUA** *Dial.* IHA-KULUR (IHA). *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Uliase, Hatuhaha, Saparua. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Kulur, Iha, and Siri-Sori villages on Saparua Island, and Iha, Kulur, Latu, Hualoy, and Tomalehu villages on Seram Island, Lease Islands, central Maluku. Also spoken by hundreds of Latu people in Kairatu village. *Pop.* 8,000.

**SAPOLEWA** see **ALUNE**.

**SAPOSA** *Dial.* TAIÖF, SAPOSA (FA SAPOSA). *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Nchan/North Bougainville, Saposatintulz. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, in small islands opposite Hahon area, Saposat Island south of Buka Island off northwest coast of Bougainville. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**SAPRAN** see **MADEN**.

**SAPREK** see **PAIWAN**.

**SARA SIKKA** see **SIKA**.

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**SARASIRA** *Alt.* SIRASIRA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Upper Markham, Mountain. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Leron River. *Pop.* 500.

**SARAWAK DAYAK** see **JAGOI**.

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**SARISEN** see **RUKAI**.

**SARUDU** *Alt.* DODA'. *Dial.* NUNU', KULU (LARIANG). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Kaili, Uma. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, south Pasangkayu District, Mamuju Subdistrict. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**SASAK** *Alt.* LOMBOK. *Dial.* NGENO-NGENE (CENTRAL-WEST, CENTRAL-EAST), MENO-MENE (CENTRAL), MRIAK-MRIKU (CENTRAL-SOUTH), KUTO-KUTE (NORTH), NGETO-NGETE (NORTHEAST). *Class.* WMP, Bali-Sasak, *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Lombok Island. *Pop.* 2,100,000.

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**SATAWAL** *Alt.* SATAWALESE. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Satawal Island, Carolines. *Pop.* 420.

**SATAWALESE** see **SATAWAL**.

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**SAU** see **THAO**.

**SAVU** see **SAWU**.

**SAVUNESE** see **SAWU**.

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**SAWAI** *Alt.* WEDA, WERE. *Dial.* WEDA, SAWAI, KOBE. *Class.* SHWNG, South Halmahera, Southeast. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, coastal area between southern and southeastern peninsulas of Halmahera. *Pop.* 12,000.

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**SAWAI** see **SALEMAN**.

**SAWU** *Alt.* HAWU, HAVUNESE, SAVU, SABU, SAWUNESE, SAVUNESE. *Dial.* SEBA (HEBA), TIMU (DIMU), LIAE, MESARA (MEHARA), RAIJUA (RAIDJUA). *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba, *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Islands of Sawu and Raijua south of Flores and west of Timor, and in Sumba (especially in Melolo), in Ende on Flores, and the Kupang area of Timor. *Pop.* 100,000.

**SAWUNESE** see **SAWU**.

**SAZEK** see **TAROKO**.

**SEA DAYAK** see **IBAN**.

**SEBOB** see **KENYAH, SEBOB**.

**SEBOP** see **KENYAH, SEBOB**.

**SEBUANO** see **CEBUANO**.

**SEBUYAU** *Alt.* SIBUYAU, SABUYAU, SIBUIAN, SIBUYAN, SABUYAN. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak, Ibanic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Lundu, 1st Division, mouth of Lupa River, west bank around Schuyau. *Pop.* 9,000.

**SEDEK** see **TAROKO**.

**SEDEQ** see **TAROKO**.

**SEDIKK** see **TAROKO**.

**SEDIK** see **TAROKO**.

**SEDIQ** see **TAROKO**.

**SEDOA** *Alt.* TAWAELIA, BARIA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. East central Sulawesi, Lore Utara and Poso Pesisir subdistricts; villages of Sedoa, and parts of Tambarona and Pincdapa. *Pop.* 600.

**SEDUAN-BANYOK** see **SIBU**.

**SEEDEK** see **TAROKO**.

**SEEDEQ** see **TAROKO**.

**SEEDIK** see **TAROKO**.

**SEGAI** *Dial.* KELAI, SEGAH. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Kayan-Kenyah, Modang. *Loc.* Indonesia, East Kalimantan. Northeast, Kelai River and around Longlaai. *Pop.* 2,000.

**SEGAI** see **DUSUN SEGAMA**.

**SEIMAT** *Alt.* NINIGO. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Western Admiralties. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Western Manus Province, Ninigo Islands and formerly Anchorite Islands. *Pop.* 600.

**SEISIRAT** see **SAISIYAT**.

**SEIT** see **SEIT-KAITETU**.

**SEIT-KAITETU** *Alt.* SEIT, SEITH, KAITETU. *Dial.* SEIT, KAITETU. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, West, Asilulu *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seit and Kaitetu villages, northwest Ambon Island.

**SEIT-KAITETU** see **HILA-KAITETU**.

**SEITH** see **SEIT-KAITETU**.

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**SEJIQ** see **TAROKO**.

**SEK** see **GEDAGED**.

**SEK-HWAN** see **PAZEH**.

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**SEKA** see **SEKAR**.

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**SEKAPAN** *Alt.* SEKEPAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Belaga, 7th Division. *Pop.* 750.

**SEKAR** *Alt.* SEKA. *Class.* CMP, North Bomberai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Northwest Bomberai Peninsula on coast and one small island. *Pop.* 450.

**SEKAYU** *Class.* WMP, Sundic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

**SEKE** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Raga Island. *Pop.* 300.

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**SEKEPAN** see **SEKAPAN**.

**SEKO PADANG** *Alt.* SEKO, WONO, SUA TO PADANG. *Dial.* LODANG, HONO' (WONO). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Seko. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, northeast section of Limbong Subdistrict in Luwu District. About half the speakers have resettled in Palolo Valley of central Sulawesi. *Pop.* 4,500 to 5,000.

**SEKO** see **SEKO PADANG**.

**SEKO** see **SEKO TENGAH**.

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**SEKO TENGAH** *Alt.* SEKO, POHONEANG, PEWANEAN, PEWANEANG. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Seko. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northern South Sulawesi, western part of Limbong Subdistrict along the Betue river. *Pop.* 2,300 to 2,500.

**SELAKO** *Alt.* SALAKO, SILAKAU, SELAKO DAYAK, KATA DIRI', (BAHASA) DAMEA. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malayic-Dayak, West Malayic-Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan, Kabupaten Sambas, in the districts Tujuhbelas, Samalantan, Paloh. Tebas, Telukkeramat and Sejangkung. Also in Serawak's First Division, in Lundu District. *Pop.* 15,000 or more.

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**SELAKO DAYAK** see **SELAKO**.

**SELARU** *Alt.* SALARU. *Dial.* KANDAR. *Class.* CMP, Southeast Maluku, Southern, Selaru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Tanimbar, six of seven villages on Selaru Island, half of the village of Latdalam on Yamdena Island, and Lingada village on Nus-Wotar Island off the west coast of Yamdena. 8 villages. South Maluku. *Pop.* 7,000 to 9,000.

**SELAU** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Nehan/North Bougainville, Buka. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, Buka Passage Subprovince, northeastern Buka Island.

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**SELAYAR** *Alt.* SALAYAR, SALAJAR, SALAYER, SILAJARA, SILADJA, SALEIER. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Makassar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South

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Sulawesi, Selayar Island and some in Bira on the southeastern tip of Bulukumba District. *Pop.* 90,000.

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**SELEKAU** see **SILAKAU**.

**SELEMAN** see **SALEMAN**.

**SELONG** see **MOKEN**.

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**SELUNG** see **MOKEN**.

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**SELUNGAI MURUT** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Pensiangan District, 6 or 7 villages, along Sapulut River from confluence with the Pensiangan River south to the Indonesian border. Also along the upper reaches of the Sembakung River in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Pop.* 800 to 1,000.

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**SELUWASAN** *Alt.* SELVASA, SELWASA. *Dial.* SELUWASAN, MAKATIAN. *Class.* CMP, Southeast Maluku, Southern, Seluwasan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Southwest coast of Yamdena Island, south Maluku. Three villages: Wermatang, Batu Putih, and Marantutul. *Pop.* 2,840.

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**SELVASA** see **SELUWASAN**.

**SELWASA** see **SELUWASAN**.

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**SEMAMBU** see **TAGAL MURUT**.

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**SEMANDANG** *Class.* WMP, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. West central, around Balaiberkuwak, north of Sandai. *Pop.* 30,000.

**SEMAWA** see **SUMBAWA**.

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**SEMBAKOENG** see **SEMBAKUNG MURUT**.

**SEMBAKONG** see **SEMBAKUNG MURUT**.

**SEMBAKUNG MURUT** *Alt.* SIMBAKONG, SEMBAKOENG, SEMBAKONG, TINGGALAN, TINGGALUM, TINGALUN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Tidong. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Along the Sembakung River in northern Kalimantan, from the mouth, into Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**SEMEMBU** see **TAGAL MURUT**.

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**SEMENDO** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Interior south Sumatra; two areas: west of Baturaja and south of Pajarbulan. *Pop.* 105,000.

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**SENGAM** see **BILIAU**.

**SENGSENG** *Alt.* ASENSSENG. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, S.W. New Britain, Arawe/Pasismanua, Pasismanua. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West New Britain Province, southwest interior. *Pop.* 455.

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**SENIANG** see **SOUTH WEST BAY**.

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**SENTAH** see **JAGOI**.

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**SEPA** *Alt.* TAMILOUW, EAST LITTORAL. *Dial.* SEPA, TAMILOUW. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seram Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**SEPA** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Manam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, coast south of Manam Island around Bogia. *Pop.* 270.

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**SERA** *Alt.* SERRA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Siau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West Scpik Province, one coastal village. *Pop.* 435.

**SERAM** see **GESER**.

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**SERAN LAUT** see **GESER**.

**SERAN** see **GESER**.

**SERAWAI** *Alt.* SERAWAJ, SERAWI. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. South Benkulu coast. *Pop.* 150,000.

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**SERAWAJ** see **SERAWAI**.

**SERAWI** see **SERAWAI**.

**SERIAN** see **BUKAR SADONG**.

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**SERILI** *Alt.* MARSELA-SOUTH BABAR. *Class.* CMP, Babar, South, Masela-South Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Northeast Marsela island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 300.

**SERRA** see **SERA**.

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**SERUA** *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, TNS, Nita-Scrua. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Transmigration area (4villages) in south-central Seram Island, central Maluku. (Originally Scrua Island in south-central Maluku). *Pop.* 2,000.

**SERUAWAN** see **KAMARIAN**.

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**SERUDONG** see **SERUDUNG MURUT**.

**SERUDUNG MURUT** *Alt.* SERUDONG, TAWAU MURUT, TIDUNG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Tidong. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Tawau District along the Serudung River and one village 12 miles from Tawau town. *Pop.* 350 to 450.

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**SERUI-LAUT** *Alt.* ARUI. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. South central Yapen Island and Nau Island south of Yapen, 5 villages. *Pop.* 1,200.

**SETI** *Alt.* LIAMBATA-KOBI, UHEI-KAHLAKIM, UHEI-KACHLAKAN, UHEI-KACHLAKIN, LIANAN, TEULA. *Dial.* SETI, WAHAKAIM. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Manusela-Scti. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Districts of Seram, Bula, Werinama, and Tehoru, interior of Seram Island, central Maluku, 8 villages. *Pop.* 3,000.

**SEWA BAY** *Alt.* DUAU PWATA. *Dial.* MIADEBA, BWAKERA, MAIABARE, DARUBIA, SEWATAITAI, SIBONAI, CENTRAL SEWA BAY. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Dobu-Duau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, centre of Normanby Island around Scwa Bay. *Pop.* 1,515.

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**SEYU** see **CHRU**.

**SHABOGALA** see **ATAYAL**.

**SHAO** see **THAO**.

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**SHARK BAY** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. East Santo on Litaro (Pilot) Island and also on the coast at Shark Bay. *Pop.* 225.

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**SHEKHOAN** see **PAZEH**.

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**SHEKWAN** see **KAVALAN**.

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**SIAN** *Alt.* SIHAN. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Belaga, 7th Division. *Pop.* 70.

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**SIANG** *Alt.* OT SIANG. *Dial.* SIANG, MURUNG 2. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, West Barito, Northwest. *Loc.* Indonesia, Central Kalimantan. Central, east of Dohoi. *Pop.* 60,000.

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**SIANG** see **MAANYAN**.

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**SIAR** *Alt.* LAMBON, LAMASSA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, southern. *Pop.* 2,500.

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**SIASI SAMA** see **SAMA, CENTRAL**.

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**SIASSI** see **LUKEP**.

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**SIBO** see **SIMBO**.

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**SIBOMA** see **NUMBAMI**.

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**SIBOP** see **KENYAH, SEBOB**.

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**SIBU** *Alt.* SIDUAN, SIDUANI, SEDUAN-BANYOK. *Dial.* SEDUAN, BANYOK. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Lower Rejang. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. SibU, 3rd Division, Rejang River. *Pop.* 420.

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**SIBUIAN** see **SEBUYAU**.

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**SIBURAN** see **BIATAH**.

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**SIBUYAN** see **SEBUYAU**.

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**SIBUYAU** see **SEBUYAU**.

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**SICHE** see **ZIRE**.

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**SICHULE** see **SIKULE**.

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**SIDUAN** see **SIBU**.

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**SIDUANI** see **SIBU**.

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**SIE** *Alt.* EROMANGA, ERRAMANGA. *Dial.* YOKU (ENYAU), IFO (UTAHA), POTNARIVEN, SIE (SORUNG). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Erromanga. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Erromanga Island. *Pop.* 900.

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**SIGABAC** see **SIO**.

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**SIHAN** see **SIAN**.

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**SIKA** *Alt.* SARA SIKKA, SIKKA, SIKKANESE. *Dial.* SIKKA NATAR (SOUTH COAST SIKA), SARA KROWE (CENTRAL SIKA), TANA 'AI. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Flores-Lembata. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central and eastern Flores Island, Lesser Sundas. *Pop.* 175,000.

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**SIKAIANA** *Alt.* SIKAYANA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Stewart Atoll, Central Solomons. *Pop.* 485.

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**SIKAYANA** see SIKAIANA.

**SIKHULE** see SIKULE.

**SIKKA** see SIKA.

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**SIKKANESE** see SIKA.

**SIKULE** *Alt.* SICHULE, WALI BANUAH, SIKHULE. *Dial.* LEKON, TAPAH. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Ilands. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. Central Simeulue Island. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**SILADJA** see SELAYAR.

**SILAJARA** see SELAYAR.

**SILAKAU** see SELAKO.

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**SILEN** see TELUTI.

**SILISILI** see WATUT, MIDDLE.

**SILISILI** see WATUT, NORTH.

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**SIMALUR** see SIMEULUE.

**SIMARANHON** see BANTOANON.

**SIMBAKONG** see SEMBAKUNG MURUT.

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**SIMBO** *Alt.* SIBO, MADEGUGUSU, MANDEGHUGHUSU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Simbo (Eddystone) Island, Western Province. *Pop.* 1,675.

**SIMELUNGAN** see BATAK SIMALUNGUN.

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**SIMEULOE** see SIMEULUE.

**SIMEULUE** *Alt.* SIMALUR, SIMULUL, SIMEULOE, LONG BANO. *Class.* WMP, NW Sumatra-Barrier Ilands. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. West and east ends of Simeulue Island, Babi and Banjak islands. *Pop.* 100,000.

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**SIMULUL** see SIMEULUE.

**SINABU** *Alt.* SINABU'. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic, Upper Kinabatangan. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Maligatan, Minusu, Tongud, Kinabatangan. *Pop.* 800 to 900.

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**SINABU'** see SINABU.

**SINAGORO** *Alt.* SINAUGORO. *Dial.* IKOLU, BALAWAIA, SAROA, BABAGARUPU, KWAIBIDA, TABORO, KWAIBO, ALEPA, OMENE, TUBULAMO, IKEGA, BOKU, BUAGA, WIGA, VORA, KUBULI, ORUONE. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Central Papuan, Sinagoro/Keapara. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Central Province south of Kwikila, Rigo Subprovincc. *Pop.* 12,025.

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**SINAMA** see SAMA, CENTRAL.

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**SINAMA** see **SISSANO**.

**SINANO** see **SISSANO**.

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**SINARUPA (SINARUPO)** see **KINABATANGAN, UPPER**.

**SINAUGORO** see **SINAGORO**.

**SINAUNA** see **AGTA, REMONTADO**.

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**SINDANG-KELINGI** *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

**SINDANGAN SUBANUN** see **SUBANEN, CENTRAL**.

**SINESIP** see **SOUTH WEST BAY**.

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**SINGGI** *Alt.* SINGGIE, SINGHI, BISINGAI. *Class.* WMP, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Southwest Sarawak, southwest of Santubong. *Pop.* 4,800.

**SINGGIE** see **SINGGI**.

**SINGHI** see **SINGGI**.

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**SINONGKO** see **PADOE**.

**SIO** *Alt.* SIGABAC. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Sio. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, mainland near Sio Island. *Pop.* 3,500.

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**SIOCON** see **SUBANON, WESTERN**.

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**SIPOMA** see **NUMBAMI**.

**SIRAK** see **NAFI**.

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**SIRASIRA** see **SARASIRA**.

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**SIRHE** see **ZIRE**.

**SISANO** see **SISSANO**.

**SISI-BIPI** see **BIPI**

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**SISSANO** *Alt.* SISANO, SINANO, SINAMA, MALOL, MALON, MALOLO. *Dial.* SISSANO, MALOL. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Siau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West Sepik Province, Aitape Subprovince, one large village. *Pop.* 8,195.

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**SMALL NAMBAS** see **LETEMBOI**.

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**SNABI WATUBELA** see **WATUBELA**.

**SOBEI** *Alt.* ANUS, BIGA, LIKI, IMASI, MOAR, PODENA, WAKDE, YAMNA, YARSUN. *Dial.* SOBEI, ANUS. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea (?), Sarmi/Jayapura Bay, Sarmi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. North coast area east and west of Sarmi, villages of Sarmi, Sawar, Wakde, Bagiserwar. *Pop.* 1,850.

**SOGHAI** see **DUSUN SEGAMA**.

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**SOGILITAN** see **KADAZAN, LABUK-KINABATANGAN**.

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**SOLOR** see **LAMAHOLOT**.

**SOLORESE** see **LAMAHOLOT**.

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**SOLOS** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Nehan/North Bougainville, Solos. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, central and southwest Buka Island. *Pop.* 3,200.

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**SOM** see **WAB**.

**SONSOGON** *Dial.* KOTA MARUDU SONSOGON, PITAS SONSOGON. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Hills in southern Pitas, southeast Kota Marudu. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**SONSOROL** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Tobi, Pulo Anna, Merir, Helen, and Sonsorol islands. Some on Saipan. *Pop.* 600.

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**SOOW HUHELIA** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Manipa Island west of Seram, central Maluku. *Pop.* Existence unconfirmed.

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**SORI-HARENGAN** *Dial.* SORI, HARENGAN. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, West Manus. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, Sori is on the northwest coast of Manus Island and Sori and Harengan Islands off coast. *Pop.* 570.

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**SORSOGON BICOLANO** see **SORSOGON, MASBATE**.

**SORSOGON, MASBATE** *Alt.* NORTHERN SORSOGON, SORSOGON BICOLANO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central. *Loc.* Philippines. Luzon, Sorsogon, Casiguran and Juban, Sorsogon Province. *Pop.* 85,000.

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**SORSOGON, WARAY** *Alt.* SOUTHERN SORSOGON, BIKOL SORSOGON, GUBAT. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central, Warayan, Gubat. *Loc.* Philippines. Southern Sorsogon Province. *Pop.* 185,000.

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**SOUTH AMBRYM** see **DAKAKA**.

**SOUTH BUTON** see **CIA-CIA**.

**SOUTH DAMAR** see **DAMAR, EAST**.

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**SOUTH MALAITA** see **SAA**.

**SOUTH MORI** see **PADOE**.

**SOUTH TORAJA** see **TORAJA-SADAN**.

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**SOUTH WEST BAY** *Alt.* SINESIP, SENIANG, NA'AHAI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwest Malekula Island. *Pop.* 250.

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**SOUTHERN ATTA** see **ATTA**., FAIRE

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**SOUTHERN BAJAU** see **SAMA, SOUTHERN**.

**SOUTHERN BISAYA** see **BISAYA, BRUNEI**.

**SOUTHERN BONTOC** see **BONTOK, EASTERN**.

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**SOUTHERN BUTUNG** see **CIA-CIA**.

**SOUTHERN MURUT** see **LUNDAYEH**.

**SOUTHERN SORSOGON** see **SORSOGON, WARAY**.

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**SOUTHWEST BARITO** see **NGAJU**.

**SOWA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central Raga Island. *Pop.* 20.

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**STANDARD FIJIAN** see **FIJIAN, EASTERN**.

**STANDARD MALAY** see **MALAY**.

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**STAR** see **GEDAGED**.

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**STAR-RAGETTA** see **GEDAGED**.

**SUA TO PADANG** see **SEKO PADANG**.

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**SUAI** see **PANCANA**

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**SUAIN** see **ULAU-SUAIN**.

**SUANG LOTUD** see **LOTUD**.

**SUAU** *Dial.* SARIBA, DAUI (FIFE BAY), SINAKI (GAIDASU, GADAIU), LEILEIAFA, BONA BONA, DAHUNI, SUAUI, BONARUA, LOGEA, DIOMONI. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, Suauic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, southeastern extremity of Papua mainland. *Pop.* 6,800.

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**SUBANEN** see **SUBANUN, LAPUYAN**.

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**SUBANEN, CENTRAL** *Alt.* SINDANGAN SUBANUN. *Dial.* EASTERN KOLIBUGAN (EASTERN KALIBUGAN). *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Subanun, Eastern. *Loc.* Philippines. Eastern Zamboanga Peninsula, Mindanao, Sulu Archipelago. *Pop.* 80,000.

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**SUBANON, TUBOY-SALOG** *Dial.* DAPITAN, SALUG, DIKAYU. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Subanun, Eastern. *Loc.* Philippines. Tuboy: Sergio Osmeña, Mutia; Zamboanga del Norte; Salog: Misamis Occidental, Mindanao. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**SUBANON, WESTERN** *Alt.* SIOCON. *Dial.* CALIBUGAN SUBANON (KALIBUGAN), WESTERN KOLIBUGAN (WESTERN KALIBUGAN). *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Subanun, Kalibugan. *Loc.* Philippines. Mindanao, Zamboanga Peninsula. *Pop.* 40,000.

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**SUBANUN, LAPUYAN** *Alt.* LAPUYEN, MARGOSATUBIG, SUBANEN. *Class.* WMP, Southern Philippine, Subanun, Eastern. *Loc.* Philippines. Sub-peninsulas of eastern Zamboanga del Sur, Mindanao. *Pop.* 25,000.

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**SUDEST** *Alt.* TAGULA. *Dial.* RAMBUSO, EASTERN POINT, REWA, PAMELA, NINE HILLS, GRIFFIN POINT. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Peripheral PT, Kilivila/Louisiades, Nimoa/Sudest. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Rewa, Sud Est Islands, Misima Subprovince, west of Rossel Island, at end of the Calvados chain. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**SUFRAI** see **TARPIA**.

**SUGBUANON** see **CEBUANO**.

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**SUGBUHANON** see **CEBUANO**.

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**SUGHU** see **GHARI**.

**SUGUT** see **KADAZAN, SUGUT**.

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**SUJAU** see **SAJAU BASAP**.

**SUKU BATIN** *Class.* WMP, Sundic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra.

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**SUKURUM** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Upper Markham, Mountain. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Leron River. *Pop.* 990.

**SULA** *Alt.* SANANA. *Dial.* FAGUDU, FALAHU, FACEI (FACE´). *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, Sula. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, Sula Islands, Sulabesi Island and scattered communities on the eastern and western ends and north coast of Mangole Island, and northeast coast of Buru Island. *Pop.* 20,000.

**SULA MANGOLI** see **MANGOLE**.

**SULOD** *Alt.* BUKIDNON, MONDO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine. *Loc.* Philippines. Tapaz, Capiz Province; Lambunao, Hoiho Province; Valderrama, Antique Province, Panay. *Pop.* 14,000.

**SULU** see **TAUSUG**.

**SULUD** see **KINARAY-A**.

**SULUK** see **TAUSUG**.

**SUMADEL-TINGLAYAN KALINGA** see **KALINGA, SOUTHERN**.

**SUMAMBU** see **TAGAL MURUT**.

**SUMAMBU-TAGAL** see **TAGAL MURUT**.

**SUMAMBUQ** see **TAGAL MURUT**.

**SUMBA** *Alt.* SUMBANESE, EAST SUMBANESE, KAMBERA. *Dial.* KAMBERA, MELOLO, UMA RATU NGGAI (UMBU RATU NGGAI), LEWA, KANATANG, MANGILI-WAIJELO (WAIJELU), SOUTHERN SUMBA. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Sumba Island, south of Flores, Lesser Sundas. *Pop.* 200,000.

**SUMBANESE** see **SUMBA**.

**SUMBAWA** *Alt.* SEMAWA, SUMBAWARESE. *Class.* WMP, Bali-Sasak. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Western end of Sumbawa Island. *Pop.* 300,000.

**SUMBAWARESE** see **SUMBAWA**.

**SUNDA** *Alt.* SUNDANESE, PRIANGAN. *Dial.* BANTEN, BOGOR/KRAWANG, PRIANGAN, CIREBON. *Class.* WMP, Sundanese. *Loc.* Indonesia, Java. Western third of Java Island. *Pop.* 27,000,000.

**SUNDANESE** see **SUNDA**.

**SUNGAI** see **TOMBONUO**.

**SUNGEI** see **KINABATANGAN SUNGAI**.

**SUNGEI** see **TOMBONUO**.

**SUNGKAI** *Class.* WMP, Lampungic, Pesisir. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sumatra. South Sumatra, northeast of Krui, west of Abung.

**SURI** see **TAWBUID**.

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**SURIGAONON** *Dial.* JAUN-JAUN, CANTILAN (KANTILAN), NATURALIS, SURIGAONON. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, South, Surigao. *Loc.* Philippines. Surigao, Carrascal, Cantilan, Madrid, Larosa.

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**SURINAM JAVANESE** see **JAVANESE, CARIBBEAN**

**SURSURUNGA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, south central, Namatanai Subprovince. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**SUWAWA** *Alt.* BUNDA, SUWAWA-BUNDA. *Dial.* BUNDA. *Class.* WMP, Gorontalo-Mongondic, Gorontaloic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern Sulawesi, around Suwawa and Pinogu, east of Gorontalo town and Lake Limboto. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**SUWAWA-BUNDA** see **SUWAWA**.

**SZEAK-BAGILI** see **GEDAGED**.

**TA'ADJIO** see **TAJIO**.

**TA'E** see **TORAJA-SADAN**.

**TABAR** *Alt.* MADARA, MANDARA. *Dial.* SIMBERI, TATAU, TABAR. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Tabar. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, Simberi, Tatau, Tabar and one other island. *Pop.* 2,500.

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**TABILONG** see **TEBILUNG**.

**TABUID** see **TAWBUID**.

**TADIANAN** see **TADYAWAN**.

**TADJIO** see **TAJIO**

**TADO** see **LINDU**.

**TADYAWAN** *Alt.* PULA, TADIANAN, BALABAN. *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Northern Mindoro. *Loc.* Philippines. East central Mindoro. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**TAE'** see **PATTAE**.

**TAE'** see **TORAJA-SADAN**.

**TAENA** see **MAKASSAR**.

**TAGABAWA BAGOBO** see **MANOBO, TAGABAWA**.

**TAGABAWA** see **MANOBO, TAGABAWA**.

**TAGAKAOLO** see **KALAGAN, TAGAKAULU**.

**TAGAL MURUT** *Alt.* SUMAMBU-TAGAL, SUMAMBU, SUMAMBUQ, SEMAMBU, SEMEMBU *Dial.* PENSIANGAN MURUT (SAPULUT MURUT, SAPULOT MURUT, TAGAL, TAGUL, TAGOL, TAGGAL, LAGUNAN MURUT, PÉNTJANGAN), LUMBIS (ALUMBIS, LOEMBIS), SALALIR (SADALIR, SEDALIR, SARALIR), RUNDUM MURUT (ARUNDUM, TOLOKOSON), TOMANI (TUMANIQ), SUMAMBU (SUMAMBUQ, SEMAMBU, SEMEMBU), MALIGAN (MAULIGAN, MELIGAN, BOL MURUT, BOLE MURUT). *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Murutic. *Loc.*

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Malaysia, Sabah. Pensiangan, Keningau, Tenom, Sipitang Districts over the whole southwestern portion of Sabah south into Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Pop.* 16,000.

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**TAGALAGAD** see **BLAAN, KORONADAL**.

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**TAGALOG** *Alt.* PILIPINO, Filipino. *Dial.* LUBANG, MANILA, MARINDUQUE, BATAAN, BATANGAS, BULACAN, TANAY-PAETE, TAYABAS. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Tagalog. *Loc.* Philippines. Manila, most of Luzon, and Mindoro. *Pop.* 14,500,000 (including second language speakers).

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**TAGBANWA** *Alt.* APURAHUANO, TAGBANWA, ABORLAN TAGBANWA. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Palawano. *Loc.* Philippines. Central Palawan. *Pop.* 8,000.

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**TAGBANWA** see **TAGBANWA**.

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**TAGBANWA, CALAMIAN** *Alt.* KALAMIAN, CALAMIANO, KALAMIANON, KARAMIANANEN. *Dial.* BARAS. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Kalamian. *Loc.* Philippines. Coron Island, north of Palawan, northern Palawan and Busuanga. Baras is on eastern coast of Palawan opposite Dumaran Island. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**TAGBANWA, CENTRAL** *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Kalamian. *Loc.* Philippines. Northern Palawan. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**TAGULA** see **SUDEST**.

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**TAGULANDANG** see **TAHULANDANG**.

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**TAHITIAN** *Alt.* AUSTRAL. *Dial.* RAIVAVAE, RIMATARA, RURUTU, TUBUAI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, East, Central, Tahitic. *Loc.* French Polynesia. Society Islands and some islands in the north Tuamotus; Austral (Tubuai) Islands. *Pop.* 124,300.

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**TAHULANDANG** *Alt.* TAHYLANDANG, TAGULANDANG. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Minahasa-Sangihe, Sangihe-Talud. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. North Sulawesi, Tagulandang and Biaro islands in Sangihe Islands. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**TAHYLANDANG** see **TAHULANDANG**.

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**TAIAK** see **KAPIN**.

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**TAIJYAL** see **ATAYAL**.

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**TAIYAL** see **ATAYAL**.

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**TAJE** *Alt.* PETAPA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, east coast around Marantale, south of Kasimbar language. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**TAJIO** *Alt.* TADJIO, TA'ADJIO, ADJIO, KASIMBAR. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Ampibabo and Tinombo subdistricts; four villages. *Pop.* 7,000.

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**TAKIA** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Southern half of Karkar Island, Bagabag Island, and coastal villages Megiar and Serang, Madang Province. *Pop.* 15,000.

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**TAKONAN** see **ATAYAL**.

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**TAKU** see **TAKUU**.

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**TAKUU** *Alt.* TAKU, TAU, TAUU, MORTLOCK. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Northern. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, northeast of Bougainville Island, Mortlock village on Mortlock Island. *Pop.* 250.

**TALA** see **WEMALE, SOUTH.**

**TALANTANG** see **KADAZAN, SUGUT.**

**TALAUD** *Alt.* TALAUT, TALODDA. *Dial.* KABURUANG, SOUTH KARAKELONG (KARAKELONG, KARAKELANG), NENUSA-MAINGAS, SALEBABU, ESSANG, ARANGKA'A, DAPALAN (RIUNG), AWIT, BEO, LIRANG (SALIBABU). *Class.* WMP, Sangiric, North, Talaud. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. North Sulawesi, Talaud Islands northeast of Sangihe Islands. *Pop.* 60,000.

**TALAUT** see **TALAUD.**

**TALIABO** see **TALIABU.**

**TALIABU** *Alt.* TALIABO. *Dial.* MANGEI (MANGE'E, MANGÉ, SOBOYO, SOBOJO) PADANG (SAMADA), MANANGA. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, Sula. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. North Maluku, Taliabu Island and northwestern Mangole, Sula Islands. *Pop.* 2,000 to 4,000.

**TALISE** *Alt.* TALISI, TOLO. *Dial.* TALISE, TOLO, MOLI, POLEO, KOO (INAKONA), MALAGHETI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonian, Gela-Guadalcanal, Guadalcanal. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Guadalcanal Island, southeast to southwest coast. *Pop.* 5,100.

**TALISI** see **TALISE.**

**TALLUMPANUAE** see **CAMPALAGIAN.**

**TALODDA** see **TALAUD.**

**TALOKI** see **TALUKI.**

**TALOMA** see **RUKAI.**

**TALONDO** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Toraja-Sa'dan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Talondo and Pedasi villages, Mamuju District, Kalumpang Subdistrict. *Pop.* 500.

**TALUKI** *Alt.* TALOKI. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori. Bungku, Taluki. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi, Buton Island, Wakorumba District, Maligano village.

**TALUR** *Alt.* ILWAKI, ILIWAKI, GALOLENG, LIR TALO, ILMEDU. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, Wetar, Talur. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Hiay, Ilwaki and Ilputih villages in south-central Wetar Island north of Timor Island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 675.

**TALUTI** see **TELUTI.**

**TAMAN** *Alt.* TAMAN DAYAK. *Class.* WMP, South Sulawesi, Tamanic. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan. Northeast, Kapuas River. *Pop.* 4,000.

**TAMANIC** *Class.* WMP, South Sulawesi. *Dial.* Embaloh, Taman, Kalis. *Loc.* Indonesia, West Kalimantan, Northeast, along Kapuas River and tributaries.

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TAMAN DAYAK see TAMAN.

TAMAN see MALFAXAL.

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TAMARI see PAIWAN.

TAMBANUA see TOMBONUO.

TAMBANUO see TOMBONUO.

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TAMBANUYA see TOMBONUO.

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TAMBANWAS see TOMBONUO.

TAMBENUA see TOMBONUO.

TAMBOTALO *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southeast Santo, Tambotalo village. *Pop.* 50.

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TAMBUNAN DUSUN see DUSUN, TAMBUNAN.

TAMBUNAN see DUSUN, TAMBUNAN.

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TAMBUNWAS see TOMBONUO.

TAMI *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Tami. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Tami Islands and mainland villages south of Finschhafen. *Pop.* 305.

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TAMILOUW see SEPA.

TAMPASOK see DUSUN, TEMPASUK.

TAMPASSUK see DUSUN, TEMPASUK.

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TAMPASUK see DUSUN, TEMPASUK.

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TANAH KUNU see LIO.

TANAH see AMIS.

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TANDIA *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Tandia. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Bird's Head neck area just south of Wandamen Peninsula along Wohsimi River. *Pop.* 350.

TANEMA *Alt.* TANIMA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Eastern Outer Islands, Vanikoro. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Emua village, Vanikoro Island, Temotu Province. *Pop.* 150.

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TANGA see TANGGA.

TANGAO see ATAYAL.

TANGARA' see TENGARA.

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TANGARARE see GHARI.

TANGGA *Alt.* TANGA. *Dial.* TANGA, ANIR (FENI), MAKET. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, Tanga Islands, Anir (Feni) Island, three villages on New Ireland. *Pop.* 5,000.

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TANGGAL see KADAZAN, SUGUT.

TANGGARAQ see TENGARA.

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**TANGKOU** *Alt.* BUDONG-BUDONG. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Seko. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Tangkou village, Mamuju District, Budong-Budong Subdistrict, on the Budong-Budong River. *Pop.* 50 to 70.

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**TANGO** *Alt.* SANTO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Tango Island, off south Santo. *Pop.* 375.

**TANIMA** see TANEMA.

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**TANIMBILI** *Alt.* NYISUNGGU. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Eastern Outer Islands, Utupua. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Tanimbili village, Utupua Island, Temotu Province. *Pop.* 100.

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**TANJONG** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Lower Rejang. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Rejang River above Kanowit language, below Song village, Kapit, 7th Division. *Pop.* 100.

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**TANNA, NORTH** *Dial.* EAST TANNA, WEST TANNA, IMAFIN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Tanna. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North Tanna. *Pop.* 2,000.

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**TANNA, SOUTHWEST** *Dial.* NOWAI, NVHAL. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Tanna. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwest Tanna Island. *Pop.* 2,250.

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**TANORIKI** see MAEWO, CENTRAL.

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**TAPANGO** see PANNEI.

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**TARAKAN** see TIDONG.

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**TARANGAN, EAST** *Alt.* EAST TRANGAN. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East coast of Trangan Island, south Aru Islands, and villages in Maikor Strait (Sungai Maikor), 13 villages. South Maluku. *Pop.* 3,785.

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**TARANGAN, WEST** *Alt.* WEST TRANGAN. *Dial.* COAST, RIVER, NORTHWEST, PLAINS. *Class.* CMP, Aru, West Tarangan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. West coast of Trangan Island, southern Aru Islands, south Maluku. *Pop.* 6,480.

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**TARASAG** see NUME.

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**TARFIA** see TARPIA.

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**TAROKO** *Alt.* SEDIQ, SAEDIQ, SEEDIK, SEJIQ, SEDEQ, SEEDEK, SEEDEQ, SHEDEKKA, SEDEK, SEDIKK, SEDIK, SAZEK, BU-HWAN, CHE-HWAN, DAIYA-ATAIYAL, HOGO, IBOHO, PARAN. *Class.* Formosan, Atayalic. *Loc.* Taiwan. Central, eastern and coastal, northern mountains in the Puli area and along the coast south of Hualien, south of the Atayal. *Pop.* 25,000.

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**TARPIA** *Alt.* SUFRAI, TARFIA. *Dial.* SUFRAI, TARPIA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea (?), Sarmi/Jayapura Bay, Sarmi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. North coast area near Demta, villages of Tarfia and Kaptiau. *Pop.* 565.

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**TASEMBOKO** see LENGU.

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**TASI** see HALIA.

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**TASING** see CAMPALAGIAN.

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**TASIRIKI** see AKEI.

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**TASMAN** see NUKUMANU.

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**TASMATE** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West Santo Island. *Pop.* 150.

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**TATANA** *Alt.* TATANA', TATANAQ. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Bisaya. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kuala Penyu District. *Pop.* 5,500.

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**TATANA'** see TATANA.

**TATANAQ** see TATANA.

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**TAU** see TAKUU.

**TAUBUID** see TAWBUID.

**TAUPOTA** *Dial.* MAIVARA (MAIWARA), LAVIAM, WAIEMA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Taupota. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, area from head of Milne Bay north to Taupota. *Pop.* 2,700.

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**TAUSOG** see TAUSUG.

**TAUSUG** *Alt.* TAW SUG, SULU, SULUK, TAUSOG, MORO JOLOANO. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, South, Butuan-Tausug. *Loc.* Philippines. Jolo, Sulu Archipelago. Also Sabah, Malaysia and Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Pop.* 492,000.

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**TAUU** see TAKUU

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**TAVALA** see TAWALA.

**TAVARA** see TAWALA.

**TAVOLA** see VAGHUA.

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**TAVORA** see TAWALA.

**TAVULA** see VAGHUA.

**TAW SUG** see TAUSUG.

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**TAWAELIA** see SEDOA.

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**TAWALA** *Alt.* TAWARA, TAVARA, TAVORA, TAVALA. *Dial.* AWAYAMA (AWAIAMA, AWALAMA), HUHUNA, KEHELALA (KEHERARA, EAST CAPE), LELEHUDI, TAWALA (TAVARA, DIWINAI, DIVINAI), LABE (RABE), YALEBA (WAGAWAGA, GWAWILI, GWAVILI, EALEBA), BOHILAI (BOHIRA'I, BASILAKI), SIDEYA (SIDEIA). *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Taupota. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Alotau Subprovince, from Awaiama to East Cape; north and south shores of Milne Bay; Sidcia and Basilaki islands. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**TAWARA** see TAWALA.

**TAWAU MURUT** see KALABAKAN MURUT.

**TAWAU MURUT** see SERUDUNG MURUT.

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**TAWBUID** *Alt.* BANGON, BATANGAN, TABUID, TAUBUID, TIRON, SURI, BARANGAN, BINATANGAN. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, South Mangyan, Buhid-Taubuid. *Loc.* Philippines. Central Mindoro. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**TAWIT** see **ITAWIT**.

**TAWOYAN** *Alt.* TAWOYAN DAYAK. *Class.* WMP, Malayic. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. East central around Palori. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**TAWOYAN DAYAK** see **TAWOYAN**.

**TAYAL** see **ATAYAL**.

**TAYEK** see **KAPIN**.

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**TBOLI** *Alt.* TIBOLI, T'BOLI, TAGABILI. *Dial.* SINALON, KIAMBA, UBU. *Class.* WMP, South Mindanao, Bilic, Tboli. *Loc.* Philippines. South Cotabato, Mindanao. *Pop.* 80,000.

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**TEANU** see **BUMA**.

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**TEBAKANG** see **BUKAR SADONG**.

**TEBILUNG** *Alt.* TABILONG, TOBILANG, TOBILUNG. *Class.* WMP, Northeast, Dusunic, Dusun. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Kota Marudu District, on road from Kota Belud to Kudat, and in Kota Belud. *Pop.* 2,000 or more.

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**TEDONG** see **TIDONG**.

**TEDURAY** see **TIRURAY**.

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**TEHORU** see **TELUTI**.

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**TEKEL** see **LEHALI**.

**TELA-MASBUAR** *Class.* CMP, Babar, South, Southwest Babar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Villages of Tela and Masbuar, southwest Babar Island, south Maluku. *Pop.* 1,050.

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**TELUTI** *Alt.* TALUTI, TIHORU, TEHORU, SILEN, WOLU. *Dial.* WEST (HAYA, WOLU, TEHORU, TEHUA), LAHA SERANI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Central Maluku, Seram Island. *Pop.* 17,000.

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**TEMBENUA** see **TOMBONUO**.

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**TEMBIMBE-KATBOL (TAREMP)** see **KATBOL**.

**TEMOGUN** see **MURUT, TIMUGON**.

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**TEMPASOK** see **DUSUN, TEMPASUK**.

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**TEMUAN** *Alt.* BENUA, NIAP. *Dial.* BEDUANDA (BIDUANDA), BELANDA (BELANA, BLANDA, LANDA, BELANAS, BELANDAS), BEREMBUN (BIRMUN), MANTRA (MENTERA, MINTRA), TEMUAN, UDAL. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Malaysia. Southern extension of main range in southern half of the peninsula, Selangor, Pahang, Johore, Negeri Sembilan, Kuala Langat, scattered settlements. *Pop.* 9,315.

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**TENA** see **MAKASSAR**.

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**TENCH** see **TENIS**.

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**TENETE** see **PITU ULUNNA SALU**.

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**TENGARA** *Alt.* TUNGARA, TINGARA, TENGGARAQ, TANGARA', TANGGARAQ, KINABATANGAN MURUT. *Class.* WMP, Bornco, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Tidong. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Headwaters of Penangah River, central Sabah, 1 1/2 days upstream from Station Penangah, Kinabatangan District. *Pop.* 300 or more.

**TENGGARAQ** see **TENGARA**.

**TENGGER** *Alt.* TENGGERESE. *Class.* WMP, Javanese. *Loc.* Indonesia. East Java, on slopes of Mt. Bromo up to the crater. *Pop.* 500,000.

**TENGGERESE** see **TENGGER**.

**TENIS** *Alt.* TENCH. *Class.* OC, WOC, St. Matthias. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, Tench Island. *Pop.* 50.

**TENOM MURUT** see **MURUT**, **TIMUGON**.

**TEOP** *Dial.* WAINANANA, LOSIARA, TAUNITA, MELILUP, PETSPTS. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonic, Nehan/North Bougainville, Sapos-Tinputz. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, northeastern. *Pop.* 4,600.

**TEOR** *Alt.* TIO'OR. *Class.* CMP, Teor-Kur, *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Teor and Ut islands, South Maluku. *Pop.* 1,100.

**TEQEL** see **LEHALI**.

**TEREBU** *Alt.* TEREPU, TURUPU, TURUBU. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Kairiru. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East Sepik Province, coast southeast of Taul. *Pop.* 150.

**TEREPU** see **TEREBU**.

**TERNATE MALAY** see **MALAY**, **NORTH MOLUCCAN**.

**TETO** see **TETUN**.

**TETTUM** see **TETUN**.

**TETUM** see **TETUN**.

**TETUN** *Alt.* TETUM, TETTUM, BELU, BELO, TETO, TETUNG. *Dial.* EASTERN TETUN (SOIBADA), DILI TETUN (TETUN PRASA), SOUTHERN TETUN (TASI MANE), NORTHERN TETUN (TASI FETO), TERIK, WESTERN TETUN. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Central Timor region of Dili and as far as Era, in the northwestern corner of Timor, west of Bunak (in Batagude) around Batibo and in from the south coast. *Pop.* 300,000 or more.

**TETUNG** see **TETUN**.

**TEULA** see **SETI**.

**TEUN** *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, TNS, Teun. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Transmigration area (4 villages) in south-central Seram Island, central Maluku. (Originally Teun Island in south-central Maluku). *Pop.* 1,200.

**THAI ISLAM** see **MALAY**, **PATTANI**.

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**THAO** *Alt.* SAU, SAO, SHAO, CHUIHWAN, CHUI-HUAN, VULUNG. *Dial.* BRAWBAW, SHTAFARI. *Class.* Formosan, Paiwanic. *Loc.* Taiwan. Central, around Lake Suisha (Jihyüeh, Salmon Lake), 1 village. *Pop.* 300.

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**THIO** see XARAGURE.

**THUANGA** see YUAGA.

**TI'ARA** see RADA.

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**TIADJE** see TOMINI.

**TIANG** *Alt.* DJAUL. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Lavongai/Nalik. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, northern; also eastern Djaul Island. *Pop.* 800.

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**TIARA** see GEDAGED.

**TIBOLA** see TSOU.

**TIBOLAH** see TSOU.

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**TIBOLAK** see TSOU.

**TIBOLAL** see TSOU.

**TIDOENG** see TIDONG.

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**TIDONG** *Alt.* TARAKAN, CAMUCONES, TIDUNG, TEDONG, TIDOENG, TIRAN, TIRONES, TIROON, ZEDONG. *Dial.* NONUKAN (NUNUKAN), PENCHANGAN, TIDUNG, TARAKAN (TERAKAN), SESAYAP (SESAJAP), SIBUKU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Murut-Tidong, Tidong. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Population centre is along Sembakung and Sibuka Rivers of eastern Kalimantan, coast and islands around Tarakan and interior, Malinau River. Also Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 25,000.

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**TIDUNG** see KALABAKAN MURUT.

**TIDUNG** see KUIJAU.

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**TIDUNG** see SERUDUNG MURUT.

**TIDUNG** see TIDONG.

**TIGAK** *Alt.* OMO. *Dial.* ISLAND TIGAK, WEST TIGAK, CENTRAL TIGAK, SOUTH TIGAK. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Lavongai/Nalik. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, northern; also western Djaul Island. *Pop.* 4,120.

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**TIHORU** see TELUTI.

**TIKOPIA** *Dial.* ANUTA, TIKOPIA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Southern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Tikopia, Russell, Anuta Islands. *Pop.* 2,015.

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**TILAU-ILAU** see KADAZAN, SUGUT.

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**TIMIGAN** see MURUT, TIMUGON.

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**TIMIGUN** see MURUT, TIMUGON.

**TIMOGON** see MURUT, TIMUGON.

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**TIMOGUN** see MURUT, TIMUGON.

**TIMOL** see ATONI.

**TIMOR** see ATONI.

**TIMOREESCH** see ATONI.

**TIMOREEZEN** see ATONI.

**TIMORESE** see ATONI.

**TIMPUTS** see TINPUTZ.

**TIMUGON** see BEAUFORT MURUT.

**TIMUGUN** see MURUT, TIMUGON.

**TINAGAS** see KADAZAN, SUGUT.

**TINATA TUNA** see TOLAI.

**TINDAKON** see KADAZAN, LABUK-KINABATANGAN.

**TINDAKON SUNGAI** see KINABATANGAN SUNGAI.

**TINDAL** see DUSUN, TEMPASUK.

**TINDAL** see KUIJAU.

**TINGALUN** see SEMBAKUNG MURUT.

**TINGARA** see TENGARA.

**TINGGALAN** see SEMBAKUNG MURUT.

**TINGGALUM** see SEMBAKUNG MURUT.

**TINGGUIAN** see ITNEG, BINONGAN.

**TINGUIAN** see ITNEG, BINONGAN.

**TINITIANES** see BATAK.

**TINO** see SAMBAL, TINA.

**TINOMBO** see LAUJE.

**TINPUTZ** *Alt.* VASUH, TIMPUTS, WASOI. *Dial.* POKPAPA, ORIG, DIOS (TSIBATABAI), CHUNDAWAN, VAADOO. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Nehan/North Bougainville, Saposia-Tinputz. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, Buka Passage Subprovince. *Pop.* 2,300.

**TIO'OR** see TEOR.

**TIPUN** see PYUMA.

**TIRAN** see TIDONG.

**TIRI** *Alt.* CIRI, HA-TIRI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Zire-Tiri. *Loc.* New Caledonia. La Foa: lower valleys. *Pop.* 600.

**TIRO** see KONJO, COASTAL.

**TIRON** see TAWBUID.

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**TIRONES** see **TIDONG**.

**TIROON** see **TIDONG**.

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**TIRURAI** see **TIRURAY**.

**TIRURAY** *Alt.* TIRURAI, TEDURAY. *Class.* WMP, South Mindanao, Tiruray. *Loc.* Philippines. Upi, Cotabato, Mindanao. *Pop.* 34,340.

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**TISVEL** see **KATBOL**.

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**TITAN** *Alt.* MANUS, MOANUS, TITO, M'BUNAI. *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Eastern Admiralties, Manus, East Manus, Eastern, Manus, East. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Manus Province, M'buke, Mouk, Rambutyo Islands. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**TITO** see **TITAN**.

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**TJAM** see **CHAM, EASTERN**.

**TJAM** see **CHAM, WESTERN**.

**TJAMORO** see **CHAMORRO**.

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**TJAMPALAGIAN** see **CAMPALAGIAN**.

**TO PAMOSEAN** see **PANASUAN**.

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**TO PANASEAN** see **PANASUAN**.

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**TO RONGKONG** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

**TO'AMBAITA** see **TOABAITA**.

**TO'OLAKI** see **TOLAKI**.

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**TOABAITA** *Alt.* TO'AMBAITA, MALU, MALU'U. *Dial.* BAELELEA (MBAELELEA), BAEGGU (BAEGU, MBAENGGU), TO'ABAITA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, South-East Solomonic, Malaita-San Cristobal, Malaita, Northern. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North Malaita Island. *Pop.* 18,400.

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**TOALA** *Alt.* TOALA, TOALA-PALILI, LUWU', TORAJA TIMUR, EAST TORAJA, SADA, TOWARE, SANGANGALLA'. *Dial.* TOALA', PALILI'. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Toraja-Sa'dan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Luwu District from Masamba to the southern tip of the district. Toala' dialect lies from the foothills up to the divide. Palili' dialect lies on a narrow coastal strip overlapping with Bugis Luwu. *Pop.* 30,000.

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**TOALA** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

**TOALA** see **TOALA**.

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**TOALA'** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

**TOALA-PALILI** see **RONGKONG-LUWU'**.

**TOALA-PALILI** see **TOALA**.

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**TOBA BATAK** see **BATAK TOBA**.

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**TOBADA** *Alt.* BADA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Toraja-Sa'dan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, headwaters of Budong-Budong River in Budong-Budong Subdistrict, Mamuju District. *Pop.* 1.

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**TOBATI** *Alt.* YOTAFa, JOTAFa, JAYAPURA, YAUTEFA, HUMBOLDT JOTAFa. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea (?), Sarmi/Jayapura Bay, Jayapura Bay. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Jayapura Bay, close to Jayapura, villages of Tobati, Engros, Entrop, Kota Raja. *Pop.* 2,460.

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**TOBILANG** see **TEBILUNG**.

**TOBILUNG** see **TEBILUNG**.

**TOCODÉ** see **TUKUDEDE**.

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**TOGA** *Alt.* LO, LOH-TOGA, TORRES. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Torres Islands. *Pop.* 315.

**TOKELAU** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier. *Loc.* Tokelau. *Pop.* 4,500.

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**TOKODEDE** see **TUKUDEDE**.

**TOLAI** *Alt.* KUANUA, GUNANTUNA, TINATA TUNA, TUNA, BLANCHE BAY, NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGE, RALUANA. *Dial.* VUNADIDIR, RAPITOK, RALUANA, VANUMAMI, LIVUAN, MATUPIT, KOKOPO, KABAKADA, NODUP, KININANGGUNAN, RAKUNEI, REBAR, WATOM, MASAWA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, Gazelle Peninsula. *Pop.* 90,000.

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**TOLAKI** *Alt.* TO'OLAKI, LOLAKI, LALAKI, LAKI, KOLAKA. *Dial.* WIWI RANO (NOHINA), LABEA'U (NOIHE), WARU (NEHINA), ASERA WANUA (NOIE), LAIWUI (KIOKI), LOLAKI, KENDARI, KONAWA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Tolaki. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi. *Pop.* 125,000.

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**TOLITOLI** *Alt.* TONTOLI, GAGE. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi, Tolitoli Utara, Galang, Baolan, Dondo, Dampal Utara Subdistricts; 29 villages or parts of villages. *Pop.* 19,000.

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**TOLO** see **TALISE**.

**TOLOKIWA** see **LUKEP**.

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**TOLOMAKO** *Alt.* TOLOMAKO-JEREVIU, BIG BAY, MARINA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Big Bay, Santo Island. *Pop.* 450.

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**TOLOMAKO-JEREVIU** see **TOLOMAKO**.

**TOLOU** see **TONDANO**.

**TOLOUR** see **TONDANO**.

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**TOMBALU** see **TOMBULU**.

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**TOMBATU** see **TONSAWANG**.

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**TOMBONUO** *Alt.* ORANG SUNGAI, ORANG SUNGEI, PAITAN, SUNGAI, SUNGEI, TAMBANUA, TAMBANUO, TAMBANUVA, TAMBANWAS, TAMBENUA, TAMBUNWAS, TEMBENUA, TOMBONUVA, TUNBUMOHAS, TUMBUNWHA. *Dial.* LINGKABAU SUGUT. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Paitanic. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sabah. Labuk-Sugut and Pitas districts. *Pop.* 10,000.

**TOMBONUVA** see **TOMBONUO**.

**TOMBULA** see **TOMBULU**.

**TOMBULU** *Alt.* TOMBULU', TOMBULA, TOUMBULU, TOMBALU, MINAHASA, MINHASA. *Dial.* TARATARA, TOM●H●N. *Class.* WMP, Minahasan, North, Northeast, Tombulu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern Sulawesi, around Tanawangko and Tomohon. *Pop.* 60,000.

**TOMBULU'** see **TOMBULU**.

**TOMINI** *Alt.* TIADJE. *Dial.* TIALO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Tomini. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi; Moutong, Tomini, Tinombo Subdistricts; 42 villages. *Pop.* 68,000.

**TOMMAN** see **MALFAXAL**.

**TOMOIP** *Alt.* TUMUIP, TUMIE, TOMOYP, TOMOIVE. *Class.* ●C, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Tomoip. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, Wide Bay to Waterfall Bay and interior. *Pop.* 700.

**TOMOIVE** see **TOMOIP**.

**TOMOYP** see **TOMOIP**.

**TOMPAKEWA** see **TONTEMBOAN**.

**TOMPULUNG** see **KADAZAN, LABUK-KINABATANGAN**.

**TONDANO** *Alt.* T●NDAN●U, T●L●U, T●L●UR, T●UL●UR. *Dial.* TONDANO, KAKAS (KA'KAS), REMBOKEN. *Class.* WMP, Minahasan, North, Northeast, Tondano. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern Sulawesi around Tondano and to the southeast coast. *Pop.* 92,000.

**TONDANOU** see **TONDANO**.

**TONG-PAK** see **PAK-TONG**.

**TONGA** see **TONGAN**.

**TONGAN** *Alt.* T●NGA. *Class.* ●C, CE●C, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Tongic. *Loc.* Tonga. Tuvalu. NZ, AUS, USA *Pop.* 130,000.

**TONGAREVA** see **PENRHYN**.

**TONGKOU** see **BUDONG-BUDONG**.

**TONSAWANG** *Alt.* TOMBATU. *Class.* WMP, Minahasan, Tonsawang, *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern Sulawesi around Tombatu. *Pop.* 20,000.

**TONSEA** *Alt.* TONSEA'. *Dial.* MAUMBI, AIRMADIDI, LIKUPANG, KAUDITAN, KALABAT ATAS. *Class.* WMP, Minahasan, North, Northeast, Tonsca. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern tip of Sulawesi. *Pop.* 90,000.

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TONSEA' see TONSEA.

TONTEMBOAN *Alt.* TOMPAKEWA, TOUNTEMBOAN, PAKEWA. *Dial.* LANGOAN, TOMPASO (MAKELAI, MAKELA'I-MAOTOW), SONDER (MATANAI, MATANA'I-MAORE'). *Class.* WMP, Minahasan, North, Tontemboan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Northeastern coast of Minahasa Peninsula from Sonder to around Motoling and Tompasobaru. *Pop.* 150,000.

TONTOLI see TOLITOLI.

TOPOIYO *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona. Kaili, Topoiyo. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Budong-Budong Subdistrict in Mamuju District, inland along Budong-Budong River. *Pop.* 1,000.

TORADJA see TORAJA-SADAN.

TORAJA see TORAJA-SADAN.

TORAJA TIMUR see RONGKONG-LUWU'.

TORAJA TIMUR see TOALA.

TORAJA-SADAN *Alt.* SA'DAN, SADAN, SADANG, TORAJA, TORADJA, TAE', TA'E, SOUTH TORAJA, SA'DANSCHÉ. *Dial.* MAKALE (TALLULEMBANGNA), RANTEPAO (KESU'), TORAJA BARAT (WEST TORAJA, MAPPA-PANA). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Toraja-Sa'dan. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Tana Toraja District with large enclaves in Luwu District. Several thousand also in Ujung Pandang city. Also on west coast of southeast Sulawesi in Kolaka, Wundulako, Rumbia, and Poleang districts. *Pop.* 500,000.

TORAU *Alt.* ROROVANA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Mono/Uruava. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, southeast coast, north of Kieta. *Pop.* 605.

TORRES ISLAND see HIW.

TORRES see HIW.

TORRES see TOGA.

TOUAOURU see NUMEE.

TOULOUR see TONDANO.

TOUMBULU see TOMBULU.

TOUNTEMBOAN see TONTEMBOAN.

TOWARE see RONGKONG-LUWU'.

TOWARE see TOALA.

TRING see TRINGUS.

TRINGUS *Alt.* TRING. *Class.* WMP, Land Dayak. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Lower Tutoh River. *Pop.* 350.

TRUE MOTU see MOTU.

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**TRUK** *Alt.* RUK, TRUKESE. *Dial.* EAST LAGOON, TRUKESE, FAYICHUCK. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Truk Islands, Caroline Islands. *Pop.* 40,000 or more.

**TRUKESE** see **TRUK**.

**TSALISEN** see **RUKAI**.

**TSARISEN** see **RUKAI**.

**TSO** see **TSOU**.

**TSONARI** see **BANONI**.

**TSOO** see **TSOU**.

**TSOU** *Alt.* TSU-U, TSOO, TSUOU, TSU-WO, TZO, TSO, NAMAKABAN, NIITAKA, TIBOLA, TIBOLAH, TIBOLAK, TIBOLAL. *Dial.* TSOU (DUHTU, LUHTU, TAPANGU, TFUEA, IIMUTSU), KANABU (KANAKANABU), SAAROA (SAROA, SAARUA, RARUA, LA'ALUA, PACHIEN, PAICHIE, SISOYABAN). *Class.* Formosan, Tsouic. *Loc.* Taiwan. West central mountains southeast of Kagi around Mt. Ali. *Pop.* 4,200.

**TSU-U** see **TSOU**.

**TSU-WO** see **TSOU**.

**TSUOU** see **TSOU**.

**TUAM** see **TUAM-MUTU**.

**TUAM-MUTU** *Alt.* TUAM, TUOM, MUTU. *Dial.* MALAI, MANDOK, MUTU, TUAM. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Ngero, Tuam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Siassi Islands south of Umboi Island; Mandok, Malai, Mutu, Tuam. *Pop.* 1,624.

**TUAMOTUAN** see **PA'UMOTU**.

**TUARAN DUSUN** see **LOTUD**.

**TUAURU** see **NUMEE**.

**TUBBI** see **ULUMANDA**.

**TUBETUBE** *Dial.* WARI (WARE), KITAI. *Class.* ●C, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, Suanic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Slade Island, Engineer Islands, Wari Island, southeast peninsula of Basilaki Island. Difficult access. *Pop.* 1,500.

**TUBIRUASA** see **URUANGNIRIN**.

**TUGUN** *Alt.* TUTUNOHAN. *Dial.* ARWALA. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Southwest Maluku, Wetar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Villages of Mahuan, Masapun, Tomliapat, Hpokil, Kahailin, Ilway, and Arwala on Wetar Island, north of Timor, south Maluku. *Pop.* 1,200.

**TUKANG-BESI** see **TUKANGBESI**.

**TUKANGBESI** *Alt.* TUKANG-BESI, WAKATOBI, BINONGKO. *Dial.* TUKANGBESI, WANCI (WANJI, WANTJI, BINONGKO, BINONKO). *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Tukangbesi-Bonerate. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Tukangbesi archipelago with main islands Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomea, and Binongko, off southeast Sulawesi. Large colonies from Wanci and Binongko on western and southern coasts of Buru. *Pop.* 70,000.

**TUKUDE** see **TUKUDEDE**.

**TUKUDEDE** *Alt.* TUKUDE, TOKODEDE, TOCODÉ. *Dial.* KEHA (KEIA). *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Timor Island, north coast, regions of Maubara and Liquisa from banks of Lois River to Dili. *Pop.* 50,000.

**TULAMBATU** *Dial.* MOPUTE (MAPUTE, TULAMBATU), LANDAWE. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Mori, Bungku. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southeast Sulawesi. *Pop.* 4,000.

**TULEHU** *Alt.* NORTHEAST AMBON. *Dial.* TULEHU, LIANG, TENGAH-TENGAH, TIAL. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Piru Bay, East, Seram Straits, Ambon. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 4 villages on the coast of northeast Ambon Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* 18,840.

**TULON** see **HALIA**.

**TUMANAO** see **BLAAN, SARANGANI**.

**TUMBUNWHA** see **TOMBONUO**.

**TUMIE** see **TOMOIP**.

**TUMLEO** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Siau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West Sepik Province, Tumleo Island, and coast around Aitape. *Pop.* 675.

**TUMUIP** see **TOMOIP**.

**TUNA** see **TOLAI**.

**TUNBUMOHAS** see **TOMBONUO**.

**TUNGAG** *Alt.* TUNGAK, LAVONGAI, LAVANGAI, DANG. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, Lavongai/Nalik. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. New Ireland Province, New Hanover Island, Tingwon and Umbukul Islands. *Pop.* 9,365.

**TUNGAK** see **TUNGAG**.

**TUNGARA** see **TENGARA**.

**TUNJUNG** *Alt.* TUNJUNG DAYAK. *Dial.* TUNJUNG (TUNJUNG TENGAH), TUNJUNG LONDONG, TUNJUNG LINGGANG, PAHU. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Barito, Mahakam. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. East central, between Adas, Dempar, Melak, and east around the lake; south around Muntaiwan. *Pop.* 50,000.

**TUNJUNG DAYAK** see **TUNJUNG**.

**TUOM** see **TUAM-MUTU**.

**TURIJE'NE'** see **BAJAU, INDONESIAN**.

**TURUBU** see **TEREBU**.

**TURUPU** see **TEREBU**.

**TUTOH KENYA** see **KENYAH, TUTOH**.

**TUTONG 1** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Northeast, Dusunic, Bisaya. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Along the lower Limbang River. Also in Brunei. *Pop.* 25,000.

**TUTONG 2** *Alt.* TUTUNG. *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Baram-Tinjar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Kalimantan. Around Tutong on coast. Also in Brunei. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**TUTUBA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Tutuba Island, south Santo. *Pop.* 150.

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**TUTUNG** see **TUTONG 2**.

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**TUTUNOHAN** see **TUGUN**.

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**TUVALU** *Alt.* ELLICE, ELLICEAN, TUVALUAN. *Dial.* NORTH TUVALU (NANUMANGA, NANUMEA, NIUTAO), SOUTH TUVALU (NUKUFETAU, VAITUPU, FUNAFUTI, NUKULAILA). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Tuvalu. *Loc.* Tuvalu. 7 of the 9 inhabited Ellice Islands. *Pop.* 9,300.

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**TUVALUAN** see **TUVALU**.

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**TUWALI** see **IFUGAO, KIANGAN**.

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**TYAL** see **ATAYAL**.

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**TYAMUHI** see **CÈMUHÍ**.

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**TZO** see **TSOU**.

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**UAB ATONI PAH METO** see **ATONI**.

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**UBACH** see **JAWE**.

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**UBILI** see **MERAMERA**.

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**UBIR** *Alt.* UBIRI, KUBIRI. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Are. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Oro Province, coast of Collingwood Bay on Kwagila River. *Pop.* 1,000.

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**UBIRI** see **UBIR**.

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**UDAI** see **MAMUJU**.

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**UDJIR** see **UJIR**.

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**UEN** see **NUMEE**.

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**UGELE** see **UGHELE**.

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**UGHELE** *Alt.* UGELE. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North end of Rendova Island, Western Province. *Pop.* 650.

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**UGI** see **BUGIS**.

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**UHEI KACHLAKIN** see **BENGGOI**.

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**UHEI-KACHLAKAN** see **BENGGOI**.

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**UHEI-KACHLAKAN** see **SETI**.

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**UHEI-KACHLAKIN** see **SETI**.

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**UHEI-KAHLAKIM** see **BENGGOI**.

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**UHEI-KAHLAKIM** see **SETI**.

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**UJIR** *Alt.* UDJIR. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Ujir. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. 2 villages, Ujir on Ujir Island and Samang on the end of western peninsula on Wokam Island, in northwest Aru Islands, south Maluku. *Pop.* 700.

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**UKIT** *Class.* WMP, Borneo, Rejang-Baram, Rejang-Bintulu. *Loc.* Malaysia, Sarawak. Upper Rajom and Tatau rivers, Baleh, 7th Division, Sarawak. *Pop.* 120.

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**ULAU-SUAIN** *Alt.* SUAIN. *Dial.* ULAU, SUAIN. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Siau. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. West Sepik Province, coast at Ulau Nos 1 and 2 and Suain. *Pop.* 1,370.

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**ULITHI** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Ulithi, Ngulu, Sorol, Fais islands, eastern Caroline Islands. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**ULUMANDA** *Alt.* ULUMANDAK, OELOEMANDA, ULUNDA, TUBBI, BOTTENG-TAPPALANG, AWO-SUMAKUYU, KADO. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, Pitu Ulunna Salu. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, Majene, Mamuju, and Polewali-Mamasa districts. *Pop.* 18,000 or more.

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**ULUMANDAK** *Alt.* ULUNDA. *Dial.* SONDOANG, TAPPALANG, BOTTENG. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Northern, PUS. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Mandar, Polmas and Mamuju districts of South Sulawesi. *Pop.* 30,000.

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**ULUMANDAK** see **ULUMANDA**.

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**ULUNDA** see **ULUMANDA**.

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**ULUNDA** see **ULUMANDAK**.

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**UMA** *Alt.* PIPIKORO, UMA ARIA, OEMA. *Dial.* BANAHU (ARIA), KANTEWU (BENGAULU), PEANA, TOLEE', WINANTU-GIMPU, TOBAKU (DOMPA, OMPA), BANA. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona, Kaili, Uma. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. The valley of the Koro-Lariang River in central Sulawesi; Kulawi Subdistrict; 32 villages. Bana dialect in south Sulawesi, enclave within the Seko Padang dialect area, Kabupaten Luwu. Benggaulu is in South Sulawesi, south Pasangkayu District, Mamuju Subdistrict. *Pop.* 20,000.

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**UMA ARIA** see **UMA**.

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**UMALASA** see **PENDAU**.

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**UMAR** see **YERETUAR**.

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**UMARI** see **YERETUAR**.

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**UMIRAY AGTA** see **DUMAGET, UMIRAY**.

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**UMIREY DUMAGAT** see **DUMAGET, UMIRAY**.

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**UNANK** see **WATUT, NORTH**.

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**UNHAN** see **LOOCNON**.

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**UNUA** *Alt.* ONUA. *Dial.* BUSH UNUA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. East Malekula Island. *Pop.* 525.

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**UPPER BARAM KENJA** see **KENYAH, UPPER BARAM**.

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**UPPER MORI** see **MORI ATAS**.

**URA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Erromanga. *Loc.* Vanuatu. North Erromanga Island. *Pop.* 10 or fewer.

**URADA** see **AUHELAWA**.

**URAK LAWOI** *Alt.* ORAK LAWOI', LAWTA, CHAW TALAY, CHAWNAM, LAWOI. *Class.* WMP, Malayic, Malay. *Loc.* Thailand. Phuket and Langta islands, west coast of south Thailand. Not in Malaysia. *Pop.* 3,000.

**UREPARAPARA** see **LEHALURUP**.

**URIPIV-WALA-RANO** *Dial.* URIPIV, URI, TAUTU, WALA, RANO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northeast Malekula and nearby islands. *Pop.* 3,450.

**URUANGNIRIN** *Alt.* FAUR, TUBIRUASA. *Class.* CMP, North Bomberai. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Two small islands between Karas Island and mainland of southwest Bomberai Peninsula. *Pop.* 250.

**URUAVA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Mono/Uruava. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. North Solomons Province, southeastern coast. *Pop.* 5 or fewer.

**USIAI** see **LELE**.

**UTUPUA** see **NEMBAO**.

**UUT DANUM** see **DOHOI**.

**UVEAN** see **WALLISIAN**.

**UVEAN, WEST** *Alt.* FAGA-UVÉA, OUVEAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Southern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Ouvea Island, the most northern of the Loyalty Islands. *Pop.* 1,870.

**UVOL** *Alt.* LOTE. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Mengen. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. East New Britain Province, southeast coast and inland near Cape Dampier. *Pop.* 4,200.

**VAGHUA** *Alt.* TAVULA, TAVOLA, VAGUA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Choiseul. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Tavula, Choiseul Island. *Pop.* 1,000.

**VAGUA** see **VAGHUA**.

**VAIKENU** see **ATONI**.

**VAIKINO** see **ATONI**.

**VALPAY** see **VALPEI**.

**VALPEI** *Alt.* VALPEI-HUKUA, VALPAY. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northwest Santo Island. *Pop.* 300.

**VALPEI-HUKUA** see **VALPEI**.

**VAMALE** *Alt.* 'MOAEKE, HMWAEKE, PAMALE. *Dial.* VAMALE, HMWAEKE. *Class.* OC, CEOC. Remote OC, New Caledonian, Northern. *Loc.* New Caledonia. East coast:

(Vamale dialect) Téganpaik, Tiouandé; west coast: (Hmwaeke dialect) Voh, Tiéta. *Pop.* 150.

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**VANGUNU** *Alt.* VANGUNU-BAREKE, BAREKE-VANGUNU. *Dial.* BAREKE (MBAREKE), VANGUNU. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, New Georgia. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. North Vangunu Island (Bareke), southwest Vangunu Island (Vangunu), Western Province. *Pop.* 900.

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**VANGUNU-BAREKE** see **VANGUNU**.

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**VANIKOLO** see **VANO**.

**VANIKORO** see **VANO**.

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**VANO** *Alt.* VANIKORO, VANIKOLO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Eastern Outer Islands, Vanikoro. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Late and Lavaka villages, Vanikoro Island, Temotu Province. *Pop.* 120.

**VANUA LAVA** see **VATRATA**.

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**VAO** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Vao Island, north Malekula. *Pop.* 1,350.

**VARESE** see **VARISI**.

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**VARISI** *Alt.* VARESE. *Dial.* GHONE, VARISI. *Class.* OC, WOC, Meso Melanesian, New Ireland, South New Ireland/N.W. Solomonian, Choiseul. *Loc.* Solomon Islands. Northeast Choiseul Island. *Pop.* 3,025.

**VARMALI** see **LAMENU**.

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**VARSU** see **LEWO**.

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**VARTAVO** see **BURMBAR**.

**VASUII** see **TINPUTZ**.

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**VATRATA** *Alt.* VANUA LAVA. *Dial.* LEON, PAK (BEK), SASAR (LEM). *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Vanua Lava Island. *Pop.* 600.

**VEHEES** see **VEHES**.

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**VEHES** *Alt.* BUASI, VEHEES. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, South Huon Gulf, Hote/Buang, Buang. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, one village near coast between Salamaua and Lae. *Pop.* 100.

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**VINMAVIS** *Alt.* LAMBUMBU. *Dial.* WINIV. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Malekula. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Central west Malekula Island. *Pop.* 210.

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**VIRAC** see **BICOLANO**, **SOUTHERN CATANDUANES**.

**VISAYAK** see **BISAYA**, **BRUNEI**.

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**VISAYAK** see **BISAYA**, **SARAWAK**.

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**VISAYAN** see **CEBUANO**.

**VIWULU-AUA** see **WUVULU-AUA**.

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**VONUN** see **BUNUN**.

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**VOVO** see **BIERIA**.

**VULUNG** see **THAO**.

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**VUNAPU** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Northwest Santo Island. *Pop.* 375.

**VUNMARAMA** see **RAGA**.

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**VUNUM** see **BUNUN**.

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**VUNUN** see **BUNUN**.

**VUNUNG** see **BUNUN**.

**WAB** *Alt.* SOM. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Ngero/Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Bel. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Madang Province, north coast of Huon Peninsula. 2 villages next to Saidor: Wab and Sau. *Pop.* 145.

**WABO** see **WORIASI**.

**WAE RANA** *Alt.* WAERANA. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. South central Flores, between Manggarai and Ngada.

**WAE LULU** *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Seram Island, central Maluku. *Pop.* Existence unconfirmed.

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**WAERANA** see **WAE RANA**.

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**WAGAP** see **CÈMUIH**.

**WAGAWAGA** *Dial.* DAIO (DAIAMUNI, DEAMUNI, DAIOMUNI, KILAKILANA). *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, Suauic. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, south shore of Milne Bay. *Pop.* 1,165.

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**WAHAI** see **MANUSELA**.

**WAHAI** see **SALEMAN**.

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**WAHAU KAJAN** see **KAYAN, WAHAU**.

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**WAHAU KENYA** see **KENYAH, WAHAU**.

**WAHINAMA** see **MANUSELA**.

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**WAI** see **AʔJIÈ**.

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**WAIDJEWAWA** see **WEYEWAWA**.

**WAIGEO** see **AMBER**.

**WAIGIU** see **AMBER**.

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**WAILAPA** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Southwest Santo Island. *Pop.* 100.

**WAILU** see **AʔJIÈ**.

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**WAIMA** see **RORO**.

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**WAIMA'A** see **WAIMAA**.

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**WAIMAA** *Alt.* WAIMAHA, WAIMA'A, WAIMOA. *Class.* CMP, Timor, Nuclear Timor, Waima'a. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Timor Island, southwest of Makasai. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**WAIMAHA** *sec* **WAIMAA**.

**WAIMOA** *sec* **WAIMAA**.

**WAING** *sec* **DUWET**.

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**WAJEWAWA** *sec* **WEYEWA**.

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**WAKATOBI** *sec* **TUKANGBESI**.

**WAKDE** *sec* **SOBEI**.

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**WALI BANUAH** *sec* **SIKULE**.

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**WALLISIAN** *Alt.* UVEAN, EAST UVEAN, WALLISIEN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Central Pacific, East Fijian/Polynesian, Polynesian, Nuclear, Samoic Outlier, Wallisian. *Loc.* Wallis, Futuna, New Caledonia. Also in Fiji, Vanuatu. *Pop.* 19,500.

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**WALLISIEN** *sec* **WALLISIAN**.

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**WALURIGI** *sec* **AMBAE, NORTHEAST**.

**WAMAR** *sec* **WOKAM**.

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**WAMESAI** *sec* **WANDAMEN**.

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**WAMPAR** *Alt.* LAEWOMBA, LAEWAMBA, LAIWOMBA. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Lower Markham, Wampar. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, lower Markham and Wamped rivers. *Pop.* 5,150.

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**WAMPUR** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Upper Markham, Mountain. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Wanton River. *Pop.* 360.

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**WANDAMEN** *Alt.* WINDESI-WANDAMEN, WANDAMEN-WINDESI, WINDESI, WINDESSI, BINTUNI, BENTUNI, BENTOENI, WAMESA. *Dial.* WINDESI, BINTUNI, WAMESA, WASIOR, AMBUMI, DASENER, AIBONDENI. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Wasior, Manokwari, west Cenderawasih Bay along Wandamen Bay extending west to east end of Bintuni Bay. *Pop.* 4,000.

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**WANDAMEN-WINDESI** *sec* **WANDAMEN**.

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**WANONI** *sec* **KAHUA**.

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**WANUKAKA** *Dial.* WANUKAKA, RUA. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Sumba Island, southwest coast, east of Lamboya. *Pop.* 10,000.

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**WAR** *sec* **MEOSWAR**.

**WARAY** *sec* **WARAY-WARAY**.

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**WARAY-WARAY** *Alt.* SAMAREÑO, SAMARAN, SAMAR-LEYTE, WARAY, BINISAYA. *Dial.* WARAY, SAMAR-LEYTE, NORTHERN SAMAR. *Class.* WMP, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central, Warayan, Samar-Waray. *Loc.* Philippines. Northern and eastern Samar-Leyte. *Pop.* 2,180,000.

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**WARILAU** *sec* **KOLA**.

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**WAROPEN** *Alt.* WONTI, WOPEN. *Dial.* WAROPEN KAI, NAPAN, MO'OR. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Waropen. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. East Cenderawasih Bay, south coast of Yapen Island. *Pop.* 6,000.

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**WARU** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. *Pop.* 500.

**WASOI** see **TINPUTZ**.

**WATALUMA** *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Are. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, two hamlets north of Goodenough Island. *Pop.* 190.

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**WATUBELA** *Alt.* SNABI WATUBELA, KASIUI, KESUI, KASUI, WESI, ESIRIUN, MATABELLO. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Banda-Geser, Geser-Gorom. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Watubela Island, east central Maluku, north of Kur Island. *Pop.* 3,000.

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**WATULAI** see **BATULEY**.

**WATUT** see **WATUT, MIDDLE**.

**WATUT** see **WATUT, NORTH**.

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**WATUT, MIDDLE** *Alt.* SILISILI, MARALIINAN, MARALINAN, WATUT. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Watut. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Mumeng Subprovince, lower Watut Valley. *Pop.* 990.

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**WATUT, NORTH** *Alt.* SILISILI, MARALIINAN, MARALINAN, WATUT, UNANK, ONANK. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Watut. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Mumeng Subprovince, north Watut Valley. *Pop.* 465.

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**WATUT, SOUTH** *Alt.* DANGAL, DANGGAL, MARALANGO. *Dial.* DANGGAL, MARALANGKO. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, Markham, Watut. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Lower Watut River. *Pop.* 890.

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**WEDA** see **SAWAI**.

**WEDAU** *Alt.* WEDAUN, WEDAWAN. *Dial.* TOPURA, YAPOA. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Are-Taupota, Taupota. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, mainland from Kuvira Bay to Dogura along north coast. *Pop.* 2,200.

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**WEDAUN** see **WEDAU**.

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**WEDAWAN** see **WEDAU**.

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**WEMALE, NORTH** *Dial.* HORALE, KASIEH, UWENPANTAI. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Wemale. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Spread along the north coast of Taniwel District, east of Taniwel, and in the westernmost part of East Seram District, 24 villages. *Pop.* 4,930.

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**WEMALE, SOUTH** *Alt.* TALA, HONITETU. *Class.* CMP, Central Maluku, East, Seram, Nunusaku, Three Rivers, Wemale. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. Central Maluku, west Seram, 15 villages; 13 in Kairatu, mainly in the interior, and two westernmost coastal villages of Amahai District. *Pop.* 3,725.

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**WEN** see **NUMEE**.

**WERE** see **SAWAI**.

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**WERINAMA** see **BOBOT**.

**WESI** see **WATUBELA**.

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**WEST AMBAE** see **NDUINDUI**.

**WEST COAST BAJAO** see **BAJAU, WEST COAST**.

**WEST FUTUNA** see **FUTUNA-ANIWA**.

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**WEST GUADALCANAL** see **GHARI**.

**WEST MORI** see **MORI ATAS**.

**WEST SUMBANESE** see **WEYEWAWA**.

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**WEST TRANGAN** see **TARANGAN, WEST**.

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**WESTERN BONTOC** see **KANKANAY, NORTHERN**.

**WESTERN KENYA** see **KENYAH, WESTERN**.

**WESTERN LAMPUNG** see **KRUI**.

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**WETAMUT** *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, East Vanuatu.  
*Loc.* Vanuatu. Gaua Island of the Banks Group, villages of Dorig and Kweteon. *Pop.* 70.

**WETAN** see **LUANG**.

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**WETAR** see **PERAI**.

**WEWEWA** see **WEYEWAWA**.

**WEWJEWAWA** see **WEYEWAWA**.

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**WEYEWAWA** *Alt.* WEWEWA, WAJEWA, WEWJEWAWA, WAIDJEWA, WEST SUMBANESE. *Dial.* WEYEWAWA, LAULI (LOLI), LAURA, TANA RIGHU. *Class.* CMP, Bima-Sumba. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Lesser Sundas, west Sumba Island. *Pop.* 75,000.

**WHITESANDS** *Alt.* NAPUANMEN, WHITSANDS. *Dial.* WEASISI (WASSISI), LOMETIMETI. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Southern Vanuatu, Tanna. *Loc.* Vanuatu. Tanna Island, east coast. *Pop.* 3,500.

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**WHITSANDS** see **WHITESANDS**.

**WINDESI-WANDAMENI** see **WANDAMENI**.

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**WINDESHI** see **WANDAMENI**.

**WINDESSII** see **WANDAMENI**.

**WO'OI** see **WOI**.

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**WOGEO** *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Schouten, Kairiru/Manam, Manam. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Vokco and Koil islands, East Sepik Province. *Pop.* 1,240.

**WOI** *Alt.* WO'OI. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, Central-Western. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Miosnum and west Yapen Islands, villages of Wooi and Wainap. *Pop.* 1,300.

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**WOKAM** *Alt.* WAMAR, MANOMBAL. *Class.* CMP, Aru, Nuclear Aru. *Loc.* Indonesia, Maluku. West coast of Wokam Island, from Wokam village southwards, in 21 villages

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along both sides of Manombai Strait (Sungai) as far as Wakua, and in Benjina on Kobroor Island, and Gardakau on Maikor Island at the western end of Barakai Strait, and small village of Kobamar on east coast of Wokam Island. It may no longer be spoken on Wamar Island. *Pop.* 5,750.

**WOLEAIAN** *Alt.* WOLEAN. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, Micronesian, Micronesian Proper, Ponapeic-Trukic, Trukic. *Loc.* Micronesia. Woleai (Wottagai, Falalus, Sulywap, Falalap, Tagailap, Paliau, Mariang), Eauripik, Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Ifaluk islands, eastern Caroline Islands. *Pop.* 2,000.

**WOLEAN** see **WOLEAIAN**.

**WOLIO** *Alt.* BAUBAU, BUTON, BUTUNG, BUTONESE, BOETONEEZEN. *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. Southwestern part of Buton Island in Baubau and surrounding communities. *Pop.* 25,000 to 35,000.

**WOLU** see **TELUTI**.

**WONO** see **SEKO PADANG**.

**WONTI** see **WAROPEN**.

**WORIASI** *Alt.* WABO, NUSARI. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yapen, East. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. North and south coast of east end of Yapen Island, near 136.45' to 136.55', 6 villages. *Pop.* 1,500.

**WORKAI** see **BARAKAI**.

**WORPEN** see **WAROPEN**.

**WOTU** *Class.* WMP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Kalao. *Loc.* Indonesia, Sulawesi. South Sulawesi, town of Wotu, Wotu Subdistrict, Luwu District. *Pop.* 5,000.

**WOWO** see **BIERIA**.

**WUNA** see **MUNA**.

**WUSI** *Alt.* WUSI-KEREPUA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, North and Central Vanuatu, Santo. *Loc.* Vanuatu. West Santo Island. *Pop.* 170.

**WUSI-KEREPUA** see **WUSI**.

**WUVULU-AUA** *Alt.* AUA-VIWULU, VIWULU-AUA. *Dial.* AUA, WUVULU (WUU). *Class.* OC, Admiralties, Western Admiralties. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Western Manus Province, Aua, Durour, Maty, and Wuvulu Islands. *Pop.* 1,000.

**XARACII** see **XÂRÂCÛÛ**.

**XÂRÂCÛÛ** *Alt.* XARACII, ANESU, HARANEU, KANALA, CANALA. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Xaracuu-Xaragure. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Canala, east coast and inland valleys. *Pop.* 4,000.

**XARAGURE** *Alt.* ARAGURE, 'ARAGURE, HARAGURE, THIO. *Class.* OC, CEOC, Remote OC, New Caledonian, Southern, South, Xaracuu-Xaragure. *Loc.* New Caledonia. Thio, east coast, and Quinane on west coast. *Pop.* 950.

**YABEM** *Alt.* LAULABU, JABEM, JABIM, YABIM. *Class.* OC, WOC, North New Guinea, Huon Gulf, North Huon Gulf. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Morobe Province, Huon Peninsula, near Finschhafen. *Pop.* 2,085.

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**YABIM** see **YABEM**.

**YACAN** see **YAKAN**.

**YAI** see **IAAI**.

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**YAKAMUL** see **ALI**.

**YAKAN** *Alt.* YACAN. *Class.* WMP, Sama-Bajaw, Yakan. *Loc.* Philippines. Sulu Archipelago, Basilan Island, western Mindanao. Also in Sabah, Malaysia. *Pop.* 60,000 to 70,000.

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**YALAHATAN** see **ATAMANU**.

**YALU** see **ARIBWAUNGG**.

**YAMALELE** *Alt.* IAMALELE. *Dial.* DIDIGAVU, GWABEGWABE, MASIMASI, MAIODOM, CENTRAL YAMALELE, SOUTHERN YAMALELE. *Class.* OC, WOC, Papuan Tip, Nuclear PT, North Papuan Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux, Bwaidoga. *Loc.* Papua New Guinea. Milne Bay Province, Esa'ala Subprovince, west Fergusson Island. *Pop.* 2,800.

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**YAMDENA** *Alt.* JAMDERA, JAMDENA, JAMDEN. *Dial.* NORTH, SOUTH. *Class.* CMP, Southeast Maluku, Kei-Tanimbar, Yamdena. *Loc.* Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara. Southeast Maluku, eastern coast of Yamdena, Adaut village on northern tip of Selaru, and one of the two languages spoken in Latdalam village, southwest Yamdena. 35 villages. *Pop.* 31,000.

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**YAMI** *Alt.* BOTEL TABAGO, BOTEL TOBAGO. *Dial.* IMURUT (IMURUD). *Class.* WMP, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Bashiic, Yami. *Loc.* Philippines. Orchid Island, Botel Tobago (Lanyu) Island, southeast coast. *Pop.* 2,600.

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**YAMNA** see **SOBEI**.

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**YANTA** see **MUMENG**.

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**YAP** see **YAPESE**.

**YAPESE** *Alt.* YAP. *Class.* WMP, Yapesc. *Loc.* Nauru. Yap Island, 10 islands, Caroline Islands. *Pop.* 5,000.

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**YARSUN** see **SOBEI**.

**YAUR** *Alt.* JAUR. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yaur. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Lower end of Cenderawasih Bay west of Iresim. *Pop.* 350.

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**YAUTEFA** see **TOBATI**.

**YBANAG** see **IBANAG**.

**YEHEN** see **FWAI**.

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**YENGEN** see **FWAI**.

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**YERETUAR** *Alt.* GONI, UMAR, UMARI. *Class.* SHWNG, WNG, Cenderawasih Bay, Yeretuar. *Loc.* Indonesia, Irian Jaya. Lower Cenderawasih Bay south of Wandamen language. *Pop.* 250.

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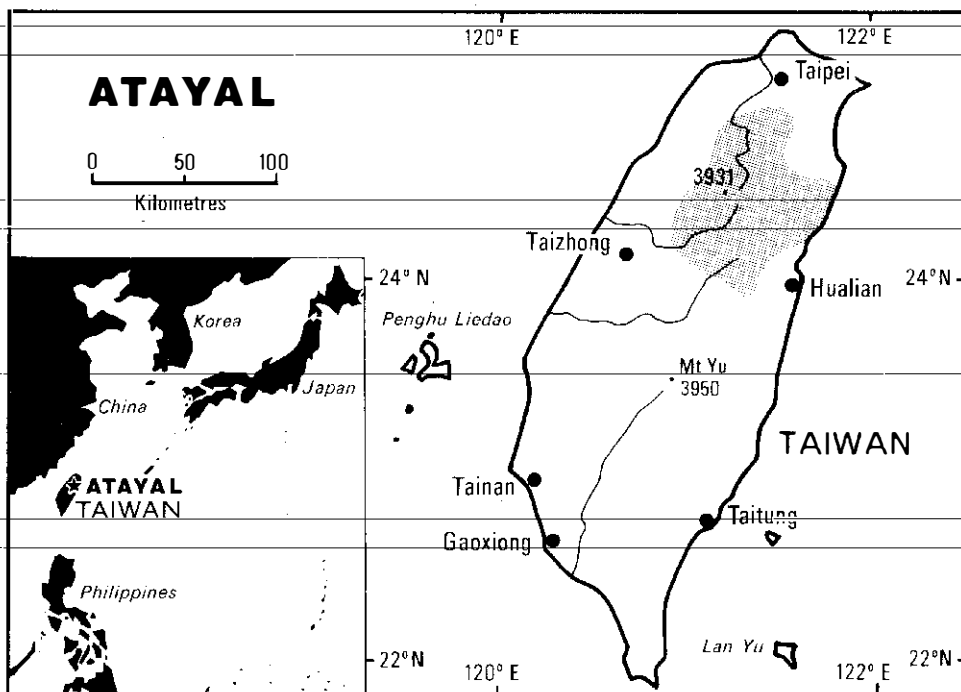
# 1. Atayal

**Contributor:**

**Introduction and Wordlist:** *Paul Jen-kuei Li*

## 1. Introduction

The Atayalic group of Formosan languages occupies the northern half of Taiwan, covering eight out of sixteen prefectures in Taiwan, with a population of 76,000 as of 1989. It is comprised of Atayal and Sediq, each with various dialects of its own. Atayal, in turn, consists of two major dialect groups, Squliq and C<sup>?</sup>uli<sup>?</sup> (Ts<sup>?</sup>ole). The Squliq dialects are all fairly uniform and considered the prestige dialects, whereas the C<sup>?</sup>uli<sup>?</sup> dialects can be quite divergent from each other. The Sediq dialects are neither completely uniform nor very divergent. See Li (1980, 1981). In the Atayalic group, Mayrinax is by far the most conservative dialect and hence the most valuable for historical reconstruction. Of all Formosan languages and dialects, it is the only known dialect that shows certain well-defined differences between the speech of men and of women (Li 1982b). It is therefore the dialect used for the Atayal wordlist.



Map 1. Atayal language area

Alternate names of Atayal, that have appeared in previous literature include Tayal and Ataiyal.

Below is a brief description of the phonology and morphology of Atayal.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Phonetic description and distribution

*Table 1.* Atayal consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q̣</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives	<i>v</i> l		<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>h</i>
	<i>v</i> d	<i>β</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ɣ</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		
Laterals		<i>ɬ</i>				
Flaps		<i>r</i>				
Semivowels	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>			

*Table 2.* Atayal vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid		<i>ə</i>	
Low		<i>a</i>	

Atayal has 19 consonants: voiceless stops /p, t, k, q̣, ʔ/, voiceless affricate /č/, voiceless fricatives /š, x, h/, voiced fricatives /β, ž, ɣ/, nasals /m, n, ŋ/, liquids /l, r/, two semi-vowels /w, y/ and four vowels /i, u, ə, a/. In addition, there are the following four diphthongs: /aw, ay, uy, iy/. Phonetically /q̣/ is a voiceless uvular stop, /č, š, ž/ are all alveo-palatal, /h/ is pharyngealised, /l/ is a lateral fricative and /r/ a flap. There is phonemic contrast between /ʔ/ and zero in all positions, e.g. /apit/ ‘flying squirrel’, /ʔakčuy/ ‘throat’. Vowel /ə/ rarely occurs in the final stressed syllable. The only example I have found so far is /βakəš/ ‘scar’.

All consonants except /ʒ/, which may not occur word-finally, occur word-initially, medially and finally. /x/ occurs word-initially only rarely in a few items, e.g. /xuxuʔ/ ‘breasts’, /xuyil/ ‘dog’.

Stress falls on the final syllable of content words. Function words have no stress.

## 2.2 Consonant clusters and vowel sequences

Consonant clusters in word-initial position are mostly composed of a consonant followed by a semivowel, e.g. /kwalax/ ‘rain’, /ʃyatuʔ/ ‘clothes’. A combination of two true consonants in the initial position is less common, such as /ɣrup/ [ɣəʔrup] ‘plant sp. (*Bidens pilosa* L. Var. *minor* (Bl) Sherrf.)’, /kɣiy/ ‘hemp’, /βhut/ ‘squirrel’, /hmaʔ/ ‘tongue’, /khuŋ/ ‘type of wild mushroom’. In word-medial position, such combinations are fairly common: /kiʔman/ ‘grass’, /βalkaʔ/, ‘bamboo shoots’, /βanʔu/ ‘type of bamboo’, /βasβus/ ‘cotton’, /kayčap/ ‘a tool to peel hemp’, /mahnuʔk/ ‘soft’, /halhul/ ‘warm’, /humɣuβ/ ‘to do magic’, /lihkaʔ, lihβaw/ ‘light (weight)’. There is no consonant cluster in word-final position. A phonetically weak vowel [ə] generally occurs between true consonants, e.g. /akliʔ/ [akələʔ] ‘leopard’, especially in word-initial position, e.g. /hmuk/[həmok] ‘urine’.

Due to the loss of PAN \*l and occasionally of PAN \*R in this dialect, vowel sequences or long vowels occur, e.g.

- (1) /k-um-aiʔ/ ‘to dig’ < PAN \*k<sup>l</sup>ih
- (2) /βua-tiŋ/ ‘moon’ < PAN \*bulaL
- (3) /kaiʔ/ ‘language’ < PAN \*kaRi
- (4) /kaum/ ‘anteater’ < PAN \*qaRum

Also a word may begin or end with a vowel, e.g. /ihuk/ ‘strawberry’ and /riŋku/ ‘corpse’. Thus the typical Austronesian word structure CV(C)CVC is disrupted in the Mayrinax dialect of Atayal.

## 2.3 Alternations

The Atayalic group of languages and dialects generally has the most complex phonology among all the Formosan languages. Sqliq, for instance, manifests many morphophonemic alternations (see Egerod 1965, Li 1980). However Mayrinax, the most conservative dialect, shows far fewer alternations than the other dialects. For example,

1.  $\check{c} \sim t < \text{PAN } *C \text{ or } *d'$ 

	Agent-focus	Non-agent-focus	PAN	
(1)	<i>k-um-at</i>	<i>káč-un</i>	< <i>*kaRaC</i>	'to bite'
(2)	<i>ḱ-um-aluit</i>	<i>ḱaluič-un</i>	< <i>*qaLud</i>	'to flow'
(3)	<i>maḱut</i>	<i>paḱuč-an</i>		'to ask'

2.  $\check{s} \sim y < \text{PAN } *g'$ 

	Agent-focus	Non-agent-focus	PAN	
(1)	<i>ma-βāy</i>	<i>β-in-aš-un</i>	<i>*bəlɨj</i>	'to buy'
(2)	<i>r-um-ahiy</i>	<i>rahiš-an</i>		'to dry in the air'
(3)	<i>k-um-a-kyiy</i>	<i>kyiš-an</i>		'to prepare hemp'

## 3. Deletion of stem-initial consonant

Another type of alternation, which is widespread in western Austronesian languages, has to do with the deletion of the stem-initial obstruents when the agent-focused marker *m-* is present.

	Agent-focus	Non-agent-focus	Imperatives	
(1)	<i>muŋ</i>	<i>puŋ-an</i>	<i>puŋ, puŋ-i</i>	'to listen'
(2)	<i>mataš</i>	<i>pataš-an</i>	<i>pataš-i</i>	'to write, draw'
(3)	<i>muḱ</i>	<i>βuḱ-an</i>	<i>βuḱ-i</i>	'to squeeze'
(4)	<i>manik</i>	<i>ḱ-in-anik-an,</i> <i>naniḱ-un</i>	<i>ḱanik,</i> <i>ḱanik-i</i>	'to eat'
(5)	<i>mahmut</i>	<i>khamt-un</i>		'to act randomly'

4. Vowels in non-stressed syllables may be dropped or phonetically reduced to [ə]. In the following examples, vowels that may be dropped are underlined:

(1)	<i>h-um-y<u>u</u>β</i>	'to do magic'
	<i>h<u>a</u>βy-i haŋ</i>	'Please do magic!'
	<i>h-in-<u>a</u>βy-an</i>	'to have done magic'
	<i>ha-h<u>a</u>yβ-un</i>	'will do magic'
(2)	<i>š-um-in-<u>a</u>piyal</i>	'to have dreamed'
	<i>pa-š<u>p</u>iyal-i</i>	'Dream!'
(3)	<i>m-<u>a</u>hm<u>u</u>t, khamt-un</i>	'to act indiscriminately'
(4)	<i>m-kahtuy, pakahty-an, pakhaty-i</i>	'to come out'
(5)	<i>r-um-<u>a</u>ŋluŋ, rŋilŋ-i</i>	'to hinder, to stop'
(6)	<i>č-um-p<u>u</u>ŋ, čapŋi-i</i>	'to measure,
	<i>ča-čapŋ-an</i>	a ruler'

### 3. Morphology

There are many prefixes, a few infixes and some suffixes in Atayal. Given below are illustrations of some of the Atayal affixes. It is possible to combine a few affixes, e.g. *-um-in-*, *-in-...-an*. The prefix *may-* occurs only in the Mayrinax dialect of Atayal. This form is not cognate with *mag-* in Philippine languages.

#### 3.1 Verbal prefixes

##### 1a *ma-* 'stative'

<i>ma-βka?</i>	'broken'
<i>ma-puluŋ</i>	'deaf'

##### 1b *ma-* 'active'

<i>ma-βilβil</i>	'to tremble, to shiver'
<i>ma-βihuy</i>	'to bend'
<i>ma-βāy</i>	'to buy'

##### 2. *man-*

<i>man-čakruy</i>	'to stand up'
<i>man-βaxβax</i>	'loose (soil)'
<i>man-čahū?</i>	'straight'

##### 3. *mana-*

<i>mana-ku<sup>?</sup>um</i>	'overcast'
<i>mana-huḱil</i>	'to die'
<i>mana-hmuhmut</i>	'messy'
<i>mana-mai?</i>	'to boil'

##### 4. *may-*

<i>may-βatu-nux</i>	'pretty'
<i>may-turakiš</i>	'yellow'
<i>may-lakām</i>	'to go head-hunting'
<i>may-yuhiβuŋ</i>	'purple'

##### 5. *ma-ša-* 'reciprocal, mutual'

<i>ma-ša-ši-<sup>?</sup>ahay</i>	'to marry'
<i>ma-ša-šipu<sup>?</sup></i>	'to have sexual intercourse'

6. *ma-ši-* ‘natural release or movement’

<i>ma-ši-ŋaŋay</i>	‘to dribble’	<	<i>ŋaŋay</i>	‘saliva’
<i>ma-ši-hmuḵ</i>	‘to urinate’	<	<i>hmuḵ</i>	‘urine’
<i>ma-ši-rinwaŋ</i>	‘to sweat’	<	<i>rinwaŋ</i>	‘sweat (n)’
<i>ma-ši-ḵuti?</i>	‘to defecate’	<	<i>ḵuti?</i>	‘excrement’
<i>ma-ši-luhiy</i>	‘to have landslide’			

7. *pana-*

<i>pana-turiŋ</i>	‘to point at’, compare <i>tiruliŋ</i> ‘finger’
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8. *ma-ti-*

<i>ma-ti-βaynay</i>	‘to sell’, compare <i>ma-βaynay</i> ‘to buy’
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9. *?i-*

<i>?i-ra-rauḵ</i>	‘low’	<	<i>rauḵ</i>	‘earth, ground’
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10. *pa-* ‘causative’

<i>pa-ḵan-iḵ</i>	‘to feed’	<	<i>ḵan-iḵ</i>	‘to eat’
<i>pa-tari?</i>	‘to tie up’	<	<i>tari?</i>	‘to tie a knot’
<i>pa-p-tayhuk</i>	‘to touch’	<	<i>tayhuk</i>	‘arrive, reach’

11. *ši-* ‘benefactive’

<i>ši-βaynay</i>	‘to buy something for someone’
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12. *ga-* ‘verbaliser’

<i>ga-hapuy</i>	‘to cook’	<	<i>hapuy</i>	‘fire’
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13. *kan-* + RED + N (body parts) ‘body movement’

<i>kan-ta-tari?</i>	‘to kneel’	<	<i>tari?</i>	‘knee’
<i>kan-ča-čri?</i>	‘to kick’			
<i>kan-ta-tki?</i>	‘to squat’			

14. *ma-ka-* ‘mutual, reciprocal’

<i>ma-ka-kuyus</i>	‘to shave each other’
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15. *maki-* ‘active verb’

<i>maki-βaḵ</i>	‘to learn’	<	<i>βaḵ-un</i>	‘to know’
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16. *mat-* ‘to turn’

<i>mat-mayray</i>	‘to turn something around’
<i>mat-kayran</i>	‘to turn around something’

17. *mi-*

<i>mi-tutul</i>	‘to wake up’
<i>mi-βaβwax</i>	‘to take off upper garment’

18. *paš-*


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*paš-akčuy* 'to cough' < *akčuy* 'throat'

---

19. *ta...-an* 'location'

*ta-tuβun-an* 'temple, church', compare *t-um-uβun* 'to worship'

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20. *tiyi-* 'to release gas'

*tiyi-ḱuti?* 'to break wind' < *ḱuti?* 'excrement'

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21. *tu-* 'for some to...'

*tu-lḱiŋ* 'for someone to hide', compare *l-um-ḱiŋ* 'to hide something'

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## 3.2 Verbal infixes

1. *-um-* 'agent focus'

*l-um-aŋuy* 'to swim'

---

*γ-um-alik* 'to tear'

---

*h-um-aβ* 'to stab'

---

2. *-in-* 'completive'

*t-in-apih* 'to have beckoned'

---

*h-in-aγβ-an* 'to have done magic'

---

*l-in-huy-an* 'to have threaded or strung'

---

*γ-in-išuna?* 'to have breathed' < *γišuna?* 'Breathe!'

---

*č-in-uliŋ-an* 'to have burned'

---

## 3.3 Verbal suffixes

1. *-an* 'locative focus'

*yuway-an* 'a ford, to ford'

---

*?ariŋ-an* 'to begin'

---

2. *-un* 'object focus'

*ḱašuy-un* 'to distribute, to share'

---

*raŋa?-un* 'to coax'

---

3. *-i* 'imperative'

*pašihuβ-i* 'Suck it!'

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4. *-aw* 'future or mild request'

<i>yauβ-aw taʔ</i>	'Let's share one cup (of wine)!'
<i>nayaʔ-aw mišuʔ</i>	'I'll wait for you.'
<i>ʔiŋač-aw mu</i>	'I'll seize it'

5. *-ani* 'polite request'

<i>βinaš-ani</i>	'Please buy it!'
<i>rahiš-ani</i>	'Please dry it!'
<i>βiŋ-ani</i>	'Please give it to him!'

## 3.4 Nominal affixes

1. *-in-* 'nominaliser'

Verb or noun		Noun	
<i>t-um-inuŋ</i>	'to weave'	<i>t-in-inuŋ</i>	'spider web, beehive'
<i>kaŋaŋ</i>	'village'	<i>ŋ-in-alaŋ</i>	'fence'

2. *-in-...-an* 'nominaliser to indicate a completed action'

Verb	Noun	
<i>ŋ-um-umiʔ</i>	<i>ŋ-in-umiʔ-an</i>	'pickled vegetables'
<i>t-um-imamiʔ</i>	<i>t-in-mamiʔ-an</i>	'pickled meat'
<i>š-um-βil</i>	<i>š-in-uβil-an</i>	'leftover'
<i>ʔariŋ</i>	<i>k-in-ʔariŋ-an</i>	'origin, source, ancestor'
<i>pasihuβ</i>	<i>p-in-sihuβ-an</i>	'sucked juice or blood'

## 3.5 Male affixes

The following affixes all indicate male forms of speech (see Li 1983):

1.	<i>-niŋ</i>	<i>hapu-niŋ</i>	'fire'
		<i>kahu-niŋ</i>	'tree, wood'
2.	<i>-ik</i>	<i>ran-ik</i>	'road'
		<i>šibil-ik</i>	'lunchbox'
3.	<i>-ʔiŋ</i>	<i>ča-ča-ʔiŋ</i>	'thread'
4.	<i>-hiŋ</i>	<i>ku-hiŋ</i>	'head louse'
5.	<i>-iŋ</i>	<i>kaβuβ-iŋ</i>	'hat'
		<i>šitu-iŋ</i>	'clothes'

6.	-tiŋ	<i>βua-tiŋ</i>	'moon'
7.	-riʔ	<i>ḳapu-riʔ</i> <i>ḳu-riʔ</i>	'earwax, kernel' 'gray hair'
8.	-ḳiʔ	<i>lu-ḳiʔ</i>	'marrow'
9.	-niʔ	<i>raḳ-niʔ</i> <i>ḳua-niʔ</i>	'branch' 'rattan'
10.	-nux	<i>lata-nux</i> <i>ɣiʔ-nux</i>	'front yard' 'tooth'
11.	-ux	<i>ḳuri-ux</i> <i>ramu-ux</i>	'ginger' 'blood'
12.	-hu	<i>k-um-ai-hu</i>	'to dig'
13.	-u	<i>βuliḳ-u</i>	'star'
14.	-al	<i>ʔuniy-al</i> <i>š-um-api-al</i>	'to come' 'to dream'
15.	-liʔ	<i>ḳumu-liʔ</i> <i>ḳaβu-liʔ</i>	'rice cake' 'ashes'
16.	-kaʔ	<i>lih-kaʔ</i>	'light (weight)'
17.	-ha	<i>pčiy-ha</i>	'chest'
18.	-il	<i>ha-haβ-il</i>	'loincloth'
19.	-in-	<i>ḳaš-in-uɣ</i> <i>βuš in uk</i>	'beast' 'drunk'
20.	-il-	<i>ɣuḳ-il-uh</i> <i>mat-il-uḳ</i>	'banana' 'raw'
21.	-i-	<i>luh-i-uŋ</i> <i>rul-i-uɣ</i>	'mortar' 'top of tree'
22.	-a-	<i>ḳ-um-alu-a-p</i> <i>h-um-aku-a-t</i>	'to hunt' 'to carry'
23.	-na-	<i>raḳi-na-š</i> <i>š-um-ayu-na-ɣ</i>	'face' 'to substitute'

### 3.6 Reduplication

Reduplication of the first syllable of the stem indicates a tool. For example:

Noun		Verb	
<i>ka-kai-hu</i>	'a spade'	<i>k-um-ai-hu</i>	'to dig'
<i>ta-taβul</i>	'a plough'	<i>t-um-aβul</i>	'to till, 'to cultivate (land)'
<i>ka-kluʔ</i>	'door'	<i>k-um-luʔ</i>	'to close'
<i>ka-kamil</i>	'fingernail, claw'	<i>k-um-amil</i>	'to scratch'

Note that the reduplicated vowel is always /a/.

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## 2. Tsou

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Shigeru Tsuchida</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Tsou /çou/ language is spoken by approximately 4,200 speakers (1976) in Wu-feng County, Chia-yi Province (嘉義縣吳鳳鄉), and in Hsin-yi County, Nan-t'ou Province (南投縣信義鄉). It is reported that there were four dialects in Tsou: Tapangu /tapaŋi/, Tfuea /tfuea/, Duhtu /duhtu/, and Iimutsu /ĩmuçu/, but no Iimutsu speakers have survived, and thus no details are known of the dialect. The differences of the other three dialects concern only some minor phonological and lexical features, and the speakers of different dialects face no problem in communicating with each other. Tapangu and Tfuea reportedly have a phonemic stress. According to my own observation, stress is non-distinctive in Duhtu. There are two other notable phonological differences: (1) /z/ in Tfuea and Duhtu corresponds to /i/ in Tapangu (Tp. *meŋiu*, Tf. *meŋzu*, Dt. *meŋzu* 'spear'); (2) /r/ immediately followed by /e/ in Duhtu corresponds to Tp, Tf zero in stressed word-initial position and in unstressed medial position, and to /e/ elsewhere (Dt. *tresi*, Tp, Tf *tēsi* 'rope'; Dt. *remi*, Tp, Tf *emi* 'alcoholic drink'; Dt. *xire*, Tp, Tf *xie* 'sun'; Dt. *rsī*, Tp, Tf *esī* 'tears'; Dt. *siru*, Tp, Tf *sieu* 'salt'). The following description is based on the data from Duhtu, where I stayed for about two months in summer, 1970.

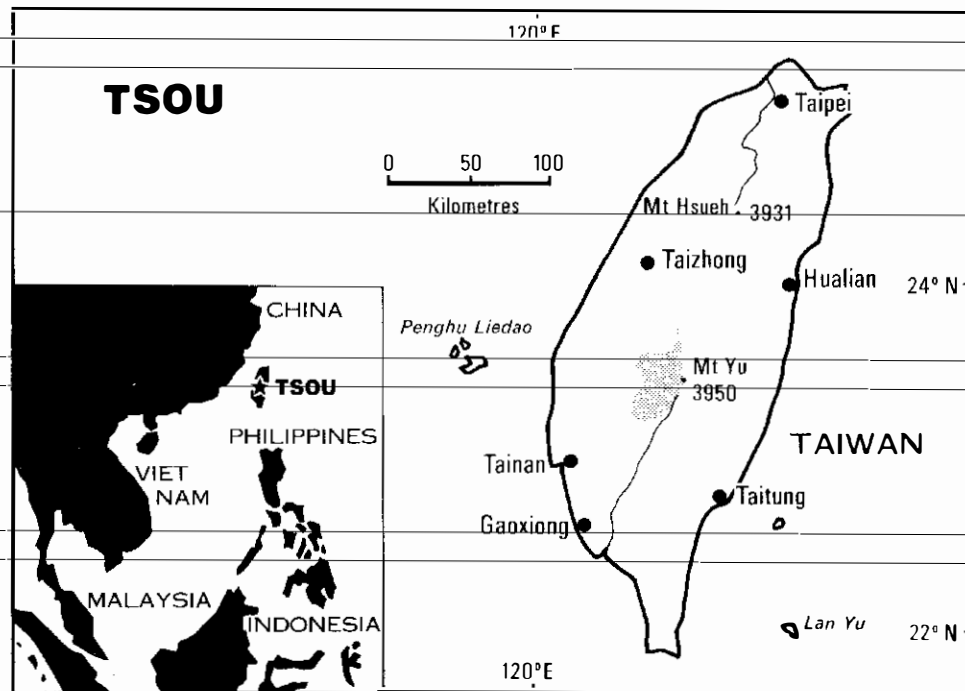
Duhtu is spoken by about 150 speakers at Chou-mei Village in Hsin-yi County, Nan-t'ou Province (南投縣信義鄉久美村). The Bunun are dominant today in the population in this area, and intermarriages between the two ethnic groups are very common. Many of the Duhtu people, especially women, can speak Bunun fluently.

In the Duhtu village are found three types of speakers: (1) those who more or less constantly retain /r/; (2) those who do not have /r/, and thus have the same phonemic inventory as that in Tfuea, except perhaps for stress; (3) those who have free variants with and without /r/. Few speakers belong to the first type above and are mostly older than sixty years of age (in 1970); they number probably less than ten. Although they pronounce /r/ consistently when asked to pronounce words in isolation, the /r/ sometimes

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does not appear when they tell a story. Speakers who belong to type (2) are mostly women and those who are closely affiliated to Tfuea, such as those who have many relatives in the Tfuea village. It is conspicuous, however, that preconsonantal word-initial /e/ (= /r/ with speakers of type (1)) never occurs in the speech of speakers of type (2): /sī/ for /rsī/ (Tf /esī/) ‘tears’. All the rest belong to type (3). It should be noted in passing that among the Duhtu people Tfuea is considered better than Duhtu in every respect: speech, customs and the way of life.



Map 2: Tsou language area

## 2. Phonology

Table 1. Tsou (Duhtu) consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vɿ	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		
Affricates			ʈ		
Fricatives	vɿ	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>	
	vd	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>		

Table 2. Tsou (Duhtu) vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Tsou (Duhtu dialect) has sixteen consonant phonemes and six vowel phonemes: /p, t, ʈ, k, ʔ, b, d, f, s, x, v, z, m, n, ŋ, r, i, e, a, o u i/. Besides these, /l, j/ occur in loanwords. Stress is not distinctive: it usually falls on the penultimate syllable of a word, and varies freely depending on the speaker and even within the speech of a single informant, but it never falls on the ultimate syllable.

/p/ is [p], a voiceless bilabial stop: /puzu/ ‘fire’

/t/ is [t], a voiceless apical stop: /tutu/ ‘kernel of fruit’

/ʈ/ is [č], a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate when followed by /i/, and elsewhere [ʈ], a voiceless alveolar affricate: /ʈiʈvi/ [čiʈvi] ‘to leak (of the roof)’

/k/ is [k], a voiceless velar stop: /koru/ ‘ear’

/ʔ/ is [ʔ], a glottal stop: /ʔoŋi/ ‘a string or a cord, whose one end is attached to something, as the clapper-bell string, or mosquito-net strings’; cf. /oŋi/ ‘charcoal’

/b/ is [β], a voiced bilabial implosive: /boni/ ‘to eat’

/d/ is [ɗ], a voiced apical implosive: /duŋu/ ‘a fish hook’

/f/ is [f], a voiceless labiodental fricative: /fatu/ ‘stone’

/s/ is [š], a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative when followed by /i/, and elsewhere [s], a voiceless alveolar fricative: /sifu/ [šifu] ‘urine’, /sini/ [sini] ‘neck’

/v/ is [v], a voiced labiodental fricative: /viči/ ‘vine’

/x/ is [x], a voiceless velar fricative: /xire/ ‘sun’

/z/ is [ž], a voiced palato-alveolar fricative when followed by /i/, and elsewhere [z], a voiced alveolar fricative (slightly palatalised): /teʔzi/ [teʔži] ‘to defecate on’, /zomi/ [zomi] ‘bird’

/m/ is [m], a voiced bilabial nasal: /mimo/ ‘to drink’

/n/ is [n], a voiced apical nasal: /nomi/ ‘six’

/ŋ/ is [ŋ], a voiced velar nasal: /ŋaro/ ‘mouth’

/r/ is [r], a voiced retroflex approximant as in English: /remi/ ‘alcoholic drink in general’

/l/ is [ɾ], a voiced tongue-tip flap, which occurs only in loanwords: /amelika/ ‘Westerners’ (from Japanese)

/j/ is [j], a voiced palato-alveolar affricate, which occurs only in loanwords: /laʃio/ ‘radio’ (from Japanese, ultimately from English)

/a/ is [a], low central unrounded: /ʔadi/ ‘wound’

/e/ is [ɛ], lower midfront unrounded: /edi/ ‘to find’

/i/ is [i], high front unrounded: /niʔu/ ‘to warm oneself at the fire’

/o/ is [ɔ], lower mid back rounded: /fozu/ ‘much (of liquid)’

/u/ is [u], high back rounded: /fuzu/ ‘wild pig’

/i/ is [i], high central unrounded: /niʔi/ ‘nose’

### 3. Morphology

In the comparative lexicon, non-actor-focus forms (or passive forms), if available, are given in parentheses for each verb.

Tsou morphophonemic alternations are too complicated to be stated briefly, as may be observed in examples of actor/non-actor focus forms.

Please refer to Tung (1964) and Tsuchida (1976:87-93).

Morpheme boundaries indicated by a hyphen are of course working hypotheses, and thus may not be quite consistent in many cases.

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### 3. Rukai

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**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist: *Paul Jen-kuei Li*

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#### 1. Introduction

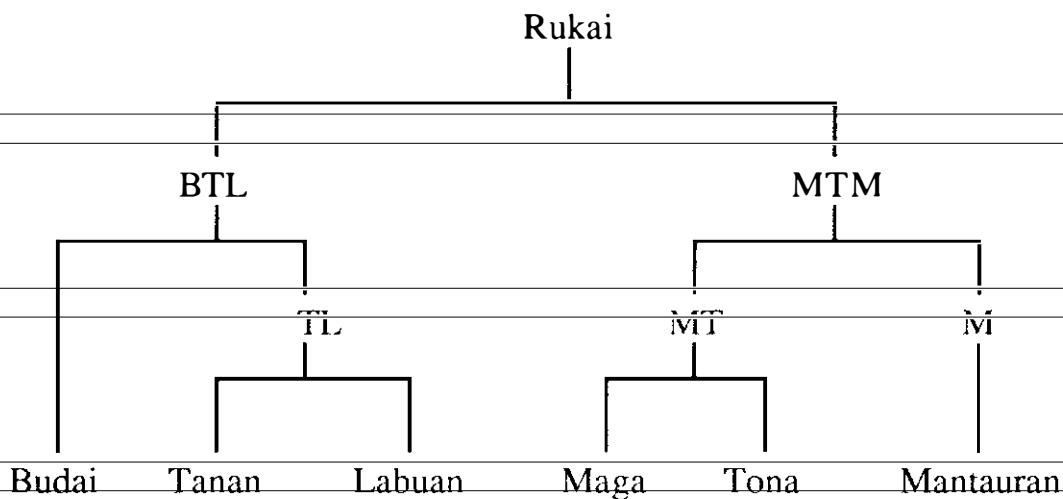
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Rukai is a Formosan language spoken in southern Taiwan, with a population of 6,100 as of 1989. It has two main dialect groups: (1) Rukai proper – Budai, Tanan and Labuan, and (2) the “Lower Three Villages” – Maga, Tona and Mantaوران. The former is located to the west and east, while the latter is located to the north. These dialect groups differ not only geographically, but also, to a certain extent, culturally and linguistically. The internal relationships of these dialects can be represented as:

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Each of the Rukai tribes has its own tribal name that is also used to refer to the village: Tanan is called *taromak*, Maga *tulđika*, Tona *kođadavan* and Mantaوران *?oponoho*. The Tanan village used to be called *tsarisen*, but the same term has also been used to designate the northern Paiwan.

In terms of phonological change, Budai is the most conservative and hence used for the Rukai wordlist. Drastic sound changes have taken place in Mantaوران, and to a lesser extent in Maga.

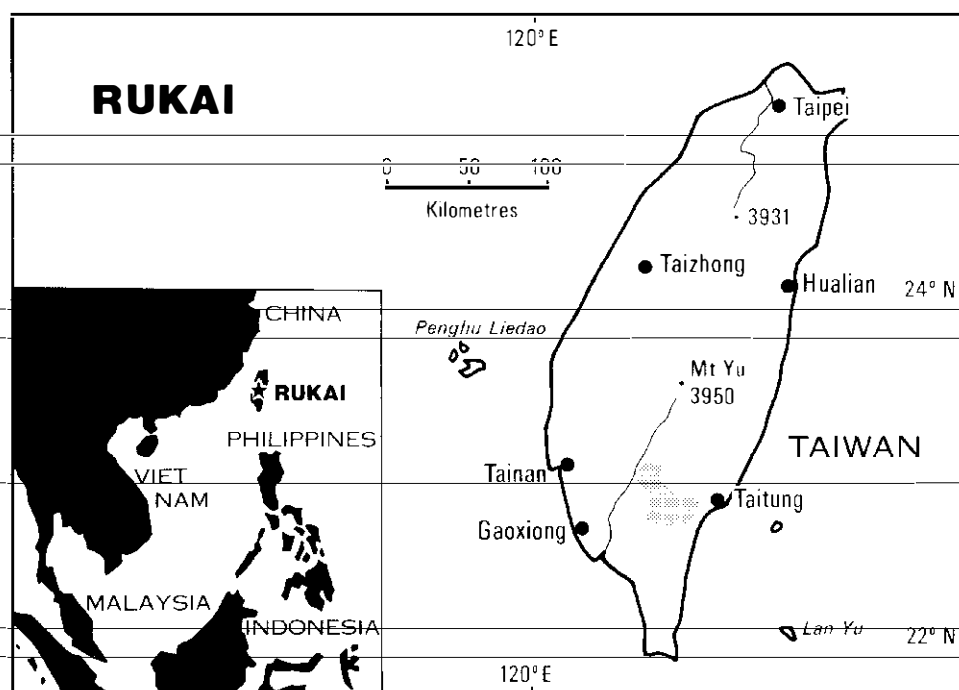
The position of Rukai in the Formosan languages is still controversial. Some scholars such as Shigeru Tsuchida (1976) and Isidore Dyen believe

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that Rukai is closer to Tsou, while the others including Ho (1983) and myself still hold the traditional view that it is one of the Paiwanic languages.



Map 3. Rukai language area

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants and vowels

Table 1. Consonants

		Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar
Stops	v	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>g</i>
Affricates			<i>ʈ</i>		
Fricatives	v		<i>θ</i>		
	vd	<i>v</i>	<i>ð</i>		
Sibilants			<i>s</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid		<i>ə</i>	
Low		<i>a</i>	

## 2.2 Phonetic description and distribution

The voiceless stops /p, t, k/ and the affricate /tʃ/ are unaspirated. /tʃ/ is treated as a single unit rather than as a consonant cluster because there is no consonant cluster other than those formed by the semivowels /y, w/ following syllable-initial consonants in the same syllable. /b, d, ɖ, g/ have rather strong voicing throughout. /t, d/ are dentals, /θ, ð/ interdental, and /tʃ, s, n, l/ alveolars. /tʃ, s/ are palatalised before /i/. /r/ is a weak trill. /d, l/ are retroflexed.

Vowel /o/ is phonetically realised as [o]. Phonetically long vowels can be treated as geminates.

Stress is phonemic. It falls mostly on the penultimate syllable, but less frequently on the final or antepenult, e.g. /va'saw/ 'leaf', /bə'ləbələ/ 'banana'.

No true consonant appears in the word-final position. Every word ends with a vowel, either a monophthong or diphthong. If it is a monophthong in the word-final, it may be just an echo vowel of the preceding syllable.

## 2.3 Alternations

### 1. Echo vowels

An echo vowel is generally dropped when it is immediately followed by a suffix that begins with a vowel. For example:

Agent-focused	Imperative	
<i>wa-takilili</i>	<i>takilil-a</i>	'to hang or hold (in hand)'
<i>wa-ałogo</i>	<i>ałog-a</i>	'to hold up'
<i>wa-tətərə</i>	<i>tətər-a</i>	'to kick'
<i>wa-łibatə</i>	<i>łibat-a</i>	'to pass'

However, note that in /wa-sipi/ 'to dream', /sipi-a/ 'dream!' the stem-final vowel /i/ is retained in the suffixed form. Compare /wa-asipi/ 'to count', /asip-a/ 'count!' < Proto-Southern Formosan (PSF) \**qasip*. A careful study

will reveal that an echo vowel is dropped when suffixed if it was a late phonetic development in the language, whereas a stem-final vowel is always retained if it was historically derived, e.g. /wa-pili/ ‘to choose’, /pili-a/ ‘choose!’ < PAN \**piliq*.

## 2. Alternations of *y* ~ *ǝ* and *w* ~ *v*.

When the semivowels /*y*, *w*/ are followed by a vowel across a morpheme boundary, they become the fricatives /*ǝ*, *v*/ respectively:

	Agent-focused	Imperative	
(1)	<i>wa-ǰalay</i>	<i>ǰalaǝ-a</i>	‘to dance’
	<i>wa-paǰay</i>	<i>paǰaǝ-a</i>	‘to kill’
	<i>ŋy-a-palay</i>	<i>ŋi-palaǝ-a</i>	‘to fly’
(2)	<i>mo-a-baḷiw</i>	<i>mo-baḷiv-a</i>	‘to return home’
	<i>wa-kawkaw</i>	<i>kawkav-a</i>	‘to shout, to cry’
	<i>wa-sinaw</i>	<i>sinav-a</i>	‘to wash’

## 3. Alternations of *i* ~ *y* and *w* ~ *v*.

	Agent-focused	Imperative	
(1)	<i>ky-a-lala</i>	<i>ki-lala-a</i>	‘to listen’
	<i>ŋy-a-talaysi</i>	<i>ŋi-talays-a</i>	‘to swing’
(2)	<i>mw-a-ǰili</i>	<i>mu-ǰili-a</i>	‘to drop’
	<i>tw-a-baḷə</i>	<i>tu-baḷə-a</i>	‘to answer’

## 3. Morphology

### 3.1 Reduplication

#### 1. Reduplication of the noun stem

##### (1) N + RED ‘a great amount’

Reduplication of the noun stem indicates a great amount or number. For example:

/daə/	‘soil’	>	/daə-daə/	‘earth, land’
/omasə/	‘person’	>	/oma-omasə/	‘many people’
/a-ŋato/	‘tree’	>	/a-ŋato-ŋato/	‘woods, forest’

##### (2) N(numeral or period) + RED ‘lasting for a period of...’. For example:

<i>ḷima</i>	‘five’	>	<i>ḷima-ḷima</i>	‘to last for five days’
<i>ǰail</i>	‘year’	>	<i>ǰai-ǰail</i>	‘to last for a year’

## 2. Reduplication of the verb stem

(1) V + RED 'continuous, keep doing, do repeatedly'. For example:

<i>davaɕ</i>	'walk/leave'	>	<i>da-davaɕ</i>	'be walking/leaving'
			<i>dava-davaɕ</i>	'keep walking'
<i>tobi</i>	'cry'	>	<i>tobi-tobi</i>	'be crying'

(2) V + RED 'future'. For example:

<i>to-lalak</i>	'have a baby'	>	<i>to-la-lalak</i>	'will have a baby'
<i>davaɕ</i>	'walk/leave'	>	<i>dava-davaɕ</i>	'will walk/leave'

(3) V(stative) + RED 'intensity, comparatively greater'. For example:

<i>mā-ɖaw</i>	'big'	>	<i>mā-ɖa-ɖaw</i>	'rather big, to grow up'
<i>mo-aɖiŋay</i>	'delicious'	>	<i>mo-aɖi-aɖiŋay</i>	'rather delicious'

## 3. Reduplication of a Bound Stem

A reduplicated form may be derived from a bound stem, whose meaning may not be known, as in:

<i>ɖərə-ɖərə</i>	'thunder'
<i>ɖarə-ɖarə</i>	'light, twinkle like a star'
<i>ləgə-ləgə</i>	'mountain'
<i>ŋisi-ŋisi</i>	'beard'
<i>oma-oma</i>	'swidden field' < PAN * <i>qumah</i>
<i>wa-koso-koso</i>	'to scrape'
<i>baɖa-baɖa</i>	'stranger' < <i>baɖa</i> 'enemy'

## 3.2 Nominal affixes

(1) *ka-...-anə* + N 'something real or genuine'. For example:

<i>ka-loaŋ-anə</i>	'cow, literally a real bull or cow' < PHN * <i>Nuaŋ</i>
<i>ka-bava-anə</i>	'mead, fermented drink, literally real wine'
<i>ka-daɭan-anə</i>	'road' < PAN * <i>Zalan</i>
<i>ka-biɕəɭak-anə</i>	'middle, centre'

(2) *ko-* + Pronoun 'nominative'. For example:

<i>ko ake</i>	'I'
<i>ko-so</i>	'you (sg.)'
<i>ko-ta</i>	'we (inc.)'
<i>ko-nai</i>	'we (exc.)'

(3) *moasaka-* + N (numeral) ‘ordinal’. For example:

<i>moasaka-va-əva</i>	‘first’ < <i>əθa</i> ‘one’
<i>moasaka-ḍosa</i>	‘second’ < <i>ḍosa</i> ‘two’
<i>moasaka-toʃo</i>	‘third’ < <i>toʃo</i> ‘three’

(4) *sa-...-anə* + V ‘instrument, tool’. For example:

<i>sa-səvər-anə</i>	‘wind’, see <i>ma-sa-səvərə</i> ‘to blow (wind)’
<i>sa-toŋo-toŋoʃ-anə</i>	‘beak’, see <i>w-a-toŋoʃo</i> ‘to peck’
<i>sa-ḍokor-anə</i>	‘latch, door-bolt’
<i>sa-to-a-tom-anə</i>	‘tool’ < <i>tomanə</i> ‘to do’

(5) *sa-* + N ‘some body parts’. For example:

<i>sa-kəʃəpə</i>	‘eyebrow’
<i>sa-kobo-kobo</i>	‘eyelash’
<i>sa-taətəʃə</i>	‘molar tooth’
<i>sa-pakə-pakə</i>	‘a wing without feather’

(6) *ta-...-anə* + N ‘location, time’. For example:

<i>ta-balaŋa-anə</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>ta-si-kaʃa-kaʃaθ-anə</i>	‘wrist’
<i>ta-apə-apəʃ-anə</i>	‘room’, literally ‘a place to sleep’ < <i>w-a-apəʃə</i> ‘to sleep’
<i>ta-pia-pia-pia-anə</i>	‘often’ < PAN * <i>pijah</i>

(7) *ta-ra* + N ‘agentive, a person specialised in...’. For example:

<i>ta-ra-ʃai-ʃaisi</i>	‘tailor’ < <i>ʃaisi</i> string, ‘cord’
<i>ta-ra-to-kāŋə</i>	‘fisherman’ < <i>kāŋə</i> ‘fish’

### 3.3 Verbal affixes

(1) *-a-* + V ‘realis’ (see also *w-a-* + V). For example:

<i>w-a-paliʃi</i>	‘to twist’ < <i>paliʃi</i>
<i>mo-a-bələ-bələŋ</i>	‘to rise’ < <i>bələŋ</i> ‘above’
<i>ki-a-ḍəmə-ḍəmə</i>	‘to think’
<i>ŋi-a-palidiŋ</i>	‘to turn’
<i>to-a-ʃavay</i>	‘to weed’
<i>i-a-kai</i>	‘to exist, to have’

(2) *-a + V* 'imperative'. For example:

<i>ɕii-a</i>	'Throw it!'
<i>ɕabo-a</i>	'Wrap it!'
<i>tapoθ -a</i>	'Winnow it!'
<i>swap-a</i>	'Sweep!' < <i>swapə</i> 'broom'

(3) *ki- + N* 'to gather, to collect, to harvest'. For example:

<i>ki-aŋato</i>	'to gather wood' < <i>aŋato</i> wood'
<i>ki-a-ɕoboso</i>	'to harvest sugarcane' < <i>ɕoboso</i> 'sugarcane'
<i>ki-a-kali</i>	'to harvest yam' < <i>kali</i> 'yam'
<i>ki-a-sabiki</i>	'to pick betel' < <i>sabiki</i> 'betelnut'
<i>ki-a-vaga</i>	'to ask' < <i>vaga</i> 'word, language'

(4) *ki- + V* 'Dative-focus, involuntary action'. For example:

<i>ki-a-laɭa</i>	'to hear'
<i>ki-a-kəlanə</i>	'to have fits and starts'
<i>ki-a-pəlay</i>	'to float'
<i>ki-a-ɭəpəŋ</i>	'to crouch'
<i>ki-a-ɖiŋay</i>	'to find'
<i>ki-a-ləpəŋə</i>	'(for people) to hide themselves'

(5) *ko- + N* 'to remove, to peel'. For example:

<i>ko-a-laŋiɕ</i>	'to flay, to skin' < <i>laŋiɕ</i> 'animal skin'
<i>ko-a-ŋiɕo</i>	'to peel' < <i>ŋiɕo</i> 'peelings of fruits or tubers'

(6) *ko- + V* 'intransitive, Patient-focus'. For example:

<i>ko-a-laobo</i>	'to burn'
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(7) *ma- + V* 'mutual, reciprocal'. For example:

<i>ma-kaɭisi</i>	'to quarrel'
<i>ma-ɖa-ɖəsəŋ</i>	'to meet'

(8) *mā- + V* 'stative'. For example:

<i>mā-kəɕəŋə</i>	'strong'
<i>mā-ɭopi</i>	'weak'
<i>mā-ɕəəmə</i>	'sick, ill'
<i>mā-pilay</i>	'lame'
<i>mā-silaw</i>	'hungry'

(9) *mo-* + N ‘to discharge, to remove’. For example:

<i>mo-a-ɕaki</i>	‘to defecate’ < <i>ɕake</i> ‘excrement’
<i>mo-a-laymay</i>	‘to be stripped of clothes, naked’ < <i>laymay</i> ‘clothes’

(10) *mo-* + V ‘(to go) self-motion, non-causative’. For example:

<i>mo-a-rənərə</i>	‘(for a living being) to sink into water’
<i>mo-a-ɖiŋi</i>	‘(for an object) to sink into water’
<i>mo-a-θənə</i>	‘to sink as in a quicksand’
<i>mo-a-ɕili</i>	‘to fall, drop’, compare <i>wa-ɕili</i> ‘to throw’
<i>mo-a-lakay</i>	‘to laugh’
<i>mo-a-baliw</i>	‘to return home’
<i>mo-a-balakə</i>	‘to swell’
<i>mo-a-lodo</i>	‘to flow’

(11) *ŋi-* + V ‘to act or to move in a certain manner or direction’. For example:

<i>ŋi-a-boray</i>	‘to boil’ < <i>boɭay</i>
<i>ŋi-a-vələ-vələ</i>	‘to move’ < <i>vələvələ</i>
<i>ŋi-a-palay</i>	‘to fly’ < <i>palay</i>
<i>ŋi-a-talaisi</i>	‘to swing’ < <i>talaisi</i>
<i>ŋi-a-ɖa-ɖə-ɖəŋərə</i>	‘to boast’ < <i>ɖəŋərə</i>
<i>ŋi-a-θiŋalə</i>	‘wise’ < <i>θiŋalə</i>

(12) *ŋo-* + N ‘to ride’. For example:

<i>ŋo-a-rigi</i>	‘to ride’ < <i>rigi</i> ‘horse’
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(13) *pa-* + V ‘causative’. For example:

<i>pa-paɕay</i>	‘to kill’ < <i>paɕay</i> ‘to die’
<i>pa-ki-a-saɭə</i>	‘to lend’ < <i>ki-a-saɭə</i> ‘to borrow’
<i>pa-o-vagay</i>	‘to divide’, compare <i>mā-vagay</i> ‘divided, separated’
<i>pa-ɖələ</i>	‘to show’, compare <i>w-a-ɖələ</i> ‘to see’
<i>pa-ɕoŋolo</i>	‘to explain’, compare <i>w-a-ɕoŋolo</i> ‘to link’

(14) *si-* + V (bound stem) ‘verbal prefix’. For example:

<i>si-a-ɭibo</i>	‘to pound (rice)’
<i>si-a-oli</i>	‘to return, to revive’

(15) *si-* + N ‘to wear, to carry, to possess’. For example:

<i>si-a-laymay</i>	‘to wear clothes’ < <i>laymay</i> ‘clothes’
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(16) *so-* + N ‘to spit, to clean, to give out’. For example:

<i>so-a-ŋaɭay</i>	‘to spit’ < <i>ŋaɭay</i> ‘saliva’
<i>so-a-ŋoraŋoro</i>	‘to snore’

(17) *to-* + N ‘to make, produce, bring forth’. For example:

<i>to-a-lalakə</i>	‘to give birth’ < <i>lalakə</i> ‘child’ < PAN * <i>aLak</i>
<i>to-a-sapa</i>	‘to weave a mat’ < <i>sapa</i> ‘mat’ < PAN * <i>SapaR</i>
<i>to-a-dānə</i>	‘to build a house’ < <i>dānə</i> ‘house’

(18) *θi-* + N ‘to release’. For example:

<i>θi-loro</i>	‘to urinate’ < <i>loro</i> ‘urine’
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(19) *w-* + V ‘Agent-focus, verbal prefix’. For example:

<i>w-a-laobo</i>	‘to burn (transitive)’
<i>w-a-swapə</i>	‘to sweep’ < <i>swapə</i> ‘broom’

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## 4. Paiwan

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**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist : *Dah-an Ho*

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### 1. Introduction

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#### 1.1 Location and population

Paiwan is the name of the language spoken by the people who call themselves Sə-Paiwan, which means ‘mountain people’. These people live in the mountainous area of the Ping-Tung and Tai-tung prefectures, which are located in the southernmost part of Taiwan (Formosa). Their neighbours include the Rukai, Puyuma, Ami and Yami. Among the aboriginal peoples in Formosa, Paiwan has the second largest population next to the Ami, who are located on the eastern coast. According to the last 1964 census, the population of the Paiwan was 44,682, approximately one-fifth of all the aboriginal peoples on the island. And it is believed that the number has increased greatly during recent decades.

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#### 1.2 Dialects

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Dialects vary to different degrees from village to village. The most significant phonological features that distinguish the dialects are the presence of the palatal sounds *c*, and *ɟ*, as well as the uvular stop *ɕ*. The Tjuabar dialect, on which this comparative dictionary is based, contains all three sounds. Some other dialects, for example, Stimul, merge *c*, and *ɟ* with *t* and *d* respectively, and substitute the glottal stop *ʔ* for uvular *ɕ*, as the following comparisons show:

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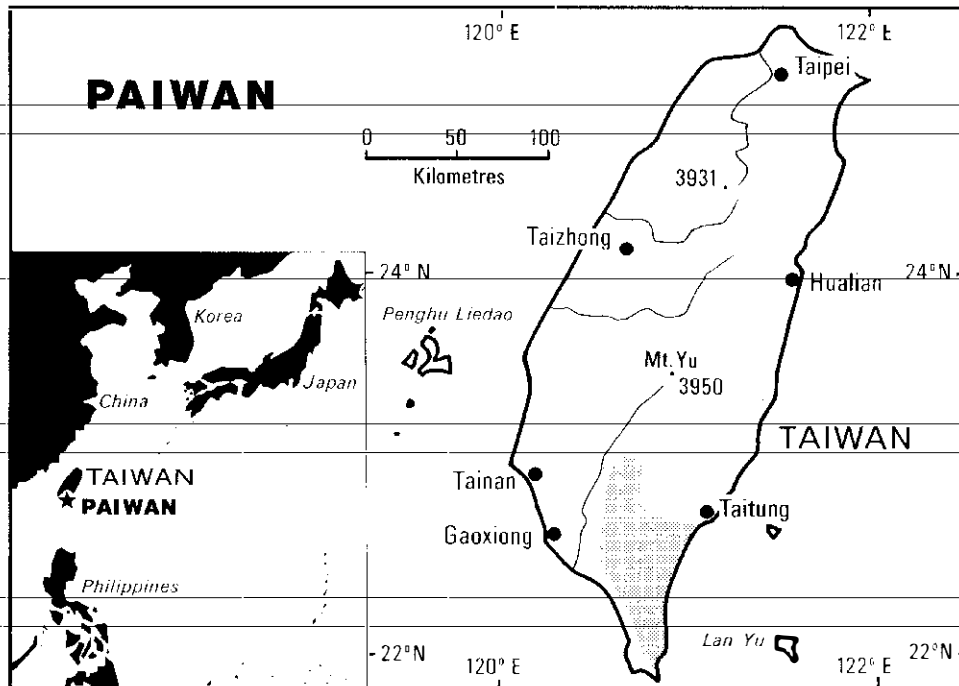
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	Tjuabar	Stimul	
{	<i>cəvus</i> <i>ta-caɕ-an</i>	<i>təvus</i> <i>ta-taʔ-an</i>	‘sugarcane’ ‘whetstone’
{	<i>ɕacuvi</i> <i>ɕatia</i>	<i>ʔatuvi</i> <i>ʔatia</i>	‘snake’ ‘salt’
{	<i>vuc</i> <i>viduat</i>	<i>vut</i> <i>viduat</i>	‘squirrel’ ‘rib’

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{	<i>Jamug</i> <i>daʎək</i>	<i>damuʔ</i> <i>daʎək</i>	‘blood’ ‘drizzle’
{	<i>yujus</i> <i>mudinən</i>	<i>yudus</i> <i>mudinən</i>	‘nose’ ‘face’
{	<i>ḱ-əm-iʎaʎ</i> <i>taḱəd</i>	<i>ʔ-əm-iʎad</i> <i>taʔəd</i>	‘to sit’ ‘to sleep’



Map 4: Paiwan language area

Additional evidence for dialect distance can be found in the lexicon:

Tjuabar	Stimul	
<i>pakəaw</i>	<i>sutaw</i>	‘peanut’
<i>ḱiḱi</i>	<i>ʔaʎaʎ</i>	‘pig, swine’
<i>caḱuḱən</i>	<i>təkəza</i>	‘bridge’
<i>ʎaum</i>	<i>ʎigim</i>	‘needle’
<i>ḱadupu</i>	<i>sunat</i>	‘paper’
<i>ḱidar</i>	<i>sinlaʎ</i>	‘twins’
<i>kamaḱulʔ</i>	<i>sili</i>	‘pepper’
<i>ḱaiʎ</i>	<i>laviʎən</i>	‘monkey’
<i>guʎ</i>	<i>luʎ</i>	‘cow’

The dialects of Paiwan may be subgrouped into two branches, the palatal group or the *c*-group, and the apical group or *t*-group with Tjuabar and Stimul as its representatives respectively. But geographically and demographically speaking, the *t*-group is much smaller than the *c*-group. Currently, the *t*-group only occupies the northwest corner of Paiwan territory. The sound changes that it underwent mark innovations in the dialect.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Phonemes

There are four vowels (i, u, ə, a), two semi-vowels (y, w) and 20 consonants in Paiwan (Tjuabar). The articulatory positions and manners of consonants are as follows:

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ḱ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Affricates			<i>ʈ</i>				
Fricatives	vl		<i>s</i>				
	vd	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals				<i>ɭ</i>	<i>ɭʲ</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>				

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid		<i>ə</i>	
Low		<i>a</i>	

The high vowels *i* and *u* are pronounced [e] and [o] respectively before or after uvular stop *ḱ*. The central vowel *ə* is raised as [i] after sibilants *ʃ*, *s*, and *z*.

The syllable structure is (C)V(C). A consonant cluster within a syllable has never been discovered. A word may be composed of one or more syllables. The ə vowel will appear automatically when two consonants are next to each other within a word due to reduplication or affixation. This additional ə, however, will be lost in rapid speech, especially when it follows a nasal consonant *m*, *n*, or *ŋ*.

Stress always falls on the penultimate vowel. Thus it is non-phonemic. The stressed vowel is always a little longer than the unstressed ones.

## 2.2 Morphophonemic alternations

Two neighbouring identical vowels will be reduced to one in Paiwan, e.g. *k-əm-əsa-əŋa* > *k-əm-əsa-ŋa* ‘have cooked’; *mi-isiḱ* > *m-isiḱ* ‘to urinate’. In addition, there are two important morphophonemic alternations: /w ~ v/, and /m ~ n/.

### 2.2.1 w ~ v

A word-final /w/ will change to a /v/ when a vowel-initial suffix is added. Thus in the following comparison:

- (a) *s-əm-əŋaw* ‘to wash’ : *səŋav-u* ‘Wash!’  
 (b) *kasiw* ‘wood’ : *pu-kasiv-an* ‘a room to store wood’

Thus stem final /w/ alternates with a labio-dental /v/. It must be noted, however, that the suffix which causes stem final /w/ to change to /v/ must be monosyllabic. If the suffix contains two or more syllables, and thus bears main stress after suffixation, the alternation is prohibited. For example, in *ki-kasiw-əŋa* ‘the wood has been collected’, and *ki-kasiw-akən* ‘I collect wood’, /v/ is not substituted for the /w/.

### 2.2.2 m ~ n

Infix *-əm-*, when inserted into the first syllable of a stem, can derive a verb from a noun, e.g. *kava* ‘clothes’, and *k-əm-ava* ‘to put on clothes’. It also marks the present aspect of a verb like *k-əm-an* ‘to eat’, *s-əm-upu* ‘to count’. When *-əm-* is preceded by a labial sound, or the second syllable of the stem has a labial initial that is preceded by /ə/, the *-əm-* will be changed to *-ən-*. Examples are: *p-ən-aysu* ‘to pound’ (cf. *paysu* ‘rice’), *t-ən-(ə)və!a* ‘to answer’ (cf. *təvə!a-u* ‘Answer!’).

### 3. Morphology

#### 3.1 Reduplication

Reduplication and affixation are two important morphological processes in Paiwan. Reduplication always differentiates degrees of attributes, while affixation marks tense/aspect differences, or derives new words. Examples of reduplicated forms are as follows:

<i>ḵata-ḵata</i>	‘little beads’,	cf. <i>ḵata</i>	‘beads’
<i>buḷa-buḷay</i>	‘very beautiful’,	cf. <i>buḷay</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>ḵ-əm-al<sup>y</sup>u-ḵal<sup>y</sup>up</i>	‘to be hunting’,	cf. <i>ḵ-əm-al<sup>y</sup>up</i>	‘to hunt’
<i>cuku-cuku</i>	‘the late <i>cuku</i> ’,	cf. <i>cuku</i>	‘a name of a man who is living’

These words should be differentiated from other classes of words which may be labeled as quasi-reduplicates. Quasi-reduplicates are those words that lack the corresponding unreduplicated forms, e.g. *ḵiḵi* ‘pig, swine’, *ḵisḵis* ‘beard’.

#### 3.2 Affixation

Prefixes, infixes and suffixes are productively used in Paiwan. For the sake of brevity, here we will give only a few common affixes which form nouns, verbs and adjectives.

##### 3.2.1 Nouns

- (1) *-al-*, *-al<sup>y</sup>-* ‘tiny things’  
*v-al-ul<sup>y</sup>a-vul<sup>y</sup>an* ‘fine hair’  
*v-al-uḵavun* ‘crumbs’  
*k-al<sup>y</sup>-iḵkiḵ* ‘a flash, a glimpse’
- (2) *-in-* ‘things made from the root’  
*c-in-ənun* ‘textile, cloth’, cf. *c-əm-ənun* ‘to spin and weave’  
*l<sup>y</sup>-in-avia* ‘straw hut’, cf. *l<sup>y</sup>avia* ‘straw’
- (3) *-an* ‘place’ (always used with another affix)  
*ḵ-in-akis-an* ‘that thread that is under sewing’, cf. *ḵ-əm-akis*  
‘to sew’  
*ka-kəsa-(a)n* ‘kitchen’, cf. *k-əm-(ə)sa* ‘to cook’  
*ka-tapav-an* ‘the parent's house’, cf. *tapaw* ‘hut’

*papu-siav-an* 'the bowl for containing soup', cf. *siaw* 'soup'  
*k(u)-umaw-an* 'inside the house', cf. *umaw* 'house'

(4) *mar(ə)-* 'a pair of' (used for humans only)

*marə-ʔəkəlʸ* 'a couple', cf. *ʔəkəlʸ* 'spouse'

*marə-vuvu* 'grandparent and grandchildren' cf. *vuvu*  
 'grandparent' or 'grandchildren'

*mar-alʸak* 'parent and children', cf. *alʸak* 'child, children'

(5) *pu-* 'rich'

*pu-varuŋ* 'a man who labours mentally', cf. *varuŋ* 'heart, mind'

*pu-paysu* 'richer', cf. *paysu* 'money'

*pu-lami* 'a harvest', cf. *lami* 'crops'

(6) *kay-* 'vegetation'

*kay-ŋuay* 'a kind of taro'

*kay-ŋadəlʸ* 'a kind of pineapple'

*kay-daw* 'a kind of tree'

(7) *sə-* 'inhabitants'

*sə-ʔəmalʸipa* 'people of *ʔəmalʸipa*', cf. *malʸipa* 'name of a tribe'

*sə-cuabar* 'people who come from Tjuabar'

(8) *cua-* 'name of a tribe'

*cua-kaʔilʸay* 'name of a tribe', cf. *kaʔilʸay* 'stone'

*cu(a)-abar* 'Tjuabar', cf. *abar* 'a kind of fruit'

### 3.2.2 Verbs

(1) *-aŋa* 'already done'

*vaik-aŋa* 'to have gone', cf. *vaik* 'to go'

*k-əm-an-aŋa* 'to have eaten', cf. *k-əm-an* 'to eat'

(2) *ka-* 'to complete'

*ka-kəsa* 'well cooked', cf. *k-əm-(ə)sa* 'to cook'

*k(a)-alʸak* 'to give birth', cf. *alʸak* 'child'

(3) *kə-* 'to do something oneself'

*kə-vəʔa* 'I cheat', cf. *v-ən-(ə)ʔa* 'to cheat'

*kə-vava* 'to drink alone', cf. *vava* 'wine'

- (4) *ki-* 'to do something to oneself'  
*ki-paʕay* 'to commit suicide', cf. *paʕay* 'to kill'  
*ki-pavai* 'to give something to oneself', cf. *pavai* 'to give'  
*ki-səʕas* 'to hurt oneself', cf. *s-əm-(ə)ʕas* 'to hurt, to chop'
- (5) *kisu-* 'to get rid of'  
*kisu-kava* 'to take off clothes', cf. *kava* 'clothes'  
*kisu-alʕak* 'to practise birth control', cf. *alʕak* 'child, children'
- (6) *kicu-* 'to do something separately'  
*kicu-vava* 'to drink separately', cf. *vava* 'wine'  
*kicu-varuŋ* 'to make decisions separately', cf. *varuŋ* 'heart, mind'
- (7) *maCa-* 'to do something reciprocally' (where C indicates the initial consonant of the stem)  
*maʕa-ʕuziŋ* 'to squeeze each other', cf. *ʕ-əm-iziŋ* 'to squeeze'  
*masa-səʕas* 'to chop reciprocally', cf. *s-əm-(ə)ʕas* 'to chop, to hurt'
- (8) *mə-* 'to experience, to be something'  
*mə-kuʕal* 'to be corpulent', cf. *kuʕal* 'fatty'  
*mə-cad* 'to be draughty'
- (9) *pa-* 'to cause someone to do something'  
*pa-kan* 'to feed', cf. *k-əm-an* 'to eat'  
*pa-ʕay* 'to kill', cf. *ma-ʕay* 'dead'
- (10) *pu-* 'to produce, to get something'  
*pu-vasa* 'to plant taro', cf. *vasa* 'taro'  
*pu-zalʕum* 'to get water', cf. *zalʕum* 'water'
- (11) *sa-* 'to be willing to do something'  
*sa-t-əm-(ə)kə!* 'would like to drink water', cf. *t-əm-(ə)kə!* 'to drink water'  
*sa-vaik* 'would like to go', cf. *vaik* 'to go'
- (12) *calʕu-* 'to arrive at'  
*calʕu-cumaq* 'to arrive at home', cf. *cumaq* 'home'  
*calʕu-ʕ-in-alʕ-an* 'to reach the tribe', cf. *ʕ-in-alʕ-an* 'village, tribe'.



## 3.2.3 Adjectives

- |     |                                 |   |
|-----|---------------------------------|---|
| (1) | <i>ma-</i>                      | ‘being’   |
|     | <i>ma-bəruŋ</i>                 | ‘is leaking’, cf. <i>bəruŋ</i> ‘a hole’                           |
|     | <i>ma-cani</i>                  | ‘is falling’, cf. <i>c-əm-ani</i> ‘to put down’                   |
|     | <i>ma-sadaw</i>                 | ‘wounded’, cf. <i>s-əm-adaw</i> ‘to cut’                          |
| (2) | <i>na-</i>                      | ‘with the quality of’   |
|     | <i>na-ŋuaḱ</i>                  | ‘better’, cf. <i>ŋuaḱ</i> ‘good’                                  |
|     | <i>na-sa-uḱal<sup>y</sup>ay</i> | ‘handsome’, cf. <i>sa-uḱal<sup>y</sup>ay</i> ‘handsome young man’ |
| (3) | <i>səcal<sup>y</sup>i-</i>      | ‘very’  |
|     | <i>səcal<sup>y</sup>i-kəḱi</i>  | ‘very narrow’, cf. <i>kəḱi</i> ‘narrow’                           |
|     | <i>səcal<sup>y</sup>i-kaḱa</i>  | ‘very wide, very tall’, cf. <i>kaḱa</i> ‘wide, tall’              |
| (4) | <i>ca-</i>                      | ‘more than’   |
|     | <i>ca-kaḱa</i>                  | ‘taller, wider’, cf. <i>kaḱa</i> ‘wide, tall’                     |
|     | <i>ca-vuluŋ</i>                 | ‘older’, cf. <i>vuluŋ</i> ‘old man’                               |
|     | <i>ca-talad</i>                 | ‘deeper’, cf. <i>talad</i> ‘deep’                                 |

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## 5. Yami

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### 1. Introduction

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Yami is spoken by an estimated 2600 people on Orchid Island, also known as Lan Yu (Lanyu<sup>1</sup>), Taiwan (Formosa). It is spoken in six villages as follows:

1. Iraralay
2. Yayu
3. Iranomilek
4. Iratay
5. Imorod
6. Ivalino

Yami, along with the other Batanic languages, reveals similarities to and differences from the Austronesian languages of Taiwan and/or the Philippines. It is generally agreed that the Batanic languages belong to the Philippines group of languages. However, their position in respect to the three major Philippine language groups has not yet been determined. Tsuchida (1987: 3) considers that this group of languages seems to constitute a missing link which connects the languages of Taiwan and those of Luzon. [Earlier studies include Scheerer (1908); Asai (1936); and Tsuchida (1977).]

There is considerable variation in both phonology and morphology from village to village and from speaker to speaker. The wordlist presented in this volume comes from the village of Iratay, and from Iraralay, one of the least sophisticated Yami villages.

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### 2. Phonology

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The principal phonological features of the Iraralay dialect of Yami are as follows:

- 
1. Also known as Botel Tabago, Botel Tobago.
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*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labial	Apical/ Laminal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Continuants	vl		<i>ʃ</i>			<i>ʁ</i>
	vd	<i>v</i>	<i>ʒ</i>			
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

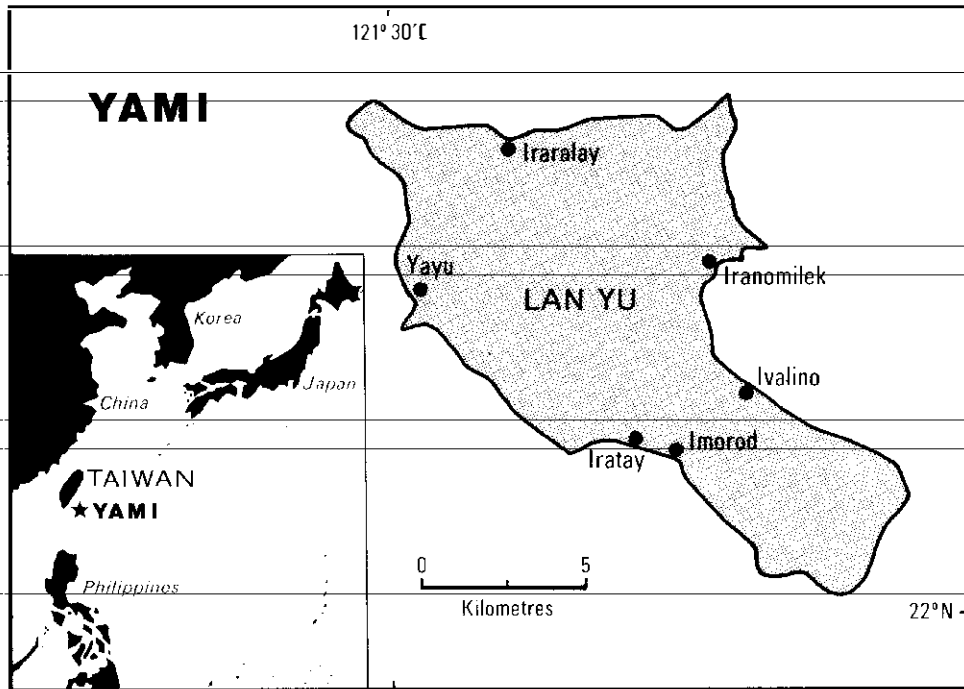
## Notes:

- /ç/ and /ǰ/ are palatal affricates.
- /d/ is a voiced retroflex stop
- /ʃ/ is a voiceless palatal fricative when followed by /i/, and a voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ] elsewhere.
- /ʁ/ is realised as the lengthening of /ə/ in syllable-final position, and as a voiced uvular or pharyngeal fricative [ʁ] elsewhere.
- /n/ is realised as a palatal nasal before /i/, and as a dental [n] elsewhere.
- /l/ is a voiced lateral fricative when preceded by /i/, and a plain lateral elsewhere.

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>o</i>
Mid		<i>ɔ</i>	
Low		<i>a</i>	

- /o/ is realised as [u] or [o].
- a phonemically non-distinctive glottal stop and a stress occur before a pause.



Map 5. Yami language area

### 3. Yami morphophonemics

#### I. *maN-/paN-*

- A. *maŋ-* and *paŋ-* occur before a root beginning with a vowel.

<i>maŋazilaw</i>	'loving'
<i>maŋjilitan</i>	'jealous'
<i>maŋopšo</i>	'remove'

- B. *-ŋ* assimilates to the point of articulation and the initial consonant of the root is reduced before *č*, *p*, *t*, and *š*.

<i>čizəŋ, manizəŋ</i>	'say'
<i>pažəŋ, mamažəŋ</i>	'make'
<i>ša-zaŋ, mana-zaŋ</i>	'buy'
<i>toag, manoag</i>	'call'

- C. *man-* and *pan-* occur before roots beginning with *l*, *ŋ*, *z*, *w*, and *y*.

<i>kanlinas</i>	'clean'
<i>manlabibi</i>	'talk back'
<i>manzazalay</i>	'worship'
<i>manžazen</i>	'name'

<i>manzaet</i>	'make bad'
<i>manwawan</i>	'forget'
<i>manwotwan</i>	'eat lunch'
<i>manyapyap</i>	'get fish'
<i>maniven</i>	'eat supper'

- D. Either *man-* or *maŋ-* and *paN-* or *paŋN-* with *N* assimilated to the point of articulation can occur before *b*, *ɟ*, *g*, *k*, *m*, *n* and *r*. Some words consistently occur with one form or the other, but with some words the form chosen varies with the speaker.

<i>manobo</i>	'bury'
<i>manbakbak</i> ~ <i>mambakbak</i>	'hit'
<i>mamotbot</i> ( <i>botbot</i> )	'pull up'
<i>manokɟok</i> ( <i>ɟokɟok</i> )	'knock out wall'
<i>mandəkət</i>	'stick on'
<i>manəŋɟəŋ</i>	'cook'
<i>maŋətgət</i> ( <i>gətgət</i> )	'wash hair'
<i>man gəgəy</i>	'slice'
<i>maŋolgol</i> ( <i>golgol</i> )	'cut hair'
<i>maŋaiɟ</i> ( <i>kaiɟ</i> )	'pull out'
<i>maŋalat</i> ( <i>kalat</i> )	'climb'
<i>mankatə</i> ~ <i>maŋatə</i>	'itch'
<i>manmama</i> ~ <i>mamama</i>	'raw'
<i>maŋnanaw</i>	'teach'
<i>manonoy</i> ( <i>nonoy</i> )	'drag fish line'
<i>manayin</i> ( <i>-rain</i> )	'clean fish'
<i>manzakat</i>	'kill'

- D. Either *man-* or *mam-* and *pan-* or *pam-* occur with roots beginning with *v*.

<i>manvoyaw</i>	'chase away'
<i>manviəy</i>	'make live'
<i>mamaray</i> ( <i>varay</i> )	'entertain a baby'
<i>matokod</i> ( <i>voɟod</i> )	'borrow'

## II. Vowel reduction

### A. When a suffix is added:

1. When a word ends in *y* or *i* and an *-ən* or *-an* suffix is added, the vowel of the suffix is dropped. The *-an* suffix is retained, however, when it occurs in the combination of *ka-* *-an*, making a derived form:

<i>ovay</i> + <i>-ən</i>	=	<i>ovain</i>	'until'
<i>tizay</i> + <i>-ən</i>	=	<i>tizain</i>	'dry'
<i>paṅay</i> + <i>-an</i>	=	<i>paṅayin</i>	'put'
<i>zatay</i>	'plain, smooth'	<i>kazatayan</i>	'a plain or field'
<i>aḍəy</i>	'lightning'	<i>nikaḍəyan</i>	'struck by lightning'

Exceptions:

<i>aziazian</i>	'cut hair'
<i>lagolagovin</i>	'care for' <i>lagolagoviən</i> 'care for someone'

2. When an *-an* suffix is added to a word ending in *-a*, one *a* is dropped.

<i>moa</i>	'to plant'	<i>pimoan</i>	'place to plant'
<i>zoa</i>	'two'	<i>pizoan</i>	'repeat'

### B. With a prefix:

1. When a prefix ending in *-a* is added to a word beginning with an *a-*, one /a/ is dropped:

<i>azo</i>	'many'	+	<i>mipa-</i>	>	<i>mipazo</i>	'increase'
<i>alit</i>	'exchange'	+	<i>ipa-</i>	>	<i>ipalit</i>	'exchange it'

2. A final *a* of a prefix plus a word initial *i* become *məy-* or *may-*, depending on the village:

<i>iṅən</i>	'sickness'	+	<i>ma-</i>	=	<i>məyṅən</i>	'sick'
<i>iliḍ</i>	'narrow'	+	<i>ma-</i>	=	<i>məliḍ</i>	'to be narrow'

3. If a prefix ending in *a* is added to a word beginning with *ə* or *o*, either the *a* of the prefix is dropped or becomes the same as the root vowel with the root vowel then changing to the corresponding semi vowel. Which option is chosen depends on the village.

<i>ma</i>	+	<i>əməṣ</i>	=	<i>məyməs/məməṣ</i>	'drown'
<i>ma</i>	+	<i>ogto</i>	=	<i>mowgto/mogto</i>	'surprised'
<i>ma</i>	+	<i>omaṅ</i>	=	<i>mowmaṅ/momaṅ</i>	'tired of a food'

4. Occasionally the root initial *a* is dropped following a prefix ending in *-i*.

<i>api-</i>	+	<i>aṣa</i>	'one'	+	<i>-an</i>	=	<i>apiṣan</i>	'the next time'
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It is more common to retain it, however:

<i>mi-</i>	+	<i>anak</i>	'child'	=	<i>mianak</i>	'have a child'
<i>mi-</i>	+	<i>anwanokod</i>	'song'	=	<i>mianwanokod</i>	'sing'

### III. Loss of vowels in root words.

All vowels but *i* can be dropped when they occur in unstressed syllables and when this would not result in a cluster of more than two consonants.

#### a. Examples of loss of ə:

<i>atəp</i>	'roof'	<i>niatpanan</i>	'roofed'
<i>parəŋ</i>	'make'	<i>paŋŋən</i>	'make something'
<i>vatək</i>	'design'	<i>vatkan</i>	'make design on'

#### b. Examples of loss of a:

<i>maɖagɖag</i>	'morning'	<i>nimɖagɖag</i>	'this morning'
<i>akɖot</i>	'pinch'	<i>maŋɖot</i>	'pinching'

#### c. Examples of loss of o:.

<i>noma</i>	'first'	<i>nipanman</i>	'the first'
<i>tokoɖ</i>		<i>tokɖən</i>	'reach'

#### d. The word for 'hear/listen' is pronounced by some speakers as *mamiŋəŋ* 'hear' and *amiŋŋən* 'listen', but by others as *mamiŋiŋ* in which case the *-i-* is retained in the suffixed form *amiŋiŋən*.

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## 6. Isnag

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Rodolfo R. Barlaan</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Isnag language belongs to the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) language family. Both Dyen (1965: 31) and Walton (1979) assign Isnag to the northern Cordilleran group in the northern Philippines. The language is spoken by approximately 27,000 people in the northern part of the province of Kalinga-Apayao.

There are different dialects of the Isnag (sometimes wrongly written as Isneg) language. In his *Isnag-English vocabulary*, Vanoverbergh (1972: 6) classified the dialects into two basic groups, the Oʔ and Bo dialects, depending upon which of the two words which mean 'yes' the language group uses.

The Bo dialect is mainly spoken in the villages of Lenneng, Karagawan, and Dagara, all of which are in the district of Kabugao, and in the district of Conner.

The Oʔ dialect, spoken in the other villages, is further classified into four sub-dialects based on some phonetic variations involving the back velars /k/ and /g/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ and glottal fricative /h/.

The first sub-dialect of the Oʔ dialect, which I will call sub-dialect A, is spoken in the areas on the tributaries of the Apayao river north of Kabugao, particularly in Lako and Baliwanan. This dialect is characterised by the dominant use of the glottal fricative /h/ instead of the voiced back velar /g/ intervocalically, and the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ instead of the voiceless back velar /k/.

The second sub-dialect, B, is spoken in some villages near Kabugao centre and in villages above Kabugao. This dialect is characterised by the preponderant use of /k/ instead of /ʔ/ and the use of /h/ instead of /g/ intervocalically.

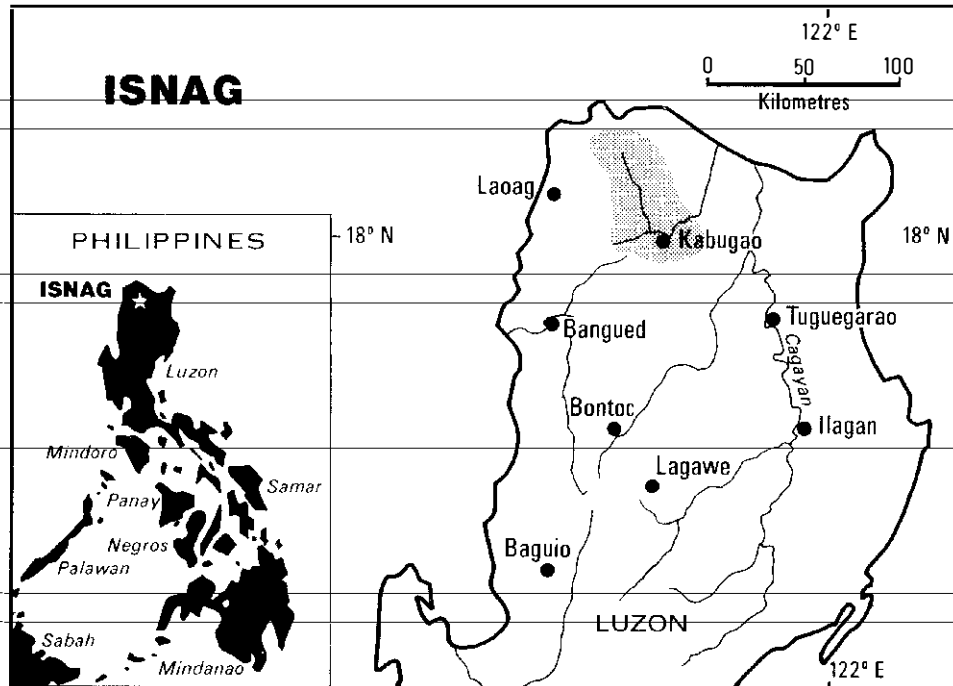
The third sub-dialect, C, is spoken in villages surrounding Namaltugan (also called Abbil). This dialect is characterised by the use of /g/ instead of /h/ intervocalically. The glottal stop is more used than /k/.

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The fourth sub-dialect, D, is primarily spoken in Calanasan and the surrounding villages. This dialect is characterised by the use of /k/ instead of /g/ and the use of /h/ instead of /k/.



Map 6. Isnag language area

The phonetic characteristics of these four sub-dialects are illustrated by the following examples from Vanoverbergh's *Isnag-English vocabulary*.

Examples:	A	B	C	D
fingernail	<i>u<sup>?</sup>u</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>u<sup>?</sup>u</i>	<i>huhu</i>
mosquito	<i>ahu<sup>?</sup>up</i>	<i>ahukup</i>	<i>agu<sup>?</sup>up</i>	<i>aguhup</i>
to bear fruit	<i>magbisi</i>	<i>magbisi</i>	<i>magbisi</i>	<i>makbisi</i>
to lie down	<i>mahidda</i>	<i>mahidda</i>	<i>magidda</i>	<i>magidda</i>

The words in the Isnag wordlist were taken from dialect-B, specifically from the village of Dibagat which is above Kabugao.

## 2. Transcription of the wordlist

The phonemic transcription used in the wordlist is based on the standardised spelling proposed by Roe (1966: 66-71) to accommodate the phonetic

variation mentioned above. The letter *g* represents the sounds [g] or [h] depending upon whether the sub-dialect is A, B, C, or D, (e.g. *agukup* ‘mosquito’ [ahu<sup>2</sup>up], [ahukup] or [agu<sup>2</sup>up], [aguhup]). It also represents the sound [k] as in the word which means ‘deer’ which is pronounced [ugta] in sub-dialect B but [ukta] in dialect D.

### 3. Summary of the phonology

The following is a brief summary of the Isnag phonology.

#### 3.1 The syllable

There are two syllable patterns in Isnag: (C)V and (C)VC.

#### 3.2 Word stress

On the word level, stress is predictable. When long vowels including *e* and *o* which are always stressed are absent, the stress falls on the ultimate syllable.

#### 3.3 Length

Length is contrastive in Isnag. Except for /e/ and /o/, all phonemes have their corresponding long forms. Long vowels are interpreted as one segment while long consonants are interpreted as geminate clusters.

#### 3.4 Consonants

There are 15 consonant phonemes in Isnag.

*Table 1.* Isnag consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Flaps			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	

### 3.5 Vowels

Since long vowels are interpreted as single segments, an eight vowel system is proposed for Isnag.

*Table 2.* Isnag vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>			<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>				<i>o</i>	
Low			<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>		

## 4. Morphophonemic processes in Isnag

The primary morphophonemic processes observed in Isnag are: deletion, assimilation, coalescence, epenthesis, and substitution.

### 4.1 Deletion

The phonemic units affected by deletion are: segments and length. The segments commonly deleted are the elements of the  $V_1C_2$  sequence. In a few cases,  $C_3V_2$  deletion has been observed, especially when  $V_1C_2$  deletion would result in a CCC cluster.

#### 4.1.2 $V_1C_2$ deletion

When a root with /a/ as the first vowel followed by a geminate cluster is affixed with either a prefix or an infix the  $V_1C_2$  is deleted. The infix is always inserted after  $C_1$ .

Example:

*kattab* 'to strike with a knife'  
*kattab* + *-um* → *kumtab* 'will strike with a knife'

<i>batta</i>	‘to cross a river’
<i>aki- + batta</i> → <i>akibta</i>	‘manner of asking somebody to take somebody across the river’

### 4.1.3 C<sub>3</sub>V<sub>2</sub> deletion

If a CCC cluster would result from the application of V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> deletion, C<sub>3</sub>V<sub>2</sub> deletion applies instead.

Example:

<i>rabbay</i>	‘right to something’
<i>pag- + rabbay + -an</i> → <i>pagrabyan</i>	‘has rights to something’

### 4.1.4 V<sub>2</sub> deletion

When roots with a CV.CVC syllable pattern and with short final vowels are suffixed with *-an* or *ka-...-ān*, the final vowel is deleted.

Examples:

<i>lukat</i> ‘open’	
<i>lukat + -an</i> → <i>luktan</i>	(V <sub>2</sub> deletion)
	→ <i>luʔtan</i> (substitution, see 4.6)

<i>pakat</i> ‘coconut milk’	
<i>pakat + -an</i> → <i>paktan</i>	(V <sub>2</sub> deletion)
	→ <i>paʔtan</i> (substitution)

<i>sīkal</i> ‘reed’	
<i>sīkal + ka-...-ān</i> → <i>kasīklān</i>	(V <sub>2</sub> deletion)
	→ <i>kasīklān</i> (vowel shortening, see 4.1.5)

### 4.1.5 Length deletion (vowel shortening)

When two long vowels occur in adjacent syllables after affixation, the first vowel is shortened.

Examples:

<i>kattāt</i> ‘suddenness’	
<i>kattāt + -in-...-ān</i> → <i>kintatān</i>	‘something done with suddenness’



Examples:

<i>unāt</i>	‘sugarcane’	<i>ka-...-ān</i>	‘place of...’
<i>unāt + ka-...-ān</i>		→ <i>konatān</i>	‘sugarcane plantation’
<i>iyug</i>	‘coconut’		
<i>iyug + ka-...-ān</i>		→ <i>keyugān</i>	‘coconut plantation’

#### 4.4 Final consonant gemination

When roots with a short vowel in the final syllable are affixed with *-an* or *-ān* the final consonant geminates.

Examples:

<i>illag</i>	‘clean container of its content’		
<i>illag + -an</i>		→ <i>illaggan</i>	‘to clean a container of its content’
<i>bula?</i>	‘peel, skin’		
<i>bula? + -an</i>		→ <i>bulaʔʔan</i>	‘to remove the peeling/skin’
<i>talab</i>	‘half-split bamboo’		
<i>talab + -an</i>		→ <i>talabban</i>	‘to put walls of half-split bamboos’

#### 4.5 Glottal epenthesis

When roots ending in /a/ are suffixed with *-an* a glottal stop is inserted between the two /a/ vowels.

Examples:

<i>kuwa</i>	‘do’		
<i>kuwa + -an</i>		→ <i>kuwaʔan</i>	‘to do the work’
<i>bumba</i>	‘pump’		
<i>bumba + -an</i>		→ <i>bumbaʔan</i>	‘to pump water from the well’
<i>kanna</i>	‘hit’		
<i>kannaʔan</i>		→	‘to hit the target’

#### 4.6 Substitution

When /t/ or /k/ occurs before another consonant after a morphophonemic process is applied to the affixed word the /t/ or the /k/ is replaced by the glottal stop.

Examples:

<i>gitap</i>	‘door’		<i>-an</i>	‘goal focus, non-past’
<i>gitap</i> + <i>-an</i>		→	<i>gitpan</i>	(V <sub>2</sub> deletion)
			→ <i>giʔpan</i>	‘to close a door’
<i>putad</i>	‘cut off a piece’			
<i>putad</i> + <i>-an</i>		→	<i>putdan</i>	(V <sub>2</sub> deletion)
			→ <i>puʔdan</i>	‘to cut off a piece from something’
<i>sīkal</i>	‘reed’		<i>ka-...-ān</i>	‘place of...’
<i>sīkal</i> + <i>ka-...-ān</i>		→	<i>kasiklān</i>	(V <sub>2</sub> deletion)
			→ <i>kasiʔlān</i>	‘where reeds grow’

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## 7. Kalinga (Linimos)

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Hartmut Wiens</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Kalinga is an Austronesian language spoken in the subprovince of Kalinga Apayao which is located in the Cordillera Central mountains of Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Gieser (1973) place Kalinga in the Central Cordilleran group of Philippine languages along with Ilocano, Itneg, Bontoc, Kankanay, Ifugao, Inibaloi and Isinai. Kalinga is spoken by an estimated seventy to eighty thousand people. The best known works on the Kalinga to date are ethnographies by F.R. Barton (1949) and Edward P. Dozier (1966). Various linguistic studies have been published by Lawrence A Reid (1974), C. Richard Gieser (1958, 1972a, 1972b), Bruce Grayden (1976), Sherri Brainard (1983) and Neville Thomas (1978).

There are numerous dialects of Kalinga. In depth linguistic research is being conducted and separate bodies of literature have been produced in five of these dialects. The particular dialect reflected in this wordlist is referred to by its speakers as Linimos and is spoken by about 8,000 people living along the lower Saltan river in the municipality of Pinukpuk.

The data for this wordlist were recorded by the author during five years of residence 1974-1980 in the village of Asibanglan in the municipality of Pinukpuk.<sup>1</sup>

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1. This field work was conducted under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics under the terms of an agreement with the Philippine Department of Education, Culture and Sports. The generosity and hospitality of the Filipino people which have made it possible for my family and me to live and work in the Philippines must be acknowledged. We especially wish to express our gratitude to our many Kalinga friends who helped fill our years of residence among them with some of our richest memories. My friends Pedro Agustin, Benito Aggueban and Luis Balutoc deserve special mention for the many hours they spent helping me learn their language and compile the vocabulary for this wordlist.
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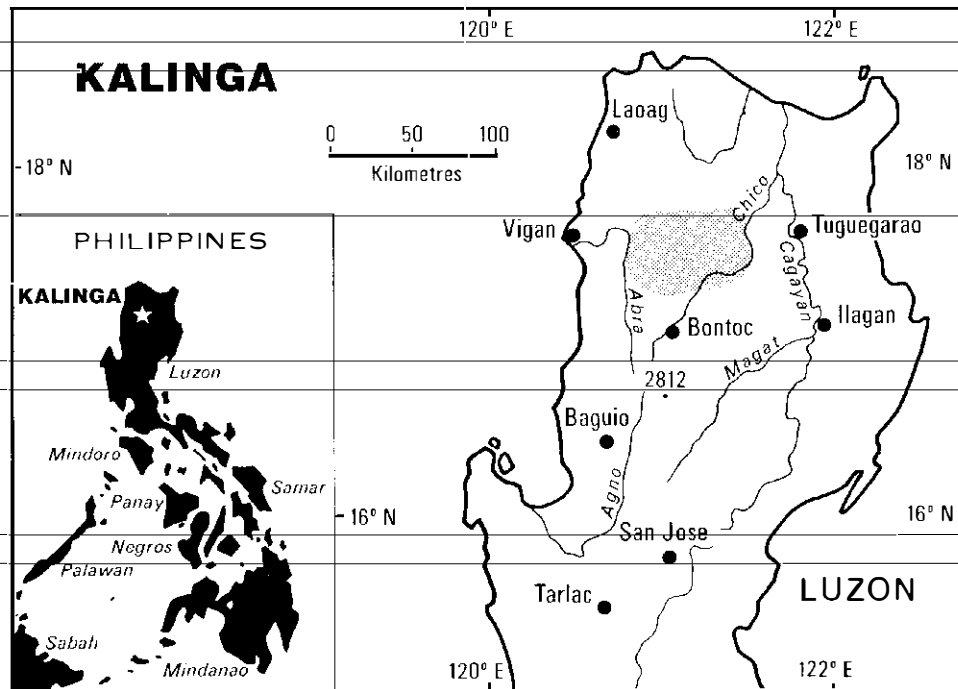


## 2. Summary of the phonology

Below is a brief overview of the phonology of Kalinga (Linimos). Additional discussion of the phonology and grammar may be found in several published articles by the author.

### 2.1 The syllable

The two syllable patterns found in Kalinga (Linimos) are CV and CVC.



Map 7. Kalinga (Linimos) language area

### 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Kalinga (Linimos) has 14 consonant phonemes.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl vd	p b	t d	k g
Ericsives		s		
Nasals		m	n	ŋ
Laterals			l	
Semivowels		w	y	

### 2.2.1 Discussion

The lateral /l/ displays considerable allophony, both within and between dialects. This variation remains in need of further investigation (Gieser 1958, Wiens 1976a, Grayden 1976, Thomas 1978).

A more complete discussion of Kalinga (Linimos) consonants can be found in Wiens (1976b).

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Kalinga (Linimos) has five vowel phonemes:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

#### 2.3.1 Discussion

There are of course allophonic variations of these vowel phonemes. Perhaps, the greatest variation occurs in the central and back vowels. The vowels *a*, *o* and *u* are drawn forward in the mouth when they precede the lateral [l] in closed syllables. The vowel *a* moves from central unrounded [a] to front unrounded [æ], *o* moves from back rounded [o] to central rounded [ö], and *u* moves from back rounded [u] to central rounded [ü]. A more complete discussion can be found in Wiens (1976b).

Vowel length is also shown in the word list. However, this is not phonemic, but related to stress. Where stress falls on a penultimate open syllable, the vowel is automatically long, e.g. 'lubuŋ' 'world' has a long vowel in its first syllable: *lūbuŋ*. Where vowel length is not shown, the stress falls on the final syllable and lengthening does not occur.

### 2.4 Morphophonemics

Kalinga, like other Cordilleran languages in the Philippines, is rich in morphophonemic alternations. Morphophonemic alternation is especially prevalent in verbal constructions with the result that it is often difficult to

isolate the root after the operation of various morphophonemic processes. Here I will illustrate only a sampling of these. Further elaboration can be found in Gieser (1970) and Wiens (1976b)

### 2.4.1 Assimilation

One common form of assimilation occurs with the verb prefix *man-*. Before bilabial and velar consonants the affix final *n* assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant to become *m* or *ŋ*. Before *l* and *w* the affix final *n* completely assimilates to become *l* and *w*.

Examples:

<i>man-</i> + 'bawi	<i>mam'bawi</i>	'to build a shelter'
<i>man-</i> + ka'mos	<i>maŋka'mos</i>	'to mix'
<i>man-</i> + 'lati	<i>mal'lati</i>	'to rust'
<i>man-</i> + wi'tiwit	<i>mawwi'tiwit</i>	'to twist'

Another verbal prefix *maN-* exhibits internal fusing assimilation when attached to a root. The final consonant of the prefix becomes fused with the initial consonant of the root, retaining the nasality of the final consonant of the prefix and taking on the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root.

Examples:

<i>maN-</i> + pe'nal	<i>mame'nal</i>	'to plant a seedbed'
<i>maN-</i> + ta'dok	<i>mana'dok</i>	'to dance'
<i>maN-</i> + 'kayu	<i>ma'ŋayu</i>	'to gather wood'

### 2.4.2 Vowel reduction

Another common form of assimilation is vowel reduction. The general principle seems to be that the vowels *o* and *u* are lost wherever, were they to remain, they would form the peak of an unstressed open syllable between two syllables. This can be illustrated with the root *lotop* 'dive', and *putod* 'cut'.

<i>lo'top</i> + -om	<i>lot'pom</i>	'you dive after it'
<i>lo'top</i> + -in-	<i>lin'top na</i>	'he dove after it'
<i>lo'top</i> + -um-	<i>lum'top ka</i>	'you dive'
<i>pu'tod</i> + -in-	<i>pin'tod na</i>	'he cut it'
<i>pu'tod</i> + na-	<i>nap'tod</i>	'it is cut in two'

### 2.4.3 Secondary alternation with vowel reduction

Vowel reduction frequently leads to internal assimilation in the consonants that are brought together as the result of the vowel loss.

Examples:

<i>pu'los</i> + <i>-in-</i>	<i>pi'l'los</i>	'took away'
<i>si'pit</i> + <i>-in-</i>	<i>sim'pit</i>	'stung'
<i>da'toŋ</i> + <i>-on</i>	<i>dak'ŋon</i>	'meet or come upon'

In a few cases vowel reduction also leads to metathesis of the consonants that are brought together as the result of the vowel loss.

Examples:

<i>so'gob</i> + <i>-on</i>	<i>sob'gon</i>	'to burn'
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The above examples are merely illustrative of some of the morphophonemic alternation occurring in Kalinga (Linimos). Where the results of morphophonemic alternation would make it difficult to identify the root word in the comparative lexicon the words are segmented into their roots and affixes.

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## 8. Tagalog

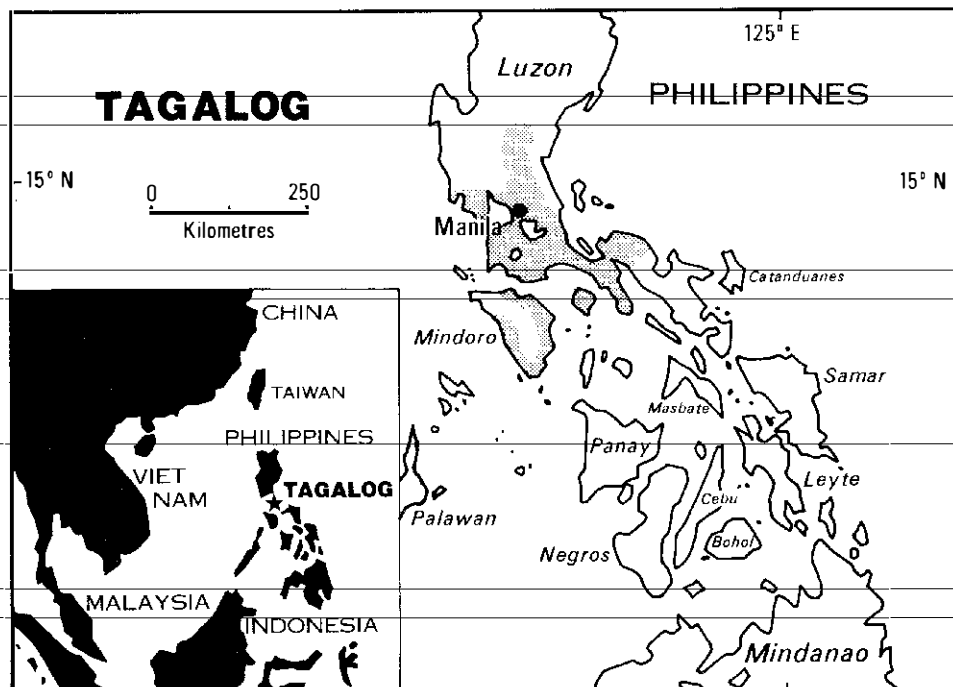
**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist: *R. David Zorc*

### 1. Introduction

Tagalog is the major language of the southern part of the island of Luzon in the Philippines and has in excess of 14,500,000 speakers. The language and its speakers are said to be named *river folk* [*tága-* 'place of origin' + *ilog* 'river'].

As early as 1897 Tagalog was proposed as the National Language, due to the large number of speakers, a reasonably rich collection of native literature, and the fact that propaganda for the revolution against Spain and America was written in the language. In 1939, Tagalog was chosen as the basis for *Pilipino* (the official name for the national language). In 1973, the official language was re-christened *Filipino*, but was still to be based on Tagalog, incorporating a wider variety of its lexicon from other Philippine languages. Regardless of recurring opposition, some form of Tagalog is now spoken or understood by almost 70% of the Philippine population, the cumulative result



Map 8. Tagalog language area

of bilingual education, movies, comics, and news media (see Gonzalez 1980).

During the 1940s a period of purism set in with regard to the construction of Pilipino. Members of the Institute of National Language were prolific in their coinages such as *salumpuwít* 'seat' and *banyúhay* 'metamorphosis', which were introduced to replace already assimilated loans *silya* 'chair' (Spanish) and *metamòrposís* (English). Some such terms introduced in textbooks have been accepted and are in use. Recent trends have again been recognising Tagalog as the *koine* it is; Spanish, English, and numerous loans from other Philippine languages are freely being incorporated into Filipino.

Tagalogs have migrated throughout the archipelago (e.g. throughout the islands of Mindoro and Palawan, and cities like Cebu, Davao and Cotabato) in search of trade or employment, and there are large enclaves in the USA, especially in San Francisco and New York.

The dialect reported here is that of Manila, the capital of the nation as well as its commercial centre. Other dialects are associated with the provinces of Batangas, Quezon, Marinduque, etc. Some are quite divergent lexically, although all are mutually intelligible with the rest.

The closest relatives of Tagalog are the Bisayan (Visayan) and Bikol subgroups of Central Philippine languages (see Zorc 1977: 223-240).

Major sources for Tagalog include: Bloomfield (1917), De Guzman (1978), English (1977, 1986), Panganiban (1972), Santos (1983) and Wolfenden (1961).

## 2. Phonology

The following is a brief summary of Tagalog phonology. Additional discussion can be found in Schachter and Otones (1972: 1-30).

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo- palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	( <i>ç</i> )	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	( <i>j</i> )	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		( <i>f</i> )	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Continuants		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>			

Although *r* has phonemic status due to loan words, it is also the intervocalic allophone of *d*. Items in parentheses have a very low frequency and are generally the result of the adoption of loanwords from Spanish or English. Whether a sound is native or inherited can be seen in reduplications, e.g. *nag-Øi'Øes* 'is playing chess' [vs *nag-ti-Øes*] or *nag-ji-'jip* 'always rides a jeepney' [vs *nag-di-'jip*].

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Vowel length is phonemic and therefore differentiates root words:

<i>'bāga?</i>	'lungs'	<i>ba'ga?</i>	'abscess, boil'
<i>'hāpon</i>	'afternoon	<i>ha'pon</i>	'Japan(ese)'

Stress is a feature of penultimate vowel length (vs shortness) and of syllable shape. Long vowels can only occur in an open syllable. If, for example, the penult vowel is long, that syllable is accented, e.g. [tūbo] 'pipe, tube'. If the penultimate syllable is open and short, accent falls on the ultima, e.g. [tu'bo] 'sugarcane'. If the penult consists of a closed syllable, i.e. CVC, accent falls on the ultima, e.g. [tug'tog] 'play (a musical instrument)'.

Basic syllable shape is CV(C). There are no vowel initial syllables; a word spelled as beginning with a vowel actually begins with the glottal stop. Some sample types include:

CV	<i>sa</i>	[locative marker]
CVC	<i>may</i>	'there is' [existential marker]
CV.CV	<i>ma'ta</i>	'eye'
CV.CVC	<i>ta'lon</i>	'waterfall'
CVC.CV	<i>bag'yo</i>	'storm, typhoon'
CVC.CVC	<i>bag'sak</i>	'fall (of something heavy)'



### 3. Morphophonemic changes

1. NG assimilation. The morphophoneme NG assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the root:

<i>siNG-</i> + <i>bi'lis</i>	<i>simbi'lis</i>	'as fast as'
<i>paNG-</i> + <i>bāta?</i>	<i>pambāta?</i>	'for children'
<i>saNG-</i> + <i>da'li?</i>	<i>sanda'li?</i>	'just a moment'

2. N change. This morphophoneme assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the root, which is subsequently lost:

<i>maN-</i> + <i>pīli</i>	<i>mamīli?</i>	'choose, select'
<i>paN-</i> + <i>bāhaw</i>	<i>pamāhaw</i>	'eat breakfast'
<i>naN-</i> + <i>'da?ig</i>	<i>nana?ig</i>	'won, prevailed'
<i>paN-</i> + <i>tālo</i>	<i>panālo</i>	'victory'
<i>paN-</i> + <i>simbah</i>	<i>panimbah</i>	'worship'
<i>paN-</i> + <i>kāhoy</i>	<i>paṅāhoy</i>	'gather wood'
<i>paN-</i> + <i>?isda?</i>	<i>paṅisda?</i>	'go fishing'

3. Vowel loss occurs with several roots with closed final syllables when suffixation takes place:

<i>bigay</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>bigyan</i>	'be given to'
<i>bukas</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>buksan</i>	'be opened'
<i>ga'wa</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>gawin</i>	'be made'
<i>lagay</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>lagyan</i>	'be put upon'
<i>masid</i>	<i>CinV--an</i>	<i>minamasdan</i>	'are being observed'
<i>sunod</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>sundan</i>	'be followed'
<i>sakay</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>sakyan</i>	'be ridden'
<i>sakit</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>nasaktan</i>	'was injured'

4. H insertion occurs on most root words that end in a vowel when suffixation takes place; before the suffix is added *h* is inserted.

<i>tubu</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>tubuhan</i>	'sugarcane farm'
<i>sūso</i>	<i>pa--in</i>	<i>pasusūhin</i>	'be breastfed!'
<i>bili</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>bilhin</i>	'be bought'
<i>dala</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>dalhin</i>	'be brought'
<i>sara</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>sarhan</i>	'be closed'

5. R changes. A *d* becomes *r* when intervocalic after affixation takes place:

<i>dāgat</i>	<i>ka--an</i>	<i>karagātan</i>	‘ocean, deep-sea’
<i>tāwad</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>tawāran</i>	‘be discounted!’

6. N addition. In a few roots, an *n* is inserted before a suffix:

<i>kuha?</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>kūnin</i>	‘be taken!’
<i>tāwa</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>tawānan</i>	‘be laughed at!’

Reduplication involves either the prefixation of the first consonant and first vowel to the root word (CV-) or the full reduplication of the root (R2). The former indicates ongoing or repetitive activity (as in the formation of the future or progressive tenses) while the latter (especially with the ligature *na* or *ŋ*) marks some form of intensification or emphasis:

<i>bili</i>		‘buy’
<i>ma-</i>	<i>mabi’li</i>	‘can be bought’
<i>maCV-</i>	<i>mabibili</i>	‘may always be bought’
<i>R2</i>	<i>mabi’liŋ-bi’li</i>	‘very popular’

#### 4. Verb morphology

Tagalog verbs are conjugated for one of four voices depending on the focus or agreement of the verb with the semantic role of the topic.

Active emphasises an actor (*datiŋ* ‘arrive’) or a meteorological event (*ulan* ‘rain’)

Passive emphasises an object affected or taken in (*bili* ‘buy’, *kā’in* ‘eat’, *patay* ‘kill’)

Instrumental emphasises an object moving away or parted with (*pag-bili* ‘sell’, *libiŋ* ‘bury’, *tāpon* ‘throw away’)

Local emphasises an object partially affected, cleansed, or removed (*hūgas* ‘rinse’, *laba* ‘launder’, *bāyad* ‘pay’, *tāwad* ‘discount’)

All verbs are inflected for four tenses. However, in the active voice, verbs fall into one of two classes: *-um-* (denoting intransitive or punctual actions amongst others) vs *mag-* (denoting transitive, durative, or reciprocal actions, amongst others, see Pittman (1966) or McFarland (1976)). The forms are as follows:

Active	Past	Progres.	Contingent	Future
-um- verb	-um-	Cum V-	-um-	CV-
mag- verb	nag-	nagCV-	mag-	magCV-

Following upon the identification of the appropriate active voice affix class, a verb may emphasise its object with any one of three passive forms:

Passive -um-

Direct pass.	-in-	Cin V-	-in	CV--in
Instrumental	i-in-	iCin V-	i-	iCV-
Local	-in--an	Cin V--an	-an	CV--an
Passive mag-	pinag-	pinagCV-	pag--in	pagCV--in
Direct pass.	ipinag-	ipinagCV-	ipag-	ipagCV-
Local	pinag--an	pinagCV--an	pag--an	pagCV--an

Additionally, nouns or adjectives can be used as stative or affective verbs, such as *na-gu'tom* 'was hungry' or *ma-layu<sup>2</sup>-an* 'found (X to be too) far away':

Stative	na-	naCV-	ma-	maCV-
Affective	na--an	naCV--an	ma--an	maCV--an

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## 9. Aklanon

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**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist : *R. David Zorc*

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### 1. Introduction

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Aklanon is the primary speech variety of the northwestern section of the island of Panay in the central Philippines and has in excess of 350,000 speakers. Both the language and its speakers are named after the Aklan [ʔakʎan] River that flows through the centre of the province of that name. People, culture and items associated with this river and region are appropriately called Aklanon [ʔakʎānun]; the language is called [ʔinakʎa'nun], i.e., with the *-in-* infix and accent shift, or more simply Bisaya [binisa'yaʔ], since Aklanons recognise their membership in the Visayan cultural and linguistic bloc.

Aklanons, especially professionals, have migrated to virtually all major Philippine centres (e.g. Manila, Cebu and Cotabato) in search of employment and there are even largish enclaves in San Francisco and New York.

The dialect reported here is that of Kalibo, Aklan, the capital of the province as well as its commercial centre. Other dialects are associated with the towns of Altavas, Batan, Balete, Banga, Madalag, New Washington, Numancia, Malinao, Lezo, Makato, Tangalan, Nabas, Ibahay, and Libakaw -- the latter two being quite divergent, although still mutually intelligible with the rest. Two other towns are located within the province of Aklan, but different dialects are spoken (Buruwanga is associated with Kinaray-a and Malay with various dialects of Tablas, Romblon).

The closest relatives of Aklanon are Kinaray-a and Kuyonon of the West Bisayan subgroup of Central Philippine languages (see Zorc 1972 and 1977: 16, 259-265).

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### 2. Phonology

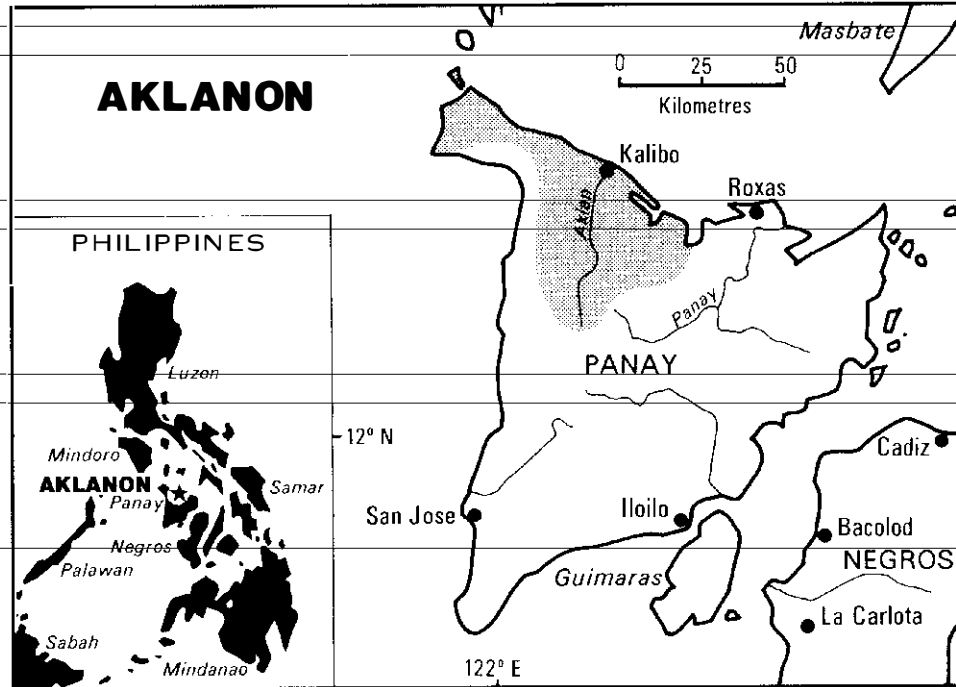
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The following is a brief summary of Aklanon phonology. Additional discussion can be found in Zorc and de la Cruz (1968: 8-31).

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Map 9. Aklanon language area

### Inventory of consonants

Aklanon has 17 inherited consonant phonemes. Speakers who are bilingual in English (or Spanish) have an additional four borrowed phonemes, put within parentheses below:

Table 1. Consonants

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	( <i>c</i> )	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	( <i>ʃ</i> )	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives	vl	( <i>f</i> )	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
	vd	( <i>v</i> )				
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	<i>ɥ</i>	

Although *r* has phonemic status due to loan words, it is also an intervocalic allophone of *d*; similarly, *ʃ* alternates with *l* and with *d* (see morphophonemic changes below). Items in parentheses are of very low frequency and are generally the result of the adoption of loanwords from Spanish or English. Both *c* and *ɟ* can sometimes be heard as the result of coalescence with *y* across a syllable boundary, e.g. ['batyag] = ['bacag] 'feel, perceive' or ['budyon] = ['buɟon] 'conch, sea-shell trumpet'.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	( <i>e</i> )		( <i>o</i> )
Low		<i>a</i>	

Vowel length is phonemic and therefore differentiates root words:

<i>'bāgaʔ</i>	'lungs'	<i>ba'gaʔ</i>	'swollen'
<i>'hāpun</i>	'afternoon'	<i>ha'pun</i>	'Japan(ese)'
<i>'ʔitik</i>	'tickle'	<i>'ʔitik</i>	'duck'
<i>'sūʔud</i>	'fine tooth comb'	<i>su'ʔud</i>	'enter'

Stress is a feature of penultimate vowel length (vs shortness) and of syllable shape. Long vowels can only occur in an open penult. If the penult vowel is long, that syllable is accented, e.g. ['tūbo] 'pipe, tube'. If the penultimate syllable is open and short, accent falls on the ultima, e.g. [tu'boh] 'sugarcane'. If the penult consists of a closed syllable, i.e. CVC, accent falls on the penult, e.g. ['tuktuk] 'mince, chop into little pieces'.

Basic syllable shape is CV(C). There are no vowel initial syllables; a word spelled as beginning with a vowel actually begins with the glottal stop. Some sample types include:

CV	<i>sa</i>	[locative marker]
CVC	<i>may</i>	'there is' [existential marker]
CV.CV	<i>'ʔāgi</i>	'pass (by)'
CV.CVC	<i>bu'say</i>	'waterfall'
CVC.CV	<i>'ʔanyo</i>	'whose?'
CVC.CVC	<i>'tambuk</i>	'fat'



### 3. Morphophonemic changes

1. NG assimilation. The morphophoneme NG assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the root:

<i>saNG-</i> + <i>bātu</i>	<i>sambātu</i>	‘one (piece)’
<i>paNG-</i> + <i>dulsi</i>	<i>pandulsi</i>	‘dessert’
<i>kasiNG-</i> + <i>bug<sup>?</sup>at</i>	<i>kasimbug<sup>?</sup>at</i>	‘equally heavy’

2. N change. This morphophoneme assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the root, which is subsequently lost:

<i>paN-</i> + <i>pasyar</i>	<i>pamasyar</i>	‘roam around’
<i>paN-</i> + <i>bāhaw</i>	<i>pamāhaw</i>	‘eat breakfast’
<i>paN-</i> + <i>dāpat</i>	<i>panāpat</i>	‘use extensively’
<i>paN-</i> + <i>tābas</i>	<i>panābas</i>	‘tailoring’
<i>paN-</i> + <i>simbah</i>	<i>panimbah</i>	‘worship’
<i>paN-</i> + <i>dumdum</i>	<i>panumdum</i>	‘remember’
<i>paN-</i> + <i>kalisud</i>	<i>pangalisud</i>	‘suffer’
<i>paN-</i> + <i>ʔisda<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>pangisda<sup>?</sup></i>	‘go fishing’

3. Vowel loss occurs with several roots with closed final syllables when suffixation takes place.

<i>sakay</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>sakyan</i>	‘will be ridden’
<i>patay</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>patyun</i>	‘will be killed’
<i>sakit</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>nasaktan</i>	‘was injured’
<i>tawag</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>tawgun</i>	‘will be called’
<i>lisud</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>nalisdan</i>	‘was encumbered’

4. Vowel change occurs when the vowel in the last syllable is open: *i* changes to *y*, *u* changes to *w*, but *a* is lost and a glottal stop is inserted:

<i>ʔāgi</i>	<i>gin--an</i>	<i>ginʔagyan</i>	‘was bypassed’
<i>ʔābi</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>ʔabyan</i>	‘friend’
<i>tubu</i>	<i>ka--an</i>	<i>katubwan</i>	‘sugarcane farm’
<i>sūsu</i>	<i>pa--ah</i>	<i>pasuswah</i>	‘be breastfed’
<i>kutāna</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>kutanʔun</i>	‘will be asked’
<i>taka</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>natakʔan</i>	‘was fed up with’

5. Metathesis occurs after vowel loss when *h* or *ʔ* would occur before another consonant, when *l* would occur before another apical consonant, or when *n* would occur before *m*:

<i>tahup</i>	<i>-ih</i>	<i>taphih</i>	‘winnow (it)!’
<i>gahum</i>	<i>-anan</i>	<i>gamhānan</i>	‘powerful’
<i>mūʔuk</i>	<i>ha--an</i>	<i>hamukʔan</i>	‘slept deeply’
<i>daʔug</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>dagʔun</i>	‘will be defeated’
<i>suʔud</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>sudlun</i>	‘enter (it)!’
<i>ʔinum</i>	<i>-ah</i>	<i>ʔimnah</i>	‘drink (it)!’
<i>tanum</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>tamnan</i>	‘be planted in’

6. *ʔ* changes. The phoneme *ʔ* changes to *l* when in an environment with an apical consonant (*t*, *d*, *n*, or *s*) or with the vowel *i* (such as when the infix *-in-* is added):

<i>suʔud</i>	<i>ka--an</i>	<i>kasudlan</i>	‘entrails’
<i>puʔus</i>	<i>ka--anan</i>	<i>kapuslānan</i>	‘value, worth’
<i>duʔun</i>	<i>ha--an</i>	<i>hadunlan</i>	‘choked on food’
<i>kāʔut</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>katlan</i>	‘itchy’
<i>ʔubung</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>linubung</i>	‘was buried’
<i>ʔāhaʔ</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>lināhaʔ</i>	‘was cooked’

*ʔ* changes to *d* when resyllabified from syllable initial position to syllable final position on some roots (which historically derive from a Proto-Bisayan \*d < PAN \*d, \*D, or \*Z):

<i>watʔaʔ</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>nawadʔan</i>	‘was left without’
<i>ʔāʔa</i>	<i>-in--an</i>	<i>linadʔan</i>	‘was in pain’
<i>muʔuʔ</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>namudʔan</i>	‘was noticed’
<i>pasipatʔa</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>pasipadʔan</i>	‘will be cursed’

Contrast the following where *ʔ* remains:

<i>duʔum</i>	<i>kaCV--an</i>	<i>ka-du-duʔm-an</i>	‘darkness’
<i>satʔaʔ</i>	<i>ka--anan</i>	<i>kasatʔānan</i>	‘sin, sinfulness’

7. R changes. Final *r* in Spanish loanwords changes to *h* when suffixed:

<i>tukar</i>	<i>pa--ah</i>	<i>patukahah</i>	‘make play music’
<i>ʔandar</i>	<i>pa--un</i>	<i>paʔandahun</i>	‘run (a machine)’
<i>tumar</i>	<i>-ah</i>	<i>tumahah</i>	‘drink (medicine)’

After instances of vowel loss, *r* changes to *d*:

<i>kurut</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>kudtun</i>	‘will be pinched’
<i>sarah</i>	<i>-ih</i>	<i>sadhih</i>	‘close (it)!’
<i>turus</i>	<i>-ah</i>	<i>tudsah</i>	‘squeeze (pimple)!’
<i>turuʔ</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>tudʔan</i>	‘be taught!’

When *d* becomes intervocalic after affixation, it changes to *r*:

<i>bāyad</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>bayāran</i>	‘will be paid’
<i>būkid</i>	<i>ka--an</i>	<i>kabukīran</i>	‘mountain range’
<i>sūgid</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>sugīri</i>	‘be told’

8. Reduplication involves either the prefixation of the first consonant and first vowel to the root word (CV-) or the full reduplication of the root (R2). The former indicates repetitive activity while the latter marks diminution or artificiality:

<i>bakaʔ</i>		‘buy’
<i>ma-</i>	<i>mabakaʔ</i>	‘may be bought’
<i>maCV-</i>	<i>mababakaʔ</i>	‘may always be bought’
<i>R2</i>	<i>bakaʔ-bakaʔ</i>	‘pretend to buy, window shop’

#### 4. Verb morphology

Aklanon verbs are conjugated for one of four voices depending on the focus or agreement of the verb with the semantic role of the topic.

Active emphasises an actor (*adtu* ‘go’) or a meteorological event (*uʔan* ‘rain’)

Passive emphasises an object affected or taken in (*bakaʔ* ‘buy’, *kāʔun* ‘eat’, *patay* ‘kill’)

Instrumental emphasises an object moving away or parted with (*baligyaʔ* ‘sell’, *ʔubung* ‘bury’, *pilak* ‘throw away’)

Local emphasises an object partially affected, cleansed, or removed (*hūgas* ‘rinse’, *ʔabah* ‘launder’, *bāyad* ‘pay’, *tāwad* ‘discount’)

All verbs are inflected for six tenses (three of the key tenses are presented below):

	Inf	Past	Imp
Active	<i>mag-</i>	<i>nag-</i>	<i>pag-</i>
Passive	<i>-un</i>	<i>gina-</i>	<i>-a</i>
Instrumental	<i>i-</i>	<i>gina-</i>	<i>-ʔan</i>
Local	<i>-an</i>	<i>gina an</i>	<i>i</i>

In addition, nouns or adjectives can be used as stative or affective verbs, such as *na-guʔtom* ‘was hungry’ or *ma-tamʔis-ʔan* ‘found (something too) sweet’:

Stative	<i>ma-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>gi--a</i>
Affective	<i>ma--an</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>gi--i</i>

Complete information on any given root should include alternate root shapes (due to the operation of any of the morphophonemic changes discussed above). Thus,

<i>kāʔun</i>	‘eat’	<i>kanʔ-un</i>	‘be eaten’
<i>inum</i>	‘drink’	<i>imn-un</i>	‘be drunk’
<i>tukun</i>	‘swallow’	<i>tunl-un</i>	‘be swallowed’

## 5. Notes on the orthography

There is considerable confusion in the written work of Aklanons as to the spelling of *o* vs *u* [the former is, in most instances apart from loanwords, an allophone of the latter], but *u* is generally used throughout in inherited items occurring in the comparative lexicon.

In the traditional orthography, glottal stop is indicated by a hyphen when it occurs post-consonantly (e.g. *bug-at* ‘heavy’, *sin-o* ‘who?’, or *mag-abot* ‘to arrive’), and is sometimes marked by the same method after a vowel final prefix (e.g. *ma-abot* ‘will arrive’). In the data below, all occurrences *other than in initial position* are indicated by the appropriate linguistic symbol.

Aklanons spell the velar semivowel as ‘e’, but *ɣ* is used herein. In other central Philippine languages (like Tagalog, Hiligaynon or Cebuano) [l] is the cognate sound.

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# 10. Palawan

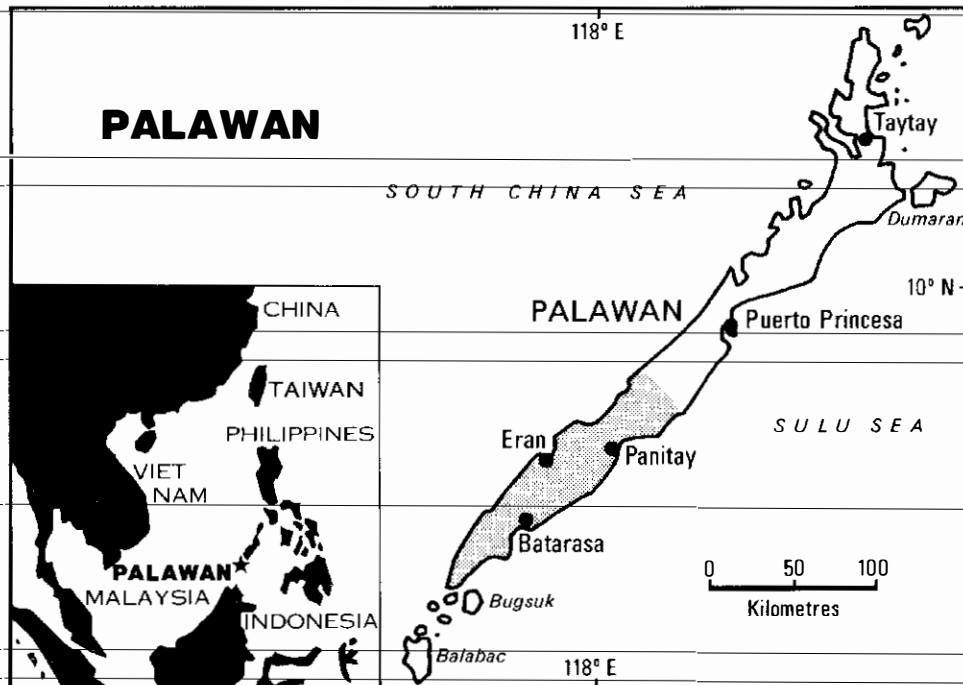
**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist: *Nicole Revel*

## 1. Introduction

Palawan, also known as Palawanun, Pala-wan, Palawanən, Palaweño and Brooke's Point Palaweño, is spoken in central and southern Palawan, Philippines by a population of up to 50,000. The Palawan language is spoken in an area extending from the north of Abo-Abo to the islands of Pandanan, Bugsuk and Balabac in the south.

Palawan is a member of the Meso-Philippine subgroup (see Fig. 3). The Palawans were traditionally in regular communication with the Sulu Archipelago and with Borneo. Today the population has largely withdrawn to the interior of the island, on the slopes of the central mountain chain.



Map 10. Palawan language area

## 2. Phonology

The phonemes of Palawan are as follows:

### i) Consonants

There are seventeen consonants, thus:

	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>			
Taps		<i>r</i>			
Semivowels	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>			

### ii) Vowels:

There are four vowel phonemes defined by a front/back opposition and by an open/closed opposition, thus:

	Front	Back
Closed	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Open	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>

The allophonic distribution of these phonemes is as follows:

/i/	–	[i ~ ɪ ~ e ~ ε]
/u/	–	[u ~ ʊ ~ ɔ]
/a/	–	[a]
/ɔ/	–	[ɔ ~ ɔ̃ ~ ɒ]

### iii) Phonological distribution: phonotactics.

- In word initial position:

- i. all four vowels occur.
- ii. all consonants except /h/ and /ʔ/. /ŋ/ is of very low frequency; /y/ and /w/ are also of low frequency.

- In medial position:

- i. all four vowels occur
- ii. all consonants occur; /ŋ/, /y/ and /w/ are of low frequency.

- Word finally:

- i. all four vowels occur
- ii. all consonants occur except /h/.

iv) Syllable structure and stress

Palawan syllables are of the form V, CV, VC, CVC. Stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

### 3. Morphosyntax

#### 1. Focus

There are five focuses in Palawan, as follows:

##### A. Agent focus:

1. <u>məglamu?</u>	<u>libunin</u>	ət	lugow	kət	məsakit	sət	apuy
make cook	woman that	the	rice soup	for	sick	on	fire
VP	NP		NP	NP			NP

##### B. Object focus:

2. <u>lalamu?ən</u>	ət	libun	<u>lugowin</u>	kət	məsakit	sət	apuy
will be cook	by	woman	rice soup that	for	sick	on	fire
VP		NP	NP	NP			NP

##### C. Attributive focus:

3. <u>lalamu?an</u>	ət	libunət	lugow	sət	apuy	<u>məsakitin</u>
will be cook	by	woman that	rice soup	on	fire	sick that
VP		NP	NP	NP		NP

##### D. Locative focus:

4. <u>lalamu?an</u>	ət	libun	ət	lugow	kət	məsakit	<u>apuyin</u>
will be cook	by	woman	that	rice soup	for	sick	fire that
VP		NP		NP	NP		NP



## E. Instrumental focus:

5. <i>ilalamu?</i>	<i>ət</i>	<i>libun</i>	<i>lugaw</i>	<i>kət</i>	<i>məsakit</i>	<i>apuyin</i>
will be cook	by	woman	rice soup	for	sick	fire that
VP		NP	NP		NP	NP

## 2. Derivational affixes

Palawan derivational affixes are as follows:

Affix combinations	Meaning/Function
<i>mɔg-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Completed action, collective or reciprocal (Agent focus)
<i>mɔg-</i> + Red.B + <i>-an</i>	Completed action, collective with notion of simulation/play (Agent focus)
<i>mɔg-</i> + <i>-in-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Completed action, high degree of intensity (Agent focus)
<i>pɔg-</i> + B	Direct action (Agent focus)
<i>pɔg-</i> + B + <i>-ɔn</i>	Direct action (Object-focus) Stimulating another person in an action (Object focus)
<i>pɔg-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Complete a process (Locative and attributive focus)
<i>-i</i> + <i>pɔg</i> + B	Complete a process (Instrumental focus)
<i>mɔg-</i> + <i>mɔ-</i> + B	Claim to be/do (Agent focus)
<i>mɔg-</i> + <i>mɔ-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Claim to be/do, collective action (Agent focus)
<i>mɔg-</i> + <i>pɔkɔ-</i> + B	Deliberate action (Agent focus)
<i>pɔkɔ-</i> + B + <i>-ɔn</i>	Carry out an action deliberately (Object focus)
<i>pɔkɔ-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Carry out a deliberate action for someone else (Attributive focus)

<i>i- + pəkɔ + B + -ɔn</i>	Carry out a deliberate action with something (Instrumental focus)
<i>pəg- + pəkɔ + B + -ɔn</i>	Make or transform an object intentionally (Object focus)
<i>pəg- + pəkɔ + B + -an</i>	Do intentionally (Attributive focus)
<i>məg- + pəki- + B</i>	Carry out a voluntary action (Agent focus)
<i>məg- + pəki- + B + -an</i>	Complete a voluntary and reciprocal action (Agent focus)
<i>i- + pəki- + B</i>	Carry out a continuous action (Instrumental focus)
<i>məg- + pəki- + pəg- + -an</i>	Harmonious action between partners (Agent focus)
<i>məgkɔ + B</i>	Do something; do something involuntarily (Agent focus)
<i>məgkɔ + B + -an</i>	Perform a reciprocal or collective action (Agent focus)
<i>pəgkɔ + B + -an</i>	Transform, cause to become (Locative focus)
<i>-i + pəgkɔ + B</i>	Transform into (Instrumental focus)
<i>i- + pəgkɔ + mɔ + B + -an</i>	Change state (Instrumental focus)
<i>pəkɔ + pəgkɔ + B + -an</i>	Idea of deliberate transformation (Locative focus)
<i>pɔʔin- + B</i>	Accuse falsely (Agent focus)
<i>pɔʔin- + B + -ɔn</i>	Accuse falsely (Object focus)
<i>pɔʔin- + B + -an</i>	Accuse falsely (Locative focus)
<i>i- + pɔʔin- + B</i>	Accuse falsely (Instrumental focus)
<i>məgsi- + B</i>	Carry out a collective action (Agent focus)
<i>məgsi- + B + -an</i>	Collective competition (Agent focus)
<i>məgsi- + pəg- + B</i>	Carry out a collective action (Agent focus)
<i>məgsi- + pəg- + B + -an</i>	Participate in a collective action, continue an action with a partner (Agent focus)

<i>mɔki-</i> + B	Ask permission (Agent focus)
<i>mɔki-</i> + <i>pɔg-</i> + B	Carry out an action with a partner (Agent focus)
<i>mɔki-</i> + <i>pɔg-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Participate in a collective action; continue an action begun with a partner (Agent focus)
<i>mɔkɔ-</i> + B	Abilitative (Agent focus)
<i>mɔkɔ-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Be capable of doing/performing an action on someone (Attributive focus)
<i>mɔkɔ-</i> + <i>pɔg-</i> + B	Be able to carry out an action (Agent focus)
<i>mɔkɔ-</i> + <i>pɔg-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Be able to perform a reciprocal action (Agent focus)
<i>mɔ-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	Succeed in carrying out a process for someone (Attributive focus)
<i>mɔ-</i> + <i>mɔg-</i> + B	Plural of agents carrying out a process

### 3. Causatives

Affix combination	Meaning/Function
<i>pɔ-</i> + B	Causative, indirect action
<i>mɔg-</i> + <i>pɔ-</i> + B	Be the cause of a process, cause a state (Agent focus)
<i>pɔ-</i> + B + <i>-ɔn</i>	To have an action performed on someone; allow someone to perform an action (Object focus)
<i>pɔ-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	To have an action performed on someone (Locative focus)
<i>i-</i> + <i>pɔ-</i> + B	Be the cause of a process; request a service of someone; seek permission to carry out an action (Instrumental focus)
<i>pɔ-</i> + <i>pɔ-</i> + B	To have permission to carry out an action (Agent focus)
<i>pɔ-</i> + <i>pɔkɔ-</i> + B + <i>-ɔn</i>	To be the cause of a feeling (Object focus)
<i>pɔ-</i> + <i>pɔkɔ-</i> + B + <i>-an</i>	To be the cause of a deliberate feeling (Attributive focus)

$pɔ- + pɔg- + B + -ɔn$	To be the cause of an action (Object focus)
$pɔ- + pɔg- + B + -an$	To be the cause of an action (Locative focus)
$pɔg- + pɔ- + B$	To prepare for an action
$pɔg- + pɔ- + B + -ɔn$	Have an action carried out on someone else (Attributive focus)
$pɔg- + pɔ- + B + -an$	Have an action carried out for someone else (Attributive focus); be the cause of an action (Locative focus)
$pɔ- + mɔ- + B$	Causative plural
$mɔ- + pɔ- + B$	Be able to set an action in train (Agent focus)
$mɔ- + pɔ- + B + -an$	Be able to carry out an action (Locative focus)
$mɔ- + pɔ- + pɔg- + B$	Have the possibility of having an action carried out
$mɔkɔ- + pɔ- + B$	Be able to be the cause of an action
$mɔkɔ+ pɔg- + pɔ- + B$	Be able to ask other people to carry out an action (Agent focus)
$mɔgkɔ- + pɔ- + B$	Ask others to carry out an action
$mɔgsi+ pɔg- + pɔ+ B$	Ask collectively that an action be carried out (Agent focus)

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# 11. Molbog

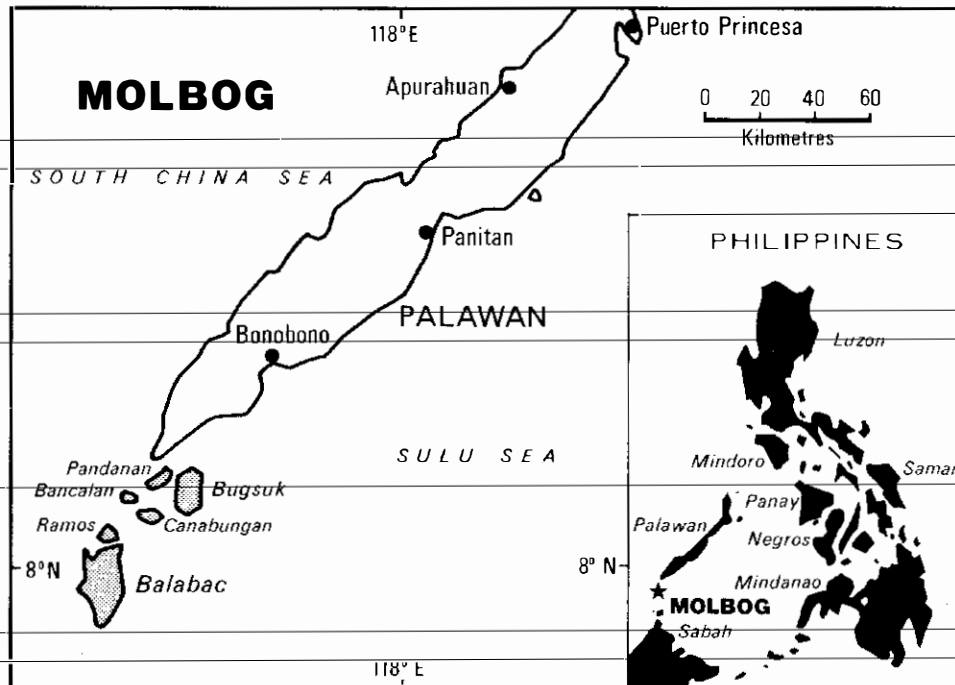
**Contributors:**

**Introduction:** *R. David Zorc – Arnold Thiessen*

**Wordlist:** *Arnold Thiessen*

## 1. Introduction

Molbog is the name of the people and the language primarily centred on Balabac Island. They claim to have originated in the interior of Balabac, but are now being displaced from the eastern side of that homeland by settlers from other areas of the southern Philippines. Over the past few decades they have spread north to Ramos Island, Bancalan Island, and along the east coast of Palawan in scattered settlements such as at Batarasa and as far north as Sarong. They have also emigrated southward to Banggi and Balambangan islands in Sabah. It is estimated that there are nearly 6,000 speakers in all these areas.



Map 11. Molbog language area

The language has been cited as Melebuganon in Conklin (1952) and Voegelin – Voegelin (1977). Molbog is a member of the Palawanic subgroup of the Meso-Philippine group of Western Malayo-Polynesian. Its closest relationships are to Palawano and then to Aborlan Tagbanwa and Palawan Batak. The language has been under influence from Tausug, Jama Mapun, Sama, Bajaw, and Banggi.

Molbog is still an undescribed language apart from one comparative historical survey (Thiessen 1981) and some unpublished survey wordlists on file with the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Manila.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Consonants

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	( <i>ʃ</i> )	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>			( <i>h</i> )
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	( <i>ɲ</i> )	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Flaps			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

Note: Items in parentheses are of very low frequency and are generally the result of the adoption of loanwords from Sama dialects, Malay, or Spanish, e.g., *jaŋgut* ‘beard’ or *duñaʔ* ‘world’ are ultimately from Malay. Although [h] has generally been lost historically-speaking, it is found on a few forms like *luhaʔ* ‘tears’ and *tohiʔ* ‘sew’; it is not clear if these sporadic retentions or re-introductions due to contact with languages preserving /h/ in cognate forms.

## 2.2 Vowels

Table 2. Consonants

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid			<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Neither vowel length nor stress is phonemic and therefore do not differentiate root words.

## 3 Verb morphology

Molbog verbs are conjugated for one of four voices depending on the focus or agreement of the verb with the semantic role of the topic.

Active emphasises an actor (*daton* ‘arrive’) or a meteorological event (*dolok* ‘rain’).

Passive, marked by *-on*, emphasises an object affected (*podon* ‘extinguish’, *baʔal* ‘build’) or taken in (*okon* ‘eat’, *kawin* ‘marry’, *olon* ‘buy’).

Instrumental, marked by *i-*, emphasises an object moving away (*tulak* ‘push’, *burbur* ‘pour’) or parted with (*i-pog-olon* ‘sell’, *lobon* ‘bury’).

Local, marked by *-an*, emphasises an object partially affected (*kulit* ‘peel’, *rasa* ‘feel’), cleansed (*ugas* ‘wash’, *panis* ‘wipe off’), or removed (*bayad* ‘pay’, *buʔlian* ‘release, let go’).

However, in the active voice, verbs fall into one of two classes marked by: *-um-* (with an alternate *m-* before vowel initial stems, generally denoting punctual or intransitive actions) vs *mog-* (denoting transitive, durative, or reciprocal actions, amongst others). An analogous albeit more complex situation is described for Tagalog (see Pittman 1966 and McFarland 1976). The base forms for these distinctions in Molbog are as follows:

*um-* verb, e.g., *tutun* ‘burn’, *tolon* ‘swallow’, *tiag* ‘wake up’, *lomпой* ‘swim’  
alternate *m-*, e.g., *okon* ‘eat’, *inum* ‘drink’, *isiʔ* ‘take’, *irum* ‘seek’

*mog-* verb, e.g., *akut* ‘carry’, *gunda* ‘cook’, *tanok* ‘boil’, *taras* ‘drip’.

Some verbs, which may be described as *stative*, indicate a state achieved and are marked by the prefix *og-*, e.g., *lopun* ‘float, be floating’, *dolog* ‘burn, be burning’, or the derivatives *ogko-* (*dogog* ‘hear’, *lotog* ‘see’, *paya* ‘tired, weary’, *runut* ‘rotten’) and *ogko--an* (*boʔgon* ‘choke’, *oroti* ‘understand’).



Another common affix *po-*, indicates a *causative* construction and is evident in such pairs as: *i-po-bolos* ‘lend’ (contrast *bolos* ‘borrow’) or *i-po-lotog* ‘show’ (contrast *lotog* ‘see; look at’).

Little else is known about the morphosyntax of Molbog. However, many of the features described for that of Palawano in this volume and in Revel-Macdonald (1979) will be found to apply since the two languages are typologically and genetically very close.

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## 12. Kagayanen

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Louise A. MacGregor</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Kagayanen is one of many languages spoken in the Province of Palawan, Philippines. The municipality of Cagayancillo, which consists of the Cagayan Islands in this province, is the ethnocentre for the language and the only municipality in which Kagayanen is the predominant language spoken. The Cagayan Islands are located in the central area of the Sulu Sea between the island of Negros to the east and the main island of the Province of Palawan, which is also called Palawan, to the west. Large numbers of Kagayanen have moved to the island of Palawan during this century, so that many villages now exist scattered up and down its eastern coastal plains in which Kagayanens predominate. Kagayanens can also be found as far north as Busuanga Island and as far south as Balabac Island. The municipalities of Roxas, Puerto Princesa City, and Narra, in particular, have barrios with high concentrations of Kagayanens. Kagayanen is spoken by approximately 15,000 to 20,000 people, of whom about 5,000 live in the Cagayan Islands.

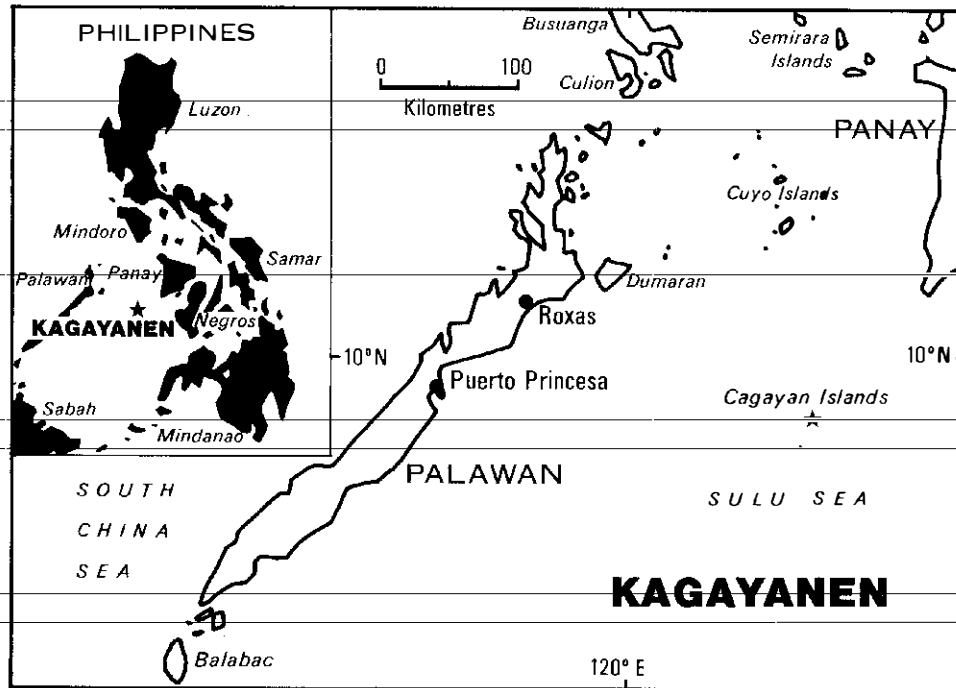
A dialect of Kagayanen called Kinagayanen is spoken on the island of Coron in the northern part of the Province of Palawan. No research has been conducted to determine how this dialect compares with Kagayanen as spoken in the Cagayan Islands. Differences between the Kagayanen spoken in the Cagayan Islands and on mainland Palawan continue to develop. Tagalog has a strong influence on the languages for those living on Palawan, whereas the trade language of Hiligaynon has greater influence on those living in the Cagayan Islands. In the comparative lexicon the abbreviation (CGC) marks those items more common to Cagayancillo and the abbreviation (PAL) marks those items more common to mainland Palawan, where such differences occur.

The major linguistic work done to date on the Kagayanen language is the unpublished 1977 doctoral dissertation of Carol Jean W. Harmon. In her dissertation she argues that Kagayanen should be classified as a Manobo language, not a Visayan one. While it has a heavy overlay of vocabulary from Hiligaynon, the language of southern Panay Island and the Province of

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Negros Occidental, its grammar and functors are distinctly Manobo. Harmon links Kagayanen roots to the northern Manobo groups on the island of Mindanao. No tradition, however, exists among the Kagayanens concerning their Mindanao origins. It is surmised that the arrival of the first “Kagayanens” to Cagayancillo would have occurred more than 200 years ago based on the age of the Spanish built structures there and the date of the first known “president” of the islands.



Map 12. Kagayanen language area

Data on the Kagayanen language have been collected by the author and her husband (Scott W. MacGregor) since late 1976 during periods of residence in Caguisan, Narra, Palawan and shorter visits to Cagayancillo. Mr Javier C. Carcelar, a retired teacher and native of Cagayancillo, was of special help in preparing the wordlist for this volume. Fieldwork was conducted under the auspices of The Summer Institute of Linguistics which serves in cooperation with the Philippine government’s Department of Education, Culture, and Sports. Our work would not have been possible without the gracious assistance given by various officials and especially our neighbours in Caguisan.

## 2. Summary of phonology

The phonology statement found in the doctoral dissertation of Carol Jean W. Harmon is the basis for much of the following.

### 2.1 Word stress

Stress is not predictable but often falls on the penultimate syllable of the word. In this material, stress is only marked when it does not fall on the penultimate syllable.

### 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Kagayanen has 15 consonant phonemes.

*Table 1.* Kagayanen consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

#### 2.2.1 Discussion

All stops are unaspirated and in word final position are unreleased. A non-phonemic glottal stop is regularly inserted before a vowel initial word. /d/ is realised as [r] intervocally except in loan words.

/h/ is not included in the list of Kagayanen consonant phonemes because it only occurs in loan words, proper names, or in exaggerated pronunciation of words cognate with nearby languages in which an /h/ does occur.

[l] and [ɣ] are allophones of /l/. Harmon used the symbol [ɣ] in her dissertation for the consonant she describes as an “l-colored glide”, a term suggested to her by Anatole Lyovin. In pronouncing [ɣ] the tip of the tongue is placed behind the lower lip or lower front teeth, and the back of the tongue is raised but does not touch the velum. /l/ is realised as [l] when it is:

(1) word initial; (2) contiguous to /i/ or /y/; (3) geminate; (4) the second consonant of word-medial contiguous consonants and the first is an alveolar (except for [l]); or (5) when it is either the first or second of two word-medial contiguous consonants in a loanword from Spanish or English (usually it is the first consonant). When also not contiguous to /i/, /l/ is realised as [ɬ] when it is: (1) intervocalic; (2) word final; (3) the second consonant of a word-initial consonant cluster in which the first consonant is an obstruent; (4) the second or third consonant of word-medial contiguous consonants and the preceding consonant is bilabial or velar (except /g/); (5) the first consonant of word-medial contiguous consonants and the second is a glottal stop; or (6) when it is either of two word-medial contiguous consonants in a stem which consists of reduplicated syllables and which has a word final or word initial [l]. A few words exist which are exceptions to rules (1) and (3) for [l] and rules (1), (5), and (6) for [ɬ], but for the great majority of words the above rules apply. In the wordlist, words that are exceptions are noted as such. Examples:

[l]	1. <i>lamok</i>	'mosquito'	<i>luto</i>	'to cook'
	2. <i>gilek</i>	'angry'	<i>salyo</i>	'go place to place'
	3. <i>pelles</i>	'stormy'	<i>tallo</i>	'three'
	4. <i>adlaw</i>	'day'	<i>bunlaw</i>	'rinse'
	5. <i>bulkan</i>	'volcano'	<i>iruplano</i>	'airplane'
[ɬ]	1. <i>bulak</i>	'flower'	<i>dalem</i>	'deep'
	2. <i>sikal</i>	'to boil'	<i>katel</i>	'itch'
	3. <i>dlagan</i>	'to run'	<i>plapa</i>	'frond'
	4. <i>kinanjlan</i>	'need'	<i>tambleggen</i>	'chameleon'
	5. <i>balʔes</i>	'spoiled'	<i>dulʔog</i>	'floor joist'
	6. <i>legleg</i>	'flame'	<i>teltel</i>	'dip into'

All consonants can be geminate except for /r/ and [ɬ]. One exception, [aɬɬo] 'winnowing basket', has thus far been found. /y/ and /w/ rarely geminate and it is questionable whether /ʔ/ truly geminates or not. /ll/ in Kagayanen represents geminate [l], not the Spanish [ly].

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Kagayanen has four vowel phonemes.

Table 2. Kagayanen vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid			
Low		<i>a</i>	

### 2.3.1 Discussion.

*/i/* varies freely between [i] and [ɛ] before a consonant cluster and in unstressed syllables, and between [i] and [e] elsewhere. */u/* is realised as [o] when it occurs in the final syllable of a word. */u/* also varies freely with [ʊ] before a consonant cluster and in unstressed syllables. */ə/* is the pepet vowel. Orthographically, the pepet vowel is written as *e* in Kagayanen. Both [u] and [o] are also written orthographically (so as to conform to the orthography of the national language, Filipino).

### 2.4 Notes on the shape of words and syllables

Geminate consonants most often, but not always, occur between a preceding pepet vowel and any other vowel that follows.

- (1) *gettek* 'abdomen'
- getek* 'tight fitting'
- beggas* 'milled rice'
- tallo* 'three'
- ittaw* 'person'

Geminate vowels are sequences across syllable boundaries [V.V]. This has come to exist, in many cases, because of the loss of intervocalic [h] in Kagayanen.

- | (2) | Kagayanen      | Hiligaynon      | Gloss    |
|-----|----------------|-----------------|----------|
|     | <i>ii?</i>     | <i>ihi?</i>     | 'urine'  |
|     | <i>baa?</i>    | <i>baha?</i>    | 'flood'  |
|     | <i>simbaan</i> | <i>simbahan</i> | 'church' |

When a prefix ends in a nasal, this nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root and the initial consonant of the root (except *g* and sometimes *d*) is deleted.

(3)	<i>maŋ-kawil</i>	'will fish with hook and line'	[maŋawil]
	<i>maŋ-salap</i>	'will fish with seine net'	[manalap]
	<i>maŋ-pukot</i>	'will fish with drift net'	[mamukot]
	<i>maŋ-du-dulot</i>	'one who offers sacrifices'	[maŋdudulot]
	<i>maŋ-da-dagat</i>	'one who is on the ocean (fishing)'	[mananagat]
	<i>maŋ-ga-gawad</i>	'one who redeems'	[maŋgagawad]

An *-m-* ('actor focus, future/command') infix has been posited to describe what happens with one class of verb roots. This infix is analogous to the *-um-* infix in Tagalog. Word initial consonants drop out when *-m-* is infixed. When affixation possibilities are listed in the comparative wordlist, this infix is listed as '*m-*' since on the surface the first consonant is replaced by *m*.

(4)	<i>k-m-atay</i>	'will climb'	[matay]
	<i>p-m-uŋko</i>	'will sit'	[muŋko]
	<i>s-m-akay</i>	'will ride'	[makay]

The suffix *-en* ('object focus, future/command') changes to *-on* when suffixed to a root with [o] in its final syllable.

(5)	<i>sunog-en</i>	'will be burned'	[sunugon]
	<i>tapos-en</i>	'will be finished'	[tapuson]

When the prefixes *ma-* or *na-* are affixed to a vowel initial root, the *a* of the prefix often, though not necessarily, drops.

(6)	<i>ma-adlaw-an</i>	'will be exposed to the sun'	[madlawan]
	<i>na-idlaw</i>	'had longed for'	[nidlaw]
	<i>ma-ubos</i>	'will be used up'	[mubos]

When *-an*, *-en*, or *-on* is suffixed to a verb root whose first syllable is a vowel only, that word initial vowel is optionally deleted in some words.

(7)	<i>isab-en</i>	'do again'	[saben]
	<i>asod-on</i>	'pound with a pestle'	[suron]
	<i>ibit-an</i>	'hold on to'	[bitan]

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## 13. Sarangani Blaan

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**Contributor:**

**Introduction and Wordlist:** *Mary E. Rhea*

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### 1. Introduction

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Blaan (Bilaan) is a language with an estimated population of approximately 200,000 mainly in the Provinces of South Cotabato and Davao Del Sur, Republic of the Philippines. Blaan speakers are also found in the mountain ranges of Koronadal stretching into the Provinces of Sultan Kudurat and North Cotabato as far north as Lake Buluan. Sarangani Blaan and Koronadal Blaan are the two major dialects of the Blaan language although other dialects exist in the central area between these two dialects and along the Davao coast. All are to some extent mutually intelligible.

The Sarangani dialect from which the comparative wordlist is composed comprises some 75,000 speakers and is located on the Sarangani Peninsula. The general boundaries of this dialect are the Glan River in the north and the islands of Balut and Sarangani off the coast of Mindanao in the South. Some pockets of Sarangani Blaan speakers can also be found north of the Glan River and along the Davao coast.

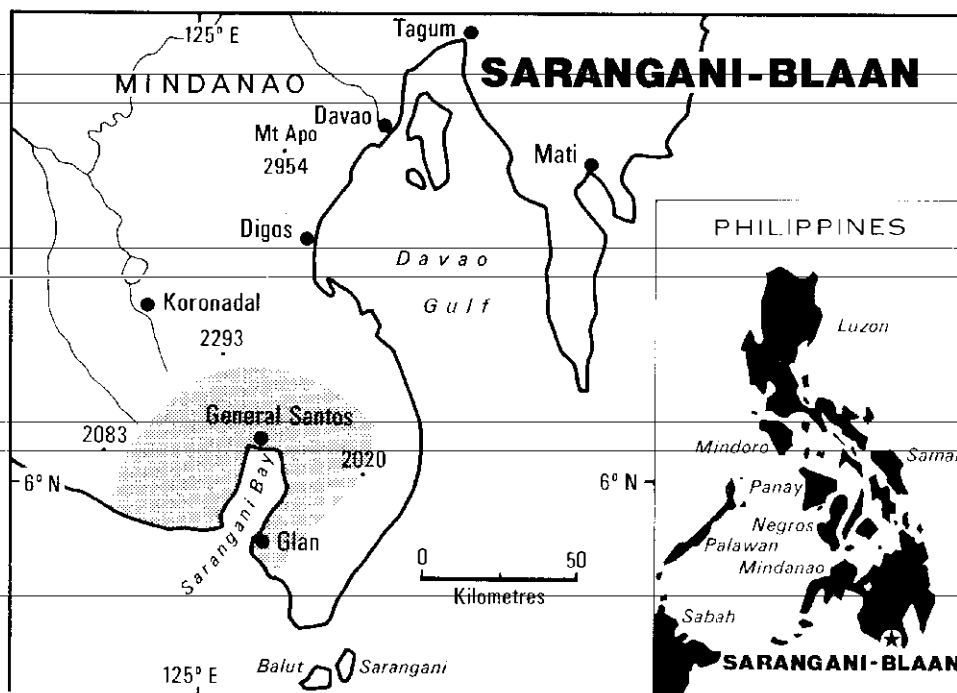
Field work has been carried out by the author since 1970 and by her co-worker, Barbara Blackburn, since 1959. Until 1973 they resided in Laguimit, Margos, Glan, South Cotabato. Further research was done from 1974-1980 with Blaan refugees in General Santos City. From 1982-1990 the researchers have resided among the Koronadal Blaan in Barrio Blaan, Malungun, South Cotabato. Data for this wordlist was gathered with the able assistance of Ricardo and Saring Roque, native speakers of the Sarangani Blaan dialect.

Linguistic research on the Blaan language has been recorded by James and Gladys Dean (1953-1955), Norman and Doris Abrams (1956-1970), Betty McLachlin and Barbara Blackburn (1959-1971), and Mary Rhea (1972-1990). Fr. Theodoro A. Llamzon has also carried out research on the Blaan language as have other scholars.

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Map 13. Blaan language area

## 2. Summary of the phonology

Below is a brief overview of the phonology of Sarangani Blaan.

### 2.1 Word stress

Stress in Blaan is predictable; it occurs on the ultimate syllable of the root word.

### 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Blaan has 15 consonant phonemes.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	?
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

### 2.2.1 Discussion

The fricative /f/ has a bilabial allophone [ɸ] which is in free variation with [f]. All stops are unaspirated and in final position unreleased. A non-phonemic glottal stop is inserted before a vowel initial word. Glottal stop is phonemic in all other environments. /d/ is realised as [ɾ] intervocally in Sarangani Blaan and when following another consonant in Koronadal Blaan. The phoneme /r/ only occurs in borrowed words.

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Blaan has 8 vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a</i>		<i>ɔ</i>

#### 2.3.1 Discussion.

/e/ tends to be lowered to its lax allophone [ɛ] in unstressed and closed CVC syllables. /i/ tends to be lowered to its lax allophone [ɪ] before *ŋ*.

There are no diphthongs in Sarangani Blaan. Each vowel forms the nucleus of a syllable. Where two vowels are written consecutively there is a glottal stop between the vowels.

### 2.4 Notes on the shape of words.

Root final /h/ although common in other dialects of Blaan seems to be in the process of being dropped in Sarangani Blaan.

(1)	Koronadal	Sarangani	
	<i>bawihan</i>	<i>bawin</i>	'his face'
	<i>milih</i>	<i>mili</i>	'transfer'

Affixes *-m-* subject focus and *-n-* object focus occur as prefixes before monosyllabic words and words beginning in a vowel, and as infixes

occurring after the initial consonant in words of more than one syllable beginning with a consonant.

(2)	/-m-təb/	‘subj foc-graze’	>	[mtəb]
	/-n-imoʔ/	‘obj foc-do’	>	[nimoʔ]
	/-n-tiis/	‘obj foc-pour’	>	[tniis]

Root initial /b/ and /f/ are dropped when -*m*- ‘subj. focus’ is affixed to words of more than one syllable.

(3)	/-m-fati/	‘subj foc-kill’	>	[mati]
	/-m-bunal/	‘obj foc-beat’	>	[munal]

Affixes *C-* are realised as *Ca-* before consonant clusters or when *C-* is the same as the initial consonant of the root word.

(4)	/s-satu/	‘reciprocal -one’	>	[sasatu]	‘oneness’
	/g-fnoʔ/	‘able to-fill’	>	[gafnoʔ]	

Similarly suffix -*C* is realised as -*aC* when following a consonant. Infix -*C-* is realised as -*aC-* when it occurs before a consonant.

(5)	/ɔgul-m/	‘corn-your’	>	[ɔgulam]	‘your corn’
	/-m-tbel/	‘subj foc-sew’	>	[tambel]	

If a -*C-* infix precedes the same consonant, the infix is realised as -*aCa-*.

	/-n-tnuʔ/	‘obj foc-add to’	>	[tananuʔ]
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## 14. Bāngingi Sama

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**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist : *Eunice Diment*

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### 1. Introduction

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Bāngingi Sama is one of several related Sama languages spoken in the Sulu Archipelago of the southern part of the Republic of the Philippines. The Sama languages belong to the Sama-Bajaw subgroup of the Austronesian family of languages.

The original home of the Bāngingi people was Balangingi Island, located in the Tongkil island group, to the south of Basilan Island. After being subdued by the Spanish in 1848, the survivors fled to other islands. Most of them settled in one of three areas of the northern Sulu Archipelago: the Tongkil island group, the coastal areas and islands bordering the island of Basilan, and the southern Zamboanga peninsula. These are today the three major areas of Bāngingi population.

It is not known how many Bāngingi there are today – perhaps a generous estimate would be 6,000–10,000 – but the cluster of Sama languages and dialects spoken in the northern Sulu Archipelago, including Bāngingi, is estimated to total 60,000 people.

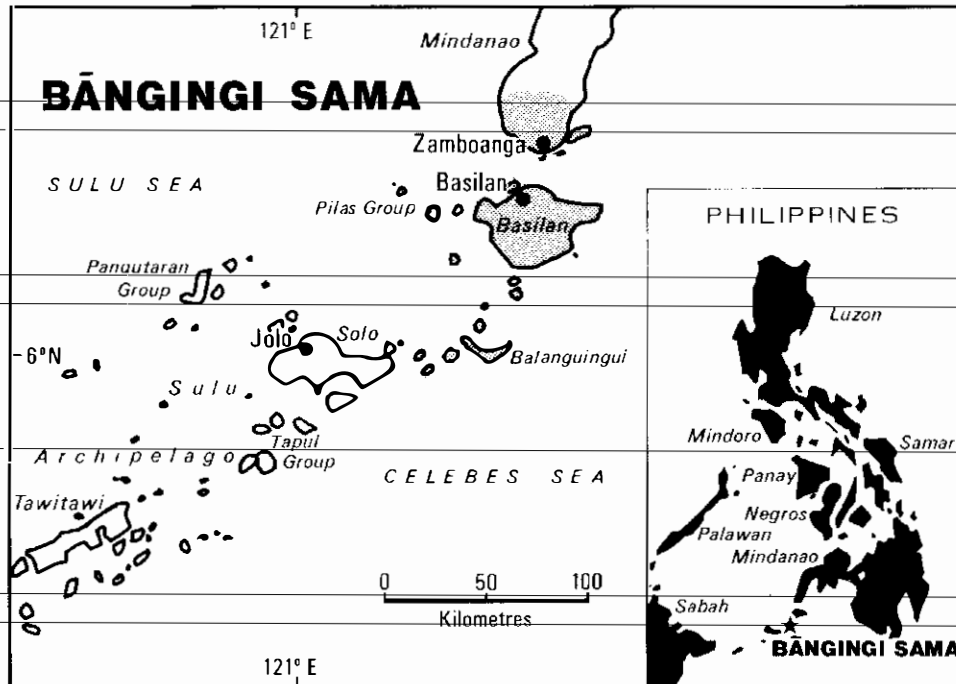
Some work on Bāngingi has been done by Geohegan (1970) and Molony (1969). The phonology of Bāngingi has been described by Gault (1979), who has also written on Bāngingi narrative discourse (1986).

Data has been gathered over a period of years by Jo Ann Gault and Eunice Diment, working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Much data was gathered in 1975 and 1976 during residence in Panigayan, a coastal village on the island of Malamawi, just to the northwest of Basilan Island. The main language assistants at that time were Sulaiman Barhama and his sister Fatimah Barhama. Much of the years 1978-1981 and 1985-1988 was spent in Zamboanga City, on the southwest tip of Mindanao island, and data was gathered from Bāngingi people resident in the villages of Taluksangay, Campo Islam and Rio Hondo. A three-language vocabulary book (Bāngingi, Pilipino and English) was published in 1980 based on data already in hand, with additional data being supplied by Jamila Ballaho and

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Attica Timbang. Attica Timbang was again the primary source of the further data included in the present list.



Map 14. Bāngingi Sama language area

## 2. Summary of the phonology

Below is a brief overview of the phonology of Bāngingi, based on the work by Gault (1979).

### 2.1 Word stress

Stress generally falls on the penultimate syllable of the word but if the final syllable of the word has a long vowel, the stress falls on that syllable.

### 2.3 Inventory of consonants

Bāngingi has 17 consonant phonemes.

Table 1. Bāngingi consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

### 2.2.1 Discussion

All the consonants except /ʃ, ɲ, h/ occur as both syllable onset and syllable coda. These three occur only as syllable onset. /h/ does occur as syllable coda in some borrowed words.

The /d/ has two allophones: [ɾ] a voiced alveolar flap which occurs intervocalically, and [d] which occurs elsewhere. [ɾ] does occur word-initial in some borrowed words, but is not treated as a phoneme in this analysis.

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Bāngingi has five vowel phonemes.

Table 2. Bāngingi vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

**2.3.1 Discussion.** Each vowel is lowered to its respective lax allophone in closed syllables.



Vowel harmony is extensive. Mid vowels often occur together in the same roots, and high vowels often occur together in the same roots, but mid vowels never occur with high vowels in disyllabic root words.

Each vowel can occur with length, symbolised as  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ . Each vowel forms the nucleus of a syllable.

## 2.4 Notes on the shape of words and syllables

Nearly all root words are disyllabic, but with affixation and reduplication many polysyllabic words result, up to seven syllables in observed data. Syllable patterns C, CVC, V and VC combine freely in polysyllabic words with the following restrictions: (1) Every phonological word begins with a consonant, therefore word-initial syllables are restricted to syllable patterns CV and CVC. (2) When the sequence VCV occurs, the syllable break is always before the consonant, therefore the syllable sequence (C)VC.V(C) cannot occur. When a vowel-initial suffix is added to a consonant-final stem, there is a change in the function of the stem-final consonant from coda to onset:

- (1) [da.gʌŋ] / /dagaŋ/ ‘to sell’  
       [da.ga.ŋʌŋ] / /dagaŋaŋ/ ‘things to sell.’

Vowel sequences are sequences across syllable boundaries:

- (2) /boa/ ‘mouth’ CV.C  
       /peat/ ‘red’ CV.VC  
       /bianiŋ/ ‘yellow’ CV.V.CVC

Six words in Bāngingi have been observed which begin with a nasal initial homorganic consonant cluster. The initial nasal is clearly the syllable nucleus, and in disyllabic words also carries the stress. Its historical antecedent is CVC, specifically  $ʔaC$  as determined by its occurrence in other Sama languages, but the schwa has for the most part disappeared from the Bāngingi language and is not now phonemic.

- (3) /ŋpat/ ‘four’  
       /ŋnom/ ‘six’  
       /ŋmaʔ/ ‘father’  
       /ŋboʔ/ ‘grandfather’  
       /ŋbohoʔ/ ‘just now; so that; before’  
       /ŋgaʔi/ ‘negative’

Between numerals and certain roots, a nasal occurs, whose phonemic shape is determined by the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the following root.

- |     |         |     |           |   |              |                |
|-----|---------|-----|-----------|---|--------------|----------------|
| (4) | /lima/  | + N | + /jām/   | → | /limanjām/   | ‘five hours’   |
|     | /waluʔ/ | + N | + /kehet/ | → | /waluŋkehet/ | ‘eight slices’ |
|     | /dua/   | + N | + /pūʔ/   | → | /duampuʔ/    | ‘twenty’       |

Assimilation occurs with the prefixation of the nasal-final prefixes aN- and paN-.

- |     |      |             |   |              |                                      |
|-----|------|-------------|---|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| (5) | aN-  | + /bissada/ | → | /ʔamissada/  | ‘speak’                              |
|     |      | + /tahiʔ/   | → | /ʔanahiʔ/    | ‘sew’                                |
|     | paN- | + /kolloʔ/  | → | /paŋolloʔan/ | ‘place where something was obtained’ |

Phoneme loss occurs in some cases when a glottal-initial stem is prefixed with a vowel-final suffix.

- |     |       |            |   |          |             |
|-----|-------|------------|---|----------|-------------|
| (6) | /ta-/ | + /ʔandaʔ/ | → | /tandaʔ/ | ‘seen’      |
|     | /pa-/ | + /ʔakkom/ | → | /pakkom/ | ‘face down’ |
|     | /ni-/ | + /ʔubus/  | → | /niubus/ | ‘finished’  |

Phoneme insertion occurs in some cases with suffixation. An /h/ is realised between a stem ending in a vowel and a vowel-initial suffix.

- |     |         |         |   |            |                 |
|-----|---------|---------|---|------------|-----------------|
| (7) | /boa/   | + /-un/ | → | /boahun/   | ‘take it’       |
|     | /billi/ | + /-in/ | → | /billihin/ | ‘buy (for him)’ |

Root perturbation occurs with suffixation of roots whose final syllable has the phonemic shape /hV/.

- |     |        |             |   |            |                  |
|-----|--------|-------------|---|------------|------------------|
| (8) | /puhi/ | + /-in--an/ | → | /pinuihan/ | ‘put out to dry’ |
|     | /dahu/ | + /-an/     | → | /dauhan/   | ‘first’          |

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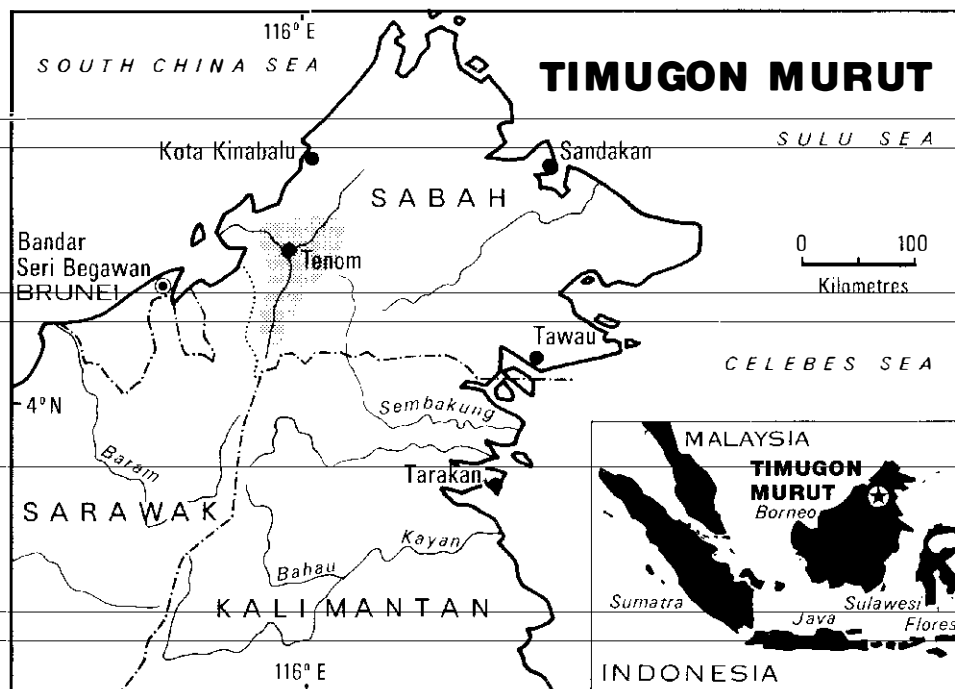
## 15. Timugon Murut

**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist: *D.J. Prentice*

### 1. Introduction

The word “Murut” has long been used for two different groups of languages spoken in an area of Borneo overlapping the borders of the Malaysian States of Sabah and Sarawak, and the Indonesian province of East Kalimantan. In Sarawak, the term refers to languages closely related to Kelabit and spoken by inhabitants of the 5th Division, of neighbouring areas of East Kalimantan, and of the upper reaches of the Padas R. in Sabah, where the same people are known as “Lun Daye(h)”. In Sabah, the word “Murut” refers to those ethnic groups inhabiting the S.W. quarter of the state and extending for an uncertain distance into East Kalimantan. These Murut-speakers, whose languages show far greater similarities with the languages of the Philippines, are known in Sarawak as “Tagal”. The Sabahan Murut language represented here is termed



Map 15. Timugon Murut language area

*Timugon* by its speakers (from *timuo* 'water' + *-on*, obsolete locative suffix), and exists in 4 dialects: Bukow and Binta?, spoken on the coastal plain, and Kapagalan and Poros, spoken in the hinterland upstream of the Padas Gorge, respectively along the courses of the Pegalan and Padas rivers. The material presented here originates from the Poros dialect as spoken by the late Haji Musa Jimin bin Sanggah, his wife Sinoyong, and his son Jinuin Jimin, my adoptive parents and brother.

The following grammatical description is very brief. A detailed analysis can be found in Prentice (1971).

## 2. Phonology

2.1 The phonemes of Timugon Murut are presented in Table 1 and 2 below.

*Table 1.* Timugon Murut consonants

	Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>s</i>			
Affricates			<i>tʃ</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>			
Semivowels	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

*Table 2.* Timugon Murut vowels

Vowels	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	Diphthongs	<i>iw</i>	<i>uy</i>
	<i>o</i>			<i>ow</i>	<i>oy</i>
	<i>a</i>			<i>aw</i>	<i>ay</i>

2.2 A. The voiced stops /b, d, g/ have fricative allophones [β, r, γ] post-vocally, also following a morpheme boundary:

/ibiton duandu? no da gaŋas/  
 [i'βitɔn du'andu? nɔ ra 'ɣaŋas]  
 convey woman the RA Gangas  
 'The woman will be conveyed to Gangas.'

/ibiton ku duandu? no da gaŋas/  
 [i'βitɔn ku ru'andu? nɔ ra 'ɣaŋas]  
 convey I woman the RA Gangas  
 'I will convey the woman to Gangas.'

/ibiton duandu? min da gaŋas/  
 [i'βitɔn du'andu min ra 'ɣaŋas]  
 convey woman you RA Gangas  
 'Your kinswoman will be conveyed to Gangas.'

B. The allophones [d] and [r] of /d/ are in the process of becoming separate phonemes under the influence of massive borrowing from Malay and English where the two sounds are usually kept distinct. Word-final [d] in English loanwords yields Timugon /-t/ ([d] does not occur word-finally in Malay, the other major source of loans).

C. Phonemic sequences of two identical vowels are phonetically realised as single long vowels: /taŋkuŋ/ [t'aŋkʊŋ] 'k.o. musical instrument' vs /taŋkuuŋ/ [t'aŋ'kūŋ] 'hunchback(ed)' and /monsoy/ [m'ɔnsɔy] '(of relationship) will improve' vs /moonsoy/ [m'ɔnsɔy] 'good'.

**2.3** Stress is non-phonemic and falls regularly on the nucleus of the penultimate syllable of the word. When this nucleus is part of a vowel complex, stress falls on the syllabic component of the complex:

/mausug/ [m'ausʊɣ] 'satiated, full'  
 /bibiisan/ [bi'βiisan] '(of animal) striped'

**2.4** As a general rule, /a/ and /o/ do not occur adjacently to each other. Even when separated by word-boundaries within a phrase, /a/ and /o/ assimilate with each other (the vowel preceding the word boundary assimilating to the following).

/sala? ka okow/ [sala? k'ɔkow] '(it is/was) not you'  
 /sala? ka aku/ [sala? k'āku] '(it is/was) not I'  
 /makito no aku da odow ti/ [makita'nāku r'ɔrowti]  
 see he I RA day the 'he will see me today'

**2.5** Within words, the following rules prevail concerning the distribution of phonemes:

- A. In the final syllable, all 4 vowels may occur without restriction (although /u/ is not known to occur in any suffix, either inflectional or derivational).
- B. In the penultimate syllable of a lexeme /o/ can only occur if the final syllable also contains /o/. The other 3 vowels occur without restriction.
- C. In pre-penultimate syllables, of words and lexemes, the distinction between /o/ and /a/ is neutralised: /o/ occurs only when all following syllables contain /o/; otherwise /a/ occurs. There are no constraints on the occurrence of the other two vowels /i/ and /u/.
- D. /w/ does not occur adjacent to /u/, nor does /y/ adjacent to /i/.
- E. /ʀ/ occurs only word-finally (and is therefore elided in suffixation, see 3.3.E. below), whereas /j/ and /ñ/ never occur word-finally.
- F. /NC/ (as opposed to borrowed) words consist of combinations of nasal + homorganic consonant (NC) in word-medial position. Only one such NC combination is permitted per word (for morphophonemic consequences, see 3.3.C. below).

### 3. Morphology and morphophonemics

#### 3.1 Voice

Murut main-clause verbs can appear in 3 different voices: Sf, Of and Rf. The subject of an Sf verb is regularly the agent of the action or the entity involved in the process implied by the verb, while the subjects of Of and Rf verbs are regularly the direct (accusative) and indirect (dative or benefactive) objects respectively of the verb concerned. There are two other voices (Associative and Instrumental), but these are restricted to certain types of subordinate clauses and are not further discussed here. Sf-verb forms involve various affixes: *-um-*, *mag-*, *maŋ-* and *ma-*, the last either alone or in combination with other morphemes in hyper-affixes like *mapa-* (*pa-* = causative), *maki-* (*ki-* = petitive), *mati-* (*ti-* = desiderative, uncontrollability), etc. When one verb-base has more than one Sf-form, there is always a grammatical and/or semantic distinction. Thus alternations like *-um-* ~ *mag-* and *-um-* ~ *maŋ-* correspond to 'intransitive' ~ 'transitive', whereas alternation *mag-* ~ *maŋ-* corresponds to 'transitive with non-specific object' ~ 'transitive with specific object'. Of-forms use the suffix *-on*, either alone or in combination, e.g. *pag-on*, *paŋ-on*,

*papa-* -on, *paki-* -on etc., which correspond more or less regularly to Sf forms with *mag-*, *maŋ-*, *mapa-*, *maki-* etc. Rf-forms are marked by *-in* (or, as with *-on*, combinations with various prefixes, e.g. *pag-* -in, *paŋ-* -in, *papa-* -in etc.)

There are many irregularities: some verbs have no Sf-forms (e.g. *ani?* ‘give’ which in Timugon only occurs in Rf-form: *anīn*); some verbs use the Rf-form with *-in*, rather than the Of-form with *-on*, when the subject is direct object (e.g. *patid* ‘throw away’ which has only the passive *patidin*, not *\*\*patidon*); and some intransitive verbs use Of- and Rf-forms to subjectivise other arguments than direct and indirect object (e.g. *oŋoy* ‘go (somewhere)’, *oŋoyon* ‘go for something, go to get something’). In the comparative wordlist, verb-forms are given in the order Sf-Of-Rf. Unless otherwise indicated, the first form marks the agentive, the second the accusative and the third the dative/benefactive case. Formal exceptions are specified.

### 3.2 Aspect

With the exception of a large number of stative verbs (or “adjectives”), most Murut verbs exhibit in all voices three different aspect-forms: the non-Perfect (nP) (i.e. the form used as citation-form for the affixes in the previous paragraph), indicating an action not (yet) completed or a situation not (yet) realised; the Perfect (P) denoting action completed or situation realised; and the Atemporal (At) which is neutral regarding “complete/incomplete” and often used as imperative and/or narrative verb form, when concepts such as “completed/not-completed” are irrelevant or already determined by the context.

The great majority of Timugon adjectives occur with prefix *ma-* and do not show aspect differentiation.

### 3.3 Forms

The complicated morphophonemics of Timugon’s affix system can only be treated summarily in this introduction.

#### A. *-um-*

The infix *-um-* (Sf, non-perfect) alternates with *imin* (Of, perfect) and  $\emptyset$  (Sf, temporal). The allomorphs are determined by the initial phoneme of the stem, as follows:



Table 3. *-um-* (forms)

Initial phoneme	nP	P	At
V	<i>m-</i>	<i>min-</i>	∅
b, p, m	<i>M-</i>	<i>Min-</i>	∅
other	<i>um-</i>	<i>imin-</i>	∅

V = vowel

P = perfect

M = /m/ replacing homorganic consonant

At = Atemporal

nP = non-perfect

Table 4. *-um-* (examples)

	nP	P	At
<i>oŋoy</i> 'go'	<i>moŋoy-</i>	<i>minoŋoy</i>	<i>oŋoy</i>
<i>patoy</i> 'die'	<i>matoy</i>	<i>minatoy</i>	<i>patoy</i>
<i>mitiŋ</i> 'meet (officially)'	<i>mitiŋ</i>	<i>minitiŋ</i>	<i>mitiŋ</i>
<i>tūn</i> 'go down'	<i>tumūŋ</i>	<i>tūminu</i>	<i>tūn</i>

B. *ma(-x)-*

Prefixes beginning with *ma-* (e.g. *ma-*, *mag-*, *maŋ-*, *mapa-*, *maka-*, etc.) are subject to the vowel-distribution rules explained in 2.5 above. If the following vowel (i.e. the first vowel of the base) is *o*, all *a*'s in these prefixes adjacent to that vowel assimilate to it (thus *mo-*, *mog-*, *moŋ-*, *mopo-*, *moko-* etc.). This does not apply to prefixes *maki-*, *mati-*, etc., where the presence of a morpheme (*-ki-*, *-ti-*) containing a vowel other than *a* or *o* blocks the assimilation. Thus *kito* 'see' yields *mapakito* 'cause to be seen, show', while *doŋō* 'hear' yields *mopodoŋō* 'cause to be heard', both formed with the prefix *mapa-*.

The aspect-forms of *ma(X)-* type prefixes are very regular:

Table 5. *ma(X)-* (forms)

	nP	P	At
<i>ma(X)-</i>	<i>ma(X)-</i>	<i>na(X)-</i>	<i>pa(X)-</i>

In these prefixes, initial *m-* indicates non-perfect, initial *n-* perfect, and initial *p-* atemporal aspect. Two of these prefixes, *mag-* and *maŋ-*, can have morphophonemic effects upon the verb-stem and are discussed separately below.

### C. *mag-*

This prefix has various allomorphs, most of them conditioned by the phonology of the first segment of the stem, and often yielding prenasalisation with a homorganic nasal consonant:

initial phoneme	allomorph
V	<i>mag-</i> ~ <i>mog-</i>
b, p	<i>mam-</i> ~ <i>mom-</i>
t, s	<i>man-</i> ~ <i>mon-</i>
k	<i>maŋ-</i> ~ <i>moŋ-</i>
d, l, ʃ, g	<i>mampa</i> ~ <i>mompo-</i>
other	<i>ma-</i> ~ <i>mo-</i>

In accordance with rule 2.5.F, the prefix *mag-* takes the form /*ma-* ~ *mo-*/ with roots containing an -NC- sequence.

Examples:

<i>ansak</i>	‘cook’	> <i>magansak</i>
<i>bāl</i>	‘make’	> <i>mambāl</i>
<i>ompod</i>	‘flatter’	> <i>mogompod</i>
<i>talán</i>	‘sell’	> <i>mantalan</i>
<i>kodojo</i>	‘work’	> <i>moŋkodojo</i>
<i>lobon</i>	‘hold a funeral’	> <i>mopolobon</i>
<i>dondon</i>	‘stay home’	> <i>modondon</i>

(N.B. There exists a homophonous prefix *mag-*, producing reciprocal verbs, which has somewhat different morphophonemic rules. This prefix will be ignored here.)

### D. *maŋ-*

The allomorphs of this prefix, like those of *mag-*, also involves nasal consonants homorganic with the initial consonant of the stem. In this case, however, the process involved is not prenasalisation, but nasalisation

(sometimes termed nasal replacement), whereby the initial consonant is replaced by its nasal counterpart (indicated by capital letters in the following table):

initial phoneme	allomorph	
V	<i>maŋ-</i>	~ <i>moŋ-</i>
b, p	<i>maM-</i>	~ <i>moM-</i>
t, s	<i>maN-</i>	~ <i>moN-</i>
k	<i>maŊ-</i>	~ <i>moŊ-</i>
d, l, ʃ, g	<i>mama-</i>	~ <i>momo-</i>
others	<i>ma-</i>	~ <i>mo-</i>

Examples:

<i>patid</i>	‘throw away’	>	<i>mamatid</i>
<i>bilin</i>	‘warn’	>	<i>mamilin</i>
<i>pili?</i>	‘choose’	>	<i>mamili?</i>
<i>lobon</i>	‘bury’	>	<i>momolobon</i>
<i>solob</i>	‘burn’	>	<i>monolob</i>
<i>idu?</i>	‘remove’	>	<i>manidu?</i>
<i>kotop</i>	‘graze’	>	<i>moŋotop</i>
<i>tanom</i>	‘plant’	>	<i>mananom</i>

#### E. *-on* and *-in*

The Of- suffix *-on* and Rf- suffix *-in* have aspect -forms as displayed in table 6 below:

Table 6. *-on* and *-in* (forms)

nP	P	At
<i>(pa(X))--on</i>	<i>(p)--in-(aX-)</i>	<i>(pa (X))--o?</i>
<i>(pa (X))--in</i>	<i>(p)--in-(aX-)--an</i>	<i>(pa (X))--i?</i>

Both affixes have effects upon base forms, as already explained above: base-final /ʔ/ disappears in the presence of a suffix (see 2.5.E.); base-final /y/ disappears when adjacent to suffix *-in* or *-i?* (see 2.5.D); distribution patterns of /a/ and /o/ change when suffixes *-on*, *-o?*, *-in*, *-i?*, *-an* are added (see 2.4. and 2.5 above).

## Examples

Table 7: Voice/aspect

		nP	P	At
<i>patoy</i> ( <i>maŋ-</i> ; <i>-on</i> ; <i>-in</i> ) 'slaughter O (for R)'	Sf	<i>mamatoy</i>	<i>mamatoy</i>	<i>pamatoy</i>
	Of	<i>potoyon</i>	<i>pinatoy</i>	<i>potoyo?</i>
	Rf	<i>patain</i>	<i>pinatayan</i>	<i>patai?</i>
<i>bali</i> ( <i>mag-</i> ; <i>-on</i> ; <i>-in</i> ) 'buy O (for R)'	Sf	<i>mambali</i>	<i>nambali</i>	<i>pambali</i>
	Of	<i>balion</i>	<i>binali</i>	<i>balio?</i>
	Rf	<i>balin</i>	<i>binalian</i>	<i>balī?</i>
<i>basa?</i> ( <i>mag-</i> ; <i>-on</i> ; <i>-in</i> ) 'read O (out to R)'	Sf	<i>mambasa?</i>	<i>nambasa?</i>	<i>pambasa?</i>
	Of	<i>basān</i>	<i>binasa?</i>	<i>basā?</i>
	Rf	<i>basain</i>	<i>binasān</i>	<i>basai?</i>
<i>korojo</i> ( <i>maŋ-</i> ; <i>-on</i> ; <i>-in</i> ) 'work on O (for R)'	Sf	<i>moŋodojo</i>	<i>noŋodojo</i>	<i>poŋodojo</i>
	Of	<i>kodojōn</i>	<i>kinodojo</i>	<i>kodojō?</i>
	Rf	<i>kadaĵain</i>	<i>kinadaĵān</i>	<i>kadaĵai?</i>
<i>aloy</i> ( <i>man-</i> ; <i>-on</i> ; <i>-in</i> ) 'go upstairs (with R)'	Sf	<i>magaloy</i>	<i>nagaloy</i>	<i>pagaloy</i>
	Of	—	—	—
	Rf	<i>alain</i>	<i>inalayan</i>	<i>alai?</i>
<i>iloy</i> ( <i>-in</i> ) 'look at R'	Sf	—	—	—
	Of	—	—	—
	Rf	<i>ilain</i>	<i>inilayan</i>	<i>ilai?</i>
<i>patid</i> ( <i>man-</i> ; <i>-in</i> ) 'throw R away'	Sf	<i>mamatid</i>	<i>namatid</i>	<i>pamatid</i>
	Of	—	—	—
	Rf	<i>patidin</i>	<i>pinatidan</i>	<i>patidi?</i>
<i>kidim</i> ( <i>maŋ-</i> ; <i>-in</i> ) 'send R s.th.'	Sf	<i>maŋidim</i>	<i>naŋidim</i>	<i>paŋidim</i>
	Of	—	—	—
	Rf	<i>kidimin</i>	<i>kinidiman</i>	<i>kidimi?</i>
<i>kidim</i> ( <i>mapa-</i> ; <i>pa--on</i> ) 'send O (to s.o.)'	Sf	<i>mapakidim</i>	<i>napakidim</i>	<i>papakidim</i>
	Of	<i>pakidimon</i>	<i>pinakidim</i>	<i>pakidimo?</i>
	Rf	—	—	—

3.4. Besides the array of normal verbals, with their affixation for Sf (*-um-*, *mag-*, *maŋ-*, *ma(X)-*), Of (*(pa(X))-on*) and Rf (*(pa(X))-in*), there exists a

parallel system of verb-forms (termed ‘participles’ in Prentice 1971, for lack of a better term; the term will be retained here) which have parallels with the voice system of the ordinary verbs, as shown in Table 8 below.

*Table 8: Verb and participles (Voice/aspect: forms)*

Verbs			Particles (part)		
nP	P	At	nP	P	At
-um-	-imin-	∅	<i>maka</i>	<i>naka-</i>	<i>paka-</i>
Sf <i>mag-</i>	<i>-nag-</i>	<i>pag-</i>	<i>naka(pag)-</i>	<i>naka(pag)-</i>	<i>paka(pag-)</i>
Of <i>-on</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-o?</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
Rf <i>-in</i>	<i>-in--an</i>	<i>-i?</i>	<i>ma--an</i>	<i>na--an</i>	<i>ka--i?</i>
			or		
			<i>ka--an</i>		

Some of the semantic and or syntactic functions conveyed by the ‘verb-particle’ distinction are illustrated below:

- minuli* *io*  
go-home, Sf, P he ‘he has gone home’.

*nakauli?* *io*  
go-home, Sf (part), P he ‘he has arrived home’, ‘he is home’
- kalo muli?* *aku*  
not-go home Sf, nP I ‘I’m not going home’

*kalo makauli?* *aku*  
not-go-home, Sf (part), nP I ‘I can’t go home; (with sentence-medial intonation: if I don’t get home ...)’
- minuli?* *kow kia*  
go-home, Sf, P you ? ‘did you go home?’

*nakauli?* *kow kia*  
go-home, Sf, P you ? ‘did you get home?’
- akanon* *kia kinawa?* *-ti*  
eat, Of, nP ? fruit the ‘Is this fruit going to be eaten?’

*mākan* *kia kinawa?* *-ti*  
eat, Of (part), P ? fruit -the ‘Is this fruit edible?’





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## 16. Malagasy

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction: <i>K. A. Adelaar</i>
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Wordlist: <i>P. Vérin – K. A. Adelaar</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Malagasy, the westernmost member of the Austronesian language family, is spoken in Madagascar and on part of the island of Mayotte, in the Comoros. Speakers of Malagasy number about ten million. The language has a rather complex morphology, and it has a “Philippine” type topicalisation system. Its basic word order is verb-initial and topic-final.

The closest relatives of Malagasy are the Southeast Barito languages of South Kalimantan. It has also undergone much influence from Bantu languages (Ngazije, Ndzuani [Comoros], Swahili), Malay, Javanese, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, French and English. Sanskrit influence came into Malagasy via Malay and Javanese, and much of the Arabic and Persian influence was borrowed via Bantu languages.

The Malagasy dialect used in the comparative wordlist is Merina, which is spoken in the central highlands. Merina formed the basis of modern standard Malagasy, and it is reasonably well documented: among the basic reference works are a Merina - English dictionary by Richardson (1885), a Merina - French dictionary (1970) and French - Merina dictionary (1973) by Abinal and Malzac, a Malagasy - Malagasy explanatory dictionary by Rajemisa-Raolison (1985), and grammars by Cousins (1894), Malzac (2nd edition 1926) and by Rajaona (1972). Merina is the subject of a number of linguistic studies by Keenan (Keenan 1972, 1976) and by Keenan and Ochs (1979).

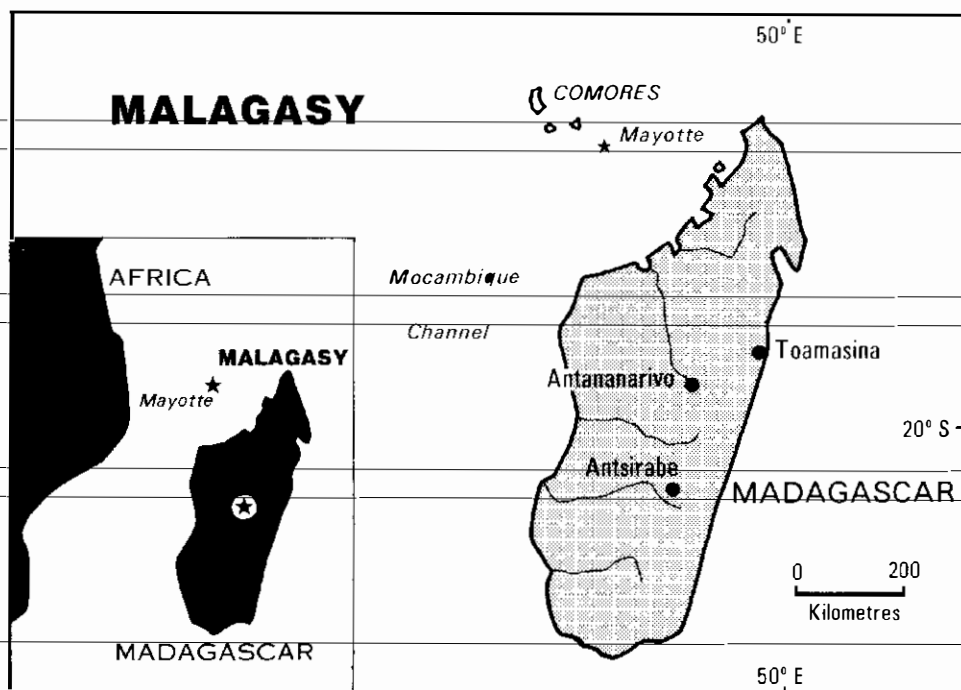
Other Malagasy dialects are usually poorly documented. They are Sakalava (West), Bara, Vezo, Antandroy and Mahafaly (Southwest), (Merina), Betsileo, Sihanaka (Central-East), Antaimoro, Antaisaka, Zafisoro (Southeast), Betsimisaraka, Antambahoaka (Northeast), Tsimihety and Antankarana (North). Merina and Sakalava are the major dialects. Important phonological characteristics of Sakalava are the loss of Proto-Malagasy final nasals, (whereas Merina added a voiceless *a*, symbolised *ã*, to them), the development of Proto-Malagasy *\*-t* into Sakalava *-øe* (compare Merina *-tʰã*), and the retention of Proto-Malagasy *\*li* and *\*ti* (which became Merina *di*, *tsi*; *ts* is written *ç* in the data presented here). Compare:

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Proto Malagasy	<i>*taŋan</i> 'hand' > Sakalava <i>táŋa</i> , Merina <i>tánanã</i>
	<i>*kulit</i> > 'skin' > Sakalava <i>húliŋe</i> , Merina <i>húdiŋ'ã</i>
	<i>*putiq</i> 'white' > Sakalava <i>fúti</i> , Merina <i>fúŋi</i>

Dez (1963) gives qualitative evidence for a division of the dialects into (roughly) a Southern + Western group vs a Central + Eastern group, provisionally including Tsimihety and Antankarana into the Southern + Western group. Vérin, Kottak and Gorlin (1969), on the basis of lexicostatistics, distinguish a split-off of the northern dialects into two primary subgroups, and they divide the remaining dialects into a Southern + Western branch and a Central + Eastern branch. Simon (1988) criticizes Dez' main device for a dialectal classification which is the development (or not) of *\*li* to *di* and of *\*ŋi* to *ŋi*. He points out that this development was already going on in the Southeast Barito area: its origin must predate the Malagasy migration to East Africa, and hence it cannot be critical for a Malagasy dialect classification (see also Dahl 1977:126). Simon proposes an original dialect chain going from Southwest to Northeast Madagascar, which is obscured by more recent isoglosses shared by central and east coast dialects.



Map 16. Malagasy language area

The most important contribution to the study of the origin of Malagasy is Dahl (1951; 1977), who shows the relationship of Malagasy with the

Southeast Barito languages (among others Maanyan). Other comparative-historical studies are Simon (1988), Mahdi (1988) and Adelaar (1989 and in press). Mahdi also treats part of the rather complicated morphophonemics of Merina.

For further basic information on Malagasy linguistic literature (including the dialects), see Dahl (1951), Dez (1988) and the *Linguistic Bibliography*.

The orthography of the Malagasy material presented here differs from the official Malagasy orthography in that the symbols *o*, *y*, *j*, *tr*, *dr* and *ts* have been replaced by their phonetic realisation *u*, *i*, *dʒ*, *tʳ*, *dʳ* and *ʔ* respectively, and in that stress is indicated wherever it is relevant to the argument, or wherever it is not predictable from the word-structure. Unless indicated otherwise, etymological information is based on Dahl (1951, 1988) and on Adelaar (1989 and in press).

## 2. Malagasy phonology

Table 1. Malagasy consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops</b>					
voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	
voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
<b>Affricates</b>					
voiceless		<i>ʧ</i>	<i>tʳ</i>		
voiced		<i>dʒ</i>	<i>dʳ</i>		
<b>Fricatives</b>					
voiceless	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
voiced	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>			
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
Laterals		<i>l</i>			
Trills		<i>r</i>			

Table 2. Malagasy vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		
Low		<i>a</i>	

(diphthongs are not distinguished on the phonemic level)

In the Merina dialect there is no phoneme /o/, but /ua/ sequences are pronounced as [o], and /au/ sequences are pronounced as [ɔ] (cf. 'luat<sup>r</sup>ǎ 'too much' [lɔt<sup>r</sup>ǎ]; 'taunǎ 'year' [tɔnǎ]).<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, penultimate *i* and final syllable <sup>r</sup>t, *k*, and *n* are archiphonemes which change in the process of suffixation; see below.

Stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable of a disyllabic root, and on the antepenultimate syllable of a root of more than two syllables. Stress is phonemic and morphological: compare 'lalanǎ 'road, path' versus la'lanaǎ 'law' (see below for morphological stress). Vowels which are not stressed have a reduced pronunciation. /h/ is often not pronounced.

All roots and derivations end in a vowel. The great majority of unaffixed roots are trisyllabic or disyllabic, but monosyllables and roots of more than three syllables also occur.

A large portion of the roots end in the sequences -t<sup>r</sup>ǎ, -kǎ or -nǎ (consisting of the archiphonemes <sup>r</sup>t, *k*, *n* + ǎ). Each consonant (other than the archiphonemes) can be ∅ or a cluster consisting of a stop or affricate preceded by a homorganic nasal. If they have more than two syllables, their penultimate vowel is *a*, *u*, or the archiphoneme *i*. Roots belonging to this pattern developed from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian/Proto-Southeast-Barito \*(C)V(C)VC roots.

Other roots (i.e. roots of a 'CVCV -, 'CV or (...)CV'CVCV structure which do not end in the sequences -t<sup>r</sup>ǎ, -kǎ or -nǎ) have penultimate stress (or, in the case of monosyllables, final-syllable stress). Each slot can be ∅, C or a cluster consisting of a stop or affricate preceded by a homorganic nasal. These roots developed from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian/Proto-Southeast-Barito \*(C)V(C)V roots or from \*(C)V(C)VC roots of which the last consonant became ∅.

Suffixation entails the following changes:

a) in roots ending in -t<sup>r</sup>ǎ, -kǎ or -nǎ:

- final ǎ is deleted
- as a last consonant,
 

<sup>r</sup> t	becomes	r, t or f
<i>k</i>	becomes	h or f
<i>n</i>	becomes	n or m
- if the root has more than two syllables, stress moves to the following syllable, and the archiphoneme *i* in the second syllable sometimes changes to *e*.

1. In some other Malagasy dialects this contraction has not taken place.

Examples:

' <i>fantatʰă</i>	'known'	<i>fan'tar-ină</i>	'to be known'
<i>seʰă</i>	'eager, hurried'	<i>ha-'ser-ană</i>	'haste, precipitation'
' <i>tutuʰă</i>	'filled, covered'	<i>tu'tuf-ană</i>	'to be filled (a place)'
<i>man-'dʰitʰă</i>	'to evaporate'	' <i>rit-ină</i>	'to be dried up'
' <i>alină</i>	'night'	<i>fī-a'lem-ană</i>	'supper(-time)'
' <i>lalină</i>	'deep'	<i>fan-da'lin-ănă</i>	'(the act of) making deeper'
<i>mi-'tană</i>	'to seize, hold'	' <i>tan-ană</i>	'to be seized, held' (< * <i>taan</i> )
' <i>hazakă</i>	'k.o. scab or itch'	<i>ha'zah-ină</i>	'covered with scabs'
<i>mi-'çokă</i>	'to blow'	' <i>çof-ină</i>	'to be blown' (< * <i>tiup</i> )

b) in other roots:

- stress moves to the following syllable
- final *i* sometimes becomes *e* or *a*
- the last vowel (other than *u*) sometimes merges with initial *a* or *i* of the suffix
- sometimes, *s*, *z*, *v*, *r*, *n* (or even *-av-*, *-az-*, *-an-*) occurs between bound root-form and suffix

Examples:

' <i>iri</i>	'ardent desire'	<i>i'rină</i>	'to be desired'
<i>ma'mafi</i>	'to sow, disseminate'	<i>fa'faz-ană</i>	'to be sown'
' <i>tʰatʰa</i>	'overtaken, caught'	' <i>tʰa'tʰar-ină</i>	'to be overtaken'
<i>ha'raru</i>	'obstruction, prevention'	<i>hara'ru-ină</i> ,	'to be prevented,
		<i>hara'ru-ană</i>	impeded'
<i>mi-'tadi</i>	'to seek, search for'	<i>tadi'av-ină</i>	'to be sought, looked for'

## 2.1 Sandhi

The words constituting a verb phrase, a possessive construction, a reduplication or a compound are subject to a number of sandhi rules. First, if the initial consonant of the second component of a phrase, reduplication or compound is a fricative or liquid, it undergoes the following changes:

<i>v</i> → <i>b</i>	<i>z</i> → <i>dʒ</i>
<i>f</i> → <i>p</i>	<i>r</i> → <i>dʰ</i>
<i>h</i> → <i>k</i>	<i>l</i> → <i>d</i>
<i>s</i> → <i>ç</i>	

As far as the first component of a phrase, a possessive construction, reduplication or compound is concerned, the following situations occur:

a) If the first component ends in *-tʳă* or *-kă*,

- *-tʳă* or *-kă* is dropped before a consonant
- *-tʳă* becomes *-tʳi*, and *-kă* becomes *-ki*, before the article *ni*<sup>1</sup>
- *-tʳă* and *-kă* lose *ă* before a vowel.

Examples:

<i>mamuçi-puçikă</i>	‘to knead’	(← <i>mamuçikă, fuçikă</i> )
<i>zanak-usi</i>	‘kid’	(← <i>zanakă, usi</i> )
<i>hudi-masu</i>	‘eyelid’	(← <i>hudiʳă, masu</i> )
<i>hatu-tanană</i>	‘wrist’	(← <i>hatukă, tanană</i> )
<i>vantuʳ-akuhu</i>	‘chick’	(← <i>vantuʳă, akuhu</i> )
<i>ni tanɖʳuki ni umbi</i>	‘the horns of the cow’	(← <i>tanɖʳukă, ni, umbi</i> )
<i>tamenak-atudi</i>	‘egg yolk’	(← <i>tamenăka, atudi</i> )

b) If the first component ends in *-nă*, *ă* is dropped, while the remaining *-n-* becomes *-m-* before a labial consonant, and  $\emptyset$  before a nasal. Examples:

<i>fehezan-dzavaʳă</i>	‘bunch’	(← <i>fehezană, zavaʳă</i> )
<i>taulam-panavi</i>	‘collar-bone’	(← <i>taulană, fanavi</i> )
<i>vurum-puçi</i>	‘white egret, <i>Ardea bubulcus</i> Sav.’	(← <i>vurună, fuçi</i> )
<i>vuru-maheri</i>	‘k.o. falcon, <i>Falco minor</i> , Bp.’	(← <i>vurună, ma-heri</i> )
<i>lalin-dalină</i>	‘not too deep’	(← <i>lalină, lalină</i> )
<i>rançan-tunguʳă</i>	‘toe’	(← <i>rançană, tunguʳă</i> )
<i>anaran-ni zaza</i>	‘the child’s name’	(← <i>anarană, zaza</i> )

c) If the first component does not end in *-tʳă*, *-kă* or *-nă*, *-m-* is inserted between its vowel and a following labial consonant, and *-n-* is inserted in all other cases.

Examples:

<i>tʳanu-m-burună</i>	‘bird’s nest’	(← <i>tʳanu, vurună</i> )
<i>tʳanu-n-umbi</i>	‘stable, stall’	(← <i>tʳanu, umbi</i> )
<i>ranu n-kazu</i>	‘sap’	(← <i>ranu, hazu</i> )
<i>tai-n-çufină</i>	‘earwax’	(← <i>tai, sufină</i> )
<i>lapa-n-ni mpandzakă</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘the king’s palace’	(← <i>lapa, ni, mpandzakă</i> )

1. *ni* is comparable (but not identical) to the English definite article.

2. With a geminated pronunciation of *n*.

Exceptions:

Roots which do not end in *-f'ă*, *-k'ă* or *-nă*, do not undergo any changes when reduplicated, e.g. *veta-veta* 'detestable'; some words, like *masu*, are not followed by a nasal when occurring in a compound, compare *masu-and'u* 'sun' (← *masu*, *and'u*).

### 3. Inventory of the affixes occurring in the comparative wordlist

Note: in the examples given below, forms between square brackets are precategoryals (which only occur in derivations); the symbol  $\emptyset$  stands for object of a transitive verb.

#### 3.1 Adjectival and verbal affixes

Malagasy verbs and adjectives usually have one of the following affixes:

*ma-* This prefix usually forms adjectives, sometimes also transitive verbs. It has an allomorph *m-* which occurs before a base with initial *a-* or *e-*.

Examples:

<i>[izină]</i>		<i>ma-izină</i>	'dark'
<i>(h)enaŋ'ă</i>	'shame, bashfulness'	<i>menaŋ'ă</i>	'ashamed, bashful'
<i>[hanŋ'u]</i>		<i>ma-hanŋ'u</i>	'to cook'

Note: Verbs which take *ma-* can also take *mampa-* (forming a causative), *mifa-* (forming reciprocal forms) and *mifampa-* (forming reciprocal-causatives). These derivations are not represented in the wordlist.

*mi-* This prefix forms verbs which are usually (but not always) intransitive. It has an allomorph *m-* which occurs before a base with initial *i-*.

Examples:

<i>hadi</i>	'a ditch, trench, moat'	<i>mi-hadi</i>	'to dig'
<i>anaŋ'ă</i>	'advice, instruction'	<i>mi-anaŋ'ă</i>	'to study'
<i>[idină]</i>		<i>m-idină</i>	'to pour out, 'to go down'
<i>sambuŋ'ă</i>	'a seizure, a captive'	<i>mi-sambuŋ'ă</i>	'to borrow'

A special case of *mi-* derivation are *mi-an-* forms: *mi-an-* is prefixed to intransitive verbs which denote a movement towards a certain direction. *mi-an-* is apparently a combination of *mi-* + the location *a(n)-* (see below).

<i>[zera]</i> , <i>man-dzera</i>	‘to cast, throw down, to beat’	<i>mi-an-dzera</i>	‘to fall down’
<i>zena</i>	‘market’	<i>mi-an-zena</i>	‘to go to the market’

*maN-* *maN-* forms verbs, which are usually (but not always) transitive. It has two allomorphs:

*mam-* before labial consonants; the labials are deleted except, sometimes, for *v-* and *b-*

*man-* before other consonants and before vowels; of these other consonants, *k-*, *t-*, *ç-*, *s-* and *n-* are deleted, and *h-* becomes *-g-* or *ø*; *l-* becomes *-d-*; *r-* becomes *-dʳ-*, and *z-* becomes *-dz-*.

Examples:

<i>vuli</i>	‘things growing’	<i>mambuli</i>	‘to plant O’
<i>vulu</i>	‘hair, feather’	<i>mamulu</i>	‘to pluck off O’
<i>fintanã</i>	‘fish-hook’	<i>mamintanã</i>	‘to fish’
<i>[tau]</i>		<i>manau</i>	‘to do, act ; to think’
<i>[duru]</i>		<i>man-duru</i>	‘to burn O’
<i>lua</i>	‘vomit’	<i>mandua</i>	‘to vomit’
<i>rura</i>	‘saliva’	<i>mandʳura</i>	‘to spit’
<i>kaikiʳã</i>	‘a bite’	<i>manaikiʳã</i>	‘to bite O’
<i>[hantunã]</i>		<i>manantunã</i>	‘to hang, suspend O’
<i>hatakã</i>	‘request, thing begged’	<i>mangatakã</i>	‘to beg, ask for O’
<i>zaitʳa</i>	‘stitching’	<i>mandzaitʳã</i>	‘to sew O’
<i>çiri</i>	‘growth, sprouting’	<i>maniri</i>	‘to grow O’

*maha-* *maha-* forms transitive verbs which convey the notion of potentiality: the agent is able to perform the act, or, by extension, the agent succeeds in performing the act, or the agent causes the act. Examples:

<i>aru</i>	‘protection, rampart’	<i>maharu</i>	‘to be able to protect’
<i>ariʳã</i>	‘endurance’	<i>mahariʳã</i>	‘to last; to endure’
<i>[çiaru]</i>		<i>maha-çiaru</i>	‘to feel, be conscious; to remember’
<i>finariʳã</i>	‘happy, healthy, delighted’	<i>maha-finariʳã</i>	‘to please, render happy; beautiful’

*mana(N)-* It is unclear to what extent the meaning of this prefix differs from *maN-*; it is also unclear if there is a difference between *mana-* and *mana(N)-*.

## Examples:

<i>ariṭʳă</i>	‘endurance’	<i>manariṭʳă</i>	‘to be convalescent, get better’
<i>[vuaṭʳă]</i>		<i>manambuṭʳă</i>	‘to arrange, prepare O’
<i>vadi</i>	‘spouse’	<i>manambadi</i>	‘to marry’
<i>sitʳană</i>	‘healed, cured, recovered’	<i>manasiṭʳană</i>	‘to heal, cure O’

*manka-* This prefix forms transitive verbs with the meaning ‘to regard as [(what is expressed by) base]’, ‘to cause [base]’ or ‘to go to [base]’. The wordlist only contains a deverbal noun which is derived from a *manka-* verb, viz. *fankahalănă* ‘hatred’. The corresponding verb and its root are:

<i>hala</i>	‘hated, abhorred’	<i>manka-hala</i>	‘to hate, abhor O’
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*Reciprocal affixes.* Part of the above verb categories (excluding the *mi-* and *maha-* forms) have a reciprocal form, which is formed by substituting *mif-* for initial *m-*. One example occurs in the wordlist; it is derived from a *maN* form:

<i>tudzu</i>	‘met, come face to face’	<i>mifanudzu</i>	‘to meet’
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Note: Most reciprocal forms have a causative counterpart, and all causative forms have a reciprocal form, resulting in ‘reciprocal causatives’ and ‘causative reciprocals’. These are not recorded in the wordlist.

*Causative affixes.* Causatives are formed by substituting *mamp-* for the initial *m-* of the above verbs or adjectives. Examples:

<i>mi-anaṭʳă</i>	‘to study’	<i>mampi-anaṭʳă</i>	‘to teach’
<i>mi-sambuṭʳă</i>	‘to borrow’	<i>mampi-sambuṭʳă</i>	‘to lend’
<i>man-antenă</i>	‘to hope, expect O’	<i>mampan-antenă</i>	‘to promise O’
<i>man-dʳeni</i>	‘to hear, perceive’	<i>mampan-dʳeni</i>	‘cause to hear, cause to perceive’

*vua-* *vua-* forms passive verbs in constructions where the agent is not mentioned. *vua-* is presumably derived from the noun *vua* ‘fruit; seed’ (Dahl 1951), and has largely replaced an earlier infix *-in-*. Examples:

<i>mana-melukă</i>	‘to condemn O’	<i>vua-helukă</i>	‘guilty’
<i>ini-ampanga</i>	‘to accuse O’	<i>vuampanga</i>	‘accused’
		<i>ni vuampanga</i>	‘the defendant’

Note: *vua-* is also used in *vua-luha-ni* ‘the first’.



*Other verbal affixes.* Other frequently occurring affixes indicate future or past tense, role-orientedness of the verb and non-controlledness. Tense is indicated by substituting initial *h-* (future) or *n-* (past) for *m-*. Role-orientedness of the verb is indicated by suffixing to the stem *-inã* (patient-orientedness), *-anã* (location-orientedness), *a-* (instrument-orientedness), or by deleting the *m-* of the agent-oriented form in combination with suffixation of *-anã* (orientedness towards an accompanying circumstance) with concomitant stress shift and morphophonemic change. Non-controlledness is marked with *tafa-*. These affixes do not occur in the wordlist. There are, however, patient-oriented and location-oriented verb forms in the list which are used as nouns. Compare the following forms:

<i>mi-tuetʻã</i>	‘to reside, dwell’	<i>tuer-anã</i>	‘place, position’
<i>mi-aritʻã</i>	‘to endure, sustain’	<i>aret-inã</i>	‘to be endured, sustained; disease’
<i>manasa</i>	‘to invite’	<i>asa-inã</i>	‘to be invited’,
		<i>nasainã,</i>	
		<i>(na)asa-inã</i>	‘invitee, guest’

The patient-oriented suffix *-ina* is also used in *çakuah-inã* ‘to have (=suffer from) the hiccoughs’.

### 3.2 Nominal affixes

*ha-*, *faha-*, *ha- -anã*, *faha- -nã* Nominal derivations on the basis of adjectives (whether or not prefixed with *ma-*) are formed by prefixing *ha-* or *faha-*, or by circumfixing *ha- -anã* or *faha- -anã*. The differences between these (often interchangeable) affixes are unclear. Examples:

<i>disu</i>	‘wrong’	<i>ha-disu-anã</i>	‘fault’
<i>lava</i>	‘long’	<i>ha-lava, halaʻvanã</i>	‘length’
<i>(ma-)nifi</i>	‘thin’	<i>(fa)hanifi, (fa)hanifisanã</i>	‘thinness, scarcity’
<i>ma-hia</i>	‘thin, lean’	<i>hahia, hahiazanã</i>	‘leanness’
<i>salama</i>	‘healthy’	<i>fahasalaʻmanã</i>	‘health’

Nominal affixes with *mp-*, *f-*, and *f- -anã*. Nominal derivations on the basis of verbs and their causatives are formed:

(1) by substituting *mp-* for the initial *m-* of the verb; the resulting form refers to agent. Examples:

<i>mi-anaṭʳă</i>	'to study'	<i>mpi-anaṭʳă</i>	'student, pupil'
<i>mi-andʳi</i>	'to wait, watch, herd'	<i>mpi-andʳi</i>	'guardian; herdsman'
<i>mangatakă</i>	'to ask, beg'	<i>mpangatakă</i>	'beggar'
<i>mamintană</i>	'to fish'	<i>mpamintană</i>	'fisherman'
<i>mampi-anaṭʳă</i>	'to teach'	<i>mpampi-anaṭʳă</i>	'teacher'
<i>mampakaṭʳă</i>	'to marry a woman'	<i>mpampakaṭʳă</i>	'bridegroom'

(2) by substituting *f-* for the initial *m-* of the verb, yielding an abstract noun or a noun referring to the instrument of the act.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

<i>mi-teni</i>	'to speak'	<i>fi-teni</i>	'way of talking'
<i>mi-vui</i>	'to row, paddle'	<i>fi-vui</i>	'oar, paddle'
<i>mamaki (vaki)</i>	'break'	<i>famaki</i>	'axe, cleaver'
<i>manamuri [hamuri]</i>	'steer a canoe'	<i>fanamuri</i>	'rudder'
<i>manutu</i>	'to pound'	<i>fanutu</i>	'pestle'

(3) by substituting *f-* for the initial *m-* of the verb and by suffixing *-ană* to the verb: the resulting form is an abstract noun, or, if it occurs attributively with another noun, a noun referring to goal, result, place, instrument of an act. Examples:

<i>mi-teni</i>	'to speak'	<i>fi-tenenană</i>	'talking'
<i>mi-asa</i>	'to work'	<i>fiasánă</i>	'tool'
<i>mangatakă</i>	'to ask, beg'	<i>fangatahană</i>	'request, petition'
<i>manduru</i>	'to burn O'	<i>fanduruană</i>	'setting fire; arson'
<i>mandʳi</i>	'to lie down'	<i>fandʳiană</i>	'bed'
<i>manenună</i>	'to weave'	<i>fanenumană</i>	'loom' <sup>2</sup>
<i>mampakaṭʳă</i>	'to marry a woman'	<i>fampakaram-badi</i>	'wedding' ( <i>vadi</i> 'spouse')
<i>manambadi</i>	'to marry' (< <i>vadi</i> )	<i>fanambadiană</i>	'marriage'
<i>manka-hala</i>	'to hate, abhor O'	<i>fankahaʳtană</i>	'hatred'

The honorific marker *ra-*

This prefix occurs with kinship-terms, proper names and respectful terms of address. It is also found in a number of animal names. It is probably

1. It sometimes also refers to the goal or result of the act, or to someone who performs the act as a habit.

2. *-m-* developed here as a result of progressive dissimilation. In other cases it is sometimes a retention, as in *velună* 'living, alive' and its patient-oriented form *velumină* 'to be quickened; to be alight (a fire)' cf. Maanyan *welom* 'living, alive'.

borrowed from Javanese (Adelaar in press). In many cases it has become fossilised. Examples:

<i>reni</i>	‘mother’ (< * <i>ra</i> + * <i>ina</i> )
<i>raha-lahi</i>	‘brother (of a male person)’ (< * <i>ra</i> + * <i>aka</i> + * <i>laki</i> )
<i>ra-fuçi</i>	‘a term of address for an old lady’ (< <i>ra</i> + <i>fuçi</i> white)
<i>ra-biṭʰu, biṭʰu</i>	‘rabbit’ (< English).

The location marker *a(n)-*

Adverbs and nouns referring to a place or position are marked with the prefix *a(n)-*. It is not clear whether there is a difference between prefixation of *a-* and *an-*. *an-* becomes *am-* when the prefixed word begins with a labial consonant. The initial consonant of the prefixed word changes in the same way as the initial consonant of the second component in a verb phrase, possessive construction, a reduplication or a compound. Examples:

<i>a-luha</i>	‘before’ ( <i>luha</i> ‘head’)
<i>am-badikã</i>	‘on the other side of’ ( <i>mamadikã</i> ‘to overturn’ ← <i>vadikã</i> )
<i>an-dilanã</i>	‘the loins’ ( <i>dilanã</i> ‘the slender middle part of a long thing’)
<i>an-Tanan-arivu</i> , also <i>Tanan-arivo</i>	‘thousand villages (name of the capital of Madagascar)’

Note: In many constructions this prefix seems to be fossilised, e.g. *a-varaṭʰã* ‘North’, *an-dʰefanã* ‘West’, *am-bu-ni* ‘up, above’. Locative prepositions often have *-ni* (originally the article of the following noun phrase) cliticised to them, as in *am-bu-ni*, and in *an-ila-ni* ‘beside’.

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## 17. Acehnese

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction: <i>Mark Durie</i>
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Wordlist: <i>Achmad Banta – Mark Durie</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Acehnese language is spoken by approximately 2,000,000 people in the Special Region of Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra in Indonesia. Significant numbers of Acehnese speakers are also found in Medan, North Sumatra, and Malaysia.

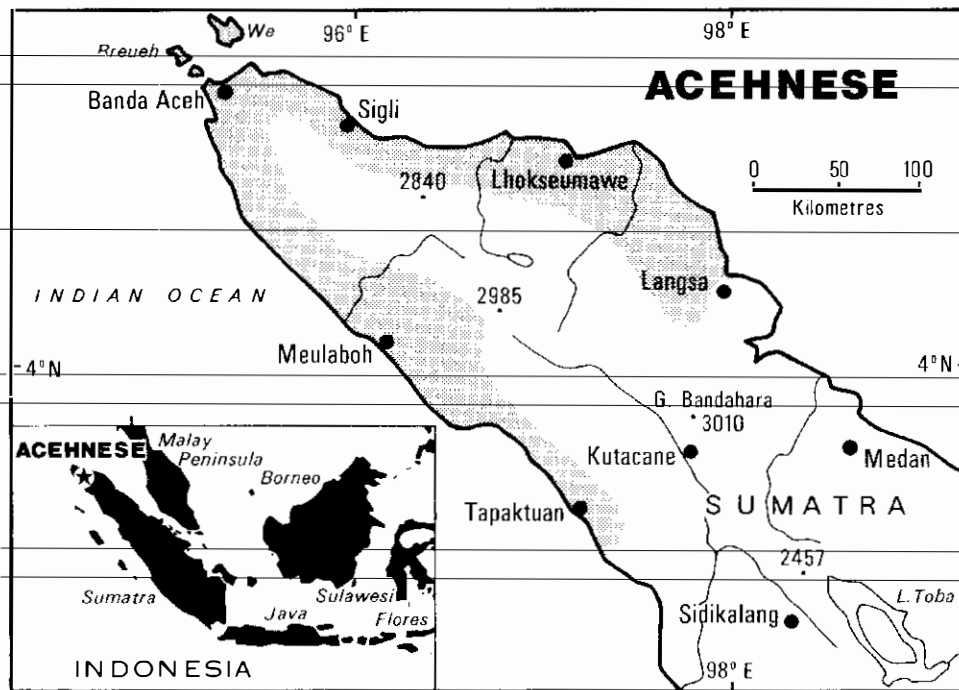
Acehnese has long been the dominant regional language in the area, and it shows relatively little influence from its immediate neighbours. These are Gayonese and Alas, spoken in the central mountains of Aceh, Tamiang, a variant of Malay spoken in the east, Kluet, spoken in the mountains of south Aceh, and Bahasa Jamèe, a variety of Minangkabau spoken on the west coast of Aceh.

Acehnese belongs to the Aceh-Chamic subgroup within Austronesian. Its nearest relatives are found in Kampuchea, Vietnam and Hainan. The members of this family are the linguistic remnants of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Champa, which was located on the coast of what is Vietnam today. The connection between Acehnese and the mainland Austronesian languages was first pointed out by Niemann (1891) in the last century. Further research has established a close genetic relationship: Cowan (1948, 1974, 1981, 1982, 1983), Shorto (1975, 1977), Collins (1975), Durie (1985a, 1989), but there is as yet no systematic reconstruction of Proto-(Aceh)-Chamic. Lee (1966) provides a reconstruction of Proto-Chamic, based on contemporary vernacular materials from the mainland languages collected by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and this work was augmented by Burnham (1976). For lexical materials on the mainland Cham languages, see, for Rhade: Tharp – Buôn-yă (1980), Davias-Baudrit (1966), Louison (1964), Siêng (1979); for Cham: Kvoeu-Hor – Friberg (1978), Moussay et al (1971), Aymonier – Cabaton (1906); for Jarai: Lafont (1968); for Chru: Jràng et al (1977); for Roglai: Aw-i-hathe et al (1977); and also the microfiche material available from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. In addition Lee (1966) and Burnham (1976) provide a comparative Chamic

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vocabulary. The major gaps in Lee and Burnham's reconstructions are the lack of data on Utset, a Chamic language spoken in Hainan (most of the available data is in Chinese, see Zheng 1981, Jueya and Zheng 1983, Zheng 1986, Dabai 1988, and also Haudricourt 1984, Benedict 1984), lack of reference to the Cham script and the ancient Cham inscriptions (for these see Aymonier 1906), and lack of reference to Acehnese (for this the primary source is Djajadiningrat 1934, but Kreemer 1931 is also useful because it lists synonyms and antonyms for many entries).



Map 17. Aceh language area

The Lee/Burnham reconstruction remains the most systematic comparative study of this Austronesian subgroup, and Burnham's augmented Proto-Chamic vocabulary provides the foundation for any further comparative work.<sup>1</sup>

The Acehnese lexicon includes borrowings from Mon-Khmer. These cover a wide range, including terms associated with kinship: *kumuən*

1 . It should be noted that preliminary evidence suggests that the mainland languages do not form a genetic grouping distinct from Acehnese: that is, the common ancestor of the mainland languages was probably a parent, not a sister, to Acehnese, but this has not been proved conclusively.

'nephew, niece', (*cu*)*cɔ*<sup>1</sup> 'grandchild', *ya* 'old man, ancestor'; hunting and foraging: *buəŋ* 'swamp', *cah* 'chop, clear forest', *drɔp* 'catch', *suət* 'bail water, usually to catch fish', *cəh* 'bite (of snake), peck', *cageə* 'bear', *let* 'drive, chase, hunt', *lhan* 'python', (*ci*)*cem* 'bird', *p(h)ɔ* 'to fly'; agriculture and animal husbandry: *cruəh* 'harrow', *wuə* 'stable', *jumponŋ* 'straw', *pət* 'pluck, pick (fruit)', *rət* 'graze'; various commonplace activities: *caŋ* 'hew, chop', *cəh* 'grind, pulverise', *dəm* 'stay overnight', *dəŋ* 'stand', *jep* 'drink', *kəh* 'scratch', *khun* 'say', *kuəh* 'dig', *klep* 'wink', *lhəm* 'drop', *mat* 'hold', *ŋiəŋ* 'see', *pəh* 'hit', *srah* 'wash', *tot* 'burn, light a fire', *toh* 'excrete', *uət* 'rub', *wɔə* 'return, go home' and other basic vocabulary items: *ba?* 'at, to (prep.)', *cut* 'small', *duə?* 'hungry', *lv* 'many', (*ja*)*wiə* 'left', *jeh* 'that', *gəp* 'other person, stranger', *bɛ?* 'don't' (particle), *kruəŋ* 'river'. These borrowings suggest such an intimate level of contact as might include intermarriage and shared participation in subsistence activities. This would appear to predate the break-up of the Proto-(Aceh)-Chamic family: most of the Mon-Khmer borrowings identified by Headley (1976) in Lee's (1966) reconstruction of Proto-Chamic have regular reflexes in Acehnese. The most plausible context for an early period of borrowing of this nature is an extended period of habitation by the Austronesians on the mainland before the ascendancy of the kingdom of Champa, thus before the 2nd century AD. The relationship between the powerful kingdom of Champa and the neighbouring Mon-Khmer tribes in the vicinity is not a likely context for these particular items to be borrowed from Mon-Khmer into Cham.

It has been argued that Acehnese shows evidence of influence from Western Mon-Khmer languages, including Mon, the Aslian languages of Malaya, and even the Nicobar languages (Cowan 1948, 1991, Collins 1975). If true, this suggests that the forebears of the Acehnese sojourned in Malaysia or what is now southern Thailand before coming to Sumatra.<sup>2</sup> To settle this question we need a full account of the sources of Mon-Khmer borrowings, and this task depends upon a more systematic reconstruction of both Proto-Aceh-Chamic and Mon-Khmer.

1. This is not a regular reflex of Malay *cucu* 'grandchild', for which one would normally expect Acehnese *cuco*. It is a regular cognate of Cham *tacɔ* (written *tacauw*), with Acehnese *ɔ* regularly from *\*au*. cf. Bahnar *səu/səu* 'grandchild'. Perhaps the Malay *cucu* is itself ultimately a borrowing from Mon-Khmer or even Austro-Asiatic. Note that the status of Proto-Malay *\*c* is not unproblematic within Austronesian, and one possible source for some words with *c* is Mon-Khmer (Adelaar 1988: 62). The question of ancient Mon-Khmer borrowings into Western Austronesian languages could prove to be a fruitful field of investigation.
2. Another possibility is that there may have been a Mon-Khmer language still in Sumatra at the time when the Acehnese were first established there.



A significant body of borrowings into Acehnese comes from Sanskrit. Some are very early and date at least from the appearance of Champa in the historical records around the 2nd century AD: they can be regularly reconstructed for Proto-Aceh-Chamic and are typically also found in Mon-Khmer languages, e.g. *juə* 'k.o. fishing net', *yoʔ* 'yoke', *buət* 'read, recite', *juət* 'become' (see Cowan 1983: 175). Some Sanskrit borrowings come via Malay (e.g. modern Acehnese *ato*, from Indonesian *atau*). Another major source of borrowings is Arabic. Most borrowings are derived directly from Arabic, but some come via literary Malay. Most Arabic and Sanskrit loans are characterised by a relatively narrow semantic domain, encompassing e.g. religion, the legal code, government, war, the arts and the sciences. In this respect the contrast with Mon-Khmer borrowings is striking.

For centuries there has been extensive borrowing from Malay, the traditional language of the royal courts and scholarship. Aceh was one of the centres in which Malay literature flowered at an early period and several important early Malay works come from Aceh. In many cases it is difficult or impossible to determine whether a term is borrowed or inherited from Proto-Aceh-Chamic. Some of the words in the list are certainly uncredited borrowings from Malay.

Borrowings on a lesser scale from other languages are also apparent in the list: Persian, Tamil, Portuguese, Dutch and English. In many cases these have come via Malay or Indonesian.

The term *Aceh* first appears in the historical record after 1500, when it was used to refer to the port kingdom of Banda Aceh. The diversity of Acehnese dialects in the valley of Greater Aceh, and in the vicinity of Daya on the west coast, suggests a period of habitation more ancient than this. Within Greater Aceh a major dialect division is between dialects of the uplands or *Tunong* and those of the lowlands, or *Barôh*. The valley of Pidie, to the east of Greater Aceh, is also a region of considerable dialect differentiation, but not to the extent of Greater Aceh and Daya. Other dialect areas, east of Pidie and south of Daya, are the result of migrations after 1500, associated with the political expansion of the kingdom of Aceh, and these dialect areas are consequently much more homogeneous.

The data for the word list are based upon the dialect represented by the lexical entries of Djajadiningrat (1934). This dialect was the variety spoken in the neighbourhood of Banda Aceh around the turn of the century, and presumably conforms most closely to the dialect of Teungkoe Moehammad Noerdin, who was the principal Acehnese scribe collaborator for the preparation of Djajadiningrat's dictionary. Moehammad Noerdin's native village was Gampông Pi, between Banda Aceh and the sea. Sometimes more

recent terms, typically borrowings, are provided in the list. The dialect of Djajadiningrat is innovative in that it has merged the back unrounded mid vowel /ʌ/ with /ɔ/: sometimes ɔ in the word list derives from an earlier \*ʌ, sometimes with an earlier \*ɔ. See Durie (1989) for details.

The most substantial studies of Acehnese grammar to date are Asyik (1972, 1987), Durie (1985b) and Sulaiman (1978, 1979). Snouck Hurgronje's path-breaking essays (1893, 1900) are of particularly high quality, although they have been superseded by later works. (The list of references below may be consulted for additional materials.) A standard orthography has been developed by a team of scholars at Universitas Syiah Kuala. This standard is reported in *Hasil Perumusan Seminar Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Aceh*, a report on a seminar held in 1979. While this is a most sensible practical orthography for Acehnese, the vowels in particular can be difficult to interpret for those who are not already familiar with the language. Here we have used a transcription which is more transparent to someone who has some familiarity with standard phonetic conventions but no familiarity with Acehnese.

## 2. Summary of phonology

For a more detailed description of Acehnese phonology, see Durie (1985a).

### 2.1 Word stress and the structure of the word

Stress falls on the final syllable of the word. Clitics, which include prepositions and bound pronominal forms, are inherently unstressed.

Most Acehnese words are mono- or disyllabic. Words of three or more syllables are usually borrowed, or derived by affixation from mono- or disyllabic roots. e.g. *pu-miyup* 'bury' from *miyup* 'low' or *pancuri* 'thief' from Malay *pəncuri*.

A clear distinction can be made between the phonological structure of the stressed, final syllables of words on the one hand, and unstressed syllables on the other. Unstressed syllables have a smaller inventory of segments, with fewer combinatorial possibilities. There are also other differences. Stressed syllables are invariant under morphological affixation, and they are more stable in form across dialects. Even for individual speakers there may be some free variation in the form of unstressed syllables, e.g. *rukɔʔ* may vary with *rukɔ* 'cigarette', or *mulasah* with *munasah* 'village meeting house', but never for stressed syllables.

Stressed syllables have a possible structure C(C)V(C). The minimal structure is thus CV. For unstressed syllables the commonest and minimal structure is CV, but some unstressed syllables have the form CVC, where the final consonant is most commonly a nasal homorganic with the following consonant e.g. *gun.ta* ‘bell’.

## 2.2 Consonant inventory

Table 1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops</b>					
voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>g</i>	
<b>Fricatives</b>					
		<i>s</i>	( <i>ʃ</i> )	~	<i>h</i>
<b>Nasals</b>					
‘plain’	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
‘funny’	<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>nɲ</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	
<b>Laterals</b>					
		<i>l</i>			
<b>Trills</b>					
		<i>r</i>			
<b>Semivowels</b>					
	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

*/s/* is a lamino-alveo-dental obstruent with a wide channel area (Durie 1985a: 12). To English speakers it sounds like a cross between their [s] and [θ]. In the dialect of the word list it is typically pronounced as a lamino-alveo-dental stop or affricate, but in other dialects it is a pure fricative. Even as a stop, this segment is perceptually quite distinct from *t*, which is apico-alveolar. Word-finally, */s/* is realised as a palatal fricative [ç].

*/ʃ/* is a palato-aveolar fricative similar to English [ʃ]. It has been introduced fairly recently and is mostly restricted to borrowings from Arabic.

*/r/* is a uvular approximant. In other dialects it is an apical trill, with a tapped allophone.

The “funny” nasals are of slightly longer duration than “plain” nasals, but the principal perceptual feature which distinguishes “funny” from “plain” nasals is that after a “funny” nasal the following vowel is not nasalised. Acehnese “funny” nasals correspond diachronically with prenasalised voiced stops in other Austronesian languages. The funny nasals are restricted to stressed

syllables. Other consonants can occur in both stressed and unstressed syllables.

Syllables may end only in: *p, t, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, y*. Final stops are unreleased.

In non-final syllables the range of final consonants is much more restricted. The nasals *m, n, ŋ* occur quite frequently before a following homorganic voiceless stop, e.g. *jaŋ-ka* ‘jaw’, but other finals only occur in compounds and the more recent loan words, and even here they tend in time to be dropped to conform to the preferred CV structure: e.g. Acehnese *pahlawan* (from Persian *pahlawân* via Malay *pahlawan*) naturally becomes *palawan* ‘warrior, hero’.

For an initial CC cluster of a stressed syllable, the following combinations are possible:

[oral stop or *l*] + *h*

[oral stop or *s*] + *r*

[velar, palatal or bilabial stop] + *l*

e.g. <i>lhəm</i>	‘drop’	<i>jrəh</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>phuwət</i>	‘chisel’	<i>srah</i>	‘wash’
<i>dhəə</i>	‘forehead’	<i>ʃluəŋ</i>	‘kick’
<i>triəŋ</i>	‘bamboo’	<i>bləə</i>	‘buy’

*sr* can correspond to *rh* in some dialects, and *ʃl* can correspond to *gl*. Thus *rhah* ‘wash’ and *gluəŋ* ‘kick’.

## 2.2 Vowel inventory

Table 2. Oral monophthongs

	Front	Rack	Rack
	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>	<i>ɤ</i>	<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

*Table 3.* Nasal monophthongs

	Front unrounded	Back unrounded	Back rounded
High	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ū</i>
Mid-low	<i>ẽ</i>		<i>õ</i>
Low		<i>ã</i>	

*Table 4.* Oral diphthongs

	Front unrounded	Back unrounded	Back rounded
High	<i>iə</i>	<i>uə</i>	<i>uə</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛə</i>		<i>ɔə</i>

*Table 5.* Nasal diphthongs

	Front unrounded	Back unrounded	Back rounded
High	<i>ĩə</i>	<i>ũə</i>	<i>ūə</i>
Mid-low	<i>ẽə</i>		<i>õə</i>

In some dialects there is an additional mid-low back unrounded monophthong, in both oral and nasal forms: [ʌ] and [ã̃].

After the “plain” nasals only nasal vowels occur, and likewise after the “funny” nasals only oral vowels occur. For this reason vowel nasalisation after “plain” nasals is not indicated in the transcriptions: see the comment and examples in section 4 below.

All vowels can occur in stressed syllables. In unstressed syllables the inventory is much more restricted. The preferred vowels for unstressed syllables are: *i*, *u*, *a*, *u* and *ĩ*, *ũ*, *ã*, *ũ*. When a consonant sequence in a borrowed word has to be broken up for phonotactic reasons, the vowel inserted is usually *u* (or *ũ* after a nasal), e.g. Malay *pərlu* becomes Acehnese *puuruɬə* ‘need, duty’. Mid-low vowels also occur in unstressed syllables, but usually only in borrowed or compound words. There is a strong

diachronic tendency for these to change to one of the preferred vowels, e.g. *pɔrumɔh* 'wife' from *pɔ* 'owner' + *rumɔh* 'house' becomes *purumɔh* in many dialects.

High front vowels never follow *y* and likewise high back rounded vowels never follow *w*.

### 2.3 A phonological rule

A number of phonological rules can apply in Acehnese dialects to alter the forms of morphemes (Durie 1985a, section 3.3). However in the dialect reflected in the lists, only one rule is relevant:

Between two labials *w* is rounded to *u*; e.g. *pu* CAUSE + *blɔə* 'buy' gives *publɔə* 'sell'.

### 3. Sketch of derivational morphology

Like the mainland languages, Acehnese is an exclusively prefixing language. Even the infixes are pre-infixes into the first syllable of a word. The affixes are only summarised here. For a fuller account of their functions, see Asyik (1972, 1987), Durie (1985a). The main prefixes are:

*pu-* : derives causative verbs.

*tu-* : derives intransitive stative or non-volitional verbs from other verbs.

*mu-* : derives intransitive verbs with a wide range of functions.

The main infixes are:<sup>1</sup>

*-um-* : derives intransitive verbs from other verbs. The derived sense is habitual or durative.

*-un-* : derives nouns.

There are four formal strategies for attaching infixes:

- i) An infix may be inserted immediately after the first consonant of a disyllabic word. Thus *c-un-awĩəʔ* 'hook, n' from *cawĩəʔ* 'hook, vb'.

1. It is not obvious what should be the underlying form of these infixes. I have given the traditional analysis here, but a simpler account could treat all prefixes and infixes as consisting of a single consonant. The vowel is then epenthetic, inserted according to syllable structure constraints. This gives a more elegant account of the variable form of infixes, which may be *-VC-*, *CV-* or *-VCV-*.

- ii) For monosyllabic words the first consonant may be reduplicated, and the infix inserted after the first consonant. An additional *-u-* is required after the infix to satisfy syllable structure constraints. Thus *c-umui-cah* ‘clear forest, intrans’ from *cah* ‘clear forest, trans’.
- iii) For monosyllabic words beginning with a consonant sequence the infix may be inserted after the first consonant, with an additional *-u-* added after the infix, as in the previous case. Thus *c-umui-ruəh* ‘harrow, rake’ from *cruəh* ‘rake, harrow’. Most roots beginning with *lh-* form their derivatives as if they actually began with *sl-*. e.g. *s-umui-ləp* ‘dam, n’ from *lhəp* ‘dam, vb’. An exception is *lhə* ‘stamp, churn up with feet’ which forms a derivation *c-umui-lə* ‘stamp, intrans’. Likewise in dialects where *sr-* > *rh*, e.g. *s-umui-rah* ‘do washing, intrans’ from *rhah* ‘wash, tr.’ (< earlier *srah*).
- iv) For words of more than two syllables, and for roots beginning with certain consonants, a prefixed form applies. Thus *mu-puraŋuy* ‘to act, intrans’ from *puraŋuy* ‘to treat, trans’ and *nu-ŋuy* ‘apparel, something used’ from *ŋuy* ‘wear, use’.

#### 4. Special notes for interpreting the transcription

Words which are transcribed as beginning with a vowel actually have an initial glottal stop. e.g. *u* ‘coconut’ is actually /ʔu/.

The sequence of nasal + voiced stop is articulated as a nasal and may be regarded as a single segment (see Asyik 1972, Durie 1985a, 1987b). The principal perceptual contrast with ‘plain’ nasals is that after plain nasals the vowel is nasalised. These ‘nasalised’ vowels are identical to the distinctively nasal vowels which occur after oral consonants.

<i>buunda</i>	[buuna]	‘thing’
<i>buuna</i>	[bunã]	‘true’
<i>ŋgaŋ</i>	[ŋaŋ]	‘heron’
<i>mbon</i>	[mon]	‘dew’
<i>mɔn</i>	[mɔ̃n]	‘well’
<i>baŋay</i>	[baŋãy]	‘easy’
<i>muhãy</i>	[mũhãy]	‘expensive’
<i>ũət</i>	[ʔũət]	‘swallow’
<i>cumuət</i>	[cumũət]	‘boil, n.’

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## 18. Toba Batak

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction:	<i>K. A. Adelaar</i>
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Wordlist:	<i>P.W. J. Nababan – K. A. Adelaar</i>
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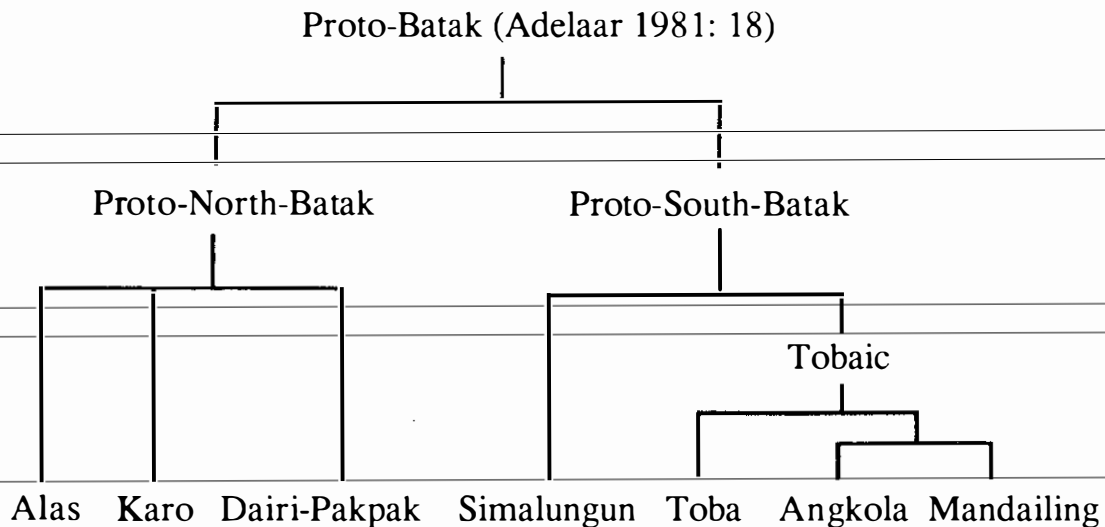
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### 1. Introduction

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Toba Batak belongs to the group of closely related Batak languages and dialects spoken by two and a half million people<sup>1</sup> in the central-northern part of Sumatra (in the province of North Sumatra). Toba Batak is spoken by more than a million people in the area southwest, south and east of Lake Toba (including Samosir Island; see map). It underwent much influence from Malay, Minangkabau and Sanskrit (see Gonda 1973). Malay was also the language through which Arabic, Portuguese and probably most of the Dutch influence was borrowed into Toba Batak. There are several local varieties of Toba Batak, Humbang or Toba na Sae (in the highlands south of Lake Toba) being the one used in the comparative wordlist (Nababan 1981: xviii).

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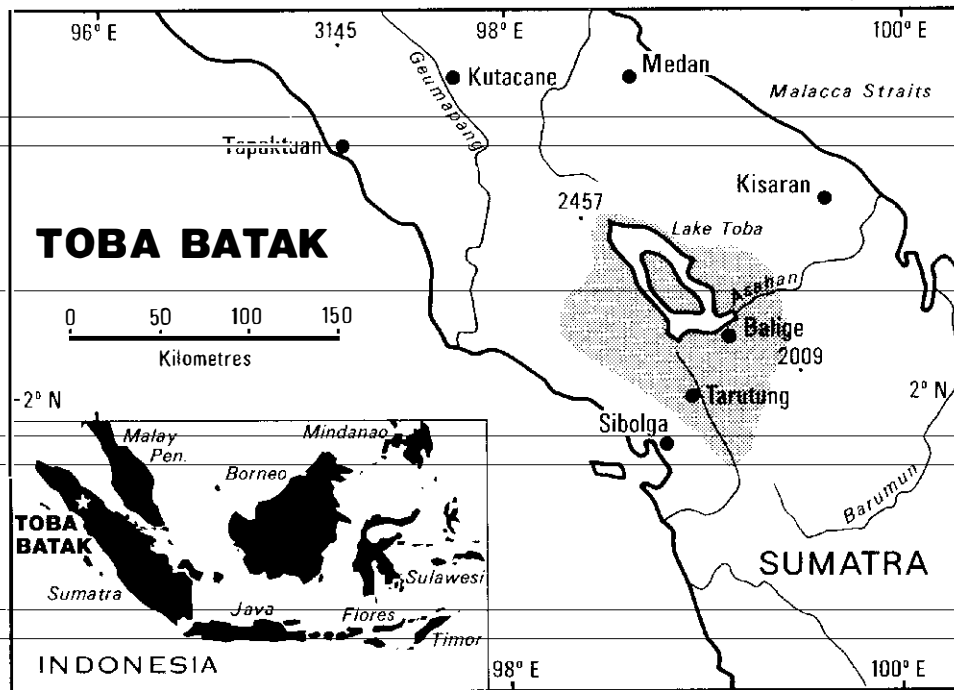
The Batak languages were divided by Voorhoeve (1955) into a northern branch including Karo, Alas and Dairi-Pakpak, a southern branch including Toba, Angkola and Mandailing, and a third branch consisting of Simalungun

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1. According to Foley (cf. Wurm – Hattori 1983: map 38).

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or Timur, which occupies an intermediate position between Northern and Southern Batak.<sup>1</sup> Adelaar (1981), on the basis of phonological comparison, divides the Batak group into North Batak (including Karo, Alas<sup>2</sup> and Dairi-Pakpak) and South Batak; South Batak is divided into Simalungun on the one hand, and the Tobaic dialects (including Toba, Angkola and Mandailing) on the other. Finally, Tobaic splits up into a branch consisting of Toba, and a branch consisting of Angkola and Mandailing.



Map 18. Toba Batak language area

The northern branch, the southern branch and Simalungun are sufficiently distinct from each other to consider them separate languages. For a classification of Batak within the West-Malayo-Polynesian languages, see Nothofer (1986), who considers Batak, Sichule, Simalur, Nias, Mentawai and possibly Enggano as members of a single subgroup.

Within the context of West Indonesian languages, the Batak languages have a rather conservative grammatical typology. Toba Batak is grammatically and lexicographically well described. It has a rich morphology, and its

1. Foley (1983: map 38) distinguishes two more North Batak varieties: Singkil (spoken in the mountains behind Singkil in the extreme Southwest of Aceh Province) and Kluet (Southwest Aceh in the mountains beyond Tapaktuan).
- 3 The classification of Alas was still uncertain at the time Adelaar (1981) was published, but the material in Osra M. Akbar et al. (1985) confirms its inclusion in the Northern Batak group.

basic sentence structure is verb-initial and topic-final; the topic is agent or patient. The most extensive work on it was done by van der Tuuk, who wrote a sizeable grammar (1864, 1867), dictionary (1861b) and coursebook (1860-1861a-1862). His grammar, which contains much subsidiary information on Angkola, Mandailing and Dairi-Pakpak, has been translated into English (van der Tuuk 1971). Other grammatical and lexicographic studies on Toba Batak are Warneck (1906, with a revised edition in 1977), Tambunan (1977), Nababan (1981), Percival (1981), and Schachter (1984).

Other Batak languages are much less well documented. Pre-1955 sources on them are listed in Voorhoeve (1955). After 1955, dictionaries and grammatical sketches of most of them were published by the PPPB in Jakarta (see the *Linguistic Bibliography*). Of these, the Dairi-Pakpak - Indonesian dictionary by Tindi Radja Manik deserves special mention: allowing for the numerous typographical errors (which were not due to the compiler), it is of excellent quality. The following description of Toba Batak phonology and morphology is limited and geared to understanding the material in the wordlist: it is adapted from Nababan (1981).

### Toba Batak phonology

Table 1. Consonants

		Bilabial	Alveo- dental	Alveolar	Alveo- palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops/affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		( <i>ç</i> )	<i>k</i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives				<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals				<i>l</i>			
Trills				<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		( <i>w</i> )			( <i>y</i> )		

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>	( <i>ə</i> )	<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

The phonemes ə, ɔ̃, w and y are recent loan-phonemes.<sup>1</sup> They are not mentioned by van der Tuuk, who wrote his grammar a century earlier than Nababan. Nor does van der Tuuk make a phonemic distinction between higher and lower mid-vowels,<sup>2</sup> or between *h* and *k*. (In his analysis, *h* and *k* were still allophones, *h* occurring in initial and intervocalic position, and *k* occurring elsewhere.) These differences in description are a consequence of the rapid changes (mainly under the influence of Malay) which Toba Batak has undergone in the last century. Toba Batak does not have diphthongs.

Stress is contrastive. It is usually on the penultimate syllable, but it can also be on the last syllable or on the antepenultimate syllable. Stress falls on the last syllable of:

- (a) some attributively used underived bases;
- (b) a prefixed monosyllabic base;
- (c) names and terms of address when they are used as vocatives;
- (d) words containing the pronominal clitics *-m* (an allomorph of *-mu*, the 2nd pers. sing. pronoun) or *-'mu* (an allomorph of *-'muna*, the 2nd pers. plural or polite pronoun);
- (e) adjectives containing the suffix *-'an* (denoting comparative degree) or the suffix *-'hu* (denoting excessiveness);
- (f) certain deictics;
- (g) certain loanwords.

The basic word patterns of Toba Batak are:

CVC	(each C can be Ø)
CV(C)CVC	" " "
(CVC)(CVC)CV(C)CVC	" " "

Most word bases are of a CV(C)CVC pattern.

Consonant clusters occurring in inherited lexicon consist of:

- geminate *p, t, k, b, d, ʃ, m, n, l*
- lingual + stop, nasal or fricative;
- *s* + voiceless stop or nasal;

1. In non-recent loanwords, shwa became /o/, \*c became /s/, \*w became /o/ or was lost, and \*y was lost.
2. In a generalising way, the higher mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ occur before a voiced stop or /l/, whereas the lower mid-vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ occur before a voiceless stop, fricative, nasal or /r/. Only in a few very marginal cases there seems to be a phonemic distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/.

- *k* + stop, nasal, liquid or *s*;
- *ŋ* + voiced stop, *r*, *s* or *n* (often occurring in originally doubled monosyllables).

Geminate stops have usually developed from clusters consisting of a homorganic nasal and a simple stop. *-dʃ-* and *-tʃ-* are geminate affricates which usually developed from *\*-ŋj-* and *\*-nc-* clusters. The only homorganic nasal + stop - cluster which did not develop into a geminate consonant is *-ŋg-* (< *\*-ŋg-*). *-kk-* may derive from *\*-ŋh-* or from *\*-kh-* (*h* and *k* were still allophones in the 19th century, see above). Two subsequent *s*'s are realised either as *-ss-* or as *-ts-*.

Clusters of *k + p*, *t, č, k, h, s* often arise at word boundaries where final *ŋ* meets initial *p, t, č, k, h, s*. On morpheme boundaries *r + l* become a geminated *l*.

Other manifestations of internal or external sandhi in the wordlist are clarified with segmented forms between brackets at the entries in question. A fuller treatment of sandhi is given in Nababan (1981: 59-60) and van der Tuuk (1971: 7-14): the rules differ in detail in different subdialects (and hence also in the various Toba Batak descriptions). Sandhi is only sporadically indicated in Roman script, and it is not indicated at all in the Batak script.

What follows here is a description in quite general terms of the affixes which occur in the Toba Batak comparative wordlist. Many aspects of Toba Batak morphology remain unclear, and it is often impossible to attribute a simple meaning and function to a particular affix. For instance, some of the noun-forming affixes are also markers of aspect and of syntactic role in verbal morphology (e.g. *-in-*, *-ən*, *-an*, and *ha-* *-an*). As these functions have no direct bearing on the material in the wordlist, they are not discussed here. Stress is indicated when it falls on the last syllable.

### Verb-forming affixes

*mar-* forms intransitive verbs from nouns and precatogorials (i.e. roots which only occur in derivations; they are indicated here between square brackets). Examples:

<i>[husəɾ]</i>		<i>mar-husəɾ</i>	‘move’
<i>[mɛam]</i>		<i>mar-mɛam</i>	‘play’
<i>adi-an</i>	‘rest; resting place’	<i>mar-adian</i>	‘rest’



*ma-* forms intransitive verbs from adjectives and precategorials.  
Examples:

<i>[dabu]</i>		<i>ma-dabu</i>	'fall; fallen'
<i>[tutuŋ]</i>		<i>ma-tutuŋ</i>	'burn, be burning'
<i>go'daŋ</i>	'a lot, much'	<i>ma-godaŋ</i>	'grow, have grown'

*um-* forms intransitive verbs from adjectives and precategorials. It has several allomorphs:

<i>(um)m-</i>	is prefixed before a vowel,
<i>un-</i>	is prefixed before initial <i>n</i> ,
<i>uŋ-</i>	is prefixed before initial <i>ŋ</i> ,
<i>m-</i>	is substituted for an initial labial; (in some cases, <i>up-</i> is prefixed to initial <i>p-</i> , and <i>ub-</i> is prefixed to initial <i>b-</i> )
<i>-um-</i>	is infixes after any consonant other than <i>p</i> , <i>b</i> or a nasal;

Examples:

<i>[ulak]</i>		<i>m-ulak</i>	'come back'
<i>[ago]</i>		<i>m-ago</i>	'disappear'
<i>[surut]</i>		<i>s-um-urut</i>	'retreat'
<i>pate</i>	'dead, finished'	<i>mate</i>	'die; extinguish, be over'

*tar-* forms verbs which convey the notion of 'non-controlledness'.

Examples:

<i>eo</i>	'urine'	<i>tar-eo-eo</i>	'urinate'
<i>[suladdit]</i>		<i>tar-suladdit</i>	'slip, slide'

Other affixes forming 'non-controlled' verbs are *-ɔn* and *-an*. They do so from nouns, adjectives and intransitive verbs. When suffixed to a noun denoting something disagreeable or uneasy, they form a verb with the meaning 'suffer from [noun]'. Examples:

<i>hɔdɔk</i>	'sweat'	<i>hɔdɔh-an</i>	'perspire'
<i>barsi</i>	'sneeze'	<i>barsi-ɔn</i>	'sneeze'
<i>dapɔt</i>	'found, got, obtained'	<i>dapɔt-an</i>	'find, get, obtain'
<i>ŋa'li</i>	'cold'	<i>ŋali-an</i>	'suffer from cold'

In some cases *-ɔn* or *-an* combine with reduplication of the first syllable of the root-morpheme, cf. *bonos* 'very sad' and *bonos-an*, *bo-bonos-an* 'be in doubt, at a loss'; [*heam*], *he-heam-ɔn* 'yawn, gape'.

*maN*<sub>1</sub>- is an intransitive verb marker occurring on precategorial bases. It should be distinguished from the homophonous *maN*<sub>2</sub>-, which is an inflectional prefix denoting agent-orientedness of transitive verbs (in the list, *maN*<sub>2</sub>- is not indicated). *maN*<sub>1</sub>- and *maN*<sub>2</sub>- have several allophones:

- if the base begins with a vowel or *g*, *maŋ* is prefixed;
- if the base begins with *r*, *l* or *n*, *maŋa* is prefixed;
- if the base begins with *d*, *ʃ* or *k*, *ma* is prefixed, and *d*, *ʃ*, *k* is geminated;
- if the base begins with *p* or *t*, *ma* is prefixed and a homorganic nasal is substituted for *p*, *t*;
- if the base begins with *b*, *mabb* or *mam* is prefixed, and *b* is eliminated;
- if the base begins with *h*, *makk* or *maŋ* is prefixed, and *h* is eliminated;
- if the base begins with *s*, *mats* or *man* is prefixed, and *s* is eliminated;
- if the base begins with *m*, *ma* or *mar* is prefixed (van der Tuuk 1971: 93);
- if the base begins with *ŋ*, *mar* is prefixed.

Examples:

<i>[hidɔp]</i>	<i>makkidɔp</i>	'blink'
<i>[ido]</i>	<i>maŋ-ido</i>	'beg, ask'
<i>[tutuŋ]</i>	<i>manutuŋ</i>	'burn, be burned'
<i>[ula]</i>	<i>maŋ-ula</i>	'work in field, be cultivating'

*pa*- forms transitive verbs (often with a causative meaning) from adjectives and intransitive verbs. Examples:

<i>ga'dʒaŋ</i>	'long'	<i>pa-gadʒaŋ</i>	'stretch O'
<i>m-ulak</i>	'come back, return, repeat'	<i>pa-ulak</i>	'give O back'
<i>mate</i>	'be dead'	<i>pa-mate</i>	'kill O'

*pa*- is sometimes combined with the transitivising suffix *-hɔn*, cf *[bɔtɔ]*, *um-bɔtɔ* 'know' and *pa-bɔtɔ-hɔn* 'announce'. It is also found on the basis of a transitive verb in combination with the suffix *-hɔn*, compare *tudu* 'point at O' and *tudu-hɔn* 'point at O, indicate O'.

*-hɔn* forms transitive verbs from roots belonging to various classes. Suffixation of *-hɔn* entails the following morphophonemic changes:

- final *t* or *n* + *hɔn* becomes *ttɔn*;
- final *p* or *m* + *hɔn* becomes *ppɔn*;
- final *k* or *ŋ* + *hɔn* becomes *kkɔn*;
- final *s* + *hɔn* becomes *ssɔn*;
- no morphophonemic changes are involved in other cases.

## Examples:

<i>use</i>	'poured out'	<i>use-hən</i>	'pour O'
<i>ma-dabu</i>	'fall(en)'	<i>dabu-hən</i>	'drop O'
<i>[taŋi]</i>		<i>taŋi-hən</i>	'hear O, listen to O'
<i>sala</i>	'mistake, error'	<i>sala-hən</i>	'blame O'
<i>sə-ada</i>	'there is no(t)'	<i>səada-hən</i>	'deny O'
<i>pεak</i>	'lie'	<i>pεakkən</i>	'put, lay, O'
<i>dais</i>	'rub, smear on O'	<i>daissən (tu)</i>	'rub, wipe O (on)'

*-i* forms transitive verbs from adjectives, intransitive and transitive verbs, precategoryals and nouns. The resulting verbs are either 'location-oriented' (in a rather broad sense of the term), or they have an iterative aspect. Examples:

<i>mar-dalan</i>	'walk'	<i>dalan-i</i>	'walk on O'
<i>ihut (tu)</i>	'following'	<i>ihut-i</i>	'follow O'
<i>dənək</i>	'close-by'	<i>dənək-i</i>	'approach O'
<i>tutup</i>	'covered, closed'	<i>tutup-i</i>	'cover, close, O'
<i>olo</i>	'want to; yes'	<i>olo-i</i>	'obey'
<i>[urup]</i>		<i>urup-i</i>	'help O'
<i>mula</i>	'beginning'	<i>mula-i</i>	'begin O'

## Noun-forming affixes

*paN-* forms nouns from transitive verbs (allowing for its initial consonant, it has the same allomorphs as the active voice marker *maN<sub>2</sub>-*). These nouns refer to the actor or (sometimes) the instrument of the act denoted by the transitive verb base. Examples:

<i>takko</i>	'steal O'	<i>panakko</i>	'thief'
<i>ido</i>	'beg, ask for, O'	<i>paŋ-ido-ido</i>	'beggar'
<i>urup-i</i>	'help O'	<i>paŋ-urup-i</i>	'servant'
<i>masakkən</i>	'use for cooking'	<i>par-masak</i>	'(what is used in cooking =) spices'

*par-* has the same function as *paN-*, but it occurs on intransitive verbs marked with the *mar-*. (These intransitive verbs may in turn be derived from a noun or precategoryal.) Examples:

<i>mar-dekke</i>	'catch fish'		
( <i>dekke</i>	'a fish')	<i>par-dekke</i>	'fisherman'

*mar-tamue* 'have a guest'  
(*tamue* 'guest')      *par-tamue* 'host'

*mar-tiga-tiga* 'trade'  
(*tiga-tiga* 'trade goods')      *par-tiga-tiga* 'merchant'

*paN-* *-an* and *paN-* *-ɔn* are circumfixed to transitive verbs. Examples:

*bunu* 'kill O'      *pamunuɔn* 'murder'  
*gagat* 'eat (of herbivores)'      *paŋ-gagat-an* '(place of) eating',  
cf. (*ladaŋ*)*paŋ-gagat-an* 'pasture'

*par-* *-an* and *par-* *-ɔn* are circumfixed to verbs prefixed with *mar-* (which prefix is deleted). They form abstract nouns or nouns referring to the place of the act denoted by the *mar-* verb. Examples:

*mar-bagas* 'be married'  
*par-bagas-ɔn* 'marriage, wedding'  
*mar-dɔppak* 'resist, face'  
*par-dɔppah-an* 'forehead'  
*mar-musu* 'wage war'  
*par-musu-an, par-musu-ɔn* 'war, battle'  
*mar-gɔlaŋ* 'have or wear a copper bracelet'  
*par-gɔlaŋ-an* '(place of the bracelet =) wrist'

*-an* is suffixed to adjective, transitive and intransitive verbs, and it forms nouns referring to the place or result of the act, or to the act itself as a fact ('abstract noun'). Examples:

*bagi* 'divide (O)'      *bagi-an* 'part, piece'  
*ba'gas* 'deep'      *bagas-an* '(the) inside'  
*mɔdɔm* 'sleep'      *pɔdɔm-an* 'bed'  
*maŋan* 'eat'      *paŋan-an* 'plate'  
*uhum* 'judge (O)'      *uhum-an* 'judgement; punishment'  
*suan* 'plant (O)'      *suatsuanan* 'a plant'

*-ɔn* is suffixed to transitive verbs, and it forms nouns which often have the meaning 'that what is to be verb-ed'. It alternates with *-an* when affixed to verbs which take the suffix *-i*. Examples:

*maŋan* 'to eat'      *paŋan-ɔn* 'food'  
*pele* 'worship, idolise'      *pele-ɔn* 'idol'  
*ihut-i* 'follow O'      *ihut-an* 'leader; leading gong in  
Batak orchestra'

*ha-* *-an* and *ha-* *-ɔn* form abstract nouns from of adjectives and dynamic intransitive verbs. Examples:

<i>pitʔɔr</i>	‘correct, honest’	<i>ha-pittɔr-an</i>	‘honesty’
<i>ma-lɛ</i>	‘be hungry’	<i>ha-lɛ-ɔn</i>	‘famine’
<i>mɔnaŋ</i>	‘win’	<i>ha-mɔnaŋ-an</i>	‘victory’
<i>talɔ</i>	‘be defeated’	<i>ha-talu-ɔn, ha-talu-an</i>	‘defeat’

The verbal prefix *ni-* (*-in-* after consonants other than *d*, *r*, *l* or a nasal), which denotes patient-orientedness, also forms nouns which are patient-oriented in meaning. Examples:

<i>pahan</i>	‘feed, rear (cattle)’	<i>p-in-ahan</i>	‘livestock’
<i>pɔppar</i>	‘have O (as descendants)’	<i>p-in-ɔppar</i>	‘descendants’

Lexical reduplication: by reduplicating a root (usually a noun or an adjective) nouns are formed denoting something which resembles, or has a lot in common with, the root. Examples:

<i>haɛ</i>	‘quarter part of an animal’	<i>haɛ-haɛ</i>	‘thigh’
<i>ha'ba</i>	‘voluminous but not heavy’	<i>haba-haba</i>	‘storm’
<i>luga</i>	‘oar’	<i>luga-luga</i>	‘paddle’

Other nominal constructions:

Nominal phrases introduced by the personal article *si* often have a lexicalized meaning. Examples:

<i>ma-tua</i>	‘old’	<i>si ma-tua</i>	‘parents-in-law’	
<i>boan barita</i>	‘convey a message’	<i>si boan barita</i>	‘(the) messenger’	
[ <i>bagur</i> ]		<i>si bagur</i>	‘frog’	
<i>gadʒaŋ</i>	‘long’	<i>obuk</i>	‘hair’	
<i>tuak</i>	‘palm wine’	<i>si gadʒaŋ obuk</i>	‘the long-haired one’	
	<i>loba</i>	‘bee’	<i>si tuak ni loba</i>	‘honey’

*na* links an attribute to the head of a noun phrase, and it links a relative clause to its head. *na* can also form a noun phrase in itself (the original head of which is, as it were, deleted). Examples:

<i>ma-tua</i>	‘old’	<i>na tua-tua</i>	‘parents’
<i>mar-baʒu</i>	‘wear a jacket’	<i>na mar-baʒu</i>	‘young woman’

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## 19. Minangkabau

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction:	<i>K. A. Adelaar</i>
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Wordlist:	<i>C. Anwar – K. A. Adelaar</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Minangkabau is the language of the second largest ethnic group in Sumatra.<sup>1</sup> The Minangkabaus traditionally live in an area which covers the province of West Sumatra and extends over its borders to Padang Sidempuan in the North, to Bangkinang and Kuantan to the East, and to Mount Kerinci and Mount Seblat in the South.

The Minangkabaus number 6,5 million people (Moussay 1981: 1). About half of them live in their native land; the others form colonies elsewhere in Sumatra (along the Northwest coast and in the Sumatran provinces of Riau, Jambi and Bengkulu), in peninsular Malaysia (Negeri Sembilan), in the major cities of Java (Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya) and elsewhere (Moussay 1981: 3).

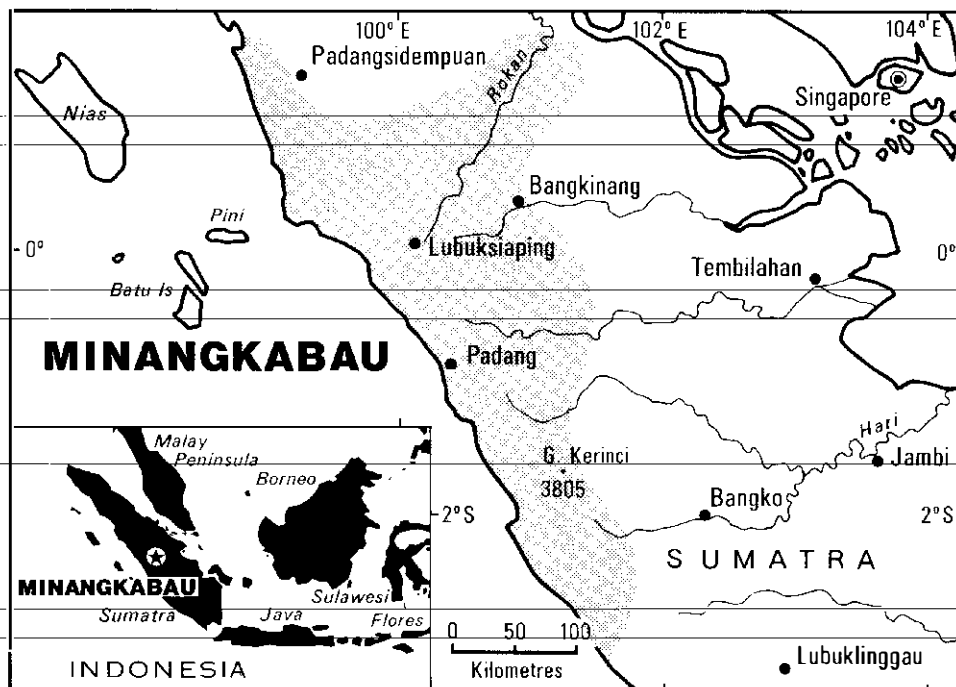
Minangkabau and (Standard) Malay both belong to the Malayic linguistic subgroup,<sup>2</sup> which in turn belongs to the West-Malayo-Polynesian branch. Traditionally, four major Minangkabau dialects are distinguished (Tanah Datar, Limapuluh Kota, Agam and Pasisir), but Tamsin Medan's dialect study (n.d.) shows a much more variegated picture. The dialect of the city of Padang is the most prestigious variety of Minangkabau: it is becoming the major urban Minangkabau dialect, and it is the lingua franca among speakers of different dialect backgrounds (Moussay 1981: 9-12).

Minangkabau as a linguistic concept causes a number of problems. There is a large culturally defined Minangkabau area with several Malayic speech forms sharing in varying degrees the phonological developments which are generally recognized as typical for that area. These developments are mainly

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1. The Malays, who live in South and East Sumatra, being the largest group.
  2. Other members of this subgroup are among others Banjarese, Urak Lawoi', Kerinci, Jakarta Malay, Bacan Malay and the "Malayic-Dayak" languages (Iban, Mualang, Selako, Kendayan) (Adelaar 1985). Rejang and Lampung (Sumatra) do not belong to it.
-



changes in the vowels of final syllables and mergers of final consonants. Most of these developments are not only found in the Minangkabau area, but



Map 19. Minangkabau language area

in many peninsular Malay and Sumatran Malay dialects as well. There is consequently no linguistic criterion for delimiting the Minangkabau dialect area from neighboring Malayic areas, nor does it show sufficient linguistic homogeneity vis-à-vis these neighboring areas to consider it a separate language area. What there is, is a Malayic dialect chain covering the Malay, Minangkabau and Kerinci<sup>1</sup> cultural areas, whereby several cultural centres in this area identify themselves linguistically with the local speech form and with its configuration of isoglosses. The phonological changes in Minangkabau make it *prima facie* hard to trace it back to Proto-Austronesian or to see its close relationship with Malay. The following chart shows the sound changes from Proto-Austronesian to Proto-Malayic, and from Proto-Malayic to Minangkabau and Malay.

1. Spoken around Mount Kerinci in the western part of the province of Jambi. Kerinci has a lot of phonological history in common with Minangkabau, but it underwent some later phonological and morphological changes which make it quite different from the latter (Prentice and Hakim Usman 1978; Steinhauer and Hakim Usman 1978).

Table 1. Sound changes from Proto-Austronesian to Proto-Malayic, Minangkabau and Malay

PAN	PM	MIN	ML
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a, o, e</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>a, o, e</i>	<i>ə, a / _C#</i>
<i>i, -iw, -əy, -uy</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i, e, i<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>i, e</i>
<i>u, -əw</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u, o, u<sup>2</sup>, uy</i>	<i>u, o</i>
<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ay</i>
<i>-aw</i>	<i>-aw</i>	<i>-aw</i>	<i>-aw</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p, -<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>p</i>
<i>t, T, C</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t, -<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>t</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k, -<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>k</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b, -p</i>	<i>b, -<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>b, -p</i>
<i>d, j</i>	<i>d, -t</i>	<i>d, -<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>d, -t</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>d, -r</i>	<i>d, -∅</i>	<i>d, -r</i>
<i>z, Z</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>g, -k</i>	<i>g, -<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>g, -k</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m, n</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n (ñ)</i>	<i>n (ñ)</i>
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>ñ</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l, -∅</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>r, R</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r, -∅</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s, -h</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>S, H, ?</i>	<i>∅ (?)</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>∅</i>
<i>q</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>∅, -h</i>	<i>h- / ∅-, -h- / -∅-, -h</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>∅-, -w-</i>	<i>∅-, -w-</i>	<i>∅-, -w-</i>

Proto-Austronesian consonant-clusters in Proto-Malayic were reduced to their second component, or (if the first component was a nasal) to a homorganic nasal + stop cluster. Some of the Proto-Austronesian phonemes (viz. \*z, \*g, \*T, \*c, \*ñ, \*r) are problematic.

The number of changes from Proto-Malayic to Minangkabau are manifold, but most of them can be summarised by a small number of regular sound rules:

(not chronologically ordered):

- \*n incidentally became ñ in the environment of *i*, cf. Proto-Malayic \*kəniŋ ‘(eye-)brow’ > kañi<sup>2</sup>ŋ

- non-final *\*h* was generally lost, cf. Proto-Malayic *\*hidup* ‘to live’ > *iduy?*
- final *\*a* became *o*, cf. Proto-Malayic *\*mata* ‘eye’ > *mato*
- high vowels were occasionally lowered to mid-vowels, cf. Proto-Malayic *\*hituŋ* ‘to count’ > *etoŋ*

(chronologically ordered):

I. *\*ə* became *\*a*, (first in last syllables, later on elsewhere)

II. after high vowels, final labials merged with dentals:

*\*(u,i)p, \*(u,i)t* → *\*(u,i)t*

*\*(u,i)m, \*(u,i)t* → *\*(u,i)n*

III. final syllable vowels were coloured by following consonants:

*\*-a(t,s)* → *\*-e(t,s)<sup>1</sup>*

*\*-u(t,s)* → *\*-uy(t,s)*

*\*-i(t,s)* → *\*-i(t,s)*

*\*-ap* → *\*-op*

*\*-u(k,ŋ,h,l,r)* → *\*u<sup>o</sup>(k,ŋ,h,l,r)*

*\*-i(k,ŋ,h,l,r)* → *\*i<sup>o</sup>(k,ŋ,h,l,r)*

VI. final stops and fricatives were reduced to glottals, and final linguals disappeared in absolute-final position:

*\*-p, \*-t, \*-k* → *-ʔ*

*\*-h, \*-s* → *-h*

*\*-l* → *∅* (*-l* on morpheme boundaries)

*\*-r* → *∅* (*-r* on morpheme boundaries)

Examples:

Proto-Malayic	rule I	rule II	rule III	rule IV	Padang-Minangkabau
<i>*əmpat</i> >	<i>*ampat</i>	<i>*ampat</i>	<i>*ampet</i>	<i>ampeʔ</i>	‘four’
<i>*hatəp</i>	<i>*(h)atap</i>	<i>*(h)atap</i>	<i>*(h)atop</i>	<i>atoʔ</i>	‘roof’
<i>*hidup</i>	<i>*(h)idup</i>	<i>*(h)idut</i>	<i>*(h)iduyt</i>	<i>iduyʔ</i>	‘live’
<i>*mulut</i>	<i>*mulut</i>	<i>*mulut</i>	<i>*muluyt</i>	<i>muluyʔ</i>	‘mouth’
<i>*bəlum</i>	<i>*balum</i>	<i>*balun</i>	<i>*balun</i>	<i>balun, alun</i>	‘not yet’
<i>*atas</i>	<i>*atas</i>	<i>*atas</i>	<i>*ates</i>	<i>ateh</i>	‘above’
<i>*tikus</i>	<i>*tikus</i>	<i>*tikus</i>	<i>*tikuys</i>	<i>tikuyh</i>	‘mouse’

1. This change must have taken place via a intermediate stage where *\*a* diphthongised to *\*ay*. Recent loanwords sometimes underwent this halfway development, cf. *siayʔ* ‘healthy’ (< Arabic *ṣiḥḥat* ‘health’); *talayʔ* ‘late’ (< Dutch *te laat* ‘id.’).

* <i>hituŋ</i>	*( <i>h</i> ) <i>ituŋ</i>	*( <i>h</i> ) <i>ituŋ</i>	*( <i>h</i> ) <i>itu<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋ</i>	<i>itu<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋ</i>	‘count’
* <i>bibir</i>	* <i>bibir</i>	* <i>bibir</i>	* <i>bibi<sup>ʔ</sup>r</i>	<i>bibi<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	‘lip’
* <i>putih</i>	* <i>putih</i>	* <i>putih</i>	* <i>puti<sup>ʔ</sup>h</i>	<i>puti<sup>ʔ</sup>h</i>	‘white’
* <i>pukul</i>	* <i>pukul</i>	* <i>pukul</i>	* <i>puku<sup>ʔ</sup>l</i>	<i>puku<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	‘strike’
* <i>tarik</i>	* <i>tarik</i>	* <i>tarik</i>	* <i>tari<sup>ʔ</sup>k</i>	<i>tari<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	‘pull’
* <i>k<sup>ʔ</sup>luh</i>	* <i>kaluh</i>	* <i>kaluh</i>	* <i>kalu<sup>ʔ</sup>h</i>	<i>kalu<sup>ʔ</sup>h</i>	‘sigh, complain’

Tamsin Medan’s study (n.d.) shows that some Minangkabau dialects underwent only part of the above sound changes, whereas other dialects underwent further changes beyond the ones enumerated here.

Compared to Minangkabau, the sound changes from Proto-Malayic to (Standard) Malay were rather minimal:

- antepenultimate vowels merged to ə
- last syllable \*ə became a
- \**n* sporadically became ñ in the environment of *i*
- non-final \**h* was sometimes lost.

Within the context of the study of Austronesian language studies Minangkabau is reasonably well described, although all major works are in Dutch, French or Indonesian. There are two grammars, of which the one by Moussay (1981) is more complete and up to date; the one by van der Toorn (1899) is still valuable for its examples from classical Minangkabau literature. There are two dictionaries (van der Toorn 1891 and Thaib 1935) and a third one (by Moussay) is about to appear. There is a thoroughgoing dialect study made by the late Tamsin Medan, which is kept in manuscript form at the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa in Jakarta. The linguistic history of Minangkabau is treated in Adelaar (1985). Other sources on Minangkabau language and literature are summarised in Voorhoeve (1955), Moussay (1981), and in the *Linguistic Bibliography*.

## 2. Minangkabau phonology

Stress is predictable and falls on the penultimate syllable of a root. There are no other supra-segmental features with phonemic relevance.

The basic word patterns of Minangkabau are: CVC, CV(C)CVC and (CV(C)) (CV(C))CV(C)CVC. Most roots have a CV(C)CVC-pattern.

The last C of a root can only be a nasal (other than ñ), a glottal or Ø. The other Cs can be a single consonant, Ø or a cluster; clusters consist of a

homorganic nasal + stop, or *n* + *s*. Diphthongs only occur in final syllables.  
 ? only occurs in root-final position.<sup>1</sup>

Table 2. Minangkabau consonants

		Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

Table 3. Minangkabau vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>ā</i>	

Diphthongs *i<sup>2</sup>, u<sup>2</sup>, uy, ay, aw*

Morphophonemic alternations

Prefixation of *ma(N)-* or *pa(N)-* (*-an*) brings about the following changes:

- 1) homorganic nasal substitution for initial *p, t, k*;
- 2) palatal nasal substitution for initial *s*;
- 3) homorganic nasal accretion before initial voiced stops and *č*;  
 (palatalisation of the nasal before *ǰ* and *č* is not indicated in the official Minangkabau orthography nor in the comparative wordlist);
- 4) in other cases, only *ma-/pa-* (*-an*) is prefixed

Examples:

<i>[pili<sup>2</sup>h]</i>	<i>mamili<sup>2</sup>h</i>	'to choose'
<i>tutuy<sup>2</sup></i>	'closed' <i>manutuy<sup>2</sup></i>	'to close'

1. Since other voiceless stops not occur in final position, ʔ could be interpreted as an allophone of one of them: Moussay (1981) treats ʔ as an allophone of *k*.

<i>kapu</i> <sup>ʔ</sup>	‘chalk’	<i>maŋapu<sup>ʔ</sup>ri</i>	‘to plaster’
[ <i>sasa</i> ]		<i>mañasa</i>	‘to be sorry, regret’
<i>badi</i> <sup>ʔ</sup>	‘gun’	<i>sa-pambadi<sup>ʔ</sup>ran</i>	‘the distance of a gunshot’
[ <i>daŋa</i> ]		<i>mandaŋa</i>	‘to hear’
[ <i>ʃamu</i> ]		<i>mañʃamu</i>	‘to treat, entertain’
		<i>pañʃamu</i>	‘host’
[ <i>gandin</i> ]		<i>maŋgandin</i>	‘thrash, flog’
		<i>paŋgandin</i>	‘s.th. to flog with’
[ <i>čari</i> ]		<i>mañčari</i>	‘look for, seek’
		<i>pañčarian</i>	‘livelihood, business’
<i>mali</i> <sup>ʔŋ</sup>	‘thief’	<i>mamali</i> <sup>ʔŋ</sup>	‘steal’
<i>itam</i>	‘black’	<i>maitam</i>	‘to become black’
<i>anam</i>	‘six’	<i>maanamkan</i>	‘make s.th. into six’

When the suffixes *-i* (transitiviser) or *-an* (transitiviser/nominaliser) are suffixed to a root ending in *-a*, *-u*<sup>ʔ</sup> or *-i*<sup>ʔ</sup>, a lingual appears on morpheme boundaries; this lingual usually (but not always) corresponds to the same lingual in Proto-Malayic; examples:

<i>lapa</i>	‘hungry’	<i>kalaparan</i>	‘famine’
<i>mañasa</i>	‘to be sorry’	<i>mañasali</i>	‘to be sorry about s.th.’
<i>badi</i> <sup>ʔ</sup>	‘gun’	<i>sa-pambadi</i> <sup>ʔ</sup> <i>lan</i>	(sometimes <i>sa-pambadi</i> <sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ran</i> ) ‘the distance of a gunshot’

In some cases suffixation of *-i* or *-an* entails substitution of *-s-* for *-h-*; example:

<i>manih</i>	‘sweet’	<i>manisan labah</i>	‘honey’
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Note: In some Minangkabau sub-dialects suffixation of *-i* or *-an* entails substitution of *p*, *t* or *k* for *-ʔ*, cf. *saki*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘ill’ and *pasaki*<sup>ʔ</sup>*an*, *pasakitan* ‘difficulty, impediment’ (van der Toorn). In other sub-dialects, a *p*, *t* or *k*, appear after final *-ʔ*, cf. *maikuy*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘to follow’ and *paikuy*<sup>ʔ</sup>*tan* ‘without an opinion of one’s own’.

### 3. Inventory of the affixes occurring in the wordlist

Verbal affixes:

- ma(N)-*
- 1) forms intransitive verbs
  - 2) is prefixed to transitive verbs to mark agent-orientedness (object-orientedness is marked with *di-*)

*(mam)pa-* transitiviser

*-i* a transitiviser which is location-oriented, or which adds the notion of multiple action or plurality of subject or object

*-an/-kan* transitiviser; when suffixed to transitive verbs, it is an object selector yielding among others causatives, recipient-oriented verbs or instrument-oriented verbs

*ba-/(bar-)* forms intransitive verbs (with nouns, it conveys the meaning of have/take/use/wear [noun])

*ba- -an* forms intransitive verbs, adds the notion of reciprocity, multiple action or diffuseness

*basa-* forms intransitive verbs, adds the notion of reciprocal action or multiple action (with a plural subject)

*ta-* is prefixed to verbs and denotes that the subject commits, or is affected by, non-controlled action

Nominal affixes:

*pa(N)-* is prefixed to verbs which take *ma(N)-*; it forms nouns referring to agent; it also forms nouns denoting the habit of doing [base] and nouns referring to the instrument with which an act is performed

*pa- (par-)* is prefixed to verbs which take *ba-* or *(mam)pa-*; the resulting forms have meanings which are similar to those of the *pa(N)-* derivations

*pa(N)- -an, pa- -an* and

*par- -an* form abstract nouns or nouns referring to goal of an act, instrument of an act, or to the place where an act takes place

*-an* on the basis of an adjective, the derivation denotes 's.th. that has the quality of [adjective]'; on the basis of a verb, the derivation refers to the result, goal or instrument of the act, or to the place where the act is performed

*ka- -an* derives abstract nouns from intransitive verbs; when it is derived from adjectives, it forms nouns referring to the quality as such of [adjective]

*sa-* denotes unitary occurrence of the noun to which it is prefixed (its use often entails a notion of indefiniteness)

Note: The personal article *si* [+ personal name] is used to refer to people with whom one has familiar contact. When it precedes an adjective or verb, it usually forms a nickname referring to a characteristic or habit expressed by [adjective/verb]. But it is also used to form noun phrases with a more general

meaning, which do not necessarily refer to humans, cf *si paŋka* '(lit. the basis, =) host'; *si giri*<sup>27</sup> '(what is used for piercing or boring, =) awl'.

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## 20. Indonesian (Malay)

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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### 1. Introduction

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Malay has had the most far-reaching impact of the Austronesian languages. Its influence has been documented in a wide geographic spread going back centuries before European contact. Borrowings from Malay are attested in many vernacular languages throughout modern Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. However, Malay itself has borrowed heavily from Sanskrit, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, English, Chinese, and other languages. Malay has been long considered a key language for comparative Austronesian studies.

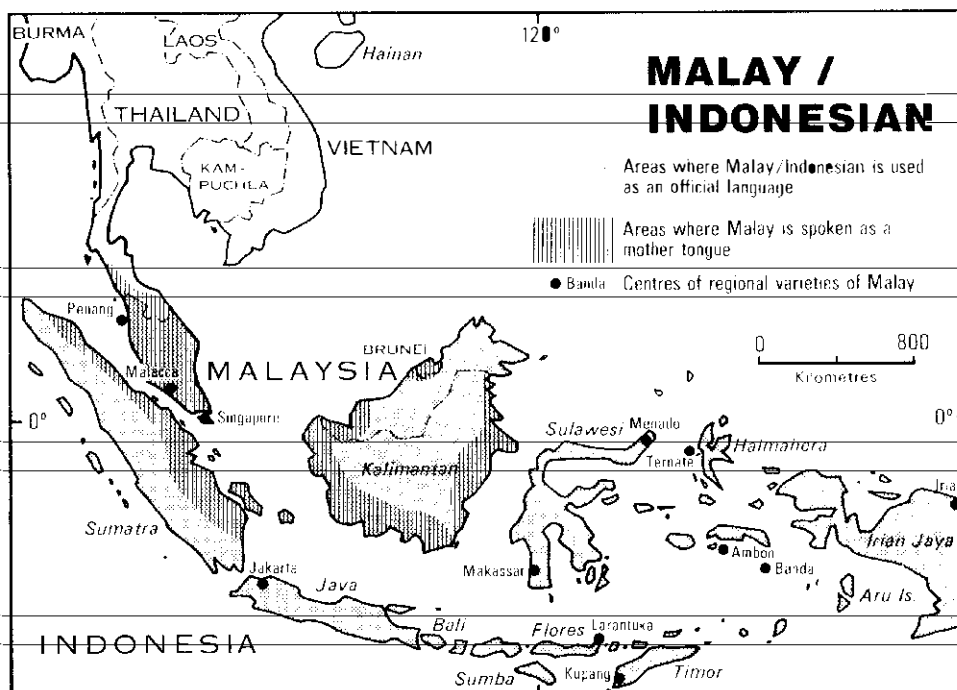
Indonesian is currently used as the “high” of an acrolect-basilect continuum in a multilingual society. Toward the lower end of the continuum are found both vernaculars (Malay and non-Malay vernaculars) and distinct regional varieties of Malay which have been in a stable diglossic relationship with the vernaculars for centuries. Prentice (1978) points out the need to distinguish between 1) *mother-tongue* Malays, 2) *lingua franca* Malays, and 3) *official-language* Malays. Mother-tongue Malays are those vernacular Malays that are spoken in their own homeland, such as those Malay languages that are native to the Malay Peninsula, eastern Sumatra, and along the western and southern coasts of Kalimantan (Borneo). *Lingua franca* Malays (here termed “regional varieties”) are those varieties that have developed from a *lingua franca* trade Malay and have become the *lingua franca* in areas to which they are not native, in the process taking on the distinct flavour of the region and frequently becoming creolised. *Official-language* Malays have their roots in the language of literature and government dating back to the Empire of Srivijaya (seventh century A.D.), but most directly associated with the language of literature and government of the Islamic Sultanates of peninsular Malaysia from the 14th-20th centuries. The “official language” Malay has its descendants in Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia, among others. Regional (*lingua franca* varieties of Malay), such as Macassarese Malay, Manadonese Malay,

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Ambonese Malay, Jakarta Malay, and others, continue to be used in the pattern established over centuries, except that Indonesian has become an “add-on” language functioning particularly in the domains of education, government, religion, and communication.

The comparative wordlist does not document the regional or vernacular varieties of Malay found throughout insular and peninsular Southeast Asia (see Asmah Haji Omar 1977 for an overview of the latter area). We merely attempt to briefly document here the trans-regional variety of standard Indonesian as it is currently used. The difficulty is that many of the items in this word list are in speech domains that are normally associated by individual speakers with the vernacular or the regional variety of Malay, rather than with Indonesian. The authors have tried to make reasonable decisions in such cases, as their combined experience spans several regional varieties of Malay spoken throughout the archipelago.



Map 20. Mother-tongue, regional varieties, and ‘official-language’ Malays

For this volume, Indonesian Malay [Bahasa Indonesia] has been chosen as the representative of the varieties of Malay. Because Malay is among the best documented of the Austronesian languages the present list is restricted in scope. The list is intended to represent a synchronic snapshot of current

usage of standard Indonesian.<sup>1</sup> Thus the most common terms are used in the list proper, regardless of whether or not they are obvious borrowings. However, because this volume is interested primarily in comparing the native Austronesian elements of Indonesian with other Austronesian languages, the native elements and the borrowed elements are distinguished in both the introduction and the word list. Terms considered archaic and not in current usage are not added to the present list.

We estimate there are over 35 million mother tongue speakers of Indonesian, mostly in the larger urban centres with many resulting from inter-ethnic marriages.<sup>2</sup> There are probably over 125 million combined first and second-language speakers of Indonesian.

### 1.1 Additional references

Malay is among the best documented of the Austronesian languages. Rather than trying to detail the finer points of Indonesian phonology and morphology, the reader is referred to other sources for further study. Among them are: Abas (1987), Adelaar (1985), Chung (1976), Dardjowidjojo (1971), Echols – Shadily (1961, 1975), Kana (1986), Macdonald (1976), Moeliono (1986), Moeliono – Dardjowidjojo (1988), Asmah Haji Omar (1977), Poerwadarminta (1982), Prentice (1978), Wilkinson (1957). Among the more widely used Indonesian textbooks are Dardjowidjojo (1978), Johns (1990), and Wolff – Oetomo – Fietkiewicz (1985).

## 2. Phonology

Below is a brief summary of Indonesian phonology. Because the purpose of this volume is to compare Austronesian languages with each other, this present description distinguishes the phonology and phonotactics of the inherited elements of Malay from those elements that have been assimilated from other languages. Of course, very few speakers of Indonesian are aware that different patterns can be demonstrated for the inherited and borrowed

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1. We follow the suggestion made by the editors of *Indonesia Circle* (1980 Vol.23) that the official term “Bahasa Indonesia” is correct when writing or speaking in Indonesian, “Indonesian” is the preferred term when speaking or writing in English, and “Bahasa” by itself is to be studiously avoided. Our thanks to Sander Adelaar and Adrian Clynes for comments on earlier drafts of this introduction.
  2. These estimates are complicated by the nature of language use in a post-creole continuum. It may be more accurate to say that the estimate of native speakers of Indonesian includes native speakers of regional varieties of Malay.
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elements of the language. For a unified synchronic description of Indonesian the reader is referred to Moeliono – Dardjowidjojo (1988).

## 2.1 Phoneme inventory

Indonesian has six vowels and twenty-three consonants (of which eighteen are inherited and five are assimilated).

### 2.1.1 Inventory of consonants

The fricatives /f š z x/ and glottal /ʔ/ are assimilated from loanwords. Alternate pronunciations (and spellings) are found for many of these sounds. Thus /f/ may be pronounced [f] or [p]; /š/ may be pronounced [z], [j] or occasionally [s]; and /x/ varies between [k], [x] and [h], and is spelled *kh*. Glottal is often indicated simply by the juxtaposition of two vowels (e.g. *maaf* ‘pardon’, *syair* ‘poem’), or by an apostrophe (e.g. *ma’af*, *syair*).

Indonesian has the following inherited consonant phonemes [phonemes assimilated from other language sources are not indicated in the figure below]:<sup>1</sup>

Table 1. Indonesian consonants

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives				<i>s</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	

1. The following chart is designed to highlight the phonemically significant categories of sounds in Indonesian on formal, functional and distributional grounds, rather than trying to display additional categories to show phonetic qualities. Note that the active articulators are specified rather than the traditional passive articulators. This facilitates putting /t/ and /d/ in a single category, where they belong, rather than distinguishing separate “dental” and “alveolar” categories.
2. /s/ is traditionally grouped with /t d n l r/. However, we place /s/ with the laminals on distributional grounds. An anomaly is thus not required for /s/ > /ñ/ rather than the otherwise expected /n/ in certain morphological combinations discussed below. A single broad generalisation can be made about assimilation and accretion to homorganic nasals.

### 2.1.1.1 The apicals

/d/ is predominantly alveolar, but can occasionally be dental. /t/ is predominantly dental and can at times be interdental. /n/ is prototypically alveolar, but may occasionally be fronted in the environment of /i/ or /ʉ/.

### 2.1.1.2 The dorso-glottals

Syllable final /k/ becomes [ʔ]. When a suffix is added to the root, the root final /k/ remains [k]. The phoneme is written orthographically as *k* in all environments.

(3)	/masuk/	[masuʔ]	‘enter (intrans)’	[məmasuki]	‘enter (trans)’
	/tolak/	[tolaʔ]	‘refuse’	[pənoʔlakan]	‘refusal’

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is often not pronounced word or utterance finally in informal speech registers. /h/ is often not pronounced between unlike vowels by many speakers, but is never dropped from between like vowels.<sup>1</sup>

(4)	/tahun/	‘year’	[tahun]	~	[taun]
	/lihat/	‘see’	[lihat]	~	[liat]

(5)	/pohon/	‘tree’			[pohon]
	/tahan/	‘restrain, endure, persevere’			[tahan]

There are regional preferences for pronouncing or not pronouncing /h/ word initially in a few lexical items.

(6)	/antar/	‘escort’	[hantar]	~	[antar]
	/hiduŋ/	‘nose’	[hiduŋ]	~	[iduŋ]

### 2.1.1.3 The /r/

The /r/ is an alveolar trill, but normally becomes a flap or tap intervocalically. In some regions /r/ is pronounced as a velar or uvular fricative and tends to be elided word-finally (see Asmah Haji Omar 1977).

1. Although /h/ is not usually pronounced between unlike vowels, there are minimal pairs of intervocalic /-h-/ with  $\emptyset$ . For example, /tuan/ ‘sir, master’ vs. /tuhan/ ‘Lord, God’ (probably derived from a single parent form). Minimal pairs with initial /h/ and  $\emptyset$  also occur, such as /arus/ ‘current’ and /harus/ ‘have to, must’.

## 2.1.2 Inventory of vowels

Indonesian has the following six vowel phonemes:

Table 2. Indonesian vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Vowel quality and allophonic variation depend, to a large part, on the region of origin and mother tongue of the speaker. As a broad generalisation, front and back vowels /i e o u/ lower to their respective lax allophones in closed syllables. Where the vowel of the other syllable of the root has the same vowel, harmony of vowel height will also lower the like vowel of the open syllable.

(7)	<i>pintu</i>	[pintu]	'door'
	<i>salin</i>	[salɪn]	'transfer'
	<i>kiri</i>	[kiri]	'left (side)'
	<i>kirim</i>	[kɪrɪm]	'send'

### 2.1.2.1 Schwa /ə/

The vowel schwa /ə/ shifts the stress to the ultimate syllable when the /ə/ occurs in the penultimate syllable. In the penultimate and antepenultimate syllable, /ə/ is frequently elided (deleted) altogether when the syllable shape is CV, rather than CVC.

(8)	<i>səpuluh</i>	'ten'	[səpʊlʊh]	~	[spʊlʊ]
	<i>bəlakəŋ</i>	'back'	[bəlakaŋ]	~	[blakaŋ]
	<i>bəlum</i>	'not yet'	[bəlʊm]	~	[blʊm]

### 2.1.2.2 Diphthongs

What are commonly considered diphthongs (orthographically *-ai*, *-au* and *-oi*) are phonemically sequences of /ay/, /aw/, and /oy/. /ay/ sometimes varies in pronunciation between [ay], [ey] and [e] in informal speech.

(9)	<i>sampai</i>	‘arrive’	[sampay]	~	[sampey]	~	[sampe]
	<i>čapai</i>	‘tired’	[čapay]	~	[čapey]	~	[čape]

The sequence /aw/ is alternatively pronounced [aw], [ɔw] and [o].

(10)	<i>saudara</i>	‘sibling’	[sawdara]	~	[sɔwdara]	~	[sodara]
	<i>kalau</i>	‘if, when’	[kaław]	~	[kaɔw]	~	[kaɔ]

## 2.2 Word stress

Word stress (or accent) is indicated by contrast in pitch between the syllables of a word, and a slight increase in the length and force of stressed syllables. Unaffixed words in isolation are given primary stress on the penultimate syllable, except when the vowel in the penultimate syllable is schwa /ə/, in which case the stress is on the ultimate syllable.

(1)	[ˈkata]	‘word’
	[ˈbapaʔ]	‘father’
	[ˈpasir]	‘sand’
	[guˈrita]	‘octopus’
	[təˈliŋa]	‘ear’
(2)	[təˈlah]	‘already’
	[pəˈrut]	‘abdomen’
	[bəˈkas]	‘former, old’
	[kəmˈbar] <sup>1</sup>	‘twin’
	[kəmˈbaŋ]	‘blossom, develop’

When suffixes or enclitics are added two patterns are found. The first, found in the eastern part of the Malay speaking world (Java, Sulawesi, and eastward) shifts the primary stress to the right to stay on the newly formed penultimate syllable. The second pattern, found primarily in the west (Sumatra, Borneo and peninsular Malaysia) maintains the stress pattern of the root and is unaffected by affixation (see Prentice 1989).

## 3. Phonotactic constraints

The following discussion on phonotactic constraints is restricted to patterns found in the AN element of Indonesian and is adapted largely from Adelaar

1. The medial nasal element is best analysed as ambisyllabic.



(1985). Borrowed words assimilated into Indonesian provide exceptions to most of the patterns described below.

The canonical form of inherited roots is CVCVC. Some monosyllabic and trisyllabic roots also occur. Each C can be  $\emptyset$ . The medial C can be a consonant cluster, subject to the constraints described below.

### 3.1 Constraints on the distribution of vowels

#### 3.1.1 Schwa /ə/

The vowel /ə/ does not occur before the glottal fricative /h/, semivowels /w y/ or before other vowels.

Schwa /ə/ is the only vowel permitted before a cluster of /r/ + C.

- (11) *bərsih*            ‘clean’  
       *tərbaŋ*            ‘fly (vb)’

With few exceptions, schwa /ə/ is the only vowel occurring in antepenultimate syllables.<sup>1</sup>

- (12) *təliŋa*            ‘ear’  
       *səbəntar*          ‘in a moment’  
       *bənua*             ‘mainland, continent’

Root initial /ə/, or /ə/ preceded by /h/, must be followed by /l r s/ or a nasal.

- (13) *ələn*             ‘eagle, bird of prey’  
       *əmpədu*          ‘gall’ (also [həmpədu])  
       *həndak*          ‘will, want’

#### 3.1.2 Other vowels

The sequences /ay/, /aw/ and /oy/ occur only in the morpheme-final position.<sup>2</sup>

- (14) *sampai*            ‘until, arrive’  
       *baŋkai*            ‘corpse’  
       *bagai-mana*       ‘how?’ (a compound)

1. Some exceptions to this are: /gurita/ ‘octopus’, /binatan/ ‘animal’, /harimaw/ ‘tiger’.

2. An exception is /sawdara/ ‘sibling’, a Sanskrit loan.

(15)	<i>kalau</i>	‘if, when’
	<i>pulau</i>	‘island’

In some regions the distinction between /i/ and /e/, on the one hand, and /u/ and /o/, on the other hand, is neutralised in closed final syllables (see Adelaar 1985: 34-35).

(16)	<i>adik</i>	[adiʔ]	~	[adeʔ]	‘younger sibling’
	<i>kampung</i>	[kampuŋ]	~	[kamponŋ]	‘village, hamlet’

There is harmony of vowel height with front and back vowels, such that the vowel in the final syllable agrees in height with the vowel in the penultimate syllable.

(17)	<i>tipis</i>	‘thin’
	<i>leher</i>	‘neck’
	<i>pohon</i>	‘tree’
	<i>kurus</i>	‘slim’

(18)	<i>kulit</i>	‘skin’
	<i>hitung</i>	‘count’
	<i>belok</i>	‘turn’
	<i>sore</i>	‘late afternoon, evening’

The sequences /eCi/, /iCe/, /oCu/ and /uCo/ do not occur in inherited roots.

### 3.2 Constraints on the distribution of consonants

Voiced stops /b d g ʒ/, /č/ and /ñ/ do not occur root-finally in inherited roots.<sup>1</sup>

Two /r/s rarely occur within one lexeme.

#### 3.2.1 Consonant clusters

Three types of consonant clusters occur within inherited roots.

##### 3.2.1.1 Nasal + homorganic stop

(19)	<i>empat</i>	‘four’
	<i>tambah</i>	‘increase’

1. Word-final voiced stops in loan words are usually written as such, but tend to be devoiced in their pronunciation; e.g. Arabic *səbab* > [səbab] ~ [səbap] ‘because’.

(20)	<i>antar</i>	‘escort’
	<i>mundur</i>	‘reverse, back up’

(20)	<i>lanjut</i>	‘continue’
	<i>benci</i>	‘hate’
	<i>panjang</i>	‘long’
	<i>pinjam</i>	‘borrow’
	<i>injak</i>	‘step on’

(22)	<i>bayak</i>	‘corpse’
	<i>bangga</i>	‘proud’

### 3.2.1.2 /ŋ/ + /s/

The velar nasal /ŋ/ clusters with /s/ in a few lexical items.

(23)	<i>pingsan</i>	‘faint’	
	<i>langsung</i>	‘direct’	
	<i>lansat</i>	‘k.o. fruit’	(but also [lansat])

### 3.2.1.3 /r/ + certain consonants

The trill /r/ may cluster with most consonants except /h r w y/.

(24)	<i>bersih</i>	‘clean’
	<i>terbay</i>	‘fly’ (vb)

Some lexical items form clusters across morpheme boundaries and are not considered exceptions to the constraints within lexical roots (e.g. /bərhentɪ/ ‘stop’).

## 3.2.2 Constraints on semivowels /w y/

Semivowels do not occur word initially, except in a couple of cases where /y/ has been shown to derive historically from \*i (see Adelaar 1985:13).

(25)	<i>yaitu</i>	‘that is, namely’	( <i>ia + itu</i> )
	<i>yaŋ</i>	‘relative pronoun’	( <i>ia + ligature ŋ</i> )

In inherited vocabulary /y/ does not occur adjacent to the vowels /i e ə/.<sup>1</sup> /w/ does not occur adjacent to the vowels /o u ə/.

1. Exception is *bayi* ‘baby’.

#### 4. Summary of morphophonemic processes

Below is a brief discussion of some of the morphophonemic processes occurring in Indonesian.

##### 4.1 Prefixes /məŋ-/ and /pəŋ-/<sup>1</sup>

The active verbal (actor focus) prefix /məŋ-/, the actor/instrument prefix /pəŋ-/, and the nominal circumfix /pəŋ--an/ undergo predictable changes when attached to stems. Before stems beginning with voiceless obstruents /p t k/, and with voiceless /s/, there is homorganic nasal substitution.

(26)	<i>putus</i>	‘break’	>	<i>məmutus/pəmutus</i>
	<i>tabrak</i>	‘hit, collide’	>	<i>mənabrak/pənabrak</i>
	<i>karang</i>	‘compose’	>	<i>məŋarang/pəŋarang</i>
	<i>səbar</i>	‘spread s.th.’	>	<i>məŋəbarkan</i>

Before stems beginning with voiced stops /b d g j/ and voiceless /č/, there is homorganic nasal accretion.

(27)	<i>bakar</i>	‘bake, roast’	>	<i>məm-bakar/pəmbakar</i>
	<i>dapat</i>	‘get, take’	>	<i>mən-dapat</i>
	<i>gabung</i>	‘connect’	>	<i>məŋ-gabung</i>
	<i>jalan</i>	‘walk’	>	<i>məŋ-jalan-kan</i>
	<i>čari</i>	‘look for’	>	<i>məŋ-čari</i>

Before stems beginning with nasals, /l/, or /r/, the prefixes appear as /mə-/ and /pə-/.

(28)	<i>marah</i>	‘get angry at’	>	<i>mə-marah-i/pə-marah</i>
	<i>nama</i>	‘name s.th.’	>	<i>mə-nama-kan</i>
	<i>ñala</i>	‘light s.th.’	>	<i>mə-ñala-kan</i>
	<i>ŋaga</i>	‘agape’	>	<i>mə-ŋaga</i>
	<i>lapor</i>	‘report’	>	<i>mə-lapor-kan</i>
	<i>rayap</i>	‘crawl’	>	<i>mə-rayap</i>

The prefixes appear as /məŋ-/ and /pəŋ-/ before roots beginning with vowels or /h/.

1. These prefixes are often listed in the literature in a more abstract form (i.e. *məN-* and *pəN-*).

(29)	<i>angkat</i>	'lift up'	>	<i>məŋ-angkat/pəŋ-angkat</i>
	<i>ikat</i>	'tie, bind'	>	<i>məŋ-ikat/pəŋ-ikat</i>
	<i>undang</i>	'invite'	>	<i>məŋ-undang/pəŋ-undang</i>
	<i>hitung</i>	'count'	>	<i>məŋ-hitung/pəŋ-hitung</i>

Before monosyllabic (loan) roots the prefixes take the shape /məŋə-/ and /pəŋə-/.

(30)	<i>cek</i>	'check s.th.'	>	<i>məŋə-cek</i>
	<i>pel</i>	'mop'	>	<i>məŋə-pel</i>

## 4.2 The suffixes /-an/, /-kan/, and /-i/

The following morphophonemic processes apply.

### 4.2.1 Root-final /k/

Root-final /k/ is [k] when combined with the suffixes /-an/, /-kan/ and /-i/. It optionally remains glottal [ʔ] before /-kan/.

### 4.2.2 Glottal insertion

For morphological combinations resulting in sequences of /aa/ or /...V/, an epenthetic glottal [ʔ] is inserted between the vowels (but not represented orthographically).

(31)	<i>muka + -an</i>	'face'	>	[pəʔmukaʔan]
	<i>čoba + -an</i>	'try, attempt'	>	[pəʔrčobaʔan]
	<i>sə + umur</i>	'same age'	>	[səʔumur]
	<i>kə + ada + -an</i>	'situation'	>	[kəʔadaʔan]

### 4.2.3 Root-final /h/

Root-final /h/ preceded by a high or mid vowel is often not pronounced or may result in a glide for some speakers when /-an/ is suffixed. Before /-i/ root final /h/ is often not pronounced

(32)	<i>latih</i>	'train, exercise'	>	[latihan]	~	[latiyan/latian]
	<i>puluh</i>	'ten'	>	[puluhan]	~	[puluwan/puluan]
	<i>marah</i>	'angry'	>	[məmarahi]	~	[məmarai]

## 5. A summary of the morphology

Primary functions of common prefixes, suffixes and circumfixes in Indonesian are summarised briefly below. For a more complete discussion see the literature cited above.

(33) <i>bər-</i>	stative, habitual, intra-directive
<i>məŋ-</i>	agent focus / active / promotion of actor
<i>di-</i>	patient focus / passive / promotion of undergoer
<i>məmpər-</i>	causative (with counterpart <i>dipər-</i> )
<i>tər</i>	agentless passive, unintentional, superlative
<i>pəŋ-</i>	agentive, instrumental
(34) <i>-kan</i>	valence increaser, causative, benefactive
<i>-i</i>	locative/goal marker, marks the thing whose location is in question, repetitive, exhaustive
<i>-an</i>	nominaliser (usually concrete), collective
(35) <i>kə-(stem)-an</i>	adversative passive
<i>kə-(stem)-an</i>	abstract nominaliser
<i>pəŋ-(stem)-an</i>	nominaliser (process/activity/resulting state)
<i>pər-(stem)-an</i>	nominaliser (process/resulting state)

## 6. Notes on standard orthography

The standard Indonesian orthography (post-1972) uses the digraph *ng* for /ŋ/, *ny* for /ñ/, *kh* for /x/, *sy* for /š/, *c* for /č/, *j* for /j/. The vowels /e/ and /ə/ are undifferentiated and symbolised by a single letter *e*. The sequences /ay/ /aw/ /oy/ are written *ai*, *au* and *oi* respectively.

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## 21. Sundanese

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction: <i>Adrian Clynes</i>
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Wordlist: <i>Emuh Herman Sumantri</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Sundanese is, after Javanese, the major native language of the island of Java. It is spoken throughout the western third of the island, with the exception of a thin strip along the northern coast, where Javanese and Jakarta Malay predominate. In 1980, the last census for which language spoken was surveyed, more than 22 million people, or 15% of the Indonesian population, indicated they spoke Sundanese in the home. At current rates of population increase there are now at least 27 million speakers of Sundanese. Of these, more than 750,000 have settled on other islands in Indonesia, particularly in southern Sumatra, through migration and transmigration.

The extensive dialect survey by Nothofer (1980) recognises four principal dialect areas: Banten, Priangan, Bogor/Krawang, and Cirebon. Other dialect studies include those by Indonesian scholars published by the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (see bibliography in Hardjadibrata 1985)

Like Javanese, Sundanese is characterised by “speech styles” or distinct formal and everyday registers. It is generally accepted that both the bulk of the “high” lexis and the styles phenomenon itself are borrowings from Javanese. In the wordlist only items from the everyday vocabulary are given.

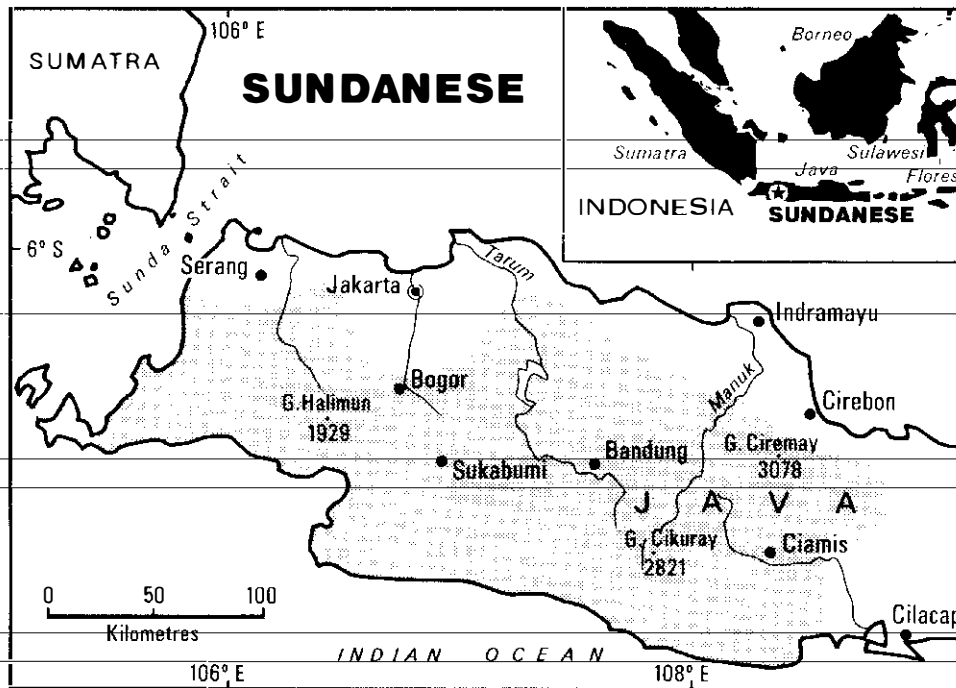
Sundanese has been influenced by both Malay and Javanese for many centuries. There are also significant Sanskrit and Arabic elements in the lexicon due to successive waves of Hindu and Islamic influence.

There is debate about the historical relationship of Sundanese to neighbouring languages. Esser sub-grouped Sundanese with Madurese and Javanese (1938), then later speculated (see Noorduyn 1963) that it would be better grouped with Malay, Malay-related Sumatran languages, and “some of the Dayak languages”. In neither case was the basis for these classifications indicated. Dyen (1965) sub-grouped Sundanese with Javanese, Madurese and Malay, on lexicostatistical grounds. This was in turn the basis for

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Nothofer's reconstruction of a "Proto-Malayo-Javanic" (1975). Blust (1981) suggests a sub-grouping similar to Esser's second proposal, but including Acehnese and Chamic languages, and excluding Javanese and Madurese. Nothofer (1985) argues that Sundanese sub-groups with Lampung, Malay, Iban, Madurese and Javanese, but that the first five languages are more closely related to each other than they are to Javanese.



Map 21. Sundanese language area

Given its importance as a regional language in Indonesia, and one with a long written history (Uhlenbeck 1971, de Casparis 1975), Sundanese remains relatively little studied. Uhlenbeck (1964) and (1971) are critical bibliographical surveys, including the grammars written in Dutch in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Robins published several important articles in the 1950s and 1960s (anthologised in Robins 1970 and 1983). A recent short grammar in English is Hardjadibrata (1985), containing a useful bibliographical survey. Dictionaries include the important Eringa (1984, Sundanese-Dutch), and the good monolingual Lembaga Basa jeung Sastra Sunda (1976). Rigg (1862) is the only Sundanese-English dictionary.

## 2. Sketch of phonology and morphology<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 Phonology

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes are:

	Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>			
Vibrants		<i>r</i>			
Glides	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

Final /k/ is realised as [k], not as [ʔ], contrary to a pattern common in the region. On the other hand [ʔ] occurs in a variety of positions, e.g. utterance-finally after a vowel, morpheme-internally between like vowels, and before all “vowel-initial”-stems (prefixed or not) and words. Van Syoc (1959) gives phoneme status to [ʔ] everywhere. Robins (1953a) does not, arguing that its occurrence is always predictable. In a later article he takes a more non-committal approach (1959: 342). In the wordlist we follow the general approach of Robins (1953). Note though that an analysis which does not take into account morphological information requires /ʔ/ morpheme-initially before vowels and between like vowels (see also Robins 1959: 341-342). Examples of phonetic realisation include:

<i>indit</i> [ʔindit]	‘leave’	<i>paŋ-indit</i> [paŋʔindit]	‘reason for leaving’
<i>kota</i> [kota(ʔ)]	‘town’	<i>tiis</i> [tiʔis]	‘cold’

The transcription of *kota* as [kota(ʔ)] indicates that when utterance-final (for example, the citation form) it occurs with non-phonemic [ʔ].

1. Thanks to Bob Bugenhagen and Charles Grimes for comments on an early version of this introduction.

### 2.1.2 Vowels

There are seven vowel phonemes:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

*/i/* is transcribed by Robins as */ɨ/*. Nothofer (1975, 1980) argues that */i/* is the regular reflex of an earlier *\*/ə/*, while modern-day */ə/* derives mainly from Javanese, and some Malay, loanwords.

Robins (1957) is an important study of non-phonemic nasality as a prosody in Sundanese, the first detailed account of what is an areal feature of western Indonesian languages (see Court 1970, Durie 1985).

### 2.1.3. Stress

Stress is normally on the penultimate syllable of the phonological word, which may consist of more than one grammatical word (Robins 1953a):

<i>isuk</i> ['isuk] 'morning'	<i>isukan</i> [i'sukan] 'tomorrow'
<i>diuk</i> ['diuk] 'sit'	<i>mili</i> ['mili] 'buy'
<i>ka ban</i> ['kaban] 'to the bank'	<i>di-čet</i> ['dičet] 'painted'
<i>paman</i> ['paman] 'uncle'	<i>paman-na</i> [pa'mana] 'his uncle'

Stress shifts to the final syllable if the penultimate vowel is */ə/* (but not if it is */i/*, see *mili* above):

<i>gəde</i> 'big' [gə'de]	<i>ᵇabədil</i> [ᵇabə'dil] 'shoot'
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See Robins (1953a) for further discussion of stress distribution.

## 2.2 Morphology

Sundanese is an agglutinating language, with a variety of derivational and inflectional morphology. Studies of the morphology include Robins (1959), Van Syoc (1959), and Prawirasumantri et al (1979). Here we list only those items found in the wordlist.

### 2.2.1 Verb affixes

- N-* marks “actor-pivot” (see Foley – Van Valin 1984) or “active” transitive verbs, and a sub-class of “dynamic” intransitive verbs. For realisations see Section 5 below.
- ba-* marks intransitive verbs, often expressing states or durative actions.
- ti-* indicates lack of volition, on punctual intransitive verbs.
- kin* marks transitive verbs, typically further specifying the semantic role of the undergoer NP (see Foley – Van Valin 1984) as “circumstantial”: benefactee, causee, thing transferred).
- an* on transitive verbs, typically further specifies the semantic role of the undergoer NP as “locative”: location, goal or recipient.
- in* expresses a “personal state or condition” (Robins 1959).
- ar-* (with allomorph *-al-*, see 2.3) this “plural” infix also occurs on nominals. Infixes to a verb, it marks plurality of the subject of the verb, or of the action itself.
- um-* forms intransitive verbs from verbal and nominal bases.
- RED* the initial syllable or the stem may be reduplicated to form an intransitive or transitive verb.
- ka-* *-an* co-occur, generally deriving intransitives from other (stative) intransitives.

### 2.2.2 Nominal affixes

- pa-* occurs both on bare roots and stems of form (N+root), forming nouns with various meanings: abstract, agentive and passive (see Robins 1959: 350-351)
- paŋ-* occurs both on bare roots and sometimes very complex stems, forming nominals with various meanings: abstract, agentive and passive (see Robins 1959: 351). Note that the *ŋ* segment does not assimilate to the initial consonant of the stem.
- an* nominaliser, meanings include ‘thing which undergoes (verb)’; ‘thing like (stem)’; ‘collection of (noun)’; ‘place where (stem) is found/done’.
- in* forms nouns with locative/temporal sense, often used adverbially; from transitive verbs; forms nouns with meaning ‘thing which undergoes (verb)’: *pake-in* ‘thing worn, used’.

*pa-* *-an* form nouns from both verbal and nominal stems, with a variety of meanings.

**RED** the initial syllable or the stem may be reduplicated to form a noun. In some cases of initial syllable reduplication, *ŋ* may occur before the stem: *birat* ‘heavy’, *bɪŋbirat* ‘ballast’.

*-ar-* (with allomorph *-al-*, see 2.3) this infix marks plurality, compare *maneh* ‘3sg pronoun’, *maraneh* ‘3 pl pronoun’.

*ka-* *-an* forms nouns from verbal and nominal stems.

### 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations

1. *N-* The verbal prefix *N-* has realisations varying with the initial segment of the stem to which it is affixed, and the number of syllables of that stem:

– as *ŋ-* before vowels:

*ŋ-ala* ‘gather’

*ŋ-inum* ‘drink’

– as *ŋa-* (~ *ŋə-*) before monosyllabic roots:

*ŋa-čet*, *ŋə-čet* ‘paint’

*ŋa-bor*, *ŋə-bor* ‘drill’

– as *ŋa-* before stems beginning with voiced consonants and *h*:

*ŋa-dahar* ‘eat’

*ŋa-rawat* ‘look after’

*ŋa-ñaho-an* ‘inform’

*ŋa-widaŋ* ‘dry skins’

*ŋa-hees-kin* ‘put to sleep’

and, exceptionally, before some vowel-initial stems:

*ŋa-asup-an*

~ *ŋasupan* ‘enter’

*ŋa-oyag-kin*

~ *ŋoyagkin* ‘shake’

– as the homorganic nasal, with nasal substitution, before stems of more than one syllable beginning with voiceless obstruents:

*make* (*pake*) ‘use’

*naek* (*taek*) ‘go up’

*ñapuan* (*sapu-an*) ‘sweep’

*nokot* (*čokot*) ‘take’

*ŋipasan* (*kipas-an*) ‘fan (vb trans)’

and, for some high-frequency forms, before stems of more than one syllable beginning with *voiced* oral consonants:

*mere* (*bere*) ‘give’

*ñiin* (*jiin*) ‘make’

*negel* (*gegel*) ‘bite’

*madaŋ* (*wadaŋ*) ‘eat (dial.)’

## 2. -ar- /-al-

-al- is used with forms whose initial consonant is *l*, and with those containing a following *r*, except as initial consonant of the second syllable' (Robins 1959: 343, after Eringa 1949: 94-95):

*limpaŋ* 'run' *l-al-impaŋ*      *biŋhar* 'be rich' *b-al-iŋar*  
*hormat* 'honour' *h-al-or-mat*      *gumbara* 'wander' *ŋ-al-umbara*

Elsewhere -ar- is used:

*dibawa* 'be carried' *dib-ar-awa*      *sare* 'sleep' *s-ar-are*

## 3. Orthography

There are three writing systems, the *Aksara*, Arabic and Roman scripts. The *aksara* in its most recent form derives from Javanese, though there are some differences in conventions. The *Aksara* and Arabic scripts are largely phonemic, though in both /ə/ and /i/ are represented with a single symbol. Coolsma (1904/1985) has some information on the two scripts.

Roman script is most commonly used now. This was last revised in the 1970s, following the revision of the Indonesian alphabet. The Roman script is phonemic (assuming the non-phonemic status of glottal stop, which is not represented), except that:

- grapheme *e* represents both /ə/ and /e/, *eu* represents /i/;
- *n* also represents /ñ/ before /č/ and /j/;
- the digraph *ng* represents /ŋ/, *ny* represents /ñ/ before vowels.

## 4. About the word list

Transitive verbs are cited in the “actor pivot” or “active” form (that is, prefixed by the appropriate realisation of the morpheme *N-*) (see above), since this form best translates the headword. The stem is given in brackets, where it is not immediately recoverable from the morpheme breaks indicated. Some intransitive verbs are also prefixed with *N-*.

Morpheme breaks are generally indicated, except where their synchronic status is questionable, e.g. *buruan* ‘yard, court’ cannot be related to the existing verbal root *buru* ‘chase (etc)’, hence is not represented as *\*buru-an*.

The transcription is phonemic, as with the comparative lexicon throughout.



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## 22. Javanese

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction:	<i>Adrian Clynes</i>
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Wordlist:	<i>C. Rudyanto</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Javanese is, with Sundanese, the principal native language of the island of Java, Indonesia. It is spoken in the central and eastern parts of the island, as well as in northern coastal areas of west Java, around Banten and Cirebon.

According to the 1980 census, the last for which language spoken was surveyed, approximately 41 percent of Indonesian families speak Javanese at home on a daily basis. As such Javanese ranks after Indonesian as the second-most-spoken Austronesian language, with around 75 million speakers (based on an estimated current Indonesian population of 180 million). Of this total, a significant number have settled on other islands in Indonesia, through migration and transmigration, with around 7.5 million on the island of Sumatra, particularly in the provinces of Lampung (in south Sumatra) and Sumatera Utara (in north Sumatra), around 400,000 in Kalimantan and 200,000 in Sulawesi. Javanese is also spoken by around 60,000 descendants of indentured workers in the former Dutch colony of Suriname. Around 5,000 people of Javanese descent live in New Caledonia, though we have no information as to language use.

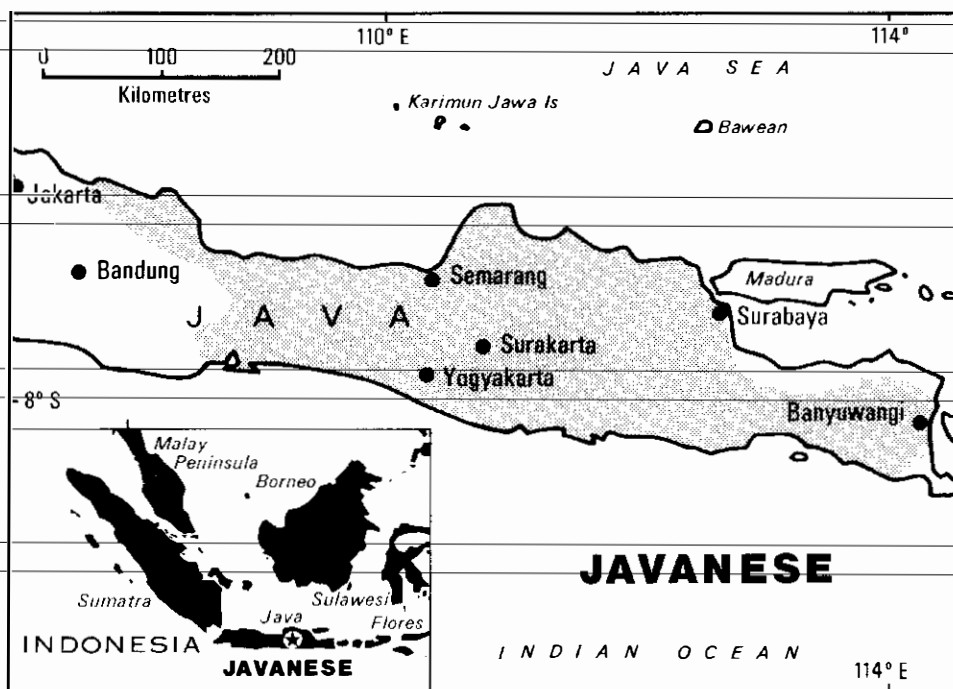
There is considerable dialectal variation. Dialect studies include Nothofer (1980, 1981), Smith-Hefner (1983), Kartomihardjo (1981), Wolfowitz (1984, on Suriname Javanese), Oetomo (1987), and a series of publications in Indonesian by the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (including Sabariyanto et al.1985, Iskandarwassid 1985, Soedjito et al. 1984, Soemarto et al.1986, Soetoko et al.1984). Generally three main dialect regions are recognised: western, central and eastern. Nothofer (1980) describes seven main sub-dialects in the western part of Java (Banten, Krawang, Indramayu, Cirebon, Brebes/Tegal, Banyumas, Ciamis). There is no similarly detailed sub-classification of central or eastern dialects, though Ras (1985) gives a brief summary of some phonological and morphological variation in central Javanese (which he sub-divides into four areas) and eastern Javanese (two areas, clearly an over-simplification). The Osing dialect spoken around

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Banyuwangi (see Sugono 1983) deviates significantly from others. The language of the central Javanese towns (and former court centres) of Yogyakarta and Surakarta is the prestige variety and basis for the standard language used in schools, literature and the media.

Javanese is characterised by “speech styles” or “levels”: distinct formal, semi-formal and everyday registers, in which social distance and differences in the relative status of the speaker and the person spoken to (or referred to) are expressed by lexical choices. To express a wide variety of meanings occurring frequently in everyday speech, speakers must choose between two or more words or affixes. Errington (1985 and 1988) describes sociolinguistic aspects of Central Javanese style usage. Clynes (1989) proposes rules of lexical cooccurrence for the same variety, and (1992) argues that the styles phenomenon must have been already well developed in the fifteenth century, two centuries earlier than is generally assumed. In the wordlist only items from the *ngoko* (‘low’) lexis are listed, since this portion of the lexicon corresponds best to “native Javanese”.



Map 22. Javanese language area

With Malay, Javanese has been a dominant language in the Indonesian archipelago for many centuries. The two languages have extensively influenced each other, and neighbouring languages, during that time. Recently the pace of Indonesian influence on Javanese has increased, just as

Javanese now exerts a major influence on Indonesian (S. Poedjosoedarmo 1982). There was considerable Sanskrit influence on the lexicon during the Hindu-Javanese period (till the early sixteenth century), see Gonda (1952), and Arabic has since had a similar influence.

The extensive areal influence Javanese and Malay have had over the centuries has created difficulties for those studying the historical relationships between languages in the region. Javanese was sub-grouped with Madurese and Sundanese by Esser (1938), though the basis for this classification was not indicated. Dyen (1965) sub-grouped Javanese with Madurese, Sundanese and Malay, on lexicostatistical grounds. This was in turn the basis for Nothofer's reconstruction of a putative "Proto-Malayo-Javanic". Blust (1981) argues against Dyen's sub-grouping, and refers to a "Java-Bali-Sasak" group (1985), though again the basis for the grouping is not given. Nothofer (1985) proposes that Javanese sub-groups with Lampung, Malay, Iban, Sundanese and Madurese, but that the latter five languages are more closely related to each other than they are to Javanese.

Apart from issues of sub-grouping, historically Javanese is important in that it is one of the few Austronesian languages for which a large number of texts dating from before the nineteenth century (in fact from the eighth century onwards) have been preserved. The language in that time has evolved from one typologically similar to modern-day Philippines languages, to one which shares some features with languages in the Oceanic area. This evolution has been little studied, even though it may offer models to help explain linguistic change elsewhere in the Austronesian family.

Next to Malay, Javanese is the most studied of the Indonesian languages. Uhlenbeck (1964) and (1971) are critical bibliographical surveys of work up to that time, including the only extensive grammars written in Dutch in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Our bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive: references to other recent publications may be found in the individual bibliographies of works listed there. Uhlenbeck (1978) is a collection of articles on the morphology of Javanese. Other works include S. Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1978a), G. Poedjosoedarmo (1986), and Suharno (1982). Manuals include Keeler (1984), Ras (1985) and Horne (1961). Dictionaries include Gericke – Roorda (1901), Pigeaud (1938), Horne (1974) and Prawiroatmodjo (1981). Studies of Old Javanese are fewer, but include Zoetmulder's important dictionary (1982) and his survey of Old Javanese literature (1974). Apart from Teselkin's brief outline (1972, a translation of 1963), the only short grammars are in Dutch (Zoetmulder 1950) and in Indonesian: Zoetmulder – Poedjawijatna (1961), and Mardiarsito – Kridalaksana (1984), principally a sketch of the morphology.

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## 2. Sketch of phonology and morphology<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 Phonology

The Javanese phoneme repertoire is similar to those of other Western Indonesian languages. The vowel system of the central Javanese “standard” varieties has been variously described as having from six to eight vowels (see below). Javanese shares with Madurese a phonemic distinction between apico-dental and apico-alveolar (“retroflex”) stop consonants, not generally found in the area. Phonetically the “voiced” stop series is voiceless, with breathy voice phonation of the following vowel (Fagan 1988, and references there). Both these features may be due to Indic influence (see Dahl 1981), though some say the two apical consonant series derive from PAN (e.g. Wolff 1988).

Short discussions of the phonology (of mainly central Javanese) are given in Horne (1974), Ras (1985) and Yallop (1982). Yallop also contains further references.

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes used in the wordlist are:

	Labial	Apico-dental	Apico-alveolar	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	<i>ʈ</i> <i>ɖ</i>	<i>ç</i> <i>ʝ</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives				<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Vibrants			<i>r</i>			
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

*/h/*, */wh/* and */yh/*, with the same phonetic characteristics as the “voiced” stop series (see above), have marginal status, being used in certain interjections and loanwords (G. Poedjosoedarmo 1986).

1. Thanks to Bob Bugenhagen and Avery Andrews for comments on an early version of this introduction.

The laminal series are traditionally described as “palatals”, however they are phonetically alveolar, as in neighbouring languages.<sup>1</sup>

The status of [ʔ] has been subject of debate. Uhlenbeck (1949) analyses it as an allophone of /k/, but gives the two phones separate phoneme status in Uhlenbeck (1950). In the dialect of the wordlist, /ʔ/ clearly contrasts with /k/, though it is restricted to syllable-final position (see “morpheme final stops”, below).

There is also evidence for a separate pre-nasalised obstruent series. Word-initial NC sequences usually occur only ‘across’ a morpheme boundary, though see Horne (1974: xvii), on verb roots of form (ə)NCV(C). Medially there is also evidence for a pre-nasalised series: generally vowels preceding such sequences pattern phonetically as though they were in open, not closed, syllables – the NC sequence thus behaves as a single segment:

<i>pintar</i> ‘clever’	: [pintər] not *[pintər]
<i>lunguh</i> ‘sit’	: [lunguh not *[lunguh]
<i>ban̩sa</i> ‘kind’	: [bɔŋsɔ] not *[ban̩sɔ]

The traditional ‘bi-phonemic’ analysis is assumed below.

### 2.1.2 Vowels

C. Rudyanto, the compiler of the word list, uses the following 8-vowel system:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Other vowel phoneme systems have been proposed, mainly because the vowels [e] and [ɛ] are largely if not entirely in complementary distribution, as are [o] and [ɔ]. Yallop (1982) surveys the various proposals: two different eight-vowel systems (Sumukti 1971, Uhlenbeck 1975), a seven-vowel

1. This has significance for the reconstruction of the PAN consonant repertoire: Dempwolff reconstructed a “palatal” series largely on the basis of descriptions of Javanese nasal substitution.



(Horne 1974), a classical phonemic six-vowel (Uhlenbeck 1949) and a generative six-vowel system (Dudas 1976). These analyses are hampered by an inadequate description of factors such as stress and syllable structure. Taking the latter into account, a six-vowel analysis (/i, e, u, o, ə, a/) of the wordlist variety is possible, even using an otherwise almost classical phonemic approach. Nothofer (1980) also proposes a six-vowel system for nearly all the dialects covered in that work. The following allophonic rules account for vowel allophony in the wordlist:

$V_{HI}$	→	lax	/ closed syllables
	→	tense	elsewhere
$V_{MID}$	→	mid-low	/1. closed syllables
NON-CENTRAL			
			2. in open syllables where the vowel in a following open syllable is high.
			3. in open syllables where the vowel in a following closed syllable is identical, or /ə/.
	→	mid-high	elsewhere
/ə/	→	[ə]	
/a/	→	[ɔ]	/1. word-finally
			2. In penultimate open syllables where the vowel in the following open syllable is /a/
	→	[a]	elsewhere <sup>1</sup>

This analysis depends on a recognition that different suffixes behave differently in terms of syllabification, as do high vowels as opposed to vowels of other heights:

1. Regardless of whether they are open or closed, when suffixes of form -C(...) are attached, the stem-final vowel behaves as though it is in a closed syllable:

<i>ombe</i> [ombe]	‘drink’
<i>ombe-nana</i> [ombenənɔ]	‘drink-locative imperative’
<i>pindo</i> [pindo]	‘twice’
<i>pindo-n</i> [pindən]	‘redone’;

1. In the variety that Ras (1985) describes (“standard central Javanese”), /a/ > [a] in closed syllables. This is not indicated in the wordlist data, even though the two varieties are very similar.

where that stem-final vowel is high, it is lowered to mid:

<i>isi</i> ‘fill’	<i>ise-nane</i> [isenane] (- <i>nane</i> ‘optative locative’ suffix)
<i>gugu</i> ‘believe’	<i>gugo-n</i> [gugɔn] ‘belief’
<i>lɔbu</i> ‘enter’	<i>di-lɔbo-ʔke</i> [dilɔbɔʔke] ‘be put into’.

Evidence from reduplication supports the hypothesis that the suffix-initial consonant syllabifies with the stem-final vowel, to form a new “phonological stem”:

<i>ɔnti</i> ‘wait’	<i>di-ɔnten-ɔnteni</i> [diɔntenɔnteni] ‘be waited for (durative)’ not * <i>di-ɔnti-ɔnteni</i>
<i>uni</i> ‘sound’	<i>di-uneʔ-uneʔ-ke</i> [diuneʔuneʔke] ‘be complained about’ not * <i>di-uni-uneʔke</i>

This analysis also removes the anomalous “initial” glottal stop of *-ʔke*, elsewhere occurring only syllable-finally.

“Clitics” can be differentiated from suffixes since they do not trigger the above vowel alternations, e.g. *-ku* ‘1st person’, *-mu* ‘2nd person’, *-ne* ‘3rd person’:

<i>isi</i> ‘contents’	<i>isi-ne</i> [isine] ‘its contents’
<i>aɟi</i> ‘younger sibling’	<i>aɟi-mu</i> [aɟimu] ‘your younger sibling’

However the allomorph of *-ne*, *-e*, behaves as a suffix, since it opens a preceding closed syllable (*salin* [salɪn], *salin-e* [saline]) see below. The homophonous affixes *-nən* ‘passive imperative’ and ‘bodily state verbaliser’ are also exceptional in patterning like clitics:

<i>ombe</i> [ombe] ‘drink’	<i>ombe-nən</i> [ombenən] ‘(let it) be drunk!’
----------------------------	--

2. When any vowel-initial suffix (i.e. of form *-V(...)*) is attached, the stem-final vowel behaves as though it is in an open syllable, if it is high:

<i>waŋsul</i> [waŋsɯl] ‘reply’	<i>eliŋ</i> [elɪŋ] ‘remember’
<i>waŋsulan</i> [waŋsɯlan] ‘reply (n)’	<i>keliŋan</i> [keliŋan] ‘remember’
<i>salin</i> [salɪn] ‘change’	<i>tutup</i> [tutɯp] ‘close’
<i>salin-ana</i> [salinɔnɔ] ‘change them!’	<i>tutup-ana</i> [tutɯpɔnɔ] ‘close them!’

otherwise there is no change:

<i>weneh</i> [weneh] ‘give’	<i>ŋ-isor</i> [ŋisɔr] ‘below’
<i>di-weneh-i</i> [diwenehi] ‘given to’	<i>ŋ-isor-e</i> [ŋisɔre] ‘below’.

For further discussion and examples, and different analyses, see Yallop (1982) and Horne (1974).

### 2.1.3. Phonotactic constraints

#### Consonant and vowel harmony

We refer the reader to Uhlenbeck (1949, 1950) for a discussion of morpheme phonotactics. Uhlenbeck reports constraints of consonant harmony similar to those identified in Malay and PMP by Adelaar (1983). In morphemes of shape  $C_1V(N)C_2VC$ , where  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are obstruents, or  $w$ , and share the same place of articulation, they must also share the same manner of articulation (that is,  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  must be identical). There are very few exceptions to this rule.

There is also a strong tendency for height harmony between the first and the second vowel in morphemes of this shape: cooccurrence of high and mid-high vowels, in either order, or mid-high followed by schwa, is unusual.

#### Morpheme-final stops

In eastern and central dialects, including that of the wordlist, only voiceless stops may occur word-finally, for most speakers. Until recently in the central dialects, voiced stem-final stop phonemes alternated with their voiceless counterparts according to whether or not they bore suffixes: e.g. *gubuk* ‘hut’ and (formerly) *gubug-e* ‘the hut’, now most commonly *gubuk-e*. That is, the non-suffixed form has been re-analysed as being also the “underlying” form. The dictionaries cite such roots as having voiced final stops, partly because the orthography still makes the distinction (see e.g. Home (1974: xv-xvi), for a brief discussion).

This process of re-analysis has similarly given phoneme status to [ʔ], formerly the word-final allophone of /k/, since it now contrasts with morpheme-final /k/. In the wordlist dialect, /ʔ/ no longer alternates with /k/ word finally: *manuʔ* ‘bird’, *manuʔ-e* ‘the bird’.

#### Intervocalic *w* and *y*

In the orthography there is variation between forms such as *guɔ* and *guwɔ*, *keoŋ* and *keyoŋ*. Glides are thus optional in the orthography intervocalically after (mid-)high vowels. In the wordlist these glides are not indicated. It can be argued that they do not form part of the phonemic structure of the word. For example, native speakers syllabify thus: *gu-ɔ*, not *\*gu-wɔ*, *du-ur* not *\*du-wur*, *ko-e* not *\*ko-we*.

However certain occurrences of intervocalic *w*, usually deriving from an earlier *\*b*, e.g. *uwi* ‘yam’, *tuwuh* ‘grow’, *duwe* ‘own’, are retained in syllabification, and native speakers insist on the reality of such segments. These are therefore indicated.

## 2.2 Morphology

Javanese is an agglutinating language, with a variety of derivational and inflectional morphology. Studies of the morphology include Uhlenbeck (1978), and Poedjosoedarmo et al (1981). Horne (1974) has a useful short survey. Here we list only those items found in the wordlist.

### 2.2.1 Verb affixes

- N-* marks “active” or “actor-pivot” transitive verbs, and a sub-class of “dynamic” intransitive verbs. For realisations see 2.3, morpho-phonemic alternations.
- mə-* (*m-* before vowels, *l* or *r*) marks intransitive verbs, often expressing states or durative actions.
- kə-* indicates lack of volition, on some intransitive verbs.
- ke* (*-ʔke* after a vowel) marks transitive verbs, typically further specifying the semantic role of the undergoer NP (see Foley – Van Valin 1984) as “circumstantial”: benefactee, causee, thing transferred). In written and formal styles the forms are *-ake* and *-ʔake*.
- i* (*~ -ni* after a vowel, *~ -an* on imperatives) marks transitive verbs, typically further specifying the semantic role of the undergoer NP as “locative”: location, goal or recipient.
- ən* marks non-volitional stative intransitives, typically referring to bodily states.
- an* (*~ -n* after a vowel) derives intransitives with a stative, durative or habitual sense.

Some lexical items also contain the fossilized infix *um ~ əm*. This does not have separate morpheme status in modern Javanese.

### 2.2.2 Nominal affixes

*pə-* (*p-* before vowels, *l* or *r*) nominaliser, forming nouns with various meanings, including ‘person or instrument doing (*N-* [transitive] verb stem)’, ‘object or person undergoing ([transitive] verb stem)’. *pa-* replaces *pə-* in formal styles.

*-an* (*-n* after vowels) nominaliser, meanings include ‘thing which undergoes (verb)’, ‘thing like (stem)’, ‘collection of (noun)’, ‘place where (stem) is found/ done’.

*pə- -an*: this combination forms nouns with meanings including ‘place where (stem) is done/found’, ‘process or result of (stem)’. Varies with *pa- -an* (formal).

**RED** some nouns are formed by reduplication of the first syllable of a base (with reduction of the reduplicated vowel to schwa). The base may be a noun or an “adjective”.

*N<sub>loc</sub>-* a locative preposition, cliticises to a nominal base to form a prepositional phrase which is a single phonological word: *omah* ‘house’ *ŋ-omah* ‘at, to, in (etc) home’. Some forms function in turn as complex prepositions. For realisations see 2.3.

*kə- -an* nominaliser, forms abstract nouns ‘condition, quality of [stem]’, ‘place of [stem]’. Varies with *ka- -an* (formal).

### 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations

1. *N-* The verbal prefix *N-* and the locative *N<sub>loc</sub>-* have realisations varying with the initial segment of the stem to which they are affixed, and the number of syllables of that stem:

– as *ŋə-* (~ *ŋa-* lexically) before monosyllabic bases:

*ŋə-čət* ‘paint’                      *ŋə-bor* ‘drill’.

– as *ŋ-* before vowels, and bases of more than one syllable beginning with a liquid:

*ŋ-ombe* ‘drink’                      *ŋ-arəp* ‘before’  
*ŋ-larap-i* ‘cover’                      *ŋ-rəksə* ‘look after’

– as the homorganic nasal, with nasal accretion, before bases of more than one syllable beginning with a voiced stop:

*m-baŋun* ‘build’                      *n-ɗayun* ‘row’  
*ñ-ǰəro* ‘inside’                      *ŋ-gantuŋ* ‘hang’

- as the homorganic nasal, with nasal substitution, before bases of more than one syllable beginning with voiceless oral obstruents and *w*, with *n* replacing *t* :

labials: *menehi* (*N-weneh-i*) ‘give’

*maṅan* (*N-paṅan*) ‘eat’

apicals: *nəmu* (*N-təmu*) ‘find’

*noṭok* (*N-ṭoṭok*) ‘knock’

laminals: *ṅilih* (*N-silih*) ‘borrow’

*ṅəgah* (*N-čəgah*) ‘prevent’

dorsals: *ḡəkəp* (*N-kəkəp*) ‘embrace’

- as ‘Ø’ (i.e., there is no prefix) before nasals:

*maliṅ-i* (*N-maliṅ-i*) (undergoer pivot/passive: *di-maliṅ-i*)

*nunut-i* (*N-nunut-i*) (undergoer pivot/passive: *di-nunut-i*)

2. When the suffixes *-ʔke*, *-ni* and *-n* are suffixed to a vowel-final stem, that vowel is lowered if it is high. This can be motivated phonologically by assuming the underlying forms are  $\{aʔke\}$ ,  $\{ani\}$ , and  $\{an\}$  respectively:

$\{ruṅu+aʔke\}$	<i>ruṅʔke</i>	‘listen’ /ruṅʔke/
$\{turu+an\}$	<i>turən</i>	‘lie down’ /turon/
$\{pa+roti+an\}$	<i>parotən</i>	‘oven’ /paroten/
$\{təmu+ani\}$	<i>təməni</i>	‘find’ /təmoni/

There are good synchronic grounds for this assumption in the case of  $\{an\}$ , and diachronic ones in the case of  $\{ani\}$ : *-ani* is a surface form in Old Javanese. Similarly, forms such as *kelaṅan* can be presumed to derive from underlying  $\{ka+ilaṅ+an\}$ .

### 3. Orthography

There are two main writing systems, the *Aksara* and Roman scripts. The traditional *aksara* script, which has evolved over more than 1200 years, derives indirectly or directly from a Pallava script of southern India (de Casparis 1975). Forms of it are also used to write Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese and Sasak. Roman script is more commonly used now. This was last revised in 1974, following the revision of the Indonesian alphabet.

The traditional script is largely phonemic, assuming a six-vowel system. All phonemes except /a/ are represented by graphemes; /a/ is the “default” vowel: it is not normally represented, as in Indian scripts. For this reason, and perhaps also because certain phonemes are represented by more than one

grapheme according to whether they occur syllable-initially or finally, the script is sometimes said to be syllabic.

The roman script is phonemic, assuming a six-vowel system, except that:

- grapheme *e* represents both /ə/ and /e/.
- *n* also represents /ñ/ before /č/ and /j/
- prefixes of the form /Cə/ (including those formed by reduplication of the initial syllable of the stem) are written *Ca* ;

Note also that:

- the digraph *ng* represents /ŋ/, *ny* represents /ñ/ before vowels.
- the digraphs *th* and *dh* represent the corresponding apico-alveolars/retroflexes.

Javanese has a long literary tradition, and this has had a conservative influence on both orthographies. For example, the verb suffix *-(?)ke* is represented as *-(k)ake*, and prefixes of form /Cə/ are represented as *Ca*. Very formal spoken Javanese preserves the pronunciations [(?)ake] and [Ca]. Also, formerly “underlyingly voiced” morpheme-final consonants (see 2.1.3, above) are written as voiced, whether or not they occur as such in speech (see also 2.1.3 on intervocalic *w* and *y*).

#### 4. About the word list

##### Verb citation forms

Transitive verbs are cited in the “actor pivot” or “active” form (that is, prefixed by the appropriate realisation of the morpheme *N-*, since this form best translates the headword). The stem is given in brackets, where it is not immediately recoverable from the morpheme breaks indicated. Some intransitive verbs are also prefixed with *N-*.

Morpheme breaks are generally indicated, except where their synchronic status is questionable, e.g. *lodan* ‘whale’, historically (*iwak*) *lod-an* ‘sea fish’: synchronically a separate morpheme *lod* is no longer found.

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## 23. Madurese

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction:	<i>Adrian Clynes</i>
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Wordlist:	<i>Subandi Djajengwasito – Abdul Syukur Ghozali</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Madurese is spoken by approximately 9 million people. This figure is arrived at based on the 1980 census (the last census for which language used in the home was surveyed), when just under 5% of the population indicated that Madurese was their first language, and an estimate of the current (1990) Indonesian population at 180 million. Around one third of these are said to live on the island of Madura itself, and the rest on adjacent areas of the eastern salient of Java (Stevens 1968: 2). Smaller settlements of Madurese speakers are found on island groups to the north and east of Madura, such as Bawean and Sapudi. Around 200,000 Madurese speakers are found in Kalimantan (three-quarters of them in West Kalimantan province) due to transmigration.

Madurese was sub-grouped with Javanese, Sundanese and Malay by Dyen (1965), on lexicostatistical grounds. This in turn was the basis for Nothofer's reconstruction of a putative "Proto-Malayo-Javanic". Blust (1981) argues against Dyen's sub-grouping. Nothofer (1985) proposes that Madurese sub-groups with Lampung, Malay, Iban, Sundanese and Javanese, with the first five languages more closely related to each other than they are to Javanese.

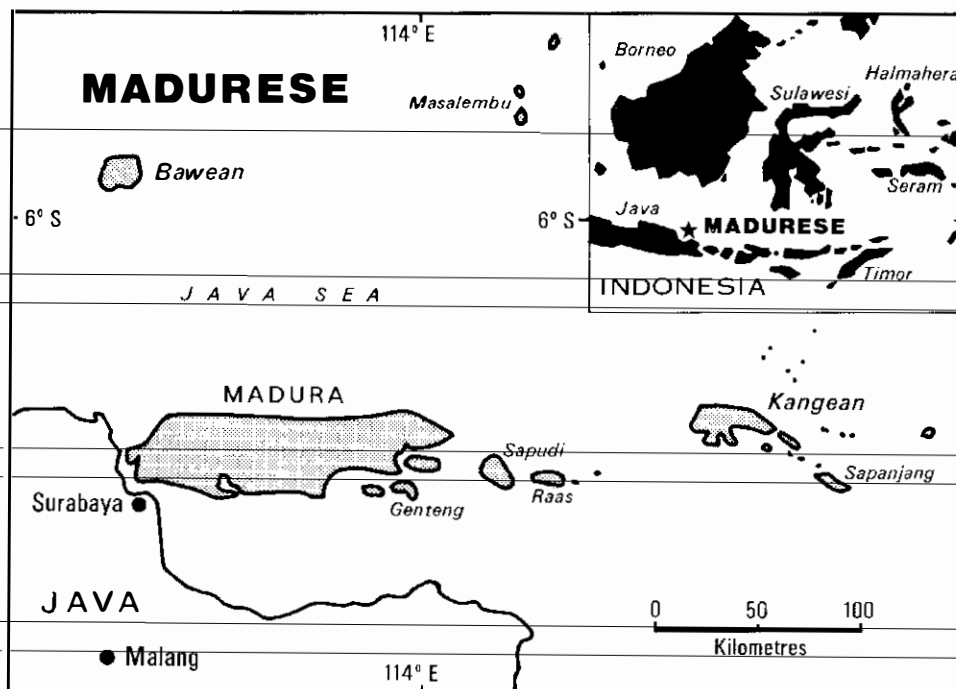
Three main dialects are recognised: Western (sub-dialects Bawean and Bangkalan), Central (Pamekasan and Sampang) and Eastern (Sumenep, Sapudi), though Stevens (1968: 4) refers to a dialect continuum extending from one end of the island through to the Sapudi islands in the east. Because of the flat terrain and general lack of geographical or other barriers to communication, variation is said to be relatively limited (Soegianto et al 1986). The variety spoken on the Kangean islands is said to be "barely understandable" by East Madurese speakers, sharing only 75% cognates using a 200-word Swadesh list. Stevens lists it as a separate language (Stevens 1968: 4). The dialect of the capital, Sumenep, located in the east, is the basis for standard Madurese (the variety taught in schools and used in the media). Some dialectal information is found in Kiliaan (1897), Stevens

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(1968), and Soegianto et al. (1986). Dialects spoken on Java have not to our knowledge been the object of detailed study, but are said to vary with the origin (on Madura) of the particular community.

Madurese, like Javanese and Balinese, is characterised by “speech levels”, or distinct formal and informal registers, in which social distance and differences in the relative status of the speaker and the person referred to are expressed by lexical choices. From the phonological shapes of items in the “high” lexis it is clear that it was borrowed virtually entirely from Javanese (Stevens 1965, 1968; Nothofer 1975: 34). In the wordlist below only items from the low lexis are listed.



Map 23. Madurese language area

Madurese has a higher cognate count with Malay than do Javanese or Sundanese. It has been surmised that this is due to borrowing (by Dyen; see Stevens 1968: 2, also Blust 1981). Borrowings deriving from Javanese, Arabic, Dutch and other languages are indicated in the comparative wordlist where known.

Stevens (1968) contains a review of previous work on Madurese, which is mostly in Dutch. Kiliaan (1897) is the only attempt at a full-scale scientific grammar. Kiliaan's dictionary (1904) is the basis of later works by Penninga and Hendriks (1913) and Safioedin (1977). Stevens (1968) is a valuable generative analysis of the phonology and morphology of Madurese

(Sumenep variety). Recent work in Indonesian includes Moehnilabib et al. (1979) and Soegianto et al. (1986).

## 2. Sketch of phonology and morphology

### 2.1 Phonology

The Madurese phoneme repertoire is similar to those of other Western Indonesian languages. In the inherited vocabulary a four-vowel system is still found, whereas neighbouring languages have expanded to a six- or (arguably, for Javanese) an eight-vowel system. In the consonant repertoire Madurese shares with Javanese a phonemic distinction between apico-dentals and apico-alveolars (“retroflexes”) not generally found in the area. Other unusual features are an aspirated stop series, and phonemic consonant gemination.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes in the inherited portion of the lexicon are:

	Labial	Apico-dental	Apico-alveolar	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stop/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t̚</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d̚</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>
	asp	<i>b<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>d<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>d̚<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>ǰ<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup></i>
Fricativeness				<i>s</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>				
Vibrants		<i>r</i>				
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		<i>ɿ</i>

1. The discussion below is based on Stevens (1968), supplemented with data from the wordlist, and from Safioedin (1977) and Penninga – Hendriks (1913). Note that Stevens’ analysis is in terms of underlying “symbols”, plus rule statements generating surface forms: it does not recognise a separate phonemic level. Here an attempt is made to restate Stevens’ rules in phonemic terms though, as he shows, a classical phonemic analysis is unsatisfactory in a variety of ways (see 2.1.3).

Note that below only the phoneme system of the inherited portion of the lexis is discussed. As is indicated, a larger phoneme repertoire is needed to account for the borrowed element of the lexicon. We refer the reader to Stevens (1968) for a description of phonotactic constraints.

All the consonant phonemes with the exception of /ʀ/ also occur as geminates, e.g. *bad<sup>ba</sup>* ‘exist, be’, *badd<sup>ba</sup>* ‘container’.

– Stevens characterises the oral stops in the following ways (i) voiceless: “voiceless, tense” (ii) voiced: “voiced, lax” (iii) aspirate: “voiceless, with indifferent tension, followed by strong aspiration” (1968: 38). Fagan’s (1988) instrumental analysis of the Javanese phonemes /b, d, d̥, g/ suggests that the Madurese “aspirated” series may better be described as “lax voice” or “whispery voiced”, though this needs investigation. As a class the aspirates pattern with voiced stops, e.g. in the allomorphy of following vowels, and in phonotactic distribution.

– /k/ and /ʀ/ are distinct phonemes, e.g. *əmbɔʔ* ‘mother’, *əmbok* ‘elder sister’.

– Stevens (1968: 24) establishes three distinct classes of consonants, according to (in phonemic terms) the patterns of vowel allophony associated with each. They are: “higher determinants” (D<sub>H</sub>), “lower determinants” (D<sub>L</sub>), and “neutral determinants” (D<sub>N</sub>). By our analysis, these have the following membership:

D<sub>H</sub>: voiced and aspirated oral stops.

D<sub>L</sub>: voiceless oral stops, nasal stops, intervocalic /s/.

D<sub>N</sub>: liquids, glides<sup>1</sup> and morpheme-initial and -final /s/.

These classes are discussed in the following sub-section.

### 2.1.2 Vowels

In inherited vocabulary Madurese has 4 vowel phonemes,<sup>2</sup> each of which has two principal allophones, one high, one low, as indicated in the following chart:<sup>3</sup>

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ([i], [e])		u ([u], [o])
Mid		ɔ ([i], [ə])	
Low		a ([ɐ], [a])	

1. Stevens classifies the symbols *w* and intervocalic *y*, which only occur in loans, as D<sub>H</sub>. Our /w/ and /y/, occurring in inherited lexis, are distinct from these.
2. This accounts for more than 95% of the lexicon. However, when the borrowed element in the lexicon is taken into consideration, 9 vowel phonemes are needed. These are (i) high vowels: /i/, /ə/, /u/, (ii) mid vowels: /e/, /ɐ/, /o/ and (iii) low vowels: /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/; see Stevens (1968: 18).
3. See Stevens (1968: 36-38) for a detailed statement of surface allophony.

- VV sequences occur, but always represent two distinct syllables.
- Height of vowel allophones is in general determined by the nature of the preceding segment:

- a) High vowel allophones occur after D<sub>H</sub> consonants (see 2.1.1), and after immediately preceding high-allophone vowels:

/baba/ [bæbæ] ‘under’	/ɖuwa/ [ɖuwæ] ‘two’
/biɖik/ [biɖik] ‘woven bamboo’	/ʃjau/ [ʃjɛu] ‘far’

- b) Low vowel allophones occur after D<sub>L</sub> consonants, word-initially, and after immediately preceding low-allophone vowels:

/pittuʔ/ [pettoʔ] ‘seven’	/tuwa/ [towa] ‘old’
/inum/ [enom] ‘drink’	/pau/ [pao] ‘mango’

- c) D<sub>N</sub> consonants do not influence allophony. Segments preceding a D<sub>N</sub> consonant determine the allophonic realisations of the following vowel:

/bulu/ [bulu] ‘body hair’	/pulu/ [polo] ‘ten’
/tuwa/ [towa] ‘old’	/ɖuwa/ [ɖuwæ] ‘two’

In the same way, the vowel after a word-initial D<sub>N</sub> consonant behaves as though it were itself word-initial:

/limaʔ/ [lemaʔ] ‘five’	/sibu/ [sebu] ‘thousand’
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- Morpheme-initial VV sequences are predictably nasalised:

/ias/ [ēās] ‘decorate’	/aiŋ/ [āēŋ] ‘water’
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- Nasal vowel allophones also occur after nasal consonants. Nasality spreads across glides:

/maus/ [māõs] ‘read’ (Javanese)	/niyat/ [nēyāt] ‘intention’ (Arabic)
/nasiʔ/ [nāseʔ] ‘rice’	

### 2.1.3 Phonemic versus generative analyses

A strictly phonemic analysis requires that a variety of segments whose presence is predictable in certain environments be nonetheless assigned phoneme status, since in other contexts they have this status:

homorganic glides are always inserted between non-identical /uV/ and /iV/ sequences:



/čiyum/ [čeyom] ‘sniff’                      /buwa/ [buwa] ‘fruit’  
 /palabb<sup>h</sup>uwan/ [palabb<sup>h</sup>uwən] ‘port’    /bagiyan/ [bəgiyən] ‘part’

– [ʔ] is always inserted between identical vowel sequences:

/tuʔut/ [toʔot] ‘knee’                      /liʔir/ [leʔer] ‘neck’

– Consonant length is predictable (non-contrastive) when intervocalic after schwa: e.g. [təmmu] ‘meet’, [ləssu] ‘tired’, and before a liquid: [suttra] ‘silk’ (Sanskrit), [passra] ‘hand over’.

The evidence from the orthography, and from morphological processes such as reduplication indicates that these segments have phoneme status in the minds of native speakers. The most common type of reduplication is where the final syllable of the stem is copied:

/abbər/ ‘fly (v.itr.)’ > /bər-abbər/ ‘insect’ (*RED+abbər*)

As in the above example, this is a derivational process. Reduplication of [buwa] ‘fruit’, plus suffixing of the nominal affix *-an* produces the form:

[waʔ-buwaʔ-an], /waʔ-buwaʔ-an/, ‘different kinds of fruits’

For reduplication the second syllable of the stem is thus analysed to be /waʔ/, even though the presence of the segments *w* and *ʔ* is predictable in their respective environments. The orthography writes out these glide segments.

Similarly, we assign phoneme status to [w] and [y] off-glides occurring across morpheme boundaries, as in /palabb<sup>h</sup>uwan/ [palabb<sup>h</sup>uwən] ‘port’ (from /pa+labb<sup>h</sup>u+an/) and /bagiyan/ [bəgiyən] ‘part’ (from /bagi+an/). These are always represented in the orthography.

A generative analysis such that of Stevens (1968) excludes all the predictable elements above from the underlying representation of each morpheme, generating them by late rules.

## 2.2 Morphology

Madurese is an agglutinating language. Bound morphemes occurring in the wordlist, with summary descriptions of their function, include the following derivational affixes:<sup>1</sup>

1. For a fuller account, see Stevens (1968).

### 2.2.1 Verbal affixes

- N-* (~ *a-*, see morphophonemic alternations) marks “active” transitive verbs and a subclass of “dynamic” intransitive verbs.
- a-* marks intransitive verbs, with meanings ‘perform action of (root)’, ‘own, have, use (noun stem)’.
- pa-* derives causitive transitive verbs. In the wordlist they occur as *ma-* (*N-pa-*).
- ta-* marks verbs where the action is carried out unintentionally, or without a specified agent.
- i* marks transitive verbs. It typically specifies the semantic role of the undergoer NP as LOC (location, goal, recipient).
- ag<sup>hi</sup>* marks transitive verbs. It typically further specifies the semantic role of the undergoer NP as “circumstantial” (benefactee, causee, thing transferred). Where the root is already transitive (e.g. verbs of perception), it can signify deliberate effort on the part of the actor/agent.
- ka- -an* marks verbs with the meaning ‘be affected by (stem)’.

### 2.2.2 Nominal affixes

- an* derives nouns from nominal and verbal stems.
- pa- -an* derives nouns from nominal and verbal stems, with meanings ‘place for (stem)’, ‘person/thing which does (stem)’, ‘the action of (stem)’.
- na* links two nominals in a “genitive” or “associative” relationship to form a compound e.g. *ǰila-na apuy* ‘tongue-*na* fire’, i.e. ‘flame’. (see also 2.2.4).

### 2.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication can target the final syllable (*RED*) or the initial syllable (*RF*) of the stem, as well as the entire stem. Reduplication can be used to derive both verbs and nouns.

*RED*: This derives nominals e.g. from *tumbu* ‘grow’, *bu-tumbu* ‘kind of disease’, *bu-tumbu-an* ‘plants’ (from *RED-tumbu-an*). With derived verbs *RED* indicates repetition.

*RF*: In the wordlist this derives nominals: *mamatan* ‘jewel’ (*RF-mata-an*), *mata* ‘eye’.

## 2.2.4 Morphophonemic alternations

Alternations encountered in the wordlist include the following:

The verbal prefix *N-* (2.2.1) has the following realisations:

– /ŋ/ before vowels:

*ŋ-aku* ‘confess’, *ŋ-uan* ‘to herd’

– /ŋə/ before monosyllabic bases:

*ŋə-čap* ‘stamp’

– as the homorganic nasal (with nasal substitution) before bases of more than one syllable beginning with a voiceless oral obstruent:

labials:

*məɖaŋ (N-pəɖaŋ)* ‘hit with a sword’

apicals:

*nutup (N-tutup)* ‘close’

*nattəŋ (N-ɬattəŋ)* ‘be wide open’

laminals:

*ñuču (N-čuču)* ‘stab’

*ñoso (N-soso)* ‘feed at the breast’

dorsals:

*ŋirim (N-kirim)* ‘send’

– as /a/ before nasals or liquids:

*a-naŋala* ‘plough’

*a-rusak* ‘break’

– as either the homorganic nasal (with substitution), *a-*, or (very rarely) *aN-*, before voiced consonants:

*massa-i, a-bassa-i* ‘wash’

*a-b<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>aʃa-i, am-b<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>aʃa-i* ‘endanger’

*ŋib<sup>h</sup>a, a-g<sup>h</sup>iba* ‘carry’

(For details, see Stevens (1968: 84-95).)

– *ag<sup>h</sup>i* (2.2.1): stem final consonants to which *-ag<sup>h</sup>i* is affixed are doubled:

*kabarrag<sup>h</sup>i* ‘report (vb.trans)’, *kabar* ‘news’

– *na* (2.2.2): Where the head nominal to which *-na* is affixed ends in a consonant, the initial segment of *-na* assimilates totally:

*təlur-ra kutu* ‘egg-*na* louse’, i.e. ‘nit’

*tubaŋ-ŋa iluŋ* ‘hole-*na* nose’, i.e. ‘nostril’

– *an* (2.2.2): occurs as *-wan* after stem-final /u/, and *-yan* after stem-final /i/:

*palabb<sup>h</sup>uwan* [palabb<sup>h</sup>uwən] ‘port’, *bagiyan* [bəgiyəŋ] ‘part’

(see discussion, 2.1.3).

### 3. Orthography

There are two writing systems, the traditional *Aksara*, borrowed from Java and deriving ultimately from southern India, and Roman script, more commonly used now.

The roman orthography was last revised in the 1970s, on the model of that of Indonesian. Some features are:

- *o* represents [o], *e* represents [e] and [ə]. Other vowel symbols used are *i*, *u* and *a*. (Diacritics are used in the dictionaries to distinguish [a] and [ɐ], but not [ə] and [i].)
- glides where predictably inserted are always written.
- glottal stop is written as *q*.
- gemination is always written.
- apico-alveolar stops and apico-dentals are usually not distinguished.
- aspirated and non-aspirated voiced stops are usually not distinguished.
- *n* also represents /ñ/ before /č/ and /ǰ/.
- the digraph *ng* represents /ŋ/, *ny* represents /ñ/ before vowels.

### 4. About the wordlist

#### Citation forms

Transitive verbs are cited in the “actor pivot” or “active” form, that is, prefixed by the appropriate realisation of the morpheme *N-* (see 2.4.1, 2.5), since this form best translates the headword. The bare stem is given in brackets only where it is not immediately recoverable from the morpheme breaks indicated. Some intransitive verbs also carry *N-*; however the stem in this case is always bound.

Morpheme breaks are indicated, except where their synchronic status is questionable.

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## 24. Balinese

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Wordlist:	<i>I Wayan Bawa – Adrian Clynes</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Balinese is the native language of the island of Bali, Indonesia. In 1980, the last census for which language spoken was surveyed, just under two and a half million people indicated they spoke Balinese in the home. At current rates of population increase, there are now around 2,900,000 speakers of Balinese. Of these, around 80,000 live on the neighbouring island of Lombok while, largely due to transmigration, 40,000 speakers are found in southern Sumatra, and 60,000 in Sulawesi.

Balinese was sub-grouped with Sasak and Sumbawanese by Esser (1938), based on shared lexis and grammatical features, “especially the [verbal] suffixes *-an* and *-in*” (Noorduyn 1963: 336), and also by Dyen (1982), on lexicostatistical grounds. Blust (1985) refers to a “Java-Bali-Sasak” group, though without giving the basis for this analysis.

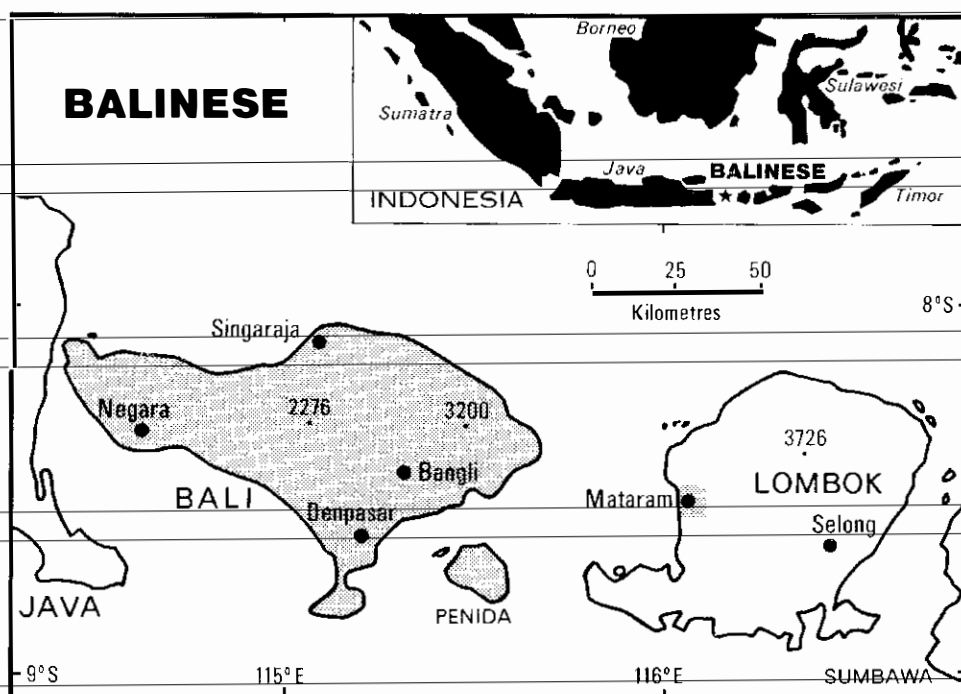
There is phonological and lexical variation across the island, though nearly all varieties are mutually intelligible. Dialectal studies include Bawa (1982), and Jendra (1976). A distinction can be made between the “mountain” or conservative (MNB) group of varieties on the one hand, and the “lowland” (LNB) varieties. MNB varieties are found largely but not entirely in the central mountainous area, and on the small island of Nusa Penida to the southeast. They lack certain phonological, morphological and lexical innovations found in the LNB varieties, which were influenced by contact with Old Javanese. It seems unlikely that MNB varieties constitute a homogeneous sub-group, given their wide geographical spread. For ease of discussion, LNB varieties are often further distinguished according to the present-day regional capitals, which were formerly court centres: Klungkung, Karangasem, Buleleng, Gianyar, Badung, Tabanan and Negara. In fact the situation is more complex than this, with noticeable lexical and phonological variation sometimes occurring over distances of less than a few kilometres. The greatest difference within the LNB varieties is between those spoken in the north and east (the basis for the “Standard Balinese” of newspapers and

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broadcasting) and the varieties of the Denpasar area in the south. Denpasar Balinese is characterised by a loss or neutralisation of verbal and nominal suffixes found elsewhere (see below, morphology).

LNB varieties are characterised by “speech styles”, or distinct formal and informal registers. In formal registers social distance and differences in the relative status of the speaker and the person referred to are expressed by lexical choices. Almost any utterance is marked in terms of the perceived social relationship obtaining between the speaker and the addressee/person referred to. Virtually all Balinese practise a variety of Hinduism, and the primary status determinant has traditionally been caste. Correct use of speech styles is thus a part of correct expression of caste-related status distinctions. (Though see Bagus 1979 on the effect of social change on



Map 24. Balinese language area

styles usage). Speech styles were borrowed from Javanese, and the membership of all but the low lexical class consists virtually entirely of Javanese borrowings (Clynes 1989). In the wordlist only items from the low lexis are included

Apart from borrowings from Javanese, there is a significant Sanskrit element in LNB varieties, as well as borrowings from other languages such as Malay, Dutch, Portuguese and Chinese. Most of the latter borrowings can

be presumed to have come via Malay, recently. Borrowings from Javanese largely ceased after the 16th century (Clynes 1989). We have indicated borrowings in the list where known, though often it is impossible to determine whether a particular word derives from Javanese or Malay. Moreover, because of the similar phonologies of the three languages, borrowings cannot always be identified.

The earliest known texts in Balinese are the royal decrees inscribed on copper/bronze plaques from the 9th to the 11th centuries. The language of these texts (about ten thousand words in all) is referred to as Old Balinese (OB). Goris (1954) contains almost all known OB texts, with his translations into Dutch, as well as a glossary, proposing glosses for all OB words occurring in the texts, and distinguishing OB from Old Javanese (OJ) and Sanskrit items. There is clear OJ influence in these texts, hence occurrence of an item in an OB text is not always proof that it belongs to the native OB lexis. Some OB items are given in the wordlist and identified as such.

Major phonological changes since the OB period include the lenition of OB /r/ to /h/ everywhere, except in /Cr/ sequences, and the subsequent loss of /h/ initially and, in LNB, intervocally. In MNB /h/ is retained intervocally: see OB *b̄aras* > MNB *b̄ahas*, LNB *baas* (with subsequent vowel assimilation). This lenition of /r/ was just beginning in the OB period (or just finding its way into the orthography). Due to the large influx of Javanese borrowings from then to the 16th century, *r*-lenition appears to have been braked before working fully through the lexicon, leaving a residue of exceptions (Clynes 1989). Hence the presence of /r/ in “illegal” environments (anywhere other than after a consonant) is an indication, but not absolute proof, that an item is a borrowing. Another change characteristic of LNB, but not MNB, is OB /a/ > /ə/ word finally (see 2.5, morphophonemic alternations).

Previous work on Balinese not already mentioned includes sketch grammars by Kersten (1948, revised and translated into Indonesian 1970, 1984), Barber (1977), Anom (1983). All leave significant areas of the phonology, morphology and syntax untreated. Ward (1973) analyses aspects of the phonology and morphology, Hunter (1988) features of morphology, syntax, and discourse. A more comprehensive descriptive grammar is forthcoming (Clynes, in preparation). Dictionaries include Warna (1990) and Kersten (1984), both Balinese-Indonesian, as well as Barber (1979) and Shadeg (1977), both Balinese-English, and Balai Penelitian Bahasa Singaraja (1975), Indonesian-Balinese. The main dictionary of Old Balinese is Goris (1954). Oka Granoka (1985) is largely based on this.



## 2. Sketch of phonology and morphology

### 2.1 Phonology<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.1.2 Consonants

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives				<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Vibrants			<i>r</i>			
Glides		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

Both apical and laminal series are realised in the alveolar region. (LNB Balinese does not follow the common West Indonesian pattern in having an alveolar, not dental, realisation of /t/).

#### 2.1.2 Vowels

LNB has 6 vowel phonemes:<sup>2</sup>

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

1. This description is based on the variety in Peguyangan, Singaraja, Buleleng.
2. There may be a case for assigning phoneme status to the segment [ɛ] when it occurs in the third-person possessive morpheme, [-nɛ]. In some varieties this appears to contrast with /-ne/, an allomorph of the 'DEF' nominal suffix. More information is needed on the phonological behaviour of both morphemes in given varieties to confirm this. If /ɛ/ does occur here, it would be a case of a phoneme manifesting itself in a single lexical item, but one of very high functional load. A generative analysis, deriving {nɛ} from the underlying segments /ne/, may be a better reflection of the status of [ɛ]

VV sequences are common, but always represent two distinct syllables. Compare *ṅə-tis* (*N-tis*) 'rest in the cool' vs *niis* (*N-tiis*) 'drain (vb.trans)', where the form of the nasal prefix *N-* depends on the number of syllables in the root, see 2.5. below.

## 2.2. Syllable and root structure

In the native lexis a syllable has the structure (C)(L)V(C) where only V is obligatory, and L (= /l/ or /r/) does not occur in monosyllables.

The minimal form of a phonological word (one which carries stress) is CV. Grammatical words of structure (C)V(C) also occur (see 2.3). The majority (more than 90%) of root morphemes are disyllabic, with preferred structures CVCV(C) and CVNVC(C). A liquid may occur before one but not both vowels. Disyllabic morphemes of structure (C)VV(C) are also common. These possibilities can be summed up in the formula:

$$C_1LV_1NC_2LV_2C_3$$

where all segments are optional except  $V_1$ . Constraints on the phonemes which may occur in each position are indicated in the following two subsections.

A second possible (disyllabic) structure is a reduplicated  $C_1(L)V_1C_3$  sequence, i.e.

$$C_1(L)V_1C_3C_1V_1C_3$$

Morphemes of this second structure often have onomatopoeic or otherwise iconic meanings, see the examples below.

### 2.2.1 Phonotactic constraints on consonants:

#### Initial, medial and final position

All consonants may occur syllable initially (i.e. in  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  positions), except /h/, which only occurs finally. In syllable final ( $C_3$ ) position the following do not occur: laminal stops, /w/ and /y/.

## Constraints on glides

Initial /w/ and /y/ occur largely in loans. /w/ generally does not occur before or after back vowels,<sup>1</sup> and /y/ generally does not occur before or after front vowels. Two qualifications to these restrictions are:

- 1 Medially a high glide optionally occurs between VV sequences where the first vowel is /i, e, u/ or /o/:

*iis* ‘slice’: [iis] ~ [iyis]      *leak* ‘witch’: [leaʔ] ~ [leyaʔ]  
*uəd* ‘origin’: [uəd] ~ [uwəd]      *tuak* ‘palm wine’: [tuaʔ] ~ [tuwaʔ]

2. In the Denpasar - Gianyar region, word-initial /wo/ and /wu/ sequences do occur sporadically. Thus *oon* ‘tired’ is [oon] in most varieties but in Denpasar /won/ varies with /oon/.

## Consonant clusters

The principal medial clusters allowed in simple roots (as opposed to those containing a reduplicated C(L)VC sequence) are NC (a nasal homorganic with a following oral stop, or /ŋ/ if C<sub>2</sub> = /s/)<sup>2</sup> and, more rarely, NCL:

*bambaŋ* ‘hole’                      *klaŋsah* ‘woven palm leaf’  
*kamplaŋ* ‘hit’                      *paŋkriŋ* ‘cage’

However where roots consist of a reduplicated C<sub>1</sub>(L)V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>3</sub> sequence; any consonants acceptable in C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> position can cluster medially:

*tləktək* ‘inspect carefully’      *səlsəl* ‘regret’  
*ñahñah* ‘dry roast’              *ñiŋñiŋ* ‘baby mouse’

## Constraints on liquids

Only one of the L slots may be filled in a two-syllable root, that is L may occur in either first or second syllable, but not in both. In bases formed from reduplicated C(L)VC sequences, L occurs only in the first syllable:

*črukčuk* ‘kind of bird’              *sluksuk* ‘weave in and out of a crowd’

In CL sequences, C may not be a liquid or a glide.

1. Except word-initially in some loans.

2. An alternative analysis is to treat these as unitary pre-nasalised phonemes. See Clynes (in preparation).

## Consonant harmony

For morphemes of a structure  $C_1V(N)C_2V(C)$ , there are constraints of consonant harmony similar to those reported by Adelaar for Malay (1983) and Uhlenbeck for Javanese (1950, 1978). That is, with very few exceptions, if  $C_1$  is an obstruent or nasal, and  $C_2$  is of the same place of articulation and an obstruent, nasal or  $w$ , then  $C_2$  must also agree with  $C_1$  in manner of articulation (ie,  $C_2$  must be identical to  $C_1$ ). Thus morpheme-internal sequences like  $bVpV(C)$ ,  $pVwV(C)$ ,  $kVŋgV(C)$  etc are either exceptional or simply do not occur. (This constraint does not apply to  $t$ -initial morphemes, in agreement with Adelaar's findings for Malay. However it does apply to  $d$ -initial morphemes.)

## Reduplicated forms

Lexemes formed from reduplicated disyllabic morphs behave as a sequence of two phonological words, e.g. *lumbə-lumbə* 'porpoise', *lumba-lumba-ne* 'the porpoise' (/a/ normally alternates with /ə/ only word-finally, see Section 2.5); also *čiplak-čiplak* 'slurp (vb.intrans)' [čiplaʔčiplaʔ], not \*[čiplakčiplaʔ].

### 2.2.2 Phonotactic constraints on vowels

#### Vowel harmony

There is a strong tendency for harmony in the height of front and back vowels, such that where  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  are both non-central (i.e. not /a/ or /ə/), they agree in height, regardless of whether consonants intervene medially. There are thus very few non-borrowed morphemes with  $V_{HI}(N)(C)V_{MID}$ ,  $NON-CENTRAL$ , and  $V_{MID}, NON-CENTRAL(N)(C)V_{HI}$  sequences in the disyllabic morphemes listed in Warna et al (1978).

#### A constraint on schwa

Sequences of the form /əV/ do not occur. Where such sequences were created by the loss of medial  $r$  historically, total assimilation to the following vowel has occurred e.g. OB *bəras* 'rice' > NB *baas*; OB *təriŋ* 'bamboo' > NB *tiŋ*.

### Word-final \*/a/

Due to a historical change which has occurred in LNB varieties, \*/a/ > [ə] word-finally, [a] never occurs in this position (see also 2.5). In LNB varieties, all word-final [ə] derive from this change. In most MNB varieties except on Nusa Penida, the change did not occur.

### 2.3. Stress

Stress is on the last syllable of a lexeme (consisting of root morpheme plus any affixes): *bapə* ‘father’ [ba’pə], *ḷagur-in* ‘punch repeatedly’: [ḷagu’rin]. Unstressed enclitics may then follow this. No function word of form V or CV carries stress. They instead cliticise to stress-bearing words to form a single phonological word, e.g.: *kə=tukad* [kətu’kad] ‘to (the) river’ *a=piring* [api’ring] ‘one plateful’. Suffixes can thus be distinguished from enclitics according to whether or not they take stress. For example, the bound morpheme *-e* ( ~ *-ne* after vowels), ‘DEF’, is phonologically a suffix, carrying stress: *bapane* [bapa’ne] ‘the father’, while *ə*, the third person agent marker on ‘undergoer pivot’ verbs, is an enclitic: *ḷagur-in=ə* ‘punched repeatedly by 3rd person(s)’: [ḷagu’rinə].

In the varieties spoken around Denpasar, stress always remains on the last syllable of the root, even when suffixes are added.

### 2.4 Morphology

Balinese is an agglutinating language. Bound morphemes occurring in the wordlist, with summary descriptions of their function, include the derivational affixes listed below.

#### 2.4.1 Verb affixes

*N-* : marks “active” or “actor pivot” (see Foley – Van Valin 1984) transitive verbs (those where the actor/agent NP is preverbal in the unmarked word order), and a subclass of “dynamic” intransitive verbs. For realisations, see Section 2.5.

‘Ø-’ : the unprefixed stem constitutes the “passive” or “undergoer pivot” form of a transitive verb (that where the undergoer NP is preverbal in the unmarked word order).

*mə-* : (~ *m-* before a vowel-initial stem) marks some intransitive verbs.

- an** : marks some intransitive verbs (typically those prefixed with *mə-*). It sometimes indicates plurality of the action, including where the action is carried out reciprocally: *mə-ǰagur-an* ‘punch one another, punch repeatedly’. Attached to a nominal base it can have a locative sense: ‘covered or affected by (base)’ e.g. *sayoŋ-an* ‘covered in fog’, *sayoŋ* ‘fog’. **-an** can be considered an allomorph of **-in**, and sometimes of **-aŋ**. For discussion see Clynes (in preparation).
- in** : marks (mainly) transitive verbs. It typically further specifies the semantic role of the undergoer NP as LOC (location, goal, recipient).
- aŋ** : marks (mainly) transitive verbs. It typically further specifies the semantic role of the undergoer NP as “circumstantial” (benefactee, causee, thing transferred). Where the stem is already transitive (e.g. verbs of perception), it can signify deliberate effort on the part of the actor.

#### 2.4.2 Nominal affixes<sup>1</sup>

**pə-** : nominaliser, with various meanings according to the stem:

1. where the stem is the “undergoer pivot” form of a transitive verb:
  - a) ‘object/person undergoing (vb)’ e.g. *pəbaaŋ* ‘gift’ (*baaŋ* ‘give’);
  - b) ‘the action of (vb)’ *pədum* ‘division’ (*dum* ‘divide’);
2. where the stem is the “actor pivot” form of a transitive verb, or a “dynamic intransitive”:
  - a) ‘object/person carrying out (vb)’: *pəŋaŋon* ‘cowherd’ (*N-aŋon* ‘herd (vb.trans)’); *pəŋiǰəŋ* ‘house guard, shrine of spirit which guards a house’ (*N-iǰəŋ* ‘guard a house (vb.intrans)’);
  - b) ‘the action of (verb)’ *pəŋrəsəp* ‘understanding’ (*N-rəsəp* ‘understand’);
3. where the stem is an intransitive verb:
  - a) ‘person who carries out the action of the stem’: *pə-dərəp* ‘person who helps harvest rice’ (*mə-dərəp* ‘help harvest rice (vb intrans)’);
  - b) ‘the action of (verb)’: *pərəren* ‘stopping’ (*mə-reren* ‘stop (vb intrans)’).

1. This analysis is based on data taken primarily from Kersten (1984).

*-an* : nominaliser, attaching to a variety of stems:

1. where the stem is a transitive or intransitive verb:

- (a) ‘thing which undergoes (verb)’ *duman* ‘share’ (*dum* ‘divide (vb.trans)’); *alapan* ‘harvest’ (*alap* ‘pick (vb.trans)’); *tagikan* ‘seat’ (*-tagak* ‘sit down (vb.intrans)’);
- (b) (less commonly) ‘thing/person which does (verb)’ : *kikih-an* ‘grater’ (*kikih* ‘grate (vb.trans)’); *antikan* ‘plant’ (*-antik* ‘grow (vb.intrans)’); *tututan* ‘follower’ (*-tutut-in* ‘follow (vb.trans)’);
- c) ‘the action of (verb)’ : *jaguran* ‘punch, hitting’ (*-jagur* ‘hit (vb.trans)’); *saṅkapan* ‘meeting’ (*saṅkəp* ‘hold a meeting (vb.intrans)’);

2. where the stem is a noun:

- a) thing like (noun): *adəṅan* ‘freckle’ *adəṅ* ‘charcoal’;
- b) place of (noun): *prəbəkəlan* ‘area of a *prəbəkəl*’ (*prəbəkəl* ‘village official’, *səkolahan* ‘school, school building’ ([*səkolah*] ‘school’ (Dutch)).

*pə-* and *-an* may co-occur, producing nominals with the meanings listed under *pə-* and *-an* above:

- 1) meanings given for *pə-* above (all except ‘the action of (verb)’), with the same relationship between meaning and the nature of the stem: *pəmanṅaṅan* (*pə-N-paṅgaṅ-an*) ‘oven’, *N-paṅgaṅ* ‘bake (actor pivot)’; *pə-turun-an* ‘payment’, from *pə-turun-in* ‘make a payment (undergoer pivot)’;
- 2) meanings given for *-an* above: ‘location (place or time) of (stem)’: *gəlaṅ* ‘bracelet’, *pəgəlaṅan* ‘wrist’; *ləkad* ‘be born’, *pələkadan* ‘birthplace, day of birth’; *mə-bakti* ‘pray’, *pəbaktian* ‘day or time for prayer’; *pə-sare-an* ‘bed’ *mə-sare* (vb.intrans) ‘lie down, sleep’.

*-n* : links two nominals in a “genitive” or “associative” relationship to form a compound e.g. *puña-n kayu* ‘plant-*n* wood’, i.e. ‘tree’. The suffix-*n* only occurs on vowel-final heads, since phonotactic constraints rule out Cn clusters. Compounds where the head nominal ends in a consonant simply conjoin the two elements e.g. *anak luh* ‘person-female’, i.e. ‘woman’.

**RED:** the first CV sequence of a stem may be reduplicated (with schwa) to form a noun. The stem may be a verb or a noun. Examples of derivations from verbs: *mə-botoh* ‘gamble’, *bəbotoh* ‘gambler’; *N-saṅi-aṅ* ‘make a vow’, *səsaṅi* ‘vow’. Meanings include both ‘thing/person doing (intransitive verb)’ and ‘thing/person undergoing (transitive verb)’.

Both *RED* and affixation of *-an* commonly co-occur: *dəmən-in* ‘like, love (vb.trans)’, *dədəmənən* ‘loved one’; *-daar* ‘eat (vb.trans)’ *dadaaran* ‘food’. On nominal stems the derived noun can have the meaning ‘thing like (noun)’: *buah* ‘fruit’, *babuahan* ‘kidney’.

## 2.5. Morphophonemic alternations

### Realisation of *N-*

The verbal prefix indicated in 2.4.1 as *N-*, (including the same element in verbal stems to which the nominal prefix *pə-* is attached, 2.4.2) has the following realisations:

– as /ŋ/ before vowels, liquids and semivowels:

<i>ŋ-iis</i> ‘slice’	<i>ŋ-orah-aŋ</i> ‘say’
<i>ŋ-lantig</i> ‘hit with a stick’	<i>ŋ-raab-in</i> ‘roof (vb.trans)’
<i>ŋ-wayay</i> ‘perform shadow puppets’	<i>ŋ-yeh-in</i> ‘water (vb.trans)’

– as /ŋə/ before monosyllabic bases, and all stems beginning with a nasal:

<i>ŋə-tis</i> ‘rest in the cool’ ( <i>tis</i> ‘cool’)	<i>ŋə-leb</i> ‘escape (of an animal)’
<i>ŋə-mati-aŋ</i> ‘kill’ ( <i>mati</i> ‘dead’)	<i>ŋə-nəŋnəŋ</i> ‘stare’

– as the homorganic nasal (with nasal substitution) before bases of more than one syllable beginning with an obstruent:

labials:	<i>mula</i> ( <i>N-pula</i> ) ‘plant (vb.trans)’	<i>maan</i> ( <i>N-baan</i> ) ‘obtain, get’
apicals:	<i>niis</i> ( <i>N-tiis</i> ) ‘drain’	<i>naar</i> ( <i>N-daar</i> ) ‘eat’
laminals:	<i>ñaçad</i> ( <i>N-čačad</i> ) ‘criticise’	<i>ñəmak</i> ( <i>N-ĵəmak</i> ) ‘take’
	<i>ñadin</i> ( <i>N-sadin</i> ) ‘believe’	
dorsals:	<i>ŋikih</i> ( <i>N-kikih</i> ) ‘grate coconut’	<i>ŋugu</i> ( <i>N-gugu</i> ) ‘believe’

### Deletion of morpheme-final *h*

In most varieties (except MNB, and Tabanan and Karangasem LNB), stem-final *h* is normally deleted when a suffix or enclitic follows:

<i>ambah</i> ‘path’ [ambah]	<i>ambah-in</i> ‘take a path’ [ambain]
<i>kikih</i> ‘grate’ [kikih]	<i>kikih-an</i> ‘grater’ [kikian]

In some varieties (e.g. parts of Klungkung) this /h/ can be realised in formal speech, and so the deletion can perhaps be considered a rapid speech elision.



In other varieties, stem-final /h/ is always lost in this context; the loss can therefore be analysed as a morphophonemic alternation.

### Word-final \*/a/

Historical word-final /a/ has undergone changes in LNB varieties. It is realised as [ə] in north and east Bali, and as [ɛ], [ɔ], [ʋ] or a similar central vowel in the Gianyar-Tabanan regions. Only MNB varieties have not undergone such changes, retaining [a] word finally. However, in all varieties when an enclitic or suffix is attached the realisation reverts to [a]. For example, *puñə* ‘plant’ [puñə] ~ [puñɔ] etc, but *puña-n kayu* ‘tree’ [puñankayu], all varieties. In the wordlist we use the “schwa variety”, and assume morphophonemic alternation when affixes occur. In words of a historical form /Caa#/, the penultimate vowel assimilates to the final: e.g. *bəə* [bəə] ‘embers’ but *baane* [baane] ‘the embers’.

### 3. Orthography

There are two writing systems, the traditional *Aksara*, borrowed from Java and deriving ultimately from southern India, and Roman script, more commonly used now. The traditional script is phonemic except that:

- prefixes of form /Cə/ (including those formed by reduplication of the initial syllable of the stem) are written as though they were /Ca/<sup>1</sup>, reflecting an earlier historical stage of the language; similarly, final /ə/ is represented as though it were /a/;
- graphemes originally used to write Sanskrit aspirates and retroflexes are used idiosyncratically in some personal and place names.

Similarly, the Roman script is phonemic except that:

- grapheme *e* represents both /ə/ and /e/;
- *n* also represents /ñ/ before homorganic stops;
- prefixes of form /Cə/ (including those formed by reduplication of the initial syllable of the stem) are written *Ca*;
- final /ə/ is represented as grapheme *a*;
- the digraph *ng* represents /ŋ/; *ny* represents /ñ/ before vowels.

1. All phonemes except /a/ are represented by graphemes; /a/ is the ‘default’ vowel: it is not normally represented. For this reason, and perhaps also because certain phonemes are represented by more than one grapheme according to whether they occur syllable-initially or -finally, the script is sometimes said to be syllabic.

#### 4. About the wordlist

##### Citation forms

Transitive verbs are cited in the “actor pivot” or “active” form (that is, prefixed by the appropriate realisation of the morpheme *N-*; (see 2.4.1, 2.5)), since this form best translates the headword. The bare stem (which is the form of the “undergoer pivot/passive” form and also of the imperative) is given in brackets, only where it is not immediately recoverable from the morpheme breaks indicated. Some intransitive verbs also carry *N-*. However, the stem in this case is always bound.

Morpheme breaks are indicated, except where their synchronic status is questionable. Thus *ambah-in* ‘take a path’, from *ambah* ‘path’, but *mənek* ‘go up’ derives synchronically from *N-pənek*, not \**N-pənek*, despite cognates such as *naik* (Malay).

##### Variants

Variant forms are sometimes given in the notes, though the geographical origin is not always indicated. If an item is marked as “south Bali”, this is usually an indication that it is found in Warna (1978) but not Kersten (1984). Similarly, an item listed as “north Bali” is one listed in Kersten (1984) but not Warna (1978).

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## 25. Sasak

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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### 1. Introduction

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Sasak is the principal language of the island of Lombok, in the province of Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia, spoken by perhaps 2 million speakers. Thoir (1984: 5) estimates that more than 90% of the population speak Sasak.

Sasak was sub-grouped with Balinese and Sumbawanese by Esser (1938), based on shared lexis and grammatical features “especially the [verbal] suffixes *-an* and *-in*” (Noorduyn 1963: 336). Dyen (1982) proposes the same sub-grouping, on lexicostatistical grounds. Blust (1985) refers to a “Java-Bali-Sasak” group, though the basis for the grouping is not given.

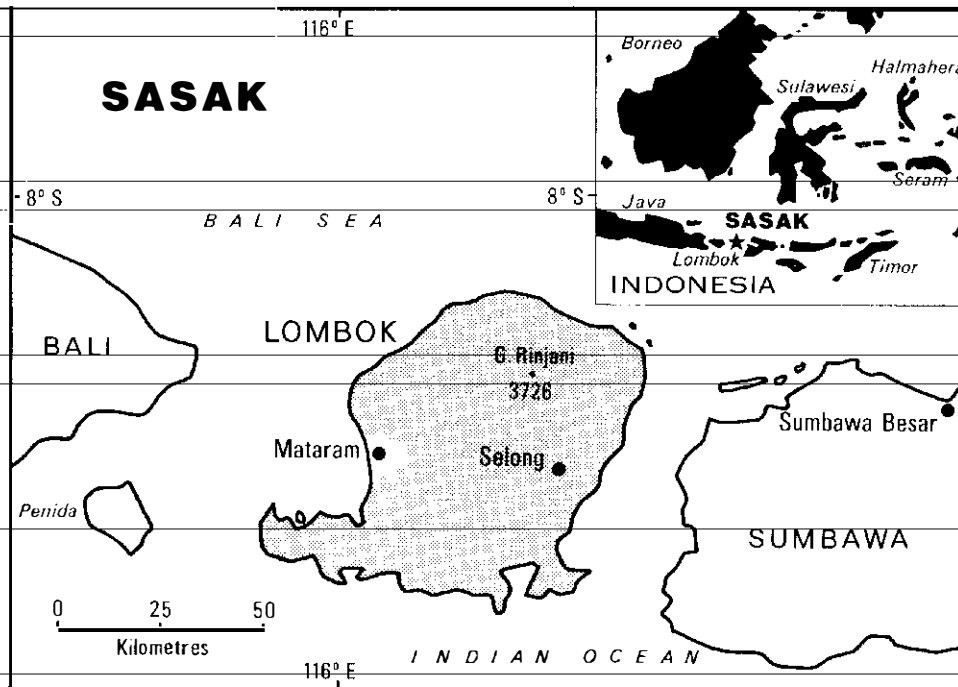
A dialect survey was carried out by Teeuw (1951, 1958). Teeuw’s work indicates a considerably more complex pattern of dialectal divergence than is indicated by the traditional classification into five major dialects: *ngeno-ngene* (spoken on both the central-west coast and the central-east to north-east coast), *meno-mene* (around the town of Pejanggik, central Lombok), *mriak-mriku* (central-south area around Pujut), *kuto-kute* (around Bayan in the north) and *ngeto-ngete* (in two separate areas, around Suralaga and around Sembalun, north-east) (see map, Thoir 1979, 1985).

There has been Balinese influence on the language since the mid-seventeenth century, due to the political dominance of the Balinese, at least in the west (see Teeuw 1954). A considerable Balinese population (approx. 80,000) is found in the area around Mataram-Cakranegara, originating historically from the Karangasem region of Bali. There have also been borrowings from Javanese (some via Balinese). The map in Thoir 1979 shows two towns with Javanese-speaking communities (Praya and Selong). In the east there is influence from Sumbawa, with several Sumbawanese villages there (Teeuw 1951, 1958). Since most of the population are Muslims, there is also influence from Arabic.

A full descriptive account of a Sasak variety is yet to be written. The discussion below is based on data in the literature, and the present wordlist.

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Map 25. Sasak language area

## 2. Phonology

### Consonants

	Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>			
Vibrants		<i>r</i>			
Glides	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

*ʔ* is in contrast with */k/* finally, for example *roaʔ* 'old', *toak* 'shoulder'. The two phonemes are sometimes in variation cross-dialectally.

## Vowels

According to Teeuw, most varieties of Sasak have 6 vowel phonemes:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

In a few villages in the south, [ɛ] and [ɔ] are said to be phonemic (Teeuw 1951, 1957), giving an eight-vowel system. Thoir (1985) on the other hand describes the eight-vowel system as standard, but does not illustrate with minimal pairs. Moreover, their phonemes /e/, /ɛ/ and /ə/ are represented by a single grapheme *e* in their wordlist. Slamet Ryadi Ali, the compiler of the present wordlist, uses the six-vowel system above.

### 3. Phonotactic constraints

#### Syllable and root structure

In the native lexis a syllable has the structure (C)(L)V(C) where only V is compulsory, and L (/l/ or /r/) does not occur in monosyllables. Only one vowel can occur per syllable.

The majority (more than 90%) of root morphemes are disyllabic, with preferred structures CVCV(C) and CVNVCV(C). A liquid (L) may occur before one but not both vowels. Disyllabic roots of structure (C)VV(C) are also common. These possibilities can be summed up in the formula:

$$(C_1)(L)V_1(N)(C_2)(L)V_2(C_3)$$

A second possible disyllabic structure is a reduplicated C<sub>1</sub>(L)V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>3</sub> sequence, i.e.:

$$C_1(L)V_1C_3C_1V_1C_3$$

Some phonotactic constraints applying to roots of these structures are discussed in the following sub-sections.



### 3.1 Constraints on consonants

#### Initial, medial and final position

All consonants may occur initially and medially (i.e. in C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> positions), except /h/ and /ʔ/. Initial /w/ and /y/ occur largely in loans, while medially [y] and [w] may optionally break up VV sequences where the first vowel is /i, e/ or /u, o/. Phonemic homorganic vowel-glide sequences do not occur:

*loek* [lowek ~ loek] ‘soft’      *sean* [sean ~ seyan] ‘separate’

In final (C<sub>3</sub>) position the following do not occur: voiced stops, laminal stops (including *n̄*), *w*<sup>1</sup> and *y*.

#### Consonant clusters

The principal medial clusters allowed in simple roots (as opposed to those containing a reduplicated C(L)VC sequence) are NC (a nasal homorganic with a following oral stop, or /ŋ/ if C<sub>2</sub> = /s/) and, more rarely, NCL:

*gompəʔ* ‘group’      *aŋsuh* ‘instalment’  
*kamplaŋ* ‘hit’      *čontlak* ‘jump’

A few roots of form CVLCV(C) are listed in Thoir (1985). These mostly have affective/iconic meanings, or are names of plants and animals (like phonotactically exceptional items in Javanese, see Uhlenbeck 1950):

*talsek* ‘jab’      *terboʔ* ‘baby vomit’  
*terset* ‘kind of insect’      *ǰoltak* ‘jump’

Acceptable intervocalic clusters in roots are thus usually either NC, NCL or LC. However where roots consist of a (meaningless) reduplicated C<sub>1</sub>(L)V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>3</sub> sequence, any consonants acceptable in C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> position can cluster medially:

*laŋlaŋ* ‘village official’      *kiskis* ‘thresh’  
*taʔtaʔ* ‘chop up’      *luhluh* ‘mortar’

1. Thoir (1985) lists one form with final /w/, *geraw* ‘many’.

### A constraint on liquids

Only one of the L slots may be filled in a two syllable root, that is L may occur in either first or second syllable, but not in both. In bases formed from reduplicated CLVC sequences, L occurs only in the first syllable:

*črokčok* ‘kind of bird’      *blukbuk* ‘roast, burn’

### Consonant harmony

Consonant harmony similar to that reported by Adelaar for Malay and reconstructed by him for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (1983) also occurs in Sasak. That is, in roots of form  $C_1V(N)C_2V(C)$ , where  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are obstruents or nasals (or, for  $C_2$  only, a glide) sharing the same place of articulation, with few exceptions they must also share the same manner of articulation (in other words, they must be identical).

## 3.2 Constraints on vowels

### Initial, medial and final position

Any vowel can occur initially, though very few /u/-initial roots are listed in Thoir (1985). All vowels occur word-medially, though constraints of vowel-height harmony (below) restrict occurrence in some ways. In some dialects (including that of the comparative wordlist), /a/ does not occur word-finally, due to the historical change /a/ > [ə] finally. All word-final /ə/ derive from this change. In those dialects where the change has not occurred (e.g. those in the northwest), /ə/ does not occur in final position.

### Height harmony

There is a strong tendency for harmony in the height of front and back vowels, such that  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  agree in height, regardless of whether consonants intervene medially. Compare Dutch *pistool* ‘pistol’, Sasak *pestol*; Malay *tumit* ‘ankle’, Sasak *tomet*. Exceptions generally involve a high  $V_1$  followed by a mid  $V_2$ : *tio?* ‘grow’; *puro* ‘chase away’.

## 4. Stress

“Stress can almost always be predicted as falling on the the last syllable” (Thoir 1979: 6). How affixation influences this is not indicated.

## 5. Morphology

Sasak is an agglutinating language. There are significant variations from dialect to dialect in verbal and nominal morphology (Thoir 1979, 1985). Bound morphemes occurring in the wordlist, with summary descriptions of their function, include the following derivational affixes.

### Verb affixes:

*hə(r)-*: marks intransitive verbs, typically expressing states, or durative actions.

*bər-ambu* ‘smell (vb.intrans)’ *bə-tian* ‘be pregnant’ (*tian* ‘stomach’).

*bə(r)-* in combination with *-an* indicates reciprocity of the action:

*bə-kapoŋ-an* ‘embrace’ *bə-jaŋur-an* ‘fight’

*kə(r)-*: indicates involuntary action:

*kə-səku?* ‘hiccough (vb.intrans)’

*N-* : (for realisations see Section 6 below). Marks “active” or “actor pivot” (see Foley – Van Valin 1984) transitive verbs, and a subclass of “dynamic” intransitive verbs:<sup>1</sup>

*ñeda?* (*N-seda?*) ‘crush’ *ŋə-ləle?* (*N-ləle?*) ‘laugh’

*pə(r)-*: derives causative transitive verbs:

*pər-eŋət* ‘remind’ (*eŋət* ‘remember’), *pər-anak-aŋ* ‘give birth to’ (*anak*, ‘child’)

*tə* : marks passive voice (Thoir 1979: 35):

*tə-(pər-)anak-aŋ* ‘be born’ *tə-tolo?* ‘put down, placed’

*-in* : marks transitive verbs, typically further specifying the semantic role of the undergoer NP as LOC (location, goal, recipient):

*taek-in* ‘climb (vb.trans)’ *endeŋ-in* ‘ask (someone)’

*-aŋ* : marks transitive verbs, typically further specifying the semantic role of the undergoer NP as “circumstantial” (benefactee, causee, thing transferred):

*taek-aŋ* ‘raise’ *endeŋ-aŋ* ‘ask (for someone)’

Where the root is already transitive (e.g. verbs of perception), *-aŋ* can signify deliberate effort on the part of the actor/agent:

*-dəŋah* ‘hear’ *dəŋah-aŋ* ‘listen to’

1. Thoir (1985: xx) indicates that in the *ngeto-ngete* dialect, a homophonous morpheme with different morphophonemic behavior, marks “passive voice”.

- ʔ : occurs sporadically on vowel-final bases only. It has the same causative function as *pə(r)-*, e.g.:
- tali-ʔ* ‘tie up’ (*tali* ‘rope’) *təmoe-ʔ* ‘receive (a guest)’ (*təmoe* ‘guest’)

### Nominal affixes

*pə-* : nominaliser, forming nouns with various meanings determined by the nature of the stem, including:

1. Where the stem is an “undergoer pivot/passive” verb form, or an intransitive:

a) ‘object or person undergoing (verb)’:

<i>pə-sajǐ-ʔ</i> ‘thing served’	<i>pə-r-beŋ</i> ‘gift’
( <i>sajǐ-ʔ</i> ‘serve’)	( <i>bər-beŋ</i> ‘give’) <sup>1</sup>

2. Where the stem is a verb carrying prefix *N-* :

a) ‘object or person carrying out (verb)’:

<i>pəñesek</i> ‘loom’	<i>pə-ŋ-arət</i> ‘herder’
( <i>N-sesek</i> ‘weave (vb.intrans)’)	( <i>N-arət</i> ‘herd’)

*-an* : nominaliser, where the stem is a transitive or intransitive verb, meanings include “thing which undergoes (verb)”:

<i>inəm-an</i> ‘drink’	<i>kakən-an</i> ‘food’
( <i>inəm</i> ‘drink’ (vb.trans))	( <i>kakən</i> ‘eat’)

*-n* : links two nominals in a “genitive” or “associative” relationship to form a compound e.g. *bale-n lani* ‘house-*n* bee’, i.e. ‘hive’. *-n* only occurs on vowel-final heads – phonotactic constraints rule out /Cn/ clusters. Compounds where the head nominal ends in a consonant simply conjoin the two elements e.g. *anak bembeʔ* ‘child-goat’ i.e. ‘kid’. Some compounds with vowel-final heads do not have *-n*, e.g. *madu lani* ‘beeswax’.

## 6. Morphophonemic alternations

There are significant variations from dialect to dialect in verbal and nominal morphophonemics (Thoir 1979, 1985). Only information relevant to the wordlist is given here. The discussion is based on data from the comparative wordlist, and, where indicated, Thoir (1979, 1985).

1. On morphophonemics see section 6.

1. *N-*: The verbal prefix indicated in Section 5 as *N-* (including the same element in verbal stems to which the nominalising prefix *pə-* is attached) has the following realisations:

as /ŋ/ before vowels:

*ŋ-impi* ‘dream’                      *ŋ-usap* ‘sweep’;

as the homorganic nasal, with nasal accretion, before stems of more than one syllable beginning with a voiced obstruent:

*m-bača* ‘read (vb.trans)’      *n-dəŋah* ‘hear’  
*ñ-ǰau?* ‘bring’                      *ŋ-giliŋ* ‘grind’;

as the homorganic nasal, with nasal substitution, before stems of more than one syllable beginning with voiceless obstruents:

labials:      *mŋgo?* (*N-pŋgo?*) ‘carry on shoulder’  
 apicals:      *nai* (*N-tai*) ‘defecate’  
 laminals:      *ñobə* (*N-čobə*) ‘try’  
                     *ñeda?* (*N-seda?*) ‘crush’  
 dorsals:      *ŋubur-aŋ* (*N-kubur-aŋ*) ‘bury’;

as /ŋə/ before:

1. sonorant consonants:

*ŋə-maliŋ* ‘steal’                      *ŋə-lələ?* ‘laugh’;  
*ŋə-rəba?* ‘cut down’                      *ŋə-wartə-aŋ* ‘announce’

2. monosyllabic stems:

*ŋə-čop* ‘give up’                      *ŋə-beŋ* ‘give’

3. some stems of more than one syllable beginning with /b/:<sup>1</sup>

*ŋə-bələ?* ‘break’                      *ŋə-bəta?* ‘flay’.

2. *bə(r)-*, *kə(r)-*, *pə(r)-*: these have the realisation *bər-*, *kər-*, *pər-* before stems beginning with vowels.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, they occur as *bə-*, *kə-*, *pə-* (Thoir 1985: xxiii, xxiv). Note that *tə-* is invariant.

*bər-aǰah* ‘learn’                      *bə-tian* ‘be pregnant’ (*tian* ‘stomach’),  
*kə-səku?* ‘hiccough’                      *kər-anti?* ‘taken accidentally’ (*anti?* ‘take’)  
*pə-bələ?* ‘enlarge’                      *pər-anak-aŋ* ‘give birth to’

1. This is not attested in Thoir (1979, 1985). The compiler, Slamet Ryadi Ali, says it is due to influence of the dialect to the east of Praya.

2. Thoir (1979, 1985) indicate that *bər-*, *kər-*, *pər-* occur before stems beginning with nasals, e.g. *bər-mbeŋ* ‘give’: we analyse such stems as beginning with ə, e.g. *bər-əmbəŋ*. There are no cases of *bər-*, *kər-*, *pər-* occurring before unambiguously nasal-initial stems in Thoir 1985.

3. *bər-* is reduced when occurring as part of the stem of a derived nominal (with the nominaliser *pə-* above):

*pə-r-beŋ* ‘gift’, *bər-beŋ* ‘give’

## 7. Orthography

There are two writing systems, the traditional *aksara*, borrowed from Java and deriving ultimately from southern India, and Roman script, more commonly used now.

The Roman script is largely phonemic except that:

- grapheme *e* represents both /ə/ and /e/;
- *n* also represents /ñ/ before /č/ and /j/;
- final /ə/ is represented as grapheme *a*;
- the digraph *ng* represents /ŋ/; *ny* represents /ñ/ before vowels;
- /ʎ/ is represented by *q*.

## 8. About the wordlist

The comparative wordlist was compiled by Slamet Ryadi Ali, originally from Praya, central Lombok, and is thus based on the variety of that town. Annotations are by Clynes, based mainly on the following dictionaries: *Kamus Sasak-Indonesia* (Thoir 1985), Goris (1938), as well as relevant data from Teeuw (1951, 1958).

Transitive verbs are cited in the “actor pivot” or “active” form (that is, prefixed by the appropriate realisation of the morpheme *N-* (see 2.4.1, 2.5)), since this form best translates the headword. The bare stem (which is the form of the “undergoer pivot/passive” form and also of the imperative) is given in brackets only where it is not immediately recoverable from the morpheme breaks indicated. Some intransitive verbs also carry *N-*, however the stem in this case is always bound.

Morpheme breaks are indicated, except where their synchronic status is questionable. Thus *ambah-in* ‘take a path’, from *ambah* ‘path’, but *mənek* ‘go up’ derives synchronically from *N-pənek*, not \**N-pə-nek*, despite cognates such as *naik* (Malay).

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## 26. Gorontalo

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### 1. Introduction

Gorontalo is a Philippine-type language, spoken by more than 900,000 speakers living mainly in the western half of the Sulawesi Utara (North Sulawesi) province, Indonesia. As well, sizable communities are found in the cities of Manado (eastern tip of the North Sulawesi peninsula), and in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia. The principal traditional occupations of the Gorontalo are farming (rice, copra, corn), timber getting, resin gathering, fishing and hunting. Nearly all are Muslims, Islam having been propagated in the Gorontalo region from the mid-sixteenth century.

Musa Kasim (1981) distinguishes five main dialects: east Gorontalo; Gorontalo town (in the southeast corner of the Gorontalo area); Limbotto, also in the east; west Gorontalo, and Tilamuta, in the centre. The dialect of the wordlist is principally that of the town of Gorontalo. Other languages spoken in the area include Suwawa, Atinggola, Kaidipang, Bolaang-Mongondouw, Bajo, Tontemboan and Sangir. Gorontalo, Suwawa and Atilongga are said to be mutually intelligible (Machmoed 1973).

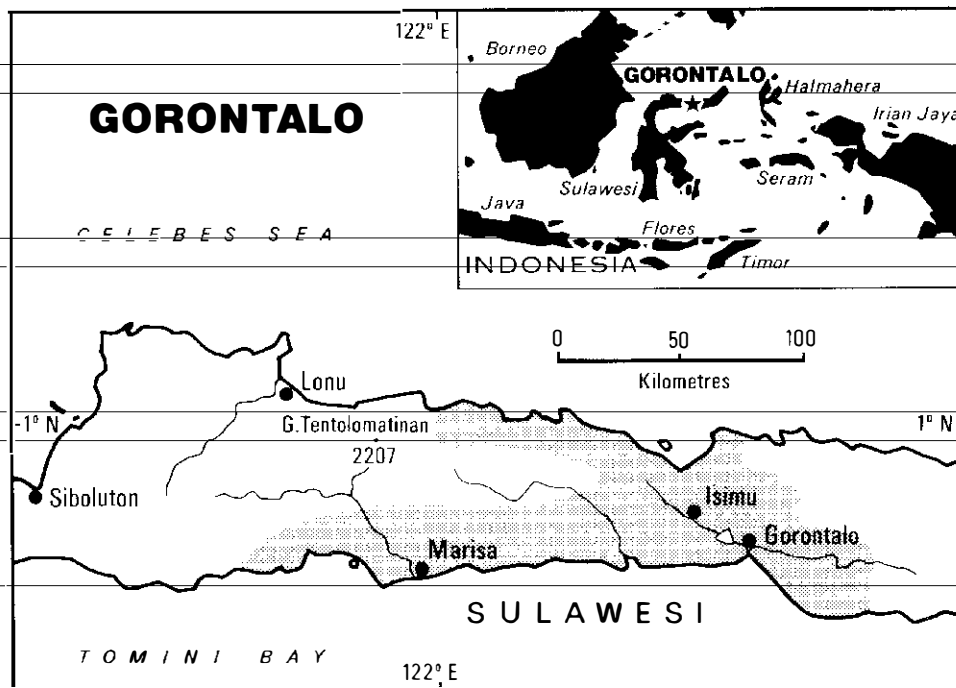
The several small kingdoms of the Gorontalo region were vassal states of the Sultan of (Galela-speaking) Ternate from about 1570 to 1677 (Kern 1938), with the Portuguese in turn controlling Ternate from 1532 till 1663 (Atlas van tropisch Nederland, Blad 10). In 1677 the Gorontalo area was ceded to the Dutch East Indies company (Klerck, 1938: 310). In 1889 the Dutch colonial government took control.

Many Gorontalo also speak Manado Malay and Indonesian. These, with Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch and Galela (a non-Austronesian language), are the principal sources of loanwords. Examples of borrowings from Galela include *?abila* 'basket', *?oloŋiya* 'king', *jogugu/huhuhu* 'state administrator'.

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Map 26. Gorontalo language area

## 2. Phonology

Table 1. Consonants

		Labial	Apical	Dorsal	Glottal
Oral stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	?
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		
Prenasalised		<i><sup>m</sup>b</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>g</i>	
Fricatives					<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

*t* is apico-dental, *d*, *<sup>n</sup>d* and *l* are apico-alveolar. Pateda (1977) and Badudu (1982) write *<sup>n</sup>d* as *<sup>n</sup>t* and *<sup>n</sup>ṭ* respectively.

Stops are unaspirated. Voiced stops *b* and *d* are simultaneously glottalised in stressed syllables, and in the first syllable of trisyllabic words.

Allophones of phonemes and minimal pairs are presented and exemplified in Machmoed (1973), Badudu (1982).

The consonants  $\tilde{n}$ ,  $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{j}$ ,  $\tilde{n}\check{j}$ ,  $g$ ,  $r$ ,  $f$  and  $s$  occur only in loanwords.  $k$  occurs mainly in loanwords, but may occur in a small number of inherited items (Badudu 1982).

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

VV sequences occur, including sequences of identical vowels: *taa* 'personal nominaliser', *mo-diilo* 'kiss'. Only one vowel occurs per syllable (see syllable structure).

### Stress

Stress is not phonemic, falling predictably on the penultimate syllable of phonological words (including enclitics). Thus *momikiira'raŋi* 'think', *momikiira'ŋi-po* 'think before (doing something)'.<sup>1</sup>

### Syllable structure

Syllables may have the structure CV or V.<sup>1</sup> Syllables are thus always open, with all morphemes and words ending in vowels, at least in (careful speech) surface phonetic forms. The most common structure of monomorphemic lexical roots is CVCVCV. Other morpheme structures occur, such as CV, V (mainly grammatical morphemes), and sequences such as CVV, CVCV, CVCVV, CVVCV, CVVCVCV, CVCVVVCV and longer, in (mainly) lexical morphemes. Roots given as vowel-initial in Pateda (1977) are here and in Musa Kasim (1981) analysed as beginning with /?/.

1. Surface CC sequences are created by reduplication of the first syllable of roots, where they are preceded by another prefix (see below). These are rapid speech alternants of CV reduplications, the vowel being optionally deletable.

### 3. Morphology

Here we list only the bound morphemes found in the comparative wordlist. This by no means covers all the bound morphology of Gorontalo; for further information see Badudu (1982), Pateda (1977), Musa Kasim (1981) and Little (in progress).

#### Verb morphology

<i>mo-</i>	forms both transitive and intransitive verbs (including verbs with adjectival senses) <i>mo-bale</i> ‘turn around (vi)’, <i>mo-hutu</i> ‘do, make’, <i>mo-putiʔo</i> ‘white’.
<i>moN-</i>	forms ‘actor focus’ transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g. <i>momilohu</i> ( <i>moN-bilohu</i> ) ‘look, look at’. For realisations see section 5.
<i>moh-</i>	‘actor focus prefix’. <sup>1</sup>
<i>mo-po-</i>	‘causative prefix’, compare <i>mo-laʔito</i> ‘burn (vi)’, <i>mo-po-laʔito</i> ‘light, burn (vt)’, <i>momilohu</i> ( <i>moN-bilohu</i> ) ‘look, look at’, <i>mo-po-bilohu</i> ‘show’.
<i>mo-poʔo-</i>	also forms causatives: <i>lapato</i> ‘finished’ <i>mo-poʔo- lapato</i> ‘finish (vt)’
<i>mo-ʔo-</i>	‘active, abilitative’ <i>mo-luli</i> ‘healed (vi)’, <i>mo-ʔo-luli</i> ‘cure (vt)’, <i>sababu</i> ‘cause (n)’, <i>mo-ʔo-sababu</i> ‘cause (vt)’.
<i>mo-hi-</i>	attaches to nouns, forming verbs with an instrumental sense ‘use, wear [noun]’. Only used of items of clothing (Badudu 1982).
<i>ti-</i>	‘reflexive affix’. Occurs in combination with <i>mo-</i> to form intransitive verbs.
<i>mee-</i>	(~ <i>mei-</i> , <i>mai-</i> ) marks accidental and other non-volitional actions, or actions where the actor is not stated.
<i>ʔo-</i>	forms intransitive verbs from noun roots: ‘have [noun]’: <i>ʔo-hiyalo</i> ‘have-spouse, be married’.
<i>-um-</i>	often forms intransitive, stative verbs. Only occurs on roots with initial segments /t d l h ʔ/ (Badudu 1982: 74).
<i>olo</i>	attached to the bare verb stem marks object focus. Does not co-occur with “active” forms.

1. This is not listed by Badudu (1982), Pateda (1977).

- alo* attached to the verb stem, marks direction focus. Does not co-occur with “active” forms.<sup>1</sup>
- a* marks both transitive and intransitive verbs of more than three syllables with an object, adjunct or adverbial: *momintaʔo* ‘lift (vi)’, *momintaʔaa* ‘lift (vt)’; *motihuloʔo* ‘sit (vi)’, *motihuloʔaa to kadera* ‘sit in a chair’, *motihuloʔaa ooʔoolaana* ‘sit all day long’ (Badudu 1982, see also section 5).
- mayi, maʔo* Certain verbs occur with locative particles, *mayi* ‘to here’ *maʔo* ‘to there’. These in some cases obligatorily cliticise to the verb stem as *-ayi, -aʔo*.

### Noun morphology

- poN-* forms instrumental nouns *-bite* ‘row (v)’ *pomite* ‘paddle’, *putu* ‘cut’ *pomutu* ‘knife’.
- po-* plus reduplication of the initial syllable of the root, forms manner nouns: *po-bo-botoʔo* ‘way (someone) faints’.
- ŋo-* ‘one’, forms nominals: *ŋo-olo* ‘one portion, some’.
- ʔu-* nominaliser *ʔu-du-laʔa* ‘parents’, from *daʔa* ‘big’.
- a1* derives nominals, either in combination with *po-* (*wutato* ‘sibling’ *po-ʔu-wutata-a* ‘cousin’), and/or with partial reduplication of the stem (below).
- a2* “ligature” forms complex NPs, e.g. *maluʔaa bange* ‘rooster’, from *maluʔo* ‘fowl’, *-a, bange* ‘male (of birds)’.
- RED** There are several types of reduplication, sometimes derivational, sometimes (on verbs) marking aspect. **RED** may affect only the first syllable of a stem: *-biyahu* ‘look after’, *bi-biyahu* ‘livestock’, *i-iilo* ‘grater’, *-iilo* ‘grate’; this may be in combination with other bound morphemes: *mo-lihu* ‘bathe’, *mo-li-lihu* ‘habitually bathe’, *po-li-lihu-a* ‘bathing place’; *-hiliŋo* ‘mill (v)’, *hi-hiliŋ-a* ‘mill (n)’. **RED** may also be of the first two syllables of the stem: *pawu-pawusi* ‘whale’ (from Dutch [paus]), *-tumulo* ‘life, alive’, *tumu-tumulo* ‘living (durative)’, *-huumo* ‘close’, *huu-huumo* ‘closed (durative)’.
- il-* forms deverbal nouns *m-il-ate* ‘corpse’, *mate* ‘dead’; *ʔa-alo* ‘eat’, *ʔ-il-a* ‘rice’. As an inflectional affix *-il-* marks perfective aspect.

1. Note that Badudu and Pateda collapse *-olo* and *-alo* in a single affix, *-lo*.

## 5. Morphophonemics

The rules of morphophonemic alternation in Gorontalo are complex. Here only the types of contraction and assimilation occurring in forms in the wordlist are illustrated. These processes often apply differentially according to the type of affix, or the class of the root morpheme concerned: there are two classes of root morphemes, differing as to whether they undergo loss of final vowel when in conjunction with certain affixes and enclitics. For further discussion, see Badudu (1982), Machmoed (1973) and Little (in progress).

– *N-* in *moN-*, *poN-* is realised as:

<i>ŋ</i>	before stems beginning with <i>ʔ</i> , <i>w</i> or <i>y</i>
<i>m</i>	before labial stops and <i>h</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>l</i>	before apical stops

examples:

<i>moN+wuʔadu</i>	>	/moŋuʔadu/ ‘untie’
<i>moN+puduʔo</i>	>	/momuduʔo/ ‘carry under arm’
<i>moN+tali</i>	>	/molali/ ‘carry’

– root-final *o* is assimilated to the ligature *a*:

<i>maluʔo + a + ba<sup>u</sup>ge</i>	>	/maluʔaa ba <sup>u</sup> ge/ (see wordlist 03.520)
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similar processes across morpheme boundaries occur in:

<i>wulato+alo</i>	>	/wulatalo/
<i>ŋo+walaʔo+a</i>	>	/ŋa-alaʔ-a/

– root final *u* plus the (initial) *a* of an affix or clitic is realised as the sequence *ee*:

<i>lindudu + a</i>	>	/lindidee/ 11.790, 18.160 ‘good’
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– stem-initial *w* and *y* are lost following an *o*-final prefix or enclitic:

<i>mo+woti</i>	>	/mo-oti/ ‘calm (of sea)’
<i>mo+yimbidu</i>	>	/meembidu/ ‘near’ (with subsequent lowering and assimilation)

and following *poh-* and *moh-*:

<i>moh+yilapito</i>	>	/mohilapito/ ‘pursue’
<i>moh+walamo</i>	>	/mohalamo/ ‘weave’

1. There are very few examples of *moN-* before *h*-initial stems, or *w* and *y*. An analysis not followed here is to group *moh-/poh-* as lexically determined allomorphs of *moN-*.

– the stem initial sequence *wa* goes to *e* after *poh-* or *woh-* :

*moh+ wajobu* > /mohejobu/ ‘have sexual intercourse (animals)’

*moh+ wudedu* > /mohededu/ ‘rub, wipe’.

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## 27. Da'a

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction: <i>Donald F. Barr</i>
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Wordlist: <i>Donald F. Barr – Gideon Likenono</i>
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### 1. Introduction

Da'a is one of several speech varieties of the Kaili dialect cluster spoken in western Central Sulawesi. There are approximately 32,000 Da'a speakers living predominantly in the mountains. There are variations within the Da'a speaking area. Except where noted otherwise, the word list and introduction refer to the Dombu variety of Da'a.<sup>1</sup>

Much of Da'a life revolves around shifting agriculture in which sweet potatoes, taro, cassava, and corn are grown. In a few areas dry-field rice is cultivated. Some sago is eaten in western lowland villages. Cash crops are coffee, cloves, and fruit.

Although local political structure currently conforms to the Indonesian government system for village hierarchy, the more traditional *madika* leader continues to arbitrate disputes and perform ceremonies that fall outside the modern system. Islam, Christianity, and traditional beliefs are all adhered to in the Da'a area.

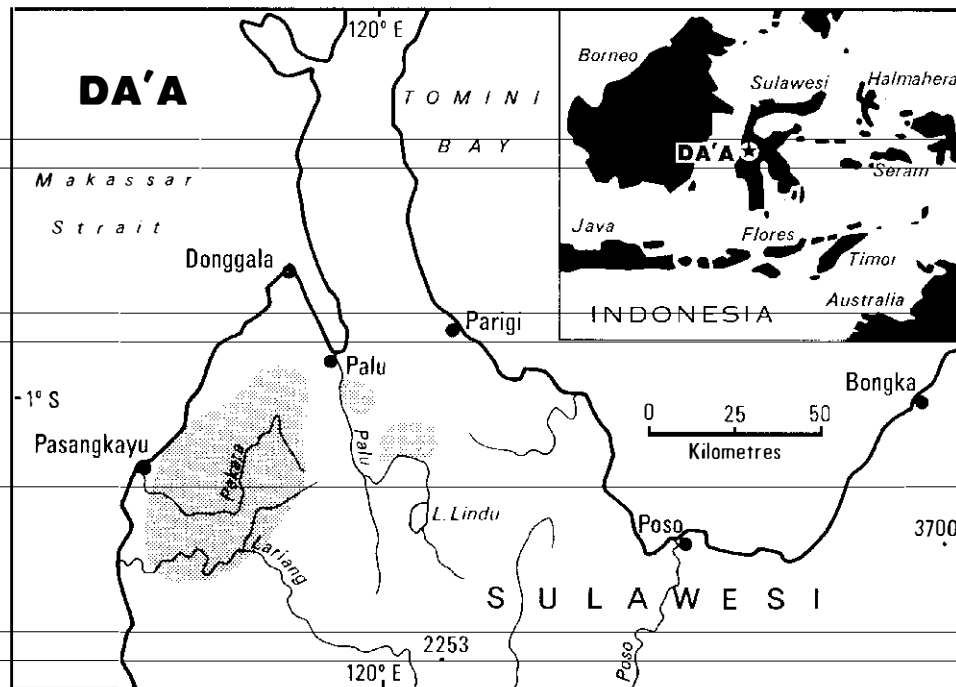
Da'a is classified with the Kaili-Pamona languages within the Central Sulawesi Group (cf. Barr – Barr – Salombe 1979).<sup>2</sup> The Kaili languages were formerly known in the Dutch literature (e.g. Adriani – Kruyt 1912-1914, A.C. Kruyt 1938) under the term "West Toraja", a term that is currently unacceptable to the people of the region.

Da'a phonology is described in D. Barr – S. Barr (1988); realis-irrealis distinctions in D. Barr (1983); verbal affixes and clitics in D. Barr (1988a); functions of reduplication in D. Barr (1988b); the mechanisms for signalling

- 
1. The author has been studying the Da'a language since 1979 and has been resident in the language area for much of that time. The study is part of a larger programme of cooperation between Hasanuddin University (Ujung Pandang) and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
  2. [The Central Sulawesi languages may group at a higher level with the South Sulawesi languages and with the languages of south-east Sulawesi to form a "Nuclear Sulawesi" group within WMP, excluding the Gorontaloic, Minahasan, and Sangiric languages. -Eds.]
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focus and mood in Da'a discourse are discussed in D. Barr (1988c); kinship and marriage are described in S. Barr (1988).



Map 27. Da'a language area

## 2. Summary of Da'a phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

Table 1. Da'a consonants

	Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl vd	p b	t d	j	k g
Prenasalised stops	vl vd	<sup>m</sup> p <sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> t <sup>n</sup> d	<sup>n</sup> j	<sup>ŋ</sup> g
Fricatives		v	s		
Nasals		m	n	ŋ	
Laterals			l		
Trills			r		
Semivowels				y	

The /v/ is phonetically a voiced labio-dental fricative. There are no consonant clusters in Da'a as syllable types are restricted to CV and V. Thus, prenasalised stops are considered unit phonemes rather than sequences of two phonemes. The /ʃ/ is an affricate. The phonemes /č/ and /ñč/ that occur in closely related Kaili languages do not occur in Da'a except in a few loans. For the most part, /č/ in other languages has merged with /s/ in Da'a. The apical trill /r/ surfaces in some subdialects of Da'a as a flap or as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. The glottal is optionally present before vowel-initial roots. The glottal is in contrast with zero intervocally.

- |     |             |                             |
|-----|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) | <i>neʔe</i> | 'don't'                     |
|     | <i>tee</i>  | 'tea'                       |
| (2) | <i>kuʔu</i> | 'stiff with dirt'           |
|     | <i>kuu</i>  | 'small black biting insect' |

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Da'a vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

In Da'a each vowel forms a syllable nucleus. Thus, vowel sequences, which may be either like or unlike vowels, constitute two syllables. Vowel sequences occur in all combinations.

The semivowel /y/ does not occur before front vowels /i e/, except in a few loans.

## 2.3 Word stress

Word stress in Da'a falls on the penultimate syllable of the root. Thus, with vowel sequences, stress falls on the penultimate vowel, regardless of whether or not the sequence is geminate.

(3)	['tara]	'look at'
	[ta'raa]	'pineapple'
	['mata]	'eye'
	['pue]	'lord, master'
	['kuu]	'small black biting insect'
	['uma]	'father'
	['peo]	'down below'
	[ma <sup>n</sup> diu]	'will bathe'

Primary word stress shifts to the right with the addition of suffixes (e.g. *-(C)aka*) to fall on the newly formed penultimate syllable. With the addition of enclitics, however, word stress remains on the penultimate syllable of the root and does not shift to the right.

(4)	['nawu]	'fall'
	[ra-nawu-'saka]	'it (will) drop (to me)'
(5)	['sapo]	'house'
	['sapo-ku]	'my house'
(6)	['vavu]	'pig'
	['vavu-na]	'his/her pig'
(7)	[na'ria]	'have'
	[na'ria-mo]	'already have'

### 3. Morphology

Much of Da'a verbal morphology revolves around mood distinctions of *realis* (real, fact, fully actualised, past, completed action, state already existing) marked with *n-*, and *irrealis* (contemplated, anticipated, future, not yet complete, unreal, not fact) marked with *m-*. Furthermore, like many of the Philippine languages, Da'a uses separate, but interlocking strategies for encoding the semantic role structure on the one hand, and pragmatic prominence or *focus*, on the other. For Da'a this requires mechanisms for Actor Focus, and Goal Focus with its associated encoding for Non-focused Actor. The third major parameter of Da'a morphology revolves around *aspect*.

Pronominal deixis is marked by the following forms:

Table 3. Da'a personal pronouns

	Focused Free pronouns	Non-focused Actor proclitics	Actor enclitics/ genitive enclitics
1sg	<i>aku</i>		<i>-ku</i>
2sg	<i>iko</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3sg	<i>i'a</i>	---	<i>-na</i>
1pl excl	<i>kami</i>	---	<i>(kami)</i> <sup>1</sup>
1pl incl	<i>kita</i>	---	<i>-ta</i>
2pl	<i>komi</i>	---	<i>-mu</i> <sup>2</sup>
3pl	<i>ira</i>	---	<i>(ira)</i> <sup>3</sup>

Where the syntactic subject of a transitive verb is in pragmatic focus, the focused free pronouns are used to indicate the Actor (Actor Focus). Where the grammatical Object is in pragmatic focus and where indexing the Actor is also required, the non-focused Actor enclitics are used (Goal Focus). The non-focused Actor proclitics are used only occasionally in very informal intimate conversation. Focus and mood affixes in Da'a are as follows:

Table 4. Da'a focus and mood affixes

	Actor focus	Goal focus
Declarative	<i>na(N)</i> <sup>4</sup>	
Realis	<i>ne(N)-</i> <i>no(N)-</i>	<i>ni-</i>
Declarative	<i>ma(N)-</i>	
Irrealis	<i>me(N)-</i> <i>mo(N)-</i>	<i>ra-</i>
Imperative	<i>pa(N)-</i> <i>pe(N)-</i> <i>po(N)-</i> $\emptyset$ (STEM alone)	<i>rapo-</i> + ROOT/STEM

1. Only the free pronoun is used.
2. Some Da'a areas use *-mi*.
3. The same areas which use *-mi* '2pl' use *-ra* '3pl'. The Dombu area uses the free pronoun.
4. The different vowels /a e o/ occur with separate verb classes and do not differentiate meaning. The morphophonemic nasal assimilates to the homorganic point of articulation

Additional prefixes are listed below.

(8)	<i>nati-/mati-</i>	non-volitional
	<i>notiN-/motiN-</i>	reflexive
	<i>neti-/meti-</i>	pretence
	<i>nipo-/rapo-/rapo<sup>m</sup>ba-</i>	purpose
	<i>si-</i>	reciprocal and multiple actors
	<i>ki-</i>	requestive
	<i>ka-</i>	affected by the action of root
	<i>pa-/po-</i>	causative
	<i>pa-/pe-/po-</i>	valence increaser, transitiviser

There is further a derivational suffix *-(C)aka* where the (C) is an epenthetic apical /t s n r/ appearing with some roots. The function of the suffix is to repackage the semantic role structure of the root, often with a causative sense.

(9)	<i>nawu</i>	'fall'
	<i>nawu-saka</i>	'drop (cause to fall)'
(10)	<i>sua</i>	'enter'
	<i>sua-raka</i>	'insert (cause to enter)'
(11)	<i>ga?a</i>	'separate'
	<i>ga?a-naka</i>	'divorce (cause to be separated)'
(12)	<i>goli</i>	'turn'
	<i>goli-aka</i>	'turn over'

There are also phrase and clause-level clitics that do not affect stress.

(13)	<i>da</i>	durative (proclitic)
	<i>-pa</i>	continuing/extending stem
	<i>-mo</i>	perfective <sup>1</sup>

### 3.1 Reduplication in Da'a

In Da'a, reduplication may be of just the root, or of the entire stem.

of the following stop, resulting in prenasalised stops. With /k/-initial roots the resulting stop is voiced /<sup>h</sup>g/.

1. Used with realis, *-mo* has the sense of the perfective 'already'; with irrealis it indicates the action is imminent, about to happen; and with the imperative it softens the command making it less harsh.

- |      |                          |                            |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (14) | <i>eo-eo</i>             | ‘every day’                |
|      | <i>tuḵa-tuḵa</i>         | ‘plants’                   |
|      | <i>mo-tesa-tesa</i>      | ‘talk on and on’           |
|      | <i>naka-kata-kata</i>    | ‘be very itchy’            |
| (15) | <i>sa-ᵛgani-sa-ᵛgani</i> | ‘once in a while’          |
|      | <i>sa-ᵐpuʔu-sa-ᵐpuʔu</i> | ‘one plant here and there’ |

The functions of reduplication are many, often expressing plurality of action, direction, or result. Reduplication may signal a diffuse or distributive effect relating to multiple undergoers.

- |      |   |                                |
|------|---|--------------------------------|
| (16) | <i>no<sup>m</sup>ba-bi<sup>ᵛ</sup>ga-bi<sup>ᵛ</sup>ga</i> | ‘broke s.th. into many pieces’ |
|      | <i>nom-bagi-bagi</i>                                      | ‘divide s.th. up’              |
| (17) | <i>ḵuʔa-ḵuʔa</i>  | ‘sicknesses (various kinds)’   |

Reduplication also has aspectual functions indicating repeated/iterative aspect, or continuous aspect.

- |      |   |                        |
|------|---|------------------------|
| (18) | <i>ni-kita-kita</i>                           | ‘he looked and looked’ |
|      | <i>neka-wa<sup>n</sup>tu-wa<sup>n</sup>tu</i> | ‘he kept jumping’      |
|      | <i>nipo-pea-pea</i>                           | ‘he waited on and on’  |

Reduplication of motion verbs can indicate a randomness of direction, or with question words indicate indefiniteness.

- |      |   |                                       |
|------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (19) | <i>ne-<sup>m</sup>bua-<sup>m</sup>bua</i>   | ‘fly around (hither and thither)’     |
|      | <i>ma-<sup>ḵ</sup>ḵayo-<sup>ḵ</sup>ḵayo</i> | ‘going for a walk (no specific goal)’ |
| (20) | <i>u<sup>m</sup>ba-u<sup>m</sup>ba</i>      | ‘wherever’                            |
|      | <i>sema-sema</i>                            | ‘whoever’                             |

Certain adverbs and stative verbs are intensified by reduplication.

- |      |   |              |
|------|---|--------------|
| (21) | <i>ᵐpuʔu</i>                                | ‘very’       |
|      | <i>ᵐpuʔu-ᵐpuʔu</i>                          | ‘extremely’  |
| (22) | <i>naka-kata-kata</i>                       | ‘very itchy’ |
|      | <i>na-da<sup>m</sup>ba-da<sup>m</sup>ba</i> | ‘very happy’ |

## 4. Notes on orthography

Table 5. Orthography conventions for Da'a

Practical orthography	Wumbu 1975	CAD
<i>mp</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i><sup>m</sup>p</i>
<i>m̄b</i>	<i>m̄b</i>	<i><sup>m̄</sup>b</i>
<i>nt</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>t</i>
<i>nd</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>
<i>nj</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i><sup>n̄</sup>j</i>
<i>n̄ḡḡ</i>	<i>n̄ḡḡ</i>	<i><sup>n̄</sup>ḡ</i>
<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
	'	? 1
<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ǰ</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>

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1988b "The functions of reduplication in Da'a", in: Steinhauer (ed.) (1988b), 1–9.

1988c "Focus and mood in Da'a discourse", in: Steinhauer (ed.) (1988b), 77–129.

1. After testing readers it was decided that even though intervocalic glottal is in contrast with zero, its low functional load permits underdifferentiation. Thus, glottal is not indicated in the practical orthography. Readers can disambiguate meanings from context.







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## 28. Uma

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<b>Contributors:</b>
Introduction: <i>Michael Martens</i>
Wordlist: <i>Michael Martens – Herman Rigo</i>

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### 1. Introduction

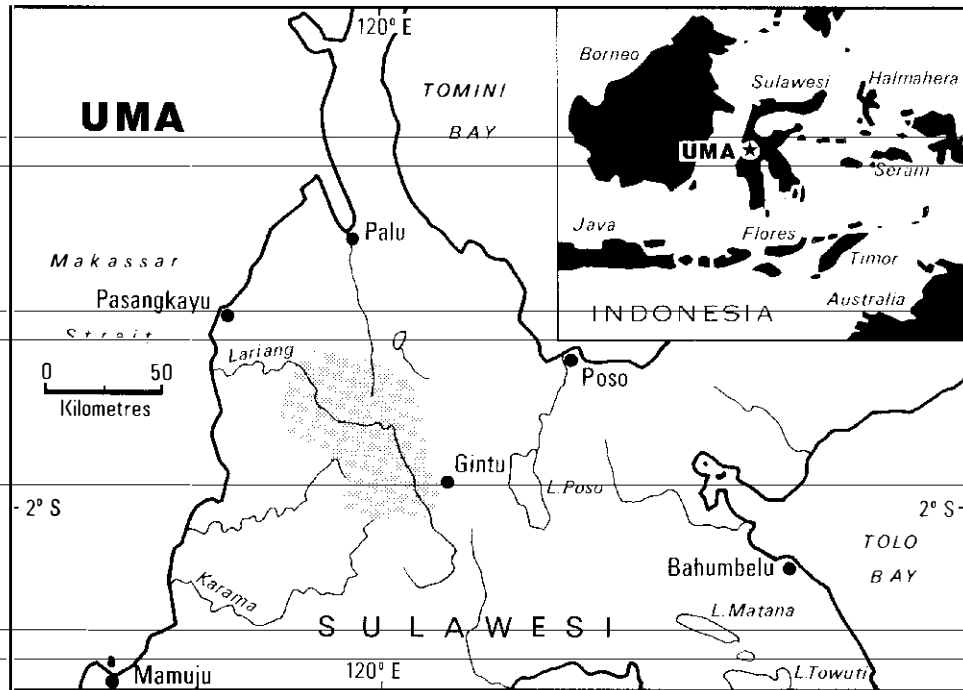
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Uma (Pipikoro) is spoken by about 20,000 people in the mountains of western Central Sulawesi near the Lariang river. It is classified as one of the Kaili-Pamona languages in the Central Sulawesi subgroup (see Barr – Barr – Salombe 1979). The Kaili-Pamona languages were formerly known in the Dutch literature as “West Toraja” (see Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914), a term currently unacceptable to the people of the region. The CAD word list is from the village of *Kantewu* representing the central dialect of Uma.<sup>1</sup> Other dialects of Uma are the northern dialect, *Winatu*, spoken in the Winatu, Lonca’ and Gimpu/Tori’untu areas; the western dialect, *Tobaku*, spoken in Towulu’, Siwongi, and several smaller villages; and the southern dialect, *Aria*, spoken in Peana, Banasu, and other smaller villages. All of these dialects are very closely related with percentages of lexical similarity ranging in the mid-to-high 90s. Intelligibility between dialects is not a problem. Any significant dialect variants will be noted in the footnotes to the word list.<sup>2</sup>

The best known study of languages related to Uma (Pipikoro) with comments about Uma scattered throughout, is the three-volume study of Adriani – Kruyt (1912-1914). Lesser known studies are the three-volume study of Kulawi by Adriani – Esser (1939), and Esser (1964). More recently,

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1. The author has been resident in the Uma area for the bulk of the time since 1980 when he began study of the Uma language as part of a cooperative effort between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics under the auspices of the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia.
  2. To the west of the Uma area, along the western coast of Sulawesi, there is a language called *Sarudu* (see Grimes – Grimes 1987: 59). Preliminary assessment of intelligibility and inspection of wordlists both suggest that Sarudu could be considered as either a divergent dialect of Uma, or as a very closely related language. There is also an old migration (over 100 years ago) of people from the Uma village of Kantewu to Bengkulu in South Sulawesi. The people of Bengkulu all adhere to Islam. Within the Seko speaking area of South Sulawesi there is also an enclave of Uma speakers known as the Bana (To Bana).
-

articles have been published by M.P. Martens (1985, 1988a, b, c, d, e), Gregerson – Martens (1985), and Martens – Martens (1988).



Map 28. Uma language area.

## 2. Summary of the phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

Table 1. Uma consonants

	Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	p	t	k	ʔ
	vd	b	d	ǰ	g
Prenasalised stops		<sup>m</sup> p	<sup>n</sup> t	<sup>ñ</sup> ç	<sup>ŋ</sup> k
Fricatives		β	s		h
Nasals		m	n	ñ	ŋ
Laterals			l		
Trills			r		

The /β/ is a voiced bilabial fricative. Glottal stop /ʔ/ carries a functional load intervocally and root-finally, but is neutralised with zero word-initially. /h/ functions like a nasal in some respects. It has a nasal quality and causes the nasalisation of following non-front vowels. /l/ is retroflexed contiguous to non-front vowels with older speakers.

Uma has no consonant cluster and no word-final consonants other than glottal /ʔ/. Final glottal occurs in possibly half of the lexical roots in the Uma lexicon and is contrastive with non-glottal roots.

- |     |                |  |             |
|-----|----------------|--|-------------|
| (1) | <i>uma</i>     |  | ‘no’        |
|     | <i>umaʔ</i>    |  | ‘uncle’     |
| (2) | <i>motomo</i>  |  | ‘heavy’     |
|     | <i>motomoʔ</i> |  | ‘delicious’ |

The prenasalised stop series is problematic. Unambiguous syllable types are CV and V encouraging an analysis of prenasalised stops as unit phonemes rather than as consonant sequences. However, in some cases the prenasalisation can be shown to be morphological where they are the result of a verbal prefix /N-/.

- |     |                             |              |           |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| (3) | <i>koni</i>                 |              | ‘to eat’  |
|     | <i><sup>h</sup>koni</i>     | /N-koni/     | ‘to eat’  |
| (4) | <i>sarumaka</i>             |              | ‘hope’    |
|     | <i><sup>h</sup>čarumaka</i> | /N-sarumaka/ | ‘to hope’ |

The prenasalised stops can also be shown to be a morphophonemic ligature, such as between a numeral and a classifier.

- |     |                            |              |                        |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| (5) | <i>ro-</i>                 |              | ‘two (bound morpheme)’ |
|     | <i>pepaʔ</i>               |              | ‘to be wide’           |
|     | <i>ro<sup>m</sup>pepaʔ</i> | /ro-N-pepaʔ/ | ‘two sheets of’        |

There are, however, unambiguous occurrences of prenasalised stops that cannot be easily reanalysed.

- |     |                          |           |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------|
| (6) | <i>lo<sup>m</sup>peʔ</i> | ‘good’    |
|     | <i>o<sup>n</sup>iʔ</i>   | ‘ant’     |
|     | <i>da<sup>n</sup>či</i>  | ‘bird’    |
|     | <i>la<sup>h</sup>ko</i>  | ‘be tall’ |

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Uma vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Vowel sequences are common in Uma. Geminate vowels are true vowel sequences, not long vowels. Thus, the sequence CV.V consists of two syllables, regardless of whether or not the vowels are identical.

## 2.3 Stress

Word stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the root. With the addition of suffixes stress shifts to the resulting penultimate syllable. However, with the addition of enclitics stress does not shift to the right. Each vowel counts as the nucleus of a separate syllable.

- (7) ['keni-a] 'carry me' (pronominal enclitic)  
 [ke'ni-a] 'baggage' (carried things)/(nominal suffix)
- (8) ['luna-na] 'its hole for handle' (3sg enclitic)  
 [lu'nana] 'k.o. tree'

Although each vowel is a syllable nucleus and stress falls on the penultimate vowel, there is a blurring that occurs under certain phonotactic conditions. When two vowels occur sequentially in the penultimate and antepenultimate syllables, and the second vowel of which is phonetically higher than the first, the two vowels act as a unit for stress placement (like a unitary diphthong).<sup>1</sup>

- (9) ['paiβa] 'feeding trough'  
 ['pae-a] 'there is rice' (-a is a verbal suffix)  
 ['daeo?] 'grave'

## 3. Morphology

Uma has a morphological system that can be described in terms of Actor-focus and Goal-focus (Object-focus). Because of the alignment of its topic

1. The stress placement is phonetically ambiguous in these conditions.

and non-topic pronominal system, however, Uma can also be described as a morphologically ergative language (see Martens 1988e). Unlike other Kaili languages (see CAD introduction for Da'a), Uma does not have a morphological realis-irrealis distinction marked on the verbs.

Free pronouns are used less frequently than the sets of clitics. When free pronouns are used, they either 1) indicate emphasis or pragmatic prominence, 2) highlight a contrast between one referent and another, or signal an apposition, 3) signal a shift in the story line back to the main character, or 4) function as the object of simple prepositions.

Table 3. Pronominal systems in Uma

	Free pronouns	Absolutive enclitics	Ergative proclitics	Genitive enclitics
1sg	<i>aku?</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2sg	<i>iko</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>nu-</i>	<i>-nu</i> <sup>1</sup>
3sg	<i>hi?a</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-na</i>
1pl excl <sup>2</sup>	<i>kai?</i>	<i>-kai</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-kai</i>
1pl incl	<i>kita?</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2pl <sup>3</sup>	<i>koi?</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>-ni</i>
3pl	<i>hira?</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>ra-</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>-ra</i>

Absolutive enclitics are used to mark the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. Absolutive enclitics are the unmarked set and do not necessarily highlight anything pragmatically. They tend to signal given information in the discourse. The absolutive enclitic is the syntactic pivot of the clause.

Ergative proclitics mark the actor of a transitive verb when that actor is non-topic (Goal Focus). Ergative proclitics are obligatory in Goal Focus constructions and are, by definition, non-topic.

Actor-focus and Goal-focus constructions are distinguished morphologically. Actor-focus constructions have the verbal prefix *<sup>m</sup>po-* (*N-po-*) or *mō-*. Goal-focus is, by contrast, unmarked (except by use of the ergative enclitic), and can be considered the normal construction for transitive verbs. The Goal-focus construction is used for simple declarative

1. In the Tobaku, Tolee' and Winatu dialects of Uma 2sg genitive is *-mu*.

2. In the Tolee' and Winatu dialects the 1pl excl forms are *kami?*, *-kami*, *ki-*, and *-kami*.

3. In the Tolee' and Winatu dialects the 2pl forms are *komi?*, *-komi*, *ni-*, and *-mi*.

4. The *ra-* may also be used as an impersonal passive.

verbs as the backbone of a narrative. Actor-focus constructions, on the other hand, tend to be found in relative clauses, in complements of auxiliary verbs, or as non-initial verbs in a string.

Additional affixes are listed below. The list is not exhaustive. Discussion may be found in Martens (1988c).

(10) <i>mo-/ma-</i>	Intransitive (on verbs)
<i>me-</i>	Intransitive (action associated with noun)/ Detransitivises transitive roots
<i>te-</i>	Non-volitional (agentless passive)
<i>pe</i>	Causative
<i>po-/pa-/pe-</i>	Transitive derivational
<i>pe-</i>	Attemptive 'test out, try to do'
<i>me-</i>	Reciprocal
<i>N-</i>	Agentive
<i>ka-</i>	Affected (by the action or state of verb)
<i>ka--GEN</i>	Dependent verb/deverbal noun
<i>po--GEN</i>	Dependent verb (INTRANS)/deverbal noun
<i>li-</i>	Reflexive
<i>haN-</i>	Singular occurrence of ROOT
(11) <i>-i/-hi</i>	Locative
<i>-a</i>	Qualitative/existential 'to be characterised by the presence of ROOT'

#### 4. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic processes in Uma are of three types: a) involving vowel harmony and ordering changes in clitics, b) prenasalisation caused by prefixing, and c) movement of final glottals with suffixation.

##### 4.1 Vowel harmony and ordering changes in clitics

There are several verbal enclitics which interact with other morphemes triggering vowel harmony and ordering changes. The *perfective -mi* signals completed action. With a stative verb *-mi* indicates a change of state. With imperatives *-mi* strengthens the command. The *continuative -pi* signals a continuation or additive meaning 'still, more', and carries some of the load of the irrealis found in related languages. With a negative *-pi* means 'not any

more, no longer'. With a conditional *-pi* means 'if, when'. In procedural discourse *-pi* marks continuing head-tail linkages. The *contrastive -di* sets off alternatives, contrastive assertions, or contra-expectations and can often be translated 'in fact/actually/but rather'. The *benefactive -ki* encodes datives, benefactives or sometimes other oblique case roles.

**Table 4.** Morphophonemic changes of pronominal clitics with verbal enclitics

	Perfective- <i>MI</i>	Continuative- <i>PI</i>	Contrastive- <i>DI</i>	Benefactive- <i>KI</i>
1sg <sup>1</sup>	<i>tumai-a-ma</i> I came	<i>ane tumai-a-pa</i> If I (still) come	<i>tumai-a-da</i> I did come!	<i>na-wai<sup>?</sup>-ka</i> He gave [it] to me
2sg	<i>tumai-mo-ko</i> You came	<i>ane tumai-po-ko</i> If you (still) come	<i>tumai-da-ko</i> You did come!	<i>na-wai<sup>?</sup>-ko-ko</i> He gave [it] to you
3sg	<i>tumai-i-mi</i> He/she came	<i>ane tumai-i-pi</i> If he/she comes	<i>tumai-i-di</i> She in fact came!	<i>na-wai<sup>?</sup>-ki</i> He gave [it] to her
1pl excl	<i>tumai-ma-kai</i> We(excl) came	<i>ane tumai-pa-kai</i> If we(excl) come	<i>tumai-da-kai</i> We(excl) did come!	<i>na-wai<sup>?</sup>-ka-kai</i> He gave [it] to us
1pl incl	<i>tumai-ta-mo</i> We(incl) came	<i>ane tumai-ta-pa</i> If we(incl) come	<i>tumai-ta-da</i> We(incl) did come!	<i>na-wai<sup>?</sup>-ta-ka</i> He gave [it] to us
2pl	<i>tumai-mo-koi</i> You(pl) came	<i>ane tumai-po-koi</i> If you(pl) come	<i>tumai-da-koi</i> You(pl) did come!	<i>na-wai<sup>?</sup>-ko-koi</i> He gave [it] to you
3pl	<i>tumai-ra-mo</i> They came	<i>ane tumai-ra-pa</i> If they (still) come	<i>tumai-ra-da</i> They did come!	<i>na-wai<sup>?</sup>-ra-ka</i> He gave it to them

## 4.2 Prenasalisation caused by prefixing

There is homorganic nasal accretion before roots beginning with voiceless stops /p t k/.

(12) <i>haN-</i> + <i>pua<sup>?</sup></i>	>	<i>ha<sup>m</sup>pua<sup>?</sup></i>	'a piece'
<i>haN-</i> + <i>toŋo<sup>?</sup></i>	>	<i>ha<sup>n</sup>toŋo<sup>?</sup></i>	'a half'
<i>haN-</i> + <i>ke<sup>?</sup>di<sup>?</sup></i>	>	<i>ha<sup>ŋ</sup>ke<sup>?</sup>di<sup>?</sup></i>	'a little'

There is homorganic nasal substitution before roots beginning with voiced stops /b d g/.

1. Pronominal forms have dialectal variants as described in the notes to table 3.



- (13) *haN-* + *buli* > *hamuli* 'a bunch (of fruit)'  
*haN-* + *dopo* > *hanopo* 'a fathom'

There is laminal prenasal substitution before roots beginning with voiceless fricatives /s h/.

- (14) *haN-* + *hoʔi* > *ha<sup>h̃</sup>čoʔi* 'a bunch/hand (of bananas)'  
*meN-* + *suaʔ* > *me<sup>h̃</sup>čuaʔ* 'to visit'

Before roots beginning with other consonants the nasal element is lost. However, with a few roots beginning with /r/ there is homorganic nasal substitution.

- (15) *raʔa* 'branch'  
*haN-* + *raʔa* > *hanaʔa* 'a branch'

#### 4.3 Movement of final glottals

When suffixes /-i/ or /-a/ are added to roots ending in a glottal /ʔ/, the glottal shifts to the end of the word (following the suffix).

- (16) *ʃilaʔ* 'tongue' + *-i* > *ʃila-iʔ* 'to lick'  
*bereʔ* 'to appear' + *pe--a* > *pe-bere-aʔ* 'place of appearing'

#### 5. Notes on orthography

Table 5. Orthographic conventions for Uma.

Other orthographies	CAD
'	ʔ
<i>j</i>	ʃ
<i>mp</i>	<sup>m</sup> p
<i>nt</i>	<sup>n</sup> t
<i>nc</i>	<sup>h̃</sup> ç
<i>ngk</i>	<sup>ŋ</sup> k
<i>v/w</i>	β
<i>ny</i>	<sup>h̃</sup> n
<i>ng</i>	ŋ

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## 29. Bugis

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction:	<i>Husen Abas – Charles E. Grimes</i>
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Wordlist:	<i>Husen Abas</i>
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### 1. Introduction

Bugis is spoken by some 3,600,000 people scattered throughout insular southeast Asia. Approximately 3,100,000 Bugis live in their homeland in South Sulawesi and in most large towns and cities throughout Sulawesi. Large enclaves are also found in Kalimantan, Sabah, Singapore, Surabaya, east Sumatra, and Irian Jaya. The Bugis dominate the lowland areas of South Sulawesi, carrying out extensive wet rice cultivation. At the same time, the Bugis are renowned as seafarers and as boat-builders. The Bugis have had periods of their history in which they dominated not only their immediate region, but also in which their princedoms fought with and related to far-flung sultanates and empires. Thus, not only have the Bugis people had extensive contact with other languages in certain speech domains, but the Bugis language has also been a source of lexical borrowing for many languages throughout the Indonesian archipelago, not just for languages on Sulawesi.

“Bugis” itself is a cover term referring to a semi-cohesive set of princedoms speaking a broad range of speech varieties that differ in historical sound correspondences (e.g. PAN \**b* > /b/ ~ /w/), phonetics, morphological variation, and lexicon. The speech varieties of Bugis are generally assumed to be intelligible either directly with each other, or with an intermediate variety, but more study is clearly needed. Friberg – Friberg (1988) identify the following major dialects of Bugis (with alternate names and subdialects in parentheses): *Bone* (Palakka, Dua Boccoe, Mare), *Pangkep* (Pangkajene), *Camba*, *Sidrap* (Sidenrang, Rappang, Pinrang Utara, Alitta), *Sinjai* (Enna, Palattae, Bulukumba), *Soppeng* (Kessi), *Wajo*, *Barru* (Pare-pare, Nepo, Soppeng Riaja, Tompo, Tanete), *Sawitto* (Pinrang), *Luwu* (Luwu’, Bua Ponrang, Wara, Malangke-Ussu), *Pasangkayu* (Ugi Riawa). *Sawitto* may be divergent enough to be considered a separate language.

*Pangkep* is a dialect area in which Bugis-speaking villages are checker-boarded between Makassar-speaking villages with their separate identities

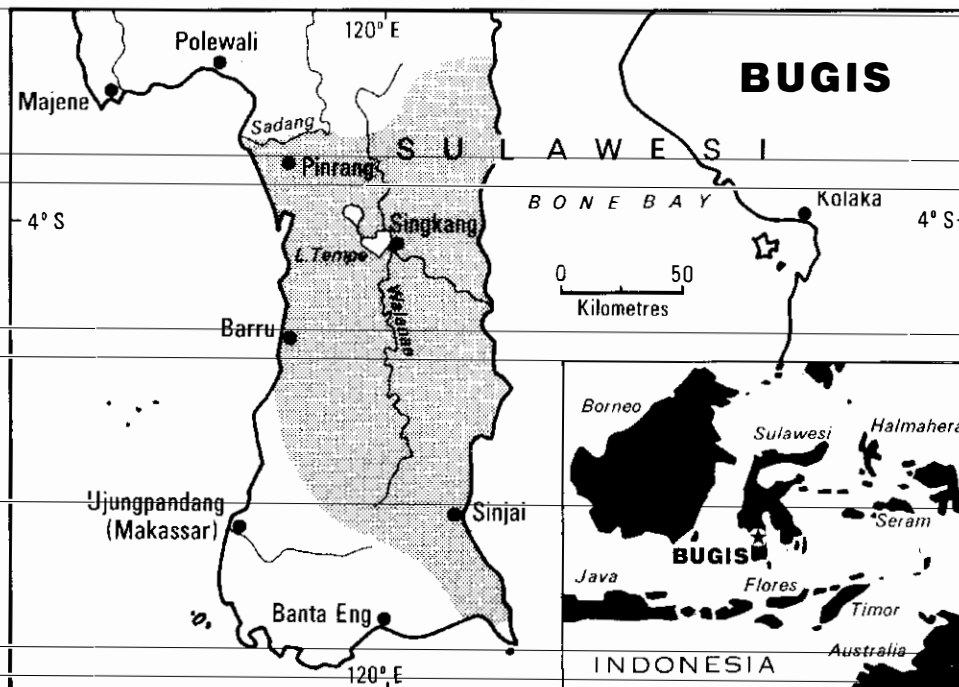
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intact. A popular view holds that there is cultural convergence between Bugis and Makassar, and the literature often assumes there is a “close” linguistic relationship between the two languages, but such an assumption is erroneous (Grimes – Grimes 1987). Several neighbouring languages, such as the Masenrempulu languages, are often incorrectly grouped with Bugis, but that is because of religious, rather than linguistic, criteria; the Muslim speakers of Masenrempulu languages tend to identify with the Muslim Bugis in contrast to the Christian Sa'dan Toraja to the north.

This present description and the data in the wordlist reflect primarily the *Bone* dialect of Bugis, of which Husen Abas is a native speaker.

A growing body of literature is becoming available on Bugis culture, history, demography and language. The cornerstone of Bugis studies are the works of B.F. Matthes. His dictionary (1874b, 1889) and grammar (1875) are among the earliest works of significance on Sulawesi languages. In addition, he published several volumes of Bugis texts and chronicles (1864-1872, 1900) and translated materials (1874a) in the distinctive *lontara* syllabary script used for the Bugis, Makassar, and Mandar languages. Matthes produced many other works on Bugis in addition to those cited above, as well as extensive materials on Makassar and other languages of South Sulawesi.



Map 29. Bugis language area

Of more recent interest related to the Bugis language are a collection of annotated romanised texts by Noorduyn (1955), a generative grammar of the Rappang [Sidrap] dialect by Samsuri (1965), a comparative study of South Sulawesi languages including a sketch of Bugis phonology and morphology by Mills (1975), a dictionary by Ide Said (1977), a study of verb valence and valence-changing devices of the Soppeng dialect by Kaseng (1982), a study of reduplication in Bugis by Kaseng (1983), and a description based on written Bugis by Sirk (1983). Other comparative works of importance to understanding Bugis include a discussion of the morphophonemics of genitive enclitics by Sirk (1988) and notions of ergativity reflected in the verb morphology by B. Friberg (1991).

## 2. Summary of the phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

In addition to the consonants listed below, /f/ and /x/ are found in loan words, with alternate pronunciations of [p] and [h], respectively. Apical /t/ is phonetically dental. Other apical consonants are alveolar. Trill /r/ tends to become a flap or tap intervocally. Laminals /č/ and /ǰ/ are phonetically alveo-palatal affricates. Lateral /l/ varies in quality from light to dark, with dark /l/ following central or back vowels and light /l/ following front vowels. Semivowels /w/ and /y/ are non-syllabic.

Table 1. Bugis consonants

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

All consonants except /ʔ/ occur syllable initially, but in word final position only /ʔ/ and /ŋ/ are found for words that end in a consonant.<sup>1</sup> Clusters of various types occur. Closed syllable structure (C)V(C) with final /ŋ/ and /ʔ/ allows geminate consonants to be analysed as sequences of consonants rather than as a separate consonant grade. All consonants may be geminated except glottals /ʔ h/. Geminate consonants are phonetically longer than a single consonant. Thus /pp/ is a stop held longer than /p/, /rr/ is a trill of longer duration, /ŋŋ/ is a nasal of longer duration, and so forth. As a generalisation, root internal geminate consonants tend to be found only following a stressed vowel. However, single consonants and homorganic nasal-consonant clusters are encountered in the same position. Gemination also occurs as the result of certain morpheme combinations discussed briefly below.

Clusters of /ʔ/ followed by other consonants except /y ŋ/ occur, but this pattern may reflect dialectal and ideolectal alternate pronunciations to geminate consonants. In some dialects glottal followed by a voiced stop is articulated as a light implosive.

A third type of consonant cluster is homorganic nasal + stop or /r/. The sequence /nr/ is phonetically [ndr̥].

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Bugis vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

High vowels /i/ /ɨ/ and /u/ lower to their respective lax allophones [ɪ] [ɨ] and [ʊ] in syllables closed by consonants other than nasals.

Each vowel forms a syllable nucleus. Thus vowel sequences indicate two (or more) syllables. Non-phonemic [w] and [y] may occur as epenthetic glides between non-geminate vowel sequences within morphemes, with [w] following back vowels and [y] following front vowels.

1. Except for final /l r s/ posited for underlying forms which trigger an extrametrical echo vowel followed by a glottal stop, discussed below.

The phonetic range of /i/ varies dialectally in height of articulation between [i] and [a]. Vowel height of /i/ tends to be high between sibilants, but its basic quality depends on both the region of origin of the speaker and the individual speaker. The phonemic status of /i/ is slightly problematic. /i/ does not occur in vowel sequences, nor does it occur in final open syllables. /i/ can be shown to derive historically from several different historical sources. /i/ has variants in some Bugis dialects as [a].

- (1) *bai?* ~ *bara?* ‘west’  
*ali?* ~ *ala?* ‘forest’

### 2.3 Stress

Bugis words are generally stressed on the penultimate syllable. Stress is prototypically indicated by a slight rise in pitch and slight lengthening of the vowel of stressed open syllables.

The addition of phonological suffixes such as the genitive enclitics<sup>1</sup>, the verbal *-iŋ*, or, following vowel-final roots, the proximal deictic *-e* and the locative *-i* all cause stress to shift to the right to fall on the newly formed penultimate syllable. Affixed words are not indicated for stress shift in the wordlist.

In loans ending in /s l r/ an echo vowel is added followed by a glottal. The echo *-V?* is extrametrical and thus does not shift the stress from the penultimate syllable of the underlying root, giving the appearance of antepenultimate stress. This analysis posits underlying roots ending in /s l r/ that trigger the echo *-V?*.<sup>2</sup>

(2) Echo vowels

['kambara?]	←	/kambar/	‘twins’
['kappala?]	←	/kappal/	‘ship’ (loan via Malay?)
['bimbala?]	←	/bimbal/	‘sheep’
['mimbara?]	←	/mimbar/	‘altar, pulpit’ (Arabic)
['dassere?]	←	/dasser/	‘guess’
['sehere?]	←	/seher/	‘magic, witchcraft’ (Arabic)
['čaŋkiri?]	←	/čaŋkir/	‘cup’ (loan via Malay)
['pikkiri?]	←	/pikkir/	‘think’ (Arabic)

1. The genitive enclitics are phonologically suffixes, but grammatically phrase-level enclitics.
2. Mills (1975: 54) attributes *all* Bugis words that exhibit an echo vowel to influence from or via the Makassar language.



['boñčisiʔ]	←	/boñčis/	'bean' (loan via Malay)
['dottoroʔ]	←	/dottor/	'physician' (Dutch?)
['aŋgoroʔ]	←	/aŋgor/	'grape, wine' (loan via Malay)
['komporoʔ]	←	/kompor/	'stove' (Dutch)
['ukkuruʔ]	←	/ukkur/	'measure' (Arabic)
['umuruʔ]	←	/umur/	'age' (Arabic)
['pausuʔ]	←	/paus/	'whale'
['kubburuʔ]	←	/kubbur/	'grave' (Arabic)

### 3. Notes on morphology and morphophonemics

Personal deixis in Bugis is complex with extensive use of honorifics and kin terms in addition to or in place of personal pronouns. First person plural inclusive forms are commonly used as an honorific 2sg.

Free pronouns may occur as subject, object, or object of a preposition. However, the free pronouns normally occur in narrative text for pragmatic prominence, such as in topicalisation constructions or for contrastive emphasis. Participant tracking in discourse is normally born by the use of subject and object affixes on the verb complex. Bugis can be characterised as split-ergative, with the ergative prefixes indexing the actor of transitive verbs, while the absolutive suffixes index the subject of intransitive verbs and the undegoer of transitive verbs. The syntax reflects an accusative system.<sup>1</sup> [2 hon = 2 (honorific); 2 fam = 2 (familiar)].

*Table 3. Personal deixis in Bugis*

	Free pronouns		Ergative	Absolutive	Genitive
	singular	plural	prefixes	suffixes	enclitics
1sg	<i>iyyaʔ</i>		<i>u-</i>	<i>-kaʔ</i>	<i>-ku</i>
1pl/2hon		<i>idiʔ-maniŋ</i>	<i>ki-/ta-</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2fam	<i>iko</i>	<i>ikoʔ-maniŋ</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>-o/-ko</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3	<i>alena/iyya</i>	<i>alena-maniŋ</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-na</i>

1. See B. Friberg (1991) for more discussion. The sentence examples below the chart are from her article.



Table 4. Bugis verbal affixes

<i>maN-</i> <sup>1</sup>	Active transitive, actor focus [AF]; usually with transitive verbs or verbs of variable transitivity; does not co-occur with ergative (Undergoer) prefixes.
<i>aN-</i>	Active intransitive.
<i>maR-</i>	With noun root = 'have ROOT'; With active verb roots = 'do ROOT (intransitively)/ (habitually)'
<i>ke-</i>	With noun roots = 'have ROOT' (often interchangeable with <i>maR-</i> ).
<i>ri-</i> <sup>2</sup>	Passive voice, goal focus; agentless passive; agentive passive with NP (non-pronominal agent); may cooccur with other prefixes.
<i>taR-</i> <sup>3</sup>	Involuntary, spontaneous, accidental passive.
<i>pa-</i> <sup>4</sup>	Causative (active, agentive); permissive.
<i>si-</i>	Reciprocal; simultaneous.
<i>ma-</i>	Non-active stative BE (subject of predicate is Undergoer).
<i>ka-</i>	Stative CAUSE BECOME (often with active verb roots)
<i>-(C)i</i> <sup>5</sup>	Locative role repackager (prototypically makes Goal behave as core argument); result is transitive; iterative.
<i>-(C)ij</i>	Non-locative role repackager (repackages which arguments are core); often encodes benefactive/instrumental; resulting construction is transitive.

Combinations of verbal affixes are common (e.g. *appa-* /*aN-pa-*/, *ri-pa-si-*, *riassi-* /*ri-aN-si-*/, *ripataR-* /*ri-pa-taR-*/, *-ij* /*-i-ij*/, etc.). Complex prefixes combined with suffixes are also common (see Kaseng 1982).

Some affixes occur with low enough frequency that they are considered frozen, such as the infix *-in-* 'nominaliser (noun resulting from verb/noun undergoing action of verb)' or another type of stative *ba-*.

1. A few examples reflect an alternate *meN-* (e.g. *me-čawa* 'laugh'), while others reflect a reduced *m-* (e.g. *m-anre* 'eat', *m-inuŋ* 'drink').
2. The Sidrap dialect uses *i-*.
3. With variants *čaR-* and *tiN-* (e.g. *čak-karu?du?* 'sleepy').
4. With low frequency variants *pe-* and possibly *po-*.
5. In a few cases an epenthetic consonant /-k- -s- -r-/ surfaces when suffixes *-(C)i* or *-(C)ij* attach to glottal-final roots. Sometimes the epenthetic consonant reflects a historical consonant (e.g. *nipi?* 'thin', *man-nipi-si* 'make s.th. thin' [see PMP \**nipis* 'thin']). However, several roots can show up in different morphological combinations with alternate consonants /-k- -s- -r-/ surfacing with the same root.

Table 5. Bugis nominal affixation

<i>pa(R)-</i>	1) agent who normally does ROOT or uses ROOT; 2) instrument used to do ROOT; 3) deverbal noun characterising or resulting from ROOT.
<i>si-</i>	One of; singular occurrence of.
<i>-aŋ</i>	1) object or instrument commonly used to do ROOT; 2) location commonly associated with doing ROOT; 3) abstract noun characterising ROOT.
<i>a-ROOT-iŋ</i>	Abstract noun reflecting process, source, result, or location of verbal ROOT.
<i>pa(R)-ROOT-aŋ</i>	Abstract noun reflecting state, goal, or location of verbal ROOT.

### 3.2 Common morphophonemic processes

Morphophonemic /...N-/ /...R-/ and final /ŋ/ or /ʔ/ trigger several processes at morpheme boundaries and across word boundaries within the clause.

/...N-/ /...R-/ or /ŋ ʔ/ followed by voiceless stops, nasals, /s r l y/ assimilate to the following consonant, resulting in a geminate consonant:

(8) <i>mattunu</i>	←	/maN-tunu/	‘burn s.th., bake s.th.’
<i>attunuŋ</i>	←	/aN-tunu-aŋ/	‘oven’
<i>mappidde</i>	←	/maN-pidde/	‘extinguish (fire)’
<i>mallimmiʔ</i>	←	/maN-limmiʔ/ <sup>1</sup>	‘bury (the dead)’
<i>pakkampiʔ</i>	←	/paR-kampiʔ	‘herdsman, goatherd’
<i>aññawaŋ</i>	←	/aN-ñawa-aŋ/	‘lung’
<i>massiriŋ</i>	←	/maN-siriŋ/	‘sweep’
<i>tassolla</i>	←	/taR-solla/	‘slide, slip’

/...N-/ /...R-/ or /ŋ ʔ/ followed by voiced stops become geminate voiced stops, with alternate pronunciations of glottal + voiced stop or light implosive:<sup>2</sup>

1. The *maN-* prefix clearly contrasts with the stative *ma-*, cf. *ma-lisi* ‘strong’.
2. Initial /w/ behaves morphophonemically as if it were a /b/, resulting in [bb] or [ʔb]. Bugis initial /w/ derives from \*b.

(9)	<i>majjimmu?</i>	←	/maN-ʃimmu?/	‘knead’
	<i>aggiliŋiŋ</i>	←	/aN-giliŋ-iŋ/	‘mill’
	<i>pajjai?</i>	←	/paR-ʃai?/	‘tailor’

/...N-/ followed by a vowel becomes /k/ or /ŋ/ followed by that vowel. The consonant is sometimes geminated:

(10)	<i>maŋŋaniŋ</i>	←	/maN-aniŋ/	‘weave’
	<i>maŋemboŋ</i>	←	/maN-emboŋ/	‘shake’
	<i>makkiriŋ</i>	←	/maN-inriŋ/	‘owe’

/...R-/ followed by a vowel becomes /r/ or /rr/ followed by that vowel:

(11)	<i>marakka?</i>	←	/maR-akka?/	‘raise, lift’
	<i>marala</i>	←	/maR-ala/	‘get, obtain’

Morphological combinations of *e + e* and *i + i* trigger *w*-insertion:<sup>1</sup>

(12)	<i>utudaŋŋiwi</i>		<i>kaderaewe.</i>
	u-	tudaŋ-Ci -i	kadera-e -e
	1sgERG-sit	-LOC-3ABS	seat -ART-DISTAL
	‘I’m sitting on that chair.’		

Under some conditions that morphologically yield a sequence of vowels *V + V*, the first vowel is deleted.

The behaviour of the genitive enclitics deserves mention. Sirk (1988) discusses this in more detail. Final dorsal /ŋ/ or glottal /ʔ/ assimilate to the consonant of the genitive enclitic:

(13)	<i>jaruŋ</i>	‘needle’	
	<i>jarukku</i>	‘needle-1sgPOSS’	← /ʃaruŋ-ku/

Following vowels, however, two patterns emerge. Following mid vowels /e o/, and sometimes /a/, no gemination is triggered:<sup>2</sup>

(14)	<i>bua-na</i>	‘fruit-3sgPOSS’	<	<i>*buaq</i>
	<i>dara-mu</i>	‘blood-2fPOSS’	<	<i>*daRaqa</i>

Following high vowels /i u/ and other final /a/ morphemes, gemination of the consonant of the genitive enclitic is triggered:

1. Example from Friberg (1991).

2. Sirk points out that Bugis /e/ derives from the historical combinations of Pre-South Sulawesi *\*-iq* and *\*-ay*, /o/ from *\*-uq* and *\*-aw*, and the /a/-final roots that do not trigger gemination derive from *\*-aq*.

(15) <i>lima-mmu</i>	‘hand-2fPOSS’
<i>mata-nna</i>	‘eye-3sgPOSS’
<i>ulu-kku</i>	‘head-1sgPOSS’

### 3.3 Reduplication

Reduplication in Bugis is pervasive. The forms and functions of reduplication are far too numerous and complex to summarise here. The interested reader is referred to Kaseng (1983) and other sources.

### 4. Notes on orthography

The variety of orthographies for Bugis are almost as numerous as the sources on the language. Several problems mitigate against easy solutions for a “standard” orthography for Bugis. Firstly, the dialects are numerous and both phonetically and lexically diverse. Secondly, even for speakers of the same dialect there are disagreements as to how such things as geminate consonants should be indicated. For example, /VCCV/ has been written: *v cv*, *vccv*, *vvcv*, *v'cv*, *vCv*, *vchv*, and possibly other ways as well. Another area that triggers various creative solutions is whether to maintain morpheme recognition or to follow the surface form. The vowel /i/ has occasioned a variety of solutions, including a variety of diacritics over different vowels. Orthography problems are further compounded by features such as gemination which are sometimes hard to distinguish and are written inconsistently across sources.

Most Bugis material, even today, is written in the *Lontara* syllabary. This syllabary, while yielding a wealth of written material in the Bugis language going back several centuries, nevertheless underdifferentiates several important phonological aspects of the language. For example, the *lontara* is principled around open syllable structure and is thus inadequate for indicating final /ʔ/ or /ŋ/, or for mapping geminate consonants. Only four nasal-consonant clusters (open syllable NCV) are accounted for. /a/ is the unmarked vowel, with other vowels (including /i/) indicated by diacritics above or below the graph. Studies of the phonology and morphology of Bugis based primarily on texts written in *lontara* rather than on spoken Bugis are fraught with pitfalls.

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## 30. Konjo

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**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist: *Timothy Friberg*

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### 1. Introduction

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Konjo is spoken by some 200,000 people living in South Sulawesi. It lies between the dominant Bugis and Makassar languages, and has frequently been called a dialect of Makassar, primarily for socio-political reasons. Konjo shares a number of features with both Bugis and Makassar, but as a member of the Makassar chain of languages (Grimes – Grimes 1987), it is more closely related to Makassar and Selayar than to Bugis, which latter is not a member of the Makassar chain. Konjo and Makassar are end points of a dialect chain, separated lexico-statistically at about 70%.

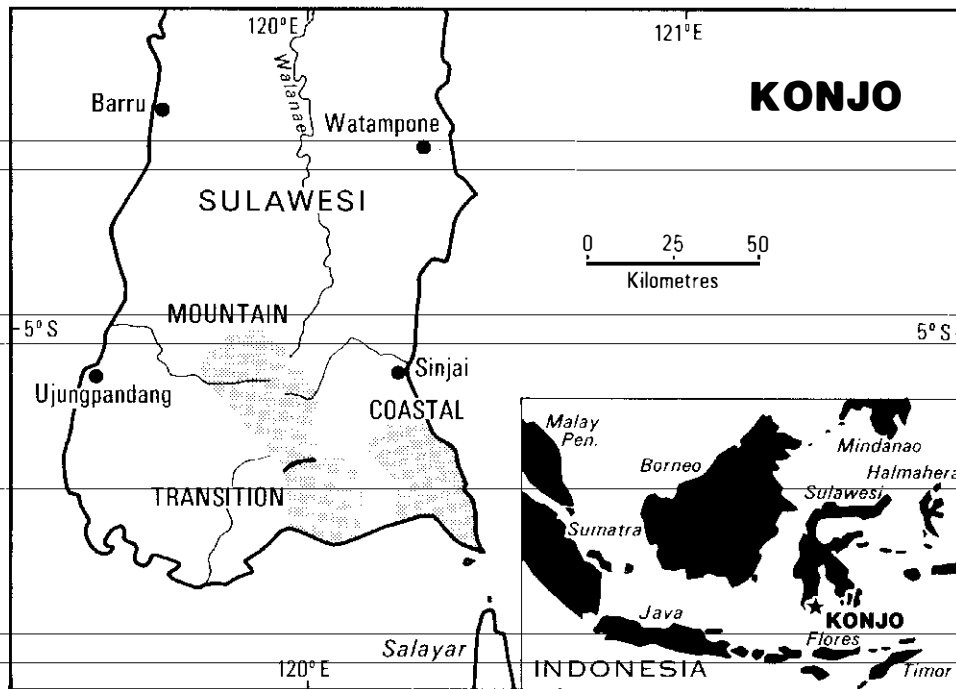
Within Konjo there are two major speech varieties, here termed Mountain Konjo and Coastal Konjo (after Grimes – Grimes 1987). In terms of intelligibility and lexicostatistics (75%), they should be considered separate languages. There is minimal chaining between them. However, their phonologies are nearly identical. With only minor morphophonemic, morphological and syntactic differences, the factor which makes them distinct is their vocabularies.

This description reflects the Coastal Konjo language situation. The Coastal Konjo number about 125,000 and live mainly in the four east-coastal subdistricts of Bulukumba district. Coastal Konjo is itself a dialect chain running north and south. The changes are small between adjacent communities. The whole chain represents a divergence of perhaps 10-15%. The most marked differences are at the northern and southern extremes. At the northern end lies the culturally distinct Tana Toa area. It is not certain whether the differences are due to influence of the Bugis language or that they are, as they claim to be, the original Konjo who have refused to have much to do with outside influences. In the south the Ara and Bira areas are distinct, showing an increasing affinity with insular Selayar to the south. Fishing and boating are an integral part of the lives of the people in Ara and Bira and thus there is much contact with nearby islands. Again, the differences noted are largely lexical. The field work giving rise to these

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notes was carried out in the twin villages of Jannaya and Kalimporo in Kajang subdistrict. Just to the northwest lies Tana Toa.



Map 30. Konjo language area

## 2. Summary of the phonology

### 2.1 Stress

Konjo words are generally stressed on the penultimate syllable. Exceptions to this rule are marked for stress in the wordlist. Suffixes /-aŋ, -na, -i/ etc. cause the stress to shift to the right. Affixed words are not indicated for stress shift in the wordlist.

In underlying forms /r l s/ are posited as syllable-final or word-final consonants. Stress is applied in a regular manner, so that all words receive penultimate stress, then later an echo vowel (a copy of the vowel preceding the final /r l s/) is added. Recognising the underlying final consonant yields a closed syllable. This also allows the clear presentation of geminate consonants as two phonemes rather than one (as has been posited by others in previous attempts at analysing Makassar and Bugis). The syllable structure is thus straightforward (C)V(C).

(1) Echo vowels

['təllasa]	<	/tallas/	‘to live, be alive’
['gunturu]	<	/guntur/	‘thunder’
['kəppala]	<	/kappal/	‘ship’

2.2 Inventory of consonants

Table 1. Konjo consonants

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives				<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>			

Apical /t/ is phonetically dental. Other apical consonants are alveolar. Laminals /č/ and /ǰ/ are phonetically alveopalatal affricates. The sequence /nr/ is phonetically [ndr̥]. Geminate consonants are phonemically sequences of consonants and phonetically longer than a single consonant. Thus /rr/ is a trill of longer duration, /tt/ is a stop of longer duration, and so forth.

All consonants except /ʔ/ occur syllable-initially, but in syllable-final and word-final position only /r̥/ and /ŋ/ are found (with the exception of /s r l/ described above which trigger an echo vowel).

The semivowel /w/ does not occur. /w/ is represented in correspondence sets with related languages by /h/ and /b/.

(2)	Makassar	/bawi/	‘pig’	<	PMP *babuy	‘pig’
	Konjo	/bahi/	‘pig’			
(3)	Makassar	/bawa/	‘mouth’	<	PMP *baqbaq	‘mouth’
	Konjo	/baba/	‘mouth’			

[y] arises only by epenthesis at morpheme boundaries. What is /y/ in other languages is usually borrowed into the Konjo language as /ǰ/ and a putative proto-\*y has become /ǰ/ in Konjo.

- (4) Makassar /kayu/ 'wood' < PAN \*kaSiw 'tree, wood'  
 Konjo /kaʃu/ 'wood' PMP \*kayu

There is variation between /l/ and /n/ in a few words, the latter perhaps being from neighbouring Bugis.

- (5) [ta'lia] ~ [ta'nia] 'not'

There is widespread variation between /č/ and /s/.

- (6) [čidoŋ] ~ [sidoŋ] 'to sit'

Root words of two and three syllables are common. Root words of four or five syllables are not uncommon, e.g., [binsa'lessere] 'a kind of parrot'. Words with derived and inflected affixes may number seven or more syllables.

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Konjo vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

There is phonetic alternation between [a] and [ə], the latter occurring before phonetic geminates. Actually there are three vowel heights for /a/: low, before single consonant segments or nongeminate sequences; raised [â], before voiceless geminates and nonnasal sonorant geminates; and schwa [ə] before nasal geminates. A few nongeminate sequences show a raised vowel, e.g. [lântaŋ] 'deep'. Thus,

- (7) /a/ > [a] ['batu] 'rock' [maka] 'ordinaliser'  
 [â] ['bâttu] 'come from' [nu'mâkkala] 'to laugh'  
 [ə] ['bønne] 'seed rice' [mənŋaŋ] 'weary'

/e/ also has variants, [ɛ] (lax) before nasal-stop sequences and in open syllables, and [e] (tense) elsewhere, even before geminate stops and geminate

nasals. Some free variation has been noted, but has not been mapped either geographically or sociolinguistically.

(8)	['bembɛ]	'goat'	['kɛkɛ]	'to dig'
	['deppa]	'kind of cake'	['kekkeʔ]	'torn'
	['bentɛŋ]	'pillar'	['lɛlɛŋ]	'do repeatedly'

There is some hint of the typical Austronesian /i/ and /e/ as well as /u/ and /o/ variation, but quite minimally.

(9)	['miaʔ]	~	['meaʔ]	'to speak'
	[am'baon]	~	[am'baun]	'to rise'

However, there are also minimal pairs that permit no variation.

(10)	['pao]	'mango'
	['pau]	'to report'

The five vowels may appear in sequence, that is, without an intervening consonant. These are real sequences of vowels and not merely diphthongs. When the stress is on the first vowel of a sequence in root forms, the addition of a stress-changing suffix will shift the stress to the second member of the pair. Sequences of like vowels arising through morpheme concatenation are disallowed by either of two rules, Vowel Degemination or Vowel Glottalisation, both rules maintaining the preferred CV syllable structure. Potential /ei, ou, uo/ sequences might be disallowed because of phonetic nearness; indeed /ie/ is found in only a few root words, and thus the symmetry is nearly complete; an example of this is /rieʔ/ 'to be', a high frequency word.

## 2.4 Underlying and surface forms

The variances in the surface forms of Konjo can best be accounted for by positing underlying forms which differ in a number of respects from the surface forms. A detailed description of the Konjo phonology including the rules to derive the surface forms from their underlying forms is presented in Friberg – Friberg (1989).<sup>1</sup> The details are particularly significant when considering Konjo morphophonemics, as there is extensive assimilation,

1. The morphophonemic processes in Konjo are far more complex than what is summarised below. For a discussion of additional processes and greater detail than is found here the reader is referred to Friberg – Friberg (1989).

nasal gemination, etc., across morpheme boundaries which greatly complicates the surface forms. Some of the morphophonemic processes are summarised here.

### 2.4.1 Nasal /ŋ/

/ŋ/ assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant, that is, to [m n ñ ŋ], both word medially and across morpheme boundaries.

- |      |                   |   |                |                 |
|------|-------------------|---|----------------|-----------------|
| (11) | <i>ambindoeki</i> | < | /aŋ-bindoek-i/ | ‘hang s.th. up’ |
|      | <i>anrui</i>      | < | /aŋ-rui/       | ‘to pull’       |
|      | <i>aŋgentuŋ</i>   | < | /aŋ-gentuŋ/    | ‘hang s.th. up’ |

When followed by a voiceless stop or /s/, the second consonant in the cluster further assimilates to the preceding nasal.<sup>1</sup>

- |      |                  |   |              |             |
|------|------------------|---|--------------|-------------|
| (12) | <i>ammirua?</i>  | < | /aŋ-pirua?/  | ‘to vomit’  |
|      | <i>annettere</i> | < | /aŋ-tettere/ | ‘to shiver’ |
|      | <i>aŋŋokko?</i>  | < | /aŋ-kokko?/  | ‘to bite’   |
|      | <i>añña?riŋ</i>  | < | /aŋ-sa?riŋ/  | ‘wake up’   |

When followed by a root beginning with /l/, the nasal assimilates to the lateral.

- |      |                 |   |             |             |
|------|-----------------|---|-------------|-------------|
| (13) | <i>allappa?</i> | < | /aŋ-lappa?/ | ‘to fold’   |
|      | <i>allañña?</i> | < | /aŋ-lañña?/ | ‘disappear’ |

When followed by a vowel-initial root, there is nasal gemination.

- |      |                |   |           |            |
|------|----------------|---|-----------|------------|
| (14) | <i>aŋŋeraŋ</i> | < | /aŋ-eraŋ/ | ‘to carry’ |
|      | <i>aŋŋalle</i> | < | /aŋ-alle/ | ‘to bring’ |
|      | <i>aŋŋuppa</i> | < | /aŋ-uppa/ | ‘to get’   |

When followed by a root beginning with /h/, the transitive prefix /aŋ-/ surfaces as a geminate *amm*-<sup>2</sup>.

- |      |                   |   |               |           |
|------|-------------------|---|---------------|-----------|
| (15) | <i>ammuno</i>     | < | /aŋ-huno/     | ‘to kill’ |
|      | <i>ammunŋkara</i> | < | /aŋ-hunŋkara/ | ‘untie’   |

1. This pattern is followed by the transitive indefinite usage of the prefix /aŋ-/. For the transitive definite usage of /aŋ-/the following consonant does not assimilate to the nasal (see Friberg – Friberg 1989, for details).

2. It was noted earlier that /h/reflects a historical \*b. Thus, having the nasal of the prefix surface as a labial is not as unusual as it might first seem.

### 2.4.2 Glottal /ʔ/

Glottal /ʔ/ assimilates to the point of articulation of following consonants.<sup>1</sup>

(16)	[atlaulau]	<	/aʔ-lau-lau/	‘yawn’
	[ačñaha]	<	/aʔ-ñaha/	‘breathe’
	[akŋoroʔ]	<	/aʔ-ŋoroʔ/	‘snore’
	[atdeŋka]	<	/aʔ-deŋka/	‘to pound in a mortar’
	[apbaʃu]	<	/aʔ-baʃu/	‘to put on (clothes)’

Thus the intransitive prefix /aʔ-/ surfaces as a geminate sequence before /p t č k s/.

(17)	<i>assoŋoʔ</i>	<	/aʔ-soŋoʔ/	‘to perspire’
	<i>appeʔru</i>	<	/aʔ-peʔru/	‘to spit’
	<i>attunu</i>	<	/aʔ-tunu/	‘roast’
	<i>akkalloŋ</i>	<	/aʔ-kalloŋ/	‘to choke’

Before a vowel-initial root the intransitive prefix /aʔ-/ surfaces as a geminate sequence *amm*.

(18)	<i>ammore</i>	<	/aʔ-ore/	‘cold (catarrh)’
	<i>ammitiʔ</i>	<	/aʔ-itiʔ/	‘turn around’

### 2.4.3 Doubling of root-final consonants

Root final consonants /ŋ ʔ r l s/ are geminated before derivational suffixes.

## 3. Grammar

Konjo is typical of a number of the languages in Sulawesi. VSO is its basic word order, with much variation from that order due to fronting of whatever is in focus in the sentence. The morphology is rich with a number of derivational affixes, clitics and limited inflectional affixes. Although there are clear distinctions between nouns, transitive and intransitive verbs, emotive and other adjectives in their base forms, any of these can freely be extended to nouns or verbs with all the incumbent morphology. The suffix set consists primarily (although other suffixes and clitics are found as well)

1. In the word list intransitive /aʔ-/ is written as *aʔ-* rather than indicating the assimilation to point of articulation. Before /s/ it is written as *as-*.



of a benefactive suffix /-aŋ/ and a transitiviser or locationaliser suffix /-i/, as found in many Austronesian languages.

Free pronouns occur as subject or object and both only when emphasised. It is the verbal affixes that carry the major burden of pronominalisation. Only here is there an ergative system functioning; syntactically Konjo functions as an accusative system. A set of ergative prefixes and absolutive suffixes occur as follows (the possessives are included here for convenience):

*Table 3. Konjo pronominal affixes*

	Ergative	Absolutive	Possessive
1sg	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ku</i>
1pl	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2 hon	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2 fam	<i>nu-</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-nu</i>
3	<i>na-</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-na</i>

There is interesting movement of the absolutive suffixes, along with their preceding aspect markers, to follow whatever is fronted in the sentence. Along with this there is the phenomenon that when the fronted word cannot readily take the absolutive suffix, it forces it to be prefixed to the full verb form as an ergative form. For some examples of the morphology of several languages in South Sulawesi, see B. Friberg (1991).

Adjectival morphology consists mainly of denominal and deverbal derivation. Emotive adjectives are singled out because they demand a different deverbal derivation from other adjectives. Nouns may undergo verb derivation, be possessed and derive to other types of nouns. The complexity rises with the possibility of several levels of derivation. A noun derived from a verb may in turn be verbalised. A possessed verb becomes a kind of gerund or a subordinated temporal clause.

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# 31. Wolio

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Wordlist: <i>J.C. Anceaux</i> – <i>René van den Berg</i>
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## 1. Introduction

Wolio is one of several languages spoken on the islands off south-east Sulawesi. Wolio is spoken primarily on the island of Buton (Butung), the largest of these islands. However, “Buton” is also the generic term used in other parts of the archipelago for all the islands off south-east Sulawesi. People referred to as *orang Buton* ‘Butonese’ are found throughout most parts of coastal Maluku and parts of Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara. They are renowned as seafarers, boat-builders, fishermen, gatherers of *tripang* ‘sea cucumber’ and commercial seashells, and as seafaring merchants, with many old trade items (such as brass gongs) used as items of bridewealth in parts of eastern Indonesia known to be purchased from *prahu Buton* ‘boats from Buton’. Colonies from the Buton region established for many generations are found on the west coast of Irian Jaya, Seram, Sula, Buru, and elsewhere with some communities numbering well over one thousand persons. Regular contact continues to be maintained with the homeland areas with each monsoonal season. People from “Buton” are often acknowledged as the source of know-how and lexical borrowings related to the sea for mountain-oriented cultures such as those found in Buru, Ambon and Seram. The difficulty, however, is that the “Buton” region is by no means homogeneous. Numerous ethno-linguistic groups are captured by the one generic term.

Since at least the 16th century and on through the Dutch era and now in modern times, the port of Baubau on the island of Buton has served as a stopover for ships travelling from both Ternate and Ambon to Makassar. It is in this port area and in surrounding villages that the Wolio language is spoken.

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1. J.C. Anceaux began work on his Wolio contribution to CAD prior to his death in 1988. René van den Berg has not only been able to check the material extracted from Anceaux (1987) with speakers of Wolio, but also has been able to add material not found in Anceaux’s dictionary.
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Although Wolio is the mother tongue of people in only a few villages centred around Baubau in the south-western part of the island of Buton, it was once the official language of the Islamic sultanate of the region seated in Baubau and was apparently also the language of the nobility in the greater “Buton” region where other languages are also spoken. Associated with the old sultanate is a body of traditional literature and poetry in the Wolio language written in an adaptation of the Arabic script with a few manuscripts also known to exist in the Makassar *Lontara* syllabary (Anceaux 1952: 2). Speakers of Wolio number between 25,000 - 35,000.

The languages off south-east Sulawesi are poorly known, with the exception of Wolio (Anceaux 1952, 1987), and more recently Muna (R. van den Berg 1989). A survey of part of the region, with data, is presented in Anceaux (1978). R. van den Berg (1989) gives a brief comparative study of the area with information on previously undocumented languages, and comments that there is much still unknown about the languages in the area. The Dutch language officer in the region from 1936-1941, E.J. van den Berg, was killed during the Second World War and his documents were lost. All that remains are his reports, edited by A. A. Cense (1954).

Esser (1938) classified the languages on the islands off south-east Sulawesi as the “Muna-Buton” group, associating the Buton languages with the nearby Muna language. Esser’s classification has been followed unchallenged by subsequent writers, but the basis for such a genetic subgrouping has not been demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> Neither has there been a satisfactory study on the relationship of the Muna languages and the Buton languages with the Bungku languages of mainland south-east Sulawesi. Wolio itself does not appear to group neatly within either the Muna languages or the Buton languages, but probably groups together with them at a higher level (see Anceaux 1978, R. van den Berg 1989).<sup>2</sup> The apparent divergence may be masked by contact-induced changes due to the role of Wolio as the official language of the sultanate at Baubau having more intense contact with Arabic, Ternate, Makassar, and Bugis than did the surrounding vernacular languages.

1. The position of these languages within Western Malayo-Polynesian is also not clear (assuming WMP can be shown to be a distinct genetic grouping). Are they, as Esser (1938) implies, a first-order subgroup of WMP, or do they group with the languages of south Sulawesi, central Sulawesi and south-east Sulawesi in a “Nuclear Sulawesi” group separate from the Gorontaloic, Minahasan, and Sangiric languages?
2. R. van den Berg (1989: 2) notes, “The position of Wolio, in many respects deviant from the neighbouring languages, is still an open question.”

## 2. Phonology and morphophonemics

### 2.1 Word stress

Words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. With the addition of syllabic suffixes onto the root stress shifts to the right to the newly derived penultimate syllable.

- (1) ['taŋi]            'cry'  
       [taŋi-'aka]      'cry about s.th.'

### 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Table 1. Wolio consonants

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	v	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʝ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Prenasalised stops	v	<i><sup>m</sup>p</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>t</i>	<i><sup>ɲ</sup>ɕ</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>k</i>	
	vd	<i><sup>m</sup>b</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>	<i><sup>ɲ</sup>ʝ</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>w</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Trills			<i>r</i>			

The /w/ is phonetically a lightly fricativised voiced bilabial fricative [β]. The prenasalised stops are considered here as unit phonemes rather than sequences of two phonemes. More will be said on this below.

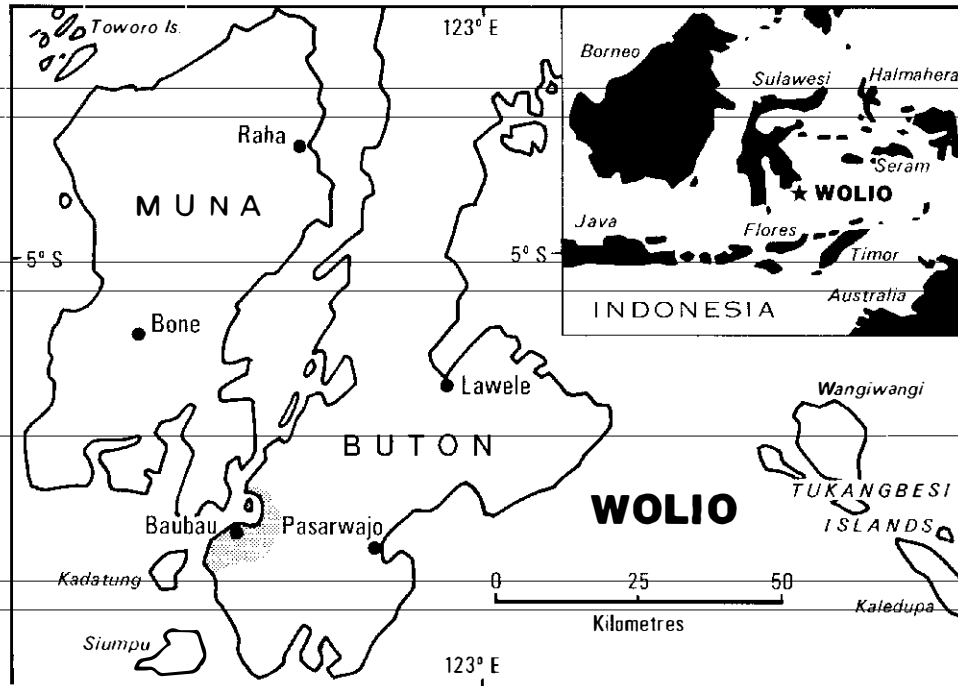
Additional phonemes are found in loan words. Non-implosives /b/ and /d/, and voiceless fricative /f/ are found in loans, mostly of Arabic origin.

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Wolio vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Unambiguous syllable types are CV and V. Thus, in Wolio each vowel forms the nucleus of a syllable. Vowel sequences, which may be of either like or unlike vowels, cross syllable boundaries.



Map 31. Wolio language area.

## 2.4 Behaviour of loan words

In Wolio, final consonants of some loans are lost. More often than not, however, the final consonant is retained and a paragogic vowel is added following the final consonant to maintain the constraint of open syllable structures. A pattern for predicting which vowel will appear is not self-evident. As with loans in Muna (R. van den Berg 1991: 33ff.) Wolio breaks up consonant clusters with the insertion of a vowel.

(2)	<i>koburu</i>	'grave'	[Arabic loan via Malay <i>kubur</i> ]
	<i>wakutuu</i>	'time'	[Arabic loan via Malay <i>waktu</i> ]
	<i>pikiri</i>	'think'	[Arabic loan via Malay <i>fikir/pikir</i> ]
	<i>dafatari</i>	'list'	[loan via Malay <i>daftar</i> ]

### 3. Morphology

Personal deixis in Wolio is indicated by various sets of pronouns and clitics. Free pronouns may be used in topicalisation constructions indexed by pronominal clitics on the verb, or they may be used within the clause proper in place of a subject proclitic. Whether to use a free pronoun or a pronominal proclitic is a factor of the pragmatics of discourse. Free pronouns tend to signal new information in which a participant is being introduced or reintroduced. The use of clitics signals given information in which there is an anaphoric or exophoric referent.

Subject proclitics indicate the preverbal core argument in an active declarative clause. With active verb stems they indicate the subject as Actor.<sup>1</sup> With non-active verb stems they indicate the subject as Undergoer. The set of object clitics indexes the pronominal object of transitive verbs. The set of genitive enclitics indicates possession or close association. In combination with the passive prefix *i-* (promotion of Undergoer, demotion of Actor), the genitive enclitics are used to indicate the Actor.

First person plural (inclusive) forms may be used honorifically for second person singular.

Table 3. Personal deixis in Wolio

	Free pronouns	Subject proclitics	Object clitics	Genitive enclitics
1sg	<i>iaku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-aku</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2sg	<i>i<sup>h</sup>koo</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3sg	<i>i<sup>n</sup>ɕia</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a(-ia/-ca)</i>	<i>-na</i>
1pl excl	<i>i<sup>h</sup>kami</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-kami</i>	<i>-mami</i>
1pl incl	<i>i<sup>h</sup>kita</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>maŋa-</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2pl	<i>i<sup>h</sup>komiu</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-komiu</i>	<i>-miu</i>
3pl	<i>i<sup>n</sup>ɕia</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a(-ia/-ca)</i>	<i>-na</i>

Two verbal suffixes (*-(C)i*, *-(C)aka*) and a nominal suffix (*-(C)a*) occasionally appear with an extra consonant. In general, historical final consonants are lost in Wolio. Some of the final consonants that surface with the addition of these suffixes can be explained as historical retentions.

1. The terms “Actor” and “Undergoer” are used here in the sense of the macro-roles described by Foley – Van Valin (1984).



Many, however, cannot be explained as retentions of historical final consonants. Each lexeme must be indicated in a dictionary with its own derivations.<sup>1</sup>

The suffix *-(C)i* involves a locative or locative goal in the interpretation of the role structure of the verb. The use of *-(C)i* implies a definite referent.

(3)	<i>ko<sup>m</sup>pa</i>	‘climb’ (intransitive)	
	<i>ko<sup>m</sup>pa-si</i>	‘climb s.th.’ (e.g. tree)	
(4)	<i>mai</i>	‘come’	< PMP * <i>maRi</i> ‘come’
	<i>mai-si</i>	‘come to (place)’	
(5)	<i>ʃatu</i>	‘stone (n)’	< PMP * <i>ʃatu</i> ‘stone’
	<i>ʃatu-i</i>	‘stone s.o./s.th.’	
(6)	<i>ma-taʃa</i>	‘be sharp’	< PMP * <i>taZem</i> ‘sharp’
	<i>taʃa-mi</i>	‘sharpen s.th.’	
(7)	<i>aʃa</i>	‘ask’	
	<i>aʃa-ki</i>	‘ask s.o.’	
(8)	<i>taŋi</i>	‘cry’	< PMP * <i>taŋis</i> ‘cry’
	<i>taŋi-si</i>	‘cry over s.o.’	

The suffix *-(C)aka* also requires reinterpreting the role structure of the verb. The suffix repackages the role structure to involve as core arguments such things as a direct object, indirect object, benefactive, or instrumental. The referent indexed by *-(C)aka* is also definite.

(9)	<i>po-tawa</i>	‘laugh’	< PMP * <i>tawa</i> ‘laugh’
	<i>po-tawa-aka</i>	‘laugh at s.th./s.o.’	
(10)	<i>gora</i>	‘exclaim’	
	<i>gora-aka</i>	‘call to s.o.’	
(11)	<i>ʃawu</i>	‘give (s.th.)’	
	<i>ʃawu-aka</i>	‘give to s.o.’	
(12)	<i>ʃika</i>	‘put/place’	
	<i>ʃika-aka</i>	‘put for s.o. (on their behalf)’	
(13)	<i>ʃeʃe</i>	‘hit’	
	<i>ʃeʃe-aka</i>	‘hit with s.th.’	

1. The epenthetic consonant is never a prenasalised stop. Epenthetic consonants can be analysed as either belonging to an allomorph of the root or alternatively as belonging to an allomorph of the suffix. Some roots have alternate forms with and without the epenthetic consonant (e.g. *rambi* ‘beat’, *rambi-aka/rambi-taka* ‘beat s.th.’).

The functions of the two suffixes can be seen in contrast with each other on the same root.

(14) <i>aʔa</i>	‘ask’	
<i>aʔa-ki</i>	‘ask s.o.’	
<i>aʔa-aka</i>	‘ask about s.th.’	
(15) <i>taʔi</i>	‘cry’	< PMP * <i>taʔis</i> ‘cry’
<i>taʔi-si</i>	‘cry over s.o.’	
<i>taʔi-aka</i>	‘cry about s.th.’	
(16) <i>tutu-ki</i>	‘pound s.th.’	< PMP * <i>tuktuk</i> ‘pound’
<i>tutu-aka</i>	‘pound for s.o.’	

Other affixes are broadly summarised below. For more detailed discussion and examples see Anceaux (1952). The morphophonemic nasal in the prefixes below is neither regular nor predictable in the available data. It surfaces as a prenasalised stop and is thus irregularly restricted to roots that begin with stops. Some roots have variants both with and without the nasalisation.<sup>1</sup>

(17) <i>pa(N)-</i>	causative
<i>po-/pe(N)-</i>	valence increaser (adds an Actor or an Undergoer)
<i>ma(N)-</i>	stative
<i>me(N)-</i>	customarily, regularly, habitually
<i>ka(N)-</i>	nominaliser (instrument, result, location)
<i>sa(N)-</i>	singular occurrence of ROOT
(18) <i>mo-</i>	relativiser
<i>ko-</i>	have feature or quality of ROOT
<i>i-</i>	agentive passive
<i>to-</i>	agentless passive
<i>ti-</i>	accidental/agentless passive

Combinations of prefixes, and combinations of prefixes with suffixes are also found (see Anceaux 1952).

The verbal proclitic *be* comes before pronominal proclitics or verbal prefixes. It signals irrealis mood indicating what is contemplated, future,

1. It is entirely possible that the presence of the nasalisation is morphological, rather than phonological. Its presence may signal a difference in mood, such as the irrealis *-um-* allomorphy in the Muna language (cf. R. van den Berg 1991). More study is clearly required.

intention, or supposition. There are also predicate-level enclitics such as *-mo* ‘certain, completed, already’ and *-po* ‘uncertain, incomplete, still to come’.

Infixes are also found, but must be considered historically fossilised and unproductive. The nominal infix *-in-* is found in a few lexical items (e.g. *ka<sup>n</sup>de* ‘eat’, *k-in-a<sup>n</sup>de* ‘food’). The prefix *pino-* found on some kin terms is a combination of the prefix *po-* plus the infix *-in-*. The verbal infix *-um-* is recognisably found on only a few lexical items (e.g. *ta<sup>n</sup>da* ‘sign, omen’, *t-um-a<sup>n</sup>da* ‘appear unexpectedly’).

### 3.1 Reduplication

Reduplication in Wolio performs various functions. The broadest pattern is the reduplication of the first two syllables of the root.<sup>1</sup> Thus one gets the patterns of CVCV-CVCV, CVV-CVV, VCV-VCV, followed by additional syllables and suffixes.

Reduplication of some non-active verbs has a causative effect.

- |      |  |                      |
|------|--|----------------------|
| (19) | <i>ma-d’aki</i>                          | ‘be ugly, bad’       |
|      | <i>d’aki-d’aki</i>                       | ‘ruin s.th.’         |
| (20) | <i>ma-lape</i>                           | ‘good, fine, right’  |
|      | <i>lape-lape</i>                         | ‘to put s.th. right’ |
| (21) | <i>ma-ro<sup>m</sup>bu</i>               | ‘be dirty’           |
|      | <i>ro<sup>m</sup>bu-ro<sup>m</sup>bu</i> | ‘to soil s.th.’      |

Reduplication may have a diminutive or weakening (opposite of intensifying or emphatic) function.

- |      |                     |                                |
|------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| (22) | <i>pooli</i>        | ‘to be better (a sick person)’ |
|      | <i>poo-pooli</i>    | ‘to be slightly better’        |
| (23) | <i>ma-pii</i>       | ‘be sick’                      |
|      | <i>ma-pii-pii</i>   | ‘be slightly sick’             |
| (24) | <i>ma-laja</i>      | ‘be tall’                      |
|      | <i>ma-laja-laja</i> | ‘be rather tall’               |
| (25) | <i>umala</i>        | ‘river’                        |
|      | <i>uma-umala</i>    | ‘stream, brook’                |
| (26) | <i>banua</i>        | ‘house’                        |
|      | <i>banu-banua</i>   | ‘small house’                  |

1. Bearing in mind that syllable structure types are restricted to CV and V, and that each vowel forms a syllable nucleus.

Reduplication may indicate plurality – with nouns indicating plurality of the referent and with verbs indicating a plurality of the action or of the result of the action, having a repetitive, iterative or distributive function.

- |      |   |                                      |
|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| (27) | <i>ma-katu</i>                                  | ‘break’                              |
|      | <i>a-ma-katu-katu</i>                           | ‘break into pieces’                  |
| (28) | <i>be<sup>n̄</sup>či</i>                        | ‘tear’                               |
|      | <i>a-be<sup>n̄</sup>či-be<sup>n̄</sup>či-mo</i> | ‘she tore it all up’                 |
| (29) | <i>patiu<sup>m</sup>ba</i>                      | ‘show s.th.’                         |
|      | <i>a-pati-patiu<sup>m</sup>ba</i>               | ‘he kept on showing s.th.’           |
| (30) | <i>ka<sup>m</sup>po</i>                         | ‘village’                            |
|      | <i>ka<sup>m</sup>po-ka<sup>m</sup>po</i>        | ‘villages’                           |
| (31) | <i>buso</i>                                     | ‘accumulate’                         |
|      | <i>buso-buso-ki</i>                             | ‘to gorge (stuff food in the mouth)’ |

#### 4. The phonemic status of the prenasalised stops

The prenasalised stops are all homorganic nasal + consonant. Unambiguous syllable structure in Wolio is CV and V. There are no unambiguous closed syllables. No other clusters occur, and as the homorganic nasal-consonant stops are found both root initially and intervocally they are analysed as unit phonemes rather than consonant sequences. There is contrast between the prenasalised stops and the regular stops.

- |      |                          |                                |
|------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (32) | <i>didi</i>              | ‘food particles between teeth’ |
|      | <i>d<sup>i</sup>n̄di</i> | ‘roar (of storm)’              |
| (33) | <i>puu</i>               | ‘stem, trunk, base, source’    |
|      | <i><sup>m</sup>puu</i>   | ‘very, pure, genuine’          |

In other cases, however, the prenasalised stop appears to be in free variation with the normal stop, or else the semantic contrast is slight.

- |      |                          |                                |
|------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (34) | <i>βete</i>              | ‘be satiated, full’            |
|      | <i>βe<sup>n̄</sup>te</i> | ‘distend, burst open’          |
| (35) | <i>βibi</i>              | ‘tremble, quake, shudder’      |
|      | <i>βi<sup>m</sup>bi</i>  | ‘strain, lift with difficulty’ |

It was noted above that prenasalised stops never occur as the epenthetic consonant in the suffixes *-(C)i*, *-(C)aka*, *-(C)a*. Furthermore, the prenasalised

stops do not appear to be reflexes of different historical consonants than the non-prenasalised stops.

However, prenasalisation can be shown to be predictable in certain environments due to morphological and morphophonemic processes, raising questions as to the phonemic status of the prenasalised stops. For example, in compounding, when the second root begins with a voiced or voiceless stop a homorganic nasal ligature *-N-* is inserted.

- |                                     |                     |               |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (36) <i>penami-<sup>ŋ</sup>kuku</i> | /penami-N-kuku/     | ‘nibble’      |
| <i>ulo-ulo-<sup>ŋ</sup>kobulu</i>   | /ulo-ulo-N-ko-bulu/ | ‘hairy heads’ |

With prefixes, however, the presence of prenasalisation cannot simply be analysed as morphophonemically conditioned ligature as in similar environments it is sometimes present and sometimes not.

- |                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (37) <i>ɓaa</i>            | ‘head’                  |
| <i>sa-<sup>m</sup>baa</i>  | ‘one head (classifier)’ |
| (38) <i>ɓara</i>           | ‘west monsoon’          |
| <i>sa-ɓara</i>             | ‘one year’              |
| (39) <i>kole</i>           | ‘sleep’                 |
| <i>me-<sup>ŋ</sup>kole</i> | ‘be a sleepy-head’      |

The presence or absence of prenasalisation often signals different semantic interpretation, suggesting it may be morphological, dealing with distinctions such as realis/irrealis, control, or orientation towards or away from actor. More study is clearly required.

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (40) <i>pa-kole</i>                         | ‘put to sleep’                     |
| <i>pa-<sup>ŋ</sup>kole</i>                  | ‘tend, nurse’                      |
| (41) <i>ɓale</i>                            | ‘rise, go up’                      |
| <i>ka-ɓale-ɓale</i>                         | ‘stand upright’                    |
| <i>ka-<sup>m</sup>ɓale-<sup>m</sup>ɓale</i> | ‘lie down (on one's back)’         |
| (42) <i>ka<sup>n</sup>de</i>                | ‘eat’                              |
| <i>me-ka<sup>n</sup>de</i>                  | ‘eat continuously’                 |
| <i>me-<sup>ŋ</sup>ka<sup>n</sup>de</i>      | ‘bite (as a fish nibbles at bait)’ |

## 5. Notes on the orthography

Some differences in orthographic conventions are noted below.

Table 4. Various orthographic conventions for Wolio

Anceaux 1952	Anceaux 1987	CAD
<i>q</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>β</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d̥</i>
<i>ʼ</i>	<i>ʼ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
<i>mp</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i><sup>m</sup>p</i>
<i>mb</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i><sup>m</sup>b</i>
<i>nt</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>t</i>
<i>nd</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>
<i>nc</i>	<i>nc</i>	<i><sup>n̄</sup>c̣</i>
<i>nj</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i><sup>n̄</sup>j̣</i>
<i>qk</i>	<i>ngk</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>ḳ</i>
<i>qg</i>	<i>ngg</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>g̣</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>d</i>

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## 32. Manggarai

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Wordlist:	<i>J. A. J. Verheijen</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Manggarai is spoken by some 400,000 speakers in western and north-central Flores Island in eastern Indonesia. It is classified as a Bima-Sumba language following Jonker (1896), which is said to group with the Central Malayo-Polynesian languages (see Blust 1978).

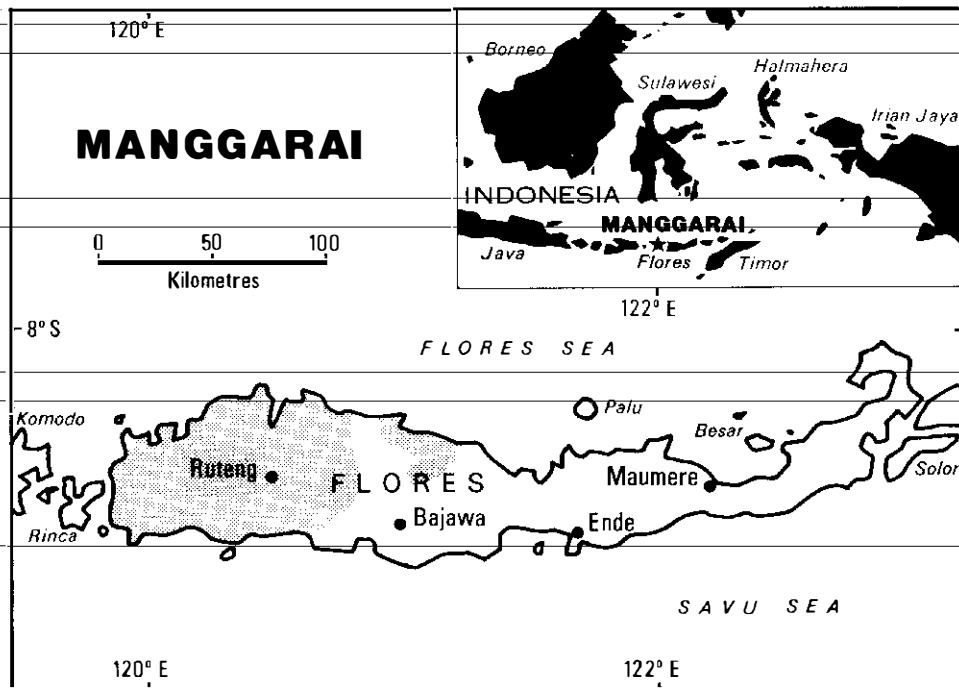
Approximately forty-three subdialects of Manggarai cluster into five recognisable dialect groupings: West Manggarai, West-central Manggarai, Central Manggarai, East Manggarai, and Far-east Manggarai. The latter is located in north-central Flores, separated from the other Manggarai dialects by the Rembong language. The CAD wordlist follows the Ruteng subdialect of Central Manggarai spoken in and around the town of Ruteng, the administrative capital of the region. Synonyms and variants listed in the notes are from other varieties of Central Manggarai, unless noted otherwise. Central Manggarai has around 300,000 speakers.

The most significant source of contact-induced language change has been from the Makassar language from south Sulawesi, under whose political and economic domination Manggarai existed until the mid-18th century. After 1727 Manggarai came under the domination of the Bima kingdoms from eastern Sumbawa to the west of Flores. The Dutch had no noticeable impact or presence in the area until 1907, resulting in only minor influences. After 1920, people in the Manggarai region shifted from their traditional beliefs and adopted Roman Catholicism. Along the west coast of Flores are several long-standing Bajau-speaking communities.

The Manggarai are culturally an inland-oriented agricultural people, rather than a sea-oriented people. This orientation is strongly reflected in their vocabulary as well as in their lifestyle and thought patterns.

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1. With this present contribution to the CAD, Father Verheijen continues a long tradition of documenting the Manggarai language which he has studied while living and working in the area since 1937.
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Map 32. Manggarai language area

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

Table 1. Manggarai consonants

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʝ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Prenasalised stops	vl	<i><sup>m</sup>p</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>t</i>	<i><sup>n̄</sup>ɕ</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>k</i>	
	vd	<i><sup>m</sup>b</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>	<i><sup>n̄</sup>ʝ</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>v</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels			<i>y</i>			

The /v/ is a lightly fricativised voiced labio-dental fricative. A glottal stop is not indicated root-initially.

Although there are closed syllables root-finally, the presence of homorganic prenasalised stops root-initially forces the analysis of prenasalised stops as unit phonemes rather than as sequences of phonemes. Clusters (other than unit homorganic <sup>nasal</sup>consonant) do not occur, except morphologically with the addition of enclitics.

(1) Closed syllables

<i>ŋalor</i>	‘river’
<i>vulaŋ</i>	‘moon’
<i>varat</i>	‘storm’

(2) Initial prenasalised stops

<i><sup>n</sup>tala</i>	‘star’
<i><sup>n</sup>dili-<sup>n</sup>dəlap</i>	‘lightning’
<i><sup>n</sup>taŋis</i>	‘eagle’
<i><sup>m</sup>bərəs</i>	‘strong’

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Manggarai vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Monosyllabic lexical roots (i.e. non-functors and non-elitics) whose vowel is other than schwa /ə/ are phonetically long and are marked with a macron over the vowel in the wordlist.<sup>1</sup> Schwa occurs in both the ultimate and penultimate syllables of roots that have a medial consonant. Schwa does not occur in vowel sequences.

1. Alternatively these roots could be analysed as disyllabic roots containing sequences of like vowels.

### 2.3 Word stress

Words are stressed on the penultimate syllable of the root. If, however, the penultimate syllable contains a schwa /ə/ that is not followed by a prenasalised stop, then the ultimate syllable is stressed. The addition of enclitics does not effect the stress on the root.

(3)	['pitak]	'mud'	
	['vae]	'water'	
	['haŋju]	'tree'	< PMP * <i>kayu</i>
(4)	['lə <sup>n</sup> ko]	'valley'	
	['ə <sup>n</sup> de]	'mother'	
	['ə <sup>m</sup> po]	'grandchild'	< PMP * <i>u[m]pu</i>
(5)	[rə'vuŋ]	'cloud'	
	[ə'ma]	'father'	< PMP * <i>ama</i>

### 3. Morphology and morphophonemics

Table 3. Pronominal systems in Manggarai

	Free pronouns	●bject enclitics	Genitive enclitics
1sg	<i>aku</i>	- <i>k</i>	- <i>g</i>
2sg	<i>hau</i>	- <i>h</i>	- <i>m</i>
3sg	<i>hia</i>	- <i>i/y</i>	- <i>n</i>
1pl excl <sup>1</sup>	<i>ami</i>	- <i>km</i>	- <i>gm</i>
1pl incl	<i>ite</i>	- <i>t</i>	- <i>d</i>
2pl	<i>meu</i> <sup>2</sup>	- <i>m</i>	- <i>s</i>
3pl	<i>ise</i>	- <i>s</i>	- <i>d</i>

Manggarai has no productive derivational morphology (see Verheijen 1977).

Personal deixis is marked by different sets of pronouns and pronominal enclitics, that is, by free pronouns, object enclitics, and genitive enclitics. Free pronouns may be used as subject, as object, as object of a preposition, or in topicalisation constructions. Object enclitics mark the object of a transitive verb or the object of a preposition. The pronominal enclitics do

1. A dialectal variant of *ami* is *hami*. As enclitics the forms *-km/-gm* do not participate in or shift patterns of word stress and could be seen as *-kəm/-gəm* respectively (remembering that schwa is phonetically short and unstressed).

2. West Manggarai uses *hemi*, rather than *meu*.

not effect word stress of the roots to which they attach.<sup>1</sup> The genitive enclitics mark a tight semantic association between referents (e.g. ‘my father’) or a possessive relationship (e.g. ‘my knife’).

### 3.1 Homorganic nasal ligature

Occasionally one finds the insertion of a homorganic nasal ligature *-N-* before stops in compounds.

(6)	<i>pulu</i>		‘ten (in counting)’
	<i>čə-pulu</i> ~ <i>čə<sup>m</sup>pulu</i>		‘ten (numeral, lit. one-ten)’
(7)	<i>sua</i>		‘two’
	<i>ata sua</i>		‘second’
	<i>sua-<sup>n</sup>kali</i>	/sua-N-kali/	‘two times’
	<i>sua-<sup>m</sup>pulu</i>	/sua-N-pulu/	‘twenty’
(8)	<i>atatəlu</i>		‘third’
	<i>təlu-<sup>n</sup>kali</i>	/təlu-N-kali/	‘three times’

### 3.2 Vowel reduction (centralisation)

The vowels of prepenultimate proclitics are often reduced to schwa /ə/.

(9)	<i>čā</i>		‘one’
	<i>čə</i>		‘one (of something)’
	<i>čə-pulu</i> ~ <i>čə<sup>m</sup>pulu</i>		‘ten’
(10)	<i>ŋə<sup>n</sup>tauŋ</i>	/ŋai- <sup>n</sup> tauŋ/	‘always’

### 3.3 Vowel deletion (contraction)

In some cases there is a deletion of the vowel(s) of proclitic functors before vowel-initial roots.

(11)	<i>l-aku</i>	←	/ləaku/	‘by me’
(12)	<i>s-o<sup>o</sup>o</i>	←	/ise o <sup>o</sup> o/	‘these (lit. they here)’
(13)	<i>d-anak</i>	←	/dəanak/	‘of the child’

1. The enclitics attach to consonants as well as vowels. Analysis of the resulting clusters could optionally consider the presence of an epenthetic schwa (e.g. *anak-n* [‘anak-ən] ‘child-3s’, *bora-n* ‘rich-3s’).

### 3.4 Reduplication

The forms of reduplication in Manggarai are many (see Verheijen 1948).

Phrasal repetition may signal habitual occurrence.

(14) *čaŋtəgi, čaŋtəgi* ‘he’s always early’

Reduplication on the stem, however, may be reduplication of the full root, CVCV-reduplication, CV-reduplication, or, with vowel reduction, Cə-reduplication. All three forms of reduplication may be found as variants on the same root.

*Table 4.* Forms of reduplication in Manggarai

Full root	CVCV-Redup	CV-Redup	Cə-Redup	Gloss
<i>tuʔuŋ-tuʔuŋ</i>	<i>tuʔu-tuʔuŋ</i>	<i>tu-tuʔuŋ</i>	<i>tə-tuʔuŋ</i>	‘truly, certainly’
<i>diʔa-diʔa</i>		<i>di-diʔa</i>	<i>də-diʔa</i>	‘good, beautiful’
<i>čai-čai</i>			<i>čə-čai</i>	‘have come’
<i>taʔoŋ-taʔoŋ</i>	<i>taʔo-taʔoŋ</i>		<i>tə-taʔoŋ</i>	‘endure, withstand’
<i>toʔo-toʔo</i>		<i>to-toʔo</i>	<i>tə-toʔo</i>	‘stand up’

Manggarai also has a form of complex reduplication with CVCV-reduplication followed by Cə-reduplication of the root. Complex reduplication marks a descriptive feature or quality of the referent.

(15) *li<sup>m</sup>pə-lə-li<sup>m</sup>pə* ‘flat-nosed’  
*vəŋa-və-vəŋa* ‘hare-lipped’

A further form of reduplication in Manggarai like CV(C)V-reduplication has the constraint that the vowels must be /a/ and /i/ respectively (i.e. *Ca(C)i*-reduplication).

(16) *aʃi-eʃor* ‘wander about’  
*hai-haor* ‘mix’  
*hai-heor* ‘stir’  
*hai-hoal* ‘tilt up’  
*api-apa* ‘what?’ (emphatic)

## 4. Notes on orthographies

Table 5. Orthographic equivalences for Manggarai

Burger 1946/Verheijen 1948	Verheijen 1982	CAD
e	e	ə
é	é	e
oe	u	u
tj	c	č
dj	j	ǰ
ng	ng	ŋ
mp	mp	<sup>m</sup> p
mp	mb	<sup>m</sup> b
nt	nt	<sup>n</sup> t
nd	nd	<sup>n</sup> d
ntj	nc	<sup>n</sup> č
ndj	nj	<sup>n</sup> ǰ
ngk	ngk	<sup>ŋ</sup> k
ngg	ngg	<sup>ŋ</sup> g
'	'	ʔ
w	w	v

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## 33. Ngada

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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<b>Introduction:</b>	<i>Stephanus Djawanai – Charles E. Grimes</i>
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<b>Wordlist:</b>	<i>Stephanus Djawanai</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Ngada<sup>1</sup> language is spoken by 60,000 - 70,000 people on the west-central part of the island of Flores in eastern Indonesia. Ngada is assumed to belong to the Bima-Sumba group, following Jonker (1896). The main dialects of Ngada are: *Soa, Central, Bajava, Southeast, and Southwest*. The CAD wordlist presents data from the *Bajava* dialect spoken in the town of Bajava and surrounding communities.

There is a large corpus of oral literature, primarily in the forms of folklore, proverbs and traditional sayings which are invoked during disputes, ritual occasions and ceremonies, used for instruction, for stressing a point, or for lending authority to a point made in settling a dispute.

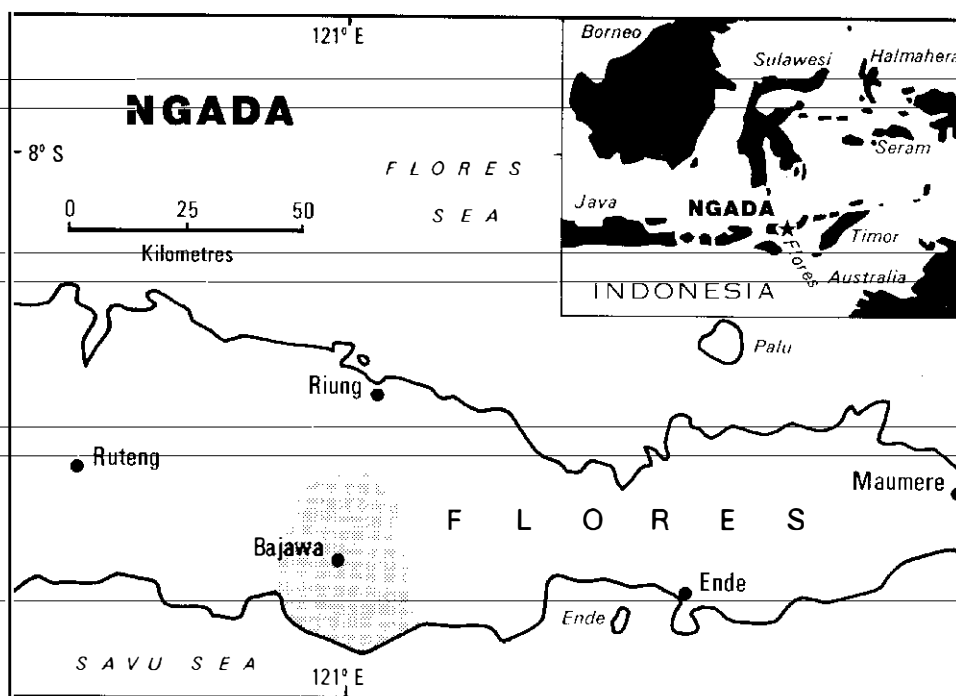
In addition to publishing extensive ethnographic studies on the Ngada people, the Catholic missionary Paul Arndt also published a grammar sketch (1933), a collection of myths with German translations (1960), and a Ngada-German dictionary of around 10,000 entries complete with illustrative sentences (1961). Djawanai, a native speaker of Ngada, has published a brief phonology (1977), notes on Ngada personal deixis in discourse (1978), and an analysis of texts, including a sketch of the phonology and grammar (1983). Moore (1980) provides a sketch of the phonology.

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1. We follow here the government spelling for the Regency in which the language is spoken. Alternate spellings found in the literature used to signal the implosive are *Ngadha, Nad'a, Ngad'a, and Nga'da*. The language is also known as Bajava after the administrative capital of the area.

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Map 33. Ngada language area

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

Table 1. Ngada consonants

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Implosives		<i>ɓ</i>	<i>ɗ</i>			
Fricatives	vl	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
	vd	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Taps			<i>r</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>			

Voiceless stops are strongly aspirated in initial position. There is slight preaspiration and aspiration intervocally, particularly with apical /t/ and

dorsal /k/. Apical /d/ is dental, implosive /ɗ/ is retroflexed,<sup>1</sup> and the other apicals are alveolar. Implosive /ɓ/ word-initially is often voiceless if the medial consonant is also an implosive. Labials /v f/ are labio-dental. Fricative /h/ tends toward [x] before high vowels. /r/ is a tap intervocally, except in emphatic speech or following schwa /ə/, in which cases it is often articulated as a trill. Glottal /ʔ/ is in contrast with its absence word initially. Medially, however, between like vowels in rapid speech the glottal tends to be dropped, often creating homophones with words that have geminate vowel sequences.

- |     |        |   |       |                       |
|-----|--------|---|-------|-----------------------|
| (1) | /boʔo/ | ~ | [boo] | ‘full (after eating)’ |
|     | /boo/  |   |       | ‘blister, granary’    |
| (2) | /puʔu/ | ~ | [puu] | ‘base, source’        |
|     | /puu/  |   |       | ‘tall grass’          |
| (3) | /paʔa/ | ~ | [paa] | ‘thigh’               |
|     | /paa/  |   |       | ‘distribute’          |

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Ngada vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Between voiceless consonants, and following voiceless consonants phrase-finally, vowels may also be voiceless.

Unambiguous syllable types are CV and V. Vowel sequences, whether a sequence of like vowels or unlike vowels, cross syllable boundaries and are not unitary diphthongs. An epenthetic [y] may occur between unlike vowels in which the first vowel of a vowel sequence is front. An epenthetic [w] may occur between unlike vowels in which the first vowel of a vowel sequence is back. Schwa /ə/ never occurs in vowel sequences.

1 Djawanai (1983: 114) describes this sound as retroflexed, while the 1977 article (1977: 10) describes it as an “alveo-palatal (retroflex)”. It may group as a laminal.

The schwa /ə/ is of short duration and phonetically lengthens the following consonant. Schwa never occurs in the ultimate syllable of disyllabic or trisyllabic lexical roots. Root-initial schwa is deleted leaving only the trace lengthening of the following consonant.

(4)	/əma/	→	[mma]	'father'	< PMP *ama	'father'
	/əna/	→	[nna]	'sand'	< PMP *qenay	'sand'
	/əbu/	→	[bbu]	'grandparent'	< PMP *u[m]pu	'grandparent'

### 2.3 Stress

Word stress falls on the penultimate syllable of lexical roots. If the penultimate syllable contains a schwa /ə/, stress falls on the ultimate syllable. Stress is indicated by a lengthening of the vowel and slightly higher pitch. Monosyllabic functors and clitics do not carry their own word stress, but behave as satellites to stress-bearing lexical roots.

### 2.4 Vowel reduction (centralisation)

In certain environments there is a centralisation of other vowels to schwa [ə]. The vowel of monosyllabic functors is often reduced to schwa.

(5)	<i>mu</i>	[mə]	marker of contrastive emphasis
	<i>sa-</i>	[sə]	one (bound morpheme)
	<i>da</i>	[də]	realis marker
	<i>lə</i>	[lə]	adverb of manner

Such vowel reduction often operates across morpheme boundaries, triggering the lengthening of the following consonant in the process.

(6)	<i>ba ŋa</i>	→	[bəŋŋa]	( <i>ba</i> 'CONN', <i>ŋa</i> 'thematic particle')
	<i>vi ŋa</i>	→	[vəŋŋa]	( <i>vi</i> 'infinitive marker/complementiser')

The vowel /a/ in the penultimate syllable of lexical roots, preceded or followed by dorsal /ŋ/ or /g/ tends to reduce to schwa and trigger lengthening of the following consonant.

(7)	<i>ŋata</i>	→	[ŋətta]	third person thematic pronoun
	<i>gazi</i>	→	[gəzzi]	third person oblique pronoun

### 3. Notes on morphology and syntax

Personal deixis in Ngada is complex, often using kin terms, titles, descriptive phrases, or spatial deictics, rather than personal pronouns. Plural forms of pronouns may be used honorifically for singular referents as well. Free pronouns may be used in all contexts. That is, they may indicate the preverbal core argument (subject) marking the subject of either transitive or intransitive verbs, the post-verbal core argument (object), the object of prepositions, and they may be used in topicalisation constructions. Oblique pronouns, when they are used, are restricted to marking the object of transitive verbs, the object of prepositions, or to signalling a possessive relationship as the object of the possessive clitic *go* ‘of’.

*Table 3.* Pronominal systems in Ngada

	Free pronouns	Oblique pronouns
1sg	<i>ʃaʔo</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>naʔo</i>
2sg	<i>kaü</i>	<i>gäü</i>
3sg	<i>kazi</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>gazi</i>
1pl excl	<i>kami</i>	<i>gami</i>
1pl incl	<i>kita</i>	<i>gita</i>
2pl	<i>miu</i>	<i>miu</i>
3pl	<i>emu</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>emu</i>

There are two constructions used to indicate a possessive-like association between two referents. The first is the possessive construction using the possessive clitic *go* followed by the appropriate pronoun. The second is the genitive construction marked by simple juxtaposition of the possessed item followed by the free form of the pronoun.

- (8) *sosa go gazi*                      ‘his/her fish trap’  
*sosa kazi*                                ‘his/her fish trap’

For third person pronouns, in addition to the use of kin terms, titles, etc. already referred to above, there are several other choices. *Voʔe* and *noʔe* may substitute for *kazi* and *gazi* respectively. *Ata* ‘3sg’ and *rivu* ‘3pl’ or *voe*

1. A dialectal variant of *ʃaʔo* is *zaʔo*.
2. Dialectal variants of *kazi* are *kaji* and *kari*.
3. Dialectal variants for *emu* are *demu*, *ilo* and *siza*.

'3pl' are used to indicate indefinite (specific or non-specific) referents as in 'somebody', 'they', 'people'. The form *ŋata* (from *ŋa* + *ata*) is used for third person (singular or plural) as a thematic pronoun signalling pragmatic focus. The form *laki* '3sg' and *emu-laki* '3pl' are sympathetic pronouns implying the speaker's sympathetic or compassionate feelings toward the referent due to the unfortunate state or condition of the referent. The form *ana-ŋata* '3pl' is also used as a sympathetic pronoun. The term *hoga* (with dialectal variant *soga*) literally means 'young man', but is occasionally used as a third plural pronoun either with or without the plural *emu-*.

Spatial/temporal deictics may also be used in place of personal pronouns to track a referent in discourse.

(9)	<i>di/dia</i>	'this/here/now (near the speaker)'
	<i>dau</i>	'that/there/now (near the addressee)'
	<i>kəna</i>	'that/there/then (far from both speaker and hearer)'

Ngada does not use morphological mechanisms for marking such things as aspect and mood on verbs, but rather auxiliaries which may be either monosyllabic clitics, or disyllabic roots.

#### 4. Notes on orthography

Table 4. Various orthographic conventions for Ngada

Arndt 1933	Arndt 1961	Djawanai 1977	Djawanai 1983	CAD
<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>ɸ'</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>ɸ</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>ɸ</i>
<i>d'</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>d'</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ɣ</i>
<i>dz</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ǰ</i>
<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>c</i> + doubled C	<i>ə</i>
<i>c</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>c</i>	—	—	—
— <sup>2</sup>	—	?	,	?

1. Instead of indicating a glottal Arndt indicated its absence. Thus the /c/ indicated no glottal closure (e.g. *cemu* for *emu*, and *dica* for *dia*).
2. Arndt indicated intervocalic glottal with a diaeresis over the second vowel (e.g. *zaö* for *zaʔo*).





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## 34. Sika

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<b>Contributors:</b>	
<b>Introduction:</b>	<i>E. D. Lewis – Charles E. Grimes</i>
<b>Wordlist:</b>	<i>E. D. Lewis</i>

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### 1. Introduction

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Sika (also Sikka, Sara Sikka<sup>1</sup>) is spoken by approximately 175,000 people in the administrative regency of Sikka in eastern Flores in eastern Indonesia. There is a consensus among scholars that assumes Sika should be classified generally with those Austronesian languages currently referred to as “Central Malayo-Polynesian”, and specifically with the Flores-Lembata languages (see Wurm – Hattori 1983).

While the speech varieties of Sika are yet to be the target of careful dialect study, it is convenient to recognise at least three main dialects. *Sikka Natar* is spoken by people in the village with the same name and in surrounding communities extending to Bola in the east, Lela in the west and Nita inland to the north. Sikka Natar (*natar* ‘village’) is located on the south coast and was, until 1954, the home of a royal dynasty whose rajas ruled this part of Flores from at least the mid-sixteenth century until Indonesian independence. Sara Sikka Natar (‘the language of the village of Sikka’) is generally perceived in the region to be the most refined and most prestigious of the Sika speech varieties [abbreviated SSN in the word list].

The second dialect, *Sara Krowe* is spoken in the central hills of the Sika speaking area. An alternate name for people living in the central hills is *ata’iβaŋ* ‘hill people’.

The *Tana ’Ai* region includes the mountainous eastern part of the Sika speaking area. The terms *Ata Tana ’Ai* and *Sara Tana ’Ai* are used by both insiders and outsiders to refer respectively to the people and the language of the region. The ethno-linguistic identity of the *Ata Tana ’Ai* easily

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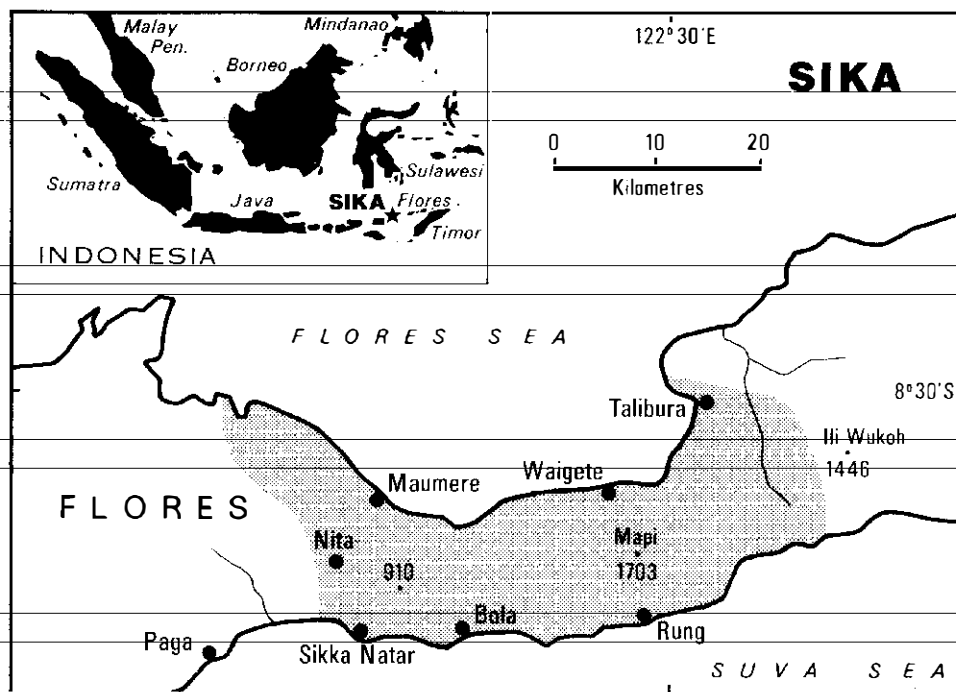
1. The double *k* is used in many sources for spelling both the place name and the language name but does not represent any phonetic reality in the language itself. Arndt (1931) refers to the language as “Sika”. Conventions using “Sikka” follow the official spelling for the regency and town by that name, hence both spellings occur in this article. *Sara* means ‘way, language’.

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distinguishes them from people of other areas. There are approximately 9,800 speakers of Sara Tana 'Ai. It is this Tana 'Ai dialect that is used in the wordlist.<sup>1</sup>

The Ata Tana 'Ai also have specialists who use a poetic register of ritual speech to recount the mythic origins of the Tana 'Ai domains, the histories of clans, and with which they communicate with the deity and ancestors of the domains on ritual and ceremonial occasions. In common with other ritual languages of eastern Indonesia (see Fox 1988), Tana 'Ai ritual language is marked by semantic parallelism, elided syntax, and a pattern of four-word sequences doubled into couplets (see Lewis 1982, 1988a, 1988b). The paired words found in the semantic dyads of ritual language most frequently use words of common Sara Tana 'Ai, but sometimes a Tana 'Ai word is paired with a word from the Lamaholot language of east Flores.



Map 34. Sika language area

1. The word list is based on notes on the lexicon by E.D. Lewis made in the course of ethnographic fieldwork in Sikka Natar and Tana 'Ai during almost five years since 1977. Research from 1977 to 1979 was carried out under the auspices of LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia) and in 1980 under the sponsorship of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa. Lewis is compiling a dictionary of Sika.

Brief wordlists of Sika were published toward the end of the last century by Calon (1890-1891, 1893, 1897). Jonker (various) has Sika data scattered throughout his writings. Arndt (1931) published a sketch grammar of Sika which remains the most significant study of the language itself accessible to the broader scholarly public. Soge (1979), a native speaker of Sika, has done a more recent study on Sika language structures. An unpublished manuscript of a Sika-Dutch glossary by Meyer (n.d.) has been in use by Catholic missionaries and priests on Flores for several decades.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

The /β/ is a lightly fricativised voiced bilabial fricative. Laminal /ʃ/ is a voiced alveo-palatal affricate. Borrowed phonemes /f ñ y/ have been assimilated into Sika from sources such as Malay and Arabic.

Table 1. Sika consonant/phonemes

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>β</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>			

There are dialectal variants in the distribution of some phonemes. In the Tana 'Ai dialect, dorsal /ŋ/ and apical /n/ are neutralised as apical /n/ word-finally, except in some monosyllabic words of the shape *CVŋ*. The contrast remains in the Sikka Natar dialect. There are dialectal variants with /s/ and /h/ (e.g. *sa/ha* 'one').

Consonant clusters occur in recent loans and word initially in some inherited words. Labial stops /p b/ and dorsal stops /k g/ all cluster with following trill /r/ and lateral /l/. Some of these frozen clusters, however, probably reflect a historical morphological process.

- (1) *roʔo* 'space'  
*groʔo* 'near'

Initial homorganic prenasalised stops /<sup>m</sup>p <sup>n</sup>d <sup>ŋ</sup>g/ are found in only a handful of words in the entire lexicon and are assumed to be loans from nearby languages such as Lio.

Initial glottal /ʔ/ followed by /β r l/ is the result of morphological inflection for first person singular on verbs (discussed in more detail below).

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

*Table 2. Sika vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Syllables with schwa /ə/ as their peak are of shorter duration than syllables with /e/ as their peak. Schwa occurs in ultimate as well as penultimate syllables.

Non-geminate vowel sequences occur for all combinations of the five vowels /i e a o u/. Glottal insertion occurs between geminate vowel sequences of the five vowels /i e a o u/. The vowel /ə/ occurs only rarely in non-geminate vowel sequences.

## 2.3 Word stress

Word stress falls on the penultimate syllable of lexical roots. However, if the penultimate syllable contains a schwa, then stress falls on the ultimate syllable. Stress is indicated by a slight lengthening of the vowel and a slight increase in pitch. Stress does not shift on the root with the addition of enclitics.

## 3. Morphology and morphophonemics

Personal deixis in Sika is complex. Kin terms and titles are often used in place of personal pronouns. Free pronouns may be used to indicate subject, object, object of the preposition, or in topicalisation constructions. Possessive pronouns are formed adding *-ŋ*, *-n*, or *-t* to the end of the free pronoun (e.g. *aʔu-ŋ*, *aʔu-t* '1sgPOSS'). Subject prefixes index person and number combinations on the verb. The particular form taken by the subject

prefixes is conditioned by syllable structure and phonotactic constraints. Free pronouns are generally required to disambiguate the referents.

Table 3. Sika personal deixis before morphophonemic conditioning

	Free pronouns	Subject prefixes before vowels	Subject prefixes before consonants
1sg	<i>aʔu</i>	<i>ʔ-</i>	<i>ʔ-</i>
2sg	<i>ʔau</i>	<i>m-</i>	[+voice]
3sg	<i>nimu</i>	<i>n-</i>	[+voice]
1pl excl	<i>ʔami</i>	<i>m-</i>	[+voice]
1pl incl	<i>ʔita</i>	<i>t-</i>	∅
2pl	<i>miu</i>	<i>m-</i>	[+voice]
3pl	<i>inuu</i>	<i>ɾ-/ɿ-</i>	∅

Table 4. Subject prefixes before vowels

	'drink' <i>-inu</i> (PMP * <i>inum</i> )	'plait, weave' <i>-ana</i> (PMP * <i>añam</i> )	'take, carry' <i>-ala</i> (PMP * <i>alap</i> )	'sweep' <i>-oni</i>
1sg	<i>ʔ-inu</i>	<i>ʔ-ana</i>	<i>ʔ-ala</i>	<i>ʔ-oni</i>
2sg	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-ana</i>	<i>m-ala</i>	<i>m-oni</i>
3sg	<i>n-inu</i>	<i>n-ana</i>	<i>n-ala</i>	<i>n-oni</i>
1pl excl	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-ana</i>	<i>m-ala</i>	<i>m-oni</i>
1pl incl	<i>t-inu</i>	<i>t-ana</i>	<i>t-ala</i>	<i>t-oni</i>
2pl	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-ana</i>	<i>m-ala</i>	<i>m-oni</i>
3pl	<i>r-inu</i>	<i>r-ana</i>	<i>l-ala</i>	<i>r-oni</i>

Vowel-initial roots take the paradigm listed above. Some roots take *l-* rather than *r-* to index 3pl, possibly due to consonant harmony.

With consonant-initial roots, several processes come into play that are illustrated in the figure below. First person singular is marked with a preceding glottal. However, with roots beginning with voiceless stops /p t k ʔ/, the 1sg glottal morpheme coalesces with the initial consonant of the root. The forms for 1pl incl and 3pl are the unmarked root. The other forms (2sg, 3sg, 1pl excl, 2pl) assimilate to their associated voiced stop for roots beginning with /p t ʔ β/. Glottal-initial roots (< PMP \**k*) go to /g/, while

fricative /β/ goes to /b/. For roots that begin with consonants that are voiced (e.g. /r l/), only the first singular form is marked.

*Table 5.* Subject prefixes before consonants

	'go, walk'	'plant s.th.'	'chop s.th.'	'cry, weep'	'call'	'see'
PMP	<i>*panaw</i>			<i>*taŋis</i>		<i>*kita</i>
	<i>pano</i>	<i>paʔat</i>	<i>pati</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>topo</i>	<i>ʔita</i>
1sg	<i>pano</i>	<i>paʔat</i>	<i>pati</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>topo</i>	<i>ʔita</i>
2sg	<i>bano</i>	<i>baʔat</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>dani</i>	<i>dopo</i>	<i>gita</i>
3sg	<i>bano</i>	<i>baʔat</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>dani</i>	<i>dopo</i>	<i>gita</i>
1pl excl	<i>bano</i>	<i>baʔat</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>dani</i>	<i>dopo</i>	<i>gita</i>
1pl incl	<i>pano</i>	<i>paʔat</i>	<i>pati</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>topo</i>	<i>ʔita</i>
2pl	<i>bano</i>	<i>baʔat</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>dani</i>	<i>dopo</i>	<i>gita</i>
3pl	<i>pano</i>	<i>paʔat</i>	<i>pati</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>topo</i>	<i>ʔita</i>

	'embrace'	'bite'	'fall'	'raise up'	'visit'	'sew'	'catch'
PMP		<i>*kitkit</i>			<i>*lakaw</i>	<i>*zaqit</i>	<i>*dakcp</i>
	<i>ʔapu</i>	<i>ʔiʔi</i>	<i>ʔ-βatu</i>	<i>ʔ-βake</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>raʔit</i>	<i>raʔa</i>
1sg	<i>ʔapu</i>	<i>ʔiʔi</i>	<i>ʔ-βatu</i>	<i>ʔ-βake</i>	<i>ʔ-lako</i>	<i>ʔ-raʔit</i>	<i>ʔ-raʔa</i>
2sg	<i>gapu</i>	<i>giʔi</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>bake</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>raʔit</i>	<i>raʔa</i>
3sg	<i>gapu</i>	<i>giʔi</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>bake</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>raʔit</i>	<i>raʔa</i>
1pl excl	<i>gapu</i>	<i>giʔi</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>bake</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>raʔit</i>	<i>raʔa</i>
1pl incl	<i>ʔapu</i>	<i>ʔiʔi</i>	<i>βatu</i>	<i>βake</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>raʔit</i>	<i>raʔa</i>
2pl	<i>gapu</i>	<i>giʔi</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>bake</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>raʔit</i>	<i>raʔa</i>
3pl	<i>ʔapu</i>	<i>ʔiʔi</i>	<i>βatu</i>	<i>βake</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>raʔit</i>	<i>raʔa</i>

The verb 'to eat' follows the regular pattern for glottal initial roots for the consonant, but exhibits seemingly irregular vowel shifts.<sup>1</sup>

1. The shift to /o/ in the 1sg form probably reflects a retention of the vowel of the historical *\*ku-* > *ʔo-* > *ʔ-*.

Table 6. Sika irregular verb ‘to eat’

	‘eat’
	?ea
1sg	?oa
2sg	gea
3sg	gā
1pl excl	gea
1pl incl	?ea
2pl	gea
3pl	?a

### 3.1 Genitive endings /-n -ŋ -t/

While there is occasional evidence of an earlier system of genitive enclitics inflected for person (e.g. *ama-m* ‘father-2sg’), the productive system currently is reduced to three forms /-n -ŋ -t/. The forms are often interchangeable and the functional difference between them remains unclear. The genitive endings may be suffixed to the free pronouns to form the possessive pronouns.

Table 7. Sika possessive pronouns

	Free pronoun	Possessive pronoun with /-n/	Possessive pronoun with /-ŋ/	Possessive pronoun with /-t/
1sg	a?u	a?u-n	a?u-ŋ	a?u-t
2sg	?au	?au-n	?au-ŋ	?au-t
3sg	nimu	nimu-n	nimu-ŋ	nimu-t
1pl excl	?ami	?ami-n	?ami-ŋ	?ami-t
1pl incl	?ita	?ita-n	?ita-ŋ	?ita-t
2pl	miu	miu-n	miu-ŋ	miu-t
3pl	rimu	rimu-n	rimu-ŋ	rimu-t

The genitive endings may be used in either of two different orderings of a genitive or possessive construction.

- (2) *matanimu-n* 'his eye (eye 3sg-GEN)'  
*nimumata-ŋ* 'his eye (3sg eye-GEN)'<sup>1</sup>

Personal nouns (such as people's names) never directly take a genitive ending. Thus, when a proper name is involved, only the second of the two constructions is used to indicate a genitive relationship.

- (3) *Rapa mu?u-n* 'Rapa's bananas (Rapa banana-GEN)'  
*Lodannara-t* 'Lodan's brother (Lodan brother-GEN)'  
*Kletus ba?i-t* 'Kletus' foot (Kletus foot-GEN)'

The /-n/ may be used in a participial construction to indicate a verb is being used attributively within the noun phrase.

- (4) *Nimu hena telo.* 'She boils [an] egg.'  
*Nimu ga telo hena-n.* 'She eats a boiled egg.'

#### 4. Notes on orthography

Table 8. Some orthographic conventions for Sika

Arndt 1931	Lewis 1988b	CAD
<i>n̄ŋ</i>	<i>n̄ŋ</i>	<i>n̄</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>β</i>
<i>lh</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔl</i>
<i>mh</i>	<i>ʔm</i>	<i>ʔm</i>
<i>nh</i>	<i>ʔn</i>	<i>ʔn</i>
<i>rh</i>	<i>ʔr</i>	<i>ʔr</i>
<i>wh</i>	<i>ʔw</i>	<i>ʔβ</i>
<i>dz</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ʃ</i>
<i>é</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e, è</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
<i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>	—	—
<i>_3</i>	<i>,</i>	<i>ʔ</i>

1. The latter construction could be interpreted predicatively 'He is eyed.'

2. Instead of indicating a glottal Arndt indicated its absence. Thus the /c/ indicated no glottal closure (e.g. *cinang* for *ina-ŋ* 'mother-GEN', and *micung* for *miu-ŋ* '2pl-GEN').

3. Arndt indicated intervocalic glottal with a diaeresis over the second vowel (e.g. *laiʔi* for *laʔi* 'male').







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## 35. Roti

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<b>Contributors :</b>
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Introduction: <i>James J. Fox – Charles E. Grimes</i>
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Wordlist: <i>James J. Fox</i>
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### I. Introduction

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Rotinese is spoken on the island of Roti (Rote) off the southwest tip of Timor and on settlements on the neighbouring islands of Semau and Timor. Speakers of Roti occupy the northwestern corner of Timor, the areas in and around the town of Kupang, the plain of Oesau, various locations along a narrow band on the north coast and on the main road well into the interior of West Timor. The number of speakers is currently well over 120,000.

Rotinese is one of the most thoroughly studied languages in Indonesia. Initial accounts of Rotinese were all produced by Roti schoolteachers toward the end of the nineteenth century and were published in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. The earliest account of the Roti language was written by D. P. Manafe (1889); this account concentrates on dialect differences on the island. It was followed by a short Rotinese-Malay wordlist by Pello (1890); and then by a succinct but creditable grammatical sketch of Rotinese by J. Fanggidaej (1892). Other tables, texts and wordlists are listed in Fox (1974). There is also a Rotinese translation of the Gospel of Luke (Fanggidaej 1895).

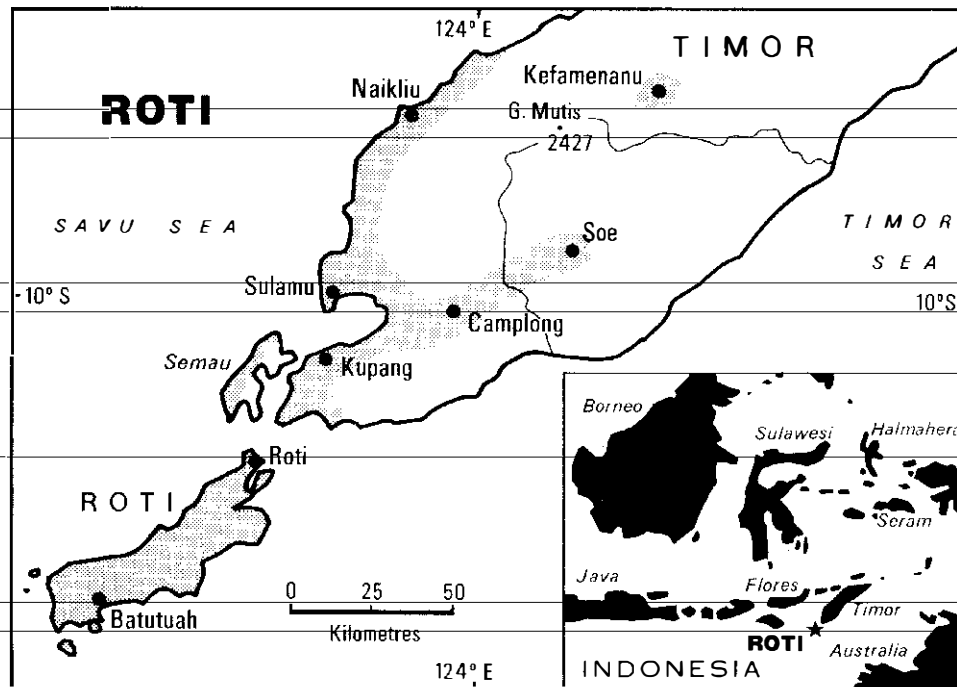
The major study of Rotinese was carried out by the Dutch linguist, J. C. G. Jonker, whose explicit intention was to produce an exemplary study of Roti as the fullest possible description of any Malayo-Polynesian language. To this end, Jonker published a collection of Roti tales with Dutch translations (1905) and then a Roti-Dutch dictionary of over 800 pages (1908). This dictionary was followed by a volume of additional Rotinese texts with Dutch translations (1911) and a collection of Rotinese texts in different dialects, again with Dutch translations (1913). Jonker's grand opus culminated in a massive seven hundred page grammar of Rotinese (1915).

Neither Jonker's dictionary nor his grammar is, in any conventional sense, the study of a single language. Jonker used both of these works to advance comparative observations on an extensive array of other Austronesian

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languages.<sup>1</sup> His desire to be comprehensive, exhaustive and at the same time comparative resulted in studies that present formidable obstacles to a simple comprehension of the basic structures of Rotinese.



Map 35. Roti language area

In Jonker's entire corpus of texts, there is only one text in Rotinese ritual language, the special poetic speech register used extensively by the Rotinese in situations of formal interaction. Jonker annotated this one text but left it untranslated, indicating that ritual language was for him a subject of some obscurity. Since Jonker's time, the study of Rotinese ritual language has been taken up by the author of this section, who has published a number of studies, each with an illustrative text or texts (Fox 1971, 1974, 1975, 1982, 1983, 1988.) An as yet incomplete dictionary (Fox 1972a) with an accompanying volume of texts (Fox 1972b) exists for this ritual language.

The sociolinguistic situation of Rotinese is sketched in Fox (1975). Rotinese consists of a chain of dialects running from east to west on the

1. Jonker himself produced grammars and dictionaries of Bima, Sawu, Roti, and Leti. In addition he did descriptive work on Ndao, Kupang (Helong), Ende, Manggarai, "Timor" and Alor. His comparative work draws on data from languages in such diverse areas as Ambon, Buru, Sulawesi, Nusatenggara, Java, and Sumatra, Philippines, and eastern Oceania. Comments are sprinkled throughout his works on Malayo-Polynesian as a whole.

island of Roti. This dialect chain is most complex at the western end of the island. Political divisions on the island have fostered dialect divergence and locally it is asserted that sixteen of the seventeen former political units (*nusa-k*) had their own ‘language’. Jonker (1913), following Manafe (1889), distinguished eight dialects: three eastern dialects (*Bilba*, *Ringgou* and *Korbaffo*); two central dialects (*Termanu* – known locally as *Pada* – and *Ba’a*); and three western dialects (*Ti* – given Dutch spelling as *Thie* –, *Dengka* and *Oenale*). The location of these dialects is shown in Wurm – Hattori (1983). Differences between dialects are not only lexical, but also phonological with different dialects manifesting different historical sound correspondences. The over-all effect of the differences is that intelligibility is marginal or blocked between the more divergent dialects. Most of the early studies of Rotinese were in the dialects of *Termanu* and *Ba’a*. Jonker chose the dialect of *Termanu* as the basis for his dictionary and grammar. Fox has also concentrated on the *Termanu* dialect in his studies of ritual language.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

*Table 1.* Roti consonants

		Labial	Apical	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops	v/	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		
Prenasalised stops			<sup>n</sup> <i>d</i>	<sup>ŋ</sup> <i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		

/t/ is alveolar and /d/ is dental. *Termanu* dialect /p/ and /b/ have variants in other dialects of [mp] and [mb] respectively. /<sup>ŋ</sup>g/ has equivalents in some dialects as [g]. /l/ has a variant in other dialects as flapped [r]. /<sup>n</sup>d/ shows up in the *Ringgou* dialect as [r], and in other dialects as [l]. Semivowels /w/ and /y/ occur only in a few interjections and loan words. The homorganic nasal-consonant stops function as single unit phonemes and the prenasalisation is not syllabic.

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Roti has five vowel phonemes.

*Table 2.* Roti vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

High and mid vowels have lax allophones in unstressed closed syllables. Each vowel is a syllable nucleus. Thus there are no true diphthongs in Roti, but rather vowel sequences across syllable boundaries. Geminate vowels, while phonetically a long vowel, are phonemically sequences of two vowels amounting to two syllabic nuclei.<sup>1</sup> In CV-reduplication, only the first vowel is reproduced.

## 2.3 Word stress

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the root. The first vowel of vowel sequences carries the stress. Stress shifts to the right with the addition of syllabic object enclitics. In compounding of nouns and verbs, and in reduplication, it is the penultimate syllable of the final lexical root that bears primary word stress [ˈ = secondary stress].

- |     |            |                        |                                |
|-----|------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) | [ˈafu]     | ‘ashes’                |                                |
|     | [ˈlima-k]  | ‘hand/arm’             |                                |
| (2) | [ˈoe]      | ‘water’                |                                |
|     | [ˈhai]     | ‘stop, come to an end’ |                                |
|     | [ˈtau-k]   | ‘man’                  |                                |
| (3) | [ˈtutu]    | ‘pound’                | < PMP <i>*tuktuk</i> ‘pound’   |
|     | [tuˈtuu-k] | ‘seat’                 | (from root <i>tuu-</i> ‘sit’). |

1. Geminate vowel sequences are distinguished only occasionally from single vowels by Rotinese when attempting to write their own language, but were not noted when recording the original data corpus from which the present word list was drawn.

- (4) ['ina(-k)] 'mother'  
 ['ina-ŋ] 'my mother'  
 [ˈina-ŋ-'ala] 'my mothers'
- (5) [ˈtasi 'oe] 'sea-water'

### 3. Morphology and morphophonemics

The subject (pre-verbal core argument), if it is pronominal, may be indicated by either a free pronoun or a pronominal proclitic within the clause. The choice is pragmatic – free pronouns are used to introduce or reintroduce a subject (new information), while pronominal proclitics index referents understood from the previous discourse or extra-linguistic context (given information). Free pronouns may also be used in topicalisation constructions. The particular form taken by the pronominal proclitics is conditioned by syllable structure and phonotactic constraints. For first person singular before vowel-initial roots, however, the free pronoun is obligatory. Free pronouns are often used to disambiguate those clitics that are not unique such as between 2sg and 2pl (see figure below).

Table 3. Roti personal deixis before morphophonemic conditioning

	Free pronouns	Subject proclitics before consonants	Subject proclitics before vowels	Object enclitics	Genitive enclitics
1sg	<i>au</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>(u)-</i>	–	<i>-ŋ</i>
2sg	<i>o/ama</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>m(u)-</i>	–	<i>-m</i>
3sg	<i>ia/<sup>n</sup>dia/ana</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>n(a)-</i>	<i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-n</i>
1pl excl	<i>ami</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>m(i)-</i>	–	<i>-m</i>
1pl incl	<i>ita/ata</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>t(a)-</i>	–	<i>-n</i>
2pl	<i>emi/ama</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>m(i)-</i>	–	<i>-m</i>
3pl	<i>sila/ala</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>l(a)-</i>	<i>-(a)la</i>	<i>-n/-s</i>

Objects (post-verbal core arguments) may be indicated by either a free pronoun or an object enclitic. The form of pronominal object enclitics and genitive enclitics is also conditioned by syllable structure and phonotactics. The third plural object enclitic is often used to indicate plurality of the root.

- (6) *au-ina-ama-ŋ-ala* 'my mothers and fathers'

Before consonants (e.g. consonant-initial roots and verbal prefixes of the shape CV-) the pronominal proclitics have a constant form.

*Table 4.* Pronominal proclitics before consonants

	‘speak’ <i>fada</i>	‘gather’ <i>bu-bua</i>	‘be angry’ <i>nasa</i>	‘return’ <i>fali</i>
1sg	<i>a-fada</i>	<i>a-ka-bubua</i>	<i>a-ma-nasa</i>	<i>a-sa-fali</i>
2sg	<i>ma-fada</i>	<i>ma-ka-bubua</i>	<i>ma-ma-nasa</i>	<i>ma-sa-fali</i>
3sg	<i>na-fada</i>	<i>na-ka-bubua</i>	<i>na-ma-nasa</i>	<i>na-sa-fali</i>
1pl excl	<i>ma-fada</i>	<i>ma-ka-bubua</i>	<i>ma-ma-nasa</i>	<i>ma-sa-fali</i>
1pl incl	<i>ta-fada</i>	<i>ta-ka-bubua</i>	<i>ta-ma-nasa</i>	<i>ta-sa-fali</i>
2pl	<i>ma-fada</i>	<i>ma-ka-bubua</i>	<i>ma-ma-nasa</i>	<i>ma-sa-fali</i>
3pl	<i>la-fada</i>	<i>la-ka-bubua</i>	<i>la-ma-nasa</i>	<i>la-sa-fali</i>

Before roots beginning with vowels /i o u/, only the consonant is used of the set of proclitics listed above for vowels, except in first person singular where there is nothing. However, for roots beginning with /e/, the vowel /u/ of the proclitic replaces the /e/ of the root for first and second person singular.

*Table 5.* Pronominal proclitics before vowels

	‘drink’ <i>inu</i>	‘see’ <i>ita</i>	‘bring’ <i>oo</i>	‘go’ <i>eʔu</i>	‘bring with’ <i>eni</i>	‘follow’ <i>esi-k</i>
1sg	<i>inu</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>u-ʔu</i>	<i>u-ni</i>	<i>u-si-k</i>
2sg	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-ita</i>	<i>m-oo</i>	<i>mu-ʔu</i>	<i>mu-ni</i>	<i>mu-si-k</i>
3sg	<i>n-inu</i>	<i>n-ita</i>	<i>n-oo</i>	<i>n-eʔu</i>	<i>n-eni</i>	<i>n-esi-k</i>
1pl excl	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-ita</i>	<i>m-oo</i>	<i>m-eʔu</i>	<i>m-eni</i>	<i>m-esi-k</i>
1pl incl	<i>t-inu</i>	<i>t-ita</i>	<i>t-oo</i>	<i>t-eʔu</i>	<i>t-eni</i>	<i>t-esi-k</i>
2pl	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-ita</i>	<i>m-oo</i>	<i>m-eʔu</i>	<i>m-eni</i>	<i>m-esi-k</i>
3pl	<i>l-inu</i>	<i>l-ita</i>	<i>l-oo</i>	<i>l-eʔu</i>	<i>l-eni</i>	<i>l-esi-k</i>

Roots beginning with glottal /ʔ/ or /a/, however, take the set for vowel-initial roots with their associated vowels.<sup>1</sup>

1. Jonker tended to give Ba’a dialect weighting to his Termanu data which resulted in his marking more glottals than are present in Termanu today. Currently root-initial glottals

Table 6. Pronominal proclitics before /a/ or glottal

‘eat’	
<i>a</i>	
1sg.	<i>u-a</i>
2sg.	<i>mu a</i>
3sg.	<i>na-a</i>
1pl. excl.	<i>mi-a</i>
1pl. incl.	<i>ta-ʔa</i>
2pl.	<i>mi-a</i>
3pl.	<i>la-ʔa</i>

Verbs in the wordlist are given in the third person singular as the citation form.

Some final consonants in Roti may reflect historical retentions. The retentions are generally limited to /k n s/. In general, however, historical final consonants have been lost, in the process making way for the non-syllabic genitive enclitics.

(7) <i>uda/udan</i>	‘rain’	<	PMP <i>*quZan</i>	‘rain’
<i>anin</i>	‘wind’	<	PMP <i>*aŋin</i>	‘wind’
<i>hana/hanas</i>	‘heat’	<	PMP <i>*panas</i>	‘heat’

Genitive enclitics such as /-n/ may close the final syllable of a word. The enclitic /-k/ is used on bound roots to form independent nouns, or on some stative verb roots to indicate they are being used attributively as nominal modifiers within the noun phrase. Where /-k/ occurs on the independent form it is replaced by the genitive enclitic to indicate possession or close association with an implicit or explicit referent. The /-k/ and genitive enclitics indicate definiteness, while the absence of an enclitic may signal generic or non-specific referent.

(8) <i>ama(-k)</i>	‘(the) father’	<i>ama-n</i>	‘(her) father’
<i>ana(-k)</i>	‘(the) child’	<i>ana-n</i>	‘(his) child’
<i>ina(-k)</i>	‘(the) mother’	<i>ina-n</i>	‘(her) mother’

occur only between like vowels resulting from combination with subject proclitics or verbal prefixes.



- |     |                 |                |  |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|--|
| (9) | <i>tu-tuu-k</i> | ‘seat’         | [verb form <i>na-ŋa-tuu-k</i> ‘he sits’] |
|     | <i>tu-tuu-ŋ</i> | ‘my seat’      |  |
|     | <i>tu-tuu-m</i> | ‘your seat’    |  |
|     | <i>tu-tuu-n</i> | ‘his/her seat’ |  |

The form of object enclitics is conditioned by syllable structure. If they directly follow a vowel, only the final -CV appears. If, however, they follow a consonant such as a genitive enclitic, then they require an epenthetic vowel to break up the consonant cluster.

- (10) *mana-musu-k-ala*  
*hata-holi-la*

### 3.1 Other affixes

The main prefixes that come between the subject proclitics and roots are listed below:

- |      |              |  |
|------|--------------|--|
| (11) | <i>ma-</i>   | stative (subject is undergoer)                     |
|      | <i>mana-</i> | relativiser  |
|      | <i>ka-</i>   | stative (often substitutable with <i>ma-</i> )     |
|      | <i>ka-</i>   | causative  |
|      | <i>sa</i>    | verbal prefix                                      |
|      | <i>fa-</i>   | durative (alternatively by reduplication of root)  |
|      | <i>pa-</i>   | verbal prefix                                      |
|      | <i>ŋa-</i>   | iterative (alternatively by reduplication of root) |
|      | <i>la</i>    | verbal prefix                                      |
|      | <i>ta-</i>   | agentless passive                                  |

A root with the stative *ma-* used verbally is preceded by a subject proclitic. Roots with the stative *ma-* may be used attributively (as an adjective) within the noun phrase without a subject proclitic. A subject proclitic with the stative *ma-* may indicate process.

- |      |                        |                      |
|------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (12) | <i>tou-k-a na-dema</i> | ‘That man is tall’   |
|      | <i>tou-k-ma-dema</i>   | ‘tall man’           |
|      | <i>na-dema</i>         | ‘He is tall’         |
|      | <i>na-ma-dema</i>      | ‘He is growing tall’ |
|      | <i>oema-dema</i>       | ‘deep water’         |

The prefix *mana-* is used as a relativiser.

(13) <i>tou-mana-hapunale-k</i> <i>ina-mana-boŋi-k-a</i>	‘the man who has luck’ ‘that woman who gave birth’
(14) <i>mana-tunu-k</i>	‘(that) which is roasted’
(15) <i>na-ʔa-k</i> <i>mana-na-ʔa-k</i>	‘he eats’ ‘(that) which he eats’

### 3.2 Reduplication

Reduplication in Roti is both productive and pervasive. Reduplication of the first consonant and vowel (CV-reduplication) functions as follows: CV-reduplication may indicate a noun associated with the result or quality of the root.

(16) <i>ledo</i> <i>le-ledo-k</i>	‘sun’ ‘light (n)’
(17) <i>boŋi</i> <i>bo-boŋi-k</i>	‘give birth, beget’ ‘offspring’

CV-reduplication can indicate the substance which undergoes the action of the root. The reduplication can include the subject proclitic.

(18) <i>pake</i> <i>pa-pake-k</i>	‘put on (clothes)’ ‘clothes’
(19) <i>inu</i> <i>n-inu</i> <i>ni-ninu-k</i>	‘drink’ ‘3sg-drinks’ ‘beverage, drink (n)’

CV-reduplication can also indicate the instrument used to perform the action.

(20) <i>tofa</i> <i>to-tofa-k</i>	‘clearing underbrush’ ‘sickle’
(21) <i>sapu</i> <i>sa-sapu-k</i>	‘sweep’ ‘broom’
(22) <i>kabi</i> <i>ka-kabi-k</i>	‘pinch, squeeze’ ‘tongs’

Verbal CV-reduplication indicates repetitive or iterative aspect.

(23) <i>ŋe-ŋeu</i> <i>ke-keʔe</i> <i>bo-boʔo</i>	‘fan (v)’ ‘knead’ ‘cough’
--	---------------------------------

- |      |                 |               |
|------|-----------------|---------------|
| (24) | <i>ha-hae</i>   | 'breathe (v)' |
|      | <i>ha-hae-k</i> | 'breath (n)'  |

- |      |                |                             |
|------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| (25) | <i>tana</i>    | 'pile up'                   |
|      | <i>ta-tana</i> | 'pile up (multiple action)' |

CV-reduplication can indicate the location in space or time associated with the root.

- |      |                  |                                       |
|------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (26) | <i>masuk</i>     | 'enter' (Malay loan)                  |
|      | <i>ma-masu-k</i> | 'Sunday (the day of entering church)' |

- |      |                |   |
|------|----------------|---|
| (27) | <i>la-lae</i>  | 'corral or stable for large domestic animals' |
|      | <i>le-lesu</i> | 'door'  |
|      | <i>pa-pala</i> | 'wall'  |
|      | <i>ma-mana</i> | 'place'                                       |

There is glottal insertion with CV-reduplication of /a/-initial roots.

- |      |                            |         |
|------|----------------------------|---------|
| (28) | <i>a<sup>ʔ</sup>-adu-k</i> | 'dough' |
|------|----------------------------|---------|

Full reduplication of a root indicates intensity and tends to be adverbial in nature.

- |      |                  |                        |
|------|------------------|------------------------|
| (29) | <i>kiu-kiu</i>   | 'pitch dark'           |
|      | <i>nene-nene</i> | 'listen'               |
|      | <i>lai-lai</i>   | 'immediately, quickly' |
|      | <i>koe-koe</i>   | 'slowly'               |

#### 4. Notes on orthography

Since a large corpus of Rotinese materials is available for study, it is important to distinguish between various conventions used to represent the language, in particular, the conventions adopted by Jonker, more recently by Rotinese themselves attempting to write their own language, and those used for the present study.

Table 7. Different conventions of spelling

Jonker	Practical Orthography	CAD
e, è	e	e
o, ò	o	o
diaeresis on V	'	ʔ
<sup>h</sup> g	<sup>h</sup> g	ɣ
ngg	ngg	<sup>h</sup> g
nd	nd	<sup>h</sup> d
j	y	y <sup>1</sup>

In Jonker's orthography, the glottal stop is indicated by a dieresis over the following vowel. Thus *taëk* 'boy'. This is rendered in the practical orthography as *ta'ek*. In this word list, glottal is represented by /ʔ/, *taʔek*.

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## 36. Buru (Masarete)

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction:	<i>Charles E. Grimes</i>
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Wordlist:	<i>Charles E. Grimes – Wesley M. Lesnussa</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Buru language is spoken by approximately 43,000 people on an island (9800 km<sup>2</sup>) of the same name in the province of Maluku, eastern Indonesia. An additional 2,000 speakers of Buru live elsewhere, primarily in Ambon, Jakarta, and the Netherlands. Other indigenous languages spoken on Buru Island are Hukumina<sup>1</sup> in the northwest (1 speaker left in 1989), and Kayeli in the east (4 speakers left in 1989). Other varieties of Kayeli, such as Lumaete, Lumara, Ilat, Moksela, Leliali and Marulat, are now extinct. Other varieties of Hukumina, such as Bara, Tomahu and Palamata, are also now extinct.

Various immigrant languages also have significant colonies on Buru. The language of Ambelau (5,700 speakers), from an island to the south of Buru, is spoken in the village of Wae Tawa on the southeast coast of Buru. More than 20,000 Javanese have settled in the lower Wae Apo river valley in a government transmigration programme and are converting that area to wet-rice cultivation. Approximately 12,600 Butonese (from southeast Sulawesi) have settled for at least 14 generations along the west and south coasts of Buru, and around 12,500 immigrants from the Sula islands to the north have settled the northern coastal strip of Buru for 12-14 generations.

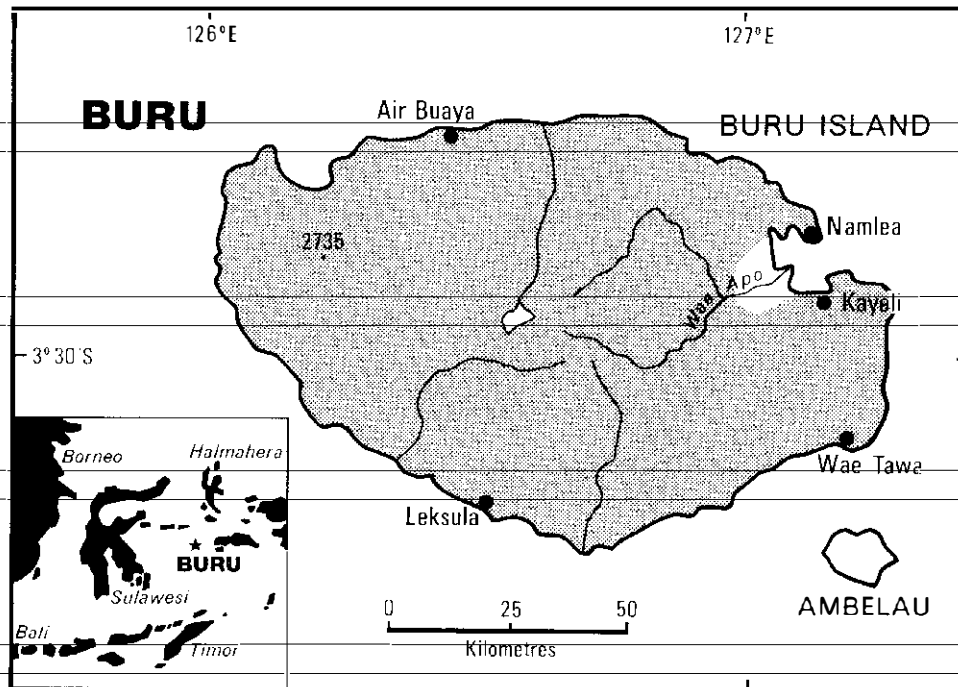
There are five main dialects of the Buru language: the *Wae Sama* dialect (6,600 speakers) is spoken in the southeast; the *Masarete* dialect (9,600) is spoken in the south-central part of the island; the *Rana* dialect (14,250) is spoken in the central part of the island with the subdialects of Rana, Wae Kabo, Hameta (Wae Tina), and Wae Geren; the *Lisela* dialect (11,900), also referred to as Li Enyorot, is spoken on the narrow coastal strip on the north

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1. Hukumina may represent an old migration from the Buton area off south-east Sulawesi and be non-indigenous to Buru.

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coast in an area heavily populated by immigrant groups;<sup>1</sup> and the *Fogi* dialect (500), also known as Li Emteban, has remnants along the southwest coast. Language use in the Wae Sama, Rana and Masarete dialect areas is vigorous, Buru being used as the primary means of daily communication. Indigenous Buru inhabitants in the Lisela and Fogi areas are a minority living in multiethnic, multilingual settings and many of the speakers of these two Buru dialects have shifted to Ambonese Malay as their primary vehicle for communication.<sup>2</sup> Intelligibility between Lisela and the other dialects of Buru is marginal, requiring adjustment on the part of those trying to communicate. A special taboo speech register called *Li Garan* is spoken by some people from the Rana area when they are in the part of the jungle called Garan in the northwest quadrant of the island. Li Garan is formed primarily by lexical substitution and circumlocution of standard Buru words and is based on standard Buru syntax and morphology.<sup>3</sup>



Map 36. Buru language area

1. *Lisela* is divergent enough that, under some criteria, it could be considered a separate language.
2. See B.D. Grimes (1991b) for a discussion of the regional and historical influences on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Buru speech communities.
3. See Grimes – Maryott (1991) for a thorough description of *Li Garan* in the wider Austronesian context.

Data were recorded (primarily as tape recorded texts from a wide variety of speech genres) by the author and his wife (Barbara Dix Grimes) over a period of twelve months in residence in the interior of the Masarete, Rana, and Wae Sama areas from 1985 to 1989.<sup>1</sup> An additional two months of data gathering were carried out off the island with speakers of the Masarete dialect. Data from Kayeli and Lisela were recorded by the author on field trips in 1983 and 1989. Although many people have contributed bits and pieces of information, our primary informants have been Lokis Hukunala, Anton Lesnussa (now deceased), Wesly Lesnussa, Dominggus Nurlatu, Otniel Seleky, and Theda Yom Siahaya. Wesly Lesnussa co-authored the word list.

The best known study on Buru is a brief grammar sketch and glossary of Masarete by Hendriks (1897), which was used by scholars such as Jonker (1906), Brandstetter (1916), Dempwolff (1925) and Stresemann (1918, 1927). Additional grammar notes and texts are found scattered through the orthographic writings of Joh. A.F. Schut (e.g. Schut 1919). C.E.

Grimes (1991) describes aspects of Masarete phonology, morphology and discourse.<sup>2</sup> Buru kinship semantics and social structure are described in B.D. Grimes (1990).

Items listed as borrowings from Malay refer to *Ambonese Malay* (Collins 1980, C. Grimes 1985, B. D. Grimes, 1991a), the lingua franca of the area, *not* to Standard Malay. Unless noted otherwise, the following description refers to the *Masarete* dialect of Buru.

## 2. Summary of the phonology and morphophonemics

Below is a brief overview of Buru phonology and morphophonemics. Additional discussion on historical aspects of the phonology may be found in C. Grimes (1991).

1. Fieldwork was conducted as part of a cooperative programme between Pattimura University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics under the auspices of the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. Fieldwork in 1988-1989 was additionally supported by the Australian National University. Thanks are due both to the Government of Indonesia and to many friends on the island of Buru who have been so willing to share their homes, their food, their language and culture, and their joys and sorrows.
2. A modern reference grammar and a dictionary by the author are in process.



## 2.1 Word stress

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word. Stress is not affected by the addition of suffixes or enclitics, such as the phrase-level plural marker /-ro/, or by the addition of a paragogic /e/.

## 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Buru has seventeen consonant phonemes plus one borrowed phoneme (ǰ).

*Table 1.* Buru consonants

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	( <i>j</i> )	<i>g</i>
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

The /t/ tends to be dental. The /r/ is trilled, but may become a flap or tap intervocalically. The /č/ occurs with very low frequency and derives from the historical clustering of voiceless stop + /s/; it is also found in borrowed words.<sup>1</sup> The phoneme /ǰ/ occurs only in borrowed words.

## 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Buru has five vowel phonemes.

*Table 2.* Buru vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

1. Lisela does not have /č/, but maintains the cluster of voiceless stop + /s/.

High front vowel /i/ tends to be lowered to its lax allophone [ɪ] in unstressed syllables; otherwise it is the tense [i]. High back vowel /u/ tends to be lowered to its lax allophone [ʊ] in unstressed closed syllables; otherwise it is the tense [u].

Each vowel forms the nucleus of a syllable. Consequently there are no diphthongs in Buru. Geminate vowels are sequences across syllable boundaries with the first vowel carrying the stress [(C)V.V].<sup>1</sup>

(1)	<i>ii</i>	‘thing’
	<i>nee</i>	‘six’
	<i>haa</i>	‘get bigger’
	<i>maa-n</i>	‘tongue’
	<i>doo</i>	‘where?’
	<i>puu-n</i>	‘tree’

## 2.4 Phonotactic constraints and morphophonemic processes

Words may end only in /-t, -n, -k, -h, -l/, the plural enclitic /-ro/ or vowels. The /-l/ is restricted to a few lexical items and seems to reflect a frozen retention of a suffix that is still productive in some of the languages of western Seram. The /-t/ derives an instrumental noun from an active verb, an adjective from a non-active verb or a free noun, and forms an independent noun whose identity is understood and is perceived to be a whole unit from a bound noun. The /-n/ marks a genitive relationship with an explicit or implicit referent. The /-k/ repackages the role structure of the verb when added to a verb root, or incorporates an argument within the verb phrase (backgrounding antipassive) when attached to the end of a post-verbal argument. The /-h/ is a third singular object pro-form. In a small number of cases, word final /t n k/ reflect frozen retentions of parent forms.

### 2.4.1 Raising of /o/ to /u/

Words of the shape (C)VCV ending in /o/ have the final vowel raise to /u/ when a suffix or enclitic is added.

(2)	<i>kabo</i>	‘murky, cloudy, obscure’
	<i>kabu-i</i>	‘mud’

1. All combinations of vowel sequences occur, except \*/ui/ and \*/uo/. /ui/ does occur in loans.

(3)	<i>kako</i>	‘outside’
	<i>kaku-n</i>	‘ridge’
(4)	<i>defo</i>	‘stay, sit’
	<i>defu-k</i>	‘leave s.th. behind’
(5)	<i>ego</i>	‘get, take, transfer’
	<i>egu-h</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘get it, take it’

### 2.4.2 Vowel harmony with two back vowels

If there is a consonant between two back vowels (VCV), there is a constraint of vowel harmony such that both vowels are /o/ and the /o/ > /u/ raising mentioned above is blocked.<sup>2</sup>

(6)	<i>soso</i>	‘to nurse, suckle a baby’	[PMP * <i>susu</i> ]
	<i>soso-n</i>	‘breast’	
(7)	<i>toho</i>	‘descend’	[PMP * <i>tuRun</i> ]
	<i>toho-n</i>	‘path, trail’	

But if there is no consonant between back vowels (VV) neither the vowel raising nor the vowel harmony apply.

(8)	<i>tou-k</i>	‘see, look after s.th.’
	<i>tuu-k</i>	‘lift up, appoint’
	<i>soo-k</i>	‘suspend, hang with rope’

### 2.4.3 Vowel harmony with plural enclitic /-ro/

There is a further vowel harmony constraint. When the phrase-level plural enclitic *-ro* is attached to a root ending in /u/, the root-final vowel lowers to [o].

(9)	<i>fafu</i>	‘pig’	[PMP * <i>babuy</i> ]
	<i>faforo</i>	‘pigs’	
(10)	<i>asu</i>	‘dog’	[PMP * <i>asu</i> ]
	<i>asoro</i>	‘dogs’	

1. The /-h/ is often inaudible. Three things may signal its presence: 1) its pronunciation, 2) vowel raising, or 3) the addition of a paragogic /e/ which forces the pronunciation of the /-h/. Thus, /*ego-h*/ may have the phonetic variants [*eguh*, *egu*, *eguhc*].

2. In the Lisela dialect both vowels are /u/ rather than /o/.

#### 2.4.4 Coalescence of like consonants across morpheme boundaries

Across morpheme boundaries there is a coalescence of like consonants to a single unit phoneme.

- |      |                  |               |                      |
|------|------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| (11) | <i>enewet</i>    | ‘life’        | from /en-newe-t/     |
|      | <i>teputelun</i> | ‘chicken egg’ | from /tepu-t telu-n/ |

#### 2.4.5 The shape of the antepenultimate syllable

There are constraints that the shape of the antepenultimate syllable must be VC, and the prothetic vowel must be /e/.<sup>1</sup> There is a historical deletion of the vowel from the antepenultimate syllables of PAN trisyllabic roots and the addition of the prothetic vowel /e/.

- |      |                |                 |           |
|------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|
| (12) | PAN            | Buru            | Gloss     |
|      | <i>*Caliga</i> | <i>etliga-n</i> | ‘ear’     |
|      | <i>*kuRita</i> | <i>ekhita</i>   | ‘octopus’ |

The constraint on the shape of antepenultimate syllable affects the phonological shape of prefixes as well. Prefixes take the form /eC-/, with the prothetic /e/.

- |      |                  |            |  |
|------|------------------|------------|--|
| (13) | PAN              | Buru       | Buru Function                              |
|      | <i>*pa-</i>      | <i>ep-</i> | causative (active agentive)                |
|      |                  | <i>ek-</i> | causative (passive agentive)               |
|      |                  | <i>eg-</i> | causative (passive agentless, adversative) |
|      |                  | <i>ef-</i> | causative (active agentive, out of)        |
|      |                  | <i>es-</i> | verbal (contact of surfaces)               |
|      | <i>*ma-</i>      | <i>em-</i> | stative                                    |
|      |                  | <i>eb-</i> | stative                                    |
|      | <i>*ni- -in-</i> | <i>en-</i> | abstract nominaliser <sup>2</sup>          |

Before roots beginning with voiced stops or stems that already have a prefix, the causative /ep-/ takes the shape /pe-/.

- |      |             |   |           |                    |
|------|-------------|---|-----------|--------------------|
| (14) | /ep-bahi-n/ | > | [pebahin] | ‘have an argument’ |
|      | /ep-em-gea/ | > | [pemgea]  | ‘embarrass s.o.’   |

1. In compounding, the vowel can be other than /e/, and the shape can be CVC.
2. The prefixes shaped /eC-/ contrast with pre-verbal Tense-Aspect-Mood particles of the shape CV, such as *ba* ‘durative’, *ka* ‘habitual’, *te* ‘abilitative’, *la* ‘irrealis’, *ma* ‘realis’.

The prothetic /e/ is not present following a vowel. This is prevalent in forms lexicalised from tabooing, where cliticisation is also involved, or in normal speech.

- (15) *inewet* 'snake' (generic) /ii-en-newe-t/ thing-ABS-live-NOM  
 (16) *gebampe* 'sick person' /geba em-pei/ person STAT-hurt

#### 2.4.6 Neutralisation of voiceless stops to glottal

Voiceless stops /p t k/ may be neutralised to glottal [ʔ] immediately preceding the first consonant of a penultimate syllable.<sup>1</sup> /p/ becomes glottal before /m n ŋ w y/.

- (17) /ep-mata/ > [eʔmata] 'CAUS-die (=kill)'  
 /ep-wei-k/ > [eʔweik] 'CAUS-shout-k'

/t/ becomes glottal before /l m n ŋ p/ and optionally becomes glottal before /k ɾ/.

- (18) /etliŋa-n/ > [eʔliŋan] 'ear'  
 /en-toho-n/ > [eʔnohon] 'descent (ancestry)' [metathesis]  
 [etrua] ~ [eʔrua] 'eight'

/k/ becomes glottal before /l m n ŋ p r t w/.

- (19) /saka-mena/ 'up-dry' > [saʔmena] 'in front'  
 /kuasa/ 'strength' (loan) > [eʔwasa] 'wealth, influence'  
 /en-kodo-t/ > [eʔnodot] 'grinding(stone)' [met.]

#### 2.4.7 Palatalisation with vowel initial roots

Prefixes become palatalised when attached to roots beginning with a vowel.

- (20) /ep-oso-k/ CAUSE-enter-k > [epyosok] 'put s.th. into s.th.'  
 /en-oli-t/ ABS-return-NOM > [enyolit] 'return (fare)'  
 /en-ino-t/ ABS-drink-NOM > [enyinut] 'drinking (water)'  
 /en-ego-n/ ABS-take-GEN > [enyegun] 'taken (goods)'  
 /ep-abi-k/ CAUS-good-k > [epyabik] 'fix s.th.'

1. Note, however that the sequences [epm]/[eʔm] and [etn]/[eʔn] are phonetically difficult to distinguish. Both variants occur.

### 2.4.8 Metathesis with /en-/

The abstract nominaliser /en-/, when connected to roots beginning with /f k s t/ results in metathesis of the adjacent consonants.

(21)	<i>en-foi-t</i>	ABS-bathe-NOM	>	[efnoit]	'bathtub'
	<i>en-kadu-t</i>	ABS-come-NOM	>	[eʔnadut]	'arrival'
	<i>en-suba-n</i>	ABS-cross threshold-GEN	>	[esnuban]	'threshold'
	<i>en-toho-n</i>	ABS-descend-GEN	>	[eʔnohon]	'descent'

### 2.4.9 Cliticisation

Cliticisation (loss of final vowel and loss of primary word stress) signals tighter semantic cohesion in the phrase, or compounding. [' = stress].

(22)	' <i>tuba</i> 'haa-t	'big drum (among several of a single type)'
	<i>tub</i> 'haa-t	'type of drum known as <i>big-drum</i> '

(23)	<i>geb</i>	<i>fuk</i>	'Abon	' <i>tau</i> -n
	'geba	'fuka	'Abon	'tau-n
	person	island	Ambon	CLASS-GEN
	'an Ambonese'			

(24)	<i>an-</i>	' <i>feho-ro</i>
	'ana-	'fehu-ro
	child	new -pl
	'the young generation/the new generation'	

## 2.5 The functions of reduplication

Formally there are several kinds of reduplication in Buru, from multiple repetition<sup>1</sup> and full reduplication of the stem, to reduplication of the root, reduplication of the first CVC, reduplication of the first CV, and reduplication of the first C.

### 2.5.1 Full reduplication of nouns

Full reduplication of nouns has a distributive function indicating 'each (n)'

1. Up to 14 repetitions recorded.

- (25) *geba-geba* 'each person'  
*huma-huma* 'each house'

### 2.5.2 Reduplication of verbs

Full or partial reduplication of active verbs indicates an iterative (repetitive) aspect when the verb is the main verb.

- (26) *iko-iko* 'went (repeatedly)',<sup>1</sup>  
*soh-sohik* 'waited (repeatedly)'

Reduplication of verbs used to modify main verbs indicates an adverb of manner.

- (27) *iko roho-roho* 'go slowly'  
*bisi gos-gosa* 'carve well'

Reduplication of non-active verbs as the main verb indicates intensity.

- (28) *haa-haa* 'really big'  
*empei-mpei* 'really sick'

### 2.5.3 Reduplication of consonant

Reduplication of the first consonant of a root, with the addition of an epenthetic /e/, indicates the semantic relationship of HAVE.

- (29) *enhero pe-paŋa* spear HAVE-barb = 'barbed spear'  
*tonal fe-folo* cuscus HAVE-fur = 'cuscus with fur still on'  
*kapal pe-pani* ship HAVE-wing = 'airplane'

For roots that begin with a vowel the first consonant is also reduplicated. The palatalisation of vowel-initial roots mentioned above blocks the need for an epenthetic /e/.

- (30) *palaki-oko* rice HAVE-skin = 'rice in the husk'

1. This is in contrast to the durative *ba iko* 'continue to go' or the habitual *ka iko* 'habitually goes'.

## 2.6 Voicing as a grammatical feature

There are numerous pairs of lexical items and two pairs of prefixes in which the voiced/voiceless contrast carries a grammatical function. Prototypically, the voiceless member of the pair indicates a volitional agent and the voiced member indicates no agent or unimportant agent.

(31)	<i>tata-k</i>	‘drop s.th.’
	<i>data-k</i>	‘s.th. dropped’
(32)	<i>tela</i>	‘separate s.th.’
	<i>dela-k</i>	‘s.th. separated (lengthwise, as a rubberband breaks)’
(33)	<i>kesu-k</i>	‘break s.th.’
	<i>gesu-k</i>	‘s.th. breaks’
(34)	<i>ek-hida</i>	‘be torn (volitionally)’
	<i>eg-hida</i>	‘be torn (accidentally)’
(35)	<i>ep-rari-k</i>	‘destroy s.th.’
	<i>eb-rari k</i>	‘be destroyed’

## 3. Notes on syntax

Personal deixis in Buru is handled by a variety of pronominal systems.

Table 3. Pronominal systems in Buru

	Free pronouns	Pronominal proclitics	Possessive words	Genitive enclitics <sup>1</sup>
1sg	<i>yako</i>	<i>ya/a</i>	<i>najo</i>	<i>-ŋ</i>
2sg	<i>kac</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>namo</i>	<i>-m</i>
3sg	<i>riŋe/rine</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>nake</i>	<i>-n</i>
1pl excl	<i>kami</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>nami</i>	<i>-nam</i>
1pl incl	<i>kita</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>nanc</i>	<i>-nan</i>
2pl	<i>kimi</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>-nim</i>
3pl	<i>sira</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>nini</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>-nin</i>

1. In the Masarete dialect the entire genitive system has collapsed to the 3sg *-n* form for all person and number combinations.

2. In the Masarete dialect 3plPOSS is *nunu*.



Free pronouns indicate new or reintroduced information in the discourse. They appear in topicalisation constructions, as subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs, as subjects of non-verbal clauses, as objects of transitive verbs, and as objects of prepositions. Pronominal proclitics signal given information in the discourse. They are used only as syntactic subject (of both transitive and intransitive verbs, and of non-verbal clauses) and are never used as object. Both the genitive construction and the possessive construction may be used interchangeably with all roots. There is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

#### 4. Notes on the practical orthography

Following the preferences of readers in preliminary orthography testing, coalesced phonemes are written as a single unit. There is also under-representation of the voiceless stops becoming glottal. Thus, the first consonant (C<sub>1</sub>) of a three-syllable word of the shape eC<sub>1</sub>VCV(-C) may be either preglottalised (most common) or a coalescence of two homogeneous phonemes acting as a single unit. Readers do not have difficulty distinguishing from the context.

- (36) *mata*            ‘die’  
       *emata*           ‘kill’    [eʔmata] from /ep-mata/
- (37) *newe*            ‘live’  
       *enewet*        ‘life’    [enewet] from /en-newe-t/
- (38) *kaa*             ‘eat’  
       *inaan*           ‘food’   [iʔnaan] from /ii-en-kaa-n/<sup>1</sup>

The velar /ŋ/ is written with a digraph /ng/ in the practical orthography for reader transferability to Indonesian.

Note: The practical orthography is not used in the comparative wordlist in this volume.

1. This form has a) cliticisation, b) absence of prothetic /e/, c) metathesis, and d) /k/ becoming glottal.

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## 37. Dobel (Aru Islands)

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Wordlist and Introduction: <i>Jock Hughes</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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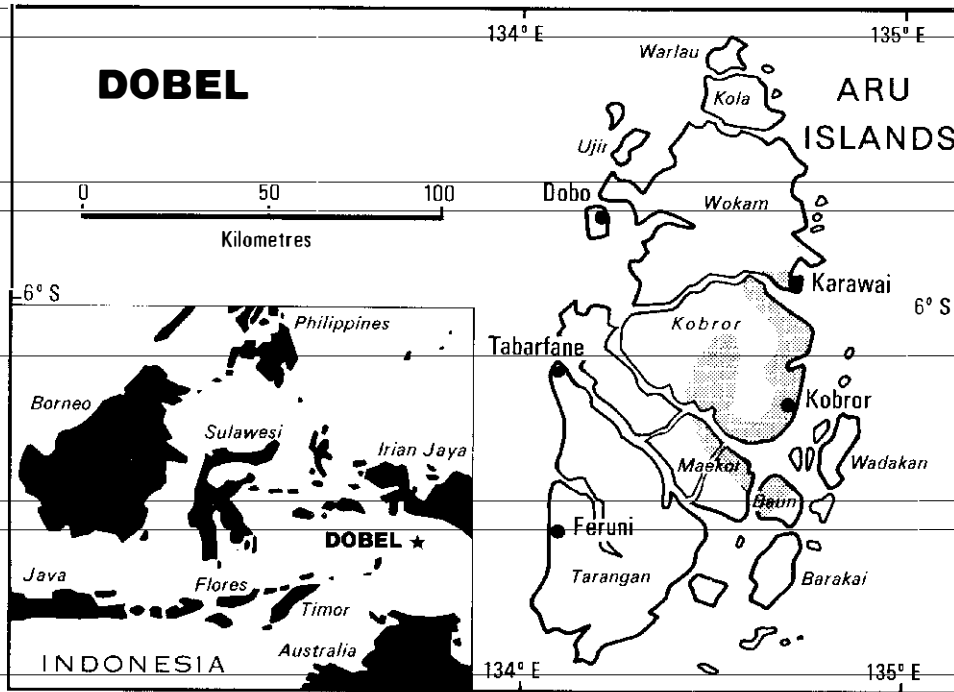
The Dobel language, pronounced [do'bɛl], is spoken in the Aru islands which are in the south-east of the Province of Maluku, Indonesia. Dobel is one of the larger of the 12 languages spoken in the Aru Islands. It is spoken mainly on the eastern half of the large central island of Kobror and also in some villages on neighbouring islands just across the narrow straits of Barakai, to the south, and Manombai to the north. Dobel has several dialects. The first is the inland dialect, spoken in the villages up-river and in the villages which border the Barakai Strait. Secondly there is the south-eastern dialect, spoken on the east coast of Kobror Island from Ponom, at the mouth of the Barakai Strait, northwards to Warjukur. The third is the north-eastern dialect spoken in four villages in the north-east of Kobror Island, and in Karwai village just across the mouth of the Manombai strait on the south-eastern tip of Wokam Island. Within these dialects there is minor variation from village to village. The author and his family have lived in one village from each of these dialect areas, and are now living in Kojjabi village in the north-eastern dialect area, which is where the wordlist was elicited. Kojjabi is the largest Dobel-speaking village. The fourth dialect is the Koba dialect, spoken in three villages on Baun and Fukarel Islands, which lie south-east of Kobror Island. This dialect, while sometimes considered a separate language, is largely mutually intelligible with the other three dialects and shares a high percentage of cognates with them. Dobel is spoken by about 5,000 people (not including those who live outside the area).

Dobel data have been recorded by the author and his wife (Katy Hughes) during four periods in the Dobel area. The first and second were in Warjukur in the south-eastern dialect area (a month in 1985 and a month in 1986), the third was in Algadang in the inland dialect area (three and a half months in 1988), and the fourth was in Kojjabi (three months in 1988). The data recorded in the wordlist have been restricted to forms found in Kojjabi. There were other periods of data-gathering from Dobel speakers outside the Dobel-speaking area. Our main informant for the wordlist was Elkanah

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Selpanay of Kojabi. The field work is being conducted under the auspices of the Department of Education and Culture of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, as part of a cooperative programme by Pattimura University, Ambon, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.



Map 37. Dobel language area

## 2. Summary of the phonology

Here follows a brief overview of the phonology of Dobel.

### 2.1 The phonemes

Dobel, as spoken in Kojabi, has 14 consonant phonemes, /t k<sup>w</sup> ? b d φ s l r m n ŋ w y/, and it has five vowel phonemes, /i e a o u/.

In the diagrams below the phonemes appear by point and mode of articulation.

Table 1. Dobel consonants

	Bilabial	Dental/ Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labialised velar	Glottal
Stops	vɪ vd	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives		<i>ɸ</i>	<i>s</i>			
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Vibrants			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

Table 2. Dobel vowels

	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
Close	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Open	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>

### 2.1.1 Phoneme variants

The phoneme /k<sup>w</sup>/ has variants [k<sup>w</sup>] preceding the non-back vowels /i, e, a/ and [k] preceding the back vowels, /u, o/. Thus:

/k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a/	[k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> ə]	‘small, child’
/k <sup>w</sup> eɪ/	[k <sup>w</sup> eɪ]	‘his younger sibling’
/rak <sup>w</sup> in/	[rək <sup>w</sup> in]	‘leaf’
/k <sup>w</sup> oyər/	[k <sup>w</sup> oyər]	‘dog’
/k <sup>w</sup> otʊ/	[k <sup>w</sup> otʊ]	‘if’
/ʔu'yak <sup>w</sup> ur/	[ʔu'yakur]	‘I pound’

The phoneme /ɸ/ has variants {ɸ} (bilabial fricative) and [p] (bilabial plosive) which occur in free variation, although there is a tendency for the plosive to occur following /m/. In all other environments the fricative is far more common.

The vowel phoneme /a/ is realised in stressed syllables as [a], and in unstressed syllables as either [ʌ] or [ɔ]. These latter two phones occur in free variation in unstressed syllables. The phoneme /e/ is realised roughly midway between [e] and [ɛ] and the phoneme /o/ roughly midway between [o] and [ɔ].

## 2.2 The syllable and phoneme distribution

There are two syllable types in Dobel, CV and CVC. There are therefore no vowel clusters, with the exception of one caused by a morphophonemic change to the suffix *-ŋu* '1st singular object enclitic' or '1st singular inalienable possession suffix' (see below).

All vowels may occur as the nucleus of either CV or CVC syllables.

All consonant phonemes may occur syllable-initially; that is, they may occur word-initially, intervocalically, or as the second member of a word-medial consonant cluster.

Only the phonemes /l r m n y w/ may occur syllable finally in a CVC syllable; that is, they may occur as the first member of a word medial consonant cluster or they may occur word finally. The phoneme /ŋ/ may also occur word finally as a result of morphophonemic change to *-ŋu* '1st singular object enclitic' or '1st singular inalienable possession suffix' (see below).

In very restricted circumstances the phoneme /m/ may occur word finally following a consonant. This occurs when the second person singular inalienable possession suffix, *-m*, occurs after a root final consonant, e.g. /larm/ 'your voice'. (It is more normal for *-m* to be replaced by a zero morpheme in these circumstances – see below.) Much more common is the use of the second person singular verb inflectional prefix *m-* which always occurs before a root initial consonant, e.g. /m'so/ 'you cut'. The phoneme /n/ also occurs word initially before a consonant in /n'da/, the shortened form of /naʔu'da/ 'no, not'. In each of these cases the nasal sounds syllabic; we have not, however, set up a separate syllable type, because the occurrence of word initial or word final consonant clusters is restricted exclusively to these three morphemes. These are simply identified as exceptions to the rules governing the Dobel syllable.

## 2.3 The phonological word

The phonological word in Dobel is defined as a stress group. Each phonological word is the domain of one primary stress which occurs on the

nuclear syllable. The stress occurs on the grammatical root. However, stress is contrastive in Dobel. Although it more normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of the root, it may also occur root finally. Thus /da-'tabay/ 'they carry (on shoulders)' contrasts with /da-ta'bay/ 'they hit'. Words ending in /ʔu/ or /tu/ are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable. This is because historically the /u/ has been added to avoid a syllable final plosive, which is not allowable in Dobel syllable structure. The cognates of these words in other Aru languages are disyllabic words ending in /k/ (equivalent to Dobel /ʔ/) or /t/.

## 2.4 Morphophonemic processes

The morphophonemic processes which occur in Dobel all concern suffixes, except that in the inland dialect the second person singular inflectional prefix, *m-*, undergoes homorganic nasal substitution before the initial consonants of all verb roots. However this does not occur in the dialect where the wordlist was elicited. The other morphophonemic processes which do not occur in Koijabi are as follows:

- (1) *-ŋu* '1st singular object enclitic' or '1st singular inalienable possession suffix' metathesises to *-uŋ* when it follows a root final /a/, thus:

<i>'sama + -ŋu</i>	>	<i>'samauŋ</i>	'my father'
<i>ʔa-'yok<sup>w</sup>a + -ŋu</i>	>	<i>ʔa'yok<sup>w</sup>auŋ</i>	'he sees me'

This metathesis causes two unique phenomena in the language. These are: the only occurrence of a vowel cluster, and the only occurrence (in this dialect) of word final /ŋ/.

- (2) *-ni* 'third person singular object enclitic' metathesises to *-in* following root final /l/. This process only occurs in the north-east dialect.

<i>nal + -ni</i>	>	<i>nalin</i>	'he takes it (animate)'
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- (3) *-ni* 'third person singular object enclitic' or 'third person singular adjective agreement suffix' often drops its final vowel and becomes *-n* following a root final vowel, /y/ or /w/. This process is optional, but usually occurs in Koijabi.

<i>ʔu-'yok<sup>w</sup>a + -ni</i>	>	<i>ʔu'yokwan</i>	'I see him'
<i>bu'lay + -ni</i>	>	<i>bu'layn</i>	'he is hungry'



- (4) The suffix *-m* ‘second person singular inalienable possession’ is usually replaced by a zero morpheme after root final /l r m n/. There are rare exceptions to this rule. It is true for the main dialects of Dobel. Thus:

*taʔar + -m* > *taʔar* ‘your ears’

- (5) *-ye* ‘third person plural object enclitic’ or ‘third person plural adjectival agreement suffix’ undergoes two different morphophonemic changes. Firstly, when it follows root final /a/, the suffix merges with the root, resulting in the root final vowel becoming /e/. This rule is optional. Secondly, when it follows a root final consonant, the /y/ drops out. Both these rules are only found in the north-east dialect. Thus:

*'sina + -ye* > *'sine* or *'sinaye* ‘they are big’  
*ʔa-'lugun + -ye* > *ʔa'lugune* ‘he hides them’

### 3. Some notes on morphology

There follow some observations on the morphology of Dobel. For brevity’s sake I have restricted this to an overview of the morphology of the three main word classes of Dobel, (a) nouns (and pronominals), (b) adjectives and (c) verbs.

#### 3.1 Nouns and pronominals

##### 3.1.1 Noun classes

All nouns in Dobel belong to one of two noun classes, animate and inanimate, which are set up on the basis of the following factors: (a) adjective agreement, (b) numeral agreement, (c) the use of different sets of demonstratives and pronouns, and (d) different pronominal object enclitics that replace them. In each of the above mentioned phenomena, with the exception of numeral agreement, it is only in the third person singular forms that there is a distinction made between animate and inanimate nouns. The plural adjective agreement suffixes, demonstratives and object enclitics are the same for both noun classes. See 3.1.3 below for the distinction in pronominal enclitics, and see section 3.2 for the distinction in adjectival and numeral agreement.

The deictic system is very complicated and beyond the scope of this introduction. Suffice to say that when demonstratives occur with certain specialised pronominals as the head of the noun phrase, if the noun that the pronominal replaces is animate, the demonstrative is chosen from the set *nay* (near speaker), *ne* (mid distance or near addressee), *no* (far away), or *niʔa* (in focus not visible); where the noun replaced is inanimate, the demonstratives are *wa*, *re*, *no* or *riʔa* respectively. It will be seen below (3.1.3) that these demonstratives are also used as third person singular free pronouns, and in this usage too, the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is maintained.

### 3.1.2 Possessive constructions

#### 3.1.2.1 Inalienable possession

There is a closed subset of nouns which under normal circumstances must be possessed. These nouns include most body parts, most relationship terms, and many locational nouns, such as ‘the underneath’, ‘the top’, ‘the inside’, etc. Possession is marked with obligatory possessive suffixes. The following is the paradigm of possessive suffixes, although there is considerable variation in the third person singular forms.

1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl incl	1pl excl	2pl	3pl
-ŋu	-m	last vowel of root > <i>i</i>	-da	-ʔama	-ʔami	-di

Variations in the third person singular include the adding of *-y* root finally, the changing of the final root vowel to *e* instead of *i*, and in some cases almost unrecognisable root changes, such as the root *mata-* ‘eye’ becoming *mayi* ‘his eye’, or the root *yak<sup>w</sup>a-* ‘spouse’ becoming *yasi* ‘his/her spouse’.

#### 3.1.2.2 Alienable possession

Nouns which do not belong to the set of inalienably possessed nouns are possessed by being immediately preceded by a possession word, which does not carry stress when it precedes the noun, but can occur alone with the meaning of ‘mine’, ‘yours’, ‘his’, etc., in which case it has final stress. The following is a paradigm of the possession words.

1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl incl	1pl excl	2pl	3pl
ʔana	ʔamu	ʔani	ʔada	ʔama	ʔami	ʔada

### 3.1.3 Pronominals

There is a set of free pronouns which may occur as subjects or objects. In both positions their presence brings the subject or object into higher prominence, the unmarked forms being (a) the absence of a free pronoun as subject – person and number are indicated by the obligatory verbal inflection prefix – and (b) the use of object enclitics. The free pronouns are as follows:

1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl incl	1pl excl	2pl	3pl
<i>saʔu</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>nay, wa</i> (near)	<i>ʔita</i>	<i>ʔemi</i>	<i>ʔemi</i>	<i>wadi</i> (near)
		<i>ne, re</i> (mid)				<i>de</i> (mid)
		<i>no</i> (far)				<i>do</i> (far)
						<i>ʔiri</i> (general)

## 3.2 Adjective and numeral agreement

### 3.2.1 Adjectives

Adjectives agree with the noun they qualify for person and number; they take agreement suffixes, as in the table that follows. When adjectives qualify third person singular inanimate nouns, the agreement suffix is a zero morpheme indicated below by the symbol  $\emptyset$ . For certain adjectives there is also a change of the final root vowel to *i*.

1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl incl	1pl excl	2pl	3pl
<i>-ŋu</i>	<i>-ʔa</i>	<i>-ni</i> (anim.)	<i>-da</i>	<i>-ʔama</i>	<i>-ʔami</i>	<i>-ye</i>
		$\emptyset$ (inanim.)				

### 3.2.2 Numerals

When numerals qualify inanimate nouns they take no affixation, thus *k<sup>w</sup>alar ʔawa* means ‘four houses’. When they qualify animate nouns a distinction is made between human and non-human; for non-human animate nouns the numerals two to nine take a prefix *ʔay-* (or sometimes *ʔa-*), thus *man ʔay-ʔawa* means ‘four birds’. For human nouns numerals take a suffix which agrees with the noun for person and number. These suffixes are the same as the suffixes for adjectival agreement, except that I have not encountered first or second person singular forms. Thus *ʔodarʼbu ʔawa-ye* means ‘four women’, *lay-da* means ‘the three of us (incl.)’, and *ʔawa-ʔami* means ‘the

four of you'. *Ye* 'one' takes the third person singular suffix *-ni* with all animate nouns, whether human or not, and likewise *wur* 'ten' becomes *wu'raɸi* with all inanimate nouns. The following table shows the various forms of the numerals 1 to 10.

With inanimate nouns:

*ye/ʔe'tu, ro, lay, ʔawa, 'lima, 'dubu, dubu'yam, ʔa'ro, yera, wur.*

With non-human animate nouns:

*'yeni, ʔay'roy, ʔay'lay, ʔay'awa, ʔay'lima, ʔay'dubu, ʔaydubu'yam, ʔaʔa'ro, ʔa'yera, wu'raɸi.*

With human animate nouns (3rd person):

*'yeni, 'roye, 'laye, ʔawaye, 'limaye, 'dubuye, dubu'yame, ʔa'roye, 'yeraye, wu'raɸi.*

### 3.3 Verb morphology

#### 3.3.1 Inflectional prefixes

The inflectional prefix on the verb marks the person and number of the grammatical subject. It has the following forms which occur when the verb root has initial stress and the prefix *r-* does not occur:

Person:	First	Second	Third
Singular:	<i>ʔu-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ʔa-</i>
Plural:	<i>ta-</i> (incl)	<i>mi-</i>	<i>da-</i>
	<i>ma-</i> (excl)		

There is an allomorph set as follows whose members occur with verb roots with non-initial stress, or before the prefix *r-*.

Person:	First	Second	Third
Singular:	<i>ʔo-</i>	<i>mo-</i>	<i>na-</i>
Plural:	<i>ta-</i> (incl)	<i>mina-</i>	<i>da-</i>
	<i>ma-</i> (excl)		

The following are examples of the different allomorphs:

<i>ʔa-bana</i>	‘he leaves’
<i>na-baʔarum</i>	‘he sinks’
<i>na-r-boy</i>	‘he is tired’

### 3.3.2 The prefix *r-*

In some circumstances a prefix *r-* occurs immediately before the verb root and after the inflectional prefix (which is then taken from the second allomorph set – see above). This occurs in three different circumstances:

- (1) Transitive verbs: object deletion. A transitive verb may have the object deleted in order to shift the focus from the object to the activity to which the verb refers. When this happens the prefix *r-* is obligatory. This use may be illustrated by the following two sentences. In the first the focus is on the fact that the dog bites people, as opposed to, for example, other dogs. In the second sentence the focus is on the action of biting, so the object is deleted and the *r-* is inserted:

*k<sup>w</sup>oyar ne ʔa-ʔara tamatu.*  
 dog that 3sg-bite people  
 ‘That dog bites people.’

*k<sup>w</sup>oyar ne na-r-ʔara.*  
 dog that 3sg-R-bite  
 ‘That dog bites.’

- (2) Transitive verbs: co-referential object. When the object of a transitive verb is co-referential with the subject, either with a reflexive meaning or with a reciprocal meaning, the object is represented by a pronominal object enclitic, and the prefix *r-* is inserted. See the difference of meaning in the following three examples:

*ʔa-dayar-ni* ‘He hit him (someone else)’  
*na-r-dayar-ni* ‘He hit himself’  
*da-r-dayar-ye* ‘They hit each other (or: themselves)’

What these two functions of *r-* seem to have in common is that they decrease the valency of the verb, either by deletion of the direct object, or by the direct object becoming co-referential with the subject. For a very relevant discussion of this see Comrie (1985: 319-320). I am therefore calling *r-* a valency-decreasing prefix.

- (3) When *r-* is determined by the lexicon. The third and final occurrence of the prefix *r-*, is a non-productive one. It is simply that the lexicon requires that certain verbs always have *r-*. There are a limited number of such verbs. Most such verbs are intransitive, e.g. *na-r-laʔa* ‘he knows’, *na-r-tir* ‘he bathes’, but there are so far two examples of transitive verbs, e.g. *na-r-naw-ʔa* ‘he teaches you’, and *na-r-sile-ʔa* ‘he pities you’.

### 3.3.3 The prefix *ser-*

Verb roots may take the prefix *ser-*. This prefix has a number of different functions, sometimes class changing, but often the resulting form is analysable in terms of a non-finite verb.

- (a) Occasionally *ser-* forms a noun, thus *ser-'siɸar* ‘language’ is formed from the verb root *-siɸar* ‘speak’.
- (b) A more common use is to form a qualifier for a noun, *ʔay ser-'waw* ‘firewood’ is formed from the root *-waw* ‘burn, bake’, literally meaning ‘wood for burning’. It will be noted, however, that the same word *ser-'waw* has a different meaning in *siʔa ser-'waw* ‘baked fish’, literally ‘fish that has been baked’. Similar is *ʔu'der ser-'lesi* ‘domesticated cassowary’, literally ‘a cassowary that has been domesticated’.
- (c) *Ser-* is also often used to form a verbal noun, the equivalent of the English gerund (‘running’ as in ‘running is fun’). See the examples below (NF = non-finite):

<i>ʔu-'bana</i>	<i>ser-'num</i>	compare:	<i>ʔa-num</i>
1sg-go	NF-dive		3sg-dive
‘I’m going diving.’			‘He dives.’

<i>ʔani</i>	<i>ser-'siɸar</i>	<i>ʔuwatu</i>
3sgPoss	NF-speak	plenty
‘He talks a lot (lit. his talking is plentiful).’		

It will be noted that in the above example *ser-siɸar* does not mean ‘language’ as in (a) above, but is a gerund-like form of *na-r-siɸar* ‘(he) speaks’. These words formed with *ser-* act like nouns; in the above examples both words could be replaced by any noun that would fit the context.

### 3.3.4 Irregular verbs – portmanteau affixation

Certain verbs in *Dobel* act in an irregular manner, in that the inflectional prefix merges with the root, resulting in a one- or two-syllable form which incorporates both the prefix and the root. The combined forms all have initial stress (except in the second person plural because of a two-syllable underlying prefix), which tends to indicate that an underlying root with initial stress has merged with *na-* type prefixes. There are seven verbs of this type:

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1p excl	1pl incl	2pl	3pl
'drink'	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>mi'nan</i>	<i>dan</i>
'sleep'	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>nen</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>mi'nen</i>	<i>den</i>
'cause/do'	<i>ʔom</i>	<i>mom</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>mam</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>mi'nam</i>	<i>dam</i>
'take/give'	<i>ʔol</i>	<i>mol</i>	<i>nal</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>tal</i>	<i>mi'nal</i>	<i>dal</i>
'say/do next'	<i>ʔonʔay</i>	<i>ʔomʔay</i>	<i>ʔonʔay</i>	<i>ʔomʔay</i>	<i>ʔonʔay</i>	<i>mi'ʔonʔay</i>	<i>ʔonʔay</i>
'hold'	<i>ʔodi</i>	<i>ʔodi</i>	<i>ʔodi</i>	<i>ʔodi</i>	<i>ʔodi</i>	<i>mi'ʔodi</i>	<i>ʔodi</i>
'take'	<i>ʔoʔu</i>	<i>ʔomʔu</i>	<i>ʔonʔu</i>	<i>ʔomʔu</i>	<i>ʔonʔu</i>	<i>mi'ʔonʔu</i>	<i>ʔonʔu</i>

## 4 Reduplication

*Dobel*, in common with the other languages in *Aru*, has a complex reduplication system. Reduplication has many morphological and syntactic functions and also has a lexical function. It has two forms phonologically, although one is far more common than the other.

### 4.1 The phonological forms of reduplication

The two forms of reduplication are firstly prefixing reduplication of the syllable core of the stressed syllable (CV- reduplication) and secondly prefixing reduplication of the syllable onset of the stressed syllable (C- reduplication). The first of these, CV- reduplication, is only present when the reduplication has a purely lexical function and only when the initial syllable is stressed. This form of reduplication only occurs on nouns. CV- reduplication may always be optionally replaced with C- reduplication, thus:

CV-	C-	
<i>k<sup>w</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>asa</i>	<i>kk<sup>w</sup>asa</i>	‘crocodile’
<i>tí-tím</i>	<i>ttim</i>	‘sp. of bird’
<i>ʔa-ʔáw</i>	<i>ʔʔaw</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>sa-sár</i>	<i>ssar</i>	‘sandfly’
<i>tu-tún</i>	<i>ttun</i>	‘mosquito’

Secondly, there is C- reduplication which is a reduplication of the initial consonant of the stressed syllable (all syllables are consonant-initial in Dobel). It is manifest phonologically as a fortis lengthened initial consonant on the stressed syllable. This phonological form of reduplication has not yet been found in any other languages of Aru. The reduplication constitutes in fact a separate morpheme (e.g. *ʔaylláw* ‘papaya’). For convenience in this introduction and in the wordlist I will not show it hyphenated as separate, but simply written as a double consonant. The following are some examples of C- reduplication showing the unreduplicated form in parentheses:

<i>yyakur</i>	<i>(yakur)</i>	‘sago-pounder’
<i>ʔʔula</i>	<i>(ʔula)</i>	‘sandy’
<i>kubból</i>	<i>(kuból)</i>	‘of the forest’
<i>sernnúm</i>	<i>(sernúm)</i>	‘diving’

## 5 Notes on the Dobel wordlist

### 5.1 Loan words

Loan words are signalled by square brackets in the list and their source is indicated in the footnotes, where known. An indication that a word is a Malay borrowing means that it has been borrowed from Aru Malay, the local Malay dialect spoken in the Aru Islands. Aru Malay is similar to Ambonese Malay, but has some differences.

### 5.2 Grammatical forms used in the wordlist

**Verbs:** Verbs are given in the third person singular form.

**Adjectives:** Adjectives are given in the form they take when they agree with third singular inanimate nouns (i.e. no suffix), unless they only qualify animate nouns, in which case they are cited with the third singular animate agreement suffix *-ni* or *-n*. Also, where there is a vowel root change in the





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## 38. Irarutu

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**Contributor:**

Wordlist and Introduction: *C. L. Voorhoeve*

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### 1. Introduction

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Irarutu is spoken by 5000 – 6000 people living in the centre of the Bomberai Peninsula, southwest Irian Jaya, and its eastern interior up to the watershed which separates the rivers flowing into Bintuni Bay from those flowing into Cenderawasih Bay. The language belongs to the South Halmahera – West New Guinea subgroup of the Austronesian languages (Blust 1978) but seems to occupy an isolated position in it (Voorhoeve 1989).

Irarutu speakers themselves distinguish seven variants in their language on the basis of lexical differences and differences in *rimia*, a local term covering intonation, stress patterns, speed of speech, and differences in the realisation of segmental phonemes. The seven variants are:

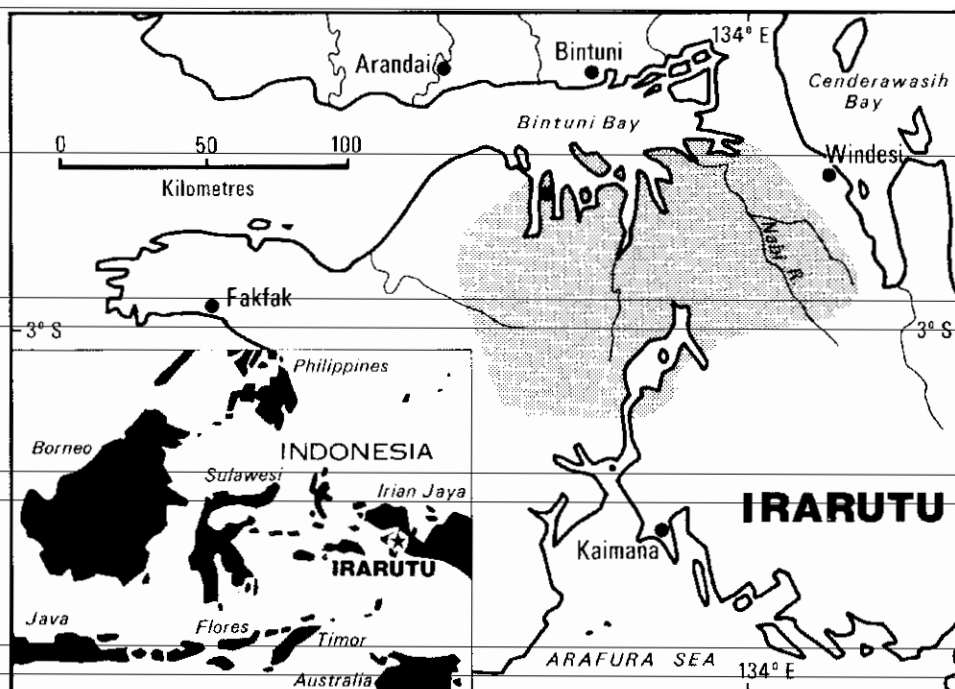
1. Nabi, spoken in the valleys of the Nabi and Kuri rivers, and on the Wagura river. In the Nabi villages on the Wagura river also the Babo variant is spoken.
2. Babo, spoken on the Wagura river (see above), on the lower Kaitero river and in Babo, the administrative centre of the Babo sub-district.
3. Kasuri, spoken on the Kasuri river and in Tomage village.
4. Fruata, spoken in the environments of the R.C. Mission station Fruata and in a number of villages south of it, down to Werefuta on the lower Gono river.
5. South-Arguni, spoken along the western, southern, and eastern shores of Arguni Bay.
6. East-Arguni, spoken along the northeastern shore of Arguni Bay.
7. North-Arguni, spoken in a few villages at the northern tip of Arguni Bay.

A considerable number of Irarutu speakers, mostly from the Arguni Bay area, are now living in the township of Kaimana and the nearby villages Tiowa and Kroi.

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The wordlist presented here represents the Fruata variant. I collected it during short stays in Worofuta village and Kaimana, in August 1986. In Werefuta Mr Marius Durye, primary school teacher, and Mr Gerard Kiruwa helped me to compile the 1200-item list and grammatical notes. In Kaimana a Catholic deacon, Damianus Surinde from Mariedi village, gave me additional lexical and grammatical information. To all of them I express here my sincere thanks for their generous help.



Map 38. Irarutu language area

## 2. Some notes on the Fruata variant

The inventory of the consonant phonemes is:

Table 1. Irarutu consonants

	Bilabial	Dental/Alveolar	Velar
Stops	v	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>
Fricatives		<i>ɸ</i>	<i>s</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>
Flaps			<i>r</i>
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>

/p/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /s/ and /w/ have their usual phonetic values. /t/ and /d/ have dental and interdental realisations. /b/, /d/, and /g/ are often prenasalised in word-initial position; word-medially and finally they are always prenasalised, with voiced and unvoiced stop allophones [b, <sup>m</sup>b, <sup>m</sup>p], [d, <sup>ɲ</sup>d, <sup>n</sup>d, <sup>n</sup>ɖ, <sup>n</sup>t, <sup>n</sup>ʈ], [g, <sup>ŋ</sup>g, <sup>ŋ</sup>k].

/ɸ/ is a bilabial fricative; in initial and final positions it is always unvoiced, intervocalically sometimes voiced. In initial position sometimes a weak bilabial affricate is found; hence the allophones are [ɸ, Pɸ, β].

/r/ is a flapped vibrant, in word-final position sometimes unvoiced [ř, R]. A trilled vibrant also occurs, but only as an alternative realisation of the sequence [řř], = /rr/.

/y/ is a palatal fricative with strong friction, alternating with a palatal affricate.

/w/ and /y/ occur word-initially only (non-initial [w] and [y] have been analysed as non-syllabic /u/ and /i/ respectively). All other consonant phonemes are found word-initially, medially, and finally.

In word-final position preceding a pause, a consonant is always followed by a weak vocalic release. Usually this is a mid-central vowel [ə], but it can also be a weak echo-vowel, e.g. /sus/ = [su:s<sup>ə</sup>], [su:s<sup>u</sup>], 'breast'.

There seem to be seven vowel phonemes:

Table 2. Irarutu vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i [i]		u [u, ŭ ũ]
Mid	e [ɛ, ê]		o [ɔ̃, ô, o]
Low	ɛ [ɛ̃, ε]	a [a, æ, ɑ]	ɔ [ɔ]

In addition there is what seems to be a non-phonemic mid-central vowel [ə] which occurs predictably at the end of words (see above) and as an automatic separator of consonant phonemes when two consonants within a word are not separated by one of the vowel phonemes. Thus: [ɔ məsə<sup>m</sup>be<sup>ŋ</sup>gətə ɸa'nɛ] /ɔ msbegt ɸanɛ/ 'you you-shot (the) pig'. The only consonant sequences which do not require the presence of a separator are those consisting of a voiced stop (or /ɸ/), and /r/: /br, dr, gr, ɸr/.

Stress is phonemic as shown by [ɔʔɔ <sup>ŋ</sup>gata] 'who (are) you?' – [ɔʔɔ <sup>ŋ</sup>ga 'ta] 'you eat shit'. In words with more than one vowel phoneme however the last vowel usually carries the stress: ɸa'nɛ 'pig'.

### 3. Orthography

A strictly phonemic spelling results in written words which can contain long sequences of consonants. A non-phonemic [ə] will be written when it separates two consonants. In polysyllabic words stress will be marked when it is not on the last vowel (the consonant separator ə, although written, is ignored because it is not a phonemic vowel).

### 4. Verbs

Transitive and intransitive action verbs are marked for person of agent only. Maximally 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons are distinguished; the markers are prefixed. With stems that do not trigger morphophonemic changes these markers are:  $\emptyset$ - 'I, we'; *m*- 'you (sg, pl)'; *n*- 'he, she, it; they'. Such verb stems have an initial vowel, *t* (if followed by a stressed vowel), *k*, *d*, *g*, *n*, *r*, or *y*.

	1	2	3
'blow'	<i>uɸ</i>	<i>m-uɸ</i>	<i>n-uɸ</i>
'peel'	<i>dadən</i>	<i>mə-dadən</i>	<i>nə-dadən</i>

Morphophonemic changes occur if a verb stem begins with one of the following consonants: *t* (not followed by a stressed vowel), *ɸ*, *b*, *m*, or *s*.

*n*- + stem-initial *t*: > *d*

'spit'	<i>təɸe</i>	<i>mə-təɸe</i>	<i>dəɸe</i>
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*m*- + stem-initial *f*: > *b*

'go'	<i>ɸa</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>nə-ɸa</i>
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*m-* + stem-initial *b*: >*b*

‘laugh’    *bariɸ*    *bariɸ*    *nə-bariɸ*

*m-* + stem-initial *m*: > *m*

‘stand’    *mərir*    *mərir*    *nə-mərir*

*n-* + stem-initial *s*: > *s*

‘return’    *su*    *mə-su*    *su*

The following verbs are irregular, having *g-* marking 1st and 2nd person, and *n-* marking 3rd person:

	1/2	3
‘sleep’	<i>gen</i>	<i>nen</i>
‘drink’	<i>gin</i>	<i>nin</i>
‘eat’	<i>ga</i>	<i>na</i>

The aspect markers *bu* ‘completive’, *do* ‘progressive’, and the mode marker *ga* ‘intention’ precede the verb.

## 5. Personal/possessive pronouns

The basic forms of the pronouns can function as personal and as possessive pronouns. Only with 1sg we find two forms one of which does not occur as a possessive pronoun:

Sg	1	<i>ya, a</i>
	2	<i>ɔ</i>
	3	<i>i</i>
Pl	1 incl	<i>it</i>
	1 excl	<i>am</i>
	2	<i>ε</i>
	3	<i>ir</i>

The form *ya* functions as subject and object. *a* occurs as a possessive pronoun but can also function as subject. Thus: *a waməs* ‘my blood’, *ya maməs* ‘I am red/bloodied’, *ya/a gene si* ‘I dream saw’ = ‘I dreamt’.

There are derived forms marked by a suffix *-rɔ* (emphatic, focal), *-ri* (possessive, used predicatively) and *-ririɔ* (emphatic variants of the *-ri* forms): *yarɔ* ‘I’, *yari* ‘mine’, *yarirɔ* ‘mine’ (emphatic).

## 6. The possessive noun phrase

In the possessive noun phrase the head noun is preceded by the possessive pronoun. Normally the head noun is not morphologically marked for possession; exceptions are nouns referring to body parts, “names”, and at least one kin term. All of these take possessive suffixes indicating the person of the possessor. They are:

1 pers	:	-g, -ug, -og
2 pers	:	-m, -um, -om
3 pers	:	-∅

For example:

*φra* ‘arm’ – (a, it, am) *φrag* ‘(my, our) arms’ – (ɔ, ε) *φram* ‘your arms’  
 – (i, ir) *φra* ‘his/her, their) arms’.  
*rit* ‘skin’ – (a, it, am) *ritug* – (ɔ, ε) *ritum* – (i, ir) *rit*.  
*ta φad* ‘elder sibling, same sex’ – *a tag φad* ‘my elder brother/sister’

When the possessor is referred to by a noun there are two possibilities: either a noun – noun construction in which N<sub>1</sub> is the possessor and N<sub>2</sub> the possessed, or a noun – possessive pronoun 3p – noun construction:

*fra si* ‘arm joint, elbow’; *a die san / a die i san* ‘my father’s house’.

## 7. Word order

Irarutu is an S V O language. Noun modifiers and numerals follow the noun. Some nouns require a numeral classifier when counted:

<i>mɔ kɔsi</i>	‘child small’ = ‘a small child’
<i>omage φu eso</i>	‘coconut fruit one’ = ‘one coconut’
<i>φane tɔni eso</i>	‘pig body one’ = ‘one pig’

Some additional information on the Irarutu language can be found in the short sketch by the author published in the journal *Irian* (Voorhoeve 1989).

Other publications which contain data on Irarutu are Cowan (1953), Anceaux (1958, 1961); Voorhoeve (1975), Blust (1978), Barr – Barr (1978).

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## 39. Sawai

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Ronald Whisler -- Jacqui Whisler</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Sawai is spoken along the coast of south Halmahera between the southern and southeastern peninsulas in the northern part of the province of Maluku, eastern Indonesia (see map). Sawai speech varieties chain from the eastern-most village of Mesa, to the southern-most village of Mafa, in the Gane Timor subdistrict. Villages that are close in geographic proximity are generally also highest in lexical similarity. In addition, villages that share the same dominant religion (i.e. Islam or Christianity), though they are geographically separate, share vocabulary that is not shared by villages of the other religion.

Sawai, sometimes referred to as the Weda language, is spoken by approximately 12,000 people.

Data for the present word list were recorded in the villages of Lelilef Serani and Kobe Peplis, where the authors have lived for a period of twelve months.<sup>1</sup> Our primary informants were Yulius Burnama, Librek Badengo, Wilhelmus Badengo, Samsudin Bane and Etelina Badengo.

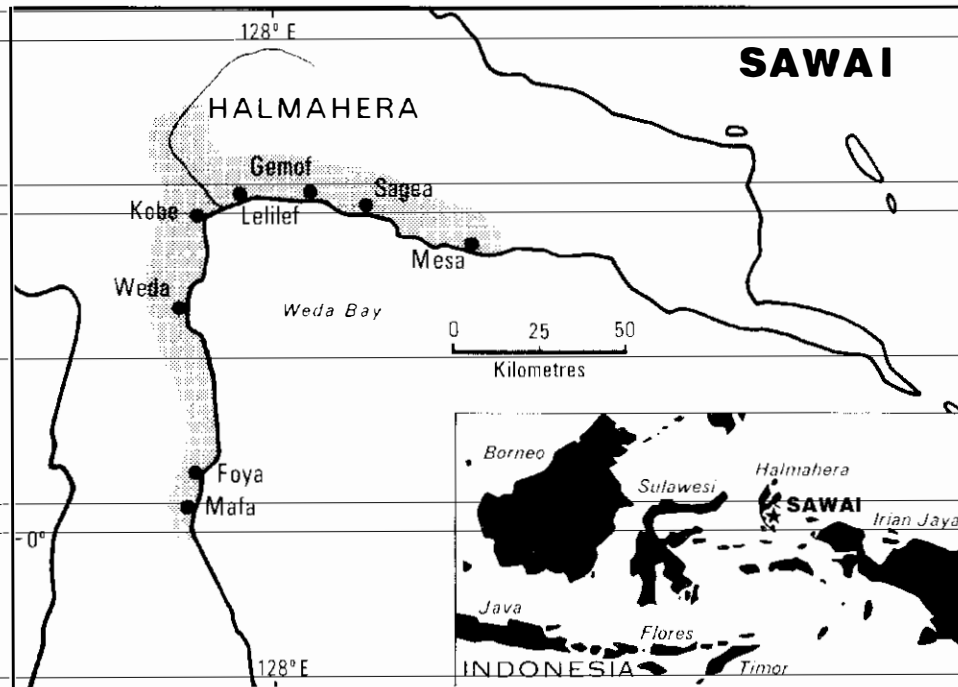
Items listed as borrowings from Malay refer to North Moluccan Malay (see Voorhoeve 1983, Taylor 1983), the *lingua franca* of the area, not to Standard Indonesian. Because of the historical dominance in the region of the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, there has been considerable lexical borrowing from the non-Austronesian North Halmaheran languages of Ternate, Tidore and Tobelo. The linguistic differences between the Ternate language and the Tidore language are minimal, making it difficult to distinguish the particular source of some loan words. Furthermore, the non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera have themselves borrowed

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1. The fieldwork was conducted as part of a cooperative effort between Pattimura University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics under the auspices of the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. We wish to thank both the Government of Indonesia, our sponsoring University, and our many Sawai friends who have so graciously shared their lives with us.

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heavily from Austronesian languages, such as Sangir and Malay, and some of these Austronesian loans have come into Sawai via non-Austronesian languages. Thus, the picture of contact-induced language change in Sawai is complex, involving both non-Austronesian languages and Austronesian languages of different higher-order subgroups.



Map 39. Sawai language area.

The Sawai language, included under Blust's (1978) classification as a South Halmahera-West New Guinea language, has received scant attention in the literature. Sawai directionals are discussed briefly by Shuji Yoshida in his survey of Galela and other North Halmaheran directionals (1980). Michael R. Thomas, after fieldwork in the village of Kobe Gunung, published a brief sketch of Sawai pronominal proclitics (1983). In addition, a Pattimura University research team has drafted a Sawai grammar sketch. The most complete description of a related South Halmaheran language is by Maan (1940, 1951) for the Buli language.

## 2. Summary of the phonology

### 2.1 Word Stress

Words are stressed on the penultimate syllable of the root.

(1)	/baŋa/	['baŋa]	'forest'
	/yεget/	['yεget]	'oil'
	/lεgæ/	[lε'gæ]	'man'
	/mafyanes/	[ma'fyanes]	'hot'

However, when the penultimate vowel is a mid front lax vowel /ε/ and the final vowel is other than /ε/, the stress falls on the ultimate syllable.<sup>1</sup>

(2)	/musɛla/	[musɛ'la]	'woven mat'
	/lɛlit/	[lɛ'lit]	'mango'
	/lɛlɔ/	[lɛ'lɔ]	'blood'
	/dɛlut/	[dɛ'lut]	'parents'

## 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Sawai has fifteen consonant phonemes.

Table 1. Sawai consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Flaps			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	

The /w/ is a semivowel, but becomes a fricative [β] when preceding a liquid or the lax vowel /ε/. The /r/ is a flap, but may become a trill when following a consonant.

The /s/ and /y/ have the allophones [č] and [j] respectively. When the /s/ is preceded by a non-liquid alveolar or when /y/ is preceded by a voiced alveolar stop, either between or across word boundaries, they are affricated and palatalised. [č] and [j] do occur with low frequency in other

1. We have indicated stress in the wordlist when stress does not follow the rules mentioned above. The majority of such forms probably reflect reduplication with the root retaining the stress when the reduplicated syllable is added before it.

environments, but due to this limited frequency we have analysed them phonemically as sequences of /ts/ and /dy/ respectively.<sup>1</sup>

All consonants occur in syllable-initial position. The /d/ never occurs syllable finally, or initially in a consonant cluster. /h/ is only found in borrowed words from the surrounding non-Austronesian languages or Malay.

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Sawai has eight vowel phonemes

*Table 2.* Sawai vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

/ɛ/ is phonetically a mid, front, lax, unrounded, vowel. /ɔ/ is a mid, back, lax, rounded vowel. In an open syllable that precedes the stressed syllable, /ɛ/ sometimes neutralises with central vowel /a/. The mid vowels /ɛ ɔ/ tend to act as low vowels in terms of morphophonemics.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.4 Syllable and Word Structure

The minimal structure for a single syllable is V, while the maximal is CCVC.

(3)	V	<i>i</i>	‘he, she, it’
	VC	<i>in</i>	‘fish’
	CV	<i>fa</i>	‘sting ray’
	CVC	<i>yof</i>	‘sago’
	CCVC	<i>kmɔn</i>	‘axe’

1. They are written *ç* and *ʝ* respectively in the wordlist because of uncertainty as to their status.
2. The mid-high vowels /e o/ occur with low frequency, but sufficient to establish contrast with /ɛ ɔ/. However, their phonemic status is regarded as provisional.

CV.CVC and CV.CV are the most common word structures, though mono- and tri-syllabic words also occur. The longest word found consists of five syllables.

Consonant clusters occur not only within the syllable but also across syllable boundaries. Vowel sequences occur word medially and finally.

### 3. Morphology and morphophonemics

Verbs take the following pronominal prefixes:

Table 3. Sawai pronominal prefixes

Singular		Plural	
<i>k-</i>	1st person	<i>k-</i>	1st person exclusive
		<i>t-</i>	1st person inclusive
<i>m-</i>	2nd person	<i>f-</i>	2nd person
$\emptyset$	3rd inanimate	<i>r-</i>	3rd inanimate

In combination with the pronominal prefixes, verbs can also take the following affixes:

Table 4. Sawai verbal affixes

Prefixes		Suffixes	
<i>fa-</i>	causative	<i>-o</i>	location focus
<i>t-</i>	accidental, passive	<i>-e</i>	paragoge, instrument focus
<i>m-</i>	stative		
<i>n-</i>	progressive/habitual		

A subgroup of body parts and kinship terms (inalienable possession) take a possessive enclitic. These enclitics are as follows:

Table 5. Sawai genitive enclitics

Singular		Plural	
<i>-g</i>	1st person	<i>-mam</i>	1st person exclusive
		<i>-r</i>	1st person inclusive
<i>-m</i>	2nd person	<i>-f</i>	2nd person
$\emptyset$	3rd person	<i>-ri</i>	3rd inanimate

The paragoge /-ε/ is added to consonants just before a temporary pause, or just before the end of the clause. In general, Sawai tends to end the phonological sentence with a CV syllable.

(4)	<i>um</i>	~	<i>umε</i>	'house'
	<i>mekot</i>	~	<i>mekote</i>	'red'
	<i>āy</i>	~	<i>āyε</i>	'wood'
	<i>aw</i>	~	<i>awε</i>	'2sg, you'

A voiced stop assimilates to the voicelessness of a following voiceless stop.

(5)	<i>tεb+tuβo</i>	[tεp'tuβo]	'the top'
	<i>tεb+tibe</i>	[tεp'tibe]	'supporting beam'
	<i>n-tεg+tig</i>	[ntεk'tig]	'3sg-to hop'
	<i>n-fab+sobe</i>	[nfap'sobe]	'3sg-recip-hang'

Geminate clusters can occur when either proclitics or reduplicative morphemes precede a verb root. When such a cluster occurs, the two identical consonants reduce to one.

Geminate reduction from pronominal proclitics:

(6)	<i>t-telote</i>	>	<i>telote</i>	'1pl incl +hungry'
	<i>m-mesie</i>	>	<i>mesie</i>	'2sg-to care for, to love'

Geminate reduction from reduplication:

(7)	<i>tεt-titef</i>	>	<i>tεtitef</i>	'spittle'
	<i>kεk-kaket</i>	>	<i>kεkaket</i>	'wood beam used to lock door'

Nouns are derived from verbs by reduplicating the first two consonants of the verb root, interposed by the mid front lax vowel /ε/. The nominalisation reduplication formula is:

(8)	$C_1εC_2$ : NOM	+	<i>tolen</i>	to sit	>	<i>teltolen</i>	'chair'
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(9)	<i>lesen</i>	'to sweep'	>	<i>leslesen</i>	'sweeper'
	<i>titef</i>	'to spit'	>	<i>tεtitef</i>	'spittle'
	<i>n-εtibe</i>	'3sg-to stake'	>	<i>tεptibe</i>	'stake'

A reciprocal verb is marked by initial /fa-/ plus the reduplication of the second consonant of the verb root ( $C_2$ ). Thus:

(10)	<i>fa-C<sub>2</sub></i> +	<i>εηotɔ</i>	'to see'	>	<i>fateηotɔ</i>	'see one another'
	<i>fa-C<sub>2</sub></i> +	<i>gali</i>	'to help'	>	<i>falgali</i>	'help one another'
	<i>fa-C<sub>2</sub></i> +	<i>pitno</i>	'to tie'	>	<i>fatepitno</i>	'tie two things together'

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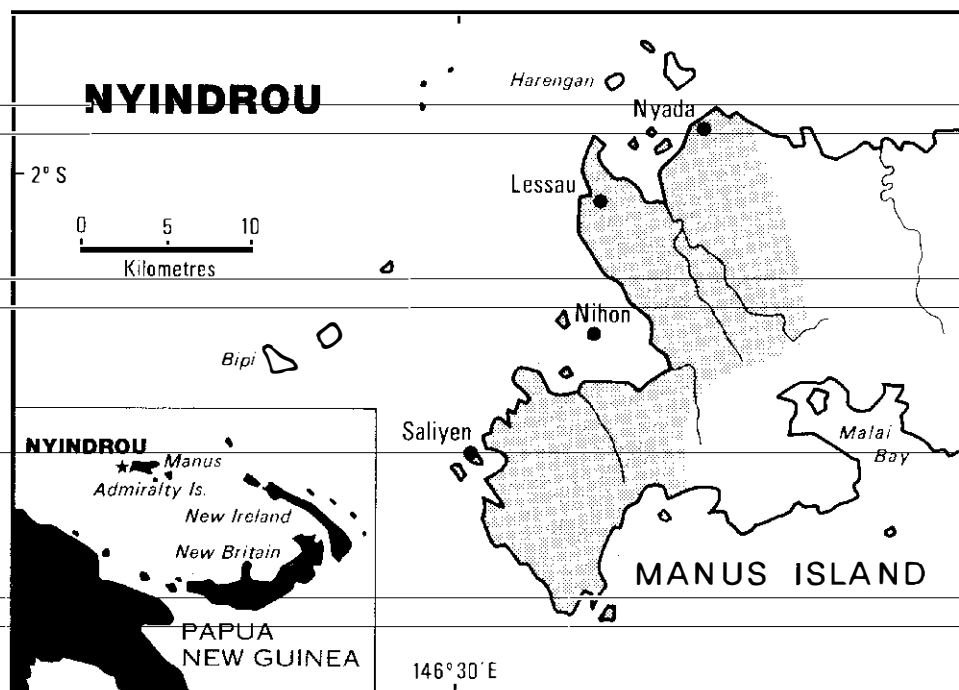


## 40. Nyindrou

**Contributors:**Introduction : *Bill Martin*Wordlist : *Timothy Kundrake – Charles Kowak*

### 1. Introduction

The Nyindrou language (also known as Lindrou and Lindau) is spoken by about 2,550 people who live on the western end of Manus Island in Papua New Guinea. The main villages where Nyindrou is spoken are: Nyada, Jowan No.1, and Jowan No.2 on the north coast; Lessau, Nihon, Kalei and Saliyen on the west coast; and Bundrahi-Sapondralis, Likum and Korojih in the Malai Bay area of the south coast (see map). The villages in the Malai Bay area speak a mutually intelligible dialect of Nyindrou called “Babon”. Probably another 2,000 people speak or understand Nyindrou as a second language in the neighbouring language areas of Bipi, Sori-Harengan and Levei-Tulu.



Map 40. Nyindrou language area

Before 1980 very little linguistic description was undertaken in the Nyindrou language, other than brief word lists and samplings of grammatical features for purposes of comparative linguistic studies by such scholars as W.E. Smythe (1970) and R.A. Blust (1979). In 1980 the Summer Institute of Linguistics in cooperation with the Papua New Guinea Bible Translation Association conducted a sociolinguistic survey of Manus Province which included the Nyindrou language area. Since 1981 the author and his wife (Lenore Martin) have worked intermittently in the language area, residing at Lessau village, and working as advisors and consultants to Nyindrou national translators and literacy workers.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Phonology

Below is a brief overview of the phonology of Nyindrou.

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

Nyindrou has 22 consonant phonemes represented in Table 1:

*Table 1.* Nyindrou consonants

	Velarised labials	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Lab. Velars	Glottal
Stops	vɫ	<i>p</i> <sup>w</sup>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	ʔ
	vɗ	<i>b</i> <sup>w</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i> <sup>w</sup>
Prenasals			<i>n</i> <sup>d</sup>				
Fricatives			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i> <sup>w</sup>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>		
Laterals			<i>l</i>				
Flaps			<i>r</i>				
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>			

1. We wish to thank the many Nyindrou people who have opened their homes to us and have shared with us their language and culture. Those involved most directly in the application of linguistics to their own language have been Timothy Kundrake, Charles Kowak, Robert Kowak (now deceased), Bernard Laban, Samuel Bolaubeu, Jonah Labanas, Matthew Kubwesau, Jessie Siraon, and the members of the Nyindrou Translation Committee. Those who contributed most to the present word list were Timothy Kundrake and Charles Kowak.

**2.1.1 Discussion.** The phonemes /p/, /p<sup>w</sup>/, /d/, /g/, and /g<sup>w</sup>/ are of relatively low frequency. /p/ and /t/ are lightly aspirated. /g/ and /k/ contrast only word initially. /<sup>n</sup>d/ is a prenasalised alveolar stop with flapped release. It occurs with great frequency and is very common in Manus languages. /ñ/ is a palatalised nasal which very clearly contrasts with /n/. There is no velar nasal in the language. /ɟ/ is only lightly voiced and has the quality of a palatalised stop. In the practical orthography the glottal stop is written as a hyphen, and only when it occurs word medially. In the present word list the glottal stop is represented as /ʔ/, with the hyphen representing morpheme breaks. /r/ is normally flapped, except in final position where it is a voiceless trill. Only /k/, /m/, /n/, /h/, /r/, /s/, /p/, /w/ and /y/ are found word finally.

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Nyindrou has five vowel phonemes:

Table 2. Nyindrou vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

In addition to the five basic vowels the following diphthongs may occupy the nucleus of a syllable: *ei*, *ai*, *oi*, *ui*, *eu*, *ou*, *au*, *iu*, *ae*, and *ao*. The diphthongs *ae* and *ao* occur with relatively low frequency.

**2.2.1 Discussion.** All the vowels are somewhat lengthened in stressed syllables. The back vowels /u/ and /o/ tend to be nasalised when contiguous to nasals. /o/ tends to be more open when contiguous to velars and glottals.

## 2.3 Word stress

Stress generally falls on the first syllable of multisyllable words. With verbs having modal/aspectual prefixes, the stress generally falls on the first stem syllable.

## 2.4 Notes on the shape of words and syllables

The possible syllable shapes in Nyindrou are V, CV, CVC, and VC. VC never appears in words of more than one syllable. Since there are no actual consonant clusters in the language, the syllable pattern of longer words is built on the formula (C) V (CV) ~ (C).

## 2.5 Notes on morphophonemic assimilation and vowel harmony

The first, second, and third person singular pronouns (*jo* 'I', *ou* 'you', and *iy* 'he/she/it') tend to fuse with vowel initial verbs, especially in rapid speech. the vowel of the first person singular pronoun *jo* 'I' tends to harmonise with a following vowel-initial verb. For example:

written form		moderate speech	rapid speech
<i>jo eme</i>	'I come'	[ʃe eme]	[ʃeme]
<i>jo udu</i>	'I stay'	[ʃu udu]	[ʃudu]
<i>jo ili</i>	'I go'	[ʃi ili]	[ʃili]
<i>ou amc</i>	'you come'	[owame]	[wame]
<i>ou ado</i>	'you stay'	[owado]	[wado]
<i>ou ala</i>	'you go'	[owala]	[wala]
<i>iy eme</i>	'he comes'	[iyeme]	[yeme]
<i>iy udu</i>	'he stays'	[iyudu]	[yudu]
<i>iy ili</i>	'he goes'	[iyili]	[yili]

The assimilation and vowel harmony illustrated above does not occur with consonant-initial verbs or when modal/aspectual prefixes exist on the verb.

Certain word classes having three or more syllables, such as the emphatic deictics and state verbs used to predicate physical attributes or conditions, tend to have a sort of vowel harmony in which each syllable maintains the same vowel quality. For example:

<i>kada-ah</i>	'right here (near)'
<i>kede-eh</i>	'right there (mid-range)'
<i>kodo-oh</i>	'right there (distant)'
<i>ñala-an</i>	'cold'
<i>ñarahan</i>	'hot'

Verbs having an ACTOR focus generally begin with a (low) vowel and may be of low or mid transitivity. Verbs having a GOAL focus generally end with /i/, /ei/, /nei/ or /ani/. For example:

<i>asak</i>	'be open'
<i>aseh</i>	'open up'
<i>sihi</i>	'open something'
<i>luhe</i>	'a curse/oath'
<i>aluhe</i>	'swearing'
<i>luhani</i>	'swear at someone'
<i>sihinen</i>	'price/cost'
<i>sisih</i>	'for sale'
<i>asih</i>	'buying/selling'
<i>sihinei</i>	'purchase/sell something'
<i>tarou</i>	'a design/text'
<i>atorou</i>	'draw/write'
<i>torowenei</i>	'engrave/publish something'
<i>tukum</i>	'a gathering'
<i>atukum</i>	'gather/gathering'
<i>tukum<sup>wi</sup></i>	'gather something together'

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# 41. Manam

**Contributor:**

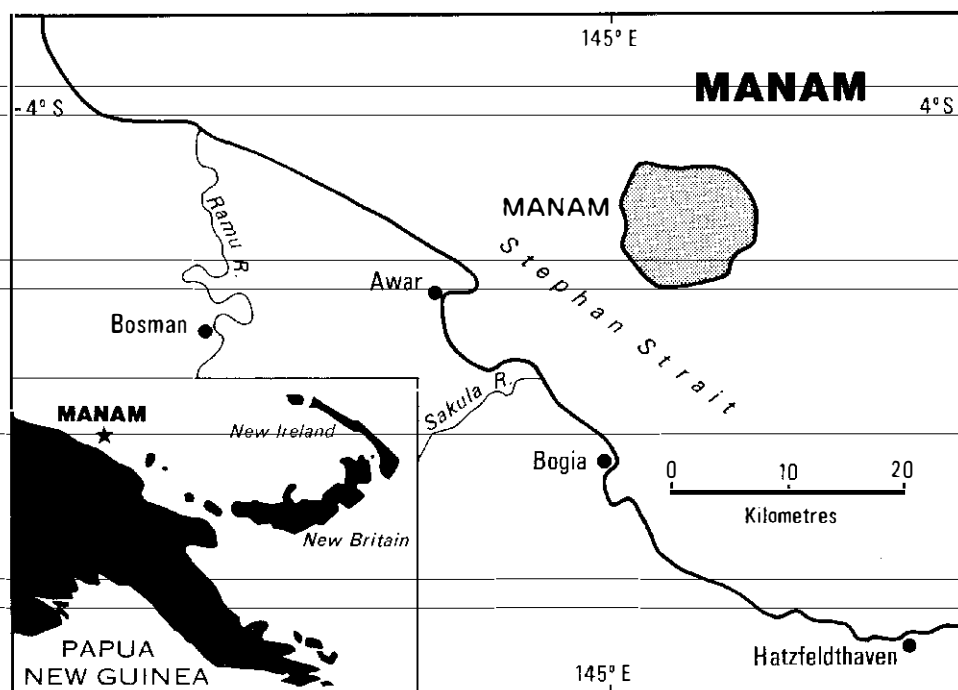
Introduction and Wordlist : *Blaine P. Turner*

## 1. Introduction

The Manam language is spoken by all the approximately 7000 people on Manam and Boesa Islands, Bogia District, Madang Province in Papua New Guinea. It is an Austronesian language in the Schouten Family. There is partial mutual intelligibility with its closest neighbour, Miem, spoken on Biem, Kadovar, Ruprup and Uei Islands to the Northwest. No major dialect divisions have been identified in Manam but some small regional phonological and lexical differences can be noted.

Some early work was done on the language by Wedgwood (1934) and Böhm (1975). Later Lichtenberk (1983) produced a complete grammar of Manam.

Data were recorded by the author over a period of three years in residence on Manam in Kuluguma Village beginning in September 1978. In addition



Map 41. Manam language area



to numerous informants from Kuluguma Village, Barnabas Manabung from Kolang Village reviewed the data for completeness and accuracy.

## 2. Summary of the phonology

Below is a brief overview of the phonology of Manam. A more complete treatment may be found in Turner (1986).

### 2.1 Word stress

Generally stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word. If the ultimate syllable is closed, it will carry the stress.

- (1) *'mata* 'eye'  
*ma'tam* 'your eye'

A stress shift left is occasionally used to mark the singular number as in:

- (2) *udi go'ʔaŋ* 'eat the bananas'  
*udi 'go'ʔaŋ* 'eat the banana'  
*go'doʔi* 'get them'  
*'godoʔi* 'get it'

### 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Manam has 13 consonant phonemes.

*Table 1.* Manam consonants

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives	vl		<i>s</i>		
	vd		<i>z</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Vibrants			<i>r</i>		

Phoneme	Allophones
/p/	[p <sup>h</sup> ]
/t/	[t <sup>h</sup> ]
/ʔ/	[ʔ] ~ [k <sup>h</sup> ]
/b/	[b]
/d/	[d]
/g/	[g] ~ [ɣ]
/s/	[s] ~ [ʃ]
/z/	[z] ~ [dʒ]
/m/	[m]
/n/	[n]
/ŋ/	[ŋ]
/l/	[l]
/r/	[r̥] ~ [r̄]

**2.2.1 Discussion.** Manam is undergoing a change from backed *k* to the glottal stop. The velar stops are still used only by older people in the Northeast quadrant of the island.

/m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ contrast in all positions except word final, where /n/ does not occur on the surface. There is evidence that some of the word final velar nasals are underlying alvcolar nasals.

(5)	Proto-Manam	Miem	Manam	
	<i>*dan</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>daŋ</i>	‘water’
	<i>*man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>maŋ</i>	‘bird’

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Manam has five vowel phonemes.

Table 2. Manam vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

**2.3.1 Discussion.** High vocoids [i u] perturb to their respective non-syllabic vocoids [y w] in the environment of contiguous vocoids within the same syllable.

(3)	/ueno/	['we.no]	'I sleep'
	/ieno/	['ye.no]	'he sleeps'
	/goai/	[gway]	'star'

Contrast between /o/ and /u/ is neutralised when they are contiguous to vocoids within the same syllable, and are both realised as the non-syllabic vocoid [w].

(4)	/ʔualale/	[k̄ walale]	'you go (realis)'
	/goalale/	[gwalale]	'you go (irrealis)'
	/oati/	[wati]	'four'
	/t̄ou/	[tow]	'marry'
	/boaum/	[bwawm]	'your smell'

## 2.4 Notes on syllables

The Manam syllable consists of:

(C) (V<sub>1</sub>) V (V<sub>1</sub>) (N)

where V<sub>1</sub> is any vowel except *a*.

(6)	/baŋ/	'taro'	/goai/	'star'
	/ae/	'leg'	/boaum/	'your smell'

In addition there is a syllabic nasal *m̄*- as in:

(7)	/m̄-pi.le/	'I will speak'
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## 42. Takia

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction: <i>Malcolm D. Ross</i>
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Word list: <i>Malcolm D. Ross – Mait Kilil</i>
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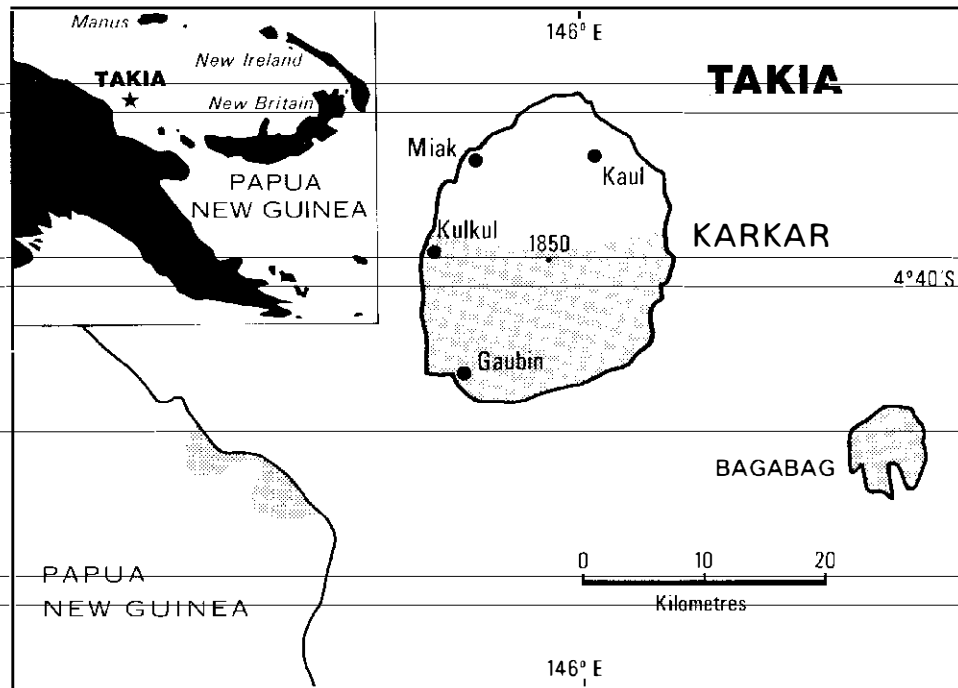
### 1. Introduction

Takia is spoken by about 15,000 people in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea who live on two volcanic islands, Karkar and Bagabag, located twenty kilometres off the north coast of the mainland, and in two nearby mainland coastal villages, Megiar and Serang. Most Takia speakers live on Karkar Island, which measures about twenty-five kilometres from north to south, twenty from west to east, and has a population of about 25,000, just over half of whom speak Takia. The remainder of the Karkar population speaks the Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) language Waskia. Takia speakers occupy the southern half of the island, Waskia speakers the northern half. Despite the striking linguistic difference between the two sections of the population, however, there are no other discernible cultural differences (McSwain 1977).

Takia speakers recognise a division of their language into two main dialect groups, coastal and inland. The coastal dialects, spoken in villages on and near the coast on Karkar Island and by all speakers on Bagabag Island and at Megiar and Serang, have a phonemic distinction between /l/ and /r/, whereas the inland dialects, spoken in inland Karkar villages, have merged these two phonemes as /l/. There are a number of other dialect differences, some of which cut across the coastal/inland boundary, but these are not considered significant by Takia speakers, and have yet to be recorded in detail. The data which form the basis of this list are from the coastal dialect and were recorded at Rigen village, two kilometres inland from the southernmost point of Karkar Island, in 1987 and 1988.

Takia is a member of the Bel language family, which forms a small part of the North New Guinea cluster of Western Oceanic languages (Ross 1988: 160-164). The best known of the Bel languages is Gedaged, originally spoken on a small island off the town of Madang, widely used as a *lingua franca* by the Lutheran Mission in the Madang Province (Osmers 1981: 77-94; Freyberg 1977) and described in a grammar by Dempwolff (n.d.) and a dictionary by Mager (1952). The latter also provides substantial lexical data

for Takia, which has otherwise been described only in unpublished manuscripts which include a dictionary by Hubers (n.d.),<sup>1</sup> a tentative phonology and a grammar sketch by Rehburg – Tuominen (1978a, 1978b),



Map 42. Takia language area

and the present author's fieldnotes and dictionary. The morphosyntax of the Bel languages has undergone significant restructuring, evidently as a result of their speakers' bilingualism in one or more Papuan languages at an earlier stage in their history, so that Gedaged and Takia are languages in which postpositions follow nouns (there are no prepositions), the verb is strictly clause-final, most of the verbal morphology follows the verb stem, and clauses form chains linked by special sentence-medial verb forms (Ross 1987; 1988: 180). This means that the Bel languages are grammatically quite unlike most Austronesian languages, and typologically more similar to some of their Papuan neighbours or to Japanese and Korean. Dami, for which a word list is included in this volume, is also a Bel language, and one in which the Papuan influence has evidently had even more profound effects than in Gedaged and Takia, since the process of vocabulary replacement appears to have proceeded further in Dami.

1. Fr. Hubers established the Catholic mission on Karkar Island in 1935 and remained there until 1939, and his dictionary presumably dates from this period.

Twentieth-century borrowings into Takia are footnoted, and are from three sources. The first is German, which was spoken by missionaries and government officials stationed on Karkar Island during the last decade (1908 to 1918) of the German administration of New Guinea. The second is Gedaged, mentioned above, and introduced as a mission *lingua franca* late in the German period. It grew in importance between the World Wars, but was supplanted on Karkar Island by the third source of borrowings, Tok Pisin, in the years immediately after the second World War. Unlike German and Gedaged, which were never widely used by Karkar Islanders, Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin, the *lingua franca* of much of Papua New Guinea) is spoken by the entire Karkar population. It is used for communication between Takia and Waskia speakers and with speakers of other languages.

## 2. Notes on phonology

The phonemes of Takia are:

Table 1. Consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>	
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	

As noted above, the inland dialects lack /r/, which has merged with /l/.

In the published portions of the Takia Bible, the semivowel /y/ is represented as *j* in accordance with the German-based orthography of the mission *lingua franca* Gedaged. However, *y* is used here, since almost all the younger generation use it as a result of literacy in English and/or Tok Pisin.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

In the dialect of the word list and in some other dialects, /a/ rises to [æ] if the nucleus of the following syllable is /i/. For example, /bani-n/ ‘his arm’ becomes [bænin].

All sequences of vowels are polysyllabic, i.e. each vowel forms the nucleus of a syllable, except for certain word-final rising sequences. The rising vowel sequences /ei/, /ou/, and /ao/ are word-finally sometimes monosyllabic, sometimes disyllabic. There is, for example, a contrast between monosyllabic /dou/ ‘headdress’ and disyllabic /do.u/ ‘slitgong’ (where ./ denotes a syllable boundary). In the word list, disyllabic occurrences of these sequences are written with an acute accent over the second vowel, i.e. *doú* ‘slitgong’. The rising vowel sequences /oi/ and /eu/ are always monosyllabic word-finally, whilst /ai/, /ae/, and /au/ are always disyllabic word-finally.

In the dialect of the word list and in some other coastal dialects, the sequence /ae/ is phonetically [æ̃], as in /daeg/ ‘wooden plate’, phonetically [dæ̃g].

Whilst falling vowel sequences (e.g. /io/, /ua/) occur word-medially and word-finally and are always disyllabic, they never occur word-initially. Where a falling sequence of /i/ or /u/ plus a non-high vowel is present word-initially in the underlying form, the word-initial high vowel always becomes a semivowel, i.e. /i/ becomes /y/, /u/ becomes /w/. For example, /u-ao/ ‘you go’ (consisting of ‘you.sg’+ ‘go’) is always manifested as [wao] and written *wao* by literate Takia speakers.

Takia stress placement is strictly related to vowel height. Within a word, stress falls by default on the last syllable, but is attracted to an earlier syllable if that syllable’s vowel is lower than the vowel(s) of any succeeding syllables. For example, /tama-n/ ‘his father’ (consisting of ‘father’ + ‘his’) has default final-syllable stress, i.e. [ta'man], whereas in /nanu-n/ ‘his child’ stress is attracted to the lower vowel of the penultimate syllable, i.e. ['nanun]. The stress placement rule operates after the addition of affixes, but before the addition of enclitics. For example, in /i-fini-da/ ‘he is hitting (it)’ (consisting of ‘he’ + ‘hit’ + IMPERF), stress falls by default on the final syllable of the stem, i.e. [ifi'ni], and the aspectual clitic is then added, giving [ifi'nida].

Vowel neutralisation occurs in consonant-initial syllables with a vowel other than /a/ if they occur somewhere before the main word stress. There are two stages of neutralisation.

- a) In the first stage of neutralisation, /e/ merges with /i/, /o/ with /u/. This is especially clear in reduplicated forms like [ŋi'saŋes] ‘hawk’ and [mul'mol] ‘a kind of tree’, which are derived, historically at least, from

/ŋesaŋes/ and /molmol/. This means that in syllables which precede the main word stress, only the vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ occur.

- b) The second stage of neutralisation takes its input from the first and affects /i/ and /u/ in syllables which precede the main word stress. Where the vowel of the stressed syllable is /i/, /e/, /o/ or /u/ (i.e. anything other than /a/), the vowels of preceding syllables may change in accordance with vowel harmony rules, as follows:
- i) in some dialects, /i/ merges with /u/ as [u] if the vowel of the stressed syllable is /o/ or /u/;
  - ii) in other dialects, /i/ and /u/ merge as [i] if the vowel of the stressed syllable is /e/ or /i/ and as [u] if the vowel of the stressed syllable is /o/ or /u/.

The effect of this harmonisation is evident in cases where a change or addition of affix results in a change of vowel in the stressed syllable:

	/i-funi-da/	/i-fun-o-da/
	he-hit-IMPERF	he-hit-you.SING-IMPERF
	'he is hitting (it)'	'he is hitting you'
i)	[ifu'nida]	[ifu'noda]
ii)	[ifi'nida]	[ifu'noda]

Neutralisation may be followed by vowel reduction. Its effect is optionally to reduce /i/ or /u/ in the syllable immediately preceding the stressed syllable to schwa (i.e. [ə]) or to zero, so that the forms above may become [ifə'nida] or [if'nida], and [ifə'noda] or [if'noda].

Some items in the word list show a consonant sequence which probably reflects the reduction of a vowel to zero. Thus *slali* 'perspiration' (04.550) probably reflects either /silali/ or /sulali/. However, a form with the vowel present has not been recorded.

There is also a vowel reduction rule affecting /a/ which

- a) optionally reduces /a/ to [ə] in enclitics, so that, for example, the forms above may become respectively [if'nidə] and [if'nodə];
- b) optionally reduces /a/ to [ə] or zero in the penultimate syllable of words whose last three syllables all have /a/ as their nucleus; e.g. /wananan/ 'hot' is phonetically [wana'nan] or [wanə'nan] or [wan'nan].

Prothesis may occur in items which begin with underlying /r-/. These frequently acquire a prothetic /u-/ in some coastal dialects. This is then subject to the rules similar to those discussed above, so that we find, for example, the following variants:



	/raru/ 'two'	/ru/ 'language'	/rib/ 'kind of beetle'	/rigen/ 'rafters'
	[raru]	[ru]	[rib]	[rigen]
prothesis:	[uraru]	[uru]	[u'rib]	[uri'gen]
neutralisation:	-	-	[i'rib]	[iri'gen]
reduction:	-	-	-	[ir'gen]

These rules differ from those discussed above in that neutralisation (harmony) here applies to the prothetic initial vowel, whereas it otherwise applies only to consonant-initial syllables. As a result, items with underlying initial /ur-/, e.g. /urat/ 'work', /urit/ 'octopus', are clearly distinguishable from those with prothetic /u-/ because they always have initial [u-]: [urat], [urit].

### 3. Notes on morphosyntax

These notes are intended to elucidate the items in the word list and the examples given in the footnotes to the word list, and the reader is referred to the footnotes for more extensive illustration. Items in the word list are segmented with hyphens into their component morphemes, and glosses of these are provided in the footnotes. Verbs are shown with an initial hyphen, indicating that they are almost always preceded by a subject prefix (see below).

Takia morphemes may be classified as stems, affixes and enclitics. Affixes combine with stems to form phonological and grammatical words, but enclitics do not participate fully in phonological rules (see section 2) and usually have a preceding phrase or clause or sentence in their grammatical scope.

Nouns in Takia, as in most Oceanic languages, may be inalienably or alienably possessed. Inalienably possessed nouns have a possessive suffix which marks the person and number of the possessor, whereas alienably possessed nouns are unsuffixed. The possessor, if explicitly mentioned, precedes the possessed noun. For example:

<i>ut</i>	<i>patu-n</i>	<i>ŋai</i>	<i>gurma-g</i>	<i>rou-n</i>
louse	egg-his	I	head-my	hair-its
'louse's egg, nit'		'the hair of my head'		

Here *-n* and *-g* are possessive suffixes attached to inalienably possessed nouns, whilst *ut* is the possessor of *patun*, *ŋai* is the possessor of *gurnag*, and

*ŋai gurnag* the possessor of *roun*. In the word list, inalienably possessed nouns are shown with the third person singular possessive suffix *-n*.

Of quite frequent occurrence in the word list is the possessive suffix *-k*. This is the first person singular suffix used in vocatives, but it has also come to denote an unpossessed variant of the noun. Thus the phrase *ŋai nanu-g* 'my child' displays the first person singular possessive suffix *-g*, coreferential with the possessor *ŋai* 'I', whereas *nanu-k* may function either as the vocative 'my child!' or as the unpossessed noun 'a child'.

There are a number of instances in the word list where a noun has both inalienably and alienably possessed variants. In some cases, the inalienably possessed form is basic and the alienably possessed variant is a truncation, e.g. *dara-n* 'blood' (inalienably possessed), *dar* (alienably possessed truncation). In other cases, the alienably possessed form is basic and the inalienably possessed variant is formed by adding the enclitic *-a-* with a possessive suffix attached, e.g. *alao* 'claw' (alienably possessed), *alao-a-n* (inalienably possessed with enclitic). The occurrence of the enclitic *-a-* is shown by the presence of hyphens before and after it. The distinction between the two kinds of case is phonologically significant because it affects the operation of stress placement (and consequently of other rules). Stress is by default word-final, so that *dara-n* gives [da'ran], but enclitics are not fully integrated into a phonological word, and are never stressed, so that *alao-a-n* gives [a'laoan], not \*[alao'an] (see section 2).

Many adjectives in Takia take the same suffixes as possessed nouns,<sup>1</sup> agreeing in person and number with the noun they describe, but not fulfilling a possessive function:

<i>ab</i>	<i>tubu-n</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>tubu-di</i>
house	big-his	house	big-their
'a big house'		'big houses'	

Functions which in other Oceanic languages are performed by prepositions are carried in Takia by postpositional enclitics. The most common of these are the two locative enclitics *-lo* and *-na*, as in *ab-lo* 'at/in the house', *tan-na* 'on the ground'.

Verbs are almost always preceded by a subject prefix marking the person and number of the subject (which need not itself be explicitly mentioned). The forms of the prefixes are morphophonemically determined:

1. This fact raises the question of whether these items are in fact adjectives or nouns, but this lies beyond the scope of this introduction.



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## 43. Dami

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>George Elliott</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Dami is a language spoken in the Trans Gogol area of the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. Its boundaries extend from the point where the Naru River flows into the Gogol River for about ten kilometres NW along the Gogol River, and about 20 kilometres SW along the Naru River. The boundary can then be completed by joining the points on the two rivers by a roughly straight line. Within the triangle so formed, there are a few small villages from other language groups, a large area of uninhabited and uncultivated land, as well as all of the Dami villages, except Ato which is on the Southern bank of the Naru about five or six kilometres from the point where the Naru joins the Gogol. The Dami population is about 1500.

There are two major dialects in terms of population. These are the Gonoa-Kuyombon or Southern dialect, and the Barum-Mair-Atu or Western dialect. These have roughly 600 speakers each. The Northern dialect spoken in Derin, Tadub and Bur has only 200 speakers and appears to be a blend of the other two dialects. The people of Buroa have what may be regarded as a variety of the Southern dialect, although some vocabulary items in common use are the same as in the Western dialect. The people of Ato have intermarried and have extensive contact with the people of the Yaap speaking village of Didiwala. As a result they have taken over many Yaap terms and dispensed with a number of grammatical features. One of these is inalienable possession. Originally however, Ato appears to have belonged to the Southern dialect.

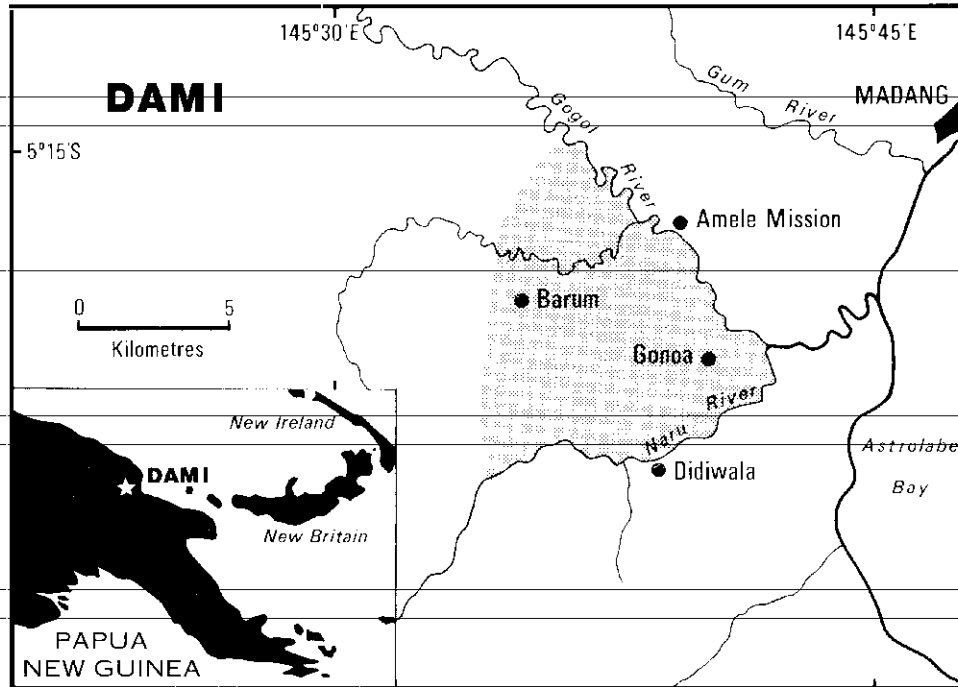
The main feature which distinguishes these dialects is vocabulary. The wordlist presented here was collected in the Southern dialect. In some cases a word may be used only by one dialect, in other cases a particular word may be used more commonly in one dialect, although the alternative term(s) may be known and occasionally used. This situation is influenced no doubt by the intermarriage between clans from different dialect areas.

There is very little variation in the pronunciation of words or phonemes between the dialects. In the Southern and Northern dialects /r/ tends to be

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trilled. In the Western dialect it is normally a flap. In the Southern dialect, a high vowel in a final open syllable, following a syllable containing a double /aa/ or /ee/, is considerably weakened to being whispered or merely mouthed. In both Ato and Buroa, these vowels are fully retained, but in the Northern and Western dialects, they have completely disappeared. In fact in the Western dialect, the vowel in the preceding syllable is not doubled.



Map 43. Dami language area

There are no published works devoted exclusively to the Dami language. The language is however referred to by Z'graggen, in a number of his works on comparative linguistics (1975, 1976). He calls the language "Ham". This is the name used by Amele language speakers for part of the land inhabited by the Dami people. Z'graggen's main information on Dami came from a Dami speaker who had spent most of his life in the Amele area.

The information in the word list has been collected by the writer over a period between May 1975 and November 1987, while resident among the Dami people, and working with the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Special thanks go to Kuti Muduri and Goyoru Sol who have given valuable assistance in the overall project and particularly in the compiling of this wordlist.

## 2. Phonology

Below is a brief overview of the phonology of Dami (Southern dialect). More detailed information can be found in unpublished papers (Elliot n.d.) held in the files of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

### 2.1 Word stress

Stress falls on alternate syllables, the primary stress normally falling on the final syllable of a word. Primary stress may be attracted away from a final open non-nasalised single vowel syllable, if the vowel in a preceding syllable is lower in terms of tongue height than that of the final syllable, or if the nucleus of a preceding syllable contains a vowel sequence.

### 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Dami has 13 consonant phonemes.

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	vl		<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives		<i>ɸ</i>	<i>s</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>	
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>

**2.2.1 Discussion.** The phoneme /ɸ/ is sometimes articulated as a stop, [p], in word final position, but initially and intervocalically it is invariably [ɸ].

All consonants, except the semivowels, which do not occur word finally, occur initially, intervocalically and finally. Consonant sequences are rare as closed syllables normally occur only word finally. Most of the handful of exceptions to this occur in words which can be demonstrated to be contractions of what historically were two or more words. The consonant sequence occurs at what was originally the word boundary.



### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Dami has five pairs of vowel phonemes. For each tongue position, there is an oral and a nasalised vowel.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ũ</i>
Low	<i>e ē</i>	<i>a â</i>	<i>o õ</i>

**2.2.1 Discussion.** The front and central vowels tend to be lax or open, with no discernible variation except in the case of /e/, which is tenser in sequence preceding /i/. The back vowels also tend to be lax, but are noticeably tenser in final open stressed syllables, and in sequences.

The following vowel sequences occur within a syllable nucleus.

*/ii/, /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, /eu/, /au/, /ou/, /uu/, /aai/ and /aau/.*

All of these sequences have nasalised counterparts.

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## 44. Mbula

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Salme E. – Robert D. Bugenhagen</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Mbula<sup>1</sup> is a language spoken on Sakar Island and the eastern half of Umboi Island in the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea. There are some 2500 speakers of the language, who live in seven villages: Alario, Kabi, Kampalap, Marile, Birik, Yangla, and Gauru. There are four mutually intelligible dialects: (1) the Sakar dialect, which is spoken only in Alario village on Sakar Island, (2) the Northern dialect, which is spoken in the villages of Kabi and Kampalap, (3) the Central dialect, which is spoken in Marile, Birik, and Yangla, and (4) the Gauru dialect, which is spoken only in Gauru village.

There is very little earlier published work on the language or culture. Chinnery's anthropological report (1926: 24-29) contains some notes on vocabulary by the Reverend G. Bamler, and Harding (1967), in his study of the Siassi traders, makes some references to the Kaimanga. Bugenhagen (1986) describes the possessive system of the language, Bugenhagen (1989) the encodings of various degrees of transitivity, and Bugenhagen (1990) the modality system of the language.

Hooley (1971) classified Mbula as a member of the Siassi Family. Ross (1988: chapter 5) classifies it as a member of the Vitiaz linkage of his North New Guinea Cluster.

Data have been collected on the language by the authors since October 1982. Approximately two and half years of this period have been spent in residence in Yangla village. The fieldwork has been conducted under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the government of Papua New Guinea. We are grateful to the Papua New Guinea Government for allowing us the privilege of serving in their country, and to the many Mbula speakers who have been willing to share their homes, food, time, language,

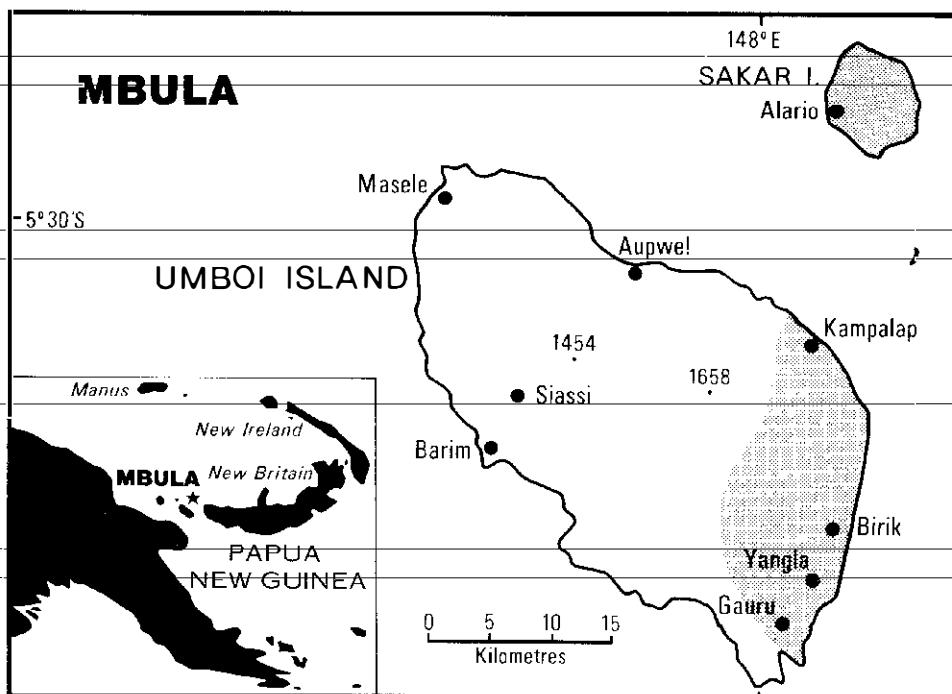
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1. Mbula has generally been referred to in the literature as Mangap or Kaimanga. During our residence in the area, we have heard the names Mangāba and Mbula, with different villages preferring one or the other name.

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culture, and in general their lives with us. Our main teachers of the language have been: Silas Ariko of Gauru village; Giemsa Apei, Moses Gial, David Aibike, Phillip Ibop, and Makele Gilingde of Yangla village; and Dick Awa of Birik village.



Map 44. Mbula language area

## 2. Phonology

A brief overview of the phonology of the language is given below. A much more detailed treatment is to be found in the second author's dissertation (R. Bugenhagen 1991).

### 2.1 Word stress

In monomorphemic items and inalienably possessed nouns, stress falls on the initial syllable unless the form contains a long vowel, in which case stress is attracted to the syllable containing the long vowel. In verbs consisting of just a subject prefix plus a monosyllabic verb stem, stress falls on the subject prefix. In verbs containing multisyllabic but monomorphemic verb stems, stress falls on the first syllable of the verb stem, unless it is attracted by a long vowel in the stem. Finally, in multi-morphemic verb stems, stress falls

on the first syllable of the penultimate morpheme in the stem unless it is attracted by a following long vowel.

## 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Mbula has eighteen consonants:

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Velar
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
Prenasalised		<i><sup>m</sup>b</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>g</i>
Fricatives	vl		<i>s</i>	
	vd		<i>z</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>	
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	

### 2.2.1 Discussion

The only significant allophonic variations are: (1) /b/ → [β] intervocalically, (2) /t/ is palatalised when followed by a vowel cluster beginning with /i/, and (3) the voiceless stops optionally have a voiceless nasal release when they occur pre-pausally.

With regard to distribution, the following observations can be made:

- (1) Only the voiceless stops, nasals, /l/, and /r/ occur word finally.
- (2) Morpheme medially, there is a neutralisation of contrast between the voiced and voiceless oral obstruents following long vowels. Also, the phonemes /w/ and /y/ do not occur in this environment.
- (3) Morpheme initially, there is almost a neutralisation of contrast between voiced oral and voiced prenasalised stops, with the voiced oral stops tending to occur only when followed by oral, non-resonants. A few minimal pairs do, however, occur, cf. /peze/ ‘paddle’, /beze/ ‘garden house’, and /<sup>m</sup>beze/ ‘to serve’.

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

There are five vowels in Mbula: /i, e, a, o, u/. Each of these has the phonetic value normally associated with the given symbol. The two high vowels are slightly lowered when they occur in clusters with non-high vocoids.

There is a contrast in vocoid length, evidenced by pairs like: /-mēte/ ‘to die’ and /mete/ ‘disease’; /-moto/ ‘be afraid’ and /mōto/ ‘snake’.<sup>1</sup> The contrast is very restricted in distribution, however, occurring only in the following environment:

/\_\_ consonant + vocoid of the same quality + morpheme boundary

In the word list, vocoid length is indicated by a macron over the vowel.

### 2.4 An alternative phonological analysis

The segmented inventories given in sections 2.2 and 2.3 are based upon a relatively concrete analysis. A different analysis is possible if one takes morpheme boundaries into account and permits more abstract phonological representations. Under this second analysis, the length contrast of vocoids is reanalysed as a contrast between vowels which are epenthetically inserted to break up underlying consonant clusters versus vowels which are underlyingly present. A further rule lengthens vowels which are followed by a consonant, an identical vowel, and then a morpheme boundary. Obstruents also receive a different treatment, with both intervocalic voiced and voiceless oral obstruents being underlyingly voiceless. The phonetically voiced oral obstruents are then due to a rule which voices voiceless segments that are

1. Speakers of the Gauru dialect drop the vowel following the lengthened vocoid, if it does not result in a prenasalised stop ending up in morpheme final position. For example, they pronounce /mōto/ ‘snake’ as /mōt/, but do not drop the final vowel of /lō<sup>n</sup>do/ ‘run’.

underlyingly intervocalic.<sup>1</sup> The differences between the concrete and abstract analyses are perhaps best seen from a comparative listing of some representative forms:

Concrete analysis	Abstract analysis	Meaning
/bāda/	/-bata/	‘to carry’
/pēze/	/pese/	‘paddle’
/pesem/	/psem/	‘your (sg) navel’
/-moto/	/-mto/	‘be afraid’
/mata-/	/mta-/	‘eye’
/mōto/	/moto/	‘snake’
/kopom/	/kpom/	‘your (sg) stomach’
/abe/	/ape/	‘ripe’
/ku <sup>m</sup> bum/	/k <sup>m</sup> bum/	‘your (sg) leg’
/katāma/	/ktama/	‘door’
/bībi/	/bipi/	‘big’
/bōzo/	/boso/	‘many, much’
/paka-/	/pka-/	‘half, part’
/-rēge/	/-reke/	‘destroy’

In order to insure phonetic transparency, the word list here follows the more concrete analysis. The purpose in outlining the abstract analysis is mainly as a caution to the effect that other analyses of the data are possible, given different methodological assumptions.

## 2.5 Morphophonemic alternations

A number of morphophonemic alternations occur in the language. The principal ones are:

(1) Verb stem initial /p, s/ become /w, z/ in reduplicated forms.

/pēze/	→	/wes-wēze/	‘be paddling’
/-su/	→	/-zu-zu/	‘be descending’

(2) Final voiceless obstruents become voiced if they become intervocalic.

/-pet/	→	/wed-et/	‘be appearing’
/-kes/		/-kez-es/	‘be crawling along’

1. While /p, k, s/ would always voice intervocalically, the situation with /t/ is more complicated. It would voice following a voiced oral obstruent in the same morpheme, but otherwise remain voiceless.

- (3) Morpheme medial prenasalised stops become nasals if they end up syllable final.

/lō <sup>n</sup> do/	→	/lon-lō <sup>n</sup> do/	‘be running’
/-sē <sup>n</sup> ge/		/-zeŋ-zē <sup>n</sup> ge/	‘be laughing’

- (4) Morpheme medial voiced oral obstruents become voiceless if they end up syllable final before any consonant except another voiced oral obstruent.

/-pāza/	→	/-was-wāza/	‘be planting’
/-rēge/	→	/-rek-rēge/	‘be destroying’

- (5) Verb stems beginning with a prenasalised stop lose the prenasalisation following a Subject prefix that ends in a nasal.

/am- <sup>n</sup> du/	→	/amdu/	‘we (excl) cross’
/aŋ- <sup>n</sup> dēbe/	→	/aŋdēbe/	‘I cut down’

- (6) Geminate consonant clusters are reduced.

/am-mar/	→	/amar/	‘we (excl) come’
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- (7) In the inalienably possessed nouns, there is a stem alternation whereby /a/ becomes /o/ in 1sg, 2sg, 1pl excl, and 2pl forms. This is no doubt a relic of ablaut caused by the Proto Oceanic possessive endings that ended in /u/. A handful of items have an irregular first singular form in /a/ rather than /o/. In the wordlist, these irregular forms are represented with a capital A. Compare:

	<i>nama-</i> ‘hand’	<i>tAmA-</i> ‘father’
1sg	<i>nomoŋ</i>	<i>tamaŋ</i>
2sg	<i>nomom</i>	<i>tomom</i>
3sg	<i>namāna</i>	<i>tamāna</i>
1pl incl	<i>namanda</i>	<i>tamanda</i>
1pl excl	<i>nomoyam</i>	<i>tomoyam</i>
2pl	<i>nomoyom</i>	<i>tomoyom</i>
3pl	<i>naman</i>	<i>taman</i>

- (8) The first person plural inclusive subject prefix *tV-*, the second person plural subject prefix *kV-*, one allomorph of the causative prefix *pV-*, and the detransitivising prefix *mV-* exhibit an epenthetically inserted vowel which harmonises with the first following vowel. Similarly, the third person singular and the first person plural inclusive possessor suffixes *-VnV* and *-<sup>n</sup>dV* contain underspecified vowels which harmonise with the first preceding vowel.

### 3. Morphology

The principal morphological processes of the language are: (1) Subject agreement prefixation on the verbs, (2) possessor agreement suffixation on the inalienably possessed nouns, (3) causation formation with the prefix *pV-* ~ *pa-*, (4) derivation of intransitive verbs from transitives with the prefix *mV-*, (5) derivation of reciprocal verb forms with the prefix *par-*, (6) nominalisations and adjectival derivations with the suffix *-ŋa-*, which is in turn inflected with the possessor suffixes, and (7) reduplication to encode imperfective aspect, diminution, and plurality. The subject agreement prefixes and possessor suffixes are listed below:

	Subject agreement prefixes	Possessor suffixes
1sg	<i>aŋ-</i>	<i>-ŋ</i>
2sg	$\emptyset^1$	<i>-m</i>
3sg	<i>i-</i>	<i>-VnV<sup>2</sup></i>
i pi inci	<i>tĩ-</i>	<i>-d̃v</i>
1pl excl	<i>am-</i>	<i>-yam</i>
2pl	<i>kV-</i>	<i>-yom</i>
3pl	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-n</i>

A representative paradigm for each set is now given:

	<i>-la</i> ‘to go’	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>bu-</i> ‘leg’
1sg	<i>aŋla</i>	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>buŋ</i>
2sg	<i>la</i>	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>bum</i>
3sg	<i>ila</i>	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>būnu</i>
1pl incl	<i>tala</i>	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>bu<sup>n</sup>du</i>
1pl excl	<i>amla</i>	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>buyam</i>
2pl	<i>kala</i>	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>buyom</i>
3pl	<i>tila</i>	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>bun</i>

In the word list, forms which are obligatorily inflected for subject agreement are indicated with a preceding hyphen- e.g. *-kem* ‘steal’, *-ko* ‘flee’ – while

1. All of the dialects exhibit a null second person singular subject prefix except for the Gauru dialect, which has *ku-* unless the verb stem begins with a /k/.
2. For Gauru speakers, the third singular possessor suffix is *-Vn*.



forms that must be inflected with the possessor suffixes are indicated with a following hyphen- e.g. *mata-* ‘eye’, *kunu-* ‘soul’.

#### 4. Syntax

It can be briefly noted that in Mbula:

- (1) All noun phrase modifiers follow the head noun except for the possessors of inalienably possessed nouns and some nominal complements.
- (2) Only prepositions occur.
- (3) The basic sentence structure is:  
Subject-Verb-Object-Prepositional Phrases-Complement Clauses.
- (4) Word order is quite rigid, except for the fronting of contrastive elements and entities that are being established or re-established as discourse topics.

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## 45. Yabem

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<b>Contributors:</b>
Introduction: <i>Malcolm D. Ross</i>
Word list: <i>Johannes F. Streicher – Malcolm D. Ross</i>

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### 1. Introduction

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When the first German Lutheran missionaries to New Guinea, sent by the Neuendettelsau Mission, started work at Simbang in 1886, they found themselves in the centre of the Yabem language area. Yabem was then spoken by just nine hundred people living in coastal villages on the Huon Peninsula of Papua New Guinea from Kamlaw, just north of the present-day township of Finschhafen, to Kasanga, about thirty kilometres to the south (Renck 1977). However, because Yabem was the language of the first converts, it was also the language of the first local evangelists and the language that the missionaries first reduced to writing. As a result, it was carried wherever the Neuendettelsau Mission worked among Austronesian speakers in what is now the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea, so that by the time the missionary Heinrich Zahn wrote the foreword to his Yabem textbook in 1939, the language had acquired about 15,000 speakers and was understood as a mission *lingua franca* by as many as one hundred thousand (Zahn 1940: v).

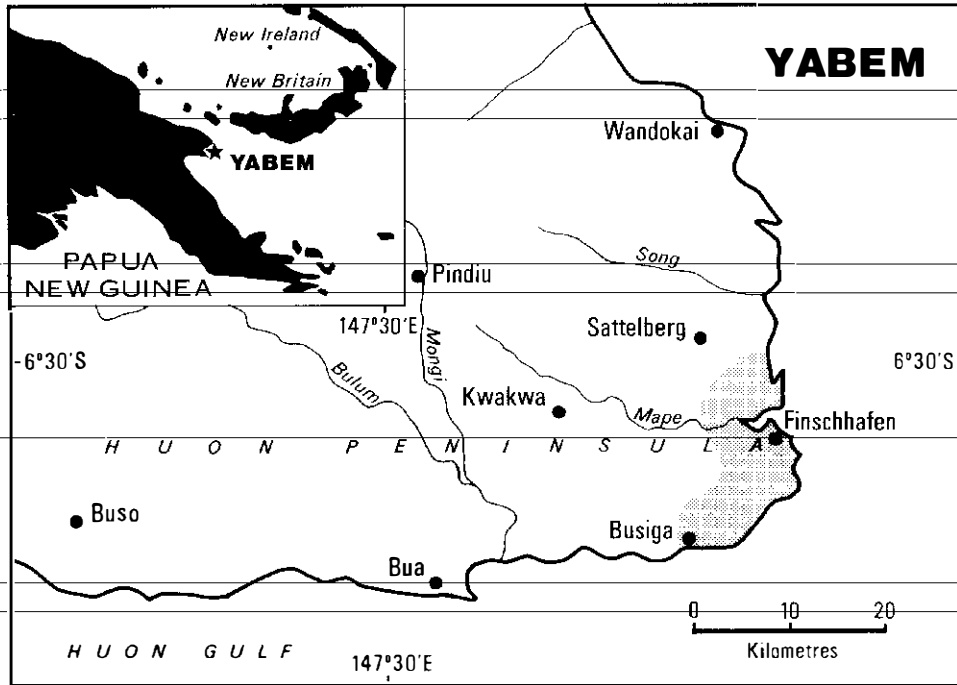
The mission laid considerable stress on vernacular literacy and established an extensive vernacular education system whose schools used either Yabem or Kâte.<sup>1</sup> During the ten years after the Second World War, some 30,000 students received Yabem-medium instruction (Streicher 1982: v). The number of speakers of Yabem thus continued to grow until the late 1950s, when in the wake of the Australian Administration's policy banning vernacular schooling in favour of English, many of the schools assumed a much reduced role or were closed (Osmers 1981). Renck (1977) estimated that there were still about 25,000 Yabem speakers, a figure which implies that at its height in the late 1940s and early 1950s the number of speakers was even higher. Today this number is receding rapidly, as the younger

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1. Kâte is a non-Austronesian language spoken inland from Finschhafen and used as the mission *lingua franca* with speakers of non-Austronesian languages.

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generation is acquiring Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin, the *lingua franca* of much of Papua New Guinea), rather than Yabem, as the language of inter-tribal communication.



Map 45. Yabem language area

As a result of this recent history, Yabem is among the best documented Austronesian languages of Melanesia. Otto Dempwolff, the founder of modern Austronesian linguistics, published texts taken from letters written in 1901 and 1902 by and to plantation workers living away from their home villages (Dempwolff 1905). Pilhofer (1963: 67) reports that until 1914 there was considerable puzzlement among missionaries that a single Yabem word could apparently have so many meanings. It was Dempwolff, at that time still a medical officer with the German Army in New Guinea, who pointed out to Zahn that what seemed to be one word was in fact often several, distinguished by vowel contrasts which escaped the European ear and by a contrast between high and low tone (Zahn, foreword to Dempwolff 1939).<sup>1</sup> After the First World War, Dempwolff was appointed Professor at the University of Hamburg, and continuing collaboration with Zahn resulted in Dempwolff's Yabem grammar (1939) and Zahn's Yabem teaching text

1. Interestingly, the texts in Dempwolff (1905) lack the contrast between high and mid-high vowels, show no awareness of tone, and also omit the glottal stop.

(1940).<sup>1</sup> Zahn meanwhile had produced a mimeoed Yabem–German dictionary as early as 1917, which his colleague Johannes Streicher revised many years later (after the latter’s retirement) and expanded as Streicher (1982). A large quantity of material, including the New Testament, has been published in Yabem, and a list of the more important items is given by Streicher (1982: 657–658). The availability of printed material has led other linguists to work on the analysis of Yabem, resulting in Bradshaw (1980), Bisang (1986) and Grüniger (1986).

There is no significant dialect variation in modern Yabem (i.e. within the villages to which it is native), but this may well be a result of standardisation which has occurred because Yabem has become a *lingua franca* and a written language. At the same time, there is no evidence that radical changes have occurred in the language since 1886. Although the language of the word list is standardised Yabem, it is (apart from the obvious modern borrowings) probably also a fair reflection of the language of a century ago.

Yabem is one of the three member languages of the North Huon Gulf chain, itself part of the Huon Gulf family (Ross 1988: 132–133) which also includes the languages of the Markham Valley (see Adzera, in this volume) and of the region to the south of the valley (see Buang, in this volume). The three languages of the North Huon Gulf chain, Yabem, Bukawa and Kela, share a set of changes which have resulted in phonological attrition, loss of some former consonant contrasts, a tendency toward monosyllabism, and the development of tone<sup>2</sup> (Ross 1988: 148–152). They are thus phonologically quite unlike most Oceanic Austronesian languages, including their neighbours in the Morobe Province, and Yabem was really quite unsuitable for use as a *lingua franca*, as Dempwolff (n.d.)<sup>3</sup> pointed out. However, precisely because the first groups to be evangelised by Yabem speakers were the Kela and the Bukawa, for whom Yabem was easy to learn, a beachhead

1. Dempwolff’s grammar is a remarkably insightful description of an “exotic” language, prefiguring the “notional” and “functional” approaches to language description of the 1970s and 1980s, a fact to which Bradshaw (1980) pays tribute.
2. It is not clear whether tone occurs in present-day Kela, but it is reconstructible in its immediate ancestor.
3. Dempwolff (n.d.) is an analysis of the Adzera language of the Markham Valley which concludes with a comparison of the features of German, Yabem, Kâtc, and Adzera and the degree to which they lend themselves to use as a *lingua franca*. The manuscript was apparently written around 1928 (Susanne Holzknecht, pers. comm.) at a time when there was controversy in the mission as to whether Adzera should assume a role as a *lingua franca* (Osmers 1981: 88). Dempwolff came down strongly on the side of Adzera, but was ignored by the missionaries, and Yabem was finally introduced among Adzera-speakers in 1937 (Pilhofer 1963: 170).

was established for Yabem as a *lingua franca* before a group speaking a more distantly related Austronesian language attempted – with difficulty – to learn it (Pilhofer 1961: 139-140, 151).

The fact that Yabem and Bukawa are tone languages has evoked considerable interest in the literature, not only in the works referred to above but also in Capell (1949). The genesis of tone in the North Huon Gulf languages has been reconstructed by Bradshaw (1979) and Ross (1988: 149, 418-419), and a brief description of tone in present-day Yabem is given below.

More recent borrowings into Yabem are footnoted in the word list, and are from two major sources. The first is German, which was spoken by missionaries and government officials during the German administration of New Guinea. The other is English, which supplanted German as the language of administration after 1918. There are many items footnoted as English borrowings which were probably borrowed via Tok Pisin, but their phonological restructuring in Yabem makes it impossible to be sure of the source. One word, *bulimakao* ‘cattle’, is footnoted as a Tok Pisin borrowing, as it is not a modern English word: however, even here the source is uncertain, as ‘bull-ma-cow’ was current in nineteenth-century English jargon in the Pacific. Yabem *mēdesiŋ* ‘medicine’, on the other hand, is almost certainly not a borrowing from Tok Pisin, which has the form *marasin*. There are also a number of cases, for example Yabem *gɔɔɔɔ* ‘gold’, where we cannot be certain whether the source was German *Gold* or English *gold*.

A third source of borrowings is Malay, which had some currency from about 1885 to 1895 on the plantations established by the German New Guinea Company because labour was imported from Indonesia. The first of these plantations was established in 1885 at Finschhafen, that is, within the area where Yabem was spoken natively.

## 2. Notes on phonology and morphophonemics

The phonology of Yabem is unusual among Oceanic Austronesian languages not only for the presence of tone, but also for an inventory of phonemes which seems quite large and complex in comparison with many other Oceanic Austronesian languages.

On a traditional analysis, the consonant phonemes of Yabem are:

Table 1. Consonants

		Labial	Labialised labial	Alveolar	Velar	Labialised velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>b<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>	
Prenas. stops		<i>mb</i>	<i>mb<sup>w</sup></i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>g</i>	<i><sup>ŋ</sup>g<sup>w</sup></i>	
Fricatives				<i>s</i>			( <i>h</i> )
Prenas. fricatives				<i><sup>n</sup>s</i>			
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
Laterals				<i>l</i>			
Semivowels			<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>			

The phoneme /h/ is shown in parentheses as it occurs only in loanwords from European languages.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Phonetically, /e/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /o/ are each somewhat higher than the phonetic use of these symbols normally indicates. As a result, the distinction between the front vowels /i/ and /e/ is quite difficult for a non-native listener to perceive. The corresponding distinction between the back vowels /o/ and /u/ is less problematic, because /u/ is somewhat centralised, and is phonetically somewhere between [u] and [ʊ].

This phoneme inventory becomes simpler if we recognise that there are quite severe constraints on the phonemes which may occur together in a single syllable or within a simple word. Some of the features which are used to distinguish phonemes in the inventory above are more economically treated as features which belong to the syllable or the simple word, not to the

consonant or the vowel.<sup>1</sup> The “simple word” is, for present purposes, a simple stem with its prefix or suffix (if any), but not a combination of stems (a compound word) or a stem with a clitic attached.

Simple words in Yabem usually have one or two syllables. A single-syllable word may be one of three kinds: a plain stem, like *ŋaʔ* ‘man’, or an inalienably possessed noun with its possessive suffix, like *sa-m* ‘your mother’s brother’ (*sa-* ‘mother’s brother’; *-m* ‘your (singular)’), or verb with its subject pronominal prefix, like *g-e* ‘he pulled’ (*g(e)-* ‘third person singular subject, realis mood’; *-e* ‘pull’). A two-syllable word may be of the same three kinds, for example, *malaʔ* ‘village’ (plain stem), *tama-m* ‘your father’, or *ge-meŋ* ‘he came’. The only three-syllable forms which are clearly simple words are verb forms consisting of a subject pronominal prefix and a two-syllable stem, like *ke-dam<sup>w</sup>e* ‘he licked’.

Word-initially and -medially Yabem syllables have the form (C)V, where C is a consonant, V a vowel, and parentheses indicate that the consonant need not occur. Word-finally, their form is (C)V(C). Because a number of phonological processes in Yabem are most readily described by working backwards from the end of a word, the convention is adopted here of numbering consonants and vowels from right to left. Thus a two-syllable word with the maximum complement of consonants has the form  $C_2V_2C_1V_1C_0$ .

There is one exception to the assertion that word-final syllables have the form (C)V(C): there are three one-syllable simple words which all have the same form, namely the syllabic nasal *ɪ̃m* ‘(1) banana; (2) base, stump; (3) turtle’ (the grave accent indicates low tone).<sup>2</sup>

Any consonant except the glottal stop <sup>ʔ</sup> may occur in syllable-initial position ( $C_{1...n}$ ), but the prenasalised consonants never occur as the initial consonant of a word. In a simple word,  $C_0$  is limited to *p*, *b*, *m*, *ŋ*, and <sup>ʔ</sup>. Since <sup>ʔ</sup> only occurs as  $C_0$ , this suggests that it is not really a consonant phoneme but simply a feature of the final syllable. In Bukawa, Yabem’s closest relative, there is a rule whereby, if  $C_1$  is a nasal, it is replaced by the

1. The phonology of Yabem is best described using some form of non-linear phonological framework. However, the account here is a somewhat informal one, in the hope that it will remain more readable.

2. The form *ɪ̃m* ‘turtle’ apparently occurs only as part of the compound *o-ɪ̃m* ‘large turtle’ (incorrectly recorded in Streicher 1982 as *òm*). The apparent anomaly of the syllabic nasal is readily accounted for historically: the Proto Oceanic forms *\*pudi* ‘banana’, *\*puqun* ‘base, stump’ and *\*poŋu* ‘turtle’ all became Proto North Huon Gulf *\*vuŋ*, and Yabem *ɪ̃m* represents a coalescence of the bilabiality of *\*v*, the vocalism of *\*u* and the nasality of *\*ŋ*.

corresponding prenasalised stop if the  $C_0$  slot is empty, but not if it is filled. Thus we find *dama-ŋ* ‘my father’ (where  $C_1 = \eta$ ), but *da<sup>m</sup>ba* ‘his father’ (where  $C_0$  is empty). What is interesting here is that when the word ends in a glottal stop, the rule still applies, as if the  $C_0$  slot were empty: *ga<sup>m</sup>bɔʔ* ‘sore (on skin)’ (cf. Yabem *kamɔʔ*). In other words, the Bukawa rule does not treat the glottal stop as a consonant phoneme. Whilst we cannot argue directly that what is true in Bukawa is also true of Yabem, the history of Yabem also provides good grounds for inferring that the glottal stop is a syllabic feature rather than a consonant phoneme.

The first constraint on the distribution of Yabem phonemes is a constraint on syllable-structure (and one shared by a number of Austronesian languages in Papua New Guinea). A labialised consonant (whether labial or velar) may only be followed by one of the unrounded vowels *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, and never by one of the rounded vowels *ɔ*, *o*, *u*. For example, there are a number of inalienably possessed nouns which show an alternation between *-a* ‘third person singular’ and *-ɔʔ* ‘first person singular’, as in *tama* ‘his father’ vs. *tamɔʔ* ‘my father’. Where  $C_1$  is labialised in the *-a* form (and in other forms), this labialisation does not occur before *-ɔʔ*:

<i>tek<sup>w</sup>a</i>	‘his bone’	<i>tɛkɔʔ</i>	‘my bone’
<i>lawa</i>	‘his father-in-law’	<i>laɔʔ</i>	‘my father-in-law’

From this alternation we may infer that it is the rounded vowel which precludes a preceding labialised consonant. But we can rephrase this statement a little more elegantly if we recognise that labialisation of consonants and roundness of vowels both entail lip-rounding, and are reducible to a single feature which we will label “R”, for ‘rounding’. We can then say that the feature R may occur only once in a syllable and that  $V_i^R$  precludes  $C_i^R$ .

The examples above also serve as an introduction to the structure of the vowel system and to vowel harmony in Yabem. The paradigm of inalienably possessed nouns is set out below:

		‘body’	‘jaw’	‘face’	‘nose’	‘father’
Sing	1	<i>oliʔ</i>	<i>aseʔ</i>	<i>laŋoʔ</i>	<i>lusuʔ</i>	<i>tamɔʔ</i>
	2	<i>olim</i>	<i>asem</i>	<i>laŋom</i>	<i>lusum</i>	<i>tamam</i>
	3	<i>oli</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>laŋo</i>	<i>lusu</i>	<i>tama</i>
Plur	1, 3	<i>oliŋ</i>	<i>aseŋ</i>	<i>laŋoŋ</i>	<i>lusuŋ</i>	<i>tameŋ</i>
	2	<i>olim</i>	<i>asem</i>	<i>laŋom</i>	<i>lusum</i>	<i>tamem</i>



The five nouns in this paradigm represent, from left to right, nouns whose unaffixed (third person singular) forms end in *-i*, *-e*, *-o*, *-u*, and *-a*. There are no nouns in *-ε* or *-ɔ*. Instead, *ε* and *ɔ* occur as replacements of *a* in the paradigm of nouns in *-a* represented by *tama* ‘father’. In the case of *ε*, it is clear that the vowel replacement is not the result of conditioning by a neighbouring segment, since *tamam* ‘your (sing.) father’ and *tamem* ‘your (plur.) father’ contrast only in the vowel. The simplest interpretation of this contrast is that the morpheme for ‘your (sg)’ is plain *-m*, whereas the morpheme for ‘your (pl)’ is a sequence consisting of a feature “F” (for ‘fronting’) plus *-m* (and for ‘our/their’ a sequence of “F” plus *-ŋ*). We have already noted that *ɔ* contains the feature “R” (for ‘rounding’). Since *ε* and *ɔ* do not form noun paradigms of their own, alternate with *a* in the paradigm above, and are of substantially lower frequency than the other five vowels, we may infer that their status is different from that of the other five vowels. We may treat the Yabem vowel paradigm as having three levels (high, mid and low), rather than four, and account for *ε* and *ɔ* in the paradigm of nouns in *-a* by the addition to *a* of “F” and “R” respectively.<sup>1</sup>

This account of *ε* and *ɔ*, however, works only for  $V_1$ . In positions  $V_{2...n}$  something rather different occurs, as the paradigm of *lema* ‘hand’ shows:

Sing	1	<i>lεmɔ?</i>
	2	<i>lemam</i>
	3	<i>lema</i>
Plur	1, 3	<i>lεmεŋ</i>
	2	<i>lεmem</i>

*ε* occurs as  $V_2$  whenever  $V_1$  is *ε* or *ɔ*, i.e.  $V_1$  triggers regressive vowel harmony in  $V_2$ . However, *ε* in  $V_2$  is not an alternant of *a* (as it is in  $V_1$ ) but of *e*.

- Support for this interpretation is found in the fact that the reconstructible Proto Huon Gulf prefixes are:

	Singular.	Plural
1	*- <i>gu</i>	*- <i>mi</i>
2	*- <i>m</i>	*- <i>mi</i>
3	*- <i>na</i>	*- <i>di</i>

Thus Yabem *R + -?* ‘first singular’ acquired its ‘R’ by assimilation of *\*a* to the vowel of *\*-gu*, whilst *F + -ŋ* ‘first/third plural’ and *F + -m* ‘second plural’ acquired their “F” by assimilation of *\*a* to the vowel of *\*-mi* and *\*-di* respectively. However, a more formal account would need to take account of the fact that the features “F” and “R” do not give rise to alternants where we might expect them in the paradigms of nouns in *-i*, *-e*, *-o*, and *-u*.

We would expect that if  $V_2 e$  becomes  $\varepsilon$  before  $V_1 \varepsilon$  or  $\text{ɔ}$ , then  $V_2 o$  should become  $\text{ɔ}$  in the same environment. I have found no inalienably possessed nouns where  $V_2$  is  $o$ , but this expectation is confirmed in verbal paradigms. As in many Oceanic Austronesian languages, the verb in Yabem appears in two moods, realis and irrealis, and the stem takes a prefix which indicates the person and number of the subject and the mood of the verb. The paradigm of *-deŋ* ‘move towards’ is as follows:

		realis	irrealis
Sing	1	<i>ga-deŋ</i>	<i>ya-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	2	<i>go-deŋ</i>	<i>o-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	3	<i>ge-deŋ</i>	<i>e-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
Plur	1 incl	<i>da-deŋ</i>	<i>da-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	1 excl/2	<i>a-deŋ</i>	<i>a-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	3	<i>se-deŋ</i>	<i>se-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>

However, when  $V_1$  of the verb stem is either  $\varepsilon$  or  $\text{ɔ}$ , regressive vowel harmony applies, and all instances of  $e$  and  $o$  in the prefixes are replaced respectively by  $\varepsilon$  and  $\text{ɔ}$ . Hence the paradigm of *-deŋ* ‘put (something on a shelf)’ is:

		realis	irrealis
Sing	1	<i>ga-deŋ</i>	<i>ya-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	2	<i>gɔ-deŋ</i>	<i>ɔ-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	3	<i>gɛ-deŋ</i>	<i>ɛ-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
Plur	1 incl	<i>da-deŋ</i>	<i>da-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	1 excl/2	<i>a-deŋ</i>	<i>a-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>
	3	<i>sɛ-deŋ</i>	<i>sɛ-<sup>n</sup>deŋ</i>

All instances of  $\varepsilon$  and  $\text{ɔ}$  in Yabem can thus be viewed as alternants for  $V_1 a$  (with the addition of fronting or rounding) or for  $V_{2...n} e$  and  $o$  (resulting from lowering through regressive vowel harmony).

Another form of vowel harmony is visible in the paradigms of *lusu* ‘nose’ and *debu* ‘grandfather’:<sup>1</sup>

		‘nose’	‘grandfather’
Sing	1	<i>lusu?</i>	<i>debu?</i>
	2	<i>lusum</i>	<i>debom</i>
	3	<i>lusu</i>	<i>debu</i>

1. To my knowledge, this aspect of Yabem vowel harmony has not been noted previously.

Plur	1, 3	<i>lusug</i>	<i>debug</i>
	2	<i>lusum</i>	<i>debom</i>

It is a general rule of Yabem syllable structure that if  $C_0$  is a bilabial ( $p$ ,  $b$ , or  $m$ ),  $V_1$  cannot be  $u$ , but is replaced by  $o$ . Thus instead of expected \**debum* ‘your (sing./pl.) grandfather’, we find *debom*, and this is the usual suffixation for nouns in  $-u$ . This replacement does not occur, however, if  $V_2$  is  $u$ , as in *lusu* ‘nose’. In other words, there appears to be a progressive vowel harmony condition such that  $u$  at  $V_2$  requires  $o$  at  $V_1$  to be replaced by  $u$ .

If this inference is correct, then we might expect it to apply equally to front and back vowels, i.e. we might expect that either  $i$  or  $u$  at  $V_2$  would require  $e$  at  $V_1$  to be replaced by  $i$ , and  $o$  at  $V_1$  to be replaced by  $u$ . In fact there are no paradigms which allow us to test out this condition in the way we have done above. However, it is supported by distributional evidence. Within the simple word, neither  $i$  nor  $u$  at  $V_2$  is ever followed by  $e$  or  $o$  at  $V_1$ .

In summary, Yabem has two forms of vowel harmony, which are in a sense the mirror image of each other:

harmony type:	regressive	progressive
triggered by:	$V_1 \varepsilon, \varnothing$	$V_2 i, u$
applies to:	$V_2 e, o$	$V_1 e, o$
results in:	$V_2 \varepsilon, \varnothing$	$V_1 i, u$
resulting cooccurrence conditions within a simple word:	If $V_1 = \varepsilon, \varnothing$ , then $V_2 = i, \varepsilon, a, \varnothing, u$ ( $V_2 \neq e, o$ )	If $V_2 = i, u$ then $V_1 = i, \varepsilon, a, \varnothing, u$ ( $V_2 \neq e, o$ )
phonetic change:	lowering	raising

Yabem not only has vowel harmony, but also tone harmony. There is no interaction between these two systems.

Tone is a feature of the simple word in Yabem. In a simple word of two syllables ( $C_2V_2C_1V_1[C_0]$ ), the two share the same tone. There is a single binary distinction between high tone and low tone, and a simple word therefore has either high tone or low. Any stop in a high-tone syllable is voiceless ( $p, p^w, t, k, k^w$ ), whilst any stop in a low-tone syllable is voiced ( $b, b^w, d, g, g^w, mb, mb^w, nd, ng, ng^w$ ). Consonants other than stops may occur freely in both high-tone and low-tone syllables, with the exception of  $ns$ , which is derived historically from voiced \*[ $^nz$ ] and so occurs only in low-tone syllables. In the word list the orthographic convention for tone recommended (but not always followed) by Streicher (1982) is followed, whereby only low tone is marked (with a grave accent over the first vowel of

the simple word) and only where required (i.e. where there is no voiced stop or <sup>h</sup>s in the simple word).

From the voicing condition on stops, it follows that minimal pairs distinguished only by tone will not contain any stops. Such pairs are:

<i>awa</i>	‘valuables’	<i>àwa</i>	‘(his/her) mouth’
<i>awe</i>	‘outside’	<i>àwe</i>	‘woman’
<i>oli</i>	‘body’	<i>òli</i>	‘wages’
<i>yao</i>	‘prohibition’	<i>yào</i>	‘enmity’
<i>wa</i>	‘mango’	<i>wà</i>	‘crocodile’
<i>-sa<sup>h</sup></i>	‘hammer’ (verb)	<i>-sà<sup>h</sup></i>	‘put on top of’

Where stops occur, minimal pairs are distinguished simultaneously (redundantly) by both tone and voicing:

<i>paliŋ</i>	‘careless’	<i>baliŋ</i>	‘far away’
<i>piŋ</i>	‘shell’	<i>biŋ</i>	‘speech’
<i>tip</i>	‘all at once’	<i>dib</i>	‘thud’
<i>sakiŋ</i>	‘service’	<i>sagiŋ</i>	‘house partition’

Above we gave the paradigms of the verbs *-deŋ* ‘move towards’ and *-deŋ* ‘put (something on a shelf)’. Both are low-tone stems and, since the prefixes are part of the simple word, they have low tone prefixes with voiced stops.

However, where a verb-stem is high-tone, it takes high-tone prefixes with voiceless stops. Compare the paradigms of *-taŋ* ‘weep’ and *-teŋ* ‘ask, beg’ with those above:

		realis	irrealis
Sing	1	<i>ka-taŋ</i>	<i>ya-taŋ</i>
	2	<i>ko-taŋ</i>	<i>o-taŋ</i>
	3	<i>ke-taŋ</i>	<i>e-taŋ</i>

		realis/irrealis	
Plur	1 incl	<i>ta-taŋ</i>	
	1 excl /2	<i>a-taŋ</i>	
	3	<i>se-taŋ</i>	

		realis	irrealis
Sing	1	<i>ka-teŋ</i>	<i>ya-teŋ</i>
	2	<i>kɔ-teŋ</i>	<i>ɔ-teŋ</i>
	3	<i>ke-teŋ</i>	<i>ɛ-teŋ</i>

		realis/irrealis
Plur	1 incl	<i>ta-tɛŋ</i>
	i excl/2	<i>a-tɛŋ</i>
	3	<i>sɛ-tɛŋ</i>

There is one complication in the application of tone, namely that in three-syllable simple words, the first syllable (C<sub>3</sub>V<sub>3</sub>) is always high tone.<sup>1</sup> As we observed above, three-syllable simple words are quite rare, and consist mainly of verb forms where the subject prefix is added to a two-syllable verb stem. For example, with a low-tone two-syllable verb stem such as *-dam<sup>w</sup>e* ‘lick’, we do not find *\*go-dam<sup>w</sup>e* ‘you (sing) licked’, but *ko-dam<sup>w</sup>e*. Thus whereas vowel harmony affects all syllables of a simple word, tone harmony affects only the last two.

Since the voicing of stops is dependent on tone, it follows that all stops in a simple word are either voiceless or voiced, i.e. tone harmony results in “stop harmony”. There are, however, two other kinds of consonant harmony in Yabem which are independent of tone harmony.<sup>2</sup> Streicher (1982: 634) notes that the third person plural subject prefix, which is normally *se-* or *sɛ-* (as in *se-som* ‘they speak’, *sɛ-kɛkɔ* ‘they scratch’), may change in form to *te-*, *tɛ-* before verbs with stem-initial *t-* and to *de-*, *dɛ-* before verbs with stem-initial *d-*. Thus verb forms like those listed above *se-dɛŋ* ‘they moved towards’, *sɛ-<sup>n</sup>dɛŋ* ‘they will move towards’, *sɛ-dɛŋ* ‘they put (something on a shelf)’, *sɛ-<sup>n</sup>dɛŋ* ‘they will put (something on a shelf)’, *se-taŋ* ‘they wept/will weep’ and *sɛ-tɛŋ* ‘they asked/will ask’ may also occur as *de-dɛŋ*, *dɛ-<sup>n</sup>dɛŋ*, *dɛ-dɛŋ*, *dɛ-<sup>n</sup>dɛŋ*, *te-taŋ* and *tɛ-tɛŋ*. It appears, however, that the optional nature of this alternation is of recent origin: native simple words do not contain combinations of *s* and *t/d*, suggesting that until recently there was a consonant harmony condition preventing an alveolar fricative and an alveolar stop from co-occurring in a simple word.

The other consonant harmony condition arises from the fact that prenasalisation is a feature of the simple word, not of the single consonant: if a word contains consonants capable of prenasalisation (i.e. low-tone *s* or a voiced stop), then either all are prenasalised except the word-initial consonant, or none are prenasalised. Because word-initial consonants are never prenasalised, this rule manifests itself only in simple words of three syllables, i.e. mostly in verb forms.

1. This fact does not appear to have been noted in the literature before.
2. Again, these harmony conditions do not appear to have been noted elsewhere in the literature.

Prenasalisation in verbs is quite common, because the prenasalisation feature is the irrealis morpheme, as the paradigms of *-deŋ* ‘move towards’ and *-deŋ* ‘put (something on a shelf)’ above illustrate. The irrealis morpheme can only be attached, however, to verb stems which contain a consonant or consonants capable of prenasalisation. Hence it does not occur in the paradigms of *-taŋ* ‘weep’ and *-teŋ* ‘ask, beg’, since the voiceless stops like *t* cannot be prenasalised in Yabem. Since the irrealis morpheme is attached to a verb stem in which any of the consonants is capable of prenasalisation, we find realis/irrealis alternations like the following (all forms are first person singular):

Realis	Irrealis		
<i>ka-leti</i>	<i>ka-leti</i>	‘run’	(no prenasalisation)
<i>ka-dam<sup>w</sup>e</i>	<i>ka-<sup>n</sup>dam<sup>w</sup>e</i>	‘lick’	(C <sub>2</sub> prenasalised)
<i>ka-sàì?</i>	<i>ka-<sup>n</sup>sai?</i>	‘pull off, snap’	(C <sub>2</sub> prenasalised)
<i>ka-madom</i>	<i>ka-ma<sup>n</sup>dom</i>	‘break in two’	(C <sub>1</sub> prenasalised)
<i>ka-lèsu</i>	<i>ka-lè<sup>n</sup>su</i>	‘poke, stir’	(C <sub>1</sub> prenasalised)
<i>ka-dabiŋ</i>	<i>ka-<sup>n</sup>da<sup>m</sup>biŋ</i>	‘approach’	(C <sub>1</sub> and C <sub>2</sub> prenasalised)
<i>ka-gab<sup>w</sup>a?</i>	<i>ka-<sup>ŋ</sup>ga<sup>m</sup>b<sup>w</sup>a?</i>	‘untie’	(C <sub>1</sub> and C <sub>2</sub> prenasalised)

The last two alternations show the application of prenasalisation harmony.

The result of recognising that a number of the features which distinguish Yabem phonemes on a traditional analysis are better treated as features of the syllable or the word is that the basic Yabem system is seen to be quite simple. The simplifications to the consonant system are:

- ? is treated as a syllabic feature, so no glottal position occurs in the system;
- the voicing of stops is determined by tone, and so a voicing distinction need not be separately recognised;
- prenasalisation is a feature of the simple word, so prenasalised consonants do not need to be separately recognised.

This results in a reduction of the consonant system to the following:

	Labial	Labialised labial	Alveolar	Velar	Labialised velar
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>
Fricatives			<i>s</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

A more radical analysis might also eliminate the labialised consonants and even the fricative *s*, but these possibilities lie outside the scope of this introduction.

The simplification to the vowel system is that there are underlyingly only three levels: low, mid and high.

### 3. Notes on orthography

The Yabem orthography used by Dempwolff (1939) and Zahn (1940) was widely taught in the Lutheran mission's Yabem schools, with the result that it is still widely used not only to write Yabem, but also a large number of Austronesian languages in the Morobe Province where Yabem was used as the mission's *lingua franca*.

The orthography used in the Yabem word list in this work is based on the standard established for all the word lists herein, and is shown under the traditional analysis earlier in this introduction. With the exception of the labialised labials noted below, it corresponds symbol for symbol to the Yabem orthography. I will note here only those instances where the two orthographies differ.

The differences between the two orthographies' renderings of the Yabem vowel system are a source of potential confusion:

The present work	Dempwolff/Zahn
<i>e</i>	<i>ê</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>ō</i>	<i>ô</i>
<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>

Among the consonants there are only two outright differences:

The present work	Dempwolff/Zahn
<i>y</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>ʔ</i>	<i>c</i>

In all cases where a prenasalisation is written with a superscript symbol (<sup>*m*</sup>*b*, <sup>*n*</sup>*d*, <sup>*ŋ*</sup>*g*, <sup>*n*</sup>*s*) in the present work, it is written without superscription in the Dempwolff/Zahn orthography (*mb*, *nd*, *ng*, *ns*). Similarly, where a labialised velar is marked with a superscript (<sup>*w*</sup>*k*, <sup>*w*</sup>*g*) in the present work, it is written without superscription in the Dempwolff/Zahn orthography (*kw*, *gw*). However, where a labialised labial is marked with a superscript (<sup>*w*</sup>*p*, <sup>*w*</sup>*b*, <sup>*w*</sup>*m*) in the present work, Dempwolff and Zahn write a sequence of labial plus

rounded vowel, the latter matching the following vowel in height. For example:

The present work	Dempwolff/Zahn	
<i>tem<sup>w</sup>i</i>	<i>têmui</i>	‘dirty’
<i>om<sup>w</sup>eŋ</i>	<i>omôêŋ</i>	‘you (sing.) will come’
<i>kap<sup>w</sup>eŋ</i>	<i>kapôêŋ</i>	‘big’
<i>lep<sup>w</sup>a</i>	<i>lêpoa</i>	‘rope’
<i>m<sup>w</sup>a?</i>	<i>moac</i>	‘snake’
<i>sab<sup>w</sup>a?</i>	<i>saboac</i>	‘potsherd; spleen’

Why Dempwolff chose to write the labialised labials (but not the labialised velars) in this way is unclear: he knew that the first vowel of his written sequences was non-syllabic and that it did not participate in vowel harmony (Dempwolff 1939: 5, 7, 13, 15). For example, Dempwolff wrote *lêpoa* ‘rope’ (our *lep<sup>w</sup>a*), recognising that the quality of his *-ê-* harmonises with *-a*, not his *-o-*.

#### 4. Notes on morphology and syntax

A number of major features of Yabem morphology were dealt with in Section 2 above. The purpose of this section is simply to note briefly further features of morphology which are relevant to an understanding of the word list. Further details are to be found in Bisang (1986), Bradshaw (1980), Grüniger (1986), Streicher (1982), and especially Dempwolff (1939) and Zahn (1940).

The verb paradigms of Yabem are divided by Dempwolff, Zahn, and Streicher into five “conjugations”:

- 1) verbs whose stems have one syllable and high tone: for example, *-taŋ* ‘weep’ and *-teŋ* ‘ask, beg’, above;
- 2) verbs whose stems have one syllable and low tone: for example, *-deŋ* ‘move towards’ and *-deŋ* ‘put (something on a shelf)’, above;
- 3) verbs whose stems have one syllable and mixed tone (see below);
- 4) verbs whose stems have two syllables: some, like *-leti* ‘run’, have high tone; others, like *-dam<sup>w</sup>e* ‘lick’, have low tone, but all take high-tone subject prefixes (see discussion above);
- 5) verbs whose stems have one syllable and low tone, but take high-tone subject prefixes (see below).

Conjugations 1, 2 and 4 are discussed in Section 2. Conjugation 3, the “mixed tone” conjugation, is exemplified by *-li?* ‘see’, below, and includes



all stems of one syllable whose  $C_1$  is neither a stop nor *s*. Here, the realis singular forms have low tone, and all other forms have high tone:<sup>1</sup>

		realis	irrealis
Sing	1	<i>ga-liʔ</i>	<i>ya-liʔ</i>
	2	<i>go-liʔ</i>	<i>o-liʔ</i>
	3	<i>ge-liʔ</i>	<i>e-liʔ</i>
Plur	1 incl	realis/irrealis <i>ta-liʔ</i>	
	1 excl /2	<i>a-liʔ</i>	
	3	<i>se-liʔ</i>	

There are a number of verbs belonging to this conjugation whose final bilabial stop changes in accordance with the tone of the form. For example, we find *ge-rob* ‘he flew’ but *e-rop* ‘he will fly’.

Conjugation 5, verbs whose stems have one syllable and low tone, but unexpectedly take high-tone subject prefixes, are assumed to have once belonged to Conjugation 4, i.e. to have once had two syllables.<sup>2</sup>

We took the concept of the “simple word” for granted in Section 2. In fact, it is a little more problematic than we imply there. Yabem has many compound words, i.e. words which can be readily segmented into two (or more) simple words or clitics, and many of these are footnoted in the word list. However, there are also words which are phonologically not “simple”, but which cannot be segmented into their constituent parts. For example *atali* ‘pocket’ has two high-tone and one low-tone syllable, suggesting the components *ata* and *li*, neither of which exists independently today. Similarly *loʔgom* ‘nettle tree’ has internal *ʔ* and disharmonic vowels, indicating *loʔ* (which is indeed a kind of tree) and *gom* (not found today). Yabem is evidently approaching that stage in the development of a tone language where phonological attrition has resulted in so many homophones that

1. Synchronically, tone determines the voicing of stops and is a necessary condition of the voicing and prenasalisation of stops and the prenasalisation of *s*. Historically, however, the reverse is true: the voicing of stops and of Proto North Huon Gulf *\*s/\*z* determined tone. Conjugation 3 includes stems whose  $C_1$  is neither a stop nor *s*, and the voicing of each form has been determined historically by the presence/absence of a voiced stop in the prefix.
2. This is demonstrably true of one member of this small class: *-suj* ‘bury’ is descended from a two-syllable form reconstructible as Proto North Huon Gulf *\*-zuvuŋ*.

compounding becomes a norm – which in the Yabem will result in profound changes in the phonological system described above.

There are three enclitics which occur usually in compound nouns denoting human beings:

(a) *-ə* ‘feminine’, attached to human nouns; for example:

*lau-ə* ‘wives’ (cf. *lau* ‘people’)

*latom-ə* ‘your daughter’ (cf. *latom* ‘your son’, *latu* ‘his son’)

*sagu-ə* ‘girl who has menstruated’ (cf. *sagu* ‘circumcision candidate’)

*ana-ə* ‘her co-wife’ (\**ana* does not occur independently);

(b) *-i* ‘human plural’, attached to human nouns; for example:

*tamem-i* ‘your (plural) fathers’;

*tɛnɛŋ-i-ageʔ* ‘our (pairs of) parents’ (cf. *tena-ageʔ* ‘his (pair of) parents’, where *tena* is ‘his mother’, *-ageʔ* a clitic meaning ‘pair, both’);

*ana-i-ə* ‘her co-wives’ (cf. *ana-ə* ‘her co-wife’, where *-ə* is the feminine enclitic)

(c) *-waga* ‘human agent’, attached to nouns, adjectives and verbs; for example:

*yaom-waga* ‘foster parents’ (cf. *yaom* ‘guardianship’)

*su-waga* ‘natural father’ (cf. *su* ‘milk’)

*yali-waga* ‘sentry, guard’ (cf. *yali* ‘awake at night’)

*ke-doŋ-waga* ‘teacher’ (cf. *ke-doŋ* ‘he teaches’)

As in many Oceanic Austronesian languages, Yabem nouns are divisible morphologically into two categories: alienably possessed nouns, which are unsuffixed, and inalienably possessed nouns, which normally take a suffix marking the person and number of the possessor. Paradigms of the latter are given in Section 2 (q.v.). In Yabem, however, a distinction is also made within the inalienably possessed category between cases where the possessor is a human being and cases where it is non-human. Where the possessor is a human being, the possessor noun phrase precedes the (suffixed) possessed noun:

*aom kato-m* ‘your (sing.) soul’ (*aom* ‘you (sing.)’; *kato* ‘his soul’)

*luluai latu* ‘the *luluai*’s [village head man’s] son’ (*latu* ‘his son’)

*yam<sup>wa</sup> tama* ‘Yamwa’s father’ (*tama* ‘his father’)

Perhaps because the third person singular possessor “suffix” in Yabem is zero,<sup>1</sup> when the possessor is not a human being (and occasionally when it is), the proclitic *ŋa-* is attached to the possessed noun:

<i>ka ŋa-laka</i>	‘tree branch, branch of a tree’ ( <i>ka</i> ‘tree’; <i>laka</i> ‘its branch, twig’)
<i>taleʔ ŋa-latu</i>	‘hen’s child, chick’ ( <i>taleʔ</i> ‘hen’; <i>latu</i> ‘her son’)
<i>a<sup>n</sup>du ŋa-dam<sup>w</sup>e</i>	‘back of the house’ ( <i>a<sup>n</sup>du</i> ‘house’; <i>dam<sup>w</sup>e</i> ‘its back’)
<i>lom ŋa-tau</i>	‘owners of the men’s house’ ( <i>lom</i> ‘men’s house’; <i>tau</i> ‘person, self’)

This construction, which is quite unusual among Oceanic Austronesian languages, has three outcomes which are reflected in the word list. Firstly, it is used in a number of portmanteau expressions, e.g. *mu ŋa-ðla* ‘the wind’s blossom, i.e. white caps caused by wind’, *bu ŋa-tɔŋ* ‘water’s heap, i.e. lake’. Secondly, there are a number of nouns which hardly, if ever, occur without *ŋa-* (e.g. *ŋawao* ‘feather, flame’, shortened from *mɔʔŋawao* ‘bird’s feather’, *ya ŋawao* ‘fire’s flame’) or which have acquired a different meaning when prefixed with *ŋa-*:

<i>ŋaoliʔ</i> ‘(its) skin’	<i>oli</i> ‘his body’ <sup>2</sup>
<i>ŋapale</i> ‘child, offspring’	<i>pale</i> ‘soft’
<i>ŋaseʔ</i> ‘afterbirth, baby’	<i>seʔ</i> ‘bad’

Thirdly, as is fairly common in Western Oceanic languages, some attributive adjectives in Yabem behave as if they were the inalienably possessed head noun of a possessive noun phrase, so that we also find adjectives with *ŋa-*, as in *m̄ ŋakana ŋayàm* ‘a lovely sweet banana’ (*m̄* ‘banana’, *ŋakana* ‘sweet, tasty’, *ŋayàm* ‘good’).<sup>3</sup>

Unrelated to *ŋa-* ‘possessive proclitic’ is *-ŋa* ‘postpositional enclitic’, which also occurs quite frequently in the word list and footnotes and is used to express a number of relationships: locative, ablative, benefactive, and purposive:

locative:	<i>ano-ŋa</i> ‘on the right’
ablative:	<i>ŋa-dem<sup>w</sup>e-ŋa</i> ‘its-back-ablative’ = ‘from behind it’
purposive:	<i>gasuʔ dauŋ-ŋa</i> ‘bamboo smoke-for’ = ‘pipe (for smoking)’

1. The third person singular form in many Oceanic Austronesian languages has a suffix derived from Proto Oceanic \**-ña*. Yabem is a little unusual in having no suffix here.

2. The final glottal stop of *ŋa-oliʔ* is unexpected, but probably derived from a Proto Huon Gulf construct suffix \**-c* (Ross 1988: 145-146).

3. Constructions of this kind are discussed by Ross (1988: 184-185, 287-290, 390).

benefactive: *tama ke-po mɔ ɛŋ-ŋa* ‘father he-arrange taro him-for’, i.e. ‘his father who looks after him’ = ‘stepfather’

One of the most interesting features of the Yabem clause is the frequent use of verb serialisation, which is illustrated in a number of the footnotes to the word list. However, Yabem verb serialisation has been well described in the literature (by Bisang 1986, Bradshaw 1980, and Dempwolff 1939) and restrictions of space prevent us from recapitulating this work here. A feature which needs further research is the presence in Yabem of a class of morphemes which fill the slot of the second verb in a serial construction but are morphologically invariable. These appear to be the fossils of verbs which once filled the second serial slot but which no longer occur as independent verbs. They are often difficult to gloss except in combination with the verbs with which they co-occur, and are exemplified in Streicher (1982) under the entries for *au?* (no gloss), *lase* ‘away, from’, *okwi* ‘about, around’, *sa* ‘up, out, off’, *siŋ* ‘away’, *si?* ‘off course, astray’, *su* ‘away, off, out’, *toŋ* ‘fast’.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Note that in Streicher (1982) these items are spelt in the Dempwolff/Zahn orthography: *auc*, *lasê*, *ôkwi*, *sa*, *siŋ*, *sic*, *su*, *tôŋ*.

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## 46. Kaulong

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction:	<i>Craig Throop – Malcolm D. Ross</i>
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Word list:	<i>Craig Throop</i>
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### 1. Introduction

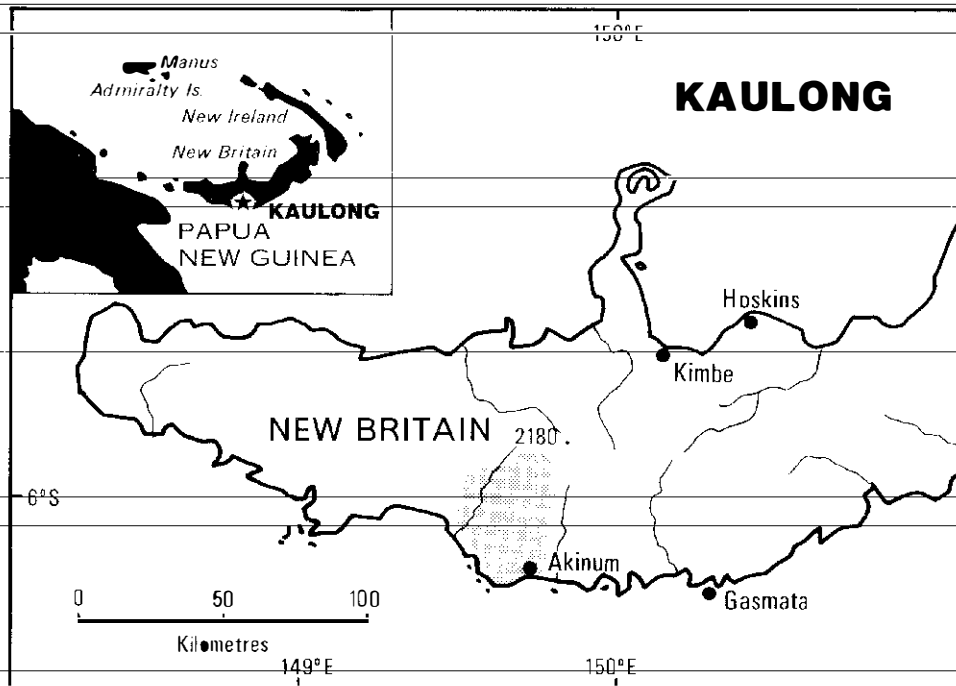
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Kaulong is spoken by some four thousand people who inhabit the area between the Alimbit and Palix Rivers, as well as a number of villages east of the Palix, from the coastal hinterland to the base of the Whiteman mountain range in the south-central part of the West New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea. Numerically Kaulong is the dominant member of the Pasismanua chain of languages, spoken to the south of the Whiteman range and including, from west to east, Miu, Kaulong, Sengseng, Karore and Psohoh.<sup>1</sup> Of these, Miu (to the north-west of Kaulong), Kaulong itself, and Sengseng (spoken along the Andru River to the east of Kaulong) are very closely related to each other, such that a linguist might regard them as dialects of a single language, although their speakers perceive them as separate languages.<sup>2</sup>

The region occupied by Miu, Kaulong and Sengseng speakers consists of the foothills of the Whiteman range, varying in altitude from eighty to six hundred metres. Geologically the area consists primarily of a limestone substratum with a fairly thin layer of topsoil which is far less fertile than the volcanic soils of northern New Britain and many of the other islands of Papua New Guinea. Most of the area is covered by tropical rain forest, interrupted only by village clearings, gardens, and a few small plantations. Traditionally, the people lived in scattered hamlets, although contact with the outside world has resulted in the establishment of some larger villages. Although north-eastern New Britain has a long history of European contact because the headquarters of the German Pacific empire was located there,

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1. More detailed information about these languages is provided by Throop – Throop (1980) and Chowning (1985).
  2. Numerically tiny Karore (once spoken along the Ursula River near the coast, and still spoken just offshore on Kaveng Island; Chowning 1985: 192) may also belong to this chain, but no data are available as the basis for determining this.
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south-western New Britain remains one of the most isolated regions of Papua New Guinea. Much of the area came under government control only in the 1950s, and one effect of this is that Tok Pisin (the lingua franca of much of Papua New Guinea) is still much less well known here than in other parts of New Britain (Throop – Throop 1980; Chowning 1985).



*Map 46.* Kaulong language area

Miu, Kaulong and Sengseng speakers are culturally and linguistically distinct from their neighbours to the west and along the south coast, who speak languages belonging to the Arawe chain. Indeed, the Pasismanua languages have so little obviously Austronesian vocabulary (as an inspection of the Kaulong items in this volume will show) that their membership in the Austronesian family is not initially evident. However, as Chowning (1985) has demonstrated, there are very good reasons for identifying them as Austronesian languages, an identification which is confirmed by Ross (1988: 181-183). Morphosyntactically, the Pasismanua languages have a number of features which are characteristic of the Oceanic Austronesian languages of western Melanesia: Subject–Verb–Object constituent order; pronominal systems which distinguish singular, dual, paucal and plural, and have separate inclusive and exclusive first person non-singular forms; a distinction between inalienable possession, where the possessed noun takes a suffix marking the person and number of the possessor, and alienable possession,

with no suffixation; reflexes of the Proto Austronesian causative verbal prefix *\*pa-*; reduplication of the verb stem to show ongoing actions; and completed action marked by post-verbal *kut* (from Proto Oceanic *\*goti* ‘finish’) (Throop – Throop 1980: 229; Chowning 1985: 173-174). The only published grammatical description of a Pasismanua language at the time of writing is Chowning’s (1978) notes on Sengseng.

The apparent reduction of Austronesian vocabulary in Miu, Kaulong and Sengseng is attributable to several factors. One is the operation of name taboo, recorded in various parts of Melanesia (Chowning 1985). Of the nouns in the Kaulong list, a higher proportion than in other languages consists of nominalisations of verbs. These nominalisations, formed with the derivational suffix *-ŋin*, appear to have replaced earlier forms which have been tabooed. For example, we find *tinis-ŋin* ‘tears’, the nominalisation of *tinis* ‘cry’ (from Proto Oceanic *\*taŋis*) instead of a reflex of Proto Oceanic *\*luaq* ‘tears’. In many cases, however, replacement entails the operation of a probable second factor, namely borrowing from Papuan (i.e. Melanesian but non-Austronesian) languages. Although the few Papuan languages of New Britain are today spoken only in small pockets surrounded by Austronesian languages, the former are almost certainly the descendants of languages spoken widely on New Britain before the arrival of Austronesian speakers.<sup>1</sup> A piece of circumstantial evidence indicating contact between at least one Papuan language and a language ancestral to the Pasismanua languages occurs in the shape of one very un-Austronesian feature in Pasismanua grammar, namely that third person singular pronouns and pre-nominal articles distinguish between masculine and feminine gender of personal and some other nouns (Throop – Throop 1980; Ross 1988: 182-183). Since gender distinction is almost unknown among Oceanic Austronesian languages, but is found in Anêm, the only Papuan language in the western part of New Britain (Thurston 1982: 45-47), it is a reasonable hypothesis that the Pasismanua distinction results from Papuan contact, and that this contact also resulted in lexical borrowing. Thurston (1987: 89) cites a few cases where Anêm and Kaulong terms appear to share an earlier Papuan source:

Anêm <sup>2</sup>	Kaulong		Proto Oceanic
<i>êknîn</i>	<i>ekiŋ</i>	‘bird’	<i>*manuk</i>
<i>bîk</i>	<i>miuk</i>	‘three’	<i>*tolu</i>
<i>tanol</i>	<i>nal, mnal</i>	‘four’	<i>*pat, pati</i>

1. There is archaeological evidence of pre-Austronesian settlement on New Britain from at least 10,000 B.C. (Spriggs 1984).

2. Anêm /î/ and /ê/ are respectively high and mid back unrounded vowels.



In the case of *ekij* ‘bird’, the putative Papuan borrowing has not entirely replaced the Austronesian term, as Kaulong *emon* (from Proto Oceanic *\*manuk*) is also heard.

A third reason why Kaulong and Sengseng vocabulary items are not readily recognisable as Austronesian is simply the result of change over time. Thus it is not immediately obvious that Kaulong *nak* and Psohoh *noax* reflect Proto Oceanic *\*waga* ‘canoe’. However, when it is recognised that Pasismanua nouns often have a fossil prefix reflecting the Proto Oceanic article, in this case, *\*na*, the derivation is more evident.<sup>1</sup>

The relationships among the Austronesian languages of southern and south-western New Britain are not entirely clear, but it is probable that the closest relatives of the Pasismanua languages are their somewhat more conservative Arawe neighbours on the coast. Both groups belong to a larger South-West New Britain grouping, discussed by Ross (1988: 163, 181-183).

The Kaulong language itself appears to be divided into four dialects, which we will provisionally name northern, southern, eastern and western. The western dialect is spoken in villages just to the east of the Alimbit River, whilst the rest of the region between the Alimbit and the Palix is occupied by the northern and the southern dialects. The Palix River divides the eastern dialect from the other three. These divisions are based on the statements of native speakers. Linguistic data collected so far corroborate the sociolinguistic evidence, but more data are needed to determine more exactly the nature and extent of the differences. The data in this volume are from Au village, which lies within the northern dialect.

Identifiable borrowings into Kaulong are footnoted in the word list. However, as noted above, many items in the list appear to be the result of borrowing from a pre-Austronesian language or languages, and their origins will probably never be identified. Footnoted borrowings come from two sources. Items related to life in a coastal environment come from one or more of the Arawe dialects of the Kaulong speakers’ coastal neighbours, since no Kaulong villages lie on the coast (Kaulong has no word, for example, for 01.341 ‘reef’). A number of items resulting from European contact are from Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin, the *lingua franca* of much of Papua New Guinea), which is slowly gaining currency in south-western New Britain. Even some of these items, however, seem to have been borrowed via another New Britain language, perhaps Tolai, since they are prefixed with an apparent article *a-*: *asop* ‘soap’, *akon* ‘corn’, *abuk* ‘hook’.

1. This derivation is complicated by the fact that the item is probably borrowed from a neighbouring Arawe language on the coast.

Certain frequent features in the items in the word list are noted here, rather than repeatedly footnoted. Many body part and kinship nouns are inalienably possessed, and take a suffix indicating the person and number of their possessor. These suffixes are segmented with a hyphen. For example, in 01.820 *iya mamai-n* ‘flame’, literally ‘fire’s tongue’, *iya* ‘fire’ is possessor, and the *-n* of *mamai-n* ‘its tongue’ is the third person singular suffix coreferential with *iya*. Similarly the *-k* of 02.630 *βiyo-k* ‘my son-in-law’ marks the possessor ‘my’. Possessor suffixes found in the word list are *-k* and *-ŋo* ‘my’, *-n* ‘his/her/its’, *-hi* ‘their’. Less frequently found is *-an* ‘his/her/its (inalienable)’, added to nouns which may also be used without inalienable possession. Thus 04.150 *kalol-an* ‘his/her blood’ is formed from the independent noun *kalol* ‘blood’.

Another grammatical morpheme occurring in the word list is the third person singular inanimate object marker *-i*, found in 21.250 *tuntun-i* ‘swear it’ (from 21.240 *tuntun* ‘swear’) and frequently (for example in 09.341) in *βa-i* ‘carry it’.

Derivational suffixes which occur often are the nominaliser *-ŋin*, referred to above, and the attributive suffix *-an*. The attributive suffix (historically identical to *-an* ‘his/her/its’) forms attributes from nouns. Thus in 14.450 *pi sinaŋ-an* ‘noon’, *pi* ‘place, time’ is the head noun, and *sinaŋ-an* is an attribute formed from *sinaŋ* ‘sun’.

This example illustrates a feature which is peculiar to Kaulong, namely that items rendered in other languages by a single word are often a phrase in Kaulong. As far as possible, the constituent morphemes of a phrase are glossed in a footnote, but sometimes the individual meaning of a constituent is unclear. This tendency to circumlocution is probably attributable to the factors discussed above, i.e. word tabooing and Papuan influence. One subtype of circumlocution which is atypical for Austronesian languages but which has been reported elsewhere as a Papuan feature is the use of a hypernymous noun with a more specific noun attribute (Laycock 1973). A clear example of this is provided by the bird types listed as 03.520 to 03.596, each consisting of *ekiŋ* ‘bird’ and a more specific noun. We find, for example, *ekiŋ nomal* ‘chicken’, *ekiŋ βisu* ‘eagle’, *ekiŋ kalaŋ* ‘parrot’, *ekiŋ βulus* ‘dove’. Kaulong *kalaŋ* and *βulus* are derived respectively from Proto Oceanic *\*kalaŋaR* ‘Eclectus parrot’ and *\*baluc* ‘dove’. Since lexical replacement has not occurred here, we can be confident that the structure is not the result of taboo, but probably of Papuan influence. The numerous cases introduced by *pi* ‘place’ (but also used of times) represent a similar structure, although some probably are the result of tabooing: for example 01.222 *pi po iyop-ŋin* ‘place for jump-ing’ = ‘cliff, precipice’, 01.250

*pi nemut* ‘place cut-off’ = ‘island’, 01.343 *pi hut* ‘place nose’ = ‘headland’, 01.450 *pi kin* ‘place leaf’ = ‘earthquake’, 14.450 *pi sinaŋ-an* ‘place sunn-y’ = ‘noon’.

The presence of gender in Kaulong personal nouns was mentioned above. In kinship nouns this is expressed by a prefix which was originally a hypernymous noun. Thus *βi-tama-n* ‘his father’ consists of the prefixed noun *βi* ‘man, male’ and a reflex of Proto-Oceanic \**tama-ã* ‘his father’. Originally this *βi* functioned structurally like *ekiŋ* and *pi* in the previous paragraph. Similarly, we find 02.410 *βi-tu-k* ‘son’, 02.480 *βi-ro-k* ‘grandson’. The corresponding female terms are formed with *e-*: 02.420 *e-tu-k* ‘daughter’, 02.490 *e-ro-k* ‘granddaughter’. This *e-* is a reduction of *et-*, no longer an independent morpheme in Kaulong, but reconstructible as Proto-Arawe/Pasismanua \**et* ‘woman, female’. This gender distinction is foreign to Austronesian languages, and results in considerable complexity in Kaulong kin terms when it is superimposed on an inherited classificatory system which distinguishes the sex of the person through whom the referent is related to ego. Thus the distinction between *βi-* ‘male’ and *et-* ‘female’ combines with a distinction between *-iyo-* ‘wife’s parent/daughter’s husband’ and *-ka-* ‘husband’s parent/son’s wife’ to give:

02.610, 630, 631 *β-iyo-k* ‘(man’s) father-in-law, man’s or woman’s son-in-law’

02.620 *et-iyo-k* ‘(man’s) mother-in-law’

02.611 *βi-ka-ŋo* ‘(woman’s) father-in-law’

02.621, 641 *et-ka-ŋo* ‘(man’s) father-in-law, woman’s daughter-in-law’

This system is not completely symmetrical, since we also find 02.640 *βut-ka-ŋo* ‘(man’s) daughter-in-law’, where the prefix is *βut*, the independent noun ‘woman’, rather than *et-*, a distinction that is not properly understood.

## 2. Notes on phonology

The consonant phonemes of Kaulong are:

Table 1. Consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>β</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels			<i>y</i>		

The voiced stops are always prenasalised as [ʰb], [ʰd], [ʰg], but it would be redundant to write the prenasalisation in the word list. The bilabial is phonetically a fricative [β] before /i/, /e/ and /o/, a rounded semivowel [w] before /u/, and varies between [β] and [w] before /a/. The voiceless stop /t/ is articulated as a voiced tap [ɾ] between vowels and between a vowel and another consonant in rapid speech. Intervocalic /h/ is deleted in rapid speech in some dialects. With regard to /y/, see below under vowels.

Consonant clusters occur in Kaulong with somewhat greater frequency than is the norm in Oceanic Austronesian languages. At least some word-initial consonant sequences appear to be the result of vowel deletion. For example, Kaulong *βlek* ‘plant upright’ is cognate with Sengseng *velek*. However, more research is needed to determine the psychological status of the deleted segment in Kaulong.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

The front vowels /i/ and /e/ are lowered to [ɪ] and [ɛ] in closed unstressed syllables, and are [i] and [e] elsewhere.

In general, falling vowel sequences form the nuclei of two syllables, whilst rising sequences are monosyllabic. However, there are some uncertainties in this area, a fact which has a bearing on whether the consonant phoneme /y/ should be recognised, or whether [y] is an

allophone of [i] or a non-phonemic intervocalic glide in falling sequences, e.g. [iyo] reflecting /io/. On phonetic grounds, some items in the word list are written with /y/.

Stress on verbs occurs most frequently on the ultima, while stress on nouns occurs most frequently on the penult. Further study is required to discover additional patterns of stress.

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## 47. Tolai

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**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist: *Ulrike Mosel*

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### 1. Introduction

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The language of the Tolai people is called *Kuanua* by the Tolai people themselves and the Methodist Church (Wright 1964), *Tolai* by linguists, and *Tuna* (Meyer 1961) or *Gunantuna* (Zwinge 1983) by Catholic missionaries. Other names are: *Blanche Bay dialect*, *New Britain dialect* (Rickard 1889), *Nordgazellen-Sprache* (Bley 1912), *Neu-Pommerische Sprache* (Constantini 1907), and *Raluana* (Lanyon-Orgill 1962).

The Tolai people, who number about 90,000, live in small villages near the town of Rabaul, East New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea. Though spoken in New Britain, Tolai is genetically more closely related to the languages of New Ireland than to those of New Britain. According to Ruhlen (1987: 349), it is classified as Patpatar-Tolai, New Ireland-Tolai, Oceanic, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian (compare Beaumont 1972: 12ff, Chowning 1969: 24). The Tolai language shows a large diversity of regional varieties which can be classified into three groups of dialects:

1. Kokopo dialects, including Papatava (Kleintitschen 1924) and Raluana.
2. The North Coast dialects, including Volavolo (Bley 1912) and Rakunai (Meier 1909, Mosel 1977).
3. Marginal dialects, including the dialects of Nodup, Kabair, Vuatom, and Vunamarita.

The present word list is mainly based on Meyer (1961), Wright (1964), and my own collections of data which I gathered during two and six months fieldwork in 1976 and 1978, respectively; however, this fieldwork did not include thorough phonological and lexical studies, but concentrated on syntax and socio-linguistics (Mosel 1980, 1984).<sup>1</sup>

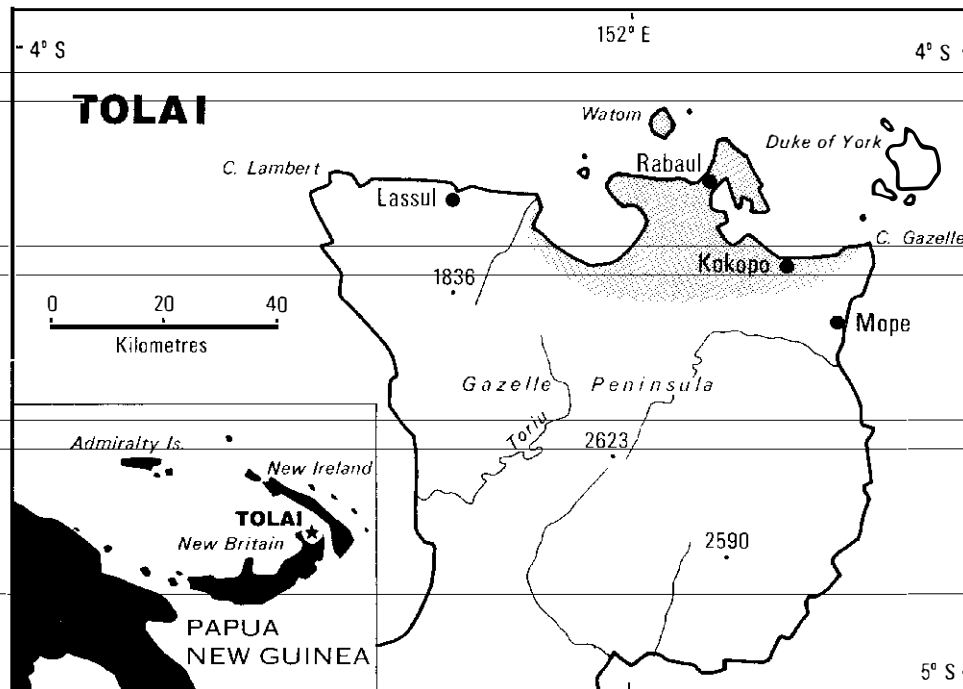
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1. My research on Tolai was financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Society) as part of the research projects "Linguistic Change and Language

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Map 47. Tolai language area

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Word stress

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word.

### 2.2 Inventory of consonants

		Labial	Apical	Dorsal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives		<i>β</i>	( <i>s</i> )	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>	

Mixing” in Munich and “Language Universals and Typology” (UNITYP) in Cologne from 1977-1979 and 1980-1984, respectively.

/β/ is a bilabial voiced fricative. /s/ only occurs in loanwords and alternates with /t/: *sitima*, *titima* ‘steamer’, *os*, *ot* ‘horse’. Voiced stops never occur in word final position. In the North Coast dialects the voiced stops are prenasalised.

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Tolai has a six vowel system. Vowel length is distinctive (Mosel 1980: 20).

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>	<i>ə ē</i>	<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

Tolai does not have diphthongs. Sequences of different vowels constitute separate syllables.

### 2.4 Syllable structure

The syllables of Tolai have the following structures: V, VC, CV, CVC. Within the word, consonant clusters are only found at morpheme boundaries: *var-mari* ‘to love each other’ (*var* = REC, *mari* (trans) ‘to love s.o.’). In loanwords consonant clusters are split up (*pelet* ‘plate’, *Ingilit* ‘English’), or reduced by the omission of a consonant (*pen* ‘paint’).

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## 48. Central Buang

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Bruce A. Hooley</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Central Buang is an Austronesian language spoken in the central part of the Snake River Valley in the Mumeng sub-Province, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. The term Buang is not a local one, although it is generally accepted by the speakers. *Bu* is the Busama word for ‘water’ or ‘river’, and the *Ang* is a ‘stream which flows into the ocean’ on the coastal side of the range. It was along this stream that the Buangs used to travel to reach the coast if they ventured that far afield in the days before European contact. The other term used by coastal people for the Buangs was Kaidemoe, which sometimes appears in the literature as Gaidemoe. This was a somewhat derogatory term akin to “bush kanaka”.

The Buang language family is a close-knit group of four larger and two smaller languages ranging from Buasi on the coast to Piu in the middle Watut. There are three major groups in the Snake River valley, the headwaters, the central villages, and the Mangga Buang. These three parts correspond to linguistic divisions also, the first two being taken as dialects, and the third as a distinct language. For further details of the linguistic situation in the area see Hooley (1970).

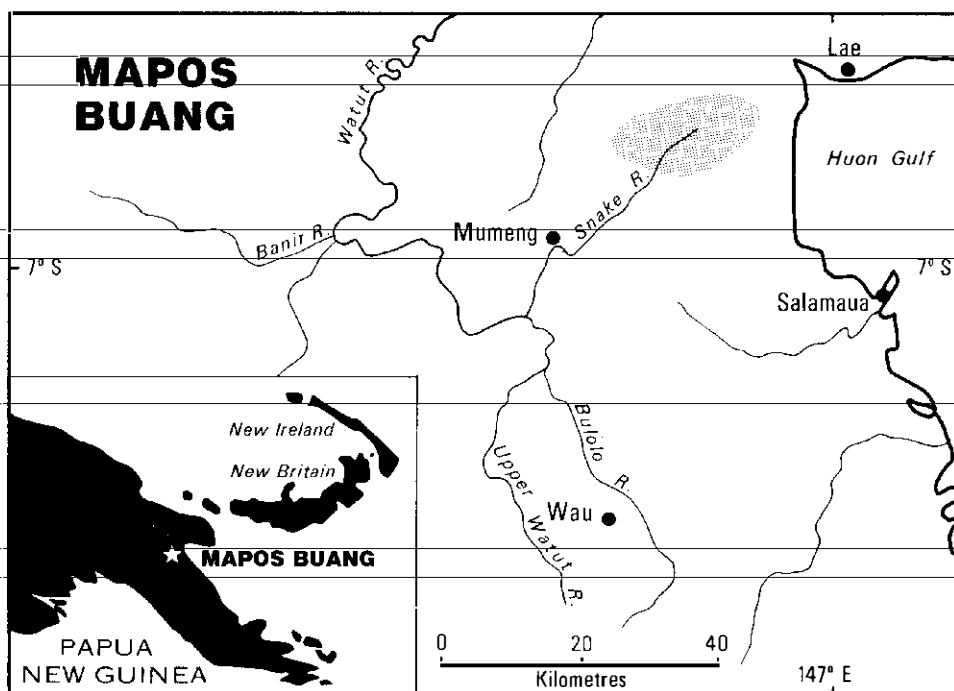
The data recorded in this wordlist are based principally on the speech of Mapos I and the nearby villages. Mapos I is one of the main Central Buang villages. Some of the other villages of this dialect show differences in speech, mostly in vocabulary items, although almost every village has some minor linguistic variations. Central Buang comprises ten villages: Wij (Davong), Römaröm (Lomalom), Humek (Bulantim), Mapos I, Mapos II, Sebulek (Chimbulok), Saggee (Senagai), Səhayo (Sagaiyo), Seyuggee (Siyuwai), and Pepeknë (Popekani). (Where the official government name for the villages differs from that normally used by the people, it is given in parentheses.)

Basically, the language varieties of Mapos I, Mapos II, Sebulek, Saggee, Seyuggee, Səhayo and Pepeknë are very similar. A more substantial difference can be seen between these villages and those of Humek, Römaröm

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and Wij, with Wij being more divergent than the other two. While most of the distinctions observed in the speech of these villages are vocabulary items, there are some phonological features such as intonation patterns which are characteristic of particular villages.



Map 48. Central Buang language area

## 2. Sound system and orthography

Table 1. Consonants

		Bilabial	Dental- alveolar	Alvco- Palatal	Velar	Labio- Velar	Uvular
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ḱ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ḡ</i>
Fricatives	vl			<i>s</i>			
	vd	<i>β</i>		<i>z</i>	<i>ɣ</i>		<i>ʁ</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ŋ̣</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>				
Flaps			<i>r</i>				
Semi-vowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>			

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>	<i>[ə]</i>	<i>o ō</i>
Low	<i>ε ē</i>	<i>a ā</i>	<i>ɔ ɔ̄</i>

Some of the problems encountered in setting up an orthography for Central Buang are discussed in Hooley (1974).

Prenasalisation of voiced stops is automatic, so the prenasalisation has not been written in the orthography or in this word list.

The contrast between the velar and uvular point of articulation is preserved in the present word list by writing a dot under uvular *k*, *g*, *ŋ* and *ŋ̣*. For reasons discussed in Hooley (1974) the contrast is not written in the normal orthography.

*/s/* and */z/* are sibilants which tend to affricate articulation. With some speakers in some environments */s/* is [tʃ]. The voiced sibilant */z/* is prenasalised.

Schwa is an open transition between consonants, and is not considered phonemic, but it is written in the wordlist for convenience.

The labio-velar voiced continuant *w* has a non-phonemic voiced fricative on-glide word medially.

### 3. Morphology

Buang shares a number of features of grammar with other Austronesian languages. No attempt is made here to give a full grammatical description of the language, but some of the more salient features which may be helpful follow.

#### 3.1 Noun classes

Nouns fall into two main categories in Buang, those which decline for possession, and those which do not. The former constitute a class called inalienable, and are for the most part body parts and kin terms. Within this group, there is a further subdivision based on the set of suffixes which are used to indicate person. There are some words which also show a change of vowel in the root. The other group, known as alienable, does not decline for possession, and includes everything which is not inalienable, such as houses,

clothing, food. The classification does not follow a strictly logical dichotomy as it might be seen through western cultural eyes, and should not be judged on that basis. For example *rur* 'breast' does not decline, whereas *ŋayi* 'many' does. The two sets of affixes are as follows:

1sg	-ŋ	-k
2sg	-m	-p
3sg	-Ø/-n	-z
1pl incl	-d	-sed
1pl excl	-min	-pin
2pl	-min	-pin
3pl	-z	-sez

The set on the left is the most common. Single syllable roots with an e in the third person singular change the vowel to ɔ in first and second person singular, in first person plural exclusive and second person plural. The free pronouns for second and third person singular and third person plural are not normally used. The following chart gives examples of the different types:

	'penis'	'father'	'face'	'tongue'
1sg	<i>sa lig</i>	<i>samag</i>	<i>samalag</i>	<i>sa dayɔg</i>
2sg	<i>lim</i>	<i>amam</i>	<i>malam</i>	<i>dayen</i>
3sg	<i>lin</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>dayen</i>
1pl incl	<i>ɣil lid</i>	<i>ɣil amad</i>	<i>ɣil malad</i>	<i>ɣil dayed</i>
1pl excl	<i>ɣɛ limin</i>	<i>ɣɛ amamin</i>	<i>ɣɛ malamin</i>	<i>ɣɛ dayemin</i>
2pl	<i>ɣam limin</i>	<i>ɣam amamin</i>	<i>ɣam malamin</i>	<i>ɣam dayemin</i>
3pl	<i>liz</i>	<i>amaz</i>	<i>malaz</i>	<i>dayez</i>

	'parent-in-law'	'home'	'tail'
1sg	<i>sa ɣɔg</i>	<i>sa bɔg</i>	<i>sa yuk</i>
2sg	<i>ɣɔm</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>ɣus</i>
3sg	<i>ɣen</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>ɣus</i>
1pl incl	<i>ɣil ɣed</i>	<i>ɣil bed</i>	<i>ɣil ɣused</i>
1pl excl	<i>ɣɛ ɣɔmin</i>	<i>ɣɛ bɔmin</i>	<i>ɣɛ ɣupin</i>
2pl	<i>ɣam ɣɔmin</i>	<i>ɣam bɔmin</i>	<i>ɣam ɣupin</i>
3pl	<i>ɣez</i>	<i>bez</i>	<i>ɣusez</i>

First person singular forms with vowel initial roots may occur with the free pronoun *sa*, or, more commonly, with the pronoun merged with the root.

In each case the third person singular form is listed in the word list.

The possessive of alienable possessions is formed as follows:

	'house'	'food'
1sg	<i>sa bəyaŋ</i>	<i>sa nos</i>
2sg	<i>yoŋ bəyaŋ</i>	<i>yoŋ nos</i>
3sg	<i>yi bəyaŋ</i>	<i>yi nos</i>
1pl incl	<i>ɣil bəyaŋ</i>	<i>ɣil nos</i>
1pl excl	<i>ɣe bəyaŋ</i>	<i>ɣe nos</i>
2pl	<i>ɣam bəyaŋ</i>	<i>ɣam nos</i>
3pl	<i>ɣir bəyaŋ</i>	<i>ɣir nos</i>

### 3.2 Verb classes

Buang uses something more akin to aspect than to traditional tense, and the verbs fall into three main classes based on how the aspect is indicated. With some verbs, aspect markers also change with person. There are two aspects, and the dichotomy is similar to that sometimes referred to as realis/irrealis, or perfective/imperfective. In general, the first usually refers to events which have taken place, are taking place, or are certain to take place; the second refers to events which have not taken place, or are hypothetical only. Potential therefore is similar to future tense and actual is often similar to past tense.

Verbs are listed in their actual form, and, where applicable, in the third person. Verbs stressed on the first syllable of the root have a prefix *a-* in the first person plural inclusive, provided the vowel in that syllable is not itself *a*. This prefix does not appear with first person plural exclusive with the free pronoun since that ends in a vowel. If a consonant final word (such as *rek*) occurs between the pronoun and the root however, then the *a-* appears with the exclusive forms also. For the first person singular forms of these same verbs the vowel of the free pronoun is lost, and the consonant is attached to the verb root with open transition. For example:

<i>sa kəβu</i>	'I write'	<i>səya</i>	'I eat'
<i>ɣil kəβu</i>	'we (excl) write'	<i>ɣe kəβu</i>	'we (excl) write'
<i>ɣil rek kəβu</i>	'we will write'	<i>ɣe rek kəβu</i>	'we will write'
<i>ɣil tayi</i>	'we call'	<i>ɣe tayi</i>	'we call'
<i>ɣil aɣ</i>	'we will eat'	<i>ɣe ɣa</i>	'we will eat'
<i>ɣil rek aɣa</i>	'we'll eat later'	<i>ɣe rek aɣa</i>	'we will eat later'

**Class 1**

Potential aspect is indicated by either  $\emptyset$ - or *na*-. For most verbs in this class there is no change. Aspect is deduced from context, or by the addition of an adverb of time, or by association with another verb which is marked. For verbs stressed on the first syllable, *na*- is prefixed to the actual form to yield the potential, otherwise it is  $\emptyset$ .

	<i>tayi</i> 'call' Actual/Potential	<i>puβin</i> 'crumble' Actual
1sg	<i>sa tayi</i>	<i>səpuβin</i>
2sg	<i>gətayi</i>	<i>gəpuβin</i>
3sg	<i>tayi</i>	<i>puβin</i>
1pl incl	<i>ɣil tayi</i>	<i>ɣil apuβin</i>
1pl excl	<i>ye tayi</i>	<i>ye puβin</i>
2pl	<i>ɣam tayi</i>	<i>ɣam puβin</i>
3pl	<i>dətayi</i>	<i>dəpuβin</i>
	<i>səsufin</i> 'suck' Actual/Potential	Potential
1sg	<i>sa səsufin</i>	<i>sa napufin</i>
2sg	<i>gesəsufin</i>	<i>gənapufin</i>
3sg	<i>səsufin</i>	<i>napufin</i>
1pl incl	<i>ɣil səsufin</i>	<i>ɣil napufin</i>
1pl excl	<i>ye səsufin</i>	<i>ye ɣapufin</i>
2pl	<i>ɣam səsufin</i>	<i>ɣam napufin</i>
3pl	<i>dəsəsufin</i>	<i>dənapufin</i>

Verb roots in this class which begin with *k*- or *g*-, with one or two exceptions, also decline for person, as for example:

	'get up'	'pierce, spear'
1st person	<i>kədi</i>	<i>gəlu</i> (i.e. 1st person and <i>k</i> and <i>g</i> )
2nd person	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ədi</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup>əlu</i>
3rd person	<i>kədi</i>	<i>gəlu</i>

**Class 2**

Verbs in this class are marked by a prefix in both actual and potential. The prefix declines for person.

	Actual	Potential
1st person	<i>ya-/y-</i>	<i>ga-/g-</i>
2nd person	<i>∅-</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup>-</i>
3rd person	<i>∅-</i>	<i>g-</i>

Verbs in this class are all single syllable roots. The prefixes *ya-/y-* and *ga-/g-* occur with only three common verbs:

<i>le</i>	'see'
<i>ŋo</i>	'hear'
<i>ko</i>	'take/bring'

The following illustrates this class of verb:

	<i>tup</i> 'run' Actual	<i>le</i> 'see' Actual
1sg	<i>sa yətup</i>	<i>sa yale</i>
2sg	<i>gətup</i>	<i>gəle</i>
3sg	<i>tup</i>	<i>le</i>
1pl incl	<i>yil yətup</i>	<i>yil yale</i>
1pl excl	<i>ye yətup</i>	<i>ye yale</i>
2pl	<i>yam tup</i>	<i>yamle</i>
3pl	<i>dətup</i>	<i>dəle</i>

	Potential	Potential
1sg	<i>sa gətup</i>	<i>sa gale</i>
2sg	<i>g<sup>w</sup>ətup</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup>əle</i>
3sg	<i>gətup</i>	<i>gəle</i>
1pl incl	<i>yil gətup</i>	<i>yil gale</i>
1pl excl	<i>ye gətup</i>	<i>ye gale</i>
2pl	<i>yam g<sup>w</sup>ətup</i>	<i>yam g<sup>w</sup>əle</i>
3pl	<i>dəgətup</i>	<i>dəgəle</i>

### Class 3

Except for a very few exceptions this class could have been united with Class 1, but because of these exceptions it is deemed easier to mark them as a separate class. The potential aspect of these verbs is formed by changing the initial consonant of the root as follows:



Actual	Potential
$\beta$ -	$b$ -
$l$ -	$d$ -
$\gamma$ -	$g$ -
$s$ -	$\eta$
$r$ -	$z$ -
$y$ -	$n$ -
$y$ -	$\eta$
$y$ -	$z$ -

Some correspondences are less common than others, for example, the correspondence  $y/z$ - has only been noted with one verb.

Those verbs in this class whose roots begin with  $\gamma$ - change for person just as with the verbs in Class 2. There is a further difference in second person if the verb has a back rounded vowel in the first syllable. This may be seen in the following examples:

	Actual	Potential	Actual	Potential
	$\gamma ep$ 'sleep/lie'		$\gamma urək$ 'go upstream'	
1sg	$sə\gamma ep$	$sə\eta ep$	$sə\gamma urək$	$sə\eta urək$
2sg	$gəwep$	$gəg^wep$	$gə\gamma urək$	$gə\eta urək$
3sg	$\gamma ep$	$g ep$	$\gamma urək$	$g urək$
1pl incl	$\gamma il a\gamma ep$	$\gamma il a\eta ep$	$\gamma il a\gamma urək$	$\gamma il a\eta urək$
1pl excl	$\gamma e \gamma ep$	$\gamma e g ep$	$\gamma e \gamma urək$	$\gamma e \eta urək$
2pl	$\gamma am wep$	$\gamma am g^wep$	$\gamma am \gamma urək$	$\gamma am \eta urək$
3pl	$də\gamma ep$	$də\eta ep$	$də\gamma urək$	$də\eta urək$

Other examples of Class 3 verbs are:

	$\beta əya$ 'flee'	$ya$ 'go'	$sis$ 'hit'
	Actual	Actual	Actual
1sg	$sa \beta əya$	$səya$	$səsis$
2sg	$gə\beta əya$	$gəya$	$gəsis$
3sg	$\beta əya$	$ya$	$sis$
1pl incl	$\gamma il \beta əya$	$\gamma il aya$	$\gamma il asis$
1pl excl	$\gamma e \beta əya$	$\gamma e ya$	$\gamma e sis$
2pl	$\gamma am \beta əya$	$\gamma am ya$	$\gamma am sis$
3pl	$də\beta əya$	$dəya$	$dəsis$

	Potential	Potential	Potential
1sg	<i>sa bəya</i>	<i>səna</i>	<i>səŋis</i>
2sg	<i>gəbəya</i>	<i>gəna</i>	<i>gəŋis</i>
3sg	<i>bəya</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ŋis</i>
1pl incl	<i>ɣil bəya</i>	<i>ɣil ana</i>	<i>ɣil aŋis</i>
1pl excl	<i>ye bəya</i>	<i>ye na</i>	<i>ye ŋis</i>
2pl	<i>ɣam bəya</i>	<i>ɣamna</i>	<i>ɣam ŋis</i>
3pl	<i>dəbəya</i>	<i>dəna</i>	<i>dəŋis</i>

### Continuative mode

There is a continuative prefix *n-* to indicate actions which are in process or which go on for some time. There is the normal open transition between this and the verb root, so that it is written *nɛ-*. For verbs with the first person plural marker *a-*, it combines to give the prefix *na-*. For a few verbs this causes this form to fall together with the potential form. With Class 3 verbs of motion, the *na-* appears in the first person singular also.

<i>səβuβ</i>	‘I cut’	<i>sa nəβuβ</i>	‘I was cutting’
<i>sa kəlugin</i>	‘I pounded’	<i>sa nəkəlugin</i>	‘I was pounding’
<i>ɣil aya</i>	‘we ate’	<i>ɣil naya</i>	‘we eat/were eating’
<i>səyaɣ</i>	‘I went back’	<i>sənaɣaɣ</i>	‘I’m going back’

Continual, repeated, or habitual actions may be described using a verb phrase consisting of one of the verbs of position: sit, lie, stand, plus the continuative prefix and the verb. The verb ‘sit’ is used most commonly, and occurs in its potential form *medo*. The other two are used in the actual form. For example:

<i>mədo nəβoŋ</i>	‘he kept on doing it’
<i>βare nəle</i>	‘he stood there watching’
<i>ɣep nətək</i>	‘it lay open’

In Mapos and the neighbouring villages, but not in Humek and Römaröm, the continuative *n-* (and other nasals also) is often lost in normal speech, with accompanying lengthening of the vowel. In the case of the open transition, it is built up to full vowel status.

<i>ɣepetək</i>	‘it lay open’ (from <i>ɣep nətək</i> )
<i>dēle</i>	‘they were looking’ (from <i>denele</i> )



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## 49. Adzera

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Susanne C. Holzknacht</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Adzera language is spoken by approximately 20,650 people living in the valley of the Markham River, and in the valleys of its tributaries to the north and south, in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Within Adzera there are several different varieties spoken. These are:

1. Central dialect chain, comprising 23 villages in the central part of the Markham Valley. This variety includes the villages of the Onga? group, on the south bank of the Markham River, and has approximately 9,950 speakers.
2. Amari dialect, spoken in 14 villages from the Umi River to the Markham-Ramu Divide, with 5,300 speakers.
3. Ngarowapum dialect, spoken in four villages on the northern side of the Markham Valley between Umi and Mangiang Rivers, with 1,200 speakers.
4. Yarus dialect, which is found in ten villages in the mountains to the north of Ngarowapum, and in the valleys of the Mangiang, Mami and Yafats Rivers. These people number 2,200.
5. Guruf dialect, spoken in six villages on the south side of the Markham River, between the Waffa River and the village of Idzingants. This dialect also includes Ngariawang village, which is several kilometres up into the Leron River valley, on the opposite side of the Markham Valley to Guruf. Total population is 1,550.
6. Tsumanggorun village, which has its own variety of Adzera. This village is on the northern side of the Markham Valley, near the Iroap River. Its population is 400.

Previous work has been done on Adzera by K.G. Holzknacht (n.d., 1973a, 1973b, 1973c), Hooley (1971, 1976) and S.C. Holzknacht (1986, 1989).

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The research on which the present wordlist is based was carried out between 1976 and 1987. This has been supplemented by data from K.G. Holzknacht's unpublished dictionary of Adzera (K.G. Holzknacht, n.d.).

## 2. Phonology

The phonology of Adzera is summarised below.

### 2.1 Consonants

Adzera has 24 consonant phonemes.

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<u>Stops</u>	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
pre-nasal.	vl	<i><sup>m</sup>p</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>t</i>		<i><sup>ŋ</sup>k</i>	<i>ʔʔ</i>
<u>Affricated</u>	vl		<i>tʃ</i>			
	vā		<i>tʃ̄</i>			
	pre-nasal.	vl	<i><sup>n</sup>tʃ</i>			
	vd		<i><sup>n</sup>dʒ</i>			
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Flaps			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

### 2.2 Vowels

Adzera has four vowels in most dialects:

*a i o u*

Amari and Ngarowapum dialects have three vowels:

*a i u*

### 2.3 Diphthongs

Adzera has the following diphthongs:

*ai au ia ua ui oi* (in dialects with *o*)

## 2.4 Discussion

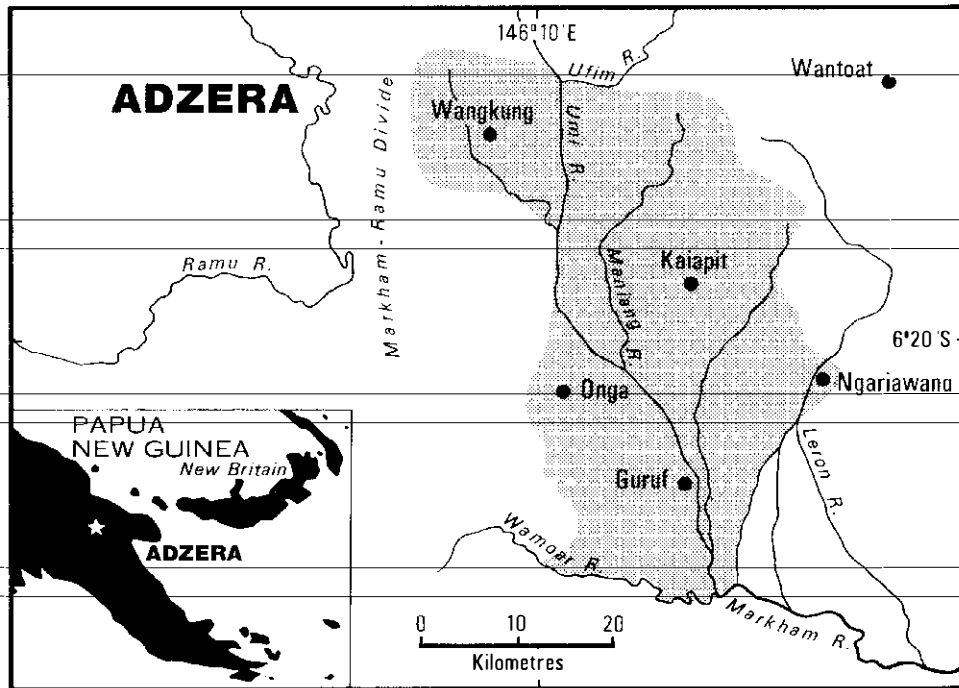
1. The prenasalised consonants /<sup>n</sup>m p, <sup>n</sup>t, <sup>n</sup>k, <sup>n</sup>ʃ, <sup>n</sup>dʒ/ occur in all positions, but when they occur word-initially the nasal feature is not realised unless it is preceded by a vowel.

e.g. <sup>n</sup>ʃim 'betel-nut'  
 [warim ʃim ba] 'Give me the betel-nut'

cf. [u <sup>n</sup>ʃim am] 'Your betel-nut'

/<sup>n</sup>ʔ/ occurs medially and word-finally only.

2. /h/ is recorded in one word only, *hai?* 'yes'.
3. /r/ is a flapped liquid [ɾ].



Map 49. Adzera language area

## 3. Morphophonemics

There are several morphophonemic features of Adzera which are important for interpreting the wordlist.

### 3.1 Participle-marking suffix $-(d)a(n)$

There are two rules which apply to the use of the participle-marking suffix  $-(d)a(n)$ .

- a. When the verb root ends in a consonant, the form of the suffix is either  $-an$  or  $-a$ . When the verb root ends in a vowel, the form of the suffix is either  $-da$  or  $-dan$ .
- b. When it occurs at the end of a sentence, the form of the suffix is either  $-an$  or  $-dan$ . When the following sound is a vowel, the form is also either  $-an$  or  $-dan$ . When the following sound is a consonant, the form is either  $-a$  or  $-dā$ .

### 3.2 Possessive pronoun suffixes

All nouns in Adzera are possessed either alienably or inalienably.

- a. Alienable nouns take a set of possessive pronoun suffixes of the form  $-(g)a^{ʔʔ}$  1st person,  $-(g)am$  2nd person,  $-(g)an$  3rd person. If the noun root ends in a vowel, the form is  $-ga^{ʔʔ}$ ,  $-gam$  or  $-gan$ . If the noun root ends in a consonant, the suffix form is  $-a^{ʔʔ}$ ,  $-am$  or  $-an$ .

e.g. *gum-a<sup>ʔʔ</sup>* ‘my garden’     *nowai-gan*     ‘his mango’

- b. Inalienable nouns, which include all kin terms and body parts, take two possessive suffixes, the first of which is obligatory and the second is optional. The suffixes are  $-^{ʔʔ}-(ga^{ʔʔ})$  1st person,  $-m-(gam)$  2nd person, and  $-n-(gan)$  3rd person.

e.g. *rina-* ‘mother’  
*rina-<sup>ʔʔ</sup>-(ga<sup>ʔʔ</sup>)* 1st person  
*rina-m-(gam)* 2nd person  
*rina-n-(gan)* 3rd person

In 2nd and 3rd persons,  $-m$ ,  $-n > \eta/-g$ .

### 3.3 Obligatory object marker *gin*

Many Adzera verbs take *gin* as an obligatory marker before direct objects. This is a reflex of Proto-Oceanic *\*akini* (prepositional verb), and in Adzera the form combines the prepositional functions of instrument, purpose, causal with an incorporated 3rd person pronoun object.

If the preceding word ends in a consonant, the form of the marker is *in*. If the preceding word ends in a vowel, the form is *gin*. If the object is other than a 3rd person pronoun, the form used is *i + noun/pronoun object*.

- e.g. *dzi-i-riŋa<sup>n</sup>tin* 'I hear (it)'  
*wa-ni gin* 'Tell about it'  
*dzi-i-riŋa<sup>n</sup>ti nani ago* 'I heard some talk about you'

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## 50. Kilivila

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Ralph Lawton</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Kilivila language is spoken by about 20,000 people, 16,000 of whom live on the northern fringe of the Milne Bay Province in Papua New Guinea. The majority live in the Trobriand Islands group, some 12,000 on the main island of Kiriwina, and 2,500 on the other islands of the group. Other Kilivila-speaking people are resident in the Marshall Bennett Islands, with two small Kilivila-speaking communities in Yanabwa (northern edge of Egum Atoll) and in the Lusancay Islands. The rest of the Kilivila-speaking population are to be found in the major cities and towns of Papua New Guinea, where they work in Government or commercial employment.

There are a number of different dialects of Kilivila, characterised mainly by regional phonological variants, with some morphological changes. The five dialects spoken on the main island of Kiriwina are Kilivila (from which the modern name of the language is taken) (North Kiriwina Island, 5,200 speakers), Kuboma (Central Western Kiriwina Island, 1,700 speakers), Luba (Central Eastern Kiriwina Island, 3,100 speakers), Kavataria (Central Kiriwina Island, 1,200 speakers), and Kaibwagina (South Kiriwina Island, 800 speakers). See map for dialect distribution.

When the Methodist Church commenced work in the Trobriand Islands, its headquarters was established in 1894 in the central area where the Kavataria dialect is spoken. Later, in about 1908 the Government was based in the same area. Thus it has been the Kavataria dialect which has been used for most literature, vernacular education and governmental circulars and legal communication. This statement and wordlist is set in that dialect.

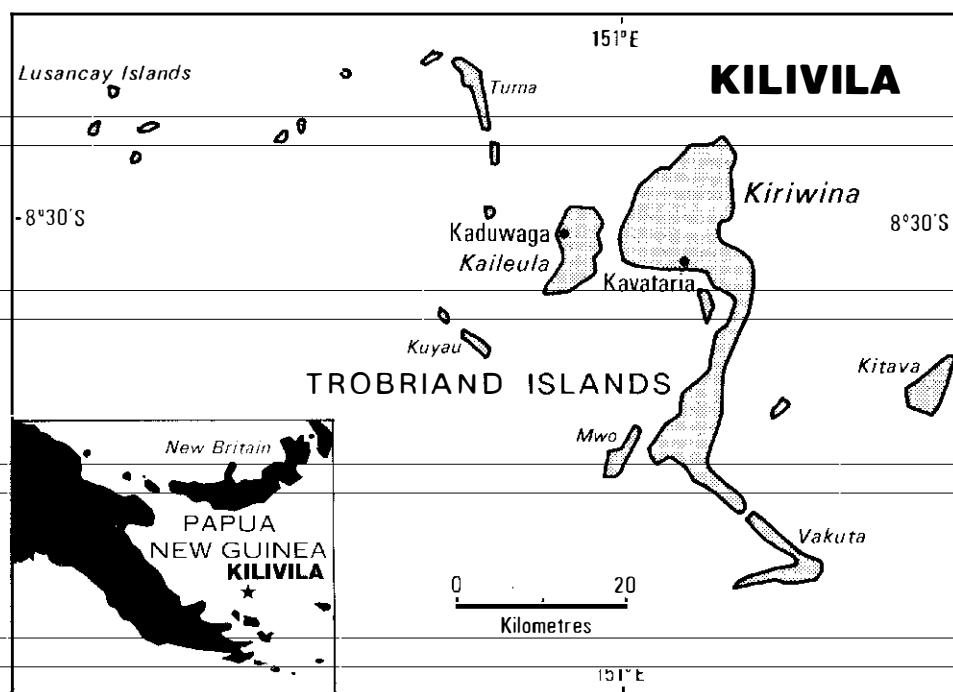
Although the number of speakers of the Kavataria dialect is small, it has acquired status in Kiriwina as the acceptable medium for any literary work in Kilivila. In 1970-1972 there was an attempt to change to the numerically superior and politically dominant Kilivila dialect, an attempt with which I co-operated, believing the reasons for the change to be worth adequate testing. However I left the final decision to the Kilivila people, and the final vote, in which a good proportion of Kilivila dialect speakers participated,

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unanimously opposed such a change. It seems that the Kilivila dialect speakers were happy to condescend to a continuation of Kavataria dialect for literary purposes, while the speakers of all other dialects felt comfortable with the status quo and would have felt threatened by a change to the dialect of the dominant group.

My residence in the Trobriand Islands was for a period of eleven years, a major interest in this time being the study of the Kilivila language as far as my duties as a minister of the Methodist (later the United) Church permitted. I had and have many friends who came to understand and appreciate my desire to learn and my efforts for authentic situations, and this frequently resulted in linguistically sophisticated comments from informants desiring to correct what they had considered errors made by previous students of the language. Amongst all of them my most treasured friend was, and still is, Antonio Lubisa Bunaimata, and I record my indebtedness to him here.



Map 50. Kilivila language area

## 2. The phoneme inventory

The phoneme inventory of the Kilivila language includes 19 consonants, five vowels and six diphthongs, viz. *p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, p<sup>w</sup>, b<sup>w</sup>, k<sup>w</sup>, g<sup>w</sup>, m<sup>w</sup>, r, s, β, l, w, y; i, u, e, o, a; ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou*. Also stress may have phonemic status. These phonemes are tabulated below.



consonants /r/, /l/ and /n/, part of which is free and part is conditioned by current language change; and the relaxed or lenis quality of the bilabial fricative /β/ so that it is frequently lost when occurring in word medial positions.

/m/	<i>-mto-mota</i>		
	continuous-hiccup ‘speak with an impediment’ (see text example 04.960)		
fluctuation	<i>kainawari</i> (or)	<i>kainawali</i> (or)	<i>-kailawali</i>
	‘root’	/r/ to /l/	/n/ to /l/
	(see text example 08.540)		
/β/ to /θ/	<i>-kaβikaβila</i> to	<i>-kaikaila</i>	
	(vb) ‘to flash (lightning)’	‘to flash (lightning)’	

The lax quality of /β/ is a factor which causes it to be wrongly heard and recorded as /w/ by students of the language.<sup>1</sup>

The phoneme /k/ has two major allophonic forms –

[k̠]	(voiceless back velar) when followed by /a/, and
[k]	(voiceless velar) elsewhere. <sup>2</sup>

See below for the phonotactic phenomena arising from this.

The syllable pattern may be expressed formally as

$$\{ (C) V (m) \}$$

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where (C) may be optionally filled by any consonant, V must be any vowel from the above inventory, and (m) may be optionally filled by the consonant /m/ which alone may form a closed syllable; alternatively (C) V (m) must be replaced by /m/ when it functions as the syllabic nasal.

1. See for example Malinowski (1935: 100) the list for names of /kuβi/ yams includes some as /k<sup>w</sup>i-/ and some as /kuβi-/. This volume has splendid natural text but abounds in many similar errors.
2. The Adjective /βeka/ has often been misheard by linguists because of a phonemically non-significant vowel which appears as the syllable /βe/ is assimilating to the point of articulation of the back velar in /ka/, so that phonetically it is heard as [βeaka]. Old Kiriwian literature has spelt this morpheme as /-βeaka/ (Fellows 1901) or /-βiyaka/ (Malinowski). I followed the old way until a village man, not one of my regular informants, pointed out the error, carefully and slowly enunciating each syllable as /βe/.../ka/. His insight into his own language is borne out by the reduplicative form -βaka-βeka (which Malinowski laboriously spells out as /βa-kay-βiyaka/).

<i>o-kum.kum.la</i>	<i>-m.li.li</i>
V.CVm.CVm.CV	m.CV.CV
'in-oven'	'(adv) clearly'

### 3. Phonotactics

No limitations occur on the syllable sequences that occur across word boundaries. There are however some co-occurrence restrictions within the syllable, between syllables, and some features of the phonological word.

The labialised or rounded consonants do not occur in syllables with a rounded vowel nucleus, a feature they share with the consonant /β/. The semivowels cannot be followed by the high close vowel nearest to them in their manner of articulation, and this feature they share with the consonant /m/.

/p <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> asa/	/b <sup>w</sup> ib <sup>w</sup> i/	/-βeilau/
'easy'	'dangling shell ornament'	'to steal'
(* /p <sup>w</sup> o/, * /b <sup>w</sup> u/ or * /βo/ forms do not occur.)		

/wi!/ (Form \*/wu/ does not occur.)  
'Ugh!' (disgust)

/yuβiyaβi/ (Form \*/yi/ does not occur.)  
(adj) 'hot'

/-mto-mota/ (Form \*/-mutomota/ does not occur.)  
'speaking unintelligibly'

The nucleus of the closed syllable CVm may be filled by any pure vowel or the diphthongs /ai/ or /ei/.

No words occur with more than two closed syllables, and only one occurrence of the syllabic /m/ per word is the general, almost universal, pattern. Where vowel clusters occur, as they do frequently with permissible CV.V or V.V syllables, pure vowels cluster frequently, diphthongs more rarely. Within the diphthongs a comparatively high frequency of clustering occurs due to a regular phenomenon or morphophonemic juncturing between verb stems and affixes.

<i>-uu</i>	<i>ei-uu</i>
'wind blows'	'it has-blown (wind)'
<i>-luluwai</i>	<i>bi-luluwai-aigu</i>
'remember'	'he will-remember-me'
	<i>la-luluwai-aim</i>
	'I have-remembered-you (sg)'



A phonotactic feature of the voiceless back velar has to be stated. When the syllable /ka/ is preceded by /u/ or /m/ it becomes /k<sup>w</sup>a/. This is stated in the rule:

$$ka \rightarrow k^w a / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ m \end{array} \right\} -$$

which has no exception. When this is combined with the feature of syllable loss noted above, that is, when the /kwa/ syllable is preceded by a /ku-/ syllable, the result is that the /kwa/ form remains even though the /ku-/ which caused it to occur is no longer present. Thus:

<i>to-karaiwaga</i>	→	* <i>to-ku-k<sup>w</sup>araiwag</i>	→	<i>tok<sup>w</sup>araiwaga</i>
‘person-rule’		‘person-contin.-rule’		‘judge, governor’
‘the one who gave a ruling’				

<i>to-kabilia</i>	→	* <i>to-ku-k<sup>w</sup>abilia</i>	→	<i>tok<sup>w</sup>abilia</i>
‘person-fight’		‘person-continuous-fight’		‘soldiers, army’
‘a soldier’				

<i>-kau</i>	→	<i>ku-k<sup>w</sup>au</i> (which also occurs as)	<i>k<sup>w</sup>au</i> <sup>1</sup>
vb ‘take’		‘you-take’	‘you-take’

See wordlist examples 19.360 and 19.410 where this distinction occurs.

#### 4. The phonological word

The word in Kilivila consists of a group of one or more syllables one of which is given a certain prominence over the others. This prominence or stress is what makes a word isolable from others, as each phonological word has only one syllable with major stress.

Regular stress is on the penultimate syllable, with two exceptions. The first exception is where the final syllable is either closed or has a diphthong nucleus, when stress is on the final syllable.

1. Malinowski frequently and correctly included occurrences of this in his text examples. See again in *Coral gardens*, vol.2 text example 96.xxiv – /bu-k<sup>w</sup>aydodige/, in my orthography /bu-k<sup>w</sup>aidodiga/ which is originally /buku-k<sup>w</sup>aidodiga/ with loss of syllable /ku-/; also text example 92.iv (p.197) – /k<sup>w</sup>au vaygu´a/, in my orthography /k<sup>w</sup>au vaiguwa/ where the verb is originally /ku-k<sup>w</sup>au/ with loss of syllable /ku-/.



Penultimate stress

Final stress

*i-luluwai-'aigu**i-lulu'wai*

'he-remembers-me'

'he-remembers'

*i-kam-'koni**i-kam-'kwam*

'he-eat-try'

'he-continuous-eat'

'he tastes'

'he is having a meal'

The second exception places stress on the antepenultimate syllable when no morpheme boundary occurs within the last three syllables, and where the last two syllables conform to the pattern CV.(C)a with the provision that if V = /a/ then the two syllables must be:

$$ka \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ } \\ \text{n} \end{array} \right. a$$

otherwise V = /i/ or /u/. Examples are:

where penultimate syllable nucleus is /a/

Antepenultimate stress

Penultimate stress

*ma'rakana**maka'wa-la*

'red (dye)'

'thus-it'

*'pakala**pa'ka-la*

'dry (throat)'

'feast-his'

where penultimate syllable nucleus is /i/ or /u/

Antepenultimate stress

Penultimate stress

*-'bukula**bu-'ku-la*

'bear fruit in clusters'

'incomplete-you go'

'you will go'

In all these three stress rules emphatic speech may move the stress back one syllable in the case of penultimate or word final stress, or forward to the penultimate in the case of antepenultimate stress.

#### 4. Two final comments

Two final comments need to be made in this brief statement, one in reference to the noun phrase, and the second in reference to the verb word.

The noun phrase is dominated by the semantic classifiers which Malinowski first reported in his 1920 paper. They are a single closed class of

morphemes which form the core of all deictics, and the stem to which all numerals under 100, and also many adjectives, are suffixed. They do not classify in any formal sense (except that their obligatory presence or absence in the adjectives makes a convenient formal feature to divide the adjectives into word classes), but it is necessary to be aware of the semantic groupings into which the Kilivila world view places things or activities in order to enter into any linguistic act of description.

*k<sup>w</sup>ai-yu*    *βaβagi*    *ma-k<sup>w</sup>ai-si-na*  
 thing-two    thing    that-thing-plural  
 ‘those two things (indeterminate shape)’

*ya-tolu*                      *βaβagi*    *mi-ya-si-na*    *ya-βaka-βeka*  
 thin/flexible-three    thing    that-thin-plural    thin-plural-big  
 ‘those three big thin-flexible things’

The verb word is morphologically very complex. There are three verb classes. Class 1 verbs are intransitive, and class 3 verbs are transitive. By far the biggest class is class 2 verbs, which have an obligatory marking either for verb focus or object focus.

Verb focus forms indicate that the speaker has the action of the verb as the main focus of attention in his comment; while the object focus form directs the attention of hearers to the object or goal to which the action of the verb is directed. Verb focus forms need not have an object, but occasionally do. The formal possibility of an object being present removes this verb from the group of true intransitives.

The two different forms of focus are expressed in most cases by a change in the vowels of the verb root. The rules governing such changes are too extensive to be quoted here, as different sorts of changes occur in disyllabic and trisyllabic verb roots. There is also a group which has the same simple verb stem for both verb and object focus forms, but which displays a distinctive formal change for focus in the reduplicative patterns only.

vb focus		obj.focus	
<i>i-lega</i>	<i>i-liga-lega</i>	<i>i-lagi</i>	<i>i-li-lagi</i>
‘he-listens’	‘he-listening’	‘he-hears (it)’	‘he-hearing (it)’
<i>i-sakaula</i>	‘he-runs’	<i>i-sakawoli</i>	‘he-runs (it)’
<i>kokola</i>	‘be fearful’	<i>-kukoli</i>	‘be frightened of’
<i>-tag<sup>w</sup>ala</i>	‘agree’	<i>-tug<sup>w</sup>ali</i>	‘agree to s.th.’
<i>-takumdu</i>	‘grimace’	<i>-takumdi</i>	‘make a face at’
<i>-βalulu</i>	‘give birth’	<i>-βilulu</i>	‘bear (someone)’

Words which show different form only in reduplicative patterns:

Basic root (vb and obj.f)	Reduplicated vb focus form	Reduplicated obj focus form	Gloss
-kuli	-kulikuli	-kukuli	'chew-suck (sugarcane)'
-b <sup>w</sup> eisi	-b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> eisi	-bub <sup>w</sup> eisi	'urinate'
-gabu	-gubugabu	-gigabu	'bum'
-sapi	-sipisapi	-sisapi	'brush off'

The distinction between verb focus and object focus forms has been made for numerous forms quoted in the wordlist.

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# 51. Tawala

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<b>Contributors</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Bryan Ezard – Yailo Robert</i>
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## 1. Introduction

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Tawala is the easternmost language of the island of New Guinea and is also the easternmost language of the Taupota family (Lithgow 1976, Ross 1988). It is spoken along the north coast of the East Cape peninsula as far as Awaiama, most of the northern and southern shores of Milne Bay and also most of the islands of Sideia and Basilaki. Because of its unusual distribution, linguists were slow to recognise the extent of the language and presented dialectal data as apparently from a number of different languages, with orthographical discrepancies compounding the problem. The major dialects of Tawala are:

- Awaiama – Awalama
- Khelala – Keherara, East Cape
- Bohilai – Bohira'i, Basilaki
- Tawala – Tavara

The first intimation in the west of the Tawala language was contained in the 1889-1890 Annual Report of British New Guinea, when W. MacGregor presented a 650 item "Aboriginal vocabulary of Awaiama". It would be almost a century before the full extent of the Tawala language would become known, when, for the first time, Lithgow (1976) contained an accurate map of Tawala and related languages.

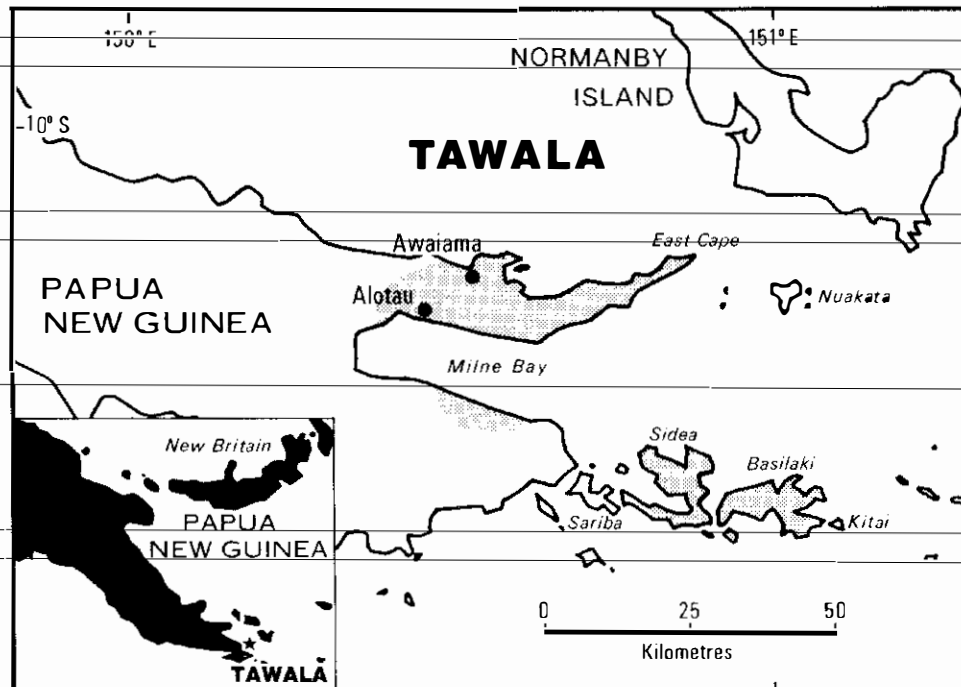
Tawala has never been the subject of a published monograph, but has figured in a small way in the work of Ray (ed. 1907; 1938), Capell (1943) and Ross (1988). Four published papers (Ezard 1978b, 1979, 1982 and 1992) use Tawala as the primary source of data. King (1901) contains a grammatical outline and small dictionary of Wedau, the westernmost member of the Taupota family. A reference grammar of Tawala (Ezard 1990) has recently been completed.

Of the two contributors, Ezard lived within the Tawala area and/or worked on Tawala almost continuously from 1974 to 1990. It was his practice to check materials for publishing with Robert, a speaker of the

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Diwinai dialect (though he has had extensive experience communicating in all dialects). Robert made a number of changes from Ezard's suggested first draft, but Ezard accepts responsibility for any mistakes.



Map 51. Tawala language area.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Stress

Stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable. However, when the penultimate syllable is a high vowel preceded by another vowel, stress moves to the antepenultimate syllable.

### 2.2 Consonants

There are 15 consonants in the present-day Diwinai dialect, though historically there were only 14, with *s* an allophone of *t*. The labio-velar consonants are quite rare, occurring in relatively few lexical items and no grammatical morphemes.

Table 1. Tawala consonants

		Labial	Alveo-dental	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>			

Khelala and Bohilai dialects have three additional labialised consonants – *p<sup>w</sup>*, *b<sup>w</sup>*, *m<sup>w</sup>*, e.g. *gim<sup>w</sup>ala* (Diwinai *gimala*) ‘to trade’. The Labe dialect has a glottal stop (ʔ) not found in other dialects. Historically it occurred at morpheme breaks, but some of the resultant words are no longer actively derived, e.g. *tu<sup>ʔ</sup>awa-na* (Diwinai *tunawa-na* ‘by himself’). There are no consonant clusters, except where a syllabic [ŋ] is followed by another consonant, e.g. *kamna-na* ‘his disposition/health’.

### 2.3 Vowels

Tawala has the five vowel system common in Western Melanesia.

Table 2. Tawala vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

There are no diphthongs in Tawala. Each vowel forms the nucleus of a separate syllable.

### 2.4 Syllable structure

The syllable in Tawala consists of an optional consonant onset followed by a vowel nucleus – (C)V. The only exception to this rule is the syllabic [ŋ] (historically *mu*), e.g. *dimdim* ‘white-person’. The syllabic [ŋ] never occurs word initially.

### 3. Summary of morphology

#### 3.1 Pronouns

In Tawala, personal reference includes not only free forms but verb morphology, possessive clitics and marking on bound nouns, adjectives and post-nominal relators.

A possessive construction is used to express dual and trial (etc.) meaning: a numeral follows the appropriate (plural) possessive pronoun – *hai luwaga* ‘the two of them’, *ata tonuga* ‘the three of us (inclusive)’ etc. – and functions either in addition to or in place of an emphatic pronoun.

##### 3.1.1 Pronoun forms

Table 1 sets out the forms of all five classes of pronominal forms. There is considerable overlap between the various classes.

*Table 3. Pronominal forms (simplified) compared*

Pronoun class	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl incl	1pl excl	2pl	3pl
Emphatic pronoun	<i>tau</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>tauna</i>	<i>tauta</i>	<i>tauyai</i>	<i>taumi</i>	<i>tauhi</i>
Subject prefix	<i>a-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>hi-</i>
Object enclitic	<i>-u</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-ni/-ya</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-yai</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-hi</i>
Possessive pron.	<i>u</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>omi</i>	<i>hai</i>
Pronominal suffix	<i>-u</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-yai</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-hi</i>

Ross (1988: 279) observes that the emphatic pronouns are “based on a reflex of the noun POC *\*tau* ‘body, person’...with a pronominal possessive suffix”. The historical meaning of the noun is lost in present-day Tawala.

##### 3.1.2 Pronoun functions

There are seven distinctive functions assigned to pronouns. All pronouns are in bold in examples accompanying this section.

1. Emphatic pronoun – stressed free-form pronoun having an emphatic or contrastive function as either subject or object NP. Emphatic pronouns are used for human referents; demonstratives are used for non-humans as well as humans.

- |     |                                  |                         |
|-----|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | <i>tauna i-na-yabiyabi.</i>      | <i>tauna a-gale-ya.</i> |
|     | he he-IRR-steer                  | him I-saw-him           |
|     | ‘He (not the other) will steer.’ | ‘It was him I saw.’     |

With non-verbal clauses emphatic pronouns function as either non-verbal predicates or subjects.

- |     |                  |                  |
|-----|------------------|------------------|
| (2) | <i>geka tau.</i> | <i>tau geka.</i> |
|     | this me          | I here           |
|     | ‘This is me.’    | ‘I am here.’     |

2. Subject prefix – unstressed pronoun with a continuative or anaphoric function – the first prefix of the verbal predicate marked for person and number “agreement” with the subject NP – examples above and below. Within the wordlist they are written as free-form proclitics.

3. Object suffix – unstressed pronoun with a non-emphatic, referential function – the final clitic of the VP marked for “agreement” with a definite object NP.

- |     |                                     |
|-----|-------------------------------------|
| (3) | <i>polo a-matute-ya.</i>            |
|     | pig I-fear-it                       |
|     | ‘I feared (was afraid of) the pig.’ |

4. Possessive proclitic – stressed clitic pronoun marking the following head (possessed) noun for person and number agreement with the possessor NP.

- |     |                                    |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| (4) | <i>lawa hai tano hi-dewa-hi.</i>   |
|     | person their garden they-make-them |
|     | ‘The people made their gardens.’   |

The remaining functions have a single form – pronominal suffixes. They are bound forms; the third person singular form is given in the wordlist.

5. Possessive suffix – unstressed pronoun marking the person and number of the dependent or “possessor” NP by pronominal suffix on the head or bound noun. Used with kinship terms (example [5]), relationship terms, body parts and quantifiers.

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| (5) | <i>a-nae hina-u po ama-u uyahi-hi..</i> |
|     | I-go mother-my and father-my to-them    |
|     | ‘I went to my mother and father...’     |

6. Adjectival suffix – marks the adjective for pronominal agreement with the head noun, again the pronominal suffixes are employed. In marking the dependent rather than the head the adjectival suffix is functionally distinct from the possessive suffix.



7. Post-nominal relator suffix – post-nominal relators are marked for person and number agreement with the dependent noun – examples (5) and (6).

- (6) *bada i-eno numa u gabouli-na.*  
 man he-sleep house LOC under-3s  
 ‘The man slept under the house.’

### 3.2 Tense, aspect and mood

Tense, aspect and mood are marked by various combinations of the free forms *apo* FUTURE and *amaka* COMPLETED; the prefixes *ta-* IRREALIS,  $\emptyset$ -REALIS and *na-* POTENTIAL; reduplication marks PROGRESSIVE and DURATIVE; and derivational prefixes mark PERSISTIVE and STATIVE.

### 3.3 Derivational prefixes

Verb derivation is extremely important to an understanding of the Tawala language. The main derivational prefixes are *wi-*, *lu-*, *li-*, *wo-* and *om-*. Besides their word deriving function (see Ezard forthcoming), they also play a major syntactic role in changing verbal valence and creating causatives and statives, and a minor role in changing the aspect and mode of the verb (see Ezard forthcoming). Almost any class of word can fill the root slot and an elaborate system of word subclasses is required to account for the intricacies of grammar and the nuances of meaning involved. Without doubt this is the most highly productive area of Tawala grammar. Numerous words in the wordlist are derived by means of these prefixes.

*Table 4.* Semantic fields and Tawala derivational prefixes

	<i>wi-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>wo-</i>
A. Nouns	become like item	‘go’ and do item	become new item	hold item
B. Adjectives	cause socially	become item	cause physically	cause by hand
C. Verbs	cause action	go item	cause physically	persist in action
D. Human propensity	speak of state	cause a state	cause a state	persist in state
E. Numbers	make number	grow/hit number	–	gather/hold number
F. Locational	relative motion	pile in location	–	put hand in location

Two things need to be noted about derivational prefixes: firstly, the prefix itself does not always have the same meaning. Secondly, the meaning of each prefix is dependent on the semantics of the root morpheme with which it is combined. Table 4 summarises the situation, listing the meaning the prefix is likely to manifest when it is combined with roots from various word classes.

The complexity of the subject precludes any adequate treatment within the scope of an overview and I merely list some examples of their use with adjectives.

(7) *hai baha hi-wi-dao-ya.*  
 3pl POSS talk 3pl-DER-long-3sg O  
 OBJECT----- S-CAUSE-ROOT-O  
 ‘They talked on and on.’

(8) *hai numa hi-li-dao-ya.*  
 3pl POSS house 3pl-DER-long-3sg O  
 OBJECT----- S-CAUSE-ROOT-O  
 ‘They extended their house.’

(9) *lawa hi-lu-gobu.*  
 people 3pl-DER-dirty  
 SUBJECT S-STATE-ROOT  
 ‘They are an unkempt people.’

(10) *nima-hi-yei hi-wo-i-gobu-ya.*  
 hand-3pl-ABL 3pl-DER-dirty-3sg O  
 INSTRUMENT S-HAND-ROOT-O  
 ‘They dirtied it with their hands.’

### 3.4 Reduplication

Another pattern of word formation which is very common in Tawala is reduplication of all or part of a word (see Ezard 1979 for detailed treatment). Often visitors to Milne Bay remark after only a few minutes of listening to Tawala on the reduplication in constant use. Reduplication basically encodes plurality or continuation of things and processes. The reason reduplication is so common in Tawala is that it functions at several grammatical levels.

### 3.4.1 Reduplication of nouns

Many nouns are reduplicated in their basic forms. Thus the wordlist contains many items like these:

<i>bagibagi</i>	‘work’
<i>kewokewou</i>	‘canoe’

Most nouns referring to humans are reduplicated for plural:

<i>hina-ta</i>	→	<i>hinahina-ta</i>
‘our mother’		‘our mothers’
<i>keduluma</i>	→	<i>kedukeduluma</i>
‘woman’		‘women’

### 3.4.2 Reduplication of adjectives

A large proportion of Tawala adjectives have a reduplicated form – usually derived from verbs.

<i>dewadewa-na</i>	‘good-3sg’
<i>witewitei-na</i>	‘heavy/difficult-3sg’
<i>titei-na</i>	‘pulled-3sg’

### 3.4.3 Reduplication of verbs

Many Tawala verbs can be reduplicated if the action is continuous or repeated.

<i>hi-woewoe-ya</i>	‘they kept on paddling it’
<i>hi-dewadewa-ya</i>	‘they were doing it’

We can combine these reduplicated words to form perfectly natural-sounding sentences – though it is not often that all the forms in the sentences would be reduplicated. I have constructed the following sentences to illustrate the point.

<i>kedu-keduluma</i>	<i>bagibagi</i>	<i>dewadewa-na</i>	<i>hi-dewa-dewa-ya.</i>
pl-woman	work	good-3sg	3pl-RED-do-3sg O
‘The women were doing good work.’			

<i>hina-hina-ta</i>	<i>kewokewou</i>	<i>witewitei-na</i>	<i>hi-woe-woe-ya.</i>
pl-mother-our	canoe	heavy	3pl-RED-paddle-3sg O
‘Our mothers were paddling the heavy (difficult) canoe.’			

### 3.5 Derivation of nouns

There are two highly productive proclitics for deriving nouns:

<i>tu</i>	‘person’
<i>ani</i>	‘place, thing’

Numerous examples of each are to be found in the wordlist.

### 3.6 Idiomatic verbs

Compounding is highly productive in deriving new forms as is evidenced by perusing the Tawala wordlist. Nowhere is this compounding more productive than in the area of “human propensity” or “psychological” compounds – mostly verbs – describing various emotional and mental states. The first element of the compound is a body part – *nugo-* ‘heart’, *mata-* ‘eye’, *hini-* ‘skin’ or *taniga-* ‘ear’. The second element of the compound is usually a stative verb root – *-apapoe* ‘bad’, *-pota* ‘blocked’, *-kadidili* ‘hard’, *-maga* ‘many’ etc.; though it is sometimes an active verb – *guluwi* ‘bury’ – or even a fossilised form, as in *nugo-neina* ‘to be ignorant’, *nugo-tuhu* ‘to think’.

Examples:

<i>nugoguluwi</i>	‘forget’
<i>nugokadidili</i>	‘be decisive’
<i>nugoapapoe</i>	‘be angry’
<i>matamaga</i>	‘be promiscuous’
<i>tanigapota</i>	‘be disobedient’

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## 52. Motu

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Wordlist:	<i>Andrew Taylor</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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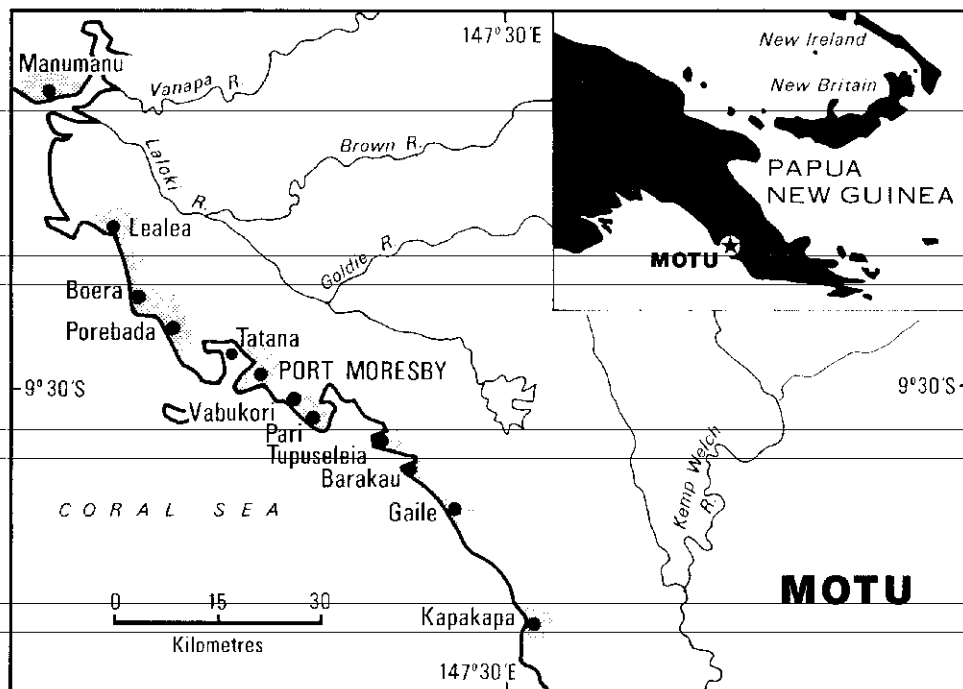
Motu is the Austronesian language spoken around Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea. It is spoken natively by an estimated 14,000 villagers who inhabit maritime villages spread out along the coast between Kapakapa (or Gabagaba) in the east and Galley Reach in the west, a distance of approximately one hundred and twenty kilometres (Wurm – Hattori 1981: map 9). Excluding the large village complex of Hanuabada situated in Port Moresby itself there are eleven Motu villages. Culturally and socially these villages are generally regarded as belonging to two sections or tribes, the Eastern Motu and the Western Motu, the former inhabiting the area east of Bootless Inlet and the latter the area west of it. This division also reflects dialectal differences although two of the Western villages, Tatana and Vabukori, are sufficiently different from the others to suggest that they probably ought to be regarded as a third dialect or as two closely related other dialects (Taylor 1970a: 1). At a higher level Motu is a member of the Proto Central Papuan sub-group of Papuan Tip Cluster languages and is most closely related to Gabadi and other Austronesian languages immediately to the west and thence to Sinagoro and Keapara immediately to the east (Ross 1988: 190-194).

Inland the Motu are bounded by speakers of languages of the non-Austronesian Koiarian family and to the east speakers of languages of the Kwalean family (Wurm – Hattori 1981: map 9). Of these the Motu were, at the time Europeans arrived, in closest contact with the Koiarian Koita and Koiari who inhabit areas approximately coterminous with the Western and Eastern Motu sections respectively.

At the time of first contact the Western Motu were engaged in long distance trading to the Gulf of Papua in annual trading cycles known in the literature as *hiri*. On these voyages they traded pots and other locally produced items for sago and other Gulf products. During these visits the Motu and their trade partners communicated in at least two different trade languages which were pidginised or simplified forms of the non-Austronesian

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languages spoken by their trade partners. In addition to these two trade languages the Motu appear to have used a simplified form of their own language for communicating with those coming to visit them in their own villages. Following the establishment of the colony of British New Guinea in 1888 a form of Motu similar in many ways to this simplified Motu, and most probably based on it, became the lingua franca of the first official police force of the colony and eventually the unofficial language of administration in the colony, and subsequent Territory, of Papua. Because of its association with the police force this language became known as Police Motu, a name it kept until 1970 when its name was changed to Hiri Motu (Dutton 1985).



Map 52. Motu language area

Motu was the first language to be studied and used for literacy purposes in Papua New Guinea. In 1872 a number of Polynesian teachers were landed at Manumanu village by the London Missionary Society to begin work amongst them. Following the deaths of a number of these teachers, however, the mission was moved to Elevala, a section of the now large village complex of Hanuabada, in Port Moresby when the first European missionary, Dr W.G. Lawes, and family arrived to take charge of the mission in 1874. Lawes immediately set about learning Motu and producing literacy materials in it. His first book was called *Bukana Kunana: Levaleva Tuahia Adipaia* and contained reading lessons, some Bible translations and Bible

stories and hymns. Since then there have been many publications in and about the language (particularly by Lawes 1885, Lister-Turner 1913, Lister-Turner and Clark 1930, and Taylor 1970a) and most Motu are literate in their language. Many are also literate in English since primary, and more recently, secondary and tertiary, education in English has been available to them for many years. This contact with English, and Western culture generally, has had its effects on the culture and language of the Motu. These effects are most noticeable in the vocabulary of present-day Motu.

Because of the central geographical position occupied by the Motu, the widespread trading contacts they had established up and down the coast before Europeans arrived to settle in their midst, the diversity of languages spoken in the area, and the fact that Motu became the first language to be reduced to writing in the area, Motu naturally became the lingua franca of the London Missionary Society (Taylor 1977). This has helped in turn to establish prestige for the language and ensure its survival.

The most detailed study of Motu is to be found in Taylor (1970a) although Lawes' and Lister-Turner and Clark's various grammars and dictionaries are important supplementary works which contain much valuable historical information and descriptions of aspects of the language not covered by Taylor (1970a). Ethnographic notes on the Motu are to be found in Belshaw (1957), Groves (1954, 1960), Lawes (1879) and Taylor (1968).

## 2. Phonology

Motu has a relatively uncomplicated phonological system. All syllables are open. There is a small set of fifteen consonantal and five vowel phonemes; no complicating morphophonemic rules have to be registered.

The consonant phonemes of the recognised written standard form of the language are:

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Lab. velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>	
Fricatives	vl					<i>h</i>
	vd	<i>β</i>		<i>ɣ</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Flaps			<i>r</i>			



Of these /t/ is manifested as [s] before high vowels and as [t] elsewhere. Otherwise /p/ is often realised as [f] or [ɸ] but particularly so at Gaire in the Eastern Motu section. In addition there is no /h/ in the Western Motu villages of Manumanu, Pari and part of Hanuabada and [r] often occurs where [l] is expected and vice versa in Lealea and Boera (to a lesser extent), also in the Western section. Formerly /l/ was generally realised as [n] in the Western villages of Tatana and Vabukori but is now only so realised in the speech of older speakers.

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

### 3. Morphology

Morphologically Motu is primarily a suffixing language. Amongst the most common suffixes are the following, which are used to mark inalienably possessed objects:

Person/Number	Form
1 sg	<i>gu</i>
2 sg	<i>-mu</i>
3 sg	<i>-na</i>
1 pl incl	<i>-da</i>
1 pl excl	<i>-mai</i>
2 pl	<i>-mui</i>
3 pl	<i>-dia</i>

This set is also used to mark objects of transitive verbs except that the 3sg form is *-a* (or *-ia* if the final vowel of the verb root is /a/) and not *-na*.

The suffixes *-na* and *-dia* are also used as definite articles on nouns and noun + adjective combinations, as in

*taunamo-na* 'the good man'  
man good-DEF

They are also used as a relators in partitive possessive phrases, derived nouns and relative clauses as in

*hanua tau-na*  
village person-sg  
'village person, villager'

*hanua tau-dia*  
village person-pl  
'village people, villagers'

*hahediba tau-na*  
teach person-sg  
'teacher'

*sisia e alai-a tau-na*  
dog 3sg kill-3sg man-REL  
'the man who killed the dog'

In addition the general enclitic *-ai* 'at' compounds with certain inalienably possessed nouns (usually in the 3sg form) to form postpositions:

*murinai* < *muri -na -ai* 'behind'  
back -3sg -at

*lalonai* < *lalo -na -ai* 'inside'  
inside- -3sg -at

*dekeguai* < *deke -gu -ai* 'beside me'  
side -1sg -at

Verbs in Motu have the structure:

resumptive pronoun + verb root + object marker or SVO.

The resumptive pronouns are:

1sg	<i>na</i>	1pl incl	<i>ta</i>
		1pl excl	<i>a</i>
2sg	<i>o</i>	2pl	<i>o</i>
3sg	<i>e</i>	3pl	<i>e</i>

These are free forms which cliticise on to the following verb root. They coalesce with the negative *asi* to give predictable forms (e.g., 1sg NEG is *asina*, 2sg NEG *asio*, 3pl NEG *asie*) except for the 2sg and 3sg present and past tense forms which are *to* and *se* respectively. The resumptive pronouns also coalesce with certain tense-aspect markers to give forms such as *baina*

'I will' (NEG: *basina* 'I will not'), *bama* 'if I' (NEG: *basinama* 'if I do not') for example, as in:

*ma ta eto*, "I *lau na* *haritari* *name*  
and one said, "I FOCUS just.now I.PRES

*headaβa be basina βasimu*".  
marry TOPIC FUT.NEG.1SG come.to.you"

'And one said, "I have just got married and so I cannot come".'

[Luke: 14.20]

*basio karaia eneheto`*  
FUT.NEG.2sg do.it thus

'Don't do it like that!'

*boma noia bema henimu.*  
2sg.SUBJUNCTIVE beg.him 3sg.SUBJUNCTIVE give you

'If you beg him he will give it to you.'

Verb compounding is common (especially with the verbs *abi-a* 'to get', *ato-a* 'to put' and *kara-ia* 'to make') and there are few irregular verbs.

Reduplication is also common (Taylor, 1970b).

#### 4. Sentence structure

Motu is generally regarded as an SOV language (although as already indicated the order of elements in a verb are SVO). Adjectives follow nouns, relative clauses precede their heads. Motu also has postpositions and few conjunctions. Adverbs of manner are generally incorporated into the verb.

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## 53. Mekeo

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### 1. Introduction

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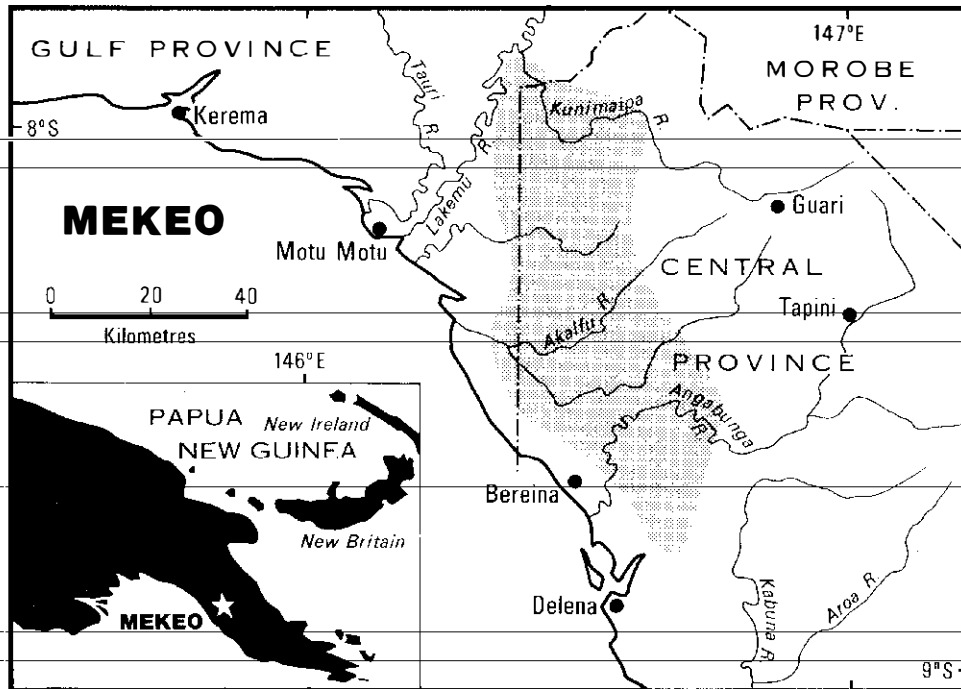
Mekeo is spoken by approximately 10,000 people. They inhabit fertile alluvial floodplains covered with primary or secondary rain forest or with tall kunai grass where not under cultivation. This terrain gives way to sago swamps in the west. The staple crop is, accordingly, either banana (in the east) or sago (in the west) – supplemented by taro, yam and sweet potato. Pigs are bred for feasts, and the bush is still relatively rich in game (e.g. wallaby, cassowary and smaller birds). Immediate neighbours to the south and east speak closely related Austronesian languages. The Roro occupy a narrow coastal belt that cuts the Mekeo off from direct access to the sea. The mountains and hills to the east are inhabited by the Kuni and the Lala (or Pokao). Traditional trade links ensured some regular contact in the past. To the north and to the west are speakers of non-Austronesian languages. Around Mt. Yule dialects of Kunimaipa and Tauade (Goilalan languages closely related to Fuyughe) are spoken; to the west, in Gulf Province, Eleman languages such as Toaripi are spoken. There is considerable trading with this latter group today – where in the past there was war, but also intermarriage – while contacts with the former were haphazard and essentially hostile until quite recently (a couple of very rudimentary pidgins testify to the initiation of restricted trade-links about 100 years ago).

There are four distinct dialects of Mekeo that have been variously labelled in the past. I have adopted a simple points-of-the-compass terminology here and refer to East Mekeo (= “Central Mekeo”), North Mekeo (= Amoamo), West Mekeo (= “Bush Mekeo”, Tati, Kaopo/Kaopu, Inaukina) and North-West Mekeo (= Kovio, Inaufanga, Inaupangau). They are mutually unintelligible except for North Mekeo which is a convergent dialect midway between East Mekeo and West Mekeo. I shall, for convenient reference, occasionally abbreviate these dialect names to EMek, NMek, WMek and NWMek respectively. It is EMek that has been chosen here to exemplify the lexicon of Mekeo, simply because our data for that dialect are more extensive and have been rechecked across different informants as well as

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against documentary sources. Most items have been found to be cognate across the dialects, although irregular sound change sometimes obscures this fact.



Map 53. Mekeo language area

The word list that follows is based on elicited and unelicited materials recorded in the field over a total period of twelve months (chiefly from 1983 to 1984 but with a short follow-up period in 1986) and on unpublished mission documents which were checked against my own data upon my return to Canberra. Fr. Gustave Desnoës of the Mission of the Sacred Heart has compiled an invaluable dictionary (1933) of EMek based on the language notes of some dozen missionary priests (in particular Fr. Vitale) of Belgian, French and Italian nationalities, notes going back to the turn of the century and beyond. This was typed up and annotated by Fr. Hubert van Lamsweerde (completed in 1942; he is also the author of a grammar sketch [c1940] of much linguistic interest), and this is now available on microfilm. Rev. H.A. Brown of the London Missionary Society (now the Uniting Church) has also been kind enough to make available a short grammar and dictionary (Brown 1955) of NWMek (his "Kovio"). We are, moreover, fortunate in having access to three important ethnographic studies of the East Mekeo, by Seligmann (1910), Stephen (1974), Hau'ofa (1981); and one on the West Mekeo by Mosko (1985).

I take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to all the missionary linguists, alive or dead, who have contributed wittingly or unwittingly to my

research, and my gratitude to particular friends among the Mekeo: Paul Aonga, Simon Abala, Carlo Iko, Simon Clement; Ame Louis Poloe, Bona Paeke, Joseph Akeba; and many, many others, for their time and their trust, and the great pleasure of their company.

## 2. Phonology

Syllable structure is (C)V, i.e. a syllable can consist of V (= vowel) or C + V (= consonant followed by vowel).

East Mekeo has only seven consonant phonemes:

Table 1. Consonants

	Labial	Alvcolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i>		<i>k</i>	ʔ
Fricatives	<i>f</i>			
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>		

/f/ has the free variants [f], [ɸ], [v] and [β], and /ŋ/ has the conditioned allophone [n] when adjacent to /i/ (preceding or following).

The consonantal phonemes correspond as follows between the four dialects (the vowels have the same values throughout):

NWMek	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>e, ø</i>
WMek	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l, ø</i>
NMek	<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l, ø</i>
EMek	<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ	<i>m</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l</i>

Comments on EMek /ŋ/ above apply to all dialects. /l/ is represented by a low, front [e] in NWMek. In WMek and NMek /g/ goes to [d] or [dzʷ] before [i] and /k/ goes to [t] or [tsʷ] in the same environment. EMek seems to have travelled furthest from Proto-Mekeo. Considerations of “natural” sound change indicate a progression from NWMek through WMek and NMek to EMek. A small inventory of consonantal phonemes has been reduced by one in EMek. [l] has accreted to word-initial /a/ and /o/ in many instances, an innovation that is gradually being borrowed into NMek and WMek.

EMek, NMek and WMek are all undergoing a progressive process of consonantal intrusion in the phonetic environment /i\_a (and to a much lesser extent /i\_o). A slurred palatal glide has advanced to [s] in EMek (in all



available lexical and grammatical environments), to [ʒ] or [z] in NMek, and to [d] in WMek (albeit not in every possible item). In NWMek some speakers pronounce [y] in the same phonetic environment.

Length is phonemic in EMek, although this feature does not carry a heavy functional load. Such is not the case in the other dialects and is undoubtedly a result of consonantal attrition in EMek. Length is written as a double vowel and may be pronounced with two syllabic beats separated by a brief pause or even a faint glottal stop.

Word stress falls, as a general rule, on the penultimate syllable. However, word-final *-na/-ŋa* is subject to elision where this would follow a syllable ending in *-a* and this results in word-final stress plus some degree of compensatory lengthening of the vowel. Thus:

\**ima - ŋa*, 'hand - 3sg' → *imā*, written *imaa* 'his/her hand'

This kind of marked stress can be very faint and is sometimes as much understood as perceived.

In East Mekeo (and the other dialects) there are five vowel phonemes, as follows:

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

### 3. Morphology and syntax

The syntactic functions are usually coded in the verbal clause by both morphological cross-referencing and by the order of the constituents. Thus subject-marking prefixes and object-marking suffixes appear in the VP; while the unmarked word order of a (di-)transitive clause adheres to the schema: S - IO - O - VP.

*lo pia imoi oo e - peni - a*  
 chief child banana 3sg-give - 3sg  
 'The chief gave the child banana(s).'

Note that IO outranks O with regard to verbal agreement, determining the person and number of the object-marking suffix. A number of circumstantial

case-roles can be added – in any order – and are all uniquely marked by the “oblique” case-marking suffix *-ai* (obl).

Pragmatic structure frequently overrides syntactic structure in discourse. The pragmatic structure of a ditransitive clause such as the one given above can be represented as follows:

Comment			
Topic	Pre-focus	Focus	Verbal Expansion
S	iO	O	VP

Syntactic O is, in other words, the unmarked information Focus, falling as it does into the critical, immediately pre-verbal slot. In the intonation structure, Focus is realised by a tonic accent with falling stress, preceded by a steadily rising tone and a pause. The concept of syntactic markedness has very limited explanatory value in itself and the Focus is almost as likely to be S, or IO, as O. The Patient or Goal is very frequently the Topic. In the absence of an NP Focus, the VP itself is the Focus.

Although we can isolate a number of special closed word classes such as deictics, sentence adverbs and exclamations, there is no principled way in which we can divide the lexical bases into a noun class and a verb class. There *is*, however, a small “class” of “true” adjectives. Any lexical base may appear in either a nominal or a verbal function. The most one can say is that such and such is a typically nominal base, or a typically verbal base, with vague reference perhaps to the inherent time-stability of the concept involved. But any concept may in principle be realised either as an entity or a fact (i.e. perfectly, nominally) or as a process or an event (i.e. imperfectly, verbally). Having made this proviso, I shall continue upon occasion to make use of the terms “noun” and “verb” to describe the uses of bases.

Usage is somewhat stricter when it comes to determining the transitivity of a given base when it is functioning verbally. Thus, for certain verbs S will “always” be a Patient, for others S will “always” be an Actor. However, for a considerable number of verbs either can be the case, in as much as they can occur transitively or intransitively. Typically intransitive verbs are transitivised/causativised by addition of the prefix *pa-* or the suffix of remote transitivity *-ai*. Typically transitive verbs can be used intransitively by simply omitting the object-marking suffix, or “passivised” by means of the prefix *i-* (which also productively nominalises typically transitive verbal bases). *pi-* has a reciprocal/distributive function.

The Mekeo verbal paradigms encode tense (non-future versus future), aspect (perfective, imperfective and habitual), and mood (realis, irrealis and intentional: obligative or imperative). My citation form for verbs is the non-future/imperfective indexed for a 3sg subject and, where appropriate, for a 3sg object. For example, *e-au-ŋa*, although glossed as ‘strike’, actually translates as ‘he/she/it strikes him/her/it’. *-ŋa* also functions as the optional 3sg focus marker on nominal predicates (elsewhere interpreted as a possessive suffix).

Note that while object-marking *-ŋa* corresponds with imperfective *-nia*, some verbs have invariable *-ia*, or *-a/-ia* (for a mixture of reasons, phonological and semantic).

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## 54. Roviana

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Wordlist:	<i>Josephine Wheatley</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Roviana is perhaps the best known language of the western Solomon Islands. It is spoken as a first language by approximately 5000 speakers on the island of New Georgia and the islands of the Roviana Lagoon, including Gizo, Vonavona and Kohinggo. It is the best known of a sub-group of closely related languages which include:

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	Language	Location
1.	Ghanongga	Ranongga Is.
2.	Lungga	Ranongga Is.
3.	Simbo	Simbo Is.
4.	Nduke	Kolombangara Is.
5.	Roviana	New Georgia
6.	Ughele	Rendova
7.	Kusaghe	New Georgia
8.	Hoava	New Georgia
9.	Marovo	New Georgia
10.	Mbareke	New Georgia
11.	Vangunu	New Georgia

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Roviana is also well-known throughout the western Solomons as a lingua franca. It was adopted as a language of evangelisation by the Methodist Mission of Australasia, which established a mission station at Roviana, New Georgia in 1902. As far as mission publications in Roviana are concerned, they are surprisingly few in number, namely the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John (1932), Luke (1940) and the New Testament (1953). In addition, there was a hymn book and a catechism. In view of the mission emphasis on literacy, the absence of secular literature in Roviana is puzzling.

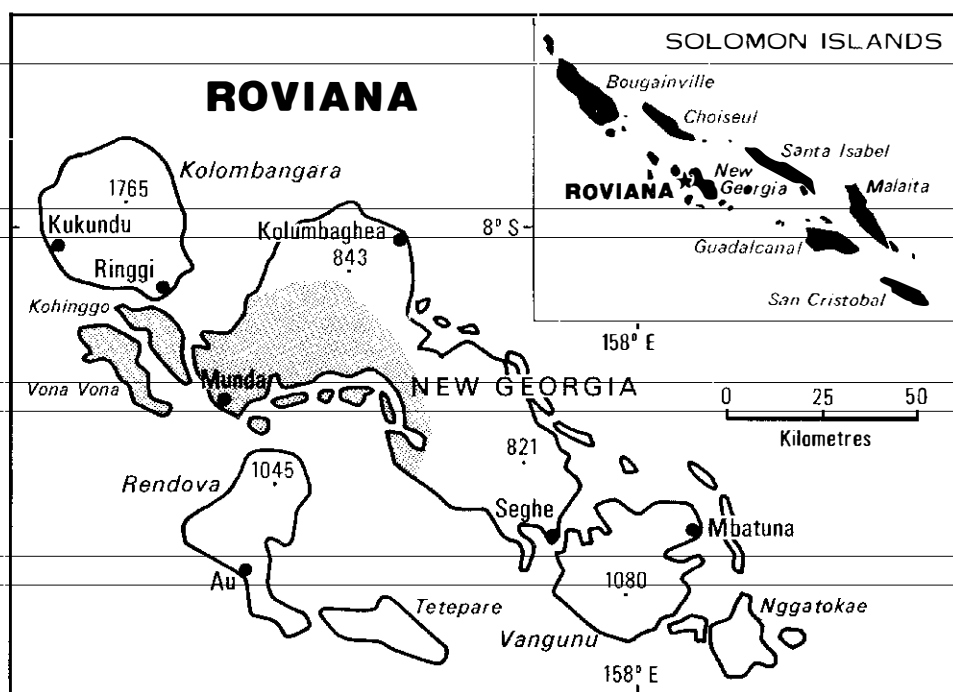
Woodford (1890) was the first to publish on Roviana, a vocabulary in his *A naturalist among the headhunters*. In 1896 Somerville and Weigall

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published further lexical material, and Ray (1897) published vocabularies and specimens of Roviana sent to him by Somerville. Ribbe's work (1903: 187-193) also contains a Roviana vocabulary.

In 1926 S.H. Ray published a short grammar of Roviana, based on materials sent to him from the Methodist Mission in New Georgia. In 1928 Waterhouse published a *Roviana and English dictionary* (revised and enlarged by L.M. Jones, 1949). It is interesting that the practical orthography adopted for Roviana followed that established earlier for Fijian, not surprisingly, as many of the early evangelists in the western Solomons were in fact Fijians. Since Waterhouse, there has been little published on Roviana, apart from Todd (1978) and Ross (1988).



Map 54. Roviana language area

## 2. Phonology

The phonemes of Roviana are as follows:

Table 1. Consonants

		Labial	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives	vl		<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
	vd	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>y</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Flaps			<i>r</i>		

Voiced stops are prenasalised.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Stress falls mostly on the penultimate.

### 3. Morphosyntax

#### a) Pronouns

	Focal	Object	Subject	Possessive
I	<i>arau</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>rau</i>	<i>-gu</i>
You	<i>ayoi</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>yoi</i>	<i>-mu</i>
He	<i>asa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>-na</i>
We pl incl	<i>yita</i>	<i>yita</i>	<i>yita</i>	<i>-da</i>
We pl excl	<i>yami</i>	<i>yami</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>-mami</i>
You pl	<i>yamu</i>	<i>yamu</i>	<i>yamu</i>	<i>-mia</i>
They pl	<i>arikasa</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>-dia</i>
We dl incl	<i>yitakara</i>			
We dl excl	<i>yamikara</i>			
You dl	<i>yamukara</i>			
They dl	<i>arikara</i>			

## b) Formatives:

Nouns are derived from verbs/adjectives by prefixing or infixing *in-/in-*.

Examples:

<i>avoso</i>	'to hear'	→	<i>in-avoso</i>	'news'
<i>ene</i>	'to walk'	→	<i>in-ene</i>	'journey'
<i>tavete</i>	'to work'	→	<i>t-in-avete</i>	'work'
<i>zama</i>	'to say'	→	<i>z-in-ama</i>	'word, saying'

Vowel-initial verb stems take the prefix form, while consonant-initial forms take the infixed formative.

Other productive affixes include *va-*, causative and *vari-*, reciprocal. These too follow the infixation rule.

Examples:

<i>yila</i>	'to know'
<i>va-yila</i>	'to show'
<i>v in a yila</i>	'a sign'
<i>vari-pera</i>	'to fight'
<i>v-in-ari-pera</i>	'war, fighting'
<i>v-in-ari-haba</i>	'marriage'

Another noun formative, with intransitives, is *-ana*.

Examples:

<i>habotu</i>	'to sit'	<i>habohabotu-ana</i>	'sitting places'
<i>siyoto</i>	'to anchor'	<i>siyoto-ana</i>	'anchorage'

## c) Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes *-gu*, *-mu*, *-na* etc., which denote pronominal possession with nouns throughout the region are also suffixed to noun modifiers (adjectives).

Examples:

*baŋara lea-mu si ayoi*  
 master good-2sg you sg.  
 'You are a good master.'

*arau si na tie kalea-gu*  
 I art. man bad-1sg  
 'I am a bad man.'

*keke togere ululu-na*  
 one mountain high-3sg  
 'One high mountain.'

## d) Syntax

Roviana is basically a VSO language, unlike most of the Austronesian languages of Island Melanesia, where an SOV word order is the norm. SVO structures do occur, however.

Examples:

<i>doyori-yo rau</i> see -you I 'I saw you (sg).'	<i>doyori-a rau sa tie</i> see -him I art. man 'I saw a man.'
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<i>luli-au sa si arau</i> follow-1sg 3sg 1sg 'He follows me.'	<i>luli-yo rau si ayoi</i> follow-2sg 1sg 2sg 'I follow you.'
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<i>ele mai si rau</i> past come I 'I have come.'	<i>kagu toa si asa</i> fut. live he 'He will live.'
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*lopu tayo-a ri*  
neg. believe-him they  
'They did not believe him.'

e) *si*

With both verbal and non-verbal clause types, *si* introduces the absolutive.

Examples:

*vineki ziqaziqarana si asa*  
girl light-skinned she  
'She is a light-skinned girl.'

*korapa mae si asa kamahire*  
pres. cont. come she now  
'She is coming now.'

Where emphasis is sought, and the VSO word order becomes SVO, *si* precedes the verb phrase. Thus:

*sa dokta si kote yasi-a sa moyo*  
art. doctor fut. lance-it art. boil  
'The doctor will lance the boil.'



sa tina-na si kote va-susu-a si asa kamahire  
 art. mother-his fut. caus-nurse-him him now  
 'His mother will nurse him now.'

For a full discussion of the role of *si*, which plays such an important part in Roviana syntax, see Todd (1978) and Ross (1988: 240-247).

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## 55. Maringe (Cheke Holo)

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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Geoffrey M. White</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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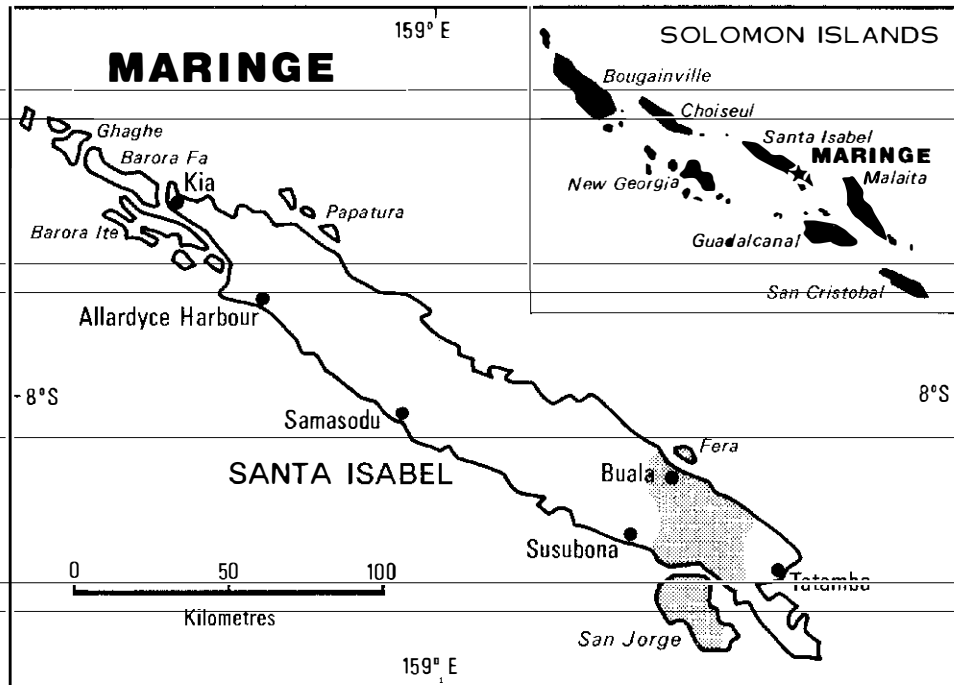
Cheke Holo, also known in its various subregions as Maringe, Hograno and A'ara, is the most populous language of central Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands. As the name Cheke Holo indicates (literally 'bush language' or 'uplands language'), the speakers of this language once lived in the mountainous south-central region of the island. With the advent of peace and Christianity at the turn of the century Cheke Holo speakers settled in the Hograno and Maringe coastal regions on opposite sides of the island. Throughout the island as a whole, this pattern has produced a string of dialect "bands" running crosswise along the island's northwest/southwest axis (see White et al. 1988).

Cheke Holo is one of four distinct languages of Santa Isabel. Except for the Bughotu language in the southeastern corner of the island, all of the Santa Isabel languages may be classed within a Western Solomons subgroup (see Tryon – Hackman 1983; Hackman 1968). Cheke Holo is situated at the eastern boundary of that subgroup, bordering Bughotu which is included in a south-eastern grouping. Spoken by about 7,500 people in 1987, Cheke Holo is the language of about half of the island's population, and the centre of linguistic variation among eight named languages and dialects (White 1978; Whiteman – Simons 1978).

The most comprehensive work on Cheke Holo is a dictionary and grammatical sketch published recently by White – Kokhonigita – Pulomana (1988). Prior to that there had been very little documentation of the language. Following Gabelentz (1861, 1879), Ray (1926: 529-532) published grammatical notes on several Isabel languages, including Cheke Holo, referred to as the "bush language". There have been very few publications in Cheke Holo due to the fact that the neighbouring language of Bughotu was selected by the Anglican church as the medium for missionary work. However, at least one prayer booklet was printed in Cheke Holo prior to World War II, and a hymnal was published in 1975 by a Maringe translation committee. David Bosma, working in Maringe for the Summer

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Institute of Linguistics, produced a recommended spelling (1981a), a word list (1984), and several short texts in Cheke Holo between 1981 and 1986 (1981b, n.d.).



Map 55. Maringe language area

The material on the Cheke Holo language presented here was gathered by the author with the assistance of his wife (Nancy Montgomery) and many local people during 15 months of fieldwork in 1975 and 1976, and several two-month visits in 1984, 1987 and 1988. Most of this fieldwork has been carried out in the Maringe area, primarily in villages in the Hofi area to the east of the Maringe lagoon, and in Buala village adjacent to the Provincial centre. Of the numerous Maringe people who contributed to this work, the co-authors of the Cheke Holo dictionary, Francis Kokhonigita (now deceased) and Hugo Pulomana, made especially valuable and extensive contributions. For further details about the many others who have facilitated the author's study of Cheke Holo, see White et al. (1988: vi).

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

Cheke Holo has 32 consonant phonemes:

Table 1. Consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	vl	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʝ</i>	<i>g</i>	
	aspirated	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>	
Fricatives	vl	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
	vd	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	
	aspirated				<i>ɣ<sup>h</sup></i>	
Nasals	vl	<i>m̩</i>	<i>n̩</i>	<i>ɲ̩</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
	vd	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals	vl		<i>l̥</i>			
	vd		<i>l</i>			
Flaps	vl		<i>ɾ</i>			
	vd		<i>r</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>				

**2.2.1 Discussion:** The most distinctive characteristic of the Cheke Holo phonemic repertoire is the extensive use of aspiration, breathy voice, and voiceless continuants.

The voiced fricative /z/ appears to be disappearing from the language, increasingly replaced by /ʝ/ in the idiolects of younger speakers. Thus, the /gaizu/ of older speakers is more often heard today as /gaiju/. The voiced labial /w/ does not appear in vernacular terms, but has entered Cheke Holo through the adoption of Pijin terms such as *wiki* (week) and *wasi* (wash). Finally, a high proportion of words with the voiced labio-dental /v/ are borrowings from the Bughotu language, particularly where that sound occurs word initially.

## 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Cheke Holo has five vowel phonemes:

Table 2. Consonants

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

### 2.3 Notes on morphology

For a detailed discussion of word and sentence construction in Cheke Holo, see White et al. (1988).

The two most common prefixes in Cheke Holo are the causative *fa* and the nominaliser *na*. Where a vowel-initial stem is subject to affixation, the vowel is glottalised, as in *elo* (float) and *naʔelo* (floating object) or *iho* (be ignorant) and *faʔiho* (confuse). In some uses of the nominalising prefix, the vowel of the prefix is dropped, as in *ifu* (blow) and *nifu* (wind instrument).

For verbs beginning with voiceless stops (/k/, /p/, /t/), with the liquid sounds /l/ and /r/, and the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/, nominalisation is achieved through phonological shifts. For the voiceless stops, noun forms are aspirated. Thus, *koʔu* ('drink') becomes *kʰoʔu* ('water'), *poloru* ('compensate') becomes *pʰoloru* ('compensation'), and *tatagru* ('pound tapa') *tʰatagru* ('tapa pounder'). For many verbs beginning with /l/ and /r/, nominalisation is achieved by accreting a /g/ to the initial consonant. Hence, *lehe* ('die') becomes *glehe* ('death'), and *ragi* ('dance, vb') becomes *gragi* ('dance, n'). Finally, for verbs with the velar fricative /ɣ/ in initial position, the noun form is often indicated with the velar stop /g/, as in *yoɾa* ('paddle, vb') and *goɾa* ('paddle, n').

In Cheke Holo, as in most Oceanic languages, reduplication in verb forms is a common means of indicating emphasis, duration and/or transitivity. Phonologically, reduplication for base words of the usual CVCV shape is accompanied by the deletion of the second consonant, producing CVVCVCV. For example:

<i>dalu</i>	'wash face'	becomes	<i>daudalu</i>
<i>nali</i>	'pile stones'	becomes	<i>nainali</i>
<i>selu</i>	'coax'	becomes	<i>seuselu</i>

Where the same vowel occurs both medially and finally, reduplication produces double vowel forms, as in *čeke* (talk) and *čeečeke*. It is also common in pronunciation to drop the second vowel in the double vowel syllable (in the examples above: *dadalu*, *nanali*, *seselu*, *čečeke*).

Cheke Holo employs two object markers, *ni* and *di* (singular and plural, respectively) that typically follow transitive verbs and precede their objects. In some cases, the object marker is contracted to /i/. Thus,

<i>atʰani</i>	'get it'	becomes	<i>atʰai</i>
<i>koko ni</i>	'throw it'	becomes	<i>kokoi</i>

In some cases, the final vowel of the verb is itself replaced by the transitivity */i/*:

*aknu* becomes *akni*  
*noŋo* becomes *noŋi*

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### 1. Introduction

Lau is spoken by approximately 10,300 speakers on the eastern side of the island of Malaita in the Solomon Islands. It is spoken in a geographically discontinuous area, as follows: in northern Malaita on Ndai Island and along the coast and offshore artificial islands (well known from Ivens 1930) as far as Kwai Harbour; in southern Malaita around the Port Adam area. The reason for this dislocation is that the Port Adam area was resettled from the Ataa area in north-eastern Malaita. Three major dialects of Lau are distinguished: Suafa, Lau and Dai (Ndai).

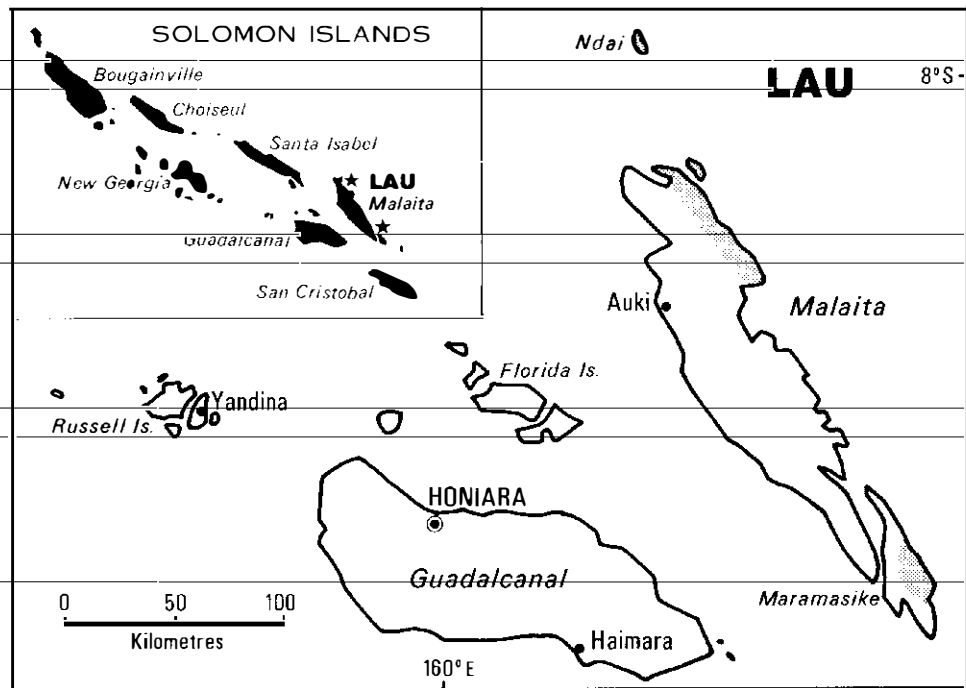
Previous descriptions of Lau have almost all been written by missionaries working on Malaita. Among the most important are Ivens (1921), a revised edition of which appeared in 1929. This revision was based on a stay at Fouia in 1927, almost in the centre of Lau territory. His 1921 work had been based on southern Lau spoken around Port Adam. Ivens also published a vocabulary of the Lau language (1932). In 1974 Fox produced a *Lau dictionary*, which was the first Lau publication to indicate phonemic vowel length and the glottal stop. Fox's informants, however, did not distinguish between /s/ and /h/, diagnostic of dialect differences, see section 2.

A considerable evangelical literature exists in Lau. Matthew's Gospel in Lau first appeared in 1905 (*Na tatalofa Diena Mala a Matthew e kedeana*), followed by the four gospels in 1910. The Book of Genesis was first translated in 1914 (*Na buk Genesis sulia baela i Lau*). The complete New Testament (*Gwalulaa faalu a faamourigia a aarai gia a Jesus Christ*) appeared in 1929, prepared by W.G. Ivens. In his introduction to Fox (1974), Miranda comments that "None of the (mission) publications indicate the glottal stop; most of them do not note vowel length, which is phonemic; and any attempts to create a consistent orthography for the language seem to have failed" (1974: iv). It should be pointed out, however, that since Miranda's remarks efforts have been made to produce standardised orthographies for Malaitan languages; see especially Simons (1979).

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Map 56. Lau language area

## 2. Phonology

The consonant phonemes of Lau are as follows:

Table 1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Labialised velar	Glottal velar
Stops		<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ɣ<sup>w</sup></i>	
Fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
Laterals		<i>l</i>			
Flaps		<i>r</i>			
Semivowels	<i>w</i>				

Note that /h/ is realised as [h] by coastal speakers, but as [s] by some of the mainland Lau. /w/ is pronounced as [ŋ<sup>w</sup>] by the northern Lau, but simply as [w] by the southern Lau (Fox 1974:205).

The vowels of Lau are as follows:

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

Vowel length is phonemic in Lau. Pairs distinguished by vowel length include:,

<i>ma</i>	'and'	<i>mā</i>	'eye'
<i>ari</i>	'call out'	<i>āri</i>	'tie firmly'
<i>bula</i>	'turn'	<i>būla</i>	'keel of canoe'
<i>koko</i>	'old'	<i>kokō</i>	'grandparent'
<i>fufu</i>	'swell'	<i>fūfū</i>	'spider'
<i>nini</i>	'shrub sp'	<i>ninī</i>	'a pair'

### 3. Morphology

#### a) Pronouns:

The Lau pronominal system is as represented in the following table:

Table 3. Lau pronouns

	Free forms	Subject markers general	Subject markers co-ord	Negative	Object suffixes	Possessive suffixes
Singular						
1	<i>nau</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>ku si</i>		<i>-gu</i>
2	<i>ʔoe</i>	<i>ʔo</i>	<i>ʔoko</i>	<i>ʔo si</i>		<i>-mu</i>
3	<i>nia</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>
Dual						
1 incl	<i>goro</i>	<i>goro</i>	<i>goro ka</i>	<i>goro si</i>		<i>-goro</i>
1 excl	<i>gemere</i>	<i>mere</i>	<i>mereka</i>	<i>mere si</i>		<i>-mere</i>
2	<i>gomoro</i>	<i>moro</i>	<i>moroka</i>	<i>moro si</i>		<i>-moro</i>
3	<i>dāro</i>	<i>darō</i>	<i>darō ka</i>	<i>darō si</i>	<i>-darō</i>	<i>-darō</i>
Plural						
1 incl	<i>golu</i>	<i>golu</i>	<i>golu ka</i>	<i>golu si</i>		<i>-golu</i>
1 excl	<i>gemelu</i>	<i>melu</i>	<i>meluka</i>	<i>melu si</i>		<i>-melu</i>
2	<i>gomolu</i>	<i>molu</i>	<i>moluka</i>	<i>molu si</i>		<i>-molu</i>
3	<i>dalū</i>	<i>dalū</i>	<i>daluka</i>	<i>dalū si</i>	<i>-dalū</i>	<i>-dalū</i>

	Free forms	Subject markers general	Subject markers co-ord	Negative	Object suffixes	Possessive suffixes
1 incl	<i>gia</i>	<i>gia</i>	<i>giaka</i>	<i>giasi</i>		<i>-ga</i>
1 excl	<i>gami</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mika</i>	<i>mi si</i>		<i>-mami</i>
2	<i>gamu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>muka</i>	<i>mu si</i>		<i>-miu</i>
3	<i>gera</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>daka,</i> <i>gcra ka</i>	<i>dasi,</i> <i>gcra si</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-da</i>

## Examples of usage:

*boboŋi nau ku lea*  
tomorrow I subj go  
'I will go tomorrow.'

*nau laŋiku si lea*  
I- not-subj-neg-go  
'I will not go.'

*nau ku si ada-si- a na ola*  
I- subj-neg-see-trans-obj art canoe  
'I did not see the canoe.'

## b) Affixation:

The principal affixes in Lau are as follows:

reciprocal	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ai-</i>
reflexive	<i>taŋa-</i>
causative	<i>fā-</i>
transitive	<i>-fi, -li, -mi, -ŋi, -ri, -si, -ʔani</i>
instrumental	<i>i-</i>
nominalising	<i>-ŋa, -fa</i>
ordinal	<i>-na</i>
multiplicative	<i>fe-</i>

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## 57. Kwaio

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Roger M. Keesing</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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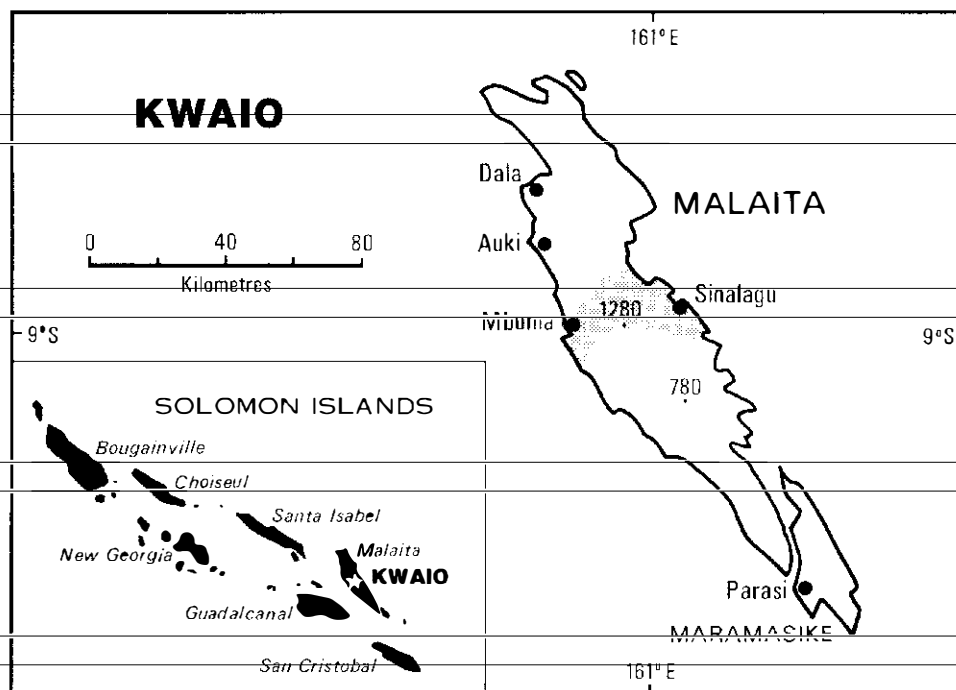
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Kwaio is an Oceanic Austronesian language spoken on Malaita, Solomon Islands. Kwaio is spoken by some 10,000 people, whose homeland lies in a strip across the mountainous centre of the island. Nowadays many speakers of Kwaio are scattered around the Solomons, in plantation areas of the western Solomons and Guadalcanal, and in the urban centre, Honiara. Among the speakers of Kwaio, some 2,000 remain obdurately pagan, living in scattered homestead clusters in the mountains above the east coast. There are some minor differences in phonology and grammar distinguishing speakers from the west coast (Kwareuna) from those on the eastern side, and considerable lexical variation (partly due to word tabooing, which among the pagans is still an active process). The version represented here is spoken by pagans in the mountains above Sinalagu on the east coast, which in terms of population density constitutes the Kwaio heartland. Lexical borrowings from Solomon Islands Pijin are most common among the coastal Christians.

As of late 1989, no subgrouping of Malaitan languages had been systematically advanced. Most specialists had assumed that the Malaita languages, with the possible exception of the language spoken on Small Malaita and Ulawa, constituted a single subgroup. Keesing (1985) had suggested a possible subgrouping distinguishing a north-central group of Malaita languages and a southern group. He suggested that the north-central languages would probably fall into two subgroups:

- (1) A northern subgroup, including a cluster of mutually intelligible dialects (To'aba'ita, Baelelea, Lau and Baegu); Fataleka; and Kwara'ae.
  - (2) A central subgroup consisting of Kwaio, Doorio, Kwaikwaio, and probably Langalanga. This central subgroup is probably coordinate with a southern subgroup including 'Are'are and related languages/ dialects spoken around the Maramasike passage (and possibly Sa'a/ Ulawa, though the probability that this subgroups with San Cristobal languages was noted).
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A subgrouping departing from this in only one major respect has just been systematically proposed and argued by Lichtenberk (1988). Taking a series of phonological innovations as major diagnostic features, Lichtenberk proposes a “Central and North Malaitan” subgroup; and he notes that “there is some evidence for a subgroup consisting of Kwai [the language of two tiny islands], Langalanga, Kwaio and Dori’o” (1988: 45) – i.e. corresponding to the central subgroup which I anticipated. Lichtenberk proposes a South Malaitan-Cristobal group coordinate with Central-North Malaitan. The only deviation from Keesing’s expectation is Lichtenberk’s inclusion of ’Are’are (and its Marau dialect) in the South Malaitan-Cristobal group. I continue to believe that ’Are’are – though not Sa’a – will turn out to belong with the other languages of Malaita proper (both on cultural grounds and on the fact that ’Are’are is partly intelligible to me as a Kwaio speaker, while the languages of Makira are almost totally opaque).



Map 57. Kwaio language area

The Malaita languages and Cristobal languages (and Longgu, spoken on the Guadalcanal coast) form a Cristobal-Malaita subgroup clearly distinguishable on the basis of phonological innovation. Pawley (1972) advanced persuasive arguments to support a subgrouping of Cristobal-Malaita languages with a coordinate Guadalcanal-Nggela group to form a subgroup of Oceanic he called “Southeast Solomonian”. Although Blust

(1984) proposed some grounds (primarily a handful of supposedly exclusively shared semantic innovations) for grouping Cristobal-Malaita languages not with Guadalcanal-Nggela languages but with the Nuclear Micronesian languages, Lichtenberk has provided further convincing support for Pawley's original subgrouping.

Assuming that the Southeast-Solomonic subgroup will be confirmed by further evidence, a final question of wider subgrouping remains. Is Southeast Solomonic a first-order group within Oceanic, or does it fall (as Pawley had proposed in 1972) into an Eastern Oceanic subgroup (along with North-Central Hebridean, the Fiji cluster, and the Polynesian [and probably the Nuclear Micronesian] languages)? Pawley (1977) has since left Southeast Solomonic out of a "Remote Oceanic" subgroup, on grounds that no clear evidence for its inclusion (in contrast to possible shared retentions from Proto-Oceanic) have been demonstrated.

Whatever the precise relationship between Kwaio and adjacent Malaita languages, they are all fairly closely related. All of them are quite strikingly conservative in preserving patterns reconstructed (by Pawley and others) for Proto-Oceanic, and a substantial lexicon derived from forms reconstructed for POC.

## 2. Phonology

Kwaio preserves the five vowel system reconstructed for POC: *a e i o u*. Paired vowels and doubled vowels are common (and are treated as such, rather than as diphthongs or as lengthened vowels, in the operation of stress rules). In many cases the pairing and doubling of vowels reflects the historical disappearance of a *\*t* phoneme (*\*t* >  $\emptyset$ ) in the Cristobal-Malaita languages: *mate* > *mae* 'die'; *tabu* > *abu* 'taboo'; *tasi* > *asi* 'sea'; *mata* > *maa* 'eye'; *kutu* > *?uu* 'louse' etc.

Kwaio consonants reflect a voiced/unvoiced contrast, a nasalised/non-nasalised contrast and a contrast between labialised and unlabialised velars:

Table 1. Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Labialised velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	ʔ
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>	
Fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ<sup>w</sup></i>	
Liquids		<i>l</i>			
Semivowels	<i>w</i>				



Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

The voiced consonants *b d g g<sup>w</sup>* are prenasalised with the homorganic nasal [m<sup>b</sup>] [n<sup>d</sup>] [ŋ<sup>g</sup>] and [ŋ<sup>g<sup>w</sup></sup>], strongly when they occur in intervocalic position and almost imperceptibly when they occur in initial position (in citation forms, and, in discourse, following strong junctures; since all Kwaio morphemes have final vowels, these consonants are prenasalised when they occur within phrases).

Further phonological notes are needed. First, *f* is for many speakers a voiceless bilabial spirant, [ɸ]; *k* (and less pervasively, *k<sup>w</sup>*) are very commonly spirantised as [x] and [x<sup>w</sup>]; although these represent free variations, this spirantisation of the *k* phoneme can be taken as characteristic of Kwaio among Malaitan languages. Finally, the phoneme /l/ has two allophones in complementary distribution, the flap [ɾ] preceding high vowels ([ɾi] and [ɾu]) and [l] preceding [a e o].

Historically speaking, patterns of sound correspondence with neighbouring languages are rendered somewhat complex by common alternations of *d* and *g* (sometimes Kwaio manifests both forms, as in *duidui* and *guigui* 'vinegar ant'), by the historical coalescence of three historically separate phonemes (what in the northern languages are /l/, /r/, and a phoneme variously realised as [θ], [h], [s]) and the variable manifestations of forms according to the pattern of [l/ɾ] complementary distribution described above. Further complications result from the still active process of word tabooing.

We have described in detail (Keesing – Fifi'i 1968) the sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects of word tabooing, a matter of considerable comparative interest in Austronesian studies. Suffice it to say here that lexical forms represented in the name of an important man may be tabooed from secular use if after his death the man rises to power as an ancestral spirit (*adalo*). An ancestor, immediate or remote, is given a pseudonym (a *fo<sup>o</sup>ota* or 'offering' name) which is used for pigs consecrated to the ancestor; and in the case of an *adalo* who rises to prominence and is accorded power, it serves to replace the name used in life in most contexts. The *fo<sup>o</sup>ota* name usually encapsulates some incident in the life of, or characteristic of, the ancestor (hence is likely to contain a commonly used lexical form). If this ancestor is accorded

sufficient power, the lexical item in the *foʔota* name (either in all contexts or in the particular combination used in the name) may also be tabooed.

These taboos apply to descendants of the ancestor in question, but others using a locally tabooed form in the presence of a descendant are liable for compensation. Some *adalo* are so widely propitiated through an entire area that the taboo applies generally in the area. A consequence of word tabooing is that replacement forms must be coined. In some cases, a minor phonological variant of the tabooed form is coined; in context, it will be quite transparent to native speakers (e.g. *kaakaoʔa* ‘white’, locally replacing *kʷaakʷaoʔa* for some speakers). However, some such forms are either borrowed from neighbouring languages or otherwise depart from expectable sound shifts. For some lexical items, there are three or even five phonological alternants in widespread use. In some cases the tabooed forms are pervasive and otherwise very stable Oceanic/Austronesian forms (e.g. *manu* ‘bird’ has been replaced by *lanasi* in Kwaio) and/or items on standard lexicostatistic lists. In some cases, the replacement forms come from Solomon Islands Pijin, hence ultimately from English: *laiso* (from English ‘rice’) has replaced *kai* as the generic term for yam (resulting in the oddity that Kwaio speakers distinguish between *laisi toʔofuŋaʔa*, ‘real rice’, i.e. yams, and *laisi naa faka* ‘important rice’) and *leni* (‘rain’) has replaced *neʔu* for many speakers.

The consequences of this word tabooing for comparative linguistics are, briefly:

- (1) that cognate frequencies in lexicostatistic comparison are somewhat lower than they otherwise would be;
- (2) that Kwaio speakers have a substantial passive vocabulary of forms they know but cannot use (speakers of the dialect described here know and recognise forms such as *duŋa* ‘fire’ and *madama* ‘moon’ used in the Kwareuna dialect, but cannot use them);
- (3) that expectable sound correspondences are often disrupted, with Kwaio manifesting either irregularities or patterns found in neighbouring languages.

Kwaio as used 50 years ago had two interesting sets of specialised usages, one of which has effectively disappeared, and the other of which survives only among knowledgeable pagan traditionalists. The first is a register, known as *fatamalemale*, traditionally used between couples in the course of customary courtship. On chaste rendezvous in the forest, one or more couples would use a special lexicon, particularly to refer to the small presents

(areca nuts, tobacco) they exchanged and arrangement of further meetings. Only a few older people remember some of the special lexical items.

The second special set of usages, called *alafuu to'oria*, was widely used in magical spells, ritual conversation with the ancestors, epic chants, and some other formal contexts (e.g. stylised curses or challenges). It consisted of standardised euphemistic references, usually based on metaphoric imagery or metonymy. Typical *alafuu to'oria* usages are references to the destruction of another group and its settlement in terms of “fence breaking” or “taro stomping” and such conventional sayings as “the hard-undershelled turtle surfaces on the reef, the soft-undershelled turtle surfaces in the open sea” (i.e. if you don't have strong backing, keep quiet).

Although such special registers are vanishing with the contexts in which they were used, Kwaio retains its primacy within a substantial speech community and its linguistic integrity in the face of Pijin (and other) influences. Embodying, as all languages do, a rich historical cultural tradition, Kwaio is suffering lexical erosion with the gradual Westernisation and Christianisation of its speakers. Many forms relating to ritual and magic, and to the rain forest environment, are disappearing in the Christian coastal villages and survive only among the embattled pagans in the mountains. Among these coastal (and urban) Christians, mannerisms from neighbouring languages and Pijin loan words are increasingly pervasive. Much of the rich cultural tradition encoded in the speech of the pagan traditionalists is represented in the forthcoming, greatly revised, edition of my Kwaio dictionary.

### 3. Kwaio syntax

Kwaio manifests very clearly a number of grammatical patterns and features whose historical origins have been of interest to specialists: a pronominal system where pronouns fully marked for person and number are obligatory constituents of verb phrases, referencing subjects and (in transitive constructions) objects (and where subject and object NPs are optional expansions on this VP nucleus); use of the two transitive suffixes reconstructed for POC; extensive use of serial verbs and other compound verb constructions; the existence of a substantial set of prepositions manifesting the morphology of transitive verbs and historically apparently derived from the second verbs in compound constructions; and extensive and productive use of numerical classifiers. As is reconstructed for POC, Kwaio verbs consist of statives (a subset of which can modify nouns directly as adjectives), a small class of obligatory intransitives, a large class of optional

transitives (marked as such either within a clitic object pronoun or a transitive suffix + clitic), and a very small class of obligatory transitive verbs. Reflexes of the causative prefix and “reciprocal” prefix reconstructed for POC are highly productive. So too are formative processes (in many cases, using morphemes reconstructed for POC) that convert active verbs to statives, form abstract verbal nouns, nominalise verbs, etc. The preferred order of constituents is SVO; fronting of object NPs (objects of transitive verbs and prepositions) is common. Since VPs contain subject referencing pronouns fully marked for person and number, where a subject NP precedes the VP (and where the former has either a noun or a free pronoun as its head) this subject reference is echoed by the following pronoun within the VP. To Oceanic specialists, Kwaio hold few grammatical surprises. Keesing (1985) provides both a fairly detailed grammatical description and extensive texts.

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## 58. Raga

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>D. S. Walsh</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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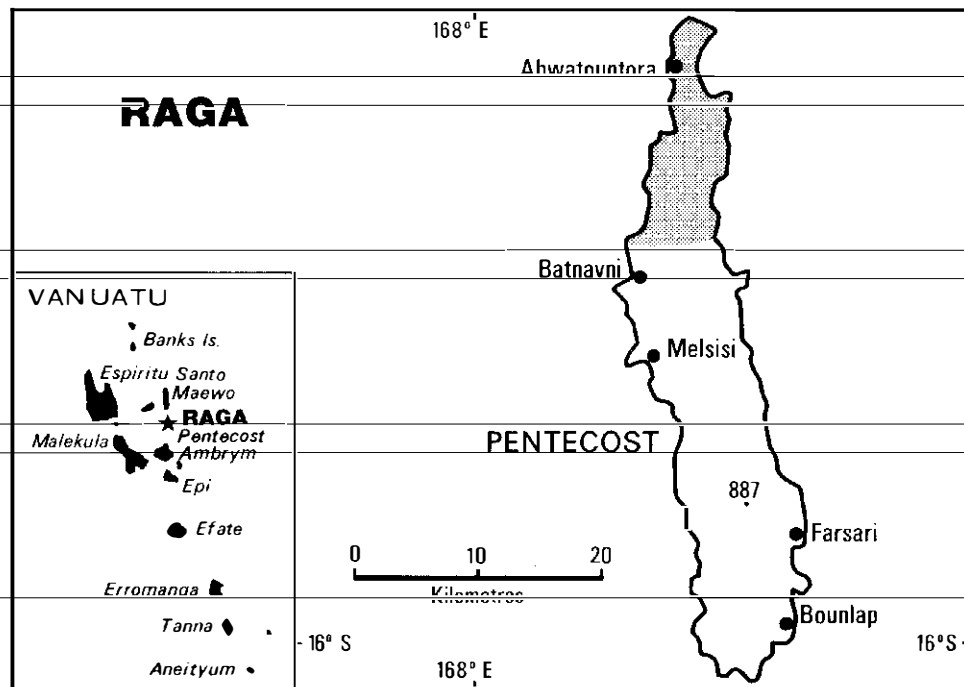
Place and language names are here cited as they usually appear in the literature and on the maps, i.e. in an orthography that, because it is not fully phonemic, is often phonologically misleading; in which case, after the first citation only, they are also cited within round brackets in the phonemic orthography that is used for the examples in this description.

Raga is spoken in the northern third of Pentecost Island, Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides), with the southern boundary of the language running roughly from Namaram on the west coast to Aliyu (Aliyu) on the east coast. It is also spoken in southern Maewo by a small population of relatively recent immigrants from neighbouring North Pentecost. There are altogether about 4000 speakers of the language, including some who live more or less permanently in the national capital, Port Vila, on the island of Efate. Dialectal differences are minimal compared with those found in other Vanuatu languages that are spoken by similar numbers of speakers.

The language was first transcribed by Bishop Patteson in the 1860s, and his two galley-slips of words and sentences were the source for the numerals and short wordlist in Gabelentz (1879). Thomas Ulgau, a native of Mota, in the Banks Islands to the north, whose first language, Mota, was for many years the lingua franca of the Melanesian Mission, came to Pentecost in 1878 as a mission teacher, and in 1882 his translation of the Book of Common Prayer, *Tataro gaha avoana ata Raga* (Tataro γaha avoana ata Raya), was printed at the Mission Press on Norfolk Island. Between 1902 and 1953 about 18 Raga translations of various biblical and liturgical materials (see Walsh 1966: 81-82) were published by the Melanesian Mission Press, based initially on Norfolk Island but later transferred to Guadalcanal, and eventually Taroaniara, in the Solomon Islands. 1970 saw the publication at Taroaniara of the most idiomatic Raga liturgical translation to date – the enlarged Prayer Book, *Book Tataro la avoan ata Raga* (Raya). As yet very little original Raga text has been published, other than that in Ivens (1938) and Walsh – Lini (Lini) (1981).

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Map 58. Raga language area

The first description of Raga was Codrington's brief grammar (1885), based principally upon the output of speakers of the language who were at the Melanesian Mission's clerical training establishment on Norfolk Island, although extant liturgical material was also taken into account. Ivens' (1938) description of Lamalanga (Lamalaŋa) grammar, i.e. Raga grammar, is largely based on, and limited by, a corpus of translated biblical and liturgical material. More recent descriptive and comparative work on the language has been done by Walsh (1962, 1966, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1980, 1982a, 1982b, 1986, 1990), and a *Grammar and dictionary* by Walsh – Leona is in preparation.

Raga is a member of the North-Central Vanuatu subgroup of Oceanic languages as defined by Tryon (1976), a subgroup which includes all the languages of north-east Vanuatu, and which is itself a member of the Remote Oceanic subgrouping within Central-Eastern Oceanic (see Tryon's Figure 7, p. 27 of this volume).

## 2. Phonology

The segmental phonemes whose values are summarised below are more fully described in Walsh (1962, 1966, 1982a, and 1982b).

Table 1. Consonants

	Labialised labial	Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vɭ		t	k	
	vd	b <sup>w</sup>	b	d	g
Fricatives	vɮ		s		h <sup>1</sup>
	vd	v <sup>w</sup>	v	ɣ	
Nasals		m <sup>w</sup>	m	n	ŋ
Laterals			l		
Flaps			r		
Semivowels		w			

After Nasal + Vowel (+ Vowel) the bilabial stops /b/ and /b<sup>w</sup>/ and the alveolar stop /d/ are prenasalised. /b/ may be voiced or voiceless, but when prenasalised it is always voiced. The voiced velar stop /g/ is prenasalised. The labial components of /v/ and /v<sup>w</sup>/ are labio-dental; those of /b/, /b<sup>w</sup>/, /m/, /m<sup>w</sup>/ are bilabial. The fricatives /v/, /v<sup>w</sup>/ and /ɣ/ may be voiced or voiceless.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

### 3. Morphosyntax

#### a) Personal pronouns

The principal pronominal forms for Raga are as follows:

1. In fact pharyngeal rather than glottal.



Table 3. Pronominal

	Focal	Subject	Object	Possessive
I	<i>inau</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-au ~ -u</i>	<i>-ku ~ -gu ~ -k</i>
You	<i>yigo</i>	<i>yo-</i>	<i>-yo</i>	<i>-m<sup>wa</sup> ~ -m</i>
He, she, it	<i>kea</i>	<i>∅ ~ ye-</i>	<i>-a ~ -e</i>	<i>-na ~ -n</i>
We dl incl	<i>yidaru</i>	<i>ta-ru</i>	<i>yidaru</i>	<i>-daru</i>
We pl incl	<i>yida</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>yida</i>	<i>-da</i>
We dl excl	<i>kamaru</i>	<i>ya-ru</i>	<i>kamaru</i>	<i>-maru</i>
We pl excl	<i>kamai</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>kamai</i>	<i>-mai</i>
You dl	<i>kimiru</i>	<i>yi-ru</i>	<i>kimiru</i>	<i>-miru</i>
You pl	<i>kimiu</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>kimiu</i>	<i>-miu</i>
They dl	–	<i>ra-ru</i>	–	–
They pl	<i>kera</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra</i>

- i) Some trial forms exist, but are currently falling into disuse.
- ii) Bound subject forms are prefixed to tense/aspect particles, bound object forms are suffixed to verbs and to some directional particles, and possessive forms are suffixed either to nouns or to possession class markers.
- iii) For discussion of possible historical implications of the incidence of /k/ and /y/ in these forms see Walsh (1982a).

#### b) Nouns

In general nouns have referents which can be possessed. Five classes of possession are distinguished as follows:

- i) Possession of food which is for eating (rather than, e.g., selling) by the possessor. This class is marked by *ya-* + suffixed possessive personal pronoun form or suffixed *-n* ‘belonging to’, e.g. *ya-ku damu* ‘my yam (for me to eat)’, *damu ya-n Pita* ‘yam belonging to Peter (for him to eat)’. Note also *ya-ku na damu* lit. ‘mine the yam’, i.e. ‘the yam is mine (for me to eat)’.
- ii) Possession of liquid which is for drinking (rather than, e.g., washing) by possessor. This class is marked by *ma-* + suffixed possessive personal pronoun form or suffixed *-n* ‘belonging to’, e.g. *ma-ra wai* ‘their water (for them to drink)’, *wai ma-n vavine yea* ‘water belonging to that woman (for her to drink)’. Note also *ma-ra na wai* lit. ‘theirs the water’, i.e. ‘the water is theirs (for them to drink)’.

- iii) Possession of certain kinds of valued object, e.g. garden land, crops, articles of personal decoration, and, in some contexts, pigs. This class is marked by *bila-* + suffixed possessive personal pronoun form or suffixed *-n* ‘belonging to’, e.g. *bila-na boe* or *bila-n boe* ‘his/her pig’, *boe bila-n Pita* ‘pig belonging to Peter’. Note also *bila-m<sup>wa</sup> na boe* lit. ‘yours the pig’, i.e. ‘the pig is yours’.
- iv) Possession in which the possessor is “subordinate” to the thing possessed. This class includes most body parts, most kin, the house or village to which a person belongs, canoes, sleeping-mats, etc. It is marked by suffixation to the possessed noun of either a possessive personal pronoun form or *-n* ‘belonging to’, e.g. *tama-gu* ‘my father’, *ebe-ku* ‘my sleeping-mat’, *ratahi-n Pita* ‘mother belonging to Peter’.
- v) Possession, other than of types i-iii, in which the possessor is “dominant” over the thing possessed. This large possession class is marked by *no-* + suffixed possessive personal pronoun form or suffixed *-n* ‘belonging to’, e.g. *no-gu damu* ‘my yam (for me to sell, etc., rather than for me to eat)’, *wai no-n Pita* ‘water belonging to Peter (for him to use for purposes other than drinking)’. Note also *no-gu na bua* lit. ‘mine the knife’, i.e. ‘the knife is mine’.

### c) Noun phrase functional elements

The functional elements that can occur before the noun within a noun phrase are as follows:

- i) The possession class marker + possessive personal pronoun combinations, or + *-n* ‘belonging to’, as described in b) i-iii) and v) above.
- ii) The nominal article *na*.
- iii) The paradigmatic set *la* ‘at’, *lol* ‘in’, *lalai* ‘to (dative)’, *yin* ‘with (instrumental)’, and *yi* ‘for/as (purposive)’.
- iv) The paradigmatic set *vai* ‘to/towards’, and *ata* ‘from/belonging to (a place, village or island)’.
- v) The paradigmatic set *mai* ‘with (associative)’, *huri* ‘about/concerning’, and *nin* ‘from/out of’.
- vi) The plural marker *ira*, which can occur only with members of a closed subset of nouns that have human referents, such as *vavine* ‘woman’, *atam<sup>wani</sup>* ‘man’, *atatu* ‘person’, and *tuturani* ‘European person’.

The only functional elements that can occur after the noun within the noun phrase are:

- i) The suffixed possessive personal pronoun forms, or *-n* ‘belonging to’, as described in b) iv) above.
- ii) The relative forms *yeki* ~ *yek* ‘this’, and *yea* ‘that’.

#### d) Adjectives

An adjective occurs after the noun which it modifies, e.g. *rae wasi* lit. ‘forehead strong/hard’, and the usual pattern is noun + one adjective, so that when two adjectives are to be applied to a given noun the construction is noun + first adjective, noun + second adjective. In addition to words which function only as adjectives, such as *meto* ‘black’, many words can function either as nouns or as adjectives, e.g. *tagure* ‘sago palm’, *im<sup>w</sup>a tagure* lit. ‘house thatched with sago palm fronds’.

#### e) Numerals

The fundamental units of the ten-based number system, in their cardinal forms, are: *yai-tuv<sup>w</sup>a* ‘one’, (*yai-rua* ‘two’, (*yai-tolu* ‘three’, (*yai-vasi* ‘four’, (*yai-lima* ‘five’, (*yai-ono* ‘six’, (*yai-bitu* ‘seven’, (*yai-v<sup>w</sup>clu* ‘eight’, (*yai-sivo* ‘nine’, and *haŋvulu* ‘ten’. For the remainder of the “one-ten decade” the form for ‘ten’ is *haŋvul*, as in *haŋvul dom<sup>w</sup>an yai-tuv<sup>w</sup>a* ‘eleven’, *haŋvul dom<sup>w</sup>an yai-rua* ‘twelve’, etc. In the decades from 20 to 90 the form for ‘ten’ is *ŋavul*, as in *ŋavul yai-rua* ‘20’, *ŋavul yai-tolu dom<sup>w</sup>an yai-vasi* ‘34’, etc. For ‘hundred’ the form is *vudolua*, with ‘200’ being *vudolua va-rua*, where *va-* is the multiplicative prefix—*va-rua* ‘twice’, *va-tolu* ‘thrice’, etc. In numbers over 100 the ligature *vena* is used, as in *vudola va-tuv<sup>w</sup>a vena ŋavul yai-tolu dom<sup>w</sup>an yai-tolu* ‘133’. The ordinal suffix is *-na*, as in *yai-rua-na* ‘second’, *yai-tolu-na* ‘third’, etc.

#### f) Locational words

There are three groups of words which refer to location, either in space or in time:

- i) An open group of place names, all of which may be preceded directly by any of *vai* ‘towards’, *ata* ‘from/belonging to’, *nin* ‘from/out of’, e.g. *vai Lamalaja* ‘towards Lamalaja’, *atatu ata B<sup>w</sup>atnapni* ‘person belonging to B<sup>w</sup>atnapni’, *nin Ab<sup>w</sup>atuntora* ‘from Ab<sup>w</sup>atuntora’.
- ii) A group of words with spatial or temporal reference, including *antahi* ‘shore’, *anvanua* ‘village’, *batenhano* ‘when’, *yariyi* ‘today’, *noŋoiha* ‘non-present time’, *teti* ‘here’, *aia* ‘there’, *kahaga* ‘yonder’, *amare* ‘above/upwards’, *amua* ‘before/in front of’, *atā* ‘below/downwards’, etc., all of which may be preceded directly by *vai* ‘towards’.

- iii) A group of bound forms with spatial reference, or, in one case spatial or temporal reference, including *atayu-* ‘after/behind (ref. space or time)’, *abe-* ‘near’, *alolo-* ‘inside’, *alu-* ‘on top of’, *ate-* ‘under/underneath’, etc., all of which must occur with a suffixed possessive personal pronoun form or *-n* ‘belonging to’, e.g. *abe-na* ‘near him/her/it’, *alolo-n im<sup>w</sup>a* ‘inside (the) house’.

### g) Verbs

Verb forms are compatible with the tense/aspect markers, and some verbs are compatible with various modifying affixes. The basic form of a verb is here taken to be that which can occur in isolation as an imperative.

- i) The basic tense/aspect markers are suffixed or infixes to subject personal pronouns as follows:

*-mu-* ~ *-m-* ~ *-m<sup>w</sup>a* ~  $\emptyset$  ~ *-m* ‘action in progress (time unspecified)’, where *-mu-* occurs only before *-ru* ‘dual number for subject personal pronoun’, e.g. *ra-mu-ru hae* ‘they (dl) go up’; *-m-* occurs only before *-dol* ‘trial number for subject personal pronoun’, e.g. *ra-m-dol hae* ‘they (trial) go up’; *-m<sup>w</sup>a* occurs only after the zero allomorph of the 3rd singular subject personal pronoun, e.g.  $\emptyset$ -*m<sup>w</sup>a hae* ‘he/she/it goes up’;  $\emptyset$  occurs only before /b/ or /b<sup>w</sup>/, e.g. *ra- $\emptyset$  ban(o)* ‘they go’, *na- $\emptyset$  b<sup>w</sup>eru-a* [na<sup>m</sup>b<sup>w</sup>eru-a] ‘I bend it’; and *-m* occurs in all other contexts, including after the *ye-* allomorph of the 3rd singular subject personal pronoun which is found only after *bere* ‘lest’, e.g. *ra-m hae* ‘they go up’, *bere ye-m hae* ‘lest he/she/it go up’.

$\emptyset$  ~ *-nu* ~ *-n* ‘completed action (past time)’, where  $\emptyset$  occurs only before *-ru* ‘dual number for subject personal pronoun’ and *-tol* ‘trial number for subject personal pronoun’, e.g. *ra- $\emptyset$ -ru hae* ‘they (dl) went up’ and *ra- $\emptyset$ -tol hae* ‘they (trial) went up’; *-nu* occurs only after the zero allomorph of the 3rd singular subject personal pronoun, e.g.  $\emptyset$ -*nu hae* ‘he/she/it went up’; and *-n* occurs in all other contexts, e.g. *na-n hae* ‘I went up’.

*-vi* ~ *-i* ~ *-v* ‘future action’, where *-vi* occurs only after the zero allomorph of the 3rd singular subject personal pronoun, e.g.  $\emptyset$ -*vi hae* ‘he/she/it will go up’, and after dual or trial subject personal pronouns, e.g. *ra-ru vi hae* ‘they (dl) will go up’ and *ra-tol vi hae* ‘they (trial) will go up’; *-i* occurs only before /v/ or /v<sup>w</sup>/, e.g. *na-i van(o)* ‘I will go’ and *na-i v<sup>w</sup>ariri-a* ‘I will drill it’; and *-v* occurs in all other contexts, e.g. *na-v hae* ‘I will go up’.

*-si* ~ *-s* ‘conditional action’, where *-si* occurs only after the zero allomorph of the 3rd singular personal pronoun, e.g.  $\emptyset$ -*si hae* ‘if he/she/it goes up’, and after dual or trial subject personal pronouns, e.g. *raru si hae* ‘if they (dl) go up’ and *ra-tol si hae* ‘if they (trial) go up’; and *-s* occurs in all other contexts, e.g. *na-s hae* ‘if I go up’.

*-men* ‘desiderative action’, which can occur after any subject personal pronoun, e.g. *na-men hae* ‘I should go up’, *ra-ru men hae* ‘they (dl) should go up’.

ii) The principal verbal prefixes, compatible with some verbs only, are:

*va-* ~ *ba-* ‘causative’, e.g. *mate* ‘die’ can become *va-mate* ~ *ba-mate* ‘cause to die’, i.e. ‘kill’. For the conditions of this morphophonemic variation see v) below.

*vi-* ~ *bi-* ‘reciprocal’, which has been found only with some reduplicated verb forms, e.g. *vi-luslusi* ~ *bi-luslusi* ‘compete (with each other), from *lusi* ‘drive off/away’. For the conditions of this morphophonemic variation see v) below.

iii) The principal verbal suffixes, compatible with some verbs only, are:

*-ana* ~ *-na*<sub>1</sub> ‘noun transformative’, where *-na* occurs only after verb-final *a*, e.g. *no-ra hala-na* ‘their raising arms sideways while dancing’, from *hala* ‘raise arms sideways in custom dance’; and *-ana* occurs in all other contexts, e.g. *mate-ana* ‘death’, from *mate* ‘die’.

*-ana* ~ *-na*<sub>2</sub> ‘passive transformative’, where *-na* occurs only after verb-final *a*, e.g.  $\emptyset$ -*nu yita-na na vavine* lit. ‘was seen the woman’ i.e. ‘the woman was seen’; and *-ana* occurs in all other contexts, e.g.  $\emptyset$ -*vi yani-ana na damu* lit. ‘was eaten the yam’ i.e. ‘the yam was eaten’. This suffix is found only in constructions of the following shape: zero allomorph of 3rd singular subject personal pronoun + tense/aspect marker + verb + passive transformative, with all of this either preceded or followed by *na* + subject, e.g. *na damu  $\emptyset$ -vi yani-ana* or  *$\emptyset$ -vi yani-ana na damu*.

*-i* ‘transitive transformative’, which can make an intransitive verb compatible in some cases with a direct object, e.g. *laŋi  $\emptyset$ -m* <sup>w</sup>*a here* ‘(the) wind blows’ and *laŋi  $\emptyset$ -m* <sup>w</sup>*a here-i ilu-na* ‘(the) wind blows his hair’, and in other cases with an indirect object, e.g. *na-m ate* ‘I look/glance’ and *na-m ate-i no-gu bua* ‘I look for my knife’. After *-i* a ligature *-ni-* is required before all suffixed object personal pronouns, ref. a) above, except *-au*, e.g. *yo-m ate-i-au* ‘you look for me’, but *na-m ate-i-ni- $\gamma$ o* ‘I

look for you', *na-m ate-i-ni-a* 'I look for him/her/it', *na-m ate-i-ni-ra* 'I look for them', and *laji Ø-m<sup>w</sup>a here-i-ni-a* '(the) wind blows it'.

-*va* 'noun transformative', e.g. *maturu-va* 'sleep (n)' from *maturu* 'sleep (vb)' and *yita-va* 'expectation (i.e. what one predicts from what one sees)' from *yita ~ gita* 'see'. This suffix is compatible with a relatively small number of verbs.

- iv) Reduplication, either total or partial, is found for many verbs, and usually signifies that the action is repeated, frequentative, or habitual, e.g. *harahara* 'collect often or habitually/harvest a garden crop totally' from *hara* 'collect/gather', *ra-Ø-banvano* 'they go often or habitually', from *vano ~ bano* 'go'.
- v) Morphophonemic variation of verb-initial consonants occurs as follows: verbs which in their basic form have initial *v*, *v<sup>w</sup>*, *t* or *y* will have initial *b*, *b<sup>w</sup>*, *d* or *g* respectively when preceded by subject personal pronoun + 'action in progress' marker, e.g. *ra-n van(o)* 'they went', but *ra-Ø ban(o)* 'they go'; when preceded by any tense/aspect marker + *mom* 'still/yet', e.g. *ra-n van(o)* 'they went', but *ra-n mom ban(o)* 'they still went' and *ra-n hav mom ban(o) tehe* 'they did not still go'; and when preceded by 'action in progress' marker-governed verb + *ba* 'verbal ligature', e.g. *ra-m domare ba bano* 'they arise and go'. This rule applies not only to basic verb forms, but also to any derivatives that have initial *v*, *v<sup>w</sup>*, *t* or *y* in their isolable form, viz. wholly or partly reduplicated verbs, e.g. *vanvano ~ banvano* 'go often/habitually'; causative prefix + verb, e.g. *va-mate ~ ba-mate* 'kill'; reciprocal prefix + verb, e.g. *vi-luslusi ~ bi-luslusi* 'compete (with each other)'; and to verb (simple or derived) + any of the verbal suffixes listed above except the noun transformatives -*ana* ~ -*na*<sub>1</sub> and -*va*.
- vi) Some forms can function unchanged as either verbs or nouns, e.g. *ra-n vayahi* 'they taught', *ra-Ø bayahi* 'they teach', *no-ra vayahi* 'their teacher'.
- vii) Some nouns can be transformed into verbs (usually of 'being' or 'becoming') by the suffix -*ya* 'verb transformative', e.g. *bili* 'mud' and *bili-ya* 'become muddy'; *beu* 'weak person' and *beu-ya* 'be weak'.
- viii) Adverbs occur after intransitive verb forms, e.g. *ra-Ø ban vilvilehi* 'they go quickly', or after the objects of transitive verbs, e.g. *yo-n tutui-ni-a vilvilehi* 'you struck him quickly'.

## h) Negation

Negative verbal constructions can be formed by the use of *hav...te(he)* as follows: *yo-n van(o)* 'you went', *yo-n hav van(o) te(he)* 'you did not go'; *yo-m loli-a* 'you are doing it', *yo-m hav loli-a te(he)* 'you are not doing it'. Emphatic negation can be conveyed by using *borabe*, e.g. *borabe Ø-vi vano* 'he/she/it will *not* go', *borabe kun keki* '*not* like this'. The general negative *siyai* 'no' can be used alone in response to a question, and also in statements, e.g. *damu siyai* '(there is) no yam'. *Siyai* can also function as a verb, e.g. ... *take Ø-m<sup>wa</sup> siyai* '... but it is not happening'.

## i) Questions

Questions can be asked by using a rising final intonation in what would otherwise be a statement, or by using an interrogative form such as *i-hei* 'who? (sg)', *ira-hei* 'who? (pl)', *hano* 'what?', *behe ~ hala-behe* 'where?', *bate-n-hano* 'when?', e.g. *i-hei Ø-nu mai* 'who (sg) came?', *yo-m lol hano* 'you do what?', *no-gu bua behe* 'my knife (is) where?', *bate-n-hano yo-v lai-a* 'when will you get it?'

## j) Clause and sentence structure

The predominant ordering within verbal clauses and single-clause sentences is SV(O), but with passive verb forms the ordering may be either SV or VS as shown in g) iii) above. Verbal clauses and single-clause sentences with non-imperative active verbs have the following general shape: ± focus subject (noun, noun phrase, focus personal pronoun, personal name) + subject personal pronoun + tense/aspect marker + verb ± object (noun, noun phrase, object personal pronoun, personal name).

Clauses and single-clause sentences without verbs occur frequently, e.g. *kea beu* 'he/she (is a) weak person'; *ya-ku na damu yeki* lit. 'for eating-mine yam this', i.e. 'this yam (is) mine to eat'; *ebe-na behe* lit. 'sleeping-mat his/her where?', i.e. 'where (is) his/her sleeping-mat?'. These verbless sentences are usually semantically broadly equivalent to corresponding English copula-verb sentences.

Within complex sentences, clauses are articulated by various conjunctive and relational words, e.g. *bere* 'lest', *ta ~ take* 'but', *i ~ i-ke* 'and', etc., whose distributional compatibilities are beyond the scope of this brief description.

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## 59. Paamese

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Terry Crowley</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Paamese is spoken on the island of Paama in the Republic of Vanuatu, which is located in the southwest Pacific between Fiji and New Caledonia. There are probably about 4000 speakers of the language altogether, including the considerable numbers of people now resident in the towns of Vila and Santo, as well as on plantations on other islands in the country. Until 1961, Paamese was also spoken on the neighbouring island of Lopevi, but after the volcano on the island erupted, the population moved permanently to Ngala, on the island of Epi to the south.

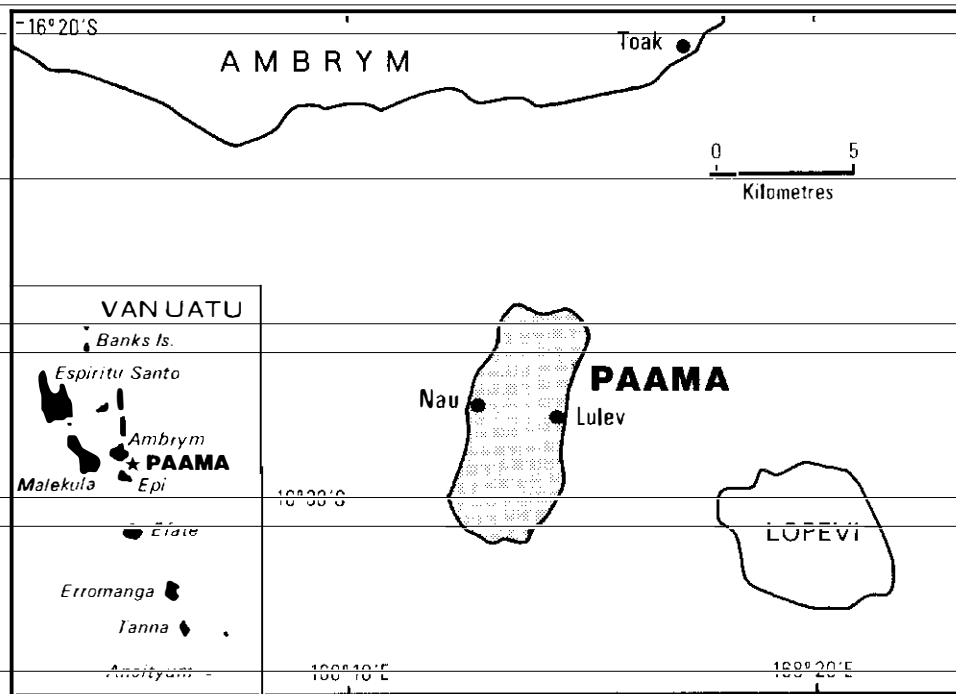
Although Paama is a small island, only about ten kilometres long, and less than five kilometres wide, it is nevertheless not linguistically homogeneous. The most noticeable dialect division is between the north and the south, with the villages of Nau and Lulev representing the southernmost villages speaking northern varieties of Paamese. The original dialect of Lopevi is closer to the northern rather than the southern dialect of Paamese. There are relatively few lexical differences between these dialects, especially in the area of core vocabulary, but there are systematic phonological correspondences between the two areas which make speakers of either dialect immediately recognisable. The major differences involve the northern diphthongs *ei* and *ou*, which correspond to the southern diphthongs *ai* and *au*. The phoneme /l/ is retained intact in the south, while in the north it has been lost, or has shifted to /i/ in many environments. Further details of the nature of dialect differences are included in the dictionary of Paamese that is currently being prepared by the author. Entries in this dictionary are taken from the southern variety of the language, which was the form of the language that was taken as the basis of the grammatical description in Crowley (1982).

The grammar of Paamese has been described in Crowley (1982). The only other published grammatical information on Paamese is the short sketch by Ray (1926: 311-329). Details on the development of transitivity marking are described in Crowley (1983) and serial verb constructions in Crowley

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(1987). Crowley (to appear) describes in detail the grammar and semantics of inalienable possession.

Textual material in Paamese (with free English translations) has been published as Crowley (1980), while Mael and Crowley (1984) is a collection of stories published in Paamese only. There are some religious materials that have been translated into Paamese. These are now all out of print and are generally not easily available to speakers of Paamese. Moreover, the quality of the translations is generally not high, which has meant that speakers find great difficulty in reading them.



Map 59. Paamese language area

The data for this comparative wordlist have been collected by the author over an extended period beginning in 1976. Initially, for extended periods between 1976 and 1978, I was studying as a doctoral student at the Australian National University, residing on Paama. Since 1983, I have been resident in Vila, where I have had considerable ongoing contact with members of the Paamese community.

Along with speakers of other Vanuatu vernaculars, the Paamese use the English-lexifier pidgin known as Bislama as their major internal lingua franca. This language is the source for many borrowed items, especially those relating to introduced technological and cultural items.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Inventory of consonants

The consonant inventory for southern Paamese consists of the following:

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labial	Apical/laminal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	v l	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	
	v d	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>v</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

In addition, the northern dialects also make a contrast between the ordinary labials *m* and *v*, and labialised labials *m<sup>w</sup>* and *v<sup>w</sup>*, which are represented in the Paamese orthography as *m̃* and *ṽ*. There are no such stops in the southern dialect, however.

The only consonant to exhibit any major degree of allophonic variation is the labial fricative. This generally occurs as voiceless [f] word initially and as voiced [v] intervocalically. Word finally, the opposition between *v* and *p* is neutralised, with the labial obstruent archiphoneme being realised as [f] or [p] in free variation.

It should be noted that *b*, *d* and *g* in southern Paamese are always voiced and prenasalised. These stops have a much more restricted distribution in the north, where most examples of earlier *b* have shifted to *v* and most *d* have shifted to *r*. The phoneme *g* does not occur at all in the north, and all instances of this in the south correspond to *k* in the north.

### 2.2 Inventory of vowels

Paamese has a five-vowel system, with distinctions between front and back, and high, mid and low, i.e.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Vowels undergo relatively little allophonic variation. There is also a surface contrast between long and short vowels (see below 2.3).

### 2.3 Underlying and surface forms

The surface phonology of Paamese presents many examples of morphophonological alternations which are best accounted for by positing underlying forms which differ in many respects from surface forms. A detailed description of these underlying forms, and the rules needed to link these with surface forms, and their justification, is presented in Crowley (1982: 20-47). In summary, underlying geminate vowels in non-final position are realised on the surface as long vowels non-finally and as short vowels word finally. Underlying single vowels are realised as short vowels non-finally, while in word final position, these are generally lost.

All forms in the wordlist are entered in their surface rather than underlying forms.

Stress is unpredictable at the surface level, but if we consider that stress is assigned to underlying forms, then Paamese, with a few exceptions, can be described as having antepenultimate stress.

## 3. Grammar

Paamese is typologically fairly typical of island Melanesian languages. It is SVO in basic word order, with a fairly rich set of mood prefixes on verbs which vary for a 15-category set of pronominal forms, in which there are distinctions between singular, dual, paucal and plural numbers, as well as an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singular categories. Along with many other languages of the North-Central Vanuatu subgroup, Paamese verbs undergo root-initial modification depending on the category of the preceding grammatical marker. There is limited verbal suffixation, but transitive verbs with singular pronominal objects normally express these by means of a suffix rather than a free form pronoun.

All verbs are presented in their third person singular realis subject form, which involves a zero suffix, but with many verbs appearing in a derived root form. Transitive verbs in the wordlist occur in their third person singular objective form.

Nominal morphology is much less complex, though inalienable possession is expressed by means of direct pronominal suffixation. In the wordlist, such nouns are presented with a third person singular suffix, as most cannot normally occur in their bare root forms.

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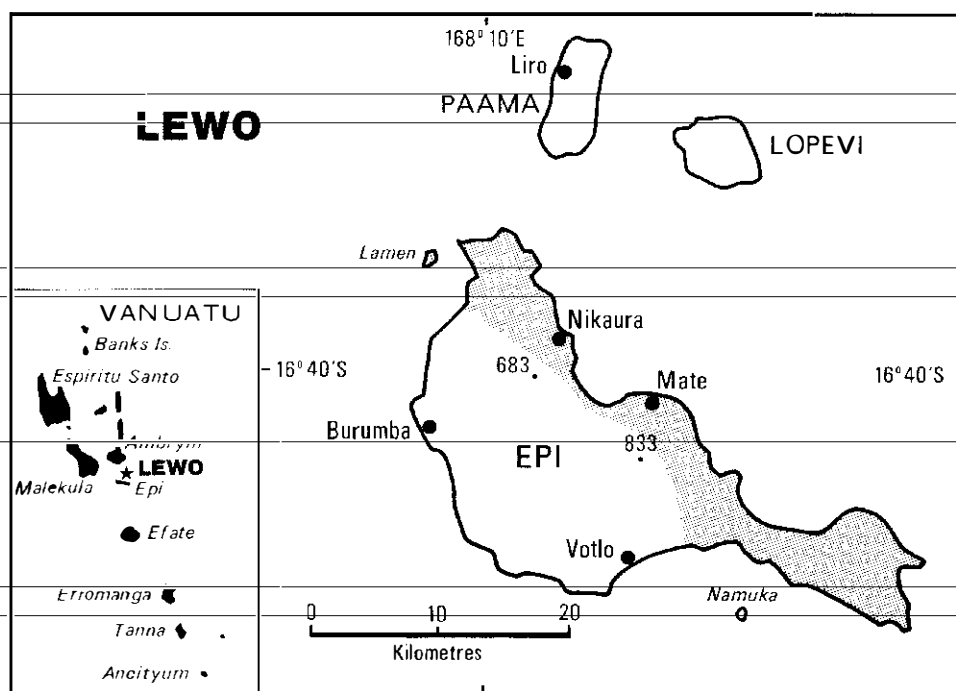
## 60. Lewo

**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist : *Robert Early*

### 1. Introduction

Lewo is spoken in the north and east of Epi Island, in the Republic of Vanuatu in the south-western region of the Pacific Ocean. The main villages where the language is spoken are Moriu, Nivenue, Nikaura, Nuvi, Lokopui, and Mate, as well as some communities on the north-east of the island to which speakers have migrated, such as Alak and Malvasi. Dialectal variation occurs between these villages, and is also found within them where the modern village comprises remnants of several older villages that came together subsequent to the severe depopulation that occurred late last century and up until the 1930s. The variation includes some items of core vocabulary, as well as key morphological features such as possessive pronoun paradigms and the negative construction. The total number of speakers approximates 750.



Map 60. Lewo language area



Lewo is very closely related to Lamel (73.0% – 78.8% of similar vocabulary in Tryon 1976; Tryon in fact lists them as one language) and to Bierebo (68.8% – 82.9%), and less so to the other Epi languages (Bieria [average 47%], Baki [average 65%], and Maii [average 51%]). These Epi languages comprise a closed subgroup of the North and Central Vanuatu subgroup of Eastern Oceanic languages of the Austronesian language family.

Primary sources for this wordlist were Elder Yoan Omawa, originally of Nivenue village, now resident in Moriu, and Chief Yoan Parmasusu of Moriu. (A map including Epi languages with the other languages of north and central Vanuatu can be found in Tryon 1986: 240.)

## 2. Phonology

*Table 1. Consonants*

Consonants	Labialised-labials	Bilabial	Alvcolar	Velar
Stops	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
Fricatives		<i>v</i>	<i>s</i>	
Nasals	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>	
Flaps			<i>r</i>	
Semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

## 3. Morphology

Basic word order in Lewo is SVO. Some interesting features of its structure include a very productive nominalisation process, which uses the disjunctive morpheme (*na-*)...-*ena*; frequent use of body part idioms using *sine-* ‘gut’; well-documented verb-initial consonant alternations used to mark

realis/irrealis aspect (Tryon 1986); and a negative construction that places *pe* and *re* before and after the verb respectively, and *poli* at the end of the clause:

*lala a-pisu-ari sa-la sisi la*  
 3pl 3pl-REAL.look-endure POSS-3pl child pl  
 ‘They look after their children.’

*lala pe a-pisu-ari re sa-la sisi la poli*  
 3pl NEG 3pl-REAL.look-endure NEG POSS-3pl child pl NEG  
 ‘They didn’t look after their children.’

Also of interest in the verb is a very pervasive kind of serialisation. Most of the forms that occur subsequent to the main verb are not found as main verbs themselves, and so are indistinguishable from what might be called “close-knit verbal modifiers”:

*kila-ro-kare*  
 do-divide-destroy  
 ‘damage something in the process of dividing it in two’

*pisa-ari-riru-li-a*  
 REAL.say-endure-well-try-OBJ  
 ‘try and promise properly’

#### 4. Previous studies

Ray (1926: 229) is aware of the name Lewo, but writes more extensively of Lamenu and Tasiko, the latter of which is now regarded as a nearly extinct dialect of Lewo. Ray gives a sketch of Tasiko grammar (1926: 236-245), and lists previous studies that had been made of all the Epi languages (e.g. Codrington 1885), as well as the mission publications that had been produced in them. Capell (1962: 215-218) comments on the gloomy effects that depopulation had had on Epi, and describes it as “one of the decayed islands”. He also notes how the dialect situation had become somewhat different from that given by Ray earlier. Capell links Tasiko, Lewo and Lamenu as dialects of one language, and comments that the Epi languages have an “outlook...southward” to Tongoa and Efate for their closest linguistic relatives. Other language material gathered by Capell on Epi remains unpublished.

Two important contributions concerned with historical reconstruction that include Lewo are Pawley (1972) and Clark (1985), both of which draw on the earlier published material, although this is expanded from more recent sources in the latter paper.

Tryon's major classification of Vanuatu languages (1976) includes wordlists from 14 Epi language communities, eight of which are from the Lewo language. As noted, Tryon includes Lamenu here, but current local perception and literature production efforts regard Lewo and Lamenu as two distinct languages. Tryon has collected other data on Lewo and other Epi languages as well, and the compiler of this list is intending to pursue studies in Lewo in the near future.

Book Five of Miller's recent church history of Vanuatu includes useful documentation of early mission involvement in the Epi languages and in the production of literature in them (1987: 339-441).

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# 61. Port Sandwich

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Jean-Michel Charpentier</i>
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## 1. Introduction

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Port Sandwich is the name of a large bay on the south-east coast of the island of Malekula, Vanuatu. All the tribes living on the northern coast of this bay disappeared during the last years of the nineteenth century. They were killed in tribal wars with their neighbours. For almost a century now, only the southern coast of the Port Sandwich bay, and by extension the peninsula of the same name, have been populated by approximately 1,000 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> As no term existed to designate the language of this region, when I wrote my thesis I called it "Port Sandwich" according to the name of the area where it is spoken.

Nowadays this community is culturally very homogeneous. The population is Roman Catholic. The last conversions occurred in 1923 and since then all the children have attended French schools.

Nevertheless the study of the local language still reveals the former dialects. Traditionally most of the ancestors of the Port Sandwich people lived on the hills at some distance from the sea. According to their clan structure, all the men of one or two clans lived at a distance of one or two miles from the *nakamal* 'men's club house'. Conflicts between the various *nakamals* and continuous vendettas often prevented inter-marriage with the nearest neighbours. For generations the girls married men from other *nakamals*. Some *nakamals* on the Port Sandwich peninsula used to exchange wives with Uliveu and Wulai, islands located some five miles from the south coast of Malekula. Other Port Sandwich *nakamals* exchanged wives with the former *nakamals* of the north coast of Port Sandwich Bay. These preferred external exchanges were seldom a consequence of any danger of endogamy but rather a result of local antagonisms. So in some *nakamals* of the Port Sandwich peninsula a large majority of the women spoke a foreign language,

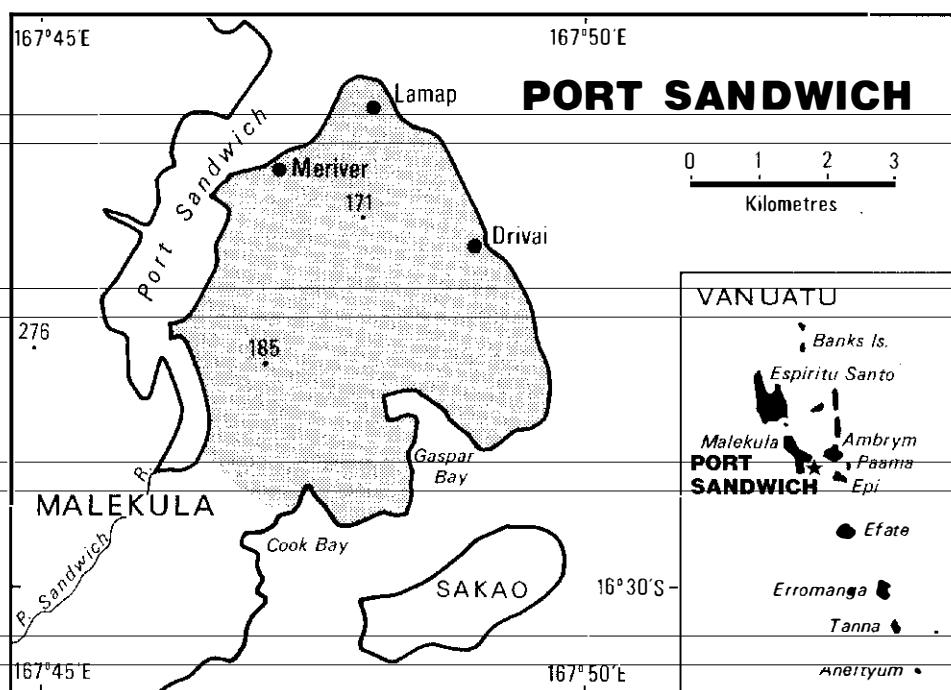
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1. Since independence (1980) they have reclaimed their ancestral lands to the north of the bay, occupied for a century by European planters. However, they do not reside in this area.

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as well as the Port Sandwich language which they spoke with their husbands. Before the arrival of missionaries, in many nakamals children were bilingual and the Port Sandwich language, their fathers' tongue, was naturally influenced by their mothers' linguistic backgrounds. Differences in dialect existed at the lexical and even phonemic levels. As the Port Sandwich area became Roman Catholic and the surrounding parts of Malekula Island became Presbyterian, the traditional exchanges of wives ceased, and Port Sandwich men married women from the peninsula. The population was large enough to escape from the dangers of endogamy. Nowadays the youngsters do not speak two Melanesian languages as did many people of the older generations. The present generation has only one mother tongue. They know the pidgin Bislama, which they use as a "lingua franca" with their fellow countrymen. All of them are trilingual; French is the medium of education and is commonly spoken fluently in the Port Sandwich region.



Map 61. Port Sandwich language area

The last traces of the former "clanic" bilingualism are noticeable only at the phonetic level; people whose grandmother came from Uliveu still do not pronounce the Port Sandwich retroflex /<sup>n</sup>dʀ/ but a prenasalised dental stop [<sup>n</sup>d] existing in the Uliveu language; the affricate /č/ in Port Sandwich is pronounced [ç] by Uliveu descendants.

Such cases of former bilingualism are now vanishing rapidly and the Port Sandwich area can be considered linguistically homogeneous.

The following wordlist was prepared in the field with the help of Damien Litoung, who died before publication of this work. Damien's knowledge of Port Sandwich was considered by the community as the most extensive and best.

During the last twenty years many young people from Port Sandwich have migrated to Port Vila, the capital, situated on the island of Efate. There, they seldom use their mother tongue even when they are married to a member of their own community. In Vila, children with Port Sandwich parents often speak better French and Bislama than their grandparents' vernacular.

In multilingual states like Vanuatu, Port Sandwich, with only 1,000 speakers, is not a language in danger. Many languages of the group have fewer speakers and are keeping up well because all their neighbours, though they are more numerous, can understand this language and so allow the native speakers to use it without any restriction. In Vanuatu and particularly in Malekula, everyone can understand many other local languages, although they have a good command of only two; their maternal and paternal languages. Port Sandwich is understood by the inhabitants of Uliveu with 1,000 speakers; of Akhamb with 400 inhabitants; of Faraun with 150; of Avokh-Morbakho with 250; of Vetbong with 25. This network of imperfect bilingualism results in great linguistic stability in this country of less than 150,000 inhabitants with 105 existing languages. This peculiar multilingualism restricts the use of Bislama, the local pidgin English, and prevents its creolisation.

Until 1970, when the author arrived in Port Sandwich, no real scientific study of this language had been conducted. The only existing work in this area had been carried out by Bishop Victor Douceré (1936) who wrote a comparison of Port Sandwich with European languages. Although he knew Port Sandwich well, he had no scientific background. No other description of this language exists except some sketches written by sailors at the end of the last century and the general study made by S.H. Ray (1926).

From 1970 to 1973 the present author lived in the Port Sandwich area. He wrote a monograph (Charpentier 1979) and two dictionaries Port-Sandwich-French, and French-Port-Sandwich (Charpentier 1974a, 1974b). After various periods of field-work in this area, he published his *Atlas linguistique du Sud-Malakula* (Charpentier 1982), in which Port Sandwich is included.

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## 2.3 Inventory of vowels

With seven vowel phonemes, Port Sandwich is an exception among the Melanesian languages of this area, which normally present five vowel systems.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front unrounded	Central rounded	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Among young people and as a consequence of former bilingualism, there are trends towards a simplification of this system and the disappearance of the front rounded vowels /*ü*/ and /*ö*/. Some idiolects show neutralisation of the oppositions /*i*, *ü*/ or /*u*, *ü*/ and also /*o*, *ö*/.

## 2.4 Notes on morphology

### 2.4.1 Nouns

Very few nouns are simple roots without affixes or not combined with other roots.

<i>ča<sup>u</sup>gon</i>	‘ox or castrated pig’
<i>limu</i>	‘heron’
<i>ičao</i>	‘knife’

Most of the nouns in Port Sandwich are marked by a prefix: *na-*, *n-*, *ni-*, *nö-*, *nə-*.

<i>na-ran</i>	‘the earth’
<i>n-öai</i>	‘the water’
<i>ni-če</i>	‘the spring’

The use of a hyphen indicates that the roots can be found separately:

- (1) when the noun is the object in a sentence, often it is not marked.
- (2) when the noun root is a base which is a verb in another position.



<i>ni-čee-če</i>	‘the-spring it-springs’
<i>na-vie-vi</i>	‘the-lightning it-is lightning’

The articles *n-*, *na-*, *ni-*, etc. are inseparable from many nouns. They would be misunderstood without them.

<i>nave</i>	‘stingray’ ; ** <i>ve</i>
<i>naröv</i>	‘sugarcane’ ; ** <i>röv</i>

*navar* ‘kidney’ is written without a hyphen, but *na-var* ‘the-stone’ has one because the root *var* is a component in many compound nouns, e.g. *var-ümör* ‘volcanic stone’.

Nouns can be easily recognised by the suffixes they bear. Most verbs bases can take the suffixes *-an* or *-ian* and become nouns.

<i>mesax</i>	‘to be sick’	<i>mesaxian</i>	‘sickness’
<i>xan-i</i>	‘to eat-s.th.’	<i>xanian</i>	‘food’

Like all the other languages of Malekula possession is indicated by suffixes added to a noun.

<i>vĕā-u</i>	‘hand-his’
<i>söa-m</i>	‘wife-yours’
<i>pene-<sup>g</sup></i>	‘sister-mine’

As these suffixes (*-n*, *-m*, *-<sup>g</sup>*) are interchangeable, a hyphen has been added.

In Port Sandwich a ‘neutral’ possessive suffix *-xer* also exists for things.

<i><sup>g</sup>ge-xer</i>	‘tail-of s.th.’
<i>nüru-xer</i>	‘the-skin-of s.th.’
<i>nu-xer</i>	‘leaf-of s.th.’
<i>nu-kai</i>	‘leaf-wood’

Hyphens also allow the differentiation of uncompleted compound words (nouns here) from amalgams.

<i>melka<sup>m</sup>bür</i>	‘(place to bake) oven’
<i><sup>m</sup>bar rivot</i>	‘(head tooth) molar tooth’

All the words can be used separately. These pairs form successions “determined” “determiner”.

When one of these words ceases to have an independent existence in Port Sandwich or exists in an altered form, we add a hyphen.

<i><sup>m</sup>bur-xunüaün</i>	‘nostril’
<i><sup>m</sup>ör</i>	‘noie’
<i>xunüsü-n</i>	‘nose-his’

The use of a hyphen is necessary when the meaning of the compound word is not the sum of the meanings of its components.

<i>man-<sup>m</sup>buas</i>	‘(bird-pig) hawk’
<i>vün-mara-n</i>	‘(coconut rope-eye-his) eyelash’

Nouns can be composed of a noun and a reduplicated base as determiner. The final term then designates function.

<i>nu-kaimünmün</i>	‘(leaf-wood drinkdrink) medicine, drug’
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Nouns can present a succession of two nouns linked by a preposition.

<i>ra<sup>ŋ</sup>gač a vea-n</i>	‘(claw to hand-his) fingernail’
<i>na-<sup>m</sup>ber a n-öa<sup>ŋ</sup>g</i>	‘(the-post to the-canoe) mast’

## 2.4.2 Verbs

Verbs are commoner than nouns as predicates in Port Sandwich sentences. Distinctions can be made between unmarked verbs (simple roots) and marked verbs followed by suffixes.

<i>mač</i>	‘die’
<i>pač</i>	‘sleep’
<i>vanima</i>	‘come’

When the verb is transitive, the suffix *-i* indicates the possibility of an object.

<i>e-xan-i</i>	‘he, she, it-eat-s.th.’
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This suffix can disappear when the object is expressed.

<i>e-xan na-<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>am</i>	‘he eats (the-) yam’ or
<i>e-xan-i na-<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>am</i>	

When the meaning of the verb assumes a beneficiary and an object, two suffixes are added.

<i>pisax-in-i</i>	‘distribute, share (give-to s.o.-s.th.)’
<i>süe-in-i</i>	‘order, command (story-to s.o.-s.th.)’

Sometimes (rarely) a personal suffix follows a transitive verb.

<i>nö-mači-m</i>	‘I-kill-you’
<i>e-kani-<sup>ŋ</sup>g</i>	‘he-accompany-me’

These suffixes correspond to the noun possessive suffixes (see 2.4.1).



## 62. North Tanna

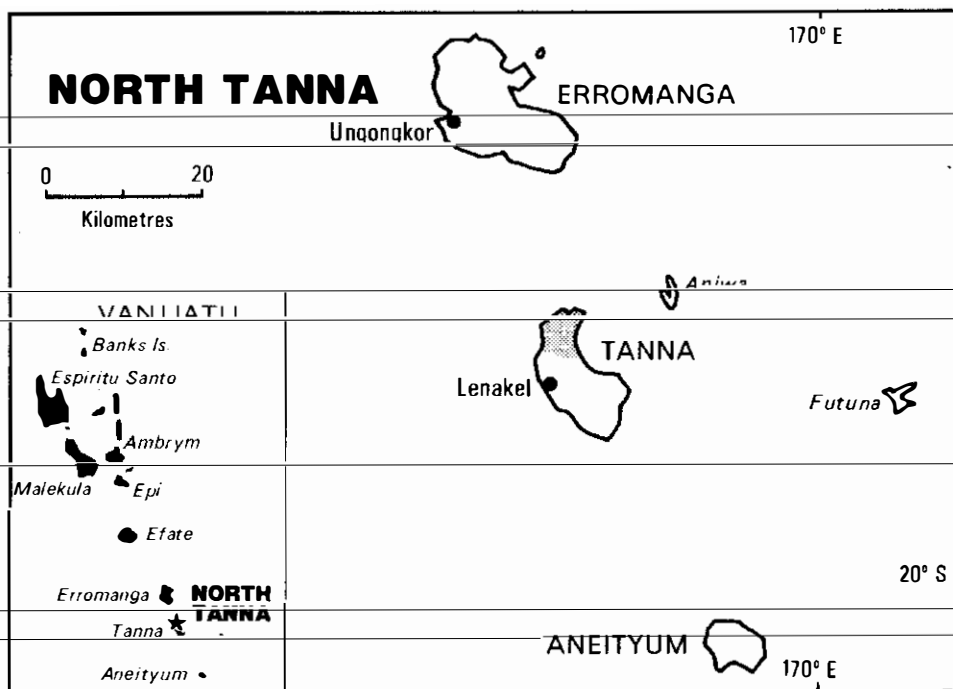
**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist : *Joan Blaymires*

### 1. Introduction

The North Tanna language is spoken by approximately 2000 people in the northern part of Tanna, in Southern Vanuatu. It is a little-studied language, although it is treated briefly by Tryon (1976) and Lynch (1978). It is similar in many respects to Lenakel and Whitesands to its south. North Tanna has two main dialects, east and west. The major differences between the two are:

1. The western dialect is characterised by voiced prenasalised allophones for bilabial and alveolar stops.
2. Different sets of tense/aspect prefixes on the verb.
3. Different verbal prefix ordering.



Map 62. North Tanna language area

The two dialects are 90% cognate based on a standard wordlist. In fact these two dialects form the northern end of a dialect chain reaching down to the Whitesands language further south. Cognate percentages are 76% and 80% for western and eastern dialects respectively with Whitesands (Blaymires 1986). The wordlist presented in the present volume was elicited in the eastern dialect.

## 2. Phonology

The phonemes of North Tanna are as follows:

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labialised labial	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops		<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	
Fricatives	vl		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
	vd		<i>β</i>			
Nasals		<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals				<i>l</i>		
Flaps				<i>r</i>		

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

## 3. Morphosyntax

### 3.1 Pronouns

The pronouns of North Tanna are as follows:

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1 incl		<i>kilau</i>	<i>kitahal</i>	<i>kitat</i>
1 excl	<i>io</i>	<i>itəmlau</i>	<i>itəmohal</i>	<i>itmat</i>
2	<i>ik</i>	<i>ita(m)lau</i>	<i>itam<sup>w</sup>ahal</i>	<i>itam<sup>w</sup>at</i>
3	<i>in</i>	<i>ilau</i>	<i>ilhal</i>	<i>ilat</i>

### 3.1.1 Possessive suffixes

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1 incl		<i>-lau</i>	<i>-tahal</i>	<i>-tat</i>
1 excl	<i>-k</i>	<i>-təmlau</i>	<i>-təmihal</i>	<i>-tmat</i>
2	<i>-m</i>	<i>-ta(m)lau</i>	<i>-tam<sup>w</sup>ahal</i>	<i>-tam<sup>w</sup>at</i>
3	<i>-n</i>	<i>-lau</i>	<i>-lhal</i>	<i>-lat</i>

### 3.2 Deictics

North Tanna distinguishes the following deictics:

<i>u</i>	‘this’ (near speaker)
<i>un</i>	‘that’ (near person spoken to)
<i>ah</i>	‘that’ (away from both)
<i>ap<sup>w</sup>ah</i>	‘that’ (indicated/pointed to)

## 3.3 Nouns

### 3.3.1 Noun classes

Nouns in North Tanna fall into two major classes.

1. Alienable - includes most items. Possession is indicated by the use of *raha*:

Examples:

<i>nimara</i>	<i>Nalak</i>	‘Nalak’s house’
<i>nasumən</i>	<i>raham</i>	‘your garden’

2. Inalienable

This class includes most body parts and kinship terms plus a few others. It is indicated by suffixing a possessive pronoun (see 3.1.1 above) or an uninflected proper name to the item possessed.

Examples:

<i>nelki</i>	<i>Tom</i>	‘Tom’s foot’
<i>ita-k</i>		‘my mother’

### 3.3.2 Noun formatives

Nouns are formed from verbs or adjectives by the addition of the prefix *n-* and the suffix *-ən*.

Examples:

<i>asum</i>	‘weed the garden’	<i>ap<sup>w</sup>cap<sup>w</sup>e</i>	‘hot’
<i>nasumən</i>	‘garden’	<i>nap<sup>w</sup>cap<sup>w</sup>ən</i>	‘heat’

### 3.3.3 Locative noun phrases

Locative noun phrases are formed by the prepositions *i-* or *l-* plus noun head.

Examples:

<i>nthei</i>	‘the coast/sea’	<i>natuanu</i>	‘village’
<i>ithei</i>	‘to the coast/sea’	<i>latuanu</i>	‘to the village’

### 3.3.4 Noun phrases

In North Tanna nouns are followed by modifiers, as in the following examples:

<i>naʝunəʝasia</i>	‘red flower’
<i>pensilrahan</i>	‘his/her pencil’
<i>nahauatap<sup>w</sup></i>	‘cold water’
<i>naoa un</i>	‘that book (near you)’

## 3.4 Verbs

As with the other languages of Tanna, the verb phrase, characterised by numerous orders of prefixes and suffixes, is quite complex. A typical structure is as follows:

subject – tense/aspect – negative – number – verb – direction – negative

Examples:

<i>k</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-ot</i>	<i>-ol-</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>-ah</i>
3pl	-past	-NEG	-pl	-do	-NEG	-yet
‘They (pl) hadn’t yet done it.’						

The only obligatory elements are subject, number and root.

*k-ia-ol*  
 3pl-dl do  
 'they (2) do'

### 3.4.1 Subject prefixes

The North Tanna subject prefixes are as follows:

<i>i-</i>	1st person exclusive
<i>n-</i>	2nd person
<i>ɔ-</i>	3rd singular
<i>k-</i>	3rd plural; 1st inclusive
<i>m-</i>	same subject as previous verb

### 3.4.2 Number prefixes

<i>∅-</i>	singular
<i>u-, ia-</i>	dual (depending on initial vowel/consonant of root)
<i>hal-</i>	trial
<i>ot-</i>	plural

### 3.4.3 Tense/aspect prefixes

North Tanna tense/aspect prefixes are as follows:

<i>at-, ət-</i>	continuous, present (depending on initial vowel of root)
<i>ak-, o-</i>	future
<i>am-</i>	past
<i>ən-</i>	perfect
<i>apan-</i>	sequential
<i>ap-</i>	contrary to fact conditional

### 3.4.4 Negation

The negative is indicated by a discontinuous morpheme, thus:

<i>s-.....-ən</i>	negative
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### 3.4.5 Directional suffixes

The principal directional suffixes are as follows:

<i>-pa</i>	'towards speaker'	<i>-par</i>	'inland'
<i>-pəna</i>	'towards person spoken to'	<i>-pah</i>	'towards coast'
<i>-pən</i>	'away from both'	<i>-pahap</i>	'north'
<i>-pər</i>	'up'	<i>-pis</i>	'south'
<i>-ahau</i>	'down'		

### 3.5 Interrogatives

North Tanna interrogatives include the following:

<i>pah</i>	'who?'	<i>onahŋan</i>	'when (future)?'
<i>hia</i>	'where?'	<i>naka</i>	'what?'
<i>kuəh</i>	'how many?'	<i>o naka</i>	'why?'
<i>nahŋan</i>	'when (past)?'		

### 3.6 Word order

The basic word order in the North Tanna language is SVO.

Examples:

<i>Tou tamalah</i>	'Tou laughed'
<i>Iautaməlh naŋunəŋ</i>	'Iau picked a flower'
<i>Kausu takaku</i>	'The rubber is small'

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## 63. Kwamera

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Lamont Lindstrom</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Kwamera is the language of approximately 2,000 people who live on the south-east and south coasts of the island of Tanna, Vanuatu. Nineteenth century missionaries named this language after the site of an early mission station. Speakers of the language today ordinarily call it Nife [Nəfe] or Nininife [Nəninəfe] (nominalising prefix + say + what), that is, 'say what'.

The language area extends from Mount Yasur on the central east coast down and around the southern tip of the island to Karimasaga Point, immediately to the north of Green Point (see map). In an area characterised by dialect chains and communalects, it is often misleading to map linguistic boundaries. The Tannese themselves, however, concerned with the value and distinctiveness of their languages, recognise geographic bounds that separate Kwamera from Whitesands language to the north, and from South-west Tanna language to the west. Tradition situates Kwamera's northern boundary in the centre of Ipikil village on Sulphur Bay. Two stones lie side-by-side near the sea: the northerly named Narhak (the local name for Whitesands language); the southerly named Nife [Nəfe] (see Lindstrom 1983). From Ipikil, the boundary runs west around Lake Siui and up to the central mountain crest. It follows a ravine called Karkaua – the instrumental form of the verb *-arkaua*, which means 'mispronounce'. Karimasaga Point on Tanna's southern coast marks the locally recognised linguistic boundary between Kwamera and South-west Tanna. Kwamera is the most different of the five or so related Tanna languages. Kwamera and Whitesands have a cognate ratio of 50%, and Kwamera and South-west Tanna one of 62% (Tryon 1976: 158-160).

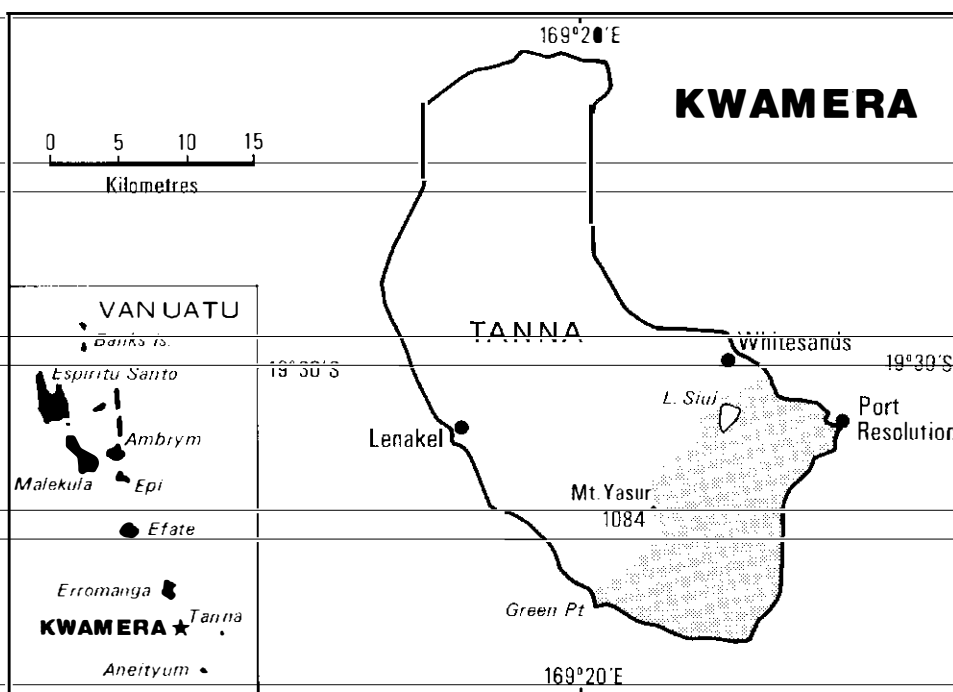
Pioneer missionary linguists produced a small body of religious and educational material in Kwamera (A. Watt 1890; W. Watt 1880, 1890, 1919). Their early wordlists and grammatical sketches are reported in Codrington (1885), MacDonald (1891), and Ray (1926). More recent work includes a Kwamera dictionary (Lindstrom 1986; see also 1985) and also dictionaries and grammars of neighbouring Tanna languages (Lynch 1975,

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1977, 1978, 1982). Some wordlist items presented below are borrowings from Bislama, Vanuatu's Pidgin English. Readers may consult Tryon (1987) for additional information on this *lingua franca*.

I recorded linguistic data over a period of 26 months between 1978 and 1983, in conjunction with anthropological research on Tanna. Most of my informants were my neighbours in Samaria village, and items presented here are from that village's communalect. Other Kwamera communalects are centred around Port Resolution in the east, in hill villages west of Samaria, and in Imaki and Kwamera villages in the south. In the main, however, communalectical differences are minor, and consist mostly of lexical variants. I would like to thank Vani, Nakutan, Iau, Rapi, Joel, Saki, Iapwatu, Kamti, Nariu and Kieri, and acknowledge their co-authorship of this Kwamera lexicon.



Map 63. Kwamera language area

## 2. Phonology

Kwamera grammar and phonology are substantially similar to that of other Tanna languages. I draw especially on Lynch's (1975) analysis of Lenakel, spoken on the north-west coast, and his analysis of South-west Tanna (1982) for this summary of Kwamera phonology and morphology.

## 2.1 Word stress

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of words, except in a few exceptional circumstances. Where /h/ occurs between identical vowels, the first vowel is discounted in stress application. Syllables are stressed irregularly if they include underlying geminate vowel clusters. (These geminate clusters are not indicated here; see Lindstrom 1986 for relevant description.)

- (1) *'kətaha* 'we (plural inclusive)  
*-'uwehe* 'come'  
*ni'amaha* 'anger'  
*neni'mē-* 'eye, face'  
*k<sup>w</sup>ani'hī-* 'penis'

## 2.2 Inventory of consonants

Kwamera has 15 consonant phonemes.

*Table 1. Consonants*

	Labialised labial	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Labialised Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	
Fricatives	<i>ɸ<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ɸ</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
Flaps			<i>r</i>			
Glides		<i>w</i>				

### 2.2.1 Discussion

All stops are lenis. They become voiced intervocalically, and may or may not be voiced elsewhere except in word final position. The labialised bilabial fricative, in some Kwamera communalects, varies freely with [f]. Alveolar /s/ and /t/ are dental-alveolar; the latter is palatalised when it precedes /i/. The flap /r/ is trilled word finally. The glide /w/ is a high central, unrounded semivowel, phonetically [ɨ]. Sonorants /m<sup>w</sup>/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/ and /w/ are all devoiced when followed by /h/.

## 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Table 2. Kwamera vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

### 2.3.1 Discussion

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ become lax in closed syllables. They ordinarily become glides [y] and [w] when next to another vowel. The low vowel /a/ is backed and rounded when adjacent to the labialised labials /p<sup>w</sup>/, /m<sup>w</sup>/, /ɸ<sup>w</sup>/, the labialised velar /k<sup>w</sup>/, and the central glide /w/.

## 2.4 Notes on the shape of words and syllables

Vowel and consonant clusters may occur throughout a word, except word finally in the case of the latter.

- |     |   |                           |
|-----|---|---------------------------|
| (2) | <i>-eiuaiu</i>                                      | ‘descend’                 |
|     | <i>trak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>i</i>              | ‘tomorrow, the day after’ |
|     | <i>-skamter</i>                                     | ‘stand up’                |
|     | <i>nəmnəmu</i>                                      | ‘coconut parasite’        |
|     | <i>-ak<sup>w</sup>mak<sup>w</sup>m<sup>w</sup>i</i> | ‘speak indistinctly’      |

Many nouns begin with /n/ plus a following vowel, particularly /ə/. This derives from the Proto-Oceanic article \**na*. I include the vowel in my representation of noun roots here, although in some cases it is epenthetic.

- |     |               |        |                                 |              |
|-----|---------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| (3) | <i>nəkawa</i> | ‘kava’ | <i>nəpiki-</i>                  | ‘tail’       |
|     | <i>nəɸata</i> | ‘bed’  | <i>k<sup>w</sup>anpikipukah</i> | ‘pig’s tail’ |

Kwamera possessive structures are complex. A set of inalienable or directly possessed nouns takes possessive suffixes. These words are marked with a final hyphen.

- |     |                  |              |               |          |
|-----|------------------|--------------|---------------|----------|
| (4) | <i>nəpasegi-</i> | ‘nose’       | <i>naghu-</i> | ‘name’   |
|     | <i>rəgi-</i>     | ‘upper limb’ | <i>remu-</i>  | ‘father’ |
|     | <i>takuta-</i>   | ‘back’       |               |          |

Most Kwamera nouns are morphologically simple, although a few human nouns have a plural form, signalled with the prefix *n-* or *nə-*.

(5)	<i>iema</i>	‘man’	<i>nema</i>	‘men’
	<i>pran</i>	‘woman’	<i>nəpran</i>	‘women’

Some nouns are formed by attaching affixes to roots of other word classes. These affixes include *i-* (agentive); *n-* for plural); *k-* (instrumental); *sa-* (identificatory nominaliser); *n-* or *n...-ien* (general nominalisers); and *p-* (directional nominaliser).

(6)	<i>-akres</i>	‘steal’	<i>iakres</i>	‘thief’
	<i>nakres</i>	‘thieves’	<i>nakresien</i>	‘stealing’
	<i>-auas</i>	‘strike’	<i>kauas</i>	‘club’
	<i>pam</i>	‘last’	<i>sa(m)pam</i>	‘the last one’
	<i>-apua</i>	‘cloudy’	<i>napua</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>-eraha</i>	‘towards the sea’	<i>peraha</i>	‘seawards’
	<i>-euaiu</i>	‘descend’	<i>peuaiu</i>	‘downwards’

Except for singular imperatives, Kwamera verbs are morphologically complex, always taking person, number, tense, aspect, transitive, directional and/or reciprocal affixes. (Verb roots are given here with an initial hyphen marking this fact.) I present only a few morphological examples below; for complete information, see Lynch (1978, 1982), Lindstrom (1986).

(7)	<i>-aiu</i>	‘run’
	<i>t-sa-ϕ-am-aiu</i>	‘how will we be running?’
	FUT-1pl incl-int-cont-run	
	<i>-o</i>	‘do’
	<i>kr-p-n-o</i>	‘if they two had done’
	3dl-cond-perf-do	
	<i>-aki</i>	‘dislike’
	<i>raki-atuk<sup>w-i</sup></i>	‘he dislikes himself’
	3sg-dislike-reflex-trans	
	<i>-awahi</i>	‘give, take, bring’
	<i>har-pək-awahi-pen</i>	‘then they three give’
	3trial-seq-give-dir(away)	

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## 64. Nemi

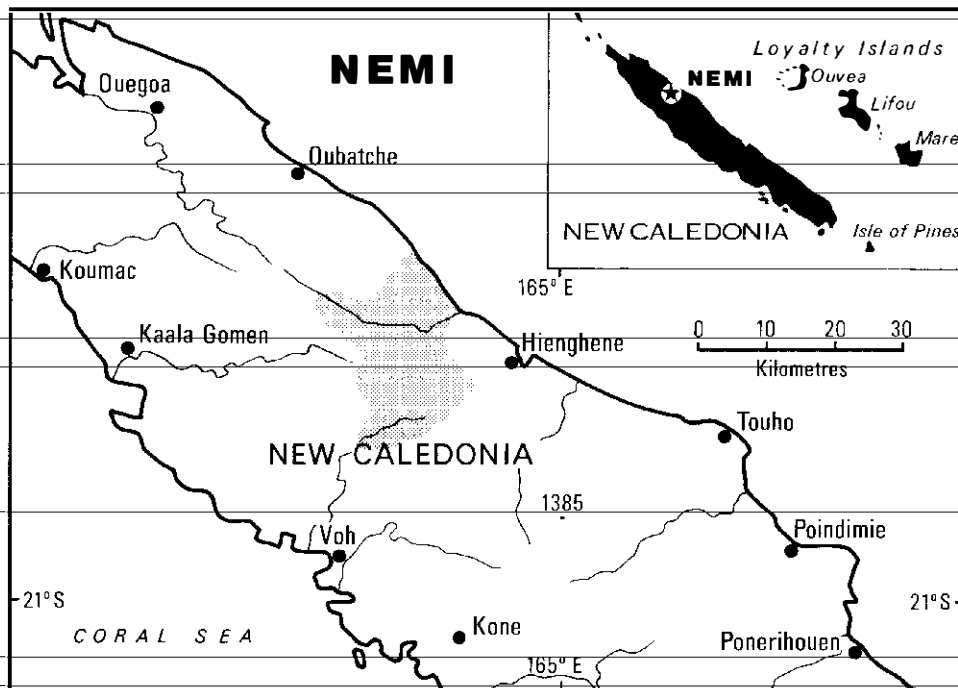
**Contributor:**

Introduction and Wordlist: *Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre*

### 1. Introduction

Nemi, with approximately 325 speakers (Rivierre 1981) is a member of the Northern subgroup of New Caledonian languages (Haudricourt 1971).

Like the other languages of the Northern subgroup, Nemi is characterised by a rich consonantal system with a double series of aspirated and non-aspirated oral and nasal consonants. What particularly distinguishes Nemi is that it has also a series of post-nasalised consonants ( $p^{m^w}$ ,  $p^m$ ,  $t^n$ ,  $c^{\tilde{n}}$ ,  $k^{\tilde{y}}$ ) which are the principal source of the nasal vowels of the other member languages of the Northern subgroup (Haudricourt – Ozanne-Rivierre 1982: 29-31).



Map 64. Nemi language area



There are two varieties of Nemi. The first, Nemi 1, is spoken on the west coast of New Caledonia in the Témala region. This variety has preserved a consonantal system which is almost as rich intervocalically as word-initially. On the other hand, the second variety, Nemi 2, spoken on the east coast in the Hienghène region, has undergone further development, resulting in a simplified system of intervocalic consonants. It is this second variety for which our data are more comprehensive, that is represented in this volume.

*Table 1. Consonants*

		Labialised labial	Labial	Apical/ laminal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl plain	$p^w$	$p$	$t$	$c$	$k$	
	vl aspirate	$p^{hw}$	$p^h$	$t^h$		$k^h$	
	vl postnas	$p^{mw}$	$p^m$	$t^n$	$c^{\tilde{n}}$	$k^{\tilde{p}}$	
	vd prenas	$b^w$	$b$	$d$	$\mathcal{J}$	$\mathcal{G}$	
Fricatives	vl		$f$	$s$			$h$
	vd		$v$				
Nasals	vl	$m^w$	$m$	$\eta$	$\tilde{\eta}$		
	vd	$m^w$	$m$	$n$	$\tilde{n}$	$\eta$	
Laterals	vl			$l$			
	vd			$l$			
Semivowels	vl	$w$			$y$		
	vd	$w$			$y$		

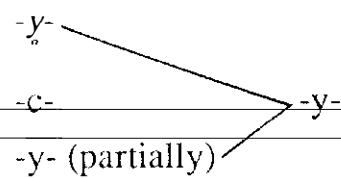
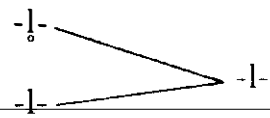
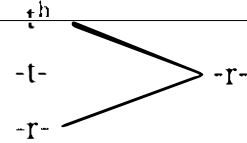
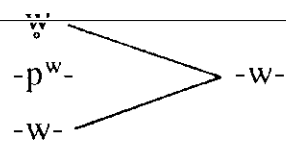
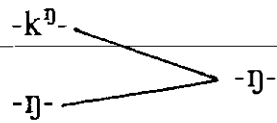
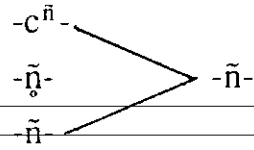
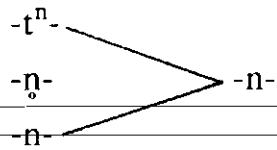
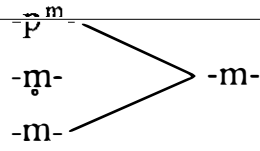
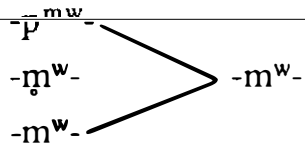
With certain grammatical words, in word initial position the Nemi 1 aspirated stop /t<sup>h</sup>/ is realised as either an aspirated or unaspirated trill [r<sup>h</sup>] or [r] in Nemi 2 (e.g. /t<sup>h</sup>a/, ‘here’, /t<sup>h</sup>u/ ‘agentive marker’ in Nemi 1 > [r<sup>h</sup>a] and [ru] in Nemi 2).

It is noteworthy also that /s/ in Nemi derives historically from an aspirated palatal stop /c<sup>h</sup>/, still attested in certain neighbouring languages (Pwapwâ, Caac).

In Nemi 1, the consonantal system in intervocalic position is almost the same as for initial position. Only a few aspirated consonants /-p<sup>hw</sup>-, -p<sup>h</sup>-, -k<sup>h</sup>-/ do not appear, and /-s-/ appears only in borrowings.

In Nemi 2 the intervocalic system is considerably reduced. This simplification, compared to Nemi 1, results from the following mergers and changes:

Principal mergers:



Other developments:

- p- > -v- ;
- k- > -γ- ;
- f-, -v-, -y-(partially), -γ-, -h- > ∅.

The following consonantal system results:

*Table 2.* Intervocalic consonantal system (Nemi 2)

	Labialised labial	Labial	Apical	Palatal	Velar
Stops prenasalised	<i>b<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives		<i>v</i>			<i>ɣ</i>
Nasals	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ̃</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>	

It should be noted, however, that some stops (*-p<sup>w</sup>*, *-p-*, *-t-*, *-c-*, *-k-*) and the continuants (*-f-*, *-s-*) have been reintroduced into Nemi 2 through loanwords (French, English, Bislama, Polynesian or neighbouring languages).

In word-final position, both in Nemi 1 and Nemi 2, there is only a two-way opposition between oral and nasal consonants:

*Table 3.* Final consonant system (Nemi 1 and Nemi 1)

oral	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ̃</i>	<i>ŋ</i>

Note that the prenasalised consonants *<sup>m</sup>b<sup>w</sup>*, *<sup>m</sup>b*, *<sup>n</sup>d*, *<sup>ɲ̃</sup>ʃ* and *<sup>ŋ</sup>g* have been written without prenasalisation, thus: *b<sup>w</sup>*, *b*, *d*, *ʃ* and *g*.

## Vowels

There are five vowels in Nemi, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. Vowel length is phonemic. Nasalised vowels are rare and appear only in restricted contexts, namely word-initially or after *w*, *h* and *ɰ* (e.g. *ũda* 'vomit'; *wãk* 'rope'; *hũe* 'spear-thrower'; *ɰã* 'preach').

*Table 4.* Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ĩĩ</i>		<i>u ũũ</i>
Mid	<i>e ěě</i>		<i>o õõ</i>
Low		<i>a ãã</i>	

### Principal prefixes and suffixes

<i>pa-</i> , <i>fa-</i>	causative prefixes; e.g. <i>pa-we-i</i> ‘to give birth’ ( <i>p<sup>w</sup>ec</i> , ‘be born’); <i>fa-hun-i</i> ‘honour’ ( <i>hun</i> , ‘big’).
<i>pe-</i>	reciprocal or reflexive prefix, e.g. <i>pe-bani</i> ‘to meet’.
<i>ba-</i>	instrumental prefix, e.g. <i>ba-hāt</i> ‘oar’; (lit. ‘for-rowing’).
<i>ka-</i>	agentive prefix; e.g. <i>ka-guna</i> ‘thief’; (lit. ‘one who-steals’).
<i>kave-</i>	place of, trace of; e.g. <i>kave-mō</i> ‘country’ (lit. ‘place-stay’).
<i>hun-</i>	manner of; e.g. <i>hun-b<sup>w</sup>eri</i> ‘attitude’; (lit. ‘manner of-turn’)
<i>-i</i>	transitive suffix; e.g. <i>t<sup>n</sup>ōn</i> ‘run’; <i>t<sup>n</sup>ōn-i</i> ‘pursue trans’.
<i>-n</i>	3sg possessive suffix; this suffix appears in the lexicon marking inalienable nouns: body parts, kinship terms, parts of a whole, etc.

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## 65. Cèmuhî

### Contributor:

Introduction and Wordlist : *Jean-Claude Rivierre*

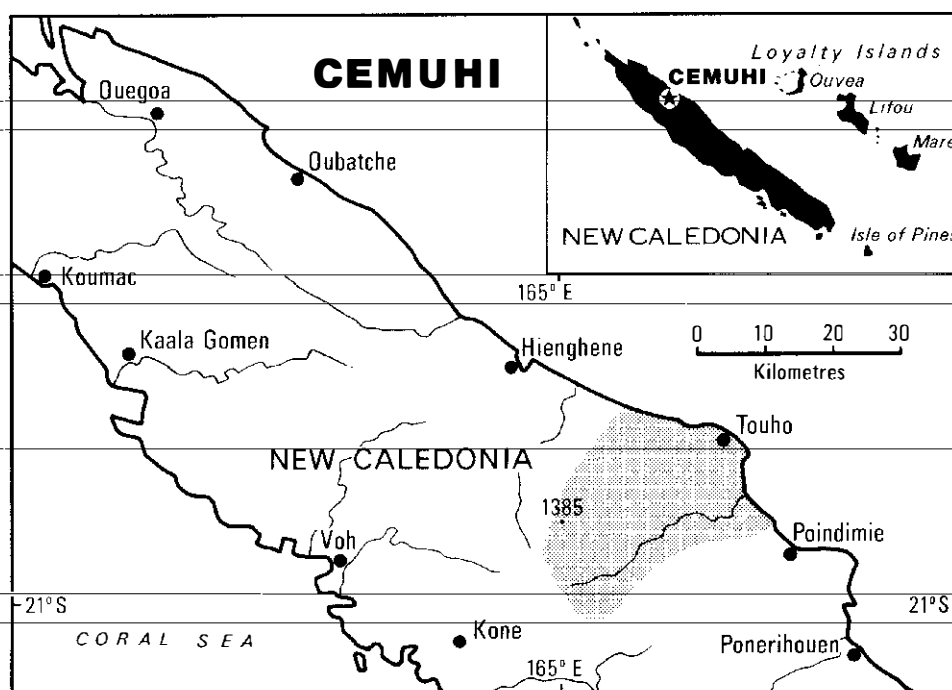
### 1. Introduction

Cèmuhî [cemuhĩ] is spoken by approximately 3000 speakers in the north-central area of mainland New Caledonia. Together with Paicî, further to the south, it constitutes a central mainland tonal language subgroup.

### 2. Phonology

Syllables have the shape V, CV or CVC. Only morpheme-final syllables may be closed syllables of the CVC type.

Cèmuhî is a language with three register tones marked thus: ( ´ ) high tone, ( ^ ) mid tone, ( ` ) low tone. In the majority of cases the tone of the initial syllable indicates the tone of the whole morpheme (thus only the tone of the initial syllable is marked).



Map 65. Cèmuhî language area

## 2.1 Consonants

### Initial and intervocalic consonants

Consonants may be grouped into three series, so presenting a nasality cline: nasals, semi-nasals (prenasalised), and oral consonants. The following consonants are phonemic in initial and intervocalic position:

*Table 1.* Consonants

	Labialised labial	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo- Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasals	$m^w$ $h^{\tilde{w}}$	$m$	$n$	$\tilde{n}$	$\eta$	$\tilde{h}$
Semi-nasals	$b^w$	$b$	$d$	$\mathcal{J}$	$g$	
● Oral consonants	$p^w$ $w$	$p$	$t$ $(r)$ $l$	$c$	$k$	$(h)$

(Note that the semi-nasals  $^m b^w$ ,  $^m b$ ,  $^n d$ ,  $^{\tilde{n}} \mathcal{J}$ ,  $^{\eta} g$  have been written simply as  $b^w$ ,  $b$ ,  $d$ ,  $\mathcal{J}$  and  $g$ ).

- The consonants  $p^w$ ,  $p$ ,  $t$ ,  $c$  and  $k$  are only lightly stopped. They tend to be realised as fricatives in the speech of young speakers.
- /l/ is common in intervocalic position, but exists in only a few grammatical morphemes in initial position (articles, pronouns, etc.).
- / $\tilde{h}$ / and / $h^{\tilde{w}}$ / are nasal consonants, always followed by a strongly nasalised vowel (this nasalisation is not written in the wordlist). Historically these two consonants come from a series of post-nasalised consonants still attested in Nemi (see F. Ozanne-Rivierre, this volume, pp. 849-853). Non-nasal /h/ and /r/ exist in only a few loanwords.

### Final consonants

In final position phonemic oppositions are reduced to the following:

Nasals	$m$	$n$	$\eta$
Oral consonants	$p$	$t$	

The following alternations occur before an affix or when the following word begins with a consonant.

/-p/ is replaced by [-ɛ] after /i/ and /e/  
 [-ɔ] after /u/ and /o/  
 e.g. *âpulip* ~ *âpulie* 'man'  
*pûp* ~ *pûɔ* 'cough'

/-t/ is replaced by [-lɛ] in most cases  
 e.g. *cámɛt* ~ *cámɛlɛ* 'fog'

These alternations are free when the word is pronounced in isolation.

## 2.2 Vowels

With open syllables there are four vowel heights distinguished, and for each of the following there is a phonemic opposition between long and short vowels:

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Mid	<i>ɛ ɛ̄</i>		
Low		<i>a a</i>	

- /ɛ/ may become [ɔ] after /u/, /o/ and labio-velars.
- The opposition between /ɛ/ and /a/ is neutralised in word-final closed polysyllables.
- Some /ū/ and /ā/ occur word-initially or after /w/.

## 3. Principal prefixes and suffixes

*pá-*, *pà-* : causative prefixes, e.g. *pá-úde* 'extinguish' (*úde* 'extinguished');  
*pà-tîp*<sup>wɔ</sup> 'knock down, let drop' (*tîp*<sup>wɔ</sup> 'fall').

*pî-* : reciprocal prefix, reflexive, middle voice, e.g. *pî-òcit* 'look at oneself (in a mirror)'.



<i>bê-</i>	: instrumental prefix, e.g. <i>bê-p<sup>w</sup>ôp<sup>wi</sup></i> ‘sickle’ (for clearing land).
<i>â-<sub>1</sub></i>	: agentive prefix, e.g. <i>â-wêa</i> ‘sentinel’ (‘one who guards’).
<i>â-<sub>2</sub></i>	: place of, e.g. <i>â-têb<sup>w</sup>ɔ</i> (‘place-sit down’).
<i>b<sup>w</sup>ô-</i>	: way of, manner of, e.g. <i>b<sup>w</sup>ô-mú</i> ‘custom, law’ (‘way of-living’).
<i>-hĩ</i>	: transitive suffix, e.g. <i>ñĩbe</i> ‘oven’, <i>ñĩbê-hĩ</i> ‘put in the oven’.
<i>-n</i>	: possessive suffix, 3rd person singular.

Table 3. Personal pronouns

		Independent predicative	Agent proposed	Object postposed	Possessive	Stative
Singular	1	<i>waco</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ŋ</i>	<i>-ʃo</i>
	2	<i>wogo</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-go</i>
	3	<i>wêŋ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>-ɛŋ</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-naŋ</i>
Plural	1 incl	<i>wogañe</i>	<i>gañe</i>	<i>-kañe</i>	<i>-ñe</i>	<i>-gañe</i>
	1 excl	<i>wogame</i>	<i>game</i>	<i>-kame</i>	<i>-me</i>	<i>-game</i>
	2	<i>wogawe</i>	<i>gawe</i>	<i>-kawe</i>	<i>-we</i>	<i>-gawe</i>
	3	<i>wote</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-jele</i>
	1 incl	<i>wogañu</i>	<i>gañu</i>	<i>-kañu</i>	<i>-ñu</i>	<i>-gañu</i>
Dual	1 excl	<i>wogamu</i>	<i>gamu</i>	<i>-kamu</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-gamu</i>
	2	<i>wogau</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>-kau</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-gau</i>
	3	<i>woulu</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-julu</i>

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## 66. A'jië

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<b>Contributors:</b>
Introduction: <i>Darrell T. Tryon</i>
Wordlist: <i>Sylvain Aramiou – Jean Euritein</i>

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### 1. Introduction

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A'jië is the name which native speakers use for the language which Europeans call Houailou (Wailu), the name of a mixed Melanesian/European village on the east coast of New Caledonia. It is a member of the Southern Group of New Caledonian languages (Haudricourt 1971).

A'jië is spoken on both the east and the west coasts of New Caledonia. To the north it is bounded by Paicî, as well as by Arhö and Arhâ, considered by some to be dialects of A'jië. To the South, A'jië is in contact with Orowe (Boewe) and Yirhë at Bourail. On the east coast it borders Xârâcùù.

Aramiou – Euritein (1986) note dialectal differences within the A'jië region as follows:

- Phonological – prosodic differences between the A'jië spoken in the valley (*mêrê néiřiwâ*) [mêřê neiřiwâ] and that spoken on the coast (*mêrê pwařawiè*) [mêřê pwařawie].
- In Poya: less frequent vowel harmony word initially.
- At Monéo: dialect influenced by the tonal system of neighbouring Paicî.
- In the South: special prosodic features due to the proximity of neighbouring languages.
- At Kouaoua: the dialect employs grammatical forms different from the remainder of the A'jië area.

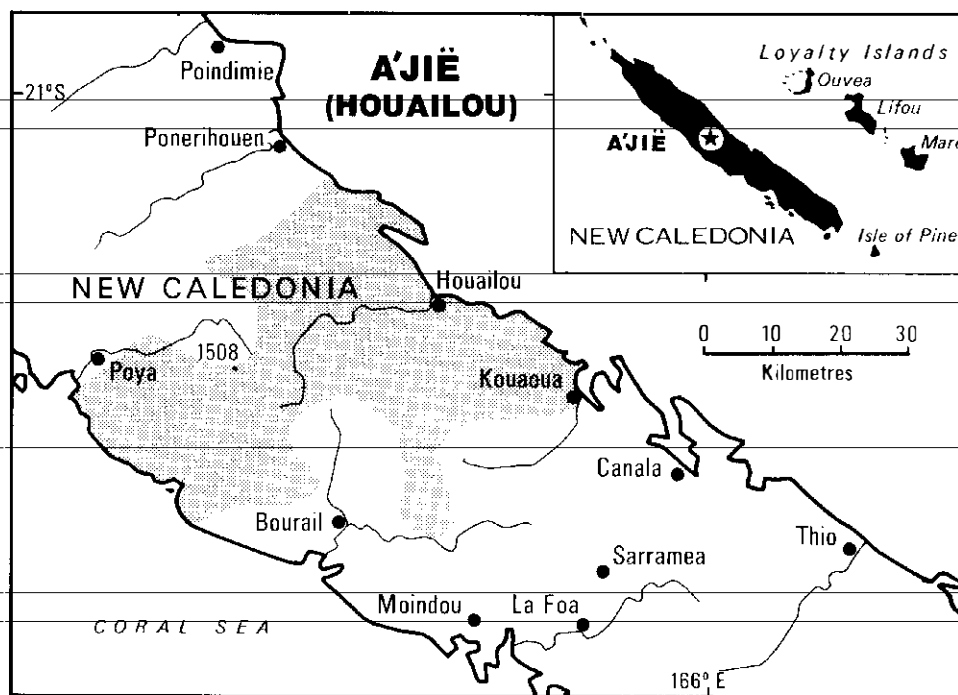
Jacqueline de La Fontinelle (1976) distinguishes three dialects of A'jië, as follows:

1. *mêrê-a'kuru-é* [mêřê-a'kürü-e] (spoken in the Poya valley).
2. *mêrê-a'para-wiè* [mêřê-a'para-wie] (spoken on the east coast).
3. The dialect spoken at the bottom of the Poya valley on the western side of the central chain.

She also distinguishes generational differences among speakers, namely:

1. Those born before 1914.
  2. Those born after 1914.
- 
-

There are significant phonological differences between these generational groups, discussed below. Aramiou – Euritein (1986) estimate that there are approximately 7000 A'jië speakers.



Map 66. A'jië language area

As far as previous studies of A'jië are concerned, in 1897 S.H. Ray published a wordlist; Pastor Leenhardt arrived in 1901 and published a translation of the Gospel of Matthew in 1903, with the Gospel of John following in 1910. St. Matthew's Gospel: *Visheshi i Jesus Keriso na sou na Matthieu*, Paris, Société des Missions Evangeliques, 1903, was in fact translated by Pastor Mathaia, from Ouvéa in the Loyalty Islands. An A'jië catechism was published in 1905. Pastor Leenhardt also published and edited a periodical, *Virseri*, in A'jië, which first appeared quarterly, then monthly, until 1936. In 1932 Leenhardt published his *Documents néo-calédoniens*, which contain some thirty-odd texts of A'jië oral literature. In 1935 his *Vocabulaire et grammaire de la langue Houailou* appeared, based on the analysis of the texts. In 1976 Jacqueline de La Fontinelle published a detailed phonology and syntax, *La langue de Houailou (SELAF)*. In 1986 and 1987 the Fédération de l'Enseignement Libre Protestant (Aramiou – Euritein 1986, 1987) published an orthography of A'jië for use in schools and a collection of sixteen legends designed as a reader.

## 2 Phonology

The phonology of A'jië may be summarised in the following tables:

### 2.1 Consonants

Table 1. Consonants

	Labialised labial	Labial	Apical	Palatal	Velar	Labialised velar
<b>Stops</b>						
Oral	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>
Prenasalised	<i>b<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>
<b>Fricatives</b>						
		<i>v</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>w</i>
<b>Nasals</b>						
	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
<b>Laterals</b>						
			<i>l</i>			
<b>Trills</b>						
			<i>ʀ</i>			
<b>Flaps</b>						
			<i>ɾ</i>			

With speakers born before 1914, there is a phonemic opposition between /r/ (= [ɾ]), /ʀ/ and /r̄/ which is not maintained in the speech of younger speakers. Younger speakers recognise /r/ in the speech of the elders, but realise it as a trill /ʀ/ in their speech, opposing it to a flap /ɾ/.

### 2.2 Vowels

The vowels of A'jië are as follows:

Table 2. Oral vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɯ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Table 3. Nasal vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	ĩ	ũr	ũ
Mid	ẽ	ã	õ
Low		ã	

Vowel length is also phonemic in A'jië. Characteristic of A'jië also are a series of “glottalised” vowels. Thus one finds, for example, the following oppositions:

<i>kaʔ</i>	‘laugh’
<i>ka</i>	‘for’
<i>kã</i>	‘breadfruit tree’
<i>kã̃</i>	‘thing’

“Glottalised” vowels are heavily stressed, accompanied by a sharp interruption to the vibration of the vocal chords. The accompanying glottal stop itself is barely audible (La Fontinelle 1976: 140). Further examples:

<i>ja</i>	‘step forward’
<i>jaʔ</i>	‘run out (water)’
<i>jã</i>	‘hand of bananas’
<i>jãʔ</i>	‘limestone formation’

### 3. Morphology

#### 3.1 Pronouns

Table 4. Pronouns

	Pronouns subject	Possessives/pronouns object
1sg	gɔ	-ñã
2sg	gɛ	-i
3sg	na	-ə, -e, -ɛ, -ẽ
1pl incl	gere	-re
1pl excl	geve	-ve
2sg	gɔvə	-və
3sg	cere	-re

	Pronouns subject	Possessives/pronouns object
1dl incl	<i>gɔru</i>	<i>-ru</i>
1dl excl	<i>gɔvu</i>	<i>-vu</i>
2sg	<i>gɔu</i>	<i>-u</i>
3sg	<i>curu</i>	<i>-ru</i>

### 3.2 Prefixes

Some commonly used suffixes include:

<i>pɛ-</i>	causative
<i>pɛ -</i>	multiplicative
<i>vi-</i>	reciprocal

Examples:

<i>pɛ-sari</i>	‘make small’
<i>pɛ-toma</i>	‘erect, cause to stand’
<i>pɛ-karu</i>	‘twice’
<i>pɛ-kavue</i>	‘four times’
<i>vi-yɔ-mī</i>	‘to kill one another’

### 3.3 Suffixes

Some commonly encountered suffixes include:

<i>ā</i>	pejorative
<i>-ī</i>	continuity
<i>-reře</i>	breaking, cutting
<i>-vea</i>	uncovering, revealing
<i>-veā</i>	togetherness, collectivity
<i>-via</i>	binding
<i>-vī</i>	breaking
<i>-yɛ</i>	contact
<i>-yūi</i>	piercing.

Examples:

<i>ne-ā</i>	‘smell bad’
<i>pu-ī</i>	‘cough incessantly’
<i>ba-reře</i>	‘break off by shaking’
<i>da-via</i>	‘hit, strike’

<i>bA-vī</i>	'break'
<i>pa-yε</i>	'touch, feel'

There are three transitivising suffixes in A'jĕ, *-ri*, *-i*, *-rū*. *-rū* is used only with verbs of excretion, while the choice of the other two is unpredictable.

Examples:

<i>iā</i>	'cry'
<i>tā-rū</i>	'cry for'
<i>gō</i>	'vomit'
<i>gō-rū</i>	'vomit something'
<i>lā</i>	'spread'
<i>lā-i</i>	'spread out something'
<i>tū</i>	'seize, grab'
<i>tū-ri</i>	'seize someone. something'

#### 4. Syntax

The most common word order in A'jĕ is:

$S_{\text{pron}} + V + \text{DO} + S_n + \text{OO}(\text{oblique})$

Examples:

<i>na aʔraʔ na kaməʔ</i>	<i>na yio ka-cene</i>
he eat sm man	he cut clone-banana
'The man eats.'	'He cuts the banana.'
<i>gə tū-ri</i>	<i>gə ye vi</i>
I grab-trans	I fut go
'I grab him.'	'I shall go.'
<i>gə we vi</i>	<i>cere aʔraʔ na kaməʔ</i>
I comp go	they eat subj man
'I have already gone.'	'The men eat.'

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# 67. Xârâcùù

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Claire Moyse-Faurie</i>
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## 1. Introduction

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The Xârâcùù [xârâc̥ī] language belongs to the southern sub-group of New Caledonian languages. It has approximately 4000 speakers, mainly in the Thio/Canala region on the east coast of New Caledonia.

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## 2. Phonology

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Syllable structure: all syllables are open; thus consonants do not occur in word final position. Sequences of consonants are also inadmissible.

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### 2.1 Consonants

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There are 26 consonants in both initial and intervocalic position. However, phoneme frequencies vary according to position. For example, /r/ occurs very frequently in intervocalic position, but occurs rarely in word-initial position, where it appears in only a dozen words, all functors.

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*Table 1. Consonants*

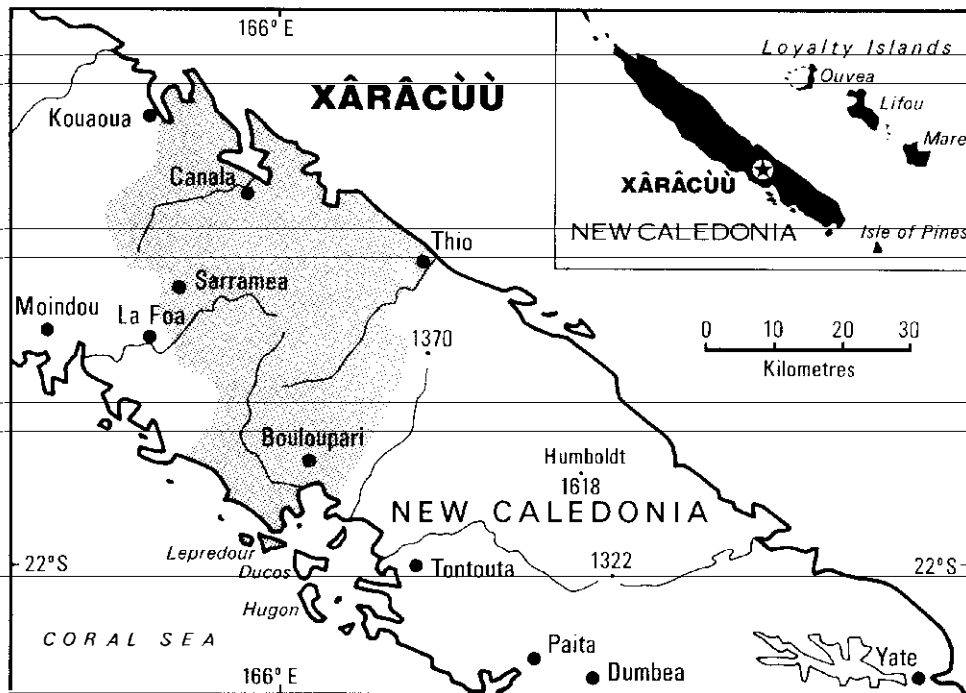
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	Labialised labial	Labials	Apicals	Palatals	Velars	Lab. velars
Stops plain	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>
Stops prenas.	<i>b<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>
Fricatives	vl vd	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup></i>
Nasals	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Vibrants		<i>r</i>				
Semivowels	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>			

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Map 67. Xârâcùù language area

## 2.2 Vowels

There are 17 short vowels, with the same number of long counterparts, marked by a macron. As Grace (1975) stresses, vowel nasalisation is automatic before nasal and prenasalised consonants, at least in non-compounds. The same situation does not apply, however, with compound words, where an oral/nasal distinction is maintained before nasal or prenasalised consonants. Examples:

*ke-ñũ* 'pierce with the teeth'  
*kẽ-ñũ* 'pierce with the fingers'

(Moyses-Faurie – Néchéro-Jorédié 1986)

Table 2. Oral vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Mid	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Table 3. Nasal vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
Mid	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>õ</i>
Low		<i>ã</i>	

### 3. Morphology

#### 3.1 Personal pronouns

		Independent pronouns	Subject pronouns	Object pronouns	Possessive pronouns
Singular	1	<i>gu</i>	<i>nã</i>	<i>nã</i>	<i>-nã/-rã</i>
	2	<i>ge</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>-ro/-o</i>
	3	<i>nie</i>	<i>re/ε</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>-re/-ε</i>
Dual	1 incl	<i>ũrũ</i>	<i>ũrũ</i>	<i>rũ</i>	<i>-rũ</i>
	1 excl	<i>ŋõ</i>	<i>ŋõ</i>	<i>ŋõ</i>	<i>-ŋõ</i>
	2	<i>gou</i>	<i>gou</i>	<i>gou</i>	<i>-gou</i>
Plural	3	<i>nũ</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>-ru</i>
	1 incl	<i>ĩrĩ</i>	<i>ĩrĩ</i>	<i>rĩ</i>	<i>-rĩ</i>
	1 excl	<i>ŋẽ</i>	<i>ŋẽ</i>	<i>ŋẽ</i>	<i>-ŋẽ</i>
	2	<i>wĩrĩ</i>	<i>wĩrĩ</i>	<i>wĩrĩ</i>	<i>-wĩrĩ</i>
	3	<i>nĩ</i>	<i>rĩ</i>	<i>rĩ</i>	<i>-rĩ</i>

#### 3.2 Principal affixes (not systematically translated in notes to the Lexicon)

<i>a-</i>	agentive prefix (singular)
<i>fa-</i>	causative prefix
<i>kẽ-</i>	nominalising prefix, ‘way, manner of’
<i>mẽ-</i>	prefix to certain stative verbs
<i>nε-</i>	nominalising prefix, ‘expanse of’
<i>nõ-</i>	‘top of’
<i>pa-</i>	agentive prefix (plural)

<i>pū-</i>	‘cause of, root of’
<i>i-</i>	nominalising prefix, ‘place of’ or generic state
<i>x<sup>w</sup>ā-</i>	nominalising prefix, ‘result of’
<i>-amε/-mε</i>	‘definitively, absolutely’
<i>-rε</i>	suffix to nouns with obligatory determiner when determiner not made explicit.

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## 68. Nengone

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Darrell T. Tryon</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Nengone is spoken on the island of Mare, the southernmost of the Loyalty Islands, some one hundred kilometres east of the mainland of New Caledonia. The Loyalty Islands are administratively part of New Caledonia. Nengone or Pene Nengone is spoken by the approximately 6,500 inhabitants of the island of Mare and by a varying number of Mare expatriates working in Noumea, the New Caledonian capital. There is little discernable dialect variation.

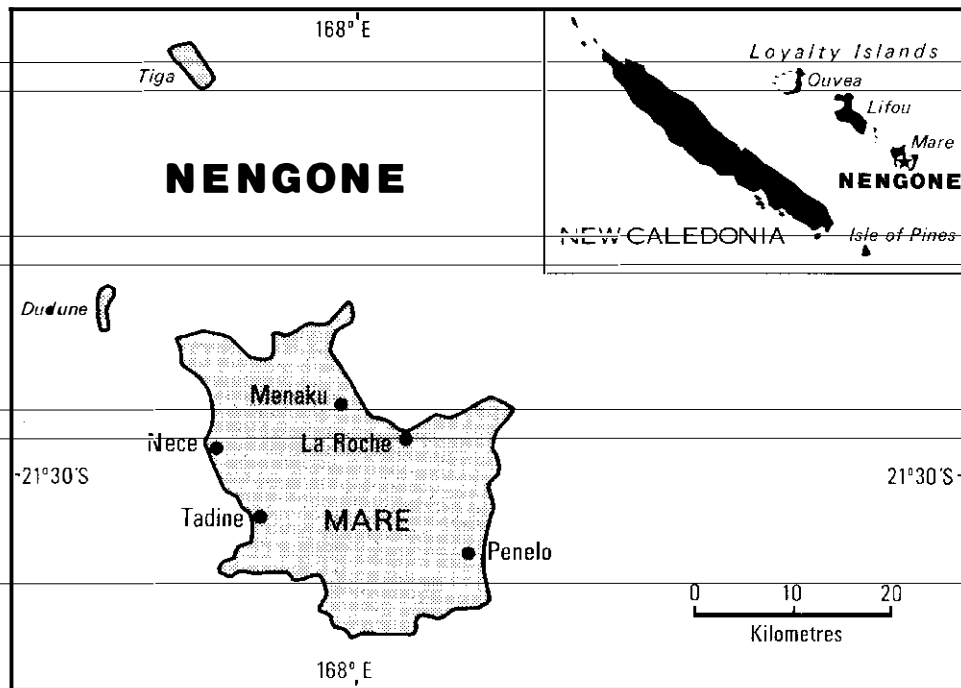
Mare has a surface area of 650 square kilometres (Dubois 1984). It is located at approximately 21° 31' S. lat. and 168° E. long.

The earliest studies of Nengone include wordlists by Turner (1847), and Inglis (1851), as well as the work of H.C. von der Gabelentz (1861). Also significant in the nineteenth century were Codrington (1885) and Mueller (1888). In 1903 the Bible (Anon 1903) was translated into Nengone by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and it was this which served as the basis of the account of Nengone which appears in Ray (1926). The first study of Nengone based on field study rather than published documents was that of Maurice Leenhardt (1946). This work also contains an extensive wordlist for Nengone, as indeed it does for all of the languages of New Caledonia and its dependencies. Later works devoted to Nengone include Tryon's (1967), and Tryon – Dubois (1969 and 1971). More recently Dubois (1984) has published an encyclopedic ethnography of the people of Mare which is rich in ethnocultural lexical material collected during Dubois' lengthy stays on the island between 1939 and 1967, as a missionary. The lexical material here presented in the comparative lexicon is taken mainly from the Nengone dictionary referred to above.

Nengone distinguishes three registers, namely *pene animac*, *pene egesho* and *pene iwateno*. *Pene animac* is the register used in everyday speech, while *pene egesho* is a register of insult and vulgarity, used especially in the heat of battle by warriors. A third register, the language of respect, an honorific register, is known as *pene iwateno*.

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Map 68. Nengone language area

*Pene egesho* often reflects common Austronesian roots replaced in the language of everyday intercourse. Thus one has, for example *net* (POC \**mate*) ‘die, dead’, instead of *taŋo*, *wa-neč* (POC \**mata*) ‘eye’ instead of *waegogo*. There are also significant lexical differences between the common register and that used in honorific speech, reserved for communication with chieftains. One has, for example *wien* ‘good’ (*pene iwateno*), as opposed to the common register *roi*, *kođaru* ‘eat’ as opposed to *kaka*, *čanaeon* ‘hear’ as opposed to *taeđeni*. The differences between the three registers are very largely lexical, although *pene iwateno* is characterised by the use of honorific suffixes with both nouns and verbs. Compare, for example:

Pene Animac	Pene Iwateno	
<i>sibon</i>	<i>siboton</i>	‘ask’
<i>sian</i>	<i>siaton</i>	‘send’
<i>udi</i>	<i>uditon</i>	‘reject’

The differences between the common and the respectful register are also well exemplified in the following pronominal table:

	Common	Respectful
I	<i>inu</i>	<i>inuŋo</i>
you sg.	<i>bo</i>	<i>bua</i>
he/she	<i>bon</i>	<i>nuboneŋo</i>
we dl incl	<i>eθew</i>	<i>eθeweŋo</i>
we dl excl	<i>eŋe</i>	<i>eŋeŋo</i>
you dl	<i>ŋeŋo</i>	<i>bunjeŋo</i>
they dl	<i>bušeŋon</i>	<i>bušeŋoneŋo</i>
we pl incl	<i>eje</i>	<i>ejeŋo</i>
we pl excl	<i>eŋij</i>	<i>eŋijeŋo</i>
you pl	<i>bunij</i>	<i>bunijeŋo</i>
they pl	<i>buič</i>	<i>buičeŋo</i>

## 2. Phonology

The phonemes of Nengone are as follows:

*Table 1.* Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo- palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops/Affricates:						
vl asp.	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>ç<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>	
vl unasp.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ɽ</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
vd unasp.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɽ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives:						
vl	<i>(f)</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>(x)</i>	<i>h</i>
vd			<i>z</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	
Nasals:						
vl	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
vd	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals						
		<i>l</i>				
Vibrants						
		<i>r</i>				
Semivowels						
	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		
	<i>w</i>					

Note: the phonemes in parenthesis occur only in borrowings. Note also that a syllabic nasal occurs in one word in Nengone, namely *mma* [ɱa] ‘house’.



Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid-high	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ ē</i>		<i>ɔ ɔ̄</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

Vowel length is phonemic in Nengone, thus producing a second vowel series. Nasality is not, however, phonemic, unlike the mainland New Caledonian languages. Utterance final vowels are devoiced.

## 2.1 Stress

Stress is non-phonemic in Nengone. In words of more than one syllable, primary stress falls on the penultimate. Secondary stress falls two syllables before the syllable bearing primary stress.

## 2.2 Phonotactics

### a) Syllable Structure:

A syllabic nucleus is always a vowel (V), which may be preceded or followed by any consonant (C), or both preceded or followed by C.

Examples:

V	<i>u</i>	'to cry'	<i>e</i>	'yes'
(C)V	<i>pa</i>	'grandfather'	<i>ke</i>	'to refuse'
V(C)	<i>al</i>	'to swim'	<i>un</i>	'breadfruit tree'
(C)V(C)	<i>len</i>	'road'	<i>wen</i>	'root'

### b) Word Structure:

A CVCV pattern predominates in Nengone word structure. No clusters of CC may occur, although VV and even VVV may. Examples of Nengone word structure:

V	<i>u</i>	'to cry'	<i>e</i>	'yes'
VV	<i>ia</i>	'animal'	<i>ue</i>	'high tide'
CV	<i>lo</i>	'there'	<i>da</i>	'blood'

VC	<i>al</i>	'to swim'	<i>ač</i>	'thing'
CVC	<i>ŋom</i>	'man'	<i>woč</i>	'bush forest'
VCV	<i>ele</i>	'rain'	<i>ore</i>	'morning'
VVV	<i>aea</i>	'fish trap'	<i>aeo</i>	'food dish'
CVV	<i>peu</i>	'to weed'	<i>leu</i>	'to follow'
VVC	<i>eoč</i>	'shark'	<i>eak</i>	'west'
CVCV	<i>moma</i>	'old man'	<i>wata</i>	'leg'
CVVC	<i>yeuč</i>	'octopus'	<i>θaet</i>	'to sleep'
VCVV	<i>ađai</i>	'flying fox'	<i>aθoe</i>	'to light fire'
VVCV	<i>iεke</i>	'crab sp'	<i>aiča</i>	'young boy'
CVCVC	<i>čaŋan</i>	'man'	<i>wanin</i>	'arm'
CVVCV	<i>deiče</i>	'to wink'	<i>čuada</i>	'thumb'
VCVCV	<i>εɛnu</i>	'stalk'	<i>ekone</i>	'to marry'
CVCVV	<i>maduo</i>	'to the west'	<i>nodei</i>	'all'

Restrictions on phoneme occurrence: /s, z, ɣ and ʔ/ together with the /m̥ n̥ ŋ/ and also, /ñ and y/ do not occur word finally. /ʔ and ŋ/ do not occur word initially.

Wherever two consonants come together, one word-final and the other word-initial, an epenthetic vowel /e/ is inserted. Thus:

*buič-e či ule* 'they see'.

### 3. Morphosyntax

#### 3.1 Word order

The basic word order in Nengone is SVO, although with noun subjects the order is commonly VSO, as with a number of other languages in southern Melanesia, including Aneityum (Vanuatu) and the Fijian languages.

Examples:

*inu čo ridi bo*  
I fut hit you sg

'I shall hit you.'

*buič ome či kayo eŋiʃ wenore či pina kore pauteut*  
they here pres call us because pres arrive det cyclone

'They call us here because a cyclone is coming.'

### 3.2 Basic morphology

#### a) Tense/aspect markers:

<i>či</i>	present
<i>čo</i>	future
<i>ṅə</i>	completed action
<i>ha ṅa</i>	past state
<i>ha</i>	present state
<i>θu</i>	habitual
<i>deko</i>	negative

#### Examples:

*inu deko čo kaka*  
 I neg fut eat  
 'I shall not eat.'

*bone ha taŋo ṅen ore du*  
 he state die agent det sun  
 'He was killed by the sun.'

#### Other Functors/Formatives:

<i>ṅei</i> + Noun Head	agent/instrument
<i>ṅen ore</i> + Noun Head	agent/instrument
<i>bane so/so</i>	benefactive
<i>a-Verb-ni</i>	causative
<i>e-Verb-keu</i>	reciprocal
<i>yara</i> -Num	multiplicative
<i>ṅa</i> + Verb	noun, nominaliser
adjective + <i>?il</i>	abstract noun

#### Examples:

*bone ha taŋo ṅen ore retok*  
 he state die agent det chief  
 'He was killed by the chief.'

*inu čo ruaban ore mma bane so bon*  
 I fut clean det house ben him/her  
 'I shall clean the house for her.'

*taŋo* 'die'  
*a-taŋo-ni* 'kill'  
*kečon* 'hate'

<i>e-kečo-keu</i>	‘hate one another’
<i>rewe</i>	‘two’
<i>yara-rewe</i>	‘twice’
<i>meneŋ</i>	‘stay’
<i>ŋa-meneŋ</i>	‘house’
<i>ma</i>	‘big’
<i>ma-ʔii</i>	‘size’

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## 69. Kiribati

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Sheldon P. Harrison</i>
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### 1. Micronesian languages: some general observations about the family

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#### 1.1 Location

Until recent historical times, Micronesian-speaking peoples lived exclusively in three island groups in the central Pacific; the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati), the Marshall Islands and the Caroline Islands.<sup>1</sup> While the Gilberts and the Marshalls are exclusively Micronesian, there are non-Micronesian populations in the Carolines. Polynesian languages are spoken on the islands of Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi in the eastern Carolines, and Yapese and Palauan on islands in the west. The original Micronesian domain has been extended through more recent migrations. In the last century, migrants from the central Carolines (principally Satawal and Puluwat) settled on the island of Saipan in the northern Marianas. Their descendents, speaking a language usually called Saipan Carolinian, now share that island with the indigenous Chamorro-speaking population. In the present century, resettlement schemes sponsored by the British colonial administration have resulted in the establishment of Kiribati-speaking communities in the Line Islands (particularly on Christmas Island), on the islands of Gizo and Wagina in the Solomons, and on Rabi in Fiji.

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#### 1.2 Internal genetic relations

As might be expected, the nature of the internal relationships holding amongst the languages of Micronesia is a matter of some debate. A conservative view would allow six first order subgroups (see Figure 1). Four of these are single-language branches: Kiribati, Marshallese, Nauruan, and Kosraean. The Ponapeic branch is now held to comprise three languages;

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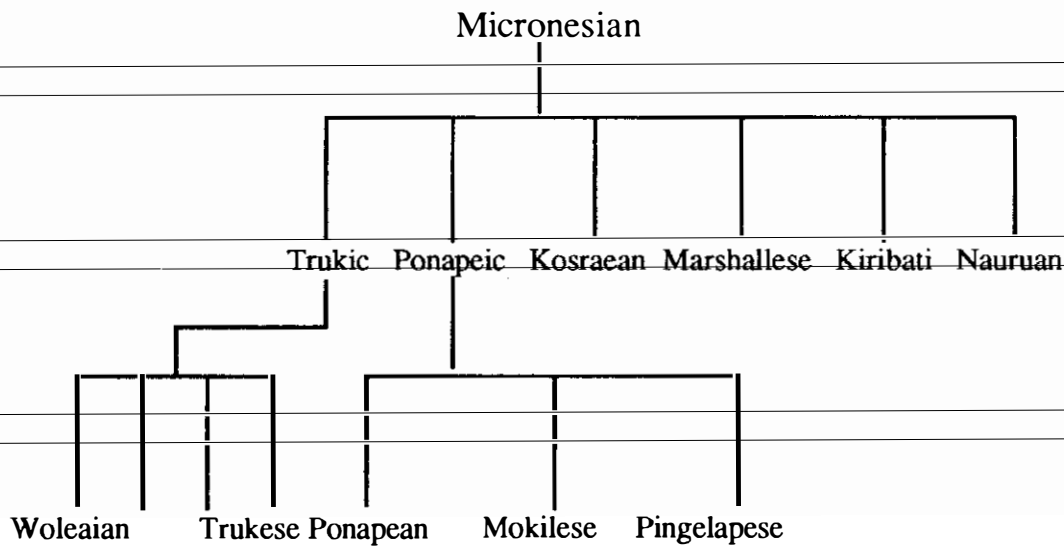
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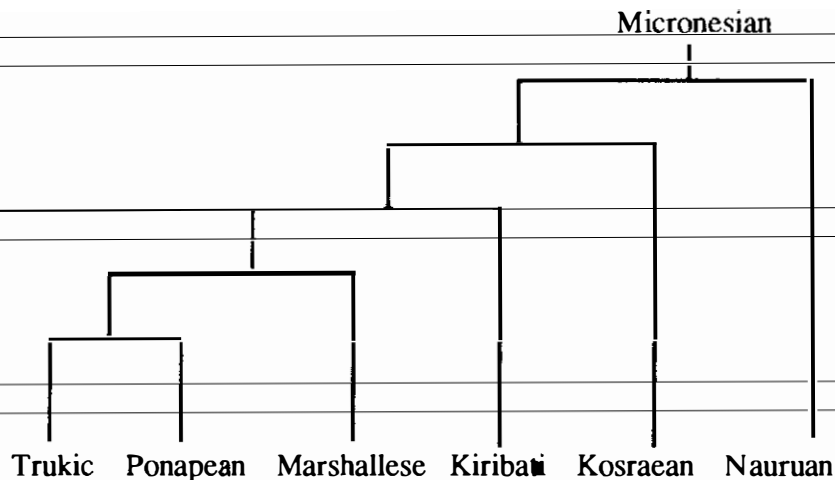
1. Nauru and Bwaanaba, to the west of the southern Gilberts, are perhaps not geographically a part of any of these island groups.

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*Figure 1.* Micronesian subgrouping: a shallow (conservative) view



*Figure 2.* Micronesian subgrouping: after Jackson (1983)

Ponapean, Pingelapese, and Mokilese, previously reported (for example, in Garvin 1949) as dialects of a single language. These languages are quite closely related. Mokilese and Pingelapese are mutually intelligible, as by all reports are Pingelapese and Ponapean. Mokilese and Ponapean are not mutually intelligible, however. The language of the island of Ngatik is regarded as a dialect of Ponapean. There has been no detailed study of Ngatikese, however. The internal relationships of the Trukic languages are more complex than the Ponapeic, if for no other reason than that those

languages are spoken on a larger number of islands in a wider area. Quackenbush (1968) termed Trukic a dialect continuum. More recent studies, particularly that of Jackson (1983), have attempted to put some structure on that continuum. I choose not to enter that debate, and hence will not attempt to put a cardinality on the Trukic languages.

There have been some attempts to argue for more inclusive higher order subgroups within Micronesian (see Figure 2).<sup>1</sup> The one most often noted is a putative Trukic-Ponapeic subgroup. I have speculated (Harrison 1977, 1978), largely on grammatical grounds, on a Ponapeic-Kosraean subgroup, and have recently begun to wonder about a Marshallese-Kiribati subgroup. There is so little detailed information available regarding Nauruan that it seldom intrudes into discussions of internal Micronesian subgrouping.

### 1.3 External genetic relations

The Micronesian language family is a subgroup of the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian language family. Its position within Oceanic is unclear. Grace (1955) tentatively puts Micronesian in his Oceanic Group 4, which Pawley (1972), following Biggs, recast as Eastern Oceanic. The position of Micronesian in a subsequent revision of Eastern Oceanic (Pawley 1977) is unclear. These issues are considered in detail in Jackson (1986).

### 1.4 External influences (non-Oceanic)

The colonial history of the Micronesian peoples is as varied and complex of any in the Pacific. The Caroline Islands were nominally a Spanish possession from the sixteenth century. They were largely ignored by the Spanish administration in the Philippines and the Marianas until the late nineteenth century, when Germany began to show some official interest in the area. The cultural and linguistic impact of the Spanish administration on the Carolines was not particularly strong, and was minimal except on the larger high islands. Spain sold its remaining Micronesian interests to Germany in 1899, following its defeat in the Spanish-American War.

German traders began to work in Micronesia around 1870. In 1885, in order to safeguard its trade, the German government established a protectorate over the Marshall Islands. The government did not take over the administration of the Marshalls and Nauru from commercial interests until 1906, however. German linguistic influence on the languages of Micronesia

1. The most detailed discussion is in Jackson (1983, 1986).



was much less significant than that of English, even, it would appear, during the period of German administration.

After World War I, Japan obtained a League of Nations mandate over all former German Micronesian territory except Nauru (which was administered by Australia until independence in 1968). The Japanese administration was pervasive and, consequently, had a strong linguistic impact throughout the Carolines and the Marshalls, as evidenced by the large number of Japanese borrowings in the wordlists to follow.

English-speaking colonial powers were relative latecomers to Micronesia. As already noted, Nauru was officially administered by Australia for some fifty years. The Gilbert Islands (Kiribati) became a British protectorate in 1892 and a colony in 1916. Except for a short period of Japanese occupation during World War II, they were administered by Britain until independence in 1979. The United States took over former Japanese possessions in Micronesia in 1945.

The linguistic influence of English antedates direct political control by up to a century in some areas, however. American missionaries and whalers entered Micronesia in the Spanish period, and had more direct cultural contact with the people than did the Spanish or German colonial administrations. This covert American influence continued until Japan closed its new Micronesian possessions to foreigners. (I might also note that British companies worked the phosphate mines on Nauru even while that island was officially German, and that English appears to have been the lingua franca of the mines.) As a result, there are more English loanwords in all Micronesian languages than loans from any other non-Oceanic source. That influence still continues.

### **1.5 External influences (Oceanic)**

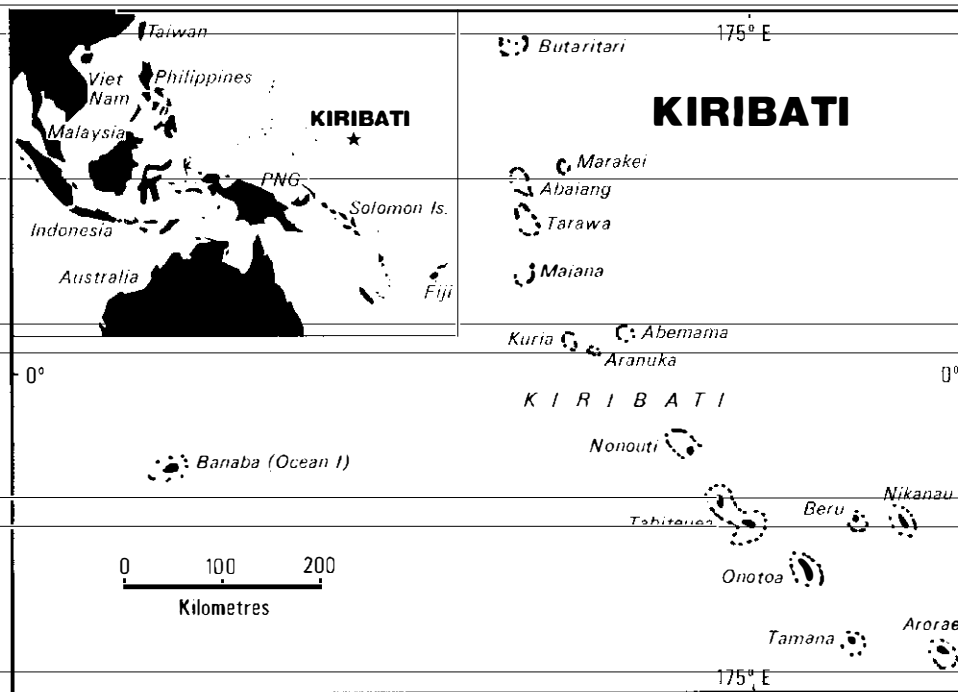
The identification of lexical borrowings from other Micronesian languages<sup>1</sup> (and from other non-Micronesian Austronesian languages) is a more challenging exercise than the identification of English or Japanese borrowings. In the wordlists that follow, I have identified such items when etymological information was given in the sources or, in some cases, when other relevant evidence was available to me. There is a substantial Polynesian adstratum in Kiribati (considered in Harrison 1992), the result of a Polynesian invasion some five hundred years ago. Kiribati, in turn, has

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1. See Rehg – Bender (1990) for a detailed consideration of one such case.

contributed a number of items to other Micronesian languages, particularly Marshallese (see Bender 1981 for some discussion).<sup>1</sup>

In the Caroline Islands, the usual pattern of borrowing is from languages of larger high islands to those of surrounding atolls. Thus, Mokilese has been heavily influenced by Ponapean, and Woleaian by Yapese. (In pre-contact times, chiefs on the island of Yap had established a tribute network, the Yap Empire, stretching almost as far east as the Truk lagoon.) Centralised colonial and post-colonial administrations have increased the influence of these larger high islands.



Map 69. Kiribati language area

## 1.6 The languages of this study

My choice of languages in this comparative study was directed by three considerations; representativeness, quality of available information, and demographic-political significance. I selected one language each from the Ponapeic and the Trukic subgroups. Ponapean was the obvious choice in

1. Though Mokilese data was not used in the present study, I might note the heavy Marshallese lexical influence on that language, probably as a result of drift voyages within the last two centuries.

the case of Ponapeic,<sup>1</sup> by virtue of both number of speakers and political status. For those same reasons, Lagoon Trukese should have been the representative of the Trukic branch. Unfortunately, though there is a substantial Trukese-English dictionary (Goodenough – Sugita 1980), I have no access to Trukese data organised by the English gloss. My choice of the western Trukic language Woleaian was thus motivated by availability of data.

There were four choices for the remaining two languages. Nauruan was immediately discounted because I have no substantial lexical information from that language. Kiribati was an immediate choice because I have worked on the language myself. My choice of Marshallese, rather than Kosraean, as the fourth language was rather arbitrary. I might justify it on the grounds that more non-Micronesians are likely to have heard of Marshallese than of Kosraean and that the available Marshallese lexical information is more detailed than the Kosraean.

## 2. Kiribati demography and dialects

With upwards of 60,000 speakers, Kiribati is the most populous of the Micronesian languages. Its traditional (pre-contact) speech area comprises the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati) and the island of Bwaanaba,<sup>2</sup> now parts of the Republic of Kiribati, and the island of Niu in the Ellice Islands (now Tuvalu). As a result of recent resettlements, Kiribati is also spoken on the islands of Gizo and Wagina (Solomon Islands), Rabi (Fiji), and the Line Islands (Kiribati). Kiribati is also widely understood on Nauru, as a side-effect of the size of the Kiribati migrant labour force on that island.

There are three recognisable dialects of Kiribati (excluding Bwaanaba). The most divergent is the Northern dialect, spoken on the islands of Butaritari and Mwakin. The boundary between Central and Southern dialects is the equator. I have only included dialect information in the Kiribati data in a few cases, because of the published sources employed for Kiribati, only Sabatier (1971) gives dialect information, and then only rarely. Most of the speakers I have worked with are from the southern dialect.

1. Rather than Mokilese, with which I am more familiar.
2. Though many Bwaanabans have felt it politically necessary to assert that their language is *not* Gilbertese, my limited experience with Bwaanaban leads to the conclusion that it is no more than dialectally distinct from the speech of the Gilbert Islands.

### 3. Phonology

Kiribati has a small phonemic inventory, small both by Micronesian and by world standards:

Table 1. Consonants

	Labialised labial	Labial	Apical	Velar
Stops	<i>b<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>k</i>
Nasals <sup>2</sup>	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Flaps			<i>r</i>	
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			

Table 2. Vowels<sup>3</sup>

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Three features of the Kiribati practical orthography (not used in this volume) are not standardised, namely the representation of long vowels, the representation of velarised labial consonants, and word division. There are two competing representations for long vowels, either as a double vowel or as a single vowel with a macron.<sup>4</sup> I adopt the latter convention. Velarised and non-velarised labials contrast in Kiribati before unround vowels. Before non-low vowels, the velarised labials are consistently represented as *b<sup>w</sup>* and

1. /t/ is realised as [s] before high vowels in Northern and Central dialects, and before the high front vowel in the Southern dialect. In the southern dialect, /t/ before /u/ varies between an apical stop and a post-alveolar affricate.
2. All Kiribati nasal consonants can occur geminate. Geminate consonants are represented as double consonants orthographically. There is no standard representation for geminate digraphs. Here, I represent geminate *ŋ* as *ŋŋ* and geminate *m<sup>w</sup>* as *mm<sup>w</sup>*.
3. Kiribati vowels are either short or long; long vowels are written with a macron.
4. More often than not, long vowels are simply not distinguished from short vowels. The same is true of velarised and non-velarisation consonants before *a* (see below).

*m*<sup>w</sup>. I use the same convention before the low vowel also, though many writers use *b'* and *m'* in that context.<sup>1</sup>

The only consonant clusters tolerated in Kiribati are NC clusters, homorganic if N is apical or velar, though not necessarily if N is labial:

<i>mka</i>	'rubbish'
<i>mtamta</i>	'dribble'

Syllables may be closed by a nasal consonant:

<i>nim</i>	'drink s.th.'
<i>rān</i>	'fresh water'
<i>kaŋ</i>	'eat s.th. (pl)'
<i>kam</i> <sup>w</sup>	'2sg subject marker'

In sandhi before a consonant, an epenthetic /i/ appears if the resulting cluster would not be permitted:

<i>kantaua</i>	'want to hold s.th.'
<i>kanimōi</i>	'want to drink'

Before a non-high vowel, such nasals are phonetically geminate; before a high vowel, they trigger lengthening:

<i>kanorea</i>	'want to hit s.th.'	[kannorea]
<i>kanira</i>	'want to follow s.th.'	[kanīra]

Long sequences of vowels are characteristic of Kiribati canonical shape; the only constraint governing such sequences is that tautosyllabic sequences must be of strictly decreasing sonority:

<i>aiaia</i>	'their enemies'
<i>kuia</i>	'driftwood'
<i>aei</i>	'this'
<i>aoi</i>	'dew'

The first of two adjacent vowels of the same height assimilates (variably) to the second, as in:

1. Velarised consonants are strongly labialised before non-low vowels, hence the two different representations. The Protestant missionaries who first designed the Kiribati orthography probably did not recognise that the labialised and non-labialised velarised labials were in any sense the same.

<i>natiu</i>	‘my child’	>	<i>natū</i>
<i>ŋkoe</i>	‘2sg independent pronoun’	>	<i>ŋkē</i>
<i>oreia</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘hit him/her/it’	>	<i>oroia</i>

But:

<i>orea</i>	‘hit s.th.’	>	* <i>oroa</i>
<i>beo</i>	‘jumbled’		
<i>bō</i>	‘in contact’		

### 3.1 Mora count constraints in Kiribati

Two phonosyntactic constraints on mora count influence the canonical shape of Kiribati words. The two mora constraint is a constraint that no item belonging to the major categories NOUN or VERB can have fewer than two morae (where each vowel and coda nasal counts one mora). Thus, while there are minor category items such as:

<i>b<sup>w</sup>a</i>	‘that, because’
<i>ke</i>	‘2sg subject marker’

major category items with the same segments must have a long vowel:

<i>b<sup>w</sup>ā</i>	‘oil (for lamps)’
<i>kō</i>	‘closed, tight, compacted’

The net effect of the two mora constraint is that all open monosyllabic nouns and verbs have a long vowel.

The three mora constraint is a constraint that phrases projected from nouns or verbs have a minimum of three morae.<sup>2</sup> The net effect of the three mora constraint is that the first mora of a bimoric noun or verb is long if that mora is vocalic and if the item constitutes a minimal phrase:

<i>te ben</i>	‘a ripe coconut’
<i>bēn</i>	‘ripe coconuts’
<i>i biri</i>	‘I ran’
<i>hīri</i>	‘run!’

Geminate and syllabic nasals contribute a mora, and hence obviate lengthening:

1. There are instances of mid-vowel assimilation over an intervening consonant.
2. A more precise stipulation of the syntactic domain of the three mora constraint is beyond the scope of this introduction.

<i>nna</i>	‘fleet’
<i>mka</i>	‘rubbish’

I might point out that the three mora constraint is vacuous for open monosyllables, since overlong (3 mora) vowels are not permitted.

#### 4. Some grammatical observations

##### 4.1 Nominal possession

As in all Micronesian languages, possession in Kiribati is marked by suffixes indexing the person and number of the possessor. With many nouns (for example, names of body parts or kinship terms) these suffixes appear on the possessed noun itself:

*Table 3.* Possessive paradigm for *te tama* ‘father’

	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>tamau</i>	<i>tamara</i> <sup>1</sup>
2nd	<i>tamam</i>	<i>tamamī</i>
3rd	<i>tamana</i>	<i>tamaia</i>
Construct <sup>2</sup>	<i>taman</i>	

With others, they are affixed to the possessive article:<sup>3</sup>

<i>ana auti</i>	‘his/her house’
<i>au kāwa</i>	‘my village’
<i>ana utū te ataei</i>	‘the child’s family’

Note that the possessive article has no construct form.

##### 4.2 The nominal article *te*

Common nouns in Kiribati are cited with the common article *te*. This decision was taken for two reasons; first, because that is how the Kiribati

1. Along with Kosraean, Kiribati has lost the inclusive/exclusive pronominal contrast. Only the historical inclusive forms survive in Kiribati. Kosraean has retained many of the formal contrasts, though not their historical functions.
2. Suffix-possessed nouns in all Micronesian languages have a construct form (a reflex of PMC *\*-ni*), used with NP possessors. In Kiribati, the construct is not used with plural human noun phrase possessors.
3. The Kiribati possessive article is cognate with the general possessive classifier (PMC *\*a-*) of other Micronesian languages. Unique amongst Micronesian languages, Kiribati has no possessive classifier system.

themselves cite common nouns and, second, as a consequence of the morphophonemics of Kiribati, the form obtained by removing the article is in many cases not an extant free form. The simplest solution to this problem was to include the article with all common nouns.

### 4.3 Relational nouns

The category preposition is usually very small in Micronesian languages. In most instances, translation equivalents of English prepositions are nouns, often termed relational nouns in grammars of Micronesian languages and typically suffix-possessed. In Kiribati, most such nouns have both relational and non-relational functions; in the former they take the prefix *i-*, for example, *aona* ‘its surface, its top’ *iaona* ‘on it’.

### 4.4 Verb transitivity

Most verbs in Micronesian languages have both transitive and intransitive forms. In Kiribati, formally transitive verbs have a nine-member paradigm. The following exemplifies the most common (consonant stem) paradigm class:

Table 4. Transitive paradigm for *nōra* ‘see s.th.’

	Singular		Plural
1st	<i>nōrai</i>		<i>nōrīra</i>
2nd	<i>nōriko</i>		<i>nōriŋkamī</i>
3rd	<i>nōria</i>	ANIM	<i>nōrīa</i>
Nominal	<i>nōra</i>	INAN	<i>nōrī</i>
Passive		<i>nōraki</i>	

Intransitive forms of transitive verbs can be formed notionally from transitive forms by removing the transitive suffix and a stem-final consonant, if any. The resulting root is, in some cases, reduplicated:

<i>nō</i>	‘to see’
<i>nora</i>	‘to see s.th.’
<i>oto</i>	‘broken’
<i>otea</i>	‘to break s.th.’



Kiribati verbs are cited in their (nominal) transitive form, if there is one. Motion verbs, statives, and verbs naming bodily functions are cited in their intransitive form, however.

#### 4.5 Reduplication

Reduplication is a productive derivational and/or inflectional device in all Micronesian languages, particularly in their verbal systems. The grammar of reduplication in Kiribati is far too complex to consider here. Some information on the form and derivational functions of reduplication in Kiribati can be found in Groves et al. (1985). For a general discussion of Micronesian reduplication, see Harrison (1973).<sup>1</sup> (See also the notes for Marshallese, below.)

I have cited items in their unreduplicated form in all cases, unless the only form extant is reduplicated.

#### 4.6 Numerals and Classifiers

Like all Micronesian languages but Marshallese, Kiribati has a highly elaborated numeral classifier system, as well as a set of (in Kiribati, rarely used) serial counting numerals. Kiribati numerals are cited with the general counting classifier, Kiribati *-ua* (a reflex of PMC *\*-ua*).

#### 4.7 Derivation

All Micronesian languages have a rich derivational morphology, involving prefixation, suffixation, compounding, and reduplication. The most frequent derivational prefix in all Micronesian languages is the causative, a reflex of PMC *\*ka-*:

<i>māku</i>	‘afraid’
<i>kakamāku</i>	‘frightening’
<i>mate</i>	‘dead’
<i>kamatea</i>	‘to kill s.th.’
<i>ure</i>	‘open (of eyes)’
<i>kaurea</i>	‘to open (of eyes)’

1. That study, unfortunately, was completed before I had done any work on Kiribati. As a result, information on reduplication in Kiribati presented there is fragmentary.

The only other fully productive prefix in Kiribati is *I-* 'person from', deriving nationality names from place names:

<i>I-Kiribati</i>	'Kiribati'
<i>I-Aotiteria</i>	'Australian'

Other prefixes include: *i-* and *-ai* 'reciprocal', *ta-* 'barely, not quite', and *ni-* 'full of, characterised by', all of which have cognates in other Micronesian languages.

Most derivational suffixes in Kiribati function in the verbal transitivity system, deriving transitive verbs from nouns or from intransitive verbs. The most productive are *-na*:

<i>tamana</i>	'to regard s.o. as a father'
<i>maekana</i>	'to dwell in' (cf. <i>maeka</i> 'to dwell')

and *-akina*:

<i>ɲareakina</i>	'to laugh at s.th.'	(< <i>ɲare</i> 'to laugh')
<i>bōrauakina</i>	'to sail to'	(< <i>bōrau</i> 'to navigate')

## 5. Bibliography

Kiribati lexical data are drawn from Sabatier (1971), Eastman (1948), and from my own field notes and text material. (I have not drawn on Bingham 1908.) Grammatical surveys can be found in Cowell (1951) and Groves et al. (1985). Neither of those two published sources is completely reliable with respect to the contrast between long and short vowels and between labialised and non-labialised labial consonants before low vowels. I can only attest to the representations given in the case of those items with which I am personally familiar. I might point out that Eastman's work gives Kiribati renderings of selected English items. Those renderings are often more paraphrases than translation equivalents. I have attempted to eliminate any obvious cases of that sort.

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## 70. Marshallese

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Sheldon P. Harrison</i>
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### 1. Demography and dialects

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Marshallese is spoken by the approximately 23,000 inhabitants of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, comprising two parallel chains of islands oriented roughly north-west to south-east. In Marshallese, these chains are termed Ratak, the eastern islands, and Rālik, the western islands. They constitute the major dialect division in Marshallese. The differences between the two dialects are for the most part lexical.<sup>1</sup> The one major non-lexical difference is in the realisation of what are phonemically geminate initial consonants. In both dialects, such consonants are resolved by means of an insert vowel, high or mid depending on whether the following vowel is high or non-high, respectively. In the Rālik, the insert vowel is a prothetic front vowel, agreeing in height with the following vowel.<sup>2</sup> In the Ratak, it is an epenthetic vowel whose height is determined as in the Rālik dialect, but which is front if the geminate is light, central if it is heavy, and rounded if it is rounded:

<i>ppij</i>	‘skilled in jumping’	<i>llor</i>	‘shade, shadow’
<i>ippij</i>		<i>ellor</i>	
<i>pipij</i>		<i>lelor</i>	
<i>ttil</i>	‘burn’	<i>kkot</i>	‘strong, high in capacity’
<i>ittil</i>		<i>ekkot</i>	
<i>ūūi</i>		<i>kōkoi</i>	

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### 2. Phonology

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The Marshallese dictionary by Abo et al. (1976) uses an orthography which is a compromise between traditional orthographic practice and recommendations following from Bender’s (1968) phonemic analysis of Marshallese.

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1. Dialectal alternates are given below when that information was available in Abo et al. (1976).
  2. Except that the prothetic vowel is (lower) mid if the following vowel is low.
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However, the wordlist in this volume follows the practice of using a classical phonemic orthography.

## 2.1 Consonants

*Table 1. Consonants*

	Labialised bilabial	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Lab. retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Lab. velar
Stops	$p^w$	$p$	$t$			$c$	$k$	$k^w$
Nasals	$m^w$	$m$	$n$	$\eta$	$\eta^w$		$\eta$	$\eta^w$
Laterals			$l$	$l$	$l^w$			
Trills			$r$	$r$	$r^w$			
Glides						$y$		$w$

Bender's phonemic analysis recognises three series of consonants; a palatalised (or light) series, a velarised (or heavy) series, and a labiovelarised (or round) series. Only the light and heavy consonants are distinguished consistently in the practical orthography. The heavy consonant symbols are often used for rounded consonants, whose rounding is indicated by an adjacent round vowel or, preceding an unrounded vowel, by a following  $w$ .

Bender's series, using the orthography of the present work, are as follows. The symbol  $\bar{r}$  indicates an unrounded vowel, and the symbol “~” marks complementary distribution.

*Table 2. Bender's analysis (1968)*

		Light	Heavy	Round
Stops	bilabial	$p$	$p^w \sim p^w/\bar{r}$	-
	apical	$c$	$t$	-
	velar	-	$k$	$k^w/\bar{r}$
Nasals	bilabial	$m$	$m^w \sim m^w/\bar{r}$	-
	apical	$n$	$\eta$	$\eta^w/\bar{r}$
	velar	-	$\eta$	$\eta^w/\bar{r}$
Laterals		$l$	$l$	$l^w/\bar{r}$
Trills		$r$	$r$	$r^w/\bar{r}$
Glides		$y$	-	$w$

“Light” consonants tend to be palatalised before non-front vowels, and “heavy” bilabials to be labialised before front vowels.

Stops tend to be voiceless initially and finally but voiced intervocalically (Zewen 1977: 21-24).

## 2.2 Vowels

Though the Marshallese orthographic tradition recognises eighteen distinct vowels (in terms of height, backness, and length – see Table 3), Bender (1968) regards only vowel height as distinctive. In his phonemicisation, there are, therefore, only three<sup>1</sup> vowels: a high vowel, a mid vowel, and a low vowel (represented as /i/, /e/, and /a/, respectively). However, in the orthography of the wordlist, the vowels are:

Table 3. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
Low	<i>æ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɒ</i>

Vowels are both long and short.

In classical phonemic terms, the two sets of mid vowels are clearly distinct, though that contrast is not represented in the practical orthography:

### Practical orthography

<i>ke</i>	‘porpoise’	[ke]
<i>ke</i>	‘when’	[kɛ]
<i>aō</i>	‘mine’	[aə]
<i>aō</i>	‘swim’	[aʌ]
<i>to</i>	‘get off’	[to]
<i>to</i>	‘rope’	[tɔ]

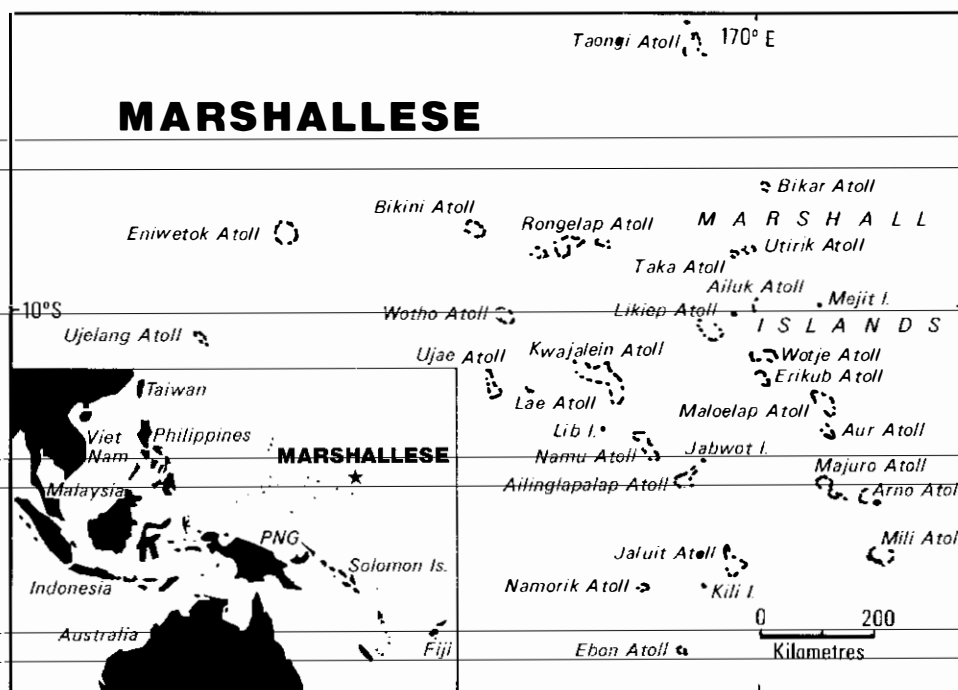
Adjacent lower mid and high vowels (phonemic /ɛGi/, where G is a glide) are not permitted in Marshallese. If such cases arise in (word-internal or -external) sandhi, the lower mid vowel becomes higher mid. Sequences of the form

1. There is, in fact, a fourth (upper mid) vowel series, phonetically between high and mid--see below.



/εCa/, where C is not a glide, are similarly proscribed. Such sequences are realised as /εCa/.

Affixes with a lower mid vowel, such as the subject prefix ε- ‘3sg’ or the transitive suffix -ε, are realised with a higher-mid vowel if the leftmost following (for prefixes) or rightmost preceding vowel (for suffixes) is higher mid.



Map 70. Marshallese language area

### 3. Grammatical notes

#### 3.1 Noun Morphology

Except for the shape of the possessive paradigm, the Marshallese nominal possessive marking system is similar to that of Ponapean. Suffix-possessed nouns and possessive classifiers have an seven-member paradigm, as exemplified by *cema-* ‘father’ (a short *a*-stem paradigm):

	Singular <sup>1</sup>	Plural
1 excl	<i>cemār</i>	
1 incl	<i>cema</i>	<i>cemām</i>
2nd	<i>cemam<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>cemāmi</i>
3rd/const	<i>cemān</i>	<i>cemāç</i>

The construct (< PMC *\*-ni*) and the third person singular (< PMC *\*-na*) forms of the possessive paradigm have fallen together in Marshallese. Marshallese suffix-possessed nouns are cited in their unsuffixed form, if there is one, and in the 3sg/CONSTRUCT form otherwise. As in Ponapean, Marshallese classifier-possessed nouns have a construct form (*-in* if the root is consonant-final, and *-Vn* if the root is vowel-final).

Unlike other Micronesian languages, there is no synchronic numeral classifier system in Marshallese.

### 3.2 Transitive verbs and transitive verb morphology

The transitive paradigm in Marshallese has at most three forms: a  $\emptyset$ -form used with an overt (nominal or pronominal) object, an *e*-form used i) as a third singular anaphoric object form or ii) optionally, in the same contexts as the  $\emptyset$ -form, and an *i*-form used with third plural nonhuman (expressed or unexpressed) objects:

<i>rejōt</i>	‘to slap s.th.’
<i>rejōte</i>	‘to slap s.th./him/her’
<i>rejōti</i>	‘to slap (them [nonhuman])’

A few verbs have a cognate of the Kiribati passive form in *-aki*. In Marshallese, these are considered derived intransitive perfective forms. For example:

<i>pinec</i>	‘to conceal s.th.’
<i>pencak</i>	‘hidden, concealed’

Bender initially divides transitive verbs in Marshallese into two broad classes, which he terms strong and weak. The weak is the productive class. Regular weak verbs are derived from stems that are consonant-final, where that

1. Marshallese suffix-possessed nouns belong to one of four paradigm classes. The remaining three are long *a*-stems, *e*-stems, and *i*-stems.

consonant is preceded by a non-high vowel. They have the three forms described above. Weak high verbs are those regular weak verbs whose last vowel is high. Weak thematic verbs are derived from vowel-final roots by means of the suffix *-ik*:

<i>eɒ</i>	‘tattoo’
<i>eɒuk</i>	‘tattoo s.o.’
<i>kaū</i>	‘pout’
<i>kaūuk</i>	‘to make faces at s.o.’

Weak high and weak thematic verbs have only a  $\emptyset$ - and an *i*-form, the latter used with all anaphoric (unexpressed) objects.  $\emptyset$ - and *i*-forms alternate in other environments.

The derivational relationship between strong transitive verbs and their intransitive counterparts is non-productive and, in general, less transparent. The strong thematic verbs are parallel to the thematic verbs of other Micronesian languages, in that the transitive form (in most cases) preserves a historical root-final *V(C)* lost in the corresponding intransitive forms:

<i>reŋōt</i>	‘to slap s.th.’
<i>reŋren</i>	‘to slap’
<i>micit</i>	‘to cut s.th.’
<i>m<sup>w</sup>icm<sup>w</sup>ic</i>	‘to cut’

The paradigms for these verbs parallel the weak thematic and weak high verbs. (Note that for some strong thematic verbs, the “thematic material” is present in both transitive and intransitive forms:

<i>kar</i>	‘to throw s.th.’
<i>karkar</i>	‘to throw’

Strong high verbs are a synchronic reflex of a class of (non-high) vowel-final roots whose preceding vowel was (reanalysed as) high:

<i>p<sup>w</sup>ine</i>	‘to count s.th.’
<i>p<sup>w</sup>enp<sup>w</sup>en</i>	‘to count’
<i>āmice</i>	‘to mourn s.o.’
<i>āmec</i>	‘to mourn’

Strong high verbs have no  $\emptyset$ -form, but have both *e*- and *i*-forms.

The strong zero class has only six members. Five are *Ce* monosyllables. Three of these (*ce* ‘to write s.th.’, *me* ‘to chew s.th.’, and *k<sup>w</sup>e* ‘to scratch



### 3.5 Reduplication

Marshallese employs initial or final CVC reduplication and/or initial consonant gemination in a variety of (largely derivational) functions. -CVC# reduplication is used in denominal verb derivation:

<i>kaṇūr</i>	‘belt’
<i>kaṇūrṇūr</i>	‘to wear a belt’
<i>p<sup>w</sup>aat</i>	‘smoke’
<i>p<sup>w</sup>aatat</i>	‘to smoke’

and, often with initial gemination or #CVC reduplication, in the derivation of what Bender (1971: 453) calls distributive verb forms:

<i>kilmeeec</i>	‘black’
<i>kkilmeeec</i>	‘grey and overcast’
<i>lokcaak</i>	‘be tied’
<i>loklokcaakcaak</i>	‘always tied up’

In Marshallese, unreduplicated statives are reduplicated when used attributively:

<i>p<sup>w</sup>at</i>	‘slow’
<i>wa p<sup>w</sup>atp<sup>w</sup>ōt</i>	‘slow canoe’

A few statives employ initial gemination to form plural forms:

<i>micel</i>	‘thick[sg]’
<i>micelcel</i>	‘thick[pl]’

## 4. Orthography

The practical orthography used by Abo et al (1976) corresponds with the orthography of the wordlist as follows:

Practical orthography	Wordlist	Practical orthography	Wordlist
p	p	i	i
b, bw	p <sup>w</sup>	c	{ c
m	m		{ e
ṃ, mw	m <sup>w</sup>	ā	æ
t	t	ū	ì

Practical orthography	Wordlist	Practical orthography	Wordlist
n	n	ō	{ ə
l	l		{ ʌ
d	r	a	a
ŋ	ɹ	u	u
ɭ	ɭ	o	{ o
r	ɹ		{ ɔ
ŋw	ŋ <sup>w</sup>	ɔ	ɒ
ɭw	ɭ <sup>w</sup>		
rw	ɹ <sup>w</sup>		
j	c		
i/-u, ū	y		
e/-o, ō, ɔ, a	y		
k	k		
ṅ	ŋ		
k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>		
ṅ <sup>w</sup>	ŋ <sup>w</sup>		
w	w		

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# 71. Ponapean

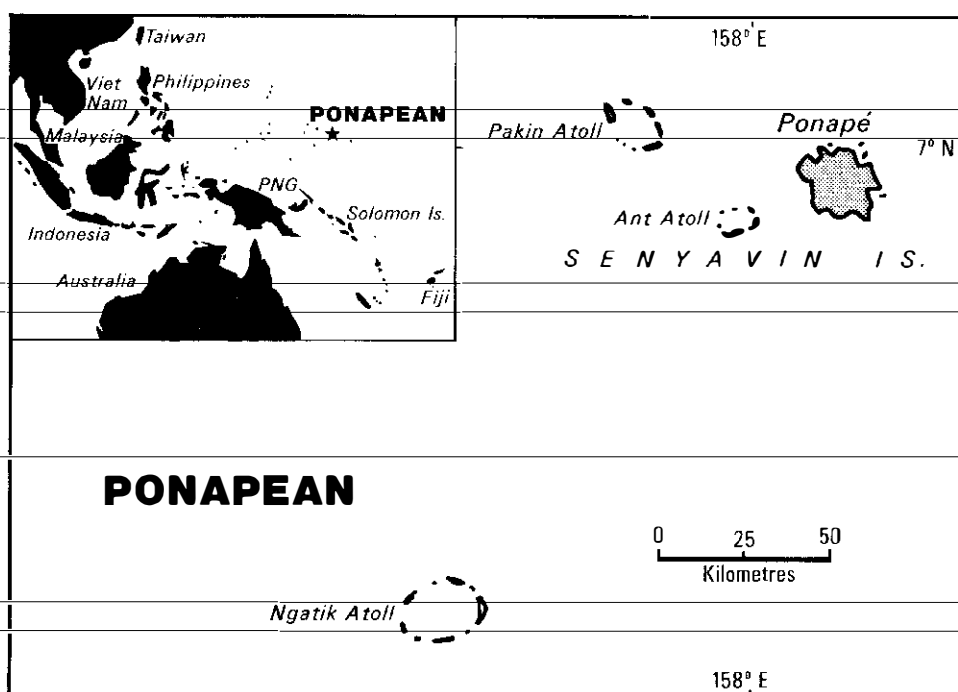
**Contributor:**Introduction and Wordlist: *Sheldon P. Harrison*

## 1. Demography and dialects

Ponapean is spoken as a first language by most of the approximately 20,000 inhabitants of the island of Ponape, the largest (and only high) island of Ponape State, Federated States of Micronesia. Ponapean is universally used as a second language throughout Ponape State, and is known by a substantial number of people in the neighbouring Kosrae State.

Two dialects of Ponapean are recognised on the island of Ponape itself, the Northern dialect and the Southern (or Kiti) dialect. The differences between the two are largely phonological. The Northern dialect has a phonemic contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/, absent in Kiti dialect:

<i>lel</i>	‘wounded’	N. /lel/	K. /lel/
<i>lel</i>	‘to arrive’	N. /leɛ/	K. /lel/



Map 71. Ponapean language area



That contrast is not represented in the standard orthography. Many items in /ε/ in the Northern dialect have /ɔ/ in Kiti:

<i>deng</i>	'taut'	N. /tεŋ/	K. /tɔŋ/
<i>kehɸ</i>	'yam'	N /kēɸ/	K. /kōɸ/

The Northern dialect is widely regarded as the standard, and is the one on which the practical orthography is based. All Ponapean forms given below are Northern dialect.

Ponapean also has a subsidiary system of honorific language, termed "high language", and used in speaking with or about persons of high rank. Some information about the system is given in Rehg (1981). I have included honorific forms where such information was available to me.

Languages closely related to Ponapean are spoken on the nearby atolls of Ngatik, Mokil, and Pingelap. Both Mokilese and Pingelapese are sufficiently different from Ponapean to be considered different languages. Rehg (pers. comm.) regards Ngatikese as a dialect of Ponapean.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Consonants

The following is the phonemic inventory of (the standard northern dialect of) Ponapean consonants:

*Table 1. Consonants*<sup>1</sup>

	Labialised bilabial	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar
Stops	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ʈ</i>	<i>k</i>
Fricatives				<i>s</i>		
Nasals	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>
Trills				<i>r</i>		
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Semivowels		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

1. Ponapean sonorant consonants may be single or geminate; the orthographic conventions for geminate *m<sup>w</sup>* and *ŋ* are as in Kiribati. Geminate non-sonorants occur only in borrowings and, in some cases, across morpheme boundaries. In other environments, geminate non-sonorants are resolved into homorganic nasal-consonant clusters. See Rehg 1981 for more information.

The phoneme /s/ is referred to by Rehg (1981) as “palatalised”, but in differing degrees from speaker to speaker. The retroflex /ʈ/ is described by Rehg as “affricated” [ʈʂ], but not by all speakers.

Sonorant consonants occur geminate medially, initially, and finally, though initial and final geminates are rare:

<i>kommɔl</i>	‘to rest’	<i>mall</i>	‘clearing’
<i>ŋŋet</i>	‘to pant’		

Geminate non-sonorants occur medially in borrowed words and exclamations. (It is certain that Ponapean had geminate non-sonorants at an earlier period in its history, but such forms have been resolved into non-geminates through a process of nasal dissimilation – see below.)

## 2.2 Vowels

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid-high	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɛ ɛ̄</i>		<i>ɔ ɔ̄</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

Vowel length is phonemic in Ponapean.

## 2.3 Phonotactics

Syllables in Ponapean are of the shape (C)V(C), (C)V̄(C) or #N̄, where the latter are initial syllabic nasals in polysyllabic forms:

<i>n̄ta</i>	‘blood’
<i>ŋ̄kɔl</i>	‘make sennit’

The only consonant clusters tolerated, apart from the geminates noted above, are homorganic NC clusters found initially (as in the preceding examples), medially, or finally:

<i>emp</i>	‘coconut crab’
<i>menseŋ</i>	‘morning’

Homorganic NC clusters arise in sandhi over boundaries of various sorts, including reduplication:

<i>pampap</i>	‘swim’	<i>tantar</i>	‘strike (of fish)’
<i>sensel</i>	‘tied’	<i>kaŋkak</i>	‘be able’

Note that expected /nl/ and /nr/ clusters are realised as /ll/ and /rr/, respectively; these geminates can thus be viewed as the realisations of nasal-sonorant clusters. The conditions governing nasal dissimilation over boundaries are complex. Over word internal boundaries other than reduplication, for example, clusters of apical consonants are broken by an epenthetic vowel.<sup>1</sup> Epenthetic vowels are also employed to break non-homorganic consonant clusters, as in:

<i>ʔamaʔaman</i>	‘remember’
<i>ʔiripirap</i>	‘steal’

The status of these vowels is considered in some detail in Rehg (1981: 91ff.).

### 3. Grammatical notes

#### 3.1 Possessive morphology

As in other Micronesian languages,<sup>2</sup> a large class of Ponapean nouns carry possessive suffixes directly. The majority of nouns, however, require a preceding possessive classifier, which carries the suffix. (For details, see Rehg 1981.) Suffix-possessed nouns and possessive classifiers have an eleven-member paradigm, as exemplified by that for *sām* ‘father’:

*Table 3.* Ponapean possessive paradigm

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 excl			<i>sāmaʔ</i>
1 incl	<i>semei</i>	<i>samaʔa</i>	<i>samaʔail</i>
2nd	<i>semem<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>samam<sup>wa</sup></i>	<i>samam<sup>wail</sup></i>
3rd	<i>seme</i>	<i>samara</i>	<i>samarail</i>
Construct <sup>3</sup>	<i>semen</i>		

1. See Rehg (1981: 58ff) for some discussion.

2. See the discussion of possessive marking in Kiribati.

3. Classifier-possessed (or alienable) nouns have a construct form, used in compounds of various sorts (Rehg 1981: 191-192). It has the form *-in* or *-en* for consonant-final roots, and *-hn* for vowel-final roots.

One might make at least two observations about this paradigm. First, there is some alternation (*a ~ e*) in the stem vowels. Ponapean suffix-possessed nouns can be divided into three major and numerous minor and sub-paradigms on the basis of stem morphophonemics. Second, one observes that the canonical shape of the unsuffixed form *sām* ‘father’ is distinct from the stem *seme-* ~ *sama-* in two respects; it is consonant-final and it has a long vowel. The first of these differences is the result of a general process of (word-final) vowel deletion at some earlier period in the history of Ponapean. Reflexes of historical root-final vowels are preserved only when “protected” from deletion by some suffix, which (as in the case of the third person singular form, for example) was itself subject to deletion. The long vowel in the unsuffixed form is the Ponapean analogue of the Kiribati three mora constraint. In contemporary Ponapean, it is a constraint ensuring that monosyllabic nouns have a long vowel.

Suffix-possessed nouns in dictionary entries are cited in their unsuffixed form, if one exists. Suffix-possessed nouns with no unsuffixed form are cited in the third person singular.

### 3.2 Numerals

Like Kiribati, Ponapean has an elaborate numeral and numeral classifier system. Ponapean numerals are cited in the same form as the corresponding Kiribati numerals.

### 3.3 Transitive verbs and transitive verb morphology

Transitive verbs in Ponapean have at least one corresponding intransitive form. The transitive verb is used if the verb has a (semantically) specific object; the intransitive form(s), otherwise. The morphological relationship between transitive and intransitive forms is not predictable. A large class of verbs have an intransitive apparently formed by removing a final -V(C):

<i>pɔtok</i>	‘to plant s.th.’
<i>pɔi</i>	‘to plant’
<i>laŋa</i>	‘to hang s.th. up’
<i>laŋ</i>	‘to hang’

The consonant, if any, is a thematic consonant, reflecting a Proto-Oceanic final consonant lost at some pre-Proto-Micronesian period unless “protected” by a following vowel. Thematic consonants of Ponapean transitive verbs were exposed when final vowel deletion (see above) removed a vocalic

suffix. Final vowel deletion also accounts for the fact that Ponapean intransitive forms are consonant-final. If, as is frequently the case, the intransitive is reduplicated, a vowel appears between the reduplicated stem and affix:

<i>tūp</i>	‘to bathe s.o.’	<i>itaŋ</i>	‘to press on s.th.’
<i>tutu</i>	‘to bathe’	<i>itait</i>	‘to press’

Rehg (1981: 203f) identifies that vowel, in all cases, with the historical final vowel.

For another large class of verbs, the transitive is formed from the intransitive by means of the suffix *-i*. That device is productive in Ponapean.<sup>1</sup> Other transitive-intransitive pairs are related by ablaut, reduplication, an intransitive suffix *-ek*, or an intransitive prefix, *pV-*. (See Rehg 1981: 202ff for numerous examples.) One might also note that the vowels of transitive and intransitive stems often show morphophonemic alternation in Ponapean:

<i>tətə</i>	‘to spear s.th.’	<i>inaur</i>	‘to lash s.th. with sennit’
<i>tək</i>		<i>inou</i>	

Transitive verbs are cited in their transitive form.

### 3.4 Suffixes in the verbal group

Ponapean verbs can be followed by up to seven suffixes flagging oblique actants or marking directional/aspectual categories.

*Table 4.* Ponapean verbal suffixes

<i>-ki</i> ‘accessory’	PROOBJ <i>-ta</i> ‘up’	<i>-to</i> ‘hither’	<i>-ēŋ</i> ‘to’	PROOBJ <i>-ēr</i> ‘perfect’
	<i>-ti</i> ‘down’	<i>-wei</i> ‘thither’	<i>-saŋ</i> ‘from’	
	<i>-loŋ</i> ‘inwards’	<i>-la</i> ‘away’		
	<i>-iei</i> ‘outwards’			
	<i>-pene</i> ‘together’			
	<i>-peseŋ</i> ‘apart’			
	<i>-seli</i> ‘scattered’			

1. Note, however, that some borrowed verbs form their transitive by means of a short final vowel, harmonic with the preceding root vowel. Compare:

<i>kukī</i>	‘to cook s.th.’;
<i>sap<sup>w</sup>ele</i>	‘to shovel s.th.’

Some of these suffixes induce lengthening in a preceding vowel:

<i>wa</i>	‘to carry’
<i>wākīta</i>	‘to carry s.th. up’

### 3.5 Reduplication

Rehg (1981: 74ff) distinguishes eleven patterns of reduplication in Ponapean:

<i>kaŋkaŋ</i>	< <i>kaŋ</i>	‘eat’
<i>pāpa</i>	< <i>pa</i>	‘weave’
<i>elēl</i>	< <i>el</i>	‘massage’
<i>ayān</i>	< <i>ān</i>	‘accustomed to’
<i>wewa</i>	< <i>wa</i>	‘carry’
<i>popou</i>	< <i>pou</i>	‘cold’
<i>alialu</i>	< <i>alu</i>	‘walk’
<i>lūluwak</i>	< <i>luwak</i>	‘jealous’
<i>mamāsās</i>	< <i>māsās</i>	‘cleared’
<i>ntinta</i>	< <i>nta</i>	‘say’
<i>rerrere</i>	< <i>rere</i>	‘peel’

As already noted for Kiribati, reduplication in Ponapean, as in all Micronesian languages, serves a variety of derivational and inflectional functions. See Harrison (1973) and Rehg (1981: 73ff, 105, 271ff, 206).

### 3.6 Derivational Prefixes

The most common derivational prefixes in Ponapean are:

<i>ka-</i>	causative	<i>weit</i>	‘proceed’	<i>kaweit</i>	‘lead’
<i>sa-</i>	negative	<i>peik</i>	‘obedient’	<i>sapeik</i>	‘disobedient’
<i>li-</i>	given to	<i>pirap</i>	‘steal’	<i>lipirap</i>	‘thieving’
<i>ak-</i>	showing	<i>lemei</i>	‘cruel’	<i>aklemei</i>	‘tough’

## 4. Orthography

The practical orthography of Ponapean differs from the phonemic system used here in the following respects:

Practical orthography	CAD phonemic
<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t̚</i>
<i>pw</i>	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>
<i>mw</i>	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>
<i>ng</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>oa</i>	<i>ɔ</i>

Following an orthographic convention set by German missionaries, long vowels are written with a following *h* :

<i>ihs</i>	/iːs/	‘who’
<i>dohl</i>	/d̥oːl/	‘mountain’
<i>soahn</i>	/s̥oːn/	‘wounded’

As one might expect, single syllable-initial high vowels are realised as glides. Only the high back glide is distinguished in the standard orthography, however:

<i>wadek</i>	/watek/	‘to read’
<i>sawa</i>	/sawa/	‘taro’
but: <i>iaa</i>	/iā/	‘where?’
<i>aio</i>	/ayo/	‘yesterday’

Syllabic coda glides are not distinguished orthographically from the corresponding high vowels.

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## 72. Woleaian

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Sheldon P. Harrison</i>
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### 1. Demography

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Woleai Atoll is situated in the western Caroline Islands, Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia. Though Woleai itself has a population of under 750, nearby islands (for example, Eurapik, Lamotrek, and Ifaluk), whose languages are very close to Woleaian, increase the Woleaian-speaking population to upwards of 2,000. (It is likely that a reasonable degree of mutual intelligibility characterises most of the western Trukic languages.)

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### 2. Phonology

#### 2.1 Consonants

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The following chart gives the phonemic inventory of Woleaian, classified in terms of point and manner of articulation:

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*Table 1.* Consonants

	Labialised labial	Labial	Alvcolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stops	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
Fricatives	<i>ϕ<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʂ</i>		<i>x</i>
Nasals	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>
Vibrants			<i>ɾ</i>	<i>ɽ</i>		
Semivowels	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>	

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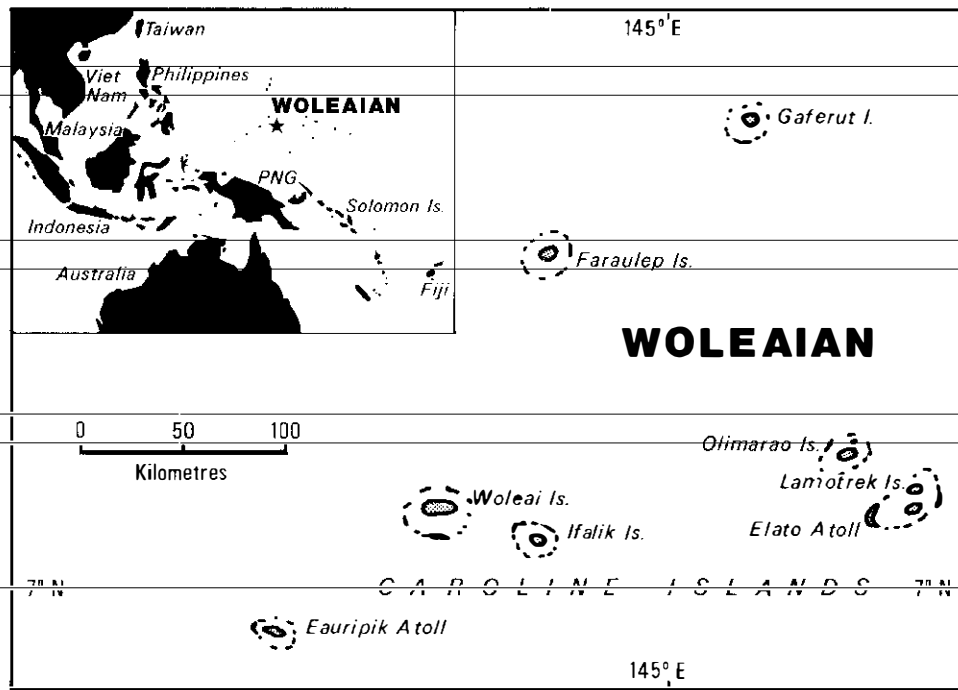
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There is a distinction between non-geminate and geminate consonants, and on Sohn's (1975) analysis, /k/ and /n/ are the geminate counterparts of /x/ and /ŋ/ respectively, whilst /c/ is the geminate counterpart of both /ʂ/ and /ɽ/.

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Map 72. Woleaian language area

## 2.2 Vowels

Table 2. Vowels (short)

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Table 3. Vowels (long)

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>ī</i>	<i>ǖ</i>	<i>ū</i>
Mid	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō̄</i>	<i>ō</i>
Low		<i>ā</i>	<i>ā̄</i>

Non-low central vowels are rounded. Note that the long vowels /ī/ and /ō/ have no short counterparts, and also that long and short high central vowels are not distinguished neither orthographically nor in the wordlist.

Non-low short vowels are voiceless in final position. One of the vagaries of the standard Woleaian orthography is that such vowels are not written, except in the case of monosyllables:

<i>kel</i>	/keři/	[keɻi]	‘dig’
<i>mas</i>	/mase/	[masɛ]	‘die’
<i>matt</i>	/matto/	[matto]	‘sit’
<i>kki</i>	/kkī/	[kkī]	‘spicy’
<i>tto</i>	/ttō/ <sup>1</sup>	[tto]	‘deep’

The absence of a voiceless /a/ is the result of a regular process of final low vowel raising. The same process spreads, right to left, to alternate low vowels (beginning with an antepenultimate /a/ if the final vowel is not low):

/metaře/	[metale]	‘his eye’
/matemami/	[matemami]	‘our eyes’

Note that low vowels are also raised between high syllables:

/itei/	‘my name’
/itaře/	‘his name’

### 2.3 Canonical shape

When one allows for final voiceless vowels, all Woleaian syllables are of the form (C)V(G) or V(G), where C may be geminate, and V long. (G represents a coda glide, orthographically represented as a vowel.)

Woleaian nouns are subject to a counterpart of the Kiribati three mora constraint. As in Kiribati, geminate consonants contribute a mora, as do (systematically long) voiced final vowels. The effects of the three mora constraint are not, however, represented orthographically in Woleaian:

<i>it</i>	/ite/	[iite]	‘name’
<i>lang</i>	/laŋo/	[lāŋo]	‘house fly’
<i>cha</i>	/ccā/	[cca]	‘blood’
<i>peshe</i>	/pešē/	[peše]	‘leg’

1. Orthographic short final vowels are typically voiced, as in *bbo* (/p<sup>w</sup>ō/) ‘pounding stone’ or *wa* (/wā/) ‘canoe’. (Woleaian orthography is thus inconsistent in the interpretation of such vowels.) Such vowels are in fact systematically long, and are pronounced as such in sandhi.

### 3. Morphology

#### 3.1 Nouns

The possessive marking and numeral systems of Woleaian are similar to those described earlier for Ponapean. Woleaian suffix-possessed forms have the following paradigm, exemplified by *temāre* ‘his father’:

	Singular	Plural
1 incl		<i>temaṣe</i>
1 excl	<i>temai</i>	<i>tamemami</i>
2nd	<i>temam<sup>w</sup>u</i>	<i>temamī</i>
3rd	<i>temāre</i>	<i>temāre</i>
Construct	<i>temaŋi</i>	

#### 3.2 Transitive verbs

Woleaian transitive verbs have a paradigm reminiscent of that of Kiribati, exemplified here by *weri*<sup>1</sup> ‘see him/her/it’:

	Singular	Plural
1incl		<i>weṛixiṣa</i>
1excl	<i>weṛiyei</i>	<i>weṛixemami</i>
2nd	<i>weṛixo</i>	<i>weṛixemī</i>
3rd	<i>weṛī</i>	<i>weṛīre</i>

Transitive-intransitive verb relationships in Woleaian are parallel to those found in other Micronesian languages. Woleaian has the typically Micronesian thematic and vowel-stem transitive verbs, as discussed earlier for Ponapean. As in other Micronesian languages, many intransitive forms of transitive verbs are reduplicated.

Some forty Woleaian transitive verbs have a stative intransitive counterpart in *-exi* or *-axi* (cognate with the Kiribati passive *-aki*). The

1. The final *-i-* preceding suffixes in this paradigm can be regarded as a transitive stem formant (cognate with the *-i-* of the Gilbertese thematic paradigm exemplified earlier). A second, vowel-stem paradigm in Woleaian has no *-i-* before object suffixes. A large number of Woleaian transitive verbs of both these classes take a glide (*-y* or *-w*), harmonic with the immediately preceding vowel, in the third person singular.

Kiribati transitiviser *-na* also has a cognate in Woleaian *-ñ*. Woleaian *-ñ* is a denominal transitiviser.

### 3.3 Reduplication

$C_1V_1C_1$ -reduplication is employed inflectionally in Woleaian (and in other Trukic languages) as an inchoative or progressive marker. Other reduplication patterns (final  $-CVC \geq V$  and initial  $CV-$ ) are used in the derivation of intransitive verbs, denominal verbs, and so forth. The consonant in initial  $CV-$  reduplications in Woleaian is geminated in both the stem and the reduplicated prefix:

<i>cecalü</i>	‘to water’	< <i>şañü</i>	‘fresh water’
<i>cecañe</i>	‘to powder’	< <i>řaña</i>	‘turmeric powder’

Gemination alone serves as  $CV-$  reduplication for many forms:

<i>p<sup>w</sup>ux</i>	‘boiled’	cf. $\phi^w$ <i>uxa</i>	‘boil it’
<i>kewāg</i>	‘exiled’	< <i>xaw</i>	‘run away’

Consonants are also frequently geminated following the causative prefix *-xa*, as in:

<i>xemmasür</i>	‘put to sleep’	< <i>masür</i>	‘sleep’
<i>xacewar</i>	‘carry’	< <i>şewar</i>	‘move’

## 4. Orthography

The practical orthography of Woleaian differs from the phonemic system used here in the following respects:

Practical orthography	CAD phonemic
<i>b</i>	$\phi^w$
<i>bb</i>	$p^w$
<i>mw</i>	$m^w$
<i>l</i>	<i>ř</i>
<i>sh</i>	<i>ş</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>ř</i>
<i>ch</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>ng</i>	<i>ŋ</i>



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## 73. Eastern Fijian (Bauan)

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Wordlist and Introduction: <i>Paul Geraghty</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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The Bauan dialect of the Eastern Fijian language is spoken on Bau, a very small island situated off the south-east coast of Vitilevu, the main island of Fiji, and almost entirely occupied by three villages (Bau, Soso, Lasakau) with a total resident population of less than 1,000.

The varieties of Fijian spoken on the islands of Viwa, north of Bau, and Batiki and Nairai, east of Bau in the Lomaiviti group, are said to be identical to Bauan, though there are probably minor lexical differences. Bauan is also closely related to the languages of the adjacent mainland (Kaba, Kiuva, Burētū, Cautatā, Taiobau) though they differ somewhat in lexicon (e.g. *rewai* ‘eel’ for Bau *duna*), and in changing unstressed *ei* to *ī*, e.g. *kīmami* ‘first person exclusive plural pronoun’ (Bauan *keimamī*), *vī-* ‘reciprocal prefix’ (Bau *veī*), and unstressed *ou* to *ū*, e.g. *dū* ‘second person paucal pronoun’, Bau *dou*.

The languages of the Rewa delta area to the southwest and Verata to the north (which includes Moturiki and parts of Ovalau and Koro) are also quite similar. All of these belong to the Vitieloma subgroup of the Eastern Fijian languages (Geraghty 1983: 313-314).

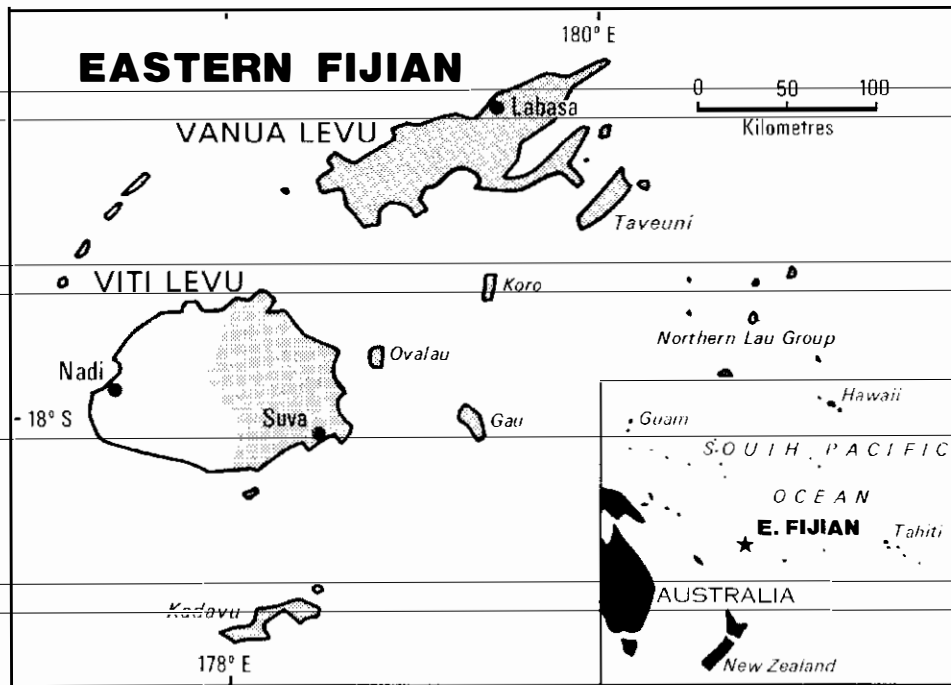
Bau was the seat of the most powerful chiefdom of eastern Fiji in the early nineteenth century, so its language was selected by the missionaries as the national literary language.

However, since missionary effort had begun in Lau, the eastern islands closest to Tonga, the missionaries had all learned Lauan as their first Fijian language, so the standard language that emerged in their speech and in the translation of the Bible was a mixture of Lauan and Bauan, modified by English syntax and semantics (Geraghty 1984: 35-36, 1989: 384-387). This variety has been referred to in recent linguistic literature as “Old High Fijian”, though it is popularly known as “Bauan”, as are all non-regional varieties of Fijian, including the Colloquial Fijian of the towns. The numerous studies of “Fijian” or “Bauan Fijian”, e.g. Capell (1941), Churchward (1941), Milner (1956), have all been concerned with Old High Fijian. The most recent

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grammar, Schütz (1985), does take some account of Colloquial Fijian. This wordlist, however, is of the language of Bau, and is based primarily on fieldwork on Bau and on interviews with Bauan speakers in Suva.



Map 73. Eastern Fijian language area

Fiji being a former British colony, English is the source of most loanwords. Those adopted in the early nineteenth century were by way of Tonga, since Tonga was visited before Fiji by the early explorers. A number of loanwords from Tongan (e.g. *totogi* 'fine, punishment') date from the mid-nineteenth century when Tongans established control over much of Fiji and formed the country's first western-style government. Some terms from Latin and French were introduced by Catholic missionaries, and there are a few loans from the Hindi of the indentured labourers from India whose descendants now constitute about half of the population of Fiji.

## 2. Phonology

Stress falls on the penultimate vowel of each stress group, long vowels reckoned as double, diphthongs as single. There are five vowels, each with phonemic length. /a/ tends to centralise when unstressed and in the diphthong /ai/. The vowel sequences /ae/ and /ao/ are not found. /t/ and /d/ tend to be

palatalised before /i/, especially in the speech of the young, presumably under the influence of Colloquial Fijian.

The following are the consonants of Bauan:

Table 1. Consonants<sup>1</sup>

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar
Stops/Affricates	vl	(p)	t		(č)	k
	vd prenas	b	d	d <sup>r</sup>	(j)	g
Fricatives	vl	(f)	s			
	vd	β	ð			
Nasals		m	n			ŋ
Laterals				l		
Vibrants				r		
Semivowels		w			y	

Those in parentheses are introduced phonemes. They are entirely absent in the speech of some older Bauans, who use /β/ for /p/ and /f/, /ti/ for /č/, and /di/ for /j/. Most Bauans use /p/ and /č/, and younger speakers include also /f/ and /j/.

Bauan has no closed syllables, though they are becoming common in contemporary loanwords, e.g. *konteina* ‘(plastic) container’, *ček-taka* ‘check’. Long vowels are obligatorily shortened, and certain vowel sequences become diphthongs, before a final unstressed vowel, so: *βū* ‘cause’ + *na* ‘its’ > *βuna* ‘its cause’, *tā* ‘chop’ + *ya* transitive > *taya* ‘chop it’, *rai* ‘see’ + *ða* transitive > *raiða* ‘see it’ (*ai* becomes a diphthong).

Note: In the practical orthography used throughout the Fiji Islands, *b* = [ᵐb], *d* = [ᵐd], *q* = [ᵐg], *g* = [ŋ], *c* = [ð], *v* = [β], *dr* = [ᵐdʳ], *j* = [č], *z* = [ɲ].

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ī		u ū
Mid	e ē		o ō
Low		a ā	

1. In standard Fijian orthography *v* = β, *c* = ð, *dr* = d<sup>r</sup>, *j* = č, *z* = ɲ, *q* = g, *qw* = g<sup>w</sup>, *g* = ŋ, *gw* = ŋ<sup>w</sup>.



### 3. Morphology

There are two major classes of nouns with regard to pronominal possession, those that take one of a set of 15 suffixes, and those that do not. Suffix-possessed nouns, which are most commonly part-of-whole nouns including body-parts (*ulu-gu* ‘my head’, *ulu-mu* ‘your head’, etc.), are indicated in the list by a suffixed hyphen, e.g. *ulu-* ‘head’.

Transitivity is indicated by one of a small set of suffixed consonants (including  $\emptyset$ ), or a suffix of the form *-Cak*, followed by *-i* or *-a*. These transitive consonants are to a large extent semantically determined, e.g. “physical” verbs mostly take *-ḍ* (*d<sup>r</sup>ami-ḍa* ‘lick’, *uβu-ḍa* ‘blow’, *boi-ḍa* ‘smell’, *reḡu-ḍa* ‘kiss’, *rai-ḍa* ‘see’), barring phonotactic constraints. In the list, the *a* transitive form is given. When the base ends in *a* and the consonant of the transitive suffix is zero, the following transitive *a* combines with the *a* of the base to form a long vowel, e.g. *visa* ‘set fire’, *visa-a* = *visā* ‘set fire to it’.

All verbs are preceded by a pronoun marking the person and number of the subject, and all non-common objects immediately follow the verb. Otherwise, the order of sentence constituents is quite fluid. The false claim commonly found in linguistic literature that Bauan is a strict VOS language appears to derive ultimately from an arbitrary decision made by the translator of the Fijian bible (Geraghty, 1989: 390).

The most common verbal prefix is *βaka-* (with its allomorph *βā-* before velar consonants), which forms causative verbs, intensive verbs, adjectives, etc.:

<i>kama</i>	‘burn, aflame’	<i>βā-kama-a</i>	‘burn’ (vb trans)
<i>lutu</i>	‘fall’	<i>βaka-lutu-ma</i>	‘drop’
<i>rai-ḍa</i>	‘see, look at’	<i>βaka-rai-ḍa</i>	‘stare at, look for’
<i>dua</i>	‘one’	<i>βaka-dua</i>	‘once’

The prefix *vei-* denotes reciprocal or collective action:

<i>βala</i>	‘fight’	<i>βeiβala</i>	‘fight each other, quarrel’
<i>βā</i>	‘talk back’	<i>βeiβā</i>	‘argue’

Nouns are compounded by attribution or with the ‘genitive particle’ *ni*:

<i>ḡone-yalewa</i>	child-female	=	‘girl’
<i>βale-laḍa</i>	house-canvas	=	‘tent’
<i>tama-ni-mē</i>	father-of-goat	=	‘billy-goat’
<i>mata-ni-suḍu-</i>	point-of-breast	=	‘nipple’

<i>βale-ni-kuro</i>	house-of-pots	=	'kitchen'
<i>wai-ni-mata-</i>	water-of-eye	=	'tears'

The prefix *i-* before a simple base forms instrumental nouns:

<i>sele-ta</i>	'cut'	<i>i-sele</i>	'knife'
<i>gagi-a</i>	'crush'	<i>i-gagi</i>	'mill'
<i>ōula-a</i>	'pierce'	<i>i-ōula</i>	'needle'

Before a reduplicated base, the meaning is more often locative:

<i>bulu-ta</i>	'bury'	<i>i-bulubulu</i>	'grave'
<i>kawa-ōa</i>	'cross over'	<i>i-kawakawa</i>	'bridge'
<i>kele</i>	'be anchored'	<i>i-kelekele</i>	'anchorage, harbour'

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## 74. Western Fijian (Nadrogā)

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist: <i>Paul Geraghty</i>
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### 1. Introduction

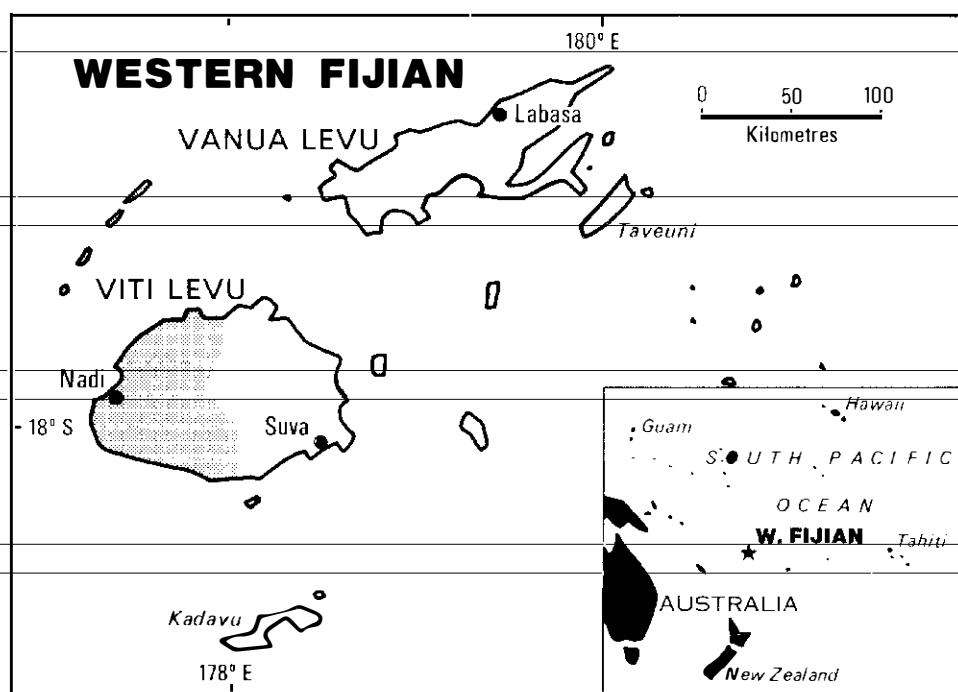
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The Nadrogā dialect of the Western Fijian language is spoken in about 20 villages, with a total resident population of approximately 5,000, in the districts of Cuvu, Sigatoka, and Nokonoko, in Nadrogā-Navōsā province, which together constitute the traditional and contemporary nucleus of the *vanua* (state) of Nadrogā, south-west Vitilevu, united under a paramount chief whose title is *na kwālevu*. A dozen or so surrounding districts have quite similar communalects, and are included in a “greater Nadrogā” language area (see map). Nadrogā Fijian is not mutually intelligible with Standard Fijian, though probably all speakers of Nadrogā also have at least a passive knowledge of Standard Fijian, which is used extensively in education and the church, exclusively on the radio and in literature. Nadrogā is closely related to the languages of Vatulele island to the south, Vusu and Sērua to the east, and Nasikawa to the north-east, less closely to the various communalects of Ba province to the north. All these belong to the Western subgroup of Fijian (Geraghty 1983: 278-287, 290-291).

Very little has been published on Nadrogā. The earliest account of Nadrogā contains a list of some 220 place-names provided by the then chief (Dumont d’Urville 1834, vol. 4: 715-717), but in a phonology largely modified towards Standard Fijian, with e.g. only one instance of *\*t* being realised as /č/ before /u/ (*Abounanitchou* ‘Wavunaniju’). Schütz (1985: 65) refers to a list of six words with a brief mention of the pronouns and transitive endings in a manuscript compiled in the 1840s by the missionary John Hunt; but by the time the missionaries moved into Nadrogā, the decision had already been made, and widely accepted, that the Eastern Fijian language Bauan would be the standard Fijian language, so little attention was paid to Nadrogā. The first published text in a variety of Nadrogā was a short fable collected and transcribed by Rev. Lorimer Fison and published in Gatschet (1885: 207-208). Arthur Capell was probably the first linguist to carry out fieldwork in Nadrogā, in 1940, and compiled a short grammar (Capell 1941a) which was never published. The only material published was

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a list of pronouns and deictics (fold-out supplement to Capell (1941b) absent from recent editions) and a handful of words in Capell – Lester (1941: 36-38). Biggs (1953) is a far more substantial list of words and phrases, but from Lomawai, a communalect situated towards the north-western periphery of the Greater Nadrogā language area, so rather different from the Nadrogā of this list. Schütz's (1962) unpublished dialect survey covers a number of villages in the Nadrogā area, and Schütz (1963) includes a study of Nadrogā phonology resulting from that survey. Most recently the present author has published fairly extensive data from Nadrogā in Geraghty (1977), Geraghty (1983), and Qereti (1990) (all *passim*). Information for this list was gathered on numerous weekend fieldtrips, particularly to Yadua village.



Map 74. Western Fijian language area

The major source for loanwords used to be English, either directly or via Tongan; now it is English via Standard Fijian, with a small number from Fiji Hindi, the language of the descendants of indentured labourers whose main occupation is still sugarcane farming. Many speakers of Nadrogā, particularly males, also speak Fiji Hindi, more so than is usual in other parts of Fiji. Similarly, many Indians, particularly males, also speak Nadrogā.

## 2. Phonology

Stress is usually penultimate, long vowels reckoned as two syllables. Pretonic /a/ is obligatorily lengthened, e.g. *na vā'nua* 'the land', *na vanu'ā* 'levu' 'the big land', and long vowels tend to shorten finally. There is also vowel assimilation across word boundaries, word-final /a/ assimilating to a following vowel, e.g. *na ḏa* 'what', *na ḏe i k<sup>w</sup>aya* 'what are you saying', *na ḏo o k<sup>w</sup>aya* 'what did you say'.

There are no consonant clusters and all syllables are open, except that unstressed /u/ is often deleted after /m/, e.g. /mu-/ + /-ma/ > *mma* 'your tongue', *yamu* or *yam* 'mosquito'. There are no diphthongs.

Historically, *t* became *s* before *i* and *e*, and [č] before *u*, while \**d* > [ñj] before *i*, *u*. Because of irregular developments in the pronouns and loans, /t/ /d/ /č/ and /j/ are now all separate phonemes. Almost emblematic of Nadrogā speech is the change of \**s* to *h*, in which it is unique in Fiji.

Table 1. Consonants

		Bilabial	Dental	Al- veolar	Post- alveolar	Velar	Lab. velar	Glottal
Stops	vl		<i>t</i>		<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	(?)
	vd prenas	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d<sup>r</sup></i>	<i>č<sup>j</sup></i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>	
Fricatives	vl			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
	vd	<i>β</i>	<i>ḏ</i>					
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ<sup>w</sup></i>	
Laterals				<i>l</i>				
Vibrants				<i>r</i>				
Semivowels		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

Glottal stop occurs in only one word: *o<sup>2</sup>ō* 'this'. In addition to the practical spelling conventions listed on p. 921, in Western Fijian *qw* = [ŋ<sup>g</sup>w] and *gw* = [ŋ<sup>w</sup>].

Nadrogā has the usual five vowel system, each with phonemic length.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

### 3. Morphology

There are two lexically defined possession classes of nouns: suffix-possessed and others. All suffix-possessed nouns are kin-terms, e.g. *tama-* ‘father’, *huna-* ‘mother’, *karua-* ‘grandchild’: *tamam* ‘your father’, *hunaya* ‘his mother’, *karuaya o Naomi* ‘Naomi’s grandchild’.

Possession of all other nouns is semantically determined. If conceived as part of a whole, it is prefix-possessed: *e-karua* ‘the second one’, *gu-yabaki* ‘my age’, *m-mata* ‘your eye’, *e-čula na kai* ‘the branch of the tree’. Otherwise, the categories are similar to those of Standard Fijian, possessive pronouns being suffixed to one of three bases: *na ke-gu doko* ‘my taro (I eat it)’, *na me-m tovu* ‘your sugarcane (you ‘drink’ it)’, *na le-d<sup>r</sup>u were* ‘their house’, *na le-ču tata* ‘our (inclusive plural) language’.

Compound nouns are formed by juxtaposition or with the genitive particle *ni*, or occasionally its allomorphs *si* or *ri*:

<i>were-laya</i>	house-canvas	=	‘tent’
<i>huna-hewa</i>	female-small	=	‘girl’
<i>k<sup>w</sup>a-leikana</i>	thing-eaten	=	‘food’
<i>mata-ni-were</i>	opening-of-house	=	‘door’
<i>g<sup>w</sup>ara-ni-ŋiđu</i>	hole-of-nose	=	‘nostril’
<i>kakaβulu-si-mata</i>	hair-of-eye	=	‘eyelash’
<i>taba-ri-ŋuhu</i>	skin-of-mouth	=	‘lips’

Agentive nouns are formed with the prefix *d<sup>r</sup>ou-*:

<i>d<sup>r</sup>awe</i>	‘to farm’	<i>d<sup>r</sup>ou-d<sup>r</sup>awe</i>	‘farmer’
<i>lawata</i>	‘compose poetry’	<i>d<sup>r</sup>ou-lawata</i>	‘poet’
<i>tađi</i>	‘to fish’	<i>d<sup>r</sup>ou-tađi</i>	‘fisherman’

The prefix *i-* forms instrumental and other nouns from verbs:

<i>βaβi</i>	‘bake’	<i>i-βaβi</i>	‘oven’
<i>kaβa</i>	‘to comb’	<i>i-kaβa</i>	‘comb’
<i>đake</i>	‘climb’	<i>i-đakeđake</i>	‘ladder’
<i>tad<sup>r</sup>a</i>	‘sit’	<i>i-tad<sup>r</sup>atad<sup>r</sup>a</i>	‘seat, chair’

The most common verbal prefix is *βa-* (*βe-* before *i*) which forms causatives, intensives etc.:

<i>mase</i>	‘dead’	<i>βa-mase</i>	‘kill’
<i>lō</i>	‘extinguished’	<i>βa-lō</i>	‘extinguish’
<i>βele</i>	‘lost’	<i>βa-βele-nia</i>	‘lose’

<i>seku-đia</i>	‘follow’	<i>βa-seku-đia</i>	‘imitate’
<i>i-hulu</i>	‘clothes’	<i>βe-i-hulu</i>	‘get dressed’
<i>rua</i>	‘two’	<i>βa-rua</i>	‘twice’

The prefix *βī-* denotes reciprocity or collective action:

<i>ođa</i>	‘angry’	<i>βī-ođa-si</i>	‘strife’
<i>dei</i>	‘leave’	<i>βī-dei</i>	‘divorce’

Transitive suffixes are more varied than those of Standard Fijian. Most verbs form their transitive with a suffix of the form *-Ki-a* and/or *Kaki(ni-a)*, where *K* is one of a set of consonants, including zero, determined at least partially by the semantics of the verb, and the final *-a* is a third person singular object marker, one of a set of eleven person-and-number-marked object markers:

<i>toβo-lia</i>	‘taste’	<i>dere-ia</i>	‘touch’
<i>hogo-mia</i>	‘catch’	<i>βodʹo-gia</i>	‘swallow’
<i>loβo-nia</i>	‘bury’	<i>čube-ria</i>	‘carry’
<i>yabo-sia</i>	‘kiss’	<i>βarau-taki-nia</i>	‘prepare, weigh’
<i>βuli-đia</i>	‘turn-over’	<i>umi-đaki-nia</i>	‘regret’
<i>nahu-kia</i>	‘bind’	<i>holo-maki-nia</i>	‘hide’

A smaller number of verbs form the transitive with no transitive suffix, simply adding the object suffix *-a*, which assimilates to the final vowel of the base:

<i>tara+a = tarā</i>	‘do, make’
<i>lese+a = lesē</i>	‘roast’
<i>lido+a = lidō</i>	‘pour’
<i>roŋo+a = roŋō</i>	‘hear’

Others change the final vowel of the base to *i*:

<i>βana - βania</i>	‘shoot’
<i>kana - kania</i>	‘eat’
<i>homu - homia</i>	‘drink’

A small class comprises monosyllabic bases, which reduplicate to form the intransitive:

<i>mama - maŋia</i>	‘chew’
<i>βiβi - βiđia</i>	‘wind’
<i>dodo - dokia</i>	‘stretch’
<i>toto - tokia</i>	‘pull’
<i>gigi - giđia</i>	‘roll’



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# 75. Rotuman

**Contributors:**

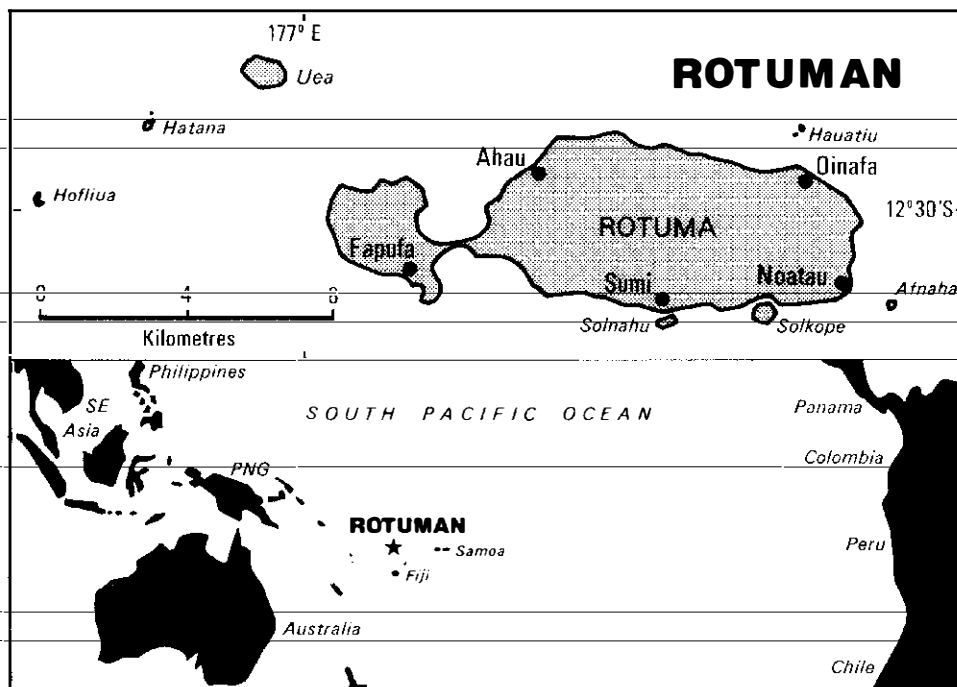
Introduction: *Paul Geraghty*

Wordlist: *Hans Schmidt – Paul Geraghty*

## 1. Introduction

Rotuman is the language of the approximately 2,600 inhabitants of the small island of Rotuma, situated some 250 miles NNW of Vanualevu, Fiji, and politically part of Fiji. Its nearest neighbour is Futuna, about 240 miles to the East. In addition, Rotuman is the main language of most of the 5,000 or so Rotumans living in Fiji. There is only very slight dialect variation.

This list was originally compiled by Hans Schmidt of the University of Hamburg, based on Churchward's standard work and his own 1981 field-notes. It was subsequently revised by Lavenia Kaurasi, an educational administrator resident in Suva, and finalised by the author and Hapoti Hae with the help of a number of elderly Rotumans from the Suva area.



Map 75. Rotuman language area

The earliest systematic description of Rotuman was by Horatio Hale (1846). Turner (1884) included a short wordlist. At least one sound change can be traced from these early records: \**t* is recorded consistently as [θ] by Hale, while Turner lists mostly [θ] but [f] in some 25 per cent of the cases. By Churchward's time (1930s), the change to [f] was complete.

Historically, Rotuman is the sole member of the Rotuman subgroup of Central Pacific (Pawley 1979, Geraghty 1986), the other two subgroups being Fijian and Polynesian. It has long excited interest among linguists, both for its atypical vowel system and syllable structure (the result of assimilation and metathesis; see Besnier 1987 and below) and its history of extensive borrowing from Polynesian languages (Biggs 1965). These Polynesian loans constitute a considerable portion of the lexicon, and are thoroughly assimilated (rather like the French and Latin input into Middle English); moreover, it is often difficult to pinpoint the exact Polynesian source, so these loans are not indicated as such in this list. Only recent loans, mostly from English and Fijian, are noted.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Consonants

The phonemic inventory is as follows:

*Table 1. Consonants*

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives	<i>v</i> <i>ɸ</i>	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			
Flaps			<i>r</i>			
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

## 2.2 Vowels

Table 2. Vowels (underlying)

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Table 3. Vowels (surface)

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ü</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e ø</i>		<i>o</i>
Mid-low	<i>æ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

The currently accepted writing system embodies the following conventions:

[č]	is written as	<i>j</i>
[ŋ]	is written as	<i>g</i>
[ø]	is written as	<i>ö</i>
[ɔ]	is written as	<i>ɔ̄</i>
[æ]	is written as	<i>ä</i>

For more details of pronunciation, see Churchward (1940) and Besnier (1987).

## 3. Morphophonemics

In many environments (see Churchward 1940 for the rules), Rotuman employs a declined form (“incomplete phase”) instead of the citation form (“complete phase”). In the wordlist it can be observed that in compounds all except the last morpheme are in declined form (e.g. *kef-kefu* < \**kefu-kefu*, *leʔ-pure* < \**leʔe-pure*). The declined form is derived from the citation form as follows:

1. metathesis of final vowel and preceding consonant (*tapiko* > *tapiok*)
2. geminate reduction where  $V_1 = V_2$  (*ala* > *aal* > *al*)

## 3. vowel elision:

$V_2$  is dropped except when  $V_1$  is higher ( $-iCu > -iuC > -iC$ )

## 4. semivowel development:

if  $V_1$  is higher than  $V_2$ , it changes into the related semivowel  
( $-iCe > -ieC > -yeC$ )

## 5. umlaut:

a non-front vowel followed by a front vowel which is as high or higher develops into an umlaut:

$-aCi > aiC > -æC$

$-oCe > oeC > -øC$

$-oCi > oiC$

$-uCi > uiC > -üC$

## 6. syllable reduction

## 7. accent shift from penultimate to ultimate

Table 4. Morphophonemic summary:

Citation form ("complete phase")						Declined form ("incomplete phase")							
$V_2$ :	i	u	e	o	a	$V_2$ :	i	u	e	o	a		
$V_1$	i	iCi	iCu	iCe	iCo	iCa	$V_1$	i	iC	iC	yeC	yoC	yɔC
	u	uCi	uCu	uCe	uCo	uCa		u	üC	uC	weC	woC	wɔC
	e	eCi	eCu	eCe	eCo	eCa		e	eC	eC	eC	eC	yaC
	o	oCi	oCu	oCe	oCo	oCa		o	øC	oC	øC	oC	waC
	a	ɔCi	ɔCu	æCe	aCo	aCa		a	æC	ɔC	æC	aC	aC

As can be deduced from the bottom line of the citation form table, certain assimilatory changes have already occurred in citation forms, viz:

$a > æ / \_ (C)e$

and  $a > ɔ / \_ (C) i, u$

likewise in declined forms:  $a > ɔ / i, u\_C$

#### 4. Morphology

Reduplication, both full and partial, is a common process in Rotuman yielding frequentative verbs and plural adjectives, though the fact that many forms are fossilised (e.g. *fanfana* ‘sand’, *hufhufu* ‘bat’, *ne?ne?i* ‘strong’) suggests that it was even more productive formerly. Examples of lexicalised reduplication in the list include:

<i>pera</i>	‘soil’	<i>perpera</i>	‘dirty’
<i>?ele</i>	‘near’	<i>?el?ele</i>	‘shallow’
<i>nočo</i>	‘straight’	<i>nonočo</i>	‘correct’

The suffix *-ŋa* derives nouns from verbs, especially locatives and instrumentals:

<i>fomu</i>	‘bury’	<i>fomu-ŋa</i>	‘grave’
<i>a?lele</i>	‘judge’	<i>a?lele-ŋa</i>	‘court’
<i>hako</i>	‘climb’	<i>hakhako-ŋa</i>	‘ladder’
<i>kukulu</i>	‘cover’	<i>kukulu-ŋa</i>	‘blanket’

Common elements in compound nouns include *le?* ‘person’, *tē* ‘thing’, *rē* ‘do, make’ and the ‘genitive’ particle *-ne-*:

<i>le?-rako</i>	‘person-learn’ = ‘student’
<i>le?-hana?o</i>	‘person-steal’ = ‘thief’
<i>tē-la-?ā</i>	‘thing-to-eat’ = ‘food’
<i>tē-?ona</i>	‘thing-intoxicating’ = ‘intoxicating drink’
<i>tē-ŋaruŋa</i>	‘thing-work’ = ‘tool’
<i>fā-rē-veko</i>	‘man-make-garden’ = ‘farmer’
<i>le?-rē-rako</i>	‘person-make-learn’ = ‘teacher’
<i>fɔ?-ne-mafa</i>	‘back-of-eye’ = ‘eyelid’
<i>palaŋ-ne-isu</i>	‘hole-of-nose’ = ‘nostril’
<i>faliaŋ-ne-?atua</i>	‘ear-of-devil’ = ‘mushroom’

The most common verbal prefix is *a?*-, which forms causatives, adverbs, etc.:

<i>lelei</i>	‘good’	<i>a?-lelei-a</i>	‘heal’
<i>mauri</i>	‘alive’	<i>a?-mauri</i>	‘save’
<i>rua</i>	‘two’	<i>a?-rua</i>	‘twice’

The reciprocal prefix is *hɔi-*:

<i>feke</i>	‘angry’	<i>hɔi-feke-na</i>	‘quarrel’
<i>pelu</i>	‘fight’	<i>hɔi-pelu-na</i>	‘fight each other’



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## 76. Tongan

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and wordlist: <i>Paul Geraghty</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Tongan is the main language of the kingdom of Tonga, spoken by about 100,000 in Tonga, and perhaps 30,000 migrants and their families in New Zealand, Australia, United States, Canada, Samoa, Fiji, Niue etc. The only part of Tonga where a language other than Tongan is spoken is on the northernmost island, Niuafu'ou, the language of which is Samoic. The previously Samoic language of its neighbour, Niuatoputapu, has now almost completely assimilated to Tongan. Geographically, the language is fairly uniform, only very minor lexical differences existing between the three main island groups, Tongatapu (which includes the main island and Nuku'alofa, the seat of government), Ha'apai, and Vava'u. This wordlist was compiled by the author using Churchward's dictionary, and corrected and expanded by Melenaita Taumoefolau of the University of Auckland, a native speaker of Tongan and PhD student in linguistics. Tongan is said to be mutually intelligible with East Uvean, and is closely related historically to Niuean, with which it forms Tongic, one of the two main branches of the Polynesian language family.

### 2. History of research

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Tonga was one of the earliest Pacific island groups to be exposed to Western influence, being a favourite haunt of Cook, who named them the "Friendly Islands". As a result, a number of Tongan wordlists were published in the various accounts of Cook's voyages, and at least one Tongan word entered the English language – *taboo* from Tongan *tapu*.

The first attempt at a complete description of Tongan had a most unusual origin. William Mariner, a young Englishman, survived the massacre of the crew of the *Port au Prince* in 1806, was adopted into one of the royal families of Tonga, and lived there for four years. On his return, his account of his experiences was transformed into a book by John Martin, who also

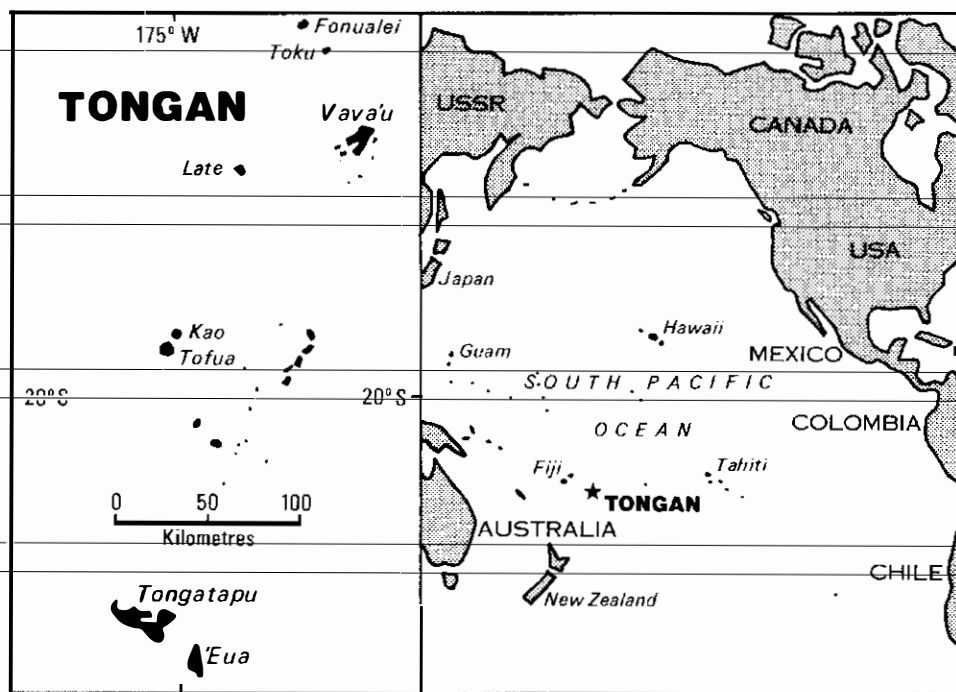
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turned Mariner's implicit knowledge of Tongan into a quite substantial and surprisingly accurate grammar and dictionary (Martin 1817).

Wesleyan missionaries established themselves in Tonga in 1826, and 1828 saw the publication of a short primer by Nathaniel Turner, followed by Rabone's dictionary of 1845 and West's grammar of 1865. French Catholic missionaries of the Marist order arrived later, and produced a grammar and dictionary in French in 1890 (Colomb 1890). Rabone's work formed the basis for Baker's grammar and dictionary of 1897, which, though supplemented by Collocott in 1925, remained the standard reference work until the publication of Churchward's Grammar in 1953 and his Dictionary in 1959. A more recent, though unpublished, grammar is Morton 1962, and Shumway 1971 is an excellent course in spoken Tongan.



Map 76. Tongan language area

### 3. Orthography

As in Rotuma, the Methodists and Catholics developed slightly different orthographies. The currently accepted orthography follows that laid down by the Privy Council of Tonga in 1943 (Churchward 1953: viii-ix). Notably, glottal stop is marked by an inverted apostrophe, and velar nasal by the digraph *ng*, rather than the *g* used in the neighbouring languages of Fiji, Rotuma, Samoa etc.

#### 4. Phonology

The segmental phonemes of Tongan are as follows:

Table 1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives	<i>vl</i> <i>vd</i>	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>			

plus the usual five vowels, with distinctive length. All syllables are of the shape CV or V. Accent is usually penultimate, long vowels being reckoned as two syllables, but occurs on the final syllable of definite noun phrases. The stops are unaspirated. The /l/ phoneme is realised by some speakers as a flap intervocally.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a a</i>	

Unstressed /a/ is often raised in the environment of a non-low vowel, a rule which yields morphophonemic alternation in reduplications, e.g. *pelepela*, *monumanu*, *hinehina*, and compounds, e.g. *taʔe* 'excrement', *teʔe-lajo* 'fly's excrement, wax, candle'.

#### 5. Morphology

Compound nouns usually consist of noun + verb, noun + noun, or noun + *ʔi* + noun. Examples:

<i>vai-tafe</i>	water-flow	= 'river'
<i>manu-puna</i>	animal-fly	= 'bird'
<i>hele-kosi</i>	knife-cut	= 'scissors'
<i>fale-koloa</i>	house-goods	= 'store'
<i>hui-vakavaka</i>	bone-side	= 'rib'
<i>mui-fonua</i>	extremity-land	= 'headland'
<i>ʎeʎesi-nima</i>	shell-hand	= 'fingernail'
<i>kakano-ʎi-manu</i>	flesh-of-animal	= 'meat'
<i>ava-ʎi-ihu</i>	hole-of-nose	= 'nostril'
<i>kili-ʎi-ʎakau</i>	skin-of-tree	= 'bark'
<i>foʎi-manu (&lt;fuaʎi-)</i>	fruit-of-animal	= 'egg'

A common instrument-forming prefix is *meʎa* 'thing', and *taʎata* 'man' forms many agentives:

<i>meʎa-kai</i>	thing-eat	= 'food'
<i>meʎa-ʎāue</i>	thing-work	= 'tool'
<i>meʎa-tau</i>	thing-fight	= 'weapon'
<i>taʎata-tui-sū</i>	man-sew-shoe	= 'cobbler'
<i>taʎata-tau</i>	man-fight	= 'soldier'

Two noun-forming suffixes are met with in the data, *-ʎaʎa*, which usually indicates place, and *-ʎa*, which indicates instrument or result:

<i>ako</i>	'learn'	<i>ako-ʎaʎa</i>	'school'
<i>fakatau</i>	'trade'	<i>fakatau-ʎaʎa</i>	'market'
<i>mohe</i>	'sleep'	<i>mohe-ʎa</i>	'bed'
<i>toe</i>	'remain'	<i>toe-ʎa</i>	'remains'
<i>putu</i>	'close together'	<i>putu-ʎa</i>	'a crowd'

The most common verbal prefix is *faka-*, which usually marks causative or intensive:

<i>moʎui</i>	'healthy, alive'	<i>faka-moʎui</i>	'cure'
<i>moho</i>	'cooked'	<i>faka-moho</i>	'cook'
<i>tuai</i>	'slow'	<i>faka-tuai-ʎi</i>	'delay'
<i>fanoʎo</i>	'hear'	<i>faka-fanoʎo</i>	'listen'

Transitive suffixes *-ʎi* (by far the most common), *-si*, *-hi*, and *-ʎi* are separated from their bases by a hyphen.

Tongan sentences are rigidly verb-initial, with a tense-marker and subject pronoun obligatorily preceding the verb.

## 6. Lexicon

Tongan has a long tradition of use in education and development, and much of the lexical enrichment required has been achieved through the use of indigenous materials and processes. Nevertheless, although never a colony, Tongan has long existed in the Commonwealth sphere of influence, and the overwhelming majority of loan-words are from English. A sizeable minority, however, originates from Fijian, reflecting the protracted intercourse between the two groups in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Other sources of loan-words are Samoan, Latin, French, and Spanish.

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## 77. Samoan

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<b>Contributor:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Ulrike Mosel</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Samoan is a Polynesian ergative language, which is spoken by most of the 160,000 inhabitants of Western Samoa, the 34,000 inhabitants of American Samoa, and by Samoan immigrants in New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii and California. Within the Polynesian languages, Samoan belongs to the Samoic-Outlier group of Nuclear Polynesian.

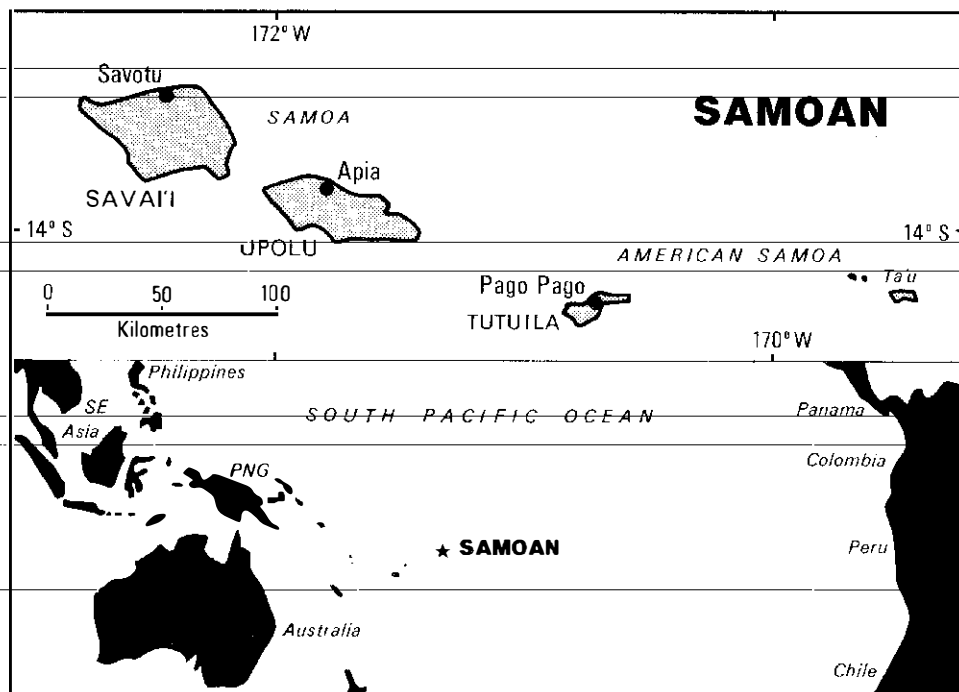
The degree of regional variation is too small to speak of separate dialects. But there are two sociolects, the standard language (*tautala lelei* 'good language') and the colloquial language (*tautala leaga* 'bad language'), which considerably differ in their phonology, morphology and syntax. Standard Samoan is used in poetry, songs, written Samoan, in prayers and during Church services, on the radio, in school, and when talking to Europeans. Furthermore, the lexicon contains a large number of so-called "polite words", which have to be used when talking about or addressing high-ranking persons.

The present word list is based on Milner (1966), Pratt (1911 [1977]), Hovdhaugen (1987) and my own data which I collected during fieldwork in Western Samoa in March-September 1985, October-November 1987, and April 1988. My research on the Samoan language has been financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Society) since May 1984.

The word list indicates the word class membership of each word, as there are considerable differences in this respect between Samoan and English or French. There are, for instance, hardly any adjectives in Samoan. Most notions expressed by adjectives in English or French are signified by intransitive verbs, which, as with any other verbs, can be used predicatively and attributively. Furthermore, all verbs can be used in the function of verbal nouns denoting actions or other states of affairs.

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Map 77. Samoan language area

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Word stress

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word.

### 2.3 Inventory of consonants

Standard Samoan (*tautala lelei*) has 13 consonants. /k/, /h/, and /r/ only occur in loanwords and interjections:

Table 1. Standard Samoan consonants

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	( <i>k</i> )	ʔ
Fricatives	vl		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		( <i>h</i> )
	vd		<i>v</i>			
Nasals		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals				<i>l</i>		
Flaps				( <i>r</i> )		

Colloquial Samoan (*tautala leaga*) only has ten consonants:

*Table 2.* Colloquial Samoan consonants

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl	<i>p</i>			<i>k</i>	ʔ
Fricatives	vl		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		( <i>h</i> )
	vd		<i>v</i>			
Nasals		<i>m</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals				<i>l</i>		

/k/ in Colloquial Samoan corresponds to both /t/ and /k/ in Standard Samoan, /ŋ/ to both /n/ and /ŋ/, and /l/ to both /l/ and /r/.

### 2.3 Inventory of vowels

Samoan has a five vowel system. Vowel length is distinctive:

*Table 3.* Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

There are six diphthongs in Samoan: /ei, eu, ai, au, oi, ou/. Other sequences of qualitatively different vowels constitute separate syllables.

### 2.4 Syllable structure

The syllable has the structure CV, C $\bar{V}$ , V or V $\bar{V}$ . In word final position the sequence C $\bar{V}$  has to be interpreted as two syllables, namely CV + V. Consonant clusters in loanwords are split up by epenthetic vowels in Samoan, e.g. *aisakulimi* 'ice-cream'.



### 3. Orthography

The Samoan practical orthography is phonological except that vowel length and the glottal stop are usually not indicated. The velar nasal is rendered by *g*, the glottal stop by ‘, and the flap by *r*.

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## 78. Mele-Fila

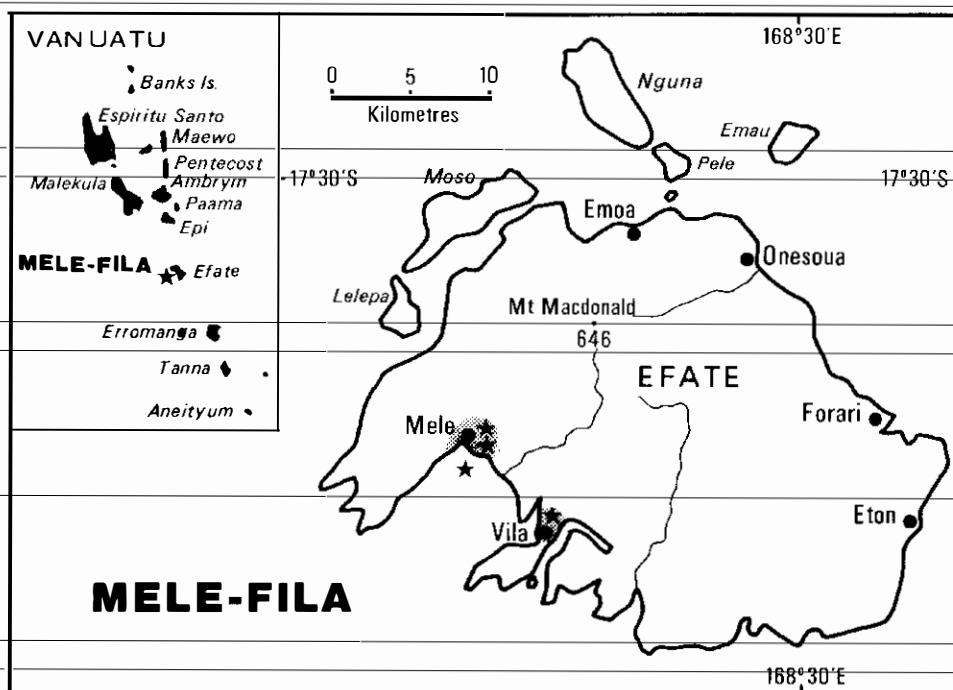
**Contributor:**

**Wordlist and Introduction:** *Ross Clark*

### 1. Introduction

Mele-Fila is a Polynesian language spoken by about 1800 people in two villages in central Vanuatu. The villages are situated about 7 km apart on the south-west coast of the island of Efate, near the capital, Port Vila. Mele (Imere) has about 1200 speakers, and Fila (Ifira) about 600 (1979 census figures).

There are numerous small points of difference between the Mele and Fila dialects in all areas of linguistic structure. Thus a speaker can be quickly identified as coming from one village or the other, but will be understood without difficulty by speakers of the other dialect. The forms given in the present list are those of the Mele dialect.



Map 78. Mele-Fila language area

Little has been written about this language. Apart from early missionary wordlists, the first descriptive work is a paper by Capell (1942), based on work with a single Fila speaker in Fiji. Biggs (1975) is a compilation of vocabulary collected by Biggs, Elbert, Capell and others. Early results of my own fieldwork were summarised in a working paper (Clark 1975a). There are also some texts (Clark 1975b, 1991), and a translation of the Bible into the Fila dialect is in progress (Mark 1981). The present list is based on material collected by me at Mele between 1974 and 1986. My principal informant has been Edwin Nganga.

Mele-Fila has borrowed a substantial proportion of its vocabulary from the neighbouring Efate dialects. In recent times it has also acquired many words from English and French via Bislama, a variety of Melanesian Pidgin which is the lingua franca and national language of Vanuatu.

## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Word stress

Stress falls on the antepenultimate vowel of a word. (Long vowels count as two for purposes of this rule.) Except for a few particles, a Mele-Fila word contains a minimum of three vowels. Thus lexical morphemes cited in this list which have only two vowels are bound forms, and will always occur (in text or in citation) with an attached grammatical morpheme. Thus *fare* 'house' will appear as *'te-fare* 'the house'; *'a-fare* 'the houses', etc.

### 2.2 Consonants

Mele-Fila has fifteen consonant phonemes.

*Table 1.* Consonants

	Labial	Labialised labial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar
Stops/Affricates	<i>p</i>	<i>p<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>
Fricatives	vl vd	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>s</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>m<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>
Laterals			<i>l</i>		
Flaps			<i>r</i>		
Semivowels		<i>w</i>			

### 2.2.1 Discussion

/č/ is a voiceless alveopalatal affricate which is largely in complementary distribution with /t/ - /č/ occurring before /i/ and /t/ elsewhere. Recent borrowings, however, have extended both consonants into other environments (e.g. *ratiō* ‘radio’, *činčā* ‘ginger’), so that they must now be considered distinct phonemes.

The labiovelars /p<sup>w</sup>/ and /m<sup>w</sup>/ are bilabials with a greater or lesser degree of velarisation. In the Fila dialect they are not distinguished from the plain labials.

/r/ is a light alveolar flap, with some tendency toward retroflexion.

### 2.3 Vowels

Mele-Fila has five vowel phonemes:

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

These vowels may be long or short. Vowel length has a fairly high functional load in Mele-Fila, and minimal contrasts are not hard to find, e.g. *mara* ‘bitter’, *māra* ‘garden’, *mārā* ‘eel’.

### 2.4 Notes on the shape of words and syllables

Mele-Fila syllables are predominantly of the form (C)V, but (C)VC is also permitted. The vast majority of words end in a vowel, but a few recent loans are consonant final: compare *čipōto* ‘teapot’ with *nōt* ‘north’. All consonants occur in geminate clusters, and consonant gemination functions as a mark of plurality in many intransitive verbs, e.g. *nofo* ‘sit (sg)’, *nnofo* ‘sit (pl)’. Non-geminate clusters of two consonants occur, of the following types:

Resonant + Obstruent: *sikontasi* ‘sea bird sp.’, *kinčia* ‘pinch’, *aŋkiči* ‘type of cloth’, *pensila* ‘pencil’, *varsia* ‘scrape’, *m<sup>w</sup>altōa* ‘dove sp.’

Fricative + Stop: *sikispēni* ‘small coin’, *kastava* ‘shellfish sp.’.



# 79. Tahitian

**Contributor:**

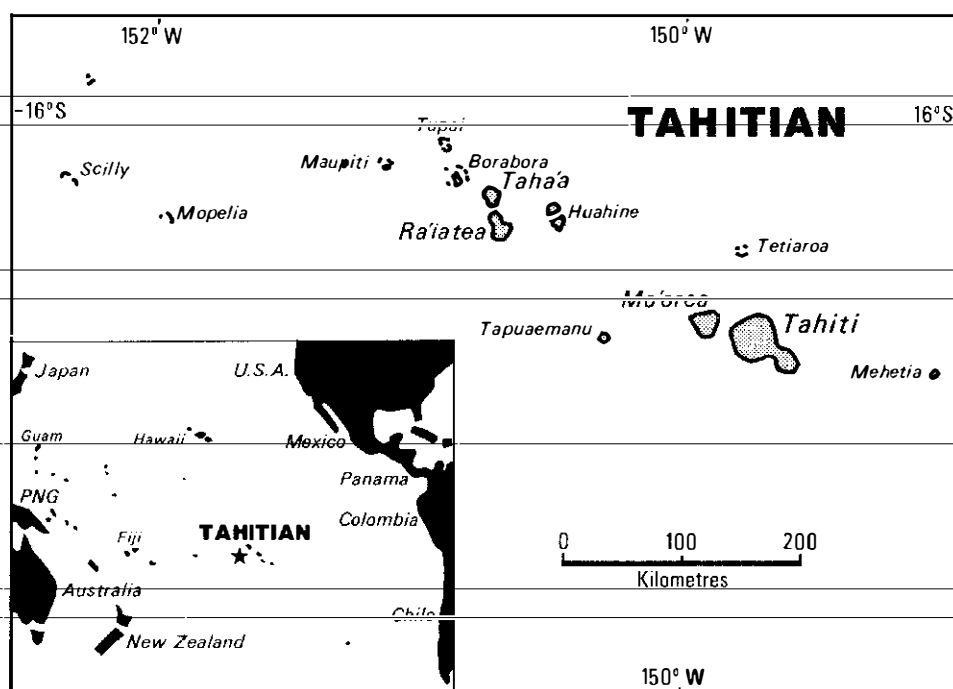
Wordlist and Introduction: *Yves Lemaître*

## 1 Demographic data

Tahitian is spoken by approximately 115,000 speakers, or 69% of the total population of 166,753 inhabitants of French Polynesia. This information is based on statements made by persons surveyed in the 1983 Census.

The area of origin of the Tahitian language is that of the Society Islands, also the most densely populated area, with 85% of the population of the whole territory. Within the Society Islands there are minor dialect variations between the Leeward and Windward Islands.

In the other archipelagoes which make up the territory the local languages are generally Polynesian languages distinct from Tahitian. However, Tahitian is widely used in these islands as a vehicle for external communication. Besides this, radio and television broadcasts in Tahitian have a wide audience.



Map 79. Tahitian language area

Knowledge of Tahitian among the inhabitants of the territory depends on geographical factors, but also on ethnicity. The population consists mainly of Polynesians 69%, Europeans 12%, Chinese 4% and Polynesian mixed-race 14%. These last named are persons born of the union between Polynesians and persons of a different ethnic group. The proportion of individuals claiming to speak Tahitian varies greatly according to ethnic group: 80% of Polynesians, 73% of Polynesian mixed-race, 67% of Chinese and 6% of Europeans.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Consonants

There are nine consonant phonemes, as follows:

*Table 1.* Consonants

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives	<i>v</i> <i>vd</i>	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>	

The realisation of the consonants /h/ and /ʔ/ is regularly anticipated in the sequences /CV<sub>1</sub>hV<sub>2</sub>/ or /CV<sub>1</sub>ʔV<sub>2</sub>/ when the vowel sequence V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> is a descending one. The effect is particularly noticeable after a stop: *tahi*, 'one', is realised as [t<sup>h</sup>ai] and *taʔi* 'cry' is realised as [t<sup>ʔ</sup>ai/.

### 2.2 Vowels

Vowel phonemes: there is a series of five short vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/ opposed to a series of five long vowels [ī], [ē], [ā], [ō], [ū] which may be analysed phonologically as a sequence of two short vowels.

Table 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Syllables are open, of canonical shape (C)V(V). There are no restrictions on choice of consonant or vowels. There are, therefore, 25 diphthongs and long vowels resulting from the pairing of the different vowels. However, the realisation of phonemes is largely modified by phonological environment. Thus in *t̄oi* ‘turn’ the vowel /o/ is closed and centred, while that in *pao* ‘dig’ is open and backed

### 2.3 Stress

All words are stressed except certain grammatical words having only a short vowel / (C) V/. The principal stress falls:

- on the last syllable containing a long vowel;
- on the last syllable containing a diphthong;
- on the penultimate short vowel.

Examples:

/tapu/	‘forbidden’	[ˈta.pu]
/tāpū/	‘cut’	[tā.ˈpū]
/maraʔamu/	‘trade wind’	[ma.ra.ʔa.mu]
/vahine/	‘woman’	[va.ˈhi.ne]
/taura/	‘rope’	[ˈtau.ra]
/tāura/	‘traditional priest’	[ˈtā.u.ra]
/ʔanotau/	‘era, period’	[ʔa.no.ˈtau]
/mātau/	‘know’	[ˈmā.tau]
/tāhōʔē/	‘unite’	[tā.hō.ʔē]

- The consonants /ʔ/ and /h/ also displace stress:

/maha/	‘four’	/ma.ˈha]
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### 3. Morphology and syntax

#### 3.1 Word formation

Statistically words of the type (C)V(C)V occur more frequently than others in the lexicon. Root morphemes used in compounds are generally of the same shape as that listed above. Examples:

*pohe* 'die'; *haʔapohe* 'kill, play dead'; *tūpohe* 'extinguish'; *pohemaʔi* 'be ill' (from *maʔi* 'illness').

Partial or complete reduplication is a common process in word formation: *pohepohe* 'die (of several persons)'.

Words are invariable; morphological changes, concord and morphophonemic change do not occur. Consequently a single linguistic form often corresponds to several grammatical units, such as verbs, nouns, adjectives. Examples:

*arataʔi* 'guide, to guide'; *arofa* 'greeting, to greet'; *ora* 'life, live, living'.

#### 3.2 Syntagmatics

In any clause containing a finite verb, the usual word order is:

V S O (verb : subject : object)

Thus:

*ʔamu atura : te ariʔi : i te ʔuru*  
(eat past distant art king comp breadfruit)

'The king ate the breadfruit.'

Different word order is possible accompanied by meaning changes such as highlighting or change of theme.

In non-verbal sentences, the subject normally follows the nominal predicate. Thus:

*e faʔehau teie taʔata*  
(art soldier this man)

This man is a soldier.

#### 3.3 Grammatical particles

The grammatical particles associated with sentence constituents such as V S or O either precede or follow the head word in a fixed order. Verbal and

nominal constituents may be distinguished syntactically by associated grammatical particles.

The ordering of particles in a given sentence constituent can largely be explained in the following simple model. The place of a particle depends on the class to which it belongs. Two particles belonging to the same class are incompatible within the same constituent. Particle classes as a whole occur in a fixed relative order within the sentence constituent.

### 3.3.1 Table of particles preceding any noun head

Table 3. Particles preceding noun head

1 functors		2 articles		3 definition	
<i>i</i>	complement	<i>te/te-</i>	general	<i>hea</i>	where
<i>nā/nō</i>	possessive	<i>nā</i>	plural	<i>tahi</i>	a certain
	predicate	<i>e</i>	indefinite	<i>hōʔē</i>	a certain
<i>tei/ei/i</i>	locative				
	predicate				
4 position		5		6	
<i>-ie/nei</i>	near speaker	<i>ia</i>	anaphoric	<i>mau</i>	plural
<i>na</i>	near addressee			<i>tau</i>	restricted plural
<i>ra</i>	near 3rd person			<i>maʔa</i>	some, a few
<i>reira</i>	anaphoric				
<i>-aua</i>	anaphoric				

Table 4. Particles preceding verb head

Tense/mode/aspect

<i>ʔa</i>	inceptive/imperative
<i>ʔua/i</i>	perfective
<i>e</i>	imperfective
<i>i</i>	past
<i>ʔia</i>	subjunctive
<i>te</i>	progressive

### 3.3.3 Table of particles following any noun or verb head

Table 5. Particles preceding noun or verb head

1		2		3
<i>noa</i>	only, continually	<i>atoʔa</i>	all, also	<i>anaʔe</i> only, all
<i>roa</i> (vb)	intensely			
<i>mā</i> (np)	and company			
4		5		6
<i>raʔa</i> (vb)	nom	<i>hia</i> (vb)	passive	<i>mai</i> movement towards (speaker)
				<i>atu</i> movement away
				<i>iho</i> downwards
				<i>aʔe</i> upwards
7		8		9
<i>nei</i>	near	<i>ānei</i>	interrogative	<i>ā</i> again, still
<i>na</i>	near you	<i>rā</i>	but	
<i>ra</i>	far			
<i>ai</i> (vb)	there, then			
10		11		
<i>paha</i>	perhaps	<i>hoʔi</i>	also, however, precisely	

(vb) after a verb

(np) after proper noun

### 3.4 Negation

Negation of affirmative sentences is effected by the use of negative verbs.

Thus:

*e faʔaroʔo mai ʔoe*  
(imp listen near you)

‘You will listen.’

*eʔita ʔoe e faʔaroʔo mai*  
 (imp not do you imp listen near)

‘You will not listen.’

*ʔeiaha ʔoe e faʔaroʔo mai*  
 (prohib you imp listen near)

‘You must not listen.’

### 3.5 Subjects

Grammatical subjects may be understood, and not specified. Example:

*ʔua topa*  
 (perf fall)  
 He fell.

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## 80. Rapa Nui

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<b>Contributors:</b>
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Introduction and Wordlist : <i>Robert L. Weber – Nancy L. Weber</i>
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### 1. Introduction

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Rapa Nui is the Polynesian language spoken by the native inhabitants of the Oceanic Province of Isla de Pascua (Easter Island, 27° S, 109° W), Republic of Chile. The Rapa Nui language has often been referred to in previous ethnographic and linguistic literature written in Spanish and English by the names *Pascuense* and *Easter Island*, respectively. Most Easter Islanders, however, prefer the name *Rapa Nui* when referring to their language, and also to themselves and to their island. Sociologist Grant McCall (1986 personal communication) estimates the Rapa Nui people to number 2,645 individuals, approximately 1,717 of whom reside on Easter Island. Another more mobile group of roughly 692 persons resides on the Chilean mainland either working or pursuing a secondary education for themselves or for their children. Yet another 236 individuals live in Tahiti and other countries for much the same reasons. However, not all Rapa Nui – not even all who reside on the island – are speakers of the language. The number of Easter Islanders who actually speak Rapa Nui as their first or predominant language is not known.

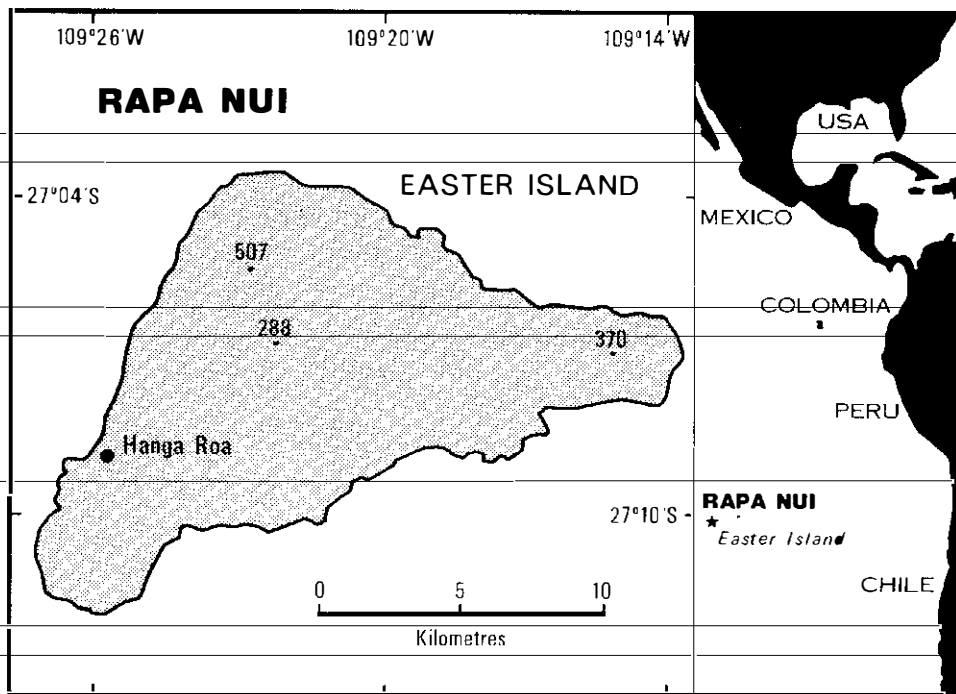
The earliest contributions to the study of Rapa Nui consist of short word lists and transcribed traditional texts obtained either for their relevance to the understanding of prehistory and ethnography or for linguistic study and preservation of samples of the language as it was spoken prior to change brought on by increasing contact with outsiders. These contributions include: Aguera e Infanzón (1770 [1980]), Gaceta de Lima (1771), Forster (1774), Cooke (1899), Roussel (1908), Martínez (1913), Englert (1938, 1939, 1948, 1974), and Métraux (1940).

The first major lexicographic and descriptive work on Rapa Nui was accomplished by Englert, who, as the island's Roman Catholic priest for many years, lived among the people and learned to speak their language. His dictionary and grammar (1978, previous editions 1938 and 1948) is still regarded by scholars as fundamental. Fuentes' (1960) grammar and

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dictionary is an attempt to describe the more modern language without avoidance of influences from other languages.



Map 80. Rapa Nui language area.

The data for this wordlist have largely been drawn from an extensive and varied corpus of text and elicited material recorded by the authors since the beginning, in 1977, of their residence and research on Easter Island. Reference has also been made to the extant dictionaries – in particular those of Englert and Fuentes – but any forms taken from such sources have been checked with present-day speakers and are rewritten to more accurately indicate phonemic glottal stops and vowel length. The *Programa Lengua Rapa Nui* (Rapa Nui Language Project), of which the authors are investigators, is co-sponsored by the Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and functions to contribute to the knowledge of the Rapa Nui language, promote its written use, and collaborate in the preservation and maintenance of the Rapa Nui people's linguistic heritage. Work in progress by the Project includes: (1) the linguistic analysis and description of modern Rapa Nui; (2) the promotion of reading and creative writing in Rapa Nui through the development of language arts textbooks, training of islander school teachers, etc.; and (3) the fostering of a literature in Rapa Nui through the training of local authors, literature production workshops, and the like.

The transcription used in the wordlist differs somewhat from the practical orthography that has been adopted by Rapa Nui authors and that used in the language arts textbook series. The entries in the word list are written using the following symbols /a ā e ē i ī o ō u ū p t k ʔ m n ŋ v h r/. In the practical alphabet, the vertical apostrophe symbol ‘’ represents the glottal stop /ʔ/, and the symbol ġ (easily typed on a Spanish keyboard, and distinct from the Spanish letter *g*) represents the velar nasal /ŋ/.

To facilitate the correct intonation of words derived by reduplication, in the practical writing of Rapa Nui a hyphen (-) is used to separate the reduplicated part(s). In the word list, hyphen is also used (although somewhat inconsistently) to indicate other morpheme breaks.

Known loanwords are identified in the word list by square brackets. Possible loanwords are identified in the footnotes where possible. The source, or possible source, languages are given in the notes. However, there are undoubtedly many more loanwords of Tahitian, Mangarevan, etc., origin than are indicated in the word list. During the nineteenth century there were several instances of the removal of Rapa Nui people from Easter Island and their later repatriation after living a number of years in the islands of French Polynesia. In the later part of the same century, French businessmen took a group of Tahitian labourers to work on their Easter Island sheep ranch.

## 2. Phonology

Rapa Nui, like other Polynesian languages, has a relatively simple, straightforward phonology.

### 2.1 Inventory of segments

The inventory of distinctive segments consists of five short vowels, five corresponding long vowel, and ten consonants.

### 2.2 Consonants

Table 1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives		<i>v</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Vibrants			<i>r</i>		



## 2.3 Vowels

*Table 2. Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ī</i>		<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>e ē</i>		<i>o ō</i>
Low		<i>a ā</i>	

## 2.4 Syllable structure

The syllable consists of (C)V, a single long or short vowel optionally preceded by a consonant. Hence Rapa Nui allows only open syllables and there are no consonant clusters, although within the word any combination of vowels is possible. However, each vowel of a vowel cluster strictly constitutes a separate syllable; Rapa Nui has no diphthongs (Weber – Thiesen de Weber 1982).

## 2.5 Word stress

All polysyllabic words are stressed according to the following rules: (1) if the last vowel of the word is a long vowel, the word is pronounced with stress on the final syllable. (2) if the last vowel of the word is not a long vowel, the word is pronounced with stress on the penultimate syllable. The vowels of all monosyllabic words having lexical content are long and stressed. By contrast, the vowels of monosyllabic grammatical particles are short and unstressed, with the exception noted in the next paragraph.

## 2.6 Phrase stress

Just as Biggs (1969: 17) reports for Maori, “each phrase is said with a single intonation contour, the voice rising to a point of intensity which is called the phrase stress”. In Rapa Nui, the peak of this intensity falls on the final particle or word of the grammatical phrase, on the syllable determined by the rules given above for word stress. Phrase stress is pronounced with even greater intensity than word stress, and whenever it occurs on a monosyllabic grammatical particle it lengthens the vowel of that particle. By way of

interest, in the practical writing of their language, Rapa Nui authors have chosen to write as long vowels the normally short, unstressed vowels of monosyllabic grammatical particles when these are pronounced long as a consequence of their occurrence in the phrase stress position of a phrase.

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## 6. Select Austronesian bibliography

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Lois Carrington – Charles E. Grimes

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### Abbreviations used in the bibliography

<i>AAS</i>	<i>Asian and African Studies</i> . Bratislava.
<i>AJL</i>	<i>Australian Journal of Linguistics</i> .
<i>AmA</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i> . Menasha, Wisconsin.
<i>AnL</i>	<i>Anthropological Linguistics</i> . Bloomington, Indiana.
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
<i>ASEMI</i>	<i>Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien</i> . École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, Paris.
<i>AuÜ</i>	<i>Afrika und Übersee</i> . Berlin.
B&FBS	British and Foreign Bible Society.
<i>BIHP</i>	<i>Bulletin of History and Philology, Academia Sinica</i> . Taipei, Taiwan.
<i>BKI</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> [Contributions to linguistics, geography and anthropology]. The Hague.
BLS	(Papers from the Xth Meeting of the) Berkeley Linguistics Society
BSIP	British Solomon Islands Protectorate.
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris</i> . Paris.
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> . London.
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i> . London.
c	circa.
<i>CLS</i>	( <i>Papers from the Xth Regional Meeting of the</i> ) <i>Chicago Linguistic Society</i> .
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.
CUP	Cambridge University Press.
DIES	Department of Information & Extension Services, Port Moresby.
diss.	dissertation.
<i>DLOP</i>	<i>Department of Language Occasional Papers</i> . University of Papua New Guinea.
<i>Gengo Kenkyū</i>	Linguistic Society of Japan, Tokyo.

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- IJAL* *International Journal of American Linguistics*. Chicago.
- ILDEP* Indonesian Linguistics Development Project.
- IPNGS* Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Port Moresby.
- IUPAL* *Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics*. Bloomington.
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven, Conn.
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Kuala Lumpur.
- JPS* *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Wellington.
- JPH* *The Journal of Pacific History*. Australian National University, Canberra.
- JRAI* *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. London.
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London.
- JSOc* *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*. Paris.
- KITLV* Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology]. The Hague.
- LD, AP* *Language Data, Asia-Pacific Area*. SIL, California/Texas.
- Lg* *Language*. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America.
- LLM* *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia*. Papua New Guinea.
- LMS* London Missionary Society.
- MBA* *Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos*. Anthropos Institute, St Augustin bei Bonn.
- MDS* *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*. Berlin.
- MF* microfilm, microform.
- Mimeo* machine duplicated (includes Xerox, Photostat, etc).
- MS* manuscript.
- NELS* *Proceedings of the (x)th Annual Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society, Ottawa*.
- NUSA* *NUSA: Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia*. Jakarta.
- OL* *Oceanic Linguistics*. University of Hawai'i, Honolulu.
- OLM* *Oceania Linguistic Monographs*. University of Sydney.
- OUP* *Oxford University Press*.
- PALI* Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute, University of Hawaii.
- PBI* *Majalah Pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia* [Journal of Indonesian Language Development]. Jakarta.
- PJL* *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. Manila.
- PJS* *Philippine Journal of Science*. Manila.
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PL	<i>Pacific Linguistics</i> . Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU.
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Department of Pacific History, ANU.
PNG	Papua New Guinea.
PPPB	Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa [Centre for Construction and Development of Language]. Jakarta.
SEAMEO	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization. Bangkok.
SECMI	Société pour l'Étude et la Connaissance du Monde Insulindien.
SELAF	Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France, Paris.
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics [Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea; Jayapura, Irian Jaya; Manila, Philippines, etc].
SJA	<i>Southwestern Journal of Anthropology</i> . Albuquerque.
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> [Journal of Indonesian Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography]. Jakarta.
TS	typescript.
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles.
UCSD	University of California, San Diego.
UP	University Press.
USP	University of the South Pacific.
VBG	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i> [Transactions of the Royal Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences].
VILTA	Victorian Indonesian Language Teachers' Association.
VKI	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> [Transactions of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Anthropology]. The Hague.
VSIS	<i>Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische. u. Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg</i>
WPDA	<i>Working Papers, Department of Anthropology</i> , University of Auckland.
WPLUH	<i>Working Papers in Linguistics, University of Hawaii</i> . Honolulu, Hawaii.
WPLVLCF	<i>Working Papers for the Language Variation and Limits to Communication Project</i> . Cornell University.
WPNGL	<i>Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages</i> . SIL, Ukarumpa, PNG.

- ZAOS *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Ozeanische Sprachen*, Berlin.  
ZES *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Berlin.  
ZEthn *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Braunschweig.  
ZKS *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, Berlin.  
ZPhon *Zeitschrift für Phonetik*, Berlin.
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## 7. A glossary of Austronesian reconstructions

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Reconstructions: *R. David Zorc*

Editing, introduction and finder list: *Malcolm D. Ross*

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### Introduction

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This glossary contains some 1650 reconstructions for high-order Austronesian proto languages, supplied from his data base by R. David Zorc, and an English finder list to the reconstructions. These reconstructions are provided here for readers' reference and to give an indication of how far the task of reconstruction had progressed at the time of publication. The task of reconstruction, at least for a large language family, is never complete, as new data are always leading to refinements. Hence the reconstructions here represent Zorc's current understanding, contained in a data base which is continually updated, and entail certain conventions which encapsulate unanswered questions. These are discussed below.

Zorc (pers. comm.) points out that, although the shapes of the reconstructions are generally his own, they owe much to the scholarly research of Robert A. Blust and others.

Each reconstruction is labelled either PAN, PMP, PHF or PHN. PAN and PMP are Proto Austronesian and Proto Malayo-Polynesian respectively, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 and shown in Figure 1. PHF and PHN stand for 'Proto Hesperonesian-Formosan' and 'Proto Hesperonesian', cover terms used by Zorc to indicate that the proto etymon is reflected in a narrower range of languages than PAN and PMP. Items labelled PHF are reflected in Formosan and Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, those labelled PHN only in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. In the terms of Figure 1, items labelled PHF and PHN are reconstructible for Proto Austronesian and Proto Malayo-Polynesian respectively, but had been lost in Proto Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian. However, the labels capture this narrower distribution of reflexes and respect the hypotheses of those Austronesian scholars who do not accept Blust's subgrouping hypothesis and who hold that (a) the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages constitute a genetic subgroup, and (b) that this grouping and the Formosan languages form an exclusive higher-order subgroup.

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## Reconstructions

PAN	* <i>a</i>	and, with
PHN	* <i>a(m)bék</i>	mat
PHN	* <i>abu?</i>	grandfather
PHN	* <i>a+búg</i>	dust
PHN	* <i>a(m)buŋ</i>	proud, haughty
PHN	* <i>a(m)buqaŋ</i>	beetle
PMP	* <i>abus</i>	ashes
PMP	* <i>a(m)+but</i>	weed, pluck, pull out
PAN	* <i>a-(n)d<sub>2</sub>ak</i>	ascend, climb
PHF	* <i>adaduq</i>	long (object) [cf: * <i>anaduq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ad<sub>2</sub>amay</i>	plant, <i>Pipturus argenteus</i>
PHF	* <i>ǎduq</i>	many
PHF	* <i>a-eném</i>	six
PAN	* <i>-aH</i>	[imperative suffix]
PMP	* <i>aha?</i>	see
PMP	* <i>ájan</i>	name
PMP	* <i>aka</i>	older sibling
PMP	* <i>akaR</i>	root [dbl: * <i>wakaR</i> ]
PAN	* <i>aki</i>	grandfather
PAN	* <i>akú</i>	I; “EGO”
PMP	* <i>alap</i>	take, collect
PMP	* <i>a+liR</i>	flow [cf: * <i>liR</i> , * <i>á+luR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>aliten</i>	firebrand [dbl: <i>aluten</i> ]
PHN	* <i>alub</i>	put in or over a fire
PMP	* <i>aluja</i>	paddle; row [vb; dbl: <i>paluja</i> ]
PMP	* <i>aluŋ</i>	shadow; shade
PHF	* <i>á+luR</i>	flow(ing); channel [cf. * <i>luR</i> , * <i>a+liR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>aluten</i>	firebrand [dbl: <i>aliten</i> ]
PAN	* <i>ama</i>	father, father’s brother [reference]
PHN	* <i>amá?</i>	father [address]
PMP	* <i>ama-en</i>	uncle (father’s brother)
PHN	* <i>amáH</i>	father [address]
PHN	* <i>amáŋ</i>	father [address]
PHN	* <i>amaq</i>	eat
PHN	* <i>amaRa</i>	tree sp.
PMP	* <i>amáy</i>	father [address]

PHN	* <i>am+bun</i>	dew; drizzle
PHF	* <i>?amin</i>	all (gone); to use up (all)
PHN?	* <i>am+pet</i>	check, staunch, stop the flow
PAN	* <i>anaduq</i>	long (of objects) [cf: * <i>adaduq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ánay</i>	termite
PMP	* <i>anduj</i>	ancestors
PMP	* <i>anipa</i>	large snake sp.
PMP	* <i>anúh</i>	whatchamacallit
PMP?	* <i>anús</i>	smoke; charred [cf: * <i>anu?us</i> ]
PHN?	* <i>anu?us</i>	smoke, charred [cf: * <i>anús</i> ]
PMP	* <i>añam</i>	plait, weave, braid (mat) [dbl: * <i>añem</i> ]
PMP	* <i>añem</i>	plait, braid, weave (mat) [dbl: * <i>añam</i> ]
PAN?	* <i>aNak</i>	child, offspring [alt: * <i>u-aNak</i> ; dbl: * <i>LaLak</i> ]
PHN	* <i>aŋceŋ</i>	stench of sweaty armpits
PHN	* <i>aŋ+kub</i>	cover [dbl: * <i>Raŋkub</i> ; cf: * <i>kub</i> ]
PMP	* <i>aŋ(e)lem</i>	stench
PHN	* <i>aŋsej</i>	stench of sweaty armpits
PMP	* <i>a(ŋ)súR</i>	fetch water
PMP	* <i>apa</i>	what?
PHN	* <i>apíd</i>	braid
PHN	* <i>apis</i>	rattan
PAN	* <i>a(m)pu</i>	ancestor; master
PMP	* <i>apu</i>	grandchild; grandparent
PMP	* <i>a(m)puŋ</i>	float
PHF	* <i>apuR</i>	betel-chew, quid [cf: * <i>qápuR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>a(m)puy</i>	ancestor [address]
PHN	* <i>aRemaŋ</i>	marine-eel or fish sp.
PHN	* <i>aResam</i>	fern
PAN	* <i>ari</i>	come; let's go!
PHF	* <i>aRi</i>	come; let's go!
PMP	* <i>aRi + m-</i>	come
PHN	* <i>a+rud</i>	shave, scrape off
PAN	* <i>a+sa</i>	one
PHN	* <i>asih</i>	show off; pretend
PAN?	* <i>asu</i>	dog
PHN	* <i>asug</i>	transvestite shaman
PHN	* <i>asuntiŋ</i>	plant, <i>Cassia</i> sp.
PMP	* <i>atag</i>	intend, mean to do s.th.
PHN	* <i>átaj</i>	cross-beam; block, dam
PMP	* <i>atiŋ</i>	sweat, perspiration

PMP	* <i>a+tip</i>	pinch together
PHN	* <i>atis</i>	provoke a fight
PAN	* <i>aya</i>	father's sister
PHN	* <i>ayuŋ</i>	monkey
PHN	* <i>azuq</i>	term of address to males
PMP	* <i>b/in/áHi</i>	woman, female
PMP	* <i>ba-b(in)áHi</i>	woman, female
PAN	* <i>ba-báHi</i>	woman, female
PMP	* <i>babáq + i-</i>	below
PAN	* <i>babáq + ma-</i>	low, short (in height)
PHN	* <i>ba(t)bat</i>	belly of an animal, tripe
PHN	* <i>ba+baw</i>	rat, mouse [dbl: * <i>balabaw</i> ]
PMP	* <i>babaw</i>	weed [vb]
PAN	* <i>bá+baw + i-</i>	above, on top of
PAN?	* <i>bábuy</i>	pig
PHN	* <i>ba+cak</i>	muddy, waterlogged (of ground)
PHN	* <i>bacuk</i>	hoe, chop up soil
PHF	* <i>baCaj</i>	millet sp. (e.g. sorghum)
PMP	* <i>bad<sub>2</sub>uk</i>	tinder, fungus on sugarpalm
PHN	* <i>bagahak</i>	fish sp.
PHN	* <i>bahál</i>	ferment(ed)
PMP	* <i>baháq</i>	flood
PHN?	* <i>baháR</i>	loincloth, g-string
PHN	* <i>bahu-an</i>	odor, stench
PMP	* <i>báhuq</i>	smell, odor
PAN	* <i>báHi</i>	woman, female
PAN	* <i>ba?i</i>	grandmother
PHN	* <i>baj</i>	disentangle
PHN	* <i>baj+baj</i>	disentangle
PHN	* <i>bakaka</i>	kingfisher
PHF	* <i>bakál</i>	pointed weapon
PMP	* <i>ba+kaq</i>	spread apart, split
PMP	* <i>ba(ŋ)+kas</i>	come loose, untied
PHN	* <i>bak+bak</i>	pound, beat
PMP	* <i>bakhaw</i>	mangrove tree, <i>Rhizophora</i>
PHN	* <i>bak[ ]lad</i>	fish trap
PHN	* <i>bakuku</i>	fish: sea-bream <i>Sparus berda</i>
PHN	* <i>bakul</i>	basket type
PHN	* <i>bakuŋ</i>	flowering plant, <i>Crinum asiaticum</i>
PMP	* <i>balabaw</i>	rat [cf: * <i>labaw</i> ]

PHN	* <i>balanak</i>	fish: mullet
PHN	* <i>ba+laŋ</i>	spotted, striped
PHF	* <i>balanaʔ</i>	earthenware jar [cf: * <i>baŋaʔ</i> ]
PMP	* <i>balar</i>	pale, albino
PHN	* <i>balat</i>	banana sp.
PHN	* <i>balá-(n)tik</i>	booby-trap
PHN	* <i>balaw</i>	timber tree, <i>Dipterocarpus</i>
PMP	* <i>baláy</i>	public building; meeting house
PHF	* <i>bales</i>	repay, revenge
PHN?	* <i>bali</i>	equal, equivalent
PMP	* <i>bali</i>	lie, deceive
PHF	* <i>balíja</i>	shuttle stick
PMP	* <i>baliji</i>	grass (sp?)
PAN	* <i>balík</i>	return; reverse; turn around
PAN	* <i>báliw</i>	change, exchange; pay (back)
PAN	* <i>baliw</i>	moiety
PHN	* <i>baliw</i>	punitive storm; hail storm
PMP	* <i>balu</i>	some, some more
PHN	* <i>bálu</i>	widow
PAN	* <i>baluj</i>	dove sp., pigeon
PHF	* <i>balukuʔ</i>	small basket
PHN	* <i>balulaŋ</i>	basket type; skin, hide
PHN	* <i>balun</i>	provisions
PMP	* <i>balutu</i>	canoe
PHF	* <i>baLituk</i>	gold (coin)
PMP	* <i>banáʔaR</i>	radiance, ray of light
PHF	* <i>banaw</i>	<i>Smilax</i> sp. [dbl: * <i>baNaR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>bandaŋan</i>	goat hair decoration on a spear
PHN	* <i>ban[ʃ]lat</i>	fish trap, pen
PHN	* <i>ban[ʃ]lik</i>	slime
PHN	* <i>bantal</i>	bundle (of cloth)
PMP	* <i>banua</i>	inhabited territory/human ecosystem
PHF	* <i>baNaR</i>	<i>Smilax</i> sp. [dbl: * <i>banaw</i> ]
PAN	* <i>baNaS</i>	husband, male counterpart
PHF	* <i>baŋaʔ</i>	earthenware jar [cf: * <i>balanaʔ</i> ]
PHN	* <i>baŋah</i>	pandanus tree, <i>Orania</i>
PHF	* <i>bá+ŋaw</i>	bug, noxious insect
PHN	* <i>baŋ+baŋ</i>	discoloured (as skin over a bruise)
PHN	* <i>baŋhaw</i>	having a putrid smell
PMP	* <i>baŋi</i>	bait

PMP	* <i>baŋi</i>	cook over a fire
PHN	* <i>baŋis</i>	cruel [dsj; * <i>begis</i> ]
PMP	* <i>baŋkaʔ</i>	canoe, boat
PMP	* <i>baŋkal</i>	tree, <i>Nauclea orientalis</i>
PHN	* <i>baŋkat</i>	large basket
PHN	* <i>baŋkaw</i>	spear
PHN	* <i>baŋkulis</i>	fish sp.
PAN	* <i>baŋSiS</i>	fragrant
PHN?	* <i>bapaʔ</i>	father
PMP	* <i>baq+baq</i>	mouth
PAN	* <i>baq(e)RuH</i>	new
PHN	* <i>baquR</i>	trigger of a tension-set trap
PHF?	* <i>bari[]</i>	iron, metal
PMP	* <i>ba+rik</i>	striped, streaked
PHN?	* <i>barut</i>	bandage, wrapping
PHF	* <i>báRaH</i>	embers; red hot
PHN	* <i>baRáni</i>	brave; hero
PAN	* <i>báRaŋ</i>	lungs
PHN	* <i>baRaŋ</i>	red
PMP	* <i>baRéŋ</i>	swell(ing); abscess, boil
PMP	* <i>baRiŋ</i>	lie, deceive
PHF	* <i>baRiuS</i>	typhoon, storm, hurricane
PHN?	* <i>baRiw</i>	tainted, rotten
PMP	* <i>báRu</i>	hibiscus, <i>Gnetum gnemon</i>
PMP	* <i>basáŋ + ma-</i>	wet
PHF	* <i>bas+bas</i>	hit, strike
PHN?	* <i>bataŋ</i>	young [of vegetation]
PAN	* <i>batú</i>	stone, rock
PHN	* <i>batúk</i>	cough
PMP	* <i>batul</i>	plait, make with the hands
PAN	* <i>baw</i>	high; top
PHN	* <i>bawáŋ</i>	creek, ravine
PHN	* <i>báwaŋ</i>	garlic
PHN	* <i>baweR</i>	bamboo spring trap
PHN	* <i>báyad<sub>2</sub></i>	pay
PHN	* <i>bayáw</i>	brother-in-law
PAN?	* <i>báyuh</i>	pound (rice); mortar; pestle
PHN	* <i>bayuR</i>	palm, <i>Pterospermum diversifolium</i>
PHN	* <i>bayuʔuŋ</i>	bag of plaited palm leaves
PHF	* <i>be+Cik</i>	tattoo

PHN	* <i>bed+bed</i>	wind around, tie
PHN?	* <i>bedíŋ</i>	gun
PMP	* <i>bej</i>	wind around repeatedly
PAN	* <i>bek (1)</i>	crack, whack
PMP	* <i>bek (2)</i>	decay, crumble; powder [cf: * <i>buk</i> , * <i>pek</i> ]
PMP	* <i>be+ka?</i>	open
PMP	* <i>be+kah</i>	split
PMP	* <i>be(ŋ)+kar</i>	split open, blossom [dbl: * <i>be(ŋ)+kaR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>be(ŋ)+kaR</i>	split open, blossom [dbl: * <i>be(ŋ)+kar</i> ]
PMP	* <i>bek+bek</i>	powder(y); crush by pounding [cf: * <i>buk+buk</i> ]
PHF	* <i>be(ŋ)+kut</i>	hunched over; hunchbacked
PMP	* <i>bě+láj</i>	spread out in sun to dry
PAN	* <i>bě+láq</i>	split
PAN	* <i>bělí</i>	buy
PHN	* <i>běnáŋ</i>	thread
PHF	* <i>benaqi</i>	sand
PMP	* <i>bener + ma-</i>	true, correct
PHF	* <i>benSiq</i>	seed (for sowing), seedling
PHN	* <i>ben+tas</i>	hack a passage through
PHF	* <i>beN+beN</i>	weave; plant used in braiding
PHN	* <i>beŋ</i>	block, obstruct, stop, dam
PMP	* <i>běŋél</i>	deaf [cf: * <i>běŋéR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>běŋéR</i>	deaf(ened) [cf: * <i>běŋél</i> ]
PHN	* <i>beŋis</i>	cruel [dsj: * <i>banis</i> ]
PHF	* <i>běRas</i>	husked rice
PMP	* <i>beR?at + ma-</i>	heavy
PAN	* <i>běRáy</i>	give
PAN	* <i>běRék</i>	pig
PAN	* <i>beRŋi</i>	night
PMP	* <i>beRsay</i>	canoe paddle, oar
PHN?	* <i>besi</i>	iron
PHF	* <i>běsúR</i>	full, sated
PMP	* <i>betaw</i>	female sibling
PAN?	* <i>beteŋ</i>	millet, foxtail sp. (?)
PHN	* <i>beŋq</i>	vulva, vagina
PHN	* <i>bětúŋ</i>	large bamboo, <i>Dendrocalamus</i> sp.
PAN	* <i>bi+bíR</i>	lip, lips
PHF	* <i>biCúka</i>	large intestine
PHN	* <i>biháR</i>	alive; allow (to live)
PHN	* <i>bijau</i>	winnowing basket

PMP?	* <i>bi+láj</i>	spread out in sun to dry
PHF	* <i>bílaŋ</i>	count
PMP	* <i>biliŋ</i>	turn, veer to the side
PMP	* <i>bilu</i>	fish: trevally, <i>Caranx</i> spp.
PHF	* <i>biqel</i>	goiter
PMP	* <i>biras</i>	scar
PHN	* <i>birás</i>	sibling-in-law
PAN	* <i>biRaŋ</i>	taro, giant arum, <i>Alocasia</i> sp.
PAN	* <i>biRaS</i>	roe, fish eggs
PHN?	* <i>bisu</i>	deaf
PMP	* <i>bisul</i>	boil, abscess
PMP	* <i>bit</i>	hook
PMP	* <i>bitaquR</i>	tree, <i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i>
PMP	* <i>bitíl</i>	hungry, hunger
PMP	* <i>bituŋ</i>	bamboo, <i>Dendrocalamus</i> [dbl: * <i>pituŋ</i> ]
PAN	* <i>bi-(n)túŋen</i>	star
PAN	* <i>bu</i>	dust
PAN	* <i>buáŋ</i>	fruit; (PMP) betelnut
PAN	* <i>bubu</i>	grandparent [address]
PMP	* <i>bu+bu</i>	bamboo basket fish trap
PMP	* <i>bubúŋ</i>	ridge of roof, ridgepole/beam
PHF	* <i>buCá</i>	blind
PHF	* <i>buCu</i>	blister; callus; corn
PMP	* <i>budaŋ</i>	foam, bubbles [dsj: * <i>bujáŋ</i> ]
PHN	* <i>budu[h]</i>	pickle (in brine)
PHF	* <i>buHut</i>	small rodent; squirrel
PAN	* <i>bujáŋ</i>	foam, bubbles [dsj: * <i>budaŋ</i> ]
PMP	* <i>buk</i>	decay, crumble; powder [cf. * <i>bek</i> ]
PMP	* <i>buk</i>	pound; thud
PMP	* <i>buká?</i>	open-up, uncover; opened
PMP	* <i>buk+buk</i>	powder(y) [cf: * <i>bek+bek</i> ]
PHN	* <i>buk+buk</i>	weevil
PHN?	* <i>bukél</i>	lump, bump
PHN	* <i>buken /-</i>	omen dove [dbl: * <i>-muken</i> ]
PAN	* <i>búkiŋ</i>	hill, mound
PMP	* <i>bukúh</i>	internode; joint: knee, ankle, wrist
PHF	* <i>bu(ŋ)kul</i>	hump, hunchback
PMP	* <i>búlaN</i>	albino [dbl: * <i>bulay</i> ]
PAN	* <i>bulaN</i>	moon
PHN	* <i>buláŋ</i>	wrap- on cockspur for cockfight



PMP	* <i>buláR</i>	cataract of the eye [cf: * <i>buléR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>bulati</i>	worm = earthworm
PHF	* <i>buláw-an</i>	gold (-coloured)
PMP	* <i>bulay</i>	albino [dbl: * <i>búlaN</i> ]
PHN	* <i>buléR</i>	cataract of the eye [cf: * <i>buláR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>buliq</i>	shell: cowrie
PHN	* <i>buliR</i>	bunch, cluster (of fruit)
PMP	* <i>bu+lit</i>	putty, caulking substance
PMP	* <i>búlu</i>	feather, fur, body hair
PMP	* <i>bulú</i>	wash up (hands)
PMP	* <i>bulud</i>	mountain
PHN	* <i>bulúŋ</i>	leaf
PHF	* <i>búluq</i>	bamboo, <i>Bambusa</i> sp.
PHF?	* <i>buLay</i>	snake
PHF	* <i>bun (1)</i>	egg
PMP	* <i>bun (2)</i>	heap, cover with earth; collect
PHN	* <i>bun+bun</i>	heap, pile [cf: * <i>bun (2)</i> ]
PMP	* <i>bunduk</i>	mountain peak, elevated ground
PMP	* <i>buʔni</i>	ringworm, herpes
PAN	* <i>bunúq</i>	kill, stab, butcher
PHN	* <i>bunuR</i>	fish sp.
PMP	* <i>bunút</i>	coconut husk
PAN	* <i>buNi /-</i>	hide
PMP	* <i>buŋa</i>	coral sp.
PMP	* <i>búŋah</i>	flower; fruit
PHN	* <i>buŋ+buŋ</i>	hollow bamboo tube
PMP	* <i>buŋ+kut</i>	bent with age
PMP	* <i>buqáya</i>	crocodile (Blust: non-marine)
PMP	* <i>burak</i>	white
PHN	* <i>burif</i>	charcoal
PHN	* <i>burif</i>	striped (animal)
PMP	* <i>buR</i>	sow, srew, scatter, spray
PMP	* <i>buRaw</i>	pursue, chase
PHN	* <i>buR+buR</i>	porridge
PHF	* <i>buRéS</i>	spit out; exhale
PMP	* <i>buRiq</i>	wash
PAN	* <i>buRúk</i>	rotten
PAN	* <i>buSék</i>	head hair
PHF	* <i>buSuk + ma-</i>	drunk
PMP	* <i>busuk</i>	rotten

PHN	* <i>busuŋ</i>	swollen belly, respect taboo
PAN	* <i>búsuR</i>	bow
PHF	* <i>busuR</i>	enemy
PMP	* <i>but</i>	pluck, pull out, snatch
PHN	* <i>bütá?</i>	mud
PMP?	* <i>bu(R)+taq</i>	mud, fertile soil
PMP	* <i>but+but</i>	pluck, pull out
PHN	* <i>butiti</i>	fish: pufferfish
PMP	* <i>bu-(n)+tuk</i>	pound; knock
PMP	* <i>butun</i>	tree sp. <i>Barringtonia</i> spp.
PHN	* <i>bu+tuq</i>	penis
PHN?	* <i>buyu?</i>	betel pepper/leaf
PHN	* <i>buyuŋ / -</i>	bumble-bee
PHN	* <i>cak</i>	mud(dy)
PHN	* <i>cek</i>	blind
PMP	* <i>cemed<sub>2</sub></i>	dirt(y)
PAN	* <i>ceq</i>	in pieces
PHN	* <i>cěray</i>	part, separate, divide
PMP	* <i>cik</i>	splash, splatter, fly out
PHN	* <i>ciŋ+cin</i>	ring
PMP	* <i>cit</i>	squirt out
PAN	* <i>Ca?as + a-</i>	above, on top of
PHF	* <i>Ca?as + i-</i>	above, on top of
PHF	* <i>Cadém</i>	sharp [dbl: * <i>Cazém</i> ]
PAN	* <i>Cákaw</i>	steal
PAN	* <i>CáliŋaR</i>	eat
PAN	* <i>CalíS</i>	rope, cord; string
PAN	* <i>Cálun</i>	undeveloped/fallow land, field
PAN	* <i>CaNém</i>	plant [vb]; bury
PAN	* <i>Cáŋis</i>	weep, cry
PAN	* <i>CapaH</i>	smoke fish, jerk meat; jerky
PAN	* <i>Capel</i>	patch
PAN	* <i>Cáqi</i>	excrement; defecate
PHF	* <i>CaSaw</i>	open air, outdoors; midst of
PHF	* <i>CaSíq</i>	sew
PAN	* <i>Cáu</i>	person, human being
PAN	* <i>Cáwa</i>	laugh
PHF	* <i>Cazém</i>	sharp [dbl: * <i>Cadém</i> ]
PHF	* <i>Ceg+Ceg</i>	beat, pound
PHF	* <i>Cel+Cel</i>	beat, pound

PAN	* <i>Cěnék</i>	thorn; pierce
PAN	* <i>Ce+sek</i>	pierce (a soft surface), stab
PAN	* <i>Cik</i>	mottled, spotted
PAN	* <i>CináqiH</i>	small intestine; guts; belly
PAN	* <i>Ciqaw</i>	fish: goatfish
PAN?	* <i>Cú(m)buq</i>	grow [vb intrans]; plant sprout [n]
PAN	* <i>Cudúq</i>	point, teach; finger
PAN	* <i>Cúma</i>	body/clothes louse
PHF	* <i>Cu+mek</i>	pulverise; crumble
PMP	* <i>CuNuH</i>	roast in/over fire
PHF	* <i>CuqelaN</i>	bone (condylar)
PHF	* <i>da?</i>	now, already
PMP	* <i>dad<sub>2</sub>aŋ</i>	shine brightly
PHF	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>a-d<sub>2</sub>á?aN</i>	old (object)
PHN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>a-d<sub>2</sub>aRa[h]</i>	maiden, young girl
PMP	* <i>dah+dah</i>	chest
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ahun</i>	leaf
PMP	* <i>daiúq</i>	far [dbl: * <i>diaúq</i> ]
PAN	* <i>dajam / ma-</i>	tame, accustomed to
PHF	* <i>dak+dák</i>	hit (with implement)
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>a+kép</i>	embrace, hold [cf: * <i>kep</i> ]
PMP	* <i>da+kit</i>	join along the length; raft [cf: * <i>Rakit</i> ]
PAN?	* <i>dakíH</i>	dirt(y); body dirt, dandruff
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>á+lem + i-</i>	in(side)
PHN	* <i>dalig</i>	root = buttress root [dsj: * <i>dalij</i> ]
PMP	* <i>dalij</i>	root = buttress root [dbl: * <i>dalig</i> ]
PMP	* <i>dalikán</i>	trivet, three-stone fireplace
PMP	* <i>da+lit</i>	glue, paste, plaster, caulking substance
PHF	* <i>dal+kap</i>	palm (of hand)
PAN	* <i>damaR</i>	torch, light; resin
PHF	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>amel</i>	thick
PAN	* <i>dánaw</i>	lake, pond
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>a+Núm</i>	fresh water
PMP	* <i>dáŋan</i>	span [20 cm]
PHN	* <i>daŋanan</i>	hilt, handle of a knife or sword
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>a(ŋ)+d<sub>2</sub>aŋ</i>	heat, warm oneself by fire
PMP	* <i>daŋ+k[ae]q</i>	branch
PMP	* <i>da(ŋ)+ket</i>	stick, adhere to
PHF	* <i>dapáN</i>	sole (of foot)
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ap+d<sub>2</sub>ap</i>	tree, <i>Erythrina indica</i>

PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>apúR</i>	hearth, stove
PMP	* <i>daqan</i>	branch
PMP	* <i>daqani</i>	day
PAN	* <i>daqu</i>	tree, <i>Dracontomelum edule</i>
PAN	* <i>daqíS</i>	forehead
PAN	* <i>dáRaQ</i>	blood
PMP	* <i>dáRat</i>	littoral sea; surface of sea/land
PMP	* <i>daRi</i>	fish, <i>Scomberoides</i> sp.
PHF	* <i>daRiŋ</i>	groan, moan
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>as+d<sub>2</sub>as</i>	flay(ed)
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>a+taR</i>	plain, level ground
PMP	* <i>dátu?</i>	chief, clan leader or priest
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>áya</i>	toward the interior
PHN?	* <i>daya[?]</i>	trick, cheat
PHF	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>áya + i-</i>	inland, upriver
PMP?	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ay+d<sub>2</sub>ay</i>	spread (out)
PMP	* <i>debu</i>	dust
PMP?	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>e+d<sub>2</sub>ap</i>	tree, <i>Erythrina indica</i>
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>e+d<sub>2</sub>em</i>	dark [cf. * <i>d<sub>2</sub>em</i> ]
PHN?	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>eg+d<sub>2</sub>eg</i>	knock
PAN?	* <i>dě+kéC</i>	stick(y), adhesive
PHF	* <i>de+kiŋ</i>	bark (of a deer)
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ělés</i>	bowstring
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>em</i>	dark
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>em+d<sub>2</sub>ém (1)</i>	dark(ness) [cf. * <i>d<sub>2</sub>em</i> ]
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>em+d<sub>2</sub>em (2)</i>	think, meditate, brood; keep silent
PAN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ě+ŋéR</i>	hear [cf: * <i>ŋeR</i> (1)]
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ěpáh</i>	fathom
PHN	* <i>depuŋ</i>	snake - venomous
PHN	* <i>dě+Ráŋ</i>	red; dry
PMP	* <i>děRes</i>	wind(y)
PMP	* <i>deRuŋ</i>	tree, <i>Trema orientalis</i>
PMP	* <i>di</i>	marker of location: at, in
PMP	* <i>dia</i>	good
PMP	* <i>dián</i>	there is; none
PMP	* <i>diaq</i>	no, not
PMP	* <i>diaúq</i>	far [dbl: * <i>daiúq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ikiq</i>	small
PHF	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ílaq</i>	lick

PHN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>iŋ+d<sub>2</sub>iŋ</i>	wall, screen
PMP	* <i>diŋ+diŋ + ma-</i>	cold (of weather)
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>iRi</i>	stand
PHN	* <i>diRus</i>	bathe
PMP	* <i>diRí?</i>	self
PMP	* <i>ditaq</i>	tree, <i>Alstonia scholaris</i>
PAN	* <i>di+teq</i>	sticky substance
PMP	* <i>du+du</i>	thunder
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ug+d<sub>2</sub>ug</i>	beat, shake
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>uk+d<sub>2</sub>uk</i>	sit
PHN	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>ulaŋ</i>	wooden tray, table
PAN?	* <i>dúma</i>	another of a different kind
PAN?	* <i>duma</i>	companion, mate
PMP	* <i>dump+pel</i>	dull, blunt
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>uŋ+d<sub>2</sub>uŋ</i>	sheltered (as from wind or rain)
PHN	* <i>duŋun</i>	tree, <i>Heritiera littoralis</i>
PHN	* <i>duR+duR</i>	thunder
PAN	* <i>dúRiH</i>	thorn; bone [cf. * <i>zúRi</i> ]
PAN	* <i>d<sub>3</sub>uSá</i>	two
PMP	* <i>dut+dut</i>	pluck, pull out, snatch
PMP	* <i>dúyan</i>	hammock
PMP	* <i>d<sub>2</sub>uyuŋ</i>	dugong, seacow
PMP	* <i>e+kep</i>	brood, sit on eggs [cf: <i>kep</i> ]
PHN	* <i>e+mís</i>	sweet
PMP	* <i>empaŋ</i>	weir
PMP	* <i>empu/maka-</i>	grandchild
PAN	* <i>?ěném</i>	six
PMP	* <i>eŋer</i>	growl, snarl
PMP	* <i>e(m)pu</i>	ancestor [reference]
PHN	* <i>e(m)pú?</i>	ancestor, grandparent [address]
PMP	* <i>e(m)+pus</i>	finish, complete [cf: * <i>pus</i> ]
PHF	* <i>?eRík</i>	thresh [dbl: * <i>iRík</i> , * <i>Ri?ék</i> ]
PHN	* <i>eRiq</i>	sword grass <i>Imperata cylindrica</i> [cf: * <i>Riaq</i> ]
PAN	* <i>?e+sá</i>	one
PHN	* <i>e+súŋ</i>	mortar
PHF	* <i>ga+Cél</i>	itch
PHN?	* <i>gadiŋ</i>	ivory
PHN	* <i>gad<sub>2</sub>uŋ</i>	tuber, <i>Dioscorea</i> spp.
PMP	* <i>gak</i>	raucous throaty sound [cf: * <i>ŋak</i> ]
PHN	* <i>gak+gak</i>	crow

PHN	* <i>gama?</i>	catch fish/shrimp with the hands
PHN	* <i>gamat</i>	plant used for dyestuff
PMP	* <i>gap+gap</i>	stammer, stutter
PMP	* <i>garus</i>	scratch, scrape (with claws)
PHN	* <i>ga+teq</i>	coconut cream/milk [dbl: * <i>getaq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>gaway</i>	octopus tentacles / arms
PMP	* <i>gek</i>	dull throaty sound
PHF?	* <i>gelán</i>	bracelet
PHN	* <i>gelaŋ</i>	intestinal worm
PMP	* <i>ge+lap</i>	lightning that strikes s.th.
PAN	* <i>gem</i>	grasp, grip
PAN	* <i>gem+gem</i>	hold (in the fist)
PMP	* <i>gemi</i>	fish: pilotfish, <i>Remora</i> [dsj: * <i>kemi</i> ]
PHN	* <i>geraq</i>	misfortune, catastrophe
PMP	* <i>gěréť</i>	cut, slice
PHN	* <i>getaq</i>	coconut cream/milk; sap [dbl: * <i>ga+teq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>gidik</i>	tickle [dbl: * <i>kidi</i> ]
PMP	* <i>gik</i>	shrill throaty sound [cf: * <i>kik</i> , * <i>ŋik</i> ]
PMP	* <i>giliŋ</i>	grind, mill
PHN	* <i>giliŋ-án</i>	millstone
PHN	* <i>gir+gir</i>	shiver, tremble
PAN	* <i>guC</i>	gnash the teeth, gnaw
PHF	* <i>guC+guC</i>	pull out, pluck; weed
PMP	* <i>gu-(n)+d<sub>2</sub>em</i>	overcast, darkened
PMP	* <i>guk</i>	deep throaty sound
PAN	* <i>guŋ</i>	deep resounding sound [cf: * <i>kuŋ</i> (2)]
PAN	* <i>gur</i>	purr; rumble
PHN	* <i>ha(m)bél</i>	woven material
PHN	* <i>habel</i>	weave
PHN	* <i>ha(m)+beŋ</i>	block, obstruct
PMP	* <i>ha(m)+buR</i>	spread wide; sprinkle
PMP	* <i>ha-d<sub>2</sub>iRi</i>	housepost, pillar; pile; beam
PHN	* <i>halás</i>	woods, forest
PHN	* <i>ha?nay</i>	set up warp on a loom; entwine
PMP	* <i>háŋes</i>	breathe, gasp
PMP	* <i>háŋin</i>	wind, air
PMP	* <i>ha-pějes</i>	pain(ful); spicy hot
PMP	* <i>hapin</i>	mat, cover(ing)
PMP?	* <i>haRedán</i>	notched log ladder, staircase
PMP	* <i>hásaŋ</i>	gills

PHN	* <i>ha+sék</i>	dibble, sow (rice seedlings)
PMP	* <i>hideRáq</i>	lie down, go to sleep
PMP	* <i>hi+ket</i>	tie up, fasten
PHN	* <i>hi+paR</i>	sister-in-law
PMP?	* <i>huaR</i>	vine, <i>Flagellaria indica</i>
PHN	* <i>hu+kas</i>	take off, loosen, undo
PHN	* <i>humbak</i>	swell, wave(s)
PMP	* <i>hútek</i>	brain [dbl: * <i>qútek</i> ]
PHN	* <i>huzam</i>	borrow [dbl: * <i>Se(n)zám</i> ]
PAN	* <i>Hásaq</i>	whet, sharpen; whetstone
PAN	* <i>Hátaq + ma-</i>	raw, unripe, green
PHF	* <i>Hemay</i>	rice (generic) [dbl: * <i>Sumáy</i> ]
PHF	* <i>Hiáp</i>	count
PAN	* <i>Hipes</i>	cockroach
PAN?	* <i>Hules</i>	upper garment
PAN	* <i>i-</i>	[marker of location]
PMP	* <i>i+but</i>	pull out, uproot
PAN	* <i>iján</i>	when?
PAN	* <i>i+júŋ</i>	nose
PAN	* <i>i-kaSú</i>	you, thou
PHN	* <i>ikej</i>	cough
PMP	* <i>ikuŋ</i>	tail
PAN	* <i>ikuR</i>	tail
PMP	* <i>ilap</i>	apparition, glimpse of s.t.
PHF	* <i>ilem + ma-</i>	green
PHF	* <i>ileŋ</i>	turn, veer to the side
PHN	* <i>ilu</i>	orphan
PAN	* <i>-in-</i>	[passive past infix]
PAN	* <i>ina</i>	mother, mother's sister [reference]
PHN	* <i>iná?</i>	mother [address]
PMP	* <i>i-ná?</i>	that (distant)
PHN	* <i>ináH</i>	mother [address]
PHN	* <i>ináŋ</i>	mother [address]
PMP	* <i>inay</i>	mother [address]
PAN	* <i>i-ní</i>	this
PHF	* <i>i-nú</i>	where?
PMP	* <i>inúm</i>	drink
PHN	* <i>inúm + m-</i>	drink
PMP	* <i>ípen</i>	tooth
PMP	* <i>iRaq + ma-</i>	red

PHF	*iRík	thresh [dbl: *ʔeRík, *Riʔék]
PMP	*iRit	fan [vb]
PAN	*i+sá	one
PMP	*isa + ma-	one, only, alone
PMP	*i-sai	who?
PMP	*i+sep	suck
PMP	*isi	tooth
PAN	*íSeq	urine
PHF	*i-Sú	thou, you
PMP	*i-tú	that (near hearer)
PAN	*ka (1)	and, with
PAN	*ka (2)	if
PMP	*kaʔ+	open
PAN	*kaan	eat
PMP	*kab	open, uncover
PHN	*kabiR	annex, subject; draw toward self
PMP	*kabu	kapok tree, <i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
PMP	*kabut	fog
PAN	*kaCu	send
PAN	*kaʔen	eat [dbl: *kán]
PMP	*kah	open
PHN	*kahiR	scratch up the ground (chicken)
PMP	*kak	cackle, laugh loudly
PAN	*kaka	older sibling
PHN	*kalamata	plaitwork
PMP?	*kálaŋ	wedge
PHN	*kalapini	swallow
PHN	*kalasag	rectangular shield
PHN	*kalasaR	floor beam
PMP?	*kalati	worm = earthworm
PAN	*kalaw	hornbill
PAN	*kálìh	dig (out); canal, ditch
PHF	*kaLiC	animal hide [dbl: *qaNiC]
PMP	*kamáliR	bachelor's quarters; shed
PAN	*kamáy	hand
PHF	*kamaya	plant, <i>Diospyros discolor</i>
PHN	*kambiŋ	goat [cf: kam[ ]diŋ, kandiŋ]
PMP	*kam+buR	sprinkle, scatter (seed)
PHN	*kam[ ]diŋ	goat [cf: kambiŋ, kandiŋ]
PAN	*kamí	we (exclusive)



PMP	*kamiu	you (plural), ye
PAN	*kamú	you (plural), ye
PMP?	*kamuniŋ	tree, <i>Murraya paniculata</i>
PHF	*kamuyu	you (plural), ye
PAN	*kán	eat [dbl: *kgʔen]
PMP	*ka-nabúq	fall (as fruit)
PMP?	*kanaŋa	tree, <i>Cananga odorata</i>
PMP	*kanarum	tree sp.
PMP	*kanawa	tree, <i>Cordia</i> spp.
PHN	*kandiŋ	goat [cf: kambiŋ, kamf[diŋ]
PMP	*kantunŋ	pouch, pocket, bag
PHN	*ka-nuʔus	squid, cuttlefish [cf: *nuʔus]
PAN	*kaNasay	fish: adult mullet
PAN	*kaŋ (1)	spread open (legs)
PMP	*kaŋ (2)	bark, croak
PMP	*kapal + ma-	thick (of objects)
PHN?	*kapes	cotton
PHF	*kap+kap	grope, feel in the dark
PMP	*kaput	tie, clasp together
PMP	*kaq (1)	open forcibly
PMP	*kaq (2)	crack, split
PHN	*karat	rust
PMP	*ka+ris	scratch mark
PHF	*kar+kar	dig in the earth
PHF	*ka+rut	scrape, rasp
PMP	*kaRakap	ock/mangrove crab
PHF	*kaRaŋ	swamp/land crab
PAN	*kaRát	bite
PAN	*kaRaw	mite; scratch (an itch)
PHF	*kaRí	say, speak, utter; word
PMP	*ka+Rud	scrape, grate, rasp
PMP	*kaRuki	sand crab
PMP	*kaRus	scratch, scrape (with claws)
PMP	*kas (1)	loosen, undo, untie
PMP	*kas (2)	swift, agile, energetic
PMP	*kasambiʔ	tree, <i>Schleichera trijuga</i>
PMP	*kásaw	rafter
PHN	*kasuli	freshwater eel
PAN	*káSiw	tree, wood
PHN	*katambak	fish sp.

PMP?	* <i>kátiR</i>	outrigger
PAN	* <i>kat+kat</i>	bite
PHN	* <i>kǎwá?</i>	spider
PHN	* <i>kawad</i>	wire
PHN?	* <i>kǎwali?</i>	frypan, cooking pot
PAN	* <i>ka-wanáN</i>	right (side)
PHF	* <i>kawáyan</i>	spiny bamboo, <i>Bambusa spinosa</i>
PAN?	* <i>kawíl</i>	fish hook
PHF	* <i>kawiL</i>	hang(ing) caught
PAN	* <i>ka-wiRí</i>	left (side)
PHN	* <i>ka?+wit</i>	hook (household)
PHN	* <i>kayaw</i>	go head-hunting
PAN	* <i>káyuH</i>	tree, wood, stick
PMP	* <i>keb</i>	cover [cf: * <i>kep</i> ]
PMP	* <i>kebur</i>	fish drive; churn water
PAN	* <i>keC</i>	adhesive, sticky [cf: * <i>ze+kéC</i> ]
PAN	* <i>ked<sub>2</sub>i?</i>	small
PMP	* <i>ked<sub>2</sub>ik</i>	small
PHF	* <i>kedép</i>	blink
PHN	* <i>kedút</i>	pinch
PMP	* <i>kek+kek</i>	cackle (of fowl)
PAN	* <i>kel</i>	curl, coil, bend
PMP	* <i>ke+las</i>	peel, skin off, lay bare
PMP	* <i>kelej</i>	cut into pieces
PMP	* <i>kemi</i>	fish: pilotfish, <i>Remora</i> [dsj: * <i>gemi</i> ]
PMP	* <i>kempuŋ</i>	stomach of animals
PHN	* <i>kěná?</i>	hit, strike
PMP	* <i>kenas</i>	preserved meat or fish
PHN?	* <i>kenduŋ</i>	tree sp.
PMP	* <i>ke+ñej</i>	dive, plunge; drown
PMP	* <i>keŋ</i>	cramp(s), stiffening of limbs
PHN	* <i>kep</i>	cover [cf: * <i>keb</i> , * <i>kup</i> ]
PAN	* <i>kep</i>	embrace, seize
PMP	* <i>kepit</i>	narrow
PHN	* <i>kepuŋ</i>	surround, besiege
PMP?	* <i>keraq</i>	scream of monkey
PHF	* <i>keriq</i>	scream of monkeys, chattering
PHN	* <i>keRáj</i>	scab
PHF	* <i>keR+keR</i>	shake, tremble
PMP	* <i>keRteŋ</i>	fish: grouper

PAN	*kes	encircle, wrap firmly around
PMP?	*keteb	bite [dbl: *ketep]
PMP?	*ketep	bite [dbl: *keteb]
PMP	*ket+ket	bite, nibble
PMP	*kezeŋ	stand
PHN	*kiap	wave the hand; fan oneself
PHF	*kid <sub>2</sub> emel	thick
PMP	*kidi	tickle [dbl: *gidik]
PMP	*kik	shrill throaty sound [cf: *gik, *ŋik]
PHN	*kilala	know (person), recognise
PHF	*kilát	lightning
PAN	*kilíH	armpit
PMP	*kima	giant clam
PHN?	*kináŋ	rock crystal
PMP	*ki+nit	pinch, nip off, pluck
PAN	*kiŋ	clear ringing sound
PAN	*kiS+kiS	scrape off
PMP	*kit	join along the length
PAN	*kitá	we (inclusive)
PAN	*kíta?	see
PHN	*ki+tey	suspension bridge [cf: *tey-tey]
PMP?	*kit+kit	bite, nibble, chew
PAN	*ku	I, my, mine
PMP	*kua	how?
PMP	*kuak	crow
PAN	*kuan	hamlet; kin-based residential unit
PMP	*kub	cover [cf: *keb, *kup (2)]
PHN	*kubít	touch lightly
PHF	*kuCém	dark(ened)
PAN	*kúCuH	head louse
PMP	*kúd <sub>2</sub> en	cooking pot; water jar
PAN?	*kud <sub>2</sub> +kud <sub>2</sub>	grate, rasp, scrape
PMP	*ku+d <sub>2</sub> ug	thunder
PMP	*kug	curl, curve
PMP	*kuk (1)	bent, crooked
PMP	*kuk (2)	cackle, cluck
PMP	*ku+kúH	finger nail, claw
PMP	*kukun	tree, <i>Schoutenia ovata</i>
PHN	*kulad	scar [dbl: *ulat]
PHN	*kulambar	fish sp.

PAN	* <i>kúliC</i>	skin
PMP	* <i>kulu</i>	breadfruit, <i>Artocarpus</i> sp. [dbl: * <i>kuluR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>kulub</i>	bamboo gutter or ridge pole cover
PMP	* <i>kuluR</i>	breadfruit, <i>Artocarpus</i> sp. [dbl: * <i>kulu</i> ]
PMP	* <i>kumbal</i>	dry sago branches
PMP?	* <i>kunij</i>	turmeric, <i>Curcuma zeodoaria</i>
PMP?	* <i>kunij + ma-</i>	yellow
PAN	* <i>kuŋ (1)</i>	bend
PAN	* <i>kuŋ (2)</i>	deep resounding sound [cf: * <i>guŋ</i> ]
PMP	* <i>kup (1)</i>	enclose, surround
PHN	* <i>kup (2)</i>	cover, close [cf: * <i>kep</i> , * <i>kub</i> ]
PAN	* <i>kuq</i>	bent, crooked
PMP	* <i>kur</i>	word used to call chickens, etc.
PHN?	* <i>kuraŋ</i>	lacking, insufficient, not enough
PHF	* <i>kurap</i>	scaly skin disease
PMP	* <i>kurapu</i>	fish: perch
PHN	* <i>ku+ris</i>	scratch, mark with a line [dbl: * <i>ku+Ris</i> ]
PHN	* <i>kurisiŋ</i>	cracked, peeling (of skin)
PHN	* <i>ku+Ris</i>	scratch, mark with a line [dbl: * <i>ku+ris</i> ]
PMP	* <i>kuRíta</i>	octopus
PHN	* <i>kus</i>	wrap, wind around
PMP?	* <i>kusik</i>	scream of monkey
PHF?	* <i>kus+kus</i>	scrape; wipe [dbl: * <i>kuS+kuS</i> ]
PMP	* <i>kusu</i>	rub, create friction by rubbing
PAN	* <i>kúSa?</i>	go (to get)
PAN	* <i>kuS+kuS</i>	fingernail, claw
PHF	* <i>kuS+kuS</i>	scrape [dbl: * <i>kus+kus</i> ]
PHN	* <i>kuťiŋ</i>	cat
PHN	* <i>kut+kut</i>	bite, nibble, chew
PHF	* <i>la</i>	now, already
PAN	* <i>labaw</i>	rat
PHN	* <i>labay</i>	yarn; skein
PHN	* <i>labuR</i>	mix foods together
PMP	* <i>la(ŋ)ga?</i>	heat food up
PHN	* <i>lahúk</i>	mix (together)
PAN	* <i>laHúd</i>	toward the sea
PHN?	* <i>laja</i>	weave (mat), braid
PMP	* <i>laji</i>	tree with poison sap, <i>Antiaris</i>
PMP	* <i>lajih</i>	fish: dolphinfish
PAN	* <i>lákad</i>	walk, go [dbl: * <i>lakat</i> ]

PAN	* <i>lakat</i>	walk, go [dbl: * <i>lákad</i> ]
PMP	* <i>lakáw</i>	walk, go
PHF	* <i>lakay</i>	husband; old (man)
PHN	* <i>laki</i>	grandfather; old (of people)
PMP?	* <i>láki</i>	man, male
PHN	* <i>laku?</i>	peddle
PHN	* <i>la-láki</i>	man, male
PHN	* <i>lalatu</i>	ant sp.
PHN	* <i>lalatu</i>	sparks, burning ashes in the wind
PMP	* <i>lálej</i>	fly
PMP?	* <i>laluj</i>	cock, rooster
PHN	* <i>lamba?</i>	go, walk
PHN	* <i>lambayuj</i>	plant sp.
PHF?	* <i>lamíg</i>	cold
PMP	* <i>lampaŋ</i>	go, walk
PMP	* <i>lampaq</i>	walk, go
PMP	* <i>lamu(t)</i>	seaweed sp. [dbl: * <i>limut</i> , * <i>lúmut</i> ]
PMP	* <i>lamúk</i>	mosquito
PHN	* <i>landas-an</i>	anvil
PHN	* <i>lan+tas</i>	take a shortcut [dbl: * <i>la?+tas</i> ]
PHN?	* <i>lan+tay</i>	floor(ing)
PMP	* <i>láña[h]</i>	vegetable oil
PAN	* <i>lá+ŋaw</i>	house fly
PMP	* <i>laŋen</i>	rollers for beaching a canoe
PHF	* <i>laŋesej</i>	stench of putrid urine
PAN	* <i>lángit</i>	sky, heaven
PHF	* <i>laŋúy</i>	swim [dbl: * <i>naŋúy</i> ]
PMP	* <i>lap</i>	flash, sparkle
PAN	* <i>laq</i>	split
PHN	* <i>laqlu</i>	pestle [dbl: <i>qahlu</i> ]
PMP	* <i>laquya</i>	ginger
PHF	* <i>laRaŋ</i>	forbid
PHN	* <i>laRíw</i>	run (away)
PHN	* <i>la+sem</i>	sour
PHN	* <i>la++tas</i>	take a shortcut [dbl: * <i>lan+tas</i> ]
PMP	* <i>lateŋ</i>	nettle, <i>Laportea</i> [dbl: <i>zalateŋ</i> ]
PHN	* <i>latiq</i>	swampy ground
PAN	* <i>lawa + ma-</i>	wide
PHN	* <i>lawah</i>	drop by, pay a visit
PAN	* <i>láwaq</i>	spider

PMP	* <i>lawí</i>	tail feather
PMP	* <i>laya</i>	affinal cousin: father's sister's son, sister's husband
PHN	* <i>layaŋ</i>	fly [vb]
PHF	* <i>layap</i>	fly [vb]
PMP	* <i>láyaR</i>	sail
PHN	* <i>le(b)+leb</i>	forfeit
PHN	* <i>le(m)bak</i>	valley [dbl: * <i>le(m)baq</i> ]
PHN	* <i>le(m)baq</i>	valley, watercourse between hills [dbl: * <i>le(m)baq</i> ]
PHN	* <i>lě(m)béŋ</i>	valley; deep water between hills
PHN	* <i>lěbéŋ</i>	bury
PHN	* <i>lebúq</i>	settlement, village area
PMP	* <i>le(ŋ)+gur</i>	thunder
PMP	* <i>le(ŋ)+kaʔ</i>	open
PMP	* <i>lekaq</i>	split
PMP	* <i>le+kas</i>	open, undress, remove, release
PHN	* <i>le(ŋ)+keb</i>	cover, shut in [cf: * <i>keb</i> ]
PMP	* <i>le+kes</i>	roll, curl up
PAN	* <i>lem (1)</i>	dark
PMP	* <i>lem (2)</i>	in(side)
PMP	* <i>le+mek</i>	fertile (of soil)
PMP	* <i>lemeŋ</i>	wet (of soil)
PHN	* <i>lentiq</i>	thunder storm, lightning bolt
PHN	* <i>lěŋáh</i>	sesame, <i>Sesamum indicum</i>
PHN	* <i>lě(m)pád<sub>2</sub></i>	fly [vb]
PAN	* <i>le+páw</i>	village granary, field house, hut
PHN	* <i>lepuq</i>	bone fracture; crooked (of limbs)
PMP	* <i>le+put</i>	blowpipe, use a blowpipe
PMP	* <i>leséq</i>	nit, louse egg [cf: * <i>lisáq</i> ]
PHN	* <i>le+sít</i>	squeeze/squirt-out
PHF	* <i>lě+suŋ</i>	mortar
PHN	* <i>lě-(n)+táw</i>	float
PMP	* <i>liag</i>	cave
PHN	* <i>li-(n)ji</i>	batten of a loom
PAN	* <i>likúd<sub>2</sub></i>	back
PMP	* <i>lilin</i>	bees wax
PAN	* <i>limá</i>	five
PMP	* <i>limás</i>	bail, canoe water-bailer
PMP	* <i>limaw</i>	<i>Citrus</i> fruit

PMP	* <i>lim+bun</i>	heap up, pile up (as earth); dam [cf. * <i>bun</i> (2)]
PMP	* <i>limut</i>	seaweed sp. [dbl: * <i>lamu(t)</i> , * <i>lúmut</i> ]
PHN	* <i>lind<sub>2</sub>uŋ</i>	protect(ion)
PHN	* <i>lind<sub>2</sub>uR</i>	earthquake [cf: * <i>línuR</i> , * <i>lúniR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>lintaq</i>	leech [red: * <i>qaLimeCáq</i> ]
PHF	* <i>línuR</i>	earthquake [dbl: * <i>lúniR</i> ; cf: * <i>linduR</i> ]
PHF	* <i>liŋ</i>	clear ringing sound
PAN	* <i>lipen</i>	tooth
PHF	* <i>líqeR</i>	neck
PMP	* <i>liR</i>	flow [cf: * <i>luR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>lisáq</i>	nit [cf: * <i>leséq</i> ]
PAN	* <i>liseSáq</i>	nit, louse egg [cf: * <i>qaliseSáq</i> , * <i>lisáq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>lit</i> (1)	caulk; glue
PAN	* <i>lit</i> (2)	wind, twist
PHN	* <i>li-(n)+tem</i>	deep black, shiny black
PAN	* <i>liu-</i>	turn, veer to the side
PAN	* <i>luaq</i>	eject food from the mouth
PHF	* <i>luCuŋ</i>	monkey sp.
PHF	* <i>lu+dáq</i>	spit [dbl: * <i>luZáq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>lújan</i>	cargo; load a canoe
PMP	* <i>luk</i>	bend, curve
PAN	* <i>lukuC</i>	parasitic plant, <i>Asplenium nidus</i>
PMP	* <i>lukut</i>	crumple up; roll up
PHN	* <i>lumaq</i>	weak, tired; worn out
PMP	* <i>lumbar</i>	set free
PMP	* <i>lumbu</i>	plant sp.
PMP	* <i>lúmut</i>	seaweed sp., moss [dbl: * <i>lamu(t)</i> , * <i>limut</i> ]
PHF	* <i>lúniR</i>	earthquake [cf: * <i>línuR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>luŋ</i>	bend, curve
PHF	* <i>lupaS</i>	spit (out)
PMP	* <i>luqas + ma-</i>	spacious, wide
PHN	* <i>luR</i>	flow [cf: * <i>liR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>lus</i>	slip off
PHF	* <i>lu+súŋ</i>	mortar
PHF	* <i>lúSeq</i>	tear (drop)
PHN	* <i>lu-(n)tuq</i>	cook
PHF	* <i>lu<sup>?</sup>um</i>	ripe
PHN	* <i>luyah</i>	weak, worn-out
PMP	* <i>luZáq</i>	spit [dbl: * <i>lu+dáq</i> ]
PHF	* <i>LaLak</i>	offspring, child [dbl: * <i>aNak</i> ]

PHF?	* <i>Lam+Lam</i>	accustomed
PHF	* <i>Laŋ+siʔ</i>	odour, stench (of fish/blood)
PHF	* <i>Lauŋ</i>	shadow; shade(d)
PHF	* <i>Le+keC</i>	stick(y), adhere
PHF?	* <i>Lek+Lek</i>	tickle
PHF	* <i>Lemek</i>	soft
PAN	* <i>Li(m)bu[H]</i>	surround(ed)
PAN	* <i>Libu[ʔH]</i>	lair, den, nest
PHF	* <i>LukaH</i>	wound(ed) [dsj: * <i>Nukaŋ</i> ]
PHF	* <i>Luáŋ</i>	carabao, ruminant [dbl: * <i>qaNuáŋ</i> ]
PAN	* <i>ma</i>	and, with
PAN	* <i>ma-</i>	[adjective prefix]
PMP	* <i>maCá</i>	eye
PAN	* <i>maCéy</i>	die, be dead
PAN	* <i>mai</i>	come
PMP	* <i>maja + ma-</i>	dry up, evaporate
PHF	* <i>malat</i>	machete, parang, sword
PMP?	* <i>mali</i>	plant, <i>Leea</i> spp.
PHN	* <i>maliʔ</i>	taboo
PHF	* <i>maliqi</i>	pregnant
PAN	* <i>mama</i>	father [children's vocative form]
PMP	* <i>mamáq</i>	chew (but not intend to eat)
PMP	* <i>mamin</i>	fish: wrasse, <i>Cheilinus</i> sp.
PHF	* <i>mana</i>	how?
PMP	* <i>manúk</i>	chicken, bird, fowl
PHN	* <i>maŋali</i>	sea fish
PMP	* <i>maŋkuk</i>	cup, bowl
PMP	* <i>maŋsit</i>	vile smell
PMP	* <i>m-aRi</i>	come
PMP	* <i>mek</i>	crush, pulverise; powder
PMP	* <i>meñak</i>	fat, grease
PMP	* <i>mes+mes</i>	squeeze [cf: * <i>pes+pes</i> ]
PMP	* <i>me-(n)tik / ha-</i>	ant with venomous bite
PHF	* <i>m/in/aCéy</i>	dead
PHN	* <i>m-inúm</i>	drink
PHN	* <i>miñak</i>	fat, grease
PMP	* <i>misik</i>	sucking noise made to signal s.o.
PAN	* <i>mi-Sepi</i>	dream
PMP	* <i>m-ud<sub>2</sub>ehí</i>	behind, back, rear; late
PHN	* <i>muk</i>	crush, pulverise; powder



PMP?	* <i>muken</i> /-	omen dove [dbl: * <i>-buken</i> ]
PMP?	* <i>múla</i>	plant [vb]
PMP?	* <i>muntay</i>	<i>Citrus</i> spp.
PMP	* <i>muR</i>	gargle; rinse the mouth
PMP?	* <i>musaq</i>	civetcat
PAN	* <i>m-útaq</i>	vomit
PMP	* <i>mutu</i>	fish: damsel fish
PMP	* <i>na</i>	[article, determiner]
PAN	* <i>na-</i>	[stative verb prefix]
PMP	* <i>na+na</i>	mother [children's address form]
PAN	* <i>nanaq</i>	pus
PMP	* <i>nana w</i>	lagoon, harbour
PMP	* <i>naṅa</i>	estuary, river mouth
PMP?	* <i>naṅa</i>	rattan sp.
PHN	* <i>naṅka?</i>	jackfruit, <i>Artocarpus</i>
PHF	* <i>naṅúy</i>	swim [dbl: * <i>laṅúy</i> ]
PMP	* <i>naRa</i>	tree, <i>Pterocarpus indica</i>
PMP	* <i>nasu</i>	cook [dbl: * <i>nasuk</i> ]
PAN	* <i>na+suk</i>	cook by boiling [dbl: * <i>nasu</i> ]
PMP	* <i>nek+nek</i>	gnat, sandfly
PAN	* <i>nem+nem</i>	think, meditate, brood; keep silent
PMP	* <i>nepuq</i>	fish: stonefish
PMP?	* <i>puni</i>	tree fern, <i>Cyathea</i> sp.
PMP	* <i>ni+law</i>	bright light
PMP	* <i>ninih</i>	shake, tremble, rock
PMP	* <i>niniq</i>	plant for basket, <i>Donax canniformis</i>
PMP	* <i>niṅ</i>	clear, limpid (water)
PMP	* <i>niṅal</i> /-	echo
PHN	* <i>nipaq</i>	nipa reed, <i>Nypa fruticans</i>
PMP	* <i>nipay</i>	snake
PAN	* <i>nípen</i>	tooth [dbl: * <i>nípen</i> ]
PMP	* <i>nipi</i>	dream
PAN	* <i>ni+pís + ma-</i>	thin (of objects)
PHN	* <i>niRu</i>	winnowing basket
PMP	* <i>ní-(n)tuq</i>	fern, <i>Lygodium circinnatum</i>
PMP	* <i>niúR</i>	coconut
PMP	* <i>níwaṅ + ma-</i>	thin, skinny
PHF	* <i>nu</i>	if
PMP	* <i>nunuk</i>	fig tree, <i>Ficus benjamina</i>
PMP	* <i>nuRuq/ma-</i>	lucky

PMP	* <i>nusa</i>	island
PMP	* <i>nuʔus</i>	squid, cuttlefish
PAN	* <i>Na</i>	and, with
PAN	* <i>Nabek</i>	surf, breakers, waves
PHF	* <i>NaCéŋ</i>	vegetables
PAN	* <i>Najam + ma-</i>	tame, accustomed to
PHF	* <i>Nali</i>	cicada
PHF	* <i>Na+tad<sub>2</sub></i>	front yard; cleared area
PHF	* <i>Naw+Naw</i>	rinse, wash
PAN	* <i>Nukaq + ma-</i>	wound(ed); sore [dsj: * <i>LukaH</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ñam</i>	savoury, tasty
PMP	* <i>ñam+ñam</i>	taste [vb]; tasty
PMP	* <i>ñamúk</i>	mosquito
PMP	* <i>ñaRa</i>	male sibling
PMP	* <i>ñatuq</i>	timber tree, <i>Palaquium</i> spp.
PAN	* <i>ñaw</i>	wash, rinse, bathe
PMP	* <i>ñáwa + ma-</i>	breathe [cf: * <i>Ra-Sináwa</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ñeñu</i>	tree, <i>Morinda citrifolia</i>
PAN	* <i>ñuñu</i>	breast
PAN	* <i>ŋaʔ</i>	wide open
PAN	* <i>ŋaC</i>	gnash the teeth as in anger
PAN?	* <i>ŋájan</i>	name
PMP	* <i>ŋak</i>	raucous throaty sound [cf: * <i>gak</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ŋaq</i>	gaping, wide open
PMP	* <i>ŋeni</i>	beg, ask for
PMP	* <i>ŋeR (1)</i>	hear
PMP	* <i>ŋeR (2)</i>	noise
PAN	* <i>ŋiC</i>	anger, irritation
PMP	* <i>ŋik</i>	shrill throaty sound [cf: * <i>gik</i> , * <i>kik</i> ]
PHF	* <i>ŋilúH</i>	set teeth on edge
PMP	* <i>ŋiŋ</i>	shrill buzz or hum
PMP	* <i>ŋípen</i>	tooth [dbl: * <i>nípen</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ŋis</i>	bare the teeth
PAN	* <i>ŋísi [h]</i>	tooth; smile, grin, show the teeth
PAN	* <i>ŋuC</i>	anger, irritation
PMP	* <i>ŋuŋ</i>	deep buzz or hum
PAN	* <i>ŋúsuʔ</i>	snout
PMP	* <i>ŋut</i>	mumble, murmur, mutter
PAN	* <i>pa-</i>	[causative verb prefix]
PAN	* <i>pa(R)-bělí</i>	sell

PAN	*pa+cek	drive in (as post, nail or wedge)
PAN	*paCéy	kill
PHN	*padek	rice husk
PHF	*paʔén	bait
PHN?	*pager	fence, enclosure
PHN?	*páhid	wipe
PAN	*pahku	fern, <i>Athyrium esculentum</i>
PHN	*páhuq	mango, <i>Mangifera indica</i>
PHF	*pájey	rice plant, unhusked rice, paddy
PMP	*pak	clap, slap
PAN	*pa-ka-maCéy	kill
PHN	*pakan	weft
PHF	*pak+pak	wing
PMP	*páku?	stake; nail
PHN?	*palí?	cut, wound, scar
PHF	*paliSi	taboo
PMP	*palu?	hit (with stick or club)
PMP	*paluja	paddle [vb; dbl: aluja]
PMP	*pa-nahik	climb
PAN	*panaq	bow and arrow; to shoot an arrow
PMP	*panas + ma-	warm, hot (of weather)
PMP	*pánaw	walk, go, depart
PMP	*panaw	skin disease leaving white patches
PMP	*pandak + ma-	short (in length)
PAN	*páni j	wing
PMP	*pāniki	fruit bat
PHN	*pan+tek	spotted, dappled
PAN	*paŋud,áN	pandanus tree, <i>Pandanus tectorius</i>
PMP?	*pa(m)pa/-	tree, <i>Vitex pubescens</i>
PMP	*papan	board, plank
PHF	*pa-pitú	seven
PAN	*páqaS	thigh
PHN	*paqét	chisel
PHF	*paqíC	bitter
PMP	*para[qh]u	boat
PHN?	*pariúk	frypan; cooking pot
PMP	*parud	rasp [vb]
PMP?	*páRa	storage shelf, rack above hearth
PMP	*pa+Raw	hoarse
PAN	*páRiS	rayfish, stingray

PHN	* <i>pas</i>	peel, rip, tear off
PHF	* <i>pa-Suay</i>	spend time
PHN	* <i>pātún</i>	bamboo sp.
PHN	* <i>payuŋ</i>	umbrella
PMP	* <i>pe(R)+cit</i>	squeeze, squirt out
PMP	* <i>pějés</i>	pain(ful)
PMP	* <i>pějés</i>	spicy, hot (food)
PHF	* <i>pějíq</i>	pain(ful); smart, sting
PMP	* <i>pek</i>	decay, crumble; powder [cf: * <i>bek</i> ]
PAN	* <i>pek+pek</i>	beat, hit
PMP	* <i>pel</i>	plug, stopper; to cram
PMP	* <i>pened</i>	official gathering
PAN	* <i>pěnúq</i>	full
PMP	* <i>pěñúh</i>	green sea turtle, tortoise
PMP	* <i>pe+ŋah</i>	fork of a branch [cf: * <i>sá+ŋah</i> ]
PMP	* <i>períŋ</i>	bamboo, <i>Bambusa vulgaris</i> (?)
PMP	* <i>peRáq</i>	squeeze, wring out
PMP	* <i>peRés</i>	squeeze
PMP	* <i>pes</i>	deflate, be empty [cf: * <i>pis</i> (1)]
PHF	* <i>pesél</i>	squeeze, massage
PAN	* <i>pěséq</i>	break; broken
PMP	* <i>pes+pes</i>	squeeze [cf: * <i>mes+mes</i> , * <i>pis+pis</i> ]
PMP	* <i>pet</i>	plug, stop up, block
PMP	* <i>piá + ma-</i>	good, well
PAN	* <i>pijáH</i>	how many?
PAN	* <i>pik</i>	pat, light slap
PMP	* <i>pil</i>	attach, join
PAN	* <i>píliq</i>	choose, select
PHF	* <i>píLay</i>	lame
PMP	* <i>piq</i>	fold
PHN?	* <i>pírak</i>	silver
PHN	* <i>piRah</i>	roe, fish eggs
PHN	* <i>piRsah</i>	abscess, boil
PMP	* <i>pis</i> (1)	deflate, be empty [cf: * <i>pes</i> ]
PAN	* <i>pis</i> (2)	thin; tenuous
PHN	* <i>pisáw</i>	knife
PHN	* <i>pisék</i>	blind in one eye
PMP	* <i>pis+pis</i>	squeeze [cf: * <i>pes+pes</i> ]
PAN	* <i>pit</i>	press, squeeze
PMP	* <i>pítak</i>	mud

PHN	* <i>pitem</i>	black
PAN	* <i>pitú</i>	seven
PMP	* <i>pituŋ</i>	bamboo, <i>Dendrocalamus</i> [dbl. * <i>bituŋ</i> ]
PMP	* <i>puaŋ</i>	title of respect
PHF	* <i>puCaq</i>	foam, froth, lather
PHF	* <i>pu-(n)dúl</i>	dull, blunt
PHN	* <i>puhaR</i>	drive off a bee, smoke bees away
PAN	* <i>puk</i>	beat, crack, thud
PHN	* <i>pu+kas</i>	nudity, exposure of the body
PHN	* <i>pu+kas</i>	release, loosen, untie
PMP	* <i>puket</i>	dragnet
PMP	* <i>puki?</i>	vagina
PMP	* <i>pul</i>	blunt, dull
PHF	* <i>pulu</i>	handle
PAN	* <i>puluC</i>	mucilaginous plant, <i>Urena lobata</i>
PAN	* <i>púluq</i>	ten
PMP	* <i>pulut</i>	bird lime
PMP	* <i>pun</i>	assemble, collect, gather
PAN	* <i>púnay</i>	wild dove
PMP	* <i>punti</i>	banana
PHN	* <i>punti/-</i>	marine fish sp.
PHF	* <i>púnuq</i>	tree trunk [cf: * <i>púqun</i> ]
PAN	* <i>puŋ</i>	bunch, cluster
PMP	* <i>púqun</i>	tree trunk [cf: * <i>púnuq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>purá[h]</i>	red
PHN	* <i>puRuq</i>	quail, <i>Turnix</i> sp. [dbl: * <i>puyuq</i> ]
PMP	* <i>pus</i>	finish, complete
PMP	* <i>pus (2)</i>	sound of escaping air
PMP	* <i>púsej</i>	navel
PMP	* <i>púsuq</i>	heart
PAN?	* <i>putíq + ma-</i>	white
PHN	* <i>puyuq</i>	quail [dbl: * <i>puRuq</i> ]
PHF	* <i>qabaŋ</i>	canoe: dugout; boat
PHN?	* <i>qa(m)+baR</i>	tasteless
PAN	* <i>qabáRaH</i>	shoulder
PHN	* <i>qa(m)+bej</i>	wind around
PMP	* <i>qabin</i>	carry under the arm (on/near the stomach)
PHN	* <i>qabu<sub>2</sub></i>	murrel <i>Ophiocephalus striatus</i>
PHN	* <i>qa(m)+bud<sub>2</sub></i>	strew, scatter
PAN?	* <i>qabúH</i>	ash(es)

PMP	* <i>qa+búk</i>	dust
PMP	* <i>qabus</i>	accumulation
PMP	* <i>qabusa</i>	pile; group
PAN	* <i>qaCéy</i>	liver
PMP	* <i>qad<sub>2</sub>aŋ</i>	ambush, prepare attack; bar, obstacle
PMP	* <i>qad<sub>2</sub>ep</i>	front
PHN	* <i>qahlu</i>	pestle [dbl: * <i>laqlu</i> , * <i>qalhu</i> ; cf: * <i>qaSelu</i> ]
PAN	* <i>qa-(n)jaw</i>	sun
PHN	* <i>qa+jeŋ</i>	charcoal [dbl: * <i>qújiŋ</i> ]
PHF	* <i>qálad</i>	fence
PHN	* <i>qalamen</i>	grass
PAN	* <i>qalaq</i>	gather, collect
PMP	* <i>qalep</i>	beckon, wave
PHN	* <i>qalhu</i>	pestle
PMP	* <i>qaliliŋ</i>	shell: cateye shell
PAN	* <i>qa-límaH</i>	hand
PMP	* <i>qali-maŋaw</i>	mangrove crab [dbl: * <i>qali-máŋu</i> ]
PMP	* <i>qali-máŋu</i>	mangrove crab [dbl: * <i>qali-maŋaw</i> ]
PAN	* <i>qalipan</i>	centipede [dbl: * <i>qaluHipan</i> ]
PAN	* <i>qaliseSáq</i>	nit [cf: * <i>liseSáq</i> ]
PHF	* <i>qali-wadaŋ</i>	shoulder; collar bone
PAN	* <i>qaLi-baŋ+baŋ</i>	butterfly
PHF	* <i>qaLi-mátek</i>	jungle leech
PHF	* <i>qaLi-meCáq</i>	paddy leech
PAN	* <i>qal(e)jáv</i>	day
PAN	* <i>qal+sem</i>	sour
PMP	* <i>qalu</i>	fish: barracuda <i>Sphyraena obtusata</i>
PAN	* <i>qaluHipan</i>	centipede [dbl: * <i>qalipan</i> ]
PMP	* <i>qáluŋ</i>	wave
PMP	* <i>qaluŋ-an</i>	wooden headrest, pillow
PHF	* <i>qamíS-an</i>	north wind
PHN	* <i>qanahaw</i>	palm, <i>Livistona rotundifolia</i>
PAN	* <i>qa-ní[H]</i>	this
PHF	* <i>qanibuŋ</i>	palm, <i>Caryota</i> spp.
PHF	* <i>qániH</i>	harvest
PMP?	* <i>qanilaw</i>	plant, <i>Grewia</i> spp.
PMP	* <i>qaninu[ŋ]</i>	shadow, reflection [dbl: * <i>qanínuh</i> ]
PMP	* <i>qanínuh</i>	shadow [dbl: * <i>qaninu[ŋ]</i> ; cf: * <i>qaNíŋuH</i> ]
PMP	* <i>qaniRuan</i>	bee, <i>Apis indica</i>
PAN	* <i>qanitu</i>	spirit

PMP	*qantad,	visible, open
PMP	*qanulin	fruit tree, <i>Pisonia umbellifera</i>
PAN	*qañud	drift with current
PHF	*qaNiC	skin of animal, hide, leather [dbl: *kaLiC]
PAN	*qaNíñuH	shadow [cf: *qanínuh]
PHF	*qaNuán	ruminant sp.; carabao [dbl: *Luan]
PAN	*qaNuNañ	tree, <i>Cordia dichotoma</i>
PHF	*qaNuNañ	tree, fruit <i>Annona reticulata</i>
PHF	*qaNúp	hunt, go hunting
PAN	*qañ+	smell of (something)
PHF	*qañeliC	cooking pot (for scorching); burnt
PMP	*qañeliR	fetid, foul-smelling [cf: *qañiR]
PMP	*qañet	warm
PMP	*qañiR	fetid, foul-smelling [cf: *qañeliR]
PHF	*qañRiS	strong smell of fish
PHF	*qañRu	stench (as of spoiled meat)
PHF	*qañseR	stench of urine
PHF	*qañsuH	stench
PAN	*qañ+Sit	stink, stench, foul-smelling
PHN	*qapa	rice husk
PHF	*qapeju	gall, bile
PHF	*qapucuk	peak of a mountain
PMP?	*qa+puk	dust
PAN	*qápuR	lime (for betel quid) [cf: *apuR]
PAN	*qaqay	foot, leg [cf: *waqay]
PMP?	*qaRa?	fig tree, <i>Ficus</i> sp.
PHN	*qaRama	crab sp.
PHF	*qáRaw	snatch, grab
PHF	*qaRem	scaly anteater, pangolin
PHN	*qaRim?aw	tiger; animal that jumps
PMP	*qaRta	alien person; Negrito [dbl: *qata]
PMP	*qaRuas	fish: young mullet <i>Neomyxus chaptalii</i>
PMP	*qaRuhu?	pine tree, <i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>
PMP	*qáRus	current, flow
PAN	*qasáwa	spouse, wife; husband; marry
PAN	*qasiN	salt(y)
PAN	*qasiRa	salt
PMP	*qasúh	smoke
PHF	*qaSelu	pestle [cf: *qahlu]
PMP	*qata	alien person, slave [dbl: *qaRta]

PAN	* <i>qatěluR</i>	egg [dbl: * <i>qi-těluR</i> ]
PMP	* <i>qatép</i>	thatched roof (usually sago leaf)
PMP	* <i>qati + ma-</i>	low tide; exposed reef
PHF	* <i>qatímela</i>	flea
PMP	* <i>qatulay</i>	fish: big-eyed scad
PMP	* <i>qatun</i>	fish: tuna, bonito
PAN	* <i>qauŋ</i>	howl, wail
PAN	* <i>qauR</i>	bamboo, <i>Bambusa</i> sp.
PMP	* <i>qawa?</i>	fish: milkfish, <i>Chanos chanos</i>
PHF	* <i>qáyam</i>	domestic animal: dog, chicken
PHF	* <i>qayám</i>	play
PMP	* <i>qayuyu</i>	coconut crab
PAN	* <i>qazi</i>	no, not
PHF	* <i>qěbél</i>	smoke
PHF	* <i>qeCá</i>	bran, chaff, rice husk
PHF	* <i>qeCúR</i>	erection
PHN	* <i>qe-(n)+dem</i>	brood (of a hen)
PHF	* <i>qekuŋ</i>	owl
PMP	* <i>qelad<sub>2</sub></i>	wing
PMP	* <i>qem+peŋ</i>	weir; impede, obstruct, restrain
PAN	* <i>qěnay</i>	sand
PHF	* <i>qe+Neb</i>	door(way); close door [dbl: * <i>qi+Neb</i> ]
PHN	* <i>qepah</i>	bran, chaff, rice husk
PMP	* <i>qě-(n)+tut</i>	fart, flatulence
PMP	* <i>qi</i>	marker of location: at
PHN	* <i>qi-(n)+d<sub>2</sub>em</i>	dark, black; obscured
PAN?	* <i>qilaŋ + ma-</i>	dirty
PMP?	* <i>qilih</i>	mountain range
PMP	* <i>qi+liR</i>	fan
PAN	* <i>qinép</i>	lie down (to sleep)
PHF	* <i>qi+Neb</i>	close; door [dbl: * <i>qe+Neb</i> ]
PMP	* <i>qipil</i>	tree, <i>Intsia bijuga</i>
PHN	* <i>qiRis</i>	slice, cut fine
PAN	* <i>qiSu</i>	fish: shark
PAN	* <i>qi-těluR</i>	egg [dbl: * <i>qatěluR</i> ]
PAN?	* <i>qitém + ma-</i>	black
PMP	* <i>qi-(n)tun</i>	count
PHF	* <i>qiút</i>	sexual intercourse
PAN	* <i>quáy</i>	rattan (generic?)
PMP	* <i>quí(m)bi</i>	yam, tuber <i>Dioscorea alata</i>



PMP	* <i>qú(m)+buj</i>	heart (of plant), pith
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>án</i>	shrimp, lobster, crustacean
PAN	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>ip + ma-</i>	alive
PHF	* <i>qu+d<sub>2</sub>em</i>	dim, obscure, dark
PHN	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>ip-en</i>	slave
PHF	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>ij</i>	charcoal [dbl: * <i>qa+jen</i> ]
PMP	* <i>qu+jún</i>	nose; point (of land) [dbl: * <i>qu+zún</i> ]
PAN	* <i>qulej</i>	worm; snake
PAN?	* <i>qules</i>	blanket
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>liŋ</i>	rudder; steer
PAN	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>luH</i>	head
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>luŋa</i>	wooden pillow, headrest
PAN	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>máH</i>	garden, cultivated field, swidden
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>maŋ</i>	hermit crab
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>may</i>	fish: unicornfish
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>néj</i>	inside(s): meat, soft-core, pith
PMP	* <i>qu-silaq</i>	lightning
PHF	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>Saw</i>	thirst(y)
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>tan</i>	woods, forest
PHN?	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>taŋ</i>	debt
PMP	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>tek</i>	brain [dbl: * <i>hútek</i> ]
PAN	* <i>qu<sub>2</sub>tin</i>	penis
PMP	* <i>qu+zún</i>	nose; cape (land-point) [dbl: * <i>qu+jún</i> ]
PAN	* <i>quZáN</i>	rain
PMP	* <i>ra+ket</i>	sticky, adhesive
PHN	* <i>ram+bun</i>	cloud (not a raincloud)
PMP?	* <i>rami</i>	ramie, <i>Boehmeria nivea</i>
PMP	* <i>rampia</i>	sago [dbl: * <i>Rambia</i> , * <i>Rumbia</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ran+pas</i>	plunder, rob
PMP	* <i>ra-(n)+tas</i>	cut through, tear [cf: * <i>tas</i> ]
PHF	* <i>raw+raw</i>	rinse [dbl: * <i>Naw+Naw</i> ]
PMP	* <i>re+mek</i>	crush, pulverise, crumble [dbl: * <i>Re+mek</i> ; cf: * <i>mek</i> ]
PHN	* <i>renáy</i>	aftermath of a storm
PHN?	* <i>ribu</i>	thousand [dbl: * <i>Ribu</i> ]
PAN	* <i>riC (1)</i>	sound of grating, ripping
PAN	* <i>riC (2)</i>	scratch a line
PHN	* <i>ri+nis</i>	drizzle
PMP	* <i>ris (1)</i>	scratch lightly
PMP	* <i>ris (2)</i>	rustle

PMP	* <i>rũ(ŋ)guŋ</i>	thunder [cf: * <i>guŋ</i> ]
PMP	* <i>ru-(n)+tas</i>	sever, tear
PAN	* <i>RabiʔiH</i>	night
PAN?	* <i>Ra+bun</i>	cloud
PMP	* <i>Ra-(n)+dut</i>	pluck, pull out
PHN	* <i>Rakit</i>	raft [cf: * <i>da+kit</i> ]
PHN	* <i>Rambat</i>	fish net
PMP	* <i>Rambia</i>	sago [dbl: * <i>rampia</i> , * <i>Rumbia</i> ]
PMP	* <i>Ramút</i>	root; medicine
PMP	* <i>Raŋaw + ma-</i>	dry
PHN	* <i>Raŋ+kub</i>	cover [dbl: * <i>aŋkub</i> ; cf: * <i>kub</i> ]
PMP	* <i>Rapuq</i>	rot(ten), brittle
PAN	* <i>RaqaNi</i>	courage
PAN	* <i>Ra-Sináwa</i>	breathe
PMP	* <i>Rátas</i>	milk
PMP	* <i>Ratús</i>	hundred
PHN	* <i>Rawéd</i>	betel-leaf
PMP	* <i>Rawej</i>	vine, aerial root [dbl: * <i>waRej</i> ]
PAN	* <i>Raya + ma-</i>	big
PMP	* <i>Rebek</i>	fly [vb]
PHF	* <i>Re+bun</i>	egg
PMP	* <i>Re+mek</i>	crush, pulverise, crumble [dbl: * <i>re+mek</i> ; cf: * <i>mek</i> ]
PAN	* <i>Riaq</i>	sword grass <i>Imperata cylindrica</i> [cf: * <i>eRiq</i> ]
PHN	* <i>Ribu</i>	thousand [dbl: * <i>ribu</i> ]
PHF	* <i>Riʔék</i>	thresh
PHN	* <i>Rihuq</i>	tree sp. (lumber?)
PMP	* <i>Ruab</i>	high tide
PAN	* <i>Rumaq</i>	house, family dwelling
PMP	* <i>Rumaq</i>	lineage, bilateral kin
PMP	* <i>Rumbia</i>	sago [dbl: * <i>rampia</i> , * <i>Rambia</i> ]
PAN	* <i>RuqaNay+ma-</i>	male
PMP?	* <i>Rusa</i>	deer [dbl: * <i>uRsa</i> ]
PMP	* <i>Rúsuk</i>	chest, rib
PAN	* <i>sa-</i>	one [unit of 10, 100, 1000]
PHN	* <i>sabʔa</i>	banana, plantain
PHN	* <i>sa(m)báw</i>	soup, broth
PHN	* <i>sa(m)+beR</i>	sow, scatter, broadcast seed [dbl: * <i>sa(m)+buR</i> ]
PHN?	* <i>sabuŋ</i>	cockfight
PHN	* <i>sa(m)+buR</i>	sow, scatter, broadcast seed [dbl: * <i>sa(m)+beR</i> ]

PMP	* <i>saet</i>	spear [n / vb]
PMP	* <i>sagúh</i>	sago
PMP	* <i>sákay</i>	ascend, mount up, rise
PMP	* <i>sakáy</i>	ride, board
PMP	* <i>sakít + ma-</i>	pain(ful); sick
PMP	* <i>saku layaR</i>	fish: sailfish
PHF?	* <i>salajeŋ</i>	male of ruminants; buck deer
PHN	* <i>salambaw</i>	large fish net
PHN	* <i>salapa?</i>	betelnut case or box
PAN	* <i>saláq</i>	sin, error, mistake
PHN	* <i>salatan</i>	south wind
PHF	* <i>saleŋ</i>	pine tree, <i>Pinus</i> sp.; resin
PHN?	* <i>saléR</i>	floor slats
PMP?	* <i>sa+liR</i>	flow [cf: * <i>liR</i> , * <i>sa+luR</i> ]
PHF	* <i>sáliw</i>	buy, sell; exchange
PHN	* <i>sal+sal</i>	blacksmithing
PHN	* <i>sa+luR</i>	flow [cf: * <i>luR</i> , * <i>sa+liR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>samun</i>	undergrowth
PHN	* <i>sanak</i>	to have many children
PMP	* <i>sa+ŋáh</i>	fork of a branch, bifurcation [cf: * <i>pe+ŋah</i> ]
PMP	* <i>saŋa-saŋa</i>	starfish
PHF	* <i>sa+paw</i>	field hut (roofed structure)
PMP	* <i>sapu</i>	broom
PMP?	* <i>sa+puk</i>	dust
PHF	* <i>saq+saq</i>	split bamboo
PMP	* <i>saruk</i>	fish net
PMP	* <i>saRman</i>	outrigger
PHN	* <i>saRu</i>	body fluid from a corpse
PMP	* <i>saRu</i>	comb
PMP	* <i>saRup</i>	scoop up with both hands
PMP	* <i>saRup</i>	sing in unison
PMP	* <i>saut</i>	comb [dbl: <i>suat</i> ]
PMP?	* <i>sawáh</i>	snake, python
PMP	* <i>sawaq</i>	channel
PHN	* <i>sayad</i>	slice
PHN?	* <i>sayap</i>	fly [vb]; wing
PHN	* <i>sayaw</i>	dance
PMP	* <i>sebuŋ</i>	temper metals (water and heat meet)
PHN	* <i>sedsed</i>	grass or rush sp.
PAN	* <i>sě-(n)+du?</i>	hiccough

PMP	*se(ŋ)+ger	healthy, feel fit
PHN	*sějém	ant [dbl: *si-(n)jem]
PMP	*sek (1)	insert, stick in
PMP	*sek (2)	cram, crowd
PHN	*seleR	flowing water, current
PHN	*seli	young shoot [dbl: *semi]
PMP	*sel+sel	regret
PHN	*semi	young shoot [dbl: *seli]
PMP	*seŋkar	cross-seat in a boat
PAN	*seŋ+seŋ	cork, stopper, plug
PMP?	*sepaŋ	thorny tree, <i>Caesalpinia</i> sp.
PMP	*se+pet	obstructed (of the flow of water)
PAN	*sep+sep	suck
PHN	*se(m)+put	blowgun, blowpipe [dbl: *sumpit]
PAN	*sia	he, she
PAN?	*siáw	nine
PHF	*si?bu	urine
PMP	*si+d <sub>2</sub> á	they
PHN	*sihul	whistle
PHN	*si-(n)jem	ant [dbl: *sějém]
PHN	*siji	separate the chaff from the grain
PHN	*sik+sik	delouse, catch lice
PAN	*sí+kuH	elbow
PMP	*si+laq	split
PHF	*síLiw	noose, loop
PAN	*sip+sip	suck
PMP	*siRi	<i>Cordyline</i> sp., <i>Dracaena</i> spp.
PMP	*sisi[q]	snail; barnacle spp.
PHN	*si?ud	fish net or trap
PMP	*sual	lever up; digging stick
PMP	*suan	hoe, digging stick; plant a field
PMP	*suat	comb [dbl: saut]
PMP	*suja	bamboo trail or pitfall spikes
PMP	*suk	enter, insert, penetrate
PMP?	*suka	tree, <i>Gnetum gnemon</i>
PMP	*suk+suk	stab, pierce
PMP	*suku	clan; one-quarter social subdivision
PHF	*su(ŋ)kud	cane, staff, walking stick
PHN?	*sukup	small basket, woven cover
PHN	*suligi?	bamboo spear

PHN	* <i>sul+sul</i>	set fire to
PMP	* <i>sulúq</i>	torch
PHN	* <i>sumpit</i>	blowgun, blowpipe [dbl: * <i>seput</i> ]
PMP	* <i>sum+sum</i>	suck
PHF	* <i>suNud<sub>2</sub></i>	follow, next
PHN	* <i>suṅay</i>	river
PAN	* <i>sup+sup</i>	suck
PMP	* <i>supu</i>	boundary, border
PHF	* <i>suqaR</i>	thorn
PHN	* <i>suq+suq</i>	scrape out meat from a coconut
PHN	* <i>surambi?</i>	eaves
PHF?	* <i>surat</i>	write
PHN	* <i>suRuq</i>	command, order
PAN	* <i>súsu</i>	breast
PAN	* <i>Sa-</i>	[stative verb prefix]
PAN	* <i>Sa-báRat</i>	monsoon wind
PAN	* <i>Sabij</i>	twins of the same sex
PAN	* <i>Sajék</i>	smell, sniff; kiss
PAN	* <i>Sají?</i>	younger sibling
PHF	* <i>SákuC</i>	transport, carry a load
PAN	* <i>SaliN</i>	move away, transfer
PHF	* <i>Sa-Lawid</i>	far
PAN	* <i>SamuCí</i>	Nightshade, <i>Solanum nigrum</i>
PHF	* <i>Sa-pějíq</i>	pain(ful); smart, sting
PAN	* <i>Sapúy</i>	fire
PHF	* <i>Sáqit</i>	sharp
PHF	* <i>Sa-Sěpát</i>	four
PHF	* <i>Sa-(n)téd<sub>2</sub></i>	convey; escort; give
PHF	* <i>Sauni</i>	a little while
PHF	* <i>Sedám</i>	borrow [dsj: <i>Se-(n)zám</i> ]
PAN	* <i>Sema</i>	tongue
PHF	* <i>Sěmay</i>	rice (generic): unhusked cooked
PAN	* <i>Sě(m)pát</i>	four
PAN	* <i>Sepi + mi-</i>	dream
PAN	* <i>Sě+Ret</i>	tight
PAN	* <i>Sesi</i>	meat, flesh; contents
PHF	* <i>Se-(n)zám</i>	borrow [dsj: <i>Sedgm</i> ; dbl: <i>huzam</i> ]
PAN	* <i>Si-</i>	[instrumental verb prefix]
PAN	* <i>Siáq + ma-</i>	shy, ashamed, lose face
PAN	* <i>Si-ká?en</i>	fish [cf: * <i>ká?en</i> ]

PHF	* <i>Sikám</i>	mat
PHF	* <i>SimaR</i>	grease, fat
PAN?	* <i>Sisi</i>	meat, flesh; contents
PAN	* <i>Siúp</i>	blow (at/on)
PAN	* <i>Suab + ma-</i>	yawn
PAN	* <i>Suai</i>	mango, <i>Mangifera indica</i> [cf: * <i>war</i> ]
PHF	* <i>Súlij</i>	sleep with
PHF	* <i>Sumáy</i>	rice (generic) [dbl: * <i>Hemay</i> ]
PAN	* <i>Suna + ma-</i>	first, ancient, go before; old (thing)
PHF	* <i>Súni</i>	chirp; sound
PHN	* <i>ta+bas</i>	cut away underbrush [cf: * <i>tebaS</i> ]
PHN	* <i>tabé?</i>	fat
PMP	* <i>ta+bun</i>	cover; fill
PMP	* <i>tada</i>	natural cockspur
PHN	* <i>ta?eb</i>	high tide
PMP	* <i>tak</i>	crack, split
PHN	* <i>ta+kep</i>	fold over; double [cf: * <i>kep</i> ]
PHF	* <i>taki?</i>	excrement
PHF	* <i>takid</i>	adhere
PAN	* <i>tak(e)Raŋ</i>	rib
PAN	* <i>tákut + ma-</i>	afraid; fear
PMP	* <i>talaq/man-</i>	morning/evening star (Venus)
PHF	* <i>tálaw</i>	coward(ly); fear(ful)
PMP	* <i>tales</i>	taro, <i>Colocasia</i> sp.
PMP	* <i>talísay</i>	tree, <i>Terminalia catappa</i>
PHN	* <i>tal+tal</i>	hit, pound, crush
PMP	* <i>taluk</i>	young plant shoot
PMP	* <i>taluki</i>	fabric
PHF	* <i>taLam (1)</i>	run
PHF	* <i>taLam (2)</i>	taste
PAN	* <i>tama</i>	father
PHN	* <i>tama?</i>	hit the target
PHN	* <i>tamadaw</i>	wild ruminant sp.
PHN?	* <i>tambar</i>	medicine, poultice
PMP	* <i>tam-buRi</i>	shell: conch; trumpet
PMP	* <i>tamiaŋ</i>	bamboo, <i>Schizostachyum</i> sp.
PMP	* <i>tamíŋ</i>	round shield
PMP	* <i>tanaq</i>	earth, ground, land [dbl: * <i>taneq</i> ]
PHN	* <i>tanduk-<sub>2</sub></i>	plant sp.
PMP	* <i>taneq</i>	earth, ground, land [dbl: * <i>tanaq</i> ]

PHF	*taNam	taste
PHF	*taNek	cook
PMP?	*tanga	plant, <i>Millingtonia hortensis</i>
PHF	*taŋla	ear
PMP	*tajiRi	fish: Spanish mackerel
PHF	*tapeS	winnow
PHF	*ta <sup>2</sup> piL	patch
PMP	*tapis	skirt, sarong [cf: *tapis]
PHF	*tapiS	skirt, cloth [cf: *tapiS]
PMP	*ta(m)pu	ancestor
PHN	*ta+pus	finished, complete [cf: *pus]
PHN	*taqén	trap, snare; restrain; endure
PMP	*taquí	right (side)
PMP	*taquí + ma-	know (things, facts)
PMP	*taqún	year
PHN	*taRabas	plant sp. (has ceremonial uses)
PAN	*taRáq	hew, plane (with adze); cut, hack
PMP	*taRaqaŋ	fish: squirrelfish
PHN	*taRum	tree, <i>Indigofera</i>
PAN?	*táRuq	hide
PMP	*taRutuŋ	fish: puffer, porcupinefish
PMP	*tas	cut through, sever, tear
PAN	*ta+sa	one
PMP	*tasik	saltwater; sea, ocean
PAN	*taSép	winnow
PHF	*ta-tělu	three
PMP	*tau-matáq	person
PHN	*tawad <sub>2</sub>	discount, reduce price
PHN	*tawas	alum
PHN?	*tazi	artificial cockspur; cockfight
PMP	*tazím	sharp
PHN	*tebá?	cut down/off; fell banana stalk
PAN	*tebaS	cut away, clear vegetation [cf: *ta+bas]
PMP	*tebék	pierce, stab
PHN	*tebéŋ	fell, topple
PHN	*teb+teb	cut off, prune; cut down
PAN	*těbúS	sugar-cane
PHF	*teda?	leftovers; remainder
PHN	*tedes	crush with the thumbnail (as lice) [dbl: *tedis]
PHN	*tedis	crush with the thumbnail [dbl: *tedes]

PHN	* <i>te-(n)+dúk</i>	skewer, pierce
PMP	* <i>te+d<sub>2</sub>uŋ</i>	take shelter, cover the head
PMP	* <i>tegel</i>	stubborn, obstinate, unyielding
PMP	* <i>te(ŋ)ger</i>	stubborn, obstinate, unyielding
PMP	* <i>tek (1)</i>	click
PHN	* <i>tek (2)</i>	mud
PMP	* <i>tékén</i>	punt, boat punting pole
PHN	* <i>te+kes</i>	bind firmly
PAN	* <i>tek+tek</i>	cut, hack
PHN	* <i>telaŋ</i>	bamboo sp.
PMP	* <i>telem</i>	sink, disappear under water
PAN	* <i>tělú</i>	three
PAN	* <i>tělúR</i>	egg
PHF	* <i>te+neb</i>	submerge
PMP	* <i>tenu</i>	tree, <i>Melochia umbellata</i>
PHF	* <i>tenun-an</i>	loom
PMP	* <i>těŋéR</i>	mangrove tree, <i>Ceriops</i>
PHN	* <i>tepa</i>	mat; woven material
PMP	* <i>tepiR</i>	mat
PAN	* <i>teq</i>	viscous fluid
PAN	* <i>ter</i>	shiver, tremble [cf: * <i>tir</i> ]
PMP	* <i>teriŋ</i>	bamboo sp.
PHN?	* <i>terúŋ</i>	eggplant
PMP	* <i>teRas</i>	tree, <i>Intsia bijuga</i> (?)
PMP	* <i>teRep</i>	breadfruit sp.
PMP	* <i>tes</i>	rip, tear
PHN	* <i>tey+tey</i>	bridge [cf: * <i>ki-tey</i> ]
PMP	* <i>te+zek</i>	erect; upright
PAN	* <i>tián</i>	belly
PMP	* <i>tí+d<sub>2</sub>em</i>	dark, obscure; black
PAN	* <i>tid<sub>2</sub>uR</i>	sleep [dbl: * <i>tíd<sub>2</sub>uR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>tidús</i>	spoon, ladle
PMP	* <i>tik (1)</i>	tick (sound)
PMP	* <i>tík (2)</i>	flicking motion
PHN	* <i>tí+lem</i>	dark, black
PMP	* <i>tilu</i>	ear wax [dbl: * <i>tulíh</i> ]
PHN	* <i>timeRaq</i>	lead; tin
PAN	* <i>tímid</i>	chin
PMP	* <i>timun</i>	melon; cucumber
PAN	* <i>tímuR</i>	rain wind: south-east



PHF	* <i>timus</i>	salt
PAN	* <i>tina</i>	mother
PHF	* <i>tineʔun</i>	weave (cloth)
PMP	* <i>tiŋ</i>	clear ringing sound
PHF	* <i>tiŋáS</i>	particles of food stuck in teeth
PAN	* <i>tip+tip</i>	suck
PMP	* <i>tiqaŋ</i>	pillar, post; mast
PMP	* <i>tir</i>	shiver, tremble [cf: * <i>ter</i> ]
PMP	* <i>t Rem</i>	oyster
PHN	* <i>tuad<sub>2</sub></i>	fish net or trap
PMP	* <i>tua-(n)ji</i>	younger sibling
PHN	* <i>tuan</i>	primary forest
PHN	* <i>tuʔaw</i>	bird and its cry
PAN	* <i>túbaH</i>	derris root fish poison
PAN	* <i>tu(m)bak</i>	cowrie shell
PMP	* <i>tubaŋ</i>	sit
PHN	* <i>tubiR</i>	deep water
PMP	* <i>tudaʔ</i>	throw
PMP	* <i>tuduk</i>	skewer
PAN	* <i>túd<sub>2</sub>uq</i>	drip, leak
PAN	* <i>túd<sub>2</sub>uR</i>	sleep [dbl: * <i>tid<sub>2</sub>uR</i> ]
PHN	* <i>tuek</i>	bow the head, nod
PMP	* <i>tuiʔ</i>	tree, <i>Dolichandrone spathacea</i>
PAN	* <i>tuk</i>	knock, pound, beat
PHN	* <i>tu(ŋ)kad</i>	prop, support, staff [dbl: * <i>tu(ŋ)ked</i> ]
PAN	* <i>tukad</i>	runged ladder
PHN	* <i>tu(ŋ)ked</i>	prop, support, staff [dbl: * <i>tu(ŋ)kad</i> ]
PMP	* <i>tuk+tuk</i>	pound (prepared food), knock
PMP	* <i>tulíh</i>	ear wax, cerumen [dbl: * <i>tilu</i> ]
PHN	* <i>tumaŋ</i>	disagreement
PMP	* <i>tumpu</i>	ancestor; lord, master, owner
PAN	* <i>tuNa</i>	freshwater eel
PHN	* <i>tuŋ+tuŋ</i>	bamboo internode storage container
PAN	* <i>tuqáS /ma-(n)-</i>	wife's father, mother's brother
PAN	* <i>tuqáS + ma-</i>	old (person); elder(s)
PHF	* <i>tuqed<sub>2</sub></i>	stump (of a tree)
PAN	* <i>tuq+tuq</i>	hammer, pound, crush
PMP	* <i>tuqud<sub>2</sub></i>	stand, be standing
PMP	* <i>turiŋ</i>	fish sp.
PMP	* <i>turus</i>	house post

PMP	* <i>túRaŋ</i>	parent-in-law
PMP	* <i>tusi</i>	draw; etch; write
PHF	* <i>túSud</i>	knee
PAN	* <i>tut</i>	stench
PMP	* <i>tutuŋ</i>	light, kindle, set fire to, burn
PMP	* <i>tutur</i>	say, speak, utter
PHN	* <i>u-dahik</i>	bring up (e.g. boat to shore)
PMP	* <i>ud<sub>2</sub>ehí + m-</i>	behind, back, rear; late
PHN	* <i>ugali?</i>	custom, tradition
PAN?	* <i>ulaR</i>	snake, worm
PHN	* <i>ulat</i>	scar [dbl: * <i>kulad</i> ]
PAN	* <i>-um-</i>	[active punctual infix]
PHN	* <i>u+mán</i>	repeat
PHN	* <i>um-anak-en</i>	nephew, niece
PMP	* <i>untud</i>	sit
PHN	* <i>uŋkir</i>	deny, refuse to accept or believe
PMP	* <i>upas</i>	poison(ous)
PAN	* <i>uRát</i>	vein, sinew (PAN); root (PHF)
PHF	* <i>uReŋ</i>	horn
PHN	* <i>uRsa</i>	deer [dbl: * <i>Rusa</i> ]
PHN	* <i>usiR</i>	pursue, chase
PAN	* <i>u-Saji[H]</i>	younger sibling; kinsman
PAN	* <i>utaq + m-</i>	vomit
PMP	* <i>wáhiR</i>	fresh water
PMP	* <i>wai</i>	mango sp.
PMP	* <i>wakaR</i>	root [dbl: * <i>akaR</i> ]
PMP?	* <i>wakat</i>	root
PAN	* <i>walú</i>	eight
PAN	* <i>waLiS</i>	tusk; tooth
PHF	* <i>wanáŋ</i>	right (side)
PMP	* <i>wañi</i>	honey-bee
PMP	* <i>waŋkaŋ</i>	canoe
PMP	* <i>waqay</i>	leg, foot [cf: * <i>qaqay</i> ]
PMP	* <i>waRej</i>	vine, aerial root [dbl: * <i>Rawej</i> ]
PMP	* <i>waRet</i>	root
PAN	* <i>waRiH</i>	sun
PMP	* <i>watí</i>	(earth)worm
PHF	* <i>wa-walú</i>	eight
PAN	* <i>wiRí</i>	left (side)
PMP	* <i>wit</i>	hook

PHN	*za(ŋ)+kit	contagious, spreading by contact
PMP	*zalateŋ	stinging nettle, <i>Laportea</i> sp.[dbl: lateŋ]
PAN	*zaNí	near
PHN	*za+ŋaw	insect destructive to rice
PMP	*zaqát	bad, evil
PMP	*záqit	sew, patch up (clothing)
PMP	*zariŋ	snare
PHF	*záwah	millet, <i>Setaria italica</i>
PHN	*zazáh	carry around (items for sale)
PAN	*zeb+zeb	suck
PMP	*zeg	stand erect
PAN	*ze+kéC	adhere to, stick [cf: *keC]
PHN	*zeliŋ	cross-eyed [dbl: *zuliŋ]
PMP	*zemak	feel, grope
PHN	*ziteq	vine from which poison is obtained
PHN	*zuliŋ	cross-eyed [dbl: *zeliŋ]
PHN	*zuluŋ	prow, bow
PMP	*zúRi	thorn; fish bone, spine [cf: *dúRiH]
PMP	*Zakan	cook
PAN	*Zálan	road, path, trail
PHF	*ZaRámi	rice straw, stubble
PAN	*ZáRum	needle
PMP	*Zaúq + ma-	far
PHF	*Zemáq	tomorrow; later on [time particle]
PMP	*ZuRúq	sap, syrup

## Finder list

above	PAN <i>*bá+baw + i-</i> , <i>*Caʔas + a-</i> , PHF <i>*Caʔas +</i>
abscess	PMP <i>*baRéq</i> , <i>*bisul</i> , PHN <i>*piRsah</i>
accumulation	PMP <i>*qabus</i>
accustomed	PAN <i>*dajam /ma-</i> <i>*Najam + ma-</i> PHF? <i>*Lam+Lam</i>
active punctual infix	PAN <i>*-um-</i>
address to males term of	PHN <i>*azuq</i>
adhere	PAN <i>*ze+kéC</i> PAN? <i>*dě+kéC</i> PHF <i>*Le+keC</i> , <i>*takid</i> , PMP <i>*da(ŋ)+ket</i>
adhesive	PAN <i>*keC</i> , PAN? <i>*dě+kéC</i> , PMP <i>*ra+ket</i>
adjective prefix	PAN <i>*ma-</i>
affinal cousin	PMP <i>*laya</i>
afraid	PAN <i>*tákut + ma-</i>
aftermath of a storm	PHN <i>*renáy</i>
agile	PMP <i>*kas (2)</i>
air	PMP <i>*háŋin</i>
albino	PMP <i>*balar</i> <i>*búlaN</i> <i>*bulay</i>
alien person	PMP <i>*qata</i> , <i>*qaRta</i>
alive	PAN <i>*qúdip + ma-</i> , PHN <i>*biháR</i>
all gone	PHF <i>*ʔamin</i>
allow (to live)	PHN <i>*biháR</i>
alone	PMP <i>*isa + ma-</i>
already	PHF <i>*daʔ</i> , <i>*la</i>
alum	PHN <i>*tawas</i>
ambush	PMP <i>*qadaŋ</i>
ancestor	PAN <i>*a(m)pu</i> PMP <i>*a(m)puy</i> <i>*e(m)pu</i> <i>*ta(m)pu</i> , <i>*tumpu</i> , PHN <i>*e(m)púʔ</i>
ancestors	PMP <i>*anduŋ</i>
ancient	PAN <i>*Suna + ma-</i>
and	PAN <i>*a</i> , <i>*ka (1)</i> <i>*ma</i> , <i>*Na</i>
anger	PAN <i>*ŋiC</i> , <i>*ŋuC</i>
animal hide	PHF <i>*kaLiC</i> , <i>*qaNiC</i> , PHN <i>*balulaŋ</i>
animal that jumps	PHN <i>*qaRimʔaw</i>
ankle	PMP <i>*bukúh</i>

annex	PHN *kabiR
another of a different kind	PAN? *dúma
ant	PHN *lalatu *sějém, *si-(n)jem, PMP *me-(n)tik / ha-
anteater, scaly	PHF *qaRem
anvil	PHN *landas-an
apparition	PMP *ilap
areca nut	PMP *buáq
armpit	PAN *kiliH
article determiner	PMP *na
ascend	PAN *a-(n)d <sub>2</sub> ak, PMP *sákay
ashamed	PAN *Siáq + ma-
ashes in the wind burning	PHN *lalatu
ashes	PAN? *qabúH, PMP *abus
ask for	PMP *ŋeni
assemble	PMP *pun
attach	PMP *pil
aunt (father's sister)	PAN *aya
aunt (mother's sister)	PAN *ina
bachelor's quarters	PMP *kamáliR
back	PAN *likúd, PMP *udehí + m-
bad	PMP *zaqát
bag	PMP *kantun, PHN *bayuʔun
bail; bailer	PMP *limás
bait	PHF *paʔén PMP *baŋi
bamboo <i>Bambusa</i> sp.	PAN *qauR PHF *búluq, PMP *perin
bamboo basket fish trap	PMP *bu+bu
bamboo <i>Dendrocalamus</i>	PMP *bitun *pitun
bamboo <i>Dendrocalamus</i> sp.	PHN *bětún
bamboo internode storage container	PHN *tun+tun
bamboo <i>Schizostachyum</i> sp.	PMP *tamiŋ
bamboo spear	PHN *suligiʔ
bamboo spikes	PMP *suja
bamboo spp., unnamed	PHN *pátún, *telaŋ, PMP *teriŋ
bamboo spring trap	PHN *baweR
bamboo tube	PHN *buŋ+buŋ
bamboo, spiny <i>Bambusa spinosa</i>	PHF *kawáyan
banana	PMP *punti
banana spp.	PHN *balat, *sabʔa
bandage	PHN? *barut

bare the teeth	PMP * <i>ŋis</i>
bark (of a deer)	PHF * <i>de+kiŋ</i>
bark	PMP * <i>kaŋ</i> (2)
barnacle spp.	PMP * <i>sisi[q]</i>
barracuda <i>Sphyraena obtusata</i>	PMP * <i>qalu</i>
basket fish trap (bamboo)	PMP * <i>bu+bu</i>
basket types	PHF * <i>baluku</i> ? PHN * <i>baŋkat</i> , * <i>bakul</i> , * <i>balulaŋ</i> , PHN? * <i>sukup</i>
bat fruit	PMP * <i>pāniki</i>
bathe	PAN * <i>ñaw</i> , PHN * <i>diRus</i>
batten of a loom	PHN * <i>li-(n)ji</i>
beam, wooden	PMP * <i>bubúŋ</i> , * <i>ha-d<sub>2</sub>iRi</i> , PHN * <i>kalasaR</i>
beat	PAN * <i>pek+pek</i> * <i>puk</i> , * <i>tuk</i> , PHF * <i>Ceg+Ceg</i> , * <i>Cel+Cel</i> , PMP * <i>d<sub>2</sub>ug+d<sub>2</sub>ug</i> , PHN * <i>bak+bak</i>
beckon	PMP * <i>qalep</i>
bee	PMP * <i>qaniRuan</i> , * <i>wañi</i> , PHN * <i>buyuŋ</i> / -
beeswax	PMP * <i>lilin</i>
beetle	PHN * <i>a(m)buqaŋ</i>
beg	PMP * <i>ŋeni</i>
behind	PMP * <i>ud<sub>2</sub>ehi + m-</i>
belly	PAN * <i>CináqiH</i> , * <i>tiáN</i> , PHN * <i>ba(t)bat</i>
below	PMP * <i>babáq + i-</i>
bend	PAN * <i>kel</i> , * <i>kuŋ</i> (1) PMP * <i>luk</i> * <i>luŋ</i>
bent	PMP * <i>kuk</i> (1) * <i>kuq</i>
bent with age	PMP * <i>buŋ+kut</i>
besiege	PHN * <i>kepuŋ</i>
betel leaf	PHN * <i>Rawéd</i> PHN? * <i>buyu</i> ?
betel pepper	PHN? * <i>buyu</i> ?
betel-chew	PHF * <i>apuR</i>
betelnut box	PHN * <i>salapa</i> ?
betelnut case	PHN * <i>salapa</i> ?
betelnut	PMP * <i>buáq</i>
bifurcation	PMP * <i>pe+ŋah</i> , * <i>sa+ŋáh</i>
big	PAN * <i>Raya + ma-</i>
bilateral kin	PMP * <i>Rumaq</i>
bile	PHF * <i>qapeju</i>
bind firmly	PHN * <i>te+kes</i>
bird cry	PHN * <i>tu<sup>?</sup>aw</i>

bird kingfisher	PHN *bakaka
bird lime	PMP *pulut
bird	PMP *manúk
bird quail <i>Turnix</i> sp.	PHN *puRuq, *puyuq
bird sp.	PHN *tu?aw
bite	PAN *kaRát, *kat+kat, PMP *ket+ket, PHN *kut+kut, PMP? *keteb, *ketep, *kit+kit
bitter	PHF *paqíC
black	PAN? *qitém + ma- PMP *ti+dem PHN *lí-(n)+tem, *pitem, *ti+lem, *qi- (n)+d <sub>2</sub> em
blacksmithing	PHN *sal+sal
blanket	PAN? *qules
blind	PHN *pisék PHF *buCá, PHN *cek
blink	PHF *kedép
blister	PHF *buCu
block	PHN *átan, *beŋ *ha(m)+beŋ
blood	PAN *dáRaq
blossom	PMP *be(ŋ)+kar, *be(ŋ)+kaR
blow at/on	PAN *Siúp
blowgun	PHN *se(m)+put *sumpit
blowpipe	PMP *le+put PHN *se(m)+put *sumpit
blunt	PHF *pu-(n)dúl PMP *dump+pel, *pul
board (= embark)	PMP *sakáy
board (= plank)	PMP *papan
boat	PHF *qabaŋ PMP *baŋka?, *para[qh]u
boat punting pole	PMP *těkén
body fluid from a corpse	PHN *saRu
body louse	PAN *Cúma
boil	PAN *na+suk
boil	PMP *baRéq, *bisul, PHN *piRsah
bone fracture	PHN *lepuq
bone	PAN *dúRiH, PHF *CuqelaN, PMP *zúRi
bonito	PMP *qatun
booby-trap	PHN *balá-(n)tik
border	PMP *supu
borrow	PHF *Sedám, *Se-(n)zám PHN *huzam
boundary	PMP *supu

bird kingfisher	PHN *bakaka
bird lime	PMP *pulut
bird	PMP *manúk
bird quail <i>Turnix</i> sp.	PHN *puRuq, *puyuq
bird sp.	PHN *tu?aw
bite	PAN *kaRát, *kat+kat, PMP *ket+ket, PHN *kut+kut, PMP? *keteb, *ketep, *kit+kit
bitter	PHF *paqíC
black	PAN? *qitém + ma- PMP *ti+dem PHN *li-(n)+tem, *pitem, *ti+lem, *qi- (n)+d <sub>2</sub> em
blacksmithing	PHN *sal+sal
blanket	PAN? *qules
blind	PHN *pisék PHF *buCá, PHN *cek
blink	PHF *kedép
blister	PHF *buCu
block	PHN *átaŋ, *beŋ *ha(m)+beŋ
blood	PAN *dáRaq
blossom	PMP *be(ŋ)+kar, *be(ŋ)+kaR
blow at/on	PAN *Siúp
blowgun	PHN *se(m)+put *sumpít
blowpipe	PMP *le+put PHN *se(m)+put *sumpít
blunt	PHF *pu-(n)dúl PMP *dump+pel, *pul
board (= embark)	PMP *sakáy
board (= plank)	PMP *papan
boat	PHF *qabaŋ PMP *baŋka?, *para[qh]u
boat punting pole	PMP *těkén
body fluid from a corpse	PHN *saRu
body louse	PAN *Cúma
boil	PAN *na+suk
boil	PMP *baRéq, *bisul, PHN *piRsah
bone fracture	PHN *lepuq
bone	PAN *dúRiH, PHF *CuqelaN, PMP *zúRi
bonito	PMP *qatun
booby-trap	PHN *balá-(n)tik
border	PMP *supu
borrow	PHF *Sedám, *Se-(n)zám PHN *huzam
boundary	PMP *supu



bow (and arrow)	PAN *búsuR, *panaq
bow (of boat)	PHN *zulun
bow the head	PHN *tuek
bowl	PMP *maŋkuk
bowstring	PAN *d <sub>2</sub> ělés
box (for betelnut)	PHN *salapa?
bracelet	PHF? *gelán
braid	PMP *añam *añem, PHN *apíd, PHN? *laja
brain	PMP *hútek, *qútek
bran	PHF *qeCá, PHN *qepah
branch	PMP *daŋ+k ae q, *daqan
branches dry sago	PMP *kumbal
brave	PHN *baRáni
breadfruit <i>Artocarpus</i> sp.	PMP *kulu *kuluR, *teRep
break	PAN *pěséq
breakers	PAN *Nabek
bream <i>Sparus berda</i>	PHN *bakuku
breast	PAN *ñuñu, *súsu
breathe	PAN *Ra-Sináwa, PMP *háges *ñáwa + ma-
bridge	PHN *tey+tey, *ki+tey
bright light	PMP *ni+law
bring up (e.g. boat to shore)	PHN *u-dahik
brittle	PMP *Rapuq
broadcast seed	PHN *sa(m)+beR *sa(m)+buR
broken	PAN *pěséq
brood (of a hen)	PMP *e+kep PHN *qe-(n)+dem
brood	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> em+d <sub>2</sub> em (2), *nem+nem
broom	PMP *sapu
broth	PHN *sa(m)báw
brother	PMP *ñaRa
brother-in-law	PHN *bayáw
bubbles	PAN *bujáq, PMP *budaq
buck deer	PHF? *salajeq
bug	PHF *bá+ŋaw
building public	PMP *baláy
bumble-bee	PHN *buyun/-
bump	PHN? *bukél
bunch	PAN *puŋ, PHN *buliR

bundle (of cloth)	PIIN <i>*bantal</i>
burn	PMP <i>*tutuŋ</i>
burnt	PHF <i>*qaqeliC</i>
bury	PAN <i>*CaNém</i> , PHN <i>*lěbéŋ</i>
butcher	PAN <i>*bunúq</i>
butterfly	PAN <i>*qaLi-baŋ+baŋ</i>
buttress root	PMP <i>*daliŋ</i> , PHN <i>*daliŋ</i>
buy	PAN <i>*bělí</i> , PHF <i>*sáliw</i>
buzz	PMP <i>*ŋiŋ</i> , <i>*ŋuŋ</i>
cackle (of fowl)	PMP <i>*kak *kek+kek</i> , PMP <i>*kuk</i> (2)
callus	PHF <i>*buCu</i>
canal	PAN <i>*kálih</i>
cane	PHF <i>*su(ŋ)kud</i>
canoe paddle	PMP <i>*beRsay</i>
canoe	PHF <i>*qabaŋ</i> PMP <i>*balutu</i> , <i>*baŋka?</i> , <i>*waŋkaŋ</i>
cape (land-point)	PMP <i>*qu+júŋ</i> <i>*qu+zúŋ</i>
carabao	PHF <i>*Luaŋ</i> , <i>*qaNuáŋ</i>
cargo	PMP <i>*lújan</i>
carry a load	PHF <i>*SákuC</i>
case (for betelnut)	PHN <i>*salapa?</i>
cat	PMP? <i>*muŋaŋ</i> , PHN <i>*kutíŋ</i>
cataract of the eye	PMP <i>*buláR</i> , PHN <i>*buléR</i>
catastrophe	PIIN <i>*geraq</i>
catch fish/shrimp with the hands	PIIN <i>*gama?</i>
catch lice	PHN <i>*sik+sik</i>
cateye shell	PMP <i>*qaliliŋ</i>
caught	PHF <i>*kawiL</i>
caulk	PMP <i>*lit</i> (1)
caulking substance	PMP <i>*bu+lit</i> , <i>*da+lit</i>
causative verb prefix	PAN <i>*pa-</i>
cave	PMP <i>*liaŋ</i>
centipede	PAN <i>*qalipan</i> , <i>*qaluHipan</i>
cerumen	PMP <i>*titu</i> , <i>*tulih</i>
chaff	PHF <i>*qeCá</i> , PIIN <i>*qepah</i>
change	PAN <i>*báliw</i>
channel	PHF <i>*á+luR</i> , PMP <i>*sawaq</i>
charcoal	PHN <i>*buriŋ</i> , <i>*qa+jeŋ</i> , <i>*qújiŋ</i>
charred	PMP? <i>*anús</i> PHN? <i>*anu?us</i>
chase	PMP <i>*buRaw</i> , PHN <i>*usiR</i>

chattering	PHF *keriq
cheat	PHN? *daya[?]
check	PHN? *am+pet
chest	PMP *dah+dah, *Rúsuk
chew	PMP *mamáq, PMP? *kit+kit, PHN *kut+kut
chicken	PHF *qáyam, PMP *manúk
chief	PMP *dátu?
child	PAN? *aNak, PHF *LaLak
children have many	PHN *sanak
chirp	PAN *tímid
chirp	PHF *Súni
chisel	PHN *paqét
choose	PAN *píliq
chop up soil	PI IN *bacuk
chum water	PMP *kebur
cicada	PHF *Nali
<i>Citrus</i> spp.	PMP *limaw, PMP? *muntay
civetcat	PMP? *musaj
clam, giant	PMP *kima
clan leader	PMP *dátu?
clan	PMP *suku
clap	PMP *pak
clasp together	PMP *kaput
claw	PAN *kuS+kuS PMP *ku+kúH
clear (water)	PMP *niŋ
clear vegetation	PAN *tebaS
cleared area	PHF *Na+tad <sub>2</sub>
click	PMP *tek (1)
climb	PAN *a-(n)d <sub>2</sub> ak, PMP *pa-nahik, *sákay
close	PHF *qe+Ncb, *qi+Neb, PHN *kup (2)
cloth	PHF *tapiS
clothes louse	PAN *Cúma
cloud	PAN? *Ra+bun, PHN *ram+bun
cluck	PMP *kuk (2)
cluster	PAN *puŋ, PHN *buliR
cock	PMP? *laluj
cockfight	PHN? *sabuj, *tazi
cockroach	PAN *Hipes

cockspur natural	PMP *tada
cockspur wrap on for cockfight	PHN *buláŋ
cockspur; artificial	PHN? *tazi
coconut crab	PHF *kaRaŋ
coconut cream	PHN *ga+teq, *getaq
coconut husk	PMP *bunút
coconut milk	PHN *ga+teq, *getaq
coconut	PMP *niúR
coil	PAN *kel
cold	PHF? *lamíg, PMP *diŋ+diŋ + ma-
collar bone	PHF *qali-wadaŋ
collect	PAN *qalaq, PMP *alap, *bun (2), *pun
comb	PMP *saRu, *saut, *suat
come	PAN *ari *mai PHF *aRi PMP *aRi +
	m-
come!	PAN *ari, PHF *aRi
command	PHN *suRuq
companion	PAN? *duma
complete	PMP *e(m)+pus, *pus
completed	PHN *ta+pus
conch shell	PMP *tam-buRi
contagious	PHN *za(ŋ)+kit
container (bamboo)	PHN *tuŋ+tuŋ
contents	PAN? *Sisi
convey	PHF *Sa-(n)téd <sub>2</sub>
cook	PAN *na+suk PHF *taNek PMP *baŋi
	*nasu, *Zakan PHN *lu-(n)tuq
cooking pot	PHF *qaŋeliC, PMP *kúd <sub>2</sub> en, PHN?
	*kǎwali?, *pariúk
coral sp.	PMP *buŋa
cord	PAN *CaLiS
<i>Cordyline</i> sp.	PMP *siRi
core	PMP *qunéj
cork	PAN *seŋ+seŋ
corn (on foot)	PHF *buCu
correct	PMP *bener + ma-
cotton	PHN? *kapes
cough	PHN *batúk, *ikej
count	PHF *bílaŋ, *Hiáp, PMP *qi-(n)tuŋ
courage	PAN *RaqaNi

cousin affinal	PMP * <i>laya</i>
cover	PMP * <i>keb</i> , * <i>kub</i> , * <i>ta+bun</i> , PHN * <i>aŋ+kub</i> , * <i>kep</i> , * <i>kup</i> (2), * <i>le(ŋ)+keb</i> , * <i>Raŋ+kub</i>
cover the head	PMP * <i>te+d<sub>2</sub>u9</i>
cover with earth	PMP * <i>bun</i> (2)
cover woven	PHN? * <i>sukup</i>
covering	PMP * <i>hapin</i>
coward	PHF * <i>tálaw</i>
cowardly	PHF * <i>tálaw</i>
cowrie shell	PAN * <i>tu(m)bak</i> , PMP * <i>buliq</i>
crab spp.	PHN * <i>qaRama</i> , PHF * <i>kaRaŋ</i> PMP * <i>qayuyu</i> , * <i>qumaŋ</i> , * <i>kaRakap</i> * <i>qalimaŋaw</i> , * <i>qalimáŋu</i> , * <i>kaRuki</i>
crack	PAN * <i>bek</i> (1) PMP * <i>kaq</i> (2) * <i>puk</i> , * <i>tak</i>
cracked (of skin)	PHN * <i>kurisiŋ</i>
cram	PMP * <i>pel</i> , * <i>sək</i> (2)
cramps	PMP * <i>keŋ</i>
creek	PHN * <i>bawáŋ</i>
croak	PMP * <i>kaŋ</i> (2)
crocodile	PMP * <i>buqáya</i>
crooked (of limbs)	PHN * <i>lepuq</i>
crooked	PMP * <i>kuk</i> (1) * <i>kuq</i>
cross-beam	PHN * <i>átáŋ</i>
cross-eyed	PHN * <i>zeliŋ</i> * <i>zuliŋ</i>
cross-seat in a boat	PMP * <i>seŋkar</i>
crow	PMP * <i>kuak</i> PHN * <i>gak+gak</i>
crowd	PMP * <i>sək</i> (2)
cruel	PHN * <i>baŋis</i> * <i>beŋis</i>
crumble	PHF * <i>Cu+mek</i> , PMP * <i>bek</i> (2) * <i>buk</i> , * <i>mek</i> * <i>pek</i> , * <i>re+mek</i> , * <i>Re+mek</i> , PHN * <i>muk</i>
crumple up	PMP * <i>lukut</i>
crush by pounding	PMP * <i>bek+bek</i>
crush	PAN * <i>tuq+tuq</i> , PMP * <i>mek</i> , * <i>re+mek</i> , * <i>Re+mek</i> , PHN * <i>muk</i> , * <i>tal+tal</i> , * <i>tedes</i> , * <i>tedis</i>
crush with thumbnail	PHN * <i>tedes</i> * <i>tedis</i>
crustacean	PMP * <i>qud<sub>2</sub>áŋ</i>
cry	PAN * <i>Cáŋis</i>

crystal rock	PHN? *kináŋ
cucumber	PMP *timun
cultivated field	PAN *qumáH
cup	PMP *maŋkuk
curl	PAN *kel, PMP *kug
curl up	PMP *le+kes
current	PMP *qáRus, PHN *seleR
curve	PMP *kug, PMP *luk *luŋ
custom	PHN *ugali?
cut away (underbrush vegetation)	PAN *tcbaS PHN *ta+bas
cut banana stalk	PHN *qiRis, *teb+teb, *tebá?
cut down	PHN *teb+teb, *tebá?
cut	PAN *taRáq, PAN *tek+tek, PMP *gěréť, *keleŋ *ra-(n)+tas, *tas,
cut	PHN? *palí?
cuttlefish	PMP *nu?us, PHN *ka-nu?us
dam	PHN *átaŋ, *beŋ, *lim+bun
damsel fish	PMP *mutu
dance	PHN *sayaw
dandruff	PAN? *dakíI
dappled	PHN *pan+tek
dark	PAN *d <sub>2</sub> em *d <sub>2</sub> em+d <sub>2</sub> ém (1) lem (1) PHF *kuCém PMP *d <sub>2</sub> e+d <sub>2</sub> em, *ti+d <sub>2</sub> em, PHN *qi-(n)+d <sub>2</sub> em *ti+lem
darkened	PHF *kuCém, PMP *gu-(n)+d <sub>2</sub> em
darkness	PAN *d <sub>2</sub> em+d <sub>2</sub> ém (1)
day	PAN *qal(e)jáw PMP *daqani
dead be	PAN *maCéy, PHF *minaCéy
deaf	PMP *běŋél, PHN *běŋéR, PHN? *bisu
debi	PHN? *qutaŋ
decay	PMP *bek (2) *buk, *pek
deceive	PMP *bali, *baRiq
decoration of goat hair on a spear	PMP *bandaŋan
deep resounding sound	PAN *kuŋ (2) *guŋ
deep throaty sound	PMP *guk
deep water	PHN *tubiR
deer buck	PHF? *salajeŋ
deer	PMP? *Rusa PHN *uRsa
defaecate	PAN *Cáqi PHF *takí?
deflate	PMP *pes, *pis (1)

delouse	PHN * <i>sik+sik</i>
den	PAN * <i>Libu[?H]</i>
deny	PHN * <i>uŋkir</i>
depart	PMP * <i>pánaw</i>
derris root fish poison	PAN * <i>túbaH</i>
determiner article	PMP * <i>na</i>
dew	PHN * <i>am+bun</i>
dibble	PHN * <i>ha+sék</i>
die	PAN * <i>maCéy</i>
different kind	PAN? * <i>dúma</i>
dig (out)	PAN * <i>kálih</i>
dig in the earth	PHF * <i>kar+kar</i>
digging stick	PMP * <i>sual, *suan</i>
dim	PHF * <i>qu+d<sub>2</sub>em</i>
dirt	PAN? * <i>dakíH</i> PMP * <i>cemed<sub>2</sub></i>
dirty	PAN? * <i>dakíH *qilaŋ + ma-</i> PMP * <i>cemed<sub>2</sub></i>
disagreement	PHN * <i>tumaŋ</i>
disappear under water	PMP * <i>telem</i>
discoloured (as skin over a bruise)	PHN * <i>baŋ+baŋ</i>
discount	PHN * <i>tawad<sub>2</sub></i>
disease leaving white patches on skin	PMP * <i>panaw</i>
disease scaly skin	PHF * <i>kurap</i>
disentangle	PHN * <i>baj, *baj+baj</i>
ditch	PAN * <i>kálih</i>
dive	PMP * <i>ke+ñej</i>
divide	PHN * <i>cěray</i>
dog	PAN? * <i>asu</i> , PHF * <i>qáyam</i>
dolphinfish	PMP * <i>lajih</i>
domestic animal	PHF * <i>qáyam</i>
door	PHF * <i>qe+Neb</i> , PHF * <i>qi+Neb</i>
double	PHN * <i>ta+kep</i>
dove omen	PMP? * <i>muken /-</i> , PHN * <i>buken /-</i>
dove spp.=	PAN * <i>baluj, *púnay</i>
<i>Dracaena</i> spp.	PMP * <i>siRi</i>
dragnet	PMP * <i>puket</i>
draw	PMP * <i>tusi</i>
draw toward self	PHN * <i>kabiR</i>
dream	PAN * <i>Sepi + mi-</i> , PMP * <i>nipi</i>
drift with current	PAN * <i>qañud</i>

drink	PMP *inúm, PHN *inúm + m-
drip	PAN *túd <sub>2</sub> uq
drive in (as post nail or wedge)	PAN *pa+cek
drive off a be	PHN *puhaR
drizzle	PHN *am+bun, *ri+nis
drop by	PIIN *lawah
drown	PMP *ke+ñej
drunk	PHF *buSuk + ma-
dry	PMP *Raŋaw + ma-, PHN *dě+Ráŋ
dry up	PMP *majá + ma-
dugong	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> uyuŋ
dugout canoe	PHF *qabaŋ
dull	PIIF *pu-(n)dúl PMP *dump+pel, *pul
dull throaty sound	PMP *gek
dust	PAN *bu, PMP *debu, *qa+búk, PMP? *qa+puk, *sa+puk, PHN *a+búg
ear	PHF *taŋíla
ear wax	PMP *tilu, *tulíh
earth-	PMP *tanaq, *taneq
earthenware jar	PHF *balaja?, *baja?
earthquake	PHF *línuR, *lúniR, PHN *lind <sub>2</sub> uR
earthworm	PMP *bulati, *watí, PMP? *kalati
eat	PAN *CáliŋaR, *kaan, *kaʔen, *kán, PHN *amaq
eaves	PHN *surambi?
echo	PMP *niŋal/-
edge set teeth on	PHF *ŋilúH
eel marine	PIIN *aRemaŋ
eel, freshwater	PAN *tuNa PHN *kasuli
egg	PHF *bun (1) *Re+bun, PAN *qatěluR, *qi-těluR, *tělúR
eggplant	PHN? *terúŋ
eight	PAN *walú, PHF *wa-walú
eject food from the mouth	PAN *luaq
elbow	PAN *sí+kuH
elder(s)	PAN *tuqáS + ma-
elevated ground	PMP *bunduk
embers; red hot	PHF *báRaH
embrace	PAN *kep PMP *d <sub>2</sub> a+kīep
empty be	PMP *pes, *pis (1)



encircle	PAN *kes
enclose	PMP *kup (1)
enclosure	PHN? *pager
endure	PHN *taqén
enemy	PHF *busuR
energetic	PMP *kas (2)
enter	PMP *suk
entwine	PHN *ha?nay
equal	PHN? *bali
equivalent	PHN? *bali
erect	PMP *te+zek
erection	PHF *qeCúR
error	PAN *saláq
escort	PHF *Sa-(n)téd <sub>2</sub>
estuary	PMP *naŋa
etch	PMP *tusi
evaporate	PMP *majá + ma-
evening star (Venus)	PMP *talaq/man-
evil	PMP *zaqát
exchange	PAN *báliw, PHF *sáliw
excrement	PAN *Cáqi PHF *taki?
exhale	PHF *buRÉS
exposed reef	PMP *qati + ma-
exposure of the body	PHN *pu+kas
eye	PMP *maCá
fabric	PMP *taluki
faeces	PAN *Cáqi PHF *taki?
fall (as fruit)	PMP *ka-nabúq
fallow land	PAN *Cálan
fan oneself	PHN *kiap
fan	PMP *qi+líR
fan vb	PMP *iRit
far	PHF *Sa-Lawid PMP *daiúq, *diaúq, *Zaúq + ma-
fart	PMP *qě-(n)+tut
fasten	PMP *hi+ket
fat	PHF *SimaR, PMP *meñak, PHN *miñak, *tabé?

father	PAN *ama *mama *tama PMP *amáy PHN *amá?, *amáII, *amáŋ PHN? *bapa?
father's brother	PAN *ama, PMP *ama-en
father's sister	PAN *aya
father's sister's son	PMP *laya
father-in-law	PAN *tuqás/ma-(n)-, PMP *túRaŋ
fathom	PMP *d,ěpáh
fear	PAN *tákut + ma-, PHF *tálaw
fearful	PHF *tálaw
feather	PMP *búlu
feel in the dark	PIIF *kap+kap
feel	PMP *zemak
fell banana stalk	PHN *teba?
fell	PHN *tebéŋ
female	PAN *ba-báHi, *báHi PMP *b/in/áHi, *ba-b(in)áHi
female sibling	PMP *betaw
fence	PHF *qálad, PHN? *pager
ferment	PHN *bahál
fermented	PHN *bahál
fern <i>Athyrium esculentum</i>	PAN *pahku
fern <i>Cyathea</i> sp.	PMP? *puni
fern <i>Lygodium circinnatum</i>	PMP *ní-(n)tuq
fern sp., unnamed	PHN *aResam
fertile soil	PMP *te+mek, PMP? *bu(R)+taq
fetch water	PMP *a(ŋ)súR
fetid foul-smelling	PMP *qajeliR, *qajiR
field hut (roofed structure)	PHF *sa+paw
field	PAN *Cáluŋ, *qumáH
fig tree <i>Ficus</i> spp.	PMP *nunuk PMP? *qaRa?
fill	PMP *ta+bun
finger	PAN *Cudúq
fingernail	PAN *kuS+kuS PMP *ku+kúH
finish	PMP *e(m)+pus, *pus
finished	PHN *ta+pus
fire	PAN *Sapúy
fire to set	PHN *sul+sul
firebrand	PMP *aluten, PHN *aliten
fireplace three-stone	PMP *dalikán

first	PAN *Suna + ma-
fish barracuda <i>Sphyraena obtusata</i>	PMP *qalu
fish big-eyed sead	PMP *qatulay
fish damselfish	PMP *mutu
fish dolphinfish	PMP *lajih
fish drive	PMP *kebur
fish eel, freshwater	PAN *tuNa PHN *kasuli
fish eel, marine	PHN *aRemaŋ
fish eggs	PAN *biRaS, PHN *piRah
fish goatfish	PAN *Ciqaw
fish grouper	PMP *keRteŋ
fish hook	PAN? *kawil
fish milkfish <i>Chanos chanos</i>	PMP *qawa?
fish mullet	PHN *balanak
fish mullet, adult	PAN *kaNasay
fish mullet, young	PMP *qaRuas
fish net	PMP *saruk PHN *Rambat, *si?ud, *tuad <sub>2</sub> , *salambaw
fish	PAN *Si-ká?en
fish pen	PHN *ban  lat
fish perch	PMP *kurapu
fish pilotfish <i>Remora</i>	PMP *kemi, *gemi
fish poison	PAN *túbaH
fish preserved	PMP *kenas
fish pufferfish	PHN *butiti
fish pufferfish porcupinefish	PMP *taRutuŋ
fish sailfish	PMP *saku layaR
fish <i>Scomberoides</i> sp.	PMP *daRi
fish sea-bream <i>Sparus berda</i>	PHN *bakuku
fish shark	PAN *qiSu
fish Spanish mackerel	PMP *taŋiRi
fish spp., unnamed	PMP *turiŋ PHN *bagahak, *baŋkulis, PHN *bunuR, *katambak, *kulambar, *maŋali, *punti/-
fish squirrelfish	PMP *taRaŋan
fish stonefish	PMP *nepuq
fish trap	PHN *bak  lad, *ban  lat, *si?ud, *tuad <sub>2</sub> , PMP *bu+bu
fish trevally <i>Caranx</i> spp.	PMP *bilu
fish tuna bonito	PMP *qatun

fish unicornfish	PMP *qumay
fish wrasse <i>Cheilinus</i> sp.	PMP *mamin
fit (healthy)	PMP *se(ŋ)+ger
five	PAN *limá
flash	PMP *lap
flatulence	PMP *qě-(n)+tut
flay	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> as+d <sub>2</sub> as
flea	PHF *qatímela
flesh	PAN? *Sisi
flicking motion	PMP *tik (2)
float	PMP *a(m)puŋ, PHN *lě-(n)+táw
flood	PMP *baháq
floor beam	PHN *kalasaR
floor	PHN? *lan+tay
floor slats	PHN? *saléR
flooring	PHN? *lan+tay
flow	PHF *á+luR, PMP *a+liR, *liR, *qáRuS, PMP? *sa+liR, PHN *luR, *sa+luR,
flower	PMP *búŋah
flowering plant <i>Crinum asiaticum</i>	PHN *bakuŋ
flowering	PHF *á+luR
flowing water	PHN *seleR
fluid from a corpse	PHN *saRu
fluid viscous	PAN *teq
fly	PAN *lá+ŋaw, PMP *lálej
fly vb	PMP *Rebek PHF *layap PHN *layaŋ, *lě(m)pád <sub>2</sub> , PHN? *sayap
foam	PAN *bujáq, PHF *puCaq, PMP *budaq
fog	PMP *kabut
fold	PMP *piq, PHN *ta+kep
follow	PHF *suNud <sub>2</sub>
foot	PAN *qaqay, PMP *waqay
forbid	PHF *laRaŋ
forehead	PAN *daqíS
forest	PMP *qutan PHN *halás, *tuan
forfeit	PHN *le(b)+leb
fork of a branch	PMP *pe+ŋah, *sa+ŋáh
foul-smelling	PAN *qaŋ+Sit

four	PAN *Sě(m)pátPHF *Sa-Sěpát
fowl	PMP *manúk
fracture bone	PHN *lep <u>uq</u>
fragrant	PAN *baŋSiS
free	PMP *lumbar
fresh water	PMP *wáhiR
friction by rubbing create	PMP *kusu
front	PMP *qad <sub>2</sub> ep
froth	PHF *puCaq
fruit bat	PMP *pǎniki
fruit	PAN *buáq, PMP *búŋah
fruit tree <i>Pisonia umbellifera</i>	PMP *qanuliŋ
fruit tree, <i>Citrus</i> sp.	PMP *limaw, PMP? *muntay
frypan	PHN? *káwali?, *pariúk
full	PAN *pěnúq, PHF *běsúR
fungus on sugarpalm	PMP *bad <sub>2</sub> uk
fur	PMP *búlu
g-string	PHN? *baháR
gall	PHF *qapeju
gaping	PMP *ŋaq
garden	PAN *qumáH
gargle	PMP *muR
garlic	PHN *báwaŋ
garment upper	PAN? *Hules
gasp	PMP *háŋes
gather	PAN *qalaq, PMP *pun
gathering	PMP *pened
giant arum <i>Alocasia</i> sp.	PAN *biRaq
gills	PMP *hásaŋ
ginger	PMP *laquya
give	PAN *běRáy, PHF *Sa-(n)téd <sub>2</sub>
glimpse of s.th.	PMP *ilap
glue	PMP *da+lit, *lit (1)
gnash the teeth	PAN *guC *ŋaC
gnat	PMP *nek+nek
gnaw	PAN *guC
go (to get)	PAN *kúSa?
go before	PAN *Suna + ma-
go let's	PAN *ari, PHF *aRi

go	PAN *lákad, *lakat, PMP *lakáw, *lampaŋ *lampaq, *pánaw, PHN *lamba?
goat hair decoration on a spear	PMP *bandagan
goat	PHN *kambiŋ, *kam[ʔ]diŋ, *kandiŋ
goatfish	PAN *Ciqaw
goiter	PHF *biqel
gold (coin)	PHF *baLituk
gold	PHF *buláw-an
good	PMP *dia, *piá + ma-
grab	PHF *qáRaw
granary	PAN *le+páw
grandchild	PMP *apu *empu / maka-
grandfather	PAN *aki PHN *abu?, *laki
grandmother	PAN *ba?i
grandparent	PAN *aki *ba?i *bubu PMP *apu, PHN *abu?, *e(m)pú?, *laki
grasp	PAN *gem
grass spp.	PMP *baliji PHN *qalamen, *sedsed
grate	PAN? *kud <sub>3</sub> +kud <sub>3</sub> , PMP *ka+Rud
grating sound of	PAN *riC(1)
grease	PHF *SimaR, PMP *meñak, PHN *miñak, *tabé?
green	PAN *Hátaq + ma-, PHF *ilem + ma-
grin	PAN *ŋísi [h]
grind	PMP *gʃliŋ
grip	PAN *gem
groan	PHF *daRiŋ
grope	PHF *kap+kap, PMP *zemak
ground level	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> a+taR
ground	PMP *tanaq, *taneq
group	PMP *qabusa
grouper (fish)	PMP *keRteŋ
grow vb intrans	PAN? *Cú(m)buq
growl	PMP *ejer
gun	PHN? *bedíl
guts	PAN *CináqiH
gutter (bamboo)	PHN *kulub
hack a passage through	PHN *ben+tas
hack	PAN *taRáq, *tek+tek

hail storm	PHN * <i>baliw</i>
hair body	PMP * <i>búlu</i>
hair head	PAN * <i>buSék</i>
hamlet	PAN * <i>kuan</i>
hammer	PAN * <i>tuq+tuq</i>
hammock	PMP * <i>dúyan</i>
hand	PAN * <i>kamáy</i> , * <i>qa-límaH</i>
handle of a knife or sword	PHN * <i>daŋanan</i>
handle	PHF * <i>pulu</i>
hanging caught	PHF * <i>kawiL</i>
harbour	PMP * <i>nanaw</i>
harvest	PHF * <i>qánil</i>
haughty	PHN * <i>a(m)buŋ</i>
he	PAN * <i>siá</i>
head hair	PAN * <i>buSék</i>
head	PAN * <i>qúluH</i>
head-hunt	PHN * <i>kayaw</i>
headrest wooden	PMP * <i>qalun-an</i> , * <i>quluŋa</i>
healthy	PMP * <i>se(ŋ)+ger</i>
heap up	PMP * <i>bun</i> () * <i>lim+bun</i> , PHN * <i>bun+bun</i>
hear	PAN * <i>d,ě+ŋéR</i> , PMP * <i>ŋeR</i> (1)
heart (of plant)	PMP * <i>qú(m)+buj</i>
heart	PMP * <i>púsuq</i>
hearth	PMP * <i>d,apúR</i>
heat oneself by fire	PAN * <i>d,a(ŋ)+d,aŋ</i>
heat up (food)	PMP * <i>la(ŋ)ga?</i>
heaven	PAN * <i>lájit</i>
heavy	PMP * <i>beR?at + ma-</i>
hermit crab	PMP * <i>qumaŋ</i>
hero	PHN * <i>baRáni</i>
herpes	PMP * <i>bu?ni</i>
hew	PAN * <i>taRáq</i>
hibiscus <i>Gnetum gnemon</i>	PMP * <i>báRu</i>
hiccough	PAN * <i>sě-(n)+du?</i>
hide (animal)	PHF * <i>kaLiC</i> , * <i>qaNiC</i> , PHN * <i>balulaŋ</i>
hide	PAN * <i>buNi</i> /-, PAN? * <i>táRuq</i>
high	PAN * <i>baw</i>
high tide	PMP * <i>Ruab</i> , PHN * <i>ta?eb</i>
hill	PAN * <i>búkij</i>
hilt of a knife or sword	PHN * <i>daŋanan</i>

hit	PAN *pek+pek *puk, PHF *bas+bas, *dak+dák, PHN *kěná? *tal+tal, PMP *palu?
hit the target	PHN *tama?
hoarse	PMP *pa+Raw
hoe	PMP *suan PHN *bacuk
hold	PAN *gem+gem PMP *d <sub>2</sub> a+kép
hollow bamboo tube	PHN *buŋ+buŋ
honey-bee	PMP *wañi
hook	PAN? *kawíl PMP *bit, *wit, PHN *ka?+wit
horn	PHF *uReŋ
hornbill	PAN *kalaw
hot (of weather)	PMP *panas + ma-
hot spicy	PMP *ha-pějes, *pějés
house meeting	PMP *baláy
house	PAN *Rumaq
house post	PMP *turus, *ha-d <sub>2</sub> iRi
housefly	PAN *lá+ŋaw
how many?	PAN *pijáH
how?	PHF *mana PMP *kua
howl	PAN *qauŋ
hum	PMP *ŋiŋ, *ŋuŋ
human being	PAN *Cáu
hump	PHF *bu(ŋ)kul
hunchback	PHF *be(ŋ)+kut *bu(ŋ)kul
hunched over	PHF *be(ŋ)+kut
hundred	PMP *Ratús
hunger	PMP *bitíl
hungry	PMP *bitíl
hunt	PHF *qaNúp, PHN *kayaw
hurricane	PHF *baRiuS
husband	PAN *baNaS, PHF *lakay, *qasáwa
husk (of rice)	PHN *padek, *qapa
husk coconut	PMP *bunút
husked rice	PHF *běRas
hut	PAN *le+páw, PHF *sa+paw
I; "EGO"	PAN *akú, *ku
if	PAN *ka (2), PHF *nu
impede	PMP *qem+peŋ



imperative suffix	PAN *-aH
inhabited territory	PMP *banua
inland (direction)	PAN *d <sub>2</sub> áya
inland (location)	PHF *d <sub>2</sub> áya + i-
insect destructive to rice	PHN *za+ŋaw
insect noxious	PHF *bá+ŋaw
insert	PMP *sek (1), *suk
inside	PAN *d <sub>2</sub> á+lem + i-, PMP *lem (2) *qunéj
instrumental verb prefix	PAN *Si-
insufficient	PHN? *kuraŋ
intend	PMP *atag
intercourse sexual	PHF *qiút, *Súlij
interior toward the	PAN *daya
internode	PMP *bukúh
intestine large	PHF *biCúka
intestine small	PAN *CináqiH
iron	PHF? *bari[] PHN? *besi
irritation	PAN *ŋiC, *ŋuC
island	PMP *nusa
itch	PHF *ga+Cél
ivory	PHN? *gadiŋ
jackfruit <i>Artocarpus</i>	PHN *naŋka?
jar earthenware	PHF *balaŋa?, *baŋa?, PMP *kúd <sub>2</sub> en
jerk meat	PAN *CapaH
join	PMP *kít, *da+kít, *píl
joint	PMP *bukúh
kapok tree <i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	PMP *kabu
kill	PAN *bunúq *paCéy, *pa-ka-maCéy
kin bilateral	PMP *Rumaq
kin-based residential unit	PAN *kuan
kindle	PMP *tutuŋ
kingfisher	PHN *bakaka
kinsman	PAN *u-Saji[H]
kiss	PAN *Sajék
knee	PHF *túSud, PMP *bukúh
knife	PHN *pisáw
knock	PAN *tuk PHN? *d <sub>2</sub> eg+d <sub>2</sub> eg, PMP *bu- (n)+tuk, *tuk+tuk
know (person)	PHN *kilala

know (things facts)	PMP *taquí + ma-
lacking	PHN? *kuraŋ
ladder	PAN *tukad PMP? *haRedán
ladle	PHN *tidús
lagoon	PMP *nanaw
lair	PAN *Libu[?H]
lake	PAN *dánaw
lame	PHF *piLay
land crab	PHF *kaRaŋ
land	PMP *tanaq, *taneq
late	PMP *udehí + m-
later on time particle	PHF *Zemáq
lather	PHF *puCaq
laugh loudly	PMP *kak
laugh	PAN *Cáwa
lay bare	PMP *ke+las
lead	PHN *timeRaq
leader clan	PMP *dátu?
leaf	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> ahun, PHN *bulún
leak	PAN *túd <sub>2</sub> uq
leather	PHF *qaNiC
leech	PHF *qaLi-mátek*qaLi-meCáq PHN *lintaq
left (side)	PAN *ka-wiRí, PAN *wiRí
leftovers	PHF *teda?
leg	PAN *qaqay, PMP *waqay
let's go!	PAN *ari, PHF *aRi
level ground	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> a+taR
lever up	PMP *sual
lice catch	PHN *sik+sik
lice	PAN *Cúma, *kúCuH
lick	PHF *d <sub>3</sub> ílaq
lie down (to sleep)	PAN *qinép, PMP *hideRáq
lie	PMP *bali, *baRiq
light (fire)	PMP *tutuŋ
light bright	PAN *damaR PMP *ni+law
lightning	PHF *kilát, PMP *ge+lap *qu-silaq,
lime (bird)	PMP *pulut
lime (for betel quid)	PAN *qápuR
limpid (water)	PMP *niŋ

lineage	PMP * <i>Rumaq</i>
lips	PAN * <i>bi+biR</i>
little while a	PHF * <i>Sauni</i>
liver	PAN * <i>qaCéy</i>
load a canoe	PMP * <i>lújan</i>
lobster	PMP * <i>qud<sub>2</sub>áj</i>
location marker of	PAN * <i>i-</i> , PMP * <i>qi</i> , * <i>di</i>
loincloth	PHN? * <i>baháR</i>
long (of objects)	PAN * <i>anaduq</i> , PHF * <i>adaduq</i>
loom	PHF * <i>tenun-an</i>
loom set up warp on a	PHN * <i>ha<sup>?</sup>nay</i>
loop	PHF * <i>síLiw</i>
loose become	PMP * <i>ba(ŋ)+kas</i>
loosen	PMP * <i>kas</i> (1) PHN * <i>hu+kas</i> , * <i>pu+kas</i>
lord	PMP * <i>tumpu</i>
lose face	PAN * <i>Síáq + ma-</i>
louse body	PAN * <i>Cúma</i>
louse egg	PAN * <i>liseSáq</i> * <i>qaliseSáq</i> , PMP * <i>lisáq</i> , * <i>ieseq</i>
louse head	PAN * <i>kúCuH</i>
low	PAN * <i>babáq + ma-</i>
low tide	PMP * <i>qati + ma-</i>
lucky	PMP * <i>nuRuq / ma-</i>
lump	PHN? * <i>bukél</i>
lungs	PAN * <i>báRaq</i>
machete	PHF * <i>malat</i>
maiden	PHN * <i>d<sub>2</sub>a-d<sub>2</sub>aRa[h]</i>
make with the hands	PMP * <i>batul</i>
male counterpart	PAN * <i>baNaS</i>
male	PAN * <i>RuqaNay+ma-</i> PHN * <i>la-láki</i> PMP? * <i>láki</i>
male sibling	PMP * <i>ñaRa</i>
males term of address to	PHN * <i>azuq</i>
man	PHN * <i>la-láki</i> PMP? * <i>láki</i>
mango sp.	PAN * <i>Suai</i> PHN * <i>páhuq</i> PMP * <i>wai</i>
mangrove crab	PMP * <i>kaRakap</i> * <i>qali-maŋaw</i> , * <i>qali-</i> <i>máj</i>
mangrove tree <i>Ceriops</i>	PMP * <i>těgér</i>
mangrove tree <i>Rhizophora</i>	PMP * <i>bakhaw</i>
many	PHF * <i>áduq</i>

marine eel	PHN *aRemaŋ
mark with a line	PHN *ku+ris, *ku+Ris
marry	PAN *qasawa
massage	PHF *pesél
mast	PMP *tiqaŋ
master	PAN *a(m)pu PMP *tumpu
mat	PHF *Sikám PMP *hapin *tepiR PHN *a(m)bék, *tepa
mate	PAN? *duma
mean to do s.th.	PMP *atag
meat	PAN *Sesi, PMP *qunéj
meat preserved	PMP *kenas
medicine	PMP *Ramút PHN? *tambar
meditate	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> em+d <sub>2</sub> em (2), *nem+nem
meeting house	PMP *baláy
melon	PMP *timun
metal	PHF? *bari[]
midst of	PHF *CaSaw
milk	PMP *Rátas
milkfish <i>Chanos chanos</i>	PMP *qawa?
mill	PMP *gíliŋ
millet <i>Setaria italica</i>	PHF *záwah
millet spp.	PAN? *beten PHF *baCaj, *záwah
millstone	PHN *giliŋ-án
misfortune	PHN *geraq
mistake	PAN *saláq
mite	PAN *kaRaw
mix (together)	PHN *labuR *lahúk
moan	PHF *daRiŋ
moiety	PAN *baliw
monkey	PHF *luCuŋ PHN *ayuŋ
monsoon wind	PAN *Sa-báRat
moon	PAN *bulaN
morning star (Venus)	PMP *talaq/man-
mortar	PAN? *báyuh, PHF *lě+suŋ, PHN *e+súŋ
mosquito	PMP *lamúk, *ñamúk
moss	PMP *lúmut
mother	PAN *ina *tina, PMP *inay, *na+na PHN *iná?, *ináH, *ináŋ

mother's brother	PAN *tuqáS / ma-(n)-
mother's sister	PAN *ina
mother-in-law	PMP *túRaŋ
mottled	PAN *Cik
mound	PAN *búkiŋ
mountain peak	PHF *qapucuk PMP *bunduk
mountain	PMP *bulud
mountain range	PMP? *qilih
mouse	PHN *ba+baw
mouth	PMP *baq+baq
move away	PAN *SaliN
mucilaginous plant <i>Urena lobata</i>	PAN *puluC
mud	PMP *pítak PMP? *bu(R)+taq PHN *bütá?, *tek (2), *cak
muddy	PHN *cak, *ba+cak
mullet	PHN *balanak
mullet, adult	PAN *kaNasay
mullet, young	PMP *qaRuas
mumble	PMP *ŋut
murmur	PMP *ŋut
murrel <i>Ophiocephalus striatus</i>	PHN *qabu- <sub>2</sub>
mutter	PMP *ŋut
my	PAN *ku
nail	PMP *páku?
name	PAN? *ŋájan, PMP *ájan
narrow	PMP *kepit
navei	PMP *púsej
near	PAN *zaNí
neck	PHF *líqeR
needle	PAN *ZáRum
Negrito	PMP *qaRta
nephew	PHN *um-anak-en
nest	PAN *Libu[?H]
net	PMP *puket *saruk PHN *Rambat, *si?ud, *tuad, *salambaw
nettle <i>Laportea</i>	PMP *lateŋ, *zalateŋ
new	PAN *baq(e)RuH
next	PHF *suNud <sub>2</sub>
nibble	PMP *ket+ket, PMP? *kit+kit, PHN *kut+kut

niece	PHN *um-anak-en
night	PAN *beRŋi, *Rabí?iH
Nightshade <i>Solanum nigrum</i>	PAN *SamuCí
nine	PAN? *siáw
nip off	PMP *ki+nit
nipa reed <i>Nypa fruticans</i>	PHN *nipaq
nit	PAN *liseSáq *qaliseSáq, PMP *lisáq, *leséq
no	PAN *qazi, PMP *diaq
nod	PHN *tuek
noise	PMP *ŋeR (2)
none	PMP *dián
noose	PHF *síLiw
north wind	PIIF *qamíS-an
nose	PAN *i+júnŋ, PMP *qu+júnŋ *qu+zúnŋ
not	PAN *qazi, PMP *diaq
now	PHF *da?, *la
nudity	PHN *pu:ikas
oar	PMP *beRsay
obscured	PHF *qu+d <sub>2</sub> em, PMP *ti+d <sub>2</sub> em PHN *qi-(n)+d <sub>2</sub> em
obstacle	PMP *qad <sub>2</sub> aŋ
obstinate	PMP *tegel, *te(ŋ)ger
obstruct	PMP *qem+peŋ PHN *beŋ *ha(m)+beŋ
obstructed (of the flow of water)	PMP *se+pet
ocean	PMP *tasik
octopus	PMP *kuRíta
odour of fish	PHF *qaŋRiS
odour	PHF *Laŋ+si? PMP *báhuq PHN *bahu-an
offspring	PAN? *aNak, PHF *LaLak
oil vegetable	PMP *láñã[h]
old (person)	PAN *tuqáS + ma- PHF *lakay, PHN *iakí
old (thing)	PAN *Suna + ma-
old object	PHF *d <sub>2</sub> a-d <sub>2</sub> á?aN
omen dove	PMP? *muken /-, PHN *buken /-
one	PAN *a+sa, *?e+sa, *i+sa, *sa-, *ta+sa, PMP *isa + ma-
one unit of 10 100 1000	PAN *sa-

only	PMP *isa + ma-
open air	PHF *CaSaw
open forcibly	PMP *kaq (1)
open	PMP *be+ka?, *buká?, *ka?+, *kab, *kah, *kaq (1), *le(ŋ)+ka?, *le+kas, *qantad <sub>2</sub>
opened	PMP *buká?
opened wide	PMP *ŋaq
order	PHN *suRuq
orphan	PHN *ilu
outdoors	PHF *CaSaw
outrigger	PMP *saRman PMP? *kátiR
overcast	PMP *gu-(n)+dem
owl	PHF *qekuŋ
owner	PMP *tumpu
oyster	PMP *tiRem
paddle	PMP *aluja, *paluja
paddle	PMP *beRsay
paddy leech	PHF *qaLi-meCáq
paddy	PHF *pájey
pain	PHF *pějíq *Sa-pějíq PMP *pějés, *sakít + ma-
painful	PHF *pějíq *Sa-pějíq PMP *ha-pějes *pějés, *sakít + ma-
pale	PMP *balar
palm (of hand)	PHF *dal+kap
palm <i>Caryota</i> spp.	PHF *qanibuŋ
palm <i>Livistona rotundifolia</i>	PHN *qanahaw
palm <i>Pterospermum diversifolium</i>	PHN *bayuR
pandanus tree <i>Orania</i>	PHN *baŋah
pandanus tree <i>Pandanus tectorius</i>	PAN *paŋud <sub>2</sub> án
pangolin	PHF *qaRem
parang	PHF *malat
parasitic plant <i>Asplenium nidus</i>	PAN *lukuC
parent-in-law	PMP *túRaŋ
part	PHN *cěray
particles of food stuck in teeth	PHF *tiŋás
passive past infix	PAN *-in-
paste	PMP *da+lit
pat	PAN *pik

patch	PAN *Capel, PHF *ta?piL
patch up (clothing)	PMP *záqit
path	PAN *Zálan
pay a visit	PHN *lawah
pay back	PAN *báliw
pay	PHN *báyad <sub>2</sub>
peak mountain	PHF *qapucuk, PMP *bunduk
peddle	PHN *laku?
peel	PMP *ke+las PHN *pas
peeling (of skin)	PHN *kurisiq
penetrate	PMP *suk
penis	PAN *qútin, PHN *bu+tuq
pepper betel	PHN? *buyu?
perch	PMP *kurapu
person	PAN *Cáu PMP *tau-matáq
perspiration	PMP *atig
pestle	PAN? *báyuh, PHF *qaSelu PHN *laqlu, *qahlu, *qalhu
pickle (in brine)	PHN *budu[h]
pieces in	PAN *ceq
pierce	PAN *Cěnék, *Ce+sek, PMP *suk+suk, *tebék, PHN *te-(n)+dúk
pig	PAN *běRék, PAN? *bábuy
pigeon	PAN *baluj
pile (heap)	PMP *qabusa
pile (post)	PMP *turas, *ha-d <sub>2</sub> iRi
pile up (as earth)	PMP *bun (2) *lím+bun, PHN *bun+bun
pillar	PMP *ha-d <sub>2</sub> iRi, *tiqaŋ
pillow	PMP *qalun-an, *quluŋa
pilotfish <i>Remora</i>	PMP *kemi, *gemi
pinch	PMP *ki+nit PHN *kedút
pinch together	PMP *a+tip
pine tree <i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>	PMP *qaRuhu?
pine tree <i>Pinus</i> sp.	PHF *saleŋ
pitfall spikes (bamboo)	PMP *suja
pith	PMP *qú(m)+buj, *qunéj
plain (flat land)	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> a+taR
plait	PMP *añam *añem, *batul
plaitwork	PHN *kalamata



plane (with adze)	PAN *taRáq
plank	PMP *papan
plant a field	PMP *suan
plant <i>Asplenium nidus</i>	PAN *lukuC
plant <i>Boehmeria nivea</i>	PMP? *rami
plant <i>Cassia</i> sp.	PHN *asuntij
plant <i>Crinum asiaticum</i>	PHN *bakuŋ
plant <i>Curcuma zeodoaria</i>	PMP? *kunij
plant <i>Diospyros discolor</i>	PHF *kamaya
plant <i>Donax caniniformis</i>	PMP *niniq
plant <i>Dracaena</i> spp.	PMP *siR1
plant eggplant	PHN? *terúŋ
plant <i>Grewia</i> spp.	PMP? *qanilaw
plant <i>Leea</i> spp.	PMP? *mali
plant <i>Millingtonia hortensis</i>	PMP? *taŋga
plant <i>Nypa fruticans</i>	PHN *nipaq
plant <i>Pipturus argenteus</i>	PMP *adamay
plant <i>Smilax</i>	PHF *banaw, *baNaR
plant <i>Solanum nigrum</i>	PAN *SamuCí
plant spp. unnamed	PHF *beN+beN PMP *gamat *lumbu PHN *bakuŋ *lambayuŋ, *tanduk, *taRabas
plant sprout n	PAN? *Cú(m)buq
plant <i>Urena lobata</i>	PAN *puluC
plant used for dyestuff	PHN *gamat
plant used in braiding	PHF *beN+beN
plant vb	PAN *CaNém PMP? *múla
plant, ramie <i>Boehmeria nivea</i>	PMP? *rami
plantain	PHN *sab?a
plaster	PMP *da+lit
play	PHF *qayám
pluck	PHF *guC+guC, PMP *a(m)+but, PMP *but *but+but *dut+dut *ki+nit *Ra- (ŋ)+dut
plug	PAN *seŋ+seŋ, PMP *pel, *pet
plunder	PMP *ran+pas
plunge	PMP *ke+ñej
pocket	PMP *kantuy
point (of land)	PMP *qu+júŋ *qu+zúŋ
point	PAN *Cudúq

poison fish	PAN *túbaH
poison	PMP *upas
poisonous	PMP *upas
pole punting	PMP *těkén
pond	PAN *dánaw
porridge	PHN *buR+buR
post	PMP *tiqaŋ, *turus, *ha-diRi
pouch	PMP *kantuŋ
poultice	PHN? *tambar
pound	PAN *tuk, *tuq+tuq, PHF *Ceg+Ceg, *Cel+Cel, PMP *bu-(n)+tuk, *buk, *tuk+tuk, PHN *bak+bak, *tal+tal
pound rice	PAN? *báyuH
powder	PMP *bek (2) *buk, *pek
powder	PMP *bek+bek *buk+buk
powdery	PMP *bek+bek *buk+buk
pregnant	PHF *maliqui
prepare attack	PMP *qad <sub>2</sub> uŋ
preserved meat or fish	PMP *kenas
press	PAN *pit
pretend	PHN *asih
priest	PMP *dátu?
primary forest	PHN *tuan
prop	PHN *tu(ŋ)kad, *tu(ŋ)ked
protect	PHN *lind <sub>2</sub> uŋ
protection	PHN *lind <sub>2</sub> uŋ
proud	PHN *a(m)buŋ
provisions	PHN *balun
provoke a fight	PHN *atis
prow	PHN *zuluŋ
prune	PHN *teb+teb
public building	PMP *baláy
puffer porcupinefish	PMP *taRutuŋ
pufferfish	PHN *butiti
pull out	PHF *guC+guC, PMP *a(m)+but, *but *but+but *dut+dut *i+but *Ra- (n)+dut
pulverise	PHF *Cu+mek, PMP *mek *re+mek, *Re+mek, PHN *muk

punctual infix active	PAN *-um-
punitive storm	PHN *baliw
punt	PMP *tĕkén
punting pole	PMP *tĕkén
purr	PAN *gur
pursue	PMP *buRaw, PHN *usiR
pus	PAN *nanaq
putrid	PHN *baŋhaw
putty	PMP *bu+lit
quail <i>Turnix</i> sp.	PHN *puRuq, *puyuq
quid	PHF *apuR
rack above hearth	PMP? *páRa
radiance	PMP *baná?aR
raft	PMP *da+kit, PHN *Rakit
rafter	PMP *kásaw
rain	PAN *quZáN
ramie <i>Boehmeria nivea</i>	PMP? *rami
rasp	PAN? *kud <sub>3</sub> +kud <sub>3</sub> , PHF *ka+rut, PMP *ka+Rud, *parud
rat	PAN *labaw PMP *balabaw, PHN *ba+baw
rattan	PAN *quáy PMP? *nana PHN *apis
raucous throaty sound	PMP *gak, *ŋak
ravine	PHN *bawáŋ
raw	PAN *Hátaq + ma-
ray of light	PMP *baná?aR
rayfish	PAN *páRiS
rear	PMP *ud <sub>2</sub> ehí + m-
recognise	PHN *kilala
red	PMP *iRaq + ma-, PMP *purá[h], PHN *baRaq *dĕ+Ráŋ
reduce price	PHN *tawad <sub>2</sub>
reef exposed	PMP *qati + ma-
reflection	PMP *qaninu[ŋ]
refuse to believe	PHN *uŋkir
regret	PMP *sel+sel
release	PMP *le+kas, PHN *pu+kas
remainder	PHF *teda?
remove	PMP *le+kas
repay	PHF *bales

repeat	PHN *u+mán
residential unit	PAN *kuan
resin	PAN *damaR, PHF *saleŋ
resounding sound	PAN *kuŋ(2) *guŋ
respect taboo	PHN *busuŋ
respect title of	PMP *puan
restrain	PMP *qem+peŋ, PHN *taqén
return	PAN *balík
revenge	PHF *bales
reverse	PAN *balík
rib	PAN *tak(e)Raŋ, PMP *Rúsuk
rice (generic) unhusked cooked	PHF *Hemay *Sěmay *Sumáy
rice husk	PHF *qeCá, PHN *qapa *qepah
rice plant	PHF *pájey
rice straw	PHF *ZaRámi
rice stubble	PHF *ZaRámi
rice unhusked	PHF *pájey
ridge	PMP *sakáy
ridgepole cover (bamboo)	PHN *kulub
ridgepole	PMP *bubúŋ
right (side)	PAN *ka-wanáN, PHF *wanán, PMP *taquí
ring	PHN *ciŋ+cin
ringing sound	PAN *kiŋ, PHF *liŋ, PMP *tiŋ
ringworm	PMP *bu?ni
rinse	PAN *ñaw, PHF *Naw+Naw, *raw+raw
rinse the mouth	PMP *muR
rip	PHN *pas, PMP *tes
ripe	PHF *lu?um
ripping sound of	PAN *riC(1)
rise	PAN *a-(n)d,ak, PMP *sákay
river mouth	PMP *naŋa
river	PHN *suŋay
road	PAN *Zálan
roast	PMP *baŋi, *CuNuH, PHN *alub
rob	PMP *ran+pas
rock crab	PMP *kaRakap
rock crystal	PHN? *kináŋ
rock	PAN *batú, PMP *ninih

rodent, small	PHF <i>*buHut</i>
roe	PAN <i>*biRaS</i> , PHN <i>*piRah</i>
roll	PMP <i>*le+kes</i>
roll up	PMP <i>*lukut</i>
rollers for beaching a canoe	PMP <i>*lajen</i>
rooster	PMP? <i>*laluj</i>
root aerial	PMP <i>*Rawej</i> , <i>*waRej</i>
root	PHF <i>*uRát</i> , PMP <i>*akaR</i> , <i>*dalij</i> , <i>*Ramút</i> , <i>*wakaR</i> , <i>*waRet</i> , PMP? <i>*wakat</i> , PHN <i>*dalig</i>
rope	PAN <i>*CalíS</i>
rot	PMP <i>*Rapuq</i>
rotten	PAN <i>*buRúk</i> , PMP <i>*busuk</i> , <i>*Rapuq</i> , PHN? <i>*baRiw</i>
row	PMP <i>*aluja</i> , <i>*paluja</i>
rub	PMP <i>*kusu</i>
rudder	PMP <i>*quliŋ</i>
rumble	PAN <i>*gur</i>
ruminant spp.	PHF <i>*Luáŋ</i> , <i>*qaNuáŋ</i> , PHN <i>*tamadaw</i>
ruminants, male	PHF? <i>*salajen</i>
run (away)	PHN <i>*laRíw</i>
run	PHF <i>*taLam</i> (1)
rush sp.	PHN <i>*sedsed</i>
rust	PHN <i>*karat</i>
rustle	PMP <i>*ris</i> (2)
sago branches dry	PMP <i>*kumbal</i>
sago	PMP <i>*rampia</i> , <i>*Rumbia</i> , <i>*Rambia</i> , <i>*sagúh</i>
sail	PMP <i>*láyaR</i>
sailfish	PMP <i>*saku layaR</i>
salt	PAN <i>*qasiN</i> <i>*qasiRa</i> , PHF <i>*timus</i>
saltwater	PMP <i>*tasik</i>
salty	PAN <i>*qasiN</i>
sand crab	PMP <i>*kaRuki</i>
sand	PAN <i>*qěnay</i> , PHF <i>*benaqi</i>
sandfly	RMP <i>*nek+nek</i>
sap	PMP <i>*ZuRúq</i> , PHN <i>*ga+teq</i> , <i>*getaq</i>
sarong	PMP <i>*tapis</i>
sated	PHF <i>*běsúR</i>
savoury	PMP <i>*ñam</i>

say	PHF *kaRíPMP *tutur
scab	PHN *keRáŋ
scad, big-eyed (fish)	PMP *qatulay
scaly skin disease	PHF *kurap
scar	PMP *biras, PHN *kulad*palí?, *ulat
scatter	PMP *buR, *kam+buR, PHN *qa(m)+bud,
scatter seed	PMP *kam+buR PHN *sa(m)+beR *sa(m)+buR
<i>Scomberoides</i> sp.	PMP *daRi
scoop up with both hands	PMP *saRup
scrape (with claws)	PMP *kaRus *garus
scrape off	PAN *kiS+kiS, PHN *a+rud
scrape out meat from a coconut	PHN *suq+suq
scrape	PAN? *kud <sub>3</sub> +kud <sub>3</sub> , PHF *ka+rut, *kuS+kuS, PHF? *kus+kus, PMP *ka+Rud, PHN *suq+suq
scratch (an itch)	PAN *kaRaw
scratch a line	PAN *riC (2)
scratch lightly	PMP *ris (1)
scratch mark	PMP *ka+ris
scratch	PHN *ku+ris, *ku+Ris, PMP *kaRus *garus
scratch up the ground (chicken)	PHN *kahiR
scream of monkey	PHF *keriq PMP? *keraq, *kusik
screen	PHN *d <sub>2</sub> iŋ+d <sub>2</sub> iŋ
sea bream <i>Sparus berda</i>	PHN *bakuku
sea littoral	PMP *dáRat
sea	PMP *tasik
sea toward the	PAN *laHúd
seacow	PMP *duyuŋ
seat in a boat	PMP *seŋkar
seaweed sp.	PMP *lamu(t) *limut *lúmut
see	PAN *kíta? PMP *aha?
seed (for sowing)	PHF *benSiq
seedling	PHF *benSiq
seize	PAN *kep
select	PAN *pfiŋ
self	PMP *diRí?
sell	PAN *pa(R)-bělí, PHF *sáliw

send	PAN *kaCu
separate	PHN *cěray
separate the chaff from the grain	PHN *siji
sesame <i>Sesamum indicum</i>	PHN *lěŋáh
set fire to	PMP *tutuŋ, PHN *sul+sul
set free	PMP *lumbar
set teeth on edge	PHF *ŋilúH
settlement	PHN *lebúq
seven	PAN *pitú, PHF *pa-pitú
sever	PMP *ru-(n)+tas, PMP *tas
sew	PHF *CaSítq, PMP *záqit
sexual intercourse	PHF *qiút, *Súlij
shade	PHF *Lauŋ PMP *aluŋ
shaded	PHF *Lauŋ
shadow	PAN *qaNíguH PHF *Lauŋ PMP *aluŋ *qanínuh, *qaninu[ŋ]
shake	PHF *keR+keR, PMP *d <sub>2</sub> ug+d <sub>2</sub> ug *ninih
shaman	PHN *asug
shark	PAN *qiSu
sharp	PHF *Cadém, *Cazém, *Sáqit, PMP *tazím
sharpen	PAN *Hásaq
shave	PHN *a+rud
she	PAN *siá
shed	PMP *kamáliR
shelf for storage	PMP? *páRa
shell cateye shell	PMP *qaliliŋ
shell conch	PMP *tam-buRi
shell cowrie	PAN *tu(m)bak
shell cowrie	PAN *tu(m)bak, PMP *buliq
shell, giant clam	PMP *kima
sheltered (as from wind or rain)	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> uŋ+d <sub>2</sub> uŋ
shield rectangular	PHN *kalasag
shield round	PMP *tamíŋ
shine brightly	PMP *dad <sub>2</sub> aŋ
shiver tremble	PAN *ter PMP *tir PHN *gir+gir
shoot an arrow	PAN *panaq
shoot young plant	PMP *taluk, PHN *seli *semi
short (in height)	PAN *babáq + ma-

short (in length)	PMP * <i>pandak</i> + <i>ma-</i>
shoulder	PAN * <i>qabáRaH</i> , PHF * <i>qali-wadaŋ</i>
show off	PHN * <i>asih</i>
shrill buzz or hum	PMP * <i>ŋiŋ</i>
shrill throaty sound	PMP * <i>gik</i> , * <i>kik</i> , * <i>ŋik</i>
shrimp	PMP * <i>quđ,áŋ</i>
shut in	PHN * <i>le(ŋ)+keb</i>
shuttle stick	PHF * <i>balíja</i>
shy	PAN * <i>Siáq</i> + <i>ma-</i>
sibling older	PMP * <i>aka</i> , * <i>kaka</i>
sibling younger	PAN * <i>Saji?</i> , * <i>u-Saji[H]</i> , PMP * <i>tua-(n)ji</i>
sibling-in-law	PHN * <i>birás</i>
sick	PMP * <i>sakít</i> + <i>ma-</i>
silent keep	PMP * <i>d<sub>2</sub>em+d<sub>2</sub>em (2)</i> , * <i>nem+nem</i>
silver	PHN? * <i>pírak</i>
sin	PAN * <i>saláq</i>
sinew	PAN * <i>uRát</i>
sing in unison	PMP * <i>saRup</i>
sink	PMP * <i>telem</i>
sister	PMP * <i>betaw</i>
sister's husband	PMP * <i>laya</i>
sister-in-law	PHN * <i>hi+paR</i>
sit on eggs	PMP * <i>e+kep</i>
sit	PMP * <i>d<sub>2</sub>uk+d<sub>2</sub>uk</i> , * <i>tubaŋ</i> , * <i>untud</i>
six	PAN * <i>?ěném</i> PHF * <i>a-eném</i>
skern	PHN * <i>labay</i>
skewer	PMP * <i>tuduk</i> , PHN * <i>te-(n)+dúk</i>
skin (of animal)	PHF * <i>kaLiC</i> , * <i>qaNiC</i>
skin disease	PHF * <i>kurap</i> , PMP * <i>panaw</i>
skin off	PMP * <i>ke+las</i>
skin	PAN * <i>kúliC</i> , PHN * <i>balulaŋ</i>
skinny	PMP * <i>níwaŋ</i> + <i>ma-</i>
skirt	PHF * <i>tapiS</i> , PMP * <i>tapis</i>
sky	PAN * <i>láŋit</i>
slap	PAN * <i>pik</i> , PMP * <i>pak</i>
slats floor	PHN? * <i>saléR</i>
slave	PMP * <i>qata</i> , PHN * <i>qudip-en</i>
sleep go to	PAN * <i>qinép</i> , PMP * <i>hideRáq</i>
sleep	PAN * <i>tid<sub>2</sub>uR</i> * <i>túd<sub>2</sub>uR</i>
sleep with	PHF * <i>Súlij</i>



slice	PMP *gěréť, PHN *qiRis *sayad
slime	PHN *ban[ɲ]lik
slip off	PHN *lus
small	PAN *ked <sub>2</sub> i? PMP *d <sub>2</sub> ikiq, *ked <sub>2</sub> ik
smart	PHF *pějíq, *Sa-pějíq
smell of (something)	PAN *qaŋ+
smell of fish	PHF *qaŋRiS
smell	PAN *Sajék
smell	PMP *báhuq
smell putrid	PHN *baŋhaw
smell vile	PMP *maŋsit
<i>Smilax</i> sp.	PHF *banaw, *baNaR
smile	PAN *ŋí.si [h]
smoke bees away	PHN *puhaR
smoke	PAN *CapaH, PHN *alub
smoke	PIIF *qěbél PMP *qasúh, PMP? *anús PHN? *anu?us
snail	PMP *sisi[q]
snake	PAN *qúlej, PAN? *ulaR, PMP *nipay PHF? *buLay
snake sp. large	PMP *anipa
snake sp. python	PMP? *sawáh
snake sp. venomous	PHN *depuŋ
snare	PMP *zariŋ, PHN *taqén
snarl	PMP *eŋer
snatch	PHF *qáRaw, PMP *but, *dut+dut
sniff	PAN *Sajék
snout	PAN *ŋúsu?
soft	PHF *Lemek
soil fertile	PMP? *bu(R)+taq
sole (of foot)	PHF *dapáN
some more	PMP *balu
some	PMP *balu
sore	PAN *Nukaŋ + ma-
sound of escaping air	PMP *pus (2)
sound of grating ripping	PAN *riC (1)
sound	PAN *kuŋ (2) *guŋ, PHF *Súni, PMP *gek, PMP *guk
sound raucous throaty	PMP *gak, *ŋak
sound shrill throaty	PMP *gik, *kik, *ŋik

soup	PHN *sa(m)báw
sour	PAN *qal+sem PHN *la+sem
south wind	PHN *sałatan
sow (rice seedlings)	PHN *ha+sék
sow	PMP *buR PHN *sa(m)+beR *sa(m)+buR
spacious	PMP *luqas + ma-
span 20 cm	PMP *dáŋan
Spanish mackerel	PMP *taŋiRi
sparkle	PMP *lap
sparks	PHN *lalatu
speak	PHF *kaRí PMP *tutur
spear	PMP *saet PHN *baŋkaw, *suligi?
spend time	PIIF *pa-Suay
spicy hot	PMP *ha-pějes, *pějés
spider	PAN *láwaq PHN *káwá?
spikes (bamboo)	PMP *suja
spirit	PAN *qanitu
spit out	PHF *buRēS *lupaS
spit	PHF *lu+dáq, PMP *luZáq
splash	PMP *cik
splatter	PMP *cik
split bamboo	PHF *saq+saq
split open	PMP *be(ŋ)+kar, *be(ŋ)+kaR
split	PAN *bě+láq, *laq, PMP *ba+kaq *be+kah, *kaq(2) *lekaq, *si+laq, *tak
spoon	PHN *tidús
spotted	PAN *Cik, PHN *ba+laŋ *pan+tek
spouse	PAN *qasáwa
spray	PMP *buR
spread (out)	PMP? *d <sub>2</sub> ay+d <sub>2</sub> ay
spread apart	PMP *ba+kaq
spread open (legs)	PAN *kaŋ (1)
spread out in sun to dry	PMP *bě+láj, PMP? *bi+láj
spread wide	PMP *ha(m)+buR
spring trap (bamboo)	PHN *baweR
sprinkle	PMP *ha(m)+buR PMP *kam+buR
sprout n plant	PAN? *Cú(m)buq

squeeze	PAN * <i>pit</i> , PHF * <i>pesél</i> PMP * <i>mes+mes</i> , * <i>pe(R)+cit</i> , * <i>peRáq</i> , * <i>peRés</i> , * <i>pes+pes</i> , * <i>pis+pis</i> , PHN * <i>le+sít</i>
squid	PMP * <i>nuʔus</i> , PHN * <i>ka-nuʔus</i>
squirrel	PHF * <i>buHut</i>
squirrelfish	PMP * <i>taRaqa</i>
squirt out	PMP * <i>cit</i> , * <i>pe(R)+cit</i> , PHN * <i>le+sít</i>
stab	PAN * <i>bunúq</i> , * <i>Ce+sek</i> , PMP * <i>suk+suk</i> * <i>tebék</i>
staff	PHF * <i>su(ŋ)kud</i> , PHN * <i>tu(ŋ)kad</i> , * <i>tu(ŋ)ked</i>
staircase	PMP? * <i>haRedán</i>
stake	PMP * <i>pákuʔ</i>
stammer	PMP * <i>gap+gap</i>
stanch	PHN? * <i>am+pet</i>
stand erect	PMP * <i>zeg</i>
stand	PMP * <i>dʲiRi</i> , * <i>kezeŋ</i> , * <i>tuqud<sub>2</sub></i>
star	PAN * <i>bi-(n)túqen</i>
starfish	PMP * <i>saŋa-saŋa</i>
stative verb prefix	PAN * <i>na-</i> , * <i>Sa-</i>
steal	PAN * <i>Cákaw</i>
steer	PMP * <i>quliŋ</i>
stench (as of spoiled meat)	PHF * <i>qaŋRu</i>
stench of putrid urine	PHF * <i>laŋesej</i>
stench of sweaty armpits	PHN * <i>aŋceŋ</i> , * <i>aŋsej</i>
stench of urine	PHF * <i>qaŋseR</i>
stench	PAN * <i>qaŋ+Sít</i> , * <i>tut</i> PHF * <i>laŋesej</i> * <i>Laŋ+siʔ</i> * <i>qaŋRu</i> * <i>qaŋseR</i> , * <i>qaŋsuH</i> PMP * <i>aŋ(e)lem</i> , PHN * <i>aŋceŋ</i> , * <i>aŋsej</i> , * <i>bahu an</i>
stick in	PMP * <i>sek</i> (1)
stick	PAN * <i>ze+kéC</i> , PAN? * <i>dě+kéC</i> PHF * <i>Le+keC</i> , PMP * <i>da(ŋ)+ket</i>
stick shuttle	PHF * <i>balíja</i>
stick walking	PHF * <i>su(ŋ)kud</i>
sticky	PAN * <i>keC</i> , PAN? * <i>dě+kéC</i> PHF * <i>Le+keC</i> , PMP * <i>ra+ket</i>
sticky substance	PAN * <i>di+teq</i>
stiffening of limbs	PMP * <i>keŋ</i>
sting	PHF * <i>pějíq</i> , * <i>Sa-pějíq</i>

stingray	PAN *páRiS
stink	PAN *qaŋ+Sit
stomach of animals	PMP *kempuŋ
stone	PAN *batú
stonefish	PMP *nepuq
stop flow	PHN? *am+pet
stop	PHN *beŋ
stop up block	PMP *pet
stopper	PAN *seŋ+seŋ, PMP *pel
storage container (bamboo)	PHN *tuŋ+tuŋ
storm	PHF *baRiuS, PHN *baliw
stove	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> apúR
straw rice	PHF *ZaRámi
streaked	PMP *ba+rik
strew	PMP *buR, PHN *qa(m)+bud <sub>2</sub>
strike	PHF *bas+bas, PHN *kěná?
string	PAN *CalíS
striped	PMP *ba+rik, PHN *ba+laŋ, *buriŋ
stubble rice	PHF *ZaRámi
stubborn	PMP *tegel, *te(ŋ)ger
stump (of a tree)	PHF *tuqed <sub>2</sub>
stutter	PMP *gap+gap
subject	PHN *kabiR
submerge	PHF *te+neb
suck	PAN *sep+sep, *sip+sip, *sup+sup, *tip+tip, *zeb+zeb, PMP *i+sep, *sum+sum
sucking noise made to signal s.o.	PMP *misik
sugarcane	PAN *těbúS
sun	PAN *qa-(n)jaw, *waRiH
support	PHN *tu(ŋ)kad, *tu(ŋ)ked
surf	PAN *Nabek
surface of sea/land	PMP *dáRat
surround	PAN *Li(m)bu[H], PHN *kepuŋ PMP *kup(1)
suspension bridge	PHN *ki+tey
swallow	PHN *kalapini
swamp crab	PHF *kaRaŋ
swampy ground	PHN *latiq
sweat	PMP *atiŋ

sweet	PHN *e+mís
sweet-smelling	PAN *baŋSiS
swell	PMP *baRéq, PHN *humbak
swelling	PMP *baRéq
swidden	PAN *qumáH
swift	PMP *kas (2)
swim	PHF *laŋúy *naŋúy
swollen belly	PHN *busuŋ
sword grass <i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	PAN *Riaq PHN *eRiq
sword	PHF *malat
syrup	PMP *ZuRúq
table	PHN *d <sub>2</sub> ulaŋ
taboo	PHF *paliSi PHN *mali?
tail feather	PMP *lawí
tail	PAN *íkuR PMP *ikuŋ
tainted	PHN? *baRiw
take a shortcut	PHN *la? <sup>+</sup> tas, *lan+tas
take off	PHN *hu+kas
take	PMP *alap
take shelter	PMP *te+d <sub>2</sub> uŋ
tame	PAN *dajam / ma- *Najam + ma-
taro <i>Alocasia</i> sp.	PAN *bíRaŋ
taro <i>Colocasia</i> sp.	PMP *tales
taste	PHF *taLam (2), *taNam, PMP *ñam+ñam
tasteless	PHN? *qa(m)+baR
tasty	PMP *ñam, *ñam+ñam
tattoo	PHF *be+Cik
teach	PAN *Cudúq
tear off	PHN *pas
tear	PMP *ru-(n)+tas, *tas, *ra-(n)+tas, *tes
teardrop	PHF *lúSeq
teeth show the	PAN *ŋísi [h]
temper metals (water and heat meet)	PMP *sebuŋ
ten	PAN *púluq
tentacles octopus	PMP *gaway
tenuous	PAN *pis (2)
termite	PMP *ánay
that (distant)	PMP *i-ná?
that (near hearer)	PMP *i-tú

thatched roof (usually sago leaf)	PMP *qatép
there is	PMP *dián
they	PMP *si+d <sub>2</sub> á
thick	PHF *d <sub>4</sub> amel, *kid <sub>3</sub> emel, PMP *kapal + ma-
thigh	PAN *páqaS
thin	PAN *ni+pis + ma-, *pis (2), PMP *níwaŋ + ma-
think	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> em+d <sub>2</sub> em (2), *nem+nem
thirst	PHF *qúSaw
thirsty	PHF *qúSaw
this	PAN *i-ní, *qa-ní[H]
thorn	PAN *Cěnék *dúRiH, PHF *suqaR, PMP *zúRi
thorny tree <i>Caesalpinia</i> sp.	PMP? *sepaŋ
thou	PAN *i-kaSú, PHF *i-Sú
thousand	PHN *Ribu, PHN? *ribu
thread	PHN *běnáŋ
three	PAN *tělúPHF *ta-tělu
thresh	PHF *ʔeRík, *iRík, *Riʔék
throaty sound	PMP *gak, *gek, *guk, *ŋak
throaty sound shrill	PMP *gík, *kík, *ŋík
throw	PMP *tudaʔ
thud	PAN *puk, PMP *buk
thunder	PMP *du+du, *ku+d <sub>2</sub> ug, *le(ŋ)+gur, *rú(ŋ)guŋ, PHN *duR+duR
thunder storm lightning bolt	PHN *lentiq
tick (sound)	PMP *tik (1)
tickle	PHF? *Lek+Lek, PMP *kidi, *gidik
tide high	PMP *Ruab, PHN *taʔeb
tide low	PMP *qati + ma-
tie	PMP *kaput, PHN *bed+bed
tie up	PMP *hi+ket
tiger	PHN *qaRimʔaw
tight	PAN *Sě+Ret
timber tree <i>Dipterocarpus</i>	PHN *balaw
timber tree <i>Palaquium</i> spp.	PMP *ñatuq
tin	PHN *timeRaq
tinder	PMP *bad <sub>2</sub> uk
tired	PHN *lumaq

title of respect	PMP * <i>puan</i>
tomorrow	PHF * <i>Zemáq</i>
tongue	PAN * <i>Sema</i>
tooth	PAN * <i>lipen *nípen *ŋísi[h] *waLiS</i> PMP * <i>ŋípen *ípen, *isi</i>
top of, on	PAN * <i>bá+baw + i-, *Ca?as + a-, PHF</i> * <i>Ca?as + i-</i>
top	PAN * <i>baw</i>
topple	PHN * <i>tebéŋ</i>
torch	PAN * <i>damaR</i> PMP * <i>sulúq</i>
tortoise	PMP * <i>pěñúh</i>
touch lightly	PHN * <i>kubít</i>
tradition	PHN * <i>ugali?</i>
trail	PAN * <i>Zálan</i>
transfer	PAN * <i>SaliN</i>
transport	PHF * <i>SákuC</i>
transvestite shaman	PHN * <i>asug</i>
trap fish	PMP * <i>bu+bu</i> PHN * <i>bak[]lad, *ban[]lat,</i> * <i>si?ud, *tuad<sub>2</sub></i>
trap	PHN * <i>taqén</i>
trap	PMP * <i>bu+bu, PHN *balá-(n)tik,</i> * <i>baweR</i>
trap trigger of a tension-set	PHN * <i>baquR</i>
trap wooden	PHN * <i>d<sub>2</sub>ulaŋ</i>
tree	PAN * <i>kúSiw, *káyuH</i>
tree <i>Alstonia scholaris</i>	PMP * <i>ditaq</i>
tree <i>Annona reticulata</i>	PHF * <i>qaNuNaŋ</i>
tree <i>Antiaris</i>	PMP * <i>laji</i>
tree <i>Artocarpus</i>	PHN * <i>naŋka?</i>
tree <i>Caesalpinia</i> sp.	PMP? * <i>sepaŋ</i>
tree <i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i>	PMP * <i>bitaquR</i>
tree <i>Cananga odorata</i>	PMP? * <i>kanaja</i>
tree <i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>	PMP * <i>qaRuhu?</i>
tree <i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	PMP * <i>kabu</i>
tree <i>Cerriops</i>	PMP * <i>těŋéR</i>
tree <i>Cordia dichotoma</i>	PAN * <i>qaNuNaŋ</i>
tree <i>Cordia</i> spp.	PMP * <i>kanawa</i>
tree <i>Dipterocarpus</i>	PHN * <i>balaw</i>
tree <i>Dolichandrone spathacea</i>	PMP * <i>tui?</i>
tree <i>Dracontomelum edule</i>	PAN * <i>daqu</i>

tree <i>Erythrina indica</i>	PMP *d <sub>2</sub> ap+d <sub>2</sub> ap, PMP? *d <sub>2</sub> e+d <sub>2</sub> ap
tree fern <i>Cyathea</i> sp.	PMP? *puni
tree <i>Gnetum gnemon</i>	PMP? *suka
tree <i>Heritiera littoralis</i>	PHN *duḡun
tree <i>Indigofera</i>	PHN *taRum
tree <i>Intsia bijuga</i>	PMP *qipil, *teRas
tree mangrove, <i>Ceriops</i>	PMP *təḡéR
tree mangrove, <i>Rhizophora</i>	PMP *bakhaw
tree <i>Melochia umbellata</i>	PMP *tenu
tree <i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	PMP *ñeñu
tree <i>Murraya paniculata</i>	PMP? *kamuniḡ
tree <i>Nauclea orientalis</i>	PMP *baḡkal
tree <i>Orania</i>	PHN *baḡah
tree <i>Palaquium</i> spp.	PMP *ñatuḡ
tree <i>Pandanus tectorius</i>	PAN *paḡud <sub>2</sub> áN
tree pandanus, <i>Orania</i>	PHN *baḡah
tree <i>Pinus</i> sp.	PHF *saleḡ
tree <i>Pinus</i> sp.	PHF *saleḡ
tree <i>Pterocarpus indica</i>	PMP *naRa
tree <i>Rhizophora</i>	PMP *bakhaw
tree <i>Schleichera trijuga</i>	PMP *kasambi?
tree <i>Schoutenia ovata</i>	PMP *kukun
tree spp. unnamed	PMP *kanarum PHN *amaRa, *Rihuḡ, PHN? *kenduḡ
tree trunk	PHF *púnuḡ, PMP *púqun
tree, <i>Barringtonia</i> spp.	PMP *butun
tree, <i>Pandanus tectorius</i>	PAN *paḡud <sub>2</sub> áN
tree, <i>Pisonia umbellifera</i>	PMP *qanuliḡ
tree, <i>Terminalia catappa</i>	PMP *talísay
tree, <i>Trema orientalis</i>	PMP *deRuḡ
tree, <i>Vitex pubescens</i>	PMP? *pa(m)pa /-
tremble	PHF *keR+keR, PMP *ninih
trevally <i>Caranx</i> spp.	PMP *bilu
trick	PHN? *dayaf[?]
trigger of a tension-set trap	PHN *baḡuR
tripe	PHN *ba(t)bat
trivet	PMP *dalikán
true	PMP *bener + ma-
trumpet shell	PMP *tam-buRi
trunk tree	PHF *púnuḡ, PMP *púqun



tube bamboo	PHN *buŋ+buŋ
tuber <i>Dioscorea</i> spp.	PHN *gad <sub>2</sub> uŋ
tuna	PMP *qatun
turmeric <i>Curcuma zeodoaria</i>	PMP? *kuniŋ
turn around	PAN *balík
turn	PAN *liu- PHF *ileŋ PMP *biliŋ
turtle green sea	PMP *pěñúh
tusk	PAN *waLiS
twins of the same sex	PAN *Sabij
twist	PAN *lit(2)
two	PAN *d <sub>3</sub> uSá
typhoon	PHF *baRiuS
umbrella	PHN *payuŋ
uncle father's brother	PAN *ama, PMP *ama-en
uncle mother's brother	PAN *tuqáS / ma-(n)-
uncover	PMP *buká?, *kab
undergrowth	PHN *samun
undo	PMP *kas (2) PHN *hu+kas
undress	PMP *le+kas
unicornfish	PMP *qumay
unripe	PAN *Hátaq + ma-
untie	PMP *kas (1) PHN *pu+kas
untied become	PMP *ba(ŋ)+kas
unyielding	PMP *teŋel, *te(ŋ)ger
upright	PMP *te+zek
apriver	PHF *d <sub>2</sub> áya + i-
uproot	PMP *i+but
urine	PAN *iSeq, PHF *si?bu
use up (all)	PHF *?amin
utter	PHF *kaRí PMP *tutur
vagina	PMP *puki?, PHN *betíq
valley	PHN *le(m)bak, *le(m)baq *lě(m)béŋ
veer to the side	PAN *liu- PHF *ileŋ PMP *biliŋ
vegetable oil	PMP *láña[h]
vegetables	PHF *NaCéŋ
vein	PAN *uRát
Venus	PMP *talaq / man-
village area	PHN *lebúq
village	PAN *kuan, PMP *banua
vine <i>Flagellaria indica</i>	PMP? *huaR

vine from which poison is obtained	PHN *ziteq
vine	PMP *Rawej, *waRej
viscous fluid	PAN *teq
visible	PMP *qantad <sub>2</sub>
vomit	PAN *utaq + m-
vulva	PHN *betíq
waii	PAN *qaun
walk	PAN *lákad, *lakat, PMP *lakáw, *lampaq, *lampaq, *pánaw, PHN *lamba?
walking stick	PHF *su(ŋ)kud
wall	PHN *d <sub>2</sub> iŋ+d <sub>2</sub> iŋ
warm oneself by fire	PAN *d <sub>2</sub> a(ŋ)+d <sub>2</sub> aŋ
warm	PMP *panas + ma- *qaŋet
warp on a loom set up	PHN *haʔnay
wash	PAN *ñaw, PHF *Naw+Naw, *raw+raw, PMP *buRiq
wash up (hands)	PMP *bulú
water flowing	PHN *seleR
water fresh	PAN *d <sub>2</sub> a+Núm, PMP *wáhiR
water jar	PMP *kúd <sub>2</sub> en
water salt	PMP *tasik
watercourse between hills	PHN *le(m)baq, PHN *lě(m)béŋ
waterlogged (of ground)	PHN *ba+cak
wave the hand	PHN *kiap
waves	PAN *Nabek, PMP *qáľun, *qalep, PHN *humbak
wax beeswax	PMP *lilin
wax ear	PMP *tilu, *tulíh
we (exclusive)	PAN *kamí
we (inclusive)	PAN *kitá
weak	PHN *lumaq, *luyah
weapon pointed	PHF *bakál
weave (cloth)	PHF *tineʔun
weave (mat)	PMP *añam *añem, PHN? *ľaja
weave	PHF *beN+beN, PHN *habel
wedge	PMP? *káľaŋ
weed	PHF *guC+guC
weed	PMP *a(m)+but, *babaw
weep	PAN *Cáŋis

weevil	PHN <i>*buk+buk</i>
weft	PHN <i>*pakan</i>
weir	PMP <i>*empan. *gem+pen</i>
well	PMP <i>*piá + ma-</i>
wet (of soil)	PMP <i>*lemen</i>
wet	PMP <i>*basáq + ma-</i>
whack	PAN <i>*bek (1)</i>
what?	PMP <i>*apa</i>
whatchamacallit	PMP <i>*anúh</i>
when?	PAN <i>*iján</i>
where?	PHF <i>*i-nú</i>
whet	PAN <i>*Hásaq</i>
whetstone	PAN <i>*Hásaq</i>
while a little	PHF <i>*Sauni</i>
whistle	PHN <i>*sihul</i>
white	PAN? <i>*putíq + ma-</i> PMP <i>*burak</i>
who?	PMP <i>*i-sai</i>
wide open	PAN <i>*ŋa?</i> , PMP <i>*ŋaq</i>
wide	PAN <i>*lawá + ma-</i> , PMP <i>*luqas + ma-</i>
widow	PHN <i>*bálu</i>
wife	PAN <i>*qasáwa</i>
wife's father	PAN <i>*tuqáS /ma-(n)-</i>
wind around	PHN <i>*bed+bed, *kus, *qa(m)+bej</i>
wind around repeatedly	PMP <i>*bej</i>
wind north	PHF <i>*qamíS-an</i>
wind	PAN <i>*lit ( )</i>
wind	PMP <i>*dēRes, *háŋin</i>
wind south	PHN <i>*salatan</i>
wind south-east	PAN <i>*tímuR</i>
windy	PMP <i>*dēRes</i>
wing	PAN <i>*pánij</i> PHF <i>*pak+pak</i> , PMP <i>*qelad<sub>2</sub></i> , PHN? <i>*sayap</i>
winnow	PAN <i>*taSép</i> PHF <i>*tapeS</i>
winnowing basket	PHN <i>*bijau, *niRu</i>
wipe	PHF? <i>*kus+kus</i> , PHN? <i>*páhid</i>
wire	PHN <i>*kawad</i>
with	PAN <i>*a, *ka (1) *ma, *Na</i>
woman	PAN <i>*ba-báHi, *báHi</i> PMP <i>*b/in/áHi, *ba-b(in)áHi</i>
wood	PAN <i>*káSiw, *káyuH</i>

woods	PMP *qutan PHN *halás
word	PHF *kaRí
word used to call chickens etc.	PMP *kur
worm instestinal	PHN *gelaŋ
worm	PAN *qúlej, PMP *bulati, PMP? *kalati, PMP *watí
worn out	PHN *luyah
wound	PHF *LukaH, PHN? *palí?
wounded	PAN *Nukaq + ma- PHF *LukaH
woven cover	PHN? *sukup
woven material	PHN *ha(m)bél, *tepa
wrap firmly around	PAN *kes
wrap	PHN *kus
wrapping	PHN? *barut
wrasse <i>Cheilinus</i> sp. (fish)	PMP *mamin
wring out	PMP *peRáq
wrist	PMP *bukúh
write	PHF? *surat PMP *tusi
yam tuber <i>Dioscorea alata</i>	PMP *qú(m)bi
yard front	PHF *Na+tad <sub>2</sub>
yarn	PHN *labay
yawn	PAN *Suab + ma-
ye	PAN *kamú PHF *kamuyu PMP *kamiu
year	PMP *taqún
yellow	PMP? *kunij + ma-
you (plural)	PAN *kamú PHF *kamuyu PMP *kamiu
you (singular)	PAN *i-kaSú, PHF *i-Sú
young girl	PHN *d <sub>2</sub> a-d <sub>2</sub> aRa[h]
young of vegetation	PHN? *bataq

## 01.100 WORLD

Arabic: <i>dunyā</i>
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ATA		BUG	linno	MAR	naut <sup>h</sup> oglu
TSO		KON	lino	LAU	məlagali
RUK		WOL	[dunia]	*KWO	fanua le <sup>ʔ</sup> e
PAI	kaʒunaŋ-an	*MAG	[tana lino]		wado
YAM	kaʒawan	NGA	ota-ola	RAG	ure-ure
ISN	kalawagān	*SIK	nia-n tana	*PAA	aut netan
KAL	lūbuŋ	*RTI	dae bafa-k	LEW	ye-merava
*TAG	da <sup>ʔ</sup> igdig	*BUR	[ʒunai]	*POR	na-ran p <sup>wi</sup> iči
*AKL	kalibūtan	*DOB	sar	NTA	ntuintan
*PAL	luŋsud	IRA	wenum	*KWA	tənamtəname
MOL	[duña <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	SAW	[dunia]	NEM	
*KAG	kalibutan	*NYI	muñak mari	CEM	
BLA	banwi	MAM	<sup>ʔ</sup> ate <sup>ʔ</sup> a	AJI	b <sup>wē</sup> iapā
*SAB	[duña]	*TAK	tan	XAR	kərex <sup>wā</sup> rə
MUR	[dunia <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	DAM	teneb	NEN	tenore <sup>ʔ</sup> awə
MGY	izau tuntulu	MAB	tōno	KIR	te aonaba
	izau	YAB		MSH	laʃ
*ACE	[doña]	*KAU	mulus	PON	sampā
*BAT	[pərtibi]	*TOL	rəkə-rəkən-ə-	WLE	fōi <sup>ʔ</sup> rəŋi
MIN	[alam]		guna-gunən	EFI	βuraβura
IND	[dunia]	BUA	dob	WFI	βuraβura
SUN	[duña]	ADZ		RTU	rani
*JAV	[doñə]	*KIL	βalu βalu	*TON	maamani
MAD	[duñña]		kom <sup>w</sup> aido-na	*SAM	lalo-laŋi
*BAL	[gumi]	*TAW	hipuli atapu-	*MEL	[marāmana]
SAS	[duniə]		na	TAH	te ao nei
GOR	[duniya]	*MOT	tanobada	RAP	ao
DAA	[dunia]	*MEK	aŋo-fa <sup>ʔ</sup> a		
UMA	[dunia <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	ROV	kasia popoa		

TAG Also [*mundo*], from Spanish *mundo*.

AKL Root: *libut* ‘surround’.

PAL ‘world, country’.

KAG (*libut + ka- -an*) ‘surroundings’.

SAB	Also [ <i>Juñā</i> ].
ACE	Arabic.
BAT	From Sanskrit.
JAV	Also [ <i>ĵagat</i> ], from Sanskrit.
BAL	Sanskrit, see Gonda 1973.
MAG	From Makassarese.
SIK	The Sara Tana 'Ai expression for 'world' is a phrase of two words, <i>nia-n tana</i> , in ordinary language and a phrase of four words, <i>nia-n tana ləro βula-n</i> , in ritual language. <i>nia-n tana ləro βula-n</i> 'land, earth, sun, moon', is also the name of the deity of the Ata Tana 'Ai (see entry 22.120).
RTI	In ritual language, the earth is referred to as: <i>dae bafa-k ma batu poin</i> .
BUR	Also [ <i>dunia</i> ] and [ <i>duyaŋ</i> ].
DOB	<i>sar</i> is also the word for 'Aru Islands', in contrast to <i>law</i> , 'everywhere outside of Aru', so sometimes the phrase <i>sar ?ay?uy</i> 'whole world' is used to distinguish 'world' from 'Aru'.
NYI	'all lands'.
TAK	'ground, land'.
KAU	In a geographical sense.
TOL	'all, every', used only of places, distributional plural; a CONN, <i>gunā-gunan</i> 'villages, countries', distributional plural.
KIL	<i>βalu</i> 'place, <i>kom</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>aido-</i> 'all', <i>-na</i> 'it'. Variant <i>βalu watanawa</i> 'place below'.
TAW	'all the earth, land'.
MOT	<i>tano</i> 'earth, land'; <i>bada</i> 'big'. See also 01.260 'mainland'.
MEK	'(the) great land', see 01.210 and 01.260.
KWO	'place here of earth'.
PAA	'lower place'. Used in contrast with <i>aut nesa-</i> 'upper place', referring to the Christian concept of heaven.
POR	'the-earth all'.
KWA	'lands' ('land-land'-plural marker), may be a neologism derived from 19th century Bible translation.
TON	Also <i>maama</i> .
SAM	<i>lalo</i> 'space below something', <i>laŋi</i> 'sky', also <i>atulaulau</i> 'all countries, whole world'.
MEL	From Efate.

## 01.210 EARTH, LAND

Sanskrit: *bhūmi*

*ATA	rauḱ	*UMA	role	MAR	glose
TSO	xpi-xpiŋi	BUG	tanna	*LAU	gano
RUK	daə-daə	KON	tana	KWO	wado
PAI	ḱipu	WOL	tana	RAG	tano
YAM	tana	MAG	tana	PAA	atan
ISN	lusa?	NGA	tana	*LEW	tano
KAL	pīta	SIK	tana	POR	na-ran
TAG	lūpa?	RTI	dae hena-k	NTA	nəmaptan
*AKL	ḱugta?	BUR	rahe	KWA	təna
*PAL	[duña?]	*DOB	rasa	NEM	guc
MOL	logta?	IRA	wirom	CEM	pūlut
KAG	ba'sak	SAW	[bumi]	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ē JA
BLA	təŋə?	NYI	muñak	XAR	dō
SAB	tana?	MAM	ʔateʔa	*NEN	ḁo
*MUR	dagana?	*TAK	tan	*KIR	te aba
MGY	tani	DAM	teneb	*MSH	laḷ
ACE	[bumə]	MAB	tōno	PON	sampā
*BAT	tanə	*YAB	nom	*WLE	fōiʔaŋi
MIN	[bumi]	*KAU	mulus	EFI	βanua
IND	[bumi]	TOL	piə	WFI	βanua
SUN	[bumi]	BUA	dəb	RTU	hanua
*JAV	[bumi]	ADZ	i <sup>n</sup> tap	TON	fonua
MAD	[bumi]	KIL	βalu	*SAM	lau-ʔeleʔele
*BAL	[gumi]	TAW	hipuli	MEL	kere
SAS	[bumi]	*MOT	tano	TAH	fenua
GOR	huta	*MEK	aŋo	RAP	henua
DAA	tana	ROV	pepeso		

ATA Also ʔutik. The Mayrinax dialect of Atayal distinguishes between male and female forms for some lexical items. When male and female forms exist for a lexical item, they are both listed in that order and separated by a slash. Generally speaking the female forms are the older forms, whereas the male forms are the innovative ones adopted by many other dialects of Atayal (see Li 1982).

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines \*lugta?

- PAL From Arabic *dunyā* ‘world’.
- MUR *dagana?* ‘earth’ as opposed to sky; *tana?* ‘land’ as opposed to water.
- BAT Proto-Batak *\*tanəh*.
- JAV Also [*buɔnɔ*], Sanskrit.
- BAL From Sanskrit, see Gonda 1973 ‘country, state, world’; also *ləmah* ‘physical world’ (as opposed to spirit world). *pə-ləmah-an* area of land owned or controlled, e.g. of a house, village. Old Balinese *ləmar*.
- UMA Land, as opposed to water.
- DOB Often used in contrast to *law* ‘sea’.
- TAK ‘ground, land’.
- YAB Also *gameŋ* ‘place, area, locality’.
- KAU Also *mulus-ŋin* denotes a limited topographical area; used with *pi* to denote a level area of ground (see 01.230).
- MOT See also 01.212, 19.110. Bible has *yahu* (Western Motu?).
- MEK *əŋo* is ‘solid land’ as opposed to the water that so frequently inundates it. By extension, it is also the rain-forest that covers the land, or even ‘timber’ when this is viewed as a resource.
- LAU Also *tolo*.
- LEW Extended use of *tano* ‘down’; see 12.030.
- NEN Also *gide, rawa(n)*.
- KIR *te aonaba*; *aon* ‘surface of’, *te anna* Northern dialect; elsewhere, a bound form in items like *rianna* ‘go overland’, *nako anna* ‘go ashore’.
- MSH Also ‘down’.
- WLE ‘under the sky’.
- SAM *lau-* prefix classifying a noun as referring to a flat or thin object, *?ele?ele* ‘earth, soil’ (01.212); also *fanua* ‘cultivated land’, *lau-fanua* ‘area of cultivated land, field(s)’.

### 01.212 EARTH=GROUND, SOIL

*ATA	rauḵ	KAL	pīta	BLA	tɔŋɔ?
TSO	ʔroa	*TAG	lūpa?	SAB	tana?
RUK	daə	*AKL	ʔapuk	MUR	tana?
PAI	ḵnavul <sup>y</sup> -an	PAL	lugta?	MGY	tani
YAM	tana	MOL	logta?	ACE	tanəh
ISN	lusa?	KAG	ba'sak	BAT	tanɔ



MIN	tanah	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʳen	POR	na-ran
IND	tanah	MAM	ʔateʔa	NTA	nəsəp
*SUN	tanih	*TAK	tan-tini-n	*KWA	tuprena
JAV	ləmah	DAM	teneb	*NEM	b <sup>w</sup> a-n guc
MAD	tana	MAB	tōno	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ô-hém <sup>w</sup> o
*BAL	tanah	YAB	nom	AJI	ɟa
*SAS	tanak	*KAU	epluk	XAR	ne-dō
GOR	huta	TOL	piə	*NEN	ɔo
DAA	tana	BUA	dob	KIR	te tano
UMA	tana	ADZ	i <sup>n</sup> tap	*MSH	p <sup>m</sup> irec
BUG	tanna	KHL	p <sup>w</sup> aip <sup>w</sup> aia	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ēl
*KON	tana	TAW	hipuli	*WLF	taŋo
WOL	tana	MOT	tano	EFI	gele
MAG	tana	*MEK	aŋoa	WFI	g <sup>w</sup> e
*NGA	tana	ROV	pepeso	RTU	pera
SIK	tana	MAR	glose	TON	kelekele
*RTI	dae	LAU	gano	*SAM	ʔeleʔele
*BUR	rah-isi-n	KWO	wado	MEL	kere
DOB	bala	RAG	tano	*TAH	repo
IRA	miɸənə	PAA	atan	RAP	ʔoʔonc
SAW	bet-bet	*LEW	poro-tano		

ATA Also ʔutik

TAG Also 01.210-‘land’.

AKL ‘soil’, otherwise also 01 210

SUN Also [tanah] from Malay.

BAL Also *daat* ‘dry land’ (as opposed to *pasih* ‘sea’). Old Balinese *darat*.

SAS Some dialects: *tana*?

KON Also *butta*.

NGA Also *avu* ‘dust, soil; ash’.

RTI ‘earth’; also ‘beneath, below’.

BUR The compound (*rahe + isi-n*) means literally ‘contents of the ground’ i.e. ‘soil’; *-n* is ‘genitive marker’.

TAK ‘ground, land body-its’ (01.100, 04.110), i.e. ‘the ground’s body’.

KAU ‘reddish clay’.

MEK *aŋoa* ‘earth’, as opposed to *ʔaʔisa* (*ʔaʔia*) ‘dirt; mud’.

LEW Also *sina-tano* (*sina-* from 04.461).

KWA	<i>tuprena</i> ‘soil, generic term’; <i>nihī tana</i> ‘excrement of land’.
NEM	‘above the ground’.
CEM	‘surface on ground’.
NEN	Also <i>gide, dawa</i> .
MSH	Also <i>ṛan</i> ‘dirt, soot’.
WLE	Also ‘down, west’; <i>tetařo, sařopa</i> .
SAM	Also <i>pala-pala</i> , cognate with <i>pala</i> (vb intrans) ‘be rotten, swamp’.
TAH	Also <i>?araea</i> ‘clay’.

### 01.213 DUST

*ATA	?aβiŋ	UMA	aβu	MAR	nafruŋo
TSO	ronpuxu	BUG	awwu	LAU	afuafu
RUK	θovogo	*KON	limbubbu?	KWO	furu
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> içak	WOL	ṛawu	RAG	taniavu
YAM	liŋbo	MAG	kəbək	*PAA	vulimolas
ISN	tāpu?	NGA	avu	*LEW	yavi
KAL	gabu	SIK	?rəβu	POR	<sup>n</sup> go <sup>n</sup> gor
TAG	alikäbok	RTI	dae sopu-k	NTA	nəmoulul
AKL	tapuhtapuh	*BUR	kahi-t	KWA	mak <sup>w</sup> ur
*PAL	purək	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> a?u	*NEM	ṛnū-n guç
MOL	kulabu	*IRA	tiguam	*CEM	mú-pūlut
KAG	yab <sup>?</sup> uk	SAW	peplae	AJI	puřu ja
BLA	kfuŋ	*NYI	kasu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> en	*XAR	pureū
SAB	bagumbun	MAM	gapu-gapu	*NEN	aerawa
*MUR	agis	TAK	gufgaf	*KIR	te bubu
MGY	vuvuka	DAM	āsu	MSH	biŋal
ACE	abee	MAB	ululu	PON	p <sup>w</sup> elipar
BAT	ɔrbuk	YAB	kəkəp	*WLE	xerçtiyyetü
*MIN	abu	KAU	nekukβa	EFI	kuβu
IND	dəbu	*TOL	tobon	WFI	kaβu
*SUN	[ləbu]	BUA	kəbus	RTU	kefkefu
*JAV	bləduk	*ADZ	ṛaru <sup>n</sup> çruf	TON	efu
MAD	abu	KIL	tubumyou	*SAM	pefu
BAL	buk	TAW	dubudubu	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> otā-m <sup>w</sup> ota]
*SAS	kləpuk	MOT	kahu	TAH	hu?ahu?a
GOR	peyahu?o	*MEK	ae-apu	RAP	puṇa?ehu
DAA	sovu	ROV	kavuru		

ATA	Also <i>ʔaβuh</i> .
PAL	Also <i>abu ot lugtaʔ</i> lit ‘smoke of earth’; <i>abu ot apuy</i> ‘smoke of fire’.
MUR	<i>agis</i> ‘fine powdery substance’ (see 01.215); also <i>ǰamol</i> ‘accumulated dirt’.
MIN	Also <i>gabuʔʔ</i> .
SUN	From Javanese.
JAV	Also <i>ləbu</i> ; Horne: <i>blədug</i> .
SAS	Also <i>awu</i> .
KON	<i>limbubbuʔ</i> ‘fine dust’; <i>limpurəŋ</i> ‘coarse dust’.
BUR	<i>lafu-n</i> is also used in WaeSama.
IRA	‘ashes’.
NYI	‘smoke of the ground’.
TOL	Also <i>kəbu</i> .
ADZ	Also <i>oruporup</i> , <i>ʔoaf</i> (Central dialect).
MEK	<i>ae-apu</i> and <i>apu-loto</i> are synonymous and both include ‘fine ash’. There is also <i>lapulapu</i> , which apparently covers both ‘dust’ and ‘sand’ and implies desiccation due to heat.
PAA	Also ‘ashes’.
LEW	As in dust-cloud; <i>p<sup>w</sup>ulu-yavi</i> ‘dust lying on road; ash-heap’.
NEM	‘smoke of the ground’.
CEM	‘smoke of the ground’.
XAR	<i>pureū</i> ‘dust in the air’; <i>popō</i> ‘dust which has settled’.
NEN	Also <i>ǰore</i> , <i>θoθo</i> .
KIR	Also ‘powder, fog, mist’.
WLE	Also ‘powder, fog, mist’.
SAM	Also <i>efuefu</i> (obsolete).
MEL	From Efate.

### 01.214 MUD

ATA	čʔak	ISN	lupaŋ	MOL	rusuʔ
TSO	diŋki	KAL	piyok	*KAG	lunaŋ
RUK	iliçi	TAG	pütik	BLA	fitak
PAI	vudas	*AKL	ʔūnaŋ	SAB	pisak
YAM	ətək	PAL	rusuʔ	MUR	losok

MGY	futaka	IRA	paruērə	PAA	tanmelumel
ACE	luhəp	SAW	gəgətəs	LEW	kene
BAT	gabbə	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʰen	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bö
*MIN	lunau		b <sup>w</sup> eseken	NTA	namət
IND	lumpur	MAM	ʔateʔa-poasa	*KWA	nəmər
SUN	litak	*TAK	geo-geo	NEM	dilic
JAV	ləndut	DAM	buru	CEM	bìgit
MAD	balət	MAB	tɪ <sup>ɲ</sup> gi	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> oyɔwaʔa
*BAL	əndut	*YAB	ləmɔŋ	*XAR	kət̪
SAS	raok	KAU	suh	NEN	koniakonia
GOR	lataʔo	*TOL	pai-pai	KIR	bokaboka
DAA	gege	BUA	ŋagək	*MSH	pərkat
UMA	regeʔ	ADZ	tamut	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> elmaʔak
BUG	ballaŋ	KIL	p <sup>w</sup> adidiweta	*WLE	meʂaʔo
*KON	peoʔ	TAW	bigabiga	EFI	sōsō
WOL	to <sup>m</sup> ba	*MOT	kopukopu	WFI	dādā
MAG	pitak	*MEK	fiʔa	*RTU	mamaʔono
NGA	rano	ROV	kosiri	TON	pelepela
*SIK	tana kisak	MAR	čopu	*SAM	pala-pala
RTI	tane	LAU	mamago	*MEL	[lepa]
*BUR	kabu-t	KWO	kunu	*TAH	vari
DOB	basa	RAG	bili	RAP	rare-rare

AKL Also *ʔūtay*.

KAG *lapuk* ‘mud in places that are habitually wet’.

MIN Also *laluʔ*, *ludaʔ*.

BAL *buug* ‘mud on a road, path’.

KON Also *čero*; *potaʔ*; *potaʔ-potaʔ*.

SIK Also *tana daʔa-n*, *kisak kosak*.

BUR ‘mud, swamp’; also *karu-n* ‘pig wallow’; *kabo* from which *kabu-t* is derived means ‘murky, cloudy’.

NYI ‘soft ground’.

TAK See *geo* ‘swamp’ (01.280).

YAB *lesap* ‘thin, watery mud’.

TOL Also *pikai*.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *kopukopu* ‘mud, swamp’. See 01.380.

MEK *fiʔa* is also used for ‘pus’.

KWA Also *nəmtəjei*.

XAR *kotō* ‘mud’; *dō-b<sup>wi</sup>* ‘soft earth’.

MSH Also *cō* ‘muddy’.

PON See *p<sup>wēl</sup>* ‘dirt, soil’.

WLE Also *maṣoṛa*.

RTU Also *ma<sup>ʔ</sup>onu*.

SAM See 01.212.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *vari paruparu*.

### 01.215 SAND

ATA	βunakiy	*UMA	βo <sup>ʔ</sup> one	MAR	nusu
TSO	furfu <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*BUG	gissi	LAU	one
RUK	ənay	KON	kassi <sup>ʔ</sup>	KWO	one
PAI	gadu	WOL	bone	RAG	one
YAM	anay	MAG	laiŋ	*PAA	veien
ISN	ginat	NGA	əna	LEW	none
KAL	lagan	*SIK	ne	POR	na-on
TAG	buhāŋin	RTI	solo-kae-k	NTA	nəmaklakəl
*AKL	baʃas	*BUR	ena	*KWA	nəməkər
*PAL	ogis	DOB	ʔula	NEM	kon
MOL	ogis	*IRA	inəñe.φu	CEM	wôn
KAG	pantad	SAW	sə <sup>ʔ</sup> sə	AJI	ɗāwē
BLA	falak	*NYI	on	XAR	nāwā
SAB	umus	MAM	lulu	NEN	gunin
MUR	agis	TAK	lul	KIR	te bike
MGY	fasika	DAM	kulum	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ok
ACE	anə	MAB	magargāra	PON	pīk
BAT	rihit	*YAB	gaŋa <sup>ʔ</sup>	WLE	ppiya
MIN	pasi <sup>ʔ</sup>	KAU	namak	EFI	nuku
IND	pasir	TOL	veo	WFI	βoliβoli
SUN	kisik	BUA	rayer	RTU	fanfana
*JAV	wədi	*ADZ	magama <sup>ʔ</sup>	TON	ʔone <sup>ʔ</sup> one
MAD	bəɗi <sup>fi</sup>	KIL	kanakenuβa	SAM	oneone
BAL	bias	TAW	bubu	*MEL	[woraone]
SAS	gəres	*MOT	miri	TAH	one
GOR	huŋayo	*MEK	fiŋu	RAP	ʔone
DAA	bone	ROV	onone		

AKL	Proto-Philippines <i>*bajas</i> ‘granules’.
PAL	<i>əgis</i> ‘sand, beach’; <i>bunbun</i> ‘a variety of fine sand’.
JAV	Also <i>pasir</i> .
UMA	<i>wue</i> (Tobaku, Tolee dialects), <i>rijii</i> (Winatu dialect).
BUG	Also <i>kissi</i> .
SIK	Also <i>ne βura</i> .
BUR	Also <i>nuke</i> ‘sandbar’. Lisela sea ‘sand’.
IRA	Also <i>sume</i> .
NYI	<i>on</i> ‘sand on sea shore’, <i>maʔon</i> ‘sand on river side’.
YAB	Also <i>a<sup>m</sup>be</i> ‘black, sandy soil’.
ADZ	<i>magama</i> <sup>9?</sup> ‘fine sand’; <i>sasanuai</i> ‘gravel’.
MOT	<i>miri</i> ‘fine sand’; <i>raria</i> ‘small gravel’ (Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives these the other way round).
MEK	NW Mekeo has <i>ŋoau</i> for ‘sand, beach’.
PAA	Also used for ‘beach’.
KWA	Also <i>nəpəkər</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

## 01.220 MOUNTAIN, HILL

ATA	rayiyax	*ACE	gunɔŋ	NGA	volo
TSO	furŋu	*BAT	dɔlɔk	*SIK	ili-n
RUK	ləgələgə	*MIN	gunuʔŋ	RTI	lete-k
PAI	daŋa-daŋas	*IND	gunuŋ	*BUR	fuka
*YAM	tokon	*SUN	gunuŋ	DOB	ɸuʔar
*ISN	bantay	*JAV	gunuŋ	*IRA	tarɔ
*KAL	batēled	MAD	g <sup>h</sup> unuŋ	SAW	mɛʔtet
TAG	bundok	*BAL	gunuŋ	*NYI	ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ei
AKL	būkid	*SAS	gunuŋ	MAM	buʔu
*PAL	bukid	GOR	huʔidu	TAK	did
MOL	bukid	DAA	bulu	DAM	arei
*KAG	bukid	UMA	buluʔ	*MAB	abal
BLA	bulul	BUG	bulluʔ	*YAB	ləʔ
SAB	bullud	*KON	buluʔ	*KAU	put-pi
*MUR	bulud	*WOL	gunu	*TOL	buənə
*MGY	vuhit <sup>r</sup> a	*MAG	počo	BUA	kədu

ADZ	mamai	*LEW	kunu-sia	*PON	nāna
KIL	koya	POR	vuxux	*WLE	taīta
TAW	oya	NTA	ntot	*EFI	delana
*MOT	ororo	*KWA	tak <sup>w</sup> ər	WFI	yataŋa
*MEK	iku	NEM	duet	RTU	solo
*ROV	togere	CEM	ʃuət	TON	mo <sup>ʔ</sup> uŋa
MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ogele	AJH	g <sup>w</sup> ēwe	SAM	mauŋa
*LAU	ūwo	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> āk <sup>w</sup> ε	MEL	tafū
KWO	busu	*NEN	weč	*TAH	mou <sup>ʔ</sup> a
RAG	vusi	*KIR	[te mauŋa]	RAP	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> uŋa
PAA	hau	MSH	to		

YAM *toktok* ‘a summit’

ISN *otun bantay* ‘summit, peak of mountain’.

KAL Also *kuntug*.

PAL *bukid banar* ‘high mountain, true mountain’; *bulud* ‘hill’; *budbulud* ‘diminutive small hill’.

KAG *bukid* ‘mountain’; *buŋyud* ‘hill’.

MUR *bulud* general term; *ka-bulud-an* ‘range of hills’, ‘hilly or mountainous country’; *tidoŋ* ‘isolated hill’.

MGY Also ‘elevated place, village, township’.

ACE *gunoŋ* ‘mountain’; also [*gle*] ‘hill’ and [*cət*] from Mon-Khmer.

BAT Also *tər* ‘(low) hill’; Proto-Batak *\*dələg*.

MIN Also *buki?*

IND *gunuŋ* ‘mountain’; *bukit* ‘hill’.

SUN *gunuŋ* ‘mountain’, *pasir* ‘hill’.

JAV Also *gumu?* ‘small hill, knoll’.

BAL *gunuŋ* ‘mountain’; *bukit* ‘hill’.

SAS *bukit* ‘hill’ (Thoir et al 1985).

KON *bulu?* ‘mountain’; *bonto* ‘hill’.

WOL ‘mountain/high mountain’.

MAG *počo* ‘mountain’; *golo* ‘hill’.

SIK Also *βolo*, *βolo-n*.

BUR ‘mountain, hill, island’; *kaku* is also used to mean ‘ridge/mountain’; one of our texts uses the two interchangeably to refer to a single mountain; used in the sense of *geb fuka* ‘mountain people’ as opposed to *geb masi* ‘coastal people’. Also *fude* ‘mountain made of soil’.

- IRA *tarə* ‘high mountain’; *magirə* ‘low hills’.
- NYI *ma<sup>n</sup>d<sup>f</sup>ei* ‘high mountain’; *<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>ahek* ‘hill’, *buli<sup>n</sup>d<sup>f</sup>ə<sup>n</sup>d<sup>f</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>ou* ‘small hill’, *iit* ‘face of the hill’.
- MAB *abal* ‘mountain’; *lele<sup>m</sup>bukūnu* ‘hill’.
- YAB *bau* ‘hill, knoll’.
- KAU ‘middle-place’; also *emi* which refers to a mountain as a whole, whereas *put-pi* seems to refer to a mountainside.
- TOL Also *luanə* (north coast dialects).
- MOT To distinguish them, ‘mountain’ is *ororo bada-na* (*bada* ‘big’) and ‘hill’ *ororo marayi-na* (*marayi* ‘small’). Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives *ororo komuta* ‘hill rising from a plain’.
- MEK *iku* is ‘mountain’; *ʔoʔoi* is ‘raised and uneven ground’ but is also used to mean ‘mountain, hill’, more especially in the western dialects.
- ROV *togere* ‘mountain’, *botubotu* (pl) ‘hill, mound’; *botu* (sg) ‘mound with no trees, boundary marker’.
- LAU Also *g<sup>w</sup>ounatolo*.
- LEW Generic for ‘promontory’; = 01.343, and see 04.230; *tavie* ‘top of a mountain, hill’; often used for the whole.
- KWA Also *nuk<sup>w</sup>ane-*, which also ‘head’.
- NEN Also *weče, pečebeu*.
- KIR Polynesian.
- PON Also *kāŋ* ‘mountain range’; *tōl* ‘small mountain, hill’.
- WLE Also *šuxu* ‘mountain, high island, eminence’.
- EFI *ulu-ni-βanua* ‘head-of-land’, i.e. ‘mountain, peak’.
- TAH *mou<sup>?</sup>a* ‘mountain’; *ʔāivi* ‘hill’.

## 01.222 CLIFF, PRECIPICE

ATA	ʔuhiy	TAG	matarik na	SAB	pampaŋ
*TSO	tiʔni		dalisdis	MUR	
RUK	tokaɖana	*AKL	paŋpaŋ	MGY	hanɕana
PAI	ɕuma	*PAL	pəŋras	*ACE	uroŋ
*YAM	alaŋyaŋ	MOL	poŋpaŋ	BAT	tobiŋ
ISN	bagi	KAG	paŋpaŋ	*MIN	ŋaray
KAL	eppaŋ	*BLA	tube	*IND	karaŋ



*SUN	ǰuraŋ	TAK	malpaon	NTA	lekiakəs
JAV		*DAM	wala	*KWA	nəpatu
MAD	ǰuraŋ	*MAB	lele tara <sup>ɔ</sup> gat	*NEM	t <sup>n</sup> e
*BAL	abiŋ-an		ŋana	*CEM	hî
SAS	karaŋ	*YAB	pɔʔ-sagiŋ	AJI	məveyā
GOR	po <sup>m</sup> baŋo	*KAU	pi po iyop-ŋin	*XAR	mərə-çεε
DAA	bi <sup>ɔ</sup> ge	TOL	ər	*NEN	dua
UMA	tumata	BUA	pake	KIR	te katati
BUG	pippin	ADZ	tauf gaŋar	MSH	
*KON	ka'tobiri	KIL	dibodebula	PON	
WOL	pi <sup>m</sup> pi	TAW	gubala	WLE	
*MAG	ŋa <sup>m</sup> paŋ	*MOT	haga	EFI	bari-ni-βatu
NGA	roga	MEK		WFI	bari-ni-haβu
*SIK	ʔrepi-n	ROV	tabahoara	RTU	hof ar sisi
RTI	batu pia-k	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> egu	*TON	ʔutu
*BUR	fat hese	LAU	obotolia	*SAM	pupū
*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> arisa surin	KWO	ʔato	*MEL	sāna
IRA	siuɔ	*RAG	bahara	*TAH	mato
SAW	rera	PAA	vili	RAP	ʔopata
*NYI	noʔo sabon	LEW	ye-vavai		
MAM	melu	POR	li <sup>m</sup> bar		

TSO Also *treisisi* 'rocky cliffs'.

YAM A less common word is *paŋpaŋ*.

AKL Usually 'riverbank'.

PAL *pɔŋras* 'rocky cliff'; *bɔsɔy* 'cliff'.

BLA Also *kbi*.

ACE 'ravine'.

MIN Also *tabi<sup>ɔ</sup>ŋ*.

IND Also *čuram* 'cliff'; *ǰuraŋ* 'ravine, gully'.

SUN Also *ǰuŋkraŋ*; *gawir*.

BAL *abiŋ-an* 'cliff, ravine'; *paŋkuŋ*, *grembeŋ-an*; [*ǰuraŋ*] from Old Javanese?; [*reǰeŋ*] 'steep cliff', from Old Javanese? Old Balinese *ruaŋ* 'ravine, slope'.

KON Also *ka'tubiri*.

MAG Also *te<sup>ɔ</sup>ku*.

SIK Also *ʔrəpi-t*.

- BUR 'rock wall', but this is restricted to a vertical cliff; an overhang is *lia-n* 'overhang, cave', and a slanted rock face is *fat kira*.
- DOB 'island headland'.
- NYI 'nose of the point'.
- DAM Also *welekei*, which tends to be used by families from the western part of the language area. A steep mountain, sheer on all sides, without any plateau at the top, is called *arei kukū ꞑe-si-ya*.
- MAB Also *lelesipkatgana*.
- YAB 'stone-wall', used of a steep cliff at the coast; *sali?* 'abyss, cliff'.
- KAU 'place PREP jump-NOM' lit 'jumping off place'.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives the reduplicated form *haga-haga* for this meaning, and gives the meaning of *haga* as 'crag, high rock'.
- RAG 'cliff'.
- KWA Also *nakau* which also means 'rib'.
- NEM 'big limestone rocks'.
- CEM 'large limestone rocks'.
- XAR 'sharp edge of rock'.
- NEN Also *meri*.
- TON Also *lilifa*.
- SAM 'ironbound bold coast with caverns and blow holes, cliff' (Milner 1966:189), also 'have holes' (vb intrans), cognate with *pū* (vb intrans) 'be holed, hole'.
- MEL Also *pāčira*.
- TAH Also *mato tārere* 'overhanging rock'.

### 01.230 PLAIN, FIELD

ATA	ꞑuiš	*PAL	dərɔnasan	MIN	padaŋ
*TSO	ŋresan̄si	*MOI	limpɔk	*IND	padaŋ
RUK	ɖatanə	*KAG	ka-patag-an	*SUN	darat
PAI		BLA	dɔtɔl	JAV	lapaŋan
YAM	kazatayan	*SAB	ka-pantay-an	MAD	təgg <sup>h</sup> al
ISN	irʔirʔer	*MUR	[padaŋ]	*BAL	daŋsah
KAL	tanap	MGY	saha	SAS	lɔndaŋ
TAG	kapatāgan	*ACE	padaŋ	*GOR	datahu
*AKL	dātag	BAT		*DAA	ka-dele-na

UMA	papada	*KAU	mulus-ŋin	NEM	dac
BUG	lappaʔ	*TOL	təmən	CEM	dâ
*KON	tanete	*BUA	təlig	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ēde
*WOL	tana-rata	*ADZ	gum	XAR	nīra
MAG	bea	KIL	kabatau	*NEN	ŋaŋereč
NGA	mala	TAW	wapu	*KIR	[te marae]
SIK	dətu-n	*MOT	taəra	*MSH	māc
*RTI	mo-k	*MEK	ŋaŋoi	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> āŋ
*BUR	em-ŋesa	*ROV	pezara	WLE	wořōxi
*DOB	[lapan]	*MAR	glalaba	EFI	buđabuđa
IRA	mieφrəmə	LAU	dema	WFI	toβatoβa
SAW	lət	KWO	ote	RTU	ut araŋʔesea
*NYI	ñamak	*RAG	sara	TON	lautoka
MAM	ʔaba-baba	*PAA	alet	*SAM	lau-ŋatasi
*TAK	ate-n	*LEW	yo-tep	MEL	mārope
*DAM	ūsi	POR	<sup>m</sup> bümvav	TAH	fenua pāpū
MAB	lele	*NTA	tepinepin	RAP	pararaha
	ketēneŋana	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> opun rapəni		
*YAB	gab <sup>w</sup> aŋ		ikən		

TSO Plains, as against mountains, cf. *rīnʔi* ‘miscanthus field’.

AKL Also *pātag*.

PAL *dərɔnasan* ‘the plain’; *bəlɔnək* ‘small high plateau’.

MOL *limpok + ko- -an*.

KAG (*patag + ka- -an*) ‘a flat place’.

SAB Also *ka-patag-an* ‘plain’ and *huma* (lit ‘farm’).

MUR [*padaŋ*] from Malay *padaŋ* ‘grassy land for grazing’ (also, ‘grass covered square in centre of township for meetings, festivals etc.’); *limayak* ‘level country’.

ACE Also *pantən* ‘level place near mountains’.

IND Also *datar-an*.

SUN Also *lapan*.

BAL *daŋsah* from *\*padaŋ asah* ‘level grass’; *umə* ‘rice field’; *təgal* ‘non-irrigated field, pasture’.

GOR *datahu* ‘plain’; *tuhelo* ‘field’.

DAA *dele* ‘flat’.

KON Also *lembaŋ* ‘level area at river’s edge’.

WOL *lai<sup>m</sup>papa* (uncommon); *tanalopa* ‘field for games’.

RTI	<i>mok</i> ‘field’; ( <i>dae</i> ) <i>matctuk</i> ‘flat land’.
BUR	Also <i>rata</i> .
DOB	From Malay.
NYI	‘flat land between two mountains’.
TAK	‘its liver’ (04.450).
DAM	<i>ūsi</i> is normally used for a coastal plain. An elevated plain or plateau, or a relatively flat area on top of a mountain or hill, is called <i>uya</i> .
YAB	‘plain, low-lying land’; ( <i>ŋa-</i> ) <i>tapa</i> ‘level, flat land’.
KAU	<i>mulus-ŋin</i> connotes a level area of ground; also <i>mipi</i> ‘garden’.
TOL	<i>tāmān</i> ‘a clear and level place, a piece of flat ground, the swept place around the house, outside’, see 07.150, 12.060.
BUA	Usually a small level area such as the village square.
ADZ	‘garden’.
MOT	The basic meaning is ‘level ground’.
MEK	<i>ŋaŋoi</i> ‘a large, shared garden’, is the closest thing to a field that one will find in the Mekeo; it is subdivided into individual plots called <i>oŋo-pea</i> . Flat land – a plain – is more generally referred to as <i>ifu</i> .
ROV	<i>pezara</i> ‘flat level ground’; also <i>inuma</i> ‘garden’, <i>pāvasa</i> ‘dancing ground’.
MAR	<i>glalaba</i> ‘village ground, plaza’; <i>sare</i> ‘plain, level ground’.
RAG	‘field’.
PAA	Refers to any area of level ground which can be quite small.
LEW	‘flat place’.
NTA	‘it is flat/level’.
KWA	‘flat place’.
NEN	Also <i>ŋatoto</i> , <i>ŋaikunu</i> .
KIR	May be Polynesian.
MSH	<i>māc</i> ‘cleared space’; <i>enne</i> , <i>meļāc</i> ‘field, garden’.
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>āŋ</i> ‘field, garden’; <i>mōs</i> ‘open space’; [ <i>kuranto</i> ] Japanese; ‘baseball field’.
SAM	<i>lau-</i> see 01.210. <i>ŋatasi</i> (adv) ‘equal, on the same level with’, ( <i>tasi</i> ‘one’); also <i>lau-fanua</i> see 01.210.

## 01.240 VALLEY

ATA	ukuʔ	GOR	hiya-iyō	ROV	lolomo
TSO		DAA	le <sup>m</sup> ba	MAR	naglomno
RUK		UMA		LAU	dede
PAI		BUG	empin	KWO	waʔowaʔota
*YAM	do kaʂopitan no tokon	*KON	teheʔ	RAG	walui
ISN	tanāp	WOL	<sup>m</sup> boloŋa	*PAA	poal
KAL	sadog	MAG	lə <sup>ŋ</sup> ko	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ualu
*TAG	labak	NGA	hobo	*POR	<sup>m</sup> bur-sear
AKL		SIK	napu-n	NTA	napinat
PAL	agut	RTI	bafa-k	*KWA	nak <sup>w</sup> atənaŋ
MOL	limpok	BUR	walu-t	NEM	dāōt
*KAG	təŋŋaʔ- təŋŋaʔan ta maŋa bukid	*DOB	ɸuʔar wawur	*CEM	ê-m <sup>w</sup> à
BLA		IRA	lət	AJI	neiŋiwā
SAB	labbak	SAW	saʔeu	XAR	neβō-re
*MUR	[payuk]	*NYI	iloʔa-biabia	NEN	
*MGY	luha-saha	MAM	ilo-n	*KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> arua
*ACE	[lambah]	*TAK	wī	*MSH	peta
BAT	rura	DAM	lele <sup>ŋ</sup> golōbo	PON	wāu
*MIN	lurah	MAB	gab <sup>w</sup> aŋ	WLE	
*IND	ləmbah	*YAB	ulaŋa emi	*EFI	buḍa
*SUN	[ləbak]	*KAU	male	*WFI	toβatoβa
JAV	ləmbah	TOL	βur	RTU	maʔea
MAD	ḵuraŋ	BUA	bu <sup>m</sup> p	TON	teleʔa
*BAL	paloh	*ADZ	sakala	*SAM	vanu
SAS		KIL	gado	*MEL	[p <sup>w</sup> alōa]
		TAW	goura	*TAH	faʔa
		*MOT		RAP	
		MEK			

YAM ‘there at the pinching-together of the mountain’. Also *piayoyoyoan na no tokon*, ‘its flowing place’.

TAG Also *labak*.

KAG ‘place between mountains’.

MUR *payuk* ‘broad valley’; *likos* ‘narrow valley’; *pipit(on)* ‘land closer to river than reference point, valley-bottom’; *lantud* ‘land further from river than reference point, valley-side’.

MGY *luha* ‘head; origin’; *saha* ‘plain, field’.

ACE	Malay, also <i>pantɔn</i> ‘valley, level land between or near mountains’.
MIN	Also <i>laku</i> <sup>??</sup> .
IND	Also <i>lɔmbaŋ</i> .
SUN	From Javanese.
BAL	<i>paloh</i> North Bali; <i>paluh</i> South Bali (Kersten (1984)); <i>lɔbah</i> , <i>lɔbak</i> ‘low area’.
KON	Also <i>empa</i> <sup>?</sup> ‘slope’.
DOB	<i>wawur</i> ‘valley’ is in a genitive relationship to <i>φu</i> <sup>?</sup> <i>ar</i> ‘mountain’.
NYI	‘v-shaped land between two mountains’.
TAK	‘its inside’, e.g., <i>Maror ilo-n</i> ‘the inside of Maror (village)’, i.e. ‘Maror valley’; see 01.340, 12.050.
YAB	‘plain, low-lying land’.
KAU	‘between mountain’.
ADZ	<i>bu</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>p</i> ‘valley’; <i>i</i> <sup>n</sup> <i>taprasab</i> ‘flat land, valley’.
MOT	Western Motu <i>koura</i> .
PAA	‘gully, creek-bed or valley, which may or may not have running water at the bottom’.
POR	<i>li</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>bar</i> ‘precipice’.
KWA	‘mouth land’.
CEM	‘post of local region’.
KIR	e.g. <i>m</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>aruan nao</i> ‘depression between waves’.
MSH	<i>peta</i> archaic ‘small valley, depression’, also <i>kɔm</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>lal</i> .
EFI	<i>gākilo</i> ‘steep-sided valley’.
WFI	Also <i>g</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>ali</i> .
SAM	Also ‘ravine’.
MEL	From <i>Ēfate</i> .
TAH	Also <i>ʔāfa</i> <sup>?</sup> <i>ʔa</i> ‘dell’.

### 01.250 ISLAND

ATA	ISN	pūgu	MOL	pulow
TSO	KAL	pūgu	KAG	pu <sup>?</sup> lu <sup>?</sup>
RUK	*TAG	pulo <sup>?</sup>	BLA	fuŋul
PAI	*AKL	pu <sup>?</sup> tu <sup>?</sup>	SAB	pū <sup>?</sup>
YAM	*PAL	pulɔw	MUR	pulu <sup>?</sup>

*MGY	[nusi]	IRA	nu	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uru-vanua
ACE	pulo	SAW	wɛf	*POR	leul
BAT	pulo	NYI	busu	NTA	ntan
MIN	pulaw	MAM	motu	*KWA	tənam <sup>w</sup> erəs
IND	pulau	TAK	nui	NEM	dau
SUN	pulo	DAM	koriri	CEM	êñ
*JAV	pulo	MAB	mutu	AJI	neyi
MAD	pulu	YAB	nu <sup>?</sup>	XAR	nii
*BAL	pulo	*KAU	pi nemut	NEN	beti
*SAS	[gumi]	*TOL	tā-kikil	*KIR	te
GOR	lito	*BUA	dob		abam <sup>w</sup> akoro
DAA	levuto	*ADZ	nam a <sup>m</sup> pis	*MSH	æne
UMA	leβuto <sup>?</sup>	KIL	simla	*PON	teke
BUG	libukkaŋ	TAW	bonabona	*WLE	faŋūwa
*KON	pulo	*MOT	motumotu	EFI	yanuyanu
*WOL	liwuto	*MEK	keleipua	WFI	yanuyanu
MAG	nuča	ROV	nusa	RTU	?otmotu
*NGA	nua-tana	MAR	moumolu	TON	motu
*SIK	nuha	LAU	auaua	SAM	motu
*RTI	nusa-k	KWO	māmalau	*MEL	nuku
*BUR	fuka	RAG	vanua	*TAH	fenua
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> arisa	*PAA	aut	*RAP	motu

TAG Also [isla], from Spanish *isla*; Proto-Philippines \**pjuq*.

AKL Also [isla], Spanish *isla*.

PAL *pululow* ‘islet’.

MGY From Old Javanese *nusa*.

JAV Also *nusɔ* (Old Javanese).

BAL Also *nusə*.

SAS Sanskrit, via Balinese (Gonda 1973:105). Also *gili* ‘small island’ (Thoir et al 1985).

KON Also *lihukaŋ*; *bunɛŋ* or *bunɛŋ-bunɛŋ* ‘small islet’ or ‘dry area in centre of fish pond’.

WOL Also *pulo*.

NGA *nua* ‘village’; *tana* ‘land’.

SIK Also *nuha-n*.

RTI Also *dae hena-k* ‘domain, state, court’.

- BUR See note 01.220; e.g. *geb fuk Abon tau-n* ‘person island Ambon identity-GEN’; *an fuk Buru tau-n* ‘offspring island Buru identity-GEN = native of Buru’. Li Enyorot *bual* ‘island’.
- KAU ‘place-cut off’.
- TOL Also *lolo*.
- BUA *dob ti* ‘a (piece of) ground’, i.e. ‘island’.
- ADZ ‘coppice of trees surrounded by grassland’.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) adds the meaning ‘detached portion of reef’.
- MEK North Mekeo has *paiza-keŋe* for ‘small islands in a river’. East Mekeo has *eu-lolo* for ‘islands of high ground in a swamp’ (*eu-lolo* is also the name of a mound-building bird). West Mekeo and NW Mekeo have *kopo* for ‘swamp islands’. East Mekeo *paisa (paia)* is ‘sandbank, sandbar’.
- PAA Also means any ‘place’.
- POR ‘islet’.
- KWA ‘land disjoined’.
- KIR ‘piece of land’; *te atim<sup>w</sup>akoro* ‘islet’.
- MSH *æne* also directional, ‘shoreward’; [*æɛlən*] from English.
- PON *sineip<sup>w</sup>* ‘island in a river’; *sampej* ‘offshore island’.
- WLE Also *pixa* ‘islet’, *weŋiŋexi* ‘main island’.
- MEL Also *fenua*.
- TAH Also *motu* ‘low island’.
- RAP *motu* ‘islet’.

## 01.260 MAINLAND

ATA		PAL	tindal	*ACE	darat
TSO		MOL	logta <sup>?</sup> kin-	BAT	
RUK			ogaya	MIN	tanah gadar
PAI		KAG		*IND	darat-an
YAM	poŋʂo	BLA	boŋ tɔnɔ <sup>?</sup>	SUN	daratan
ISN		SAB	ka-mehe-an	*JAV	tanah darat-an
*KAL	kadaklāna		lahat	*MAD	[d <sup>h</sup> arat]
	pīta	MUR	tana <sup>?</sup>	BAL	
TAG		*MGY	tani	SAS	darat
AKL					



GOR	tudu-liyo	*YAB	masaŋ-ìm	*NEM	dau hun
*DAA	ka-bata-na	KAU	pi ahup	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ó-âmú-
UMA		*TOL	gunən vurakot		úb <sup>w</sup> ɔ
BUG	pottanaŋ	BUA	dob	AJI	nevã kau
*KON	pontana	ADZ		*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ĩ dō
*WOL	tana-oge	KIL	βalu	*NEN	mako
MAG	tana mese	TAW	tanowai	KIR	
*NGA	tana-meze	*MOT	tanobada	MSH	
SIK		MEK	aŋo-faʔa	PON	
*RTI	(dae) ma-tetu	*ROV	tini popoa	*WLE	weřiřexi
	ina	MAR		EFI	taileβu
*BUR	fuka haa-t	LAU	tolo baita	WFI	taileβu
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> arisa	*KWO	fanua baʔita	RTU	ufa
IRA	wirom	RAG		TON	fonua-lahi
SAW	bōten	*PAA	aut haulu	*SAM	motu tele
*NYI	bada kon	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uru-vanua	MEL	uta
MAM	baga		keviu	TAH	
*TAK	tan tubu-n	POR	vae	RAP	hiva
DAM	teneb odug	NTA	nəmaptan asol		
MAB	tōno bībi	*KWA	təna asori		

KAL (*ka-dakol-an-apita*).

MGY Also *taneti* (obs.), dialect *teti*.

ACE ‘land’ in contrast to the ‘sea’.

IND Also *bənuā*.

JAV *darat* ‘land’ (as opposed to sea).

MAD From Javanese.

DAA As opposed to the sea.

KON Also *puntana*.

WOL ‘big land’.

NGA *meze* ‘big’.

RTI ‘great, flat land’.

BUR ‘big island’.

NYI ‘body of the place’.

TAK ‘ground big-its’ (01.100, 12.550), i.e. ‘big ground’.

YAB ‘dry-origin’: mainland, as opposed to islands.

TOL *gunən* ‘place, village’; *vurakot* ‘continuous’.

MOT	See 01.100.
ROV	Also <i>nusa lavata</i> 'big island'.
KWO	'big place'.
PAA	'major place'.
LEW	'big island'.
KWA	'land large'.
NEM	'big island'.
CEM	'on the big land'.
XAR	'big land', New Caledonia is so designated in contrast to the Loyalty Islands.
NEN	Refers to New Caledonia.
WLE	'main island'.
SAM	<i>motu</i> 'island', <i>tele</i> 'big', syn <i>fanua-tele</i> lit 'big land', see 01.210.

### 01.270 SHORE

ATA	šyay	MAD	pasisir	*YAB	bau
TSO		*BAL	pə-sisi	*KAU	βo namak
RUK	babyabila	*SAS	pəsisir	*TOL	valiən
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> ivu	GOR	tudu	BUA	ronəḵ
YAM	kananayan	DAA	tali <sup>n</sup> ti	ADZ	
ISN	dappit	*UMA	tali <sup>n</sup> ti	KIL	lumata
KAL	dupit	BUG	wirittasi	TAW	lekawa
*TAG	baybāy-in	*KON	birinḡ kassi?	*MOT	kone
*AKL	baybay	*WOL	βiwi-na tawo	*MEK	foe
PAL	palaypayan	MAG	lupi tačik	ROV	masa
MOL	boloybay-on	NGA	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*MAR	glilihi
KAG	baybay	*SIK	βata-n	LAU	faka na asi
BLA	kilil mahin	R <sup>ʔ</sup> TI	tasi su <sup>ʔ</sup> u-k	KWO	su <sup>ʔ</sup> e
SAB	bihiḡ tahik	*BUR	masi tea-n	RAG	ute
*MUR	kīḡ nu dāt	DOB	tay're	*PAA	alau
*MGY	sisin-tani	IRA	timənumə	*LEW	lō-sī
*ACE	pasi	*SAW	wəlet lapo	*POR	vari-ras
*BAT	təpi	*NYI	amik	NTA	lokipar
MIN	pantay	MAM	ʔabu	*KWA	nəkarei təsi
*IND	pantai	*TAK	fon-na	NEM	pareman
SUN	basisir	DAM	ūbu	*CEM	bā-jīe
JAV	pəsisir	*MAB	pē <sup>n</sup> de	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ařawie

XAR	p <sup>w</sup> a-k <sup>w</sup> etā	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> aʃeŋatteti	*SAM	matā-faŋa
*NEN	čačačele	EFI	bāraβi	*MEL	uta
*KIR	te mataniwī	WFI	mataḏawa	*TAH	tātahi
*MSH	kappe	RTU	ufaŋa	*RAP	taha-taha vai-
PON	ɔrɔr	TON	matātahi		kava

TAG Also *tabi-ŋ dāgat*, *dalam pasīgan* ‘seashore near estuary’.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*bay+bay*.

MUR Also *kīŋ nu [laut]*, *igig nu dāt*, *igig nu [laut]* Malay, lit ‘edge of sea’; see 01.320.

MGY ‘border’ (*sisina*) of the land (*tani*).

ACE Also *pante* ‘sandy or pebbly strand’, *darat* ‘land’ as opposed to the ‘sea’.

BAT *tɔpi laut* ‘sea shore’; *tɔpi taɔ* ‘lake shore’; *tɔpi suŋe* ‘river bank’; *tɔpi* ‘edge’.

IND Also *pəsisir*.

BAL *sisi* ‘edge, side’.

SAS Some dialects: *pəsisir(?)*.

UMA [*tali<sup>n</sup>ti*] probably from Kaili; *βiβii<sup>?</sup>tahi<sup>?</sup>* ‘edge of sea’.

KON Also *birinṭamparaŋ*.

WOL *βiwi-na tawa* ‘side of sea’; also *do aŋo*.

SIK Also *ne*, *tahi βiβir*.

BUR ‘seashore’; also *wae fifi-n* lit ‘edge of water/stream/river’.

SAW ‘sea edge’; also *sese lapo* ‘sand edge’.

NYI *amik* ‘shore, shoreline’; *babi* ‘beach (with sand)’.

TAK *fon* ‘shore’, *-na* ‘at’ (the postposition *na* is not omissible in this expression; see 12.310, 12.320); *loŋ* ‘beach’.

MAB Also *sousou* (Gauru dialect).

YAB *pɔ<sup>?</sup>b<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>* ‘stone-rock’, i.e. ‘stony shore’.

KAU ‘place’ (see 07.310), ‘sand’. Alternate expressions *βo naβa*, *su βiyu* (*su* ‘swim’, *βiyu* ‘sea’).

TOL Also *valien*.

MOT Also means ‘beach’.

MEK *foe* is more particularly ‘sea-shore, the beach’; *nie* ‘edge’, is used for the bank of a river, as is *paisa* (see 01.250, note). ‘high bank’ is *pou* or *pou-pou*. West Mekeo has *papa* for ‘sloping bank’.

MAR	Also <i>grat<sup>h</sup>a</i> .
PAA	'the shore area when contrasted with inland'. Compare <i>ut</i> 'shore, when contrasted with sea'.
LEW	Also <i>ura</i> see 12.050, 01.320.
POR	'side-sea'.
KWA	'edge-of sea'.
CEM	'edge of sea'.
NEN	Also <i>lapaned</i> .
KIR	'edge'; <i>aon te ora</i> , lit 'surface of exposed reef; also <i>aon te biki</i> 'surface of the sand'.
MSH	<i>taṛkicet</i> ; <i>iæne</i> 'ashore'.
SAM	<i>matā-</i> 'boundary, edge, side of'; <i>faŋa</i> 'bay'.
MEL	Also <i>tai, tafa-t-tai</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tahatai</i> 'coast line'; <i>hiti</i> 'bank (of lake, river)'.
RAP	Also <i>taha-tahatai</i> .

## 01.280 CAVE

Sanskrit: *guhā-*

ATA	kūy	ACE	[guha]	*NGA	aga
TSO	frɔŋo	BAT	liɑŋ	*SIK	kobe robək
*RUK	baroŋolo	*MIN	ŋalaw	RTI	lea-k
PAI	zal <sup>y</sup> um	*IND	[gua]	*BUR	lia-n
YAM	arčip	SUN	[guha]	DOB	lisa
ISN	abbut	JAV	[guɔ]	IRA	kami tieɸa
KAL	liyaŋ	MAD	[guwa]	SAW	leg
*TAG	yunib	BAL	[guə]	*NYI	munu bek
*AKL	ɬunib	SAS	[guə]	MAM	buna
*PAL	siŋkab	GOR	polopohu	*TAK	gib
MOL	liɑŋ	*DAA	bolo <sup>n</sup> tana	DAM	kaibu
*KAG	[kwiba]	UMA	βulou <sup>?</sup> laa	*MAB	raŋ su <sup>m</sup> būnu
BLA	ilib	BUG	leaŋ	*YAB	pɔ <sup>?</sup> -gesuŋ
SAB	soŋab	KON	liɑŋ	KAU	uβin
MUR		WOL	lia	TOL	bəbəŋ
MGY	lava-batu	MAG	liɑŋ	BUA	wāk

*ADZ	tauf ba <sup>m</sup> pun	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu-ve	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ɔr
KIL	lagi	*POR	<sup>m</sup> bu-var	WLE	
TAW	duyuwa	*NTA	nəpaŋ kapiel	EFI	gara-βatu
*MOT	kohua	*KWA	nəpəŋ	WFI	g <sup>w</sup> araβaču
MEK		*NEM	ŋa-vaik	RTU	?ana
ROV	bae	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> à-pêi	TON	?ana
MAR	gluma	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ăcře	SAM	ana
LAU	fāluma	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā-pō	*MEL	[rovālea]
KWO	fāruma	*NEN	malu	TAH	ana
RAG	malaŋa	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> aŋa	RAP	?ana
*PAA	valeŋcihat	*MSH	ɾəŋ		

RUK *vaŋoŋan* ‘a vertical cave or crack’.

TAG Also [*kuwēba*], Spanish *cueva*; Proto-Central Philippines *\*luŋib*.

AKL Proto-Central Philippines *\*luŋib*; also [*kwēba*], from Spanish *cueva*.

PAL Also *giyɔb*.

KAG From Spanish *cueva*; also *luŋag* lit ‘hole’ by extension ‘cave’.

MIN Also [*guo*] Sanskrit.

IND Also [*guha*], *liəŋ*.

DAA ‘hole in ground’.

NGA Also *aga-vatu*; *aga* ‘hole’ (horizontal), *vatu* ‘stone’.

SIK Also [*goa*] Sanskrit.

BUR Overhang or cave big enough to sleep under; also *fatu fefa-n* ‘hole in the rock, cave (but not big enough to sleep in)’; *libu* ‘sinkhole’.

NYI ‘hole in the stone’.

TAK ‘hole’ (12.850); the only caves on Takia territory are man-made, dug by the Japanese during the second World War.

MAB Also *pat kopōno*.

YAB ‘stone-hole’. Also *pɔʔ-labu* ‘stone-underside’.

ADZ ‘stone hole’.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) adds ‘large hole in end of canoe where heart was’.

PAA Compound of ‘hole’ and ‘stone’.

POR ‘bamboo-stone’.

NTA ‘hole of rock’.

KWA Also *ruei təna* ‘empty space(-of) land’.

NEM	‘stone-house’.
CEM	‘house of rock’.
XAR	‘house of the hole’.
NEN	Also <i>taete</i> .
KIR	Also ‘hole’.
MSH	<i>rɔŋ</i> also ‘hole’; <i>apæ</i> ‘cave under reef shelf’.
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ɔr</i> also ‘hole’; [ <i>p<sup>w</sup>ɔkuŋo</i> ] Japanese ‘air raid shelter’.
MEL	From Efate.

### 01.310 WATER

ATA	kuʃiyaʔ	UMA	ue	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oʔu
TSO	ɕxumu	BUG	wae	LAU	kafo
RUK	aɕilay	KON	ere	*KWO	tarusi
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> avək	WOL	uwe	RAG	wai
YAM	zanom	MAG	vae	*PAA	oai
ISN	danum	NGA	vae	LEW	wī
KAL	danum	SIK	βair	POR	n-öai
*TAG	tūbig	RTI	oe	NTA	nahau
AKL	tūbiʔ	*BUR	wae	*KWA	nui
*PAL	danum	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ar	NEM	we
MOL	danum	IRA	wɛrə	CEM	tábe
KAG	waig	SAW	wɔɛ	AJI	řl
BLA	yeʔel	NYI	g <sup>w</sup> a	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> e
SAB	boheʔ	MAM	daŋ	NEN	tini
MUR	timug	TAK	you	*KIR	te ran
MGY	ranu	DAM	nānu	*MSH	ræn
ACE	iə	MAB	yok	*PON	pīl
BAT	aek	YAB	bu	*WLE	ʃařü
MIN	ai <sup>ə</sup>	KAU	eki	EFI	wai
IND	air	*TOL	tāvə	WFI	wai
*SUN	čai	BUA	bəl	RTU	tōnu
JAV	bañu	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pui	TON	vai
MAD	aiŋ	KIL	sopi	*SAM	vai
*BAL	yeh	*TAW	goila	MEL	vai
SAS	aiʔ	*MOT	ranu	*TAH	pape
GOR	taluhu	*MEK	vei	RAP	vai
DAA	ue	ROV	kolo		

TAG	Proto-Southern Philippines <i>tūbig</i> = PHN * <i>tūbiR</i> ‘deep water’.
PAL	‘water, drinking water, river’; <i>sapa</i> ? ‘small river’; <i>səsapə</i> ? ‘creek’.
SUN	Also <i>či-</i> , in compounds.
BAL	Old Balinese <i>air</i> .
BUR	Water, stream, river, lake, liquid.
TOL	‘fresh, sweet water’.
TAW	‘water, river, liquid’.
MOT	‘sea water’ is <i>tadi</i> ( <i>tadika</i> ‘salty’).
MEK	<i>vei</i> , also ‘stream, river’; cognates in other dialects: West Mekeo <i>ubi</i> , North Mekeo <i>ivi</i> and NW Mekeo <i>ui</i> .
KWO	Also <i>k<sup>w</sup>ai</i> , <i>tarufa<sup>?</sup>i</i> .
PAA	Also ‘river, spring, lake’.
KWA	‘fresh water’.
KIR	‘fresh water’; <i>tāri</i> ‘sea water’.
MSH	Also <i>rənnin ləcət</i> .
PON	Also <i>sēt</i> , <i>ləkiso</i> ‘bath water’; <i>auleŋ</i> ‘water for a trip’.
WLE	Also <i>tati</i> .
SAM	<i>vai</i> ‘fresh water’; <i>sami</i> ‘saltwater’.
TAH	<i>pape</i> ‘fresh water’; <i>vai</i> obs. ‘fresh water’; <i>miti</i> ‘sea water’; <i>tai</i> obsolete ‘sea water’.

## 01.320 SEA

ATA	<i>βaru<sup>?</sup></i>	SAB	<i>tahik</i>	DAA	<i>tasi</i>
TSO	<i>tipi</i>	*MUR	<i>dāt</i>	UMA	<i>tahi<sup>?</sup></i>
RUK	<i>bayo</i>	*MGY	<i>ranu-masina</i>	BUG	<i>tasi</i>
PAI	<i>l<sup>y</sup>avək</i>	ACE	<i>la<sup>?</sup>ot</i>	KON	<i>tamparaŋ</i>
YAM	<i>awa</i>	BAT	<i>laut</i>	WOL	<i>tawo</i>
ISN	<i>bebay</i>	MIN	<i>lawi<sup>?</sup></i>	MAG	<i>tačik</i>
KAL	<i>baybay</i>	IND	<i>laut</i>	*NGA	<i>məsi</i>
TAG	<i>dāgat</i>	SUN	<i>laut</i>	SIK	<i>tahi</i>
AKL	<i>dāgat</i>	*JAV	[ <i>səgərə</i> ]	RTI	<i>tasi</i>
PAL	<i>dagat</i>	MAD	<i>tasi<sup>?</sup></i>	*BUR	<i>masi</i>
MOL	<i>dagat</i>	*BAL	<i>pasih</i>	*DOB	<i>tay</i>
KAG	<i>dagat</i>	*SAS	[ <i>səgarə</i> ]	IRA	<i>wərəpənə</i>
BLA	<i>mahin</i>	GOR	<i>deheto</i>	SAW	<i>wələt</i>

*NYI	g <sup>w</sup> a n <sup>d</sup> ras	*ROV	kolo hokara	*NEN	čele
MAM	maʔasi	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ibuhi	KIR	tāri
*TAK	beig	LAU	asi	*MSH	lɔcɛt
DAM	māi	KWO	asi	*PON	sēt
MAB	tai	RAG	tahi	WLE	sati
YAB	g <sup>w</sup> eʔ	*PAA	atas	EFI	waitui
KAU	βiyu	*LEW	sī	WFI	weitaði
*TOL	tā	POR	na-ras	RTU	sosi
BUA	lō	NTA	nthei	TON	tahi
ADZ	uruç	KWA	təsə	*SAM	sami
*KIL	bolita	NEM	dalik	MEL	tai
*TAW	niha	CEM	ɟè	*TAH	miti
MOT	daβara	AJI	neŕā māi	RAP	vai-kava
MEK	aʔu	XAR	ne-k <sup>w</sup> etā		

MUR *dāt* (obsolete) now replaced by [*laut*] from Malay.

MGY ‘salty water’.

JAV Sanskrit, *lor* ‘north’.

BAL *-lod* ‘seawards’ see 12.470.

SAS From Sanskrit.

NGA *məsi* lit ‘salty’; also *vac-məsi* ‘sea’; *vac-bata* (*bata* ‘horizon’).

BUR Sea, ocean, salt water, coast, soup broth; *olat* means ‘large body of water’ and can be either the sea or a lake (Lake Rana in the centre of the island is sometimes referred to as *olat*).

DOB *tay* means ‘sea water’, and is used to refer to the sea, except when the direction of ‘seawards’ is in focus, or ‘sea’ is being contrasted with land, in which case *law* is used.

NYI ‘water of salt’.

TĀK ‘salt water’.

TOL Also ‘salt water’.

KIL Also *milaβeta*.

TAW ‘salt’.

ROV ‘salt water’.

MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>oɟna*.

PAA Also used for salty water.

LEW Also *sive* (archaic).

NEN Also *čekita*.

MSH With locative prefix *lɔ-*; also *meto*, *lɔmeto* see entry for ‘ocean’.



PON Also *nanset*, with locative *nan-*.

SAM Also 'saltwater'; also *tai* 'sea, tide', *vasa* 'open sea', *moana* 'deep sea'.

TAH *tai* obs. 'sea'.

### 01.322 CALM (of sea)

ATA		UMA	rodo	ROV	bule
TSO		BUG	tinnaŋ	*MAR	beata
RUK		KON	'lappara	*LAU	folā
PAI		WOL	ma-lino	KWO	folā
YAM	maŋanaŋ	MAG	līk	RAG	
ISN	nalanay	NGA	dʔəza	*PAA	muoh
*KAL	ginok	SIK	tahi nari	*LEW	malum <sup>w</sup> u
*TAG	[kalma]	*RTI	tasi naka-	POR	pux
*AKL	līnaw		mate	NTA	amelinu
PAL	linow	*BUR	glina	*KWA	amərinu
*MOL	lantap	*DOB	nam lura	NEM	kadep
*KAG	linaw	IRA	wənəmiətə	CEM	áu
BLA	lanel	SAW	meklɔŋen	AJI	āū
SAB	toddo?	NYI	mo <sup>n</sup> dʔei	XAR	xāu
MUR	ma-liuk	MAM	malino	NEN	
MGY	mi-lamina	TAK	malin	KIR	āriki
*ACE	tudoh	DAM	madur	MSH	ļae
*BAT	menak	MAB	taun	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ele
	(galubbaŋ)	YAB	benoŋ	WLE	šanü
MIN	tanaŋ	*KAU	βiyu liŋ nuk	EFI	marāβu
*IND	təduh	TOL	malilə	WFI	marāβu
*SUN	čičīŋ	*BUA	lō ɣep rəβuh	RTU	toka
JAV		ADZ		*TON	tofu
MAD	čədd <sup>h</sup> u	KIL	niwaβila	*SAM	malū
*BAL	təduh	TAW	dumda	MEL	marino
SAS			dumola	*TAH	mania
*GOR	mo-oti	*MOT	βea	RAP	māria
DAA	na-lino	*MEK	e-mae-mae		

KAL *ginok+na-*.

TAG From Spanish *calma*; also *tah̄mik*, *payāpa*?

- AKL *īnaw + ma-*; PHN \**īnaw* ‘clear’.
- MOL *lantap + mō-*.
- KAG Also [*kalma*] from Spanish *calma*.
- ACE Also *ruḍa*.
- BAT *galubbaŋ* ‘wave’.
- IND Also *tōnaŋ*.
- SUN ‘calm, still (in general)’.
- BAL In Panitia (1978) only (from Malay?); *dəgdəg* (‘calm, peaceful’ in a general sense, of the sea, of fluids such as oil which have been left still so that sediment has settled; also ‘peaceful’ of a country).
- GOR From (*woti + mo*).
- RTI *tasi naka-mate* ‘dead still sea’; *tasi (meti) mamok* ‘period of calm when there is no tide’.
- BUR Calm, clear, transparent; also *em-toro-k* ‘calm, quiet’.
- DOB *nam lura* lit ‘(it) does coconut oil’, used as a frozen metaphor: ‘the sea is calm’.
- KAU ‘sea calm lay’.
- BUA ‘the sea lies at rest’.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) limits *βea* to daytime and gives *gaima* for calm at night.
- MEK *mae-mae* is possibly a reduplicated form of *mae* ‘die’. *e-ʔolo* ‘become calm’.
- MAR Also *malino*.
- LAU Also *asi foḷa*.
- PAA Also means ‘shiny, bright’.
- LEW See 14.220, 15.750.
- KWA Also *amher* which also means ‘shiny’.
- TON Also *totoka*.
- SAM Also *vaivainoa* ‘be dead calm’.
- TAH Also *manino*.

### 01.323 ROUGH (of sea)

ATA	YAM	<i>marḍa</i>	*AKL	<i>humbak</i>
TSO	ISN	<i>nagdawal</i>	PAL	<i>sələg</i>
RUK	*KAL	<i>lukulūkut</i>	*MOL	<i>gumbaŋ</i>
PAI	*TAG	<i>ālon</i>	*KAG	<i>darku ba'ləd</i>

BLA	m-gal mahin	RTI	tasi foa	RAG	
SAB	a-goyak	*BUR	em-hei-n	*PAA	tisa
MUR		*DOB	nam sanin	*LEW	m <sup>w</sup> arera
MGY	ma-heri	IRA	rugaru	*POR	i-kaō
*ACE	mu-bakat	*SAW	nəwnow	NTA	rat
*BAT	gaər	NYI	bayau tinan	*KWA	əsəsau
	(galubbaŋ)	MAM	anua-goala	*NEM	hun dalik
MIN	ombal gadaŋ	*TAK	sae-n	CEM	pùlā
*IND	rusuh	*DAM	goigul	AJI	koxō
SUN	motah	*MAB	tai isāna	XAR	karaka
JAV		YAB	sɛʔ	NEN	ere
MAD	umbaʔ	*KAU	esap pit	KIR	naonao
*BAL	giur	*TOL	bobol	*MSH	wic
SAS		BUA	lō sis	PON	
GOR	mo-buʔolo	ADZ		WLE	tam <sup>w</sup> um <sup>w</sup> u
DAA	no-le <sup>ɔ</sup> ga-le <sup>ɔ</sup> ga	KIL	paisaga	EFI	seuseua
UMA	mo-ʒago	*TAW	duba	*WFI	kide
BUG	rusaʔ	MOT	deg <sup>w</sup> adeg <sup>w</sup> a	*RTU	vɔlu
KON	rusaʔ	*MEK	e-moŋe-moŋe	TON	hou
WOL	ko-ewo	*ROV	nakili	*SAM	sou
MAG	vəla bo <sup>m</sup> baŋ	MAR	malu	MEL	toko
NGA	toʔo-diʔi	*LAU	iŋoŋoa	*TAH	mātāʔare
SIK	tahi bata gəte	KWO		RAP	pari

KAL *lukulūkut+ma*.

TAG *alon + ma* ‘having waves’.

AKL *humbak + ma* ‘wavy, having waves’.

MOL *gumbaŋ + mo-*.

KAG ‘large waves’; also *mabaʔəd*.

ACE Also *mu-alon-alon*.

BAT *galubbaŋ* ‘wave’.

IND Also *bər-ombak* ‘wavy, rough’.

BAL *giur* South Bali; *iur* North Bali; *bəbət* ‘high tide’; *iak* ‘small wave; choppy, unsettled (water)’.

BUR Refers to roughness or waves; also *per-mite-k* ‘stormy (seas)’. The Rana dialect uses *ahu-t* to refer to rough seas when they are down at the coast, but it is taboo to use the term up at the lake.

DOB ‘it does wind’.

SAW	‘waves’.
TAK	‘bad’ (16.720), as in <i>beig sae-n</i> ‘sea bad-its’, i.e. ‘bad sea’.
DAM	Also <i>māi</i> or <i>nānu kalī y-e-ya-lit</i> ‘sea’ or ‘water turning round’.
MAB	<i>tai ketēne isāna</i> ‘ocean’s surface is bad’.
KAU	‘wave stand’.
TOL	See 01.350.
TAW	‘storm, squall’.
MEK	<i>moŋe-moŋe</i> means more literally ‘excited, agitated, impatient’. East Mekeo also has <i>e-pa-mae-mae</i> in this sense – but see 01.322.
ROV	<i>nakili</i> ‘rough (sea)’; <i>rayi</i> ‘wave’.
LAU	Also <i>asinafola</i> .
PAA	Also ‘bad’.
LEW	See 15.740; also <i>kawa</i> .
POR	Also <i>iö</i> .
KWA	Also <i>orupu</i> which also means ‘dance’.
NEM	‘large sea’.
MSH	Of weather, current.
WFI	Also <i>βureβurewe</i> .
RTU	‘wave’.
SAM	Also <i>louā</i> ; <i>ŋalu</i> ‘be rough’, ‘wave’.
TAH	Also <i>tō?are?are</i> , <i>fēto?ito?i</i> , <i>ha?apo?o</i> ; current expression <i>e mea mitimiti</i> ‘the sea is rough’.

### 01.324 FOAM

*ATA	βaβut	KAG	bula?	MAD	kab <sup>h</sup> uk
TSO	frosi	BLA	bulak	BAL	didih
RUK	lapoço	SAB	lede?	SAS	kowok
PAI		MUR	puta?	GOR	lo <sup>m</sup> bula
YAM	otab	MGY	ruat <sup>ʔ</sup> a	DAA	vura-na buih
ISN	būga?	ACE	kubɔh	UMA	haβo
KAL	lablab	BAT	gumɔ	BUG	busa
TAG	bula?	MIN	ruo?	KON	busa
AKL	buʔa?	*IND	busa	WOL	βura
*PAL	paha?	SUN	budah	MAG	vusa
MOL		JAV	umplu?	*NGA	fusa

*SIK	pura-n	KIL	polu	XAR	mǎ
RTI	fude-k	TAW	pulopulo	*NEN	eθeda
*BUR	fue-n	MOT	g <sup>w</sup> arag <sup>w</sup> ara	KIR	te buroburo
*DOB	tay ber	*MEK	mini-mini	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> əŋm <sup>w</sup> əŋ
IRA	φusə	ROV	ŋoroŋoro	PON	p <sup>w</sup> utop <sup>w</sup> ut
SAW	bəkbuk	MAR	kučo	WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> uroφ <sup>w</sup> uro
NYI	bubusin	*LAU	fura fura	EFI	βuso
MAM	buso	KWO	ŋīŋisu	*WFI	hē
TAK	subulbal	*RAG	γayahu	RTU	fifi
DAM	nānu sali	PAA	kokohīte	TON	koa
MAB	<sup>m</sup> bēre	*LEW	kurusiveve	SAM	piapia
*YAB	opi?	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> biis	*MEL	[latōlato]
*KAU	kimus-mus- ŋin	NTA	nalan	TAH	hu?a miti
*TOL	bua-buəi	*KWA	nəsak <sup>w</sup> a-	RAP	kuta-kuta vai- kava
BUA	ñε g <sup>w</sup> ap	NEM	p <sup>h</sup> uvuŋo		
ADZ		CEM	púpuŋo		
		AJI	p <sup>w</sup> āri		

ATA ?uβa? ‘foam in cooked rice’, βaβut ‘foam in soap water’.

PAL Also *bura?bura?*

IND Also *buih*.

NGA Or *voza* also means ‘boiling’ or ‘lather’ (of soap).

SIK *pura-n*, *bura bara-n*, *bura bolor* ‘foam of the sea’, *βura(-n)* ‘foam of the mouth’.

BUR Foam, suds, or froth from such things as the sea, soap, or beer.

DOB *tay ber* ‘foam of breakers on the shore’. White horses at sea are described thus: *ma’del yalar-di delay* ‘the waves’ tops are white’.

YAB *mu ŋa-òla* ‘wind its-blossom’, i.e. ‘white caps caused by wind’.

KAU ‘spit-spit-NOM’.

TOL Also ‘bubble, foam, boil’.

MEK *mini-mini* most frequently occurs in verb form: *e-mini-mini*.

LAU Also *nafoa*.

RAG *rere* ‘to foam’.

LEW Also *sirpupu* used more for ‘foam/scum around saucepan of cooking food; soap-lather’.

KWA Also means ‘spittle’.

NEN Also *lareneŋoč*, *wa?adeu*.

MSH Also *p<sup>w</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>āraŋ* ‘wake of a ship or fish’.

WFI Also *βuho*.

MEL From Efate.

### 01.329 OCEAN

ATA	βaru?	KON	tamparaŋ	MAR	ŋorara
TSO	tipi	*WOL	a <sup>n</sup> dala	*LAU	matek <sup>w</sup> a
RUK		MAG		KWO	matak <sup>w</sup> a
PAI		*NGA	vae-bata-		māritak <sup>w</sup> a
YAM	awa		meze ləma	RAG	tahi
ISN	bebay	SIK	tahi	*PAA	mesal
KAL	baybay	*RTI	tasi ina	*LEW	mia-p <sup>w</sup> uru-sī
*TAG	lā?ot	*BUR	masi	POR	na-ras
AKL	ɣawud	DOB	law	NTA	nthei
PAL	lawəd	IRA	wɛrəpuna	KWA	tasi
MOL	dagat		mənu	NEM	
*KAG	dagat	*SAW	wəlet ta pəloy	CEM	dēni
BLA	mahin	*NYI	g <sup>w</sup> a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> as	ΛJI	nek <sup>w</sup> iε
SAB	tahik	MAM	ma?asi	XAR	
*MUR	[lautan]	*TAK	beig-awa-n	NEN	čele
*MGY	ranu-masina		tubu-n	*KIR	marawa
ACE	la?ot	DAM	māi	*MSH	meto
BAT	laut	MAB	tai	*PON	matau
MIN	lawi? gadaŋ	*YAB	g <sup>w</sup> e?	WLE	matawa
*IND	laut	KAU	βiyu mara	EFI	wasawasa
*SUN	[lautan]		hβa	WFI	tak <sup>w</sup> ali
*JAV	[səgərə]	TOL	ləmanə	RTU	li?u
MAD	tasi? raja	BUA	lō	TON	moana
*BAL	pasih lingah	ADZ		*SAM	vasa
*SAS	[səgarə] goar	KIL	bolita	MEL	muana
GOR	?awuhu	TAW	boga dumdum	TAH	moana
DAA	tasi	*MOT	gadobada	RAP	
UMA	tahi?	*MEK	a?u-fa?a		
BUG	tasi	ROV	lamana peava		

TAG Malay *laot* = PAN \**laHud*.

KAG *li?uŋ* ‘ocean where very deep’.

MUR	From Malay.
MGY	Also [ <i>useana</i> ] from English/French.
IND	Also [ <i>samudāra</i> ] Sanskrit.
SUN	From Malay <i>lautan</i> , also [ <i>samudra</i> ] from Sanskrit.
JAV	Sanskrit. <i>lor</i> ‘north’.
BAL	<i>liṅgah</i> ‘broad, wide’.
SAS	<i>goar</i> ‘broad’, Thoir et al (1985).
WOL	Refers to deepness rather than size.
NGA	<i>lāma</i> ‘deep’.
RTI	Also <i>sai-n</i> ; in ritual language, the ocean/sea is referred to as <i>Luin do Sain</i> .
BUR	See note for 01.320.
SAW	‘sea that is big’.
NYI	‘water of salt’.
TAK	‘sea mouth-its big-its’ (01.320, 04.240, 12.550), i.e. ‘the sea’s big mouth’.
YAB	<i>g<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>-sawa</i> ‘sea-empty’, i.e. ‘the open sea’.
MOT	<i>gado</i> ‘ocean’, <i>bada</i> ‘big’; <i>daβara</i> ‘sea’ may also be used for ‘ocean’ in the sense of ‘open sea’.
MEK	‘(the) great sea’ – see 01.320 and 01.100.
LAU	Also <i>asidaudau</i> .
PAA	‘open sea’.
LEW	‘main part of sea’; also <i>yo-memaena</i> lit. ‘blue-place’, for ‘sea beyond reef’.
KIR	Treated as proper noun; <i>tāri</i> ‘sea, sea water’.
MSH	Also <i>lō-meto</i> ‘on the ocean’, <i>lō-cet</i> ‘on the sea’, see 01.320.
PON	Also <i>nan matau</i> ‘on the ocean’; also <i>nansēt</i> ‘on the sea’; <i>sēt</i> ‘sea, sea water’.
SAM	See 01.320.

### 01.330 LAKE

ATA	wačiḷuŋ	*PAI	ḷacuk	ISN	abay ya pisuŋ
TSO		YAM	mibəbnəŋ a	KAL	banānaw
RUK	bayo		ḷanom	TAG	lānaw

AKI	danaw	NGA	tivu	*LAU	ʔosi
PAL	lanow	*SIK	rano	KWO	namo
MOL	ponow	RTI	dano	RAG	wai
*KAG	[lik]	*BUR	tifu	*PAA	oai
BLA	lonow	*DOB	bal	LEW	lap <sup>w</sup> a
SAB	lanaw	IRA	tāma	POR	
*MUR	luogon	*SAW	[talaga]	NTA	iertəm <sup>w</sup> təm <sup>w</sup>
*MGY	dubu	NYI	li	KWA	nəsiui
ACE	laʔot	MAM	daŋ-boaʔu-	NEM	dan
BAT	taɔ		boaʔu	CEM	dêbo
MIN	danaw	*TAK	you	AJI	nedē
*IND	danau	DAM	daliyou	XAR	nede
SUN	dano	MAB	yok	NEN	gučele
*JAV	[tlɔgɔ]		tatiliuŋana	KIR	te nama
*MAD	[talaga]	*YAB	bu-ge-yàʔ-tɔŋ	MSH	
BAL	danu	KAU	ehuŋ	P●N	lē
*SAS	[təlagə]	*TOL	tavə kikil	WLE	řam <sup>w</sup> o
GOR	bulalo	BUA	ŋayē	EFI	dʼano
DAA	rano	*ADZ	ɪ̃pu fuʔ	WFI	torē
UMA	rano	*KIL	milaβeta	*RTU	vɔi-loŋa
BUG	tapparɪŋ	TAW	boga	*TON	ano
*KON	tamparaŋ	*MOT	gohu	*SAM	loto
	labba	*MEK	ofu(-ŋa)	*MEL	[p <sup>w</sup> aŋō-luku]
*WOL	rano	ROV	kopi	TAH	roto
MAG	sano	MAR		*RAP	

PAI *janaw* ‘stagnant water’; *vaʒalʔ* ‘abyss’.

KAG From English ‘lake’.

MUR Any area of permanent non-flowing water.

MGY Also [*farīhi*] from Sanskrit.

IND Also *tasik*, [*təlagā*] Sanskrit.

JAV Sanskrit.

ṀIĀḌ Sanskrit.

SAS Sanskrit.

KON Also *lura* (seasonal and/or very small).

WOL *rano* ‘lake, large swamp’.

SIK Also *liβu-n*.

BUR Also *rana*, *wae*, *ola-t* and *wae liku-n* ‘pool’; lakes are few; the large lake in the centre of the island is called *Wae Kabo* ‘Murky Water’.



Since it is most commonly referred to as *rana* ‘the lake’, it has become known to the outside world as ‘Rana Meer’, ‘Danau Rana’, or ‘Lake Rana’. *ola-t* is used up at Rana and is associated with taboos.

DOB	<i>bal</i> means an inland pool of fresh water, usually caused by rain. This is the nearest equivalent to ‘lake’ as there are no proper lakes in Central Aru.
SAW	Sanskrit.
TAK	‘water’ (01.360).
YAB	‘water-it-hit-heap’; <i>bu-ŋa-təŋ</i> ‘water-its-heap’.
TOL	<i>tāvə</i> ‘fresh water’, <i>kikil</i> ‘round, around, circle’.
ADZ	‘water full’.
KIL	Also <i>katuwotu</i> .
MOT	See also 01.341.
MEK	<i>ofu(-ŋa)</i> also means ‘lagoon’ and ‘bayou’. <i>ŋofu-ŋofu</i> means ‘puddle, pool’.
LAU	‘pool in a tree trunk or rock, small pool’.
PAA	See ‘water’.
RTU	‘fresh water pool’.
TON	Also <i>ano-vai</i> .
SAM	Also <i>vai-tū-loto</i> , <i>vai</i> ‘fresh water’, <i>tū</i> (vb intrans) ‘stand’, <i>loto</i> ‘pool, stretch of deep water’.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	<i>roto</i> ‘pool’.

### 01.340 GULF, BAY

ATA	KAG	loʔok	JAV	təluʔ	
TSO	BLA	lusuk	MAD	limb <sup>h</sup> uŋ	
RUK	SAB	loʔok	*BAL	čəluk	
PAI	MUR		*SAS	ʃuraŋ	
*YAM	wawa	*MGY	helu- <sup>r</sup> anu-	GOR	libuʔo
ISN	sulbog		masina	*DAA	sidu nu tasi
KAL		*ACE	lhoʔ	UMA	
*TAG	loʔok	*BAT	[taʃʃuŋ]	BUG	allabuŋ
*AKL	ʃuʔuk	MIN	taluoʔ	KON	lappeʔ
PAL	luʔuk	IND	təluk	*WOL	na <sup>m</sup> bo
MOL	luʔuk	*SUN	[təluk]	*MAG	ʃōk (tačik)

NGA	naŋa	ADZ		CEM	
*SIK	toʔa-n	KIL	mlula	AJI	wē r̄l̄
*RTI	namo	TAW	huhu	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> āçē
*BUR	nama	*MOT		NEN	wabaʒele
DOB	yeʔay	MEK		KIR	
IRA	sitəʔu	ROV	kogu	MSH	
SAW	delek	MAR	gløgu	PON	
*NYI	bolo sabon	LAU	loua	WLE	ʒiʔ <sup>w</sup> a
MAM	raua	KWO	suʔu	EFI	toba
*TAK	ilo-n	*RAG	ruruŋa	WFI	toba
DAM	alelei	PAA		RTU	
MAB	lu <sup>m</sup> būnu	*LEW	pululu-yo	TON	kōmaki
YAB	suʔ	*POR	la-sae	*SAM	faŋa
*KAU	βiyu ahun	NTA	nthei akaku	MEL	
*TOL	roromo	KWA		TAH	ʔoʔoʔa
BUA		NEM		RAP	haŋa

YAM *awa* in Iraralay.

TAG *loʔok + ma-laki*; also [golpo], from Spanish *golfo*.

AKL PHN *\*luʔuk*.

MGY *heluka* ‘crookedness, winding’.

ACE Also ‘deep’, that is, a place of deep water.

BAT From Malay, also *tɔrluk*.

SUN From Malay or Javanese.

BAL Also *pojok*.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *ʒuraŋ* ‘ravine’.

DAA ‘corner of sea’.

WOL ‘lake, gulf, bay’.

MAG Also *lōk tačik, sōk*.

SIK Also *toʔa-n tiβa-n; nuba* ‘river mouth’.

RTI ‘bay’, but more exactly ‘sheltered harbour’.

BUR Thus *Nam-lea* is ‘the bay where the sun comes up’, and *Nam-role* is ‘the bay where the stream called Role comes out’. Also *leku* ‘cove’, smaller than a *nama*.

NYI ‘inside the point’.

TAK ‘its inside’, e.g., *Kabailo ilo-n* ‘the inside of Kabailo (village)’, i.e. ‘Kabailo bay’. see 01.240, 12.050.

KAU ‘sea lake’.

TOL	Also <i>tugunana</i> , cognate with <i>tug</i> ‘hole, hollow’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>tabero</i> ‘long shallow bay’; <i>dogu</i> ‘deep bay’.
RAG	‘deep bay which provides a sheltered enclosure’.
LEW	‘wave place’; neologism?
POR	<i>sae</i> ‘bay’.
SAM	<i>faja-loa</i> (lit ‘long bay’) ‘gulf, fjord’.

## 01.341 LAGOON

ATA		UMA		*ROV	nunusa
TSO		BUG	tappaʔ-	MAR	
RUK			tappariŋ	LAU	
PAI		*KON	kalobbaŋ	KWO	
*YAM	wawa	*WOL	rawa	RAG	
ISN	pisuŋ	MAG		PAA	
KAL		NGA	naŋa	LEW	
*TAG	lāwaʔ	SIK	rano	POR	
AKL		RTI		NTA	
PAL	takət	*BUR	wae liku-n	KWA	
MOL		DOB	salin	NEM	
KAG	ləʔək	IRA		CEM	õwɔ
BLA	lusuk	SAW	yɔn	AJI	tāgā
SAB	libug	*NYI	lələ	XAR	
*MUR	luogon	MAM		NEN	gučele
MGY		*TAK	you i-tilanti	KIR	te namo
*ACE	rawaŋ	DAM	daliyou	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> akɒ
BAT		MAB	soso	PON	nām <sup>w</sup>
MIN		*YAB	bu-ŋa-təŋ	WLE	řam <sup>w</sup> o
*IND	danau air laut	*KAU	βiyu ahuŋ	EFI	lomaloma
SUN		*TOL	polāmut	WFI	namo
JAV		BUA	đu	RTU	
MAD		ADZ		TON	namo
BAL		KIL	dom	*SAM	aloalo
SAS		TAW	topatopa	*MEL	[luku]
GOR		*MOT	gohu	*TAH	tai roto
DAA		*MEK	ofu(-ŋa)	RAP	

YAM	<i>awa</i> in Iraralay.
TAG	Also <i>pulilan, dagat-dagatan</i> .
MUR	Any area of permanent non-flowing water; see 01.330.
ACE	Also <i>burawaŋ</i> ‘tidal lagoon’.
IND	Also <i>teluk</i> .
KON	‘seasonal ‘lagoon’ at the edge of river or storm’; there are no real lagoons in the Konjo area.
WOL	‘lagoon, marsh, swamp’.
BUR	‘pool, lagoon’.
NYI	<i>lolo</i> ‘lagoon surrounded by reef’, <i>li</i> ‘lagoon surrounded by land (with outlet/ inlet to sea)’.
TAK	‘water it-go around in a circle’ (01.360, 12.810).
YAB	‘water-its-heap’, i.e. ‘lagoon, lake’.
KAU	‘sea lake’.
TOL	Perhaps cognate with <i>polo</i> ‘water, any liquid’, <i>mut</i> ‘silent’, see 18.230.
MOT	See also 01.330.
MEK	See 01.330.
ROV	Also <i>poana</i> .
MSH	<i>nam<sup>w</sup></i> ‘secondary lagoon’; archaic also <i>mæcik</i> .
SAM	Also <i>tai-tafola</i> , <i>tai</i> ‘sea’, <i>tafola</i> ‘shallow water’, cognate with <i>folā</i> ‘spread’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>roto</i> .

### 01.342 REEF

ATA		PAL	<i>balintaŋ</i>	BAT	<i>batu haraŋ</i>
TSO		MOL	<i>otian</i>	MIN	<i>karaŋ</i>
RUK		KAG	<i>takət</i>	*IND	<i>karaŋ</i>
PAI		BLA	<i>libwəʔ</i>	SUN	<i>batu karaŋ</i>
YAM	<i>kəyşakan</i>	SAB	<i>takot</i>	JAV	<i>karaŋ</i>
ISN		MUR		MAD	<i>batu karaŋ</i>
KAL		*MGY	<i>haran-dʳanu-</i>	BAL	<i>kaaŋ</i>
*TAG	<i>batuh-an</i>		<i>masina</i>	SAS	<i>karaŋ</i>
*AKL	<i>bakūʔud</i>	ACE	<i>karuəŋ</i>	GOR	<i>patihu</i>

DAA	vatu gusu	YAB	meʔ	NEM	māc
UMA		KAU		CEM	tòp
BUG	batu-karaŋ	*TOL	mamā	AJI	b <sup>wě</sup> jū
KON	batu karaŋ	BUA	sāp	XAR	x <sup>wi</sup> ɟou
*WOL	pasi	ADZ		*NEN	dede
MAG		KIL	βatu	*KIR	te rakai
NGA	vatu-roka	TAW	tawali	*MSH	perper
*SIK	oto	*MOT	didigi	*PON	mat
*RTI	pia tasi	MEK		WLE	woʂo
*BUR	fatu-r tue-n di	ROV	sayaru	EFI	ðakau
	heta-k	*MAR	gigru	WFI	ðakau
*DOB	tabar k <sup>w</sup> arisa	LAU	ilē	RTU	haho
IRA	munə	KWO	walo	TON	hakau
*SAW	melolep	RAG	m <sup>w</sup> alo	SAM	a <sup>?</sup> au
*NYI	mek	PAA	amal	MEL	tai-masa
MAM	alaŋa	LEW	piam <sup>w</sup> e	TAH	a <sup>?</sup> au
TAK	mal	POR	saxao	RAP	
DAM	sā	NTA	nəmas		
*MAB	sagar	*KWA	nəmaha		

TAG *batuh-an* ‘rocky reef’; also *bahūra*.

AKL Also *kababatwan* (root: *batu*).

MGY [*harana*] ‘rock, reef’ (from Malay) + *ranu-masina* ‘sea’.

IND ‘coral, reef, atoll’; *bətiŋ*, *gosonŋ* ‘sandbar’.

WOL ‘reef, coral’.

SIK Also *Batu oto*, *Batu riat*.

RTI ‘jagged sea rock’.

BUR ‘rock stumps at low tide’

DOB ‘rock island’.

SAW Also *sa*; *loget*.

NYI *mek* ‘reef which appears at low tide’; *m<sup>w</sup>eso-* ‘reef submerged (even at low tide)’.

MAB Also *sakar*; *kur kezēne* ‘edge of the reef’; *pat<sup>m</sup>bu* ‘coral reef’.

TOL See 12.680.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *didi* ‘shore reef’; *moemoe* ‘reef both barrier and detached’. See also 01.250.

MAR *gigru*, *k<sup>h</sup>okodo* ‘deep water reef’; *nak<sup>h</sup>apra*, *namoŋa* ‘exposed reef at low tide’.

KWA Also means 'coral'.

NEN Also *peda, wanod*.

KIR Also 'rock'.

MSH *perper* also 'foundation, floor, base'; *war* 'coral reef'.

PON *mat* also 'dry'; *ōt, pāina* 'barrier reef'.

### 01.343 HEADLAND, POINT

ATA		UMA	uʃuʔ	MAR	giuyiʃu
TSO		BUG	tanʃoŋ	LAU	ŋorā
RUK		*KON	uʃuŋ	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> aŋoa
PAI		WOL	tola <sup>l</sup> do	RAG	hiŋoi
YAM	parŋan	MAG	toroŋ	PAA	ŋasīte
ISN	pugpugu	NGA	ŋalu	*LEW	kunu-sia
KAL		*SIK	βutu-n	POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>ŋ</sup> gon
*TAG	luŋos	*RTI	peda-k	*NTA	pain
AKL		BUR	tetu-n	*KWA	təna-φa
PAL	tanduʔ	*DOB	surin	NEM	mamān
MOL	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> wis	*IRA	rəba	CEM	mí-n
KAG	dawis	SAW	rəuwel	AJI	mē
BLA	tukəʔ	NYI	sabon	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-mere-kete
SAB	tōŋ	MAM	suma	NEN	dua
MUR	tamunuŋ	*TAK	damo-n	*KIR	te tabo
*MGY	[tandzuna]	*DAM	uyu	*MSH	acoklɛ
*ACE	uʃoŋ	*MAB	zurūnu	PON	
BAT	tuktuk	*YAB	gedo-mata	WLE	
MIN	tañju <sup>ŋ</sup>	*KAU	pi hut	EFI	uðuna
*IND	tañjuŋ	*TOL	liliai-inə	WFI	mua-ni-βaču
SUN	tañjuŋ	BUA		*RTU	isu
JAV	tañjuŋ	ADZ		TON	mui-fonua
MAD	tañjuŋ	*KIL	kabulu-la	SAM	tolotolo
*BAL	tañjuŋ	TAW	mutu	MEL	matāutu
SAS		MOT	iduka	*TAH	ʔōtuʔe
GOR	wuluŋo	*MEK	kua	RAP	ihu
DAA	uʃu-na	ROV	miho		

TAG Also *tāŋos*.

MGY From Malay.

- ACE Not specifically geographic: any point.
- IND Also *uʃuŋ*, *səmənəñjuŋ*.
- BAL Also *uʃuŋ*.
- KON Also *tañjõŋ*.
- SIK Also *βutu-n sot*.
- RTI *ʔgolok*; ‘headland, cape’ but also ‘snout, village’ (in contrast to ‘court village’ or ‘centre of domain’).
- DOB Third singular possessed form for ‘nose’.
- IRA *rəba* ‘at the coast’; *susərəba*, *airəbə* ‘in a river’.
- TAK ‘its shin bone’, e.g., *bog damo-n* ‘the shin bone of the eagle’ = Cape Croisilles.
- DAM Also means ‘nose’; see 4.230.
- MAB Also *matāna* lit ‘eye’.
- YAB ‘snout-eye’.
- KAU ‘place nose’.
- TOL *hiliai* ‘around, round a headland in a canoe’, *-ina* NOM.
- KIL ‘point-its’.
- MEK ‘nose’; NW Mekeo has *[kona]* English ‘corner’ for the point of a river-bend, as well as *igu* (East Mekeo *iku*, ‘mountain, hill’; compare Kuni *idu*, Motu *udu* ‘nose, mouth’). West Mekeo also has *igu* ‘point’.
- LEW See 01.220.
- NTA Possibly borrowed from English ‘point’, but the similarity may be coincidental. No other form is known.
- KWA *təna-φa* ‘land discontinue’, also *kanihi təna* ‘penis-of land’.
- XAR ‘cutting end of a place’.
- KIR Also ‘end, place’.
- MSH *acokʎe* of island; *kiwɨl* archaic, ‘end of islet’; *tur* of islet, also ‘beam of house’; *bəkε* ‘cape, knot (in wood); horn (of animal)’.
- RTU ‘nose’; also *is-ne-hanua*.
- TAH Also *ʔotu*.

## 01.350 WAVE

ATA	ninawaš	DAA	balu <sup>m</sup> ba	*ROV	rayi
*TSO	s-m-ut-buk- bukuru	*UMA	[balu <sup>m</sup> pa]	MAR	galo
RUK	bikabiki	BUG	bombaŋ	LAU	nafo
*PAI	darul <sup>y</sup>	KON	bombaŋ	KWO	bio
YAM	amlokolokoŋ	WOL	ewo	*RAG	ŋavo
ISN	balnag	MAG	bo <sup>m</sup> baŋ	PAA	tahel
KAL	palū <sup>?</sup> uŋ	NGA	ebo	*LEW	sīpilulu
TAG	alon	SIK	bata	POR	rave
*AKL	humbak	RTI	li	NTA	peaupeau
PAL	gumbəŋ	*BUR	em-hei-n	KWA	peau
MOL	gumbaŋ	*DOB	madél	*NEM	fiye-dalik
KAG	ba'ləd	IRA	ǰasə	CEM	ǰie
BLA	lwək	SAW	mewruw	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> iē
SAB	goyak	*NYI	bayau	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> etā
MUR	lakun	*MAM	maŋalu	*NEN	ŋeni
MGY	undza	TAK	laləl	KIR	te nao
*ACE	gulumbaŋ	DAM	uyau	*MSH	ŋə
*BAT	galəbbaŋ	MAB	dūbu	PON	ilok
MIN	omba <sup>?</sup>	YAB	də <sup>m</sup> bəm	WLE	řō
*IND	ombak	KAU	esap	EFI	ua
SUN	ombak	*TOL	bobol	WFI	ua
*JAV	alun	BUA	lō sis	*RTU	vəlu
MAD	umba <sup>?</sup>	ADZ		TON	peau
BAL	ombak	KIL	kaisai	*SAM	ŋalu
SAS	ombak	TAW	guletutu	*MEL	ŋaru
GOR	bu <sup>?</sup> olo	*MOT	hurehure	*TAH	ʔare miti
		MEK	ŋoio	RAP	vave

TSO 'to ripple (little undulations on the surface of water), see *s-m-o-smaxu* 'to dash against the shore (of waves of a river, as after a heavy rain)'.  
 PAI *viḱ-viḱ* 'ripple'.  
 AKL PHN \**humbak*.  
 ACE Also *alon*, *bakat*.  
 BAT Also *galubbaŋ*.  
 IND Also *galombaŋ*.  
 JAV Also *omba?*.



UMA	Probably borrowed from Kaili.
BUR	See note for 01.323.
DOB	<i>ma'del</i> 'waves on the shore or breaking on rocks'; <i>φuwatu</i> 'large waves on the open sea'.
NYI	<i>bayau</i> 'wave away from shore or reef', <i>goi-</i> 'wave breaking on shore or reef'.
MAM	Also <i>nugunugu</i> .
TOL	See 01.323.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>hurehure</i> 'surf'; <i>rahukau</i> 'surf (on beach)'; <i>sinaia</i> 'ocean swell, high waves which do not break'; <i>beubeu</i> 'less than <i>sinaia</i> , generally of swell inside reef or of a stone thrown into a pond'.
ROV	<i>rayi</i> 'small waves'; <i>ololobayea</i> 'big waves'; <i>boyusu</i> 'reef waves'.
RAG	<i>ɲavo</i> 'small wave'; <i>huyihuyi</i> 'short high wave'; <i>rebu</i> 'big wave'.
LEW	'sea rising up'.
NEM	'egg of the sea'.
NEN	Also <i>pueč</i> .
MSH	Also <i>p<sup>u</sup>uŋŋ<sup>wɔ</sup></i> 'breaking wave' lit 'falling wave'.
RTU	Also <i>peau</i> .
SAM	Also <i>peau</i> ; see 01.323.
MEL	Also <i>peau</i> .
TAH	Also <i>vāvc<sup>?</sup>a</i> 'swell'.

## 01.352 TIDE

ATA	PAL	sɔlɔŋ	SUN	pasəŋ
TSO	*MOL	gaba <sup>?</sup>	*JAV	rɔp-sɔp-iŋ
RUK	KAG			bañu
PAI	BLA	lɔnɔb	*MAD	aiŋraja
YAM	*SAB	sɔn	*BAL	
ISN	MUR		SAS	ai <sup>?</sup> pasəŋ
KAL	MGY		GOR	lalabu
TAG	*ACE	pasuəŋ	DAA	
	BAT	aek pasəŋ	UMA	
	MIN	pasəŋ	BUG	bonnaŋ
*AKL	*IND	air p'asəŋ	KON	

WOL		BUA		CEM	
MAG		ADZ		AJI	mēxo
NGA	məti	KIL	talia	XAR	
SIK	məti-n	TAW	dubola	*NEN	ṅed
RTI	meti	*MOT	aru	KIR	te ia
*BUR	hetak	*MEK	fuṅa	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> Δkæ
*DOB	tay	ROV		PON	ū
IRA	wər nīrə	MAR	naklasu	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ata
*SAW	miwɛ n-čuj	*LAU	lua	EFI	ua
NYI	wuluw	KWO	?ato	WFI	ua
MAM	lalali	RAG		RTU	mɔfi
*TAK	you bururuk	PAA	amat	TON	tahi
DAM	sīr	*LEW		*SAM	tai
MAB		*POR	ras-pilev	MEL	
YAB		NTA		TAH	nanu miti
KAU	suluṅ	KWA		RAP	tai
*TOL	əl	NEM			

AKL No generic term.

MOL 'rising tide'.

SAB *sōn* 'incoming tide'; *la?a* 'outgoing tide'; *sollog* 'current'.

ACE Also 'high tide'.

IND Focus on 'incoming tide'.

JAV *-ij* conjoins nouns to form compounds.

MAD 'big water'.

BAL See 1.353, 1.354.

BUR Focus is on low tide.

DOB The same word as 'salt water'. *tay ?a-po* 'the tide is flooding'; *tay ?a-pay* 'the tide is ebbing'.

SAW 'the high tide enters'.

TAK *you bururuk* 'water moving'; *miyarōṅ* 'tide', as in *ai miyarōṅ* 'wood tide', i.e. 'drift wood', and *miyarōṅ i-si-da* 'tide it-come up-IMPRF', i.e. 'the tide is coming in'.

TOL Also *al-na-tā*; *al* 'pull', *na* CONN, *tā* 'sea'.

MOT Also 'current of river or sea'.

MEK *puṅe-puṅe* 'current'; also *alu* (West Mekeo *laṅu-laṅu*).

LAU *lua* 'high tide'; *mai* 'low tide'.

LEW	<i>koruru</i> ‘current’ sometimes used.
POR	‘sea-carry’.
NEN	Also <i>ue, ueḍan</i> .
WLE	$\phi^w$ <i>ata</i> ‘low tide’; <i>xüna</i> ‘high tide’.
SAM	See 01.320.

## 01.353 LOWTIDE

ATA		DAA	<i>ue na-naʔo</i>	*ROV	<i>masa</i>
TSO		UMA		*MAR	<i>nak<sup>h</sup>apra</i>
RUK		BUG	<i>bonaḅama-</i>	LAU	<i>mai</i>
PAI			<i>riawa</i>	*KWO	<i>mai</i>
YAM	<i>mamči</i>	*KON	<i>esaʔ</i>	RAG	<i>tahi-goru</i>
ISN		*WOL	<i>ka-ati</i>	*PAA	<i>matimes</i>
KAL		MAG	<i>məti</i>	*LEW	<i>sī urea</i>
TAG	<i>kāti</i>	*NGA	<i>məti-vəda</i>	*POR	<i>na-ras e-lax</i>
*AKL	<i>hubas</i>	SIK	<i>məti-n mara</i>	NTA	<i>əmas</i>
*PAL	<i>atyan</i>	RTI	<i>meti ana</i>	*KWA	<i>maha</i>
MOL	<i>saḅkaʔ irat</i>	*BUR	<i>heta-k</i>	NEM	<i>kumāc</i>
KAG	<i>ənnas</i>	*DOB	<i>tay burum</i>	CEM	<i>tóa</i>
BLA	<i>m-ti</i>	IRA	<i>wər natorə</i>	AJI	<i>mā</i>
SAB	<i>tabba</i>	SAW	<i>geḅe</i>	XAR	<i>šō</i>
*MUR	<i>timug</i> <i>bobodok</i>	*NYI	<i>wuluw asosou</i>	NEN	<i>ḅed</i>
		MAM	<i>mati-bara</i>	KIR	<i>ora</i>
*MGY	<i>mi-sintuna ni</i> <i>ranu</i>	*TAK	<i>gurgor</i>	*MSH	<i>pāetm<sup>u</sup>Λ-</i> <i>ḅ<sup>w</sup>akḅ<sup>w</sup>ak</i>
ACE	<i>iə surot</i>	*DAM	<i>sīr kē-le-ϕ</i>	PON	<i>ḅalaḅal</i>
BAT	<i>aek surut</i>	MAB	<i>magat</i>	WLE	<i>mōfi</i>
MIN	<i>pasəḅ suruyʔ</i>	YAB	<i>lap</i>	EFI	<i>mati</i>
IND	<i>pasəḅ surut</i>	KAU	<i>mumiaḅ</i>	*WFI	<i>ḅere</i>
SUN	<i>surud</i>	*TOL	<i>mamā</i>	RTU	<i>mæf-ta meə</i>
JAV	<i>səp</i>	BUA		TON	<i>mamaha</i>
MAD	<i>aiḅ unḅ<sup>h</sup>un</i>	ADZ		*SAM	<i>tai pē</i>
*BAL	<i>aad</i>	*KIL	<i>i-busi talia</i>	MEL	<i>t-tai ē-masa</i>
*SAS	<i>pasəḅ əntun</i>	*TAW	<i>datu</i>	*TAH	<i>heʔeraʔa miti</i>
GOR	<i>woti</i>	*MOT	<i>komada</i>	RAP	<i>tai papaku</i>
		*MEK	<i>fuḅa e-laʔa</i>		

AKL Also *hunas* ‘to ebb’.

PAL Also *durut*.

- MUR 'small water'.  
 MGY 'the tide is (going) out'.  
 BAL 'low' of tide, e.g. *pasihe aad* 'the sea is at low tide'; also *puras, buras*.  
 SAS Also *pasaj turun*.  
 KON Also *naugere-a*.  
 WOL Also *ma-tuu* 'dry'.  
 NGA Also *māti-nore; vāda, nore* 'retreat'.  
 BUR *heta-k ep-tea* 'low tide sits' i.e. 'low ebb tide'; *heta-k s-moho* 'tide is receding'; *heta-k gapi* 'lowest ebb tide of the year'.  
 DOB *burum* also 'shallow'.  
 NYI 'tide goes back/down'.  
 TAK *gurgor i-du-ya* 'low tide it-go down-PERF' i.e. 'the tide went out'.  
 DAM *kē-le-φ* 'go.back-go-PRES'.  
 TOL See 01.342, 12.680.  
 KIL 'it-lows tide'.  
 TAW 'shell time'.  
 MOT Also *daβara marayi*, lit 'sea small'.  
 MEK '(the) tide pulls'.  
 ROV Also *yore masa*.  
 MAR Also *namoja*.  
 KWO 'low and incoming tide'.  
 PAA 'falling tide'.  
 LEW 'sea going away'.  
 POR 'the-sea it-go shore'.  
 KWA Also 'empty of liquid'.  
 MSH 'dry ebb-tide'.  
 WFI Also *maōa*.  
 SAM *pē* 'die, be dead', *tai* 'sea, tide'; *tai maui* 'ebb tide'.  
 TAH Also *pāhe?era?a o te miti*.

### 01.354 HIGHTIDE

- |     |            |                  |
|-----|------------|------------------|
| ATA | YAM mənəp  | *AKL tā?ub       |
| TSO | ISN        | PAL sunɡud       |
| RUK | KAL        | MOL saŋkad gaba? |
| PAI | *TAG ta?eb | KAG ta?ab        |

BLA	lɔnɔb	*SIK	məti-n lema	RAG	tahi-bua
SAB	tambaŋ	RTI	meti ina	*PAA	matū
*MUR	timuŋ māyo	*BUR	sege-t	*LEW	sī yua
*MGY	mi-sund <sup>r</sup> ut <sup>r</sup> a ni ranu	*DOB	tay bari	POR	na-ras e-u
ACE	iə pasuəŋ	IRA	wər naiϕunə	NTA	ətam
BAT	æk pasaŋ	SAW	miwe	KWA	-etum <sup>w</sup>
MIN	pasaŋ nai <sup>ə</sup> ?	*NYI	wuluw atuh	NEM	wop
IND	pasaŋ naik	MAM	mati-buro	CEM	hégit
*SUN	pasaŋ kir	*TAK	sir	AJI	ko
	luhur	*DAM	sīr sur ϕe-ϕ	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ε
JAV	rɔp	MAB	sir	NEN	ue
*MAD	aiŋ [purnama]	YAB	lop	*KIR	te ia buti
*BAL	pasaŋ	KAU	asusi	*MSH	[ip <sup>u</sup> ic]
SAS	pasaŋ taək	*TOL	lubu	PON	weit
GOR	lalabu	BUA		WLE	xüna
DAA	ue ne-buse	ADZ		EFI	ua
UMA		*KIL	i-pola talia	WFI	ua-leβu
BUG	bonaŋ ma- tanre	TAW	dubola	RTU	mæf-ta sok
*KON	nai <sup>?</sup> ere-a	*MOT	utu	TON	hu <sup>?</sup> a
WOL	ure	*MEK	fuŋa e-koko	*SAM	tai sua
MAG	pəno (vaen)	*ROV	odu	MEL	t-tai e-rroma
*NGA	məti-bənu	*MAR	p <sup>h</sup> obro	*TAH	nanura <sup>?</sup> a miti
		LAU	lua	RAP	tai u <sup>?</sup> a
		*KWO	rua		

TAG Also *tā<sup>?</sup>og*, Proto-Philippines *\*tā<sup>?</sup>eb*.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*tā<sup>?</sup>eb*.

MUR ‘big water’.

MGY ‘the tide is (coming) in’.

SUN (*i*)*kir* ‘during’, *luhur* ‘high’.

MAD From Sanskrit, ‘full moon’.

BAL Panitia (1978) only (from Malay?); also *kəbək*, *bəbət*.

KON Also *pa-nai<sup>?</sup>ere*.

NGA Also *məti-loa*, *məti-nuka*; *bənu* ‘full’, *loa* ‘pour’, *nuka* ‘return home’.

SIK Also *məti-n bənu*.

BUR Also *wae keha* ‘rising tide’.

DOB *bari* ‘big’.

NYI ‘tide comes up’.

TAK	<i>siri-sa-ya</i> ‘high tide it go up-PERF’ i.e. ‘the tide came in’.
DAM	<i>sur</i> <del>ϕe-ϕ</del> ‘send-3sg TRANS AUX PRES-present’; also <i>sīr</i> or <i>nānu</i> <i>i-se-ϕ</i> ‘the tide’ or ‘water is coming up’.
TOL	Also <i>lubu</i> ‘rise, flood, flow’.
KIL	‘it-peaks tide’.
MOT	Also <i>daβara bada</i> , lit ‘sea big’.
MEK	‘(the) tide enters’. Hightide along the rivers is in certain seasons marked by extensive flooding, for which the expression in East Mekeo is <i>kou e-lai</i> ( <i>kou e-lei</i> ), ‘(the) flood arrives’, and in West Mekeo <i>ubi e-gou</i> , ‘(the) water floods’.
ROV	Also <i>saye odu</i> .
MAR	Also <i>yujū</i> .
KWO	‘high tide going out’.
PAA	‘rising tide’.
LEW	‘sea expanding’.
KIR	‘moving tide’.
MSH	Possibly Gilbertese; also <i>tikək</i> .
SAM	<i>sua</i> ‘contain water’.
TAH	Also <i>pānanuraʔa o te miti</i> .

### 01.360 RIVER, STREAM, BROOK

*ATA	ʔutʔiyuŋ	*ACE	[kruəŋ]	NGA	ləko
*TSO	ʔʔorxa	*BAT	suŋɛ	*SIK	naŋa ba
RUK	ɖakəralə	*MIN	suŋay	RTI	le
*PAI	pana	*IND	suŋai	BUR	wae
YAM	ayo	*SUN	waluŋ-an	DOB	mar
*ISN	wāŋag	*JAV	kali	*IRA	niŋətə
KAL	sūluŋ	MAD	suŋay	*SAW	wɔɛ
*TAG	ilog	*BAL	tukad	*NYI	g <sup>w</sup> a
*AKL	subaʔ	SAS	kokoʔ	MAM	zagura
*PAL	sɔpaʔ	*GOR	dutula	*TAK	you
MOL	bawaŋ	DAA	salu nu ue	DAM	nānu
*KAG	su'baʔ	*UMA	haluʔ	*MAB	yok
BLA	yeʔel	BUG	salloʔ	*YAB	bu
SAB	sowaŋ	*KON	'kaloro	KAU	eki nesiliŋ
*MUR	suŋoy	*WOL	umala	*TOL	təvə- nə-əlir
*MGY	reni-ranu	*MAG	ŋalor	BUA	bəl

*ADZ	m̥pui	*LEW	wī lau	*PON	pillap
KIL	waya	POR	n-öai	WLE	meʔaiüřü
TAW	goila	NTA	nahau	*EFI	uđiwai
MOT	sinaβai	*KWA	nui arəs	*WFI	e-dolo
*MEK	ake	*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> ec	*RTU	sɔfu
*ROV	leana	*CEM	dîhen	TON	vai-tafe
*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>?</sup> u	*AJI	neiřiwã	*SAM	vai-tafe
LAU	kafo	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ãre	MEL	vai
KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ai	NEN	karačele	*TAH	ʔānāvai
RAG	wai-rovo	*KIR	te karaŋa	RAP	
*PAA	oai	*MSH	[ɾep <sup>w</sup> a]		

ATA *ɣauŋ* ‘brook’, *uķu<sup>?</sup>* ‘a brook which becomes dry in winter’.

TSO *ʎ<sup>?</sup>orxa* ‘large river’; *va<sup>?</sup>i* ‘creek, stream’; *froxo* ‘a creek which is usually dry, but becomes a stream when it rains’.

PAI *vəl<sup>y</sup>əlu-an* ‘little stream’.

ISN *layus* flood.

TAG PHN *\*iluR*.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*suba<sup>?</sup>*.

PAL *sapa<sup>?</sup>* ‘small river’; *sɔsapa<sup>?</sup>* ‘creek’.

KAG *suba<sup>?</sup>* ‘river’; *sapa* ‘stream, brook’.

MUR *suŋoy* general term; *tinganay* ‘large river’.

MGY From *reni* ‘mother’ + *ranu* ‘water’; also *huni* from PWMP *\*suŋey*.

ACE Mon-Khmer.

BAT Also *bataŋæk*.

MIN Also *bataŋai<sup>?</sup>*.

IND Also [*kali*] from Javanese.

SUN Also *susuk-an*, *solok-an*.

JAV [*bəŋawan*] from Sanskrit ‘large river’; *kalen* from (*kali-an*) ‘stream’.

BAL *tukad* ‘river’; *tlabah* ‘small irrigation channel, stream, brook’; *ĵliŋĵiŋ*, *ĵliŋĵiŋ* ‘a small *tlabah*’.

GOR *dutula* ‘river’; *tolotabu* ‘stream’; *buta<sup>?</sup>iyo* ‘brook’.

UMA Also *karo ue*.

KON *'kalo<sup>?</sup>* ‘river’; *kalo<sup>?</sup>-kalo<sup>?</sup>* ‘brook, small river’; *binaga* ‘river, estuary’.

WOL Also *uwe* in river names.

MAG Also *vae*.

- SIK Also *βair ba*.
- IRA *nigətə* ‘small river’; *weteni* ‘large river’.
- SAW ‘water’.
- NYI See 01.310.
- TAK ‘water’.
- MAB *yok* ‘river, stream’; *yok lepēne* ‘small brook’.
- YAB ‘water’.
- TOL *təvā* ‘water’, *nə* CONN, *əlir* ‘flow’.
- ADZ ‘water’, stream’, etc.
- MEK *ake* ‘stream, brook; mouth (of anything); descend, go down’. Large rivers are referred to by name (e.g. St. Joseph’s River is *Aŋa-puŋe*) or simply as *vei*, ‘water, the water’. NW Mekeo has *ina-paka* for ‘river’ (Brown).
- ROV Also *ovuku*, *iriri* ‘stream’; *bukaha* ‘brook’.
- MAR *k<sup>h</sup>oʔu* ‘river, water’; *ǰari* ‘stream’.
- PAA See ‘water’; *poal* ‘flowing creek-bed’.
- LEW ‘water flowing’.
- KWA ‘water flow’.
- NEM ‘brook, creek’; *dāōt* ‘large river, valley’.
- CEM ‘small river’; *p<sup>wa</sup>* ‘stream’; *ē<sup>m</sup>wa* ‘valley, river’.
- AJI Also *neřəxa*.
- KIR Polynesian.
- MSH From English.
- PON *pillap* lit ‘large water’; also *piliṭik* ‘small water’; *kāŋ* ‘stream’.
- EFI *so-ni-wai* ‘stream’.
- WFI Also *ruai-leβu, g<sup>w</sup>ali*.
- RTU Also *vəi-səfu*.
- SAM *vai* ‘water’, *tafe* ‘flow’.
- TAH Also *tahora*; *?ānāpape* obs.

## 01.362 WHIRLPOOL

ATA	ma-š-ʔa-ʔiŋay	YAM	maŋočiči	AKL	alipūʔus
TSO	reʔtu-vovri-a	ISN	alikūnu	PAL	tulibu
RUK	wasigi	KAL	allikūnu	*MOL	limbuak
PAI		*TAG	puyo	KAG	



BLA	gu-k-am-lifus	*DOB	tay may	PAA	
SAB	halimpunus	*IRA	wɛr saɸətə	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu-talivi
*MUR	liuk	*SAW	lələley	*POR	na-ur pūlpūl
*MGY	tadiu	*NYI	g <sup>w</sup> a abuluw	NTA	
*ACE	iə mupuseŋ	MAM		*KWA	keioun
BAT		*TAK	you mala-n	NEM	ɤa-n
MIN	ai <sup>a</sup> pesoŋ	DAM	mələun		p <sup>m</sup> wem <sup>w</sup> enic
IND	pusar-an air	MAB	m <sup>b</sup> elut	CEM	gâni
*SUN	[pusar-an] čai	*YAB	gegi	AJI	negã
*JAV	luɸəŋ	*KAU	eki ko	XAR	ŋediri
*MAD	pusər-ra aiŋ		palaimhi	NEN	wairu
BAL		TOL	mətə-vut	KIR	
SAS	pusər-an ai <sup>?</sup>	BUA		MSH	
GOR	huwoyoŋo	*ADZ	m <sup>p</sup> ui i-fifin	PON	
DAA	liku	KIL		WLE	
UMA	βulili	*TAW	goila	EFI	wai-tāβikoβiko
BUG	sulilliŋ		buhoho-na	WFI	wai-βiro
KON	koe <sup>?</sup>	*MOT		*RTU	ahiohio
WOL	ka-mahe-mahe	MEK	oŋo	TON	fofō
MAG	[səmuli]	*ROV	lilo	*SAM	vili
NGA	pote	*MAR	solilo	MEL	tāvivi
*SIK	βair bōbər	*LAU	bio	TAH	<sup>?</sup> ohura <sup>?</sup> a pape
RTI	œ usc-k	KWO	ribo	RAP	
*BUR	wae sboe-n	RAG			

TAG Also *alimpuyo, uli-ūli*.

MOL *limbuak + pōg-*.

MUR Also *liawak*.

MGY Dialectally *taliu*.

ACE *puseŋ* ‘twirl, spin, whirl’ (vb trans).

SUN From Malay.

JAV Also *ulək-an*.

MAD From (*pusər-na aiŋ*).

SIK Also *laso*.

BUR Also *wae bae* any strong current with churning water that has the potential of drowning s.o.

DOB ‘sea’s eye’.

IRA *wɛrə ɸurə* ‘counter current along the bank of a river’.

SAW	Also <i>wɔl</i> .
NYI	‘water go round’.
TAK	‘water eye-its’ (01.310, 04.210), i.e. ‘the eye of the water’.
YAB	<i>debob</i> ‘eddy, whirlpool, as caused by fish’.
KAU	<i>eki</i> ‘water’; <i>ko</i> ‘down’ (meaning of <i>palaimhi</i> not yet known).
ADZ	‘water REAL-turns.around’.
TAW	<i>niha, buhoho-na; buhobuho</i> ‘navel’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>kaβabulobulo</i> (possibly derived from <i>kaβa</i> ‘crazy, silly’ and <i>bulo-a</i> ‘to mix’) and <i>aruhehiri</i> (possibly from <i>aru</i> ‘current’ and <i>hiri-a</i> ‘to tie by twisting round and round’).
ROV	<i>lilo</i> ‘whirlpool at sea’; <i>kolo pigoso</i> ‘whirlpool in a river’.
MAR	<i>solilo</i> ‘whirl in whirlpool’ (vb); <i>soviro</i> ‘whirl in whirlpool’.
LAU	Also <i>āfe</i> .
POR	Also <i>n-ōai pūlpūl; n-ōai čö<sup>m</sup>büčö<sup>m</sup>b</i> .
KWA	Also <i>sirosiro</i> which also means ‘whirlwind’.
RTU	‘whirlwind, waterspout’.
SAM	<i>vili</i> ‘spin, drill’, also <i>auma, ulu</i> .

### 01.370 SPRING, WELL

ATA	humβuy	ACE	mata iə	*SIK	βair poto-n
TSO	esbabuka	*BAT	patčur	RTI	œ mata
RUK		MIN	mato ai <sup>a</sup>	*BUR	wae rama-n
PAI	siçəvud	*IND	mata air	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ar may
YAM	atbođ	*SUN	[sirah] čai	IRA	wər mətie
ISN	gabbuwa <sup>?</sup>	*JAV	sumbər	*SAW	wœ mtə
*KAL	dagsīyan	MAD	sumbər	*NYI	kaloh
*TAG	bukal	*BAL	kləbut-an	MAM	daŋ- <sup>?</sup> esua
*AKL	tuburan	*SAS	[prigi]	*TAK	you i-banai-
*PAL	sənəp	*GOR	butu		da
MOL	tobud	*DAA	buvu	DAM	tutū
*KAG	tubu‘ran	*UMA	ue tuβu <sup>?</sup>	MAB	yok
BLA	sfutən	BUG	bujǰuŋ		bukbukŋana
SAB	kuppuŋ	*KON	‘timbusu	*YAB	bu-mata
*MUR	mato nu	*WOL	mata-na uwe	*KAU	eki maran
	timug	*MAG	mata vae	*TOL	mətə-nə-tāvə
*MGY	luha-ranu	NGA	mata-vae	BUA	bəl βəyε

*ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pu mara-n	*LEW	pra-wī-nunu	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> arer
KIL	utuwotu	*POR	ni-če	*WLE	řō
TAW	huuhula	NTA	namtə nahau	*EFI	βure
*MOT	ranuguri	KWA	nui	*WFI	βure
*MEK	ʔuki	*NEM	we-caget	RTU	vɔi
*ROV	bukaha	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ómĩdú	*TON	vai-tupu
*MAR	gløk <sup>h</sup> a	*AJI	kā p <sup>w</sup> e i řā	*SAM	vai-puna
LAU	leje	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ākwe	MEL	mata-te-vai
KWO	fulafula	NEN	ūra	*TAH	pape piha <sup>ʔ</sup> a
RAG		KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> aniba	RAP	
*PAA	oai	*MSH	keiyuyu		

KAL Also *tubbug*.

TAG Also *bātis*; *balon* ‘well’.

AKL *tuburan* ‘spring’; *bubun* ‘well’.

PAL Also *buwal*.

KAG (*tubud + -an*); *tubuʻran* ‘spring’; *kutkut ta waig* ‘well: place dug for water’.

MUR ‘eye of water’ i.e. ‘natural spring’; *taud* idem, seen as source of stream or river; *tuluboŋ* ‘man-made well’.

MGY *luha* ‘head; origin’, *ranu* ‘water’.

BAT Also *aekmata*.

IND *mata air* ‘spring’; *sumur* ‘well’.

SUN [*sirah*] ‘head’, from Javanese.

JAV *sumbər* ‘spring’; *sumur* ‘well’.

BAL *kləbutan* ‘spring’; *yeh anak-an* ‘spring’ (*anak* ‘person’, here reflects original etymological meaning ‘child’); *semer* ‘well’.

SAS From Portuguese.

GOR *butu* ‘spring’; *ʔali* ‘well’.

DAA ‘well’.

UMA *ue tuβu<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘living water’ i.e. ‘spring’; *βuβu* ‘well’.

KON *ʔimbusu* ‘spring’; *buhuŋ* ‘well’.

WOL *mata-na uwe* lit ‘eye of water’ i.e. ‘spring’; *<sup>m</sup>parigi* ‘well’.

MAG Also *ulu*, lit ‘area of the source’.

SIK Also *βair mata-n*, *lia-n pu<sup>ʔ</sup>a-n*.

BUR ‘source of water’; also *wae fefa-n* ‘water hole (either spring or well)’; *wae fuha-n* ‘spring’; [*parigi*] ‘well’ from Portuguese.

DOB	‘the water’s eye’.
SAW	‘water’s eye’.
NYI	Under sea spring primarily, but may describe a land spring.
TAK	‘water it-squirt out-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘the water squirts out’. There is no noun equivalent to English ‘well’.
YAB	‘water-eye’.
KAU	‘water eye’.
TOL	<i>mətə</i> ‘hole’, <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>tāvə</i> ‘water’.
ADZ	‘water face eye-3sg POSS’.
MOT	<i>ranu</i> ‘water’; <i>guri</i> ‘pit, grave, deep inlet of the sea’.
MEK	? <i>uki</i> ‘spring’, but also <i>uki</i> and ? <i>uki-uki</i> ; <i>ipu</i> ‘well, deep hole with water’.
ROV	<i>bukaha</i> ‘spring bubbling out of ground’; <i>berukehe</i> ‘well’.
MAR	<i>glok<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘spring, source of stream’; <i>seu</i> ‘well’.
PAA	See ‘water’.
LEW	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ulu-wī</i> ‘water hole’.
POR	<i>ni-če</i> ‘spring in rock’; <i>n-öai čar tür</i> ‘spring in ground’; <i><sup>m</sup>bröai</i> ‘well’.
NEM	<i>we-caget</i> ‘spring’ (lit ‘water gush’). <i>kave k<sup>ɥ</sup>uduk</i> ‘well’ (‘place-drink’).
AJI	Also <i>wē rā</i> .
MSH	Also <i>keiyuyu</i> ‘swamp spring, tide hole in swamp’; <i>aep<sup>w</sup>æc</i> ‘any drinking water or source of drinking water’.
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>arar</i> ‘spring, well’; <i>p<sup>w</sup>ɔrukus</i> ‘spring’.
WLE	<i>rō</i> ‘bathing well’; <i>šarūkerī</i> lit ‘fresh water hole’.
EFI	<i>mata, toβu</i> ‘well’.
WFI	Also <i>tobu</i> .
TON	Also <i>vai-keli</i> .
SAM	<i>vai</i> ‘fresh water’, see 01.310, <i>puna</i> (vb intrans) ‘spring up’; also <i>puna, matā-vai</i> .
TAH	Also <i>reva, pape hōpuna</i> ‘spring’; ? <i>āpo?o pape</i> ‘well’.

### 01.380 SWAMP

ATA	ķurum	YAM	*AKL	sapa?
TSO		ISN	PAL	pəncəw
RUK		KAL	*MOL	basa?
PAI		*TAG	*KAG	katəŋgan

BLA	bob	*BUR	kabu-t	PAA	
*SAB	ka-baŋkaw-an	DOB	yek <sup>w</sup> al	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu-kene
*MUR	luogon	IRA	sarowerə	POR	<sup>m</sup> bö-kur
MGY	heni-heni	SAW	rəm	NTA	namət
ACE	paya	NYI	lu <sup>ʔ</sup> un	KWA	iapiuan
BAT	pea	*MAM	[tais]	NEM	
*MIN	payaw	*TAK	geo	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> áo
*IND	rawa	*DAM	gele	AJI	nede
SUN	rawa	MAB	tī <sup>ʔ</sup> gi	XAR	ne-b <sup>w</sup> i-re
JAV	rɔwɔ	*YAB	gameŋ ləmɔŋ	NEN	guməd
MAD	raba	KAU	sokol	KIR	te nei
*BAL	gəduh	*TOL	polāmut	MSH	pat
SAS	rawə	BUA		*PON	lēp <sup>w</sup> el
GOR	wopalo	*ADZ	tamut	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> eřü
DAA	la <sup>m</sup> po	KIL	dumia	*EFI	βei-dābibi
UMA	tate <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAW	huba	WFI	lobelobe
BUG	lempon	*MOT	gohu	RTU	rano
*KON	para <sup>ʔ</sup>	*MEK	kaopu	TON	ano
*WOL	rano	ROV	zemi	*SAM	pala
MAG	təmək	MAR	naoro	MEL	p <sup>w</sup> aŋo
NGA	rano	LAU	kunu	TAH	fenua vari
SIK		KWO	kunukunu	RAP	
RTI	(dae) pu-k	RAG			

TAG *lāti?* (+ -an).

AKL *sapa?* ‘brook; pond’.

MOL *basa?* + ko- -an.

KAG From (*təŋəg* + ka- -an) lit ‘place of mangrove (*təŋəg*) trees’.

SAB ‘mangrove swamp’.

MUR Any area of permanent non-flowing water; see 01.330.

MIN Also *bañčah*.

IND Also *rawa-rawa*.

BAL Also ‘deep mud, as in ricefield’ (Kersten (1984)); *čəbloŋ-an*.

KON *para?* ‘swamp at ocean edge’; *ǰanna* ~ *ǰenna* ‘inland, fresh water’.

WOL ‘lake, large swamp’; also *rawa*.

BUR ‘mud, swamp’; also *waka-t lale* ‘mangrove swamp’.

MAM From German *Teich*.

TAK	See <i>geo-geo</i> ‘mud’ (01.214).
DAM	Also <i>oŋ</i> , ‘soft areas of wet sand in a river bed, when the river has receded’. The word <i>gele</i> has a more general use.
YAB	‘place mire’.
TOL	See 01.341.
ADZ	‘mud’.
MOT	<i>hag<sup>w</sup>a</i> ‘mangrove swamp’; <i>kopukopu</i> ‘mud, swamp’.
MEK	<i>ka-opu?</i> Also <i>ofu(-ŋa)</i> . NW Mekeo has <i>oubu</i> . East Mekeo <i>aŋau</i> ‘trapped river water; a bayou’.
LEW	‘mud hole’.
PON	Also <i>naniak</i> ‘mangrove swamp’; lit ‘in the mangrove’.
WLE	‘tarō swamp’.
EFI	‘mangrove swamp’.
SAM	<i>pala</i> ‘be rotten’, see 01.214.

### 01.390 WATERFALL

ATA	tayʔ-ik	MIN	ai <sup>3</sup> mañču <sup>3</sup>	SAW	melčae
TSO	siarazoni	IND	air tərʃun	NYI	saroh
RUK	totoro	SUN	čurug	MAM	daŋ-no <sup>?</sup> u
PAI	cal <sup>?</sup> itiw	*JAV	čuruk	*TAK	youi-pitanek- da
YAM	torana	*MAD	aiŋ čura		
ISN	barron	*BAL	groʃogan	*DAM	ari tomi
KAL	gassud	SAS		MAB	yok
TAG	talon	GOR	bo <sup>n</sup> dula		<sup>n</sup> du <sup>n</sup> duŋana
*AKL	busay	DAA	sure <sup>m</sup> be	*YAB	bu ke-peŋ
*PAL	danum	*UMA	tumata		ke-sep pɔ <sup>?</sup> - da <sup>m</sup> be
	mɔgtutugpa	BUG	waē luttu <sup>?</sup>		
MOL	bosoy	*KON	ere dabbuŋ	*KAU	eki ko
*KAG	[‘watirpal]	*WOL	uwe ma <sup>n</sup> dawu		palaimhi
BLA	fikoŋ	MAG	ču <sup>n</sup> ča	*TOL	ul-ə-mimīr
SAB	bohc <sup>?</sup> pa- addad	NGA	soa	BUA	lubək
		SIK	ʔrəpit	*ADZ	<sup>m</sup> puiçururuŋ- an
MUR	bosoy	*RTI	oe tutuda-k		
*MGY	[riana]	*BUR	wae dea	KIL	
ACE	iə turuŋjon	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ar na-r-ŋe	TAW	dididi
BAT	sappuran	*IRA	wərə suirə	*MOT	

MEK		*KWA	nəsesei nui	EFI	saβu
ROV	titisi	NEM	beŋ	WFI	haβu
MAR	p <sup>h</sup> egu	CEM	bêŋ	RTU	
*LAU	kafo toli	AJI	yɔū	TON	vai-tō
KWO	taga	XAR	çou	SAM	āfu
RAG		NEN		MEL	vai-pusi
PAA		KIR		*TAH	topara <sup>?</sup> a pape
*LEW	wī m-loloru	MSH		RAP	
*POR	n-ōai sevüisev	*PON	ʔenīr		
NTA	kurhup	WLE			

AKL Proto-Philippines \*besay.

PAL ‘water which falls’.

KAG From English.

MGY From Malay *riam* ‘rapid, cataract’.

JAV Also *grəjəgan*; Horne *čurug*.

MAD *čura* ‘ravine’.

BAL Also *grobog-an*.

UMA ‘waterfall, cliff’ (see 01.222) i.e. does not require water to be present.

KON Also *eretantaŋ*.

WOL ‘falling water’.

RTI Also *tete-k*.

BUR Also *wae moho*.

DOB ‘water jumps down’.

IRA *suirə* ‘a pair of bamboo tongs used as eating utensil’.

TAK ‘water it-pour away-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘the water pours away’. There is no noun equivalent to English ‘waterfall’.

DAM The term *ari tomi* really means ‘dripping water’. Although there are waterfalls in the area, no term for it seems to have survived. A few claimed that *ari tomu* is the correct term, but most disagreed. The English word is in general use.

YAB ‘water.it-push.it-descend.stone-wall’.

KAU See 01.362.

TOL Also *mimir*.

ADZ ‘water pour down-PART’.

MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>seiraina</i> ( <i>sei-a</i> ‘to pour’; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>seirai dobi</i> ‘to rush down, as a waterfall’; <i>dobi</i> ‘down’).
LAU	Also <i>kafo ig<sup>wa</sup></i> .
LEW	‘water falling’.
POR	Also <i>n-öaisalevut</i> .
KWA	‘outgrowth-of water’.
PON	Also <i>korop<sup>wuŋ</sup></i> ‘small waterfall’.
TAH	Also <i>?ohīteitei</i> obsolete.

### 01.410 WOODS, FOREST

ATA	ʔahuʔahuw	UMA	βanaʔ	*MAR	mata
TSO	furŋu	BUG	aliʔ	*LAU	lagano
*RUK	a-ŋato-ŋato	KON	boroŋ	KWO	kalona
PAI	kasi-kasiw	WOL	koo	RAG	ute-vono
YAM	kaʔaʔan	MAG	puar	*PAA	leiai
ISN	sirāt	NGA	kala	*LEW	yo-marua
KAL	ginūbat	*SIK	tuʔa-n	*POR	lixaixai
*TAG	gūbat	*RTI	nula	NTA	nəkinat
*AKL	ka-kahuy-an	BUR	mua	*KWA	nəmai nari
*PAL	rupaʔ	*DOB	wunay	NEM	kuc
MOL	gobaʔ	IRA	witu	CEM	wī
*KAG	ka-gulaŋ-an	SAW	baŋa	AJI	nexə
BLA	dlog	*NYI	lo-kei	XAR	nuo
SAB	gulaŋan	MAM	siŋaba	NEN	wočədan
*MUR	ka-taun-an	TAK	dagu	KIR	te buakoni kai
*MGY	[ala]	DAM	omura	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ulən mar
ACE	utuən	*MAB	su	*PON	nanwel
BAT	təbbak	YAB	saleŋ	WLE	waʔü
*MIN	rimbo	*KAU	misuk	EFI	βei-kau
*IND	hutan	*TOL	pui	WFI	βi-kaikai
SUN	liwiŋ	BUA	βos	*RTU	vao
JAV	alas	*ADZ	wap	*TON	vao
MAD	alas	*KIL	lawodila	SAM	vao
BAL	alas	TAW	pitapita	MEL	[mālasɨ]
SAS	gawah	*MOT	uda	TAH	?uru rāʔau
*GOR	?o-ʔayu-wa	*MEK	aŋo	RAP	
DAA	paŋale	*ROV	muge		



- RUK *aŋatoŋato* ‘woods’, *aŋato* ‘tree’, *karawmanə* ‘forest, jungle’.
- TAG *gūbat* (+ *ka-* -*an*).
- AKL *kāhuy* ‘tree’.
- PAL *rupa?* ‘primary forest’; *goba?* ‘secondary forest’.
- KAG From (*gulaŋ* + *ka-* -*an*) lit ‘place of mature plants’.
- MUR *ka-taun-an* general term; *gimbān* ‘virgin forest’; *puluŋ* ‘large (*pupuluŋ* ‘small’) area of forest left standing in cultivated area’.
- MGY From Javanese *alas*.
- MIN Also *utan*.
- IND Also *rimba*.
- GOR Also *delomo* *ʔayu* lit ‘inside (of) wood’.
- SIK Also *tuʔa-n ruma-n*, *utur gəte*, *jana ʃeun*, *utur atur*, *tuʔan gaʃu-n*.
- RTI *nula* ‘wood’; *lase* ‘forest’.
- DOB *wunay* is the generic word for ‘forest’; *kuʔbol* ‘deep forest far from the village’. These two are also often combined *wunay si kuʔbol*.
- NYI ‘inside/among trees’.
- MAB ‘forest’; also *sok* ‘virgin forest’.
- KAU Also *mi-βolopon*.
- TOL Also *lokor*.
- ADZ *wap* (all dialects); *gaɟzub* Amari dialect only.
- KIL Also *udila*.
- MOT Also, ‘bush, jungle’.
- MEK *aŋo* lit ‘land’ but, by extension, ‘forest’ (see 01.210, note). *ano aʔi-na* ‘primary forest’, also *laani* in some areas (*aʔi* ‘wild’); Hau’ofa has *au-f-aʔi*, with an intrusive /f/. Secondary forest is *apuŋu* or *apuŋu-fafa* (*fafa* means ‘spaced, dispersed’). NW Mekeo has *aŋio* ‘bush, forest’.
- ROV Also *highigo* ‘bush’.
- MAR *mata* ‘bush’; *nat<sup>h</sup>uʔa* ‘primary forest’.
- LAU Also *k<sup>w</sup>aenadu*.
- PAA ‘collection of trees’.
- LEW ‘bush in general’.
- POR *la<sup>m</sup>bu<sup>m</sup>b* ‘deep forest’.
- KWA *nəmai nari* ‘leaf of thing’; *niagən* ‘primary forest’; *k<sup>w</sup>anakurakura* ‘secondary forest’.
- MSH Also *p<sup>w</sup>ukun*.

PON Also *wāl*.

RTU Also *ʔəi, fafo*.

TON *vaotā* 'forest'.

**01.420 TREE (cf. 08.600)**

*ATA	kahunik	DAA	kayu	ROV	huda
TSO	evi	UMA	kaʃu	MAR	gaiʃu
RUK	aŋato	BUG	poŋ-aʃu	*LAU	ʔai
PAI	kasiw	*KON	pokoʔ	KWO	ʔai
YAM	kayo	*WOL	puu-na kau	RAG	ʔai
ISN	kāyu	MAG	haʃu	PAA	āi
KAL	kāyu	NGA	puʔu-kaʃu	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uru-laki
TAG	pūno naŋ kāhoy	SIK	ʔai	POR	na-xai
*AKL	kāhuy	RTI	ai hu-k	NTA	nəŋ
*PAL	kayu	*BUR	kau lahi-n	KWA	nei
MOL	kayu	DOB	ʔay	NEM	cək
KAG	kauy	IRA	ε	CEM	àcūt
BLA	kayu	SAW	ay	AJI	kē
SAB	kayu	NYI	kei	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ã
MUR	tataun	MAM	ʔai	*NEN	sereie
*MGY	hazu	TAK	ai	*KIR	te kai
*ACE	[baʔ]	*DAM	ā	MSH	kæn
*BAT	hau	MAB	ke	PON	ʔuke
MIN	bataŋ kayu	*YAB	ka	*WLE	waʔüwaʔü
*IND	pohon	KAU	sa	EFI	βu-
SUN	taŋkal	TOL	dəvai	WFI	-βū-
JAV	wit	BUA	kaʃe	RTU	ʔəi
*MAD	kaʔ-buŋkaʔ-an	ADZ	gai	TON	fuʔu-ʔakau
*BAL	puñə	KIL	kai	SAM	lāʔau
*SAS	lolon	TAW	mayau	MEL	rākau
GOR	buŋo	MOT	au	*TAH	tumu rāʔau
		MEK	au	RAP	tumu

ATA Also *kahuy*.

AKL Proto-Central Philippines *\*kāhuy*.

PAL *kayu byag* 'living wood'.

MGY From Malay (see Mahdi 1988:150).

ACE	Possibly Mon-Khmer borrowing. See Collins 1975.
BAT	Proto-Batak <i>*bayu</i> .
IND	Also <i>kayu</i> .
MAD	See note 08.600; from (RED- <i>buŋkaʔ-an</i> ); <i>buŋka</i> ‘tree trunk’.
BAL	<i>puñə</i> ‘any plant’; <i>puña-n kayu</i> wood plant, i.e. ‘tree’.
ŠAS	Also <i>lolo</i> .
KON	Also <i>pokoʔ kaʃu</i> .
WOL	<i>puu-na kau</i> lit ‘stem of wood’; <i>a<sup>m</sup>po</i> ‘the wood of which is used for building houses’; also <i>rau, sa<sup>n</sup>kuaba, tipulu, tokulu, wola, epi</i> .
BUR	The focus of <i>lahi-n</i> is on the trunk and main roots. Partial synonyms: <i>kau</i> ‘tree, wood, shrub’; <i>puu-n</i> ‘shrub’.
DAM	Also <i>aye</i> , specifically ‘tree bearing fruit for human consumption’.
YAB	‘tree, wood’.
LAU	Also <i>ʔai e take</i> .
NEN	Also <i>arel</i> .
KIR	Also ‘plant, lumber, wood’.
WLE	<i>waʔüwaʔü</i> ‘plant, tree’, <i>iʔə</i> ‘tree, wood, log’.
TAH	<i>rāʔau</i> ‘tree’.

### 01.430 WOOD

*ATA	kahunik	MGY	hazu	WOL	kau
TSO	evi	ACE	kayεe	MAG	haʃu
RUK	aŋato	BAT	hau	NGA	kaʃu
PAI	kasiw	MIN	kayu	SIK	ʔai
YAM	kavano	IND	kayu	RTI	ai
ISN	kāyu	*SUN	kai	BUR	kau
KAL	kāyu	JAV	kayu	DOB	ʔay
TAG	kāhoy	MAD	kaʃu	IRA	ε
AKL	kāhuy	BAL	kayu	SĀW	ay
*PAL	kayu	SAS	kayuʔ	NYI	kei
MOL	kayu	GOR	ʔayu	*MAM	ʔai
KAG	kauy	DAA	kayu	*TAK	ai
BLA	kayu	UMA	kaʃu	DAM	ā
SAB	kayu	BUG	aʃu	MAB	ke
MUR	tataun	KON	kaʃu	*YAB	ka

*KAU	sa-an	RAG	ɣai	MSH	aɭaɭ
TOL	dəvai	PAA	āi	PON	ʈuke
BUA	ɕəle	LEW	laki	WLE	ir̥o
ADZ	gai	POR	na-xai	EFI	kau
KIL	kai	NTA	nəŋ	WFI	kai
TAW	mayau	KWA	nei	RTU	?ɔi
MOT	au	NEM	cək	TON	?akau
MEK	au	CEM	àcūt	SAM	lā?au
ROV	huda	AJI	nekẽ	MEL	rākau
MAR	gaiju	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ā	TAH	rā?au
LAU	?ai	NEN	sereie	RAP	miro
KWO	?ai	KIR	te kai		

ATA Also *kahny*.

PAL *kayupətɔy* 'dead wood'.

SUN *ki-* 'tree', in compounds.

MAM Also *rega*.

TAK 'tree'.

YAB 'tree, wood'.

KAU 'tree-ATTR'.

## 01.440 STONE, ROCK

*ATA	βatu-nux	MGY	vatu	WOL	βatu
*TSO	fatu	ACE	bateə	MAG	vatu
*RUK	lənəgə	BAT	batu	NGA	vatu
*PAI	kaçil <sup>y</sup> ay	*MIN	batu	SIK	βatu
YAM	vato	IND	batu	RTI	batu
ISN	batu	*SUN	batu	BUR	fatu
KAL	batu	*JAV	watu	*DOB	φatu
TAG	bato	MAD	batu	IRA	kami
AKL	batu	BAL	batu	SAW	lɔy
*PAL	batug	*SAS	batu	NYI	bek
MOL	batu	GOR	botu	MAM	patu
KAG	batu	DAA	vatu	TAK	pat
BLA	batu	UMA	βatu	DAM	mēni
SAB	batu	BUG	battu	MAB	pat
*MUR	batu	KON	batu	*YAB	pɔ?

*KAU	enah	RAG	vatu	MSH	dekæ
TOL	vat	*PAA	ahat	PON	ʔakai
BUA	gəlɔŋ	LEW	kila-varu	*WLE	faü
ADZ	tauf	POR	na-var	EFI	βatu
KIL	dakuna	NTA	kapiel	WFI	βaču
TAW	gaima	*KWA	kəp <sup>w</sup> ier	RTU	hɔfu
*MOT	nadi	NEM	paik	TON	maka
*MEK	kepo	CEM	pêi	*SAM	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> a
ROV	patu	AJI	peyā	MEL	fatu
MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ina	*XAR	çεge	*TAH	ʔōfa <sup>ʔ</sup> i
LAU	fou	*NEN	ete	RAP	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> ea
KWO	fou	*KIR	te atību		

ATA *kūš, kuyuš* ‘rock’; *ʔaʔapak* ‘flat, big rock’; *ra-riyay-an* ‘whetstone’.

TSO *fatu* ‘stone’, see *mrore* ‘rock’.

RUK *ʔənəgə* ‘stone (general)’; *tarogotogo* ‘rock’; *taoro* ‘large, round white stone in the river’; *ta-adəm-anə* ‘whetstone’.

PAI *tataḱ-an* ‘whet stone’; *cagul<sup>y</sup>* ‘rock’; *ʔəl<sup>y</sup>əki* ‘big stone’.

PAL Also *batugnɔpulg*.

MUR *batu* general term; *palipi<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘large rock, boulder’; *nagas* ‘small stone, pebble’.

MIN Also *batukaraḱ*.

SUN *batu* ‘stone’; *karaḱ* ‘rock’.

JAV *watu* ‘stone’; *karaḱ* ‘rock’.

SAS Also *karaḱ*.

DOB *ɸatu* is ‘the material, stone’; *ʔubu* refers to individual stones; *tabar* ‘a fixed mass of rock’.

YAB *pɔ<sup>ʔ</sup>-da<sup>m</sup>be* ‘stone-middle’, i.e. ‘boulder, rockface’.

KAU Also *umat* ‘large stone’; *alemio* ‘limestone’.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *papapapa* ‘rock flat’; *haga* ‘high rock’.

MEK *kepo* ‘stone’; *fopa* ‘rock’ (also used to mean ‘hard’).

PAA Also used colloquially to mean ‘money’.

KWA Generic term; also *kəruatere* ‘smooth, water-polished stone’; *kurukuru* ‘small, round stones’; *k<sup>w</sup>anməkərməkər* ‘gravel’; *neis* ‘basalt’.

XAR Also *pε-rε* ‘stone, pebble’; obligatory determiner, e.g. *pε-ku* ‘yam stone’; *pε-pue* ‘sinker (net stone)’.

NEN Also *guea*.

KIR *te ati* also 'islet'; *terakai* also 'reef'.

WLE Also *fasū* archaic.

SAM *maʔa* 'stone', *papa* 'rock'.

TAH *mato* 'rock'; *papa* 'stone slab'.

### 01.450 EARTHQUAKE

ATA	kaɣuɣ	DAA	liɣu	ROV	niu
TSO	mo-torvi	UMA	linu	MAR	nak <sup>h</sup> eu
RUK	wa-liɣi-liɣi	BUG	mpewaɣ	LAU	anuana ʔigi
PAI	l̥-əm-uni	*KON	geoʔ tana	KWO	nūnunu
YAM	kanini	WOL	luali	RAG	soɣai
ISN	yagyag	*MAG	nupuɣ	PAA	alumuɭ
KAL	lūnig	NGA	rəpu-veo	LEW	ye-m-nunu
TAG	lindol	*SIK	edo keʔo	POR	na-kü
*AKL	l̥inug	RTI	ɬae na- <sup>ɰ</sup> geɣo	NTA	nam <sup>w</sup> eɣ
PAL	linug	*BUR	rah-isi-n ba	*KWA	nəmiuwien
MOL	linug		nenno	NEM	
KAG	linug	DOB	rir	CEM	
BLA	linol	IRA	isə	AJI	kaɣare
SAB	linug	SAW	suy	XAR	
MUR		NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> oi	NEN	wowene
*MGY	huruhuru-n-tani	MAM	riʔe	KIR	
		*TAK	kunaorig	MSH	
ACE	[gumpa]	DAM	mimi	PON	
BAT	suhul	MAB	yeɣyē <sup>ɰ</sup> ge	WLE	
MIN	[gampo]	YAB	oyo	EFI	uneune
*IND	[gəmpa]	*KAU	pi kin	WFI	uneune
	[bumi]	TOL	guria	RTU	rue
SUN	lini	BUA	zemap	TON	mofuik
JAV	linđu	ADZ	tufuri <sup>ɰ</sup> ʔ	SAM	mafuiʔe
MAD	linđu <sup>ɰ</sup>	KIL	likuliku	*MEL	[ruru]
BAL	linuh	TAW	guhugu	TAH	ʔaveueraʔa
SAS	lindur	*MOT	tano laga		fenua
GOR	liluhu	*MEK	kafu-kau	RAP	

AKL PHN \*l̥inuR.

MGY *huruhuru* 'tremor, quake'.

IND	Both from Sanskrit; also <i>lindu</i> , <i>tanah goyaŋ</i> with regional preferences.
KON	Also <i>am'm-ikkiri tana</i> 'small tremor'; <i>amm-iri-aŋ tana</i> 'large earthquake'.
MAG	Also <i>dōk</i> .
SIK	Also <i>edo</i> , <i>tana ke?o laŋ lōda-n</i> .
BUR	'ground-contents-GEN DUR shake'.
TAK	Also <i>mim</i> .
KAU	Apparently 'place leaf'.
MOT	<i>tano</i> 'ground', <i>laga</i> 'to shake'.
MEK	Also <i>kalo-kau</i> ; <i>kaŋo-kau</i> in East Mekeo. <i>kau</i> (= Motu <i>dagu</i> ) 'be sudden, be startling'.
KWA	Also <i>num<sup>w</sup>num<sup>w</sup>ien</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 01.510 SKY

ATA	kāl	SUN	laŋit	MAM	laŋ
TSO	ŋiʒa	*JAV	laŋit	TAK	keit
RUK	so-bələ-bələŋ	MAD	laŋŋi?	DAM	sā
PAI	kə-ləvələv-an	BAL	laŋit	MAB	sā <sup>m</sup> ba
YAM	aŋit	SAS	laŋit	YAB	u <sup>m</sup> bəŋ
ISN	laŋit	GOR	huluŋo	*KAU	βet-pi
KAL	laŋit	DAA	laŋi	*TOL	bələ-nə-bəkut
TAG	lāŋit	UMA	laŋi?	BUA	yagək
AKL	ʔaŋit	BUG	bitarra	ADZ	gunuŋun
*PAL	laŋit	KON	laŋi?	KIL	labuma
MOL	laŋit	WOL	laiana	TAW	yada
KAG	laŋit	MAG	avaŋ	*MOT	guba
BLA	laŋit	NGA	lizu	MEK	uʔa
SAB	laŋit	SIK	βula βutu	*ROV	maŋauru
MUR	dasawat	*RTI	la-lai	MAR	glaulapu
MGY	lanitʔa	BUR	laŋi-t	LAU	lofohalo
ACE	laŋet	DOB	ma'ŋar	KWO	laŋi
*BAT	laŋit	IRA	ragətə	*RAG	mahau
MIN	laŋi?	*SAW	[laŋet]	PAA	teiləŋ
IND	laŋit	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> dʔah	*LEW	sinapani

POR	na-mav	NEN	awe	RTU	lɔŋi
NTA	neai	KIR	karawa	TON	laŋi
*KWA	neai	MSH	laŋ	SAM	laŋi
NEM	poa	PON	lāŋ	MEL	raŋi
CEM	mîden	*WLE	řaŋi	*TAH	raʔi
AJI	nekə	*EFI	laŋi	RAP	raŋi
XAR	nexōa	WFI	lomalaŋi		

PAL Also *gawah* ‘the void’.

BAT *laŋit* ‘sky’; [*sorga*] from Sanskrit ‘heaven’, [*surgo*] from Sanskrit via Minangkabau Malay.

JAV Also *tawaŋ*.

RTI In ritual language, the sky/heavens are referred to as *Lain do Ata*.

SAW Possible Malay loan.

KAU ‘under-place’.

TOL *bələ* ‘inside’, *nə* CONN, *bəkut* ‘cloud’, see 01.720.

MOT Also ‘storm’ (01.580).

ROV Also *lei* ‘clouds’.

RAG ‘sky’.

LEW Also [(*e*) *peni*] (from Bislama/English ‘heaven’?).

KWA *neai* ‘heavens’, *kupuapen* ‘blue sky’.

WLE Also ‘wind, storm’.

EFI Also *lomālaŋi*.

TAH Also *reva* ‘blue space’.

## 01.520 SUN

ATA	wayiʔ	MOL	oddow	IND	mata hari
TSO	xire	KAG	adlaw	*SUN	[panon]poe
RUK	vai	BLA	du	*JAV	srəŋeŋe
PAI	ḱadaw	SAB	allaw	MAD	mata ari
YAM	aʒaw	*MUR	(mato nu)	*BAL	ai
ISN	mata		odow	SAS	ǰəlo
KAL	īnit	*MGY	masu-and <sup>r</sup> u	GOR	mato lo
TAG	āraw	ACE	mata urəe		dulahu
AKL	adlaw	BAT	mata ni ari	DAA	mata eo
*PAL	əldəw	MIN	mato ari	UMA	mata-ʔeo



BUG	isso	*TOL	keake	CEM	têat
KON	mata allo	*BUA	ñæg	AJI	mēxa
*WOL	mata-na eo	ADZ	gubu?	XAR	kāmīā
MAG	(mata-) læso	KIL	kalasia	*NEN	du
NGA	mata-ləza	TAW	kabudala	*KIR	tāi
SIK	ləro	*MOT	dina	MSH	aḷ
RTI	ledo	MEK	kina	*PON	sou
*BUR	lea	ROV	rimata	*WLE	yaʔo
DOB	laru	*MAR	nadafi	*EFI	siŋa
*IRA	ɸimətie	LAU	hato	WFI	mata-ni-hiŋa
SAW	ŋenŋan	KWO	sina	RTU	asa
NYI	an	RAG	alo	TON	laʔā
MAM	amari	*PAA	metéal	*SAM	lā
TAK	ad	LEW		MEL	reā
DAM	gā	POR	n-iö	*TAH	mahana
MAB	zoŋ	NTA	mət	RAP	raʔā
YAB	ɔʔ	KWA	meri		
KAU	sinəŋ	NEM	ŋegət		

PAL *səgit* (Punang dialect).

MUR ‘eye of the day’.

MGY *maso* from Swahili *macho* ‘eyes’; *andʔu* from PMP *\*qa(N)jahaw* ‘day’.

SUN [*panon*] from Javanese, ‘eye’; *poe* ‘day’; also [*saraŋeŋe*] from Javanese? See following note.

JAV From Old Javanese *saŋ hyaŋ* ‘god, goddess’, *we*, *wai* ‘sun, day’ (PAN *\*uaRi* ‘day’).

BAL Also *matanai* etymologically ‘eye of the day’, not synchronically analysable.

WOL ‘eye of day’.

BUR Also ‘day’; Li Enyorot *haŋat* ‘sun, day’.

IRA *rəre* ‘sunshine’.

TOL Also *mətə-nə-keake*, *mətə* ‘face’, *nə* CONN.

BUA Also ‘place’; *yes*.

MOT Also ‘day’.

MAR Also *naprai*.

PAA ‘eye of daylight’.

NEN Also *načadu*.

KIR Proper noun, without article.

PON Also *keṭipin*.

WLE Also *taūwata* ‘day, daylight’.

EFI Also *mata-ni-sija*.

SAM Also *lā* ‘shine intensely, be hot (of the sun)’.

TAH *rā* obs.

## 01.530 MOON

ATA	βua-tiŋ	UMA	βula	MAR	glaba
TSO	froxī	BUG	uliŋ	LAU	sinali
RUK	ḍamarə	KON	bulaŋ	KWO	siŋari
PAI	kil <sup>y</sup> as	WOL	βula	RAG	vula
YAM	vəan	MAG	vulaŋ	*PAA	avati
ISN	būlān	NGA	vula	LEW	kup <sup>w</sup> ario
KAL	būlan	SIK	βula-n	*POR	<sup>m</sup> bači
TAG	buwan	RTI	bula-k	NTA	mauŋ
AKL	būʃan	*BUR	fula-n	KWA	mak <sup>w</sup> a
PAL	bulan	DOB	ḍulan	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> we
MOL	bulan	IRA	seba	CEM	wóle
KAG	bulan	SAW	sni	AJI	vaʃui
BLA	bulən	NYI	bun	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ea
SAB	bulan	MAM	ʔalea	NEN	čekol
MUR	bulan	TAK	kalam	*KIR	nam <sup>w</sup> akaina
MGY	vulana	DAM	ogō	MSH	alləŋ
ACE	bultuən	MAB	pūlu	*PON	maram
BAT	bulan	YAB	ayoŋ	WLE	maṛama
MIN	bulan	KAU	namih	EFI	βula
IND	bulan	*TOL	gai	WFI	βula
SUN	bulan	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> eβ	RTU	hula
*JAV	bulan	*ADZ	ukam	TON	māhina
MAD	bulan	KIL	tubukona	*SAM	māsina
*BAL	bulan	TAW	wamahiya	*MEL	ŋāle
SAS	bulan	*MOT	hua	TAH	ʔāvaʔe
GOR	hulalo	*MEK	ŋava	RAP	mahina
DAA	vula	ROV	sidara		

JAV *rəmbulan* formal variant.

BAL *tīləm* ‘new moon; [purnamə] ‘full moon’ from Sanskrit.

BUR Also ‘month/season’; *ful deka-t* ‘rainy month/season’; *ful fehu-t* ‘new moon’; *ful rede-n* ‘waning moon’; *fula-n naa-n* ‘bright moon’; *ful dawa-t* ‘full moon’; *fula-n mata* ‘dead moon’ i.e. ‘darkness before moon rises’.

TOL Also *vagam* (north coast dialects, otherwise ‘full moon’).

ADZ Also *bura<sup>m</sup>p*.

MOT Also ‘month’.

MEK Desnoës gives ‘archaic’ *fuiā*, as well as *puia* for ‘new moon’.

PAA Also ‘month’.

POR Also *xa<sup>m</sup>bači*.

KIR Treated as proper noun, without article *te*; *te māma* ‘moonlight’.

PON Also *sounp<sup>w</sup>oŋ*.

SAM Also ‘month’.

MEL Also *sinamarama*.

## 01.540 STAR

*ATA	βulik	MIN	bintaŋ	DOB	tak <sup>w</sup> un
TSO	ϕoŋroxa	IND	bintaŋ	IRA	torə
RUK	tariao	SUN	bentaŋ	SAW	ŋə
*PAI	vicuḵ-an	JAV	lintaŋ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>h</sup> au
*YAM	mata no aŋit	MAD	bintaŋ	MAM	goai
ISN	bittuwan	BAL	bintaŋ	TAK	patui
KAL	bitūwən	SAS	bintaŋ	DAM	barisa
TAG	bituwīn	GOR	poliyama	MAB	pitik
AKL	bitū <sup>?</sup> un	DAA	betue	*YAB	uti
*PAL	bituwəŋ	UMA	betue <sup>?</sup>	KAU	aβeŋ
MOL	bitu <sup>?</sup> ən	BUG	wittowiŋ	TOL	təgul
KAG	bitu <sup>?</sup> un	KON	bintoeŋ	BUA	bətuyəŋ
BLA	blatik	*WOL	kalipopo	ADZ	ŋa <sup>n</sup> tam
SAB	bitu <sup>?</sup> un	MAG	<sup>n</sup> tala	KIL	utuyam
*MUR	butitin	NGA	dala	*TAW	ubəna
MGY	kintana	SIK	dala	MOT	hisiu
ACE	bintaŋ	RTI	<sup>n</sup> du-k	*MEK	mi <sup>?</sup> i-mi <sup>?</sup> i
BAT	bittaŋ	*BUR	tolo-t	ROV	pinpino

MAR	nat <sup>h</sup> unu	NEM	piuk	EFI	kalokalo
LAU	bubulu	CEM	céni	WFI	ĵiligo
KWO	buruburu	AJI	ařawiře	RTU	hefu
RAG	visiu	XAR	řuame	TON	fetu <sup>?</sup> u
PAA	hitu	NEN	waĵekol	SAM	fetū
LEW	verue	KIR	te itoi	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> asoi]
POR	mačoi	MSH	ieu	*TAH	fēti <sup>?</sup> a
NTA	mahau	PON	usu	RAP	hetu <sup>?</sup> u
*KWA	kumhau	WLE	fūsi		

ATA Also *βuřuk*.

PAI *ĵivuv* ‘teor’.

YAM ‘eye of heaven’.

PAL Also *bitwɔn*.

MUR *butitin* ‘star, planet’; *tata nu butitin* lit ‘excrement of star’ i.e. ‘shooting star’; *timbunus* ‘comet’.

WOL. Also *kali<sup>m</sup>popo*.

BUR Li Enyorot *gae*.

YAB Also *talata,uti-talata*.

TAW Some dialects *kipola*.

MEK Also ‘firefly’.

KWA Also ‘eyeball’.

MEL From Efate.

TAH *fētū* archaic.

## 01.550 LIGHTNING

ATA	watwat	MOL	kilat	SUN	kilat
TSO	mori <sup>?</sup> xoři	KAG	kilat	JAV	řařit
RUK	ĵikařa	BLA	silɔ <sup>?</sup>	*MAD	d <sup>ř</sup> ap-kədd <sup>ř</sup> ap
PAI	ĵařap	SAB	kilat	*BAL	kəlep
YAM	čičilat	MUR	ganit	SAS	kisap
ISN	kilāt	MGY	řelat <sup>ř</sup> a	GOR	<sup>?</sup> ilato
KAL	kilat	ACE	kilat	DAA	kila
*TAG	kidlat	BAT	hillap	UMA	kila <sup>?</sup>
AKL	kilat	MIN	kile <sup>?</sup>	BUG	billa <sup>?</sup>
PAL	kilat	IND	kilat	KON	kila <sup>?</sup>

*WOL	berese	*TOL	pələpələiə	CEM	ilehi
MAG	<sup>n</sup> dili- <sup>n</sup> dəlap	BUA	daβes	AJI	kayə
NGA	sile	ADZ	ɕuarip	XAR	ɕimĩāgate
*SIK	hile	*KIL	kaβikaβila	NEN	wasisiɕin
RTI	<sup>n</sup> dela	TAW	namanamala	*KIR	te iti
BUR	fila-t	MOT	keβaru	MSH	caɾom
DOB	ŋela	*MEK	kimaŋe	*PON	liəl
*IRA	naɸaɸe	ROV	kapi	*WLE	wereffüsü
SAW	lemʔlem	MAR	nakafli	EFI	liβaliβa
NYI	kalik	LAU	sinamaru	WFI	liβaliβa
MAM	lamalama pitiʔaoaŋa	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aŋa	RTU	mere
*TAK	weili- raklawi-da	RAG	vilehi	TON	ʔuhila
DAM	lalani	PAA	ahil	*SAM	uila
*MAB	<sup>m</sup> bil	*LEW	ye-pila	MEL	wira
YAB	osiʔ	POR	na-vi	TAH	uira
*KAU	pi mlenen	NTA	nəpətan	RAP	ʔuira
		*KWA	nəruapenien		
		NEM	ŋonim		

TAG PHN \*kilat.

MAD From (RED-*kədd<sup>h</sup>ap*). Safiocdin (1977): *kədd<sup>h</sup>ap* ‘light’.

BAL Also *tatit, kilap*.

WOL *berese* ‘thunder and lightning’; also *kila*.

SIK Also *kləka hile, dəgu dədo*.

IRA Also *made farərə*.

TAK ‘thunder it-flash, wink-IMPRF, i.e. ‘the thunder flashes’.

MAB Also *mil, bil; lele ikimit* ‘It is lightening’.

KAU *mlenen* is probably derived from *mlaiŋ* ‘light’. Also *pi lem lem; lem* also ‘fear’, but it is not clear if this is a homophone.

TOL See 15.660.

KIL Also *kaikaila*; this demonstrates the fact noted in the phonological statement on the lenis quality of β; when in environment *aβi* it is frequently lost; see 03.814.

MEK Also East Mekeo *paku-paku, maŋa-maŋa*. Also West Mekeo *bari-bari*, ‘lightning’, but see 01.560, note.

LEW Also *yo-kari-pila*.

KWA Also *prəsekune* ‘forked lightning’.

KIR	Also 'electricity'.
PON	Also <i>ipīp</i> 'lightning without thunder'.
WLE	'sparking flash'; <i>weṛewere</i> .
SAM	Also 'electricity'.

### 01.560 THUNDER

ATA	βičuy	UMA	kuna	ROV	paka maṅauru
*TSO	akʔe-ŋiʔa	BUG	litte	*MAR	fila
RUK	ḍəṛəḍəṛə	KON	'gunturu	LAU	kururu
*PAI	ʔəʔalək	*WOL	gu <sup>n</sup> tu	KWO	loulou
YAM	aḍəy	*MAG	gə <sup>ɔ</sup> gus	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ahilo
ISN	addug	NGA	təgu	PAA	vaulūl
KAL	kidul	*SIK	dəgu dədo	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> olulu
TAG	kulog	RTI	na- <sup>ɔ</sup> gulu	POR	xuve
AKL	daʔugdug	BUR	gogo	NTA	kalualua
*PAL	duldug	DOB	ʔadudum	KWA	karuarua
MOL	duldug	*IRA	karru	NEM	niuk
KAG	dagə <sup>ʔ</sup> əb	SAW	rub	CEM	tíkəkət
BLA	kilət	NYI	kuruh	AJI	nə <sup>ʔ</sup> ə
SAB	lōggon	MAM	lamalama	XAR	netə
*MUR	tiŋkalud		pa <sup>ʔ</sup> iraŋa	*NEN	ŋe
*MGY	kuʔ <sup>r</sup> u-barəʔ <sup>r</sup> a	TAK	weil	KIR	te bā
ACE	gulantuwə	DAM	kəlimei	MSH	eəuʔuʔ
BAT	rəŋgur	*MAB	lolo	PON	nənsap <sup>w</sup> e
MIN	guru <sup>h</sup>	YAB	wapap	WLE	paca
*IND	guruh	KAU	pi klug	EFI	kurukuru
SUN	guludug	*TOL	pipi	WFI	kurukuru
*JAV	bləḍək	BUA	βəkubək	RTU	fu <sup>ʔ</sup> i
MAD	g <sup>ʔ</sup> alud <sup>h</sup> uk	*ADZ	nam ririŋ	TON	mana
*BAL	kərug	KIL	pilapala	SAM	fāititili
SAS	guntur	TAW	palele	MEL	paččiri
GOR	bulo <sup>ɔ</sup> godu	*MOT	guba rahurahu	TAH	pātiri
DAA	guru	*MEK	aia-ia	RAP	pātiri

TSO	'grandfather ( <i>akʔi</i> ) of the heavens'.
PAI	<i>zuŋ</i> 'light thunder'.
PAL	Also <i>kuyow</i> , the name of 'Thunder and his seven brothers'.

MUR	<i>tiŋkalud</i> general term; <i>timpalak</i> ‘thunderclap’.
MGY	From <i>kuṭʳuka</i> ‘thunder’ + <i>varaṭʳa</i> ‘thunder(bolt)’.
IND	Also <i>guntur</i> .
JAV	Also <i>gluḍuk</i> ; Horne <i>bləḍεg, glugug</i> .
BAL	Also <i>grudug</i> ; <i>krebek</i> ‘sharp cracking sound of lightning’.
WOL	<i>gu<sup>n</sup>tu</i> (n); <i>ko-gu<sup>n</sup>tu</i> (vb).
MAG	Also <i>bō</i> .
SIK	Also <i>nəgur</i> ‘thunder of waves’.
IRA	Also <i>kararu</i> .
MAB	Also <i>lele ikuruŋ</i> .
TOL	Also <i>pagur</i> .
ADZ	‘thing noise’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>guba rahua</i> ( <i>rahu-a</i> ‘to move along, of moon in sky or of dancers; to beat the sea; to chase fish into net’), <i>gubareye</i> ( <i>reye</i> ‘sound’).
MEK	cf. Motu <i>aita-cta</i> . Idiomatically <i>ufa e-au-ŋa</i> , ‘(the) sky strikes (something)’. Brown has <i>abaribari e api</i> for ‘thunder’, but see 01.550, note.
MAR	<i>fila</i> ‘thunder clap’; <i>gugulu</i> ‘distant rumbling’.
NEN	Also <i>tiripaŋe</i> .

### 01.570 LIGHTNING (as striking)

ATA	t-in-aptap na? βaŋa?	*KAG	latti	SAS	təker
		BLA	s-m-ilo?	GOR	botu bulota
TSO		SAB	lette?	DAA	kila
RUK		MUR	ganit	UMA	berese
PAI		MGY	varaṭʳa	BUG	billa?
*YAM	aḍnan no čičilat	ACE	kilat	KON	latte
ISN	salʔit	BAT	hillap	WOL	
KAL	kanon kilat	MIN	patuyh	MAG	pasat
*TAG	lintik	*IND	pətir	NGA	βela
*AKL	linti?	*SUN	halilintar	SIK	kləka hile
PAL	kilat	JAV	gəlap	RTI	tata-s
MOL	tomparik	MAD	kilap	BUR	fila-t ba lata
		*BAL	kilap	*DOB	ŋela k <sup>w</sup> aŋir

IRA	dene	MOT	keβaru	XAR	çimĩāgate
SAW	lemʔlem	*MEK	kimaje e-afi	NEN	wasisiḍin
NYI	kalik	ROV	kapi	KIR	
MAM	lamalama	MAR	nakaflī	MSH	
	eḡa	LAU	sinamaru	PON	
*TAK	weil i-funi-ya	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aḡa	WLE	
DAM	lalani y-u-k	RAG	vilehi	EFI	yaseyase
MAB	lolo nīni ipēni	PAA		WFI	laβa
*YAB	osiʔke-kaʔ	LEW	ye-pila	RTU	fē
*KAU	pi lap	POR	na-vi	TON	ʔuhila
*TOL	pələpələia	NTA	nəpətan	*SAM	uila
BUA	daβes	*KWA	-əruapen	MEL	
*ADZ	is	NEM		TAH	pātiri
KIL	i-kaβikaβila	CEM		RAP	ure titiʔo
TAW	namali	AJI	kayə		moana

YAM ‘lightning falling down on’.

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines *\*lentiq* ‘thunderclap’.

AKL ‘crash’.

KAG *latti + na- -an* ‘to be struck by lightning’.

IND Also *kilat*, *halilintar*.

SUN Not in Eringa 1984.

BAL Also *tilap*.

DOB ‘lightning’s string’: *k<sup>w</sup>aḡir* is inalienably possessed, and usually means the rope or string of something. *ḡela* alone refers to sheet lightning.

TAK ‘thunder it-hit-PERF, i.e. ‘the thunder struck’.

YAB ‘lightning it-flash’, i.e. ‘the lightning flashes’.

KAU Also *pi plai*; *pi sop*.

TOL See 15.660.

ADZ Verb, ‘hit’.

MEK ‘lightning takes’.

KWA Also ‘flash, flicker, quiver’.

SAM *ʔo le ʔemo o le uila* ‘a flash of lightning’.



## 01.580 STORM

ATA	kaṅahay	*UMA	baraʔ	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> avali
*TSO	tuçvixi	BUG	talipūru	LAU	halo (e tō)
RUK	omoko	*KON	aŋiŋ sarro	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	garura	*RAG	siri-tano
YAM	aŋin	MAG	varat	*PAA	laŋū
ISN	arnāb	NGA	uza-vara	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi piowa
KAL	bāli	*SIK	ani-n βəβur	*POR	<sup>m</sup> bar ni-sar
TAG	bagyo	RTI	saŋu	NTA	
AKL	bagyuh	*BUR	enyopi-t	*KWA	nəmatəŋi
*PAL	pirumaʔat	DOB	baləŋan law		asori
MOL	boju	IRA	taragənə	*NEM	hun dān
KAG	unus	SAW	rato	*CEM	ú-dān
BLA	bələt	NYI	jor	AJI	kayā kau
SAB	baju	MAM	anua-goala	XAR	ŋūŋere
MUR	pupulun	*TAK	duadao	NEN	wene
*MGY	tafiu-ḍ <sup>r</sup> ivut <sup>r</sup> a	DAM	uyē yau	*KIR	te aŋibuaka
ACE	bade	*MAB	dūbu bībi	*MSH	ip <sup>tu</sup> ep <sup>w</sup>
BAT	haba-haba	*YAB	mu-tena	*PON	melimel
MIN	baday	KAU	pi punu	*WLE	mařūmařū
*IND	badai	*TOL	ŋələ na vuvu	EFI	ḍaŋi-laba
*SUN	aŋin [topan]	BUA		WFI	ḍaŋi-laba
JAV	prahərə	*ADZ	fifiŋ	*RTU	læŋ hɔʔi
*MAD	aŋin b <sup>h</sup> arat	KIL	utuyagila	TON	afā
*BAL	uŋan aŋin	TAW	duba	*SAM	afā
SAS	aŋin pusut	*MOT	guba	MEL	matəŋi-tā
GOR	dutalo	*MEK	lanina	TAH	vero
*DAA	uŋa bara	ROV	rane boŋi	RAP	ʔati

TSO *tuçvixi* of heavy wind; *çmorxu* of heavy rain.

PAL *bagyu buraʔ* ‘white storm’.

MGY From *tafiut<sup>r</sup>a* ‘the sound of strong wind’ + *rivut<sup>r</sup>a* ‘wind’.

IND Also *aŋin ribut*, [*çuaça*] *buruk* from Sanskrit.

SUN From Arabic.

MAD ‘strong wind’.

BAL ‘rain (and) wind’; *aŋin barət* lit ‘strong wind’.

DAA ‘rain-west wind’, also *taufan* ‘tempest’.

UMA Also *uda <sup>m</sup>po-ŋoluʔ*.

KON	<i>aŋiŋ sarro</i> ‘strong wind’; <i>aŋiŋ lompo</i> ‘big wind’.
WOL	Also ‘hurricane’.
SIK	Also <i>ani-n pəsu</i> , <i>βarat</i> .
BUR	From <i>en-opi-t</i> ( <i>opi</i> ‘blow’); also <i>wasawa-t</i> ‘typhoon’; <i>lok begal</i> ‘thunder cloud’ ( <i>loko-n</i> ‘cloud’).
TAK	‘storm at sea’.
MAB	<i>dūbu bībi</i> ‘big waves’; <i>mīri bībi</i> ‘big wind’.
YAB	‘wind-mother’, i.e. ‘storm’.
TOL	<i>ŋala</i> ‘big’, <i>na</i> CONN, <i>vuvu</i> ‘wind’, <i>labur</i> ‘northwest monsoon’.
ADZ	‘strong, fierce wind’.
MOT	Used generally; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.): <i>guba</i> ‘squall from the north-west’; <i>ore</i> ‘squall, storm (longer than <i>guba</i> )’.
MEK	<i>l-anina</i> actually means the north-west monsoon and attendant rain storms. The north wind, <i>mili-kini</i> (Motu <i>mirigini</i> ) also brings storms.
RAG	‘cyclone’.
PAA	‘hurricane’. Note: also <i>lantisa-</i> ‘any very bad weather’; <i>tanoa-</i> ‘extremely heavy downpour’.
LEW	‘bad time’.
POR	<i>mbar ni-sar</i> ‘storm’; <i>n-can tam<sup>w</sup>is</i> ‘the-wind hit’, i.e. ‘cyclone’.
KWA	‘wind large’, <i>nəsəsauien</i> ‘blowing’.
NEM	‘strong wind’.
CEM	‘big wind’.
KIR	‘bad wind’; <i>te taerawa</i> lit ‘cuts off the channel’.
MSH	<i>ip<sup>w</sup>ep<sup>w</sup></i> also ‘onslaught’; <i>kaŋtēpiŋ<sup>wa</sup></i> CAUS; lit ‘removes the shoals’; <i>laŋ</i> also <i>ce!aŋ</i> ; <i>ŋŋat</i> also <i>aŋŋat</i> ; <i>liɔŋ</i> ; <i>aɛŋɛ</i> .
PON	<i>lāŋ</i> ‘bad weather, sky’.
WLE	Also <i>laŋi</i> ‘bad weather, sky’.
RTU	‘hurricane’.
SAM	Also <i>mataŋi</i> ‘wind, storm’.

## 01.590 RAINBOW

*ATA	hakri <sup>?</sup> na <sup>?</sup>	RUK	baŋilawlaw	ISN	buŋlun
	?utux	PAI	ku <sup>l</sup> ivaŋəraw	KAL	buŋlun
TSO	xioru	*YAM	naŋiraŋ	*TAG	bahaghāri <sup>?</sup>

*AKL	baɫaŋaw	MAG	dimar	KWO	fulaʔalo
PAL	bɔluntuŋ	NGA	nitū-niba	RAG	tabaŋao
MOL	buluntuŋ	*SIK	ʔraβi-n	PAA	mietiet
KAG	blaŋaw	RTI	elu-s	LEW	kup <sup>w</sup> e-eriere
BLA	lawelawe	BUR	fale	POR	vaniv
*SAB	sainduguʔ	DOB	ʔabuʔaʔan	NTA	meraimera
MUR	buluntuŋ	*IRA	ɸæ rigətə	KWA	mərarən
*MGY	ançi-be-n- andʔiamaniʔ <sup>r</sup> a	SAW	ranʔtub	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> alaluk
*ACE	bunuuŋ raja timəh	NYI	betekeñab <sup>w</sup> iu	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ólélú
BAT	halibutəŋan	MAM	bulele	AJI	ɟerɔ
MIN	ulaŋiaŋ	TAK	galab	*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> i-netə
*IND	pəlaŋi	DAM	wāl lol	NEN	gurewen
SUN	katumbiri	MAB	za	*KIR	te tabaura
*JAV	[tejɔ]	YAB	kaso <sup>m</sup> buʔ	*MSH	īa
MAD	andaŋ	KAU	li pos-pi	*PON	āia
*BAL	biaŋ lala(h)	TOL	gogol	WLE	řaiiři-yařa
*SAS	[tejɔ]	BUA	marubəyī	EFI	dʔōdʔōlaŋi
*GOR	duhi lo butu	*ADZ	u <sup>m</sup> pum	WFI	dʔōdʔōlaŋi
DAA	sa <sup>m</sup> pinoraa	KIL	lubakaidoga	RTU	ʔasesekæe
*UMA	pino	TAW	hulele	TON	ʔumata
BUG	tarawu	MOT	keβau	SAM	nuanua
KON	taruhe	*MEK	ŋaŋaka	*MEL	[tūpuçi]
WOL	<sup>n</sup> toro uwe	ROV	biybiyo	TAH	ānuanua
		MAR	maja	RAP	hanua-nua
		LAU	furaro		mea

ATA Also *hakaw naʔ ʔutux*; lit ‘bridge of ghost’.

YAM *nanyiraŋ* in Iraralay.

TAG ‘g-string of the king’.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*balaŋaw*.

SAB Also *andalahu* or *andahaw*, in related dialects.

MGY From *ançi* ‘knife’, *be* ‘big’-N- *Andʔiamaniʔ<sup>r</sup>a* ‘God’, ‘God’s big hatchet’; also *avana*.

ACE Also *peulaŋgi* ‘many coloured’ may be used under the influence of Malay for ‘rainbow’.

IND Also *biaŋlala*; *bənaŋ [raja]* from Sanskrit, lit ‘king’s thread’.

JAV From Sanskrit; also *kluwuŋ*.

BAL Also *yaŋlala(h)*.

SAS From Sanskrit.

GOR	Also <i>tuhiyaŋo</i> .
UMA	Archaic form <i>pinōraa</i> .
SIK	Also <i>ʔraβi-n taβa, lolo-n taβa</i> .
IRA	‘bow like’.
ADZ	<i>u<sup>m</sup>pum</i> ‘python’ (all dialects); <i>a<sup>m</sup>pai</i> ‘python’ (Amari dialect only).
MEK	Also <i>ŋaŋaki</i> ; East Mekeo <i>afi-mapoe</i> and <i>fainu</i> ( <i>paino</i> in North Mekeo and West Mekeo). [ <i>kevau</i> ], all dialects, from Motu. Also NW Mekeo <i>aŋaŋa/aŋaga</i> .
CEM	See also <i>ine â pîm</i> ‘sign of peace’.
XAR	‘tail of thunder’.
KIR	With fossilised root <i>*ura</i> ‘rain’.
MSH	<i>īa</i> Western dialect; <i>cemælut</i> Eastern dialect.
PON	Also <i>īāia</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 01.610 LIGHT (noun)

**Sanskrit:** *chāyā* ‘shade, lustre’

*ATA	čiʔax	MIN	[čayo]	*DOB	rak <sup>w</sup> ur
TSO		*IND	[čahaya]	IRA	rəre
*RUK	darədarə	SUN	[čahaya]	SAW	mε-nano
*PAI	tə <sup>l</sup> ar	JAV	sunar	*NYI	an
YAM	marŋaŋ	MAD	sunar	MAM	malama
ISN	wada	*BAL	ənter-an	TAK	lilaman
KAL	sīlaw	SAS	ñalə	*DAM	yauri
TAG	liwānaŋ	GOR	tilaŋə	MAB	mat
*AKL	hāyag	DAA	reme	YAB	ŋawe
*PAL	talaŋ	UMA	baʒa	KAU	pi mi-mlaiŋ
MOL	lantaʔ	BUG	[čahaya]	*TOL	kāpə
KAG	pawa	KON	'sinara	BUA	raŋay
BLA	ka-lwə	*WOL	nuru	*ADZ	gubuʔ
SAB	sawa	MAG	nera	KIL	lumalama
MUR	tawaŋ	NGA	dara	TAW	yayata
*MGY	zava	*SIK	iŋa	MOT	diari
*ACE	[cahya]	*RTI	le-ledo-k	*MEK	ea-ea
BAT	(na) təraŋ	*BUR	glinan	ROV	kalalasa

*MAR	ɗafi	NEM	mala	EFI	rārama
*LAU	folā	CEM	mēlā-n	WFI	ḍēḍē
KWO		AJI	dā	RTU	tafa
RAG		*XAR	mere	TON	maama
*PAA	malem	NEN	waneren	*SAM	mālamalama
*LEW	ye-m-lani	*KIR	te ōta	MEL	mārama
*POR	ni-sü	MSH	meṛam	*TAH	māramarama
NTA	nhaḡhaḡən	*PON	kamp <sup>w</sup> ul	*RAP	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> eha
*KWA	nurkuranien	*WLE	taṛama		

ATA *p-in-iṛay* ‘light, torch’.

RUK *ləḍa* ‘light’; *wa-ləḍa* ‘bright’; *ḍarəḍarə* ‘to twinkle like a star’.

PAI *zar-zar* ‘ray of light’.

AKL *hāyag + ka-*; Proto-Southern Philippines \**hāyaR*.

PAL *bōṅar*.

MGY Also (*fa*)*haza’vana* from (*fa*)*ha- zava -ana*.

ACE Also [*caya*].

IND Also *təraḡ, sinar*.

BAL ‘light of sun’; *əndih-an* ‘light from a flame, from a lamp etc’.

WOL Also *tila*.

SIK Also *iṅa teṅa-n*.

RTI From *ledo* ‘sun’ meaning ‘light, daylight’.

BUR Also *naa-n; le-poto-n sina-n* ‘sunshine’.

DOB Adjective; *papa rak<sup>w</sup>ur* ‘it is light’, lit ‘the ground is light’.

NYI See 01.520.

DAM Also *yal*, originally a torch made from dried coconut fronds, now extended to include torches, kerosene lamps and electric lights.

TOL Also *birau* ‘flame’, see 15.560, 15.570.

ADZ ‘sun’.

MEK Also *ea*; North Mekeo *ea-ea*; West Mekeo and NW Mekeo *iakaka/eakaka*.

MAR ‘sunlight’.

LAU Also *k<sup>w</sup>esu*.

PAA Specifically referring to ‘moonlight’.

LEW Often *ye-m-lagi*.

POR	<i>ni-sü</i> ‘bamboo torch’; <i>na-mači</i> ‘moon light’; <i>lön n-iö</i> ‘at, in the-sun’, i.e. ‘daylight’.
KWA	Also <i>nək<sup>w</sup>asikar, ɲhar</i> ‘sunlight’.
XAR	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>acā</i> .
KIR	Also <i>te māma</i> ‘moonlight’.
PON	‘source of light’; CAUS of <i>mp<sup>w</sup>ul</i> ‘flame’.
WLE	<i>weɾe</i> also ‘firelight, glow’.
SAM	‘be clear’, <i>malama</i> (vb) ‘(of dawn, day) break’.
TAH	Also <i>mōri</i> ; <i>ʔua ao</i> ‘it is daylight’.
RAP	<i>ma<sup>ʔ</sup>eha</i> ‘natural light of day’; <i>morī</i> ‘artificial light’ (of candle, lightbulb, etc.).

## 01.620 DARKNESS

ATA	<i>mana-ku<sup>ʔ</sup>um</i>	BAL	<i>pətəŋ</i>	*TOL	<i>kokodo</i>
TSO	<i>vorɕivɕi</i>	*SAS	<i>kə-pətəŋ-an</i>	BUA	<i>mala kənu</i>
RUK	<i>ma-ɖa-ɖimiti</i>	GOR	<i>di<sup>ʔ</sup>olomo</i>	*ADZ	<i>pas wasa<sup>ʔ</sup></i>
PAI	<i>sələm-an</i>	DAA	<i>ɳga-rumau-na</i>	KIL	<i>dudubila</i>
YAM	<i>maɟari</i>	UMA	<i>ka-beŋi-a</i>	TAW	<i>uguwa</i>
ISN	<i>gi<sup>ʔ</sup>bat</i>	BUG	<i>pittəŋ</i>	*MOT	<i>dibura</i>
KAL	<i>kolop</i>	KON	<i>sassaŋ</i>	*MEK	<i>ʔumi-na</i>
*TAG	<i>dilim</i>	*WOL	<i>kalala<sup>n</sup>da</i>	ROV	<i>huporo</i>
*AKL	<i>duɬum</i>	MAG	<i>nə<sup>n</sup>dəp</i>	MAR	<i>gromno</i>
PAL	<i>kə-ribəŋ-an</i>	NGA	<i>gəma</i>	LAU	<i>rodoa</i>
MOL	<i>iŋroŋ</i>	*SIK	<i>ruma-n</i>	KWO	<i>logo</i>
KAG	<i>dələm</i>	*RTI	<i>hatu-hatu</i>	RAG	
BLA	<i>kifu</i>	*BUR	<i>mite-n</i>	PAA	<i>manckoli</i>
SAB	<i>lɛndom</i>	*DOB	<i>demur</i>	LEW	<i>ye-malolo</i>
MUR	<i>lɛndom</i>	*IRA	<i>bərmumətə</i>	POR	<i>mar ɳgo<sup>m</sup>bür</i>
*MGY	<i>ni ma-izina</i>	SAW	<i>dərɔrɛm</i>	NTA	<i>napinap<sup>w</sup>an</i>
*ACE	<i>klam</i>	*NYI	<i>lulik</i>	KWA	<i>nəpituwien</i>
BAT	<i>(na) holom</i>	MAM	<i>oabubu</i>	NEM	<i>uren</i>
MIN	<i>kalam</i>	TAK	<i>turarou</i>	CEM	<i>píŋ</i>
*IND	<i>kə-gələp-an</i>	DAM	<i>gugumi</i>	AJI	<i>neorē</i>
SUN	<i>pock</i>	*MAB	<i>zugut</i>	XAR	<i>nə-ŋĩĩ-rɛ</i>
*JAV	<i>pə-pətəŋ</i>	*YAB	<i>ŋakese<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	NEN	<i>ɳanašen</i>
MAD	<i>pəttəŋ</i>	*KAU	<i>pi mi-ku</i>	KIR	<i>te rō</i>

*MSH	maʁok	WFI	dʻiodʻiō	MEL	pōuri-raŋa
PON	rōt	RTU	maksulu	*TAH	pōiri
*WLE	roʂo	TON	fakapoʔuli	*RAP	pōhāhā
EFI	butobutō	*SAM	poŋisā		

TAG Also *ka-riml-an*, *ka-dilim-an*; Proto-Philippines *\*delem*.

AKL Also *ka-du-duʔm-an*, Proto-Philippines *\*delem*.

MGY ‘the dark’.

ACE Also *supot* ‘darkness, dusk’.

IND *kə-gəlap-an* ‘darkness’; *gəlap* ‘dark’.

JAV *pətəŋ* ‘dark’.

SAS This use of *kə-...-an* from Malay? Not in Thoir et al. (1985) or Thoir et al. (1979).

WOL Also *ma-rawu-rawu* ‘still dark, before daybreak’; also *poposa* ‘pitch darkness’.

SIK Also *ruma-n du tət*.

RTI Also *kiu-kiu* a more intense darkness than *hatu-hatu*; ‘pitch dark’ is *maka-hatu kiu-kiu* (or *kibu-kibu* which is an alternative form of *kiu-kiu*). *hatu-hatu* and *kiu-kiu* form a doublet.

BUR Also *par-mite-n*, *per-mede-n* ‘darkness with overtones of evil spiritual forces’; *rede-n* ‘dark (moon)’.

DOB Adjective ‘dark’; *papa demur* ‘it is dark’, lit ‘the ground is dark’.

IRA ‘very dark’.

NYI Also *lik*.

MAB Also *zugutma<sup>n</sup>diŋ*.

YAB *gesuŋ-bom* ‘cave-wild’, i.e. ‘pitch darkness’.

KAU ‘place inside black’.

TOL See 15.630, also *bobotoi*.

ADZ ‘moment middle’.

MOT Also ‘prison’; *βabura* ‘dusk, dark’.

MEK Also *vafu* or *vafu-ŋa*. The 3sg suffixes are semi-fossilised.

MSH Also *m<sup>w</sup>witok*, *m<sup>w</sup>itok*.

WLE Also ‘night’.

SAM ‘be dark’; *poŋi* ‘be blurred’, *pō* ‘night’; ‘be dark’.

TAH *pō* ‘night, darkness’.

RAP Also *poʔura* twilight.

**01.630 SHADE, SHADOW**

*ATA	šašik	*UMA	kao?	*ROV	agoro
*TSO	soxŋu	BUG	waʃam-paʃaŋ	*MAR	ʃemnu
RUK	liʃianə	*KON	laʔlaŋ	LAU	nufi
*PAI	liʃiŋ	WOL	ʔka-mia-mia	*KWO	maru(-na)
YAM	kavonʃan	MAG	nenu	RAG	nunu
ISN	layyʃuŋ	NGA	fao	PAA	nīmal
*KAL	ayyʃuŋ	*SIK	gon	*LEW	yo-malu
TAG	liʃim	*RTI	saʔo	POR	mömö
AKL	handʃuŋ	*BUR	möda-n	NTA	ləŋhanpʷəs
*PAL	kalʃuŋ	*DOB	demur	*KWA	təmkəmi-
MOL	oluŋ	*IRA	bərəbuənə	*NEM	bōm
*KAG	lambuŋ	*SAW	məuŋən	*CEM	bōm
BLA	galʃuŋ	*NYI	korohan	AJI	ko
*SAB	sinduŋ	*MAM	anunuʔa	*XAR	kʷēxʷi
MUR	babadaʔ	TAK	miriao	NEN	tadeč
MGY	aluka	DAM	buri	KIR	te nū
ACE	bubayaŋ	*MAB	nerekou-	*MSH	llɔʔ
*BAT	liŋgom		nerkou	*PON	ŋēn
MIN	bayaŋ-bayaŋ	*YAB	ayuŋ	WLE	nürü
*IND	pər-nauŋ-an	*KAU	enu	EFI	yaloyalo
SUN	kalaŋkaŋ	TOL	məlur	*WFI	walowalo
*JAV	ayaŋ-ayaŋ	*BUA	qənu	RTU	molu
MAD	nauŋ	ADZ	yaŋ	*TON	malu
*BAL	lawat	*KIL	kaikonigula	*SAM	paolo
*SAS	ledo	TAW	lögulogu	*MEL	marumaru
GOR	wolilu	*MOT	i-kerukeru	*TAH	marumaru
*DAA	petʔona-ulu	MEK	oŋo	RAP	kohu

ATA Also *šašaw*.

TSO *soxŋu* 'shade'; *oŋko* 'shadow'.

PAI *kaka-kaka* 'shadow of man'.

KAL Also *aŋiŋīwan*.

PAL Also *ɔninu*.

KAG *lambuŋ* 'shade'; *alo* 'shadow'.

SAB *sinduŋ* 'shade of a tree etc'; *lambuŋ* 'the shadow of a person etc'.

BAT Also *ha'lilu*.

IND *pər-nauŋ-an* 'shade'; *bayaŋ-bayaŋ* 'shadow'.



JAV	Also <i>wayaŋ</i> .
BAL	<i>lawat</i> ‘shadow’; <i>embon</i> has the general meaning ‘cool’, e.g. of liquids. Also ‘cool, shaded place, sheltered spot’.
SAS	Also <i>leŋon</i> ; some dialects: <i>lendo</i> .
DAA	<i>petoʔo na-ulu</i> lit ‘shady place’, <i>na-ula</i> ‘shady’, <i>vayo</i> ‘shadow’.
UMA	<i>kaoʔ</i> ‘shadow of a thing or person’ (also means ‘soul of person’); <i>ka-mou-a</i> ‘protective shade’, e.g. under a tree.
KON	<i>laʔlaŋ</i> ‘shade’; <i>tauŋ-tauŋ, haʃo-haʃo</i> ‘shadow’.
SIK	<i>gon</i> (of a tree, house); <i>alo-n</i> (of a person, animal).
RTI	<i>saʔo</i> is the general term; <i>salao-k</i> ‘shadow of man or animal’.
BUR	<i>moda-n</i> ‘shade’; <i>ninu-n</i> ‘shadow’.
DOB	<i>demur</i> ‘shade, dark’; ‘shadow’ is <i>ʔowuy</i> lit ‘shape’.
IRA	<i>wə</i> ‘shadow (of person or object)’; <i>itu wenugə</i> ‘mirror image’.
SAW	Also [ <i>gurumin</i> ], specifically for ‘people’s shadow’, from Tobelo.
NYI	<i>korohan</i> ‘shade from an object’, <i>malawin-</i> ‘shadow showing image of object or person’.
MAM	<i>anunuʔa</i> ‘shade’; <i>auŋaʔa</i> ‘shadow’.
MAB	<i>nerkou-nerkou</i> ‘shade’; <i>kunu-</i> ‘shadow’.
YAB	Also ( <i>ŋa-</i> ) <i>kanuʔ</i> ‘dark, getting dark’; <i>katu</i> ‘his/her shadow/soul’; <i>ŋa-katu</i> ‘shadow, picture’.
KAU	See 16.110.
BUA	<i>ʔənu</i> ‘shadow, spirit’; <i>kū</i> ‘shade, shady spot, shadow’.
KIL	<i>kaikonigula</i> (tree, etc), <i>kaikobu-la</i> (person) ‘his shadow’.
MOT	<i>ikerukeru</i> ‘shade’ ( <i>keru</i> ‘cold’); <i>laulau</i> ‘shadow’; also ‘spirit, image, picture, photo’; <i>ia laulau-na</i> ‘his shadow’.
ROV	<i>agoro</i> ‘shade’; <i>magmago</i> ‘shadow’.
MAR	<i>ʃemnu</i> ‘shade’; <i>nauŋo</i> ‘shadow’.
KWO	<i>maru(-na)</i> ‘shade’; <i>nunu(-na)</i> ‘shadow’.
LEW	‘shade’; also <i>wa-malu</i> ‘shaded place’; <i>ninu-na</i> ‘shadow’.
KWA	<i>təmkəmi-</i> ‘shade’; <i>nanumu-</i> ‘shadow’, also means ‘spirit’.
NEM	<i>bōm</i> ‘shade’; <i>deni-n</i> ‘his/her/its shadow’.
CEM	<i>bōm</i> ‘shade’; <i>demε-n</i> ‘shadow’.
XAR	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ēx<sup>w</sup>ī</i> ‘shadow cast by s.th.’; <i>kāb<sup>w</sup>ī</i> ‘shade’.
MSH	Also <i>kalloŋ, alloŋ, aeloŋ</i>
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>etē</i> 3sg POSS; ‘shade’.
WFI	Also <i>māwalo</i> .

TON *malu* 'shade'; *?ata* 'shadow'.

SAM 'be shady'.

MEL Also [*melūmelu*], *ata* from Efate.

TAH *ata* 'circuit of shadow'.

### 01.640 DEW

ATA	riʔu	UMA	si <sup>n</sup> toruʔ	ROV	puni
TSO	smū	BUG	appuŋ	MAR	bubuŋu
RUK	lamo	KON	laninriŋ	LAU	
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> aʒik	WOL	aloma	KWO	bisu
YAM	apon	MAG	napuŋ	RAG	idanoi
ISN	lapāʔat	*NGA	vae apu	PAA	tilev
KAL	lappat	*SIK	apu-n	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> anini
TAG	hamog	RTI	dini-s	POR	m <sup>w</sup> e <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> eu
AKL	tunʔug	BUR	muha-daka-n	NTA	nam <sup>w</sup> etan
PAL	namug	DOB	mayar	KWA	nouipənien
MOL	damug	IRA	modə	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> oe
*KAG	tunʔug	SAW	lemʔlem	CEM	dini
BLA	ɔluʔ	NYI	rahu	AJI	tēba
SAB	aluʔ	MAM	sumuniŋ	XAR	denabo
*MUR	limog	*TAK	dog	NEN	ŋayekue
MGY	andu	DAM	tetok	KIR	te aoi
ACE	mbon	MAB	tolou	MSH	m <sup>w</sup> Δ <sup>l</sup> ɔwi
*BAT	əbbun	*YAB	nɔp	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ɔik
MIN	ambun	*KAU	mumhut	WLE	
IND	əmbun	TOL	mavoko	EFI	teŋu
SUN	ibun	*BUA	bətuyəŋ ñɛ	WFI	deku
*JAV	bun		ruk	RTU	makmakao
MAD	əbb <sup>h</sup> un	ADZ	tifituf	TON	hahau
BAL	damuh	KIL	numla	*SAM	sau
SAS	adal	TAW	tuluwani	MEL	sau
GOR	wonu	MOT	hunu	TAH	hupe
DAA	ta <sup>n</sup> toru	MEK	ŋemu-ʔa	RAP	hupe

KAG Also *yamug*.

MUR *limog* general term; *bolobow* 'dew (dripping); dewdrop'.

BAT Also *nabbur*.

JAV Also *awun-awun*.

NGA *apu* itself means ‘mildew’, but people commonly use *vae apu*.

SIK Also *ro*, ?*reti*.

TAK Also *bug*, the two items are dialect variants.

YAB Also *le<sup>n</sup>dam, maniq*.

KAU Also *mumuklu*.

BUA ‘dribble of the stars’.

SAM ‘(of dew) fall’.

### 01.710 AIR

**Arabic:** *hawā*

**Sanskrit:** *udāra-* ‘rising fog, vapour’

ATA		SAS [hawə]	ADZ
TSO pruɕu		GOR [ʔudāra]	KIL
RUK sa-səvər-anə		DAA [udara]	TAW
PAI vaɭi	*UMA	raoa	*MOT odaoda
YAM ʃaroʃaw	BUG	hawa	*MEK mapu
ISN āŋin	KON	aŋiŋ	ROV ɣalyalearane
KAL āŋin	WOL	ŋalu	*MAR maloa
*TAG hāŋin	MAG	vae	LAU maŋā
AKL hāŋin	*NGA	ola	KWO lalo
PAL ambun	*SIK	βula βutu	RAG
MOL doros	RTI		PAA
KAG aŋin	BUR	moda	*LEW yo-yau
BLA nus	*DOB	saŋin	*POR čimi
SAB baliyu	IRA		NTA naŋapaŋap
MUR aŋin	SAW [udara]		KWA nəmataŋi
*MGY habakabaka	*NYI <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> adah		NEM
*ACE [hawa]	MAM	oasa	CEM
BAT [hawa]	TAK	ur	AJI wēwa
MIN [udaro]	DAM	ūrū	XAR k <sup>w</sup> ade
*IND [udara]	*MAB		NEN uteut
SUN [hawa]	*YAB	ŋayaoyao	KIR te aŋ
JAV [həwə]	*KAU	βiŋos-ŋin	MSH mecatoto
MAD [hawa]	*TOL	vuvu	PON āŋ
BAL aŋin	BUA	ɣebəŋ	*WLE yaŋi

EFI	māḍawa	TON	ʔatā	TAH	mataʔi
WFI	maḍawa	*SAM	[ʔea]	RAP	hahau
RTU	loŋi	*MEL	[malōvā]		

TAG Also 01.720.

MGY *habakabaka* ‘the air, the sky, space’, *rivut<sup>r</sup>a* ‘wind, the air we breathe’.

ACE A twentieth century innovation. The traditional term is *aŋen* ‘wind, air’.

IND Also *aŋin* ‘air (in tyres)’.

UMA ‘emptiness, clearness’.

NGA Also *ŋaru* lit ‘breath’.

SIK Also *ani-n*.

DOB ‘wind’.

NYI *<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>adah* ‘gentle breeze’. Nyindrou has no word for air as a static substance; *reu* ‘empty air space’.

MAB *bubuŋa-* ‘breath’; *mīri* ‘wind’.

YAB *ŋalaulau* ‘a light breath of air’.

KAU ‘breathe-NOM.

TOL Also ‘to blow’.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.): *hodahoda* ‘air, light breeze’; *lai* ‘air, breeze, wind’.

MEK Also *maapu* – West Mekeo variant *maeabu*.

MAR ‘air, open space’.

LEW ‘the atmosphere, space’.

POR *čimi* ‘to smoke (men or volcano)’ *ŋa<sup>m</sup>bos* ‘to breathe’.

WLE *weŋünüm<sup>w</sup>ara*, *weŋüŋwōsa*, *weneŋü* ‘in the air’.

SAM From English ‘air’; *savili* ‘fresh air, breeze’.

MEL From Efate.

## 01.720 WIND

*ATA	βayhu	*ISN	balbāli	MOL	doros
TSO	porepe	*KAL	bayogbōg	KAG	aŋin
RUK	sa-səvər-anə	TAG	hāŋin	BLA	nus
PAI	vali	*AKL	hāŋin	SAB	baliyu
YAM	pagpag	PAL	dōrōs	MUR	aŋin

MGY	rivutʼa	IRA	nɔʃə	LEW	laŋi
ACE	aŋen	SAW	more	POR	n-ean
BAT	alogo	*NYI	siyer	NTA	nəmətaŋ
MIN	aŋin	MAM	oasa	KWA	nəmatəŋi
IND	aŋin	TAK	tim	NEM	dān
SUN	aŋin	DAM	yau	CEM	dān
JAV	aŋin	MAB	mīri	AJI	kayā
MAD	aŋin	YAB	mu	XAR	kʷadə
BAL	aŋin	*KAU	eip	*NEN	ŋayeŋo
SAS	aŋin	*TOL	vuvu	KIR	te aŋ
GOR	dupoto	*BUA	ayōŋ	*MSH	aŋ
*DAA	pouri	*ADZ	manis	*PON	āŋ
UMA	ŋoluʔ	KIL	yagila	WLE	yaŋi
BUG	aŋŋiŋ	TAW	togowa	EFI	ðəŋi
KON	aŋiŋ	*MOT	lai	WFI	ðəŋi
WOL	ŋalu	*MEK	ameku	RTU	lɔŋi
MAG	buru	ROV	ŋivusu	TON	matəŋi
NGA	vara	MAR	nuri	*SAM	matəŋi
SIK	ani-n	LAU	ōru	MEL	matəŋi
RTI	anin	KWO	?iru	TAH	mataʔi
*BUR	moda	RAG	laŋi	RAP	tokerau
DOB	saŋin	PAA	alaŋ		

ATA From Sanskrit *vāyu-*.

ISN *amiyān* ‘monsoon wind’.

KAL Also *bāli* ‘monsoon wind’.

AKL Also ‘air’.

DAA Also *bara* ‘strong wind, from west’.

BUR Also *aŋin* used with equal frequency; *aŋin* is felt to be a borrowing from Malay (although its reflexes are native).

NYI *siyer* ‘wind (strong or light)’, *ʃor* ‘strong wind’.

KAU Generic term. Also *narauŋin* ‘north-easterly wind’; *aβhi* ‘south-easterly wind’.

TOL Also ‘to blow’.

BUA *ayōŋ* ‘cold wind which blows down the valley’; *saŋ* ‘strong winds which blow up the valley around November’.

ADZ *manis* general term, Amari and Central dialects; *amas* general term, Yarus and Guruf dialects; *wa<sup>m</sup>paʔ* ‘wind from east’ (Central Amari); *madzamwanʃ* ‘wind from west’ (Central, Amari).

MOT 'to blow (of wind)' is *toa*.

MEK Compare Motu *medu* 'rain'. *ameku* also 'fresh, refreshing, moist'.  
NW Mekeo has *kama-kama*.

NEN Also *yeŋo*.

MSH Also *kətɔ*.

PON Also *kisiniŋ*.

SAM 'be windy, stormy'.

### 01.730 CLOUD

ATA	hamhum	UMA	limu?	MAR	gromno
*TSO	<del>ɔmiɔmi</del>	BUG	illuŋ	LAU	barobaro
RUK	əmāmə	KON	rammaŋ	KWO	kofa
PAI	ḱərəpus	*WOL	taʔi-na ŋalu	RAG	ten-laŋi
YAM	činalab	MAG	rəvuŋ	PAA	mahumah
*ISN	aŋap	NGA	kobe-saa	LEW	lulu
KAL	būnot	*SIK	kru	POR	<sup>m</sup> banu <sup>m</sup> ban
*TAG	ūlap	RTI	koʔa-s	NTA	napua
*AKL	paŋānud	BUR	loko-n	KWA	napua
*PAL	kunɔm	*DOB	ʔudum	NEM	nēñ
MOL	inarak	IRA	taʔe	CEM	ní
*KAG	paŋanud	*SAW	met	AJI	kɔ
BLA	lɔbun	*NYI	asi ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ah	XAR	kɔ
*SAB	gabun	MAM	oaru	NEN	yeʔawe
*MUR	gaun	*TAK	tim tae-n	KIR	te naŋ
MGY	rahuna	DAM	budun	MSH	kɛrɔ
ACE	awan	*MAB	gubur tiene	*PON	tep <sup>w</sup> ek
*BAT	ɔbbun	YAB	taɔ	*WLE	ʃaŋimōřü
MIN	awan	KAU	hiŋis	EFI	ō
*IND	awan	TOL	bəkut	WFI	ō
SUN	[mega]	BUA	bəyɔb	RTU	aɔŋa
*JAV	[megɔ]	*ADZ	marabwari	TON	ʔao
*MAD	undəm	KIL	lowalowa	*SAM	ao
*BAL	guləm	TAW	yalo	MEL	puao
SAS	awun-awun	*MOT	ori	TAH	ata
GOR	hēŋo	*MEK	apu-apu	RAP	raŋi
DAA	kulimu	ROV	lei		

TSO	<i>ϕmiϕmi</i> ‘rain clouds’; <i>repvoŋi</i> ‘thin clouds seen in fine weather’.
ISN	<i>giʔbat</i> ‘cloud’, i.e. ‘raincloud’.
TAG	<i>ūlap</i> gen. term; <i>paŋanūrin</i> ; Proto-Southern Philippines <i>*paŋ-ānud</i> ‘white cloud’.
AKL	‘cirrus’; <i>gaʔʔum</i> ‘raincloud’.
PAL	<i>gabun</i> ‘cloud which reaches ground’.
KAG	‘cumulus cloud’.
SAB	<i>gabun</i> ‘white clouds’; <i>andom</i> ‘dark rainclouds’.
MUR	<i>gaun</i> general term; <i>kawanan</i> ‘raincloud, thunderclap’.
BAT	<i>marhobotlaŋit</i> ‘overcast’.
IND	<i>mənduŋ</i> ‘cloudy, overcast’.
JAV	From Sanskrit; also <i>mənduŋ</i> .
MAD	Safioedin (1977), Penninga and Hendriks (1913): <i>undəm</i> .
BAL	<i>guləm</i> ‘dark cloud, overcast sky’; <i>ambu(n)</i> South Bali ‘light-coloured cloud’.
WOL	‘excreta of wind’.
SIK	<i>kru</i> ‘white cloud’, <i>gəbu</i> ‘dark cloud’.
DOB	<i>ʔudum</i> refers to dark rain clouds, while <i>ʔudum say</i> refers to white clouds; <i>say</i> means ‘fire’, perhaps a comparison with smoke.
SAW	Also <i>məlik</i> ‘black rain clouds’.
NYI	‘excreta of the sky’.
TAK	‘wind faeces-its’ (01.720, 04.464), i.e. ‘the faeces of the wind’.
MAB	<i>gubur tiene</i> dark cloud, lit ‘black cloud faeces’; <i>mīri tiene</i> white cloud, lit ‘wind faeces’.
ADZ	<i>marabwari</i> ; <i>marəŋu<sup>n</sup>tuŋ</i> ; <i>maraum</i> used interchangeably in all dialects.
MOT	<i>ori</i> ‘light clouds’; <i>dagadaga</i> ‘dark, heavy clouds’.
MEK	Desnoës gives <i>apu</i> . NW Mekeo has <i>agu-agu</i> – see 01.820, ‘smoke’.
PON	<i>ʔəkoī</i> ‘low cloud on mountains’.
WLE	<i>teŋamiya</i> also ‘heaven’.
SAM	‘be cloudy’.

## 01.740 FOG

ATA		PAI	<i>ϕimaru</i>	KAL	<i>būnot</i>
*TSO	<i>mvirϕi</i>	YAM	<i>kanaəpkəp</i>	*TAG	<i>ūlop</i>
RUK	<i>koʔoʔoŋo</i>	ISN	<i>aŋap</i>	*AKL	<i>ambun</i>

PAL	ɔŋluʔ	RTI	ko-den-	RAG	vivivi
MOL	rabun		denu-k	PAA	tāroh
KAG	ambun	*BUR	dimu	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> au
BLA	m-lɔbun	DOB	yawun	POR	mavukas
SAB		IRA	wenɔbə	NTA	norou
MUR	gaun	*SAW	fom re yas	*KWA	namahak <sup>w</sup> ien
MGY	zavuna	*NYI	wadur	NEM	sāmat
*ACE	sagob	MAM	ʔasu-ʔasu	CEM	cāmēt
BAT	ɔbbun	TAK	kaokao	AJI	juē
MIN	kabuyʔ	DAM	budun	*XAR	tika
IND	kabut	MAB	ŋauŋau	NEN	kalekal
SUN	halimun	*YAB	o <sup>m</sup> biŋ	KIR	te mābubu
JAV	pəɖut	*KAU	pi ka-kuin-	MSH	tap <sup>w</sup>
MAD	əbb <sup>h</sup> un		ŋin-an	PON	ʔōkoi
*BAL	limut	*TOL	gavul	WLE	xerōtūyetū
SAS		BUA	bəyob	EFI	kabu
GOR	wolomo	*ADZ	marabwari	WFI	kabu
DAA	kulimu <sup>ɔ</sup> gapu	KIL	guug <sup>w</sup> au	*RTU	kakɔpu
UMA	limuʔ <sup>ɔ</sup> kuku	*TAW	gahu	TON	kakapu
BUG	appuŋ	*MOT	γinoβa	SAM	puaō
KON	salihuʔ	*MEK	apu	*MEL	sau
WOL	gawu	ROV	kovele	*TAH	rūpehu
MAG	rəvuŋ	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oveo	RAP	kapua
NGA	kuβu	LAU	dasa		
*SIK	koβa	*KWO	dasa		

TSO Also *mripipi* ‘mist’.

TAG *ūlap* cloud.

AKL ‘mist, haze’; PHN \**ambun*.

ACE ‘mist’.

BAL *limut* ‘thick fog on mountains’; Panitia (1978) *sayoŋ*.

SIK Also *səbur*, *səbu sak*, *gəbu gon*, [*məndun*] Malay.

BUR *dimu* ‘fog, mountain cloud, mist’; *dim gapa* ‘thick fog’.

SAW Also *pəspəse* ‘foggy’.

NYI ‘fog left behind after rain’.

YAB Also *manij*.

KAU ‘place-?-smoke (vb)-NOM-ATTR’.

TOL Also *nanau*.



ADZ	Also <i>maraju<sup>n</sup>tuŋ</i> , <i>maraum</i> .
TAW	‘mist’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.): <i>ninoa</i> ‘mountain mist, fog, vapour’. (Possibly a variant of <i>γinoβα</i> ).
MEK	Desnoës' <i>apu</i> covers ‘fog, mist’ as well as ‘cloud’.
MAR	‘mist, low-lying cloud cover’.
KWO	Also <i>g<sup>w</sup>afa</i> .
KWA	Also <i>nenis</i> ‘ground fog’.
XAR	<i>tika, wei</i> ‘fog’; <i>axā</i> ‘mist’.
RTU	‘mist’.
MEL	Also [ <i>mavu</i> ] from Efate.
TAH	<i>mahu</i> obs.

### 01.750 RAIN (noun)

ATA	kuʌʌx	MAD	uʃʰan	*YAB	kɔm
*TSO	tniri	BAL	uʃan	KAU	yuŋ
RUK	odalə	SAS	uʃan	TOL	batə
PAI	kuʃal <sup>y</sup>	GOR	didi	BUA	ʃəb
YAM	čimoy	DAA	uʃa	ADZ	ʒami?
ISN	udān	UMA	uda	KIL	kuna
KAL	udan	BUG	bossi	TAW	gadiwewe
TAG	ulan	KON	bosi	*MOT	medu
*AKL	uʌʌn	*WOL	ko-wao	*MEK	imu
*PAL	dələk	MAG	usaŋ	ROV	ruku
MOL	dolok	NGA	uza	MAR	nak <sup>h</sup> ete
KAG	uran	SIK	ura-n	LAU	uta
BLA	ulən	RTI	udan	KWO	neʔu
SAB	ulan	*BUR	deka-t	RAG	uhe
*MUR	dasam	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> usan	PAA	aus
MGY	urana	IRA	siemə	LEW	yua
ACE	uʃuən	SAW	fel-fele	POR	na-us
BAT	udan	NYI	ur	NTA	nuhuan
MIN	uʃan	MAM	ura	KWA	nesən
IND	huʃan	TAK	ui	NEM	kut
SUN	huʃan	DAM	uyě	CEM	ûte
JAV	udan	MAB	yaŋ	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> a

XAR	k <sup>w</sup> iɛ	*WLE	uta	*SAM	timu
*NEN	dua	EFI	uḏa	MEL	ua
KIR	te karau	WFI	luβu	TAH	ua
MSH	wət	RTU	usa	RAP	ʔua
PON	keṭeu	TON	ʔuha		

TSO Also *miçxi* (vb).

AKL Also verb.

PAL Also [*inu*] from English ‘snow’.

MUR *dasam* general term; *kawanan* ‘heavy, long lasting rain’.

WOL Also *ponue* ‘heavy rain’; *wao, waowao* ‘light rain’.

BUR *dek haa-t* ‘heavy rain/big rain’; *dek waŋ raa-t* ‘sprinkle of short duration’; *dek waŋ [alus]* and *deka ea-n* ‘fine misty rain’; *deka ra-rahe-k* ‘continuous rain’; *deka tubu-tubu* ‘heavy rain of long duration’; *dek siri-t* ‘light rain with sunshine’.

YAB *kɔm-pɔʔ* ‘rain-stone’, i.e. ‘hail’.

MOT Used with *diho* ‘to descend’.

MEK NW Mekeo *kimu*; North Mekeo, West Mekeo *uabu*. Gabadi *upa* ‘rain’, suggest assimilation here of PMek *\*uba* ‘sky’ and *\*abu* ‘cloud’. East Mekeo also has *kemu-kemu* and *ŋemu-ŋemu* ‘drizzle’.

NEN Also *el*.

WLE Also *yaṛoüta* ‘rainwater’, *goşou* ‘rainshower’.

SAM ‘be rainy, rain’, also *tūmuga* (vb/n) ‘rain’, *ua* (vb/n) ‘rain’.

## 01.760 SNOW (noun)

Arabic : *şalj*

English: *snow*

ATA	huʃa-kiy	*AKL		ACE	
TSO	ruxo	PAL		BAT	[salʃu]
RUK	pasabo	MOL		MIN	
PAI	sul <sup>y</sup> a	KAG		IND	[salʃu]
YAM	kori	BLA		SUN	[salʃu]
ISN		SAB		JAV	[salʃu]
*KAL	dulālu	MUR	[sunū]	MAD	[salʃu]
TAG		*MGY	uram-panala	BAL	

SAS	MAB	KWA
GOR	YAB	NEM
DAA	KAU	CEM
UMA	*TOL [ais]	AJI
BUG	BUA	XAR
KON	ADZ	NEN
WOL	KIL [sinou]	KIR
MAG	TAW	MSH
NGA	MOT	PON
SIK	MEK	WLE
RTI	ROV [sinou]	EFI
BUR	MAR	WFI
DOB	LAU	RTU
IRA	KWO	TON [sinou]
SAW [salʃu]	RAG	*SAM [kiona]
NYI	PAA	MEL
MAM	LEW	*TAH [hiona]
TAK	POR	RAP
DAM	NTA [ais]	

KAL *dulālu* 'hail'.

AKL [*isno*] (English) is sometimes used.

MGY Also *lanezi* French.

TOL From English *ice*.

SAM From Greek *chiōn*.

TAH From Greek.

## 01.770 ICE

ATA huʃakiy	PAL	MIN [es]
TSO ruxo	MOL	*IND [es]
RUK pasabo	KAG [yilu]	SUN [es]
PAI sul <sup>y</sup> a	BLA	JAV [es]
YAM kori	*SAB [ais]	MAD [es]
ISN	*MUR [ais]	BAL [es]
*KAL dulālu	*MGY ranu mandʃi	SAS [es]
*TAG [yēlo]	ACE iəbateə	GOR [ʔesi]
AKL [yēlo]	BAT [es]	DAA [es]

UMA	KAU	NEM
BUG [esiʔ]	TOL [ais]	CEM
KON	BUA [aɛs]	AJI lagalāyi
WOL [esi]	*ADZ sinur	XAR
MAG	KIL	NEN
*NGA liʔe-ləsi	TAW	KIR
SIK	*MOT [ais]	MSH
RTI	*MEK vei ʔoʔopi-na	PON
BUR	ROV [aisi]	WLE
DOB	MAR	EFI wai-ðeβata
IRA	LAU	WFI
SAW [es]	KWO	RTU
NYI	RAG	TON [ʔaisi]
MAM [aisi]	PAA	SAM [ʔaisa]
TAK	LEW	MEL [aisi]
DAM	POR	*TAH pape paʔari
MAB	NTA [ais]	*RAP papetoʔe-toʔe
YĀB	KWA	

KAL *dulālu* 'hail'.

TAG From Spanish *hielo*.

SAB From English.

MUR From English.

MGY From *rano + ma-anɕʔi*, lit 'congealed ('sleeping') water'.

IND Also *air batu*.

NGA *ləsi* 'hail'; *liʔe* 'fruit' and used as a classifier for globular objects.

ADZ 'hail'.

MOT Also [aisi].

MEK Neologism based on *ʔoʔopi* 'solidified food', especially sago jelly, hence 'solidified water'.

TAH Also *pape toʔetoʔe*.

RAP From Tahitian *pape toʔe-toʔe*.

## 01.780 WEATHER

Arabic: *hawā*:Spanish: *tiempo*

ATA	kāḥ	UMA		MAR	
*TSO	modi	BUG	wittu	LAU	halo
RUK		*KON	kodi hattu-a	KWO	gani
PAI		WOL		RAG	taro
YAM	kakawan	MAG	ləso	*PAA	alan
ISN		NGA	ola	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi
KAL	[tīmpu]	SIK	[haβa]	POR	na-ur
*TAG	[panahon]	RTI		*NTA	[weta]
*AKL	[tyempo]	BUR		KWA	
*PAL	pə-təʔun-an	*DOB	φaφa	NEM	maye-dān
MOL	binonua	*IRA	wenənati	*CEM	mî-tàn
KAG	[timpu]	SAW	[čuača]	AJI	nedā
BLA	kag-kah tanəʔ	NYI		XAR	ne-dā
SAB	lahat	MAM		NEN	
MUR		*TAK	saen	KIR	
MGY	andʔu	DAM		MSH	
*ACE	[hawa]	MAB	lele	PON	
BAT	ari	YAB	gameŋ	WLE	
*MIN	[udaro]	*KAU	pi	EFI	dʔaki
IND	[čuača]	TOL		WFI	dʔaki
*SUN	[čuača]	BUA		RTU	loŋi
JAV	[həwə]	ADZ		TON	aŋa ʔoe
MAD	[hawa]	KIL	kalu		mata'ŋi
BAL		*TAW	houga	*SAM	tau
SAS	[hawə]	*MOT	nega	MEL	raŋi
GOR		*MEK	kina	TAH	mahana
DAA	lo <sup>m</sup> bona	ROV	ɣalyalearane	RAP	

TSO *modi* 'fine weather'; *mokvoʔi* 'bad weather, cloudy'.

TAG From Malay *tahun* 'year'.

AKL Also [*panahun*] from Malay *tahun* 'year'.

PAL Also [*timpu*].

ACE A modern borrowing; likewise [*cuwaca*] 'brightness' from Sanskrit, is also used for 'weather' under the recent influence of Malay.

MIN	From Sanskrit, see 01.710.
ʒUN	Also [ <i>hawa</i> ].
KON	<i>kodi hattu-a</i> ‘bad weather’; <i>haʒiʔ hattu-a</i> ‘good weather’; <i>hattu-a</i> by itself does not mean ‘weather’.
DOB	‘ground’, used with <i>soba</i> ‘good’, and <i>ʔatay</i> or <i>k<sup>w</sup>aʒay</i> ‘bad’ to refer to the weather.
IRA	‘bad weather’.
TAK	‘time, weather’.
KAU	‘place’; all weather expressions contain this term (e.g. 01.750).
TAW	‘season’ e.g. <i>gadiwewe a houga</i> ‘rainy season’.
MOT	Also ‘time’.
MEK	<i>kina</i> is basically ‘sun’ – see 01.520.
PAA	Used only as subject of <i>tahos</i> ‘fine’ and <i>tisa</i> ‘bad’.
LEW	See 14.110, 14.120.
NTA	From English ‘weather’.
CEM	‘colour of the day’.
SAM	Also ‘season, climate’.

### 01.810 FIRE

*ATA	hapunik	*BAT	api	RTI	haʔi
TSO	puzu	MIN	api	*BUR	bana
RUK	apoy	IND	api	DOB	say
PAI	sapui	SUN	sini	IRA	ʒena
YAM	apoy	*JAV	[gɔni]	SAW	luten
ISN	apuy	MAD	apuy	NYI	jih
KAL	apūy	BAL	api	MAM	coa
TAG	apoy	*SAS	api	TAK	yai
*AKL	kaʔāyu-	GOR	tulu	DAM	yā
PAL	apuy	DAA	apu	MAB	you
MOL	apuy	UMA	apu	YAB	ya
KAG	apuy	BUG	appi	*KAU	iyau
BLA	lifoh	KON	api	TOL	iap
SAB	api	*WOL	waa	BUA	nəŋ <sup>w</sup> ay
MUR	apuy	MAG	api	ADZ	ɖzaf
MGY	afu	NGA	api	KIL	koβa
ACE	apuy	SIK	api	TAW	mayau

MOT	lahi	NTA	nəŋam	WLE	yafi
*MEK	loo	KWA	nap <sup>w</sup>	EFI	kama
ROV	nika	NEM	yāk	WFI	g <sup>w</sup> aya
MAR	k <sup>h</sup> aʔayi	CEM	mìu	RTU	rōhi
LAU	ēre	AJI	kēmōřu	TON	afi
KWO	ele	XAR	nē	*SAM	afi
RAG	yabi	NEN	iei	MEL	afi
*PAA	ahaŋ	KIR	te ai	*TAH	auahi
LEW	kapi	MSH	kicēk	RAP	ahi
POR	na-xa <sup>mb</sup>	PON	āi		

ATA Also *hapuy*.

AKL Proto-Central Philippines *kalāyu-*.

BAT Proto-Batak *\*apuy*.

JAV From Sanskrit.

SAS Also *ǰulat*.

WOL Also *kaŋau* ‘burnt, scorched’; *mboo mboo* ‘blazing fire’.

BUR Also *pot-haki* ‘forest fire’.

KAU Also *ia*.

MEK *loo* or *lo* with /l/ for /\*e/. North Mekeo *izō* and West Mekeo *idō* (with intrusive /z, d/) are homophonous with ‘vagina, vulva’, which may explain *moiba* ‘fire’ in NW Mekeo (where *io* remains the term for the female genitalia). NW Mekeo *ibi-na* means ‘blow (fire)’. East Mekeo *loo imā* is ‘fire, ember as source of fire’ (see *ima* ‘hand’, 04.330).

PAA Also ‘hell’.

SAM Also *mālaia* (polite).

TAH *ahi* obs.

## 01.820 FLAME (noun)

ATA	wanaʔ	*TAG	ālab	*MUR	b-in-ulinday
TSO		*AKL	dabdab	*MGY	lelafu
RUK	kəlabə	PAL	dələg	ACE	apuy
*PAI	sapui	MOL	dələg	BAT	dila ni api
*YAM	lila no apoy	KAG	apuy	MIN	api ñalo
ISN	gataŋ	BLA	dinəʔ	*IND	ñala
KAL	gīlab	SAB	keyat	SUN	sini

*JAV	urup	*TAK	yai bale-n	NTA	namnamən
*MAD	ǰila-na apuy	*DAM	yǎ bale	*KWA	nərami nap <sup>w</sup>
BAL	əndih-an	*MAB	you miāna	NEM	delōmen
SAS	ñalə api	YAB	ŋawao	CEM	dôele-miù
GOR	laʔito	*KAU	iya mamai-n	AJI	mejaʔa
DAA	ǰela	*TOL	birao-nə-iap		kēməʔu
UMA	ǰelaʔ	BUA	nəŋ <sup>w</sup> aŋ dayən	XAR	vira
BUG	laso-api	ADZ	dʒaf	NEN	ŋiri
KON	rinra	*KIL	koβa i-lululu	KIR	te ura
*WOL	rore	TAW	ebala	MSH	uʔuʔ
MAG	dila	MOT	hururu	*PON	lul
*NGA	voŋa-api	MEK	ufa	*WLE	p <sup>w</sup> up <sup>w</sup> uʔa
SIK	api	*ROV	lera	EFI	yameyame
*RTI	haʔi pila-k	*MAR	dudulu	WFI	mud <sup>r</sup> e
BUR	bana lai-n	LAU	meak <sup>w</sup> esu	RTU	pual ne rōhi
DOB	say luφir	*KWO	loʔaloʔa	TON	ulo
IRA	φena saφarenə	RAG	ɣabi-ta-b <sup>w</sup> alue	*SAM	mumū
SAW	bəblob	PAA	meneite	MEL	[limena]
*NYI	sali jih	*LEW		TAH	ura
MAM	eo-a-malamaʔa	POR	memen	RAP	ura

PAI *mə-jiʔik* ‘the burning fire’.

YAM ‘tongue of the fire’.

TAG Also *nīŋas*; *liyab* ‘large flame’.

AKL Also *daba-dabah*.

MUR Also *s-in-imbulaʔ*.

MGY *lela* ‘tongue’, *afu* ‘fire’.

IND Also *ñala api*.

JAV Horne *urub*.

MAD *ǰila* ‘tongue’.

WOL Also *dʔela-na waa* lit ‘tongue of fire’.

NGA *voŋa* ‘flower’.

RTI ‘the red of the fire’.

NYI ‘meat of the fire’.

TAK ‘fire tongue-its’ (01.810, 04.620), i.e. ‘the tongue of the fire’.

DAM ‘fire tongue’.

MAB *you miāna* ‘tongue of fire’.



KAU	'fire-tongue-3sg'.
TOL	<i>birao</i> 'light', <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>iap</i> 'fire'.
KIL	'fire it-flares'.
ROV	<i>huruŋu</i> 'to light, flame'.
MAR	Also <i>ŋeŋglu</i> .
KWO	Also <i>mā-naele</i> .
LEW	Verbal <i>lua mene</i> 'to flame (of fire)'.
KWA	'tongue-of fire'.
PON	Also <i>mp<sup>w</sup>ul</i> .
WLE	<i>p<sup>w</sup>up<sup>w</sup>uŋa</i> also 'light', <i>peŋaŋaŋa</i> 'to burn yellow, with a flame'.
SAM	Also 'burn' from <i>mū</i> 'burn, be inflamed'.

### 01.830 SMOKE (noun)

ATA	γuhiʔuk	BAL	andus	TOL	mi
TSO	frufu	SAS	asəp	BUA	aru
RUK	əbələ	GOR	poloʔo	ADZ	dʒaf dugu <sup>t</sup>
PAI	ʔəvul <sup>y</sup>	DAA	raŋasu	KIL	mseu
YAM	aəb	UMA	raŋahu	TAW	bəgahu
ISN	atuʔ	BUG	rumpu	MOT	k <sup>w</sup> alahu
KAL	asūk	*KON	ambu	*MEK	aku
TAG	ūsok	WOL	o <sup>m</sup> bu	ROV	tuŋaha
*AKL	asuh	MAG	nūs	MAR	gagahu
PAL	tabuk	NGA	nuu	LAU	hasu
MOL	tabuk	SIK	nuhi-n	KWO	dā
KAG	a'su	RTI	haʔi masu-k	RAG	ahu
BLA	buk	BUR	bana fene-n	*PAA	eas
SAB	humbu	DOB	ʔabun	*LEW	
MUR	lisun	IRA	bəbə	POR	<sup>m</sup> basu-xa <sup>m</sup> b
MGY	seʔ'uka	SAW	meyas	*NTA	nahaniem
ACE	asap	NYI	kasuʔer	*KWA	nəsei nap <sup>w</sup>
BAT	timus	MAM	ʔasu	NEM	ŋu
MIN	asoʔ	*TAK	yai-kas	CEM	mú-míu
IND	asap	DAM	kau	AJI	puŋū kēmōŋu
SUN	hasip	MAB	you ka koi	*XAR	ʒə-ne
*JAV	kəbul	YAB	(ŋa)daŋ	NEN	kali
MAD	kukus	*KAU	iyau kuin	KIR	te bubu

*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> āt	WFI	kobulu	*MEL	[silajo]
*PON	[adi]	RTU	ɔsu	TAH	auauahi
WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> ur̄ɔxo	TON	ʔahu	RAP	ʔau
EFI	kubou	*SAM	asu		
AKL	PMP	*qasuh.			
JAV	Also <i>kəluʔ</i> .				
KON	Also <i>rambu</i> .				
TAK	<i>yai-kas</i> ‘fire-smoke’, but <i>kas</i> occurs as a separate item only in the sense of ‘tobacco’ (08.680). Also <i>ya-kas</i> .				
KAU	‘fire-smoke (vb)’.				
MEK	<i>agu</i> .				
PAA	Also ‘cigarette’.				
LEW	<i>viyu</i> ‘to smoke (of fire)’; <i>viyu-ena na kapi</i> ‘smoke of fire (neologism)’.				
NTA	Also <i>nəŋhaniem</i> .				
KWA	‘essence/product-of fire’.				
XAR	<i>ʒə</i> ‘(obligatory determiner), emanation’; <i>ʒə-ne</i> ‘emanation of fire, smoke’.				
MSH	<i>atiti</i> ‘smoke (of fish, meat)’; <i>boutlɔk</i> ‘give off smoke’.				
PON	Polynesian; <i>ediniei</i> lit ‘smoke of the fire’.				
SAM	Also ‘smoke’ (vb intrans).				
MEL	From Efate.				

## 01.840 ASHES

ATA	kaβu-ʔiʔ	MOL	abu	*SUN	[ləbu]
TSO	fū	KAG	abu	JAV	awu
RUK	abo	BLA	abu	MAD	abu
PAI	kaβu	SAB	abu	*BAL	abu
YAM	avo	*MUR	kau	SAS	awuk
ISN	abu	MGY	lavenuna	GOR	wahu
KAL	gabu	ACE	abəɔ	DAA	avu
TAG	abo	BAT	si-rabun	UMA	aβu
AKL	abuh	MIN	abu	BUG	awu
PAL	tɔhuk	IND	abu	KON	ahu

*WOL	walo	BUA	βəweβ	CEM	dêp
MAG	ravuk	ADZ	pāp	AJI	dɛ
NGA	avu-βara	KIL	tub <sup>w</sup> aga	XAR	xate
SIK	aβu	TAW	gahuwei	NEN	čekol
RTI	afu	*MOT	kahu	*KIR	mannaŋ
*BUR	ogo tai-n	*MEK	umu	*MSH	melk <sup>w</sup> āraŋ
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aʔu	ROV	eba	PON	pēs
IRA	tuguanə	MAR	nakrofu	*WLE	feřaŋa
SAW	geyap	LAU	afuafu	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> aβusā
NYI	koloweh	*KWO	makola	WFI	raβu
*MAM	zepu	RAG	taniavu	RTU	rəhu
*TAK	yai tae-n	*PAA	vulimolas	TON	efuefu
*DAM	yā āsu	*LEW	yavi	*SAM	lefulufu
MAB	you ka kou	*POR	mas-iav	*MEL	refu
*YAB	wàɔ	NTA	namtap	*TAH	rehu
KAU	ekas	KWA	nəmrak <sup>w</sup>	*RAP	ʔeo-ʔeo
TOL	kəbu	NEM	dap		

MUR *kau* general term; *loloŋ* (of tobacco); *lūt* (in hearth).

SUN From Javanese, see 01.213.

BAL Also [*au*, *aon*] from Old Javanese; *puŋpuŋ-an* ‘cigarette ash’; *latu* ‘burning ash, cinders blown by the wind’.

WOL *walo* when in the air; *ŋawu* ‘dust, ashes (e.g. cigarette ashes), on the ground’.

BUR *tai-n* is literally ‘excretion/faeces of/waste of’; WaeSama also *lafu-n*.

MAM Also *apoaŋ*.

TAK ‘fire faeces-its’ (01.810, 04.464), i.e. ‘the faeces of the fire’.

DAM ‘fire dust’, see 1.213.

YAB *dauŋ ŋa-tae* ‘smoke its-faeces’, i.e. ‘ashes from a cigar’; *seʔ* ‘ashes from driftwood’ (substitute for salt).

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives *rahurahu* ‘ashes, fireplace’.

MEK *umu* (or *omu* in the other dialects) means ‘black ash’.

KWO Also *furu(-na) (ele)* ‘dust of the fire’.

PAA Also ‘dust’.

LEW See 01.213.

POR *mas-iav* ‘fire ashes’; *rara vün* ‘volcano ashes’.

KIR ‘from the fire’.

MSH Also *wipāc*; *kīp<sup>w</sup>ēn upāc* ‘ashes (lit faeces) from fireplaces’.

WLE *feřaŋa* also ‘fireplace’; *mōšō.šo*; *peyasa* archaic.

SAM *lelefu* ‘(of fire) go out’.

MEL Also [*nop<sup>w</sup>o*] from Efate.

TAH Also *rehu auahi*.

RAP Also *iku-vera* ‘ashes (of fire or embers saved for later use)’.

## 01.841 EMBERS

*ATA	rinumuf	BUG	barra	*LAU	neneo
TSO	rafru	*KON	bara api	KWO	nānao
RUK	ɖalaw	WOL	weo	*RAG	ɣabimanono- ɣa
PAI	ɕ-aɭ-aməl <sup>y</sup> -an	MAG	vara (api)	PAA	meleihan
YAM	inmala	NGA	fara	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> ulu-sia
ISN	bakkāg	SIK	aβu arə-n	POR	<sup>n</sup> dūru-xa <sup>mb</sup>
KAL	bāla	*RTI	ha <sup>ʔ</sup> i ka-k (manapila)	NTA	namtahl niŋam
TAG	bāga	BUR	bana isi-n	KWA	nəmək
AKL	bāgah	DOB	say φeray	NEM	deɣava
PAL	laha	IRA	φena ritənə	CEM	dápi
MOL	polpag	SAW	bəbla	AJI	ɟoxavē
KAG	baga	NYI	mitihin	*XAR	mīā-ne
BLA	bəɔ	MAM	moaŋeta	NEN	
SAB	baga	TAK	midiger	KIR	m <sup>w</sup> ākaro
MUR	bā	DAM	yā galit	MSH	mælle
*MGY	vainafu	MAB	you ikuruk	PON	m <sup>w</sup> olus
*ACE	[ŋu]	*YAB	(ŋa)lana	WLE	peŋaŋiŋa
BAT	gara	KAU	iyau ŋilis	EFI	gilaiso-waga
MIN	baro	TOL	ləkit	WFI	marigana
IND	bara	BUA	bapay	RTU	ʔuhaŋa
SUN		ADZ	dufu <sup>f</sup> tuf	TON	malala mo <sup>ʔ</sup> ui
JAV	məwɔ	KIL	p <sup>w</sup> anosi	*SAM	malala ola
MAD	marda	TAW	oniyā	MEL	
BAL	bəə	MOT	gida	TAH	ʔōmo <sup>ʔ</sup> i auahi
SAS	bara <sup>ʔ</sup>	MEK	ʔaŋafa	RAP	mara-mara
*GOR	bohu lo tulu	ROV	motete lerana		
DAA	rutu nu apu	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ipito		
UMA	rea <sup>ʔ</sup>				

ATA *kahutu<sup>f</sup>* ‘a small piece of burnt wood’.

MGY From *\*vai-n-afu; vai-* from PAN *\*baRa* ‘live coal’).

ACE From Mon-Khmer; ‘coals’ i.e. not necessarily glowing.

GOR	‘coal(s) LINKER fire’, ‘coals of fire’.
KON	Also <i>barapi</i> .
RTI	‘fire-red coals’.
YAB	<i>kali?</i> ‘still burning/glowing piece of wood’.
LAU	Also <i>fua</i> .
RAG	‘red hot embers’.
XAR	‘red of fire’.
SAM	<i>malala</i> ‘charcoal’, <i>ola</i> ‘live’.

### 01.851 BURN (vb trans)

ATA	ši-čufiŋ	UMA	suβe	MAR	tunu
*TSO	max-tu-puzu	BUG	mat-tunu	LAU	harufia
RUK	wa-laobo	KON	a?-tunu	*KWO	sū-ni-a
PAI	muʒək	*WOL	tunu	*RAG	tunu
*YAM	aʃləbən	MAG	tapa	PAA	ŋan
ISN	siʔdug	NGA	tuŋi	*LEW	kekani
*KAL	sogob	*SIK	holo	POR	ku <sup>m</sup> bos-i
*TAG	silab	*RTI	hotu	NTA	uβan
*AKL	sugaʔ	*BUR	pefa	*KWA	-ahi
*PAL	tutuŋ	DOB	ʔa-waw	*NEM	cini
*MOL	tutuŋ	IRA	somətə	CEM	cini
*KAG	sunugun	*SAW	n-tapən	AJI	keñ
BLA	s-n-əkuf	NYI	sulum <sup>wi</sup>	XAR	kē
*SAB	tutuŋ	MAM	bulai	*NEN	θenon
*MUR	solob	TAK	-mari	*KIR	kabueka
MGY	man-duru	*DAM	tō φi-ya	MSH	tile
*ACE	[tot]	MAB	you ikan	PON	isik
BAT	tutuŋ	*YAB	ya gɛŋ	WLE	xaxiwa
MIN	paŋgaŋ	*KAU	i	EFI	βā-kama-a
*IND	məm-bakar	*TOL	tun	WFI	taβu-nia
*SUN	mīlim (bīlim)	BUA	ya	RTU	čala
*JAV	m-bakar	*ADZ	ga-	TON	tutu
*MAD	sulət	*KIL	-gabū	*SAM	faʔa-mū
*BAL	nunʒəl (tunʒəl)	TAW	apu-ya	MEL	tunʒia
SAS	sulu	*MOT	ara-ia	*TAH	tānina i te
*GOR	momobu	MEK	e-aŋa(-i-a)		auahi
*DAA	nan-tu <sup>r</sup> ju	ROV	sulua	RAP	tutu

- TSO (*tu-puz-a*) ‘burn firewood’, see *p-xomro* (*xmor-i*) ‘burn garbage, etc. kindle’.
- YAM The root is *ʃələb*.
- KAL *sogob+man-/on*; also *sobgon*.
- TAG Also *sūnug* (*-um/-in*).
- AKL Proto-Central Philippines *\*sega?*
- PAL *tutungənkayuin*.
- MOL *tutuŋ* (*-um/-on*).
- KAG *sunug + mag-/ən*.
- SAB *tutuŋ + ag-/ø*.
- MUR *solob* (*manŋ-*; *-on*) general term; *sudu* (*maŋ-/mag-*; *-in*) ‘burn off (vegetation before cultivating land)’; *umpo* (*mag-*; *-on*) ‘burn/destroy (by throwing onto fire)’.
- ACE From Mon-Khmer. Dialect *tvt*.
- IND Also *tunu*.
- SUN Also *ŋa-huruŋ-kin*.
- JAV Also *ŋ-əbəŋ*.
- MAD Also *tunu* (Safioedin (1977)).
- BAL Also *morbor* (*N-borbor*) ‘apply a torch-flame to something’.
- GOR (*pobu + moN*).
- DAA ‘burn a field’.
- WOL *maŋau* ‘burnt up’ (vb intrans); also *dʼadami* ‘heat, set on fire (food, rope)’.
- SIK Also *holo həni-n*, *ikot api*; *rətu ʔai* (trees, brush).
- RTI Also *dede*.
- BUR ‘burn, roast, singe; shoot with gun’.
- SAW Also *n-f a-ges*; *n-fa-m-ges*.
- DAM *ɸi-ya* ‘3sg TRANS-AUX-INF’.
- YAB *ya geŋ* ‘fire eat’, i.e. ‘the fire burns’; *laŋ* ‘singe’.
- KAU ‘eat’.
- TOL Also *rəŋ* ‘scorch, burn, smoke (as by the sun)’. Also *və-dodo*, *va-CAUS*, *dodo* ‘burn’ (vb intrans).
- ADZ ‘eat’.
- KIL Also *-gigabu*; see 01.852.

- MOT Also *dou-a* ‘to burn (grass)’; *gabu-a* ‘to burn (rubbish, grass); cook, bake’; *haraka ?ia* ‘to burn (food) i.e. overcook’. *ara-ia* also means ‘to burn (e.g. of one’s skin)’; ‘to turn on (of light)’.
- KWO Also *nula-fia*.
- RAG Also *duru*.
- LEW ‘burn up’; also *visunu-ni* ‘scorch’.
- KWA Also ‘bite’.
- NEM ‘burn something (in the fire)’; *t<sup>h</sup>ī yāk* ‘burn down (e.g. a house)’.
- NEN Also *reul*.
- KIR Usually *kabueka*.
- EFI Also *βisa-a*.
- SAM *fa?a*- CAUS, *mū* ‘burn’, also *susunu* ‘burn up’ (vb trans).
- TAH ‘to destroy’; also *tutu?i i te auahi*.

## 01.852 BURN (vb intrans)

ATA	ma-čufiŋ	*JAV	m-urup	*DAM	ū y-e-ya
TSO	runzou	MAD		MAB	-koikoi
RUK	ko-a-laobo	*BAL	ŋ-ændih	YAB	
PAI	m-al <sup>y</sup> -ama	SAS	ñalə	*KAU	iyau ŋin-ŋin
*YAM	mişələşələb	*GOR	mo-la?ito	*TOL	io
ISN	napasuwān	*DAA	na-ǰela	BUA	tum
*KAL	gīlab	UMA	baa	ADZ	bururu <sup>9?</sup>
*TAG	sūnug	BUG	tunu	*KIL	-gabu
*AKL	sūnug	*KON	a?-kanre	TAW	alata
PAL	tutuŋ	*WOL	ma-ɗad’a	*MOT	ara
*MOL	dolog	*MAG	dīla	MEK	e-aŋa
*KAG	sunug	NGA	roa	*ROV	huruŋu
BLA	səkuf	*SIK	olor	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> unu
*SAB	a-tutuŋ	RTI	dede	LAU	haru
*MUR	solob	BUR	poto	KWO	nula
MGY	mai	*DOB	say?a	RAG	oda
ACE	tutoŋ	IRA	sa φarərə	PAA	ŋani
BAT	ma-tutuŋ	SAW	n-ε-m-ges	*LEW	viana
MIN	ta-paŋgaŋ	NYI	asun	POR	e-paŋ
*IND	haŋus	MAM	?ara?ara	NTA	uop
SUN	huruŋ	TAK	-nani	KWA	-auak <sup>w</sup>

*NEM	het	*MSH	uṛuṛ	TON	vela
CEM	ét	*PON	ok	SAM	mū
AJI	keři	WLE	xü	*MEL	kā
XAR	kē	EFI	kama	TAH	ʔama
NEN	xeni	WFI	ḏeḏe	*RAP	vera
KIR	bue	RTU	susunu		

YAM The root is *ṣaləb*.

KAL *gīlab + -um-*.

TAG *sūnug + na-*; Proto-Philippines *\*sūnuR*.

AKL *sūnug + na-*; Proto-Philippines *\*sūnuR*.

MOL *dolog (og-)*.

KAG *sunug + ma-*.

SAB *a-tutuŋ* (of a house etc) ‘burning’; *a-keyat* (of a fire that is kindled) ‘afame’.

MUR *solob (-um)*.

IND Also *aṅus*; also *bakar, tunu*.

JAV See note 01.820.

BAL *ŋ-əndih* ‘burn brightly’; *puun* ‘burnt’.

GOR Also *l um aʔito*.

DAA *apu* ‘fire burns’.

KON *aʔ-kanre* of things; *aʔ-rinra* of flame or light.

WOL Also *ma-ra<sup>m</sup>pu* (of food).

MAG Of a lamp; also *mose* ‘live’, of fire.

SIK Also *olor lado-n, api olor*.

DOB Adjective ‘on fire, burning’. Also *saʔa*.

DAM *y-e-ya* ‘3sg-AUX-INF’.

KAU *ŋin* ‘burn, be sharp’.

TOL Also *dodo*.

KIL Also *-gibugabu*; see 01.851.

MOT Also ‘to be on (of light)’.

ROV *kina* ‘cooked’, *ugu* ‘burnt’, *sulu* ‘on fire’.

MAR Also *knot<sup>h</sup>o*, especially of food.

LEW ‘be alight’; also *kinana* ‘burn’ (= 05.110) and *tetejo/teteja* ‘burning (of embers)’.



NEM	<i>het</i> ‘burn (vb intrans), be very hot’, <i>yan</i> and <i>telo</i> ‘burn (vb intrans), blaze (up)’
MSH	<i>p<sup>w</sup>il</i> also ‘fever’.
PON	Also <i>mp<sup>w</sup>ul</i> ‘burn with a flame’.
EFI	Also <i>waga</i> .
MEL	Also <i>vera</i> .
RAP	Also <i>hū</i> .

**01.860 LIGHT, KINDLE, IGNITE**

ATA	<i>tišiyaɬiŋ</i>	BUG	<i>map-patuwo</i>	*MAR	<i>ñubra</i>
*TSO	<i>p-xomro</i>		<i>appi</i>	LAU	<i>farua ēre</i>
RUK	<i>padalay</i>	KON	<i>a<sup>?</sup>-pa-rinra</i>	KWO	<i>lalau-a</i>
PAI		*WOL	<i>pa-rore</i>	RAG	
YAM	<i>potoŋən</i>	MAG	<i>kəte</i>	PAA	<i>muniti</i>
ISN	<i>sibat</i>	NGA	<i>putu</i>	*LEW	<i>silani</i>
*KAL	<i>toŋog</i>	*SIK	<i>holo api</i>	*POR	<i>čax-in-i</i>
*TAG	[ <i>sindi</i> ]	*RTI	<i>dede</i>	NTA	<i>asiepən</i>
*AKL	[ <i>sindh</i> ]	*BUR	<i>en-hewc-k</i>	KWA	<i>-ahiap<sup>w</sup></i>
*PAL	<i>silu<sup>?</sup></i>		<i>bana</i>	*NEM	<i>fai</i>
*MOL	<i>dokot</i>	DOB	<i>ʔa-waw</i>	CEM	<i>tót</i>
*KAG	<i>tutud</i>	IRA	<i>nurudə ɸena</i>	AJI	<i>kui</i>
BLA	<i>n-tam</i>	SAW	<i>n-ɛfoy</i>	*XAR	<i>fa-xiri</i>
*SAB	<i>pa-dokot</i>	*NYI	<i>telemei</i>	NEN	<i>aθoe</i>
*MUR	<i>sikit</i>	MAM	<i>ʔarataʔi</i>	*KIR	<i>kaura</i>
MGY	<i>mi-rehiɬa</i>	TAK	<i>-tini</i>	MSH	<i>ttil</i>
*ACE	<i>tot</i>	*DAM	<i>kū ɸi-ya</i>	PON	<i>isik</i>
BAT	<i>galah-i</i>	MAB	<i>-tun</i>	*WLE	<i>xaxüa</i>
MIN	<i>ñalo-kan</i>	*YAB	<i>-tuŋ</i>	EFI	<i>tutu-βaka</i>
IND	<i>mə-ñala-kan</i>	*KAU	<i>iyau ŋin-ŋin</i>	*WFI	<i>βitaki-nia</i>
*SUN	<i>ŋa-huruŋ-kin</i>	*TOL	<i>və-birao</i>	RTU	<i>fufu</i>
*JAV	<i>ŋ-urup-ke</i>	BUA	<i>βeβ</i>	*TON	<i>tutu</i>
MAD	<i>sulət</i>	ADZ	<i>asu<sup>ɟ?</sup></i>	*SAM	<i>tutu</i>
*BAL	<i>ŋ-əñjɪt-in</i>	KIL	<i>-βigadi</i>	*MEL	<i>tafuna</i>
SAS	<i>ñalə-aŋ</i>	TAW	<i>luwele</i>	*TAH	<i>tahu i te auahi</i>
*GOR	<i>mo-po-laʔito</i>	*MOT	<i>ha-ara-ia</i>	*RAP	<i>haka hū</i>
DAA	<i>no-tela apu</i>	MEK	<i>e-pa-aŋa(-i-a)</i>		
*UMA	<i>po-baa</i>	*ROV	<i>vakatua</i>		

- TSO (*xmor-i*).
- KAL *toŋog+man-/-an* (*toŋgan*).
- TAG Spanish *encender*; also *pa-nīŋas + mag-/i-*.
- AKL [*sindih*] + *-an* from Spanish *encender*.
- PAL *məgsilu?* ‘lamp; *səlaŋ* ‘torch made from *səlaŋ* tree’.
- MOL *dokot + pə- -an*.
- KAG *tutud + mag-/ə-n* (*tuturun*) ‘light’; *maket + mag-/ə-n* ‘kindle, ignite’.
- SAB *pa-dokot + aN-/ø* ‘to kindle a fire’; *tutud* ‘to light a lamp, candle etc’.
- MUR *sikit* (*mag-/maŋ-; -in*) general term; also [*pasaŋ*] (*maŋ-; -in*) loan from Malay *pasaŋ*, used for lamps, cigarette-lighters and other mechanisms.
- ACE Also *lhiət* ‘ignite’, see 01.851.
- SUN Also *mīlim*; *ŋa-duruk* ‘set fire to’.
- JAV See note 01.820.
- BAL (*N*-)*əñjit-in* ‘light something designed to be lit e.g. a lamp, cigarette, incense’; (*N*-)*əñjut-in* ‘set fire to, burn e.g. rubbish, straw etc.’; (*N*-)*añčuŋ-in* ‘set fire to wood, to rubbish, or to a cremation pyre’; (*N*-)*əndih-aŋ* ‘cause to burn brightly, light up, light e.g. lights, lamps’.
- GOR Also *mə-po-de?ito*.
- UMA Also *tutuni*.
- WOL *pa-rəre* ‘light fire, lamp’; *pe-a<sup>n</sup>da* ‘light a fire’, also *ta<sup>m</sup>po, tunu*.
- SIK Also *ikot apɪ*.
- RTI Also *hotu*.
- BUR ‘light a fire’.
- NYI *telemei* ‘kindle/light’ (vb trans) (def), *atelem* ‘kindle/light’ (vb intrans) (indef).
- DAM ‘light 3sg TRANS.AUX’.
- YAB *-gom ya* (*g*)*ε-lom* ‘do fire it-cross’, i.e. ‘kindle a fire’; *-è/-po ya* ‘scrape/rub fire’: ‘make fire by friction’.
- KAU ‘fire burns’; alternate expression *iau tun, iau poŋ*.
- TOL *və-* ‘caus’, *birao* (vb intrans) ‘be in flames, shine’. Also *və-uluy* (*rə iap*) ‘make up (the fire)’. Also *ul* ‘scorch’ (vb trans), burn by using the *ul* (a torch made from coconut leaves).
- MOT Also *ara-ia*.

ROV	Also <i>katu nika</i> ‘to light’; <i>va-katu-a</i> ‘to light the fire’.
MAR	Also <i>ñuri</i> .
LEW	Also <i>telani, virani</i> .
POR	<i>čax-in-i</i> (with a match); <i>tuŋan-i</i> (with a firebrand).
NEM	<i>fai yāk</i> ‘light a fire’, <i>nūvi</i> ‘light (a lamp)’.
XAR	‘cause to light’; <i>fa-</i> causative prefix.
KIR	Causative form, from of <i>ura</i> ‘flame’.
WLE	Causative form, from <i>xü</i> ‘burn’.
WFI	Also <i>mula-sia</i> .
TON	Also <i>tafu</i> .
SAM	Also <i>faʔa-ola</i> lit ‘make alive’ ( <i>faʔa</i> CAUS, <i>ola</i> ‘live’).
MEL	Also <i>tuŋia</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tutuʔi i te auahi</i> .
RAP	Also <i>tutu</i> ‘light, ignite’ (used of lighting stoves, etc.) see 01.851.

### 01.861 EXTINGUISH

ATA	mauŋ	IND	məmadam-	RTI	mate
TSO	afs-a		kan (padam)	*BUR	ep-mata bana
RUK	waəɬəpə	SUN	marim-an	DOB	ʔa-warum
PAI			(parim)	IRA	bunə ɬena
YAM	aşboyən	*JAV	mateni (pati)	*SAW	n-pun
ISN	patay-an	MAD		NYI	semeteʔei
*KAL	sobsob	BAL	ŋə-mati-aŋ	MAM	umatei
*TAG	patay	*SAS	məraʔ (pəraʔ)	*TAK	-funi
*AKL	pāʔuŋ	*GOR	momate	*DAM	gare ɸi-ya
PAL	patəy		(pate)	*MAB	-punmēte
*MOL	podəŋ	DAA	no- <sup>m</sup> paka-	*YAB	-si ya (g)e-
*KAG	pa'tay		paya		maʔ
BLA	f-n-ɔti	UMA	pate-hi	*KAU	iyau βhus
*SAB	padda	BUG	map-pidde	TOL	pun
*MUR	lasaʔ	KON	aʔ-paʔraŋ	BUA	puβ
*MGY	mamunu	WOL	pe-ka-mate	*ADZ	is- funub
*ACE	pu-[lon]	*MAG	pəsəŋ	KIL	-kimati
*BAT	pa-mate	NGA	səvu	TAW	boho
MIN	padam-i	*SIK	bəre	*MOT	ha-bodo-a

MEK	e-pa-alo(-a)	NTA	ahlamus	WLE	xuřūa
ROV	va matea sa	*KWA	-aki aphi	EFI	boko-đa
	nika	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> iŋon	WFI	βa-lō-nia
MAR	fajju	*CEM	pá-úde	RTU	møs-ʔoki
LAU	k <sup>w</sup> amalia ēre	AJI	ku ve mī	TON	tāmateʔi
*KWO	faʔa-baka-a	*XAR	šue-me	*SAM	ta-pē
RAG		NEN	abimi	MEL	fakamatea
*PAA	muasi	*KIR	kamauna	TAH	tūpohe
LEW	we-mari	MSH		*RAP	tiŋaʔi
POR	mač	*PON	kakunī		

KAL *sobsob + -an* (with water); *kosop + -an* (*kospan*) (by blowing).

TAG *patay + -um/-in* lit 'kill'.

AKL *pāʔuŋ + -un* (*padŋ-un*); Proto-Southern Philippines \**pādeŋ*.

MOL *podoŋ + -on*.

KAG *pa'tay + mag-/-ən* lit 'kill'.

SAB *padda + aN-/-an*.

MUR *lasaʔ* (*mag-/maŋ-; -in*) general term; also *patoy*, *talup* (*maŋ-; -on*) for lamps etc.

MGY From (*maN- vunu*), also 'to kill'.

ACE [*lon*] 'extinguished' from Mon-Khmer.

BAT See *matε* 'dead'.

JAV Also *n-damu* 'blow out'.

SAS Goris: *pərak*, *pədaʔ*.

GOR (*pate + moN*) lit 'kill'.

MAG *pəsaŋ* (vb trans); *pəsa* (vb intrans).

SIK Also *saʔan*; *səpu* (candle, lamp).

BUR 'kill a fire'; also *tela* 'divide, extinguish a forest fire by building fire breaks'; *skahi-k bana* 'pull logs apart to extinguish fire' (vs. *skeka-k bana* 'pull wood apart to slow down burning with intent to use fire again later').

SAW 'kill'.

TAK *-funi* 'hit' (09.210), as in *yai i-funi i-mat-da* 'fire he-hit it-die-IMPERF'; *-fufuni* 'extinguish with water'.

DAM 'die 3sg TRANS AUX-INF'.

MAB 'hit-die'

YAB	'extinguish fire it-die'.
KAU	Also <i>iau ksum</i> .
ADZ	<i>is</i> 'hit'; <i>funub</i> 'dead'.
MOT	Of fire, light.
KWO	'cause-be extinguished-it'.
PAA	'kill'.
KWA	<i>-aki aphi</i> 'rub out fire'; also <i>-əphi aphi</i> 'douse out with water'.
CEM	Also <i>cémi</i> 'extinguish by beating with branches'.
XAR	'blow-go out'.
KIR	Also <i>kamatea</i> CAUS of 'die'.
PON	CAUS of <i>kun</i> 'extinguished'.
SAM	<i>ta-</i> trans, <i>pē</i> 'die' (vb intrans), also <i>titina</i> 'put out, switch off, strangle' (vb trans).
RAP	Also <i>haka mate</i> 'kill' (used of stoves, etc.).

### 01.870 MATCH (noun)

<b>English:</b> <i>match(es)</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>fosforo</i>
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ATA	tatukiyān	BAT	lotiŋ	*RTI	<sup>ɔ</sup> galis
*TSO	[xanaxoe]	MIN	api- <i>api</i>	*BUR	[waʃa]
RUK	raoʒo	*IND	korek <i>api</i>	*DOB	[solo]
*PAI	paʒəkis	*SUN	[gəret]- <i>an</i>	*IRA	baruku
YAM	čapoyān	JAV	(ko)rɛʔ	*SAW	[garis]
ISN	palsiŋ	MAD	čurit	*NYI	kitiʔir
KAL	sapēgu	BAL	čolok	MAM	[masisi]
*TAG	[posporo]	SAS	čoloʔ	*TAK	[masis]
AKL	[pospuro]	GOR	malelaŋo	DAM	
PAL	bagid	DAA	solo	*MAB	<sup>m</sup> ben
MOL	baʔgid	*UMA	[soloʔ]	YAB	[(ya) masis]
KAG	[puspuru]	BUG	čoloʔ	KAU	[masis]
BLA	titik	*KON	koreʔ	TOL	[matete]
SAB	bagid	WOL	čolo	*BUA	[masis]
*MUR	[pandidip]	*MAG	[garis]	ADZ	
MGY	afu-kasika	*NGA	vatu- <i>api</i>	*KIL	[manusisi]
*ACE	[keh] <i>apuy</i>	SIK	beris <i>api</i>	TAW	[masisi]

MOT	[masisi]	*NTA	[masəs]	WLE	[mōsiyes]
MEK	[matsitsi]	KWA		EFI	[māsese]
*ROV	nika pidala	*NEM	ŋe-n yāk	WFI	[mači]
MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uri	*CEM	nàhi-bê	RTU	[mačese]
LAU	[masisi]	AJI	[m <sup>w</sup> āci]	TON	[masi]
KWO	[masisi]	*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ā-ci-re	*SAM	lā <sup>?</sup> au afi-tusi
RAG	[masese]	NEN	čeŋeiei	MEL	[masese]
PAA	[māsis]	KIR	te [matiti]	TAH	[māti]
*LEW	kapi	MSH	[mæcet]	RAP	[mati]
*POR	<sup>m</sup> bari-xa <sup>m</sup> b	PON	[masis]		

TSO From Minnan (Southern Fukienese) *hoan-a-hoe* ‘match’.

PAI ‘flint’.

TAG Also [*kasapuwēgo*] from Spanish *casa fuego*.

MUR Probably from Brunei Malay *pandidip*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer, also *anw<sup>?</sup>keh*.

IND Also *gores api*.

SUN Probably from Javanese *gæret* ‘to creak, grate’; also [*korek api*] from Malay.

UMA From Malay *čolok*, ‘small torch, wick’.

KON Also *čolo<sup>?</sup>kaĵu*.

MAG From Malay.

NGA ‘flint’.

RTI Also *ġalis-a<sup>?</sup>e* mixed Malay-Rotinese derivation: *ġaris ha<sup>?</sup>e* ‘to scratch fire’.

BUR ‘steel, flint’; *fat waĵa* ‘flint’; *waĵa lawe* ‘cigarette lighter’ (lit ‘steel, flint from overseas’); also [*ġaris*] ‘wooden match, cigarette lighter’ from Malay.

DOB [*solo*] from Malay?

IRA ‘tinder consisting of black palm fibres’.

SAW From Malay.

NYI Name of the traditional way of lighting a fire by rubbing pieces of a particular wood together. Modern matches are called [*masis*].

TAK Also *sunub* ‘slow-burning bush materials bound together to carry fire from place to place’.

MAB ‘firestick’.

KAU Also *piak-ŋin* (?-NOM).

TOL	Also <i>tautau</i> ‘kindling stick’.
BUA	Occasionally <i>ruŋ</i> .
KIL	Although the English word borrowed is in the plural form, the borrowing <i>manusisi</i> is used in reference both to one match or to a box of matches, the numeral with classifier being used to specify which is the meaning, i.e: <i>kai-tala manusisi</i> rigid/long-one match ‘one match’; <i>k<sup>w</sup>ai-tala manusisi</i> thing-one matches ‘one box of matches’; <i>kapo-tala manusisi</i> packet-one matches ‘a pack of boxes of matches’.
ROV	‘light strike’.
LEW	See 01.810.
POR	<i>mbari-xa mb</i> ‘firebrand’; [ <i>masis</i> ].
NEM	‘house of fire’.
CEM	‘young of firewood’.
XAR	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ā-ci-rɛ</i> ‘wood for lighting’; also <i>nɛ-ci-rɛ</i> ; <i>ʃɔ̄-nɛ</i> ‘flame-fire’; <i>kɛ̄-nɛ</i> ‘stick-fire’; <i>kɛrə-nɛ</i> ‘fibre strand fire’.
SAM	<i>lā<sup>ʔ</sup>au</i> ‘stick’, <i>afi</i> ‘fire’, <i>tusi</i> (vb intrans) ‘draw’ usually abbreviated to <i>afitusi</i> .

### 01.880 FIREWOOD

*ATA	kahunik	MIN	kayu api	BUR	kau bana
TSO	tu-a-puzu	*IND	kayu bakar	*DOB	ʔay ser-waw
RUK	aŋato	SUN	suluh	IRA	ɛma
PAI	zaman	JAV	kayu daŋ	*SAW	ay ta tapɛn
*YAM	izotoŋ	MAD	kaʃu tunu	NYI	"d <sup>r</sup> o <sup>ʔ</sup> o ʃih
ISN	kāyu	BAL	saŋ	MAM	rega
KAL	dinikot	SAS	kayu <sup>ʔ</sup> api	*TAK	ai
*TAG	gātoŋ	*GOR	ʔayu po-dī <sup>ʔ</sup> o	DAM	yā
AKL	gatuŋ	DAA	kayu apu	MAB	ke
PAL	kayu	UMA	kaʃu lobu-a	*YAB	ka-mase
MOL		BUG	aʃu-tunu-ŋ	*KAU	iyau hut eŋul
*KAG	suŋgan	*KON	kaʃu tunu-aŋ	*TOL	dəvai
BLA	kayu dutuŋ	WOL	kau ita <sup>m</sup> po	BUA	nəŋ <sup>w</sup> ay
SAB	kayu	*MAG	haʃu v̄	*ADZ	gai mari <sup>ʔ</sup>
MUR	luton	NGA	kaʃu-api	*KIL	kai
MGY	kitai	SIK	ʔai api	TAW	mayau
ACE	kayɛ apuy	*RTI	ai (dode	MOT	au rakuraku
BAT	soban		nasu-k)	*MEK	auo

ROV	huda rararo	*KWA	nei mhia	WLE	fafiya
*MAR	gaiǰu	*NEM	ce-gen	EFI	buka
LAU	ʔai narela	CEM	èp <sup>w</sup> en	WFI	guto
KWO	ʔai	*AJI	kě mēři	RTU	ʔai teʔteʔe
RAG	yabi	*XAR	nε	TON	fefie
PAA	āv	NEN	lugo	SAM	fafie
LEW	yato	KIR	te aia	MEL	fafie
POR	na-xa <sup>m</sup> b	*MSH	kanε	TAH	vahie
NTA	nəŋ metu	PON	tuwi	RAP	huka-huka

ATA Also *kahuy*.

YAM Also *iǰəŋǰəŋ*.

TAG *gātoŋ + paŋ-*.

KAG From (*sunug + -an*)

IND Also *kayu api*.

GOR ʔayu ‘wood’; *po-dīʔo* ‘is used to burn’.

KON Also *kajupaʔ-pallu*.

MAG Also *hajū puiŋ, hajū api*.

RTI ‘wood (for cooking)’.

DOB ʔay *ser-waw* : ʔay ‘wood’, *ser-* ‘derivational prefix’; *-waw* ‘burn’ (vb trans).

SAW ‘wood that burns’.

TAK ‘tree’.

YAB ‘wood-ripe’.

KAU ‘fire nose nothing’.

TOL See 01.430.

ADZ *gai* ‘wood’; *mari<sup>ŋ</sup>* ‘dry’.

KIL Also *kaiboī*.

MEK *auopa* ‘tree used for making drums and fenceposts’.

MAR ‘wood, stick’.

KWA ‘wood dry’.

NEM ‘log for heating’ (lit ‘wood-night’). see also *cē-n cilek* ‘kitchen wood’ (lit ‘wood cooking pot’).

AJI Also *ālā*.

XAR *nε* ‘fire, firewood’; *naikire* ‘wood for cooking’; *nnimeti* ‘firewood for sleeping hut’.

MSH Also *citəŋ* ‘firewood for warmth’.



## 01.890 CHARCOAL

ATA	βatah	BUG	usiŋ	LAU	neneo
TSO	oŋi	*KON	sumi <sup>?</sup>	KWO	bōbolo
RUK	laŋələ	WOL	hao	RAG	manono
PAI	kiđuŋ	MAG	ku <sup>n</sup> čəŋ	PAA	meleivoŋ
YAM	ratəb	NGA	arə	LEW	kila-meve
ISN	ūgiŋ	SIK	arə-n	POR	"d̪üru-xa <sup>m</sup> b
KAL	ūliŋ	RTI	ha <sup>?</sup> ika-k	NTA	noanamkələp
TAG	ūliŋ	BUR	ime-t	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> an-
AKL	ūliŋ	DOB	ŋaŋu		kumheiow
PAL	urisoŋ	IRA	udə	NEM	jin-cək
MOL	urisoŋ	SAW	kəskus	CEM	
KAG	uliŋ	NYI	bisi	AJI	joxavē
BLA	usiŋ	MAM	zim	XAR	mā-ne
SAB	kalbon	TAK	sas	NEN	wa <sup>?</sup> arid
MUR	bā	DAM	yā karos	*KIR	marara
*MGY	[saribau]	MAB	you ka	MSH	mælle
ACE	adaŋ		koskōzo	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ɔlus
BAT	agəŋ	*YAB	se <sup>?</sup> -kaiŋ	WLE	
MIN	barə kayu	KAU	pukas	EFI	gilaiso
IND	āraŋ	*TOL	kavolo	WFI	gāliho
*SUN	[arəŋ]	BUA	rari	RTU	mahala
JAV	arəŋ	ADZ	maraburu <sup>m</sup> p	TON	malala
MAD	arəŋ	KIL	p <sup>w</sup> anosi	*SAM	malala
BAL	adəŋ	*TAW	gibagiba	*MEL	{m <sup>w</sup> alevera}
SAS	arəŋ	*MOT	guma	TAH	<sup>?</sup> arahu
GOR	du <sup>?</sup> ito	MEK	aŋa-ma <sup>?</sup> a	RAP	<sup>?</sup> arahu
DAA	vuri	ROV	motete		
UMA	βuri	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> okəbru		

MGY From French *charbon*.

SUN From Javanese.

KON Also *dusi* 'result of having been burned, still usable'; *usiŋ* 'manufactured item'.

YAB 'ashes-kind'.

TOL Also *lakit* see 01.841, *giāva* used for blackening the body when mourning.

TAW 'charred wood'.

MOT Also *gida* ‘charcoal, embers’. (See 01.841).

KIR Also *m<sup>w</sup>ākaro* ‘embers’.

SAM See 01.841.

MEL From Efate.

## 02.100 PERSON, HUMAN BEING

**Sanskrit:** *janma-*, *manuṣa-*

ATA	čuku†-ik	UMA	tau-na	MAR	naikno
TSO	ʎou	BUG	tau	LAU	ʔai
RUK	oma-omas	KON	tau	*KWO	ai
PAI	ʎaw-ʎaw	*WOL	[manusia]	RAG	atatu
YAM	tao	MAG	ata	*PAA	hanu
ISN	tolay	*NGA	ata	*LEW	yaru
KAL	tāgu	*SIK	ata-biʔa-n	POR	arar
TAG	tāʔo	RTI	hataholi	NTA	etamim
AKL	tāwuh	*BUR	geba	KWA	iermama
*PAL	taw	DOB	tamatu	NEM	kae
MOL	[ʎolama]	*IRA	matu	CEM	âpulip
KAG	ittaw	SAW	kyat	AJI	kāmɔ
BLA	to	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʀamak	XAR	kamūrū
*SAB	aʔa	MAM	tamoata	NEN	ŋom(e)
MUR	ulun	*TAK	talpein	KIR	te aomata
*MGY	uluna	DAM		MSH	aṛmec
ACE	uruəŋ	MAB	tomtom	PON	aramas
*BAT	halak	YAB	ŋamalaʔ	WLE	yaremata
MIN	uraŋ	*KAU	po tunus	EFI	tamata
*IND	oraŋ	*TOL	vərə-gunən	WFI	e-ðola
*SUN	[ʎalma]	BUA	məʔɔ	RTU	famori
*JAV	wəŋ	*ADZ	garam gar	*TON	taha
MAD	uriŋ	*KIL	tomota	SAM	taŋata
*BAL	anak	TAW	lawa	MEL	taŋata
*SAS	dəŋan	MOT	taunimanima	TAH	taʔata
GOR	tawu	*MEK	papiau	RAP	taŋata
DAA	tau	ROV	tie		

- PAL Also *bilug*, [*bangsa*] from Sanskrit.
- SAB *aʔa* ‘person’; [*manusiyaʔ*] ‘human being/mankind’.
- MGY Compare Maanyan *ulun*.
- BAT *halak* ‘person’; [*ʃolma*] ‘human being’.
- IND *oraŋ* ‘person’; [*manusia*] ‘human being’.
- SUN Also [*manusa*].
- JAV Also [*manuŋsɔ*].
- BAL See 01.370; also [*ʃlɔma*].
- SAS Also [*manusia*].
- WOL Also *mia*.
- NGA Also *kita-ata*; *kita* ‘we (incl)’.
- SIK *ata* ‘person’ *biʔa-n* ‘animal’.
- BUR When the focus is on the humanness, [*mansia*] is used; thus, rough glosses are *geba* ‘person’ and [*mansia*] ‘human’. When the clan identity of the person is in question, if the person is male the clan name is followed by *tau-n* (e.g. *Gebhain taun* ‘person/male from Selekly clan’), but if the person is female the clan name follows *em-huka* (e.g. *emhuka Mual* ‘person/female from the Solissa clan’).
- IRA Also *matotu*.
- TAK Etymologically this appears to be a reduced form of *tamol-pein* ‘people’ (‘man-woman’) (19.210).
- KAU Apparently ‘skin good’.
- TOL *vərə-ʔ*, *gunən* ‘place, country, village’.
- ADZ ‘man true’.
- KIL Also *tau* see 02.210). Also *mina* ‘people of’, as in *mina Rabesi* ‘people of Rabesi’.
- MEK From *papie* ‘woman’ and *au* ‘man’, but now an unanalysable base. *papiau-mauni* ‘a real person’, is a high compliment, also ‘human nature, humanity, a human being’; see 19.210.
- KWO Also *wane*.
- PAA Also *molatin-lit* ‘man’.
- LEW Also *yeririna*.
- TON Also *taŋata*.

## 02.210 MAN (vs.woman)

ATA	mamaʃiku	UMA	to-mane	MAR	mae
TSO	xaxoɕŋi	BUG	orowanne	*LAU	ārai
RUK	saovalay	KON	buruʔne	KWO	wane
PAI	uʃalʔay	WOL	umane	RAG	atam <sup>w</sup> ani
*YAM	məakay	MAG	ata rona	*PAA	molatin
ISN	lalāki	NGA	ana-haki	LEW	yerim <sup>w</sup> ene
KAL	lalāki	SIK	ata laʔi	POR	arar
*TAG	lalāki	RTI	tou-k	NTA	ierman
*AKL	ʃaʃaki-	*BUR	ana-mhana	*KWA	ierman
PAL	lolaki	DOB	yil	NEM	kac
MOL	lolaki	IRA	maranə	CEM	áiu
KAG	mama	SAW	legæ	AJI	kāmɔ wi
BLA	lagi	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> an	XAR	xɔtɔ
SAB	lella	MAM	moane	NEN	ŋom(e)
*MUR	uŋkuyon	TAK	tamol	*KIR	te mm <sup>w</sup> āne
*MGY	lehilahi	ĐAM	tamə	*MSH	mm <sup>w</sup> ān
*ACE	agam	MAB	tomoto	*PON	ōl
BAT	baoa	YAB	ŋaʔ	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> aře
MIN	uraŋ laki-laki	KAU	βi	EFI	taŋane
*IND	laki-laki	TOL	tutanə	WFI	tamata-ðola
SUN	lalaki	BUA	maluy	RTU	fa
JAV	wəŋ lanəŋ	ADZ	garam	TON	taŋata
MAD	uriŋ lakiʔ	KIL	tau	*SAM	tāne
BAL	anak muani	*TAW	lawa	MEL	tāne
SAS	mamə	*MOT	tau	TAH	tāne
*GOR	tā lo-laʔi	*MEK	au	RAP	taŋata
DAA	la <sup>ɟ</sup> gai	ROV	koreo		

YAM *məakay* in Ivarino, Iranmilek, and Iraralay.

TAG Also *māmaʔ* reference term; PHN \**lalāki*-.

AKL Also \**ʃaki*-, PHN \**lalāki*-.

MUR (In songs) *baŋku* ‘man with offspring’, (*sum*)*biliŋ* ‘man with no offspring, bachelor’; (in legends), *buayoy*; (in ritual language) *magabag* lit ‘loincloth-wearer’.

MGY From \**laki-laki*.

ACE Normally *uruəŋ agam*, also *lakəə*.

IND Also *lelaki*, [*pria*] from Sanskrit.

GOR	<i>tā</i> serves both as personal nominaliser and as personal relative pronoun.
BUR	Also <i>tau-n</i> (see note 02100). Li Enyorot <i>ana-mana</i> .
TAW	<i>lawa</i> ‘person’, but not normally used of a woman in a text; <i>oloto</i> lit ‘male’.
MOT	Plural <i>tatau</i> by partial reduplication.
MEK	<i>au</i> is homophonous with the word for ‘tree, wood’ – it can also be used for ‘person, unspecified for sex/gender’, being less marked in this meaning than <i>papiau</i> (see 02.100).
LAU	<i>ārai</i> ‘married man’, <i>wane</i> ‘male’.
PAA	<i>molahus</i> ‘male’ can also be used.
KWA	<i>ierman</i> opposite of <i>pran</i> , ‘woman’; <i>iak<sup>w</sup>ein</i> , <i>iema</i> used in few contexts.
KIR	<i>teuāei</i> ‘this male’, deictic.
MSH	Also <i>leo</i> .
PON	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>ān</i> ‘man, male’, archaic.
WLE	Also <i>xōřa</i> .
SAM	<i>tāne</i> ‘adult married man’; <i>tamaloa</i> , ‘untitled man’; <i>tama</i> see 02.250, 02.270.

## 02.220 WOMAN

*ATA	kanayriř	*ACE	inəŋ	NGA	ana-fai
TSO	mamespiŋi	BAT	boru-boru	SIK	ata βai
RUK	ababay	MIN	uraŋ padusi	RTI	ina-k
PAI	va-vay-an	*IND	pər-əmpu-an	*BUR	ana-fina
YAM	mavakəş	SUN	awewe	DOB	ʔodar
ISN	babay	*JAV	wəŋ wadən	IRA	sətə
KAL	babāʔi	MAD	uriŋ biniʔ	SAW	pegele
*TAG	babāʔe/āle	BAL	anak luh	NYI	badih
AKL	babāyih	SAS	ninə	MAM	aine
PAL	libun	GOR	tā buwa	TAK	pein
MOL	libun	DAA	besi	DAM	kayau
KAG	bai	UMA	to-bine	MAB	mōri
BLA	libun	BUG	makkunrai	YAB	àwe
SAB	denda	KON	bahine	*KAU	βut βala
*MUR	duanduʔ	*WOL	βawine	TOL	vavinə
*MGY	vehivavi	*MAG	ine-vai	BUA	aβeŋ

*ADZ	sagat	LEW	sira	*PON	lī
KIL	βiβila	POR	r <sup>m</sup> baix	*WLE	ʃɔɸ <sup>w</sup> uto
TAW	wawine	NTA	pətan	EFI	yalewa
*MOT	hahine	KWA	pran	WFI	huna-ni-
MEK	papie	NEM	ŋōk		βanua
ROV	barikalege	CEM	tóm <sup>w</sup> o	RTU	hōni
MAR	naikno bi <sup>ʔ</sup> o	AJI	kāmə b <sup>w</sup> ε	TON	fefine
LAU	ʔinitei	XAR	çē	*SAM	fafine
KWO	noni	NEN	ŋenew(e)	MEL	ffine
RAG	vavine	*KIR	te aine	TAH	vahine
*PAA	ahin	*MSH	kʌræ-lie	RAP	vi <sup>ʔ</sup> e

ATA Also *kanawnu?*

TAG PAN \**bāHi*, Proto-Philippines \**ba-bāhi*.

MUR (In song) *baiŋ* ‘older woman with no offspring, spinster’, *tuñjuŋ* ‘woman with offspring’, (*mal*)*inus*, *inus* ‘young woman with no offspring, maiden’, (in ritual language) *mantapi?* lit ‘skirt-wearer’.

MGY Developed in analogy of *lehi/lahi* and on the basis of \**vavi* from PMP \**babəHi*.

ACE Normally *uruəŋ inəŋ*, also *binəə*.

IND Also [*wanita*] from Sanskrit.

JAV Also *wəŋ wedə?*

WOL Also *ǰamaali* (uncommon).

MAG In eastern Central Manggarai: *ata vina*.

BUR Also *em-huka* (see note for 02.100).

KAU *βut* ‘she (independent pronoun)’; *βala* ‘female’.

ADZ *sagat* (all dialects); *kasat* Ngariawang village only.

MOT Pl *hahine* with stress on first syllable, instead of second as for the singular. Also *hane* in a few contexts e.g. *hane Motu* or *Motu hahine-na* ‘Motu woman’.

PAA Near synonym with *letau*; *ahin* suggests biological femaleness, *letau* the social aspects of being female. (The latter is more likely to be used as an insult to an incompetent male).

KIR Also *neiei*.

MSH ‘this woman’.

PON Also *pein*.

WLE Also *faifiře*.

SAM Also *māfine*, *tama<sup>ʔ</sup>ita<sup>ʔ</sup>i* (polite) ‘lady’.

## 02.230 MALE

ATA		UMA		MAR	naʎaʔu
*TSO		BUG	lai	LAU	wane
RUK	saovalay	KON	buruʔne	KWO	wane
*PAI	uʎal <sup>y</sup> ay	WOL	umane	RAG	atam <sup>w</sup> ani
YAM	maʎakay	MAG		*PAA	toman
ISN	lalāki	*NGA	haki	LEW	yerim <sup>w</sup> ene
KAL	lāki	*SIK	laʔi	POR	si <sup>m</sup> beu
*TAG	lalāki	*RTI	mane	NTA	ierman
*AKL	ʎāki	*BUR	ana-mhana	KWA	-erman
*PAL	lolaki	DOB	yili	*NEM	kayuk
MOL	lolaki	IRA	məranə	CEM	áiu
KAG	mama	SAW	mən	AJI	wi
BLA	lagi	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> an	XAR	xətə
SAB	lella	MAM	moane	*NEN	čahan
MUR	uŋkuyon	*TAK	tamol	KIR	
MGY	lahi	DAM	monog	MSH	
ACE	agam	MAB	tomōto	PON	
*BAT	baoa	YAB	ŋaʔ	WLE	
*MIN	laki-laki	KAU	masaŋ	EFI	taŋane
*IND	laki-laki	*TOL	tutanə	WFI	seiŋ <sup>w</sup> ane
*SUN	ǰalu	BUA	maluŋ	RTU	fā
JAV	lanəŋ	ADZ	maruʔ	TON	taŋata
*MAD	lakiʔ	*KIL	tau	*SAM	tāne
*BAL	muani	TAW	oloto	MEL	tāne
SAS	mamə	*MOT	maruane	*TAH	tāne
GOR	lo-laʔi	*MEK	maŋuae	*RAP	tane
*DAA	la <sup>ŋ</sup> gai	*ROV	koreo		

TSO There is no single word for ‘male’. Words differ from animal to animal: *moʎmori* ‘wild boar’ (*insi* ‘female wild pig’), *moniŋroxi* ‘rooster’ (*moskoʔi* ‘hen’), *snumaso* ‘stag’ (*ročo* ‘doe’).

PAI *val<sup>y</sup>as* ‘male (animals)’.

TAG PMP *\*lāki*.

AKL Also *ʎaʎāki*, Proto-Philippines *\*la-lāki*.

PAL *lumbuʔ* (for animals).

BAT Also *doli*; *tungal* ‘male (animal)’.

MIN	Also [ <i>ĵantan</i> ] developed from PWMP * <i>Zalu</i> ‘male’ (Adelaar 1985:115).
IND	Also <i>ĵantan</i> .
SUN	Also <i>lalaki</i> .
MAD	See note 02.310.
BAL	Old Balinese <i>maruani</i> .
DAA	<i>langai</i> of humans; <i>tuama</i> of animals.
NGA	(of animals).
SIK	Also <i>?lamə-n</i> .
RTI	<i>mane</i> may also apply to some plants; the female counterpart of <i>mane</i> is then <i>feto</i> .
BUR	‘human’; also <i>tau-n</i> (see note for 02.100).
TAK	‘man’.
TOL	See 02.210.
KIL	Classifiers within the NP may be used to indicate sex: <i>-tau-</i> , <i>to-</i> , <i>tai-</i> ‘male human’. Also <i>guma Kavataria</i> ‘man of Kavataria’. <i>toule-la Kavataria</i> ‘man-its Kavataria’.
MOT	<i>tau</i> ‘man, male’.
MEK	<i>maŋuac-ŋa</i> , <i>maŋue-ŋa</i> is also heard, with a fossilised 3sg suffix.
ROV	<i>koreo</i> (of humans), <i>kokoreo</i> (of animals).
PAA	Sometimes also <i>molahus</i> .
NEM	Also <i>kac</i> .
NEN	Also <i>čaman</i> .
SAM	Of children: <i>tama</i> , e.g. <i>tama tama</i> lit ‘male child, boy’, see 02.250.
TAH	Of humans.
RAP	Possibly from Tahitian.

## 02.240 FEMALE

ATA		KAL	<i>bāʔi</i>	BLA	<i>libun</i>
*TSO		*TAG	<i>babāʔe</i>	SAB	<i>denda</i>
RUK	<i>ababay</i>	*AKL	<i>babāyih</i>	MUR	<i>duanduʔ</i>
PAI	<i>va-vay-an</i>	PAL	<i>upah</i>	MGY	<i>vavi</i>
YAM	<i>mavakəş</i>	MOL	<i>libun</i>	ACE	<i>inəŋ</i>
ISN	<i>babay</i>	KAG	<i>bai</i>	BAT	<i>boru-boru</i>



*MIN	padusi	NYI	badih	POR	<sup>m</sup> barea <sup>m</sup> b
*IND	pər-əmpu-an	MAM	aine	NTA	pətan
*SUN	bikaŋ	*TAK	pein	KWA	-pran
*JAV	wadɔn	DAM	gober	NEM	ŋōk
*MAD	bini?	*MAB	mōri	CEM	tōm <sup>w</sup> o
*BAL	luh	*YAB	àwe	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε
SAS	ninə	KAU	βala	XAR	çē
GOR	buwa	*TOL	vavinə	NEN	ṃenew(e)
*DAA	besi	BUA	aβeɣ	KIR	
UMA		ADZ	finam	MSH	
BUG	komba?	*KIL	βiβila	PON	
KON	bahine	TAW	wawine	WLE	
WOL	βawine	MOT	hahine	EFI	yalewa
MAG		MEK	papie(-ŋa)	WFI	lewa
*NGA	moka	*ROV	vineki	RTU	həni
*SIK	βai	MAR	gaʔase	TON	fefine
*RTI	ina	LAU	geni	*SAM	fafine
*BUR	ana-fina	KWO	geni	MEL	ffine
DOB	ʔodar	RAG	vavine	*TAH	vahine
*IRA	sətə	PAA	letau	*RAP	vahine
SAW	məpin	LEW	sira		

TSO See note 02.230.

TAG PAN \*bāHi.

AKL Also bāyih.

MIN Also *batino* from PM \*ina ‘mother’.

IND Also *bətina* of animal.

SUN Also *awewe*.

JAV Also *wedɔʔ*.

MAD See note 02.320, 02.310.

BAL *luh* of humans; *luə* in most varieties, of animals only; in some varieties, of humans too.

DAA *besi* of humans; *tina* of animals.

NGA Of animals.

SIK Also βai-ŋ.

RTI Also *feto*.

BUR Of humans; also *em-huka* (see note for 02.100)

IRA	<i>sotə</i> for people; <i>idenə</i> for animals.
TAK	‘woman’.
MAB	Of humans.
YAB	-ə suffix: feminine.; see for example, 02.250 and 02.260.
TOL	See 02.220.
KIL	As for 02.230; classifier for female human reference is <i>-na-</i> ‘female human’. Also ( <i>v</i> ) <i>ile-la Kavataria</i> ‘woman-its Kavataria’.
ROV	<i>vineki</i> (of humans), <i>mamagota</i> (of animals).
SAM	For children: <i>teine</i> , e.g. <i>tama teine</i> , lit ‘female child, girl’, see 02.260.
TAH	Of humans.
RAP	Possibly from Tahitian; used the same in that language.

### 02.250 BOY

ATA		SUN	budak laki	*NYI	nah m <sup>w</sup> an
TSO		JAV	bočah lanəŋ	MAM	natu-mu <sup>?</sup> u- moane
RUK	lanwaka- ŋabarənə	*MAD	na <sup>?</sup> -kana <sup>?</sup> laki <sup>?</sup>	*TAK	nanuk tamol
PAI	kakədi-an	*BAL	anak muani	*DAM	kesu monog
YAM	maɣakay		čənik	MAB	pikin tomōto
ISN	an <sup>?</sup> ana <sup>?</sup> a lalāki	SAS	anak mamə	*YAB	ŋapale ŋa <sup>?</sup>
KAL	lalākin abeŋ	*GOR	wala <sup>?</sup> o tā lo- la <sup>?</sup> i	*KAU	masəŋ hoin
TAG	bāta-ŋ lalāki	*DAA	bogo	*TOL	bul
*AKL	bāta <sup>?</sup>	UMA	uto <sup>?</sup>	BUA	yur maluŋ
PAL	ləlaki	BUG	ana <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	mama <sup>?</sup> iarub
MOL			orowanne	*KIL	g <sup>w</sup> adi tau
KAG	mama	*KON	ana <sup>?</sup>	*TAW	koko
BLA	tiŋə <sup>?</sup> lagi		buru <sup>?</sup> ne(-na)	*MOT	mero
SAB	lella	WOL		*MEK	imoi
MUR	lalaiŋ (da uŋkuyon)	MAG	anak ata rona		manuae(-ŋa)
*MGY	zaza-lahi	NGA	ana-haki	*ROV	kuburu koreo
*ACE	anu <sup>?</sup> agam	SIK	me la <sup>?</sup> i	MAR	na <sup>?</sup> la <sup>?</sup> u
BAT	dak-danak baoa	RTI	tou ana-k	LAU	wela wane
MIN	anak laki-laki	BUR	ana-mhana	KWO	wela wane
IND	anak laki-laki	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a yili-n	RAG	
		IRA	mə mərənə	PAA	lohon
		*SAW	wyoy mən	*LEW	sis
					yerim <sup>w</sup> ene

POR	na-ruare si <sup>m</sup> beu	NEN	aiča	RTU	le <sup>?</sup> fā
		*KIR	teataeini- mm <sup>w</sup> āne	*TON	tamasi <sup>?</sup> i
NTA	suakaku			*SAM	tama
*KWA	iakunouihi	MSH	ɭarrik	MEL	tama-tāne
NEM	yaok kac	PON	p <sup>w</sup> uʔak	TAH	tamāroa
*CEM	pā éwa	WLE	sari	RAP	poki tane
AJI	wi yaři	EFI	ɲone-taŋane		
*XAR	xū xotɔ	WFI	huna-hewa		

AKL Also *uŋa<sup>?</sup>ŋa ʔatāki*.

MGY *zaza* from \**ya-ya*, compare Maanyan *ia* ‘child’.

ACE Also *si agam*.

MAD *na<sup>?</sup>-kana<sup>?</sup>* from (RED-*kana<sup>?</sup>*). Safioedin (1977) and Penninga and Hendriks (1913) have *kana<sup>?</sup>* ‘child’, *na<sup>?</sup>-kana<sup>?</sup>* ‘children’.

BAL No specific term; periphrastically *anak muani čənik* lit ‘small male person’.

GOR *wala<sup>?</sup>o* ‘child’.

DAA Also *lobe*, *da<sup>?</sup>gu* variants from different Da’a villages.

KON *ana<sup>?</sup>buru<sup>?</sup>ne(-na)* (usually possessed).

SAW ‘child that is a male’.

NYI ‘male child’.

TAK ‘child man’.

DAM Also *ʔesu nālu* ‘small child’, usually a boy.

YAB ‘child male’.

KAU ‘male (person) child’.

TOL Also *bultutana*.

KIL ‘child male’; also *ma-gudi-na tau* ‘that-child-that male’.

TAW *komoi* dialect.

MOT Pl. *memero* by partial reduplication.

MEK *imi* in the other dialects. NW Mekeo has *imaŋuvaŋa* for ‘boy’. *ako* is familiar for ‘boy’ in East Mekeo, North Mekeo, West Mekeo.

ROV Also *kiko* ‘baby boy’; *koreo* ‘boy after puberty’.

LEW ‘male child’.

KWA ‘child small’; usually male referents but also of females.

CEM *pā* ‘the’ (masc. art.), *éwa* ‘child’.

XAR ‘small man’; *xotɔ* ‘male’ not often used as specific form exists for ‘girl’.

KIR ‘male child’.

TON Also *tamasiʔitaŋata*.

SAM Also ‘child, son or daughter of a woman, youth, young man’.

## 02.251 YOUNG MAN (adolescent)

ATA	mayumaʔak	DAA	kabilasa	MAR	mae sitei
*TSO	sasmoriski	UMA	kabilasa	LAU	wane dara
RUK	laŋwaka- θabaranə	BUG	kallolo	KWO	wane ʔalak <sup>wa</sup>
*PAI	maʔa-ʕuvu- ʕuvuŋ	KON	anaʔ buruʔne	*RAG	m <sup>w</sup> alagelo
YAM	malavayo	WOL	ana-na umane	*PAA	lohon
ISN	bagbagu	MAG		LEW	yarum <sup>wē</sup>
*KAL	mamal balu	NGA	hoga	POR	m <sup>w</sup> elaul
*TAG	binātaʔ	*SIK	tibo ʔlamə-ŋ	*NTA	etam alua
*AKL	binātaʔ	RTI	taʔe ana-k	KWA	tamarua
PAL	subur	*BUR	mas-mori	NEM	ñin
MOL	subur	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>wa</sup> yili-n	CEM	ʒib <sup>w</sup> o-âpulip
*KAG	[sultiritu]	IRA	mə məranə	AJI	wi dowā
BLA	l-am-nok lagi		nabadə	XAR	a-dop <sup>wa</sup>
SAB	subul	SAW	mən mya	*NEN	θot
*MUR	tūʔ bagu	NYI	loweu	*KIR	te roroŋa
*MGY	tuvu-lahi	MAM	amuna	MSH	likao
ACE		*TAK	pinein	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ānakap <sup>w</sup>
BAT	doli-doli	DAM	kesu ōsi	WLE	taʔim <sup>wa</sup> ə
MIN	uraŋ mudo	MAB	na <sup>ŋ</sup> gaŋ	EFI	ðauraβou
*IND	pə-muda	YAB	ŋaʔ-seŋəm	WFI	hurarou
*SUN	ʒaʒaka	*KAU	masaŋ βahin	RTU	hahaŋəŋi
JAV	ʒəkə	*TOL	bərmanə	*TON	[talavou]
*MAD	dəd-ŋudəd-an	BUA	(ʒur) magem	*SAM	tauleʔale
*BAL	anak [tərunə]	*ADZ	gəram faʔ	MEL	tamā-roa
SAS	baʒaŋ	*KIL	to-ulatila	TAH	taureʔareʔa
*GOR	tā bohu lo tawu	TAW	hewali	RAP	poki tane taŋa
		*MOT	tau hau		
		*MEK	ʔo-ʔoae		
		ROV	koreo vagura		

TSO Young man/woman of about twenty years old, see also *ri-rpiŋ-i* ‘young man/ woman as well as young animals fully grown up (about twenty to twenty-five years in case of human beings)’.

PAI *kaʒunu-an* ‘teenagers’.

- KAL (*maN-R<sup>1</sup>-balu*).
- TAG Also *binatilyo*; Proto-Southern Philippines *\*bāta?*
- AKL *ʔaskit* slang term; also [*soltēro*], Spanish *soltero*.
- KAG From Spanish *soltero*.
- MUR Also *buayoy*, (*sum*)*biliŋ* see 01.210.
- MGY *tuvu* ‘growing; unmarried’.
- IND Also [*rəmaja*] Sanskrit.
- SUN Also *bujaŋ*.
- MAD From (RED-*ɲudəd-an*). Not in Safioedin (1977), Penninga and Hendriks (1913).
- BAL From Sanskrit. In North Bali only, *anak bajaŋ* is used to refer to an adolescent of either sex, see 02.261.
- GOR *bohu* ‘new’, *lo* ‘LINKER’.
- SIK Also *ʔlamə-ŋnibo-ŋ*.
- BUR Also ‘unmarried male’
- DOB ‘male child, unmarried young men’.
- TAK *pinein* ‘male past puberty but not yet married’.
- KAU ‘male (person) adolescent’.
- TOL Also *tavuə-nə-bul*, ‘grown up boy, about 15 years old’.
- ADZ ‘man new’.
- KIL ‘male-sexually active’. Note that the gloss ‘sexually active’ is given for two different morphemes, and in this case the classifier does not transfer, so that *\*na-ulatila* and *\*to-pugopugula* do not occur. However each may function as a vb stem; in the simple (ie not reduplicated) form, it does not have a highly sexual connotation; thus, *Yeigu a-ulatila... Yeigu a-pugula...* ‘when I was a young (man) (woman)’. But the reduplicated form of the verb stem morpheme may be used to give clear indication of sexual activity as in *Ka, ma-tau-we-na i-ulu-ulatila!* ‘See that man emph that he continuous sexually active’, ‘Hey, he’s having an active time with the girls’.
- MOT Pl *uhau*. Note *tau* ‘man’.
- MEK The base *ʔoae* is partially reduplicated -- compare *ʔoa-ʔoae* ‘widower’, 02.770 (for which Motu has both *dogae* and *goae*). North Mekeo is regular: *ko-koae*. West Mekeo and NW Mekeo *koae-kogo*.
- RAG Puberty to marriage.
- PAA Young men remain as ‘boys’ essentially until they marry.

NTA Also *suakaku* 'any unmarried male of any age'.

NEN Also *waraŋi*.

KIR Also *terorobuaka*.

TON From Lau Fijian *ḍaravou*.

SAM Also *tama*.

## 02.260 GIRL

ATA		GOR	wala <sup>o</sup> tā	*MOT	kekeni
TSO			buwa	*MEK	imo
RUK	tawailəkətə	DAA	<sup>n</sup> dei		papie(-ŋa)
PAI	kakəḍi-an	UMA	dei <sup>?</sup>	*ROV	vineki
YAM	mavakəṣ	BUG	ana <sup>?</sup> -	MAR	ga <sup>?</sup> ase
ISN	an <sup>?</sup> ana <sup>?</sup> a babay		makkunrai	LAU	wela geni
		*KON	ana <sup>?</sup>	KWO	wela geni
KAL	babā <sup>?</sup> in abeŋ		bahine(-na)	RAG	
TAG	bāta-ŋ babā <sup>?</sup> e	*WOL	kala <sup>m</sup> be	PAA	letaui
*AKL	bāta <sup>?</sup>	MAG	anak ine-vai	*LEW	sisi sira
*PAL	budyaŋ	NGA	ana-fai	POR	rux-mala <sup>mb</sup>
MOL		*SIK	me ʔai	NTA	pətanakaku
KAG	bai	RTI	ina ana-k	*KWA	pran ouihi
BLA	tiŋ <sup>?</sup> libun	BUR	ana-fina	NEM	yaok ŋōk
SAB	denda	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a	*CEM	é éwa
MUR	lalaiŋ		odar-ni	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε yaŋi
	(da duandu <sup>?</sup> )	IRA	mə sətə	XAR	nēxu
MGY	zaza-vavi	SAW	wyoy mēpin	*NEN	aerowe
ACE	anu <sup>?</sup> inəŋ	*NYI	nah badih	*KIR	te ataeinaine
*BAT	ḍak-ḍanak	MAM	natu-aine	*MSH	lerrik
	boru-boru	*TAK	nanuk pein	*PON	serepein
MIN	anak gadih	*DAM	kayau nālu	*WLE	saŋi
IND	anak pər- əmpu-an	MAB	pikin mōri	EFI	ŋone-yalewa
		*YAB	napale-ḍ	WFI	lewa-hewa
SUN	budak awewe	*KAU	ʔala hoin	RTU	le <sup>?</sup> hōni
JAV	bočah wadən	*TOL	bul vavinə	TON	ta <sup>?</sup> ahine
*MAD	na <sup>?</sup> -kana <sup>?</sup> bini <sup>?</sup>	BUA	ʔur aʔeʔ	*SAM	teine
		ADZ	mama <sup>?</sup> ʔinam	MEL	tama-ffine
BAL	anak luh čənik	*KIL	g <sup>w</sup> adi ʔiʔila	TAH	tamāhine
SAS	anak ninə	*TAW	kekeu	RAP	poki vahine

- AKL Also *uŋaʔŋa babāyih*.
- PAL Also *linlibun* ‘little girl’.
- BAT Also *anak boru*.
- MAD *naʔ-kanaʔ* from (RED-*kanaʔ*). Safioedin (1977) and Penninga and Hendriks (1913) have *kanaʔ* ‘child’, *naʔ-kanaʔ* ‘children’.
- KON *anaʔ buruʔne(-na)* (usually possessed).
- WOL ‘girl of marriageable age’.
- SIK Also *me duʔa*.
- NYI ‘female child’.
- TAK ‘child woman’.
- DAM Also *kesu gober*, ‘female child’.
- YAB ‘child-FEM’.
- KAU ‘female (person) child’.
- TOL Also *vavinə ik*, lit ‘little woman’.
- KIL ‘child female’. As for 02.250. *ma-gudi-na βiβila* ‘that-child-that female’.
- TAW *kenuna* dialect.
- MOT Pl. *kekeni* with stress on first syllable, instead of second as for the singular.
- MEK NW Mekeo has *imbabieŋa*. *koma (komau)* is used chiefly as a term of address; *toma-toma* is babytalk for ‘little girl’.
- ROV ‘little girl’.
- LEW ‘female child’.
- KWA ‘woman small’.
- CEM *é* ‘the’, *éwa* ‘FEM ART’
- NEN Also *wačenewe*.
- KIR ‘female child’.
- MSH ‘small female’; also personal demonstratives, e.g. *liε* ‘this female’.
- PON ‘female child’.
- WLE *sari* ‘child’, *sari s̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ʷuto* ‘pubescent girl’.
- SAM Also *teine-itiiti* lit ‘small girl’.

## 02.261 YOUNG WOMAN (adolescent)

ATA	mukurakiš	BUG	anaʔ-dara	MAR	gaʔase
*TSO	sasmoriski	KON	tu-lolo	LAU	geni hari
RUK	tawailəkətə	*WOL	ka-ʒua-ʒua	KWO	lāriʔi
*PAI	maḳa-ʒuvu- ʒuvuŋ	MAG	ata molas	*RAG	daulato
YAM	malavayo	NGA	buʔe	PAA	letaui
ISN	babbalāsaŋ	*SIK	ʔβaebuʔa-ŋ	LEW	sira m <sup>wē</sup>
*KAL	mamabbalāsaŋ	RTI	ana feo ana-k	POR	ra <sup>m</sup> bura <sup>m</sup> b
*TAG	dalāga	*BUR	ana-fina em- huka	NTA	pətanakaku
*AKL	daʔāgah	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a ʔodar- ni	*KWA	pran wi
PAL	budyaŋ	IRA	mə sətə nabadə	NEM	ñin ɲok
MOL	bujaŋ	SAW	məpin mya	CEM	éwa tóm <sup>wo</sup>
KAG	dlagita	NYI	bihin	AJI	b <sup>wε</sup> dowa
BLA	l-am-nok libun	MAM	aine-barasi	XAR	a-dop <sup>wa</sup>
SAB	bujaŋ	*TAK	kubakan	NEN	čenewe
*MUR	dalā	DAM	kayau momōli	KIR	
MGY	tuvu-vavi	MAB	tamuriŋ	MSH	
*ACE	dara	*YAB	awe takiŋ	PON	peinakap <sup>w</sup>
BAT	na mar-baʒu	*KAU	βala wahin	WLE	
MIN	anak gadih	*TOL	gərə-nə-vavinə	EFI	ɲone-yalewa
*IND	gadis	BUA	aβeɣ aβə	WFI	βulau
*SUN	mojaŋ	*ADZ	aruf	RTU	haharəŋi
JAV	prawan	*KIL	na-pugopugula	TON	finemui
MAD	paraban	TAW	guguhini	SAM	teine
*BAL	dəə	*MOT	haneulato	MEL	funumui
SAS	dədarə	*MEK	iviao	TAH	pōtiʔi
GOR	tā dulahu	ROV	barikalege	RAP	poki vahine taŋa
DAA	ra <sup>n</sup> doo		vagura		
UMA	to-ronaa				

TSO See 02.251.

PAI See 02.250.

KAL (*maN-R<sup>1</sup>-balasaŋ*).TAG Also *dalagīta*; PHN \**DāRah*, Proto-Philippines \**da-dāRah*.AKL *bagnit* slang; also *soltēra*.MUR Also (*ma*)*linus*.ACE Also *anuw<sup>?</sup>dara*.



IND	Also <i>pəmudi</i> with Sanskrit influence in the gender distinction.
SUN	Also <i>lanjaŋ</i> .
BAL	‘virgin’; <i>baĵaŋ</i> South Bali only. In North Bali <i>baĵaŋ</i> refers to adolescents of either sex, see 02.261.
WOL	<i>ka-ġua-ġua</i> (age 10-15); also [ <i>nona</i> ] Indonesian (Dutch?).
SIK	Also <i>rudu-n barək</i> , <i>ġai nibo-ŋ</i> .
BUR	<i>ana-fina em-huka bokis-lawa-n</i> ‘virgin’.
DOB	‘female child, young woman not yet married’.
TAK	<i>kubakan</i> ‘woman past puberty but not yet married’ (plural: <i>kubak-ka</i> ).
YAB	<i>takiŋ</i> ‘marriageable’; <i>sagu-ò</i> ‘girl who has menstruated’.
KAU	‘male (person) adolescent’.
TOL	<i>tavuə-nə-bul vavinə</i> ‘grown-up girl, about 12 years old’.
ADZ	‘unmarried female’.
KIL	‘female sexually active’; see 02.251.
MOT	Pl. <i>ulato</i> . From <i>hane</i> ‘woman’ (See 02.220).
MEK	Seligmann (1910) has <i>ipiao</i> in a clan-name – which explains present-day correspondences: North Mekeo and West Mekeo <i>ibiao/ibioo</i> . NW Mekeo <i>uio</i> . East Mekeo <i>komaru</i> , for a young woman ready to have her first child (‘robust’ or ‘of a child-bearing age and constitution’).
RAG	‘puberty to marriage’.
KWA	‘woman new’.

## 02.270 CHILD

ATA	ʔuʔakiʔ	MOL	anak	SUN	budak
TSO	oko	KAG	bataʔ	JAV	bočah
*RUK	wavalakə	BLA	tiŋoʔ	*MAD	naʔ-kanaʔ
PAI	alʔak	SAB	dakanak	*BAL	anak čənik
YAM	kanakan	*MUR	anak	SAS	anak
ISN	ababbiŋ	MGY	anaka	*GOR	tā ʔu kikiʔo
KAL	abeŋ	ACE	anuʔ	*DAA	ana
*TAG	bātaʔ	BAT	dak-danak	UMA	anaʔ
*AKL	bātaʔ	MIN	anaʔ	BUG	ana-anaʔ
PAL	yəŋyəŋaŋ	IND	anak	KON	anaʔ

*WOL	ana	*BUA	ɣur mayen	CEM	éwa
MAG	anak	*ADZ	mamaʔ	AJI	o yaŋi
NGA	ana	KIL	g <sup>w</sup> adi	XAR	xūšī
SIK	me	TAW	tewela	*NEN	morowe
RTI	ana	*MOT	natu-na	*KIR	te ataei
BUR	ana-t	*MEK	imoi	*MSH	acŋi
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a	ROV	koburu	*PON	seri
IRA	mɔ	*MAR	sua	*WLE	saŋi
SAW	yomya	LAU	wela	EFI	ŋone
NYI	nah	KWO	wela	*WFI	k <sup>w</sup> a-hewa
MAM	natu	*RAG	naturiyi	RTU	leʔe
*TAK	nanuk	*PAA	lohon	TON	tamasiʔi
*DAM	kesu	LEW	sisi	*SAM	tama
*MAB	pikin	POR	na-ruare	MEL	tama
*YAB	ŋa-pale	NTA	suakaku	TAH	ramariʔi
KAU	hoin	KWA	iakun	RAP	poki
TOL	bul	NEM	yaok		

RUK *wa-v-alakə* ‘children’, *l-alakə* in Budai and Labuan, *vala-valakə* in Tona; Budai *lolay* ‘baby’, Proto-Rukai *\*Lolay* ‘child’.

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines *\*bātaʔ*.

AKL Also *uŋaʔ* ‘offspring’.

MUR ‘son, daughter (offspring)’; (*lalaiŋ*) ‘boy, girl’ (young human).

MAD From (RED-*kanaʔ*). Safioedin (1977) and Penninga and Hendriks (1913) have *kanaʔ* ‘child’, *naʔ-kanaʔ* ‘children’.

BAL Also *anak čərik* (*čənik*, *čərik* ‘small’ see 12.560). *panak* is a relational term, meaning ‘offspring’, ‘someone’s child’, also used for animal offspring; *čəniŋ* ‘term of address for child’.

GOR *tā* ‘personal nominaliser’; *ʔu* ‘non-personal relative pronoun’; *kikiʔo* ‘small’.

DAA Also *ŋana*.

WOL Also *tu<sup>m</sup>pe* ‘first born child’.

TAK Historically *nanuk* consists of *nanu-* ‘child’ and *-k* ‘my (vocative)’, i.e. ‘my child!’ as a term of address. However, it is now the general noun meaning ‘child’.

DAM Also *nālu*, ‘small (one)’, but always with a possessor.

MAB Also *lutu-*.

YAB ‘his-soft’; *goloaʔ ŋaseʔŋaseʔ* ‘family tiny-ones’ i.e. ‘the children of a family’.

BUA	<i>nalu</i> ‘offspring’.
ADZ	Also <i>mu<sup>n</sup>tus</i> ‘small child’.
MOT	Also 02.430 ‘offspring’.
MEK	<i>imi</i> in all other dialects.
MAR	Also <i>t<sup>h</sup>uñā</i> ‘son, daughter’.
RAG	See <i>nitu</i> sg-pl <i>riviyi</i> .
PAA	Also used specifically for a male child.
NEN	Also <i>tei-</i> .
KIR	Also <i>natin</i> CON ‘child of’.
MSH	Also <i>næcin</i> , compare <i>æcin</i> Yapese ‘chief, tyrant’.
PON	Also <i>nejn</i> .
WLE	Also <i>řař</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βero</i> .
SAM	See 02.230, 02.240, also <i>tama-itiiti</i> lit ‘small child (not offspring)’.

## 02.280 INFANT, BABY

*ATA	қаңғиһ	SUN	orok	MAM	natu-ruru-ʔaŋ-ʔaŋ
TSO	oko	JAV	bayi		
*RUK	daini	MAD	b <sup>h</sup> aʃiʔ	*TAK	nanuk sua-te
PAI	lumamad	*BAL	[rare]	DAM	momou
YAM	mətɔə	SAS	bəbeʃak	*MAB	pikin
ISN	maladāga	GOR	tā ʔuŋe	*YAB	ŋapale dedeʔ
KAL	pōsik	DAA	ŋana ʔgedi	KLU	po mumlek
TAG	saŋgol	UMA	anaʔ lei	*TOI	kurəmanə
AKL	ʃapsag	BUG	anaʔ-lolo	*BUA	ɣur mayen
*PAL	məmuloʔk	KON	anaʔ lolo	ADZ	mamaʔ mitan
*MOL	anak	WOL		KIL	p <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> awa
*KAG	bataʔ na ti'səʔ	*MAG	anak vara	TAW	meyameya
BLA	tiŋəʔ falami	NGA	ana-ŋuza	*MOT	βara
	sut	*SIK	me-nurak		matamata
SAB	dakanak	*RTI	ana-ana	*MEK	ŋau
*MUR	lalagaŋ	*BUR	geb roi-n	ROV	haha
MGY	zaza-keli	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a	MAR	gegeʔe
*ACE	anuʔ [mañāʔ]		tub'bay	LAU	wela bibiu
BAT	pɔsɔ-pɔsɔ	IRA	mɔ kamaru	KWO	bībiu
MIN	ana keteʔ	SAW	yomya gelole	*RAG	naturi memea
*IND	bayi	*NYI	nah ñā <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> en	*PAA	titiali

LEW	sisi tomtom	*XAR	xū	WFI	huhuwai
*POR	amas	NEN	wamorowe	RTU	leʔ meʔ meʔa
*NTA	suakaku metmetiŋ	KIR	te merimeri	*TON	valevale
*KWA	iapou	MSH	niŋniŋ	*SAM	[pepe]
NEM	ya-p <sup>w</sup> ec	PON	seri p <sup>w</sup> eel	*MEL	tama [kekēla]
CEM	čú-éwa	*WLE	xata	*TAH	ʔaiū
AJI	o yañ ka yañ	EFI	ŋone d <sup>r</sup> amid <sup>r</sup> ami	*RAP	poki

ATA *yurah* ‘baby boy’; *uŋay* ‘baby girl, monkey’.

RUK See 02.270.

PAL Also *mɔragáʔ*.

MOL *anak + moŋ-*.

KAG ‘small child’.

MUR Also *akaŋ, kaka-anak*.

ACE Possibly Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *kanak-kanak*.

BAL From Old Javanese. ‘child under the age of three months, after which *anak čərik* is used’ (Kersten (1984)); also *anak čərik barak* lit ‘small red person’, of the skin colour of a new-born baby.

MAG Also *anak reak*.

SIK Also *dədi anak*.

RTI Also *niʔi ana*.

BUR Rana and WaeSama *tiso*.

DOB ‘new child’.

NYI Also *nah borolak*.

TAK ‘child breast-at’ (02.270, 04.410), i.e. ‘child at the breast’.

MAB Also *tutuk*.

YAB ‘infant bloody’, i.e. ‘newly born’; *ŋapale kəkəʔ* ‘infant red’ (after birth).

TOL *bulkuakuə* ‘little, newborn child’.

BUA Also *yurmayen ni kəkək*.

MOT [*beibi*] from English is probably more commonly used today. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *natu-na karukaru* (*karukaru* ‘not fully ripe, young’).

MEK	<i>ŋau</i> ‘young of both humans and animals’. (It is perhaps better translated as ‘offspring’, being used for ‘son, daughter’ and, by extension, ‘nephew, niece’).
RAG	<i>naturi memea</i> ‘newborn child’, <i>atat kolo</i> ‘baby from birth up to two years’.
PAA	<i>tīvava</i> ‘newborn baby’.
POR	<i>amas</i> ‘baby boy’; <i>liko<sup>m</sup>b</i> ‘baby girl’.
NTA	‘soft child’.
KWA	<i>iapu</i> ‘speechless person’, <i>kowa</i> ‘babbling’, <i>kenouenou</i> ‘ignorant person’.
XAR	<i>wap<sup>w</sup>ei</i> ‘new born baby’.
WLE	<i>sauxōwa</i> ‘baby boy’, <i>řixōwa</i> ‘baby girl’.
TON	Also [ <i>pēpē</i> ] from English .
SAM	From English ‘baby’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also [ <i>pēpe</i> ] from English.
RAP	<i>poki poreko ihu</i> ‘newborn child’; <i>poki ?iti-?iti</i> ‘very small/young child’.

### 02.310 HUSBAND

ATA	<i>mamaʔiku</i>	MGY	<i>vadi</i>	MAG	<i>rona</i>
TSO	<i>vʔoŋi</i>	ACE	<i>lakɔə</i>	NGA	<i>haki</i>
RUK	<i>taələlə</i>	BAT	<i>tungane doli</i>	SIK	<i>ata laʔi</i>
PAI	<i>ʔəkəl<sup>y</sup></i>	*MIN	<i>laki</i>	RTI	<i>sao tou-k</i>
YAM	<i>maʔakay na</i>	*IND	[ <i>suami</i> ]	*BUR	<i>geb-haa</i>
ISN	<i>atāwa</i>	SUN	<i>salaki</i>	*DOB	<i>yak<sup>w</sup>a-m</i>
*KAL	<i>asāwa</i>	*JAV	<i>laki</i>	IRA	<i>a məran</i>
*TAG	<i>asāwa</i>	*MAD	<i>laki</i>	*SAW	<i>ləgae</i>
AKL	<i>asāwa ŋa</i>	*BAL		*NYI	<i>udu-n</i>
	<i>ʔaʔāki</i>	SAS	<i>sə-mamə</i>	MAM	<i>roa-moane-ʔa</i>
PAL	<i>osawa lolaki</i>	*GOR	[ <i>peyituwa</i> ]	*TAK	<i>pein iwo-n</i>
MOL	<i>osawa</i>	*DAA	<i>roŋo</i>	*DAM	<i>aiwa (monog)</i>
*KAG	<i>sawa</i>	UMA	<i>to-mane</i>	*MAB	<i>kusi- (tomōto)</i>
BLA	<i>yoʔon</i>	BUG	<i>lakkai</i>	YAB	<i>ak<sup>w</sup>eŋ</i>
SAB	<i>halla</i>	KON	<i>buruʔne(-nna)</i>	*KAU	<i>titiyen</i>
*MUR	<i>lalaki</i>	*WOL	<i>umane</i>	*TOL	<i>təulai</i>

BUA	rəya	PAA	asōn	*MSH	kuŋ <sup>w</sup> ān
ADZ	gabu-	*LEW	o-na	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> out
KIL	m <sup>w</sup> ala	POR	sōa-n si <sup>m</sup> beu	*WLE	fitiya-
TAW	ago	*NTA	ierman	EFI	wati-
*MOT	adaβa-na	KWA	ierman	WFI	seiŋ <sup>w</sup> ane
MEK	akava	NEM	kalō-n	RTU	vævæne
*ROV	palabatu	CEM	áiu he-n	*TON	[mali]
*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> etoña	AJI	wi kui	*SAM	tāne
*LAU	ārai nia	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ētɔ	MEL	nuāne
KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ai-	*NEN	čamanien	TAH	tāne
RAG	ahoa-	*KIR	te bū	RAP	kenu

KAL Also *lakay*.

TAG Also *tāʔo*, *bāna*.

KAG ‘spouse’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male.

MUR *bāŋan* with two wives, *pumpulu* with three or more wives.

MIN Also *juñjuʔŋ-an*.

IND From Sanskrit; also *laki* in some lower speech registers.

JAV Also *lanəŋ*, lit ‘male’.

MAD Safioedin (1977), Penninga and Hendriks (1913): *laki* ‘husband/man’  
*lakiʔ* ‘male’. See 02.320.

BAL No specific term. [*kurən-an*, *somah*] ‘spouse’ from Old Javanese.

GOR From Portuguese.

DAA ‘spouse’.

WOL Also *miarəŋa*.

BUR ‘person-big’ also used ‘clan-head’; Lisela dialects *na-mori-t*  
‘husband’.

DOB *yak<sup>w</sup>a-m* ‘your spouse’, the root is changed for the 3sg: *yasi*.

SAW Also *mən*.

NYI ‘his spouse’ (inalienably possessed).

TAK ‘woman spouse-her’, i.e. ‘a woman’s spouse’.

DAM Also *tamo*, see 2.210.

MAB *wæ-* ‘any close associate’, frequently ‘husband’.

KAU ‘spouse’.

TOL Also *tutana*, see 02.210.

MOT ‘spouse’; *tau* ‘man’ may be used for ‘husband’.

ROV	<i>palabatu</i> ‘husband’, <i>loana</i> ‘spouse’.
MAR	(3sg POSS) ‘spouse’.
LAU	‘her husband’.
LEW	‘spouse’; <i>o-na nap<sup>wa</sup> yerim<sup>wene</sup></i> ‘spouse REL male’.
NTA	Also <i>iaḡualh</i> , <i>etamim</i> .
NEN	Also <i>θeden</i> .
KIR	‘spouse’; <i>tekāinaba</i> lit ‘person of the land; same generation relative by marriage’.
MSH	Eastern dialect; Western dialect <i>koḡwān</i> ; <i>pælēn</i> ; CON; <i>ṛīn</i> ; <i>ṛituriḡ</i> CON: also ‘neighbour’; <i>ppan</i> .
PON	Also <i>werek</i> .
WLE	Also <i>yaütexi</i> .
TON	From English ‘marry’, also <i>hoa</i> .
SAM	See 02.210, <i>to<sup>ʔ</sup>alua</i> ‘husband, wife’.

## 02.320 WIFE

*ATA	kanayriṡ	*IND	[istəri]	*NYI	udu-n
TSO	vøŋi	*SUN	ewe	MAM	roa-aine-ʔa
RUK	taələlə	*JAV	bini	*TAK	tamol iwo-n
PAI	ʔəkəl <sup>y</sup>	*MAD	bini	*DAM	aiwa (gober)
YAM	mavakəṡ na	*BAL		*MAB	kusi- mōri
ISN	atāwa	SAS	sə-ninə	*YAB	àwe
*KAL	asāwa	*GOR	[meyituwa]	*KAU	titiyen
*TAG	asāwa	*DAA	roḡo	*TOL	təulai
AKL	asāwa ḡa	UMA	to-bine	BUA	βəne
	babāyih	BUG	baine	ADZ	fini-
PAL	osawa libun	KON	bahine(-nna)	KIL	k <sup>wa</sup> βa
MOL	osawa	*WOL	ḡawine	TAW	ago
*KAG	sawa	MAG	vina	*MOT	adaβa-na
BLA	yəʔon	NGA	fai	MEK	akava
SAB	handa	*SIK	ata du <sup>ʔ</sup> a βai	*ROV	barikalege
*MUR	andu <sup>ʔ</sup>	RTI	sao ina-k	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> etoña
MGY	vadi	*BUR	fin-haa	LAU	ʔafe nia
*ACE	pəruməh	*DOB	yak <sup>wa</sup> -m	KWO	ʔafe
BAT	tungane boru	*IRA	a uagə	RAG	tasala-
*MIN	bini	*SAW	pəgele	PAA	asōn

*LEW	o-na	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ē	WFI	yalewa
*POR	sōa-n	*NEN	ṃenuen	RTU	hōina
*NTA	pətan	*KIR	te bū	*TON	[mali]
*KWA	pran	MSH		*SAM	āvā
NEM	ṇōe-n	PON		MEL	nūfine
CEM	m <sup>w</sup> óde-n	WLE	fitiya-	TAH	vahine
AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε kui	EFI	wati-	RAP	vi <sup>?</sup> e

ATA Also *kanawnu?*

KAL Also *bakbakot*.

TAG Also *maybāhay*.

KAG ‘spouse’; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.

MUR In polygamous marriage: *pūn* ‘senior wife’ (lit ‘trunk, stem’), *untu* ‘junior wife’ (lit ‘new shoots/leaves’), *tataṅa?* ‘middle wife/wives’ (lit ‘centre’).

ACE Also *purumḥ*. From *pɔ rumḥ* ‘owner of the house’.

MIN Also *anak rumah, uraṅ rumah*.

IND From Sanskrit; lower speech registers commonly *bini*.

SUN Also *pamaḷikan* (*paḷik* ‘live with someone’). Eringa: also *padunuṅan* ‘wife’ (old fashioned).

JAV Also *kaṅ [estri]* from Sanskrit.

MAD Safioedin (1977), Penninga and Hendriks (1913): *bini* ‘wife/woman’, *bini?* ‘female’. See 02.310.

BAL Old Balinese: (*ba*)*bini*. No NB term see note, 02.310.

GOR From Portuguese.

DAA ‘spouse’.

WOL Also *mia raṅa*.

SIK Also *βai*.

BUR ‘female-big’; Rana and Lisela *ge-fina*.

DOB See 02.310.

IRA Also *a sɔtə*.

SAW Also *mepin*.

NYI ‘her spouse’.

TAK ‘man spouse-his’, i.e. ‘a man’s spouse’.

DAM Also *kayau*, see 2.220.

MAB Also *wae-*.



- YAB *lau-ò* ‘people-feminine’, i.e. ‘wives’; *ana-ò* ‘co-wife’; *ana-i-ò* ‘co-wives’ (-i- human pl).
- KAU ‘spouse’ (3sg POSS).
- TOL Also *vavinə*, see 02.220.
- MOT ‘spouse’; *hahine* ‘woman, wife’.
- ROV Also *bakalege* ‘wife’, *loana* ‘spouse’.
- MAR ‘spouse’.
- LEW ‘spouse’. *o-na nap<sup>w</sup>a sira* ‘spouse that is female’.
- POR *r<sup>m</sup>baix isa-n* ‘woman belong-him’, i.e. ‘his wife’.
- NTA Also *pətaŋuəlh*, *etamim*.
- KWA Also *ruk<sup>w</sup>e-* term of reference; connotes sexual partner.
- NEN Also *θeden*.
- KIR ‘spouse’; *te kāinaba* lit ‘person of the land; same generation relative by marriage’.
- TON From English ‘marry’, also *hoa*.
- SAM *faltetua* (polite) ‘wife of a chief, pastor etc’; *tausī* (polite) ‘wife of an orator’; *masiofo* (polite) ‘wife of a high chief, king’; *meama<sup>?</sup>i* (polite) ‘wife of a carpenter’; *to<sup>?</sup>alua* ‘husband, wife’.

## 02.330 MARRY

**Arabic:** *kāwīn* ‘marry; *nikāḥ* ‘marriage’

**Persian:** *kābīn*

ATA	mā-šā-ši- ʔahay	*KAG	[ka'sal]	*BAL	ŋ-anten
		BLA	s-dimi	*SAS	mərarīʔ
TSO	me-vɕoŋi	*SAB	[kawin]		(pərarīʔ)
RUK	māroɕaŋ	*MUR	anduʔ	GOR	mo- nika
PAI	pu-val <sup>y</sup> aw	MGY	manam-badi	DAA	no-roŋo
YAM	mišinmo	ACE	[kawen]	*UMA	ñ-ča-moko
ISN	maŋ-atāwa	*BAT	maŋ-oli	BUG	sipobenne
*KAL	asāwa	*MIN	[kawin]	*KON	aʔ-paʔ-nikka
*TAG	pa-kasal	*IND	[kawin]	*WOL	[kawi]
*AKL	paŋasāwa	*SUN	[kawin]	*MAG	nəki
PAL	məŋɕsawa	*JAV	[kawin]	*NGA	ɖəke-fai
*MOL	[kawin]	*MAD	a- kabin	SIK	kaβit

RTI	sao	TAW	lawagi	XAR	хəуə
*BUR	enika ana-fina	MOT	he-adaβa	*NEN	ičore
*DOB	den	*MEK	e-amaŋe	*KIR	iein
IRA	narəφe	ROV	varihaba	*MSH	pælele
SAW	n-ɛfsəw	MAR	tolayi	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> out
*NYI	sudiy	LAU	?afe	*WLE	ṛīṛī
MAM	uati	*KWO	bai-a	EFI	βaka-wati
*TAK	nug-ŋa	RAG	layi	WFI	čuri
DAM	bagu	PAA	detalihel	*RTU	
MAB	-wōlo	*LEW	koro	*TON	[mali]
*YAB	-yàm àwe	*POR	ax	*SAM	fa?aiipoipo
*KAU	naŋin	*NTA	it	MEL	āvaŋa
*TOL	təulai	*KWA	-awahi	*TAH	fa?aiipoipo
*BUA	raḵ maluḡ	*NEM	halōn	RAP	haipo-ipo
*ADZ	yu	CEM	átən		
KIL	-βaia	AJI	əyə		

KAL *asāwa+maN-/-on (asaw?on).*

TAG *pa-kasal + mag-/-an; also maki-pag-isa-ŋ-dibdib* ‘be one breast’.

AKL Also *paŋ-asaw?-un.*

MOL [*kawin*] (*mog-/-on*).

KAG [*ka'sal*] + *magpa-/-ən* from Spanish *casar*.

SAB [*kawin*] + *aN-/ø* refers to the marriage ceremony; *handa + ag-* ‘take a wife’; *halla + ag-* ‘take a husband’.

MUR *andu?* (*mag-*), (Ag. = man and woman); *not* (*mag-*; *-on*) (vb trans) (Ag = bride’s family; O = bride); *indalaki* (*maŋ-*) (vb intrans) (Ag = bride); *taŋandu?* (*maŋ-*; *anduon*) (vb trans) (Ag = bridegroom); *takin* (*-um-*; *-in*) (vb trans) (Ag = man) ‘marry into (bride’s family)’.

BAT *maŋ-oli* ‘marry (by male person)’; *muli* ‘marry (by female person)’.

MIN Also [*nikah*].

IND Also [*nikah*].

SUN Arabic; also [*nikah*] (*{tikah}*).

JAV Arabic, also [*krəmə*] Sanskrit.

MAD Arabic; also *a-bini* ‘have wife’, *a-laki* ‘have husband’.

BAL Also *mə-sakap-an*.

SAS Goris: *rari?* ‘kidnap woman with her consent’.

UMA *moko* ‘match mate’ (n), *ha-moko* ‘pair’ (n); *ṛča-moka* ‘to mate, pair up’.

- KON Also *aʔ-buntɪŋ* (of man); *aʔ-paʔ-buntɪŋ* (of woman).
- WOL Also *pa-[kawi]* ‘to give in marriage’.
- MAG Also *[kawɪŋ]*, *[nika]* Malay.
- NGA Also *dʔəke-haki*. *dʔəke* lit ‘climb’; refers to the act of climbing into the house as part of the traditional wedding ceremony.
- BUR ‘ask for a female’ referring to the first main step of the complex marriage process; also *doo saro* ‘have a marriage/sexual relationship (neutral in force)’; *oli* ‘return’ (metaphor for ‘marry’); *[kawɛŋ]* from Malay.
- DOB Also ‘sleep’. *Petu ʔa-tura Hana den* ‘Petu marries Hana’, lit ‘Petu accompanies Hana they marry’. This verb is one of a small set where the prefix has merged with the root. Thus the paradigm is: 1sg *ʔon*, 2sg *mon*, 3sg *nen*, 1pl(incl) *ten*, 1pl(excl) *men*, 2pl *miʔnen*, 3pl *den*. When it means marry, as opposed to ‘sleep’, only the plural forms occur. To say ‘marry’ without specifying to whom, one says *nal ʔodar* or *nal yili* ‘he/she has taken a woman/man’.
- NYI ‘to pull someone’; *tasou* ‘marriage’.
- TAK ‘each other get’, as in *nug di-ŋa-da* ‘each other they-get-PRES’, i.e. ‘they are getting married’.
- YAB ‘do woman’ (of a man); *yam ŋaʔ* ‘do man’ (of a woman), *-kam lemɛ-ŋ*, *-kam tauŋ* ‘shake hands’, *kiʔ semoʔ-walo toŋ* ‘bind together with orchid vine’.
- KAU Also *sital*, *pital*, *uŋ ta*.
- TOL *təul-e* (vb trans).
- BUA Also *ko aβɛy*.
- ADZ *yu-* lit ‘take’ (of a man); *su-* lit ‘become’ (of a woman).
- MEK *e-amape* (vb intrans); *e-akava(-ni-a)* (vb trans).
- KWO *bai-a* ‘take a man in marriage’; *fē-a* ‘take a woman in marriage’.
- LEW Also *talova* ‘to hold hands’.
- POR Also *kan-i*.
- NTA *it* (of a man), *atoupən* (of a woman) lit ‘lead’ and ‘follow’ respectively.
- KWA *-awahi* ‘take’, of a man; *-iri* ‘lead’, of a man; *-era* ‘marry’, of a woman; *-esi* ‘follow’, of a woman.
- NEM ‘marry’ of woman, *fe ŋōk* of man (lit ‘to take a wife’).
- NEN Also *ekon*, *menewon*.
- KIR Also ‘spouse’; *[mare]* from English; used particularly for formal Christian marriage.

MSH	[m <sup>w</sup> are] from English.
PON	p <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> out also 'married couple'; p <sup>w</sup> outiki (vb trans); werek hon; waraki (vb trans).
WLE	Also fitiyañ (vb trans).
RTU	?inoso 'to be married'.
TON	From English.
SAM	Of a man: fai-āvā, fai (vb trans) 'do, make', āvā 'wife'. Of a woman: nofo-tāne, nofo (vb intrans) 'sit, stay, be married', tāne 'husband'.
TAH	Also ha?aiipoipo.

### 02.340 MARRIAGE, WEDDING

**Arabic:** *kāwīn* 'marry', *nikah* 'marriage'  
**Spanish:** *casar*

**Persian:** *kābīn*

ATA		*IND	pər-[kawin]- an	SAW	fa-fsow
TSO				NYI	molak
RUK	māroḍarodaḅə	*SUN	[kawin]-an	MAM	roti
PAI	pu-ʔəkəl <sup>y</sup>	*JAV	[pɔɔ-kromɔ]	*TAK	nug ḡane-k
YAM		MAD	par-[kabin]- an	DAM	bagu
ISN	agga?attāwa			MAB	ula
KAL	[kasal]	BAL		*YAB	àweḡa- m <sup>w</sup> asiḡ
*TAG	[kasal]	SAS	[tətikah]		
AKL	[kasaʔ]	*GOR	[nika]	*KAU	tutu-βal
*PAL	bulun	DAA	po-roḡo	*TOL	t-un-ulai
MOL	[kawin]	UMA	po-ñča- moko-a	BUA	
KAG	[ka'sal]			ADZ	
BLA	ka-s-dimī	BUG	bottiḡ	KIL	βaiβai
SAB	pag[kawin]- an	*KON	pa?-buntḡ-aḡ	TAW	tawine
		WOL	[kawi]-a	MOT	he-adaβa
MUR	paguatan	*MAG	vagal	*MEK	amaḡe
MGY	fanam-badi- ana	NGA	zəza	*ROV	vinarihaba
		SIK	[kaβit]	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> olayi
*ACE	mu[kawén]	RTI	sasao-k	LAU	fā ofu
BAT	par-bagas-on	*BUR	[kaweḡ]	KWO	afoloḡa
MIN	ale? [kawin]	*DOB	selḡaḡi ye den	*RAG	layi-ana
		IRA	ḡenənarə	PAA	tetalihelēn

*LEW	na-koro-ena	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-xɔyɔ	*WFI	βīkumuni
POR	nixean	NEN	neiθuaŋeu	*RTU	sū
*NTA	[marət]	KIR		*TON	[mali]
*KWA	nəɸukarua	MSH		*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> aipoipo-ŋa
NEM		PON		MEL	āvaŋa-raŋa
CEM	pî-átén	WLE		*TAH	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> aipoipora <sup>ʔ</sup> a
AJI	viɔyɔ	*EFI	teβuteβu	RAP	haipo-ipo

TAG [kasal] + pagka-, also kásālan.

PAL *bulun* ‘marriage ceremony’; *pəŋasawanan* ‘institution of marriage’.

ACE The ceremony is normally referred to as a [kuruŋa] from Sanskrit.

IND Also *pər*-[nikah]-an; see 02330.

SUN Also *paŋawinan* ([kawin]); *per*[tikah]an.

JAV Sanskrit, also [kraman] ([krama]-an) from Sanskrit.

GOR See 02.330 ‘marry’.

KON Also *pa<sup>ʔ</sup>* [nikka] aŋ.

MAG Also *nə<sup>m</sup>puŋ* ‘final matrimonial feast’.

BUR Also *em-paka* ‘feast after settling brideprice’. Marriages on Buru involve a series of steps in which it is difficult to say that today they are married, yesterday they weren’t. The meeting of the male’s clan and the female’s clan to settle the bridewealth is the *kori-sana-t*.

DOB ‘a couple marry’.

TAK ‘each other get-NOM’, see 02.330.

YAB ‘woman her-feast’. Also *m<sup>w</sup>asiŋ àwe tɔ ŋa<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋa* ‘marriage banquet, feast’.

KAU -βal ‘each other’ (reciprocal morpheme).

TOL -un- NOM.

MEK *amaŋe* is not itself a ceremony. The most important ceremonies connected with marriage are brideprice settlements, and one simply speaks of the woman’s ‘price’: *ʔava*. Formal meetings for this purpose are referred to as *goba-goba* in the west; East Mekeo *kopa* means to ‘tie’.

ROV Also *vina ororeke*, *lotu varihaba* ‘church wedding’.

RAG ‘marrying’.

LEW Also *na-talova-ena*; see 02.330.

NTA From English.

- KWA *nəʔukarua* ‘doorway, feast which marks marital agreement’. *tənərup* ‘basket, feast which marks transfer of woman from one household to another’; *nawəŋənien asori* ‘feast large’, ‘final feast which celebrates the existence of marital relations’.
- XAR A traditional custom wedding is x<sup>w</sup>*ērē-kōrō*.
- EFI [*βakamaʉ*] ‘religious wedding service’; Tongan *fakamaʉu* ‘engagement’.
- WFI *yara-kuiʉa* ‘government marriage ceremony’; *βamaʉ* ‘church service’, Standard Fijian [*βakamaʉ*], from Tongan.
- RTU Also *ʔinoso*.
- TON From English.
- SAM *-ŋa* NOM.
- TAH Also *haʔaiipoiporaʔa*.

## 02.341 DIVORCE

Arabic: *ṭalāq*Spanish: *divorcio*

ATA	ma-yaʔih	IND	pər-čərai-an	*IRA	do
TSO	rupa-mo-ϕxi	*SUN	[talak]	SAW	n-[telak]
RUK	makakatoasə	JAV	məgat (pəgat)	*NYI	tasou ano
PAI	ma-vaday	MAD	a-[təllak]	MAM	segeaʔi
YAM	komazo	BAL	mə-palas	*TAK	nug-moi
ISN	magadi	*SAS	bə-seaŋ	DAM	ϕara
KAL	īdaŋ	GOR	bu-buʔā-ya	MAB	-ye <sup>m</sup> but ula
*TAG	[diʔborsiyə]	DAA	po-so <sup>m</sup> po	*YAB	-wi tau-ŋ siŋ
*AKL	[dibursyoh]	UMA	po-gaa-aʔ	*KAU	mut-mut-βal
*PAL	parak	BUG	mas-saraŋ	*TOL	ki vərβəiai
*MOL	butas	*KON	as-saraeŋ	BUA	βəpul
*KAG	bəlag	*WOL	po-βoli	*ADZ	taŋin rai
BLA	kah yəʔən	MAG	čear	KIL	βaipaka
*SAB	timan	*NGA	vaʔa	TAW	wihulu
*MUR	ali	*SIK	βega	*MOT	diho-tani-a
MGY	fi-sarah-ana	*RTI	(dedeʔa)na-	*MEK	e-pa-ake
ACE	cre		ela-k	*ROV	variluari
BAT	siraŋ	*BUR	[tela]	MAR	
*MIN	čaray	*DOB	da-bayaŋa	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> ai lugasia

KWO	ruru-a	*NEM	pe-varān hen	EFI	sere
RAG		CEM		*WEI	βī-dei
*PAA	geka	AJI	c̄v̄ vi ɔyɔ	RTU	uf-ʔɔki
*LEW	na-liṅani-lua- ena	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-pəñi	TON	vete
POR		NEN	ičil	*SAM	teteʔa
*NTA	katuap <sup>w</sup> as ilau mən	*KIR	raure	MEL	
KWA		*MSH	cepel	TAH	faʔataʔaraʔa
		*PON	m <sup>w</sup> ei	RAP	
		*WLE	mm <sup>w</sup> eii		

TAG Also *hiwalay* + *paghi-*.

AKL Also *buʔag* ‘separate’.

PAL *butas*, *timbang* ‘reject, repudiate’.

MOL *butas* (*mog-/on*).

KAG *bəlag* + *mag-* *-ay/-ən* lit ‘to separate’.

SAB *timan* + *aN-/an*; also *butas* + *ag-* ‘to separate’.

MUR *ali* (*mag-*) (vb intrans); (Ag = man and woman); (*maṅ-*; *-on*) (vb trans) (Ag = man); (*maki-*; *ki-* *-on*) (vb trans) (Ag = woman); *pagalian* (n).

MIN Also *saraʔ*.

SUN Also *sərah*.

SAS Also [*təlaʔ*].

KON From *aʔ-sara-eṅ*; also *si-saʔlaʔ*, *aʔ-[tallaʔ]* and *an-[nallaʔ]*(*aṅ-[tallaʔ]*).

WOL Also *səbu*.

NGA *vəja* also means ‘fine’ in the form of cattle or gold.

SIK Also *bəlu-ṅ loar*.

RTI *na-ela-k* ‘to divorce’; *dedeaʔk* ‘the court case that decides the divorce’.

BUR Also *peka* ‘throw out, throw away, not needed’.

DOB Reciprocal meaning. If one spouse divorces the other, then the verb *na-taʔbe* ‘throw away’ is used.

IRA Also *wabəḟinə*.

NYI ‘marriage finished’.

TAK each other not want’ see 18.370, as in *nug du-moi-ya* ‘each other they-not want-PERF’, i.e. ‘they got divorced’.

- YAB ‘-carry self-their away’, i.e. ‘leave each other’; *-ka? semo?-walo eʔgi?* ‘tear the orchid vine in two’; *-ka? tau-ŋ su* ‘tear ourselves away’.
- KAU *mut* ‘stop’, *-βal* ‘each other’.
- TOL ‘sit separate’.
- ADZ *taŋin* ‘to put aside, leave’; *rai* ‘away’.
- MOT *diho-tani-a* ‘to go down away from’ i.e. ‘leave the house’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *ha-diho-a* lit ‘to cause to go down’; *hekoho* ‘to break off an engagement’.
- MEK ‘he makes/causes her to go down’, i.e. down from the (raised) house. It is ordinarily the man who repudiates the woman. Marriage is virilocal so when a woman takes the initiative she must flee her husband’s village and return to her own (father’s) village.
- ROV ‘separation’.
- PAA ‘separate’; divorce is not a culturally normal practice.
- LEW ‘the leaving-out’.
- NTA ‘they (2) leave/don’t want each other’.
- NEM ‘rec.-separately go’.
- KIR Also ‘separate, bloom’.
- MSH Also ‘broken, severed’.
- PON *m<sup>w</sup>ei* also ‘broken, severed’; *kesēla* (vb trans), ‘to throw away’.
- WLE Also ‘broken, severed’.
- WFI Also *βī*-here.
- SAM *teʔa* ‘be parted, separated’, *tētcʔa* (pl), *tatala le faʔaipoipo-ŋa* ‘dissolve the marriage’.

## 02.350 FATHER

*ATA	yaβaʔ	MOL	amaʔ	SUN	bapa
TSO	amo	*KAG	amay	*JAV	bapaʔ
*RUK	t-ama	BLA	məʔ	MAD	əppaʔ
PAI	kama	SAB	mmaʔ	*BAL	bapə
YAM	ama	*MUR	amaʔ	SAS	amaʔ
ISN	ama	*MGY	rai	*GOR	ti-yamo
KAL	ama	*ACE	ayah	DAA	uma
TAG	ama	BAT	ama	UMA	tuama
*AKL	amah	*MIN	bapaʔ	BUG	amboʔ
PAL	amaʔ	*IND	bapak	*KON	amma



*WOL	aba	BUA	ama	CEM	cà
*MAG	əma	*ADZ	rama-	AJI	pəvā
NGA	əma	KIL	tama-	*XAR	panē
*SIK	ama	TAW	ama	*NEN	čėčen
RTI	ama	*MOT	tama-na	KIR	te tama
*BUR	ama	MEK	ama	*MSH	ceman
DOB	sama-m	ROV	tamana	*PON	sām
*IRA	anĵe	*MAR	mama	WLE	tamař
SAW	moke	LAU	mā	EFI	tama-
*NYI	tama-n	KWO	maʔa	WFI	tama-
MAM	tama	RAG	tama-	RTU	øʔfā
*TAK	tama-n	*PAA	tamek	TON	tamai
*DAM	tama	*LEW	arima-na	SAM	tamā
MAB	tAmA-	POR	tata	*MEL	[ēmama]
*YAB	tama	*NTA	təmə-n	*TAH	[pāpā]
*KAU	iyok	*KWA	tata	*RAP	pāpā
*TOL	təma-	*NEM	t <sup>n</sup> au-n		

ATA The kinship terms for the older generations generally distinguish between reference and address; the former begins with *y-* while the latter begins with *ʔ-*.

Reference: Address:

<i>yaβaʔ</i>	<i>ʔaβaʔ</i>	‘father’
<i>yayaʔ</i>	<i>ʔayaʔ</i>	‘mother’
<i>yutaš</i>	<i>ʔutaš</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>yakiʔ</i>	<i>ʔakiʔ</i>	‘grandmother’

RUK There are two sets of kinship terms, reference and address.

Reference	Address
<i>t-ama</i> ‘father’	<i>ama</i> ‘dad’
<i>t-ina</i> ‘mother’	<i>ina</i> ‘mum’
<i>t-omo</i> ‘grandfather’	<i>omo</i> ‘grandpa’
<i>taka-taka</i> ‘elder sibling’	<i>kaka</i>
<i>agi-agi</i> ‘younger sibling’	<i>agi-li</i>

AKL Also *tātay*.

KAG Also *tatay*.

MUR Pet forms *amay*, *apaʔ*, *maman*, *magamaʔ* (x2), *sangaŋamaʔ* (x3).

A. Kinship terms are of two types: 1) common nouns (cn), never used as term of address or as substitute for given name (e.g. *anak* ‘child’ in ‘they have only one child’); 2) personal nouns (pn) which

may accompany or replace given name and may be used as term of address or (with marker *i*) as term of reference (e.g. *gaman* ‘child’ in ‘where are you, Child (*angam*)?’ or ‘this is *i* child (*angam*)’, in which *Anggam* is a given name; some kinship terms belong to both classes: c/pn. B. Frequently have group forms indicating ‘two people involved in relationship’, marked here by (x2) and (x3) respectively (e.g. *ama*? ‘father’; (x2) *magama*? ‘father and child’; (x3) *sangaŋama*? ‘father(s) and children’).

MGY *ra-* + PWMP \**ayaq* (Blust 1979).

ACE Also *abi, ku, tu, du* and [*abu*] from Arabic *abū*.

MIN Also *apa*? both from PM \**apa*?

IND Also *ayah*.

JAV Also *bɔpɔ*.

BAL Also *nanaŋ*.

GOR Also *ti* [*pāpa*] from Dutch *papa*.

KON Also *puaŋ*.

WOL Also *ifa*; *maumo* ‘daddy’; *ode, uma* (general word).

MAG In Western Manggarai and archaic *ame*.

SIK Also *meʔe*.

BUR *ama* extended to include father’s brothers; also *tama* ‘forefather of a lineage’.

IRA ‘my father’.

NYI ‘his father’ (inalienably possessed) and so also for other kin terms.

TAK *tama-n* ‘father-his’, i.e. ‘his father’ is the referential term. *wai, bai, mamai* are (synonymous) terms of address. Any male blood relative related to the speaker through his/her father and of his/her father’s generation is also his/her *tama-n* and is addressed as *wai, bai, mamai*, as is also the husband of any female blood relative related to the speaker through his/her mother and of his/her mother’s generation. The reciprocal kin term is *nanu-n* ‘offspring, child’ (02.430).

DAM Also *dei* (term of address).

YAB ‘his father’; *tama-m* ‘your father’.

KAU *io-k* ‘my father’; *βi-tama-n* ‘man-father-his’, i.e. ‘his/her father’.

TOL For an exact semantic analysis of Tolai kinship terms see Fingleton 1986: 291-312; for their morphosyntactic construction see Mosel 1984: 40 f. Many kinship terms are reciprocal in that they refer to both sides of a kin relationship. Thus *tubu-* means ‘somebody who is

in the relationship grandparent-grandchild, i.e. grandmother, grandfather, granddaughter, grandson'. *tāma-* is reciprocal in Kleintitschen 1921 (see examples in Mosel 1984:40), but seems to be unidirectional today. It does not only mean 'father', but also 'father's brother, and father's sister's husband'.

- ADZ Bound form, taking poss. suffixes: 1st person -*ʔ* (*gaʔ*), 2nd person -*m* (-*gam*), 3rd person -*n* (-*gan*).
- MOT For address, and sometimes reference, *mama* may also be used. It does not take a possessive suffix.
- MAR *mama* (address); *kmaña* (3sg POSS) (referential).
- PAA 'my father'; address term is *tāta*.
- LEW Also *ata* 'father; address term for father'.
- NTA *tata* is informal alternative.
- KWA Also *remu* term of reference.
- NEM The kinship terms, chiefly for the older generations, generally distinguish between reference and address:
- | Reference                     | Address                                 |                          |
|-------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| <i>t<sup>n</sup>au-n</i>      | <i>tāra</i>                             | 'father'                 |
| <i>t<sup>n</sup>e-n</i>       | <i>ñāñā</i>                             | 'mother'                 |
| <i>pānau-n</i>                | <i>pēa</i>                              | 'aunt (father's sister)' |
| <i>hiē-n</i>                  | <i>māma</i>                             | 'older brother'          |
| <i>hioña ne ek</i>            | <i>hioña</i>                            | 'older sister'           |
| <i>c<sup>n̄</sup>iu-n</i>     | <i>hua</i>                              | 'grandfather'            |
| <i>c<sup>n̄</sup>iu-n ŋōk</i> | <i>t<sup>h</sup>oena</i> (or) <i>gē</i> | 'grandmother'            |
- XAR Address term *apā*.
- NEN Also *čača*.
- MSH 3sg POSS.
- PON Also *pāpa*.
- MEL From Efate, also *tama-*.
- TAH Also *metuatāne*.
- RAP From Spanish *papá*. Other than this borrowing from Spanish, Rapanui has no word that specifically means father. The terms *matu'a* (*tane*) and *koro* are sometimes used to refer to one's father; *matu'a* 'benefactor, advisor (male or female, related or not)', *koro* term of respect or endearment used in addressing or referring to elder men.

## 02.360 MOTHER

ATA	yaya <sup>?</sup>	UMA	tina	*MAR	ido
TSO	ino	BUG	indo <sup>?</sup>	LAU	tē
*RUK	t-ina	*KON	anroŋ	KWO	ga <sup>?</sup> i
PAI	kina	*WOL	ina	RAG	ratahi-
YAM	ina	*MAG	ə <sup>n</sup> de	*PAA	latinok
ISN	ina	NGA	ine	*LEW	ane-na
KAL	īna	SIK	ina	POR	nana
*TAG	ina	RTI	ina	*NTA	it-n
*AKL	inah	*BUR	ina	*KWA	mama
PAL	indu <sup>?</sup>	DOB	sina-m	*NEM	t <sup>n</sup> e-n
MOL	indu <sup>?</sup>	*IRA	adɛnə	CEM	ñã
*KAG	inay	SAW	neke	AJI	ñãña
BLA	ye <sup>?</sup>	NYI	tinc-n	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> iñe
SAB	ina <sup>?</sup>	MAM	tina	*NEN	ɱaien
*MUR	ina <sup>?</sup>	*TAK	tina-n	KIR	te tina
*MGY	reni	*DAM	sina	*MSH	cinen
*ACE	ma	MAB	nA-	*PON	īn
BAT	ina	*YAB	tena	WLE	siřař
*MIN	andeh	*KAU	inu	EFI	tina-
IND	ibu	*TOL	tina-	WFI	huna-
SUN	induy	BUA	ata	RTU	o <sup>?</sup> honi
*JAV	ibu	*ADZ	rina-	TON	fa <sup>?</sup> ē
MAD	əmbu <sup>?</sup>	KIL	ina-	SAM	tinā
*BAL	meme	TAW	hina	*MEL	[ētata]
*SAS	ina <sup>?</sup>	*MOT	sina-na	*TAH	[māmā]
*GOR	ti-ilo	MEK	ina	*RAP	māmā
DAA	i <sup>n</sup> do	ROV	tinana		

RUK See 02.350.

TAG Also *inaŋ*, *inay*, *nānay*; PHN *\*ináj* (vocative).

AKL Also *nānay*.

KAG Also *nanay*.

MUR Pet-forms *ayu<sup>?</sup>*, *inday*, *minan*; *magina<sup>?</sup>* (x2), *saŋaŋaina<sup>?</sup>* (x3); see note 02.350.

MGY *ra-* + PMP *\*ina*.

ACE Also *ma<sup>?</sup>*, *ñã<sup>?</sup>*, *naŋ*.

MIN Also *indu<sup>?</sup>*.

- JAV Also *biuŋ; babu*.
- BAL Also Old Balinese *babu* ‘mother’? Occurs in phrase *babu banua* translated by Goris as ‘mother village’.
- SAS Some dialects: *ina*.
- GOR Also *ti [māma]* from Dutch *mama*, and *nāna* ‘grandmother, mother’.
- KON Also *amma?*
- WOL Also *mami* (term of address), *taata*.
- MAG In Western Manggarai and archaic *ine*.
- BUR Extended to include mother’s sisters.
- IRA ‘my mother’.
- TAK *tina-n* ‘mother-his’, i.e. ‘his mother’ is the referential term. *ne’i* is the term of address. Any female blood relative related to the speaker through his/her mother and of his/her mother’s generation is also his/her *tina-n* and is addressed as *ne’i*, as is also the wife of any male blood relative related to the speaker through his/her father and of his/her mother’s generation. The reciprocal kin term is *nanu-n* ‘offspring, child’ (02.430).
- DAM Also *nāi*, term of address.
- YAB ‘his mother’; *tena-m* ‘your mother’.
- KAU *inu* ‘my mother’; *toni-n* ‘his/her mother’.
- TOL *na-* (north coast dialects).
- ADZ See note to 02.350.
- MOT For address, and sometimes reference, *ina* (Western Motu) and *iaia* (Eastern Motu) may also be used. *iaia* is probably a borrowing from a non-Austronesian language. These words do not take possessive suffixes.
- MAR *ido* (address); *doyeña* (3sg POSS, referential).
- PAA ‘my mother’; address term is *māma*.
- LEW Also *awia* ‘mother, address term for mother’, and frequently *[mama]* (from Bislama).
- NTA *mama* is informal alternative.
- KWA Also *rinhə-* term of reference.
- NEM See note 02.350.
- XAR Address term *añā*.
- NEN Also *nene*.
- MSH Also *m<sup>w</sup>am<sup>w</sup>a*.

PON Also *nōno*.

MEL Also *atna-*.

TAH Also *metuavahine*.

RAP from Spanish *mamá*; *matuʔa* (*vahine*) and *nua* are sometimes used to refer to one's mother. *matuʔa* 'benefactor, advisor (male or female, related or not)', *nua* 'term of respect or endearment used in addressing or referring to elder women'.

### 02.370 PARENTS

ATA		DAA	uma i <sup>n</sup> do	MEK	ina-ama
TSO	mā-mroi	UMA	to-tuʔa	ROV	tia tamana
RUK		BUG	tomatowwa	MAR	
PAI		*KON	tau toa	LAU	mā faini tē
YAM	nyapwan	WOL	ma <sup>i</sup> čū-ana	KWO	waiamana
ISN	mannākam	MAG	ata tuʔa	RAG	
KAL	malonʔag	NGA	ine-əma	PAA	
*TAG	magūlaŋ	*SIK	ina ama	LEW	
*AKL	ginikānan	RTI	ina ama	POR	ita ina
PAL	guŋguraŋ	*BUR	geb-m-tua-t-o	*NTA	itən ne təmən
*MOL	tuaʔ	*DOB	taɸar-'bu-di	KWA	
KAG	ginikanan	IRA	nabridə	NEM	
BLA	dad tuɔ	*SAW	dəlut	CEM	
SAB	mattoʔa	*NYI	tama-n uru	AJI	neduce
*MUR	matuo	MAM	tama-be-tina	*XAR	pa-ñe
MGY	rai aman- ɟʔeni	*TAK	tina-n-tama-n	NEN	
*ACE	uruwəŋ [chiʔ]	DAM	sina-tama	KIR	te karo
BAT	na tua-tua	MAB	tAmA-ma	*MSH	cem <sup>w</sup> næcin
MIN	uraŋ gaeʔ		nA-bizin	*PON	neiɰik
*IND	oraŋ tua	*YAB	tena-ageʔ	WLE	
SUN	induŋ-bapa	*KAU	iyok ŋoŋ inu	EFI	i-tubutubu
JAV	wəŋ tuɔ	TOL	vərvəŋalə	WFI	k <sup>w</sup> a-yaleβu
MAD	riŋ tuwa	BUA	ama lu ata	*RTU	oʔi
*BAL	meme bapə	ADZ		TON	mātuʔa
SAS	dəŋan toaʔ	KIL	βeya-	*SAM	mātua
*GOR	moŋo (?u) du- laʔa	*TAW	tu	MEL	
			wigunaguna	TAH	nā metua
		MOT	tama sina	RAP	

- TAG Also *ama-tina*; Proto-Philippines \**gūdaŋ*.
- AKL Root: *gīkan* ‘come from’.
- MOL *tua?* + *mo-*.
- MUR *matuo* (cn), see note 02.350; *matutuo, ina?-ama?*.
- ACE Mon-Khmer.
- IND Also *bapak ibu*.
- BAL Also [*rəramə*] 02.510 from Old Javanese.
- GOR *moŋo* is the personal pluraliser; *ʔu* is optional; *du-laʔa* is formed from *daʔa* ‘big’. In most occurrences, *ʔu* serves either as non-personal nominaliser or as non-personal relative pronoun.
- KON Also *tu-toa* (has to be possessed); *tauŋŋanakaŋ* (*tau-aŋ-anaʔ-aŋ*) (has to be possessed).
- SIK Also *ata blupur*.
- BUR ‘person-STAT-elder-NOM-PL’ i.e. ‘parent, clan elder’.
- DOB *taʔar-ʔbu* is a compound noun root. The morpheme *-ʔbu*, which always carries stress, has a very restrictive usage with certain nouns referring to humans and does not seem to change the meaning of the original noun. *taʔar* means ‘old person’, but is often used to mean ‘parent’; *di* is the plural morpheme.
- SAW Also *kyat tut* ‘extended parents’.
- NYI ‘his father they two’, i.e. ‘parents’.
- TAK ‘mother-his-father-his’.
- YAB *tena-age?* ‘her/his parents’; *ten-eŋ-i-age?* ‘our, their parents’; *su-waga-ə to ŋa?* ‘milk provider and man (husband)’.
- KAU *io-k ŋoŋ inu* ‘my parents’; *βi-tama-n ŋoŋ toni-n* ‘his/her parents’.
- TAW ‘the ones who gave birth’.
- NTA Also *mama ne tata*.
- XAR *pa-* collective prefix; *-ñε* ‘birth giving relative’.
- MSH ‘father-child; parent-child relationship’
- PON ‘be a parent’.
- RTU *oʔoʔi* (pl).
- SAM *matua* (sg) ‘parent’, *mātua* (pl).

## 02.380 MARRIED MAN

ATA		UMA		*ROV	tie varihabana
TSO		BUG	lakkai	MAR	
RUK		*KON	kalabini	LAU	wane ārai
PAI		*WOL	porakana	KWO	(wane) alaʔi
YAM	nimapapən	*MAG	ata poli laki	RAG	
ISN	nāṭawān na lalāki	*NGA	nʔe-fai	PAA	amol
KAL	naʔasawʔāna lalāki	SIK	ata laʔi du kaβit baʔa	LEW	yaruna-koro- ena
TAG	may asāwa	RTI	tou ma-sao-k	POR	arar e-ax
*AKL	asawāh-un	BUR		NTA	etam-iasol
PAL	məgəsawa ləlaki	DOB		KWA	
MOL		IRA	məranə narəʔe	NEM	
*KAG	may sawa	SAW	mən faume	CEM	
BLA	lagi nun yəʔən	NYI	ˈdʳamak tasou	AJI	wi ka ɔyɔ
SAB	lellataga- handa	MAM	moane-roti- roti	XAR	
*MUR	uŋkyon	*TAK	tamol iwo-n da-ya	NEN	ačam̩enewe
MGY	lehi-lahi manambadi	DAM	tamo	KIR	
ACE		MAB	tomōto ulaŋana	MSH	
BAT	ama	*YAB	ŋaʔ tɔ-àwe	PON	
*MIN	uraŋ ba-bini	*KAU	βi tasuk	WLE	
IND	laki-laki bər- [istəri]	TOL	təulai nə tutanə	EFI	taŋane βaka- wati
SUN		BUA		*WFI	seŋʷane βa- wətai
JAV		*ADZ	garam	RTU	fā ʔinoso
*MAD	əlla a-bini	KIL	to-βaβaigila	TON	taŋata mali
*BAL		TAW	tu tawine	*SAM	tamāloa
*SAS	bə-sə-ninə	*MOT	he-adaβa	MEL	nuāne
*GOR	tā ʔo-hiyalo		tau-na	*TAH	taʔata haʔaipoipo
DAA	laŋgai no-roŋo	MEK	au	RAP	taŋata haipo- ipo

AKL Also *may asāwa*.

KAG ‘has a spouse’; can prepose *mama na* to specify male.

MUR See 02.210.

MIN Also *laki-laki lah [kawin]* (lit ‘man already married’) from Arabic.





*WOL	porakana	BUA		CEM	
*MAG	ata poli vai	*ADZ	sagat	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε ka ɔyɔ
NGA	n <sup>ʔ</sup> e-haki	KIL	na-βaβaigila	XAR	
SIK	ata βai du kaβit ba <sup>ʔ</sup> a	TAW	tu tawine	NEN	moŋnenewe
RTI	ina ma-sao-k	*MOT	he-adaβa hehine-na	KIR	
BUR		MEK	papie	MSH	
DOB		ROV	barikalege varihabana	PON	
IRA	sɔtə narəφe			WLE	
SAW	mepin faume	*MAR	neilehe	EFI	yalewa βaka- wati
NYI	badih tasou	LAU	geni <sup>ʔ</sup> afe	*WFI	lewa βa-wētai
MAM	aine-roti-roti	KWO	ino māto <sup>ʔ</sup> ola	RTU	hæn <sup>ʔ</sup> inoso
*TAK	pein iwo-n da-ya	RAG		TON	fefine mali
DAM	kayau	*PAA	māma	*SAM	fafine
MAB	mōri ulaŋana	LEW	sirana-koro- ena	MEL	nūfine
*YAB	àwe tɔ-ŋa <sup>ʔ</sup>	POR	r <sup>m</sup> baix e-ax	*TAH	vahine ha <sup>ʔ</sup> aipoipo
*KAU	pala	NTA	pətan-asol	RAP	vi <sup>ʔ</sup> e haipo-ipo
TOL	təulai nə vavinə	KWA			
		NEM			

AKL Also *asawāhun*.

KAG 'has a spouse'; can prepose *bai na* to specify female.

MUR See 02.220.

MIN Also *padusi lah [kawin]* (lit 'woman already married') from Arabic.

MAD 'already have-husband'.

BAL See 02.380.

SAS 'have a husband'.

KON Must be possessed.

WOL Not generally known.

MAG Also *ata poli na<sup>ʔ</sup>a rona-n*.

TAK 'woman spouse-her exist-PERF', i.e. 'the woman has a spouse'  
(see *dai*, 11.110).

YAB 'woman-two man', i.e. 'married couple'.

KAU Term of address.

ADZ See note to 02.350.

MOT See 02.380.

MAR Archaic.

PAA 'mother'.

WFI *lewa čuri.*

SAM See 02.220.

TAH *vahine tara tāne obs.***02.410 SON**

ATA	ʔuʔakiʔ	DAA	ana la <sup>ɟ</sup> gai	MEK	ɲau
TSO	oko	UMA	anaʔ to-mane		maɲuae(-ɲa)
RUK	lalako	BUG	anaʔ	ROV	tuna koreo
PAI	aiʔak		orowanne	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uña
*YAM	anak a maʔakay	*KON	anaʔ	LAU	wela
ISN	anʔanaʔ a lalāki	WOL		KWO	wela wane
KAL	lalākin abeɲ	MAG	anak (ata-rona)	RAG	
*TAG	anak na lalāki	NGA	ana	*PAA	natukuli
*AKL	uɲaʔ ɲa ʔaʔaki	SIK	me laʔi	LEW	
PAL	yogaɲ lolaki	*RTI	tou ana-k	POR	na-ru- <sup>ɟ</sup> g
MOL		BUR	ana-mhana	*NTA	suakaku
*KAG	bataʔ	*DOB	yana-u yili-n	*KWA	iakuti
BLA	tiɲoʔ lagi	IRA	mə meranə	NEM	nai-n kac
SAB	anak lella	*SAW	ntu mən	CEM	pâ nài-n
*MUR	anak	*NYI	nadu-n m <sup>w</sup> an	AJI	o
MGY	zanaka-lahi	MAM	natu-moane	XAR	xū
ACE	antuʔ agam	*TAK	nanu-n tamol	*NEN	tenen
BAT	anak	DAM	kesu	KIR	
MIN	anaʔ laki-laki	MAB	lutu- (tomōto)	MSH	
IND	anak laki-laki	*YAB	latu	PON	
SUN	anak lalaki	*KAU	βi-tu-k	WLE	
JAV	anaʔ lanaɲ	*TOL	natu-	EFI	luβe- taɲane
MAD	anaʔ lakiʔ	BUA	nalu maluɣ	WFI	huna-hewa
BAL	panak muani	*ADZ	naru-marub	RTU	leʔ fā
SAS	anak mamə	*KIL	latu- tau	*TON	foha
GOR	walaʔo tā lo- laʔi	*TAW	natu oloto	*SAM	ataliʔi
		*MOT	natu-na mero-na	*MEL	tarikī
				TAH	tamaiti
				RAP	poki tane

YAM 'child which is male'.

TAG See 02.430, 02.230.

- AKL See 02.430, 02.230.
- KAG ‘child’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male.
- MUR See 02.430.
- KON Specifically *ana? buru?ne*.
- RTI Also *anamane-k*.
- DOB ‘your male child’.
- SAW ‘child male’.
- NYI ‘his male child’.
- TAK ‘child-his man’, i.e. ‘male child’.
- YAB ‘his offspring’; *lato-m* ‘your offspring’.
- KAU *βi-tu-k* ‘man-offspring-my’, i.e. ‘my son’; *βi-tu-n* ‘man-offspring-his’, i.e. ‘his/her son’.
- TOL Also *bul tama*. For a male Ego *natu-* also means ‘brother’s daughter, brother’s son, sister’s son’s wife’. For a female Ego *natu-* also means ‘sister’s daughter, sister’s son, brother’s son’s wife’.
- ADZ See note to 02.350.
- KIL ‘offspring, male’.
- TAW ‘male child’.
- MOT See 02.380.
- MAR Also *naŋa?u* (3sg POSS) ‘male child’.
- PAA ‘my son’.
- NTA Also *netənierman*.
- KWA *iakuti* ‘son of a man’, term of reference; also *iaməti* ‘son of a woman’, term of reference.
- NEN Also *tei-*.
- TON *foha* of male; *tama* of female.
- SAM *atali?i* ‘son of a man’, *tama tama* ‘son of a woman’, see 02.230, *alo* (polite) ‘son or daughter (of a chief)’.
- MEL Also *tama-tāne*.

## 02.420 DAUGHTER

ATA	ʔuʔakiʔ	PAI	al <sup>y</sup> ak	ISN	anʔanaʔa
TSO	oko	*YAM	anak a		babay
RUK	lalakə		mavakəş	KAL	babāʔin abeŋ

*TAG	anak na babāʔe	WOL		LAU	hāri
		MAG	anak (ine-vai)	*KWO	lāriʔi
AKL	uŋa ŋa babāyih	NGA	ana	RAG	
PAL	yɔgaŋ libun	SIK	me duʔa	*PAA	natukahīn
MOL		*RTI	ina ana-k	LEW	
*KAG	bataʔ	BUR	ana-fina	POR	na-ru <sup>ŋ</sup> g
BLA	tiŋɔʔ libun	*DOB	yana-uʔodar- ni		mala <sup>m</sup> b
SAB	anak denda	IRA	mɔ sɔtə	*NTA	pətan akaku
*MUR	anak	*SAW	ntu mepin	*KWA	prəti
MGY	zanaka-vavi	*NYI	nadu-n badih	NEM	nai-n ŋōk
ACE	anuʔ inɔŋ	MAM	natu-aine	CEM	ê nài-n
BAT	boru	*TAK	nanu-n pein	AJI	puʔub <sup>w</sup> ε
MIN	anaʔ padusi	DAM	barai	XAR	nēwā
IND	anak pər- əmpu-an	MAB	lutu- mōri	NEN	
SUN	anak awewe	*YAB	latu-ò	KIR	
JAV	anaʔ wadɔn	*KAU	e-tu-k	MSH	
MAD	anaʔ biniʔ	*TOL	natu-	PON	
BAL	panak luh	BUA	nalu aβey	WLE	
SAS	anak ninə	*ADZ	naru-finam	EFI	luβe- yalewa
GOR	walaʔo tā	*KIL	latu-βiβila	WFI	lewa-hewa
	buwa	*TAW	natu wawine	RTU	leʔ hɔni
DAA	ana besi	*MOT	natu-na kekeni-na	TON	ʔōfetine
UMA	anaʔ to-bine			*SAM	afafine
BUG	anaʔ	MEK	ŋau	MEL	tama-ffine
	makkunrai		papie(-ŋa)	TAH	tamāhine
*KON	anaʔ	ROV	tuna vineki	RAP	poki vahine
		*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> una gaʔase		

YAM ‘child which is female’.

TAG See 02.430, 02.240.

KAG ‘child’; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.

MUR See 02.430.

KON Specifically *anaʔ bahine*.

RTI Also *ana feʔo-k*.

DOB ‘your female child’.

SAW ‘child female’.

NYI ‘his female child’.

TAK ‘child-his woman’, i.e. ‘female child’.

YAB	‘offspring-feminine’ i.e. ‘his daughter’; <i>lato-m-ə</i> ‘your daughter’.
KAU	<i>e-tu-k</i> ‘fem-offspring-my’, i.e. ‘my daughter’; <i>e-tu-n</i> ‘fem-offspring-his’, i.e. ‘his/her daughter’.
TOL	Also <i>bul vavina</i> , lit ‘child woman’, 02.240.
ADZ	See note to 02.350.
KIL	‘offspring, female’.
TAW	‘female child’.
MOT	See 02.380.
MAR	(3sg POSS) ‘female child’.
KWO	Also <i>wela geni</i> .
PAA	‘my daughter’.
NTA	Also <i>netənpətan</i> .
KWA	‘daughter of a third person’.
SAM	<i>afafine</i> ‘daughter of a man’, <i>tama teine</i> , <i>tama fafine</i> ‘daughter of a woman’, see 02.240, <i>tama</i> ‘child of a woman’.

### 02.430 OFFSPRING (son or daughter)

ATA	kinaβahan	*BAT	ianakkon	*DOB	yana-u
TSO	oko	MIN	ka-turun-an	IRA	
*RUK	mo-a-bali- baliθi	IND	anak pinak	SAW	ntu
PAI	cay-viļi-viļil <sup>y</sup>	*SUN	turun-an	NYI	nadu-n
YAM	anak	*JAV	ana <sup>?</sup>	MAM	natu
ISN	an <sup>?</sup> ana <sup>?</sup>	MAD	ana <sup>?</sup> putu	*TAK	nanu-n
KAL	abeŋ	*BAL	panak	DAM	nālu
*TAG	anak	*SAS	ñah jari	MAB	popoŋa-
*AKL	uŋa <sup>?</sup>	GOR	ba <sup>n</sup> da	*YAB	goloa <sup>?</sup> ŋase <sup>?</sup>
*PAL	tuna <sup>?</sup> kəpuranakan	DAA	ana	*KAU	husani-k
MOL	anak	UMA	muli	*TOL	natu-
KAG	bata <sup>?</sup>	BUG	wiŋa	BUA	nalu
*BLA	tiŋə <sup>?</sup>	KON	ana <sup>?</sup>	*ADZ	naru-
SAB	anak	*WOL	siwulu	KIL	latu-
*MUR	anak	*MAG	vae	TAW	natu
*MGY	[taranaka]	NGA	ana	*MOT	natu-na
*ACE	anu <sup>?</sup>	SIK	me	MEK	ŋau
		*RTI	bo-boŋi-k	ROV	tuna
		BUR	ana-t	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uŋa

*LAU	ʔalak <sup>w</sup> a	CEM	nài-n	WFI	luβe-
KWO	wela	*AJI	ole	*RTU	leʔe
RAG		XAR	xũšĩ	TON	fānau
*PAA	tītāk	NEN		*SAM	fānau
LEW	nari-na	*KIR	te nati	MEL	tama
POR	na-ruare	*MSH	næcin	TAH	tamariʔi
NTA	netə-n	*PON	wā	*RAP	poki
*KWA	neru-	*WLE	weři-řaii-ři		
NEM	nai-n	EFI	luβe-		

RUK *moabalibaliθi* ‘descendant’; *lāgaganə* ‘offspring’ < *aganə* ‘grand-child’.

TAG Also *supliŋ*.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines \**eŋaʔ*.

PAL More properly ‘descendants’.

BLA Also *bəl*.

MUR *gaman* (personal noun).

MGY Malay *tərnak* ‘native; livestock’.

ACE Also of animals.

BAT (*i-anak-hən*).

SUN Also *anak iñču*.

JAV Also *turun-an, turun* ‘descend’.

BAL Also *ñah*, crude.

SAS Also *anak bai*.

WOL Also *lee*.

MAG Also *[semen]* from Latin.

RTI From *boŋi* ‘to give birth, beget’; the doublet, *tititi-nonosi-k*, evokes the metaphor of the dripping of fluid which defines lines of relationship.

DOB The 2sg poss suffix used with *yana-* is *-u*, rather than *-m* as is normal.

TAK ‘his/her child’. Any blood relative one generation junior to the speaker who is the grandchild of one of the speaker’s *tama-n* ‘fathers’ (02. 350) or *tina-n* ‘mothers’ (02. 360) (i.e. of a blood relative of one of the speaker’s parents who is of that parent’s sex and generation) is also his/her *nanu-n*, as is also any *nanu-n* of the speaker’s spouse. Such a *nanu-n* is also by definition the child of one of the speaker’s *tei-n* ‘same-sex sibling, parallel cousin, etc’ (02.440). The reciprocal

kin terms of *nanu-n* are *tama-n* ‘father’ (02. 350) and *tina-n* ‘mother’ (02. 360).

YAB ‘family tiny-one’. Also *ŋapale* ‘child’, *goloaʔ saun* ‘family small-one’, *ŋa-wakuʔ* ‘his-new’.

KAU *husani-k* ‘my offspring’; *husani-n* ‘his offspring’.

TOL For further meanings of *natu-* see 04.410. *nat-* is used for both sexes, see 04.410.

ADZ See note to 02.350.

MOT See 02.380.

MAR (3sg POSS).

LAU Also *hāri*.

PAA ‘my offspring’, also used for non-humans.

KWA Also *ti-* term for reference; *nupunati-* ‘offspring’.

AJI Also *o yaʔi*.

KIR Also ‘son/daughter’.

MSH CON; also ‘son/daughter’.

PON *wā* 3sg POSS also ‘fruit’; *wāneti*; *katautok* of humans; *keperepere* of animals.

WLE CON.

RTU Also *tore* ‘progeny’.

SAM Only used collectively.

RAP Also *ʔatariki* ‘eldest son/daughter’; *haju-potu* ‘youngest son/daughter’; *matahiapo* ‘eldest child (of all)’.

## 02.440 BROTHER

ATA		PAL	tipusod lolaki	IND	saudara laki-
TSO		MOL	tipusod naʔ		laki
RUK			lolaki	SUN	dulur laki
PAI	kaka	*KAG	utud	*JAV	sə-dulur lanəŋ
YAM	kaktə a	BLA	flanik lagi	MAD	taritan
	maʔakay	SAB	danakan lella	*BAI	ñamə muani
ISN	wagi ŋa lalāki	*MUR	pagakaʔ	SAS	pisaʔ mamə
KAL	sūnuda lalāki	*MGY	raha-lahi	GOR	wutato tā
*TAG	kapatid na	ACE			lo-laʔi
	lalāki	*BAT	akkaŋ	DAA	
*AKL	ig-maŋhud ŋa	*MIN	dusanaʔ	UMA	
	ʔāki			BUG	selessuraŋ



*KON	russana? (buru?ne)	*TOL	tura-	CEM	âjie-n
		*BUA	ari	AJI	bē ʌʔi
WOL		*ADZ	rai-	*XAR	be
MAG	nara	*KIL	lu-ta	NEN	reisijen
NGA	nara	*TAW	nou-na	KIR	
*SIK	βue	*MOT		MSH	
*RTI	na	MEK	aki-na aa-ŋa	PON	
*BUR	naha	ROV	tasina koreo	WLE	
*DOB	kʷalisan	MAR	tʰabusiña	*EFI	taði-
IRA		LAU	ʔaua	*WFI	ŋʷānc-
*SAW	ften-o	*KWO	wane mele futa	*RTU	saŋavæne
*NYI	nadu tine-n	RAG		*TON	tu●ŋaʔane
MAM	tari-toʔa	*PAA	tuak	*SAM	uso
*TAK	tei-n	*LEW	ru-en-lai	*MEL	kave
*DAM	tura	POR	lum rasi-ʔg	*TAH	taeaʔe
MAB		*NTA	pʷia-n	RAP	taina (tane poreko)
*YAB	lù ŋaʔ	*KWA	kaməni		
*KAU	βoto-k	NEM	bē-n		

TAG See 02.456, 02.230.

AKL See 02.456, 02.230.

KAG ‘sibling’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male.

MUR *pagakaʔ* (rare); also *magakaʔ* (x2), *saŋkākaʔ* (x3), see 02.350.

MGY *raha-lahi* ‘brother of a man’; *ana-dahi* ‘brother of a woman’.

BAT *akkaŋ* ‘older sibling same sex’; *aŋʔgi* ‘younger sibling same sex’;  
*iboto* ‘cross sibling all ages’.

MIN From *\*(ba)dan s-anak* ‘relative, member of the same matrilineal descent group’.

JAV *dulur* ‘relative of the same generation’ see 02.456.

BAL *ñamə* ‘sibling’.

KON Specifically *russanaʔ buruʔne*; also *kaka buruʔne* ‘older brother’; *ari buruʔne* ‘younger brother’.

SIK *βue* ‘elder brother’ (man speaking.); *βari* ‘younger brother’ (man speaking); *nara* ‘elder brother, younger brother (woman speaking).

RTI This wordlist fails to convey the structure of Rotinese kinship relationships: In brief, the basic terms of the system are as follows:

2 + : *bei* (MM, FM)/*baʔi* (FF, MM)

- 1 + : *ama* (F, FB)/*toʔo* (MB)/*ina* (M, MZ)/ *toʔo* (FZ) *ali ama* (HF, WF), *ali ina* (HM, WM)
- Ego: *kaʔa/fadi* (e/y) between same sex siblings  
*feto/nak* (Z/B) between opposite sex siblings  
*kela*: same generation affine, man-speaking  
*hiʔa*: same generation affine, woman-speaking.
- 1 - : *ana* (BC: also ZC, woman-speaking)/  
*sele-dadi* (ZC, man speaking)  
*mane feuk* (DH)/ *feto feuk* (SW)  
*manefeu touk* (DH)/ *manefeu inak* (SW) are commonly used  
alternative terms that derive from neighbouring dialects
- 2 - : *upu* (CC)
- BUR Female ego; for male ego see 02.444 and 02.445.
- DOB *kʷalisan* means ‘sibling of the same sex’, thus a man’s brother, or a woman’s sister.
- SAW ‘same sex sibling’, i.e. ‘a male’s brother’. Also *remɔ* ‘a female’s brother’.
- NYI ‘his brother’, lit ‘child of his mother’.
- TAK ‘his/her same-sex sibling, parallel cousin’. Any blood relative of the speaker’s sex and generation who is the child of one of his/her *tama-n* ‘fathers’ (02.350) or *tina-n* ‘mothers’ (02.360) (i.e. of a blood relative of one of his parents who is of that parent’s sex and generation) is also his/her *tei-n*, as are also the spouse of any blood-related *tei-n* of the speaker and any blood-related *tei-n* of the speaker’s spouse. The term is by definition reciprocal.
- DAM ‘sibling of same sex’.
- YAB ‘cross-sibling.male’, i.e. ‘brother of woman’; *lo-m* ‘your brother’.
- KAU *βoto-k* ‘my brother (male ego)’. Note also *βi-lut* ‘man-opposite-sex sibling’, i.e. ‘my brother (female ego)’ (see 02.450 note).
- TOL *tura-* is only used with male Egos. It refers to the brother and the mother’s sister’s son. The brother of a female Ego is called *tai-*. *tai-* is also used for the mother’s sister’s son and the father’s brother’s son of a female Ego.
- BUA *āri* ‘sibling of same sex’; *maluy nɔ* ‘brother of a female’.
- ADZ *rai-* ‘same sex sibling’; *nafu-* ‘opposite sex sibling’.
- KIL Opposite sex sibling. The possessive pers pron is infix, as: *lu-gu-ta-* ‘bro-my-ther’ ‘my brother’ *lu-de-ta-ia* ‘bro-our (incl)-ther-dual’ ‘brother of us two’.

TAW	<i>nou-na</i> ‘woman’s sibling of the opposite sex’; <i>walehi-na</i> ‘male’s sibling of same sex’.
MOT	The Motu kinship system does not fit these terms. The terms which cover the same domain are <i>kaka-na</i> ‘older sibling of the same sex’, <i>tadi-na</i> ‘younger sibling of the same sex’ and <i>taihu-na</i> ‘sibling of the opposite sex’. For older and younger siblings of the opposite sex <i>taihu-nabada-na</i> ( <i>bada</i> ‘big’) and <i>taihu-namarayi-na</i> ( <i>marayi</i> ‘small’) are used respectively.
KWO	‘man the two of us are born’.
PAA	Referring to males only.
LEW	More commonly <i>p<sup>w</sup>uru-vī</i> (=08.840), <i>kom-pa-sia</i> (=13.230) and [ <i>prata</i> ] (from English).
NTA	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ia-n</i> of a male; <i>manə-n</i> of a female.
KWA	<i>kaməni</i> ‘brother of a woman’; <i>pumani-</i> ‘brother of a woman’, term of reference; <i>piaw-</i> ‘brother of a man’.
XAR	‘brother/sister/friend’; <i>xətɔ bē-rɛ</i> ‘brother, friend’; <i>çɛ̃ bē-rɛ</i> ‘sister, friend’.
EFI	Of male.
WFI	Opposite sex.
RTU	Female speaking.
TON	<i>tuŋaʔane</i> (of female); <i>tokoua</i> (of male).
SAM	<i>uso</i> ‘brother of a man, sister of a woman (sibling of the same sex)’, <i>tuŋane</i> ‘brother of a woman’.
MEL	Also <i>tai-</i> .
TAH	<i>taeaʔa</i> male ego, <i>tuʔāne</i> female ego [ <i>parahata</i> ] from English.

## 02.444 OLDER BROTHER

ATA	ḵumišuwān	*AKL	mānoŋ	*BAT	akkaŋ
*TSO	oxarva	PAL	ukaʔ ləlaki	*MIN	tuan
*RUK	taka-taka	MOL	ukaʔ	*IND	kakak
PAI	kaka	KAG	manuŋ	SUN	lañčik lalaki
YAM	kaka a	BLA	twigi lagi	*JAV	kakaŋ
	maʔakay	SAB	siyaka lella	MAD	taritan tuwa
ISN		*MUR	akaʔ	BAL	bəli
KAL		*MGY	raha-lahi	*SAS	səməton
*TAG	kūya	*ACE	aduən		

*GOR	[kaka] tā lo-laʔi	*DAM	tura odug	*NTA	tu-n
		MAB	to-	*KWA	prea-
DAA	tuaka la <sup>ɗ</sup> gai	*YAB	tewa	*NEM	hie-n
UMA	tuaka	KAU		CEM	pâ cúɔ-n
BUG	daeŋ	TOL		*AJI	paxani
*KON	kaka	BUA		*XAR	šəa
WOL	aka	*ADZ	rai- ʒiraʔ	NEN	
*MAG	kaʔe	*KIL	tuwa-	KIR	
NGA	kaʔe	*TAW	tugo-na	MSH	
*SIK	βue	*MOT		PON	
*RTI	kaʔa	*MEK	aa	WLE	
*BUR	kai	ROV	tasina kenuna	*EʃI	tuaka-
DOB	ʔaʔa-m	*MAR	tiyaña	*WFI	čuka-
IRA	tage ɸadə	LAU	ʔaua nao	*RTU	səsiŋi
*SAW	fɛn-o ta tɛ n-loy	KWO	oʔa-	*TON	taʔokete
		RAG		*SAM	uso matua
*NYI	b <sup>w</sup> eleʔen	*PAA	muaite	MEL	fci-uru
MAM	toʔa	*LEW	m <sup>w</sup> earu	*TAH	tuaʔana
*TAK	tei-n matu	POR	roxa- <sup>ɗ</sup> g	*RAP	matahiapo

TSO Older sibling(s).

RUK See 02.350.

TAG *kūya* ‘eldest’; *dīko* ‘second born’.

AKL Also *ma-guʔaŋ ŋa ʔāki*.

MUR *akaʔ* (personal noun) (after death of one parent); also *māyo* (common noun) (while both parents living).

MGY *raha-lahi* ‘brother of a man’; *ana-dahi* ‘brother of a woman’; *zuki* ‘older sibling’.

ACE Also [*abaŋ*] from Malay, in some dialects *cut baŋ*, *dalem*, *lem*, *cut lem*, *pɔlem*.

BAT (of male speaker) ‘older sibling same sex’.

MIN *tuan* ‘lord’ (also used as a term of address to older male persons (including older brothers); also *uda*, *udo*.

IND *abaŋ* regional preferences; also *kakak laki-laki* ‘male older sibling’.

JAV Also *kaŋ-mas.mas*.

SAS From Old Javanese *wātu* ‘come out, be born’, via Balinese *səmaton* ‘sibling’; see 02.730.

- GOR Also *tā mo-ohula*, *tā mohuhula* (*moh-wohula*) ‘older sibling’. [*kaka*] is a loanword from Malay *kakak*.
- KON ‘older sibling’, specifically *kaka buruʻne*; also *daeŋ buruʻne* (of royal class).
- MAG ‘older sibling same sex’.
- SIK *βue* (man speaking); *nara* (woman speaking).
- RTI (man speaking).
- BUR Male ego (lit ‘older sibling same sex’); may disambiguate collateral kin by saying *kai benima* ‘older brother from the same womb’.
- SAW ‘same sex sibling that is older’. Also *rəmɔ ta tɛ nɔy*.
- NYI ‘on top of him’, i.e. ‘older brother/sister’.
- TAK ‘same-sex sibling-his/her senior’. See note on *tei-n* (02.440).
- DAM See 02.440.
- YAB ‘his/her older brother’; *tewa-m* ‘your older brother’.
- ADZ *rai- ʔiraʔ* ‘same sex sibling’; *nafu ʔiraʔ* ‘opposite sex sibling’.
- KIL Same sex speaking; also ‘older sister’.
- TAW ‘older sibling of same sex’; male speaking.
- MOT See 02.440.
- MEK Of male.
- MAR 3sg POSS, male speaking.
- PAA ‘first born child’.
- LEW ‘first born son’.
- NTA Informal alternative is *tuta*. Applies to man’s brother only; no age distinction for woman’s brother.
- KWA ‘older brother of a man’.
- NEM See note 02.350.
- AJI Also *wi pārie*.
- XAR Address term: *paçe*.
- EFI Of male.
- WFI Same sex.
- RTU Male speaking.
- TON Of male.
- SAM *matua* ‘be older, elder, old’, *tuaŋane matua* ‘a woman’s older brother’.
- TAH Male ego.
- RAP ‘eldest of all siblings’ (male/female. Possibly from Tahitian).

## 02.445 YOUNGER BROTHER

ATA	šuwai?	DAA	tuai la <sup>ɔ</sup> gai	*MAR	tahiña
*TSO	oxarsa	UMA	tu?ai	LAU	hasi susuburi
RUK	agi-agi	BUG	anri?	KWO	asi-
PAI	kaka	*KON	ari	RAG	
YAM	wari a	WOL	a <sup>n</sup> di	*PAA	tašite
	maḱakay	*MAG	ase	*LEW	
ISN		NGA	azi	POR	rasi- <sup>ɔ</sup> g
KAL		*SIK	βari	*NTA	taha-n
*TAG	bāta-ŋ kapatid	*RTI	fadi	*KWA	prəsi-
AKL	maḡhud ŋa	*BUR	wai	NEM	tali-n
	ʃāki	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ali-m	CEM	pā cīe-n
PAL	ari? ləlaki	*IRA	agaḟutə	*AJI	pādī
MOL	ari?	*SAW	ftən-o ta te	XAR	mudue
*KAG	maḡnud		wyɔy	*NEN	čel
BLA	twali lagi	*NYI	bahan	KIR	
SAB	siyali lella	MAM	tari	MSH	
*MUR	ali?	*TAK	tei-n bakan	PON	
*MGY	raha-lahi	*DAM	tura nālu	WLE	
*ACE	adəə agam	MAB	tizi-	*EFI	taði-
*BAT	'aŋgi	*YAB	lasi	*WFI	taði-
MIN	adi <sup>ɔ</sup> ?	KAU		*RTU	səsiŋa
IND	adik laki-laki	TOL		*TON	tchina
SUN	adi lalaki	BUA		*SAM	uso la?itiiti
JAV	aḟi? lanəŋ	*ADZ	rai isi?	MEL	kimuri
MAD	ali?	*KIL	boda-	*TAH	teina
*BAL	adi muani	*TAW	a tewela	RAP	taina tane
SAS	ari? mamə	*MOT			hope?a
GOR	tā yali-yali tā	*MEK	aki		
	lo-la?i	ROV	tasina mudina		

TSO 'younger sibling(s)'.

TAG *bunso?* 'youngest sibling'.

KAG 'younger sibling'; can postpose *na mama* to specify male.

MUR *ali?* (personal noun) (after death of one parent); also *bobodok* (common noun) (while both parents living).

MGY Also *raha-lahi* 'brother of a man'; *ana-dahi* 'brother of a woman'; *zand'i* 'younger sibling'.

ACE 'male younger sibling', also [*ade?*, *de?*] from Malay.

BAT	(of male speaker) 'younger sibling same sex'.
BAL	<i>adi</i> 'younger sibling'.
KON	'younger sibling', specifically <i>ari buru?ne</i> .
MAG	'younger sibling same sex'.
SIK	<i>βari</i> (man speaking); <i>nara</i> (woman speaking).
RTI	(man speaking).
BUR	Male ego 'younger sibling same sex'.
IRA	'my younger brother'; also <i>nafutə</i> .
SAW	'same sex sibling that is young(er)'.
NYI	'underneath of him', i.e. 'younger brother or sister'. More commonly would be used the 'order of birth' titles which are unique for sex and order of birth.
TAK	'same-sex sibling-his/her junior'. See note on <i>tei-n</i> (02.440).
DAM	See 02.440.
YAB	'his/her younger brother/parallel male cousin'; <i>lasi-m</i> 'your younger brother'.
ADZ	<i>rai-isi?</i> 'same sex sibling'; <i>nafu-isi?</i> 'opposite sex sibling'.
KIL	(same sex speaking); also younger sister.
TAW	'his child', i.e. 'younger sibling of same sex'.
MOT	See 02.440.
MEK	Of male.
MAR	(3sg POSS, female speaking).
PAA	'last born child'.
LEW	Terms <i>mosia</i> 'middle child' and <i>prasia</i> 'last-born child' often have this meaning.
NTA	'man's brother'.
KWA	'younger brother of a man'.
ĀJI	Also <i>wi pādī</i> .
NEN	Also <i>čeluaien</i> .
EFI	Of male.
WFI	Same sex.
RTU	Male speaking.
TON	Of male.
SAM	<i>la?itiiti</i> 'be small, little, young', <i>tuəŋane la ?itiiti</i> 'a woman's younger brother', <i>tei</i> affectionate term for one's small brother or sister.
TAH	Male ego.

## 02.450 SISTER

ATA		MAD	taritan bini?	*TAW	nou-na
TSO		BAL	ñamə luh	*MOT	
RUK		SAS	pisa? ninə	*MEK	avakua
PAI	kaka	GOR	wutato tā	ROV	tasina vineki
YAM	kaktə a		buwa	*MAR	greyaña
	mavakəş	DAA		LAU	wai wane
ISN	wagi ŋa	UMA		*KWO	ino mele futa
	babay	BUG	selessuriŋ-	RAG	hoʔosi-
KAL	sūnuda babai		makkunrai	*PAA	ahinokuli
*TAG	kapatid na	*KON	russana?	*LEW	vine-na
	babā?e	WOL		POR	pene-ŋg
*AKL	igmaŋhud ŋa	*MAG	vəta	*NTA	βənə-n
	bāyih	NGA	vəta	*KWA	katutu
PAL	tipusəd libun	*SIK	βue	*NEM	ŋo-iri
MOL	tipusod na?	*RTI	feto	*CEM	pàhe-n
	libun	*BUR	feta	AJI	kūrü
*KAG	utud	*DOB	?a'ran	*XAR	be
BLA	flanik libun	IRA		*NEN	isigen
SAB	danakan	*SAW	rəmɔ	KIR	
	denda	NYI	nadu tine	MSH	
*MUR			badih	PON	
*MGY	raha-vavi	MAM	marau	WLE	
ACE		*TAK	lu-n	*EFI	taði-
*BAT	akkaŋ	*DAM	main	*WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> āne-
MIN	dusana?	MAB		*RTU	səŋhəni
	padusi	*YAB	lu-ə	*TON	tuofefine
*IND	[sau <sup>d</sup> ara]pər-	*KAU	e-to-k	*SAM	tuafafine
	əmpu-an	*TOL	tai -	*MEL	tai-
SUN	dulur awewe	*BUA	ari	*TAH	tuahine
*JAV	sə-dulur	*ADZ	nafu-	RAP	taina (vahine
	wadən	*KIL			poreko)

TAG See 02.456, 02.240.

AKL See 02.456, 02.240.

KAG 'sibling'; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.

MUR See 02.440.

MGY *raha-vavi* 'sister of a woman'; *ana-bavi* 'sister of a man'.



- BAT (of female speaker) 'older sibling same sex'; *'anggi* 'younger sibling same sex'; *iboto* 'cross sibling all ages'.
- IND From Sanskrit.
- JAV *dulur* 'relative of the same generation' see 02.456.
- KON 'sibling'; also *kaka bahine* 'older sister'; *ari bahine* 'younger sister'.
- MAG Man speaking.
- SIK *βue* 'elder sister (woman speaking)'; *βari* 'younger sister (i.s.)'; *?βine* 'elder sister, younger sister (man speaking)'.
- RTI Man speaking.
- BUR Male ego; for female ego see 02.454 and 02.455.
- DOB *?a'ran* 'sibling of the opposite sex', thus 'man's sister, or a woman's brother'.
- SAW 'opposite sex sibling', i.e. 'male's sister'. Also *iten-o* 'female's sister'.
- TAK 'his/her opposite-sex sibling'. Any blood relative opposite in sex to the speaker and of the speaker's generation (i.e. any opposite-sex child of one of his/her *tama-n* 'fathers' (02.350) or *tina-n* 'mothers' (02.360), or of one of his/her ascending generation *nigai* 'uncles' (02.511) or *nibi* 'aunts' (02.522)) is also his/her *lu-n*. The term is by definition reciprocal.
- DAM 'sibling of opposite sex'.
- YAB 'cross-sibling-feminine', i.e. 'sister of man'; *lo-m-ò* 'your sister'.
- KAU *e-to-k* 'fem-same sex sibling-my', i.e. 'my brother (male ego)' see 02.450. Note also *e-lut-ŋo* 'fem-opposite sex sibling-my', i.e. 'my sister (male ego)' see 02.450 note.
- TOL *tai-* is the sister of a male Ego as well as his mother's sister's daughter and his father's brother's daughter, see 02.440.
- BUA Also *αβεγνσ*.
- ADZ *rai* 'same sex sibling'; *nafu-* 'opposite sex sibling'.
- KIL See 02.440.
- TAW *nou-na* 'male's sibling of opposite sex'; *walehi-na* 'female's sibling of same sex'.
- MOT See 02.440.
- MEK Of male.
- MAR 3sg POSS, male speaking.
- KWO 'woman the two of us are born'.
- PAA Referring to males only.

- LEW Of male; *lue-na* ‘sister of female’; also [*sista*] from English and *kom-pa-sia* (see 13.230).
- NTA *βənə-n* of a man; *p<sup>w</sup>ia-n* of a woman.
- KWA *katutu* ‘sister of a man’, *pini-* ‘sister of a man’, term of reference; *piaw-* ‘sister of a woman’.
- NEM ‘forbidden woman (for a man)’. Sister of a woman is *bē-n pōk* see also note, 02.350.
- CEM Also *īti-εη* ‘his taboo’; *p<sup>w</sup>ādenī-n* ‘his path, alliance’ (represented by the marriage of that sister).
- XAR See note 02.440.
- NEN Also *reisigen*.
- EFI Of female.
- WFI Opposite sex.
- RTU Male speaking.
- TON Of male.
- SAM *tuafafine* ‘sister of a man’, *uso* ‘sister of a woman’.
- MEL Also *kave*.
- TAH *tuahine* male ego, *taea<sup>?</sup>e* female ego; also [*sista*] from English.

#### 02.454 OLDER SISTER

- |      |                        |      |                        |      |                                  |
|------|------------------------|------|------------------------|------|----------------------------------|
| ATA  | ḡumišuwān              | *MGY | raha-vavi              | *KON | kaka                             |
| *TSO | oxarva                 | *ACE | [eʉt] da               | WOL  | aka βawine                       |
| RUK  | taka-taka              | *BAT | akkaŋ                  | *MAG | ka <sup>?</sup> e                |
| PAI  | kaka                   | *MIN | kaka <sup>?</sup>      | NGA  | ka <sup>?</sup> e                |
| YAM  | kaka a                 | *IND | kakak pər-             | *SIK | βue                              |
|      | mavakəş                |      | əmpu-an                | *RTI | ka <sup>?</sup> a                |
| ISN  |                        | SUN  | lañčik awewe           | *BUR | kai                              |
| KAL  |                        | *JAV | əmbak                  | DOB  | ʔa <sup>?</sup> a-m              |
| *TAG | āte                    | MAD  | əmbuk                  | IRA  | tage φadə                        |
| *AKL | mānaŋ                  | BAL  | əmbok                  | *SAW | rəmɔ ta tɛ n-                    |
| PAL  | uka <sup>?</sup> libun | SAS  | kaka <sup>?</sup> ninə |      | lɔy                              |
| MOL  | uka <sup>?</sup>       | *GOR | [kaka] tā              | *NYI | b <sup>w</sup> e <sup>?</sup> en |
| KAG  | manaŋ                  |      | buwa                   | MAM  | marau-laba-                      |
| BLA  | twigi libun            | DAA  | tuaka besi             |      | laba                             |
| SAB  | siyaka denda           | UMA  | tuaka                  | *TAK | lu-n matu                        |
| *MUR |                        | BUG  | daeŋ                   | *DAM | main odug                        |

*MAB	to- mōri	LAU	wai wane nao	KIR	
*YAB	tewa-ò	KWO	o?a- geni	MSH	
KAU		RAG		PON	
TOL		PAA	muaite	WLE	
BUA		LEW		*EFI	tuaka-
*ADZ	nafu- çira?	POR	pene- <sup>ŋ</sup> g i-amo	*WFI	čuka-
*KIL		*NTA	tu-n	*RTU	səsiŋi
*TAW	tugo-na	*KWA	prea-	*TON	ta?okete
*MOT		*NEM	hioŋa	*SAM	tuafafine
*MEK	avakua	CEM	ê cúɔ-n		matua
	fa?aniau	*AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε pārie	MEL	fei-uru
*ROV	tasina kenuna	*XAR	šəa	*TAH	tua?ana
*MAR	tiyaña	NEN		*RAP	matahiapo

TSO 'older sibling(s)'.

TAG Also *mānaŋ*; *ditse*, *dīte* 'second eldest'.

AKL Also *ma-guʔaŋ-ŋa bāyih*.

MUR See 02.444.

MGY *raha-vavi* 'sister of a woman'; *ana-bavi* 'sister of a man'; *zuki* 'older sibling'.

ACE From Mon-Khmer, also *cuda*, *cut pɔ*, *pɔ da*, *da pɔ*, *a*.

BAT (of female speaker) 'older sibling same sex'.

MIN Also *uni*.

IND 'Female older sibling'.

JAV Also *əmba?(a)yu*; *ayu* 'beautiful'.

GOR Also *tā mo-ohula*, *tā mohuhula* (*moh-wohula*) 'older sibling'. See footnote for 02.444. Also *ti tāta*.

KON 'older sibling', specifically *kaka bahine*; also *daeŋ bahine* (of royal class).

MAG 'older sibling same sex'.

SIK *βue* (woman speaking); *?βine* (man speaking).

RTI Woman speaking.

BUR Female ego (older sibling same sex).

SAW 'opposite sex sibling that is old(er)'.

NYI 'on top of him', i.e. 'older brother/sister'.

TAK 'opposite.sex.sibling-his/her senior'. See note on *lu-n* (02.450).

DAM See 02.445.

MAB	‘older sister of a male or female’.
YAB	‘his/her older sister’; <i>tewa-m-ə</i> ‘your older sister’.
ADZ	<i>rai-çira?</i> ‘same sex sibling’; <i>nafu çira?</i> ‘opposite sex sibling’.
KIL	See 02.444.
TAW	For female, ‘older sibling same sex’.
MOT	See 02.440.
MEK	Of male.
ROV	Also <i>vavenena</i> (male speaking).
MAR	3sg POSS, female speaking.
NTA	Informal alternative <i>tuta</i> . Applies to woman’s sister; no age distinction for man’s sister.
KWA	‘older sister of a woman’.
NEM	See note 02.350.
AJI	Also <i>b<sup>w</sup>ε ka kau</i> .
XAR	Address term: <i>çāmẽ</i> .
EFI	Of female.
WFI	Same sex.
RTU	Female speaking.
TON	Of female.
SAM	See 02.440.
TAH	Female ego.
RAP	‘eldest of all siblings (male/female)’. Possible from Tahitian.

## 02.455 YOUNGER SISTER

ATA	<i>šuwai?</i>	PAL	<i>ari? libun</i>	IND	<i>adik pər-</i>
*TSO	<i>oxarsa</i>	MOL	<i>ari?</i>		<i>əmpu-an</i>
RUK	<i>agi-agi</i>	*KAG	<i>maŋjud</i>	SUN	<i>adi awewe</i>
PAI	<i>kaka</i>	BLA	<i>twali libun</i>	JAV	<i>adi? wadən</i>
YAM	<i>wari a</i> <i>mavakəş</i>	SAB	<i>siyali denda</i>	*MAD	<i>taritan ŋuða</i>
ISN		*MUR		*BAL	<i>adi luh</i>
KAL		*MGY	<i>raha-vavi</i>	SAS	<i>ari? ninə</i>
TAG	<i>bāta-ŋ kapatid</i>	*ACE	<i>adəə inəŋ</i>	GOR	<i>tā yali-yali tā</i>
AKL	<i>maŋhud ŋa</i> <i>bāyih</i>	*BAT	<i>'aŋgi</i>		<i>buwa</i>
		MIN	<i>adi<sup>ə</sup>? padusi</i>	DAA	<i>tuai besi</i>
				UMA	<i>tu<sup>ə</sup>ai</i>

BUG	anri	KAU		NEM	
*KON	ari	TOL		CEM	ê cîe-n
WOL	a <sup>n</sup> di ɬawine	BUA		*AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε pãdī
*MAG	ase	*ADZ	nafu-isi?	XAR	mudue
NGA	azi	*KIL	bada-	NEN	
*SIK	ɬari	*TAW	a tewela	KIR	
*RTI	fadi	*MOT		MSH	
*BUR	wai	*MEK	avakua eke	PON	
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ali-m	ROV	tasina vineki	WLE	
IRA	a ruigə		mudina	*EFI	taði-
*SAW	rēmə ta tɛ	*MAR	tahiña	*WFI	taði-
	wyɔy	LAU	wai wane buri	*RTU	sɔsiŋa
*NYI	bahan	KWO	asi-geni	*TON	tehina
MAM	marau-si <sup>?</sup> i-	RAG		*SAM	tuafafine
	si <sup>?</sup> i	PAA	tasīte		la <sup>?</sup> itiiti
*TAK	lu-n bakan	LEW		MEL	kimuri
*DAM	main nālu	*POR	pene- <sup>ŋ</sup> g i-arax	*TAH	teina
*MAB	lu-ri	*NTA	taha-n	RAP	taina vahine
*YAB	lasi-ð	*KWA	prəsi-		hope?a

TSO ‘younger sibling(s)’.

KAG ‘younger sibling’; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.

MUR See 02.445.

MGY *raha-vavi* ‘sister of a woman’; *ana-bavi* ‘sister of a man’; *zanɬi* ‘younger sibling’.

ACE ‘female younger sibling’, also [*ade?*, *de?*] Malay.

BAT (of female speakers) ‘younger sibling same sex’.

MAD ‘younger sibling’.

BAL See 02.445.

KON ‘younger sibling’, specifically *ari bahine*.

MAG ‘younger sibling same sex’.

SIK *ɬari* (woman speaking); *ɬbine* (man speaking)

RTI (woman speaking).

BUR Female ego (younger sibling same sex).

SAW ‘opposite sex sibling that is young(er)’.

NYI ‘underneath of him’, i.e. ‘younger brother/sister’.

TAK ‘opposite-sex sibling-his/her junior’. See note on *lu-n* (02.450).

DAM See 02.445.

MAB	<i>lu-ri</i> ‘younger sister of a male’; <i>tizi-mōri</i> ‘younger sister of a female’.
YAB	‘his/her younger sister’; <i>lasi-m-ḏ</i> ‘your younger sister’.
ADZ	<i>nafu-isi?</i> ‘opposite sex sibling’; <i>rai-isi?</i> ‘same sex sibling’.
KIL	Same sex speaking; see 02.445.
TAW	For female lit ‘her child’, i.e. ‘younger sibling same sex’.
MOT	See 02.440.
MEK	Of male.
MAR	3sg POSS, female speaking.
POR	Also <i>pene-<sup>ḡ</sup> mo-keke</i> ‘sister-mine aspect-small’.
NTA	Woman’s sister only.
KWA	‘younger sister of a woman’.
AJI	Also <i>b<sup>w</sup>ε ka yañ</i> .
EFI	Of female.
WFI	Same sex.
RTU	Female speaking.
TON	Of female.
SAM	See 02.445.
TAH	Female ego.

## 02.456 SIBLING

ATA		*MGY	mi-ana-dahi	*KON	russana?
TSO	nat?-oxarsa	*ACE		WOL	
RUK		BAT	sa ama sa ina	MAG	
PAI	kaka	*MIN	dusana?	NGA	doa
YAM	kaktə	*IND	[saudara]	*SIK	βue βari
ISN	wagi	*SUN	dulur sa-	RTI	tolano boji-k
KAL	sūnud		induḡ sa-bapa	*BUR	
*TAG	[kapatid]	*JAV	sə-dulur	DOB	
*AKL	ig-maṅhud	MAD	taritan	IRA	
*PAL	məḡtipusəd	*BAL	ñamə	*SAW	fa-ften
MOL	tipusod	*SAS	səməton kuni	NYI	nadu tine-n
KAG	utud	GOR	wutato	MAM	natu
BLA	flanik	ḌAA	sa <sup>m</sup> pesuvu	*TAK	tei-n
SAB	danakan	UMA	o <sup>m</sup> pi?	DAM	
*MUR		BUG	sompun-lolo	MAB	

YAB		KWO	wane-	*KIR	te tari
KAU	irit βon	RAG		*MSH	cəmcati
TOL		PAA		*PON	rie
BUA		*LEW	kom-pa-sia	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> isi-
ADZ		POR	lumanen	*EFI	ŋāne-
KIL		*NTA	p <sup>w</sup> ia-n	WFI	
*TAW	walchi-na	KWA	kətirim <sup>w</sup> a-	RTU	
*MOT	kaka-na	NEM	bē-n	TON	tokoua
MEK		CEM		SAM	
ROV	tasina	AJI	neduavene	MEL	tātai
*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> abusina	*XAR	be	*TAH	taea <sup>?</sup> e
*LAU	<sup>?</sup> aua	NEN	reisiŋen	RAP	taina

TAG Early loan from S. Luzon *ka-pated*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**ma-ŋuhed* ‘immature’.

PAL *məglanguŋ* ‘cousin’.

MUR See 02.440.

MGY ‘be brother(s) and sister(s)’.

ACE Can only be expressed by e.g. [*səɔdara*] *saboh ma* ‘kin of one mother’, from Sanskrit.

MIN See 02.440.

IND From Sanskrit. Any same generation sibling (classificatory); also [*saudara*] *sə-kanduŋ* ‘sibling of the same womb’ to specify non-classificatory sibling.

SUN *sa-induŋ sa-bapa* ‘one mother one father’.

JAV *dulur* ‘relative of the same generation’.

BAL See 02.810.

SAS See 02.444.

KON Also *si-ana?*

SIK Also *nara* <sup>?</sup>*βine*.

BUR Someone of the same generation as ego is either *kai* ‘older sibling same sex’, *wai* ‘younger sibling same sex’, *feta* ‘sister (male ego)’, or *naha* ‘brother (female ego)’ depending on the sex and birth order of ego.

SAW ‘same sex sibling’. Also *fa-remə* for ‘opposite sex sibling’.

TAK Also *lu-n* see 02.440 and 02.450 and notes.

TAW ‘his brother/her sister’, i.e. ‘sibling of same sex’.

MOT	<i>tadi-na, taihu-na</i> . See 02.440; <i>tadikaka</i> ‘sibling in general’.
MAR	<i>t<sup>h</sup>abusina</i> (3sg POSS, same sex); <i>t<sup>h</sup>avureyana</i> (3sg POSS cross sex).
LAU	Also <i>waiwane</i> .
LEW	See 13.230.
NTA	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ia-an</i> same sex; <i>kaka</i> opposite sex. <i>kaka</i> is used for many different relatives.
XAR	See note for 02.440.
KIR	<i>te tari</i> ‘same sex sibling’; <i>te m<sup>w</sup>ane</i> ‘sibling of opposite sex’.
MSH	To be siblings; also <i>cein</i> ‘older sibling’, 3sg POSS; <i>catin</i> younger sibling, 3sg POSS.
PON	<i>rie</i> 3sg POSS; ‘sibling (opposite sex)’; <i>pedeli</i> ‘sibling on whom one would swear’.
WLE	<i>φwisi-</i> same sex, 3sg; <i>m<sup>w</sup>ajejar</i> opp. sex, 3sg.
EFI	Opposite sex.
TAH	Also <i>tuahine</i> .

## 02.458 TWINS

ATA	mapapiyat	MIN	dusana?	*BUR	ana-tfua-t
TSO	xopɲo		kamba		waa-n
RUK	tokapianə	IND	anak kəmbər	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a
PAI	kidar	*SUN	[kəmbər]		k <sup>w</sup> ar <sup>h</sup> baw
YAM	mitovəŋ-a	JAV	kəmbər	IRA	nabəsərə
	kanakan	MAD	kəmb <sup>h</sup> ar		nəφərutə
ISN	sīŋin	*BAL	[kəmbər]	SAW	fa-sosora
KAL	pīŋi	SAS	əndə	*NYI	mum <sup>w</sup> ir
*TAG	kambal	*GOR	tā-p-il-o-tutu	MAM	uadaruarua
AKL	kāpid		duluwo	TAK	bugugaru
PAL	kambar	DAA	ana rapi	DAM	
MOL	kambar	UMA	ropa?	MAB	pikin
KAG	maŋa sappiŋ	BUG	kambara?		bōgoŋana
BLA	fīŋin	KON	'kambara	*YAB	oli-ŋ-bom
SAB	kambal	WOL	rapi	*KAU	hukap-βal
MUR	moŋkobon	MAG	ata daper	TOL	kāŋə
*MGY	[kambana]	*NGA	kapu-doa	*BUA	pəpid
ACE	kuumbuwə	SIK	me kloŋ	*ADZ	narun ba <sup>m</sup> pun
BAT	silidduat	RTI	tada-lapa-k	KIL	nupoyu



*TAW	natu lagalaga	POR	mear	PON	mp <sup>w</sup> er
MOT	hekapa	NTA	m <sup>w</sup> ilm <sup>w</sup> il	*WLE	řip <sup>w</sup> eya
*MEK	kafe-lafa <sup>ʔ</sup> i	KWA	m <sup>w</sup> irm <sup>w</sup> ir	EFI	d <sup>ʔ</sup> ua
*ROV	avisi	NEM	bīdu	WFI	d <sup>ʔ</sup> uŋa
MAR	p <sup>h</sup> akri	CEM	pêidu	RTU	suka
LAU	ro <sup>ʔ</sup> iu	AJI	duvidu	TON	māhaŋa
KWO	rua <sup>ʔ</sup> iu	XAR	dufã	*SAM	māsaŋa
RAG		NEN	karetin	MEL	māsaŋa
PAA	maleh	KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ēb <sup>w</sup> ē	TAH	maeha <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*LEW	kaura	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> o	*RAP	hauvā

TAG *kambal + ka-*.

MGY From Malay *kəmbar*.

SUN From Malay or Javanese.

BAL Malay? Old Javanese?

GOR PERS NOM + ‘born two’.

NGA *kapu* ‘give birth’.

BUR Also *ana-t ka-brapi-n*. The latter is not used for humans by coastal speakers of Masarete, but includes humans for mountain dwellers and speakers of WaeSama.

NYI Also *m<sup>w</sup>im<sup>w</sup>ir*.

YAB ‘body-their wild’.

KAU *-βal* ‘each other’ (reciprocal morpheme).

BUA Also *baŋ<sup>w</sup>āk* usually of twin fruit, e.g. double banana.

ADZ Also *mama<sup>ʔ</sup>ba<sup>m</sup>pun*.

TAW *natu lagalaga* ‘identical twins’, lit ‘branched child’; also *natu hawahawa*.

MEK Also *ŋafa<sup>ʔ</sup>i*.

ROV *avisi* ‘twins of the same sex’, *vivi* ‘twins of boy and girl’.

LEW Also *kaora*.

MSH *piŋo* Eastern dialects.

WLE *řip<sup>w</sup>ey-āřü* ‘of different sex’, *řip<sup>w</sup>eya-yaremata* ‘of same sex’.

SAM Only used collectively.

RAP More frequently pronounced: *hauā*.

## 02.460 GRANDFATHER

ATA	yutaš	*KON	bohe	LAU	koko wane
TSO	akʔi	*WOL	opu-a	KWO	kōkoʔo
*RUK	t-omo	*MAG	əma-tuʔa	RAG	
PAI	vuvu	NGA	əbu	PAA	avu toman
YAM	akay	SIK	moʔa	*LEW	ap <sup>w</sup> ua
ISN	akay	RTI	baʔi	POR	vavu xivur
KAL	apu	*BUR	opo	*NTA	təp <sup>w</sup> ə-n
*TAG	lōlo	*DOB	sabu-m		ierman
*AKL	lōlo	IRA	adatə	*KWA	kaha
PAL	upuʔ lolaki	SAW	gae	NEM	c <sup>n̄</sup> iu-n
MOL	upuʔ	*NYI	tubu-n	CEM	áo
*KAG	apuʔ	MAM	tubu-moane- ʔa	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ārua
BLA	fuʔ lagi			*XAR	nunū
SAB	mboʔ lella	*TAK	tubu-n tamol	*NEN	pa
*MUR	aki	DAM	bubei	*KIR	te tibu
MGY	rai-be	MAB	tu <sup>m</sup> bu-	*MSH	cimm <sup>u</sup> an
*ACE	nɛʔ	*YAB	debu ŋaʔ	*PON	sām kālāp
BAT	oppuŋ doli	*KAU	isa	*WLE	tamasirē-
*MIN	datuʔʔ	*TOL	tubu-	EFI	tuka-
*IND	kakek	BUA	bu (maluy)	WFI	-tai seiŋ <sup>w</sup> ane
SUN	aki	ADZ	ru <sup>m</sup> pu-	*RTU	
JAV	əmbah kakuŋ	*KIL	tabu-	TON	kui taŋata
MAD	əmbalakiʔ	*TAW	goga-na	*SAM	le tamā o le
*BAL	pəkak	MOT	tubu-na		tamā/tinā
*SAS	papuʔ mamə		tau-na	*MEL	tupu-tāne
*GOR	ti bāpu	*MEK	ufu	*TAH	[pāpā] rūʔau
DAA	pue la <sup>ɟ</sup> gai	ROV	tamana	*RAP	[papa]-ruʔau
*UMA	n-tuʔa		tamana		
BUG	latoʔ	MAR	kuʔe		

RUK See 02.350.

TAG Also *iŋkoŋ, lēloŋ*.

AKL Also *āma-ŋ-gūʔaŋ*.

KAG ‘grandparent’ or ‘grandchild’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male.

MUR *aki* (common/personal noun); *magaki* (x2), *saŋāŋaki/saŋaki-aki* (x3).

ACE ‘relative of one generation higher than parents’.

MIN Also *iŋiʔʔ, niniʔʔ*.

- IND Also *tetek* with regional preferences.
- BAL Also [*kaki*] from Old Javanese?; *kumpi(aŋ)* ‘great-grandfather’; *kələb* ‘great-great-grandfather’.
- SAS ‘male grandparent’.
- GOR Also *ti yo<sup>m</sup>bu* ‘grandfather/grandmother’.
- UMA Also *pue* (Winatu dialect).
- KON Specifically *bohe buru?ne*.
- WOL Also *uwa* ‘grandparent’.
- MAG In other dialect groups *əma lopo*, *ə<sup>m</sup>po*.
- BUR ‘grandparent; may specify *opo-mhana* ‘male grandparent’.
- DOB ‘grandparent’ and ‘grandchild’.
- NYI Also *babu*, note: *tubu-n* ‘grandfather-his’.
- TAK ‘grandparent/grandchild-his.man’; *tubu-n* refers to any blood relative two generations senior or junior to the speaker. The corresponding term of address is *bui*.
- YAB ‘grandparent/grandchild male’, i.e. ‘his/her grandfather/grandson’; *debo-m* ‘your grandfather/grandson’; also *abu* ‘grandpa’.
- KAU ‘my grandfather’.
- TOL See 02.350. *tubu* refers to mother’s mother, mother’s father, mother’s father’s sister, mother’s father’s brother, and to all other relatives of this generation except the mother’s mother’s brother of both a male and a female Ego. The mother’s mother’s brother is *kaku*. Secondly, it refers to all relatives of the generation of the grandchildren except the sister’s daughter’s son and the sister’s daughter’s daughter of a male Ego. These are referred to by *kaku-*.
- KIL See also 02.470, 02.480, 02.490.
- TAW ‘grandparent or grandchild’.
- MEK The kinship system is of the Hawaiian or generational type. Kin terms apply reciprocally between members of non-adjacent generations. *ufu* can thus mean either grandfather/grandmother or grandchild. Sex distinctions only apply to adjacent generations. Thus within the two parental clans all members of the first ascending generation are classified as ‘fathers’ or ‘mothers’ vis-à-vis Ego. However, all members of the first descending generation will ordinarily be referred to as ‘child’ regardless of sex. Members of the same generation will be either senior or junior same-sex siblings, or cross-sex siblings less rigorously ranked for age. Distant relatives

can be qualified as *lala* or *inaŋua*. The five named ascending generations are: *ama* (and *ina*), *ufu*, *apa*, *ŋoki* and *ʔeʔe*.

LEW	‘grandparent’; can specify as in 02.310, 02.320.
NTA	Informal alternative <i>p<sup>w</sup>ip<sup>w</sup>i</i> .
KWA	Also <i>rəpu</i> term of reference.
XAR	Also [ <i>m<sup>w</sup>ātoa</i> ] Polynesian loan, reference term no longer commonly used.
NEN	Also <i>pačaŋan</i> .
KIR	relative of either sex, one generation removed.
MSH	3sg.
PON	‘original father’
WLE	<i>tama-siřa</i> ‘maternal grandfather’, <i>tamař-tama-</i> ‘paternal grandfather’.
RTU	<i>maʔpiŋa</i> ‘grandparent’.
SAM	‘the father of the father/mother’ <i>le art</i> , <i>o poss</i> .
MEL	Also <i>tātā</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tupuna tāne</i> .
RAP	Compound from Spanish <i>papá</i> and Rapa Nui <i>ruʔau</i> ‘old person’; also <i>tupuna (tane)</i> , becoming archaic.

## 02.461 OLD MAN

ATA	naβakiš	BLA	tuə lagi	GOR	tā pa <sup>ŋ</sup> gola
TSO	ma-mroi	SAB	mattoʔa lella	DAA	totuʔa la <sup>ŋ</sup> gai
RUK	taro-a-ro <sup>da</sup> ŋ	*MUR	tūʔ laid	UMA	to-tuʔa mane
PAI	va-vu <sup>lu</sup> - vu <sup>lu</sup> ŋ an	*MGY	anti-dahi	BUG	lato-latoʔ
YAM	zazakə	ACE		*KON	tau toa
ISN	laʔlakay	BAT	baoa na ma-tua	*WOL	ma <sup>ŋ</sup> ču
KAL	lakay	MIN	uraŋ tuo	MAG	(ata) tuʔa rona
TAG	matanda-ŋ lalāki	*IND	laki-laki tua	NGA	məka-dəla
AKL	ma-gū <sup>ʔa</sup> ŋ ŋa ( <sup>ʔa</sup> ) <sup>ʔa</sup> ki	SUN	lalaki kolot	SIK	məʔa
PAL	taw məguraŋ	JAV	kaki	RTI	lasi-k
*MOL	tuaʔ	MAD	riŋ lakiʔ tuwa	*BUR	geba keda
KAG	mama na manakəm	*BAL	anak muani tuə	DOB	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> ar
		*SAS	dəŋan toaʔ mamə	IRA	matu nabridə
				SAW	legae
				NYI	alon
				MAM	ʔamoŋ biabia

*TAK	tamol busumak	ROV	baroyoso	NEN	gumoŋa
		MAR	kuʔe	KIR	te unimm <sup>w</sup> āne
DAM	tamo tubau	LAU	wane waro	*MSH	lallap
MAB	kolman	KWO	wane kōkoʔo	PON	
*YAB	ŋaʔ-ano	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> at-metue	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> āřetu-
*KAU	masaŋ	PAA	ulumatu		xofaiya
	hiyaŋan	LEW	yer-marua	EFI	kena-tūraŋa
TOL	pətuano	POR	xivur	WFI	čūg <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> ā
*BUA	məyɔ atoβ	NTA	iaŋuəl <sup>h</sup>	RTU	həmua
ADZ	garām fufiʔ	KWA	ierŋhara	TON	motuʔa
*KIL	to-moya	NEM	vai	*SAM	toeaʔina
*TAW	bada	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> éne áiu	MEL	nuāne
*MOT	tau buruka	AJI	wi beāři	TAH	taʔata rūʔau
*MEK	aŋe-faʔa	*XAR	xūbērī	RAP	koro-huʔa

MOL tuaʔ + mo-.

MUR Also *matuo*.

MGY *antiʔa* ‘aged, old’.

IND Also *oraŋ tua*.

BAL No term, *anak muani tuə* ‘old male person’; *anak [odah]*, *anak [liŋsir]* respectful terms for ‘old person’ (of either sex). *[odah]* from Sanskrit, *[liŋsir]* from Old Javanese.

SAS ‘old male person’.

KON Specifically *tau toa buruʔne*.

WOL ‘old person’.

BUR Also *geba em-keda*; *ama*, *opo* and *geba keda* may be used as terms of respect.

TAK ‘man old’.

YAB ‘male-old’. Also *ŋamalaʔ-ano* ‘person-old’.

KAU ‘male old person’.

BUA *məyɔ yib* also ‘father-in-law’; *məhɔ bɔp* term of respect.

KIL ‘male old’.

TAW Term of respect for a mature man.

MOT *buruka* ‘old (of people)’.

MEK *apao* (*apou*) meaning ‘big, great’ is used to describe old people, more especially in the west where *au abao-ŋa* in practice means ‘old man, person’. NW Mekeo has *au-paka* (East Mekeo *au-faʔa* ‘big man, person’).

XAR ‘little old man’.

MSH Also *alap* term of respect.

SAM Also ‘be old (of a man)’.

## 02.470 GRANDMOTHER

ATA	yakiʔ	BUG	kaʃao	LAU	koko geni
TSO	baʔi	*KON	bohe	KWO	kōkoʔo (geni)
RUK	kaiŋo	*WOL	opu-a	RAG	
PAI	vuvu	*MAG	ə <sup>n</sup> de-tuʔa	PAA	avu letau
YAM	akəʃ	NGA	əbu	LEW	ap <sup>w</sup> ua
ISN	ukoʔ	*SIK	duʔa	POR	vavu
KAL	apu	RTI	bei		<sup>m</sup> barea <sup>m</sup> b
*TAG	lōla	*BUR	opo	*NTA	təp <sup>w</sup> ə-n pətan
*AKL	lōla	*DOB	sabu-m	*KWA	kaha
*PAL	upuʔ libun	IRA	adatə sətə	NEM	e <sup>n̄</sup> iu-n nōk
MOL	upuʔ	SAW	gele	CEM	gê
*KAG	apuʔ	*NYI	buʔu-n	AJI	gē
BLA	fuʔ libun	MAM	tubu-aïne-ʔa	XAR	çam <sup>w</sup> āça
SAB	mboʔ denda	*TAK	tubu-n pein	*NEN	pa
*MUR	aduʔ	DAM	bubei	*KIR	
MGY	reni-be	MAB	tu <sup>m</sup> bu- mōri	*MSH	cip <sup>w</sup> in
*ACE	neʔ	*YAB	debu-ð	PON	īn kālāp
BAT	əppuŋ boru	*KAU	tapu	*WLE	sinisiřa-
*MIN	niniʔʔ	*TOL	tubu-	EFI	bū-
IND	nenek	BUA	bu (aβeγ)	WFI	-tai yalewa
SUN	nini	ADZ	ru <sup>m</sup> pu-	*RTU	
*JAV	əmbah [putri]	KIL	tabu-	TON	kui fefine
MAD	əmba biniʔ	*TAW	goga-na	*SAM	tinā o le
*BAL	dadoŋ	MOT	tubu-na		tamā/tinā
*SAS	papuʔ ninə		hahine-na	*MEL	tupu-ffine
*GOR	ti [nēne]	MEK	ufu	*TAH	[māmā]rūʔau
DAA	pue besi	ROV	tinana tinana	*RAP	[mama]-ruʔau
*UMA	n-tuʔa	MAR	kavekave		

- TAG Also *impo, lēlaŋ*.  
 AKL Also *ina-ŋ-gūtaŋ*.  
 PAL Also *upu? tukud, upu? taliŋa*.  
 KAG ‘grandparent, grandchild’; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.  
 MUR Also *magadu?(x2), saŋāŋadu?/saŋadu-adu?(x3)*.  
 ACE See note to 02.460.  
 MIN Also *iñiʔ*.  
 JAV From Sanskrit.  
 BAL South Bali; [*nini*] polite form, probably from Old Javanese; *ambah* (Nth Bali, Tabanan).  
 SAS ‘female gandparent’.  
 GOR From Malay *nenek*. Also *ti yo<sup>m</sup>bu* ‘grandmother/grandfather’ and *nāna* ‘grandmother, mother’.  
 UMA *pue* (Winatu dialect).  
 KON Specifically *bohe bahine*.  
 WOL Also *uwa*.  
 MAG In other dialect groups *ə<sup>n</sup>de lopo, ə<sup>n</sup>po*.  
 SIK Also *ina gəte*.  
 BUR ‘grandparent’; may specify *opo-l-fina* ‘female grandparent’.  
 DOB See 02 460.  
 NYI Also *babu*, note: *bu<sup>?</sup>u-n* ‘grandmother-his’.  
 TAK ‘grandparent-his woman’. See note to 02.460.  
 YAB ‘grandparent/grandchild-feminine’, i.e. ‘his/her grandmother/granddaughter’; *debo-m-ə* ‘your grandmother/granddaughter’; *abu-ə* ‘grandma’.  
 KAU ‘my grandmother’.  
 TOL See 02.460.  
 TAW ‘grandparent/grandchild’.  
 NTA Informal alternative *p<sup>w</sup>ip<sup>w</sup>i*.  
 KWA Also *rəpu* term of reference.  
 NEN Also *paŋenewe*.  
 KIR See entry for ‘grandfather’.  
 MSH CON, also ‘granddaughter’.  
 WLE *siṛaṛi-siṛa-* ‘maternal grandmother’; *siṛaṛi-tama-* ‘paternal grandmother’.  
 RTU *ma<sup>?</sup>piŋa* ‘grandparent’.  
 SAM ‘the mother of the father/mother’, *le* art, *o* poss.

MEL Also *ēpua*.

TAH Also *tupuna vahine*.

RAP Compound from Spanish *mamá* and Rapa Nui *ruʻau* ‘old person’; also *tupuna (vahine)*, becoming archaic.

## 02.471 OLD WOMAN

ATA	naβakiš	*BAL	anak luh tuə	MOT	hahine buruka
TSO	ma-mroi	SAS	dəŋan toaʔ	*MEK	aŋe-faʔa
RUK	taro-a-rodaŋ		ninə	ROV	kalege
PAI	va-vulu- vuluŋ-an	GOR	tā pa <sup>ŋ</sup> gola	*MAR	naikno biʔo
YAM	zazakə	DAA	totuʔa besi	LAU	geni waro
ISN	baʔbakat	UMA	to-tuʔa bine	KWO	ino kōkoʔo
KAL	bakbakot	BUG	kaǰao-kaǰao	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> atav <sup>w</sup> e
TAG	ma-tanda-ŋ babāʔe	*KON	tau toa	*PAA	tovuli
AKL	ma-gūʔaŋ ŋa bāyih	*WOL	ma <sup>ñ</sup> ču	LEW	sira marua
PAL	libun	MAG	(ata) tuʔa ine-vai	POR	<sup>m</sup> barea <sup>m</sup> b
	məguraŋ	NGA	fine-gaʔe	NTA	pətaŋuəlh
*MOL	tuaʔ	SIK	duʔa	KWA	pranema
KAG	bai na manakəm	RTI	ina lasi-k	NEM	ŋo-vai
		*BUR	geba keda	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> éne tóm <sup>w</sup> o
BLA	tuə libun	*DOB	ta'ɸar ʔodar-ni	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε beāri
SAB	mattoʔa denda	IRA	nabridə sətə	XAR	çibēri
*MUR	aduʔ	SAW	pəgele	NEN	waetešet
MGY	anti-bavi	NYI	alon	KIR	te unaine
ACE		MAM	aine-biabia	MSH	op <sup>w</sup> acaŋ
BAT	boru-boru na ma-tua	*TAK	pein busumak	PON	
MIN	padusi tuo	DAM	kayau tubau	WLE	ş̄ɔɸ <sup>w</sup> uto
*IND	pər-əmpu-an tua	MAB	kolman nan		tuxofaiya
SUN	awewe kolot	*YAB	àwe-ano	EFI	kena-marama
JAV	nini	*KAU	βut hiyaŋan	WFI	lewa-donu
MAD	riŋ biniʔ tuwa	*TAH	βut hiyaŋan	RTU	həmua
		TOL	tubuən	TON	fine-motuʔa
		*BUA	aβeɣ atoβ	*SAM	loʔomatua
		ADZ	sagət fufiʔ	MEL	nūfine
		*KIL	nu-moya	*TAH	vahine rūʔau
		*TAW	keduluma	RAP	ruʔau



MOL	<i>tua?</i> + <i>mo-</i> .
MUR	Also <i>tū?</i> <i>laid</i> .
IND	Also <i>oraŋ tua</i> .
BAL	See 02.461.
KON	Specifically <i>tau toa bahine</i> .
WOL	‘old person’.
BUR	See note for 02.461.
DOB	<i>ta’ɸar</i> is both male and female, <i>’odar-ni</i> specifies ‘female’.
TAK	‘woman old’.
YAB	‘woman-old’.
KAU	‘she old person’.
BUA	<i>aβeγ yib</i> also ‘mother-in-law’; <i>aβeγ bɔp</i> term of respect.
KIL	‘female-old’.
TAW	Term of respect for a mature woman.
MEK	Same comments apply as for 02.461. NW Mekeo has <i>akeke</i> .
MAR	Also <i>kave</i> .
PAA	Commonly used also to refer to one’s wife.
SAM	Also <i>olomatua</i> ; also ‘be old (of a woman)’, <i>matua</i> ‘old’.
TAH	<i>ruahine</i> obs.

## 02.480 GRANDSON

A’TA	<i>kinaβahan</i>	BLA	<i>fu?</i> <i>lagi</i>	GOR	<i>wo<sup>m</sup>bu tā</i>
TSO	<i>pop<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>-oko-a</i>	SAB	<i>mpu lella</i>		<i>lo-la<sup>?</sup>i</i>
RUK	<i>aganə</i>	*MUR	<i>akupo</i>	DAA	<i>maku<sup>m</sup>pu</i>
PAI	<i>vuvu</i>	MGY	<i>zafi</i>		<i>la<sup>ɟ</sup>gai</i>
YAM	<i>apo a</i>	*ACE	<i>[cucɔ] agam</i>	UMA	<i>ku<sup>m</sup>pu</i>
	<i>maβakay</i>	*BAT	<i>pahoppu baoa</i>	BUG	<i>ippo</i>
ISN	<i>apūku ŋa</i>	MIN	<i>čuču</i>	*KON	<i>ampu</i>
	<i>lalāki</i>	*IND	<i>čuču laki-laki</i>	*WOL	<i>opu-a</i>
KAL	<i>apu</i>	SUN	<i>iñču lalaki</i>	MAG	<i>ə<sup>m</sup>po</i>
*TAG	<i>apo-ŋ lalāki</i>	JAV	<i>putu lanaŋ</i>	NGA	<i>ana-əbu</i>
*AKL	<i>apuh ŋa ɬāki</i>	MAD	<i>kumpuy</i>	SIK	<i>me pu (la<sup>?</sup>i)</i>
PAL	<i>upu<sup>?</sup> ləlaki</i>	*BAL	<i>čuču muani</i>	RTI	<i>upu tou-k</i>
MOL	<i>upu<sup>?</sup></i>	SAS	<i>bai mamə</i>	BUR	<i>opo</i>
*KAG	<i>apu</i>			*DOB	<i>sabu-m</i>

*SAW	gbu mən	ROV	tuna tuna	*KIR	
*NYI	nadu tabu-n		koreo	MSH	p <sup>m</sup> ip <sup>m</sup> i
MAM	tubu-moane- ʔa	*MAR	graña	PON	
*TAK	tubu-n tamol	LAU	koko wela wane	WLE	řaiři-řaiři
DAM	bubei	KWO	kōkoʔo	EFI	makubu-
MAB	tu <sup>m</sup> bu- (tomōto)	RAG		WFI	karua- seiq <sup>w</sup> ane
*YAB	debu ŋaʔ	*PAA	hāvukuli	*RTU	maʔpiŋa
*KAU	βi-ro-k	*LEW	mapi-na	TON	mokopuna taŋata
*TOL	tubu-	POR	<sup>m</sup> rea <sup>m</sup> b	*SAM	le ataliʔi o le ataliʔi
BUA	bu (maluy)	NTA	mipu-n ierman	MEL	makupu-tāne
ADZ	ru <sup>m</sup> pu-	KWA	m <sup>w</sup> ip <sup>w</sup> u-	TAH	moʔotua tāne
KIL	tabu-	NEM	pagū-n	RAP	makupuna tane
*TAW	goga-na	CEM	pābu-n		
MOT	tubu-na mero-na	AJI	● aři		
MEK	ufu	XAR	xεε		
		*NEN	wabuaien		

TAG PMP \*apu.

AKL PMP \*apuh.

KAG ‘grandparent’ or ‘grandchild’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male.

MUR Also *aki* (personal noun) (man speaking), *aduʔ* (woman speaking).

ACE ‘male grandchild’ from Mon-Khmer.

BAT *pahoppu* from *ompu*.

IND More commonly (*anak*) *čuču* not specifying gender.

BAL ‘male grandchild’; *čuču* ‘grandchild’.

KON Specifically *ampu buruʔne*.

WOL Also means ‘grandparent’.

DOB See 02.460.

SAW ‘grandchild male’.

NYI ‘child of grandfather-his’.

TAK ‘grandparent/grandchild-his man’. See note to 02.460.

YAB See 02.460. Also *debu sauŋ/wakuʔ*.

KAU *βi-ro-k* ‘man-grandchild-my’, i.e. ‘my grandson’; *βi-ro-n* ‘his/her grandson’.

TOL See 02.460.

TAW	‘grandchild’, but can be qualified <i>goga-na olotona</i> ‘male grandchild’.
MAR	(3sg POSS) ‘grandchild’, referential.
PAA	‘my grandson’.
LEW	‘grandchild’; can specify as in 02.310, 02.320.
NEN	Also <i>abu</i> .
KIR	See entry for ‘grandfather’.
RTU	‘grandchild’.
SAM	<i>atali?i</i> ‘son of a man’; <i>le tama a le afafine</i> ‘the child of a man’s daughter’, see 02.420; <i>le tama a le tama teine fafine</i> ‘the child of a woman’s daughter’, see 02.420, <i>le art, a poss.</i>

### 02.490 GRANDDAUGHTER

ATA	kinaʔahan	MAD	kumpuy	*TOL	tubu-
TSO	popʔeʔ-oko-a	*BAL	čuču luh	BUA	bu (aβey)
RUK	aganə	SAS	bai ninə	ADZ	ru <sup>m</sup> pu-
PAI	vuvu	GOR	wo <sup>m</sup> bu tā	KIL	tabu-
YAM	apo a mavakəş	DAA	maku <sup>m</sup> pu besi	*TAW	goga-na
ISN	apūku ŋa babay	UMA	ku <sup>m</sup> pu	MOT	tubu-na kekeni-na
KAL	apu	BUG	ippo	MEK	ufu
TAG	apo-ŋ babāʔe	*KON	ampu	ROV	tuna tuna vineki
AKL	apuh ŋa bāyih	WOL	opu-a	*MAR	graña
PAL	upuʔ libun	MAG	ə <sup>m</sup> pə	LAU	koko wela geni
MOL	upuʔ	NGA	ana-əbu	KWO	kōkoʔo
*KAG	apuʔ	SIK	me pu (βai)	RAG	
BLA	fuʔ libun	RTI	upu ina-k	*PAA	hāvukahin
SAB	mpu denda	BUR	opə	*LEW	mapi-na
*MUR		*DOB	sabu-m	*POR	mrea <sup>m</sup> b
MGY	zafi	IRA	nitatə sətə		ruxmala <sup>m</sup> b
*ACE	[cucə] inoŋ	*SAW	gbu məpin	NTA	mipu-n pətan
*BAT	pahoppu boru	*NYI	nadu tubu-n	KWA	m <sup>w</sup> ip <sup>w</sup> u-
MIN	čuču	MAM	tubu-aine-ʔa	NEM	pagū-n nōk
*IND	čuču pər- əmpu-an	*TAK	tubu-n pein	CEM	ê pəbu-n
SUN	iñču awewe	DAM	bubei	AJI	puʔub <sup>w</sup> ε ʌñ
JAV	putu wadən	MAB	tu <sup>m</sup> bu-mōri	XAR	xεε
		*YAB	debu-ə		
		*KAU	e-ro-k		

*NEN	wabuaien	WFI	karua-yalewa	MEL	makupu-ffine
KIR		*RTU	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> pija	TAH	mo <sup>ʔ</sup> otua
MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ip <sup>w</sup> i	TON	mokopuna		vahine
PON			fefine	RAP	makupuna
WLE	řaiüri-řaiü	*SAM	le afafine o le		vahine
EFI	makubu-		atali <sup>ʔ</sup> i		

KAG ‘grandparent’ or ‘grandchild’; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.

MUR See 02.480.

ACE ‘female grandchild’ from Mon-Khmer.

BAT *pahoppu* from *ompu*.

IND More commonly (*anak*) *čuču* not specifying gender.

BAI ‘female grandchild’.

KON Specifically *ampu bahine*.

DOB See 02.460.

SAW ‘grandchild female’.

NYI ‘child of grandfather-his’.

TAK ‘grandparent-his woman’. See note to 02.460.

YAB See 02.470. Also *debu saup/waku?*

KAU *e-ro-k* ‘fem grandchild-my’, i.e. ‘my granddaughter’; *e-ro-n* ‘his/her granddaughter’.

TOL See 02.460.

TAW ‘grandchild’, but can be qualified *goga-na wawinena* ‘female grandchild’.

MAR 3sg POSS ‘grandchild’, reference.

PAA ‘my grand-daughter’.

LEW ‘grandchild’; can specify as in 02.310, 02.320.

POR *rux-mala<sup>mb</sup>* ‘diminutive-female’.

NEN Also *abu*.

RTU ‘grandchild’.

SAM See 02.420, 02.410; *le art, o poss, le tama teine a le afafine* ‘a man’s daughter’s daughter’s daughter’, *le tama teine a le tama teine* ‘a woman’s daughter’s daughter’, *le afafine o le afafine* ‘a man’s daughter’s daughter’, *o/a poss*.

## 02.510 UNCLE

ATA	mamaʔ	*UMA	umaʔ	*MAR	kmaña
TSO	popʔeʔ-amo-a	BUG	ina-ure	LAU	mā rua
RUK	ama	*KON	purina	KWO	
PAI	kama	WOL	pino-ama	RAG	
YAM	mazan	MAG	əma	PAA	
ISN	ulitag	NGA	pame	LEW	
KAL	ulitog	SIK		POR	papa
*TAG	amaʔin	RTI		*NTA	kaka
*AKL	[tīyo]	*BUR	meme-n	KWA	
PAL	maman	*DOB	ʔatayi	*NEM	pōne-n
MOL	maman	*IRA	anʔe tatir	CEM	âcime-n
*KAG	kama'yən	SAW	tua	AJI	kāniā
BLA	faʔ	NYI		*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ē
SAB	bapaʔ	*MAM	eluʔa	*NEN	ačeanuen
*MUR	maman	*TAK	tama-n	*KIR	ai-tama
*MGY		*DAM	kuwai	*MSH	aʔap
*ACE	yahcut	MAB		*PON	ullap
*BAT		YAB		*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> ōřenapa
*MIN		*KAU		*EFI	tama-
IND	paman	TOL		WFI	
*SUN	əmaŋ	*BUA	ama	RTU	øʔfa
*JAV	paʔliʔ	ADZ		TON	
MAD	ubaʔ	*KIL		SAM	
*BAL	maman	*TAW	[ankul]	*MEL	[wāwa]
*SAS	tuaʔ	MOT		*TAH	[pāpā]
*GOR	po-ʔu-wam-a	MEK	ama	*RAP	[papa-tio]
DAA	ma <sup>ɲ</sup> ge	ROV	buhina		

TAG Also [tīyo], [tiyūh]-in; PHN \*amaʔ-en.

AKL [tīto] (address).

KAG kama'yən (CGC); also [tiyu] (PAL).

MUR Also kamaman; (after death of parents) lagan, iaʔ; (maŋkamaman (x2), sakākamaman/saŋkamaman(x3)).

MGY Word for 'father' is used.

ACE yah cut 'younger uncle: younger brother of father/mother'; yah wa 'elder uncle: elder brother of father/mother'. Also ku wa, abu wa, etc., see 02.350.

- BAT *tulaŋ* ‘mother’s brother’; *amaŋ uda* ‘father’s younger brother’; *amaktua* (*amaŋ tua*) ‘father’s older brother’, *amaŋ uda* and *amaktua* (*amaŋ tua*) are also used for husband of mother’s older/younger sister; *amaŋ boru* ‘husband of father’s sister’.
- MIN See 02.511, 02.512.
- SUN Also *amaŋ*, *mamaŋ*, *paman* all ‘younger brother of mother or father’.
- JAV *paʔliʔ* ‘parent’s younger brother’ from *bapaʔ ciliʔ* lit ‘little father’; *paʔde* ‘parent’s older brother’ from *bapaʔ gəde* lit ‘big father’.
- BAL North Bali; [*rərame*] South Bali from Old Javanese, also means ‘parents’ in some areas. [*wə*] from Old Javanese? ‘parent’s elder sibling, of either sex’.
- SAS Thoir et al (1985): ‘term of address of older person’; compare *toaʔ* ‘old’
- GOR ‘youngest uncle’ is *tipāli* or *tipaʔade*.
- UMA Also *maʔke* (Tobaku dialect).
- KON Specifically *purina buruʔne*.
- BUR ‘mother’s brother’; also *ama* ‘father’s brother’.
- DOB See 02.511.
- IRA Also *anʔe kosi*.
- MAM Also *tama*.
- TAK Also *nigai*; see notes on 02.350 and 02.511.
- DAM ‘father’s sister’s husband’.
- KAU See 02.511 and 02.512.
- BUA Also *məwa*, see 02.511.
- KIL See 02.511, 02.512.
- TAW From English; in common use ‘non specific relationship of ascending generation’.
- MAR 3sg POSS, not MoBr.
- NTA General term for many different relatives.
- NEM ‘maternal uncle’.
- XAR ‘mother’s brother, father’s brother’, lit ‘father’.
- NEN Also *čača*, *mimi*.
- KIR *ai* ‘like, similar’.
- MSH *aʔap* ‘lineage head, maternal uncle’; *ʔikorean* CON, Western dialect, ‘maternal uncle’; *willepan* CON, maternal uncle, Eastern dialect; *ceman* CON, ‘father, paternal uncle’.

PON Of the same clan.

WLE *m<sup>w</sup>ōřenapa* ‘maternal uncle’; *bisiři-tama-* ‘paternal uncle’.

EFI ‘father’s brother’; also, *ḡadina-*.

MEL Also [*ēmama*] both from Efate i.e. ‘father’.

TAH Also *metuatāne*.

RAP From Spanish.

## 02.511 MOTHER’S BROTHER

ATA	mama?	DAA	ma <sup>ɔ</sup> ge	*MAR	nebuña
*TSO	nuvoxz-a	UMA	uma?	LAU	koko
RUK	ama	BUG	ina-ure	KWO	ini
PAI	kama	*KON	purina	RAG	tarabe-
YAM	ši maʒan ji ina	WOL	pino-ama	PAΛ	matuok
ISN	ulitag	*MAG	amaḡ	LEW	apopa
KAL	sūnud īna	NGA	pame	POR	papa
*TAG		SIK	mame	NTA	etama-n
*AKL		RTI	to <sup>o</sup>	*KWA	kaka
PAL	maman	*BUR	meme-n	NEM	pōne-n
MOL	maman	*DOB	ʔatayi	CEM	âcimε-n
KAG	utud ta nanay na mama	IRA	(a)mim	AJI	bē ʌři ñaña
BLA	flaniḡ ye <sup>ʔ</sup> lagi	SAW	tua	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ē
SAB	si <sup>ʔ</sup> it lella	NYI	kali-n	*NEN	ačeanuen
*MUR		MAM	elu <sup>ʔ</sup> a	KIR	
*MGY	anadahind <sup>r</sup> eni	*TAK	nigai	MSH	
ACE		*DAM	gagai	PON	
BAT	tulaḡ	MAB	wo-	WLE	
MIN	mama?	*YAB	sa la <sup>h</sup> g <sup>w</sup> a	*EFI	ḡadina-
IND	paman	*KAU	βehēḡ	*WFI	ḡ <sup>w</sup> aḡjina-
SUN		*TOL	mətua-	RTU	o <sup>ʔ</sup> honi
*JAV	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> li?	BUA	məwa	*TON	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> ē-taḡata
MAD	uba?	ADZ	gaya-	*SAM	tuḡane o le tinā
*BAL		KIL	kada-	*MEL	[wāwa]
*SAS	ama <sup>ʔ</sup> rari	TAW	au-na	*TAH	pāpā
*GOR	pa-tuwa	MOT	βaβa-na	RAP	
		MEK	ina avakua		
		ROV	buhina		

- TSO Members of one's mother's family.
- TAG See 02.510.
- AKL Also 'uncle' 02.510.
- MUR See 02.510.
- MGY From (*ana(ka)lahi-N-reni*).
- JAV See 02.511.
- BAL No special term, see 02.510.
- SAS Also *amaʔkakə*.
- GOR *pa-tuwa* (older); *pa-ʔde* (younger).
- KON *purina*; *russanaʔburuʔne-na anroŋ*.
- MAG Also *mama*.
- BUR Mother's ranking brother (*mem lahi-n* 'root uncle') is of special significance for the exogamous cross-cousin marriage system of Buru.
- DOB *ʔatayi* 'mother's brother, or father's sister's husband'. It is not inalienably possessed like most relationship terms.
- TAK *nigai* is the referential term, *gai* the term of address. Any male blood relative related to the speaker through his/her mother and of his/her mother's generation is also his/her *nigai* and is addressed as *gai*, as is also the husband of any female blood relative related to the speaker through his/her father and of his/her father's generation. The term is used reciprocally, so that a male speaker's sister's child is also his *nigai* and is addressed as *gai*, as is the child of any same-generation female blood relative (*lu-n* 02.450) of a male speaker. The wife of an ascending-generation *nigai* is the speaker's *nibi* (02.522).
- DAM Also *gai* (term of address).
- YAB 'his mother's brother'; *sa-m la<sup>ɔ</sup>g<sup>w</sup>a* 'your mother's brother'; *wawa* child's name for uncle.
- KAU 'my mother's brother'.
- TOL For a male Ego *mətua-* 'mother's brother, sister's daughter, sister's son', while for a female Ego it is only 'mother's brother'.
- MAR 3sg POSS.
- KWA Also *mare-* term of reference.
- NEN Also *ṃiṃi*.
- EFI Also *mōmō*.
- WFI Also *βīkila*.
- TON Also *tuʔasina* usually younger than mother.



SAM *tuʔane* 'woman's brother', *tinā* 'mother', see 02.440.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *metuatāne*.

## 02.512 FATHER'S BROTHER

ATA	mamaʔ	*GOR	pa-tuwa	*MEK	ama inaqua
*TSO	amo-ʔoni	DAA	ma <sup>ɗ</sup> ge	ROV	buhina
RUK	ama	UMA	umaʔ	*MAR	kmaña
PAI	kama	BUG	ina-ure	LAU	mā
YAM	ʃi maʔan ʃi ama	*KON	purina	KWO	maʔa
ISN	ulitag	WOL	pino-ama	RAG	tama-
KAL	sūnud āma	MAG	əma	PAA	tāta
*TAG		NGA	pame	*LEW	arima-na
*AKL		*SIK	ama	*POR	ita mo- <sup>m</sup> bao
PAL	maman	*RTI	ama kaʔa	*NTA	tata kalən
MOL	maman	*BUR	ama	*KWA	tata
KAG	utud ta amay na mama	*DOB	sama-m	*NEM	t <sup>n</sup> au-n
BLA	flanik mɔʔ lagi	IRA	anʃe naban	*CEM	cā
SAB	siʔit lella	*SAW	[papa tua]	*AJI	pārie pāvā
*MUR		*NYI	tama-n	XAR	panē
*MGY	rahalahind <sup>r</sup> ai	*MAM	tama-siʔi-siʔi	NEN	čača
ACE		*TAK	tama-n	KIR	
*BAT	amaktua (aman tua)	DAM	tama	MSH	
*MIN	dusanaʔ bapaʔ	MAB	tAmA- musāna	PON	
IND	paman			WLE	
SUN		*YAB	tama-sega	EFI	tama-
*JAV	paʔliʔ	*KAU	iyok	*WFI	gahē leβu
MAD	ubaʔ	*TOL	təma	RTU	øʔfā
*BAL		BUA	ama	TON	tamai
*SAS	amaʔ rari	ADZ	rama-	*SAM	uso o le tamā
		KIL	tama-	*MEL	[ēmama]
		TAW	mahiya-na	*TAH	pāpā
		*MOT	tama-na marayina	RAP	

TSO 'brother of one's parents, husband of one's parents' sister'.

TAG See 02.510.

- AKL See 02.510.
- MUR See 02.510.
- MGY From *raha-lahi-N-rai*.
- BAT *amaktua* 'father's older brother'; *amaŋ-uda* 'father's younger brother'.
- MIN *dusana?* *bapa?* 'father's relative(s)'; *pa?* *adaŋ* 'big father', i.e. 'father's older brother'; *pa?* *ete?* 'little father', i.e. 'father's younger brother'.
- JAV See 02.511.
- BAL No special term see 02.510.
- SAS Also *ama?kakə*.
- GOR *pa-tuwa* (older); *pa-?ade* (younger).
- KON *purina*; lit *russana?buru?ne-na amma*.
- SIK *-gəte* (FeB), *?lora* (FmB), *-doi*, *lotik* (FyB).
- RTI *ama ka?a* 'father's elder brother'; *ama fadi-k* 'father younger brother's'.
- BUR May be further specified if needed; *ama-haa-t* 'father's oldest brother'; *ama-roi-n* 'father's youngest brother'.
- DOB One's father's brother is considered also to be one's father; if a distinction is made between one's father and one's father's brothers, it is made by qualifying *sama-* with *mona-n* 'elder' or *muri-n* 'younger'.
- SAW 'father's older brother', from Malay. Also [*papa ade*] 'father's younger brother', from Malay.
- NYI 'father': *tama-n* 'father-his'.
- MAM Also *tama-laba-laba*.
- TAK See note on 02.350.
- YAB 'his father's older brother'; also *tama sauŋ* 'his father's younger brother'.
- KAU 'my father's brother' (= 'my father').
- TOL See 02.350.
- MOT *marayi* 'small'. Also 02.521.
- MEK Other expressions here are: *ama eke*, *ama e?ele*.
- MAR 3sg POSS.
- LEW Often *arima-na tekaki* 'junior (small) father'. Also *ata* 'father; address term for father'.

POR	<i>ita mo-<sup>m</sup>bao</i> 'father ASP-big', i.e. 'first born father's brother'; <i>ita mo-keke</i> 'father ASP-small', i.e. 'younger father's brother'.
NTA	<i>tata asol</i> 'father's older brother'; <i>tata akaku</i> 'father's younger brother'.
KWA	Also <i>remu</i> - term of reference.
NEM	'father'.
CEM	'father'.
AJI	<i>pārie pāvā</i> 'father's elder brother'; <i>pādī pāvā</i> 'father's younger brother'.
WFI	Also <i>gahe hewa</i> .
SAM	<i>uso</i> 'a man's brother', see 02.440, <i>tamā</i> 'father'.
MEL	From Efate, also <i>tama</i> - i.e. 'father'.
TAH	<i>metuatāne</i> .

## 02.520 AUNT

Spanish: <i>tía</i>
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ATA	yata?	*MIN	ete?	*DOB	ʔasasi
TSO	popʔeʔ-ino-a	*IND	bibi	*IRA	aden tatir
RUK	ina	SUN	bibi	SAW	baba
PAI	kama	*JAV	buli?	NYI	
YAM	kaminan	MAD	bibb <sup>hi</sup> ?	*MAM	poapoa
ISN	īkit	*BAL	bibi(k)	*TAK	tina-n
KAL	īkit	SAS	sai?	*DAM	bib
*TAG	[tīya]	*GOR	[tante]	MAB	
*AKL	[tīya]	DAA	pinu-tina	YAB	
PAL	minan	UMA	p-in-o-tina	*KAU	
MOL	minan	BUG	ama-ure	TOL	
*KAG	kina'yən	*KON	purina	BUA	ata
*BLA	boŋ ye?	*WOL	pino-ama	ADZ	
SAB	babu?	MAG	inaŋ	*KIL	
*MUR	minan	NGA	pine	*TAW	[anti]
*MGY		SIK		MOT	
*ACE	ma? cut	RTI		MEK	ina
BAT		*BUR	yoi	*ROV	tasina tamana

*MAR	doyeña	CEM	pàhe-ceme-n	WFI	
LAU	aia	AJI	pāniā	RTU	oʔhoni
KWO	gaʔi	*XAR	panea	TON	
RAG		*NEN	čekin	SAM	
PAA		*KIR	ai tina	*MEL	[māmi]
LEW		*MSH	cine	*TAH	[māmā]
POR	ina xavan	PON		*RAP	[mama-tia]
NTA	kaka	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> aŋeyaři-		
KWA			tama		
*NEM	pānau-n	*EFI	tina-		

TAG Also [tiya]; *kāka* ‘elder aunt’.

AKL [tīta] (address).

KAG *kina’yən* (CGC); also [tiya] (PAL).

BLA Also *kalye?*

MUR Also *kaminan*; (after death of parent) *lilon* (*maŋkaminan* (x2), *sakākaminan/saŋkākaminan*(x3)).

MGY Word for ‘mother’ is used.

ACE *maʔ cut* ‘younger aunt: younger sister of father/mother’; *maʔ wa* ‘elder aunt: elder sister of father/mother’. Also *ñāʔ wa*, *ñāʔ cut* etc, see 02.360.

MIN Also *añču*.

IND Also [tante] from Dutch.

JAV *buliʔ* ‘parent’s younger sister’, from *ibu ciliʔ* lit ‘little mother’; *buđe* ‘parent’s older sister’ from *ibu gəđe* lit ‘big mother’.

BAL *tumin* North Bali only, see 02.720.

GOR From Dutch; also *ti māli* ‘youngest aunt’.

KON Specifically *purina bahine*.

WOL ‘father or mother’s sister’; also *ka-aka*, *na-ina*, *pino-ina*.

BUR ‘father’s sister’; also *in-fali-n* ‘mother’s younger sister’.

DOB See 02.522.

IRA Also *aden kosi*.

MAM Also *nenaboŋi*.

TAK Also *nibi*; see notes on 02.360 and 02.522.

DAM ‘father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife’.

KAU See 02.521 and 02.522.

KIL	See 02.521, 02.522.
TAW	From English; in common use ‘non specific relationship of ascending generation’.
ROV	Also <i>tasinatina</i> .
MAR	3sg POSS.
NEM	‘paternal aunt’.
XAR	‘father’s sister; mother’s sister’, i.e. ‘mother’.
NEN	Also <i>eje</i> .
KIR	<i>ai</i> ‘as, in the manner of’, <i>tina</i> ‘mother’.
MSH	‘mother’.
WLE	<i>m<sup>w</sup>aje yañi-tama</i> ‘paternal aunt’; <i>bisiñi-siña-</i> ‘maternal aunt’.
EFI	<i>tina-</i> ‘mother’s sister’, <i>ñāneitama-</i> ‘father’s sister’.
MEL	From English, also [ <i>ētata</i> ] i.e. ‘mother’.
TAH	<i>metuavahine</i> .
RAP	From Spanish <i>mamá</i> and <i>tía</i> .

## 02.521 MOTHER’S SISTER

ATA	yata <sup>?</sup>	ACE		*RTI	ina ka <sup>2</sup> a
*TSO	nuvoxz-a	*BAT	inaktua (inañ tua)	*BUR	ina
RUK	ina			*DOB	sina-m
PAI	kina	*MIN	ete <sup>?</sup>	*IRA	arai
YAM	ši kaminan ĵi ina	IND	bibi	*SAW	[mama tua]
ISN	īkit	SUN		*NYI	tine-n
KAL	sūnud īna	*JAV	buli <sup>?</sup>	*MAM	tina-si <sup>?</sup> i-si <sup>?</sup> i
*TAG		MAD	bibb <sup>h</sup> i <sup>?</sup>	*TAK	tina-n
*AKL		*BAL		DAM	nāi
PAL	minan	*SAS	ina <sup>?</sup> rari	MAB	nA-musāna
MOL	minan	*GOR	ma-tuwa	*YAB	tena-sega
KAG	utud ta nanay na bai	DAA	pinu-tina	*KAU	inu
BLA	flanik ye <sup>?</sup> libun	UMA	p-in-o-tina	*TOL	tina-
SAB	si <sup>?</sup> it denda	BUG	ama-ure	BUA	ata
*MUR		*KON	purina	ADZ	rina-
*MGY	rahavavind <sup>r</sup> eni	WOL	pino-ama	KIL	ina-
		MAG	ə <sup>1</sup> de	TAW	hina-na
		NGA	pine	MOT	sina-na
		*SIK	ina		marayina

*MEK	ina aki-na	*NTA	mama kalən	WLE	
ROV	tasina vineki	*KWA	mama	EFI	tina-
	tinana	*NEM	t <sup>n</sup> e-n	*WFI	huna-leβu
*MAR	doyeña	CEM	ñã	RTU	oʔhoni
LAU	tē	*AJI	pārie ñaña	TON	faʔē
KWO	gaʔi	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> iñe	*SAM	uso o le tinā
RAG	ratahi	NEN	maien	*MEL	[ētata]
PAA	māma	KIR		*TAH	māmā
*LEW	ane-na	MSH		RAP	
POR	ina xavan	PON			

TSO Members of one's mother's family.

TAG Equal to 'aunt' (02.520).

AKL Also 'aunt' 02.520.

MUR See 02.520.

MGY Derived from (*raha-vavi-N-reni*).

BAT *inaktua* 'mother's older sister'; *maŋ-uda* 'mother's younger sister'.

MIN Also *adaŋ*.

JAV See 02.520.

BAL See 02.510.

SAS Also *inaʔkakə*.

GOR *ma-tuwa* (older); *ma-ʔade* (younger).

KON *purina*; lit *russanaʔbahine-na anroŋ*.

SIK *-gəʔte* (Mother's elder sister), *-ʔlora* (MmZ), *-doi*, *lotik* 'younger sister'.

RTI *ina kaʔa* 'mother's elder sister'; *ina fadi-k* 'mother's younger sister'.

BUR May be further specified if needed; *ina-haa-t* 'mother's oldest sister'; *ina-roi-n* 'mother's youngest sister'; *in-fali-n* 'mother's younger sister'.

DOB One's mother's sister is considered also to be one's mother; if a distinction is made between one's mother and one's mother's sisters, it is made by qualifying *sina-* with *mona-n* 'elder' or *muri-n* 'younger'.

IRA Also *atagupə*.

SAW 'mother's older sister', from Malay. Also [*mama ade*] 'mother's younger sister', from Malay.

NYI 'mother'.

MAM	Also <i>tina-laba-laba</i> .
TAK	See note on 02.360.
YAB	Also <i>tena sauŋ</i> . cf. note on 02.512.
KAU	'my mother's sister' ('my mother').
TOL	See 02.350.
MEK	Also <i>ina eke, ina e<sup>2</sup>ele, ina aa-ŋa</i> .
MAR	3sg POSS.
LEW	See 02.512. Also <i>awia</i> 'mother; address term for mother'; and frequently [ <i>mama</i> ] (from Bislama).
NTA	'mother's older sister' <i>mama asol</i> ; 'mother's younger sister' <i>mama akaku</i> .
KWA	Also <i>riñhə</i> - term of reference.
NEM	'mother'.
AJI	<i>pāriε ñaña</i> 'mother's elder sister'; <i>pādī ñaña</i> 'mother's younger sister'.
WFI	Also <i>huna-hewa</i> .
SAM	<i>uso</i> 'a woman's sister', see 02.440, <i>tinā</i> 'mother'.
MEL	From Efate, also <i>atna-</i> 'mother'.
TAH	<i>metuavahine</i> .

## 02.522 FATHER'S SISTER

ATA	yata <sup>?</sup>	BLA	flanik mo <sup>?</sup>	*GOR	ma-tuwa
*TSO	ino-ϕoni		libun	DAA	pinu-tina
RUK	ina	SAB	si <sup>?</sup> it denda	UMA	p-in-o-tina
PAI	kina	*MUR		BUG	ama-ure
YAM	ʃi kaminan ʃi ama	*MGY	anabavinɔ <sup>f</sup> ai	*KON	purina
ISN	ikit	ACE		WOL	pino-ama
KAL	sūnud āma	BAT	naboru	MAG	inaŋ
*TAG		*MIN	añču	NGA	pine
*AKL		IND	bibi	*SIK	be
PAL	minan	SUN		RTI	te <sup>?</sup> o
MOL	minan	*JAV	buli <sup>?</sup>	BUR	yoi
KAG	utud ta tatay na bai	MAD	bibb <sup>fi</sup> ?	*DOB	ʔasasi
		*BAL		IRA	ϕoϕe
		*SAS	ina <sup>?</sup> rari	SAW	baba

NYI	buʔu-n	ROV	tasina vineki	NEN	čekin
MAM	nenaboaŋi		tamana	KIR	
*TAK	nibi	*MAR	doyeña	MSH	
DAM	bib	LAU	aia	PON	
MAB	nA-	KWO	gaʔi	WLE	
*YAB	sa-ɔ̃	RAG	v <sup>w</sup> av <sup>w</sup> a	*EFI	ŋāneitama-
*KAU	tasu	PAA		WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> ani-tama-
TOL	vivi-	LEW	awia simeme	RTU	oʔhoni
BUA	ata	POR	vavue	TON	mehekitaja
ADZ	wagat-	*NTA	uhu-n	*SAM	tuafafine o le
KIL	tabu-	*KWA	kaka		tamā
TAW	eya-na	NEM	pānau-n	*MEL	[māmi]
MOT	lala-na	CEM	pàhe-ceme-n	*TAH	māmā
*MEK	ina paŋua	AJI	küřü pəvā	RAP	
		XAR	panea		

TSO Sisters of one's parents, wives of one's parents' brothers.

TAG Equal to aunt (02.520).

AKL Also aunt 02.520.

MUR See 02.520.

MGY Derived from (*ana(ka)-vavy-N-rai*).

MIN Also *eteʔ*.

JAV See 02.520.

BAL See 02.520.

SAS Also *inaʔkakə*.

GOR *ma-tuwa* (older); *ma-ʔade* (younger).

KON *purina*; lit *russanaʔbahine-na amma*.

SIK Also *ina be*, *ʔaʔa*, *naʔa*.

DOB *ʔasasi* 'father's sister, mother's brother's wife'. It is not inalienably possessed like most relationship terms. [*ʔuwa*] is a synonym, possibly borrowed from Malay.

TAK *nibi* is the referential term, *bi* the term of address. Any female blood relative related to the speaker through his/her father and of his/her father's generation is also his/her *nibi* and is addressed as *bi*, as is also the wife of any male blood relative related to the speaker through his/her mother and of his/her mother's generation. The term is used reciprocally, so that a female speaker's brother's child is also her *nibi* and is addressed as *bi*, as is the child of any same-generation



male blood relative (*lu-n* 02.450) of a female speaker. The husband of an ascending-generation *nibi* is the speaker's *nigai* (02.510).

YAB 'his father's sister'; *sa-m-ə* 'your father's sister'.

KAU 'my father's sister'.

MEK *inainagua* is also used here, as are *ina eke*, *ina eʔele*.

MAR 3sg POSS.

NTA Also *kaka*.

KWA Also *kusi*- term of reference.

EFI Also *ḡānei*.

SAM *tuafafine* 'a man's sister', *tamā* 'father'.

MEL From English.

TAH *metuavahine*.

## 02.530 NEPHEW

ATA		*BAT	anak	*RTI	sele-dadi
*TSO	peafrori	*MIN	kamanakan	*BUR	ana-t
RUK	lalakə	*IND	kəmanakan	*DOB	tadi-m
PAI	alʔak	SUN	alə lalaki	IRA	mə
YAM	mankaktə a maʔakay	JAV	(kə)ponaʔan lanəŋ	*SAW	fən-o
ISN	amanakan na lalāki	MAD	punakan	*NYI	nadu-n
		*BAL	(kə)ponakan	*MAM	eluʔa
KAL	amunakon		muani	*TAK	nanu-n
*TAG	pamaŋkin-g lalāki	SAS	ruan mamə	*DAM	gagai
		GOR	po-ʔu-walaʔ-a	*MAB	lutu-
*AKL	gumankun ŋa ʔāki		tā lo-laʔi	YAB	sib
				*KAU	βohu-k
*PAL	anak ləlaki	DAA	pinu-ana laʔgai	*TOL	mətua-
*MOL	anak	UMA	p-in-o-ʔanaʔ	*BUA	nalu
*KAG	gumaŋkən	BUG	ana-ure	*ADZ	wagat-
BLA	əsəl tiŋəʔ lagi	KON	kamanakan (buraʔne)	*KIL	kada-
SAB	kamanakan lella			*TAW	au-na
		WOL	pino-ana	*MOT	
MUR	akon	MAG	anak	*MEK	ŋau inagua maŋuae(-ŋa)
*MGY	zanaka lahi	*NGA	ana-vəta	ROV	tama buhina
*ACE	[kumuən]	*SIK	me laʔi	*MAR	nebuña

LAU	dī	CEM	pâ âcim-kó-n	*WFI	βuŋa-
*KWO	ini	AJI	wi pāmaŋa	RTU	leʔ fā
RAG		*XAR	xere	*TON	?ilamutu
PAA	meteilau	*NEN	abuaien	*SAM	tama a le
*LEW	mearu	*KIR	te ai nati		tuafafine
*POR	mariao sa-ŋg	*MSH	maŋren	*MEL	irāmutu
*NTA	rah-n-ionən	PON		TAH	tamaiti
*KWA	kʷanien	WLE	fatiwa	RAP	
NEM	kave-n	EFI	βuŋo-		

TSO ‘sisters’ sons/daughters, daughters’ sons/daughters’.

TAG Proto-Philippines \**pa-R-um-anak-en*.

PAL Also *kəmənək, kəmanəkən*.

MOL *anak + kom- -on*.

KAG ‘child of sibling’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male (CGC); var: *pamaŋkən* (PAL).

MGY ‘son’.

ACE Mon-Khmer ‘nephew or niece’.

BAT *anak* ‘nephew with the same family name (clan)’, *bere* ‘son of sister’; both terms used by male person of his wife, see 02.410.

MIN ‘sister’s child’.

IND Also [*kəponakan*] from Javanese.

BAL (*kəponakan* ‘nephew or niece’.

NGA Also *ana-nara*; *ana* means ‘off-spring’; thus off-spring of one’s brother or sister.

SIK *me laʔi* ‘same sex sibling’s son’; *pu* ‘opposite sex sibling’s son’.

RTI (man speaking).

BUR ‘child’.

DOB See 02.530.

SAW Also *ntu* for ‘same sex sibling’s child’.

NYI *nadu-n* ‘his brother’s child’, *kali-n* ‘his sister’s child’.

MAM Also *marau-natu-moane-ʔa*.

TAK Also *nigai, nibi* see notes on 02.430, 02.511, and 02.522.

DAM ‘woman’s brother’s child, male or female’.

MAB *lutu-* ‘brother’s child’; *wo-* ‘man’s sister’s child’.

KAU *βohu-k* ‘my nephew (male ego)’; *βisi-k* ‘my nephew (female ego)’.

- TOL See 02.511.
- BUA Also *məwa* ‘male’s sister’s child’.
- ADZ *wagat-* (female speaking) ‘brother’s son and daughter’. *murugu-* (male speaking) ‘sister’s son and daughter’; *naru-* ‘same sex sibling’s son and daughter’.
- KIL ‘sister’s son’.
- TAW *au-* ‘man’s sister’s son’; *mahiya-na* ‘man’s brother’s son’; *eya-na* ‘woman’s brother’s son’; *natu-na* ‘woman’s sister’s son’.
- MOT No single Motu equivalent. The terms *βaβa* and *lala* are reciprocal: *βaβa* ‘mother’s brother; man’s sister’s child’; *lala* ‘father’s sister; woman’s brother’s child’. ‘man’s brother’s child’ is *natu-na*, as is ‘woman’s sister’s child’ (See 02.410, 420).
- MEK *ŋau eke* ‘son of a younger brother,’; *ŋau ʔoʔoae* ‘son of an older brother’.
- MAR *nebuña* (3sg POSS): ‘sister’s son’, male speaker; *t<sup>h</sup>uñā* (3sg POSS) ‘nephew, niece’.
- KWO Man speaking.
- LEW ‘man’s sister’s child’; *nari-na* (02.430), *sisi* (02.270) ‘man’s brother’s/woman’s sister’s child’.
- POR Also *löa-<sup>ŋ</sup>g*.
- NTA *rah-n-ionian* of a man; *naŋo-n* of a woman.
- KWA *k<sup>w</sup>anien* ‘man’s sister’s son’; *ti-* ‘man’s brother’s son’, ‘woman’s sister’s son’; term of reference; *neru-* ‘man’s brother’s son’, woman’s sister’s son; *prəsi-* ‘woman’s brother’s son’.
- XAR *xεε* ‘nephew/niece of a man’; *šĀ* ‘nephew/niece of a woman’.
- NEN Also *anuen*.
- KIR ‘like an offspring’.
- MSH 3sg.
- WFI Also *luβe-*. *βuŋa-* ‘offspring of opposite sex sibling’, *luβe-* ‘offspring of same sex sibling’.
- TON *ʔilamutu* (of male); *fakafotu* (of female); *fahu* (of male).
- SAM See 02.420, 02.450 ‘son of a man’s sister’; *tama a le uso* ‘son of a woman’s sister’; *ataliʔi o le uso* ‘son of a man’s brother’, see 02.410.
- MEL ‘son’.

## 02.540 NIECE

ATA		BAL	(kə)ponakan	*MOT	
*TSO	peafrorɨ		luh	MEK	ŋau inaŋua
RUK	lalakə	SAS	ruan ninə		papie(-ŋa)
PAI	alʰak	GOR	po-ʔu-walaʔ-a	ROV	tuna tasina
YAM	mankaktə a		tā buwa	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uñā
	mavakəʃ	DAA	pinu-ana besi	LAU	ḍi
ISN	amanakan na	UMA	p-in-o-ʔanaʔ	KWO	ini geni
	babay	BUG	ana-ure	RAG	
KAL	amunakon	KON	kamanakaŋ	PAA	meteilau
TAG	pamaŋkin-g		(bahine)	*LEW	mearu
	babāʔe	WOL	pino-ana	POR	mariao
AKL	gumankun ŋa	MAG	anak	*NTA	rah-n-ionion
	bāyih	*NGA	ana-vəta	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anien
PAL	anak libun	*SIK	me duʔa	NEM	kave-n
*MOL	anak	*RTI	sele-dadi	CEM	ê âcim-kó-n
*KAG	gumaŋkən	*BUR	ana-t	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> e pāmaʔa
BLA	ɔsəl tiŋɔʔ	*DOB	tadi-m	XAR	xere, šā
	libun	IRA	mɔ	NEN	
SAB	kamanakan	*SAW	fən-o	*KIR	te ai nati
	denda	*NYI	nadu-n	MSH	maŋren
MUR	akon	*MAM	eluʔa	PON	
*MGY	zanaka vavi	*TAK	nanu-n	WLE	fatiwa
*ACE	[kɯmuən]	*DAM	bib	EFI	βuŋo-
*BAT	boru	*MAB	lutu- mōri	*WFI	βuŋa-
*MIN	kamanakan	YAB	sib-ɔ	RTU	leʔ hōni
*IND	kəmanakan	*KAU	βorohu-k	*TON	ʔilamutu
SUN	alo awewe	*TOL	mətua-	*SAM	afafine o le
JAV	(ke)ponaʔan	*BUA	nalu		uso
	wadən	*ADZ	wagat-	*MEL	irāmutu
MAD	punakan	*KIL	kada-	TAH	tamāhine
		*TAW	mahiya-na	RAP	

TSO 'sisters' sons/daughters, daughters' sons/daughters'.

MOL *anak + kom- -on*.

KAG 'child of sibling'; can postpose *na bai* to specify female (CGC); var: *pamaŋkən* (PAL).

MGY 'daughter'.

ACE Mon-Khmer 'nephew or niece'.

BAT	<i>boru</i> ‘niece with the same family name (clan)’, <i>bere</i> ‘daughter of sister’; both terms used by male person or his wife, see 02.420.	
MIN	‘sister’s child’.	
IND	Also <i>kəponakan</i> from Javanese.	
NGA	Also <i>ana-nara</i> .	
SIK	BD (man speaking) <i>me duʔa</i> ZD (woman speaking) <i>me laʔi</i>	ZD (man speaking) <i>pu</i> BD (woman speaking) <i>pu</i>
RTI	(man speaking).	
BUR	‘child’.	
DOB	See 02.530.	
SAW	Also <i>ntu</i> for ‘same sex sibling’s child’.	
NYI	<i>nadu-n</i> ‘his brother’s child’, <i>kali-n</i> ‘his sister’s child’.	
MAM	Also <i>marau-natu-aine-ʔa</i> .	
TAK	Also <i>nigai, nibi</i> see notes on 02.430, 02.511, and 02.522.	
DAM	‘woman’s brother’s child, male or female’.	
MAB	<i>lutu-mōri</i> ‘brother’s daughter’; <i>wō-mōri</i> ‘man’s sister’s daughter’.	
KAU	<i>borohu-k</i> ‘my niece (male ego)’; <i>etu-k</i> ‘my niece (female ego)’, i.e. ‘my child’.	
TOL	See 02.511.	
BUA	Also <i>məwa</i> see 02.530.	
ADZ	See 02.530.	
KIL	‘sister’s daughter’.	
TAW	‘man’s brother’s daughter’; <i>natu-na</i> ‘woman’s sister’s daughter’; <i>au-na</i> ‘man’s sister’s daughter’; <i>eya-na</i> ‘woman’s brother’s daughter’.	
MOT	See 02.530.	
MAR	(3sg POSS) ‘nephew, niece’.	
LEW	See 02.530.	
NTA	<i>rah-n-ionian</i> of a man; <i>naŋo-n</i> of a woman.	
KWA	<i>kʷanien</i> ‘man’s sister’s daughter’; <i>tī-</i> ‘man’s brother’s daughter’, ‘woman’s sister’s daughter’; term of reference; <i>neru-</i> ‘man’s brother’s daughter’, ‘woman’s sister’s daughter’; <i>prəsi-</i> ‘woman’s brother’s daughter’.	
KIR	‘like an offspring’.	
WFI	Also <i>luβe-</i> . <i>βuŋa-</i> ‘offspring of opposite sex sibling’, <i>luβe-</i> ‘offspring of same sex sibling’.	
TON	<i>ʔilamutu</i> (of male); <i>fakafotu</i> (of female).	

SAM See 02.420, 02.440, 'daughter of a man's brother'; *afafine o le tuafane* 'daughter of a woman's brother'; *tama teine a le tuafafine* 'daughter of a man's sister', *tama teine a le uso* 'daughter of a woman's sister'.

MEL 'daughter'.

## 02.550 COUSIN

ATA		DAA	sa <sup>m</sup> pesuvu	*ROV	tasina
TSO	nat <sup>?</sup> -oxarva	*UMA	po-tuaka-a		puzakadara
RUK		BUG	sappo <sup>?</sup>	*MAR	fakaʔaiña
PAI	kaka	*KON	sampo	*LAU	hasi
YAM	katiʂa	*WOL	teliʔa	*KWO	
ISN	kapinsān	*MAG	vəta	RAG	
KAL	kapīnsan	NGA	doa	PAA	tuak
TAG	'pinsan	*SIK		*LEW	tawi-ena
AKL	ig-kampud	RTI		*POR	mariao
PAL	ogsa	*BUR		NTA	
MOL	ogsa	*DOB	ʔidi	*KWA	ieri
KAG	katagsa	IRA	mə	NEM	haŋeli-n
BLA	əsəl flarik	*SAW	ʔten-o	*CEM	bēgen
SAB	kaki	*NYI	nadu tine-n	AJI	boʔu
*MUR	pantukid	MAM	tari-toʔa	*XAR	aci
*MGY	zanak-uluna	*TAK	tei-n	*NEN	ačenoŋon
	mi-raha-lahi	*DAM	tam	*KIR	ai tari
*ACE	[ʂeədara]	*MAB	tizi-	*MSH	ʔilikin
BAT		*YAB	g <sup>w</sup> ade	PON	
*MIN	dusanaʔ ibu	*KAU		*WLE	bisi-xauʂemō-
*IND	[saudara]sə-	*TOL	nəuva-	*EFI	tuaka-
	pupu	BUA	gade	*WFI	čuka-
SUN	dulur misan	*ADZ	rai-	*RTU	sosiŋa
*JAV	naʔ sanaʔ	*KIL	tuwa-	*TON	
MAD	taritan sapupu	*TAW	walehi-na	*SAM	uso
*BAL	misan	*MOT	kaka-na	*MEL	[ēmama kaleka]
*SAS	pisaʔ	*MEK	aa-ŋa inaŋua	TAH	taeaʔe
*GOR	pohutata			RAP	taina

MUR Usually same as 02.456; *mantukid* (x2), *mantutukid* (x3).

MGY 'children of brothers'.

- ACE [sɛədara] sabɔh nɛ? ‘kin of one grandparent’ from Sanskrit.
- MIN ‘mother’s relative’, i.e. ‘cousin from mother’s side’.
- IND Also just [saudara].
- JAV Also na?n-dulur.
- BAL Also mindon ‘second cousin’.
- SAS Also sampu.
- GOR (wutatu + poh- -a); also wala?omohuto.
- UMA po-tuaka-a ‘children of one’s parents’ older siblings’; po-tu?ai-a ‘children of one’s parents’ younger siblings’.
- KON sampo si-kəli ‘first cousin’; sampopin-ruəŋ ‘second cousin’.
- WOL Also witinai ‘family’.
- MAG Also nara.
- SIK The classification of cousins in Sara Tana ’Ai is as follows:  
 Female Ego:                      Male ego:  
 MBS nara                              MBS kera pu  
 MBD βue βari                      MBD βue βari  
 MZS nara                              MZS βue βari  
 MZD βue βari                      MZD ?βine  
 FBS nara                              FBS βue βari  
 FBD βue βari                      FBD ?βine  
 FZS βue βari                      FZS βue βari  
 FZD ura pu                              FZD ?βine  
 For detailed analysis of kinship and affinal alliance in Tana ’Ai, see Lewis (1986).
- BUR There is no generic term for cousin. Someone of the same generation as ego is either kai ‘older sibling same sex’, wai ‘younger sibling same sex’, feta ‘sister (male ego)’, or naha ‘brother (female ego)’ depending on the sex of ego and the birth order of the parents.
- DOB φidi is not inalienably possessed like most relationship terms. The term φidi refers to cross-cousins; parallel cousins are considered one’s brothers and sisters.
- SAW ‘same sex sibling’; also ?remɔ if ‘opposite sex siblings’.
- NYI All cousins on father’s side are: nadu tine-n, cousins on mother’s brothers side: kali-n, cousins on mothers sister’s side: nadu tine-n.
- TAK See notes on tei-n 02.440 and lu-n 02.450. A nikol is any same-sex, same-generation blood relative of the speaker who is the child of an opposite-sex, same-generation blood relative of one of the speaker’s parents (i.e. a child of one of the speaker’s ascending-generation

*nigai* ‘uncles’ (02.511) and/or *nibi* ‘aunts’ (02.522). The spouse of such a *nikol* and the *nikol* of speaker’s spouse is also the speaker’s *nikol*. *kol* is the corresponding term of address. The terms are by definition reciprocal.

DAM ‘father’s sister’s child, mother’s brother’s child’.

MAB *tizi-* ‘younger cousin same sex’; *lu-ri* ‘younger cousin opposite sex’; *to-* ‘older male cousin’; *to-mōri* ‘older female cousin’. More distant cousins *le-tamori* (female); *le-tomōto* (male).

YAB ‘his/her cross-cousin’; also 02.445.

KAU There is no generic term for cousin; cousins are referred to by the corresponding sibling term.

TOL cousin of a male Ego:

mother’s sister’s daughter: *tai-*

mother’s sister’s son: *tura-*

father’s brother’s daughter: *tai-*

father’s brother’s son: *tura- kava*

mother’s brother’s daughter: *nəuva-*

mother’s brother’s son: *nəuva-*

father’s sister’s daughter: *nəuva-*

father’s sister’s son: *nəuva-*

cousin of a female Ego:

mother’s sister’s daughter: *tanavavi-*

mother’s sister’s son: *tai-*

father’s brother’s daughter: *tanavavi- kava*

father’s brother’s son: *tai-*

mother’s brother’s daughter: *nəuva-*

mother’s brother’s son: *nəuva-*

father’s sister’s daughter: *nəuva-*

father’s sister’s son: *nəuva-*

ADZ *rai-* (male speaking) ‘male parallel cousin’; (female speaking) ‘female parallel cousin’. *nafu-* (male speaking) ‘female parallel and cross cousin’; (female speaking) ‘male parallel and cross cousin’. *yara-* (male speaking) ‘male cross cousin’; (female speaking) ‘female cross cousin’.

KIL Also *boda- lu- -ta* ‘mother’s sister’s son, mother’s sister’s daughter’, See 02.440, 02.445.

TAW *walehi-na* parents of same sex; *oina-na* parents of opposite sex.

MOT *tadi-na, taihu-na*. As for 02.456 *tadikaka* can be used for cousins in general.



- MEK Also *aki-na*.
- ROV ‘first cousin’.
- MAR 3sg POSS ‘cross cousin’.
- LAU Also *?aua*.
- KWO ‘sibling’.
- LEW ‘cross-cousin’.
- POR *mariao* ‘son or daughter of the mother’s brother’; *naru-ɔg* ‘son-of mine collateral’ ‘son or daughter of the mother’s sister’; *pene-ɔg* ‘sister-of mine’ i.e. ‘daughter of the father’s sister’; *rasi-ɔg* ‘younger brother-of mine’ i.e. ‘younger son of the father’s brother’; *roxa-ɔg* ‘elder brother-of mine’ i.e. ‘elder son of the father’s brother’.
- KWA *ieri* ‘mother’s brother’s child’, ‘father’s sister’s child’; *napse-* ‘mother’s brother’s child’, ‘father’s sister’s child’; *piaw-* ‘mother’s sister’s same-sex child’, ‘father’s brother’s same-sex child’.
- CEM ‘cross cousin’.
- XAR ‘cross cousin only; parallel cousin’ = ‘brother/sister’.
- NEN Also *isiŋen*.
- KIR Also *ai m<sup>w</sup>ane*, *ai* ‘similar to’; see ‘sibling’.
- MSH ‘cross cousin’, also *cein* ‘older parallel cousin’, *catin* ‘younger parallel cousin’, *inen* ‘male’s female parallel cousin’ (all forms are third singular).
- WLE ‘cousin of the same sex, in-law of the same generation’.
- EFI *tuaka-* ‘elder same-sex parallel cousin’, *taði-* ‘younger same-sex parallel cousin’, *ɲāne-* ‘opposite-sex parallel cousin’, *taβale-* ‘male cross-cousin of male’, *daube-* ‘female cross-cousin of female’, *daβola-* ‘opposite-sex cross-cousin’.
- WFI Also *taði*, *ɲ<sup>w</sup>āne-*, *taβale-*. *čuka-* ‘elder same sex offspring of parent’s same sex sibling’, *taði-* ‘younger same sex offspring of parent’s same sex sibling’, *ɲ<sup>w</sup>āne-* ‘opposite sex offspring of parent’s same sex sibling’, *taβale-* ‘offspring of parent’s opposite sex sibling’.
- RTU Also *səsiŋi*; *pū ma<sup>?</sup>kiŋa*.
- TON ‘brother, sister’.
- SAM *uso* ‘cousin of the same sex’, see 02.240; *tuafafine* ‘female cousin of a man’; *tuagane* ‘male cousin of a woman’; see 02.420, 02.440.
- MEL Also [*māmi*] [*kaleka*], *tariki* [*kaleka*] from Efate.

## 02.560 ANCESTORS

ATA	kinβakišan	DAA	totu <sup>ʔ</sup> a <sup>ʔ</sup> gaolu	ROV	tia tamada
TSO		*UMA	<sup>ʔ</sup> tu <sup>ʔ</sup> a oβi		pukerane
RUK	omo	BUG	abbatirriŋ	MAR	
*PAI	cay-saŋa- saŋas	*KON	tu-ri-olo	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> alafuta
YAM	ininapo	WOL	opu-opu-a	KWO	walafu-
ISN	apu <sup>ʔ</sup> apu	MAG	ə <sup>m</sup> po	RAG	
KAL	ginnapuwan	*NGA	əbu-nusi	PAA	molamatu
*TAG	nūnu <sup>ʔ</sup>	SIK	du <sup>ʔ</sup> a mo <sup>ʔ</sup> a-ŋ	*LEW	
*AKL	gin-halin-an	RTI	bei ba <sup>ʔ</sup> i	POR	vavu
PAL	kə- <sup>ʔ</sup> upu <sup>ʔ</sup> -an (upu <sup>ʔ</sup> )	BUR	oyaŋ	*NTA	təp <sup>w</sup> ə-n rat mən
*MOL	tua <sup>ʔ</sup>	*IRA	wanis məran	*KWA	ieremha
*KAG	maŋa ka <sup>ʔ</sup> apu <sup>ʔ</sup> an	*SAW	wes	*NEM	pū-n
BLA	dad tbul	NYI	tubu-n	*CEM	wàtihe-âpulip
SAB	ka-mbo <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	MAM	tubu	AJI	bemū
MUR	tū <sup>ʔ</sup> laid	*TAK	tubu-n tama-n	*XAR	pāibēñ
*MGY	razana	DAM	tubu	*NEN	makaze
*ACE	ne <sup>ʔ</sup> muyaŋ	MAB	tu <sup>m</sup> bu-bizin	KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> akatibu
*BAT	oppu (si jolojolo)	*YAB	lau la <sup>ʔ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> a	MSH	řitto
MIN	nini <sup>ʔ</sup> -muyaŋ	*KAU	po iyau ait siin	*PON	katoutou
IND	nenek moyan	*TOL	ŋələŋalə	*WLE	şapi
*SUN	karuhun	*BUA	dobaye	EFI	βū
*JAV	lə-luhur	*ADZ	tafa-	WFI	-tai
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> u <sup>ʔ</sup> ju <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KIL	tommoya	RTU	tē-mamfua
*BAL	yaŋ kompiaŋ	TAW	googa-na	TON	tupu <sup>ʔ</sup> aga
SAS	ñah jari	*MOT	sene-na	*SAM	tupu- <sup>ʔ</sup> aŋa
GOR	ti yo <sup>m</sup> bu	*MEK	ufu-apa	MEL	
				TAH	tupuna
				*RAP	tupuna

PAI *si-~~quay~~-an* ‘distant ancestor’.

TAG *nūnu<sup>ʔ</sup> + -in-*.

AKL Root: *halin* ‘origin’; also *ninūnu<sup>ʔ</sup>*; Tag. *nūnu<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

MOL *tua<sup>ʔ</sup> + mo-tu-*.

KAG *ka<sup>ʔ</sup>apu<sup>ʔ</sup>apu<sup>ʔ</sup>an* (*apu<sup>ʔ</sup> + ka- -an*) ‘ancestors who lived very long ago’.

MGY From *\*ra-hiaŋ* (?).

ACE	Also <i>datu, en, nini</i> .
BAT	'grandparents born long ago'.
SUN	Also <i>luluhur</i> .
JAV	<i>luhur</i> 'noble'.
BAL	'the deified great-great-generations'; <i>anak tuə-tuə; anak [odah-odah]</i> (from Sanskrit) both lit 'old people', often qualified: <i>anak [odah-odah] ane malu-an</i> 'the old people before'.
UMA	'grandparents of long ago'.
KON	Also <i>bohe lohe</i> .
ŃGA	Also <i>dəla</i> .
DOB	? <i>abayi</i> also 'recent forebears who are still alive'. <i>sabu-da</i> 'our grandfathers, ancestors'.
IRA	Also <i>wanis sətə</i> .
SAW	'third generation'; ancestor'.
TAK	<i>tubu-n tama-n</i> 'grandparent-his father-his', i.e. 'his/her grandparents' father(s)', is used colloquially. The term <i>mala-n fufulu-n</i> 'eye-his body hair-its', i.e. 'the hair of his eyes', is used in discussions of genealogy (see 02.570).
YAB	Also <i>mimi, aba</i> .
KAU	'they fire ? origin'.
TOL	Cognate with <i>ŋələ</i> 'big, great', also <i>tərai luəlua</i> (13.340).
BUA	<i>dobayε</i> 'ancestors, progenitors'; <i>dobayε, kərīŋkərīŋ</i> 'mythical ancestors'. It is also the term used for rock paintings by the burial sites.
ADZ	'great-grandparent'.
KIL	<i>to-m-moya-bog<sup>wa</sup></i> 'person-pl-old-first'.
MOT	<i>tubu-na</i> 'grandparent' may also be used for ancestors in general.
MEK	<i>ufu-ama</i> is also commonly heard.
LEW	Both <i>apua</i> (02.460) and <i>yer-marua</i> (02.461) can be used, often with modifier <i>na sum<sup>wo</sup></i> 'of previous times'.
NTA	<i>mən</i> is pl.
KWA	<i>ieremha</i> 'dead person'; <i>ris</i> also means 'seed yam'; <i>kaha reraha</i> 'grandparent bad'.
NEM	'one's descent'.
CEM	'origin of men'.
XAR	'little old people'.
NEN	Also <i>lačečen</i> .
PON	Also <i>katoukeinek</i> verbs meaning 'to trace one's ancestry, trace one's clan'.

WLE Also 'base, foundation, back'.

SAM From *tupu* 'grow', *-ʔaŋa* nom; also *tupu-ŋa* 'ancestor', *-ŋa* nom.

RAP Also *mata-muʔa*. Sometimes referred to as simply *koro* or *kuā koro*.

## 02.570 DESCENDANTS

ATA	kinaβahan	UMA	muli	MEK	
TSO		BUG	wiǰa	ROV	tututi
RUK	mo-a-bali-	*KON	ka-urunaŋ	MAR	grauravu
	baliθi	WOL	lee	LAU	talae fasia
*PAI	cay-vi-li-vi-li <sup>y</sup>	MAG	anak va	KWO	walafu-
YAM	apoapo	NGA	ana-əbu	RAG	
ISN	putupūtut	SIK	me pu	PAA	silite
KAL	gānak	RTI	tititi-no-nosi-	*LEW	teras-lelei
*TAG	in-apo		n	POR	mexi <sup>m</sup> bü- <sup>ŋ</sup> g
*AKL	ka-ʔapu-	*BUR	enoho-n	*NTA	namip <sup>w</sup> ə-n rat
	ʔapūh-an		(toho)	*KWA	nəm <sup>w</sup> ip <sup>w</sup> u-
*PAL	pantusan	*DOB	nuy si		reraha
*MOL	tubuʔ		yaʔay-di	NEM	dāgune-n
*KAG	maŋa	IRA	itə ñəbə	*CEM	êbehi-εŋ
	inapuʔan	*SAW	ntu nε re gbu	AJI	məʔu
BLA	dad bel		nε	*XAR	mata
SAB	tubuʔ	NYI	lu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> iye-n	NEN	retei
*MUR	akupu	MAM	tubu-ne	*KIR	te kariki
*MGY	[taranaka]	*TAK	mala-n	MSH	
*ACE	anūʔ cucə		kubula-n	*PON	katautok
BAT	p-in-ɔppar	DAM	tubu	WLE	
MIN	ka-turun-an	*MAB	popoŋa-	EFI	kawa
IND	kə-turun-an	*YAB	lau wakuʔ	WFI	-kawa
SUN	turun-an	KAU		*RTU	ʔese
JAV	anaʔ putu	*TOL	bul mur	TON	hako
*MAD	naʔ putu	BUA	məwis	*SAM	tama-tāne
*BAL	tərah(-an)	*ADZ	ru <sup>m</sup> pu-	MEL	
*SAS	kadaŋ ǰari	KIL	litu-	TAH	huaʔai
*GOR	moŋo wo <sup>m</sup> bu	TAW	googa-na	RAP	haka ara
DAA	muli	*MOT	gara-na		

PAI *vusam* 'offspring of the nobility'.

TAG Also *in-anak*.

- AKL Root: *apuh* ‘grandchild’.
- PAL Also *puranak*.
- MOL *tubu?* + *po-*.
- KAG From (*apu?* + *in-* -*an*).
- MUR Also *sayat*.
- MGY See 02.430.
- ACE See 02.480, 02.490.
- MAD Also 02.430.
- BAL *əndah-an* ‘offspring (animals)’; *nāh* ‘offspring’ crude.
- SAS Also ‘relatives, kin’.
- GOR Also *bija*.
- KON Also *tuhuseŋ*, *ka-battu-aŋ*, *soissor-aŋ*.
- BUR From *en-toho-n* with regular metathesis. Root is *toho* ‘descend, go down’; a genealogy is *enohon enatin* (*tati* ‘drop’); *nase* ‘generation’.
- DOB *nuy* and *ya?ay* both mean great-grandchildren, but the combined phrase refers to descendants in general.
- SAW ‘the children and grandchildren’.
- TAK ‘eye-his seed-its’, i.e. ‘the seed of his eyes’ (see 02.560).
- MAB ‘the new ones’.
- YAB ‘people new’.
- TOL *bul* ‘child’, *mur* ‘follow’.
- ADZ *tafa* ‘great-grandchild’; *ru<sup>m</sup>pu* ‘grand-child’.
- MOT *natu-na* ‘child’ may also be used for descendants in general; so too may *bese* ‘family, tribe’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives *veve*.
- LEW Also ‘generation’; commonly as verbal *wari-telei* ‘to beget descendants’.
- NTA *na* pl.
- KWA ‘grandchild bad’; *nupunəti-* ‘offspring’.
- CEM ‘his extension’; see also *mūli-he-n* ‘his life’.
- XAR Also *məru*.
- KIR CAUS of *riki* ‘become’.
- PON *kaperepere* of animals; *ip<sup>w</sup>ip<sup>w</sup>* ‘paternal descent’.
- RTU ‘offspring’.

SAM *tama-tāne* ‘descendants of a man’; see 02.210, 02.270, *tama-fafine*, see 02.220. 02.270.

### 02.610 FATHER-IN-LAW (of a man)

ATA	yaβaʔ	SAS	məntoaʔ mamə	ROV	tama roana
TSO	amo	GOR	ti-yamo	MAR	mama
RUK	ama		moluheŋo	LAU	fuŋo
PAI	kama	DAA	matuʔa la <sup>ɟ</sup> gai	KWO	fuŋo-
YAM	ičazwa ɔo maβakay a nyapwan a maβakay	UMA	piniana	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> aliya-
		BUG	matoa	PAA	avu
		*KON	matoaŋ	*LEW	ap <sup>w</sup> ua
		WOL	mania	POR	vuo <sup>ɟ</sup> g
ISN	katugāŋan na lalāki	MAG	amaŋ	NTA	etama-n
		NGA	tuʔa	*KWA	kaka
KAL	katugāŋa	*SIK	mame	*NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n
*TAG	biyanan-g lalāki	RTI	ali ama	CEM	pâ m <sup>w</sup> â-n
*AKL	panugāŋan (ŋa ɬāki)	BUR	ama kete	*AJI	pārã (wi)
		DOB	sanan	*XAR	šã
		IRA	agataməno	NEN	
*PAL	paŋibanan	*SAW	kmo ta legæ	KIR	
*MOL	iban	*NYI	ñana-n	MSH	
*KAG	ugaŋan	MAM	raua-moane-ʔa	PON	
BLA	tiwi lagi	*TAK	niteŋ	WLE	
SAB	matoʔa lella	DAM	ten	*EFI	βuŋo-
*MUR	iwan	*MAB	rwo-bi	WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> azina
*MGY	ra-[fuzan]-dahi	*YAB	lawa	RTU	
*ACE	tha agam	*KAU	β-iyo-k	*TON	tamai-ʔi-he-
BAT	si-ma-tua baoa	*TOL	nimu-		fono
MIN	mintuo	BUA	ɣen	*SAM	
IND	bapak mərtua	*ADZ	bu-	MEL	fiŋo-
SUN	mitoha lalaki	KIL	yawa-	TAH	metiʔa hoʔovai
JAV	bapaʔ mərɔtuɔ	TAW	pohiya-na		tāne
MAD	mattuwa lakiʔ	MOT	raβa-na tau-na	RAP	huŋavai tane
BAL	bapə matuə	*MEK	ŋava		

TAG Of a man or a woman.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*tuRaŋ*.

PAL *amaʔyɔ* avoidance address term.

- MOL *iban + poŋ- -an.*
- KAG ‘parent-in-law’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male; (‘of a man/woman’ is not included in the meaning).
- MUR *ama<sup>?</sup>nilaiti* (*magiwan*(x2), *saŋiŋiwan* (x3)).
- MGY From *ra-[\*pu-hiaŋ]-lahi*.
- ACE ‘male parent-in-law’, also *tuan agam*.
- KON Specifically *matoaŋ buru<sup>?</sup>ne*.
- SIK WF=FZH=MB.
- SAW ‘parent-in-law REL a man’.
- NYI ‘his father-in-law’, address of respect: *tama-n* ‘his father (respect)’.
- TAK *niteŋ* is the referential term, *giteŋ* the term of address. Any male blood relative of the speaker’s wife through either of her parents and of that parent’s generation is also the speaker’s *niteŋ* and is addressed as *giteŋ*, as is also the husband of any female blood relative of the speaker’s wife through either of her parents and of that parent’s generation. In other words, the wife’s *tama-n* ‘fathers’ (02.350) and ascending-generation *nigai* ‘uncles’ (02.511) are the speaker’s *niteŋ*. The term is used reciprocally, so that a male speaker’s daughter’s husband is also his *niteŋ* and is addressed as *giteŋ*, as is the husband of the daughter of any same-generation blood relative of a male speaker or of that speaker’s wife. The wife of an ascending-generation *niteŋ* is the speaker’s *irao-n* (02.620).
- MAB Also *za-(bi)* (namesake).
- YAB ‘his/her father/son-in-law’; *lawa-m* ‘your father/son-in-law’.
- KAU *β(i)* ‘man’; *-iyo-k* ‘wife’s parent or daughter’s husband my’ (see 02.620, 02.630, 02.631).
- TOL *nimu-* ‘wife’s father, wife’s mother, daughter’s husband’.
- ADZ *bu-* referential term; *maiyaŋ* vocative term, address term.
- MEK *gava* is here more precisely *akava amā*.
- LEW This and 02.460 distinguished as *ap<sup>w</sup>ua nap<sup>w</sup>a piowa* ‘bad (i.e. avoided) grandparent (of my children, but addressed thus by me)’ and *ap<sup>w</sup>ua nap<sup>w</sup>a p<sup>w</sup>o* ‘good (i.e. regular) grandparent’ respectively.
- KWA *mare-* term of reference.
- NEM *p<sup>m</sup>wā-n* is a general term for ‘in-law’. There is no special term for ‘father- (or mother-) -in-law’ and ‘son- (or daughter-) in-law’.
- AJI Reciprocal term (father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law).
- XAR All ‘in-laws’ referred to by a common term.
- EFI Also *mōmō*.

TON Also *tamai-ʔi-he-lao, tamai faka-lao; lao* from English 'law'.

SAM There are no nouns or nominal compounds denoting relatives-in-law in Samoan.

### 02.611 FATHER-IN-LAW (of a woman)

ATA	yaβaʔ	SAS	məntoaʔ mama	ROV	tama roana
TSO	amo	GOR	ti-yamo	MAR	mama
RUK	ama		moluheŋo	LAU	fuŋo
PAI	kama	DAA	matuʔa la <sup>u</sup> gai	KWO	fuŋo-
YAM	içazwa do mavakəş a nyapwan a	UMA	piniana	RAG	
	maʔakay	BUG	matoa	PAA	avu
ISN	katugāŋan na lalāki	*KON	matoaŋ	*LEW	ap <sup>w</sup> ua
	katugāŋa	WOL	mania	POR	vavu koko
KAL	katugāŋa	MAG	amaŋ	NTA	etama-n
*TAG	biyanan-g lalāki	NGA	tuʔa	*KWA	kaka
AKL		*SIK	mame	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n
PAL	amaʔ yə	RTI	ali ama	CEM	pâ m <sup>w</sup> â-n
	pəŋibanan	BUR	ama kete	AJI	pā <sup>rā</sup> (b <sup>w</sup> ε)
*MOL	iban	DOB	sanan	XAR	šā
*KAG	ugaŋan	IRA	agataməna	NEN	
BLA	tiwi lagi	*SAW	kmo ta ləgæ	KIR	
SAB	matuʔa lella	NYI	salahu-n	MSH	
*MUR	ra-fuzan-dahi	MAM	raua-moane-ʔa	PON	
MGY	tha agam	*TAK	rao-n	WLE	
*ACE	si-ma-tua baoa	DAM	yana	*EFI	βuŋo-
BAT	mintuo	MAB	rwo-bi	WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> azina
MIN	bapak mərtua	*YAB	lawa	RTU	
IND	mitoha lalaki	*KAU	βi-ka-ŋo	*TON	
SUN	bapaʔ mərcutu	*TOL	ena-	SAM	
JAV	mattuwa lakiʔ	BUA	yen	MEL	fiŋo-
MAD	bapə matuə	*ADZ	bu-	TAH	metiʔa hoʔovai
BAL		KIL	yawa-		tāne
		TAW	pohiya-na	RAP	huŋavai tane
		MOT	raβa-na tau-na		
		*MEK	ŋava		

TAG Of a man or a woman.

MOL *iban + poŋ- -an.*



- KAG See 02.610.
- MUR See 02.610.
- ACE ‘male parent-in-law’, also *tuan agam*.
- KON Specifically *matoaŋ buru?ne*.
- SIK HF=FZH=MB.
- SAW ‘parent-in-law that’s a man’.
- TAK A spouse’s parent or any blood relative of the speaker’s spouse through either of the spouse’s parents and of that parent’s generation, or the spouse of such a relative, is the speaker’s *rao-n*, unless he is a *niteŋ* (02.610). Hence, for a male speaker, his wife’s mother and any of his wife’s female blood relatives through either of her parents and of that parent’s generation is his *rao-n*, as is also the wife of any of his wife’s male blood relatives through either of her parents and of that parent’s generation (i.e. the wife of any *niteŋ* (02.610). For a female speaker, each of her husband’s parents and any of her husband’s blood relatives of either sex through either of her parents and of that parent’s generation, or the spouse of such a relative, is her *rao-n*. In other words, the male speaker’s *rao-n* are his wife’s *tina-n* ‘mothers’ (02.360) and ascending-generation *nibi* ‘aunts’ (02.522), whilst the female speaker’s *rao-n* are her husband’s *tama-n* ‘fathers’ (02.350), *tina-n* ‘mothers’ (02.360), and ascending generation *nigai* ‘uncles’ (02.511) and *nibi* ‘aunts’ (02.522). The term is used reciprocally, so that a male speaker’s son’s wife is also his *rao-n*, as is the wife of the son of any same-generation blood relative of a male speaker or of that speaker’s wife. A female speaker’s child’s spouse is her *rao-n*, as is the spouse of the child of any same-generation blood relative of a female speaker or of that speaker’s husband.
- YAB See 02.610 note.
- KAU *βi* ‘man’; *-ka-ŋo* ‘husband’s parent or son’s wife my’ (see 02.621, 02.640, 02.641).
- TOL For a female Ego *ena-* refers to her husband’s father, her husband’s mother, her son’s wife and her sister’s son’s wife, whereas for a male Ego *ena-* refers to his son’s wife and his brother’s son’s wife.
- ADZ *bu-* referential term; *maiyaŋ* address term.
- MEK *ŋava* is here more precisely *akava amā*.
- LEW See 02.610.
- KWA *mare-* term of reference.
- EFI Also *mōmō*.
- TON See 02.610.

**02.620 MOTHER-IN-LAW (of a man)**

ATA	yaya <sup>?</sup>	BAL	meme matuə	*MEK	ŋava
TSO	ino	SAS	məntoa <sup>?</sup> ninə	ROV	tama roana
RUK	ina	GOR	ti-ilo	*MAR	naŋoña
PAI	kina		moluheŋo	LAU	fuŋo
YAM	ičazwa do	DAA	matu <sup>?</sup> a besi	KWO	fuŋo- geni
	maɤakay a	UMA	piniana	RAG	
	nyapwan a	BUG	matoa	PAA	avu
	mavakəş	*KON	matoaŋ	*LEW	ap <sup>w</sup> ua
ISN	katugāŋan na	WOL	mania	*POR	vav <sup>w</sup> e mo-kon
	babay	MAG	inaŋ	NTA	uhu-n
KAL	katugāŋa	NGA	tu <sup>?</sup> a	*KWA	kaka
TAG	biyanan-g	*SIK	be	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n
	babā <sup>?</sup> e	RTI	ali ina	CEM	ê m <sup>w</sup> ā-n
AKL	panugāŋan ŋa	BUR	ina kete	AJI	pārā <sup>~</sup> (wi)
	babāyih	DOB	sanan	XAR	şā
PAL	indu <sup>?</sup> yal	IRA	agataməno	NEN	etečekin
	poŋibanan		sətə	KIR	
*MOL	iban	*SAW	kmo ta mēpin	*MSH	celpan
*KAG	ugaŋan	NYI	salahu-n	PON	soulap
BLA	tīwi libun	MAM	raua-aine <sup>?</sup> a	WLE	
SAB	mato <sup>?</sup> a denda	*TAK	rao-n	*EFI	βuŋo-
*MUR	iwan	DAM	mam	WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> ani-tama-
MGY	ra-fuzam-bavi	MAB	rwo- mōribi	RTU	
*ACE	tha inoŋ	*YAB	lawa-ò	*TON	fa <sup>?</sup> ē- <sup>?</sup> i-he-
BAT	si-ma-tua	*KAU	et-iyo-k		fono
	boru	*TOL	nimu-	SAM	
MIN	mintuo	*BUA	ŋen aβe	MEL	fiŋo-
IND	ibu mərtua	*ADZ	bu-	TAH	meti <sup>?</sup> a
SUN	mitoha	KIL	yawa-		ho <sup>?</sup> ovai
	awewe	TAW	pohiya-na		vahine
JAV	ibu mərətuo	MOT	raβa-na	RAP	huŋavai
MAD	mattuwa bini <sup>?</sup>		hahine-na		vahine

MOL *iban + poŋ- -an.*

KAG ‘parent-in-law’; can postpose *na bai* to specify female; (‘of man/woman’ is not included in the meaning).

MUR *ina<sup>?</sup>nilaiti* (personal noun) (*magiwan* (x2), *saŋiŋiwan* (x3)).

ACE ‘female parent-in-law’, also *tuan inoŋ*.

KON	Specifically <i>matoaŋ bahine</i> .
SIK	WM=MBW=FZ.
SAW	'parent-in-law REL a woman'.
TAK	See note on 02.611.
YAB	'his/her mother/daughter-in-law'; <i>lawa-m-ə</i> 'your mother/daughter-in-law'.
KAU	<i>et</i> 'woman (?)'; <i>-iyo-k</i> 'wife's parent or daughter's husband my' (see 02.610, 02.630, 02.631).
TOL	See 02.610.
BUA	<i>aβeɣ bɔp</i> , <i>aβeɣ ɣib</i> see 02.471.
ADZ	See note to 02.610.
MEK	<i>ɲava</i> is here more precisely <i>akava inā</i> .
MAR	3sg POSS.
LEW	See 02.610.
POR	'collateral ASP-forbidden'.
KWA	<i>kusi-</i> term of reference.
MSH	CON; 'parent-in-law'.
EFI	Also <i>ɲānei</i> .
TON	Also <i>faʔē-ʔi-he-lao</i> , <i>faʔē faka-lao</i> ; <i>lao</i> from English 'law'.

### 02.621 MOTHER-IN-LAW (of a woman)

ATA	yayaʔ	PAL	induʔ yɔ	SUN	mitoha
TSO	ino		pɔŋibanan		awewe
RUK	ina	*MOL	iban	JAV	ibu mɔrɔtuɔ
PAI	kina	*KAG	ugaŋan	MAD	mattuwa biniʔ
YAM	ičazwa ɔo mavakəʂ a nyapwan a mavakəʂ	BLA	tiwi libun	BAL	meme matuə
		SAB	matoʔa denda	SAS	məntoaʔ ninə
		*MUR		GOR	ti-ilo
		MGY	ra-fuzam-bavi		moluheŋo
ISN	katugāŋan na babay	*ACE	tha inɔŋ	DAA	matuʔa besi
		BAT	si-ma-tua	UMA	piniana
KAL	katugāŋa		boru	BUG	matoa
TAG	manūgaŋ na babāʔe	MIN	mintuo	*KON	matoaŋ
		IND	ibu mərtua	WOL	mania
AKL				MAG	inaŋ

NGA	tuʔa	KIL	yawa-	XAR	šā
*SIK	be	TAW	pohiya-na	NEN	
RTI	ali ina	MOT	raβa-na	KIR	
BUR	ina kete		hahine-na	MSH	
DOB	sanān	*MEK	ŋava	PON	
IRA	agatamənə	ROV	tama roana	WLE	
	sətə	MAR	ido	*EFI	βuŋo-
*SAW	kmo ta mēpin	LAU	fuŋo	WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> ani-tama-
NYI	kayo-n	KWO	fuŋo-geni	RTU	
MAM	raua-aine-ʔa	RAG		*TON	
*TAK	rao-n	PAA	avu	SAM	
DAM	yana	*LEW	ap <sup>w</sup> ua	MEL	fiŋo-
MAB	rwo- mōribi	POR	vavu	TAH	metiʔa
*YAB	lawa-ð	NTA	uhu-n		hoʔovai
*KAU	et-ka-ŋo	*KWA	kaka		vahine
*TOL	ena -	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n	RAP	huŋavai
*BUA	ŋen aβe	CEM	ê m <sup>w</sup> â-n		vahine
*ADZ	bu-	AJI	pā <sup>rā</sup> (b <sup>w</sup> ε)		

MOL *iban + poŋ- -an.*

KAG See 02.620.

MUR See 02.620.

ACE 'female parent-in-law', also *tuan inəŋ*.

KON Specifically *matoaŋ bahine*.

SIK HM=MBW=FZ.

SAW 'parent-in-law that's a woman'.

TAK See 02.611.

YAB See 02.620.

KAU *et* 'woman (?)'; *-ka-ŋo* 'husband's parent or son's wife my' (reciprocal term) (see 02.611, 02.640, 02.641).

TOL See 02.611.

BUA *aβeŋ bəp*, *aβeŋ ŋib* see 02.471.

ADZ See 02.610.

MEK *ŋava* is here more precisely *akava inā*.

LEW See 02.610.

KWA *kusə-* term of reference.

EFI Also *ŋānei*.

TON See 02.620.

**02.630 SON-IN-LAW (of a man)**

ATA	yamaʔ	SAS	mənantu	ROV	tama ivana
TSO	oko		mamə	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uña
RUK	lalakə	GOR	moluheŋo	LAU	wane fuŋao
PAI	sətarəv	DAA	mania la <sup>ŋ</sup> gai	KWO	fuŋo
YAM	ičazwa a	UMA	minia	RAG	
	maʔakay no	BUG	menettu	PAA	hāvukuli
	anak	*KON	mintu	*LEW	mapi-na
ISN	manūgāŋ ŋa	WOL	mania	POR	tauian
	lalāki	MAG	koa	NTA	rah-n-ioniən
KAL	manūgaŋ	NGA	ana-tuʔa	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anien
TAG	manūgaŋ na	*SIK	pu	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n
	lalāki	*RTI	mane feu-k	CEM	pā m <sup>w</sup> ā-n
AKL	um-āgad ŋa	BUR	em-sawa-n	AJI	pārā (wi)
	ʔaʔāki	DOB	sanān	XAR	šā
PAL	mənəmpil	IRA	agetənə	NEN	etečekin
*MOL	iban	SAW	mənəy	KIR	
*KAG	magad	*NYI	nāna-n	MSH	
BLA	tīwi lagi	MAM	raua-moanc-ʔa	PON	
SAB	aiwan lella	*TAK	niteŋ	WLE	
*MUR	maŋiwan	DAM	ten	EFI	βuŋo-
*MGY	vinantu-lahi	MAB	rwo-	WFI	βuŋa-
*ACE	mu linteə	*YAB	lawa	RTU	
BAT	hela	*KAU	βiyo-k	*TON	foha-ʔi-he-
MIN	minantu	*TOL	nimu-		fono
IND	mənantu laki-	BUA	ŋen	SAM	
	laki	*ADZ	bu-	MEL	fiŋ●-
SUN	minantu lalaki	KIL	yawa-	TAH	hunoʔa tāne
JAV	mantu lanəŋ	TAW	pohiya-na	RAP	hunonja tane
MAD	anaʔ mantu	MOT	raβa-na tau-na		
*BAL	mantu	*MEK	ŋava		

MOL *iban + moŋ-*.

KAG ‘child-in-law’; can postpose *na mama* to specify male; (‘of a man/woman’ is not included in the meaning).

MUR *maŋiwan* (common noun); *agaŋ* (personal noun).

MGY From PMP *\*b-in-antu*.

ACE ‘child-in-law’.

BAL ‘child-in-law’ (not differentiated by sex).

KON	Specifically <i>mintu buru?ne</i> .
SIK	DH=ZS.
RTI	Also <i>mana-feutou-k</i> .
NYI	In direct address all children-in-law are called: <i>nadu-n</i> 'his child' out of respect.
TAK	Also <i>giteŋ</i> , see note on 02.610.
YAB	See 02.610 note.
KAU	See 02.610.
TOL	'daughter's husband'.
ADZ	See note to 02.610.
MEK	<i>ŋava</i> more precisely <i>ŋau-ŋa akavā</i> .
MAR	3sg POSS.
LEW	02.480, 02.490.
TON	Also <i>foha-?i-he-l[ao,] foha faka-l[ao]</i> ; from English 'law'.

### 02.631 SON-IN-LAW (of a woman)

ATA	yama?	*ACE	mʉlinteə	*RTI	mane feu-k
TSO	okə	BAT	hela	BUR	em-sawa-n
RUK	lalakə	MIN	minantu	DOB	sanan
PAI	sətarəv	*IND	mənantu laki-	IRA	agetənə
YAM	ičazwa a		laki	SAW	mənɔy
	makakay no	SUN	minantu lalaki	*NYI	salahu-n
	anak	JAV	mantu lanəŋ	MAM	raua-moane-?a
ISN	manūgāŋ ŋa	MAD	ana? mantu	*TAK	rao-n
	lalāki	*BAL	mantu	DAM	mam
KAL	manūgaŋ	SAS	mənantu	MAB	rwo-
TAG	manūgaŋ na		mamə	*YAB	lawa
	lalāki	GOR	moluheŋo	*KAU	βiyo-k
AKL		DAA	mania la <sup>ŋ</sup> gai	*TOL	nimu-
PAL	mənɔmpil	UMA	minia	BUA	ŋen
*MOL	iban	BUG	menettu	*ADZ	bu-
*KAG	magad	*KON	mintu	KIL	yawa-
BLA	tɪwi lagi	WOL	mania	TAW	pohiya-na
SAB	aiwan lella	MAG	koa	MOT	raβa-na tau-na
*MUR	maŋiwan	NGA	ana-tu?a	*MEK	ŋava
MGY	vinantu-lahi	*SIK	pu	ROV	tama ivana

*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uñā	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n	EFI	βuŋo-
LAU	wane fuŋao	CEM	pâ m <sup>w</sup> â-n	WFI	βuŋa-
KWO	fuŋo	AJI	pãrã (b <sup>w</sup> ε)	RTU	
RAG		XAR	šã	*TON	tama-ʔi-he
PAA	hāvukuli	NEN			fono
*LEW	mapi-na	KIR		SAM	
POR	tavian	MSH		MEL	fiŋo-
NTA	naŋo-n	PON		TAH	hunoʔa tāne
KWA	prəsi-	WLE		RAP	hunoŋa tane

MOL *iban + moŋ-*.

KAG ‘child-in-law’; see 02.610.

MUR *maŋiwan* (common noun); *agaŋ* (personal noun).

ACE ‘child-in-law’.

IND Also *anakmantu*.

BAL See 02.630.

KON Specifically *mintu buruʔne*.

SIK DH=BS.

RTI Also *mana-feu tou-k*.

NYI See 02.630.

TAK See 02.611.

YAB See 02.610.

KAU See 02.610.

TOL ‘daughter’s husband’.

ADZ See note to 02.610.

MEK More precisely *ŋau-ŋa akavā*.

MAR 3sg POSS.

LEW See 02.630.

TON Also *foha-ʔi-he-[lao]*, *tama faka-[lao]*; from English ‘law’.

## 02.640 DAUGHTER-IN-LAW (of a man)

ATA	ʔinaʔ	YAM	ičazwa a	KAL	manūgaŋ
TSO	oko		mavakaš no	TAG	manūgaŋ na
RUK	lalakə		anak		babāʔe
PAI	sətarəv	*ISN	manūgāŋ ŋa	*AKL	um-āgad ŋa
			babay		babāyih

PAL	mənɔmpil	NGA	ana-tuʔa	RAG	
*MOL	iban	*SIK	pu	PAA	ahineli
*KAG	magad	*RTI	feto feu-k	*LEW	mapi-na
BLA	tiwi libun	BUR	fīn-em-sawa-n	POR	vilax
SAB	aiwan denda	DOB	sanan	NTA	rah-n-ionion
*MUR	maŋiwan	IRA	agetənə sətə	KWA	kʷanien
MGY	vinantu-vavi	SAW	mələfe	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n
*ACE	mʉlintəə	*NYI	ñana-n	CEM	ê m <sup>w</sup> â-n
*BAT	parumaen	MAM	raua-aine-ʔa	AJI	pārā̃ (wi)
MIN	minantu	*TAK	rao-n	XAR	šā̃
*IND	mənantu pər- əmpu-an	DAM	yana	NEN	etečekin
SUN	minantu awewe	MAB	rwo- mōri	KIR	
JAV	mantu wadən	*YAB	lawa-ð	MSH	
MAD	anaʔ mantu	*KAU	βut-ka-ŋo	PON	
*BAL	mantu	*TOL	ena-	WLE	
SAS	mənantu ninə	BUA	ʁen aβeɣ	EFI	βuŋo-
*GOR	walaʔā moluheŋo	*ADZ	bu-	WFI	βuŋa-
DAA	mania besi	KIL	yawa-	RTU	
UMA	minia	TAW	pohiya-na	*TON	ʔōfetine-ʔi-he- fono
BUG	menettu	MOT	raβa-na hahine-na	SAM	
*KON	mintu	*MEK	ŋava	MEL	fiŋo-
WOL	mania	ROV	tama roana	TAH	hunəʔa vahine
MAG	vote	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uñā	RAP	hunəŋa vahine
		LAU	geni fuŋao		
		KWO	fuŋo- geni		

ISN *kabīrat* in-law ('cousin'/outside).

AKL Also *bayaw* 'brother-in-law'; *hīpag* 'sister-in-law'.

MOL *iban + moŋ-*.

KAG 'child-in-law'; can postpose *na bai* to specify female; ('of a man/woman' is not included in the meaning).

MUR *maŋiwan* (common noun); *agaŋ* (personal noun).

ACE 'child-in-law'.

BAT (*pa-ri-ma-ən*).

IND Also *anak mantu*.

BAL See 02.630.

GOR 'child-in-law'; *walaʔo* 'child' plus ligature *a*.

KON Specifically *mintu bahine*.

SIK SW=ZD.



RTI	Also <i>mana-feuina-k</i> .
NYI	See 02.630.
TAK	See 02.611.
YAB	See 02.620.
KAU	<i>βut</i> ‘she’; <i>-ka-ŋo</i> ‘husband’s parent or son’s wife my’ (reciprocal term) (see 02.611, 02.621, 02.641).
TOL	‘son’s wife of a male Ego’.
ADZ	See note to 02.610.
MEK	More precisely <i>ŋau-ŋa akavā</i> .
MAR	3sg POSS.
LEW	See 02.630.
TON	Also <i>ʔōfefine-ʔi-he-[lao]</i> , <i>ʔōfefine faka-[lao]</i> ; from English ‘law’.

### 02.641 DAUGHTER-IN-LAW (of a woman)

ATA	ʔinaʔ	*IND	mənanantu	MAM	raua-aine-ʔa
TSO	oko		pər-əmpu-an	*TAK	rao-n
RUK	lalakə	SUN	minantu	DAM	yana
PAI	sətarəv		awewe	MAB	rwo-mōri
*YAM	ičazwa a	JAV	mantu wadɔn	*YAB	lawa-ð
	mavakəʂ no	MAD	anaʔ mantu	*KAU	et-ka-ŋo
	anak	*BAL	mantu	*TOL	ena-
ISN	manūgāŋ ŋa	SAS	mənanantu ninə	BUA	ʔen aβeʔ
	babay	GOR	walaʔā	*ADZ	bu-
KAL	manūgaŋ		moluheŋo	KIL	yawa-
TAG	manūgaŋ na	DAA	mania besi	TAW	pohiya-na
	babāʔe	UMA	minia	MOT	raβa-na
AKL		BUG	menettu		hahine-na
PAL	mənɔmpil	*KON	mintu	*MEK	ŋava
*MOL	iban	WOL	mania	ROV	tama roana
*KAG	magad	MAG	vote	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uñā
BLA	tiwi libun	NGA	ana-tuʔa	LAU	geni fuŋao
SAB	aiwan denda	*SIK	pu	KWO	fuŋo- geni
*MUR		*RTI	feto feu-k	RAG	
MGY	vinantu-vavi	BUR	fin-em-sawa-n	PAA	ahineli
*ACE	mʉlinteə	DOB	sanān	*LEW	mapi-na
*BAT	parumaən	IRA	agetənə sətə	POR	vilax
MIN	minantu	SAW	mələfe	NTA	naŋo-n
		*NYI	kayo-n	KWA	prəsi-

NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā-n	MSH		*TON	
CEM	ê m <sup>w</sup> â-n	PON		SAM	
AJI	pārā̃ (b <sup>w</sup> ε)	WLE		MEL	fiŋo-
XAR	šā̃	EFI	βuŋo-	TAH	huno?a vahine
NEN		WFI	βuŋa-	RAP	hunoua vahine
KIR		RTU			

YAM Also *ičazwa a makakay do makakay; ičazwa a mavakəş.*

MOL *iban + moŋ-*.

KAG See 02.640.

MUR Brother-in-law (sister's husband) *laŋo?* (*madaŋo* (x2), (x3)?);  
 brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband) *saluoy* (*mansaluoy* (x2),  
 (x3)?); sister-in-law (brother's wife) *aloŋ* (*magaloŋ* (x2), (x3)?);  
 sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife) *aloŋ* (*magilas* (x2), (x3)?);  
 'co-parent' (children-in-law's parent) *baisan* (*mambaisan* (x2),  
 (x3)?).

ACE 'child-in-law'.

BAT (*pa-ruma-ən*).

IND Also *anak mantu*.

BAL See 02.630.

KON Specifically *mintu bahine*.

SIK SW=BD.

RTI Also *mana-feuina-k*.

NYI See 02.630.

TAK See 02.611.

YAB See 02.620.

KAU See 02.621.

TOL 'son's wife of a female Ego'.

ADZ See 02.610.

MEK More precisely *ŋau-ŋa akavā*.

MAR 3sg POSS.

LEW See 02.630.

TON See 02.631.

## 02.710 STEPFATHER

ATA	mamaʔ	BUG	poro-amboʔ	MEK	ama inaŋua
TSO	amo	KON	amma aho	ROV	tamana
RUK	ama	WOL	ama awo		karokarovo
PAI	kama	MAG	əma tinu	*MAR	kmaña kakasa
YAM	mazan	*NGA	əma-polu	LAU	ruana mā
ISN	naniyomān na lalāki	*SIK	ama	KWO	maʔa
		RTI	ama pala	RAG	
KAL		BUR	ama [tiri]	PAA	tāta
*TAG	amaʔin	*DOB	sama-m	*LEW	arima-na
AKL	āma-āmah		muri-n	POR	papa
*PAL	ganti amaʔ	IRA	aŋje ɸarɸarə	NTA	tata kalən
MOL	amaʔ tiriʔ	SAW	moke bao	KWA	
*KAG	antal	*NYI	tama-n ta	NEM	
BLA	tlas mɔʔ		ñoʔou	CEM	
SAB	bapaʔ	MAM	tama	AJI	pāřā
MUR	manukapu	*TAK	tama-n iri-	XAR	
*MGY	rai-keli		tarsin-ek	NEN	
ACE	ayah uy	*DAM	tama	KIR	
*BAT	ama panɔrɔni	MAB	tAmA- ta	MSH	
MIN	bapaʔ-tiri		itāra ke pa	PON	
*IND	bapak tiri	*YAB	tama ke-po	WLE	
SUN	bapa tere		mɔ ɛŋ-ŋa	EFI	tama-βaka- ðabeðabe
JAV	bapaʔ kualən	KAU		WFI	tama-βaŋani
*MAD	əppaʔ	TOL		RTU	
	[kaballun]	BUA		TON	mali ʔo ʔete
*BAL	bapə [kualon]	ADZ	rama-		faʔe'e
SAS	amaʔ tərəʔ	*KIL	tama- ei-si-	*SAM	tamā fai
GOR	ti-yamo wu-		vau bʷala	MEL	
	watoʔo	TAW	ama-na	TAH	metua tāne
DAA	uma kamana	*MOT	tama-na	RAP	
UMA	aβoʔ		lahai-na		

TAG *amaʔin* 'uncle'; *ama-ŋ paŋuman* 'repeat father'.

PAL Also *subli amaʔ* 'replacement father'.

KAG 'step-parent'; can postpose *na mama* to specify 'male'.

MGY 'little father'.

BAT (*paN-sɔrɔ-ni*).

IND	<i>bapak angkat</i> ‘adopted father’, <i>bapak piara</i> ‘foster father’.
MAD	From Old Javanese <i>kawalwan</i> .
BAL	From Old Javanese <i>kawalwan</i> .
NGA	<i>polulit</i> means ‘to foster’.
SIK	Also <i>meʔe</i> .
DOB	‘younger father’. The term is the same as for ‘father’s younger brother’.
NYI	‘his watch-father’, however in direct address: <i>tama</i> ‘father’ is used.
TAK	‘father-his clamshell-halve-NOM’, i.e. ‘his/her stepfather’.
DAM	To distinguish between biological and adoptive relationships, the word <i>mumei</i> ‘true’ is inserted after the kinship term to indicate the biological relative. The term <i>wau</i> ‘liver’ can also be added, but can be used in both adoptive and biological relationships which are very intimate.
YAB	‘father he-arrange taro him-for’, i.e. ‘his father who looks after him’; <i>yaom-waga</i> ‘foster parents’.
KIL	‘father he-stay-new house’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>lahai</i> ‘subordinate’, opposed to <i>korikori</i> ‘real’.
MAR	(3sg POSS).
LEW	Possible to specify <i>arima-na/ane-na nap<sup>wa</sup> kusi-lua</i> ‘father/mother who adopted someone’.
SAM	<i>tamā</i> ‘father’ <i>fai</i> ‘do, make’.

## 02.720 STEPMOTHER

ATA	<i>yataʔ</i>	MOL	<i>induʔ tiriʔ</i>	JAV	<i>ibu kualən</i>
TSO	<i>ino</i>	*KAG	<i>antal</i>	*MAD	<i>əmbuʔ</i>
RUK	<i>ina</i>	BLA	<i>tlas yeʔ</i>		[ <i>kaballun</i> ]
PAI	<i>kina</i>	SAB	<i>babuʔ</i>	*BAL	<i>meme</i>
YAM	<i>kaminan</i>	MUR	<i>manukapu</i>		[ <i>kualon</i> ]
ISN	<i>naniyomān na babay</i>	*MGY	<i>reni-keli</i>	SAS	<i>inaʔ tərəʔ</i>
		ACE	<i>ma uy</i>	GOR	<i>ti-ilowu-</i>
KAL		*BAT	<i>ina panərōni</i>		<i>watoʔo</i>
*TAG	<i>āle</i>	MIN	<i>mandeh-tiri</i>	DAA	<i>i<sup>l</sup>do kamana</i>
*AKL	<i>nanah</i>	*IND	<i>ibu tiri</i>	UMA	<i>aβoʔ</i>
*PAL	<i>ganti induʔ</i>	SUN	<i>induŋ tere</i>	BUG	<i>poro-indoʔ</i>

KON	anroŋ aho	TOL		NEM	
WOL	ina awo	BUA		CEM	
MAG	ə <sup>n</sup> de tinu	ADZ	rina-	AJI	pā <sup>ā</sup> rā
NGA	ine-polu	*KIL	ina- ei-si-βau	XAR	
SIK	ina		b <sup>w</sup> ala	NEN	
RTI	ina pala	TAW	hina-na	KIR	
*BUR	ina [tiri]	MOT	sina-na lahai-	MSH	
*DOB	sina-m muri-n		na	PON	
IRA	adənə ɸarɸarə	MEK	ina inaŋua	WLE	
SAW	neke bao	ROV	tinana	EFI	tina-βaka-
*NYI	tine-n ta		karokarovo		ðabeðabe
	ño <sup>?</sup> ou	*MAR	doyena	WFI	huna-βaŋani
MAM	tina		kakasa	RTU	
*TAK	tina-n iri-	LAU	ruana tē	TON	mali <sup>?</sup> o <sup>?</sup> etc
	tarsin-ek	KWO	ga <sup>?</sup> i		tama <sup>i</sup>
*DAM	sina	RAG		*SAM	tinā fai
MAB	nA- ta itāra ke	PAA	māma	MEL	
	pa	*LEW	ane-na	TAH	metua vahine
*YAB	tena ke-po mə	POR	ita	RAP	
	εŋ-ŋa	NTA	mama kalən		
KAU		KWA			

TAG *āle* ‘aunt’; *ina-ŋpaŋuman* ‘repeat mother’.

AKL Also *īna-īnah*.

PAL Also *subli indu<sup>?</sup>* ‘replacement mother’.

KAG ‘step-parent’; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.

MGY ‘little mother’.

BAT (*paN-sɔɔ-ni*).

IND *ibu angkat* ‘adopted mother’, *ibu piara* ‘foster mother’.

MAD Ssee 02.710.

BAL See 02.710, also *tumin* South Bali only? (North Bali *tumin* ‘aunt’ (Kersten (1984)).

BUR From Malay.

DOB ‘younger mother’. The term is the same as for one’s mother’s younger sister.

NYI ‘his watch mother’; in direct address *tine* ‘mother’ is used.

TAK See 02.710 and note.

DAM See 02.710.

YAB See 02.710; *yaom-waga-ə* 'foster mother'.

KIL 'mother she-stay-new house'.

MAR (3sg POSS).

LEW See 02.710.

SAM *tinā* 'mother', *fai* 'do, make'.

### 02.730 STEPSON

ATA		JAV	ana <sup>?</sup> kualon	*TAK	nanu-n iri-
TSO	rā-ϕi-oko		lanəŋ		tarsin-ek
RUK	lalakə	*MAD	ana <sup>?</sup> laki <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	kesu
PAI	al <sup>ʷ</sup> ak		[kaballun]	MAB	lutu-
YAM	maŋanak	*BAL	panak	*YAB	latu ke-po mə
ISN	siniyomān na lalāki		[kualon] muani		εŋ-ŋa
KAL		*SAS	[səməton]	KAU	
*TAG	lalāki-ŋ anak na paŋuman		tərə <sup>?</sup> mamə	TOL	
AKL	manak (ŋa ʔāki)	GOR	wala <sup>?</sup> wuwato <sup>?</sup> o tā lə-la <sup>?</sup> i	BUA	
PAL	anak tiri <sup>?</sup> ləlaki			ADZ	naru- marub
MOL	anak tiri <sup>?</sup>	DAA	ana kamana	KIL	latu-
*KAG	ma'nak	UMA	aβo <sup>?</sup>	*TAW	natu-na
BLA	talŋuŋin lagi	BUG	poro-ana <sup>?</sup>	MOT	natu-nalahai-
SAB	anak ta-bowa lella	*KON	ana <sup>?</sup> aho		na mero-na
MUR	sinukapu	WOL	ana awo	*MEK	i-pa-fa <sup>?</sup> a
MGY	zanaka lahi ni vadi	MAG	anak tinu		maŋuae(-ŋa)
*ACE	anu <sup>?</sup> uy	NGA	ana-bua-muzi	ROV	vina takele.
BAT	anak na s-in ɔɔ-an	SIK	me la <sup>?</sup> i	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uŋa kakasa
MIN	ana <sup>?</sup> -tiri	RTI	ana pala tou-k	LAU	ruana wela
*IND	anak tiri laki- laki	*BUR	ana-[tiri]		wane
SUN	anak tere lalaki	*DOB	yana-w	KWO	wela
		IRA	mə ɸarɸarə	RAG	
		*SAW	wyɔy bao ta mɔn	PAA	natukuli
		NYI	nadu-n	*LEW	
		MAM	natu-moane- ʔa	*POR	na-ru- <sup>ɔ</sup> g
				NTA	netə-n kalən
				KWA	
				NEM	
				CEM	
				AJI	pāṛā

XAR	EFI	luβe-βaka-	TON	houmotuʔa
NEN		ðabeðabe		taŋata
KIR	WFI	huna-hewa	*SAM	ataliʔi fai
MSH		βaŋani	MEL	
PON	RTU		TAH	tamaiti
WLE			RAP	

- TAG 'male child repeat'.
- KAG 'stepchild'; can postpose *na mama* to specify 'male'.
- ACE 'step child', also *anuʔmɔ*.
- IND *anak angkat* 'adopted child', *anak piara* 'foster child'.
- MAD See 02.710.
- BAL *panak kualon* 'step child'; see 02.710.
- SAS From Javanese; see note 02.444.
- KON Specifically *anaʔ aho buruʔne*.
- BUR 'stepchild due to remarriage' from Malay; also *ana-n-defu-t* 'child left in the care of s.o. else to be raised but retaining affiliation with clan of biological parents'; *ana-t enuu-k* (from *tuu-k* 'to lift up') 'child adopted into a family losing affiliation with clan of biological parents'; *an-rogo-t* 'child that has formally changed clan affiliation for reasons relating to health or fate of themselves or their biological relatives'; *ana-t repu-n* 'child adopted into clan after being placed by biological mother in area where village grass cuttings are discarded'. This is seen as an act of compassion seeking the welfare of the child by a mother who has had a series of children die and wants to give the child a chance to live by allowing it a different affiliation or fate.
- DOB *yana-w* 'child' is used, there is no special term.
- SAW 'adopted stepchild that's a male'.
- TAK See 02.710 and note.
- DAM See 02.710.
- YAB See 02.710.
- TAW See *woilata* 'to bring up'.
- MEK 'been-made-big male'.
- MAR 3sg POSS.
- LEW *sisi* (02.270) and *nari-na* (02.430) can be used.
- POR See 'son'.
- SAM *ataliʔi* 'a man's son'; see 02.410.

## 02.740 STEPDAUGHTER

ATA		*BAL	panak	MOT	natu-na lahai-
TSO	rā-ϕi-oko		[kualon] luh		na kekeni-na
RUK	lalakə	*SAS	[səməton]	*MEK	i-pa-faʔa
PAI	alʔak		təɾəʔ ninə		papie(-ŋa)
YAM	maŋanak	GOR	walaʔo	ROV	vina takele
ISN	siniyomān na babay		wuwatoʔo tā buwa	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uñā kakasa
KAL		DAA	ana kamana	LAU	ruana hari geni
*TAG	babāʔi-ŋ anak na paŋuman	UMA	aβoʔ	KWO	lāriʔi
AKL	manak (ŋa bāyih)	BUG	poro-anaʔ	RAG	
PAL	anak tiriʔ libun	*KON	anaʔ aho	PAA	natukahū
MOL	anak tiriʔ	WOL	ana awo	*LEW	
*KAG	maʔnak	MAG	anak tinu	*POR	na-ru-ŋg
BLA	talŋuin libun	NGA	ana-bua-muzi	NTA	netə-n kalən
SAB	anak ta-bowa denda	SIK	me duʔa	KWA	
MUR	sinukapu	RTI	ana pala ina-k	NEM	
MGY	zanaka vavin- ni vadi	*BUR	ana-[tiri]	CEM	
*ACE	anuuʔ uy	*DOB	yana-w	AJI	pārā
BAT	bəru na s in	IRA	məϕarϕarə	XAR	
MIN	anaʔ-tiri	*SAW	wyəy bao ta	NEN	
IND	anak tiri pər- əmpu-an		məpin	KIR	
SUN	anak tere	NYI	nadu-n	MSH	
JAV	anaʔ kualon wedəʔ	MAM	natu-aine-ʔa	PON	
*MAD	anaʔ biniʔ [kaballun]	*TAK	nanu-n pein	WLE	
			iri-tarsin-ek	EFI	luβe-βaka- ðabeðabe
		*DAM	berai	WFI	lewa-hewa βaŋani
		MAB	lutu- mōri		
		*YAB	latu- ð ke- po		
			mə eŋ-ŋa	RTU	
		KAU		TON	houmotuʔa fefine
		TOL		*SAM	afafine fai
		BUA		MEL	
		ADZ	naru- finam	TAH	tamahine
		KIL	latu-	RAP	
		*TAW	natu-na		

TAG ‘female child repeat’.

KAG ‘stepchild’; can postpose *na bai* to specify ‘female’.



ACE	'step child', also <i>anu?mɔ</i> .
MAD	See 02.710.
BAL	See 02.710.
SAS	From Javanese; see note 02.444.
KON	Specifically <i>ana?aho bahine</i> .
BUR	'child'.
DOB	<i>yana-w</i> 'child' is used, there is no special term.
SAW	'adopted stepchild that's a female'.
TAK	'child-his woman clamshell-halve-NOM, i.e. 'his/her stepdaughter'.
DAM	See 02.710.
YAB	See 02.710.
TAW	See <i>woilata</i> 'to bring up'.
MEK	'been-made-big female'.
MAR	(3sg POSS).
LEW	See 02.730.
POR	See 'daughter'.
SAM	<i>afafine</i> 'a man's daughter'; see 02.420.

## 02.750 ORPHAN

Arabic: *yaṭīm*

ATA	<i>kaīnut</i>	MGY	<i>kambutu</i>	BUG	<i>beu</i>
TSO	<i>tenro</i>	*ACE	<i>anu?muntuy</i>	*KON	<i>ana?kukaŋ</i>
RUK	<i>pakoʔoʔolo</i>	BAT	<i>so ma-rama</i>	*WOL	<i>maelu</i>
PAI			<i>so mar-ina</i>	MAG	<i>ata lalo</i>
YAM	<i>maṣbaŋ</i>	MIN	<i>ana?-piatu</i>	NGA	<i>ana-halo</i>
ISN	<i>ulīla</i>	*IND	[ <i>yatim</i> ]-	*SIK	<i>me nukak</i>
KAL	<i>unīla</i>		[ <i>piatu</i> ]	RTI	<i>ana ma-k</i>
*TAG	<i>ulīla</i>	SUN	[ <i>yatim</i> ]	*BUR	<i>ana-m-hod-</i>
*AKL	<i>iluh</i>	*JAV	<i>lolo</i>		<i>male-t</i>
PAL	<i>ilu-ilu</i>	MAD	[ <i>jatim</i> ]	*DOB	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>a</i>
MOL	<i>anak ilu</i>	BAL	<i>anak ubuh</i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup>ar<sup>ʔ</sup>ow</i>
KAG	<i>ilu na bata?</i>	SAS	<i>ana?əwo?</i>	IRA	<i>mo mɔruetə</i>
BLA	<i>ilu</i>	GOR	[ <i>yaṭīmu</i> ]	*SAW	<i>wyɔy [daga]</i>
SAB	<i>ilu?</i>	DAA	<i>ŋana pailu</i>	NYI	<i>nadu ño?ou</i>
MUR	<i>laŋkuid</i>	UMA	<i>ana? ilu</i>	MAM	<i>gadagada</i>

TAK	begabeg	*MEK	isaŋepa	XAR	
DAM	mādu		(iaŋepa)	NEN	
MAB	mō <sup>n</sup> do	ROV	eapa	KIR	
*YAB	ŋapale (ŋapale-ð) ma <sup>n</sup> dab	MAR		MSH	atacinemcen
		LAU	wela haŋonia	PON	sop <sup>w</sup> oup <sup>w</sup> ou
		KWO	afo <sup>?</sup> a	*WLE	siŋa-mase
KAU	βiβol	RAG		EFI	luβe-ni-yali
*TOL	nət-na-liŋ	PAA	timaru	WFI	ŋadai
BUA	ɣur məten	*LEW	ninuyu	RTU	
ADZ	mama <sup>?</sup> biri <sup>m</sup> pup	POR	maes	*TON	paea
		NTA	suakalh	*SAM	mātua-oti
KIL	gumalawa	*KWA	kemhatəni	MEL	matapesu
TAW	higohigoe	NEM		TAH	ʔōtare
MOT	ogoyami	CEM		RAP	
		AJI	εb <sup>w</sup> i		

TAG PNP \*ulila.

AKL PHN \*ilu; also mūyu-mūyu.

ACE Also anu<sup>?</sup>[yatim].

IND anak[yatim] 'fatherless child'; anak piatu 'motherless child'.

JAV Also [yatim] 'fatherless child'; [piatu] 'motherless child' Malay.

KON Also kukaŋ 'tappusu' 'both parents dead'.

WOL 'orphaned, fatherless'.

SIK Also me loar.

BUR 'both parents dead'; ana-m-hodo-t 'one parent dead'.

DOB k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>a means 'child', and k<sup>w</sup>ar<sup>?</sup>ow means 'orphan'.

SAW From Ternate.

YAB 'child orphaned'; mə-sebu 'taro piece'; tu ma<sup>n</sup>dab 'become orphans'.

TOL nat 'little', na CONN, liŋ perhaps cognate with liŋliŋ 'deserted, empty (said of a village or house)'.

MEK i-aŋe-pa<sup>?</sup>, see maŋepa 'deserted, solitary'.

LEW For one or both parents deceased.

KWA 'indefinite person marker die survive'.

WLE 'dead mother'.

TON Also fa<sup>?</sup>ēmate usually when mother dead; tamaimate usually when father dead.

SAM *mātua* (pl) ‘parents’, *oti* ‘die, be dead’, see 02.370, 04.750. Also *tama au-matuā*, *tama* ‘child’, *au-* ‘without’, *matua* ‘parent’, *au-matuā* (-*au-matua-a*) ‘be orphaned’, -*a* ornative suffix (Mosel 1985: 62ff).

## 02.760 WIDOW

See 02.750

ATA	ḡainut	*GOR	[ja <sup>n</sup> da]	MAR	naboko
TSO	tu-vḡoŋi	DAA	tobalu	LAU	ʔoru geni
RUK	toanina- baḡoanə	UMA	to-balu	KWO	nao
PAI		*BUG	balo-činraʔ	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ero-
*YAM	limaliman ḡo katovoŋ	*KON	balu	PAA	vatina
ISN	būkud da babay	WOL	ḡalu-ḡalu	LEW	letano
KAL	bilūḡ	MAG	ata luaŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> bariinox r <sup>m</sup> baix
*TAG	bāʔo	NGA	fai-valu	NTA	noutalhəm <sup>w</sup> us
*AKL	bāḡu	SIK	duʔa liʔa-ŋ	*KWA	pran kemhatəni
*PAL	balu	*BUR	falu	NEM	dam <sup>w</sup> et nōk
MOL	balu	DOB	ḡal'bu ʔodar	CEM	dēp <sup>w</sup> et
*KAG	balu	*IRA	səbatado	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε jāme
BLA	libun balu	*SAW	[balo]	*XAR	ḡome
SAB	balə	NYI	nāu	NEN	ḡuba ḡenewe
*MUR	(lan)tuod	MAM	narenare	KIR	
*MGY	mati vadi	TAK	buab	MSH	
ACE	inəŋ baleə	DAM	wābu	PON	liōti
BAT	ina na ma- balu	MAB	nora	WLE	
*MIN	[rando]	*YAB	àwe-tuʔ	EFI	yada
*IND	[janda]	*KAU	ḡamu-an	WFI	dawai
SUN	[randa]	*TOL	āuə	RTU	takfua
JAV	[rəndə]	BUA	aloḡ	*TON	fefine [uitou]
MAD	[rand <sup>h</sup> a]	*ADZ	sagat yaruf	SAM	
BAL	balu	*KIL	na-kakau	*MEL	[mālepu]
SAS	bəbalu	TAW	hiwape	TAH	vahine ʔivi
		*MOT	ḡabu-na	RAP	hove vahine
		MEK	afu-afu		
		ROV	naboko		

- YAM 'dead mate'.  
 TAG Also *bāloŋ babāʔe*, [*biyūda*], from Spanish *viuda*.  
 AKL Also [*biyūda*]; Spanish *viuda*.  
 PAL Also *sɔpak*.  
 KAG 'one whose spouse has died'; can postpose *na bai* to specify female.  
 MUR Also *puod, umpalaŋ, inimʔoloʔ*.  
 MGY Also *mpi-tonɗʔa-tena* 'who carries oneself'.  
 MIN Also *ǰando*.  
 IND Also *balu*.  
 GOR Also *tā b-il-alu*; *tā* personal nominaliser; *b-il-alu* 'was wrapped'.  
 BUG Also *walu*.  
 KON Also [*ǰanda*] from Malay.  
 RTI Also *ina falu*.  
 BUR Also *falu newe-t* 'living widow' for a woman who has been thrown out by her husband.  
 IRA *səbatado* (after mourning period); *wanuku* (still mourning period).  
 SAW From Malay.  
 YAB Also *àwe sawa* 'woman empty'.  
 KAU 'widow, widower'.  
 TOL Also *taurarə*.  
 ADZ Also *sagat moa<sup>n</sup>t* (Central dialect).  
 KIL 'female-widow'.  
 MOT The terms *βabu* and *doyae*, when used to address or refer to someone, are often followed by the name of the deceased spouse.  
 KWA 'woman survivor'.  
 XAR *ǰəme ǰē* 'widow'.  
 TON From English 'widow'.  
 MEL From Efate.

### 02.770 WIDOWER

ATA	ǰainut	PAI	ISN	būkud da
TSO	tu-vɕoŋi	*YAM		lalāki
RUK	toanina- baʎoanə		KAL	pāŋis
			*TAG	bāʔo

*AKL	bāṭu	NGA	haki-valu	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ero-
PAL	balu	SIK	mo <sup>ʔ</sup> a-ŋ li <sup>ʔ</sup> a-ŋ	PAA	vatina
MOL	balu	RTI	tou falu	LEW	letano
*KAG	balu	BUR	falu	POR	<sup>m</sup> barünax
BLA	lagi balu	DOB	ɸal'bu yili	NTA	noutalhəm <sup>w</sup> us
SAB	balo	IRA	sauerə	*KWA	ierman
*MUR	(lan)tuod	*SAW	[balo]		kemhatəni
*MGY	mati vadi	NYI	ñar	NEM	dam <sup>w</sup> et
ACE	agam baleə	MAM	narenare	CEM	dêp <sup>w</sup> et
BAT	ama na ma-	*TAK	tamol sos	AJI	wi jãme
	balu	DAM	tərona	*XAR	ʒəme
MIN		MAB	kisa	NEN	θuba čarman
*IND	duda]	YAB	aluŋ	KIR	
SUN	duda	*KAU	βamu-an	MSH	
JAV	ɸuɸɔ	*TOL	āuə	PON	olōti
MAD	ɸ <sup>h</sup> uɸ <sup>h</sup> a	BUA	aluŋ	WLE	
*BAL		ADZ	garam yaruf	EFI	yada
SAS	bəbalu	*KIL	to-kakau	WFI	dawai
*GOR	[papa] [jã <sup>n</sup> da]	TAW	hibowa	RTU	takfua
DAA	tobalu	*MOT	doɣae-na	*TON	taŋata [uitou]
UMA	to-balu	*MEK	ʔoa-ʔoae	SAM	
*BUG	balo-činra?	ROV	naboko	*MEL	[mālepu]
*KON	[janda]	MAR	naboko	TAH	
WOL	ḡalu-ḡalu	LAU	ʔai ʔoru	RAP	hove tane
MAG	ata luaŋ	KWO	nao		

YAM 'dead mate'.

TAG Also *bāloŋ lalāki*, [*biyūdo*]; from Spanish *viudo*.

AKL Also [*biyūdo*], from Spanish.

KAG 'one whose spouse has died'; can postpose *na mama* to specify male.

MUR Also *puod*, *umpalaŋ*, *inimbolo?*.

MGY Also *mpi-tonɸ<sup>r</sup>a-tena*.

IND Also *balu*.

BAL See 02.760.

GOR From Sanskrit.

BUG Also *walu*.

KON From Sanskrit; also *balu* (*buru<sup>ʔ</sup>ne*).

SAW From Malay.

TAK	‘man derris root’.
KAU	See 02.760.
TOL	Also <i>taurarə</i> .
KIL	‘male widow’.
MOT	See 02.760.
MEK	NW Mekeo has <i>a-koae</i> .
KWA	‘man survivor’.
XAR	<i>ɟɔmɛ xɔtɔ</i> ‘widower’.
TON	From English ‘widow’.
MEL	From Efate.

## 02.810 RELATIVES, KINSMEN

Sanskrit: *bhāryā-*

Spanish: *pariente*

ATA	matraruma <sup>?</sup>	MAD	b <sup>h</sup> ala	*TAK	dar-kaek
TSO	ʔoaxŋi	*BAL	[brayə]	DAM	sirag
RUK	rətəsənə	SAS	kadaŋ ʃari	MAB	toŋmatiziŋ
PAI	ʒuŋul <sup>y</sup> -an	*GOR	ʔilāto	*YAB	tawaŋ
YAM	ripoʃ	DAA	sa <sup>m</sup> pesuvu	*KAU	po tin irit βon men
ISN	indu <sup>?</sup> ān	UMA	o <sup>m</sup> pi <sup>?</sup>	*TOL	niuru-
KAL	kabagiyan	BUG	sompun-lolo	*BUA	alam
TAG	kamag- <sup>?</sup> ānak	*KON	biʃa pamm- anak-eŋ	*ADZ	rib-
AKL	[paryinti]	*WOL	[karaabati]	KIL	dala
*PAL	kɔ <sup>?</sup> usba <sup>?</sup> an	*MAG	ase-ka <sup>?</sup> e	*TAW	guguni
*MOL	anak	NGA	ana-voe	MOT	βaraβara-na
KAG	[parinti]	SIK	ina ama βue βari	*MEK	i-kupu au- <sup>?</sup> i
BLA	gəkid			ROV	turajana
SAB	kampuŋ	RTI		*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> eraña
*MUR	pabukat	*BUR	kai-wai-t	*LAU	futā
*MGY	havana	*DOB	sama si	*KWO	ta <sup>?</sup> a meru futa
*ACE	[ʃɛədara]		k <sup>w</sup> alisan	RAG	
*BAT	təddəŋ	IRA	ɸararinə	*PAA	vatitelaim
*MIN	dusana <sup>?</sup>	SAW		*LEW	lu-sia
*IND	kərabat	*NYI	lowa-n	*POR	nü <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> uŋ
SUN	[baraya]	MAM	dara	NTA	
*JAV	sana <sup>?</sup> sə-dulur				

*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anak <sup>w</sup> us	*KIR	te utū	RTU	kainaŋa
*NEM	wan-mēvu	*MSH	ɛr̄m <sup>w</sup> wɛ	TON	kāiŋa
CEM	dūā-n	PON	peneinei	SAM	ʔāiŋa
AJI	duaceŋe	WLE	ɾeϕ <sup>w</sup> uxota-	MEL	matarau
*XAR	neakenū	EFI	weka-	TAH	fētiʔi
*NEN	rekan	WFI	koi-le-	RAP	huaʔai

PAL Also *kə-kampun-an*.

MOL *anak + ko-por- -an*.

MUR (*mambukat* (x2), *sabubukat* (x3)); *duanduʔ* (kinswomen), *uŋkuyon* (kinsmen).

MGY From PMP \**kaban*.

ACE From Sanskrit, also [*kawom*] from Arabic *qawm* ‘tribe’.

BAT Also *si səlhot*

MIN Also *balah-an* ‘part (of the family)’.

IND Also *oraŋ sə-darah*, *sanak-saudara*.

JAV See note 02.456.

BAL Also *ñama-[brayə]* see 02.456.

GOR Also [*koluwarga*] Sanskrit; *wayito* ‘relative, friend’.

KON From *pa-aŋ-anaʔ-ɛŋ*.

WOL From Arabic *qarāba* ‘relationship’; also *sa-wuti-wuti-tinai*, *wuti-tinai*.

MAG ‘clan-fellows’; ‘relatives in general’ *hae-didiŋ*.

BUR Rana and WaeSama also *kaka-wai-t*.

DOB A compound, lit means ‘father and brothers’.

NYI ‘his relatives’, referring to the relatives of his mother and father. It does not refer to immediate family members.

TAK ‘blood-one’.

YAB Also *lau-m̄* ‘people-origin’; *kesiŋmakiʔ* ‘affines’.

KAU ‘they who are siblings’ (*tin ə men* brackets-a relative clause); *po* ‘they’; *tin irit* ‘siblings’.

TOL ‘members of the same clan’, i.e. all those descended from the same ancestress.

BUA *alam* ‘close kinsfolk’; *ni papu* ‘distant connections’.

ADZ ‘people, them’.

TAW ‘clan’ reckoned through the mother.

- MEK *i-kupu* means ‘clan’ and *i-kupu au-ʔi* means ‘(same) clan persons’. One’s in-laws are known collectively as *ipa-ŋava*, where *ipa* means ‘same-sex in-law of the same generation’ (i.e. men’s brothers-in-law and women’s sisters-in-law), while *ŋava* covers in-laws of adjacent generations (i.e. fathers- and mothers-in-law, sons- and daughters-in-law).
- MAR 3sg POSS.
- LAU Also *aua, has, mar*.
- KWO ‘people were born’.
- PAA ‘clan group’.
- LEW ‘shoot of plant’.
- POR Also *ate*.
- KWA Also ‘vine’, *k<sup>w</sup>ank<sup>w</sup>anej* ‘maternal kin’.
- NEM ‘relations of the same clan (paternal side)’. Maternal relations are called *wan-iri*.
- XAR Also *nēpamĩ*. Marriage permitted between *neakenũ*, but not *nēpamĩ*.
- NEN Also *siač, relazin, lanedi*.
- KIR Also *te baroŋa* ‘clan, family’; *te kuaŋa* ‘devoted relative, parent’.
- MSH Also *nuk<sup>w</sup>i; cōwi* ‘matrilineal kin, clan’.

## 02.820 FAMILY

Dutch: <i>familie</i>	Sanskrit: <i>kula-, varga-</i>	Spanish: <i>familia</i>
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ATA		KAG [pamilya]	MAD [pamily]
TSO	ʧo no armana	BLA maloy	*BAL pə-kurən-an
*RUK	ta-ʧəkə-ʧəkəl-anə	SAB ag-taliyanak	*SAS [səməton] jari
		*MUR sambaloy	*GOR ŋa-ala?-a
PAI		*MGY fi-anak-avi-ana	*DAA saonʉ n̄japo
*YAM	aşa ka vaʒay		*UMA po-sa-n-tina-a
ISN	akkobuŋ	ACE	BUG sompuŋ-lolo
KAL	kabboloy	BAT ripe	*KON biʒa
*TAG	[pamilya]	*MIN dusana?	*WOL sa-raa-raa
*AKL	kasiŋ-dūgu?	*IND [kəluarga]	*MAG kilo
*PAL	məgyagaŋ	*SUN [kaluwarga]	NGA isi-saʔo
MOL		JAV [kulɔwargɔ]	



SIK	ina ama βue βari	KIL	βeya-	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> āřo
*RTI	leo	*TAW	manago	XAR	nemereβ <sup>w</sup> a
*BUR	kema-t	*MOT	bese-na	*NEN	guṇameneṅ
*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> alar yabil	MEK		*KIR	(kāin) te
IRA		ROV	tatamana		kāiṅa
SAW	[keluarga]	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> abuknaña	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ic
*NYI	rabu-k	*LAU	mā	*PON	peneinei
MAM	dara	KWO	ru <sup>?</sup> uru <sup>?</sup> ua	*WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> uxota
*TAK	dar-kaek	RAG		EFI	βūβale
DAM	ibor	PAA		WFI	βuniwere
MAB	wal	*LEW	pratava	RTU	kau-nōhōṅa
YAB	goloa <sup>?</sup>	POR	nu- <sup>l</sup> d <sup>r</sup> iin	*TON	[fāmili]
KAU		NTA	noanol kitiah	SAM	?āiṅa
*TOL	vunə-tərəi	*KWA	tənərur	MEL	kainaṅa
BUA	alam	NEM	tūn	TAH	?utuāfare
*ADZ	mua <sup>l</sup> çi	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ā-pānu- âmehī	RAP	hua <sup>?</sup> ai

RUK See *çakələ* ‘village’.

YAM ‘one house’.

TAG Also *mag-?ānak, anka*.

AKL Also [*pamilya*].

PAL *məgyagaṅ* ‘nuclear family; *saṅ ko-banuwan-an* ‘household’.

MUR ‘married couple with children’; also *sandapuan* ‘extended family’; *mansawo* ‘married couple no children’; *maṅkatuo* ‘elderly married couple’.

MGY From (*z*)*anaka* ‘child’ + *avi* ‘all’.

MIN See 02.440.

IND Also *anak [istəri]* ‘child (and) wife’, from Sanskrit.

SUN Also [*warga*].

BAL From Old Javanese [*kurən*] ‘spouse’. For census purposes, etc. families are counted as *kurən* or *paon* lit ‘kitchen, fireplace’ e.g. *dasə kurən, dasə paon* ‘ten families’.

SAS From Javanese; see note 02.444.

GOR (*wala?o + ŋo- -a*).

DAA No single term for this, closest equivalent is ‘one household’.

UMA ‘one mother group’.

- KON Also *si-batu balla?*
- WOL ‘one blood’, i.e. of common descent.
- MAG ‘household’.
- RTI Rotinese has no word for ‘family’: *leo* ‘largest order origin group or ‘clan’; *-tei-k* ‘next level origin group’, ‘lineage’. Both such groups are named. *uma* ‘house’, can also be used to refer to origin groups within a *leo* or *-tei-k*. *bo-bogi-k* or ‘birth group’ refers to a group of siblings.
- BUR Also *humakema-t*.
- DOB ‘the house’s inside’, i.e. ‘household’.
- NYI There is no general term for ‘family’, including parents as well as biological siblings. The term *rabuk* ‘my one blood’ refers only to biological brothers and sisters.
- TAK ‘blood-one’.
- TOL *vuna* see 14.250, 17.420, *tarai* 19.210, 19.230.
- ADZ *mua<sup>n</sup>çi* ‘clan’ (Amari dialect); *utup* ‘clan’ (Central dialect); *a<sup>m</sup>pan* ‘clan’ (Central and other dialects).
- TAW ‘nuclear family’ - a man, wife and his children.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *iduhu* ‘clan, family’ and *βεβε* ‘descendants, family’; *ruma tau-dia* lit ‘people of the house’ may also be used for those relatives usually living in a particular house.
- LAU Also *tē*.
- LEW See 07.220.
- KWA ‘basket’.
- CEM ‘house with parents and children; nuclear family’.
- NEN Also *ačeretenen*.
- KIR Also ‘home, property’; probably Polynesian; *kāin te kāiŋa* ‘home people, family’.
- MSH *p<sup>w</sup>ic* ‘lineage’, also *εrm<sup>w</sup>wε*; *nuk<sup>w</sup>i*.
- PON Also *keinek* ‘extended family’.
- WLE Also ‘home, estate’.
- TON From English.

## 02.910 I

ATA	ʔi-kuiŋ	UMA	akuʔ	MAR	iara
*TSO	aʔo	BUG	iyyaʔ	LAU	nau
*RUK	ko-ako	KON	nakke	KWO	nau
*PAI	ti-akən	WOL	iaku	RAG	inau
YAM	yakən	*MAG	aku	PAA	inau
ISN	iyaʔ	NGA	jaʔo	LEW	inu
KAL	sākon	SIK	aʔu	POR	inau
TAG	ako	RTI	au	NTA	io
AKL	akuh	*BUR	yako	KWA	iou
PAL	aku	DOB	saʔu	NEM	wo
MOL	aku	IRA	ja	*CEM	ê
*KAG	a	SAW	ya	*AJI	gɔ
*BLA	agu	NYI	jo	*XAR	nā
SAB	aku	MAM	ŋau	NEN	inu
*MUR	aku	*TAK	ŋai	*KIR	ŋŋai
MGY	izahu	DAM	aya	*MSH	ŋa
*ACE	keə	MAB	nio	*PON	ŋēi
BAT	au	YAB	ae	*WLF	xāŋü
*MIN	den	KAU	ŋo	EFI	yau
*IND	[saya]	*TOL	iau	WFI	yau
*SUN	kuriŋ	BUA	sa	RTU	ŋou
JAV	aku	ADZ	ɔzi	*TON	au
*MAD	siŋkuʔ	KIL	yeigu	*SAM	aʔu
*BAL	[(i)čarŋ]	TAW	tau	MEL	avau
*SAS	aku	MOT	lau	*TAH	vau
*GOR	waʔu	*MEK	lau	RAP	au
DAA	aku	ROV	arau		

TSO *aʔo* emphatic, *ʔu ~ ʔo* nominative enclitic.

RUK The pronouns include free and bound forms. The free forms include nominative and accusative:

	Nominative	Accusative	Bound form
1st sg	<i>ko-ako</i>	<i>n-ako-anə</i>	<i>-ako</i>
2nd sg	<i>ko-so</i>	<i>mo-so-anə</i>	<i>-so</i>
3rd sg proximate	<i>ko-ini</i>	<i>ini-anə</i>	—
3rd sg remote	<i>ko-iða</i>		—

	Nominative	Accusative	Bound form
1st incl	<i>ko-ta</i>	<i>mi-ta-anə</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1st excl	<i>ko-nai</i>	<i>nai-anə</i>	<i>-nai</i>
2nd pl	<i>ko-nomi</i>	<i>nomi-anə</i>	<i>-nomi</i>
3rd pl proximate	<i>ko-ini</i>		
3rd pl remote	<i>ko-iḍa</i>		

**PAI** The pronouns include free and bound forms

The free forms are:

	Agentive	Genitive	Objective	Locative
I	<i>ti-akən</i>	<i>ni-akən</i>	<i>ta-nu-akən</i>	<i>ti-ta-nu-akən</i>
you (sg)	<i>ti-sun</i>	<i>ni-sun</i>	<i>ta-nu-sun</i>	<i>ti-ta-nu-sun</i>
he, she, it	<i>ti-madu</i>	<i>ni-madu</i>	<i>ta-i-madu</i>	<i>ti-madu</i>
we (incl)	<i>ti-tan</i>	<i>ni-tən</i>	<i>ta-nu-i-tən</i>	<i>ti-ta-nu-i-tən</i>
we (excl)	<i>ti-amən</i>	<i>ni-amən</i>	<i>ta-nu-amən</i>	<i>ti-nu-amən</i>
you (pl)	<i>ti-mun</i>	<i>ni-mun</i>	<i>ta-nu-mun</i>	<i>ti-ta-nu-mun</i>
they	<i>ti-a-madu</i>	<i>ni-a-madu</i>	<i>ta-i-a-madu</i>	<i>ti-a-madu</i>

The bound forms are:

	Agentive	Genitive
I	<i>-akən</i>	<i>ku-</i>
you (sg)	<i>-sun</i>	<i>su-</i>
he, she, it	—	—
we (incl)	<i>-itan</i>	<i>ta-</i>
we (excl)	<i>-amən</i>	<i>nia-</i>
you (pl)	<i>-mun</i>	<i>nu-</i>
they	—	—

**KAG** *a* focused actor; *ko* non-focused actor; *yaken* preposed focused actor.

**BLA** *agu* focus; *-gu* non-focus; *dəg* emphasis.

**MUR** *aku* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation, post-verbal clitic subject/pivot. *ku* post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor). *daki*? post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.

**ACE** Also *ulon*, *uloŋ* originally 'slave'.

**MIN** Also *ambo*, *awa*?

**IND** From Sanskrit. Also *aku* and *ku*.

**SUN** Also *aiŋ*.

**MAD** First person pronoun. Number is not distinguished.

**BAL** Note number is not distinguished in most varieties. First person forms serve equally for the plural pronominal 'we' *aku*, the original

Old Balinese term, is now found only in isolated dialects. [(i)čaŋ], [titaŋ], [tiaŋ] are now the most common forms, all deriving from Old Javanese *tiaŋ* ‘person’: (i)čaŋ has familiar or crude connotations, according to context; *titaŋ* ‘humble’ form; *tiaŋ* polite form, used between equals, strangers. [(i)ragə] from Sanskrit, polite form; *kai* familiar/crude; (a)wake (in some Northern dialects *oke*) lit ‘the body’

SAS Also [tiaŋ] from Balinese.

GOR Also *wātiya* shows respect to interlocutor.

MAG Personal suffix is *-k*; possessive suffix *-g*.

BUR Cliticised to *ya* or *yak*; also *a-* ‘pronominal proclitic subject marker’.

TAK Independent pronoun. Takia has four pronoun paradigms: independent, subject prefixes, object suffixes, and possessive suffixes.

TOL The Tolai pronouns distinguish between singular, (dual), trial and plural, and in the (dual), trial and plural between first person inclusive and first person exclusive. Furthermore, they constitute three paradigms: 1. independent pronouns, 2. subject markers i.e. cross-referencing pronouns which are an obligatory part of the verbal complex, 3. pronominal suffixes which are attached to relational nouns in order to denote the possessor or which are combined with certain prepositions. Furthermore, there is the indefinite subject marker *di*, which is used when the speaker does not know or does not want to express the agent of an action (Mosel 1984: 93).

MEK *Iau* corresponds to North Mekeo *itsi*, West Mekeo *iji* and NW Mekeo *iu* all from a postulated PMek *\*eau*. (Desnoës records archaic North Mekeo *itau*.)

NEM There are several sorts of personal pronouns:

		Subject/Emphatic	Object	Possessive
sg	1	<i>wŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>-ŋ</i>
	2	<i>do</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>-m</i>
	3	<i>ye</i> (subj)/ <i>yek</i> (emph.)	<i>ek</i>	<i>-n</i>
dl	1 (incl)	<i>nedu</i>	<i>nedu</i>	<i>-du</i>
	1 (excl)	<i>nebu</i>	<i>nebu</i>	<i>-bu</i>
	2	<i>yelu</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>-lu</i>
	3	<i>yelu</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>-lu</i>
pl	1 (incl)	<i>nei</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>-i</i>
	1 (excl)	<i>nemi</i>	<i>nemi</i>	<i>-mi</i>
	2	<i>daa</i>	<i>raa</i>	<i>-we</i>
	3	<i>yele</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>-le</i>

CEM There are several paradigms of personal pronouns (see Introduction).

AJI Also *geña*.

XAR Subject form; for other forms see Introduction.

KIR *ŋŋai* ABS, *i* SM.

MSH *ŋa* independent (absolute) pronoun; *i* subject pronoun.

PON *ŋēi* ABS; *i* SM.

WLE *xāŋü* ABS, *i* SM.

TON Also *ou*, *kau*, *u*, *ku*.

SAM Samoan distinguishes between singular, dual and plural pronouns, which constitute three paradigms: 1. independent pronouns, 2. verbal pronouns, i.e. pronouns which form part of the verb-phrase and precede its nucleus, 3. possessive pronouns which in nominal possessive constructions denote the possessor and precede the possessed noun:

		independent pronouns	preverbal pronouns	possessive pronouns
sg	1	<i>aʔu</i>	<i>ʔou, oʔu</i>	<i>-ʔu</i>
	1 (emotional)	<i>ʔita</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>
	2	<i>ʔoe</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>-u</i>
	3	<i>ia</i>	<i>ia, na</i>	<i>-na</i>
dl	1 (excl)	<i>māʔua, imāʔuamā</i>	<i>mā, māʔua</i>	
	1 (incl)	<i>tāʔua, ʔitāʔua</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>tā, tāʔua</i>
	2	<i>ʔoulua</i>	<i>lua, ʔoulualua, ʔoulua</i>	
	3	<i>lāʔua, ʔilāʔua</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā, lāʔua</i>
pl	1 (excl)	<i>mātou, ʔimātoumātou</i>	<i>mātou</i>	
	1 (incl)	<i>tātou, ʔitātou</i>	<i>tātou</i>	<i>tātou</i>
	2	<i>ʔoutou</i>	<i>tou, ʔoutou</i>	<i>tou, ʔoutou</i>
	3	<i>lātou, ʔilātou</i>	<i>lātou</i>	<i>lātou</i>

TAH Also *au*.

## 02.920 YOU (singular)

ATA	<i>ʔi-šuʔ</i>	ISN	<i>ikaw</i>	MOL	<i>ko</i>
*TSO	<i>sū</i>	KAL	<i>sīka</i>	*KAG	<i>ka</i>
RUK	<i>ko-so</i>	*TAG	<i>ikaw</i>	*BLA	<i>gi</i>
*PAI	<i>ti-sun</i>	AKL	<i>ikaw</i>	SAB	<i>kaʔa</i>
YAM	<i>imo</i>	PAL	<i>ikow</i>	*MUR	<i>okow</i>

MGY	ianau	IRA	ɔ	LEW	ko
*ACE	kah	SAW	aw	POR	xai <sup>ʔ</sup> g
*BAT	hɔ	NYI	ou	NTA	ik
*MIN	aŋ	MAM	ʔaiʔo	KWA	ik
*IND	əŋkau	*TAK	oŋ	NEM	do
*SUN	maneh	DAM	ō	CEM	gô
JAV	kœ	*MAB	nu	AJI	ge
*MAD	baʔna	YAB	aom	XAR	kə
*BAL	čai	*KAU	ŋon	*NEN	bo
*SAS	kamu	*TOL	u	KIR	ŋkoe
*GOR	yiʔo	BUA	ɣoŋ	*MSH	yək
DAA	iko	*ADZ	agu	*PON	ke
UMA	iko	KIL	yoku	*WLF	xēra
BUG	iko	TAW	tam	EFI	iko
*KON	kau	MOT	oi	WFI	iko
WOL	i <sup>ʔ</sup> koo	*MEK	oi	RTU	ʔæe
*MAG	hau	ROV	aɣoi	*TON	koe
NGA	kau	MAR	iaɣo	SAM	ʔoe
SIK	ʔau	LAU	niʔoe	MEL	akoe
RTI	o	KWO	ʔō	TAH	ʔoe
*BUR	kae	RAG	ɣigo	RAP	koe
DOB	ʔa	PAA	kaik		

TSO *sū* emphatic, *su* ~ *ko* nominative enclitic.

PAI See 02.910.

TAG Proto-Philippines \**i-kaw*.

KAG *ka* focused actor; *no* non-focused actor; *kaon* preposed focused actor.

BLA *gɨ* focus, emphasis; *-am* non-focus.

MUR *okow* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation. *kow* post verbal clitic subject/pivot. *mu* post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor). *didunʔ* post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.

ACE Also *gata*, *drɔənu* (< *drɔə* 'self' -*nō* 'you').

BAT *hɔ* (familiar); *haʔnu* (respectful).

MIN Also *kau*.

IND Also *kamu*, *-mu*.

SUN 'self'; also *hidəp*; *sia* is used to inferiors, animals, occasionally to relatives, also between children.

- MAD Second person pronoun. Number is not distinguished.
- BAL *čai* (masc); *ñai* (fem.). Note number is not distinguished. These forms serve equally for the plural 'you'. [*raga*]-*ne*, [*ragə*] from Sanskrit, lit '(the) body', polite forms. There is a good deal of regional variation in 2nd person pronominal forms. e.g. in the Denpasar/Tabanan area: *či* (male) *ñi*, *sigə* (female); in some places *sigə* is used to refer to either sex. *nani*, *ibə* are dialectal, with crude connotations elsewhere. *ibə* literally means 'body'. *iə* the 3rd person form is sometimes used as a polite 2nd person form in North and West Bali. All forms, except *iə* and *raga.ne*, *ragə*, are restricted to familiar usage.
- SAS Also *anta*, *ŋke?*, *di?*, *sidə*, *sida*. Teeuw lists *kamu*; *di?*; *kamu* (fem), *anta* (masc); *kamu* (fem.) *ŋke?* (masc).
- GOR Also *?ito* 'you' respect-form.
- KON *kau* (familiar); *gitte* (honorific).
- MAG Personal suffix *-h*; possessive suffix *-m*.
- BUR Cliticised to *ka*; also there is a pronominal proclitic subject marker *ku*.
- TAK See note on 'I' (02.910).
- KAU Also *som* polite form.
- MAB Also *niu*, *ŋu*, *ŋue* (dialectal variation).
- TOL See 02.910.
- ADZ *agu* subject or object; *u* subject.
- MEK West Mekeo (and the other two dialects, erratically) *oai*.
- NEN Also *bua* (respectful).
- MSH Also *k<sup>w</sup>e*.
- PON Also *kō*, *kowe*, *-(i)ūk+kom<sup>w</sup>*, *kom<sup>w</sup>i* hon.
- WLE Also *xō*, *-xo*.
- TON Also *ke*.

### 02.930 HE/SHE/IT

ATA	<i>?i-hiya?</i>	YAM	<i>iya</i>	AKL	<i>imaw</i>
*TSO	<i>ta</i>	ISN	<i>aggīna</i>	PAL	<i>ya</i>
RUK	<i>ko-ini</i>	KAL	<i>siya</i>	MOL	<i>sia</i>
*PAI	<i>ti-maju</i>	*TAG	<i>siya</i>	*KAG	<i>kanən</i>



*BLA	kinin	*BUR	rine	PAA	kai
SAB	iya	*DOB	nay	LEW	naŋa
*MUR	io	IRA	i	POR	nai
MGY	izi	SAW	i	NTA	in
*ACE	js	NYI	iy	KWA	in
*BAT	ibana	MAM	ŋai	*NEM	ye
MIN	iño	*TAK	iŋ	CEM	ê
*IND	dia	DAM	ĩ	AJI	na
*SUN	maneh-na	*MAB	ni	XAR	rɛ
*JAV	dɛwɛʔ-e	*YAB	ɛŋ	*NEN	bon
*MAD	dʱibiʔ-na	*KAU	hiyaŋ	*KIR	ŋaia
*BAL	iə	*TOL	ĩə	MSH	ɛ
SAS	niə	BUA	yi	*PON	e
GOR	tiyo	ADZ	araŋan	*WLE	ĩya
DAA	iʔa	*KIL	ma- -na	EFI	koya
UMA	hiʔa	TAW	tauna	WFI	kua
BUG	alena	MOT	ia	RTU	ia
KON	ia	*MEK	isa	*TON	ia
WOL	i <sup>n</sup> čia	ROV	asa	SAM	ia
*MAG	hia	*MAR	mana	MEL	aia
NGA	gazi	LAU	nia	*TAH	ʔoia
SIK	nimu	KWO	ŋai	RAP	ia
RTI	"dia	RAG	kea		

TSO # ~ *ta* nominative enclitic.

PAI See 02.910.

TAG Proto-Philippines \**siya*.

KAG *kanen* focused actor and preposed focused actor; *din* non-focused actor.

BLA *kinin* focus, emphasis; *-an* non-focus.

MUR *io* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation, post-verbal clitic subject/pivot: *no* post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor): *disoʔ* post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.

ACE 'he/she', not 'it'; also [gɔp]-*n̄an* from Mon-Khmer, *drɔ̃nu*.

BAT From *iba* (indeterminate 3 pron) *-na* (3 pron).

IND Also *ia* (in writing); *bəliau* (honorific).

SUN 'self-3sg'.

JAV 'self'-DEF; also *dɛʔ-e* from \**di-awak* 'LOC-body'.

- MAD Third person pronoun. Number is not distinguished.
- BAL *iə* refers only to human referents. For non-human referents zero anaphora or full noun forms are used. Number is not distinguished, *iə* serves equally for 'they'. *idə* and *danə* are honorific forms. *idə* is reserved for people of high caste (see introduction); *dane* is now used for all castes.
- MAG Personal suffix *-i/y*; possessive suffix *-n*.
- BUR Cliticised to *rin*; also a pronominal proclitic subject marker *da* and a neuter object marker *-he*.
- DOB *nay* proximal, *ne* or *no* if they are further away; *ne* is closer than *no*.
- TAK See note on 'I' (02.910).
- MAB Also *ini*.
- YAB 'he, she' i.e. *geŋ tau* 'thing self' i.e. 'it'.
- KAU Kaulong has a gender distinction in 3sg; *hiyaŋ* is the masculine form and *vut* the feminine form.
- TOL See 02.910.
- KIL (With classifier), e.g., *ma-tau-na* that-male-that 'he'; *mi-na-na*; that-female-that 'she'; *ma-kai-na* that-rigid/long-that 'it' (e.g. of spear) etc.
- MEK *isa* corresponds to North Mekeo *iza*, West Mekeo *ida* and NW Mekeo *ia/iya*, which demonstrates consonantal intrusion in the environment */i\_a*.
- MAR *mana* 'he', male speaking; *naʔa* 'she, it; he' (female speaking).
- NEM *ye* (subj), *yek* (emph).
- NEN Also *nubon* (respectful).
- KIR *ŋaia* ABS, *e* SM.
- PON *e* ABS; *ī* SM.
- WLE *īya* ABS, *ye* SM.
- TON Also *ne*.
- TAH Also *ʔōna*.

## 02.940 WE

ATA	PAI	KAL (dl) dita
TSO	YAM yamən	*TAG
RUK	ISN daʔtada	AKL

PAL	kitow	SIK		RAG
MOL	kay	RTI		PAA
KAG		BUR	ma	LEW
*BLA	iti	DOB		POR
SAB		IRA		NTA
*MUR		SAW	am	KWA
MGY		NYI		NEM
*ACE		*MAM	?ita	CEM
BAT		*TAK		AJI gere
*MIN	kami	DAM		XAR
IND	kami	MAB		NEN
SUN	uraŋ	YAB	aeà?	*KIR ŋaira
JAV		*KAU		MSH
*MAD	siŋku?	TOL		PON
*BAL		BUA		WLE
SAS	itə	ADZ		EFI
GOR		KIL		WFI
DAA		TAW		RTU ?isa
UMA		MOT		TON
BUG	idi?-maniŋ	MEK		SAM
KON	gitte	ROV	γita	MEL
WOL		MAR		TAH
MAG		LAU	gemclu	*RAP
NGA	kami	KWO		

TAG See 02.941, 02.942.

BLA *iti* (dl) focus, *-ta* non-focus, *giti* emphasis.

MUR *ito* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation. *to* post-verbal clitic subject/pivot, post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor). *dito* post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.

ACE See 02.941, 02.942.

MIN Also *kito*.

MAD See also 'I', number not distinguished.

BAL Number is not distinguished in the Balinese pronominal system. For forms expressing 'we' see 02.910 'I'. To disambiguate, the words (*aĵak*) *məkəĵaŋ* lit '(with) all', that is 'all together', may be added e.g. *čaŋ aĵak məkəĵaŋ*, *iragə (aĵak) məkəĵaŋ*.

MAM Also ?e?a.

TAK See 02.941 and 02.942.

KAU See 02.941 and 02.942.

KIR Kiribatese lacks an inclusive/exclusive distinction.

RAP 02.940, 02.941, 02.942 *tāua* 'we (dl incl)'; *māua* we (dl excl); *tātou* we (pl incl); *mātou* we (pl excl).

## 02.941 WE INCLUSIVE

ATA	ʔi-taʔ	DAA	kita	ROV	yita
*TSO	aʔto	UMA	kiraʔ	MAR	tahati
RUK	ko-ta	BUG	idiʔ-manɨŋ	LAU	gemelu
*PAI	ti-cən	KON	gitte (ŋaseʔ)	*KWO	ʔidauru
YAM	yatən	WOL	iʔkita	RAG	yida
ISN	daʔtada	*MAG	ite	*PAA	ir
KAL	ditaku	NGA	kita	*LEW	ita
*TAG	tāyo	SIK	ʔita	POR	<sup>n</sup> dʔate
*AKL	kita	RTI	ita	NTA	kitat
PAL	kisyu	*BUR	kita	*KWA	krau
*MOL	kito	DOB	ʔita	*NEM	nedu
*KAG	ki	IRA	itə	*CEM	gāñe
*BLA	ito	SAW	it	AJI	gere
SAB	kitabɨ	*NYI	talɨ	*XAR	rɨ
*MUR	itakaw	MAM	ʔita	*NEN	eʃe
MGY	isika	*TAK	id	KIR	
*ACE	gutañɔə	DAM	ada	MSH	kəc
BAT	hita	*MAB	iti	*PON	kiʔa
MIN	kito	YAB	aeàʔ	*WLE	xɨʃa
IND	kita	KAU	it	EFI	keda
SUN	uraŋ	*TOL	dāt	WFI	ketatou
JAV	kitə	BUA	yil	*RTU	ʔisa
*MAD	siŋkuʔ ban baʔna kabbɨi	ADZ	əgi	*TON	kitautolu
*BAL		*KIL	yakida	SAM	tātou
		TAW	tauta	MEL	tāteu
SAS	itə	MOT	ita	*TAH	tātou
GOR	ʔito	*MEK	lai	*RAP	tātou

TSO *aʔto* emphatic, *to* nominative enclitic.

PAI See 02.910.

TAG PMP *\*kita* + PNP *\*-yu* 'you (plural)'.  
 \*TSO *aʔto* emphatic, *to* nominative enclitic.  
 \*PAI See 02.910.  
 \*TAG PMP *\*kita* + PNP *\*-yu* 'you (plural)'.  
 \*KAU See 02.941 and 02.942.  
 \*KIR Kiribatese lacks an inclusive/exclusive distinction.  
 \*RAP 02.940, 02.941, 02.942 *tāua* 'we (dl incl)'; *māua* we (dl excl); *tātou* we (pl incl); *mātou* we (pl excl).

- AKL PAN \**kitaH*.
- MOL *kito* (sg); *kitoy* (pl).
- KAG *ki* focused actor; *ta* non-focused actor; *kiten* preposed focused actor.
- BLA *ito* non-focus; *gito* emphasis.
- MUR *itakaw* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation. *takaw* post-verbal clitic subject/pivot, post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor). *ditakaw* post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.
- ACE From *guata*, *ṅṅə* ‘this’.
- MAD ‘first and second persons, all’.
- BAL See 02.941, no inclusive/exclusive distinction.
- MAG Personal suffix *-t*, possessive suffix *-d*.
- BUR Also a pronominal proclitic subject marker *ma*.
- NYI *talū* (dl); *to* (plural definite); *taha* (plural indefinite).
- TAK See 02.910.
- TOL Plural, see 02.910.
- MAB Also *i<sup>n</sup>di* (dialectal variation).
- KIL *yakida* (dl); *yakidasi* (pl).
- MEK *I-ai* corresponds to *ai* in the other dialects.
- KWO Also *gia*.
- PAA Plural only; see *ialu* (dl), *iatel* (paucal).
- LEW Duals/trials etc. use following numeral: *ita lua* ‘we-two (incl)’ etc.
- KWA *krau* (dl); *kətahar* (trial); *kətaha* (pl).
- NEM *nedu* (dl), *nei* (pl).
- CEM *gãñe* (pl); *gãñu* (dl).
- XAR *rĩ* (pl); *rũ* (dl).
- NEN *eje* (pl); *eθewe* (dl).
- PON *kiṭa* (dl); also *kiṭail*.
- WLE Also *si*.
- RTU *?itara*, *?ita-rua* (dl).
- TON *kitautolu*, *tautolu*, *tau* (pl); *kitana*, *taua*, *ta* (dl).
- TAH Also *tāua* (dl).
- RAP 02.940, 02.941, 02.942 *tāua* we (dl incl); *māua* we (dl excl); *tātou* we (pl incl); *mātou* we (pl excl).

## 02.942 WE EXCLUSIVE

ATA	ʔi-čami	*UMA	kaiʔ	MAR	ʔehati
*TSO	aʔmi	BUG	idiʔ-maniŋ	LAU	gemi
RUK	ko-nai	KON	gitte	*KWO	ʔemēru
*PAI	ti-amən	WOL	i <sup>ɖ</sup> kami	RAG	kamai
YAM	yamən	*MAG	ami	*PAA	komai
ISN	dakami	NGA	kami	*LEW	omami
KAL	dikamī	SIK	ʔami	POR	namite
TAG	kami	RTI	ami	NTA	itmat
AKL	kami	*BUR	kami	*KWA	kəmrau
PAL	kami	DOB	ʔama	*NEM	nebu
MOL	kay	IRA	amə	*CEM	gāme
*KAG	kay	SAW	am	AJI	geve
*BLA	gami	*NYI	aru	*XAR	ŋē
SAB	kami	MAM	ʔeʔa	*NEN	eŋiʃ
*MUR	akay	*TAK	maŋ	KIR	
MGY	izahai	DAM	amā	MSH	kəm
ACE	kamə	MAB	niam	*PON	se
BAT	hami	YAB	aeàʔ	*WLE	xōmami
MIN	kami	KAU	pim	EFI	keimami
IND	kami	*TOL	avet	WFI	kematou
SUN	uraŋ	BUA	ʔe	*RTU	ʔamisa
*JAV	kami	*ADZ	āga	*TON	kimautolu
*MAD	siŋkuʔ kabb <sup>h</sup> i	*KIL	yakama	SAM	mātou
*BAL		TAW	tauyai	MEL	māteu
SAS	itə	MOT	ai	*TAH	mātou
*GOR	ʔami-yātiya	*MEK	iʔa	*RAP	mātou
DAA	kami	ROV	ʔami		

TSO *aʔmi* emphatic; *mza* nominative enclitic.

PAI See 02.910.

KAG *kay* focused actor; *nay* non-focused actor; *kami* preposed focused actor.

BLA *gami* focus, emphasis, *-mi* (non-focus).

MUR *akay* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation, post-verbal clitic subject/pivot. *may* post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor). *damon* post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.

- JAV Also *aku kabeh* ‘first person all’.
- MAD ‘first persons all’.
- BAL See 02.940, no inclusive/exclusive distinction.
- GOR (*?ami + wātiya*); *?ami* respect form.
- UMA Dialect *kami* and *komi* (Tolee, Winatu).
- MAG Personal suffix *-km*; possessive suffix *-gm*; in many dialects *hami*.
- BUR Cliticised to *kam*; also a pronominal proclitic subject marker *ma*.
- NYI *aru* (dl); *aso* (pl definite); *ahi* (pl indefinite).
- TAK See note on ‘I’ (02.910).
- TOL Plural; see 02.910.
- ADZ *aga* subject; *agai* object.
- KIL *yakama* (dl); *yakamaisi* (pl).
- MEK Also *ia, isa; ika* in the other dialects.
- KWO Also *?imani*.
- PAA Plural only; see *komal* (dl), *komaitel* (paucal).
- LEW See 02.941.
- KWA *kəmrau* (dl); *kəmrahar* (trial); *kəmaha* (pl).
- NEM *nebu* (dl); *nemi* (pl).
- CEM *gāme* (pl); *gāmu* (dl).
- XAR *ŋē* (pl); *ŋōō* (dl).
- NEN *eŋiĵ* (pl); *eŋe* (dl).
- PON *se* SM; *kīŋ* independent pronoun.
- WLE Also *xai*.
- RTU *?amira* (dl).
- TON *kimautolu, mautolu, mau* (pl); *kimanua, maua, ma* (dl).
- TAH *māua* (dl).
- RAP 02.940, 02.941, 02.942 *tāua* ‘we (dl incl)’; *māua* ‘we (dl excl)’; *tātou* ‘we (pl incl)’; *mātou* we ‘(pl excl)’.

**02.950 YOU (plural)**

ATA	ʔi-čimu	*UMA	koiʔ	MAR	ʔotilo
*TSO	mū	BUG	iko-manɨŋ	LAU	gomolu
RUK	ko-nomi	*KON	kauŋaseʔ	KWO	ʔomōru
*PAI	ti-mun	WOL	iʔkomiu	RAG	kimiu
*YAM	kamo	*MAG	meu	PAA	kami
ISN	dakayu	NGA	miu	*LEW	amiu
KAL	dikayu	SIK	miu	POR	xamite
TAG	kayo	RTI	emi	NTA	itam <sup>w</sup> at
*AKL	kamu		(basa-basam)	*KWA	kəmirau
PAL	komyu	*BUR	kimi	*NEM	dau
MOL	kow	DOB	ʔemi	*CEM	gāwe
*KAG	kaw	IRA	ε	AJI	ɣavə
*BLA	gamu	SAW	mew	*XAR	wĩñ
SAB	kaʔam	*NYI	ah	NEN	buɨj
*MUR	akaw	*MAM	ʔam	KIR	ŋkamī
MGY	ianareu	*TAK	aŋ	*MSH	kəm <sup>u</sup> +
ACE		DAM	ã		kom <sup>u</sup> ro
BAT	ha'mu	MAB	niom	*PON	kum <sup>w</sup> a
*MIN	[kali]an	YAB	amàʔ	*WLE	xōmī
IND	[kali]an	KAU	βom	EFI	kemunī
*SUN	maraneh	*TOL	avət	WFI	kemutou
JAV	koe kabeh	BUA	ʔam	*RTU	ʔausa
*MAD	baʔna kabbb <sup>fi</sup>	ADZ	agam	*TON	kimoutolu
*BAL		KIL	yokomi	SAM	ʔoutou
*SAS	kamu	TAW	taumi	MEL	kōteu
	(səlapuʔ)	MOT	umui	*TAH	ʔoutou
*GOR	timoŋoli	*MEK	oi	RAP	koutou
DAA	kōmi	ROV	ʔamu		

TSO *mū* emphatic; *mu* nominative enclitic.

PAI See 02.910.

YAM Also *kanyo*.

AKL PMP *\*kamu*.

KAG *kaw* focused actor; *ño* non-focused actor; *kyo* preposed focused actor.

BLA *-yu* non-focus; *gamu* focus, emphasis.



- MUR *akaw* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation; *kaw* post-verbal clitic subject/pivot; *min* post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor); *damuyun* post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.
- MIN From Sanskrit (Gonda 1973: 486).
- SUN *m-ar-aneh*, *-ar-* (pl) *maneh* 'self'.
- MAD 'you all'.
- BAL See 02.940; Old Balinese *yumu* is glossed by Goris as 'second person pronoun, you people'.
- SAS *səlapu?* 'all (*ngeno-ngene* dialect)' (Thoir et al 1985).
- GOR Also *?ito* 'you', respect form.
- UMA *kami* and *komi* (Tolee, Winatu dialect).
- KON *kauŋase?* (familiar); *gitteŋase?* (honorific).
- MAG Personal suffix *-m*; possessive *-s*; in western dialects *hemi*.
- BUR Cliticised to *kim*; also a pronominal proclitic subject marker *ku*.
- NYI *ah* (dl); *ado* (pl definite); *aha* (pl indefinite).
- MAM Also *?a?amiŋ*.
- TAK See note on 'I' (02.910).
- TOL See 02.910.
- MEK *oai* in West Mekeo (and sometimes the other two dialects).
- LEW See 02.941.
- KWA *kəmirau* (dl); *kəmirahar* (trial); *kəmiaha* (pl).
- NEM *dau* (dl); *dā* (pl).
- CEM *gāwe* (pl) *gāu* (dl).
- XAR *wīñ* (pl) *gou* (dl).
- MSH 'you two'.
- PON Also *kum<sup>w</sup>ail*.
- WLE Also *xai*, *-xamī*.
- RTU *?aura* (dl).
- TON *kimoutolu*, *moutolu*, *mou* (pl); *kinoua*, *noua*, *no* (dl).
- TAH *?ōrua* (dl).

## 02.960 THEY

ATA	ʔi-nhaʔ	DAA	ira	ROV	arini
*TSO	hinʔi	UMA	hiraʔ	*MAR	mare
RUK	ko-ini	BUG	alena-maninʔ	LAU	gera
*PAI	ti-a-maʔu	KON	ia ɲaseʔ	KWO	gila
YAM	ʂɪza	WOL	maɲa i <sup>n</sup> ɕia	RAG	kera
ISN	aggīda	*MAG	ise	*PAA	kaīl
KAL	dida	*NGA	emu	*LEW	lala
TAG	sila	SIK	rimu	POR	xate
AKL	sandah	RTI	sila	NTA	ilat
PAL	dyɔ	*BUR	sira	*KWA	irau
MOL	sida	*DOB	ʔiri	*NEM	yelu
*KAG	danən	IRA	irə	*CEM	le
*BLA	ali	SAW	si	AJI	ceře
SAB	sigəʔam	*NYI	uru	*XAR	ri
*MUR	ilo	MAM	di	*NEN	buič
MGY	izi ireu	*TAK	iŋ	*KIR	ɲāta
ACE		DAM	idi	MSH	ɛʔ
BAT	nasida	MAB	zin	*PON	īr
MIN	iño	*YAB	eseàʔ	*WLE	īre
IND	məreka	*KAU	po	EFI	ira
*SUN	maraneh-na	*TOL	diat	WFI	kura
JAV		BUA	sir	*RTU	irisa
*MAD	d <sup>h</sup> ibiʔ-na	ADZ	rib	*TON	kinautolu
	kabb <sup>h</sup> i	*KIL	ma- -si-na	SAM	lātou
*BAL		TAW	tauhi	MEL	rāteu
SAS	niə	MOT	idia	*TAH	rātou
GOR	timoŋoliyo	*MEK	isa	RAP	rātou

TSO *hinʔi* ~ *hē* emphatic, # ~ *he* ~ *ko* ~ *ho* nominative enclitic.

PAI See 02.910.

KAG The one form is used in all focuses.

BLA *-la* non-focus; *dali* emphasis.

MUR *ilo* emphatic form, pre-verbal or in isolation, post-verbal clitic subject/pivot; *nilo* post-verbal clitic, agent, non-subject/pivot (also possessor); *disilo* post-verbal free form, non-agent, non-subject/pivot.

SUN (*m-ar-aneh*); ‘self-pl-3’ see 02.950.

MAD ‘third person(s) all’.

- BAL See 02.930 on the lack of a number distinction. Forms used are same as 3sg. To disambiguate, periphrases can be used such as *iə məkəʃaŋ* lit 'third-person all'.
- MAG Personal suffix *-s*; possessive suffix *-d*.
- NGA Also *emu-hog*, *hoga*.
- BUR Cliticised to *sir*; also a pronominal proclitic subject marker *du* and a plural object enclitic *ro*.
- DOB ?*iri* is a general third person plural pronoun with no reference to the proximity of the referents to the speaker; also *wadi* (near speaker), *de* (middle distance or near addressee), and *do* (far from speaker and addressee).
- NYI *uru* (dl); *oro* (pl indef); *iri* (pl indef).
- TAK See note 02.910. The independent pronouns 'he/she/it' and 'they' are identical in form, but contextually disambiguated by co-referential subject, object or possessive affixes.
- YAB Also *e<sup>n</sup>se-à?*
- KAU *sun* '4th person', obviative form; it is used for both singular and plural.
- TOL Plural, see 02.910.
- ADZ Plus demonstrative.
- KIL As 02.930, with plural morpheme *-si*. The plural morpheme is a first order suffix to the classifier, e.g. *ma-tau-si-na* that-male-pl-that 'they, them (of men, people)'; *mi-na-si-na* 'that-female-pl-that' 'they, them (of women etc.)'.
- MEK *isa* (*ia*) corresponds to North Mekeo *iza*, West Mekeo *ida* and NW Mekeo *ia/iya*.
- MAR *mare* male obj, male speaking; *re<sup>?</sup>e* male obj, female speaking; female obj, male speaking.
- PAA Plural only; *kailv-*(dl); *kaitel-*(paucal).
- LEW See 02.941.
- KWA *irau* (dl); *irahar* (trial); *iraha* (pl).
- NEM *yelu* (dl); *yele* (pl).
- CEM *le* (pl); *lu* (dl).
- XAR *ri* (pl); *ru* (dl).
- NEN *buič* (pl); *bušəŋon* (dl).
- KIR *ŋaia* independent pronoun, a SM.
- PON *īr* independent pronoun; also 2nd person hon.; *irail*; *ira* independent pronoun and SM; (dl); *re* independent pronoun.

WLE *re* independent pronoun.

RTU *iria* (dl).

TON *kinautolu, nautolu, nau* (pl); *kinana, nauna, na* (dl).

TAH *rāua* (dl).

### 03.110 ANIMAL

Arabic: *ḥaiwān*

Sanskrit: *sattva-*

*ATA	kašinuy	DAA	binata	*ROV	kurukuru
TSO	rua-nsou	UMA	binata	MAR	
RUK		BUG	olokolo?	*LAU	kui
PAI	ḱ-əm-uzi- ḱuzip	KON	olo?-olo?	KWO	
YAM	omomalalam	*WOL	binata	RAG	
ISN	ulolag	*MAG	kaka	*PAA	tiredan
KAL	āyam	NGA	ḅada	*LEW	suri mali
*TAG	hāyop	*SIK		POR	
*AKL	sāpat	RTI	bana	NTA	nat meḅah
PAL	[sotwa]	BUR	[heiwan-e]	*KWA	nari muru
MOL	hayup	*DOB	tabul	*NEM	cawek
KAG	ayəp	IRA	ḫeiḱe	*CEM	wóta
BLA	lməɒf	*SAW	[haiwan]	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> āḱāwě
SAB	[sattuwa]	*NYI	katin haka	*XAR	ib <sup>w</sup> ara
*MUR	[binataŋ]	MAM	ḅado	NEN	guaḅod
MGY	bibi	*TAK	bor-goun	KIR	te man
*ACE	binataŋ	DAM	gar	*MSH	menninməuḱ
*BAT	binataŋ	*MAB	<sup>m</sup> bili	PON	mān
MIN	binataŋ	*YAB	bo?	WLE	maḱü
IND	binataŋ	*KAU	li ken-ḅin-an	EFI	manumanu
SUN	[sato]	*TOL	vəvaguəi	WFI	manumanu
*JAV	[sato]	BUA	sag	RTU	mən-mənu
MAD	[kiban]	*ADZ	apo	TON	manu
*BAL	buron	*KIL	mauna	*SAM	manu
SAS	[səsato]	TAW	gamogamo	MEL	mea mauri
*GOR	[binātaŋi]	*MOT	manu	*TAH	[?animara]
		MEK		*RAP	manu

- ATA *kinkinučan* ‘a domesticated animal’, *kašinuy/kašuy* ‘game (of hunting)’, *kaš-kaš-in-uy/kašu-kašuy* ‘a wild animal’.
- TAG Proto-Philippines *\*hāyep*.
- AKL *hāyup* ‘cattle’.
- MUR From Malay *binataŋ*, also *bubua*? ‘small domestic animals’, *sasapukon* ‘wild game’.
- ACE Also [*hiwɯən*].
- BAT Also *p-in-ahan* ‘domestic animal’.
- JAV Also [*kewan*].
- BAL From *\*buru-an* ‘thing hunted’.
- GOR From Malay.
- WOL Also *haewaani*; *kaɖaɖi* also ‘beast’; *ko<sup>m</sup>baa* ‘big animals’.
- MAG For used with attribute, e.g. *kaka ta?a* ‘green snake’.
- SIK There is no generic term for ‘animal’ in Sara Tana ’Ai, except that the word *guru(-ŋ)* appears in ritual language. Animals are denoted by words for individual species.
- DOB *tabul* refers primarily to large game animals.
- SAW From Malay.
- NYI ‘four leg’.
- TAK ‘pig-dog’.
- MAB *mbili* ‘domestic animal’; *ku<sup>m</sup>bu-paŋ* ‘four-footed one’; *buzur* ‘wild animal’.
- YAB ‘pig’.
- KAU ‘thing eat-NOM-ATTR’: refers to animals as food.
- TOL ‘domestic animal’; *kuəbər* ‘wild animal, wild pig’.
- ADZ *apo* (all dialects except Amari); *apu* (Amari dialect); *dza<sup>9?</sup>* ‘wild animals, meat’.
- KIL Also ‘bird, insect, fish’; a general reference to most animate things. *mauna na-si-sakaula* animal animal-CONT-run ‘fourfooted animals’. *mauna na-sigi-sagina* animal animal-CONT-creep ‘reptiles’. Other references include: *bolodila* ‘wild animals’; *buluti-βalu* animal-village ‘domestic animals (useful)’; *ugiwagi* ‘pet animals (non-useful)’.
- MOT The main meaning of *manu* is ‘bird’; ‘pet or domesticated animal’ is *ubuubu manu-na* (*ubu-a* ‘to feed’); ‘wild animal’ is *uda boroma-na* lit ‘bush pig’.
- ROV *kurukuru name* ‘wild animals’; *kurukuru tapuru* ‘birds’.

LAU	Also <i>manu, loi</i> .
PAA	'wild animals only'.
LEW	'living thing'.
KWA	'thing live'.
NEM	Also 'dog, terrestrial mammal' (all introduced except a native rat and the flying fox).
CEM	'quadrupeds' introduced since colonisation; especially dogs or horses.
XAR	'quadrupeds'; before colonisation only a white mangrove rat: <i>b<sup>w</sup>ara</i> .
MSH	'living being'.
SAM	<i>manu</i> 'animal, bird, cattle'; <i>mea</i> 'thing, animal'; <i>mea ola</i> 'animal', lit 'living thing'.
TAH	From English; also <i>pua<sup>?</sup>a</i> .
RAP	more commonly now [ <i>?animare</i> ] from Spanish.

### 03.120 MALE (adj)

*ATA	βaʔaš	JAV	lanəŋ	DAM	monog
*TSO		*MAD	laki <sup>?</sup>	MAB	tomōto
RUK		BAL	muani	YAB	kap <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup>
*PAI	val <sup>ʔ</sup> as	SAS	mamə	*KAU	masəŋ
*YAM	avwag	*GOR	la <sup>?</sup> i	*TOL	tomotoinə
ISN	toru	DAA	tuama	BUA	maluŋ
KAL	lāki	*UMA	laki-na	*ADZ	marub
*TAG	lalāki	BUG	lai	*KIL	na-m <sup>w</sup> ala
*AKL	ʔāki	KON	bantu <sup>?</sup>	TAW	oloto-na
PAL	lumbu <sup>?</sup>	WOL	umane	MOT	maruane
MOL	lolaki na <sup>?</sup>	*MAG	laki	MEK	koŋa
KAG	mama	*NGA	mosa	ROV	kokoreo
BLA	lagi	*SIK	la <sup>?</sup> i	MAR	naʔa <sup>?</sup> u
SAB	lella	RTI	mane	LAU	wane
*MUR	uŋkuyon	*BUR	bhasa-t	KWO	wane
MGY	lahi	DOB	yili-n	*RAG	atam <sup>w</sup> ani
ACE	agam	IRA	maranə	PAA	toman
BAT	tunggal	SAW	mən	LEW	yerim <sup>w</sup> ene
*MIN	ʔantan	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> an	*POR	si <sup>m</sup> beu
IND	ʔantan	MAM	ŋado-moane	NTA	ierman
*SUN	ʔalu	*TAK	tamol	KWA	kerman

*NEM	kayuk	MSH		TON	taŋata
CEM	áiu	PON		*SAM	poʔa
AJH	wi	WLE		MEL	tāne
XAR	xɔtɔ	EFI	tama-ni-	*TAH	oni
*NEN	čahan	WFI	tamaya	RAP	tane
KIR		RTU	fā		

ATA *maknathuk* ‘male (pig, bear, leopard, monkey)’, *βaʔaš* ‘male (sheep, goat, ox, horse, dog, cat, rat, rabbit, squirrel)’, *kaβatiŋan* ‘male (deer, pygmy deer, bird)’.

TSO There is no single word for ‘male’/‘female’. Words differ from animal to animal: *moʔmorɪ* ‘wild boar’; *insi* ‘female wild pig’; *moniŋroxi* ‘rooster’; *moskoʔi* ‘hen’; *snumaso* ‘stag’; *roʔo* ‘doe’.

PAI *ukaɫʔay* ‘male animals (small), insects, man’.

YAM Also *pinaziŋ*.

TAG See 02.230.

AKL See 02.230.

MUR Also *gawayan* (of cattle), *magambayoy* (young steer), *luŋuyan* (of pigs), *saŋawan* (of goats, large deer), *aŋiŋilan* (of small deer), *tandāʔ* (of birds and reptiles).

MIN See 02.230.

SUN Of animals; *lalaki*, of humans.

MAD See note 02.310.

GOR Also *ba<sup>n</sup>ge* for fowl.

UMA Also *mane-na*, *<sup>n</sup>tolu-a-na*.

MAG For birds *lalog*.

NGA *mosa* for beast; *lalu* for fowl. The pair expression for male and female beast is *mosa - mətʉ*, for fowl *lalu - susu*, for pig *təbu - dʔeyu*.

SIK Also *ʔlamə-ŋ*.

BUR For specifying male pigs; male chickens are specified by *lolama*; cuscus and dogs by *emhana*.

TAK ‘man’.

KAU Special forms are used when referring to male dogs and pigs; *pasem* is used for male dogs and *valŋin* is used for male pigs.

TOL Also *tutana* see (02.210), also *toitoi*.

ADZ *arapuaʔ* ‘male’ (pigs only).

KIL ‘animal-male’.

RAG postposed.

POR (nom +) *si<sup>m</sup>beu*.

NEM *kayuk* 'male' is no longer much used. Nowadays people prefer to use the term *kač* 'man', e.g. *yaok kayuk* 'boy', more common term is *yaokkač*.

NEN Also *čaman*.

SAM 'male animal'.

TAH *pa<sup>ʔ</sup>e*; *ʔōtāne* of crustaceans, insects, plants.

### 03.130 FEMALE (adj)

*ATA	ʔipuʔ	*UMA	βeʔa-na	MAR	gaʔase
*TSO		BUG	kombaʔ	LAU	geni
RUK		KON	hiraŋ	KWO	geni
PAI	va-vay-an	WOL	βawine	*RAG	vavine
YAM	mavinai	*MAG	kina	PAA	letau
ISN	puʔunān	*NGA	mətu	LEW	sira
KAL	bāʔi	*SIK	βai	*POR	r <sup>m</sup> baix
*TAG	babāʔe	RTI	ina	NTA	pətan
*AKL	bāyih	*BUR	tina-n	KWA	kapran
PAL	upa	DOB	ʔodar-ni	NEM	ŋōk
MOL	libun naʔ	IRA	idenə	CEM	tóm <sup>w</sup> o
KAG	bai	SAW	məpin	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε
BLA	libun	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ik	XAR	çē
SAB	denda	MAM	ŋado-aine	NEN	ŋənewe
*MUR	duanduʔ	*TAK	pein	KIR	
MGY	vavi	DAM	gober	MSH	
ACE	inəŋ	*MAB	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> gāra	PON	
BAT	boru-boru	YAB	tena	WLE	
*MIN	batino	*KAU	βala	EFI	tina-ni-
IND	bətina	*TOL	vavinə	WFI	hunaya
*SUN	bikaŋ	BUA	aβey	RTU	hōni
JAV	wedəʔ	*ADZ	rinan	TON	fefine
*MAD	biniʔ	*KIL	na-βiβila	*SAM	fafine
*BAL	luə	TAW	wawine-na	MEL	ffine
SAS	ninə	MOT	hahine	*TAH	ufa
*GOR	buwa	MEK	oŋe	RAP	vahine
*DAA	besi	ROV	mamagota		



- ATA *tinaux* ‘female (pig, bear, leopard, monkey)’; *?ipu?* ‘female (sheep, goat, cow, horse, dog, cat, rat, rabbit, squirrel)’; *riʔaku* ‘female (deer, pygmy deer)’; *?ayaʔan* ‘female (bird)’.
- TSO See 03.120.
- TAG See 02.240.
- AKL Also 02.240.
- MUR Also *induŋ* (of cattle); *maŋindalā* (heifer); *ina?* (of pigs); *tainu* (of goats and deer); *pūnan* (of birds and reptiles).
- MIN See 02.240.
- SUN Humans and animals.
- MAD See note 02.320, 02.310.
- BAL Typically of animals, of humans in some dialects. *luh* (humans); *inə* ‘any female animal which has had offspring’.
- GOR *buwa* for humans; *biləŋo* for four-footed animals; *tēlo* for fowl.
- DAA *tina* ‘female animal which has had offspring’; *bcsi* ‘female animal before bearing offspring’.
- UMA Also *bine-na*.
- MAG For birds sometimes *vai*.
- NGA *mətu* for animals; *susu* for birds.
- SIK Also *wai-ŋ*, *ina-ŋ*.
- BUR For pigs, chicken and dogs; female cuscus is specified by *b-reŋe*.
- TAK ‘woman’.
- MAB (of female animals).
- KAU *nekseŋ* ‘female pigs’.
- TOL See 02.220; also *nā-na* ‘mother-DEREL’ (North-coast dialects), *tā-na* ‘mother-DEREL’.
- ADZ ‘mother’.
- KIL ‘animal-female’.
- RAG Postposed.
- POR (nom +) *r<sup>m</sup>baix*.
- SAM See 02.220.
- TAH *maiaʔa* with young; *?ōvāhine* of crustaceans, insects, plants.

## 03.150 LIVESTOCK

ATA	kinkinučan	UMA	po-renu-a	ROV	
TSO		*BUG	olokolo?-	MAR	
RUK			[piara]	*LAU	lifu ni haḡoni
PAI		KON	olo?-olo?	KWO	
YAM	pamaḡanən	*WOL	ka-ḡa <sup>m</sup> ba-ala	RAG	
ISN	āyam	*MAG	paeḡ	PAA	
KAL	āyam	NGA	ḡada	*LEW	suri mali lala
*TAG	hāyop	SIK		POR	[ <sup>m</sup> buluk] ḡail
*AKL	hāyup	*RTI	bana-manu	NTA	nat meḡah
PAL		BUR			mən
MOL		DOB		KWA	
KAG	ayəp	IRA		NEM	
BLA		SAW		CEM	
SAB	hayop	NYI		AJI	b <sup>w</sup> āřāwē
MUR	biag	MAM		*XAR	[purum <sup>w</sup> akao]
MGY	bibi fi-umpi	*TAK	filia-n	*NEN	[kau]
ACE		DAM	yaro	KIR	
BAT	p-in-ahan	MAB		MSH	
*MIN	tarana?	YAB		PON	
*IND	tərnak	KAU		WLE	
*SUN	[iḡon-iḡon]	TOL		EFI	
*JAV	[rəjə] kəyə	*BUA	bəḡ	WFI	rauniḡulu
*MAD	bu-ubu-wan	ADZ		RTU	mənmon haḡa
*BAL	ubuh-an	*KIL	buluti-ḡalu	TON	monumanu
*SAS	arət-an	TAW	gamogamo	*SAM	lafu
GOR	bi-biyahu	MOT	ubuubu ḡau-	MEL	
*DAA	po <sup>m</sup> pa-tuvu-		dia	TAH	pua <sup>?</sup> a
	nə	MEK		RAP	

TAG *hāyop (+ maḡa)*.

AKL See 0.3.110.

MIN From *\*tər-anak* (Adelaar 1989).

IND Also [*hewan*].

SUN From Javanese.

JAV Sanskrit;? see Gonda: 1973: 438.

MAD From (RED-*ubu-an*). Safioedin (1977): *ubu* ‘take care of’.

BAL From (*ḡ*)-*ubuh* ‘look after, keep (stock)’.

SAS	Thoir et al 1985: <i>arat, arət</i> ‘herd (vb trans)’.
DAA	<i>tuvu</i> ‘live’.
BUG	From Sanskrit.
WOL	‘care’.
MAG	‘wealth in pasture’; for cattle often with modification: <i>paɛŋ peʔaŋ pu<sup>m</sup>puk</i> .
RTI	‘animals and chicken’.
TAK	‘material wealth, inc. livestock’ (see 11.510).
BUA	<i>bōk</i> (?).
KIL	‘domestic animal-village’.
LAU	Also <i>boso</i> .
LEW	‘living things’; see 03.110; also <i>*[puluku] lala</i> ‘cattle’ (from English ‘bullock’).
XAR	From English, Bislama, <i>bulumakau</i> .
NEN	From English ‘cow’.
SAM	Also <i>tāʔa-ŋa</i> < <i>taʔa</i> ‘run freely’, - <i>ŋa</i> NOM.

### 03.160 PASTURE

ATA		BAT	(ladaŋ)paŋ-	SIK	ʔuru-n
TSO			gagat-an	RTI	mo-k
RUK		MIN	padaŋ	BUR	mehe-t
PAI			rumpuyʔ	DOB	
YAM	pamaŋa- maŋan	IND	padaŋ rumput	IRA	
ISN	pastu	*SUN	[təgal]	SAW	lot gemune
KAL	potpotaw	*JAV	paŋənan	*NYI	lo b <sup>w</sup> idiu
*TAG	[pastūlan]	*MAD	ru-uru	MAM	
AKL	haŋʔab-an	BAL	təgal(an)	TAK	
*PAL	i-pə-kulpas	*SAS	ləndaŋ pupaʔ	DAM	yaro ne-di modōū
MOL	[posturan]	GOR	padeŋə	MAB	
*KAG	paʔalaban	DAA	karava	*YAB	ɔba
BLA	gu-m-təb	UMA	papada	KAU	
SAB	pag-ipat-an	BUG	padaŋ	TOL	
MUR	[padaŋ]	*KON	tanete	BUA	ʔəseʔ
*MGY	mi-rauʔ <sup>r</sup> a	WOL		ADZ	
*ACE		MAG	pu <sup>m</sup> puk	*KIL	sei-βau
		NGA	kuru		

*TAW	hiyamoni	POR		PON	
*MOT	rei gabu-na	*NTA	manuβəlh	WLE	
MEK		KWA		EFI	i-kanakana
ROV		NEM		WFI	βīmaumau
MAR		*CEM	āñe	RTU	
*LAU	lifū fuana	AJI	pɛ ara	TON	kaikaiʔaŋa
KWO		XAR		SAM	
RAG		NEN	aɖaxen	MEL	
*PAA	laumunai	KIR		TAH	
*LEW	ma-m <sup>w</sup> ini	MSH		RAP	

TAG Early loan from Spanish *pastura* + *-an*; also *damo*, *damūhan*.

PAL 'make-pasture'.

KAG From (*alab* + *pa-* *-an*) 'grazing place'.

MGY Verb: 'graze, beat pasture'.

ACE *nalwəŋ* 'grass'.

SUN From Javanese?; also [*paŋ-aŋon-an*], from [*ŋ-aŋon*] 'guard (animals)' from Javanese.

JAV 'place where animals are herded' from (*pə-aŋon-an*), *-aŋon* 'herd, tend (livestock)' (Old Javanese *aŋ-hwan*).

MAD From RED-*uru*; also *uru*; (Safioedin (1977)).

SAS *ləndaŋ* 'field'.

KON Also *padaŋ-padaŋ*; *paŋ-ŋanre-aŋ* (*pa-aŋ-kanre-aŋ*).

NYI 'among the grass'.

YAB 'kunai plains'.

BUA *kəsek* (?).

KIL 'old garden, one year's grass growth'. Also used is *sei-bog<sup>wa</sup>* 'place before', 'old garden, more than one year's growth of grass'.

TAW 'grass'.

MOT *rei* 'grass'; *gabu* 'place'.

LAU Also [*garasi*] from English?

PAA 'grass'.

LEW 'grass'.

NTA Also [*makras*] from English.

CEM Also 'eat green vegetables (of humans)'.

## 03.180 HERDSMAN

Sanskrit: *gopāla-*Spanish: *pastor, vaquero*

*ATA	pa-ṣʔan	*DAA	topo-evu	MAR
TSO		UMA	to-po-ʔeβu	LAU
RUK		BUG	pakkampiʔ	KWO
PAI		KON	pa-kalahaki	RAG
YAM	mapamaṅan	WOL		PAA
ISN	magpas [pastor]	MAG		*LEW
*KAL	mantatāḷkon si āyam	NGA	ḍaṅa-poḷa	yaruna-visu- ar-en [puluku]
*TAG	[pastol]	SIK	ata ḷaga sək	POR
AKL	[bakēroh]	RTI	mana-fo	NTA
PAL	məṅiṅipāt	BUR		KWA
MOL		DOB		NEM
KAG	[bakiru]	IRA		*CEM
BLA		SAW		cà-te-pàcí
SAB	aʔa ag-i-ipāt hayop	NYI		AJI
MUR		MAM	ḷado- aʔolaʔola	ka pɛ ara bʷāřāwē
MGY	mpi-andʔi umbi	TAK		XAR
*ACE	sig-um-ubwə	DAM	maror tamo	NEN
BAT	par-mahan	MAB		KIR
MIN	uraṅ [gubalo]	*YAB	gɛ-yɔb-waga (bɔʔ-ḷa)	MSH
IND	[gəmbala]	KAU		PON
*SUN	tukaṅ [ḷ-aṅon]	TOL		WLE
*JAV	paṅon	BUA		EFI
MAD	paṅuan	ADZ		WFI
*BAL	[pə-ḷ-aṅon]	*KIL	to-yamata	RTU
*SAS	pə-ḷ-arət	*TAW	tu-galenaitete	TON
GOR	ḍīti	MOT		tauhi manu
		*MEK	ima-ima au- ḷa	*SAM
		ROV		leoleo
				MEL
				*TAH
				tīaʔi māmoē
				RAP

ATA *pa-kaḷahaṅ* 'herdsman', lit 'someone to take care of animals';  
*pa-sʔan*, lit 'feed (animals)'.

KAL From (*man-R* (x2)-*talkon*).

TAG	[pastol] (+ taga-, mag-pa-).
ACE	From [guburə] ‘herd livestock’.
SUN	See note 03.160.
JAV	From (pə- <i>an</i> ), - <i>an</i> ‘to herd, tend (livestock)’, Old Javanese <i>an-hwan</i> .
BAL	[( <i>ŋ</i> )- <i>an</i> ] ‘to herd’ from Javanese.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985): <i>arat</i> , <i>arət</i> ‘guard stock, poultry’; see 03.150.
DAA	Of sheep and goats only.
YAB	‘he-watch-er (animal-for)’, i.e. ‘herdsman, caretaker of animals’.
KIL	‘person-care’.
TAW	‘person looking after something’.
MEK	(?) <i>ima</i> is to ‘watch, mind’.
LEW	‘person who looks after cattle’.
CEM	‘father of cattle’.
SAM	Also (vb intrans) ‘be on guard’.
TAH	Also <i>tīa?i pua?atoro</i> .

### 03.190 STABLE, STALL

Spanish: *cuadra*

ATA	tatak	MUR		*KON	bara
*TSO	mo no ?ua- ɸxumu	MGY	ʔʔanu-n-umbi	WOL	ka <sup>n</sup> da
RUK		*ACE	[wuuə]	*MAG	[oka]
PAI		BAT	bara ni p-in- ahan	NGA	kopo
YAM	amaot	MIN	kandaŋ	*RTI	lalaɛ
ISN		*IND	kandaŋ	BUR	lia-t
*KAL	iŋgawān di āyam	SUN	kandaŋ	DOB	ro?u
*TAG	[kuwadra]	*JAV	gəɸɔkan	IRA	
AKL	[kuwadra]	MAD	kand <sup>h</sup> aŋ	*SAW	[kandaŋ]
PAL		*BAL	badə	NYI	
MOL		SAS	barə	MAM	ŋado-pera
*KAG	pasiluŋan	GOR	?u-?uluŋ-a	TAK	
BLA		DAA	gi <sup>m</sup> pu	*DAM	yaro ɸō
SAB	pagal hayop	UMA	gi <sup>m</sup> pu	MAB	
		BUG	wakke?	YAB	sapa

KAU		RAG		MSH
TOL		PAA		PON
BUA		*LEW	yum <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> a-	WLE
ADZ			na [puluku]	EFI
KIL	kaiwaga	POR		WFI
TAW		NTA		RTU
*MOT		*KWA	kop <sup>w</sup> a	ṛ <sup>?</sup> on
MEK		NEM		mən <sup>?</sup> mənu
ROV		*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> à-wóta	TON
MAR		AJI	n <sup>w</sup> ã i b <sup>w</sup> ãřãwě	*SAM
LAU	luma nia	XAR		fale manu
	[bulumakau]	NEN		*SAM
KWO		KIR		fale o manu
				MEL
				TAH
				RAP

TSO 'house of water-buffalo'; *po<sup>?</sup>ovni* 'pigpen, sty'.

KAL (*ingaw-an-di-ayam*).

TAG Also [*kabalyerisa*]; Spanish *caballeriza*.

KAG From (*silon + pa- -an*) 'place of shelter'.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

IND Also 'corral'.

JAV Also *kandan*. Horne: *gəḍogan*.

BAL Typically for cattle, also for poultry (Kersten 1984); *glogor* in many areas is used only for pigs. In others, both terms can be used for pigs and cattle.

KON Also *kalli<sup>?</sup>* (of fowl).

MAG 'kraal, corral'; from Bimanese.

RTI *lalaē* 'corral or stable for buffalo, sheep, goats'; *loŋa* 'stall or pen for pigs; coop for chickens'.

SAW From Malay.

DAM 'livestock house'. This is an adaptation of Dami to describe an introduced cultural item.

MOT *kobe* 'pigsty'.

LEW 'cattle-house' from English.

KWA 'enclosure, corral'.

CEM 'house of quadrupeds'.

SAM *fale* 'house', *o* POSS, *manu* 'animal, cattle'; see 03.110.

## 03.200 CATTLE (bovine)

<b>English:</b> <i>bull, cow, bullock</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>sapi</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>vaca</i>
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ATA	katiŋ	UMA	[ʃapi]	MAR	
*TSO	ʔua-xofʔora	BUG	[sapi]	LAU	[bulumakau]
RUK	loaŋə	KON		KWO	
PAI		WOL		RAG	[buluk]
YAM	[baka]	MAG	[ʃapi]	PAA	[buluk]
ISN	[bāka]	NGA	ɓada	LEW	[puluku]
KAL	[bāka]	SIK	ʔlui-n roto-n	POR	[ <sup>m</sup> buluk] ŋail
TAG	[bāka]	RTI		*NTA	[kau]
AKL	[bāka]	BUR	[sapi]	KWA	
PAL	kə-[sapiʔ]-an	DOB		NEM	[bolomakau]
MOL	[sapiʔ]	IRA		*CEM	[pāci]
KAG	[baka]	SAW	[sapi]	AJI	[pōŋməkau]
*BLA	dad	NYI	[bulumakau]	XAR	[purum <sup>w</sup> akao]
SAB	hayop	MAM	[bulumaʔau]	NEN	[kau]
*MUR	[sapiʔ]	TAK	[makao]	KIR	
*MGY	[umbi]	DAM	[bulamakau]	MSH	
ACE	lumə	MAB		PON	
BAT	lobbu	YAB	[bulimakaɔ]	WLE	
*MIN	taranaʔ	KAU	[bulmakau]	EFI	[bulumakau]
*IND	sapi	*TOL	[bulməkau]	WFI	[bulumakau]
*SUN	[iŋon-iŋon]	BUA	[magau]	RTU	
JAV	[sapi]	ADZ		TON	[pulu]
*MAD	[sapi]	KIL	[bulumakau]	*SAM	[povi]
*BAL	[sampi]	*TAW	[bulumakau]	MEL	[puloku]
*SAS	[sampi]	MOT	[bōromakau]	TAH	nana
GOR	[sapi]	MEK	[polomakau]		[puaʔatoro]
DAA	[ʃapi]	ROV	[bulumakao]	RAP	puaʔa

TSO 'yellow deer'; ʔua-kuaʔoŋa 'black deer'; ʔua-ɕxumu 'water deer'

BLA *dad* (pl), [*bacā*]; *dad sɔfiʔ* seldom used.

MUR Also [*kadabaw*] 'water buffalo' from Malay *kərbau*.

MGY From Bantu

MIN See 03.150.

IND Also *tərnak* 'livestock'



SUN	From Javanese.
MAD	<i>kərb<sup>h</sup>uy</i> ‘buffalo’.
BAL	[ <i>lambu</i> ] Old Javanese ‘bull-shaped coffin of a noble, used in cremation’.
SAS	Teeuw: ‘buffalo’ is <i>kuau, kuaō; kao; kao?</i>
TOL	Also [ <i>buluməkau</i> ].
KIL	From English via Pidgin <i>bulumakau</i> .
TAW	Older form [ <i>samane</i> ] (English ‘salmon’, i.e. ‘tinned fish’).
NTA	Also [ <i>p<sup>w</sup>ələk</i> ] both from English.
CEM	From French <i>vache</i> .
SAM	From Tahitian <i>povi</i> from Latin <i>bos, bovis</i> .

## 03.210 BULL

<b>English:</b> <i>bull, cow, bullock</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>sapi</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>toro, vaca</i>
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ATA	βaʔaʃ	BAT	ʒɔŋgi	*SIK	[ləbu]
TSO		MIN	ʒawi		ʔlamə-ŋ
RUK		*IND	sapi ʒantan	*RTI	[sapi] mane
PAI		SUN	[sapi] ʒalu	BUR	[sapi] mhana
*YAM	avwag	JAV	[sapi] lanəŋ	DOB	
ISN	toru	MAD	[sapi] lakiʔ	IRA	
KAL	dappūg	*BAL	[sampi]	SAW	[sapi] mən
TAG	[tōro]		muani	*NYI	[bulumakau]
AKL	[tōro]	SAS	[sampi]		m <sup>w</sup> an
PAL	[sapiʔ]		(mamə)	MAM	
	lumbuʔ	GOR	[sapi] laʔi	TAK	
MOL	mondəŋan	DAA	[ʒapi]	DAM	[bulamakau]
*KAG	[turu] na		tuama-na		monog
	[baka]	UMA	[ʒapi] laki-na	MAB	
BLA	lagi [baka]	BUG	[sapi]-lai	YAB	[bulimakau]
SAB	[sapiʔ]	KON	čapi (bantuʔ)		kap <sup>w</sup> aʔ
	mandəŋan	WOL	[sapi] umane	KAU	[bulmakau]
MUR	gawayan	MAG	[ʒapi] laki		masəŋ
MGY	[umbi] lahi	*NGA	mosa	*TOL	[bulməkau]
ACE	lumə agam				tutanə

BUA	[magau] maluꞥ	RAG	[buluk] atam <sup>w</sup> ani	MSH PON	
ADZ		PAA	[buluk] toman	WLE	
*KIL	[bulumakau] na-m <sup>w</sup> ala	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uruol	EFI	tama-ni- [bulumakau]
TAW	[bulumakau] oloto-na	*NTA	[p <sup>w</sup> ələk] ierman	WFI	tama-ni- [bulumakau]
MOT	[boromakau] maruane-na	KWA		RTU	
MEK	[polomakau] koŋā	NEM	[bolomakau] kac	TON	[pulu] tau
ROV	bulumakao kokoreo	*CEM	čā-te-wóta	*SAM	[povi] poʔa
MAR		*AJI	[tořo]	MEL	[puloku] tāne
LAU		*XAR	[purum <sup>w</sup> akao] xotɔ	TAH	[puaʔatoro] paʔe
KWO				RAP	[toro]

YAM Also *pinaziŋ*.

IND Also *lambu jantan*.

BAL Also *sampi* [*řagir-an*] ([*řagir-an*] ‘not castrated’ Old Javanese).

NGA The terms *mosa*, *kođe*, and *mətu* traditionally refer to water-buffaloes and horses.

SIK Also [*ləbu*] from Malay, ‘cattle, sheep’. Cattle and sheep are not native to Flores.

RTI Rotinese keep waterbuffalo (*kapa*) but few cattle (*řapi*).

NYI *m<sup>w</sup>an* ‘male’.

TOL *tutanə* ‘man, male’.

KIL ‘cattle, animal-male’

LEW See 03.320; used for all male livestock; *kalmaite* ‘castrated pig; steer’.

NTA *ieβiar* may be used for almost any adult male animal.

CEM ‘father of quadrupeds’.

AJI From French *taureau*.

XAR ‘male bovine’.

SAM *poʔa* ‘male’; see 03.120.

## 03.220 OX

## See 03.200

*ATA	yin-βatu <sup>?</sup> -an	BUG	[sapi]	MAR	
TSO		*KON	tedoŋ	LAU	
RUK		WOL	[sapi]	KWO	
PAI		MAG		RAG	[buluk] bov
YAM	[baka]	NGA	koŋe		tava
ISN		*SIK	[ləbu] <sup>?</sup> lamə-ŋ	PAA	
KAL	kapun	*RTI	kapa kalalis	LEW	
TAG	kapoŋ bāka	*BUR	[sapi] efnosi-t	*POR	ča <sup>ɗ</sup> gon
AKL		DOB		NTA	[p <sup>w</sup> ələk]
*PAL	məndaŋan	IRA			kamate
MOL		SAW		KWA	
KAG		NYI		NEM	[bolomakau]
*BLA	[baka]	MAM		CEM	
SAB		TAK		AJI	[pōřōməkau]
*MUR	[sapi <sup>?</sup> (-baŋgali <sup>?</sup> )]	DAM			wi
MGY	[umbi]	MAB		XAR	
*ACE	lumə gasi	YAB	[bulimakao] kap <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup>	NEN	
BAT	lobbu			KIR	
MIN	ǰawi	KAU		MSH	
*IND	sapi kəbiri	TOL		PON	
SUN		BUA		WLE	
JAV	sapi	ADZ		*EFI	sele
MAD		KIL		WFI	βaβali
*BAL	sampi mə-tərəs	TAW		RTU	
SAS		MOT		TON	pulu
GOR	[sapi]	*MEK	[polomakau] oŋe-oŋē	SAM	
DAA		ROV	kurukuru	MEL	
UMA			[bulumakao]	TAH	[pua <sup>?</sup> atoro] oni
				*RAP	[uei]

ATA yin-βatu<sup>?</sup>-an ‘castrated’ (βatu<sup>?</sup> ‘testicles’).

PAL ‘steer’.

BLA safi<sup>?</sup> seldom used.

MUR From Malay *sapi Bengali*, also *monsoko* (wild).

ACE ‘castrated cattle’.

IND	'castrated bovine'.
BAL	No specific term, <i>mə-tərəs</i> 'castrated'.
KON	'water buffalo'; <i>karambu</i> (Tana Toa dialect).
SIK	From Malay; see 03.210.
RTI	Also <i>kapanana-ali-k</i> ; see 03.210.
BUR	<i>efnosi-t</i> from <i>fosi</i> 'castrate'.
MEK	<i>oŋe-oŋē</i> 'sterile, neutered'.
POR	'castrated pig'.
EFI	Also '(castrated) hog'.
RAP	From Spanish <i>buey</i> .

### 03.230 COW

See 03.200

ATA	ʔipuʔ	IND	sapi bətina	MAM	[bulumaʔau]
TSO		SUN	sapi	TAK	
*RUK	ka-loaŋ-anə	JAV	sapi	DAM	[bulamakau]
*PAI	guŋ	MAD	sapi		gober
YAM	mavinai	*BAL	sampi luə	MAB	
ISN	puʔunān na bāka	SAS	sampi (ninə)	YAB	[bulimakaɔ] tena
KAL	abbay	GOR	[sapi] bilaŋo		
TAG	[bāka]	DAA	[ʃapi] tina-na	KAU	[bulmakau]
AKL	[bāka]	*UMA	[ʃapi] βeʔa-na	*TOL	[bulməkau] vavinə
PAL	[sapiʔ]	BUG	[sapi]		
PAL	[sapiʔ]	KON	čapi (hiraŋ)	BUA	[magau] aβeɣ
MOL	libun naʔ [sapiʔ]	WOL	[sapi]	ADZ	
KAG	ina'yən na [baka]	MAG	[ʃapi] kina	*KIL	[bulumakau] na-βiβila
		NGA	mətu		
BLA	libun [baka]	SIK	[ləbu] βai-ŋ	TAW	[bulumakau] wawine-na
SAB	[sapiʔ]	*RTI	[sapi]		
MUR	induŋ	BUR	[sapi] tina-n	MOT	[boromakau] hahine-na
MUR	induŋ	DOB			
MGY	[umbi] vavi	IRA		MEK	[polomakau]
ACE	lumɔ inɔŋ	SAW	[sapi] məpin		oŋe-ŋa
BAT	lobbu	*NYI	[bulumakau]	ROV	bulumakao mamagota
*MIN	ʃawi		<sup>n</sup> dʔik		

MAR		NEM	[bolomakau]	EFI	tina-ni-
LAU			ŋōk		[bulumakau]
KWO		CEM	[pā́cǐ]	WFI	huna-ni-
RAG	[buluk] vavine	AJI	[pōřōmɔkau] b <sup>w</sup> ε		[bulumakau]
PAA	[buluk] letau	*XAR	[purum <sup>w</sup> akao]	RTU	[kɔu]
*LEW	kalena		çē	*SAM	[povi] fafine
*POR	<sup>m</sup> bra <sup>m</sup> bar sa xa <sup>m</sup> bat	NEN		MEL	[puloku] ffine
*NTA	[p <sup>w</sup> ələk] pətan	KIR		TAH	[pua <sup>ʔ</sup> atoro]
KWA		MSH			ufa
		PON		RAP	pua <sup>ʔ</sup> a ū
		WLE			

RUK *ka-loaŋ-anə* ‘cow’, lit ‘a real bull or cow’; *sa-kini-kini* ‘water buffalo’.

PAI *sa-kim-kim* ‘buffalo’.

MIN Also *banti*<sup>3</sup>ŋ.

BAL See 03.130.

UMA Also [*ʃapi*] *bine-na*.

RTI See 03.210.

NYI <sup>n</sup>*d<sup>r</sup>ik* ‘female’.

TOL *vavinə* ‘woman, female’.

KIL ‘cattle, animal-female’.

LEW See 03.340; used for all female livestock.

POR ‘sow of European’.

NTA Also used for almost any adult female animal.

XAR ‘female bovine’.

SAM *fafine* ‘female’; see 03.130.

### 03.240 CALF

See 03.200

*ATA	ūk	PAI		ISN	urbun [bāka]
TSO		YAM	anak no	KAL	ubbu
RUK			[baka]	*TAG	[bisīro]

*AKL	tiyuʔŋa [bāka]	IRA		RAG	
		SAW	[sapi]ntu	*PAA	tītān [buluk]
*PAL	ibun ət [sapiʔ]	*NYI	nadu	LEW	ninus-ne-n
MOL	anak [sapiʔ]		[bulumakau]		[puluku]
KAG	tinday na [baka]	MAM	[bulumaʔau]- natu	POR	rux- <sup>m</sup> [buluk]
BLA	guyaʔ	TAK		NTA	netə [kau]
SAB	anak [sapiʔ]	DAM	[bulamakau]	KWA	
MUR	anak		nālu	*NEM	naye- [bolomakau]
MGY	zanak-[umbi]	MAB		*CEM	nāhî-[pācī]
*ACE	anuʔpe	*YAB	[bulimakao]	AJI	ole
BAT	anak ni lobbu		ŋa-latu		[pōřōməkau]
MIN	anaʔ bantiʔŋ	KAU	[bulmakau]	*XAR	xū re
IND	anak sapi		hoin		[purum <sup>w</sup> akao]
SUN	anak sapi	*TOL	nət-nə-	*NEN	guwakua
JAV	pədet		[bulməkau]	KIR	
MAD	əmpiʔ	BUA	[magau]nalu	MSH	
*BAL	godel	ADZ		PON	
*SAS	anaʔ əñjəʔ	*KIL	[bulumakau]	WLE	
GOR	walaʔo [sapi]		na-g <sup>w</sup> adi	EFI	luβe-ni-
DAA	ana [japi]	TAW	[bulumakau]		[bulumakau]
UMA	anaʔ [japi]		natu-na	WFI	luβe-ni-
BUG	anaʔ [sapi]	MOT	[boromakau]		[bulumakau]
KON	anaʔ [čapi]		natu-na	RTU	
WOL	ana-na [sapi]	MEK	[polomakau]	*TON	[kafi]
*MAG	anak [japi]		ŋau-ŋa	*SAM	tamaʔi [povi]
NGA	bile-ǰəka	ROV	tuna	MEL	tama [puloku]
*SIK	[ləbu] anak		[bulumakao]	TAH	fanauʔa
*RTI	[sapi] ana	MAR			[puaʔatoro]
BUR	[sapi] ana-n	LAU		*RAP	puaʔa taŋa
DOB		KWO			

ATA *ūk* ‘all young animals except pig’; *βiyuk* ‘a young pig’.

TAG From Spanish *becerro*; also *buloʔ*, *gūyaʔ*.

AKL Also [*torēti*], from Spanish *torete*.

PAL ‘cow’s offspring’; *yogaŋ ət sapiʔ* lit ‘cow’s child’.

ACE But normally *ʔanuʔ lumɔ* see 02.430.

BAL ‘young stock animal’; also refers to young of horses, buffaloes.

SAS Thoir et al (1985) lists *anak əñjək*, but has no entry for *əñjək*.

MAG	Also inverted: [ʃapi] anak.
SIK	See 03.210.
RTI	See 03.210.
NYI	nadu 'offspring/small'.
YAB	'cow her-child'.
TOL	nat 'little, child', na CONN.
KIL	'cattle, animal-child'.
PAA	'cow's offspring'.
NEM	'young of cattle'.
CEM	'young of cattle'.
XAR	'young of bovine'.
NEN	Also guwawen.
TON	From English 'calf'.
SAM	tamaʔi 'little animal or thing'.
RAP	Also [ternero] from Spanish <i>ternero</i> .

### 03.250 SHEEP

<b>English:</b> <i>sheep</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>domba</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>carnero</i>
<b>French:</b> <i>mouton</i>	<b>Persian:</b> <i>dumbah</i>	

ATA	mit	*MGY	undʔi	WOL	[dʊ <sup>m</sup> ba]
TSO		ACE	bubiri	*MAG	[ʃi <sup>m</sup> bal]
RUK	kōo	BAT	biru-biru	NGA	ləbu
PAI		MIN	biri-biri	*SIK	[ləmbu]
YAM	kagliŋ	*IND	biri-biri	*RTI	biʔi lope
ISN		SUN	[domba]	BUR	
KAL	[kannēlu]	JAV	wəɖus gəmbəl	DOB	
*TAG	tūpa	MAD	[dumb <sup>h</sup> a]	IRA	
AKL	[karnēro]	BAL	[dombə]	SAW	[domba]
PAL	tupa	SAS	kibas	NYI	[sipsip]
MOL	bili-bili	GOR	hi <sup>m</sup> ba	MAM	[sipisipi]
KAG	[karniru]	DAA	bi <sup>m</sup> ba	*TAK	bililek
BLA	bilibili	UMA	bima	DAM	[siʔsiʔ]
SAB	bilibili	BUG	[bimbalaʔ]	MAB	
MUR		KON	[ʔbimbala]	YAB	[dɔ <sup>m</sup> ba]

KAU [sipsip]	RAG	MSH
*TOL [sip]	PAA [sipisip]	PON
BUA [sipsip]	LEW [sipsip]	WLE
ADZ	POR	EFI [sipi]
KIL [sipi]	NTA [sipsip]	WFI
TAW [sipi]	KWA	RTU [sipi]
*MOT [mamoe]	NEM	TON [sipi]
MEK [tsipi]	CEM [mùto]	SAM māmoē
ROV [sipi]	AJI [mutō]	MEL
MAR	XAR [mütō]	TAH māmoē
LAU	*NEN [mamoe]	RAP mamoe
KWO	KIR	

TAG Also [*karnēro*].

MGY From Bantu.

IND Also [*domba*].

MAG Bimanese [*ʃi<sup>m</sup>ba*]; Makassarese [*gimbala?*].

SIK See 03.210.

RTI Sheep were introduced to Roti in the late 17th or early 18th century. The term for sheep (lit, 'clothed, covered *bi?i*') is based on a contrast with the goat (simply, *bi?i* or the 'real *bi?i*: *bi?i hi-k*).

TAK Informants believe this is a Gedaged borrowing, but there is no evidence that this is the case; the origin of the word is unknown.

TOL Also [*tap*] from German *Schaf*.

MOT Polynesian borrowing.

NEN Polynesian borrowing (Tahitian).

### 03.260 RAM

See 03.250

ATA	KAL lākin	PAL mōndaŋan
TSO	[kannēlu]	tupa
RUK	TAG lalāki-ŋ tūpa	MOL mōndaŋan
PAI	AKL karnēro ŋa	KAG [turu] na
*YAM avwag	ʃāki	[karniru]
ISN		BLA lagi bilibili



SAB	bilibili lella	*RTI	biʔi lopo	RAG	
MUR			mane	PAA	[sipsisip]
MGY	undʔi lahi	BUR			toman
*ACE	[dumba]	DOB		*LEW	[sipsisip]
*BAT	biru-biru	IRA			(nap <sup>w</sup> a)
MIN	biri-biri	SAW	[domba] mən		yerim <sup>w</sup> ene
*IND	biri-biri	*NYI	[sipsisip] m <sup>w</sup> an	POR	
	ǰantan	MAM	[sipsisipi]	*NTA	[sipsisip]
SUN	[domba] ǰalu		moane		ierman
JAV	wəɖus gəmbəl	TAK		KWA	
	lanəŋ	DAM		NEM	
MAD	[dumb <sup>h</sup> a]	MAB		CEM	
	lakiʔ	YAB	[dɔ <sup>m</sup> ba]	AJI	[mutō] wi
BAL	[dombə]		kap <sup>w</sup> aʔ	XAR	
	muani	KAU	[sipsisip]	NEN	
SAS	kibas (mamə)		masəŋ	KIR	
GOR	hi <sup>m</sup> ba laʔi	*TOL	[sip] tutanə	MSH	
DAA	bi <sup>m</sup> ba tuama-	BUA	[sipsisip] maluy	PON	
	na	ADZ		WLE	
UMA	bima mane-na	*KIL	[sipi] na-	EFI	tama-ni-sipi
BUG	bimbalaʔ-lai		m <sup>w</sup> ala	WFI	
KON	[ʔbimbala]	TAW	[sipi] oloto-na	RTU	
	(bantuʔ)	MOT	[mamoe]	TON	[sipi] tau
WOL	[d <sup>u</sup> m <sup>b</sup> a]		maruane-na	*SAM	māmoe poʔa
	umane	MEK		MEL	
MAG	[ǰi <sup>m</sup> bal] laki	ROV	[sipi] kokoreo	TAH	māmoe paʔe
NGA	ləbu-mosa	MAR		RAP	[kānero]
SIK	[ləmbu]	LAU			
	ʔlamə-ŋ	KWO			

YAM Also *pinaziŋ*.

ACE Arabic, also *bubiri agam*.

BAT Also *habbiŋ tungal*.

IND Also *[domba] ǰantan*.

RTI See 03.250.

NYI *m<sup>w</sup>an* ‘male’.

TOL *tutanə* ‘male, man’.

KIL ‘sheep animal-male’.

LEW Also *p<sup>w</sup>uruol* (03.210).

NTA Also *ieviar*.

SAM *poʔa* 'male'. See 03.120.

### 03.280 EWE

See 03.250

ATA	ʔipuʔ	DAA	bi <sup>m</sup> ba tina-na	MEK	
TSO		UMA	bima βeʔa-na	ROV	[sipi]
RUK		BUG	ana-		mamagota
PAI			[bimbalaʔ]	MAR	
YAM	mavinai	KON	['bimbala]	LAU	
ISN			(hiraŋ)	KWO	
KAL	bāʔin	WOL	[d <sup>u</sup> mba]	RAG	
	[kannēlu]		βawine	PAA	[sipsisip] letau
TAG	babāʔe-ŋ tūpa	MAG	[ʃi <sup>m</sup> bal] kina	*LEW	[sipsisip]
AKL	[karnēro] ŋa	NGA	ləbu-metu		(na <sup>w</sup> a) sira
	bāyih	SIK	[ləmbu] βai-ŋ	POR	
PAL	libun tupa	*RTI	biʔi lopo ina	*NTA	[sipsisip] pətan
MOL		BUR		KWA	
KAG	ina'yən na	DOB		NEM	
	[karniru]	IRA		CEM	
BLA	libun bilibili	SAW	[domba]	AJI	[mutõ] b <sup>w</sup> e
SAB	bilibili denda		məpin	XAR	
MUR		*NYI	[sipsisip] <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ik	NEN	
MGY	undʔi vavi	MAM	[sipsisipi] aine	KIR	
ACE	bubiri inəŋ	TAK		MSH	
*BAT	biru-biru	DAM		PON	
MIN	biri-biri	MAB		WLE	
*IND	biri-biri	YAB	[d <sup>o</sup> mba] tena	EFI	tina-ni-[sipi]
	bətina	KAU	[sipsisip] βala	WFI	
SUN	[domba]	*TOL	[sipi]-a-tā-na	RTU	
	bikaŋ	BUA	[sipsisip] aβeɣ	TON	[sipi] fefine
JAV	wəɟus gembel	ADZ		*SAM	māmoe fefine
	wedəʔ	*KIL	[sipi] na-	MEL	
MAD	[dumb <sup>h</sup> a]		βiβila	TAH	māmoe ufa
	biniʔ	TAW	[sipi]	RAP	mamoe
BAL	[dombə] luə		wawine-na		vahine
SAS	kibas (ninə)	MOT	[mamoe]		
GOR	hi <sup>m</sup> ba bilaŋo		hahine-na		

BAT	Also <i>habbiŋ boru-boru</i> .
IND	Also [ <i>domba</i> ] <i>bətina</i> .
RTI	See 03.250.
NYI	Loan "d'rik 'female'.
TOL	Only attested in Lanyon-Orgill (1960:365); a CONN; <i>tā-</i> 'mother', - <i>na</i> DEREL. See 03.130.
KIL	'sheep, animal-child'.
LEW	Also <i>kalena</i> (03.230).
NTA	Also <i>kret</i> .
SAM	<i>fafine</i> 'female'; see 03.130.

### 03.290 LAMB

See 03.250

ATA	ūk	*IND	anak	BUR	
TSO			biri-biri	DOB	
RUK		SUN	anak [ <i>domba</i> ]	IRA	
PAI		JAV	čəmpe	SAW	[ <i>domba</i> ] ntu
YAM	anak no kagliŋ	MAD	buđu <sup>?</sup> -na	*NYI	nadu [sipsip]
ISN			[ <i>dumb<sup>h</sup>a</i> ]	MAM	[sipsisipi] natu
KAL	ubbun di	BAL	panak	TAK	[sipsip]
	[ <i>kannēlu</i> ]		[ <i>dombə</i> ]	DAM	
*TAG	bāta-ŋ tūpa	SAS	anak kibas	MAB	
AKL	tiyu <sup>?</sup> ŋa	GOR	wala <sup>?</sup> o hi <sup>m</sup> ba	*YAB	[ <i>d<sup>o</sup>m<sup>b</sup>a</i> ] ŋa-
	[ <i>karnēro</i> ]	DAA	ana bi <sup>m</sup> ba	latu	
PAL		UMA	ana <sup>?</sup> bima	KAU	[sipsip] hoin
MOL	anak bili-bili	BUG	ana-	*TOL	[lam]
KAG	tinday na		[ <i>bimbala<sup>?</sup></i> ]	BUA	[sipsip] nalu
	[ <i>karniru</i> ]	KON	ana <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	
BLA	tiŋo <sup>?</sup> bilibili		[ <i>'bimbala</i> ]	*KIL	[lam]
SAB	anak bilibili	WOL	ana-na	TAW	[sipi] natu-na
MUR			[ <i>d<sup>u</sup>m<sup>b</sup>a</i> ]	MOT	[ <i>mamoe</i> ] natu-
MGY	zanak-und <sup>f</sup> i	MAG	anak [ <i>ʃi<sup>m</sup>bal</i> ]	na	
ACE	anur <sup>?</sup> bubiri	NGA	ana-ləbu	MEK	
BAT	anak ni lobbu	SIK	[ <i>ləmbu</i> ] anak	ROV	tuna [sipi]
MIN	biri-biri	*RTI	bi <sup>?</sup> i lopo ana	MAR	

LAU		NEM		*EFI	luve-ni-[sipi]
KWO		CEM		WFI	
RAG		AJI	ole [mutō]	RTU	[læme]
*PAA	tītān [sipisip]	XAR		TON	[lami]
LEW	ninus-ne-n [sipsip]	NEN		*SAM	tamaʔi māmoe
POR		KIR		MEL	
NTA	netə [sipsip]	MSH		*TAH	fanauʔa
KWA		PON			māmoe
		WLE		RAP	mamoe tiko

TAG Also [kordēro].

IND Also anak[domba].

RTI See 03.250.

NYI *nadu* 'offspring/small'.

YAB 'sheep its-child'.

TOL From English *lamb* or German *Lamm*.

KIL Also used is: *sipi na-g<sup>w</sup>adi* 'sheep animal-child' ('young sheep').

PAA 'sheep's offspring'.

EFI Also [lami].

SAM *tamaʔi* 'little animal or thing'.

TAH *pīnia māmoe*; [ʔarenio] Biblical, from Greek.

### 03.320 BOAR

**Spanish:** *verraco*

ATA		MOL	mondagan	SUN	babi ʒalu
*TSO		KAG	[baraku]	*JAV	babi lanəŋ
RUK	baboy	BLA	butakal	MAD	čilij
PAI	vavuy	SAB	bawi lella	*BAL	čeleŋ muani
*YAM	miwanay	MUR	luŋuyan	SAS	bawi (mamə)
ISN	bula	*MGY	[lambu]	GOR	hulaŋjiyo
KAL	mabūtu	ACE	buy agam	DAA	vavu tuama-na
*TAG	bulūgan	*BAT	aili	UMA	βaβu <sup>n</sup> tolou- na
AKL	taka†	MIN	kandiʔʔ		
PAL	byək	*IND	babi ʒantan	BUG	bawi-aliʔ

KON	bahi (bantu?)	BUA	bōk maluy	CEM	
WOL	ḡawu umane	ADZ	ifab arupua?	*AJI	[poka] yovāyi
MAG	əla laki	*KIL	bunuk <sup>w</sup> a na-	XAR	
*NGA	hui		m <sup>w</sup> ala	NEN	
SIK	βafi ʔlamə-ŋ	TAW	polo oloto-na	KIR	
RTI	bafi mane	MOT	boroma	MSH	
*BUR	fafu bhasa-t		maruane-na	PON	
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aŋi'lon	*MEK	koŋa	WLE	
IRA	ḡane məranə	ROV	boboa	*EFI	tamatama
SAW	bow mən	MAR		WFI	tama-ni-βorē
NYI	bou m <sup>w</sup> an	*LAU	boso wane	RTU	kou
MAM	boro-moane	KWO	ate	*TON	puaka taŋata
*TAK	bor tamol	RAG		*SAM	puaʔa poʔa
DAM	bor monog	PAA	loholu	*MEL	[pokasi] tāne
MAB		LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uruol	TAH	puaʔa paʔe
YAB	boʔ kap <sup>w</sup> aʔ	*POR	vekao	RAP	oru tane
KAU	yu to yahon	*NTA	p <sup>w</sup> əkas ierman		
*TOL	boroi	*KWA	pukah kerman		
	tomotoinə	NEM			

TSO *moŋmori* 'wild boar'.

YAM Also *pīnazīŋ*.

TAG Also *bāboy na lalāki*.

MGY From Malay *\*ləmbu* 'ox'.

BAT Compare Karo Batak *uili*.

IND Also *babi hutan* 'pig of the forest'.

JAV Also *čelɛŋ* 'wild pig, boar'.

BAL Also *kaun* can be used to refer to a male pig, horse or bull used for breeding.

NGA Also *hui-məre*.

BUR Male pig; a wild boar *faf aba* is distinguished from a domestic (lit 'village') pig *faf fena*; a *babirusa* is called *faf doni-t*; another wild species on the island is said to have short legs and fine hair and is called *faf bile*. A *fafu em-lahat* is a domestic pig gone wild. A *fafu mel aba* is a wild pig tamed from its youth.

TAK 'pig man', i.e. 'male pig'.

TOL *tomotoinə* 'male'.

KIL 'pig animal-male'.

MEK Also *ʔuma koŋa*. Wild boars are sometimes called *ʔouŋo*.

LAU Also *ʔai rae* ‘castrated pig’.

POR Also *<sup>m</sup>buas rürü*.

NTA Also *ieβiar*.

KWA ‘pig male’.

AJI Polynesian borrowing.

EFI Also *sara*.

TON Also *puaka tau*.

SAM See 03.210.

MEL From Efate.

### 03.340 SOW

ATA	JAV	babi wedɔʔ	KAU	yu eklaŋin
*TSO	MAD	babi biniʔ	*TOL	boroi vavinə
RUK	*BAL	baŋkuŋ	BUA	bōk aβeɣ
PAI	SAS	bawi (ninə)	ADZ	if ab rinən
YAM	GOR	boyi bilaŋo	*KIL	bunuk <sup>w</sup> a
ISN	DAA	vavu tina-na		na-βiβila
KAL	UMA	βaβu βeʔa-na	TAW	polo
TAG	BUG	bawi-kombaʔ		wawine-na
	KON	bahi (hiraŋ)	MOT	boroma
AKL	WOL	βawu βawine		hahine-na
PAL	*MAG	əla kina	MEK	(ʔuma) oŋe
MOL	NGA	ŋana-ɗeɣu	ROV	boko
	SIK	βaβi ina-ŋ		mamagota
KAG	RTI	bafi ina	MAR	balaye
	*BUR	faf tina-n	LAU	fasia migi aigi
BLA	DOB	tuburuʔan	KWO	bō geni
SAB	IRA	ɸane idənə	RAG	dura
MUR	SAW	bow mepin	PAA	atahas
MGY	NYI	bou <sup>n</sup> dʔik	LEW	kalena
ACE	MAM	boro-natu	POR	<sup>m</sup> bra <sup>m</sup> bar
BAT	*TAK	bor tina-n	*NTA	p <sup>w</sup> əkas pətan
MIN	DAM	bor gober	*KWA	pukah kapran
IND	MAB	<sup>ŋ</sup> ge pa <sup>ŋ</sup> gāra	NEM	
SUN	YAB	boʔ-tena	CEM	

AJI	[poka] b <sup>w</sup> ε	PON		*TON	puaka fefine
*XAR	[pōka] çē	WLE		*SAM	puaʔa fafine
NEN		EFI	tinatina	MEL	[pokasi] ffine
KIR		WFI	huna-ni-βorē	*TAH	puaʔa ufa
MSH		RTU	tinanomu	RAP	oru vahine

TSO *insi* 'female wild pig'; *smure* 'female wild pig with young'.

BAL See 03.130.

MAG Western Manggarai *kina*.

BUR Female pig; boar (*fafu bhasa-t*) ends in a *-t* because it is independent, not related to anything else; sow ends in an *-n* because a sow is in an anaphoric/exophoric genitive relation to piglets.

TAK 'pig mother-its', i.e. 'pig's mother'.

TOL *vavinə* 'woman, female'.

KIL 'pig, animal-female'.

NTA Also *kret*.

KWA 'pig female'.

XAR Polynesian borrowing.

TON Also *sināmanu*.

SAM See 03.230.

TAH Also *puaʔa maiaʔa*.

### 03.350 PIG

*ATA	βauwak	SAB	bawi	DAA	vavu
*TSO	friʔi	*MUR	bauy	UMA	βaβu
RUK	bākə	*MGY	[kisua]	BUG	bawi
*PAI	ḍiḍi	ACE	buy	KON	bahi
*YAM	koiş	*BAT	babi	WOL	βawu
ISN	ābuy	*MIN	kandiʔʔ	*MAG	əla
KAL	bolok	IND	babi	NGA	ŋana
TAG	bāboy	SUN	babi	SIK	βaβi
AKL	bābuy	JAV	babi	RTI	bafi
PAL	babuy	MAD	babi	BUR	fafu
MOL	babuy	*BAL	[čeleŋ]	DOB	φaφi
KAG	babuy	SAS	bawi	IRA	φane
BLA	sdaʔ	*GOR	boyi	SAW	bow

NYI	bou	ROV	boko	*NEN	[poaka]
MAM	boro	MAR	bosu	KIR	te [bēki]
TAK	bor	LAU	boso	MSH	[pīk]
DAM	bor	KWO	bō	PON	[p <sup>w</sup> īk]
MAB	<sup>ɲ</sup> ge	RAG	boe	*WLE	sīrō
*YAB	bo <sup>ʔ</sup> -ano	PAA	vuas	*EFI	[βuaka]
KAU	yu	LEW	nompui	WFI	βorē
TOL	boroi	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> buas	RTU	puaka
BUA	bōk	NTA	p <sup>w</sup> akas	TON	puaka
ADZ	ifab	KWA	pukah	SAM	pua <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*KIL	bunuk <sup>wa</sup>	*NEM	[puaka]	MEL	[pokasi]
*TAW	polo	*CEM	[púokə]	TAH	pua <sup>ʔ</sup> a
MOT	boroma	AJI	[poka]	RAP	oru
*MEK	<sup>ʔ</sup> uma	XAR	[pōka]		

ATA Also *ʔiβuβuh*.

TSO *fuzu* ‘wild pig’.

PAI *kaʒaŋ* ‘domesticated pig, stupid guy’.

YAM In the village of Iraralay *koʒaŋ* is used for all pigs.

MUR *bauy* ‘domestic pig’; *basij* ‘wild pig’.

MGY From French *cochon*.

BAT Proto-Batak *\*babuy*.

MIN Also *čili<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋ*; both ‘wild pig’.

BAL From Old Javanese? Compare Old Balinese *čuluŋ* ‘pig’; *baŋkal* ‘large castrated pig’; *kučit* ‘piglet’.

GOR Also *bilanilo*.

MAG Also *ela vai*.

YAB ‘animal real’; *bo<sup>ʔ</sup>su-su* ‘white pig’.

KIL A variant form *buluk<sup>wa</sup>* demonstrates fluctuation between *l* and *n*. Also *bulutiβalu* ‘domestic pig’; *bolodila* ‘wild pig’.

TAW *puwaka*-dialect variation.

MEK *ʔuma* may be traced to Kuni *kuma* ‘large louse of pigs’ (Desnoës).

NEM From Polynesian.

CEM From Polynesian.

NEN From Polynesian.

WLE Also *pōϕ<sup>w</sup>īya*.

EFI Tongan *puaka*.



## 03.360 GOAT

<b>English:</b> <i>goat, nanny</i>	<b>Tok Pisin:</b> <i>me</i>
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ATA	mit	UMA	kebe?	MAR	
TSO	moa-ti?nɨ	BUG	bembe?	LAU	
RUK	kisisi	KON	bembe	KWO	
PAI	sizi	WOL	βe <sup>m</sup> be	RAG	[nani]
YAM	kagliŋ	MAG	<sup>m</sup> bē	PAA	[nani]
ISN	kaldiŋ	NGA	roŋo	LEW	[nani]
*KAL	[kaldiŋ]	SIK	βidi-ŋ	POR	
*TAG	kambiŋ	*RTI	bi?i hi-k	NTA	[neni]
AKL	kandiŋ	BUR	[pipi]	KWA	
PAL	kambiŋ	DOB		NEM	[nani]
MOL	kambiŋ	IRA		CEM	[nàní]
KAG	kandiŋ	SAW	kaben	AJI	[nani] b <sup>w</sup> ε
BLA	kombiŋ	NYI	[me]	XAR	[nani]
SAB	kambiŋ	MAM	[me]	*NEN	[goutre]
MUR	[kambiŋ]	*TAK	bililek	KIR	
*MGY	[usi]	DAM	[meme]	MSH	
ACE	kameŋ	MAB		PON	
BAT	habbiŋ	YAB	[nɔniŋ]	WLE	
MIN	kambi <sup>o</sup> ŋ	KAU	[meme]	EFI	[mē]
*IND	kambiŋ	*TOL	[me]	*WFI	[mē]
SUN	əmbε	BUA	[məmek]	*RTU	kunei
JAV	wəɖus	ADZ		TON	[kosi]
MAD	əmbi?	KIL	[gota]	SAM	[oti]
BAL	kambiŋ	TAW	{goti}	MEL	[nannani]
SAS	bembek	*MOT	[nanigosi]	TAH	pua?a niho ufa
GOR	batade	*MEK	[mamoe]	RAP	vato-vato
DAA	tovau	ROV	[goti]		

KAL From Ilocano *kardiŋ*.

TAG PHN \**kandiŋ*, \**kambiŋ*.

MGY From Bantu.

IND Also *bibi*.

RTI See 03.250.

TAK See note on 03.250.

TOL Perhaps from German *mäh* (sound made by a goat).

MOT Also *nani*.

MEK Introduced via Police Motu.

NEN Also *[nani]*.

RTU Also *[ʔoti]* from Samoan *oti*.

WFI Standard Fijian.

### 03.370 HE-GOAT

See 03.360

ATA	βaʔaʃ	SAS	bembək	BUA	[məmek]
TSO			(mamə)		maluɣ
RUK		GOR	batade laʔi	ADZ	
PAI		DAA	tovau	*KIL	[gota]na-
*YAM	avwag		tuama-na		m <sup>w</sup> ala
ISN	toru wa kaldin	UMA	kebeʔ <sup>n</sup> tolu-	TAW	
KAL	lākin kaldin		a-na	MOT	[nani]
TAG	lalāki-ŋ	BUG	bembeʔ-lai		maruane-na
	kambiŋ	KON	bembe	MEK	
AKL	kandin ɲa ʔāki		(bantuʔ)	ROV	[goti]kokorco
PAL	mōndaŋan	WOL	ʃe <sup>m</sup> be umane	MAR	
MOL	mondan	MAG	<sup>m</sup> bē laki	LAU	
KAG	[turu]na	NGA	roŋo-mosa	KWØ	
	kandin	SIK	βidi-ŋ <sup>ʔ</sup> lamə-ŋ	RAG	
BLA	mōndōŋen	*RTI	biʔi hi mane	PAA	[nani] toman
*SAB	mundan	BUR	[pipi]-m-hana	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uruol
*MUR	saŋawan	DOB		POR	
MGY	usi lahi	IRA		NTA	[neni] ierman
ACE	kameŋ agam	SAW	kaben mōn	KWA	
BAT	habbiŋ tuŋgal	*NYI	[me] m <sup>w</sup> an	NEM	
MIN	kambi <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ	MAM	[me]-moane	CEM	
	ʃantan	TAK		AJI	[nani] wi
IND	kambiŋ ʃantan	DAM		XAR	
SUN	əmbə ʃalu	MAB		NEN	
JAV		YAB	[nōniŋ] kap <sup>w</sup> aʔ	KIR	
MAD	əmbiʔ lakiʔ	KAU	[meme] masaŋ	MSH	
BAL	kambiŋ muani	*TOL	[me] tutanə	PON	

WLE		TON	[kosi] taŋata	TAH	puaʔa niho
EFI	tama-ni-mē	*SAM	[oti] poʔa		paʔe
WFI	tama-ni-mē	MEL	[nannani] tāne	RAP	vato-vato tane
RTU					

YAM Also *pinaziŋ*.

SAB Also *bundan*.

MUR *tainu* 'she-goat'.

RTI See 03.250.

NYI *m<sup>w</sup>an* 'male'.

TOL *tutanə* 'man, male'.

KIL 'goat, animal-male'.

LEW See 03.320 used for all male livestock.

SAM See 03.210.

### 03.380 KID

See 03.360

ATA	ūk	MUR		MAG	<sup>m</sup> bē anak
TSO		MGY	zanak-usi	NGA	ana-roŋo
RUK		ACE	anuw <sup>?</sup> kameŋ	SIK	βidi-ŋ anak
PAI		BAT	anak ni habbiŋ	*RTI	bīʔi hi ana-k
YAM	anak no kagliŋ	MIN	anaʔ kambīʔŋ	BUR	[pipi] ana-n
ISN	urbun kaldiŋ	IND	anak kambīŋ	DOB	
KAL	ubbūn di	SUN	anak əmbe	IRA	
	kaldiŋ	JAV	čəmpe	SAW	kaben ntu
*TAG	bisīro-	MAD	buđuʔ-na	*NYI	nadu [me]
AKL	tiyuʔ ŋa		əmbiʔ	MAM	[me]-natu
	kandiŋ	BAL	panak kambīŋ	TAK	
*PAL	ibun ət	SAS	anak bembek	DAM	
	kambiŋ	GOR	walaʔo batade	MAB	
MOL	anak kambīŋ	DAA	ana tovau	*YAB	[nəniŋ] ŋa-latu
KAG	tinday na	UMA	anaʔ kebeʔ	KAU	[meme] hoin
	kandiŋ	BUG	ana-bembeʔ	*TOL	nət-na-[me]
BLA	tiŋəʔ kəmbiŋ	KON	anaʔ bembe	BUA	[məmek] nalu
SAB	anak kambīŋ	WOL	ana-na ʃe <sup>m</sup> be	ADZ	

*KIL	gota na- g <sup>w</sup> adi	LEW	ninus-ne-n  nani	PON WLE	
TAW		POR		EFI	luβe-ni-[mē]
MOT	naninani	NTA	netā neni	WFI	luβe-ni-[mē]
MEK		KWA		RTU	
ROV	tuna [goti]	NEM		TON	kiʔi [kosi]
MAR		CEM		*SAM	tamaʔi [oti]
LAU		AJI	ole [nani]	MEL	tama
KWO		XAR			[nannani]
RAG		NEN	wa goutre	TAH	fanauʔa puaʔa
*PAA	tītān [nani]	KIR			nihō
		MSH		RAP	vato-vato ʔāpī

TAG Also *bāta-ṅkambiṅ*.

PAL ‘goat’s offspring’; *yogaṅ ot kambīṅ* ‘child of goat’.

RTI See 03.250.

NYI *nadu* ‘offspring/small’.

YAB ‘goat its-child’.

TOL *nat* ‘little, child’, *na* CONN.

KIL ‘goat, animal-female’.

PAA ‘goat’s offspring’.

SAM See 03.240.

### 03.410 HORSE (equine)

**English:** *horse*

**Sanskrit:** *ghoṭaka-*

**Spanish:** *caballo*

ATA	ramaiʔ	PAL	[kobayu] ku	MIN	[kudo]
*TSO	ʔua sa-s-m- ovri		[kudaʔ]an	IND	[kuda]
		MOL	[kudaʔ]	SUN	[kuda]
RUK	rigi	KAG	[kabayu]	JAV	ḷaran
*PAI	[uma]	BLA	[kudəʔ]	MAD	ḷ <sup>h</sup> aran
YAM	baka	SAB	[kudaʔ]	*BAL	[ḷaran]
ISN	[kabalyu]	MUR	[kudaʔ]	SAS	ḷaran
KAL	[kabāyu]	*MGY	[suavali]	GOR	wadala
TAG	[kabāyo]	ACE	[guda]	DAA	ḷara
AKL	[kabāyuʔ]	BAT	[hoda]	UMA	ḷaraʔ

BUG	aññaraŋ	*TOL	[bulmaot]	CEM	[háricān]
KON	ǰaraŋ	BUA	[yōs]	*AJI	[yovaři]
WOL	aǰara	ADZ	.	XAR	[ōsi]
MAG	[ǰaraŋ]	*KIL	[wosa]	NEN	[hos(i)]
NGA	ǰara	TAW	[hosi]	KIR	
SIK	ǰara-ŋ	MOT	[hosi]	MSH	
RTI	<sup>n</sup> dala	MEK	[otsi]	PON	
BUR	[kuda]	ROV	[hose]	WLE	yōs
DOB		MAR		EFI	[ose]
IRA		LAU	[hosi]	WFI	[ohe]
SAW	[kuda]	KWO		RTU	[hōsu]
NYI	[hos]	RAG		TON	[hoosi]
MAM	[osi]	PAA	[hōs]	*SAM	[solofanua]
TAK	[wos]	LEW	[os]	MEL	[wōse]
DAM		POR		*TAH	pu <sup>?</sup> arehenua
MAB		NTA	[hos]	RAP	[hoi]
*YAB	[osi]	KWA			
KAU	[hos]	NEM	[hōñ]		

TSO 'deer bearing on the back'.

PAI From Japanese.

PAL Also *[kuda<sup>?</sup>]*.

MGY From Creole *chovval*, from French *cheval*.

BAL From Old Javanese?

BUR Malay.

YAB *[kuda]* obsolete.

TOL *[ot]* from English 'horse'. See *bulmakau* 03.200; also *[bulmaos]*.

KIL Also *osa*.

AJI From French *cheval*.

SAM From Tahitian *horofenua*.

TAH Also *pua<sup>?</sup>a horo fenua*.

## 03.420 STALLION

See 03.410

ATA		GOR	wadala laʔi	ROV	[hose]
TSO		DAA	ǰara tuama-na		kokoreo
RUK		UMA	ǰaraʔ <sup>n</sup> tolu-a-	MAR	
PAI			na	LAU	
*YAM	avwag	BUG	aññaraŋ-lai	KWO	
ISN	toru wa	KON	ǰaraŋ (bantuʔ)	RAG	
	[kabalyu]	WOL	aǰara umane	PAA	[hōs] toman
KAL	lākin [kabāyu]	MAG	[ǰaraŋ] laki	LEW	[os] (nap <sup>w</sup> a)
*TAG	lalāki-ŋ	NGA	ǰara-mosa		yerim <sup>w</sup> ene
	[kabāyo]	SIK	ǰara-ŋ ʔlamə-ŋ	POR	
AKL	[kabāyuʔ] ŋa	RTI	<sup>n</sup> dala mane	*NTA	[hos] ierman
	ʔāki	BUR		KWA	
PAL	məandaŋan	DOB		NEM	[hōñ] kac
	[kabayu]	IRA		CEM	
MOL	mondaŋan	SAW	[kuda] mən	AJI	[yovaři] wi
	[kudaʔ]	*NYI	[hos] m <sup>w</sup> an	XAR	
KAG	[turu] na	MAM	[osi] moane	NEN	
	[kabayu]	TAK		KIR	
BLA	lagi [kudoʔ]	DAM		MSH	
SAB	[kudaʔ] lella	MAB		PON	
MUR		YAB	[osi] kap <sup>w</sup> aʔ	WLE	
MGY	lahin-[ǰuavali]	KAU	[hos] masaŋ	EFI	tama-ni-[ose]
ACE	[guda] agam	TOL		WFI	tama-ni-[ohe]
BAT	[hoda] tuŋgal	BUA	[yōs] maluy	RTU	
MIN	[kudo] ǰantan	ADZ		TON	[hoosi] tau
IND	[kuda] ǰantan	*KIL	[wosa] na-	*SAM	[solofanua]
SUN	[kuda] ǰalu		m <sup>w</sup> ala		poʔa
JAV	ǰaran lanəŋ	TAW		MEL	wōsc tāne
MAD	ǰ <sup>h</sup> aran lakiʔ	MOT	[hosi]	TAH	puʔarehenua
*BAL	ǰaran muani		maruane-na		paʔe
SAS	ǰaran (mamə)	MEK		RAP	hoi hua

YAM Also *pinaziŋ*.

TAG ‘male horse’.

BAL Also *kauŋ* see 03.320.

NYI	<i>m<sup>w</sup>an</i> ‘male’.
KIL	‘horse, animal-male’.
NTA	Also <i>ieβiar</i> .
SAM	See 03.210.

**03.440 MARE****See 03.410**

ATA	?ipu?	MAD	ǰ <sup>h</sup> aran bini?	*KIL	[wosa]na-βiβila
TSO		*BAL	ǰaran luə	TAW	
RUK		SAS	ǰaran (ninə)	MOT	[hosi] hahine-na
PAI		GOR	wadala biləŋo	MEK	
YAM	mavinai	DAA	ǰara tina-na	ROV	[hose] mamagota
ISN	pu?unān na [kabalyu]	UMA	ǰara? βe?a-na	MAR	
KAL	egwa	BUG	aññaraŋ- komba?	LAU	
TAG	babā?e-ŋ [kabāyo]	KON	ǰaraŋ (hiraŋ)	KWO	
AKL	[kabāyu?]ŋa bāyih	MAG	{ǰaraŋ} kina	RAG	
PAL	libun ət [kabayu]	NGA	ǰara-mətu	PAA	[hōs] letau
MOL	ko-rir-indu?- an [kuda?]	SIK	ǰara-ŋ ina-ŋ	LEW	[os] (nap <sup>w</sup> a) sira
KAG	ina'yən na [kabayu]	RTI	<sup>n</sup> dala ina	POR	
BLA	libun [kudə?]	BUR		*NTA	[hos]pətan
SAB	[kuda?]denda	DOB		KWA	
MUR		IRA		NEM	[hōñ]ŋōk
MGY	[suavali] vavi	*SAW	[kuda] məpin	CEM	
ACE	[guda]inoŋ	*NYI	[hos] <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ik	AJI	[yovaři] b <sup>w</sup> ε
BAT	[hoda] boru- boru	MAM	[osi] aine	XAR	
MIN	[kudo] batino	TAK		NEN	
IND	[kuda]bətina	DAM		KIR	
SUN	[kuda]bikaŋ	MAB		MSH	
JAV	ǰaran wedə?	YAB	[əsi]-tena	PON	
		KAU	[hos] βala	WLE	
		TOL		EFI	tina-ni-[ose]
		BUA	[yōs] aβeɣ	WFI	huna-ni-[ohe]
		ADZ			

RTU		*SAM	[solofanua]	TAH	pu <sup>?</sup> arehenua
TON	[hoosi] fefine		fafine		maia <sup>?</sup> a
		MEL	[wōse] ffine	RAP	hoi vahine

BAL See 03.130.

SAW Malay.

NYI <sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>ik 'female'.

KIL 'horse, animal-female'.

NTA Also *kret*.

SAM See 03.230.

### 03.450 FOAL, COLT

#### See 03.410

ATA	ūk	MIN	ana <sup>?</sup> [kudo]	TAK	
TSO		IND	anak  kuda	DAM	
RUK		SUN	anak  kuda	MAB	
PAI		JAV	bəlo	*YAB	[əsi] ŋa-latu
YAM	anak no baka	*MAD	bəllu	KAU	[hos] hoin
ISN	urbun	*BAL	godel	TOL	
	[kabalyu]	SAS	anak jaran	BUA	[yōs] nalu
KAL	ubbun di	GOR	wala <sup>?</sup> o wadala	ADZ	
	[kabāyu]	DAA	ana jara	*KIL	[wosa na- g <sup>w</sup> adi
*TAG	[potro]	UMA	ana <sup>?</sup> jara <sup>?</sup>	TAW	
AKL	tiyu <sup>?</sup> ŋa	BUG	aññaraŋ-lolo	MOT	[hosi] natu-na
	[kabāyu <sup>?</sup> ]	KON	ana <sup>?</sup> jaraŋ	MEK	
PAL	ibun ət	WOL		*ROV	tuna [hose]
	[kabayu]	MAG	[jaraŋ] anak	MAR	
MOL	anak  kuda <sup>?</sup> ]	NGA	jara-haki	LAU	
KAG	tinday na	*SIK	jara-ŋ nurak	KWO	
	[kabayu]	RTI	<sup>n</sup> dala ana	RAG	
BLA	nati	BUR		*PAA	tītān [hōs]
SAB	anak  kuda <sup>?</sup> ]	DOB		LEW	ninus-ne-n
MUR		IRA			[os]
MGY	zana-[ϕuavali]	*SAW	kuda] ntu	POR	
ACE	antu <sup>?</sup> [guda]	*NYI	nadu  hos]	NTA	netə [hos]
BAT	anak ni  hoda]	MAM	osi] natu		



KWA		PON		*SAM	tamaʔi
NEM		WLE			[solofanua]
*CEM	náhi-wóta	EFI	luβe-ni-[ose]	MEL	tama wōse
AJI	ole [yovaři]	WFI	luβe-ni-[ohe]	TAH	fanauʔa
XAR		RTU			puʔarehenua
NEN		*TON	ʔuhikiʔi	RAP	hoi tane
KIR			[hoosi]		
MSH					

TAG From Spanish *potro* ‘colt’; also [*būso*], from Spanish *becerro* ‘yearling calf’.

MAD Not in Safioedin (1977) or Penninga and Hendriks (1913).

BAL See 03.240.

SIK Also *řara-ŋanak*.

SAW From Malay.

NYI *nadu* ‘offspring/small’.

YAB ‘horse its-child’.

KIL ‘horse, animal-child’.

ROV Also *tuna hose kokoreo*.

PAA ‘horse's offspring’.

CEM ‘young of horse’.

TON Also *kiʔi* [*hoosi*].

SAM See 03.240.

### 03.460 ASS, DONKEY

**Arabic:** *himār*

**German:** *Esel*

**Spanish:** *borrico. asno*

**French:** *bourrique*

**Latin:** *asinus*

ATA		AKL	[buřiko]	*ACE	[kuuluɔɛ]
TSO		PAL		BAT	[halode]
RUK		MOL		*MIN	[himar]
PAI		KAG		IND	[kələdai]
*YAM	[baka]	BLA		SUN	[kalde]
ISN		SAB	[himar]	JAV	[kuldı]
KAL		MUR		MAD	[hemar]
*TAG	[asno]	*MGY	[ampundʔa]	BAL	[kələde]

SAS	MAB	KWA
GOR [kalidi]	*YAB [tɔŋki]	NEM [buriko]
DAA	KAU [donki]	CEM [bùriko]
UMA	TOL [esel]	AJI [anō]
BUG [kalidai]	BUA [dogi]	XAR [buriko]
KON [jaraŋ čina]	ADZ	NEN
WOL	KIL [ase]	KIR
MAG	TAW [doniki]	MSH
NGA	MOT	PON
SIK	MEK [tonike]	WLE
RTI	ROV	EFI [asa]
BUR	MAR	WFI
DOB	LAU	*RTU [ʔasino]
IRA	KWO	TON [ʔasi]
SAW	RAG	*SAM [āsini]
NYI [donki]	PAA	MEL
MAM [doŋʔi]	LEW [tɔŋki]	TAH [ʔāteni]
TAK [donki]	POR	RAP muni
DAM	NTA	

YAM From Spanish *vaca* 'cow'.

TAG From Spanish *asno*; also [burīko].

MGY From Bantu.

ACE Also [hima].

MIN Also [kaladay] Tamil.

YAB Also [εσεε] obsolete.

RTU Also [čakasa] from English *jackass*.

SAM From Latin *asinus*.

### 03.470 MULE

Arabic: <i>ħimār, baġhl</i>	French: <i>mulet</i>	Spanish: <i>mula</i>
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ATA	YAM [baka]	AKL [mūla]
TSO	ISN	PAL
RUK	KAL	MOL
PAI	*TAG [mōla]	KAG

BLA		RTI		PAA	
SAB		BUR		LEW	[toŋki]
MUR		DOB		POR	
MGY	ra[mule]	IRA		NTA	
ACE	[baray]	SAW		KWA	
BAT	[halode]	NYI		NEM	
MIN	[himar]	MAM		CEM	
IND	[bagal]	TAK		*AJI	[b <sup>w</sup> iřiko]
SUN		DAM		XAR	
*JAV	[kuldi]	MAB		NEN	
	[blastəran]	YAB		KIR	
MAD		KAU		MSH	
BAL		TOL		PON	
SAS		BUA		WLE	
GOR		ADZ		*EFI	[meuli]
DAA		KIL	[miuli]	WFI	
UMA		TAW		RTU	
BUG	[kalidai]	MOT		*TON	[miuli]
KON		MEK		SAM	
WOL		ROV		MEL	
MAG		MAR		*TAH	[niuru]
NGA		LAU		RAP	
SIK		KWO			
		RAG			

TAG Also *mūla*.

JAV From Dutch.

AJI From French *bourricot*.

TAH From English.

### 03.500 FOWL

ATA	kinkinučan	*TAG	manok	*MUR	manuk
TSO	trō <sup>?</sup> ua	AKL	manuk	*MGY	[vuruna]
RUK		PAL	kotyān	ACE	manō <sup>?</sup>
PAI		MOL	manuk	BAT	manuk
YAM	mişaşalap	KAG		*MIN	uŋgeh
ISN		BLA	anuk	IND	uŋgas
KAL	manuk	SAB	manuk	SUN	hayam

JAV	pitiʔ	TAK	kirek	NTA	meniŋ
MAD	aʃam	DAM	tataro	KWA	reia
BAL	siap	MAB	man	NĒM	
SAS	manuk	YAB	taleʔ	CEM	jà
GOR	maluʔo	KAU		AJI	meyΛ b <sup>w</sup> ε
DAA		TOL	kəkaruk	*XAR	dɔ
UMA		BUA	ʔəkəreŋ	NEN	titewe
BUG	manu-manuʔ	ADZ	tatariʔ	KIR	
KON		KIL	rekorek <sup>wa</sup>	MSH	
*WOL	manu	TAW	kamkam	PON	
MAG	manuk	MOT	kokoroku	WLE	maʔuxa
*NGA	manu	MEK	ʔoʔolo	EFI	toa
*SIK	horo-ŋ	ROV	kokorako	WFI	tō
RTI		MAR	k <sup>h</sup> okorako	RTU	moa
BUR	tepu-t	LAU	karaikoa	TON	moa
DOB	toru	KWO		SAM	moa
*IRA	kokə	RAG	toa	MEL	moa
SAW	mane rekrek	PAA	ato	TAH	moa
NYI		LEW	lakaporo	RAP	moa
MAM	maŋ	*POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> eruv		

TAG Proto-Philippines \**manuk*.

MUR *manuk* (domestic); *baulun* (wild).

MGY See 03.581.

MIN Also *buru*<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋ.

WOL *manu* 'chicken, fowl'; *mamua* 'wild fowl, laying large eggs in holes in the ground, where they hatch without being brooded'.

NGA 'chicken'.

SIK Also *manu*.

IRA Also *kukurə*.

POR Also *<sup>m</sup>b<sup>w</sup>etir-r<sup>m</sup>baix*.

XAR Term used for fowls of European introduction.

### 03.520 COCK, ROOSTER

ATA	kaβatiŋan	PAI		*YAM	pataroko-
TSO	moniŋroxɨ				kokən a
RUK					manok

*ISN	kawītan	NGA	manu-lalu	LAU	karaikoa wane
*KAL	kawītan	SIK	manu ama	KWO	kokorako
*TAG	tandaŋ	RTI	manu la-lau-k	RAG	toa atam <sup>w</sup> ani
*AKL	agak	BUR	tep lolama	*PAA	tōtoman
PAL	manuk lumbu?	*DOB	toru yili-n	*LEW	towa
MOL	lumbu?	IRA	kukurə mərana	POR	roman
KAG	laŋganən	*SAW	manɛ [jago]	NTA	meniŋ icerman
*BLA	lunduŋ	*NYI	[kakarə] m <sup>w</sup> an	KWA	reai kerman
SAB	manuk lella	MAM	maŋ-moane	NEM	yalek kac
MUR	tandā?	*TAK	kirek tamol	CEM	jà áiu
*MGY	[akuhu] lahi	DAM	tataro monog	AJI	meɣɫ wi
ACE	manɔ? agam	MAB		XAR	dɔ xɔɔ
BAT	jabbe	YAB	talɛ? kap <sup>w</sup> a?	NEN	čočo
MIN	ayam jantan	KAU	ekiŋ nomal	KIR	
IND	ayam jantan		masaŋ	MSH	kakɔ
SUN	hayam jago	*TOL	loŋo	PON	kīŋ
JAV	jago	BUA	ʔəʔəŋəy maluɣ	WLE	seixōŋo
MAD	aŋam laki?	ADZ	tatari? marub	EFI	tama-ni-toa
*BAL	pə-ŋ-lumbah	*KIL	rekorek <sup>w</sup> ana-	WFI	tama-ni-tō
*SAS	sa(w)uŋ		m <sup>w</sup> ala	RTU	moa
*GOR	malu?ā ba <sup>ŋ</sup> ge	TAW	kamkam oloto-	TON	moa ta?ne
DAA	manu tuama-		na	SAM	toa
	na	MOT	kokoroku	*MEI	[tākesa]
UMA	manu? patara		maruane-na	TAH	moa oni
BUG	manu?-lai	MEK	?o?olo	RAP	moa
*KON	jaŋaŋ (bantu?)	ROV	kokorako		
*WOL	Iesi		kokoreo		
MAG	(manuk) laloŋ	MAR			

YAM ‘crowing chicken’

ISN *tādi* ‘cockfight’.

KAL *pullut* ‘cockfight’.

TAG Also *tatyaw*, *katyaw*.

AKL *suŋug* ‘cockerel’; *būtaŋ* ‘cock-fight’.

BLA Also *masəl*.

MGY [*akuhu*] ‘fowl’ from Bantu.

BAL No term, *siap* *pə-ŋ-lumbah* ‘male fowl used for breeding’ (*pə-ŋ-lumbah* ‘male animal used for breeding’).

SAS	Teeuw lists <i>sa(w)uŋ</i> , <i>sa(w)oŋ</i> , <i>soŋan</i> ; ‘cockerel’: <i>meñjoŋ</i> .
GOR	<i>maluʔo</i> + ligature <i>a</i> .
KON	Also <i>manuʔ</i> ( <i>bantuʔ</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>waka</i> ; <i>talagatari</i> ‘cock with green and black feathers’.
DOB	‘male fowl’.
SAW	From Malay.
NYI	<i>mʷan</i> ‘male’.
TAK	‘fowl man’, i.e. ‘male fowl’.
TOL	Also <i>loko</i> (north coast dialects).
KIL	‘fowl animal-male’.
PAA	‘male fowl’.
LEW	Also <i>torm</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>eŋe</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 03.540 HEN

ATA	ʔayaʔan	MIN	ayam batino	*NYI	[kakarə] <sup>n</sup> dʳik
TSO	moskoʔi	IND	ayam bətina	MAM	maŋ-aine
RUK		SUN	hayam bikaŋ	*TAK	kirek pein
PAI		*JAV	babon	DAM	tataro gober
YAM	pəyiçoin	MAD	aʃam biniʔ	MAB	
ISN	ūpa	*BAL	pəŋinə	*YAB	taleʔ
KAL	gagganak	SAS	manuk ninə	KAU	ekiŋ nomał
TAG	inah-in-g manok	*GOR	maluʔā tēlo		βala
*AKL	musʔan	DAA	manu tina-na	TOL	kəkaruk
PAL	upa manuk	UMA	manuʔ βeʔa-na	BUA	kəkərēy aβeɣ
MOL	upa	BUG	manu-kombaʔ	ADZ	tatariʔ rinaŋ
KAG	inaʔyən na manúk	*KON	jaŋaŋ (hiraŋ)	*KIL	rekorekʷana- βiβila
BLA	tinifi	WOL	waka	TAW	kamkam
SAB	manuk denda	MAG	manuk kina		wawine-na
MUR	pūnan	NGA	manu-susu	MOT	kokoroku
MGY	akuhi vavi	SIK	manu ina-ŋ		hahine-na
ACE	manəʔ inəŋ	RTI	manu ina	MEK	ʔoʔolo
BAT	manuk boru- boru	BUR	tepu tina-n	ROV	kokorako
		*DOB	toru ʔodar-ni		mamagota
		IRA	kukurə idenə	MAR	
		*SAW	manε pεgel-o		

LAU	karaikoa geni	CEM	jà	WFI	huna-ni-tō
KWO		AJI		RTU	?ufa
RAG	toa vavine	XAR	dəçẽ	TON	motu?a-moa
*PAA	tōtetau	NEN	titewe	*SAM	matuā-moa
LEW	lakaporo	KIR	te moa aine	MEL	moa ffine
POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> eruv	*MSH	lɔlɔ	TAH	moa ufa
NTA	meniṅ kret	PON	liṭok	RAP	?uha
KWA	reikapran	WLE	mařūxa		
NEM	yalek	EFI	tina-ni-toa		

AKL Also *dumatāgah* ‘young hen’.

JAV From (*babu-an*); *babu* ‘mother’.

BAL *inə* ‘female animal which has had offspring’.

GOR See 03.520.

KON Also *manu?* (*hiraṅ*).

DOB ‘female fowl’.

SAW From *pegele-o*.

NYI <sup>n</sup>*d'ik* ‘female’.

TAK ‘fowl woman’, i.e. ‘female fowl’.

YAB Also *tale?-tena*.

KIL ‘fowl animal-female’.

PAA ‘female chicken’.

MSH *cenlap* ‘brood hen’.

SAM *matua* ‘be old; parent’; *moa* ‘chicken’.

### 03.550 CHICKEN

ATA	wayṭuṅ	MOL		SUN	anak hayam
*TSO	çioçio	KAG	ma'nuk	JAV	kutu?
*RUK	[koka]	BLA	anuk	MAD	aṣam
PAI	kuka	SAB	impis	BAL	pitik
YAM	manok	*MUR	anak	SAS	
ISN	anu?	MGY	vantuṭ <sup>r</sup> -akuhu	GOR	malu?o
KAL	sīyop	ACE	anu? manə?	DAA	manu
*TAG	sisiw	BAT	anak ni manuk	UMA	manu?
AKL	isiw	MIN	ayam	BUG	manu?
PAL	manuk	IND	anak ayam	*KON	ṣaṅaṅ

*WOL	manu	ADZ	tatari <sup>?</sup> narun	NEM	naye-yalek
MAG	anak manuk	*KIL	rekorek <sup>w</sup> a na-	CEM	nàhi-ǰà
NGA	ana-manu		g <sup>w</sup> adi	AJI	meyΛ dowΛ
SIK	manu	TAW	kamkam natu-	XAR	
RTI	manu		na	NEN	watitewe
BUR	tepu-t	MOT	kokoroku	*KIR	te moa
*DOB	toru yana-y		natu-na	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> ao
IRA	kukurənətu	MEK	ʔoʔolo	*PON	malek
SAW	manε ntu	ROV	tuna kokorako	*WLE	mařüxa
*NYI	nadu [kakarə]	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> okorako	EFI	kiokio
MAM	maŋ-natu	LAU	gala karaikoa	WFI	luβe-ni-tō
*TAK	kirek	KWO		RTU	ʔuʔui
DAM	tataro nālu	RAG		TON	kiʔi moa
MAB	man tatarīgi	*PAA	tītān ato	*SAM	tamaʔi moa
YAB		LEW	ninus-ne-n	MEL	
KAU	ekiŋ nomal		lakaporo	TAH	moa
*TOL	nət-nə- kəkaruk	*POR	ro-m <sup>w</sup> elaul	RAP	moa
		NTA	netə meniŋ		
BUA	kəḳərēy nalu	*KWA	reia		

TSO ‘chick’.

RUK [*koka*] ‘chicken’, loan from Paiwan. Compare *tarokoko* ‘chicken’ in Tanan and Mantauran, *troka* in Maga, *taokoko* in Tona, *tahokoko* in Labuan.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*siw + siw*.

MUR Also *gogol* ‘young of any bird’.

KON Also *manu?*

WOL *pio-pio-na manu* ‘small chicken’.

DOB ‘fowl’s child’.

NYI *nadu* ‘offspring/small’.

TAK ‘fowl’.

TOL *nat* ‘little, child’, *na* CONN.

KIL ‘fowl animal-child’.

PAA ‘hen’s offspring’.

POR Also *mbüxavir*.

KWA Generic term, prototypically ‘fowl’; also *menu*.

KIR Probably Polynesian.



MSH	'bird, fowl'
PON	Probably Chamorro.
WLE	Probably Chamorro.
SAM	<i>tamaʔi</i> 'little animal or thing'.

## 03.560 GOOSE

English: <i>goose</i>	Sanskrit: <i>haṃsa-</i>	Spanish: <i>gansa</i>
ATA	šaβaβu†	MAR
*TSO	xanaxana no tmukeŋi	LAU
RUK		araŋa
PAI		KWO
YAM	tomtomgag	RAG
ISN	[gansu]	PAA
KAL	[gānsu]	LEW
TAG	[gansaʔ]	[kus]
AKL	[gansa]	POR
PAL	[ansa]	*NTA
MOL		[taktak]
KAG	[gansa]	KWA
BLA	[gansaʔ]	NEM
SAB	[gaŋsu]	CEM
MUR	[ansaʔ]	*AJI
*MGY	[gisi]	[oa]
ACE	iteʔ [ansa]	XAR
BAT	[aŋsa]	NEN
MIN	[anso]	KIR
*IND	[aŋsa]	MSH
*SUN	[soaŋ]	PON
*JAV	mentɔk	WLE
MAD		*EFI
BAL	[aŋsə]	[kōkosi]
SAS	[aŋsə]	*WFI
G●R	bano	[kokosi]
DAA		*RTU
		[tɔku]
		TON
		[kuusi]
		SAM
		[kusi]
		MEL
		TAH
		moaʔao
		RAP
		MEK
		ROV

TSO	‘duck of crying loud’; see <i>t-m-ukeŋi</i> ‘(deer) cry’.
MGY	From English.
IND	Also [ <i>gaŋsa</i> ].
SUN	From Dutch.
JAV	Horne <i>mentog</i> .
SAW	Malay ‘duck’.
IRA	‘river duck, black and white’.
NYI	‘wild goose’.
TAK	From Tok Pisin.
NTA	From English ‘duck’.
AJI	From French <i>oie</i> .
EFI	From English.
WFI	Standard Fijian, from English.
RTU	From English ‘duck’.

### 03.570 DUCK

**English:** *duck*

**Malay:** *bebek*

**Spanish:** *pato*

ATA	šaβaβu†	BAT	bibi	RTI	[bebe]
TSO	xanaxana	MIN	iti <sup>o?</sup>	*BUR	man wae-n
*RUK	[bibi]	*IND	bebek	*DOB	[beba <sup>o?</sup> u]
PAI	bibi	SUN	məri	IRA	kimuφə
YAM	kaəməʃ	JAV	[bebe <sup>o?</sup> ]	SAW	[bebek]
ISN	ītik	MAD	itik	NYI	[p <sup>w</sup> ato]
KAL	[patu]	*BAL	bebek	MAM	[pato]
*TAG	[pāto]	SAS	bebek	*TAK	[patou]
*AKL	itik	GOR	bibi <sup>o?</sup>	DAM	[bato]
PAL	[patu <sup>o?</sup> ]	*DAA	[bebe]	MAB	
MOL	[patu <sup>o?</sup> ]	*UMA	titi	YAB	gai <sup>o?</sup> g <sup>w</sup> aŋ
*KAG	[patu]	BUG	iti <sup>o?</sup>	KAU	[pato]
BLA	[fotu]	*KON	manila	TOL	[pato]
SAB	etek	WOL	[bebe]	*BUA	[patōk]
MUR	utik	*MAG	[bebek]	ADZ	
MGY	ganagana	NGA	[bebe]	KIL	
ACE	ite <sup>o?</sup>	SIK		TAW	[daki]

*MOT	mokoraha	NTA	[taktak]	WLE	ŋōŋō
*MEK	kiu-kiu	KWA	iareŋ	EFI	ŋā
ROV	[daki]	*NEM	āōt	*WFI	ŋā
MAR	babaʔa	CEM	ʷōni	*RTU	[tɔku]
LAU	araŋa	*AJI	[kaʔā]	*TON	toloa
KWO	aʔalaŋa	*XAR	nĩã	SAM	[pato]
RAG		NEN	[ɖak]	*MEL	[patu]
*PAA	[takitak]	KIR		TAH	moʔorā
LEW	[taktak]	MSH		RAP	morā
POR		PON			

RUK *[bibi]* ‘duck’, loan from Paiwan. See Paiwan *bibiq*, Saisiat *bibiʔ*, Taokas *bibi* ‘duck’.

TAG Also *bibi*, *itik*.

AKL Also *[pāto]*.

KAG *[pato]* ‘white domesticated duck’; *itik* ‘brown domesticated duck’.

IND Also *itik*.

BAL Also *doloŋ* North Bali; *kuir* South Bali, species of muscovy duck.

DAA *bebe* like a muscovy duck; *titi* like a mallard.

UMA Also *karatiʔ*

KON Also *kīūʔ* (distinct types).

MAG Also *[itik]* from Malay.

BUR ‘water bird’, more generic than ‘duck’.

DOB From Malay; used for domesticated ducks.

TAK See 02. 570.

BUA *g<sup>w</sup>e-βāβ* ‘wild duck var.’.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) ‘black whistling duck’.

MEK *kiu-kiu* is a kind of native duck. *I-ainema* is a waterhen.

PAA From English, via Bislama.

NEM ‘wild duck’, *Anas superciliosa pelewensis*.

AJI From French *canard*.

XAR ‘wild duck’ *Anas superciliosa pelewensis*.

WFI Also *gādolodolo* ‘wild duck’.

RTU *meʔcia* ‘wild duck’.

TON Also *[pato]*.

MEL Also *mūnuki*.

## 03.580 NEST

ATA	ʃiβuʔ	DAA	ʃumu	MAR	nōku
*TSO	skuʔu	UMA	peta	LAU	nui
*RUK	lisīsoko	BUG	saraŋ	KWO	nūʔi
*PAI	ruvu	KON	ruʔmuŋ	RAG	inoʔi
YAM	paŋavilan	WOL	poteo	PAA	anu
ISN	suʔbut	*MAG	čəvo	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> onovi
KAL	sukbut	NGA	səvo	POR	xu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> oxo <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>
TAG	pūgad	*SIK	kaʃak	NTA	nianjanən
*AKL	pūgad	RTI	<sup>n</sup> dunu-k	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> arəŋerəŋ
PAL	pugad	*BUR	paha-n	NEM	ŋeap
MOL	pugad	*DOB	ruma-y	CFM	b <sup>w</sup> êem
KAG	salag	IRA	manəisan	AJI	nebeyom <sup>wā</sup>
*BLA	fuləl	SAW	pup	XAR	ʒe
SAB	pugadan	NYI	awin	NEN	
*MUR	bunsalag	MAM	gupa	KIR	te ŋao
*MGY	ʃ <sup>n</sup> anu-m-	TAK	ur	*MSH	el
	buruna	DAM	uru	PON	pās
ACE	uumpuŋ	YAB	iʔ	WLE	ffata
BAT	asar	*KAU	ekiŋmlut	EFI	soʃa
MIN	saraŋuŋgeh	TOL	po	WFI	-roge
IND	saraŋ	BUA	nəwis	RTU	ʔoʔoŋa
SUN	sayaŋ	ADZ	git	TON	punuŋa
JAV	susuh	KIL	noub <sup>w</sup> ala	SAM	ōfaŋa
MAD	libun	TAW	nunu	MEL	nuku
BAL	səbuŋ	*MOT	manuruma-na	TAH	ʔōfaʔaraʔa
SAS	kəsəbu	MEK	ni(-na)	*RAP	haka-pupa
*GOR	bēle-ya	ROV	vori		

TSO ‘nest of birds, rats’; see *xirxivza* ‘den of a wild pig’.

RUK *lisīsoko* ‘little bird nest’; *rapa* ‘large bird nest’.

PAI *capul<sup>y</sup>ək* ‘ant nest’.

AKL Also *pugar-an*.

BLA Also *sələl*.

MUR Also *bunsut* (of ants, termites), *tambaloy* (of bees, wasps etc.).

MGY ‘bird’s house’.

GOR *bele* ‘house’, plus lengthening of first vowel, plus *-a*.

MAG Also *pa<sup>n</sup>tar* ‘nests of crows and doves’.

SIK	'birds nest'.
BUR	Also <i>man ele-n</i> 'bird's place'; <i>mabe-t</i> 'nest/mound of the <i>man keho</i> (Malay <i>buruṅ maleo</i> )'; <i>em-hisi-n.</i> 'nest of the marsupial cuscus (genus <i>Phalanger</i> )'.
DOB	<i>ruma-y</i> is a possessed noun, thus <i>man ruma-y</i> is 'bird's nest'.
KAU	'bird roof'.
MOT	<i>manu</i> 'bird'; <i>ruma</i> 'house'.
KWA	<i>k<sup>w</sup>arəŋerəŋ</i> of larger species of bird; <i>k<sup>w</sup>atmaŋhe-</i> of smaller species of bird; <i>k<sup>w</sup>atapəŋe-</i> of smaller species of bird.
MSH	<i>kaṛək</i> 'turtle nest'.
RAP	Also <i>hoŋa?a</i> 'chicken's nest'.

### 03.581 BIRD

ATA	kaβah-niḵ	SAS	kədit	*ADZ	dza <sup>ŋ</sup> dʒuf
TSO	zomi	*GOR	[būruŋi]	*KIL	maunana-
RUK	aḏaḏamə	DAA	toŋji		youyowa
PAI	ḵaya-ḵayam	UMA	da <sup>ŋ</sup> ci	*TAW	kiu
YAM	miaṣaṣalap	BUG	manu-manu?	MOT	manu
ISN	an <sup>?</sup> anu <sup>?</sup>	*KON	jaŋaŋ-jaŋaŋ	*MEK	inei
KAL	sissīwit	*WOL	manu-manu	ROV	kurukuru
TAG	ībon	MAG	kaka lelap	MAR	naŋaŋji
*AKL	pispis	NGA	siu	LAU	manu
PAL	bəgit	SIK	horo-ŋ	KWO	laŋasi
MOL	bogit	RTI	manu-pui	RAG	manu
KAG	yupan	*BUR	manu-t	*PAA	aman
BLA	anuk bnas	DOB	man	LEW	manu
SAB	manuk-manuk	IRA	man	POR	na-man
MUR	susuit	SAW	manε	NTA	meniŋ
*MGY	[vuruna]	NYI	sirih	KWA	menu
*ACE	[cicem]	MAM	maŋ-si-si <sup>?</sup> i	NEM	manik
BAT	pidonṅ	*TAK	[aŋkanak]	CEM	mêni
*MIN	uŋgeh	DAM	nina	AJI	müřü
IND	buruṅ	MAB	man	XAR	mãrã
SUN	manuk	YAB	mɔ <sup>?</sup>	NEN	iaded
JAV	manu <sup>?</sup>	*KAU	ekiŋ	*KIR	te man ni kiba
MAD	manu <sup>?</sup>	TOL	beo	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ao
BAL	kədis	BUA	soḵ	PON	menpīr

*WLE	mařü	WFI	manumanu-	*SAM	manu-lele
EFI	manumanu-		ðaβu	MEL	manu
	βuka	*RTU	mɔnmɔnu	TAH	manu
		TON	manu-puna	RAP	manu

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines \**pispis*.

MGY From Malay *buruŋ*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *buruʔŋ*.

GOR From Malay.

KON Also *manuʔ-manuʔ*.

WOL Also <sup>9</sup>*kaa-<sup>9</sup>kaa* ‘bird of prey’; *lipuo* ‘k. o. bird’.

BUR ‘things that fly’ includes birds, bats, butterflies.

TAK From Gedaged; Takia had no generic term for ‘bird’.

KAU Also *emon*.

ADZ *dza<sup>9</sup>dʒuf* (Amari only); *apudʒuf* (other dialects); *gaʒiab* Yarus, Tsumangorun.

KIL ‘animal flying’.

TAW *manuwa*-dialect variation.

MEK *ini* in the other dialects. Roro has *inctsi* ‘bird of paradise’; Lapeka has *inesi* ‘bird’, while Kuni proper has *neka* ‘bird’. *Inghina* is the sacred bird of the Fuyughe.

PAA Also ‘plane’.

KIR ‘flying creature’.

WLE ‘creature, animal’.

RTU Also *mɔnmɔnferfere*.

SAM *lele* ‘fly’ (vb intrans), *manu* ‘animal’.

### 03.582 SEAGULL

ATA		ISN		KAG	saʔul
TSO		KAL		BLA	tulalaŋ
RUK		TAG		SAB	talla-tallaʔ
PAI		AKL		MUR	
YAM	manok no	PAL		MGY	
	aʒayo	MOL	toraʔ-toraʔ	ACE	cama

BAT		*SAW	manεduma	POR	li <sup>m</sup> buer
*MIN	buru <sup>ə</sup> ŋ lawi <sup>?</sup>	*NYI	kanau	NTA	pitouar
IND	čamar (laut)	MAM	sa'ra	KWA	
SUN	manuk laut	TAK	kanai	NEM	gun
JAV	toyəŋ	DAM	kanai	CEM	bûn
*MAD	bay-labay-an	MAB	kanae	AJI	müřüme
BAL		YAB	kano	XAR	çāçā
SAS		*KAU	ekiŋ [ainarim]	NEN	puničedān
*GOR	duduhu	TOL	kita	KIR	
DAA		BUA	kaŋ	MSH	
UMA		ADZ		PON	
BUG	manu-manu tasi <sup>?</sup>	KIL	boituwa	WLE	xüřüxōxü
KON	paselaŋ	TAW	kanawe	EFI	iđō
WOL	kera-kera	MOT	kanaye	WFI	d'ēd'ē
MAG		MEK		RTU	mōnsina
NGA	manu-bata	ROV	helekae	TON	tala
SIK		MAR	jopla	SAM	ŋoŋo
RTI	manu-pui tasi	LAU	?nuk <sup>w</sup> e	MEL	
*BUR	man samal	KWO	?anak <sup>w</sup> e	TAH	
DOB		RAG		RAP	
IRA		PAA	ōh		
		*LEW	manu na sī		

MIN 'sea-bird'.

MAD From (RED-*labay-an*). See Safioedin (1977) *labay* 'thread used in weaving'.

GOR *duduhu* 'a kind of sea bird'.

BUR Possibly 'tern'.

SAW A smaller species.

NYI *kanau* 'white seagull'; *barak* 'black seagull'.

KAU *ekiŋ* 'bird'; *aimarim* is from an Arawe dialect on the coast.

LEW 'sea bird'.

### 03.583 HERON

ATA		PAI		KAL	dagwak
*TSO	fa <sup>?</sup> ri	YAM	garwak	*TAG	tagak
RUK		ISN	kusīliŋ	AKL	tafābuŋ

PAL	tulabuŋ	SIK	toki noŋ	RAG	ova
MOL	boguk	RTI	danoē	PAA	hirēvu
KAG	ag'rək	BUR	man rou	LEW	yeva
BLA	tulələbun	*DOB	doʔu	POR	limu
SAB	tulabuŋ	*IRA	usi	NTA	
*MUR	kanaway	SAW	kow	*KWA	pan
MGY	vanu	NYI	kaʔoi	NEM	k <sup>o</sup> ōva
ACE	ŋgaŋ	MAM	sauaŋ	CEM	ōwə
BAT	si-baruŋ	TAK		AJI	gəxō
MIN		DAM	bar	*XAR	gəkō
IND	baŋau	MAB	maŋə	NEN	oea
SUN	baŋə	YAB	b <sup>w</sup> aləʔ	KIR	
*JAV	bləkəʔ	*KAU	ekiŋ kuuŋ	MSH	
MAD	čaŋak	TOL		PON	
*BAL	kədīs čaŋak	BUA		WLE	
SAS	baŋə	ADZ		EFI	belō
GOR	duwayə	KIL	boi	WFI	belō
DAA	to <sup>n</sup> ji ti <sup>m</sup> baʔə	TAW	gulumouya	*RTU	pelō
*UMA	koraoʔ	MOT	noko	TON	motuku
BUG	čaŋpoŋ	*MEK	foe	SAM	matuʔu
*KON	kondo	ROV	soa	*MEL	[ōva]
WOL	hoo	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> opi	*TAH	ʔōtuʔu
MAG	oroŋ	LAU	tou	RAP	
NGA	ŋaa-bata	KWO			

TSO *fəʔri* 'a type of white heron'; *xuʔxu* 'a type of brown heron (?) with reddish legs'.

TAG *tagak* 'white heron'; also *bākaw*.

MUR 'white egret'.

JAV Also *kontul*, *kuntul*.

BAL 'heron' (Indonesian *baŋau*); *kokokan*, *bləkək* 'cattle egret'.

UMA Also *baʔə*.

KON Also 'egret'.

DOB Refers to members of the *Egretta* family found in Aru, the little egret, the eastern reef-egret, the intermediate egret and the great egret, *Egretta garzetta*, *sacra*, *intermedia* and *alba* respectively.

IRA *usi* 'large silver/grey heron'; *manəbaʔutə* 'white heron'.

KAU *ekiŋ* 'bird'.

MEK *foe* is 'heron, egret' (*foc-foe* 'white').



KWA *Egretta sacra*.

XAR 'reef heron', *Ardea sacra albolineata*.

RTU From Fijian *belō*.

MEL From Efate.

TAH *ʔōtuʔu* 'heron' *Egretta sacra*; *ʔao* 'green heron' *Butorides striatus*.

### 03.584 EAGLE

Sanskrit: <i>rajjuvāla-</i>	Spanish: <i>aguila</i>
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ATA	DAA	ROV	atāta		
*TSO	tʔorʔora	UMA	MAR	gayata	
*RUK	kwaw	BUG	bokaŋ	LAU	nō ābu
PAI	cakaŋa	KON	patokoŋ lompo	*KWO	afa
YAM	manai ʂo amoŋ	WOL		RAG	
ISN		MAG	<sup>h</sup> taŋis	PAA	
KAL	kullāŋaw	NGA	biza	LEW	pepauma
*TAG	[ʔagila]	*SIK	kiβi	POR	
AKL	[ʔagila]	*RTI	balapua	NTA	maləkam
*PAL	məŋaŋayək	*BUR	nusi	*KWA	murup
MOL	sombulaʔan	*DOB	nak <sup>w</sup> ʔay	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> āolē
KAG	[agi'la]	*IRA	sedə	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> āólē
BLA	kablak	SAW		AJI	b <sup>w</sup> āweře
SAB	belleʔ	NYI	mañtuwe	*XAR	baexo
MUR	kanuy	MAM	maŋra	NEN	
*MGY	vuru-maheri	TAK	bog	KIR	
ACE	siwaih	DAM	webi	MSH	
	[rajawali]	MAB	manboŋ	PON	
BAT	[rajawali]	*YAB	məm-b <sup>w</sup> aŋ	WLE	
MIN	alaŋ	*KAU	ekiŋ βisu	EFI	
*IND	[rajawali]	TOL		WFI	
*SUN	hiləŋ	BUA	tug	RTU	
JAV	bəri	*ADZ	wəʕiʕ	*TON	[ʔikale]
MAD	sikaʔ	KIL	mluβeka	*SAM	[ʔāeto]
*BAL	sikəp	TAW	magisubu	MEL	
SAS		*MOT	ugaβa	*TAH	[ʔaeto]
*GOR	buliya mo-bata	*MEK	foi	RAP	

- TSO *rʔorʔora*, *truxe*, *riski* types of eagles.
- RUK *kwaw* ‘serpent eagle’.
- TAG Also *bānoy*.
- PAL Also *pəɖuni*.
- MGY From *vuruna* ‘bird’, *ma-heri* ‘strong, powerful’.
- IND Also *əlaŋ* (e.g. *əlaŋ laut* ‘white-breasted sea eagle’).
- SUN Also *alap-alap*.
- BAL Also *ku(g)kugan*, *bulusan*, (*kə*)*kəlik*, *kəlik-kəlik*. All raptors, species details not given.
- GOR *mo-bata* ‘wet’; this bird is described as red, with a white beak.
- SIK Also *bliro*.
- RTI *balapua* refers to the ‘sea eagle’; *tetema* to the ‘brahminy kite’. These two terms form a pair in ritual language.
- BUR *nusi boti-t* ‘white-bellied sea eagle’; *nusi mite-t* ‘black mountain eagle that hunts live cuscus’; *geb-rawa* ‘large black land eagle, rarely seen and associated with evil spiritual forces (larger than a *nusi*)’.
- DOB Especially the white-bellied sea eagle, *Haliaeetus leucogaster*.
- IRA *sedə* ‘white headed eagle’; *kiabə* ‘large grey eagle’; sɔ eats chickens.
- YAB Also *mɔʔ-bʷaŋ*.
- KAU *ekiŋ* ‘bird’.
- ADZ *waçiç*; *riʳçuʔ*; *ŋasŋas*; *ŋaniʳkuʳ* ‘different types of eagle’.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) ‘wedge-tailed eagle’.
- MEK *foi* is used somewhat loosely for large birds of prey more common near the mountains of the Owen Stanley Range. *paili* is a sea-eagle (or kite), reddish brown with white breast feathers.
- KWO Also *fada*.
- KWA ‘falcon’, *Falco peregrinus*
- XAR *Haliastur sphenurus*.
- TON From English ‘eagle’.
- SAM From Greek *aetós*.
- TAH From Greek.

## 03.585 HAWK

- |      |       |     |           |      |       |
|------|-------|-----|-----------|------|-------|
| ATA  | ūp    | PAL | məzəŋ     | *KAL | būkaw |
| TSO  | riʳpi | YAM | kaŋkaŋ    | TAG  | lāwin |
| *RUK | aɖisi | ISN | karabūŋān | *AKL | banug |

PAL	kumasama?	SIK	bliro	PAA	volvakum
MOL	billi?	*RTI	tetema	LEW	lopoieva
KAG	ba'nug	BUR	mehe	POR	man- <sup>m</sup> buas
BLA	kafi	*DOB	selim	NTA	kuβoria
SAB	sambula?an	IRA		*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> eria
MUR	kanuy	SAW	yob	NEM	deñ
MGY	papangu	NYI	koniu	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> âe-mêle
*ACE	[kluəŋ]	MAM	taragau	AJI	dã
BAT	lali	TAK	ŋesaŋes	*XAR	dē
MIN		DAM	kisō	NEN	waḍoŋ
IND	əlaŋ	MAB	kamunēze	KIR	
*SUN	manuk [raǰawali]	YAB	kiki?	MSH	
JAV	woluŋ	*KAU	ekiŋ tau	PON	
MAD	əllaŋ	TOL	kəvivi	WLF	
*BAL		*BUA	kaðani	EFI	tuitui
SAS	kleaŋ	*ADZ	ibiŋi <sup>m</sup> p	WFI	reba
GOR	buliya	KIL	kilakila	RTU	rutoi
DAA	to <sup>n</sup> ji love	*TAW	halohalonei	*TON	[hoke]
*UMA	da <sup>n</sup> çi pada	MOT	bogibada	SAM	seŋavao
BUG	bokaŋ	MEK	afi	*MEL	[mala]
KON	patokoŋ	ROV	manuvu	TAH	manu <sup>?</sup> ai moa
WOL	bunia	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ik <sup>h</sup> ipa	RAP	manu toke
*MAG	ravot	LAU	bina		toke
NGA	iki	KWO	folowā		
		RAG	mala		

RUK *aḍisi* ‘crested goshawk’; *lələkəpə* ‘Chinese goshawk’; *takaŋa* ‘bird sp, black kite (?)’.

KAL *būkaw* ‘chicken hawk’; also *kullipag*.

AKL PHN \**banuR*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

SUN From Sanskrit.

BAL See 03.584.

UMA Also *bunia*?

MAG The ‘variable goshawk’, *Accipiter novaehollandiae*.

RTI See 03.584.

DOB A species of bird of prey that often preys on chicken.

KAU *ekiŋ* ‘bird’; also *ekiŋpula*.

BUA *ḡaraḡār, nḡḡik, səḡig* 'hawk varieties'.

ADZ 'brown kite'.

TAW 'chicken swoop' - Suau word.

KWA 'swamp harrier', *Circus aeruginosus*.

XAR *Circus approximans*.

TON From English 'hawk'.

MEL From Efate.

### 03.586 VULTURE

ATA	kwat̪iʔ	UMA		MAR
TSO		*BUG	[garuda]	LAU
RUK		KON		KWO
PAI		WOL		RAG
YAM		MAG		PAA
ISN		NGA		LEW lopoieva
KAL	tulāyan	SIK		POR
*TAG	[buwitre]	RTI		NTA
*AKL	[buwitri]	BUR	uha	KWA
PAL		DOB		NEM
MOL		IRA		CEM
KAG		*SAW	[nasar]	AJI
BLA		NYI		XAR
SAB		MAM	taragau-	NEN
MUR			melumelu	KIR
MGY	papangu	TAK		MSH
ACE		DAM		PON
BAT		MAB	man-aŋkor	WLE
MIN		YAB		EFI
*IND	heriŋ	KAU		WFI
SUN		TOL		RTU
JAV		BUA		*TON [vulitua]
MAD		ADZ		*SAM [ʔoreva]
BAL		KIL	mлуβeka	MEL
SAS		TAW		*TAH [aie]
*GOR	buliya mo-	MOT		RAP
	heŋu	MEK		
DAA		ROV	atāta	

TAG	From Spanish <i>buitre</i> .
IND	Also <i>buruṅ</i> [ <i>nazar</i> ] from Arabic <i>nasr</i> .
GOR	<i>mo-heṅu</i> 'dry'; this bird is described as blackish in colour.
BUG	Sanskrit.
SAW	From Arabic <i>nasr</i> .
TON	From English.
SAM	Milner (1966:167) notes <i>ʔoreva</i> 'vulture', but <i>ʔoreva</i> (from Hebrew <i>ʔorēb</i> ) means 'raven' (Cain 1986:130; see Gen. 8:7; 1 Ki 17:4, Ps. 147:9).
TAH	Biblical from Hebrew.

**03.591 BAT**

ATA	kayaβan	*GOR	ʔabuhu	TAW	dilodilo
TSO	kupiça	*DAA	paneki	MOT	sisiboi
RUK	ababiraw	UMA	ruʔupa	*MEK	afinama
PAI	kaḷa-kaḷaṅ	BUG	panniṅ	*ROV	sui
YAM	pəypəyṅət	*KON	paʔniki	*MAR	bablata
ISN	panīki	*WOL	ponisi	LAU	sak <sup>w</sup> alo
KAL	kalambəg	MAG	vēr	KWO	daŋeo
*TAG	kabag	*NGA	ripo	RAG	
*AKL	kabug	*SIK	niʔi	*PAA	tivirit
*PAL	kabəg	RTI	baʔu	*LEW	meṅki
MOL	kabəg	*BUR	te-grihi-t	POR	v <sup>3</sup> rövür
KAG	kaʔbəg	*DOB	ʔaraʔʔe	*NTA	kəi
*BLA	ubas	*IRA	wabriɛ tugə	*KWA	kiri
SAB	kabilaw	SAW	fni	*NEM	b <sup>w</sup> i-k <sup>h</sup> ūp
*MUR	puṅit	*NYI	balimek	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ikep
*MGY	fanihi	*MAM	malasuṅsuṅ	AJI	wuʔu
*ACE	sumantonṅ	*TAK	kudundur	*XAR	çiri rɛ bi
*BAT	arip-arip	DAM	aruwã	NEN	wateto
MIN	kalalawa	MAB	mbia	KIR	
*IND	kələlawar	*YAB	məʔ-lesom	MSH	
SUN	lalay	*KAU	yuṅul	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ək
*JAV	lɔwɔ	TOL	gənao	*WLE	pausōu
MAD	bək-b <sup>h</sup> uru	*BUA	zəbik	*EFI	beka
*BAL		*ADZ	priʔpriʔ	*WFI	bek <sup>w</sup> a
*SAS	kəñçolit	KIL	migiaweda	RTU	hufhufu

TON	peka	*MEL	[manitua]	RAP
SAM	peʔa	TAH	ʔiore pererau	

TAG *paniki*; PHN *\*pañikiʔ*, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*kabeR*.

AKL *kabug* ‘large’; also *kuyayapnit* Proto-Southern Philippines *\*kabeR*, Proto-Philippines *\*kelepenit*.

PAL Also *mətun*.

BLA Also *kabag*.

MUR Also *baŋkawot* ‘fruit bat, flying fox’, *ikuan* ‘tailless bat’.

MGY From PMP *\*paniki*.

ACE Also *lhəŋ* ‘flying fox’, *luntia* ‘k.o. bat’.

BAT *arip-arip* ‘small bat’; *haluaŋ* ‘big bat, edible’.

IND *kələlawar*, *kəlawar* ‘small bat’; [*kaləŋ*] (from Javanese) and *kəluaŋ* ‘flying fox’; also *kampret*.

JAV Also *kaləŋ*; *kampret*.

BAL No generic term; (*lə*)*lawah* medium-sized species; *ǰəmpiit* very small; *bukal*, *maləŋ* ‘large fruit bat, flying fox’.

SAS Also *kaləŋ*.

GOR There is also the *poniʔi* (Malay *kampret*); ‘club-footed or flat-headed bat’.

DAA *paneki* ‘large bat’; *ropa* ‘small bat’.

KON *paʔniki* ‘fruit bat, flying fox’; *kalumparriʔ* ‘house bat’.

WOL Also ‘fruit bat, flying fox’; *waea* ‘flying fox’.

NGA Also *niyi*.

SIK Also *niʔi ahu*.

BUR ‘giant fruit bat’; sometimes *tagrihit* or *man grihit*. A smaller bat is called *man koi*. Bats are classed as birds.

DOB A small species of bat.

IRA *kakuri* ‘flying fox’.

NYI *balimek* ‘large fruit bat’; *lulu* ‘medium size bat’; *bob<sup>w</sup>e* ‘small bat’; *suwiu* ‘very small bat’.

MAM Also *malaboŋ*.

TAK ‘cave bat’; also *yok* ‘flying fox’ and *dar-kamus* ‘tube-nosed bat’.

YAB Also *mɔʔ-lesop*.

KAU ‘flying fox’.

BUA	<i>malibək</i> ‘large fruit bat, flying fox’; <i>səmoməŋ</i> ‘small bat’.
ADZ	<i>priʔpriʔ</i> ‘small bat’; <i>gaŋaʔt</i> ‘fruit bat’; <i>ŋarusap</i> ‘very big flying fox’.
MEK	<i>afinama</i> ‘flying fox, fruit bat’. Other bats are <i>ika</i> , <i>kike</i> , <i>fifi</i> .
ROV	Also <i>veke</i> ‘flying fox’.
MAR	Also <i>boboloŋono</i> smaller in size.
PAA	<i>manōn</i> ‘flying fox’.
LEW	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>eru</i> ‘white fruit bat’.
NTA	Also <i>ūkəlkəl</i> , <i>ūtoūto</i> , and <i>misəkmisək</i> .
KWA	<i>kiri</i> ‘flying fox’, <i>Pteropus tonganus</i> ; <i>toutou</i> <i>Miniopterus</i> sp; <i>iauuu</i> ‘tailed fruit bat’, <i>Notopterus macdonaldi</i> .
NEM	See also <i>b<sup>w</sup>ek</i> ‘flying fox’.
CEM	See also <i>maŋō</i> ‘flying fox’.
XAR	<i>bi</i> ‘flying fox’, <i>Pteropus</i> sp.
WLE	‘spread arm’.
EFI	<i>beka</i> ‘fruit-bat’; <i>bekabeka</i> ‘insect-eating bat’.
WFI	‘fruit-bat’; <i>maua</i> ‘insect-eating bat’.
MEL	Also [ <i>manmanp<sup>w</sup>eriki</i> ], both from Efate.

### 03.592 PARROT

ATA	ACE	bayuən	*NGA	beŋu
TSO	BAT	beə	SIK	
RUK	*MIN	beo	RTI	ʔgia
PAI	*IND	buruŋ nuri	*BUR	man gea
YAM	SUN		*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ay'taw
ISN	*JAV	nuri	*IRA	muŋe
*KAL	MAD	manuʔ ʔatət	*SAW	[luri]
*TAG	*BAL	kədis atat	NYI	karen
AKL	*SAS	beo	MAM	seŋ
PAL	*GOR	ʔoliya	*TAK	siwir
MOL	*DAA	to <sup>i</sup> ji kolo	DAM	kuyeĩ
KAG	*UMA	koloeʔ	MAB	ŋerek
BLA	*BUG	[kakatua]	*YAB	(məʔ-)kalaʔ
SAB	*KON	jarolliʔ	*KAU	ekiŋ kalaŋ
MUR	*WOL	kululi	TOL	kələŋər
MGY	*MAG	ʔkəliŋ	*BUA	kaŋ <sup>w</sup> i

ADZ		LEW	leviri	PON	
KIL	karaga	*POR	sivir	WLE	
TAW	kanagala	*NTA	[koki]	EFI	kakā
*MOT		*KWA	siwur	WFI	kā
*MEK	kulia-kulia	*NEM	k <sup>ɳ</sup> ēk <sup>ɳ</sup> e	*RTU	[kakē]
ROV	kara	CEM	kêket	*TON	[kakā]
*MAR	makara	AJI	axāřā	*SAM	[koko]
LAU	k <sup>w</sup> afota	*XAR	kēkē	*MEL	[sīviri]
KWO		NEN		TAH	manu parau
RAG		KIR			ta <sup>ʔ</sup> ata
PAA	sīho	MSH		RAP	

KAL Also *kāsi*.

TAG From Spanish *loro*.

MIN Also *tiu<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋ*.

IND Also *beo*.

JAV Also *betet*.

BAL ‘parrot, cockatoo’; [*nuri*], [*kasturi*] ‘parrot’, both from Malay.

SAS Also *nuri*.

GOR *ʔoliya* ‘green parrot’; *ti<sup>n</sup>ditō* ‘a small parrot with green feathers’, smaller than the *ʔoliya*; *ʔili-ʔili* ‘green-headed racket-tailed parrot’.

DAA Indonesian *buruŋ nuri*.

UMA Also *kadaŋ-e<sup>ʔ</sup>*, *kea<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

BUG From Malay.

KON Also *da<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋa<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

WOL *nuri* ‘small green parrot’.

MAG The ‘red-cheeked parrot’, *Geoffroyus geoffroyi*.

NGA Also *keka*.

BUR ‘small parrot’; *man tiwi-t* ‘large parrot’; also [*kastori*] from Malay.

DOB *k<sup>w</sup>ay<sup>ʔ</sup>taw* is the eclectus parrot, *Eclectus roratus*.

IRA *sikεkue* larger, darker colour; *akekɔ* ‘white cockatoo’.

SAW From Malay.

TAK ‘coconut lory’.

YAB ‘male green parrot’; *mɔ<sup>n</sup>deŋ* ‘female red parrot’; other spp *manɔ<sup>ʔ</sup> oli-  
yɔm*, *balasɔ<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

KAU *ekiŋ* ‘bird’.



- BUA Also *manək-anon*.
- MOT No single word. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *kaekae* 'a green parrot', male of *godubora* which is red and blue; *karai* 'white cockatoo'; *kitoyara* 'a black cockatoo with red cheeks'. Another parrot is *kirole*.
- MEK *kulia-kulia* 'small parrots that infest the bananas'; *alaja* (= *aje-aje*) is a common green parrot, the female of which is red and is called *ojo pi*; *tsipili* (*kipili*) 'a noisy parrot'. *ufi* 'a mountain parrot prized for its plumes (blue)'. The white cockatoo is *ejo*.
- MAR *makara* 'green parrot'; *veya* 'cockatoo'; *sivoro* 'red and green parrot'.
- POR Also *suus*.
- NTA From English *cocky*.
- KWA 'coconut lory', *Trichoglossus haematodus*.
- NEM 'crested parakeet'; see also *gilegit* 'red-crowned parakeet' and *p<sup>w</sup>trip* 'rainbow lorikeet'.
- XAR *Cyanoramphus novaezelandiae saisseti*; also *jiria Trichoglossus haematodus deplarchei*.
- RTU From English *cocky*.
- TON Probably from Fijian *kakā*.
- SAM From English *cocky*.
- MEL From Efate.

## 03.593 CROW

- |      |                     |      |                                |      |                                    |
|------|---------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|------------------------------------|
| ATA  | taḵu                | SAB  | owak                           | DAA  | to <sup>ñ</sup> ji kolaa           |
| TSO  | tfua <sup>ʔ</sup> a | MUR  | baŋkāk                         | UMA  | kaa <sup>ʔ</sup>                   |
| RUK  | taḷaləba            | MGY  | guaika                         | BUG  | kao <sup>ʔ</sup> -kao <sup>ʔ</sup> |
| PAI  | ḵaḵa                | ACE  | a <sup>ʔ</sup> -a <sup>ʔ</sup> | KON  | ka'la <sup>ʔ</sup>                 |
| YAM  | akwawi              | BAT  | si-'gak                        | WOL  | to <sup>ʔ</sup> kaa                |
| ISN  | gayāŋ               | MIN  | gaga <sup>ʔ</sup>              | MAG  | kā                                 |
| KAL  | gōwak               | IND  | gagak                          | NGA  | ʔaa                                |
| *TAG | uwak                | SUN  | gagak                          | *SIK | gak                                |
| AKL  | uwak                | JAV  | gaga <sup>ʔ</sup>              | RTI  | ka                                 |
| PAL  | uwak                | MAD  | dəŋdəŋ                         | BUR  | man koho-t                         |
| MOL  | wak                 | BAL  | goak                           | DOB  |                                    |
| KAG  | uwak                | SAS  | gagak                          | IRA  |                                    |
| BLA  | wək                 | *GOR | pā <sup>ʔ</sup> o              | SAW  | gok <sup>ʔ</sup> gok               |

NYI		ROV		*NEN	koakoa
MAM	du	MAR		KIR	
TAK	alal	LAU		MSH	
DAM	kalog	KWO		PON	
MAB		RAG		WLE	
*YAB	ɑʔ-ɔ̃	PAA		EFI	
*KAU	ekiŋ khon	LEW	lekiteta	WFI	
TOL	kotkot	POR		RTU	
BUA		NTA		*TON	[kalou]
ADZ	ŋa <sup>m</sup> pwaʔ	KWA		*SAM	[ʔoreva]
KIL		NEM	wāwāk	MEL	
TAW	waewae	CEM	wāwa	*TAH	[ʔorepa (oreba)]
MOT	galo	AJI	κλχλ		
*MEK	oɑŋo	XAR	gaka	RAP	

TAG PHN \*uák.

GOR 'large-billed crow'.

SIK Also kaŋ.

YAB 'crow-feminine'; ɑʔ 'male crow' is rarely used.

KAU ekiŋ 'bird'.

MEK Also oɑŋu 'native crow'.

NEN Also wasase.

TON From English.

ŠAM See 03.586.

TAH Biblical from Hebrew.

### 03 594 DOVE

Sanskrit: *pārāvātī*

ATA	ʔuwauʔ	KAL	kalu[pāti]	BLA	salafati
TSO	pnoi	TAG	kala[pāti]	SAB	assaŋ
RUK	ponay	AKL	baʔud	*MUR	maniŋkulūk
PAI	cukuḍ	PAL	limukon	*MGY	vuru-mailala
YAM	voit	MOL	balud	ACE	mirah[pati]
ISN	kala[pāti]	KAG	salam[pa'ti]	BAT	dara[pati]

MIN	[parapati]	NYI	ban	POR	na-vim <sup>w</sup> e
*IND	mər[pati]	*MAM	bune	NTA	m <sup>w</sup> ak
SUN	ja[pati]	*TAK	muluk	KWA	mak
JAV	dɔɔ	DAM	kuburir	*NEM	b <sup>w</sup> arelep
MAD	d <sup>h</sup> ara	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bal <sup>m</sup> bal	CEM	íüia-jâp
*BAL	[(də)darə]	*YAB	balosi	AJI	mawi
SAS	darə	*KAU	ekiŋ βulus	*XAR	ãrī
*GOR	[tarakuku]	TOL	bəlu	*NEN	gudin
DAA	to <sup>ñ</sup> ji togou	BUA	nūŋ	KIR	te rube
UMA	ma <sup>ɔ</sup> ke bodo	*ADZ	busir	MSH	m <sup>w</sup> uļε
BUG	jaŋaŋ-jaŋaŋ	*KIL	bubuna	PON	
KON	jaŋa-jaŋa	*TAW	bunebune	WLE	
WOL	jara-jara	MOT	pune	*EFI	kuluβotu
MAG		*MEK	faisapu	*WFI	kuluβoču
NGA	kolo	*ROV	baruku	RTU	?ipa
*SIK	kolondasi	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ukmu	TON	lupe
RTI	kalua sina	LAU	bola	*SAM	lupe
*BUR	man kumal	*KWO	toriodu	*MEL	[leiküe]
*DOB	φer'saw	RAG		*TAH	?ū?ū ?aira?o
IRA	simaru	PAA	wīv	RAP	
*SAW	[pombo]	LEW	lom <sup>w</sup> e		

MUR Also *tawan-balur*, *limbukon*.

MGY From  *vuruna*  'bird',  *ma-hai*  'clever',  *lala*  'love'.

IND Dove, pigeon; pigeon also *buruŋ dara*.

BAL From Old Javanese/Malay; also *kutəh*; [*titiran*] from Malay? (each a distinct species).

GOR 'tigrine dove *Streptopelis chinensis*'.

SIK Also ?*olo-ŋ*.

BUR 'large dove'; *ermuke-n* 'spotted necked dove'.

DOB φer'saw 'pied imperial pigeon', *Ducula bicolor*, which is mostly white; another species of pigeon/dove is ?*ubeli*, 'pinon imperial pigeon', *Ducula pinon*.

SAW From Malay?

MAM Also *baliboro*.

TAK 'white dove'. Other kinds of pigeon are *kulakulu*, *warum*, *pururuk*.

YAB *mɔ(c)<sup>ɔ</sup>gom*, *matemɔ*.

KAU *ekiŋ* 'bird'.

ADZ	'pigeon'.
KIL	One species; another common species is <i>bubuneroro</i> .
TAW	Generic word for 'pigeon'.
MEK	<i>faisapu</i> ( <i>faiapu</i> ) 'wood pigeon': <i>?uŋa?a</i> 'Goura Pigeon'. NW Mekeo <i>kopi</i> 'pigeon'; West Mekeo <i>kopi-oŋo</i> 'grasslands pigeon'.
ROV	<i>baruku</i> 'pigeon'; <i>kukuva</i> 'small green bird'.
MAR	'fruit dove'.
KWO	'pigeon var'.
NEM	'white throated pigeon'; also <i>p<sup>wi</sup>wiŋk</i> 'notu pigeon' and <i>gun</i> 'green pigeon'.
XAR	'green pigeon'; also <i>atecɔ</i> , <i>Columba vitiensis hypoenochroa</i> .
NEN	Also <i>mekeč</i> .
EFI	<i>kilubotu</i> 'fruit-dove'; <i>gilu</i> 'ground-dove'; <i>bunekō</i> 'golden dove'.
WFI	'fruit dove'; <i>kō</i> 'golden dove'.
SAM	<i>matuā-manu</i> 'old pigeon'; <i>matuā-isu</i> , <i>tuamafa</i> 'old and fat pigeon'.
MEL	Also [ <i>m<sup>w</sup>altōa</i> ] from Efate.
TAH	Also <i>?u?upa</i> , <i>Ptilinopus purpuratus purpuratus</i> ; <i>rupe</i> , <i>Globicera aurorae</i> .

## 03.596 OWL

ATA	tuyik	*MGY	vurun-dulu	KON	kokoči?
TSO	pūku	*ACE	ŋampo?	WOL	koa
RUK	l●	BAT		*MAG	pō
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> əku	MIN	miŋkua?	NGA	poo
YAM	totoko	*IND	buruŋ hantu	*SIK	βoko
ISN	aru?	SUN	buik	*RTI	ko?onao-k
KAL	ku?up	JAV	guək	BUR	kokaka-t
TAG	kuwāgo	*MAD	d <sup>h</sup> aris	*DOB	φu?am
AKL	būkaw	BAL	čləpuk	IRA	manatə
PAL	gukguk	SAS		*SAW	təŋtoŋet
MOL	burku?	*GOR	malu?aamo-	NYI	torokou
*KAG	gukguk		lu-luwol-a	MAM	gu?u
BLA	mulisfī	DAA	to <sup>h</sup> ji kalapoa	TAK	ŋukŋuk
SAB	kumut	*UMA	totosi?	DAM	kuramin
*MUR	puok	BUG	kačoči	MAB	uloto

YAB	kululuʔpəŋ	KWO	kōʔafuto	KIR	
*KAU	ekiŋ βoh	RAG	v <sup>w</sup> isi	MSH	
TOL	kurkur	PAA	voiāsu	PON	
*BUA	bayilək	*LEW	kialilu	WLE	
*ADZ	wa <sup>m</sup> pun	POR	na-va <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>	EFI	lulu
KIL	kuru	NTA	kasəm <sup>w</sup>	*WFI	βeβewa
TAW	gimo	*KWA	kəsəm <sup>w</sup> i	RTU	ruru
*MOT	mumukou	NEM	m <sup>w</sup> en	TON	lulu
*MEK	ufa	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> în	SAM	lulu
ROV	duduru	AJI	kaumε	*MEL	[čipaka]
MAR	nakrudu	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> adōya	*TAH	[tuta] (kusa)
LAU	ʔafuto	NEN	meni	RAP	

KAG *bukaw* ‘small kind of owl found in Cagayancillo’.

MUR Also *bōk*.

MGY *lulu* ‘ghost’.

ACE Also *kuututoʔ*, *punguʔ*.

IND ‘ghost bird’. Also *buruŋ suaji*.

MAD Safioedin (1977): *bəluk*.

GOR ‘oriental screech owl’; *maluʔo* ‘fowl’, a ligature, *mao-lu-luwol-a* ‘habitually screeches’.

UMA Also *kilikia*, *βana*.

MAG ‘Wallace's Scops-owl’, *Otus silvicola*.

SIK Also *βoko-ŋ*, *βoko toa*.

RTI Also *kodona-k*, *kododo-k*.

DOB *φuʔam* is one species of owl, others are *k<sup>w</sup>ungabu* and *watuʔay*.

SAW Also *buluʔfuk*.

KAU *ekiŋ* ‘bird’.

BUA *bañ*, *zūp*, *mayorəsag* ‘owl varieties’.

ADZ *wa<sup>m</sup>pun* ‘owl’; *sisi* ‘white, small owl’.

MOT Western Motu *baimumu*.

MEK *ufa* is one species of owl: *kooko* is another.

LEW Or *kialulu*; also *welilu*.

KWA ‘barn owl’, *Tyto alba*.

XAR *Tyto alba lifuensis*.

WFI Also *seŋo*.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Biblical, from Hebrew.

## 03.610 DOG

ATA	xuyiɬ	*UMA	dikeʔ	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> uma
TSO	avʔu	BUG	asu	LAU	kui
RUK	tawpuŋo	KON	asu	KWO	kuʔi(to)
PAI	vatu	WOL	ma <sup>n</sup> toa	RAG	v <sup>w</sup> iriu
*YAM	[ino]	MAG	aču	PAA	huli
ISN	ātu	NGA	lako	LEW	lokuli
KAL	āsu	SIK	ahu	POR	lipax
TAG	āso	RTI	busa	NTA	kuri
*AKL	āyam	BUR	asu	KWA	kuri
PAL	indaŋ	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> oyar	*NEM	cawek
MOL	idoŋ	IRA	ɸunə	*CEM	wóta
KAG	ayam	SAW	yaw	*AJI	[lōva]
BLA	ayəm	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> i	*XAR	[taiki]
SAB	edoʔ	MAM	ʔeu	NEN	pailai
MUR	ukuʔ	TAK	goun	*KIR	te [kamea]
*MGY	alika	DAM	gǎũ	MSH	kiru
ACE	aseə	MAB	me	PON	kiti
BAT	biaŋ	YAB	keam	WLE	xeřõxü
MIN	añji <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ	KAU	elβa	EFI	kolī
IND	añjiŋ	TOL	pap	WHI	čui
SUN	añjiŋ	BUA	anõ	*RTU	kõmia
JAV	asu	ADZ	iyam	TON	kulī
MAD	patiʔ	KIL	kauk <sup>w</sup> a	*SAM	maile
*BAL	čičiŋ	TAW	kedewa	MEL	korī
*SAS	ačoŋ	MOT	sisia	TAH	ʔuri
GOR	ʔapula	*MEK	amuʔe	RAP	paiheŋa
DAA	asu	ROV	siki		

YAM Japanese borrowing; *agša* in the village of Iraralay.

AKL PAN \**qāyam* ‘domestic animal’.

MGY Also [*ambua*] Bantu.

BAL *kuluk* ‘puppy’, in some areas ‘dog’.

SAS Also *basoŋ*; some dialects: *asuʔ*.

UMA Archaic form is *ahu*, see 20.610.

DOB Also *taráw*, used in stories and set phrases.

MEK *auke* in the other dialects. Compare the Kuni variants: *obeka*, *uveka* (Lapeka), *oiame* (Iaifa). Roro has *uaeha*.

NEM See note for 03.110.

CEM Also *wóta-â-hên* 'quadruped which makes a loud noise'.

AJI From English 'rover'; also *taua*.

XAR From English 'tyke'.

KIR From English 'come here'; also *te kirī*.

RTU Possibly from English 'come here'.

SAM (polite) *taʔifau*; *ʔulī* (obsolete; Milner 1966: 298).

### 03.614 RABBIT

Arabic: *arnab*

English: *rabbit*

Spanish: *conejo*

Dutch: *konijntje*

French: *lapin*.

ATA *taktakaʔiʔ*

BAL [kəliñči]

BUA

TSO *rutuka*

SAS

ADZ

RUK *lotoko*

GOR

KIL

PAI *lucuk*

DAA

TAW

\*YAM [oʃagi]

UMA

MOT

ISN

BUG [kaliñči]

MEK

KAL [lābit]

KON [kaliñči]

ROV [rabiti]

TAG [kunēho]

WOL

MAR

AKL [kunēho]

MAG [kəliñči]

LAU

PAL

NGA

KWO

MOL

SIK

RAG

KAG [kuniu]

RTI

PAA

BLA *kəlogsuy*

BUR

LEW

SAB

DOB

POR

MUR

IRA

NTA

\*MGY [biʔu]

SAW

KWA

ACE [harunab]

NYI

NEM

\*BAT *baguduŋ*

MAM

CEM

*boladda*

TAK

AJI [lapā]

\*MIN [kaliñči]

DAM

XAR [lapē]

IND [kəlinči]

MAB

NEN

SUN [kəleñči]

YAB

KIR

JAV *truwelu*

KAU

MSH

MAD *tarbiluŋ*

TOL [ravit]

PON

WLE		RTU [rāpeje]	MEL
EFI [rāβete]		TON [lāpisi]	TAH [rāpiti]
WEI		SAM [lāpiti]	RAP [rapiti]

YAM From Japanese *usagi*.

MGY [biʔo], [rabiʔo].

BAT 'white rabbit'.

MIN From Dutch *konijntje* via Malay *kaliñči*; also [arnab].

### 03.620 CAT

**English:** *pussy*

**French:** *minou*

ATA ŋiyaw	SAS meoŋ	ADZ
TSO ŋiau	GOR tete	*KIL [pusa]
RUK ŋyaw	*DAA taveve	TAW [pusi]
PAI ŋiaw	*UMA diu?	*MOT [pusi]
*YAM [kora]	BUG meoŋ	*MEK [mini]
ISN kusa	*KON meoŋ	ROV [pusi]
KAL kūsa	WOL <sup>m</sup> buta	MAR k <sup>h</sup> usi
*TAG pūsa?	*MAG meoŋ	LAU [fusi kati]
*AKL kuriŋ	NGA meo-ŋao	KWO
PAL kusiŋ	SIK meo-ŋ	RAG [busi]
MOL kūtī?	RTI meo	PAA [būsi]
KAG ku'ti?	*BUR mau	*LEW [posi]
BLA yow	*DOB [kusiŋ]ayin	POR [mimi]
SAB kutiŋ	IRA ñao	NTA [βusi]
*MUR uŋiŋ	SAW boki	KWA
*MGY [saka]	NYI [kusi]	NEM [mimi]
ACE miə	MAM [pusi]	CEM [mino]
BAT hutŋ	TAK mis	AJH [p <sup>w</sup> iyi]
MIN kuči <sup>3</sup> ŋ	DAM	*XAR [mimī]
IND kučiŋ	MAB [posi]	*NEN kuli
SUN učiŋ	YAB [pusip]	KIR te katam <sup>w</sup> a
JAV kučiŋ	KAU [pusi]	MSH [kūe]
MAD kučiŋ	TOL [pusi]	PON [kāt]
*BAL meoŋ	BUA [busip]	*WLE [xōtu]



EFI	[βusi]	TON	[pusi]	*TAH	[mīmī]
WFI	[βosi]	SAM	[pusi]	RAP	kuṛī
RTU	pusi	MEL	[pusi]		

YAM From the Japanese word used to call a cat; *čito* in the village of Iraralay.

TAG PHN \**pūsa*?

AKL PHN \**kutiŋ* ‘kitten’.

MUR Also *ampu* ‘wild cat’.

MGY From Bantu.

BAL Also *mioŋ*.

DAA Also *dao*.

UMA Also *sisi*.

KON Also *posa* (Tana Toa dialect).

MAG Also dialectally [*pus*] Dutch, and *i<sup>n</sup>dus*, *či<sup>n</sup>čičiŋ* etc.

BUR The *mau* figures heavily in the cosmology representing evil spirits; also *kamyoho* ‘civet cat’.

DOB Malay borrowing.

KIL Loanword, from English *pussy*. Note that \**pusi* is not used; this sounds like *puwesi* ‘their testicles’, and so is avoided.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives *kito*.

MEK Also [*mini-mini*].

LEW Also [*pota*] (from Bislama? or variant of *posi*), [*mini*].

XAR Also *mē*.

NEN Also [*pusi*]; *wa[mino]*.

WLE From Spanish.

TAH Also *pi<sup>?</sup>ifare*; *?uri pi<sup>?</sup>ifare* obs..

### 03.622 OPOSSUM

ATA	ISN	MOL
TSO	KAL	KAG
RUK	TAG	BLA
PAI	AKL	SAB
YAM	PAL	MUR

MGY		*IRA	ǰemugə	LEW
ACE		*SAW	sefʔsef	POR
BAT		*NYI	mo <sup>n</sup> dʔa	NTA
*MIN	musəŋ	MAM	ʔodora	KWA
*IND	kuskus	TAK	uranek	NEM
SUN		DAM	suwar	CEM
JAV		MAB	ke <sup>n</sup> dēre	AJI
MAD		YAB	moyaŋ	XAR
BAL		*KAU	elan	NEN
SAS		TOL	kapul	KIR
GOR		*BUA	aḳoyək	MSH
DAA		*ADZ	g <sup>w</sup> aban	PON
UMA		KIL		WLE
BUG		TAW	wagaloke	EFI
KON		*MOT	βaura	WFI
*WOL	kuse	*MEK	aao	RTU
MAG		ROV	manue	TON
NGA	ḱəku	MAR	gauha	SAM
*SIK	la <sup>ʔ</sup> u	LAU	futo	MEL
RTI		KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aiasija	TAH
*BUR	tonal	RAG		RAP
*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aŋal	PAA		

MIN 'civet cat'.

IND 'marsupial of genus *Phalanger*'. Also *kusu* (eastern Indonesia).

WOL 'k.o. marsupial cuscus'.

SIK Also 'civet cat'.

BUR 'marsupial cuscus of the genus *Phalanger*'. Several different species are found. The Rana/Lisela call it *blafe-n*.

DOB 'marsupial of the genus *Phalanger*'.

IRA *ǰemugə* 'cuscus'; *ḱesaḱəra* 'flying squirrel'.

SAW 'cuscus'?

NYI 'cuscus'.

KAU Also 'tree wallaby'.

BUA Also *masag*, *məzīrapus*, *anōsik*.

ADZ *gwaban*; *sagum*; *faruwaʔ*; *amau* 'different types of possum and cuscus'.

MOT *βaura* 'cuscus'; *sesue* 'opossum' (Gabagaba village *setue*).

MEK *kao* in some areas (East Mekeo). The male is *uŋo-uŋo*, the female *afuifu*. *kino-kino* is ‘flying squirrel’. *ʔuŋapi* is a ground marsupial similar to a bandicoot. Common wallabies in the East Mekeo area are *maʔi* and *poŋu* (largest). The West Mekeo and NW Mekeo areas have a wallaby they call *koukava/koukaba*; their *mani* is perhaps equivalent to East Mekeo *poŋu* (see Motu *magan*).

### 03.630 MOUSE, RAT

*ATA	ḱawḱit	UMA	βulehuʔ	*MAR	nak <sup>h</sup> ude
TSO	buxçi	*BUG	balawo	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> oʔua
*RUK	koḷabaw	KON	balaho	KWO	gasifou
*PAI	kuḷavaw	WOL	βokoti	*RAG	yarivi
YAM	kazam	*MAG	lavo	PAA	asu
ISN	butit	NGA	ḱeke	*LEW	kawe
KAL	ūtut	SIK	teʔu	POR	xasu
TAG	dagaʔ	RTI	lafo	NTA	kahap
*AKL	ḱaŋgam	*BUR	titasi-t	KWA	iesuk <sup>w</sup>
PAL	bḱlabḱw	*DOB	ŋiʔro	NEM	cīb <sup>w</sup> i
MOL	bolabow	IRA	saḱe	CEM	cīb <sup>w</sup> i
KAG	ambaw	SAW	luf	AJI	yīpu
BLA	uŋe	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> elese	*XAR	çībi
SAB	ambaw	MAM	ŋeri	*NEN	waxeli
MUR	tikus	*TAK	goub	KIR	te kimoa
*MGY	vualavu	DAM	kari	MSH	kicrik
ACE	tikoih	MAB	kuzi	PON	kiḱik
BAT	baguduŋ	*YAB	m <sup>w</sup> adeʔ	WLE	xeşi
MIN	mañçiʔ	KAU	eβu	EFI	kalaβo
IND	tikus	TOL	gəḱəŋ	WFI	kuḱuβe
SUN	birit	BUA	mun	RTU	piča
JAV	tikus	*ADZ	iraʔ purup	TON	kumā
MAD	tikus	KIL	kikoni	*SAM	isumu
BAL	bikul	*TAW	itala	MEL	kimoa
SAS	tikus	MOT	bita	*TAH	ʔiore
GOR	ʔudu	*MEK	inema	RAP	kioʔe
DAA	valesu	ROV	kurezu		

- ATA *kašanaw* ‘mountain rat’, *tayhuʔ* ‘mole’.
- RUK *koʎabaw* ‘rat in the fields’, *tila* ‘house mouse’, *takadadānanə* ‘small house mouse’.
- PAI *kaʎucar* ‘field mouse’.
- AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*laŋRam* ‘vermin’.
- MGY *vualavu* ‘rat’; *tutuzi* ‘mouse’.
- BUG Also *belesu*.
- MAG Only for rats; for small species there are special names.
- BUR *titasi-t* ‘mouse’; also *rah tobo-n* lit ‘lord of the earth’, i.e. ‘rat’ (considered an evil spirit of significance).
- DOB *ŋiʔro* ‘mouse or rat’; *ʔarʔaw*, which informants say is a larger animal, may refer to a native rat-like marsupial.
- TAK *goub* ‘house mice’; *mudagur* ‘species of larger rat with stiff hair’.
- YAB ‘small rat’; *gʷaŋ* ‘large rat’.
- ADZ *iraʔpurup* ‘wild rat, bush rat’; *moyaʔ* ‘house rat’.
- TAW ‘small house rat’.
- MEK Compare *ine* ‘hole’ in Mekeo.
- MAR Also *nakʰusi*, both ‘rat’.
- RAG ‘rat’.
- LEW Also two smaller varieties: *kawe kur*, *kawe koruru*.
- XAR Also *bʷara* ‘native mangrove rat’.
- NEN Also *xeli*.
- SAM Obs. *ʔiole*.
- TAH *ʔiore ʔuiʔui* ‘mouse’.

### 03.650 FISH

ATA	kuʔih	*AKL	isdaʔ	ACE	ʔuŋkot
TSO	roski	PAL	sodaʔ	*BAT	dekke
RUK	kāŋ	MOL	sodaʔ	MIN	ikan
PAI	ʔiʔkaw	KAG	siddaʔ	IND	ikan
YAM	amoŋ	BLA	nolɔf	SUN	lauk
ISN	sissida	SAB	daiŋ	JAV	iwaʔ
KAL	ikan	*MUR	papait	MAD	ʔʰukuʔ
*TAG	isdaʔ	*MGY	hazaŋɖʔanu	*BAL	be

SAS	əmpaʔ	MAB	ye	KWA	nəmu
*GOR	ʔu ponula	YAB	i	NEM	nuk
DAA	bau	KAU	esma	CEM	îkua
*UMA	bauʔ	TOL	en	AJI	ẽwã
BUG	bāle	BUA	gel	XAR	nõ
KON	ʃukuʔ	*ADZ	yafas	NEN	waʔie
*WOL	ikane	KIL	yena	KIR	te ika
MAG	ikaŋ	TAW	iyana	MSH	ek
NGA	ika	MOT	g <sup>w</sup> arume	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ām <sup>w</sup>
SIK	iʔa-ŋ	*MEK	maʔa	WLE	ixa
RTI	iʔa-k	ROV	iyana	EFI	ika
*BUR	ika	MAR	sasa	WFI	ika
DOB	siʔa	LAU	iʔa	RTU	iʔa
IRA	somə	KWO	iʔa	TON	ika
SAW	in	RAG	iye	SAM	iʔa
NYI	ni	PAA	ai	MEL	ika
MAM	iʔa	LEW	ika	TAH	iʔa
TAK	ɿ	POR	na-ix	RAP	ika
DAM	gau	NTA	nam		

TAG Proto-Philippines \**i-seda*ʔ.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**i-seda*ʔ.

MUR Also *pait*, *kana*ʔ (as food).

MGY ‘game from the water’.

BAT See Simalungun Batak *donkey* ‘meat’, both from Proto-Batak \**dəŋkey* ‘game’.

BAL Also means ‘meat’.

GOR Non-personal nominaliser + ‘(meat/fish) used to accompany the rice’.

UMA *bau*ʔ ‘fish’, but because this term is also used for ‘meat of all kind’, the word *uru* is coming to be used to refer specifically to ‘fish’.

WOL *nopu* ‘fish with poisonous spines’; also *paepae*, *pana*<sup>n</sup>*da*.

BUR Also *ikan*; since there are no fish found inland (until 1975 when [*ikan mujair*] (Malay) were introduced into Lake Rana), it is possible that *ikan* is a borrowing. However, it follows the normal correspondences. Another word *cdhama-t* ‘the floating thing’ is found with far less frequency.

ADZ Also *apo* <sup>m</sup>*pui* lit ‘animal water’, i.e. ‘fish’.

MEK NW Mekeo *ui maki-na* 'fish' (*maka* is 'mullet' in this dialect; *maki* is West Mekeo *matsi* 'wallaby').

### 03.652 FIN (dorsal)

ATA	paʔiʔ	UMA	βirimiʔ	MAR	geyereme
TSO	ropŋu	BUG	siriʔ	LAU	bobona
RUK		KON	kaʃaŋ-kaʃaŋ	*KWO	ariŋa-na iʔa
PAI		WOL	βorobɔi	RAG	
YAM	paniɖ	MAG	ri <sup>m</sup> pas	PAA	hīn
ISN	pāgi	NGA	roka	LEW	kī-na
KAL	pāgi	SIK	iʔa-ŋklekor	POR	na-sam
*TAG	palaypay	RTI	iʔa <sup>ɖ</sup> goi-k	NTA	
AKL	pālik	*BUR	laa-n	*KWA	m <sup>w</sup> anipitare
PAL	sirik	DOB	siʔa yaϕu-y	*NEM	dō-n k <sup>ɖ</sup> uñ
MOL	sirik	IRA	sasieda	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> àdahe-n
KAG	kapi-kapi	SAW	bubu	AJI	jēdē
BLA	ɔfis	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> okodon	XAR	nē
SAB	sēk	MAM	iʔa-paia	*NEN	aɖabun
*MUR	sunsulud	TAK	didi-n	KIR	teieie
MGY		DAM	ϕutuwa duri	*MSH	ɛŋ
ACE	sirep	MAB	sisirāna	PON	sike
BAT	sirip	YAB	ŋateke	WLE	iŋi
MIN	siriʔ	KAU		EFI	tutu-
IND	sirip	TOL	eke-	WFI	-sikosiko
SUN	čečepet	BUA		RTU	fara
JAV	kepēt	ADZ		TON	kapoŋa
MAD	sirip	KIL		*SAM	ʔapaʔapa
*BAL	kepes	TAW	dei-na	MEL	tokotoko
SAS		*MOT	taia	TAH	tara niʔa
*GOR	tolitiʔo (?)	*MEK	pa-pani(-na)	RAP	tuku-tuku ika
DAA	oru na beŋo	*ROV	teyere		

TAG Also *palikpik*.

MUR Also *kikiwos* 'tail fin', *kakapi* 'ventral fin'.

BAL Any fin, including dorsal.

GOR 'fin'.

BUR See *laa* 'sail'.

MOT	<i>taia</i> lit 'ear'.
MEK	<i>pa-pani</i> means 'wing-like (object)' and is used for fins in general. Also North Mekeo <i>itsitsinina</i> (< <i>itsini?</i> ), West Mekeo <i>unina</i> and NW Mekeo <i>oakeke</i> . Desnoës gives <i>ova ?e?eŋe-ŋa</i> for 'arête dorsale'.
ROV	Also <i>teteyere</i> ; <i>titiyo</i> 'shark fin'.
KWO	'ear of fish'.
KWA	Also <i>takuretan</i> of certain fish species.
NEM	'leaf of sugar-cane'.
NEN	Also <i>aḍabin</i> .
MSH	<i>εŋ</i> of smaller fish; <i>il</i> of larger fish.
SAM	From <i>?apa</i> '(of a bird's wing, turtle's flipper) beat, lash'.

### 03.653 FISHSCALE

ATA	kaḥtam	BAL	si(k)sik	BUA	kaḥpis
TSO	xo?xosi	SAS	sisik əmpa?	ADZ	sa <sup>m</sup> p
RUK	kaḥalabə	GOR	bulihu	KIL	
PAI	ḥurip	DAA	ru <sup>ḡ</sup> ga	TAW	wenawa
YAM	iḥiḥ	UMA	ruke	MOT	una
ISN	si?si?	BUG		*MEK	oŋoŋa
KAL	siksik	KON	sissi?	ROV	kapu iyana
TAG	kaliskis	*WOL	ona	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> apu
AKL	himbis	MAG	čigi	LAU	?e?efo i?a
PAL	sisi?	NGA	hova-ika	KWO	unauna
MOL	si?-si?	SIK	i?a-ŋ əna-ŋ	RAG	yaŋi
KAG	imbis	RTI		PAA	leŋaiven
BLA	nel	BUR	ikan naŋi-n	LEW	kileleri-ne-na
SAB	sisik	DOB	si?a k <sup>w</sup> una-y	POR	<sup>ḡ</sup> gora-xer
MUR	sisi?	IRA	katəkitə	NTA	nəβiliŋ-n
MGY	lani-n- kazand <sup>r</sup> anu	SAW	wən-wunəf	KWA	rərewu-
ACE	sise?	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isi ni	NEM	kube-n
BAT	sisik	MAM	ina?a	CEM	ûde-ikua
MIN	sisi <sup>ə</sup> ? ikan	TAK	tibila-n	AJI	pɬɬ
IND	sisik	DAM	geni	*XAR	pure-nō
SUN	sisit	MAB	<sup>ḡ</sup> gaulini	NEN	enenien
JAV	sisi?	YAB	ŋa-gala	KIR	
MAD	sissi?	KAU	esma eyom-an	MSH	
		*TOL	koto-na-en	PON	

WLE	üřa	RTU	una	MEL	una
EFI	βari-	TON	ʔuno	TAH	poʔa iʔa
WFI	-βari	SAM	una	RAP	ʔunahi

WOL Also *sisi*.

TOL *koto* ‘piece of shell’, *na* CONN, *en* ‘fish’.

MEK (?). North Mekeo and West Mekeo *oŋoŋa*, NW Mekeo *oŋaŋa*. The author did not elicit this item in East Mekeo (*oŋa* can mean ‘sore’ – ‘scab’? – or ‘grain’, *oŋa-oŋa-fu* is a kind of fish; *oŋo-fuŋe* is a small shellfish). Desnoës gives East Mekeo *uŋa* ‘eyeball’ (of fish) although Motu, Roro and even Kuni have *una* ‘fishscale’.

XAR ‘shell of fish’.

### 03.654 GILL

ATA		MAD	čaʔaŋ	*KAU	esma kiŋa-n
TSO	ϕreŋi	BAL	aŋsaŋan	TOL	pəpā-
RUK		SAS		BUA	
PAI		GOR	wataŋo	*ADZ	yafas riŋan
YAM	azaŋan	*DAA	taliŋa nu bau	KIL	
ISN	āsaŋ	UMA	ha <sup>n</sup> ča	TAW	adehalala
KAL	āsaŋ	BUG	čupaʔ	MOT	lada
*TAG	hāsaŋ	KON	assaŋ	*MEK	ŋaŋaka
AKL	hāsaŋ	WOL	a <sup>n</sup> ča	ROV	asaŋa
PAL	asaŋ	*MAG	ro <sup>m</sup> baŋ	MAR	ŋaŋa
MOL	asaŋ	NGA	đola	LAU	
KAG	asaŋ	SIK	kladu-ŋ	KWO	
BLA	ɔsɔŋ	RTI	iʔa hiŋi-k	RAG	
SAB	asaŋ	BUR	ikan asa-n	PAA	
MUR	asaŋ	DOB	siʔa yawa-y	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulukakoa-
*MGY	sufin-kazan-	IRA	geɣə		ne-na
	ɖ <sup>r</sup> ano	SAW	yɔsen	POR	la <sup>ŋ</sup> ga-n
ACE	isuɔŋ	NYI	kabese ni	NTA	patalŋ-n
BAT	isaŋ-isaŋ	MAM	iʔa-giri	*KWA	nak <sup>w</sup> areŋə-
MIN	insaŋ	TAK	gigare-n	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ivemā-n
IND	insaŋ	DAM	weder	CEM	títi-he-n
SUN	asaŋ	MAB	ŋgarāna	AJI	poā
JAV	aŋsaŋ	*YAB	ŋa-saŋ	*XAR	kārāme



NEN	FFI	sē-	MEL	mea
KIR	WFI	-hē	TAH	?aumea
MSH	RTU	mea	RAP	mea
PON	TON	laumea		
WLE	*SAM	fuilauvī		

TAG Proto-Philippines \**hāsaŋ*.

MGY ‘fish ear’.

DAA ‘ear of fish’.

MAG Only known in a few dialects.

YAB Also *ŋa-dag*<sup>wa</sup>; *ŋa-sa<sup>m</sup>ba* ‘gill-cover’.

KAU ‘fish ear-his’.

ADZ ‘fish ear-3sg POSS’.

MEK *ŋa-ŋaka* ? West Mekeo has *niniba*, NW Mekeo has *niniva* – East Mekeo *nio* is ‘string’ and to ‘introduce string into an opening’, for which there is also *nio-pa*. And East Mekeo *nini* is ‘line, string, to string’. North Mekeo has ‘gill’, *aina* (= ‘ear’) and *ŋeŋeke*: compare East Mekeo *ŋeŋe* ‘net’ and *ŋeŋe-uka*, to ‘slip in’, as in *aina-ŋ-ai la-ŋeŋe-uka* ‘I slipped it into his ear, put it into his head.’

KWA Also means ‘inner ear’.

XAR ‘eye’.

SAM Also *pā?ō?ō*.

### 03.655 SHELL

ATA	kakuʔu?	BLA	fuli	SAS	
*TSO	sikutu	SAB		GOR	biya
RUK	ʔabalə	*MUR	kakagis	DAA	
PAI	kəruʎuŋ	MGY	akurana	UMA	kuluma
*YAM	noni	*ACE	kulet	BUG	čučo
ISN		BAT	kəraŋ	KON	biri-biri
*KAL	lukkob	*MIN	karabaŋ	*WOL	lola
*TAG	kabībi	*IND	kəraŋ	MAG	
*AKL	kahuŋ	*SUN	[kəraŋ]	NGA	huki-kima
PAL	atyanən	JAV	kəraŋ	*SIK	?ima
MOL	kulit otian-on	MAD	kəraŋ	*RTI	ʎgo-ʎgoe-k
*KAG	pini?in	*BAL		BUR	kima oko-n

*DOB	ta'φir	*MOT	bisisi	*AJI	paʎa
IRA	mabuina	*MEK	oka	*XAR	çimā
SAW	suət liko	ROV	baŋa	NEN	yenegeč
NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isin	MAR	soda	*KIR	te bun
*MAM	mati paʔi	LAU	karoŋo	*MSH	cɔkuʁ
*TAK	sisei	*KWO	imai	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ill
DAM	mos	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ala	*WLE	tawī
MAB	peŋe <sup>n</sup> di	*PAA	vola-mesalo	EFI	gā-
*YAB	usu ŋa-pa	LEW	pia-nata	WFI	taba-ni-
*KAU	eyuk	POR	na-rü	RTU	pilo
TOL	kəlaŋ	NTA	nəβiŋgə nat	TON	ŋeʔesi
*BUA	g <sup>w</sup> e-zu		ithei	SAM	fīŋota
ADZ		*KWA	karasari	*MEI	[pura]
KIL	βigoda	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ik	*TAH	pūpū
TAW	yakoyako	*CEM	tí	RAP	pakahera

TSO *sikutu* 'shellfish'; *xoʔxu* 'shell of shellfish, snails, turtles, etc.'

YAM Others are *poŋŋət*, *kapzopzo*, *kovovan*, *gogolo*, *kakaroarəŋ*, *kamonomanok*, *aŋya*.

KAL *lukkob* 'clam'.

TAG Generic term.

AKL 'mussel'; *uʎaŋ* 'shrimp'.

KAG Also *paniʔin*.

MUR *kakagis* 'mollusc shell'; *kulabut*, *kulapaʔ* 'egg shell'; *kulubiŋ* 'tortoise shell'; *laŋgut* 'coconut shell'.

ACE Also 'skin, bark, etc.'

MIN 'empty egg shell'.

IND Also *kulit kəraŋ*.

SUN From Malay or Javanese.

BAL No generic term. Referred to as the *umah* 'house' of the particular creature living inside it, e.g. *umah kakul* (*kakul*, kind of fresh-water snail).

WOL *lola* specific kind; *kamatuu* 'shellfish (shell + animal)'.

SIK Also *iʔa-ŋ ʔima*.

RTI *ʔgo-ʔgoc-k* 'shelled creatures in general'; *ʔgo-ʔgoc-k lou-k* 'the shell cover'.

DOB 'particular species of conch shell used as a horn for summoning people'.

- MAM Also *zoli*.
- TAK See 03.940
- YAB 'seasnail its-shell'.
- KAU 'kina shell'.
- BUA *g<sup>w</sup>e-zu* 'cone-shell'; *zey* 'a large cowrie'; *yēk* 'large scallop shell'; *gasəbək* 'mussel, oyster shell'.
- MOT *bisisi* is the general name for shellfish; *koukou* 'outside shell, hard covering' is used for both vegetable (e.g. coconut) and crustacean shells.
- MEK *oka* is a kind of oyster-shell used for cutting and scraping vegetables. *eke* is used for shaving. *mopio* are small shells used in long ceremonial necklaces. *ao* and *ao-ao* are armshell ornaments. *kaka* are pearlshell crescents.
- KWO Also generic for 'shellfish'.
- PAA The shellfish inside is *mesalo*.
- KWA 'bivalve shell'; no generic term for 'shell' exists; many other specific forms might be listed.
- NEM 'general term for gastropods; trochus'; empty trochus shell is *pī* (*t<sup>h</sup>ik*).
- CEM Generic term for gastropods; the shell is *pī-tí*.
- AJI Also *yur*.
- XAR Generic term for sea shells; *purε-* 'empty shell'.
- KIR Also *te bora* 'turtle shell, carapace'; *te nana* of a coconut.
- MSH *cəkur* 'crab shell'; *arri* 'large clam shell'; *lərrə* 'empty shells on beach'; *p<sup>w</sup>Ar* 'turtle shell'.
- WLE *tawī* 'conch'; *wārixiy(a)* 'nautilus'; *φ<sup>w</sup>uřo* 'kind of shell'; others include *uφ<sup>w</sup>iri*, *sōrii*, *xam<sup>w</sup>e*.
- MEL Also *[sanu]* both from Efate.
- TAH *pū* 'conch-shell'.

## 03.661 SHARK

ATA	ISN	MOL	koritan
TSO	KAL	*KAG	iyu
RUK	TAG	BLA	kambuleŋ
PAI	*AKL	SAB	kaitan
YAM	PAL	MUR	

MGY	aʃanʃa	IRA	miɸə	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> eli
ACE	yεə	SAW	wey	POR	<sup>m</sup> baxö
BAT	iu	NYI	be <sup>ʔ</sup> eu	NTA	paŋuan
MIN	yu	MAM	ŋam	KWA	pawεŋən
*IND	hiu	TAK	sasam	NEM	yec
SUN	hiu	*DAM	[sak]	CEM	nàcie
*JAV	[hiu]	MAB	koro	AJI	coe
MAD	munduŋ	YAB	yak <sup>w</sup> a	XAR	nā
BAL	kakiə	*KAU	[sak]	NEN	yoč
SAS	iu	TOL	moŋ	KIR	te bakoa
GOR	mu <sup>ɔ</sup> giyaŋo	BUA		*MSH	pako
DAA		ADZ		PON	pako
UMA		KIL	k <sup>w</sup> au	WLE	paxowa
BUG	maŋiwɨŋ	TAW	wagewa	EFI	giō
KON	maŋjihəŋ	MOT	k <sup>w</sup> alaha	WFI	giō
WOL	moŋiwa	*MEK	[eko-eko]	RTU	i <sup>ʔ</sup> oro
MAG		ROV	kiso	TON	ʔaŋa
NGA	iu	MAR	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> esu	SAM	malie
*SIK	iu	LAU	baek <sup>w</sup> a	MEL	maŋō
RTI	iu	KWO	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> ek <sup>w</sup> a	TAH	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> o
*BUR	eu	RAG	bayeo	*RAP	maŋō
DOB	su	*PAA	vālevol		

AKL Proto-Philippines \**patiŋ*.

KAG Also *patiŋ* ‘smaller kind of shark’.

IND Also *iu*.

JAV Initial *h* suggests from Malay.

SIK From Malay.

BUR Along with *ika were* ‘barracuda’, these are greatly feared.

DAM From Tok Pisin.

KAU Tok Pisin.

MEK From Roro.

PAA This word is little used now, with [*sāk*] being preferred; a borrowing from English, via Bislama.

MSH Also *aranpe* ‘fish, shark’.

RAP Also *niuhi* depending upon species.

## 03.662 PORPOISE, DOLPHIN

ATA		SAS	lumbə-lumbə	MEK	
TSO		*GOR	[lu <sup>m</sup> ba-lu <sup>m</sup> ba]	ROV	kusui
RUK		DAA		MAR	k <sup>h</sup> irio
PAI		UMA		LAU	kirio
YAM	tolaw	BUG	lomba-lomba	KWO	kirio
ISN		KON	lumba	RAG	gio
KAL		WOL	lu <sup>m</sup> ba-lu <sup>m</sup> ba	PAA	aki
*TAG	lumba-lumba	MAG		LEW	lekiokio
*AKL	[ʔumbaʔ- ʔumbaʔ]	*NGA	lobu-mua	POR	likopik
PAL	lumba-lumba	SIK	i <sup>ʔ</sup> a-ŋ təmu	*NTA	[pofis]
MOL	lumbaʔ- lumbaʔ	*RTI	bafi sai-k	KWA	uipin
KAG	abbuŋ	*BUR	ik-fafu	NEM	tuyin
BLA	lmud	DOB	ssaʔi	CEM	éōmā
SAB	leha-leha	IRA	miϕə	AJI	wēvirē
MUR		SAW	kulef	XAR	cicuumeti
MGY		NYI	wiri	*NEN	čoiwed
*ACE	luulumba	MAM	ruro	KIR	te kua
BAT		TAK	lous	MSII	ke
MIN	lumbo-lumbo	DAM		PON	laitiniki
*IND	ikanlumba- lumba	MAB	kuri	WLE	xüwa
SUN	lumba-lumba	*YAB	kuliʔ-maso	EFI	babate
JAV	kəmpus	*KAU	[kiyikiyi]	WFI	babale
*MAD	b <sup>ʰ</sup> a-lomb <sup>ʰ</sup> a	TOL	kuriəp	*RTU	[papese]
*BAL	bə lombə- lombə	BUA		TON	tutuʔu
		ADZ		SAM	mumua
		KIL	koliβia	*MEL	[kio]
		TAW	uliuliyawa	TAH	ʔōuʔa
		*MOT	kidurui	RAP	

TAG Also [*delpin*] from Spanish *delfín*.

AKL Malay *lomba-lomba*.

ACE From *lumba* 'race, chase', because they seem to race each other and ships.

IND Also *ikan babi*.

MAD From (RED-*lomb<sup>ʰ</sup>a*).

BAL Also *lumbə-lumbə*.

GOR From Malay *ikan lu<sup>m</sup>ba-lu<sup>m</sup>ba*.

NGA	Also <i>ḡana</i> .
RTI	'sea pig'.
BUR	'pig fish'.
YAB	'cuttlefish-dry' (the dorsal fin of the dolphin sticks out of the water and remains allegedly dry).
KAU	From an Arawe dialect on the coast.
MOT	Note the related forms <i>rui</i> 'dugong' and <i>kidukidu</i> 'a kind of fish (tuna?)'.
NTA	From English .
NEN	Also [ <i>popos</i> ] from English.
RTU	From English.
MEL	From Efate.

### 03.663 WHALE

**Dutch:** *paus*

**Spanish:** *ballena*

ATA		SUN	lauk [paus]	MAM	?asu?asu
TSO		JAV	lɔdan	TAK	maoi
RUK		*MAD	[raʃa-mina]	DAM	
PAI		BAL	be [paus]	MAB	nalansa
YAM	amomobo	SAS	[paus]	YAB	gasugasu
ISN		GOR	[pawu-pawusi]	KAU	
KAL		DAA		*TOL	konakonom
*TAG	[balyēna]	UMA		BUA	
AKL	[balyēna]	BUG	[paus]u?	ADZ	
PAL		KON	lampuara	KIL	bosu
MOL	kohumbu	WOL	ḡu <sup>ñ</sup> čoso	TAW	ulaulasi
KAG	tandayag	*MAG	[ <sup>m</sup> bos]	*MOT	lakarado-
BLA	duyuŋ	*NGA	əbu-nəbu		nodono
SAB	kahumbu	SIK	iʔa-ŋ təmu	MEK	
MUR		*RTI	ia [paus]	ROV	ivu
*MGY	[tʰuzuna]	*BUR	ik-haa-t	MAR	navo
ACE	pawoih	DOB	bisarum	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ahasu
BAT		IRA		KWO	g <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> ā lasu
MIN		SAW	kley	RAG	ɣure te ɣune
IND	ikan [paus]	*NYI	rak	PAA	leirumurum

*LEW	ika-wa	XAR	clɔyā	RTU	tolo
POR	le <sup>n</sup> d'umu-	NEN	ʃewi	TON	tofuaʔa
	"d'um	KIR	te kua	*SAM	tafolā
NTA	tuf lai	MSH	ɾac	MEL	tafurā
KWA	təʔra	PON	rōs	TAH	tohorā
NEM	pudo	WLE	ɾaso	RAP	taʔoraha
CEM	cúeiu	*EFI	taβuto		
AJI	clɔyā	WFI	taβuto		

TAG Also *dambuhālaʔ*.

MGY From Malay *duyuŋ*.

MAD Sanskrit.

MAG Only known in some lowlands dialects.

NGA Also *ŋəbu*.

RTI Malay.

BUR 'big fish'.

NYI Also *hilotou*.

TOL *konom* 'swallow'.

MOT No information on this word. There is a type of fish called *dono*.

LEW 'sacred fish (prohibited? gigantic?)'; also *lesumsum*.

EFI Also *tōβuto*.

SAM (polite) *iʔamanu*.

### 03.664 STINGRAY

ATA		BLA	fəgi	SAS	pari
TSO		SAB	pahi	GOR	pahi
RUK		MUR		DAA	
PAI		MGY		UMA	
YAM	apiap	ACE	parəə	BUG	
ISN		BAT	pare	KON	pari
KAL		MIN		WOL	wara-wara
TAG	pāgi	IND	ikan pari	*MAG	[pai]
AKL	pāgih	SUN	lauk pari	NGA	ŋori
PAL	pagi	JAV	pe	SIK	iʔa-ŋ pari
MOL	pagi	MAD	pari	RTI	hai
*KAG	pagi	BAL	pai	BUR	pahi

DOB	siʔa llaba	MOT	daedae	XAR	pe
IRA	somə ɸariɸərə	MEK	pui-ʔoa	NEN	wabieno re
SAW	fa	ROV	tape		čele
NYI	bei	*MAR	grualu	*KIR	te baiku
MAM	paru	LAU	fali	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> oʔāŋ
TAK	lailai	KWO	fari	*PON	likentinkep
DAM		RAG	vari	WLE	faiya
MAB	par	PAA	ahāi	EFI	βai
YAB	ɔpɔlaŋ	*LEW	levi	WFI	βai
*KAU	[βhar]	POR	nave	RTU	hɔi
TOL	varə	NTA	βelau	TON	fai
BUA		KWA	wəroku	SAM	fai
ADZ		NEM	pe	MEL	fai
KIL	βai	CEM	pê	TAH	fai
TAW	wali	AJI	pe	RAP	

KAG *slana* ‘larger kind of stingray’.

MAG Probably a loan from Bimanese.

KAU From an Arawe dialect on the coast.

MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>akifi* large variety.

LEW Also *lepepe* (03.920) different species.

KIR Also *te iku* ‘ray sp’.

MSH *p<sup>u</sup>oʔāŋ* ‘manta’; also *m<sup>u</sup>aʔokʔok*.

PON *pēwēwe* ‘manta’; *pēpōrok* ‘ray sp’.

### 03.665 FRESHWATER EEL

*ATA	tuʔakiy	KAG	taksili	MAD	bəlluʔ
*TSO	tuŋroza	BLA	kili	*BAL	be ʔulit
RUK	tola	SAB	kasī	SAS	lenduŋ
PAI	cul <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*MUR	bususuŋ	GOR	ʔotili
YAM	tona	MGY	amaluna	DAA	masapi
ISN	kīwat	*ACE	kire	UMA	mahapi
KAL	īgat	BAT		BUG	lenroŋ
*TAG	īgat	MIN	baluyʔ	KON	lenroŋ
*AKL	kasīli	*IND	bəlut	WOL	wulelu
PAL	indɔrɔg	*SUN	[bəlut]	MAG	tuna
MOL	kolaʔlog	JAV	wəlut	NGA	elo



SIK	tuna	*KIL	buliwada	AJI	řowã
RTI	tuna	TAW	tuna	XAR	jei
*BUR	wana-t	MOT	nabatora	NEN	
*DOB	tuna	MEK	kaŋava	KIR	
*IRA	enə	ROV	ogoe	MSH	
SAW	blik	MAR	nadali	PON	kemisik
NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> usi	LAU	dolo	WLE	řa <sup>l</sup> uto
MAM	miminaru	KWO	i <sup>?</sup> a tek <sup>w</sup> a	EFI	duna
TAK	kibiram	RAG	marae-n wai	WFI	čuna
DAM	māt	*PAA	melit	RTU	funa
MAB	tūnu	LEW	mia	TON	tuna
YAB	seb <sup>w</sup> a?	POR	marir	*SAM	tuna
KAU	eβul	NTA	nam lahau	MEL	
*TOL	maleo	KWA	ruk <sup>w</sup> inəmu	*TAH	puhi pape
BUA	bəγəb	NEM	pēna	RAP	
ADZ	bwaruf	CEM	āmūtā		

ATA *řawit* ‘a short eel’.

TSO *tugroza* large ones; *čimaruru* small ones.

TAG Black species; also *balila*, *palos*.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*kasili*.

MUR Also *linduŋ*, *suŋku?* (species).

ACE Also *ileh*.

IND Also *ikan linduŋ*.

SUN From Malay.

BAL *be julit* (when large, found in rivers); *be linduŋ* (when still small, found in ricefields).

BUR See *hema* ‘saltwater eel’; Rana *em-loko-n* ‘freshwater eel’.

DOB *marak<sup>w</sup>un* larger species.

IRA *enə* large; *edu* small.

TOL ‘salt and freshwater eel’.

KIL Also ‘saltwater eel’.

PAA Also *malit*, also used for ‘saltwater eel’.

SAM (polite) *?avai*.

TAH *tuna* arch.

## 03.710 WOLF

English: *wolf*Sanskrit: *śṛgāla-* 'jackal'Spanish: *lobo*

ATA		DAA		ROV	[vulupu]
TSO		UMA		MAR	
RUK		BUG	[sarigala]	LAU	
PAI		KON	asu boron	KWO	
*YAM	kokoman ŝo	WOL		RAG	
	tao	MAG		PAA	
ISN		NGA		*LEW	
KAL		*SIK	ahu uta	POR	
TAG	[lōbo]	RTI		NTA	
AKL	[lōbo]	BUR		KWA	
PAL		DOB		NEM	
MOL		IRA		CEM	
KAG		SAW		*AJI	[lupo]
BLA		*NYI	m <sup>wi</sup> d <sup>r</sup> iliu	XAR	
SAB		MAM	?eu-?abu-?abu	NEN	
MUR		TAK		KIR	
*MGY	ambua dia	DAM		MSH	
ACE		MAB		PON	
BAT		YAB		WLE	
MIN	[sarigalo]	KAU		EFI	[olifa]
IND	[sərigala]	TOL		WFI	
*SUN	aĵag	BUA		RTU	[?olifa]
JAV	asu aĵak	ADZ		TON	[ulofi]
MAD	pati? alas	*KIL		*SAM	[luka]
BAL		TAW		MEL	
SAS		MOT		*TAH	[ruto]
GOR	[sarigala]	MEK		RAP	

YAM 'people eater'.

MGY 'wild dog'.

SUN Eringa (1984): 'kind of wild dog'.

SIK 'jackal' lit 'dog forest'.

NYI 'wild dog'.

KIL Possibly *ugiwagi na-gasisi* 'animal, savage'.

LEW Use *lokuli tetani* 'wild dog'.

AJI From Latin, Biblical borrowing.

SAM From Tahitian *luko* [*ruto*], from Greek *lýkos*.

TAH From Greek *lýkos* (Latin *lupus*).

### 03.720 LION

<b>English:</b> <i>lion</i>	<b>German:</b> <i>Löwe</i>	<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>siṃha-</i>
<b>French:</b> <i>lion</i>	<b>Greek:</b> <i>léōn</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>leon</i>

ATA	UMA	LAU
TSO	BUG [siŋa]	KWO
RUK	KON [siŋa]	RAG
PAI	WOL [siŋa]	PAA [laian]
*YAM kokoman ʂo	MAG	LEW
tao	NGA	POR
ISN	SIK	NTA
KAL [liyon]	RTI	KWA
TAG [leon]	BUR	NEM
AKL [liyon]	DOB	CEM
PAL [liun]	IRA	AJI [liona]
MOL	SAW	XAR
KAG [liun]	NYI	NEN
BLA	MAM [laioŋ]	KIR
SAB halimaw	TAK	MSH
MUR [siŋaʔ]	DAM	PON
MGY [liuna]	MAB	WLE
ACE [siŋa]	YAB [lewe]	EFI [laione]
BAT	KAU	WFI
MIN [siŋo]	TOL [leon]	RTU [læeana]
IND [siŋa]	BUA	TON [laione]
SUN [siŋa]	ADZ	SAM [liona]
JAV [siŋɔ]	KIL [laioni]	MEL
*MAD mačan	TAW	TAH [riona
BAL [siŋə]	MOT	(liona)]
SAS [siŋə]	MEK	RAP
GOR	ROV [laione]	
DAA [siŋa]	MAR	

YAM 'people eater'.

MAD Penninga and Hendriks (1913): *mañčan* 'tiger; generic term for wild feline species: tigers, lions etc'.

### 03.730 BEAR

**English:** *bear*

**Spanish:** *oso*

ATA	ŋarux	DAA	ROV	[bea]
TSO	ɕmoi	UMA	MAR	
RUK	ɕomay	BUG	LAU	
PAI	ɕumay	KON	KWO	
*YAM	kokoman ʃo tao	WOL	RAG	
ISN		MAG	PAA	
KAL		NGA	LEW	
TAG	[ōso]	SIK	POR	
AKL	[ōso]	RTI	NTA	
*PAL	mɔnturun	BUR	KWA	
MOL		DOB	NEM	
KAG		IRA	CEM	
BLA		SAW	AJI	
SAB		NYI	XAR	
MUR	bauaŋ	MAM	NEN	
*MGY	[ursa]	TAK	KIR	
*ACE	[cageə]	DAM	MSH	
*BAT	gɔppul	MAB	PON	
*MIN	biruaŋ	*YAB	WLE	
IND	bəruaŋ	[ber]	EFI	[bea]
SUN	biruaŋ	KAU	WFI	
JAV	bruaŋ	TOL	RTU	[pea]
*MAD	bəruwaŋ	BUA	TON	[pea]
*BAL	[bəruaŋ]	ADZ	KIL	[beya]
SAS		KIL	[beya]	*SAM
GOR		TAW	MEL	[urosa]
		MOT	*TAH	[pea]
		MEK	RAP	

YAM 'people eater'.

PAL 'bear-cat'.

MGY	From French.
ACE	From Mon-Khmer.
BAT	Also [ <i>baruəŋ</i> ] Malay.
MIN	Also <i>baribeh</i> .
MAD	Safioedin (1977): <i>baruwaŋ</i> .
BAL	From Malay, see <i>baroŋ</i> mythical animal.
YAB	From German <i>Bär</i> .
SAM	From Latin <i>ursus</i> .
TAH	Also [ <i>tāpa</i> ] ( <i>daba</i> ) biblical, from Hebrew.

### 03.740 FOX

*ATA	aḱβux	UMA	MAR
*TSO	kuxku	*BUG	meoŋkali?
*RUK	tarabwaboy	KON	KWO
*PAI	ʎia	*WOL	ʎina
*YAM	paŋanpən	MAG	PAA
ISN		NGA	LEW
KAL	mūtīt	SIK	POR
TAG		RTI	NTA
AKL	ilu?	*BUR	kamyoho
PAL		DOB	NEM
MOL		IRA	CEM
KAG		*SAW	burat
BLA	tuyun	*AJI	[rənā]
SAB		NYI	XAR
MUR		MAM	NEN
MGY		TAK	KIR
ACE		DAM	MSH
BAT		MAB	PON
MIN	añji <sup>o</sup> ŋ utan	YAB	WLE
*IND	rubah	KAU	EFI [fōkisi]
*SUN	añjiŋ liwiŋ	TOL	WFI
JAV		BUA	RTU
MAD		ADZ	TON [fokisi]
BAL		KIL	*SAM [ʔālope]
SAS		TAW	MEL
GOR		MOT	*TAH [arope]
DAA		MEK	RAP
		ROV	[pokesa]

ATA	<i>butuʃ</i> ‘a big fox’; <i>kaʃtiʔ</i> ‘a stinking fox’; <i>kaʃtuŋan, tapaparaʔ, ŝuwaiʔ naʔkʃiʔ, mar-βawak</i> ‘various species of fox’.
TSO	Generic term for wild cats, weasles, and civets.
RUK	<i>ʃia</i> ‘a type of fox’.
PAI	<i>karəŋ</i> ‘a fox-like animal’.
YAM	Also <i>votdak</i> .
IND	Also <i>musəŋ</i> ‘civet cat’.
SUN	<i>liwiŋ</i> ‘forest’.
BÜG	‘civet cat’.
WOL	‘civet cat’.
BUR	Also <i>yoho</i> ; both meaning ‘civet cat’.
SAW	‘civet cat’?
AJI	From French <i>renard</i> .
SAM	From Greek <i>aló̄pēx</i> .
TAH	From Greek <i>aló̄pēx</i> .

### 03.750 DEER

*ATA	wakanux	*IND	rusa	*SAW	[manjaŋan]
TSO	ʔua	*SUN	uñčal	NYI	
*RUK	salaŋanə	JAV	kidaŋ	MAM	
*PAI	vənan	*MAD	[kiddaŋ]	TAK	
YAM	boşboşan	*BAL	kidaŋ	DAM	
ISN	ugta	SAS	mayuŋ	MAB	
KAL	ugsa	GOR	buʔulu he <sup>ɟ</sup> ge	YAB	
*TAG	usa	DAA	rusa	KAU	
*AKL	usah	UMA	ruhe	TOL	
PAL	usa	BÜG	joŋŋa	BUA	
MOL	usa	*KON	rusa	ADZ	
KAG	usa	WOL	rusa	KIL	[diya]
BLA	uhi	*MAG	ruča	TAW	
SAB	usa	NGA	koya	MOT	[dia]
*MUR	paus	SIK	ruha	MEK	
*MGY	[serfa]	RTI	nusa	ROV	[dia]
*ACE	rusa	*BUR	wadu-n	MAR	
*BAT	[ursa]	*DOB	[rusa]	LAU	
*MIN	ruso	*IRA	[rusa]	KWO	

RAG	AJI	yĒVATA	WFI
PAA	*XAR	[dube]	RTU [tia]
LEW	NEN		TON [tia]
POR	KIR		*SAM [ʔaila]
NTA	MSH		MEL
KWA	PON		*TAH [ria] (lia)
*NEM [dube]	WLE		RAP
CEM [dùbe]	EFI	[dia]	

ATA *kβatiŋan* ‘male deer’; *riʔaku* ‘female deer’.

RUK *salaŋanə* ‘male deer’; *θadi* ‘female deer’.

PAI *maru-nəm* ‘male deer’; *jilʔak* ‘female deer’; *takəʔ* ‘pygmy deer’; *cuvu-an* ‘young antlers’.

TAG *libay* ‘female’; PHN \**Rusa*.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines \**usa*.

MUR *paus* ‘barking deer’; *palanuk* ‘mouse deer’; *tambay* ‘sambhur deer’.

MGY From French.

ACE Also [ʃluəh] Mon-Khmer.

BAT From Malay *rusa*.

MIN Also *kijaŋ*.

IND Also *məŋjaŋan*.

SUN Also *maŋjaŋan*.

MAD From Javanese; Saffoedin (1977) and Penninga and Hendriks (1913): *kiddhaŋ*.

BAL *kidaŋ* smaller species; *məŋjaŋan* larger species.

KON Also *joŋa*.

MAG Also *tagi*; in Western Manggarai <sup>n</sup>*daot*.

BUR Older term not widely known by younger generation; more commonly [minjaŋan], and [bijaŋan].

DOB From Malay. I have been told by an old man that there is an original Dobel word *soŋa*, but this is difficult to confirm as most people have never heard of the word, using only [rusa].

IRA From Malay.

SAW From Javanese.

NEM Loanword of unknown origin.

XAR Loanword of unknown origin.

SAM From Hebrew *ʔayyāl* (m), *ʔayyālāh* (f).

TAH From Hebrew.

### 03.760 MONKEY

ATA	uŋay	UMA	iboʔ	MAR	
TSO	ŋxou	BUG	lančəŋ	LAU	[magi]
RUK	babila	*KON	doeŋ	KWO	
PAI	ɖail	WOL	<sup>n</sup> doke	RAG	
*YAM	[səzɔ]	MAG	kode	PAA	
ISN	ayoŋ	*NGA	koɖe	LEW	
KAL	abbak	*SIK	roʔa-ŋ	POR	
*TAG	matsiŋ	RTI	kode	NTA	
AKL	amuʔ	*BUR	(gcb mua)	KWA	
PAL	amuʔ	DOB		NEM	
MOL	uyow	IRA		CEM	
KAG	amuʔ	SAW	mia	AJI	caŋɔ
BLA	aŋok	NYI		XAR	[m <sup>w</sup> ākɛ]
SAB	kuyyaʔ	MAM	[mɔŋgi]	NEN	[mage]
*MUR	gɔbuk	TAK		KIR	
*MGY	ra-ɖzaku	DAM		MSH	
*ACE	buə	MAB		PON	
*BAT	hɛrɛk	YAB	[mɔŋki]	WLE	
*MIN	čigaʔ	KAU		*EFI	[mage]
*IND	kəra	TOL		WFI	
SUN	moŋet	BUA		RTU	[mɔŋkē]
JAV	kətɛk	ADZ		*TON	[ŋeli]
MAD	b <sup>a</sup> uɖəŋ	KIL		*SAM	[manukī]
*BAL	boʃog	TAW		MEL	
*SAS	boteʔ	MOT		TAH	ʔurī taʔata
*GOR	[ʔego]	MEK		RAP	
DAA	ibo	ROV	[mage]		

YAM Japanese borrowing.

TAG Also *tsunŋo*, *uŋgoy*.



- MUR *gobuk* ‘pig-tailed macaque’; *ĵabulow* ‘long-tailed macaque’; *bakalo* ‘proboscis-monkey’; *kāguy* ‘orang-utan’; *kalawot* ‘gibbon’; *panĵulaw* ‘leaf monkey’; *sikuk*.
- MGY Monkeys are not indigenous in Madagascar.
- ACE Also *kra*.
- BAT *herək* ‘small grey monkey’; *bodat* ‘large, tailless monkey’.
- MIN Also *baru*<sup>?</sup>.
- IND Also *moñet*.
- BAL Also *irəŋan* from Old Javanese, small black species.
- SAS Also *godek*. Teeuw: both widespread.
- GOR Also [*bego*] and *dihe* ‘black monkey’.
- KON Also *turi*<sup>?</sup>, shortened form of *tu-ri-taŋke*; ‘people in branches’.
- NGA Also *ro*<sup>?</sup>*a*.
- SIK Also *βəro*.
- BUR None on the island; *geb mua* ‘jungle person’ is the term used when discussing pictures of monkeys.
- EFI Also *ŋeli*.
- TON Probably from Fijian *ŋeli*.
- SAM Also *manikī*.

### 03.770 ELEPHANT

**English:** *elephant*  
**French:** *éléphant*

**German:** *Elefant*  
**Sanskrit:** *gaja-*

**Spanish:** *elephante*

ATA	PAL [gadya]	MIN [gaʃah]
TSO	MOL [gaʃa]	IND [gaʃah]
RUK	KAG [ilipanti]	SUN [gaʃah]
PAI	BLA	JAV [gaʃah]
YAM	SAB [gaʃa]	MAD [g <sup>h</sup> aʃ <sup>h</sup> a]
ISN	MUR [gaʃa <sup>?</sup> ]	BAL [gaʃah]
KAL	MGY [elefanta]	SAS [gaʃah]
TAG [elepante]	ACE [gaʃah]	GOR [gaʃa]
AKL [elepante]	BAT [gaʃa]	DAA

UMA	KAU	NEM
BUG [gaŋja]	TOL	CEM
KON	BUA	AJI [elevã]
WOL [gaŋa]	ADZ	XAR
MAG	KIL	NEN
NGA	TAW	KIR
SIK [glaŋjak]	MOT	MSH
*RTI [ <sup>ɗ</sup> gadi]	MEK	PON
BUR	ROV [elopaniti]	WLE
DOB	MAR	EFI [eleβãniti]
<u>IRA</u>	<u>LAI</u>	<u>WFI</u>
SAW	KWO	RTU [alefen]
NYI	RAG	TON [ʔelefãnite]
MAM [elepaŋ]	PAA	SAM [ʔelefane]
TAK	LEW	MEL
DAM	POR	TAH [ʔerefani]
MAB	NTA	RAP
YAB [elepanta]	KWA	

RTI [<sup>ɗ</sup>gadi] 'ivory, elephant' (Malay *gadiŋ* 'ivory?').

TAH Also *erefana*.

### 03.780 CAMEL

<b>English:</b> <i>camel</i>	<b>Hindi:</b> <i>ūṅṭ</i>	<b>German:</b> <i>Kamel</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>camello</i>		

ATA	MOL [untaʔ]	JAV [untə]
TSO	KAG	MAD [unta]
RUK	BLA	BAL
PAI	SAB [untaʔ]	SAS [untə]
YAM mikəvəkəvə a baka	MUR [untaʔ]	GOR [ʔu <sup>n</sup> da]
*ISN	*MGY ra-meva	DAA
KAL	ACE [unta]	UMA
TAG [kamelyo]	BAT	BUG [onta]
*AKL [kāmīl]	MIN [unto]	KON
PAL [kamil]	IND [unta]	WOL [u <sup>n</sup> ta]
	SUN [onta]	MAG

NGA		ADZ		AJI	[kāmela]
SIK	[onta]	KIL	[kameli]	XAR	
RTI		TAW		NEN	
BUR		MOT		KIR	
DOB		MEK		MSH	
IRA		ROV	[kameli]	PON	
<del>SAW</del>		<del>MAR</del>		WLE	
NYI		LAU		EFI	[kāmeli]
MAM	[ʔamel]	KWO		WFI	
TAK		RAG		RTU	[kamela]
DAM		PAA		TON	[kāmeli]
MAB		LEW		SAM	[kāmela]
*YAB	(bo?) [kamɛɛ]	POR		MEL	
		NTA		*TAH	[tamera]
KAU		KWA		RAP	
TOL	[kamel]	NEM			
BUA		CEM			

ISN *nuwāḡ* ‘carabo, water buffalo’.

AKL Especially with reference to a brand of cigarettes.

MGY From *ra + meva* ‘good’.

TAH From Greek *kāmēla*.

### 03.810 INSECT

**Spanish:** *insecto, animal*

ATA		MOL	romu-romu	IND	səraṅga
TSO		*KAG	[insiktu]	SUN	
RUK		BLA	mamaṅ	JAV	
PAI		SAB	manuk-	*MAD	bər-abbər
YAM			manuk	*BAL	
*ISN	ul ulullag	MUR		SAS	
KAL		MGY	bibi-keli	*GOR	[būruṅi]
*TAG	[insekto]	ACE		DAA	
AKL	sāpat	BAT		*UMA	anu tuβu?
PAL	rōramu	MIN			

BUG	olokolo? bečču	*TOL	beo	AJI	
		BUA	gab	XAR	
KON		ADZ		NEN	wačočo
WOL		KIL	minumauna	*KIR	te man
MAG		TAW		MSH	menninmour
NGA	hənu	*MOT	manumanu	PON	mān
*SIK	hou	MEK		WLE	mařü
RTI		ROV		EFI	manumanu
*BUR	foki-t	MAR			gasi
DOB		LAU		WFI	manumanu
IRA		KWO			gani
*SAW	faiwan mya	RAG		RTU	mɔnmɔnu
NYI		PAA			ririʔi
MAM	ŋado-ʔasisi	*LEW	susu	TON	[ʔinisēkite]
TAK		POR	če <sup>m</sup> biiče <sup>m</sup> b	SAM	
DAM		NTA		MEL	
MAB		KWA	mimi	TAH	manumanu
YAB		NEM		RAP	manu
*KAU	[binataŋ]	CEM			

ISN *labbug* ‘termite, white ant’.

TAG Also *kuřsap*.

KAG Also *sapat* ‘bug’.

MAD From (RED-*abbər*). Safioedin (1977), Penninga and Hendriks (1913): *abbər* ‘fly’ (vb intrans).

BAL No generic term; *buron* ‘animal’ is often used. *gumatat-gunitit*, [*prani*] from Sanskrit, are collective terms ‘all manner of small insect-like things’.

GOR Malay *buruŋ* ‘bird’.

UMA Something living, refers to any tiny life forms, especially bugs and insects.

SIK Also *hou heβo-ŋ*.

BUR More specifically ‘beetle, wrapped thing’; *foki-t midu-n* ‘jewelled beetle’; *foki-t maŋ koli-t* ‘long-horned beetle’; *wepu-t tina-n* ‘palm weevil’; *lawa taŋi-t* ‘dragonfly’; *kamlaŋomo-n* ‘praying mantis’.

SAW ‘small animal’.

KAU From Malay.

TOL *beo* ‘bird, insect’.

MOT Note *manu* ‘bird; animal’.

LEW Used for bugs, caterpillars, slugs in general.

KIR Also ‘animal’.

### 03.811 LOUSE

*ATA	kuhiŋ	UMA	kutu	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> eli
*TSO	kçū	BUG	utu	LAU	ū
*RUK	koço	*KON	kutu	KWO	ʔū
PAI	taçu	*WOL	kutu	RAG	yutu
YAM	koto	*MAG	hutu	PAA	aut
*ISN	kūtu	NGA	kutu	LEW	kuru
KAL	kūtu	SIK	ʔutu	POR	na-xur
TAG	kūto	RTI	utu	NTA	kəŋət
AKL	kūtu	BUR	koto	KWA	ur
PAL	kutu	DOB	ʔutu	NEM	cīk
MOL	kutu	IRA	utə	CEM	î
*KAG	kutu	SAW	kit	AJI	kuřtu
*BLA	kutu	NYI	kuk	XAR	kiti
SAB	kutu	MAM	ʔutu	NEN	ote
*MUR	kutu	TAK	ut	KIR	te uti
MGY	hau	DAM	ut	MSH	kie
*ACE	gutəə	MAB	kut	PON	likarak
BAT	hutu	YAB	tom	WLE	xüsü
*MIN	kutu	KAU	emut	EFI	kutu
IND	kutu	TOL	ut	WFI	kuču
*SUN	kutu	*BUA	ponəŋ	RTU	ʔufu
JAV	tumo	*ADZ	gor	TON	kutu
MAD	kutu	KIL	kutu	SAM	ʔutu
*BAL	kutu	TAW	utu	MEL	kutu
SAS	gutu	MOT	utu	TAH	ʔutu
GOR	tumo	*MEK	uu	*RAP	kutu
DAA	kutu	*ROV	yutu		

ATA *kuhiŋ*, *kuču*? ‘head louse’; *ʔumik* ‘body louse’.

TSO *kçū* ‘head louse’; *troçu* ‘body louse’.

RUK *koço* ‘head louse’; *daço* ‘body louse’.

ISN *ilaŋdat* ‘crush lice’; *magik-ikūtu* ‘delouse’.

KAG	<i>kumad</i> ‘louse in its larval stage’.
BLA	<i>kutu</i> ‘head louse’; <i>tugam</i> ‘body louse’.
MUR	<i>kutu</i> (on head/body); <i>tumo</i> (in clothes), <i>tuntulumo</i> (on dog), <i>kuad</i> (newly hatched).
ACE	Also <i>lubeŋ</i> , <i>suma</i> .
MIN	Also <i>kepindi<sup>2</sup>ŋ</i> ‘bed-bug’; <i>tumo</i> .
SUN	Also <i>tuma</i> .
BAL	<i>tuma</i> ‘bed-bug’ (?)
KON	<i>kutu</i> ‘head louse’; <i>kantuma</i> ‘clothes louse’.
WOL	Also <i>moomoni</i> ‘head louse’; and <i>tuma</i> .
MAG	‘head-lice’; the clothes-lice is <i>tuma</i> .
BUA	<i>ponəŋ</i> ‘human head louse’; <i>tuk</i> ‘bird/animal lice’; <i>təβit</i> ‘new, immature lice’.
ADZ	Also <i>iriat</i> , <i>risian</i> (Amari only).
MEK	North Mekeo has <i>atsino</i> , West Mekeo has <i>ajino</i> , NW Mekeo has <i>məka</i> (and <i>tarua</i> – Brown 1955).
ROV	<i>yutu pahi</i> ‘body lice’.
RAP	Also <i>meka-meka</i> ‘young/baby lice’.

### 03.812 NIT (louse egg)

*ATA	ʔaʔikuš	MGY	atudi-hau	WOL	leua
TSO	pirŋi	ACE	boh guteə	MAG	piras
RUK	alisə̄sə̄	BAT	pira ni hutu	NGA	seʔa
PAI	ʔəʔiɭu	MIN	taluh <sup>2</sup> tumo	SIK	ʔutu təlo-ŋ
*YAM	liša	IND	təluɾ kutu	RTI	utu tolo-k
ISN	lisa	SUN	lisa	BUR	koto
KAL	ilit	JAV	liŋsə̄	DOB	liya
*TAG	lisaʔ	*MAD	təllor-ra kutu	IRA	əri
AKL	ʔusaʔ	*BAL	taluh kutu	SAW	lowes
PAL	liyəs	SAS	lisak	NYI	lis
MOL	lios	GOR	lita	MAM	ʔutu-patu
KAG	ləssa	DAA	kutu	*TAK	ut patu-n
BLA	lihə̄	UMA	<sup>h</sup> tolu kutu	DAM	kini
SAB	lisaʔ	BUG	ulissa	MAB	lēze
*MUR	lios	KON	kuličča	YAB	tom ŋa-lèseŋ

KAU	nesi	RAG		*MSH	liŋŋaŋ
TOL	li	PAA	utmailes	PON	dil
BUA	ponəŋ zi	LEW	lē	WLE	firi
ADZ	risian	POR		EFI	lise
KIL	saku	NTA	kahla	WFI	yaðile
TAW	neda	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> aresa	RTU	io <sup>?</sup> -ne-leva
MOT	beda	NEM	ñida	TON	liha
*MEK	ame	CEM	nide	SAM	lia
ROV	lisa	AJI	nia	*MEL	[lisa]
MAR	gliha	XAR	nia	TAH	riha
LAU	diŋe	NEN		RAP	riha
*KWO	rita	KIR	te rina		

ATA Also *yayikuš*.

YAM Also *likwað*.

TAG Proto-Central Philippines *\*lesaq*.

MUR *baŋkiŋ* 'bedbug'; *siŋaŋuŋ*, *paniol* 'beetle'; *bubuk* 'weevil'.

MAD From *təllor-nakutu*.

BAL *taluh* 'egg'.

TAK 'louse egg-its'.

MEK NW Mekeo *nika*.

KWO *rita(na) ?u*.

MSH *mænniŋ* lit 'tiny animal'; *təl*.

MEL From Efate.

### 03.813 FLEA

**Spanish:** *pulga* (-s pl)

ATA	qamhit	TAG	[pulgas]	MUR	kutu
TSO	timro	AKL	[pulgas]	MGY	parasi
RUK	θamikolo	PAL	kutu ot idaŋ	ACE	piət
PAI	ka-cim-cim	MOL		BAT	tunŋir
YAM	riprɪp	KAG	bi'tik	MIN	kutu aŋji <sup>o</sup> ŋ
ISN	kutu atu	BLA	kutu	IND	pinjal
KAL	tilaŋ	SAB		SUN	kutu

JAV	čaplaʔ	TAK		POR	[pili]
MAD	kutu	DAM	yewerik	NTA	ūtūt
BAL	klimpit	MAB	pit	KWA	
SAS	gutu	YAB	tɛʔ	*NEM	ci-pup <sup>w</sup> āle
*GOR	ʔutu	KAU	ephem	CEM	î
*DAA	kutu asu	*TOL	ut	AJI	kuřu
UMA	<sup>n</sup> tila	BUA	paķinək	*XAR	kiti p <sup>w</sup> aŋara
BUG	čunŋo	ADZ	poapus	NEN	oteded
KON	kutu asu	KIL	kutu	KIR	
WOL	kutu	*TAW	utulupulupu-	MSH	
MAG	məla		na	PON	
NGA	məla	MOT	sci	WLE	
SIK	ʔutu	*MEK	veiʔa	EFI	kutu-ni-kolī
RTI	utu bana	*ROV	ɣutu siki	WFI	kuču-ni-čui
*BUR	koto asu	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akaramahe	RTU	ʔufu
DOB	ʔutu	LAU		TON	kutu-fisi
*IRA	ɸun utə	KWO		*SAM	ʔutu-fiti
SAW	bola	RAG		MEL	kutu nnamu
NYI		PAA	aut	TAH	tutuʔa
MAM	ʔeu-ʔutu	LEW	kuru-kona	RAP	koʔura

GOR Also *lita* and *ʔuliyadu* ‘small louse’.

DAA ‘dog flea’.

BUR ‘dog louse’; *tilu* ‘tick’.

IRA *fun utə* ‘dog’s flea’; *jarisə utə* ‘bedbug’.

TOL As in *ut-nə-pap* ‘dog’s flea’, *ut* ‘louse, flea’.

TAW ‘jumping louse’.

MEK North Mekeo *tsitsili*.

ROV ‘dog flea’.

NEM ‘head louse of whiteman’.

XAR ‘louse of European’.

SAM *ʔutu* ‘louse’, *fiti* ‘bounce’ (vb intrans).

### 03.814 CENTIPEDE

ATA	hahipay	RUK	garomarasə	YAM	alilipwan
TSO	rerpa	PAI	l <sup>y</sup> al <sup>y</sup> iga	ISN	kagāmay



KAL	gayyāman	MAG	lipaŋ	LAU	hafila
*TAG	alupīhan	NGA	nəpi-teʔe	KWO	ʔuʔuaula
AKL	banbānun	*SIK	lipa-ŋ	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> an-seresere
PAL	ɔlupyan	RTI	ka-kabi-k	PAA	alehis
MOL	lupian	BUR	lipa-n	*LEW	kurukut
*KAG	sambaga	*DOB	seʔlan	POR	mavru
BLA	salyufən	*IRA	eφə	NTA	sələt
SAB	lahipan	SAW	ləlifən	*KWA	tapiresi
MUR	dipal	NYI	bahau	NEM	karibit
*MGY	maru-tanana	MAM	alia	CEM	âtinit
ACE	limpuəŋ	TAK	luwaliu	AJI	bəvāi
*BAT	lipan	*DAM	ali	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ək <sup>w</sup> ere
MIN	lintibaŋ	MAB	mailoŋ ka	NEN	
IND	lipan		kulkūlu	KIR	te roata
*SUN	babakaur	*YAB	ali	*MSH	īe
*JAV	babaʔ salu	KAU	hiik	*PON	meninrān
*MAD	[ kala baŋ]	*TOL	tamaligur	WLE	maʔuʔi-φ <sup>w</sup> oŋi
BAL	lipan	BUA	gəyɪβəŋ	EFI	ðikinoβu
SAS	limpan	ADZ	gəif	WFI	kataŋō
GOR	wulipa	*KIL	waβi	RTU	sarʔara
*DAA	n̄jarune	TAW	dunala	TON	molokau
UMA	lipa	*MOT	aiha	SAM	taetuli
BUG	balipiŋ	*MEK	aipa	*MEL	[sūkai]
*KON	alipaŋ	ROV	kukuasa	TAH	veri
*WOL	makulana	MAR	naŋiŋa	RAP	

TAG PAN \*qaluHīpan.

KAG Also *salambaga*.

MGY ‘having many hands’.

BAT *lipan* (poisonous); also *atçitçibaŋ*

SUN Also *laŋgir*; [*kalabaŋ*] Javanese ([*kala-*] from Sanskrit).

JAV Also *klabaŋ* from [*kala*] *baŋ* Sanskrit; see 03.815.

MAD *kala* from Sanskrit. From Javanese *k(a)labaŋ* ‘centipede’, lit ‘red evil spirit’?

DAA n̄jarune small; *nlenai* large.

KON Also *balipaŋ*.

WOL Also *<sup>m</sup>parigi*.

SIK From Malay.

DOB	<i>se'lan</i> is a large species of centipede which gives a very painful bite.
IRA	<i>eφə</i> 'large, poisonous centipede'; also <i>kamariφə</i> .
DAM	Also <i>gogoma</i> 'millepede', and <i>gorim</i> a similarly shaped animal, but pale yellow in colour, living under the surface in river sand.
YAB	<i>kali-kali</i> 'phosphorescent centipede'.
TOL	<i>Duaiulus terrestris</i> .
KIL	Also <i>wai</i> .
MOT	Western Motu <i>ahia</i> .
MEK	<i>aipa</i> 'common millipede'. <i>mioŋu</i> 'cylindrical millipede that lives on the floor of the rainforest'. <i>kifuŋa</i> is small and luminous. <i>aipa-ʔeo-ʔeo</i> (also <i>aiva-lele</i> ) is long, thin and luminous.
LEW	Said by speakers of the language to be from English 'crooked', via Bislama.
KWA	Also <i>uwtuwt</i> .
MSH	Also <i>ŋ<sup>w</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>anec</i> .
PON	'day creature', compare the Woleaian 'night creature'.
MEL	Also [ <i>elōmusu</i> ] both from Efate.

### 03.815 SCORPION

**Sanskrit:** *khala-*

ATA		*MUR	liŋaŋait	BUG	okkeŋ
TSO		*MGY	mainguka	*KON	[kala]
RUK	gaŋomamaŋasə	ACE	[kala]	WOL	supiga <sup>n</sup> da
PAI		BAT	[hala]	MAG	tiker
YAM		MIN	[kalo]	NGA	həti
ISN	sipsipit	*IND	[kala]jəŋkiŋ	SIK	meko-t
KAL		*SUN	[kala]jəŋkiŋ]	RTI	kula-k
*TAG	[alakdan]	*JAV	[kələ]jəŋkiŋ	BUR	min dae
AKL	'iwiʔ-īwiʔ	MAD	[kala]	DOB	ʔatam
PAL	bəŋkəŋawa	*BAL	tlədu	*IRA	buruma
MOL	toŋaŋaŋ	*SAS	təndəru	SAW	kəwkawet
KAG	sit-si'pit	GOR	ba <sup>m</sup> bawu	NYI	sabiyep
BLA	fəgi	*DAA	saŋaŋa	MAM	ʔaʔade
*SAB	[kala]jəŋkiŋ]	UMA		TAK	buramat

DAM	ambei	LAU	fari	KIR	
MAB	zirkū <sup>m</sup> bu	KWO	lafilafi	MSH	mærepep
*YAB	ali-debu	*RAG	bayeo-n tano	*PON	ikim <sup>w</sup> aŋ
KAU	yakaβu	PAA	aikol onen	WLE	
*TOL	kukə-nə-maritə		maso	EFI	bati-basaŋa
		LEW	loŋovi	WFI	basi-bahaŋa
BUA	βəβē yaŋək	POR		*RTU	reu-mača
ADZ	nifuafij	NTA		*TON	[sikopio]
KIL	kudukika	KWA		SAM	
*TAW	giudao	NEM	wāget	*MEL	[skōpioni]
MOT	doadoa	CEM		TAH	pata
*MEK	ao-ao	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ēviñōrō	RAP	veri-ʔarahu
ROV	neneye	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> axīcārā		
MAR	ŋalukama	NEN	etekewiŋadra		

TAG Spanish *alacrán*.

SAB From Malay/Javanese *kalaǰəŋkiŋ*, with methathesis.

MUR Also [*kalaǰəŋkiŋ*] from Malay *kala ǰəŋkiŋ*; *limpapasa*? ‘whip-scorpion’.

MGY Sometimes also *hala*; see 03.818.

IND Also [*kala*].

SUN From Javanese; [*kala*] from Sanskrit.

JAV From [*kələ*] ‘evil spirit’, Sanskrit; *ǰəŋkiŋ* ‘bottom up’.

BAL Also *člædu*.

SAS Also *təlædu*.

DAA Also *pa<sup>n</sup>taŋaŋa*.

KON Also *sipi<sup>?</sup>-sipi<sup>?</sup>*.

IRA Archaic.

YAB ‘centipede-grandfather’.

TOL *kukə* ‘crab’, *nə* CONN, *maritə* ‘pandanus’.

TAW ‘longtail’.

MEK West Mekeo *idebedebe*, North Mekeo *izebezebe*; compare East Mekeo *i-epe* ‘pincers, tweezers, scissors’.

RAG ‘shark of land’.

PON Also [*eskorpiön*] from Spanish.

RTU Also [*ʔakrava*] from Hebrew.

TON From English.

MEL From English.

### 03.816 COCKROACH

ATA	hahipux	UMA	ipaʔ	MAR	[k <sup>h</sup> okorosi]
TSO	kaemrema	BUG	kanʃopaŋ	LAU	subu
RUK	a-ta-tabəŋə	KON	kasio	KWO	rimerime
PAI	kauzuŋ	WOL	lalepe	RAG	
*YAM	ipəʃ	MAG	čigir	*PAA	vaivai
ISN	balaʔeŋān	NGA	ŋozo	LEW	kirara
KAL	agaŋgaŋ	SIK		POR	na-mom
TAG	īpis	RTI	hi-hiŋi	*NTA	βən
*AKL	[kuratsah]	BUR	fuha-t	KWA	uwne
PAL	ipəs	DOB	sik <sup>w</sup> ala	NEM	yuet
MOL	ipos	IRA	bunə	CEM	iwet
KAG	taŋa	SAW	gegus	AJI	[kakata]
*BLA	məg	NYI	[kokoros]	*XAR	noe
SAB	kamahəŋ	MAM	boaboaziri	NEN	yewol
MUR	lipos	TAK	darir	KIR	te babātua
MGY	kalalau	DAM	dedek	*MSH	cuwapin
ACE	kuraluəp	MAB	kībi	*PON	koll
BAT	ipəs	*YAB	buleseŋ	WLE	macōřapa
MIN	lipeh	KAU	eyus	*EFI	ŋəŋo
*IND	lipas	*TOL	pinakoto	WFI	ŋəŋo
SUN	čučuŋuk	BUA	yiβək	RTU	[kəkročo]
JAV	čoro	ADZ	afaiŋ	TON	moŋomoŋa
MAD	ŋiriŋi	KIL	[kokolosa]	SAM	moŋamoŋa
*BAL	təmboyokan	TAW	lagelagena	MEL	suluvoko
SAS	klapit	*MOT	paroparo	TAH	popoti
GOR	titiʔo	MEK	ʔe-ʔeo	RAP	koka
*DAA	pipi	ROV	[kokorosi]		

YAM Also *valaşaw*.

AKL From Spanish *cucaracha*.

BLA *ifas* small variety.

IND Also *kačoa*.

BAL Also *təm(b)uyukan*.

DAA	<i>pipi</i> small species; <i>pi<sup>o</sup>go</i> large.
YAB	‘brown cockroach’; <i>se<sup>o</sup>kapi<sup>o</sup></i> ‘black, smelly cockroach’.
TOL	Also <i>ipinakoti</i> , <i>epenakoto</i> ; compare <i>epe</i> ‘splinter’, <i>na</i> CONN, <i>koto</i> ‘obsidian, glass, shell’.
MOT	Western Motu <i>pitopito</i> .
PAA	Little used today; generally replaced by the English [ <i>kakaros</i> ] (via Bislama).
NTA	Larger species is [ <i>kakros</i> ].
XAR	<i>noe</i> ‘small cockroach’; also [ <i>kakuruçi</i> ].
MSH	Also <i>kulul</i> .
PON	Also <i>kull</i> .
EFI	Also [ <i>kokoroti</i> ].

### 03.817 ANT

*ATA	ḱatahi <sup>o</sup>	MAD	bilis	*YAB	lese <sup>o</sup>
TSO	sosora	*BAL		*KAU	kanckeh
*RUK	a-ba-bōŋo	*SAS	tedes	*TOL	kərəkum
PAI	sasiḱ	*GOR	tolomo	*BUA	ḱaḱōḱ
YAM	vaḱao	DAA	o <sup>ti</sup>	ADZ	ḱiḱi <sup>o</sup>
ISN	amsi <sup>o</sup>	UMA	o <sup>ti</sup> ?	KIL	lata
*KAL	sigom	BUG	bere-bere	*TAW	diwidiwi
*TAG	laŋgam	*KON	kalihara	MOT	dimairi
*AKL	gūyum	*WOL	sea	*MEK	keva
PAL	anoy	*MAG		ROV	menemene
MOL	soboy	NGA	mətu	MAR	bibiḱa
*KAG	gəyəm	*SIK	mərə	*LAU	lolo <sup>o</sup> ago
*BLA	gulam	RTI	ne <sup>o</sup> e-k	KWO	tagalo
SAB	summut	BUR	fosisi-n	RAG	
*MUR	kilaw	*DOB	ta <sup>o</sup> u	*PAA	tidīn
*MGY	viḱika	*IRA	wasir	*LEW	keru
ACE	sidəm	SAW	som	POR	nūrukav
BAT	pərhis	NYI	karak	NTA	m <sup>w</sup> eam <sup>w</sup> ea
*MIN	[samuy <sup>o</sup> ]	MAM	məsisira	*KWA	m <sup>w</sup> əram <sup>w</sup> əra
IND	səmut	*TAK	kumunan	NEM	m̄o
SUN	sirīm	DAM	kadal	CFM	má
JAV	səmut	*MAB		AJI	āyu

XAR	xāi	WLE	řeŋü	SAM	loi
*NEN	wainineθu	EFI	gasikālōlō	MEL	rō
KIR	te kīnoŋo	WFI	kād'iud'iu	TAH	rō
*MSH	lɔŋ	*RTU	tuitui	RAP	roe
PON	kāt	TON	lō		

ATA Also *hahiyu?*, *βaβunik*, *maykaḳū?* (various species of ants).

RUK *asasəgələ* 'species of a big black ant'; *ḍalələ* 'species of a little red ant'; *ŋaławŋaw* 'species of a big black ant, whose nest is in a tree'.

KAL Ant species: *alāga*, *tīyoŋ*.

TAG Also *gūyam* small variety; several species are differentiated.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines \**Rūycm*.

KAG *gəyəm* 'black ant'; *lasga?* 'fire ant'; *dalit-dalit* 'sugar ants'; *kambatiŋ* 'large biting black ants'; *karga-karga* 'large red ants'.

BLA No generic term; *gulam* 'common black ant'; *lumigas* 'red biting ant'; etc.

MUR Also *ansip*, *antutuŋal*, *injalatuŋ*, *kalipodos*, *kalipodos-bauaŋ*, *kaliwata?*, *kilaw-kasaŋ*, *laga?*, *lalamud*, *lampuaŋat*, *maŋaŋapas*, *tigogomos*.

MGY Compare Maanyan *wisik*.

MIN Originally a Mon-Khmer borrowing.

BAL No truly generic term. Various species include *səmut*, *sidəm səpuh*, *səmaŋah/sumaŋah*, *brəgəjog*; *tətani* 'white ant'.

ŠAS Also *teres*.

GOR Also *buhude* 'big red ant'.

KON Also *bumbera* 'large red ant'; *kalummanti?* 'large, black, stinging ant'; *sesaŋ* 'extremely small ant'.

WOL *sea* general term; *kolomu<sup>n</sup>ti* 'big ant whose bite can be painful'; *laga* 'big red ant living on trees'; also *lawula<sup>ŋ</sup>ga*.

MAG There are only specific names.

SIK Also *mihe*, *məsa*.

DOB This is a generic term, there are many specific terms for different species of ant.

IRA *wasir* 'red ant which builds nest in trees'; *gucbəsə* 'termite'; *ḍəḍuərə* 'small ants (sugar ant)'; *sagaritənə* 'black and red stinging ant'; *madəde* 'very small biting ants, causing itch'.

- TAK *kumunan* ‘common brown tree ant’. Other kinds of ant are: *simrer* ‘Canarium ant’; *bokbok* ‘bamboo ant’; *buradu* ‘black ant’; *piltek* ‘poisonous black ant’; *pein-baras* ‘poisonous brown bamboo ant’ (lit ‘young woman’), *kimatiao* ‘coconut shell ant’; *kumulouk* ‘sugar ant’; *ser* ‘small white ant’; *kayaf* ‘house-eating termite’.
- MAB No generic term; *nēze*, *mōlo*, *kē<sup>n</sup>de*, *meteke*, *rap* (different kinds of ants).
- YAB *lese<sup>?</sup>si* ‘large yellow tree ant’; *lese<sup>?</sup>gama<sup>ᵇ</sup>gᵇgᵇᵇ* ‘big black ant’.
- KAU No generic term, *kanekeh* ‘red ant’; *nahu* ‘tree ant’; *lahum* ‘brown ant’; *suplet-ḡin* ‘black ant’.
- TOL *kərəkum* ‘large red ant’, *kədik* ‘black ant’.
- BUA *ḡakōk* generic term; *ḡatak* ‘stinging ant’; *tayī* ‘red stinging ant’; *saβanək* ‘black stinging ant’.
- TAW *diwidiwi* ‘small ant’; *oima* ‘red tree ant’.
- MEK *keva/keeva* are black; *kapu/kaapu* are red. *?ipie* is a large red ant. *poḡo-poḡo* are the white ants that infest houses. *poku-poku* are the white ants that build anthills (nests). *kiḡa* live in coconut palms. *fike* are flying ants.
- LAU ‘biting ant species’.
- PAA ‘common sugar ants’.
- LEW Also *kī* ‘black ant’.
- KWA *m<sup>w</sup>iahi* ‘large biting ant’.
- NEN Also *kede*.
- MSH *kallep* ‘big black ant’; *kinaḡ* ‘small ant’.
- RTU *tuitui* ‘small ant’; *ro<sup>?</sup>ata* ‘stinging ant’.

### 03.818 SPIDER

**Sanskrit:** *khala-* ‘a wicked person’

ATA	kawβay	ISN	sasawilla	MOL	[kolo]lawa <sup>?</sup>
*TSO	[kakatu]	KAL	kawa	KAG	'lawa-la'wa
RUK	ḡa-ḡavaḡḡ	TAG	gagamba	BLA	kalmamo <sup>?</sup>
PAI	kuma-kuma	*AKL	ḡāwa <sup>?</sup>	SAB	lawa <sup>?</sup>
YAM	awawa	PAL	[kolo]lawa	*MUR	lawa <sup>?</sup>

*MGY	[hala]	*SAW	bokidel	*NTA	makəl
ACE	ramiduən	NYI	ñoliu	*KWA	kamkəri
BAT	si-ǰəbbiŋ	MAM	laboaru	NEM	nāk
MIN	lawah	TAK	kusalom	CEM	wéhē
IND	laba-laba	DAM	kabub	AJI	kaŋa
SUN	lañčah	MAB	ku <sup>n</sup> dua	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ākūā
JAV	kəməŋgə	*YAB	kam <sup>w</sup> ale?	NEN	gunama
*MAD	ba-laba	*KAU	kamuk-muk	*KIR	te nāreau
BAL	kəkawə	TOL	koko	*MSH	kaulaɔ
SAS	məŋga	*BUA	βəβɔl	PON	likan
GOR	da <sup>ɟ</sup> ga-da <sup>ɟ</sup> ga	*ADZ	asigira?	WLE	řixasu <sup>ɸ</sup> u-rōrō
DAA	ka <sup>ɟ</sup> galo <sup>ʔ</sup> a	KIL	kapali	EFI	βiritā-
UMA	bukao <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAW	wagogo		lawalawa
BUG	garaŋkaŋ	MOT	magera	WFI	kakaurubo
KON	bakalaŋ	*MEK	ka <sup>ʔ</sup> o	RTU	fu <sup>ʔ</sup> fu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
*WOL	ka-waowaodɛ	ROV	kaga	*TON	hina
*MAG		MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akafre	SAM	ʔapoŋāle-
*NGA	toro-gogo	LAU	garo		veleve
SIK	kukuraka	KWO	utouto	*MEL	[kalālā]
RTI	bolau	RAG	tayaya	TAH	tūtūrahonui
BUR	haka-t	PAA	valia	RAP	honu
DOB	lak <sup>w</sup> a	LEW	korom <sup>w</sup> alilu		
IRA	baru	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> um <sup>w</sup> eao		

TSO From Bunun *kakatu?*

AKL PHN \**lawā?*

MUR Also *lawā?*-*gobuk* ‘wolf-spider’.

MGY Malay [*kala*] ‘scorpion’ from Sanskrit.

MAD From (RED-*laba*).

WOL ‘big spider’.

MAG No generic term.

NGA Also *seko*.

SAW ‘cat’s friend’.

YAB Also *kawale?*, *masi<sup>m</sup>bɔb*; *aluŋ-aluŋ*, *luŋ-aluŋ* ‘tarantula’.

KAU No generic term; *kamukmuk* ‘brown spider’; *kayekyek* ‘long-legged spider’.



BUA	<i>βəβəl</i> ‘large spider lives in grass roofs’; <i>kapik</i> ‘large brown hairy spider’; <i>katak</i> ‘large spider with yellow hair’; <i>arayək</i> , <i>dəɬum</i> ‘large black spiders’.
ADZ	<i>asigira?</i> ‘small house spider’; <i>muamu</i> ‘large bird-eating spider’.
MEK	<i>kaʔo</i> is one species of spider; <i>apui-apui</i> and <i>ope-kau-kau</i> are others.
NTA	Also <i>iaukarəm</i> .
KWA	<i>kamkəri</i> ‘wolf spider’; <i>katəmnumun</i> ‘long-legged spider’; <i>kausərəp</i> ‘kind of spider’; <i>nari əsien</i> ‘small, white spider’.
KIR	Also ‘cobweb’; with fossilised personal article <i>na-</i> ; also <i>te areau</i> .
MSH	Also <i>karyəyə</i> .
TON	Also <i>kaleveleve</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 03.819 SPIDER WEB

ATA	t-in-inuḵ	*IND	saraŋlaba-	*SAW	lawalawa
*TSO	mo no kakatu		laba	*NYI	awi ñoliu
RUK	la-lavaθə	*SUN	ramat lañčah	MAM	lauasaʔu
PAI	k-al <sup>y</sup> -uḷaḵ	JAV	sawaŋ	TAK	dilaotik
YAM	awawa	*MAD	ḷariŋ-ŋaba-	ĐAM	bududug
ISN	balay		laba	MAB	rumrūmu
	sasawilla	*BAL	umah kəkawə	*YAB	kam <sup>w</sup> alcʔ ano
KAL	boloy kawa	*SAS	bale-n mənŋa	KAU	elo
*TAG	sāpot	GOR	lawəŋo	*TOL	kəbiloko
AKL	ḷawaʔ-ḷawaʔ	DAA	bato	BUA	tatēḷayə
PAL	iḷkət	UMA	bolaʔ bukaoʔ	ADZ	marasuaf
MOL	bonua	BUG	saraŋ-	KIL	kapali
	kololawaʔ		garaŋkaŋ	TAW	wagogo a
*KAG	balay ta 'lawa-	*KON	lahaʔ-lahaʔ		nunu
	la'wa	*WOL	ḷanua-na ka-	MOT	ḷalaḷala
BLA	lɔwəlɔwəʔ		waowaodɛ	MEK	omakaka
SAB	lumaʔ lawaʔ	MAG	savi- <sup>n</sup> dao	ROV	aba
MUR	tambalay	NGA	kavi-kao	MAR	fayau
MGY	ḷʔanu-n-kala	*SIK	kale lakə-t	LAU	garo
ACE	gulabaih	RTI	bolau lolo	KWO	lak <sup>w</sup> alak <sup>w</sup> a
BAT	rabbəŋ-rabbəŋ	*BUR	haka-t tai-n	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> iri-vanua
MIN	ḷariʔḷawah	*DOB	lak <sup>w</sup> a ruma-y	PAA	tān valia
		IRA	baru isan	LEW	kotom <sup>w</sup> iu

POR	n <sup>d</sup> rum <sup>w</sup> eao e-lu <sup>ɟ</sup> g	*KIR	m <sup>w</sup> aneaban nāreau	TON	matamata- kupeŋa
NTA	lialia	*MSH	iōn kɔuɭaɭɔ	SAM	ʔapɔŋāle-
*KWA	nəpneiow	*PON	pesen likan		veleve
NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ua-nāk	WLE	řixasuɸ <sup>w</sup> u-ɾōɾō	MFL	fare [kalālā]
*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ô-wēhe	EFI	lawalawa	TAH	püʔā verevere
AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ānenā	WEI	taβitaβi-	*RAP	hare honu
XAR	nō		kalawa		
NEN	nama	RTU	fia		

TSO ‘house of spider’.

TAG Also *bāhay-gagamba*.

KAG ‘spider’s house’.

IND Also *jarinlaba-laba*.

SUN *ramat* ‘web, thready tissue’.

MAD From (*jarin-na*) *ba-laba*. *jarin* ‘net’.

BAL *umah* ‘house’; also *kabaŋkawə*.

SAS *bale* ‘house’.

KON *lahaʔ-lahaʔ* (when abandoned); also *ruʔmuŋ bakalaŋ*.

WOL ‘house of spider’.

SIK Also *kalohale*.

BUR ‘spider excretion’; also *haka-t toho-n* ‘spider path’.

DOB ‘spider’s nest’.

SAW Possibly from Malay.

NYI ‘spider nest’.

YAB ‘spider fruit’.

TOL Also *kailoko*, *kumaloko*.

KWA Also *nəpun* ‘net’.

CEM ‘container of spiders’.

KIR ‘spider’s meeting house’.

MSH ‘spider’s rope’.

PON Probably from *pēs* ‘ashes’.

RAP Also *kupeŋa honu*.

## 03.820 BEE

<b>English:</b> <i>honey</i> .
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ATA	hīŋ	BUG	awani	LAU	sirmi nia
*TSO	troŋo	KON	bani		wedua
*RUK	tomo	*WOL	uwani	KWO	ŋīŋidu
PAI	caynan	*MAG	vani	RAG	
YAM	tapipi	NGA	rua	PAA	
ISN	ālig	SIK	βane	LEW	
*KAL	ālig	RTI	fani	POR	
*TAG	pukyūtan	*BUR	ŋeŋe-t	*NTA	[sukapak]
*AKL	putyūkan	*DOB	bi'yon sin	KWA	
*PAL	lobtɔn		k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> ay	NEM	maguk
MOL	pusukan	IRA	uagumə	CEM	mēpu
KAG	putyukan	*SAW	pɛʔplɛn	AJI	dɔrɔ
BLA	sugən	*NYI	tine burik	XAR	mūčī
SAB	buwani	MAM	niniʔo	NEN	[bi]
*MUR	manigot	TAK		*KIR	te man ni bero
*MGY	reni-tanteli	DAM	nīn	MSH	[pi]
ACE	unɔə	MAB	bigil nāna	*PON	loŋen suke
*BAT	loba	*YAB	lep-lep	WLE	
MIN	labah	KAU	eniyuk-niyuk	EFI	[oni]
*IND	ləbah	*TOL	[bi]	WFI	[oni]
SUN	nīruan	*BUA	bəyoy	RTU	
JAV	tawɔn	ADZ	bigub	TON	[hone]
MAD	nāruwan	KIL	tobuyusapi	*SAM	laŋo-[meli]
BAL	nāwan	*TAW	tuwoya	MEL	
SAS	lani	*MOT	nanigo	*TAH	manu pātia
*GOR	tīʔa	*MEK	meme-uŋe	RAP	manu-meri
DAA	noa	ROV	zipale		
UMA	βani	*MAR	ŋaʔiʃu		

TSO *troŋo* 'honeybee'. See also *broŋo* 'a type of small bee'; *xoxɔŋru* 'a type of small bee'; *zū* 'a type of small bee'; *doŋku* 'a type of small bee'. There is no generic term for 'bee' in Tsou.

RUK *valo* 'honey'.

KAL Also *iyūkan*.

TAG Also *laywan*; Proto-Philippines *\*pa-tiuk-an*.

- AKL Proto-Philippines *\*pa-tiuk-an*.  
 PAL Also *nigwan*.  
 MUR Also *atod* ‘mason bee’, *baṅaw*, *ilut*, *sapuon*; *limumuor* ‘carpenter bee’, *maṅaṅayow*, *pamasuon*.  
 MGY *tanteli* ‘honey’.  
 BAT Also *harinuan*.  
 IND *lābah* ‘honey bee’; also *kumbaṅ madu*, [*tawon*] from Javanese.  
 GOR *butota* ‘carpenter-bee, bumblebee’; *walihuwa* ‘a kind of small bee that produces honey but also has a poisonous sting’.  
 WOL <sup>h</sup>*kaenua* ‘small bee, making its nest in wood’, *o<sup>h</sup>ka* ‘very small bee’.  
 MAG *Apis dorsata*, whose combs are attached to tree boughs. *Apis indica*, whose combs are in holes, is *ruaṅ*.  
 BUR ‘carpenter bee’; also *kewel* ‘honey bee’.  
 DOB ‘the hive’s little mothers’.  
 SAW ‘fly or bee’; also *peplen* [*gula*] ‘honey bee’.  
 NYI ‘mother of honey’.  
 YAB ‘sweat bee’; *lep* ‘honey bee’.  
 TOL Also *tāvurvur*.  
 BUA ‘native bee’.  
 TAW ‘sweat bee’.  
 MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *labolabo* ‘wild bee’; *nanigo* ‘wasp, hornet’, *ubama* ‘hornet’. It appears that at Tubusereia *labolabo* is used for a flying insect which clusters around lights at night while *nanigo* includes bees. Bible uses *labolabo* for ‘bee’.  
 MEK NW Mekeo *meme-puṅa*.  
 MAR Also *juṅurukuli*.  
 NTA From English ‘sugar bag’, via Bislama.  
 KIR ‘fig tree animal’.  
 PON ‘sugar fly’.  
 SAM *lajo* ‘fly’ (03.830), *meli* ‘honey’, from Greek.  
 TAH *manu* [*meri*] from Greek; also *manu hāmani momona*.

### 03.821 BEESWAX

ATA	yʌuk	PAI	KAL	lilīn
TSO		YAM	*TAG	pagkit
RUK	sigo	ISN	lilin	

*AKL	baʃay-an it dugus	SIK	nane βane mci-ŋ	RAG PAA	
*PAL	taru	RTI	lili-k	LEW	
MOL	taru	*BUR	kewel tai-n	POR	
KAG	taru	*DOB	bi'yon ʔwoy	*NTA	nima
BLA	talū	IRA	gumə		[sukapak]
SAB	talū	SAW		KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anip <sup>w</sup> ət
MUR	ilut	NYI	saʔe burik	NEM	
MGY	savuka	MAM	niniʔo-damaʔa	CFM	
ACE	lilen unɔə	TAK		AJI	wēřē dɔrɔ
RAT		DAM		XAR	
MIN	lilin	MAB		NEN	
IND	lilin ləbah	*YAB	lep-lepŋa- g <sup>w</sup> asiʔɔla	KIR	
SUN				MSH	
JAV	malam	KAU	epluk	PON	
*MAD	kalapkab <sup>h</sup> an	*TOL	bulit-nə-livur	WLE	
BAL	maləm	*BUA	bəyoy	EFI	
*SAS	madu lani	*ADZ	bigub rina-n	WFI	
GOR	talū	KIL		RTU	
DAA		TAW		TON	teʔe-laŋo
UMA	taru	MOT	bada	SAM	
BUG	pattiʔ	MEK		MEL	
KON	ʔpantisi	ROV	zipale	TAH	hiŋu
WOL	taru	MAR		RAP	
MAG	liliŋ	LAU	na wedua		
NGA	taʔi-rua	KWO			

TAG Also [waks] from English.

AKL 'house of honey'.

PAL Also *kɔlulut*.

MAD From *ka-lapkap-an*.

SAS 'bee's honey'.

BUR 'bee excretion'.

DOB 'hive's excrement'.

YAB 'beeswax, honeycomb'.

TOL *bulit* 'gum or dried sap of a tree', *nə* CONN, *livur* 'swarm of bees'.

BUA 'used for tuning drums, etc.'.

ADZ 'bee mother-3sg POSS'.

NTA 'the whole comb'.

**03.822 BEEHIVE**

ATA	t-in-inuḵ	UMA	bolaʔ βani	MEK	meme-uŋe ni-
*TSO	mo no troŋo	BUG	saraŋ-awani		na
RUK	sigo	KON	ruʔmuŋ bani	ROV	
PAI		*WOL	βanua-na	MAR	
YAM	vaḵay no		uwani	LAU	
	tapipi	MAG		KWO	
ISN	lināga	NGA	səpi	RAG	
KAL	boloy di	*SIK	βane ata-ŋ	PAA	
	iyūkan	RTI	fani po-pola	LEW	
*TAG	bāhay-	*BUR	kewel paha-n	POR	
	pukyūtan	DOB	biʔyon	NTA	nima
AKL		IRA			[sukapak]
PAL	aniraʔ	*SAW	sanenipey ni	KWA	kʷanipʷət
MOL			pnu	NEM	
*KAG	balay ta	NYI	abuk	CEM	
	putyukan	MAM	niniʔo-gupa	AJI	mʷā i dərə
BLA	banwi sugən	TAK		XAR	
SAB		DAM	nān uru	NEN	
MUR		MAB		KIR	
MGY	tuhuʔa	YAB		MSH	
ACE	umpuŋ unḵə	*KAU	eniyuk-niyuk	PON	
BAT	asar ni loba		maŋ-an	WLE	
MIN	saraŋ-labah	TOL		EFI	bure-ni-oni
IND	saraŋ ləbah	BUA	bəyoŋ ben	WFI	
SUN	sayan nīruan	ADZ		RTU	
JAV	tələ	KIL		TON	tauŋa [hone]
MAD	kalapkabʰan	*TAW	tuwoya hai	*SAM	faʔa-moe-ŋa
*BAL	umah nāwan		numa		laŋo-[meli]
*SAS	bale-n lani	MOT	nanigoruma-	MEL	
*GOR	bēle-ya lo tīʔa		na	*TAI	pāia momona
DAA	peka noa			RAP	

TSO 'house of honeybee'.

TAG 'house-bee'.

KAG 'bees' house'.

BAL *umah* 'house'.

SAS *bale* 'house'.

GOR	<i>bēle-ya</i> ‘nest’, from <i>bele</i> ‘house’; <i>lo</i> LIG; <i>tīʔa</i> ‘bee(s)’.
WOL	‘house of bee’.
SIK	Also <i>βane natar</i> , <i>βane rua-ŋ tiu-ŋ</i> .
BUR	‘bee’s nest’; also <i>ŋeŋe-t paha-n</i> .
SAW	‘wasp’s village’.
KAU	‘bee house-ATTR’.
TAW	‘home of bees’.
SAM	<i>faʔa-moe-ŋa</i> ‘nest’, <i>faʔa</i> -CAUS, ‘sleep’ (vb intrans), <i>-ŋa</i> NR.
TAH	‘honey comb’.

### 03.823 WASP

**English:** *bee*

*ATA	βuaŋ	BAL	tabuan	*TOL	uradi
*TSO	vrio	SAS	səŋət	*BUA	danidək
*RUK	tidiolo	GOR	ta <sup>n</sup> bepade	*ADZ	çinini <sup>ŋ?</sup>
*PAI	paŋaç	DAA	patu <sup>n</sup> tu	KIL	kapiwa
YAM	tavakan	UMA	<sup>n</sup> taβua	TAW	ululuwani
ISN	kukoroban	BUG	awani	MOT	nanigo
KAL	biyūgan	KON	čonda-čonda	*MEK	anio
TAG	putakti	*WOL	kaninipi	ROV	hirado
*AKL	hamtik	*MAG		*MAR	guyumu
PAL	limagtu <sup>?</sup>	NGA	fua	*LAU	fisui
MOL	korombiriŋ	*SIK	babər	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> ao
KAG	turuŋ	*RTI	bu <sup>p</sup> u	RAG	
BLA	tagti	*BUR	tefa-n	PAA	[honet]
SAB	tabuwan	*DOB	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> fon	LEW	
*MUR	maniŋot	IRA	te <sup>ʔ</sup> əna	POR	xanxanixan
MGY	faneni <sup>ʔ</sup> a	SAW	sanenipey	NTA	tamar
*ACE	lhaŋ	NYI	nīnēh	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> atmar
*BAT	altəŋ	MAM	oŋ <sup>ʔ</sup> au- <sup>ʔ</sup> au	*NEM	ka-t <sup>h</sup> e-cilek
MIN	tabuan	TAK	nini	*CEM	ā-cú-mù
*IND	tabuhan	DAM	nī	AJI	kēmōru
*SUN	[tawon]	MAB	kumusmus	*XAR	a-šue-re-ne
JAV	tawon	YAB	bani <sup>?</sup>	NEN	nu
MAD	tabuwan	*KAU	laŋ yuyu	KIR	

MSH		WFI	[βī]	*MEL	[nina]
*PON	lɔŋalap	*RTU	[pī]	TAH	manu pātia
WLE		TON	[pī]	RAP	manu-patia
*EFI	laŋo-kata	SAM	[pī]		

ATA *baŋa?*, *raryayan*, *kapʔuŋ*, *makat* ‘various species of wasp’.

TSO *vrio* ‘largest type of wasp’; also *ɕroru* ‘a type of wasp’. There is no generic term for ‘wasp’.

RUK *aɭalipiri*, *aɭaloɕo* ‘a big black wasp’.

PAI *ka-ɖaɖi-ɖaɖi* ‘a type of hornet’; *v-ən-əral<sup>y</sup>* ‘a type of hornet’; *ruɕə-ruɕ* ‘a type of hornet’; *ca-vul<sup>y</sup>uval<sup>y</sup>uŋ*, ‘black hornet’; *ci-ɖiul<sup>y</sup>* ‘a type of black hornet’.

AKL *kutapti* ‘hornet’.

MUR Also *antitikod* ‘narrow-waisted wasp’; *balub* ‘red night-wasp’; *baŋaw*, *kalabudok*.

ACE Also *gumutɔ*.

BAT From Proto-Batak *\*waltəŋ*.

IND Also [*tawon*] from Javanese.

SUN From Javanese; also *tiwuan*.

WOL ‘large wasp or hornet’; also *towua*.

MAG No generic term.

SIK Also *blilu blalu*, *klara-ŋ bəte*.

RTI Also *fani*.

BUR Also *asu maŋa-n* ‘thread-waisted wasp’.

DOB ‘a species of wasp’.

KAU *laŋ* ‘fly’.

TOL Also *vurɔŋəɖə*.

BUA *danidək* general term; also *ɣadūm*; *βətīg<sup>wib</sup>* ‘small stinging fly’.

ADZ *ɕinini<sup>ɔ?</sup>* ‘mud wasp’; *warir* ‘paper wasp’.

MEK *aŋu-ŋa<sup>a</sup>*, *aŋu-ava* ‘hornet’.

MAR ‘mud wasp’; also *siri*.

LAU Also *g<sup>wag</sup>wo*.

NEM ‘one who make-cooking pot’.

CEM ‘one who blows on the fire’.

XAR ‘one who stirs the fire’.



PON 'big fly'.

EFI Also [vī], [pi].

RTU Also *uŋoŋo* 'wood boring wasp'.

MEL From Efate.

### 03.830 FLY

*ATA	aŋri?	UMA	dali?	*MAR	sisimi
TSO	rozomi	BUG	lali?	*LAU	sisimi
*RUK	a-la-ŋaw	KON	katigalo	KWO	simi
*PAI	la-ŋaw	*WOL	lale	RAG	laŋo
YAM	nanəḍ	MAG	lali	PAA	alaŋ
ISN	baŋgaw	NGA	hale	LEW	laŋo
KAL	liŋaw	SIK	ʔlale	POR	neaŋ
TAG	lāŋaw	RTI	pena	NTA	kiaŋ
AKL	ʔāŋaw	*BUR	feŋa	KWA	iaŋ
PAL	laŋow	DOB	lalir	*NEM	nen
MOL	laŋow	IRA	ʔegə	CEM	nîn
KAG	laŋaw	SAW	peʔplən	AJI	ne
BLA	laŋad	NYI	ñakabun	XAR	nā
SAB	laŋaw	MAM	laŋo	NEN	neŋo
*MUR	bulonor	TAK	gubudai	KIR	te naŋo
MGY	laliʔa	DAM	gāu	MSH	ləŋ
ACE	lalat	MAB	lokon	PON	lōŋ
BAT	lanək	YAB	leləŋ	WLE	raŋo
MIN	raŋi?	KAU	ilaŋ	EFI	laŋo
IND	lalat	TOL	laŋo	WFI	laŋo
SUN	lalir	*BUA	ŋayag	RTU	laŋa
JAV	lalər	ADZ	nunjunuŋ	TON	laŋo
MAD	lala?	KIL	nigunagu	SAM	laŋo
BAL	buyuŋ	TAW	nabugala	MEL	raŋo
SAS	kəlikit	MOT	lao	TAH	raʔo
GOR	laŋo	*MEK	aŋuma	RAP	takaure
DAA	lale	ROV	dodoa		

ATA *aŋri?* 'a small fly'; *aŋaw* 'a big fly'.

RUK *a-la-laŋaw* 'a big fly'; *a-la-ləgələ* 'a small fly'.

PAI *tuj* 'fly (big)'; *vavuŋəʔ* 'fly (small)'; *lʷavaʔak* 'horsefly'.

MUR	<i>bulonjor</i> ‘house-fly’; <i>salianjaw</i> ‘blowfly’; <i>simpatudinj</i> ‘dragonfly’.
WOL	Also <i>woŋa</i> ‘large black fly’.
BUR	Also <i>fej mua</i> ‘deer fly/horsefly’.
BUA	<i>ŋayag</i> ‘housefly’; <i>ŋayanjibu</i> ‘blowfly’; <i>təget</i> ‘stinging fly’.
MEK	<i>fifia</i> ‘cleg’.
MAR	Also <i>k<sup>h</sup>are</i> .
LAU	Also <i>lajo</i> .
NEM	Also <i>kamū</i> ‘big blue fly’.

### 03.831 SANDFLY (MIDGE), GNAT

*ATA	<i>kaŋiya?</i>	*UMA	<i>koromu?</i> <i>nete?</i>	*MAR	<i>grigri</i>
TSO	<i>poʔi</i>	BUG	<i>lali?</i>	LAU	<i>namu</i>
RUK		KON	<i>ku'sissili</i>	KWO	<i>namunamu</i>
PAI		WOL	<i>ʔkonunu</i>	*RAG	<i>maranono</i>
YAM	<i>toŋaw</i>	MAG	<i>namok</i>	PAA	
ISN		NGA	<i>hale</i>	LEW	<i>nenono</i>
KAL		SIK		POR	<i>xanön</i>
TAG	<i>niknik</i>	RTI	<i>mumu</i>	NTA	
AKL	<i>dapaw</i>	BUR	<i>p●i-t</i>	KWA	<i>manman</i>
PAL	<i>niknik</i>	DOB	<i>sa-'sar</i>	NEM	<i>nanöm</i>
MOL	<i>dopulak</i>	IRA	<i>aparapərə</i>	CEM	<i>mīmin</i>
KAG	<i>tagnək</i>	SAW	<i>bəbey</i>	AJI	<i>mimi</i>
BLA	<i>dalidif</i>	NYI	<i>buruku</i>	*XAR	<i>mimū</i>
SAB	<i>kalummut</i>	MAM		NEN	
*MUR	<i>agas</i>	TAK	<i>mirkis</i>	KIR	
MGY	<i>muka-fuhi</i>	DAM	<i>bibisir</i>	MSH	
ACE	<i>agaih</i>	MAB	<i>mu<sup>ŋ</sup>gingin</i>	PON	
BAT		YAB	<i>məʔ-ga<sup>m</sup>bu</i>	WLE	
MIN	<i>ageh</i>	KAU	<i>humuk</i>	EFI	<i>nānaβa</i>
IND	<i>agas</i>	TOL	<i>inipə</i>	WFI	<i>simuyā</i>
SUN	<i>rambətuk</i>	BUA	<i>ripərī</i>	RTU	
JAV	<i>mrtutu</i>	ADZ	<i>pina<sup>ŋ?</sup> pina<sup>ŋ?</sup></i>	TON	<i>nono</i>
MAD	<i>rəgg<sup>h</sup>u</i>	KIL	<i>segusegu</i>	SAM	
BAL		TAW	<i>himokini</i>	MEL	<i>piriŋoŋo</i>
SAS		MOT	<i>●ene</i>	TAH	<i>nono</i>
*GOR	<i>hulotoʔo</i>	MEK	<i>miŋu-miŋu</i>	RAP	
*DAA	<i>kuu</i>	ROV	<i>nikniku</i>		

ATA *kaḵtiḥ* ‘a small insect that does not fly’.

MUR Also *ligas, pulias*.

GOR ‘gnat’.

DAA ‘gnat’.

UMA ‘tiny mosquito’.

MAR Also *sisimi puku*.

RAG ‘sandfly (midge)’.

XAR Also *ñũ* ‘sandfly attracted by ripe fruit’.

### 03.832 MOSQUITO

ATA	kui?	UMA	koromu?	MAR	nauŋo
TSO	reçi?xo	BUG	namo?	*LAU	kulaŋo
RUK	tolaolaŋo	KON	buroto?	KWO	similak <sup>w</sup> alo
*PAI	ɕaɕarag	*WOL	ɕuroto	RAG	namu
YAM	tamonəŋ	MAG	lado	PAA	anam
ISN	agukup	NGA	əmu	LEW	namu
KAL	ilok	SIK	həpu-ŋ	POR	na-nam
TAG	lamok	RTI	nini-k	NTA	kəmaŋ
AKL	namuk	*BUR	in-hada-t	KWA	m <sup>wi</sup>
PAL	təgnək	DOB	tu-'tun	NEM	naguk
MOL	tognək	*IRA	banisərə	CEM	nəbu
KAG	la'muk	SAW	nine	AJI	nā
BLA	bləbəŋ	NYI	səbən	XAR	nũ
*SAB	damuk	MAM	naŋ	NEN	nin(c)
MUR	namuk	TAK	nai	KIR	te maninara
MGY	muka	DAM	nā	*MSH	ŋ <sup>wam</sup> u
ACE	ñamə?	MAB	nəmnom	PON	am <sup>wise</sup>
BAT	rəŋit	YAB	kawaŋ	WLE	řam <sup>wu</sup>
*MIN	raŋi?	KAU	kəŋkəŋ	EFI	namu
IND	ñamuk	TOL	ŋətɪŋat	WFI	yamu
SUN	riŋit	BUA	ŋemək	RTU	rəmu
*JAV	ləmut	ADZ	ñubuna <sup>m</sup> p	TON	namu
MAD	rəŋŋi?	KIL	nim	SAM	namu
BAL	ləgu	*TAW	himoyodi	MEL	namu
SAS	braŋkak	MOT	namo	*TAH	naonao
GOR	lamu?o	*MEK	eisei (ei-ei)	RAP	nao-nao
DAA	sani	ROV	rogo		

PAI	<i>sułapəlʸ-an</i> ‘a type of big mosquito’.
SAB	Also <i>namuk</i> .
MIN	Also <i>ñamu</i> <sup>o?</sup> .
JAV	Also <i>lamu</i> <sup>?</sup> .
WOL	Also <i>ʰkono-ʰkono</i> ‘small mosquito’.
BUR	‘the thing that bites’ (from <i>hada</i> ‘bite’); Rana dialect <i>seje-t</i> .
IRA	<i>banisərə</i> large; <i>daderə</i> small.
TAW	<i>himohimokini</i> ‘small mosquito’.
MEK	North Mekeo <i>eizei</i> ; West Mekeo has <i>iiji</i> ; NW Mekeo <i>ie/iye</i> .
LAU	Also <i>furunamu</i> .
MSH	<i>cok</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>acok</i> also ‘gnat’.
TAH	Also <i>namu</i> , <i>ramu</i> arch.

### 03.840 WORM

ATA	βičuy	MAD	čačij	MAB	motmōto
TSO	podo	*BAL	jlati	*YAB	m <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> -e <sup>ɟ</sup> gi <sup>?</sup>
RUK	katuday	SAS	loŋə	KAU	
PAI	kaeuday	GOR	wulodu	TOL	kalolo
YAM	kalkaltən	DAA	<sup>n</sup> doro tana	BUA	ginək
ISN	aluki	UMA	kilinoro	ADZ	uwi <sup>ɟ?</sup>
KAL	kolāŋ	BUG	alati	KIL	moteta
*TAG	ū <sup>?</sup> od	KON	gallaŋ-gallaŋ	TAW	k <sup>w</sup> eilolo
AKL	ʃaguh		tana	MOT	biluga
PAL	luŋgati	WOL	<sup>n</sup> dolati	MEK	?ima-?ima
MOL	korundayan	MAG	boləŋ	*ROV	pilaka
*KAG	lulagu	NGA	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> i-hati	MAR	maduk <sup>h</sup> e
BLA	lyɔku <sup>?</sup>	SIK	doho	LAU	
SAB	kalog tana <sup>?</sup>	RTI	kalati-k	KWO	wāwā
*MUR	liŋguaŋ	*BUR	labi	RAG	silosi
MGY	kankana	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aytuba	PAA	asilat
ACE	glaŋ tanɔh	IRA	seje	LEW	kulari
BAT	gea	SAW	gelat	POR	ta <sup>ɟ</sup> gulač
MIN	čači <sup>o</sup> ŋ	NYI	korom <sup>w</sup> eh	NTA	matikalo
*IND	čačij	MAM	ragiragi	*KWA	m <sup>w</sup> ətikaro
SUN	čačij	TAK	kililid	NEM	be
JAV	čačij	DAM	amou	CEM	bêt

AJI	kaveā	*PON	kam <sup>w</sup> eṭel	TON	kelemutu
*XAR	xārī dō	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> ata	SAM	ʔanufe
NEN	enid	EFI	baḏa-ni-gele	MEL	[sūlači]
KIR	m <sup>w</sup> ata	WFI	baya	*TAH	toʔe
*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> ackaræł	RTU	kermutu	RAP	koreha ʔoʔone

TAG Also *bulāti*.

KAG Also *lagu* (See 04.612).

MUR *ulod* ‘caterpillar’; *limpataʔ* ‘leech’.

IND Also *čačiq kaluṅ*; *čačiq guluṅ*.

BAL Also *buati*.

BUR Also *sagel* ‘roundworm’; *ṅcda* ‘leech’; *ule-t* ‘caterpillar’; *ule* ‘maggot’; *midu-n* ‘large grub’; *wepu-t* ‘sago grub’; *ofel* ‘mahogany grub’; *em-homol* ‘k.o. small grub’; *teriti-n* ‘tapeworm’.

YAB ‘snake-divide’.

ROV *noknoki* ‘insect resembling worm’.

KWA Also *nəmtikaro*.

XAR ‘worm of earth’.

MSH *m<sup>w</sup>ac* ‘eel, worm’.

PON Also *m<sup>w</sup>ās* ‘worm (of any sort)’.

TAH Also *toʔe fenua*.

### 03.850 SNAKE

*ATA	ḱuruʔ	SAB	sowa	DAA	ule
TSO	fkoī	*MUR	kukuo	UMA	ule
*RUK	soḷao	*MGY	bibi-lava	BUG	ulaʔ
*PAI	ḱacuvi	ACE	uluə	KON	'ulara
YAM	voləy	*BAT	ulok	*WOL	ulo
ISN	idaw	MIN	ula	*MAG	nepa
KAL	ūlog	IND	ular	NGA	nipa
*TAG	āhas	SUN	oray	*SIK	[ular]
*AKL	sawah	JAV	ulo	RTI	meṅe
PAL	soli	MAD	ular	*BUR	i-newe-t
MOL	soli	BAL	(lə)lipi	DOB	yak <sup>w</sup> a
KAG	bəkəs'san	SAS	ulah	IRA	sawatə
*BLA	ulad	*GOR	tulidu	SAW	gu

NYI	m <sup>w</sup> ak	ROV	noki	NEN	une
MAM	moata	MAR	mogo	KIR	te naeta
TAK	mot	*LAU	loi	*MSH	cerpænit
DAM	gogōru	KWO	wā	*PON	[sinek]
MAB	mōto	RAG	teltele	*WLE	řaϕ <sup>w</sup> uto
YAB	m <sup>w</sup> a?	*PAA	amot	EFI	ŋata
*KAU	isaliŋ	LEW	lom <sup>w</sup> ara	WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> ata
*TOL	vui	POR	na-mar	RTU	?alete
*BUA	ñel	*NTA	[snek]	TON	ŋata
*ADZ	miyu	*KWA	ŋata	SAM	ŋata
KIL	keiyuna	*NEM	guon	MEL	ŋata
TAW	mota	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ien	*TAH	[?ōfi]
MOT	gaigai	AJI	māñuñi	RAP	
*MEK	kaapa	*XAR	mārādi		

ATA *kčaŋ, řačahu, tinčaçpaŋan, řaur, řiβiŋ* (various species of snake).

RUK Different snake species: *swabə* 'Taiwan cobra'; *saləsəsə* 'bamboo snake'; *balərə* 'banded krait'; *pařada* 'hundred paer'; *řalyadəkay* 'Taiwan habu'.

PAI *řasi* 'a species of poisonous snake (*Trimeresurus mucro kuamatus Cantor*)'; *vuluŋ* 'a species of poisonous snake (*Agkistrodon acutus Guenther*)'; *zəpuŋ* 'cobra'; *viniku* 'a species of poisonous snake (*Burgarus multicinctus Blyth*)'; *k-əł-içi-kiç* 'a species of poisonous snake (*Trimeresurus gramineus*)'; *cay-řəł<sup>y</sup>ay* 'a species of non-poisonous big snake'; *sul<sup>y</sup>iki* 'a type of water snake'; *vədiç* 'a type of water snake'; *maka-zal<sup>y</sup>u-al<sup>y</sup>u* 'a type of water snake'; *ci-ŋařuy-an* 'a type of lizard'.

TAG Proto-Philippines \**hālas* 'forest creature'.

AKL PHN \**sawah* 'python'.

BLA *siwi* 'constrictor'.

MUR Some species: *mondolon* 'python', *sansawali* 'coral-snake', *mantakag* 'cobra', *miŋkal-liog* 'puff-adder', etc.

MGY 'long animal'.

BAT From PMP \**quləj* 'worm'.

GOR Also ?*u haya?o* non-personal nominaliser, plus 'long'.

WOL Also *tagalaea, ulo-<sup>ŋ</sup>kaluku* 'black snake'; *niniki*.

MAG (Python).

SIK Also [*naga*] from Sanskrit.

- BUR 'the living thing' (from *newe* 'living'); generic for snake. Types of snake: *i-sa-leu* 'python' (lit 'thing that goes before'); *ka-spele-l* 'a snake that throws itself into the air' (lit 'throwing stick'); *karapapa* 'thin black snake'; *alampaut* 'the biggest of all snakes with evil spiritual associations'.
- KAU Also *tahma*; *laβino* 'python'.
- TOL Also *kaliku*.
- BUA *marub* 'python'; *bəyeβ* 'death adder'; *yō* 'green tree python'.
- ADZ *miyu* (Amari only); *mur* (Central); *muar* Yarus only.
- MEK North Mekeo has *faebo*; West Mekeo has *paebo*; NW Mekeo has *paibo*. East Mekeo has *okafu* for python, *afi* for the death adder and *auŋama* for the Papuan Black.
- LAU Also *wā*.
- PAA A word that is little used. Although found on neighbouring islands, snakes have not been reported on Paama, and it is widely believed that snakes will die if brought to the island. Usually referred to today by the English loan *[sinek]* (via Bislama).
- NTA From English, via Bislama.
- KWA *taŋarua* 'sea snake'.
- NEM 'sea snake' (*Laticauda*). There is no ground snake in New Caledonia.
- CEM 'ring sea snake'; there are no land snakes on the mainland.
- XAR 'sea-snake'; there are no land snakes in New Caledonia.
- MSH Also *[cap<sup>w</sup>Δn]* from English 'serpent'.
- PON From English.
- WLE *řaφ<sup>w</sup>uto* also 'worm, eel'; *p̄rocōyoxo*.
- TAH From Greek.

### 03.910 FIREFLY

ATA	prokayaw	AKL	kaninīput	*MGY	lulu-
TSO	?akuini	PAL	kōninipōt		mazavalina
*RUK	tanuw-apoy	MOL	pitow-pitow	ACE	klip-klip
PAI	kuçivawvaw	KAG	kitu-kitu	BAT	salippoppōt
YAM	aŋəŋsəd	BLA	kafti	MIN	api-api
ISN	kulipatpat	SAB	lambetoŋ	*IND	kunaŋ-kunaŋ
KAL	kulkuldūŋ	MUR	andidipōt	*SUN	čika-čika
TAG	alitaptap			JAV	konaŋ

*MAD	naŋ-kunaŋ	DAM	barisa	KWA	serser
BAL	kunaŋ-kunaŋ	MAB	upsol	NEM	ka-hure-cim
SAS	əntep-əntep	YAB	kekeʔ	CEM	
GOR	wolipopo	*KAU	la mlek-mlek	AJI	
DAA	kalipopo	TOL	pabeke	*XAR	a-ça-rε-nε
UMA	kalipopoʔ	BUA	paduta	NEN	
BUG	api-api	ADZ	niŋinaŋ	KIR	
KON	api-api	KIL	k <sup>w</sup> anek <sup>w</sup> ane	MSH	
WOL	kali-kalipopo	TAW	k <sup>w</sup> anak <sup>w</sup> ana	PON	
MAG	depet	MOT	kobo	WLE	
NGA	api-lepe	*MEK	miʔi-miʔi	EFI	dikedike
*SIK	sige ilək	ROV	pinpino boŋi	WFI	taulito
RTI	mola	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> outoru	RTU	
*BUR	bana lafu-n	LAU	bulu	TON	matu
DOB	ŋasak <sup>w</sup> ur	KWO	buruburu	SAM	
IRA	φaŋəφiŋəŋə	RAG		MEL	tokomai
SAW	ŋɔb	PAA	vovoar	TAH	
NYI	neu	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> o	RAP	
MAM	naua	POR	nia <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>		
TAK	lutot	*NTA	mahau itoŋa		

RUK *tanuw-apoy* from *apoy* ‘fire’.

MGY From *lolo* ‘butterfly’, *ma-zava* ‘clear, bright’, *alina* ‘night’.

IND Also *kəlip-kəlip*.

SUN Also *čičika*.

MAD From (**RED**-*kunaŋ*).

SIK Also *side ilək*.

BUR ‘firespark’; Inland WaeSama *ebrama*.

KAU *la* probably from *laŋ* ‘fly’.

MEK *miʔi-miʔi* also means ‘star’.

NTA ‘foreign star’.

XAR ‘one who catches the fire’.

### 03.920 BUTTERFLY

ATA	tatayuʔ	RUK	lialivarənə	YAM	paβapaβad
TSO	tokrura	PAI	kadiadi		no anito



ISN	kulibaᅇbaᅇ	*WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> be-	LAU	bebe
KAL	kullāpoy		ka <sup>m</sup> bera	KWO	bebe
*TAG	puro-paro	MAG	kakel	RAG	bebe
*AKL	alibaᅇbaᅇ	NGA	gake	*PAA	madeka
PAL	babaᅇ	SIK	kiku lilu	LEW	lepepe
MOL	tompola-pola	RTI	ba-ba <sup>?</sup> u	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> eur
KAG	kalibaᅇbaᅇ	*BUR	taᅇ-lapa	NTA	paupauk
BLA	kəlbəᅇji	DOB	<sup>?</sup> a- <sup>?</sup> aw	KWA	paupauk
SAB	kaba <sup>?</sup> kaba <sup>?</sup>	IRA	baᅇᅇ	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> om
MUR	sakuliambaᅇ	SAW	kalebobəᅇn	CEM	tómāᅇ
*MGY	[lulu]	NYI	koko	*AJI	yimāᅇbi
*ACE	baᅇbaᅇ	MAM	bobobe	*XAR	ᅇimāᅇbi
BAT	lappu-lappu	TAK	ded	NEN	wabieᅇo
MIN	ramo-ramo	DAM	teleg	KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> eb <sup>w</sup> e
IND	kupu-kupu	MAB	karkōlo	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> app <sup>w</sup> ip <sup>w</sup>
SUN	kukupu	YAB	mə <sup>?</sup> -lelep	PON	lipārourou
JAV	kupu	KAU	kilaᅇᅇhup	WLE	ᅇiᅇ <sup>w</sup> exiᅇ <sup>w</sup> exi
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> appəᅇ	TOL	bebe	EFI	bēᅇbē
*BAL	kəkupu	BUA	bəluk	WFI	bēᅇbē
SAS	ewo <sup>?</sup> -ewo <sup>?</sup>	*ADZ	uruburuap	RTU	pepe
GOR	<sup>?</sup> aliᅇuwa	KIL	beba	TON	pepe
DAA	kaliba <sup>m</sup> ba	TAW	kapeu	SAM	pepe
UMA	kalibama	MOT	kaubebe	MEL	pepe
BUG	kalubampa	MEK	fefe	TAH	pepe
KON	rata-rata	ROV	pepele	RAP	pepa
		*MAR	na <sup>?</sup> alo		

TAG Also *alibambaᅇ*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**qalibaᅇbaᅇ*.

MGY From Bantu.

ACE Also *bambaᅇ*.

BAL Also *kupu-kupu*.

WOL *ka<sup>m</sup>be-ka<sup>m</sup>bera* ‘small butterfly’; *ka<sup>m</sup>bera* ‘large butterfly’; also *taga<sup>m</sup>biri*.

BUR Also *man lapa*; *kapompong* and *magugul* ‘cocoon’.

ADZ Also *ururuap*, *uruburi<sup>?</sup>* (Amari only).

MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>atalo*.

PAA Synonymous with *rekau*. Both also refer to moths.

AJI Also *meupā*.

XAR *çimābi* ‘day butterfly’; also *kutuɔ*, x<sup>w</sup>ašē ‘night butterflies’.

### 03.930 GRASSHOPPER

ATA	ḡataḡay	UMA	lari	MAR	čeče
TSO	trozoʔxa	BUG	ančale	LAU	siko
RUK	ʔapapaoko	KON	katimbaḡ	KWO	faʔafuru
PAI	cibuḡu	*WOL	kaḡoro	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ilo
*YAM	roron	*MAG	re <sup>ḡ</sup> ka	PAA	kuril
ISN	sisībaw	NGA	faga	LEW	kurp <sup>w</sup> oa
*KAL	dūdun	SIK	koʔa-t	*POR	xa <sup>m</sup> be
TAG	ʔtipakloḡ	RTI	lama-k	NTA	pitəp
*AKL	apan	*BUR	fati-t	*KWA	kinha
*PAL	kələləmbək	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ayi	*NEM	ulek
MOL	koraʔrig	IRA	tabisə	CEM	kələ
KAG	apan	SAW	kakeso	AJI	kəřē
BLA	ədoḡ	NYI	sabaye	*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ari
SAB	dulu padaḡ	MAM	uaziʔeziʔe	*NEN	ḡua
*MUR	tambalaḡ	TAK	sis	KIR	te tāke
*MGY	[vaḡala]	DAM	kois	*MSH	circir
ACE	daruət	MAB	sīzi	PON	mensiek
BAT	si-hapər	YAB	wago	*WLE	xōso
MIN	bilalaḡ	KAU	esis	EFI	ḡod <sup>r</sup> e
IND	bələlaḡ	TOL	kubau	WFI	ḡod <sup>r</sup> e
SUN	simit	BUA	səpāk	RTU	moko
JAV	walaḡ	*ADZ	wadzir	TON	heʔe
MAD	balalaḡ	KIL	nipawa	SAM	sē
*BAL	balalaḡ	TAW	madimadi	*MEL	{soso}
SAS	balalaḡ	*MOT	k <sup>w</sup> asi	TAH	vīvī
GOR	bulita	*MEK	kiʔe	RAP	
DAA	<sup>m</sup> boko	ROV	kupkupo		

YAM Also ‘locust’.

KAL Also *pīsaw*.

AKL Also ‘locust’.

PAL Also *payutuḡ*.

MUR Also *gapuʔ*, *pigasiʔ*; *binsay*, *taḡil*, *talabiʔ* ‘cicada’.

MGY	From Malay <i>bəlalaŋ</i> .
BAL	Generic term for grasshoppers, mantises.
WOL	Also <sup>ɟ</sup> <i>kaɓoro</i> .
MAG	An edible species; also <i>pusu</i> .
BUR	Also <i>fati-t bi-omo-n</i> lit ‘sago-leaf bug’, i.e. ‘cricket’; <i>hail</i> ‘cicada, locust’.
ADZ	<i>wadzir</i> ‘green grasshopper’; <i>utu</i> <sup>ɟ?</sup> ‘locust’.
MOT	Western Motu <i>k<sup>w</sup>adi</i> .
MEK	<i>kiʔe</i> is a species of grasshopper; others are <i>koaia</i> , <i>kafualeale</i> . NW Mekeo <i>ipati</i> .
POR	Also <i>xamar<sup>m</sup>bu<sup>m</sup>b<sup>w</sup>es</i> .
KWA	<i>kanhəruan</i> ‘edible grasshopper’.
NEM	Also <i>k<sup>ɟ</sup>asək</i> ‘big grasshopper of the coconut palm’.
XAR	Also <i>xī</i> ‘small grasshopper’; <i>xicia</i> ‘large coconut grasshopper’.
NEN	Also <i>ɖuɖu</i> .
MSH	Also <i>ceʔo</i> .
WLE	Also <i>ɲippiɾafa</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 03.940 SNAIL

ATA	<i>timayaŋ</i>	*MGY	[ <i>sifuɽ<sup>ɽ</sup>a</i> ]	*WOL	<i>koloʔuma</i>
TSO		ACE	<i>sipot</i>	*MAG	<i>ə<sup>m</sup>po-to</i>
RUK	<i>kaʔaʔiŋiɖi</i>	BAT	<i>lakkitaŋ</i>	NGA	<i>boko-loo</i>
PAI	<i>ŋaʔi</i>	*MIN	<i>laŋkitaŋ</i>	*SIK	<i>βoko</i>
YAM	<i>pəyzət</i>	IND	<i>siput</i>	RTI	<i>ʔgo<sup>ɟ</sup>goe-k</i>
ISN	<i>bisūkul</i>	*SUN	<i>keoŋ</i>	*BUR	<i>kima mua</i>
KAL	<i>balleleku</i>	JAV	<i>keoŋ</i>	DOB	<i>bu'lay</i>
*TAG	<i>susuʔ</i>	MAD	<i>čaŋčaŋ</i>	*IRA	<i>ɸeuatə</i>
*AKL	<i>kuʔuɽ</i>	*BAL	<i>kakul</i>	SAW	<i>suet</i>
PAL	<i>patuŋ</i>	*SAS	<i>sesoʔ</i>	NYI	<i>busuku</i>
MOL	<i>patuŋ</i>	GOR	<i>buʔoyo</i>	MAM	<i>guleri</i>
KAG	<i>su'suʔ</i>	*DAA	<i>voku</i>	*TAK	<i>sisei</i>
BLA	<i>bayukuŋ</i>	UMA	<i>hipaʔ</i>	DAM	[ <i>demdem</i> ]
*SAB	<i>sihiʔ</i>	BUG	<i>boʔo</i>	*MAB	<i>ʔge kerēne</i>
*MUR	<i>biliɖ</i>	*KON	<i>biku</i>	YAB	<i>usu</i>

KAU	pampam	RAG		*MSH	liris
TOL	mo	PAA		*PON	[tenten-m <sup>w</sup> osi]
BUA	pag <sup>w</sup> ap	LEW	pranene	*WLE	řifourese
ADZ	namanuam	POR		EFI	siði-ni-βanua
KIL	duduwa	NTA	takiap	WFI	hunaya-na-
TAW	yakonelunelu	KWA			bōhuđu
MOT		*NEM	p <sup>h</sup> ōp	RTU	fitoke
*MEK	fiʔi-fiʔi	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ōp	TON	ʔelili-vao
ROV	suloko	AJI	eře	SAM	sisi
MAR	sodagaiju	XAR	kʌri	*MEL	sisi
LAU	karoŋo tolo	*NEN	wamedere	*TAH	ʔaufenua
KWO	kokosu	*KIR	[tineri]	RAP	

TAG Also *kuhol*.

AKL PHN \**kuʔul*.

SAB 'sea snail'.

MUR *kalasiw, tungol, tuntul*.

MGY From Malay *siput*.

MIN Also *čipuyʔ*.

SUN Also *teŋgek, tutut*.

BAL No generic term; *kakul* 'fresh-water snail'; *bə(ŋ)kičot, bə(ŋ)kečot* 'land snail'.

SAS Also *keke*. Thoir et al (1985): *sesoʔ* 'land snail'; *keke* 'sea-snail'.

ḌAA 'land snail'.

KON Also *siso, bokkeŋ*.

WOL 'big/sea snail'.

MAG 'land-snails'.

SIK Also *βoko βula*.

BUR 'shell of the jungle'; also *kim wae* 'water snail'.

IRA *feuatə* in mangrove swamp; *karua* on beach, coral reef; *makasə* in fresh water.

TAK See 03.655

MAB ʔ*ge kerēne* (found on leaves of plants); ʔ*gūmu* 'ground snail'.

MEK *fiʔi* is 'conch', hence *fiʔi-fiʔi* 'small conch snail'. North Mekeo has *mala-kakalai*.

NEM Also *bilūp*.

NEN	Also <i>waweŋo</i> .
KIR	From English <i>snail</i> , <i>tumara</i> ‘sea snail, nautilus’.
MSH	<i>cinenpokpok</i> ‘sea snail, nautilus’.
PON	Japanese ‘land snail’.
WLE	Also <i>řmaŝeřefäü</i> ‘sea snail sp.’
MEL	Also [ <i>sneete</i> ] from English.
TAH	Also <i>?āreho</i> .

## 03.950 FROG

English: *frog*French: *grenouille*

ATA	taka	GOR	tu <sup>m</sup> bihe	TAW	hakeke
TSO	fo <sup>?</sup> kuŋe	DAA	tu <sup>m</sup> pa	*MOT	raparapa
*RUK	takorapaŋə	UMA	tete <sup>?</sup>	*MEK	kulua
*PAI	kuβə-kuβ	BUG	tuppaŋ	ROV	bakarao
YAM	toratora	*KON	čuppaŋ	MAR	groma
ISN	tuka <sup>?</sup>	WOL	βarakaka	LAU	[furoko]
KAL	tūkak	*MAG	pake	*KWO	
*TAG	palaka <sup>?</sup>	NGA	pake	RAG	
AKL	paka <sup>?</sup>	SIK	bla <sup>?</sup> ur	PAA	
PAL	ba <sup>?</sup> ak	RTI	lodo- <sup>ɟ</sup> gele-k	LEW	
MOL	boyoku <sup>?</sup> tak	*BUR	dole	*POR	mexo <sup>m</sup> b sa
KAG	paŋka <sup>?</sup>	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ayŋara		xa <sup>m</sup> bat
BLA	fək	*IRA	wagari	NTA	
SAB	ambak	*SAW	kerkar	KWA	
*MUR	antit	*NYI	basen	NEM	[gerenu]
MGY	sahuna	MAM	?idi?idi	CEM	[gerenu]
*ACE	[caŋguə <sup>?</sup> ]	*TAK	gurguroi	AJI	[geřenu]
BAT	si bagur	DAM	φelī	XAR	
MIN	koñče <sup>?</sup>	MAB	<sup>ɟ</sup> geu	NEN	
*IND	katak	*YAB	opoa <sup>?</sup>	KIR	te [biraoki]
SUN	baŋkoŋ	*KAU	kaok	MSH	[p <sup>m</sup> irək]
JAV	kəɟə <sup>?</sup>	TOL	rokrok	*PON	[kairu]
MAD	kata <sup>?</sup>	BUA	deḡ	WLE	
*BAL	katak	*ADZ	uri <sup>?</sup>	EFI	boto
SAS	lepaŋ	KIL	kumeu	WFI	

RTU	[frøk]	*SAM	[lane]	*TAH	[rana]
*TON	poto	MEL	[forōko]	RAP	

RUK *takoraoro* ‘a small frog’.

PAI *kiaw* ‘small frog’.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*pa(ŋ)ka?*

MUR Also *katak*, *kulutok*, *sāy*; *pantuŋ*, *bulaŋkuk* ‘toad’.

ACE Probably Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *kodok*.

BAL *doŋkaŋ*, *godogan*, species of toad.

KON Also *tumpaŋ*.

MAG Also *ŋerek*.

BUR *dol-mua-t* ‘green frog’; *dol-mede* ‘tadpole’.

SAW ‘water frog’; also *puruparak* ‘land frog’.

IRA ‘green tree-climbing frog’.

NYI *basen* ‘common frog’; *<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>ek* ‘green frog’.

TAK *gurguroi* ‘green tree frog’. Other frogs include *waŋwaŋ* ‘swamp frog’; *kiter* ‘bush frog’; *keinkein* ‘large long-legged swamp frog’.

YAB *sɔ<sup>ŋ</sup>gɔleŋ* ‘tree frog’; *k<sup>w</sup>ɛŋ-k<sup>w</sup>ɛŋ* ‘small bush frog’.

KAU No generic term, *kaok* ‘black frog’; *noak* ‘small green frog’; *emko* ‘large brown frog’.

ADZ Also *bubumra?* ‘green tree-frog’.

MOT Western Motu *parapara*.

MEK *kulua* ‘species of tree frog’; other frogs are *kopi/koop*i and *kele*. NW Mekeo *balele* ‘a frog’. East Mekeo *moa*, *fuŋu* ‘nocturnal frogs/toads’.

KWO No generic term, varieties: *mātotoŋa*, *kule<sup>?</sup>a*.

POR ‘gecko of European’.

PON Japanese; also ‘toad’.

TON From Fijian *boto*.

SAM Also *rane* from Latin *rana*.

TAH From Hebrew.

## 03.960 LIZARD

*ATA	kuəŋ	*UMA	buleli?	*ROV	kilikozo
*TSO	kokoŋi	BUG	čičča?	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> otoli
RUK	pəpəkə	*KON	padalle?	LAU	kudo
PAI	jaʃil <sup>y</sup> ak	*WOL	sasa	KWO	iko
*YAM	kililaŋ	*MAG	balak	RAG	
ISN	sīlay	NGA	hebe	*PAA	māv
KAL	sīlay	SIK	oti	*LEW	nop
*TAG	butiki?	RTI	teke-laba-k	*POR	mexo <sup>mb</sup>
*AKL	suksuk	*BUR	modo-t	*NTA	kap <sup>wer</sup>
PAL	tōti	DOB	siləŋotar	*KWA	təputəm
MOL	pilous	*IRA	sərə	NEM	gēna
*KAG	təgətə	*SAW	sasa <sup>rey</sup>	CEM	pàit
*BLA	tiki?	*NYI	sañib <sup>wiu</sup>	AJI	řai
SAB	pinit	MAM	paria	*XAR	šawa
*MUR	alay (galaŋ)	*TAK	peik	NEN	buyu
MGY	aŋ <sup>f</sup> ungu	DAM	ɸari	KIR	te beru
*ACE	cica?	*MAB		MSH	mənnuya!
*BAT	[boraspati]	YAB	g <sup>w</sup> a <sup>0</sup> di <sup>0</sup> m	PON	kieil
MIN	biŋkaru <sup>3</sup> ŋ	KAU	eruhu	*WLE	xařifa
*IND	kadal	TOL	kuku	EFI	moko
SUN	kadal	*BUA	rawer	WFI	moko
JAV	kaɖal	*ADZ		*RTU	ʔolusi
MAD	kaɖ <sup>ɖ</sup> bal	*KIL	maunana- sigisagina	TON	moko
*BAL	(tə)lasan	*TAW	kekela	SAM	pili
SAS	kadal	*MOT	ariha	MEL	moko
*GOR	buliya <sup>ʔ</sup> ata	*MEK	ofuala	TAH	mo <sup>ʔ</sup> o
*DAA	valoa			RAP	moko

ATA *yayatu?* ‘kind of lizard’.

TSO This is a climbing lizard (*Agamidae*), no generic term for lizard.

YAM ‘house lizard’.

TAG *butiki?* ‘house lizard’; *tuko?* ‘gecko’; *bayāwak* ‘iguana’.

AKL *suksuk* ‘house lizard’; *haʃuh* ‘large lizard’.

KAG *təgətə* ‘house lizard’; *takki* ‘tree lizard, gecko’; *pla<sup>ʔ</sup>as* ‘monitor lizard’.

BLA No generic term; *tiki?*, *ibid*, *bkoŋ*, *kyol*, etc. varieties of lizard.

- MUR Also *totok* ‘gecko’; *kakama?*, *tambasalon*, *tulayow*; *andātan*, *bayawak* ‘monitor-lizard’; *palaki?-sukat* ‘agamid’.
- ACE ‘small gecko’.
- BAT From Sanskrit (?)
- IND Also *čičak/čəčak* ‘house lizard’.
- BAL No generic term; *(lə)lasan* ‘type of skink with yellow stripe on side of body’; *daŋap-daŋap* c. 10-15 cm, glides by stretching a membrane on the side of the body; *čəkčək* ‘small house lizard’; *toke* ‘gecko’ (larger than *čəkčək*).
- GOR *toto?o* ‘house lizard’. The *buliya?ata* is small and poisonous with black and coral stripes.
- DAA Specific type, no generic term.
- UMA ‘common rock lizard or skink’.
- KON *padalle?* ‘large land lizard’; *čačča?* ‘house lizard’; *pakke?* ‘gecko’; *bulili?lerəŋ* ‘tree lizard’; *bulili?* ‘small land relative of tree lizard’.
- WOL *sasa* ‘house lizard, gecko’; *wili<sup>n</sup>tana* ‘green lizard’.
- MAG A rather stout terrestrial lizard, *Mabouya* species.
- BUR Generic; *wela* and *elaba* ‘grass monitor’; *goli-m-lau* ‘green-crested lizard’; *modo plabu* ‘flying lizard’.
- IRA *kusorə* ‘goanna’; *mətiebwe* ‘house lizard’.
- SAW ‘outdoor lizard’; also *sadakala* ‘house lizard’.
- NYI *sañib<sup>w</sup>iu* ‘small brown lizard’; *wadi* ‘larger spotted lizard’.
- TAK ‘blue-tailed or brown lizard’.
- MAB No generic term; *po* larger; *kaiwen* little, brown; *kumelmel* little, green; *popo* (green); *kaikūzu* (small, striped). *mulāla*, *guloŋ*, *repal* ‘geckos’.
- BUA *rawer* ‘large lizard whose skin is used for covering drums’; *bəkog* ‘skink’; *karob* ‘frill-necked lizard’.
- ADZ No generic term.
- KIL ‘animal animal-sliding/creeping’.
- TAW ‘skink’.
- MOT *ariha* is a large lizard (Porebada and Rea Rea villages *hariha*); the small gecko often found in houses is *babuha* (Western Motu *baboha*).
- MEK *ofuala* provided the skins for drums; *?ola* symbolises gluttony; *peeko*, *beko* ‘skinks’; *puali/puari* ‘gecko’.
- ROV *reyu* ‘goanna’.



MAR	Also <i>garo</i> ‘gecko’.
PAA	‘common household gecko’.
LEW	Generic, and ‘pale gecko’; also <i>lelori</i> , <i>lop<sup>were</sup></i> , <i>lokilam<sup>wiu</sup></i> , <i>merumu</i> , <i>nop ka</i> .
POR	Also <i>mb<sup>welaxer</sup></i> .
NTA	Other species include <i>mulekmulek</i> , <i>iahgamak</i> .
KWA	<i>kek<sup>wau</sup></i> ‘gecko’.
XAR	Generic term.
WLE	<i>xařüfa</i> ‘monitor lizard’, <i>useřa</i> ‘gecko’.
RTU	Also <i>mafropu</i> .

### 03.970 CROCODILE, ALLIGATOR

**English:** *alligator, crocodile*

ATA		*MAD [b <sup>a</sup> aǰə]	*YAB (i)wà
TSO		BAL buayə	*KAU  pukpuk
RUK		SAS buaya	TOL pukpuk
PAI		GOR huwayo	BUA kəpā
YAM		DAA kapuna	ADZ fugai
ISN buwāya		*UMA kapuna?	KIL urigowa
KAL buwāya		BUG buaja	TAW mogaya
TAG buwāya		KON buaja	*MOT huala
AKL bu <sup>?</sup> āya		WOL buea	MEK ufala (uala)
PAL buwaya		MAG vaja	ROV basioto
MOL buaya		NGA mori	MAR nasava
KAG bwaya		SIK kobu	*LAU fuasa
BLA bwəyɔ		*RTI foe	KWO k <sup>w</sup> ala
SAB buwaya		*BUR em-hala-t	RAG via
MUR buayo		DOB k <sup>w</sup> a-k <sup>w</sup> asa	PAA
*MGY vuai		IRA sieri	LEW
ACE buya		SAW pyay	POR
BAT buea		NYI buwa	NTA [ialkita]
*MIN buayo		MAM ua <sup>?</sup> ei	KWA
IND buaya		*TAK fai	NEM
SUN buaya		DAM wagā	CEM
JAV bəyɔ		MAB puge	*AJI [kəɾəkəðili]

XAR		WLE	xōuʂo	SAM	[korokotaila]
NEN		EFI		MEL	
KIR		WFI		TAH	moʔo taehae
MSH	[aḷkita]	RTU	[ælekita]	RAP	
*PON	kieil	TON	[kalokataile]		

MGY Also [*mamba*] from Bantu.

MIN Also *kijaŋ ai*<sup>3</sup> lit 'water-deer' apparently an euphemism.

MAD From Javanese.

UMA Also *pueʔ ue* 'lord of water'.

RTI Also *beis*.

BUR *em-hala-t edako* 'raging crocodile'; *em-hala-t edaku-n* 'crocodile under control of spiritual forces'. Li Enyorot *ulsaa*.

TAK 'crocodile'.

YAB '(fish) crocodile'.

KAU From Tok Pisin.

MOT *hualahuala* 'sea horse'.

LAU Also *motokoro*.

ΛJI From French *crocodile*.

PON 'any large lizard'.

### 03.980 TURTLE

*ATA	kahat	*MUR	bū	BUG	alapuŋ
TSO	aʒipa	*MGY	sukat <sup>1</sup> a	*KON	kura-kura
*RUK	ʒokoʒoko	ACE	piñiə	*WOL	koila
PAI	ea-ʒukʒuk-an	BAT	pənu	MAG	pənu
YAM	iʒaŋ	MIN	katu <sup>3</sup> ŋ	*NGA	kea
ISN	kāgut	*IND	kura-kura	*SIK	ʔera
KAL	dogga	*SUN	[pəñu]	RTI	kea
*TAG	pagoŋ	JAV	pəñu	*BUR	eplaŋo
*AKL	baʔuh	*MAD	ra-kura	*DOB	mar'nam
PAL	bukuʔ	*BAL	kəkuə	*IRA	sarimi
MOL	boyuʔu	SAS	pənu	*SAW	fən
*KAG	pawikan	*GOR	ʔewela	NYI	boi
*BLA	fnu	DAA	ba <sup>n</sup> tiluku	MAM	poŋ
*SAB	tohoŋan	*UMA	kalapuo	TAK	fon

DAM	memei	LAU	fonu	KIR	te on
MAB	pen	KWO	fonu	MSH	wən
*YAB	yà	RAG	avua	*PON	wēi
*KAU	[miaor]	PAA	ahu	WLE	woŋi
TOL	pun	*LEW	leyavia	EFI	βonu
*BUA	ana	POR	ni-vü	WFI	ikabula
*ADZ	simi <sup>m</sup> pi?	NTA	iou	RTU	hoi
KIL	wonu	KWA	iaku	TON	fonu
TAW	wadala	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> en	*SAM	laumei
MOT	matabudi	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ên	MEL	fonu
*MEK	animo <sup>?</sup> a	AH	p <sup>w</sup> ē	TAH	honu
ROV	kohale	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ē	RAP	honu
MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ege	NEN	čewen		

ATA *rawtu?* ‘an inedible mountain turtle’.

RUK *çokoçoko* ‘a sea turtle’; *taŋoŋiŋoŋi* ‘a land turtle’.

TAG Also *pawikan* ‘sea turtle’, Proto-Philippines *\*pawikan*.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*baququh*; *pawikan* ‘sea turtle’.

KAG *pawikan* ‘sea turtle’; others *sisik*, *latun*.

BLA *fnu* ‘fresh water turtle’; *bau* ‘sea turtle’.

SAB Other varieties of turtle are *punnu* and *ba<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>u*.

MUR *bū* ‘land-turtle’; *manipis* ‘river-turtle’.

MGY Also *rere*, *fano*.

IND Also *peñu*.

SUN From Javanese.

MAD From (RED-*kura*).

BAL *kəkuə* ‘fresh water species’; *pəñu* ‘green turtle’; *boko* ‘young green turtle’; *bədawəŋ* ‘mythical turtle’ (species of fresh-water turtle with upturned snout?).

GOR Also [*tuturuga*] from Portuguese; *po<sup>m</sup>bolu* ‘tortoise’.

UMA Also *ba<sup>n</sup>tiluku*.

KON *kura-kura* ‘land turtle’; *paññu*, *sissi?*, *kera* ‘varieties of sea turtle’.

WOL Also *kolopua* ‘land turtle, tortoise’; *ponu* ‘large turtle’.

NGA Also *kera*.

SIK Also *nepar*.

- BUR *eplaŋo* ‘sea turtle’ also *penu*; *plaŋu dihi-t* ‘comb turtle’ valued for the price its shell brings; *plaŋu ikan* ‘k.o. sea turtle’; *plaŋu salawaku* ‘giant sea turtle’ (*salawaku* is Ambonese Malay for ‘fighting shield’); *gofo-t* ‘land turtle’.
- DOB A species of turtle.
- IRA *sarimi* ‘tortoise’; *araŋe* ‘turtle’.
- SAW ‘sea turtle’; also *bembem koko* ‘land turtle’.
- YAB Also *yà-ə* ‘turtle-feminine’, *yà-*; *o-ìn* ‘large turtle’; *kulu<sup>m</sup>bu?* ‘fresh water turtle’.
- KAU Possibly from an Arawe dialect on the coast.
- BUA *ana* ‘large sea-going turtle’; *kaŋoŋawī* ‘small freshwater turtle’.
- ADZ ‘tortoise’.
- MEK *animo?a* ‘small freshwater turtle’. NW Mekeo *aveve* (shell has soft edge), *mamaŋo* (shell has hard edge). North Mekeo, West Mekeo *mamaŋo*, and *ae-ae*, perhaps the sea turtle.
- LEW Often just *yavia*.
- PON *asam<sup>w</sup>an* ‘male turtle’; *asapein* ‘female turtle’.
- SAM (polite) *i?asā*.

#### 04.110 BODY

Arabic: *badan*.

ATA	hihihihi?	BLA	lawəh	*GOR	wawa?o
TSO	fraŋo	SAB	[badan]	DAA	koro
RUK	kinawmasanə	*MUR	inan	UMA	βotə
PAI	kina-çava- çav-an	*MGY	tena	BUG	ale
YAM	kataotao	*ACE	[badan]	KON	(batəŋ) kale
ISN	baggi	*BAT	[badan]	*WOL	karo
KAL	loŋ?ag	*MIN	tubu <sup>h</sup>	MAG	vəki
TAG	katawan	*IND	tubuh	NGA	vəki
*AKL	ɬawas	*SUN	awak	*SIK	təbo
*PAL	bilug	JAV	awa?	*RTI	ao-k
MOL	[badan]	MAD	[b <sup>h</sup> adan]	BUR	[fata]-n
KAG	lawa	*BAL	awak	*DOB	[ɬatan]-di
		SAS	awak	IRA	tənitu

SAW	[badan]	*MEK	imau	XAR	kañĩ
*NYI	[bada]-n	*ROV	tini-na	NEN	ŋeŋom
MAM	tamoata	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ini	KIR	te rab <sup>w</sup> ata
TAK	tini-n	LAU	noni	MSH	ænp <sup>u</sup> in
DAM	bowa	KWO	labe(-na)	*PON	paliwar
MAB	ŋono-	*RAG	rebehi-	WLE	xaŋoŋa
*YAB	oli	*PAA	avek	EFI	yaŋo-
*KAU	βo-n	*LEW	tasi-ne-na	WFI	-lala
TOL	pəka-	POR	ni- <sup>m</sup> ben	RTU	foro
BUA	anon	NTA	nəpatə-n	TON	sino
*ADZ	rini-	KWA	nəpra-	SAM	tino
*KIL	woula	NEM	kañe-n	*MEL	m <sup>w</sup> olina
*TAW	hini-na	CEM	ê-n	TAH	tino
*MOT	tauani-na	AJI	kařo	RAP	hakari

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines \**lāwas*.

PAL Also *dirijan*, *dirjan*.

MUR Also *baŋkay* ‘corpse’.

MGY From PMP \**təŋaq* ‘half, mid’; see Maanyan *teŋa* ‘body’.

ACE Also *tuboh*.

BAT Also *dagiŋ*.

MIN Also [*badan*].

IND Also [*badan*].

SUN Also [*badan*].

BAL Also *ibə*.

GOR Also ?*ilā<sup>g</sup>gaŋo*.

WOL Also *kasara*.

SIK Also *tebo-ŋ*.

RTI *ao* is ‘body’ in general; *ao pa-k* ‘the body as flesh’.

DOB *ɸatin* would be the form for ‘his/her body’, but the root is [*ɸatan*]-, *ɸatan-di* is the third person plural possessed form.

NYI Most body parts are inalienably possessed. In the list we use the third person singular possessed form: [*bada*]-*n* ‘body his’.

YAB ‘his/her body’; *oli-m* ‘your body’.

KAU *βo-n* ‘his body’; *po-n* ‘exterior surface of the body’; *emkusi-n* ‘his corpse’.

ADZ	'skin'.
KIL	<i>woula</i> (unpossessed); <i>wouwo</i> (possessed).
TAW	'skin'.
MOT	Names of body parts are given with the 3rd person singular possessive suffix- <i>na</i> as they usually occur with a possessive suffix (inalienable possession). <i>tau</i> 'man, person', <i>ani</i> 'contents, substance'. <i>tau</i> itself 'man', also be used for 'body'.
MEK	<i>au</i> is used for 'body' or 'person' in many idiomatic expressions: <i>au-u e-ʔama</i> , (person-1sg 3sg-cold 'I am cold').
ROV	Also <i>tini tie</i> .
RAG	<i>nayo</i> 'head to toe'.
PAA	'my body'; also used for 'parts of the body'.
LEW	Also <i>yepena</i> .
PON	Also <i>wār, kālap</i> all 'body, main part'.
MEL	Also <i>taṅata</i> .

#### 04.120 SKIN, HIDE

ATA	kuahiṭ	IND	kulit	*SAW	lik-o
TSO	snifi	SUN	kulit	NYI	kuʔi-n
RUK	ḷaŋiḷi	JAV	kulit	MAM	ʔusi
PAI	ḷalʔiḷ	MAD	kuliʔ	*TAK	sukulo-n
YAM	kolit	BAL	kulit	DAM	bowa gabari
ISN	lublub	SAS	lendoŋ	MAB	kuli-
KAL	kupsīt	GOR	ʔalipo	YAB	ḡa-oliʔ
TAG	balat	DAA	kuli	KAU	elit
*AKL	pānit	*UMA	kuluma	TOL	pali-
PAL	kubal	BUG	uliʔ	BUA	naβi
MOL	kulit	KON	bukkuleŋ	*ADZ	rini-
KAG	laŋgit	WOL	kuli	KIL	kanuβine-
BLA	kīndal	MAG	loke	TAW	hini-na
SAB	kuwit	NGA	huki	MOT	kopi-na
*MUR	kuŋkuŋ	SIK	ʔuli-t	*MEK	faa
MGY	hudiṭʔa	RTI	lou-k	ROV	kapu
ACE	kulet	*BUR	oko-n	MAR	guli
*BAT	hulikkuliŋ	DOB	ʔala-m	LAU	ʔuḡa
*MIN	kuliʔ	IRA	ritə	KWO	susuḡa(-na)

RAG	vinu-	AJI	kāřā	WFI	-taba
*PAA	hiŕivek	XAR	kā	RTU	ʔuli
*LEW	kulu-sia	NEN	nenun	TON	kili
POR	nii-ru-xer	KIR	te kun	SAM	paʔu
*NTA	nuŕi-n	MSH	kil	MEL	kiri
KWA	tekə-	*PON	kīl	TAH	ʔiri
NEM	eī-n	WLE	xiři	RAP	kiri (taŕata)
CEM	î-n	EFI	kuli-		

AKL Proto-Philippines \*pānit.

MUR Also *kulapaʔ* ‘skin of fruit’, *kulit* ‘skin of animal’.

BAT (*huliŕ-huliŕ*); also *bobak* ‘fur’.

MIN Also *jaŕeʔ*.

UMA Also *kuliba*.

BUR Rana dialect *koli-n*.

SAW From *like-o*.

TAK Also *suglo-n*.

ADZ *rini* ‘skin’; *rin ubit* ‘skin and shell, outer skin’.

MEK Also *faaŕa*, used in many idioms to mean ‘body’. The suffix *-ŕa* is fossilised in some idiolects and not in others – there may also be a stylistic criterion for preferring one form to the other.

PAA ‘my skin’.

LEW Also *kulu-yepe-na*.

NTA Also *nuŕiŕə-n*.

PON Also *ŕirekiŕoŕ* from English.

#### 04.130 FLESH

*ATA	hiʔ	AKL	unud	*ACE	asəə
TSO	braxçi	PAL	unəd	BAT	sibuk
RUK	bwatə	MOL	unod	*MIN	dagiʔŕ
PAI	vuculʔ	KAG	sapu	IND	dagiŕ
YAM	aŕiŕi	BLA	uŕad	SUN	dagiŕ
ISN	tabbit	SAB	isi	JAV	dagiŕ
KAL	bogas	*MUR	umas	MAD	dʰagʰiŕ
TAG	laman	*MGY	[nufu]	BAL	isi

SAS	əmpaʔ	MAB	maza-	KWA	nəsa-
GOR	tapu	YAB	ŋa-mesom	NEM	piye-n
DAA	isi	KAU	emalin	CEM	î-mî-n
UMA	ihi	TOL	vio-	AJI	piə
BUG	ʃukuʔ	BUA	rəyos	XAR	piə
KON	assi	ADZ	rini paiya	NEN	guia
*WOL	ɖagi	KIL	βiliona	KIR	te iriko
*MAG	iči	TAW	uyogo-na	MSH	kanniək
NGA	isi	MOT	hidio-na	PON	utuk
*SIK	ʔlui-ŋ	MEK	pikio	WLE	fitixo
*RTI	isi-k	ROV	masa	EFI	lewe-
*BUR	isi-n	MAR	nafnahi	*WFI	[-huna]
DOB	tama	LAU	mariko	RTU	tiko
IRA	ʃe	*KWO	mariko(-na)	*TON	kakano
SAW	wəŋet	RAG	vihoyo-	SAM	ʔaʔano
NYI	oda-n	PAA	husi	*MEL	[vīsiko]
MAM	mizaʔa	*LEW	kumpui	TAH	ʔiʔo
*TAK	mida-n	POR	visox	RAP	kiko (taŋata)
DAM	muda	NTA	noanuahŋə-n		

ATA *šiyam* ‘pork’.

MUR Also [*dagiŋ*] (as food) from Malay *dagiŋ*; *buntuŋ* ‘carrion’.

MGY From Bantu.

ACE Also *siə* ‘meat’.

MIN Also *bantay* ‘meat (of a dead animal)’.

WOL ‘flesh meat’.

MAG In contrast to hide, bones and intestines.

SIK Also *ʔlui-ŋ klama-ŋ*, *ʔlui-ŋ roto-ŋ*, *mei-ŋ ʔəta-ŋ*, *ihi-ŋ*.

RTI Also *pa*.

BUR Also *lae* ‘raw flesh’

TAK ‘flesh, meat’ (see 05.610).

KWO Also *fasiʔo(-na)*.

LEW Also *kilam<sup>wi</sup>*.

WFI Also *-βiðiko*.

TON Also *kano-mate*.

MEL From Efate.



## 04.140 HAIR (head)

*ATA	ʔaβay naʔ	UMA	βulu	LAU	ifu kete
	tunux	BUG	weluaʔ	KWO	ifu (-na)
TSO	fʔisi	KON	uhuʔ	RAG	ilu-
RUK	isiw	*WOL	βulu-a	*PAA	hiluk
*PAI	ŋisŋis	MAG	vūk	LEW	vilu-na
YAM	avok	NGA	fuu	POR	ru-xer a <sup>m</sup> bain
*ISN	abuʔ	*SIK	ala	NTA	noanu-n
*KAL	buʔūk	*RTI	laŋa-do-k	*KWA	numrhi
TAG	buhok	*BUR	olo-n folo-n		nuk <sup>w</sup> ane-
AKL	buhuk	*DOB	φuʔu	*NEM	pun-b <sup>w</sup> a-n
PAL	buwək	IRA	ragunə φaru	CEM	àpun
MOL	nuok	SAW	ute	*AJI	pũrũ g <sup>w</sup> ã
KAG	buuk	NYI	lami-n	*XAR	pũ-b <sup>w</sup> a
BLA	wak	MAM	doŋa	*NEN	direhawo
SAB	buʔun	*TAK	gurma-rou-k	*KIR	iran atũ
MUR	abuk	DAM	φatiya	*MSH	kōļ
MGY	vulu	MAB	ute-rũnu-	*PON	piŋeməŋ
ACE	oʔ	*YAB	moke-laun	WLE	yaĩĩ-ŝim <sup>w</sup> e
BAT	obuk	KAU	iyut	*EFI	d <sup>r</sup> au-ni-ulu
*MIN	abu <sup>ə</sup> ʔ	*TOL	pepe-nə-ulu-	*WFI	-βulu
IND	rambut	*BUA	yu βīs	RTU	leva
SUN	buuk	*ADZ	guđzu fufun	TON	lou-ʔulu
JAV	rambut	*KIL	kulukulu	*SAM	lau-ulu
MAD	ubuʔ	TAW	apala-na	MEL	rauru
BAL	bək	MOT	hiu-na	TAH	rouru
SAS	bulu	MEK	fufu	*RAP	puʔoko
GOR	huwoʔo	ROV	kalu		
DAA	vulu voʔo	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akla		

ATA 'leaves of head'.

PAI *kuđas* 'grey hair'; *kuł<sup>y</sup>ipapuduan* 'hair whorl'.

ISN *kulut* 'curly hair'; *uban* 'grey hair'.

KAL *kolot* 'curly hair'; *uban* 'grey hair'.

MIN Also *rambuy?*.

WOL Also *βulu* 'head hair, body hair'.

SIK Also *ala-ŋ, ala-ŋ ʔrou-ŋ*.

- RTI 'head hair' (*laŋa-do-k*), 'ear' (*diʔi-do-k*), and 'lip' (*difa-do-k*) all have the obligatory suffix, *-do-k* (from 'leaf'?).
- BUR Frequently elided to *ol folo-n*.
- DOB *φuʔu* singular, 'one hair', *φuʔu-di* 'hair-pl'.
- TAK *gurma-rou-k* 'head-leaf-my (vocative)' (02.200, 08.560) is used where an unpossessed form is required. Possessed forms occur in, for example, *ŋai gurma-g rou-n* 'I head-my leaf-its', i.e. 'the hair of my head'.
- YAB 'head-hair'.
- TOL Also *pepe* 'hair'.
- BUA Also *yu bəkub*.
- ADZ *gudzu fufun* 'head hair'; *gudzu yafan* 'head leaf'.
- KIL *kulukulu* (unpossessed); *kulu-* (possessed).
- PAA 'my hair'.
- KWA 'hair-of head'.
- NEM 'hair of one's head'.
- AJI Also *pūřū*.
- XAR 'hair of head'.
- NEN Also *din*.
- KIR 'pandanus leaves on the head'.
- MSH *tā!* 'strand of hair'.
- PON *piʔenmɔŋ* lit 'pandanus leaves on the head'; *īkosen iouiou* hon. lit 'pleats on the *Alpina carolinensis*'; also *uliunleŋ*.
- EFI Also *ulu-*.
- WFI Also *-ro-ni-βulu*.
- SAM Also *ulu* see 04.200; *lau* 'leaf, thatch', *ulu* 'head', *lau-ao* (polite) 'hair', *ao* (polite) 'head'.
- RAP *rauʔoho puʔoko* single hair (of head); *hu-huru puʔoko* 'the mass of head hair'; people commonly use *puʔoko* 'head' to refer to the hair also.

## 04.142 BEARD

Spanish: <i>barba</i>
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ATA	ŋa-ŋuruš	UMA	ʃa <sup>ɗ</sup> kuʔ	ROV	ɣumi
*TSO	mʔumʔu ta	BUG	ʃaŋgoʔ	MAR	gremoho
	rasŋi	*KON	ʃaŋgoʔ	LAU	hate
RUK	ŋisiŋisi	WOL	ʃa <sup>ɗ</sup> ku	KWO	ʔumi gari
PAI	ŋisŋis	MAG	ʃage	RAG	ɣum <sup>w</sup> i-
YAM	amiŋ	NGA	kumi	*PAA	lamulivelāsok
ISN	īmiŋ	SIK	ʔumi-ŋ	LEW	vilu-ŋo-na
KAL	īmiŋ	RTI	salunao-k	POR	xumuen
TAG	[balbas]	*BUR	ŋau-fol-aa	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e
*AKL	būŋut	*DOB	ɸaɸa-mɸuli		nohlə-n
*PAL	burəŋət	IRA	kake ɸaru	*KWA	numrhi tərhu-
MOL	ʃaŋgut	*SAW	[ʃaŋgut]	NEM	puwa-n
KAG	bəŋət	NYI	lami behese-n	CEM	hûade-n
BLA	kumi	MAM	zabe	AJI	pūrū rērə
SAB	poŋŋot	*TAK	awa-n dabi-n	*XAR	pū-x <sup>w</sup> ā
*MUR	ʃaŋut	DAM	ibana sarai	NEN	yeinad
*MGY	vulu-m-bava	MAB	keze- rumūnu	KIR	te buai
ACE	ʃaŋgot	YAB	em	*MSH	k <sup>w</sup> əryak
BAT	ʃaŋgut	*KAU	hiaŋ yut tin uŋ	PON	alis
MIN	ʃaŋguyʔ		sun men	WLE	yařiisa
*IND	ʃaŋgut	*TOL	kəbe-	EFI	kumi-
SUN	ʃaŋgot	BUA	ñe	WFI	-seba
JAV	ʃeŋgət	ADZ	mu fufun	*RTU	kumkumu
MAD	ʃaŋguʔ	KIL	gabula	TON	kava
BAL	ʃeŋgot	TAW	mutu-na olo-	*SAM	ʔava
SAS	baok		na	MEL	furu kauvae
*GOR	[da <sup>ɗ</sup> gu]	*MOT	auki-na hui-na	*TAH	huruhuru taʔa
DAA	ʃa <sup>ɗ</sup> go	*MEK	ake pui-na	RAP	vere ʔariŋa

TSO 'hair on the jaw'.

AKL Also [*barbas*].

PAL 'moustache, beard, goatee'.

MUR Probably from Malay *ʃaŋgut*.

MGY 'hair of the mouth'.

IND	Also <i>ĵengot</i> .
GOR	Malay <i>ĵa<sup>u</sup>gut</i> .
KON	Also <i>čambaŋ</i> ‘sideburns’; <i>bulu sumi?</i> ‘moustache’.
BUR	Also <i>ŋau-n folo-n</i> ‘moustache with or without beard stubble’; <i>ŋau-n folo-n serasa</i> ‘unusually long beard’.
DOB	‘your mouth’s hair’.
SAW	Malay.
TAK	‘mouth-his root-its’ (04.240), i.e. ‘the roots of his mouth’.
KAU	‘the hair which is on his jaw’.
TOL	See 04.207, 04.209.
MOT	<i>auki</i> ‘jaw’ (04.207).
MEK	‘chin bristle-its’.
PAA	‘my beard’, lit ‘chin body-hair’.
KWA	‘hair-of mouth’.
XAR	‘hair of mouth’.
MSH	Also <i>rep<sup>w</sup>pkut</i> ‘thick beard’
RTU	Also <i>kumkumi</i> .
SAM	<i>soesā</i> (polite) ‘beard’.
TAH	Also <i>?umi ?umi</i> .

#### 04.144 BODY HAIR

ATA	kinuriŋ	MUR	bulu	BUG	bulu-bulu
TSO	m <sup>?</sup> um <sup>?</sup> u	MGY	vulu-vulu	*KON	bulu
RUK	obalə	ACE	buleə	WOL	βulu
PAI	sudip	BAT	ibbulu	MAG	vulu
YAM	bobow	MIN	bulu	*NGA	lua-vəki
ISN	du <sup>?</sup> dut	IND	bulu	*SIK	?raha-ŋ βulu-ŋ
KAL	dutdut	SUN	bulu	RTI	ao bulu
*TAG	balahībo	JAV	wulu	BUR	folo-n
*AKL	baʔahību	MAD	bulu	DOB	φulu-m
PAL	bulbul	*BAL	bulu	IRA	ritə φaru
MOL	bulbul	SAS	bulu awak	SAW	plu
KAG	bəlbəl	GOR	hapato	NYI	lami bada-n
BLA	bul	DAA	vulu	MAM	pule <sup>?</sup> e
SAB	bahibu	UMA	βulu	*TAK	fufulu-n

DAM	bowa sarai	LAU	ifu noni	KIR	te burae
MAB	rumu-	KWO	ifu- (?i labe)	MSH	kōl
*YAB	oli-lù	RAG	lilibè-	PON	wine
KAU	po-n yoŋ-yoŋ	*PAA	lamulīvek	WLE	üřa
TOL	ivu-	LEW	vilulu-yepè-na	EFI	βuti-
*BUA	ni βīs	*POR	ni- <sup>m</sup> be-ne-	WFI	-βulu
ADZ	rini fufun		tüvtüv	RTU	leva
KIL	unuunu-	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e-n	TON	fulufulu
TAW	hiniununu	KWA	num <sup>w</sup> herə-	*SAM	fulufulu
*MOT	dela-na	NEM	pun	MEL	furu
MEK	faaŋa pu-pui-	CEM	púdū-n	TAH	huruhuru
	na	AJI	pūrū	RAP	hu-huru taŋata
ROV	pulpulu	XAR	pū		
MAR	nafruta	NEN	direrēŋom		

TAG Proto-Central Philippines *\*badahību*.

AKL Also *bu†bu†*, Proto-Philippines *\*bulbul*.

BAL See 04.393.

KON Also *bulu-bulu*.

NGA *vəki* 'body'.

SIK Also *kelik βulu-ŋ*.

TAK 'body hair, fur' (see 06.280).

YAB 'his/her body-hair'; *oli-m-lù* 'your body-hair'.

BUA Also *ni bəḵub*.

MOT Western Motu *dera*; *hui* may also be used; it is the more general term.

PAA 'my body hair'.

POR 'the-body-his it-grow'.

SAM *moŋe* 'small body hairs'.

#### 04.145 PUBIC HAIR

ATA	βukuš	KAL	golom	BLA	fuklu
TSO	fsifsi	*TAG	bulbul	SAB	ulalaŋ
RUK	obisi	*AKL	sabut	MUR	bulu
PAI	ḵuvis	PAL	kyom	*MGY	vuluvulu-
YAM	lamit	MOL	kiom		"dʒavaŋ <sup>r</sup> a
ISN	bulbul	KAG	sabut	ACE	buleə

BAT	gɔrɔm	SAW	kekume	POR	vuaen
MIN	bulu	NYI	lami batala-n	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e
IND	ǰambut	MAM	siraŋa		nou-n
SUN	baok	*TAK	fufulu-n	*KWA	numrhi
JAV	ǰambut	DAM	saur sarai		nukteŋə-
MAD	bulu	MAB	u-rumūnu	NEM	
BAL	bulu	*YAB	lelù	CEM	
SAS		*KAU	po yut tin uŋ	AJI	pũũ nevã
GOR	la <sup>m</sup> buto		saŋa-hi men	*XAR	pũ-bi
DAA		*TOL	ivu-nə-mari-	NEN	yedugo
UMA	βulu kela?	*BUA	lin bəʒub	KIR	
BUG	bulu-bulu liŋsi?	ADZ	fufun	MSH	wak
KON	bulu ka-tau-aŋ	KIL		PON	wakar
WOL	βulu	TAW	olo-na	WLE	xoŋo
MAG		MOT	hui-na	EFI	βulua
NGA	lua	*MEK	fufuŋa-ŋa	WFI	-βulua
SIK	ʔraha-	ROV	ɣoro	RTU	leav-leva
	n ʔlora-n	*MAR	grabu	TON	fulu
RTI	mamae bulu	LAU	ifu funa	SAM	
*BUR	folo-n	*KWO	tamu(-na)	MEL	furu
*DOB	ɸuli	RAG	ɣaro-	TAH	huruhuru
IRA	ti ɸaru	*PAA	lamuliōk	RAP	vere puku
		*LEW	vilu-ke-na		

TAG Proto-Philippines \**bulbul* ‘body hair’.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**sabut* ‘fibrous hair(s)’.

MGY From *vulu-vulu-N-zavaŋʔa* lit ‘hair of the thing’.

BUR *tatu-t folo-n* (male); *sipe-n folo-n* (female).

DOB *tol ɸuli* ‘penis hair’; *wuy ɸuli* ‘vulva hair’.

TAK ‘body hair, fur’, see 04.144, 06.280.

YAB Normally *ti-lelù* ‘penis-hair’ and *wi-lelù* ‘vulva-hair’.

KAU ‘the hair which is on the crutch’.

TOL *mari-* ‘sexual organs’.

BUA *lin bəʒub* (male); *βawi bəʒub* (female).

MEK *lako* is ‘penis’ and *fufuŋa* is ‘hairy, hairiness’ – for a woman one would say *iso fufuŋa-ŋa*, where *iso* is ‘vagina, vulva’. Also *peŋa* – see 06.710.

MAR Also *p<sup>h</sup>ulu*.

KWO 'woman's pubic hair'.

PAA 'penis body-hair', and *lamulivilok* 'vagina body-hair'.

LEW 'pubic hair of male (lit hair of penis)'; also *vilu-pi-na* 'pubic hair of female (lit hair of vagina)'.

KWA 'hair-of pubes'.

XAR 'hair of vulva'.

#### 04.146 DANDRUFF

ATA	ḵahʔam	UMA	βueʔ	MAR	
TSO	smoksikisi	BUG	umpuʔ palapa	LAU	
RUK		*KON	uriaʔ	KWO	
PAI		WOL	lale <sup>ŋ</sup> kulu	RAG	
YAM	karabkab	MAG	bakak	PAA	leŋaiven
ISN	kugīpa	NGA	telu	*LEW	popu-ne-na
KAL	sulkāsik	SIK	ala-ŋ klaʔi-t	POR	
TAG	balakūbak	RTI	susuli-k	NTA	
*AKL	dakih	*BUR	olo smola	KWA	
*PAL	lulus-ɔn	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aʔu bala	*NEM	kube-n b <sup>w</sup> a-n
MOL	daʔki	IRA		CEM	
KAG	irikʔik	SAW	bobouda	AJI	kāřā g <sup>w</sup> ā
BLA	kasfa	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> aha	*XAR	popō-b <sup>w</sup> a
SAB	hagikgik		batu-n	NEN	
MUR		MAM		KIR	te ā
*MGY	hudiʔa ma-nifi	TAK		*MSH	cekak
ACE		DAM	soso geni	*PON	kīl
BAT	hiri	MAB		WLE	
MIN	kalimumu	YAB		EFI	kara-ni-ulu
*IND	kələmur	KAU	yut mi-n poi	WFI	-hika
*SUN	to-[tombe]	TOL		RTU	ʔül tat ne pelʔuta
JAV	sindap	BUA		TON	mafunofuna
*MAD	[katompi]	ADZ		*SAM	tae-lase
*BAL	kəpur	KIL		MEL	
SAS	rəki	TAW	wagiwagi	TAH	raha
GOR	ʔaluluŋo	MOT		TAH	raha
DAA	kavue	MEK		RAP	raha
		ROV	keto		

AKL	Also <i>dalikdik</i> .
PAL	Also <i>kɔ-lukup-ɔn</i> .
MGY	'thin skin'.
IND	Also <i>sindap</i> , [ <i>kətombe</i> ] from Javanese.
SUN	From Javanese.
MAD	From Javanese?
BAL	Also <i>kluuŋ</i> , <i>kəbun</i> .
KON	Also <i>buria</i> ?
BUR	Compare <i>ol tuŋe</i> 'infected and bleeding scalp'.
DOB	'mangrove earth'.
LEW	Arch., seems to allow infixed plural <i>popu-la-ne-na</i> 'his dandruff, collectively'; also <i>tamprap</i> <sup>we</sup> 'infant cradle cap'.
NEM	'scale of one's head'.
XAR	'dust of head'.
MSH	'copra pieces'.
PON	Also 'skin, hide, bark'.
SAM	<i>tæ</i> 'faeces', <i>lase</i> ?

#### 04.150 BLOOD

ATA	ramūx	ACE	darah	NGA	raʔa
TSO	xmuru	*BAT	mudar	*SIK	mei
RUK	əray	MIN	darah	RTI	da-k
PAI	ʃamuʔ	IND	darah	BUR	raha-n
YAM	ʒala	SUN	[gətih]	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> udu
ISN	dāga	*JAV	gətih	IRA	waməsə
KAL	dāla	MAD	ɖara	SAW	lelo
*TAG	dugoʔ	BAL	gətih	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔaye-n
AKL	duguʔ	*SAS	daraʔ	MAM	dara
PAL	ɖuguʔ	GOR	duhu	*TAK	dar
MOL	dahaʔ	DAA	lei	DAM	naud
KAG	ləŋəs'sa	UMA	raaʔ	*MAB	siŋi-
BLA	litəʔ	BUG	darra	YAB	dɛʔ
SAB	lahaʔ	KON	rara	*KAU	kalol-an
MUR	dadāʔ	WOL	raa	TOL	gap
MGY	ra	MAG	dara	BUA	ni ʔoʔ



ADZ	biʔ	*LEW	kuruta	PON	ŋta
KIL	buyaβi	POR	na- <sup>n</sup> dʔe	WLE	cō
TAW	tala-na	*NTA	nəta	EFI	dʔā
MOT	rara-na	KWA	neta	WFI	-dʔā
MEK	ifa	NEM	kura	RTU	toto
ROV	ehara	CEM	céwet	TON	toto
MAR	dadara	AJI	waŋa	*SAM	toto
LAU	ʔabu	XAR	mada	MEL	toto
KWO	ʔabu(-na)	NEN	ða	TAH	toto
RAG	daya-	KIR	te rarā	RAP	toto
*PAA	rāk	*MSH	ra		

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines *\*duRuq* ‘sap, syrup’.

BAT Also *daro* ‘(menstruation) blood’ from Proto-Batak *\*darəh*.

SUN From Javanese.

JAV Also *rah* (polite).

SAS Teeuw: *daraʔ, daʔ*

SIK Also *mei-ŋ*.

NYI Also <sup>n</sup>dʔa ‘blood’ (non-possessed).

TAK *dar, dara-n* non-possessed and possessed forms respectively.

MAB Also *siŋ*.

KAU Also *eŋhik-an*.

PAA ‘my blood’.

LEW Double possessive forms *kuruta-ne-na, kurutā-na*, sometimes *tā-(na)*.

NTA Alternative is obligatorily possessed form *nəta-n*.

MSH Also *bʌtʌktʌk* ‘menstruation’.

SAM (polite) *ʔeleʔele, palapala*.

#### 04.151 VEIN, ARTERY

ATA	ʔuwik	KAL	ulāt	BLA	ulot
TSO	vroçi	TAG	ugat	SAB	ugat
RUK	owaçə	AKL	ugat	MUR	uat
PAI	ruaç	PAL	ugat	MGY	lalan-dʔa
YAM	kanot	MOL	ugat	ACE	urat
ISN	ugāt	KAG	ugat	*BAT	urat

MIN	urek darah	*NYI	len	*LEW	kowiu-ne-na
IND	urat darah	MAM	uarige-rige	POR	nau
SUN	urat	*TAK	im	NTA	noanol
JAV		DAM	digē	KWA	noua
MAD	ura?	MAB	ura-	*NEM	wāk
*BAL	uat	*YAB	de? ŋa-walo	*CEM	tái
SAS	uat dara?	KAU	ili	AJ	jē
*GOR	li <sup>n</sup> didu	*TOL	ŋələ-nə-lolo-	*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ī
DAA	uva		nə-gap	NEN	laḍa
UMA	ua?	*BUA	təlitaḱ	KIR	te ia
BUG	uri?	ADZ	far	*MSH	εε
KON	ura? rara	KIL	wotunu	*PON	selin nṭa
WOL	uwa	TAW	dabilolo	WLE	waxa
MAG	vrak	*MOT	βaroβaro-na	EFI	ua
NGA	ura	*MEK	ŋumi	WFI	-noa
SIK	ali-ŋ	ROV	ruruata	RTU	uaua
RTI	da ua-k	MAR	naula	TON	kālava
*BUR	uha-t	LAU	lali	SAM	uaua
*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ura	KWO	ulaula	MEL	[nawa]
IRA	wəgərə	RAG	wesi-	TAH	uaua
SAW	wetwut	PAA	haiue	RAP	ua-ua

BAT Also 'root' see 08.540.

BAL Also 'muscle'; *buŋbuŋ gətih* (*buŋbuŋ* 'bamboo used as a container', *gətih* 'blood').

GOR *li<sup>n</sup>didu* 'vein'; *li<sup>n</sup>didē da?a* 'artery' from (*li<sup>n</sup>didu-a-da?a*) a *LIG*, *da?a* 'big'.

BUR Also *uha-n*.

DOB Also 'ligament'.

NYI 'vein' (not inalienably possessed).

TAK *im*, *ima-n* unpossessed and possessed forms respectively.

YAB 'blood its-sinew'.

TOL *ŋələ* 'big', *nə* *CONN*, *lolo* 'muscle, vein', *gap* 'blood'.

BUA Also 'sinews'.

MOT *βaroβaro* 'artery, vines'; to be specific one may say *rara βaroβaro-na* (*rara* 'blood'). *βaro* 'types of net, string'.

MEK *ŋumi* 'vein'; *ŋumi-fa?a* 'artery'.

LEW Also 'gristle, ligament'.

NEM	Also ‘rope, thread, small liana’.
CEM	Also ‘string, rope, vine’.
XAR	Also ‘small vine, rope, tendon’.
MSH	Also <i>iaʎan bʌtʌktʌk</i> lit ‘blood path’.
PON	‘rope of blood’.

#### 04.160 BONE

ATA	βakniʔ	UMA	βuku	MAR	ɲubra
TSO	çirxi	BUG	bukku	LAU	ʔogi
RUK	çölalə	KON	buku	KWO	suri(-na)
PAI	çukəʎalʔ	WOL	βuku	RAG	hui-
YAM	totowaŋ	MAG	toko	*PAA	sīk
ISN	tulāŋ	NGA	toko	LEW	puriu-na
KAL	tulʔaŋ	SIK	luri-ŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> bule <sup>m</sup> bul
TAG	buto	RTI	dui-k	NTA	nəkəkəli-n
AKL	tuʔʔan	BUR	rohi-n	KWA	nəkakri-
PAL	tulaŋ	DOB	tul	NEM	du
MOL	tuʔlaŋ	IRA	rurə	CEM	dū-n
KAG	bəkkəg	SAW	məm	AJH	ju
BLA	tulon	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔuwi-n	XAR	ni
SAB	bokog	MAM	tapou	NEN	dun
MUR	tulaŋ	*TAK	tatu	KIR	te ri
MGY	taulana	DAM	tuwa	MSH	ri
ACE	tuluəŋ	MAB	tiro-	PON	ti
BAT	holi-holi	YAB	ŋa-tek <sup>w</sup> a	WLE	ʃü
MIN	tulaŋ	KAU	pokoi-n	EFI	sui
IND	tulaŋ	TOL	ur	WFI	čua
SUN	tulaŋ	BUA	səke	RTU	sui
JAV	baluŋ	ADZ	uru-	TON	hui
MAD	tulaŋ	KIL	tutune-	*SAM	ivi
BAL	tulaŋ	TAW	geyama-na	MEL	ivi
SAS	tolaŋ	MOT	turia-na	TAH	ivi
GOR	tulalo	MEK	unia	RAP	ivi
DAA	vuku	ROV	susuri		

TAG From pre-Sambal *\*butʔul*.

TAK *tatu*, *tatu-a-n* unpossessed and possessed forms respectively.

PAA 'my bone'.

SAM Also *ponā-ivi*, *ponā-ʔ*

### 04.162 RIB

ATA	ḵay	UMA	uhuʔ	MAR	gagaro
TSO	farn̩i	BUG	bukku-urusuʔ	LAU	gagaro
RUK	vigoa	KON	buku rusuʔ	KWO	suri kalao(-na)
PAI	viduat	WOL	kara-kara	RAG	gagau-
YAM	tagtagraŋ	MAG	toko račap	PAA	kauk
ISN	taʔgāŋ	NGA	toko-kəbe	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> a-ne-na
KAL	butik	SIK	noko-ŋ korok	POR	varvuie
TAG	tadyaŋ	*RTI	kai-usu-k	NTA	makəta-
AKL	gūsuk	*BUR	hoso-n wala-n		kətahi-n
PAL	təkgaŋ	*DOB	dabaʔay tul	KWA	nakau
MOL	roroʔbiŋon	IRA	riʔətu rurə	NEM	wagē-n
KAG	gusuk	SAW	ise	CEM	dū-āgēn
BLA	lohok	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> uwi	AJI	ḵū k <sup>w</sup> ēwōrō
SAB	gusuk		kabede-n	*XAR	dōi
MUR	tiagaŋ	MAM	garaŋa	NEN	durewase
MGY	taulan-	*TAK	giraŋe-n-tatu	KIR	te rī ni kaokao
	tehezana	DAM	siri tuwa	*MSH	rīn kat
ACE	rusoʔ	MAB	ka- siel	*PON	ḵīn kop <sup>w</sup> ou
BAT	rusuk	YAB	bi	WLE	ḵaxaxaxa
MIN	tulaŋ rusu <sup>əʔ</sup>	KAU	eut	EFI	saesare-
IND	rusuk	*TOL	pəl-ə-virviri	WFI	-hanihani
SUN	(tulaŋ) iga	*BUA	k <sup>w</sup> əben	RTU	sui vakuaka
JAV	igə	*ADZ	sar	*TON	hui-palalulu
MAD	rusuʔ	KIL	βisia-	*SAM	iviʔasoʔaso
*BAL	(tulaŋ) igə	TAW	tolotolo-na	MEL	kaokao
SAS	tolaŋ daeŋ	MOT	rudu-na	TAH	ivi ʔaoʔao
GOR	datala	MEK	mape unia-ŋa	RAP	kava-kava
DAA	usu	ROV	susuri ragraga		

BAL See *usuk* 'rafter'.

RTI *kai-usu-dui-k* 'rib-bone'.

BUR *hoso-n* 'ribcage'.

DOB 'chest bone'.

NYI	‘bone side-his’.
TAK	‘side-his-bone’, i.e. ‘bone of his side’ (12.360, 04.160).
TOL	<i>pəl</i> ‘skin’, a CONN, <i>virī-</i> ‘side of the body’ (?).
BUA	<i>k<sup>w</sup>əben</i> lit ‘side’; <i>babu</i> ‘chest’ hence ‘rib cage’.
ADZ	Also <i>dzabar</i> .
XAR	Also <i>neɣɔ</i> .
MSH	‘side bone’.
PON	‘net bag bone’.
TON	Also <i>hui-vakavaka</i> .
SAM	<i>?aso?aso</i> ‘thatch, rafter’.

#### 04.170 HORN

ATA	taŋuɣiy	*SAS	soŋot	ADZ	
TSO	suŋu	GOR	tuŋe	KIL	doga
RUK	laoŋo	DAA	ta <sup>n</sup> du	TAW	dona-na
PAI	təɣuŋ	UMA	tonu?	*MOT	doa-na
YAM	oroŋ	BUG	tanru?	MEK	
ISN	sa <sup>?</sup> gud	KON	tanru?	ROV	kikiho
KAL	sakgud	*WOL	ta <sup>n</sup> du	MAR	
*TAG	sūŋay	MAG	ra <sup>n</sup> ga	LAU	
AKL	sūŋay	NGA	zəgu	KWO	konakona(-na)
PAL	tanduk	SIK	tara-ŋ	RAG	mamaua
MOL	tanduk	RTI	su-sula	PAA	[hōn]
KAG	suŋay	*BUR	sodi-n	LEW	lamaliu-ne-na
BLA	suŋkət	*DOB	?ay laŋay	POR	marixai
SAB	tanduk	IRA		NTA	rah-n-pat
MUR	saŋaw	*SAW	[ta <sup>n</sup> du]	KWA	nəpati-
MGY	taŋɖ <sup>f</sup> uka	NYI		*NEM	toyi le b <sup>w</sup> a-n
ACE	luŋke	MAM	toŋi	*CEM	gî
BAT	taddock	*TAK	fai	AJI	gi
MIN	tandu <sup>?</sup>	DAM	karātu	*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> ā-faɔ
IND	tanduk	MAB	ka <sup>n</sup> dāra	*NEN	tutun
SUN	tanduk	YAB	ŋa-yabɔ	KIR	te koro
JAV	suŋu	*KAU	iŋis	*MSH	rōn
MAD	taŋɖu?	*TOL	iti-	*PON	kote
BAL	tanduk	BUA	βis	WLE	

EFI	i-leu	TON	me <sup>?</sup> a-tui	TAH	tara
WFI	-hiβi	*SAM	seu	RAP	tara
RTU	ʔipesi	MEL	nifo		

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines \**sūŋay*.

SAS Teeuw: *taŋkeʔ*, *soŋo*, *soŋot* not recorded.

WOL Also *tagu* ‘horn, antler’.

BUR ‘antlers, horn’ (deer, cow, goat).

DOB *ʔay langay* means ‘tree branches’, and is used to refer to deer’s antlers.

SAW Malay *tanduk*.

TAK Unpossessed; also *fai-a-n* possessed form.

KAU ‘crest of a bird’.

TOL Also *ikene, il*.

MOT Also ‘collarbone’ (04.302), ‘tusk (of pig)’.

NEM ‘iron in the head’.

CEM ‘axe’.

XAR ‘head of iron’.

NEN Also *watutu*.

MSH *rɔ̃n* also ‘husking stick’; *bəkε* ‘knot of wood, cape of land’.

PON 3sg POSS.

SAM Also *nifo* which also means ‘tooth’.

## 04.180 TAIL

ATA	ŋa <sup>?</sup> ŋu <sup>?</sup>	KAG	ikug	MAD	buntu <sup>?</sup>
TSO	çivçi	BLA	ikoŋ	BAL	ikut
RUK	taoθo	SAB	heŋko	SAS	eloŋ
PAI	iku	MUR	iku <sup>?</sup>	GOR	patahu
YAM	ipoş	MGY	rambu	DAA	lelo
ISN	īput	ACE	iku	UMA	iku
KAL	īpus	BAT	ihur	BUG	ikko <sup>?</sup>
TAG	buntot	MIN	iku <sup>?</sup>	KON	poti
AKL	īkug	IND	ekor	WOL	le <sup>n</sup> çi
PAL	ipus	SUN	buntut	*MAG	iko
MOL	ipus	JAV	buntut	NGA	eko

*SIK	iʔur	KIL	yeyuna	AJI	mãřã
RTI	i-ko-k	TAW	giu-na	*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> i
*BUR	iku-n	MOT	iu-na	NEN	wabun
*DOB	suʔar-di	*MEK	iu	KIR	te buki
IRA	su	ROV	pikutu	*MSH	lok <sup>w</sup> an
*SAW	kekun-o	*MAR	gleyu	*PON	iki
NYI	kiwi-n	LAU	kikiu	*WLE	paša
MAM	eʔu	KWO	ʔiʔi-(na)	EFI	bui-
TAK	uyu-n	*RAG	gere	WFI	-laulau
DAM	ibu	*PAA	vaticēn	RTU	reu
MAB	wī- (wīni)	LEW	kesi-na	*TON	iku
*YAB	ŋa-leŋuʔ	POR	ŋge-xer	*SAM	siʔusiʔu
KAU	kut	*NTA	nəpik-n	*MEL	[pūpue]
*TOL	kuru-	KWA	nəpiki-	TAH	ʔaero
BUA	yus	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ige-n	RAP	hiku
ADZ	ba <sup>m</sup> pan	*CEM	tɪb <sup>w</sup> ɔ-n		

MAG *we<sup>n</sup>tor* ‘fish-tail’.

SIK Also *lado-ŋ*.

BUR *tua-n* ‘chicken tail’; *bobi-n* ‘fish tail’.

DOB *sūʔar-di* is the 3pl POSS form.

SAW From (*kekunε-o*).

YAB *ŋa-leŋuʔ* *ŋa-lami*, *te-taʔ lami*, of birds; *ŋa-yale* of large butterflies; *ŋa-siŋ* of crocodiles and iguanas; *ŋa-ŋɔm* of tree kangaroo; *ŋa-laguʔ* ‘tail-end of something (butt end)’.

TOL *lapu-* ‘tail of a fish’; *kəŋəl* ‘tail of a cock’; *uku-* ‘tail of a mammal or reptile’.

MEK NW Mekeo *aŋe*.

MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>otou*; *seko* ‘rodent tail’.

RAG *gere* of fish or animal; *yarate-* of bird.

PAA ‘its tail’.

NTA *nəpək-n* of animal; *nəkus-n* of bird.

NEM ‘tail of mammals, of lizards’; also *t<sup>h</sup>iyeo-n* ‘tail of fish’.

CEM Also *pùhε-n* ‘tail feathers (poultry)’.

XAR Also *pū-be*, ‘hair of buttocks’; *boña* ‘fan, tail of horse’; *yowe* ‘tail of fish or turtle’.

MSH 3sg POSS.

PON *iki*; *p<sup>w</sup>atai* 3sg POSS; also *p<sup>w</sup>ataiki*.

WLE Also *üxü* of birds.

TON Also *hiku*.

SAM Also *i<sup>?</sup>u* 'tail, end in general'.

MEL From Efate, also *suku*.

## 04.190 BACK

ATA	mkašuy	*UMA	toŋo <sup>?</sup>	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> agru
TSO	f <sup>?</sup> uxu	*BUG	bokoŋ	LAU	ʔogina
RUK	ɖəɭəkə	KON	boko	KWO	bobo-(na)
PAI	ukul <sup>y</sup>	WOL	toruku	RAG	ɣatiɣu-
YAM	likoɖ	MAG	toni	*PAA	aisiluk
ISN	addag	NGA	logo	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> asu-na
KAL	bonog	*SIK	le <sup>?</sup> ar	POR	ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ö-n
*TAG	likod	RTI	dea	NTA	m <sup>w</sup> anta-n
*AKL	likud	*BUR	kaku-n	KWA	takuta-
PAL	likud	*DOB	murum- <i>m</i> <i>ɸiɸin</i>	NEM	dai-n
MOL	awak	IRA	ɸague	CEM	ɟei-n
KAG	tudtud	SAW	to-u	AJI	dē
BLA	kagol	NYI	kona-n	XAR	dā
SAB	bukut	MAM	no <sup>?</sup> u	NEN	čō
*MUR	bakuluŋ	*TAK	patu-n	KIR	te akū
*MGY	[lamusina]	DAM	agara	*MSH	ælikin
ACE	ruəŋ	MAB	<sup>n</sup> deme-	*PON	sowe
BAT	taŋguruŋ	*YAB	dem <sup>w</sup> e	WLE	taxürü
MIN	puŋgu <sup>?</sup> ŋ	KAU	euli-n	EFI	daku-
*IND	puŋguŋ	TOL	mur-	WFI	-lobo
*SUN	toŋgoŋ	BUA	dəmi	RTU	fū-mafua
JAV	gəgər	*ADZ	baru-	TON	tu <sup>?</sup> a
MAD	təŋŋa	KIL	tap <sup>w</sup> a-	*SAM	papā-tua
BAL	tundun	TAW	upu-na	*MEL	[pua]
SAS	buŋkak	MOT	doru-na	TAH	tua
*GOR	wuleya	MEK	ova	RAP	tua <sup>?</sup> ivi
DAA	beŋo	ROV	mudi		

TAG PHN *\*likuD*.

AKL PHN *\*likuD*.



MUR	Also <i>likud</i> .
MGY	From Malay <i>lambusir</i> or (Old) Javanese <i>lamun̄sir</i> .
IND	Also <i>bəlakaŋ</i> .
SUN	Also <i>tukaŋ</i> .
GOR	(from waist up), <i>deʔawata</i> ‘upper part of one’s back’.
UMA	Also <i>kelo</i> .
BUG	Also <i>alikkiʔ</i> .
SIK	Also <i>toʔə-ŋ</i> .
BUR	Also <i>skete-n</i> ‘lower back’.
DOB	‘your back’s surface’.
TAK	Homophonous with <i>patu-n</i> ‘fruit, nut, egg, seed’ (05.710, 05.770, 05.970, 08.311).
YAB	‘his/her back’; <i>dem<sup>w</sup>e-m</i> ‘your back’; <i>ŋa-dem<sup>w</sup>e</i> ‘back (of a horse)’.
ADZ	Also <i>uru-</i> ‘bone’.
PAA	‘my back’, more specifically ‘lower back’.
MSH	3sg POSS .
PON	<i>sowe</i> 3sg POSS; also <i>pelikie</i> 3sg POSS; hon. ‘upper back’; <i>sikinkīri</i> 3sg POSS ‘lower back’; <i>pelikiso</i> hon.
SAM	Also <i>tua</i> ; compare <i>papa</i> ‘board, plank, rock’
MEL	From Efate.

#### 04.191 SPINE

ATA	<i>raiyax</i>	SAB	<i>bokog bukut</i>	DAA	<i>vuku beŋo</i>
TSO	<i>ɕruɕru</i>	MUR	<i>baluntud</i>	UMA	<i>kaʃu kelo</i>
RUK	<i>bəkələ</i>	MGY	<i>ɕiɬu</i>	BUG	<i>bəkəŋ</i>
PAI	<i>ɕaɭag</i>	ACE	<i>tuluəŋ ruəŋ</i>	KON	<i>buku boko</i>
YAM	<i>vokot</i>	BAT	<i>hau taŋguruŋ</i>	WOL	<i>ʃuku<sup>n</sup>towu</i>
ISN	<i>dardar</i>	MIN	<i>tulaŋ puŋgu<sup>ə</sup>ŋ</i>	MAG	<i>toko vəkur</i>
KAL	<i>dūli</i>	*IND	<i>tulaŋ bəlakaŋ</i>	NGA	<i>toko-logo</i>
*TAG	<i>gulugod</i>	SUN	<i>tulaŋ toŋgoŋ</i>	*SIK	<i>luri-ŋ toʔə-ŋ</i>
AKL	<i>taʃudtud</i>	*JAV	<i>ulo-ulo</i>	*RTI	<i>mulihaʔi</i>
PAL	<i>tələudtud</i>	MAD	<i>barug<sup>h</sup>uk</i>	*BUR	<i>kaku-n rohi-n</i>
MOL	<i>tuʔlaŋ awak</i>	BAL	<i>tulaŋ giŋ</i>	*DOB	<i>murum tul</i>
KAG	<i>sagʔud</i>	SAS	<i>tolaŋ buŋkak</i>	IRA	<i>ɸague rurə</i>
BLA	<i>tulən kagol</i>	*GOR	<i>tulalo wuleya</i>	SAW	<i>to-u momo</i>

NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> uwi kona-n	ROV	susuri mudi	AJI	jē
MAM	zuzu	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup> ura	XAR	dɔ
*TAK	tatu	LAU	ʔogi tek <sup>w</sup> a	NEN	gueač
DAM	ɸutuwa	KWO	suri <sup>ʔ</sup> ai <sup>ʔ</sup> ai(-na)	*KIR	te rīnaba
MAB	ka-mōto	RAG		MSH	rilep
*YAB	dem <sup>w</sup> e-tek <sup>w</sup> a	*PAA	sīn ten aisīluk	*PON	ṫilepe
KAU	musut	*LEW	purīu na	WLE	ṣūřapa
*TOL	ur-a-muru-		m <sup>w</sup> asu-na	EFI	suitū
BUA	dəmi səḳe	*POR	na-viis a	WFI	-čua-bou
*ADZ	uru ru <sup>m</sup> pu		ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ö-n	RTU	sui mafua
KIL	kaipou-	NTA	nəkəlkəli	*TON	hui-tu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
TAW	upudeledele- na		m <sup>w</sup> anta-n	*SAM	ivi-tū
*MOT	turia-maḟa-na	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> aniṅ	MEL	
MEK	ova-fo <sup>ʔ</sup> oa	*NEM	dā-n dogan	*TAH	ivi tua
		*CEM	dà-nâdo	RAP	ivi tika

TAG ‘backbone’.

IND Also *tulaṅ puṅguṅ*.

JAV Compare *ulo* ‘snake’.

GOR ‘bone (of) back’.

SIK ‘backbone’; also *toko-ŋ, rība-ŋ*.

RTI Also *dea dui-k*.

BUR ‘ridge bone’.

DOB ‘your back’s bone’.

TAK ‘bone’; see 04.160.

YAB ‘his/her backbone’; *dem<sup>w</sup>e-m-tek<sup>w</sup>a* ‘your backbone’.

TOL *ur* ‘bone’, a CONN, *muru-* ‘back’.

ADZ *uru ru<sup>m</sup>pu* (Amari dialect); *tutuṅun*; *tutuṅwa* (other dialects).

MOT *turia* ‘bone’.

PAA ‘bone of back’.

LEW ‘bone of back’.

POR ‘the bow of spine-his’.

KWA *k<sup>w</sup>aniṅ* also ‘section of cane’; *nuksepək* also ‘length of torch wood’.

NEM ‘spear of orange tree’.

CEM ‘spear of something’.

KIR Probably with fossilised *-napa* < *\*lapa* ‘big’.

PON ‘large bone’.

TON Also *hui-motu*ʔa.

SAM *ivi* ‘bone’, *tū* ‘stand, be erect’.

TAH Also *ivi mo*ʔo.

#### 04.200 HEAD

ATA	tunux	UMA	βooʔ	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> aʔu
TSO	fŋū	BUG	ulu	LAU	kete
RUK	aoŋo	KON	ulu	*KWO	faŋai(-na)
PAI	ḵulu	WOL	faa	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> atu-
YAM	oŋo	*MAG	ulu	*PAA	vatuk
ISN	ūlu	NGA	ulu	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ari-na
KAL	ūlu	SIK	ala-ŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> bai-n
TAG	ūlo	RTI	laŋa	NTA	rah-n-kapa
AKL	ūḵuh	*BUR	olo-n	*KWA	kap <sup>w</sup> a
PAL	ulu	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ul ʔala-m	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> a-n
MOL	ulu	IRA	rəgunə	CEM	pūn
KAG	ulu	*SAW	bəbok-o	AJI	g <sup>w</sup> ā
BLA	ulu	NYI	batu-n	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> a
SAB	kōk	*MAM	semana	*NEN	hawo
MUR	ulu	TAK	gurma-n	KIR	te atū
MGY	luha	DAM	mudur	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> aṛ
ACE	uleə	MAB	ute-	*PON	mōŋ
BAT	ulu	*YAB	moke-apaʔ	WLE	ṣim <sup>w</sup> e
*MIN	[kapalo]	KAU	mihī-n	EFI	ulu-
IND	[kəpala]	*TOL	ulu-	WFI	-ulu
*SUN	hulu	BUA	yu	*RTU	filoʔu
*JAV	əndas	ADZ	gudzu-	TON	ʔulu
MAD	čiṭaʔ	KIL	daba-	*SAM	ulu
*BAL	təndas	TAW	ununu-na	MEL	konoa
*SAS	ulu	MOT	k <sup>w</sup> ara-na	*TAH	upoʔo
GOR	lu <sup>ɗ</sup> goŋo	MEK	kania	RAP	puʔoko
DAA	bale <sup>ɗ</sup> ga	ROV	batu		

MIN From Sanskrit.

SUN Also [*sirah*] from Javanese.

JAV Also [*sirah*] from Sanskrit.

- BAL In some varieties: *təras*, *tas*. *təndas* is original Old Balinese term, now restricted to animal referents in most varieties. It has been replaced by [*sirah*] from Old Javanese, [*duur*] lit ‘upper part’ from [Old] Javanese; *ulu* (Old Balinese *hulu*) ‘headwaters of river; higher part’.
- SAS Teeuw: *ulu* widespread; *otak* widespread except north.
- MAG Also *lo<sup>h</sup>kor*, *sa<sup>ʔ</sup>i*, Western Manggarai *loŋor* ‘cow’s head’.
- BUR Also ‘headwaters’.
- DOB ‘head’s skin’. Originally *k<sup>w</sup>ul* was possessed by the person and *ʔala-y* was possessed by the *k<sup>w</sup>ul* ‘head’. This is still the case in some dialects of Dobel, such as in Warjukur, where they say *k<sup>w</sup>ul-gu ʔala-y*: ‘head-my skin-its’. In Kojabi the phrase is treated grammatically as a single possessed lexeme.
- SAW From *bəbokε-o*.
- MAM Also *peŋana*, *paŋana*.
- YAB ‘his/her head’; *moke-m-apa<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘your head’.
- TOL Absolute form *ula*, in compounds *ul*.
- KWO Also *gou(-na)*.
- PAA ‘my head’.
- KWA Also *nuk<sup>w</sup>ane-*.
- NEN Also *ɖai*.
- MSH *pət* ‘head, east side of house’; *wiliɛc* ‘cemetery, head’.
- PON Also *katokenmei* hon.
- RTU Also *ʔuta*.
- SAM (polite) *ao*.
- TAH Also *ʔōmi<sup>ʔ</sup>i*, *ʔāfi<sup>ʔ</sup>i* ‘head of animal’.

#### 04.201 SIDE OF HEAD, TEMPLE

ATA	šašap	*TAG	pilipīsan	SAB	
TSO	ɕmi <sup>ʔ</sup> i	AKL	agigīsij	*MUR	pusisiŋo
RUK		*PAL	səliliŋ ɔt mata	MGY	fihirifana
PAI		MOL	bubuag-	ACE	puurimpiəŋ
YAM	čizəy		buagan	*BAT	par-səttiŋ-an
ISN	piŋpiŋat	KAG	misij	MIN	
KAL	piŋāpis	BLA	bəŋi <sup>ʔ</sup>	IND	pəlipis

SUN	palipis-an	TAK	kidaŋa-n	*KWA	tənme-
JAV	piliŋan	DAM		NEM	t <sup>h</sup> alā-n
MAD	palipis	MAB	mata-korāna	CEM	tále
BAL	(pə)peleŋan	YAB	məm	AJI	ewā g <sup>w</sup> ā
*SAS	təmpeŋel	KAU		XAR	pubaba
*GOR	poli <sup>m</sup> biŋo	TOL		NEN	ŋadea
*DAA	kuli <sup>m</sup> pi	BUA		*KIR	rarikin te
UMA	pele	ADZ	gia-		tabanou
BUG	liŋaŋ-liŋaŋ	*KIL	kaipapa-	MSH	
KON	siliŋ-siliŋ	TAW	iyamaeidagu	*PON	kotokenmei
WOL	ŋili-ŋili	MOT	mede-na	WLE	
MAG	huvək	MEK		EFI	baba-
NGA	pipi	*ROV	kapkapalipa	WFI	-karibai
*SIK	aŋu melo(-t)	MAR		RTU	mea
RTI	nase-bu <sup>ʔ</sup> u-k	LAU	barana kete	*TON	tulikifaŋa
*BUR	ele-n mata	KWO	riri(-na)	*SAM	mānifinifi
DOB	tak <sup>w</sup> a	RAG		MEL	
IRA	matare	PAA		TAH	rahirahia
SAW		*LEW	i-mara-na	RAP	haŋu
NYI	kake mada-n	POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>m</sup> barin		
MAM	uaŋi	NTA			

TAG Also [*sentido*]; Spanish *sentido* ‘sense’.

PAL ‘side of head at eye level’.

MUR ‘bone of head’.

BAT Also *salaksak*.

SAS Teeuw: *təmpeŋel*, *təmpeŋen*, *təmpelen(an)*.

GOR Also *pā<sup>m</sup>biliŋa*; *wale* ‘bone of the temple’.

DAA ‘cheek’.

SIK Also *ala-ŋpəpi-ŋ*.

BUR ‘place of death’; also *nete en-mata-t* and *eliŋa-n tea-n*.

KIL Also *daba-*.

ROV Also *matmateana*.

LEW Also *yepas-ne-np<sup>w</sup>ari-na*.

KWA Also *təme-*.

KIR ‘side of the skull’.

PON *ʔap<sup>w</sup>i* Polynesian; hon. also ‘head’.

TON Also *manifi*.

SAM Also *māliŋaliŋa*.

## 04.202 SKULL

ATA	βaβkaʔ	*KON	saiʔ ulu	MAR	ŋubra p <sup>h</sup> aʔu
TSO		*WOL	ta <sup>ɖ</sup> kora	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ai na kete
RUK		MAG	toko ulu	KWO	falai
PAI		NGA	ulu	RAG	
YAM	totoaŋ no obo	SIK	ala-ŋ korak	PAA	volavatuk
ISN	tulāŋ ūlu	RTI	laŋa dui-k	LEW	keriowo-ne-na
KAL	battukāg	*BUR	olo-n rohi-n	POR	ka <sup>l</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amač
*TAG	buŋoʔ	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ulu-m <sup>ɸ</sup> aʔay	NTA	rah-n-
AKL	buŋuʔ	IRA	ragunə rurə		uipəluipəl
PAL	tokuruŋ	SAW	gegyon	KWA	kera
MOL	tuʔlaŋ ulu	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isi bar	*NEM	pī-n b <sup>w</sup> a-n
KAG	ba'gul-ba'gul	MAM	semana-tapou	*CEM	pī-pūn
BLA	tulon ulu	TAK	gurma-n kape-	AJI	paʔa g <sup>w</sup> ā
SAB	kōk		n	*XAR	pure-b <sup>w</sup> a
MUR	tulaŋ nu ulu	DAM	soso tuwa	NEN	banač
*MGY	karan-duha	MAB	ute-putūnu	KIR	te tabanou
ACE	bruəʔ uləə	*YAB	moke-kaŋ	MSH	lat
BAT	takkurak	*KAU	mihi-n	*PON	ŋin moŋe
MIN	taŋkuraʔ		pokoi-n vhuŋ	*WLE	mesuwō
*IND	təŋkorak	*TOL	lor	EFI	gāβokaβoka
SUN	taŋkorek	BUA	yu səŋe	WFI	-g <sup>w</sup> aβota
JAV	čumpluŋ	ADZ	gudzu urun	RTU	pakrava
MAD	tutuk	KIL	p <sup>w</sup> aneta-	TON	ŋeʔesi-ʔulu
*BAL	tulaŋ təndas	*TAW	ununu	*SAM	ulu-poʔo
SAS	ŋraŋkoŋ		geyamina	*MEL	[lasa]
*GOR	buʔawu lo	*MOT	k <sup>w</sup> ara-	TAH	ʔapu roro
	lu <sup>ɖ</sup> goŋo		koukou-na	*RAP	ivi puʔoko
DAA	vuku bale <sup>ɖ</sup> ga	*MEK	kaniaiouou-		
UMA	baŋaʔ βooʔ		ŋa		
BUG	taŋkoraʔ	ROV	herhera batu		

TAG Also *bāʔo naŋ ūlo*.

MGY From *harana* ‘rock, shell’, *luha* ‘head’.

IND	Also <i>təmpuruŋkəpala</i>
BAL	Also <i>kau-n təndas</i> , <i>kau</i> ‘shell of coconut’; <i>pabahan</i> ‘fontanelle’.
GOR	‘coconut shell’ LIG ‘head’. Also <i>bakakawu lo lu<sup>3</sup>goŋo</i> .
KON	Also <i>sai?-sai? ulu</i> .
WOL	Also <i>to<sup>3</sup>kulo</i> .
BUR	‘head bone’; also <i>olo-n kise-n</i> , <i>olo-n oko-n</i> .
DOB	‘your head’s shell’. <i>ɸa<sup>3</sup>ay</i> is used for ‘coconut shell’ and other hard shells.
YAB	‘his/her skull’; <i>moke-m-kaŋ</i> ‘your skull’; also <i>moke-la<sup>3</sup></i> ‘his cranium, skull’.
KAU	<i>mih-i-n</i> ‘his head’; <i>pokoi-n</i> ‘its bone’.
TOL	Also <i>kanara</i> .
TAW	‘head bone’.
MOT	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ara</i> ‘head’, <i>koukou</i> ‘shell, outside covering’.
MEK	Desnoës <i>ni-ou-ou</i> (compare <i>pa-ni-pa</i> ‘enclose’).
NEM	‘shell of the head’.
CEM	‘shell of the head’.
XAR	‘shell of the head’.
PON	3sg POSS; lit ‘head bone’.
WLE	Also <i>texaxüř-šim<sup>w</sup>e</i> lit ‘shell of the head’.
SAM	<i>ulu</i> ‘head’, also <i>atiŋi ulu</i> , <i>atiŋi po<sup>3</sup>o</i> (polite) <i>atiŋi sami</i> , <i>atiŋi</i> ‘empty container’.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	Also <i>pakahera pu<sup>3</sup>oko</i> ‘skull of a skeleton’.

### 04.203 BRAIN

ATA	tunu <sup>3</sup>	AKL	ūtuk	ACE	uta <sup>3</sup>
TSO	pnū	PAL	utək	BAT	utoh-utək
RUK	lōso	MOL	utok	*MIN	bana <sup>3</sup>
PAI	punuk	KAG	utuk	IND	otak
YAM	ətək	BLA	utak	SUN	utik
ISN	uta <sup>3</sup>	SAB	utuk	JAV	utək
KAL	ūtuk	MUR	utok	MAD	utək
*TAG	ūtak	*MGY	ati-duha	BAL	polo

*SAS	otak	YAB	ŋa-kulu	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> era
GOR	wuto <sup>ʔ</sup> o	KAU	mihi-n	NEM	yagic
DAA	u <sup>n</sup> to		kapor-an	CEM	ēgi
UMA	uta <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL	ima-	AJI	ē g <sup>w</sup> ā
BUG	ota <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	yuto	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> a
KON	oto <sup>ʔ</sup>	*ADZ	gudzu ŋuriŋ	*NEN	kačajei
*WOL	ooto	KIL	p <sup>w</sup> aka-	KIR	te kaburoro
MAG	utək	*TAW	ununupouna	MSH	kʌmælic
NGA	ote	MOT	hara-na	PON	m <sup>w</sup> āliel
SIK	otək	*MEK	mino	WLE	fexāϕ <sup>w</sup> uyoϕ <sup>w</sup> u
RTI	do-dole-k	ROV	monana	EFI	mona
*BUR	wapu-n	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> okoroŋosa	WFI	-moa
DOB	ŋura	LAU	sūfou	RTU	ʔuat parparu
IRA	dəje	KWO	buta	TON	ʔuto
*SAW	[otak]		meme(-na)	SAM	fāi <sup>ʔ</sup> ai
NYI	bar	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> at-atmate-	MEL	keltapu
MAM	ʔatoŋa	PAA	ahāk	TAH	roro
TAK	mumaŋe-n	LEW	maru	RAP	roro
DAM	sosolina	POR	mera <sup>m</sup> boi		
MAB	ka- <sup>ŋ</sup> gora	NTA	nouta-n		

TAG Proto-Philippines \**hūtek*.

MGY From *ati* ‘heart, inside’, *luha* ‘head’.

MIN Also *uta*<sup>ʔ</sup>.

SAS Teeuw does not record *otak*; *utək* widespread, *otək*, *lolor*. Thoir et al (1985): *otak* ‘head’; *otək* ‘brain’.

WOL Also *oto*.

BUR Also ‘spinal cord’.

SAW From Malay.

ADZ *gudzu ŋuriŋ* (Amari dialect); *tori-*, *turi-* (other dialects); also ‘bone marrow’.

TAW ‘head egg’.

MEK *mino* also ‘marrow, pith, semen’.

NEN Also *xetexet*.



## 04.204 FACE

Arabic: *wajh*Sanskrit: *mukha-, rūpa-*

ATA	raḳi-na-š	UMA	lio	MAR	
TSO	sapçi	BUG	[rupa]	LAU	mana
RUK	liṅaw	*KON	[rupa]	KWO	māmā(-na)
PAI	mudiṅan	WOL	rou	RAG	lol-mata-
YAM	moiṅ	MAG	raṅa	*PAA	nāk
ISN	[mūka]t	NGA	ṅia	LEW	mara-na
KAL	mūgiṅ	*SIK	βaə	POR	na-xo-n
TAG	[mukhaʔ]	RTI	mata(n)	NTA	nəṅanamt-n
AKL	uyahun	BUR	pupa-n lale-n	*KWA	nenime-
PAL	[rupa]	*DOB	luṅay-m	NEM	karemā-n
MOL	[rupa]	IRA	matarumə	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> áhâmī-n
KAG	waləṅ	SAW	usno	AJI	neme
BLA	bawə	NYI	buli-n	XAR	ne-kārāme
SAB	bayhuʔ	MAM	lili	NEN	paegogo
MUR	bulos	TAK	nao-n	*KIR	te mata
MGY	tarehi	DAM	nowa	*MSH	mæc
*ACE	[muka]	*MAB	ru <sup>ḍ</sup> gu-	*PON	mās
BAT	bohi	*YAB	laṅo	*WLE	mata
MIN	[muko]	KAU		EFI	mata-
*IND	[muka]	*TOL	məta-	WFI	-mata
SUN	biṅit	BUA	mala	RTU	mafa
JAV	rai	*ADZ	mara-	TON	mata
*MAD	[muwa]	KIL	migi-	*SAM	mata
BAL	[muə]	TAW	tepa-na	MEL	maraṅae
SAS	[muə]	MOT	βaira-na	*TAH	mata
GOR	baya	*MEK	veina	RAP	ʔariṅa
*DAA	le <sup>n</sup> je	ROV	isumata		

ACE Also [*wajah*].IND Also [*wajah*].

MAD See Gonda 1973.

DAA Also *lio*.KON Also *tappa*.SIK Also *βaə-ṅ*.

DOB	Also <i>luḡay si mata-m</i> , lit ‘your face and eyes’.
MAB	‘appearance’; also <i>mata-</i> ‘eye’.
YAB	‘his/her face’; <i>laḡo-m</i> ‘your face’; also <i>laḡo-ano</i> .
TOL	See 04.210.
ADZ	‘eye’.
MEK	Also <i>maa</i> ‘eye, face’.
PAA	‘my face’.
KWA	Also ‘eye’.
KIR	Also <i>te bura</i> ‘appearance, features’.
MSH	<i>turun mæc</i> lit ‘next to the eyes’.
PON	<i>sīleŋ</i> hon., also <i>wasaille</i> hon. ‘elevated place’.
WLE	Also <i>tapa</i> ‘cheek, face’.
SAM	(polite) <i>fōliḡa</i> , <i>fōfoḡa</i> , <i>lau-fōfoḡa</i> , <i>lau-</i> prefix occurring with nouns denoting flat and thin objects (Milner 1966:98).
TAH	Also <i>hīroʹa</i> ‘face, appearance’.

#### 04.205 FOREHEAD

ATA	tihu	IND	dahi	*SAW	bəbin-o
TSO	sapøi	SUN	tarəŋ	NYI	mada buli-n
RUK	pono	JAV	batuʹ	MAM	damao
PAI	jakis	MAD	ḡai	TAK	nao-n kape-n
YAM	rorogwan	BAL	gidat	DAM	dama
ISN	kīday	*SAS	kəndiŋ	MAB	<sup>n</sup> domo-
KAL	kīday	GOR	baya	*YAB	tebela
TAG	noʹo	DAA	kire	*KAU	mihi-n
AKL	dahiʹ	UMA	βi <sup>n</sup> ke	*TOL	pəl-ə-məta-
PAL	pəgəs	BUG	alinro	BUA	daba
MOL	kodat	*KON	abaŋ	*ADZ	mara gubuʹ
KAG	takuŋ	*WOL	βawo-na rou	KIL	daba-
BLA	əŋəs	MAG	saʹi	*TAW	tepa-na pouna
SAB	tuktuk	NGA	mata-ŋia	MOT	bagu-na
MUR	dabas	SIK	βaə-ŋ poa-ŋ	MEK	paku
*MGY	handʹina	RTI	de-dei-k	ROV	rae
ACE	dhəə	*BUR	kira-n	MAR	grere
BAT	par-dəppah-an	DOB	maleφi-m	LAU	madarana
MIN	kaniʹŋ	IRA	mataφarirə		

KWO	mā-na dala (-na)	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> âde-n	WFI	-rā
RAG	re-	AJI	pɔʔɔmɛ	RTU	motara
PAA	haināk	XAR	bōmɛ	TON	laʔe
LEW	prana-na	NEN	gubaɖi	*SAM	muā-ulu
POR	<sup>m</sup> biina-xo-n	KIR	te ram <sup>w</sup> a	MEL	raerae
NTA	nəpənaŋ-n	MSH	dam <sup>w</sup>	TAH	rae
KWA	nəp <sup>w</sup> ana-	*PON	ʔām <sup>w</sup>	*RAP	koraʔe
NEM	gādā-n	WLE	maŋo		
		EFI	yad <sup>f</sup> e-		

MGY Probably from Malay *kəniŋ* or (Banjarese Malay) *kaniŋ*.

SAS Teeuw: *kəndiŋ, təlakar, tənakar, bəburan, buburan, səmaŋət, mua*.

KON Also *lattaŋ*.

WOL ‘upper part of face’.

BUR *kira-k sila* ‘high forehead (slightly bald)’.

SAW From *bəbinε-o*.

YAB ‘his/her forehead’; *te-m-bela-m* ‘your forehead’.

KAU ‘head, forehead’.

TOL *pəl* ‘skin’, a CONN.

ADZ *mara gubu?* (Amari dialect); *mara da<sup>m</sup>pan* (all others).

TAW ‘face egg’.

PON Also *isilap*, hon.

SAM *mua* ‘first, front’, *ulu* ‘head’.

RAP Also *tira*.

#### 04.207 JAW

ATA	kaŋiʔ	*PAL	saŋat	MIN	rahaŋ
TSO	rasŋi	MOL	saŋat	IND	rahaŋ
RUK	baθiŋi	KAG	sagʔaŋ	SUN	čačapek
PAI	kaviz	BLA	kəkim	JAV	waŋ
YAM	saŋi	SAB	leʔe	MAD	laŋgəm
ISN	tāmi	MUR	saluda	*BAL	čadik
KAL	palātaŋ	MGY	valanuranu	SAS	
*TAG	paŋa	ACE	juŋka	GOR	wale
AKL	sagʔaŋ	BAT	ɔsaŋ	DAA	vuku бага

UMA	aʃe	KAU	epi-ŋo	NEM	kawa-n
BUG	baŋi	*TOL	kəbe-	*CEM	pâ-p <sup>w</sup> ó-n
KON	paŋo-paŋo	*BUA	aβi rayu	AJI	řəřə
*WOL	nau-nau	*ADZ	katakát	*XAR	ñĩ-nāx <sup>w</sup> ã
*MAG	ča <sup>ŋ</sup> kem	KIL	kim-	NEN	tukuniage
NGA	kage	TAW	ahahe-na	KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> aŋai
*SIK	aru	MOT	auki-na	*MSH	atlaʃ
RTI	timi-k	MEK	ake	*PON	pārēre
BUR	aa-n	ROV	ase	WLE	yate
*DOB	siŋan	MAR	gagama	EFI	ŋaleŋale
*IRA	keke	LAU	hate	WFI	-koga
*SAW	ŋɔl-o	KWO	late(-na)	RTU	ŋao
NYI	kabese-n	RAG		TON	kauŋao
MAM	are	*PAA	velāsok	SAM	ʔauvae
*TAK	awa-n	*LEW	miap-ne-na	MEL	kauvae
DAM	ibana	POR	mesa <sup>m</sup> ben	TAH	taʔa
MAB	keze-	NTA	ne-n-kauŋa	*RAP	kauvaʔe
*YAB	gedo-tek <sup>w</sup> a	KWA	kauŋa		

TAG Also *sīhaŋ*.

PAL ‘jaw, chin’.

BAL ‘lower jaw’.

WOL ‘jaw, jaw joint’.

MAG See 04.209.

SIK Also *aru-ŋ*.

DOB Inalienable possession but after root-final *l*, *r*, *n* or *m* the second person singular possession suffix is normally a zero morpheme.

SAW From *ŋɔle-o*.

ĪRA Also *kake*.

TAK ‘mouth’, see 04.240.

YAB ‘snout-bone’, i.e. ‘his/her upper jaw’; *gedo-m-tek<sup>w</sup>a* ‘your upper jaw’. Similarly *ase*, *ase-tek<sup>w</sup>a* ‘his/her lower jaw’; *ŋa-ase*, *ŋa-se* ‘animal’s jaw’.

TOL See 04.142, 04.209.

BUA Also *ñε rayu*.

ADZ *katakát* (Amari only); *katafat* other dialects.

PAA ‘my jaw’.

LEW See 04.209.

CEM ‘base of the mouth’.

XAR	‘bone of the mouth’.
MSH	<i>atlaʔ</i> ‘lower jaw’; <i>atləŋ</i> ‘upper jaw’.
PON	<i>pārēre</i> hon.; <i>aupā</i> 3sg POSS; of an animal.
RAP	Also <i>kauvaha</i> ‘jaw’ (of a dead horse only – used as a musical percussion instrument).

## 04.208 CHEEK

ATA	<i>pawpuʔ</i>	UMA	<i>kuli<sup>m</sup>pi</i>	ROV	<i>papara</i>
TSO	<i>pino</i>	BUG	<i>piliʔ</i>	MAR	<i>bako</i>
RUK	<i>çimi</i>	KON	<i>pilisi</i>	LAU	<i>balina</i>
PAI	<i>cimiz</i>	WOL	<i>ɓaga</i>	KWO	<i>babari(-na)</i>
YAM	<i>poŋŋi</i>	MAG	<i>paču</i>	RAG	<i>vala-</i>
ISN	<i>paʔŋit</i>	NGA	<i>pasu</i>	PAA	<i>vīvīk</i>
KAL	<i>pasŋīt</i>	SIK	<i>pəpi-ŋ</i>	LEW	<i>pipi-na</i>
*TAG	<i>pisŋi</i>	*RTI	<i>nase-buʔu-k</i>	POR	<i><sup>m</sup>ba<sup>m</sup>bari-n</i>
AKL	<i>pisŋi</i>	BUR	<i>papa-n</i>	NTA	<i>nəkapə-n</i>
PAL	<i>pəsiŋil</i>	*DOB	<i>talam</i>	KWA	<i>nəkapu-</i>
MOL	<i>sopiŋil</i>	IRA	<i>gewarə</i>	NEM	<i>p<sup>w</sup>awā-n</i>
KAG	<i>mimi</i>	SAW	<i>fofo</i>	CEM	<i>kôwɔ-n</i>
BLA	<i>fifi</i>	NYI	<i>kapa-n</i>	AJI	<i>poā</i>
SAB	<i>bayhuʔ</i>	MAM	<i>poapoa</i>	XAR	<i>kaɔ</i>
*MUR	<i>piŋas</i>	TAK	<i>wala-n</i>	NEN	<i>ŋidekoč</i>
MGY	<i>takulaka</i>	DAM	<i>wala</i>	KIR	<i>te taba</i>
*ACE	[ <i>miəŋ</i> ]	MAB	<i>paŋa-</i>	MSH	<i>cəp</i>
BAT	<i>hurum</i>	*YAB	<i>ali-ano</i>	*PON	<i>sepe</i>
MIN	<i>pipi</i>	KAU	<i>suun</i>	WLE	<i>tapa</i>
IND	<i>pipi</i>	*TOL	<i>pəgupəgu-</i>	EFI	<i>balu-</i>
SUN	<i>pipi</i>		<i>nə-ŋie-</i>	WFI	<i>-kaliŋa</i>
JAV	<i>pipi</i>	BUA	<i>bəŋi</i>	RTU	<i>fau</i>
MAD	<i>pipi</i>	ADZ	<i>gia-</i>	TON	<i>kouʔahe</i>
BAL	<i>pipi</i>	KIL	<i>kim<sup>w</sup>a-</i>	SAM	<i>ʔalāfau</i>
*SAS	<i>saŋkep</i>	TAW	<i>imoli-na</i>	*MEL	[ <i>pupu</i> ]
GOR	<i>putoŋi</i>	MOT	<i>βaha-na</i>	TAH	<i>pāpāriʔa</i>
DAA	<i>kuli<sup>m</sup>pi</i>	MEK	<i>meʔe</i>	RAP	<i>paʔeŋa ʔariŋa</i>

TAG Proto-Philippines \**pisəŋi*.

MUR Also *pipiŋ* from Brunei Malay *pipiŋ*; *baŋiʔ* ‘jowl’.

ACE	From Mon-Khmer.
SAS	Some dialects: <i>pipi</i> ; Thoir et al (1985): <i>saŋkep</i> ‘cheek bone’.
RTI	Also <i>niki</i> ‘cheek of pig’.
DOB	See 04.207.
YAB	‘his/her cheek’; <i>ali-m-ano</i> ‘your cheek’.
TOL	<i>pəgu</i> (vb intrans) ‘have thick cheeks, be lock-jawed’, <i>pəgu-nə-ŋie-</i> ‘cheekbone’, <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>ŋie-</i> ‘mouth’.
PON	<i>sepe</i> 3sg POSS; <i>likinsap</i> , <i>likinm</i> <sup>wɔle</sup> 3sg POSS hon.
MEL	From Efate.

## 04.209 CHIN

ATA	kaŋi?	UMA	aŋe	MAR	
TSO		BUG	sadaŋ	LAU	mana hatena
RUK	baθiŋi	KON	areŋ	KWO	late-(na)
PAI	kaviz	*WOL	aŋe	RAG	
YAM	tomiɖ	MAG	ča <sup>ŋ</sup> kem	PAA	velāsok
ISN	sīmid	NGA	kage	*LEW	miap-ne-na
KAL	tīmid	SIK	aru-ŋ	POR	mesa <sup>m</sup> ben
*TAG	bāba?	RTI	taku-dae-k	NTA	
AKL	suɬaŋ	BUR	aa-n	KWA	nəkumu-
PAL	saŋat	*DOB	siŋan yisin	*NEM	paye-puwa-n
MOL	saŋat	IRA		*CEM	pē-hūade-n
KAG	baka?	*SAW	ŋɔl-o	AH	řəřə
BLA	kiki?	NYI	behese-n	XAR	danə
SAB	toka?	MAM	are	NEN	
MUR	saluda	*TAK	awa-n to-n	KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> aŋe
MGY	sauka	DAM	ibana	*MSH	cim <sup>w</sup> win ŋi
ACE	kuwəŋ	MAB	keze-	*PON	kaikai
BAT	ɔsaŋ	*YAB	ase	WLE	yate
MIN	dagu	KAU	epi-ŋo	EFI	kumi-
IND	dagu	*TOL	kəbe-	WFI	-kumu
SUN	gado	BUA	ñe	*RTU	kumkumu
JAV	jaŋgut	ADZ	mu-	TON	kumukumu
*MAD	čaŋkem	KIL	gabu-	*SAM	muā- <sup>?</sup> auvae
BAL	jaŋgut	*TAW	ahahe-na	MEL	
SAS		MOT	ade-na	TAH	ta <sup>?</sup> a
*GOR	[da <sup>ŋ</sup> gu]	MEK	ake	RAP	
DAA	aŋe	ROV	ase		

TAG	PHN	* <i>baqbaq</i> ‘mouth’.
MAD		Compare Javanese <i>caṅkəm</i> ‘mouth’.
GOR		Most likely from Malay <i>dagu</i> , but with contamination from [ <i>da<sup>ʔ</sup>gu</i> ] ‘beard’, also from Malay <i>ja<sup>ʔ</sup>gut</i> ; see 04.142.
WOL		Also <i>d<sup>ʔ</sup>agu</i> .
DOB		‘your chin’s underneath’.
SAW		From <i>ŋɔlə-o</i> .
TAK		‘mouth-his arm-its’ (04.240), i.e. ‘arm of his mouth’.
YAB		‘his/her chin’; <i>ase-m</i> ‘your chin’.
TOL		See 04.142, 04.207.
TAW		‘jaw’.
LEW		See 04.207.
NEM		‘stone (or tubercule) of the beard’.
CEM		‘stone, hard part of beard’.
MSH		‘half coconut shell of the teeth’.
PON		Also <i>kaiot</i> .
RTU		Also <i>kumkumi</i> .
SAM		<i>mua</i> ‘first, front’, <i>?auvae</i> ‘jaw’, see 04.207.

## 04.210 EYE

ATA	rawik	*MGY	[masu]	WOL	mata
TSO	mçō	ACE	mata	MAG	mata
RUK	məça	*BAT	mata	NGA	li <sup>ʔ</sup> e-mata
PAI	məça	MIN	mato	*SIK	mata
YAM	mata	IND	mata	RTI	mata
*ISN	mata	*SUN	[panon]	*BUR	rama-n
KAL	ata	*JAV	mətɔ	DOB	mata-m
TAG	mata	MAD	mata	IRA	matie
AKL	mata	*BAL	matə	SAW	mtɔ
PAL	mata	*SAS	matə	NYI	mada-n
MOL	mata	GOR	mato	MAM	mata
KAG	mata	DAA	mata	TAK	mala-n
BLA	mətɔ	UMA	mata	DAM	mala
SAB	mata	BUG	mata	MAB	mata-
MUR	mato	KON	mata	*YAB	mata

KAU	mata-n	RAG	mata-	MSH	mæc
*TOL	məta-	*PAA	metok	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> oarenmas
BUA	mala gayis	*LEW	kila-mara-na	*WLE	mata
ADZ	mara-	POR	mara-n	EFI	mata-
*KIL	matila	NTA	nəjanamt-n	WFI	-mata
TAW	mata-na	KWA	nenime-	*RTU	mafa
MOT	mata-na	NEM	t <sup>n</sup> amā-n	*TON	mata
MEK	maa	CEM	nāmī-n	*SAM	mata
ROV	mata	AJI	pieme	MEL	mata
MAR	tat <sup>h</sup> a	XAR	kārāme	TAH	mata
LAU	mā	*NEN	waegogo	RAP	mata
KWO	mā(-na)	*KIR	te mata		

ISN *pūliŋ* ‘mote in eye’.

MGY From Swahili *macho* ‘eyes’.

BAT Also *simaloloŋ*.

SUN [*panon*] from Javanese used for human referents. Also *mata*, usually non-human referents, but *siki mata* ‘eyeball (humans)’.

JAV Also *mripat* (polite).

BAL Also *pəniŋalan*(*pə-N-[tiŋal]-an*), from Old Javanese.

SAS *matə* widespread except N; *mata* N, E.

SIK Also *mata-ŋ*.

BUR Also ‘source’ in *wae rama-n* ‘water source, spring’. (Note equivalent Malay *mata air*.)

YAB ‘his/her eye’; *mata-m* ‘your eye’; *mata-lakəp* ‘eyeball’; *mata-paŋa* ‘outer corners of eye’.

TOL See 04.204.

KIL *matila* (unpossessed); *mata-* (possessed).

ṖAA ‘my eye’.

LEW Also *kina-mara-na*.

NEN Also *warowo*.

KIR Also ‘face’.

PON ‘hole in the face’, (*mās* ‘face’); *etinperen* hon.

WLE Also *safofa*.

RTU Also *lea<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>a*.

TON Also *fozimata*.

SAM (polite) *fofoŋa*.



## 04.212 EYEBROW

ATA	pawmiɬ	KON	kaññiŋ	KWO	maru(-na)
TSO	preʔpiʔi	WOL	kere	RAG	vahu-
RUK	sakəɭəpə	MAG	vulu ilep	PAA	lamulimetok
PAI	vuki-vukid	NGA	lua-mata	LEW	vilu-kuku-
YAM	čičimit	SIK	mata-ŋ βulu-ŋ		mara-na
ISN	kulkulab	RTI	mata bulu	POR	vos-mara-n
KAL	kīmat	BUR	tabrika-t	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e
*TAG	kīlay	*DOB	mata-m ɸiɸin		nəŋanamt-n
AKL	kīlay	IRA	matie gisə	KWA	kasenime-
PAL	kirɔy		ɸəru	*NEM	pun-b <sup>w</sup> a-n
MOL	kiroy	SAW	bəbnaɛ		t <sup>n</sup> amā-n
KAG	laŋa'yən	NYI	lami mada-n	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ɔ̄-nāmī-n
BLA	klubeŋ	MAM	mata-buʔu	AJI	pūrū jīme
SAB	kilay	*TAK	mala-n	*XAR	pūi-nī-kārame
MUR	duduʔ		didawe-n	NEN	yemmen
MGY	vulu-masu	DAM	mala siwi	KIR	te ari
*ACE	[bruəʔ] mata	*MAB	mata-rumūnu	MSH	æt
BAT	salibon	*YAB	mata-debu	*PON	pati
MIN	bulu mato	KAU		WLE	fatü
IND	alis	*TOL	tədan	EFI	βaðu-
SUN	halis	BUA	mala zəge	WFI	-βaðu
JAV	alis	ADZ	mara dʒi <sup>mp</sup>	RTU	hɔs-mafa
MAD	alis	KIL	pola-	TON	kemo
BAL	alis	TAW	matatutu	*SAM	fulufulu-mata
SAS	alis	MOT	ibuni-na	MEL	a-furu te-mata
GOR	bu <sup>n</sup> duŋo mato	MEK	maa pu-pui-na	TAH	tuʔemata
DAA	beli <sup>ɟ</sup> gi mata	ROV	pupudere mata	RAP	hihi
UMA	ti <sup>ɟ</sup> kire	MAR	gehe		
BUG	iññiŋ	LAU			

TAG Proto-Philippines \**kīday*.

ACE From Sanskrit *bhrūḥ*.

DOB 'your eyes' tops'.

TAK 'eye-his brow-its', i.e. 'brow of his eye'.

MAB Also *mata-romōno*.

YAB 'his/her eyebrow'; *mata-m-debu* 'eye-your-grandfather', i.e. 'your eyebrow'.

TOL Also 'eyelash'.

NEM	‘hair above the eyes’.
CEM	‘flat surface of the eye’.
XAR	‘hair of bone of eye’; also <i>pū-ji-kārāme</i> .
PON	Also <i>tekēneriq</i> .
SAM	<i>fulufulu</i> ‘bodyhair’, <i>mata</i> ‘eye’.

## 04.213 EYELID

ATA	kakuʔuʔ	BUG	amporo-mata	KWO	feferu i
*TSO	fo-friʔsʔ ta	KON	baho mata		(mā-na)
	mɔ̄o	WOL	polopa-na	RAG	
RUK			mata	PAA	kahimetok
PAI	ʔakə-ʔakəv	MAG	ilep	LEW	kulu-kila
YAM	avot no mata	NGA	kopa-mata		mara-na
ISN		SIK	mata-ŋ βiβir	POR	nur-mara-n
KAL	lukkōb ata	RTI	mata lou-k	NTA	nuβi
TAG	talūkap naŋ	*BUR	ram oko-n		nəŋanamt-n
	mata	*DOB	mata-m ʔalay	*KWA	teki nenime-
AKL		IRA	matie ɸariɸərə	*NEM	cī-n t <sup>n</sup> amā-n
*PAL	takəp ət mata	*SAW	mtə lik-o	*CEM	î-nāmī-n
MOL	kulob mata	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isi mada-n	AJI	kārā pieme
KAG		MAM	mata-buʔu	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā-kārāme
BLA		*TAK	mala-n	*NEN	newaegogo
SAB	bukut mata		sukulo-n	*KIR	te rebe ni mata
MUR	kuliop	DAM	dawi ilun	MSH	
*MGY	hudi-masu	MAB	mata-twīni	*PON	kilnimese
*ACE	kulet mata	*YAB	mata-baəb	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> aŕüɸ <sup>w</sup> aŕüri-
BAT	lakkop ni	KAU			mata
	mata	*TOL	pipil-nə-matə	EFI	dakudaku-ni-
MIN	kalupaʔ mato	BUA			mata-
IND	kelopak mata	ADZ	mara ubit	WFI	-lobolobo-ni-
*SUN	kulit [panon]	KIL	mitikipoi		mata
*JAV	tlapuʔ-an	*TAW	matakeyaka	RTU	fəʔ ne mafa
*MAD	balakodan	*MOT	mata-na	TON	lau-mata
*BAL	bibih matə		kopi-na	*SAM	lau-mata
SAS		MEK	maa akō	MEL	
GOR	depuhu mato	ROV	kopkopo mata	TAH	tāpoʔi mata
DAA	kuli mata	MAR	peprek <sup>h</sup> u tat <sup>h</sup> a	*RAP	
UMA	kuluma mata	LAU			

TSO	‘a cover on the eye’; see <i>mi-frĩʔsi</i> ‘to cover’.
PAL	Also <i>bidinət mata</i> .
MGY	From <i>hudĩʔa + masu</i> .
ACE	Also <i>pulumpuəʔ mata, gulupaʔ mata</i> .
SUN	From Javanese.
JAV	Also <i>tlapuʔ</i> .
MAD	Safioedin (1977): <i>balakot, balakod<sup>ʔ</sup>an</i> .
BAL	<i>bibih</i> ‘lip’.
BUR	‘eye skin’.
DOB	‘your eyes’ skin’.
SAW	From <i>likε-o</i> , lit ‘eye skin’.
TAK	‘eye-his skin-its’, i.e. ‘skin of his eye’.
YAB	‘his/her eyelid’.
TOL	See 04.344.
TAW	‘eye cup’.
MOT	<i>mata</i> ‘eye’, <i>kopi</i> ‘skin’.
KWA	‘skin-of eye’.
NEM	‘skin of the eyes’.
CEM	‘skin of the eye’.
XAR	‘house of eye’.
NEN	Also <i>newarowo</i> .
KIR	<i>rebe</i> ‘protuberance’; also <i>te raurau ni mata</i> (cf. <i>te raurau</i> ‘plate’).
PON	3sg POSS; lit ‘skin of the eye’.
WLE	‘cover of the eye’.
SAM	cf. <i>lau</i> ‘leaf’.
RAP	<i>veke-veke</i> ‘eyelid, eyelash’.

#### 04.214 EYELASH

*ATA	kinuriŋ naʔ rawiŋ	YAM	čičimit	MOL	porok
*TSO	mʔumʔu ta mçō	ISN	kīmat	KAG	pilək
RUK	sakobokobo	KAL	kulimatmat	BLA	bul mətə
PAI	kəŋip	*TAG	pilik-mata	SAB	bulbul mata
		AKL	pilok	*MUR	bulu nu mato
		PAL	pərək	MGY	vulu-masu

ACE	buleə mata	MAM	mata-puleʔe	*KWA	numrhi
BAT	ibbulu ni mata	*TAK	mala-n dirbi-n		nenime-
MIN	bulu matə	DAM	mala gobor	*NEM	pun-t <sup>n</sup> amā-n
IND	bulu mata	*MAB	mata- romōno	*CEM	pû-nāmī-n
*SUN	bulu [panon]	*YAB	mata-gasi	AJI	pūrū pieme
JAV	idəp	KAU		*XAR	pū-kārāme
MAD	bulu kij <sup>ha</sup> ʔ	*TOL	ivu-nə-pipil-	NEN	direwaegogo
*BAL	bulu-n matə		nə-matə-	*KIR	te burae ni
SAS	bulu matə	BUA			mata
GOR	ʔi-ʔilapo	ADZ	mara fufun	MSH	
DAA	vulu mata	KIL	mitikulolo-	*PON	ririnmas
UMA	βulu mata	*TAW	mataipi	WLE	mateṛeṛimata
BUG	bulu-mata	MOT	derebu-na	EFI	bekabeka-ni-
KON	bulu mata	MEK	maa apipi-na		mata-
WOL	βulu-na mata	ROV	pupulisi mata	WFI	-kakaβulu-si-
MAG	vulu mata	MAR	peprek <sup>h</sup> u tat <sup>h</sup> a		mata
NGA	lua-mata	LAU		RTU	lekleki
SIK	mata-ŋ koko-n	KWO	fifisi mā	TON	fulufuluʔi-
RTI	mata bulu	RAG	raŋosi-n mata-		laumata
BUR	rama-n folo-n	PAA	lamulimetok	*SAM	fulu-mata
*DOB	mata-m φuli	LEW	vilulu-kila-	MEL	a-furu te-mata
IRA	matie φariφərə		mara-na	TAH	hihi mata
	φəru	POR	viin-maran	*RAP	veke-veke
SAW	mtə plu	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e		
NYI	lami mada-n		nəŋanamt-n		

ATA ‘hair of eyes’.

TSO ‘hair on the eye’.

TAG Proto-Philippines \*pidek.

MUR ‘hair of eye’.

SUN Javanese.

BAL *bulu* ‘body hair’.

ḌŌB ‘your eyes’ hair’.

TAK eye-his lash-its’, i.e. ‘lash of his eye’.

MAB Also *mata-rumūnu*.

YAB ‘his/her eyelash’ (*gasi* ‘cinder, tuft’).

TOL *ivu* ‘hair’, 04.144.

TAW ‘eye lip’.

KWA	‘hair-of eye’.
NEM	‘hair of the eyes’.
CEM	‘hair of the eye’.
XAR	‘hair of eye’.
KIR	‘hair of the eye’.
PON	Compare <i>rīr</i> ‘line of debris left by tide’; also <i>ririntērīleŋ, nīnīrek</i> .
SAM	<i>fulu</i> ‘feather’.
RAP	<i>veke-veke</i> ‘eyelid, eyelash’.

## 04.215 BLINK

ATA	mak-mikmi?	*SAS	kəjit	BUA	pō mala
TSO	bue-pre- preʔpiʔi	GOR	mo-ʔi <sup>n</sup> da	ADZ	prik-
RUK	wa-kədə- kədəpə	DAA	<sup>m</sup> pida	*KIL	i-mitikipo-ki
PAI	k-aḷ-ipə-kip	UMA	mo-kipa?	TAW	lumataboho
YAM	mapazkəzkət	BUG	makkapido	*MOT	mata-na ha- kapu-a dagu
ISN	kilmāt	*KON	aʔ-kidde?	*MEK	maŋae-pa- uŋu-a
*KAL	kispay	MAG	rəpa	ROV	mata puri
*TAG	kurap	NGA	rəpe	MAR	praku
AKL	pamisuk	SIK	gləpa-ŋ	LAU	maru
PAL	ipədəŋ	*RTI	maka-heʔde mata	KWO	māʔamaʔaru
	səŋbəlaʔ mata	*BUR	ram gehe-k	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> iŋa
*MOL	porok	*DOB	na-ʔabobu	PAA	pol kati
KAG	kiʔpat		mayi	*LEW	pop <sup>w</sup> elawa
BLA	mudaf	IRA	nətətərə matie	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> e <sup>m</sup> brekuk
*SAB	kiddaw	SAW	n-fa-lemleme	NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> əlap <sup>w</sup> əl
MUR	maŋuliop	NYI	mada-n	*KWA	-apri
*MGY	mi-hiringirina		takamek	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> i-māuc
ACE	kləp	MAM	mata-pisa	CEM	pī-pélehewi
*BAT	makkidop	*TAK	-puk-kilakil	AJI	məkə
MIN	kiʔoʔ	DAM	kamisa	XAR	nime
*IND	bər-kədip	MAB	mata-kolom	*NEN	aḏəḏ
SUN	kičip	*YAB	mata-gasi- bam	KIR	ruberube
JAV	kədəp			*MSH	məɕkun
MAD	kəḏḏəp	KAU		*PON	marep
*BAL	kijap-an	*TOL	və-pitu-matə	*WLE	xemaŋupa

EFI	sauriḡa	TON	kemo	TAH	ʔamo
WFI	katarimo	SAM	ʔemo	RAP	mine-mine
RTU	kemo	MEL			

KAL *kispay + man-*.

TAG Also *kisap + -um-*.

MOL *porok + og-*.

SAB *kiddaw + ag-*.

MGY From *mj- + hirina + hirina*.

BAT (*maN-hidop*).

IND Also *bər-kəʃap*.

BAL *kijap-an* (nom.); *mə-kijap-an* (vb intrans).

SAS Also *kiñʃap*.

KON Also *aʔ-kida*.

WOL Also *popiro, mpid'o*.

RTI Verb, 'to blink the eye'.

BUR Also *rama-n gapu-k gapu-k* 'eyelids keep drooping from sleepiness';  
*eke-k rama-n* 'squint'.

DOB 'he blinks his eyes'.

TAK 'open shut': a serial verb construction, as in *mala-g i-pul i-kilakil-da*  
'eye-my it-open it-shut-IMPERF', i.e. 'I am blinking'.

YAB 'eye-lash toss'.

KIL 'he-eyelash-to'.

MOT *mata* 'eye', *ha-kapu-a* 'to cause to close', *dagu* 'suddenly'.

MEK *uŋu* 'blink involuntarily'.

LEW Also *wulawa* 'close eyes'.

KWA Also means 'sleep'.

NEN Also *čaničani*.

MSH Also *rom*.

PON Also *limasaweirek* hon.

WLE *xemasüriü* also 'to put to sleep'; *xewaişü*.

## 04.220 EAR

ATA	čaŋiaʔ	UMA	tiliŋa	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> uli
TSO	koru	BUG	daččuli	LAU	ʔaliŋa
RUK	çaliŋa	KON	toli	KWO	ariŋa(-na)
PAI	çaliŋa	WOL	taliŋa	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ero-
YAM	taliŋa	MAG	tilu	*PAA	raliŋok
ISN	taliŋa	NGA	hiŋa	LEW	kiliŋa-na
KAL	iŋa	*SIK	tilu	POR	<sup>n</sup> darinŋan
*TAG	tēŋa	*RTI	diʔi-do-k	NTA	matalŋ-n
*AKL	duʔuŋgan	*BUR	etliŋa-n	*KWA	nəpɾeŋə-
PAL	təliŋa	*DOB	taʔar	NEM	ʃēna
MOL	tolliŋa	IRA	təgəra	CEM	ʃêne-n
KAG	taliŋa	*SAW	tətaŋ-o	AJI	bōdē
BLA	kliŋi	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> añe-n	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> anənē
SAB	taiŋa	MAM	ʔuŋi	NEN	wabaiwa
MUR	taliŋo	TAK	kukudo-n	KIR	te taniŋa
*MGY	[sufina]	DAM	weder	*MSH	lœilŋi
*ACE	guluñuəŋ	MAB	talŋa-	PON	saləŋ
BAT	piŋgəl	*YAB	taŋa	WLE	taŋiŋa
MIN	taliŋo	KAU	kiŋa-n	EFI	daliŋa-
*IND	təliŋa	TOL	təliŋə	WFI	-bebe
SUN	çili	BUA	rəŋa	RTU	faliŋa
JAV	kupiŋ	ADZ	riŋa-	TON	teliŋa
MAD	kupiŋ	*KIL	taigila	*SAM	taliŋa
BAL	kupiŋ	TAW	taniga-na	MEL	tariŋa
*SAS	kəntək	MOT	taia-na	TAH	tariʔa
GOR	buləŋa	*MEK	aina	RAP	tariŋa
DAA	taliŋa	ROV	taliŋa		

TAG Also *taʔiŋa*.

AKL Root: *duŋuŋ* 'hear'.

MGY From Malay.

ACE Also *piñuəŋ*.

IND Also *kupiŋ*.

SAS Teeuw: *kəntək*, *təliŋa*, *kuŋi*; [*kupiŋ*] from Balinese, Sumbawa.

SIK Also *tilu-ŋ*.

RTI See 04.140.

BUR Also *eliŋa-n*.

DOB See 04.207.

SAW From *tetaŋe-o*.

YAB 'his/her ear'; *taŋa-m* 'your ear'; *taŋa-sùŋ* 'his/her ear cavity'.

KIL *taigila* (unpossessed); *taiga-* (possessed).

MEK *ai-na* for *aia-ŋa*; with fossilised 3sg suffix.

PAA 'my ear'.

KWA *nə̌fɾeŋə-* 'outer ear'; *nak<sup>w</sup>aregə-* 'inner ear, ear canal'.

MSH with fossilised prefix *lɔ-* 'at'.

SAM (polite) *faʔa-loŋo*, *faʔa-fofoŋa*, see 15.410.

#### 04.221 EARLOBE

ATA		GOR		TAW	tanigako-
TSO		DAA	tava taliŋa		makoma
RUK		UMA		*MOT	taia-na abo-na
PAI		BUG	sibbo <sup>?</sup> daččuli	MEK	aina lalakō
YAM		KON	rauŋ toli	ROV	boboa taliŋa
ISN	adon taliŋa	WOL	taʔi-na taliŋa	MAR	
KAL	lagayad iŋa	*MAG	tilu sauŋ	LAU	mualiŋa
TAG		NGA	pena-hiŋa	KWO	
AKL		SIK	tilu-ŋ laŋar	RAG	
PAL	panika <sup>?</sup>	RTI	diʔi-do palon	PAA	keleraliŋok
MOL	layag-layag	BUR	eliŋa-n tatu-n	*LEW	
	toliŋa	*DOB	taʔar ller	POR	<sup>n</sup> dariŋan
KAG		IRA		NTA	noukat
BLA		*SAW	tetaŋ-o		matalŋ-n
SAB	taŋa	NYI		KWA	
MUR	gantad	MAM	ʔuŋi-meme	*NEM	cō-n jēna
MGY	tadini	TAK	kukudo-n	CEM	
ACE	on guļuŋuəŋ		awe-n	AJI	pē wēdē
BAT	si-pareən	DAM	weder bali	XAR	
MIN	liaŋ taliŋo	MAB	talŋa-dibīni	NEN	aḍaiwa
IND	čupiŋ	*YAB	taŋa-lauŋ	*KIR	te reben taniŋa
SUN	daun čili	KAU		MSH	
JAV	gə̌də̌h	*TOL	betebete	PON	
MAD	kupiŋ	BUA		*WLE	yō̌ra
*BAL	don kupiŋ	ADZ	riŋa yafan	EFI	bebc-ni-
SAS		KIL	p <sup>w</sup> anela taigila		daliŋa-



WFI	ʃu-ni-bebe	*SAM	ʔau-taliŋa	*RAP	ʔepe
RTU	is-faliŋa	MEL			
TON		TAH			

BAL *don* ‘leaf’.

MAG ‘the place for inserting earrings’; with Manggarai people the ear-lobe is not conspicuous; *sauŋ tilu* is ‘auricle’.

DOB This refers to the whole outer ear, not just the lobe.

SAW From *tetaŋe-o* ‘ear’.

YAB ‘his/her earlobe’; *taŋa-m-laŋ* ‘your earlobe’.

TOL Also *pagito*, *tagigit*; all items are only listed in Lanyon-Orgill (1960: 541, 725; 1962: 728).

MOT *taia* ‘ear’, *abo* ‘scrotum’.

LEW Described as *lele-n sulu-en piataliŋa* ‘place for poking an earring’.

NEM ‘penis of the ear’.

KIR *terebe* ‘protuberance’, also *te roba n taniŋa*.

WLE Also *yōraŋi-taŋiŋa*.

SAM ʔau- prefix used with nouns denoting long (sometimes also narrow) things (Milner 1966: 31), *taliŋa* ‘ear’.

RAP Archaic, from Tahitian; now archaic. More commonly *tariŋa* ‘ear, earlobe’.

#### 04.222 EARWAX

*ATA	ʃapuriʔ	*MUR	lanay	BUG	tai-daččuli
*TSO	kanti ta koru	*MGY	tai-n-ʃufina	KON	tai toli
RUK	ʃələgə	ACE	εʔ guuluŋuəŋ	WOL	
PAI	iļuʃ	BAT	tə ni piŋgəl	MAG	taʔi tilu
YAM	čilo	MIN	čiriʔ taliŋo	NGA	taʔi-hiŋa
ISN	kīta	IND	tahi teliŋa	SIK	tilu-ŋ taʔi-ŋ
KAL	attəŋ iŋa	SUN	tai čili	RTI	niʔi-do ŋgela-k
*TAG	tutuli	JAV	čurəʔ	*BUR	eliŋa-n tai-n
AKL	tulih	MAD	tai-na kupiŋ	DOB	yin
PAL	kətutulyəŋ	BAL	tilu	IRA	təgəra tirə
MOL	tutulion	*SAS	tai kəntok	*SAW	tetaŋ-o ni ta lə
KAG	ʔutuli	GOR	tuliŋo	*NYI	asi <sup>n</sup> dʔaŋe-n
BLA	teʔe kliŋi	DAA	taʔi taliŋa	MAM	padodo
SAB	talempon	UMA	taʔi tiliŋa	TAK	kubol

DAM	weder tē	LAU	gora	*KIR	te butaen
MAB	talŋa- ka tili	KWO			taniŋa
YAB	taŋa-biʔ	RAG	duleŋi-	MSH	
KAU		PAA	arul	PON	
TOL	tulə	LEW	konono-ne-na	WLE	paxaŋi-taŋiŋa
BUA		POR	na- <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> i <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>	EFI	dule
*ADZ	riŋa	NTA	nəsi mataŋ-n	WFI	ta-ni-bebe
	dzuru <sup>n</sup> ɕian	KWA		RTU	turi
KIL		NEM		TON	teʔe-tuli
*TAW	gobu	*CEM	hê-jêŋɛ-n	*SAM	tae-tuli
*MOT	kuhera	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> eɔ	MEL	
MEK		XAR	k <sup>w</sup> exɔ	TAH	tāturi
ROV	nuli	NEN		RAP	takituri
MAR					

ATA Also *kapuyay*.

TSO ‘dirt in the ear’.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*tulih*.

MUR Also *tataiʔ nu taliŋo* lit ‘faeces of ear’.

MGY From *tai* ‘dirt’ -N- *sofina* ‘ear’.

SAS Some dialects: *tai-n tāliŋa*.

BUR ‘excretion from ears’.

SAW ‘ear’s (thing) that is bad’.

NYI ‘excreta of his ear’.

ADZ Amari only; *riŋamaɕamiɕ* other dialects.

TAW ‘dirt’.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *kuhere* (Western Motu?).

CEM ‘excrement of the ear’.

KIR ‘excrement of the ear’.

SAM *tae* ‘faeces’, *tuli* ‘deaf’.

#### 04.230 NOSE

ATA	ŋuhuy	PAI	ŋujus	KAL	əŋəl
TSO	ŋiɕi	YAM	momodan	TAG	ilonŋ
RUK	ŋoŋoanə	ISN	iguŋ	AKL	iluŋ

PAL	ɔruŋ	SIK	iru-ŋ	RAG	yan-(i)hu
MOL	oduŋ	*RTI	idu	*PAA	vuliŋasuk
KAG	iruŋ	BUR	ŋee-n	LEW	kunu-na
BLA	iluŋ	*DOB	suran	POR	xuniisii-n
SAB	ūŋ	IRA	wegurə	NTA	nəpaŋnahŋ-n
MUR	aduŋ	*SAW	gegwes-o	KWA	nəpasen-i-
MGY	uruna	NYI	nəʔo-n	NEM	wǎdi-n
ACE	idoŋ	*MAM	moagaruŋa	CEM	ùm <sup>w</sup> i-n
BAT	iguŋ	TAK	ŋudu-n	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> i
MIN	idu <sup>ɔ</sup> ŋ	DAM	uyu	XAR	kū
IND	hiduŋ	MAB	kuzu-	*NEN	gupied
SUN	iruŋ	*YAB	lusu-sùŋ	KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> airi
JAV	iruŋ	KAU	hut	MSH	bəti
MAD	iluŋ	TOL	biləu-	*PON	tum <sup>w</sup> e
BAL	čujuh	BUA	nəru	WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> ōti
*SAS	iruŋ	ADZ	yu-	EFI	uðu-
GOR	wuliŋo	KIL	kabulu-	WFI	-ŋiðu
DAA	oŋe	TAW	niu-na	RTU	isu
UMA	oŋe	*MOT	udu baubau-na	TON	ihu
BUG	iŋi <sup>?</sup>	MEK	kua	SAM	isu
KON	ka <sup>?</sup> muruŋ	ROV	isu	MEL	usu
WOL	aŋo	MAR	nehu	TAH	ihu
*MAG	isuŋ	LAU	ŋora	RAP	ihu
NGA	ŋizu	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> aŋo(-na)		

SAS Teeuw: *iduŋ, iruŋ, eroŋ, eruŋ, eduŋ*.

MAG Also *irus*; bovine ‘nose’ is also *irus*.

RTI Also *pana*.

DOB See 04.207.

SAW From *gegwesε-o*.

MAM Also *susu<sup>?</sup>uri*.

YAB ‘nose-hole’ i.e. ‘his/her nose’; *lusu-m-sùŋ* ‘your nose’.

MOT *udu* ‘mouth, nose’; to specify ‘nose’ *udu baubau*.

PAA ‘my nose’.

NEN Also *gupino*.

PON Also *keinūnu, sisip<sup>w</sup>ai* hon.

## 04.231 NOSTRIL

*ATA	kūy naʔ ŋuhuy	UMA	βulouʔ oŋe	ROV	gogoro isu
*TSO	froŋo ta ŋiçi	BUG	sibbo-iŋiʔ	MAR	
RUK		KON	kalibboŋ	LAU	
PAI			kaʔmuruy	KWO	
YAM	ŋoŋo no	*WOL	βolo-na aŋo	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> are-ŋan-hu-
	momođan	MAG	nua isuy	PAA	vulijasuk
ISN	abbut iguy	NGA	gəvo-ŋizu	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu-kunu-na
KAL	abut oŋol	SIK	iru-ŋ boa-ŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> bur-
*TAG	būtas naŋ iluy	RTI	pana-bolo-k		xunüsü-n
*AKL	būhuʔ sa iluy	BUR	ŋee-n fefa-n	NTA	
*PAL	bələbaʔan ət ɔruy	*DOB	suran ɸaɸu-y	*KWA	nəpəŋi nəpaseŋi-
MOL	ruaŋ oduy		nabaruɸənə	*NEM	wa-n wādi-n
KAG		SAW	gegwes-o ni	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ó-ùm <sup>w</sup> ī-n
BLA	sol iluy		mdoke	AJI	wēwī
SAB	ləwaŋ ūŋ	NYI	munu noʔo-n	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-kū
*MUR	luaŋ nu aduy	MAM	susuʔuri	NEN	wabapiəd
*MGY	vavuruna	*TAK	ŋudu-n awa-n	*KIR	b <sup>w</sup> aŋab <sup>w</sup> aŋan te b <sup>w</sup> airi
*ACE	[luəŋ] idoy	DAM	uyu ku	MSH	
BAT	ruaŋ ni iguy	MAB	kuzu-tūnu	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> oren ɸim <sup>w</sup> e
MIN	liaŋ iduʔŋ	*YAB	lusu-àwa	*WLE	xatamaři-ɸ <sup>w</sup> ōti
IND	lubaŋ hiduy	KAU		EFI	gara-ni-uđu-
SUN	liaŋ iruy	*TOL	ŋovo-nə-biləu-	WFI	-g <sup>w</sup> ara-ni-ŋiđu
JAV	leŋ iruy	BUA	nəru len	RTU	paŋaŋ ne isu
*MAD	lubaŋ-ŋa iluy	ADZ	yu ba <sup>m</sup> pun	TON	avaʔi-ihu
*BAL	soŋ čuŋuh	KIL	gosa-	*SAM	pū-isu
SAS	koroy	TAW	niudomo-na	MEL	paŋausu
*GOR	huwaŋo	*MOT	udu-na matu-	TAH	ʔāpoʔo ihu
	wuliŋo		na	RAP	pū ihu
*DAA	bolo oŋe	*MEK	kua inē		

ATA 'hole of nose'.

TSO 'hole of the nose'.

TAG 'hole of nose'.

AKL 'hole of nose'

PAL 'hole of nose'.

MUR 'hole of nose'.

MGY	From <i>vava</i> ‘mouth’, <i>uruna</i> ‘nose’.
ACE	From Mon-Khmer.
MAD	From ( <i>lubaq-nailuŋ</i> ).
BAL	<i>soŋ</i> ‘hole’.
GOR	<i>huwaŋo</i> ‘hole’, <i>wuliŋo</i> ‘nose’.
DAA	‘nose hole’.
WOL	‘hole of nose’.
DOB	‘your nose’s hole’.
TAK	‘nose-his mouth-its’ (04.230, 04.240), i.e. ‘mouth of his nose’.
YAB	‘nose-mouth’ i.e. ‘his/her nostril’; <i>lusu-m-sùŋ</i> ‘your nostril’.
TOL	<i>ŋovo</i> ‘hole’, <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>biləu-</i> ‘nose’.
MOT	<i>udu</i> ‘nose’, <i>matu</i> ‘hole’.
MEK	<i>ine</i> ‘hole’, <i>kua oŋō</i> ‘nosewing, side of nose’.
KWA	‘hole-of nose’.
NEM	‘cavity of the nose’.
CEM	‘hole of the nose’.
XAR	‘opening of the nose’.
KIR	‘nose hole’.
PON	‘nose hole’.
WLE	‘nose door’.
SAM	<i>pū</i> ‘hole’, <i>isu</i> ‘nose’.

#### 04.232 MUCUS (nasal)

ATA	<i>ŋihiʔ</i>	BLA	<i>lakaf</i>	SAS	<i>irus</i>
*TSO	<i>ŋi-ŋiʔi</i>	*SAB	<i>suppun</i>	GOR	<i>huwodu</i>
RUK	<i>baəkə</i>	MUR	<i>usod</i>	DAA	<i>vasa</i>
PAI	<i>vəŋək</i>	MGY	<i>lelu</i>	UMA	<i>ŋuuʔ</i>
YAM	<i>ŋəkəy</i>	ACE	<i>εʔ idəŋ</i>	BUG	<i>ələʔ</i>
ISN	<i>sipun</i>	*BAT	<i>məmməŋ</i>	KON	<i>'urusu</i>
KAL	<i>āŋod</i>	MIN	<i>salemo</i>	WOL	<i>sopu</i>
*TAG	<i>sipon</i>	IND	<i>iŋus</i>	MAG	<i>taʔi-isuŋ</i>
AKL	<i>sipʔun</i>	SUN	<i>leho</i>	NGA	<i>fəki</i>
*PAL	<i>sələt</i>	JAV	<i>umbəl</i>	*SIK	<i>βoki</i>
MOL	<i>muʔsoŋ</i>	MAD	<i>usəŋ</i>	RTI	<i>pinu</i>
KAG	<i>səppaʔən</i>	*BAL	<i>teŋes</i>	*BUR	<i>ŋihu-t</i>

DOB	ma'ɲur	MOT	kuru-na	XAR	nire
IRA	ɸegusə	*MEK	fakina	NEN	yewebəɲod
SAW	məmus	ROV	ɲuru	KIR	te ɲako
NYI	musur	*MAR	moɲno	MSH	uwur
MAM	ʔoɲ	LAU		PON	ʔɔi
TAK	mulaɲok	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> əɲo	WLE	ɲɲisii
DAM	uyu tār	RAG	davi-	EFI	luka
MAB	ɲurūnu	PAA	rahivo	WFI	-d <sup>r</sup> igo
YAB	lusu-gawam	LEW	kurutavi	RTU	is kəru
KAU		POR	na- <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ar	TON	ihu-pe <sup>ʔ</sup> e
*TOL	mə	NTA	nounahɲ-n	SAM	isupē
BUA	gəɲ <sup>w</sup> is	*KWA	keɲis	*MEL	[navia]
ADZ	yu dzuɲwar	NEM	ɲa	TAH	hūpē
KIL	kabunutoguna	CEM	dəu-n	RAP	kokoɲo
TAW	nelu	AJI	niře		

TSO Also *ɲiɸi* 'runny nasal mucus', *kanti ta ɲiɸi* 'dirt in the nose (dried nasal mucus, snot, nose dirt)'.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*sip<sup>ʔ</sup>un*; also *ūhog*.

PAL Also *amgus*.

SAB Also *sippun*.

BAT (*monmon*).

BAL Also *ɲeɲes*.

SIK Also *βoki-ɲ*, *ʔa<sup>ʔ</sup>ak*.

BUR *ɲee biba-n* 'nosebleed'.

TOL Also *kunkunu*.

MEK Cognates in the other dialects have final *-o*.

MAR Also *naɲune*.

KWA Also *nihinaɲaseɲi-* 'excrement-of nose'.

MEL From Efate.

#### 04.240 MOUTH

ATA	ɲakuak	YAM	ɲoʂo	AKL	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> ba <sup>ʔ</sup>
TSO	ɲaro	ISN	buguɲ	PAL	baba <sup>ʔ</sup>
RUK	ɲodoy	KAL	sāɲi	MOL	baba <sup>ʔ</sup>
PAI	aɲal <sup>y</sup>	*TAG	bibig	KAG	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> ba <sup>ʔ</sup>

BLA	bɔʔ	*BUR	fifi-n	*PAA	uŋok
SAB	bowaʔ	DOB	ɸaɸa-m	LEW	ŋo-na
MUR	kabaŋ	*IRA	gānə	POR	<sup>m</sup> baŋo-n
MGY	vava	SAW	sumo	NTA	noa-n
ACE	babah	NYI	boho-n	KWA	nak <sup>w</sup> a-
BAT	baba	MAM	aua	NEM	ɣa-n
*MIN	araŋ	TAK	awa-n	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ó-n
IND	mulut	DAM	awa	AJI	newã
*SUN	suŋut	MAB	kwo-	XAR	nāx <sup>w</sup> ã
JAV	čaŋkəm	*YAB	àwa	*NEN	yepɸ
MAD	čuluʔ	KAU	βo-n	KIR	te wī
*BAL	buŋut	*TOL	ŋie-	MSH	lɔŋi
*SAS	biwih	BUA	aβi	*PON	āu
*GOR	tu <sup>ɟ</sup> gilo	ADZ	nifu-	WLE	yawa
DAA	su <sup>m</sup> ba	*KIL	wodila	EFI	ŋusu-
UMA	ŋaŋa	TAW	gamo-na	WFI	-ŋuhu
BUG	timu	*MOT	udu-na	RTU	nuču
KON	baba	MEK	ake	TON	ŋutu
*WOL	mu <sup>n̄</sup> ču	ROV	ŋuzu	SAM	ŋutu
MAG	muʔu	MAR	foflo	MEL	ŋutu
NGA	boro	LAU	fakana	TAH	vaha
*SIK	məmu	KWO	foka(-na)	RAP	haha
RTI	bafa-k	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> aŋo-		

TAG Also *buŋāŋaʔ* (rude).

MIN Also *muluyʔ*, *muñčuʔŋ*.

SUN Also ‘beak’; *baham* honorific; *baŋus* ‘snout of animal’.

BAL *buŋas* ‘mouth’ of an object, e.g. cave, gun.

SAS Teeuw: *biwih*, *biwir*, *biwis*, *todok*, *torok*.

GOR Also *ŋaŋo*.

WOL *mu<sup>n̄</sup>ču* ‘outer part of mouth’; *ŋaŋa* ‘inner/interior of mouth’.

SIK Also *memu-ŋ*, *βa*, *βaŋ*.

BUR Also *fefa-n lale-n*, *fifi-n lale-n* ‘(inside of) mouth’; *ŋare-n* ‘roof of mouth’.

IRA Also *riməta*.

YAB ‘his/her mouth’; *àwa-m* ‘your mouth’; also *àwa-sùŋ*, lit ‘mouth-hole’.

TOL Also of animals, e.g. beak.

KIL *wodila* (unpossessed); *wodo-* (possessed).

MOT See 04.230.

PAA 'my mouth'.

NEN Also *tubebered* (respectful).

PON Also *tawas*; *towashon*.

### 04.241 BEAK

ATA	ʔa-ʔatuk	DAA	su <sup>m</sup> ba- <sup>n</sup> to <sup>n̄</sup> ʃi	LAU	
TSO	sumsu	UMA	ŋuʃu	KWO	ŋidu(-na)
RUK	sa-toŋo-toŋoʔ- anə	BUG	likkiʔ	RAG	hiŋo
PAI	cuk-cuk	KON	pittoʔ	PAA	uŋok
YAM	panoktok	WOL	mu <sup>n̄</sup> ču	LEW	ŋo-na
ISN	simtu	MAG	muʔu	POR	<sup>m</sup> baŋo-n
KAL	tupok	NGA	boro	NTA	nuβiŋə nohlə-n
TAG	tukaʔ	*SIK	məmu-ŋ	KWA	tərhu-
AKL	tukaʔ	RTI	pana	*NEM	dō-n ʔa-n
PAL	munuŋ	BUR	man fifi-n	*CEM	pêcuə-n
MOL	titinduk	*DOB	ŋusił	AJI	pēwā
KAG	tuktuk	IRA		XAR	pā
BLA	suməŋ	SAW	sumo	NEN	
SAB	tokaʔ	NYI	noʔo sirih	KIR	te wī
MUR	tinduk	MAM	maŋ-sumuru	MSII	bəti
MGY	vava-m- buruna	*TAK	sukuro-n	PON	
*ACE	babah	DAM	ibana	WLE	
BAT	tuktuk	MAB	zuru-	EFI	i-toki
MIN	paru <sup>h</sup>	*YAB	gedə-tek <sup>wa</sup>	WFI	-ŋuhu
IND	paruh	KAU		RTU	nuču
*SUN	čuŋur	*TOL	ŋie (-na-beo)	*TON	ŋutu
JAV	čučuʔ	BUA	aβi	SAM	ŋutu
MAD	čuččuʔ	ADZ	nifu-	MEL	ŋutu
BAL	čučuk	*KIL	kala doga	TAH	ʔutu
SAS	čočok	TAW	mutu-na	RAP	ŋutu
*GOR	tu <sup>ŋ</sup> gilo  būruŋi	*MOT	udu-na		
		*MEK	kua		
		ROV	ŋuzu		
		MAR			

ACE Also [*paroh*] from Malay.

SUN Also *čoŋor*, *suŋut*.



GOR	<i>tu<sup>9</sup>gilo</i> ‘mouth’, [ <i>būruŋi</i> ] ‘bird’ from Malay.
SIK	Also <i>kaŋtopak</i> .
DOB	This is an inalienably possessed noun. <i>ŋusil</i> is the form when the possessor is singular and <i>ŋusal-di</i> when there is more than one possessor.
TAK	Also <i>siŋro-n</i> .
YAB	‘snout-bone’.
TOL	<i>na</i> CONN, <i>beo</i> ‘bird’.
KIL	‘his beak, horn, tusk’.
MOT	See 04.230.
MEK	<i>kua</i> ‘nose, beak’.
NEM	‘leaf of the mouth’.
CEM	Also ‘tooth’.
TON	Also <i>mu<sup>?</sup>atosi</i> .

#### 04.250 LIP

ATA	parahum	SUN	biwir	MAM	uasi
TSO	sumsu	JAV	lambe	TAK	fari-n
RUK	bibianə	MAD	bibir	DAM	sigor
PAI	l <sup>ʔ</sup> əlat	BAL	bibih	MAB	zuru-
YAM	ŋoŋoy	*SAS	ǰamer	*YAB	gedo-li <sup>?</sup>
ISN	bibig	GOR	bihu	KAU	
KAL	sūbil	DAA	vivi	*TOL	bul-nə-ŋie-
TAG	lābi	UMA	βiβi	BUA	aβi
AKL	bibig	BUG	wiwi <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	nifu ubit
PAL	munuŋ	*KON	ʔbibere	KIL	bilibalo-
MOL	umol	WOL	βiwi	TAW	ipila-na
KAG	bibig	MAG	vivir	MOT	bibina-na
BLA	salek	NGA	kuba	MEK	fifina
SAB	bihij bowa <sup>?</sup>	SIK	βiβir	ROV	beru
*MUR	munuŋ	*RTI	●ifa-●o-k	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> epeo
*MGY	{mulu <sup>ʔ</sup> a}	*BUR	fifi-n oko-n	LAU	ŋidu-na
ACE	bibi	*DOB	●iβar <sup>?</sup> alay	KWO	ŋidu(-na)
*BAT	bibir	IRA	riməta ritə	*RAG	viŋviŋo-
MIN	bibi <sup>?</sup>	SAW	sumo pero	*PAA	hilūŋok
IND	bibir	NYI	kusu-n	LEW	kulu-ŋo-na

*POR	nür <sup>m</sup> baŋo-n	NEN	newanu	RTU	pep-nuču
NTA	nohlə-n	KIR	te ria	TON	lou-ŋutu
KWA	tərhu	MSH	tie	*SAM	lau-ŋutu
*NEM	cī-n ɣa-n	*PON	kilinau	MEL	gutu
CEM	bûluɔ-n	WLE	tüŋüyawa	TAH	ʔutu
AJI	kãřawã	EFI	tebe-ni-ŋusu-	RAP	ŋutu
XAR	pirekəx <sup>wã</sup>	WFI	-taba-ri-ŋuhu		

MUR Also *bibil* ‘upper lip’, *ǰabil* ‘lower lip’.

MGY From Malay *mulut* ‘mouth’.

BAT Also ‘edge’.

SAS Teeuw: *biwih* ‘lip, mouth’. ‘lip’: *ǰam(b)er, ǰalamer, (ǰə)ǰimer*.

KON Also *musseŋ*.

RTI See 04.140.

BUR Frequently just *fifi-n*.

DOB ‘your lips’ skin’. See 04.207.

YAB ‘his/her lips’; *gedo-m-liʔ* ‘your lips’.

TOL *bul* ‘lips’, *nə* CONN, *ŋie-* ‘mouth’.

RAG ‘lips’.

PAA ‘my mouth skin’.

POR ‘skin mouth-his’.

NEM ‘skin of the mouth’.

PON *kilinau* lit ‘skin of the mouth’; *pāris* hon. ‘lower lip’; *pōris* hon. ‘upper lip’.

SAM See 04.213 *lau* ‘leaf’, *ŋutu* ‘mouth’, (polite) *lau-fofoŋa*.

## 04.260 TONGUE

ATA	hmaʔ	AKL	dīlaʔ	*ACE	dilah
TSO	umo	PAL	dilaʔ	BAT	dīla
RUK	līdamə	MOL	dilaʔ	MIN	lidah
PAI	səma	KAG	dilaʔ	IND	lidah
YAM	līla	BLA	diloʔ	SUN	letah
ISN	dīla	SAB	dellaʔ	JAV	ilat
KAL	dīla	MUR	dilaʔ	MAD	ǰ <sup>6</sup> ila
*TAG	dīlaʔ	MGY	lela	BAL	layah

SAS	əlaʔ	MAB	mia-	NTA	nam-n
GOR	dila	*YAB	i <sup>m</sup> bela	KWA	naramə-
DAA	ʃila	KAU	mamai	NEM	kuvema-n
UMA	ʃilaʔ	TOL	kərəmeā-	CEM	ûpehe-n
BUG	lila	BUA	dayen	AJI	kuʃume
KON	lila	ADZ	ma-	XAR	kurumε
WOL	ɖela	*KIL	melia	*NEN	čadanəjoč
MAG	ləma	TAW	mena-na	KIR	te newe
NGA	ləma	MOT	mala-na	MSH	lo
*SIK	ma	*MEK	maia	*PON	lāu
RTI	ma-k	ROV	mea	WLE	řewe
BUR	maa-n	MAR	glapi	EFI	yame-
*DOB	ʔabelar	LAU	meana	WFI	-mā
IRA	mamaʃe	KWO	mea(-na)	RTU	ʔalele
SAW	pεpε-o	RAG	mea-	TON	ʔelelo
NYI	kalime-n	*PAA	mēk	SAM	laulaufaiva
MAM	meme	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> urumene-	*MEL	[līmena]
TAK	bale-n		na	TAH	arero
DAM	bale	POR	memen	RAP	ʔarero

TAG PHN \**dilaq* ‘to lick’.

ACE Also *lidah*.

SIK Also *maŋ*.

DOB See 04.207.

YAB ‘his/her tongue’; *i<sup>m</sup>bela-m* ‘your tongue’.

KIL *melia* (unpossessed); *maye-* (possessed).

MEK NW Mekeo *maea*.

PAA ‘my tongue’.

NEN *čadaberidi* (respectful).

PON Also *tinap<sup>w</sup>*.

MEL From Efate.

## 04.270 TOOTH

\*ATA ʔiʔnux

TSO xisi

RUK valisi

PAI al<sup>y</sup>is

YAM ŋəpən

ISN ŋīpan

KAL ŋīpon

TAG īpin

AKL ŋīpun

PAL	nipɔn	SIK	niu-ŋ	RAG	livo-
MOL	nipon	RTI	nisi-k	*PAA	luhok
KAG	ŋipɔn	BUR	ŋisi-n	LEW	pralue-na
BLA	kifan	*DOB	ŋeyan	*POR	rivon
SAB	empon	IRA	rəɸu	NTA	neluβ-n
MUR	dipon	*SAW	ŋaŋ-o	*KWA	rewu-
MGY	nifi	NYI	lihi-n	NEM	paioa-n
ACE	gigɔə	MAM	ile	CEM	pêcuɔ-n
BAT	ŋiŋi	TAK	luwo-n	AJI	pēwã
MIN	gigi	DAM	waila	XAR	pã
IND	gigi	MAB	zoŋo-	*NEN	yege
SUN	huntu	*YAB	lò	*KIR	te wī
JAV	untu	KAU	ŋiŋo	MSH	ŋi
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> ig <sup>h</sup> i	*TOL	pəl-a-ŋie-	*PON	ŋī
BAL	gigi	BUA	nəβu	WLE	ŋī
SAS	gigi	*ADZ	nifu urun	EFI	bati-
GOR	duŋito	KIL	kudu-	WFI	-basi
DAA	ŋisi	TAW	niwo-na	RTU	?ala
UMA	ŋihi?	*MOT	ise-na	TON	nifo
BUG	isi	MEK	nie	*SAM	nifo
KON	gigi	ROV	livo	MEL	nifo
WOL	ŋi <sup>n</sup> çi	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> e?i	TAH	niho
*MAG	ŋīs	LAU	lifo	RAP	niho
NGA	ŋi?i	KWO	nifo(-na)		

ATA Also *ŋipun*.

MAG Also *ŋi?is*.

DOB See 04.207.

SAW From *ŋaŋɛ-o*.

YAB ‘his/her tooth’; *lò-m* ‘your tooth’; *lùŋ* ‘teeth’.

TOL *pəl* ‘skin’, a CONN, *ŋie-* ‘mouth’.

ADZ ‘mouth bone’, i.e. ‘tooth’.

MOT Also ‘edge, border’.

PAA ‘my tooth’.

POR Also *mbar rivon*.

KWA Also *paha* ‘tooth, axe’.

NEN Also *yeŋeŋmu* (respectful).

KIR Also ‘mouth’.

PON *ŋī* 3sg POSS; *eriŋ* hon., lit ‘ripe coconut’; *eseŋ; inati*.

SAM (polite) *ʔoloa*.

### 04.271 GUMS

ATA		UMA	holeʔ	MAR	
*TSO	braxçi ta xisi	BUG	ŋiŋŋiʔ	LAU	garomata
RUK	lələθə	*KON	porassi	KWO	nago(-na)
PAI		WOL	guo	RAG	ŋado-
YAM	ŋarəʂ	MAG	ri <sup>n</sup> ti	PAA	volarəŋok
ISN	ŋādat	NGA	isi-riti	LEW	pilakute-na
KAL	takod ŋīpon	SIK	ʔrai-ŋ	POR	niir <sup>m</sup> baŋo-n
TAG	gilāgid	RTI	nisi isi-k	NTA	manəŋaha-n
AKL	ŋīluʔ	BUR	ŋisi-n aka-n	KWA	niŋaha-
PAL	məməl	DOB	ŋeyan ʔuʔun	NEM	
MOL	togon	IRA	rəʔu mataʔu	CEM	
KAG	ŋiləʔ	SAW	ŋisi	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ēkərəa
BLA	kumal	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ana-n	*XAR	ʒi rə pā
SAB	ŋeloʔ	*MAM	gabira	NEN	
MUR	sinsilon	TAK	gasi-n	KIR	te ŋaro
*MGY	akandzu-nifi	DAM	nudo	MSH	ŋar
ACE	gusi	MAB	ka-kuskūzu	PON	uʔun ŋī
*BAT	gosi	*YAB	lò-b <sup>w</sup> am	*WLE	ʔ <sup>w</sup> oʂaliŋī
MIN	gusi	KAU		EFI	ŋad <sup>r</sup> o-
IND	gusi	TOL	ŋodaŋdol	WFI	-ŋaβa
SUN	gugusi	BUA		RTU	tuka
JAV	gusi	ADZ	nifu paiya	TON	teʔenifo
MAD	g <sup>ʰ</sup> usi	*KIL	kudakaiwa	*SAM	tāi-nifo
BAL	isit	TAW	degu-na	MEL	ŋole
SAS		MOT	māo-na	*TAH	paʔi niho
GOR	huwoto	MEK	nie ŋomē	RAP	ʔakau
DAA	uga	ROV	ŋaŋadolo		

TSO ‘flesh at the tooth’.

MGY *akandzu* ‘dress’, *nifi* ‘teeth’.

BAT Also *surat-an ni ŋiŋi* (arch.).

KON Also *purassi*.

MAM Also *gabara*.

YAB	'his/her gums'.
KIL	<i>kudakaiwa</i> (upper); <i>kudutilawa</i> (lower). These forms from the elision of <i>*kudu-walakaiwa</i> and <i>*kudu-watanawa</i> .
XAR	'skirt of the teeth'.
WLE	With directional <i>-da</i> 'up', $\phi^w$ oşařiyawa 'frame of the teeth, frame of the mouth'.
SAM	<i>tāi-? nifo</i> 'tooth'.
TAH	Also <i>tie niho</i> .

### 04.272 MOLAR TOOTH

ATA	pukin	UMA	maga	MAR	gagrai
TSO	romi	BUG	laŋo	LAU	lifo garomata
RUK	sa-taətaɭə	KON	'ŋa'ŋala	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> āri(-na)
PAI	vakaŋ	WOL	ti <sup>m</sup> pa	RAG	
YAM	kamanşaşaŋa	MAG	ŋis ŋəraŋ	PAA	vatiluhok
ISN	waŋli	NGA	ŋi'i-ŋa'a	LEW	
KAL	ŋawŋaw	*SIK	aha-ŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> bar rivon
TAG	bagaŋ	RTI	nisi <sup>1</sup> dena-k	NTA	vilapaŋ
AKL	bag'aŋ	*BUR	dage-n	KWA	ruapah
PAL	bigaŋ	DOB	ŋartak <sup>w</sup> ul	NEM	
MOL	bi'gaŋ	IRA	rəfo warə	CEM	pulē-n
KAG	bag'aŋ	*SAW	ŋaŋ-o tektok	AJI	peyagē
BLA	bə'aŋ	NYI	lihi-n	XAR	šəra
SAB	baga'aŋ	MAM	ile bibia	NEN	
*MUR	bagaŋ	TAK	gama-n	KIR	te awai
MGY	vazana	DAM	gobora	*MSH	ŋilep
ACE	gigəə ghəwəm	MAB	waŋ ūnu	*PON	ŋilap
BAT	ŋadəl	*YAB	lò-beli'	*WLE	ŋi'rapa
MIN	gigi	KAU		EFI	i-māmama
IND	gəraham	TOL	gəbər	WFI	-lelemuŋu
SUN	čareham	BUA	nəβu	RTU	'al a'pat tē
JAV	bam	*ADZ		TON	ŋao
MAD	gərrəm	KIL		*SAM	ŋao
BAL	paŋgal	TAW	niwodudu-na	MEL	ŋole
*SAS	jaŋel	MOT	gadigadi-na	TAH	niho po'a
GOR	boheŋo	MEK	a'i	*RAP	niho tumu
DAA	baga	ROV	livo patpata		

MUR	Also <i>bulalaŋiw/buŋaŋaliw</i> ‘canine tooth’.
SAS	Teeuw: <i>jaŋel, ŋam, maŋkəm</i> .
SIK	Also <i>niu-ŋ aha-ŋ</i> .
BUR	Also <i>ŋisi-n</i> ‘tooth’.
SAW	<i>ŋaŋ-o</i> from <i>ŋaŋe-o</i> .
YAB	‘his/her molar tooth’.
ADZ	<i>nifu fugun</i> (Amari only); <i>nifu wain</i> (other dialects).
MSH	‘big tooth’.
P̄ON	‘big tooth’.
WLE	‘big tooth’.
SAM	Also (polite) <i>ʔoʔoloa</i> .
RAP	Also <i>niho tahito</i> .

#### 04.280 NECK

*ATA	wariyuŋ	MAD	liʔir	*YAB	gesu
TSO	sini	BAL	baŋ	KAU	βut
RUK	l̄ə	*SAS	bəloŋ	TOL	inoa-
PAI	liku	GOR	buloʔo	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a
YAM	ragaw	DAA	ta <sup>m</sup> bolo	ADZ	ua-
ISN	buʔlaw	UMA	βurokoʔ	KIL	kaiyo-
KAL	bagaŋ	BUG	illoŋ	TAW	gadou-na
*TAG	liʔig	KON	kalloŋ	MOT	aio-na
AKL	liʔug	WOL	βoroko	*MEK	aiso (aio)
*PAL	lyɔg	MAG	bokak	ROV	rua
MOL	liog	NGA	teŋu	MAR	grara
KAG	liʔəg	*SIK	ʔəru-ŋ	LAU	ʔe ʔlua
BLA	lial	RTI	lesu-ha ʔi-k	KWO	rua(-na)
SAB	kolloŋ	BUR	wadu-n	RAG	m <sup>w</sup> ayoro-
MUR	liog	DOB	sadal	*PAA	hirək
MGY	vuzuna	IRA	dərəbonə	*LEW	komelki-na
*ACE	[takuə]	SAW	koko	POR	xunua-n
BAT	rukkuŋ	NYI	bale-n	NTA	ne-n-tou
MIN	kudu <sup>oʔ</sup>	MAM	audə	KWA	nua-
IND	leher	TAK	buro-n	NEM	nō-n
SUN	bihij	DAM	ula	CEM	héné-n
JAV	gulu	MAB		AJI	k <sup>w</sup> ēgūū

*XAR	pū-nā	WLE	worɔŋa	SAM	ua
*NEN	gureθo	EFI	domo-	MEL	penāua
KIR	te roroa	WFI	-domo	TAH	ʔaʔi
MSH	kʌŋ <sup>w</sup> a	RTU	kia	RAP	ŋao
*PON	were	TON	kia		

ATA akčuy 'front neck'.

TAG Also *leʔeg*.

PAL Also 'voice'.

ACE Possibly Mon-Khmer.

SAS Teeuw: *bəloŋ*, *lir*, (Teeuw: '[liir]?'); *korok*.

SIK Also *boʔir*.

YAB 'his/her neck'; *geso-m* 'your neck'; also *gesu-tek<sup>w</sup>a* lit 'neck-bone'.

MEK *aizo*, West Mekeo *aido*, NW Mekeo *aio/aiyo* (Brown has *ai*).

PAA 'my neck'; can also be used for 'throat' and 'voice'.

LEW Also *melki-na*.

XAR Also *wiña*.

NEN Also *gureθapuča* (respectful).

PON *were* 3sg POSS; also *tepinwere*; *kasəŋ*, hon.; also *tepinkasəŋ*.

#### 04.281 NAPE OF NECK

ATA	huruj	MGY	hatuka	WOL	ɬuu
TSO	tiʔtona	ACE	kudoʔ	MAG	təŋu
RUK	ədənə	BAT	takkuhuk	NGA	koti
*PAI	dəŋəlan	MIN	kuduʔʔ	*SIK	togər
YAM	popotoan	IND	təŋkuk	RTI	ka <sup>n</sup> dou-k
ISN	taŋŋad	SUN	punduk	BUR	wadu-n
KAL	toŋod	*JAV	gitɔʔ	DOB	sadal
TAG	bātok	MAD	liʔir	IRA	sarəpərə
*AKL	taŋkūguʔ	*BAL	tuəd baon	SAW	koko mdi
PAL	tikurəw	*SAS	boŋkor	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> u-n
MOL	goron	GOR	loŋuŋu	MAM	dudu
KAG	taŋkə'gəʔ	DAA	tu <sup>n</sup> du	*TAK	gitama-n
BLA	tutuk	UMA	po <sup>ʔ</sup> koʔ	DAM	guyu
SAB	bukut kolloŋ	BUG	čarido	MAB	leke-
MUR	impus	KON	oroʔ	YAB	k <sup>w</sup> alim-mala



*KAU	βut βetpo-n	*RAG	tab <sup>w</sup> etu	MSH	
TOL	dokadokoi	PAA	āluok	*PON	peten were
BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a ɤasun	LEW	mia-melki-na	WLE	üwa
ADZ	u <sup>n</sup> tu-	POR	<sup>m</sup> bar xunua-n	EFI	usouso-ni-
KIL	kalaus-	NTA	nounəkə-n		domo-
TAW	etetu-na	KWA	kanhur	WFI	-ua-ni-domo
*MOT	gedu-na	*NEM	pue-nō-n	RTU	hiin-kia
MEK	i <sup>ʔ</sup> u-fa <sup>ʔ</sup> a	CEM	dīhe-pūni-n	TON	tu <sup>ʔ</sup> a-kia
ROV	rua	AJI	pə <sup>ʔ</sup> og <sup>w</sup> ã	*SAM	tuā-ua
MAR	k <sup>h</sup> okoloho	*XAR	nī	MEL	fatu
LAU	buru lua	*NEN	koden	TAH	rei
KWO		KIR	te kamou	RAP	tuke ŋao

PAI *ujun* ‘back bone of neck’.

AKL Also *iŋkuy*.

JAV Also *čəŋəl*.

BAL *tuəd* ‘base, stump’.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *boŋkor* ‘back’. Teeuw: *kətəkək*, *kəndəkək*, *kənəkək*.

SIK Also *toŋer*.

TAK Also *ŋidi-bi-k*.

KAU ‘neck underside-its’.

MOT See 04.372.

RAG ‘back of head’.

NEM ‘origin of the neck’.

XAR Also *p<sup>w</sup>anū*.

NEN Also *wakod*.

PON 3sg POSS; lit ‘squeezing of the neck’.

SAM *tua* ‘back’, see 04.190, also *tuli-ulu*, *tuli* ‘joint’, *ulu* ‘head’.

## 04.290 THROAT

ATA	ʔaɤçuy	YAM	tətənan	*AKL	tutunlan
TSO	vixi	ISN	barakubbo	PAL	tətəlnan
RUK	lɔlɔŋo	KAL	ologgo <sup>ʔ</sup> og	MOL	liog
PAI	liɤu	*TAG	lalamūnan	KAG	bləŋŋan

BLA	bkakoŋ	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ulam	LEW	komesua-ne-na
SAB	kolloŋ	*IRA	dərəbunə		
MUR	tantalanan		rigətə	POR	<sup>n</sup> dʻü <sup>n</sup> dʻü
MGY	tenda	SAW	gli	NTA	ne-n-tou
*ACE	[marəh]	NYI	saka bale-n	KWA	ruk <sup>w</sup> inau
BAT	aru-aru	MAM	audu-bu <sup>ʔ</sup> u	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ō-n
*MIN	raŋkuŋan	*TAK	kilagu-n	CEM	hénɛ-n
*IND	təŋgorokan	DAM	ula bani	AJI	kaʃanō
SUN	gəŋgəroŋ	MAB	<sup>ŋ</sup> gure-	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ada
*JAV	krəŋkəŋan	YAB	kə <sup>ʔ</sup> -labəŋ	NEN	waunapo
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> arung <sup>h</sup> uŋan	KAU	emhoŋ-an	*KIR	te bua
BAL	koloŋan	TOL	koŋkoŋi-	*MSH	bəʃə
*SAS	təmbəroko	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a taβɛ	PON	kepin <sup>w</sup> er
*GOR	bu <sup>ŋ</sup> goɦu	ADZ	u dagarak	*WLE	woʃoŋa
DAA	duroko	KIL	dumodom-	EFI	i-tilotilo
*UMA	to <sup>ŋ</sup> kodo <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAW	uyopopo-na	WFI	-ŋod <sup>ʔ</sup> oŋod <sup>ʔ</sup> o
BUG	tigiro <sup>ʔ</sup>	*MOT	gado-na	RTU	kiə <sup>ʔ</sup> ora
KON	bəda <sup>ʔ</sup> -bəda <sup>ʔ</sup>	*MEK	aisə lələkō	TON	məŋa
	kalloŋ	ROV	leo	SAM	fā <sup>ʔ</sup> a <sup>ʔ</sup> i
WOL	go <sup>n</sup> čo	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> otomno	MEL	foromaŋa
MAG	ŋarək	LAU	kaona lua	TAH	<sup>ʔ</sup> arapo <sup>ʔ</sup> a
NGA	fəke	KWO	onəma(-na)	RAP	ŋuruhara
*SIK	koko-ŋ	RAG	hala-n ɣan		
RTI	boto-li-k		yinau		
*BUR	skeha-n	PAA	hirək		

TAG Root: *lāmon* ‘swallow’.

AKL Root: *tu<sup>ʔ</sup>un* ‘swallow’.

ACE Arabic, also *rukuaŋ* ‘throat, wind pipe’.

MIN Also *mari<sup>h</sup>*.

IND Also *kəroŋkoŋan*.

JAV Also *gəro<sup>ʔ</sup>an*.

SAS Teeuw: also *təm(b)ərokoŋ*, *təm(b)ərokon*, *bəŋkəloŋ*, *təŋkorok*, *təŋkorəŋ*.

GOR Also *bu<sup>ŋ</sup>goɦe*.

UMA Also *tumələ*.

SIK Also *bo<sup>ʔ</sup>ir*.

BUR Also *skuru-n* ‘Adam’s apple’.

IRA	'Adam's apple'.
TAK	'throat, voice'.
MOT	Also 'voice, speech, language'.
MEK	West Mekeo <i>aidologo-logō</i> .
KIR	Also 'sack, pocket'.
MSH	Also 'seat of the emotions; gills'.
WLE	Also <i>yōri-kō̄</i> .

### 04.300 SHOULDER

Sanskrit: *bāhu*- 'arm'

ATA	haṅaḥ-ik	*GOR	bi <sup>o</sup> guṇo	TAW	awala-na
TSO	ri <sup>ʔ</sup> si	DAA	viṅa	MOT	paṅa-na
RUK	ta-balaṅ-ānə	UMA	βiṅa	*MEK	vaṅo
PAI	ḳavan	BUG	salaṅka	ROV	avara
YAM	pakaw	KON	salaṅga	MAR	fafra
ISN	abāga	WOL	awa-a	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ouna ʔaba
KAL	abāla	*MAG	bekek	KWO	ʔabaʔaba
TAG	baḷikat	*NGA	kasa		(-na)
*AKL	abāgah	SIK	palik	RAG	isib <sup>w</sup> a-
PAL	ɔbaga	RTI	alu-k	*PAA	vatisik
MOL	baga	*BUR	mala-n	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uru-kau-
KAG	baga <sup>ʔ</sup>	DOB	laɸaray-m		ne-na
BLA	ftubuṅ	IRA	ɸaraɸuḷe	POR	<sup>m</sup> bar vosa-n
SAB	baha	*SAW	ḷeḷɔl-o	NTA	nuβeṅ-n
MUR	limbawo	NYI	kase-n	KWA	nura-
MGY	suruka	MAM	bage	*NEM	pue-i-n
ACE	baho	TAK	pao-n	CEM	êā-n
BAT	abara	DAM	bener	AJI	bēgūṛū
MIN	[bahu]	MAB	rege-	XAR	pū-mē
IND	[bahu]	*YAB	magi-ṁ	*NEN	kataʔad
SUN	taktak	KAU	uβa-n	KIR	te aṅa
JAV	punda <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TOL	ul-ə-vəra-	*MSH	aeræ
MAD	[b <sup>h</sup> au]	BUA	bage	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> e
*BAL	palə	*ADZ	sipət	WLE	yafaṅa
SAS	toak	KIL	βilaβa-	EFI	taba-

WFI	-bekau	*SAM	tau?au	*RAP	keke?u
RTU	uma	*MEL	[pamu]		
TON	uma	TAH	tapono		

AKL Proto-Philippines \**qabāRah*.

BAL Also [*bau*].

GOR Also [*wuwahu*].

MAG Also *ledar*.

NGA Also *vigu*.

BUR 'top of shoulder'.

SAW From *ǰǰǰle-o*.

YAB 'shoulder-origin' (in contrast to *magi* 'hip') i.e. 'his/her shoulder';  
*magi-m-ǰm* 'your shoulder'.

TOL *ul-* 'top' (see 04.200), a 'CONN, *vara* ?

ADZ *sipat* Amari only; *sias* other dialects.

MEK *aŋo* other dialects; 'back of the shoulder and/or the back of the upper arm', as in when we 'shoulder' something.

PAA 'my shoulder', lit 'basis of bones'.

NEM 'origin of arm'.

NEN Also *ade*.

MSH Also *kəp*.

PON *p<sup>w</sup>op<sup>w</sup>e* 3sg POSS; *apere* 3sg POSS hon.

SAM (polite) *tenetene*.

MEL From Efate.

RAP *kapuhiva* (archaic).

### 04.301 SHOULDERBLADE

ATA		TAG	paypay	SAB	baha
TSO	xi?i	AKL	pālik-pālik	MUR	lupip
RUK		PAL	kəkōpi	*MGY	rangu-maina
PAI		MOL	susudu?on	ACE	tuluəŋ dayoŋ
YAM	pəysagatan	KAG	bəg'say-	BAT	sasap
ISN	tāpil		bəg'say	MIN	tulaŋ musi <sup>ə</sup>
KAL	tākob	BLA	li?if	IND	tulaŋ bəlikat

*SUN	[walikat]	TAK	yaro-n kape-n	NTA	
JAV	walikat	DAM	guge	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anparum
*MAD	b <sup>h</sup> əŋ-g <sup>h</sup> ib <sup>h</sup> əŋ	MAB	ka- <sup>n</sup> gerēze	*NEM	pī-n pue-i-n
BAL	tulaŋ palə	*YAB	magi-yɔʔ	CEM	
SAS	bəlikat	KAU	poplit	AJI	g <sup>w</sup> āřāřa
GOR	ʔiʔi	*TOL	kelekelegi-	*XAR	ñĩ-nəa
DAA	vuku viŋa	BUA	bage sek	NEN	nede
UMA	hiru	ADZ	sias	*KIR	te rīn aŋa
BUG	buku-salaŋka	KIL	kaniβa-	MSH	
KON	seruŋ-seruŋ	TAW	alopeya-na	PON	
WOL	βuku-na awa-a	MOT	larolaro-na	WLE	
MAG	toko če <sup>m</sup> be	*MEK	vaŋo-kaka	EFI	i-βađi
NGA	kave-tona	ROV	kilkile	WFI	-čua-rabaraba
SIK	təpar	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ekleyo	RTU	sui tepa
RTI	alu dea-k	LAU		TON	hui-fohe
*BUR	roh sahi-n	KWO	fote(-na)	*SAM	ivi-foe
*DOB	laʔur tul	RAG	hui-n isib <sup>w</sup> a	MEL	
IRA	səpəsiɸərə	PAA		TAH	paʔufifi
SAW	mom ipə	LEW	pia-su na	RAP	pararaha
NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> ubos		lima-na		kekeʔu
MAM	bage-buʔu	POR	<sup>m</sup> bar vea-n		

MGY From *raŋu* ‘tall, long’, *maina* (from *ma-haina*) ‘dry’.

SUN From Javanese.

MAD From (RED-*g<sup>h</sup>ib<sup>h</sup>əŋ*) compare Safioedin (1977) *g<sup>h</sup>ib<sup>h</sup>əŋ* ‘earring’?

BUR ‘paddle bone’.

DOB ‘broom bone’, presumably because the shape of the bone is like the head of the locally used brooms.

YAB ‘his/her shoulderblade’; *magi-m-yɔʔ* ‘your shoulderblade’.

TOL Also *kelekelegi-na-lima-*, see 04.310.

MEK *kaka* ‘a crescent pearlshell ornament’.

NEM ‘shell of the shoulder’.

XAR ‘bone-knife’.

KIR ‘shoulder bone’.

SAM *ivi* ‘bone’, *foe* ‘paddle’; (polite) *ivi-sā* from *sā* ‘sacred’?

## 04.302 COLLARBONE

ATA		UMA	lɔgi	ROV	
TSO		BUG	buku-illoŋ	MAR	boboromola
RUK		KON	leʔleraŋ	LAU	
PAI		WOL	ʃuku-na	KWO	
YAM	ablit		sula <sup>ɔ</sup> ga	RAG	hui-n mayoro
ISN		*MAG	toko bokər	*PAA	vuluai mon
KAL	tākob	NGA	koti		tālo
TAG	balāgat	SIK	ʃaru mapa	*LEW	puriu na
AKL	baliskug	RTI			melki-na
PAL	biliskɔg	BUR	pawi-n	POR	<sup>m</sup> bar vosa-n
MOL	bolosiʔkog	*DOB	ʃaʃi ŋeyin	NTA	
KAG	baliskɔg		ʃaʃi	KWA	
BLA	blagal	IRA	səbɔgətə rurə	*NEM	gala o n̄-n
SAB		SAW		CEM	
MUR	okow-okow	NYI	kasoh	AJI	řada
MGY	taulam-panavi	MAM	paʔo	XAR	
ACE	tuluwəŋ	*TAK	pao-n tatu-a-n	NEN	
	sadwəp	DAM	mumu duwari	KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> äreke
BAT	haliadaŋ	MAB	puke-	MSH	
MIN	tulaŋ katu <sup>əʔ</sup>	*YAB	magi-tek <sup>w</sup> a	PON	
	ñiru	*KAU	sa nok-ŋin-an	WLE	
IND	tulaŋ səlaŋka	*TOL	ur-nə-ul-ə-	EFI	i-taube-βadra
SUN			vəra -	WFI	-haŋa
JAV	gulu	BUA	pəwes	RTU	vəi
MAD	tulaŋ salaŋkas	ADZ	u <sup>m</sup> paŋ	TON	hui-haʔamo
BAL	tulaŋ baŋ	KIL	kaitakewa	SAM	
SAS		TAW		MEL	
GOR	tiʔa-tiʔa	*MOT	dəa-na	TAH	
DAA	vuku kabibi	*MEK	epe	*RAP	keo

MAG In the dialect of Cibal.

DOB ‘pig tooth pig’.

TAK ‘shoulder-his bone-its’, i.e. ‘bone of his shoulder’.

YAB ‘his/her collarbone’; *magi-m-tek<sup>w</sup>a* ‘your collarbone’.

KAU ‘tree weave (?)’-NOM-ATTR’.

TOL *ur* ‘bone’, see 04.300, 04.160.

MOT See 04.170.

MEK	<i>epe</i> ‘ridge of the shoulder’.
PAA	‘the hollow above the collarbone’.
LEW	‘bone of back’.
NEM	‘taro patch on the neck’.
RAP	<i>rei</i> (archaic).

## 04.310 ARM

ATA	kaβaʔ	*UMA	pale	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ame
TSO	muçu	BUG	taiyya	LAU	ʔaba
RUK	tabalaŋānə	*KON	lima	KWO	nima(-na)
PAI	lima	WOL	lima	RAG	lima-
YAM	lima	*MAG	gəlu	*PAA	hēk
ISN	īma	NGA	təke	LEW	lima-na
KAL	taklāy	SIK	lima-ŋ	POR	vea-n
*TAG	bīsīg	RTI	lima-k	NTA	nelm-n
*AKL	butkun	BUR	faha-n	*KWA	rəŋi-
*PAL	ləŋən	DOB	lima-m	NEM	hi-n
MOL	ləŋən	*IRA	φəra	CEM	í-n
KAG	blukan	SAW	ləŋləŋ	AJI	kəwɪ xɛ rua
BLA	sigal	NYI	boha-n	XAR	mē
SAB	ləŋŋən	*MAM	luma	NEN	θemie
MUR	ləŋən	TAK	to-n	KIR	
*MGY	[sandʔi]	DAM	ima	MSH	
ACE	sapay	MAB	nama-	PON	
BAT	bətəhən	*YAB	lema	WLE	paü
MIN	laŋan	*KAU	βili-n put	EFI	liŋa-
*IND	ləŋan	TOL	lima-	WFI	-lima
SUN	liŋin	BUA	nəma	*RTU	siʔu
JAV	ləŋən	ADZ	baŋi-	TON	nima
*MAD	ləŋŋən	*KIL	yamila	*SAM	lima
*BAL	ləŋən	TAW	nima-na	MEL	rima
*SAS	dəpə	*MOT	ima-na	TAH	rima
GOR	wuwahu	*MEK	vaŋo	RAP	rima
DAA	pale	ROV	lima		

TAG Contrast hand (04.330); also [*brāso*], from Spanish *brazo*.

AKL Also [*brāso*], from Spanish.

PAL	Covers ‘arm, forearm’.
MGY	From Malay [ <i>səndi</i> ] ‘joint’, from Sanskrit.
IND	Also <i>taṅan</i> .
MAD	Safioedin (1977): <i>ləŋŋən</i> ‘arm (not including) hand’; <i>taŋaŋ</i> ‘arm, including hand’.
BAL	<i>ləŋən</i> ‘arm’; <i>limə</i> ‘arm and hand’.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985): <i>ima</i> (does not record <i>dəpə</i> ). Teeuw does not map ‘arm’, but has <i>ima</i> , occasionally <i>lima</i> , in compounds.
UMA	<i>pale</i> ‘entire arm, including hand’; <i>roŋole</i> ‘upper arm’.
KON	Also <i>ledo, palekesaŋ</i> both ‘upper arm’.
MAG	‘upper-arm’. <i>bo<sup>n</sup>tes</i> ‘muscular part of the under-arm’.
IRA	Also <i>fra</i> .
MAM	Also <i>debu</i> .
YAB	‘his/her arm’; <i>lema-m</i> ‘your arm’.
KAU	‘hand-his stem’ (see 04.350, 04.462, 08.730).
KIL	<i>yamila</i> unpossessed; <i>yama-</i> possessed.
MOT	<i>ima</i> ‘arm, hand, five’; <i>hauhau</i> ‘upper arm’.
MEK	<i>vaŋo</i> ‘upper arm and shoulder’, <i>ima</i> ‘lower arm and hand’.
PAA	‘my arm, hand’.
KWA	Includes hand.
RTU	Also <i>ʔu-hapa</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>ʔaʔaə</i> .

### 04.312 ARMPIT

ATA	čičik	MOL	kokoyokan	SUN	kelek
TSO	x <sup>ʔ</sup> ix <sup>ʔ</sup> i	KAG	ilək	JAV	kele <sup>ʔ</sup>
RUK	taθiyanə	BLA	imək	MAD	kimuŋ
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> ək-l <sup>y</sup> ək-an	SAB	kepet	BAL	sipah
YAM	kəkələan	MUR	pakilok	*SAS	klelek
ISN	aŋkikīli	MGY	helika	GOR	huwaŋe <sup>ʔ</sup> e
KAL	ōyok	ACE	gutia <sup>ʔ</sup>	DAA	karege
TAG	kili-kīli	BAT	gədək-gədək	UMA	kiriki <sup>ʔ</sup>
*AKL	ilūkun	MIN	katia <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUG	kalepa <sup>ʔ</sup>
PAL	kikikan	IND	kətiak	KON	epa



WOL	keke	BUA	kəri	CEM	nénebē-n
MAG	lele	ADZ	ari-	AJI	neabē
NGA	kele	KIL	pusiga-	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> aji-mē
SIK	kelik	TAW	dig <sup>w</sup> eg <sup>w</sup> e-na	NEN	wabaʔad
RTI	lili bolo-k	MOT	kadidiha-na	*KIR	te āni bai
*BUR	gege-n	MEK	kikina	MSH	merwaŋ
*DOB	dek <sup>w</sup> al ʔisin	ROV	ababe	*PON	pānpē
IRA	gigərə	MAR	bae	WLE	fōři-paii
SAW	giglo pɔpo	LAU	fara ʔaba	EFI	kirikiriwa-
NYI	bolo kabede-n	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> ae(-na)	WFI	-kerukeru
MAM	boate	RAG	malaviŋa-	RTU	kirkiri
TAK	gubate-n	*PAA	hiŋek	TON	faʔefine
DAM	kawītu	LEW	puluŋa-na	SAM	ʔaoʔao
MAB	bege-	POR	pena-vea-n	MEL	fiŋa
*YAB	gasu-labu	NTA	nəku-n	TAH	ʔeʔe
*KAU	βet βili-n	KWA	təkərkowə-	RAP	haʔiŋa
TOL	bai-	NEM	habē-n		

AKL PHN \*qiDek-en.

SAS Teeuw: kəlelek, kəlekan.

BUR See s-gege ‘carry under the arm’.

DOB dek<sup>w</sup>al ‘wing’. It is inalienably possessed but after root-final *l*, *r*, *n* or *m* the second person singular possession suffix is normally a zero morpheme. ʔisin ‘underneath’.

YAB ‘his/her armpit’, gaso-m-labu ‘your armpit’.

KAU ‘underneath hand-his’.

PAA ‘my armpit’.

KIR ‘under the arm’.

PON Also pānp<sup>w</sup>al hon.

#### 04.320 ELBOW

ATA	hikuʔ	ISN	sīku	MOL	siku
*TSO	pʔuŋu ta muçu	KAL	sīku	KAG	siku
RUK	poko	*TAG	sīko	BLA	sigu
PAI	piku	AKL	sīkuh	SAB	siku
YAM	şiko	PAL	siku	MUR	siku

MGY	kihu	*SAW	rekruk-o	*LEW	kila-p <sup>w</sup> urupu
ACE	siŋkeə	NYI	kusu <sup>?</sup> u boha-n		na lima-na
*BAT	suhi-suhi ni	MAM	gabagaba	*POR	ko <sup>m</sup> buko <sup>m</sup> b a
	taŋan	TAK	sukuru-n		vea-n
MIN	siku	DAM	ima su	NTA	nuβlelm-n
IND	siku	MAB	nama-	KWA	nukuru-
SUN	siku		<sup>m</sup> bukūnu	NEM	jivare-hi-n
JAV	sikut	*YAB	lema-du <sup>?</sup>	*CEM	jīlu-í-n
MAD	čijkul	KAU	βili-n siβaut	AJI	bēā
BAL	siku	*TOL	buk-na-lima -	*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> a-xū-mē
SAS	siku	BUA	rəku	*NEN	karenin
GOR	ti <sup>?</sup> u	*ADZ	baŋi gusu <sup>n</sup> tu <sup>ŋ</sup> ?	*KIR	te bubua ni bai
DAA	siku	KIL	mitutula	*MSH	cim <sup>w</sup> win pæ
UMA	hiku		kailaβasia	*PON	keim <sup>w</sup> inpē
BUG	sikku <sup>?</sup>	TAW	itutu-na	*WLE	xapiŋipiŋiŋi-
KON	'siŋkulu	MOT	diu-na		paü
*WOL	sigu	*MEK	?iu	EFI	duruduru-ni-
MAG	čiku	ROV	tuŋtuŋu lima		liŋa-
NGA	siku	MAR	gloglomno	WFI	-čuru-ni-lima
*SIK	hi <sup>?</sup> u-ŋ		k <sup>h</sup> ame	RTU	is-fū
RTI	lima bu <sup>?</sup> u-k	LAU	sun <sup>a</sup> ?aba	TON	tui <sup>?</sup> i-nima
BUR	faha-n ef-	KWO	su <sup>?</sup> usu <sup>?</sup> u-na	*SAM	tuli-lima
	niku-n		nima(-na)	MEL	p <sup>w</sup> ēsuki
DOB	lima-m tuna-y	*RAG	buŋu-n hui-	TAH	poro rima
IRA	φra si	*PAA	uriluk	RAP	turi rima

TSO 'knot of the arm'.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*sīkuh*.

BAT Also *tombis*.

WOL Also *siku*.

SIK Also *lima-ŋ hi<sup>?</sup>u-ŋ, hi<sup>?</sup>u-ŋ βu<sup>?</sup>u-ŋ*.

SAW From *rekrukε-o*.

YAB 'his/her elbow'; *lema-m-du<sup>?</sup>* 'your elbow'.

TOL *buk* 'point, corner, knob', *na* CONN, *lima-* 'arm, hand'.

ADZ 'arm knot/node'.

MEK North Mekeo *tsiu*, West Mekeo *ji*, NW Mekeo *gi*.

RAG Also 'ankle, knee', wrist'.

PAA 'my elbow, knee'.

LEW	‘ball of main joint in arm’; also just <i>p<sup>w</sup>urupu</i> ‘main joint in limb’.
POR	‘joint to arm-his’.
CEM	See also <i>â-cî-î-n</i> ‘inside of the elbow’.
XAR	‘head on arm’.
NEN	Also <i>kareθemie</i> .
KIR	‘joint of the arm’.
MSH	‘half coconut shell of the arm’.
PON	‘corner of the arm’.
WLE	‘fold of the arm’.
SAM	(polite) <i>tapena, tuli</i> ‘joint’, <i>lima</i> ‘arm, hand’, 04.330.

#### 04.321 WRIST

ATA	ka-kima <sup>?</sup> -an	IND	pər-gəlaŋ-an	NYI	bada bob <sup>w</sup> a-n
*TSO	?voki ta muçu		taŋan	MAM	saba
RUK	ta-si-kaŋa- kaŋaθ-anə	SUN	piŋilaŋ	*TAK	bani-n ŋudu-n
PAI	ka <sup>y</sup> a-ka <sup>y</sup> at- an	*JAV	gəlaŋ	DAM	ima guyu
		MAD	pa-gəllaŋ-an taŋaŋ	MAB	nama- <sup>?</sup> gurēne
YAM	kalyaliwan no lima	*BAL	pə-gəlaŋ-an	YAB	lema-gesu
ISN	puŋpuŋuwān	*SAS		*KAU	βut βili-n
KAL	puŋpuŋu	*GOR	le-letu-wa lo ?olu?u	*TOL	mamu-
*TAG	galaŋ-galaŋ (-an)	BUA		BUA	nəma
*AKL	bukuh	DAA	oyu <sup>m</sup> pale	ADZ	baŋi gusu <sup>n</sup> tu <sup>?</sup>
PAL	pəŋgəlan	UMA	lehoa <sup>?</sup> pale	KIL	mituwetuwa
MOL	luluŋoyan	BUG	pag-gillaŋ-iŋ jari	TAW	nimag <sup>w</sup> alu- g <sup>w</sup> alu-na
KAG	dipulsu			*MOT	ima-na
BLA	lŋuən	KON	pa <sup>?</sup> -ləlak-aŋ		ganagana-na
SAB	loŋŋon	*WOL	losua	MEK	ima aisō
MUR	lalakuon	MAG	he <sup>n</sup> dok	ROV	zikziku taraka
*MGY	hatu-tanana	NGA	ŋezo	MAR	biobiŋo k <sup>h</sup> ame
ACE	atot jarəə	*SIK	kalə-ŋ	LAU	
BAT	par-gəlaŋ-an	RTI	lima se-sesu-k	KWO	kilokilo-na
MIN	pagalaŋan taŋan	BUR	faha-n enu-n		nima(-na)
		DOB	lima-m k <sup>w</sup> ayŋuwil	RAG	buyu-n hui-
		*IRA	φəra φu	PAA	vatihēk
		*SAW	{doŋadoŋa}		

*LEW	kila-mara-na kuta na lima- na	AJI	kāyɔb <sup>w</sup> iwi	WFI	-ihema-ni-lima
		XAR		RTU	kākā-ne-ʔuʔu
		NEN		*TON	fasi-ʔa-nima
*POR	mel <sup>n</sup> darɨŋ	*KIR	te tou ni bai	*SAM	tapu-lima
NTA		MSH	mɔk <sup>w</sup> ʌc	MEL	tūtaki terima
KWA	kum <sup>w</sup> er	PON	kum <sup>w</sup> uʔ en pē	*TAH	fatiraʔa rima
*NEM	hure-hi-n	WLE	xum <sup>w</sup> iʃü	*RAP	kari-kari rima
CEM		EFI	i-labi-ni-ika		

TSO 'joint of the arm/hand'.

TAG Also [*pulso*]; from Spanish *pulso*.

AKL PHN \**bukuh*.

MGY From *hatoka* 'neck', *tanana* 'hand'.

JAV Also *ugəl-ugəl*.

BAL *gəlaŋ* 'bracelet'.

SAS Teeuw: (*pə*)*teken(an)*, (*pə*)*tekelan*, *pəlaŋkeʔ*, *pəlaŋeʔ*.

GOR *le-letu-wa* 'joint', *lo* LIG, *ʔoluʔu* 'hand'. Also *po-l-li<sup>ɔ</sup>git-a*.

WOL Also *ŋule-ŋule*.

SIK Also *lima-ŋkale-ŋ*.

SAW From Tobelo.

IRA *fəra tubəɾə* 'lower arm'; *fəra wa* 'upper arm'.

TAK 'hand-his nose-its', i.e. 'nose of his hand'.

KAU 'neck hand-his'.

TOL Also *mamua* (Bley 1917:47), *māmua* (Meyer 1961:241).

MOT See 04.371.

LEW 'eye of octopus of arm'; also just *lima-na* (04.310, 04.330).

POR 'place turtle shell' (bracelet).

NEM 'extremity of the arm'.

KIR Also *te koro ni bai*.

TON Also *kau-ʔi-nima*.

SAM *tapu-ʔ*, *lima* 'arm, hand', 04.330.

TAH Also *momoarima*.

RAP Also *ka-kari rima*; *puku-puku rima*, *kuʔu-kuʔu rima* 'wrist bone'.

## 04.330 HAND

ATA	kaβaʔ	UMA		MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ame
TSO	muɕu	BUG	ɟari	LAU	ʔaba
RUK	aɭima	KON	lima	KWO	nima(-na)
PAI	ɭima	WOL	lima	*RAG	lima-
YAM	ɭima	MAG	lime	*PAA	hēk
ISN	labunugān	NGA	lima	LEW	lima-na
KAL	īma	SIK	lima-ŋ	POR	vca-n
TAG	kamay	RTI	lima-k	NTA	nelm-n
AKL	alīma	BUR	faha-n	KWA	rəŋi-
*PAL	kəramut	DOB	lima-m	NEM	hi-n
MOL	lima	IRA	ɸəra	CEM	í-n
KAG	lima	*SAW	fa-o	AJI	nexaʔaā
BLA	kmal	*NYI	mine-n	XAR	xē
SAB	taŋan	MAM	luma	*NEN	nin
MUR	kalinduʔ	TAK	bani-n	KIR	te bai
MGY	tanana	DAM	ima	MSH	pæ
ACE	jarə	MAB	nama-	*PON	pē
BAT	taŋan	*YAB	lema	WLE	paui
MIN	taŋan	KAU	βili-n	EFI	liŋa-
IND	taŋan	*TOL	lima-	WFI	-lima
SUN	liŋin	BUA	nəma	*RTU	siʔu
JAV	taŋan	ADZ	baŋi-	TON	nirna
MAD	tanaŋ	*KIL	yamila	SAM	lima
*BAL	limə	TAW	nima-na	MEL	rima
*SAS	imə	MOT	ima-na	TAH	rima
GOR	ʔoluʔu	*MEK	ima	RAP	rima
DAA	pale	ROV	lima		

PAL Also *alima*.

BAL 'hand, arm'.

SAS See 04.310 'arm'.

SAW From *faε-o*.

NYI Also *lime-n*.

YAB See 04.310 note.

TOL See 04.310.

KIL *yamila* (unpossessed); *yama-* (possessed).

MEK *ima* also 'five'.

RAG	Also <i>raŋo-</i> .
PAA	See also 04.310.
NEN	Also <i>tubenin</i> .
PON	<i>pē</i> , <i>lime</i> 3sg POSS; <i>lime</i> , <i>limeiso</i> hon.
RTU	Also <i>?u-hapa</i> .

## 04.331 PALM OF HAND

*ATA	naβuaš na? kaβa?	KON	pala?	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> atabla k <sup>h</sup> ame
*TSO	çapxi ta muçu	WOL	ra <sup>n</sup> da	LAU	lofo ?aba
RUK	θatapay	MAG	(lime-)nata	*KWO	lafate?e
PAI	kaviaκ-an	NGA	paba-lima		nima(-na)
YAM	zokap no lima	SIK	lima-ŋ əpak	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> araŋo-
ISN	dakūlap	RTI	lima dale-k	PAA	tinehēk
KAL	pālad	BUR	fah lale-n	LEW	lo-lima-na
*TAG	pālad	*DOB	lima-m yabil	POR	nala vea-n
AKL	pālad	IRA	φra ĵarəφə	NTA	nelm-n
PAL	salad	*SAW	fa-o ni feifoi lo	KWA	tap <sup>w</sup> aŋ
MOL	palad lima	NYI	bolo mine-n	*NEM	kare-i-n
KAG	palad	MAM	luma-baba	CEM	náati-í-n
BLA	faləl	*TAK	bani-n ate-n	AJI	nexařaā xe rua
*SAB	pāt taŋan	DAM	ima bala	XAR	nenā-xē
*MUR	palad	MAB	nama-ketēne	*NEN	aranin
MGY	fela-tanana	*YAB	lema-tapa	*KIR	te nano ni bai
*ACE	paluət	*KAU	βili-n iyaŋa-n	*MSH	løpiren pæ
BAT	palak ni taŋan	*TOL	bələ-nə-lima-	PON	
MIN	tapa? taŋan	BUA	nəma pətes	WLE	
IND	təlapak taŋan	ADZ	baŋi pitat	EFI	getegete-ni- liŋa-
SUN	dampal liŋin	*KIL	k <sup>w</sup> ai-lopo-la yamila	WFI	-gesege-se-ni- lima
JAV	tlapa? taŋan	TAW	nima- yapayapa-na	*RTU	ar-ne-si?u
MAD	tapa? tanaŋ			TON	?aofi-nima
*BAL	t(l)apak limə	*MOT	ima-na palapala-na	*SAM	alofi-lima
SAS	lampak imə			*MEL	[p <sup>w</sup> ālau]
GOR	paladu ?olu?u	*MEK	ima faŋapā	TAH	?apu rima
DAA	rodə <sup>m</sup> pale	ROV	olalima	*RAP	pararaha rima
UMA	pala <sup>n</sup> ta? pale				
BUG	ĵari				

ATA	‘stomach of hand’.
TSO	‘sole of the hand’.
TAG	PHN * <i>pālaj</i> .
SAB	Also <i>pād tangan</i> .
MUR	Also <i>pampalad</i> .
ACE	Also <i>tapaʔ jarɔə</i> .
BAL	Also <i>tampaklimə</i> .
DOB	‘your hand’s inside’.
SAW	<i>fa-o</i> from <i>fae-o</i> .
TAK	‘hand-his liver-its’ (04.330, 04.450), i.e. ‘liver of his hand’.
YAB	‘flat of his/her hand’.
KAU	‘hand-his flat-its’; <i>βili-n βetpo-n</i> ‘back of his hand’.
TOL	<i>bələ</i> ‘inside’, <i>nə</i> CONN; also <i>ləpər-ə-lima : ləpər</i> ‘main part of the hand without fingers’.
KIL	‘thing-belly-its hand’.
MOT	<i>palaka (palaka)</i> ‘flat’.
MEK	Also <i>ima ŋuā</i> ‘hand heart-its’. North Mekeo <i>ima ŋua-bu-ŋa</i> .
KWO	Also <i>lafata(-na)</i> .
NEM	‘internal side of hand’.
NEN	Also <i>araθemie</i> .
KIR	‘inside of the hand’.
MSH	‘in the rump of the hand’.
RTU	Also <i>hephepa</i> .
SAM	<i>alofi</i> ‘circle, assembly’, <i>lima</i> ‘arm, hand’ 04.330.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	Also <i>komuʔa o te rima</i> .

#### 04.340 FINGER

*ATA	ta-tiruʔiŋ	KAL	pagayyamot	MOL	gurumaʔmoy
TSO	dudku		īma		lima
RUK	galawgaw	TAG	dalīriʔ	KAG	tudluʔ
PAI	ʧalʔucuŋ-an	*AKL	tudluʔ	BLA	tnaloʔ
YAM	kakamay	PAL	tulduʔ	SAB	gulamay taŋan
ISN	kureremaŋ			*MUR	kalinduʔ

MGY	rančan-tanana	*SAW	kekol-o	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anpəspəsi
*ACE	anur <sup>?</sup> jarəə	*NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o mine-n		rəŋi-
BAT	ĵari-ĵari	*MAM	ʔabo	NEM	gan-hi-n
MIN	ĵari	*TAK	bani-n kirŋe-n	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ɔde-i-n
IND	ĵari	DAM	ima gege	AJI	mē ā
SUN	ramo	MAB	nama- lutūnu	XAR	kō-xē
JAV	driji	*YAB	lema-latu	*NEN	guanin
MAD	garigi <sup>?</sup>	KAU	βili-n po-n	*KIR	te tabo ni bai
*BAL	ĵriji		po-n	*MSH	arri
*SAS	kriŋki <sup>?</sup>	*TOL	kəkə-nə-lima-	*PON	sent
*GOR	ti-yoŋo-wa lo ʔulu <sup>?</sup> u	BUA	nəma dəyis	*WLE	xattü
DAA	koya <sup>m</sup> pale	*ADZ	baŋi ɕiɕin	EFI	i-gāgalo-ni-
UMA	karaβe	*KIL	moyuwela		liga-
BUG	ĵari-ĵari	TAW	nimagigi-na	WFI	-kakaŋo-si-
KON	karaməŋ (lima)	*MOT	k <sup>w</sup> akik <sup>w</sup> aki-na		lima
		*MEK	ima keke <sup>?</sup> ē	*RTU	kəkə <sup>?</sup> e
		ROV	kakarutu	TON	louhi <sup>?</sup> i-nima
*WOL	kau-na	MAR	geyesu k <sup>h</sup> ame	*SAM	tama <sup>?</sup> i-lima
*MAG	moso	LAU	kakau	*MEL	[kaniriki]
NGA	kuŋu	KWO	ʔu <sup>?</sup> u(-na)	*TAH	manimani
SIK	kikir	RAG	bihu-		rima
RTI	lima ku <sup>?</sup> u-k	*PAA	kalihēk	RAP	maŋa-maŋa
BUR	faha-n waŋa-n	*LEW	pras-lima-na		(rima).
DOB	lima-m yak <sup>w</sup> ur	POR	<sup>m</sup> büs vea-n		
IRA	φra nətu	NTA	noanelm-n		

ATA Also *ta-tiruʔuk*

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*tulduq*.

MUR Also *[tuñjuk]/tutulu<sup>?</sup>* ‘index finger’ from Malay *tuñjuk* ‘point’; *panulay* ‘ring-finger’; *tutumpu* ‘middle finger’; *titiŋkis* ‘little finger’.

ACE Also *jarəə*.

BAL ‘digit’ see also 04.380. *tujuh* ‘index finger’; *lek* ‘ring finger’; *liñjoŋ* ‘middle finger’; *kačij* ‘little finger’.

SAS Teeuw: *kəriŋki<sup>?</sup>*; *kəriŋi<sup>?</sup>*; *gəriŋi<sup>?</sup>*; *təriji<sup>?</sup>*.

GOR Also *ʔilame* (coarse language).

WOL Also *ka<sup>n</sup>čili* ‘little finger’; *sahada* ‘index finger’.

MAG Also *rə<sup>m</sup>pa*.

SAW From *kekole-o*.



NYI	Also <i>a<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>a mine-n</i> .
MAM	Also <i>?u?u</i> .
TAK	‘hand-his digit-its’, i.e. ‘digit of his finger’ (see ‘toe’ 04.380).
YAB	‘his/her finger’.
TOL	<i>kaka</i> ‘small extremity as finger, thumb, toe’.
ADZ	<i>baŋi ɕiɕin</i> Amari only; <i>baŋi narun</i> other dialects.
KIL	<i>moyuwela</i> ‘second finger’, <i>moluwala</i> ‘middle finger’, <i>moikekita</i> ‘little finger’.
MOT	Also ‘toe’. Distinguished by <i>ima</i> ; <i>ima-guk<sup>w</sup>akik<sup>w</sup>aki-na</i> ‘my finger’.
MEK	North Mekeo <i>ima lelē</i> , West Mekeo <i>ima lelē/lelelē</i> , NW Mekeo <i>ima nenē</i> .
PAA	‘my finger’; also ‘claw’.
LEW	‘fruit of hand’ see 05.710.
KWA	<i>nək<sup>w</sup>a rəŋi-</i> ‘fruit-of arm’.
NEN	Also <i>ye?aranin</i> .
KIR	‘end of the hand/arm’.
MSH	<i>arri</i> lit ‘end of the hand/arm’; <i>cænit</i> ‘finger, claw of crab’.
PON	‘finger, toe, appendage’.
WLE	‘end of the hand/arm’.
RTU	Also <i>kækæ? ne si?u</i> .
SAM	<i>tama?i</i> ‘little’, see 03.240, 03.290 ff.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>rimarima</i> .

#### 04.342 THUMB

ATA	βa-βaki	*TAG	hinlalaki	MGY	anki-be
*TSO	dudku mo	*AKL	kumaʔagkuʔ	ACE	inɔŋ jarɔə
	mroiŋi	PAL	ɔnɔnɔklaʔ	BAT	ina ni ʔari
RUK	dadagaʎanə	MOL	tɔŋgogaya	MIN	ampu taŋan
PAI	vuluŋ-an		lima	*IND	ibu ʔari
YAM	činzazakə no	KAG	i'nay-i'nay	*SUN	[ʔəmpol]
	lima	BLA	tini kmal	JAV	ʔəmpol
ISN	indadakkal	SAB	bakol	MAD	əmpol
KAL	paʔamʔama	MUR	paŋinaʔ	*BAL	ina-n limə

SAS	ǰəmpol	DAM	ima tamane	*NEM	ba-p <sup>w</sup> adi yo
GOR	ti-yo <sup>m</sup> bu lo	MAB	nama- nāna	*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> adi-ǰme-
	ʔuluʔu	*YAB	lema-tena		ûwə
DAA	katu <sup>m</sup> pu	*KAU	βili-n popo	AJI	kacəm <sup>w</sup> a
UMA	kutu <sup>m</sup> pu		ŋop	*XAR	a-cō-rε-m <sup>w</sup> ε
BUG	indoʔ-ǰari	*TOL	kəkəŋalə	NEN	demutok
KON	anrəŋ lima	BUA	bu atoβ	*KIR	te ukinaba
*WOL	ŋaŋa-oge	*ADZ	baŋi rinan	*MSH	arri lep
MAG	lime-po <sup>ŋ</sup> go	KIL	moyaβeka	*PON	sentilepe
NGA	kuŋu meze	TAW	bitatomu	*WLE	xattūřapa
SIK	kikir ina (gəte)	*MOT	sinabada-na	EFI	i-doβidoβi-ni-
RTI	lima kuʔu	MEK	au-faʔa		kākana
	ina-k	ROV	ɣuɣu lavata	WFI	i-lawa-ni-
BUR	fah tina	MAR	geɣesu biʔo		ðawa
*DOB	lima-m yak <sup>w</sup> ur	LAU		RTU	kəkæʔ mafua
	sin	*KWO	ʔuʔu baʔita	*TON	motuʔa-nima
IRA	φra nətu idenə	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> aru-ruɣu-	*SAM	lima-matua
*SAW	kəkol-o pəgelo	PAA	hāsualev	*MEL	[kanilapa]
NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o mine-n	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> asu-na	TAH	rima rahi
	tinan	POR	xa <sup>m</sup> bat	*RAP	maŋa-maŋa
MAM	ʔabo-laba	NTA	pəs asol		tumu
TAK	kafe-n	*KWA	pəs asori		

TSO ‘big finger’.

TAG Root: *laki* ‘large’.

AKL Root: *dagkuʔ* ‘large’.

IND Also *ǰəmpol*.

SUN From Javanese, also *induy liŋin*.

BAL *inə* ‘basic part, mother (animals)’.

WOL Also *ana-naoge*.

DOB ‘your hand’s finger’s mother’.

SAW *kəkol-o* from *kəkole*.

YAB ‘his/her thumb’.

KAU ‘hand-his digit main (?)’.

TOL *ŋalə* ‘big’.

ADZ ‘hand mother’.

MOT *sina* 'mother, small piece'; *bada* 'big'; *sinabada* also means 'European woman'. Also 'big toe', distinguished by *ima*; *ima-gu sinabada-na* 'my thumb'.

KWO 'big digit'.

LEW See 04.380.

KWA 'finger large'.

NEM 'for peeling taro'.

CEM 'the one which peels taro shoots'.

XAR 'the one which peels the taro'.

KIR Also *te waebua*.

MSH 'big finger'; also 'big toe'.

PON 'big finger'; 'big toe'.

WLE 'big finger'.

TON Also *motu?a tuhu*.

SAM *matua* 'be old, adult'.

MEL From Efate.

RAP *rima matu?a nea-nea* archaic.

#### 04.344 FINGERNAIL

ATA	ka-kami†	ACE	gukeə	SIK	ʔunur
TSO	xuʔo	BAT	sisilon	RTI	lima faŋa-k
RUK	kaləsəkəsənə	MIN	kuku	BUR	faha-n era-n
PAI	k-alʷ-usə-kus-an	IND	kuku	DOB	yikʷay-m
YAM	koko	SUN	kuku	IRA	φra tagərirə
ISN	kuku	JAV	kuku	*SAW	ǰejum-o
KAL	kuku	MAD	kuku	NYI	bʷisi lime-n
*TAG	kuko	*BAL	kuku	MAM	ʔasa
AKL	kukuh	*SAS	kukuʔ	TAK	tika-n
PAL	kuləb	GOR	luʔobu	DAM	ima gobor
MOL	kuku	DAA	kalupa	MAB	nama-kukūnu
*KAG	sulu	UMA	kunupaʔ	*YAB	lema ŋa-yà
BLA	tnugu	BUG	kanuku	*KAU	βili-n esapi-n
SAB	kukku	KON	kanuku	*TOL	pilpil-na-lima-
MUR	salindu	WOL	konuku	BUA	nəma ʔapēk
MGY	huhu	MAG	vuku (lime)	*ADZ	baŋi ɕuyap
		NGA	huki-kuŋu		

KIL	sik <sup>w</sup> eidunela yamila	LEW	piŋkuru-ne-na	WLE	kü
		POR	ra <sup>ɟ</sup> gaç a vea-n	EFI	i-taukuku-ni-
TAW	nimakibukou	NTA	nuβiŋənelm-n		liŋa-
*MOT	kahau-na	*KWA	nəpəspəs	WFI	-taba-ni-lima
*MEK	ima ofē	*NEM	pī-n hi-n	RTU	mən-ʔuʔu
ROV	visvisu	*CEM	pî-b <sup>w</sup> ɔdɛ-î	TON	ŋeʔesi-nima
	kakarutu	AJI	mēpaŋlã	*SAM	maiʔuʔu
MAR	fiofido k <sup>h</sup> ame	*XAR	pure-xē	MEL	tap <sup>w</sup> ālasī
LAU	siribuku	NEN	newanin	TAH	maiʔuʔu
KWO	lasiʔi uʔu(-na)	*KIR	te uki ni bai	RAP	maʔikuku
RAG	ɣari-n bihu-	*MSH	akki		
PAA	hidihēk	*PON	kikin pē		
TAG	Proto-Philippines * <i>kukuh</i> .				
KAG	'fingernail, toenail'.				
BAL	Also <i>kuku-n limə</i> .				
SAS	Teeuw: <i>kukuʔ; kuŋkuʔ</i> .				
SAW	From <i>jeʃumɛ-o</i> .				
YAB	'his/her fingernail'.				
KAU	'hand-his nail-its'.				
TOL	See 04.214. Also <i>pulegi</i> ; see 04.345.				
ADZ	Amari only; <i>baŋi bararaŋ</i> (other dialects).				
MOT	Also 'toenail', distinguished by <i>ima</i> 'hand': <i>ima-gu kahau-na</i> 'my finger-nail'. See also 04.345.				
MEK	West Mekeo <i>ima bibiō</i> .				
KWA	Also <i>k<sup>w</sup>anpəsiwur</i> .				
NEM	'shell of the hand'.				
CEM	'shell of finger'.				
XAR	'shell of the hand'.				
KIR	'claw/nail of the hand'.				
MSH	Also <i>akkīn pæ</i> .				
PON	'finger, claw of crab'.				
SAM	While actually growing; <i>atiŋi lima</i> 'fingernail (when cut off)', <i>atiŋi</i> 'empty container'.				

## 04.345 CLAW

ATA	ka-kamiŕ	UMA	kunupaʔ	ROV	visvisu
TSO	xuʔo	BUG	kanuku		kurkuru
RUK	kaləsəkəsənə	KON	kanuku	MAR	geyesu
PAI	si-guma-	WOL	konuku	LAU	
	gumaŕ	MAG	vuku	KWO	ʔuʔu(-na)
YAM	koko	NGA	kuku-manu	RAG	
ISN	kuku	SIK	ʔunur	*PAA	kalihēk
KAL	kamʔus	*RTI	lima	LEW	piŋkuru-ne-na
*TAG	kuko	BUR	elogi-n	POR	ra <sup>ɖ</sup> gač
*AKL	kukuh	DOB	yik <sup>w</sup> ay-di	NTA	nuβiŋə nelk-n
PAL	kuku	*IRA	ɸa tagərirə	KWA	nəpəspəs
MOL	kuku	*SAW	jeʒum-o	NEM	pī-n hi-n
*KAG	sulu	NYI		CEM	pī-b <sup>w</sup> ɔde-î
BLA	tnugu	MAM	ʔasa	AJI	mēpɾɿlǻ
SAB	kukku	*TAK	alao	*XAR	pure-xē
MUR	salindu	DAM	gobor	NEN	kačabada
MGY	ranguŕ <sup>ɾ</sup> a	MAB	kukūnu	KIR	te uki
ACE	gukəə	*YAB	ŋa-à	*MSH	akki
BAT	sisilon	*KAU	emon βili-n	PON	eŋe
MIN	kuku		esapin	WLE	kü
*IND	čakar	*TOL	pulegi-	EFI	gugu
*SUN	čakar	BUA	kapēk	WFI	-kuku
JAV	čakar	*ADZ	baŋi bararaŋ	*RTU	kækəʔe
MAD	čakar	*KIL	doga	*TON	pesipesi
BAL	kuku	TAW	gigi-na	*SAM	matiʔutiʔu
*SAS	čeker	MOT	ae-na	*MEL	[tap <sup>w</sup> ālasɿ]
GOR	luʔobu	*MEK	ʔifa	TAH	maiʔuʔu
DAA	kalupa			RAP	maʔikuku

TAG Also 'fingernail' (04.344).

AKL Also 'fingernail' 04.344.

KAG *sulu* 'animal's claw like a toenail'; *kiamut* 'the claw of a crab'.

IND Also *kuku*.

SUN Also *kuku*.

SAS Also *kukuʔ*.

RTI Also *ei kuʔu-k*.

SAW From *jeʒumε-o*.

IRA	so 'long nail, claw'.
TAK	<i>alao</i> , <i>alao-a-n</i> unpossessed and possessed forms respectively.
YAB	Also <i>ŋa-yà</i> ; <i>ŋa-lo</i> 'claw of crabs'.
KAU	'bird hand-his nail-its'.
TOL	See 04.344, <i>tobo</i> 'large claw of a crab'.
ADZ	<i>banj bararaŋ</i> 'hand sharp'; <i>fagia bararaŋ</i> 'foot sharp'.
KIL	See 04.170, 04.241.
MEK	<i>ʔifa</i> is used for the claws of crabs.
PAA	See also 04.340.
XAR	'shell of the hand'.
MSH	<i>cænit</i> 'claw of crab'.
RTU	Also <i>mæn-ʔuʔu</i> .
TON	Also <i>pesi</i> .
SAM	Also 'toenail (of a person)'.
MEL	From Efate.

### 04.350 LEG

ATA	kukuy	*IND	kaki	SAW	sɔ-o
TSO	tʔaŋo	SUN	suku	NYI	kati-n
RUK	ɖapalə	JAV	sikil	*MAM	ae
PAI	vutə-vut-an	MAD	suku	*TAK	ŋe-n
YAM	ai	BAL	batis	DAM	ye
ISN	sīkil	SAS	nae	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu-
KAL	iki	GOR	ʔoʔato	*YAB	à
*TAG	paʔa	DAA	kada	*KAU	kii-n put
*AKL	siki-	UMA	βitiʔ	TOL	kake -
*PAL	tikɔɖ	BUG	aǰje	BUA	βaya
MOL		KON	baŋkeŋ	ADZ	faga-
KAG		WOL	ae	*KIL	k <sup>w</sup> ai
BLA	bliʔ	MAG	vaʔi	TAW	ae-na
SAB	bittis	NGA	vaʔi	*MOT	ae-na
*MUR	kalayam	*SIK	βaʔi	MEK	pao
MGY	randzu	RTI	ei-k	ROV	nene
ACE	gaki	BUR	kada-n	MAR	yahe
*BAT	[pat]	DOB	yaba-m	LAU	ʔaena
MIN	kaki	IRA	ɕa	KWO	ʔāʔae(-na)

RAG	b <sup>w</sup> alaye-	AJI	kowi xε ria	WFI	-lā
*PAA	hēk	XAR	pa	*RTU	lā
LEW	la-na	NEN	tan	TON	va <sup>ʔ</sup> e
POR	rie-n	KIR	te wae	SAM	vae
NTA	nelk-n	MSH	ne	MEL	vae
*KWA	nəsu-	*PON	nē	TAH	ʔāvae
NEM	hə-n	WLE	pešē	RAP	va <sup>ʔ</sup> e
CEM	á-n	EFI	yaβa-		

TAG Also foot.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**seki*.

PAL 'leg including foot'.

MUR Also *gakod* 'lower leg', *kukud* 'leg of animal'.

BAT Sanskrit.

IND Also *tujkai*.

SIK Also *βa<sup>ʔ</sup>i-ŋ*.

MAM Also *putu*.

TAK 'leg, foot'.

YAB 'his/her leg/foot'; *à-m* 'your leg/foot'; also *à-kaiŋ* lit 'foot-shaft'.

KAU 'foot-his stem' (see 04.310, 04.462, 08.730).

KIL *k<sup>w</sup>ai* (unpossessed); *kaikila* (unpossessed); *kaike-* (possessed).

MOT Also 'foot' (04.370).

PAA 'my leg', also used for 'arm'.

KWA Includes 'foot'.

PON Also *aluwe-luwe*.

RTU Also *lā-hapa*

## 04.351 THIGH

ATA	mui <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAG	hīta <sup>ʔ</sup>	MUR	pā
TSO	faini	AKL	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> ah	MGY	fe
RUK	vagisi	PAL	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> a	ACE	pha
PAI	ɟapal <sup>y</sup>	MOL	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*BAT	haε-haε
YAM	appa	KAG	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> a	MIN	pao
ISN	lappu	BLA	fuad	IND	paha
KAL	ulpu	SAB	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> a	SUN	piŋpiŋ

JAV	pupu	TAK	dige-n	NTA	nuβa-n
MAD	pukaŋ	DAM	tukur	KWA	nuwa-
BAL	pəə	MAB	suki-	NEM	pā-n
*SAS	impuŋ	*YAB	labu-ìn	CEM	pà-n
GOR	buŋo lopa	KAU	luu-n	AJI	pā̃
DAA	ti <sup>m</sup> pu	*TOL	raka-	XAR	pū-pa
UMA	paʔa	BUA	βagi	NEN	wabuyu
BUG	poppaŋ	ADZ	faga <sup>n</sup> tu <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KIR	te raŋa
KON	boŋga	KIL	kaidawaga	*MSH	lɔt.ʌŋæ
WOL	paa	TAW	mawi-na	*PON	kepe
MAG	paʔa	MOT	mamu-na	WLE	xofō
NGA	paʔa	*MEK	ʔaʔaŋa	EFI	saŋa-
SIK	paʔa	ROV	punpuda	WFI	-kalaβā
RTI	pu-k	MAR	boeboke	RTU	saŋa
BUR	keba-n	LAU	buri ʔae	*TON	alaŋa
*DOB	ʔuk <sup>w</sup> al	KWO	lalafa(-na)	*SAM	oŋā-vae
IRA	namu	RAG	v <sup>w</sup> e v <sup>w</sup> e-	*MEL	[mao]
SAW	fyɔ	*PAA	horāk	*TAH	hūhā
NYI	ba-n	LEW	pilepile-ne-na	RAP	huhā
MAM	noga	POR	<sup>m</sup> bule-n		

BAT Related to *haε* ‘downriver’.

SAS Teeuw: *impuŋ; paa; pikaŋ; pukaŋ*.

DOB See 04.207.

YAB ‘underside-origin’ i.e. ‘his/her thigh’; *labu-m-ìn* ‘your thigh’.

TOL Also ‘hip, hip bone’.

MEK Also *aʔaŋa, ʔaŋa/aŋga*; other dialects *kakaŋa*.

PAA ‘my thigh’.

KIR Also ‘leg’; also *te boton-raŋa* lit ‘stock of the leg’.

MSH with locative prefix *lɔ-*; ‘inside of thigh’.

PON Also *tāŋ; ʔepintaŋ* lit ‘start of the thigh’; *kepēiso* hon.

TON Also *teŋa*.

SAM *oŋā-* ‘shaft, trunk, stem’, *vae* ‘leg’; also *ʔautetele, suilapalapa*.

MEL From Efate.

TAH *hūmaha* arch.



## 04.352 CALF OF LEG

ATA	čačūk	KON	'bitisi	KWO	boelana
TSO	mabira	WOL	ḡiti		ʔāʔae(-na)
RUK	toloŋo	*MAG	vətis	*RAG	daŋane-
PAI	vutə-vut-an	NGA	debo	PAA	haroma
YAM	artək	*SIK	tiʔa-ŋ	*LEW	kilam <sup>w</sup> iu na
ISN	bassit	RTI	biti-boa-k		la-na
KAL	butuy	*BUR	fiti-n	POR	<sup>m</sup> baxavus a
TAG	bintiʔ	DOB	yaba-m tibir		rie-n
*AKL	batīʔis	IRA	ḡa jəḡutə	*NTA	noanarp <sup>wə</sup>
*PAL	kəpusuwan	*SAW	snepen		nelk-n
MOL	sursur	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> iye kati-n	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> atpi nəsu-
KAG	ti'kəd	MAM	ae-ʔapisapisa	*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> en-piḡiḡ o
BLA	tusul	*TAK	ŋe-n labe-n		ho-n
SAB	bittis	DAM	ye ḡātu	*CEM	nəhi-á-n
MUR	tonok	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu-	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> eře ā
*MGY	kibu n		mazāna	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ē-pa
	d <sup>r</sup> andzu	*YAB	à-te	NEN	guwakua
ACE	buteh	*KAU	maliyukan	*KIR	te biroto ni
BAT	bitis	*TOL	mur-na-kake-		wae
MIN	batih	BUA	ḡaya bib	MSH	acac
IND	bətis	ADZ	faga wat	*PON	wetin nē
SUN	bitis	*KIL	maye-la agu	*WLE	fārim <sup>w</sup> eḡō
JAV	kempəl		k <sup>w</sup> apa	EFI	temo
MAD	bəttis	TAW	aebile-na	WFI	-bosi-lā
*BAL	bətək-an batis	*MOT		RTU	parpar ne lā
SAS	bətis	MEK	afakae	TON	ʔateʔi-vaʔe
GOR	butiyoto	ROV	molmolo nene	*SAM	ate-vae
DAA	loa <sup>ḡ</sup> gada	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> aikasi	MEL	tore
UMA	ti <sup>m</sup> pu	LAU		TAH	ate ʔāvae
BUG	duniʔ			RAP	horeko

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*baties*.

PAL From *pusuʔ*.

MGY From *\*kibu* 'belly' -N- *randzu*.

BAL *bətək* 'full, distended (of the stomach)ʔ'.

MAG Also *bočel*.

SIK Also *tiʔa-ŋtelo-ŋ*.

BUR	Also <i>kada-n tia-n, teha-nkaku-n</i> ‘shin’.
SAW	Also <i>petpitas</i> .
TAK	‘leg-his testicle-its’, i.e. ‘testicle of his leg’.
YAB	‘his/her calf’.
KAU	Also <i>betpan</i> .
TOL	<i>mur</i> ‘back’, <i>na</i> CONN.
KIL	‘tongue-its my calf’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>doku</i> . ‘shin’ is <i>toratora</i> .
RAG	‘calf muscle’.
LEW	‘muscle of leg’.
NTA	‘leg’s belly’.
KWA	‘extremity-of leg’.
NEM	‘banana of the leg’.
CEM	‘swelling of the leg’.
XAR	‘fig of the leg’.
KIR	‘thick part of the leg’.
PON	‘thick part of the leg’.
WLE	‘under the back of the upper leg’.
SAM	<i>ate</i> -(?); see <i>ate</i> ‘liver’.

### 04.360 KNEE

ATA	tari?	SAB	tu?ut	UMA	kotu?
TSO	kadi	*MUR	atud	BUG	uttu?
RUK	paʔolo	*MGY	luhalika	KON	kulantu?
PAI	ʔuŋaɭ	ACE	tu?ot	WOL	toputu
YAM	atoɖ	*BAT	dugul-dugul	MAG	tu?us
ISN	utud	MIN	lutuy?	NGA	ulu-tuu
KAL	pūwog	IND	lutut	*SIK	tur
*TAG	tūhod	SUN	tuur	RTI	luŋu laŋa-k
AKL	tūhud	JAV	ɖəŋkul	BUR	enolo-n
PAL	alɔb	MAD	tu?ut	DOB	yaba-m tuna-y
MOL	bulan-bulan	BAL	əntud	IRA	wiɸu
	tukud	*SAS	kəkətut	*SAW	[bukubuku]
KAG	bu?ul	GOR	hu?u	NYI	buli <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> u?u-n
BLA	bukal	DAA	vukotu	MAM	tu?u

TAK	turu-n	*MAR	gloglomno	*NEN	kared(i)
DAM	ibor		yahe	*KIR	te bubua ni
MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu-	LAU	urūru-na		wae
	<sup>m</sup> bukūnu	*KWO	goru-	MSH	p <sup>u</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> ε
*YAB	à-du?	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> au-	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ukie
KAU	poβut	*PAA	uriluk	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> üxiwa
*TOL	buk-na-kake-	*LEW	kila-p <sup>w</sup> urupu	EFI	duru-
BUA	lus		na la-na	WFI	-čuru
*ADZ	faga gusu <sup>n</sup> tu <sup>ŋ</sup> ?	POR	ko <sup>m</sup> brie-n	RTU	is-fū
KIL	k <sup>w</sup> aitutu-	NTA	nuβələ-n	TON	tui
*TAW	itutu-na	KWA	nukuru-	*SAM	tuli-vae
MOT	tui-na	NEM	gan-jili-n	*MEL	[p <sup>w</sup> ātua]
*MEK	kiu	CEM	jili-n	TAH	turi
ROV	tuŋtuŋu nene	AJI	bē ā	RAP	turi va?e
		XAR	b <sup>w</sup> ā-xē		

TAG PHN \**tuhud*.

MUR Also *sisiliŋ* ‘knee-cap’.

MGY From *luha* ‘head’, *alika*; compare Maanyan *ulu-alep*.

BAT *dugul ni tət* ‘kneecap, patella’.

SAS Teeuw: *kəkətut; kətut; (jə)jəŋku*.

SIK Also *βaʔi-ŋ tur*.

SAW From Malay.

YAB ‘his/her knee’.

TOL *buk* ‘point, corner, knob’, see 04.320.

ADZ ‘leg knot/node’.

TAW *aegadogado-na* ‘back of knee’.

MEK The other dialects, irregularly, have *kui*.

MAR *p<sup>h</sup>upuku yahe* ‘kneecap’.

KWO Also *gōgoru<sup>ʔ</sup>a(-na)*.

PAA Also used for ‘elbow’.

LEW See 04.320.

NEN Also *karewateno*.

KIR ‘middle joint of the leg’.

PON 3sg POSS; also *pōnte*.

SAM *tuli* ‘joint’.

MEL From Efate.

## 04.370 FOOT

ATA	kukuy	UMA	βitiʔ	MAR	yahe
TSO	ɕapxi	BUG	aʃje	LAU	ʔae-na
RUK	ɕapalə	KON	bankeŋ	KWO	ʔāʔae(-na)
PAI	kuʎa	WOL	ae	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> alaye-
YAM	ai	MAG	vaʔi	*PAA	hēk
*ISN	dapān	NGA	pala-vaʔi	LEW	lo-la-na
KAL	dapan	*SIK	βaʔi	*POR	nala rie-n
TAG	paʔa	RTI	ei-k	NTA	nelk-n
*AKL	siki-	*BUR	kada-n	KWA	nəsu-
PAL	tikad	DOB	yaba-m	NEM	ho-n
MOL	botis	IRA		CEM	á-n
KAG	batiʔis	SAW	sə-o	AJI	hexaʔa ā xε ria
BLA	bliʔ	NYI	kati-n	XAR	pa
SAB	tapeʔ	MAM	ae-baba	NEN	wata
MUR	kalayam	*TAK	ŋe-n	*KIR	te wae
MGY	tunguʔa	DAM	ye-bala	*MSH	ne
ACE	gaki	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu-	*PON	paʔen nē
BAT	pat	*YAB	à	WLE	pešē
MIN	kaki	KAU	kii-n	EFI	yaβa-
IND	kaki	TOL	kau-	WFI	-lā
SUN	suku	BUA	βaya	RTU	lā
JAV	sikil	ADZ	faga-	TON	vaʔe
MAD	suku	*KIL	k <sup>w</sup> ai	SAM	vae
*BAL	batis	TAW	ae-na	MEL	vae
SAS	nae	*MOT	ae-na	TAH	ʔāvae
GOR	ʔoʔato	*MEK	ue	*RAP	vaʔe
DAA	kada	ROV	nene		

ISN 'sole of foot'.

AKL Proto-Philippines \*seki.

BAL Also *bais*.

SIK Also *βaʔi-ŋ*.

BUR 'leg, foot' (most frequent term used); may specify *napa-n* 'top of (foot)' if needed.

TAK 'leg, foot'.

YAB See 04.350 note.

KIL *k<sup>w</sup>ai* (unpossessed); *kaikila* (unpossessed); *kaike-* (possessed).

MOT	See 04.350.
MEK	Also <i>ue, uve, ive, ife</i> ; other dialects <i>au</i> .
PAA	Also 'leg, arm, hand'.
POR	<i>nala rie-n</i> 'inside (sole) leg-his'; <i>mbüs rie-n</i> 'toe'; <i>ma<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup> rie-n</i> 'back leg-his'.
KIR	Also 'leg'.
MSH	3sg.
PON	<i>nē</i> 'leg', 3sg POSS.
RAP	More specifically: <i>pararaha va<sup>?</sup>e</i> .

### 04.371 ANKLE

*ATA	tinua <sup>?</sup>	MAD	pa-gəllaŋ-an	*KAU	βut kii-n
TSO	puŋarŋ		suku	*TOL	mamu-
RUK	pakili	*BAL	mata-n batis	BUA	βaya bələŋ
PAI	jikap	*SAS	[eŋkəl]	*ADZ	faga i <sup>m</sup> pi <sup>?</sup>
YAM	kalyaliwan no ai	*GOR	pa <sup>?</sup> i	KIL	bunela kaike- la
ISN	miŋmiŋkal	DAA	vuku lali	TAW	ik <sup>w</sup> aluk <sup>w</sup> alu- na
KAL	buŋ <sup>?</sup> un iki	UMA	lehoa <sup>?</sup> βiti <sup>?</sup>		
TAG	bukuŋ-būkoŋ	BUG	gačiq-kačiq	*MOT	ae-na
*AKL	bu <sup>?</sup> ubukuh	KON	pa <sup>?</sup> -gallaŋ-aŋ		ganagana-na
PAL	bu <sup>?</sup> buku <sup>?</sup>	WOL	βiku-βiku	*MEK	ue fe-fe <sup>?</sup> u-ŋa
MOL	buku-buku	MAG	vi <sup>?</sup> kul	*ROV	kikorereke
KAG	buku-bukuan	NGA	leke-kəzu	MAR	biobiŋo yahe
BLA	fintiŋ	*SIK	kalə-ŋ	LAU	
SAB	buku-buku tape <sup>?</sup>	RTI	ei se-sesu-k	KWO	kilokilo-na ? <sup>a</sup> ?ae(-na)
MUR	buntiŋol	DOB	yaba-m k <sup>w</sup> ayŋuwil	*RAG	buyu-n hui-
MGY	ki <sup>?</sup> u keli	IRA	φa səme	PAA	haivaul
*ACE	kukuet	SAW	sə-o ni pəkpiik	*LEW	kila-mara-na
BAT	mata ni ari ni pát	NYI	bob <sup>w</sup> a-n		kuta na la-na
MIN	mato kaki	MAM	ae- <sup>?</sup> uzubu	POR	risxosix
*IND	buku kaki	*TAK	ŋe-n ŋudu-n	NTA	ra-n-ulpas
SUN	pigilaŋ suku	DAM	ye gai	KWA	kum <sup>w</sup> er
JAV	gəlaŋ-an	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu- we <sup>?</sup> ge <sup>m</sup> bukūnu	NEM	wemen cilek
		*YAB	à-g <sup>w</sup> am	CEM	dàbuhε-pùdi- kó-á

AJI	p <sup>w</sup> āwi	PON	ṭikel en nē	TON	fasi-ʔa-vaʔe
*XAR	mū-rē-xē	WLE	xuɾuɸ <sup>w</sup> uɾi	*SAM	tapu-vae
NEN	wačuada		pešē	MEL	tūtaki tevae
*KIR	te nimoimoi ni wae	EFI	gurulāsawa	*TAH	poro ʔāvae
MSH	licākk <sup>w</sup> alele	WFI	-doŋi-ni-doko	*RAP	kari-kari vaʔe
		RTU	pofrau		

ATA Also *tinuyaʔ*.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*buku-bukuh*.

ACE Also of livestock.

IND Also *buku lali, mata kaki*.

BAL *matə* ‘eye’.

SAS From Dutch?

GOR Also *po-li-li<sup>ʔ</sup>git-a lo ʔoʔato*; see 04.321.

SIK Also *βaʔi-ŋ kale-ŋ*.

BUR Also *enari-n* ‘Achilles tendon’.

TAK ‘leg-his nose-its’, i.e. ‘nose of his leg’.

YAB ‘his/her ankle’.

KAU ‘neck foot-his’.

TOL See 04.321.

ADZ *faga i<sup>m</sup>piʔ* (all dialects except Amari); *faga u<sup>m</sup>piʔ* (Amari only).

MOT See 04.321.

MEK *fe-feʔu* is ‘joint’; *ue/uve fo-foʔoa-na* ‘ankle bone’ (the protuberance).

ROV ‘mango seed’.

RAG Also *buyune-*.

LEW See 04.321.

XAR Also *x<sup>w</sup>ā-mū-xē*.

KIR ‘young coconut of the foot’.

SAM See 04.321.

TAH Also *momoa ʔāvae*.

RAP Also *ka-kari vaʔe*. The ankle bone, itself, is referred to either as *puku-puku vaʔe* or *kuʔu-kuʔu vaʔe*.

## 04.372 HEEL

ATA	kaum	KON	kačunu?	*KWO	su?usu?u-na
TSO	roski	WOL	koro <sup>n</sup> tugu	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> arhone-
RUK	arorodanə	MAG	tu <sup>n</sup> del	PAA	vāsehēk
PAI	kuz-kuz-an	NGA	titi-muri	LEW	mia-m <sup>w</sup> u-ne-
YAM	təvən	*SIK	βa?i-ŋ udə-ŋ		na
ISN	tūmaŋ	RTI	ei tiŋa-k	POR	<sup>m</sup> batkasuv
KAL	mūkud	BUR	kada-n fuhe-n	NTA	ra-n-ulpas
TAG	sākoŋ	DOB	yaba-m ?uri	KWA	kurpas
AKL	bu?uʔ	IRA	ʔa taʔu	*NEM	guvaye-ho-n
PAL	tənob	SAW		CEM	
MOL	paŋkul	*NYI	kusu?u kati-n	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ida
KAG	kitin	MAM	ac-?uzubu	XAR	ñibe-xē-pa
BLA	takad	TAK	ŋe-n gumi-n	NEN	
SAB	tekod-tekod	DAM	katau	*KIR	te buki ni wae
MUR	tunob	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu-	MSH	cim <sup>m</sup> win ne
MGY	vudi-tunguʔ <sup>r</sup> a		ŋuzūnu	*PON	keim <sup>w</sup> innē
ACE	tumet	*YAB	à-gebi	*WLE	xapiriŋiriŋi-
BAT	tabbihul	*KAU	kii-n sii-n sii-n		peşē
MIN	tumi?	*TOL	buk-nə-kau-	EFI	bukubuku-ni-
IND	tumit	BUA	βaya-kaŋtu		yaβa-
SUN	kiniŋ	*ADZ	faga mutun	WFI	-kubukubu-ni-
JAV	tunŋka?	KIL	kaigadula		lā
MAD	tumbət		kaike-la	RTU	?ia ne lā
*BAL	gañjot	TAW	kedukedu-na	TON	mui-va?e
SAS	tumət	*MOT	ae-na gedu-na	*SAM	muli-vae
GOR	ti <sup>ŋ</sup> godu	*MEK	ue ?u?u-ŋa	MEL	minnoko
DAA	padu	*ROV	pikutu makasi	TAH	poro ?āvae
UMA	pado?	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> okoto	RAP	reke
BUG	amputu?	LAU			

BAL Also *gañot*; *tunŋak batis* (*tunŋak* ‘base, stump’ e.g. of tree).

SIK Also *udek*, *βide-ŋ*.

NYI Also *b<sup>w</sup>isi m<sup>w</sup>e?e kati-n*.

YAB ‘his/her heel’.

KAU ‘foot-his base-its base-its’.

TOL See 04.320.

ADZ *faga mutun* (Amari only); *faga fugun* (other dialects).

MOT See 04.281.

MEK Also *uve* <sup>?</sup>*u*<sup>?</sup>*u-ŋa*; other dialects *au iku-ŋa*.

ROV 'tail of bonito'.

KWO <sup>?</sup>*ā*<sup>?</sup>*ae(-na)*

NEM 'node of his (her) leg'; *guvai-n* 'node (bamboo, sugar cane)'.

KIR See entries for 'leg', 'foot', 'elbow'.

PON See entries for 'leg', 'foot', 'elbow'.

WLE See entries for 'leg', 'foot', 'elbow'.

SAM *muli-* 'be last', 'rear, bottom'.

### 04.374 FOOTPRINT

ATA	rapi <sup>+</sup> uŋ	SAS		KIL	bak <sup>w</sup> ai-
*TSO	su <sup>?</sup> ku	*GOR	ba <sup>?</sup> ato	TAW	uyawena
RUK		DAA	valea <sup>n</sup> gada	MOT	βataya-na
PAI		UMA	laa <sup>?</sup> βiti <sup>?</sup>	*MEK	ue afu-ŋa
YAM	ra <sup>+</sup> an	BUG	bate-a <sup>+</sup> ŋje	ROV	pou balaja
ISN	gayāt	*KON	bale ban <sup>+</sup> ken	MAR	mala
KAL	alid	WOL	pola <sup>n</sup> daka	LAU	fuli <sup>?</sup> aena
TAG	bakas na <sup>+</sup> ŋ	*MAG	le <sup>?</sup> e	KWO	tala(-na)
	pa <sup>?</sup> a	NGA	pala-va <sup>?</sup> i	RAG	malele-
*AKL	tāpak	SIK	βa <sup>?</sup> i-ŋ alar	PAA	vaila
PAL	baya <sup>?</sup>	RTI	ei ma-mana-k	*LEW	lele-n la-na
MOL	baya <sup>?</sup> botis	BUR	kada-n waha-n	POR	melen
KAG	agi ta bati <sup>?</sup> is	*DOB	yaba-m <sup>?</sup> owuy	NTA	noanelk-n
BLA	sɔɔ	IRA	ɸa <sup>+</sup> jarə <sup>+</sup> ɸuɔ	KWA	təm <sup>w</sup> heki-
SAB	limpa <sup>?</sup> tape <sup>?</sup>	SAW	sɔ-o gɔɔ	*NEM	kave-ho-n
MUR	baya <sup>?</sup>	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> eleke	CEM	âpuɔ-n
MGY	dian-tungu <sup>+</sup> f a		kati-n	AJI	mēřē ā
*ACE	tapa <sup>?</sup>	MAM	male <sup>?</sup> a	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-nenā-xē
BAT	bogas (ni pát)	TAK	ŋe-n aba-n	*NEN	θuba arada
MIN	ja <sup>+</sup> ja <sup>?</sup>	DAM	ye wura	*KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> aneka
*IND	ja <sup>+</sup> jak	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu- murīni	*MSH	cenɔk
SUN	tapak suku	YAB	wa <sup>+</sup> ŋa	PON	
JAV	tapa <sup>?</sup> sikil	*KAU	kii-n eβin	WLE	xi <sup>+</sup> ɸ <sup>w</sup> a
*MAD	lampat da	*TOL	pəl-ə-kau-	*EFI	wē-ni-yaβa-
	suku	BUA	gəge	WFI	-mawē
*BAL	t(l)apak batis	ADZ	faga-	RTU	aftea



TON	topu-vaʔe	TAH	taʔahiraʔa
*SAM	tulaŋā-vae		ʔāvae
MEL	ŋao	*RAP	maka vaʔe
TSO	<i>suʔku</i> of animals, <i>ʕapxi</i> of human beings.		
AKL	<i>dapadapah</i> ‘sole (of foot)’; PHN * <i>dapah</i> .		
ACE	Also for handprint; also <i>bukaih</i> ‘spoor’.		
IND	Also <i>tapak kaki</i> , <i>bəkas kaki</i> .		
MAD	<i>lampat</i> ‘trace, (foot)print’. Safioedin (1977) has <i>tapaʔ</i> ‘footprint, handprint’.		
BAL	Also <i>tampak batis</i> .		
GOR	Also [ <i>bakasi</i> ] <i>lo ʔoʔato</i> . [ <i>bakasi</i> ] ‘trace’, from Malay <i>bəkas</i> .		
KON	Also <i>bate baŋkeŋ</i> .		
MAG	Also <i>laʔas</i> .		
DOB	‘your foot’s shape’.		
KAU	‘foot-his mark’.		
TOL	<i>pal</i> ‘skin, covering’.		
MEK	<i>afu</i> ‘place’.		
LEW	‘place of foot’, <i>la-na</i> (= 04.350).		
NEM	‘place (or) trace of his foot’.		
NEN	Also <i>waŋada</i> .		
KIR	<i>te mʷaneka</i> also ‘trace, scar, mark’; <i>te mʷata</i> also ‘wake (of a boat), mark, trace’, <i>te namʷakin</i> .		
MSH	Also <i>kin</i> , <i>mālkan ne</i> .		
EFI	Also <i>wē</i> .		
SAM	Compare <i>tūlaŋa</i> ‘position, location, mark, print of someone standing’, <i>tū</i> (vb intrans) ‘stand’.		
RAP	[ <i>maka</i> ] from Spanish <i>marca</i> .		

#### 04.380 TOE

ATA	βa-βaki	PAI	g-alʷ-aw-gav-	KAL	pagayyamot
TSO	huʔo		an		di iki
RUK	dadaŋalanə	YAM	kakamay	*TAG	daliriʔ naŋ
		ISN	kureremaŋ		paʔa

*AKL	tudlu? it siki	WOL	kau-na ae	KWO	?u?u(-na)
PAL	alɔb	MAG	rə <sup>m</sup> pa (va?i)	RAG	bihu-
MOL	guruma?moy	NGA	kuŋu-va?i	PAA	kalihēk
	botis	SIK	βa?i-ŋ kikir	*LEW	prasi-la-na
KAG	tudlu? ta	RTI	ei ku?u-k	POR	<sup>m</sup> büs rie-n
	bati?is	BUR	kada-n	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> alm <sup>w</sup> al-n
BLA	tnalo?bli?		waŋa-n	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anpəspəsi
SAB	gulamay tape?	DOB	yaba-m		nəsu-
*MUR	bubua? nu		yak <sup>w</sup> ur	NEM	gan-ho-n
	kalayam	IRA	ɸa nətu	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ôda-â-n
MGY	ranɕan-	SAW	sɔ-o ni kekɔle	AJI	mē ā xɛ ria
	tunguɕ <sup>ɾ</sup> a	NYI	batukati-n	*XAR	kōxē nedō
ACE	anu? gaki	MAM	ae-laba	NEN	guata
BAT	ɟari-ɟari ni pat	*TAK	ŋe-n kirŋe-n	*KIR	te tabo ni wae
MIN	ampu kaki	DAM	ye gege	*MSH	arri
IND	ɟari kaki	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu- lutūnu	*PON	sentin nē
SUN	ramo suku	*YAB	à-latu	WLE	xattü
JAV	driji sikil	*KAU	ka popo ŋop	EFI	i-gāgalo-ni-
MAD	garigi?-na	*TOL	kəkə-nə-kake-		yaβa-
	suku	BUA	βaya dəyis	WFI	-kakaŋo-ni-lā
BAL	ɟriji-n batis	ADZ	faga narun	*RTU	kækæ?e
*SAS	kriŋki? (nae)	*KIL	moyuwela	TON	louhi?i-va?e
*GOR	ti-yoŋo-wa lo	TAW	aegigi-na	*SAM	tamatama?i
	?o?ato	*MOT	k <sup>w</sup> aki-		vae
DAA	koya <sup>ɟ</sup> gada		k <sup>w</sup> aki-na	*MEL	[kaniriki]
UMA	karaβe βiti?	*MEK	ue keke?ē	TAH	manimani
BUG	indo?-ajje	*ROV	ɣyɣu lavata		?āvae
KON	karamɛŋ	MAR	geyesu ɣahe	RAP	maŋa-maŋa
	(baŋkeŋ)	LAU			(va?e)

TAG 'finger of foot'.

AKL 'finger of foot'.

MUR Also *kalindu?* (*nu kalayam*).

SAS See note, 04.340 'finger'.

GOR *ti-yo<sup>m</sup>bu lo ?o?ato* 'big toe'; *tonini?ita lo ?o?ato* 'little toe'.

TAK 'foot-his digit-its', i.e. 'digit of his foot' (see 'finger' 04.340).

YAB 'foot-child' i.e. 'his/her toe'.

KAU See 04.342 note.

TOL See 04.340.

KIL	<i>moyaβeka</i> ‘big toe’; <i>moyuwela</i> ‘second finger’, <i>moluwala</i> ‘middle toe’, <i>moikekita</i> ‘little toe’; see 04.340.
MOT	See 04.340. ‘toe’ is distinguished by placing <i>ae</i> before it: <i>ae-gu k<sup>w</sup>akik<sup>w</sup>aki-na</i> ‘my toe’.
MEK	See 04.340 for variations on <i>kekeʔe</i> (‘digit’).
ROV	<i>yuyu lavata</i> ‘big toe’, <i>kakarutunene</i> ‘all the toes’.
LEW	See 04.340; also <i>p<sup>w</sup>asu-na na la-na</i> ‘big toe’, see 04.342.
KWA	<i>nək<sup>w</sup>ai nəs-</i> ‘fruit-of leg’.
CEM	‘finger of foot’.
XAR	‘finger on ground’.
KIR	‘end of the foot’.
MSH	Also ‘finger’.
PON	3sg POSS; lit ‘digit of the foot’; <i>rekenp<sup>w</sup>el</i> .
RTU	Also <i>kækæʔ ne lā</i> .
SAM	<i>tamaʔi</i> ‘little’.
MEL	Also [ <i>kanilapa</i> ] both from Efate, i.e. ‘finger/thumb’.

## 04.392 WING

ATA	ka-kaɦiŋ	MIN	sayoʔ	*DOB	dek <sup>w</sup> al-di
TSO	pvoʔi	IND	sayap	IRA	manə ɸariɸərə
*RUK	sa-pakə-pakə	SUN	jaŋjaŋ	SAW	naek
PAI	kapə-kap	JAV	suiwi	NYI	banin
YAM	paniɖ	MAD	kalimbaŋ	MAM	bazi
ISN	payaʔ	BAL	kampid	TAK	sibari-n
KAL	payak	SAS	kletek	DAM	waye
*TAG	pakpak	GOR	polipiʔo	MAB	bege-
*AKL	pakpak	DAA	kapi	YAB	ŋa-mage
PAL	ɔlad	UMA	paniʔ	KAU	mhit
MOL	olad	BUG	panniʔ	*TOL	bebea-
KAG	pakpak	KON	kaʔniʔ	BUA	banis
BLA	fafak	WOL	pani	*ADZ	inut
SAB	pikpik	MAG	ləbe	KIL	pinupane-
MUR	kawo	NGA	ləbe	TAW	apape-na
MGY	elaɖʔa	SIK	kəpik	MOT	hani-na
ACE	sayuəp	RTI	lida-k	MEK	pani
BAT	habɔŋ	BUR	pani-n	ROV	tatāpuru

MAR	bayi	*NEM	hi-n manik	EFI	taba-
LAU		*CEM	pû-í-mêni	WFI	-kakaβa
KWO	ʔabaʔaba(-na)	AJI	řēřē	RTU	papʔu
RAG	yaba	XAR	pušẽmẽ	TON	kapakau
*PAA	levauen	NEN	kataʔad	*SAM	ʔapa-ʔau
LEW	kupe-na	KIR	te bai	MEL	pekkau
POR	ko <sup>m</sup> b vea-n	MSH	pæ	TAH	pererau
NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> alm <sup>w</sup> al-n	PON	pē	RAP	karā
*KWA	rəŋi-	WLE	paii		

RUK *sa-pakə-pakə* 'a wing without feathers'; *paridi* 'a wing with feathers'.

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines *\*pakpak*; also *bagwis*.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*pakpak*.

DOB *dek<sup>w</sup>al-di* is 3sg POSS form; the root is *dek<sup>w</sup>al-*. The 3sg form is *dek<sup>w</sup>ul*.

TOL *bebe* 'flutter'.

ADZ *inut* (Amari, Central dialects, Yarus); *binut* (Central, Guruf, Ngariawang); *'anit* (Onga?, Guruf, Ngariawang).

PAA 'its wing'.

KWA Also *təmərəməri-*, *tərəŋi*.

NEM 'arm of bird'.

CEM 'wing hair of bird'.

SAM *ʔapa* '(of bird's wing, turtle flipper) beat, lash' (vb intrans), *ʔau* (?).

#### 04.393 FEATHER (see also body hair)

*ATA	paʔiʔ	MOL	bulbul	SUN	bulu
TSO	ropŋu	KAG	bəlbəl	JAV	wulu
RUK	lomo	BLA	bul	MAD	bulu
PAI	paʔal <sup>y</sup>	SAB	bulbul	BAL	bulu
YAM	bobow no manok	*MUR	bulu	SAS	bulu
ISN	duʔdut	MGY	vulu-m- buruna	GOR	layi
KAL	dutdut	ACE	buleə	DAA	vulu
TAG	balahībo	BAT	ibbulu	UMA	βulu
*AKL	baʔahību	MIN	bulu	BUG	bulu
PAL	bulbul	IND	bulu	KON	bulu
				WOL	bulu

MAG	vulu	*ADZ	apu dʒuf	AJI	pūrū
NGA	lua	*KIL	dagula	XAR	pū
SIK	βulu-ŋ	*TAW	apala-na	NEN	dire-
RTI	bulu-k	*MOT	hui-na	KIR	te burae
BUR	man folo-n	*MEK	inei pui-na	MSH	kōl
*DOB	man ɸuli-di	ROV	kalu kurkuru	*PON	wine
IRA	manə ɸəru	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akla	*WLE	ūrā
SAW	plu	LAU		*EFI	βuti-
NYI	lami sirih	KWO	ifu(-na)	WFI	-βulu
MAM	lalau	RAG	lalau	RTU	lalovi
TAK	kaluŋ	PAA		TON	fulufulu
*DAM	siwi	*LEW	vilu-na	SAM	fulu
MAB	man rumūnu	POR	vii-xer	MEL	vaero
YAB	ŋa-wao	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e-n	TAH	huruhuru
*KAU	emon yut	KWA	num <sup>w</sup> herə-	*RAP	hu-huru
TOL	ivu-	*NEM	pun-manik		
BUA	(sok) ni βīs	*CEM	pùmī-n.		

ATA *paʔiʔ* ‘large feather on the wings, fins of fish’, *kinuriŋ* ‘small feather or hair on the body’.

AKL Also *butbut*.

MUR Also *bulanday* ‘tail-feather’.

DOB ‘bird’s hair’.

DAM Also *sarai* ‘plume’; *siwi* also means ‘fur’; see 06.280.

KAU ‘bird hair’.

ADZ Also *dʒa<sup>ʔ</sup>* *dʒuf*, *rini fufun*.

KIL *dagula* (unpossessed); *digule-* (possessed).

TAW *apala-na* ‘down, small feather’; *tagola* ‘long feather’.

MOT *hui* ‘hair’.

MEK *inei* is ‘bird’; *pui* is also ‘bristle, hair’.

LEW See 04.140.

NEM ‘hair of bird’.

CEM Also means ‘fur, fleece’.

PON 3sg POSS.

WLE Also *weřü* ‘feather’.

EFI *lawe-* ‘long feather, as in tail’.

RAP Also *huru-huru*.

## 04.400 CHEST

*ATA	pčiyha	UMA	hunamu	MAR	graga
TSO	tʔorŋa	BUG	dada	LAU	maruna
RUK	toko	KON	barambaŋ	KWO	fuʔu(-na)
PAI	varuŋ	WOL	ra <sup>n</sup> da	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> a-
YAM	vatavat	*MAG	[bərə <sup>m</sup> baŋ]	*PAA	volvolok
ISN	gūtuʔ	NGA	beke	LEW	yere-na
*KAL	balūkuŋ	SIK	ʔraha-ŋ	POR	ma <sup>m</sup> bü-n
*TAG	dibdib	RTI	fana-k	NTA	manaklōha-n
AKL	dughan	*BUR	hiba-n	KWA	nəp <sup>w</sup> enhə-
PAL	dɔbdɔb	DOB	dabaʔay	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> āŋe-n
MOL	dobdob	IRA	ritəre	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> āŋɛ-n
KAG	dagʔa'nan	*SAW	katn-o	AJI	pēwā
BLA	kfī	*NYI	soko ade-n	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> ā
SAB	dākan	MAM	barabara	*NEN	yewanono
*MUR	kubab	TAK	mimire-n	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> anib <sup>w</sup> an
*MGY	[tʔatʔa]	DAM	akor	MSH	ɔp <sup>w</sup>
ACE	dada	MAB	ka- <sup>m</sup> bōro	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> arm <sup>w</sup> are
BAT	addɔra	YAB	bo-dagi	*WLE	uφ <sup>w</sup> a
MIN	dado	KAU	eŋai-n	EFI	sere-
IND	dada	*TOL	boŋboŋi-	WFI	-haro
*SUN	dada	*BUA	nəwa	RTU	fatafata
JAV	ɖɔɖɔ	*ADZ	nugu u <sup>m</sup> pa <sup>ɖ</sup> ʔ	TON	fatafata
MAD	ɖaɖa	KIL	βitako-	*SAM	fatafata
BAL	taŋkah	*TAW	nugonugo-na	MEL	fatafata
SAS	dadə	MOT	keme-na	TAH	ʔōuma
GOR	duhelo	*MEK	olaŋa	RAP	uma
DAA	bo <sup>m</sup> bara	ROV	ragrada		

ATA Also *pčiy pak*.

KAL Also *palagpag*.

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines *\*debdeb*.

MUR Also *babo, aŋkab*.

MGY From Malay *dada* 'chest'.

SUN Also *harigu*.

MAG From Makassarese.

BUR *hiba-n* 'upper chest'; *hiba-n rohi-n* 'chest bone = sternum'; *dime-n* 'xyphoid process'; *poso-n* 'lower chest under ribcage'.

SAW	From <i>katən-o</i> .
NYI	Also <i>b<sup>w</sup>ele<sup>?</sup>eade-n</i> .
TOL	Also <i>liboŋai-</i> .
BUA	<i>nəwa</i> refers more to internal organs, seat of emotion; <i>babu</i> refers more to framework of chest.
ADZ	<i>nugu u<sup>m</sup>pa<sup>n?</sup></i> (Amari, Central, Yarus); <i>nugu siŋ</i> (Central); <i>nugu siŋat~si<sup>n?</sup>kat ~ sigat</i> (Onga?, Yarus, Guruf).
TAW	Includes contents.
MEK	West Mekeo and NW Mekeo have <i>akaina</i> ‘chest’.
PAA	‘my chest’.
NEN	Also <i>ye<sup>?</sup>azin</i> (respectful).
KIR	Also <i>te ub<sup>w</sup>a</i> .
PON	<i>pānkup<sup>w</sup>ur</i> hon.; <i>m<sup>w</sup>areiso</i> 3sg hon.
WLE	Also <i>mōřo</i> .
SAM	cognate with <i>fata</i> ‘shelf’.

#### 04.410 BREAST (of woman)

ATA	xuxu <sup>?</sup>	*IND	susu	SAW	sus
TSO	nun <sup>?</sup> u	SUN	susu	NYI	sur
RUK	θoθo	*JAV	susu	MAM	ruru
PAI	tutu	*MAD	susu	*TAK	su
YAM	ʒoʒo	BAL	ñoño	DAM	su
ISN	gātāt	SAS	susu	MAB	zuzu-
KAL	sūsu	GOR	tutu	YAB	su
TAG	sūso	DAA	susu	KAU	susu-n
AKL	sūsu	UMA	tii <sup>?</sup>	TOL	ū-
PAL	dudu <sup>?</sup>	BUG	susu	BUA	rur
MOL	dudu <sup>?</sup>	KON	susu	ADZ	sisu-
KAG	susu	*WOL	ɖuɖu	KIL	nunu-
BLA	tutu <sup>?</sup>	MAG	čuču	TAW	gugu-na
SAB	dudu <sup>?</sup>	NGA	susu	MOT	rata-na
MUR	titi <sup>?</sup>	SIK	uhu-ŋ	*MEK	?u <sup>?</sup> u
MGY	nunu	RTI	su <sup>?</sup> u-k	ROV	susu
*ACE	məm	BUR	soso-n	MAR	ču <sup>?</sup> u
BAT	susu	DOB	ɸola	LAU	susu
MIN	susu	IRA	susə	KWO	susu(-na)

RAG	huhu-	AJI	mēyā	WFI	-đuđu
PAA	sūsu	XAR	ji	RTU	susu
LEW	prayu-na	*NEN	mimi	TON	huhu
*POR	lixaixai	KIR	te mmamma	SAM	susu
NTA	naha-n	*MSH	ninnin	MEL	susu
KWA	nanhə-	PON	tīti	TAH	tīti
NEM	t <sup>h</sup> i	*WLE	ttü	*RAP	ū
CEM	tí-n	EFI	suđu-		

ACE Also *tɛ?*, *dɛ?*.

IND Also *buah dada*, *payudara*.

JAV Also *tɛtɛ?*, *payudɔɔ*.

MAD See 05.860.

WOL Also *susu*.

TAK 'breast, milk' (see 05.860).

MEK Homophonous with *ʔuʔu* 'heel'.

POR Also *la<sup>m</sup>bü<sup>m</sup>b*.

NEN Also *pemimi*; *yeʔazin* (respectful).

MSH Also *itit*.

WLE Also *tütü*.

RAP Also *hatunono* 'breast, udder (when full or firm with milk)'.

#### 04.412 NIPPLE, TEAT

*ATA	tunux na? xuxu?	MOL	buaʔ-buaʔ dudu?	JAV	pəntil
*TSO	fŋū ta nunʔu	KAG	muŋal	MAD	kuñčuʔ-na susu
RUK	potono	BLA	tutu?	*BAL	muñčuk ñoño
PAI	ma-mucə- muc-an	SAB	tuŋay dudu?	SAS	potok (susu)
YAM	ŋazo	MUR	titi?	*GOR	lu <sup>ɗ</sup> goŋo tutu
ISN	būŋag	MGY	luha-nunu	DAA	batu-susu
KAL	tīŋil	ACE	puteŋ tɛ?	UMA	ŋuʃu tii?
TAG	uteŋ	*BAT	mussuŋ ni bagot	BUG	čemu-susu
AKL	ayütuŋ	MIN	putiʔŋ susu	KON	munuŋ susu
*PAL	alibuʔbuʔwa?	IND	putiŋ susu	*WOL	o <sup>m</sup> pole-na đuđu
		*SUN	hulu susu	MAG	mata čuču



NGA	lobo-susu	ADZ	sisu mara	*NEM	wa-n maye-t <sup>hi</sup>
SIK	uhu βutu-ŋ		bi <sup>m</sup> pian	*CEM	pûni-tí-n
RTI	su <sup>ʔ</sup> u pule-k	*KIL	mata-la nunu	AJI	kap <sup>wi</sup>
BUR	muŋe-n	*TAW	gugumata-na	*XAR	mεε-ji
*DOB	ɸola ŋusil	*MOT	rata-na mata-na	*NEN	načamimi
IRA	susə mətə			*KIR	te tabo ni
SAW	sus ni koyoyo	MEK	ʔu <sup>ʔ</sup> u maa-ŋa		mmamma
NYI	mada sur	ROV	mata susu	*MSH	ittit
MAM	ruru-buru	MAR	tat <sup>h</sup> a ču <sup>ʔ</sup> u	PON	
*TAK	su mala-n	LAU	mana susu	*WLE	metaři-ttù
DAM	su mala	KWO	susu(-na)	EFI	mata-ni-suđu-
MAB	zuzu-matāna	RAG	mata-n huhu-	WFI	mata-ni-đuđu
*YAB	su-mata	*PAA	aruasūsu	RTU	is susu
*KAU	susu-n maran	*LEW	pulu-mara-na	TON	mata <sup>ʔ</sup> i-huhu
	esus	*POR	mar siisü-n	*SAM	matā-susu
*TOL	ul-a-ū -	NTA	nəŋanamtə	MEL	
BUA	rur		naha-n	TAH	ʔōata
		*KWA	numrhi nanhə-	*RAP	mata ū

ATA 'head of breasts'.

TSO 'head of the breast'.

PAL From *buwa*<sup>ʔ</sup> 'fruit'; also *binu*<sup>ʔ</sup>*buwa*<sup>ʔ</sup>.

BAT *mussuŋ* from (*munsuŋ*).

SUN Also [*pəntil*] *susu* from Javanese.

BAL Also *tu(k)tuk nono*.

GOR *lu<sup>ŋ</sup>gogo* 'head', *tutu* 'breast'.

WOL 'seed/kernel of breast'.

DOB *ŋusil* also 'beak'.

TAK 'breast-her eye-its', i.e. 'eye of her breast'.

YAB 'breast-eye'; also *su ŋa-mata* 'breast its-eye'.

KAU 'breast-her eye-its udder'.

TOL *ul* 'top', see 04.200, *ū*- 'breast'.

KIL 'eye/tip-its breast'.

TAW 'breast eye'.

MOT *mata* 'point, tip'.

PAA 'handle of breast'.

LEW Also *prayu-ne-na*.

POR	‘eye breast-her’.
KWA	‘hair-of breast’.
NEM	‘hole of the breast’s point’.
CEM	‘head of breast’.
XAR	‘point of breast’.
NEN	Also <i>unan</i> .
KIR	‘end of the breast’.
MSH	Also ‘breast’.
WLE	‘eye of the breast’.
SAM	<i>mata</i> ‘eye, point’, <i>susu</i> ‘breast’.
RAP	Also <i>ū</i> .

#### 04.420 UDDER

ATA	šayapuk	BAL	ñoño	BUA	zur
TSO		SAS		ADZ	
RUK		GOR	tutu lo sapi	KIL	nunu-
PAI		DAA	susu	TAW	gugu
YAM	šošo	UMA	tii?	MOT	
ISN	gātat	BUG	sepu?-susu	MEK	
KAL	būsug	KON	susu	*ROV	tiana
*TAG	sūsunaŋ [bāka]	*WOL	đudū	MAR	
*AKL	sūsū	MAG	čuču	LAU	
PAL	lata	NGA	susu	KWO	susu(-na)
*MOL	dudu?	SIK	uhu-ŋ	RAG	huhu
KAG	susu	*RTI	kapa su?u-k	PAA	sūsū
BLA	tutu?	BUR	soso-n fatu-n	LEW	prayu-na
SAB	dudu?	DOB	φola	*POR	vuuv
MUR	titi?	IRA		NTA	naha-n
MGY	nunu-n-umbi	SAW	sus	KWA	
ACE	abin	NYI		NEM	
BAT	susu	MAM		CEM	tí-n
MIN	susu	*TAK	su	AJI	mēji
IND	ambiŋ	DAM	su bura	*XAR	ji re
SUN	susu	MAB	zuzu-		[purum <sup>w</sup> akao]
JAV	kapur	YAB	su	NEN	
MAD	susu	KAU	esus	KIR	
		TOL	ū-	MSH	

PON		RTU	susu	TAH	tītī
WLE		TON	huhu	*RAP	hatunono
EFI	taga-ni-suđu-	SAM			
WFI	mata-ni-đuđu	MEL			

TAG Of cow, also 'breast', from Spanish *vaca* 'cow'.

AKL Also 'breast' 04.410.

MOL *dudu?* + *-in-*.

WOL Also *susu*.

RTI 'waterbuffalo udder'.

TAK See 04.410.

ROV Also *boyu* 'stomach'.

POR Also *vuv*.

XAR 'breast of bovine'.

RAP Also *ū*.

#### 04.430 NAVEL

ATA	puya?	IND	pusat	SAW	fisəl
TSO	puçku	SUN	buǰal	NYI	mada
RUK	pəkə	JAV	wučəl		subudo-n
PAI	pudək	MAD	buǰʰəl	MAM	buto
YAM	pəşəǰ	BAL	puŋsəd	TAK	buso-n
ISN	pūsag	SAS	pusət	DAM	φisō
KAL	pūsog	GOR	yibu?o	MAB	pese-
TAG	pūsod	DAA	puse	YAB	(ŋa-)meso
AKL	pūsud	UMA	puhe	KAU	emtun
*PAL	pinəpədan	BUG	posi?	TOL	bito-
MOL	pusod	*KON	possi?	BUA	βəro
KAG	pusud	WOL	puse	ADZ	mut
BLA	blutut	MAG	putəs	KL	poso-
SAB	ponsot	NGA	puse	TAW	buhoho-na
MUR	pusod	*SIK	puhər	MOT	hudo-na
MGY	fuiɽ'a	RTI	use-k	MEK	fuko
ACE	pusat	BUR	puse-n	ROV	dəke
*BAT	pusok	*DOB	barik <sup>w</sup> al	MAR	se?o
MIN	puse?	IRA	φirə	LAU	

KWO	bou(-na)	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> iε-n	EFI	βiðoβiðo
RAG	bito-	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ixā	WFI	-buto
*PAA	vitok	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> exō	RTU	pufa
LEW	kurupite-na	NEN	wadidi	TON	pito
POR	<sup>m</sup> bürø-n	KIR	te buto	SAM	pute
NTA	nəp <sup>w</sup> ətə-n	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> icen	MEL	pito
KWA	nəpureŋi-	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ūs	TAH	pito
*NEM	ɰa-n guye-n	WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> usa	RAP	pito

PAL Also *payupwan*.

BAT Proto-Batak \**pusəg*.

KON Also *počči?*

SIK Also *pu<sup>?</sup>at, puhe, puhə-ŋ*.

DOB See 04.207.

PAA 'my navel'.

NEM 'hole of the cooking pot'.

MSH 3sg POSS form.

#### 04.440 HEART

ATA	kaḳariyat	MIN	ǰantu <sup>?</sup> ŋ	DOB	ɸuk <sup>w</sup> a
TSO	t <sup>?</sup> uxu	IND	ǰantuŋ	IRA	εɸo
RUK	avava	*SUN	ǰantuŋ	SAW	puŋ
PAI	ḳavuvuŋ	JAV	ǰantuŋ	NYI	boka mo <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> ou
YAM	tawor	MAD	ati	MAM	aburo
ISN	bukal	*BAL	(pə)pusuh-an	*TAK	babu
KAL	pūsū	SAS		DAM	sō bibi
TAG	pūsō <sup>?</sup>	*GOR	wa <sup>n</sup> dōhu	MAB	ka-abal utēne
AKL	tagi-pusū <sup>?</sup> -un	DAA	sule	YAB	(ŋa-)nip-kaləp
PAL	pusu <sup>?</sup>	UMA	hule	KAU	eβhat
MOL	ǰantuŋ	BUG	ati	*TOL	buai-
KAG	tagipusu <sup>?</sup> un	KON	puso	*BUA	nəwa βūk
BLA	fufuŋ	*WOL	βake	*ADZ	nugu a <sup>m</sup> pi
SAB	ǰantuŋ	MAG	puču (lolo)		sisun
*MUR	pusu <sup>?</sup>	NGA	pusu	KIL	kapuwe
MGY	fu	SIK	puhu-ŋ βua-ŋ	TAW	nugonugo-na
*ACE	ǰantuŋ	RTI	ba de <sup>?</sup> e-k	MOT	kudou-na
BAT	pusu-pusu	BUR	poso-n fua-n	*MEK	ŋua-fopa

ROV	bulo	KWA	nəkenaku	*WLE	řařo
MAR	naňafa	NEM	ňame-n	EFI	uto-
LAU	maňo	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ś-níme-n	*WFI	-raβota
*KWO	goru(-na)	AJI	nenã	RTU	fat-manava
RAG	irub <sup>w</sup> i-	XAR	nã	TON	mafú
PAA	hãihus	*NEN	ņor	SAM	fatu
LEW	prawa	*KIR	te buro	MEL	ufi kãnoa
POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ama <sup>g</sup>	*MSH	menono	TAH	mãfatu
NTA	noanelau	*PON	mõņioņ	*RAP	mahatu

TAG PMP \*pūsua.

AKL PMP \*pūsua

MUR *pusu*? ‘heart, internal organ’; *guaņ* ‘seat of emotion’.

ACE Also *bəh jantoņ*.

SUN Also *jaňantuaņ* (from *ňantuaņ* ‘bud of banana flower’); *ati* lit ‘liver’ – seat of the emotions.

BAL *pusuh* ‘bud’.

GOR Also *putu*.

WOL Also *ňaňa-ra<sup>n</sup>da* ‘heart, mind, liver’.

TAK *babu*, *bube*-unpossessed and possessed forms respectively.

TOL Also *bəla-* ‘inside, belly, heart, mind’. Also *piogo* ‘heart of an animal’, lit ‘very young coconut’.

BUA Also *nəwa bib*.

ADZ *nugu a<sup>m</sup>pi sisun* (Amari only); *nugu budzun*, *nugu sisun* (Central and others).

MEK *ňua* ‘internal organs’; *fopa* ‘hard, rock’. *ňua* alone ‘heart; bowels’; – seat of certain emotions.

KWO *fe<sup>?</sup>e goru i lae-* ‘fruit of central viscera’.

CEM ‘entrance of one’s desire’; *níme-n* ‘desire’ also means ‘heart’.

NEN Also *wačēčetowe*.

KIR Also *te nano* ‘heart, wish, will, desire’.

MSH Also ‘breathe, respiration’; *bəřo* ‘heart, wish, will, desire’.

PON Also *kup<sup>w</sup>ur* ‘heart, wish, will, desire’; *ririnpaiso*, hon.

WLE ‘heart, wish, will, desire’.

WFI Also *-nunu*.

RAP *inaňa* (archaic).

## 04.441 LUNG

ATA	βahʰuk	*BUG	aññawaŋ	LAU	
TSO	nitni	*KON	ate bariŋaŋ	*KWO	lae-na
RUK	paraʔoŋaŋə	WOL	ku <sup>m</sup> ba	RAG	atedarav <sup>wa</sup> -
PAI	va	MAG	rāk	PAA	leatrohuvoh
YAM	apwaw	NGA	boka	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uriare
ISN	baga	SIK	bokak		yuwowo
KAL	bola	RTI	ba-k	POR	me <sup>m</sup> braor
*TAG	bāga?	*BUR	kopa-n	NTA	kalukaluk
AKL	bāga?	DOB	bar	KWA	təparuwarewa
PAL	ɔpɔs	IRA	bərəbarə	*NEM	ŋe-n sumā-n
MOL	opos	SAW	pus	*CEM	mádi-bùcia- jêi-n
KΛG	ba'ga?	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isis		
BLA	mlɔʔɔn	MAM	puso-puso	AJI	dēk <sup>w</sup> ĩĩ
SAB	daga?	TAK	samer	XAR	mamā
*MUR	pamainawān	DAM	kuru	NEN	yekadeu
MGY	avukavuka	MAB	ka-lələt	KIR	te mama
ACE	sūəp	*YAB	ŋate k <sup>w</sup> alam	MSH	æŋ
BAT	rak	KAU	kaβhos	PON	ŋoluŋol
MIN	rabu	*TOL	kat-loŋoloŋo-	WLE	faŋiyawa
IND	paru-paru	BUA	nəwa ris	EFI	yate-βuso
SUN	bayah	ADZ	nugu fufwat	WFI	-yaseβuho
JAV	paru	KIL	kata	RTU	ma?ma?a
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> ara	TAW	nugonugo-na	TON	ma?ama?a
*BAL	(pə)[paru]	MOT	baragi-na	SAM	māmā
SAS		*MEK	ŋua pa-pani- na	MEL	m <sup>w</sup> itatalo
GOR	pola <sup>n</sup> dapo	ROV	korkoro	TAI	māhāhā
DAA	atevura	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> očo	RAP	
UMA	rama				

TAG Proto-Philippines \*bāRaŋ.

MUR Also *opos* (as food).

BAL From Old Javanese?

BUG Also *ati bariŋiŋ*.

KON Also *ate riŋaŋ*.

BUR Also *pare-n*.

YAB 'organ white'.

TOL *kat* 'liver', *loŋoloŋo* 'phlegm, spittle, foam, froth'.

MEK	<i>pani</i> means 'wing'; <i>pa-pani</i> 'wing-like' or 'small wing'.
KWO	Is whole central viscera, but 'liver' is unmarked sense.
LEW	'white liver'; also <i>puriare na lokop</i> 'liver in enclosure'.
NEM	'container of spittle'.
CEM	'back of the <i>Semencarpus vitiensis</i> English leaf'.

#### 04.450 LIVER

ATA	šayik	UMA	ate	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ebu
TSO	xʔoni	BUG	issuŋ	LAU	
RUK	aŋay	KON	ate	*KWO	lae-na
PAI	kaçay	WOL	ŋaŋa-ra <sup>n</sup> da	RAG	ate-
YAM	atay	MAG	ati	PLA	leatok
ISN	agtay	NGA	ate	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uriare
KAL	agtoy	*SIK	ʔβate	POR	nama <sup>m</sup> b
TAG	atay	RTI	ate-k	NTA	nəŋanəmapu-n
AKL	atay	*BUR	nena-n	KWA	nakanmap <sup>w</sup> u-
PAL	atəy	DOB	sata	NEM	kec
MOL	atoy	IRA	bəɾəʔtə	CEM	iī-n
KAG	atay	SAW	yətəy	AH	kamɬɬ
BLA	ətəy	NYI	ade-n	XAR	dē
SAB	atay	MAM	moagemoage	NEN	guat
MUR	aŋkayaw	TAK	ate-n	KIR	te ato
MGY	ati	DAM	wau	MSH	ac
ACE	ate	MAB	kete-	PON	ē
*BAT	ate-ate	*YAB	ŋate mayan	WLE	yase
MIN	ati	KAU	eyat	EFI	yate-
IND	hati	TOL	kati-	WFI	yase
*SUN	[ati]	BUA	ate	RTU	æfe
JAV	ati	*ADZ	nugu iran	TON	ʔate
MAD	ati	KIL	kate-	*SAM	ate
BAL	ati	TAW	ate-na	MEL	ate
SAS	ate	MOT	ase-na	TAH	upaʔa
GOR	ʔoyile	MEK	aʔe	RAP	ʔate
DAA	ate	ROV	bero		

BAT Proto-Batak \*(h)atey.

SUN From Javanese; *hate* is the seat of the emotions.

- SIK In Sara Sika, the 'liver' *ʔbate*, *ʔbatə-ŋ* is the seat of the emotions e.g. *ata ʔbatə-ŋ əpa-ŋ* 'a good-hearted person'.
- BUR Also *lale-n* 'feeling, emotions, inside'; *peu-n* 'gall bladder'.
- YAB 'organ dark'.
- ADZ 'liver true'.
- KWO See 04.441.
- SAM (polite) *au* 'liver' (esp. of a pig).

### 04.451 KIDNEY

ATA	yuhu†	UMA	tumaŋo	LAU	
TSO	pɕiri	BUG		KWO	lāʔe
RUK	pədə	*KON	bua aʃaʔ	RAG	aŋai-
PAI	puɖu	*WOL	ʃake-na taŋa	PAA	haininias
YAM	vato	MAG	vua	LEW	kururuye
*ISN	alibuwa	NGA	musi	POR	navar
KAL	batin	SIK	βua-ŋ	NTA	
*TAG	bato	RTI	boa deʔe-k	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> ank <sup>w</sup> erə-
*AKL	ba'tu-bātuh	BUR	skete-n isin	NEM	
PAL	ɔlibwaʔ	DOB	busiʔay	CEM	
MOL	buaʔ	IRA	giemarurə	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ēkiwō
KAG	lagay	SAW	malēeten	XAR	wam <sup>w</sup> ātua
BLA	kalfafoʔ	NYI		*NEN	wamakal
*SAB	[kidni]	MAM	salo-patu	KIR	te kirine
*MUR	bubuaʔ	*TAK	pat	*MSH	rəkε
MGY	vua	DAM	ubuɸot		in cip <sup>w</sup> kε
ACE	boh ate	MAB	ka-ipipʔ	PON	m <sup>w</sup> itilik
BAT	pia	*YAB	ŋa-wa-matu	WLE	
MIN	buah pingaŋ	KAU	maran	EFI	iβi
*IND	giŋʃal	TOL	lika-	WFI	-iβi
*SUN	ka-bu-buah-an	BUA	gəgos	RTU	ififi
JAV	giŋʃəl	ADZ	ru <sup>m</sup> pu-	TON	kofuua
MAD	g <sup>β</sup> iŋʃəl	KIL	keyale-	*SAM	fatu-ŋaʔo
*BAL	giŋʃəl	TAW	lili-watu-watu	MEL	fua
SAS		*MOT	nadi-nadi-na	TAH	māpē
*GOR	botu lo wohuta	MEK	mape lopi-na	RAP	māpē
*DAA	vuaŋ gope	ROV	lelegata		
		MAR	čau-čau		



ISN	<i>apdu</i> ‘gall, bile’.
TAG	Also ‘stone’.
AKL	‘little stone’; <i>apdu?</i> ‘gall, bile’.
SAB	From English.
MUR	Also <i>kinawa?</i>
IND	Also <i>buah pinggan</i> , <i>buah punggung</i> , <i>buah gəli</i> .
SUN	Also <i>gi-[giñjəl]</i> from Javanese.
BAL	Also <i>bə-buah-an</i> .
GOR	<i>botu</i> lit ‘stone’; <i>lo</i> , LIG; <i>wohuta</i> ‘waist’.
DAA	‘fruit of waist’.
KON	Also <i>bua-na</i> .
WOL	‘fruit of waist’.
TAK	<i>pat</i> , <i>pat-a-n</i> unpossessed and possessed forms respectively.
YAB	‘its-mango-stone’.
MOT	<i>nadi</i> ‘stone’, <i>nadi-nadi</i> lit ‘small stone’.
NEN	Also <i>wanaʔalo</i> (respectful).
MSH	Also <i>ayo</i> ‘lower sides of back, kidney area’.
SAM	See 04.440, <i>ŋa?o</i> ‘fat, grease’.

#### 04.452 SPLEEN

ATA		MGY	<i>ari</i>	WOL	<i>mari</i>
TSO	<i>skuzu</i>	ACE	<i>limpa</i>	*MAG	<i>lemas</i>
RUK		BAT	<i>lippa</i>	NGA	<i>lai</i>
PAI		MIN		*SIK	<i>lai-ŋ</i>
YAM		IND	<i>limpa</i>	RTI	<sup>ɰ</sup> ga- <sup>ɰ</sup> gae-k
ISN	<i>pa?dīlāt</i>	SUN	<i>kawaya</i>	BUR	<i>ka-fua-n</i>
KAL	<i>bā?i</i>	JAV	<i>limpə</i>	DOB	
TAG	<i>pali?</i>	MAD	<i>limpa</i>	IRA	<i>kamərə</i>
AKL		BAL	<i>limpə</i>	SAW	<i>bi</i>
PAL	<i>urilas</i>	*SAS		NYI	
MOL	<i>arip</i>	GOR	<i>dilato</i>	MAM	<i>rea</i>
KAG	<i>basu</i>	DAA		TAK	<i>lage-n</i>
BLA	<i>buŋi</i>	UMA	<i>ju<sup>m</sup>pila</i>	DAM	<i>ncneg</i>
SAB		BUG	<i>limpa</i>	MAB	<i>ka-wer</i>
MUR	<i>alip</i>	KON	<i>lempaŋ</i>	*YAB	<i>(ŋate) sab<sup>w</sup>a?</i>

KAU		RAG	ɣua-	KIR	te katua
*TOL	kat-lolovina-	PAA	avoī	*MSH	ac
BUA	zəmen	LEW	yo	*PON	ētik
ADZ	waŋu mugus	POR		WLE	
KIL	lai	NTA	noanamkali-n	EFI	yate-balaβu
TAW	liliwa	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anim <sup>w</sup> ei-	WFI	-yase-lō
MOT	beni-na		nəmer	RTU	ʔəpiri
MEK	ʔeʔeŋefa	NEM		TON	ʔate-pili
ROV	bekaha	CEM		*SAM	ate-pili
MAR	k <sup>h</sup> asila	AJI	kamɹʌwēřē	MEL	puria
LAU	bila	*XAR	pɛ-kĩrĩ	TAH	ateroa
KWO	kofila(-na)	NEN	nalən	RAP	

SAS Thoir et al (1985) (*pə*)*pədu*.

MAG *sakep* 'bovine spleen'.

SIK See 04.450.

YAB 'organ potsherd'.

TOL *kat* 'liver', *lolovina* 'long'.

XAR 'stone of candlenut tree'.

MSH Also 'liver, seat of bravery'.

PON 'small liver'

SAM See 04.450.

## 04.460 STOMACH

*ATA	ʔakhuʔ	SAB	bottoŋ	DAA	taʔi
TSO	ɸfuʔo	*MUR	bituko	UMA	taʔi
RUK	biɸoka	*MGY	vava fu	BUG	bauwwa
PAI	viɸuka	*ACE	[pruət]	KON	battəŋ
*YAM	vitoka	BAT	butuha bolon	WOL	ko <sup>m</sup> po
*ISN	sinay	MIN	paruyʔ	*MAG	tuka
*KAL	botak	IND	pərut	NGA	tuka
TAG	tiyan	SUN	bitiŋ	SIK	taʔi-ŋ
*AKL	tiyan	JAV	wətəŋ	RTI	tei-k
PAL	bətəŋ	MAD	tabuʔ	*BUR	fuka-n
MOL	babat	BAL	basəŋ	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ola
KAG	tu'ŋul	SAS	tian	IRA	ɸəta
BLA	takmus	GOR	ʔo <sup>m</sup> boŋo	SAW	sno

NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʼabai	ROV	boɣu	*NEN	ete
MAM	dabuliʔi	MAR	butuk <sup>h</sup> okoilo	*KIR	te abein
*TAK	kafod	LAU	rake	*MSH	ɛɛ
DAM	tē	*KWO	oga(-na)	*PON	etin m <sup>w</sup> eɲe
MAB	kopo-	RAG	ati b <sup>w</sup> aŋi	WLE	saxa
*YAB	ŋa-tetaʔ-sega	PAA	haivaŋavaŋ	EFI	daβuibuðo
KAU	ekupin	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> e-na	WFI	-wājubu
TOL	bəla-	POR	<sup>m</sup> baxav	RTU	ʔefe
*BUA	aɣɛ aɣɛ kəβus	NTA	narp <sup>w</sup> -n	TON	kete
ADZ	waŋu-	KWA	təpu-	*SAM	manava
*KIL	lula	*NEM	guwaye-t <sup>n</sup> e-n	*MEL	{p <sup>w</sup> alōlapa}
TAW	amokobe-na	CEM	nà	TAH	ʔōpū
*MOT	boga-na	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ari, p <sup>w</sup> e	*RAP	kōpū
*MEK	inae	*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> ati		

ATA *šašitiʔan* ‘gizzard’, *ʔaʔihβun* ‘diaphragm’.

YAM *vələk* ‘abdomen’.

ISN *sīnay* ‘abdomen’.

KAL *buwaŋ* ‘abdomen’.

AKL *pusʔun* ‘abdomen, Proto-Philippines \**pusqun*.

MUR Also *tinaiʔ*.

MGY ‘mouth of the heart’.

ACE From Mon-Khmer, see 04.461.

MAG *bara* ‘belly’.

BUR ‘stomach, abdomen’; Rana and Lisela dialects *tia-n*.

TAK *kafod* ‘stomach as an unpossessed object’; *lua-n* ‘belly, viewed externally’.

YAB ‘its-intestine-major’.

BUA *aɣɛ* general term for ‘stomach, abdomen’; *aɣɛ kəβus* ‘actual stomach’; *aɣɛ βalo* ‘second stomach (in some animals)’.

KIL *lula* (unpossessed); *lopo-* (possessed).

MOT Also ‘womb’ (04.460).

MEK NW Mekeo has *ina*.

KWO Also *bao(-na)*.

NEM ‘node of his (her) faeces’ (see 04.372)

XAR *b<sup>w</sup>ati* ‘stomach’; *p<sup>w</sup>e* ‘belly’.

NEN	Also <i>ore, čaŋaŋaen</i> .
KIR	Also ‘basket, craw’.
MSH	<i>ce</i> also ‘belly, innards’; also <i>turek, tu</i> , also ‘gizzard’.
PON	<i>etin m<sup>w</sup>eŋe</i> lit ‘food sack’; <i>mp<sup>w</sup>ei</i> also ‘sphere’; <i>kup<sup>w</sup>uriso</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>alo</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	<i>kōpū</i> ‘stomach (the organ)’; <i>manava</i> ‘abdomen’.

## 04.461 INTESTINES, GUTS

ATA	γiuš	UMA	taʔi liko	MAR	butu
TSO	srū	BUG	pīruʔ	LAU	ogana
RUK	bōro	KON	parruʔ	KWO	oga foulato
PAI	vu	*WOL	ha <sup>n</sup> du-na	*RAG	sine-
YAM	činayi	MAG	tuka-taʔi	*PAA	tinok
ISN	lābad sinay	NGA	tuka-susu	LEW	sine-na
KAL	bāgis	SIK	taʔi-ŋ	POR	čine-n
TAG	bitūka	RTI	tei lutu-k	NTA	nəsiŋa-n
AKL	t-in-āʔih	*BUR	fuka-n wahe-n	*KWA	naninha
PAL	tinəy	*DOB	tubur leŋuy	NEM	hōna
MOL	toritis	IRA	φəta nətatu	CEM	óhe-n
KAG	bituka	SAW	tute	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> ērā
BLA	tnai	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ine-n	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ā-p <sup>w</sup> ē
SAB	tinaʔi	MAM	tinae	*NEN	čereθan
*MUR	tinaiʔ	TAK	tiŋae-n	*KIR	ta kanoan
MGY	φinai	DAM	tē		nano
*ACE	[pruət]	*MAB	ka-kau	MSH	macŋal
BAT	butuha	YAB	ŋa-tetaʔ	PON	m <sup>w</sup> asāl
MIN	paruyʔ-paŋjaŋ	KAU	emulun	WLE	tō
IND	usus	*TOL	vinau-na-bəla-	EFI	wāwā
SUN	pijīt	*BUA	aŋe βərīk	WFI	-wāwā
*JAV	ǰəro-an	*ADZ	rāgi fufwai	RTU	finæe
MAD	pərroʔ	KIL	sileu-	TON	ŋākau
*BAL	baŋ	TAW	amamo-na	*SAM	ŋāʔau
*SAS		MOT	bogaraurau-na	MEL	sinæe
GOR	toniya	MEK	fuouo-ŋa	TAI	ʔāʔau
*DAA	taʔi tina	ROV	laŋu	RAP	kokoma

MUR	Also <i>kinalumatan</i> ‘small gut’; <i>kinasalagan</i> ‘large gut’.
ACE	Mon-Khmer, written with final <i>-c</i> in the traditional script.
JAV	<i>ǰəro</i> ‘inside’.
BAL	<i>bətuk(ə)</i> , <i>bətukan</i> ‘stomach of poultry’.
SAS	Teeuw: <i>baduk</i> , <i>pərot</i> , <i>pəpərot</i> .
DAA	<i>taʔi tina</i> ‘large intestine’; <i>taʔi liko ŋedi</i> ‘small intestine’.
WOL	Also <i>ko<sup>m</sup>bala</i> , <i>ʔkalu-ʔkalu</i> .
BUR	Also <i>duke-n</i> ‘appendix’.
DOB	<i>leŋuy</i> is in a genitive relationship to <i>tubur</i> ‘stomach’.
MAB	<i>kau bībi</i> ‘large intestine’; <i>kau musāna</i> ‘small intestine’.
TOL	<i>vinau</i> ‘vine, creeper, string, rope’, <i>bəla-</i> see 04.440.
BUA	<i>aʔε βərīk</i> ‘large intestine’; <i>aʔε nalu</i> ‘small intestine’.
ADZ	<i>ragi fufwai</i> (Amari only); <i>ragi tatarun</i> ; <i>ragi fufwariaŋ</i> alternating (also other dialects).
RAG	<i>sib<sup>w</sup>eŋi</i> ‘belly’.
PAA	‘my guts’.
KWA	<i>təp<sup>w</sup>eua</i> ‘large intestine, crop of a fowl’.
NEN	Also <i>enon</i> , <i>gureθan</i> .
KIR	‘contents of the inside’.
SAM	(polite) <i>taufale</i> .

#### 04.462 WAIST

ATA	<i>hawinuk</i>	BLA	<i>awək</i>	SAS	<i>keŋ</i>
TSO	<i>ɸpɪxʔo</i>	SAB	<i>hawakan</i>	GOR	<i>wohuta</i>
RUK	<i>ta-li-ɸigia-anə</i>	*MUR	<i>awak</i>	DAA	<i>kope</i>
PAI	<i>siuɸ</i>	MGY	<i>an-dilana</i>	UMA	<i>hopeʔ</i>
YAM	<i>kawakan</i>	ACE	<i>kuʔiəŋ</i>	BUG	<i>pattek-kisiŋ</i>
ISN	<i>ābaʔ</i>	BAT	<i>gəttiŋ</i>	KON	<i>aʔaʔ</i>
KAL	<i>āwak</i>	MIN	<i>piŋgaŋ</i>	*WOL	<i>sele</i>
TAG	<i>baywaŋ</i>	IND	<i>piŋgaŋ</i>	MAG	<i>avak</i>
*AKL	<i>hāwak</i>	SUN	<i>čəŋkeŋ</i>	NGA	<i>soza</i>
*PAL	<i>babagan</i>	JAV	<i>baŋkeʔ-an</i>	*SIK	<i>ʔlora-ŋ</i>
MOL	<i>toŋaʔ-toŋaʔ</i>	*MAD	<i>tiŋ-əntiŋ-an</i>	*RTI	<i>talada-k</i>
KAG	<i>awak</i>	BAL	<i>baŋkiaŋ</i>	BUR	<i>awa-n</i>

DOB		*MEK	ua	NEN	
IRA	rerə	ROV	kokorapa tia	*KIR	te korea
SAW		MAR		*MSH	[ip]
NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʰukulu-n	LAU	litana	*PON	lukope
MAM	soa	KWO	waʔewaʔeta	*WLE	peixiri-saxa
TAK	gali-n		(-na)	EFI	tolo-
DAM	luwa	RAG		WFI	-luβuka
MAB	lwo-	PAA		RTU	mahini
*YAB	da <sup>m</sup> be-pale	*LEW	lele-n kilika	TON	koŋaloto
*KAU	put	POR	<sup>m</sup> bu <sup>m</sup> buxo-n	*SAM	sulu-ŋā-titi
*TOL	livua-	NTA		MEL	ŋāroto
BUA	balo	*KWA	taruk <sup>w</sup> a-	TAH	
ADZ	uŋi-	NEM		*RAP	kari-kari
KIL	kuβali-	*CEM	ám <sup>w</sup> ɔ-n		manava
TAW	sipoli-na	AJI	ke m <sup>w</sup> ā		
MOT	gaba-na	XAR	pū-bə		

AKL Proto-Philippines \**hāwak*.

PAL Also *awak*.

MUR Also *ka(la)lamian*.

MAD Penninga and Hendriks (1913) ‘hip’; from (RED-*əntiŋ-an*).

WOL Also *taŋa* ‘side, flank, waist’.

SIK Also *korok*.

RTI ‘middle’.

YAB ‘middle-soft’.

KAU ‘trunk, stem, middle, waist’ (see 04.350, 08.730).

TOL *livua-* ‘middle’.

MEK *ua* is also used for ‘trunk’ – human or of trees.

LEW ‘place for belt’.

KWA *kuruk<sup>w</sup>a-* also means ‘centre’, ‘middle’.

CEM The middle of something viewed lengthwise.

KIR ‘incision, inscription; *te korean nūka* ‘cut in the middle, waist’.

MSH Also ‘hips’; *luk<sup>w</sup>ʌn* CON; also ‘middle’.

PON 3sg POSS; also ‘tree trunk’.

WLE ‘side of the belly’, *fāri-xatoxato* lit ‘under the rafters’.

SAM *sulu* ‘put on, wear’, *-ŋa* NOM, *titi* ‘kilt’, *manava* ‘stomach, waist of a dress’ (04.460).

RAP Also *ka-kari manava*; *haratu?a pena* (lit ‘belt-tying place’); [*kaera*] from Spanish *cadera*.

**04.463 HIP**

ATA		UMA	paŋu?	MAR	
TSO		BUG	poŋpoppaŋ	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ouna ?osu
RUK		KON	poko? boŋga	KWO	
PAI		WOL	palasa	RAG	buyi-
YAM	tataɖan	*MAG	le?as	PAA	horāk
ISN	pā?iŋ	NGA	vəzo	*LEW	prap <sup>w</sup> u-na
KAL	peŋal	SIK	ŋisu-ŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> bu <sup>m</sup> buxo-n
TAG	balakaŋ	RTI	be-bela ana-k	NTA	
AKL	bīku†	BUR	awa-n rohi-n	KWA	taruk <sup>w</sup> a-
PAL	balilaŋ	*DOB	bedal	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> ege-n
MOL	pu?un pa?a	IRA	rerərurə	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> âjɛɛ-n
KAG	blat?aŋ	*SAW	pip-o	AJI	řĩ
BLA	fəŋkul	NYI	soko m <sup>w</sup> e?e-n	XAR	pū-bə
SAB	pigi?	MAM	salɔ	NEN	sio
*MUR	abik	*TAK	ai	KIR	te bebe
MGY	mudza	DAM	galiɖa	*MSH	[ɛp]
ACE		*MAB	sili-	*PON	leŋe-leŋe
BAT	soit	*YAB	magi	*WLE	xapi
*MIN	paŋgu?	*KAU	sum-hut	EFI	dibi-
*IND	piŋgul	*TOL	buk-nə-bəla-	WFI	-jibi
SUN		BUA	bəzu	RTU	kɔ?uaŋ ?ifi
JAV	čəti?	*ADZ	pusupis	TON	noko
MAD	baŋkuŋ	KIL	kaidawaga	*SAM	no?o
BAL	bokoŋ	TAW	dagi-na	MEL	
SAS	toak	*MOT	koekoe-na	TAH	taupu
GOR	poyo <sup>ɖ</sup> gi	MEK	?eŋe-fafa	*RAP	[kaera]
DAA	bi <sup>ɖ</sup> gi	ROV	sige		

MUR Also *tutuduŋon*.

MIN Also *piŋgu?*.

IND Also *paŋkalpaha*.

MAG ‘back area between the hips’.

DOB See 04.207.

SAW	From ( <i>pipe-o</i> ).
TAK	<i>ai</i> , <i>ai-a-n</i> unpossessed and possessed forms respectively.
MAB	<i>ka-sōbo</i> ‘joint’.
YAB	‘his/her hip’; <i>magi-m-</i> ‘your hip’.
KAU	‘join-waist’.
TOL	<i>buk</i> ‘point, corner, knob’, <i>bəla-</i> ‘belly, abdomen’ see 04.440.
ADZ	<i>pusupis</i> (Amari); <i>ŋu<sup>m</sup>p</i> (other dialects).
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives <i>dagira-na</i> ‘hip’.
LEW	See 12.760.
MSH	From English <i>m<sup>w</sup>ur</i> , <i>rəŋ</i> also ‘pelvis’.
PON	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>one</i> 3sg POSS
WLE	<i>xapi</i> also ‘keel’.
SAM	Also <i>suilapalapa</i> , see 04.351.
RAP	From Spanish <i>cadera</i> .

#### 04.464 BUTTOCKS

*ATA	ka-ḱutiʔ-an	IND	pantat	SAW	gog
TSO	suoʒaʔxa	*SUN	bobokəŋ	NYI	suburu m <sup>w</sup> eʔe-
RUK	dəkələ	JAV	bəkəŋ		n
PAI	ḱujuju	MAD	muntəŋ	*MAM	robu
YAM	ataŋ	BAL	ʒit	*TAK	tae-n
ISN	ūbat	*SAS	buit	DAM	ibu taʔira
KAL	ēbot	*GOR	tutubu	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bule-
*TAG	pigiʔ	DAA	taku <sup>m</sup> pala	*YAB	lepoŋ
AKL	panūʔuk	UMA	βono	KAU	mara rin
PAL	ambut	*BUG	poŋko	*TOL	pau-
MOL	pasij	KON	paʒa	BUA	aʒe geru
KAG	labbut	*WOL	ɖuria	ADZ	dʒiŋaʔ
BLA	kwəŋ	*MAG	bo <sup>n</sup> toŋ	*KIL	p <sup>w</sup> a-
SAB	buliʔ	NGA	buri	TAW	piya-na
MUR	tabij	*SIK	ubə-ŋ	MOT	kunu-na
*MGY	vudi	RTI	pe <li>k</li>	*MEK	uŋu
ACE	bəh pəŋŋəŋ	*BUR	bəhi-n	ROV	ʒubutu
BAT		*DOB	ʔabar	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> esi
*MIN	bokəŋ	IRA	ʔəta riye	LAU	ʔosuna



KWO	fōʔila(-na)	CEM	dêɛ-n	WFI	-loto
*RAG	boro-	AJI	bə	*RTU	muri
*PAA	votak	*XAR	bə	*TON	tuʔuŋaiku
LEW	kuluŋo-p <sup>w</sup> ere- na	NEN	peŋaraba	*SAM	ufa
POR	<sup>m</sup> bü-n	KIR	te buki	*MEL	[tap <sup>w</sup> arai]
NTA	manəsi-n	*MSH	kapi	TAH	tohe
*KWA	kua	PON	kāu	RAP	kaʔuha
*NEM	pue-o-n	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ürüwa		
		EFI	mū-		

ATA ‘the place for faeces’.

TAG Also *puwit* (-an).

MGY Also *fitumbenana* (fi-tombina-ana).

MIN ‘bulging, swollen’; also *iku*<sup>3</sup> from Proto-Malayic \**ikur* ‘tail’.

SUN Also *bujur*; *birit*.

SAS Also *tomboŋ*.

GOR Also [*busi*] (vulgar). And [*kułubi*].

BUG Also *bokoŋ*.

WOL Also *dʔui-dʔui*; *koi-koi*; *ta<sup>m</sup>be*.

MAG Also *rti*.

SIK Also *debur*.

BUR Also ‘anus’; ‘anus’ may be specified by *bohi-n fefa-n* ‘buttocks hole’; *tua-n rohi-n* ‘tailbone’.

DOB See 04.207.

MAM Also *moale*.

TAK ‘faeces, buttocks’.

YAB Also *tetaʔ-àwa* ‘intestine-mouth’.

TOL Also *biti*-.

KIL *p<sup>w</sup>a*- (all); *kuβali*- (upper), see 04.462.

MEK *uŋu* frequently goes to *uu*, which is standard in the other dialects.

RAG Also *yale*-.

PAA ‘my buttocks’.

KWA *kakurenih*i- ‘backside’, includes lower back.

NEM ‘origin of his/her leg’.

XAR Also *bɛ* ‘backside, rump’.

MSH Also *lok*.RTU Also *potoʔi*.TON Also *foʔi molū*.SAM (coll) *muli* see 04.372, (polite) *nōfoaŋa* (lit ‘seat’).

MEL From Efate.

## 04.470 WOMB

Arabic: *rahim*Spanish: *matriz*

*ATA	ti-ʔaʔuk-an	DAA	kapua-na	ROV	kokoana
TSO	prua no oko	UMA	puanaka	MAR	tʰiʔa
RUK		BUG	lissiʔ	LAU	ʔonikale
PAI		*KON	panim-anak-aŋ	KWO	oga kale
YAM	vaŋay no	WOL	kaʔu	*RAG	tano-n naturiyi
	kanakan	MAG	tuka	PAA	atu
ISN	uluŋga naʔān	*NGA	laʔe-ana	*LEW	m <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> e-na
KAL	tagannakan	*SIK	dulak	POR	narav
*TAG	[matris]	RTI	tei <sup>ɸ</sup> gona-k	NTA	
*AKL	tiyan	*BUR	wa fata-n	*KWA	nim <sup>w</sup> a iak <sup>w</sup> ein
PAL	sələd bətəŋ	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a taroy-n	*NEM	hat
MOL	buʔtuŋ	IRA	məranə	*CEM	êne-n
KAG	[matris]	SAW		AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā vi ʌʔi
BLA	banwi to	NYI		XAR	bi
SAB	bottoŋ	MAM	natu-raba	*NEN	gučəŋ
MUR	binuanakan	TAK	taŋe-n	*KIR	te kuan
MGY	vuhuka	DAM	mura	MSH	cikin niŋniŋ
ACE	[rahim]	*MAB	pikin murīni	PON	
*BAT	[paranakan]	*YAB	tetaʔ-lelom	*WLE	sōiŋa
*MIN	kanduʔŋ-an	KAU	elin	EFI	kato-ni-ŋone
IND	kanduŋ	TOL	tətəl	WFI	-kato-ni-βero
SUN	pi-anak-an	BUA	bələyək	RTU	ʔefe
*JAV	[(guɔ) garbɔ]	*ADZ	tayap	TON	manava
MAD	par-anaʔ-an	*KIL	lula	*SAM	faʔa-ʔau-taŋata
*BAL	[pranakan]	TAW	koiba-na	MEL	
SAS		*MOT	boga-na	TAH	vairʔa tamariʔi
GOR	bimelulu	*MEK	ma-mauni-na	RAP	matakao

- ATA *ti-ʔaʔuk-an* ‘womb’, lit ‘the place of embryo or fetus’.
- TAG Also *bāhay-bātaʔ*.
- AKL Also ‘stomach’; also [*matris*].
- BAT From Malay, also *asar ni pɔsɔ-pɔsɔ* lit ‘nest of a baby’.
- MIN Also [*rahim*].
- JAV From Sanskrit.
- BAL From Malay?
- KON From *pa-aŋ-anaʔ-aŋ*.
- NGA *laʔe* ‘place’, also *tuka* ‘stomach’.
- SIK Also *dula, taʔi dula, taʔi-ŋ ʔlora-ŋ*.
- BUR A sibling of the same ‘womb’ is specified by *benima*; *kai* ‘placenta (lit older sibling same sex)’: *esnike-n* ‘blood flow after delivery of a baby’.
- MAB ‘child’s place’.
- YAB ‘intestine-inside’.
- ADZ ‘net bag’.
- KIL *lula* (unpossessed); *lopo-* (possessed).
- MOT Also ‘stomach’.
- MEK Desnoës gives *ma-mauni-nakiapu-ŋa*.
- RAG Also *yavyavu-nnaturiyi* ‘amniotic sac’.
- LEW See 04.460; also *lele-n sisi* ‘place for baby’.
- KWA *nim<sup>w</sup>a iak<sup>w</sup>ein* ‘house child’; *tənərup* also means ‘basket’.
- NEM Also *canek* ‘sexual organs of a woman’, see also *ʒic* ‘stomach’.
- CEM More generally, the female sexual organs.
- NEN Also *ore*.
- KIR Also *te nnen merimeri*.
- WLE ‘afterbirth’.
- SAM *faʔa-* CAUS, *ʔau ʔ*, *taŋata* ‘human being’.

#### 04.490 TESTICLE

- |      |          |      |       |      |       |
|------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|
| *ATA | βatuʔ    | PAI  | kuʎiŋ | *KAL | būtu  |
| TSO  | kedu     | *YAM | vəto  | TAG  | bayag |
| RUK  | kariθiri | *ISN | buŋaw | *AKL | ʔāsug |

PAL	aliŋsɔg ɔt butu?	*SIK	təlo	*RAG	idoli-
		RTI	lase de?e-k	*PAA	oreliōk
MOL	ombuk burut	*BUR	tafu-n kihel	LEW	kula-na
KAG	palliŋ	*DOB	layar tabir	POR	nøsø-n
BLA	kasal	IRA	rɔʔotə	NTA	noanahlə-n
SAB	buyuŋ	SAW	tɛ-teɛ	*KWA	nare-
*MUR	tali?	NYI	buwa-n	NEM	dabe-n
MGY	bunga	MAM	labe	CEM	ʝêbe-n
*ACE	anu? krɛh	TAK	labe-n	AJI	pī guŋu
*BAT	pira-pira	DAM	pʔatu	XAR	pī-guru
*MIN	buah-buah	MAB	le <sup>m</sup> be-	*NEN	wamunet
IND	buah pəlir	YAB	laso?	KIR	te rato
*SUN	siki kontol	KAU	eβulin	*MSH	k <sup>w</sup> ʌle
*JAV	priŋsilan	TOL	koloki-	PON	wisol
MAD	pəllir	BUA	ros	*WLE	moŋu
BAL	butuh	ADZ	yawat	EFI	soresore
SAS	pəler	KIL	puwa-	WFI	-wiri-ni-gē
GOR	hutu	TAW	koko-na	*RTU	ififi
DAA	ari <sup>n</sup> tolu	*MOT	abo-na	TON	laho
*UMA	<sup>n</sup> tolu		nadinadi-na	*SAM	fuā-manava
BUG	lasi?	*MEK	lako pua?o-ŋa	MEL	fua
KON	ʔisere buto	ROV	kikikolo	*TAH	pōro
WOL	tawu	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oa	RAP	maripau
MAG	li <sup>n̄</sup> če təlo	LAU	latona		
NGA	vola	KWO	lālato(-na)		

ATA *ʔamunaŋ* ‘testicles’, *βatu?* ‘testicles and scrotum’.

YAM Or *potči*.

ISN *ūki* ‘vagina’.

KAL *ūki* ‘vagina’.

AKL Also *itlug* (slang).

MUR Also *kukumi*.

ACE Also *ple*.

BAT Derived from *pira* ‘egg’.

MIN See 05.710.

SUN *siki* ‘seed, grain, round object’.

JAV *kɔntɔl* ‘scrotum’.

UMA ‘eggs’.

SIK	Also <i>təbo-ŋ ata laʔi</i> .
BUR	Both human and animal.
DOB	‘your groin’s seeds’. <i>layar</i> is inalienably possessed but after root-final <i>l</i> , <i>r</i> , <i>n</i> or <i>m</i> the second person singular possession suffix is normally a zero morpheme.
MOT	<i>abo</i> ‘scrotum’; <i>nadinadi</i> lit ‘small stone’.
MEK	<i>lako</i> is ‘penis’; <i>puaʔo</i> ‘round object’. The word <i>ani</i> ‘seed, nut, kernel’, is frequently used for ‘testicle’.
MAR	Also <i>k<sup>h</sup>atu</i> .
RAG	<i>laho-</i> ‘scrotum’.
PAA	‘my testicle’, lit ‘penis egg’.
KWA	Also means ‘egg’.
NEN	Also <i>jo</i> .
MSH	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ale</i> also ‘kernel, seed’; <i>ɾɔ</i> .
WLE	Also <i>faiŋimoŋu</i> , lit ‘ball of testicle’.
RTU	Also <i>hothoto</i> .
SAM	<i>fua</i> ‘fruit’, <i>manava</i> ‘belly’, also <i>fuamiti</i> .
TAH	Also <i>hua</i> .

## 04.492 PENIS

Arabic: <i>zakr</i>
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ATA	βurax	BLA	batoʔ	SAS	betoʔ
TSO	boki	SAB	botoʔ	GOR	wuti
RUK	q̣ilakə	*MUR	butuʔ	DAA	uti
PAI	q̣aliq̣i	MGY	lataka	UMA	lahuʔ
YAM	vərəşəð	*ACE	bəh	BUG	laso
ISN	ūsin	BAT	pilat	KON	laso
KAL	ūtin	*MIN	[zakar]	*WOL	dʔau
*TAG	t̄itiʔ	*IND	pəlir	MAG	laʔe
*AKL	būtuʔ	SUN	kontol	NGA	lasu
PAL	utin	JAV	pəli	SIK	təbo-ŋ ata laʔi
MOL		MAD	palaʔ	RTI	uti-k
KAG	lasuʔ	BAL	čəlak	*BUR	tatu-t

DOB	tol	MOT	usi-na	*XAR	bəñi
IRA	ti	*MEK	lako	*NEN	waʔea
SAW	fsi	*ROV	koma	*KIR	te mm <sup>w</sup> āne
NYI	idi-n	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> iti	MSH	wəl
MAM	uti	LAU	ŋou	*PON	wīl
TAK	uti-n	KWO	toi(-na)	WLE	xai
DAM	uli	RAG	usi-	EFI	gala-
*MAB	kuti-	PAA	ōk	*WFI	-usi
*YAB	uti	LEW	ke-na	RTU	kala
KAU	sin	POR	nüçti-n	TON	ule
*TOL	vi-	NTA		*SAM	poti
BUA	lin	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anihi-	MEL	raso
ADZ	guri-	NEM	cō-n	*TAH	ure
KIL	k <sup>w</sup> i-	CEM	pûc-n	*RAP	hua
TAW	uhi-na	AJI	guřu		

TAG Also *ūtin*.

AKL PHN *\*būtuq; bilat, puyas* ‘vagina’.

MUR Also *lalapatan* (emph.), *saki?* (of dog).

ACE Also [*daka*].

MIN Also *řantan* see 02.230, and *ka-malu-anlaki-laki*.

IND *kə-malu-an* euphemism for male or female genitals; *malu* ‘shy, ashamed’.

WOL Also *lasu, puđe*.

BUR Rana dialect *bloi*.

MAB Also *ni-*

YAB ‘his penis’; *uti-m* ‘your penis’.

TOL Also *vui* see 03.850; *kuru-* see 04.180, *togo, toŋo*.

MEK *lako* also ‘shoots of plants’; as *uki* ‘shoot’ is used for ‘penis’.

ROV Also *soi* (polite), *zore* (vulgar); *boa* ‘scrotum’.

XAR Also *řurumea, k<sup>w</sup>i*.

NEN Also *u, neŋom*.

KIR Also ‘male’.

PON Also *lak, kuruptołoina* hon.

WFI Also *-g<sup>w</sup>ala*.

SAM Also *ule* (not in decent use, Milner 1966: 298), (polite) *aualuma*, (coll) *lāʔau* (lit 'stick').

TAH Also *moa*, *kokoro* (children's vocabulary).

RAP Also *ʔure*.

#### 04.510 BREATHE, BREATH

Arabic: *nafas*

ATA	ya-yišunaʔ	UMA	inohaʔ	ROV	siŋo
*TSO	nsou	BUG	[nappasiʔ]	*MAR	nuri
RUK	niakə	*KON	aʔ-ñaha	LAU	maŋoŋa
PAI	nasi	WOL	[nafasi]	KWO	maŋo(-na)
YAM	mininawa	*MAG	nai	*RAG	mabu
ISN	āŋat	NGA	ŋai	PAA	museh
*KAL	āŋos	SIK	aiŋ	LEW	iveve
TAG	hiŋa	RTI	ha-hae-k	POR	ŋa <sup>m</sup> bos
AKL	ginhāwa	*BUR	ahe-n	NTA	-ameŋ
*PAL	ginawa	*DOB	ʔa-so yari-n	*KWA	-eiahaŋ
MOL	intonŋ	IRA	sague	NEM	ŋana
*KAG	gina'wa	*SAW	n-elwəw	CEM	néne
*BLA	nəwə	NYI	koha-n	*AJI	ɟu wā
*SAB	napas	*MAM	uasa-rape	*XAR	māb <sup>w</sup> i
*MUR	painawo	*TAK	yaes-bal	*NEN	ŋoŋo
*MGY	mi-aina	DAM	nese	KIR	ike
ACE	[naphāih]	*MAB	-sen	*MSH	menono
BAT	həsa	*YAB	yào	PON	esiŋek
MIN	aŋoʔ	KAU	βiŋos	WLE	ŋŋasa
*IND	[napas]	*TOL	vuvu	EFI	ðeŋu
*SUN	[ambəkan]	*BUA	ayo rasap	WFI	ðenu
*JAV	ambək-an	ADZ	<sup>n</sup> tafa-	RTU	huŋa
MAD	ñaba	*KIL	numla	TON	mānava
*BAL	aŋkih-an	TAW	yautu	*SAM	mānava
*SAS	əmbok	*MOT	hahodi	*MEL	[maro]
*GOR	yilawo	*MEK	laʔai e-ŋuŋu-	*TAH	aho
*DAA	nosa		ŋa	RAP	haŋu-haŋu

- TSO Also *ru-nsou* (vb).
- KAL *āṅos + -um-*.
- PAL *guminawa* ‘breath’.
- KAG *gina’wa + mag-* ‘breathe’.
- BLA *nɔwɔ* ‘breath’; *l-am-nɔwɔ* ‘breathe’.
- SAB *napas + ag-*.
- MUR *painawo* (n); *maŋ-* (vb).
- MGY *mi-foka* ‘to smoke’.
- IND Also [*nafas*].
- SUN From Javanese; see *ambək* ‘angry’; *ambəkan* ‘breath’; *ŋ-ambəkan* ‘breathe’.
- JAV Other varieties *ambəg-an*.
- BAL *aŋkih-an* ‘breath’; *m-aŋkih-an* ‘breathe’.
- SAS *əmbok* ‘breath’. Goris *bər-əmbok* ‘breathe’.
- GOR *yilawo* ‘breath’; *mo-hilawo* ‘breathe’.
- DAA Also *no-nosa* (vb).
- KON Also *a<sup>?</sup>mae<sup>?</sup>* ‘breathe’; [*nappasa*] ‘breath’.
- MAG *nai* ‘breath; *hus nai* ‘breathe’.
- BUR ‘normal breathing’; also *duha* ‘pant, breathe heavily in and out as an angry wild boar’.
- DOB ‘he blows his life’.
- SAW ‘he breathes’; also *ɔri* ‘breath’.
- MAM Also *au<sup>?</sup>a*.
- TAK ‘breath throw’, as in *iŋ yaes i-bal-da* ‘he breath he-throw-PRES’, i.e. ‘he is exhaling, breathing’.
- MAB *-yatəŋa* ‘breathe in deeply’.
- YAB Also *àwa-yào* ‘mouth-breath’; *ŋa-wà-yào* ‘his-mouth-breath’.
- TOL *vuvu* (n) ‘wind, (vb intrans) blow’; also *əŋəp-ai* (vb intrans), *əŋəpe-e* (vb trans) ‘breathe in’.
- BUA *ayo rasap* ‘visible breath on a cold morning’; *sayəŋ, βoŋ sayəŋ*.
- KIL *numla* (n.); *-yagisa* (vb). Also the verb stem *-kayo-ki* ‘breathe-on’.
- MOT Also *layi* which is used in a number of expressions e.g. *laya ani* ‘to rest’, lit ‘to eat one’s breath’.
- MEK *la<sup>?</sup>ai/lai* ‘air’; the other dialects have *akai*; *ŋuŋu* ‘inhale, inhalation’.



MAR	Also <i>p<sup>h</sup>aŋa</i> .
RAG	<i>mabu</i> ‘breathe’, <i>mabu-ha</i> ‘breath’.
KWA	<i>neiahaŋien</i> ‘breath’, <i>-eiahaŋ</i> ‘breathe’.
AJI	Also <i>mui</i> .
XAR	<i>māb<sup>wi</sup></i> (verb); <i>x<sup>wā</sup>-māb<sup>wi</sup></i> (verb).
NEN	Also <i>nono</i> , <i>θuadi</i> .
MSH	<i>kəp<sup>w</sup>ətūt</i> also ‘inhale, sniff’.
SAM	(polite) <i>mapu</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>aho</i> ‘breath’; <i>huti i te aho</i> ‘breathe’.

**04.520 YAWN, GAPE**

ATA	ma-šuway	MAD	uway	TOL	mauviavə
TSO	rua-sau	*BAL	m-uab-an	*BUA	sayək
RUK	ma-swa- swabə	SAS	ŋ-uam	*ADZ	ba <sup>?</sup> -
PAI	məsuaw	*GOR	mo-huwabu	KIL	-kayawasi
YAM	owab	DAA	noka-ŋaŋa	TAW	lumowa
ISN	makakowāb	UMA	moŋa <sup>?</sup>	MOT	maβamaβa
*KAL	uwab	BUG	maŋale	*MEK	e-au-aa
*TAG	higab	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -lau-lau	ROV	māva
*AKL	huy <sup>?</sup> ab	WOL	pome-a	MAR	hohoa
PAL	ŋumaŋa (ŋaŋa)	MAG	ŋoap	LAU	mokea
MOL	wab	NGA	moa-paa	KWO	ak <sup>w</sup> ai
*KAG	maŋi <sup>?</sup> ab	SIK	moa	RAG	
BLA	kluyəb	RTI	mama	PAA	māma
*SAB	owap	*BUR	duba	LEW	malowo
*MUR	uab	DOB	ʔa-maϕu	POR	xanxanimø
*MGY	manuaka	IRA	numumaϕə	NTA	-oəŋarap
*ACE	sumuŋuip	SAW	n-əŋaɛp	KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> aŋase
BAT	hɛ-hɛam-ɔn	NYI	mosohai	NEM	ohaem
MIN	kuə <sup>?</sup>	MAM	maua	CEM	ôàm
*IND	məŋ-uap	*TAK	awa-n -abi	AJI	komā
SUN	hiay	DAM	kəkowan	XAR	kəmā
*JAV	aŋəp	MAB	-mōmo	NEN	hoamo
		*YAB	pame <sup>?</sup>	KIR	ā
		*KAU	tak βo-n	MSH	mepp <sup>w</sup> ʌʎa

*PON	mautel + moralap	*WFI	mahawa	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> ōla]
		*RTU	muavæe	TAH	hāmama i te
WLE	mōñxateñi	TON	mamao		vaha
EFI	lāmawa	SAM	mānava	RAP	haka mama
KAL	<i>uwab + man-</i>				
TAG	<i>hikab + -um-</i> .				
AKL	<i>huyʔab + paŋ-</i> .				
MUR	<i>uab (mag-)</i> .				
KAG	From <i>ŋiʔab + maŋ-</i> .				
SAB	<i>owap+ag-</i> .				
MGY	From ( <i>maN-huaka</i> ).				
ACE	Probably <i>-um- + suŋup</i> .				
IND	Also <i>mə-ŋantuk (kantuk)</i> ‘sleepy, yawn’.				
JAV	Other varieties <i>aŋɔb</i> .				
BAL	‘yawn; open mouth (vb intrans)’.				
GOR	<i>mo-huwabu</i> ‘yawn’, <i>mo-po-ŋaŋo-ŋaŋo</i> .				
BUR	‘yawn, be sleepy’; <i>em-ŋaŋa</i> ‘gape’.				
TAK	‘mouth-his hold’.				
YAB	Noun; also <i>-yàm pameʔ</i> ‘do yawn’; <i>-ŋà/-gaʔ àwεŋ-sùŋ</i> ‘open mouth-hole’.				
KAU	<i>βo-n</i> ‘mouth-his’.				
BUA	Also <i>aβi tɔk</i> .				
ADZ	<i>baʔ</i> ‘yawn’; <i>dadagaf</i> ‘gape’; <i>gin</i> obl. obj. marker.				
MEK	Also <i>e-aiŋa</i> .				
PON	Honorific.				
WFI	Also <i>doŋaŋa</i> .				
RTU	<i>muavæe</i> ‘yawn’; <i>maŋa</i> ‘gape’.				
MEL	From Efate.				

#### 04.521 HICCOUGH

ATA	ši-βāčuk-an	PAI	t-əm-əzu	*KAL	sigʔok
TSO	s-m-or-çiʔçiʔa	YAM	şomɔo	TAG	sinok
RUK		ISN	mag-siŋaʔ	AKL	sidʔuʔ

PAL	sumidək (sidək)	NGA	sədo	LAU	igila
		SIK		KWO	fo <sup>?</sup> oru <sup>?</sup> a
MOL	si <sup>?</sup> dok	RTI	nasa-kedu	RAG	mahoru
*KAG	nəkklə	*BUR	em-sero	PAA	masev
BLA	sandi <sup>?</sup>	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> amayaru	LEW	kuru
*SAB	sokko <sup>?</sup> sokko <sup>?</sup>	IRA	səsai	POR	mačø
*MUR	sikok	SAW	telelek	NTA	
MGY	çakuah-ina	NYI	soka <sup>?</sup> i	KWA	-tək
ACE	cukə <sup>?</sup>	MAM	marourou-uŋ	NEM	modit
*BAT	ha-si-siŋgəh- an	TAK	-likati	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ótit
MIN	sadu	DAM	məkōū	AJI	nimeru
*IND	tər-sə <sup>l</sup> ak	MAB	kalok	XAR	ni
*SUN	kabuhulan	*YAB	meso <sup>?</sup>	NEN	sereθo
JAV	čəgu <sup>?</sup> -ən	KAU	mekŋin	KIR	marei
MAD	ta-sərna <sup>?</sup>	TOL	əruk	MSH	m <sup>w</sup> acoŋcoŋ
BAL	čəkut-an	*BUA	pəsōk	PON	marer
SAS	kə-səku <sup>?</sup>	*ADZ	muçuŋ i-rut dʒi	WLE	materi
*GOR	ti <sup>ŋ</sup> gupolo	KIL	mota	EFI	maðedru
DAA	na- <sup>n̄</sup> jodu	TAW	nugo- mahimahi	WFI	tokomaðedru
UMA	<sup>n̄</sup> čidu <sup>?</sup>			RTU	masori
BUG	more	MOT	batori	TON	tokomohū
KON	čaddo-čaddo- aŋ	*MEK	nio-nioe-ani- na	SAM	to <sup>?</sup> omaunu
*WOL	hu <sup>n̄</sup> te-a	ROV	sosoriŋi	MEL	
MAG	čəgok	MAR	leaļena	TAH	tu <sup>?</sup> i
				RAP	kerereki

KAL *sig<sup>?</sup>ok + man-*.

KAG *nəkklə + mag-*; also *nakklə*.

SAB *sokko<sup>?</sup>sokko<sup>?</sup> + -in-*.

MUR *sikok (mag-)*; also *sulikok (mag-)*.

BAT Also *siŋgəh-an, sisiŋgəh-an* ‘choke’.

IND Also *sədu*.

SUN Eringa: ‘have something caught in the throat’.

GOR (*ti<sup>ŋ</sup>gupo + olo*).

WOL Also ‘belch’; *ho<sup>n̄</sup>tea; hu<sup>n̄</sup>du*.

BUR Associated belief that s.o. is thinking about the person that is hiccoughing.

YAB Noun.

BUA Also *gabosak* ‘hiccough, sob’.

ADZ ‘hiccough REAL- be.with me’.

MEK *nio-nio* is the noun, ‘hiccough(s)’.

### 04.530 COUGH

ATA	pa-šaḱču	DAA	na- <sup>n</sup> teke	ROV	kohu
TSO	suo-ɕzoʔi	UMA	meke	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> aʃa
RUK	parolo	BUG	ore	LAU	fu
PAI	ḱ-əm-saŋ	*KON	asseʔ	KWO	fuʔu
YAM	mapala	*WOL	meke	RAG	hova
ISN	īkag	MAG	meki	PAA	vil
*KAL	bukos	NGA	meke	LEW	kawa
TAG	ubo	SIK	doʔo	POR	pü
*AKL	ubuh	RTI	bo-boʔo	NTA	-arŋa
PAL	mögikɔd (ikɔd)	*BUR	nema	KWA	-areɸa
MOL	iʔkod	*DOB	na-ɸuʔrer	NEM	pup
*KAG	ubu	IRA	sarerinə	CEM	pûp
BLA	m-kaw	*SAW	n-ɛsen	AJI	pu
*SAB	hokkoʔ	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> dʔi	XAR	šexō
*MUR	koloʔ	MAM	ʔupua	*NEN	eje
MGY	mi-kuaka	TAK	-fufufu	*KIR	beko
ACE	batoʔ	DAM	kodor	MSH	pokpok
BAT	batuk	MAB	- <sup>o</sup> guŋ	*PON	kōper
MIN	batu <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	leto	*WLE	ffaxa
IND	batuk	*KAU	taβut	EFI	βū
SUN	batuk	TOL	kāoŋo	WFI	oŋo
JAV	watuʔ	BUA	kəɾɔḱ	RTU	koho
MAD	batuʔ	*ADZ	susu <sup>m</sup> p-	TON	tale
*BAL	ko(h)koh-an	KIL	-boku	*SAM	tale
SAS	batuk	TAW	lugono	MEL	tare
*GOR	mole <sup>m</sup> bedu	MOT	hua	TAH	hota
		MEK	e-ŋoki	*RAP	tumu

KAL *bukos + man-*.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*qebuh*.

KAG *ubo + mag*.

SAB	<i>hokko?</i> +ag-
MUR	<i>kolo?</i> (mag-); also <i>kolok</i> (mag-).
BAL	<i>ko(h)koh-an</i> (nom.); <i>mə-ko(h)koh-an</i> (vb); <i>dəkah</i> ‘cough, be short of breath, asthmatic’.
GOR	( <i>te<sup>m</sup>bedu</i> + <i>moN</i> ); also <i>mo-te<sup>m</sup>bedu</i> .
KON	From <i>a<sup>?</sup>se?</i> .
WOL	<i>huru</i> ‘asthmatic cough’; also <i>ko-meke</i> , <i>po-meke</i> .
BUR	<i>nema</i> ‘cough, clear throat’; also <i>nema-n</i> ‘a cough’
DOB	(vb).
SAW	Also <i>se<sup>?</sup>sen</i> (n).
YAB	Noun.
KAU	Also <i>sogot</i> ‘cough that accompanies a cold’.
ADZ	<i>susu<sup>m</sup>p-</i> , <i>subusu<sup>m</sup>p</i> (Amari dialect); <i>uku-</i> (other dialects).
NEN	Also <i>lahəŋ</i> .
KIR	Also <i>bəkəbəkə</i> .
PON	<i>kōper</i> 3sg POSS hon.; also <i>kopokop</i> .
WLE	Also <i>faxafaxa</i> .
SAM	(polite) ‘male’.
RAP	<i>tuŋu</i> (archaic), but <i>tuŋu-tuŋu</i> ‘false cough (to demonstrate pride or contentment, or to announce one’s presence)’.

## 04.540 SNEEZE

ATA	<i>pa-ti<sup>?</sup>ašiy</i>	*SAB	<i>sunnay</i>	DAA	<i>no-su<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>?</sup>i</i>
TSO	<i>pasŋi</i>	*MUR	<i>tadisu<sup>?</sup></i>	UMA	<i><sup>n</sup>čima<sup>?</sup>i</i>
RUK	<i>wa-basəŋə</i>	MGY	<i>mi-evina</i>	BUG	<i>barissij</i>
PAI	<i>v-ən-aqəsij</i>	ACE	<i>buɾtusen</i>	KON	<i>purassijəŋ</i>
YAM	<i>mivavənan</i>	BAT	<i>barsi-ən</i>	WOL	<i>sa<sup>m</sup>baɔ</i>
ISN	<i>banān</i>	MIN	<i>basin</i>	MAG	<i>vənaŋ</i>
*KAL	<i>bo<sup>?</sup>on</i>	IND	<i>bərsin</i>	NGA	<i>fəna</i>
*TAG	<i>bahin</i>	*SUN	[ <i>bərəsin</i> ]	*SIK	<i>βənaŋ</i>
AKL	<i>baha<sup>?</sup>un</i>	JAV	<i>wahiŋ</i>	RTI	<i>kisu-fani</i>
PAL	<i>suməŋa</i> ( <i>səŋa</i> )	MAD	<i>assim</i>	*BUR	<i>fat-eke</i>
MOL	<i>ba<sup>?</sup>an</i>	*BAL	<i>mə-baŋkəs</i>	*DOB	<i>serabbáy</i>
*KAG	<i>ba<sup>?</sup>an</i>	SAS	<i>baŋsij</i>	IRA	<i>səgariəgətə</i>
BLA	<i>bnin</i>	GOR	<i>mo-bōlo</i>	SAW	<i>n-esyarə</i>

NYI	asihen	ROV	tihe	NEN	
MAM	ʔisio	MAR	čihe	KIR	m <sup>w</sup> atie
TAK	-tugurus	LAU	asira	MSH	m <sup>w</sup> ace
DAM	esī	KWO	ʔasilai	*PON	asi
MAB	-martu	RAG		*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> osiya
*YAB	samuʔ	PAA	suvun	EFI	suru
KAU	iksi	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> orue	WFI	huru
TOL	mapiuək	POR	čavi	RTU	heʔčia
BUA	taḱik	NTA	-amtah	TON	mafatusa
ADZ	čaparʔ-	KWA	-am <sup>w</sup> eta	SAM	māfatusa
KIL	-bolasa	NEM	c <sup>n</sup> ie	MEL	mafetue
*TAW	hadiyo	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> áut	TAH	maʔitihe
MOT	asimana	AJI	mudɔ	RAP	tehi
*MEK	e-aʔino	XAR	noa		

KAL *boʔon + man-*.

TAG *bahin + -um-*; Proto-Philippines *\*bahaqen*.

KAG *baʔan + mag-*.

SAB *sunnay + ag-*; also *baʔan + ag-*.

MUR *tadisuʔ(mag-)*; also *taḱkus(maḱ-)*.

SUN From Malay.

BAL Also *mə-baḱkis*.

SIK Also *βəsi-ŋ*.

BUR Also *spani* ‘sniff, snuffle’.

DOB Noun.

YAB Noun. Also *-samuʔ* (verb).

TAW *hadiyo* (noun); *luhadiyo* (verb)

MEK Also *e-ino*.

PON Also *[sīpek]* from English.

WLE Also *ŋḡüsü* also ‘nasal mucus’.

#### 04.550 PERSPIRE

*ATA	ma-ra-rinwaḡ	PAI	z-aḷ-aḡ-zaḡ-an	*KAL	kaligot
TSO	xarḡi	YAM	aḡət	TAG	pāwis
RUK	ma-igipi	ISN	liḡat	*AKL	hūḷas

PAL	liŋətən (liŋət)	SIK	rəβu	*KWO	ʔida
*MOL	riŋasa	RTI	puse	RAG	mamaono
*KAG	mulasan	BUR	bani-t	*PAA	mād
BLA	m-tu	*DOB	ʔor'se-n	*LEW	ye-visusunu-ni
*SAB	hulas	IRA	rigəsə	POR	pie
*MUR	dasəŋon	SAW	n-mameeket	NTA	
MGY	ʔembuka	NYI	saʔar	KWA	-sese
ACE	ruʔoh	MAM	suburaua	NEM	po-hinu
BAT	hodoh-an	*TAK	sulali -funi	CEM	tī
MIN	ba-paluʰh	DAM	mābu	AJI	kəxai
*IND	bərpəluh	*MAB	uze	*XAR	çĩ-megi
*SUN	ŋəsəŋ (kəsəŋ)	*YAB	-liŋ waɛŋ	NEN	zinewon
JAV	kriŋət-ən	KAU	muk lu	KIR	mʷaono
MAD	pəllu	TOL	məŋəməŋon	*MSH	menokaru
*BAL	mə-pəluh	*BUA	kərus yam in	*PON	pʷuto
SAS	əmbək(-an)	*ADZ	i-su uwaç	WLE	mʷiyamʷiya
*GOR	wulat-alo	KIL	kapukʷapula	EFI	buno
DAA	no-ini	TAW	moyagahu	*WFI	maroha
UMA	iniʔ	*MOT	βarahu	RTU	pumahana
BUG	pusiʔ	*MEK	ma-maŋe e-uki	TON	pupuha
*KON	assoŋoʔ			SAM	āfu
WOL	koini	ROV	ŋatŋata	*MEL	[torōtoro]
*MAG	nolak	MAR	buibuhi	TAH	hou
NGA	rumu	LAU	ʔiʔidā	RAP	paʔahia

ATA *ma-ra-rinwaŋ* ‘(for animals) to perspire’, *ma-ši-rinwaŋ* ‘(for plants) to perspire’.

KAL *kalinot + man-*.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*hūlas*.

MOL *riŋasa + poŋ--an*

KAG From *ma-ulas-an*.

SAB *hulas + ni-an*.

MUR Adjective.

IND Also *bər-kəriŋat*.

SUN Also *kəsəŋan* ‘perspiration’.

BAL *pəluh pidit* ‘drenched in sweat’.

GOR (*wulato + alo*).

KON From *aʔ-soŋoʔ*.

MAG	Also <i>no<sup>m</sup>bər</i> .
DOB	Adjective.
TAK	‘perspiration hit’, as in <i>sulali i-fun-ag-da</i> ‘perspiration it-hit-me-PRES’, i.e. ‘I am perspiring’.
MAB	<i>uze</i> (+ accus. pron.)
YAB	‘exude perspiration’.
BUA	‘perspiration comes/appears on someone’; <i>ḵərus</i> ‘perspiration, hot’.
ADZ	‘REAL-become sweat’.
MOT	Also <i>siahu</i> lit ‘to be hot’.
MEK	<i>ma-maŋe</i> is ‘perspiration’; <i>uki</i> is ‘flow’.
KWO	Also <i>?iniula</i> .
PAA	‘perspiration’.
LEW	‘environment makes to sweat’; also <i>ninu</i> (from Nikaura dialect?).
XAR	‘blow the hot’.
MSH	<i>kkar</i> ‘sweaty’.
PON	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>utau</i> .
WFI	Also <i>taḡohā</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

#### 04.560 SPIT

ATA	putunaḵ	MGY	man-d <sup>r</sup> ura	*WOL	pe-wilu
TSO	traf-neni	ACE	ludah	MAG	ipo
RUK	so-a-ḡalay	BAT	mar-si-tiḡur	*NGA	təfa
PAI	ɟ-əm-iḡlay	*MIN	ma-liu <sup>ə</sup>	*SIK	ilur
YAM	čipa	IND	mə-ludah	RTI	mudi
ISN	lūtab	SUN	ñiduh (čiduh)	*BUR	stuha
*KAL	lugpa	*JAV	idu	*DOB	?a-naryebir
*TAG	lura?	MAD	čupa	IRA	daḡey
*AKL	tupḡah	*BAL	mə-kəčuh	*SAW	n-itəf
PAL	mibag (ibəḡ)	SAS	tiḡu?	*NYI	sakaruk
*MOL	ilob	GOR	mo-huwa	MAM	moḡo
*KAG	iləb	*DAA	no-tailu	TAK	-lusu
BLA	d-m-ulə?	*UMA	n-tiliku	*DAM	i-sisi-ya
*SAB	luda?	BUG	mičču	*MAB	-kiziu
*MUR	tiwog	*KON	a?-pe?ru	*YAB	sop



*KAU	kimos	KWO	ŋisu(-na)	KIR	b <sup>w</sup> āware
*TOL	ŋəmi	RAG	lodo	MSH	kaplo
BUA	pəsuf	PAA	mutiv	*PON	kentip
*ADZ	i-tupiŋ nifu guru-n	LEW	vilasiri	*WLE	kutu
KIL	-giu	POR	p <sup>w</sup> e	EFI	kāsiβi
TAW	howa	NTA	-aŋah	WFI	katahiβi
MOT	kanudi	KWA	-araŋawus	RTU	ənusi
*MEK	e-ʔupe	NEM	suma	TON	ʔaʔanu
ROV	loro	CEM	cúmi	SAM	anu
MAR	kmisu	AJI	yiwāři	*MEL	rūfai
LAU	ŋisu	XAR	jux <sup>w</sup> āři	TAH	tutuha
		NEN	kadeu	*RAP	ʔa-ʔanu

KAL *lugpa + man-*.

TAG Also *dura?* + *-um-/i-*.

AKL *tupʔah + i-*, Proto-Philippines *\*tuprah*.

MUR *tiwog (mag-)*

MOL *ilob + moŋ-*.

KAG *iləb + mag-*.

SAB *luda?* + *aN-*.

MIN Also *ma-ludah*.

JAV Noun, also *ŋ-idə-ni* (vb trans).

BAL *pəəs, pəəs, poos, poəs* 'saliva'; *teteh* 'saliva which dribbles from the mouth when one is asleep'.

DAA (vb)

UMA *n-tiliku* (vb); *ue liku* (n).

KON Also *peʔru* 'spit, as expelled'; *ilorə* 'saliva'.

WOL *peka-pera* 'spit out red betelnut spittle', also *pe<sup>ɔ</sup>gala*.

NGA *təfa* 'spit' (send out with force); *boo* 'spit' (let fall).

SIK *ilur* (n.); *nilur, tuhe-ŋ, bota-ŋ* (vb).

BUR *ule-n wae-n* 'saliva'; *p-suba-k* 'the kind of spitting a healer does'.

DOB 'he spits spittle'.

SAW Also *tet-itəf* (n).

NYI Also *omor*.

DAM '3sg-spit-infinitive'.

MAB *-pures* 'to spit by spraying out of the mouth'.

YAB	Noun. Also <i>kasop</i> , <i>-kasop</i> (verb).
KAU	Also <i>kusap</i> , <i>kuβa</i> .
TOL	Also <i>gəmi</i> , <i>nəmi</i> .
ADZ	'real-spit mouth juice-3sg POSS'.
MEK	<i>i-muni</i> means 'spittle', for which NW Mekeo has <i>kube-kube</i> .
PON	Also [ <i>likiti</i> ] from English.
WLE	Also <i>xutufi</i> , <i>mattipi</i> 'spit out'.
MEL	Also [ <i>tānue</i> ] from Efate.
RAP	<i>ʔa-ʔanu</i> to spit (saliva or mucus); <i>haka rua-rua</i> to spit (food or some other un-pleasant thing, e.g. stomach acid, etc.); see 04.591.

#### 04.570 VOMIT

ATA	mutaḵ	GOR	mo-tuʔo	KIL	-lagoba
*TSO	travto	DAA	ne-lua	TAW	meda
RUK	pwa-ota	UMA	ti-luaʔ	MOT	mumuta
*PAI	mucaḵ	BUG	luwa	MEK	e-uŋa
YAM	ota	*KON	am-miruaʔ	ROV	lua
ISN	ota		(piruaʔ)	MAR	luʔa
*KAL	ūta	*WOL	lua	LAU	moa
*TAG	sūka	MAG	roa	KWO	moa
AKL	sūkah	NGA	γəḏu	RAG	lua
PAL	sumuka (suka)	*SIK	muta	PAA	mulū
MOL	suka	RTI	muta	LEW	lilua
*KAG	suka	*BUR	muta	POR	lü
BLA	m-utɔʔ	DOB	ʔa-loŋa	NTA	-eoa
*SAB	utaʔ	*IRA	nerui	KWA	-eua
*MUR	luaʔ	*SAW	wɛʔwɛ	NEM	ūda
MGY	man-dua	NYI	amok	CEM	úñe
*ACE	mutah	MAM	ʔulena	AJI	gō
BAT	muta	TAK	-lu	XAR	gō
MIN	mutah	*DAM	l-lu-ya	NEN	niʃa
IND	muntah	MAB	-lulu	KIR	mumuta
SUN	utah	YAB	-lùʔ	MSH	mm <sup>w</sup> ɔc
IAV	mutah (wutah)	KAU	mutβok	*PON	mm <sup>w</sup> us
MAD	uta	*TOL	mərmaru-əi	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> umm <sup>w</sup> uta
*BAL	ŋ-utah	BUA	mutəḵ	EFI	lua
SAS	utak	ADZ	çup-	WFI	lue

RTU	mumufa	SAM	puaʔi	*TAH	pihaʔe
TON	lua	MEL	rrua	RAP	rua

TSO Also *travt-a, travt-i*.

PAI *d-əm-əriḱ* ‘vomit milk (like a baby)’.

KAL *ūta + man-*.

TAG *sūka + -um-/i-*; also *sūka + mag-*. Proto-Southern Philippines \**sūka*.

AKL *sūkah + i-*.

MUR *luaʔ (mag-; -on)*.

KAG *suka + mag-*.

SAB *utaʔ + aN-*.

ACE Also *muntah*.

BAL *utah* ‘vomit (noun)’; *ḡ-luah* ‘vomit (vb intrans), of a baby’.

KON From *aḡ-piruaʔ*.

WOL *lua* (n); *tolua* (vb); also *tolua-aka*.

SIK Also *doʔuk*.

BUR Also *glema* ‘baby spitting up, drool’.

IRA Also *nəkəkui*.

SAW Also *n-ewε* ‘he vomits’.

DAM ‘3-vomit-INF’.

TOL *maru-əi* (vb intrans); *maru-e* (vb trans).

PON Also *kolūlu, keliali* with locative prefix *-i*.

WLE Also *mmō̃*.

TAH Also *ruaʔi*.

#### 04.580 BITE

ATA	k-um-āt	PAL	kagaton	MIN	gigiʔ
*TSO	b-orḱi		(kagat)	IND	məḡ-gigit
RUK	wa-kāḱə	MOL	baḡot	*SUN	ḡegel (gegel)
PAI	k-əm-aḱ	*KAG	maḡagat	JAV	ḡakot (čakot)
YAM	ḡoḡit	BLA	m-aket	MAD	kikkiʔ
ISN	kagāt	*SAB	keket	*BAL	ḡəgut (čəgut)
*KAL	kunit	*MUR	kokot	*SAS	kekeʔ
TAG	kagat	*MGY	manaikiḱʔa	GOR	mo-deḡeto
AKL	aḡkit	*ACE	[kap]	DAA	na-ḡgiki (kiki)
		BAT	harat	*UMA	be <sup>n</sup> čiʔ

BUG	okkoʔ	*KAU	tuk	*NEM	ɸī
*KON	aŋ-ŋokkoʔ (kokkoʔ)	*TOL	kərət	*CEM	wí
WOL	pa-paki	*BUA	raŋa	AJI	kuxe
MAG	akit	*ADZ	gara-	XAR	keke
*NGA	fagi	KIL	-gadi	*NEN	kuze
SIK	ʔiʔi	TAW	kima	KIR	tenā
RTI	ka	MOT	kori-a	MSH	kic
*BUR	hada	*MEK	e-aŋa	*PON	ke
DOB	ʔa-ʔara	ROV	yarata	WLE	xüa
*IRA	nəgərə	MAR	kat <sup>h</sup> u	*EFI	kata
SAW	n-ɛŋaŋɛs	LAU	ʔalea	WFI	kasi-a
NYI	atoh	KWO	keʔe-a	RTU	ʔɸfi
MAM	ʔarati	*RAG	yasi	TON	uʔu
TAK	-rati	PAA	gati	SAM	ū
*DAM	i-rase-ya	LEW	kari	MEL	kaji-a
*MAB	-ŋa	POR	xač-i	TAH	hohoni
YAB	-ŋaʔ	NTA	-us	RAP	ŋau
		KWA	-ahi		

TSO *ro-ʔroç-a*.

KAL *kunit + -um/-an*; also *kotob + -um/-an*.

KAG From *kagat + maŋ-*.

SAB *keket + aN-/ø*.

MUR *kokot (maŋ-; -on)* of humans, animals, also *īt (maŋ-; -n)* (of insects), *tinduk (maŋ-; -on)* (of snakes).

MGY From *maN-kaikiʔa*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

SUN Also *ñirid (sirid)* ‘sting (of insect)’; *mačok (pačok)* ‘peck’.

BAL Also *-təgor*.

SAS Also *kakoʔ*. Thoir et al (1985): *-ambes*.

UMA Also *kotoʔ*.

KON Also *aŋ-ŋalattaʔ(kalattaʔ)*.

NGA Also *kiki* ‘bite by grinding the teeth’.

BUR *hada* ‘bite, gnaw, chew’; also *saŋa* ‘bite an animal to catch it’ (of a dog); sometimes *kaa* ‘eat’ is used to mean bite; *mama-k* ‘how a healer bites and chews herbs without swallowing’; *tura* ‘peck’.

IRA ‘it bites’.

DAM	'3-bite-INF'.
MAB	Also <i>-kan</i> .
KAU	Also <i>koh</i> .
TOL	<i>kərət</i> (vb trans); <i>vər-kərət</i> (vb intrans).
BUA	<i>sa</i> 'chew, masticate'.
ADZ	Usually refers to animals.
MEK	<i>e-aŋa</i> is 'bite'; <i>e-kaŋa</i> is 'seize in the jaws'; <i>e-kafi</i> is 'gnaw'.
RAG	Also <i>gasi</i> .
NEM	Also 'bite, eat meat' see also <i>cac</i> , <i>cai</i> 'to hold something between the teeth'.
CEM	Also 'eat meat'.
NEN	Also <i>ikuč</i> .
PON	Also <i>ŋalis</i> .
EFI	Also <i>kati-a</i> .

#### 04.590 LICK

ATA	h-um-ihip	IND	mən-žilət	NYI	asom
*TSO	ma-çriçri	SUN	ŋa-letak	MAM	damuli
RUK	wa-dilaçə	JAV	n-dilat	TAK	-pile
PAI	ɟ-im-ilək	MAD	ʃ <sup>h</sup> ilat	DAM	sem
YAM	lilalilan	BAL	ñilapin (silap)	MAB	-nem
ISN	dildil	SAS	dela <sup>?</sup>	*YAB	-dam <sup>w</sup> e
*KAL	didil	*GOR	mo-dilato	KAU	hom
*TAG	hīmod	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-žilə	*TOL	dəm
*AKL	ḏilap	*UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-žilə-i <sup>?</sup>	BUA	tep
PAL	ḏila <sup>?</sup> an (dila <sup>?</sup> )	BUG	leppi <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	damis-
MOL	tila <sup>?</sup>	KON	aŋŋ-emu <sup>?</sup>	KIL	-kanumosa
*KAG	ḏi <sup>?</sup> lam	WOL	ḏelapi	TAW	lemo
BLA	d-m-ilo <sup>?</sup>	MAG	la <sup>?</sup> it	MOT	demari-a
*SAB	delat	NGA	la <sup>?</sup> i	*MEK	e-mimi
*MUR	tila <sup>?</sup>	SIK	le <sup>?</sup> a	ROV	memea
MGY	mi-lelaka	RTI	nala-mei	MAR	lapi
ACE	let-let	BUR	e <sup>?</sup> lai	*LAU	melia
BAT	dilat	DOB	na- <sup>?</sup> a'ber	KWO	gami-a
MIN	žilə <sup>?</sup>	IRA	ne <sup>r</sup> iϕə	RAG	meani
		SAW	n-eflep	PAA	ramusi

LEW	munu-vani	XAR	nāĩ	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> amu-ǫia
POR	ŋole	NEN	kumo	RTU	lemi
NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> ah	*KIR	newea	TON	ʔemo
KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> as	MSH	ram <sup>u</sup> wic	SAM	eto
NEM	ŋami	PON	ʔam <sup>w</sup> e	*MEL	[limenā-ia]
CEM	támi	*WLE	řewexĩ	TAH	miti
AJI	koi	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> ami-ǫa	RAP	amo-amo

TSO *pa-çriçri.*

KAL *didil + man-/-um-/-an.*

TAG *hĩmod + -um-/himũr-in.*

AKL *Also dĩlut.*

KAG *di'lam + mag-/-an.*

SAB *delat + aN-/ø.*

MUR *tila<sup>?</sup>(maŋ-; -in).*

GOR *Also mo-delito.*

UMA *From jĩla<sup>?</sup> 'tongue'.*

YAB *Also -sop.*

TOL *dəm (vb trans); dədəm (vb intrans).*

MEK *Also e-mama, e-kema.*

LAU *Also mealia.*

KIR *See 'tongue'.*

WLE *Also tum<sup>w</sup>uri.*

MEL *From Efate.*

#### 04.591 DRIBBLE

ATA	m-ši-ŋaŋay	PAL	kumalwa <sup>?</sup>	ACE	
TSO	mũ-siroŋo		(kəlwa <sup>?</sup> )	BAT	ma-dede
RUK	aŋaŋaǰəθə	MOL	taras	MIN	jĩji <sup>?</sup>
PAI		*KAG	laway	*IND	bər-liur
YAM	ŋakay	*BLA	s-am-bel	*SUN	uruy
ISN	lũlu	*SAB	laway	*JAV	ŋ-ilər
*KAL	todtod	*MUR	idis	*MAD	a-ǰ <sup>6</sup> ail
*TAG	laway	*MGY	mi-rarak-ivi	*BAL	teteh
AKL	ʔāway			SAS	

GOR	hehe-heheto yiyohu	*MAB	kauzi-	KWA	
		YAB	-leni	*NEM	kōt wewē-n
DAA		*KAU	βo-n sut ko	*CEM	téte-tábe-
*UMA	tudo?	*TOL	təvətavə		p <sup>w</sup> ó-n
BUG	titti?	BUA	ñe kos yam in	AJI	ɟo na k <sup>w</sup> inɬĩ
KON	ambehe	*ADZ	i-tatup nifu		wã
WOL	tiri		gurun	*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> eax <sup>w</sup> ã
*MAG	<sup>n</sup> durəŋ	KIL	-bub <sup>w</sup> aluwa	NEN	eθeda
NGA	dəti	TAW	gelo-gelolo	*KIR	mtamta
*SIK	ploras	MOT	taba	MSH	pil
*RTI	titi	MEK	ake ve-ve <sup>?</sup> a	PON	
*BUR	glema	*ROV	honi loro	WLE	
*DOB	ɸaɸa lala	MAR	naoko	EFI	weli
IRA		LAU	ʔudu ʔudu	WFI	sisi e-welia
SAW	n-əmtet	KWO		*RTU	itoko
NYI	soromok	RAG		*TON	hafu
MAM	busobuso	*PAA	sīkokohīven	*SAM	fāuā
*TAK	awa-n ura-n -	LEW	siri-na p <sup>w</sup> owe	MEL	
	ao	POR	mečan	TAH	hā <sup>?</sup> ae
DAM	orogai	NTA		RAP	turu-turu
KAL	<i>toɗtoɗ + man-</i>				
TAG	<i>laway + mag-</i>				
KAG	<i>laway + mag-</i>				
BLA	<i>s-am-bel</i> ‘run over top’; also <i>n-ibal</i> ‘drool’.				
MUR	<i>idis</i> (? <i>mag-</i> ).				
SAB	<i>laway + ag-</i>				
MGY	‘to drip saliva’.				
IND	Also <i>mə-leler</i>				
SUN	Eringa: ‘salivate’.				
JAV	‘drool’.				
MAD	<i>j<sup>h</sup>ail</i> ‘saliva’.				
BAL	<i>teteh</i> (n) ‘saliva which dribbles from a sleeping person’s mouth’; <i>mə-poos</i> see 04.560; <i>ŋ-luah</i> of a baby, see 04.570.				
UMA	Also <i>mo-buri</i> ?				
MAG	Dialectal variants: <i><sup>n</sup>duŋəŋ</i> , <i><sup>n</sup>dureŋ</i> , <i><sup>n</sup>durəs</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>plorat</i> .				

RTI	Also <i>nosi</i> .
BUR	‘dribble, drool, (baby) spitting up’
DOB	Noun, lit ‘mouth water’. The verb ‘dribble’ is <i>φaφa lala na-r-tar</i> ‘mouth water runs’.
TAK	‘mouth-his saliva-its go’, as in <i>awa-n ura-n y-ao-da</i> ‘mouth-his saliva-its it-go-PRES’, i.e. ‘he is dribbling’.
MAB	<i>kauzi-</i> ‘spittle’; <i>ka-toptōbo</i> ‘saliva’.
KAU	‘mouth-his flow move downward’.
TOL	See <i>tāva</i> ‘water’.
ADZ	‘REAL-dribble mouth juice’.
ROV	‘dribble and spit’.
PAA	Noun.
NEM	‘to follow out his (her) saliva’.
CEM	‘run out water of mouth’.
XAR	<i>k<sup>w</sup>eax<sup>w</sup>ã</i> (noun); derives from <i>k<sup>w</sup>e-nax<sup>w</sup>ã</i> ‘water of mouth’.
KIR	Same root as <i>mumuta</i> ‘vomit’.
RTU	Also <i>itoke</i> .
TON	Also <i>to<sup>?</sup>i</i> , <i>pipī</i> .
SAM	<i>faua-a</i> , <i>faua</i> ‘saliva’, <i>-a</i> ornative suffix (Mosel 1985:75f).

#### 04.610 SLEEP

*ATA	ma-kiṭāp	*MUR	boloŋ	UMA	leta <sup>?</sup>
TSO	o-rŋiti	MGY	ma-turi	BUG	tinro
RUK	wa-apəçə	*ACE	eh	KON	tinro
PAI	taḵəd	BAT	modom	*WOL	kole
YAM	mitkə		(podom)	MAG	toko
ISN	tūdug	MIN	lalo <sup>?</sup>	NGA	nade
*KAL	sūyop	IND	tidur	SIK	tu <sup>?</sup> ə
*TAG	tūlog	*SUN	hees	*RTI	[suju]
AKL	tūṭug	JAV	туру	*BUR	bage
PAL	məgigag (igɔ)	MAD	tiḍuŋ	*DOB	nen
MOL	iga <sup>?</sup>	*BAL	pulas	*IRA	neenə
*KAG	munuga	SAS	tendo <sup>?</sup>	SAW	n-yenef
BLA	kudaŋ	GOR	mo-tuluḥu	NYI	amadin
*SAB	tuli	DAA	no-turu	MAM	eno



TAK	-en	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uru	KIR	matū
*DAM	mulai y-enē-ya	LAU	teo	*MSH	mæcuṛ
MAB	-kēne	KWO	eno	*PON	meir
YAB	be?	RAG	maturu	WLE	mammasüriü
KAU	nahuṅ	PAA	matil	EFI	mođe
*TOL	və-mat	*LEW	mom <sup>w</sup> alio	WFI	mođe
BUA	ɣep	POR	pač	RTU	mose
*ADZ	i-gi <sup>ɔ</sup> ? mara m <sup>ɔ</sup> pru?	NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> əl	TON	mohe
KIL	-masisi	KWA	-apri	*SAM	moe
TAW	eno	NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> oulēŋ	MEL	moe
MOT	mahuta	CEM	púluta	TAH	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> oto
*MEK	feu	AJI	kuřu	RAP	ha <sup>ʔ</sup> uru
ROV	puta	XAR	meti-çε		
		NEN	θaeti		

ATA Also *ma-kiřup*.

KAL *sūyop + ma-*.

TAG *tūlog + ma-* PHN \**tūDuR*.

KAG From *tunuga + mag-/m-*; also *tanuga, tinuga*.

MUR *bolon (mag-)*.

SAB *tuli + a-*.

ACE 'lie down to sleep'; also *tu[ŋut]* 'asleep' Mon-Khmer.

SUN Also [*sare*] from Javanese.

BAL Old Balinese *mədəm (N-pədəm)* now refers to animal referents only in most varieties.

WOL *kole* general; *ma-rare* (of a royal person).

RTI From Portuguese (?).

BUR Also means 'lie down'; *toro-n* 'deep sleep'; *lefa-k* 'cause sleep through black magic'; Rana dialect *ine* 'sleep'.

DOB Here the inflectional prefix is a portmanteau morpheme which merges with the root. The paradigm for the singular forms is: *ʔon* 'I sleep', *mon* 'you sleep', *nen* 'he sleeps'.

IRA *řa ga genə* 'I am going to sleep'; *ɔro go gene?* 'are you going to sleep?'; *řa bu genə* 'I have slept'.

DAM 'sleep 3-lie-infinitive'.

TOL *və* 'lie', *mat* (vb intrans) 'unconscious'; also *diop* (north coast dialects), see 04.750.

ADZ 'REAL-lie eye closed'.

MEK *pau* 'doze'.

LEW Also *mono-malio*.

MSH *mæcur* Eastern dialect; *kiki* Western dialect.

PON Also *derir*, *seim* ʷok.

SAM (polite) *tofā*.

## 04.612 SNORE

ATA	š-um-i-ŋuhuy	DAA	nom-paguru	*MEK	kua akō
TSO	roŋo-sŋusŋu	UMA	luruʔ oŋe-a	ROV	baroŋo
RUK	so-a-ŋoraŋoro	BUG	oroʔ	MAR	magro
PAI	varəxuy	KON	aʔ-ŋoroʔ	LAU	ŋoro
YAM	arəŋ	*WOL	ko- <sup>m</sup> buru	KWO	ŋola
ISN	ūŋug	*MAG	ʔgorok	RAG	
*KAL	aŋgulūk	NGA	ero	PAA	vaŋos
*TAG	hilik	SIK	borok	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> aŋe
AKL	huʔaguk	RTI	na-sa-ʔgolo	POR	<sup>m</sup> baŋo
PAL	kumarud (kərud)	BUR	f-roo	NTA	
MOL	oruʔ	DOB	na-r-mar	KWA	-ərakərak
KAG	laguk	IRA	nə kərəkərə	NEM	huvut
BLA	m-laŋ	SAW	n-mən	CEM	pú-hū
*SAB	hagok	NYI	soha noʔo-n	AJI	řāřāmū
*MUR	tiŋgalus	MAM	ŋoro	XAR	mā
MGY	mi-eruʔa	TAK	-ŋur	NEN	θaɖare
ACE	grō-grō	DAM	ninor	KIR	riŋoŋo
BAT	mar-ukkər	MAB	- <sup>m</sup> bāra	MSH	ŋoɾtak
MIN	ba-karu <sup>h</sup>	*YAB	lolo-gola ke- taŋ	*PON	məmər
IND	bər-dəŋkur	*KAU	ŋiŋ hik	WLE	tiŋoŋoŋo
*SUN	kerek	TOL	mərəmərəŋ	EFI	ked <sup>r</sup> u
*JAV	ŋərəʔ	BUA	ŋəðək	WFI	ked <sup>r</sup> u
MAD	ŋərrok (kərrok)	ADZ	ʔkraf-	RTU	kararā
BAL	ŋərrok (gərrok)	KIL	-gouguna	TON	tāŋulu
*SAS	ŋorok	TAW	banula	*SAM	tāŋulu
GOR	hulaboʔo	*MOT	udu-na koko- na dae	MEL	[ŋora]
				TAH	ʔoʔoro
				RAP	ŋo-ŋoro

KAL *aŋgulūk + man-*.

TAG Also *hārök + -um-*.

SAB *hagok + ag-*.

MUR *tiŋgalus(maŋ-)*.

SUN Also *korök*.

JAV Single morpheme.

SAS Single morpheme.

WOL Also *ti<sup>m</sup>buru* ‘sleep soundly, snore in one’s sleep’.

MAG Also *marəŋ*.

YAB ‘uvula it-cry’: *lolo-gɔla* ‘uvula’ from *lolo* ‘inside’, *gɔla* ‘mucus’.

KAU *hik* ‘break’.

MOT ‘to snore’ lit., ‘mouth its-snore rise’.

MEK *kua* is ‘nose’; *ako* is ‘noise’.

PON Also *nono*.

SAM (polite) *malomaloā*.

## 04.620 DREAM

ATA	š-um-api-a†	*BAT	mar-nipi	*BUR	em-nipi
TSO	çreri	MIN	rasian	DOB	ʔa-φir
RUK	wa-sipi	IND	bər-mimpi	IRA	nenəsi
PAI	mi-səpi	SUN	ŋ-impi	SAW	n-bəliɕe
YAM	tatəynəp	JAV	ŋ-impi	*NYI	ameh
ISN	tagenap	MAD	a-mimpi	MAM	rai-ʔaba-ita
*KAL	inop	*BAL	ŋ-ipi	*TAK	-en-amin
*TAG	panagīnip	*SAS	ŋ-impi	*DAM	i-mī-ya
AKL	damguh	GOR	mo-tohīlopo	MAB	-miu
PAL	tumaginəp (taginəp)	DAA	na-ŋipi	*YAB	me
MOL	toginop	UMA	mo-ʔo <sup>m</sup> poʔ	KAU	yol
*KAG	dagam'mu	BUG	nippi	*TOL	ririvon
BLA	k-am-nɔ	*KON	assoʔna	BUA	pasep
*SAB	upi	WOL	po-ŋipi	*ADZ	puafub-
*MUR	inupi	MAG	nipi	KIL	-mimi
*MGY	ma-nunufi	NGA	nipi	TAW	luboni
ACE	lumpɔə	*SIK	mipi	MOT	nih
		RTI	nala-meʔi	*MEK	e-nipi

ROV	puta ʔita	KWA	əməkraha	EFI	tad <sup>r</sup> a
MAR	mifi	NEM	nep	WFI	buibui
LAU	teobole	CEM	nîu-n	*RTU	mose
*KWO	eno-a	AJI	ηλχλ	TON	misi
*RAG	maturu-bore	XAR	meti-kī	*SAM	miti
PAA	matil volavol	NEN	tutuo(n)	MEL	mēmeči
LEW	m <sup>w</sup> enini	KIR	mīa	*TAH	moemoeā
POR	pač marnu <sup>mb</sup> w <sup>e</sup>	MSH	ttəŋ <sup>w</sup> ake	RAP	moe varua
*NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> əlair	*PON	ouraman		
		*WLE	ttařa		

KAL *inop + man-*.

TAG Also *paŋārap*.

KAG *dagam'mu + mag-*.

SAB *upi +aN-*.

MUR *inupi (mag-)*, from (*upi*).

MGY Also *manofi* see *nofi* 'dream'.

BAT *mar-nipi* (vb intrans); *nipi* (n).

BAL *ŋ-ipi* (vb intrans); *ipi-an* (n).

SAS (vb intrans).

KON From *a<sup>?</sup>so<sup>?</sup>na*.

SIK Also *mipi-ŋ*.

BUR Noun form: *em-nipi-t*; *tor daka* 'talk in one's sleep'.

NYI Alternate words with idea of vision: *lele*, *mada pou*.

TAK 'sleep-dream', as in *iŋ y-en-amin-da* 'he he-sleep-dream-PRES', i.e. 'he is dreaming'.

DAM '3-dream-INF'.

YAB Noun.

TOL *ririvon* (vb intrans); *ririvon-e* (vb trans) 'dream of'.

ADZ *puafub-* 'dream (vb trans); *bru<sup>?</sup>pa- gin* 'dream about-something (vb trans)'.

MEK NW Mekeo *e-oŋe*.

KWO Also *eno bole-a*

ĀGĀ Noun.

NTA *ap<sup>w</sup>əlair* lit 'sleep wake'; *aməlhair* 'lie down wake'.

PON Also *elimene*.

WLE (vb itrans).

RTU Also *rē mose*.

SAM (polite) *faʔa-le-pō, faʔa-* CAUS, *le* ART, *pō* ‘night’.

TAH Also *tāʔotoʔotoā*.

### 04.630 WAKE UP

*ATA	m-tutuʔ-ik	DAA	ne- <sup>m</sup> baŋu	ROV	vaŋunu
TSO	prix-sa- smome	UMA	mo-like	MAR	dofra
RUK	paʔono	BUG	motoʔ	LAU	ada
PAI	pa-ʕəgəd	KON	añ-ñāʔriŋ (saʔriŋ)	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aʔadu
*YAM	mayokay	*WOL	epe	PAA	mule
*ISN	lukāg	MAG	toʔo	LEW	tavilo
*KAL	likna	NGA	toʔo	POR	lölo
*TAG	gīsiŋ	SIK	hogor	NTA	-air
*AKL	bugtaw	RTI	ʔgeŋe	*KWA	-atui
PAL	məgtyag (tyog)	*BUR	hosa-k	NEM	caget
*MOL	tiag	DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> aŋar	CEM	ùmie
*KAG	mugtaw	IRA	nenə nemerirə	AJH	tā rī
BLA	m-ukət	SAW	n-paŋen	XAR	təpērē
*SAB	batiʔ	NYI	amak	*NEN	inidi
*MUR	kadat	*MAM	marəŋ	*KIR	uti
MGY	mī-fuha	*TAK	-ma-sa	MSH	ʕuc
*ACE	burdəh	DAM	irik	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ourda
BAT	hehe	*MAB	-ma <sup>ʔ</sup> ga le-	WLE	meyafi
*MIN	[jagə]	*YAB	mata ge-laʔ	EFI	yad <sup>r</sup> a
IND	baŋun	*KAU	pip si	WFI	mata
SUN	hudaŋ	*TOL	tə-vəŋun	RTU	mamafa
JAV	taŋi	BUA	mala natum	TON	ʔā
*MAD	[j <sup>h</sup> ag <sup>h</sup> a]	ADZ	uriʔ-	*SAM	ala
BAL	baŋun	KIL	-mamata	MEL	ara
SAS	uras	*TAW	eno towolo	TAH	ara
GOR	mo-boŋu	MOT	noga	RAP	ʔara
		*MEK	e-aʔa		

ATA Also *m-tutuʔ*.

YAM *mivaŋon* ‘get up’.

ISN	<i>baḡūn-an</i> ‘wake up’ (vb trans); <i>b-um-aḡun</i> ‘wake up, get up’ (vb intrans).		
KAL	<i>likna</i> + <i>-um-</i> ; also <i>pūkaw</i> (vb trans); <i>bāḡun</i> ‘get up’.		
TAG	<i>gīsīḡ</i> + <i>-um-</i> or <i>mā-</i> ; can also be transitive + <i>-um-/in</i> .		
AKL	Contrast with <i>pūkaw</i> + <i>-un</i> ‘wake up’ (vb trans).		
MOL	<i>tiag</i> + <i>-um-</i> .		
KAG	From <i>bugtaw</i> + <i>mag-/m-</i> .		
SAB	<i>bati?</i> + <i>a-</i> .		
MUR	<i>kadat</i> ( <i>-um-</i> )		
ACE	‘wake up and rise’, also <i>jaga</i> ‘wake up or keep awake’.		
MIN	From Sanskrit (or a North Indian language).		
MAD	From Sanskrit (or a North Indian language).		
WOL	<i>epe</i> ‘awaken, wake up’; <i>baḡu</i> ‘get up, rise’.		
BUR	Also <i>ep-loo</i> ‘wake up (by oneself), get up’; <i>tolo</i> ‘wake s.o. up by shaking them’ and <i>isu-k</i> ‘wake s.o. up by hitting them’ (Rana <i>wana</i> for the latter), <i>faḡo</i> ‘wake up’.		
MAM	Also <i>aḡuḡ</i> .		
TAK	‘get up, wake up, rise’ (see 10.210); consists of ‘stay-climb’ (12.160, 10.472); see <i>ma-si</i> , 12.130.		
MAB	Also <i>mata-ikampak</i> .		
YAB	‘eye it-sail’. Also <i>mata ke-p<sup>wa</sup></i> ‘eye it-burst’.		
KAU	<i>si</i> ‘move upwards’.		
TOL	<i>tə-vəḡun</i> (vb intrans); <i>vəḡun</i> (vb trans) ‘wake up someone’.		
TAW	‘sleep stand’.		
MEK	<i>e-a?a</i> is also used for ‘laugh, smile’; or simply ‘be awake’.		
KWA	Also means ‘be born’.		
NEN	Also <i>inize</i> , <i>rowe</i> (respectful).		
KIR	Also <i>kaureimatana</i> lit ‘open one’s eyes’.		
PON	With suffix <i>-ta</i> ‘up’; also <i>pirita</i> , <i>ōpalawasa</i> with locative <i>-i</i> .		
SAM	(polite) <i>maleifua</i> .		

## 04.640 BREAK WIND

ATA	<i>tiyi-ḡuti?</i>	PAI	<i>pa-ḡəcuc</i>	*KAL	<i>umtut</i>
*TSO	<i>b-riḡi</i>	YAM	<i>atot</i>	*TAG	<i>utot</i>
RUK	<i>wa-piḡə</i>	ISN		AKL	<i>utut</i>

PAL	məg-utut	NGA	pəsu	KWO	siʔi
*MOL	otut	*SIK	buhu	RAG	sivu
*KAG	kaʔtut	RTI	na-ŋa-esu-k	PAA	musī
BLA	m-tut	BUR	puu	*LEW	yu
*SAB	untut	DOB	ʔa-yu	POR	kas
*MUR	antut	IRA	darutə	NTA	
*MGY	man-defa rivu-dʔaʔi	*SAW	n-eti	*KWA	-asi
ACE	guntot	NYI	asoh koha-n	NEM	phīp
BAT	m-uttut	MAM	puʔi	CEM	tihè
MIN	kantuyʔ	TAK	-pis	*AJI	pē
IND	kəntut	DAM	ʔu	*XAR	pe-a-tapə
SUN	hitut	MAB	si-	NEN	
JAV	ŋəntut (kəntut)	*YAB	-siʔ	KIR	tiŋ
MAD	a-kəntuʔ	KAU	psih	*MSH	ciŋ
BAL	ŋ-əntut	*TOL	puŋə	PON	siŋ
*SAS	kəntut	BUA		WLE	siŋi
*GOR	mohututo	*ADZ	i-brat ragin	EFI	ōī
DAA	naŋ-otu	KIL	-piu	*WFI	siu
UMA	otuʔ	TAW	giya	*RTU	sī
BUG	mittuʔ	MOT	sidi	*TON	teʔepilo
*KON	tar-attuʔ	MEK	e-kinau	SAM	
WOL	ootu	ROV	piŋi	MEL	sū
MAG	pəču	MAR	siʔi	TAH	hū
		LAU		RAP	ʔeve

TSO *b-riβʔi* (n), *mi-rboʔi* (vb)

KAL *utut + -um-*.

TAG *utot + -um-*.

MOL *otut + mog-*.

KAG *kaʔtut + mag-*.

SAB *untut + aN-*.

MUR *antut(mag-)*.

MGY 'to let go a bad wind'; also *mangetuʔʔa*.

SAS Also *ŋəntut(kəntut)*.

GOR (*wotuto + moh-*) (silent); audible: *mo-po<sup>n</sup>dulo*.

KON From *taʔ-attuʔ*.

SIK Also *dəβur*.

SAW Also *tɛʔti* (n.).

YAB *te-taʔŋa-maniŋ* ‘smell of expelled bowel gases’.

TOL *puŋ-e* (vb trans) ‘fart at’.

ADZ ‘REAL-fart arse/faeces’.

LEW Also *si-na kap<sup>w</sup>uru* ‘excrement explodes’.

KWA *-ek<sup>wi</sup>* ‘break wind noisily’.

AJI Also *pəyī*.

XAR ‘defecate while making noise’.

MSH Also *ḥip<sup>w</sup>*.

WFI Also *ḏī*.

RTU Also *kutu*.

TON Also *pū*.

#### 04.650 URINATE

ATA *m-ši-hmuḵ*

TSO *sifu*

RUK *ḡi-loro*

PAI *pu-isik*

\*YAM *mivaṣavaṣa*

ISN *mamāsag*

\*KAL *isbu*

\*TAG *īhiʔ*

AKL *īhiʔ*

PAL *sumibu (sibu)*

\*MOL *siʔbu*

\*KAG *iiʔ*

BLA *t-am-leʔ*

\*SAB *maŋeʔ*

MUR *sabu (-um-)*

\*MGY *mamani*

\*ACE [toh] *īəʔ*

\*BAT [kəččij]

\*MIN *čičih*

\*IND *bər-kemih*

SUN *kiih*

\*JAV *ŋ-uyuh*

MAD *a-kəmmi*

\*BAL *ŋ-əñčəh*

\*SAS *meneʔ (peneʔ)*

\*GOR *molapi taluhu*

DAA *no-toloi*

UMA *ti-loiʔ*

BUG *teme*

KON *taʔ-mea*

WOL *to-leʔe*

MAG *čio*

NGA *kato*

\*SIK *miʔi*

RTI *moe*

\*BUR *s-tefo*

DOB *ʔa-si*

\*IRA *dəbəri*

SAW *n-emi*

NYI *ami*

MAM *tamiŋ*

TAK *-tirek*

DAM *temer*

MAB *<sup>m</sup>basiri-*

\*YAB *-meb sələʔ*

KAU *misi*

TOL *mim*

BUA *mame*

\*ADZ *i-ŋi<sup>m</sup>p mamin*

KIL *-b<sup>w</sup>eisi*

TAW *kilolo*

MOT *mei*

\*MEK *e-oila*

ROV *mimi*

MAR *soso*

LAU *mimi*

KWO *mimi*

RAG *mere*

PAA *meme*

LEW *meme*

POR *misü*

NTA *-am*

KWA *-ami*

NEM *ñima*

CEM *îme*

AJI *mā*

\*XAR *mā*

\*NEN *ḡamahae*

\*KIR *mim*



*MSH	ṛaut	WFI	mī	MEL	mimi
*PON	pipīs	RTU	luhu	*TAH	ʔōmaha
WLE	kařōřō	TON	mimi	RAP	mimi
EFI	mī	SAM	mīmī		

YAM Also *mizekzekme, tomači*.

KAL *isbu + -um-*.

TAG *īhiʔ + -um-*; also *manubig*.

MOL *siʔbu + -um-*.

KAG *iiʔ + m-*.

SAB *maŋeʔ + a-*.

MGY See *amani* 'urine'.

ACE From Mon-Khmer 'excrete'.

BAT Malay, also *tar-eo-eo* (*eo* from Proto-Batak \**əyəh*); *mēsɛŋ; tōnu* ('wet').

MIN Also *kañčiʔŋ*.

IND Also *kəñčiŋ*.

JAV *uyuh* 'urine'.

BAL Also *mañuh (N-pañuh)*.

SAS Goris: *peneʔ* 'urine'.

GOR *molapi (moN-tapilo)* 'throw away'; *taluhu* 'water'; also *moŋili lo loyili*.

SIK Also *βolo na, hepat*.

BUR *s-tefo wae-n* 'urine'.

IRA *ja təbəri* 'I urinate'.

YAB 'excrete splash'. Also *-meb sətɔʔ* 'excrete splash'.

ADZ 'REAL-urinate urine'.

MEK Also *e-oita; e-mei* 'relieve oneself' in general.

XAR Also *k<sup>w</sup>ešã*.

NEN *θamahae* (men); *θāč* (women).

KIR Also *meira, m<sup>w</sup>aim<sup>w</sup>ai* also 'wet'.

MSH *ṛaut* Eastern dialect; *tān* Western dialect; *m<sup>w</sup>Λcɔuk* 'urinate on'.

PON *kɔm<sup>w</sup>osot hon*.

TAH Also *mimi* obs.

## 04.660 DEFECATE

ATA	m-ši-ḱutiʔ	DAA	no-to-taʔi	ROV	pepea
*TSO	tʔē	UMA	ʔturi	MAR	kuku
RUK	mo-a-ḱaki	BUG	ḱambaḱ	LAU	ʔoni
PAI	pə-ḱaki	*KON	taʔ-tai	KWO	feʔa
YAM	omobot	WOL	to-taʔi	*RAG	tatavisi
*ISN	magkawel	MAG	taʔi	PAA	mutau
*KAL	attem	NGA	taʔi	LEW	suru
*TAG	tāʔe	*SIK	taʔi	POR	tata <sup>m</sup> b
*AKL	pandihuʔ	RTI	tei	NTA	-aiər
PAL	məḱtaʔi (taʔi)	*BUR	s-tei	KWA	-əwiaha
*MOL	toʔoy	DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> u	NEM	ḱana
*KAG	indis	*IRA	nete	CEM	pâ <sup>t</sup>
BLA	m-iloḱ	SAW	n-pek	AJI	pē
*SAB	suḱiʔ	NYI	ape	XAR	pē
*MUR	taiʔ	MAM	tabeʔa	NEN	kol
*MGY	mangeri	TAK	-bei	KIR	beka
*ACE	[toḱ] [eʔ]	DAM	tē	MSH	picək
BAT	berak	*MAB	tie- isu	PON	pek
*MIN	ba-[suḱi]	*YAB	-peʔ	*WLE	paxa
*IND	berak	*KAU	piuk	EFI	ḱeka
*SUN	ḱ-i-siḱ	TOL	peke	WFI	ḱeke
JAV	ḱ-i-siḱ	BUA	mēḱ	RTU	fiʔo
MAD	a-tai	ADZ	i-pip ragin	TON	siko
BAL	məḱju (pəḱju)	KHL	-popu	SAM	tiʔo
*SAS	nai (tai)	TAW	pugo	MEL	jiko
*GOR	molapi taluhē daʔa	MOT	kuku	TAH	titiʔo
		*MEK	e-ʔae	RAP	ne-neʔi

TSO *tʔē* (n), *teʔi* (vb).

ISN *kawel* ‘excrement’.

KAL *attem* + *-um-*.

TAG *tāʔe* + *-um-*, Proto-Philippines *\*taḱih*.

AKL *īput* ‘excrement’.

MOL *toʔoy* + *-um-*.

KAG *indis* + *m-*.

SAB *suḱiʔ* + *a-*.

MUR *taiʔ* (*-um-*).

MGY	From <i>maN-heri</i> .
ACE	From Mon-Khmer ‘excrete faeces’.
MIN	Euphemism, from Sanskrit.
IND	Also <i>buah air bəsar</i> ‘throw out big water’.
SUN	Also <i>modol (podol)</i> crude.
SAS	<i>tai</i> ‘faeces’.
GOR	See 04.650; ( <i>tapilo + moN-</i> ) <i>taluhē daʔa: taluhu</i> ‘water’ + ligature <i>a</i> plus <i>daʔa</i> ‘big’; also <i>moŋili lo bowu<sup>n</sup>du</i> .
KON	Also <i>aʔ-jambaŋ</i> (euphemistic).
SIK	Also <i>ledu-ŋ, hepa-t</i> .
BUR	Also Wae Sama, Rana dialects <i>thei</i> .
IRA	<i>ja ga fa tɛ</i> ‘I am going to defecate’.
MAB	<i>tie-isu</i> ‘faeces goes down’; <i>-la lom</i> ‘go to the toilet’-euphemism.
YAB	Also <i>-mɛb</i> ‘excrete’.
KAU	Also <i>tin</i> .
MEK	<i>e-mei kōa</i> is euphemistic; <i>kōa</i> means ‘true’.
RAG	Also <i>datavisi</i> .
WLE	Also <i>fanixata</i> for children (lit ‘waste of child’).

#### 04.670 HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

*ATA	<i>ma-ša-šipuʔ</i>	*MGY	<i>manau veta</i>	*KON	<i>aʔ-doholo</i>
*TSO	<i>me-uku</i>		<i>veta</i>	*WOL	<i>hofu</i>
RUK		*ACE	<i>ʃʔ</i>	MAG	<i>ŋoɛŋ (tau)</i>
PAI		BAT	<i>mar-ollək</i>	NGA	<i>niʔo</i>
YAM	<i>mizama</i>	*MIN	<i>ba-sa-tubu<sup>2</sup>h</i>	*SIK	<i>βai laʔi</i>
ISN	<i>mag-iyut</i>	IND	<i>bər-sə-tubuh</i>	*RTI	<i>de</i>
*KAL	<i>dakop</i>	*SUN	<i>ŋ-ewe</i>	*BUR	<i>keto saro</i>
*TAG	<i>hindot</i>	*JAV	<i>[saŋgɔmɔ]</i>	*DOB	<i>ʔa-way</i>
AKL	<i>itut</i>	*MAD	<i>ñin-uñin</i>	IRA	
PAL	<i>nɔgyut</i>	*BAL	<i>mə-katuk</i>	SAW	<i>r-fa-sike</i>
*MOL	<i>osawa</i>	*SAS	<i>ŋ-añčot</i>	NYI	<i>suku</i>
*KAG	<i>lalu</i>	*GOR	<i>mo-hule</i>	*MAM	<i>eti</i>
BLA	<i>m-yɔʔɔn</i>	*DAA	<i>no-sa<sup>m</sup>paturu</i>	*TAK	<i>nug-li</i>
*SAB	<i>lalu</i>	*UMA	<i>ʔča-moko</i>	DAM	<i>megi megil</i>
*MUR	<i>kinduʔ</i>	BUG	<i>makkenru</i>	*MAB	<i>-ye</i>

YAB	-iʔ	KWO	laʔi-a	*KIR	buno
*KAU	isi-βal	RAG	wali	*MSH	pēl
TOL	vəriə	*PAA	van	PON	kowerek
*BUA	βo	LEW	yesi	*WLE	fē
ADZ	yaub-	*POR	taŋ a ni- <sup>m</sup> be-n	EFI	đai-ta
*KIL	-misii	*NTA		*WFI	ʃulu-kia
TAW	wihola	*KWA	-ehi	*RTU	məs-ʔeʔeve
*MOT	he-ɣayai	*NEM	yōp	*TON	fai
*MEK	e-ai-a	CEM	wîhε	*SAM	faiʔāiŋa
*ROV	hego	AJI	wā lamū	MEL	
MAR	ei	XAR	xe	*TAH	pupa
LAU	lai ʔla	*NEN	sa	*RAP	ʔai

ATA *ma-ša-šipuʔ*, *š-um-ipuʔ* ‘(of people) have sexual intercourse’, *ma-š-yi-ʔipuʔ* ‘(of animals) have sexual intercourse’, *ʔ-um-atuk* ‘(of fowl) have sexual intercourse’.

TSO Also *rupa-tʔouso*.

KAL *dakop + man-* (of animals); *iyut + man-* (of people).

TAG Also *kantot* (rude).

MOL *osawa + mog-*.

KAG *lalu + mag-*.

SAB *lalu + ag-*.

MUR *kinduʔ* (*ma-*); (*ma-*) (vb intrans); (*maŋ-*; *-on*) (vb trans); also *-sawaʔ*, *-kiuʔ*

MGY Also *mi-leli*.

ACE (vb trans), also *paʒoh* ‘eat’, and *mu-[kawen]* from Arabic, which is more polite.

MIN Also [*jīma*] from Arabic *jama* ‘unite’.

SUN *ewe* ‘wife’; also *ʒalaŋ*, [*mačək*] ([*pačək*]) (of animals) from Javanese.

JAV Sanskrit, also [*kawin*] from Arabic.

MAD From (*RED-uñin*).

BAL *mə-čekle* (crude); *mə-saki* (of animals).

SAS Also *bə-sawə*, Thoir et al (1985): *sawə* ‘spouse’.

GOR For animals, *moheŋobu* (*waŋobu + moh-*).

DAA Polite term – lit ‘one bed’.

UMA For *ʔčamoko* see 02.330 note; also *kehu*, *mo-rahiʔ* vulgar.

- KON *aʔ-doholo* (of people); *aʔ-bantuʔ* (of animals).
- WOL Also *ko-ʃanua-aka*, *ko-leka*; *pe-ʃula* (of unmarried couple); *pasaʃu*.
- SIK Also *teri ʃai laʔi*; *hilir* (of birds); *mali* (of dogs); *doha-ŋ* (of pigs); *plor* (of horses).
- RTI *de* of humans; *koʔi* of animals and humans; *na-hoa* of animals; *so-soa*; *piao* euphemism in ritual language.
- BUR Human (*saro* is reciprocal pronoun); *em-ŋeha* (animals); for humans there are several euphemisms: *doo saro* ‘have sexual relations’; *bage saro* ‘sleep with each other (with or without intercourse)’; *ep-sia-k* ‘become one, mix’; *p-sab-lali-k* ‘mix’; also *ep-ketu-n* ‘adultery, fornication’; *warora-t* ‘illicit sex’; *deŋ-boho-t* ‘rape’.
- DOB Transitive verb, e.g. *ʔa-way yasi* ‘he has sex with his wife’.
- MAM Also *poagiza*.
- TAK ‘each other have intercourse’, as in *nug di-li-da* ‘each other they-have intercourse-PRES’, i.e. ‘they are having sexual intercourse’.
- MAB *-sala ŋwā* ‘go on top of’; *-kam borau* (used only of animals).
- KAU Also *kapsu-ʃal*; *-ʃal* ‘each other’ (reciprocal morpheme).
- BUA *ʃo* also ‘to harvest’; *ley*.
- KIL *-misii* (of people), see 04.610; also *-keita* ‘coupling of animals’; also used crudely of people, *-ulatila* ‘male sexual activity (used of unmarried males)’. *-ulu-ulatila* ‘male sexual activity; used specifically of adolescent male involved in incessant sexual activity (see 02.251 above)’. *-pugula* ‘female sexual activity (used of unmarried females)’. *-pugo-pugula* ‘female sexual activity; used specifically of adolescent female involved in incessant sexual activity’. *-kanaʃai* (from elision of *-kanu-kʷenu* ‘lying down’ and *-ʃai* ‘marry’) ‘have sexual intercourse by married couples’. *-misii* (object focus form of vb stem *-masisi* ‘sleep’) ‘sleep with someone, engage in casual sexual intercourse’.
- MOT Of the couple; of the male *yaya-ia*.
- MEK Also *e-leu-ŋa*; *ai* when it is to be used intransitively, takes the reciprocal prefix *pi-*: *ke-pi-ai* ‘they have sexual intercourse’. As a transitive verb it has connotations of force. A less explicit verb is: *e-afi-a* ‘he takes/took her’; a popular, jocular verb is *e-nini-a*. Desnoës also lists *e-polo*, *e-afi-leu-ŋa* and *e-afi-kita*; *e-pa-isa*, *e-pa-ia* ‘seduce’ (transitive, with implicit 3sg object; literally ‘make someone see’).
- ROV Also *poru* (polite).

PAA	'shoot'.
POR	'hold at the-body-his (or her)'.
NTA	Several euphemisms exist. <i>uβən mehm, uβən ron.</i>
KWA	<i>-uta</i> 'mount (of animals)'.
NEM	Also <i>hec</i> .
NEN	Also <i>ewel, u, weze</i> .
KIR	Also <i>kai aine</i> .
MSH	<i>pē!</i> Eastern dialect; <i>tape</i> Western dialect.
WLE	Also [ <i>sencū</i> ] from Japanese.
WFI	Also <i>neḏe-kia</i> .
RTU	Also <i>mose</i> .
TON	Also <i>mōheṅa</i> polite term.
SAM	<i>fai</i> 'make', <i>āiṅa</i> 'family'; also <i>fe-usu-aʔi</i> , <i>fe-</i> PL <i>-aʔi</i> REC; (coll) <i>moe</i> (lit 'sleep'); <i>taʔalo</i> (lit 'play').
TAH	Also <i>taʔoto, rave i te vahine/tāne; pōtehe; ʔōuʔa; mea.</i>
RAP	Also <i>mahera</i> .

#### 04.680 SHIVER

*ATA	m-βilβiʔ	*MGY	manguviʔa	MAG	ǰǰer
TSO	s-m-o-ʔirʔiri	ACE	mukət-kət	NGA	ləli
RUK	manoa-gili-	*BAT	makkitir	SIK	ləli-ŋ
	gili	MIN	maŋ-gigiʔ	RTI	maŋu
PAI	mi-gərgər	IND	məŋ-gigil	*BUR	moti
YAM	omrikrik	SUN	ŋa-degdeg	DOB	na-r-ror
ISN	magpilpilig	*JAV	n-ḏrəḏək	IRA	ritə
*KAL	pilpil	*MAD	kumigʰil		nəbɛbobərə
*TAG	maŋinig	*BAL	ŋǰǰər (gǰǰər)	SAW	n-mərirən
*AKL	kūrug	SAS	grutuk	NYI	totoreh
PAL	məŋərgər	GOR	huhulo-liyo	MAM	re-resabu
	(gərgər)	DAA	noka-raridi	TAK	-siror
*MOL	gorgor	UMA	mo-ridiʔ	DAM	tererē
*KAG	kəræg	BUG	mekkeʔ	*MAB	ni-itektēge
BLA	k-an-yumæg	*KON	an-'nettere	YAB	-lenim
*SAB	pidpid		(tettere)	*KAU	βo-n hukhuk
*MUR	tontol	*WOL	ka-huh-huhu	TOL	dədədər

*BUA	lek	PAA	maleilei	*MSH	ep <sup>u</sup> ep <sup>u</sup>
ADZ	ratarat-	LEW	yuwawa	*PON	sis
KIL	-tatuβa	POR	pa <sup>m</sup> b	*WLE	föü
TAW	tatawa	NTA	-asiaf	EFI	sautanīnini
MOT	heudeheude	*KWA	-arur	WFI	haganini
MEK	e-pi-ŋuŋu	NEM	ceyen	RTU	nene
ROV	nenegara	CEM	êjen	*TON	nininini
*MAR	dedede	AJI	kəřəřə	SAM	tete
LAU	lebe lebe	*XAR	ça-xipe	MEL	rūru
*KWO	?irida?i	NEN	sičočeon	*TAH	rūrūtaina
*RAG	masisi	*KIR	takariri	*RAP	nene

ATA *makriŋku* 'to shiver in very cold weather'.

KAL *pilpil + maN-*.

TAG Also *maŋaligkig*.

AKL Also *kuřkug*.

MOL *gorgor + og-go-*.

KAG *kəřəg + mag-*.

SAB *pidpid + aN-*.

MUR *tontol (-um-)*.

MGY From *maN-huviřa*.

BAT (*maN-hitir*).

JAV Home: *dəřdəg*.

MAD Historically, *k-um-ig<sup>bil</sup>*, the infix being no longer productive.

BAL Also *ŋətor (N-gətor)*, *ŋilgil (N-gilgil)*.

KON Also *ambibi* (less severe).

WOL Also *re<sup>ŋ</sup>ku*.

BUR Shiver with fever and chills; *čari-n* 'shake with fear'.

MAB *ni- itektēge* 'shiver because of cold'; *-murur* 'shiver out of surprise or fright'.

KAU *βo-n* 'body-his'.

BUA *lek* 'shiver from cold, fear, excitement'; *bəbobin* 'shiver with cold'.

MAR Also *fififri*.

KWO Also *?asi?asi*.

RAG Refers to malarial shivers.

KWA *-atəmmun* 'quiver, shaky'.

XAR 'catch cold'.

KIR	<i>takairi</i> also ‘shudder, have goose bumps’; <i>ruru</i> .
MSH	<i>kep<sup>w</sup>ep<sup>w</sup>an</i> from cold; also <i>wiririr</i> .
PON	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>usīrer</i> .
WLE	<i>fōū</i> ‘shiver, feel cold’; <i>ŋŋoŋŋo</i> , <i>cece</i> .
TON	Also <i>tetetete</i> .
TAH	Also <i>hōriri</i> .
RAP	<i>nene</i> ‘shiver, tremble (from cold)’; <i>rū-rū</i> ‘shiver, tremble (from fear)’.

#### 04.690 BATHE

ATA	ma-ima?	DAA	na- <sup>n</sup> diu	MAR	apu
TSO	mam-ϕino	UMA	mo-niu?	LAU	sisiu
*RUK	mā-banaw	BUG	čimme	KWO	naru
PAI	mavanaw	KON	anrio	*RAG	ɣayaru
YAM	mazioş	*WOL	ɓaho	*PAA	gul
ISN	mag-dīgut	MAG	čəboŋ	LEW	kulu
*KAL	omos	NGA	zio	POR	lölös
*TAG	līgo? + pa-	SIK	hu?i	NTA	-aiŋ
*AKL	pa-līgus	RTI	na-diu (oe)	*KWA	-aru
PAL	məgligu (ligu)	BUR	foi	NEM	wān
*MOL	ponju?	DOB	na-r-tir	CEM	pìwɔn
*KAG	maŋuy	*IRA	nə kəka	AJI	piyō
BLA	dyo	SAW	n-čep (sep)	XAR	i-m <sup>w</sup> e
*SAB	pandi	*NYI	añu	*NEN	aseni
*MUR	diu?	MAM	ru?u	KIR	teboka
MGY	mandɽu	TAK	-sug	*MSH	tutu
ACE	manɔə	*DAM	nānu i-gũ-ya	PON	tūp
*BAT	maddidi	MAB	-we	*WLE	tütü
MIN	mandi	*YAB	-liŋ bu	EFI	sili
IND	mandi	KAU	kiis	WFI	hili
*SUN	mandi	TOL	gumu	RTU	kakau
JAV	adus	BUA	ripək	TON	kaukau
MAD	mandi	*ADZ	i-yi? <sup>m</sup> pui	*SAM	tā?ele
*BAL	mañjus (pañjus)	KIL	-kakaya	MEL	kaukau
*SAS	mandi? (pandi?)	TAW	togo	*TAH	hopu
GOR	mo-lihu	MOT	digu	RAP	hopu
		MEK	e-uele		
		ROV	huhuve		



RUK	<i>mā-si-a-kə ə</i> ‘to take a shower’.
KAL	<i>oməs + man-</i> .
TAG	<i>līgoʔ + pa-</i> .
AKL	PHN * <i>DīRus</i> .
MOL	<i>ponjuʔ + m-/on</i> .
KAG	From <i>laŋuy + mag-/m-</i> .
SAB	<i>pandi + aN-</i> .
MUR	<i>diuʔ (ma-)</i> .
BAT	<i>(maN-didi)</i> .
SUN	Single morpheme, the form <i>di-pandi-an</i> ‘(be) bathed’ also occurs.
BAL	Also <i>mandus (N-pandus)</i> , Old Balinese <i>dirus, dyus; kayəh</i> , from Old Balinese <i>ka air</i> ‘(go) to water’?
SAS	(vb intrans) <i>pandiʔ-aŋ</i> (vb trans).
WOL	Also <i>ka<sup>m</sup>bulu, pe-ḡaho</i> ‘take a bath’, <i>pe-ḡaho-a</i> ‘bath, bathing’.
IRA	<i>ja ga fa kəka</i> ‘I am going to bathe’.
NYI	Also <i>iñu</i> (1stand 3sg).
DAM	‘water 3-wash-infinitive’.
YAB	‘immerse water’.
ADZ	‘REAL bathe water’.
RAG	Also <i>gayaru</i> .
PAA	Also ‘swim’.
KWA	<i>-aru</i> (vb intrans); <i>-awarui</i> (vb trans).
NEN	Also <i>ičase, se</i> .
MSH	Also <i>tuloḡk</i> (vb intrans).
WLE	(vb intrans).
SAM	(polite) <i>faʔa-malu, ʔauʔau, tapenapena</i> .
TAH	Also <i>hapu</i> .

#### 04.710 BEGET (of father)

ATA	YAM	mapianak	AKL	pa-ʔāhiʔ
TSO	ISN	mag-pūtut	*PAL	pəntusan
RUK	*KAL	abeŋ	*MOL	anak
PAI	*TAG	lāhiʔ	*KAG	buad

BLA		RTI	boŋi	RAG	
*SAB		*BUR	ebana	PAA	vasi
*MUR	sayat	DOB	ʔa-ɸola	*LEW	wari
MGY	mi-teraka	IRA		POR	
ACE		SAW	maw wyɔy	NTA	
BAT	tubu-hɔn	NYI		KWA	
MIN	mam-bapaʔ-i	MAM	daraʔa	*NEM	po-yaok
IND	məm-pər- anak-kan	TAK		CEM	
SUN		DAM		AJI	ʌŋi
JAV	ŋ-anaʔ-ke	MAB	-pēbe	XAR	xʌŋi
*MAD	anɖiʔ anaʔ	*YAB	-ka lase	NEN	
*BAL	numbuhaŋ (tumbuh-aŋ)	KAU	kuuk	*KIR	kariki
*SAS		*TOL	və-ŋālə	MSH	kyotak
*GOR	mohalaʔo	BUA	ʔo	*PON	nainaki
DAA	no-ana	*ADZ	i-rim naru-n	WLE	
UMA	bubu	*KIL	-unai	EFI	βaka-sika-βa
BUG	appaŋ	TAW	liwawala	WFI	βa-bose-nia
KON	aŋŋ-anak-aŋ	*MOT	ha-βara-ia	RTU	ʔese
WOL		MEK	imoi e-pa- afi-a	TON	faka-tupu
*MAG	vīŋ	ROV	podo	*SAM	fānau-a
NGA	naʔa	MAR	fakaŋa	MEL	
SIK		LAU	futa ʔana dō	TAH	fānau
		KWO	lafi-a	*RAP	haka ara

KAL *abeŋ + man-*.

TAG *lāhiʔ + mag-* as progenitor of a race or line.

PAL Also *puranak*.

MOL *anak + mɔg-*.

KAG *buad + maka-*.

SAB Use *tubuʔ na* lit 'his descendant'.

MUR *sayat (maŋ-; -on)*.

MAD *anɖiʔ* 'possess'.

BAL Also *(N-)adak-aŋ* also 'create', in general sense; *(N-)əndah-aŋ* (animal referents only in South Bali? see Panitia (1978), Kersten (1984)).

SAS *mətianəŋ(pə-tian-aŋ)* 'make pregnant'.

GOR *(walaʔo + moh-); walaʔo* 'child'.

MAG	Of both parents: ‘having children’.
BUR	Term applicable to both males and females meaning to have a child.
YAB	‘-tread (someone) hole’ i.e. ‘beget someone’.
TOL	və CAUS, <i>ɲalə</i> ‘big’.
ADZ	‘REAL-give child-3sg POSS’.
KIL	Despite the widely publicised claim by Malinowski and others that the Kilivila do not recognise the father's role in procreation, the verb <i>-unai</i> is regularly used to refer to this role – a fact which deserves further investigation.
MOT	‘cause to be born’ ( <i>βara</i> ‘to grow, be born’).
LEW	Of mother too; see 10.610.
NEM	‘to make a child’.
KIR	CAUS of <i>riki</i> ‘become’.
PON	‘have as offspring’.
SAM	-a trans.
RAP	Also <i>repo</i> .

#### 04.720 BORN (to be)

Arabic: *zahir* ‘to come out, appear’

ATA	ma-š-ʔuʔakiʔ	MGY	teraka	KON	ni-anak-aŋ
TSO	ra-ro	*ACE	[lahe]	WOL	to-βusa
RUK	to-a-lalakə	BAT	tubu	*MAG	loas
*PAI	pu-alʔak	*MIN	[laiʔ]	NGA	kapu
*YAM	nimalikəy	IND	[lahir]	*SIK	bua
ISN	me-anaʔ	*SUN	[lahir]	RTI	boŋi
*KAL	abeŋ	*JAV	[lair]	*BUR	em-lomo-n
*TAG	anak	MAD	a-rimbiʔ	DOB	ʔa-kʷara
*AKL	tāwuh	BAL	ləkad	IRA	
PAL	məgyoŋaŋ	*SAS	tə-anak-aŋ	SAW	n-tub
*MOL	anak	GOR	p-il-o-tutu-wa-	*NYI	adeu
*KAG	tau		liyo	MAM	neʔiaʔi
BLA	sut	DAA	ne-suvu	*TAK	-lasa
*SAB	anak	UMA	putu	*DAM	gõϕi-ya
*MUR	anak	BUG	makki-anaʔ	*MAB	-su

*YAB	tena ke-ko <sup>?</sup> eŋ	KWO	futa	KIR	buŋ
KAU	kuuk-ŋin	*RAG	vora	MSH	lotak
*TOL	kəvə	PAA	vas	PON	ip <sup>w</sup> iti
BUA		LEW	vaeme	WLE	suɸ <sup>w</sup> u
*ADZ	i-api <sup>ʔ</sup> narun	*POR	pas-i	EFI	suɗu
KIL	-kaloubusi	NTA	-air	WFI	sene
TAW	guni	KWA	-atui	RTU	a <sup>?</sup> sū
MOT	βara	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> ec	TON	fanau <sup>?</sup> i
*MEK	e-mauni	CEM	âbæet	SAM	fānau
ROV	podo	AJI	ãre	MEL	fotu
MAR	kaɾa	XAR	bā	*TAH	fānauhia
LAU	futa	*NEN	pina	RAP	poreko

PAI 'to give birth'.

YAM Also *nimatarak a tao*.

KAL *abeŋ + mai-*.

TAG *anak + i-p(in)aŋ-*.

AKL *tāwuh + na-*.

MOL *anak + p-in-og-*.

KAG *tau + ma-*.

SAB *anak + nī-an*.

MUR *anak (-on)*.

ACE Also *na* 'exist, be born'.

MIN From Arabic.

SUN Also *di-[lahir]-kin, di-ŋuru-kin* 'be given birth to'.

JAV Also *miɔs*.

SAS 'to be given birth to' (*anak-aŋ* 'give birth to').

MAG 'to give birth'; also *dadiŋ*.

SIK *bua* 'give birth', also *bua nurak*.

BUR Contrast with *ebana* 'give birth'.

NYI Also *edeu* (1sg and 3sg).

TAK 'come out'.

DAM 'bear 3sg TRANS AUX-INF'.

MAB 'come down'.

YAB 'mother she-crack him' i.e. 'he was born'; *tinɔ-<sup>?</sup> ke-ko<sup>?</sup> ae* 'I was born'.

TOL	<i>kəvə</i> ‘to give birth to’, <i>di kəvə rə bul</i> , <i>di</i> indef. pronoun, <i>ra</i> ART, <i>bul</i> ‘child’, ‘the child was born’.
ADZ	‘REAL-bear child-3sg POSS’.
MEK	<i>e-mauni</i> is a ‘reciprocal’ verb. It can mean ‘he/she is/was born’ or ‘she gives/gave birth’. It can also mean ‘he/she is/was alive/lively/cheerful’ – see 04.740.
RAG	Also <i>bora</i> .
POR	<i>pas-i</i> (for human beings); <i>kuru<sup>g</sup></i> (for animals).
NEN	Also <i>šedo</i> (respectful).
TAH	Also <i>fānau</i> arch.

### 04.730 PREGNANT

*ATA	kakiʔan	BAL	bəliŋ	*TOL	kəp-balə
*TSO	ŋa-ŋxəʔi	*SAS	bə-tian	BUA	nalu loḵ
RUK	taobaliḷi	*GOR	ba <sup>n</sup> da-ba <sup>n</sup> dalo	*ADZ	i-yu waŋu-n
PAI	vuŋlaŋlay	DAA	na-ti-ana	KIL	-suma
*YAM	mamliṣ ʃo kanən	*UMA	mo-tinaʔi	TAW	koiba
ISN	nabuʔsit	BUG	mat-tampuʔ	*MOT	rogorogo
*KAL	būgi	KON	tianaŋ	*MEK	e-inae
TAG	buntis	*WOL	ko-ko <sup>m</sup> po	ROV	molu
AKL	nabduŋ	MAG	lo <sup>n</sup> to tuka	MAR	bukla
*PAL	məgbəbtəŋ	*NGA	tuke-meze	LAU	īana
MOL	montuŋ	SIK	taʔi-ŋ ʔlora-ŋ	KWO	guruʔa
*KAG	bag'nəs	RTI	ka-ilu-s	*RAG	ros-atatu
BLA	mal-tiən	*BUR	egali	PAA	vəŋe
SAB	a-bottəŋ	DOB	na-r-tubur	*LEW	m <sup>w</sup> op <sup>w</sup> e-na
*MUR	makatinaiʔ	IRA	(sətə) teni	POR	čian
MGY	be vuhuka	SAW	n-čətə	*NTA	-apakapak
*ACE	mume	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔine-n i tinan	KWA	-ɸam
*BAT	buttiŋ	MAM	tine	*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> en- jic
*MIN	buntiʔŋ	*TAK	tini-n a-n da- ya	*CEM	ú-nà-n
*IND	[hamil]			AJI	tāwe
SUN	rinih	*DAM	bowa-ado	XAR	bərep <sup>w</sup> e
*JAV	m-bəbət	*MAB	kopo-	*NEN	tobon
MAD	ŋandəŋ (kandəŋ)	*YAB	təe	KIR	bikoukou
		KAU	kuman	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ʌrɔʔ
				PON	liseian

WLE	uɸ <sup>w</sup> a	RTU	ʔef-mafua	MEL	tō
EFI	bukete	TON	feitama	TAH	hapū
WFI	bukese	*SAM	tō	RAP	hanautama
ATA	<i>kakiʔan</i> ‘pregnant (not a polite term to use in front of a pregnant woman)’, <i>ma-aaʔ</i> ‘a polite term to designate a pregnant woman’.				
TSO	Also <i>max-maxafo</i> , <i>fro-fraŋo</i> .				
YAM	Also <i>malotoy</i> , <i>maŋinanaŋkanən</i> .				
KAL	<i>būgi + na-</i> .				
PAL	Also <i>mantuŋ</i> , <i>bətəŋ</i> .				
KAG	<i>bagʼnəs + mag-</i> .				
MUR	Also <i>māpaŋ</i> .				
ACE	Also [ <i>hamε</i> ], <i>bunteŋ</i> , <i>mu-tiyuən</i> , <i>ulu</i> .				
BAT	<i>buttiŋ</i> (vulg.); also <i>dengan pamataŋ</i> ; <i>dengan dagiŋ</i> .				
MIN	Also <i>ganduyʔ</i> .				
IND	From Arabic <i>ḥāmila</i> ; also <i>məŋanduŋ</i> ( <i>kanduŋ</i> ); <i>buntiŋ</i> (for animals).				
JAV	Also <i>mətəŋ</i> ( <i>N-wətəŋ</i> ); <i>wətəŋ</i> ‘stomach’.				
SAS	<i>tian</i> ‘stomach’.				
GOR	Also <i>ʔo<sup>m</sup>bo daʔa</i> ‘stomach big’, i.e. ‘big stomach’ (coarse language), and <i>delo-delo ʔu mo-bu-buheto</i> (refined or euphemistic); ‘carrying that which is heavy’.				
UMA	Probably infix form of <i>taʔi</i> ‘stomach’.				
WOL	Also <i>ko-ko<sup>m</sup>po-aka</i> .				
NGA	<i>tuka-meze</i> ‘stomach big’, while <i>neʔe-vəki</i> ‘have (additional) body’.				
BUR	‘pregnant and far enough along to show’ vs. <i>p-sa-lafo</i> ‘pregnant but not showing, includes morning sickness, cravings and other signs of early pregnancy’; <i>goa</i> ‘barren’.				
NYI	‘belly goes large’.				
TAK	‘body-her POSSESSION-her exist-PERFECT’, i.e. ‘she has her body’ = ‘she is pregnant’ (see <i>dai</i> , 11.110). Similarly <i>lua-n a-n dai-a</i> , where <i>lua-n</i> = ‘her stomach’.				
DAM	Also <i>atālu ado</i> , for animals only.				
MAB	(‘stomach’); <i>kapkābaŋa-</i> ‘just conceived, early pregnancy’.				
YAB	‘her belly’; also <i>ge-m<sup>w</sup>a təŋ</i> ‘she-stay otherwise’ (euphemism), <i>kenaʔ</i> ‘pregnancy, pregnant woman’.				
TOL	<i>kəp</i> ‘carry’, <i>balə</i> ‘belly’ see 04.460.				
ADZ	‘REAL-take belly-3sg POSS’.				

MOT	Also <i>mai boga-na</i> lit ‘with her stomach’.
MEK	<i>inae</i> ‘stomach’; also <i>e-ŋau</i> ( <i>ŋau</i> ‘infant, offspring’).
RAG	‘be pregnant’ lit ‘carry person’; also <i>sib<sup>w</sup>eŋi-ya</i> .
LEW	Also <i>wari m<sup>w</sup>ope-na</i> ‘carry womb/stomach’, see 04.460, 04.470.
NTA	Also euphemisms <i>tamolnarp<sup>w</sup>ən</i> and <i>narp<sup>w</sup>ən ah ikən</i> .
NEM	‘fruit-belly’.
CEM	‘big one’s stomach’.
NEN	Also <i>nure</i> .
MSH	<i>naŋinmɛc</i> also ‘sick’.
SAM	Also <i>ma<sup>?</sup>i-tō</i> (vb intrans), <i>ma<sup>?</sup>i</i> (vb intrans) ‘be sick’ (polite), <i>alo</i> (vb intrans).

#### 04.732 CONCEIVE

ATA	ma-ɣaya <sup>?</sup>	*JAV	m-bəbət	*TAK	peini-mado-
TSO		MAD	ŋanduj		da
RUK			(kanduj)	*DAM	i-lalu-ya
PAI		BAL		MAB	
YAM	amialapo	SAS		YAB	
ISN	mabu <sup>?</sup> sit	*GOR	moma <sup>1</sup> dalo	*KAU	kis put li
*KAL	nasoptan	DAA		TOL	lələu
*TAG	lihi	UMA		BUA	nalulok
*AKL	panamkun	BUG	mas-susuŋ	ADZ	i-yu waŋu-n
*PAL	pəgməŋidəm	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -dontiŋ	*KIL	-suma
*MOL	ibog	WOL	ko-ko <sup>m</sup> po	TAW	luwinau
*KAG	naŋkən	MAG		MOT	huahua
BLA	m-lalu	*NGA	pəge-na <sup>?</sup> a-	MEK	imoi e-afi-a
*SAB	idam		vəki	ROV	vararie
MUR		SIK		MAR	fuafula
*MGY	mitue-ɖzaza	*RTI	na-ilu	LAU	
*ACE		BUR	egali	KWO	
*BAT	adəŋ do ha-	*DOB	na-r-tubur-ti	RAG	
	ŋolu-an-na	IRA		PAA	vaŋēni
*MIN	maŋandu <sup>?</sup> ŋ	SAW	n-pe lapo	*LEW	sī
*IND	mən-jadi	NYI	tuwi nah	POR	
	[hamil]	MAM	i-tine	*NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> as maŋ
SUN	rinih			KWA	

*NEM	pa-we-i	MSH		TON	tu?itu?ia
CEM		PON		*SAM	āfuafua
AJI	vi tuʔtu	WLE		MEL	tō
XAR		EFI	kunekune-taka	TAH	tō
NEN		WFI	dadani	RAP	tupu te poki
KIR		RTU	a?sū		

KAL *sopot + na- -an.*

TAG *lihi + mag-.*

AKL *panamkun + mag-.*

PAL *Also mæg-lihi.*

MOL *ibog + moŋ-.*

KAG *naŋkən + ma-.*

SAB *idam + aN-.*

MGY (of woman); from *mi-tueʔa* 'to reside, sit, rest' + *zaza* 'child'.

ACE See 04.730. Acehnese does not usually distinguish verbs for events and resulting states.

BAT 'she's expecting' recorded from Warneck see 04.740.

MIN (*maN-kanduʔŋ*).

IND *Also məm-buah-i.*

JAV *Also mətəŋ (N-wətəŋ); wətəŋ* 'stomach'.

GOR (*ba<sup>n</sup>dalo + moN-*).

NGA *pəge* 'start'.

RTI *Also ka-ilu-s.*

DOB 'she is pregnant-COMP'.

TAK 'woman she-stay-IMPRF' (02.220, 12.160), i.e. 'the woman is staying', in the sense of 'she has missed her period'.

DAM '3-conceive-INF'.

KAU 'lose middle go'.

KIL *Also -sumaki.*

LEW *Also fig. kup<sup>w</sup>ario lu-ia* 'moon passes over her'.

NTA 'leave a month'.

NEM 'CAUS-be born-TRANS'.

SAM (polite) *alo* (vb intrans).



## 04.740 LIVE, LIVING, LIFE

ATA	ma- <i>kiyanux</i>	BUG	tuwo	*MAR	kaṛa
TSO	rā- <i>nsou</i>	*KON	'tallasa	LAU	mouri
*RUK	wa- <i>oḍipi</i>	WOL	ɗaɗi	KWO	mōri
PAI	val <sup>y</sup> ual <sup>y</sup> ut	MAG	mose	*RAG	rahu
YAM	maviay	NGA	muzi	*PAA	maul
ISN	sibbiyāg	SIK	morə-t	LEW	mali
*KAL	tāgu	RTI	na-soda	POR	maur
*TAG	buhay	*BUR	newe	*NTA	-ameṅah
AKL	buhi?	*DOB	yari-n	KWA	-muru
PAL	byag	*IRA	du nami	NEM	maric
*MOL	biag		wenumə	CEM	mûlip
*KAG	bu'i?	*SAW	[hidup]	AJI	məŕu
*BLA	m-to	*NYI	mañah	XAR	muru
SAB	allum	*MAM	ne iauia	*NEN	roi
*MUR	biag	TAK	kumae-n	KIR	maiu
MGY	fi-ain-ana	DAM	mata	MSH	məuṛ
ACE	udep	*MAB	kalaja-	PON	mour
BAT	ma-ṅolu	*YAB	-m <sup>w</sup> a mata	WLE	mauṛü
MIN	iduy?		yali	EFI	bula
IND	hidup	KAU	in	WFI	ḍola
SUN	hirup	*TOL	ləun	RTU	mauri
JAV	urip	*BUA	mala tum	TON	mo <sup>ʔ</sup> ui
MAD	uḍi?	*ADZ	mara ta?	*SAM	ola
BAL	idup	*KIL	-moḟa	MEL	mauri
SAS	irup	TAW	yautu	TAH	ora
*GOR	t-um-umulo	MOT	mauri	RAP	ora
DAA	na-tuvu	MEK	mauni		
UMA	tuḟu?	*ROV	toa		

RUK *wa-oḍipi* 'to live, alive', *pa-nia-niakə* 'alive, to breathe' from *niakə* 'breath'.

KAL *tāgu + ma-*.

TAG Proto-Central Philippines *\*buhay*.

MOL *biag + opog-/-an*.

KAG *bu'i?* + *na-* 'live, living'; *ka-bu'i?* 'life'.

BLA *m-to* 'live,'; *nɔwɔ* 'life'.

- MUR Also *māyag* (adj); *sodoy* (vb) ‘still alive’; *kāyagan* (n) ‘way of life’; *painawo* (n) ‘life (-span, -force), lit ‘breath’.
- GOR *t-um-umulo* ‘live’; *tumu-tumulo* ‘living’; *tumulo* ‘life’; *tu-tumulo* ‘life’.
- KON Also *ka-tallas-aŋ(tallasa)* ‘living, life’.
- BUR In Wae Sama, the /w/ becomes fricativised to /v/ articulated with inner lower lip to upper teeth.
- DOB Adjective.
- IRA *rəga* ‘alive, of animals’.
- SAW From Malay.
- NYI ‘sit, dwell, live’.
- MAM Also *moauriuri*.
- MAB *kalaga-* ‘(physically) alive’; *mata-iyara* lit ‘eye shines’; *-<sup>m</sup>bot* ‘stay, exist, be’.
- YAB ‘remain eye awake’.
- TOL *ni-ləun* ‘life, living’.
- BUA *mala tum* ‘being alive’; *βasa loḵ* ‘alive’ (i.e. not dead).
- ADZ *mara ta?* ‘alive, living’; *nam mara ta?* ‘life’.
- KIL Also *momofa*.
- ROV *toa* ‘alive’; *tinoa* ‘life’.
- MAR *kaḡa* ‘live, living’; *nakaḡa* ‘life’.
- RAG ‘live, life’.
- PAA *moulien* ‘life’.
- NTA *ameḡah* ‘live’; *meḡah* ‘living’; *nameḡahan* ‘life’.
- NEN Also *čiwien* (respectful).
- SAM (polite); *soifua* (vb intrans).

#### 04.750 DEAD, DIE

*ATA	minuḵiḵ	*KAL	natoy	*BLA	m-ɔti
TSO	mçoi	*TAG	matay	*SAB	patay
RUK	wa-paçay	*AKL	matay	*MUR	patoy
PAI	na-maçay	*PAL	patoy	MGY	mati
*YAM	marakat	*MOL	patoy	ACE	mate
ISN	natay	*KAG	pa'tay	*BAT	mate

*MIN	mati	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a-amak	POR	mač
IND	mati	MAM	mate	NTA	-əməs
*SUN	paeh	TAK	-mat	KWA	-emha
*JAV	mati (pati)	*DAM	lā ɸi-ya	NEM	mac
*MAD	mati	MAB	-mēte	CEM	mēt
*BAL	mati	*YAB	-mà <sup>?</sup> e <sup>n</sup> du	AJI	me
SAS	mate	*KAU	hun	XAR	paī
*GOR	mate	TOL	mat	*NEN	net
DAA	na-mate	BUA	dīk	KIR	mate
UMA	mat-e	*ADZ	ma <sup>m</sup> p-	MSH	mec
BUG	matte	*KIL	-mata	*PON	mē-la
KON	mate	TAW	hilage	*WLE	mase
*WOL	mate	MOT	mase	EFI	mate
MAG	mata	MEK	e-mae	WFI	mase
NGA	mata	ROV	mate	RTU	ala
SIK	mate	MAR	lehe	TON	mate
RTI	mate	LAU	mae	*SAM	oti
*BUR	mata	KWO	mae	MEL	mate
DOB	<sup>?</sup> a-k <sup>w</sup> oy	*RAG	mate	*TAH	pohe
IRA	nəmatə	PAA	mat	RAP	mate
SAW	n-mət	LEW	mare		

ATA Also *mnahukit*.

YAM Also *mawakwak*; *maliman*.

KAL *katoy + na-*.

TAG *matay + ma-*.

AKL *matay + ma-*.

PAL Also *matoy*.

MOL *patoy + m-/on-*.

KAG *pa'tay + na-* 'dead'; *pa'tay + ma-* 'die'.

BLA Root: *foti*.

SAB *patay + aN-*.

MUR *patoy (-um)*; also *ugad (-um-)* (vb), euphemism, *minatoy*, *kalio* euphemism (adj.), *mamgatoy* 'the dead' (plural collective).

BAT (*p-um-ate*).

MIN Also *jaŋkaŋ* (vulgar).

SUN Also [*maot*] from Arabic *māt*.

JAV	<i>pati</i> ‘death’; <i>mati</i> ‘dead, die’.
MAD	Safioedin (1977) has <i>pati</i> ‘dead thing; death’.
BAL	<i>baŋkə</i> (animal referents).
GOR	<i>pate</i> ‘dead’ + m-; also <i>mo-lopū</i> (coarse), and <i>yi-lapatā mola</i> ‘finish’ ( <i>yi-lapato</i> + ligature <i>a</i> ‘thither’).
WOL	Also <i>poŋo</i> .
BUR	Also <i>en-mata</i> ‘death’.
NYI	‘PRF-die’.
DAM	‘death 3sg TRANS AUX-INF’
YAB	‘die completely’.
KAU	<i>hun kut</i> ‘die’ + PRF’, i.e. ‘dead’.
ADZ	<i>ma<sup>m</sup>p-</i> ‘to die’; <i>funub</i> ‘dead’.
KIL	<i>-mata</i> ‘die (of animals), be dead (of humans and animals); <i>-kaliga</i> ‘die (of human)’.
RAG	‘die’.
NEN	Also <i>ŋataeto</i> (respectful).
PON	<i>-la</i> ‘away’; <i>maŋala</i> hon.
WLE	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ata</i> ‘dry, dead (of plant)’.
SAM	(polite) <i>maliu</i> , <i>mālaia</i> ; of animals: <i>pē</i> , <i>ŋase</i> , (polite) <i>mate</i> (all vb intrans).
TAH	Also <i>mate</i> arch.

### 04.751 DROWNED

ATA	matumamkaik	*KAG	ləmməs	*BAL	kələb
	minuŋiŋ	BLA	m-limas	*SAS	basaʔ
TSO	suŋxuŋu	*SAB	lembo	GOR	(yi)-lo- ʔahumo
RUK		*MUR	losod	DAA	na-mate na- tala
PAI		MGY	mati an-ɖ <sup>r</sup> anu	UMA	ma-tala
YAM	niməməs	ACE	haŋət	BUG	tallabu
ISN	nalimat	BAT	m-ogap	KON	mate tallaj
*KAL	limos	*MIN	karam	WOL	ma-lame
*TAG	lūnod	*IND	təŋgəlam	MAG	melep
*AKL	ʔumus	*SUN	paeh ti-təlim	NGA	molu
*PAL	ləməs	*JAV	kərəm		
*MOL	ləmos	MAD	ta-sillam		

*SIK	mate læmər	*ADZ	i-num <sup>m</sup> pui	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ip
RTI	bolo		suf-an	AJI	mū
*BUR	molo	*KIL	-kanopula	XAR	a-mutu
*DOB	nam ʔalaϕϕoʔu	TAW	yoli	NEN	ŋaŋu
*IRA	daϕurə	MOT	maloa	KIR	b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> a
SAW	n-ɛmdirɛ	MEK	e-koŋo	MSH	maɭoŋ
NYI	atuh	ROV	loɖu	*PON	tep <sup>w</sup> a-la
MAM	lobori	*MAR	bloŋo	*WLE	maϕ <sup>w</sup> u
*TAK	awa-n i-la-ya	LAU	lola	EFI	luβu
*DAM	nānu y-o-n	KWO	goʔu	WFI	ðid <sup>f</sup> omu
*MAB	-win katkat	RAG		RTU	malolo
	ma -mēte	*PAA	mun vinī	TON	melemo
*YAB	-nòm bu su	LEW	talulu	SAM	malemo
KAU		POR	ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> ön	MEL	[jiro]
TOL	dudu	NTA	-amnəm	TAH	paremo
*BUA	bəl rəy̥ō lob	KWA	-am <sup>w</sup> henum <sup>w</sup>	RAP	emu
	ðik	NEM	tilip		

KAL *limos + na-*.

TAG *lūnod + na-* Proto-Philippines *\*lūnud*.

AKL ~~*ʔumus + na-*~~, Proto-Philippines *\*lemes*.

PAL Also *nəlməs*.

MOL *lomos + no-*.

KAG *ləmməs + na-*.

ŠĀB *iembo + a-*.

MUR *losod (mo-)*.

MIN Also *ta-čabu?*

IND Also 'submerged'.

SUN *tīlim* 'sink'.

JAV Also *kələm*.

BAL 'sunk, submerged', of objects or people, see *lob* 'completely inserted, e.g. of a knife' see also 10.330.

SAS Also *opək*.

SIK Also *lodi-ŋ*.

BUR 'submerged', does not necessarily imply death; also *mano* 'swept away, drowned'.

DOB 'he drowns'.

IRA	<i>matu daϕurə aderɔ bu nəmatə</i> ‘the man who drowned is dead’.
TAK	‘mouth-his it-depart-PRF’, i.e. ‘his mouth has gone’ = ‘he has drowned’.
DAM	‘water 3sg-east-past’.
MAB	‘drink water and die’.
YAB	‘drink water away’ ( <i>su</i> ‘away’ here marks the perfective).
BUA	‘dead from being submerged in water’.
ADZ	‘REAL-drink water be.enough-PART.’
KIL	<i>-doum-si</i> ‘they drowned’ only used in this plural form, having reference to death of a group, as when a canoe is lost at sea.
MAR	Also <i>gloŋo</i> .
PAA	‘drink to death’.
PON	<i>-la</i> ‘away’.
WLE	Also <i>mařem</i> <sup>w</sup> a.

#### 04.760 KILL

ATA	t-um-utiŋ	IND	məm-bunuh	IRA	na-ϕunə
*TSO	opϕoi	SUN	mæhan	SAW	n-pun
RUK	pa-paϕay		(paeh-an)	*NYI	adai imek
PAI	κ-əm-ϕi	*JAV	mate-ni	*MAM	uni-be-mate
YAM	rakatən	*MAD	pati <sup>?</sup> -i	*TAK	-funi-mat
ISN	pumatay	BAL	ŋə-mati-aŋ	*DAM	y-ũ-di lā ϕi-ya
*KAL	potoyon	SAS	mate-aŋ	*MAB	-pun ma-mēte
*TAG	patay + -in	GOR	mo-mate	*YAB	-yà <sup>?</sup> e <sup>n</sup> du
*AKL	patay	DAA	no- <sup>m</sup> patesi	*KAU	βi
PAL	patɔyɔn	UMA	pate-hi	TOL	doko
	(patay)	BUG	uno	*BUA	sis mædik
*MOL	patoy	KON	am-muno	*ADZ	is- funub
*KAG	pa'tay		(huno)	*KIL	-mati
*BLA	f-n-ɔti	WOL	peka-mate	TAW	lihilage
*SAB	patay	*MAG	ala	*MOT	ala-ia
*MUR	patoy	NGA	vela	*MEK	e-au-puŋu-a
*MGY	mamunu	*SIK	dola mate	ROV	tavamate
*ACE	[pəh]	*RTI	na-nisa	MAR	falehe
BAT	bunu	*BUR	ep-mata	LAU	haŋja
MIN	bunu <sup>h</sup>	DOB	?a-ϕun	*KWO	k <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i-a

RAG	wehi	AJI	yɔ ve mī	WFI	βa-mase
*PAA	muasi	*XAR	-amε	RTU	al-ʔoki
LEW	we-mari	*NEN	ataŋoni	TON	tāmateʔi
*POR	čanax	*KIR	kamatea	*SAM	fasi-oti
NTA	-ohamnu	*MSH	[m <sup>w</sup> ΔɾΔik]	*MEL	taia
*KWA	-os(i) apune	*PON	kamēla	TAH	haʔapohe
*NEM	kāi	WLE	řia	*RAP	tiŋaʔi
CEM	táunu	*EFI	βaka-mate-a		

TSO *opɕoz-a*.

KAL *katoy + pa- -on*.

TAG *patay + -in*.

AKL *(pat y-un)*.

MOL *patoy + -on*.

KAG *pa'tay + mag-/-ən*.

BLA *m-anoʔ* 'murder'.

SAB *patay + ama-/ø*; also *bonoʔ +aN-/ø*.

MUR *patoy (maŋ-; -on)*.

MGY From *maN-vunu*.

ACE Mon-Khmer, lit 'hit'.

JAV From *(N-pati-ni)*.

MAD From *pati-i*. See note 04.750.

MAG Also *paki*.

SIK Also *patimate*.

RTI Also *na-mate*.

BUR 'cause to die'; also *bula-t* 'kill with black magic'.

NYI Also *ub<sup>w</sup>iy imek*.

MAM Also *ramoate*.

TAK *-funi-mat* 'hit die', *-ga-mat* 'do die'.

DAM '3sg-hit-different subject death 3sg TRANS AUX-INF'.

MAB ~~*-pun ma-mēte*~~ 'hit and die'; ~~*-kam ma -mēte*~~ 'cause to die'.

YAB 'hit someone completely'.

KAU Also *ni* 'kill by stabbing'.

BUA 'hit and (cause to) die'.

ADZ 'hit dead'.

KIL The verb stem has prefixed to it an agentive or instrumental verbal prefix to indicate how the killing was effected, e.g.: *-ki-mati* 'kill

with hands', vigorously 'kill' (e.g. kill by punching, tear apart); *si-mati* 'sit-kill', 'kill by sitting on' (e.g. accidental); *-katu-mati* 'do indirectly-kill' 'kill using some instrument, as knife, poison'; verb stem *-mati* is the object focus form of *-mata* 'die'.

- MOT Also *ha-mase-a* lit 'to cause to die'. Both verbs may be used to mean 'to cause to lose consciousness', or even just 'to beat up very badly'.
- MEK *au* is 'strike' while *puṅu* acts as an adverbial intensifier with the meanings of 'to completion; to excess'. NW Mekeo has *i-u-bu-ŋa*.
- KWO Also *dau-a*.
- PAA Also used for 'hit'.
- POR Also *te <sup>m</sup>būni* 'cut to death'.
- KWA *-os(i) apune* 'strike intensifier'; *-aki aphi* 'rub out'; *-apətin* 'kill at a blow'.
- NEM 'hit, kill', see also *t<sup>h</sup>elei* 'to kill with a rifle or sling-shot'.
- XAR There is no general term for 'kill'; the instrument used must be specified, e.g. *k<sup>w</sup>i-amε* 'kill with an axe'; *çɔ-ɔmε* 'kill with the hand'; *ta-amε* 'kill with gun/spear'; *fɛ-amε* 'kill with a stick'.
- NEN Also *ataetoni* (respectful).
- KIR *kamatea* CAUS of 'die'; *tiriŋa*.
- MSH From English 'murder'; also *m<sup>w</sup>an, uɾAt*.
- PON CAUS of 'die'; *kamaŋ* 'kill a tree'.
- EFI Also *moku-ta*.
- SAM *fasi, oti* 'die, be dead'; of animals: *ta-pē* (vb trans), *ta-* trans, *fa<sup>?</sup>a-mate* (vb trans), *fa<sup>?</sup>a-* CAUS, *mate* (vb intrans) 'die'.
- MEL Also *fakamatea*.
- RAP *tiga<sup>?</sup>i* 'killed, destroyed' (in perfect and perfective aspects); *tiaŋi* 'kill, destroy' (in imperfective aspect); *haka mate* 'kill'.

## 04.770 CORPSE

Arabic: *mayyit, janāza*

ATA	riŋku	YAM	nimarakat a	*TAG	baŋkay
TSO			tao	AKL	baŋkay
RUK		ISN	innāt	PAL	baŋkay
PAI		KAL	ladag	MOL	baŋkay



KAG	pa'tay	BUR	nitu	PAA	teiai
*BLA	to mōti	*DOB	tamatu ne ʔa-	LEW	tasi-ne-na
SAB	baŋkay		kk <sup>w</sup> oy	*POR	ni- <sup>m</sup> be-ne-
*MUR	baŋkay	IRA	matə matə		mač
*MGY	fati	SAW	mət-mət	*NTA	etamim
*ACE	[mañet]	NYI			taməməs
BAT	bakke	MAM	tamoata-mate	KWA	nəpra-
*MIN	[ʃanazah]	*TAK	susanu-n	NEM	deu-n
*IND	[mayat]	DAM	buru	CEM	dêhi-âpulip
*SUN	[mayit]	*MAB	putūnu	*AJI	kāmə ka me
*JAV	[mayit]	YAB	ŋawelelaŋ	XAR	
MAD	[mayyit]	KAU	emkusin	*NEN	aetaŋo
BAL	baŋke	*TOL	m-in-at	KIR	te banna
SAS	[mayit]	*BUA	ʔel	MSH	
*GOR	m-il-ate	ADZ	baçab	PON	
DAA	vatabaku	KIL	tomata	WLE	
UMA	kiu	TAW	popoya	EFI	yaŋo-ni-mate
BUG	uʃjuʔ	MOT	mase tau-na	WFI	yaŋo-ni-mase
*KON	huʃjuʔ	*MEK	ʔoo	RTU	ala
WOL	[maeati]	ROV	tomate	TON	ʔaŋaʔaŋa
MAG	rapu	MAR		SAM	oti
NGA	tobo	LAU	noina wane	MEL	
SIK	ata matə-n (təbo-ŋ)		mae	*TAH	tino pohe
RTI	ma-mate-s	KWO	beʔu	*RAP	papaku
		RAG			

TAG PHN \*baŋkay.

BLA Root: *fōti*.

MUR Also *buntuŋ* ‘carrion, decaying body’.

MGY See 04750.

ACE Also *baŋke* but not usually for humans.

MIN Also *baŋkay*, [maiʔ] Arabic.

IND Also *baŋkai*, [ʃənasah].

SUN Also [layon] honorific, from Javanese.

JAV Also *baŋaŋ*; [ʃənasah].

GOR Also [māyeti]; *tohulo* (of fish).

KON *huʃjuʔ* (of people); *bakke* (of animals).

DOB ‘a person who has died’.

TAK 'human corpse'; *tubabu-n* 'animal corpse',

MAB Also *patāna*.

TOL *mat* 'die', *-in-* nom., see 04.750.

BUA Also *ni yel*, *yel zεŋ*.

MEK Also *mae* (used here as a noun), see 04.750.

POR 'the-body-his it-dead'.

NTA 'person died'.

AJI Also *baō*.

NEN Also *weg*.

TAH Also *maʔi*; *pera* arch.

RAP Also *taŋatamate*.

#### 04.780 BURY (the dead)

**Arabic:** *qubūr* 'tombs'

*ATA	γ-um-ūḳ	*IND	məŋubur	*SIK	ʔləra
*TSO	mu-fʔo		([kubur])	RTI	na-toi
RUK	wa-daɭəkə	SUN	[ŋubur]	*BUR	kuka-k
PAI	ɕ-ən-vəlʔ		([kubur])	DOB	ʔa-ʔam
*YAM	bobo	*JAV	[ŋubur]	*IRA	neφinə φa
ISN	itaman		([kubur])		taburə
*KAL	ilbon	MAD	a-bəndəm	SAW	n-put
TAG	libiŋ	BAL	nanəm	NYI	aʔeh
AKL	ʔubuŋ		(tanəm)	*MAM	ʔumraʔi
*PAL	labəŋ	SAS	ŋuburaŋ	TAK	-sare
*MOL	lobəŋ		([kubur]-aŋ)	DAM	mū
*KAG	ləbbəŋ	*GOR	mo-lobuŋo	MAB	-twi
BLA	l-am-baŋ	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-tana	YAB	-sùŋ
*SAB	[kubul]	UMA	<sup>m</sup> pu-tana	*KAU	kil
*MUR	lobəŋ	BUG	mal-limmiʔ	TOL	punəŋ
MGY	man-devina		tomatte	BUA	leβ
*ACE	pu-miyup	KON	aŋŋ-ahaŋ-aŋ	ADZ	ɕzufuŋ
BAT	tanəm	*WOL	lamui	*KIL	-βisalili
MIN	[kubuʔ]	MAG	boak	TAW	guluwi
		NGA	tane	MOT	guri-a

*MEK	e-oŋe(-i-a)	*KWA	-num <sup>w</sup> i	EFI	bulu-ta
ROV	pomunu	*NEM	tem <sup>w</sup> aun	WFI	bulu-sia
*MAR	bebeku	*CEM	nédue-hi	RTU	fomu
LAU	faitoli	AJI	vi uyū	TON	tanu
KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ai-ato-a	*XAR	çũãrã	*SAM	tanu
*RAG	tavi	*NEN	čereŋid	MEL	tanu-mia
*PAA	dahini	KIR	tauna	*TAH	huna
LEW	sini	MSH	kalp <sup>w</sup> in	*RAP	tanu
POR	ravün-i	*PON	saripi-ti		
NTA	-ətanəm	WLE	řiϕ <sup>w</sup> añ		

ATA Also *γ-um-βut*.

TSO *fo<sup>?</sup>-a, fo<sup>?</sup>-i*.

YAM *bobo + i/-an*.

KAL *lobon + i-*.

PAL *ilɔbɔŋ patɔyin*.

MOL *lobɔŋ + i-*.

KAG *lɔbbɔŋ + mag-/ø*.

SAB *kubul + aN-/ø*.

MUR *lobaŋ (mag-)*.

ACE ‘to lower’, also *tanɔm* ‘to bury (anything)’.

IND Also *tanam*.

JAV Also *məndəm (N-pəndəm)*.

GOR Also *mo-laluŋa* (when the deceased was a learned man).

WOL Also [*koburu*].

SIK Also *ʔali-ŋ*.

BUR Used to imply the now uncommon practice of burying a dead body in a *mabe-t*, the large ground nest of the *man keho* bird (Malay *burung maleo*); also *lefa-k, tane* ‘plant in ground’.

IRA ‘to put in the grave’.

MAM Also *ʔundaʔi*.

KAU ‘dig, bury, bore’.

KIL Also *-baku*.

MEK *oŋe* literally ‘put’.

MAR Also *gigilu*.

RAG Also *davi*.

PAA	Also 'bury'.
KWA	<del>-aruk</del> <sup>wapa</sup> also 'conceal, hide', <i>erahawen</i> 'cover up, fill a hole'.
NEM	Also <i>t<sup>h</sup>uivi</i> 'hide'; in former times the dead were hidden in the forest rather than buried.
CEM	'hide'.
XAR	Before colonisation the Kanaks did not bury their dead; <i>cūārā</i> actually means 'hide', but is currently used for 'bury'.
NEN	Also <i>pua</i> , <i>ulaton</i> (respectful).
PON	<i>-ti</i> 'down'.
SAM	(polite) <i>falelauasi</i> (vb trans).
TAH	Also <i>tanu</i> .
RAP	Also <i>muraki</i> .

#### 04.790 GRAVE, TOMB

Arabic: *qubūr* 'tombs'

ATA	ʔa-ʔutuʔ-an	IND	[kubur]-an	SAW	[kubur]
TSO	x-rufʔ-a	SUN	[kubur]-an	*NYI	lek
RUK		JAV	[kubur]-an	MAM	poda
PAI		MAD	pais-an	*TAK	[matmat]
YAM	aʃəb	*BAL	gə-gumuk	DAM	meku
ISN	lūbuʔ	SAS	[kubur]	*MAB	nāla
KAL	lobon	GOR	[kūburu]	*YAB	sè-o
*TAG	libīŋ-an	DAA	dayo	KAU	tanu
*AKL	ʔubŋānan	*UMA	daeoʔ	*TOL	tuŋ-nə-m-in-at
PAL	lɔbɔŋ-an	BUG	[kubburuʔ]	*BUA	asoraŋ
MOL	lobɔŋ	KON	ʃeraʔ	*ADZ	ⁿɕuf
*KAG	ləbbəŋ-an	*WOL	[koburu]	KIL	laka
BLA	lbaŋ	MAG	boa	TAW	kəkowaga
SAB	[kubul]	NGA	rate	MOT	gara
MUR	lobɔŋ	*SIK	ratə-ŋ	*MEK	laa
*MGY	fasana	RTI	late-s	*ROV	lovu
*ACE	jrət	BUR	nitu-kau-n	MAR	beku
BAT	tanɔm-an	DOB	botu	LAU	foloa
*MIN	[kubur]-an	IRA	taburə	KWO	girig <sup>w</sup> aʔu

RAG	b <sup>w</sup> aru	AJI	kā vi uyū	WFI	i-bulubulu
PAA	rahītan	*XAR	pō	*RTU	fōmuŋa
*LEW	tampona	NEN	pua	TON	faʔitoka
POR	m <sup>b</sup> ruxeč	*KIR	te rua ni mate	*SAM	tuʔuŋamau
NTA	suət	MSH	ləp <sup>w</sup>	MEL	mate
KWA	tapu	PON	sousou	*TAH	[mēnema]
NEM	gulu	WLE	peiya	*RAP	rua
CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ōmu	EFI	i-bulubulu		

TAG Also *puntod*. see 'bury'.

AKL Root: *ʔubun*.

KAG *ləbbəŋan* (*ləbbəŋ + -an*) 'grave'; *pantyun* 'tomb'.

MGY Compare Maanyan *pasarān*.

ACE Also [*kubu*].

MIN Also *pandam*.

SUN Also [*makam*] from Arabic *maqām* 'dwelling place'.

BAL *gumuk* 'pile of earth'. The dead are cremated in the *səmə* 'cremation place, cemetery', but may be buried there before this occurs.

UMA Also *βaβo*.

WOL Also 'graveyard'.

SIK Also *kəβo*.

NYI Also *madalek*.

TAK From Tok Pisin. Traditionally, people were buried at scattered locations.

MAB 'hole'; also *lepene*.

YAB 'pit top'.

TOL *tun* 'hole', *nə* CONN, *m-in-at* 'corpse'.

BUA *asoraŋ* 'hole, grave'; *bədub* 'grave, cemetery'.

ADZ 'hole'.

MEK *laa* also 'cemetery'; as does *oŋo*. Other dialects use *oŋo* also for 'grave'.

ROV Also *popomunuana* 'cemetery'.

LEW 'mound'; also *lo-tap* 'burial area'.

XAR *pō* 'hole'; also *i-cūārā* 'place where the dead are hidden'.

KIR 'death pit'.

RTU Also *tamura*.

SAM (polite) *lāŋomau*, *tia*, *ʔoliʔolisaga*.

TAH From English 'monument'.

RAP *rua* 'hole' (referring only to the open grave pit).

### 04.810 STRONG, MIGHTY, POWERFUL

Arabic: *quwwa* 'strength'

Sanskrit: *vaśa-*

ATA	ʔawkah	UMA	mo-roho	*MAR	ṇeta
TSO	taso	BUG	ma-lissi	LAU	rigita ka tasa
RUK	mā-kəʔəŋə	*KON	pore	KWO	tegela
PAI	pu-piʔuʔ	WOL	ma-kaa	*RAG	wasi
YAM	moyat	MAG	<sup>m</sup> bərəs	PAA	gañh
ISN	nakulnit	NGA	dəgo	*LEW	marera
*KAL	bīlog	*SIK	təgor	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a <sup>ŋ</sup> g
*TAG	lakas	RTI	ma-hele-k	NTA	əsanən
*AKL	kūsug	*BUR	fara-n	*KWA	-asanən
*PAL	məbasag	DOB	[ʔuwatu]	*NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wa wĩ-n
*MOL	basag	IRA	ʔitə	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> aiu
KAG	biskəg	SAW	[kuat]	AJI	məʔə
BLA	m-gal	NYI	botoʔən	XAR	xata
SAB	kosog	MAM	ʔaiboəŋ	*NEN	tač
*MUR	mapəŋgol	*TAK	dabai	*KIR	korakora
MGY	ma-heri	*DAM	total	MSH	kacōŋ
*ACE	[kuwat]	*MAB	<sup>m</sup> bəʔŋa-	PON	kəlail
BAT	go'go	*YAB	ŋaʔ-lai	*WLE	masowasowa
*MIN	[kuaso]	KAU	apalukŋin	EFI	kaukaua
IND	[kuat]	*TOL	oŋor	*WFI	g <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> ā
SUN	[kuat]	BUA	niwēk	RTU	neʔneʔi
*JAV	[prakoso]	*ADZ	rini urun	*TON	mālohi
MAD	[kuwat]	KIL	peula	SAM	mālosi
*BAL	[kuat]	TAW	kadidili	MEL	mārō
*SAS	[kuat]	MOT	goada	TAH	pūai
*GOR	mo-to-toheto	*MEK	kapula	RAP	haŋu
DAA	na-[kuasa]	ROV	ŋiŋira		

KAL *bīlog + na-*.

TAG *lakas + ma-*; also *lusog* 'strong of body'.

AKL	<i>kūsug + ma-</i> , Proto-Philippines <i>*keseR</i> .
PAL	Also [ <i>kawasa</i> ], <i>məkəsəg</i> .
MOL	<i>basag + mo-</i> .
MUR	<i>mapaŋol, maikaŋ</i> (physically) <i>matulay, pāwaŋ</i> ‘influential, powerful’ (of human).
ACE	There are many synonyms.
MIN	Also [ <i>kuē?</i> ].
JAV	Also [ <i>kuat</i> ].
BAL	[ <i>kuat</i> ] of object or person; <i>kəraŋ</i> of person: ‘strong, having great endurance’; <i>təgtəg</i> of person: ‘strong, confident, calm’; <i>təguh</i> of person: ‘strong, impervious to harm’; <i>sitəŋ</i> ‘solidly built, strong (of person)’.
ṢAS	Also <i>təguh</i> .
GOR	‘strong’.
KON	Also <i>‘kaddoro</i> .
SIK	Also <i>giʼit, maŋa</i> .
BUR	Also <i>geba rasa-t</i> ‘person of powerful influence’; <i>geba em-ŋaa</i> ‘person with a title (implies influential tribal elder)’; <i>geba toti</i> ( <i>toti</i> literally ‘firm’, describing a penile erection) ‘virile’.
TAK	‘strong, strength’.
DAM	Also <i>megēri</i> .
MAB	Also <i><sup>m</sup>bolkeŋkeŋa-</i> , <i><sup>m</sup>burānāŋa-</i> , <i><sup>m</sup>bura keskēzeŋa-</i> .
YAB	‘man-ginger’ i.e. ‘strong man’; <i>ŋaʼ-tek<sup>w</sup>a</i> ‘man-bone’ i.e. ‘brave, heroic’.
TOL	Also <i>dekdek</i> .
ADZ	‘skin bone’.
MEK	NW Mekeo <i>kaka</i> means ‘heat, power’.
MAR	Also <i>nolayi</i> .
RAG	‘strong’.
LEW	Also <i>kawa, puriu-na kawa</i> ‘strong-boned’.
KWA	<i>-səkai</i> also ‘difficult’; <i>-ətənekən</i> also ‘hard’.
NEM	‘there is force-his’.
NEN	Also <i>pod</i> .
KIR	Also <i>āintoa</i> .

WLE *mōmōwa* ‘hard, strong, ripe’ alternate *mōwa*, *cemōwa*; *kaiʻa* also ‘healthy’

WFI Also *kaikai*.

TON *mālohi* ‘strong’; *māfimafi* ‘mighty, powerful’.

### 04.820 WEAK

ATA	ma-ʔuay	UMA	le <sup>n</sup> te	*MAR	glaʔe
TSO	rozʔu	BUG	ma-pellaŋ	LAU	makeso
RUK	mā-łopi	*KON	lamma	KWO	warigaʔa
PAI	na-maḵar	*WOL	ma-lute	*RAG	beu-ya
YAM	malma	MAG	ləmə-le <sup>ɲ</sup> kus	PAA	lit
ISN	nakapsut	NGA	ɖeɖe	LEW	malumu
*KAL	kapsut	SIK	məmək	POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>m</sup> bat
*TAG	hīnaʔ	RTI	maŋa-nau-k	NTA	apou
*AKL	ʔūyah	*BUR	em-loo	*KWA	-apou
*PAL	mələma	*DOB	nda [ʔuwatu]	NEM	koi wī-n
*MOL	lamma	IRA	sari	*CEM	nāt
KAG	luya	SAW	n-ɛmgæ	AJI	yɔʔa
*BLA	landəʔ gal	*NYI	botoʔon b <sup>w</sup> e	XAR	ninī
SAB	lammaʔ	MAM	mareua	NEN	
*MUR	malamiʔ	*TAK	dabai a-n tia-i	*KIR	mara
MGY	ma-lemi	DAM	total sã	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> an
ACE	luməh	*MAB	<sup>m</sup> burasomŋa-	*PON	liper
BAT	gaʔe	*YAB	-leʔ	*WLE	peyōxusu
MIN	lamah	KAU	lukeŋin	EFI	malumalumu
*IND	ləmah	TOL	biluə	WFI	malumalumu
*SUN	heŋker	*BUA	niwēk ma	RTU	ʔafʔafa
JAV	riŋkih	*ADZ	rini urun i-maʔ	TON	vaivai
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> ədd <sup>h</sup> ur	KIL	mama	SAM	vāivai
*BAL	ənduk	TAW	tapiya	MEL	marūrū
*SAS	eñček	MOT	manoka	TAH	paruparu
*GOR	mo-lupuhu	*MEK	e-melo	*RAP	rehe-rehe
DAA	na-le <sup>n</sup> te	ROV	malohoro		

KAL *kapsut + na-*.

TAG *hīnaʔ + ma-*.

AKL *ʔūyah + ma-*.



PAL	Also <i>məsuyaŋ</i> .
MOL	<i>lamma + mə-</i> .
BLA	<i>m-luŋay</i> 'limp'.
MUR	Also <i>lamumu?</i> , <i>lamoy</i> .
IND	Also <i>lələh</i> , <i>ləsu</i> 'tired'.
SUN	Also <i>lilis</i> .
BAL	Also <i>ləməs</i> 'soft, gentle, of speech'.
SAS	Also <i>progə</i> .
GOR	Also <i>mə-lu-lupuhu</i> .
KON	Also <i>dodoŋ</i> .
WOL	<i>ma-lute</i> ; also <i>ma<sup>̃</sup>çule</i> ; <i>ma-te<sup>m</sup>bo</i> .
BUR	<i>em-loo</i> 'weak, tired'; <i>e-ge-te-n</i> 'out of breath'; <i>ge-te-k</i> 'faint and fall'; <i>big-lifu</i> 'dizzy'; <i>sei</i> 'bored and without energy'.
DOB	'not strong'.
NYI	'not strong'.
TAK	'strength POSS-his not exist-PERF' (13.000), i.e. 'he has no strength'.
MAB	'one with no strength'.
YAB	Verb: 'be weak, crippled'; also <i>pale</i> 'soft, weak'; <i>oli-walo masi</i> 'body-sinew nonexistent'.
BUA	<i>səʔε ma</i> , <i>səgɔp rak</i> 'general slackness'.
ADZ	'skin bone REAL-not'.
MEK	NW Mekeo has <i>labu-labu-ŋa</i> .
MAR	Also <i>nigra</i> .
RAG	Also <i>madamada</i> .
KWA	<i>-apou</i> also 'tired', 'mute', 'weak-minded'; <i>pak<sup>w</sup></i> also means 'unsuccessful'.
CEM	'soft'.
KIR	Also 'feeble, languid'; <i>makana</i> 'fragile'.
MSH	<i>p<sup>w</sup>an</i> also 'unable (to do something)'; <i>wipe!</i> also 'fragile, clumsy, frail'; <i>m<sup>w</sup>Λcŋ<sup>w</sup>ɔ</i> .
PON	Also <i>luwet</i> , <i>kop<sup>w</sup>ukop<sup>w</sup></i> dual.
WLE	Also 'exhausted', <i>peyɔyɔ</i> ; <i>taikaiřa</i> also 'sickly'.
RAP	Also <i>maruhi</i> ; <i>māhū</i> .

## 04.830 WELL, HEALTH

Arabic: <i>ṣiḥḥa</i> 'health'
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ATA	ma-tβaʔβaʔčiŋ	DAA	na-belo	ROV	toa va leana
TSO	rorarokro	UMA	[sehaʔ]	*MAR	fakeli
RUK	mā-θariri	*BUG	disiŋ	LAU	mouri diana
PAI	v-ən-aʎa	KON	gassiŋ	*KWO	anaʔa
YAM	yapiya ʃo	WOL	ma-kaa	RAG	
	katawtao	MAG	diʔa	*PAA	maul
ISN	nabīlag	NGA	ziʔa	LEW	yepe-wo
*KAL	piya	SIK	ʔəpa-ŋ	*POR	maur evoi
*TAG	hūsay	RTI	soda-k	*NTA	-ameŋah
*AKL	mayad	*BUR	stike-t	*KWA	-asanən
PAL	məkəsan	DOB	soba-n	NEM	
*MOL	togor	IRA	derə	CEM	
*KAG	miad lawa	*SAW	n-fiə	AJI	məʔo
BLA	fyi lawih	*NYI	m <sup>w</sup> asin	XAR	murū
SAB	lasig	MAM	ne-iauia	NEN	eŋetač
*MUR	mönsoy	TAK		*KIR	mauri
*MGY	faha-salam-	DAM	el	MSH	æcmūr
	ana	MAB	ni- a <sup>m</sup> bai	*PON	kəlail
ACE	[sihat]	*YAB	oli ŋa-yàm	WLE	kaiʔa
*BAT	hi'pas	KAU	tunus	EFI	bula-βinaka
*MIN	čegaʔ	*TOL	ləgər	WFI	ðola βinā
IND	[sehat]	BUA	niβəsa	RTU	neʔneʔi
*SUN	čagir	*ADZ	bini	TON	moʔui lelei
JAV	waras	*KIL	-sib <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> aila	*SAM	mālōlō-ina
MAD	baras	*TAW	kamna-	MEL	
BAL	səgər		dewadewa	TAH	
SAS	bagus	MOT	namo	RAP	ora
GOR	[səhati]	*MEK	kai		

KAL *piya + na-*.TAG Also *būti, galiŋ*.

AKL Also 'good' 16.710.

MOL *togor + mo-*.

KAG 'good body' i.e. 'well'.

MUR	(adj), also [ <i>masiat</i> ] (adj), from Malay [ <i>sehat</i> ]; <i>mapasaw</i> (refers to appearance), <i>ka[siat]an</i> (n) from Malay <i>kə[sehat]an</i> .
MGY	[ <i>salama</i> ] ‘in good health’ from Arabic <i>salāma</i> .
BAT	(adj).
MIN	Also [ <i>siay?</i> ].
SUN	Also <i>ḡagḡag</i> , [ <i>sehat</i> ].
BUG	Also <i>ma-disiq</i> .
BUR	Also <i>gosa</i> .
SAW	‘good/well’.
NYI	‘good’.
YAB	‘body its-good’; also <i>oli sàmu?</i> ‘body whole’.
TOL	<i>ni-ləgər</i> (NOM) ‘health’.
ADZ	<i>bini, ḡarubini</i> ‘good’.
KIL	(vb).
TAW	‘good health’.
MEK	<i>kai</i> is frequently heard with intensifying <i>pa-</i> : <i>pa-kai</i> .
MAR	<i>fakeli</i> ‘well’; <i>ḡaota</i> ‘health’.
KWO	Also <i>anasi?a</i> .
PAA	Also ‘alive’.
POR	‘live well’.
NTA	See 04.740.
KWA	<i>-asanən</i> also ‘strong’; <i>-amasan</i> also ‘good’; <i>-muru</i> also ‘alive’.
KIR	Also used as a conventional greeting formula.
PON	<i>kēlail</i> also ‘strong’; <i>roson</i> of humans; <i>dikeriker</i> of plants.
SAM	(polite) <i>soifuamālōlō-ina</i> .

#### 04.840 SICK, SICKNESS

*ATA	mu-xāʔ	*TAG	sakit	*MUR	maduol
TSO	t-m-a-ʔoŋo	AKL	sakit	*MGY	aret-ina
RUK	mā-ʔaəmə	*PAL	mə-sakit	*ACE	saket
PAI	sakəcu	*MOL	iŋlow	*BAT	mar-sahit
YAM	miŋən	*KAG	may masa'kit	*MIN	saki?
ISN	magtakit	*BLA	f-an-das	*IND	sakit
*KAL	sakit	*SAB	saki	*SUN	[gəriŋ]

JAV	lɔɔ	TAK	subam	*NTA	-at-əməs
MAD	sakiʔ	DAM	dagi	*KWA	-amemha
BAL	gələm	*MAB	mete	NEM	faliç
*SAS	sakit	*YAB	gemaʔ	CEM	cínu
*GOR	mo-ŋoŋoto	*KAU	sahi	AJI	pēi
DAA	na-juʔa	*TOL	məit	XAR	kē-pāi
*UMA	hakiʔ	BUA	niraḵ	NEN	ueḏe
*BUG	lasa	*ADZ	i-giʔʔ rinin	KIR	aoraki
*KON	garrinḡ	KIL	katoula	*MSH	naŋinmɛç
*WOL	ka-pii	TAW	totogo	*PON	sōm <sup>w</sup> āu
MAG	bəti	MOT	gorere	*WLE	metaxi
*NGA	bəti	*MEK	isava (iava)	EFI	tauβi-mate
*SIK	blara	*ROV	moho	WFI	baḏa
RTI	hedi-s	MAR	fogra	*RTU	ʔafʔafa
*BUR	em-pei	LAU	mataia	TON	puke
DOB	saray-n	KWO	fī	*SAM	maʔi
IRA	daridəna	*RAG	harova	*MEL	sā
SAW	n-pise	PAA	mesai	TAH	maʔi
*NYI	[sik]	*LEW	inana-ena	RAP	maui-ui
MAM	more	POR	mesaxian		
ATA	Also <i>maw-xaʔ</i> .				
KAL	<i>sakit + ma-</i> .				
TAG	Also <i>karamdāman</i> .				
PAL	Also <i>maʔiŋləw (iŋləw)</i> .				
MOL	<i>iŋlow + og-on</i> .				
KAG	<i>maymasa'kit</i> 'sick'; <i>masa'kit</i> 'sickness'.				
BLA	<i>f-an-das, sasəʔnɔwɔ</i> 'sick'; <i>fɔdas, tduk</i> 'sickness'.				
SAB	<i>saki</i> 'sickness'; <i>a-saki</i> 'sick'. Other terms: <i>lammaʔ+a-</i> , <i>limmun+a-</i> , <i>a-lātparasahan</i> , depending on type and degree of sickness.				
MUR	(adj, n), also <i>malugu</i> (adj) 'chronically ill', <i>m̄apaʔaʔ</i> (adj) 'seriously ill', <i>ʃül (-um)</i> (vb) 'feel nauseous'.				
MGY	(n).				
ACE	Also [ <i>puñaket</i> ] 'sickness' from Malay.				
BAT	(adj)				
MIN	<i>sakiʔ</i> 'sick'; <i>pañakiʔ</i> 'sickness'.				
IND	<i>sakit</i> 'sick'; <i>pəñakit</i> 'sickness'.				

- SUN From Javanese.
- SAS Also *pəñakit* (*pə-N-sakit*) ‘sickness’.
- GOR *mo-ŋoŋoto* ‘sick, ill’, also [*saki*] (Malay *sakit*); *ŋoŋoto* ‘sickness, illness’; [*panyaki*] ‘illness, disease’, from Malay *pəñakit* and *māneʔa* ‘illness’.
- UMA Also *pedaʔ*.
- BUG Also *ma-lasa*.
- KON Also *dodoŋ*.
- WOL Also *ma-pii, ma-pii-pii, sa<sup>n</sup>tila, ti-tiwo*.
- NGA Also *laza*.
- SIK Also *blara gahu*.
- BUR Also ‘in pain’; *em-pei-t* ‘sickness’.
- NYI Borrowed from Tok Pisin. *ki<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>ei* ‘(spirit caused) sickness’.
- MAB *mete* ‘sickness’; *mete ikam* + accusative pronoun (lit ‘sickness does/gets’).
- YAB ‘sickness’; also *to-gemaʔ* ‘with-sickness’, *ŋa-gemaʔ* ‘its-sickness’, both ‘sick’.
- KAU *sahi* ‘sick’; *sahiŋin* ‘sickness’.
- TOL *m-in-əit* (vn) ‘sickness’.
- ADZ ‘REAL-lie skin-3sg POSS’.
- MEK North Mekeo *izawa*, West Mekeo *idawa*. NW Mekeo has *maigi*.
- ROV Also *minoho*.
- RAG ‘sickness’.
- LEW Also *mai-ena*, but see 04.841.
- NTA Same verb root as ‘die’: past tense ‘dead’, continuous ‘sick’.
- KWA *-amemba* ‘sick’; *nemhaien* ‘sickness’.
- MSH *naŋinmɛc* lit ‘almost dead’; *mɛc* ‘disease, death’; *utam<sup>w</sup>wɛ* also ‘committed’, fig. ‘be a crackpot’; *ŋit* also ‘dizzy’.
- PON ‘not good’; *lūm<sup>w</sup>ūm<sup>w</sup>* hon.
- WLE *metaxi* also ‘in pain’, *temwāü* lit ‘not good’.
- RTU Also *masaʔi*.
- SAM (polite) *ŋaseŋase* (vb intrans).
- MEL Also *māsaki*.

## 04.841 FEVER

ATA	ma-kiʔux	BUG	mekkeʔ	*MAR	fagrutu
TSO		*KON	hambaŋ	LAU	tasu
RUK	mā-ʔolo	WOL	sodʔo	KWO	mataʔi
PAI	ma-səzam	MAG	kolaŋ (vəki)	RAG	
*YAM	maridaŋdaŋ ʃo	NGA	reddʔu	*PAA	an
	oʔo	*SIK	goʔo-ŋ	LEW	(na-)mai-ena
ISN	dagāŋ	RTI	sumai-k	POR	ni- <sup>m</sup> bras
KAL	pūdut	*BUR	rara-n		vuvur
TAG	lagnat	*DOB	ʔa-raru	NTA	-aŋap <sup>w</sup> an
AKL	ʔagnat	IRA	ʃe səsu	*KWA	nak <sup>w</sup> ieʔen
PAL	ɔgnɔw	SAW	n-leleʔe	NEM	cayuk
MOL	moinit bilog	*NYI	bada-n	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> āla
KAG	daŋga		ñarahan	AJI	aʔiwi
BLA	m-init lawih	MAM	ʔusi-ragogo	XAR	megi
SAB	limmun	*TAK	tini wanana-n	NEN	baŋo
*MUR	salom	DAM	alāi dagi	*KIR	kabuebue
MGY	tazu	*MAB	kuli- ibayou	*MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> il]
ACE	dumam	*YAB	oli ŋa-wayao	PON	lusulus
*BAT	m-ɔhɔp	*KAU	βo-n ŋeŋŋeŋ	WLE	
MIN	damam	*TOL	mələmələpəŋ	EFI	katakata
*IND	dəmam	BUA	ni βane	WFI	katakata
*SUN	[gəriŋ] panas	*ADZ	rini-n i-sasus	RTU	[fiva]
*JAV	mriaŋ (priaŋ)	*KIL	-gida-geda	TON	mofi
*MAD	marāŋaʔ		kulu	SAM	[fiva]
*BAL	panəs diŋin	TAW	hini	MEL	
SAS	sakit panas		guhuguhula	*TAH	[fiva]
*GOR	huhulo	*MOT	keru	RAP	
DAA	na-pane koro	*MEK	faa(ŋa) e-ufa		
UMA	ʔke-leŋiʔ	*ROV	[fiva]		

YAM 'his head is hot'.

MUR *salom* (*mag-*) (vb) 'have fever'.

BAT 'have a fever'.

IND 'delirious fever', also *panas* 'hot, fever'.

SUN See note 04.840.

JAV (vb intrans).

MAD See Malay *mərana*.

BAL	Also <i>kəbus diŋin</i> both lit ‘hot (and) cold’.
GOR	Also <i>polipito</i> .
KON	Also <i>kammu?</i>
SIK	Also <i>gahu</i> .
BUR	Also <i>moti</i> ‘chills, fever, shivering, aches’.
DOB	(vb).
NYI	‘body hot’.
TAK	‘body hot’ see also 15.850.
MAB	‘skin is hot’.
YAB	Also <i>oli ŋ-a<sup>n</sup>daŋ</i> ; both ‘body its-heat’.
KAU	‘body-his hot’.
TOL	<i>mələpəŋ</i> ‘hot’.
ADZ	‘skin-3sg POSS REAL-hot’.
KIL	<i>-gida-geda kulu</i> bite-CONT hair ‘head throbbing’; <i>-yuβi-yaβi wowo-</i> hot-CONT ‘body heating’.
MOT	‘cold’. Also <i>tauani-na siahu</i> lit, ‘one’s body hot’.
MEK	<i>faa/faaŋa</i> ‘skin, body’ – see 04.120, <i>ufa</i> ‘burn, be hot’.
ROV	Also <i>moho</i> ‘unwell’.
MAR	‘come down with fever’.
PAA	Usually referring to malarial fever, which feels cold; also ‘cold’ in general.
KWA	‘cold’.
CEM	‘cold’.
KIR	<i>kabuebue</i> also ‘hot’, <i>te [biwa]</i> .
MSH	Gilbertese; [ <i>pip<sup>w</sup>a</i> ], also ‘hot’.
TAH	Also <i>ahu</i> .

## 04.842 GOITER

Spanish: <i>bocio</i>
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ATA	βi <sup>?</sup> ix	YAM	mavəkə ʂo	AKL	[busyu <sup>?</sup> ]
TSO	f <sup>?</sup> iri		ragaw	PAL	bəkɔŋ
RUK		ISN	biyal	MOL	bo <sup>?</sup> gon
PAI	ɖakul	KAL	bikok	*KAG	bakəd na
		*TAG	[bosyo <sup>?</sup> ]		bləŋŋan

BLA	bnal	*BUR	skeh fule	*PAA	hirēk mutev
SAB	bogon	*DOB	siŋil yisin	*LEW	
MUR	aŋguk		na-ma'yin	POR	vu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ölas
MGY	bibaka an-tenda	IRA	därəbonə nabərəbarə	NTA	
ACE	cugoŋ	SAW	nap	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anari
BAT	barut	NYI		NEM	
MIN	buo <sup>?</sup>	MAM	abe-laba	*CEM	cibu-hénc-n
*IND	gondok	*TAK	buro-n gubu-n	AJI	
*SUN	gondok	DAM	kaik	*XAR	kum <sup>w</sup> ara
JAV	gəndəŋ-ən	MAB		NEN	
MAD	balgəm	YAB		*KIR	te katibu rəroa
BAL	gondoŋ	*KAU	βut lup	MSH	
SAS	bədok	TOL	ŋok	PON	
GOR	hutolo	BUA		WLE	
DAA	po <sup>"</sup> te	*ADZ	ogarafo <sup>?</sup>	EFI	mō
UMA	toko <sup>?</sup>	KIL		WFI	mō
BUG		*TAW	gadobahana	RTU	kia huhula
*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -tanno <sup>?</sup>	MOT		TON	kahi
WOL		MEK		SAM	
MAG		ROV		MEL	
NGA	maŋo	MAR		*TAH	ʔarapo <sup>?</sup> a pu <sup>?</sup> u
SIK	bo <sup>?</sup> ir bolə-ŋ	LAU		RAP	
*RTI	botō-li kodonao-k	KWŌ			
		RAG			

TAG Also *busyu?*

KAG 'big throat', also *gated ta bləŋŋan* lit 'tumor of the throat'.

IND Also *gondoŋ*.

SUN Also *gondoŋ-in*.

KON *tanno?* is the growth.

RTI 'owl throat'.

BUR Also *skeh haa-t* 'big neck'; from *skeha-n* 'throat'.

DOB 'the underneath of his jawbone has swollen'.

TAK 'neck-his hump-its', i.e. 'hump of his neck'.

KAU 'neck jump'.

ADZ *ogarafo?* 'goiter'; *uan i-gorof o?* 'neck-3sg POSS REAL-goiter'.

TAW 'swollen neck'.



PAA 'my neck is swollen'.

LEW *inana-ena na kinane na komesua ne-na* 'sickness of gland of throat',  
(neologism).

KWA Also 'bead'.

CEM 'neck swollen'.

XAR 'sweet potato'.

KIR 'swelling in the throat'.

TAH Also *taʔa puʔu*.

### 04.843 COLD (catarrh)

Sanskrit: *sleşman-*.

ATA	wahan naʔ βuʔu	*BAL	paad	*TOL	biləumai
TSO	rsoŋi	SAS	[sləmə]	BUA	kəɾək sis
RUK	mā-rolō	*GOR	ʔo-tuwaŋ-a lo huhulo	*ADZ	mara susu <sup>m</sup> p
PAI	lʔalʔakəl	DAA	na-vasa	*KIL	-buku-boku
*YAM	[makanmaw]	UMA	βaha	TAW	lugono
ISN	panataŋ	BUG	kiččeʔ	MOT	kuru
*KAL	āŋod	KON	amm-ore	*MEK	ŋoki e-au-ŋa
*TAG	sipon	WOL	ko-sopu	*ROV	ŋuru
AKL	sipʔun	MAG	pə <sup>n</sup> təl	MAR	moŋno
PAL	sələt	NGA	sune	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ag <sup>w</sup> ari
MOL		SIK	naβar	KWO	
KAG	səppaʔən	RTI	masa-nasi	RAG	
BLA	n-lakaf	BUR	spani	*PAA	vil
*SAB	ulapay	*DOB	ma'ŋur-ni	*LEW	miava kari
*MUR	usod (mag-)	IRA	wegurə ruwe	*POR	e- <sup>m</sup> bar a mexas
MGY	seri	SAW	mēmuse	NTA	naitoŋa
*ACE	taməŋ aŋen	NYI	ñala	*KWA	keŋis
BAT	batuk	MAM	ʔoŋ-uŋ	NEM	pup
*MIN	[salemo]	TAK	kufek	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ōhu
IND	pilek	DAM	manom dagi	*AJI	aŋiwi
SUN	[salesma]	MAB	ŋoŋo	XAR	mešī
JAV	pilək	YAB	leto	*NEN	dodoŋ
MAD	ka[lesma]	KAU	soŋkot	*KIR	te ŋako

MSH	mecin	EFI	mate-taka	*SAM	isu-mamafa
*PON	soum <sup>w</sup> āu en	WFI	baḏa-taka	MEL	ḡosāḡosa
	wai	RTU	matiti	TAH	hūpē
WLE		TON	fofonu	RAP	kokoḡo

YAM From Mandarin.

KAL *āḡod + na-*.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*sipʔun*.

SAB *ulapay + ni-*.

MUR 'have a cold'.

ACE 'entered by wind'.

MIN Also *masuʔʔ aḡin*.

BAL *puyəḡ pəḡəḡ* 'headache'.

GOR 'filled LIG fever'

DOB An adjective meaning 'he has a cold'.

TOL Also *biləumaia, biləu-* 'nose', *mai(a)?*

ADZ 'face eye cough'.

KIL 'continuous cough'.

MEK *ḡoki* on its own can mean 'phlegm, cough; have a cold'.

ROV Also *kohu* 'cough'.

PAA When one has a cold, one usually says that one 'is coughing'.

LEW Verbal, lit 'chill strikes someone'; also *na-kawa-ena* 'coughing'.

POR 'he-catch at cold'.

KWA Also means 'mucus'.

AJI Also *kieo*.

NEN *dodəḡ* 'head cold'; *eḡe* 'chest cold'.

KIR Also 'nasal mucus'.

PON 'foreign sickness'.

SAM *isu* 'nose', *mamafa* (vb intrans) 'heavy', lit 'have a heavy nose'.

#### 04.850 WOUND, SORE

ATA	paḡih	PAI	piḡay	KAL	sūgat
TSO	ʔadi	YAM	noka	TAG	sūgat
RUK	ma-dola	ISN	bīḡād	AKL	ninah

PAL	tawan	SIK	lahi-ŋ	*RAG	manuŋa
MOL	tawan	RTI	bisu	PAA	manu
KAG	nina	BUR	kawa	*LEW	maŋka
BLA	səʔəy	DOB	yubuy	POR	manu <sup>ŋ</sup> g
SAB	paliʔ	IRA	ʃaməte	*NTA	nəmaŋəm
MUR	pilat	SAW	yəbet	KWA	nəm <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup>
MGY	raʔa	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔana	NEM	kusim
ACE	luka	MAM	poaʔe	CEM	áhi-nâdo
BAT	baro	TAK	baob	AJI	wěkaãřã
MIN	luko	*DAM	guruma	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ã-dəu
IND	luka	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bēte	*NEN	xa
SUN	rahit	YAB	kaməʔ	KIR	te ikoaki
JAV	tatu	KAU	sal	MSH	kinec
MAD	luka	TOL	manuə (-)	*PON	lel
*BAL	tatu	*BUA	ñe	*WLE	wasü
SAS	bakat	*ADZ	rini mais	EFI	maβoa
GOR	pali	*KIL	ponane-la	WFI	maʃila
DAA	bela	TAW	paga	RTU	raʔoŋa
*UMA	βeho	*MOT	bero	TON	lavea
*BUG	lo	*MEK	kua	*SAM	manuʔa
*KON	lokoʔ	*ROV	tubu	*MEL	manuka
WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> bela	*MAR	bayalu	*TAH	maʔi
MAG	reu	LAU	māla	*RAP	more
NGA	təka	*KWO	mala		

BAL *bəruŋ* ‘infected; infected wound’.

UMA *βeho* ‘wound from accident’; *βakaʔ* ‘any sore’, whether from accident or disease.

BUG Also *ma-loʔ*.

KON *lokoʔ* ‘wound’; *bokkaʔ* ‘sore, as from boil eruption’.

DAM Also *goud* ‘welt’.

BUA *ñe* ‘chin, corner, mark left by a weapon’; *pəyes* ‘sore’.

ADZ ‘skin bad’.

KIL ‘hole-his’; also *-taβi* ‘cut (someone)’ *-katu-buyaβi* ‘do indirectly-blood’, i.e. ‘cause him to become bloody, to wound’; *agu p<sup>w</sup>asa* ‘my sore’ (lit ‘my rottenness’).

MOT *bero* ‘wound’, *toto* ‘sore’.

MEK	Also <i>oŋa</i> ‘small cut, abrasion, burn’; i.e. a ‘sore’. <i>ia</i> ‘yaws’ (or something similar to it).
ROV	<i>tubu</i> ‘sore’, <i>bakora</i> ‘cut’.
MAR	Also <i>t<sup>h</sup>ubu</i> .
KWO	Also <i>nula</i> .
RAG	‘infected sore’.
LEW	‘sore’; ‘wound/injury’ verbal <i>we-rol</i> or nominal <i>na-we-rol-ena</i> (neologism).
NTA	Also <i>kamahal</i> .
NEN	Also <i>čika</i> .
PON	<i>lel</i> ‘wounded in a fight’; <i>sōn</i> ‘wounded’; <i>tep<sup>w</sup>ti</i> ‘abrasion’.
WLE	Also <i>xirata</i> .
SAM	<i>manu<sup>?</sup>a</i> ‘wound’: also <i>lavea</i> , (polite) <i>laŋimasoe</i> , <i>masoe</i> ‘sore’: also <i>papala</i> , <i>po<sup>?</sup>u</i> (polite) <i>ma<sup>?</sup>i-malū</i> , <i>ma<sup>?</sup>i</i> (vb intrans) ‘be sick’, <i>malū</i> (vb intrans) ‘be soft’.
MEL	Also <i>kkai</i> , <i>sona</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tutu<sup>?</sup>a</i> ‘scratch, sore’; <i>puta</i> deep wound’; <i>mutu</i> ‘cut wound’; <i>pū<sup>?</sup>ō</i> ‘ulcer’.
RAP	<i>more</i> ‘wound’ (not ‘sore’). Also <i>pahure</i> ‘scratch, scrape’.

## 04.852 BRUISE

ATA	ma-šahraḡ	MGY	fi-vuntus-ana	WOL	ta <sup>n</sup> da
TSO		ACE	luimbam	*MAG	lalak
RUK	koagisaisi	BAT	mar-sala-ən	NGA	bate
PAI		MIN	ba-kalukur-an	SIK	lahi-ŋ
YAM	miaḡəŋ	IND	məmar	RTI	peta-s
ISN	laddam	SUN		*BUR	mure
*KAL	naldom	JAV	lečət	*DOB	nam k <sup>w</sup> udu
TAG	pasa <sup>?</sup>	*MAD	bəddaŋ		tuman
AKL	bun <sup>?</sup> ug	BAL	səbuh	IRA	
*PAL	dulas	SAS		*SAW	bəsbis
MOL	alom	GOR	lo <sup>n</sup> do-lo <sup>n</sup> do	NYI	añarau
KAG	a <sup>r</sup> əm	*DAA	na-vəkoraa	*MAM	?augarasi
BLA	m-litə <sup>?</sup> lam	UMA	laro	TAK	bukabuk
*SAB	alom	BUG	ma-uso	DAM	bubuna
*MUR	litom	*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -balittaŋ	MAB	bere-bere

YAB		RAG		PON	m <sup>w</sup> ou
KAU	mhum	PAA	lolovu	WLE	fañi
*TOL	dalə	*LEW	mumu	EFI	dabuiloā
BUA	səgilik	POR	ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> u ko <sup>mb</sup>	WFI	bubulōlō
ADZ		NTA	-areriapən	RTU	totlaha
KIL	katuk <sup>w</sup> atu	*KWA	təm <sup>w</sup> heki-	TON	taka <sup>ʔ</sup> uli
TAW	lipalapatama	NEM		SAM	uno <sup>ʔ</sup> o
*MOT	rara e ase	CEM	n̄ūp	MEL	wetu
MEK		AJI	ka cūi	*TAH	pēpē
*ROV	tebtebo ehara	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-nə	*RAP	puneki <sup>ʔ</sup> ā te
MAR	kugru	NEN			<sup>ʔ</sup> uri
LAU	gola	*KIR	te tanin		
*KWO	ɲoa	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> uwac		

KAL *lodom + na-*.

PAL Also *duplas*.

SAB *alom +aN-*.

MUR *litom (-um-)*; also *ulitomo<sup>ʔ</sup> (n)*.

MAD See note 04.855.

DAA 'bruised'.

KON Also *a<sup>ʔ</sup>-batoro* 'red'; *salla<sup>ʔ</sup>* 'black and blue'.

MAG Also *nənər*.

BUR Also *kawa* 'wound, sore'.

DOB 'do blood sago-container', unless *tuman* means something other than 'sago-container' here.

SAW 'blue'; also [*dara mati*] from Malay.

MAM Also *ta<sup>ʔ</sup>oro*.

TOL *dalə* 'bruised'.

MOT *rara* 'blood', *ase* lit 'to turn into *ase* liver' (i.e. the colour). Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *rara arukubou* (*aru* 'to flow', *kubou* 'together').

ROV Also *buti* 'blood clot'.

KWO Also *ʔofu*.

LEW Verbal 'to squash, bruise'.

KWA Also means 'mark, trace'.

KIR *te tanin* also 'callus'; *ntaninnin*, *te ubati*.

MSH *op<sup>w</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>* also 'dented'.

TAH Also *ʔereʔere*; *pu<sup>ʔ</sup>u* 'bump'.

RAP *puneki ʔā te ʔuri* ‘bruise (caused by strike or impact)’; *mara-mara* ‘bruise, welt (caused by whipping)’.

### 04.853 SWELLING

*ATA	ma-βaʔβaʔ	UMA	mo-βoto	*MAR	puku
TSO	ruo-froʔi	BUG	boro	LAU	ūbu
RUK	mo-a-balakə	*KON	amboro	KWO	ubu
PAI	minvaʔak	*WOL	wu <sup>n</sup> du	RAG	
YAM	lipaʔ	MAG	bara	*PAA	mutev
ISN	lanāt	NGA	sii	*LEW	siropi
*KAL	lumtog	SIK	boβo	*POR	e-tø <sup>m</sup> b
*TAG	magaʔ	*RTI	peta	NTA	-asis
*AKL	haʔuk	BUR	dobo	KWA	matak im <sup>w</sup> a
PAL	məgbəbagaʔ	*DOB	na-ma'yin	NEM	higuk
MOL	bagaʔ	IRA	nəbərəbarə	CEM	cibu
KAG	ubbag	SAW	n-bos	AJI	ka cū
BLA	balak	NYI	ase	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-cē
SAB	bahaʔ	*MAM	buʔu	NEN	geuren
*MUR	lanit	TAK	didi	*KIR	tibu
MGY	bai	DAM	dī	*MSH	ʔəppəʔ
*ACE	kuməŋ	*MAB	-sar	*PON	[mp <sup>w</sup> os]
*BAT	ma-gurbak	*YAB	-sùŋ	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ō
*MIN	samboʔ	KAU	som	EFI	βuðe
IND	bəŋkək	*TOL	uŋ	WFI	βuka
SUN	barih	*BUA	pəsopək	RTU	huhula
JAV	abuh	*ADZ	rini-n i-fub	TON	pupula
MAD	bara	KIL	-sapila	*SAM	fula
BAL	bəsəh	TAW	hahana	*MEL	ffura
SAS	baʔ	MOT	gudu	TAH	ʔoru
*GOR	matəŋo	*MEK	faa(ŋa) e-ufu	RAP	ahu
*DAA	na-ba <sup>ɔ</sup> ga	*ROV	mogo		

ATA *ma-ki-ma-βkaʔ* ‘to expand, to swell to the extent of breaking’.

KAL *lotog + -um-*.

TAG *Also bükəl*.

AKL *Also bagaʔ*.

MUR *lanit (-um-)* (vb intrans) ‘swell’.

ACE	‘swollen’.
BAT	‘swollen’.
MIN	Also <i>baŋka?</i>
GOR	Also <i>tīpo</i> (caused by a cold or an infection).
DAA	‘be swollen’.
KON	Also <i>soho</i> (of stomach, temporarily).
WOL	<i>wu<sup>n</sup>du</i> ‘bump, lump’; also <i>ta<sup>n</sup>kuo</i> .
RTI	‘to swell’.
DOB	(vb).
MAM	Also <i>nugu</i> .
MAB	‘to swell’.
YAB	‘be swollen’.
TOL	Also ‘be swollen’.
BUA	<i>pəsopək</i> ‘glandular swelling’; <i>ksərubək</i> ‘swelling with pus in’; <i>səbīŋ</i> ‘swelling as from an insect bite’.
ADZ	‘skin-3sg POSS REAL-swell’.
MEK	<i>e-fuaŋe</i> (or <i>e-fuale</i> ) is used of e.g. elephantiasis, dropsy. <i>ufu</i> goes to <i>ipu</i> in NW Mekeo.
ROV	<i>mogo</i> ‘boil’, <i>mego sodo</i> ‘abscess’.
MAR	<i>katu</i> ‘lymph gland’.
PAA	‘to swell’.
LEW	Verbal; not considered as from Bislama <i>solap</i> (English ‘swell up’).
POR	Verbal.
KIR	Also <i>te kaboa</i> ‘swelling, abscess, boil’.
MSH	<i>ləppeɾ</i> also ‘mumps’; <i>pɛɾ</i> also ‘sprouting coconut’.
PON	Polynesian.
SAM	<i>patu</i> ‘swelling, lump’, <i>pona</i> ‘knot, swelling’.
MEL	Also <i>sula</i> .

#### 04.854 ITCH

ATA	ma-kakat	YAM	makatə	AKL	katuɻ
TSO	sorʔosʔo	*ISN	katal	PAL	katɔl
RUK	mā-ləʔəʔəʔə	KAL	gatol	*MOL	katol
PAI	gaʔəɭ	*TAG	kati	KAG	ka'təl

BLA	katal	BUR	ete	RAG	
SAB	katol	*DOB	yefal-ni	*PAA	gatiat
*MUR	mātol	IRA	ne ɸaruɸərə	*LEW	vilulu
*MGY	mangidihidi	SAW	m-motel	*POR	ni- <sup>m</sup> b čü
ACE	gatay	NYI	biri <sup>?</sup> in	NTA	-arparəp
*BAT	ristop	MAM	<sup>?</sup> apoara	KWA	kəɸiaɸia
MIN	gata	*TAK	-mat-tikali	NEM	ɾava
IND	gatal	DAM	guge	CEM	mâga
SUN	atil	MAB	-tuntun	AJI	vi yɔ kuxe
JAV	gatəl	*YAB	kase	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ã-m <sup>w</sup> eē
MAD	gatəl	KAU	kalekan	NEN	kerič
BAL	gənit	*TOL	vər-pidik	KIR	ŋoŋo
SAS	koreŋ	*BUA	nəβu nəβu	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> Λŋ <sup>w</sup> Λcŋ <sup>w</sup> Λc
GOR	tohidu	ADZ	<del>ɸaɸagaɸ</del>	PON	p <sup>w</sup> utoŋ
*DAA	na-ka-kata	KIL	didek <sup>w</sup> ani	WLE	faffaŋŋi
UMA	mo-kata	TAW	hinidanidani	EFI	milamila
BUG	ma-kati <sup>?</sup>	*MOT	maimai	WFI	milamila
KON	ola <sup>?</sup>	*MEK	faa(ŋa)e-aŋ-	RTU	mamala
*WOL	ma-ka-kata		aŋa	TON	veli
*MAG	katel	*ROV	yabihi	SAM	maŋeso
NGA	kate	MAR	mamala	*MEL	[malakālaka]
*SIK	gatar	LAU	mamale	TAH	ma <sup>?</sup> ero
*RTI	na-ka-maka-k	KWO	lai	*RAP	maŋeo-ŋeo

ISN *kudkud* 'scratch (an itch)'.

TAG Also *paŋaŋati*. Proto-Philippines *\*katel*.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*katel*.

MOL *katol + mo-*.

MUR Adj. 'itchy'.

MGY From *maN-hidi-hidi*.

BAT Also *marittop*.

DAA 'be itchy'.

WOL *ma-ka-kata* (vb.); also *kasi<sup>m</sup>batoa*.

MAG Also *raŋ*.

SIK Also *bləri, bləri-ŋ*.

RTI *maka-k* 'itchy skin condition'.

DOB Adjective, 'itchy'.

TAK 'die tickle'.



YAB	Noun. Also <i>ŋa-kala?</i> ‘itchy’.
TOL	<i>pidik</i> (vb trans) ‘sting’; <i>var-pidik</i> (vb intrans); <i>var-pidik</i> (NOM) ‘stinging’.
BUA	Also <i>loβ</i> , <i>bədub sis</i> .
MOT	Also <i>kuhi-kuhi</i> ‘scabies, itch’.
MEK	<i>e-aŋa</i> is ‘burn, irritate’.
ROV	Also <i>ŋaloso</i> ‘to scratch’.
PAA	Reduplicated form of ‘bite’. Also used to refer to food: ‘piquant, hot’.
LEW	Verbal.
POR	Also <i>na-kul</i> .
MSH	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>Λŋ<sup>w</sup>cŋ<sup>w</sup>Λc</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	<i>maŋeo-ŋeo</i> (n) ‘itch’; <i>?au-?au</i> (vb) ‘to itch’.

#### 04.855 BLISTER

ATA	tu-βaβut	SUN	lečet	SAW	pəpsekəl
TSO	fɪçɪʔa	*JAV	mləntuŋ	NYI	atabuk
RUK	ŋi-a-θaboɕo		(pləntuŋ)	MAM	nugu
PAI		*MAD	məsməs	TAK	tuburod
YAM	abto	BAL	kəmbuŋ	DAM	kokou fātu
ISN	ladduy	SAS	ŋələpuh	*MAB	-sopobo
*KAL	butu	GOR	bulohu	*YAB	gele?-gele?
TAG	paltos	DAA	voru	*KAU	mlel ko-klok
*AKL	butwan	*UMA	botu?		sal
PAL		BUG	man-nana	*TOL	paurə
MOL	lopak	*KON	a?-‘čannoro	BUA	sərubəḵ
KAG	lappuk	WOL	lu <sup>m</sup> bu-lu <sup>m</sup> bu	ADZ	
BLA	fantu	MAG	bo <sup>m</sup> bot	*KIL	-lakapokapo
*SAB	mustik	NGA	boo	TAW	likakaposiposi
*MUR	laŋkub	*SIK	kluβuk	MOT	houhou
MGY	empaka	*RTI	boa	MEK	
ACE	bicoh	BUR	eg-fola-k	ROV	pohaka
*BAT	lečet	*DOB	nam k <sup>w</sup> udu	MAR	papraʔe
*MIN	baŋkaʔ bar-ai <sup>a</sup>		tuman	LAU	marag <sup>w</sup> e
IND	ləpuh	*IRA	kapapotə	KWO	lag <sup>w</sup> i

RAG	oda-	AJI	ci	WFI	bodak <sup>wa</sup>
*PAA	dāvuōv	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ešu	RTU	po <sup>o</sup>
*LEW	lukopi	NEN	wačer	TON	fā
POR	e-xa <sup>m</sup> bxa <sup>m</sup> bo	*KIR	tanin	SAM	pā
NTA	-ahlueiaβəŋ	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ɔk	MEL	wiliwilta
KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anak <sup>w</sup> ier	*PON	mp <sup>w</sup> eɬ	TAH	?ōpūpū
NEM	t <sup>h</sup> iyulōk	WLE		RAP	putī
CEM	òbo	EFI	bōdaka		

KAL *butū* caused by friction; *gumdūŋ* caused by burning.

AKL From (*butu-an*).

SAB *mustik + a-*.

MUR Also *lumpanit*.

BAT Also *pura-pura*.

MIN 'containing water'.

JAV Home: *pləntuŋ* 'a large swelling'.

MAD Safioedin (1977): 'grazed, bruised'.

UMA *botu?* 'blister caused by rubbing'; *mo-liboru?* 'blister from burn or skin irritant'.

KON Also *a?-bajaočačča?*

SIK Also *klohur, bobok*.

RTI Also *mana-boa-k*.

DOB 'bruise'.

IRA Also *nakaruerə*.

MAB *-sopōbo* 'blistered after burn etc.'; *-supup* 'blistered after doing some work'.

YAB Also *oli ke-pəp* 'body it-blister'.

KAU *klok* '(skin) peel'; *sal* 'wound'.

TOL Also *lotəŋ, todol*.

KIL Also *bub<sup>w</sup>aluwa*.

PAA 'blistered'.

LEW Verbal.

KIR *b<sup>w</sup>ata* also 'faded, withered'.

MSH Also 'chicken pox'; *il* 'small blister from over exposure to sun'.

PON Also *mp<sup>w</sup>el* 'blister from sunburn'.

## 04.856 BOIL (n)

*ATA	βuan	*UMA	βaaʔ	MAR	ɲuge
*TSO	xʔoxʔo	BUG	rede	LAU	ūbu
*RUK	pō	*KON	puru	KWO	feʔe bono
PAI	piʔay	*WOL	ka-βisu	*RAG	manuya-vora
YAM	amnoʔo	MAG	vičul	PAA	utua
ISN	lattag	NGA	fisu	LEW	kurka
KAL	busāli	*SIK	klihur	*POR	manu <sup>ɟ</sup> g
*TAG	pigsa	*RTI	bisu		tamta <sup>m</sup> bač
AKL	uyapus	BUR	posi-t	NTA	uiŋo
*PAL	mɔŋpɔlabun	DOB	bara	KWA	kuwiwo
MOL	rimor	IRA	kamɔrə	NEM	walom
KAG	blutut	SAW	fefɔs	CEM	wōtemet
BLA	fisɔ	NYI	lok	AJI	jēwie
SAB	kaibubut	MAM	buʔu	XAR	ɟɔxutu
*MUR	buyubuʔ	TAK	baras	NEN	waʔuede
*MGY	vai	DAM	manin	KIR	te kaboa
ACE	bisoy	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bete <sup>ɟ</sup> gal	MSH	wat
BAT	barɔ	*YAB	kamɔʔ-matu	PON	mp <sup>w</sup> os
MIN	bisu <sup>ə</sup>	KAU	buk	WLE	řoso
IND	bisul	TOL	buk	EFI	bō
ŠUN	bisul	*BUA	gap	WFI	-homuhomu
JAV	wudun	*ADZ	rini uʔ	RTU	ponaʔi
MAD	bud <sup>h</sup> un	KIL	pukuna	TON	haŋatāmaki
BAL	busul	TAW	apapula	*SAM	maʔi-sua
ŠAŠ	buɔun	*MOI	iohururu	MEL	manuka
GOR	bohe	*MEK	foniʔe	TAH	fēfē
DAA	bisu	ROV	mogo	RAP	harakea

ATA Also *βuan*.

TSO *xʔoxʔo* with no pus, *pininsi* with pus.

RUK *moi* 'type of boil'.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*peRsah*.

PAL Also *mɔŋinit*.

MUR Also *talipos*.

MGY See 04.853.

UMA Also *biu*.

KON Also *puru-puru; lattag* 'carbuncle'.

WOL	<i>sorora</i> ‘boil not yet burst’.
SIK	Also <i>pəpe</i> , <i>bəβo</i> .
RTI	Also <i>bisu</i> <sup>ʔ</sup> <i>guma-k</i> .
YAB	‘wound-lump’.
BUA	<i>gap</i> ‘lage boil, tropical ulcer’; <i>gabuləŋ</i> ‘boil, lump, carbuncle’.
ADZ	<i>rini uʔ</i> ‘skin boil’ (Amari only); <i>oʔ</i> (other dialects).
MOT	?From <i>io</i> ‘spear’, <i>hururu</i> ‘flame; to blaze (of fire or torch)’.
MEK	(? <i>fonie</i> )
RAG	<i>lali</i> ‘boil in armpit’.
POR	‘sore strong’.
SAM	<i>maʔi</i> (vb intrans) <i>sua</i> (vb intrans) ‘contain water, liquid’, <i>iʔatolo</i> ‘boil on the head’ <i>sīlaʔilaŋi</i> ‘carbuncle or boil above the waist’, <i>sīlaʔilalo</i> ‘carbuncle or boil below the waist’.

## 04.857 PUS

ATA	ŋahuḵ	JAV	nanah	DAM	guruma
TSO	fɿʔi	MAD	nana		lalau
RUK	nana	BAL	nanah	*MAB	<sup>m</sup> bete <sup>ʔ</sup> gal
PAI	umuḵ	SAS	nanaʔ		surūnu
YAM	nana	GOR	lala	*YAB	(kamɔʔ) ŋa- tek <sup>w</sup> i
ISN	bassi	DAA	nana		
KAL	lona	UMA	nanaʔ	*KAU	susu-an
TAG	nānaʔ	BUG	nana	TOL	akə
*AKL	nānaʔ	KON	nana	*BUA	nənək
PAL	nanaʔ	WOL	nana	ADZ	naʔʔ
MOL	nanaʔ	MAG	nunu	*KIL	-pola
KAG	nanaʔ	NGA	nana	TAW	mapu
BLA	nɔŋɔʔ	SIK	nana	MOT	hura
*SAB	sagu	*RTI	nana-k	MEK	puŋa
MUR	nanaʔ	*BUR	nana-n	*ROV	muzi
MGY	nana	DOB	mabur	MAR	glot <sup>h</sup> o
*ACE	danoh	IRA	babərə	LAU	nana
BAT	nana	SAW	nɔŋ	KWO	nana
MIN	nanah	NYI	nanan	RAG	nanae
IND	nanah	MAM	nanaʔa	PAA	sūvo
SUN	nanah	TAK	nan	LEW	ni-na

POR	na-ru <sup>mb</sup>	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ia	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a
NTA	nafa	NEN		RTU	husa
KWA	nək <sup>w</sup> esa	KIR	te buri	TON	pela
*NEM	wē-n walom	MSH	meraekkek	SAM	ʔalou
CEM	mì	PON	nān	MEL	pū
AJI	jāřǎ	WLE	řǫřa	TAH	pirau
	wēkaāřǎ	EFI	nana	*RAP	piro

AKL Proto-Philippines \**nānaŋ*.

ŠAB Also *nana*.

ACE Also *nanoh*.

RTI Also *bisu mana-k*.

BUR Also *gone* ‘pus under unbroken skin; ripe’.

MAB ‘fluid in a boil’.

YAB ‘(sore) its-juice’.

KAU ‘milk-its’.

BUA *katak* ‘frothy discharge’; *kətod* ‘discharge from ears’.

KIL *-pola* ‘(wound) infects, develops pus’. Object focus form: *-poli* ‘squeeze pus from infection’. Also *-kulu-monogu* ‘(wound) infects’ (lit ‘becomes ripe’).

ROV Also ‘rotten’.

NEM ‘water of boil’.

RAP Also (rarer) *heo* ‘pus or material accumulation in unopened sore or boil’.

## 04.858 SCAR

*ATA	kapiŋ	MOL	balan	*SUN	tapak rahit
TSO	r <sup>ʔ</sup> epi	KAG	ulat	*JAV	tabət tatu
*RUK	[bakiŋi]	BLA	lɔ <sup>ʔ</sup> ɔs	MAD	lampan
PAI		SAB	limpa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*BAL	tampak bəruŋ
YAM	korad	*MUR	(pi)pilat	SAS	kəwət
ISN	pīlāt	MGY	hulaŋ <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*GOR	[bakasi] lo
KAL	pelat	ACE	lawuət		pali
*TAG	piklat	BAT	ipos-ipos	DAA	bala baka
*AKL	uŋat	MIN	čapu <sup>ʔ</sup>	UMA	rari <sup>ʔ</sup>
PAL	balan	*IND	parut	BUG	čebba <sup>ʔ</sup>

*KON	bate loko?	TOL	madə	CEM	
*WOL	pi <sup>n</sup> da	*BUA	niben	AJI	būrū ka pēi
*MAG	paket	*ADZ	pitan	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-jū-m <sup>w</sup> ērē
*NGA	feke	KIL	nebaneba	NEN	xaʔač
SIK	βoŋ	TAW	wakewake	*KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> aneka
*RTI	pi-k	MOT	kipara	MSH	kinɛc
BUR	kawa hogo-n	*MEK	imala	*PON	mōn ōla
DOB	butim	ROV	kira	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ati
IRA	ʃamətə didərə	MAR	glafi	EFI	wē-
SAW	boke	LAU	kida	WFI	-mawē
NYI	m <sup>w</sup> eleke	KWO	fila	*RTU	pətu
	n <sup>d</sup> ana	RAG	rab <sup>w</sup> a-	*TON	patepate
*MAM	boatora	PAA	vonemanu	*SAM	māʔila
TAK	teb	LEW	piakapila	MEL	m <sup>w</sup> aso
DAM	bubuna	POR	mel xa <sup>m</sup> be	TAH	paira
*MAB	ka <sup>m</sup> belŋana	NTA	-arpap	RAP	
YAB	(ŋa-)goʔ	*KWA	nəkukua		
*KAU	eβin nam	*NEM	kave-aman		

ATA Also *βakəš* 'scar'.

RUK [*bakiŋi*] 'scar', from Paiwan; see Tanan *bariŋi*, Maga *breŋe*, Tona *tayʔasanə* 'scar'.

TAG Also *pīkat*, *pīlat*.

AKL Also *piklat*.

MUR Also *(ba)bayaʔ*.

IND Also *bəkas luka* 'trace of wound'.

SUN Also [*čeda*] from Sanskrit.

JAV *tabət* 'remains, trace'; *tatu* 'wound'; also *biŋət*.

BAL 'trace of infected wound'.

GOR [*bakasi*] from Malay *bəkas* 'trace, mark'; also *la<sup>n</sup>da* 'white scar as from burn or scalding'; *ʔi<sup>n</sup>dumo* 'scar around the mouth'.

KON Also *bate bokkaʔ*.

WOL *pi<sup>n</sup>da* 'scar on the head'; *po<sup>n</sup>te* 'scar on the body'; also *ta<sup>n</sup>da*.

MAG Also *pakel*.

NGA Also *fala-təka*.

RTI Also *bisu mana-k*.

MAM Also *poaʔe-ʔaua*.

MAB	‘old scar’.
KAU	<i>eβin</i> ‘mark’.
BUA	Also <i>nyε</i> .
ADZ	<i>pitan</i> ‘hard scar’; <i>uram</i> ‘soft scar’.
MEK	[ <i>imala</i> ] ‘dead tissue, cast-off skin of snake; immortality’ from <i>Fuyughe?</i> ; <i>e-kama-apua</i> ‘to form scar when healing’.
KWA	<i>təm<sup>w</sup>heki-</i> also means ‘mark, trace’.
NEM	‘trace of thing’.
XAR	‘trace-heal-close’.
KIR	Also ‘mark, trace’.
PON	<i>mōn ōla</i> lit ‘healing of a wound’; <i>mowe</i> 3sg POSS; also ‘trace, ruins’; <i>lekelek</i> from a self-inflicted wound made to show bravery.
RTU	Also <i>fufi</i> .
TON	Also <i>piki</i>
SAM	<i>tipi</i> ‘cut, scar’ compare <i>tipi</i> (vb trans) ‘cut’.

#### 04.860 CURE, HEAL

ATA		*IND	səmbuh	IRA	nəbəsə
TSO	parōtotxomi	SUN	ñagirkin	*SAW	n-fa-fie
RUK	yasolaw		(čagir)	*NYI	m <sup>w</sup> esekei
PAI	pu-čəməł	*JAV	marəʔke		am <sup>w</sup> eʔes
YAM	mavaw	*MAD	ma-baras	MAM	aʔauia
ISN	mapiyānan	*BAL	ŋ-ubad-in	TAK	-wiu
*KAL	āgas	*SAS	səlah	*DAM	el
*TAG	pa-galiŋ	GOR	mo-ʔo-luli	*MAB	-mo
*AKL	buʔuŋ	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-belo	*YAB	ŋayam (k)e-sa
*PAL	ilut	UMA	poka-ʔuriʔ	KAU	βum
*MOL	uru	BUG	ma-čəŋkeʔ	*TOL	və-ləgər
*KAG	ayad	*KON	aŋŋ-ile-i	*BUA	γoβ
BLA	f-g-ułeʔ	WOL	la <sup>n̄</sup> čaua	*ADZ	i-naŋ bini
*SAB	uliʔ	MAG	pa <sup>n</sup> de diʔa	*KIL	-ka-moβi
*MUR	bonsoy	*NGA	tabe	TAW	luyawata
MGY	mana-sitʔana	*SIK	bo	*MOT	ha-namo-a
*ACE	pu-puleh	*RTI	hai	*MEK	e-pa-kai-a
*BAT	pa-m-alum	*BUR	ba ruba geba	*ROV	ibu
MIN	ma-ubeʔ	DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> aʔar	*MAR	mafo

*LAU	mafo	CEM		WFI	βa-đola-nia
KWO	gula-a	*AJI	məʀu	RTU	aʔleleia
RAG		XAR	ʒũ	TON	faka-moʔui
PAA		*NEN	aroini	*SAM	faʔa-mālōlō
*LEW	tam <sup>w</sup> ali	*KIR	kamaiua	MEL	
POR	maur	*MSH	kəmɔʔ	*TAH	ora
NTA		*PON	mo	*RAP	haka ora
*KWA	-o wiwi	*WLE	ga-mō-a		
NEM	parek	EFI	βaka-bula-a		

KAL āgas + man-/an.

TAG pa-galiŋ + mag-/in; also lūnas + -um-/an.

AKL From (buʔŋ-un).

PAL 'treat by massage'.

MOL uru + on.

KAG ayad + magpa/pa- -ən.

SAB uliʔ + maka /ka-an; usually ka-uliʔ-an if healed, tambal + -in-an if still being treated.

MUR bonsoy (maŋ-; -on) (vb trans); also punaʔ (maŋ-; -on) (vb trans) 'restore to former condition'; tagunaʔ (maŋ-) (vb intrans); 'heal, recover, become better'.

ACE Also puʔubat 'to treat'.

BAT From alum with a causative marker pa- and an apparently fossilised intransitive verb marker m-.

IND səmbuh 'heal'; mə-ñəmbuh-kan 'cure.' Also obat-i.

JAV From (mari-(?)ke); mari 'recover'.

MAD From -pa-baras.

BAL From ubad 'medicine' 04.880.

SAS Also bər-oat 'take medicine'.

KON Also aʔ-paka-gassiŋ.

NGA Also tau-ziaʔa; ziʔa 'healthy'.

SIK Also ʔepa-ŋ baʔa.

RTI hai 'heal', but also 'to stop, to come to an end'.

BUR 'DUR treat person'.

SAW 'make good/well'.

NYI 'make straight'.



- DAM Also *memi ʔi-ya* which is not now in common use.
- MAB *-urpe* (vb trans); *-urpe ma ni- a<sup>m</sup>bai mini* ‘be healed’; *-mo* ‘dry of sores’.
- YAB ‘good it-become’.
- TOL *və* CAUS, *ləgər* see 04.830.
- BUA *γoβ* ‘it heals’; *rob* ‘someone heals it’.
- ADZ *i-naŋ* + dir. obj. + *bini* ‘REAL-make someone good’.
- KIL Also *-katu-moβi* see 04.760.
- MOT *ha-namo-a* lit ‘to cause to be good’ also means ‘to thank, praise, applaud’.
- MEK See 04.830. One can also say *e-pa-felo-a* – see 16.710.
- ROV *ibu* ‘heal (vb)’; *ta salaŋa* ‘to go to the healer’.
- MAR *mafo* (vb intrans); *fakeli* (vb trans).
- LAU Also *fāmouri*.
- LEW Also *kila-ruru* ‘make good’.
- KWA *-o wiwi* ‘make pleased/content’; *-o amasan* ‘make good’; *-ama* ‘dry’, as a wound; *-apiuan* ‘healed’ (adj).
- AJI Also *pε mɔʔu*.
- NEN Also *ameuni*.
- KIR *kamaiua* CAUS of *maiu* ‘alive’, *kamaoa* CAUS *mao* ‘healed’.
- MSH *kəmɔʔ* CAUS of *mɔur* ‘alive, cured’; *wino* also *uno* ‘medicine, treat with medicine’; *mo* (vb intrans).
- ʔON (vb intrans).
- WLE CAUS of *mō* ‘healed, cured’.
- SAM *faʔa-* CAUS, *mālōlō* (vb intrans) ‘rest, recover’; *toŋafiti* (vb trans) ‘give medical treatment’, ‘medical treatment, cure’; *fofō* (vb intrans) ‘apply massage (traditional Samoan medical treatment), remedy, cure’.
- TAH *ora* (vb intrans); *faʔaora* (vb trans)
- RAP Also *raʔau*.

## 04.870 PHYSICIAN

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>ṭabīb</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>doctor</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>doctor</i>
<b>Dutch:</b> <i>dokter</i>	<b>French:</b> <i>docteur</i>	

*ATA	[šinšan]	UMA	ROV	tie sasalaŋa
TSO	depemo- sʔosʔo	BUG	MAR	
RUK		KON	*LAU	wane fāmouri
PAI		*WOL	KWO	
		*MAG	RAG	
YAM	maŋavavaw	*NGA	*PAA	lovaivai
ISN	[duktor]	*SIK	*LEW	yaruna- tam <sup>w</sup> ali-ena
*KAL	man-aʔāgas	RTI		
*TAG	maŋ-ga-gāmot	*BUR	*POR	[dokta]
*AKL	mamumūɬuŋ		*NTA	[klefa]
PAL	məŋuŋubat	*DOB	*KWA	urumun
*MOL	bolian		*NEM	ka-po-yarik
KAG	[duktur]	IRA	CEM	[dōtən]
*BLA	to m-uluŋ	SAW	AJI	[daxata]
*SAB	paN-ta-tambal	NYI	*XAR	[dakata]
MUR	[duktud]	MAM	NEN	[dokita]
MGY	[dukutera]	TAK	KIR	te [taokita]
*ACE	[tabip]	*DAM	MSH	[taktʌ]
*BAT	[dɔktər]	*MAB	*PON	[t̚ɔkte]
*MIN	dukun	YAB	WLE	[t̚ɔxot̚ɔ]
*IND	[dɔktər]	KAU	EFI	βū-ni-wai
*SUN	dukun	*TOL	*WFI	tolatola
JAV	ɬukun	*BUA	RTU	[tɔku]
MAD	ɬukun	ADZ	*TON	faitoʔo
BAL	balian	*KIL	*SAM	fō-maʔi
SAS	[dɔktər]	*TAW	*MEL	[munuai]
GOR	[dokuteri]	*MOT	TAH	[taote]
*DAA	[dokutoro]	*MEK	*RAP	[taote]

ATA From Hakka.

KAL (*man-R<sup>1</sup>-agas*).

TAG Also [*médiko*], from Spanish *médico*.

AKL Root: *buɬuŋ*; also [*doktor*], Spanish *doctor*.

MOL ‘spirit medium’.

BLA	Root: <i>buluŋ</i> .
SAB	<i>paN-ta-tambal</i> .
ACE	Also [ <i>doʔtɔ</i> ].
BAT	<i>datu</i> ‘medicine man’.
MIN	Also [ <i>dotor</i> ].
IND	Also <i>dukun</i> ‘healer’.
SUN	‘traditional healer’; also [ <i>doktor/doktər</i> ], [ <i>tabib</i> ].
DAA	<i>sa<sup>n</sup>do</i> ‘healers’.
WOL	Also [ <i>tabibu</i> ].
MAG	Also <i>ata mbeko</i> ‘medicine man/woman’.
NGA	Also <i>tora</i> .
SIK	Also [ <i>məntri</i> ] ‘health worker’ from Sanskrit.
BUR	‘person HAB treat person’.
DOB	‘one who knows the ground’, i.e. who is clever.
DAM	‘sorcerer’; also [ <i>dokta</i> ] is in much more common use.
MAB	<i>wal zenzen ŋan</i> ‘bush doctor, someone able to heal with sorcery’.
TOL	<i>tenə</i> ‘expert’, <i>və-ləgər</i> see 04.860, lit ‘expert in healing’
BUA	Also <i>alam rob</i> .
KIL	Also <i>to-yuβisa</i> .
TAW	‘one who collects medicine’.
MOT	<i>he-ita tau-na</i> and <i>babalau tau-na</i> ‘traditional healers’; [ <i>doketa</i> ].
MEK	Also [ <i>metikolo</i> ].
LAU	Also [ <i>doketa</i> ].
PAA	‘traditional healer’.
LEW	‘man for healing’, neologism; also <i>yaru na-kila-ruru-ena na-inana-ena</i> ‘man for making well sickness, and [ <i>tokta</i> ] (from Bislama).
POR	Also <i>kar vi sūr</i> .
NTA	From Bislama; also [ <i>tokta</i> ].
KWA	‘spirit medium’.
NEM	‘one who-make-medicine’.
XAR	Also <i>mēši</i> or <i>jāo</i> ‘healer’.
PON	<i>sounwini</i> ‘practitioner of Ponapean medicine’.
WFI	[ <i>βuniwai</i> ] of western medicine, Standard Fijian.
TON	Also <i>tokotahafaitoʔo</i> .

SAM *fō-* 'give medical treatment' (see 04.860), *maʔi* (vb intrans) 'be sick, patient'.

MEL From Efate, also [*tōkita*] from English.

RAP From Tahitian [*taote*].

## 04.880 MEDICINE, DRUG

**Tok Pisin:** *marasin*, from English *medicine*.

*ATA	[ʔiuʔ]	BUG	pabbura	LAU	ʔaini fāmouria
TSO	sʔosʔo	KON	ile	*KWO	gulaŋa
RUK	sa-soʔav-an	WOL	la <sup>n̄</sup> čau	*RAG	rau rau
PAI	çəməʔ	*MAG	rəvos	*PAA	lauai
YAM	koşori	NGA	vunu-kaʃu	*LEW	sup <sup>w</sup> uki
ISN	āgas	SIK	ʔai plea	*POR	nu-kai
KAL	āgas	*RTI	modo		münümün
*TAG	gamot	*BUR	mahu-n	*NTA	nəŋounat
AKL	buʔuŋ	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aʔar	*KWA	nəmak <sup>w</sup> inari
PAL	ubat	IRA	moʔəni	NEM	yarik
MOL	uru	SAW	urəm	*CEM	ɛti-wée
KAG	buluŋ	NYI	[marasin]	AJI	vi yakōi
BLA	buluŋ	MAM	ʔarai	XAR	çak <sup>w</sup> ī
SAB	tambal	*TAK		NEN	
*MUR	[ubat]	DAM	[marasin]	KIR	
*MGY	fana-fudi	MAB	[marasin]	MSH	wino
ACE	ubat	*YAB	bu gemaʔ-ŋa	PON	wini
*BAT	[ubat]	KAU	[marasin]	WLE	tafeya
MIN	ubeʔ	*TOL	tavə-nə-və	*EFI	wai
IND	obat		ləgər	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> anu
SUN	ubar	BUA	[marasin]	RTU	vəi
*JAV	təmbə	ADZ		TON	faitoʔo
MAD	tamba	*KIL	tuβa	*SAM	vai
BAL	ubad	TAW	mula-mula	MEL	[marseni]
*SAS	oat	*MOT	mura-mura	*TAH	rāʔau
GOR	wunemo	MEK	mula-mula	RAP	raʔau
DAA	pakuli	ROV	[meresena]		
UMA	pokuliʔ	*MAR	pop <sup>h</sup> oʃi		

- ATA From Taiwanese, a Southern Min dialect of Chinese.
- TAG *gamot* (+ *paŋ-*).
- MUR From Malay *obat*, also *tatapis* ‘traditional herbal medicine’.
- MGY *fudi* from PMP \**puliq* ‘back, restored, cured’.
- BAT From Malay, also *daon* PAN \**daSun* ‘leaf’.
- JAV Also [*usɔdɔ*] from Sanskrit.
- SAS Also *oat-oat-an*.
- MAG Also *musa*.
- RTI Also *modo ai-do-k*; *ai-dok*, lit ‘plant-leaf’, *modo*, also ‘green’, both refer to plant material. As a pair or individually, they designate medicines of all sorts, including poisons, which may be specified by the modifying term, *ma-mate-s* ‘deadly’.
- BUR The Malay [*obat*] is in more common use along the coast; also *ma duwa-k* ‘spoonfeed a sick person, persuade’. Rana *em-kata-n* ‘medicine’.
- TAK Plants and fungi used for healing have no generic name.
- YAB ‘water disease-for’; also [*mɛdɛsiŋ*].
- TOL *tavə* ‘water’, *nə* CONN, *və-ləgər* see 04.860, lit ‘healing water’.
- KIL Also *kaituβa*.
- MOT Also ‘alcoholic drink’.
- MAR ‘medicinal potion’.
- KWO ‘curing’.
- RAG ‘herbal medicine’, also *ŋoli le* ‘herb medicine’.
- PAA ‘leaf’; traditional medicines were all botanically derived.
- LEW Also *ma-ki* ‘leaf’, and [*marasin*].
- POR ‘leaf drink drink’
- NTA Also *nəŋap<sup>w</sup>at*, [*marɬən*].
- KWA Also *nui* ‘water’.
- CEM ‘good medicine’.
- EFI Also *wai-ni-mate*.
- SAM *vai* ‘water, medicine’ see 01.310, *vai lā<sup>?</sup>au* ‘medicine, drug’, *lā<sup>?</sup>au* ‘plant, tree’.
- TAH Also *rā<sup>?</sup>au rapa<sup>?</sup>au ama<sup>?</sup>i*.

## 04.890 POISON

Sanskrit: *viṣa-*

ATA	pa-p-kahiṅ	*UMA	taha	ROV	[poezini]
TSO	maxiz <sup>o</sup>	BUG	račuṅ	MAR	guyunu
RUK		KON	račuṅ	LAU	bulo
PAI		*WOL	[bisa]	KWO	
YAM	makararakat a	MAG	[rasuṅ]	RAG	
	koşori	NGA	rasu	*PAA	aimas
ISN	sabīduṅ	SIK	raso-ṅ	*LEW	sup <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> o
KAL	gamut	*RTI	ai do ma-	POR	<sup>m</sup> baxö
TAG	lāson		mate-s	NTA	nətakona
AKL	hilu <sup>?</sup>	*BUR	rasi-n	*KWA	nukune
PAL	rastun	*DOB	[bisa]	NEM	yen
*MOL	rastun	*IRA	samutə	*CEM	éti-tà
*KAG	lasun	*SAW	[waraṅa]	ΔJI	ařu
*BLA	kilu	NYI	bokei	*XAR	ṅeṅu
SAB	lassun	MAM	zere	NEN	kero
*MUR	tuo	*TAK	mel sae-n	KIR	te ṅaṅa
*MGY	[puizina]	DAM	mū sane	MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> aicin]
*ACE	tuba	MAB		*PON	[poisin]
BAT	rasun	*YAB	ṅamali <sup>?</sup>	WLE	supa
*MIN	tubo	KAU		EFI	wai-ṅaṅa
*IND	račuṅ	*TOL	təriṅ	WFI	wai ṅaṅa
*SUN	račuṅ	BUA		RTU	[poisini]
*JAV	upas	*ADZ	nam mais-an	TON	kona
MAD	račuṅ	*KIL	soka	*SAM	vai <sup>o</sup> ona
*BAL	čətik	TAW	kakai	MEL	
*SAS	[račuṅ]	MOT	mase	TAH	rā <sup>?</sup> au ta <sup>?</sup> ero
*GOR	pēdi		muramura-na	RAP	
*DAA		*MEK	i-pa-ani		

MOL Also *ilu + ko-i-*.KAG Also *ilu?*BLA *ɔbs* 'poison (of an insect or snake)'.MUR *tuo* (for stunning fish, made of pounded derris-root); *palig* (for tips of blowpipe-darts), *[bisa<sup>?</sup>]* (of snake, scorpion, etc.); *lontəṅ* (supernatural, administered in victim's drink).

- ACE Also [*racon*], [*bisa*] ‘venom’.
- MIN Also [*račun*].
- IND Also [*bisa*].
- SUN Also *baruang*.
- IAV Also [*wiso*], [*račun*].
- BAL Also *upas* ‘venom’.
- SAS Goris: from Malay; also [*bisə*].
- GOR Also [*rāčuni*], [*bisa*] ‘venom’.
- DAA No generic term.
- UMA *taha* ‘poison used on blowgun darts’; [*rasu*].
- WOL Also [*raču*].
- RTI Also *mo<sup>?</sup>doma-mate-s*; see 04.880.
- BUR Noun; also *rasi-k* ‘poison s.o. with poison’; *wa-bula-t* ‘poison s.o. (usually a whole village) by poisoning the water source with black magic’; *ep-tau-t* ‘steel that has been permanently poisoned with black magic by blowing and prayers’; *tufa* ‘use poison root for fish’.
- DOB ‘venom’; ‘poison’: *k<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>ar k<sup>w</sup>angay* ‘bad medicine’.
- IRA ‘fish poison’.
- SAW Also [*boliga*] both from Tobelo.
- TAK ‘thing bad-its’ (11.180, 16.720), i.e. ‘bad thing’.
- YAB *ɔlabɛŋ* ‘fish poison’.
- TOL Also *nəriŋ*.
- ADZ ‘thing bad-PART’.
- KIL *soka* is a deadly poison yielding swift results, made from the gall of the toad-fish; used in sorcery killings. Other poisons include: [*koitaki*] – loanword, being the name of rubber plantation near Port Moresby, Koitaki. Kiriwinans were valued as excellent rubber plantation workers; one of the ‘perks’ for the rubber worker was having access to a potent poison (the coagulant?), which was frequently ‘acquired’ and brought home; considered as effective as *soka* and used in the same way. *tufa* made from the roots of a plant, also used in sorcery, but only sometimes causing death. See 04.880.
- MEK *i-pa-ani* lit ‘that which is fed (to someone)’.
- PAA This is a spiritual rather than a physical concept.
- LEW Originally for ‘poison-tipped arrow’.
- KWA *nei akona* ‘tree poison’.

CEM 'bad medicine'.

XAR 'bewitch'.

PON *ūpaup* 'fish poison'.

SAM *vai* 'water', *?o?ona* 'bitter'; also *vai?ona*.

#### 04.910 TIRED, WEARY

ATA	ma-ʔuway	*UMA	mo-roko	MAR	babaʔo
TSO	ɲosro	BUG	posso	LAU	noni daola
RUK	ki-a-doʎo	*KON	maŋŋaŋ	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> eo
PAI	ma-zəʎi	*WOL	ma-ɗaa	*RAG	savi
YAM	marikna	MAG	mael	*PAA	avek māh
ISN	nonawān	NGA	ŋaje	LEW	yepemimi
*KAL	bannug	*SIK	bəler	*POR	na-lö-n e-tas
*TAG	pagod	RTI	sota	*NTA	apou
*AKL	gāʔuy	*BUR	em-loo	*KWA	-mha
PAL	lugpuʔ	*DOB	na-r-boy	NEM	k <sup>h</sup> oe, m <sup>w</sup> et
*MOL	paya	IRA	sari	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ále
*KAG	bəllay	SAW	n-emgæ	AJI	yɔra
BLA	m-luŋay	NYI	awoyah	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> eti
*SAB	bale	MAM	mamalo	*NEN	dədəŋ
*MUR	māguy	*TAK	to-n tia-i	KIR	kua
MGY	reraka	DAM	mulā	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> ak
ACE	heʔ	*MAB	kuli-imalai	*PON	lok
BAT	loʎa	*YAB	tek <sup>w</sup> a ge-baʔ	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> ayou
MIN	lati <sup>h</sup>	*KAU	mos	EFI	oða
*IND	ləlah	*TOL	tələŋuən	WFI	wale
SUN	čape	*BUA	ni təbə	*RTU	fəiəki
*JAV	sayah	ADZ	raraiʔ-	TON	hela
MAD	ləssu	KIL	-somata	*SAM	lēlavā
*BAL	kəñəl	TAW	luhilage	*MEL	[māwosa]
SAS	ləlah	*MOT	tau e boera	TAH	rohi-rohi
*GOR	mo-oŋolo	*MEK	afi-puŋu	*RAP	rohi-rohi
DAA	na-leŋe	ROV	mabo		

KAL *bannug + na-*.

TAG Also *pagal, hapoʔ*.

AKL *ʔūya-t ʔāwas* 'tired body'.



MOL	<i>paya + og-ko-</i> .
KAG	<i>bellay + ma--an</i> ; also <i>kapuy + ma--an</i> .
SAB	<i>bale + -in-</i>
MUR	<i>māguy</i> (from exertion); <i>malukow, mapuon</i> (from lack of sleep).
IND	Also <i>čapai, ləmah, ləsu</i> .
JAV	Also <i>kəsəl</i> .
BAL	Also <i>oon, won</i> .
GOR	( <i>woŋolo + mo-</i> ).
UMA	Also <i>lepe?</i>
KON	Also <i>poso</i> .
WOL	Also <i>ma<sup>n̄</sup>čule, maŋule</i> .
SIK	Also <i>bərat</i> .
BUR	Also <i>sei</i> ‘bored, weary’ (see note for 04.820).
DOB	(vb). There is also an adjective <i>k<sup>w</sup>awul-ni</i> .
TAK	‘arm-his not exist-PERF’ (04.310, 13.000), i.e. ‘he has no arm’ = ‘he is tired’.
MAB	Also <i>ni-isāna</i> .
YAB	‘bone it-perish’; <i>oli ŋakam</i> ‘body overburdened’, i.e. ‘he is tired of it’.
KAU	Also <i>mi-n moko-ŋin, mi-n hun-ŋin</i> ( <i>mi-n</i> ‘inside-his’; <i>hun-ŋin</i> ‘die-NOM’).
TOL	<i>tələŋuən-e</i> (vb trans).
BUA	<i>ni təbɔ, ni səyɔ</i> imply laziness, being bored; <i>səkε, pəyuyək</i> imply weakness, lack of energy.
MOT	<i>tau</i> ‘body’.
MEK	See 04.760, ‘kill’.
RAG	‘to fatigue’.
PAA	‘my body is lazy’.
POR	‘the-inside-his it-tired’.
NTA	See 04.820.
KWA	Also <i>-apou</i> also ‘weak, mute’; <i>-aparak</i> also ‘slack, loose’; <i>-atəŋtəŋ</i> also ‘overturned, spilled’.
CEM	<i>m<sup>w</sup>ālε</i> followed by a stative pronoun ‘be tired’; when preceded by an active pronoun ‘rest’.
NEN	Also <i>niɖa-niɖa</i> .
MSH	Also <i>oɾε</i> .
PON	Also <i>ŋir; p<sup>w</sup>aŋ</i> ‘tired, lazy, bored’.

- WLE Also [*šixašixa*] from Ulithian.  
 RTU Also *čava*.  
 SAM *lē* ‘not’, *lavā* (vb intrans) ‘be able’; *fia moe* (vb intrans) ‘be tired’, lit ‘want sleep’, see. 05.140.  
 MEL From Efate.  
 RAP *rohi-rohi* ‘tired, weary (from physical exertion)’; *ŋaʔe-ŋaʔe* ‘tired, weary (from old age, illness, heat, overweight, laziness)’.

## 04.912 REST

ATA	mu-hŋ-ik	UMA		MAR	ñafa
TSO	tosvo	BUG	map-pesau	LAU	mamalo
RUK	isaðanə	KON	amm-ari-m-ari	KWO	mamalo
PAI	s-əm-əkəz	*WOL	poni-o <sup>n</sup> to	RAG	mabu
YAM	miwalam	MAG	asi	*PAA	museh
ISN	imāŋ	NGA	məza	LEW	varuru
*KAL	iltoŋ	*SIK	nari	POR	ŋaraŋ
*TAG	pa-hiŋa	RTI	ha-hae ao-n	*NTA	-amenŋ
AKL	pahūway	*BUR	dea-k	KWA	-apus
PAL	pətarən	*DOB	na-r-ʔoran-ni	NEM	tae m <sup>w</sup> et
MOL	taʔloŋ	IRA	sagwey	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> āle
*KAG	puway	SAW	n-fa-təyne	AJI	tā mui
BLA	ftud	NYI	amuñau	XAR	māṛā
*SAB	hali-hali	MAM	manaua	NEN	nono
*MUR	taŋus	*TAK	yaes-bal	KIR	motirawa
MGY	mi-ala sasəʔa	DAM	si i-no-ya	MSH	kakkice
ACE	piyoh	*MAB	kete- su	*PON	komməl
BAT	mar-adi-an	*YAB	-ləwaŋ taunŋ	WLE	xasōsō
*MIN	[istirahat]	KAU	nhiŋ	EFI	βaka-ðeŋu
*IND	[istirahat]	TOL	ŋo	WFI	βa-ðenu
*SUN	ririŋ	BUA	səway	RTU	aʔuʔua
*JAV	ŋ-aso	*ADZ	m <sup>w</sup> pa-da asap	TON	mālōlō
MAD	ambu læssu	KIL	-baiwasi	*SAM	mālōlō
*BAL	mə-təgtəg-an	TAW	wiyagohina	*MEL	[marōmaro]
*SAS	mən-tələh	*MOT	layaani	*TAH	faʔafaʔaea
GOR	mo-huheli	MEK	e-laŋai	RAP	haka ora
DAA	na-ŋosaraka	ROV	mayoyoso		

KAL	<i>illoŋ + man-</i> .
TAG	Also <i>ginhāwa</i> .
KAG	<i>puway + mag-</i> .
SAB	<i>hali-hali + pa-</i> .
MUR	<i>taŋus (-um-); alsotogo<sup>?</sup> (-um-)</i> ‘stop doing s.th. for a while’.
MIN	From Arabic <i>istirāḥa</i> ; also <i>lapeh ara<sup>?</sup></i> .
IND	From Arabic; also <i>mə-lapas-kan lələh</i> .
SUN	Also <i>ŋ-aso</i> .
JAV	Also <i>leren</i> .
BAL	<i>təgtəg</i> ‘strong, firm’, so <i>mə-təgtəg-an</i> lit ‘recover one’s strength’; <i>mə- [reren]</i> from Old Javanese, lit ‘stop’.
SAS	(vb intrans) Goris: <i>bə-tələh</i> . In Thoir et al (1985) the prefix <i>mən-</i> occurs only on this item and in <i>mən-təlo<sup>?</sup></i> ‘lay an egg’.
WOL	Also <i>poni-poni-o<sup>n</sup>to</i> .
SIK	Also <i>nəra ŋ</i> .
BUR	‘stop, take a break’; <i>dif tika-t</i> ‘take time off (a whole day or more) from normal activities’, also <i>bage</i> ‘sleep, lie down’; <i>bag-lea-k</i> ‘take a siesta’; <i>leta kaku-n</i> ‘lean one’s back on s.th. (horizontal), rest’; <i>dari-k kaku-n</i> ‘lean one’s back on s.th. (vertical), rest’.
DOB	Reflexive verb.
TAK	See 04.510.
MAB	Also <i>-pun su</i> .
YAB	‘relax self’ i.e. ‘have a rest’.
ADZ	‘stay-PART rest’.
MOT	<i>laya</i> ‘breath’, <i>ani</i> ‘to eat’.
PAA	Also ‘to breathe’.
NTA	See 04.510.
CEM	See 04.910.
PON	Also <i>nanm<sup>w</sup>əlēti</i> see <i>m<sup>w</sup>əlēti</i> ‘sit’, <i>-ti</i> ‘down’.
SAM	Also <i>mapu, ta<sup>?</sup>oto<sup>?</sup>oto</i> (vb intrans) ‘rest, lie down’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>tāmarū i te tino</i> .

## 04.920 LAZY

*ATA	m-šapi-ik	BUG	ma-kuttu	ROV	hakhako
TSO	maʔmio	KON	kuttu	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> odo
RUK	ma-sasaray	*WOL	ma-lu <sup>n</sup> tu	*LAU	noni ʔela
PAI	ma-vuḷaḷakut	MAG	ŋo <sup>n</sup> de	KWO	lalak <sup>w</sup> a
YAM	malma	NGA	loḷo	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ati-goru
ISN	sadut	*SIK	βaə-ŋ bura	PAA	māh
*KAL	sadut	*RTI	pela	LEW	yowo
*TAG	tamad	BUR	em-dor-leto	POR	<sup>m</sup> bramač
AKL	tamad	*DOB	tumay-ni	NTA	alpah
PAL	məyahuʔ	IRA	magorə	KWA	-arpaha
MOL	pouk	SAW	n-busu	*NEM	ka-tēt
KAG	tamad	*NYI	g <sup>w</sup> aman	CEM	əmān
BLA	m-ataka	MAM	ʔusi-mate	AJI	gupō
*SAB	lisuʔ	TAK	yaelis	XAR	fiɔ
*MUR	matiad	DAM	ϕō	*NEN	ketupo
MGY	kamu	*MAB	-maol	KIR	taniḡaroti
ACE	buʔɔ	YAB	ɔyom	*MSH	cəniknik
BAT	lɔ'sək	KAU	makayo-ŋin-	*PON	pōnkāke
MIN	maleh		an	*WLE	fōlaxa
IND	malas	*TOL	təbaumə	EFI	βuḏesā
*SUN	[kədul]	*BUA	ni təbɔ	WFI	ḷuakara
JAV	kəset	*ADZ	ragi dʒi <sup>m</sup> p-an	RTU	piko
MAD	maləs	*KIL	-nunumata	TON	fakapikopiko
*BAL	maləs		wowo-	SAM	paiē
SAS	maləs	TAW	luhini-bega-	*MEL	[māmalo]
GOR	la <sup>n</sup> diŋ-alo		bega	TAH	hupehupe
*DAA	na-so <sup>n</sup> do rara	MOT	lahedo	RAP	hupe-hupe
UMA	lose	MEK	apolo		

ATA *ka-hikuʔ-an* 'lazy'.

KAL *sadut + na-*.

TAG Also *batūg-an*.

SAB *lisuʔ + -an*.

MUR Also *bobōn* 'disinclined to perform a task'.

SUN Also [*maləs*] from Jakarta Malay?

- BAL Also *mayus* 'lazy, reluctant, not in the mood' e.g. *mayus kayəh* 'not feel like bathing'; *ləjɪt* 'reluctant to work'; *ləkɪg* 'lazy', 'slow to bear fruit (of trees)'; *kiul* 'late riser', by extension 'lazy'.
- DAA Also *na-buto rara* and *na-maurara*, coarse terms.
- WOL Also *mana<sup>ŋ</sup>kali*.
- SIK Also *βae-ŋ daha*, *plaro-ŋ plot*.
- RTI Also *pela-tua*.
- DOB 'he does not want to'.
- NYI Also *balon*.
- MAB Also *-<sup>ŋ</sup>guol*, *belēgeŋa-*.
- TOL Also *molo*, *kərduk*.
- BUA Also *ni səyɔ̄*, *səyɛb*; *pəriŋ* also 'paralysed'.
- ADZ 'arse be lazy-PART'.
- KIL Also *-tuli taigila* 'ear is deaf'; (see 04.950) 'lazy, disobedient'.
- LAU 'body lazy'.
- NEM See also *ka-kan* 'one who refuses'.
- NEN Also *ŋomania*.
- MSH neg of *niknik* 'industrious'; *cowan* neg. of *owan* 'industrious'.
- PON Also *taŋāŋa*.
- WLE Also *xɔ̄xū*.
- MEL From Efate.

### 04.930 BALD

Spanish: *calvo*

ATA	ka-kuʔiŋ-an	*PAL	bulug	*MIN	botaʔ
*TSO	ukʔa-fʔisi	MOL	puow	*IND	botak
RUK	mā-poloko	*KAG	upaw	SUN	butak
PAI	t-əm-uru	BLA	lufɔw	*JAV	bɔʔaʔ
YAM	mavoəŋ	SAB	oŋas	*MAD	[bʰuʔak]
ISN	[kalbu]	*MUR	ampak	BAL	ləŋar
KAL	mūlaŋ	*MGY	[sula]	SAS	butak
*TAG	panot	*ACE	paluəŋ	GOR	dayato
AKL	[kalbo]	*BAT	gud'dul	*DAA	na-bova

UMA	bala βooʔ	*KAU	po-n elat	KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> a
BUG	čobboʔ	TOL	peakə	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> a
*KON	botaʔ	*BUA	pəpāb	CEM	kóte
*WOL	ma-rapa	ADZ	guɖzu kakarak	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> a
*MAG	<sup>m</sup> pelak	KIL	-bakana	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> arica
NGA	ulu-gila	TAW	deba	NEN	baɖi
*SIK	gora-ŋ	*MOT	kebere	KIR	mara
RTI	laŋa dila-k	*MEK	kania e-kapu	*MSH	piɭɭi
*BUR	ol kise-n	ROV	paka batu	*PON	nəŋamat
DOB	baʔar-ni	MAR	klaʃa	*WLE	ffaša
IRA	rəgunə nəsorə	LAU	kete falai	EFI	ðou
SAW	n-eploy	KWO	falai	WFI	ðobi
NYI	ap <sup>w</sup> a	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> at-m <sup>w</sup> ahu	RTU	ʔuat riam-rima
MAM	palala	*PAA	muto	TON	tula
*TAK	pepae-n	LEW	parumu	*SAM	loto-tele
DAM	goya	POR	na-par	*MEL	[polēte]
MAB	ute-sipirŋana	NTA	nəpunəŋən	TAH	pahure
*YAB	ŋa-kaŋ		tap <sup>w</sup> ia	RAP	mareŋo (paka)

TSO 'without hair'.

TAG Also [kalbo]; Spanish *calvo*.

PAL Also *lugas*.

KAG Also [kalbu].

MUR Also *naubulan*.

MGY From Malay *sulah*.

ACE Also *laih*.

BAT Also *botak*.

MIN Also *sulah*.

IND Also *gundul, susah*.

JAV Also *gunɖul*.

MAD From Javanese.

DAA Also *na-sula* (in front part of head only).

KON Also *sula* 'receding in front'; *peddaʔ* 'bald in center'.

WOL Also *ko<sup>n</sup>du-ko<sup>n</sup>duru* 'completely bald'.

MAG Also <sup>u</sup>gosak, <sup>u</sup>kolak.

SIK Also *ala-ŋsilar*.

BUR	'bald or shaved head'; <i>ol nata</i> 'bald on top'; <i>ol kira-k sila</i> 'high forehead'; <i>ol kis bapu</i> 'completely bald'.
TAK	'bald patch'.
YAB	Adjective: lit 'its-beetle'. Also <i>pɔm</i> , <i>moke-pɔm</i> 'baldness, head-baldness'.
KAU	'skin-his bald'.
BUA	Also <i>yu gələp</i> , <i>yu təbot</i> .
MOT	Also <i>tubua laguta</i> ( <i>laguta</i> 'saltpan'). Also Western Motu <i>k<sup>w</sup>ara boha</i> ( <i>k<sup>w</sup>ara</i> 'head', <i>boha</i> 'bald').
MEK	<i>kania</i> is 'head' while <i>kapu</i> is 'pluck, depilate'.
PAA	Also 'clean'.
MSH	Also <i>otip<sup>w</sup></i> 'bald head'
PON	'dry/coral head'.
WLE	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>urolişim<sup>w</sup>e</i> 'bald head'.
SAM	<i>loto</i> 'heart', <i>tele</i> 'large', <i>loto-tele</i> (vb intrans), lit 'have a large heart'.
MEL	From English, also <i>m<sup>w</sup>āsua</i> .

#### 04.940 LAME

ATA	ma-hʔay	*MIN	teŋkaʔ	*BUR	geba ba duda-
TSO	piʔo	*IND	pinčəŋ		n
RUK	mā-pilay	*SUN	piñčəŋ	*DOB	ʔa-ɸan k <sup>w</sup> uyar
PAI	ma-pil <sup>y</sup> ay	JAV	piñčəŋ		yabay
YAM	mapilay	MAD	impuŋ	IRA	ɸanə nəmatə
ISN	pīlay	BAL	perot	SAW	kaf
*KAL	pīlay	SAS	kempaʔ	*NYI	kati-n
*TAG	pilay	*GOR	pepeʔo		<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amak
AKL	pakiʔ	DAA	na-pu <sup>ɔ</sup> gu	*MAM	ae-dai
*PAL	pilay	UMA	pu <sup>ɔ</sup> ku	*TAK	ŋe-n sae-n
MOL	piloy	BUG	peso	DAM	laliyai
KAG	piʔaŋ	*KON	pesoʔ	*MAB	kāmaŋa-
BLA	kimay	*WOL	ma-ke <sup>m</sup> pa	*YAB	puliŋ
SAB	peŋkaʔ	MAG	peko	*KAU	kii-n leŋβal
*MUR	takimpoʔ	NGA	yeɸa	TOL	kok
MGY	man-d <sup>r</sup> inga	*SIK	ʃəlo-ŋ	BUA	taḳōt
ACE	capiəʔ	RTI	luʔu-k	*ADZ	faga mais
*BAT	pakpaŋ			KIL	-pem

TAW	aepapa	*POR	van	PON	taŋepel
*MOT	ae mase		ko <sup>m</sup> bko <sup>m</sup> bux	WLE	
*MEK	u(v)e pio	NTA	nelkin tarat	EFI	ŋera
ROV	ike	*KWA	nəsu- reraha	WFI	moge
MAR	kleyi	*NEM	ka-t <sup>h</sup> ip	RTU	pipiki
LAU	?ae mae	CEM	tâb <sup>w</sup> a	TON	heke
KWO	abeabela	AJI	bē	*SAM	vae-pi <sup>ʔ</sup> o
RAG		*XAR	a-çikã	MEL	vae-kole
*PAA	hēk tisa	NEN	kida	TAH	piri <sup>ʔ</sup> o <sup>ʔ</sup> i
LEW	la-ulu	KIR	maukū	*RAP	koke-koke
		MSH	kiŋŋo		

KAL *pīlay + na-*.

TAG PHN *\*pīLay*.

PAL Also *piŋka?*

MUR Also *tampikaw, taŋkait*.

BAT From (*paŋpaŋ*).

MIN Also *piñčaŋ*.

IND Also *lumpuh* ‘paralysed’.

SUN Also *çinƙoɗ*.

GOR Also [*pe<sup>ɔ</sup>go*]; compare Malay *peŋkor*.

KON Also *keppaŋ* ‘limping’.

WOL Also *ma<sup>ɔ</sup>kedo*.

SIK Also *pipak, nego-ŋ*.

BUR ‘lame from birth’; *geb hogo-n* ‘lame from amputation or mutilation’.

DOB ‘he falls following his leg’.

NYI ‘leg-his dead’.

MAM Also *ae-mate*.

TAK ‘leg-his bad-its’ (04.350, 16.720), i.e. ‘his leg is bad’, i.e. ‘he is lame’.

MAB Also *narapeŋa-*, *melekŋa-*.

YAB Also *-le?* ‘be weak, crippled’.

KAU ‘foot-his bad’.

ADZ ‘leg bad’.

MOT Also *aedika* (*ae* ‘leg’ *dika* ‘bad’), *aehedairike*.



MEK	<i>ue/uve</i> is 'foot' while <i>pio</i> is 'cassowary'; this describes a common cause of lameness.
PAA	'my leg is bad'.
POR	'go hooked'.
KWA	'leg bad'.
NEM	'one who-limp'; see also <i>tuk</i> 'club-footed'.
XAR	<i>a-çikāl</i> 'one who limps from birth'; <i>a-çipəta</i> 'one who has a temporary limp'.
SAM	<i>vae</i> 'leg', <i>piʔo</i> (vb intrans) 'bent, crooked', <i>vae-piʔo</i> lit 'have a bent leg'.
RAP	Also <i>vaʔe koke</i> .

**04.950 DEAF**

ATA	ma-puʔuŋ	*SAS	kədok	*ADZ	riŋa da <sup>n</sup> taŋ
TSO	doiŋi	GOR	buŋolo	KIL	-tuli taigila
RUK	mā-çərə	DAA	na-boŋo	TAW	taniga pota
PAI	ma-çulək	UMA	βoŋo	MOT	kudima
YAM	matələ	BUG	ma-taru	*MEK	aina-fua
ISN	baŋŋag	KON	'boŋolo	ROV	nuli
*KAL	boŋŋog	*WOL	ma-βoŋo	MAR	megli
*TAG	biŋi	MAG	nə <sup>n</sup> təŋ	LAU	ʔaliŋa boko
AKL	buŋuʔ	NGA	hiŋo	*KWO	ariŋa(-na)
PAL	ləpak	SIK	pəke		e bono
MOL	boŋol	RTI	pake-k	RAG	
KAG	bəŋŋəl	*BUR	kebe-n	PAA	vutuvut
BLA	bakoŋ	DOB	rubu-ni	*LEW	kiliŋa-na koa
SAB	bisu	IRA	təgara dərɪdə	POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>m</sup> baö
*MUR	moboŋol	SAW	poŋo	NTA	matalŋən talu
MGY	ma-renina	NYI	siu	KWA	-asi
ACE	tulɔə	MAM	ʔuŋza	NEM	himen
BAT	nəŋəl	*TAK	kukudo-n i-tao	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> éje
*MIN	pakaʔ	DAM	weder dābu	AJI	wāre
IND	tuli	MAB	talŋa- imun	*XAR	dē, šī
SUN	torek	*YAB	taŋa-sùŋ biʔ	*NEN	ŋidi
JAV	buɖək	*KAU	kiŋa-n tuŋ	*KIR	taniŋabono
MAD	tiŋəl	TOL	pepel	MSH	caŋŋoŋŋoŋ
BAL	boŋol	BUA	nəŋa mir	*PON	saleŋopon

*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ata	*RTU	fuli	*MEL	[p <sup>w</sup> āroro]
EFI	ḍiḍiβara	TON	tuli	TAH	tariʔaturi
WFI	ǰūǰū	SAM	tutuli	RAP	tariŋa pō

KAL *boŋŋog + na-*.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*begel*.

MUR Also *nabadat* 'temporarily deaf'.

MIN Also *tuli*.

SAS Also *tole?*

WOL Also *ma-βoŋo-βoŋo* 'slightly deaf'; *po<sup>ŋ</sup>ke* (coarse term).

BUR Lisela *kewel*.

TAK 'ear-his it-is blocked', i.e. 'his ears are blocked', 'he is deaf.'

YAB 'ear-hole broken'; *taŋa-k<sup>w</sup>a ge-ò<sup>?</sup> àu<sup>?</sup>* 'ear-drum it-carry wrongly', 'he is deaf'.

KAU 'ear-his blocked (?)'.

ADZ *riŋa da<sup>n</sup>taŋ* (Amari only); *riŋa<sup>n</sup>taŋ*; *riŋa puti<sup>?</sup>* (all dialects); *riŋa dada<sup>n</sup>taŋ* (Yarus only).

MEK *aina* 'ear', *fua* 'finish, end'.

KWO 'his ears are blocked'.

LEW 'completely deaf'; *kiliŋa-na p<sup>w</sup>ep<sup>w</sup>e* 'impaired hearing'.

XAR *dĕ* 'deaf from birth'; *šĭ* 'temporarily deaf or deaf as the result of an illness'.

NEN Also *wabaŋid*.

KIR Also *bonotaniŋa* lit 'obstructed ear'.

PON 'obstructed ear'.

WLE Also *taŋiŋa-ϕ<sup>w</sup>ata* lit 'deaf ear'.

RTU Also *faliŋfuli*.

MEL From Efate.

#### 04.960 DUMB

ATA	ma-ŋutik	YAM	ǰi makabnə	TAG	pīpi
TSO			bnək	*AKL	apaʔ
RUK	mā-mənənə	*ISN	ūmal	PAL	uməw
PAI	ma-ḱuma	*KAL	ēmol	MOL	buyun

KAG	apaʔ	*RTI	hala ta-k	RAG	buhi-ya
BLA	umu	*BUR	geba biage-n	PAA	meŋmeŋ
SAB	umaw	DOB	duʔu-ni	*LEW	pʷuru
*MUR	bobow	*IRA	roti	POR	le <sup>m</sup> bur
MGY	muana	SAW	memew	NTA	
ACE	klɔ	NYI	boho-n b <sup>w</sup> e	KWA	-apou
BAT	ŋuŋu	MAM	pile-bebe	NEM	hom
MIN	bisu	*TAK	burao	CEM	hòho
IND	bisu	DAM	dābu	AJI	nimā
SUN	piri	MAB	kwo-imun	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> āxǎ
JAV	bisu	*YAB	àwa-me	NEN	kumo
MAD	buwi	*KAU	βo-n korip	*KIR	bae n newe
BAL	kolok	TOL	boŋ	*MSH	ikəŋ
SAS	pakoʔ	*BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a ma	*PON	lōtəŋ
GOR	bubu	ADZ	nifu puti	WLE	
*DAA	na-baʔu	*KIL	-nagowa	EFI	ŋalu
*UMA	βoʃo	*TAW	gumgum	WFI	ŋalu
BUG	pepe	*MOT	udu duhu	RTU	
KON	pepe	*MEK	ake-afu	TON	noa
*WOL	βea	ROV	poka	SAM	ŋūŋū
MAG	dopəl	MAR	melu	MEL	puso
NGA	ŋoŋo	LAU	faka ʔato	TAH	vāvā
*SIK	mumə-ŋ	*KWO	fokaʔato	RAP	reʔo kore

ISN *napāgaw* 'hoarse'.

KAL *ēmol + na-*.

AKL Also *buyun*.

MUR *bobow* 'totally dumb'; *buŋaŋaŋ* 'able only to make incoherent sounds'.

DAA Also *na-bobo*.

UMA Also *mo-kamumu?*

WOL Also *oga*; *ka-moo-moo* 'dumb, mentally deficient'.

SIK Also *ŋaŋa-ŋ*.

RTI 'no voice'.

BUR Also *geba te stori moo* 'person unable to speak'; *geba ebele-n* 'stupid person, simpleton'; *geba ebafa-n* 'dumb, unteachable, unmannered'.

IRA *ro* 'voice'.

TAK 'senile'.

YAB	'voice-without'.
KAU	Also <i>βo-n kup</i> .
BUA	<i>k<sup>w</sup>a ma</i> 'not able to speak'; <i>k<sup>w</sup>a ɲəŋɔləŋ</i> 'able to make unintelligible sounds'; both mean 'foolish, stupid'.
KIL	'be foolish', the usual derogatory description of the deaf-and-dumb person. Also <i>to-into-mota</i> 'person-continuous-hiccough', 'person speaking in unintelligible gasps'.
TAW	'deaf and dumb'.
MOT	Also <i>mu</i> (Western Motu?).
MEK	<i>ake</i> 'mouth', <i>afu</i> 'paralysed'. NW Mekeo has <i>maguŋa</i> , <i>magu-maguŋa</i> .
KWO	'mouth impossible'.
LEW	'deaf-mute'.
KIR	'tongue tied'.
MSH	Also 'silent, taciturn'.
PON	Also 'stutter'.

#### 04.970 BLIND

ATA	tu-βuʔuk	MIN	buto	*DOB	may dur
TSO	bikɲi	IND	buta	IRA	metiebo
RUK	mā-mokiçi	SUN	loloŋ	SAW	n-ebyaf
PAI	ma-vuça	*JAV	wutə	NYI	mada-n b <sup>w</sup> e
YAM	mavota	MAD	buta	MAM	mata-leoa
ISN	kūlap	BAL	butə	*TAK	mala-n tia-i
*KAL	kūlap	*SAS	pəček	*DAM	mala
*TAG	bulag	GOR	pito <sup>ʔ</sup> o		i-φokele-n
AKL	bulag	DAA	na-buro	*MAB	mata- ipis
PAL	bolo <sup>ʔ</sup>	*UMA	βero	*YAB	mata-pe <sup>ʔ</sup>
MOL		BUG	buta	*KAU	mata-n mhi
KAG	bulag	KON	huta	TOL	pulo
BLA	butə <sup>ʔ</sup>	*WOL	ma-wilo	BUA	mala mir
SAB	buta	MAG	buta	ADZ	mara çikrik
MUR	mobolow	*NGA	mata-buu	KIL	-kau
MGY	dzamba	SIK	mata-ŋ go <sup>ʔ</sup> is	TAW	matakeke
ACE	buta	RTI	poke-k	*MOT	mata kepulu
BAT	pituj	*BUR	rama-n boho-n	*MEK	kimi <sup>ʔ</sup> i

ROV	behu	*KWA	-uku	EFI	mata-boko
MAR	dofu	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> i	WFI	mata-ðewa
LAU	mā rōdo	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> î	RTU	maf poŋi
KWO	keo	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> i	TON	kui
RAG	mata-γara	XAR	mou	SAM	tāuaso
PAA	var	*NEN	namanašen	*MEL	[pārea]
LEW	kinamara-kata	*KIR	matakī	TAH	matapō
POR	marasa <sup>mb</sup>	MSH	pilɔ	RAP	mata pō
*NTA	nəŋanamtən tap <sup>w</sup> əs	*PON	masukun		
		*WLE	mata-paşa		

KAL *kūlap + na-*.

TAG PMP *\*bulaR* ‘cataract’.

JAV Also *pičək*.

SAS Also *butə*.

UMA Also *buro?*

WOI Also *fu<sup>n</sup>to*.

NGA *mata-buu* only of human beings; *mata-gele* may be used to refer to animals.

BUR ‘bad eyes’; *geba ram-sia* ‘one-eyed person’.

DOB ‘his eyes are blind’.

TAK ‘eye-his not exist-PERF’ (13.000), i.e. ‘he has no eye’, ‘he is blind’.

DAM ‘eye third -fasten COMP-PAST’.

MAB Also *mata-pisŋa-*, *mata-imun*.

YAB ‘eye-blind’ i.e. ‘he is blind’; *mata-m-pe?* ‘you are blind’.

KAU *mata-n* ‘eye-his’.

MOT *mata* ‘eye’, *kepulu* ‘blind’.

MEK East Mekeo also has *kele?u*.

NTA Also *nəŋanamtəntou*.

KWA *-uku* ‘empty’; *-wera* ‘grown over’, i.e. ‘blind from cataract’.

NEN Also *wabi*.

KIR ‘filled up eye’.

PON *masukun* lit ‘extinguished eye’; *etietila* ‘to become cloudy, to go blind’.

WLE *matemasürü* lit ‘eye asleep’.

MEL From Efate.

## 04.980 DRUNK

English: <i>drunk</i>
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*ATA	βuš-in-uk	UMA	ma-laŋu	MAR	
TSO	moromo	BUG	maboʔ	LAU	[daraŋa]
RUK	m-a-bosok	*KON	huʃa	KWO	goʔu
PAI	pa-puław	WOL	ma-laŋo	RAG	
YAM	maşaki	MAG	laŋu	PAA	[toroŋ]
ISN	niŋlaw	NGA	buu	*LEW	
*KAL	buʔuk	SIK	bu	POR	i lilai
TAG	lasiŋ	RTI	mafuk	NTA	apəs
AKL	hiluŋ	BUR	em-sihi	*KWA	-apus
PAL	nəŋinum (inum)	*DOB	ʔa-sula	*NEM	ka-kulaŋ
*MOL	lasiŋ	IRA	mabukə	CEM	pî-ôlo
*KAG	iŋaw	SAW	n-əmse	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> eje
BLA	laŋal	NYI	ləloʔou	*XAR	ñõ
*SAB	laŋo	MAM	daŋ-siŋ-be- boaŋ	NEN	kuakeč
*MUR	magauk	*TAK	i-luk-a	*KIR	maŋiŋ
MGY	mamu	*DAM	ai y-u-n	MSH	karek
*ACE	maboʔ	*MAB	-gadgāda	*PON	sakau
BAT	mabuk	*YAB	-yaŋiŋ	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> urõsi
MIN	mabu <sup>əʔ</sup>	*KAU	[spak]	EFI	mateni
IND	mabuk	TOL	loŋloŋ	WFI	maseni
SUN	mabok	TOL	loŋloŋ	RTU	ʔona
JAV	mabuʔ	BUA	num	TON	konā
MAD	mabuʔ	ADZ		SAM	ʔonā
*BAL	ləŋəh	*KIL	-mom	MEL	[toroŋo]
SAS	boos	TAW	uma buuwa	TAH	taʔero ʔava
*GOR	huwo-huwoʔo	*MOT	inu mase	RAP	taʔero
DAA	na-laŋu	*MEK	[bia] e-au-ŋa		
		*ROV	viviri		

ATA Also *ma-βušuk*.KAL *buʔuk + na-*.MOL Also *ilu + no-*.KAG Also *islək*.SAB *laŋo + a*.

MUR	Also <i>lutoy</i> (-um-) ‘collapse through intoxication’.
ACE	Also ‘intoxicated by drugs’.
BAL	Also <i>puñah</i> .
GOR	Also <i>yilu-yilu</i> , from <i>yilumo</i> , root of verb meaning ‘drink’.
KON	Also [ <i>mabo?</i> ] Malay.
DOB	(vb).
TAK	‘he-drink-PERF’, i.e. ‘he has been drinking’; also <i>you i-fini-ya</i> ‘water it-hit (- him)-PERF’, i.e. ‘water has hit him’, ‘he is drunk’.
DAM	‘kava 3sg-hit-PAST’.
MAB	Also <i>-win ma zaza</i> .
YAB	‘stagger’.
KAU	Tok Pisin.
KIL	Also <i>-momom</i> .
MOT	<i>inu</i> ‘to drink’; <i>mase</i> , lit ‘to die’, indicates intensity. Also <i>kekero</i> lit ‘to be stupefied’, as fish poisoned by <i>tuha</i> ‘dynamite plant’.
MEK	‘the beer strikes him’, or more often <i>mave e-au-ŋa</i> ‘the areca nut strikes him’; also <i>e-ʔani-moŋe</i> ‘be drunk’.
ROV	Also ‘giddy’.
LEW	Frequent idioms are <i>pari-na talivi</i> ‘his head spins’ and <i>wī we-a</i> ‘liquid hits him’.
KWA	<i>-apus</i> also ‘rest’; <i>-akona</i> also ‘poisoned’.
NEM	‘one who-create scandal’; also ‘mad’.
XAR	Also ‘crazy, inside out’.
KIR	Also ‘sour toddy’.
PON	Also ‘kava’.
WLE	Also [ <i>trɔŋkī</i> ] from English.

#### 04.990 NAKED, BARE

ATA	mi-βa-βuwax	*KAL	tīway	BLA	f-lawih
TSO	rū-sixʔi	*TAG	hubad	*SAB	tantəŋ
*RUK	mo-a-laymay	AKL	ūbah	*MUR	labas
PAI	ma-ḷivunay	PAL	lobas	MGY	mi-tantaka
YAM	omlalaonaŋ	MOL	lobas	ACE	lhon
ISN	soba	KAG	palaw	*BAT	talaǰǰaŋ

MIN	tilañjaŋ	SAW	n-teluse	LEW	pilamom <sup>w</sup> e
IND	təlañjaŋ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʻakane	*POR	kakar
*SUN	tarañjaŋ	MAM	nemoala	NTA	-aip <sup>w</sup> iap <sup>w</sup> ia
JAV	wudo	TAK	kao-n	KWA	-p <sup>w</sup> ia
MAD	a-baŋkaŋ	DAM	gemu	NEM	paye-aman
BAL	mə-laluŋ	*MAB	kabaŋbaŋ ŋa-	CEM	
*SAS	klombas	*YAB	(ŋa-)kəŋ	AJI	řewerě
*GOR	lā-lāla	KAU	βiβil	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā
DAA	ne-laya	*TOL	biə	NEN	guba
UMA	mo-laβa	*BUA	aɣe tək	*KIR	aki kunnikai
BUG	mal-łosu-łosu	*ADZ	rəgi daŋunt	*MSH	kəlwān
*KON	as-solaʔ- 'solara	KIL	-kim <sup>w</sup> adu	PON	kilisou
		TAW	hipunawa	WLE	waşawaşa
*WOL	ka-lea-lea	*MOT	asi rami-na	EFI	luβa-wale
MAG	lačo	*MEK	faa(ŋa) maini	*WFI	βa-wase
NGA	laʔa-kana	ROV	dodore	RTU	mamā
*SIK	holar	MAR	sosole	TON	telefua
*RTI	hola	LAU	talū	*SAM	telefua
BUR	tam-lago	KWO	dādala	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> alām <sup>w</sup> ala]
*DOB	na-r-loy-n	RAG		TAH	vaitahaʔa
IRA	nəp̄e tani	*PAA	gākāhon	RAP	kahu kore

RUK *mo-a-laymay* 'naked, stripped of clothes', *laymay* 'clothes'.

KAL *tīway + man-*.

TAG *hubad* 'waist up'; *huboʔ* 'waist down'; *hubo-t hubad* 'totally naked'.

SAB *tantaŋ + aN-*.

MUR Also *talagas, ibabāŋ (mag-)* 'wear only loincloth or pants'.

BAT Also *mar-salaŋ, salaksalaŋ*.

SUN Also *ulutud* 'stark naked'.

SAS *kə-lombasʔ* see Goris *lombas* 'undress, strip (vb trans)'.

GOR *lawu-lawu* 'bare from the waist up'.

KON *as-* from prefix *aʔ*; also *kale-kale tau*.

WOL Also *tala<sup>n̄</sup>ja*.

SIK Also *lomak*.

RTI Also *maka-hola; foli-k*.

DOB Reflexive verb.

MAB Also *ni-sorok*.



- YAB Also *kɔŋ-kɔŋ(-gɛŋ)*; *g<sup>w</sup>alɛ-pɔm* ‘hairless’, *g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>ŋ</sup>g<sup>w</sup>aŋ* ‘sexually exposed’.
- TOL Also *tektek*.
- BUA *ayɛ tɔk* ‘naked, without clothes’; *ayɛ tɔk, ni gələpni gələp* ‘smooth, bare, without excrescences’.
- ADZ *ragi daŋu<sup>n</sup>t* (Amari taboo because of *ragi* ‘shit’); *rini sasa?* (other dialects).
- MOT *asi* negative, *rami* ‘grass skirt’; lit ‘with no grass skirt’. Bible also uses *ɣayæ* ‘unoccupied, empty’.
- MEK *maini* ‘empty, lacking, bereft’.
- PAA ‘going about with nothing’.
- POR Also *em<sup>w</sup>e a<sup>m</sup>b*.
- XAR Also *pīteri*; *m<sup>w</sup>ā* used only as post-verb; *fɛ m<sup>w</sup>ā* ‘to go naked’.
- KIR *aki kunnikai* lit ‘not clothed’; *aki karabana* lit ‘not conceal/veil oneself’; cf. *raka* ‘hidden’.
- MSH [*m<sup>w</sup>aŋkɛ*] from English also ‘monkey’; *utkək* also ‘disrobe’; (vb trans) *utik*.
- WFI Also *βa-teβoro*.
- SAM (polite) *telenoa, lē lāvalava, lē* ‘not’; *lāvalava* (vb intrans) ‘dress’.
- MEL From Efate.

## 05.110 EAT

ATA	man-ik	*MUR	akan	DAA	ma <sup>ŋ</sup> goni
*TSO	b-oni	*MGY	mi-hinana		(koni)
RUK	wa-kanə	ACE	paʒoh	UMA	ŋ-koni?
PAI	k-əm-an	BAT	maŋan	BUG	manre
YAM	koman	MIN	makan	KON	aŋ-ŋanre
ISN	maŋān	IND	makan	*WOL	ka <sup>n</sup> de
*KAL	maŋan	*SUN	[dahar]	MAG	hāŋ
TAG	kā <sup>?</sup> in	JAV	maŋan	NGA	kaa
*AKL	kā <sup>?</sup> un		(paŋan)	*SIK	ʔoa
PAL	mɔŋa <sup>?</sup> an	MAD	kakan	*RTI	na-ʔa
*MOL	okon	*BAL	mə-[daar]	*BUR	kaa
*KAG	ma <sup>?</sup> an	*SAS	kakən	DOB	ʔa-ʔa
BLA	k-m-ɔ <sup>?</sup> ɔn	*GOR	moŋa	*IRA	na
*SAB	a-maŋan			SAW	n-ɛ-mnɔm

*NYI	aimon	*ROV	yanyani	*NEN	kākā
*MAM	moana <sup>o</sup>	MAR	yamu	*KIR	am <sup>w</sup> arake
TAK	-ani	LAU	faŋa la	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> Λŋæ
*DAM	sā <sup>fi</sup> y-ō-ya	*KWO	oso	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> eŋe
MAB	-kan	*RAG	yani	*WLE	xaŋī
*YAB	-ɛŋgeŋ	*PAA	ŋani	*EFI	kana
KAU	i	*LEW	kinana	*WFI	kana
TOL	ian	POR	xan-i	*RTU	ʔā
BUA	ya	*NTA	-un	TON	kai
ADZ	ga-	*KWA	-ani	*SAM	ʔai
KIL	-kam	*NEM	wi-aman	MEL	kai-na
*TAW	am	*CEM	wí-nâdo	*TAH	ʔamu
*MOT	ani-a	AJI	ara	RAP	kai
*MEK	e-ani(-a)	*XAR	da		

TSO Also *an-a*.

KAL *kan + maN-*.

TAG *kāʔin + -um-/kān-in*.

AKL (*kanʔ-un*).

MOL *okon + m-/on*.

KAG *kaʔan + mag-/m-/ən (maʔan, kənʔənən)*.

SAB *maŋan + a-/(kakan)* 'eat a meal'; also *kakan + ag-/ø* 'to eat'.

MUR *akan (maŋ-; -on)*.

MGY *hinana*.

SUN From Javanese (formerly honorific).

BAL (vb intrans). The original Old Balinese term is *ŋ-amah*, in most varieties now restricted to animal referents only; *mə-[daar]*, *naar (N-[daar])* (vb trans.) both from Old Javanese.

SAS *kakən* 'eat'; also *maŋan* 'eat rice', from Javanese *paŋan*? See 05.120

GOR (*ʔālo + moN-*); also *molamelo (tamelo + moN-)*, hon.

WOL Also *mu<sup>n</sup>ta* (of a royal person); *pe-ŋaku, peka-ka<sup>n</sup>de, timali*.

SIK See 06.330.

RTI *naʔa*: 3sg paradigm 'to eat': 1s *au u-ʔa*; 2sg *o mu-ʔa*; 3sg *ana na-ʔa*; 1pl *ita ta-ʔa*; 2pl *ami mi-ʔa*; 3pl *sila la-ʔa*.

BUR Also *mambelo* 'gorge oneself'; *paka* 'to feed (animals)'.

IRA *ga fe* 'eat it'.

NYI	Also <i>añimon</i> .
MAM	Also <i>ʔaŋ</i> .
DAM	‘food 3-eat-INF.
YAB	‘eat thing’.
TAW	<i>am</i> (vb intrans); <i>ani</i> (vb trans).
MOT	<i>ani-a</i> (vb trans); <i>aniani</i> (vb intrans).
MEK	<i>e-ani-ani(-a)</i> is also common (= the progressive form of the verb).
ROV	<i>yanyani</i> (less polite), <i>henhena</i> (polite).
KWO	<i>oso</i> (vb intrans); <i>ʔani-a</i> (vb trans).
RAG	Also <i>gani</i> .
PAA	(vb trans); <i>ɣanian</i> (vb intrans).
LEW	(vb intrans); also <i>kani</i> ‘eat (vb trans)’.
NTA	<i>-un</i> (vb trans); <i>-aŋuən</i> (vb intrans).
KWA	<i>-ani</i> (vb trans); <i>-awəŋən</i> (vb intrans).
NEM	General term (vb intrans); specific transitive verbs: <i>cani</i> ‘eat vegetables’; <i>wī</i> ‘eat fish, meat’; <i>kaŋe</i> ‘eat fruit, salad’.
CEM	‘have a meal’; see also <i>wī</i> ‘eat meat’; <i>ēni</i> ‘eat vegetables’; <i>āñe</i> ‘eat leaves salad’.
XAR	<i>da</i> general term; <i>kē</i> ‘eat tubers’; <i>x<sup>w</sup>ε</i> ‘eat meat, condiments’; <i>x<sup>w</sup>ī</i> ‘eat sugar cane’.
NEN	Also <i>koɟaru</i> (respectful).
KIR	<i>am<sup>w</sup>arake</i> (vb intrans); <i>kana</i> (vb trans).
MSH	<i>m<sup>w</sup>λŋæ</i> (vb intrans); <i>kaŋ</i> Western dialect, <i>kan</i> Eastern dialect.
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>eŋe</i> preverbal particle ‘easily’; <i>kaŋ</i> also ‘soft, tender, brittle’; <i>sakan</i> (vb trans) hon. (vb intrans) <i>sak</i> .
WLE	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>oŋō</i> .
EFI	Also <i>kani-a</i> .
WFI	Also <i>kani-a</i> .
RTU	Also <i>ʔātē</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>tāumafa</i> , <i>tausami</i> , <i>taute</i> .
TAH	Also <i>ʔai</i> arch.

## 05.120 FOOD

ATA	naniḵ-un	BUG	anre	MAR	gano
TSO	ʔoani	*KON	kanraŋ-aŋ	LAU	faŋa
RUK		*WOL	k-in-a <sup>n</sup> de	KWO	keto-ŋa
PAI			(ka <sup>n</sup> de)	RAG	ɣina-ɣani-ana
YAM	kanəkanən	MAG	mose	PAA	anien
*ISN	kakkanan	NGA	taʔi-kaa	LEW	kinana-ena
KAL	makan	*SIK	ŋaβuŋ ʔeaŋ	POR	
TAG	pag-kāʔin	RTI	na-naʔa-k	NTA	naŋunənən
AKL	pag-kāʔun	*BUR	inaa-n (kaa)	KWA	nawəŋənien
PAL	kəkənən	*DOB	tabul si	*NEM	ca-n
*MOL	okon		ma'nam	*CEM	wí-nâdo
*KAG	pagka'ʔan	IRA	wənəga	AJI	ẽ ara
BLA	k-n-ɔʔən	SAW	mɲəm	XAR	āda
SAB	k-in-akan	NYI	ñamon	*NEN	kākā
*MUR	akanon	*MAM	ʔaŋ-ʔaŋ	KIR	te am <sup>w</sup> arake
MGY	sakafu	*TAK	an-aŋ	*MSH	kkan
*ACE	bu	DAM	sāfi	PON	m <sup>w</sup> eŋe
BAT	paŋan-ɔn	MAB	kini	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> oŋō
MIN	makan-an	*YAB	geŋ ta-n-iŋ-ŋa	EFI	kākana
*IND	makan-an	*KAU	eda a-i-ŋin	*WFI	ðawa
*SUN	ka-[dahar]-an	*TOL	n-ian	RTU	tē-la-ʔā
JAV	paŋan(-an)	BUA	nos	TON	meʔa-kai
MAD	kakan-an	*ADZ	nam ga-dan	*SAM	mea-ʔai
*BAL	də-[daar]-an	*KIL	kaula	MEL	kai
SAS	kəkən-an	*TAW	yaniyani	TAH	maʔa
*GOR	ʔu ʔālo	MOT	aniani	RAP	kai
DAA	pa <sup>ɟ</sup> goni (koni)	MEK	ani-ani		
*UMA	koniʔ	ROV	ɣinani		

ISN *bālun* 'provisions'.

MOL *okon + go--on*.

KAG From (*ka'an + pag-*).

MUR Also *kanaʔ*, *sansam* 'meat/fish/vegetable as side-dish with rice'.

ACE 'cooked rice': the usual word for a meal. Also *puŋajoh* 'cakes'.

IND Also *paŋan* from Javanese.

SUN From Javanese.

- BAL From Old Javanese. *amah-amah-an* ~ *mama(a)n* ‘animal food’ see note O5.110.
- GOR ‘NOM eat’, thus ‘that which is eaten’; also [*rijiki*] from Arabic *rizq* ‘sustenance’, *tamelo* ‘food (served at a feast)’.
- UMA Also *poŋ-koni*?
- KON *kanraŋ-aŋ* (other than rice); *kanre-kanre-aŋ* ‘things eaten’.
- WOL Also *w-in-alu* (*walu*).
- SIK Also *?aŋ rinu-ŋ*, *?a rinu*.
- BUR From *ii-en-kaa-n* ‘food that has been processed or cooked’ vs. *i-naa-t* ‘uncooked/unprocessed food, ingredients’; *lafa-t* ‘trail food’.
- DOB ‘meat and staples (sago)’.
- MAM Also *?aniŋa*.
- TAK ‘eat-NOM’.
- YAB ‘thing we-imaginative-eat-for’, i.e. ‘thing for us to eat’.
- KAU ‘thing PREP-eat-NOM’ = ‘thing for eating’; also *ken-ŋin* ‘eat-NOM’.
- TOL *n*-NOM, *ian* ‘eat’.
- ADZ ‘thing eat-PART’.
- KIL The word given is general word for the staple food diet (yam and taro). Other things eaten are generally described with a class 1 possessive personal pronoun as a preclitic (sometimes apologetically referred to as *gala kaula mok<sup>w</sup>ita* ‘not true food’). Thus, *kagu yena* ‘my fish’ ie ‘fish for me to eat’; *kala simsim<sup>w</sup>ai* ‘his sweet potato’ ie ‘sweet potato for him to eat’. Also used is a lengthened form of the class 1 possessive shown in last two examples; this is regularly used in isolation, with the accented syllable about twice the length usually accorded. Thus: *baisa kagu* ‘this my food’, ‘here is my food’; *bi-ta-kam-si kadasi* INCOMP- 1pl-eat-pl our food ‘let’s eat our food’.
- TAW ‘vegetables’.
- NEM Only vegetables; also *wie-n* ‘fish, meat’; *kū-n* ‘fruit, salad’.
- CEM See also *wiε-n* ‘portion of food’; *ε-n* ‘portion of root vegetables’; *û-n* ‘portion of salad greens’.
- NEN Also *koɖaru* (respectful).
- MSH Also *m<sup>w</sup>Λŋæ*.
- WFI Also *k<sup>w</sup>a-lei-kana*.
- SAM (polite) *mea tāumafa*, *mea tausami*, *mea taute*; *mea* ‘thing’.

## 05.121 COOKED

ATA	mačay	UMA	taha?	ROV	kina
TSO	çuru	BUG	mannasu	MAR	mu?ita
RUK	mādō	KON	tasa?	LAU	faŋa ?ago
PAI	ma-kəsa	WOL	ma-sasa	KWO	nula
YAM	madəŋdəŋ	MAG	marne	RAG	
ISN	nalūtu	NGA	mami	PAA	mas
*KAL	ūtu	SIK	daha	LEW	manoa
*TAG	luto?	RTI	do?de-nasu	POR	manu?g
AKL	taha?	*BUR	masa-t	NTA	ap <sup>w</sup> a
PAL	lutu?	*DOB	na-mataya	*KWA	-aφa
*MOL	lutu?	IRA	wenəga	NEM	mēk
KAG	lutu ən		nəbəse	CEM	māgat
BLA	taga	SAW	n-mɔsɛ	AJI	tāřā
*SAB	tahak	NYI	ame?er	XAR	mērē
*MUR	mānsak	MAM	boadi-boadi	NEN	jo
*MGY	[masaka]	TAK	naek	KIR	m <sup>w</sup> ai
ACE	masa?	DAM	yasi	MSH	mat
BAT	'masak	*MAB	mazēne	PON	leu
MIN	masa?	*YAB	-so?	WLE	metta
IND	masak	KAU	βlaŋ	EFI	buta
SUN	asak	*TOL	mau	WFI	buta
JAV	matəŋ	BUA	nɔk	*RTU	mamosa
MAD	massa?	*ADZ	i-nu? sib	TON	moho
BAL	ləbəŋ	KIL	menu	SAM	vela
SAS	ran	TAW	tawa	MEL	moa
GOR	tubu-tubu	MOT	maeda	TAH	?ama
DAA	na-ŋoŋo	MEK	auai	RAP	?o?otu

KAL *ūtu + na-*.

TAG PHN *\*lu(n)tuq*.

MOL *lutu? + mo-*.

SAB *tahak + a-*.

MUR Also *māŋkal* (of boiled rice).

MGY From Malay *masak*.

BUR Also *keha lodi* 'half-cooked'.

DOB (vb).

MAB 'already cooked food'.

YAB 'be cooked'.

TOL See 05.123, var. *moina*.

ADZ 'REAL-cooked COMP'.

KWA Also *-ak<sup>w</sup>mare* 'well cooked'.

RTU Also *funu*.

## 05.122 RAW

*ATA	matiɫuk	UMA	mataʔ	*MAR	buka
TSO	mato	BUG	ma-mata	LAU	ʔakasa
RUK	mā-ŋəta	KON	mata	*KWO	maʔ
PAI	ma-caḵ	WOL	ma-mata	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> aro
YAM	mata	MAG	taʔa	PAA	metes
ISN	namāta	NGA	ŋəta	LEW	marəŋa
*KAL	āta	*SIK	daʔa-ŋ	POR	mamar
*TAG	hilaw	RTI	mata-k	NTA	məta
AKL	hilaw	BUR	mata-n	*KWA	-amera
PAL	məʔilow	DOB	mata	NEM	heo
*MOL	ilow	IRA	wenəga rəga	CEM	wəmin
KAG	iʔlaw pa	SAW	n-bilef	AJI	mū
BLA	mətəʔ	NYI	ñamañak	XAR	mata
SAB	mataʔ	MAM	amatamata	NEN	kaesiṭe
MUR	makataʔ	TAK	kumaen	*KIR	oraora
MGY	manta	DAM	mata	*MSH	amec
*ACE	muntah	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bitiŋana	*PON	amas
BAT	tata	YAB	mataʔ	*WLE	yemata
MIN	matah	KAU	βosak	EFI	d <sup>f</sup> oka
IND	məntah	*TOL	kələmanə	WFI	d <sup>f</sup> oka
SUN	atah	BUA	məwis	RTU	mafa
JAV	məntah	ADZ	pisia	*TON	mata
MAD	matta	KIL	genata	SAM	mata
BAL	matah	TAW	idagana	MEL	mata
SAS	kataʔ	MOT	kasiri	TAH	ota
GOR	me-e <sup>ŋ</sup> go	*MEK	maisa	RAP	mata
DAA	na <sup>ŋ</sup> gamata	ROV	makata		

ATA	Also <i>mataḵ</i>
KAL	<i>āta + na-</i> .
TAG	Proto-Southern Philippines <i>*hilaw</i> .
MOL	<i>ilow + mo-</i> .
ACE	Also <i>murtah</i> .
SIK	Also <i>rego-ŋ</i> .
TOL	See 14.130.
MEK	Also <i>maia</i> .
MAR	Also <i>tayoi</i> .
KWO	Also <i>mamaʔā</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-amrəmera</i> , also ‘green-blue’.
KIR	Also <i>mata</i> ‘undercooked’; <i>maiu</i> also ‘alive’.
MSH	Also <i>ukōd</i> , <i>kəubub</i> .
PON	Also <i>weḥ</i> ‘eat raw’ (particularly of fish); <i>mour</i> ‘undercooked’.
WLE	<i>mōrawa</i> ‘unripe’, <i>goṣōṣa</i> also ‘alive’.
TON	Also <i>ʔota</i> .

### 05.123 RIPE

ATA	<i>mačay</i>	*BAT	<i>ma-toras</i>	RTI	<i>latu-k</i>
TSO	<i>taçimi</i>	MIN	<i>masaʔ</i>	*BUR	<i>gone-n</i>
RUK	<i>māləmə</i>	*IND	<i>matəŋ</i>	*DOB	<i>ʔa-k<sup>w</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>a</i>
PAI	<i>na-marum</i>	SUN	<i>asak</i>	IRA	<i>nəmare</i>
YAM	<i>minoy</i>	JAV	<i>matəŋ</i>	SAW	<i>n-məre</i>
ISN	<i>nalūtu</i>	MAD	<i>massaʔ</i>	NYI	<i>uni</i>
*KAL	<i>nālʔum</i>	BAL	<i>tasak</i>	MAM	<i>noʔa-noʔa</i>
TAG	<i>hinog</i>	SAS	<i>masak</i>	TAK	<i>ilboŋ</i>
*AKL	<i>ḥūtuʔ</i>	GOR	<i>mo-lutu</i>	DAM	<i>mayō</i>
PAL	<i>inug</i>	DAA	<i>na-tasa</i>	MAB	<i>mazāna</i>
*MOL	<i>lutuʔ</i>	UMA	<i>tahaʔ</i>	*YAB	<i>(ŋa-)lewe</i>
KAG	<i>inug</i>	BUG	<i>ma-tasiʔ</i>	*KAU	<i>mhek</i>
BLA	<i>taga</i>	*KON	<i>didi</i>	*TOL	<i>mau</i>
*SAB	<i>tahak</i>	WOL	<i>ma-sasa</i>	BUA	<i>monəḵ</i>
MUR	<i>mānsak</i>	MAG	<i>teʔe</i>	ADZ	<i>dzub-</i>
*MGY	<i>[masaka]</i>	NGA	<i>teʔa</i>	*KIL	<i>monogu</i>
*ACE	<i>tasaʔ</i>	SIK	<i>daha</i>	TAW	<i>gou</i>



MOT	mage	NTA	marañ	*WLE	māwa
MEK	aiva	*KWA	-aφa	EFI	d <sup>f</sup> eu
*ROV	sayana	NEM	mia	WFI	d <sup>f</sup> eu
MAR	(mu <sup>ʔ</sup> ita) yano	CEM	mâgat	*RTU	mamosa
LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aso	AJI	tãrã	TON	momoho
KWO	mada	XAR	mērē	SAM	pula
RAG	mena	NEN	neḍe	MEL	rreu
PAA	men	*KIR	tawa	*TAH	para
LEW	mene	*MSH	kalo	RAP	para
POR	rea <sup>m</sup> b	*PON	mā		

KAL *lu<sup>ʔ</sup>um + na-*.

AKL PHN *\*lutuq* ‘cook’.

MOL *lutu<sup>ʔ</sup> + mo-*.

SAB *tahak + a-*.

MGY See 05.121.

ACE Also *masa?*

BAT Also *ma-lamun* ‘ripe, ready to eat’.

IND Also *masak*.

KON Also *lalo* ‘overripe’.

BUR *fuat gone-n* ‘ripe banana’ (Rana dialect *fuat yabe-n*); *papai masa-t* ‘ripe papaya’.

DOB (vb).

YAB ‘(fruit) ripe’; also (*ŋa-*)*màse* lit ‘dry’, *gag<sup>w</sup>eŋ* ‘mature, aged’.

KAU *mhek* of fruit such as bananas, papaya, mangos, etc.; *mutu* ‘mature’ is used for root crops such as taro, yams, sweet potato, etc.

TOL See 05.121.

KIL *monogu* ‘mature, cookable (of vegetables)’; *p<sup>w</sup>asa* ‘soft; ripe (of fruit)’; see 05.125.

ROV Also *komiha* ‘ready’.

KWA *-paras* of tubers; *-ak<sup>w</sup>mare* ‘properly ripe’; *-emha* ‘ready to harvest’, also ‘dead’; *-əm<sup>w</sup>asi* ‘soft’ used for certain fruits; *-mare* used for certain fruits; also means ‘yellow’, of leaves; *-muru* also ‘alive’.

KIR *mori* ‘overripe’.

MSH *kət, mæɾ* of breadfruit; *owat* of pandanus; *eɾtak* ‘ripen’.

PON *mā* also ‘old, aged’; *maṭenei, maṭ* also ‘overripe’.

WLE *masowa* 'ready for picking'.

RTU Also *ma<sup>?</sup>ata*.

TAH Also *maoa* 'breadfruit'.

### 05.124 GREEN, UNRIPE

*ATA	matiɬuk	UMA	mata <sup>?</sup>	MAR	buka
TSO	mato	BUG	ma-lolo	*LAU	laŋi si k <sup>w</sup> aso
RUK	mā-ŋəta	*KON	mata	KWO	malak <sup>w</sup> a
PAI	ma-caḳ	WOL	ma <sup>n</sup> towu	RAG	
YAM	mata	MAG	ta <sup>?</sup> a	PAA	telavis
ISN	namāta	NGA	bari	LEW	ulaŋa
*KAL	āta + na-	SIK	da <sup>?</sup> a-ŋ	POR	vüs
*TAG	hilaw	RTI	mafo-k	NTA	məta
*AKL	hilaw	BUR	mata-n	*KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> is
PAL	iləw	*DOB	mata	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> uñ
*MOL	ilow	*IRA	məmatə	CEM	wàmin
KAG	i <sup>l</sup> aw pa	*SAW	n-gelələ lesu	AJI	kəʀu
BLA	mətə <sup>?</sup>	NYI	makahis	XAR	mata
SAB	bulak	*MAM	<sup>?</sup> arairai	NEN	kaesite
MUR	makata <sup>?</sup>	TAK	kumaen	KIR	mai
MGY	manta	DAM	mata	MSH	owatrɛɛ
*ACE	muuntah	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bitiŋana	*PON	mour
*BAT	tata	*YAB	(ŋa-)mata <sup>?</sup>	WLE	mōrawa
MIN	mudo	KAU	nok	EFI	d <sup>f</sup> oka
*IND	məŋkal	*TOL	kokor	WFI	d <sup>f</sup> oka
SUN	hejo	BUA	məwis	RTU	mafa
JAV	məntah	ADZ	pisia	TON	mata
MAD	ŋuḍa	KIL	geguda	SAM	moto
BAL	matah	*TAW	gomida	*MEL	mata
*SAS	oda <sup>?</sup>	MOT	kasiri	*TAH	pī
GOR	biyode	*MEK	maisa	RAP	mata
DAA	na <sup>ɟ</sup> gamata	ROV	kubolona		

ATA Also *matak*.

KAL *āta + na-*.

TAG Also *hindi<sup>?</sup>pa hinog* 'raw' (05.122).

AKL 'raw' 05.122.

MOL	<i>ilow + mo-</i> .
ACE	Also <i>mutah</i> .
BAT	Also <i>rata</i> .
IND	Also <i>məntah</i> .
SAS	Also <i>ijō</i> .
KON	Also <i>lolo</i> .
DOB	Also 'raw' of meat.
IRA	Also 'blue'.
SAW	'unripe still'.
MAM	Also <i>tago-noʔa</i> .
YAB	Also <i>g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>n</sup>da, (ŋa-)kalop</i> .
TOL	<i>kokor</i> 'unripe of fruit'; <i>mek</i> 'unripe of betelnut'; <i>put</i> 'unripe of breadfruit'; <i>maian</i> 'unripe of nuts'.
TAW	<i>gomida</i> 'green'; <i>galiyana</i> 'unripe'.
MEK	Also <i>maia</i> , see 05.122.
LAU	Also <i>ʔakasa</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-amera</i> ; <i>-amrəmera</i> also 'green-blue'.
PON	Also 'alive'.
MEL	Also <i>moto</i> .
TAH	<i>pī</i> 'green'; <i>puʔu</i> 'beginning to'; <i>paʔari</i> 'a little bit bigger'; <i>toheʔa</i> 'turning yellow'; <i>para</i> 'yellow'; <i>pē</i> 'very ripe'.

## 05.125 ROTTEN

ATA	ma-βuruk	BLA	balək	SAS	loas
*TSO	tonʔonʔo	*SAB	haluʔ	*GOR	mo-hutodu
*RUK	mā-laməkə	*MUR	mōtoŋ	DAA	na-vau
PAI	na-ma-ϕəmu	MGY	lu	*UMA	vahaʔ
YAM	mavontot	ACE	broʔ	BUG	ma-wari
ISN	narupsaʔ	BAT	busuk	*KON	huruʔ
*KAL	nalbog	MIN	busuʔʔ	*WOL	ma-βoʔko
*TAG	bulok	IND	busuk	MAG	botək
*AKL	ʔunut	SUN	buruk	NGA	moza
PAL	buruk	JAV	bəsoʔ	*SIK	βau-ŋ
*MOL	runut	MAD	buččuʔ	RTI	pulu-k
*KAG	bulʔuk	BAL	bərək	*BUR	mefu-n

*DOB	saŋal-di	MOT	bodaya	XAR	muda
*IRA	gumerə	MEK	feka	NEN	momoč
SAW	n-le	*ROV	muzi	KIR	mka
NYI	abola	MAR	boto	MSH	m <sup>w</sup> oɾ
MAM	moapuru	LAU	meme	*PON	maɾ
*TAK	-gan	KWO	bila	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> ɔ
DAM	wai	*RAG	boni	*EFI	ðā
MAB	buzbūzuŋana	PAA	vō	*WFI	loβuloβu
*YAB	ge-mob	*LEW	kona	*RTU	popo
KAU	βhuk	POR	mem	TON	pala
*TOL	mərut	NTA	piən	*SAM	mafu
BUA	məŋek	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> ase	MEL	m <sup>w</sup> ena
ADZ	mut-	NEM	ñat	TAH	pē
*KIL	-p <sup>w</sup> asa	*CEM	ñát	RAP	piro
TAW	buda	AJI	bo		

TSO *tonʔonʔo* (of uncooked food), *nakoŋni* (of cooked food), *ɸmoʔi* (of wood).

RUK *mālaməkə* 'rotten (of log)'; *mābaɭə* 'rotten (of food)'; *mābaɟarə* 'rotten (of sweet potatoes)'.

KAL *lobog + na-*.

TAG *siraʔ* (generic).

AKL *ɬunut* 'rotten fruit'; *samad* 'rotten meat'.

MOL *runut + og-ko-*.

KAG *bulʔok* (of fruits, vegetables, meat, eggs); *balʔəs* (of milk, coconut milk, cooked rice); *buʔo* (of eggs).

SAB *haluʔ + a-*.

MUR Also *napasaʔ* (of fruit), *nāpuk* (of wood), *nalunsay* (of structure).

GOR Also *huluʔo*; *mo-luhe*, *mo-bunuto* 'rotten, spoiled (of fruit)'.

UMA *vaha* 'spoiled (of food)'; *pope* 'rotten, (of corpse, meat)'; *ma<sup>ŋ</sup>ka* 'rotten (of wood)'.

KON Also *hona*.

WOL Also *maβuto*.

SIK Also *βauk*.

BUR Of fruit and meat; *bono* 'rotten wood'.

DOB Plural form; in the 3rd person singular the last vowel of the root becomes i: *saŋil*.

IRA	Also <i>numerə</i> .
TAK	'be damp, rotten' (stative verb).
YAB	Also ( <i>ŋa-</i> ) <i>mane</i> , <i>pale</i> .
TOL	<i>mərotə</i> 'rotten of timber'.
KIL	Of vegetables; <i>-p<sup>w</sup>asa-wokuβa</i> 'soft-only' ie 'completely rotten (of fruit)'.
ROV	<i>muzi</i> (of food), <i>popozu</i> (of wood).
RAG	<i>boni</i> (of food etc.); <i>boboŋa</i> (of timber).
LEW	Also <i>menunu</i> 'dry-rotted'.
KWA	Also <i>-apein</i> , also 'smell', <i>-mərar</i> (of wood and tubers).
CEM	Also <i>nít</i> (of fruit).
PON	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>okūr</i> (of fruit); <i>m<sup>w</sup>asot</i> (of wood).
WLE	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ə</i> , <i>maša</i> ; <i>xumiti</i> , <i>xəši</i> 'decayed, stale'.
EFI	<i>luđa</i> fruit, <i>βuđa</i> wood, <i>mid<sup>r</sup>a</i> flesh, mat, cloth.
WFI	Also <i>d<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>a</i> .
RTU	Also <i>para</i> .
SAM	Also <i>pala</i> 'rotten' (e.g. of trees).

## 05.130 DRINK

ATA	<i>m-nuβu-a-γ</i>	BAT	<i>minum</i>	RTI	<i>n-inu</i>
*TSO	<i>m-imo</i>	MIN	<i>minun</i>	BUR	<i>ino</i>
RUK	<i>wa-ŋolo</i>	IND	<i>minum</i>	DOB	<i>nan</i>
PAI	<i>t-əm-əkə]</i>	SUN	<i>ŋ-inum</i>	*IRA	<i>ninə</i>
YAM	<i>inom</i>	*JAV	<i>ŋ-ombe</i>	SAW	<i>n-inəm</i>
ISN	<i>um-inum</i>	MAD	<i>inum</i>	*NYI	<i>a<sup>?</sup>un</i>
*KAL	<i>inum</i>	BAL	<i>ŋ-inəm</i>	MAM	<i>siŋ</i>
*TAG	<i>inom</i>	SAS	<i>inəm-an</i>	TAK	<i>-luk</i>
*AKL	<i>inum</i>	*GOR	<i>moŋilu</i>	*DAM	<i>nānu y-ō-ya</i>
PAL	<i>minum</i>	DAA	<i>naŋ-inu</i>	MAB	<i>-win</i>
*MOL	<i>inum</i>	UMA	<i>ŋ-inu</i>	YAB	<i>-nòm</i>
KAG	<i>inəm</i>	BUG	<i>enuŋ</i>	KAU	<i>um</i>
BLA	<i>m-inum</i>	KON	<i>aŋŋ-inuŋ</i>	*TOL	<i>momo</i>
*SAB	<i>inum</i>	*WOL	<i>su<sup>m</sup>pu</i>	BUA	<i>num</i>
*MUR	<i>inum</i>	MAG	<i>inuŋ</i>	ADZ	<i>num-</i>
MGY	<i>mi-su<sup>t</sup>u</i>	NGA	<i>inu</i>	KIL	<i>-mom</i>
*ACE	<i>[jep]</i>	SIK	<i>?-inu</i>	TAW	<i>uma</i>

*MOT	inu-a	NTA	-anəm	*WLE	üřümī
*MEK	e-inu(-a)	KWA	-anum <sup>wi</sup>	EFI	ŋunu-βa
ROV	napoa	*NEM	k <sup>ɖ</sup> uduk	*WFI	homu
MAR	koʔu	CEM	òdu	RTU	?imo
LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ou	AJI	wāyɔ	TON	inu
KWO	goʔu	XAR	wiɟɔ	*SAM	inu
RAG	m <sup>w</sup> inu	NEN	kua	MEL	unu
*PAA	muni	*KIR	mōi	TAH	inu
LEW	muni	*MSH	irāk	RAP	unu
POR	mün	*PON	nim		

TSO Also (*im-a*).

KAL *inum + -um-*.

TAG *inom + -um-/-in*.

AKL (*imn-un*).

MOL *inum + m-/-on*.

SAB *inum + aN-/ø*.

MUR *inum (maŋ-; -on)*; also *sosop (-um-)* (of animals).

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

JAV (vb intrans).

GOR (*yilumo + moN-*).

WOL *su<sup>m</sup>pu* (general); *su<sup>m</sup>pu-su<sup>m</sup>pu* 'drink much'; also *ka<sup>n̄</sup>čiri*.

IRA (*ʃa*) *ga ginə* 'I want to drink'.

NYI Also *añuwiy*.

DAM 'water 3sg-eat-INF.

TOL *mom-e* (vb trans) 'to drink something'.

MOT *inu-a* (vb trans); *inuinu* (vb intrans).

MEK *e-inu-inu(-a)* is the progressive form.

PAA (vb trans); *munumun* (vb intrans).

NEM *k<sup>ɖ</sup>uduk* 'drink cold drink'; *felo* 'drink hot drinks'.

KIR *mōi* (vb intrans); *nima* (vb trans).

MSH *irāk* (vb intrans); *ilim* (vb trans), also *inim, limi*.

PON Also *take, urak* hon.

WLE *sořomī* also 'sip, suck'.

WFI Also *homi-a*.

SAM (polite) *taumafa*.

## 05.140 HUNGER

ATA	ma-škaiyuŋ	UMA	mo-ʔoroʔ	MAR	rofo
TSO	siro	BUG	lupuʔ	LAU	fiolo
*RUK	mo-a-baisi	KON	paʔre	KWO	moloʔu
PAI	ma-ʒul <sup>y</sup> a	WOL	ma-ara	RAG	m <sup>w</sup> ara
YAM	makč̣in	MAG	darəm	PAA	amal
*ISN	bisin	NGA	maŋe	LEW	viso
*KAL	bitil	SIK	moru-ŋ	POR	namexači
*TAG	gutom	RTI	na-ma-laʔa	NTA	noumus
*AKL	gutum	*BUR	glada	KWA	nukumha
PAL	urap	*DOB	buʔlay-ni	NEM	made-n
MOL	udap	IRA	bitərə	CEM	méné-n
*KAG	ləttəm	SAW	n-tələt	AJI	mēřē
BLA	k-bitil	*NYI	ameson	XAR	mēřē
SAB	haddon	MAM	tole-mate	NEN	gučawa
*MUR	bitil	TAK	mategen	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> aki
MGY	nuana	DAM	nāū	*MSH	aŋaŋe
*ACE	[dʉəʔ]	*MAB	petēle	*PON	menm <sup>w</sup> eŋe
BAT	ma-ʔe	*YAB	geŋ ge-yo	*WLE	kiřaxo
*MIN	litaʔ	*KAU	hun elip	EFI	βia-kana
IND	lapar	*TOL	mulmulum	WFI	mata-hewe
SUN	lapar	BUA	điḱaye	*RTU	pa ʔātē
*JAV	ŋəlih	ADZ	mwaŋiḱ	TON	fie-kai-a
MAD	lapar	KIL	molu	*SAM	fia ʔai
BAL	səduk	TAW	omhilage	MEL	fia-kai
SAS	lapah	MOT	hitolo	TAH	poʔia
GOR	biti	*MEK	inae ē-kimu	RAP	maruaki
DAA	oro taʔi	*ROV	ovia-na		

RUK *mā-siław* ‘hungry’.

ISN *nabtug* ‘full, sated (after eating)’.

KAL *busug* ‘sated, full’.

TAG *gutom* (adj); *gūtom* (n).

AKL *gutum* (adj); *gūtum* (n).

KAG See 04.612.

MUR Also *maitilan* (adj) ‘hungry’.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *lapa*.

JAV	Also <i>lue</i> .
BUR	Rana dialect <i>em-lapa</i> .
DOB	Adjective: 'hungry'.
NYI	Also <i>imeson</i> (1s/3s).
MAB	<i>petel</i> + accusative pronoun (be hungry).
YAB	'food it-lack'.
KAU	'die hunger'.
TOL	<i>mulmulum</i> 'be hungry'.
MEK	'(his/her) stomach is/was bitter'. North Mekeo <i>inae ē-tsiu</i> , West Mekeo has <i>inae ē-ji</i> and NW Mekeo <i>ina ē-gimu</i> .
ROV	Also <i>inovia</i> .
KIR	Also <i>tekan am<sup>w</sup>arake</i> lit 'wanting to eat'.
MSH	<i>aŋaŋe</i> also 'drowsy, groggy'; <i>bəɾɔ kəɾkəɾ</i> lit 'tickle in the throat'; <i>yaŋren</i> Eastern dialect; <i>k<sup>w</sup>ələ</i> Western dialect; also <i>ɔklɛ</i> arch.
PON	<i>menm<sup>w</sup>eŋe</i> lit 'wanting to eat'; <i>p<sup>w</sup>oŋiŋik</i> hon.
WLE	Also <i>pecɔü</i> , <i>xeräü</i> 'hungry for fish or meat'.
RTU	Also <i>soge</i> .
SAM	'want to eat', <i>fia</i> MDL, <i>?ai</i> 'eat'; <i>fia?ai</i> 'be hungry, hunger'; <i>mole-manava</i> 'be faint with hunger', <i>mole</i> 'be exhausted', <i>manava</i> 'stomach', (polite) <i>fia taumafa</i> .

### 05.141 FAMINE

ATA	SAB	gotom	DAA	oro mate
TSO	MUR	bitilan	*UMA	oro? m-pai?
RUK	MGY	musari	BUG	ma-lupu?
PAI	ACE		KON	'palara
YAM	BAT	ha-le-ən	*WOL	ka-ara-a
ISN	MIN	ka-lapar-an	MAG	(čəkəŋ) darəm
KAL	IND	kə-lapar-an	NGA	vula-maŋe
*TAG	SUN	ka-lapar-an	*SIK	moru-ŋ
*AKL	JAV	kalir-ən	RTI	la?a-s
*PAL	*MAD	[ka-lapar-an]	BUR	eglad haa
MOL	BAL	sayah	DOB	
KAG	*SAS	kə-lapah-an	*IRA	nəmatə bitərə
BLA	GOR	polāŋo	*SAW	[bau lačo]



NYI	ñamon b <sup>w</sup> e	*MEK	maŋea	*NEN	doŋo
MAM	tole	ROV	soŋe	KIR	te roŋo
TAK	futol	MAR	nabehu	*MSH	k <sup>w</sup> əɬe
*DAM	gā sā-ϕ sasai- kele-ya	LAU	fioloa	*PON	isol
MAB	petēle	KWO	molo <sup>?</sup> u-ŋā	WLE	
YAB	tobom	RAG	maro	EFI	dausiŋa
KAU	eɬip	*PAA	avoŋ ten amal	WFI	hewe
TOL	mulmulum	*LEW	poŋi na viso	RTU	masmasa
BUA	məyip	POR		TON	hoŋe
*ADZ	gubu <sup>?</sup> nam ga- dan ma <sup>?</sup> -an	NTA	noumus	SAM	oŋe
KIL	molusaula	*KWA	nukumha	MEL	ātala
TAW	gomala	NEM	manet	TAH	o <sup>?</sup> e
MOT	doe	CEM	ménet	*RAP	
		AJI	ã ve mēře		
		XAR	kirica		

TAG *gūtom + pagkaka*- ‘state of being hungry’.

AKL ‘time of hunger’, root: *gūtum*; *busug* ‘full, sated’, Proto-Philippines  
\**besuR*.

PAL Also *kabus* ‘exhaustion of supplies, resources’.

MAD From Malay?

SAS Goris, Thoir et al (1985) have only *lapah*. This use of *kə...-an* from Malay? See note 01.620 ‘darkness’.

UMA ‘bitter hunger’.

WOL Also *ka-lapara*.

SIK Also *moru-ŋ gəte*.

IRA ‘died of hunger’.

SAW From Ternate?

DAM ‘sun not-future (conditional) nothing-complete-infinitive’.

ADZ ‘sun time food not-PART’.

MEK *maula* ‘ritual fast’, loosely ‘famine’.

PAA ‘time of hunger’.

LEW ‘period of hunger’.

KWA Also *sueiuei*.

NEN Also *gučawa*.

MSH Also ‘hungry’; *ŋita*.

PON Also *lēk*.

RAP *oŋe* ‘lack, scarcity (of anything)’.

## 05.150 THIRST

ATA	ma-kiču- kušiyaʔ	UMA	<sup>h</sup> ka-mara	MAR	laŋasa
TSO	meçu	BUG	ma-dikka	LAU	malig <sup>w</sup> ou
RUK	mā-kaḏamə	KON	tirere	*KWO	māriɡoʔu
PAI	ma-kušaw	*WOL	ma-tuu ʃoroko	*RAG	madou
YAM	mawaw	*MAG	masa (vae)	PAA	maroro
ISN	awwaw	NGA	moa	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> osu
KAL	ūwaw	SIK	mara	POR	ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> eu
*TAG	ūhaw	RTI	ma-mada-k	NTA	-oaoa
*AKL	ūhaw	BUR	makasa-n	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a
PAL	tuknəw	*DOB	ma'raw-ni	*NEM	ñame-n k <sup>h</sup> uduk
MOL	lahak	IRA	ruđerə	CEM	
*KAG	laʔu	SAW	gli maŋ	AJI	baři wāyo
*BLA	mal-inun	*NYI	bale-n amar	*XAR	nā-wiʃo
SAB	tohoʔ kolloŋ	MAM	madole	NEN	dikua
*MUR	pās	*TAK	buro-gagau	*KIR	te taka
MGY	heta-heta	DAM	ail	MSH	maɾo
ACE	grah	*MAB	miri	*PON	mennim
BAT	uas	*YAB	bu ge-yo	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> ateɸ <sup>w</sup> ata
MIN	awih	*KAU	hun eki	EFI	βia-ŋunu
*IND	haus	*TOL	ni-mar	WFI	mata-homu
SUN	halabhab	BUA	ayo bəboβ	RTU	pa ʔimo
JAV	ŋəlaʔ	*ADZ	ua-n i-ɕaraʔ	TON	fie-inu-a
MAD	pəlkaʔ	KIL	daka	*SAM	fia inu
BAL	bədak	TAW	uyopopou-	MEL	fia-unu
SAS			haleeya-na	*TAH	pūhā
GOR	to-toʔāŋo	*MOT	ranu mase	*RAP	pohe vai
*DAA	na-bai ta <sup>m</sup> bolo	*MEK	aiso e-kupu		
		ROV	memeha		

TAG *ūhaw* (n); *uhaw* (adj).

KAG See 04.612.

BLA *m-alau* 'intense thirst'.

MUR Also *pāson* (adj) 'thirsty'.

IND Also [*dahaga*] from a South Indian language (Gonda 1973: 399).

DAA 'dry throat'.

WOL 'dry throat'.

MAG 'thirsty'.

DOB	Adjective, ‘thirsty’.
NYI	‘neck-his dry’.
TAK	‘neck-parched’.
MAB	<i>miri</i> + accusative pronoun ‘be thirsty’.
YAB	‘water it-lack’.
KAU	‘die water’.
TOL	<i>ni-</i> NOM, <i>mar</i> ‘thirsty’.
ADZ	‘neck-3sg POSS REAL-be dry’.
MOT	<i>ranu</i> ‘water’, <i>mase</i> ‘to die’; <i>ranu e mase a</i> ‘he/she is thirsty’, lit ‘dying of thirst’.
MEK	<i>aiso</i> also <i>aio</i> ‘throat’; <i>e-kupu</i> ‘is/was blocked, closed’.
KWO	‘wait for drink’.
RAG	‘to thirst, be thirsty’.
KWA	‘thirsty’ (adj).
NEM	‘desire to drink’.
XAR	‘want to drink’.
KIR	Also ‘dry (of throat)’; <i>kani mōi</i> lit ‘want to dry’.
PON	Also ‘dry’ (of throat).
WLE	Also <i>xara</i> .
SAM	‘want to drink’; <i>fia</i> mood particle, <i>inu</i> ‘drink’, <i>fia inu</i> (vb intrans) ‘be thirsty’, ‘thirst’.
TAH	Also <i>poʔi hā</i> .
RAP	Also <i>kava haha</i> .

## 05.160 SUCK

ATA	pašihuβ	PAL	dumuduʔ	*MIN	mañusu
*TSO	re-spiç̣i		(duduʔ)	IND	məŋ-isap
RUK	wa-θə̀ləpə	*MOL	sopsop	*SUN	ŋa-ləguk
PAI	s-əm-əlʲup	*KAG	səpsəp	JAV	ñə̀ɗot (sə̀ɗot)
*YAM	ç̣iropən	*BLA	m-saf	MAĐ	isəp
*ISN	susu-wan	*SAB	sopsop	*BAL	ñə̀(p)səp
*KAL	supsup	*MUR	tiop		(sə̀(p)səp)
*TAG	sipsip	MGY	mi-ç̣enç̣iʔa	SAS	sərut
*AKL	supsup	*ACE	piəp	*GOR	mohinupo
		BAT	ətç̣əp	DAA	nan-tomi

*UMA	hiru?	*KAU	slup	*NEM	tit
BUG	maŋ-ŋiso?	TOL	ū	CEM	dīt
*KON	aŋŋ-iso?	BUA	səsuβin	AJI	ĵī
*WOL	omu	ADZ	tut-	XAR	ĵī
MAG	čuču	KIL	-nunu	NEN	kuamimi
NGA	təmo	TAW	gugu	*KIR	temeka
*SIK	hiruk	MOT	topo-a	*MSH	ninnini
RTI	nasa-musi	*MEK	e-ʔu	*PON	mīk
*BUR	rapu	ROV	nonopo	*WLE	soʔomī
DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> utaw	*MAR	čubo	EFI	domi-đa
*IRA	ninə susə	LAU	notofia	WFI	tomi-a
SAW	n-əref	KWO	mudu	RTU	kuči
NYI	somosom	RAG	huhu	*TON	misi
MAM	nono	PAA	sūsu	*SAM	susu
*TAK	-rasani	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> om <sup>w</sup> oni	*MEL	susu
DAM	dū	POR	čum <sup>w</sup> i	TAH	ʔote
MAB	-sem	*NTA	-əɾəm	*RAP	ʔomo-ʔomo
YAB	-lib	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> m <sup>w</sup> i		

TSO (re-spiç-i).

YAM Also ayopən 'sip'.

ISN ĭgup 'sip, slurp'.

KAL Also supsup + -on; also sūsu + -um/-on (breast).

TAG sipsip + -um/-in .

AKL supsup + -un; hīgup 'sip, slurp'.

MOL sopsop + -um/-on.

KAG səpsəp + mag/-ən.

BLA t-mutu? 'suckle'.

SAB sopsop +aN-/ø.

MUR tiop (maŋ-; -on) 'suck on cigarette, straw, etc.', amul (mag-; -on) 'suck on sweet, sugar-cane, pencil, thumb etc. in mouth'; titi? (-um-) (of a child at breast); sosop (maŋ-; -on) 'suck up moisture' (of insects, blotting paper, salt etc.).

ACE Also juɾuet.

MIN (maN-susu)

SUN Also ŋa-loklok.

BAL Also (N-)isəp.

- GOR (*yinupo + moh-*).
- UMA Also *hone?*
- KON *aŋŋ-iso?* (as through straw, etc.); *a?-mi?misi*; *aŋŋ-omog* ‘suck long term by storing in mouth’.
- WOL Also *sosopi*.
- SIK Also *toβo*.
- BUR ‘suck fruit or breast milk’; *frutu-k bia* or *lupu bia* ‘suck up sago paste’; *doso wae* ‘slurp water’.
- IRA Also *nəsəri* ‘suck at s.t.’; *sofətə* ‘smoke a cigarette’.
- TAK ‘suck in (e.g., smoke)’. Also: *su i-rae-da* ‘breast he-pull-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘(the baby) is pulling the breast’.
- KAU *slup* ‘suck as through a straw’; *um pon* ‘drink its skin’, i.e. ‘sucking on s.th.’.
- MEK *e-?u-pa* intensive form. *e-ŋuŋu-ŋa* ‘suck smoke or air’.
- MAR *čʉ?u* ‘breast’.
- NTA *am<sup>w</sup>ah* (of baby at breast).
- KWA Also *-tum<sup>w</sup>i*.
- NEM ‘suck, drink from breast’; also *huli* ‘suck sugar-cane’.
- KIR ‘sip, smoke (tobacco)’; *memeka*.
- MSH ‘at the breast’.
- PON Also *kūl* as (of cigarette or sugar cane).
- WLE Also *xum<sup>w</sup>ū-a* ‘suck in, absorb (liquid)’; *tütü* (of cigarette or sugar cane).
- TON Also *komo*.
- SAM *susu* (vb intrans) ‘suck (of a baby)’; otherwise *mitimiti* (vb trans).
- MEL Also [*nōmia*], *kōmia*, *sōmia*.
- RAP *?omo-?omo* ‘suck (on something)’; *?opo-?opo* ‘suck or suction (out something)’.

### 05.180 CHEW

ATA	pišikaun	*YAM	ŋətŋətən	*AKL	ūsap
*TSO	mu-simo	ISN	ŋa?ŋat	PAL	sumɔpa?
*RUK	wa-daədālə	*KAL	kotkot		(sɔpa?)
*PAI	ḱ-əm-əlḱəl	*TAG	ŋuya?	*MOL	sapa?

*KAG	suppa	SIK	ga	RAG	sama
BLA	s-am-fɔʔ	RTI	ale	PAA	muŋasi
*SAB	papaʔ	*BUR	kaa	LEW	ŋa
*MUR	sapaʔ	*DOB	ʔa-ʔara ŋur	POR	ŋas-i
MGY	mi-ɕaku	IRA	nəbabə	NTA	-am <sup>w</sup> e
*ACE	kuñeh	SAW	n-oŋ	*KWA	-ahi
BAT	hilhil	*NYI	ataʔak	NEM	wai
MIN	kuñah-kuñah	*MAM	zamuʔu	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> éi
*IND	məŋuñah (kuñah)	*TAK	-ani	AJI	mã
		DAM	omul	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ɪ
*SUN	ŋa-[gayəm]	*MAB	-ŋo	NEN	čapa
JAV	mamah	*YAB	-ŋaʔ	KIR	kanta
MAD	ŋail (-kail)	*KAU	mak	MSH	meme
*BAL	ma(k)pak (pa(k)pak)	*TOL	ŋə	*PON	rukɔ
SAS	aŋet	BUA	sa	*WLE	řüřü
GOR	mo-mama	ADZ	ga- <sup>n</sup> ɕam	EFI	mama-a
DAA	na <sup>n</sup> gaŋja	*KIL	-kam-k <sup>w</sup> am	*WFI	mama
		TAW	uta	RTU	mama
*UMA	kaʔaʔ	MOT	ɣauaɣaua	*TON	lamu
BUG	čippa	*MEK	e-u-a	*SAM	ŋau
*KON	aŋ-ŋota (kota)	ROV	hamhamu	*MEL	kaina
*WOL	mama	*MAR	ŋasa	*TAH	ʔauʔau
MAG	mama	*LAU	damua	*RAP	namu-namu
NGA	ŋeu	KWO	meʔe-a		

TSO Also (*sinv-i*).

RUK *wa-apo* 'to chew (betel nuts)'.

PAI *mapu* 'chew (betel nut)', *c-əm-a!-ca!* 'chew and feed someone'.

YAM Also *ozaşən*.

KAL *kotkot + man-/on*.

TAG Also *ŋataʔ + -um/-in*; 'chew food when eating'.

AKL Also *supaʔ (supʔ-un)*.

MOL *sapaʔ + -an*.

KAG *suppa + mag-/ən*.

SAB *papaʔ + aN/ø*.

MUR *sapaʔ (mag-; -on)* 'chew meat etc.', also *ogop (maŋ-; -on)* 'chew s.th. crunchy or brittle', *intat (mag-)* 'chew betel nut'.

ACE Also *mamɔih*.

- IND Also *makan*.
- SUN From Javanese, also *ñapek* (*čapek*).
- BAL (*N-*)*ilag* of cattle, ‘chew cud’.
- UMA Also *kaŋia?*
- KON Also *a?-ka?lero*.
- WOL *na<sup>h</sup>ku* ‘chew tobacco’; also *omu*.
- BUR *kaa* ‘eat, chew’; also *hada* ‘bite, dog chewing bone’; *mama-k* ‘(of a healer) chews herb without swallowing to blow them on a sick person’.
- DOB ‘he bites crushes’. *ŋur* ‘grind, crush’.
- NYI Also *tadiy*; *ato?eh* ‘chew (betel nut)’.
- MAM Also *?isa*.
- TAK ‘eat’ (05.110).
- MAB *-ŋo* ‘chew and then spit out’, *-seŋ* ‘chew betel nut’, *-<sup>h</sup>gorsek* ‘chew at’.
- YAB Also *-kaku* ‘chew something hard, crunch’.
- KAU ‘chew betel nut’; also *kaip*.
- TOL *ŋəŋə* (vb intrans).
- KIL ‘CONT-eat’; *-kasumsam* ‘chew noisily, munch, slobber’; *-kuli* ‘chew and suck’ (as sugarcane) *-kaui* ‘chew betel nut’.
- MEK Also *e-u-ka* is also heard, e.g. for sugarcane.
- MAR *krau* ‘crunch’; *ehu* ‘chew sugarcane’.
- KWA Also ‘bite’.
- LAU ‘eat noisily’.
- PON Also *kaŋit*.
- WLE Also *ŋüŋü* ‘gnaw, chew (betel)’.
- WFI Also *maŋia*.
- TON Also *ŋau*.
- SAM Also *lamu*, *mama* (vb trans) ‘masticate’, (polite) ‘chew’.
- MEL Also *ŋaua*, [*sam<sup>w</sup>āia*].
- TAH Also *mama*.
- RAP *namu-namu* ‘chew (well)’; *naŋi-naŋi* ‘chew (very little)’.

## 05.181 SWALLOW

ATA	k-um-tam	DAA	naŋ-ome	MAR	tomno
*TSO	mi-rimɕi	UMA	omeʔ	LAU	okomia
RUK	wa-lələ	BUG	maŋimmiʔ	*KWO	onomi-a
PAI	l-əm-aməŋ	KON	aŋŋ-aʔluʔ	RAG	
YAM	itlən	*WOL	gofi	PAA	delemi
ISN	tallan	MAG	omət	LEW	sinomi
*KAL	lumtun	*NGA	ɬəlo	POR	<sup>n</sup> dʀöm-i
*TAG	lunok	*SIK	m-əla	NTA	-arŋe
*AKL	tufun	RTI	kodo	KWA	-atəŋai
PAL	tələnən (tələn)	BUR	reru-k	NEM	temi
*MOL	tolon	DOB	ʔa-leŋam	CEM	nêmi-hi
*KAG	lamʔəd	IRA	nətonə	AJI	nuwĩrĩ
BLA	f-an-lo	*SAW	n-tigle	XAR	nĩ
*SAB	tollon	NYI	sakalem	*NEN	ŋiti
*MUR	tolon	MAM	tono	KIR	oŋa
MGY	mi-telina	TAK	-tiŋali	*MSH	kaɾæləp <sup>me</sup>
*ACE	[ũət]	*DAM	y-aka-si-le-ya	*PON	katalle
*BAT	boddut	*MAB	-tēne	*WLE	woɾomĩ
MIN	raguʔʔ	*YAB	-da <sup>ɟ</sup> goŋ	EFI	tilo-ma
IND	mənəlan	KAU	kum	WFI	βed <sup>f</sup> ə-ŋia
	(təlan)	*TOL	konom	RTU	toro
*SUN	ŋa-ləguk	*BUA	ŋon	TON	folo
*JAV	ŋə-lək	*ADZ	<sup>n</sup> tapa- gin	*SAM	folo
MAD	galuñuʔ	KIL	-dumoni	MEL	fəromia
*BAL	ŋələk-aŋ (gələk-aŋ)	TAW	meha	*TAH	horomiʔi
SAS	bələt	MOT	hadono-a	RAP	horo
*GOR	mələlələ	*MEK	e-koŋo-pa		
		RØV	ononolo		

TSO Also (*rimɕ-a*).

KAL *lumtun + man-/on*.

TAG Also *lulon + -um-/in*.

AKL (*tunl-un*), Proto-Philippines *\*telen*.

MOL *tolon + -um-/on*.

KAG *lamʔəd + mag-/ən (lamʔərən)*.

SAB *tollon + aN-/ø*.

MUR *tolon (maŋ-; -on)*.



ACE	From Mon-Khmer, sometimes written -c.
BAT	Also <i>tələn</i> .
SUN	Also <i>niri</i> y ( <i>tiri</i> y).
JAV	Other varieties <i>ŋə-ləg</i> ; also <i>ŋ-untal</i> (N-).
BAL	(N-) <i>gələk-aŋ</i> 'swallow after chewing, swallow liquids'; - <i>uluh</i> , - <i>untal</i> 'swallow solid food without chewing it'.
GOR	( <i>tololo + moN-</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>soŋaki</i> , <i>tolo</i> , <i>d'oku</i> .
NGA	<i>ŋəlo</i> (solid); <i>kəlo</i> (liquid).
SIK	Also <i>məlagə</i> .
SAW	Also <i>n-tolem</i> .
DAM	'3sg-eat-down-go-INF'.
MAB	Also - <i>won</i> 'gulp down'.
YAB	Also - <i>de</i> , - <i>k<sup>w</sup>anam</i> , - <i>telij</i> '(of animals) swallow'.
TOL	Also: <i>kənom-c</i> (vb trans), also <i>dolom</i> (vb intrans), <i>dolom-c</i> (vb trans).
BUA	Also <i>ayɛ tək</i> , <i>ni gələptuyin</i> .
ADZ	'swallow + OBL'.
MEK	See 04 751.
KWO	'gullet-trans.
NEN	Also <i>urijid</i> .
MSH	<i>klɾælp<sup>w</sup>e</i> 'absorb, suck up'; also <i>oŋaŋlək</i> .
PON	Also <i>katanle</i> .
WLE	Also <i>xum<sup>w</sup>ū-a</i> 'absorb, suck up', <i>xəŋ<sup>w</sup>ūsowō</i> also 'gulp'.
SAM	<i>pu<sup>?</sup>u</i> 'swallow whole'.
TAH	Also <i>momi</i> .

### 05.190 CHOKE

ATA	mana <sup>?</sup> ax	ISN	mi <sup>?</sup> dallān	KAG	səksərəkan
*TSO	çrin-i	*KAL	sodok	*BLA	baksan
RUK	wa-θəre	*TAG	hīrin	*SAB	bəŋkəl
PAI	q-əm-əlpəc	*AKL	du <sup>?</sup> un	*MUR	makadanan
YAM	kaşəŋşəŋan no kanən	PAL		*MGY	manenda
		*MOL	bo <sup>?</sup> gon	*ACE	cukia <sup>?</sup>

BAT	səkkik	SAW	n-əsakɛ	LEW	wuri
MIN	čakɪʔʔ	NYI		POR	
*IND	məñ-čəkik	MAM	dabari	NTA	-armeŋa
*SUN	[ñəkək] (čəkək)	*TAK	-sae-kidani	*KWA	-ukum <sup>wi</sup>
*JAV	kə-səlaʔ	*DAM	ula kite	NEM	tele nō-n
*MAD	ŋ-untal	*MAB	kini ilēge ɳgure-	CEM	êbunu-hi
*BAL	sukak	*YAB	(geŋ) ke-ko	AJI	təwĩ gũrũ
*SAS	bələt	KAU		*XAR	ça-ame
GOR	t-il-opolo	TOL	koŋo	NEN	
DAA	naka-vuʔu	BUA	tuŋ	*KIR	korobun
*UMA	moñu	*ADZ	gafi <sup>ɳʔ</sup> -a ua-n	MSH	kkül
BUG	maddiʔ	KIL	-kaβini	*PON	piniwer
KON	aʔ-kalloŋ	TAW	iyopopo-	WLE	ssuxu
*WOL	to <sup>ɳ</sup> ko		baleyana	EFI	ora
MAG		MOT	heboye	WFI	ora
NGA	səke	MEK		*RTU	vararā
*SIK	bəme boʔir	*ROV	hoa	TON	loʔoa
RTI	kidu	MAR	grona	*SAM	laoa
BUR	gor-mehe-k	LAU	lola	MEL	
*DOB	na-taʔala ʔani	KWO	lamo	TAH	puʔunena
	taɸun	*RAG	gala	RAP	pukuʔine
IRA	səbetə	PAA	delem kononi		

TSO *čriŋ-i* ‘choke on food’, *re-ŋrosi* ‘choke on liquid’.

KAL *sodok + na-*.

TAG Also *bulon + mā--an*.

AKL (*dunl-an*).

MOL *boʔgon + og-ko--an*.

BLA *baksan* ‘choke (on water or food)’; *baklan* ‘choke (on a bone)’; *bantulag* ‘choke (on dry food)’; *bankag* ‘choke (on food)’.

SAB *boŋkol + ka-an*.

MUR *makadanan* ‘choke on food, fishbone etc.’ (vb intrans), *sikak (maŋ-; -on)* ‘strangle with hands’ (vb trans); *sigot (maŋ-; -on)* ‘garrotte with rope etc.’ (vb trans).

MGY From *maN-kenda*, also ‘to strangle’.

ACE ‘throttle’.

IND (vb trans); also *tər-sədak, ləmas* (vb intrans).

- SUN From Malay?  
 JAV Also *kə-sələk*.  
 MAD Safioedin (1977) ‘swallow’.  
 BAL *sukak* ‘have food stuck in one’s throat’; *ñləkak* (*N-sləkak*) ‘be stuck in a person’s throat (of a piece of food)’; *ñəkuk* (*N-čəkuk*) (vb trans).  
 SAS Thoir et al (1985): *kə(m)bələt* ‘stuck in the throat’.  
 UMA Also *hu<sup>m</sup>peda*.  
 WOL ‘stick in the throat’.  
 SIK (vb trans).  
 DOB ‘it blocks his windpipe’.  
 TAK ‘bad-block up’, e.g. *i-sae-kidani-da* ‘he is choking’.  
 DAM ‘neck choke’.  
 MAB ‘food gets stuck in throat’.  
 YAB ‘(thing) it-stay’.  
 ADZ ‘choke-PART neck-3sg POSS’.  
 ROV *hoa* (bones), also *pulea* lit ‘reflux’.  
 RAG ‘to be choked’.  
 KWA Also *-tiw*; *-atiri* (vb trans).  
 XAR ‘cover definitively’.  
 KIR Also *ɲawa*.  
 PON Also *ɲat*.  
 RTU Also *lava*.  
 SAM ‘choke on food’.

## 05.210 COOK

English: *cook*

*ATA	t-um-ahuk	*KAL	ūtu	*BLA	t-m-aga
*TSO	priʔ-i	*TAG	lūtuʔ	*SAB	balla
*RUK	wa-aga	*AKL	ʔāhaʔ	*MUR	ansak
PAI	k-əm-sa	*PAL	məglutuʔ	MGY	ma-handʔu
*YAM	manotoŋ	*MOL	gunda	ACE	taguən
ISN	mamotun	*KAG	lutu	BAT	lōppa

*MIN	masaʔ	SAW	n-fa-m-ɔsɛ	*LEW	virani kapi
IND	mə-masak	*NYI	aʒeh	POR	tʉŋ a na-xa <sup>mb</sup>
SUN	ŋ-asak-an	MAM	boadi	*NTA	-aup
JAV	ma(ŋ)saʔ	*TAK	-ne'i	*KWA	-wani
MAD	a-massaʔ	DAM		NEM	fai
*BAL	ŋ-ləbəŋ-in	*MAB	-tēge you	CEM	pái
*SAS	pəriap	*YAB	-no	AJI	uɔ
*GOR	mo-tubu	*KAU	βut	XAR	ʃutā
DAA	no-riapu	*TOL	[kuk]	*NEN	aʒoni
*UMA	poka-tahaʔ	BUA	yey	*KIR	[kūka]
BUG	mannasu	ADZ	tai-	*MSH	kΛmat
KON	aʔ-pallu	KIL	-βakapula	*PON	inim
*WOL	nasu	TAW	ulona	WLE	xametā
*MAG	teneŋ	*MOT	nadu-a	EFI	βaka-buta-ra
NGA	pəɗe	*MEK		WFI	βa-buta-nia
*SIK	pəra-ŋ	ROV	kinkina	RTU	funu
*RTI	dode-nasu	*MAR	raro	TON	faka-moho
*BUR	masa-k	LAU	nare	*SAM	tao
*DOB	ʔa-nay	KWO		MEL	[kūku]
IRA	nətunə wenəga	*RAG	tutunu	TAH	tunu
		*PAA	[gūkeni]	RAP	tunu

ATA *t-um-ahuk*, *t-um-aʔuk* 'to cook side dishes', *-um-ha-hapuy* 'to cook rice'.

TSO (*priʔ-i*).

RUK *wa-aga* 'to cook staple food', *to-a-damay* 'to cook side dishes'.

YAM From *zotoŋ + man-*.

KAL *ūtu + man-*.

TAG *lūtuʔ + mag-/in* PIIN \**lutuq*.

AKL *ʔāhaʔ + -un*.

PAL Also *mɔgusaʔ*.

MOL *gunda + mɔg-/an*.

KAG *lutu + mag-/ən* (*lutuun*); also *sinʔad + mag-/ən* (*sinʔarən*) (often implies 'to cook rice').

BLA *m-lifo* 'cook (esp. rice)'.

SAB *balla + aN-/ø* usually 'cook rice'; *aʒal +aN-/ø* 'prepare fish and vegetables for cooking in specific ways'.

MUR *ansak* (*mag-/maŋ-*; *-on*; *-in*); also *sansam*.

- MIN Also *tana?*
- BAL *(N-)ləbəŋ-in* ‘cook something’ see 05.121; *(N-)jakan* ‘cook rice by steaming it’ by extension ‘cook a meal’.
- SAS Also *kəla?* ‘cook, boil’. Teeuw, ‘cook rice’: *ŋə-me, ŋə-mi; moŋka?*; *məŋəla?*; *(ŋə)ŋəla?*
- GOR *momoti (buti + moN-)* ‘cook without liquid’.
- UMA Also *ruhe* ‘cook rice’.
- WOL Also *pe-βatu* ‘cook food with hot stones in an earth oven’.
- MAG ‘cook rice with water’; *reok* ‘cook vegetables’; *kokor* ‘cook maize and beans’; *pukaŋ* ‘cook tubers’.
- SIK Also *pera-ŋ heri-ŋ, huna*.
- RTI *dode-nasu* ‘all forms of cooking’; specifically, *dode* ‘cook/boil rice’; *nasu*, ‘cook/boil meat’.
- BUR *pefa* ‘roast’; *sgela* ‘fry’; *papu* ‘boil s.t.’; *teda-k* ‘steam in section of bamboo’; *eny-omo-k* ‘steam with hot rocks in a covered hole in the ground’.
- DOB *?a-nay* ‘boil (vb trans), cook’.
- NYI *aŋeh* ‘cook in water’, *asarei* ‘cook over fire’, *aselen* ‘cook in a pan (fry)’.
- TAK *-nef* ‘cook in a pot’, *-gasa* ‘cook in the open fire’.
- MAB ‘hold fire’.
- KAU *βut, sut* ‘roast taro, yams, and sweet potato over an open fire’.
- YAB (gen).
- TOL [*kukuk*] (vb intrans), also *lā* (vb intrans), *lā-ne* (vb trans).
- MOT *nadu-a* (vb trans); *nanadu* (vb intrans).
- MEK See 05.220, note.
- MAR *raro* ‘cook in a pot or pan’; *moemobe* ‘heat, warm up’.
- RAG *dutunu* ‘cook in flame’; also [*kuku*] ‘to cook in a pot’.
- PAA Borrowed from English via Bislama, with transitivising suffix.
- LEW ‘kindle fire’; also [*ve-kuk*].
- NTA *-aup* ‘cook in saucepan’; *-oah* ‘cook in coals or frying pan’. Both intransitive. See 05.220 for transitive equivalents.
- KWA *-awan* (vb trans).
- NEN *aŋoni* (vb trans); also *čani, čakākā*.
- KIR *kam<sup>w</sup>aia* CAUS of ‘cooked’; also *kanai ai* lit ‘feed the fire’.

MSH CAUS of 'cooked'.

PON Also [kukī].

SAM (polite) *faʔa-vela* (vb trans), *faʔa-* CAUS, *vela* 'cooked', (polite) *faʔa-mālū; mālū* 'broil'.

### 05.220 BOIL (vb)

ATA	mana maiʔ	*DAA	no-re <sup>n</sup> de	*ROV	rararo
*TSO	priʔi	UMA	polili	MAR	
RUK	ŋi-a-boray	BUG	rede	LAU	furafura
PAI	mi-natuk	KON	aʔ-paʔ-rere	KWO	
YAM	kombwar	*WOL	ma-nasu	*RAG	hav <sup>w</sup> a
ISN	lanɣaŋ	MAG	rua	PAA	gūkeni
KAL	luŋwag	NGA	nasu	*LEW	luaini
*TAG	kuloʔ	SIK	pura	POR	
*AKL	bukaʔ	*RTI	na-hana	NTA	-uβin
*PAL	mɔgɔlabun	*BUR	gasi	KWA	-wani
*MOL	tanok	*DOB	ʔa-nay	NEM	p <sup>h</sup> ut
*KAG	siʔkal	IRA	wer daru	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> êt
*BLA	f-kadək	SAW	n-ɔwɛl	AJI	pɛ b <sup>w</sup> ɛ
*SAB	lagaʔ	NYI	tuburok	XAR	bɔ
*MUR	didiʔ	MAM	samiŋ	NEN	čeŋod
*MGY	manguʔ <sup>r</sup> aka	*TAK	-sasi	*KIR	kaburoa
*ACE	ju	*DAM	y-abi-ya	*MSH	ru
BAT	lɔppa	MAB	-noi	*PON	[p <sup>w</sup> ɔil]
MIN	abuyh	*YAB	-letɔʔ	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> uxɔ
*IND	mə-rəbus	KAU	nis	EFI	βaka-saga-a
SUN	ŋa-golak	*TOL	buə	WFI	βa-hala
*JAV	umop	BUA	laβin	*RTU	funu
MAD	ŋəlla (-kəlla)	ADZ	pari-	*TON	faka-lili
*BAL	ŋ-lablab	KIL	-sulu	*SAM	[saka]
SAS	baŋkal	TAW	luwowola	*MEL	[poele]
*GOR	l-um-o- lo <sup>m</sup> bula	*MOT	lohilohi	TAH	tunu pape
		*MEK	e-ŋaku	RAP	pihaʔa

TSO (*priʔ-i*) *priʔi* 'boil food'; *b-oxinrano* (*xinran-a*) 'boil water'; see also *mo-rfuso* 'boil up' (vb intrans).

TAG *kuloʔ* + *-um-* (vb intrans).

- AKL *bukaʔ* (vb intrans); *pa-bukaʔ + i-* (vb trans).
- PAL Also *məŋinit*.
- MOL *tanok + mog-/on*.
- KAG *si'kal + mag-/ən*; *sikal* (of water); *lagaʔ* (of food).
- BLA *f-kadok* 'boil (water)'; *l-an-gəʔ* 'boil (food)'.
- SAB *lagaʔ + aN-/ø*.
- MUR *didiʔ (-um-)* (vb intrans) '(of liquid) come to boiling point', *tanok (mag-/maŋ-; -on)* (vb trans) 'boil rice', *lasuʔ (mapa-; pa- -on)* 'boil other food'.
- MGY From *maN-huʔʔaka*.
- ACE 'boiling', also *taguən iə* 'boil water', see 05.210.
- IND (vb trans); *mən-didih* (vb intrans).
- JAV Other varieties, *umob*.
- BAL (*N*-)*əŋsəb* 'boil for a short time only, e.g. bean sprouts'; *mə-luab* (vb intrans).
- GOR *mo-lo-lo<sup>m</sup>bula* (vb intrans) *mo-po-lo-lo<sup>m</sup>bula* (vb trans); also *mo-didi* 'boil, liquefy'.
- DAA (vb intrans).
- WOL Also *nasu*.
- RTI *na-hana*: 'to heat'; *naka-doto*: 'to cook in boiling water'.
- BUR (vb intrans); *papu* (vb trans).
- DOB (vb trans).
- TAK (vb trans). Homophonous with *-sasi* 'rub' (09.310).
- DAM '3sg-cook-INF; actual meaning: 'cook in water', also *nānu kulo ɸi-ya* 'to boil water'.
- YAB Intransitive and transitive verb. Also *bu kɛ-letəʔ* 'water boils'.
- TOL Also *buəi, buəbuəi* 'bubble, boil, foam', *və-buəinə* (vb trans) 'boil'.
- MOT *lohilohi* of water; *daidai* of food Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.), (of water); also *nadu-a* 'cook'.
- MEK *e-ŋaku-ŋaku* is the ordinary progressive form 'cook in water'.
- RAG *hav<sup>w</sup>a* (vb trans); *rere* (vb intrans).
- ROV *gototo* 'boiling'.
- LEW Also [*kuku-ni*] (from Bislama).
- KIR Also *buro*.
- MSH Also *p<sup>w</sup>ulullul*.

PON From English.

RTU *funu* ‘boil (food)’; *puhrōki* ‘(water) boil’.

TON Also *haka*.

SAM From Fijian *saga*.

MEL From English.

### 05.230 ROAST, FRY

*ATA	č-um-uʔuh	*DAA	no-tunu	*ROV	motu
*TSO	ç-m-uxu	UMA	hole	*MAR	gahu
RUK	akamə	BUG	tunu	LAU	naka
PAI	k-əm-ul <sup>y</sup> aw	*KON	aʔ-tunu	KWO	nagesi-a
*YAM	paʃiʃitən	WOL	hole	*RAG	raraŋi
ISN	kīrug	MAG	tapa	PAA	pramuni
*KAL	tūnu	NGA	ego	*LEW	sikapi
*TAG	ihaw	*SIK	ʔ-laba	*POR	pan-i
*AKL	ihaw	*RTI	se-sena	NTA	-uβan
PAL	tunuwɔn	*BUR	pefa	*KWA	-arəŋi
*MOL	randəŋ	*DOB	ʔa-ŋena	NEM	cini
*KAG	[pritu]	IRA	nətunə	CEM	cini
BLA	s-an-lal	*SAW	n-ɛsɔn	AJI	āřā
*SAB	tunuʔ	NYI	asorei	XAR	
*MUR	siŋgalaʔ	MAM	moamoa	NEN	čani
MGY	man-endi	*TAK	-gutani	*KIR	tinima
*ACE	croh	*DAM	i-tagāi-ya	*MSH	um <sup>u</sup> in
*BAT	[paŋgaŋ]	MAB	-nēne	*PON	inim
MIN	goreŋ	YAB	-paʔ	*WLE	fisixī
*IND	məməŋgaŋ	*KAU	papha	*EFI	taβu-na
	(paŋgaŋ)	*TOL	tun	*WFI	lese-e
*SUN	ŋa-goreŋ	BUA	βəsi	*RTU	nɔsu
JAV	ŋ-goreŋ	ADZ	tai-	*TON	tunu
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> uriŋ	*KIL	-gabu	*SAM	tao
*BAL	nunu (tunu)	TAW	omdilele	*MEL	rara
SAS		*MOT	gabu-a	*TAH	tunu paʔa
*GOR	mo-laləŋo	*MEK	e-aŋa	*RAP	tunu ahi

ATA *k-um-uit* ‘to burn off animal hair after butchering’, *maʔah* ‘to get warm by the fire’.



- TSO  $\phi$ -*m-uxu* ( $\phi$ *xu-a*) ‘roast or broil meat over open fire’; see  $\phi$ -*m-apo* ( $\phi$ *ap-i*) ‘roast meat/fish at slight distance to dry’,  $\phi$ -*m-u $\phi$ ru* ( $\phi$ *ru $\phi$ r-a*) ‘fry’.
- YAM *pašišitən* ‘fry’; *šaraban* ‘roast’.
- KAL *tūnu + man-/on* ‘roast meat’; *sēlat + man-/on* ‘roast coffee’.
- TAG *ihaw + mag-/i-* ‘cook over fire’.
- AKL Also *asaʔ* ‘roast on a spit’.
- MOL *randan + mog-/on* ‘fry in pan’; *danlag + mog-/an* ‘fry over fire’.
- KAG *pritu + mag-/ən* ([*prituun*]) from Spanish *frito*.
- SAB *tunu?* + *aN-/ø*, also *buwan + aN-/an* ‘fry’, also *landan-landan + aN-/ø*; *tunu?* ‘to roast on coals’; *tapa + aN-/ø* ‘to roast above coals’.
- MUR *singala?* (*man-; -on*) ‘roast, dry-fry’; [*gudin*] (*mag-; -on*) ‘fry in oil’, from Malay *goreng*.
- ACE *croh* ‘fry’; *lhua* ‘roast’.
- BAT [*pangan*] ‘roast’ from Malay; [*goreng*] ‘fry’ from Malay.
- IND *pangan, bakar* ‘roast’; *məng-goreng* ‘fry’.
- SUN ‘fry’; *ŋa-golak* ‘roast’; see also 05.240.
- BAL (*N-*)*tunu* ‘roast/bake over hot coals, e.g. *sate*’; (*N-*)*goreng* ‘fry in oil’; (*N-*)*nānah* ‘fry without oil’.
- GOR *mo-lalajo* ‘roast’; *molinaŋa* (*tinana + moN-*) ‘fry’; also *momoti* (*buti + moN-*) ‘fry without oil’.
- DAA *no-tunu* ‘roast’; *no<sup>m</sup>ba-sole* ‘fry’.
- KON *a<sup>?</sup>-tunu* ‘roast’; *as-*saŋgara** ‘to fry in oil’.
- SIK Also *nope, hana*.
- RTI *se-sena* ‘roast on a fire, bake’, also ‘fry with oil’; *tunu* ‘roast on a fire’; *nuli* ‘roast something over a fire without burning’; *dala* ‘smoke (food)’.
- BUR ‘roast in coals’; *nahi* ‘roast on spit or stick’; *sgela* ‘fry with or without oil’.
- DOB Specifically ‘fry’.
- SAW Also *n-[činaŋɛ]* (*sinanɛ*) ‘deep fry’, from Ternate; *n-[činora]* (*siŋora*) ‘fry with a little oil’, from Ternate (possibly originally Sangir?); *n-ɔsɛ* ‘slow roast over fire’.
- TAK ‘roast in earth oven’.
- DAM ‘3sg-fry-INF’.
- KAU ‘roast meat’.

- TOL *tutun* (vb intrans).
- KIL *-gabu* 'roast'; *-kaβetega* 'fry'.
- MOT Also *nono-a* 'to smoke fish'.
- MEK *e-aŋa* is a general term for 'cook by direct application of heat'; *e-pa-keke* is 'fry on metal' (perhaps 'make sizzle'); *e-uma* is 'roast, grill'.
- ROV *motu* 'to cook in stone oven', *girigirisi* 'to fry'.
- MAR 'roast'.
- RAG 'to roast on embers'.
- LEW Of root vegetables; also *lega* 'roast, fry (of meat)', [*ve-vramprani*] 'fry anything in a dish or frying pan' (from Bislama).
- POR *pan-i* (vegetables); *la<sup>u</sup>gas-i* (meat).
- KWA 'cook by rotating over a fire'.
- KIR Also *umuna* 'roast in earth oven'.
- MSH *um<sup>w</sup>in* 'roast in an earth oven'; also [*p<sup>w</sup>irae*] from English 'fry'.
- PON [*pirain*] from English 'fry'.
- WLE Also *um<sup>w</sup>u*.
- EFI *taβu-na* 'broil, roast', *taβuteke-taka* 'fry'.
- WEI Also *taβuseke-takinia*.
- RTU *nasu, rara* 'roast'; *fun pana* 'fry'.
- TON *tunu* 'roast'; *faka-paku* 'fry'.
- SAM (polite) *fa<sup>?</sup>alalo*, *fa<sup>?</sup>avela*, *fufui*; *fa<sup>?</sup>a-pa<sup>?</sup>u* 'roast (of beans, bread)', *pa<sup>?</sup>u* 'skin', *fa<sup>?</sup>a-* CAUS.
- MEL Also [*faraeni*].
- TAH Also [*farai pāni*] from English.
- RAP *tunu ahi* roast; *porā* fry.

## 05.240 BAKE

Spanish: *horno* 'oven'

- |      |                        |      |         |          |
|------|------------------------|------|---------|----------|
| ATA  | r-um-uwaŋ              | YAM  | *AKL    | [hurnuh] |
| *TSO | b-irŋi                 | ISN  | PAL     |          |
| *RUK | wa-akamə               | KAL  | *MOL    | tombuk   |
| *PAI | ϕ-əm-ul <sup>y</sup> u | *TAG | [hurno] |          |

*KAG	lutu naan ta [hurnu]	*SIK	nope	RAG	
		RTI	se-sena	PAA	dāni
BLA	t-n-aga	BUR	pefa	*LEW	toni
SAB		*DOB	ʔa-waw	POR	ka <sup>m</sup> bür
*MUR	tunu	IRA		*NTA	-uβan
*MGY	man-endi au	SAW	n-εson	*KWA	-wini
ACE	paŋgaŋ	NYI		NEM	toni
BAT		*MAM	suʔumi-be- moamoari	CEM	ñibē-hi
MIN	paŋgaŋ			AJI	kui-ye
*IND	məm-bakar	*TAK	-dali	*XAR	g <sup>w</sup> eakē
*SUN	milim (bilim)	*DAM	i-ɸalege-ya	NEN	čani
JAV	maŋgaŋ (paŋgaŋ)	*MAB	-to	KIR	umuna
		YAB	-paʔ	MSH	um <sup>w</sup>
*MAD	ŋə-[pan]	*KAU	soŋ	PON	um <sup>w</sup> un
*BAL	maŋgaŋ (paŋgaŋ)	*TOL	kulub-əi	WLE	fisixī
		BUA	βəsi	EFI	βaβi-a
SAS	bə-gawə	ADZ	tai-	WFI	βaβi-a
GOR	mo-tubu	KIL	-kumli	*RTU	fun kækæpe
DAA		TAW	taela	TON	taʔo
UMA	tunu	*MOT	gabua	*SAM	tao
BUG	mat-tunu	*MEK	e-kepo	MEL	
KON	aʔ-tunu	ROV	kinkina	TAH	ʔeu
*WOL	tunu	*MAR	tetego	RAP	tunu rona
*MAG	[goreŋ]	LAU	bīa		
NGA	bui	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> aʔabī		

TSO *b-irŋi (riŋ-a)* ‘bake sweet potatoes in hot ashes’.

RUK *wa-içibi* ‘to bake in stones’.

PAI *t-əm-əpi* ‘bake (in stones)’.

TAG *[hurno] + mag-/i-*.

AKL *[hurnuh] + -un*.

MOL *tombuk + -on* ‘bake in embers’; *kaʔkaʔ + -an* ‘bake in pot’.

KAG ‘cook in an oven’.

MUR *tunu (maŋ-; -on)*.

MGY Also *anatin-nilafauru*.

IND Also *paŋgaŋ*.

SUN ‘bake, roast’.

MAD From Dutch.

- BAL *-pangaj* ‘roast/bake’ larger items, e.g. ducks, chickens; *-tunu* ‘roast/bake over hot coals’, e.g. *sate*; (*bə*)*tutu* ‘a way of cooking poultry, either baked slowly in smouldering rice husks, or steamed’.
- WOL ‘bake cakes’.
- MAG Malay *goreng* ‘fry’.
- SIK Also *pəra-ŋ*.
- DOB Also ‘burn’.
- MAM Also *moamoa*.
- TAK ‘cook wrapped in a leaf over the fire’.
- DAM ‘3sg-bake-INF’.
- MAB ‘bake by burying food along with heated stones’.
- KAU ‘bake in an earth oven with hot stones’.
- TOL *kulub-e* (vb trans) ‘wrap in leaves and grill’.
- MOT *gura-ia* ‘to bake in an *amu* (a pit in the ground covered with leaves and stones)’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives *amudo-a* ‘to bake in an *amu* with only a covering of leaves’.
- MEK *kepo* ‘stone’; *e-kepo* ‘bake in a ground-oven filled with hot stones’; also *e-fopa*.
- MAR ‘bake in a stone oven’.
- LEW ‘bake in an oven’; for ‘baking on hot coals/stones’ see 05.230.
- NTA *uβin* is used for traditional stone oven cooking, *uβan* for western style oven.
- KWA *-orumun* ‘bake in an earth oven’.
- XAR Also *xēñide*.
- RTU Also *nɔsu*.
- SAM (polite) *fufui*.

## 05.250 OVEN

**Spanish:** *horno* ‘oven’

ATA	ʃupuŋ	YAM	AKL	[hurnōh-an]
TSO		ISN	*PAL	[urnuwan]
*RUK	tagaganə	KAL	MOL	
PAI	likəzal <sup>y</sup>	*TAG	KAG	[hurnu]

BLA		*BUR [ofen]	PAA avul
SAB		DOB	*LEW pra-p <sup>w</sup> ili
MUR		IRA	*POR mel ka <sup>m</sup> bür
*MGY [lafauru]		*SAW tit	*NTA noanumən
ACE		NYI	*KWA numun
*BAT tatarıñ		MAM	NEM t <sup>n</sup> ek
MIN		TAK	CEM ñibe
IND tuŋku		DAM	AJI ye
SUN hawu		*MAB tiama	XAR ñide
*JAV paŋgaŋan		YAB b <sup>w</sup> alina	NEN ano
*MAD [opən]		KAU	KIR te um
*BAL pəmaŋgaŋan		TOL ubu	*MSH um <sup>w</sup>
*SAS jaŋkih		BUA	PON ūm <sup>w</sup>
GOR		ADZ	WLE um <sup>w</sup> u
DAA		KIL kumkumla	*EFI loβo
*UMA [open]		TAW baya	WFI i-βaβi
BUG at-tunu-ŋ		*MOT amu	*RTU koua
*KON [opeŋ]		*MEK kepo	*TON ?umu
*WOL [komforo]		*ROV kinkinana	*SAM umu
MAG		*MAR biti	MEL umu
*NGA ogi		LAU fotoa	*TAH umu
SIK		KWO umu	RAP rona
RTI la <sup>o</sup>		RAG	

RUK (*ta-aga-aga-anə*) lit 'place of cooking'.

TAG Also [*hurno*].

PAL From [*urnu*]+*an*.

MGY From French.

BAT Also *paŋa-ləppa-an*.

JAV Also *parəten* (*pa-[roti]-an*), [*roti*] Sanskrit, 'bread'.

MAD From Dutch.

BAL From *pə-N-paŋgaŋ-an*; *gembon* 'brick kiln, pyre in which widows committed suttee'.

SAS Teeuw: *jaŋkih, jaŋkis, jaŋki?*, *jaŋkiran, jaŋkiran, jaŋlik*.

UMA From Dutch.

KON From Dutch; also *talaŋpa-lakko?*

WOL From Dutch.

NGA Also *lika*.

- BUR From Dutch.  
 SAW 'centre of fire-where pots are placed'.  
 MAB 'hot stones with which baking is done'.  
 MOT See 05.240.  
 MEK See 05.240, note.  
 ROV *kinkinana* 'European oven'; *motmotuana* 'ground oven'.  
 MAR 'stone oven'.  
 LEW See 07.320.  
 POR 'place bake'.  
 NTA 'traditional stone oven'.  
 KWA Also *nak<sup>w</sup>anumun*.  
 MSH Also [*op<sup>w</sup>in*] from English.  
 EFI *loβo* 'earth oven', *iβaβi* 'oven for bread', [*oβani*] 'domestic oven'.  
 RTU 'earth-oven'.  
 TON *ʔumu* 'earth oven'; also *ʔotoʔunu* [*ʔovani*] 'European oven'.  
 SAM *umu* 'Samoan stone oven or kitchen with such an oven'; *ʔoŋāumu* 'hearth or oven of a Samoan kitchen'.  
 TAH *ahi māʔa* 'ground oven'.

### 05.260 POT, COOKING VESSEL

Spanish: <i>caldero</i>	English: <i>pan, saucepan</i>
-------------------------	-------------------------------

- |      |           |      |              |      |         |
|------|-----------|------|--------------|------|---------|
| *ATA | ayiβaw    | KAG  | [kaldiru]    | *BAL | payuk   |
| *TSO | tjo no    | BLA  | kulaŋ        | *SAS | kəmeʔ   |
|      | tauɕunu   | *SAB | [kaldedo]    | GOR  | ʔuloŋo  |
| *RUK | palon     | *MUR | [paliuk]     | DAA  | kura    |
| *PAI | [kama]    | *MGY | vilani       | UMA  | kura    |
| *YAM | vaβaŋa    | ACE  | kanot        | BUG  | oriŋ    |
| ISN  | bāŋa      | BAT  | hudon        | KON  | koron   |
| KAL  | bāŋa      | MIN  | pariuʔ tanaʔ | *WOL | βalaβua |
| *TAG | baŋaʔ     | IND  | pəriuk       | MAG  | ləviŋ   |
| *AKL | kūɾun     | *SUN | pariuk       | NGA  | βogi    |
| PAL  | [kandiru] | JAV  | kuali        | *SIK | unu     |
| *MOL | kudon     | *MAD | [kubali]     | *RTI | ule-k   |

*BUR	[pariut]	*TAW	walata	AJI	kʌ
DOB	kʷadal	MOT	uro	XAR	kire
IRA	bəragəɳə	*MEK	[pani]	NEN	ore
SAW	kulen	*ROV	raro	*KIR	te [bʷati]
NYI	kun	MAR		*MSH	[kʌmʷa]
MAM	boadi	LAU		*PON	[kama]
*TAK	bəd	KWO		*WLE	[kōmō]
DAM	mīs	*RAG	ɳadi-bua	EFI	kuro
MAB	kūru	PAA	[sosipen]	WFI	kuro
YAB	ku	*LEW	piaki	RTU	[sospene]
*KAU	[sosopen]	POR		TON	kulo
*TOL	lā	NTA	[sospən]	*SAM	[ʔulo]
BUA	dəg	*KWA	tiki nari	MEL	[pōto]
ADZ	gur	NEM	cilek	TAH	[pāni]
KIL	kulia	CEM	ila	RAP	[pani]

ATA *čikuŋ* (archaic) ‘pot’; [*šanpuʔu*] (modern) ‘pot’, from Hakka.

TSO ‘round pan’.

RUK *tinopalo* ‘a large cooking pot’, *tatoʔoʔo* ‘a medium-sized cooking pot’.

PAI From Japanese.

YAM ‘pot made of clay’; *kama* ‘large pot’. Women’s fish is cooked in a *nanatŋanan* and men’s in a *zəzatan*.

TAG Also [*palayok*]; from Malay *periok*.

AKL PHN \**kūDen*.

MOL Also [*koddiru*].

SAB [*kaldedo*] ‘metal pot for cooking rice’, *paliyuk* ‘clay cooking pot’.

MUR From Malay *pəriuk*

MGY Compare Malay *bəlaŋa*.

SUN Also [*pañči*] Dutch.

MAD From Malay or Javanese *kuali*.

BAL *pane*, *paso* ‘clay dish/bowl’; *pulu* ‘clay pot used to store uncooked rice’.

SAS Also *dandaŋ*. Teeuw: *kəmeʔ*, *pəmoŋkaʔ*, *pəriuk*, *beke*.

WOL *balabua* ‘big earthen cooking pot’; [*kawali*] ‘frying pan’; also *poluka*.

SIK Also *βaʃa-ŋ*.

RTI Also *ule dae*.

BUR Malay borrowing.

TAK	'clay, clay pot' (see 09.730).
KAU	Tok Pisin.
TOL	Also <i>kabalā</i> .
TAW	Also <i>nau</i> .
MEK	Also <i>oŋa</i> the traditional (imported) clay vessel.
ROV	<i>raro</i> 'saucepan', <i>rararoana</i> 'cooking utensil'.
RAG	'bamboo cooking vessel'.
LEW	Also [ <i>soŋpan</i> ].
KWA	'skin-of thing'.
KIR	<i>te kuro</i> , <i>te [bāta]</i> from English.
MSH	Japanese; [ <i>ainp<sup>w</sup>at</i> ] from English.
PON	Japanese, also [ <i>ainp<sup>w</sup>ət</i> ] from English.
WLE	From Japanese, also <i>ɾawa</i> .
SAM	From Tongan <i>kulo</i> , also [ <i>pani</i> ], (polite) <i>ʔoŋāumu</i> see 05.250.

### 05.270 KETTLE

**Spanish:** *caldero*

**Dutch:** *ketel*

**English:** *kettle*

ATA	ɬimuk	BAT	[ketel]	RTI	[kete]
TSO		MIN	pariu <sup>ʔ</sup> ai <sup>ʔ</sup>	*BUR	[blaŋat]
RUK		*IND	kawah	DOB	[ketel]
PAI		SUN	teko	IRA	sierəkə
*YAM	[yakaŋ]	JAV	čeret	SAW	[kentel]
ISN		*MAD	[čirit]	NYI	sabok
KAL	kapitēla	BAL	[ketel]	MAM	[ʔeteli]
*TAG	[kaldēro]	SAS	kočor	TAK	
*AKL	[kaldīro]	GOR	lele <sup>ŋ</sup> gela	DAM	
PAL	sili <sup>ʔ</sup>	*DAA	[sere]	MAB	
*MOL	kawa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*UMA	[sere]	*YAB	ku ki
*KAG	[ka'lintadur]	BUG	čere <sup>ʔ</sup>	KAU	[tipot]
BLA	[kaldilu]	KON	koron	TOL	lā
SAB	sili <sup>ʔ</sup>	WOL	čere	BUA	
*MUR	[kitil]	*MAG	[čerek]	ADZ	
*MGY	[kaŋitera]	NGA	ɓogi	KIL	[keteri]
*ACE	cire <sup>ʔ</sup>	SIK		TAW	[ketele]



MOT	[kedolo]	NTA	[kətəl]	WLE	
MEK		KWA	tiki nari	*EFI	kuro-ni-tī
ROV	[ketolo]	*NEM	cire-we	WFI	kuro-ni-čī
MAR		*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ô-pái-tábe	RTU	[ketlē]
LAU	[ketolo]	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā uo rā	*TON	[tikatele]
KWO		*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā-[ū]	*SAM	[tītata]
RAG		NEN	[ketel]	MEL	[kētela]
PAA	[ketel]	KIR		TAH	[tītata]
LEW	[ketel]	MSH		*RAP	[pani]
POR		PON			

YAM From Japanese ‘tea kettle’.

TAG Also *kāwa*.

AKL *takuri?* (spout).

MOL *kawa?* ‘large pot’; *sili?* ‘with spout kettle’.

KAG From Spanish *calentador?*

MUR Also [*kidi?*] ‘vessel for brewing tea/coffee’, perhaps from Malay *čerek*.

MGY From French.

ACE Also *ciriə?*

IND Also *balaŋa*, *čerek*.

MAD Probably from Javanese.

DAA From Malay *čerek*.

UMA From Malay *čerek*

MAG Touted kettle for boiling water, making coffee etc.

BUR Malay borrowing; also [*kastrol*] (from Dutch).

YAB ‘pot iron’ (cf. 09.670 note).

NEM ‘pot-water’.

CEM ‘container for heating water’.

XAR ‘house/container of tea’.

EFI Also [*tīkere*].

TON From English ‘tea-kettle’.

SAM Var. *tīkata*, *kītata* from Tahitian [*tiketa*] from English ‘tea-kettle’.

RAP From English ‘pan’.

## 05.280 PAN

Dutch: *pan*English: *fry(ing) pan*

ATA	βaʔayan	UMA	kura	MAR	
TSO	tɲō	BUG	pamuttu	LAU	
RUK	kitili	*KON	pammaʒaʔ	KWO	
PAI	pariuk	*WOL	[pa <sup>n̄</sup> çi]	*RAG	[susbeni]
*YAM	[ʃimiŋki]	MAG	[taçu]	PAA	[sosipen]
ISN	lagīma	*NGA	kava	LEW	[prampan]
KAL	pullayok	SIK		POR	
TAG	kawāliʔ	RTI	[pañçi]	NTA	[prekpan]
*AKL	kaʔāhaʔ	*BUR	[ewali]	KWA	tiki nari
PAL	kalawiʔ	DOB		NEM	
MOL		IRA		CEM	
*KAG	[kasirula]	SAW	[pañçi]	AJI	πε cλi ṛā
BLA		NYI	salen	XAR	
SAB	kahaʔ	MAM	[prai-paŋ]	NEN	
*MUR	[kawali]	TAK		KIR	
*MGY	[kasterula]	DAM	sarek	MSH	
ACE	bulaŋəŋ	MAB		PON	
BAT	[pañçi]	YAB	[pəŋ]	WLE	
MIN	[pañçi]	KAU	[praipan]	EFI	
*IND	kuali	*TOL	rərərəŋ	*WFI	[i-taβuseke]
SUN	[pañçi]	BUA		RTU	[pana]
JAV	[pañçi]	ADZ		TON	fakapaku
*MAD	[baʒʰan]	KIL	kaβaega	*SAM	[ʔulo]
*BAL	pəŋoreŋan	TAW	taela	MEL	
*SAS	[pañçi]	MOT	[pani]	TAH	[pāni]
GOR	bulo <sup>ŋ</sup> go	MEK	[pałai-pani]	RAP	[pani]
DAA	talusi	ROV	raro		

YAM From Japanese.

AKL Root: *ʔāhaʔ* 'cook'.KAG From Spanish *cacerola*.MUR From Malay *kuali*.

MGY From French.

IND Also *pəriuk*, [pañçi], [waʒan] from Sanskrit.

MAD	From Sanskrit.
BAL	From ( <i>pə-N-goreŋ-an</i> ) ‘frying pan’.
SAS	Teeuw ‘frying pan’: <i>sigon, sogon, sugon, (kə)kete</i> .
KON	<i>pammaja?</i> ‘wok’.
WOL	[ <i>pa<sup>n</sup>čij</i> ] ‘metal pan’; <i>po-ŋaruasaa, po-ŋolu-a</i> ‘pan for baking’; <i>po-čurabia</i> ‘earthenware pan’.
NGA	Also <i>kava-su?a</i> ‘pan (made of alloy)’; <i>su?a</i> ‘alloy’.
BUR	<i>ewali</i> ‘wok’; from Malay <i>kuali</i> .
TOL	Instrumental noun, derived by reduplication, see Mosel (1980: 69). From <i>rərəŋ</i> (vb intrans), <i>raŋ</i> (vb trans) ‘roast’.
RAG	From English ‘saucepan’.
LEW	From Bislama.
WFI	Standard Fijian <i>i-taβuteke</i> .
SAM	See 05.260.

### 05.310 DISH

**English:** *dish, plate*

**Tamil:** *piŋkan* lit ‘glass’

ATA	ra-ramat	BAT	paŋan-an	RTI	[piŋa-k]
TSO	takubiŋi	*MIN	piri <sup>ŋ</sup>	*BUR	[piriŋ]
RUK		IND	[piŋan]	DOB	
PAI		SUN	piriŋ	IRA	
YAM	kakanan	JAV	piriŋ	*SAW	gow ta n-peloy
ISN	gupān	MAD	piriŋ	*NYI	lus
*KAL	agakkudan	BAL		MAM	tabira-baba
*TAG	[piŋan]	*SAS	pə-sa <sup>ji</sup> -?	TAK	
AKL	[piŋan]	GOR	[pi <sup>ŋ</sup> ge]	DAM	bēi
*PAL	raya?	DAA	suraya	MAB	
MOL		*UMA	suraea?	*YAB	la?-lù
KAG	[piŋan]	BUG	anre	KAU	[dis]
BLA	fligo	KON	sempe	*TOL	lā
SAB	lai	WOL		*BUA	gabum
*MUR	[piŋan]	MAG		ADZ	
MGY	vilia	NGA	ŋaa	KIL	kaboma
ACE	pireŋ	SIK	[piŋa-ŋ]	TAW	gaeba

*MOT	[merekɪ]	NTA	[plet]	*WLE	tapiya
MEK	kapia	KWA	tiki nari	EFI	[disi]
*ROV	[peleta]	NEM	helam	WFI	[ʃisi]
MAR		CEM	tám	RTU	[tisi]
*LAU	fofo	*AJI	kameã	TON	[tisi]
KWO		XAR	mĩrĩ	*SAM	ipu
*RAG	[tabia]	NEN	čede-	MEL	[pilā]
PAA	[tīs]	KIR	te raurau	*TAH	[parā]
*LEW	pialora	*MSH	κλʹnnɔ	*RAP	[tafate]
POR		*PON	tāl		

KAL *agakkudan* (*agakud-R<sup>2</sup>-an*) ‘serving dish’.

TAG Also [*plāto*], from Spanish *plato*.

PAL Also *kakanan*.

MUR Also *langut*.

MIN Also [*piŋgan*].

SAS From Sanskrit; Thoir et al (1985): *pə-[saj̥i]-ʔ* ‘thing which is served’.

UMA Also [*piri*] from Malay *piriŋ*.

BUR From Malay; also *ifu-n emasa-t* ‘glasses, plates and cutlery’.

SAW ‘plate big’.

NYI Also *b<sup>w</sup>ekei*.

YAB ‘cranium-hair’: originally the expression for a coconut shell covered in fibres, often used as a container; by extension, a European vessel.

TOL Also *kabalā*.

BUA ‘carved wooden dish or bowl’.

MOT From Rarotongan; also *nau* ‘earthenware dish or bowl’.

ROV Also *sisiovoana* ‘serving plate’.

LAU ‘round wooden dish’.

RAG From Mota *tapia* ‘wooden platter’.

LEW ‘wooden platter on which a breadfruit dish is served’; see also 05.320, 05.330.

AJI Also [*palā*] from French *plat*.

MSH Also [*p̄leic̄*].

PON Also [*p̄leit̄*].

WLE *tapiya* ‘dish, bowl’; *šõřxa* ‘leaf on which to put food’.

SAM See 05.350.

TAH From French; also ?umete ‘wooden plate’.

RAP From Spanish *azafate*.

## 05.320 PLATE

See 05.310

*ATA	[šaraʔ]	*UMA	suraeaʔ	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> apera
TSO	takubiŋi	BUG	pinne	LAU	karao
RUK		*KON	sempe lompo	KWO	
PAI		WOL	piri	*RAG	[tabera]
YAM	kakanan	*MAG	[piriŋ]	PAA	[velēt]
ISN	gupān	*NGA	ŋame	LEW	[peleti]
*KAL	[palātu]	SIK	senak	POR	
*TAG	[piŋgan]	RTI	[piŋa-k]	NTA	[plet]
*AKL	[piŋgan]	*BUR	pir dofo-t	KWA	tiki nari
PAL	rayaʔ	DOB	manʔota	NEM	helam
MOL	[piŋgan]	*IRA	bigəni	CEM	tám
KAG	[piŋgan]	SAW	gəw	AJI	kameã
BLA	fliŋo	*NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ekei	XAR	mīrī
SAB	lai	MAM	tabira	NEN	guneŋjei
*MUR	[kudut]	TAK		KIR	
MGY	luvia	*DAM	bēi sala ŋiya	MSH	
ACE	cipe	MAB		PON	
BAT	[piŋgan]	*YAB	sap	WLE	
*MIN	pitīʔŋ	KAU	[pelet]	EFI	[βeleti]
IND	piriŋ	*TOL	[pelet]	WFI	[βelesi]
SUN	piriŋ	*BUA	ŋabum	RTU	?umefe
*JAV	piriŋ	ADZ		TON	[peleti]
MAD	piriŋ	KIL	kaiβaga	*SAM	ipu māfolafola
*BAL	tekor	TAW	gaeba	MEL	[pilēte]
*SAS	aren	MOT	[mereki]	*TAH	[merēti]
GOR	[pi <sup>ŋ</sup> ge]	*MEK	[meleki]	RAP	[mareti]
*DAA	[pi <sup>ŋ</sup> ga]	ROV	[peleta]		pararaha

ATA From Japanese.

KAL From Spanish *plato*; also *gagammoyan* (*R*<sup>1</sup> *gamoy* -*R*<sup>2</sup>-*an*).

TAG Also [*plāto*].

AKL	Also ‘dish’.
MUR	From Brunei Malay <i>kudut</i> , also [ <i>piriŋ</i> ] from Malay.
MIN	Also [ <i>piŋgan</i> ].
JAV	Also <i>piñču?</i> ‘plate/container made from banana-leaf’.
BAL	‘banana leaf plate’. Also [ <i>piriŋ</i> ] [ <i>piŋgan</i> ] both from Malay.
SAS	Also [ <i>piriŋ</i> ] Malay; <i>dulaŋ</i> ‘wooden plate-sized stand, used as a plate, or as a table’ from Balinese/Javanese?
DAA	‘ceramic plate’.
UMA	Also [ <i>piri</i> ] from Malay <i>piriŋ</i> .
KON	Also <i>poŋgaŋ</i> .
MAG	From Malay.
NGA	‘gourd’.
BUR	<i>pir dolo-t</i> ‘old heirloom plate’.
IRA	Also <i>puisə</i> .
NYI	Also <i>lus</i> .
DAM	‘plate flat’.
YAB	Originally a woven food basket. Also [ <i>pɛɛɛ</i> ].
TOL	Also <i>iaian</i> , from <i>ian</i> ‘eat’ (old).
BUA	Also [ <i>prɛ</i> ].
MEK	From Rarotongan via Motu.
RAG	From Mota?
SAM	<i>māfolafola</i> ‘flat’.
TAH	From English?

### 05.330 BOWL

ATA	šaʔaman	PAL	maŋkuk	MIN	čambu <sup>3</sup> ŋ
TSO	takubiŋi	MOL	maŋkuk	*IND	maŋkuk
RUK	kisi	KAG	maŋkuk	SUN	maŋkok
PAI	pa-pu-siav-an	BLA	tukuŋ	JAV	maŋku <sup>?</sup>
*YAM	[čawaŋ]	SAB	[piŋgan]	MAD	basi
ISN		*MUR	lumbu	*BAL	[maŋkok]
KAL	dūyug	MGY	ɕangam-bava	SAS	
*TAG	maŋkok	ACE	cawan	*GOR	[ma <sup>3</sup> go]
AKL	maʔukuŋ	*BAT	makkuk	DAA	ponobo

*UMA	baŋaʔ	*YAB	sùʔ	*NEM	ba-felo
BUG	maŋkoʔ	KAU		CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ô-òdu
KON	maŋkoʔ	*TOL	lā	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã wāyɔ
WOL	ma <sup>ɔ</sup> ko	BUA	gabum	XAR	
*MAG	[ma <sup>ɔ</sup> ko]	ADZ	ibaŋ	NEN	nesē
NGA	kena	*KIL	kailuya	*KIR	te [bōra]
*SIK	[makok]	TAW	wedu	*MSH	cape
RTI	maŋo-k	*MOT	dihu	*PON	[tomp <sup>w</sup> uri]
*BUR	pir gore-t	*MEK	oŋa	WLE	tapiya
DOB	manʔota	*ROV	[peleta] lolohi	*EFI	sed <sup>t</sup> e
IRA		*MAR	daho	WFI	dare
SAW	moko	LAU	teu	RTU	ʔumef čio lal
NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ekei	KWO		*TON	[sene]
	kukum <sup>w</sup> en	RAG		*SAM	ipu
MAM	tabira-boaʔu- boaʔu	PAA	[pōl]	MEL	kumete
*TAK	daeg	LEW	([klas]) [pol]	TAH	ʔāuʔa
*DAM	bēi kuk	POR		*RAP	[mareti]
*MAB	ti <sup>m</sup> bīri	*NTA	[pesin]		poko-poko
		*KWA	teŋi-		

YAM From Japanese.

TAG Also [tason]; from Spanish *tazón*.

MUR Also *salubuŋ*, *kanduay* (metal).

BAT Also 'cup'.

IND Also *maŋkok*.

BAL From Malay.

GOR From Malay *maŋkok*.

UMA 'half coconut shell, which is used as a bowl'.

MAG From Malay.

SIK From Malay.

BUR *pir gore-t* 'deep dish'; also *parteŋ* (Malay) 'basin'; *oko-fnoi-t* (from *foi*) 'large basin for bathing babies (part of traditional bride-price)'.

TAK 'wooden bowl'.

DAM 'plate steep'.

MAB 'big, wooden bowl, also functions as wealth object'.

YAB 'wooden bowl'.

TOL See 05.260, 05.270, 05.310.

KIL	‘large wooden bowl’; also <i>bolu</i> (informants insist is not a loanword), ‘small bowl, usually made from a large coconut shell’; [ <i>bouldis</i> ] from English ‘bowl’ and ‘dish’, ‘small deep enamel bowl’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives <i>dihu</i> ‘wooden bowl’, <i>kibo</i> ‘small round basin, smaller than <i>nau</i> ’, and <i>nau</i> ‘earthenware dish or bowl’.
MEK	<i>oŋoa</i> in the other dialects.
ROV	‘deep plate’.
MAR	Also <i>goe</i> ‘large wooden bowl’.
NTA	From English.
KWA	Also <i>nəteta</i> ‘canoe’.
NEM	‘for-drinking (hot things)’.
KIR	From English.
MSH	Also <i>cokk<sup>wi</sup></i> .
PON	From Japanese; also <i>kasak</i> , <i>sawaŋ</i> .
EFI	Also <i>dari</i> ‘earthenware bowl’; [ <i>tānoa</i> ] ‘wooden bowl’; Tongan <i>tāno<sup>a</sup></i> , [ <i>boulu</i> ] ‘European bowl’, from English.
TON	From Fijian <i>sed<sup>e</sup></i> ; also <i>me<sup>a</sup> takulokulo kumete</i> ‘kava bowl’.
SAM	<i>tānoa</i> ‘wooden bowl reserved for kava’.
RAP	Also [ <i>mareti tihopu</i> ]; [ <i>tihopu</i> ] from English ‘soup’.

### 05.340 PITCHER, JUG

English: *pitcher, jug*

Sanskrit: *kuṇḍi-*

Spanish: *pichel*

ATA	KAG	[pitsil]	MAD	[gənd <sup>6i</sup> ]
TSO	BLA	takudī?	*BAL	čarat-an
RUK	SAB	[pitser]	*SAS	kəme?
PAI	*MUR	[tikuan]	GOR	[gi <sup>n</sup> di]
YAM	MGY	sini	DAA	
ISN	*ACE	tayurən	UMA	
KAL	BAT		BUG	attaroŋ uwae
*TAG	*MIN	[mo <sup>?</sup> ]	*KON	kupi?
*AKL	IND	[kəndi]	*WOL	šosu
PAL	SUN	[kəndi]	MAG	
MOL	JAV	[kəndi]	NGA	taso



*SIK	[βaʃan]	KIL		AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã r̄l̄
RTI	poci	TAW		XAR	
*BUR	kiki-t	MOT	[diage]	NEN	čedewakua
*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> u'ror	MEK		KIR	
IRA		ROV	[zayi]	MSH	
*SAW	[čero]	MAR		PON	
NYI	sabok	LAU		WLE	
MAM	sema	KWO		EFI	[čoke]
TAK		RAG		WFI	[čioke]
DAM		PAA		RTU	[čoku]
MAB		*LEW	pia-wī	TON	[sioki]
*YAB	bu-lakop	POR		SAM	[sioki]
*KAU	karia	NTA		MEL	[jāka]
*TOL	pəl-ə-tavə	KWA		TAH	[pita]
BUA		NEM		*RAP	[karo]
ADZ		*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ô-tábe		

TAG Also [pitsel].

AKL Also *baŋa?* 'water jar', PHN *\*baŋa?*.

MUR From Malay *tekoan* 'tea or coffee-pot'.

ACE Also *gurə*.

MIN From Dutch.

BAL *bəruk* 'coconut shell used as a container for water, liquids'; *jun*, *gəbəh*, *jadij* 'large clay pot for storing water'; [*moron*] 'jug', from Malay?

SAS Teeuw: 'drinking jug' (see Malay *kəndi*): *səmen*, *čere?*, (*čə*)*čeret(an)*. 'half coconut shell used as a drinking bowl': (*ǰə*)*ǰai*, *lawak*.

KON Also *ǰiŋolaŋ*.

SIK From Sanskrit.

WOL 'spherical earthen water vessel'.

BUR Also *kofi-n* 'bamboo container for palmwine'.

DOB *k<sup>w</sup>u'ror* 'clay vessel used for carrying water, and storing it'.

SAW From Malay.

YAB *bu* 'water', *lakop* 'coconut shell, used as a container'.

KAU 'hollowed coconut shell used to carry and store water and as a drinking vessel'.

TOL *pəl* 'skin, vessel', ə CONN, *tavə* 'water', lit 'vessel for water'.

LEW Also used for 'bottle'.

CEM ‘container of water’.

RAP From Spanish *jarro*. Also *punu-unu vai* (archaic).

### 05.350 CUP, DRINKING VESSEL

Dutch: <i>glas</i>	English: <i>cup, pannikin</i>	Spanish: <i>taza</i>
*ATA tarunaw	*UMA po-ŋ-inu-a	*MAR bibinu
TSO takubiŋi	BUG čaŋkiri?	*LAU teu
RUK gigilōŋo	*KON [‘čaŋkiri]	KWO
PAI	*WOL ma <sup>ŋ</sup> ko	*RAG laha
YAM ininoman	*MAG ča <sup>ŋ</sup> kir	PAA [vanikīn]
ISN akap	*NGA he <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*LEW piala
*KAL [tāsa]	*SIK saŋkir	POR
TAG [tāsa]	RTI [ŋgalas]	NTA [panəkən]
AKL [tāsa]	*BUR moko-t	*KWA tiki nui
PAL makow	DOB [gelas]	NEM
*MOL [tasa]	IRA bokə	CEM
*KAG [tasa]	SAW [ga <sup>ʔ</sup> las]	AJI m <sup>w</sup> ā wāyɔ
*BLA basu	*NYI b <sup>w</sup> esam	XAR
SAB sawan	MAM sema-sai	NEN nečadakuā
*MUR saŋkid	*TAK gab	*KIR te m <sup>w</sup> aŋko
*MGY [kaupi]	DAM gabeta	*MSH [kap <sup>u</sup> ]
ACE caŋke	MAB <sup>m</sup> bōro	PON [kep]
BAT makkuk	*YAB la <sup>ʔ</sup> -lù	*WLE texaxii
MIN čaŋki <sup>ʔ</sup>	KAU taβil	EFI bilo
*IND čaŋkir	*TOL [bilo]	WFI bilo
SUN čaŋkir	BUA [kap]	*RTU ipu
JAV čaŋkir	*ADZ u <sup>m</sup> pi <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TON ipu
MAD čaŋkir	KIL βiga	*SAM ipu
*BAL čaŋkir	*TAW keyaka	*MEL ipu
SAS čaŋkir	*MOT [kapusi]	TAH hapaina
*GOR [ma <sup>ŋ</sup> go]	*MEK [kaputsi]	*RAP <sup>ʔ</sup> au <sup>ʔ</sup> a
DAA [sa <sup>ŋ</sup> giri]	*ROV [kapa]	

ATA *ka<sup>h</sup>iy* ‘a bamboo cup’; *tarunaw* ‘an earthenware tea cup’.

KAL Also *i<sup>ʔ</sup>nnuman*.

- MOL [*tasa*] ‘cup’; *sawan* ‘cup with no handle/drinking vessel’.
- KAG [*basu*] ‘drinking glass’ from Spanish *vaso*.
- BLA *tabu?* ‘cup (with handle)’.
- MUR Also [*galas*] (without handle) from English ‘glass’.
- MGY From French.
- IND Also [*gəlas*] ‘glass’.
- BAL Water was normally directly from a *čarat-an* see 05.340. [*lumur*] from Javanese?; [*gəlas*] ‘glass’; [*čawan*] ‘porcelain cup without a handle’, from Malay.
- GOR From Malay *maṅkok*.
- UMA Also [*sa<sup>ŋ</sup>kiri*].
- KON [*čaṅkiri*] ‘cup’; [*kača*] ‘glass’ from Sanskrit.
- WOL Also *moomoo* ‘big cup, mug’; *sa<sup>m</sup>pua* ‘drinking glass’; *tata<sup>ŋ</sup>kiri* ‘drinking cup’.
- MAG Also [*mōk*] from Dutch.
- NGA ‘coconut shell’.
- SIK Also [*makok*] both Malay.
- BUR Also *kola* ‘bamboo drinking vessel for palmwine’; [*galase-t*].
- NYI Also *b<sup>w</sup>iniu*.
- TAK ‘cup made of half a coconut shell’.
- YAB See note on 05.310.
- TOI From English ‘pillow’; also *momāmomo* from *momo* ‘drink’ (old); *kulkulup* from *kulup* ‘fetch, dip up water’.
- ADZ *u<sup>m</sup>pi?*; *i<sup>m</sup>pi?* ‘coconut shell cup/spoon’ (Amari only).
- TAW ‘coconut cup’.
- MOT From English ‘cup of-tea’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *bio* ‘coconut shell cup, deeper than *kehere*’. It appears *kehere* is more saucer-like.
- MEK From English.
- ROV Also [*kapa*] *napnapoana* ‘drinking vessel’.
- MAR ‘cup made from a leaf’.
- LAU Also [*benikeni*].
- RAG ‘coconut half-shell used as kava drinking-cup’.
- LEW Also [*panikin*].
- KWA *tiki nui* ‘skin-of water’, *kamumu* ‘cup made of rolled banana leaf’.

- KIR Also *te ibu* from ‘coconut shell’.  
 MSH [*cim<sup>w</sup>aŋkə*] from Kiribati ‘cup made from coconut shell’.  
 WLE Also ‘coconut shell, skull’.  
 RTU Also [*kapa*].  
 TON Also *hohoni*.  
 SAM Originally ‘coconut-shell cup’.  
 MEL Also [*lasa*] from Efate; [*kapa*].  
 RAP *ʔauʔa*, [*potio*] ‘cup’ from Spanish *pocillo*; *hapaina* ‘glass’.

## 05.360 SAUCER

English: *saucer*Spanish: *plato, platito*

ATA		SAS	<i>lepeʔ</i>	BUA
TSO		*GOR	<i>payadu</i>	ADZ
RUK			[ <i>ma<sup>ɔ</sup>go</i> ]	KIL
PAI		DAA		TAW
YAM	<i>kakanan</i>	UMA		MOT
ISN		BUG	<i>pinne-bečču</i>	MEK
*KAL	<i>pal[pallātu]</i>	*KON	<i>pallaŋga</i>	ROV
TAG	[ <i>platito</i> ]	*WOL	<i>piri-piri</i>	MAR
AKL	[ <i>platito</i> ]	MAG		LAU
PAL	<i>rayaʔ-rayaʔ</i>	*NGA	<i>ṭaa-kədi</i>	KWŌ
MOL	<i>tapak</i>	*SIK	[ <i>saβa-n</i> ]	RAG
KAG	[ <i>platitu</i> ]	RTI	<i>piŋa</i> [ <i>galas</i> ]	PAA
BLA	<i>siwit</i>	*BUR	[ <i>piriŋ</i> ]	LEW [peleti]
SAB	<i>tapak</i>	DOB		POR
*MUR	[ <i>suit</i> ]	IRA		NTA
*MGY	[ <i>tasin-kafe</i> ]	*SAW	<i>gasi gow</i>	KWA <i>tiki nari</i>
ACE	<i>cipe</i>	NYI		NEM
BAT	<i>tapak</i>	MAM		CEM
*MIN	<i>tadah</i>	TAK		AJI <i>kameā yaŋi</i>
IND	<i>piriŋ kecil</i>	DAM		XAR
SUN	<i>pisin</i>	MAB		NEN
JAV	<i>lepeʔ</i>	*YAB	[ <i>pele</i> ] <i>saun</i>	KIR
MAD	<i>lipir</i>	KAU		MSH
*BAL	[ <i>lepek</i> ]-an	TOL		PON

WLE		TON	[sosa]	*TAH	[merēti]
WFI	[sasa]	SAM	[sasa]		naʔinaʔi
EFI	[sasa]	MEL		RAP	[mareti]ʔauʔa

KAL *R*<sup>1</sup>-[palatu]-*R*<sup>2</sup>.

MUR From Chinese.

MGY From French.

MIN Also *čipi*<sup>2</sup>.

BAL 'small china saucer' from Old Javanese?

GOR Also *butiyohu* and *lāniya*.

KON From *pa-aŋ-langa*; also *sempečaddi*.

WOL Also *ka-sa<sup>ŋ</sup>ko* 'place-mat tray'.

NGA *kədi* 'small'.

SIK [*makok*] both from Malay.

BUR See 05.310.

SAW 'salt plate'.

YAB 'plate junior'.

TAH From English 'plate'?

## 05.370 SPOON

**English:** *spoon*

**Spanish:** *cuchara*

ATA	kawβih	SAB	suduʔ	DAA	si <sup>n</sup> du
*TSO	takiriŋi	*MUR	susuduʔ	UMA	huʃuʔ
RUK	kiɖiŋ	MGY	suʔ <sup>ɥ</sup> u	BUG	senruʔ
PAI	kiziŋ	*ACE	camca	*KON	senruʔ
*YAM	izoş	BAT	sədduk	*WOL	kasiru
*ISN	ispun	MIN	sendoʔ	*MAG	[sə <sup>n</sup> dok]
KAL	[kussāla]	IND	sendok	*NGA	fego
TAG	[kutsāra]	SUN	sendok	*SIK	huru
*AKL	[kutsāra]	*JAV	sendoʔ	RTI	sulu-k
PAL	susuduʔ	MAD	sinduʔ	*BUR	ka siru
MOL	susuduʔ	*BAL	sinduk	DOB	sur
*KAG	[kutsara]	SAS	sidut	IRA	sedo
BLA	[kutsada]	GOR	ti-tīdu	*SAW	sur

NYI	bokei	ROV	[sipuni]	NEN	
MAM	sai	MAR		*KIR	te eria
*TAK	sai	*LAU	roa	*MSH	[cip <sup>w</sup> ūn]
DAM	gabeta	KWO		*PON	[sup <sup>w</sup> ūn]
MAB		RAG		*WLE	[supūno]
*YAB	kasəm	PAA	[supun]	EFI	i-taki
*KAU	koloŋ	*LEW	sue	WFI	[suβuni]
*TOL	[sipun]	POR		RTU	[punu]
BUA	[spun]	NTA	[səpun]	TON	[sēpuni]
*ADZ	u <sup>m</sup> pi?	KWA		SAM	[sipuni]
KIL	kaniku	NEM		MEL	[sipūnu]
TAW	[sipuni]	*CEM	bê-tùpi	TAH	[punu]
*MOT	[sipunu]	AJI	yipū	*RAP	kuē
*MEK	faiso	*XAR	[k <sup>w</sup> iyōrɔ]		

TSO *takiriŋi* ‘wooden spoon’; *xusu* ‘modern metal spoon, as well as chopsticks’.

YAM *zoyoy* ‘coconut shell ladle’.

ISN *kiŋru* ‘ladle (of coconut shell)’.

AKL *tabu?*, *sanduk* ‘ladle (coconut)’.

KAG [*kutsarita*] ‘dessert spoon, teaspoon’ from Spanish *cuchareta*.

MUR Also [*sikaŋ*] from Chinese ‘Chinese-style spoon’.

ACE Also [*awuə?*] Mon-Khmer ‘ladle’.

JAV Also *suru* ‘banana-leaf spoon’.

BAL *sinduk* ‘large wooden spoon for serving rice etc.’. *sendok* ‘eating spoon’, from Malay (eating with a spoon is a recent custom).

KON Also *se?ru?*

WOL Also *sa<sup>n</sup>du*, *se<sup>n</sup>do*.

MAG From Malay.

NGA Also *foi*.

SIK Also *gabe*, *hoko*, *paka*, *sedo*.

BUR Also [*sondo*] from Malay.

SAW Also [*ŋibobo*] from Ternate.

TAK ‘coconut shell spoon’.

YAB Originally ‘nautilus shell’; also *saku* ‘large ornamental spoon’; *la<sup>2</sup>-kawi* ‘ladle, bailer’.

KAU ‘a clam-shaped shell used as a spoon’.

TOL	Also <i>kulkulup</i> , see 05.350.
ADZ	Also <i>i<sup>m</sup>pi?</i> see 05.350.
MOT	Also <i>bedi</i> ‘spoon made from coconut shell’.
MEK	Also <i>faiō</i> is the traditional spoon made from a coconut shell’; <i>[tsipuni]</i> ‘metal spoon’.
LAU	‘spoon of mother-of-pearl’.
LEW	‘(shell of) k.o. bivalve shellfish’.
CEM	‘for drawing (water)’.
XAR	From French <i>cuiller</i> , also <i>[kipune]</i> from English ‘spoon’.
KIR	Also <i>te būn</i> from English.
MSH	From English, also <i>aulakklak</i> ; also <i>kīlatlat</i> ‘coconut husk spoon’.
PON	<i>ʔouk</i> ‘eat with a spoon’.
WLE	Also <i>iṫti</i> .
RAP	<i>[kuē]</i> ‘spoon (one)’; <i>[kuiere]</i> ‘spoons (many)’, from French <i>cuiller</i> .

### 05.380 KNIFE

*ATA	takīš,	SUN	peso	MAM	moita
TSO	fuʔfu	*JAV	ladiŋ	*TAK	meit
*RUK	labo	MAD	ladd <sup>h</sup> iŋ	DAM	dimig
*PAI	cakit	*BAL	tiuk	MAB	buza
YAM	ipajan	SAS	ladik	YAB	boyaŋ
*ISN	iku	GOR	pito	*KAU	alaŋin
KAL	uku	DAA	ladi	*TOL	bənəm
*TAG	kampit	UMA	ladiʔ	BUA	yipək
*AKL	siyaw	BUG	piso	*ADZ	mudzuk
*PAL	pikuʔ	*KON	piso	*KIL	[kutou]
MOL	ladiŋ	*WOL	piso	*TAW	[naipi]
*KAG	[kutsilyu]	*MAG	[piso]	MOT	kaia
BLA	bansuŋ	NGA	tudī	MEK	aʔiva
SAB	ladiŋ	*SIK	tudi	ROV	mayu
*MUR	pais	RTI	dope	MAR	naflahi
*MGY	aŋi	*BUR	kat-ana-n	*LAU	isi
*ACE	[sikin]	DOB	turaʔu	KWO	
BAT	raut	IRA	warada	*RAG	bua
MIN	pisaw	SAW	yete goro	*PAA	titiau
IND	pisau	NYI	samen	LEW	pilayu

POR	ičao	*NEN	[hele]	RTU	sere
NTA	[naip]	KIR	te [naibi]	TON	hele
KWA	nau	MSH	[ŋ <sup>w</sup> aip <sup>w</sup> ]	*SAM	[naifi]
*NEM	[hele]	PON	[naip]	*MEL	[masimasi]
*CEM	[hele]	*WLE	fatiřeϕ <sup>w</sup> u	TAH	tipi
AJI	řařa pε ara	EFI	i-sele	RAP	hoe
XAR	nəa	WFI	i-hele		

ATA Also *takiř*; *βuʔi?* ‘pocket knife’; *paʔakaw* ‘knife to peel hemp’.

RUK *bakalə* ‘kitchen knife’; *takiθi* ‘small knife’.

PAI *sikunu* ‘small knife’; *ϕəʔəlap* ‘sheath’.

ISN *aliwa* ‘bolo knife’.

TAG Also [*kutsilyə*], from Spanish *cuchillo*.

AKL *talibuŋ* ‘bolo (knife)’; *tagub* ‘sheath (for bolo)’, Proto-Southern Philippines \**tageb*.

PAL Also *paʔis*.

KAG From Spanish *cuchillo*; *bari* ‘small kitchen knife’; *tabya* ‘large kitchen knife’.

MUR *pais* ‘small kitchen knife’; [*pisaw*] from Malay *pisau* ‘small all-purpose knife, pen-knife’; *kinandoy* ‘work knife, machete’; *gogolob* ‘bamboo knife’, *gogomot* ‘sickle-like reaping knife for rice-stalks’; *aŋgaman* ‘small harvest-knife for reaping rice-ears’.

MGY Also [*kisu*] from Bantu.

ACE From Arabic *sikkīn*.

JAV Also *piso*.

BAL Also *aŋgap-an* ‘knife used to harvest rice’; *pəŋutik* (*pə-N-kutik*) ‘knife used to inscribe traditional books on lontar leaf’.

KON Also *beraŋ-beraŋ*, *bassi-bassi*.

WOL Also *piso-piso* ‘small knife, pocket knife’.

MAG Malay.

SIK Also *kiʔat*, *supi*.

BUR ‘offspring of machete’ from *kau tue-n* ‘tree stump’ > *katuen* ‘machete’ > *kat[uen] ana-n* > *kat-ana-n* (Rana dialect *iri-t* ‘knife’); *unu-t* ‘bamboo knife for picking lice or wedge for forcing caulk into cracks’; *tina-t* ‘sharp bamboo knife for shredding tobacco or pig stomach into fine strips’.

TAK ‘bamboo knife’.



KAU	'sharpened bamboo used as a knife'.
TOL	'strip of bamboo used as a knife'.
ADZ	<i>mudzuk</i> 'small metal knife'; <i>paip</i> 'metal bush-knife, machete'; <i>ya<sup>h</sup>kaf</i> 'stone knife'.
KIL	From French (apparently influence of French traders in pre-war period). Also [ <i>naipa</i> ].
TAW	From English <i>knife</i> ; Labe dialect <i>oeya</i> .
LAU	Also <i>?ila</i> .
RAG	<i>bua tavgava</i> 'bamboo knife', <i>bua tai tai</i> 'metal knife'.
PAA	'small bamboo'.
NEM	From Polynesian.
CEM	From Polynesian.
NEN	From Polynesian.
WLE	'regular sized knife'.
SAM	(polite) <i>?ofe</i> (see 08.940); (polite) <i>polo</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

05.390 **FORK**

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>vork</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>fork</i>	<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>garfo</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>tenedor</i>		

ATA	*MUR [gadapu <sup>?</sup> ]	UMA
*TSO xusu	*MGY [furiseti]	BUG [garippu]
RUK	ACE camca anu <sup>?</sup>	KON [garappu]
PAI	jarəə	WOL [garupu]
YAM	BAT [garpu]	MAG
ISN	MIN [garpu]	NGA su <sup>h</sup> u
KAL [tinidol]	IND [garpu]	*SIK huru orok
TAG [tinidor]	SUN [garpuh]	RTI [folo-k]
AKL [tenedor]	*JAV [pəɾə <sup>?</sup> ]	*BUR [garpu]
PAL [tinidur]	MAD [garpu]	DOB [ɸorok]
MOL [tinidor]	BAL [garpu]	IRA
KAG [tinidur]	SAS čakar	SAW [forok]
BLA [tinidur]	GOR tu-tu <sup>h</sup> go <sup>?</sup> o	NYI
SAB [tinedor]	DAA	MAM saru

TAK		LAU	[foko]	*NEN	[fok]
DAM	ai $\phi$ ot	KWO		KIR	te waiteke
MAB	<sup>h</sup> gal	RAG		*MSH	[b $\phi$ k]
YAB	sala?	PAA	[v $\phi$ k]	PON	[p <sup>w</sup> $\phi$ k]
KAU		*LEW	perejawa	*WLE	ti $\phi$ <sup>w</sup> a
TOL	[fok]	POR		EFI	i- $\phi$ ula
BUA	rur $\phi$ k	NTA	[fok]	*WFI	i- $\phi$ ula
*ADZ	$\phi$ i $\phi$ u?	KWA		RTU	koho
KIL	kaibeba	*NEM	ba-k <sup>h</sup> eli	TON	huhu
TAW	hige		aman	*SAM	tui
*MOT	[poka]	*CEM	bê-w $\phi$ li-	MEL	[f $\phi$ ko]
*MEK	ini		nâdo	TAH	pâtia m $\phi$ <sup>a</sup>
ROV	[sipuni poka]	AJI	pe r $\phi$ w $\phi$ e ě	RAP	patia
MAR		XAR			

TSO Also chopsticks, spoons.

MUR *tuj $\phi$ ok* (*ma $\eta$ -; -on*) ‘pierce with fork’.

MGY From French.

JAV Also [*garpu*].

SIK Also *ʔai orok*.

BUR Also *nasel* ‘three-pronged fishing spear used to hunt crayfish’.

ADZ ‘single-pronged skewer, made of coconut leaf mid-rib’.

MOT Also *diniga* ‘fork, sharpened stick or bone’.

MEK *ini* lit ‘thorn’ (as used for picking up food). Traditionally *peo-peo*, a fork made from the leg bone of a cassowary, was a prized possession.

LEW Originally ‘many-pronged arrow’.

NEM ‘for-stab thing’.

CEM ‘for jabbing things’.

NEN Also *e $\theta$ welen*.

MSH Also [*kapel*] from German *Gabel*.

WLE Also ‘lever’.

WFI Also *i-haga*.

SAM *tui* (vb trans) ‘stab, jab’, see 09.223.

## 05.391 TONGS

ATA		DAA		*ROV	nəpihi
TSO		UMA	hupi?	MAR	čočoŋi
RUK		BUG	passipi?	LAU	sakai
PAI		KON	sipi?	KWO	lageu
YAM	šoşopit	WOL	supi	*RAG	ya-laiva
ISN		MAG	ʔgəpit	PAA	
KAL	iʔipit	*NGA	gape	LEW	pilapau
*TAG	sipit	SIK	kəmit	POR	xiʔge
AKL	kimpit	RTI	ka-kabi-k	*NTA	kuf
PAL		*BUR	ati-t	KWA	kuɸe
MOL	kokoripit	DOB	ʔabil	*NEM	ba-cim <sup>wi</sup> paik
*KAG	paŋ-ipit	IRA	tənaɡəɸə	*CEM	bê-îm <sup>wi</sup> -nâdo
BLA	sifit	SAW	kew-kawet	AJI	pe kâvia
SAB	si-sipit	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> i <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> im	*XAR	[akōfi]
*MUR	ansip	MAM	sulaʔa	NEN	ikot
MGY	tanɸa	TAK		KIR	te karibaibai
ACE	supet	DAM	ā korō	MSH	
*BAT	[taŋ]	MAB	ʔgariŋ	PON	
*MIN	[taŋ]	YAB	ga <sup>n</sup> dəŋ	WLE	
IND	səpit	KAU	kapis	EFI	i-gamu
*SUN	čačapit	TOL	kiə	WFI	i-gamu
JAV	čəpit	BUA		RTU	ʔilehi
MAD	ʔapit	ADZ		*TON	hikofi
BAL	səpit	KIL		SAM	iʔofi
SAS	pəŋjəpit (jəpit)	TAW	kamolaga	*MEL	[nikapu]
*GOR	ku-kupito	MOT	kahi	TAH	
		MEK	i-epe	RAP	

TAG Also *panipit*.

KAG From (*ipit + paŋ-*) ‘thing used for pinching’.

MUR Also *sumpit* ‘tweezers shaped like chopsticks, joined at one end, used for eating sago’.

BAT From Dutch.

MIN From Dutch.

SUN Also *paŋapit* (*čapit*).

GOR Must be a loanword, as /k/ is not a native consonant.

NGA Also *ŋame*.

BUR Also ‘sago paste twirler’.

ROV	Also <i>nepihi</i> .
RAG	'split stick for hot stones'.
NTA	<i>kuf</i> made from bamboo; <i>karasau</i> made from wood.
NEM	'for-grasp stone' (oven).
CEM	'for grasping hold of things'.
XAR	From Polynesian.
TON	Also <i>meʔa hiko</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

## 05.410 MEAL (a)

ATA	m-tihaʔ-ik	UMA		*ROV	hinena hena
TSO		BUG	anre	*MAR	gay <sup>n</sup> amu
RUK		KON		LAU	faja
PAI		*WOL	ka <sup>n</sup> de-a	KWO	
YAM		*MAG	ča <sup>m</sup> pok	RAG	
ISN		*NGA	uta	*PAA	anien
KAL	kakan	*SIK	ŋaβu-ŋ ʔea-ŋ	LEW	na-kani-ena
*TAG	pag-kāʔin	*RTI	na-na-ʔa-ni-n-	POR	
*AKL	pag-kāʔun		inu-k	NTA	naŋuənən
PAL	kaʔan	*BUR	maŋ-kau	*KWA	naweŋənien
MOL	okon	DOB		NEM	wi-aman
KAG		IRA		CEM	wí-nâdo
BLA	ka-kəʔən	*SAW	mənəm	AJI	vi ara
SAB		NYI	ñamon	XAR	nɛ-da
MUR		MAM	moanaʔo	NEN	
MGY	sakafu	*TAK	latamad	KIR	
*ACE	[kanuri]	DAM		MSH	
BAT	si-paŋan-on	*MAB	kini	PON	
MIN	makan	YAB	m <sup>w</sup> asiŋ	WLE	
IND	makan-an	*KAU	eda mhu	EFI	kana
*SUN	ka-[dahar]-an	*TOL	n-ian	WFI	kana
*JAV	səgɔ	BUA	nos	RTU	ʔātē
MAD	kakan-an	ADZ	nam ga-dan	TON	kai
*BAL	də-[daar]-an	*KIL	kam-k <sup>w</sup> am	*SAM	ʔai-ŋa
*SAS	kakən-an	TAW	am	MEL	kai
*GOR	ʔu ʔālo	*MOT	aniani	TAH	tāmāʔaraʔa
DAA		MEK	ani-ani	RAP	

TAG	Also 'food' (05.120).
AKL	Also 'food' (05.120).
ACE	'formal meal' from Persian <i>kanūr</i> ; also <i>bu</i> 'cooked rice, meal'.
SUN	From Javanese.
JAV	'cooked rice'.
BAL	'food', Old Javanese.
SAS	'food'
GOR	? <i>u</i> 'NOM', ? <i>ālo</i> 'be eaten'; also <i>tamelo</i> (at a feast). See 05.120.
WOL	'meal, bowl, plate, dish'.
MAG	'informal snack'.
NGA	'vegetable'.
SIK	Also ? <i>aŋ rinu-ŋ</i> , ? <i>a rinu</i> .
RTI	'what is eaten-drunk', i.e. 'a meal'.
BUR	'cassava, manioc'. <i>ma kaa maŋ-kau</i> 'Let's eat a meal/Let's eat cassava'.
SAW	'food'.
TAK	'strengthening'.
MAB	Also <i>temen</i> .
KAU	'food taken to be eaten along the trail' ( <i>eda</i> 'thing').
TOL	See 05.120. <i>lukāra</i> 'meal of a feast'.
KIL	'CONT-eat'; <i>paka</i> 'party, feast'.
MOT	'food'.
ROV	Also <i>yinaniyani</i> .
MAR	'feast'.
PAA	Also 'food'.
KWA	<i>nawenənien</i> 'feast'; <i>naφunu</i> 'food eaten after drinking kava, <i>Piper methysticum</i> '.
SAM	? <i>ai</i> 'eat', - <i>ŋa</i> NOM; (polite) <i>talialo-ŋa</i> , <i>tāumafa-taŋa</i> , - <i>taŋa</i> NOM, <i>tausami-ŋa</i> , - <i>ŋa</i> NOM.

## 05.420 BREAKFAST

ATA	k-um-unama?	PAI	kənamay	KAL	ka-kān si
TSO		YAM	iʒiag		bigbigat
RUK	koalə	ISN	sīra	*TAG	[almusal]

*AKL	pamāhaw	*MAG	ʃumik	ROV	
PAL	sɔmahɔw	*NGA	kaa-uta-roβa	MAR	
MOL		SIK	ʔea-ŋ kaβu	LAU	faŋala ʔubonʒi
KAG	maaw	*RTI	na-na-ʔa fa-	KWO	
BLA	k-n-ɔʔɔn flɔfus		fai-k	RAG	
*SAB	inum-an mahin	*BUR	kaa sup-sup-a-k	*PAA	mun [tī]
	aʔat	*DOB		*LEW	na-kani-ena na
MUR		IRA			lulan
*MGY	udi am-bavaʔfu	*SAW	n-inem woe	POR	
ACE	bu buŋɔh		tane	NTA	naŋuənən
*BAT	maŋan ma-	*NYI	ñamon ta	KWA	
	nogot		ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> aben	NEM	
MIN	makan pagi	MAM	uabuna-bia-	CEM	
IND	sarapan		bia-moanaʔo	AJI	ara mɛlɔ
*SUN	sa-sarap	TAK		XAR	
JAV	sarapan	DAM		NEN	
MAD	sarab-an	MAB		KIR	
*BAL	pəñəməŋ	*YAB	mo-m <sup>w</sup> àsɪŋ	MSH	m <sup>u</sup> ap <sup>u</sup> uŋ
*SAS	ñampah	KAU		*PON	teiet
*GOR	moŋā	TOL		WLE	
	[simūkulu]	BUA		EFI	katalau
DAA	pa <sup>n</sup> goni	ADZ		WFI	mataðawa
	<sup>m</sup> pado <sup>n</sup> do	KIL		RTU	ʔā maho
UMA		*TAW	malatomtom	TON	kai poŋipoŋi
BUG	anre eleʔ		amna	*SAM	[tī]
*KON	aŋ-ŋanre	*MOT	daba aniani-na	MEL	
	(kanre) eleʔ	MEK	ʔama-ŋa-ai	*TAH	[taofe]
*WOL	pe-βaku		foʔamā	*RAP	hora [kāpē]

TAG From Spanish *almorzar* ‘to lunch’.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*bāhaw* ‘cold food’ + *paN-*.

SAB This and the terms for lunch, dinner and supper are not really used. Main meals i.e. lunch and dinner are referred to as *a-maŋan* ‘to eat’ and lighter meals i.e. breakfast and supper are referred to as *aN-inum* ‘to drink/have a snack’.

MGY ‘remedy for the stomach’.

BAT Also *sarapan*.

SUN Also *mu-muluk*.

BAL (*pə-N-səməŋ*), *səməŋ* ‘morning’.

SAS	Thoir et al (1985): <i>sampah</i> (noun); <i>ñampah</i> (vb intrans).
GOR	<i>moŋa</i> ‘to eat’, a LIG; <i>smukul</i> from Manado Malay.
KON	Also <i>aʔ-ǰempaŋ bulati</i> , <i>aʔ-kaddoʔ</i> -‘kaddoro.
WOL	Also <i>po-ta<sup>m</sup>po</i> .
MAG	‘meal’.
NGA	Also <i>nalo</i> ‘eat together especially in honour of a guest’.
RTI	Rotinese generally eat two meals a day, morning and evening: <i>na-na-ʔa fafai-k</i> and <i>na-na-ʔa leʔo-dae-k</i> .
BUR	‘eat early-morning’ (incorporated).
DOB	No meal names in Dobel, they simply say <i>ʔa-ʔa manam</i> ‘he eats (sago)’, then they can specify the time of day if necessary.
SAW	‘drink hot water’ (usually breakfast)’.
NYI	‘food of morning’.
YAB	‘taro left from supper’.
TAW	‘morning meal’.
MOT	<i>daba</i> ‘morning’.
PAA	‘drink tea’.
LEW	‘morning meal’; often reduced to <i>na lulan</i> ; also verbally <i>muni wī visunu</i> ‘drink hot water’.
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>eŋēn menseŋ</i> lit ‘morning meal’; <i>kap<sup>w</sup>arsou</i> hon.; <i>kemenseŋ</i> .
SAM	From English ‘tea’; also <i>inu-ŋā-tī</i> , <i>inu</i> (vb intrans/trans) ‘drink’, - <i>ŋa</i> NOM, <i>tī</i> ‘tea’, (polite) <i>mālū-taeao</i> , <i>mālū</i> (vb intrans) ‘be refreshing’, ‘freshness’, <i>taeao</i> ‘morning’.
TAH	From English.
RAP	<i>[kāpē]</i> from Spanish <i>café</i> .

### 05.430 LUNCH

ATA	<i>k-um-riʔax</i>	TAG	<i>taŋhalīʔ-an</i>	SAB	<i>a-maŋan ugtu</i>
TSO		AKL	<i>ilābas</i>		<i>allaw</i>
RUK	<i>koḍālə</i>	PAL	<i>toŋəldəwan</i>	MUR	
PAI	<i>ʔəŋəl<sup>y</sup></i>	MOL		MGY	<i>sakafu antu-</i>
YAM	<i>iagra</i>	KAG	<i>igma</i>		<i>and<sup>r</sup>u</i>
ISN	<i>agpapāsu</i>	BLA	<i>k-n-əʔəŋ boŋ</i>	ACE	<i>bu urəə</i>
KAL	<i>ka-kān si</i>		<i>du</i>	BAT	<i>maŋan ari-an</i>
	<i>mamatuk</i>			MIN	<i>makan taŋari</i>

IND	makan siang	*NYI	ñamon ta	*LEW	na-kani-ena na
*SUN	dahar <i>biran</i>		badaʔan		lipae
JAV	maṅan awan	MAM	amari-soasoa-	POR	
*MAD	ṅakan bəḍḍ <sup>h</sup> uk (-kakan)		moanaʔo	NTA	
BAL		TAK		KWA	
		DAM		NEM	
*SAS	maṅan təṅari	MAB		CEM	
*GOR	moṅā dulahu	YAB		AJI	ara karē
DAA	pa <sup>ŋ</sup> goni <sup>n</sup> toṅo eo	KAU		XAR	
		TOL		NEN	
UMA		BUA		KIR	
BUG	anre isso	ADZ		MSH	
KON	aṅ-ṅanre (kanre) allo	KIL		*PON	m <sup>w</sup> eṅēn souwas
		*TAW	iyetabolina		
WOL			amna	WLE	
*MAG	lo <sup>m</sup> poṅ	*MOT	dina tubua	EFI	βaka-siṅaleβu
NGA	kaa-uta-ləza		aniani-na	WFI	βa-hiṅa-leβu
SIK	ʔea-ṅ ləro dətu	MEK	atsiava foʔamā	*RTU	ʔātē ianina
*RTI	na-na-ʔa ledο hana-k	ROV		TON	kai hoʔatā
		MAR		SAM	
*BUR	kaa lea tifu-k	LAU		MEL	
*DOB		KWO		*TAH	tāmāʔa
IRA		RAG		RAP	
SAW		*PAA	ṅanian en  leven		

SUN *biran* ‘middle of the day’

MAD *bəḍḍ<sup>h</sup>uk* ‘noon’.

SAS *maṅan* ‘eat rice’; also *bə-təṅari*, from *təṅari* ‘noon’.

GOR *moṅā* ‘to eat’, *a* ‘LIG’, *dulaho* ‘daytime’.

MAG ‘full meal’.

RTI See 05.420.

BUR ‘eat midday’ (incorporated construction).

DOB See 05.420.

NYI ‘food of midday’.

TAW ‘midday meal’.

MOT *dina tubua* ‘midday’ (*dina* ‘day’ *tubua* ‘upright; tip’).

PAA ‘eat at eleven’.



LEW 'midday meal'; also [tina] (from English).

PON 'noon meal'; also *kasouwas*, *pānisou*.

RTU 'midday meal'.

TAH Verb.

### 05.440 DINNER

ATA	k-um-yaβiyan	BUG	manre-winni	MAR	
TSO		KON		LAU	faŋala baita
RUK		WOL		KWO	
PAI		MAG		RAG	
YAM	ioyab	NGA	meye	PAA	
ISN		SIK	ʔea-ŋ ʔβaun	*LEW	na-kani-ena na
KAL		*RTI	na-na-ʔa leʔo- dae-k		evekilavi
*TAG	salu-sālo			POR	
*AKL	saʔtu-sāʔuh	BUR		NTA	naŋuəŋəŋ
PAL	kaʔanan	*DOB		KWA	
MOL		IRA		NEM	
KAG	igma	SAW		CEM	
BLA		NYI		AJI	ara rēhe
SAB	a-maŋan saŋom	MAM	rairai- moanaʔo	XAR	
MUR		TAK		NEN	
MGY	sakafu	DAM		KIR	
ACE	bu suopot	MAB		MSH	kəcəta
BAT	maŋan boŋŋin	YAB		*PON	mʷeŋən souʔik
MIN	makan	KAU		WLE	
IND	makan malam	TOL		EFI	βaka-yakaβi
*SUN	dahar pitiŋ	BUA		WFI	βe-i-yaβi
JAV	maŋan bəŋi	ADZ		RTU	ʔomoe
MAD	ŋakan maləm (-kakan)	KIL		*TON	[tina]
		*TAW	ibigei amna	*SAM	ʔai-ŋa
BAL		*MOT	adorahi	MEL	
*SAS	maŋan (pətəŋ)		aniani-na	*TAH	[taofe]
*GOR	moŋā huwi	MEK	ŋapi-ŋapi	RAP	hora kai
DAA			foʔamā		
UMA		ROV			

TAG	‘banquet’; otherwise same as ‘supper’ (05.450).
AKL	‘banquet’; otherwise same as ‘supper’.
SUN	Eringa (1984): <i>pitiŋ</i> ‘evening, night’.
SAS	<i>maŋan</i> ‘eat rice’, Thoir et al (1985): <i>pətəŋ</i> ‘dark’.
GOR	<i>moŋa</i> ‘to eat’, a LIG, <i>huwi</i> ‘night’.
RTI	See 05.420.
DOB	See 05.420.
TAW	‘evening meal’.
MOT	<i>adorahi</i> ‘evening’.
LEW	‘evening meal’; also [ <i>sapa</i> ] (from Bislama).
PON	‘evening meal’; also <i>kasouŋik</i> ; <i>kotūsou</i> hon.
TON	From English ‘dinner’.
SAM	? <i>ai-</i> ‘eat’, - <i>ŋa</i> NOM; (polite) <i>tali-ŋā-sua</i> : <i>tali</i> (polite) ‘fill one’s belly’, - <i>ŋa-</i> NOM, <i>sua</i> (polite) ‘meal served to a chief’.
TAH	Verb, from English.

### 05.450 SUPPER

ATA	k-um-yaβiyan	MIN	makan malam	SIK	? <i>ea-ŋ</i> ? <i>βauŋ</i>
TSO		IND	makan malam	*RTI	na-na-?ale?- odaek
RUK	koaobo	*SUN	dahar pitiŋ	*BUR	kaa moda-k
PAI	kaiv	JAV	maŋan bəŋi	*DOB	
YAM	ioyab	MAD	ŋakan maləm (-kakan)	IRA	
ISN	paŋgīdām	BAL		SAW	
*KAL	kakan si labi	*SAS	maŋan (pətəŋ).	*NYI	ñamon ta beyeh
*TAG	hapūn-an	GOR		MAM	rairai- moana?o
AKL	i-hāpun	DAA	pa <sup>ɗ</sup> gori <sup>ɗ</sup> gaveŋina	TAK	
PAL	ɔpunan	UMA		DAM	
MOL		BUG	manre-winni	MAB	
KAG	yapun	KON	aŋ-ŋanre (kanre) baŋŋi	YAB	
BLA	k-n-ɔ?ɔn flɔbi			KAU	
SAB	inum-an saŋom	WOL		TOL	
MUR		MAG		BUA	
MGY	sakafu hariva	NGA	kaa-uta-kobe	ADZ	
ACE	bu malam				
BAT					

KIL		POR		WLE	
TAW		NTA		EFI	
MOT		KWA		WFI	
MEK		NEM		RTU	
ROV		CEM		*TON	faka-neifua
MAR		AJI	ara rēre	SAM	
LAU	faʻala haulafi	XAR		MEL	
KWO		NEN		TAH	
RAG		KIR		RAP	kai ahi-ahi
PAA		MSH	kacota		
LEW		PON			

KAL	From ( <i>ka-kan si labi</i> )
TAG	Also 'dinner' (05.440).
SUN	Eringa (1984): <i>pitiŋ</i> 'evening, night'.
SAS	See note, 'dinner'.
RTI	See 05.420.
BUR	'eat evening' incorporated construction.
DOB	See 05.420.
NYI	'food of evening'.
TON	Also [ <i>sapa</i> ] from English 'supper'.

### 05.460 PEEL

ATA	ʔ-um-aʔiʔ	*SAB	kuwit	*GOR	moŋalipo
*TSO	re-tosi	*MUR	iŋkulis	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-lepa
RUK	ŋiʔo	*MGY	mamaufi	*UMA	lepaʔ
PAI	ʔ-əm-ədap	ACE	kulet	BUG	massoso
*YAM	atʔipan	BAT	lakkat-i	*KON	añ-ñoroʔ (soroʔ)
ISN	bulaʔ	MIN	kubaʔ	WOL	kulasi
*KAL	upik	IND	məŋupas (kupas)	MAG	kasi
*TAG	tālop	SUN	məsek (pəsek)	NGA	lui
*AKL	ūpak	JAV	ŋ-oñčɛʔ-i	*SIK	biha
*PAL	məŋupas (upas)	MAD	ŋumbiʔ (-kumbiʔ)	*RTI	finā
*MOL	kulis	BAL	məlut (pəlut)	*BUR	sopi-k
*KAG	palut	*SAS	lokeʔ	*DOB	ʔa-yiʔar
BLA	n-uket			*IRA	nuʔasə

*SAW	n-epires.	*MEK	e-kopi-a	*XAR	coa
NYI	asik	*ROV	garoa	*NEN	ruano(n)
MAM	rasi	*MAR	tōhi	KIR	kuōra
*TAK	-supi	LAU	ʔefoa	*MSH	oꝛcib
*DAM	i-sēi-ya	KWO	susuri-a	*PON	rere
*MAB	-kis	*RAG	hib <sup>w</sup> a	*WLE	ŋeisī
*YAB	-gani <sup>?</sup>	PAA	vuti	*EFI	ðiβi-ta
*KAU	sil	*LEW	si-vani	*WFI	ðiβi-sia
TOL	kulit	*POR	vuč-i	*RTU	sisu
BUA	ruβ	*NTA	-arpək	TON	fohi
*ADZ	saf-	*KWA	-aruwai	*SAM	fofo <sup>?</sup> e
KIL	-k <sup>w</sup> asi	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> adi	*MEL	tāvassia
*TAW	geya	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> adi	TAH	hohore
MOT	kopa-ia	AJI	paři	RAP	ho-honi

TSO *re-tosi* (*re-tos-i*) ‘peel with a knife (apples, pears)’; *mu-ʔriç-i* (*rʔiç-i*) ‘peel with fingers (banana, tangerine, bamboo shoot, peanut, etc.)’; see also *mu-skisi* (*skis-i*) ‘peel hemp/ramic stems’.

YAM *atjipan* (raw food); *lapoyan* ‘cooked food’

KAL *upik* + *-an* (fruit); *kulit* + *-an* (camote); *bunūt* + *-an* (coconut).

TAG *tālop* + *mag-/-an*.

AKL *ūpak* + *-an*.

PAL Also *upasan*.

MOL *kulit* + *-an*.

KAG *palut* + *mag-/-an*; also *panit* + *mag-/-ən*.

SAB *kuwit* + *aN-/-an*.

MUR *igkulit* (*maŋ-; -in*); also *lās* (*mag-/maŋ-; -on*) ‘peel durian and other large fruit with tough skin’.

MGY (*maN- + vaofi*) from *voa-ofi* ‘be peeled, skinned’.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *lokes*.

GOR (*ʔalipo + moN-*)

UMA *lepa<sup>?</sup>* ‘peel with fingers (e.g. a banana)’; *lela<sup>?</sup>* ‘peel with knife (e.g. potato)’.

KON Also *aŋ-ŋalappasi(kalappasi)* (coconut).

SIK Also *gahi* (maize), *laris* (potato, mango), *tihō* (coconut).

RTI *fina* ‘to peel by hand’; *nisi* is ‘peel, scrape with a knife’.

- BUR 'peel with a knife'; *sabi-k* 'peel, pare, shave (e.g. bristles off a pig)'; *ali-k* 'peel by hand' (e.g. banana); *sisi-k* 'peel bark off a tree with a machete for use as walls or roofing of a house'; *bara-k* 'beating bark to loosen it for peeling (first step of *sisi-k*)'; *naji ikan* 'scale a fish'.
- DOB ?*a-yiɸar* of bananas and cassava; also ?*a-ɸu?a*, used of lemons, etc.
- IRA *nuɸəsə* 'husk coconut'; *nədadənə* 'peel banana'; *nuɸə* 'peel tuber'.
- SAW Also *n-ɛsuf* 'peel with a knife'.
- TAK 'peel with a sea-shell peeler'.
- DAM '3sg-peel-INF'.
- MAB *-kis* 'peel sweet potato, taro etc.', *-sek* 'to peel tree bark, banana'.
- YAB Also *-gɔlɛ?* 'dehusk', *-ti*, *-lɛ?*.
- KAU Also *kais*; *sus* 'husk coconut'.
- ADZ *saf-* 'peel skin off, e.g. sweet potato'; *su-* 'peel banana'.
- TAW *geya* 'banana peel'; *omheli* 'vegetable peel'.
- MEK Also *e-?epu(-ŋa)*.
- ROV *garoa*, *garogaro* 'peel with implement (potato)', also *kapua* 'peel with finger nail (orange)'.
- MAR *tohi* 'peel with knife'; *kmiji* 'peel off husk of nut'.
- RAG 'peel with knife'.
- LEW 'pare'; also *vili-ari* 'peel (e.g. orange) with fingers'.
- POR Also *čø-i*.
- NTA Also *βiŋ*, for fruit like a banana.
- KWA *-aruwai* 'peel tubers such as manioc, taro, yam'; *-aweri* 'peel a banana, hard-boiled egg'; *-eni* 'peel a banana, peel bark off a twig'.
- XAR *coa* 'peel'; *pɔru* 'skin, remove outer leaves'.
- NEN Also *θumuze* (of yams).
- MSH *oɾcib* (vb intrans); also 'moult'; *kakil* also *ækil* from *kil* 'skin'; intransitive forms used in the sense of 'to peel (of skin)'; *ecec*.
- PON Also *kaup* as of a banana.
- WLE *ŋeisī* 'with the hands', *ɸ<sup>w</sup>uɾoŋi*; *teɾaiürɔ* 'to skin something'.
- EFI *βoði-a* 'peel soft skin, with fingers'.
- WFI *βoði-a* 'peel soft skin, with fingers'.
- RTU Also *tara*.
- SAM *fofo?e* 'peel with a peeler or by hand', *fisi* (vb trans) 'peel with a knife'.
- MEL Also *valāsia*, *vasivasia*, *kōsia*.

## 05.470 SIEVE, STRAIN

ATA	ɣ-um-irɣir	DAA	sariŋa	MAR	poʃi
*TSO	ma-saraxi	UMA	po-ranaʔ	LAU	
*RUK	wa-saʃa	BUG	pappanapi	KWO	
PAI	s-əm-iɣi-siɣ	*KON	paʔ-tandaʔ	RAG	
YAM	paninigian	*WOL	gugura	PAA	
ISN	issasāgat	*MAG	[tapis]	*LEW	[ve-sev]
*KAL	padāpad	NGA	tapi	POR	
*TAG	sālaʔ	SIK	tapi-ŋ	NTA	-əs
*AKL	sāʃaʔ	RTI	da-daʔa	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> riŋi
PAL	sɔsrɔtan	*BUR	lee	NEM	
*MOL	siriŋ	DOB	na-k <sup>w</sup> ureri	CEM	
*KAG	ayag	IRA	tətətə	AJI	pɛ ɟɔ
BLA	s-n-alaʔ	SAW	fɛ-ftak	XAR	f-a-tɔ
*SAB	ayak	NYI		NEN	
*MUR	ayak	MAM		*KIR	raumea
MGY	mana-	*TAK	-abi	MSH	liklik
	tantavana	DAM	asi	*PON	[sīp]
ACE	ayaʔ	MAB	-ruŋ	*WLE	ppiʃi
*BAT	[ayat]	*YAB	lase-lase	EFI	tauβulo-na
*MIN	tapih	KAU		*WFI	βa-βulo-nia
IND	məñariŋ	TOL		RTU	sakoto
	(sariŋ)	BUA	βasu	*TON	[sivi]
*SUN	ñariŋ (sariŋ)	ADZ	ŋi <sup>ʔʔ</sup> -	*SAM	tatau
JAV	ŋ-ayaʔ-i	KIL	-taβileβi	MEL	
MAD	ñariŋ (sariŋ)	*TAW	luluhi	TAH	titiʔa
*BAL	ñaip (saip)	*MOT	neβari-a	*RAP	[kora]
SAS	ŋ-eok	*MEK	ifolo		
*GOR	məhayahu	ROV			

TSO *ma-saraxi* (*sarax-i*) ‘strain millet- or rice-beer through *tīpi* (rattan-made strainer)’.

RUK *wa-saʃa* ‘to sieve with a sifter made from bamboo’, *wa-vətay* ‘to sieve with a sifter made from wire’.

KAL *padāpad* + *-on*.

TAG *sālaʔ* + *mag-/-in* PHF *\*sāraʔ*.

AKL *sāʃaʔ* + *-un*.

MOL *siriŋ* + *-on*.

KAG	<i>ayag + mag-/əŋ</i> ‘sieve’; <i>sa’la + mag-/əŋ</i> ‘strain’.
SAB	<i>ayak + aN-/əŋ</i> ‘sieve’; <i>sāʔ + aN-/ø</i> ‘strain’.
MUR	<i>ayak (maŋ-; -on)</i> .
BAT	From Malay.
MIN	Also <i>sariʔŋ</i> .
SUN	Also <i>ŋ-ayak</i> .
BAL	Also <i>(N-)[sariŋ]</i> from Malay.
GOR	<i>(wahahu + moh-)</i> .
KON	Also <i>čoro</i> (made of bamboo).
WOL	<i>gugura</i> (vb trans); <i>ka-gugura</i> (n); <i>tepi</i> ‘winnow (rice)’; <i>ka-tepi</i> (n).
MAG	Malay ‘winnow’; also <i>čeme</i> .
BUR	The instrument is a <i>lee-t</i> .
TAK	‘hold’ (11.150), i.e. ‘squeeze out’.
YAB	<i>lase-lase</i> ‘sieve’; <i>nuʔ</i> ‘strain’.
TAW	‘sago filter’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives meaning as ‘to sprinkle’.
MEK	<i>ifolo</i> ‘gauze-like fibre obtained from coconut palms, used to strain liquids’.
LEW	From Bislama.
KWA	<i>-askin</i> ‘strain by winding the ends of a piece of cloth, etc. about two sticks and twisting’.
KIR	<i>te raumea</i> ‘filter’, usually made of coconut cloth.
PON	From English.
WLE	‘strained, slip out’.
WFI	Also <i>βa-dawa-nia</i> .
TON	From English.
SAM	Also ‘wring out’.
RAP	<i>[kora]</i> ‘sieve, strain (liquids)’, from Spanish <i>colar</i> ; <i>rū-rū</i> ‘shake’ i.e. ‘sift dry goods’.

### 05.480 SCRAPE

ATA		PAI		*KAL	kuskus
*TSO	sifkou	YAM	gizigidəŋ	*TAG	kāyod
RUK	wa-koso-koso	ISN	kitkit	*AKL	kiskis

*PAL	kuskus	WOL	kau	KWO	gori-a
*MOL	korut	*MAG	ʔgərok	RAG	hiri
*KAG	kias	*NGA	rəgu	PAA	rasi
*BLA	n-dis	*SIK	kəru	LEW	vili
*SAB	kagis	RTI	nisi	POR	xorov-i
*MUR	kikis	*BUR	kihi	NTA	-akiah
MGY	mi-kiki	DOB	ʔa-bayil	*KWA	-apeki
*ACE	kut	*IRA	sakukərə	NEM	yeli
BAT	hois	SAW	n-εgeg	CEM	iti
MIN	kikih	*NYI	aʔer	*AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ā
*IND	məŋərik (kərik)	MAM	garasi	*XAR	kəu
*SUN	[ŋərik] ([kərik])	*TAK	-riri	NEN	kul
		DAM	ko	KIR	korita
		*MAB	-kēre	*MSH	iṛ
*JAV	ŋəruʔ (kəruʔ)	*YAB	-kaliŋ	*PON	kalup <sup>w</sup> ur
MAD	ŋərrek (-kərrek)	*KAU	puh	WLE	xəṛōtī
		TOL	kə	EFI	kari-a
*BAL	ŋi(h)kih (ki(h)kih)	*BUA	kəḳāin	WFI	kari-a
SAS	ŋərik (kərik)	ADZ	nab-	*RTU	ʔoi
GOR	mo-po-yilito	*KIL	-kaib <sup>w</sup> ana	TON	vau
DAA	no-kəu	TAW	yaga-ya	SAM	valu
UMA	kou	MOT	ori-a	MEL	varsia
BUG	map-paruʔ	*MEK	e-ae-ŋa	*TAH	ʔana
*KON	aŋ-ŋaʔruʔ (kaʔruʔ)	*ROV	rausu	RAP	varu-varu
		*MAR	grahi		
		LAU	garasia		

TSO *sifkou* (*sifkov-a*) ‘scrape off meat attached to fur’; *tuisi* (*tuis-a*) ‘to grate’ (sweet potatoes, radish, etc.).

KAL *kuskus + -an*.

TAG Also *kaskas + mag-/-in*.

AKL Also *kuskus + -un*.

PAL ‘grate coconut on grater’ (*kuskusan*).

MOL *korut + -on*.

KAG *kias + mag-/-ən*.

BLA *n-dis* ‘scrape (as shaving)’; *k-an-lud* ‘scrape (as to grate a coconut)’.

SAB *kagis + aN-/ø*.



- MUR *kikis* (*maŋ-*; *-on*) ‘scrape, grate (to obtain particles)’; *kisas* (*maŋ-*; *-on*) ‘scrape (to smoothen a surface)’; *susu?* (*maŋ-*; *-on*) ‘scrape (coconut flesh from inside shell)’.
- ACE Also *amplaih*, *garo*.
- IND Also *garuk*, *garut*, *kikis*, *parut*.
- SUN From Malay or Javanese, also *marud* (*parud*).
- JAV Also *ŋəri?* (*kəri?*).
- BAL ‘grate coconut flesh’; (*N-*)*kərik* ‘scrape with a sharp object, e.g. knife’; (*N-*)*səluh* ‘scrape out the flesh of a nut e.g. coconut, candlenut’.
- KON Also *aŋ-ŋoro?* (*koro?*).
- MAG Also *kiki*, <sup>0</sup>*gerok*.
- NGA Also *koi*.
- SIK Also *kuir*, *koso koro-ŋ*.
- BUR ‘scrape scales off a fish or burnt skin off a roasted tuber’; also *kiki*; *naŋi* ‘scale a fish’; *sawi* ‘scrape wood smooth with knife blade or broken glass’; *skiki* ‘scrape flesh on rock or wood’; *i-paŋa-t* ‘a scrape or scratch from a thorn with thorn not embedded’; *fgogi kau* ‘the way a cuscus scratches/sharpens its claws on wood, imitated by the hunter’; *guha-k* ‘grate (finely)’; *skoŋo-k* ‘grate (coarsely), scrape (meat from coconut)’; *koka ŋisi-n* ‘scrape/brush teeth’; *solī* ‘shuck corn, scrape kernels off’; *kodo-k* ‘scrape, grind (so as to sharpen a knife)’.
- IRA Also *norə*.
- NYI Also *ariy*.
- TAK *-riri*, *-rasi* respectively ‘scrape with a coconut scraper’ and ‘scrape out, e.g., with a knife’.
- YAB Also *-gabə*, *-kəko*, *-gawe*, *-si*.
- MAB *-kəre* ‘scrape coconut’, *-kurik* ‘to peel by scraping’, *-<sup>m</sup>burus* ‘to shred’.
- KAU *puh* ‘scraping the meat out of a coconut shell’; *tio* ‘scrape taro which has been cooked over the fire’.
- BUA *kəḳāin* ‘scrape out remnants of food’; *kəḳadəḳin* ‘scrape or scratch’; *kərerəḳin* ‘scrape/scratch towards oneself with one’s fingernail’; *kəzurəḳin* ‘scratch soft interior out of a vine, with knife, etc.’.
- KIL *-kaib<sup>w</sup>ana* ‘to scrape yam’; *-k<sup>w</sup>aliluya* ‘to scrape coconut’.
- MEK Also *e-ai-ŋa*, *e-ŋau-ŋa*.

ROV	<i>rausu</i> ‘scrape of a wood carver’; <i>asa</i> ‘scrape carrots’ i.e. ‘grate’; <i>repia</i> ‘scrape a coconut’.
MAR	<i>grahi</i> ‘scrape, grate’; <i>kakrasi</i> ‘scrape off with a shell’.
KWA	Also <i>-atiai</i> also ‘grate’.
AJI	Also <i>ī</i> .
XAR	<i>kou</i> ‘scrape’; <i>m<sup>w</sup>ata, çia, xī</i> ‘grate’.
MSH	<i>iṛ</i> also ‘rub’; <i>κλῆat</i> ‘scrape out’; also <i>kaṛ, kutake</i> ‘rake, scratch, brush’; <i>k<sup>w</sup>e</i> .
PON	<i>kalup<sup>w</sup>ur</i> ‘scrape surface’; <i>korēt</i> ‘scrape out’.
RTU	Also <i>kōri</i> .
TAH	<i>?ana</i> ‘scrape coconut’; <i>oro</i> ‘scrape manioc’.

### 05.490 STIR, MIX

ATA	<i>pa-pa-imay</i>	*BAL	<i>ŋ-aduk</i>	TOL	<i>poto</i>
*TSO	<i>atvoxi</i>	SAS	<i>aduk-aŋ</i>	*BUA	<i>γē loḵ</i>
RUK	<i>wa-çiboko</i>	*GOR	<i>moŋulawu</i>	*ADZ	<i>yari?</i>
PAI		*DAA	<i>naŋ-igo</i>	*KIL	<i>-taguliki</i>
YAM	<i>çivoçivorən</i>	UMA	<i>kała<sup>?</sup>iko</i>	TAW	<i>goda</i>
ISN	<i>kīru</i>	BUG	<i>mag-garu</i>	MOT	<i>bulo-a</i>
*KAL	<i>kiwkiw</i>	*KON	<i>a<sup>?</sup>-garu</i>	MEK	<i>e-iu-lapui-na</i>
*TAG	<i>hālo?</i>	*WOL	<i>geru</i>	*ROV	<i>galiri</i>
*AKL	<i>kuliwag</i>	*MAG	<i>haor</i>	MAR	<i>ŋiño</i>
PAL	<i>məglamud</i>	*NGA	<i>γego</i>	LAU	<i>dolalia</i>
*MOL	<i>kuar</i>	*SIK	<i>gaər</i>	*KWO	<i>gagi-a</i>
*KAG	<i>ukay</i>	RTI	<i>adu</i>	RAG	
*BLA	<i>k-an-ligol</i>	*BUR	<i>ep-sia-k</i>	PAA	<i>gāralīni</i>
*SAB	<i>kukaw</i>	*DOB	<i>?a-yesal</i>	LEW	<i>vuloni</i>
*MUR	<i>latok</i>	*IRA	<i>nəφutərə</i>	POR	<i><sup>m</sup>bu<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>as-i</i>
*MGY	<i>mampifangaru</i>	SAW	<i>n-ewae</i>	NTA	<i>-alkin</i>
*ACE	<i>[wet]</i>	NYI	<i>tobolowe</i>	*KWA	<i>-arkini</i>
*BAT	<i>səɔk</i>	MAM	<i>bairi</i>	NEM	<i>weli</i>
MIN	<i>kaçaw</i>	TAK	<i>-kibilam</i>	CEM	<i>îlū-hi</i>
*IND	<i>məŋ-aduk</i>	DAM	<i>φalei</i>	AJI	<i>ba<sup>v</sup>eāi</i>
*SUN	<i>ŋ-aduk</i>	*MAB	<i>-tōrō</i>	XAR	<i>çakçi</i>
JAV	<i>ŋ-aḍu?</i>	*YAB	<i>-galuŋ</i>	*NEN	<i>kiḍon</i>
MAD	<i>a-galuy</i>	*KAU	<i>phai βulik</i>	KIR	<i>kabōa</i>

*MSH	aucεke	WFI	uli-a	MEL	tāpinia
*PON	arī	*RTU	sua	*TAH	ʔanoʔi
*WLE	fiʔatī	TON	heu	*RAP	oi(-oi)
*EFI	uli-a	*SAM	seu		

TSO *atvoxi* (*atvox-a*) 'mix'; *t-m-a-ʔufu* (*ta-ʔufu-a*) 'stir up to mix'.

KAL *kiwkiw + -on*.

TAG *hāloʔ + mag-/-in*.

AKL *kulīwag + -un*.

MOL *kuar + -on*.

KAG *ukay + mag-/-ən* 'stir'; *duma + mag-/-ən* 'mix'.

BLA *k-an-ligol* 'stir'; *s-an-boʔol* 'mix'.

SAB *kukaw + aN-/ø* 'stir'; *lamud + aN-/-an* 'mix'.

MUR *latok* (*mag-/maŋ-; -on*) 'mix (two or more ingredients) together'; also *aŋkuyaw* (*maŋ-; -on*) 'mix s.th. in liquid by stirring with spoon'; *giul* (*mag-/maŋ-; -on*) 'mix s.th. in liquid by beating with whisk'; *kutow* (*mag-/maŋ-; -on*) 'mix to make porridge or gruel'.

MGY From *mampi-faN-haru*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

BAT Also *saɔɔ*.

IND *məŋ-aduk* 'stir'; *čampur* 'mix'.

SUN Also *ŋa-galo-kin*; *galo* 'mixed together, blended'.

BAI. Also (*N-*)*ledok*, (*N-*)*udək*; (*N-*)[*aor*]-*in* from Old Javanese?

GOR (*ʔulawu + moN*).

DAA *nan-igo* 'stir'; *no-galo* 'mix'.

KON Also *aʔ-'kaluere*.

WOL Also *ǰalo*.

MAG Also *kalok*; *kelok* 'to stir'.

NGA Also *kego*.

SIK Also *geβu-ŋhae-ŋ*.

BUR 'cause to be one, stir, mix'; also *p-sablali-k* 'mix' (both are also used as a euphemism for sexual relations); *noba* 'fat mixed with rice or millet'.

DOB *ʔa-yesal* 'stir meat, fish or vegetables', *ʔa-ϕakur* 'stir sago', (*ma'nam*).

IRA *nanəϕitabəbə* 'mix food'.

YAB Also *-yaliŋ, -kip*.

MAB Also *-sabeleu*.

KAU See 10.120.

BUA *tē* 'stir vigorously'; *sarɔmin* 'mix to blend'.

ADZ *yari?*- (Amari only); *ɕari?*- (other dialects).

KIL *-taguliki* 'stir liquids', also *-kaineβi* 'stir (pot while cooking)',  
*-keneβi-goli* 'mix with', 'mix (solid ingredients of a recipe)'.

ROV *galiri* 'stir'; *henia* 'mix'.

KWO Also *gae-a*.

KWA *-arkini* also 'stir', *-rəpi* 'combine foods together'.

NEN Also *aisoisoni*.

MSH *aɾuc* 'poke, stir food on the fire'.

PON *tie* also 'poke'.

WLE *yaɾüyaɾü* also 'stirring stick'.

EFI Also *waki-a*.

RTU Also *pɔru*.

SAM Also *sa?eu*.

TAH Also *fa?arapu*.

RAP *oi* 'stir'; *?ano?i* 'mix'.

## 05.510 BREAD

English: *bread, flour*  
Spanish: *pan*

North Indian Language: *roti*

ATA	MOL [tinapoy]	SUN [roti]
TSO	KAG 'tinapay	JAV [rɔti]
RUK	BLA [fan]	MAD [ruti]
PAI	SAB [pān]	BAL [ruti]
*YAM [manto]	*MUR [duti?]	SAS [ruti]
ISN sināpay	*MGY [mufu]	*GOR [loti]
KAL tināpay	ACE [ruti]	DAA [roti]
*TAG tināpay	BAT [rɔti]	UMA [roti]
AKL tināpay	MIN [roti]	BUG [roti]
PAL tinapay	IND [roti]	KON [roti]

*WOL	[roti]	*TOL	[beret]	NEM	[p <sup>w</sup> alawa]
MAG	[roti]	BUA	[braet]	CEM	[p <sup>w</sup> alao]
NGA		ADZ		AJI	[vařawa]
SIK	[roti]	*KIL	[beredi]	*XAR	[pã]
*RTI	[loti]	TAW	[palawa]	NEN	[bered]
*BUR	maŋ-kau seha-n	MOT	[parao]	KIR	te [biraua]
DOB	[roti]	MEK	[palava]	MSH	[pilawæ]
IRA	[roti]	ROV	[bereti]	PON	[pilawa]
SAW	[roti]	MAR		WLE	[fiřōwa]
*NYI	jabi ramen	LAU	[berete]	EFI	mad <sup>f</sup> ai
MAM	[bereti]	KWO		*WFI	[mad <sup>f</sup> ai]
TAK		RAG		RTU	[faraoa]
DAM		PAA	[polaua]	TON	mā
*MAB	narabu	*LEW	kila-peravi	SAM	[falaoa]
*YAB	pōlom	POR		MEL	[pirēte]
KAU	[bret]	NTA	[pret]	*TAH	[faraoa]
		KWA		RAP	[haraoa]

YAM From Chinese.

TAG PHN \*tāpay ‘yeast’.

MUR (Includes ‘Indian bread, dry cake’); also [duti]-[paun] ‘western-type bread’, from Portuguese pão ‘bread’.

MGY From Bantu.

GOR Also [roti].

WOL Also *boroti*.

RTI The word for the people of the island of Roti (*rote/lote*) has nothing to do with the word for ‘bread’.

BUR ‘fried balls of dough made from cassava flour’; also [roti] ‘bread’.

NYI ‘sago loaf’ now applied to ‘bread’.

MAB ‘mixture of a starchy root crop and either coconut or galip oil that is wrapped in leaves and baked’.

YAB Originally ‘taro pudding’.

KIL This generally refers to a whole loaf; also [p<sup>w</sup>arauwa] ‘the substance bread, slice from a loaf’.

LEW ‘bread-fruit lump’.

XAR From French *pain*.

WFI Standard Fijian, also *hakia* (fermented).

TAH Also [pane].

## 05.530 DOUGH

<b>Javanese: <i>aḍonan</i></b>
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ATA		UMA		MAR
TSO		BUG	lamaʔ	LAU
RUK		KON	baʃuŋ dumpi	KWO
PAI		WOL	go <sup>n</sup> ta	RAG
*YAM	pimoayin	MAG		PAA
ISN	limmug	NGA		LEW
KAL	tamay	SIK		POR
*TAG	[māsa]	RTI	aʔ-adu-k	NTA
AKL		BUR		KWA
PAL	masaʔan	DOB		NEM
*MOL	addun	IRA	tepunə	CEM
KAG		SAW	[adonan]	AJI m <sup>w</sup> ātai
BLA		NYI		XAR
SAB	addun	MAM		NEN
MUR		TAK		KIR
MGY	kuba	DAM		MSH
*ACE	[kame]	MAB		PON
BAT	itak	*YAB	pələm (mataʔ)	WLE
MIN	adu <sup>2</sup> -an tapu <sup>2</sup> ŋ	KAU		EFI
IND	[adon-an]	TOL		WFI
*SUN	[adon-an]	BUA		RTU
JAV	aḍon-an	ADZ		*TON [tou]
MAD	[adunan]	KIL		*SAM palu-ŋa
BAL	[adonan]	TAW	[palawa]	MEL
SAS	[adonan]	MOT		*TAH [faraoa]
GOR	tato	MEK		RAP
DAA		ROV		

YAM 'dough which is left to rise'.

TAG From Spanish *masa*.

MOL 'batter'.

ACE From Arabic *qamḥ* 'wheat'.

SUN Also [*adon*].

YAB 'pudding unripe'.

TON From English *dough*.

SAM *palu* (vb trans) 'knead', -*ŋa* NOM.

TAH From English.

### 05.540 KNEAD

Spanish: *masa*

ATA	pa-pa-imag	UMA	gameʔ	ROV	
TSO		BUG	maŋ-ʃimmuʔ	MAR	opro
RUK		KON	aŋ-ŋompa	LAU	
PAI			(kompa)	KWO	
YAM	ozodən	*WOL	a <sup>n</sup> du	RAG	
ISN	maŋ-lammug	MAG	kəʃuk	*PAA	muti
*KAL	tamay	NGA	ɣəsu	LEW	wu
*TAG	[māsa]	SIK	pəra	POR	
*AKL	[māsah]	*RTI	lulu	NTA	-iapetəp
PAL		*BUR	loli-k	KWA	-arap (i)
MOL		*DOB	ʔa-[bantɪŋ]	NEM	kom <sup>wi</sup>
KAG		IRA	nobərə	CEM	édo-hi
BLA		SAW	n-ekum	AJI	bəʃa
*SAB	gomot	NYI	akek	*XAR	kē-gai
*MUR	kulin	MAM		NEN	kuti
*MGY	mamuʃipuʃika	*TAK	-abi	KIR	
ACE	ramaih	DAM	kən	MSH	
BAT		MAB		PON	
MIN		YAB	-gamuʔ	WLE	
*IND	mə-ramas	KAU		EFI	bali-a
*SUN	ŋa-[raməs]	*TOL	dəun	WFI	waki-a
*JAV	ŋ-ule-ni	BUA		RTU	pəru
*MAD	ŋuli	ADZ	utu-	*TON	takao
*BAL	məʃək (bəʃək)	*KIL	-keneβi-goli	*SAM	palu
*SAS	meʃət (peʃət)	TAW	omuda	MEL	
*GOR	molato	MOT	kui-a	TAH	oi
DAA		*MEK	e-poŋo-ka	RAP	ŋatu

KAL *tamay* + -on.

TAG [māsa] + mag-/in.

AKL Also *kūmus* + -un.

SAB	<i>gomot + aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>kulin (maŋ-; -on)</i> .
MGY	From <i>maN-puʒika-puʒika</i> .
IND	Also <i>məŋ-[adon]</i> .
SUN	From Javanese, also <i>ŋa-ramis</i> .
JAV	From ( <i>N-uli-ni</i> ).
MAD	Morpheme break not indicated?
BAL	<i>-bəʒək</i> 'squeeze food ingredients, using the fingers etc.'; <i>-pəsəŋ</i> 'squeeze e.g. cream from coconut flesh'.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985) <i>pijət</i> 'massage'; Goris (1938), Thoir et al (1985) <i>məʒək (bəʒək)</i> 'knead'.
GOR	( <i>tato + moN-</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>kuso, kuso-kuso, pisi, pisiki</i> .
RTI	Also <i>ese, ki-keʔe</i> .
BUR	<i>loli-k</i> 'make dough into balls'; <i>alu-k</i> 'break off bits of dough to make it into balls'.
DOB	From Malay borrowing.
TAK	'hold' (11.150).
TOL	Also <i>dəuni</i> .
KIL	'mix-with'; see 05.490.
MEK	<i>e-afi-meʔo</i> also 'knead (e.g. sago)'.
PAA	Also 'punch'.
XAR	<i>kē-gai</i> 'reduce to crumbs by using fingers'; <i>xē-gai</i> 'reduce to crumbs by using hands'.
TON	Also <i>natu</i> .
SAM	Also 'mix with hands'.

### 05.550 MEAL, FLOUR

English: *flour*

Portuguese: *farinha; trigo* 'wheat'

French: *farine*

Spanish: *harina*

ATA	YAM	oɔŋ	*AKL	[harīnah]	
*TSO	tʉŋv-a	ISN	arīna	*PAL	[arina]
RUK	KAL	tinampok	*MOL	topuŋ	
PAI	*TAG	[harīna]	*KAG	[arina]	



*BLA	[harina]	*DOB	[tepoŋ]	POR	
SAB	[tidigu]	IRA		NTA	[flaua]
*MUR	[təpuŋ]	SAW	[təriɡu]	KWA	
MGY	[lafarina]	NYI		NEM	
ACE	tuiŋ	MAM	[palaua]	CEM	
BAT	itak	TAK		*AJI	[varīni]
MIN	tapu <sup>ə</sup> ŋ	*DAM	au	XAR	
*IND	təpuŋ	MAB		NEN	[falawa]
SUN	tipuŋ	*YAB	pələm mata?	KIR	te [burawa]
JAV	gləpuŋ	KAU		MSH	[pilawæ]
MAD	təppuŋ	TOL	[pələuə]	*PON	[pilawa]
BAL	təpuŋ	BUA			amas
SAS	təpuŋ	ADZ		WLE	[fiŕōwa]
*GOR	labu	*KIL	[p <sup>w</sup> arauwa]	EFI	[βalawa]
*DAA	sovu	TAW	[palawa]	WFI	[βalawa]
UMA	lunu	*MOT	[parao]	*RTU	[faraoa]
BUG	labbu	*MEK	[palava]		mafa
*KON	labbu?	ROV		*TON	mahoa?a
WOL	gulupu	MAR		*SAM	[falaoa] mata
*MAG	[təpuŋ]	LAU	[fulaoa]	MEL	[filaoa]
*NGA	maki	KWO		TAH	[faraoa] ota
*SIK	luk	RAG		RAP	[haraoa]
*RTI	hade sopu-k	PAA	[polaua]		mata
*BUR	enoto (toto)	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uluyavi		

TSO See *tumu* ‘pulverize’

TAG Also *galapoŋ* ‘rice flour’.

MOL *topuŋ* ‘powder’; [*orina*].

MUR From Malay *təpuŋ*.

IND Also [*təriɡu*].

GOR *labu* ‘flour made from rice or maize’; [*tirigu*] ‘flour made from wheat’.

DAA Dust, add corn or flour.

KON Also [*tarigu*].

MAG Malay.

NGA ‘cooked rice’.

SIK *luk* ‘rice’, *pepi-ŋ* ‘maize’.

RTI *hade sopu-k* refers specifically to ‘rice flour’.

BUR	From <i>en-toto</i> ‘pounded’ with regular metathesis (e.g. <i>warahe enoto</i> is ‘peanut meal’).
DOB	Malay borrowing.
DAM	‘powdered lime’, used with betel nut, now extended to any powder, e.g. flour, milk, talcum powder, etc.
YAB	See 05.530.
KIL	See 05.510.
MOT	See 05.510.
MEK	See 05.510 and note.
LEW	See 01.213.
AJI	From French <i>farine</i> .
PON	‘raw bread’.
RTU	Also <i>mara</i> .
TON	Also [ <i>falaoa</i> ].
SAM	‘raw bread’, [ <i>falaoa</i> ] ‘bread’ see 05.510, <i>mata</i> (vb intrans) ‘raw’ see 05.122.

### 05.560 CRUSH, GRIND

ATA	γ-um-aryur	*MIN	pačah	*BUR	toto
*TSO	xuaxua	*IND	mə-lumat-kan	DOB	ʔa-ŋur
RUK	pasialıbo	SUN	ŋa-giliŋ	IRA	nətutə
PAI	κ-əm-əmu	JAV	ŋ-rəmuʔ	*SAW	n-fa-liles
YAM	rəməkən	MAD	a-g <sup>h</sup> ilis	NYI	tabasiy
ISN	irid-an	*BAL	ŋ-uyəg	MAM	tutuʔi
*KAL	mokmok	*SAS	ñedaʔ (sedaʔ)	*TAK	-sue
*TAG	dūrog	GOR	mo-hiliŋo	DAM	oli
*AKL	tuktuk	*DAA	no-gili	*MAB	-kuŋ
PAL	riyətən (riyat)	UMA	reke	*YAB	-lə <sup>n</sup> sim
*MOL	lobok	BUG	buruʔ	*KAU	nosok
*KAG	ligis	*KON	aʔ-deŋka	TOL	gi
*BLA	n-luna	WOL	gili	*BUA	rəmoməŋ
*SAB	pipis	MAG	penəŋ	ADZ	tatapiʔ-
*MUR	tutu	*NGA	rətu	KIL	-kimimisi
MGY	mi-tutu	*SIK	keho	*TAW	lumutumutuya
*ACE	hanco	RTI	mol (tao na-	*MOT	ha-patapata-ia
*BAT	manutu		ka-so-sopu-n)	*MEK	e-afi-muʔa

*ROV	<i>munalia</i>	NEM	<i>to-bī</i>	*WFI	<i>gagi-a</i>
MAR	<i>ruṛuṛa</i>	*CEM	<i>céme-ī</i>	*RTU	<i>toʔi</i>
LAU		AJI	<i>kāxai</i>	*TON	<i>taʔomi</i>
KWO	<i>ʔute-a</i>	*XAR	<i>te-gici</i>	SAM	<i>olo</i>
RAG		*NEN	<i>amomočeni</i>	MEL	<i>tā-</i>
PAA	<i>vilei</i>	KIR	<i>īa</i>		<i>woroworosia</i>
*LEW	<i>kila-mumu</i>	*MSH	<i>opene</i>	TAH	<i>pāpāhia</i>
POR	<i>xoi</i>	PON	<i>rukua</i>	*RAP	<i>ṛatu</i>
NTA	<i>-aruru</i>	*WLE	<i>ṛipīya</i>		
*KWA	<i>-ak<sup>w</sup> (i) atesi</i>	*EFI	<i>natu-ka</i>		

TSO (*xuaxua-i*).

KAL *mokmok + -on*.

TAG *dūrog + mag-/-in*.

AKL *tuktuk + -un* ‘chop up’.

MOL *lobok + -um-/-on* ‘pound’.

KAG *ligis + mag-/-ən* ‘crush’; *gaʔliṅ + mag-/-ən* ‘grind’; *pudpud + mag-/-ən* ‘crush by pounding’.

BLA *n-luna* ‘crush’; *n-dak* ‘crush (by pounding)’; *g-n-iliṅ* ‘grind’.

SAB *pipis + aN-/ø* ‘crush’; *giliṅ + aN-/ø* ‘grind’.

MUR *tutu (mag-/maṅ-; -on)* ‘pound with mortar and pestle’; also *lumot (maṅ-; on)* ‘pound, crush very finely’.

ACE Also *gileṅ, peh, [cəh]* Mon-Khmer.

BAT (*maN-tutu*).

MIN *pačah* ‘crush’; *giliṅ* ‘grind’.

IND Also *giliṅ* ‘grind’, *tindis, təkan, pəras*.

BAL (*N-)**ulig* ‘grind by hand with mortar’; (*N-)**ṅag-aṅ* (*ṅag* ‘crushed’).

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *sedaʔ* ‘break, destroy’; see 09.261, *sedə* ‘not working, broken’.

DAA ‘grind’.

KON *aʔ-deṅka* ‘to pound in mortar’; *aṅ-giliṅ* ‘to grind’.

NGA Also *vaju* means ‘to pound’; *reso* means ‘to grind’.

SIK *keho* ‘rice’, *ṅeu-ṅ* ‘maize’.

BUR ‘of coffee, millet, corn, rice and peanuts using mortar and pestle (of various types)’; *guha fua* ‘crush or grind betelnut into pulp’; *ese-k* ‘grind or mash into smooth paste’; *kodo-k* ‘grind or sharpen knife’;

(*fatu enodo-t* ‘grind stone, whetstone’); *rono* ‘dissolve’; *rasi-k* ‘grind s.t. into a fine powder or paste, (also poison s.o.).

SAW Also *n-tok*.

TAK ‘dig with a digging stick; crush with a pestle; stab’ (see also 08.220, 09.223).

MAB *-kuŋ* ‘crush in a wooden bowl’, *-pil* ‘crush by rolling with a large stone’.

YAB Also *-lèsa*, *-piŋ*, *-pip*.

KAU ‘crush something with a mortar and pestle’ (see also 05.570).

BUA *rəmoməŋ* ‘crush, smash’; *səsusin* ‘crumple, scrub at something’.

TAW Also *ompihapihaga* ‘grind betel nut’.

MOT *pata-ia* ‘to pat, hit’.

MEK Also *e-afi-mimikai-na*, *e-au-mu?a*, *e-ao-fefe?e*.

ROV *munalia* ‘crush’, *gosa* ‘grind’; also *asaia* ‘grind shell’, *gosgosa* ‘grind (to make e.g. arm-ring or custom money)’.

LEW Also *kari-mumu* ‘grind’; *yali* ‘crush, ram down’.

KWA *-nəsi* ‘grind (one’s teeth)’; *-awai* ‘grind to sharpen’.

CEM ‘jab and mix’.

XAR ‘flatten-crush’.

NEN Also *amuḍamuḍani*.

MSH *opene* ‘crush’; *lic* ‘grind’.

WLE *xasüŋerü* CAUS, see *süŋerüŋerü* ‘crunch’.

EFI Also *gagi-a*.

WFI Also *buču-kia*.

RTU Also *pokoi*.

TON Also *momosi*, *laiki*.

RAP *ŋatu* ‘crush’; *oro* ‘grind’ (see 05.570).

## 05.570 MILL

ATA

ISN *aggiridān*

MOL

TSO *xuaxua*

\*KAL *kiskīsan*

\*KAG *ga’liŋ*

RUK

\*TAG *gīliŋ*

BLA *giliŋ*

PAI

\*AKL *gāliŋ*

SAB *giliŋ-an*

YAM

PAL *giliŋan*

\*MUR [giliŋ]

*MGY	[milina] fi-tutu-ana	*BUR	ese-k	PAA	
		DOB		LEW	
*ACE		IRA		POR	
*BAT	losuŋ aek	SAW	n-tok	NTA	
MIN	kiñči <sup>3</sup>	*NYI	bek ta alim	KWA	
IND	məŋ-giliŋ	MAM		NEM	
SUN	paŋ-giliŋ-an	TAK		*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ô-bîte-hi
JAV	ŋ-giliŋ	DAM		AJI	pɛ bəʔa
*MAD	a-g <sup>ʰ</sup> iliŋ	MAB		XAR	
*BAL	ŋ-uyəg	YAB	-lai	NEN	netaruia
SAS	ŋ-giliŋ	*KAU	tut	KIR	
GOR	hi-hiliŋ-a	TOL		MSH	
DAA	po-gili	BUA		PON	
*UMA	goro	ADZ		WLE	
BUG	ag-giliŋ-iŋ	KIL		EFI	i-gagi
*KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -[pabere]	TAW		WFI	i-gagi
WOL	ka-gili	MOT		RTU	
MAG		MEK		TON	tatau- <sup>ʔ</sup> aŋa
NGA	vatu-reso	ROV		SAM	
SIK		MAR		MEL	
RTI	batu mol (mana naka-so-sopu-k)	LAU		TAH	
		KWO		RAP	oro
		RAG			

KAL *kiskīsan* (rice); *astan* (sugarcane).

TAG *gīliŋ* + -um/-in.

AKL *gāliŋ* + -un.

KAG *ga'liŋ* + *mag* / -əŋ) (vb); *galiŋan* (*ga'liŋ* + -an) (n).

MUR [*giliŋ*] (*mag* / -*maŋ* -; -on) (sugar cane) from Malay *giliŋ*; also [*inʃin*] (*maŋ* -; -on?) (in petrol-driven rice-mill) from English *engine*?

MGY From French.

ACE *juŋki* 'apparatus for grinding and husking rice'; *batəə sumupeh* 'stone for grinding spices'; *g-un-ileŋ* 'tool for pounding'.

BAT 'water mill'.

MAD Also *nutu* (*N-tutu*) 'pound with mortar'.

BAL (*N*-)uyəg 'crush, grind'; (*N*-)ulig, (*N*-)čantok 'grind by hand with mortar'; (*N*-)təbuk 'pound with long wooden pestle, e.g. rice on the stalk'; (*N*-)təpuŋ 'make flour' (*təpuŋ* 'flour').

UMA *goro* ‘grind corn’; also *gili* from Malay *giling*.

KON From Dutch *fabriek* ‘factory, mill’.

BUR See 05.560.

NYI ‘stone of pounding, hammering’.

KAU ‘crush, mill’ (general term) (see 05.560).

CEM ‘container for mixing’.

### 05.580 MORTAR

*ATA	ʃuh-i-uŋ	BUG	annam-	LAU	
TSO	suxŋu		pukŋ	KWO	
RUK	ʃŋo	KON	assuŋ	RAG	
PAI	vaʃaŋa	*WOL	nosu	PAA	
YAM	aʃoŋ	*MAG	ŋə <sup>h</sup> čuoŋ	*LEW	piaki na
ISN	altuŋ	NGA	ŋəsu		yali-ena
KAL	lusuŋ	*SIK	nuhu-ŋ	POR	
*TAG	lusoŋ	RTI	nesu-k	NTA	
AKL	ʃusuŋ	*BUR	[resu-n]	KWA	
PAL	ʃosuŋ	DOB	lowan	NEM	
MOL	ʃosuŋ	IRA	rasogə	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> à-céme-ī
KAG	lassuŋ	SAW	lisen	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā ʃovī
BLA	suŋ	NYI		XAR	
SAB	linsuŋan	MAM	tutu <sup>?</sup> a	NEN	
MUR	tutuan	TAK	kunum	KIR	
MGY	launa	DAM		MSH	
ACE	ʃuŋsoŋ	*MAB	<sup>n</sup> dap <sup>n</sup> dap	PON	
BAT	[simin]	YAB	təŋtəŋ	WLE	
MIN	ʃasu <sup>o</sup> ŋ	*KAU	nosok-ŋin	*EFI	[tābili]
*IND	ʃəsuŋ	TOL		*WFI	[tabili]
*SUN	ʃisuŋ	BUA		RTU	
JAV	lumpaŋ	ADZ		*TON	[mōtā]
*MAD		KIL	kaimili	*SAM	ma <sup>?</sup> a tu <sup>?</sup> i
*BAL	ʃəsuŋ	TAW	pihaga		koko
*SAS	gən(d)əŋ	MOT		MEL	
GOR	di-di <sup>l</sup> ga	MEK		TAH	ʔumete
DAA	no <sup>h</sup> ju	*ROV	ʃolu	RAP	
UMA	ho <sup>h</sup> ču	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akata		

- ATA Also *ʃuhʊ*.
- TAG PHF \**Lesuŋ*.
- IND *lumpaŋ*.
- SUN Also *lu-lumpaŋ*.
- MAD See note 05.570.
- BAL ‘deep stone or wooden mortar, used with a long wooden pestle’; *pəŋuligan* (*pə-N-ulig-an*) ‘shallow stone mortar, used to grind spices etc. by hand’; also *pəŋuyəgan* (*pə-N-uyəg-an*), *pəñantokan* (*pə-N-čantok-an*), cf. 05.570. *kətuŋan* ‘long wooden mortar used to separate grain from padi’; *pəŋlocokan* (*pə-N-ločok-an*) ‘small tube-shaped mortar and pestle used to pound the ingredients of a betel quid before chewing’.
- SAS Teeuw: *gən(d)əŋ*, *lisuŋ*, *ləsəŋ*, *aluŋ*, *aŋgu*.
- WOL Also *nosu-nosu*, *ka-ʃulalu*.
- MAG ‘pounding block’.
- SIK Also *tubu-ŋ*.
- BUR Probable borrowing, expected reflex *lesu-n*.
- MAB Also *kuŋ*.
- KAU ‘crush-NOM’.
- ROV *lolu* ‘round mortar’; *hao* ‘long mortar’.
- MAR ‘mortar for mashing betel’.
- LEW ‘bucket for ramming down (as in making kava)’.
- WFI For pounding kava, from Solomons.
- EFI For pounding kava, *tabili* ‘wooden mortar’ from Solomons.
- TON From English.
- SAM *maʔa* ‘stone’, *tuʔi* (vb trans) ‘mash, beat into pulp’, *koko* ‘cocoa’.

### 05.590 PESTLE

ATA	kaʃūʔ	*TAG	hālo	*MUR	tutu
TSO	pŋiri	*AKL	haʔʔu	*MGY	fanutu
RUK	asoʎo	PAL	lalu	ACE	aləə
PAI	kaʃəʎu	*MOL	lobok	*BAT	paddudaan
YAM	awo	*KAG	allu	MIN	alu
*ISN	allu	BLA	lu	IND	alu
*KAL	allu	SAB	hallu	*SUN	halu

JAV	alu	DAM	tutun	NTA	
MAD	gəntuŋ	*MAB	<sup>n</sup> dap <sup>n</sup> dap	KWA	
*BAL	alu		nīni	NEM	
*SAS	alu	*YAB	təŋtəŋ ŋa-	*CEM	bě-céme-ī
*GOR	walaʔo di-di <sup>n</sup> ga	*KAU	nosok-ŋin	AJI	pe ʒovī
DAA	dialu		kii-n	XAR	
UMA	alu	TOL		NEN	
BUG	paluŋ-iŋ	BUA	ɣop	*KIR	te ikuiku
KON	alu	ADZ		MSH	
WOL	ana-na nosu	KIL	kaitutu	*PON	peinar
MAG	alu	*TAW	animtutu	WLE	
NGA	alu	MOT		EFI	i-βutu
*SIK	guʔu-ŋ	MEK	ʔapino	WFI	i-βuču
RTI	alu-k	ROV	tutu	RTU	
BUR	alu	*MAR	gagani	TON	meʔa- momosi
DOB	yaɸir	*LAU	aba	*SAM	tuʔi
IRA		KWO		MEL	
SAW	tektok	RAG		TAH	penu
NYI		PAA		RAP	
MAM	tutuʔa	*LEW	la-na		
*TAK	su-aŋ	POR			

ISN *mag-bāyu* ‘pound rice’.

KAL (*mam*)*bāyu* ‘pound rice’.

TAG Also *pambayo*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**haqlu*.

MOL *lobok + lo-*.

KAG This is one of the rare instances of a geminate Kagayanen *l*.

MUR Also *lansitan* (worked by pedal).

MGY From *faN-tutu*.

BAT (*paN-duda-an*); also *tutu*.

SUN Also *laki*.

BAL ‘long wooden pestle, used with *ləsuŋ, kətuŋan*’.

SAS Teeuw: *dendəŋ; rendəŋ; alu; təmpən; təpan*.

GOR ‘child (of) mortar’.

SIK Also *alu*.

TAK ‘crush (05.560)-NOM’.



MAB	Also <i>kuŋ nīni</i> .
YAB	‘mortar its-stem’.
KAU	‘foot of mortar’.
TAW	( <i>ani-om-tutu</i> ) ‘thing-VERBL-knock’, i.e. ‘thing for hammering’.
MAR	‘pounder’.
LAU	‘stick for ramming pudding’; also <i>lajia</i> .
LEW	Also 04.350; also <i>laki na yali-ena</i> ‘stick for ramming down’.
CEM	‘for crushing’.
KIR	Also ‘hammer’; compare <i>ikua</i> ‘pound’.
PON	For pounding breadfruit.
SAM	Compare <i>tuʔi</i> (vb trans) ‘mash, beat into pulp’.

## 05.610 MEAT

Spanish: <i>carne</i>
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ATA	hiʔ	JAV	dagiŋ	DAM	muda
*TSO	fou	MAD	dʰagʰiŋ	MAB	buzur
RUK	bwatə	*BAL	be	*YAB	boʔ
PAI	vuculʸ	*SAS	əmpaʔ	KAU	emalin
YAM	vinyəy	*GOR	[dāgiŋi]	TOL	kirip
ISN	limpa	DAA	bau	BUA	rəyu
KAL	bābuy	UMA	bauʔ	ADZ	qzaʰʔ
*TAG	laman	BUG	ʃuku	KIL	βiliona
*AKL	unud	*KON	assi	*TAW	muhala
PAL	unəd	WOL	dʰagi	MOT	βamu
*MOL	sodaʔ	*MAG	nuru	*MEK	tsitsi (kiki)
KAG	[karni]	NGA	hui	*ROV	[miti]
BLA	uŋad	*SIK	ʔlui-ŋ	MAR	nafnahi
SAB	sumbaliʔ	RTI	pa	LAU	mariko
*MUR	[dagiŋ]	*BUR	isi-n	KWO	
*MGY	hena	DOB	tabul	RAG	vihoyo
ACE	siə	IRA	ʃe	PAA	[mīt]
BAT	ʃagal	SAW	wəŋet	*LEW	kumpui
*MIN	bantay	*NYI	sali-n	POR	
IND	dagiŋ	MAM	mizaʔa	NTA	nauŋa
SUN	dagiŋ	*TAK	mida-n	*KWA	nauŋa

NEM	yan tau	*MSH	kanniək	RTU	ʔiʔini
CEM	méhi-n	*PON	untuk	*TON	kano-mate
AJI	b <sup>w</sup> āřāwē	WLE	fitixo	*SAM	fāsi [povi]
XAR	pio	EFI	lewe-ni-	*MEL	[isiko]
*NEN	čedeia		manumanu	TAH	ʔiʔo
KIR	te iriko	WFI	βiðiko	RAP	kiko

TSO 'meat/flesh in general', see *braxči* 'red part of meat/fruit'; *simro* 'pork; grease, fat'.

TAG Also [*karne*].

AKL Proto-Philippines \**unej* 'inside(s)'; also [*karne*].

MOL *soda?* + *so--an* 'meat'.

MUR [*dagin*] (as food) from Malay *dagin*, *umas*, *kana* 'meat as side dish for rice', *sinalag* 'smoked meat'.

MGY See Maanyan *kenah* 'fish', and Old Betsimisaraka Malagasy *hena* 'fish'.

MIN Also *dagi<sup>o</sup>ŋ* see 04.130.

BAL 'fish', by extension 'any meat' e.g. *be sampi* 'beef'.

SAS Also 'fish'.

GOR From Malay *dagin*.

KON Also *dagin*.

MAG Northern and Eastern Central Manggarai: *nakeŋ*; Western Manggarai: <sup>n</sup>*daot*.

SIK Also <sup>ʔ</sup>*lui-ŋ klama-ŋ*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*lui-ŋ roto-ŋ*, *ihi-ŋ*.

BUR Also *lai-n* 'uncooked meat'.

NYI Also *odan*.

TAK 'flesh, meat' (see 04.130).

YAB 'pig'. Also *g<sup>w</sup>ada* 'meat of wild animals, game'.

TAW 'any edible animal'.

MEK [*mitsi*] 'tinned meat'.

ROV Also *masa* 'flesh'

LEW See 04.130, also *tata*.

KWA Also *nəsa-* 'flesh'.

NEN Also *guia*.

MSH *cælele* 'meat course'; *cælen* CON; 'meat course'.

PON Also *irap* 'meat course'; *sali*.

TON Also *kakano-ʔi-manu*.

SAM *fasi-* 'piece of', [*povi*] 'cow', 03.230.

MEL From Efate.

### 05.630 SAUSAGE

**Dutch:** *sausijs*

**English:** *sausage*

**French:** *saucisse*

**Spanish:** *chorizo, longaniza*

ATA		DAA		ROV	[sosesi]
TSO		UMA		MAR	
RUK		BUG		LAU	
PAI		KON		KWO	
YAM	činayi no koış	WOL		RAG	
ISN		MAG	poček	PAA	[sosis]
KAL		NGA	pose	LEW	
*TAG	batūtay	SIK		POR	
*AKL	[sorīso]	RTI	pa mudi	NTA	
PAL		BUR		KWA	
MOL		DOB		NEM	
KAG	[surisu]	IRA		CEM	
BLA		SAW		AJI	[yoyīyi]
SAB		NYI		XAR	
MUR		MAM	[sosis]	NEN	
*MGY	[sausisi]	TAK		KIR	
ACE		DAM		MSH	
BAT		MAB		PON	
MIN		YAB		WLE	
IND	[sosis]	KAU		EFI	[sōseti]
SUN	[sosis]	TOL		WFI	[sōseči]
JAV	[sosis]	BUA		RTU	finäe
MAD		ADZ		TON	[sōsisi]
BAL	[urutan]	KIL		SAM	[sosisi]
SAS		TAW		MEL	
GOR		*MOT	[tosisi]	*TAH	[tōtī]
		MEK		RAP	

TAG Also [*suīso*], [*longanīsa*].

AKL Also *longanēsa*.

MGY From French.

MOT Also *sosisi*.

TAH Also *puaʔa tāviri*.

## 05.640 SOUP, BROTH

Dutch: *soep*

English: *soup*

French: *(la) soupe*

Spanish: *sopa*

*ATA	ʔaiyuŋ	UMA		MAR	
*TSO	maski	BUG	soʔ	LAU	welu
RUK	saŋolanə	*KON	[soʔ]	KWO	
PAI	siaw	WOL		RAG	[subu]
YAM	aʂoy	MAG	ute	PAA	[lasup]
ISN	digu limpa	NGA	vae-uta	*LEW	puru-sī
KAL	bolat	SIK	luru-ŋ	POR	
*TAG	sabaw	*RTI	pa oe	NTA	[lasup]
AKL	sabaw	BUR	masi	KWA	
PAL	duruʔ	*DOB	lala	NEM	
MOL	duruʔ	IRA		*CEM	[cúp]
*KAG	[supas]	SAW	gɛ	AJI	r̄ā mī
BLA	sabəw	NYI	suw	XAR	
SAB	lohoʔ	MAM	suru	NEN	
*MUR	[kuaʔ]	TAK	tor	KIR	
*MGY	[lasupi]	DAM	tār	MSH	
ACE	[sop]	MAB	ya <sup>m</sup> bon	PON	
BAT	hua-hua	YAB	sulu	WLE	
MIN	[sup]	KAU	[sup]	EFI	wai-buta
*IND	[kuah]	TOL	[sup]	WFI	wai-ni-kuro
SUN	[sop]	*BUA	təlut	RTU	[supu]
*JAV	[kaldu]	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pwaʔ	TON	[supo]
MAD	[sup]	KIL	lub <sup>w</sup> au	*SAM	sua
*BAL	[kuah]	TAW	gulai	MEL	[supu]
SAS	[sop]	MOT	βasiahu	TAH	[tihopu]
GOR	[sopu]	MEK	imeŋa	RAP	[tihopu]
DAA		ROV	[supu]		

ATA	Also ʔāŋ.
TSO	‘side dishes’ in general, especially soup; <i>ŋsiu</i> soup taken when meat was boiled.
TAG	Proto-Philippines * <i>sabaw</i> .
KAG	[ <i>supas</i> ] ‘soup’, [ <i>sabaw</i> ] ‘broth’.
MUR	From Chinese via Malay <i>kuah</i> ; also <i>dūʔ</i> .
MGY	From French.
IND	From Chinese; also [ <i>sup</i> ].
JAV	From Portuguese.
BAL	From Chinese, via Malay.
RTI	Specifically, ‘meat broth’.
DOB	‘drinking water’; ‘soup’ when combined with <i>tabul</i> ‘meat’, or <i>siʔa</i> ‘fish’.
BUA	<i>təlut</i> ‘hot drink made with greens for a sick person’; <i>təmul</i> ‘mixture of foods cooked together to make soup or stew’.
LEW	Also [ <i>lasup</i> ].
CEM	Also <i>dūmi</i> ‘broth’.
SAM	Also ‘liquid, fluid’.

## 05.650 VEGETABLES

ATA	paruxaw	ACE	gule	*MAG	sauŋ ute
*TSO	[ɬxae]	*BAT	ikkau rata	NGA	uta
RUK	laɬəŋə	MIN	sayuʔ	SIK	toro aru-ŋ
PAI	lʰaɬəŋ	IND	sayur	RTI	uta ai do
*YAM	[napa]	*SUN	lalab	*BUR	uta-n
ISN	tagilpa	*JAV	jaŋan-an	DOB	ʔata'ler
*KAL	tīpoy	MAD	gaŋan-an	IRA	ñaro
*TAG	gūlay	BAL	ʃukut	*SAW	ay wlu
*AKL	tinūʔah	*SAS	kandok	NYI	ñamon saroh
PAL	tulnuʔ		kəlaʔ	MAM	dagurai
*MOL	saruy	*GOR	[sāyori]	TAK	
*KAG	laswaʔən	DAA	uta	DAM	sāfi
BLA	gulay	UMA	ʔkoʃo	*MAB	zēre
SAB	sayul	BUG	ikkaju	*YAB	sayo
MUR	sansam	KON	baʃuŋ utaŋ	*KAU	kaupŋin
MGY	anana	WOL	tawa-na kau	TOL	igir

BUA	zozəŋ	*PAA	sesan	*PON	[iasai]
*ADZ	bus	LEW	walulu	*WLE	[iyōsai]
KIL	kaula	POR		EFI	kākana-dina
*TAW	yaniyani	*NTA	noanəŋ	WFI	ðawa ʃina
*MOT	aurau	*KWA	kəkətən	RTU	tē-la-ʔā
MEK	foʔama	NEM		*TON	meʔa-kai
ROV		*CEM	áñu	*SAM	fuā-lāʔau
MAR		AJI	mē dēwi		ʔai-na
LAU	fueai	XAR		MEL	
	ʔanilana	NEN		TAH	māʔa tanu
KWO		KIR		*RAP	
*RAG	sinu	MSH	nʌpp <sup>u</sup> a		

TSO From Minnan *ʒhai* ‘vegetables’.

YAM From Japanese.

KAL *tīpoy + ma-*.

TAG *gūlay-in*.

AKL Root: *tūʔah* ‘boil vegetables’.

MOL *saruy + so--on*.

KAG From (*laswa + -ən*) ‘thing to be boiled’; also *gūlay* (the younger generation uses this term).

BAT *ikkau* ‘side-dish’; *rata* ‘green; fresh’ (*ikkau* see *hau* 08.600).

IND *sayur-mayur* ‘different kinds of vegetables’.

SUN Also (*lalab-*)*rumbah*, ‘side dish of uncooked vegetables, served with rice’.

JAV Also *sayur-an*.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *kandok* ‘vegetables; side dish accompanying rice’, *kəlaʔ* ‘boiled, cooked’.

GOR From Malay *sayur*.

MAG When cooked: *ute-sauŋ*.

BUR ‘leafy and stalky vegetables, mushrooms’.

SAW ‘tree leaves’.

MAB ‘green vegetables’.

YAB From Malay. Also *geŋ gaga* ‘food eaten with taro or meat’.

KAU ‘edible green plants’.

ADZ ‘green vegetables’.

TAW	Includes staples.
MOT	<i>au</i> 'tree', <i>rau</i> 'leaf'. Bible uses <i>uma aniani-na</i> 'garden produce/food'.
RAG	'green vegetables'.
PAA	'green leaves that can be eaten'.
NTA	See 05.710; <i>naŋuənən</i> 'staple root crops'.
KWA	'vegetables baked in earth oven along with meats'.
CEM	'edible leaves'.
PON	From Japanese.
WLE	From Japanese.
TON	<i>meʔa-kai</i> (staples); <i>laʔi-ʔakan</i> (greens).
SAM	<i>fua</i> 'fruit', <i>lāʔau</i> 'plant', <i>ʔai</i> 'eat', <i>-na</i> trans.
RAP	<i>haʔa ʔapu</i> 'edible plants, vegetables and fruit'.

## 05.660 BEAN

Dutch: <i>boontje</i>	English: <i>bean</i>	French: <i>haricot</i>
*ATA <i>kaɣiraŋ</i>	*IND [buñčis]	*SAW <i>pue</i>
TSO <i>taxza</i>	SUN [buñčis]	NYI
*RUK <i>ləpələpə</i>	JAV <i>kaçaŋ</i>	MAM [biŋ]
*PAI <i>kaɣizaŋ</i>	MAD <i>artaʔ</i>	TAK
*YAM [lipao]	BAL <i>kaçaŋ</i>	DAM <i>ʔuseĩ</i>
ISN <i>antaʔ</i>	SAS <i>plisaʔ</i>	MAB
*KAL <i>antak</i>	GOR <i>wuta</i>	YAB <i>gabab</i>
*TAG <i>sītaŋ</i>	DAA [boñʃi]	*KAU <i>erek</i>
*AKL <i>hamtak</i>	*UMA <sup>n</sup> <i>tamue</i>	TOL [bin]
PAL <i>ɔntak</i>	BUG [boñčisiʔ]	*BUA <i>sayōŋ</i>
MOL <i>antak</i>	KON <i>bue</i>	ADZ <i>upis</i>
*KAG <i>lisu ta gulay</i>	*WOL <i>lawue</i>	KIL [bini]
BLA <i>bləŋol</i>	MAG [boñčis]	*TAW [bembem]
*SAB <i>batuŋ</i>	NGA <i>hofo</i>	MOT [bini]
*MUR <i>bulatuŋ</i>	*SIK <i>heʔo</i>	MEK
*MGY <i>ɕaramasu</i>	RTI <i>fu-fue</i>	ROV [bini]
ACE <i>kacaŋ</i>	BUR [bončis]	MAR
BAT <i>dali</i>	DOB <i>ʔaɕoʔu</i>	LAU
MIN <i>kaçaŋ</i>	IRA <i>kasian</i>	KWO

RAG		AJI	[ařiko]	WFI	
PAA	[ariko]	XAR		RTU	[pini]
*LEW	praya	*NEN	θae	TON	[piini]
POR		KIR		*SAM	[pī]
NTA	[noapin]	MSH		MEL	
KWA		PON		TAH	pipi
NEM	p <sup>m</sup> u	WLE		RAP	[ʔariko]
CEM	hû	EFI	[bini]		

ATA *βawtu* ‘string beans’; *řayan* ‘small green beans’; *puwayay* ‘a type of peas’; *tawča* ‘soybean’; *řinut* ‘pigeon peas’.

RUK *karıđan* ‘pigeon peas’.

PAI *puk* ‘a type of bean’.

YAM From Japanese.

KAL *antak* ‘string bean’; *balātu* ‘monggo bean’.

TAG *sıtaw* ‘string bean’; *patāni*?, other species.

AKL *hamtak* ‘long bean’.

KAG ‘seed of a vegetable’.

SAB *batuŋ* ‘dried bean’. [*freholes*] (Spanish) ‘string bean’ (*sitao* in Tagalog).

MUR *bulatuŋ* ‘large beans’; [*kasauŋ*] ‘small beans, peas, lentils, peanuts’ from Malay *kačau*.

MGY From *řara* ‘good, suited’, *masu* ‘eyes’.

IND *bunčis* ‘green bean’; *kačau* ‘nut, bean’.

UMA No generic; <sup>n</sup>*tamue* ‘mung bean’; *podohi* ‘cow pea’; [*kasa*] from Malay *kačau* ‘peanuts’.

WOL *lawue* ‘k.o. plant with edible beans’; [*ača<sup>n</sup>gore*] ‘peanut’.

SIK Also *βεβε*, *bue*.

SAW ‘green beans’.

KAU A local variety of bean.

BUA *sayōŋ* ‘European beans’; *pir* ‘wingbean’.

TAW From English *bean*?

LEW Also *kil-[pin]* (from Bislama), *pra-kil [pin]*.

NEN ‘native bean’, *Phaseolus lunatus*.

SAM From English ‘pea’.



## 05.700 POTATO

<b>French:</b> <i>pomme de terre</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>patata(s)</i>
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ATA	βuŋaʔ	BUG	lame-lame	KWO	
TSO		KON	lame-lame	RAG	
*RUK	orasi	WOL	lame-lame	PAA	[poteto]
*PAI	vurati	MAG	[kə <sup>n</sup> taŋ]	*LEW	[puteta]
*YAM	[madiŋso]	NGA	ɗao-bara	POR	
ISN		SIK	keβa	NTA	[putete]
*KAL	kanūla	RTI	kantaŋ	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> arei
TAG	[patātas]	*BUR	man-safu-t	NEM	
AKL	[patātas]	DOB		*CEM	hübín
PAL	[patatas]	IRA			pòp <sup>w</sup> āle
MOL		*SAW	[kəntaŋ]	AJI	[pōmudetē]
KAG	[patatas]	*NYI	kasou	XAR	
BLA	[fatatas]	MAM	ʔaleti-	NEN	wawen
SAB			moarepi	KIR	
*MUR	[ubi-gantaŋ]	*TAK	kubulak	MSH	
*MGY	uvi-m- bazaha	*DAM	kubilim	PON	
		*MAB	sere <sup>m</sup> bat	WLE	
ACE	gantaŋ	*YAB	[katəpələ]	EFI	[βateta]
*BAT	[kantaŋ]	*KAU	[potato]	WFI	[βateta]
MIN	kantaŋ	*TOL	kəukəu	RTU	[pitete]
IND	kəntaŋ	BUA	tapərə	TON	[pateta]
*SUN	kuməli	ADZ		SAM	[pateta]
JAV	kəntaŋ	*KIL	simsim <sup>w</sup> ai	MEL	[patete]
MAD	kəntaŋ	*TAW	kumala	*TAH	[ʔumara pūtete]
*BAL	[kəntaŋ]	MOT	[putete]	RAP	kumara
SAS	kəntaŋ	MEK	[patate]		[putete]
*GOR	[ʔartape]	ROV	luzu vaka		
*DAA	[ka <sup>n</sup> ta]	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> umara		
UMA		LAU	kairogi		

RUK *orasi* 'sweet potato'.

PAI *jaw-jaw* 'sweet potato leaf'; *kuzu* 'sweet potato creeping tendrils';  
*kasuŋa!* 'leafstalk'.

YAM From Chinese; also referred to as *wakay no imaniza*; 'the American's sweet potato'.

- KAL *kantila* ‘sweet potato’; also *gannagan*
- MUR From Malay *ubi kəntaŋ*; also [*kasila?*] ‘sweet potato’ loan (through Malay *\*kəstela*, *kətela?* from Spanish *Castilla* ‘Castile (i.e. Spain)’ – (the plant probably having been introduced by the Spaniards from the Philippines); *mundok* ‘cassava, tapioca’.
- MGY From *uvi* ‘yam’, *vazaha* ‘foreigner’.
- BAT From Malay.
- SUN Also [*kəntaŋ*] from Malay or Javanese.
- BAL From Malay.
- GOR From Dutch *aardappel*.
- DAA Indonesian *kentaŋ*.
- BUR ‘white potato’ (*safu-k* means ‘to scatter/broadcast (seed)’ and *man* is from a root meaning ‘tuber’, as in *maŋ-kau* ‘cassava’, *maŋa-t* ‘yam’).
- SAW From Malay.
- NYI ‘sweet potato’.
- TAK ‘sweet potato’.
- DAM ‘sweet potato’.
- MAB ‘sweet potato’.
- YAB From German *Kartoffel*; also [*batete*] from English.
- KAU *ŋa*, *sun* ‘taro’; *kibak* ‘sweet potato’; *eni* ‘yam’.
- TOL ‘sweet potato’.
- KIL ‘sweet potato’.
- TAW ‘sweet potato’.
- MAR ‘sweet potato’.
- LEW Also [*pomtete*]; also *kumala* ‘sweet potato’.
- KWA ‘sweet potato’.
- CEM European *Discorea esculenta*.
- TAH From French.

### 05.710 FRUIT

Spanish: <i>fruta(s)</i>
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ATA	βuay	PAI	vaŋal <sup>y</sup>	KAL	būŋa
TSO	braxçi	YAM	aŋi no kayo	*TAG	[prūtas]
RUK	maḁo	ISN	būŋa	*AKL	[prūtas]

PAL	bwaʔ	SIK	βua-ŋ	RAG	
MOL	buaʔ	RTI	boa-k	PAA	haiai
KAG	[prutas]	*BUR	fua-n	*LEW	pra-sia
BLA	buŋi	*DOB	ʔay φusi	POR	
SAB	buwaʔ kayu	IRA	φo	NTA	noanəŋ
*MUR	kinawaʔ	SAW	pyon-o	*KWA	nəkʷa-
MGY	vua-n-kazu	NYI	buwa kei	NEM	pʷen
*ACE	bəh	MAM	ʔaliŋo	CEM	áce
BAT	par-bue	*TAK	nuŋo-n	AJI	pʷē kē
MIN	buah	DAM	biya	XAR	pʷā
IND	buah	MAB	ŋonōno	NEN	aŋaore
*SUN	buah	YAB	(ka) ŋano	*KIR	te uā ni kai
JAV	wəh	*KAU	hiyu-n	*MSH	kʷale
*MAD	waʔ-buwaʔ-an	TOL	vuəi	*PON	wā
*BAL	[buah]	BUA	anon	WLE	uwō
*SAS	buaʔ	ADZ		EFI	βua-
GOR	huŋo	KIL	kawailuwa	WFI	-βua-
DAA	vua	TAW	ugo	RTU	hue
UMA	βuaʔ	*MOT	au huahua	*TON	foʔi-ʔakau
BUG	bua-bua	*MEK	pua	SAM	fua
KON	bua	ROV	vua huda	*MEL	fua
*WOL	βake	*MAR	sisi	TAH	māʔa hotu
MAG	vua (haʃu)	*LAU	fueai	*RAP	
NGA	liʔe	KWO	lodo-na		

TAG Also *būŋa-ŋkāhoy*.

AKL Also *būŋa-tkāhuy*.

MUR Also *kawaʔ*.

ACE Used as a generic with all types of fruit and nuts, e.g. *bəh u* 'coconut'.

SUN Also *bu-buah-an* '(all) kinds of fruit'.

MAD From (RED-*buwa*) Safioedin (1977) *buwa* 'fruit'; *waʔ-buwaʔ-an* 'fruit (plural)'.

BAL 1. 'areca palm nut'; 2. 'fruit' (with this second meaning probably re-borrowed from Malay); also [*wohwohan*] from Old Javanese 'different kinds of fruit'.

SAS Thoir et al (1985) *buah*.

WOL *βake* (general); also *oʔke*, *ra<sup>m</sup>buta*, *to<sup>m</sup>bo*.

BUR Includes 'cucumber, tomato, etc.'

DOB 'tree's fruit'.

TAK Also *patu-n* 'fruit, nut, egg, seed' (see 05.770, 05.970, 08.311),  
homophonous with *patu-n* 'back' (04.190).

KAU 'fruit, seed'.

MOT *au* 'tree', *huahua* 'fruit (general)'.

MEK Also *au-pua*, where *au* means 'tree'.

MAR *sisi* 'flower, fruit'; *fu?a* 'fruit or nut'.

LAU Also *fufua*.

LEW Also *pra-ki*.

KWA Also *napuŋen*.

KIR 'fruit of the tree'.

MSH *le* 'bear fruit'.

PON Also *wāntūke*.

TON Also *fua?i-?akau*.

MEL Also [*wajīkasu*] from Efate.

RAP *ha?a ?apu* 'edible plants, vegetables and fruit'.

## 05.712 BUNCH

ATA		*ACE	ikat	*SIK	
*TSO	ʒo no rm̄	*BAT	sisir	*RTI	ʔgi-k
RUK		MIN	tandan	*BUR	poŋo-n
PAI		*IND	ikat	*DOB	wa?u
YAM	məypəypoŋ	*SUN	biŋkit	IRA	ʔugəŋə
ISN	nippaparay	*JAV	untiq	*SAW	esen
KAL	piŋŋəŋoy	MAD		*NYI	ra?ik
TAG	buwig	*BAL	ampin	MAM	ŋeti
AKL	būlig	SAS	sə-bantəl	*TAK	kor
PAL	buligən	GOR	topi	DAM	mudu
MOL	bulig	DAA		*MAB	timīni
KAG	tundun	*UMA	(ha-) muli	*YAB	buŋ
BLA	kəŋuy	BUG	sisio?	*KAU	um-ŋin-an
*SAB	bole	*KON	si-tunruŋ	*TOL	v-in-ivi
*MUR	sampuŋu	*WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> pupu	BUA	kəð
MGY	fehezan- dʒavaʔa	*MAG	čəpi	ADZ	uan
		NGA	se-pəti	*KIL	-beku-

TAW	halana	POR		*PON	tuntun
*MOT		*NTA	təp <sup>w</sup> əlp <sup>w</sup> əl	WLE	wō-
*MEK	aka	*KWA	rəŋi-	*EFI	i-ua
*ROV	katana	*NEM	damen	WFI	i-hō
*MAR	nahai	CEM	ʒêɛ-n	RTU	usi
LAU	fujedo	AJI	neŋuŋu	TON	kau
KWO	fujɯ <sup>?</sup> i	XAR	xã	SAM	fui <sup>?</sup> fui
RAG		*NEN	wa <sup>?</sup> ačua	MEL	m <sup>w</sup> ōniu
PAA	huŋite	KIR	te am <sup>w</sup> i	TAH	tā <sup>?</sup> amu
LEW	viŋe-sia	*MSH	æc	RAP	pu <sup>?</sup> ahu

TSO 'one house'.

SAB *bole* 'bunch or stalk of bananas'; *seppe<sup>?</sup>* 'a hand of bananas'.

MUR *sam-puŋu* 'one bunch'; *ruo, talu* etc. *ŋam-puŋu* 'two, three, etc. bunches.'

ACE A bound 'bunch' of anything. Also *sisi* 'hand of bananas'.

BAT Of bananas.

IND Also *tandan* (of bananas), *ʒurai*.

SUN 'bunch of *sirih* leaves, of padi, etc.'

JAV Also *tundun* of bananas.

BAL *ampin* 'bunch of betel leaves, pair of bananas etc.'; *iʒas* 'hand of bananas'; *iʒəŋ* 'bunch of bananas'; *gumpiuk* 'bunch of grapes, of mangoes etc.'; *liŋsəh* 'clump of grass, padi, bamboo etc.'

UMA *ha-muli* 'one bunch', from root *buli* 'to be fruitful, abundant'.

KON Also *la<sup>?</sup>la<sup>?</sup>* 'of bananas'; *si-poko<sup>?</sup>*.

WOL *ka<sup>m</sup>pupu* 'a bunch of vegetables'; *ka<sup>n̄</sup>če* 'bunch or cluster of flowers or fruit'; *ko<sup>n̄</sup>ti, <sup>m</sup>buli* 'bunch of bananas'.

MAG 'bunch of bananas'.

SIK A variety of words are used as counters including: *rina-n, βuli* (for bananas); *βeki, βulət* (fruit, ears of maize tied together for storage or sale); *kaha-ŋ* (areca nuts, grass tied in bundles for use in thatching a roof); *kloŋo-t* (areca nuts and betel leaves or fruits).

RTI *ʒgi*, 'cluster of bananas or the inflorescences, the male lontar palm': *ʒgita-k* 'other bunches/clusters'.

BUR For coconut, betel nut, peanuts, and mango; *fuat daha-n* 'hand of bananas'; *fuat foli-n* 'stalk of bananas'.

DOB Of bananas: *mu<sup>?</sup>u wa<sup>?</sup>u ye* 'a bunch of bananas'.

SAW	Of bananas.
NYI	Of banana.
TAK	<i>kor</i> 'bunch of coconuts or nuts'; <i>bag</i> 'bunch of bananas or areca nuts'.
MAB	<i>timīni</i> of bananas; <i>murūnu</i> of oranges.
YAB	Also <i>do?</i> , <i>le-<sup>n</sup>do?</i> .
KAU	<i>um-ŋin-an</i> 'a bunch of Tahitian chestnuts' ('(?)-NOM-ATTR'); <i>kiliβhu mirit</i> 'a bunch of bananas'.
TOL	<i>-in-</i> NOM., <i>vi</i> 'tie'.
KIL	Also <i>-bukula</i> 'it bears in clusters'.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives <i>iyui</i> ( <i>γui-a</i> 'to tie'), <i>tako-na</i> (of fruit), <i>roβae</i> , <i>idabubu</i> (of coconuts).
MEK	<i>aka</i> 'bunch of bananas or areca nuts'; <i>ʔeje</i> 'hand of bananas'.
ROV	<i>katkata</i> 'bunches'.
MAR	Also <i>nikni</i> .
NTA	<i>nuβan</i> 'bunch of bananas'.
KWA	<i>rəŋi-</i> 'bunch of bananas'; <i>purupuru</i> 'bunch of coconuts'.
NEM	<i>damen</i> 'bunch of coconuts'; <i>dabun</i> 'bunch of bananas'.
NEN	Also <i>ačua</i> .
MSH	<i>æc</i> 'bunch of bananas'; also <i>уꝛоꝛ</i> .
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>uṭum<sup>w</sup>uṭ</i> also 'group, clump'; <i>ūnin</i> ; <i>ih</i> of bananas; <i>em<sup>w</sup>ih</i> 3sg POSS, of palm nuts.
EFI	Of bananas, coconuts; <i>i-kau</i> bananas; <i>isōsō</i> smaller fruits.

## 05.750 FIG

Spanish: <i>higo</i>
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ATA	*TAG [iɣos]	MUR
TSO	AKL	MGY avi-avi
RUK	PAL [iɣas]	ACE
PAI	MOL	BAT
YAM	KAG	MIN
ISN	BLA	*IND buah [ara]
KAL	SAB	SUN buah kiara

*JAV	lo	TAK		NTA	
MAD	[ara]	DAM		*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anpapa
BAL		MAB		*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> en-mājɪŋ
*SAS	[arə]	YAB		CEM	áɕe-màjɪŋ
GOR		KAU		AJI	bǎwě
DAA		TOL		XAR	
UMA		BUA		*NEN	aŋa[vine]
BUG		ADZ		KIR	
KON		KIL		MSH	
WOL		*TAW	mabewa	PON	
*MAG	[ara]	*MOT		WLE	
NGA		*MEK	mopi	EFI	
*SIK	[ara]	ROV	[pigi]	WFI	
RTI	(ai) ka-k	MAR	siru	RTU	[fiki]
BUR		LAU		TON	[fiki]
DOB		KWO		SAM	
IRA		RAG		MEL	
SAW	[ara]	PAA		*TAH	[tute]
NYI		*LEW	piliva	RAP	[pika]
MAM		POR			

TAG Spanish *higo* + -s plural.

IND From Arabic.

JAV Type of banyan tree.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *ara* 'kind of fig'; *bəriŋin* 'banyan fig'.

MAG Wild *Ficus* species.

SIK From Malay, also *?ai ara*.

TAW 'fig type'.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *korukoru*; Bible uses [*suke*] from Greek.

MEK *mopi* 'native fig' eaten by fruit-bats rather than humans.

LEW Also [*vik*] from English. (Tree/plant names are typically preceded by prefixes, (omitted here) denoting 'tree of', 'branch of', 'leaf of' etc.)

KWA Edible fruit of a *ficus* sp.

NEM Fruit of *Ficus habrophylla*.

NEN From French *vigne*.

TAH From Greek.

## 05.760 GRAPE

Arabic: *'anqūd*Spanish: *uva(s)*

ATA		UMA		MAR	
TSO		BUG	[aŋgoroʔ]	LAU	
RUK		KON	[aŋgoro]	KWO	
PAI		WOL		RAG	
*YAM	[potaw]	MAG	[aʔgor]	PAA	
ISN		NGA		LEW	
KAL		SIK	[aŋgor]	POR	
TAG	[ūbas]	RTI	[aʔgor]	NTA	
AKL	[ūbas]	BUR		KWA	
PAL		DOB		NEM	
MOL		IRA		CEM	
KAG	[ubas]	SAW	[aŋgur]	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ẽ divã
BLA		NYI		XAR	
*SAB	[ubas]	MAM	[uian-]patu	NEN	
MUR	[aŋgud]	TAK		KIR	
MGY	saluhi	DAM		MSH	
ACE	[aŋgo]	MAB		PON	
BAT	buah-[aŋgur]	YAB		WLE	
MIN	buah [aŋgur]	KAU		EFI	
IND	buah [aŋgur]	TOL		WFI	
SUN	buah [aŋgur]	BUA		RTU	[uaini]
JAV	[aŋgur]	ADZ		TON	[kālepi]
MAD	[aŋgur]	KIL	mak <sup>w</sup> aina	SAM	[vine] mata
BAL	[aŋgur]		[waini]	MEL	
SAS	buaʔ [ŋgur]	TAW	[gulaipa]	TAH	[vine]
GOR	buŋo lo	MOT		RAP	[vino]
	[ʔā <sup>ŋ</sup> guru]	MEK			
DAA	[a <sup>ŋ</sup> gur]	ROV	[gurepi]		

YAM From Chinese.

SAB *pasas* 'raisin'.

(Continued in Part 3)



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cut	09.220	dish	05.310
cut down	09.221	ditch	08.170
dance	10.440	dive	10.351
dandruff	04.146	divide	12.232
danger	16.540	divorce	02.341
dare	16.510	do, make	09.110
dark (in colour)	15.630	dog	03.610
darkness	01.620	door, gate	07.220
daughter	02.420	doorpost	07.221
daughter-in-law		doubt	17.430
(of a woman)	02.641	dough	05.530
		dove	03.594

down, below	12.030	end	12.350
dream	04.620	end (temporal)	14.260
dribble	04.591	enemy	19.520
drink	05.130	enough	13.180
drip	10.240	enter	10.570
drive	10.650	envy, jealousy	16.440
drop	10.160	evening	14.460
drowned	04.751	every, all	13.140
drum	18.720	ewe	03.280
drunk	04.980	explain	17.380
dry	15.840	extinguish	01.861
duck	03.570	eye	04.210
dumb	04.960	eyebrow	04.212
dust	01.213	eyelash	04.214
dwelt, live	07.110	eyelid	04.213
dye	06.390	face	04.204
eagle	03.584	fairy, elf	22.440
ear	04.220	faithful	16.650
ear-ring	06.770	fall	10.230
earlobe	04.221	family	02.820
early	14.160	famine	05.141
earn	11.790	fan (noun)	09.790
earth, land	01.210	fan (vb)	09.791
earth=ground, soil	01.212	far (adv)	12.440
earthquake	01.450	farmer	08.110
earthworm	03.840	fast (vb)	22.260
earwax	04.222	father	02.350
east	12.450	father's brother	02.512
easy	17.460	father's sister	02.522
eat	05.110	father-in-law	
edge	12.353	(of a man)	02.610
egg	05.970	father-in-law	
egg yolk	05.971	(of a woman)	02.611
eight	13.080	fault	16.760
elbow	04.320	fear, fright	16.530
elephant	03.770	feather	04.393
eleven	13.101	feel	15.720
embers	01.841	felt	06.270
embrace	16.300	female	02.240
empty	13.220	female (adj)	03.130

fence	08.160	fly (vb)	10.370
fermented drink	05.940	foal, colt	03.450
fever	04.841	foam	01.324
field (for cultivation)	08.120	fog	01.740
fifteen	13.103	fold	09.150
fig	05.750	follow	10.520
fight (vb)	20.110	food	05.120
fin (dorsal)	03.652	foolish, stupid	17.220
find	11.320	foot	04.370
fine	21.380	footprint	04.374
finger	04.340	forbid	18.380
fingernail	04.344	forehead	04.205
finish	14.270	forge	09.610
fir	08.650	forget	17.320
fire	01.810	forgive	16.690
firefly	03.910	fork	05.390
fireplace	07.310	fork	08.260
firewood	01.880	fork (branch)	08.740
first	13.340	fortress	20.350
fish	03.650	four	13.040
fish poison (root)	08.960	fowl	03.500
fish trap	20.550	fox	03.740
fish-hook	20.520	fragrant, good smelling	15.250
fish-net	20.540	free-man	19.440
fisherman	20.510	freshwater eel	03.665
fishing line	20.530	Friday	14.670
fishscale	03.653	friend, companion	19.510
five	13.050	frog	03.950
flame (noun)	01.820	front	12.041
flat	12.710	fruit	05.710
flay, skin	09.290	full	13.210
flea	03.813	fur	06.280
flee	10.510	furrow	08.212
flesh	04.130	garden	08.130
float	10.340	garden-house	07.131
floor	07.260	get, obtain	11.160
flow	10.320	ghost, phantom	22.450
flower	08.570	gill	03.654
flute	18.710	girl	02.260
fly	03.830	give	11.210

give back	11.220	gun, cannon	20.280
glass	09.740	hair (head hair)	04.140
glove	06.580	half	13.240
glue	09.560	hammer	09.490
go	10.470	hand	04.330
go away, depart	10.490	handkerchief, rag	06.810
go down	10.473	hang up	09.341
go out	10.474	harbour, port	10.910
go up	10.471	hard	15.740
goat	03.360	harm, injure, damage	11.280
God	22.120	hasten, hurry	14.230
goiter	04.842	hat, cap	06.550
gold	09.640	hate	16.410
good	16.710	have	11.110
good fortune, luck	16.180	have sexual intercourse	04.670
goose	03.560	hawk	03.585
gourd	08.930	hay	08.520
grain (barley, oats etc)	08.420	he-goat	03.370
granddaughter	02.490	he/she/it	02.930
grandfather	02.460	head	04.200
grandmother	02.470	headband, head-dress	06.780
grandson	02.480	headland, point	01.343
grape	05.760	heal, cure	04.860
grass	08.510	hear	15.410
grass-skirt	06.461	heart	04.440
grasshopper	03.930	heaven	22.310
grave, tomb	04.790	heavy	15.810
grease, fat	05.791	heel	04.372
greedy	16.830	hell	22.320
green	15.680	helmet	20.330
green, unripe	05.124	help, aid	19.580
grief, sorrow, sad	16.320	hen	03.540
groan	16.390	herdsman	03.180
grow	12.530	heron	03.583
guard, sentinel	20.471	hiccough	04.521
guess	17.171	hide, conceal	12.270
guest	19.560	high	12.310
guilty	21.350	hightide	01.354
gulf, bay	01.340	hinder, prevent	19.590
gums	04.271	hip	04.463

hire	11.770	itch	04.854
hoe	08.250	jaw	04.207
hold	11.150	jewel	06.720
hole	12.850	join, unite	12.220
hollow out	09.461	joyful, glad, happy	16.230
holy, sacred	22.190	judge (noun)	21.180
honey	05.840	judge (vb)	21.160
hook	12.750	judgement	21.170
hope	16.630	jump, leap	10.430
horn	04.170	keep, retain	11.170
horn, trumpet	18.730	kettle	05.270
horse (equine)	03.410	key	07.240
host	19.570	kick	10.431
hot	15.850	kid	03.380
hour	14.510	kidney	04.451
house	07.120	kill	04.760
how many?	17.620	king, ruler	19.320
how much?	17.630	kiss	16.290
how?	17.610	knead	05.540
howl	18.190	knee	04.360
hunger	05.140	kneel	10.412
hunt	20.610	knife	05.380
husband	02.310	knife	09.230
hut	07.130	knot (noun)	09.192
I	02.910	know	17.170
ice	01.770	ladder	07.370
idea, notion	17.190	lagoon	01.341
idol	22.370	lake	01.330
if	17.530	lamb	03.290
imitate	17.172	lame	04.940
immediately	14.190	lamp, torch	07.450
infant, baby	02.280	land (vb)	10.920
innocent	21.360	language	18.240
insane, crazy	17.230	large, big	12.550
insect	03.810	last	13.350
inside, in	12.050	last, endure	14.252
intention, purpose	17.410	latch, door-bolt	07.231
intestines, guts	04.461	late	14.170
iron	09.670	laugh	16.250
island	01.250	law	21.110



lazy	04.920	low	12.320
lead	09.680	lowtide	01.353
lead	10.640	lunch	05.430
leaf	08.560	lung	04.441
learn	17.240	magic, witchcraft, sorcery	22.420
leather	06.290	mainland	01.260
left (side)	12.420	maize; corn	08.470
leg	04.350	male	02.230
lend	11.610	male (adj)	03.120
let, permit	19.470	man (vs. woman)	02.210
lick	04.590	mare	03.440
lie down	12.140	market (place)	11.850
lie, tell lies	16.670	marriage, wedding	02.340
light (in colour)	15.620	married man	02.380
light (in weight)	15.820	married woman	02.390
light (noun)	01.610	marry	02.330
light, kindle, ignite	01.860	mason	07.610
lightning	01.550	mast	10.870
lightning (as striking)	01.570	master	19.410
like, similar	12.920	mat	09.770
limp	10.451	match	01.870
line	12.840	mead	05.910
linen; flax	06.230	meal (a)	05.410
lion	03.720	meal, flour	05.550
lip	04.250	measure	12.540
listen	15.420	meat	05.610
little (quantity), few	13.170	medicine, drug	04.880
live; living; life	04.740	meet	19.650
liver	04.450	meeting house	07.180
livestock	03.150	men's house	07.160
lizard	03.960	merchant	11.840
lock (noun)	07.230	middle, centre	12.370
long	12.570	milk (noun)	05.860
long-time (for a)	14.332	milk (vb)	05.870
look, look at	15.520	mill	05.570
loom	06.340	mind	17.110
lose	11.330	mirror	06.960
loud	15.450	misfortune, bad luck	16.190
louse	03.811	miss (target)	20.630
love	16.270		

mistake, error	16.770	neck	04.280
molartooth	04.272	necklace	06.750
mold (clay etc)	09.720	need, necessity	17.450
Monday	14.630	needle	06.360
money	11.430	neighbour	19.540
monkey	03.760	nephew	02.530
month	14.710	nest	03.580
moon	01.530	netbag	09.780
more	13.160	nettle	08.970
morning	14.440	never	14.340
mortar	05.580	new	14.130
mortar	07.630	niece	02.540
mosquito	03.832	night	14.420
mother	02.360	nine	13.090
mother's brother	02.511	nipple, teat	04.412
mother's sister	02.521	nit (louse egg)	03.812
mother-in-law		no, negative	17.560
(of a woman)	02.621	noble, nobleman	19.360
mother-in-law		noon, midday	14.450
(of a man)	02.620	north	12.470
mountain, hill	01.220	nose	04.230
mouse, rat	03.630	nostril	04.231
mouth	04.240	now	14.180
move	10.110	nut	05.770
mow, reap	08.320	oak	08.610
much, many	13.150	oar	10.850
mucus (nasal)	04.232	oath	21.250
mud	01.214	oats	08.460
mule	03.470	obey	19.460
multitude, crowd	13.190	obscure	17.350
mumble	18.160	ocean	01.329
murder	21.420	offspring	
mushroom	08.980	(son or daughter)	02.430
nail	09.500	often	14.320
naked, bare	04.990	oil	05.790
name	18.280	ointment	06.940
nape of neck	04.281	old	14.150
narrow	12.620	old man	02.461
navel	04.430	old woman	02.471
near (adv)	12.430	older brother	02.444

older sister	02.454	pepper	05.820
olive	05.780	perjury	21.470
omen, portent	22.470	person, human being	02.100
one	13.010	perspire	04.550
one's native country	19.120	pestle	05.590
one-hundred	13.105	physician	04.870
one-thousand	13.106	pick up	12.212
open	12.240	pig	03.350
opossum	03.622	pile up	12.213
or	17.540	pillow	07.421
ornament, adornment	06.710	pin	06.630
orphan	02.750	pinch	15.712
outrigger	10.832	pine	08.640
outside	12.060	pipe	08.691
oven	05.250	pitcher, jug	05.340
owe	11.630	pity	16.350
owl	03.596	place	12.110
own, possess	11.120	plain, field	01.230
ox	03.220	plaintiff	21.210
paddle (noun)	10.851	plant (noun)	08.530
pain	16.310	plant (verb)	08.531
paint (noun)	09.880	plate	05.320
paint (vb)	09.890	play	16.260
pair	13.370	plough	08.210
palm	08.810	pocket	06.610
palm of hand	04.331	poet	18.670
pan	05.280	pointed	12.352
paper	18.560	poison	04.890
parents	02.370	poncho	06.411
parrot	03.592	poor	11.520
part, piece	13.230	porpoise, dolphin	03.662
pasture	03.160	post, pole	07.560
path	10.720	pot, cooking vessel	05.260
pay (vb)	11.650	potato	05.700
peace	20.140	potter	09.710
peel	05.460	pound with fist	09.211
pen	18.570	pour	09.350
penalty, punishment	21.370	praise	16.790
penis	04.492	pray	22.170
people (populace)	19.210	preach	22.220

pregnant	04.730	relatives, kinsmen, kin	02.810
preserve, look after	11.240	release, let go	11.340
press	09.342	religion	22.110
price	11.870	remain, stay	12.160
priest	22.180	remains, left overs	12.170
prison, jail	21.390	remember	17.310
promise	18.360	rest	04.912
prostitute	19.720	retard, delay	14.240
proud	16.480	retreat	20.450
pubic hair	04.145	rib	04.162
pull	09.330	rice	08.480
pumpkin, squash	08.931	rich	11.510
pupil	17.260	ride	10.660
pursue	10.530	ridgepole	07.530
pus	04.857	right (side)	12.410
push, shove	10.670	right, correct	16.730
put	12.120	ring (for finger)	06.730
put on (clothes)	06.110	ripe	05.123
queen	19.330	rise	10.210
quiet, silence	15.460	river, stream, brook	01.360
rabbit	03.614	road	10.710
raft	10.840	roast, fry	05.230
rafters	07.540	roll	10.150
rain (noun)	01.750	roof	07.510
rainbow	01.590	room	07.210
raise, lift	10.220	root	08.540
rake	08.270	rope, cord	09.190
ram	03.260	rotten	05.125
rape	21.440	rough	15.760
rattle	18.740	rough (of sea)	01.323
raw	05.122	round	12.810
razor	06.930	row (vb)	10.852
reach, arrive	10.550	rub, wipe	09.310
read	18.520	rudder	10.860
ready	14.290	rug	09.771
rebuke, scold	18.390	rule, govern	19.310
red	15.660	run	10.460
reef	01.342	rye	08.450
refuse	18.370	sacrifice, offering	22.150
regret, be sorry	16.340	sail	10.360

sail (noun)	10.880	sharp	15.780
salt	05.810	sheep	03.250
salty	15.360	shelf	07.470
sand	01.215	shell	03.655
sandfly (midge), gnat	03.831	shield	20.340
sap	08.760	shine	15.560
Saturday	14.680	ship	10.810
saucer	05.360	shirt	06.440
sausage	05.630	shiver	04.680
save, rescue	11.250	shoe	06.510
saw	09.480	shoemaker, cobbler	06.540
say	18.220	shoot	20.620
scar	04.858	shore	01.270
school	17.280	short	12.590
scissors, shears	09.240	shoulder	04.300
scorpion	03.815	shoulderblade	04.301
scrape	05.480	shout, cry out	18.130
sculptor	09.820	shovel	08.240
sea	01.320	show	15.550
seagull	03.582	shriek, screech	18.180
season	14.780	shut, close	12.250
second	13.360	sibling	02.456
secret	17.360	sick, sickness	04.840
see	15.510	sickle, scythe	08.330
seed	08.311	side	12.360
seek, look for	11.310	side of head, temple	04.201
seem	17.180	sieve, strain	05.470
seize, grasp	11.140	silent (be)	18.230
sell	11.820	silk	06.250
send	10.630	silver	09.650
separate	12.230	sing	18.120
servant	19.430	sink	10.330
seven	13.070	sister	02.450
sew	06.350	sit	12.130
shade, shadow	01.630	six	13.060
shake	10.260	skin, hide	04.120
shallow	12.680	skirt	06.460
shame (noun)	16.450	skull	04.202
share (distribute)	11.910	sky, heavens	01.510
shark	03.661	slave	19.420

sleep	04.610	spider	03.818
slide, slip	10.420	spider web	03.819
sling	20.230	spin	06.310
slow	14.220	spindle	06.320
small, little	12.560	spine	04.191
smell (vb intrans)	15.210	spit	04.560
smell (vb trans)	15.220	splash	10.352
smile	16.251	spleen	04.452
smith, blacksmith	09.600	split	09.270
smoke (noun)	01.830	spoon	05.370
smoke (tobacco)	08.690	spread out	09.340
smooth	15.770	spring	14.750
snail	03.940	spring, well	01.370
snake	03.850	square	12.780
sneeze	04.540	squeeze, wring	09.343
sniff	15.212	stab	09.223
snore	04.612	stable, stall	03.190
snow (noun)	01.760	staff, walking stick	19.250
soap	06.950	stallion	03.420
soft	15.750	stand	12.150
soldier	20.170	star	01.540
some	13.181	statue	09.830
sometimes	14.330	steal	21.510
son	02.410	stepdaughter	02.740
son-in-law (of a man)	02.630	stepfather	02.710
son-in-law (of a woman)	02.631	stepmother	02.720
soon	14.331	stepson	02.730
sorceror, witch	22.430	stingray	03.664
soul, spirit	16.110	stinking, bad smelling	15.260
sound, noise	15.440	stir, mix	05.490
soup, broth	05.640	stocking, sock	06.490
south	12.480	stomach	04.460
sow	03.340	stone, rock	01.440
sow	08.310	store, shop	11.860
spade	08.230	storm	01.580
span, fathom	12.541	stove	07.320
speak, talk	18.210	straight	12.730
spear	20.260	stranger	19.550
speech (make a)	18.222	stretch	09.320
sphere, ball	12.830	strife, quarrel	19.620

strike (hit, beat)	09.210	temple, church	22.130
strong, mighty,		ten	13.100
powerful	04.810	tent	07.140
study	17.242	testicle	04.490
stutter, stammer	18.211	thatch	07.520
suck	05.160	they	02.960
sugar	05.850	thick (in dimension)	12.630
sugar cane	08.941	thief	21.520
summer	14.760	thigh	04.351
sun	01.520	thin (in dimension)	12.650
Sunday	14.620	thing	11.180
supper	05.450	think	
sure, certain	17.370	(= be of the opinion)	17.140
surprised, astonished	16.150	think (= reflect)	17.130
surrender	20.460	third	13.420
suspect	17.440	thirst	05.150
swallow	05.181	thread	06.380
swamp	01.380	threaten	18.440
swear	21.240	three	13.030
sweep	09.370	three times	13.440
sweet	15.350	thresh	08.340
sweet potato	08.910	threshing-floor	08.350
swelling	04.853	throat	04.290
swift, fast, quick	14.210	throw	10.250
swim	10.350	thumb	04.342
sword	20.270	thunder	01.560
table	07.440	Thursday	14.660
tail	04.180	tide	01.352
tailor	06.130	tie, bind	09.160
take	11.130	time	14.110
tall	12.580	tin; tin-plate	09.690
tapioca, manioc, cassava	08.920	tired, weary	04.910
taste	15.310	tobacco	08.680
tattoo	06.790	today	14.470
tax, tribute	11.690	toe	04.380
teach	17.250	tomorrow	14.480
teacher	17.270	tongs	05.391
tear	09.280	tongue	04.260
tear (noun)	16.380	tool	09.422
tell story	18.221	tooth	04.270

top	12.330	vine	08.670
touch	15.710	voice	18.110
towel	06.820	vomit	04.570
tower	20.360	vulture	03.586
trade, barter	11.830	wages	11.780
trap (noun)	20.640	waist	04.462
trap (verb)	20.650	wake up	04.630
tree	08.600	walk	10.450
tree (cf 08.600)	01.420	wall	07.270
tree stump	08.720	war, battle	20.130
tree trunk	08.730	warm	15.851
tribe, clan	19.230	wash	09.360
trough	07.480	wasp	03.823
trousers	06.480	water	01.310
true	16.660	waterfall	01.390
try, attempt	17.480	wave	01.350
Tuesday	14.640	way, manner	17.490
turn around	10.130	we	02.940
turn over	10.120	we exclusive	02.942
turtle	03.980	we inclusive	02.941
twelve	13.102	weak	04.820
twenty	13.104	weapons, arms	20.210
twins	02.458	weather	01.780
twist	10.170	weave	06.330
two	13.020	weave, plait	09.750
two times	13.380	Wednesday	14.650
udder	04.420	week	14.610
ugly	16.820	weigh	11.920
uncle	02.510	well; health	04.830
under	12.070	west	12.460
understand	17.160	wet, damp	15.830
untie	09.161	whale	03.663
up, above	12.080	what?	17.640
urinate	04.650	wheat	08.430
valley	01.240	wheel	10.760
vegetables	05.650	when?	17.650
veil	06.590	where?	17.660
vein, artery	04.151	which?	17.670
victory	20.410	whirlpool	01.362
village	19.160	whisper	18.150





## 05.770 NUT

<b>Spanish:</b> <i>nuez, maní</i> 'peanut'.
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ATA	UMA	*MAR	fuʔa
TSO	*BUG [čəŋgoreŋ]	LAU	ŋali
RUK	KON	KWO	
PAI	WOL	RAG	
*YAM kararaŋ	MAG	*PAA	iŋa
*ISN [mani]	NGA ʃola	*LEW	ŋi
KAL	*SIK heʔo	POR	
TAG [nuwes]	RTI ai deʔe-k	*NTA	noanəŋ
*AKL būsut	*BUR ka kiha-n	*KWA	kʷankʷaneɪ
PAL	DOB	NEM	
*MOL ombuk	IRA	CEM	
KAG	*SAW [kačəŋ]	AJI	pʷē
BLA	NYI	XAR	
SAB bigi	MAM ʔai-patu	NEN	
MUR	*TAK nuŋo-n	KIR	
*MGY [nua]	DAM	MSH	
*ACE bəh	MAB ke pwōno	PON	
*BAT gabbiri	*YAB nip	WLE	
MIN kačəŋ	KAU luman	EFI	βua-
IND kačəŋ	TOL galip	WFI	-βua
*SUN kačəŋ	BUA	RTU	
JAV kačəŋ	ADZ	TON	foʔi-ʔakau
*MAD čəŋ-kačəŋ-an	*KIL gʷadina	*SAM	fuā-lāʔau
*BAL kačəŋ	TAW ano-na	MEL	
SAS antap	MOT	TAH	
*GOR [kača]	*MEK ani	RAP	tiʔairi
*DAA	*ROV okete		

YAM 'peanut'; there is no generic term.

ISN [mani] peanut(s).

AKL *būsut* 'seed'; [maniʔ] 'peanut(s)'.

MOL 'seed'.

MGY From French.

ACE See 05.710.

BAT *gabbiri* 'candlenut (tree)', *Aleurites moluccana*.

- SUN Also *siki* 'grain, seed etc'.
- MAD From (RED-*kačəŋ-an*); lit 'different kinds of nuts and beans'.  
Safioedin (1977) *kačəŋ* 'bean, nut'.
- BAL Closest generic term is *kačəŋ* 'bean, small nuts'.
- GOR 'peanut, ground nut'. From Malay *kačəŋ*.
- DAA No generic term, only names of specific kinds.
- BUG From Malay *kačəŋ goreng* lit 'fried peanut'.
- SIK Also *βεβε*, *bue*.
- BUR 'tree seeds'; *gaa-n* 'k.o. jungle nut'; also *bolse* (may be borrowed term); *ipa* 'kanari nut'; *hagi-t* 'candlenut'.
- SAW From Malay.
- TAK Also *patu-n* see 05.710, 05.970, 08.311.
- YAB 'coconut'.
- KIL One species.
- MEK *ani* 'seed, kernel, core'; *?amai* 'kind of wild almond'; *okare* 'kind of nut'.
- ROV *okete* 'galip nut'; also *kinu* 'cut nut'.
- MAR 'fruit or nut'.
- PAA 'native almond'.
- LEW 'almond', also *kurki*, *tep*, *pipia*.
- NTA See 05.710.
- KWA *k<sup>w</sup>ank<sup>w</sup>anei Terminalia catappa*; no generic term for 'nut' exists.  
*naŋe, Canarium indicum*; *nəmer Inocarpus edulis*; *k<sup>w</sup>anuvekər, Barringtonia edulis*.
- SAM *fua* 'fruit', *laʔau* 'plant, tree'; also [*nati*] 'nut' from English 'nut'.

## 05.780 OLIVE

Arabic: *zaitūn*English: *olive*Spanish: *oliva*

ATA

KAL

BLA

TSO

TAG [oliba]

SAB [ɟaitun]

RUK

AKL [olɪbah]

MUR

PAI

PAL

\*MGY [uliva]

YAM

MOL

ACE [dɔytɔn]

ISN

KAG

BAT

MIN		NYI		POR	
IND	[zaitun]	MAM		NTA	
SUN	[ʃaitun]	TAK		KWA	
JAV	[ʃaitun]	DAM		NEM	
MAD	[zaitun]	MAB		CEM	
BAL		YAB		AJI	
SAS	[zaitun]	KAU		XAR	
GOR		TOL		NEN	
DAA		BUA		KIR	
UMA		ADZ		MSH	
BUG	bua [saitun]	KIL	[olibe]	PON	
KON		TAW		WLE	
WOL		MOT		EFI	
MAG		MEK		WFI	
NGA		ROV	[olive]	RTU	
SIK		MAR		TON	[?olive]
RTI		LAU		*SAM	[ōlive]
BUR		KWO		MEL	
DOB		RAG		*TAH	[?orive]
IRA		PAA			(olive)
SAW	[zaitun]	LEW		RAP	

MGY From French.

SAM From Tahitian *olive* from English 'olive'.

TAH From English or French.

## 05.790 OIL

**English:** *oil*

**French:** *l'huile*

ATA	papakašiyuš	PAL	lana	MIN	miña?
TSO	xisi	MOL	lana	IND	miñak
*RUK	lawlaw	*KAG	[mantika]	SUN	miñak
PAI		BLA	fɲalo	JAV	ləŋɔ
YAM	anəŋ	SAB	insallan	MAD	miña?
ISN	denu	*MUR	umaw	BAL	ləŋis
KAL	lāna	*MGY	[diluilu]	SAS	miñak
TAG	lāna	ACE	miñu?	GOR	yinulo
AKL	ʔānah	BAT	miak	DAA	lana

UMA	lana	KAU	nohβoŋ	NEM	
BUG	miññaʔ	TOL	dəŋi	CEM	
KON	miññaʔ	BUA	[wɛl]	AJI	[tuili]
WOL	ɾina	*ADZ	madamin	XAR	
MAG	mina	KIL	bulami	NEN	wakaču(n)
NGA	ləŋi	TAW	bunama	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ā
SIK	ləŋi	MOT	dehoro	*MSH	[weil]
RTI	mina (kelapa)	*MEK	ŋaʔa	PON	lē
*BUR	[minya]	ROV	[oela]	*WLE	xapi-xapi
DOB	lura	MAR		EFI	waiwai
IRA	mɛigə	LAU	[oele]	WFI	waiwai
SAW	yɛget	KWO		RTU	lolo
NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> elekei	RAG		TON	lolo
MAM	bureŋ	PAA	oīl	*SAM	suā-uʔu
*TAK	gureŋ	*LEW	sisimaru	*MEL	[oele]
DAM	mouli	POR		*TAH	hinu
MAB	<sup>ŋ</sup> gere	NTA	[oel]	RAP	
*YAB	ŋa-tek <sup>w</sup> i	*KWA	nəp <sup>w</sup> ei		

RUK *lawlaw* ‘lard’.

KAG From Spanish *manteca*.

MUR Also [*miñak*] from Malay.

MGY From French *de l’huile*.

BUR From Malay.

TAK ‘vegetable oil’.

YAB Also *nip-tek<sup>w</sup>i* ‘coconut oil’.

ADZ ‘coconut oil’.

MEK *ŋaʔa* ‘juice, sap, oil’, but [*oili*] is now used for commercial cooking oils.

LEW ‘coconut oil’.

KWA *nəp<sup>w</sup>ei* ‘coconut and other vegetable oils’; *katəŋa* ‘coconut oil used for body adornment’.

KIR *aka* ‘oily’.

MSH *pinnēp* ‘coconut oil’

WLE *tikō* ‘coconut oil’; *uwiya* ‘oily’.

SAM Especially ‘coconut oil’; *sua* ‘fluid, liquid’, *uʔu* ‘oil, anoint’ (vb).

MEL Also *roro*.

TAH *monoʔi* ‘perfumed oil’.

## 05.791 GREASE, FAT

French: *graisse*Spanish: *manteca*

ATA	ḵnuʔ	*UMA	boko	MAR	garofa
TSO	simro	BUG	lunraʔ	*LAU	raraŋa
RUK	lamaʕə	KON	lunraʔ	*KWO	nuri nīniuna
PAI	ḵalum	WOL	taʕa	RAG	
*YAM	tava	MAG	vusak	*PAA	amur
ISN	taba	NGA	səma	*LEW	sinavita
KAL	lānit	*SIK	βura	POR	naö
*TAG	tabaʔ	RTI	mina-k	*NTA	neluei-n
AKL	tambuk	*BUR	mina-n	*KWA	nərp <sup>w</sup> a
PAL	tabaʔ	DOB	mila	NEM	[gerēc]
MOL	tabaʔ	IRA	məterə	CEM	[gerēn]
*KAG	[mantika]	*SAW	[gəji]	AJI	[geʕeyi]
BLA	tabəʔ	NYI	ñaman	XAR	[gerēçi]
SAB	[mantika]	MAM	rāra	NEN	dirič
MUR	lomok	*TAK	ŋurŋur	*KIR	te nenea
MGY	menaka	DAM	gigiru	MSH	[kiřic]
ACE	gapah	MAB	<sup>m</sup> buyēne	*PON	wī
BAT	miak	YAB	ŋa-ləsi	*WLE	[kiřisi]
MIN	lamaʔ	KAU	tuleŋ	EFI	uro
*IND	ləmak	TOL	birə	WFI	uro
SUN	gəjih	BUA	zəzi	RTU	lolo
JAV	gəjih	*ADZ	ragaran	TON	ŋako
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> aʔ <sup>h</sup> i	KIL	posa	SAM	ŋaʔo
BAL	muluk	TAW	monamona	MEL	kanainai
SAS	ləmu	*MOT	diyara	*TAH	miʔi
GOR	tabo	MEK	oʔo	RAP	moři
DAA	lomu	ROV	deana		

YAM *tava* ‘fat of pig’; also *avo*.TAG Proto-Philippines \**tabaʔ*.KAG [*mantika*] ‘grease, shortening’; *tambek* ‘animal fat’.IND Also *miñak*.UMA Also *ruduʔ*.SIK Also *ihi-ŋ βura*, *βurək*, *pembe-ŋ*, *lembe-ŋ*.

BUR	<i>mina-t</i> ‘fat’ (adj); <i>mina-n</i> ‘fat’ (noun).
SAW	From Ternate.
TAK	‘pig fat’.
ADZ	‘animal fat’.
MOT	Also ‘sweet’.
LAU	Also [ <i>giris</i> ].
KWO	Also <i>nunu</i> .
PAA	Usually replaced nowadays with the English loan [ <i>krīs</i> ].
LEW	Also <i>kulum<sup>w</sup>uru</i> ‘fat around abdomen’.
NTA	Also [ <i>kris</i> ] from Bislama.
KWA	Also <i>nuk</i> which also means ‘yam’.
KIR	Also [ <i>te kiriti</i> ]; <i>te m<sup>w</sup>aete</i> ‘grease, lard’.
PON	Also [ <i>kirīs</i> ].
WLE	Also <i>caṛa</i> ‘animal fat’.
TAH	<i>hinu pa<sup>?</sup>ari</i> ‘vehicle grease’.

### 05.810 SALT

ATA	timu <sup>?</sup>	*MIN	[garam]	DOB	masin
TSO	siru	*IND	garam	IRA	terirə
RUK	timo	SUN	uyah	*SAW	[gasi]
PAI	ḱatia	JAV	uyah	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> as
YAM	ašin	MAD	buḱa	MAM	ma <sup>?</sup> asi
ISN	asin	BAL	uyah	*TAK	beig
KAL	asin	SAS	siə	DAM	māi
TAG	asin	*GOR	watiŋo	MAB	tai
AKL	asin	DAA	gara	YAB	g <sup>w</sup> e <sup>?</sup>
PAL	asin	UMA	poi <sup>?</sup>	KAU	sauli
MOL	asin	BUG	p <sup>i</sup> j <sup>je</sup>	*TOL	tā
KAG	a <sup>?</sup> sin	*KON	če <sup>?</sup> la	BUA	mamirəŋ
BLA	kahi <sup>?</sup>	*WOL	gara	*ADZ	iri <sup>?</sup>
SAB	asin	MAG	či <sup>?</sup> e	KIL	yona
MUR	usi <sup>?</sup>	NGA	si <sup>?</sup> e	TAW	niha
*MGY	[sira]	*SIK	hini	MOT	damena
ACE	sira	RTI	masi-k	*MEK	ʔi <sup>?</sup> ifo
BAT	sira	BUR	sasi	ROV	[solo]

MAR	tahi	NEM	dalik	EFI	māsima
LAU	asila	*CEM	ʝe	WFI	mahima
KWO		AJI	yō	RTU	səsi
RAG	[solo]	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> etā	*TON	[māsima]
PAA	atas	*NEN	alase	SAM	māsima
*LEW	sī	*KIR	te tārī	MEL	[sōlo]
POR	na-ras	*MSH	[eō]	TAH	miti pōpa <sup>ʔ</sup> ā
*NTA	nəŋal	*PON	[sōl]	RAP	miti
*KWA	nəŋar	WLE	xasīxō		

MGY From Malay *sira* (now obsolete).

MIN From Malay.

IND Malay *garam* developed from *garam sira* ‘a grain of salt’ as can be seen in Pigafetta’s wordlist (Bausani 1972) and in Brunei Malay (Wilkinson 1959) [K.A. Adelaar].

GOR Also *hulato*.

KON Also *garaŋ, tino*.

WOL Also *po-gara-i* ‘salt s.th.’.

SIK Also *hini bru*.

SAW From Ternate (?).

TAK ‘salt water’ (see 01.320).

TOL Also [sol], [matima/masima] from Fijian.

ADZ *iri<sup>ʔ</sup>, iri<sup>ʔ</sup> si<sup>m</sup>p* ‘ash salt made from leaves’; *ŋi<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘all other salts’.

MEK *ʔi<sup>ʔ</sup>ifo* ‘native salt’; *tsitsimalu (kikimalu)* ‘introduced salt’, also *kema-kema* (obsolete) from *kema* ‘lick’.

LEW See 01.320.

NTA *nəŋal* ‘natural sea-salt’; [sol] ‘store-bought salt’.

KWA ‘sea salt’.

CEM ‘sea’; also *wōn* used with the meaning ‘salt’.

NEN Also *ḍokeč, ḍo[sol]*.

KIR ‘salt water’.

MSH *dænnin lōcēt* ‘salt water’.

PON *renset* ‘salt water’

TON From Fijian.



## 05.820 PEPPER

<b>English:</b> <i>pepper</i>	<b>French:</b> <i>(du) poivre</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>lada, məriča</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>pimienta</i>		

*ATA	ḱuriyux na? kinuhaku†	DAA		ROV	[pepa]
TSO		*UMA	maisa? ʒana	MAR	
RUK	tavaŋolo	BUG	baričča	LAU	
*PAI	kamaŋul <sup>y</sup>	KON	mariča	KWO	
*YAM	[toŋgaraʃi]	*WOL	[mariča]	RAG	
ISN		MAG	[lada]	PAA	
KAL	sīli	NGA	koro	LEW	
TAG	[paminta]	*SIK	koro	POR	
*AKL	[paminta]	RʼII	lada	NTA	
PAL	[paminta]	BUR	[mariča]	KWA	
MOL		DOB		NEM	
KAG	[paminta]	IRA	[lada]	CEM	
BLA		SAW	[riča ʒawe]	AJI	[poavə]
SAB	maisa	NYI		XAR	
*MUR	[lado]	MAM		NEN	
MGY	[dipuavaɬʼa]	TAK		KIR	
ACE	lada	*DAM	[lombo]	MSH	
BAT	par-masak	MAB		PON	
*MIN	lado kači <sup>2?</sup>	*YAB	lɔ <sup>m</sup> bɔ?	WLE	
*IND	məriča	KAU		EFI	[pepa]
*SUN	[pədəs]	*TOL	dakə	WFI	[βeva]
JAV	mričɔ	BUA		RTU	[pepa]
MAD	sa <sup>?</sup> aŋ	ADZ		TON	[pepa]
BAL	mičə	KIL		SAM	[pepa]
SAS	səbiə tandan	TAW		MEL	
GOR	[malita]	MOT		TAH	[pēpa]
		MEK		RAP	

ATA Also *ḱurip na? kinuhaku†*; lit 'ginger of the plains'.

PAI *k-al<sup>y</sup>-atiŋ* 'yellow capsicum', *rika-rik* 'capsicum (small)'.

YAM Japanese borrowing.

AKL Also [*pamyenta*].

MUR Probably from Malay *lada*.

MIN	Also [ <i>mariča</i> ].
SUN	From Javanese.
UMA	'Java chili'.
WOL	Also <i>saha</i> .
SIK	Also [ <i>lada</i> ].
DAM	From Malay via Tok Pisin.
YAB	From Malay. Also <i>bala</i> .
TOL	The pepper berry eaten with betel nut.

### 05.821 CHILLI PEPPER

<b>French:</b> <i>piment</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>mariča</i> 'pepper'
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ATA	SAS	səbiə	BUA	rəbə	
TSO	ɕuɕʔu	*GOR	[malita] diti	ADZ	
RUK		DAA	[marisa]	KIL	dibirera
PAI		UMA	maisəʔ	TAW	naiya
*YAM	[toŋgarəʃi]	BUG	ladaŋ	*MOT	uregini
ISN	[sili]		baričča	MEK	[tsili]
KAL	[sili]	*KON	lada	ROV	[sile]
*TAG	[sili]	WOL	saha	MAR	sisiriki
*AKL	kutikut	MAG	ʔgurus	LAU	roketa
PAL	ladaʔ	NGA	koro	KWO	
MOL	ladaʔ	SIK	koro	RAG	[bima]
KAG	tumbal	RTI	kulus	PAA	[pīma]
BLA	kətumbəl	BUR	basa-t	LEW	[sil]
SAB	lada	DOB	[maresan]	POR	
MUR	[lado]	IRA	siboa	NTA	[noasəli]
MGY	sakai	SAW	[riča]	KWA	
ACE	campli	*NYI	[lombo]	NEM	[pimã]
*BAT	lasiak	MAM	pitipiti	CEM	[pim <sup>w</sup> a]
MIN	lado	TAK	marup	AJI	[pim <sup>w</sup> ā]
*IND	čabai	DAM		XAR	
*SUN	[čabe]	MAB		NEN	
JAV	lomboʔ	YAB		KIR	
MAD	čabbi	KAU	lubu	MSH	
BAL	tabiə	TOL		PON	

WLE		*RTU	ʔoi sunu	MEL	[jili]
EFI	boro	TON	polo	TAH	ʔōporo
WFI	boro	SAM		RAP	

YAM From Japanese.

TAG Also [sile], Malay sireh.

AKL *kutikut* ‘small chilli’; also [katumbaʔ] from Malay *katumbar* ‘coriander’.

BAT Originally derived from *siak* ‘spicy, hot, biting’.

IND Also *lombok, riča*; in some areas *tada*.

SUN From Javanese.

GOR ‘cayenne pepper’.

KON Also *passeʔ*.

NYI From Malay.

MOT Western Motu *urehegini*.

RTU Also [čelese].

## 05.840 HONEY

<b>English:</b> <i>honey</i>	<b>Greek:</b> <i>meli</i>	<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>madhu</i>
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ATA	βuχ	SAB	gulaʔ	SAS	[madu]
TSO	sixsi		buwani	*GOR	[hula] lo tīʔa
RUK	valo	*MUR	dūʔ nu	DAA	noa
PAI	alʔu		maniŋot	*UMA	ue vani
YAM		MGY	tanteli	BUG	čaniʔ
ISN	digu ālig	ACE	iə unəə	KON	čaniʔ
KAL	dilū	*BAT	si-tuak	*WOL	uwani
TAG	pulot-		(ni loba)	MAG	vae vani
	pukyūtan	MIN	manis-an	NGA	rua
AKL	dugus		labah	SIK	βane mei-ŋ
PAL	dəgəs	IND	[madu]	RTI	fani oe
MOL	dəgos	SUN	[madu]	*BUR	lewe-n
*KAG	dəgəs	JAV	[madu]	*DOB	bi'yon kʷasir
BLA	tnab	MAD	[madd <sup>h</sup> u]	IRA	waguməruə
		BAL	[madu]	SAW	[madu]

NYI	burik	*MEK	meme-uje	AJI	ǰǰǰǰ dǰǰǰ
MAM	niniʔo-		ŋaʔā	*XAR	ñi-mũçĩ
	damaʔa	ROV	zipale	*NEN	[hani]
TAK		*MAR	maʔiju	KIR	
DAM		LAU	wedua	MSH	
MAB	bigil	KWO	(k <sup>w</sup> aik <sup>w</sup> ai-	PON	
YAB	lep		na) ŋĩjɪdua	WLE	
KAU	imep	RAG		EFI	dē-ni-[oni]
TOL	livur	PAA		WFI	ta-ni-[oni]
BUA	[ani]	LEW		RTU	[hanē]
*ADZ	bigub gurun	POR		TON	[hone]
KIL	kitorina	*NTA	nahui	SAM	[meli]
TAW	tuwoya		[sukapak]	MEL	[anī]
*MOT	badaranu-	KWA		TAH	[meri]
	na	*NEM	wē-n maguk	RAP	[meri]
		*CEM	dūhi-mēpu		

KAG *dəgəs* (CGC); *ləgəs* (PAL).

MUR ‘juice of bee’.

BAT *loba* ‘bee’.

GOR ‘sugar’ (from Sanskrit), LIG, ‘bee’.

UMA ‘water of bee’.

WOL Also means ‘bee’.

BUR Also *em-oro-t* ‘any sweet thing including honey’.

DOB ‘hive’s liquid’.

ADZ ‘bee juice’.

MOT *bada* ‘honeycomb’, *ranu* ‘water, liquid’.

MEK ‘bee its-juice’.

MAR Also *jujurukuli*.

NTA From Bislama.

NEM ‘water of bee’.

CEM ‘bee’s excrement’.

XAR ‘juice of the bee’.

NEN Also *wahani*.

## 05.850 SUGAR

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>sukkar</i>	<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>gulā-</i> ‘molasses’
<b>English:</b> <i>sugar</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>azúcar</i>

ATA	hīŋ	UMA	[gola]	MAR	nehu
*TSO	[kamçia]	BUG	[golla]	LAU	[suka]
RUK	alo-alo	KON	[golla]	KWO	ŋāŋasi
PAI	al <sup>y</sup> u-al <sup>y</sup> u	WOL	[gola]	RAG	
*YAM	[saktə]	MAG	[gola]	PAA	[suka]
ISN	[sūkār]	NGA	si <sup>ʔ</sup> e-nari	*LEW	puru-tevi
KAL	inti	SIK	hini mi	POR	naröv
TAG	[asūkal]	RTI	tua nasu	NTA	[suka]
AKL	[asūkar]	BUR	[gola]	KWA	
PAL	[səkal]	DOB	[gula]	NEM	[suka]
MOL	[sokar]	IRA	to <sup>ʔ</sup> əruə	CEM	[cúka]
KAG	klamay	SAW	[gula]	AJI	[yuka]
BLA	[asukal]	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ai	XAR	[çuk <sup>w</sup> a]
*SAB	[sukal]	MAM	tou	NEN	
MUR	[gula <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	TAK		KIR	
*MGY	sira-mami	DAM	dā	MSH	
ACE	[saka]	MAB	teu	PON	
BAT	[gula]	YAB		WLE	
*MIN	[saka]	KAU	eyim	EFI	[suka]
IND	[gula]	*TOL	[sukə]	WFI	[huka]
SUN	[gula]	BUA	lɔβ	RTU	[suka]
JAV	[gulɔ]	*ADZ	yait	TON	[suka]
MAD	[g <sup>h</sup> ula]	KIL	[sug <sup>w</sup> a]	SAM	[suka]
BAL	[gulə]	TAW	gugau	MEL	[suka]
SAS	[gulə]	MOT	[suga]	*TAH	[tihota]
*GOR	[hula]	MEK	[tsiuka]	RAP	[tihota]
DAA	[gola]	ROV	[suya]		

TSO From Minnan *kam-çxia* ‘sugarcane’.

YAM From Japanese

SAB Also [sokal]; *pilun* ‘unrefined sugar’.

MGY ‘sweet salt’.

MIN Also [gulo].

TOL From English, or German *Zucker*.

ADZ 'sugar cane'.

LEW Also 08.941.

TAH From English.

### 05.860 MILK (noun)

**English:** *milk*

**Malay:** *susu*

ATA	xuxu <sup>?</sup>	DAA	susu	ROV	[meleke]
*TSO	çxumu ta nun <sup>?</sup> u	UMA	[susu]	*MAR	susu
RUK		BUG	susu	LAU	[meleke]
PAI		KON	ere susu	KWO	susu
*YAM	sošo no [baka]	WOL	susu	RAG	
ISN	gātas	MAG	vae čuču	PAA	sūsu
KAL	gātas	NGA	susu	*LEW	wa-yu
TAG	gātas	*SIK	uhu	POR	na-sūs
AKL	gātas	*RTI	kapa oe	NTA	nahui nah
PAL	gatas	BUR	soso-n wae-n	*KWA	nas
MOL	gatas	*DOB	ɸola k <sup>w</sup> asir	NEM	
KAG	gatas	IRA		*CEM	dūhi-tí
BLA	gotos	SAW	[susu]	*AJI	[dile]
SAB	gatas	NYI	sur	*XAR	nī-ji
*MUR	gatas	MAM	ruru	NEN	mimi
*MGY	ru-nunu	*TAK	su	KIR	
*ACE	iə te <sup>?</sup>	DAM	su	MSH	
BAT	susu	MAB	tui	PON	
*MIN	dadi <sup>h</sup>	*YAB	su	WLE	
IND	susu	KAU	esus	EFI	suđu
SUN	susu	*TOL	polo-na-ū	*WFI	[suđu]
JAV	susu	BUA	rur	RTU	susu
*MAD	[susu]	*ADZ	sisu gurun	TON	hu <sup>?</sup> akau
*BAL	yeh ñoño	KIL	nunu	*SAM	susu
SAS	susu	TAW	gugu	MEL	[meleki]
*GOR	tutu	*MOT	rata	TAH	ū
		MEK	[milika]	RAP	ū

- TSO 'water at the breast'.  
 YAM [*baka*] 'cow' from Spanish.  
 MUR *gatas* 'breast milk'; [*susu*?] 'canned or bottled milk', from Malay *susu*.  
 MGY *ru* 'sauce, gravy'; *nunu* 'breast'.  
 ACE *iə abin* 'milk of livestock'; [*susu*] 'canned or bottled milk', from Malay. See 04.410, 04.420.  
 MIN Also *susu*.  
 MAD Stephens (1965: 19, 41) argues that *susu* [*susu*] 'milk (noun)' is a borrowing, while *susu* [*soso*] 'breast' is inherited.  
 BAL 'breast water'.  
 GOR Also [*susu*] (Malay).  
 SIK Also *uhu-ŋ*.  
 RTI 'water buffalo milk'.  
 DOB 'breast's liquid'.  
 TAK 'breast, milk' (see 04.410).  
 YAB Also 04.410.  
 TOL 'liquid of breast', see 04.410.  
 ADZ 'breast juice'.  
 MOT Also 'breast'.  
 MAR 'breast milk'.  
 LEW 'liquid of breast'.  
 KWA *nas, nunu* 'breast milk'; *nəsei nanhə-* 'fluid of breast', 'breast milk'.  
 CEM 'breast excrement'.  
 AJI From French *du lait*.  
 XAR 'juice of breast'.  
 WFI From Standard Fijian.  
 SAM See 04.410.

### 05.870 MILK (vb)

ATA	YAM	parʂotən	*AKL	gātas
TSO	ISN		PAL	məŋgatas ət
RUK	*KAL	gātas		sapi?
PAI	*TAG	gātas	MOL	

*KAG	gatas	*WOL	pa-ɗuɗu	KWO	
BLA	g-m-ɔɔs	MAG	[pəra]	RAG	
*SAB	gatas	NGA	voo	PAA	
*MUR	paga?	SIK	uhu	*LEW	wu-plani
MGY	mi-teri	RTI	na-su?u		wa-yu
ACE	prah iə abin	*BUR	soso	POR	
BAT	pəɔ	DOB		NTA	
MIN	parah	IRA		KWA	
*IND	məñusui (susu)	SAW	n-fa-sus	*NEM	ɯeli
		NYI		CEM	
*SUN	[məɾəs] ([pəɾəs])	MAM	aruru	AJI	yāru
JAV	məɾəs susu (pəɾəs)	TAK		XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ē
		DAM		NEN	wimimi
MAD		MAB	-kē <sup>ɗ</sup> ge	KIR	
*BAL	məɾəs (pəɾəs)	*YAB	-pip su	MSH	
*SAS	[mərah] (pərah) susu	KAU	sus	PON	
		TOL		WLE	
*GOR	molo <sup>n</sup> dolā tutu lo sapi	BUA		EFI	loba-suɔu
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> bo-pea susu	ADZ		WFI	loba-kia
		KIL	-βanunu	*RTU	hō susu
UMA	pea? tii?	*TAW	wigugu	TON	tatau
BUG	susu	*MOT	rata gigi-a	*SAM	tatau
*KON	am-mera (pəra)	MEK		MEL	
		ROV	[meleke]	TAH	fa?atē
		MAR		*RAP	tatau i te ū
		LAU			

KAL *gātas + maN-/-on.*

TAG *gātas + -um-/-an.*

AKL *gātas + -an.*

KAG *gatas + -an.*

SAB *gatas + ag-/ø.*

MUR *paga? (maɳ-; ?-on).*

IND Also *mə-mərah susu.*

SUN (vb trans); from Javanese.

BAL ‘extract fluid by squeezing’; also *mə-ñoño* (vb intrans) ‘drink milk at the breast’.

SAS From Malay (*məN-*)*pərah?*



GOR	<i>molo<sup>n</sup>dolo</i> ( <i>tondolo</i> + <i>moN-</i> ), a 'LIG', <i>tutu</i> 'udder', <i>lo</i> linker, <i>sapi</i> 'cow'.
KON	Also <i>am-marro?</i> ( <i>parro?</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>pa-d'ud'u</i> 'suckle, milk'; <i>pa-susu</i> 'suckle'.
BUR	<i>da soso</i> 'he's nursing'; also <i>rapu</i> 'suck'.
YAB	'squeeze milk'.
TAW	'to give milk/to feed'.
MOT	<i>gigi-a</i> 'to squeeze'.
LEW	'squeeze out milk'.
NEM	'squeeze to extract juice (e.g. coconut)'.
RTU	Also <i>hō</i> [ <i>kou</i> ].
SAM	See 05.470.
RAP	Also <i>tatau ū</i> .

## 05.880 CHEESE

English: *cheese*  
Spanish: *queso*

French: *fromage*

Portuguese: *queijo*

ATA	BAT	[keʃu]	RTI	
TSO	MIN	[keʃu]	BUR	
RUK	IND	[keʃu]	DOB	
PAI	SUN	[kiʃu]	IRA	
YAM	JAV	[keʃu]	SAW	[keʃu]
ISN	MAD	[keʃu]	NYI	
KAL	BAL	[keʃu]	MAM	
TAG	SAS		TAK	
AKL	GOR	[keʃu]	DAM	
PAL	DAA		MAB	
MOL	UMA		YAB	
KAG	BUG	[keʃʃu]	KAU	
BLA	KON		TOL	
SAB	WOL		BUA	[sīs]
MUR	MAG	[keʃu]	ADZ	
MGY	NGA		KIL	
ACE	SIK		TAW	

MOT [sisi]	NTA	WLE
MEK	KWA	EFI [čisi]
ROV [sizi]	NEM	WFI [čisi]
MAR	CEM	RTU [čisi]
LAU	AJI [vōmāyi]	TON [siisi]
KWO	XAR	SAM [sisi]
RAG	NEN	MEL
PAA [sīs]	KIR	TAH [pata] pa <sup>?</sup> ari
LEW	MSH	RAP [pata]
POR	PON	

## 05.890 BUTTER

<b>English:</b> <i>butter</i>	<b>French:</b> <i>du beurre</i>	<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>manteiga</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>mantequilla</i>		

ATA	BAL [məntegə]	TOL [bəta]
TSO	SAS [məntəgə]	BUA [bata]
RUK	GOR [ma <sup>n</sup> deha]	ADZ
PAI	DAA [ma <sup>n</sup> təga]	KIL
*YAM [bata]	UMA	TAW
ISN	BUG [mantegga]	MOT [bata]
KAL	KON [mantega]	MEK
TAG [mantikilya]	WOL [ma <sup>n</sup> təga]	ROV [bata]
AKL [mantikilya]	MAG [me <sup>n</sup> təga]	MAR
PAL	NGA	LAU [bata]
MOL	SIK	KWO
KAG [mantikilya]	RTI	RAG
BLA	BUR	PAA [pata]
SAB [mantika]	DOB	LEW [pata]
MUR [mantiga <sup>?</sup> ]	IRA	POR
MGY [dibera]	SAW [mantega]	NTA [pəta]
*ACE [maltega]	NYI	KWA
BAT [mantega]	MAM [bata]	NEM
MIN [mantega]	TAK	CEM
IND [məntega]	DAM	AJI [dibā]
SUN [mantega]	MAB	XAR
*JAV [mərtəgə]	*YAB [buta]	NEN [baʃa]
MAD [mantega]	KAU	KIR

MSH	WFI [bata]	MEL [pata]
PON	RTU [pata]	TAH [pata]
WLE	TON [pata]	RAP [matakia]
EFI [bata]	SAM [pata]	

YAM Also referred to as *anəŋ* 'oil'.

ACE Also [*muntega*].

JAV Also [*məntegə*].

YAB From German.

### 05.900 BEVERAGE, DRINK

ATA na-nuβu-un	UMA in-inu	MAR
TSO	BUG inuŋ	LAU g <sup>w</sup> oulagi
RUK sa-oŋol-anə	KON inuŋ-aŋ	*KWO k <sup>w</sup> aik <sup>w</sup> ai(-na)
PAI ta-təkəl-an	*WOL giu isi <sup>m</sup> pu	RAG
YAM yopən	MAG	*PAA oai
ISN inuman	*NGA tua	LEW na-muni-ena
KAL mainum	SIK rinu-ŋ	POR
*TAG inūm-in	RTI ni-n-inu-k	NTA nanəman
*AKL ilimnun	*BUR enyinu-t	KWA nanum <sup>w</sup> iən
PAL inum	DOB lala	NEM k <sup>ɟ</sup> udō-n
*MOL inum	IRA	CEM ûde-n
*KAG inə'mən	*SAW wœ taŋe	AJI r̄ā wāyɔ
BLA n-inum	NYI	*XAR wiñe
SAB inum-an	MAM daŋ	NEN ŋakua
*MUR inumon	*TAK you	KIR te mōi
MGY zava-pisu <sup>f</sup> u	*DAM nānu	*MSH ræn
*ACE iə	*MAB yok	*PON nime
BAT si-inum-ɔn	*YAB nip ŋa-bu	WLE üřūma-
MIN minum-an	KAU	EFI wai-ni-ŋunu
IND minum-an	*TOL m-in-omo	WFI wai-ni-homu
SUN inum-an	BUA	RTU tē la 'imo
*JAV ɔmbən-ɔmbən	*ADZ nam num-an	TON inu
MAD inum-an	KIL sopi	*SAM mea-inu
BAL inəm-an	*TAW goila	MEL
SAS inəm-an	*MOT	TAH inu
*GOR ?u yilum-olo	*MEK inu-inu au-ŋa	RAP vai
DAA paŋ-inu	*ROV kolo napo	

TAG	Root: <i>inum</i> .
AKL	Root: <i>inum</i> (verb) + <i>-il--un</i> .
MOL	<i>inum</i> + <i>gi--on</i> .
KAG	From ( <i>inəm</i> + <i>-ən</i> ).
MUR	Also <i>timug</i> .
ACE	Generic for all liquids.
JAV	From ( <i>ɔmbe-n</i> ), <i>-ɔmbe</i> 'drink (vb)'.
GOR	( <i>yilumo</i> ) + <i>-olo</i> , <i>?u</i> , NOM, <i>olo</i> 'to be drunk/consumed by drinking'. Also <i>?u mopilu</i> .
WOL	'things to drink'.
NGA	'palm-wine'.
BUR	From <i>en ino t</i> .
SAW	'hot drinks'; no special word for beverages.
TAK	'water' (01.310).
DAM	'water', 'juice', e.g. <i>sō nānu</i> 'coconut milk'.
MAB	<i>yok</i> 'water'; <i>sur</i> 'green coconut juice'.
YAB	'coconut its-water', i.e. 'coconut milk'.
TOL	<i>-in-</i> NOM., <i>momo</i> (vb intrans) 'drink'.
ADZ	'thing drink-PART'.
TAW	'water'.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>inuinu yau-na</i> ( <i>inuinu</i> 'to drink (vb intrans)', <i>yau</i> 'thing').
MEK	'drinking thing-its'.
ROV	'drinking water'.
KWO	'liquid (of)'.
PAA	'water'.
XAR	<i>wiñe</i> 'drink in general'; <i>ñi-da</i> 'drink which accompanies a meal'.
MSH	<i>ræn</i> also 'water, liquid'; <i>limen</i> .
PON	3sg POSS.
SAM	<i>mea</i> 'thing', <i>inu</i> (vb trans/intrans) 'drink'.

### 05.910 MEAD

Not found in Austronesian language area.

## 05.920 WINE

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>'araq</i>	<b>French:</b> <i>du vin</i>	<b>Persian:</b> <i>angūr</i>
<b>English:</b> <i>wine</i>	<b>German:</b> <i>Wein</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>vino</i>

ATA	kuaw	UMA		MAR	
TSO		BUG	[aŋgoroʔ]	LAU	[waeni]
RUK	bava	KON	[aŋgoro]	KWO	
PAI	vawa	*WOL	[a <sup>ɗ</sup> guru]	RAG	
YAM	[ʂaki]	MAG	vac [a <sup>ɗ</sup> gor]	*PAA	ara
ISN	bāsi	NGA	[ara]	*LEW	kuruta
*KAL	bāsi	SIK	[aŋgor]	POR	
*TAG	[ālak]	RTI	[a <sup>ɗ</sup> gor]	NTA	[uain]
*AKL	[bīnoh]	BUR	[aŋgur]	KWA	
PAL	tinapɔy	DOB		*NEM	we mia
*MOL	tapay	IRA		*CEM	tábe-mâgat
KAG	[binu]	SAW	[aŋgur]	AJI	[divã]
*BLA	tafəy	NYI		XAR	
SAB	[alak]	MAM	[uain]	NEN	[wain]
MUR	[aŋgud]	TAK		KIR	
MGY	[divai]	DAM		MSH	
ACE	iə [aŋgo]	MAB		PON	
BAT	[aŋgur]	*YAB	[wain]	WLE	
MIN	[aŋgur]	KAU		EFI	[waini]
IND	[aŋgur]	*TOL	[vain]	WFI	[waini]
SUN	[aŋgur]	BUA		RTU	[uaini]
JAV	[aŋgur]	ADZ		TON	[uaine]
MAD	[aŋgur]	KIL	[waini]	SAM	[uaina]
BAL		TAW	[wine]	MEL	[waeni]
SAS	[aŋgur]	*MOT	[waini]	TAH	[uaina]
*GOR	bohito	*MEK	[uain]	RAP	?ava [vino]
DAA		ROV	[vaeni]		

KAL *bāsi* 'sugar cane wine'.

TAG Also *bīno*; *bāsi*?

AKL Also *ālak*.

MOL *tapay* 'rice wine'; [*arak*] 'intoxicating beverage'.

BLA Also [*binu*].

GOR	'palm wine'. Also [ <i>ʔā<sup>h</sup>guru</i> ] 'wine'.
WOL	Also <i>poŋasi</i> 'rice wine'.
YAB	From English or German.
TOL	From English or German.
MOT	Bible uses [ <i>vine</i> ]/ <i>ranu-na</i> ([ <i>vine</i> ] 'vine', <i>ranu</i> 'liquid, water').
MEK	Also [ <i>vinə</i> ].
PAA	Originally 'blood'. The wine drunk on Paama is almost invariably red wine.
LEW	'blood', also [ <i>waen</i> ], <i>kuruta m<sup>w</sup>ana merae</i> 'blood Europeans drink'.
NEM	'water red'.
CEM	'red water'.

### 05.930 BEER

English: <i>beer</i>	Dutch: <i>bier</i>	French: <i>la bière</i>
Spanish: <i>cerveza</i>		

ATA	SUN [bir]	MAM [bia]
TSO	JAV [bir]	TAK
RUK	MAD [bir]	DAM
PAI	BAL	MAB
YAM [biro]	SAS	YAB [bia]
ISN	GOR [bir]	KAU
KAL	DAA	TOL [biə]
*TAG [serbēsa]	UMA	BUA [bia]
AKL [serbēsah]	BUG [birɪʔ]	ADZ
PAL [sirbisa]	KON	KIL [biya]
MOL	WOL [ʃiru]	*TAW ani
KAG [bir]	MAG [bīr]	umabuwa
BLA [bir]	NGA	*MOT muramura
SAB [bīr]	SIK	MEK [bia]
MUR [bia]	RTI [bir]	ROV [bia]
MGY [labiera]	BUR [bir]	MAR
*ACE iə[be]	DOB	LAU [bia]
BAT [bir]	IRA	KWO
MIN [bir]	SAW [bir]	RAG
IND [bir]	NYI	*PAA volaini

LEW	piayunu	NEN		TON	[pia]
POR		KIR		SAM	[pia]
NTA	[uain]	MSH		MEL	[pia]
KWA		PON		TAH	[pia]
NEM		WLE	[biya]	RAP	ʔava
CEM		EFI	[bia]		[cerveza]
AJI	[biē]	WFI	[bia]		
XAR		RTU	[pia]		

TAG Also [bir].

ACE Also *iə bih*.

TAW ‘thing drink mad’.

MOT ‘medicine; alcoholic drink’; also [bia].

PAA Originally the slightly fizzy water of the over-ripe coconut.

## 05.940 FERMENTED DRINK

Arabic/Persian: ‘araq

ATA		MIN	tuaʔ	*BUR	eha
TSO	remi	*IND	tuak	DOB	tuk <sup>w</sup> aʔu
RUK	ka-bava-anə	*SUN	inum-an	*IRA	saguer
PAI			[kəras]	SAW	wo
*YAM	manaki	JAV	[araʔ]	NYI	
ISN		MAD	[arak]	MAM	ʔaleti-daŋ
KAL		*BAL	tuak	TAK	
*TAG	tubaʔ	*SAS	[səbat]	DAM	ai
AKL	tubaʔ	GOR		*MAB	yok <sup>m</sup> boljana
PAL	məŋlɔlaŋu	*DAA	tule	YAB	
MOL		*UMA	baru	KAU	
KAG	[alak]	BUG	tuaʔ	*TOL	tāvə-nə-ləŋləŋ
BLA	g-am-laŋal	KON	tuaʔ	BUA	
*SAB	tubaʔ	WOL		ADZ	
*MUR	inasi	MAG	tuak	KIL	kaibotutu
*MGY	[tuaka]	NGA	tua	TAW	
ACE	araʔ	SIK	rinu-ŋ niluk	*MOT	muramura
*BAT	tuak	*RTI	lalu	MEK	

ROV		NEM		EFI	yagona-ni-
MAR		CEM			βāβālaŋi
LAU		*AJI	[fā]	WFI	yagona-ni-
KWO		XAR			βaβalaŋi
RAG		NEN		RTU	tēʔona
*PAA	oai	*KIR	te maŋiŋ	TON	fakatafe
LEW		*MSH	[ci maŋiŋ]	SAM	
POR		PON		*MEL	[karōko]
NTA	[uain]	WLE	xašī	TAH	[pia] hāmani
KWA				RAP	ʔava

YAM (*şaki + man*).

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines *\*tuba?*

SAB ‘fermented coconut wine’.

MUR *inasi* ‘beer made from fermented rice or cassava mixed with water drunk out of tall earthenware jars through bamboo tube’; also *tinagai?* ‘*inasi* syphoned out of the jar and served in bamboo cups or glasses’; *liŋ* ‘fermentation juice before mixing with water; *linagas* ‘fermented rice gruel served in bowls at weddings and other occasions’; *tabab* ‘*inasi* that is weak but still drinkable after 24 hours’.

MGY From Malay *tuak*.

BAT ‘palm wine’.

IND *tuak* ‘palm wine’.

SUN [*kəras*] ‘hard; strong’; calqued on Malay *minuman kəras?*

BAL *tuak* ‘palm wine’; *bəram* ‘rice wine’; [*arak*] ‘distilled alcoholic drink’; *tape* ‘fermented rice, sticky rice or cassava root’.

SAS From Arabic *şarba*; also *bəram* ‘rice wine’; also *tuak* ‘palm wine’.

DAA ‘palm wine’.

UMA ‘fermented sap of sugar palm’.

RTI *lalu* ‘fermented juice of the lontar palm’; *ala* ‘distilled, fermented palm juice’.

BUR ‘palm wine from the *tua-t* palm’.

IRA ‘palm wine’.

TOL *tāva* ‘water’, *na* CONN, *loŋloŋ* ‘be drunk’.

MAB ‘strong drink’.

MOT See 05.930.

PAA ‘water’.



AJI From French *rhum*.

KIR Also *te kaokioko* 'mild (partially fermented) toddy'.

MSH Kiribati.

MEL From English *grog*.

### 05.970 EGG

ATA	βatu <sup>?</sup>	BUG	ittillo <sup>?</sup>	KWO	fakaru-na
TSO	fɕuru	KON	baɟao	RAG	idoli
RUK	batoko	WOL	o <sup>n</sup> tolu	PAA	orelīte
PAI	ɕəɟilu	MAG	təlo	*LEW	kotutu-sia
YAM	içoy	NGA	təlo	POR	me <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o
ISN	i <sup>?</sup> lug	*SIK	təlo		<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> eruv
KAL	iplug	RTI	manu-tolo	NTA	noanahlə
TAG	itlog	BUR	telu-n		meniɟ
AKL	itlug	*DOB	man tulir	KWA	nare-
PAL	tilug	IRA	təru	NEM	fi
MOL	ti <sup>?</sup> lug	SAW	bən	CEM	pihi-n
KAG	tallug	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> usun	AJI	wāvΛ
BLA	tiŋə <sup>?</sup> anuk	MAM	maŋ-patu	XAR	xə
SAB	entollo	*TAK	patu-n	NEN	
MUR	talū <sup>?</sup>	DAM	ɕātu	*KIR	te bun ni moa
MGY	atudi	MAB	man kutulūnu	*MSH	lep
ACE	bəh	YAB	ŋa-ke <sup>?</sup> sulu	PON	kuṭōr
BAT	pira	KAU	eβari-n	*WLE	sūxūnū
MIN	talū <sup>?</sup>	TOL	kiau	EFI	yaloka
IND	təlur	BUA	gəyis	WFI	yaloka
*SUN	[əndəg]	ADZ	urubit	RTU	kaləfi
JAV	əndək	KIL	pou	*TON	fo <sup>?</sup> i manu
MAD	təllur	TAW	pou	*SAM	fuā-moa
BAL	taluh	MOT	yatoi	*MEL	[atolu]
SAS	təlo <sup>?</sup>	*MEK	aoi	*TAH	huero-moa
GOR	putito	ROV	vovoto	RAP	mamari
DAA	tolu	MAR	nakredi		
UMA	<sup>n</sup> tolu	LAU	falakena		

SUN From Javanese.

SIK Also *manu təlo-ŋ*.

DOB	'bird's egg'.
TAK	'fruit, nut, egg, seed' (see 05.710, 05.770, 08.311), homophonous with <i>patu-n</i> 'back' (04.190).
MEK	<i>ai</i> in other dialects.
LEW	Also <i>kokulu-sia</i> .
KIR	<i>te bun ni moa</i> 'hen's egg', lit 'young of fowl', <i>te bun n atoi</i> of birds, turtles; also <i>te atoi</i> .
MSH	<i>likipia</i> 'fish eggs', also <i>p<sup>w</sup>iaya</i> .
WLE	<i>fiṣō</i> 'crab eggs'; <i>řuxa</i> 3sg form 'fish eggs', also <i>řuxa</i> .
TON	Also <i>fua?i-manu</i> .
SAM	<i>fua</i> 'fruit', <i>moa</i> 'chicken'.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>huoro moa</i> .

### 05.971 EGG YOLK

ATA		*SUN	bi-birim	*DOB	man tulir ?ani
TSO			[əndog]		rena-r-?uŋul-
RIUK		IAV	kuniŋ-an		ni
PAI		*MAD	ra?-pira?-an-	IRA	taφə
*YAM	[koazəy na]		na təlur	*SAW	bən ni gelpoə
ISN		BAL	kuniŋ taluh	NYI	bekan
KAL	payāŋa	SAS	kuniŋ təlō?	MAM	
*TAG	pula naŋ itlog	*GOR	lalahu putito	*TAK	patu-n
*AKL	puʔah it itlug	*DAA	tolu kuni-na		kidaboga-n
PAL	natu	UMA	kuni <sup>n</sup> tolu	DAM	yan
MOL		BUG	ridi-ittillo?	MAB	man kutulūnu
*KAG	buliŋa	KON	didi baŋao		we <sup>ŋ</sup> gāraŋana
BLA	lalel tiŋɔ?	*WOL	ma-kuni-na	*YAB	ŋa-gamaŋ
	anuk		o <sup>n</sup> tolu	KAU	emon hoin
SAB	peyat entollo	*MAG	ata leros-n		lokan
MUR		*NGA	sese	*TOL	lapuə-nə-kiau
MGY	tamenak-atudi	SIK	təlō herə-t	BUA	aɣe məyeβəŋ
ACE	bəh kuneŋ	RTI	manu-tolo	ADZ	raŋi mama <sup>n</sup> t
*BAT	hunik ni pira		natu-k	KIL	
MIN	kuni <sup>ŋ</sup> talu <sup>ŋ</sup>	BUR	telu-n koni-n	TAW	tonobu
IND	kuniŋ təlur			MOT	

*MEK	pao-laʔa	KWA	kʷanəmək	WLE	
ROV	meava na	NEM		EFI	dʳomodʳomo
	vovoto	CEM		WFI	dʳomodʳomo
MAR		AJI	ka kɔpɛdɛxaʔu	RTU	pakaua
LAU			ne wāvʌ	TON	eŋa ʔo e foʔi
KWO		*XAR	kamīā rɛ xō-dɔ		manu
RAG		NEN		SAM	leŋa
PAA	sōk	*KIR	beben te bun	MEL	
*LEW	parioa		ni moa	TAH	reʔa
*POR	ŋovüč	*MSH	pʷipʷi	RAP	toua
NTA	niamək	PON	ɔŋe		

YAM From Japanese.

TAG ‘red of egg’.

AKL ‘red of egg’.

KAG *buliŋa* (CGC); *dilaw ta tallog* lit ‘yellow of egg’ (PAL).

BAT *hunik* ‘curcuma; ‘yellow’.

SUN *birim* ‘red’.

MAD From (*RED-pira-an*). Safioedin (1977): *pira* ‘yellowish red’.

GOR ‘yellow (of) egg’.

DAA ‘egg yellow’.

WOL ‘yellow of egg’.

MAG ‘its yellow’.

NGA ‘yellow’.

DOB ‘bird’s egg its bit (which) is-yellow’.

SAW ‘egg GEN. yellow’.

TAK ‘egg-its yellow-its’ (15.690), i.e. ‘the yellow of its egg’.

YAB *ŋa-gulu* ‘white of egg’.

TOL *lapuə* ‘yellow’ *nə* CONN, *kiau* ‘egg’ also *kalapua-na-kiau*.

MEK Also *pau-laʔa*-originally ‘a k.o. yellowish taro that was reserved for chiefs’.

LEW Name of k. o. banana with very yellow-red skin.

POR *marü* ‘egg white’.

XAR ‘sun of the hen’s egg’.

KIR Lit ‘spongy interior of egg’, also *urauran te bun ni moa* ‘red part of egg’.

MSH Also *pʷipʷitakal*.

## 06.110 PUT ON (clothes)

*ATA	m-šituŋ	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pa-sua	*MEK	e-uka(-i-a)
*TSO	s-ʔirsi	*UMA	u <sup>n</sup> čoʔ	*ROV	pokpoko
RUK	si-a-läymay	BUG	map-pakeaŋ	MAR	fahaye
PAI	k-əm-ava	*KON	aʔ-baʃu	LAU	rufia maku
YAM	miayob	WOL	pake	KWO	ʔafesi-
ISN	mag-bādu	MAG	čuki	*RAG	saru
*KAL	bādut	NGA	tama	PAA	sinunī
*TAG	sūʔot	*SIK	pəla-ŋ	LEW	yeni
*AKL	suksuk	*RTI	pake bua	POR	čün-i
PAL	məgsuʔut		loʔa-s	NTA	-unən e
*MOL	baʃuʔ	*BUR	enili-k	*KWA	-awahi
*KAG	bayu	DOB	ʔa-ϕaʔi	*NEM	tūt le k <sup>n</sup> au-n
BLA	lsak	*IRA	(ʃa) sonə	CEM	
*SAB	sulug		ϕərəme bunatə	AJI	cuři
*MUR	suluŋ	SAW	n-ɛŋalɛn	*XAR	di
MGY	mi-akandzu	*NYI	[asin]	NEN	ru
*ACE	soʔ	MAM	naŋa	*KIR	karina
BAT	pakke	*TAK	-gane	*MSH	
*MIN	pakay	*DAM	i-ϕilai-ya	*PON	kemmat
*IND	bər-pakai-an	*MAB	-rupa	WLE	meŋəxū-a
*SUN	[make]	*YAB	-so (ŋa-k <sup>w</sup> e)	EFI	dara-maka
	([pake])	KAU	pi	WFI	uku
JAV	ñandaŋ	TOL	mal	RTU	həʔu
	(sandaŋ)	BUA	rəp	TON	tui
MAD	aŋg <sup>b</sup> uy	ADZ	ačuf-	*SAM	ʔofu
BAL	ñaluk (saluk)	KIL	-sikam	*MEL	[sūina]
*SAS	kadu	TAW	wiotena	*TAH	ʔoʔomo
*GOR	mo-hi-boʔo	MOT	rio-a	RAP	uru te kahu

ATA Also *m-šyatuʔ*.

TSO (*s-ʔirs-i*).

KAL *bādut + man-*.

TAG *sūʔot + mag-/i-*.

AKL *suksuk + i-*.

MOL *baʃuʔ + mog-*.

KAG *bayu + mag-*; also *suʔut + mag-/ən (suʔutun)*; *suʔuŋ + mag-/ən (suʔuŋun)*.

- SAB *sulug + aN-/ø*.
- MUR *sulug* (*mag-*; *-on* ?) ‘put on’; also [*pakay*] (*mag-*; *-on*) ‘wear/put on’ from Malay *pakai*.
- ACE Also [*ɲuy*] ‘wear’ from Mon-Khmer.
- MIN Also *kana?-an*.
- IND ‘wear/put on clothes’.
- SUN From Javanese.
- SAS Also *kadu-aŋ*.
- GOR Also *mo-hi-[pakēyaŋi]* from Malay *pakaian*.
- UMA *u<sup>h</sup>čo?* ‘shove through an opening (e.g. one’s arms or legs into clothes)’; *mo-hea-i* ‘to have on clothes, be clothed’.
- KON Also *am-make(pake)[baʃu]/pake-aŋ*.
- SIK Also *pəla-ŋ nape ʔuta-ŋ, pəla-ŋ sənai lipa*.
- RTI Also *pake*.
- BUR *enili-k* ‘put on or change clothes’; *ate-k wagu-n* ‘wrap a cloth’; *ep-labu-t* ‘wear (clothes)’.
- IRA ‘I put on new clothes’.
- NYI Also *atehei*.
- TAK ‘do’ (09.110). Example: *ŋai siŋlis ŋa-gane-da* ‘I singlet I-do-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘I am putting on a singlet’.
- DAM 3sg-put on-INF ‘put on (something fastened around the waist’; *i-ɸonu-ya* ‘put on something on the upper body’.
- MAB Also *-zēbe, kawāla*.
- YAB ‘enter clothes’.
- MEK ‘be in, go in, put in, put on’; also *tsiapu* (‘cloth/clothes’) *e-oŋe* (verb ‘put, place’).
- ROV *pokpoko* ‘put on clothes’, *vasagea* ‘put on shoes’.
- RAG Also *saya*.
- KWA *-awahi* ‘put on trousers, or clothing in general’; *-aɸaɸau* ‘put on a hat’; *-arkahu* ‘put on a shirt’; *-arkahu* ‘put on a belt of lavalava’; *-əwisi* ‘put on a bark skirt’.
- NEM ‘standing up in one’s clothes’.
- XAR *di* ‘put on a sarong’; *nīnī* ‘put on trousers’; *m<sup>w</sup>am<sup>wā</sup>* ‘dress oneself up’.
- KIR Also ‘infuse, make enter’; compare *rin* ‘enter’.

- MSH Numerous verbs formed by reduplication of nouns for clothing, e.g. *cokankan* ‘wear stockings’, *cātāt* ‘wear a shirt’.
- PON *kemmat*, *kiemmat* ‘put on dry clothes’; *mat* ‘dry’; *likou* ‘wear clothes’; also ‘cloth, clothing’.
- SAM Also *lāvalava* (polite) *lāʔei*.
- MEL Also [*ōvā*], *kamūjia*, [*palekemasī*] from Efate.
- TAH Also *ʔōmono*.

## 06.120 CLOTHING, CLOTHES

*ATA	šituiŋ	UMA	po-hea	*MAR	pohe
TSO	ʔiʔixosa	BUG	pakeaŋ	LAU	maku
*RUK	kipiŋ	KON	pake-aŋ	KWO	
PAI	kava	*WOL	pake-a	RAG	ɣai-saya
*YAM	ayob	MAG	ve <sup>ŋ</sup> ko (vəki)	PAA	aisīn
ISN	kawas	NGA	habo-vəki	*LEW	kulu-merae
KAL	bādut	*SIK	pəla-ŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> bea <sup>m</sup> b
*TAG	damit	RTI	pa-pake-k	*NTA	natəmnat
AKL	naʔug	*BUR	labu-n	KWA	tənari
PAL	məgbəbadyuʔ	DOB	ser'tay	NEM	k <sup>ŋ</sup> au-n
MOL	kumut	IRA	φərəme	CEM	ép <sup>w</sup> en
KAG	bayu	*SAW	pəlpəlet	AJI	ɟəʔə k <sup>w</sup> ērē
BLA	kləwəh	NYI	kolau	XAR	xəu
SAB	tamoŋon	MAM	ʔusi	*NEN	ŋakokoe
*MUR	konōn	TAK	biaoŋ	KIR	
MGY	akandzu	DAM	gabari	MSH	
ACE	baɟəə	*MAB	kawāla	PON	
BAT	abit	YAB	ŋa-k <sup>w</sup> e	WLE	xapaŋa-
MIN	pakay-an	*KAU	mulu	EFI	i-sulu
IND	pakai-an	*TOL	mal	*WFI	i-hulu
*SUN	[pake]-an	BUA	tob	RTU	həʔu
JAV	sandəŋ	*ADZ	bruʔ-	TON	vala
*MAD	[pakian]	*KIL	[karek <sup>w</sup> a]	*SAM	ʔofu
*BAL	pəŋaŋgo	TAW	gala	*MEL	kalūkalu
*SAS	[kələmbi]	MOT	dabua	TAH	ʔahu
*GOR	boʔo	*MEK	tsiapu	RAP	kahu
*DAA	[pakea]	ROV	poko		

- ATA Also *šyatu?*
- RUK *kipiŋ* ‘upper garment’, *laymay* ‘clothes’.
- YAM Or *talili*.
- TAG Also *pananamit*.
- MUR Also *limpadan* ‘finery, garments worn on ceremonial occasions’.
- SUN From Javanese, also *sandaŋ*.
- MAD From Malay.
- BAL (*pə-N-aŋgo*); (*N-aŋgo*) ‘use’.
- SAS From Javanese? Thoir et al (1985), Goris: *kəreŋ* ‘cloth’, *kəreŋ kaiŋ* ‘clothing’.
- GOR Also [*pakēyaŋi*] from Malay.
- DAA From Malay *pakaian*.
- WOL *ka<sup>n̄</sup>čia* ‘clothes for everyday wear’; *ka<sup>n̄</sup>či-ka<sup>n̄</sup>čia* ‘worn out clothes’.
- SIK Also *lobə-ŋ pəla-ŋ*, *lobe*.
- BUR ‘shirt’; *clwani* ‘clothing that is part of brideprice’; *kata nili* ‘a change of clothes’; also *nil bisi-n* and *labu-n bisi-n*; *esporo-t* ‘bark clothes (Rana/ WaeSama)’.
- SAW Arch.; also [*kabaya*] [*pakaian*] from Malay.
- MAB *kawāla* ‘loincloth, sheet type’; *mburu* ‘sewn clothing’.
- KAU ‘barkcloth waistband worn by men’; no generic term.
- TOL Originally the native cloth made of bark.
- ADZ ‘bark cloth’.
- KIL From English ‘calico’.
- MEK Also *kiapu* ‘cloth’, ‘clothing, clothes’.
- MAR Also *fayo*, *p<sup>h</sup>oko*.
- LEW ‘European’s skin’.
- NTA ‘things’.
- NEN Also *yekokoe*.
- WFI Standard Fijian [*i-sulu*].
- SAM Also *lāvalava*, (polite) *lā<sup>?</sup>ei*.
- MEL From Efate, also *kafukafu*.

## 06.130 TAILOR

English: <i>tailor</i>
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*ATA	pa-čaʔiŋ	DAA	topo-ǰau	ROV	
TSO		UMA		MAR	
RUK	tara-ɕai-ɕaisi	BUG	paǰ-ǰaiʔ	LAU	[tela]
PAI	ru-ɕaki-ɕakis	*KON	tu-nǰaiʔ	KWO	
YAM	manapaŋ	*WOL	pa <sup>n</sup> de soru <sup>m</sup> ba	RAG	
ISN		MAG		PAA	
*KAL	mandadāʔit	NGA	dʔaŋa-raku	LEW	
*TAG	mānanāhiʔ	*SIK	(ata) raβi-ŋ	POR	
*AKL	mananāhiʔ		raʔit	NTA	
PAL	mənənəhiʔ	*RTI	mana-seu-so	KWA	
*MOL	tohiʔ	*BUR	pesnau-t (sau)	NEM	
*KAG	[ʔiluriŋ]	DOB		*CEM	â-wóli-nâdo
BLA	to t-am-bel	IRA		AJI	kaviřu
SAB	paN-ta-tahiʔ	*SAW	kyat ta n-fa-	XAR	
MUR			reŋriŋ	NEN	
*MGY	mpandzaitʔa	NYI		KIR	
*ACE	tukaŋ	MAM	ʔusi-ememaʔi	MSH	
	c-umui-cəp	TAK		PON	
BAT	tukkaŋ ǰait	DAM		WLE	
MIN	tukaŋ ǰaiʔ	MAB		*EFI	[tela]
IND	pəñ-ǰahit	YAB		WFI	[tela]
SUN	tukaŋ ŋaput (kaput)	KAU		RTU	fā sus hoʔu
		TOL		TON	taŋata tuitui
*JAV	tukaŋ ǰait	BUA		*SAM	suʔi-ʔofu
MAD	tukaŋ ǰʔaiʔ	ADZ		MEL	
*BAL	[tukaŋ] ǰait	KIL		*TAH	taʔata nira
SAS	pəñǰait (ǰait)	*TAW	tu didina		ʔahu
*GOR	tā mo-d- detum-ā	*MOT	turituri tau-na	RAP	rei-rei kahu
		MEK			

ATA Also *pa-čakiš*.KAL (*man-R<sup>1</sup>-dait*).TAG Root: *tahiʔ*.AKL Root: *tahiʔ* 'sew'.



- MOL *tohi?* + *po-no-*.  
 KAG From English *tailoring*, also [*sastri*] from Spanish *sastre*.  
 MGY From *mpaN-zaiʔa*.  
 ACE See 06.350.  
 IAV Also *pəñʔait(pə-N-ʔait)*.  
 BAL From Malay.  
 GOR *tā* NOM mod-d-detum-a ‘habitually sews’.  
 KON From *tu-aŋ-ʔai?*; also *pa-ʔai?*.  
 WOL ‘able to sew’.  
 SIK Also *olaraʔit*.  
 RTI *seu-so* doublet meaning ‘to sew’; *mana-seu-so* lit ‘he who sews’.  
 BUR From *pen-sau-t* with regular metathesis; from *sau* ‘to sew’.  
 SAW ‘person who sews’.  
 TAW ‘person who sews’.  
 MOT Neologism, *turituri* ‘to plait; sew (vb intrans)’.  
 CEM ‘one who sews things’.  
 EFI Also *dau-ḍulaḍula*.  
 SAM *suʔi* (vb trans) ‘sew’ (see 06.350), *ʔofu* ‘clothes’ (06.120).  
 TAH Also *taʔata au ʔahu*.

## 06.210 CLOTH

English: *calico*  
 Malay: *kain*

Northern Indian: *chiṭ*  
 Spanish: *tela*

ATA	MOL	kumut	*SUN	lawon	
TSO	nazua	KAG	[tila]	JAV	bakal
RUK	kaḷiŋyalay	BLA	safut	MAD	kalambi
PAI	kaḷilʔaw	SAB	kakanaʔ	*BAL	kam(b)ən
YAM	milakayob	MUR	[kain]	SAS	bakal
ISN	inabal	*MGY	lamba	GOR	[kāyini]
KAL	bināla	ACE	ija	DAA	kae
*TAG	[kāyo]	BAT	abit	*UMA	[bana]
*AKL	panaptun	MIN	kain	BUG	kaeŋ
PAL	pəgbubulusən	*IND	kain	*KON	kaeŋ

WOL	[kai]	BUA	tob	*CEM	[m <sup>w</sup> ǎnú]
MAG	[kain]	ADZ	bru <sup>?</sup>	*AJI	[m <sup>w</sup> ǎlō]
NGA	ragi	KIL	[karek <sup>w</sup> a]	*XAR	[m <sup>w</sup> anō]
*SIK	ʔluhə-ŋ	TAW	[kaleko]	*NEN	gu[mano]
RTI	sidi	MOT	dabua	*KIR	te kunnikai
*BUR	wagu-n	MEK	tsiapu	MSH	nuknuk
DOB	ɸasir	ROV	poko	*PON	likou
IRA	eritərənə	*MAR	pohe	*WLE	meŋōxu
SAW	ŋalep	LAU	maku	*EFI	i-sulu
NYI	kolau	KWO		*WFI	[i-hulu]
MAM	ʔusi-mapala	RAG		RTU	hōʔu
*TAK	[yamel]	PAA	[kaliko]	TON	tupenu
DAM	gabari	*LEW	[kaliko]	SAM	ʔie
*MAB	kawāla	POR		*MEL	masi
YAB	ɔbɔ	NTA	nəməhan	TAH	ʔahu
*KAU	mulu	KWA	tənari	RAP	kahu
*TOL	mal	*NEM	[im <sup>w</sup> āno]		

TAG From Malay/Javanese *kayuh*; also [tēla].

AKL Also [tela].

MGY Compare other Bornean languages: Kadazan *hamba* ‘fibre from a certain leaf used to make mats’; Embaloh *kain lamba* ‘k.o. textile made with the fibre of the *lamba* plant’.

IND Also [čita].

SUN Also [čita], [əñčit] ‘types of patterned cloth’.

BAL *kam(b)ən* ‘cloth used to cover the lower part of the body’; [*kain*] from Malay, ‘cloth’ in general sense. (see *kenčərik* ‘breast-cloth’, *čərik* ‘small’, *ken* here may be the original Balinese cognate of [*kain*]); *lakar* ‘material for making things’ in a general sense, including cloth.

UMA Probably from Malay *bənaŋ* ‘thread’.

KON Also *parekaŋ*.

SIK Also *kepər, kae*.

BUR Rana *ate* ‘cloth’; *komkini* ‘bark cloth’; *esbala-n* ‘bolt of cloth (WaeSama *reprau-t*).

TAK From Gedaged *yamel* ‘bark cloth’.

MAB *kulīni* ‘skin’.

KAU ‘bark cloth’.

TOL Originally ‘cloth made of bark’.

MAR	Also <i>fayo</i> .
LEW	Also see 06.120.
NEM	Borrowing from uncertain origin; corresponds to local French <i>manou</i> .
CEM	Borrowing of uncertain origin; see <i>manou</i> local French with same meaning.
AJI	From local French <i>manou</i> .
XAR	Borrowing of unknown origin; local French <i>manou</i> .
NEN	Also [ <i>mano</i> ] from Polynesian borrowing.
KIR	'bark'.
PON	Also <i>tōr</i> 'cloth from breadfruit bark'; <i>meimei</i> lit 'bark'.
WLE	<i>xapaŋa-</i> 'clothing, lavalava'.
EFI	<i>masi, malo</i> 'bark-cloth'.
WFI	From Standard Fijian [ <i>i-sulu</i> ].
MEL	Also [ <i>aŋkiji</i> ], [ <i>naisulu</i> ] from Efate.

## 06.220 WOOL

Dutch:	<i>wol</i>	English:	<i>wool, sheep</i>	Spanish:	<i>lana</i>
ATA		ACE	buleə bubiri	SIK	lambu βulu-ŋ
TSO		BAT	[wul]	RTI	
RUK		MIN	[wol]	BUR	
PAI		IND	[wol]	DOB	
YAM	bobow no kagliŋ	*SUN	[wol]	IRA	
ISN		JAV	[wɔl]	SAW	[domba] plu
KAL	dinaʔōŋ	MAD	[wol]	NYI	
TAG	[lāna]	BAL		MAM	
AKL	[lāna]	SAS		TAK	
PAL		GOR		DAM	
MOL		DAA		MAB	
KAG		UMA		YAB	[wul]
BLA		BUG	[wol]	KAU	
SAB		KON	bulu 'bimbala	*TOL	kula
MUR		WOL	wolu	BUA	
*MGY	vulu-n-undʔi	MAG		ADZ	
		NGA		KIL	

TAW		*NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e	WLE	
MOT			[sipsip]	EFI	kula
MEK		KWA		WFI	kula
ROV	[wulu]	*NEM	pun-b <sup>w</sup> ek	RTU	[sipi]
MAR		*CEM	pû-màjō	TON	[sipi]
LAU	[wolo]	AJI	kəřə fāřā	*SAM	fulufulu
KWO		*XAR	šāra	MEL	
RAG		NEN		TAH	huruhuru
PAA		KIR			māmoe
*LEW	vilu-n [sipsip]	MSH		RAP	huru-huru
POP		PON			

MGY 'hair of sheep'.

SUN Also [əwol].

TOL Only attested in Lanyon-Ogill (1960: 212). Today used of tassles on mats.

LEW 'hair of sheep (from Bislama)'.

NTA Also [uul] for knitting wool.

NEM 'hair of flying fox'.

CEM 'flying fox hair'.

XAR Originally flying-fox hair fibre.

SAM See 04.144, also [vulu] from English 'wool'.

## 06.230 LINEN, FLAX

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>linnen</i>
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ATA	nanuka?	KAG		*SUN	[lena]
*TSO	ŋrī	BLA		*JAV	[lenah]
RUK		SAB		MAD	[linen]
PAI		MUR		BAL	
YAM		*MGY	runguni-m- bazahama- dinika	SAS	[lenən]
ISN				GOR	
KAL				DAA	
TAG	sūlid	*ACE		UMA	
*AKL	bunaŋ	BAT		BUG	[lenaŋ]
PAL		MIN		KON	[lenaŋ]
MOL		*IND	[linan]	WOL	

MAG		ADZ		CFM	
NGA		KIL		*AJI	[lã]
SIK		TAW		XAR	
RTI	tema [lena]	MOT		NEN	
BUR		MEK		KIR	
DOB		ROV	[lineni]	MSH	
IRA		MAR		PON	
SAW		LAU		WLE	
NYI		KWO		EFI	[lineni]
MAM		RAG		WFI	
TAK		PAA		RTU	
DAM		*LEW	kulu-	TON	[lineni]
MAB			kop <sup>w</sup> eyowo	*SAM	?ie
*YAB	òbo	POR		MEL	
KAU		NTA		TAH	[rino (lino)]
TOL		KWA		RAP	
BUA		NEM			

TSO 'hemp, ramie'.

AKL Also means 'thread'.

MGY *runguni* 'k.o. cloth', *vazaha* 'foreigner', *ma-dinika* 'small, fine'.

ACE *talə [kitan]* from Arabic 'flax rope, European rope'.

IND Also *kain rami* 'flax, hemp, jute'.

SUN From Portuguese.

JAV From Portuguese.

YAB 'bark cloth'.

LEW 'bark of *kop<sup>w</sup>eyowo* tree, used for making traditional grass skirts'.

AJI From French *lin*.

SAM See 06.210.

## 06.240 COTTON

**Dutch:** *katoen*

**English:** *cotton*.

ATA βašβuš

TSO kirpa

RUK

PAI

YAM

ISN kāpas

KAL kāpos

TAG bŭlak

\*AKL buybuy

PAL	gapas	SIK	kapa	RAG	
MOL		RTI	abas	PAA	
*KAG	[kutun]	*BUR	[kapas]	LEW	[koten]
BLA		DOB		POR	
*SAB	diyandi	IRA	birəφu	*NTA	[katan]
MUR	gapas	SAW		KWA	
MGY	hasina	NYI		NEM	
ACE	gapuəh	MAM		CEM	
*BAT	hapas	TAK		*AJI	[kətō]
*MIN	kapeh	*DAM	suwor	XAR	
*IND	kapas	MAB		NEN	
SUN	[katun]	YAB		KIR	
JAV	kapas	KAU		MSH	
MAD	labun	TOL		PON	
BAL	kapas	BUA	[gam]	WLE	
*SAS	[dril]	ADZ		EFI	i-sulu-dina
*GOR	tiʔopo	KIL		WFI	i-hulu-ʒina
DAA		TAW		*RTU	[sipi]
*UMA	[kapaʔ]	MOT		TON	tupenu
BUG	apiʔ	MEK		SAM	vavae
KON	'kapasa	ROV	lozi	MEL	
WOL	kapa	MAR		TAH	vavai
*MAG	[kapas]	LAU	[kotini]	RAP	vavai
NGA	lelu	KWO			

AKL Also [*algudun*], from Spanish *algodón*.

KAG From English 'cotton'.

SAB *diyandi* 'cotton cloth'; *gapas* 'raw cotton'.

BAT Also *bonaŋ*

MIN Also [*katun*].

IND Also [*katoen*].

SAS From Dutch/English.

GOR Also *pini*.

UMA Probably from Malay *bənaŋ* 'thread'.

MAG From Malay.

BUR Also *base* 'thread'; *i-wala-n* '(older term for) thread'; *gabus* 'kapok'.

DAM 'kapok'.

NTA Usually refers to cottonwool.

AJI From French *coton*.

RTU From English *sheep*.

## 06.250 SILK

**English:** *silk*.

**Sanskrit:** *sūtra-* 'thread'

**French:** *la soie*

**Spanish:** *seda*

ATA	wāy	UMA		MAR	
TSO		BUG	sabbe	LAU	[siliki]
RUK		KON	sabbe	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	isitofu	RAG	
YAM		MAG		PAA	
ISN	[sīda]	NGA		LEW	
KAL	[sēda]	*SIK	[seda]	POR	
*TAG	[sutlaʔ]	*RTI	[suta]	NTA	
AKL	[sēdah]	BUR		KWA	
PAL	[sida]	DOB		NEM	
MOL		IRA		CEM	
KAG	[sida]	SAW	[sutura]	AJI	[layoa]
BLA		NYI		XAR	
SAB	dasu	MAM		NEN	
MUR	[sutada]	TAK		KIR	
MGY	[lasua]	DAM		MSH	
ACE	[sutra]	MAB		PON	
BAT	[sutura]	YAB		WLE	
MIN	[suto]	KAU		EFI	[silika]
IND	[sutəra]	TOL		WFI	[silika]
SUN	[sutra]	BUA		RTU	[silika]
JAV	[sutrɔ]	ADZ		TON	[silika]
MAD	[sutra]	KIL		SAM	[silika]
BAL	[sutrə]	TAW		MEL	
SAS	[sutrə]	MOT		TAH	[tirita]
GOR	dilomaŋo	MEK		*RAP	[sea]
DAA		ROV	[silika]		

TAG Also [sēda].

WOL Also *pasele*.

SIK Also *səti seda*.

RTI Also [*sutra*].

RAP From Spanish *seda*.

## 06.270 FELT

**Dutch:** *laken*

ATA		UMA		MAR
TSO		BUG	weluddu?	LAU
RUK		KON		KWO
PAI		WOL		RAG
YAM		MAG		PAA
ISN		NGA		LEW
KAL		*SIK	[lakə-ŋ]	POR
*TAG	[piyeltro]	RTI		NTA
AKL		BUR		KWA
*PAL	rasa	DOB		NEM
MOL		IRA		CEM
KAG		SAW		AJI
BLA		NYI		XAR
SAB		MAM		NEN
MUR		TAK		KIR
MGY	bunia	DAM		MSH
ACE	ija tuwi?	MAB		PON
BAT	ibbulu	YAB		WLE
MIN		KAU		EFI
*IND	[lakən]	TOL		WFI
SUN	[lakən]	BUA		RTU
JAV		ADZ		*TON [sipi]
MAD	[lakən]	KIL		SAM
BAL		TAW		MEL
*SAS	[bəludru]	MOT		TAH
GOR	[lake(n)]	MEK		RAP
DAA		ROV		



TAG	Spanish <i>fieltro</i> .
PAL	Also <i>bɔti?</i>
IND	Also <i>bulu kəmpa</i> .
SAS	From Malay.
SIK	Also <i>doŋ mita-ŋ</i> .
TON	From English <i>sheep</i> .

## 06.280 FUR

ATA		DAA	vulu <sup>ɟ</sup> guli	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akla
TSO	fro <sup>ʔ</sup> u	UMA	βulu	LAU	
RUK	əbələ	BUG	bulu olokolo <sup>ʔ</sup>	KWO	
PAI	ḱuval <sup>ʔ</sup>	KON	bulu	RAG	
YAM	bobow	*WOL	kuli ko-wulu	PAA	
ISN	du <sup>ʔ</sup> dut	MAG		*LEW	vilulu-sia
KAL	na-dutdut-an	NGA		POR	
*TAG	balahībo	SIK	βulu-ŋ	NTA	nəm <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> e-n
*AKL	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> ahībuh	RTI	bana bulu	KWA	num <sup>w</sup> herə-
*PAL	bulbul ɔt	BUR	folo-n	NEM	
	[sətwa]	*DOB	ϕuli	CEM	pùmī-n
MOL	bulbul	IRA	ϕeru	AJI	pu <sup>ʔ</sup> u b <sup>w</sup> ā <sup>ʔ</sup> awē
*KAG	bəlbə'lən na	SAW	[haiwan] plu	XAR	
	tila	NYI		NEN	dire-
BLA	bul l <sup>m</sup> ənəf	MAM		*KIR	te burae
SAB	bulbul	*TAK	fufulu-n	MSH	
MUR	bulu	DAM	siwi	*PON	wine
*MGY	hudit <sup>ʔ</sup> a ma-	MAB	rumūnu	*WLE	ü <sup>ʔ</sup> ra
	lemi vulu	*YAB	ŋa-oli <sup>ʔ</sup>	EFI	βuti-ni-
ACE	buleə	*KAU	yut		manumanu
BAT	hulik-kuliŋ	*TOL	ivu-	WFI	
MIN		BUA	ni βīs	RTU	
IND	bulu binataŋ	ADZ		TON	fulufulu <sup>ʔ</sup> i-
SUN	bulu	KIL			manu
JAV	wulu	*TAW	gamagamo	*SAM	fulufulu
MAD	bulu		opi-na	MEL	furu
BAL	bulu	*MOT	hui-na	TAH	
*SAS	bulu [sato]	MEK	pui-pui	RAP	
GOR	la <sup>m</sup> buto	ROV			

TAG Also 'body hair' (04.144) and 'feather' (04.393).

AKL Also 'body hair' and 'feather'.

PAL From Sanskrit *sattva*-.

KAG 'furry cloth'.

MGY 'skin with thin hair'.

SAS From Sanskrit *sattva*-.

WOL 'hairy skin'.

DOB *ϕuli* 'body hair, the hair of an animal'.

TAK 'body hair, fur' (see 04.144).

YAB 'its-hide'.

KAU See 04.140

TOL See 04.144.

TAW 'animal skin'.

MOT 'hair'.

LEW See 04.144.

KIR See 'feather'.

PON See 'feather'.

WLE See 'feather'.

SAM See 04.144.

## 06.290 LEATHER

ATA hanku

TSO xiϕi

RUK laŋiϕi

PAI ϕabuk

YAM pagad

ISN lalat

KAL geddaŋ

\*TAG kaːtad

\*AKL paːnit

PAL kulit

MOL

\*KAG laŋgit

BLA kindal lmonof

SAB kuwit hayop

MUR kulit

MGY hudit'a

ACE kulet

BAT

\*MIN kuli?

\*IND kulit

SUN kulit

JAV lulaŋ

MAD kuli?

\*BAL kulit

\*SAS lendon

GOR walito

DAA kuli<sup>m</sup>ba

UMA kulibaŋjapi

BUG beŋkulaŋ

KON bukkuleŋ

WOL

\*MAG luit

NGA huki

SIK ?ulit

RTI bana lou-k

\*BUR oko-n

DOB ?alay

IRA

\*SAW lik-o

NYI

MAM ŋado ?usi

TAK

DAM		MAR		NEN	
MAB		LAU		*KIR	te [kau]
*YAB	boʔ ŋa-oliʔ	KWO		*MSH	kilin [kau]
KAU		RAG		PON	
*TOL	pəl-nə- [buluməkau]	PAA		WLE	
		*LEW	kulu-s-ne-n [puluku]	*EFI	[leða]
BUA	[let]			WFI	[leða]
ADZ		POR		RTU	ʔuli
KIL		NTA		TON	[leta]
*TAW	gamogamo oŋi-na	KWA	teki-	*SAM	paʔu
MOT		NEM		MEL	
*MEK	faaŋa	*CEM	î-wóta	TAH	ʔiri puaʔa
ROV		AJI	kāřā bʷāřāwē	RAP	kiri
		XAR			

TAG Also [*kuwēro*], from Spanish *cuero*; *balat*.

AKL Also 'skin'.

KAG 'skin'.

MIN Also *ǰaŋeʔ*.

IND Also 'skin'.

BAL 'skin'.

SAS 'skin'.

MAG 'dried hide'.

BUR 'skin, hide'; goat and deer hide used for drums. Rana dialect *koli-n*.

SAW From *like-ø*.

YAB 'pig its-hide'.

TOL *pəl* 'skin', ə CONN, [*buluməkau*] 'cattle', see 03.200.

TAW 'animal skin'.

MEK Also *faa* 'skin, leather, bark'.

LEW 'skin of bovine'.

CEM 'skin of quadruped, skin of horse'.

KIR From English; also 'cow'.

MSH 'cow skin'.

EFI Also *kuli-ni-manumanu*.

SAM See 04.120.

## 06.310 SPIN

ATA		DAA		*ROV	viloria
TSO		UMA	bio?	MAR	fapakura
RUK	paḷidiŋi	BUG	mag-ganra	LAU	
PAI		KON	a?-tulu?	KWO	
YAM	ʃənəðən	*WOL	ʃuru	RAG	
ISN		MAG	tiliŋ	PAA	
KAL		*NGA	ɗolu	*LEW	
*TAG	īkid	*SIK	jata	POR	
*AKL	pūʃun	RTI	ta-tali	NTA	-eer
PAL		*BUR	tolo	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> ai
MOL		*DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> aw	NEM	
KAG	bə'ləŋ		ʔeŋasa k <sup>w</sup> ura-	CEM	
BLA			y	AJI	cu
SAB		IRA		XAR	
*MUR	anti	*SAW	n-ebule	NEN	
*MGY	mamuli	NYI	asoloh	*KIR	binoka
ACE	rawe	MAM	taboalili	*MSH	cete
BAT		*TAK	-liŋani	PON	pirer
MIN	ginti <sup>?</sup>	DAM		WLE	
IND	məmintal	MAB		EFI	
	(pintal)	YAB		WFI	
SUN		KAU		RTU	takmuli
JAV	mlintir	*TOL	kulələŋ	TON	filo
	(plintir)	BUA	yon	SAM	
*MAD	mintəl (pintəl)	ADZ		MEL	
*BAL	ŋ-ilut	*KIL	-yuwoli	TAH	nino
SAS		TAW		RAP	
*GOR	mələhuŋā	MOT			
	pi <sup>n</sup> dalo	MEK			

TAG Also *sūlid* + *mag-/i-*.

AKL *pūʃun* + *-un*.

MGY From *maN-foli*.

MAD Safioedin (1977): *ŋ-anti*.

BAL Also (*N-*)*lələs*.

- GOR (*tohuŋo + moN- a LIG*), *molohuŋo* ‘rotate (vb trans)’; *pi<sup>n</sup>dalo* ‘rope made of sugar-palm fibre’. Also *momi<sup>n</sup>dalo* (*pi<sup>n</sup>dalo + moN-*), and *mololu* (*tolu + moN-*).
- WOL *buru* ‘wind (yarn, rope)’; also *pe-gasi* ‘spin a top’.
- NGA Also *neo*.
- SIK *ĵata* ‘thread’, *dəla* ‘cord’.
- BUR *tolu base* ‘spin thread’; *er-puli-k* ‘twist fibre (*nawa*) from the *tua-t* tree into rope’; *seba nawa* ‘the action of pulling the fiber out of the pile (of fiber) so that one can begin twisting it into rope’.
- DOB ‘rub pineapple (leaf) strands’; these are used to make string.
- SAW Also *n-ε-fule*.
- TAK ‘make bush-material thread by rolling on thigh’.
- TOL ‘twist by rubbing down the thigh’.
- KIL ‘string’.
- ROV Also *topili* ‘roll up’.
- LEW *kolomi* ‘roll fibre of coconut shell on thigh to twist into string’.
- KWA *-ak<sup>wai</sup>* ‘twine by rolling on thigh’; *-atiamtər* ‘twine by rolling between hands’.
- KIR ‘spin, make string’.
- MSH *cete* ‘spin, make string’; *likaep<sup>w</sup>ep<sup>w</sup>e* of tops.

## 06.320 SPINDLE

*ATA	tiaʃan	MUR		BUG	maŋunnu?
TSO		MGY	ampela	KON	ganra
RUK	amay	ACE	ĵurutukha	*WOL	kusoli
PAI		BAT		MAG	ki <sup>n</sup> de
YAM	ʃəʃəndan	MIN		NGA	leke
ISN		*IND	kumpar-an	*SIK	βolot goa-ŋ
KAL		SUN	paŋ-goloŋ-an	RTI	aba bola
*TAG	ikir-an	*JAV	ikal	BUR	uka waŋa-n
AKL	pūʃun	MAD	guluŋ-an	DOB	
PAL		BAL	kantih	IRA	
MOL		SAS		SAW	
KAG	an <sup>ʔ</sup> ay	*GOR	[kolosi]	NYI	
BLA		DAA		MAM	
SAB		UMA	po-bio?	TAK	

DAM	LAU	KIR
MAB	KWO	MSH
YAB	RAG	PON
KAU	PAA	WLE
TOL	LEW	EFI
BUA	POR	WFI
ADZ	NTA	RTU
KIL	KWA	TON
TAW	NEM	SAM
MOT	CEM	MEL
MEK	AJI pɛ cu	*TAH [titura]
ROV	XAR	(kisura)
MAR	*NEN gudere	RAP

ATA Also *tiraʃan*.

TAG Also *kidkīr-an*.

IND Also *pəmintal (pəN-pintal)*.

JAV 'spool, reel'

GOR From Dutch *klos*.

WOL 'shuttle'.

SIK Also *golo-t, ?ai golo-t*.

NEN 'spinning top'.

TAH From Hebrew.

### 06.330 WEAVE

*ATA	t-um-inuk	*BLA	m-abal	BAL	nunun (tunun)
TSO	mɪnvɪnɪ	*SAB	tunnun	SAS	ñesek (sesek)
RUK	wa-tinono	*MUR	batu	*GOR	mohewo
PAI	c-əm-ənun	*MGY	manenuna	DAA	nan-tanu
YAM	təminən	*ACE	mañuum	UMA	mə-tanu?
ISN	magabal	*BAT	tənun	BUG	mat-tinnuŋ
*KAL	ganāy	MIN	tanun	KON	a?-tannuŋ
*TAG	hābi	*IND	mənənun	WOL	tanu
AKL	hābuʃ		(tənun)	*MAG	dədəŋ
*PAL	sumlad (salad)	SUN	ninun (tinun)	*NGA	tənu
MOL		JAV	tənun	SIK	?oru
*KAG	abəl	MAD	a-tənnun	RTI	tenu

*BUR	pali	*TAW	diidina	ΛJI	cu
*DOB	ʔa-dem ɸasir	*MOT	hatu-a	XAR	
*IRA	nuen	*MEK	e-ao(-ŋa)	*NEN	airisani
SAW	n-yonem	ROV	tiyisi	*KIR	raraŋā
NYI	adi	*MAR	flehi	*MSH	æce
MAM	moli	*LAU	falia	*PON	pa
*TAK	-abi	KWO	fao-a	*WLE	faü-a
*DAM	i-ɸi-ya	*RAG	vatu	EFI	tali-a
MAB	-we	PAA	vai	WFI	tali-a
YAB	-wà	*LEW	ve	*RTU	saʔa
KAU	nok	POR	pape	TON	lalaŋa
*TOL	vir	NTA	-ouh	*SAM	lalaŋa
BUA	βasu	*KWA	-kusi	MEL	
ADZ		NEM		TAH	
*KIL	-woula	CEM		RAP	

ATA Also *t-um-inun*.

KAL *ganay + man-* (cloth); *lāga + man-* (basket).

TAG *hābi + -um-/in* Proto-Philippines *\*habel*.

PAL Also *magsalad* (active); *mɔnalad* (passive).

KAG *abəl + mag-* 'weave, put on an *abel* (tube skirt)'.  
 BLA *m-abal* 'cloth'; *m-anim* 'weave (baskets, mats, walling)'.  
 SAB *tunnun + aN-/ø* 'weave cloth'; *anom* or *anyam* (both with *aN-/ø*)  
 'weave a mat from pandanus leaves'.  
 MUR *batu (mag-; -on)* 'basket weaving'.  
 MGY From *maN-tenona*.  
 ACE 'weave mats, sacks'.  
 BAT Also *mar-tɔnun*.  
 IND *mənənun* 'weave'; *məŋ-añam* 'plait'.  
 GOR (*wawolo + moh-*).  
 MAG Also *tenuŋ*.  
 NGA *tənu* 'weave cloth'; *nana* 'weave baskets, mats of pandanus leaves'.  
 BUR *pali kati-n* 'weave sleeping mats'. Also *saru* 'weave thread into a  
 hunting bag'.  
 DOB 'he makes cloth'. There is no weaving in Aru.  
 IRA 'weave a mat'.  
 TAK *-abi* 'hold (11.150), weave a mat'; *-we'i* 'weave a net bag'.

DAM	‘3sg-weave-INF.
TOL	Also <i>pir</i> , lit ‘plait (mat or basket)’.
KIL	(mats).
TAW	‘weave a mat’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.): ‘to plait (as mats), weave, tattoo’ from <i>atu</i> .
MEK	<i>e-kau(-ŋa)</i> ‘do, make’, often ‘weave’.
MAR	Also <i>pijiri</i> ‘weave or braid’.
LAU	Also <i>fao, fau</i> .
RAG	Also <i>batu</i> ‘hand-weave pandanus or coconut fibre’.
LEW	‘weave mats, baskets, and split bamboo for walls’.
KWA	Also <i>-ak<sup>w</sup>sərup</i> ‘weave a basket’.
NEN	Also <i>iril</i> ‘weave rope’; <i>kada</i> ‘weave basket’.
KIR	<i>raraŋā</i> ‘weave mats’; <i>ata</i> ‘weave mats, thatch’.
MSH	<i>wewæik</i> ‘weave pandanus thatch’; <i>lāt</i> ‘weave garlands, wreaths’.
PON	Also <i>taur</i> ‘weave nets’; <i>tokōs</i> ‘weave thatch’; <i>senser</i> ‘weave cane, reeds’.
WLE	Also <i>tōriŋü</i> .
RTU	Also <i>hahau</i>
SAM	‘weave, plait (mats, baskets)’.

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**06.340 LOOM**

ATA	kaŋuŋu?	SAB	ka-pañap-an	MAD	pakakas
TSO			pag-tunnun		tənnun
RUK		MUR		*BAL	čagčag
PAI		*MGY	fanenumana	*SAS	pəñesek
YAM	koykoylən	ACE		*GOR	pohhewola
ISN		BAT	tənnun	DAA	pan-tanu
KAL	gagannayan	MIN	tora?	UMA	
*TAG	habih-an	IND	pər-kakas	BUG	bulo-bulo
*AKL	habɬ-un		tənnun	*KON	[pak'kakkasa]
PAL		SUN	parabot ninun		tannuŋ
MOL			(tinun)	WOL	tanu-a
*KAG	[tiral]	*JAV	tənnunan	MAG	vo <sup>ɲ</sup> ka
BLA	gu-m-abal			NGA	ŋani-tənu



*SIK	ʔai loru-ŋ	ADZ	CEM
*RTI	bole ai ana	KIL	AJI ka vi cu
*BUR	esuaru-n (saru)	TAW	XAR
DOB		MOT	NEN
IRA	nutəʔe	MEK	KIR
SAW		ROV	MSH
NYI		MAR	PON
MAM	moli	LAU	WLE
TAK		KWO	EFI
DAM		RAG	WFI
MAB		PAA	RTU
YAB		*LEW	TON
KAU		POR	SAM
TOL		NTA	MEL
BUA		KWA	TAH
		NEM	RAP

TAG Also *paŋ-hābi*.

AKL Also *tanhāga?*

KAG From Spanish *telar*.

MGY From *faN-tenum-ana*.

JAV Also *panənunan (pa-N-tənun-an)*.

BAL Also *prabot tunun*.

SAS From *(pə-N-sesek)*.

GOR *(poh-R-wawolo-a)*.

KON From Malay; also *balira* (shuttle only).

SIK Also *ʔai pati ekur bolə-ŋ*.

RTI Compound expression referring to the various parts of the loom.

BUR ‘backstrap loom’.

LEW *na-ve-ar-ari-ena* ‘thing for weaving’, neologism.

### 06.350 SEW

*ATA	č-um-aʔiŋ	*YAM	manapaŋ	*AKL	tahiʔ
*TSO	t-m-eʔsi	ISN	managet	PAL	məgtahiʔ (tahiʔ)
RUK	wa-ʧaisi	*KAL	dāʔit		
PAI	ʧ-əm-aʧis	*TAG	tahiʔ	*MOL	tohiʔ

*KAG	manai?	RTI	seu	*RAG	liyoliyo
BLA	t-am-bel	*BUR	sau	PAA	dilī
*SAB	tahi?	DOB	ʔa-sela	LEW	sulu-ari
*MUR	pikit	IRA	raini	POR	sa <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ø
*MGY	mandzaiṭ <sup>r</sup> a	SAW	n-eriŋ	NTA	əl <sup>h</sup>
ACE	cəp	*NYI	asowek	*KWA	-atiri
BAT	ǰait	MAM	ʔalauri	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> oi
MIN	ǰai?	*TAK	-we'i	*CEM	wóli
IND	məñ-ǰahit	*DAM	i-wa-ya	AJI	řu
SUN	ŋaput (kaput)	MAB	-sese	XAR	řī
JAV	ñ-ǰait	YAB	-si	*NEN	yese
MAD	a-ǰ <sup>h</sup> ai?	KAU	tit	KIR	itua
BAL	ñait (ǰait)	*TOL	iŋit	MSH	kīc
SAS	ñ-ǰait	BUA	dure	PON	tēk
*GOR	mo-detu	*ADZ	<sup>n</sup> taŋ-	*WLE	tē-a
DAA	no-ǰau	KIL	-basi	EFI	ðula-a
UMA	mo-dau	TAW	diidini	WFI	ðula-sia
BUG	maǰ-ǰai	*MOT	turi-a	RTU	susu
KON	an-ǰai?	*MEK	e-kai(-na)	TON	tuitui
WOL	po-soru <sup>m</sup> ba	ROV	pitpiti	SAM	su <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*MAG	[ǰa <sup>ʔ</sup> ik]	*MAR	susuki	MEL	tuia
NGA	raku	LAU	taia	*TAH	[nira]
SIK	ra <sup>ʔ</sup> it	KWO	tai-a	*RAP	kau

ATA Also č-um-a<sup>k</sup>iš.

TSO (t<sup>ʔ</sup>es-a).

YAM Or zayit.

KAL dā<sup>ʔ</sup>it + man-.

TAG tahi<sup>ʔ</sup> + -um-/-in.

AKL tahi<sup>ʔ</sup> + -un.

MOL tohi<sup>ʔ</sup> + mo-/-on.

KAG From tai<sup>ʔ</sup> + m-/-ən.

SAB tahi<sup>ʔ</sup> + aN-/ø.

MUR pikit (maŋ-; -in).

MGY maN-zaiṭ<sup>r</sup>a, from PMP \*Zaiṭ.

GOR Root: detumo.

MAG Probably from Makassar.

BUR	Also <i>haka-k</i> ‘crochet (lit ‘to spider’)’; <i>suli</i> ‘embroider’; <i>suri</i> ‘stick s.th. sharp with a string attached through fish, meat, cloth, leaves’
NYI	Also <i>asereh</i> .
TAK	‘weave’ (see 06.330).
DAM	‘3sg-sew-INF.
TOL	Originally ‘sew the native umbrella made of pandanus leaves with a thorn and string’.
ADZ	‘pierce stg. with pointed object’.
MOT	<i>turituri</i> (vb intrans).
MEK	NW Mekeo <i>ijia</i> (Brown).
MAR	<i>čučuru</i> ‘sew up thatch’.
RAG	Also [ <i>susuru</i> ] ex Mota (archaic?).
KWA	Also ‘string beads, shuffle cards’.
CEM	Also ‘jab, spear’.
NEN	Also <i>yeθi</i> .
WLE	Also <i>tixi</i> .
TAH	From English.
RAP	<i>kau</i> ‘sew (by hand)’; <i>rei-rei</i> ‘sew (by machine)’.

## 06.360 NEEDLE

**English:** *needle*

*ATA	raum	SAB	jaum	*DAA	[ʃaru]
TSO	frezo	*MUR	[jadum]	UMA	ʃaru
RUK	inamay	*MGY	fandzaitʰa	BUG	ʃaruŋ
PAI	jaum	ACE	jarom	KON	ʃaruŋ
YAM	zayom	BAT	[jarum]	*WOL	li <sup>n</sup> ta
ISN	dāgum	MIN	pin-ʃai?	*MAG	[ʃaruŋ]
KAL	tānud	*IND	jarum	NGA	raru
TAG	karāyom	SUN	jarum	SIK	luhir
AKL	dāgum	JAV	dəm	RTI	<sup>n</sup> da- <sup>n</sup> dau-k
PAL	dagum	MAD	ʃ <sup>a</sup> arum	*BUR	weta
MOL	dohum	BAL	jaum	DOB	?ilir
KAG	dagəm	SAS	jaum	IRA	
BLA	dolum	*GOR	du-detu	SAW	smo

NYI	nunu	ROV	[nila]	NEN	dun
MAM	pasala	MAR	načuru	KIR	te [neiran]
TAK	si	LAU	[nila]	*MSH	īe
DAM		KWO		*PON	tikek
MAB	sor	RAG		*WLE	şü
*YAB	so	PAA	[nitil]	EFI	i-đula
KAU	sulmu	*LEW	[nitel]	WFI	iđula-lima
*TOL	iŋiŋit	POR		RTU	sui
BUA	rurəḳ	NTA	nitəl	TON	hui-tuitui
*ADZ	bararaŋ	KWA		SAM	[nila]
KIL	βasia	*NEM	du-b <sup>w</sup> ek	MEL	[nīla]
TAW	heyau	CEM	diti	*TAH	[nira]
*MOT	kobi	AJI	kaJu	RAP	ivi kauri
*MEK	lameo	*XAR	nībi		

ATA Also *rayum*.

MUR From Malay *jarum*.

MGY From *faN-zaiṭʼa*.

IND Also *pənitī*.

GOR See 06.350 ‘sew’.

DAA From Malay.

WOL *li<sup>n</sup>ta* ‘needle for piercing the ears of girls’; also *soru<sup>m</sup>ba* ‘sewing needle’.

MAG From Malay.

BUR Also [*plaus*].

YAB (*ŋa*)*seli*, *ɔɔʔ* (both made from hand-bone of flying fox); *gadi* (small, sharp pig-bone).

TOL From *iŋit* ‘sew’.

ADZ ‘sharp’, i.e. ‘sharp object’.

MOT *kobi* ‘needle to sew thatch and armlets’; also [*nila*].

MEK ‘traditional needle of bamboo’; also [*nila*] ‘steel needles’; more specifically *nila mei inē* ‘needle with hole’.

LEW Also *na-sulu-ena*.

NEM ‘bone-flying fox’.

XAR *nī-bī* ‘bone of flying fox’.

MSH Also [*nī!*], [*nitəʌl*].

PON Also ‘first shoot of a cutting’.

WLE *šü* also ‘bone’; *xaxūw̄*.

TAH Also [*nira*] *au* *ʔahu*.

### 06.370 AWL

ATA		*UMA	pohuʔ	MAR	
TSO		BUG	pat-toddoʔ	LAU	
RUK		KON	'pusara	KWO	
PAI		WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> bari	RAG	
YAM	tətbək	MAG		PAA	
ISN	dūʔut	NGA	ɖusu	LEW	
KAL	duduʔūt	SIK		POR	
*TAG	bafibol	RTI	pa-pau-k	NTA	
*AKL	paŋ-būhuʔ	*BUR	dodo-t	KWA	
PAL		DOB		NEM	ʃido
MOL	usut	IRA		CEM	ʃido
KAG	ələk	SAW		AJI	wa
BLA	tmo	NYI		XAR	çə
SAB	paŋ-lo-lowəŋ	MAM		NEN	
MUR		TAK		*KIR	te kai n
MGY	hau lu	DAM			ewaewa
ACE	jarom	MAB		MSH	ɾæil
BAT		*YAB	ŋa-seli	PON	
MIN	si-giri <sup>ʔʔ</sup>	KAU	sulmu	*WLE	yō
*IND	pusut	TOL		EFI	
SUN	ʃara	BUA		WFI	
JAV	uñčək	ADZ	bararaŋ	RTU	
*MAD	[hakpen]	KIL		TON	
BAL	pusut	TAW	sik <sup>wa</sup>	SAM	
SAS		MOT		MEL	
*GOR	tu-tu <sup>ɖ</sup> goʔo	MEK		TAH	ʔāuri pātia
DAA		ROV		RAP	

TAG Also *pam-būtas*.

AKL ‘for making holes’.

IND Also *pəŋgerek*.

MAD From Dutch.

GOR Also *polulu<sup>ɖ</sup>goʔo* (*tuŋgoʔo* + *poN-*, plus duplication of *-lu-*).

UMA Also *ohu*.  
 BUR From *dodo* ‘make a hole’.  
 YAB See 06.260 note.  
 K IR ‘tool for drilling’.  
 WLE Also ‘drill’.

## 06.380 THREAD

**English:** *thread*

*ATA	wāy	BUG	winnaŋ	KWO	
TSO	pʔopʔo	*KON	bannaŋ	RAG	ɣao liyɔ-liyɔ
RUK	vaɭay	WOL	kapa	PAA	[tɪrɛt]
PAI	aɭay	MAG	lave	*LEW	kotom <sup>w</sup> iu
YAM	ito	NGA	lelu	POR	
ISN	binola	SIK	kapa	NTA	[trɛt]
KAL	binōla	RTI	aba-do	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anoka
*TAG	sinūlid	BUR	base	NEM	wāk
*AKL	bunaŋ	DOB		CEM	tái
PAL	sinulid	IRA	kaɸasa	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> e
MOL	sarbans	SAW	lawe	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ī
KAG	ilu	NYI	kam	NEN	wakada
*BLA	[sinulib]	MAM	ʔilolo	*KIR	te karai
*SAB	salban	TAK		MSH	[tʌrɛc]
MUR	gantian	DAM		PON	[terɛt]
MGY	kufehi	MAB		*WLE	yaʔi
ACE	bunutuŋ	YAB	gam	EFI	wā-ni-
BAT	bənaŋ	KAU			ðulaðula
MIN	banəŋ	TOL	kuarə	WFI	wāwā-ni-
IND	bənaŋ	BUA	[gam]		ðulaðula
*SUN	bənaŋ	ADZ	kiɸ	RTU	ʔalolo
*JAV	bənaŋ	KIL	im	TON	filo
MAD	bənnaŋ	*TAW	gulawa	SAM	filo
BAL	bənaŋ	MOT	βaro	MEL	
SAS	bənaŋ	*MEK	ue	*TAH	taura au ʔahu
*GOR	bola	ROV	lozi	RAP	hau
DAA	bana	*MAR	galato		
*UMA	[bana]	LAU	taia		

ATA	wāy ‘thread for weaving’, ča-čaiŋ, ča-čakis ‘thread for sewing’.
TAG	Root: <i>sūlid</i> .
AKL	PHN * <i>bənaŋ</i> .
BLA	From Spanish <i>hilo</i> .
SAB	Also <i>tiŋkal</i> .
SUN	Also <i>bola</i> .
JAV	Also <i>bolah</i> , <i>lawe</i> .
GOR	Also [ <i>ka<sup>m</sup>baya</i> ] and <i>la<sup>m</sup>bu</i> ‘thread’, and <i>pitolo</i> ‘thread newly spun’.
UMA	Probably from Malay.
KON	Also <i>‘pintala</i> .
TAW	Also <i>nogonogo</i> .
MEK	Also <i>uve</i> ; <i>ue oiso</i> ‘finest kind of bush fibre’.
MAR	‘thread or strand’.
LEW	Also 03.819; also [ <i>tret</i> ].
NTA	From English ‘thread’.
KWA	‘string’.
KIR	Also <i>te [reti]</i> .
WLE	Also ‘hair’.
TAH	Also <i>taura</i> .

### 06.390 DYE

ATA	?-in-aḱūḱ	*MUR	tina?	UMA	ula
*TSO	tā-fixŋora-i	MGY	man-duku	BUG	mač-čillo?
RUK		*ACE	[cat]	*KON	[kasumba]
PAI		BAT		WOL	
*YAM	oziŋ	*MIN	čolo?	*MAG	ginak
ISN		*IND	məñ-čelup	NGA	pisa
KAL		*SUN	[ñələp]	SIK	loŋ
*TAG	tīna?		([čələp])	*RTI	tau-k
*AKL	tina?	JAV	wentər	BUR	egila-
PAL	tamak	*MAD	[cəlupan]	DOB	
MOL	oŋjibi	*BAL	[warnə]	*IRA	rə ɸuru
KAG	ləgəm	*SAS	čəluḱ-an	SAW	n-čowl-ε (sowel)
BLA	tŋəl	*GOR	[kasu <sup>m</sup> ba]	NYI	bom
SAB	aŋjibi	DAA			

MAM		MAR		*KIR	te kitai
TAK		LAU		*MSH	rōl
DAM	dag	KWO	atoni-a	*PON	mēn kotu
MAB		*RAG	tunu	*WLE	ŋelī-a
*YAB	da	*PAA	oai	EFI	d <sup>f</sup> ā-ni-lami
KAU		*LEW	susunu	WFI	d <sup>f</sup> ā-ni-lami
TOL		POR	pere	*RTU	toŋo
*BUA	dagō	*NTA	[pen]	TON	fakalanu
*ADZ		KWA	naφəriən	SAM	vali
KIL		NEM	po-haŋun	MEL	ama
*TAW	wihiya	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ō-ápunε-n	TAH	?ū
MOT	umu	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ia	*RAP	[inika]
MEK		XAR	xε		
ROV	[dae]	NEN			

TSO *fixŋora* ‘dye red’; *tā-xof<sup>?</sup>ora-i* ‘dye yellow’ etc.

YAM *ozij + ni- + -an* ‘make black’ (that was the only dye used).

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*tina?*

AKL Also [*tinta*], Spanish *tinta* ‘ink’.

MUR *tina?* (*maŋ-*; *-on*).

ACE From Chinese language, also [*waruna*] Sanskrit.

MIN Also *uba* also the name of a dye-producing tree.

IND Also [*tinta*] from Portuguese.

SUN From Javanese.

MAD From Malay (n.).

BAL From Sanskrit.

SAS (n.) from Malay?

GOR From Malay [*kəs<sup>m</sup>ba*] ‘plant that produces a red colouring agent’, from Sanskrit.

KON From Sanskrit; also *ñila*.

MAG In weaving areas: ‘indigo-bath’.

RTI *tau-k* ‘indigo: dark blue’; *manukudu* ‘*Morinda citropha*, red’.

IRA *ro furu* ‘lime’; *udə* ‘charcoal’; *sarə daunə* ‘red sap of leaves’.

YAB *da* ‘black clay used as a dye’; *si* ‘black soil for colouring, ochre’; *ke<sup>?</sup>da* ‘clay used as paint, washing blue’.

BUA Also *ripek*.



ADZ	Named according to material from which dye is produced, e.g. <i>ma<sup>n</sup>kuf Bixa</i> sp. 'red dye', <i>maradzuan</i> 'turmeric, yellow dye'.
TAW	'flower'.
RAG	Also <i>dunu</i> 'dye pandanus red'.
PAA	'water'.
LEW	Also 15.610.
NTA	From English 'paint'.
CEM	'make colours; colour'.
KIR	<i>tekam<sup>w</sup>atam<sup>w</sup>ata</i> CAUS, see 'colour'.
MSH	<i>kawino</i> CAUS, see 'colour'.
PON	Also <i>reit</i> .
WLE	Also <i>gati-a, tum<sup>w</sup>u</i> .
RTU	Also <i>mena</i> .
RAP	From English <i>ink</i> .

## 06.410 CLOAK

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>jubba</i> 'coat'	<b>Dutch:</b> <i>mantel</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>capa</i>
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ATA	BAT	*RTI [badu]
*TSO zusu	MIN	*BUR enyate
RUK	*IND [ʃubah]	DOB
PAI	*SUN [mantəl]	IRA
YAM maglogod	JAV	SAW [ʃuba]
*ISN	MAD [ʃuba]	NYI
KAL kagoy	BAL	MAM
*TAG balābal	SAS [ʃubah]	TAK
*AKL kumut	GOR	DAM
PAL	DAA	MAB
*MOL kumut	UMA	YAB
KAG	BUG [ʃubba]	KAU
BLA	*KON [ʃikeʔ]	TOL
SAB siʔab	*WOL [ʃuba]	BUA
MUR	MAG	ADZ
*MGY [kapauti]	*NGA luʔe	KIL kakapula
ACE [mantəl]	SIK	TAW lupulu

MOT	NTA	WLE
MEK	KWA	EFI
ROV	NEM	WFI
MAR	CEM	RTU
LAU	AJI m <sup>wā</sup> k <sup>wa</sup>	TON pulupulu
KWO	XAR	SAM
RAG	NEN	MEL
PAA	KIR	*TAH orooro
LEW	MSH	*RAP
POR	PON	

TSO 'leather raincape'.

ISN *abāg* 'loincloth, g-string'.

TAG [*kāpa*], [*manto*], from Spanish *manto*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**kūmut* 'blanket'; also [*kāpah*].

MOL Also *tajūŋ* 'tube'.

MGY From French

IND Also [*mantəl*].

SUN Also [*jubah*].

KON From Dutch *jacquet*?

WOL Also 'robe'.

NGA 'blanket'.

RTI From Dutch.

BUR From *ate* 'cloth'; also *lab poto-t*.

TAH Obsolete.

RAP *nua* 'cape' (archaic).

## 06.411 PONCHO

Not found in Austronesian language area.

## 06.420 WOMAN'S DRESS

**Dutch:** *baadje, rok***English:** *dress, pinafore, clothes.*

ATA	ʔataŋ	BUG	pakeaŋ	LAU	maku geni
TSO			makkunrai	KWO	
RUK		*KON	saʒaʔ	RAG	
PAI		WOL		PAA	[tires]
YAM	ayob	MAG		LEW	[kilos]
ISN	kamason	NGA	biri	POR	<sup>m</sup> bea <sup>m</sup> b sa
KAL	bādut di babāʔi	*SIK	ʔuta-ŋ		r <sup>m</sup> baix
*TAG	bāroʔ	*RTI	[badu] ina-k	NTA	[klos]
AKL	ʔambuŋ	BUR	[baʒu]	KWA	
*PAL	[kumision]	*DOB	labun ʔodar	*NEM	k <sup>ŋ</sup> am tūt
MOL	[baʒuʔ]	IRA	radəni sətə	CEM	ciputa
*KAG	[bistida]	*SAW	[kabaya]	AJI	cuři b <sup>w</sup> ε
BLA	ləkuʔ	NYI	nai	XAR	
SAB	[baʒuʔ]	MAM		NEN	yeŋaro
MUR		TAK		*KIR	te karuo
MGY	akandzu	DAM	[dres]	*MSH	ipep wau
ACE		MAB		PON	likouli
BAT	[baʒu] gauŋ	*YAB	ŋa-k <sup>w</sup> ε baliŋ	WLE	
MIN	[baʒu] padusi	KAU		EFI	[βiniβō]
IND	[baʒu]	TOL	[kolot]	WFI	[βiniβō]
SUN		BUA	[ŋak <sup>w</sup> ε]	RTU	həʔ sarapa
*JAV	ʒarit	ADZ		TON	kofu
MAD	[rok]	KIL	doba	*SAM	ʔofu
*BAL	kam(b)ən	TAW		MEL	[rəsi]
*SAS	kaiŋ [kəbayaʔ]	MOT	[deresi]	TAH	ʔahu vahine
GOR	boʔo	MEK		RAP	
DAA	[baʒu]	ROV	poko		
UMA	[baʒu]		barikalege		
		MAR			

TAG Also *damit*, [bestīdo] from Spanish *vestido*.PAL From Spanish *camisón*.KAG From Spanish *vestida*.JAV Also *kain*.

BAL	See note, 06.210. Worn by both sexes.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985): <i>kaiŋ</i> 'cloth'; <i>kəbaya</i> ? from Malay <i>kəbaya</i> 'blouse'?
KON	Also [rɔʔ] 'skirt'.
SIK	'sarong'.
RTI	See 06.410.
DOB	'woman's garment'.
SAW	From Malay.
YAB	'clothing long'.
NEM	'clothes standing'.
KIR	Also <i>tekamarai</i> .
MSH	'Mother Hubbard' (long gown).
SAM	See 06.110, 06.120.

## 06.430 COAT

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>jas, mantel</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>americana</i> 'jacket'
<b>English:</b> <i>coat, jacket.</i>	<b>French:</b> <i>paletot</i> 'great-coat'

ATA	tiwayan	BAT	[ʃas]	RTI	
TSO		MIN	[baʃu] diŋin	*BUR	lab poto-t
RUK	əbələ	*IND	[mantəl]	DOB	
PAI	lʲuŋpaw	*SUN	[mantəl]	IRA	
YAM	maglogoɖ	JAV		SAW	[ʃas]
ISN		MAD	[mantəl]	NYI	
KAL		BAL	[ʃas]	MAM	?usi-sili
TAG	[amerikāna]	SAS	[ʃas]	TAK	
AKL	[amerikānah]	*GOR	[mā <sup>n</sup> deli]	DAM	[saket]
PAL	pəŋtamig	DAA		MAB	
MOL		UMA		*YAB	ŋa-k <sup>w</sup> e(oli-ŋ-ŋa)
KAG		BUG	[ʃassiʔ]	KAU	
BLA	təhɔʔ sigal	KON	[ʃasi]	*TOL	məl-nə-pəkanə
SAB		WOL	[ʃasi]	BUA	
MUR	bayaŋ	MAG	[ʃās]	ADZ	
*MGY	[kapauti]	NGA		KIL	
ACE	[jaih]	SIK			

TAW	POR	*PON [sekit]
MOT	NTA	WLE
MEK	KWA	EFI [kote]
ROV [koti]	NEM	WFI [kote]
MAR	CEM jàwɔn	RTU [koti]
LAU	AJI [p <sup>w</sup> ařito]	TON [kote]
KWO	*XAR jɪŋã	*SAM [peleue]
RAG	NEN yepelewe	MEL [kōji]
PAA	KIR te [kōti]	TAH pereue
*LEW kulu-[kota]	*MSH [kapp <sup>w</sup> a]	RAP [paratoa]

MGY From French.

IND Also [ʃas].

SUN Also [ʃas].

GOR [baʃu ʔuʃa(n)] from Malay *baʃu huʃan* ‘rain-coat’.

BUR Also *enyate* from *ate* ‘cloth’.

YAB ‘clothing (skin-their-for)’.

TOL See 06.120, 04.110, lit ‘cloth of body’.

LEW ‘skin-coat’.

XAR ‘traditional cloak and blanket, made of a grass, *Heleocharis* sp.’

MSH From Japanese; [alkōt] ‘raincoat’.

PON *welpesɛŋ* ‘suit coat’, lit ‘to moult’.

SAM From Tahitian *pereue*.

## 06.440 SHIRT

**Dutch:** *baadje*

**English:** *shirt*

**French:** *chemise*

**Portuguese:** *camisa*

ATA	*AKL ʃambuŋ	*ACE [baʃeə]
TSO	*PAL [badyuʔ]	.BAT [kameʃa]
RUK	MOL [baʃuʔ]	MIN anaʔ [baʃu]
PAI	KAG pulu	IND [kəmeʃa]
YAM ayob	BLA saul	SUN [kameʃa]
ISN [bādu]	SAB [baʃuʔ]	JAV klambi
*KAL bādut	*MUR bayəŋ	MAD kalambi
*TAG bāroŋ	MGY lubaka	*BAL [baʃu]

SAS	[kəməʃə]	MAB		NTA	[sot]
GOR	[kameʃa]	*YAB	ŋa-k <sup>w</sup> e	KWA	karkahu
DAA	[baʃu]		(oli-ŋ-ŋa)	NEM	
UMA	[baʃu]	*KAU	[siŋlis]	CEM	[címici]
BUG	[kameʃa]	*TOL	[tiŋilit]	AJI	[yəmiyi]
KON	[kameʃa]	BUA	[siot]	*XAR	[cōtɛ]
WOL	[ʃaʃu]	ADZ		NEN	
MAG	[baʃu]	KIL		*KIR	te kabarāki
NGA	kodo-labu	*TAW	luilui	MSH	[cāl̩t]
SIK	labu	MOT	[siedi]	PON	[sēt]
RTI	[badu]	MEK	[tsiati]	WLE	
BUR	labu-n	ROV	[sote]	EFI	[sote]
DOB	labun	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> oko (čuʔu)	*WFI	[sote]
IRA	[kameñja]	LAU	[sote]	*RTU	[soti]
SAW	[baʃu]	KWO		TON	[sote]
NYI	awin	RAG		*SAM	ʔofu-tino
MAM	ʔusi-sili	PAA	aisīn	MEL	[soata]
TAK		*LEW	kulu-[sota]	TAH	ʔahu ʔōʔomo
DAM	[siot]	POR	<sup>m</sup> bea <sup>m</sup> b	*RAP	[kāmita]

KAL Also [kamusita] from Spanish *kamiseta*.

TAG Also [kamisadentro], Spanish *camisa* ‘shirt’, *dentro* ‘inside’.

AKL Also ‘dress’ 06.420.

PAL Also *sigpit* ‘blouse’.

MUR Also [baʃu].

ACE Also [baʃəʃ]-[kameja].

BAL ‘any item of clothing covering at least the upper half of the body, worn by either sex’.

YAB See 06.430 note.

KAU From Tok Pisin.

TOL From English ‘singlet’.

TAW From *lui* ‘to go in’.

LEW ‘skin-shirt’.

XAR Probably from English ‘shirt’.

KIR Also ‘covering, cap’: CAUS of *barāki* ‘upset, overturned’.

WFI Also [i-ōuruōrū]. from Standard Fijian.

RTU Also *hɔʔ siʔu*.

SAM ʔofu ‘dress, clothes’, *tino* ‘body’.

RAP From Spanish *camisa*. Also *kakava* (archaic); *ŋamaŋa* (archaic).

## 06.450 COLLAR

**English:** *collar***Spanish:** *cuello*

ATA		UMA		ROV	[kola]
*TSO	sini ta risi	BUG	illoŋ-[waǰu]	MAR	
RUK	l̥ə-anə	KON	kalloŋ [baǰu]	LAU	
PAI		WOL	taʔale-na	KWO	
YAM	ragaw		[ʔaǰu]	RAG	
ISN		MAG		*PAA	hirən
KAL	bagaŋ bādut	NGA		*LEW	na-melki-na
TAG	[kuwelyo]	SIK		POR	
AKL	[kwilyoh]	*RTI	[badu]	NTA	nentou [sot]
PAL			lesuhai-k	KWA	
MOL	lapiʔ	BUR	labu-n wadu-n	NEM	
KAG	[kwilyu]	*DOB	ler kʷaŋir	CEM	
BLA	fəfək kləweh	IRA		AJI	kʷəŋgũũ
SAB	kolloŋ	*SAW	koko	XAR	
MUR	liog	NYI		NEN	
*MGY	[kauli]	MAM		KIR	
ACE	takuə [baǰəə]	TAK		MSH	
BĀT		ĀMĪ		PŌN	
MIN	kalepaʔ [baǰu]	MAB		WLE	
*IND	[kərah]	YAB		EFI	[kola]
*SUN	[samleh]	KAU		WFI	[kola]
*JAV	guloŋ	TOL		RTU	[kola]
*MAD	pa-liʔir-an	BUA		TON	[kola]
*BAL	baŋ [baǰu]	ADZ		SAM	[kola]
*SAS	bəloŋ kələmbi	KIL		MEL	valo
*GOR	[karaki]	TAW		TAH	
DAA	ta <sup>m</sup> bolo nu	MOT	[kola]	RAP	
	[baǰu]	MEK			

TSO 'neck of upper garment'.

MGY From French.

IND From Dutch *kraag*.

SUN Loanword?

JAV From *gulu* 'throat'.

MAD	<i>liʔir</i> ‘neck’.
BAL	<i>baog</i> ‘neck’.
SAS	<i>bəloŋ</i> ‘neck’.
GOR	Also [ <i>kalaki</i> ] from Dutch <i>kraag</i> .
RTI	See 06.410.
DOB	‘throat string’.
SAW	‘neck (of a shirt)’.
PAA	‘neck’.
LEW	‘for neck’.

## 06.460 SKIRT

Dutch: *rok*English: *skirt, petticoat*Spanish: *falda, saya*

ATA	tatuhawak	BAL	[rok]	KAU	
TSO	tafʔu	SAS	[rok]	*TOL	[lavəlavə]
*RUK	kono	*GOR	[roku]	BUA	tob
*PAI	[kun]	DAA	[roo]	ADZ	
*YAM	[ʃikato]	UMA	topiʔ	KIL	doba
ISN		BUG	[roʔ]	TAW	
KAL	kāʔin	*KON	[saʃaʔ]	*MOT	[pirikosi]
*TAG	[sāya]	*WOL	[roku]	*MEK	kiapu
*AKL	[sāyah]		o <sup>n</sup> dorou	ROV	tivtivi
PAL	tapis	MAG			barikalege
MOL	[saya]	NGA		MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ipiçi
*KAG	[palda]	SIK	ʔuta-ŋ	LAU	ʔe maku
BLA	dafəŋ	RTI	[lo-k]	KWO	
*SAB	tajuŋ	BUR	[rok]	RAG	yai-saya-n
MUR	tapiʔ	DOB	[rok]		b <sup>w</sup> alaye
*MGY	[zipu]	*IRA	φφərə	PAA	
*ACE	[roʔ]	SAW	[rok]	LEW	[perekot]
BAT	[rok]	NYI		POR	
MIN	[roʔ]	MAM		NTA	[petikot]
*IND	[rok]	TAK		KWA	
*SUN	[rok]	DAM	[siket]	NEM	jū-n
JAV	tapih	MAB		CEM	
MAD	[rok]	*YAB	ŋa-k <sup>w</sup> e	AJI	neṛū



XAR	jī	*WLE	sifi	SAM	[sakete]
*NEN	čaot	EFI	liku	MEL	
*KIR	te bē	WFI	kuta	TAH	[piritoti]
*MSH	likko	RTU	titi	RAP	
*PON	urōs	TON	piva		

RUK *kono* 'women's skirt'; *labiti* 'men's skirt'.

PAI Loan from Taiwanese.

YAM From Japanese.

TAG Also [*palda*].

AKL Also [*palda*].

KAG Also [*saya*] (from Spanish ? *saya*); *abəl* 'tube skirt'.

SAB 'tubular skirt'.

MGY From French.

ACE Normally [*baʃɛə*] [*roʔ*] also *sarəŋ* 'a traditional garment for men and women'.

IND Also *saruŋ*.

SUN Also [*ərok*].

GOR Also [*keleti*] from Dutch *kleed*.

KÖN Also [*roʔ*].

WOL 'long dress'.

IRA *foforə* 'man skirt'; *fafuarə* 'women's skirt'.

YAB 'clothing'

TOL From Samoan *lavalava* 'loin-cloth'.

MOT See 06.480; from *piripou* and English 'petticoat'?

MEK *kiapu* also *tsiapu* 'cloth'; NW Mekeo *ŋapauga* (Brown); Brown also gives *ŋabuga* 'beat with stick'.

NEN Also *yeŋaiko*.

KIR *te bē* 'loincloth, lavalava'; *te riri* 'grass skirt'.

MSH *likko* also 'petticoat, gown'; Western and Eastern dialects *ɿ* 'grass skirt'.

PON Also [*skāto*] from English via Japanese.

WLE *sifi* 'woman's grass skirt', [*sukōtō*] from English via Japanese; *yeŋüyeŋü*.

## 06.461 GRASS-SKIRT

ATA	UMA	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ure
TSO	BUG [roʔ]-willa	LAU	salu salu
RUK	KON	KWO	
PAI	WOL	RAG	
YAM	MAG	PAA	
ISN	NGA	LEW	kusulu
KAL	SIK	POR	<sup>m</sup> buse
TAG	RTI	NTA	nioəh
AKL	BUR	KWA	rous
PAL	*DOB ŋom	NEM	jaŋi
MOL	IRA	CEM	tíu
KAG	SAW	AJI	
BLA	NYI <sup>n</sup> dʰoyan	*XAR	dɔ̄ jī
SAB	*MAM baligo	NEN	yeŋaiko
MUR	TAK didir	*KIR	
MGY	DAM bōī	*MSH	in
ACE	*MAB naliuŋa	PON	kōl
BAT	YAB ladom	WLE	sifisifi
MIN	KAU soŋon	EFI	liku-βau
IND	TOL pərpər	WFI	kuta
SUN	BUA ŋ <sup>w</sup> ī	RTU	titi
JAV	*ADZ sasiaŋ	*TON	kiekie
MAD	KIL doba	*SAM	titi
BAL	TAW nogi	MEL	
SAS	MOT rami	TAH	ʔahu more
GOR	*MEK ʔenia	*RAP	kahu kakaka
DAA	*ROV tivtivi varu		

DOB ‘loin cloth made of bark or cloth, worn by men’; *lela mona* (worn by women).

MAM Also *saresare*.

MAB *naliuŋa* (worn by anyone); *serek* (only worn by women).

ADZ *sasiaŋ* (all dialects except Amari); *sasiŋ* (Amari only).

MEK East Mekeo *tsinia*; other dialects (regular) *kenia*.

ROV Also *kolekole* ‘women’s wear’; *pono* ‘men’s wear’.

XAR ‘true skirt’.

KIR See entry for ‘skirt’.

MSH Also əɫ.

TON Also *manafau*.

SAM ‘kilt made of leaves’.

RAP Also *kahu tino maika; kahu huri maika* ‘skirt, made of dry banana leaves and stems’.

## 06.480 TROUSERS

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>broek</i> ‘pants’	<b>French:</b> <i>pantalon</i>	<b>Persian:</b> <i>shalwār</i>
<b>English:</b> <i>trousers, pants</i>	<b>Hindi:</b> <i>carnā</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>pantalón</i>

ATA	aupun	UMA	[puruka]	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> oko (ɣahe)
TSO	pōroro	BUG	[sulaɾaʔ]	LAU	[tarosisi]
RUK	kaʒiŋi	*KON	[sa'luara]	KWO	
*PAI	kaʒa-kaʒ	WOL	[sala]	RAG	
YAM	abtan	MAG	[bərʊk]	*PAA	[lōŋ]
ISN	sapin	NGA	sake-lake	*LEW	[traoses]
KAL	[pantalon]	*SIK	ʔonə-ŋ	*POR	<sup>m</sup> bul a xa <sup>m</sup> bat
*TAG	[pantalon]	RTI	lopo ma-nalu	NTA	[təraosəs]
*AKL	[saʔwaʔ]	*BUR	kata	KWA	
PAL	[pantalun]	DOB	ʔada	NEM	
MOL	[pontalun]	*IRA	kadəʔa	CEM	[pātelo]
*KAG	[sawwal]	SAW	[čəlana]	AJI	[p <sup>w</sup> atōřō]
BLA	[səlwəl]	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>ʔ</sup> akasau	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā-pa m <sup>w</sup> ā
SAB	[sawwal]	MAM	[tarausisi]	*NEN	yewata
MUR	[sədual]	TAK		*KIR	te kawaerake
*MGY	[pataluha]	*DAM	saur	*MSH	tap <sup>m</sup> tap <sup>m</sup>
ACE	[siluwuə]	MAB		PON	[rausis]
BAT	[sarəəl]	YAB		WLE	[pōncü]
MIN	[sarawa]	KAU	[trausis]	EFI	[tarausese]
IND	[čəlana]	TOL	[tərautet]	WFI	[tarausese]
*SUN	[čalana]	BUA		RTU	həʔ lā
JAV	[člɔŋɔ]	ADZ		TON	[talausese]
MAD	[čalana]	KIL	βiβia	*SAM	ʔofu-vae
*BAL	[jaler]	TAW	pilipou	MEL	[tarāsese]
SAS	[čələnə]	*MOT	[piripou]	TAH	piripou
*GOR	[alala]	MEK	[pilipo]	RAP	piripō
DAA	[poruka]	*ROV	pokonene		

PAI	<i>kasuy</i> ‘trousers (for women)’.
TAG	Also [ <i>salawal</i> ].
AKL	Also [ <i>pantalun</i> ].
KAG	Also <i>suwwal</i> .
MGY	From French.
SUN	Also [ <i>pantalon</i> ].
BAL	Compare Malay <i>səluar</i> ?
GOR	From Hindi.
KON	Also [ <i>sa’loara</i> ].
SIK	Also <i>ʔase</i> .
BUR	<i>kata rema-t</i> ‘long pants’; <i>kata teha-n</i> ‘short pants’; <i>pifa</i> ‘loincloth’; <i>bofe-n</i> ‘pants with pockets’.
IRA	<i>kadəfa marerə</i> ‘trousers’; <i>kadəfa futə</i> ‘shorts’.
NYI	‘bark loin cloths’.
DAM	‘bark belt’. This term was used for trousers but has now given place to [ <i>trausis</i> ].
MOT	From Rarotongan <i>piripou</i> ‘lower garment worn by males or females’.
ROV	‘cloth - leg’.
PAA	Also <i>trausis</i> ‘shorts’.
LEW	Also <i>kulu-tasu</i> ‘skin (for) buttocks’.
POR	‘bone to European’.
XAR	‘long house for the legs’.
NEN	Also [ <i>patal</i> ] from French.
KIR	<i>tekawaerake</i> CAUS of <i>waerake</i> ‘go ashore’; <i>te [rautiti]</i> .
MSH	Also [ <i>cerducic</i> ] from English.
SAM	<i>ʔofu</i> ‘dress, clothes’, <i>vae</i> ‘leg’.

## 06.490 STOCKING, SOCK

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>kous</i> ‘socks’	<b>French:</b> <i>bas</i> ‘stocking’
<b>English:</b> <i>stocking, socks</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>medias</i>

ATA	*PAI	<i>ʔa-ʔavu</i>	KAL	[ <i>medyas</i> ]
TSO	YAM	<i>ʂlot no ai</i>	TAG	[ <i>medyas</i> ]
RUK	ISN		AKL	[ <i>medyas</i> ]

PAL	[midyas]	SIK		RAG	yai-saya-n
MOL	[miʃas]	RTI			b <sup>w</sup> alaye
*KAG	[stakiŋ]	BUR		PAA	
BLA	[midyas]	DOB		LEW	[sitoken]
*SAB	[kalsitin]	IRA		POR	
MUR	[sitakin]	SAW	[kaus kaki]	NTA	[stokən]
*MGY	[ba]-n-[kiraru]	NYI		KWA	
ACE	saroŋgaki	MAM		NEM	
*BAT	[kaus] [pat]	TAK		CEM	
MIN	[kaus] kaki	DAM		AJI	[ba]
IND	[kaus] kaki	MAB		XAR	
SUN	[kaos] suku	YAB		NEN	
JAV		KAU		KIR	
*MAD	[kaos] suku	*TOL	[tokin]	MSH	
BAL	[kaos]	BUA		PON	
SAS	[kaos] nae	ADZ		WLE	
GOR	[kawusu]	KIL		EFI	[sitōkini]
DAA	sepu <sup>ɔ</sup> gada	TAW		WFI	[sitōkini]
UMA		MOT	[sokisi]	RTU	[takini]
BUG	[kosiʔ]-aʃe	MEK	[tsokis]	TON	[sitōkeni]
KON	[kausu]	ROV	[sitokene]	SAM	[tōtini]
WOL	[kosu]	MAR		MEL	
*MAG	[kaos] [kaki]	LAU	[sitokini]	TAH	[tōtini]
NGA		KWO		RAP	[kotini]

PAI ‘leggings’; [kuʃuʃəta] ‘stocking, sock’ from Japanese.

KAG Also [midyas].

SAB From Spanish *calcotines*.

MGY [kiraru] from Bantu.

BAT [pat] from Sanskrit.

MAD suku ‘foot, leg’.

MAG [kaki] from Malay.

TOL From English ‘stocking’, or German *Socken*.

## 06.510 SHOE

<b>English:</b> <i>shoe(s), boot</i>	<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>sapato</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>zapatós</i>
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ATA	ami†	UMA	[sapatuʔ]	MAR	
*TSO	sapri	BUG	[sapattu]	LAU	
*RUK	[kuɕu]	KON	[sapatu]	KWO	
*PAI	[kuɕu]	*WOL	[kaosu]	RAG	
YAM	tokap	MAG	[səpatu]	PAA	aihelhelas
ISN	[sapātus]	NGA	ʒaku	*LEW	kulu-la-la
KAL	[kapātos]	SIK	βaʔi lapi-ŋ	*POR	ri a xa <sup>m</sup> bat
TAG	[sapatos]	RTI	[sapatu]	NTA	[put]
*AKL	sapin	*BUR	[spatu]	KWA	
PAL	tɔmpaʔ	*DOB	toʔur yaba	*NEM	kare-o
MOL	tumpaʔ	IRA		*CEM	dîhi-b <sup>w</sup> â-á
*KAG	sapin	*SAW	[çapato]	*AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã nexaʔa ā
BLA	tɔlumfɔʔ	*NYI	kuʔi kati-n	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ã-xē
SAB	taumpaʔ	MAM	ae-suʔuma	*NEN	[but]
*MUR	[kasut]	TAK		*KIR	te kau ni wae
*MGY	[kiraru]	DAM	ye [su]	MSH	[cūc]
ACE	[sɔpatu]	MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu ketēne	PON	[sūt]
BAT	[sipatu]	*YAB	à-tapa	WLE	řòkō
MIN	[sipatu]	KAU		EFI	i-βāβā
IND	[səpatu]	*TOL	pəl-ə-kau	*WFI	i-βāβā
SUN	[sapatu]	BUA	[sū]	RTU	sakanæve
JAV	[səpatu]	*ADZ	faga ga <sup>ɖ</sup> kaŋ	TON	[sū]
MAD	[sapatu]	*KIL	[buta]	*SAM	seʔe-vae
BAL	[səpatu]	*TAW	kaumaka	MEL	[sū]
SAS	[səpatu]	*MOT	[tamaka]	TAH	tiaʔa
GOR	[sapatu]	*MEK	[kamaka]	RAP	kiri-vaʔe
DAA	[sapatu]	ROV	[buti]		

TSO 'footgear'.

RUK From Japanese.

PAI From Japanese.

AKL Also [sapātos].

KAG	Also [ <i>sapatus</i> ].
MUR	From Malay <i>kasut</i> .
MGY	From Bantu.
WOL	From Dutch, also <i>kafoo</i> .
DOB	'the thing stood on with a foot'.
NYI	'skin leg-his'.
YAB	'his/her flat of foot', by extension 'shoe'.
TOL	<i>pəl</i> 'skin', ə CONN, <i>kau</i> 'sole of the foot'.
ADZ	'foot ground, shell': neologism.
TAW	'coconut stilts'.
MOT	Probably from a Polynesian language through missionaries (e.g. Rarotongan <i>tamaka</i> 'covering for feet; boot, shoe').
MEK	Also [ <i>kamata</i> ]; from Rarotongan. NW Mekeo <i>au-poba</i> .
LEW	'skin (for) feet'.
POR	'leg or foot to European'.
NEM	'underneath-foot'.
CEM	'envelope for upper part of foot'.
AJI	Also [ <i>yuřie</i> ] from French <i>soulier</i> .
XAR	'house for the feet'.
NEN	Also <i>ye[ču]</i> from English 'shoe'.
KIR	<i>te kau ni wae</i> lit 'foot leather'; <i>te tāmaka</i> 'sandals'.
WFI	From Standard Fijian; also <i>taba-ni-lā</i> .
SAM	<i>seʔe</i> (vb intrans) 'slide, glide', <i>vae</i> 'leg, foot'.

## 06.520 BOOT

**English:** *boot*

**Portuguese:** *bota*

**Spanish:** *bota*

ATA	<i>amiṭ</i>	KAL	[būtas]	BLA	<i>tolumfoʔ</i>
TSO		TAG	[bōta]	SAB	
RUK		AKL	[bōtas]	MUR	
PAI		PAL	[buta]	*MGY	[bauti]
YAM	<i>tokap</i>	MOL	[buta]	ACE	
ISN		KAG	[buta]	BAT	[sipatu] [bət]

MIN	[sipatu] [bot]	*SAW	[čapato] ta	*LEW	kulu-la-la
IND	[səpatu] tingi		moge	POR	
SUN	[sapatu] [bot]	NYI		NTA	[put]
JAV		MAM		KWA	
MAD	[sapatu] [bot]	TAK		NEM	
BAL		DAM		*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ô-á-n
SAS	[səpatu] [bot]	MAB		AJI	[yuric] m <sup>w</sup> ã
GOR	[sapatu] [bot]	YAB			k <sup>w</sup> a
DAA		KAU		XAR	
UMA		*TOL	pəl-ə-kau	NEN	[but]
BUG	[sapattu] tanre	BUA	[sū]	KIR	
*KON	[sapatu]	ADZ	faga ga <sup>ŋ</sup> kaŋ	MSH	
	[tantara]	KIL	[buta]	PON	
WOL		*TAW	kaumaka	WLE	
MAG		MOT		EFI	i-βāβā
NGA		MEK		WFI	
SIK	βa <sup>?</sup> i lapi-ŋ	ROV	[buti]	RTU	sakanæve
RTI	[sapatu] ei	MAR		TON	[puti]
	ma-dema	LAU	[butu]	*SAM	se <sup>?</sup> e-vae <sup>?</sup> umi
*BUR	[spatu] [las]	KWO		MEL	
DOB		RAG		*TAH	tia <sup>?</sup> a [poiti]
ĪRĀ		PĀĀ		RĀP	

MGY From French.

KON From Malay *təntara* ‘soldier’, from Sanskrit.

BUR From Dutch ‘welding shoes’ (like wellingtons, known from logging operations on Buru).

SAW ‘shoes that are tall’.

TOL *pəl* ‘skin’, ə CONN, *kau* ‘sole of the foot’.

TAW ‘coconut stilts’.

LEW ‘skin (for) feet’.

CEM ‘foot container’.

SAM <sup>?</sup>umi ‘long’.

TAH Also *tia<sup>?</sup>a* [puiti] from French.



## 06.540 SHOEMAKER, COBBLER

Malay: *tukaŋ*Spanish: *zapatero*Portuguese: *sapateiro*

ATA		BAL	[tukaŋ]	KIL	
TSO			[səpatu]	TAW	
RUK		SAS	[tukaŋ]	MOT	
PAI			[səpatu]	MEK	
YAM	manapaŋ so tokap	*GOR	taa mo-h- hutu-wa	ROV	
ISN			[sapatu]	MAR	
*KAL	maŋkokowat [kapātos]	DAA	topo-via [sapatu]	LAU	
TAG	[sapatēro]	UMA		KWO	
AKL	[sapatīroh]	BUG	[tukaŋ]	RAG	
PAL	mɔmɔmaʔal ɔt tɔmpaʔ		[sapattu]	PAA	
		KON	[tukaŋ]	LEW	
MOL			[sapatu]	POR	
*KAG	manigʔayus ta sapiŋ	WOL	pa <sup>n</sup> de-na [kaosu]	NTA	
BLA	to m-imoʔ tɔlumfɔʔ	MAG	[tukaŋ] [səpatu]	KWA	
SAB		NGA		NEM	
MUR		SIK	ola βaʔi lapi-ŋ	CEM	
MGY	mpanau [kiraru]	RTI	[tuka] [sapatu]	AJI	ka řu kãřã b <sup>w</sup> ãřãwẽ
ACE	[tukaŋ] [suapatu]	BUR		XAR	
BAT	[tukkaŋ] [sipatu]	DOB		NEN	
MIN	[tukaŋ] [sipatu]	IRA		KIR	
IND	tukaŋ [səpatu]	SAW		MSH	
SUN	[tukaŋ] [sapatu]	NYI		PON	
JAV	[tukaŋ] [səpatu]	MAM		WLE	
MAD	[tokaŋ] [sapatu]	TAK		EFI	dau-tuki-iβãβã
		DAM		WFI	drou-čuki- iβãβã
		MAB		RTU	
		YAB		TON	taŋata tuitui-sū
		KAU		SAM	
		TOL		MEL	
		BUA		TAH	taʔata hãmani tiaʔa
		ADZ		RAP	

KAL From (*man-ko-kokwa-ut kapatos*).

KAG ‘repairer of shoes’.

GOR Also *taa mo-p-poʔo-piyoh-e [sapatu]*, *mo-p-poʔo-piyoh-e* ‘habitually repairs’; also [*tukaŋ*][*sapatu*].

### 06.550 HAT, CAP

**English:** *hat*.

**Hindi:** *topī*

**French:** *chapeau, képi*

**Portuguese:** *capelo, chapéu*

*ATA	kaβuβiŋ	UMA	so <sup>ŋ</sup> ko	MAR	[k <sup>h</sup> epi]
TSO	ɕropŋu	BUG	palo-palo	LAU	[kefi]
*RUK	taɭo-pono	KON	palo-palo	KWO	
PAI	caɭupuŋ	*WOL	so <sup>ŋ</sup> ko	RAG	
YAM	ʃakop	MAG	[topi]	PAA	
ISN	kalluguŋ	NGA	goβe-ulu	*LEW	karo
KAL	battūkuŋ	*SIK	soko	POR	<sup>m</sup> buxa <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>
*TAG	[sumbrēro]	RTI	tiʔi laŋa	NTA	[hat]
*AKL	kātuʔ	*BUR	milolo-t	KWA	kaβaβau
*PAL	sapuyuʔ	DOB	tana <sup>k</sup> wul	NEM	yau-n
MOL	saduk	*IRA	kaβi	CEM	bô
KAG	kalu	SAW	[çapeo]	*AJI	[yɔp <sup>w</sup> a]
BLA	slauŋ	*NYI	barak	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ãçõ
SAB	saduk	*MAM	tataura	*NEN	gunakot
*MUR	[tupiʔ]	TAK		KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ara
MGY	saɭʔuka	DAM	teter	MSH	[at]
*ACE	[kupiyah]	MAB		*PON	lisərop
BAT	tahuluk	YAB	kululuŋ	WLE	xanürü
*MIN	[topi]	KAU		EFI	i-sala
*IND	[topi]	TOL	kere	*WFI	i-sala
SUN	[topi]	BUA	kəruŋ	*RTU	faʔpurou
*JAV	[topi]	ADZ		TON	tatā
MAD	[çapil]	*KIL	kulupewa	*SAM	pūlou
*BAL	[çapil]	TAW	unuhau	*MEL	fīru
*SAS	soŋkoʔ	*MOT	k <sup>w</sup> ara yau-na	*TAH	[tāupoʔo]
GOR	[sapeyo]	MEK	[atsi]	*RAP	[haʔu]
DAA	so <sup>ŋ</sup> go	ROV	toropae		
ATA	Also kaβuβuʔ.				

- RUK *taʔo-pono* 'hat, cap' (*pono* 'forehead').
- TAG From Spanish *sombrero*.
- AKL Also *saruk*.
- PAL Also *saruk*.
- ACE From Arabic *kūfiyya* 'head wrapper'.
- MIN Also [*čapiau*].
- IND Also [*piči*].
- JAV Also *čapiŋ*.
- BAL From Portuguese; [*čapil*], *payuŋ* 'hat made from woven palm leaves or bamboo'; *payuŋ* also 'umbrella'; *topoŋ* 'hat made from cloth'.
- SAS Also *kəčopoŋ*.
- WOL Also *tobone* 'k. o. cap of a certain shape'; [*piči*] 'cap' from Persian *piče*; [*topi*].
- SIK Also *soŋko*.
- BUR 'headcloth, turban'; *i-futi-n* 'the cloth used to *milolo* 'wind around head'.
- IRA *sawapi* 'head cover of woman in mourning' (formerly made of tree bark, now of cloth).
- NYI Also *kohokoh*.
- MAM Also *ʔauta*.
- KIL Also *kulupu*.
- MOT *k<sup>w</sup>ara* 'head', *ɣau* 'thing'.
- LEW See 09.760; also *kulu-pari-na* 'skin (for) head'.
- AJI From French *chapeau*.
- NEN Also *ŋawaɖe*.
- PON Also *p<sup>w</sup>eisou* 'sun visor, fishing hat'; *ōp<sup>w</sup>eisou* hon.
- WFI Standard Fijian, also *uho*.
- RTU *faʔpuru* 'hat'; [*kæpe*] from English 'cap'.
- SAM (poiite) *faie*.
- MEL Also [*kapāji*] from English.
- TAH From French.
- RAP Possibly from English 'hat'.

## 06.570 BELT, GIRDLE

English: *belt*Spanish: *cinturon*

*ATA	ha-haβil	BUG	babbəŋ	MAR	ŋuya
*TSO	iofutŋa	*KON	arreʔ-arreʔ	LAU	fōrake
RUK	lakətə	*WOL	sulepe	KWO	
PAI	runaiŋ	MAG	[kə <sup>n</sup> dik]	RAG	
YAM	abtək	NGA	kəru-soza	PAA	atuh
ISN	[sinturon]	SIK		*LEW	kilika
KAL	lālat	RTI	kali-ke	*POR	na-xo tutuv
TAG	[sinturon]	*BUR	salolo-t	NTA	katout
*AKL	[pāhah]	*DOB	ʔada k <sup>w</sup> aŋir	KWA	katoti
PAL	bakəs	IRA	wararirə	*NEM	wā-n ɟie-n
MOL	[sinturun]	*SAW	pərpər	CEM	
KAG	bakləs	*NYI	molowa	AJI	kaŋipu
BLA	galiŋ		<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> akalin	XAR	nemū
SAB	bukaʔ	MAM	aŋapi	*NEN	ŋawačaore
*MUR	abot	TAK		*KIR	te kabae
MGY	fehi-kibu	DAM	lu	MSH	kaŋiŋ
ACE	taləə ku <sup>ʔ</sup> iəŋ	MAB	pus	*PON	kaŋeŋ
BAT	həhəs	YAB	o <sup>m</sup> biŋkap	*WLE	taŋa
MIN	kabeʔ piŋgaŋ	*KAU		*EFI	[bēleti]
*IND	sabuk	*TOL	pəl-ə-[bel]	*WFI	[beleči]
*SUN	bibir	*BUA	[let]	RTU	fəli
*JAV	sabuʔ	*ADZ	bruʔ ari-da	*TON	nonoʔo
MAD	sabbuʔ		ragun gin	*SAM	fusi-paʔu
*BAL	sabuk	KIL	duriduri	MEL	p <sup>w</sup> alai
SAS	sabuk	TAW	dagilolo	TAH	hātua
*GOR	bani	MOT	[beleta]	RAP	pena
DAA	sulepe	*MEK	ua-o		
UMA	salepeʔ	ROV	[belete]		

ATA Also *ha-haβuk*.TSO *iofutŋa* 'women's cloth-belt'; *posoʔri* 'men's bamboo-belt'.

MOL From Spanish.

MUR *ogot, linaputuŋ* 'kind of ornamental belt for women (made of Straits dollars)'.IND Also *ikat piŋgaŋ*.

SUN	Also <i>sabuk</i> .
JAV	Also <i>setut</i> .
BAL	<i>sabuk</i> 'belt'; <i>ambəd</i> 'cloth tied around the body' (typically the waist or the neck).
GOR	<i>bani</i> (from leather); <i>bī<sup>n</sup>dolo</i> (from cord or cloth), <i>ʔetaŋo</i> 'belt made of gold' (for a bride). Also <i>hutaŋo</i> 'belt' (Limboto dialect).
KON	Also <i>baŋ-baŋ</i> .
WOL	<i>sulepe</i> 'metal belt'; <i>balu-balula</i> 'belt'.
BUR	Also <i>kata wihī-n</i> .
DOB	'trouser string'.
SAW	'string belt, from early days'; also [ <i>ban</i> ] from Indonesian.
NYI	<i>molowa<sup>n</sup>dʳakalin</i> (for men); <i>balaban</i> (for women).
KAU	'that which goes around the waist'; <i>eral</i> 'waistband which holds up a woman's grass skirt'; <i>mulu</i> 'traditional barkcloth waistband worn by men'.
TOL	[ <i>bel</i> ] 'belly', from English <i>belly</i> .
BUA	Also <i>kabi</i> .
ADZ	'bark.cloth tie-PART up.top with.it', i.e. 'bark-cloth for tying around the top of the body'.
MEK	<i>ua</i> 'waist'; other kinds of belts are <i>ua-i-o</i> , <i>ua-i-ofe</i> and <i>ua-i-kopa</i> ; [ <i>peleta</i> ] 'modern belt'.
LEW	Also [ <i>stirap</i> ] from Bislama.
POR	Also <i><sup>m</sup>būxø</i> .
NEM	'rope of stomach'.
NEN	Also <i>zečie</i> .
KIR	<i>kab-</i> 'CAUS', <i>bae</i> 'bound'; <i>te rō</i> also 'rope'.
PON	<i>ka-</i> 'CAUS', <i>teŋ</i> 'tight'; <i>keŋir</i> ; <i>pirapir</i> also 'to tie'.
WLE	Also [ <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>ɔ̃ntō</i> ] from English.
EFI	Also <i>i-oro</i> .
WFI	Also <i>i-βau</i> .
TON	Also <i>no<sup>ʔ</sup>o</i> .
SAM	<i>fusi</i> (vb trans) 'bind, lash', <i>pa<sup>ʔ</sup>u</i> 'leather', see 06.290.

## 06.580 GLOVE

**Dutch:** *kous* 'sock'**Spanish:** *guantes*

ATA		UMA		ROV	
TSO		BUG	sepuj-jari	MAR	
RUK	rarəpəŋanə	KON	['kausu] lima	LAU	
PAI	ʎavu	WOL		KWO	
YAM	ʃolot no lima	MAG		RAG	
ISN		NGA		PAA	
KAL	sulkūp di īma	SIK		*LEW	suri na-kali-
TAG	[guwantes]	RTI	lima odu-k		wo-en lima-na
AKL	[gwantis]	BUR		POR	
PAL	susuʔub ot karamut	*DOB	lima-mruma- y	NTA	
MOL		IRA		KWA	
KAG	[gwantis]	*SAW	[sarəŋ] fa-o (fae)	NEM	
BLA				CEM	
SAB		NYI		AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā kōwi
MUR		MAM		XAR	
MGY	[ga]-n-ntanana	TAK		NEN	
AČE		DAM		*KIR	te raurau in bai
BAT	[kaus]taŋan	MAB		*MSH	tep <sup>u</sup> ukɾo
MIN	saru <sup>ɔ</sup> ŋ taŋan	YAB		*PON	teip <sup>w</sup> ukuro
IND	saruŋ taŋan	KAU		WLE	
SUN	[kaos] liŋin	TOL		EFI	gā-ni-liŋa
JAV		BUA		WFI	gā-ni-lima
*MAD	[kaos] tanaŋ	ADZ		RTU	hɔʔ-ne-ʔuʔu
BAL		KIL		TON	kofu-nima
SAS		*TAW	nimahu- mahuma	SAM	
GOR	[kawusu] lo ʔuluʔu	MOT		*MEL	[kalapu]
DAA	sepu <sup>m</sup> pale	MEK		TAH	rimarima
				RAP	

DOB 'your hand's nest'.

SAW From Malay.

TAW 'hand cover'.

LEW 'thing for covering hand'.

KIR 'dish for the hand'.

MSH Also [*kuɾob*] ‘baseball glove, from English via Japanese.

PON Also [*kuroap*] ‘baseball glove’, from English via Japanese.

MEL From English.

### 06.590 VEIL

French: *voile*

Spanish: *velo*

ATA		UMA	karamua	MAR	
TSO		BUG	bowoŋ	LAU	
RUK		KON	bohŋ	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	talako	RAG	
YAM	ibəŋbəŋ ʂo moin	MAG		PAA	
ISN	ladduŋ	NGA	rubu-ŋia	LEW	
KAL	dahudūŋ	SIK	soko	POR	
*TAG	talukboŋ	RTI	lala	NTA	
AKL	[bīloh]	*BUR	sedu	KWA	
PAI		DOB		NEM	
		IRA		CEM	
*MOL	kurumbus	SAW	kukurum	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ānenā
*KAG	duruŋ	NYI		XAR	
BLA		MAM		NEN	nekoepaegogo
*SAB	[sulban]	TAK		*KIR	te roki
MUR		DAM		MSH	
*MGY	[saruna]	MAB		PON	ko <sup>t</sup> ūp <sup>w</sup> el
ACE		YAB		WLE	
BAT		KAU		EFI	[βoela]
MIN		*TOL	məl-ə-bəbət- nə-matə	WFI	[βoela]
*IND	kəru <sup>d</sup> uŋ			RTU	kukulu
SUN	tiuŋ	BUA		TON	pūlou
JAV		ADZ		*SAM	[veli]
MAD	ku <sup>d</sup> uŋ	KIL		MEL	taunamu
BAL		TAW		TAH	pāruru
SAS	ku <sup>d</sup> uŋ	MOT		RAP	
*GOR	[kūduŋi]	MEK			
DAA	ryu	ROV			

TAG	Also [bēlo].
MOL	<i>kurumbus + og-ku-</i> .
KAG	<i>duruj</i> 'head covering'; [bilo] 'bridal veil'.
SAB	From Arabic <i>şulban</i> .
MGY	Also 'cover; envelope' from Malay <i>saruṅ</i> .
IND	Also <i>tuduj</i> .
GOR	From Malay <i>kuduj</i> . Also <i>beleʔuto</i> 'length of cloth worn so as to cover head, face and body down to the thighs'.
WOL	<i>talako</i> 'veil for religious purposes'; <i>salibu<sup>m</sup>bu</i> 'veil worn by women and girls after seclusion'.
BUR	(vb).
TOL	<i>məl</i> 'cloth' ə CONN, <i>bəbət</i> 'close', <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>matə</i> 'eye'.
KIR	<i>te roki</i> also 'screen, curtain'; <i>te [were]</i> English.
SAM	From English 'veil'.

## 06.610 POCKET

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>zak</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>kantong</i>
<b>English:</b> <i>pocket</i>	<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>bolso</i> 'pocket'; <i>saco</i> 'bag, sack'
<b>French:</b> <i>poche</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>bolsa</i>

*ATA	uβiŋ	MGY	[pausi]	WOL	kaʔu-kaʔu
TSO		ACE	keh	MAG	
RUK	θoθoboŋo	BAT	haʔut	NGA	gepi
PAI		MIN	[saku]	*SIK	labu [sako]
YAM	alavat	*IND	kantuj	RTI	[saku]
ISN	[bursa]	SUN	[saku]	*BUR	[saku]
KAL	[bōlsa]	JAV	kantɔŋ	*DOB	ʔada ani
*TAG	[bursa]	MAD	[saʔ]		k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a
AKL	[buʃsah]	*BAL	[kantɔŋ]	IRA	
PAL	pitakaʔ	SAS	kantɔŋ	*SAW	[popoʃe]
MOL	[bursa]	*GOR	[popoʃi]	NYI	
KAG	[bursa]	*DAA	[ka <sup>n</sup> tona]	MAM	[baʔa]
BLA	[bursa]	*UMA	[ka <sup>n</sup> to]	TAK	
SAB	[bursa]	BUG	kantɔŋ	DAM	
MUR	[pakit]	KON	koččik-aŋ	MAB	



YAB	atali	RAG		MSH	
KAU		PAA		PON	
TOL		LEW	taŋa	WLE	
BUA	ɣəyis	POR		EFI	
ADZ		NTA	[pakət]	WFI	taŋa
KIL	[poketa]	KWA		RTU	taŋa
TAW	[poketi]	NEM		TON	kato
MOT	[pokete]	*CEM	èlɛlɛ-kó- pàtelo	*SAM	taŋa
MEK		AJI	[pōyi]	MEL	[pakita]
ROV	[pokete]	XAR		TAH	pūtē
MAR		NEN		RAP	kete
LAU		KIR			
KWO					

ATA Also *uβut*.

TAG Also *lukbot* 'pouch'.

IND Also [*saku*].

GOR Possibly from Javanese *pəpoŋʃen?* (Wilkinson).

DAA Indonesian *kantong*.

UMA Probably from Malay.

SIK *labu* 'shirt'.

BUR *tonal sifa-n* 'pouch of the marsupial cuscus'; *bofe-n* 'pants with pockets'.

DOB 'trouser's small (thing)'.

SAW From Tobelo.

CEM 'basket on trousers'.

SAM Also 'bag, sack'.

## 06.620 BUTTON

**Dutch:** *knoop*

**English:** *button*

**French:** *bouton*

**Malay:** *kančiq*

**Spanish:** *botones*

ATA pułas̄

TSO tinti

RUK ɕiki

PAI ɕa-ɕaiŋ-an

YAM arotan no talili

ISN [batūnis]

KAL [botōnit]

TAG [butōnes]

AKL pakut

PAL tōmbuku

MOL tombuku

KAG [butinis]

BLA	tambuku	BUR	[kanope]	*LEW	na-kran-ari- ena
SAB	kansiŋ	DOB			
*MUR	[butaŋ]	IRA		POR	
MGY	bukiʔa	SAW	[kančiŋ]	NTA	[pʷətən]
ACE	bəh baʔeə	NYI		KWA	
*BAT	[haččiŋ]	MAM		NEM	
*MIN	gotaŋ	TAK		CEM	[bùto]
IND	kañčiŋ	DAM		AJI	[butō]
SUN	kañčiŋ	MAB		XAR	
JAV	bəniʔ	*YAB	ŋa-mata-gasi	NEN	
MAD	kañčiŋ	KAU		KIR	
BAL	kañčiŋ	*TOL	ələl-bət	MSH	
*SAS	buaʔ [kəlambi]	BUA		PON	
		ADZ		WLE	
GOR	[konopu]	KIL		EFI	i-bulukau
*DAA	[ka <sup>ñ</sup> ji]	TAW	[pitopito]	*WFI	[bulukau]
UMA	pa <sup>ñ</sup> či	*MOT	[pitopito]	RTU	ukamea
BUG	pak-kapu	MEK		TON	fakamaʔu
KON	paʔ-kapuʔ	ROV	kada	*SAM	faʔa-mau
WOL	ku <sup>ñ</sup> či	MAR		*MEL	[pajina]
MAG	[ka <sup>ñ</sup> čiŋ]	LAU	[batin]	TAH	pitopito
NGA		KWO		RAP	pito-pito
SIK	[kansi-ŋ]	*RAG	[yona-yona]		
RTI	[kano-k]	PAA			

MUR ‘modern button’ from Portuguese; also *kaput* ‘traditional button, made of bone’; *maganduŋu* ‘ornamental button, consisting of small bells’.

BAT From Malay.

MIN Also *buah baju*.

SAS From Javanese? see 06.120.

DAA Indonesian *ka<sup>ñ</sup>čiŋ*.

YAB ‘its-eye-lash’ (cf. 04.214), from the appearance of the operculum over the opening of a sea-snail’s shell, from which a traditional ‘button’ is made.

TOL From *al bal* ‘pull and close’.

MOT Probably from Rarotongan *pitopito* ‘small round objects; buttons’.

RAG From Mota?

LEW ‘thing to grasp and hold’.

WFI From Standard Fijian.

SAM *faʔa*-CAUS, *mau* (vb trans) ‘hold fast, grip tight’.

MEL From English.

### 06.630 PIN

<b>English:</b> <i>pin</i>	<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>alfincte</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>alfiler</i>
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*ATA	raum	UMA	[poniti]	MAR	
TSO	porupu	BUG	pat-toddo	LAU	[bini]
RUK		KON	paʔ-toddoʔ	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	paso	RAG	
YAM		MAG	[pəniti]	PAA	
ISN		NGA		*LEW	na-sulu-ari-
KAL	[espili]	SIK	[pəniti]		ena
*TAG	[aspili]	*RTI	[faneti]	POR	
*AKL	paŋ-igpit	BUR		NTA	[pin]
PAL	tugsuk	DOB		KWA	
MOL	simat	IRA		NEM	
*KAG	sibit	SAW	bobadu	CEM	
BLA	[lfidil]	NYI	nunu	AJI	pe kāvia
SAB	kait	MAM		*XAR	kēvī re xou
MUR	[pīn]	TAK		NEN	wa[pin]
*MGY	[painguʔa]	DAM		KIR	
ACE	jarom sumat	MAB		MSH	
BAT	[kipit]	*YAB	eŋ-sə	PON	
MIN	jarun	KAU		WLE	
IND	[pəniti]	TOL	[pin]	EFI	[βini]
SUN	[panitih]	BUA		WFI	[βini]
JAV	[pəniti]	ADZ		RTU	[pini]
MAD	[paniti]	KIL		TON	[pine]
BAL	jaum	TAW	[pine]	SAM	[pine]
SAS	kañčiŋ	*MOT	[pine]	MEL	[pīni]
*GOR	[peneti]	*MEK	ini	TAH	[pine]
*DAA	paku ʔgedi	ROV	[pini]	RAP	[pin]

ATA	Also <i>rayum</i> .
TAG	Also [ <i>ispili</i> ], [ <i>ipit</i> ].
AKL	Also [ <i>aspili</i> ].
KAG	<i>sibit</i> ‘safety pin’; <i>tebek</i> ‘straight pin’.
MGY	From French <i>épingle</i> .
GOR	Also [ <i>?alu<sup>m</sup>beneti</i> ] ‘ornaments as well as ordinary pins’, Portuguese. Also [ <i>haki</i> ] ‘ordinary pin’ from Dutch.
DAA	‘little nail’.
WOL	<i>paso</i> ‘nail, pin’; also <i>ka-supi</i> .
RTI	<i>faneti-paku</i> ( <i>nai</i> from Malay) form a doublet meaning ‘pin’.
YAB	‘hook-needle’, by extension ‘bent pin used for fishing, pin’.
MOT	Also <i>nila</i> (see 06.360).
MEK	<i>ini</i> ‘thorn’ (used as pins); [ <i>nila</i> ] ‘steel pin’ (see 06.360 and note).
LEW	‘thing to pierce and hold’; also <i>kuru-yero</i> ‘thatch for holding folded thatch leaves’.
XAR	‘clothing attachment’.

## 06.710 ORNAMENT, ADORNMENT

ATA	p-in-utraŋ	BAT		BUR	
TSO		MIN	par-ias-an	DOB	semay
RUK		IND	pər-hias-an	IRA	naφərəme
PAI		*SUN	[pər-hias-an]	*SAW	frē
YAM	gara na	*JAV	rərəŋgan	NYI	ñasou
ISN	ikka <sup>?</sup> armat	MAD		MAM	ŋazim
KAL	al <sup>?</sup> altin di	BAL	(pə-)payas-an	TAK	damag
	loŋ-ag	SAS	payas-an	DAM	garābi
*TAG	palamūti	*GOR	[hiyāsani]	*MAB	aigau
AKL	punih	DAA		YAB	ŋa-geloŋ
PAL	dyɔmbaŋan	UMA	βaru <sup>?</sup>	KAU	mol-ŋin
*MOL	makoy	BUG	belo-belo	TOL	purpur
KAG		KON	belo-belo	*BUA	qumqum
BLA	kas	*WOL	ake	*ADZ	nam gira-da
SAB	dublun	MAG			gin
MUR		NGA	loda-vea	KIL	katububula
MGY	haingu	*SIK	ŋəβi	*TAW	wihiya
ACE		*RTI	bua pilas	*MOT	hera yau-na

*MEK	peŋa	KWA		EFI	i-ukuuku
*ROV	vina sari	NEM	m <sup>w</sup> ēŋ	WFI	i-ukuuku
MAR	glalaoni	CEM	nāmū-n	RTU	ososi
LAU	lauŋja	AJI	umui	*TON	teuŋa
KWO	k <sup>w</sup> asiŋa	XAR	fa-m <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> ā	*SAM	tēu-ŋa
RAG		NEN	neakaruiani	MEL	fakarākei
*PAA	mosan	*KIR	te katamāroa	TAH	ʔunaʔuna
*LEW	na-yowa-ena	*MSH	inΛknΛk	RAP	
POR		PON	kap <sup>w</sup> aʔ		
NTA		WLE	xauweʔüwa		

TAG Also *paŋ-gayak*.

MOL *makoy + po-*.

ʒUN From Malay?

JAV From (*RED-rəŋga-an*), *rəŋga* ‘decorate’.

GOR From Malay *hiasan*. Also [*pakēyaŋi*] (see 06.110).

WOL Also *beŋo*.

SIK Also *ŋəβinəna-ŋ*.

RTI Also *lilo, henu*.

SAW Also *n-ε-frε* (vb).

MAB *aigau* (made of flowers, leaves, plants); *m<sup>w</sup>buru narōgo ŋana* ‘decoration for dancing’.

BUA *ḱumḱum* ‘beads, necklace’; *zəliməŋ* ‘shell bracelet’; *sages* ‘woven armband’.

ADZ ‘thing decorate-PART with’, i.e. ‘thing to decorate (oneself) with’.

TAW ‘flower’.

MOT *hera* ‘personal adornment’, *yau* ‘thing’.

MEK *peŋa* ‘(predominantly feather) ornaments’; *kai-kai* ‘flower as ornaments’; also [*bilas*], from Tok Pisin; NWMek *api-kaoka*.

ROV ‘dressing up’.

PAA ‘decoration’.

LEW ‘thing for decoration’.

KIR *ka-* ‘CAUS’, *tamāroa* ‘beautiful’; *te uneke*.

MSH *kim<sup>w</sup>aʔm<sup>w</sup>aʔ* also ‘frill, insignia’.

TON Also *meʔa teuteu*.

SAM ‘decorate’ (vb trans), *-ŋa* NOM; also *tīfiŋa*.

## 06.720 JEWEL

Malay: *pər-mata*Sanskrit: *maṇi-, māṇikya*Spanish: *alhajas*

ATA		UMA		MAR
TSO		BUG	[paramata]	LAU
RUK		KON	[parammata]	KWO
PAI	kul <sup>y</sup> u	*WOL	[manikamu]	RAG
YAM	molag	MAG		PAA
ISN		NGA	butu	LEW
KAL		SIK		POR
*TAG	hiyas	RTI	[poe-mata]	NTA
*AKL	mutya?	BUR		KWA
PAL		DOB		NEM
MOL	poriṅmata	IRA		*CEM [m <sup>w</sup> àní]
KAG		SAW	fɛ <sup>ʔ</sup> fre	AJI pɛ umui
BLA	mutyɔ?	NYI		XAR
SAB	bulawan	MAM		NEN
MUR	[pamata?]	TAK		KIR
MGY	fī-ravaka	DAM		MSH
ACE	intan	MAB		PON
BAT	[parmata]	YAB		WLE
MIN	parmato	KAU		EFI βatu-tālei
IND	pər-mata	TOL		*WFI [βaču-talei]
SUN	[pərmata]	BUA		RTU hɔfu
JAV	[mani <sup>ʔ</sup> -mani <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	ADZ		*TON [siuei]
*MAD	ma-matan	KIL		*SAM ma <sup>ʔ</sup> a tāua
*BAL	[sočə]	TAW		MEL
*SAS	[pərmata]	MOT		TAH ma <sup>ʔ</sup> imoa
*GOR	[paramata]	MEK		RAP
DAA		*ROV	patu ŋedala	

TAG [alāhas].

AKL Also [alāhas].

MAD From (RED-*matan*); diachronically -*matan* from \*\**mata-an* (*mata* ‘eye’), no longer analysable, see Stevens (1966).BAL From Sanskrit; also [*manik*]; *intən* ‘emerald’.

SAS From Malay?

GOR Also [ʔ<sup>n</sup>dani], from Malay *intan* ‘diamond’.

WOL Also *paramata, tu<sup>n</sup>du, yakutu* ‘precious stone’.

ROV ‘shining jewel’ i.e. ‘diamond’.

CEM From English ‘money’.

WFI From Standard Fijian.

TON From English ‘jewel’.

SAM *taʔa* ‘stone’, *tāua* (vb intrans) ‘precious’.

### 06.730 RING (for finger)

English: *ring*

Malay: *činčin*

ATA	ka-kamut	GOR	huʔalimo	TAW	nima kope
TSO	rō-dudku	DAA	si <sup>n</sup> ji	*MOT	[rini]
RUK	tara	UMA	hi <sup>n</sup> či	MEK	
PAI	cara	BUG	[čiččiŋ]	ROV	[riŋi]
YAM	şolot no lima	KON	[činčiŋ]	MAR	
ISN	saŋkilat	WOL	si <sup>ŋ</sup> karu	LAU	[riŋi]
KAL	[siŋsiŋ]	MAG	kila	KWO	
TAG	[siŋsiŋ]	NGA	guru-kuŋu	RAG	
AKL	[siŋsiŋ]	SIK	kila	PAA	[rīŋ]
PAL	[siŋsiŋ]	RTI	<sup>n</sup> deli	*LEW	piataliŋa (na
MOL	[siŋsiŋ]	*BUR	sap-koko		pras-lima-na)
KAG	[siŋsiŋ]	*DOB	[taŋan]	POR	
BLA	tisiŋ	IRA		NTA	[riŋ]
SAB	[siŋsiŋ]	SAW	yaliyali	KWA	
MUR	[sinsin]	NYI		NEM	
MGY	perat <sup>ʔ</sup> a	MAM	boʔi boʔi	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ani-kó-
ACE	uŋciən	TAK			b <sup>w</sup> ôde-î-n
BAT	tittin	DAM		AJI	ăywu mē ā
MIN	činčin	MAB		XAR	k <sup>w</sup> i
IND	činčin	YAB		NEN	ča[riŋ]
SUN	ali	KAU		*KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> a
JAV	ali-ali	TOL			ni bai
MAD	səlluʔ	BUA		MSH	[rīŋ]
*BAL	buŋkuŋ	ADZ		PON	[rīŋ]
SAS	ali-ali	KIL	kakaloug <sup>w</sup> a	WLE	[riŋi]

EFI	mama	TON	mama	TAH	tāpeʔa rima
WFI	mama	SAM	mama	RAP	tapeʔa rima
RTU	mama	MEL	kole		

BAL Also *čičin*, Old Balinese only.

BUR *Rana eslaka*.

DOB Possibly borrowing from Malay *tajan* ‘hand’.

MOT Older term *ima bayiḃayi* (Lister-Turner and Clark n.d. *bayiḃayi*, ‘finger- or armlet-ring’, only of mourning).

LEW ‘(ear) ring for finger’.

CEM ‘jewel on finger’.

KIR Also *te bure ni bai: te m<sup>w</sup>am<sup>w</sup>a* and *te bure* ‘species of sea creature used as rings’; *te nikararao*.

## 06.740 BRACELET

Spanish: *pulseras*

*ATA	pawyiʔ	IND	gəlaŋ	SAW	bəbile
TSO	proʔi	SUN	gilaŋ	NYI	
RUK	kala <sup>0</sup>	JAV	gəlaŋ	MAM	moago
PAI	kalʔat	MAD	gəllaŋ	*TAK	ari
YAM	gagaliŋ	BAL	gəlaŋ	DAM	sāi
ISN	galāŋ	SAS	teken	*MAB	kiri
KAL	tinali	*GOR	[galaŋi]	YAB	
*TAG	[galaŋ]	DAA	gala	*KAU	eyhak
*AKL	[pulsīras]	UMA	lubaʔ	*TOL	ləlai
PAL	luyaŋ	BUG	potto	BUA	zəlīməŋ
MOL	galaŋ	KON	lolaʔ	ADZ	dza <sup>n</sup> çraŋ
*KAG	[pulsiras]	*WOL	si <sup>m</sup> pi	KIL	mituwetuwa
BLA	gləŋ	MAG	nəkaŋ	*TAW	nimahaluhalu
SAB	gallaŋ	*NGA	dəyo	MOT	gana
MUR	goloŋ	*SIK	kalar	*MEK	ŋofo
MGY	vangu-vangu	RTI	sue-k	*ROV	pizpizo
ACE	gluəŋ	BUR	gala-n	MAR	daka
BAT	gəlaŋ	*DOB	ʔala <sup>k</sup> ʔar	LAU	saŋisaŋi
MIN	galaŋ	IRA	karə	KWO	obi



RAG	lala	AJI	ãyu	EFI	gato
PAA	avan	XAR	xiʝa	WFI	gato
LEW	kotal	NEN	čawaened	*RTU	kɔlu
POR	xope	KIR	te buren	*TON	[vesa]
NTA	panpan		toubai	*SAM	tau-lima
*KWA	kʷatikinapuei	*MSH	[pæŋkʌ!]	MEL	kole
NEM	guyut	PON	luwou	TAH	tāpeʔa rima
CEM	bùput	WLE	řaxa	RAP	

ATA *kakuyma*? ‘a single ring bracelet’, *pawyi*? ‘a multi-ring bracelet’.

TAG Also [*pulsera (s)*].

AKL Also [*punsīras*].

KAG [*pulsiras*] (PAL), [*manilya*] (CGC) from Spanish *manilla*.

GOR From Malay.

WOL *simbi-simbi* ‘small or fine bracelet’.

NGA Also *lea-ŋezo*.

SIK Also [*gəla-ŋ*] from Malay?

DOB ‘k.o. of black bracelet made from a kind of seaweed’; (also worn on the ankles or neck).

TAK ‘armlet’.

MAB ‘armlet’.

KAU ‘traditional armband made from vine’.

TOL ‘bracelet made from shells’, *pənu* ‘plaited bracelet’.

TAW *ohama* ‘armband (upper arm)’.

MEK *ŋofo* ‘common, woven bracelet’, *ao-ao* ‘armshells’ (used in prestations rather than as ornaments), *paea* ‘legband’.

ROV Also *hokata* ‘amulet’.

KWA ‘shell-of coconut’.

MSH From English ‘bangle’.

RTU Also *mæt mæte*.

TON From Fijian.

SAM *tau-* ‘belonging to’, *lima* ‘hand, arm’.

## 06.750 NECKLACE

Spanish: <i>cuentas</i>
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*ATA	ɲiriʔ	UMA	enuʔ	MAR	babao
TSO	skū	BUG	genno-genno	LAU	alualu
*RUK	sakilələθan	KON	rante	KWO	
*PAI	zaŋək	*WOL	ʃao-ʃaŋa	RAG	
YAM	taktakrəʃ	*MAG	luʃu	PAA	
ISN	sipattal	NGA	vuli	LEW	kotal
KAL	oŋʔoŋ	SIK	loda-ŋ	*POR	na-səm
TAG	[kuwintas]	*RTI	lilo	NTA	noanat
AKL	[kulintas]	BUR	pinu ewadu-n	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anewər
*PAL	[kulintas]	*DOB	ʔala <sup>k</sup> war	NEM	pino
MOL	liŋkis	IRA	ribərə	CEM	pîne-n
KAG	[kulintas]	*SAW	[kaləŋ]	AJI	dōrō
BLA	sla	NYI		*XAR	mūrã
SAB	heŋkot kolləŋ	MAM	ra	NEN	
MUR	sisigot	TAK		*KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> ae
*MGY	fehi-vuzuna	DAM	kililei	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> aŋm <sup>w</sup> aŋ
ACE	taləə takuə	*MAB	natabu	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> aram <sup>w</sup> ar
BAT	həruk-kəruŋ	YAB		*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> are-
MIN	duku <sup>h</sup>	KAU	erel	EFI	i-taube
IND	kaluŋ	TOL	kurkuruə	WFI	ðoko
SUN	koŋkorəŋ	BUA	ʔumʔum	RTU	tēfui
JAV	kaluŋ	*ADZ	kumukum	TON	kahoa
MAD	kaluŋ	KIL	kuwa	*SAM	ʔula
BAL	kaluŋ	TAW	gadogado	MEL	kasoa
SAS	kaluŋ	*MOT	aio ɣau-na	TAH	fifi ʔarapoʔa
GOR	wulu	*MEK	mopio	RAP	karone
DAA	bili	ROV	pakpaku		

ATA *makaʔux* ‘a long necklace with several strings’; *ŋaŋay* ‘a type of *makaʔux*’.

RUK *silo* ‘beads, short necklace’; *sakilələθan* ‘long necklace’.

PAI *vəʔəkəʔ* ‘necklace (short)’.

PAL Also *manas*.

MGY *fehi* ‘tie, knot’ + *vozona* ‘neck’.

WOL Also *kalo, ra<sup>n</sup>te*.

- MAG Archaic.  
 RTI Also *henu*; see 06.710.  
 DOB See 06.740.  
 SAW From Malay.  
 MAB No generic term. *natabu* ‘necklace made of very small shells’; *mor*, *mogar* ‘necklace made of dog teeth’; *ze* ‘necklace made of pig teeth’; *yorodij* ‘necklace made of ‘mother-of-pearl’ shell’; *aigau* ‘necklace made of flowers’.  
 ADZ ‘beads’ (probably introduced).  
 MOT *aio* ‘neck’, *yau* ‘thing’. Also *mairi* ‘mother of pearl, a piece of which may be used as a necklace’; *gudugudu* ‘necklace made of a kind of seed’. MD gives *taotao* ‘a shellfish; a necklace of that shell’.  
 MEK *mopio* ‘long necklace made up of small shells, cowries and feathers’ (used in prestations). *kapuŋu* ‘necklace made of dogs’ teeth’, [*kutu/tutu*] has been more recently introduced from the Roro area.  
 POR ‘pearls’.  
 KWA Prototypically ‘greenstone (nephrite) pendant’.  
 XAR *mūrā* ‘shell necklace’; *meciwa* ‘jade necklace’.  
 KIR *te kauē* ‘any ornament made of flowers’; *te bāmoti* ‘necklace made of shells’.  
 MSH *m<sup>w</sup>aɽɿn* CON; possessive classifier for garlands.  
 PON Also *m<sup>w</sup>aren* CON.; possessive classifier for garlands (and, in Ponapean, names, and titles).  
 WLE *m<sup>w</sup>aɽe-* possessive classifier for garlands; *usausa* ‘necklace, bead’.  
 SAM (polite) *fa<sup>?</sup>asolo*, *asoa*, *timumāsalaŋala*.

## 06.760 BEADS

Arabic: *murjān* ‘beads, pearls’

Sanskrit: *māṇi-*, *māṇikya*

*ATA	ḳaxinu <sup>?</sup>	*TAG	būtil	*MUR	akik
TSO		*AKL	dumdum	MGY	vakana
RUK	silo	PAL	kulintas	*ACE	[muruŋan]
PAI	ḳata	MOL	[manik]	BAT	si-mata
YAM	taktakrəŋ	KAG		MIN	[mani <sup>?</sup> ]
ISN	ginarākit	BLA	sla	IND	[manik-
KAL	boŋol	SAB	[manik]		manik]

SUN	mute	NYI	bojam	POR	na-søm
JAV	[mərjan]	MAM	za	NTA	noanat
*MAD	[nik-manik]	TAK	kululoi	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anari
*BAL	mote	DAM	kililei	NEM	
SAS		MAB	kapimolo	*CEM	áçe-hi-pîne-
GOR	tatudi	YAB	kekom		n
DAA		KAU	erel	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ẽ dõrõ
UMA	enu?	*TOL	kurkurua	XAR	
BUG	[mani- mani?]	BUA	ķumķum	NEN	
*KON	[mani? mani?]	ADZ	kumukum	KIR	te moromoro
*WOL	lawulu	KIL	soulaβa	MSH	pinir
MAG	[tubi]	TAW	gadogado	PON	
NGA	butu	MOT	ayeβa	*WLE	usausa
*SIK	[kontas]	*MEK	?ou?ou	EFI	ōokoōoko
RTI	henu	ROV	bololo	WFI	
BUR		MAR	bololo	*RTU	fui
DOB	seray	LAU	kefe	TON	kula
IRA	kararirā	KWO	fo?i	SAM	
SAW	temøn	RAG		MEL	
		PAA		TAH	poe
		LEW	pra-kotal	RAP	

ATA Also *ķaxa?*

TAG Also [*mānik*].

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*demdem*.

MUR *akik* ‘garnet’, *babagas* (small, white), *maņkalisun* (smoky grey), *sumolom* (black; ‘jet?’).

ACE ‘coral, coral beads’.

MAD From (RED-*[manik]*). Safioedin (1977), Penninga and Hendriks (1913) [*mani?*] ‘bead’.

BAL Also *mute* ‘small mother-of-pearl beads’.

KON Also *ake?*

WOL *lawulu* ‘string of beads, worn as a necklace’; also [*manimani*] ‘bead of coloured glass’.

SIK From Malay.

TOL *kiau-na-kalaņi* ‘pearl’, *kiau* ‘egg’, *na* ‘CONN’, *kalaņi* ‘shell’.

MEK *?ou-?ou* originally ‘pearls’; other dialects *tou-tou* (Roro); see *tutu* in 06.750, note; western dialects *bibigo* ‘seeds used as beads’.

CEM ‘fruits of necklace’.

WLE Also 'necklace'.

RTU Also *papalɔŋi*.

## 06.770 EARRING

**Spanish:** *aretes*

*ATA	sakɣay	BUG	antiŋ-antiŋ	MAR	dedeŋe
TSO	sviri	*KON	antiŋ-antiŋ	LAU	[iariŋi]
RUK	lidiji	WOL	a <sup>n</sup> ti-a <sup>n</sup> ti	KWO	
PAI	vaɕə-vaɕ	MAG	[givaŋ]	RAG	
YAM	ovay	NGA	bela	PAA	
ISN	tatalobaŋ	SIK	suβo-ŋ	LEW	piataliŋa
KAL	siŋsiŋ	RTI	lo-lo <sup>ʔ</sup> e-k di <sup>ʔ</sup> i-	POR	epindari <sup>ŋ</sup> g
*TAG	hikaw		do-k	*NTA	[eriŋ]
AKL	[aritos]	*BUR	ka-pihi-t-liŋa-	*KWA	nəpri nei
PAL	antiŋ-antiŋ		n	*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> en-jēna
MOL	sumbaŋ	DOB	ʔiŋan ta <sup>ʔ</sup> ir	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ani-kó-
KAG	dilyus	IRA	nɔɕəta		jēne-n
BLA	uləl	*SAW	[ŋantiŋanti]	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã bōdē
*SAB	[adetes]	NYI		*XAR	bə-nenē
*MUR	[antiŋ-antiŋ]	MAM	basibasi	*NEN	[yariŋ]
MGY	kavina	TAK		*KIR	te rüberuben
ACE	subaŋ	DAM	berit		taniŋa
BAT	sibɔŋ	*MAB	pedede	MSH	rien
MIN	subaŋ	*YAB	salasa	PON	tiati
IND	antiŋ-antiŋ	KAU	ekut	WLE	šiiwa-
*SUN	antiŋ	*TOL	mər-təliŋə	*EFI	sau
JAV	antiŋ-antiŋ	BUA	loɣəsən	*WFI	[sau]
*MAD	tiŋ-antiŋ	*ADZ	nam riŋan	RTU	sau faliŋa
*BAL	sumpəl	KIL	paya	TON	hau
SAS	giwaŋ	TAW	komakoma	*SAM	tau-taliŋa
GOR	ŋa <sup>n</sup> de-ŋa <sup>n</sup> de	*MOT	taia ɣau-na	MEL	
DAA	ŋa <sup>n</sup> ti-ŋa <sup>n</sup> ti	*MEK	kepole	TAH	tāpe <sup>ʔ</sup> a tari <sup>ʔ</sup> a
UMA	dali	ROV	vikulu	RAP	tape <sup>ʔ</sup> a tariŋa

ATA	Also <i>Banay</i> .
TAG	Also <i>arilyos</i> , [ <i>arētes</i> ].
SAB	Also <i>dormelona</i> from Spanish.
MUR	Malay, also <i>sīt</i> , <i>kambol</i> ('ear-stud'?).
SUN	Also [ <i>suwəŋ</i> ] from Javanese.
MAD	From (RED- <i>antiŋ</i> ).
BAL	Also <i>subəŋ</i> .
KON	<i>antiŋ-antiŋ</i> (dangling kind); <i>paku-paku</i> (stud kind).
BUR	Also <i>erleta</i> .
SAW	From Malay.
MAB	'earrings made of turtle shell'; also <i>nok</i> .
YAB	'tortoise-shell earrings'; also <i>walawa</i> .
TOL	<i>mə</i> 'decoration', <i>təliŋə</i> 'ear'.
ADZ	'thing ear'.
MOT	<i>taia</i> 'ear', <i>γau</i> 'thing'. Also <i>γiyi</i> 'an earring made of shell'. MD gives <i>gadei</i> 'an earring made from shell' (used in Bible).
MEK	<i>kepole</i> 'kind of earring'; others are <i>kapika</i> , <i>eʔe</i> and <i>ioʔe</i> ; <i>kepole</i> are made from 'pearls', <i>eʔe</i> from turtle shell.
NTA	From English.
KWA	'bit-of wood'.
NEM	'fruit-ear'.
CEM	'jewel of ears'.
XAR	'go around the ear'.
NEN	From English <i>ear-ring</i> .
KIR	'twinkling of the ear'.
WFI	From Standard Fijian.
EFI	Also <i>sau-ni-daliŋa</i> .
SAM	<i>tau</i> 'belonging to', <i>taliŋa</i> 'ear' compare 06.740.

### 06.780 HEADBAND, HEADDRESS

ATA	ka-kaʔuʔ	ISN	sagaban	MOL	poloŋ
TSO	paiftoŋa	KAL	balāŋat	*KAG	[hirband]
RUK		*TAG	[ʔsinta]	BLA	utub
PAI		AKL		*SAB	[sulban]
*YAM	viŋət	PAL	pəŋpəloŋ	*MUR	sigal

MGY	fehi-luha	*SAW	[tuala]	*LEW	viari pia-
ACE	taᅅkulo <sup>?</sup>	NYI	molowa		pari-na
BAT	tali-tali		batu-n	POR	
*MIN	tikulu <sup>?</sup>	MAM	sa <sup>?</sup> a-damoa	NTA	
*IND	ᅅarmanᅅ	TAK	dou	*KWA	nup <sup>w</sup> ən
*SUN	[ikət]	DAM	teter	*NEM	p <sup>h</sup> aup
JAV	kulu <sup>?</sup>	*MAB	mogar	CEM	
*MAD	uᅅəᅅ	*YAB	naᅅeᅅeᅅ	*AJI	[kərona]
BAL	udəᅅ	KAU	suhup	XAR	
SAS	oᅅgar-oᅅgar	*TOL	vipuər	NEN	ᅅuᅅakot
GOR	payuᅅo	*BUA	tareru	KIR	
DAA	tali-da <sup>u</sup> ga	ADZ	go <sup>n</sup> tum	MSH	
UMA	tali	KIL	saᅅeᅅa	PON	
*BUG	passapu	*TAW	tepapani	WLE	
KON		*MOT	ibara	EFI	i-ᅅauᅅau
WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> purui	*MEK	iso- <sup>?</sup> ofu	WFI	uho
MAG			(io- <sup>?</sup> ofu)	RTU	suru
NGA	boku	ROV	piri batu	TON	tata
*SIK	[lensu]	*MAR	dala	SAM	tuiᅅa
*RTI	badu	LAU	lauᅅia kete	MEL	
*BUR	ifuti-n	KWO		TAH	hei upo <sup>?</sup> o
DOB		*RAG	doᅅo	*RAP	hiri-toe
IRA		PAA			

YAM *veyᅅet* in Iraralay.

TAG ‘ribbon’, from Spanish *cinta*.

KAG From English ‘hairband’.

SAB From Arabic *ᅅulban*.

MUR *sigal* ‘headband (for men)’, *duᅅduᅅ* ‘headband (for women)’, *pitulun* ‘head-dress’ (ceremonial, for men, with pheasant and other feathers).

MIN Also [*deta*] from Persian; [*kupiah*] from Arabic *kūfiyya* ‘head wrapper’.

IND Also *ikat kəpala*.

SUN From Javanese; also *totopoᅅ*.

MAD AS: *uᅅ<sup>h</sup>əᅅ*.

BUG Also *soᅅko<sup>?</sup>*.

SIK From Portuguese.

RTI See 06.410.

BUR	Refers to the cloth; to specify the tied cloth on the head one may <i>mi-lolo-t</i> .
SAW	From Ternate.
MAB	<i>mogar</i> (made of dog teeth); also <i>tik̄gi</i> (not a well known word).
YAB	‘band of dog’s teeth and cowrie shells worn on forehead’; also <i>àli-obo</i> (same meaning); <i>pampaŋ</i> ‘feather headdress’; <i>ŋa-sakɔʔ</i> ‘bird’s crest’ i.e. ‘feather headdress’, <i>mɔʔ-wao-ɔ</i> lit ‘bird-feather-FEM i.e. ‘kind of feather headdress’; <i>kululuŋ</i> ‘headgear in general’.
TOL	<i>vi</i> ‘tie, bind’, <i>puər</i> ‘break’, <i>vipuər</i> ‘tie threads in one another’.
BUA	Also <i>sok</i> .
TAW	‘head bind’.
MOT	<i>ibara</i> ‘large head-dress used by men in traditional dancing’; also <i>sera</i> .
MEK	<i>iso-ʔofu</i> ( <i>io-ʔofu</i> ) ‘tall swaying structure the main feature of the Mekeo head-dress for males’.
MAR	‘head ornament’.
RAG	‘decorative headwear’.
LEW	Verbal, ‘to wrap something around head’.
KWA	<i>nup<sup>w</sup>ən</i> ‘headband’; <i>kaio</i> ‘feather headdress’.
NEM	<i>p<sup>h</sup>aup</i> ‘headdress’; <i>wã-n b<sup>w</sup>a-n</i> ‘headband’.
AJI	From French <i>couronne</i> .
RAP	<i>hiri-toe</i> ‘headband’; <i>hei</i> crown, headdress (of flowers, woven palm leaves, etc.).

## 06.790 TATTOO

**English:** *tattoo, mark.*

*ATA	patik-an	*AKL	[tatuʔ]	ACE	
TSO	ta-tpos-a	PAL		BAT	
RUK	tokipi	*MOL	[tatuʔ]	MIN	
PAI		*KAG	[pika]	*IND	čačah
YAM		BLA		SUN	raĵah
ISN	ḡisi	*SAB	[malkaʔ]	JAV	
KAL	bātok	MUR	popok	MAD	
*TAG	tatak	*MGY	tumbukavaça	*BAL	[tato]



SAS	raĵah	MAB	bude	NTA	nətatau
*GOR	[tato]	YAB	bɔ	KWA	natatau
*DAA	no-tu <sup>m</sup> bu	*KAU	kim-ŋin	*NEM	haŋun
UMA	tata?	*TOL	duldul	CEM	ápun
BUG	tatto?	BUA		AJI	ga
KON		*ADZ	nam is-a	XAR	tə
WOL			(maran)	*NEN	θala
MAG		KIL	katuk <sup>w</sup> atuβa	KIR	taitaia
NGA	rika	*TAW	omtutu	MSH	yɔuk
SIK	toka-ŋ	*MOT	reβareβa	*PON	palī
RTI	balatetes	*MEK	e-ʔomo-a	*WLE	make
BUR		ROV	[tatu]	EFI	gia
DOB	tada	MAR	graurapu	WFI	gia
IRA	dəbɛbagə	LAU	oŋa	*RTU	fɔʔi
SAW		KWO		TON	tā-tatau
NYI	om <sup>w</sup> ek	RAG	bulu	*SAM	tatau
*MAM	magi	PAA		MEL	[tātū]
*TAK	[mak]	*LEW	nono	*TAH	nanaʔo
DAM	geĝē	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> buer	*RAP	tatū

ATA Also *pataš-an*.

TAG Also [tatu] English.

AKL From English.

MOL From Polynesian? English?

KAG From Spanish *pico*?

SAB From English.

MGY From *tumbu* 'to grow' + *havaça* k.o. mark on skin'.

IND Also *raĵah*.

BAL Malay.

GOR Polynesian by way of Dutch?

DAA (vb).

MAM Also *maleŋ*.

TAK From Tok Pisin (English 'mark'): tattooing is not a Takia tradition.

KAU 'carve-NOM'.

TOL On the face.

ADZ 'thing strike-PART (face)', i.e. 'thing struck, cut, on the (face)', *maran* can be replaced with other body parts e.g. *baŋin* 'arm'.

TAW	'stamp'.
MOT	Also 'striped thing, writing'.
MEK	<i>e-ʔomo-a</i> 'peck, pierce by pecking'; <i>e-pa-fauʔole</i> , <i>fauʔole</i> 'fully tattooed (i.e. adult) female', <i>oni-oni</i> 'untattooed'.
LEW	'picture, image, idol'; verbal <i>yali-meri</i> 'to prick in'.
NEM	'tattooing'.
NEN	Also <i>ŋaʔala</i> .
PON	<i>ŋtiŋi</i> also 'write'.
WLE	<i>make</i> 'a tattoo, be tattooed'; <i>faŋü-a</i> also 'mark, scratch'
RTU	Also <i>sasa</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>mālōfie</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tatau</i> obsolete.
RAP	Also <i>tā</i> ; <i>paru</i> . All refer to body painting, not permanent tattooing.

### 06.810 HANDKERCHIEF, RAG

<b>Malay:</b> <i>saputangan</i>	<b>French:</b> <i>mouchoir</i>	<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>lenço</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>pañó</i>		

ATA	BAT	sapu taŋan	RTI	[lesu]
TSO	MIN	sapu taŋan	*BUR	[lenso]
*RUK	IND	saputaŋan	*DOB	ʔasir ʔoŋuy
PAI	*SUN	čarečet	IRA	
*YAM	*JAV	kaču	*SAW	[tualala]
ISN	MAD	[saptanaŋ]	NYI	
KAL	*BAL	[lap]	MAM	[aŋasipi]
*TAG	*SAS	[sərbet]	TAK	
*AKL	*GOR	huta-hutaŋa	DAM	
PAL	DAA	[sapu taŋa]	MAB	kawāla pasāna
MOL	*UMA	[le <sup>n̄</sup> čo]	YAB	
KAG	*BUG	sapu-lima	KAU	
BLA	KON	[lenso-lenso]	*TOL	məl-nə-bilau-
SAB	WOL	ka-ŋia-ŋia	nə	
*MUR	MAG	[sapu taŋan]	BUA	tob
MGY	NGA	poro-ragi	ADZ	
ACE	*SIK	[lensu]	*KIL	[karek <sup>w</sup> a]

TAW	hagesi	POR		PON	
MOT	muko	NTA	[iaŋkəsip]	WLE	
*MEK	[muko]	KWA		*EFI	i-tāβoi
ROV	[hagese]	NEM		*WFI	[i-tāβoi]
MAR	surunavi	CEM		RTU	[haŋkeče]
LAU	[hagasifi]	*AJI	[m <sup>w</sup> āyoa]	TON	holoholo
KWO		XAR		*SAM	solosolo
*RAG	yavu	NEN	gu[agesi]	MEL	[musua]
PAA		KIR		TAH	horoi
LEW		MSH		RAP	haroʔi

RUK From English via Japanese.

YAM From English via Japanese.

TAG 'cloth, rag'.

AKL 'cloth, rag'.

MUR 'woman's handkerchief' Malay; also [*padasaʔ*] (for wiping face) from Malay *perča*.

SUN *čarečet* 'handkerchief'; [*əlap*] 'rag' from Dutch.

JAV *kaču* 'handkerchief'; *gombal* 'rag'.

BAL From Dutch; also [*pel*] Malay.

SAS From Dutch.

GOR Also [*leto*].

UMA [*le<sup>n̄</sup>čo*] 'handkerchief'; *"te-hea* 'rag'.

BUG Also *čare-čare*.

SIK Also *palulu, tilik*.

BUR *kai sa faha* 'rag'.

DOB 'cloth part'.

SAW From Ternate.

TOL *məl* 'cloth', *nə* CONN, *bilau-nə* 'nose', *-na* DEREL.

KIL See 06.210.

MEK [*muko*] is an introduced word.

RAG *yavu*, [*susuru*] from Mota; 'handkerchief'.

AJI Also *pe cāwā*.

EFI Also *i-gusigusi*.

WFI From Standard Fijian.

SAM *solo* 'towel', see 06.820.

## 06.820 TOWEL

Dutch: <i>handdoek</i>		English: <i>towel</i>	Spanish: <i>toalla</i>	
ATA	čačayβiŋ	UMA	MAR	mamaŋo
TSO		BUG	LAU	[taolo]
RUK	sibini	KON	KWO	
PAI	ɖimpu	*WOL	RAG	maŋi
YAM	viŋət	MAG	PAA	
ISN	[tuwalya]	NGA	*LEW	[taol]
KAL	[tuwalya]	SIK	POR	
TAG	[tuwalya]	RTI	NTA	[tauəl]
AKL	[tuwalya]	BUR	KWA	
PAL	[tuwalya]	DOB	NEM	
MOL	[tualia]	IRA	CEM	
KAG	[tuwalya]	SAW	*AJI	[yavete]
BLA	[twalya]	NYI	XAR	
SAB	[tuwalya]	MAM	NEN	gu[ɬawel]
MUR	[tualiaʔ]	TAK	KIR	te t̄āra
MGY	[serivieta]	DAM	MSH	[tōl]
ACE	[andoʔ]	MAB	PON	[taul]
BAT	[hadduk]	YAB	WLE	
MIN	[anduʔʔ]	KAU	EFI	[i-tauelu]
*IND	[handuk]	*TOL	WFI	[tauelu]
SUN	[anduk]	BUA	RTU	[tauele]
JAV	[anɖuʔ]	ADZ	TON	[tauli]
MAD	[anɖuk]	KIL	*SAM	solo
BAL	[anduk]	TAW	*MEL	[sevieti]
SAS	[anduk]	MOT	TAH	[taucra]
GOR	[ha <sup>n</sup> do]	*MEK	*RAP	[panio]
DAA	[ha <sup>n</sup> du]	ROV		

IND Also [tualia] Portuguese.

WOL Also *potituva* 'bath towel'.

TOL *məl* 'cloth', *nə* 'CONN', *n-* 'NOM', *iu* 'bathe'.

MEK Also [tauli]. (Mekeo has no /t/ but the sound is sometimes retained in borrowings, especially by younger people.)

LEW Also *kulu-merae*, see 06.120.

AJI From French *serviette*.

SAM *solo* (vb trans) 'wipe, dry with a towel', see 09.310.

MEL From French *serviette*.

RAP From Spanish *pañó*.

## 06.910 COMB

English: *comb*

*ATA	ka-kaʔu?	*UMA	karabi	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ore
TSO	ko-rko-psipsi	BUG	ʒakka	LAU	kafa
RUK	garoʒo	*KON	suru?	KWO	kafa
PAI	garuʒ	*WOL	suawi	RAG	laga
YAM	ʒoʒoʔ	*MAG	ʒa <sup>ŋ</sup> ka	PAA	[kōm]
*ISN	sagaysay	*NGA	suru	*LEW	[kom]
*KAL	laggud	*SIK	ʔurut	POR	marixai
TAG	suklay	RTI	sau-k	NTA	[kom]
*AKL	sudlay	*BUR	dihi-t	KWA	nisəp
*PAL	sudɔy	DOB	yel	NEM	balic
MOL	sotsat	*IRA	sirsəʔətə	CEM	táti
KAG	sudlay	*SAW	sec	AJI	mēxē
BLA	swət	NYI	su	XAR	ci
*SAB	sūt	MAM	saru	*NEN	ula
*MUR	suday	TAK	gigireŋ	KIR	te [kōm]
MGY	fi-hugu	DAM	karātu	MSH	[kūm <sup>u</sup> ]
ACE	sugot	MAB	ka <sup>n</sup> dāra	*PON	keriker
BAT	suri	YAB	sup <sup>w</sup> a?	*WLE	paifi
MIN	sike?	KAU	sehpo-ŋin	EFI	i-seru
IND	sisir	*TOL	gogo	WFI	i-kaβa
SUN	sisir	BUA	keβ	RTU	seru
*JAV	ʒuŋkat	*ADZ	nam pras-an	TON	helu
MAD	suruy	KIL	sinata	*SAM	selu
BAL	suah	TAW	omdine	MEL	seru
SAS	səraŋ	MOT	iduari	TAH	pāhere
GOR	hu-heyidu	*MEK	i-kua-kua	RAP	tapani
DAA	salaga	ROV	susuti		

ATA	<i>ha-hiʔuk</i> ‘a comb to get rid of lice’.
ISN	<i>sūgud</i> ‘fine-tooth comb’.
KAL	<i>sagud</i> ‘fine-tooth comb’.
AKL	Proto-Southern Philippines * <i>sulday</i> ; <i>sūʔud</i> ‘fine-tooth comb’.
PAL	Also <i>surud</i> .
SAB	Also <i>suray</i> .
MUR	Also <i>sulud</i> ‘carry-comb’.
JAV	Also <i>sisir</i> .
UMA	<i>halaka</i> (Southern dialect); <i>ʔa<sup>ʔ</sup>ka</i> (Tobaku dialect).
KON	Also <i>ʔaŋka</i> .
WOL	<i>posuawi</i> ‘comb one’s hair’.
MAG	Archaic: hand-made comb; nowadays only the machine-made <i>sisir</i> is used.
NGA	Also <i>sobi</i> .
SIK	Also <i>hubit</i> , <i>soku-ŋ</i> .
BUR	Rana <i>wala-t</i> .
IRA	‘bamboo comb’.
SAW	Also <i>n-ε-seε</i> (vb).
TOL	From <i>go</i> ‘pierce with a spear, comb the hair’, see 09.223.
ADZ	‘thing comb-PART’, i.e. ‘thing for combing with’.
MEK	<i>i-kua-kua</i> from <i>e-kua</i> ‘he/she combs’.
LEW	Also <i>plap<sup>w</sup>e</i> ‘bamboo’, <i>suri na-kupari-teta-ena vilu-na</i> ‘something for scratching and separating hair’.
NEN	Also <i>yeʔula</i> .
PON	Also [ <i>kōm<sup>w</sup></i> ].
WLE	Also [ <i>kaum<sup>w</sup>u</i> ]; <i>rewō</i> ‘men’s wooden comb’.
SAM	<i>selu</i> (vb trans) ‘comb’.

## 06.920 BRUSH

**Dutch:** *boender*

**English:** *brush, broom*

**Spanish:** *cepillo*

ATA *ka-kuax*

PAI

KAL *iskōba*

TSO

YAM *sozod*

\*TAG [*sipilyo*]

RUK

ISN

\*AKL [*sipilyoh*]

PAL		*SIK	boso	RAG	
MOL	[bras]	RTI	lo-lose-k	PAA	[perās]
*KAG	[bras]	BUR		LEW	
*BLA	swət	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aw	POR	
SAB		IRA		NTA	[pəras]
MUR	[badus]	SAW	[bundur]	KWA	
*MGY	[burusi]	NYI		NEM	
ACE	sikat	MAM	[borosi]	CEM	
BAT	buddar	TAK		*AJI	pε p <sup>wā</sup>
MIN	gunda	*DAM	tū osō	XAR	
IND	sikat	MAB		NEN	netiri
SUN	sikat	YAB		KIR	
JAV	sikat	KAU		MSH	
MAD	sikat	TOL	[boros]	PON	
BAL	sikat	BUA		WLE	
SAS	sikat	ADZ		*EFI	[barasi]
GOR	[bū <sup>n</sup> duru]	KIL		WFI	[i-βurusi]
DAA	ka <sup>m</sup> puŋa	TAW	[barasi]	RTU	[porasa]
UMA		MOT	[barasi]	TON	[polosi]
BUG	[bunrulu <sup>?</sup> ]	MEK		*SAM	[palasi]
*KON	suru <sup>?</sup>	ROV	[barasi]	MEL	
*WOL	[fo <sup>n</sup> dulu]	MAR		TAH	[purūmu]
MAG	[sekat]	LAU	[barasi]	RAP	[purumu]
NGA		KWO			

TAG Also [sepilyo].

AKL [sipilyoh] 'toothbrush'.

KAG Also [brutsa].

BLA [sigi] 'scrub brush'.

MGY From French or English.

KON Also *jaŋka*.

WOL Also *sapu-sapu*.

SIK Also *bloso*.

DAM 'k.o. leaf' (with rough surface suitable for scouring pots), (sometimes) 'brush'. Also [bras] more common.

AJI Also *bərōyi*.

EFI Also [vurusi].

SAM Also [pulumu].

## 06.921 BRAID

*ATA	ḱ-in-aʔapiʔ	DAA	kalape <sup>n</sup> da	ROV	
*TSO	b-iperi	UMA	u <sup>m</sup> piniʔ	*MAR	naflehi
RUK		BUG	čačij	LAU	
PAI		*KON	appiʔ	KWO	
YAM	ṣaḱapidən	*WOL	pii	RAG	
ISN	tuʔlapid	MAG		PAA	
*KAL	apid	NGA		*LEW	vili vilu-na
*TAG	tirintas	*SIK	βeʔa	POR	wüs-i
*AKL	saḱāpid	*RTI	aʔ-ane-k	NTA	-atal
PAL	sulapid	*BUR	bobo-kolo-n	KWA	-arəri
MOL	sulapid		folo-n	NEM	fili
KAG	sapid	DOB	ḟuk <sup>w</sup> an	*CEM	bîte-hi
BLA	s-an-ləfin	IRA		AJI	la
SAB	sapid	SAW	čačij	XAR	firi
*MUR	sulapid	NYI		NEN	čeni
MGY	man-	MAM		KIR	bira
	ḱ <sup>r</sup> and <sup>r</sup> ana	TAK	-pide	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ucek
ACE	ruəʔ	DAM		PON	iŋit
BAT	daddan	MAB	-perek	WLE	
*MIN	kabeʔ abuʔ	*YAB	-po	EFI	tobe-a
*IND	kepaŋ	KAU		WFI	gili-a
*SUN	ŋ-untun	*TOL	vir	RTU	hiri
JAV	kepaŋ	BUA	βi	TON	fī
MAD	kipaŋ	ADZ	ḱzur-	SAM	fili
*BAL	mlintir ([plintir])	KIL		*MEL	[polokina]
SAS	kepaŋ	TAW		TAH	firi
GOR	tulapidu	MOT	pani-a	RAP	hiro
		*MEK	e-ao-ŋa		

ATA Also ḱ-in-ayapiʔ.

TSO (*iper-a*).

KAL *apid + man-*.

TAG *tirintas + mag-/in* from Spanish *trenza* (+ *-s pl*).

AKL *saḱāpid + un*, Proto-Philippines *\*saḱāpid*.

MUR *sulapid (maŋ-; -on)*.

MIN Also *lapiʔh*.

IND Also *kəlabəŋ, səlampit*.



SUN	Also <i>ŋepaŋ</i> ( <i>kepaŋ</i> ).
BAL	From Old Javanese?
KON	Also <i>čačij</i> .
WOL	'braid hair'.
SIK	Also <i>nana</i> .
RTI	<i>a<sup>?</sup>-ane-k</i> (n); <i>ane</i> (vb), 'to braid/plait'; also <i>la-la<sup>?</sup>ek</i> (n); <i>la<sup>?</sup>e</i> (vb). Both forms occur in Termanu dialect.
BUR	Verb; <i>edeu-t</i> 'hair bun'.
YAB	Also <i>-wà</i> 'weave', <i>-seli</i> 'squeeze through, weave'.
TOL	Also <i>pir</i> 'plait' <i>vir/pir pepe</i> 'plait hair'.
MEK	See 06.330; also <i>e-o-ŋa</i> variant pronunciation?
MAR	Also <i>p<sup>h</sup>ijiri</i> .
LEW	Verbal.
CEM	'plait (of hair)'.
MSH	Also <i>pirəkək</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

## 06.930 RAZOR

English: *razor, gillette*Portuguese: *navalha*Spanish: *navaja*

ATA	ka-kuyuš	MUR		*BUG	[piso- čukkuru <sup>?</sup> ]
TSO		MGY	[hareza]	KON	[sile <sup>?</sup> ]
RUK		*ACE	sikin	WOL	po-kurui-a
PAI			[puñuko]	MAG	
YAM	ipaŋiŋiri ŋo myiŋ	*BAT	[čukur]	NGA	tuđi-koi
ISN		MIN	pisau čuku <sup>?</sup>	SIK	
KAL	[labākas]	*IND	pisau čukur	RTI	dope <sup>ŋ</sup> ge- ŋgeu-k
*TAG	[labāha]	SUN	peso čukur	*BUR	kat-ana-n
AKL	[labāha]	JAV	peso raut	*DOB	turaw
PAL	[lobasa]	MAD	[silet]	IRA	warada
MOL	[lobasa]	*BAL	pəŋurisan		nasakorə
KAG	[labaa]	SAS	ladik čukur	SAW	[silet]
BLA	dis kumi	GOR	?u-?uluhu	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> ikis
SAB	ladiŋ labahita	DAA	ladi <sup>m</sup> pogan		
		UMA	po-koku		

MAM [resa]	MAR	NEN
TAK	LAU [risa]	*KIR te mariro
DAM	KWO	MSH [reca]
*MAB yar	*RAG b <sup>w</sup> atu-n	PON [reise]
*YAB kekeʔ	hirihiri	WLE [rēsō]
KAU payu	PAA [rēsa]	EFI i-toro
TOL [resa]	*LEW [resa]	WFI i-toro
BUA	POR	RTU čočī
ADZ	NTA [resa]	TON tele
KIL	KWA	SAM tafi
TAW [lesa]	NEM k <sup>n</sup> et	MEL [rēsā]
*MOT [reisa]	CEM kêt	TAH hahu taʔa
*MEK fike	AJI pɛ vi pɛ	RAP hoe
ROV [reza]	XAR xī	

TAG Also [labāsa], paŋ-āhit.

ACE Probably borrowed from Malay *pisau pəñukur*.

BAT From Malay.

IND Also [silet] ‘razor blade’.

BAL (*pə-N-kuris-an*); (*N*-)kuris ‘shave’; also *tiuk pəñukuran* (*pə-N-čukur-an*).

BUG From Malay.

BUR *kat-ana-n* ‘razor, knife’; [piso] from Malay; *sabi-k* ‘shave’.

DOB *turaw* ‘knife’, [silet] ‘razor blade’.

MAB ‘sharp pieces obsidian’.

YAB ‘obsidian’.

MOT Lister Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *basiga* ‘a flint used as a knife, as razor’. *nau-a* ‘scrape, polish, plane’, used by some ‘shave’.

MEK *fike* (western dialect kapu-kapu) is a plant – its fibres are used to pluck out individual hairs one at a time by twisting the hair between two strands; *kaŋo-kaŋo aʔiva-ŋa* ‘shaving knife-its’, ‘razor’ (*kaŋo-pa* ‘shave’).

RAG ‘safety razor’.

LEW Also *plap<sup>w</sup>e* ‘bamboo’.

KIR *mariro* ‘sharp’.

## 06.940 OINTMENT

Dutch: *zalf*Spanish: *pomada*

ATA		BUG	miñña?	MAR	
TSO			pabbura	LAU	
RUK		KON	sala? loko?	KWO	
PAI		WOL	sumere	RAG	
YAM	aðəʂən	*MAG	mosa	*PAA	[pomət]
ISN		NGA	ləŋi	*LEW	sirive
*KAL	la-lābu	SIK	?ai plea	POR	
*TAG	[pamāhid]	RTI		*NTA	[marsən]
*AKL	[banyus]	*BUR	[miñak] faa	KWA	katəŋa
PAL	[pomada]	DOB		NEM	
MOL		IRA		CEM	pî-tím
*KAG	[uintmint]	*SAW	yəget ta pepu	AJI	pə řei g <sup>w</sup> ā
BLA	ə?o		fie	XAR	
SAB	[pumada]	NYI		NEN	
MUR		MAM	bureŋ	KIR	te kabira
*MGY	lakumadina	*TAK	gureŋ	*MSH	kkapit
*ACE	miñu?	DAM	mouli	PON	kei
*BAT	miak	MAB	<sup>ŋ</sup> gere	WLE	xapita-
MIN	ube? goso?	YAB	ɔsɔ	EFI	i-boro
*IND	urap	KAU	noβoŋ	WFI	i-wali
SUN	[saləp]	*TOL	vər-ku	RTU	turu
JAV	[saləp]	BUA		TON	feau
MAD	parəm	ADZ		*SAM	suā-u?u
BAL	[saləp]	KIL	kaituβi	MEL	
SAS	[saləp]	*TAW	mulamula	*TAH	mono?i
GOR	[saləp]	*MOT	muramura	RAP	
DAA		MEK			
UMA		ROV			

KAL (*la-labu*).TAG Also [*unguwentu*], from Spanish *unguento*.AKL From Spanish *baño* 'bath' (+ -s pl)

KAG From English 'ointment'.

MGY Probably from French.

ACE	'oil'; also [ <i>salap</i> ].
BAT	See 05.790-1
IND	Also <i>miñak waji</i> .
SAS	Dutch.
MAG	Medicinal, and for covering a baby's fontanelles.
BUR	Possibly loanword; lit 'aromatic oil'.
SAW	'oil that smells good'.
TAK	'vegetable oil' (05.790).
TOL	<i>vər</i> nom, <i>ku</i> (vb trans) 'rub with ointment'.
TAW	<i>mulamula</i> 'medicine'; <i>apaineula</i> 'body ointment'.
MOT	Also 'medicine; alcoholic drink'.
PAA	From French.
LEW	'creamy substance between flesh and pith in a sprouting coconut'.
NTA	From English.
MSH	<i>kapitən</i> CON.
SAM	See 05.790.
TAH	Also <i>rā<sup>?</sup>au parai</i> .

## 06.950 SOAP

Arabic: <i>ṣābūn</i>	English: <i>soap</i>	Portuguese: <i>sabão</i>
Spanish: <i>jabón</i>		

ATA	βa-βahuḵ	MUR	[sabun]	BUG	[sabun]
*TSO		MGY	[savuni]	KON	[sabun]
RUK	[sabono]	ACE	[sabon]	WOL	[čabo]
PAI	zaḵu	BAT	[sabun]	MAG	[sabun]
*YAM	[şikən]	MIN	[sabun]	NGA	
ISN	[sabun]	IND	[sabun]	SIK	[saba-ŋ]
KAL	[sabon]	SUN	[sabun]	RTI	[sabu]
TAG	[sabon]	JAV	[sabun]	*BUR	[sabun]
*AKL	[sabun]	MAD	[sabun]	DOB	[sabun]
PAL	[sabun]	BAL	[sabun]	IRA	[sabum]
MOL	[sabun]	SAS	[sabun]	SAW	[sa <sup>?</sup> boŋ]
KAG	[sa'bun]	GOR	[saboŋi]	NYI	balak
BLA	[sabun]	DAA	[sabu]	MAM	[sopi]
*SAB	[sabun]	UMA	[sabu <sup>?</sup> ]	TAK	

DAM	LAU [sofu]	KIR te [tōbu]
MAB	KWO	MSH [cōp <sup>u</sup> ]
*YAB [saipɛ]	RAG	*PON [sōp <sup>w</sup> ]
KAU [asop]	PAA [sōv]	WLE [sōpi]
*TOL [sop]	LEW [sop]	EFI [soβu]
BUA [sop]	POR	WFI [hoβu]
ADZ	NTA [sop]	RTU [sopo]
KIL [soupu]	KWA	TON koa
TAW [sopi]	NEM [sōp]	*SAM fāsi-moli
MOT [sopu]	*CEM [capo]	MEL [sōpu]
*MEK [tsopu]	AJI [yōpɔ]	TAH puʔa
ROV [sopu]	XAR [çɔpō]	RAP [tope]
MAR	*NEN nemoli	

TSO See *roupaka* ‘soap-berry’ (*Sapindus mukurossi*), berries are used as a soap substitute; *xoe* another plant (*Cucurbitae* ?) roots are used as a soap substitute’.

YAM From Japanese.

AKL Also [*habun*].

SAB Also [*habun*].

BUR Also *wa stofo-t* ‘an old jungle soap not known on the coast’.

YAB From German *Seife*. Also [*sop*].

TOL Also *top*.

MEK Also *kopu*.

CEM From French *savon*.

NEN Also [*wasi*] from English ‘wash’.

PON Also [*rinsol*] ‘powdered soap’

SAM *fāsi-* ‘piece of’, *moli* ‘soap’.

## 06.960 MIRROR

English: *glass*

Sanskrit: *kāca-*

Spanish: *espejo*

ATA *ḥariwaṣṭ*

TSO *xuo-ʔoŋk-a*

RUK *kailoŋanə*

PAI *ḥayl<sup>y</sup>uŋ-an*

YAM *kagami*

ISN *amīnaw*

KAL *uspēku*

\*TAG [*salamin*]

AKL [*ispīhuh*]

PAL	suramin	SIK	lino-ŋ	RAG	
MOL	suramin	RTI	ti-tino-k	PAA	{kilās}
*KAG	'salamin	*BUR	pa-esa-n	LEW	na-lorum-ena
*BLA	fəgɔluŋɔn	DOB	ʔilala	POR	
SAB	samin	IRA	kirərarə	NTA	[klas]
*MUR	[sadamin]	SAW	[kasina]	KWA	karhanum
MGY	fi-taraʔa	NYI	torowe	*NEM	we-hido
ACE	cuurumən	*MAM	[galasi]	CEM	â-pî-òcit
BAT	sərmin-an	TAK		AJI	[gařāyi]
MIN	čamin	DAM	dodo	XAR	[garāçi]
*IND	čərmin	*MAB	natiloŋa	NEN	neθerewe
SUN	intɨŋ	YAB		*KIR	te tirotām
JAV	[kəčɔ]	*KAU	tup-ŋin	*MSH	kapceŋ
MAD	[kača]	*TOL	tiroə	*PON	[kilās]
*BAL	məkə	BUA	[garas]	WLE	
*SAS	kəsənə	ADZ		EFI	iloilo
GOR	yi <sup>3</sup> gīluwa	*KIL	[salibu]	WFI	[iloilo]
DAA	pə <sup>m</sup> pe-vayo	TAW	kilo	RTU	tiro
UMA	po <sup>m</sup> peβao <sup>ʔ</sup>	MOT	heβariβari	TON	sio <sup>ʔ</sup> ata
BUG	čammiŋ	*MEK	ole-ole	*SAM	fā <sup>ʔ</sup> ata
KON	čarammeŋ	ROV	tiroana	MEL	[kalāsi]
*WOL	[paiasa]	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> iro	TAH	hi <sup>ʔ</sup> o
MAG	[sərəmeŋ]	LAU	[galasi]	*RAP	hi <sup>ʔ</sup> o u <sup>ʔ</sup> i ʔariŋa
NGA	nenu	KWO			

TAG From Malay *cermin*.

KAG 'salamin (PAL), [ispiu] (CGC).

BLA Also *gu-m-iyi aluŋ*, [sfihu].

MUR From Malay *čərmin*.

IND Also [kača] 'glass, mirror'.

BAL *mə-suluh* 'to look at one's reflection in the mirror'.

SAS Also [kačɔ].

WOL From Malay, also *tila*.

BUR Also [kaca].

MAM From English.

MAB Also *tirōŋo*.

KAU 'examine-NOM'.

TOL See 09.740.

KIL	Loanword, origin unknown.
MEK	Also means 'glass, iris of the eye, anything that can reflect an image'.
NEM	'water-to look at oneself'.
KIR	'look at the soul'.
MSH	Also [kilac].
PON	Also [kilās]enironjin lit 'reflecting glass'.
SAM	From faʔa-ata, faʔa- CAUS, ata 'reflection, shadow, picture'.
RAP	Also huiira uʔi ʔariŋa }mirror'(archaic); huiira 'things that reflect images' still used.

### 07.110 DWELL, LIVE

ATA	kiyaʔ	*SAS	məroʔ	*ADZ	mpa(i)
TSO	ro	*GOR	tola-tola	KIL	-sisu
RUK	y-a-kai	DAA	ne-toʔo	*TAW	mae
PAI	ka-izu-an	UMA	mo-ʔohaʔ	MOT	noho
YAM	mivaʔay	BUG	monro	MEK	e-aŋu-aŋu
ISN	magyān	*KON	amm-antaŋ	ROV	koa
KAL	iŋgāw	WOL	<sup>m</sup> boore	MAR	au
*TAG	tira	*MAG	lo <sup>n</sup> to	LAU	tō
*AKL	[estah-an]	NGA	doŋo	KWO	toʔoru
*PAL	lɔgdɔŋan	SIK	təri	*RAG	to
MOL	diom	RTI	ma-manale-	*PAA	matil
*KAG	[istar]		leo-k	*LEW	su
BLA	m-niʔ	*BUR	defo	POR	-rox
*SAB	tannaʔ	DOB	ʔa-me	NTA	-atəŋ
*MUR	ayan	IRA	nami sanə	*KWA	-ara
MGY	mi-peʔʔaka	SAW	n-tolen	NEM	mō
*ACE	duəʔ	NYI	mañah	CEM	mú
BAT	mar-iŋan-an	MAM	suʔuaʔi	AJI	tɔ
*MIN	tiŋga	*TAK	-mado	*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> a
*IND	tiŋgal	*DAM	i-bodō-ya	NEN	ɱor
*SUN	čičiŋ	MAB	- <sup>m</sup> bot	*KIR	maeka
JAV	mangəŋ	*YAB	-ŋgəŋ	*MSH	eək <sup>w</sup> ɛ
	(paŋgəŋ)	*KAU	uŋ	*PON	mi
MAD	pa-nauŋ-an	*TOL	ki	*WLE	miʔa
*BAL	ŋ-oyəŋ	BUA	nədo	EFI	tiko

WFI	nō	*SAM	mau	RAP	noho
RTU	noho	MEL	nofo		
TON	nofo	*TAH	tiʔa		

TAG Also *tahan* +*-um/-an*.

AKL From Spanish *estar* 'be in'.

PAL Also *luməgdəŋ*.

KAG From Spanish *estar*.

SAB *tannaʔ + pa*.

MUR *ayan* (-*um-*).

ACE 'sit, dwell'.

MIN Also *diam*.

IND Also *hidup* 'live'; [*mukim*] from Arabic 'settle'; *bər-diam* 'reside'.

SUN See 12.160, 01.322; also *matuh* (*patuh*).

BAL Also *nəŋil* (*N-təŋil*).

SAS Single morpheme, Goris: *məro*; also *əndot*.

GOR Also *moyi-moyiya*, used only by older people.

KON Also *aʔ-bora*.

MAG Also *kaʔeŋ*, *o<sup>n</sup>to*.

BUR Also *eptea* 'sit, stay'.

TAK See 12.160.

DAM '3sg-sit-INF.

YAB Also *-m<sup>w</sup>a* 'stay'.

KAU Also *in*.

TOL *ki* (vb intrans) 'sit, stay, live'.

ADZ *mpa(i)* 'be, stay, dwell' (animate subject); *miŋʔ* 'be, stay, dwell' (inanimate subject).

TAW 'stay'.

RAG Also *do*, *toyo*, *doyo*.

PAA Also 'sleep'.

LEW Also *to*, *mono*.

KWA Also *-akure*, which also means 'sit'.

XAR Also *nō*.

KIR Also *mena* 'to be in a place'.

MSH Transitive of *cukcuk*.

PON 'to be in a place'.



WLE 'to be in a place'.

SAM Also *nofo* 'live, dwell, stay, sit', (polite) *afie*.

TAH Also *pārahi, noho*.

### 07.120 HOUSE

*ATA	ʔimuay	UMA	tomi	MAR	suga
TSO	mō	BUG	bolla	LAU	luma
RUK	dānə	*KON	ballaʔ	KWO	luma
PAI	umaḵ	*WOL	ʃanua	RAG	im <sup>wa</sup>
YAM	vaḵay	MAG	m̄baru	*PAA	aīm
ISN	balay	*NGA	saʔo	LEW	yum <sup>wa</sup>
KAL	boloy	*SIK	ori-ŋ	POR	na-im
TAG	bāhay	RTI	uma	NTA	nima
AKL	baḥay	*BUR	huma	KWA	nim <sup>wa</sup>
PAL	bōnwa	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> alar	NEM	ŋa
MOL	bonua	IRA	sanə	CEM	m <sup>wa</sup>
KAG	balay	SAW	um	AJI	m <sup>wā</sup>
BLA	bōli	*NYI	asiu	XAR	m <sup>wā</sup>
SAB	lumaʔ	MAM	pera	*NEN	mma
*MUR	baloy	TAK	ab	*KIR	te um <sup>wa</sup>
*MGY	ṭʔanu	DAM	ʃō	*MSH	em <sup>w</sup>
ACE	rumoh	MAB	rūmu	*PON	īm <sup>w</sup>
*BAT	jabu	YAB	a <sup>n</sup> du	*WLE	faiiŋa
MIN	rumah	*KAU	maŋ	EFI	βale
IND	rumah	TOL	pal	WFI	were
SUN	imah	BUA	bəyaŋ	RTU	rī
JAV	omah	*ADZ	uŋar	TON	fale
MAD	ruma	KIL	b <sup>w</sup> ala	*SAM	fale
*BAL	umah	TAW	numa	MEL	fare
SAS	bale	MOT	ruma	*TAH	fare
GOR	bele	*MEK	eʔa	RAP	hare
DAA	sapo	ROV	vetu		

ATA Also *ʔimuy*.

MUR Also *tulus* 'longhouse, barrack'; *pagun* 'traditional longhouse with family apartments'.

MGY From Malay *daŋaw*.

- BAT Also *bagas* (from Proto-Batak \**bagas* ‘deep’) see *ba’gas* 12.670.
- BAL Also *bale* ‘free standing building, pavilion’.
- KON Also *bola*.
- WOL *banua batu* ‘stone house’; *banua koarii*, *banua tadā* ‘wooden house’.
- NGA *saʔo* ‘traditional house’; *baru* ‘new, modern house’.
- SIK Also *lɔpo*, *mobo*, *βoga*.
- BUR ‘village house’ may be specified as *huma fena* or *huma [negri]*; *huma srahe-n* ‘split bamboo house’; *huma kau oko-n* ‘bark house’; *huma ebaa* or *huma pasa-n* are made from *gaba-gaba* (sago-leaf stems); *huma em-kele-n* ‘house on stilts’; these are usually intended as cook houses and are used as dwellings while the main house is being built; *hum tapa* ‘hunting lodge’; *huma ate-t* ‘thatch lean-to’; *hum damu-n* ‘special house for storing bridewealth’ see 07.131; *hum [puʃi]* ‘spirit house’; *hum rema* ‘long dorms built by logging companies for imported prostitutes’.
- NYI *asiu* ‘married’s house’, *kamen* ‘clan (men’s) house’.
- KAU ‘men’s house’; *mok* ‘married couple’s house’.
- ADZ *uŋar* (Amari only); *oŋar* (other dialects except Amari and Yarus); *tagur* (Yarus only).
- MEK *eʔa* corresponds to Roro *eka* ‘place’.
- PAA ‘any building, whether or not used for living in’.
- NEN Also *neruala* (respectful).
- KIR Also *te [auti]* from English ‘European-style house’.
- MSH Also forms like *m<sup>w</sup>e* ‘this house’, with bound demonstratives.
- PON Also *ṭēnpas* ‘chief’s house’.
- WLE Also *im<sup>w</sup>a-*.
- SAM (polite) *maota*.
- TAH *fare pōteʔe* ‘house with rounded ends’; *fare haupape* ‘house with straight ends’; *fare taupeʔe* ‘house with veranda’; *fare taʔotoraʔa* ‘sleeping house’; *fare tamāʔaraʔa* ‘house for eating’; *fare pape* ‘a bath house’; *fare tūtu* ‘a cook-house’.

### 07.130 HUT

ATA	tatak	PAI	tapaw	KAL	sīgay
*TSO	trova	YAM	valag	*TAG	kūbo
RUK	taovanānə	ISN	agtatāwan	AKL	payag-payag

PAL	ɔluŋuŋ	RTI	lala-k	*PAA	vāh
MOL	sulap-sulap	BUR	huma	LEW	sil-varavara
KAG	ba'luŋ-ba'luŋ	DOB	der'ɸin	*POR	na-immo-keke
BLA	lawig	*IRA	sanəduenə	NTA	makeen
SAB	luma?-luma?	*SAW	um myaku	KWA	nim <sup>w</sup> a
*MUR	kalukub	*NYI	beleheleh	NEM	
MGY	ʔʔanu bungu	*MAM	pera-mu <sup>ʔ</sup> u-mu <sup>ʔ</sup> u	CEM	
ACE	jambo	TAK	lalai	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā dē kē
BAT	sɔpɔ	DAM	ɸō	XAR	
*MIN	daŋau	MAB	saŋarai	NEN	meiə
IND	pondok	YAB	bɛ <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ata
SUN	sauŋ	KAU		*MSH	accūr
JAV	pɔndɔ <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL		*PON	[kansōpa]
*MAD	ku <sup>ʔ</sup> -ruŋku <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	bəŋaŋ	WLE	
*BAL	pondok	*ADZ	uŋar gwaria	EFI	βaleβale
*SAS	rəpɔ <sup>ʔ</sup>	KIL	b <sup>w</sup> ala	WFI	riri
GOR	wo <sup>m</sup> bohe	TAW	kape	RTU	rī hapa
*DAA	paku <sup>m</sup> pa	*MOT	kalaga	TON	ki <sup>ʔ</sup> i fale
*UMA	raha	MEK	efe-efe	*SAM	fale-o <sup>ʔ</sup> o
BUG	bolla-bolla	ROV	ipi	MEL	
*KON	balla <sup>ʔ</sup> -balla <sup>ʔ</sup>	MAR	baebale	TAH	
*WOL	ʔʔanu-ʔʔanua	LAU	babala	RAP	pae-pae
*MAG	sekaŋ	*KWO	ʔifi		
NGA	keka	RAG			
SIK	paŋ				

TSO 'hunter's mountain shelter'.

TAG Also *baruŋ-bāroŋ*.

MUR Also *binai<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

MIN Also *pondo<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

MAD From (RED-*ruŋku<sup>ʔ</sup>*); also *ruŋku<sup>ʔ</sup>*, Safioedin (1977).

BAL Also *kubu* see 07.131.

SAS Teeuw: (*bə*)*bale<sup>ʔ</sup>*; *das*.

DAA 'hut built on ground'.

UMA Also *bamaru<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

KON Also *bola-bola*.

WOL Also *ko<sup>m</sup>pa-ko<sup>m</sup>paŋa*, *wale*, *wale-wale* 'small hut or hovel'.

MAG Also *so<sup>n</sup>doŋ*.

SAW	Also [ <i>folaʔigi</i> ] from Ternate?
IRA	‘shelter in the forest’.
NYI	‘overhang/lean-to’; <i>ma<sup>n</sup>dʳon</i> ‘small bush house (at garden)’.
MAM	Also <i>bale</i> .
ADZ	Also <i>oŋar gwaria</i> .
MOT	Also ‘a shelter for sleeping under’ e.g. in gardens.
KWO	Also <i>ruma</i> .
PAA	Primarily ‘separate cooking house’, but also ‘any rough non-residential construction’. Nowadays, usually referred to as [ <i>kisin</i> ], from English.
POR	‘the-house ASP-small’.
KIR	Also <i>te okai</i> ‘copra hut’.
MSH	Also <i>pejak</i>
PON	From Japanese; ‘copra drying shed’.
SAM	<i>fale</i> ‘house’, - <i>oʔo</i> ‘?’, (polite) <i>fale-tua</i> , <i>tua</i> ‘back’.

### 07.131 GARDEN-HOUSE

ATA	<i>tarakaʔ</i>	BAT		IRA	<i>sanə ginumə</i>
TSO	<i>xnou</i>	MIN		*SAW	<i>um mləŋe</i>
RUK		*IND	<i>puñjuŋ</i>	NYI	<i>ma<sup>n</sup>dʳon</i>
PAI		SUN	<i>sauŋ kəbon</i>	MAM	<i>bazarua</i>
YAM	<i>şažoap</i>	*JAV	<i>gubuk</i>	*TAK	<i>lalai</i>
ISN		MAD	<i>tug<sup>h</sup>ur</i>	DAM	<i>kabĩ ɸõ</i>
KAL	<i>sīgay</i>	*BAL	<i>kubu</i>	MAB	<i>bēze</i>
*TAG	<i>kamālig</i>	SAS		*YAB	<i>bɛʔ yak<sup>w</sup>a-se</i>
AKL	<i>kamālig</i>	GOR		*KAU	<i>mok aβal</i>
PAL	<i>luluwakan nəŋ</i> <i>bənwə</i>	DAA	<i>sou</i>	TOL	
MOL		*UMA	<i>tomi bonea</i>	BUA	<i>numəŋ</i>
KAG		BUG	<i>bolla darriʔ</i>	*ADZ	<i>uŋar baŋub</i>
BLA	<i>lawig</i>	*KON	<i>paʔ-romanŋ-aŋ</i>	*KIL	<i>buli-yamata</i>
SAB		*WOL	<i>wale</i>	*TAW	<i>hanali</i>
*MUR	<i>sulap</i>	*MAG	<i>sekaŋ</i>	*MOT	<i>uma kalaga-na</i>
MGY	<i>ʔʼanu</i>	NGA	<i>sani</i>	*MEK	<i>ʔuf-ʔufu</i>
	<i>bungu an-</i> <i>[dʒaridaina]</i>	*SIK	<i>paŋ</i>	ROV	<i>vetu inuma</i>
ACE	<i>raŋkaŋ</i>	RTI	<i>lala-k</i>	*MAR	<i>grorofe</i>
		*BUR	<i>hum hawa</i>	LAU	<i>babala i hara</i>
		DOB	<i>k<sup>w</sup>alar k<sup>w</sup>utan</i>	KWO	<i>oʔoba</i>

RAG	vale	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> à-tée	WFI	βoho
PAA	vāh	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā maŕa	*RTU	rī ʔuhi
LEW	sil-varavara	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> āñāa	*TON	feleoko
POR	pač veve	*NEN	meinima	SAM	
NTA		KIR		MEL	kova
KWA	nim <sup>w</sup> aϕ <sup>w</sup> e	MSH		TAH	
	namhuien	PON		RAP	
NEM	ŋa kave- t <sup>h</sup> uvamō	WLE			
		EFI	lōlolo		

TAG Proto-Philippines \**kamāliR* ‘granary, shed’.

MUR Also *susulap* ‘small garden-house’; *alasan* ‘large garden-house, for harvest-feast’.

IND Also *rumah kəbun*.

JAV Some dialects *gubug*.

BAL ‘shelter in rice fields or gardens’.

UMA *tomi bonea* ‘house of garden (normal term)’; *po<sup>ʔ</sup>ko* ‘small hut on stilts from which one guards garden from birds’.

KON Also *pa<sup>ʔ</sup>-doŋik-aŋ*.

WOL Also *ko<sup>m</sup>pa-ko<sup>m</sup>paŋa*.

MAG Also *mukaŋ* ‘garden house’.

SIK Also *mobo*.

BUR *hum kolo-n* ‘a ratproof house on stilts for storing grain’; *huma lufe* ‘temporary garden-house with a slidable roof’.

SAW ‘long house’.

TAK ‘hut’ (07.130).

YAB ‘hut shark-jawbone’ i.e. ‘lean-to shelter’.

KAU *mok* ‘building’ (see 07.120 note, 07.170).

ADZ Also *oŋar baŋub*.

KIL ‘house-care’.

TAW ‘store house’.

MOI *uma* ‘garden’.

MEK From *ʔufu-ʔufu*, *ʔufu* ‘clan-house’.

MAR ‘garden shelter’.

NEN Also *medu*.

RTU ‘yam-shed’.

TON ‘storehouse for yams etc.’

## 07.140 TENT

Arabic: <i>ḥaima</i>	Spanish: <i>tolda</i> ‘awning’	Portuguese: <i>tenda</i>
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ATA	ʔβit	UMA		MAR	
TSO		BUG	[kema]	*LAU	babala
RUK		KON		KWO	
PAI		WOL		RAG	
YAM	viləḏ a vaḡay	*MAG	<sup>n</sup> dei	PAA	
ISN	bawbawi	NGA	sani	*LEW	yum <sup>w</sup> a
KAL		SIK	kuβu		[tapolen]
*TAG	[tolda]	*RTI	[teŋ]	POR	
AKL	[torda]	*BUR	huma ate-t	*NTA	[tenət]
PAL	tilun	DOB	der'φin	KWA	
MOL		IRA		NEM	
KAG		SAW	[kemah]	CEM	
BLA	sluŋ	*NYI	asiu balei	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã m <sup>w</sup> ālō
SAB	[tolda]	MAM	bazarua	XAR	
MUR		TAK		NEN	mesiñeu
*MGY	ʔ <sup>r</sup> anu lai	DAM		KIR	
ACE	suəŋ	MAB		MSH	em <sup>w</sup> nuknuk
BAT	[tədda]	YAB		PON	
MIN	[tenda]	*KAU	[haus sel]	WLE	
IND	[kemah]	*TOL	pəl-nə-mal	EFI	βale-laḏa
*SUN	[tenda]	BUA	[sel]	WFI	were-laya
JAV	[kemah]	ADZ		RTU	rīlæe
MAD	[tenḏa]	*KIL	buli-youyoβa	*TON	[tēniti]
BAL		*TAW	kape	*SAM	fale-ʔie
SAS	das	MOT	kalaga	MEL	
GOR	[kema]	*MEK	[kainamo]	TAH	fare ʔie
DAA	[kema]	ROV		RAP	

TAG Also *kulandong*.MGY *lai* ‘sail’.SUN Also [*kemah*].

MAG ‘makeshift bamboo-building for receiving groups of guests’.

RTI From Malay, generally ‘temporary marquee for guests at a feast’; also *lala-k*.

BUR	'thatch lean-to'.
NYI	'house sail'.
KAU	Tok Pisin.
TOL	<i>pəl</i> 'house', <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>mal</i> 'cloth'.
KIL	'house-flapping'. Another word is [ <i>parai</i> ], from English 'fly' (tent-fly).
TAW	'temporary hut'.
MEK	Also <i>tainamo</i> from Tok Pisin <i>taunam</i> (originally from a New Ireland language) which was applied to early mosquito nets made from heavy cloth, which often served as tents.
LAU	Also <i>obala</i> .
LEW	Also <i>yum</i> <sup>wa</sup> [ <i>kanus</i> ] from English <i>canvas</i> .
NTA	Also [ <i>tapolən</i> ], both from Bislama.
TON	From English.
SAM	?ie see 06.210.

### 07.150 YARD, COURT

*ATA	ʔatanux	MIN	halaman	IRA	
TSO	ʔoʔa	*IND	pə-karaŋ-an	SAW	um lapo
RUK	latadə	*SUN	buruan	NYI	
PAI	ka-ʔasav-an	*JAV	plataran	MAM	pera-zage
YAM	aʂkəʂkəʔ no	*MAD	taniyan	*TAK	ab nao-n
	vaʂay	*BAL	natah	DAM	mayare
ISN	amuwāg	SAS	ləleyah	MAB	rūmu zilŋāna
KAL	pāway	GOR	pāŋo	*YAB	mala?-lūŋ
*TAG	bakūr-an	DAA	lalovo	KAU	
*AKL	lagwirta	UMA	bereʔe	*TOL	təmən
PAL	lɔgwas	BUG	lappaʔ	BUA	təlig
MOL	lobuan	KON	rambaŋ	ADZ	
*KAG	siluŋan	*WOL	kalibu	KIL	baku
*BLA	nasel	MAG	natas	TAW	tano
SAB	halaman	NGA	vəva	*MOT	mayu
*MUR	lisad	*SIK	βoər	MEK	inae
MGY	tuku-tani	RTI	uma soda-k	ROV	
*ACE	[lɔəŋ]	*BUR	huma mena-n	MAR	
BAT	alaman	DOB	ŋaŋaʔaʔi	LAU	

KWO		*CEM	â-táuli-nâdo	EFI	loma-ni-bai
RAG		AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ě wěyě	WFI	yaloŋa-ni-bā
PAA		XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ǎjōšā	*RTU	maræʔe
LEW	kove	NEN	pačen	TON	lotoʔā
POR	ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> vōa <sup>m</sup> b	KIR	te ō	SAM	lotoā
*NTA	natuanu	MSH		MEL	lolo
KWA		PON		TAH	ʔaua
NEM	kave-gu	WLE	mōxo	RAP	

ATA Also *fataʔ*.

TAG *loʔob-an* 'back yard'.

AKL Also *ugsaran* 'front yard'.

KAG From (*siluŋ + -an*).

BLA *nasel* 'yard'; *slinjin* 'court'.

MUR 'clear area surrounding house'.

ACE Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *halaman*.

SUN Also *pa-karaŋ-an*.

JAV From (*pə-latar-an*); also *latar* 'yard'.

MAD Single morpheme (Safioedin 1977).

BAL Also [*karaŋ, pə-karaŋ-an*] from Old Javanese.

WOL Also *to<sup>n</sup>do-to<sup>n</sup>do* 'fenced-in area around house'.

SIK Also *nama-ŋβoɔr*.

BUR 'the drying place of the house'; *huma mori-n* 'the area behind the house'; *boli-boli huma* 'the area immediately surrounding the house (usually referring to a new clearing for a new house in the jungle where an emergency food crop is planted)'.

TAK 'house face-its', i.e. 'face of the house'.

YAB 'village-middle' i.e. 'open space in middle of village'.

TOL 'clear swept ground around the house', see 01.230, 12.060.

MOT *mayu* also means 'fence, enclosed area'. If the area is larger and less enclosed, *ariara* 'main village thoroughfare, central open area' might be used.

NTA See 19.160.

CEM 'the place that one sweeps'; also *nà-póm<sup>w</sup>o* 'area in front of house'.

RTU Also *pā*.



## 07.160 MEN'S HOUSE

ATA		UMA		MAR	
TSO	kuba	BUG	ale bolla	LAU	mana beu
RUK	palakōa	KON		KWO	tau
PAI		WOL		RAG	
YAM		MAG		*PAA	āmal
ISN		NGA	kəka-ləla	LEW	kum <sup>w</sup> ali
KAL		SIK		POR	xamar
TAG		RTI		NTA	nima imaim
AKL		BUR		KWA	nim <sup>w</sup> a
PAL		DOB			im <sup>w</sup> arəm
MOL		IRA	sirosə	*NEM	ŋa-ŋayuk
KAG		*SAW	um [adat]	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> āiu
BLA		NYI	kamen	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> āiʔ
SAB		MAM	bale	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā dɔ tɛpə
MUR		*TAK	barag ab	NEN	
MGY		DAM	barem	KIR	
*ACE	[munasah]	MAB	urum	MSH	
BAT		YAB	lom	PON	
MIN		KAU	maŋ	WLE	
IND		*TOL	pəl-nə-tərəi	EFI	bure
SUN		BUA	dub	WFI	bito
JAV		*ADZ	uŋar sa?	RTU	rī-sipoki
MAD		KIL		TON	
BAL		TAW		SAM	
SAS		*MOT	dubu	*MEL	[fārea]
GOR		*MEK	ʔufu	TAH	
DAA		ROV	vetu koreo	RAP	

ACE From Arabic *manzil* 'guest house'?, 'raised, open building used for religious activities and as a meeting place for men'.

SAW From Arabic *umda* (?).

TAK *ab* 'house' (07.120).

TOL *pəl* 'house', *nə* CONN, *tərəi* 'men'.

ADZ Also *oŋar sa?*

MOT The basic meaning is 'a chief's platform', now 'church building'.

MEK North Mekeo *kufu* but West Mekeo has *kopu*; this institution has disappeared in the NW Mekeo area.

- PAA Not restricted for use only by men, but primarily so.  
 NEM 'house-man' (*kayuk* 'male').  
 XAR Also *m<sup>w</sup>ādo* 'large hut reserved for chief'.  
 MEL From Efate.

## 07.170 COOKHOUSE

**English:** *kitchen, cook.*    **Malay:** *dapur* 'kitchen'    **Spanish:** *cocina*

ATA	ya-y-hapuy-an	KON	ʝoŋkiʔ	*MAR	[suga kuki]
TSO		*WOL	rapu	LAU	[kisina]
RUK		MAG	[dapur]	KWO	
PAI	ka-kəs-an	NGA	dapo	*RAG	im <sup>w</sup> a-n ʝabi
*YAM	panonotoŋan	SIK	aβu	PAA	[kisin]
ISN	[kusina]	*RTI	[dapu]	*LEW	yum <sup>w</sup> a-na kapi
KAL	[kusina]	*BUR	hum masa-t	*POR	na-im a
*TAG	[kusinaʔ]	DOB	rawur		na-xa <sup>m</sup> b
*AKL	pantaw	*IRA	tugə	NTA	[kisin]
PAL	səwduŋ	SAW	m <sup>n</sup> əm gəo	*KWA	kuwipehe
MOL	[kusina]	NYI	asiu ta nāmon	*NEM	kāweña
KAG		MAM	pera-ono-	CEM	páo
BLA	abu		boadiŋa	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā uo
SAB	[kusina]	*TAK	ninae-ŋ ab	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā-[kuka]
MUR	dapuan	*DAM	y-abi-ya φō	NEN	watača
*MGY	[lakuzi]	*MAB	you tēgeŋana	KIR	te bareum
ACE	dapu		muṛini	MSH	pełak
BAT	tatarin	*YAB		PON	im <sup>w</sup> en [kuk]
MIN	dapu <sup>o</sup>	*KAU	mok ayuk	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> aṛum <sup>w</sup> u
IND	dapur	TOL	pəl-na-[kuk]	EFI	βale-ni-kuro
SUN	dapur	BUA	[aus kuk]	WFI	were-ni-kuro
*JAV	pawən	*ADZ	uŋar antu <sup>o</sup> ?-a	RTU	kohea
MAD	dapur		nam in	TON	peito
*BAL	[paon]	KIL		*SAM	umu
*SAS	[pawon]	TAW	ani ulona	MEL	fare kūku
*GOR	depula	*MOT	nanadu ruma-	TAH	fare tūtu
DAA	ta <sup>o</sup> goavu		na	RAP	?umu
*UMA	po-ruhe-a	MEK			
BUG	dapurr-in	*ROV	vetu raro		

- YAM 'cooking place' from *totoŋ* 'cook'.
- TAG 'kitchen'.
- AKL *pantaw* (open air); also [*kusīnah*].
- MGY From French.
- JAV From \*\**pə-awu-an*; also *awu* 'ash'.
- BAL From Old Javanese 'kitchen' (basic North Balinese meaning 'fireplace used for cooking') see 07.310.
- SAS From Javanese, via Balinese.
- GOR 'kitchen'.
- UMA *po-ruhe-a* 'place to cook (rice)'; also *aβu* 'ashes', but used to mean 'kitchen'.
- WOL *rapu* 'kitchen, fireplace'; also *suo* 'back part of the house'.
- RTI Formerly, cooking was done on a cooking fire in the *uma dale* section of the house.
- BUR The normal configuration of a household dwelling in villages is to have the main house, which may or may not be divided into two or three rooms, and a cook-house either separate or attached directly to the back of the main house. The cook-house is built first and is the centre of casual social interaction; a *hum masa-t* is sometimes a *huma em-kele* 'house on stilts'.
- IRA *fənamatiε* 'fire-place'.
- TAK 'cook-NOM house'; not a part of native Takia tradition.
- DAM '3sg-cook-INF house'.
- MAB 'place for holding fire'.
- YAB See 07.310.
- KAU See note on 07.131.
- ADZ 'house cook-PART food in it', i.e. 'house for cooking food in'; also *oŋar antu<sup>ŋ?</sup>-a nam in*.
- MOT *nanadu* 'cook (intr)', *ruma* 'house'.
- ROV Also *vetu oputu*.
- MAR From Pijin.
- RAG Also *im<sup>w</sup>a [kuki]*.
- LEW 'house for fire'.
- POR 'the-house to the-fire'.
- KWA Traditional low house often used today for cooking.

NEM See also *ŋa-p<sup>w</sup>e-yilek* lit ‘house make-pot’.

XAR ‘house-cook’.

SAM Also *umu-[kuka]* ‘cookhouse (other than of traditional Samoan type)’.

### 07.180 MEETING HOUSE

ATA	papkaran	DAA	ba <sup>n</sup> taya	MAR	
TSO		UMA		*LAU	beu ni fāroia
RUK		BUG	barugga	KWO	
PAI		KON	baruga	*RAG	ɣamali
YAM	pikikaygian	WOL	ɓaruga	PAA	āmal
	no tao	MAG		*LEW	kum <sup>w</sup> ali
ISN		NGA	loka	POR	xamar
*KAL	[mimittīŋan]	SIK		NTA	
*TAG	pūloŋ	RTI		KWA	nim <sup>w</sup> a
*AKL	tābu?	*BUR	huma brau-t		im <sup>w</sup> arəm
PAL	kɔlaŋ bɔnwa	DOB		NEM	ŋa-ɣayuk
MOL		IRA		CEM	m <sup>w</sup> à-wô
*KAG	balay na	*SAW	[balai desa]	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã-vi kãveãi
	tīpunan	NYI		XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ã-x <sup>w</sup> abə
BLA	gu-stifun	MAM	bale	NEN	meçoe
SAB	laŋgal	*TAK	timane-k ab	KIR	te maneaba
*MUR	balay daya	DAM	barem	MSH	m <sup>w</sup> Λn k <sup>w</sup> εiɓk
*MGY	ɽ <sup>f</sup> anu-m-puku- n-uluna	*MAB	lupŋana murīni	*PON	nās
*ACE	bale	*YAB	lom	*WLE	faře-řapa
BAT	səpə gədaŋ	KAU		EFI	βale-ni-sogo
MIN	balay	*TOL	pəl-nə-kivuŋ	WFI	were-ni-hogo
IND	balai	BUA	dub	RTU	rī taunɔʔi
*SUN	təmpat	*ADZ	uŋar sa?	TON	fale fakataha
	[pasamoan]	KIL		*SAM	fale-tele
JAV		TAW	ani libolu	*MEL	[fārea]
MAD	gandu?	*MOT	he-bou	TAH	fare
*BAL	bale baŋjar		ruma-na		putuputuraʔa
SAS	bale saŋkəp	*MEK	iʔau	RAP	
*GOR	po-t-tabibo-wa	*ROV	paele koreo		

- KAL (*R*<sup>1</sup>-[mitiŋ]-*R*<sup>2</sup>-an).
- TAG *pūloŋ + ka--an*.
- AKL *tābu?* + -an; also *siluŋ* ‘space under the house’, Proto-Philippines \**sīDuŋ*.
- KAG ‘house that’s a gathering together place’; *tipunan* from (*tipun + an*).
- MUR From Malay *balai raya* ‘great hall’.
- MGY *tʰanu* ‘house’, *fuku-n-uluna* ‘community’.
- ACE Also [*munasah*], see 07.160.
- ᮊUN Javanese?
- BAL ‘village hall’; *bale* ‘building, pavilion’, *bañjar* ‘hamlet’; *paurn, saŋkəp* ‘meeting’.
- GOR (Archaic), from *mo-tabibo* ‘to chat, to converse’.
- BUR Traditionally in the centre of the village.
- SAW From Indonesian.
- TAK ‘meet-NOM house’ (see ‘meet’, 19.650).
- MAB *lupŋana murīni* ‘meeting place’; *urum* ‘men’s house’.
- YAB ‘men’s house’; also *lom-labu* ‘house-back’ i.e. ‘open part of men’s house’.
- TOL *kivuŋ* ‘sit together’.
- ADZ Also *oŋar sa?*, *sa?*.
- MOT *he-bou* ‘to meet; meeting’ (*bou* ‘together, *he* - REFL).
- MEK ‘platform for special functions’. It is roughly roofed over.
- ROV ‘men’s meeting house’.
- LAU ‘house of conversation’.
- RAG Also *im<sup>w</sup>a-ngogo-ana*.
- LEW See 07.160.
- PON ‘ceremonial house, feasthouse’.
- WLE ‘men’s house’.
- SAM *tele* ‘big’.
- MEL From Efate.

## 07.210 ROOM

Dutch: *kamer*English: *room*Spanish: *cuarto*

ATA		DAA	to <sup>m</sup> bi	ROV	lose
*TSO	xopo	UMA	lo <sup>n</sup> ta	MAR	čoyo
*RUK	ta-apə-apəç- anə	BUG	bili?	LAU	
PAI	ka-ḳarəŋ-an	*KON	['kamara]	KWO	
YAM	vəkay	*WOL	[kamara]	RAG	
ISN	[kuwartu]	*MAG	kilo	PAA	[rūm]
KAL	[kuwāltu]	NGA	ḡeli	*LEW	[rum]
*TAG	silid	*SIK	ulu βa	POR	
*AKL	suʃud	RTI	[kama]	NTA	noan
PAL	siŋləd	*BUR	huma lale-n	KWA	
MOL	bilik	DOB	ta'ron	NEM	
*KAG	səlləd	*IRA	sanə ganə	CEM	
BLA	sibəy	*SAW	um pətno	AJI	ǰi m <sup>w</sup> ǎ
SAB	bilik	NYI		XAR	
MUR	lamin	MAM	pera-ilo	NEN	gukag
MGY	efiʃ <sup>r</sup> a	*TAK	[galuŋ]	KIR	te rū
*ACE	bile?	DAM	āb	MSH	[rūm <sup>w</sup> ]
*BAT	bilut	MAB	rūmu lelēne	PON	pere
MIN	bili <sup>ə</sup> ?	YAB	balom	*WLE	[rūm <sup>w</sup> u]
*IND	ruaŋ	*KAU	lahebe-ŋin	EFI	[rumu]
*SUN	[paŋkeŋ]	TOL		WFI	[rumu]
*JAV	guʃək-an	BUA	ḡuməḳ ayo	RTU	[rumu]
MAD	paŋkiŋ	ADZ		TON	loki
BAL		*KIL	taboda	SAM	potu
SAS	[kamar]	TAW	babanoya	MEL	potu
*GOR	huwali	MOT	daiutu	TAH	piha
		MEK		*RAP	hare

TSO 'bed'.

RUK *ta-apə-apəç-anə* 'room', lit 'a place to sleep', from *wa-apəçə* 'to sleep'.TAG Also [*kuwarto*].AKL Also [*kwartoh*].KAG Also [*kwartu*].

ACE	Also, and more usually in modern usage [ <i>kama</i> ]. Traditional houses have special terms for each room, e.g. <i>jureə</i> , <i>suraməə</i> .
BAT	Also [ <i>kamar</i> ].
IND	Also [ <i>kamar</i> ].
SUN	Also [ <i>kamar</i> ].
JAV	Also <i>səntəŋ</i> .
GOR	Also [ <i>kāmari</i> ].
KON	Also <i>bili</i> ?
WOL	Also <i>maedani</i> ‘central living room, large open room, front room’; <i>soŋi</i> ‘room, bedroom’.
MAG	‘married pair’.
SIK	Also <i>gəbi</i> .
BUR	‘interior of the house’; <i>lia-t</i> ‘stable, room, stall’ may also be used.
SAW	‘living room’.
IRA	Also <i>tarirə</i> ‘lounge’.
TAK	From Gedaged: not a traditional part of the Takia house.
KAU	‘Partition’.
KIL	See 07.270.
LEW	Also <i>lele-na</i> , and verbal <i>we-rovia</i> ‘divide’.
WLE	Also <i>xōpi</i> .
RAP	Also [ <i>piha</i> ] from Spanish <i>pieza</i> .

## 07.220 DOOR, GATE

*ATA	ka-ktu?	BLA	takab	SAS	lawəŋ
TSO	pxiŋi	SAB	gawaŋ	*GOR	[pi <sup>n</sup> du]
RUK	laolaodo	*MUR	kulobon	DAA	pevobo
PAI	pal <sup>y</sup> iŋ	MGY	vara-varana	UMA	βobo?
*YAM	parəvŋəŋ	ACE	pinto	BUG	taŋi?
ISN	gagyaŋān	BAT	pittu	*KON	anna?
KAL	sawaŋ	MIN	kaporo	*WOL	fa <sup>m</sup> ba kaʒoli
*TAG	pinto?	IND	pintu	MAG	para
AKL	[pwerta]	*SUN	panto	*NGA	le <sup>?</sup> u
PAL	lələŋəwan	*JAV	lawəŋ	*SIK	βa
MOL	lawəŋ	MAD	labəŋ	RTI	le-lesu
*KAG	sara ŋa <sup>?</sup> an	*BAL	ʒəlan-an	*BUR	subu

DOB	sanum	MOT	iduarā	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ã-xũã
*IRA	san riməta	*MEK	maalo	*NEN	paŋameneŋ
SAW	ŋəwɛn	*ROV	sasada	KIR	te matarəa
NYI	kou	MAR	greŋat <sup>h</sup> a	*MSH	aor
MAM	babaduadua	LAU	mā	PON	wenim <sup>w</sup>
TAK	dalawan	*KWO	sinamā	WLE	xetama
DAM	sukar	*RAG	ɣatava	*EFI	kātuba
MAB	katāma	PAA	vaiteh	WFI	mata-ni- were
YAB	katam	*LEW	pra-tava	*RTU	kæe
*KAU	sabal-ŋin	POR	pupurav	*TON	matapā
*TOL	bənbənu	*NTA	[toa]	SAM	faitoto <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*BUA	βalūŋ aβi	*KWA	tapinha	*MEL	mata
*ADZ	mua <sup>n</sup> çi	*NEM	ɤa-n ŋa	*TAH	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> ōpani]
*KIL	yoyu	*CEM	póm <sup>w</sup> à	*RAP	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> opani]
TAW	gudu	AJI	meɔ m <sup>w</sup> ã		

ATA βa<sup>ʔ</sup>ih-un ‘door frame’.

YAM Also *raraçit* ‘gate’.

TAG [*pultāh*]-an ‘gate’, Spanish *puerta*.

KAG ‘doorway’.

MUR ‘doorway’; *aŋob* ‘door’; *saluaŋ* ‘kitchen door, rear door’.

SUN Also [*lawəŋ*] from Javanese.

JAV Also *kori*.

BAI *ǰlan-an* ‘the movable barrier which forms part of a doorway or gate’; *aŋkul-aŋkul* ‘covered entrance gate, made of simple materials’ (may or may not have a *ǰlan-an*); [*kuri, kori*] from Old Javanese, ‘covered entrance gate’; [*lawəŋ*] from Old Javanese, ‘door, gate’.

GOR From Malay *pintu*. Also *huhebu* Limboto area.

KON Also *timuaŋ*.

WOL ‘door (piece to close the door)’.

NGA Also *kaka-ŋai* lit ‘support breath’ ‘large opening without door’.

SIK Also *uhe, ori-ŋ βaŋ*.

BUR Rana dialect *sufe-n*.

IRA Also *fəɾəɾofəna*.

KAU ‘close-NOM’.

TOL From *banu* ‘close’ (vb).

BUA ‘doorway, gateway’.



ADZ	Also <i>moa</i> <sup>n</sup> <i>çi</i> .
KIL	Also <i>kalapisila</i> ‘doorway, gateway’.
MEK	From ( <i>ma-alo</i> )? Also <i>paavi</i> (a Roro borrowing acc. to Desnoës), <i>iʔamala</i> ( <i>i-ʔamala?</i> ) and <i>paatsi</i> . <i>pou</i> ‘screen used to block the entrance at night (also used for windows, sometimes ‘door, doorway’); NW Mek has <i>pakiage</i> (Brown). <i>ake</i> , <i>age</i> ‘mouth’ (see 04.240), ‘all sorts of openings, including doors’.
ROV	Also <i>bara</i> ‘fence’.
KWO	‘sun eye’.
RAG	‘doorway’.
LEW	Also <i>pulu-tava</i> ‘doorway’, <i>pra-laea</i> ‘gate one climbs over’, [ <i>ket</i> ] (from Bislama).
NTA	From Bislama; also <i>makasisiŋ</i> ‘leaves used to block a doorway’.
KWA	Also <i>kasisəŋ</i> ‘NOM shut’; <i>nəʔukarua</i> ‘entryway, passageway’.
NEM	‘hole of house’.
CEM	‘hole of house’.
XAR	‘opening of habitation’.
NEN	Also <i>pamma</i> .
MSH	Also <i>kʌcæm</i> .
EFI	Also <i>matamata</i> ‘gate’.
RTU	Also <i>kakɔi</i> , <i>nuʔsura</i> .
TON	Also [ <i>kātupa</i> ] from Fijian.
MEL	Also [ <i>keji</i> ].
TAH	Also <i>uputa</i> ‘opening’.
RAP	From English ‘open’.

### 07.221 DOORPOST, JAMB

ATA	βa-βʔih-nan	*AKL	[pwertāh-an]	MGY	andʔi
TSO		PAL	usuk ət	ACE	tameh
RUK			lɔlɔŋawan	BAT	
PAI		MOL		MIN	tɔŋgaʔ pintu
YAM	itorak	*KAG	bakaʔlan	*IND	ʃənaŋ pintu
ISN	balādaʔ	BLA	taldak takab	*SUN	tihəŋ
KAL	tūkud soʔoban	SAB	hāg gawaŋ	JAV	ɖəmpəl
*TAG	pintūʔ-an	MUR	pamantuŋ	MAD	

BAL		DAM	bobog	NTA	nəŋ raha toa
SAS		MAB		*KWA	kaŋa
GOR	paʔili	*YAB	sagiŋ-tek <sup>w</sup> a	*NEM	fire-ɣa-n ɲa
DAA	ti <sup>ñ</sup> ja pevobo		saʔ-gedo-ɲa	*CEM	céwata
UMA	ka-te-hopo-aʔ βoboʔ	*KAU	mara soβon	*AJI	kiã
		TOL	pəgəpagə	*XAR	xɬba pišɔ
BUG	bolla-ǰaga	BUA	mudəŋ	NEN	
KON	anroŋ timuaŋ	ADZ		KIR	
*WOL	paso-na 6a <sup>m</sup> ba	KIL		MSH	
MAG		TAW		PON	
NGA	tubo	*MOT	iduaara au-na	WLE	
SIK		MEK		EFI	tuka
RTI	di le-lesu	ROV	dedeyere	WFI	čuka
*BUR	tea-n		sasada	*RTU	pou
*DOB	[tiyan toŋka]	MAR		TON	kaumatapā
IRA		LAU	fuŋu ʔaena mā	SAM	
SAW	teptibe ɲowen	KWO		MEL	
NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> u <sup>ʔ</sup> u kou	RAG		TAH	pou
MAM	babaduadua- ariri	PAA		RAP	
TAK		*LEW	kemprap <sup>w</sup> e		
		POR	na- <sup>m</sup> ber		

TAG 'doorway'.

AKL 'doorway'.

KAG 'a stud in the wall of a house'.

MUR 'lintel'.

IND Also *tiaŋpintu*.

SUN Also [*pilar*] from Dutch.

WOL 'wooden piece to latch the door'.

BUR 'post'.

DOB From Malay.

YAB 'partition-bone platform-snout-for'.

KAU *soβon* 'doorway'.

MOT *au* 'timber, post'. Bible uses *iduaara ihuaihua-na* (Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *ihuaihua* 'the studs of a building').

LEW See 07.560.

KWA 'door frame'.

NEM 'side of door'; also *ɟovo* 'carvings on doorposts'.

CEM 'carved doorposts on either side of the entrance'.

AJI Also [poto] from French *poteau*.

XAR 'holds the *niaouli* skins', in fact 'carved beards on either side of doorway'.

RTU Also *tuturu*.

### 07.230 LOCK (n)

**English:** *lock*      **Sanskrit:** *kuñcikā* 'key'      **Spanish:** *candado* 'padlock'

*ATA	[šaušuʔ]	UMA	po-hohoki	ROV	[loka]
TSO	pō-miti	BUG	pač-čalaʔ	MAR	
RUK		KON	paʔ-[gončij]-	*LAU	fono
PAI	ɸak-ɸak		aŋ	KWO	
YAM	aʃlət	*WOL	ka-[ku <sup>n̄</sup> či]	RAG	
ISN	[kandādu]	*MAG	[səlop]	PAA	[lōk]
*KAL	tutulbokan	NGA	pəya	*LEW	na-kila-arari-
*TAG	susiʔ-an	SIK	[kusi-ŋ]		ena
AKL	[kandādoh]	RTI	<sup>n̄</sup> goe-k	POR	
PAL	[kəndadu]	BUR		NTA	[lok]
MOL	[kundadu]	DOB	[konči]	KWA	
KAG	[kandadu]	IRA		NEM	
BLA	kgil	SAW	[kučij]	*CEM	áce-æcūt
SAB	[kunsiʔ]	NYI	was	AJI	[lukɔ]
MUR	[kunsiʔ]	MAM	babaduadua-	XAR	
*MGY	[gada'na]		onota	NEN	
*ACE	[gunci]	TAK		KIR	te [roka]
BAT	pətik	DAM		MSH	[lak]
MIN	kuro-kuro	MAB		PON	[lɔk]
*IND	[kuñči]	*YAB		WLE	[lōka]
*SUN	[kuñči]	KAU	[lok]	EFI	[loka]
JAV	kañčij	TOL	[lok]	WFI	[loka]
MAD	kunṭul	BUA	[rok]	RTU	[lɔku]
*BAL	pəŋaŋčijən	ADZ		TON	[loka]
	jəlan-an	KIL	buluβa	SAM	[loka]
SAS		TAW	lutomgana	MEL	[lōko]
GOR	lapo-lapo	MOT	[loka]	TAH	pōnao
DAA	[gu <sup>n̄</sup> ji]	*MEK	[loka]	RAP	

ATA	From Hakka.
KAL	( <i>R</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>tulbok-an</i> ).
TAG	Also [ <i>kāndādo</i> ].
MGY	From French <i>cadenas</i> .
ACE	Also [ <i>kunci</i> ].
IND	Also [ <i>gərendel</i> ] ‘padlock’ from Dutch.
SUN	Also [ <i>koñči</i> ]; [ <i>sosi</i> ] from Chinese.
BAL	<i>pə-N-kañčiŋan</i> ; ( <i>N</i> -) <i>kañčiŋ</i> ‘lock’ (vb) <i>ǰəlan-an</i> see 07.220; <i>bəbulu</i> ‘hanging lock’; <i>baulu</i> North Bali, ‘large hanging lock’, borrowing? cf Malay <i>bolu</i> ; also [ <i>kuñči</i> ].
WOL	Also [ <i>ku<sup>ñ</sup>či</i> ] ‘key’.
MAG	From Dutch <i>slot</i> .
YAB	See 07.220.
MEK	<i>loka-ni-a</i> ‘lock something’.
LAU	Also <i>belika</i> .
LEW	Also [ <i>lok</i> ].
CEM	‘fruit of tree’.

### 07.231 LATCH, DOOR-BOLT

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>slot</i>	<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>kuñcikā</i> ‘key’
<b>English:</b> <i>lock, key</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>tranca</i> ‘crossbar’

ATA	ša-šaušu <sup>?</sup> -an	BLA	kgil	SAS	
TSO	ŋov <sup>?</sup> -eni	*SAB	[kandado]	*GOR	[solote]
RUK	sa-ḍokor-anə	MUR	alod	DAA	rapo-rapo
PAI		MGY	hidi	UMA	po-hohoki
YAM	iyiwawaŋan	ACE	ganceŋ	BUG	pač-čala taŋi <sup>?</sup>
ISN	pasuwal	BAT	palaŋ	*KON	pas-suliŋ
KAL	o <sup>?</sup> omban	*MIN	[kuñči]	WOL	
*TAG	[traŋka]	IND	palaŋ pintu	MAG	
AKL	[traŋkah]	*SUN	[gerendel]	NGA	leka
PAL		*JAV	[grendəl]	SIK	[kusi-ŋ]
*MOL	ogot	*MAD	laŋ-palaŋ	RTI	nataba le-
KAG	[traŋka]	*BAL	apəs		lesu-k

*BUR	subu wihi-n	MOT	[loka]	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ã-[kī]
DOB	ribil sanum	MEK		NEN	
IRA		ROV		KIR	
*SAW	kew-kawet	MAR	glalak <sup>hi</sup>	MSH	
NYI		LAU		PON	
MAM	onoti	KWO		WLE	
TAK		RAG		*EFI	[bōlu]
DAM		PAA	[pīn]	*WFI	i-wasi
MAB		*LEW	na-kila-arari- ena	RTU	a <sup>?</sup> mouŋa
*YAB				TON	fakama <sup>?</sup> u
KAU		POR		SAM	
TOL		NTA		MEL	
BUA		KWA		*TAH	[rota]
ADZ		NEM		RAP	
KIL		*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ó-[kīle]		
TAW		AJI	kā [kī]		

TAG Also [aldāba], from Spanish *aldaba* ‘latch’.

MOL *ogot + go*.

SAB From Spanish.

MIN Also *pasa<sup>?</sup>pīntu*.

SUN From Dutch.

JAV Also [səlɔt] from Dutch.

MAD Safioedin (1977): *palaj*.

BAL Also *pə-N-apəs*.

GOR Also [paku] lo [pi<sup>n</sup>du], [paku] lo huhebu (Malay *paku* ‘nail’).

KON Also *pa<sup>?</sup>ǰoli*.

BUR *rafe subu* ‘latch a door with a cord’, *roga subu* ‘latch a door with a pole behind it’.

SAW ‘wood on post to bolt door’.

YAB See 07.220.

LEW Also [lok].

CEM ‘hole of key’ from French.

XAR ‘house of the key’.

EFI From English *bolt*.

WFI Also [i-βagata].

TAH From English.

## 07.240 KEY

English: *key*Sanskrit: *kuñcikā*Spanish: *llave*

ATA	ta-taβuynah	UMA	[gu <sup>n̄</sup> či]	MAR	
*TSO	ʔo-romz-a na ma-avo	BUG	[gončiq]	LAU	[ki]
RUK		KON	[gončiq]	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	ka-[ku <sup>n̄</sup> či]	RAG	
YAM	kagi	MAG	[ku <sup>n̄</sup> či]	PAA	[kī]
ISN	tulbaʔ	NGA	kəʃu	LEW	[kī]
KAL	tulbok	SIK	[kusi-ŋ]	POR	
*TAG	sūsiʔ	RTI	ʔgoe-k	NTA	[ki]
*AKL	[yābih]	BUR	[konči]	KWA	
PAL	[kunsiʔ]	DOB	[konči]	NEM	[kī]
MOL	[kunsiʔ]	IRA	[kunəsi]	*CEM	[kile]
*KAG	[yawī]	SAW	[kučiq]	AJI	[kī]
BLA	[kunsiʔ]	NYI		XAR	[kī]
SAB	[kunsiʔ]-an	MAM	babaduadua- uasara	NEN	[ki]
*MUR	[kunsiʔ]	TAK		KIR	te kīŋ
*MGY	fanala-hidi	DAM		MSH	[ki]
*ACE	anɯʔ [gunci]	MAB		PON	[kī]
*BAT	[kučči]	*YAB		WLE	[kīya]
MIN	anaʔ [kuñči]	KAU	[ki]	EFI	[kī]
IND	anak [kunči]	TOL	[ki]	WFI	[kī]
*SUN	[kuñči]	BUA	[kī]	RTU	[ki]
JAV	[kuñči]	ADZ		TON	[kī]
MAD	[kuñči]	KIL	[kia]	SAM	[kī]
BAL	sərəg	TAW	animhoe	MEL	[kī]
SAS	sərək	MOT	[ki]	TAH	tāviri
GOR	ʔu-ʔu <sup>n̄</sup> di	MEK	[ki]	RAP	taviri
DAA	[gu <sup>n̄</sup> ji]	*ROV	vidulu		

TSO ‘tool used to open’.

TAG Also [yāwe].

AKL Also [yāwih].

KAG Also [liabi]; also [labi]; see 04.612.

MUR See 07.230.

MGY	From <i>faN-ala + hidi</i> , lit ‘something to remove a bolt’.
ACE	Also [ <i>kunci</i> ].
BAT	Also <i>hutsi, hitsu</i> .
SUN	Also [ <i>koñči</i> ], [ <i>sosi</i> ] from Chinese.
WOL	Also ‘lock’.
YAB	See 07.220.
TAW	( <i>ani-om-hoe</i> ) thing-verb1-open – ‘thing for opening’.
ROV	‘to turn’.
CEM	From French <i>clef</i> .

### 07.250 WINDOW

English: *window*

Portuguese: *janela*

Spanish: *ventana*

ATA	tuhɯŋ	MAD	[jəndila]	MAB	mīri kwōno
TSO	pe-t-xiʔt-a	BAL	[jəndelə]	*YAB	katam sauŋ
RUK	libaŋə	SAS	[jəndelə]	KAU	
*PAI	kəzuŋ	GOR	[janela]	*TOL	mətə-nə- kələŋər
YAM	parəvŋəŋ	DAA	potilāba	BUA	βəlūŋ aβi
ISN	lamdāwan	UMA	suʔkekeʔ	ADZ	
KAL	sawaŋ	BUG	tilləŋiŋ	KIL	[winidowa]
*TAG	dūruŋawan	KON	tontəŋ-aŋ	TAW	malamala
*AKL	duʔruŋāwan	*WOL	ʒalo-ʒalo	*MOT	[windoa]
PAL	rabaŋ	*MAG	[jəʔdela]	*MEK	i-ʔamala
*MOL	tandow	NGA	kaka-ŋai	ROV	[wida]
*KAG	tumbuʔan	SIK	tipa-ŋ	MAR	
BLA	[bintanaʔ]	RTI	[jaʔdela]	LAU	[wida]
SAB	tandaw-an	BUR		KWO	
MUR	[jəndilaʔ]	DOB	tulaʔu	RAG	
MGY	varavaran-keli	IRA	[jɛdɛrə]	PAA	
*ACE	tiŋkap	SAW	[jalena]	*LEW	pra-tava
BAT	[jəddela]	NYI	kadam	POR	
*MIN	[jəndela]	MAM	ʔalalaŋ- boazina	NTA	[uinta]
IND	[jəndela]	TAK		KWA	
SUN	[jəndela]	DAM	yau nābu	*NEM	wa o ŋa
JAV	[jəndelə]				

*CEM	póm <sup>w</sup> à-hé-pôɔ	PON	[wenīm <sup>w</sup> ʔok]	TON	matapā sio <sup>ʔ</sup> ata
AJI	[wēyoŕo]	WLE	piřetō	*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> a-malama
XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ã-ñũ	EFI	kātuba-leka	MEL	[winta]
*NEN	[malamala]	WFI	mata-ni-	TAH	ha <sup>ʔ</sup> amāra-
*KIR	te kamāma		điuđiu		marama
*MSH	[wintʌ]	RTU	nu <sup>ʔ</sup> suar mutu	RAP	

PAI *vaŋaw* ‘skylight, high window’.

TAG Also [*bintāna*ʔ].

AKL Also [*bintāna*ʔ].

MOL *tandow + -an*.

KAG Also *tambəʔan*.

ACE Also *pinto pra*ʔ.

MIN Also *tiŋko*.

WOL Also [*janila*] ‘small attic/roof window’.

MAG *para*-[<sup>n</sup>*toŋaŋ*] ‘arch’; <sup>n</sup>*toŋaŋ* from Makassar.

YAB ‘doorway junior’; also [*wi<sup>n</sup>dɔ*].

TOL *mətə* ‘hole’, *nə* CONN, *kələŋər* ‘parrot’ (?).

MOT Also *pamarama* (less common), probably through Polynesian missionaries (see Samoan *fa’amalama*). Lister Turner and Clark (n.d.) *gaba mauru* and *gaba matu* (*gaba* ‘side, circumference’, *mauru* ‘pierced through’, *matu* ‘hole’).

MEK Also ‘door’ – see 07.220, note.

LEW Also *pulu-tava* ‘window opening, doorway’; *puluyo na lagi* ‘hole for wind’.

NEM ‘hole on house’.

CEM ‘opening in the heavens’.

NEN From Polynesian .

KIR Also *te* [*wintō*].

MSH *кæчæчæ* ‘sliding window’.

SAM Compare *malama* ‘be light’, see 01.610.



## 07.260 FLOOR

English: floor
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ATA		UMA	ilaʔ	MAR	goɣo
TSO	miʔrona	BUG	daparaʔ	LAU	
RUK	daə-daə	*KON	'dapara	KWO	fālaŋi
*PAI	zaɣca	*WOL	la <sup>n</sup> te	RAG	
YAM	zaɣay	*MAG	[la <sup>n</sup> te]	*PAA	netan
ISN	datāg	*NGA	naʃa	*LEW	i-were-n
*KAL	bansag	SIK	halar		yum <sup>w</sup> a
*TAG	sahig	*RTI	dae [dibawah]	POR	
AKL	saɬug	*BUR	rahe	NTA	[fəlou]
PAL	datag	*DOB	buraʔu	KWA	
MOL	daʔtag	IRA	ɸoɾə	NEM	
KAG	saʔag	*SAW	betʔbet	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ôhém <sup>w</sup> o
BLA	saʔal	*NYI	kamus	AH	pārē kē
SAB	lantay	*MAM	pera-ilo	XAR	
*MUR	sulig	TAK	parer	NEN	
MGY	guruduna	DAM	bedu	*KIR	te buia
ACE	altuə	MAB	sōlo	MSH	perper
BAT		*YAB	màsaʔ	PON	tāt
MIN	lantay	*KAU	suβiuŋ	*WLE	[pō]
IND	lantai	*TOL	piə	*EFI	buturārā
SUN	[lante]	BUA	rēk	*WFI	[βuloa]
JAV	ʃogan	*ADZ	uŋar rir-an	*RTU	papa
*MAD	[plesteran]	KIL	kebila	TON	faliki
BAL	(bə-)batar-an	TAW	gewa	*SAM	foła
SAS	lante	MOT	reirei	MEL	[filō]
*GOR	talohu	*MEK	pa-apa	TAH	tahua
DAA	ʃaula	ROV	hatara	RAP	

PAI 'slate'.

KAL *bansag* 'floor of split bamboo'; *datal* 'wooden floor'.TAG Proto-Southern Philippines \**saleR*.MUR 'floor made of split bamboo or plants'; *luno* 'floor made of palm midribs'.

- SUN From Malay.
- MAD From Dutch.
- GOR Also [*mēseli*] - of stone, tile, or cement, from Dutch *metselel*.
- KON Also '*dasere* 'bamboo floor'.
- WOL Usually of bamboo.
- MAG From Malay; *ba<sup>u</sup>gaŋ* 'boards'; *wa<sup>n</sup>čaŋ*, *le<sup>n</sup>čar* 'flattened bamboo stems'.
- NGA 'bamboo floor'.
- RTI From Malay.
- BUR 'ground'.
- DOB *bura<sup>u</sup>* 'floors made of areca palm bark'.
- SAW 'dirt'; also [*flur*], Dutch.
- NYI 'bark of areca palm'.
- MAM Also *bazali* 'limbum'.
- YAB Name of small palm used as flooring material.
- KAU see 07.440.
- TOL See 01.210.
- ADZ Also *oŋar rir-an* lit 'house plank.bridge-3sg POSS'. This is a new use of the old word for 'bridge': Adzera houses did not have wooden floors until the coming of the coastal evangelists. Formerly all houses were built on the ground, and floor was 'earth' *intap*.
- MEK Also *?afu* 'floor'.
- PAA 'down'.
- LEW 'seat of house'; also *tano*.
- CEM 'the ground'.
- KIR 'floor, platform'.
- WLE 'floor, veranda' from English.
- EFI Also [*fuloa*] 'wooden or concrete house floor', from English.
- WFI Standard Fijian [*fuloa*], from English.
- RTU Also *pap ne nī, pupui*.
- SAM Compare *folā* 'strew, spread' (vb trans) (the floor of Samoan houses is covered with pebbles); *foŋā-fale* 'floor, storey', *foŋā-* 'surface, superficial extent'.

## 07.270 WALL

*ATA	ķiniryāŋ	UMA	rini	MAR	grin̄ni
TSO	toŋxivza	BUG	rinriŋ	LAU	ʔogoua
RUK	baļiŋibiŋi	KON	rinriŋ	KWO	bani
PAI	ʒəl <sup>y</sup> əp	WOL	ri <sup>n</sup> di	RAG	
YAM	iničik	MAG	sidiŋ	PAA	vukau
ISN	diŋdiŋ	NGA	kəbi	*LEW	lepa-sia
KAL	al̄isut	SIK	gəbi	POR	pisae na-xan
*TAG	dindiŋ	RTI	pa-pala	NTA	nap <sup>w</sup> at
AKL	diŋdiŋ	*BUR	hese-t	*KWA	nap <sup>w</sup> ər
PAL	diŋdiŋ	DOB	lle	*NEM	ba
MOL	diŋdiŋ	*IRA	sə <sup>ɸ</sup> əri	*CEM	bà
KAG	diŋdiŋ	SAW	rere	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ē m <sup>w</sup> ā
BLA	didŋ	NYI	kab <sup>w</sup> ek	XAR	pum <sup>w</sup> ā
SAB	dindiŋ	MAM	boubou	NEN	guremma
MUR	dindiŋ	TAK	sugsog	*KIR	te bono
MGY	riŋd <sup>r</sup> ina	DAM	garāi	*MSH	kīn
ACE	binteh	MAB	didi	*PON	tīt
BAT	diddiŋ	*YAB	sagiŋ	*WLE	tīti
MIN	dindi <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ	*KAU	lahebe-ŋin	EFI	lālaŋa
IND	dindiŋ	*TOL	pəpər-ə-pal	WFI	-yaha
*SUN	bilik	BUA	wes	*RTU	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> akiŋa
JAV	tembɔ <sup>ʔ</sup>	*ADZ	sara-	TON	holisi
MAD	tabiŋ	KIL	taboda	SAM	pā
*BAL	diŋdiŋ	TAW	bilibili	*MEL	[wōlɔ]
*SAS	pagər	MOT	haba	TAH	papa <sup>ʔ</sup> i
GOR	diŋiŋo	*MEK	pou	*RAP	[parē]
DAA	leru	ROV	ɣoba		

ATA Also *ķiniriŋ*.

TAG PHN \**diŋdiŋ*.

SUN Also *diŋdiŋ* 'screen, partition'.

BAL *diŋdiŋ* 'wall of house' (Old Balinese *dindiŋ*, one token); *tembok* 'stone wall around a compound'; *bədeg* 'woven bamboo used as wall'.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *pagər* 'wall around yard'; *kikis* 'wall made of woven bamboo'.

BUR See 07.120.

IRA	Also <i>səfari</i> .
YAB	‘partition wall of traditional house’.
KAU	‘partition’.
TOL	<i>pəpər</i> ‘side’, ə CONN, <i>pal</i> ‘house’.
ADZ	‘to pile up’. Formerly Adzera house walls were made of piled-up firewood.
MEK	‘screen of pandanus leaf’ and, originally, ‘pandanus sp.’ – see 07.220, note.
LEW	‘side wall’; also <i>lua-sia</i> , ‘end wall’; 12.360, 12.350 respectively.
KWA	<i>təpuk</i> ‘side wall’; <i>nikis</i> ‘rear wall’.
NEM	<i>ba</i> ‘wall, pile of stones’; also <i>jiye-ŋa</i> ‘wall of house’; lit ‘stomach of house’.
CEM	‘stone wall’; see also <i>p<sup>w</sup>iɦim<sup>w</sup>ə</i> ‘wall (of house)’.
KIR	<i>te bono</i> also ‘pier, jetty, breakwater’; <i>te ǝ</i> ‘enclosure’.
MSH	<i>kīn</i> CON; ‘side of house, wall’; <i>mε</i> also ‘barricade, stone fish trap, coral wall’.
PON	Also <i>kēl</i> ; <i>kəskəsok</i> ‘stone wall’; see <i>kəsok</i> ‘pile up’.
WLE	<i>tīti</i> ‘partition’, <i>riʃiŋa</i> ‘house wall’, <i>ssiyǝ-</i> ‘wall, boundary, shelter’
RTU	Also <i>kækæʔe</i> .
MEL	From English.
RAP	[ <i>parē</i> ] ‘wall (of houses)’, from Spanish <i>pared</i> . Also <i>ʔaua</i> ‘rock wall, fence’.

### 07.310 FIREPLACE

ATA		KAG		MAD	<i>aŋlo</i>
*TSO	<i>pu-puzu</i>	*BLA	<i>abu</i>	*BAL	[ <i>paon</i> ]
RUK		SAB		SAS	<i>jaŋkih</i>
PAI		MUR	<i>dapuan</i>	GOR	<i>tiheŋo</i>
*YAM	<i>panonotoŋan</i>	MGY	<i>fatana</i>	DAA	<i>avu</i>
ISN	<i>dapug</i>	ACE		UMA	<i>avu</i>
KAL	<i>dallipoŋ</i>	BAT	<i>ta-tariŋ</i>	BUG	<i>dapoʔ</i>
*TAG	<i>āpuy-an</i>	MIN	<i>tampeʔ badian</i>	KON	<i>paʔ-pallu-aŋ</i>
AKL	<i>dapug</i>	IND	<i>pər-əpi-an</i>	*WOL	<i>dʔalika</i>
PAL	<i>dəpugan</i>	*SUN	<i>hawu</i>	MAG	<i>sapo</i>
MOL	<i>dopugan</i>	*JAV	[ <i>prapen</i> ]	NGA	<i>lapu</i>

*SIK	liʔat	KIL	koβa	AJI	nedē
RTI	haʔi ma-mana	TAW	atana	*XAR	nε-xate
BUR	bana ele-n	MOT	rahurahu	NEN	ŋaʔano
*DOB	say taroyin	*MEK	aŋa-va	KIR	
IRA	φena matie	ROV	vasina mahila	MSH	
SAW	lutɛn gɔo	*MAR	biti	PON	
NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔahu jih	LAU	fula ēre	WLE	
MAM	apoaŋ	KWO	furiʔi ele	EFI	matādraβu
TAK	utut	RAG		WFI	matararβu
DAM	yā	PAA	vulīhaŋ	RTU	pufa
MAB	you murīni	LEW	lele-n kapi	TON	tofunarβa
*YAB	waɔ	*POR	mel pač-i	SAM	taʔinafi
*KAU	βo ulul		xa <sup>m</sup> b	MEL	mata-afi
*TOL	təvul-ə-iap	*NTA	namtap	TAH	tahuraʔa auahi
BUA		KWA	nap <sup>w</sup>	RAP	
*ADZ	mumai i asu <sup>ŋ</sup> -a dʒaf in	*NEM	kave-fai yāk		
		*CEM	â-pâtei-miù		

TSO ‘three-stone fireplace’; also *φaidi*.

YAM ‘the cooking place’ from *zotoŋ*, ‘cook’.

TAG *dapog (-an)* ‘hearth’.

BLA ‘cooking fireplace’.

SUN Also *tun̄ku*.

JAV From *\*(pər-api-an)*, probably from Malay since neither Old Javanese nor modern Javanese has *pər-*.

BAL ‘covered fireplace in which a cooking fire is lit, and on top of which cooking pots are placed; kitchen’ *\*[p-awu-an]* from Old Javanese. *buŋut paon* ‘mouth of fireplace, where wood is added’ (*buŋut* ‘mouth’); *jalik-an* ‘hole above fire on which pots etc. are placed to be heated’; *[prapen]* ‘smith’s forge’ (Malay?).

WOL ‘hearthstone, trivet’.

SIK Also *aβu*.

DOB *say* ‘fire’.

YAB *waɔ* ‘fireplace inside the house’; *ya-mata* ‘fireplace outside the house’.

KAU *βo* ‘place’ (see 01.270).

TOL *tavul* ‘place’, ə CONN, *iap* ‘fire’.

ADZ	‘place for light-PART fire in.it’, i.e. ‘place for lighting fire’; also <i>momai i asu<sup>97</sup>-a dzaf in.</i>
MEK	‘hearth, ashes, embers’.
MAR	‘stone oven’.
POR	‘place carry-s.th. fire’.
NTA	See 1.840.
NEM	‘place-light fire’.
CEM	‘place to kindle fire’.
XAR	Also <i>xenə</i> .

## 07.320 STOVE

Dutch: <i>komfoor</i>	English: <i>stove</i>	Spanish: <i>fogón</i>
ATA <i>ʃupun</i>	BAL [kompor]	*TOL <i>ubu</i>
TSO	SAS [kompor]	BUA [stop]
RUK <i>tagagānə</i>	*GOR [ko <sup>m</sup> por]	ADZ
PAI <i>likəzal<sup>y</sup></i>	DAA	KIL
*YAM <i>panonotoŋan</i>	UMA	*TAW <i>atana</i>
*ISN <i>tagāŋ</i>	BUG [komporo <sup>?</sup> ]	MOT
KAL <i>dallipoŋ</i>	KON <i>pa<sup>?</sup>-pallu-aŋ</i>	MEK
*TAG <i>kalan</i>	WOL [komforo]	*ROV <i>kinkinana</i>
*AKL <i>kūʃun</i>	MAG	MAR
PAL <i>dəpugan</i>	NGA	LAU <i>fotoa</i>
MOL	SIK	KWO
KAG <i>buan</i>	*RTI <i>la<sup>?</sup>o</i>	RAG
BLA <i>atəŋ</i>	*BUR <i>tune-t</i>	*PAA <i>avul</i>
SAB <i>lapohan</i>	DOB <i>tun</i>	*LEW <i>pra-p<sup>w</sup>ili</i>
MUR	IRA	*POR <i>na-<sup>m</sup>bur</i>
*MGY [lafauru]	SAW <i>tit</i>	<i>a parix</i>
ACE <i>dapu</i>	NYI <i>kapabek</i>	NTA
BAT [kəmpər]	MAM	KWA
MIN	TAK	NEM
*IND <i>tun<sup>ku</sup></i>	DAM	CEM
SUN [kompor]	MAB	AJI <i>ye</i>
*JAV <i>tun<sup>ku</sup></i>	YAB <i>b<sup>w</sup>alina</i>	XAR
MAD <i>tumaŋ</i>	KAU	*NEN <i>ano(n)</i>

KIR	EFI	[sitoβu]	*SAM	ʔoŋā-umu
MSH	WFI	[sitoβu]	MEL	[stōfa]
PON	*RTU	[ovene]	*TAH	umu
WLE	*TON	[sitou]	*RAP	ʔumu [kuki]

YAM 'the cooking place' from *zotoŋ*, 'cook'.

ISN *magginūdu* 'warm by fire'.

TAG Also [*pugon*].

AKL 'firepot'; also [*pugon*].

MGY From French.

BAT Dutch.

IND Also [*kompōr*].

JAV Also *aŋlo* 'charcoal brazier'.

GOR 'kerosene stove'; also *tihēŋo* 'kitchen fireplace'; *po-palu-wa* 'charcoal brazier'.

RTI 'cooking fire consisting of three stones on which pot rests'.

BUR Also *tune-t poto* 'fire grate, grill'.

TOL 'native oven, hole in the ground for cooking food'.

TAW 'fireplace'.

ROV 'place to cook'.

PAA 'earth oven'.

LEW See 05.250.

POR 'the hole to *laplap* (vegetable pudding)'.

NEN Also *čamebo*.

SAM See 05.250.

TAH *ohi māʔa* 'ground oven'.

RAP [*kuki*] from English 'cook'.

### 07.330 CHIMNEY

ATA	YAM	zazakan no	AKL	
TSO		aob	PAL	liliwanan ot
RUK	ISN			tabuk ot apuy
PAI	KAL		MOL	
	*TAG	pā-usuk-an	KAG	sam'buriu

BLA		*BUR	huma ila-n	*LEW	pulu-si-ne-n
SAB		DOB			kapi-viyu
MUR		IRA		POR	
MGY		SAW	meyas goo	NTA	
ACE		NYI		KWA	
BAT		MAM	?asu-	NEM	
MIN	čaroboŋ aso?		pusi?aŋa	CEM	
IND	čaroboŋ asap	TAK		AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã puřũ
SUN		DAM			kēmõru
IAV		MAB		XAR	
*MAD	lubañ-ŋa kukus	YAB	ya-kaiŋ	NEN	ŋakal
BAL		KAU		KIR	
SAS		TOL		MSH	
GOR		RIA		PON	
DAA		ADZ		WLE	
UMA		KIL		EFI	i-kuβukuβu
BUG	simporoŋ	*TAW	ani bogahu	WFI	i-kulukulu
*KON	annor-aŋ ambu	MOT		*RTU	hotoaŋ ɔsu
WOL		MEK		TON	fakakohu
MAG		ROV	hova tuŋaha	*SAM	ala-asu
NGA		MAR		MEL	
SIK		LAU		TAH	ha?apüpũ
*RTI	pupu ha?i masu-k	KWO			ra?a auahi
		RAG		RAP	?au-ahi
		PAA			

TAG [tsimenēa].

MAD From (lubañ-na kukus); lubañ ‘hole’, kukus ‘smoke’.

KON From ‘annoro’.

RTI ‘outlet fire smoke’; the Rotinese house has no chimney; this expression does not refer to any traditional part of the Rotinese house.

BUR ‘hole in thatch for smoke to escape’.

TAW ‘smoke thing’.

LEW ‘hole for fire to smoke’.

RTU Also hotoŋ ɔsu.

SAM ala ‘way’, asu ‘smoke’.



## 07.370 LADDER

*ATA	hakriʔ	BUG	addeneŋ	KWO	
TSO	xiaproza	*KON	tukaʔ	RAG	
RUK	asigo	WOL	oɗa	PAA	aihelahel
PAI	tadalʔ	*MAG	rədaŋ	*LEW	lakina-
YAM	zazakan	*NGA	taŋi		wuyu-ena
ISN	agdān	*SIK	daŋ	*POR	mel saxisax
KAL	āldan	RTI	eda-k	*NTA	[ləta]
*TAG	hagdan	BUR	ka-suda-n	KWA	kərha
AKL	hagdan	DOB	ləla	*NEM	kave-ta
PAL	ɔgdan	IRA	gege	*CEM	â-câ
MOL	taŋgaʔ	SAW	lon	AJI	kā tei
*KAG	gəddan	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> en	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> āi-pere
BLA	yaut	MAM	tete	NEN	ŋayelen
SAB	hadon	TAK	tet	*KIR	te kai n
*MUR	tukad	DAM	tetek		tam <sup>w</sup> arake
*MGY	tuhaf <sup>r</sup> a	MAB	<sup>n</sup> dēte	*MSH	cikin uwe
*ACE	ruŋun	*YAB	teʔ	*PON	kēntake
BAT	taŋga	KAU	anomuru	WLE	teʔopa
MIN	jaŋjaŋ	*TOL	kəkao	EFI	i-kabakaba
IND	taŋga	BUA	ləl	WFI	i-ðakeðake
SUN	taŋga	*ADZ	a <sup>n</sup> tim	RTU	hakhakoŋa
JAV	ɔndɔ	KIL	kaboteta	TON	tuʔuŋa
*MAD	and <sup>h</sup> a	*TAW	tete	SAM	ʔapefaʔi
BAL	jaŋ	MOT	vaɗavada	*MEL	[ləta]
SAS	aŋjah	*MEK	vakaŋa	TAH	ʔēʔa
GOR	tuʔadu	ROV	halehaleana	RAP	ara
DAA	ta <sup>ɓ</sup> ga	MAR	glalako		
UMA	tukaʔ	LAU	[ləta]		

ATA Also *hakaw*.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*haRdan*.

KAG Also 'stairs'.

MUR 'notched log'; *tinulaŋ-manuk* (lit 'chicken bones') with rungs.

MGY See Maanyan *tukat*.

ACE Also [*taŋga*] Malay.

MAD Safioedin (1977) has *and<sup>h</sup>a*.

KON Also *tanraŋ*.

- MAG 'notched bamboo-ladder': *ræde, radi*.
- NGA *taŋi* means 'ladder with rungs' or 'stair'; *radi* 'ladder made of just one piece of wood or bamboo, with pegs to step on'.
- SIK Also ?*rani*.
- YAB Also *te?-wale*.
- TOL From *kao* 'climb'.
- ADZ 'ladder for use in banana cultivation'. Because traditional houses had no need for ladders, *a<sup>n</sup>tim* was extended to include house-steps or ladder when the house style changed.
- TAW 'steps'.
- MEK *vakana* 'ladder to a platform or house, wider than it is tall and is made of heavy bamboo'. *akaka*, 'lighter, used for tending to the bananas, can be moved from tree to tree'.
- LEW 'stick for climbing'.
- POR 'place climb climb'.
- NTA From English.
- NEM 'place-go up'.
- CEM 'place to put foot'.
- XAR 'road to go up'.
- KIR 'tool for climbing up; also *te kai n ararake*; *te kairō* 'ladder attached to coconut tree'.
- MSH 'thing for mounting'.
- PON Form suggests probably of Kiribati origin.
- MEL From English.

## 07.420 BED

Dutch: *kooi*English: *bed*Spanish: *catre* 'cot', *cama* 'bed'

ATA	<i>payə?</i>	KAL	[katli]	BLA	<i>kafag</i>
TSO	<i>xopo</i>	*TAG	[kāma]	*SAB	<i>pa-bahāk-an</i>
*RUK	<i>θoɔoranə</i>	*AKL	<i>ʔugban</i>	MUR	<i>kālalaŋan</i>
*PAI	<i>kəɾəŋ-an</i>	PAL	<i>ŋaʔan</i>	*MGY	<i>fandʔiana</i>
YAM	<i>it-itkəan</i>	*MOL	<i>igaʔ</i>	*ACE	<i>tumpang eh</i>
ISN	[kāma]	*KAG	<i>nəggaʔan</i>	BAT	<i>podom-an</i>

MIN	tampeʔ tiduʔ	MAM	bagi-ono-	POR	melel
*IND	təmpat tidur		enoŋa	*NTA	[pet]
*SUN	[əŋgon]	TAK		*KWA	nəmahən
*JAV	amben	DAM	ɸatare	*NEM	pac
MAD	liŋcak	MAB	<sup>m</sup> balia	*CEM	â-pūlut
*BAL	plaŋkan	*YAB	me	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ēve
*SAS	lasah	KAU	ehus	XAR	pɛ
*GOR	po-tu-tuluh-e	*TOL	vəva	NEN	
DAA	pa-turu	BUA	[bək]	KIR	
UMA	po-turu-a	*ADZ	tiria <sup>ɸ?</sup>	*MSH	[pēt]
BUG	leuriŋ	*KIL	kaba-	PON	[pēt]
*KON	pamm-ene-aŋ	*TAW	ani eno	WLE	[pēta]
*WOL	kolema	*MOT	mahuta pata-	EFI	lōŋa
MAG	vo <sup>ɸ</sup> ka		na	*WFI	βataβata
NGA	ɬeja	*MEK	ile	RTU	takaŋa
SIK	ola-ŋ duʔe	ROV	tege	TON	moheŋa
RTI	[koi]	MAR	sape	*SAM	moe-ŋa
BUR	ele-n bage-t	LAU	ifitai	MEL	[wete]
DOB	[k <sup>w</sup> oyi]	KWO	furi	TAH	roʔi
IRA	wenomə	RAG	bata	RAP	roʔi
SAW	rɔŋet	PAA	[avet]		
NYI	sau	*LEW	varavara		

RUK *ta-i-ɖaɖ-anə* ‘upper bed’, *tələpanə* ‘bed’.

PAI *taŋtak* ‘bamboo bed’.

TAG Also [*katre*].

AKL Root: *ɬubug*, also [*katrih*].

MOL *igaʔ + gi--an*.

KAG From (*nəggaʔ + -an*) ‘thing for lying on’; also [*katri*].

SAB ‘sleeping-place’ includes a mat etc.; also [*katre*] ‘bed’.

MGY Also *fa-andʔi-ana*.

ACE ‘sleeping place’, also [*kuŋta*] from Sanskrit.

IND Also *rañjaŋ*.

SUN From Javanese, also *rañjaŋ*.

JAV Also *pəturən*, from (*pə-turu-an*), *turu* ‘sleep’.

BAL *plaŋkan* ‘bed or wide bench made of bamboo or wood’; *taban* ‘bed or wide bench made of bamboo or wood’ (South Bali; Kersten 1984);

*bale* ‘bed or wide bench made of bamboo or wood; building’ (in the sense ‘bed’; North Bali only (Kersten 1984).

- SAS Also [*dipan*] from Dutch, *plankan*.
- GOR From *mo-tulu* ‘to sleep’. Also *bu-balat-a* and *hetule*; [*koyi*] ‘bedstead’.
- KON From (*pa-aŋ-ene-aŋ*); also *rañjaŋ*, [*koi*].
- WOL Also ‘bedroom, sleeping place’; also *pa<sup>n</sup>tasa*.
- YAB ‘mat’.
- TOL From *va* ‘lie down’.
- ADZ *tiriaŋ* ‘raised platform inside a house for storage, and for sleeping on’. Now extended to ‘bed’; *afit* ‘board, hung in house for a bed’.
- KIL Also *moi* ‘sleeping mat’.
- TAW ‘bedroom’.
- MOT *mahuta* ‘to sleep’, *pata* ‘shelf, table’; [*bedi*], from English ‘bed’ is now in common use.
- MEK ‘mat, the kind of reed from which these mats, used for sleeping, are made’; western dialect areas *fou*, *pou* ‘the pandanus variety from which they are made’ (see 07.220 and 07.270, notes). A more general term is *feu afu-ŋa* ‘sleep place-its’.
- LEW See 07.440, also *toŋ* ‘sleeping mat’.
- NTA From Bislama, also (obsolete) term *matifata*.
- KWA Also *nəkoukau* ‘raised sleeping platforms of logs lashed together’.
- NEM Also *padaŋ*.
- CEM ‘place sleep’.
- MSH Also *aoc*, biblical.
- WFI Also *-naŋa*.
- SAM *moe* ‘sleep’, *-ŋa* NOM.

## 07.421 PILLOW

English: *pillow*

*ATA	ta-k-ʔunux-an	RUK	ta-wʌo-anə	ISN	puŋān
		PAI	saŋəʌ	KAL	pūŋan
TSO	o-oturv-a	YAM	taŋən	TAG	ūnan

AKL	mahāraʔ	*NGA	taga-ulu	KWO	
PAL	bantal	SIK	loni	*RAG	b <sup>w</sup> at-luŋa
MOL	bantal	RTI	kailunu	PAA	auluŋ
*KAG	lunan	*BUR	karajuŋulu	*LEW	iluŋa
BLA	tdɔnɔn	DOB	ʔara'ŋul	*POR	mel teiŋ
SAB	uʔan	IRA	runə	NTA	kauloŋa
*MUR	ulunan	SAW	lilen	*KWA	kasaua
MGY	undana	NYI	kason	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> eac
ACE	bantay	MAM	ʔaluʔa	*CEM	pâ-pûn
BAT	battal	*TAK	kalik	AJI	pe pavui g <sup>w</sup> ã
*MIN	banta	DAM	edē	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> axunēi
IND	bantal	*MAB	kiligi	NEN	
*SUN	aŋgel	*YAB	à-deŋ	KIR	te uniŋa
JAV	bantal	KAU		MSH	pet
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> antal	*TOL	ulələŋ	*PON	ulūl
BAL	galəŋ	BUA		*WLE	iřüřü
SAS	galəŋ	*ADZ	unub	EFI	i-lokoloko
*GOR	ʔalaŋuluwa	KIL	kabaikunu	*WFI	i-lokoloko
DAA	luna	TAW	luhepa	RTU	kuŋa
UMA	luna	*MOT	ikuina	*TON	[pilo]
BUG	aŋkaluluŋ	*MEK	i-fani	*SAM	ʔaluŋa
KON	paʔ-luŋaŋ	ROV	tarabatu	*MEL	uruŋa
WOL	polaŋo	MAR	kok <sup>h</sup> ogu	TAH	tūruʔa
MAG	taŋe	LAU	[bilo]	*RAP	ŋaruʔa

ATA Also *ta-k-punuŋ-an*.

KAG See 04.612.

MUR Also *bantal* from Malay.

MIN Also *kalaŋ*.

SUN Also *bantal*.

GOR Also *ʔaŋuluwa, wulula*.

NGA Also *lani-ulu*.

BUR ‘traditional wooden headrest’; also [*bantal*] from Malay.

TAK ‘wooden head-rest’.

MAB ‘wooden head-rest’.

YAB ‘netbag-bundle’, used by women as pillow; *k<sup>w</sup>alim* ‘head-rest for men’.

TOL Also ‘head of the bed’.

ADZ	'wooden head-rest'.
MOT	Also [ <i>pila</i> ].
MEK	'traditional head-rest made of wood or stone'; also <i>ani-apu</i> .
RAG	Also <i>uluḡa</i> .
LEW	Verbal 'sleep with a pillow'.
POR	'place pillow'.
KWA	'wooden headrest'.
CEM	'base of head'; see also <i>b<sup>w</sup>âú</i> .
PON	<i>uluḡe</i> 3sg POSS; possessive classifier for pillows; <i>rerinpēiso</i> hon.
WLE	Also <i>iṛūḡa</i> .
WFI	Also <i>kali</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>lalaḡo</i> .
MEL	Also [ <i>pila</i> ].
RAP	<i>turuá</i> 'headrest' (e.g. rock, roll of cloth, etc., but not a bedpillow), archaic.

## 07.422 BLANKET

English: *blanket*

French: *couverture*

ATA	<i>paʔaʔ</i>	*ACE	<i>sulimbot</i>	*MAG	[ <i>kain panas</i> ]
TSO	<i>pa-ʔrofi</i>	BAT	<i>uləs</i>	*NGA	<i>bole-dēe</i>
RUK	<i>ʔaobo</i>	*MIN	<i>salimuyʔ</i>	*SIK	<i>sapu</i>
PAI	<i>si-ʔawv-an</i>	IND	<i>səlimut</i>	RTI	<i>na luʔe-k</i>
*YAM	[ <i>movo</i> ]	SUN	<i>simbut</i>	*BUR	<i>wag poto-t</i>
ISN	<i>ulat</i>	JAV	<i>kəmul</i>	*DOB	<i>ʔasir</i>
KAL	<i>ūlos</i>	MAD	<i>salimut</i>	IRA	<i>səlimutə</i>
TAG	<i>kūmot</i>	*BAL	<i>saput</i>	SAW	<i>ulet</i>
*AKL	<i>hābuʔ</i>	*SAS	<i>kereḡ</i>	NYI	
PAL	<i>kumut</i>	GOR	<i>wuloto</i>	MAM	[ <i>balanḡeti</i> ]
MOL	<i>siob</i>	DAA	<i>buya</i>	TAK	
*KAG	<i>si'yal</i>		<i><sup>m</sup>pobaba</i>	DAM	
BLA	<i>kəyəb</i>	UMA	<i>kumuʔ</i>	MAB	
SAB	<i>manta</i>	BUG	<i>salepuʔ</i>	YAB	[ <i>bela<sup>ḡ</sup>ḡe</i> ]
MUR	<i>baḡaḡ</i>	*KON	<i>salimuʔ</i>	KAU	
*MGY	<i>budu-fuḡi</i>	WOL	<i>ka-kumu</i>		

*TOL	məl-nə- tubətubə	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ana-	*MSH	kōc
		PAA	aitaluh	*PON	[pilaŋkes]
BUA	[bakē]	*LEW	[planket]	*WLE	[peŋaixiti]
*ADZ	rabi <sup>?</sup>	POR		EFI	i-tutuβi
KIL	moi	NTA	[pəlaŋkət]	WFI	i-tāboi
TAW	lupulu	KWA		RTU	kukulūŋa
*MOT	[paranikesi]	NEM	yaŋen	*TON	[sipi]
*MEK	[palani]	CEM	[kūpetōn]	SAM	[palaniketi]
ROV	[balegete]	AJI	[k <sup>w</sup> eŋetī]	*MEL	[sōlo]
MAR		*XAR	ŋiŋā	TAH	[paraitete]
LAU	[balaŋikete]	*NEN	[balaiget]	*RAP	[parankete]
KWO		KIR	te kabu		

YAM From Japanese.

AKL PHN \**ha(m)bel* ‘woven material’.

KAG Also ‘bed sheet’.

MGY *fuŋi* ‘white’.

ACE Also *limbot*.

MIN Also *kampu<sup>h</sup>*.

BAL Also ‘piece of cloth worn over a *kambən* when dressing formally’.

SAS Also *kaiŋ*. Thoir et al (1985) *kereŋ, kaiŋ* ‘cloth’.

KON Also *pa<sup>?</sup>-lulluŋ*.

MAG From Malay.

NGA Also *lu<sup>?</sup>e*.

SIK Also *sapu-ŋ*.

BUR ‘hot cloth’; also *enyate*.

DOB ‘cloth’.

TOL *mal* ‘cloth’, *nə* CONN, *tubətubə* ‘cover’ (vb).

ADZ ‘wide bark cloth’.

MOT Possibly influenced by the Polynesian missionaries. If the borrowing was recent, *[balanikesi]* would be expected. Also *hetaru* (from *taru-a* ‘to cover, as with a sheet’) is also used for ‘blanket, sheet’.

MEK Perhaps from ‘blanket’.

LEW Also *[sitpet]* (from Bislama), *metaepe* (09.770).

XAR Also *kacə* ‘traditional fringed cape/blanket’.

NEN Also *yečoe*.

MSH Also *kɔcen, kinien*.

PON Also *fēi*.

WLE Also [*skīfa*] from English.

TON From English 'sheep'.

MEL From Efate.

RAP Also [*prankete*].

### 07.430 CHAIR

**Arabic:** *kursī*

**English:** *chair*

**French:** *chaise*

**Portuguese:** *cadeira*

**Spanish:** *silla*

*ATA	ta-thaw- na-k-an	SAS	[kursi]	ADZ	bi <sup>n</sup> tip
		*GOR	[kadera]	KIL	
*TSO	ʧa <sup>ʔ</sup> xī	DAA	[kadera]	TAW	ani duhuna
*RUK	takaynənanə	UMA	po-hura-a	*MOT	[sea]
PAI	ʔilaŋ-an	BUG	[kadera]	*MEK	aŋu-au afu-ŋa
YAM	liliŋnan	*KON	[kadera]	ROV	habhabotuana
ISN	tugaw	*WOL	[ka <sup>d</sup> era]	MAR	
*KAL	tutuppākan	MAG	[kərosi]	LAU	[sea]
*TAG	[silya]	NGA	taga-raga	KWO	
*AKL	puŋku <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	SIK	[kadera]	*RAG	tano-n
PAL	[siya]	*RTI	[ka <sup>n</sup> dela]	PAA	[sea]
*MOL	aduŋ	*BUR	ele-ptea-t	*LEW	lele na-to-ena
*KAG	puŋku <sup>ʔ</sup> an	DOB	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> adera]	*POR	mel ta <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> tand
*BLA	gu-sudeŋ	IRA	[kədəra]	NTA	[sea]
*SAB	paN-tenkō <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	*SAW	tɛl-tɔlɛn	KWA	
*MUR	[kudisi <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> ai	*NEM	kave-tago
*MGY	[seza]	MAM	bagi-ono- soa <sup>ʔ</sup> iŋa	*CEM	â-têb <sup>w</sup> ɔ
ACE	tumpang duə <sup>ʔ</sup>			*AJI	[yēyi]
BAT	[karəsi]	TAK		XAR	i-cue
MIN	[kursi]	DAM	[sē]	*NEN	[čea]
IND	[kursi]	MAB	<sup>m</sup> balia	*KIR	te kai n
SUN	[korsi]	*YAB	lepoŋ		tekateka
JAV	[kursi]	KAU		MSH	[cya]
MAD	[kursi]	*TOL	kiki	PON	[sēr]
BAL	[kursi]	BUA	[sea]	WLE	[ciyō]



EFI	i-dabedabe	TON	[sea]	*TAH	pārahiraʔa
WFI	i-tadratadra	*SAM	nofoa	RAP	pepe
*RTU	nofoʔa	MEL	[sea]		

ATA Also *ta-thawk-an*.

TSO ‘small log for sitting on’; *paŋka* ‘low chair made of wood’.

RUK *takay-nən-anə* ‘chair, stool’, from *wa-nənə* ‘to sit’.

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>-tupak-R<sup>2</sup>-an*).

TAG Also *upūʔ-an* ‘seat’.

AKL Also [*sīyah*].

MOL *aduŋ + go--an*.

KAG From (*puŋku + -an*) ‘thing for sitting on’; [*siya*] ‘dining room style of chair’.

BLA Also [*silya*].

SAB ‘sitting-place, bench, stool, chair etc.’; also [*siya*] is often used for ‘chair’.

MUR Also *tuduŋon*.

MGY From French.

GOR Also [*kadela*].

KON Also *pas-sidəŋ-aŋ*.

WOL Also *ka-too-tooroa*, [*kurusi*].

RTI Also [*kadela*].

BUR Also *ka-ptea-l*, *ka-defu-n* (obsolete); most commonly used form is [*kadera*].

SAW Also [*karapesa*] from Ternate?

YAB ‘buttocks’.

TOL From *ki* ‘sit’.

MOT *helai yau-na* (*helai* ‘sit’, *yau* ‘thing’) now not common, except in the Bible.

MEK *aŋu* ‘sit’, *au* ‘up’, hence ‘sitting-up place-its’; also [*tsea*] ‘chair’.

RAG Also *toyo toyo*.

LEW ‘place for sitting’; also [*kes*].

POR ‘place sit sit down’.

NEM ‘place-sit down’.

CEM ‘place to sit down’.

AJI	Also <i>kā cue</i> .
NEN	From English 'chair'; also <i>pedoa</i> .
KIR	'sitting instrument'.
RTU	Also <i>pæŋa</i> .
SAM	<i>nofo</i> 'stay, sit' (vb intrans).
TAH	<i>pārahiraʔa turaʔiraʔi</i> 'rocking chair'.

## 07.440 TABLE

English: <i>table</i>	French: <i>(la) table</i>	Portuguese: <i>mesa</i>
Spanish: <i>(la) mesa</i>		

ATA	raraʔan	GOR	[meʃa]	KIL	[tebeli]
TSO	[ʧukue]	DAA	[meʃa]	TAW	pata
RUK	[ʧukue]	UMA	[meʃaʔ]	*MOT	pata
PAI		BUG	[meʃaŋ]	*MEK	pa-afa
YAM	akakanan	KON	[meʃaŋ]	ROV	[tevolo]
ISN	[tebol]	WOL	[meʃa]	MAR	
KAL	[lamesaʔan]	MAG	[meʃa]	LAU	[tafolo]
TAG	[mēsa]	NGA	[meʃa]	KWO	
AKL	[lamisah]	SIK	[meʃa]	RAG	[tebol]
PAL	[lomisan]	RTI	[mei]	PAA	[tepol]
MOL	[lomisahan]	*BUR	[meʃa]	*LEW	varavara
KAG	[lamisa]	*DOB	sasal	POR	
BLA	[lumisa]	IRA	[menʃa]	NTA	[tepəl]
SAB	[lamesahan]	*SAW	balebale	KWA	
MUR	[miʃaʔ]	NYI		*NEM	[tāp]
MGY	[latabaʔa]	MAM	bagi-ono- moanaʔoŋa	CEM	[tāp]
ACE	[miʃa]			AJI	[tāpʌʃʌ]
BAT	[meʃa]	TAK		XAR	[tāpʌʃʌ]
MIN	[meʃa]	DAM	bedu	*NEN	[laulau]
IND	[meʃa]	MAB	<sup>m</sup> balia	KIR	te [taibora]
SUN	[meʃa]	YAB	[tebo]	MSH	[tep <sup>w</sup> ʌ]
JAV	[meʃɔ]	*KAU	suβiuŋ	PON	[tēpe]
MAD	[meʃa]	TOL	[tebol]	WLE	[tēφ <sup>w</sup> oʃa]
BAL	[meʃə]	*BUA	[taβor]	EFI	[tēbeli]
SAS	[meʃə]	ADZ		WFI	[teβeli]

*RTU	ʔumefe	MEL	[tēpele]	RAP	ʔamuramaʔa
TON	[tēpile]	*TAH	ʔamuraʔa		
*SAM	laulau		māʔa		

BUR *kide* ‘altar/round table in spirit house on which offerings are placed’.

DOB ~~Obsolete~~ except in *sasal si ʔadera* ‘table and chairs’, also [meʃa].

SAW Also [meʃa].

KAU See 07.440.

BUA Also *rēk*.

MOʔ Also ‘shelf’; also [teibolo].

MEK *pa-afa* ‘raised surface of any kind, table, shelf, etc.’.

LEW See 07.420.

NEM Also *kave-wi-aman* ‘place-eat-thing’.

NEN From Polynesian.

RTU Also [tepelij].

SAM Originally ‘coconut-leaf platter used for serving food’, cognate with *lau* ‘leaf’.

TAH Also *ʔairaʔa māʔa*; *ʔiri ʔamuraʔa māʔa*.

## 07.450 LAMP, TORCH

**Dutch:** *lamp*

**English:** *lamp*

**German:** *Lampe*

ATA	p-in-ayʔay	SAB	palitaʔan	DAA	poi <sup>n</sup> do
*TSO	sroŋi	*MUR	[lampuŋ]	*UMA	[poi <sup>n</sup> toʔ]
*RUK	ta-apoð-anə	MGY	dʒiru	*BUG	paʃ-ʃinnaŋ-iŋ
PAI	luŋul <sup>y</sup>	*ACE	paŋɔt	*KON	[lampu]
*YAM	[rampo]	BAT	[lampu]	*WOL	ka <sup>n</sup> turu
ISN	piŋki	*MIN	[lampu]	MAG	[la <sup>m</sup> pu]
KAL	sīlaw	*IND	[lampu]	NGA	sulu
*TAG	taŋlaw	*SUN	[lampu]	*SIK	ola nilo-ŋ
*AKL	iwig	*JAV	dian	*RTI	banu-k
*PAL	taŋluŋ	*MAD	damar talpiʔ	*BUR	gogi-t
MOL	siluʔ	*BAL	suluh	*DOB	[ʔobor]
*KAG	[lampraʔan]	*SAS	dilah	*IRA	daməri
BLA	saloʔ	GOR	tohe	*SAW	[padamaram]

NYI	sun	*ROV	zuke	*NEN	čiθena
MAM	baratui	MAR	ǰuta	*KIR	te taura
TAK	sul	*LAU	[laeta]	*MSH	[lām <sup>w</sup> ]
DAM	yal	KWO		*PON	tīl
*MAB	kai	*RAG	bulu	*WLE	tüřü
*YAB	[lampɛ]	PAA	aisil	EFI	ðina
*KAU	esul	*LEW	[laiti]	WFI	hina
*TOL	[lam]	POR		*RTU	pulolo
*BUA	[ram]	NTA	[tos]	TON	maama
ADZ	bur	*KWA	nuk <sup>w</sup> ihap <sup>w</sup>	SAM	mōlī
KIL	kaitapa	*NEM	gare yaik	*MEL	[lāmu]
*TAW	[lampa]	*CEM	mìu	*TAH	mōrī
*MOT	kede	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã kēmōřu	RAP	morī
*MEK	ikui	XAR	ne		

TSO *sronj* ‘torch’; [*kantera*] ‘kerosene lamp’, from Japanese *kantera*, from Dutch *kandelaar* ‘candlestick’.

RUK *ta-apoð-anə* lit ‘place of fire’, *apoy* ‘fire’.

YAM English borrowing via Japanese.

TAG Also *sulo?*

AKL *iwag* ‘lamp’; *su<sup>+</sup>tu?* ‘torch’.

PAL Also *səlaŋ*.

KAG From Spanish *lampara* ‘open flame lamp made of a rag wick in a small jar of kerosene’; *mitsa* ‘torch made with a large rag wick in a piece of bamboo or large bottle filled with kerosene’; *ilaw* ‘electric light or lamp’; *bat<sup>?</sup>aw* ‘torch made by setting a palm branch aflame’.

MUR Also [*silow*] ‘torch of resin’.

ACE Also [*lampu*].

MIN Also *sulu<sup>?</sup>h*.

IND *obor* ‘torch’.

SUN *obor* ‘torch’.

JAV *dian* ‘lamp’; *ɔbɔr* ‘torch’.

MAD ‘lamp’; Safioedin (1977) *talpi?* ‘attach, lean against’: ‘type of lamp attached to the wall’; see Malay *lampu tempel*.

BAL Also *sembe*; *piĵet* ‘electric torch’; [*damar*] from Malay?; [*lampu*] from Dutch.

SAS Also *dilə*.

UMA *poi<sup>?</sup>to?* ‘tiny lamp’; *hulu?* ‘torch’.

- BUG Also *sentere?*.
- KON Also *sulo*; [*sentere*] ‘flashlight, torch’.
- WOL Also *paḍamara*, *kainawa*.
- SIK Also *uru-ŋ*, [*lampu-ŋ*], [*obor*] from Malay.
- RTI Also *pele-k*.
- BUR ‘partially split bamboo that burns embers but no flame and needs to be fanned to get useful light’; also *enoi* ‘damar’; [*pelita*] from Malay ‘wick packed in a metal tube placed in a can of kerosene’; [*lampu*] ‘lamp, lantern’; [*lampu*] *haa-t* ‘pressure lantern’; [*senter*] ‘torch, flashlight’ from Malay.
- DOB From Malay.
- IRA *uḥama* ‘bamboo torch’.
- SAW ‘small oil lamp’ from Ternate; also *bēs* ‘torch’.
- MAB ‘torch’.
- YAB From German; *dawerŋ* ‘firebrand, torch’.
- KAU ‘torch made from dry coconut fronds’.
- TOL From English or German; *ul* ‘torch made of dry coconut leaves’.
- BUA Also [*sut*].
- TAW From English.
- MOT ‘traditional lamp or torch’; also [*lamempa*] and [*tosī*].
- MEK ‘traditional torch of bush fibres’; [*lanipa*] ‘lamps and modern torches’.
- ROV *zuke mono* ‘torch’.
- LAU Also [*tosī*].
- RAG Also *here* ‘reed torch’.
- LEW Also [*toslaiti*]; *p<sup>w</sup>i*, *m<sup>w</sup>ala* ‘sheath of coconut flower, burnt for light’ (obsolete)’.
- KWA *nuksepək* ‘length of burning log’.
- NEM ‘torch made of plant materials’; also *ya-weli* ‘battery torch’, lit ‘fire-press in hand’.
- CEM *mīu* ‘fire, modern torch’; *ēi* ‘torch made of coconut leaves or reeds’.
- NEN *čīθena* ‘fishing torch’; *guiei* ‘battery’.
- KIR *terin*; *te oi* ‘coconut leaf torch’; *te b<sup>w</sup>aeē*, *te mata* ‘anything giving off light’; also ‘eye, face’.
- MSH *pæle* ‘coconut leaf torch’; *til*.
- PON Also [*lamp*].
- WLE Also [*řama*].

RTU *pulolo* 'lamp', *sulu* 'torch'.

MEL Also *rama*, [tōji].

TAH Also [*rāmepe*(*lamepe*)] from Greek.

## 07.460 CANDLE

Malay: *lilin*

Spanish: *candela*

ATA		BUG	<i>liliŋ</i>	KWO	
TSO		*KON	<i>liliŋ</i>	RAG	
RUK	<i>lōsoko</i>	*WOL	<i>lili</i>	PAA	[ <i>kadel</i> ]
PAI		MAG	[ <i>liliŋ</i> ]	*LEW	[ <i>laiiti</i> ]
YAM	<i>tazo</i>	NGA		POR	
ISN		SIK	<i>taru</i>	NTA	
KAL	[ <i>kandēla</i> ]	RTI	<i>lili-k</i>	KWA	
TAG	[ <i>kandīla</i> ?]	*BUR	<i>enoi</i>	NEM	
AKL	[ <i>kandīla</i> ?]	DOB		CEM	
PAL	[ <i>kəndila</i> ]	IRA		AJI	<i>m<sup>w</sup>ā kāmōru</i>
MOL	<i>lansuk</i>	SAW	[ <i>lilin</i> ]		<i>yōrē</i>
KAG	[ <i>kandīla</i> ]	NYI		XAR	
BLA	[ <i>kandila</i> ?]	MAM	[?endeli]	NEN	
SAB	<i>lansuk</i>	TAK		*KIR	<i>te taura te</i>
*MUR	[ <i>dian</i> ]	DAM	<i>bedu</i>		<i>nenea</i>
*MGY	[ <i>labuzi</i> ]	*MAB	<i><sup>h</sup>gwāra</i>	MSH	[ <i>kēnta</i> !]
*ACE	<i>lilen</i>	YAB		PON	[ <i>kantēla</i> ]
BAT	<i>lilin</i>	*KAU	<i>kaneβe</i>	WLE	<i>cōŋasi</i>
MIN	<i>lilin</i>	TOL		EFI	[ <i>kādrala</i> ]
IND	<i>lilin</i>	BUA	[ <i>gris</i> ]	WFI	[ <i>kadrala</i> ]
SUN	<i>lilin</i>	ADZ		*RTU	[ <i>kænrē</i> ]
JAV	<i>lilin</i>	KIL		TON	<i>te?elaŋo</i>
*MAD	<i>damar čuŋlit</i>	TAW		*SAM	<i>mōlī-ŋa?o</i>
BAL	<i>lilin</i>	MOT		MEL	
SAS	<i>lilin</i>	MEK		TAH	<i>mōrī hinu</i>
GOR	<i>talū</i>	ROV	[ <i>kadolo</i> ]	RAP	<i>moī</i>
DAA	<i>lili</i>	MAR			
UMA		LAU	[ <i>kadolo</i> ]		

MUR	Probably from Malay <i>dian</i> .
MGY	From French.
ACE	Also (obsolete) 'wax'; the meaning 'candle' is borrowed from Malay; also <i>diən</i> (obsolete).
MAD	Safioedin (1977) <i>čuglit</i> 'oil lamp with small wick'.
KON	Also <i>pantisi</i> , <i>gommo?</i>
WOL	Also <i>sulu</i> 'resin, torch, candle'.
BUR	<i>damar</i> , also <i>kum-nia-n</i> 'incense burned when making offerings'; [ <i>lilin</i> ] 'wax candle (possibly borrowed from Malay)'.
MAB	'piece of coconut that is ignited'.
KAU	'sap from the <i>kaneβe</i> tree which burns like wax'.
LEW	See 07.450.
KIR	'grease lamp'.
RTU	Also <i>kianrē</i> .
SAM	<i>mōlī</i> 07.450, <i>ŋaʔo</i> 'grease' 05.791.

### 07.470 SHELF

Dutch: *rek*

Spanish: *estante*

ATA		*ACE	papuən	NGA	rodo
*TSO	porfafroŋi	BAT	[rak]	SIK	ara-ŋ
RUK		MIN	[raʔ]	*RTI	[rak]
PAI		*IND	papan	*BUR	paha
YAM	pašašagitan	*SUN	[ərak]	DOB	talak <sup>w</sup> a'la
ISN		JAV	papan	IRA	φarəφa
KAL	sakāw	MAD	[rak]	SAW	[rak]
*TAG	pāga	*BAL	[papan]	NYI	bada sau
*AKL	pāpag	SAS	[rak]	*MAM	patara
PAL	paradur	GOR	[raki]	TAK	
MOL	pologpag	DAA	le <sup>n</sup> due	DAM	bedu
KAG	[istanti]	UMA	alahaʔ	MAB	parpāra
BLA		BUG	[raʔ]	*YAB	deŋ
SAB	pagapaga	KON	lonjoʔ-lonjoʔ	KAU	βalas
MUR		WOL	[raku]	*TOL	vuvuvuŋ
MGY	talán-talana	MAG	lobo	BUA	rēk

*ADZ	tirian	LEW		*PON	tana
*KIL	kaiβala liga	POR	na-v <sup>w</sup> et	*WLE	faŋi
TAW	pata	*NTA	[pet]	EFI	βata
MOT	patapata	KWA	nəφetaφata	WFI	baba
*MEK	pa-afa	*NEM	pac	RTU	hata
ROV	hakhakeana	CEM		*TON	fata
*MAR	bela	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ēve	SAM	fata
LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ela	XAR	n <sup>̃</sup> -patē	MEL	
*KWO	aoao	NEN		TAH	pa <sup>?</sup> epa <sup>?</sup> e
*RAG	bata	*KIR	te bora	RAP	pa <sup>?</sup> e-pa <sup>?</sup> e
*PAA	[avet]	MSH	po		

TSO 'hanging shelf'.

TAG Also [*istante*].

AKL Also [*istantih*].

ACE 'plank'.

IND Also [*rak*]

SUN Also [*rak*].

BAL In this sense, from Malay, elsewhere 'board, plank'; *plangkiran* 'shelf for religious offerings'; *langatan, punapi* 'shelf in a kitchen'.

RTI Also *lak*.

BUR 'rack for dishes and utensils'; *ele-t enaa-t* 'shelf or rack for storing food'; *ka-lafel* 'drying or smoking rack'.

MAM Also *sanduj*.

YAB 'smoking shelf, over fire'; also *kəloŋ* 'shelf in house'.

TOL From *vuvuj* (vb intrans), *vuj* (vb trans) 'put, place'.

ADZ See 07.420.

KIL The classifier to be used here is *liβisi-* 'shelf'.

MEK *pa-afa* is also 'table'. *pa-apa* 'floor' can also be used for some kinds of shelves.

MAR Also *fara*.

KWO Also *fōfo<sup>?</sup>u*.

RAG Also *buyoro* possibly borrowed from unknown source in mission context.

PAA Also 'bed'.

NTA From Bislama *bed*.

NEM Also *padaŋ*.



KIR Also 'shell (of turtle), crust'; *te buia*; *te bao* also 'bunk, stretcher, means of transport'.

PON Also *pasapas*.

WLE 'platform for storage'.

TON Also *fujalaupapa*.

## 07.480 TROUGH

**Dutch:** *bak*

*ATA	ša-šaʔan-an	BUG	kollaŋ	LAU	
TSO		*KON	paŋ-ŋanre-aŋ (kanre)	KWO	
RUK	θalaŋə			RAG	
PAI		WOL		PAA	
YAM		MAG	galaŋ	*LEW	kup <sup>w</sup> aki
ISN	lūtun	NGA	gaʔa	POR	
*KAL	atutun	SIK		NTA	neŋo
*TAG	laban-an	RTI	hako	*KWA	nəteta
AKL	pasun-an	BUR	pahe	NEM	
PAL		*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ay'le salin	CEM	
MOL		IRA		AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã neara b <sup>w</sup> ãrãwě
KAG	surunan	SAW		XAR	
BLA	tablel	NYI		NEN	
SAB		MAM	taramoagida	KIR	
MUR		TAK		MSH	
MGY	tavi	DAM		PON	
*ACE	[kulam]	MAB	zwor	WLE	
BAT		YAB		EFI	tākona
MIN		KAU		WFI	takona
IND	palun	TOL		RTU	suɔsua
SUN	[bak]	BUA	gabum	TON	
JAV	tlawah	ADZ	ibaŋ	SAM	
*MAD	pa-ŋ-inum-an	KIL		MEL	
*BAL	palun	*TAW	kokopa	TAH	faʔa taheraʔa pape
SAS	[bak]	MOT		RAP	
GOR	[bak]	*MEK	fafao		
*DAA	salura ue	ROV			
UMA	paiβaʔ	MAR			

ATA	Also <i>ša-šapan-an</i> .
KAL	For pigs.
TAG	Also <i>sabsāb-an</i> .
ACE	From Tamil.
MAD	<i>ŋ-inum</i> 'drink'.
BAL	Also <i>paluŋ-an</i> 'animal's trough'
DAA	For water – like a rain gutter.
KON	'feeding trough'.
DOB	'trough for rain water to run away in'.
TAW	Used in sago making.
MEK	<i>fafao</i> 'hollowed-out log used as a rough canoe, but often functioning as a feeding-trough for pigs, especially when holed'.
LEW	'water pipe (originally bamboo)'; also <i>lawomie</i> 'drainage trench'.
KWA	'canoe'.

### 07.510 ROOF

*ATA	r-in-amu-a-γ	SUN	hatip	MAM	pera-no?u
TSO	sofi	JAV	payən	TAK	kulfuŋ
*RUK	ʒabaŋi	MAD	ata?	DAM	soko
PAI	kaŋ <sup>y</sup> iw	*BAL	raab	MAB	rūmu utēne
YAM	atəp	SAS	atəp	*YAB	sàlom
ISN	atap	GOR	watəpə	*KAU	maŋ mlut
KAL	otop	DAA	ata	*TOL	ul-ə-pal
TAG	atip	UMA	ata?	BUA	bəyaŋ dəmi
AKL	atup	BUG	paŋati?	ADZ	marəŋab
PAL	binubuŋan	KON	ata?	KIL	katuβa
MOL	sapow	WOL	paɸa	TAW	gatowa
KAG	atəp	*MAG	[ate]	MOT	guhi
BLA	ataf	NGA	γubu	*MEK	ova-ova
SAB	atop	*SIK	ata	*ROV	batu vetu
*MUR	tāp	RTI	uma lala-k	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> agru
MGY	tafu	*BUR	ate-t	LAU	fafo luma
ACE	bubuŋ	DOB	laɸuɸun	KWO	babalao
BAT	tarup	*IRA	atiɸero	RAG	
MIN	ato?	*SAW	γətəf	PAA	hoim
IND	atap	NYI	bonei	*LEW	uŋa

*POR	niar	XAR	n <sup>̄</sup> ō-m <sup>w</sup> ã	WFI	bewa
NTA	nahŋə nima	NEN	pemma	RTU	uluŋa
*KWA	takurei nim <sup>w</sup> a	*KIR	te rau	TON	ʔato
*NEM	b <sup>w</sup> a-n ŋa	*MSH	małtu	*SAM	tau-aluŋa
*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ó-m <sup>w</sup> à	*PON	ōs	MEL	sū.
AJI	g <sup>w</sup> ã m <sup>w</sup> ã	WLE	yaso	*TAH	tāpoʔi fare
		EFI	delāβuβu	RAP	ruŋa

ATA Also *r-in-amuy*.

RUK *ta-łogo-łog-anə* ‘ridge of roof’.

MUR *tāp* ‘roof made of sago-palm thatch’, *ǰǰŋ* ‘roof made of corrugated metal’ from English *zinc*; *tinikaʔ* ‘roof made of split-bamboo shingles’.

BAL Old Balinese *bugbug* glossed by Goris as ‘roof’.

MAG Western Manggarai.

SIK Also *ata-ŋ*.

BUR Also *hum fafa-n* ‘top of house’.

IRA *meta sanə* ‘house cover’.

SAW ‘thatch’.

YAB *wapap* ‘iron roof’ (see 09.690).

KAU *maŋ* ‘house’.

TOL *ul* ‘top’, ə CONN, *pal* ‘house’.

MEK *oa-oa* in other dialects; *ova* also ‘back of humans, animals’. NW Mekeo *ubi* ‘roof’ (Brown), with *oa* meaning ‘back’ only.

ROV Also *ropoto* ‘roofing with local materials’.

LEW ‘ridge of roof’; rest of roof referred to as *m<sup>w</sup>a-ero* ‘thatch’ or [*kapa*] ‘corrugated iron (from Bislama)’.

POR ‘sago palm’.

KWA ‘top-of house’.

NEM ‘top of house’.

CEM ‘on the house’.

KIR Also ‘thatch’.

MSH *taɾak* also ‘ceiling’; *cinibōɾ* ‘tin roof’.

PON Also *ŋkat*.

SAM Also 'top', *tau-* 'prefix used before bases denoting the position or location of the parts of a whole' (Milner 1966:248); *luŋa* 'top, upper surface'.

TAH *punu fare* 'tin roof'.

## 07.520 THATCH

ATA	ramuan na? ra-ramuy	UMA	ata?	*ROV	hinula
*TSO	s-m-ofi	BUG	rumpia	MAR	naota
RUK	talaobo	KON	ata?	*LAU	ʔabesao
PAI		*WOL	kaʒa	*KWO	lao
YAM	vočid	*MAG	riʔi	RAG	
ISN	pag-atap	NGA	keri	*PAA	[lautakul]
*KAL	gūlun	*SIK	riʔi	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> a-ero
*TAG	pāwid	RTI	uma puni-k	*POR	niar
*AKL	pāwud	*BUR	ate-t	NTA	nəmalə nima
PAL	sapow	DOB	yaw	*KWA	ken
MOL		IRA		NEM	yāt
*KAG	paud na atəp	SAW	yətəf	CEM	éāi
*BLA	ataf	NYI	kak	AJI	deo
SAB	atop	MAM	lauri	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ere
MUR	tāp	*TAK	ab irou-n	NEN	šimma
MGY	buzaka	DAM	morō	KIR	te rau
*ACE		*MAB	kōto	MSH	ac
BAT		*YAB	səlomlabi-	PON	ōs
*MIN	ʒarami	lauŋ		WLE	yaso
*IND	lalaŋ	*KAU	popno	EFI	rau
*SUN		*TOL	ni-etep	WFI	mau
JAV	kaʒaŋ	BUA	sey	*RTU	ota
*MAD		*ADZ	sai	TON	ʔato
*BAL		KIL	katuβa	*SAM	ato-ŋa
*SAS		TAW	gatowa	MEL	nipi
GOR	watopo	*MOT		*TAH	niʔau
*DAA	ata ʒono	*MEK	ipako ŋa- ŋau-ŋa	RAP	

TSO From (*sof-i*) (vb).

KAL *gūlun* 'grass thatch'; *talob* 'bamboo thatch'.

- TAG *pāwid* ‘nipa roof’; Proto-Philippines \**pāwed* ‘nipa thatching’.
- AKL ‘nipa thatch’.
- KAG ‘coconut-leaf roof’; *kugun na atep* ‘cogan-grass roof’.
- BLA *kalon* ‘cogan grass thatch’; *nifō?* ‘nipa palm thatch’; *kulit kayu* ‘bark thatch’.
- ACE Various kinds of leaves are used for thatching.
- MIN Also *ijū?*.
- IND Also *atap*.
- SUN *irih*, a type of grass (Malay *alang-alang*) commonly used in thatching.
- MAD See 08.520, ‘hay’.
- BAL No generic term. Plant materials commonly used for thatch are *ambəŋan* ‘lalang grass’; *duk* ‘sugar-palm fibre’; *klaŋsah* ‘dried palm leaves’; *somi* ‘rice straw’.
- SAS *re* ‘lalang grass’ and *jami* ‘straw’ are common thatching materials.
- DAA ‘grass’.
- WOL *kaja* ‘roofing of palm leaves’; also *paŋa mpuu* ‘roof of dried grass’.
- MAG ‘*Imperata cylindrica* grass’; also *vunut* ‘fibre of the sugar-palm’.
- SIK Also *kuta-ŋ*.
- BUR Made from sago leaves, palm leaves, or grass, in that order of preference.
- TAK ‘house leaf-its’ (08.560), i.e. ‘the leaves of the house’.
- YAB ‘roof sago-leaves’.
- MAB ‘sago leaf thatch’.
- KAU Also *kiβo*.
- TOL *ni*- NOM., *etep* (vb trans) ‘thatch’, var. *niatip*, *atip*.
- ADZ ‘grass (*Imperata* sp), grass thatch’.
- MOT *biri* ‘thatch made from nipa palm leaves’; *kurukuru* ‘thatch made from kunai grass’.
- MEK *ipako* ‘sago’, *ŋa-ŋau* ‘leaf’; i.e. ‘sago leaves’.
- ROV *hula* ‘to thatch’, also *edeve* ‘leaves used for thatch’.
- LAU ‘one piece of sewn thatch’.
- KWO ‘sago’.
- PAA ‘sago leaf’.
- POR ‘sago palm’.

KWA 'coconut frond with its halves intertwined into which wild cane stalks are inserted'; also *k<sup>w</sup>anej* 'section of thatching made of coconut leaves tied onto a length of wood'.

RTU *ota* 'sago palm thatch'; *hæle* 'section of thatched roof'.

SAM *ato* 'thatch' (vb trans), *-ŋa* NOM.

TAH *ni<sup>?</sup>au* 'coconut leaves'; *rauoro* 'pandanus leaves'.

### 07.530 RIDGEPOLE

ATA	kinuh	UMA	pane <sup>n</sup> te βumu	MAR	fat <sup>h</sup> a p <sup>h</sup> a <sup>?</sup> u
TSO	pe-fotŋ-a ta rua-si	BUG	alliri-saliwiŋ	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> aofa
		KON	pa-laŋga	KWO	talagou-na <sup>?</sup> ifi
RUK			buhuŋaŋ	*RAG	ɣai-hub <sup>w</sup> e
PAI		WOL		PAA	hatūr
YAM	şapawan	MAG	haʃu vuvuŋ	LEW	kinita
ISN	talabāwan	NGA	kəmo	POR	v <sup>w</sup> uŋ na-im
KAL	gubuŋ	*SIK	daha-ŋ	NTA	təfuf
TAG	buboŋ	RTI	to <sup>?</sup> a-k	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anapatu
AKL	bubūŋ-an	BUR	bubu enita-n	*NEM	dū-n b <sup>w</sup> a-n ŋa
PAL	binubuŋan	*DOB	la <sup>ɸ</sup> u <sup>ɸ</sup> un tul	CEM	tībā
MOL	lilibuŋan	IRA	san	AJI	
KAG	bubuŋ		sarə <sup>ɸ</sup> u <sup>ɸ</sup> ənə	XAR	bɛ-buburu
BLA	lɔhɔn bulel	SAW	pɛpuŋen	NEN	
SAB	belabela	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> u <sup>?</sup> u bonei	*KIR	te taubuki
MUR	pinūsan	MAM	su <sup>?</sup> u	MSH	
MGY	vuvun-ana	TAK	nugul	PON	sōroŋ
ACE	bara buboŋ	DAM	sokoruma	WLE	uŋa
BAT	bubuŋ	MAB	<sup>n</sup> gēle	EFI	doka
MIN		*YAB	bu-àwa	WFI	hala
IND	bubuŋan	KAU	elu	RTU	fɔua
SUN	suhun-an	*TOL	v-un-uvuŋ	*TON	fatuŋamotu <sup>?</sup> a
*JAV	kəpʊs	BUA	bum	SAM	<sup>?</sup> auau
MAD	bubuŋ-an	*ADZ		MEL	sū
*BAL	dədələg	KIL	kulum <sup>w</sup> ala	TAH	tahuu
SAS	tiaŋ wuwuŋ- an	TAW	yuyouna	RAP	ivi tika o te hare
*GOR	b-il-īŋ-a	*MOT	mayanibada		
DAA	lo <sup>n</sup> do vu <sup>m</sup> bu	*MEK	kave ele		
		ROV	batu koga		

JAV	Also <i>blandarpaṅkərat</i> .
BAL	Also <i>pətaka, bətaka</i> .
GOR	<i>b-il-īṅ-a</i> (external); <i>hūṅo</i> (internal).
SIK	Also <i>buβu-ṅ</i> .
DOB	'roof bone'.
YAB	'water-mouth' (the extension of meaning here is not clear); also <i>àle bu-àwa</i> 'house-post water-mouth'; <i>ale watop</i> 'taller house-posts supporting ridgepole'.
TOL	<i>-un-</i> NOM., <i>vuvuṅ</i> (vb intrans) <i>vuṅ</i> (vb trans) 'put'.
ADZ	Adzera houses have no ridge-pole, as they have circular roofs.
MOT	<i>mayani</i> 'wallaby'; <i>bada</i> 'big' (relation uncertain).
MEK	<i>ele</i> from <i>eʔele</i> 'small'; <i>kave</i> also 'swing'.
RAG	Also <i>lab<sup>w</sup>e</i> .
KWA	<i>k<sup>w</sup>anapatu</i> 'ridgepole which supports rafters to which thatching is attached'; also <i>karuk<sup>w</sup>au</i> 'primary ridgepole to which rafters are attached'.
NEM	'bone of roof'.
KIR	'ridge of house roof'.
TON	Also <i>toʔufufū</i> 'inner ridgepole'.

## 07.540 RAFTER

ATA	<i>kinaβat</i>	*MGY	<i>luha-tʰanu</i>	WOL	<i>kasu</i>
TSO	<i>uso</i>	ACE	<i>gasuə</i>	*MAG	<i>kinaṅ</i>
*RUK	<i>ʔoʔogo</i>	BAT		NGA	<i>usu</i>
PAI		MIN	<i>kasau</i>	SIK	<i>ʔogor</i>
YAM	<i>tagtagraṅ</i>	IND	<i>kasau</i>	RTI	<i>do-doi-k</i>
ISN	<i>parbu</i>	SUN	<i>kasu-kasu</i>	*BUR	<i>kau fua-n</i>
KAL	<i>sadāwag</i>	JAV	<i>reṅ</i>	*DOB	<i>ṅi'ro day'le</i>
TAG	<i>kīlo</i>	MAD	<i>usuk</i>	IRA	<i>sasuirə</i>
AKL	<i>kāsaw</i>	*BAL	<i>usuk</i>	SAW	
PAL	<i>səṅkub</i>	SAS	<i>kasok</i>	NYI	<i>balakar</i>
MOL	<i>pogbu</i>	GOR	<i>ʔato</i>	MAM	<i>ʔaro</i>
KAG	<i>pagbu</i>	DAA	<i>kasə</i>	TAK	<i>rigeṅ</i>
BLA	<i>ksiw</i>	UMA	<i>kaho</i>	DAM	<i>ʔō sarin</i>
SAB	<i>salaguntij</i>	BUG	<i>arattij</i>	MAB	<i>lo</i>
MUR	<i>kasow</i>	KON	<i>kasu</i>	YAB	<i>lèsə</i>

KAU	eun	RAG		KIR	te oka
*TOL	ni-lələi	PAA	holāse	*MSH	cekpære
BUA	aroyəŋ	LEW	puriaŋo	*PON	rēu
ADZ	gai riri <sup>m</sup> p-an	*POR	ma-xai saŋ	WLE	weü
KIL	kaiβalapu		krøvi	EFI	i-sā
TAW	gigoha	NTA	[rafta]	WFI	kaðo
MOT	hadai	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anətan	RTU	kaufære
*MEK	ʔeŋe-ʔeŋe	*NEM	cē-n ŋa	TON	kahoki
ROV	γaso	CEM	dête	SAM	ʔaso
MAR	gagaho	AJI		MEL	oka
LAU	ato	*XAR	mo	TAH	ʔaho
KWO	ʔato	NEN		RAP	

RUK *ʔoʔogo* ‘rafters that intersect with the ridgepole’; *kaʔapiaw* ‘rafters parallel with the ridgepole’.

MGY ‘head of house’.

BAL Also *igə-igə* (*igə* ‘rib’); *pəmade* ‘large central rafter’.

MAG ‘girders for grass or fibre thatch’.

BUR Generic for ‘pole’; also *kasa*.

DOB ‘rats crawl’.

TOL *ni-* NOM., *lələi* (vb intrans)/*ləl-e* (vb trans) ‘to bend down bamboos over a ridgepole so as to form a rafter on both sides’ (Lanyon-Orgill 1960: 228).

MEK Also *inema i-piau-ŋa* ‘rat running-place-its’; also *ŋea*, *i-ba-keŋe-keŋe* other dialects.

POR *ma-xai saŋ krøvi* ‘the-wood lie crossed-sth’; *na-xai saŋisaŋ* ‘the-wood -lie’.

KWA ‘cross poles which run perpendicular to the ridgepoles’.

NEM ‘wood of house’.

XAR *mo* ‘main beams’; *kebe* ‘cross-beams’.

MSH *cekpære* (vb trans) ‘put up the rafters’; possibly from Kiribati *te kabarāki* ‘shirt, cover, capping of a building’; also *kattal*.

PON Also *reulap*.



## 07.550 BEAM

Dutch: <i>balk</i>
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ATA	čačru?	UMA	[bola?]	MAR	fat <sup>h</sup> a
TSO	saraçɨ	BUG	alliri	LAU	falo
RUK	boli	*KON	[balo?]	KWO	
PAI	si-aɭaŋ-an	*WOL	ko <sup>n</sup> ta	RAG	
YAM	batbat	*MAG	elar	PAA	vatitemat
ISN	ampākan	NGA	lɛɖa	LEW	kipepe
KAL	agākan	SIK	lo	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> ber pisae
*TAG	balakīlan	RTI	[balo-k]	*NTA	kakulus
AKL	pagbu	*BUR	esgigi	*KWA	karuk <sup>w</sup> au φ <sup>w</sup> e
PAL	patag	DOB	ʔay k <sup>w</sup> uri		iesuk <sup>w</sup>
MOL	podurus		laŋan	*NEM	p <sup>h</sup> wab <sup>w</sup> anic <sup>ˀ</sup>
*KAG	buñugan	IRA	tatɔtɔ	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ɔhedop
BLA	blɔbɔl	SAW	[balak]	AJI	
SAB	haŋlad	NYI		*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> aɔ
MUR	kumaŋaŋ	MAM	polosa	*NEN	čačen
*MGY	saka-	*TAK	gub	*KIR	te wā
	mandimbi	*DAM	bor su	MSH	tuŋ
ACE		MAB	mīri nīni	*PON	rēu
BAT	tiaŋ	*YAB	boŋ	*WLE	tiφ <sup>w</sup> aři-pīŋa
MIN	[balu <sup>ɔ</sup> ?]	KAU		EFI	i-ðoka
*IND	rasuk	*TOL	bolo	WFI	i-ðoka
SUN	[balok]	BUA		RTU	utpoto
JAV	usu?	*ADZ	gai nti <sup>ɔ</sup> ?-a gin	TON	laŋo
*MAD	sa-saka	KIL	pou	*SAM	lā <sup>ʔ</sup> au tāfafā
*BAL	tada [paksi]	TAW	pulipuli	*MEL	[nīsola]
*SAS	[balok]	MOT	mukuro	TAH	ra <sup>ʔ</sup> o
*GOR	[bālaki]	MEK	ŋea	RAP	
DAA	[baloti]	ROV	koga		

TAG Also [bīga?], from Spanish *viga*.

KAG *buñungan* ‘floor beam’; *sablayan* ‘roof beam’.

MGY ‘a tie beam’ from *sakana* ‘anything placed crosswise’, *man-dimbi* ‘to the place of’.

IND Also [balok].

MAD	From (RED- <i>saka</i> ).
BAL	Sanskrit ‘central beam in traditional <i>bale</i> ’; <i>lambaṅ</i> ‘side beam’; also [ <i>balok</i> ].
SAS	Also <i>tiaṅ</i> .
GOR	<i>bulawahu</i> ‘ceiling beams’.
KON	Also <i>pa-donko</i> ?
WOL	<i>ko<sup>n</sup>ta</i> ‘main tie-beam’; <i>bulusi</i> ‘floor joist’.
MAG	Only one of many kinds of beams with specific names.
BUR	Also [ <i>bala-k</i> ]; [ <i>regel</i> ] (Dutch?).
TAK	‘horizontal beam supporting rafters’.
DAM	‘pig’s teat’. Apparently the framework of a house reminded Dami speakers of the rows of teats along the side of a sow’s belly.
YAB	Also <i>buṅ</i> , both ‘crossbar’.
TOL	<i>bolo</i> ‘cross, go across, lie across’.
ADZ	‘wood fence in-PART’, i.e. ‘wood for fencing in’, i.e. ‘placing side by side’.
NTA	<i>kakulus</i> ‘lengthwise beam’; <i>kaluau</i> ‘crosswise beam’.
KWA	‘secondary roof beams which run parallel to the ridgepoles’.
NEM	‘eave purlin’.
CEM	‘main roof cross beam’.
XAR	‘eave purlin’.
NEN	Also <i>čude</i> .
KIR	‘horizontal support for rafters’.
PON	Also <i>lōlo</i> ‘crossbeam’.
WLE	‘end-wall (oblique) beam’.
SAM	<i>lā<sup>2</sup>au</i> ‘tree, wood’, <i>tāfa</i> ‘side’, <i>fā</i> ‘four’, <i>tāfafā</i> ‘be four-sided’.
MEL	From Efate.

### 07.560 POST, POLE

*ATA	ḵa-ḵui <sup>?</sup> -an	ISN	adīgi	MOL	usuk
TSO	sirsi	KAL	tūkud	*KAG	[pusti]
RUK	oḷoḷo	*TAG	halīgi	BLA	lōhōn
*PAI	ḵəḷuz	AKL	halīgi	SAB	hāg
YAM	ai no vaḵay	PAL	usuk	*MUR	lugu <sup>?</sup>

*MGY	andʔi	IRA	taro	*LEW	kemprap <sup>w</sup> e
*ACE	tameh	SAW	təp-tibe	*POR	na-xai
BAT	tiaŋ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔu		a <sup>m</sup> bu <sup>ŋ</sup> gao
MIN	toŋgaʔ	MAM	ariri	*NTA	nelmə nima
IND	tiaŋ	*TAK	bag	*KWA	nei
*SUN	tiaŋ	DAM	tor	*NEM	c <sup>n</sup> edūt
JAV	čagaʔ	MAB	ki <sup>n</sup> mbi	*CEM	dihē
MAD	paŋpaŋ	*YAB	ale	AJI	
BAL	sakə	KAU	lanerip	*XAR	kūā
*SAS	[tiaŋ pəñangə]	*TOL	pəgəpaga	NEN	diritič
GOR	patoʔo	BUA	mudəŋ	KIR	te boua
DAA	ti <sup>n</sup> ja	ADZ	dubuŋ	MSH	cōŋ
UMA	tuhaʔ	KIL	koukola	*PON	ūr
*BUG	alliri	TAW	ogola	WLE	siŋra
KON	benteŋ	MOT	dū	EFI	duru
WOL	arii	*MEK	ʔuʔu	WFI	čuruŋa
MAG	siri	ROV	dedeyere	*RTU	pou
NGA	tubo	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> egra	TON	pou
SIK	liri	LAU		*SAM	pou
RTI	di	KWO	bou	MEL	pou
*BUR	tea-n	RAG		TAH	pou
*DOB	tena	PAA	vatte	*RAP	[pou]

ATA *ka-ku<sup>i</sup>?-an* ‘post, pole’, lit ‘something for something else to hang on’,  
*ka-ku<sup>i</sup>ŋ* ‘a short post’, lit ‘something to prop up a fallen tree, fence,  
hut, etc’.

PAI Also ‘pillar’.

TAG PHN *\*ha-DīRi*.

KAG [*pusti*] ‘post’; *ligi* ‘main support posts of a house’.

MUR (supporting house approximately 1.5 m above ground); *tungul*  
(internal, supporting, resting on *lugu*?).

MGY See 07.221.

ACE Also *tiaŋ* ‘mast, pole’.

SUN Also *patok*.

SAS From Malay *tiaŋ pəñanga*. *saŋgə* not listed as a separate root in Thoir  
et al (1985).

BUG Also *pak-kadaŋ*.

BUR Generic; *sosi* ‘vertical house posts’; *kau fua-n* ‘pole’.

DOB	'fence post'.
TAK	Also <i>kadaŋ</i> .
YAB	Also <i>ka</i> 'tree'.
TOL	Also <i>varapaga</i> 'forked post for a house'.
MEK	<i>ku/kuu</i> other dialects; these support the floor. <i>i-fau</i> 'pole from the ground to the roof, which it helps to support'; <i>ʔopoŋo</i> 'post of the peace-chief, after the tree from which it is made'.
LEW	Also <i>koruaki</i> .
POR	'the-wood to fence'.
NTA	Also <i>nelkənimā</i> .
KWA	'wood', 'tree'.
NEM	<i>c<sup>n</sup>edūt</i> 'central post'; <i>ho-n ŋa</i> 'surrounding posts'; lit 'foot of house'.
CEM	<i>dīhε</i> 'central post'; <i>ámo</i> 'surrounding posts'.
XAR	<i>kūā</i> 'post around circumference of hut'; <i>d<sup>5</sup>-m<sup>w</sup>ā</i> 'central post'.
PON	<i>pilet</i> 'breadfruit picking pole'; <i>p<sup>w</sup>ou</i> 'fishing pole'; <i>palotau</i> 'pole for carrying yams'.
RTU	Also <i>tuturu</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>to<sup>ʔ</sup>o</i> .
RAP	From English 'pole'.

## 07.570 BOARD

Spanish: <i>tabla</i>
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ATA	kaŋtiŋ	*KAG	tapi?	MAD	papan
TSO	riŋ <sup>ʔ</sup> ira	BLA	[tabla]	BAL	papan
RUK	bāli	SAB	papan	SAS	papan
PAI	val <sup>y</sup> i	MUR	[papan]	GOR	dupi
YAM	tapi	MGY	hazu fisaka	DAA	dopi
ISN	[tabla]	*ACE	pəpuən	*UMA	dopi?
KAL	tallikāyu	BAT	papan	BUG	pepiŋ
TAG	[tabla]	MIN	papan	KON	papaŋ
AKL	[tablah]	IND	papan	*WOL	dopi
*PAL	papan	SUN	papan	*MAG	ba <sup>ŋ</sup> gaŋ
MOL	papan	*JAV	blabak	NGA	ube

SIK	ara-ŋ	*KIL	ma-pila-na	CEM	éā-àcūt
*RTI	[papa-k]		kai	AJI	pārē kē
*BUR	kau eŋa-n	*TAW	matuyau	*XAR	bΛΛ-k <sup>w</sup> ā
DOB	ʔay φin	MOT	reirei	NEN	wano
IRA	emetə	*MEK	ʔava	KIR	te baba
SAW	fɔfen	ROV	lablabete	MSH	ræ
NYI		MAR	t <sup>h</sup> aba	PON	tinap <sup>w</sup>
*MAM	bazali	LAU	baba	WLE	yanifa
TAK	abao	KWO		EFI	βaβa
DAM	kebel	*RAG	buli	WFI	baba
*MAB	[palaŋ]	PAA	āi	RTU	ʔɔi hapa
*YAB	ka-tapa	LEW	kulutaki	TON	laupapa
*KAU	[plaŋ]	POR	mavri-xai	*SAM	papa
*TOL	pəl-ə-dəvai	*NTA	[tinpa]	MEL	papa
BUA	gaŋ	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anətan	TAH	ʔiri rāʔau
*ADZ	[orokapan]	NEM	kan-cēk	RAP	miro

PAL Also [tabla].

KAG Also [tabla].

ACE Also [lɔh] from Arabic loḥ.

JAV Horne *blabag*; also *papan*.

UMA Also *pata*.

WOL Also *d'opi-d'opi* 'small board'; *papa*.

MAG Also *ta<sup>m</sup>paŋ*.

RTI Malay *papan*.

BUR Also *papa-n* (may be borrowing).

MAM 'limbum' (Tok Pisin).

MAB From Tok Pisin.

YAB 'tree-flat.surface'.

KAU Tok Pisin, also *tiba*.

TOL *pal* 'skin', a CONN, *davai* 'wood', lit 'a flat piece of wood'.

ADZ 'board, plank, box'; probably a loan word from Wampar – *orog apan* 'wooden case, box'.

KIL 'that-flat wood'. Classifier reference to a flat board is *pila-* 'rigid/flat; evenly divided, as log split lengthwise (thus presenting two flat rigid surfaces)'.

TAW 'floorboard'.

- MEK ?ava is made from ?imou ‘Black palm’, and was traditionally reserved for the use of chiefs.
- RAG ‘plank, sawn timber’.
- NTA From English ‘timber’.
- KWA Also *təŋkare-* ‘slice’.
- XAR ‘wood cut lengthwise’.
- SAM Also *lau-papa, lau-* ‘prefix occurring mostly with words referring to flat and thin objects’.

## 07.580 ARCH

Arabic: <i>qubba</i> ‘dome’	Spanish: <i>arco</i>
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ATA	*BAL	gəluŋ panah	BUA
TSO	SAS	[kubah]	ADZ
RUK	GOR		KIL
PAI	DAA		TAW yuyou
YAM	UMA		MOT
ISN balluŋ	BUG		MEK
KAL	KON		ROV
*TAG balantok	WOL		MAR
AKL [arko]	MAG		LAU
PAL	NGA		KWO
MOL	SIK		RAG
KAG	*RTI	ma-dilu-k	PAA
BLA	BUR		LEW kapkap
SAB	*DOB	sabuwa	POR
MUR	IRA		NTA
*MGY an-duha-lambu	*SAW [guntiŋ]		KWA
ACE [kubah]	NYI		NEM
BAT katapel	MAM		CEM
MIN	*TAK	lilit	AJI
IND ləŋkuŋ	DAM		XAR
*SUN pə-[ləŋkuŋ]	MAB		NEN
JAV	YAB		KIR
MAD ləŋkuŋ	KAU		MSH
	*TOL	pilikok	PON

WLE	RTU	MEL
EFI	*TON [ʔaleso]	TAH
WFI	SAM	RAP

TAG Also [*arko*], [*alacos*].

MGY *luha* 'head'; *lambu* 'wild hog'.

SUN From Malay, also [*kubah*].

BAL 'curved top of a gateway': *galuŋ* 'crown', *panah* 'bow'.

RTI From the root *dilu* 'to bend'.

DOB 'arch usually made out of coconut fronds to honour a visitor'.

SAW From Malay.

TAK 'curve', including the bush-material arch used in celebrations.

TOL Also *bitok*, *bilikok* 'be crooked'.

TON From English.

## 07.610 MASON

**Spanish:** *cantero* 'stone cutter'

**Malay:** *tukaŋ batu*

ATA	BAT	RTI [tuka batu]
TSO	MIN [tukaŋ batu]	*BUR [tukaŋ] fatu
RUK	IND tukaŋ batu	DOB
PAI	SUN [tukaŋ batu]	IRA
YAM	JAV [tukaŋ batu]	SAW [tukan batu]
ISN	MAD [tukaŋ batu]	NYI
KAL	*BAL [tukaŋ batu]	MAM
TAG [kantero]	SAS [tukaŋ batu]	TAK
AKL [kantiroh]	*GOR pani lo botu	DAM
PAL	DAA	MAB
MOL	UMA	YAB
*KAG [masun]	BUG [tuka?-batu]	KAU
BLA	KON [tukaŋ batu]	TOL
SAB	WOL	BUA
MUR	MAG	ADZ
*MGY tambatu	NGA	KIL
ACE utoih batea	SIK ola batu	TAW

MOT		NTA		WLE	
MEK		KWA		EFI	
ROV		NEM		WFI	
MAR		CEM		RTU	
LAU		AJI	ka vã m <sup>wã</sup>	TON	
KWO		*XAR	a-x <sup>wi</sup> rε m <sup>wã</sup>	SAM	
RAG		NEN		MEL	
*PAA	meteisau	KIR		*TAH	tāmuta
LEW		MSH		RAP	
POR		PON			

KAG From English *mason*.

MGY From \**taN-* + *vatu* ‘stone’.

BAL Also [*undagi*] *batu*, from Old Javanese.

GOR *pani* ‘artisan’, *lo* linker, *botu* ‘stone, rock’. Also *po-m-[mēseli]* (see 07.260).

BUR From Malay.

SAW Malay.

PAA ‘carver; skilled man’.

XAR ‘one who constructs houses’.

TAH Also *taʔata paru fare* (archaic).

## 07.620 BRICK

**English:** *brick*

**Malay:** *batubata*

ATA		KAG		JAV	botō
TSO		BLA		MAD	bata
RUK		SAB	tisaʔ	*BAL	batō
PAI		MUR		SAS	batō
YAM	baroko	MGY	[biriki] tani-	GOR	botu tela
ISN			manga	*DAA	vatulei
KAL		ACE	bata	UMA	
*TAG	[ladriyo]	*BAT	[bata]	BUG	batu-bata
*AKL	[haloblak]	MIN	bata	KON	batu eja
PAL		*IND	batu bata	WOL	[bata]
MOL		*SUN	bata	MAG	



NGA		ADZ		CEM	
*SIK	βatu mera-n	KIL		AJI	pɛ vā m <sup>w</sup> ā
RTI	[batu bata]	TAW		XAR	
BUR	fatu [tela]	MOT		NEN	eterawa
DOB	[batu tela]	MEK		KIR	
IRA		ROV	[biriki]	MSH	
SAW	[batu tela]	MAR		PON	
NYI		LAU	[biriki]	WLE	
MAM		KWO		EFI	[biriki]
TAK		RAG		WFI	
DAM		PAA		RTU	həf pulu
MAB		*LEW	[prekes]	TON	maka <sup>?</sup> umea
YAB		POR		SAM	[piliki]
KAU		NTA	[prəkəs]	MEL	
TOL		KWA		TAH	[piriti]
BUA		NEM		RAP	

TAG Also [laryo], from Spanish *ladrillo*.

AKL From English.

BAT From Malay.

IND Also *batutela*.

SUN Also *bata bilim* 'baked brick'.

BAL Also *batu batə* 'baked bricks'; *kitakan* 'bricks, either baked or unbaked' (North Bali; Kersten 1984); *čitakan* 'unbaked bricks'.

DAA Also [vatu bata].

SIK Also *βatumerak*.

LEW Also *kila-varu* 'stone'.

### 07.630 MORTAR

**Dutch:** *cement*

**English:** *cement*

**Spanish:** *cemento*

ATA

YAM iničik

AKL [simintuh]

TSO

ISN [sumintu]

PAL

RUK

KAL

MOL

PAI vaḷaṇa

TAG

*KAG	[plastir] na [simintu]	SIK		RAG	
		RTI	nesu-k	PAA	
BLA		BUR	[semen]	*LEW	[simen]
SAB		DOB		POR	
MUR		IRA		NTA	[səmen]
MGY	rihiṛ'a	SAW	yafe	KWA	
ACE		NYI		NEM	
BAT	[simin]	MAM		*CEM	áb <sup>w</sup> a
MIN	adu <sup>ə</sup> ?-an pasi <sup>a</sup>	TAK		AJI	yimā bəṛa
*IND	lepa	DAM		XAR	
*SUN	aduk-an [səmen]	MAB		NEN	
JAV	palu	YAB		KIR	
MAD	lulu	KAU		MSH	
*BAL	luluh	TOL		PON	
SAS	luhluh	BUA		WLE	
GOR	[simeni]	ADZ		EFI	
DAA	[seme]	KIL		WFI	
UMA		TAW		RTU	soroi
BUG	paluŋ-iŋ	MOT		TON	[sima]
KON	[su'meŋ]	MEK		SAM	
WOL	[sumeni]	ROV		MEL	
MAG		MAR		*TAH	[tīmā]
NGA		LAU		RAP	
		KWO			

KAG 'cement plaster' from Spanish.

IND Also [səmen].

SUN -aduk 'mix'.

BAL See 07.640.

LEW 'cement/concrete generally'

CEM 'lime made from coral'.

TAH From French.

## 07.640 ADOBE

Not found in Austronesian language area

## 08.110 FARMER

ATA	pa-p-tauaw	*KON	pa-koko	MAR	
TSO		WOL	po-inawu-na	LAU	[fama]
RUK		*MAG	ata [tani]	KWO	
PAI		NGA	mosa-uma	RAG	
*YAM	mimoamoā	*SIK	ata hokot uma	PAA	
ISN	marag-tālun		karə tua	LEW	
KAL	maŋkokokwat din payaw	*RTI	mana ma-ue	POR	
		*BUR	geb ka puna	NTA	
*TAG	mag-sa-saka		hawa	KWA	iamhu
*AKL	maŋ-uŋ-ūmah	DOB		NEM	
*PAL	məmɔŋɔŋuma	IRA	matu dədanə	*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> â-ədānu
*MOL	uma	*SAW	kyat ta npe	AJI	ka maŋa
*KAG	maŋuŋuma		bete	XAR	
BLA	to m-imo <sup>?</sup> fuli	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d'amak ta	NEN	ačatoto
SAB	pa-hu-huma		bilin	*KIR	te tia ribana
MUR		MAM	uma-emema <sup>?</sup> i	MSH	
MGY	mpam-buli	TAK		*PON	soum <sup>w</sup> eŋ
ACE	uŋuəŋ muŋɔə	DAM		WLE	
BAT	par-uma	MAB	tomtom ki	EFI	dau-teitei
MIN	uraŋ tani		wōmo	WFI	drou-drawe
IND	pə-tani	YAB		RTU	fā rē veko
*SUN	pa-tani	KAU		*TON	fa <sup>?</sup> a
JAV	wəŋ tani	*TOL	tena v-in-a-	*SAM	fai-fa <sup>?</sup> a-to <sup>?</sup> a-
MAD	tani		uma		ŋa
BAL	tani	BUA		MEL	
*SAS	[pəñakap]	ADZ		*TAH	ta <sup>?</sup> ata
*GOR	taamo-m- mēŋil-a	*KIL	to-bigubagula		fa <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> apu
		TAW	tu lupehi	RAP	taŋata <sup>?</sup> oka
DAA	tani	*MOT	biru tau-na		kai
UMA	to-po-lia <sup>?</sup>	MEK			
BUG	pallaoruma	ROV	tie uma		

YAM From *moa* 'to plant'.

TAG Also *mag-li-linaŋ*.

AKL Root: *umah* 'farm, field'.

PAL Root: *uma* 'field'.

MOL	<i>uma + po -oŋ-</i> .
KAG	From ( <i>uma + maŋuŋ-</i> ) + RED.
SUN	Also [ <i>patanen</i> ] from Javanese.
SAS	Not in Thoir et al. (1985). See Balinese <i>ñakap</i> ( <i>sakap</i> ) ‘work as tenant farmer’.
GOR	See 08.150.
KON	Also <i>pa-galuŋ</i> .
MAG	From Malay.
SIK	Also <i>ata ?u?a uma, ata nona daruk</i> .
RTI	Also <i>ma-ue-ma-ledi-k</i> ; <i>ue</i> , ‘to exert oneself’ generally refers to field-labour, hence farming; <i>ledi</i> ‘the labour in tapping trees’.
BUR	‘person-HAB do fields’; ‘farmer’ is not really lexicalised.
SAW	‘person that makes a garden’.
TOL	<i>tena</i> ‘expert’, <i>-in-</i> NOM., <i>va-</i> CAUS, <i>uma</i> ‘plantation’.
KIL	‘person-CONT-garden’.
MOT	<i>biru</i> ‘gardening’, <i>tau</i> ‘man’.
CEM	‘one who makes plantations’.
KIR	With agentive proclitic <i>tia</i> .
PON	‘one who clears ground’.
TON	Also [ <i>faama</i> ] from English ‘farmer’.
SAM	see 08.150, 08.120; <i>fai</i> (vb trans) ‘make, do’, <i>fa?ato?a-ŋa</i> ‘field’.
TAH	<i>ta?atafa?a?amu[?ānīmara]</i> ‘breeder’.

### 08.120 FIELD (for cultivation)

*ATA	ḵum-ḵumāh	KAG	uma	*MAD	saba
TSO	zori	BLA	gu-m-uli	*BAL	təgal
*RUK	oma-oma	SAB	huma	SAS	ləndaŋ
*PAI	ḵuma	*MUR	umo	*GOR	tuhelo
*YAM	kawzan	MGY	saha	DAA	pa <sup>ɟ</sup> gavia
*ISN	komān	*ACE	ladaŋ	UMA	bonea
*KAL	payaw	*BAT	ladaŋ	BUG	dari?
*TAG	linaŋ	*MIN	para?	*KON	koko
AKL	umah	*IND	ladaŋ	*WOL	sawa
PAL	uma	*SUN	[təgal](an)	MAG	uma
MOL	boŋloy	JAV	təgal-an	*NGA	uma

SIK	uma	KIL	baleku	AJI	kā maʻa
*RTI	tina	TAW	ilawoi	XAR	i-mara
*BUR	hawa	*MOT	uma gabu-na	NEN	ṅatoto
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> utan	*MEK	ṅaṅoi	KIR	
IRA		*ROV	vinavia	*MSH	[atake]
SAW	bət	*MAR	maʻa	PON	m <sup>w</sup> āt
NYI		*LAU	alisiu	*WLE	mōta
*MAM	ʔateʔa	KWO		EFI	βoaβoa
TAK		RAG		WFI	danudanu
DAM	kabī	PAA		RTU	veko
MAB	kumuro	LEW		TON	ṅoueʔaṅa
YAB	kom	POR		*SAM	faʔa-toʔa-ṅa
KAU	mipi	*NTA	nəmai	MEL	
TOL	umə	KWA	namhuien	TAH	faʔaʔapu
BUA		*NEM	kave-po-poṅa	RAP	ʔaua ʔoka kai
*ADZ	gum	*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> â-âmú		

ATA Also *ḱuma-ḱumah*.

RUK *oma-oma* ‘swidden field’, [ʔānə] ‘paddy field’, from Taiwanese.

PAI *va-vua-vua-n* ‘field (dry)’.

YAM From *oza*, ‘wet field’; *takəy* ‘swidden’.

ISN ‘swidden, field (dry)’.

KAL *payaw* ‘irrigated paddy’; *ūma* ‘swidden’.

TAG Also *būkid*.

MUR *umo* ‘non-irrigated field, for hill-rice, vegetables’; also *lanaw* ‘irrigated field, for wet rice’.

ACE *blaṅ* ‘field for rice cultivation’.

BAT *ladaṅ* (dry); *hauma* (irrigated).

MIN Also *sawah, ladaṅ*.

IND *ladaṅ* ‘field for dry cultivation’; *sawah* ‘field for wet rice’.

SUN From Javanese.

MAD Safioedin (1977) *saba* ‘ricefield’; *təgg<sup>bal</sup>* ‘non-irrigated field’.

BAL *təgal* ‘field for dry cultivation’; *umə*, [čarik] from Old Javanese, ‘ricefield’.

GOR Also *halabolu*.

KON *koko* ‘dry field’; *galuṅ* ‘wet rice field’.

WOL *sawa* ‘paddy-field’; also *ta<sup>m</sup>pa*.

- NGA Also *gora* refers to ownership through legacy.
- RTI Besides *sawah*, Rotinese distinguish three categories of cultivated field or garden: *tina* 'dry field; *osi* 'house garden, a smaller, more intensely worked dry field near or surrounding the house'; *mama-k*, *mame-k* 'field of fruit trees planted near or around a source water'.
- BUR *hawa* 'field for growing food', *was lala* 'field for cash crops such as cloves, coconut, or nutmeg'; *wase* 'old unused field'.
- MAM Also *uma*.
- ADZ 'garden, cultivated area'.
- MOT *uma* 'garden', *gabu* 'place'.
- MEK *ŋaŋoi* is a large, shared garden - see 01.230, note.
- ROV 'cleared cultivation area'.
- MAR 'marked garden area'.
- LAU 'field, old garden'.
- NTA 'cleared garden site not yet planted'.
- NEM 'place-make-cultivation'.
- CEM 'place where one plants things'.
- MSH From Japanese; *cikin kallib* lit 'place for planting'.
- WLE Also *mirōi*, *rata* 'cleared area'.
- SAM See 08.150, *-ŋa* NOM.

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**08.130 GARDEN**


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ATA	SAB	jambayan	DAA	tinalu
TSO	MUR	lisad	UMA	pa <sup>m</sup> pa
RUK	*MGY	[zaridaina]	BUG	dari?
PAI	ACE	lampoih	KON	koko
*YAM	BAT	pollak	*WOL	buŋi
ISN	MIN	kabun	MAG	poʔoŋ
*KAL	IND	kəbun	NGA	uma
*TAG	*SUN	[kəbon]	SIK	uma
*AKL	JAV	kəbɔn	*RTI	osi
PAL	MAD	kəbbun	*BUR	hawa
MOL	*BAL	abian	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> utan
*KAG	SAS	kəbon	IRA	dədanə
BLA	*GOR	?iləŋi	SAW	bet

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NYI	bilin	*MAR	nagare	NEN	ṅadu
MAM	uma	LAU	raoa	*KIR	te nnen aroka
*TAK	abi	KWO	laŋaʔa	*MSH	[atake]
DAM	kabī	*RAG	ute-lolo-ara	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> āṭ
MAB	moklēne	PAA	āh	*WLE	mōta
*YAB	kom (sauṅ)	LEW	lo-kove	*EFI	i-teitei
KAU	mipi	POR	leur	*WFI	i-drawedrawe
TOL	umə	NTA	nasumən	RTU	vekoṅa
BUA	yuk	KWA	namhuien	TON	ṅoue
ADZ	ḡum	*NEM	kave-tami-	*SAM	to-ṅā-lāʔau
*KIL	bagula		aman	MEL	māra
TAW	tano	*CEM	â-pî-cêmi-	*TAH	ʔāua tiare
MOT	uma		nâdo	RAP	ʔoka pai
*MEK	uma	*AJI	dɔwɔ		
ROV	inuma	XAR	nṅ-mara		

YAM From *moa* ‘to plant’.

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>-mula-an*).

TAG Also [*hardin*], from Spanish *jardín*.

AKL From Spanish *jardín*; *kaʔiŋin* ‘swidden’, Proto-Southern Philippines  
\**kaīŋin*.

KAG ‘place of planted things’.

MGY From French.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL Also [*kəbon*] from Old Javanese?; also Old Balinese, North Balinese  
dialectal *məl*.

GOR From *wəŋilo* ‘cultivate’ ʔ-*il-o*-ʔ

WOL Also *inawu*.

RTI Also *mama-k*; *mame-k*; see 08.120.

BUR See note for 08.120.

TAK see 08.150.

YAB ‘field (junior)’.

KIL Also *buyagu* ‘garden’.

MEK Also ‘field’. NW Mekeo *binauṅa* for ‘garden, field’ (East Mekeo  
*pinauṅa* ‘work’).

MAR ‘planted garden’.

RAG lit ‘place-inside fence’, ‘place where food crops are grown’.

NEM	‘place-plant-thing’.
CEM	‘place where one plants things’.
AJI	Also [ <i>neyaredā</i> ] from French <i>jardin</i> .
KIR	‘place for planting’.
MSH	From Japanese; <i>cikinkallib</i> ‘place for planting’
PON	Also [ <i>m<sup>w</sup>etiwel</i> , <i>[tane]</i> ] Japanese ‘small garden’.
WLE	Also <i>miṛāi</i> .
EFI	Also <i>were</i> ‘yam garden’.
WFI	Also <i>βorau</i> ‘yam garden’.
SAM	<i>tō-</i> ‘plant’, <i>-ŋa</i> NOM, <i>lā<sup>?</sup>au</i> ‘plant tree’, see 08.531.
TAH	Also <i>ʔaua</i> .

### 08.150 CULTIVATE, TILL

ATA	t-um-aβu†	MAD		MAB	-tāra tōno
TSO	momo	*BAL	nambah	YAB	-yali
RUK			(tambah)	KAU	hβa
PAI	t-əm-uvul <sup>y</sup>	*SAS	ŋ-garo	*TOL	və-umə
YAM	omakakaw	*GOR	mo-me-eŋi	BUA	
ISN		*DAA	no-[karajaa]	ADZ	raf-
KAL			tana	KIL	-keli
*TAG	linaŋ	UMA	mo-lia <sup>?</sup>	TAW	lupehi
*AKL	umah	BUG	mat-taniŋ	MOT	ruarua
PAL	buŋkasən	*KON	salaga	*MEK	e-pinauŋa
MOL		WOL	po-inawu	*ROV	umuma
*KAG	[‘kultibar]	MAG	čival	*MAR	ja <sup>?</sup> i
*BLA	[d-m-adu]	NGA	rau	LAU	
*SAB	hinəŋ	SIK	hokot uma	KWO	
*MUR	itatanom	*RTI	selde	RAG	
MGY	mam-buli	*BUR	puna hawa	*PAA	luhuluh
ACE	pula	DOB	ʔa-ro	LEW	
BAT	maŋ-ula	IRA	nəφenə dədanə	POR	
*MIN	ba-tanam	*SAW	n-pe yabe	NTA	-asum
*IND	məŋərja-kan	NYI		KWA	-amhu
	([kərja])	*MAM	ʔateʔa-buira	NEM	po-poya
SUN	ŋa-garap	*TAK	-abi	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> â-âmú
*JAV	ŋ-luku	*DAM	kaβi y-ale-ya	AJI	maŋa



XAR	mara	WLE	miřāi	*SAM	faʔa-toʔa
*NEN	du	EFI	tei-βaka	MEL	
KIR	ribanā	WFI	drawe-sia	*TAH	ʔūtaru
MSH		RTU	veko	RAP	
PON		TON	ŋoueʔi		

TAG *linaŋ + mag-/in.*

AKL *umah + maŋ-.*

KAG [*kultibar*] + *mag-* from Spanish *cultivar*.

BLA *d-m-adu* ‘plow’; *k-am-lo* ‘weed (with weeding instrument)’, *l-am-bud* ‘dig around plant’.

SAB *hinag + aN-/ø.*

MUR *itatanom(mag-/maŋ-).*

MIN Also *ba-karaŋo*, *ba-taun*.

IND Also *mən-čaŋkul* ‘hoe’ (vb), *tanam-kan* ‘plant’ (vb trans).

JAV Also *mačul(N-pačul).*

BAL *nambah(N-tambah)* ‘to hoe’, *tambah* ‘hoe’ (n).

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *garo* ‘till soil with cow or buffalo’.

GOR (*weŋilo + mo-*, + *moh-*) passive form *weŋil-olo* ‘to be tilled’.

DAA From Sanskrit.

KON Also *pugu*.

RTI Also *ᵑgali*.

BUR ‘work/make/do the fields’.

SAW ‘do work’.

MAM Also *uma doʔi*.

TAK ‘clear a garden’ (see 08.130).

DAM ‘garden 3sg-take-INF.

TOL See 08.110.

MEK *e-pinauŋa* ‘work as in garden, field’. NW Mekeo *kabaea e-gaba-i-a* (see 09.120, note).

ROV Also *lelete* ‘plant’.

MAR Also *joʔu* ‘plant’.

PAA ‘plant’ (vb intrans).

CEM ‘make/do the country’.

NEN Also *duon*.

SAM *faʔa*- CAUS, *toʔa* (?).

TAH ‘to dig’; also [*ʔarote*] from Greek, biblical.

### 08.160 FENCE

Spanish: *corral*

ATA	ḱ-in-aʔaŋ	UMA	vala	MAR	bara
TSO	ifri	BUG	sappo	LAU	labu
RUK	saravaḍ-anə	*KON	alaha	KWO	feo
*PAI	[ḍipa]	*WOL	to <sup>n</sup> do	RAG	ara
YAM	zazačit	*MAG	kəna	PAA	veich
ISN	abut	*NGA	hala	*LEW	kove
KAL	ālad	*SIK	niha	POR	<sup>m</sup> bu <sup>ḡ</sup> gao
TAG	bākod	RTI	paʔa	NTA	noankulu
AKL	[kuraʔ]	*BUR	pali-t	KWA	nap <sup>w</sup> ər
PAL	bakud	DOB	satur	NEM	babec
MOL	pagar	IRA	rumə	CEM	bàbé
KAG	[kuʔral]	SAW	isa	AJI	be
BLA	ləbət	NYI	kou	XAR	pěřě
*SAB	sasak	MAM	ari	NEN	kag(en)
MUR	insod	TAK	ar	KIR	te ō
MGY	fefi	DAM	kāu	MSH	oʔoʔ
ACE	paguə	MAB	siri	PON	kēl
BAT	haddaŋ	YAB	tuŋ	*WLE	xuʔu
MIN	paga	KAU	noluk	EFI	bā
IND	pagar	*TOL	bəbəit	WFI	bā
*SUN	[pagər]	BUA	yēk	RTU	pā
*JAV	bəʔeʔ	*ADZ	nti <sup>ḡ</sup> ʔ	TON	ʔā
*MAD	[pag <sup>ḡ</sup> ar]	KIL	kali	*SAM	pā
*BAL	pagəh(-an)	TAW	gali	MEL	koro
SAS	lambah	*MOT		TAH	ʔāua
GOR	bala	*MEK	faŋapu	RAP	ʔaua
DAA	vala	ROV	bara		

PAI From Taiwanese.

SAB Also *ād*.

- SUN From Javanese.  
 JAV Also *pagər*.  
 MAD From Malay.  
 BAL Also *tembok* ‘stone or brick wall’.  
 KON Also *kalli?*, *ala?*.  
 WOL Also *sisi*, [*pagala*].  
 MAG ‘fence with standing sticks’; *laga* means fence with chiefly horizontal beams or bamboos.  
 NGA Also *təde* ‘hedge’.  
 SIK Also *tubu*, *higer*.  
 BUR ‘the plaited thing’.  
 TOL From *bait* ‘enclose with a fence’, also *liplip*.  
 ADZ *nti*<sup>??</sup> (Amari dialect); *ntia*<sup>??</sup> (Central dialect); *\*tam* (Central and Onga?).  
 MOT *mayu* ‘fence, esp. fence around a house’ (see 07.150); *ara* ‘fence of upright sticks, esp. garden fence’.  
 MEK *fajapu* ‘pig-fence’; *?i?ifi* ‘lighter fence of split bamboo’.  
 LEW Also *puru-kove* ‘boundary’.  
 WLE Also *worōro*.  
 SAM See 07.270, also *puipui* ‘fence’ (n), ‘fence off, ward off’ (vb trans).

## 08.170 DITCH

Spanish: *canal*Dutch: *got*

ATA	inaw	MOL	gata	*SUN	solok-an
TSO	fo-froxv-a	KAG	[ka'nal]	*JAV	kalen
RUK	soiro	BLA	[kanal]	MAD	suksuk
PAI		SAB	[kanal]	*BAL	tlabah
YAM	şawalan	MUR	kukut	SAS	rəban
ISN	pa <sup>?</sup> suweg	*MGY	hadi	GOR	ta <sup>?</sup> gi
*KAL	ālak	ACE	pare <sup>?</sup>	DAA	sauela
*TAG	bambaj	BAT	bəddar	UMA	kinali
AKL	[kanaɬ]	*MIN	banda	BUG	sepi-sepi <sup>?</sup>
PAL	[kanal]	*IND	parit	KON	sepa <sup>?</sup>

*WOL	[parigi]	BUA	lī	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> áJa
MAG	ŋali	*ADZ	ŋru <sup>?</sup>	AJI	nevō
NGA	alo	KIL		*XAR	nēwāge
*SIK	kaβa	TAW	domo	NEN	
RTI	oe lolo-k	MOT	dadaira	KIR	rua
*BUR	wa hama ele-n	MEK		MSH	cikuṛ
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ay <sup>l</sup> e	ROV		PON	warawar
IRA	kōtəganə	MAR	glodu	*WLE	tewāxaṛi
SAW	[gōt]	LAU	[dereni]	*EFI	i-keli
NYI	kiñen	KWO	tele <sup>?</sup> a	WFI	kaloaḍa
MAM	gimo-salaga-laga	RAG		RTU	čaliṇa
TAK		PAA		*TON	keli
DAM	φisos	LEW	la-n wī	*SAM	utu
MAB	yok nīni	*POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bure- mbao	MEL	rua
*YAB	bu-sawa	NTA	noakəməl	TAH	
KAU	ilβaŋ	KWA		RAP	ava
*TOL	tuŋ	NEM	wārek		

KAL ‘irrigation’.

TAG Also [*kanal*].

MGY From *\*kali* ‘to dig’.

MIN Also *pari<sup>?</sup>*.

IND Also *gali-an*, *səlokan*, [*got*].

SUN Also *susuk-an*.

JAV From (*kali-an*)*kali* ‘river’.

BAL ‘small irrigation ditch’ see 01.360.

WOL From Portuguese.

SIK Also *βair tera-ŋ* and [*got*] from Dutch.

BUR ‘ditch from natural run-off’ (lit ‘water looks for place’).

YAB ‘water-space’.

TOL Also ‘hole, pit’.

ADZ *ŋru<sup>?</sup>* (Amari, and Central); *marajuru<sup>?</sup>* (Central and all other dialects).

POR ‘the-hole it-big’.

XAR *nēwāge* ‘trench between plantations’; *kōke* ‘drainage ditch above taro gardens’.

WLE *ṛōta* ‘ditch in taro patch’.

EFI Also *i-vakatā*.

TON Also *luo*.

SAM Also *?autū*.

## 08.210 PLOUGH

**English:** *plough*

**Sanskrit:** *lāṅgala-* (see Gonda 1973: 23, 148)

**Spanish:** *arado*

ATA	ta-taβuʃ	UMA	mo-paʃekoʔ	MAR	
TSO	ko-kosi	BUG	rakkak	LAU	
RUK	paviḷiṅi	KON	[aʔ-naŋkala]	KWO	
PAI	si-tuvu-tuvulʷ	WOL		RAG	
YAM	omakakaw	MAG	[ʷgala]	PAA	
ISN	[arādu]	NGA	luku	LEW	
KAL	[alādu]	SIK		POR	
*TAG	[arāro]	RTI		NTA	
*AKL	[arādoh]	BUR		KWA	
PAL	[ɔradu]	DOB		*NEM	hum
MOL		IRA	[nəgarə]	CEM	úm
KAG	[aradu]	SAW	n-fa-ʃakem	AJI	řevī
BLA	[dadu]	NYI		*XAR	xū
*SAB	badʒaʔ	MAM	?ateʔa-buira	NEN	
MUR	[dadu]	TAK		KIR	
*MGY	angadi-n-umbi	DAM		MSH	
ACE	muʔūe	MAB		PON	
BAT	[tiŋgala]	YAB		WLE	
*MIN	baʒaʔ	KAU		EFI	siβi-yara
IND	məm-baʒak	TOL	ipuk	*WFI	[siβiyara]
*SUN	[wuluku]	BUA		RTU	
JAV	luku	ADZ		TON	[paʔau]
*MAD	[naŋgala]	KIL		*SAM	faʔa-malū
*BAL	[təŋgalə]	TAW		MEL	[paʔau]
*SAS	[təŋgalə]	MOT		*TAH	[?arote]
*GOR	məmadeʔo	MEK		RAP	[?arote]
DAA	no-paʃeko	ROV			

TAG	[arāro] + mag-/in.
AKL	[aradoh] + -in.
SAB	badʒaʔ + aN-
MGY	From aN-hady-N-umbi.
MIN	Also mañʒaja.
SUN	From Javanese.
MAD	Noun.
BAL	Noun. nəŋgalə(N-[təŋgalə]) (vb intrans).
SAS	Also gau. Thoir et al (1985) gau ‘tool for smoothing and flattening soil after ploughing’; see also 08.270.
GOR	(padeʔo + moN-) (vb); po-padeʔo (n).
NEM	(vb).
XAR	(vb)
WFI	From Standard Fijian.
SAM	faʔa CAUS, malū ‘be soft’.
TAH	From Greek; biblical.

### 08.212 FURROW

ATA		BAT		*BUR	bedeŋ
TSO	fo-froxv-a	MIN		DOB	
RUK		*IND	alur	IRA	
PAI		*SUN	alur	SAW	
YAM	ororitən	JAV	galur	NYI	
ISN	dalādag	MAD	biḍiŋan	MAM	
KAL	alid din alādu	BAL	čločoh-an	TAK	
TAG	tudliŋ	SAS		DAM	
*AKL	īras	GOR	liʔidu	MAB	
*PAL	[kanal] ot oradu	DAA	valea paʒeko	YAB	
		UMA	kinali	KAU	
MOL		BUG	kapuruʔ	TOL	
KAG	iras	*KON	'kaloro	BUA	
BLA	tudliŋ	WOL		ADZ	
SAB		MAG		KIL	
*MUR	liagu	*NGA	bale	TAW	
*MGY	suri-čuriʔa	SIK	napu-ŋ	MOT	
ACE	kuroʔ	RTI		MEK	

ROV		KWA		*WLE	tewōxaři
MAR	gailche	*NEM	ɰada	EFI	
LAU		CEM	ćie	WFI	loβa
KWO		AJI	nexüřü	RTU	
RAG		*XAR	nepārā	*TON	[falo]
PAA		NEN		SAM	
LEW		KIR	rua	MEL	
POR		*MSH	cikuř	TAH	
NTA		*PON	warawar	RAP	ava

ÄKĹ *iras + -in-*.

PAL From Spanish *canal*.

MUR *bubulud* ‘ridge between furrows’.

MGY From (*soriř’a + soriř’a*).

IND Also *galur*.

SUN Eringa: ‘track of wild animal; river-bed’.

KON Also *kakor-aŋ*.

NGA Also *ŋali*.

BUR From Dutch/English? ‘bedding’ via Malay; *tabi-k* ‘to shore up soil around base of plant’.

NEM ‘ridge of earth (for yams)’.

XAR *nepārā* ‘ridge of earth for yams (in mountains)’; *nebešā* ‘ridge of earth for yams (on plain)’.

MSH ‘ditch, trench’.

PON ‘ditch, trench’.

WLE ‘ditch, trench’.

TON From English.

## 08.220 DIG

*ATA	k-um-aihu	*TAG	hūkay	*MUR	kali
*TSO	ma-ʔre	*AKL	kutkut	*MGY	mi-hadi
RUK	wa-loko	PAL	məŋali	*ACE	[kuəh]
PAI	k-əm-aŋi	MOL	kali	*BAT	huar
YAM	mikali	*KAG	kutkut	MIN	gali
ISN	mag-korob	BLA	m-akol	IND	məŋ-gali
KAL	kulūban	*SAB	kalut	SUN	ŋali (kali)

JAV	n-ɗuɗuʔ	MAM	ʔeli	*NTA	-alu
MAD	ɲali (kali)	*TAK	-sue	*KWA	-eri
*BAL	maŋbaŋ (baŋbaŋ)	*DAM	meku y-ale-ya	NEM	kuan
SAS	kaliʔ	*MAB	-kel	CEM	îni
*GOR	moŋaʔudu	YAB	-sap	AJI	kī
DAA	nə-kae	*KAU	kil	XAR	kī̄
*UMA	mo-kae	TOL	kəl	NEN	kin(i)
BUG	mak-kae	BUA	leβ	KIR	kena
KON	aŋ-ŋeke (keke)	ADZ	raf	*MSH	kɪp <sup>w</sup> ic
WOL	seli	KIL	-keli	*PON	teik
MAG	čake	TAW	omtawi	*WLE	wetixi
*NGA	kəla	MOT	yei-a	EFI	keli-a
*SIK	goʔi	MEK	e-api(-a)	*WFI	keli-a
RTI	kali	ROV	yei	*RTU	ɔʔu
*BUR	kali	MAR	dok <sup>h</sup> a	TON	keli
DOB	ʔa-ʔel	LAU	ʔelia	SAM	ʔeli
IRA	[nəgarə]	*KWO	tak <sup>w</sup> e-a	MEL	keria
SAW	n-oyle	*RAG	yei	*TAH	heru
NYI	aʔeh	PAA	gili	RAP	keri
		LEW	kili		
		POR	xir na- <sup>m</sup> bur		

ATA Also *k-um-aiʔ*.

TSO (*pa-ʔre-a*).

TAG *hūkay + mag-/-in*.

AKL *kutkut + -an*.

KAG *kutkut + mag-*.

SAB *kalut + aN-/ø*.

MUR *kali (mag-; -on)*.

MGY See 08.170.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

BAT Also *hali*.

BAL (*N-*)*baŋbaŋ* ‘dig a hole in the ground’; *baŋbaŋ* ‘hole produced by digging’; (*N-*)*čončon* ‘dig with a crowbar’; (*N-*)*bet* ‘dig up, e.g. yams’; (*N-*)*kohkoh* ‘dig with the fingers or, of an animal, with the front paws’.

GOR (*ʔaʔudu + moN-*).

UMA Also *kekeʔ*.



- NGA Also *vuʔa*, *voka*.
- SIK Also *gorak* and [*gali*] from Malay.
- BUR ‘dig up tubers’; *srai* ‘dig loose dirt or sand with the paws (like a dog)’; *siwa* ‘dig out (a thorn)’.
- TAK ‘dig with a digging stick; crush with a pestle; stab’ (see also 05.560, 09.223).
- DAM ‘hole 3sg-take-INF’.
- MAB *-up* ‘break up ground using a large pointed stick’.
- KAU ‘dig, bury, bore’.
- KWO Also *ano-a*.
- RAG Also *geli*.
- NTA *-alu* (vb intrans); *-il* (vb trans).
- KWA *-eri* ‘dig a hole, in particular’; *-arar* ‘dig with a spade’; *-areŋi* ‘push aside, scoop out’; *-arkəri* ‘dig up, transplant’; *-ekui* ‘dig out, empty out’.
- MSH *tɔtake*, *tūc* ‘dig up’.
- PON *p<sup>w</sup>arī* ‘dig hole for yam’.
- WLE Also *yeṛetī*, *ifetīya*.
- WFI *huβi-a* ‘dig with hands’; *uma-nia* ‘to turn over soil’.
- RTU Also *soʔa* ‘dig with digging-stick’.
- TAH Also ʔō.

### 08.230 SPADE

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>schop</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>spade, shovel</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>pala</i> ‘shovel’
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ATA	ka-kai-hu	PAL	kəkoli	MIN	[sikap]
TSO		MOL		IND	[səkop]
RUK		KAG	[pala]	SUN	[sɪ(ŋ)kup]
PAI		BLA		*JAV	səsrəʔ
YAM	kakali	SAB	[pala]	*MAD	səkruʔ
ISN		MUR	[sukup]	BAL	
KAL	[pāla]	*MGY	angadi	*SAS	[səkop]
TAG	[pāla]	ACE	lham	GOR	[sikopu]
AKL	[puʔ-pālah]	BAT	sodək	DAA	sero

UMA	sero	KAU		*NEM	ba-yeli-guc
BUG	[sikop]-aŋ	*TOL	kəkəkəl	CEM	
KON	[sikop]aŋ	BUA	[saβor]	*AJI	pɛ kī
WOL	[sikupa]	ADZ		XAR	çɹi
MAG	[ba <sup>n</sup> čik]	*KIL	daima	NEN	
NGA	su <sup>?</sup> a-sod <sup>o</sup>	*TAW	hipa	*KIR	te [tipeiti]
*SIK	hoko	*MOT	[sipei]	MSH	
*RTI	[sakop]	*MEK	o <sup>?</sup> o	PON	
BUR	[skope]	ROV	[sepeti]	WLE	
DOB	[skop]	MAR		EFI	i-siβi
*IRA	unə	LAU		*WFI	[i-hiβi]
SAW		KWO		RTU	suki
NYI		RAG		TON	huo [sipeiti]
*MAM	[sabolu]	*PAA	aikahokah	SAM	suō
*TAK	[spaten]	LEW	plapurua	MEL	[sipeti]
DAM		POR	xias	TAH	ope
MAB		NTA	[sapəl]	RAP	ope
*YAB	sapa <sup>?</sup>	*KWA	karar		

MGY From *aN-hadi*.

JAV Also [*səkɔp*].

MAD From Dutch?

SAS Goris *kikis* ‘turn over the soil with a spade’.

SIK Also *huru*.

RTI Also *ta-tatis*.

IRA ‘digging stick’.

MAM From English *shovel*.

TAK From German *Spaten*.

YAB ‘traditional shovel of sago-ribs’. Also *sak<sup>w</sup>ɛŋ* ‘digging stick’.

TOL From *kəkəl*, *kəl* ‘dig’; also [*tipet*], [*sipet*].

KIL ‘digging stick’.

TAW ‘digging stick’.

MOT From English ‘spade’ (see also 08.250).

MEK ‘digging-stick’, also *ikiva* (*itsuva*), *ifu*; [*auri*] ‘metal object’; [*tsipet*] ‘spade’. See 09.670, note.

PAA ‘yam spade’.

KWA	<i>karar</i> ‘flat blade digging stick’; <i>karana</i> ‘digging stick’; <i>nəŋua</i> ‘digging stick’.
NEM	‘for-cut-earth’.
AJI	Also [ <i>bēyi</i> ] from French <i>bêche</i> .
KIR	Also <i>tetibatiba</i> .
WFI	Standard Fijian <i>i-siβi</i> .

## 08.240 SHOVEL

See 08.230

ATA	UMA sero	MAR
TSO	BUG [sikop]-aŋ	LAU
RUK	KON [sikop]aŋ	KWO
PAI cacukun	WOL [sikupa]	RAG
YAM kakali	MAG	PAA
ISN [pāla]	NGA su <sup>?</sup> a-aku	*LEW plapurua
KAL [pāla]	*SIK hoko	POR
TAG [pāla]	RTI [sakop]	*NTA [iaiaŋ]
AKL [pālah]	BUR [skoŋe]	KWA
PAL [pala]	DOB	NEM wasaro
MOL [pala]	IRA	CEM táit
KAG [pala]	*SAW [skop]	AJI (pe)yoŋi
BLA [faŋa]	NYI	XAR çai
SAB [pala]	MAM [sabolu]	NEN
MUR [sukup]	TAK [sabol]	KIR te [tiabora]
MGY [lapelina]	DAM	MSH [cabʌ]
*ACE sudo <sup>?</sup>	MAB	PON [sap <sup>w</sup> el]
BAT sodok	*YAB sapa <sup>?</sup>	WLE
MIN [sikap]	KAU	EFI i-siβi-ni-niu
IND [səkop]	*TOL kəkəkəl	WFI [i-saβa]
*SUN so-sodok	BUA [saβor]	RTU [savō]
*JAV səsro <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	TON huo tata
MAD saripiŋ	KIL	SAM suō
BAL	TAW	MEL
SAS	MOT [saβolo]	*TAH ope
GOR [sikopu]	*MEK	RAP ope
DAA sero	ROV [savolo]	

ACE	Also [sukɔp].
SUN	Also <i>pañodok</i> ( <i>sodok</i> ).
JAV	Also [səkɔp] Dutch.
SIK	Also <i>huru</i> .
SAW	Also <i>ipe</i> ‘oar’, used more commonly as a shovel.
YAB	‘traditional shovel of sago-ribs’.
TOL	See 08.230, also [tavoł], [savoł].
MEK	See 09.670, note.
LEW	Also <i>sue</i> .
NTA	From Bislama <i>aean</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tohitohi</i> ‘a kind of shovel with a very small blade’.

## 08.250 HOE

Hindi: *kudārī*Spanish: *azadón, azada*

*ATA	kaušu?	MIN	paŋku <sup>ə</sup>	*SAW	[pačul]
TSO	taimau	*IND	čaŋkul	NYI	
*RUK	tatokono	SUN	pačul	MAM	
*PAI	pitaw	JAV	pačul	*TAK	salu
YAM	kakazoŋ	MAD	lanđu?	DAM	
ISN	palu?	*BAL	tambah	MAB	
KAL	landok	SAS	tambah	*YAB	ki-nəm
*TAG	[asarol]	*GOR	ʔiʔi	KAU	βih-ŋin
AKL	[sarut]	DAA	pema <sup>ɔ</sup> gi	TOL	bair
PAL		UMA	po-ma <sup>ɔ</sup> ki	BUA	
MOL		BUG	beŋkuŋ	ADZ	
*KAG	biŋkuŋ ta ba'sak	KON	biŋkuŋ	*KIL	[koroba]
*BLA	[fiku]	*WOL	βi <sup>ɔ</sup> kuni	TAW	
SAB	saŋkul	MAG		*MOT	homo
*MUR	[saŋkul]	NGA	taka-kəla	*MEK	
MGY	angadi-m-	SIK	sako	ROV	[piki]
	bazaha	*RTI	ta-tati-s	MAR	
*ACE	caŋkoy	*BUR	flehe-t	LAU	
BAT	paŋgu	*DOB	[čaŋkul]	KWO	
		IRA		RAG	

PAA	ahou	XAR		RTU	[kutari]
LEW	tarirua	NEN		TON	huo
POR		KIR		SAM	suō
NTA	ialu	MSH		*MEL	[ou]
KWA	kakər	*PON	āk	TAH	
NEM		WLE	kuwō	RAP	?ohio haka
CEM		EFI	[kutari]		heu
AJI	pε wake	WFI	[kutari]		

ATA *pakaruh* ‘a long, narrow hoe’; *payih* ‘a small hoe’.

RUK *kwaʒoy* ‘a small narrow hoe’; *lapa* ‘a wide hoe’.

PAI *kuḍ-kuḍ*, *kus-kus* ‘small hoe’.

TAG Also [*asāda*].

KAG *ta ba’sak* means ‘of soil’; see entry 09.251 ‘adze’ for another kind of *biṅkuṅ*.

BLA From Spanish *pico*.

MUR From Malay *čaṅkul*; also *dimbas* (long-handled hoe-like tool for weeding).

ACE Also *catɔʔ*?

IND Also *pačul*.

BAL *numbæg* (*N-tumbæg*) ‘hoe’ (vb intrans).

GOR Also *popati*.

WOL Also *sube*.

RTI See 08.240.

BUR Action of hoeing or pounding sago is *flehe*; *sua-n* ‘dibble stick’.

DOB From Malay.

SAW From Malay.

TAK Also *baira*.

YAB ‘axe-earth’.

KIL From English *crowbar*, ‘any longish piece of iron’.

MOT Lister Turner and Clark (n.d.): *gaga* ‘wooden spatula used for sago, hence a spade’; in Bible ‘hoe’.

MEK See 09.670, note.

PON See *āk* ‘mangrove sp.’; also [*kuwa*] from Japanese.

MEL From English.

## 08.260 FORK

Dutch: <i>vork</i>	English: <i>fork</i>	Portuguese: <i>garfo</i>
ATA	DAA	MAR
TSO	UMA	LAU
RUK	BUG pekka	KWO
PAI	KON [garappu]	RAG
YAM kakazəŋ	WOL [garupu]	PAA [vök]
ISN	MAG	*LEW pereŋawa
KAL	NGA	POR na- <sup>m</sup> ber
TAG	SIK	NTA
AKL	RTI [folok]	KWA
*PAL [tinidur]	BUR	NEM
MOL	DOB	CEM
KAG	IRA	AJI pe kañ ũiřu
BLA	SAW [forok]	XAR
SAB	NYI	*NEN [fök]
MUR	MAM	KIR
MGY	TAK	MSH
*ACE cruəh	DAM	PON
BAT [garpu]	MAB	WLE
MIN garu	YAB	EFI mata-i-βā
IND čaŋgah	KΛU	WFI matai-βā
SUN [garpuh]	TOL [pok]	RTU koho
	BUA	TON huo laŋa
JAV čawaŋ-an	ADZ	*SAM tui
MAD lanđu?	KIL	MEL
čarañčaŋ	TAW	TAH pātia
BAL	*MOT isiβa	RAP
SAS garəŋ	*MEK	
*GOR [garo-garo]	ROV [poka]	

PAL From Spanish *tenedor*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer 'harrow'.

GOR 'pitchfork'; Malay *pəŋ-garu* 'scraper; rake; harrow'.

MOT Originally 'digging stick' (*siβa-ia* 'to turn or reverse, end for end').

MEK See 09.670 note.

LEW See 05.390.

NEN From English *fork*.

SAM See 05.390

### 08.270 RAKE (n)

**English:** *rake*

**French:** *râteau*

ATA	ka-kaʔuʔ	UMA		MAR	
TSO	kosi	BUG	pag-garu	LAU	
*RUK	garoʔo	KON	salaʔ-salaga	KWO	
PAI		WOL		RAG	
YAM	kakazoŋ	MAG		*PAA	[rēk]
ISN		NGA		*LEW	[rek]
KAL		SIK		POR	
TAG	kalaykay	*RTI	ka-kalu-k	NTA	[rek]
AKL	kalaykay	BUR		KWA	
*PAL	kəkawas	DOB		NEM	
MOL	[rik]	IRA		CEM	
KAG	[rik]	*SAW	{garugaru}	*AJI	pe rē ūiʔu
BLA	[rek]	NYI	kakabou	XAR	
SAB	ka-kahig	MAM		NEIN	
*MUR	[sisid]	TAK		KIR	
MGY	fihugu-n-tani	DAM	galaba	MSH	
*ACE	k-uuu-rut	MAB		PON	
BAT		YAB		WLE	
MIN	kuyiʔ	KAU	kaul-ŋin	*EFI	[reki]
IND	pəŋ-garuk	*TOL	[rek]	WFI	i-garu
SUN	garu	BUA		RTU	{reke}
JAV	garu	ADZ		*TON	meʔa-heu
MAD	surkut	KIL		*SAM	salu
BAL		TAW		MEL	[rēke]
*SAS	gau	*MOT	[reki]	*TAH	pāraʔu
*GOR	[garo-garo]	*MEK		RAP	paraʔu
DAA		ROV	[reki]		

RUK *garoʔo* 'rake, comb'.

PAL Also *kalaykay*.

MUR From Malay; also *kaŋkad* 'rake (vb)'.

ACE	From <i>krut</i> ‘scrape’; also <i>g-un-aro</i> from <i>garo</i> ‘scrape’.
SAS	See note, 08.210.
GOR	See 08.260.
RTI	From <i>kalu</i> ‘to scratch’. not used in cultivation.
SAW	From Malay.
TOL	From English <i>rake</i> , also <i>tiktikir</i> from <i>tikir</i> ‘rake’ (vb trans).
MOT	From English <i>rake</i> .
MEK	See 09.670, note.
PAA	Also [ <i>rato</i> ].
LEW	Also <i>suri na-tap-van-en yo</i> ‘something for raking clean an area’.
AJI	Also [ <i>rato</i> ].
EFI	Also <i>i-garu</i> .
TON	Also [ <i>lato</i> ].
SAM	Also ‘broom’, ‘sweep’ (vb trans).
TAH	Also <i>pāʔaʔu</i> .

### 08.310 SOW

ATA	ʔ-um-ahap	*MIN	manabu <sup>ə</sup> bani <sup>ə</sup>	*BUR	safu-k
*TSO	mi-rapo	IND	mənabur	DOB	ʔa-yayi
RUK	wa-sabolo		(tabur)	IRA	səna ɸəɾə
PAI	c-əm-ugut	*SUN	[təbar]	SAW	n-tənəm
YAM	manokoş	*JAV	nəbar (winih)	NYI	atah
ISN	mag-wārit	MAD	tabur	MAM	liʔi
*KAL	bunūbun	BAL	nimuh (timuh)	*TAK	-pae
*TAG	hasik	*SAS	ŋ-ampar	DAM	
*AKL	sabwag	*GOR	molapi	MAB	-tiyāra
PAL	gəgabas	DAA	no-savu	*YAB	-palip
*MOL	tugal	*UMA	tujaʔ	KAU	tah
*KAG	sabwag	BUG	maŋampoʔ	*TOL	[to]
*BLA	m-la	KON	aʔ-'tahuru	BUA	
*SAB	tanom	WOL	po-hewi	ADZ	ntaŋ-
*MUR	tias	MAG	večak	*KIL	-sopu
*MGY	mamafi	*NGA	gose	*TAW	lunohanoha
ACE	tabu	*SIK	buri	MOT	hado-a
BAT	sabur	RTI	sele	*MEK	fau(-ŋa)



*ROV	lelete	NEM		WFI	ðebu-rakinia
MAR		*CEM	uli	RTU	
LAU		AJH	yəʔəp <sup>wē</sup>	TON	[tō]
KWO		*XAR	g <sup>were</sup>	SAM	lūlū
RAG		NEN	θumiθumi	MEL	sirikina
*PAA	luhi	KIR		TAH	ueue
*LEW	mapila	*MSH	katək	RAP	pī (hai rima ana ʔoka)
POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a <sup>ŋ</sup> g-i	PON			
NTA	-eatəŋəŋ	WLE			
*KWA	-əwi arəŋrəŋi	EFI	kabu-raka		

TSO (*rap-i*).

KAL *bunūbun + man-*.

TAG *hasik + mag-/i-* PHN *\*ha + sek*.

AKL *sabwag + -i*.

MOL *tugal-um-/i/-on*.

KAG *sabwag + mag-*.

BLA *s-m-abul* ‘scatter (seed)’; *m-uli* ‘plant’ (root: *fuli*).

SAB *tanom + aN-/ø*.

MUR *tias (maŋ-; -in)*, *salok (maŋ-; -on)*, there is no difference in meaning, but former term avoided by many speakers since death of Tiasan, a famous chief.

MGY From (*maN-fafi*).

MIN (*maN-tabu<sup>ə</sup>bani<sup>ə</sup>*).

SUN From Old Javanese.

JAV (*N-səbar*) ‘spread out, broadcast’; *winih* ‘seed’.

SAS See 08.311.

GOR (*tapilo + moN-*); also *hulayadu/hu<sup>?</sup>ayadu* ‘cast seed’; also *momulayadu (hulayadu + moN-*).

UMA *tuja<sup>?</sup>* ‘to plant with dibblestick’; *haβu<sup>?</sup>* ‘to plant by scattering’ (see also 08.531).

NGA Also *tuza*.

SIK Also *nona, βehak*.

BUR ‘broadcast’.

TAK ‘plant, sow’, as in *abi i-pae-da* ‘garden he-plant - IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is planting a garden’.

YAB	'broadcast (seeds)'; also <i>-kej</i> lit 'give'; <i>-se</i> 'make holes for planting'.
TOL	From English <i>sow</i> , also <i>pokopoko</i> from <i>poko</i> (vb trans) 'to cut up, cut in two'.
KIL	<i>-sopu</i> (yams); <i>-βali</i> (other than yams), see 08.531.
TAW	<i>lunohanoha</i> 'scatter', <i>lupehi</i> 'plant a young shoot or seed'.
MEK	<i>fau(-ŋa)</i> 'plant seeds, shoots or cuttings'.
ROV	Also <i>poŋpoŋa</i> 'to plant (in a mound or in ground)'.
PAA	'plant'.
LEW	See 08.531.
KWA	'scatter by hand'.
CEM	Also 'spray'.
XAR	'there in the air'.
MSH	'plant'.
TON	From English.

### 08.311 SEED

ATA	ya-yhap	*IND	bənih	NYI	badun
*TSO	xio-rapo	*SUN	binih	MAM	ʔaŋʔaŋ-patu
*RUK	əpə	JAV	winih	*TAK	patu-n
PAI	cəl <sup>y</sup> ay-an	*MAD	[b <sup>h</sup> ib <sup>h</sup> it]	*DAM	φātu
YAM	vəttow	*BAL	batu	MAB	iwēne
ISN	bukal	*SAS	ampar	YAB	ŋa-wè
KAL	bukol	GOR	bili	*KAU	hiyu-n
TAG	buto	*DAA	savu	TOL	patinə
AKL	lisu	*UMA	u <sup>n</sup> toʔ	BUA	gəyis
PAL	ulinsag	BUG	binne	*ADZ	yamun
MOL	puŋu	*KON	'lisere	*KIL	yagogu
*KAG	lisu	*WOL	wine	*TAW	pehi
*BLA	bneʔ	*MAG	vini	MOT	uhe
SAB	binih <sup>?</sup>	NGA	ŋavo	MEK	ani
MUR	unod	*SIK	βini	ROV	kiko
MGY	vua-n- dzavaŋ <sup>f</sup> a	*RTI	bini- <sup>ŋ</sup> ges	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> atu
*ACE	[biŋeh]	*BUR	kiha-n	LAU	migedō
BAT	bibit	DOB	φeray	*KWO	lama-na
*MIN	[biŋo]	IRA	φesubə	RAG	biri
		*SAW	gəeno	PAA	utite

LEW	kuru-sia	*XAR	pī̃	WFI	-wiri
POR	kru-xer	*NEN	čačawin	RTU	hula
*NTA	nəkuti-n	KIR	te korā	TON	teŋa
KWA	nuni-	*MSH	kʷʌle	*SAM	fatu
*NEM	kā-n	*PON	weren tūke	MEL	nifo
*CEM	ā-n	WLE	faiūra	*TAH	huero
*AJI	pʷē	EFI	sore-	RAP	karu

TSO *xio-rapo* ‘seed for sowing’; *tutu* ‘kernel (mango, loquat, etc.)’.

RUK *ɔapə* ‘seed of grains’; *sa-payvay* ‘seed for planting’; *ɕapə* ‘kernel of fruit’.

KAG *binni?* ‘seed of a grain type plant used for planting’; [*similya*] ‘seed of plants other than grains used for planting’ from Spanish.

BLA Also *lam*.

ACE From Arabic *bizr*.

MIN From Sanskrit.

IND Also *biji*, *bibit*.

SUN Also *siki* ‘grain, pip, seed’; *bibit* ‘plant or animal used as breeding stock’.

MAD From Javanese.

BAL *batu* numerical classifier for seeds, seed; *binih* seedling; seed; *bulih* ‘rice seedling’.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *bəras* ‘rice; generic term for seed’ e.g. *bəras jaguŋ* ‘maize seed’.

DAA *savu* ‘rice seed’; *vatu* ‘seed of other crops’.

UMA Also *besa*.

KON Also *banne* ‘rice seed’.

WOL *wine* (for sewing); also *o<sup>m</sup>pole*.

MAG Also *ni?i*.

SIK Also *nea-ŋ*.

RTI *bini-ŋges* a doublet, ‘all kinds of seeds’.

BUR Also *aga-t* ‘grain’.

SAW Also *gey* ‘seed as produce, e.g. corn and rice’.

TAK ‘fruit, nut, egg, seed’ (see 05.710, 05.770, 05.970).

- DAM Also *muni* ‘a seed fallen from a flower’; *ϕadil* ‘root vegetable, left over from the previous year’s crop, used for planting’; *ϕātu* ‘seed inside a piece of fruit, egg, ovum, and testicle’, see 5.970 and 4.490.
- KAU ‘fruit, seed’; also *ekiyin*.
- ADZ *yamun* ‘sprout, planting material for all species’; *gai nidzin* ‘tree fruit seed’.
- KIL ‘yam seed’.
- TAW ‘young plant’.
- KWO Also *ʔūʔū-na*.
- NTA Also *noanəŋ*.
- NEM ‘anything intended to be planted’.
- CEM ‘seed tubers’; also *pîde-n* ‘fruit seeds’.
- AJI Also *kāxüŕü*.
- XAR Also *ŋārū* ‘seedling, shoot replanting’.
- NEN Also *win*.
- MSH Also *ine*; also ‘seedling, sprout’.
- PON ‘seed of plant/tree’; see *were* ‘human body, seed, tumor, cyst (3sg POSS)’.
- SAM See 04.440.
- TAH Also *huoro*.

## 08.320 MOW, REAP

- |      |             |      |            |      |                           |
|------|-------------|------|------------|------|---------------------------|
| *ATA | š-um-aʔiŋ   | *SAB | aniʔ       | *GOR | mo-ti <sup>m</sup> balato |
| *TSO | ta-tʔozu    | *MUR | kumos      | DAA  | no-kato                   |
| RUK  | wa-kətabə   | MGY  | mi-dzindza | *UMA | mo-some                   |
| PAI  |             | *ACE | [kəh]      | BUG  | mab-bajaʔ                 |
| YAM  | manlaŋi     | BAT  | sabi       | *KON | aʔ-gansi                  |
| ISN  | magwaradwād | *MIN | tuay       | WOL  | ti <sup>m</sup> pu        |
| *KAL | āni         | *IND | məñabit    | MAG  | ako                       |
| *TAG | āni         |      | (sabit)    | *NGA | kəti                      |
| *AKL | ānih        | SUN  | ŋa-babad   | SIK  | poru                      |
| *PAL | məŋgapas    | JAV  | ŋ-arit     | *RTI | tete-tofa                 |
| *MOL | kotos       | MAD  | rau        | *BUR | bobi-k                    |
| *KAG | ani         | *BAL | ŋ-[arit]   | DOB  | ʔa-yetaʔu                 |
| BLA  | k-am-tu     | SAS  |            | *IRA | nətutəϕasə                |

SAW	n-iŋet	MEK		*XAR	ici
*NYI	asan	*ROV	seke duduli	*NEN	uma
MAM	toto	MAR		KIR	
TAK	-tite	LAU		MSH	
DAM		KWO		PON	
*MAB	-sa <sup>m</sup> bar	RAG		WLE	
YAB		PAA		EFI	were-đa
KAU	klat	LEW	te-plani	WFI	gahi-a
*TOL	pəkət	POR		RTU	čəči
*BUA	kəsik	NTA	-əl <sup>h</sup>	*TON	kosi
ADZ	saf-	KWA		*SAM	selesele
KIL	-tayoyuwa	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ō	MEL	
TAW		CEM	tî	*TAH	pafaʔi
MOT	utu-a	AJI	kada	RAP	

ATA Also *š-um-aŋit*.

TSO *ta-tʔozu* (*ta-tʔozv-a*) 'harvest by plucking the ears' (millet, dry field rice plants); *re-frutu* (*re-frut-a*) 'harvest by cutting at the bottom' (rice plants, miscanthus).

KAL *āni + man-*.

TAG Also *gāpas + -um-/-in*, see 'harvest' (08.410 = noun).

AKL *ānih + -un*, PHN \**ānih*; see 'harvest' 08.410.

PAL Also *məŋɔʔig*.

MOL *kotos mog-/-on*.

KAG *ani + mag-/-ən* 'harvest'.

SAB *aniʔ + aN-/-an*.

MUR *kumos* (*mag- -on*) 'harvest (rice); *omot* (*maŋ- -on*) 'by cutting (rice-ears) with finger-knife'; *tantab* (*maŋ- -on*) 'by cutting (whole rice-stems) with sickle'; *dimbas* (*maŋ- -on*) 'mow (grass) with *dimbas*' (see 08.250); *talantab* (*maŋ- -on*) 'mow (grass) with sickle'.

ACE Mon-Khmer 'cut'.

MIN Also *sabiʔ*.

IND Also *mənuai(tuai)*.

BAL (vb trans). see 08.330.

GOR *mo-ti<sup>m</sup>balato* 'mow (grass)'; *moŋotolo* (*ʔotolo + moN-*) 'reap'.

UMA Also *mo-sœ*.

KON Also *añ-ñanŋki* (*saŋki*).

NGA *kəti* (rice); *rəva* refers to harvesting maize by unhusking.

RTI	<i>tete-tofa</i> ‘all forms of field clearing and weeding’; also <i>kolu-ketu</i> (08.410), ‘all forms of harvesting’.
BUR	‘mow, cut grass or grass-like plants’; <i>en-bobi-t</i> ‘the clearing of grass and weeds around one’s house’; also <i>enogi</i> ‘clearing brush to make a field’; <i>lopo bug-lawa-n</i> ‘pick, reap cloves’; <i>hipi fuat waŋa-n</i> ‘pick a banana’; <i>fadi-k</i> ‘pick, reap (corn)’.
IRA	<i>nətutəfasə</i> ‘harvest rice’; <i>nətifənəbotə</i> ‘harvest maize’.
NYI	Also <i>amom</i> ‘mow grass’.
MAB	<i>-sa<sup>m</sup>bar</i> ‘hack down grass’; <i>-ŋgāma</i> ‘harvest taro’; <i>-tou</i> ‘harvest yams, sweet potato’.
TOL	<i>pəkət</i> ‘beat down the long grass (vb trans); long grass (n)’.
BUA	Also <i>βo</i> .
ROV	Also <i>koto duduli</i> ‘to cut down with bush knife’.
NEM	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ō</i> ‘harvest sugar-cane’; <i>yai</i> ‘harvest yams’; <i>puni</i> ‘harvest taro’.
AJI	Also <i>yiuŋu</i> .
XAR	<i>ici</i> ‘harvest yams’; <i>kapiti</i> ‘pick coffee’; <i>pæte</i> ‘harvest taro’.
NEN	Also <i>k<sup>h</sup>en(e)</i> , <i>θeθuma</i> .
TON	<i>kosi</i> ‘mow grass’; <i>utu</i> ‘reap harvest’.
SAM	Also <i>papa le mutia</i> , <i>papa</i> (vb trans) ‘make level, flatten’, <i>le</i> ART, <i>mutia</i> ‘grass’.
TAH	<i>ʔohi</i> ‘to collect’.

## 08.330 SICKLE, SCYTHER

Malay: <i>sabit</i>
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*ATA	ša-šaʔiŋ	*KAG	kayəg	JAV	arit
TSO	po-rave	BLA	saŋət	MAD	ariʔ
*RUK	riŋgay	SAB	saŋgut	*BAL	[arit]
PAI		*MUR	kakait	SAS	awis
YAM	kəkərdaş	MGY	ançi fi-	GOR	[sabi]
ISN	kumpay		dzindzana	DAA	nó-so <sup>m</sup> be
*KAL	gāpas	ACE	saduəp	UMA	areʔ
*TAG	liŋkaw	BAT	sabi	BUG	kandao
*AKL	saŋgut	MIN	sabiʔ	*KON	saŋki
PAL		IND	sabit	WOL	
*MOL	gogoʔlit	SUN	arit	*MAG	[sabit]

NGA		KIL		XAR	
SIK	tudi koə-t	TAW		NEN	
RTI	to-tofa-k	*MOT	i-lapa	KIR	
BUR	[sabi]	MEK		*MSH	[cikʌ]
DOB		ROV		*PON	[kama]
IRA		MAR		*WLE	[kōmō]
SAW	[sabit]	LAU		EFI	i-sele-ni-
NYI		KWO			karasi
MAM		RAG		WFI	i-hele-ni-raisi
TAK		PAA		*RTU	ser kapa
*DAM	guno waila	*LEW	playu kapkap	TON	hele piko
MAB		POR		SAM	
YAB		NTA		MEL	masimasi
KAU		KWA			kole
TOL	pəkət	NEM		TAH	tipi fefe
BUA		*CEM	bē-p <sup>w</sup> ôp <sup>wi</sup>	RAP	
ADZ		AJI	pɛ̄		

ATA *ša-šaʔiŋ*, *ša-šaʔit* ‘a sickle for harvesting’; [*šaukiʔ*] ‘a scythe for cutting grass’, from Taiwanese dialect of Chinese.

RUK *rigay* ‘scythe for reaping rice or millet’; *takawkaw* ‘scythe for cutting grass’.

KAL *gāpas* ‘sickle, scythe’; *lakom* ‘harvest knife’, also *ukū*.

TAG Also *kārit*.

AKL Also *gaʔab*.

MOL ‘hand blade’.

KAG *kayəg* ‘sickle about 15 cm long’; *saŋgət* ‘sickle about 30 cm long’; *galab* (also *paŋgalab*) ‘sickle about 60-90 cm long’.

MUR Also *tatantab* ‘sickle’; *gogomot* ‘small finger knife for harvesting rice-ears’.

BAL From Old Javanese.

KON Also *pañ-ñanʔki* (*saŋki*), *paʔ-gansi*.

MAG Also (dialectal) *ru<sup>m</sup>bɛ*; *kope čə<sup>g</sup>gok* ‘machete with bent end’.

DAM ‘bill of a black cockatoo’: the sickle, an introduced item reminded the Dami people of that bird.

MOT *lapa-ia* ‘to strike and cut, as e.g. with a sword’.

LEW ‘curved knife’; also [*uknaip*] (from English).

CEM ‘for slashing’.

MSH From English.

PON From Japanese.  
 WLE From Japanese.  
 RTU 'cane-knife'.

**08.340 THRESH**

ATA	š-um-iłay	DAA	nom-poro	LAU	
*TSO	m-iriʔi	UMA	peβebaʔ	KWO	
RUK		BUG	pałunɨŋ	RAG	
PAI		KON	aʔ-pa-'tappasa	PAA	
YAM	maŋʂad	WOL		LEW	
ISN	mag-aggiʔ	MAG	rīk	POR	
*KAL	taltag	NGA	ɖede	NTA	
*TAG	giʔik	SIK	ri	KWA	
*AKL	gīʔuk	RTI	daʔi	NEM	
PAL	məŋguyas	*BUR	ese-k	CEM	
*MOL	giok	*DOB	ʔa-toʔur	AJI	ɟovī bele
*KAG	linas	IRA	nəφarəra	XAR	
BLA	m-lek	SAW	n-εimes	NEN	
*SAB	giʔik	NYI		KIR	
*MUR	agik	MAM		MSH	
MGY	mi-veli	TAK		PON	
*ACE	lhə	DAM		WLE	
BAT	dege	MAB	-paramut	EFI	
MIN	iriʔʔ	YAB		WFI	
IND	mənəbah (təbah)	KAU		RTU	
*SUN	ŋəprak (kəprak) pare	TOL		TON	haha
JAV	tutu	BUA		SAM	
MAD	a-g <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> əs	ADZ		MEL	
BAL	nigtig (tigtig)	KIL	-tutu	*TAH	[papaʔi] i te sitona
*SAS	ŋə-kiskis	TAW		RAP	
*GOR	mopomoloto pale	MOT			
		MEK			
		ROV			
		MAR			

TSO *m-iriʔi (riʔ-a)* 'separate grain from straw by trampling'.

KAL *taltag, + maN-*.



TAG	<i>giʔik + -um/-in</i> PHF <i>*Riʔek</i> or <i>*iRek</i> .
AKL	<i>giʔuk + -un</i> .
MOL	<i>giok mog-/on</i> .
KAG	<i>linas + mag-/an</i> .
SAB	<i>giʔik + aN-/an</i> .
MUR	<i>agik (maŋ-; -on)</i> ‘thresh by trampling’; <i>lapos (mag-/maŋ-; -on)</i> ‘thresh by beating on stone’.
ACE	‘stamp’ (threshing is done with the feet).
SUN	<i>pare</i> ‘rice’; also <i>ŋ-irik pare</i> ; <i>ŋ-irik</i> ‘tread on to separate seeds’.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985): <i>kiskis</i> ‘weed paddy’ (vb trans).
BAL	<i>(N-)tigtig</i> ‘beat with a stick’, also ‘beat (rice on the stalk) to separate the grains’; <i>(N-)gədig</i> ‘hit’, also ‘beat rice on the stalk to separate the grains’; <i>(N-)təbuk</i> cf. 05.570.
GOR	<i>(poloto + moh-poN-)</i> ; <i>pale</i> ‘rice plant’.
BUR	‘squeeze (rice) with hands or grind with feet to get grain off stalks’; <i>toto</i> ‘pound’; <i>take-k, ciku</i> ‘winnow’.
DOB	‘stamp’ (how rice is threshed in Aru).
TAH	From Greek, biblical.

### 08.350 THRESHING-FLOOR

ATA		ACE		KON	<i>paʔ-pa-tappas-</i>
TSO		BAT	<i>par-dege-an</i>		<i>aŋ</i> (tappasa)
RUK		MIN		WOL	
PAI		IND	<i>pənəbah-an</i>	MAG	
YAM			( <i>təbah</i> )	NGA	<i>ada</i>
ISN	<i>agg-aggiʔ-ān</i>	*SUN	<i>paŋirikan</i>	SIK	<i>ola-ŋ ri</i>
*KAL	<i>tataltagan</i>		( <i>irik</i> )	RTI	<i>ma-mana pa-</i>
*TAG	<i>giʔik-an</i>	JAV			<i>pau-k</i>
*AKL	<i>gilikʔan</i>	MAD		BUR	
PAL	<i>guguyasan</i>	BAL		DOB	
MOL		SAS		IRA	
KAG		*GOR	<i>po-l-lu<sup>n</sup>daʔ-a</i>	SAW	
BLA	<i>gu-m-lek</i>	DAA		NYI	
SAB	<i>paggiʔik-an</i>	UMA		*MAM	<i>ʔateʔa-ono-</i>
MUR		BUG	<i>ag-giliŋ-iŋ</i>		[ <i>uit-</i>
*MGY	<i>famuluana</i>				<i>duaposaʔa</i>

TAK	LAU	MSH
DAM	KWO	PON
MAB	RAG	WLE
YAB	PAA	EFI
KAU	LEW	WFI
TOL	POR	RTU
BUA	NTA	TON
ADZ	KWA	SAM
KIL	NEM	MEL
TAW	CEM	*TAH vahi
MOT	AJH k̄a p̄e t̄ei	[papaʔi]raʔa
MEK	XAR	[sitona]
ROV	NEN	RAP
MAR	KIR	

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>-taltag-an*).

TAG 'threshing place'.

AKL Root: *gīʔuk* 'thresh'.

MGY From *faN-vulu-ana*.

SUN 'place (n), e.g. a mat, where one treads on harvested stalks to separate seeds'. see 08.340.

GOR Also *po-lu-lu<sup>n</sup>daʔ-apale*.

MAM From English *wheat*.

TAH From Greek; biblical.

## 08.410 CROP, HARVEST

ATA kinʔuh	*KAG tubbas	MAD aṅi
TSO	BLA ma-ktu	*BAL p̄əmupu
RUK	*SAB buwaʔ anihan	SAS mataʔ (pataʔ)
PAI	MUR tatanom	*GOR wali
*YAM nilaṅi	MGY vukaʔa	DAA asele <sup>n</sup> tana
ISN āpit	ACE	UMA βuaʔ po-liaʔ
KAL āpit	BAT ḡoṭil	BUG wasseleʔ
*TAG āni	MIN	*KON 'asseletinan
AKL ānih	*IND hasil [panen]	aṅ
*PAL s̄əṅəṅəʔig	*SUN [panen]	WOL ti <sup>m</sup> pu-a
MOL kotos	*JAV panen	MAG niʔaṅ

NGA	ŋəti	*ADZ	nam atiʔ-an	AJI	vi yiuʔu
SIK	ihi-ŋ	KIL	-tayoyuwa	XAR	
*RTI	ketu-kolu	*TAW	hapu	NEN	čilaewawen
*BUR	kapa-n luke-n	*MOT	yeiyei	*KIR	te tai
*DOB	waway si [ʔoytela]	MEK		MSH	marm <sup>u</sup> ər
*IRA	dədanə bu ʃe	*ROV	linetelete	PON	tī
SAW		MAR	gano	WLE	
NYI		LAU		EFI	yabaki
*MAM	ʔaŋʔaŋ	KWO		WFI	yabaki
TAK		*RAG	harahara	RTU	moea
*DAM	metuk	PAA		*TON	toʔu-
*MAB	mai	LEW		*SAM	sēlesele-ŋa
*YAB	-èŋ	POR		MEL	
KAU		NTA	naŋuənən	*TAH	ʔoʔotiraʔa
*TOL	ni-dodoko	*KWA	teŋra	RAP	
BUA		NEM			
		CEM			

YAM Also *izatəŋ do vakaya nilaŋi*.

TAG PHN \*ānih.

PAL Root: *kəyg*.

KAG Also *ani*.

SAB (n).

IND From Javanese, also *hasil pənuaian (pəN-tuai-an)*.

SUN From Javanese.

JAV From \*\**pə-ani-an*; *-ani* 'to harvest rice'.

BAL Also *pəmupon (pəN-pupu-an)* 'harvest, crop'; *(N-)pupu* 'to bear a crop'; *(N-)aŋi* 'to harvest (rice)' see 05.380.

GOR *wali* 'crop, yield'; *sembo lo po-ŋ-ŋotolo* 'harvest season' (see 08.320).

KON Also *alle-na*.

RTI *ketu-kolu* 'all forms of harvest': *ketu* 'harvesting of maize'; *kolu* 'harvesting of rice'.

BUR 'first fruits of crop or harvest'.

DOB 'rice and maize', 'the total harvest of a garden'.

IRA 'yield of garden'.

MAM Also *uaroe*.

DAM	‘harvested food’; also <i>koso</i> <i>phi-ya</i> ‘to harvest’; <i>kali</i> ‘recently picked food’; <i>lu</i> ‘fruit trees and garden crops’.
MAB	<i>mai</i> ‘harvest’; <i>mba</i> ‘fruit crops’.
YAB	<i>-niŋ ... lase</i> ‘eat first fruits from a new field’.
TOL	<i>ni-</i> NOM., <i>dodoko</i> (vb trans) ‘harvest’, <i>doko</i> ‘kill, reap, pick’; also <i>g-in-igit (na bin/kila)</i> ‘picking of beans/corn’, from <i>git</i> (vb trans) ‘pick’, <i>gigit</i> (vb intrans); <i>n-ununuk</i> ‘harvesting of coconuts’, from <i>nunuk</i> (vb trans/intrans) ‘collect coconuts’; <i>k-in-əkəl naup</i> ‘digging of yams’, see 08.230, <i>up</i> ‘yams’; <i>rurubat-na-pā</i> ‘rooting up of taro’, <i>rubət</i> (vb trans) ‘root up’, <i>pā</i> ‘taro’.
ADZ	‘thing harvest-PART’, i.e. ‘the harvested things’.
TAW	<i>hapu</i> ‘dig up’; <i>mahula</i> ‘harvest, time of plentiful food’.
MOT	<i>yei-a</i> ‘to dig (a hole); dig up (yams etc)’.
ROV	Also <i>pak pakete</i> .
RAG	‘that which has been harvested’.
KWA	<i>teŋra</i> also ‘step, stage, position with a series’; <i>nəteta</i> also ‘canoe’.
KIR	Also ‘time, season’.
TON	<i>taʔu</i> ‘yam harvest’.
SAM	see 08.320, <i>-ŋa</i> NOM; <i>fuata</i> ‘crop from a tree’; <i>tausəŋa</i> ‘seasonal crop of yams’.
TAH	Used in Bible.

### 08.420 GRAIN (barley, oats etc.)

ATA	kinahu†	MUR		BUG	katana
TSO		MGY	vua	KON	'lisere
RUK		ACE		*WOL	roki
PAI		*BAT	biji ni eme	MAG	
*YAM	akmi kađai	MIN		NGA	
ISN		IND	butir	SIK	
KAL	ilik	SUN	siki	RTI	hade deʔe-k
*TAG	būtil	JAV	wiji	*BUR	aga-t
*AKL	līsu	*MAD	laʔas	DOB	
PAL		BAL		IRA	
MOL		SAS		SAW	ŋay
KAG		GOR	yineŋo	NYI	
BLA		DAA		MAM	
SAB		UMA		TAK	

DAM	LAU	KIR
MAB pwon	KWO	MSH
YAB	RAG	PON
KAU	PAA	WLE
TOL	LEW kuru-ru-sia	EFI
BUA	POR	WFI
ADZ	NTA	RTU
*KIL waituna	KWA	TON
TAW	NEM	*SAM fatu
MOT	CEM	MEL
MEK	*AJI [maĩ]	TAH huero
*ROV kiko	XAR	RAP
MAR	NEN wakeḍe	

YAM All other grains but rice and wheat are referred to as 'like millet'.

TAG Also *bīgi*.

AKL 'small seeds'.

BAT 'rice grain'.

MAD Safioedin (1977) *laʔas* 'unhusked rice grains'.

WOL 'grain of corn (i.e. one grain)': not the generic word.

BUR Generic; *fete-n* 'fox-tail millet', *pala* 'rice', *biskutu* 'corn', *warahe* 'peanuts', [*kopi*] 'coffee' are stored in a *hum kolo-n* 'grain bin'.

KIL Also *waitunela* (+ name of crop).

ROV *kiko* 'seed'; *vuana* 'fruit of'.

AJI From French *māis*.

SAM see 04.440.

### 08.430 WHEAT

Greek: *sītos*

Persian: *gandum*

Spanish/Portuguese: *trigo*

ATA	KAL	BLA
TSO	TAG [trīgo]	SAB [tidigu]
RUK	AKL [trīgoḥ]	MUR
PAI	PAL aturōy	*MGY vari-m-bazaha
YAM mogi	MOL	ACE [gandom]
ISN	KAG [trigu]	BAT

MIN	[gandum]	NYI	POR
*IND	[gandum]	MAM [uit]	NTA
*SUN	[gandum]	TAK	KWA
JAV	[gandum]	DAM	NEM
MAD		MAB	CEM
BAL		YAB	*AJI [bele]
SAS		KAU	XAR
GOR	[tirigu]	TOL	NEN
DAA	[ga <sup>n</sup> do]	BUA	KIR
UMA		ADZ	MSH
BUG	[gandon]	KIL [witi]	PON
KON	'batara kosoan]	TAW	WLE
WOL	[tarigu]	MOT	EFI [witi]
MAG		MEK	WFI
NGA		ROV [vuiti]	*RTU [uiti]
SIK		MAR	TON [uite]
RTI		LAU	*SAM sana
*BUR	[trigu]	KWO	MEL
DOB	[tarigu]	RAG	TAH [titona]
IRA		PAA	([sitona])
SAW	[gandum]	LEW [wit]	RAP

MGY [*vari*] 'rice'; *vazaha* 'foreigner'.

IND Also [*tərigu*] 'flour'.

SUN Also [*tarigu*].

BUR Also [*tapong*] 'flour' (Malay).

AJI From French *blé*.

RTU Also [*saitō*].

SAM Also [*saito*] (bib.).

#### 08.440 BARLEY

Not found in Austronesian language area.

#### 08.450 RYE

Not found in Austronesian language area.

## 08.460 OATS

Not found in Austronesian language area.

## 08.470 MAIZE, CORN

English: *corn*

Spanish: *maíz*

ATA	ḱatıyay	*UMA	goaʔ	MAR	sop <sup>h</sup> o
TSO	pohe	BUG	warille	LAU	silā
*RUK	lapanay	*KON	'batara	KWO	
PAI	puday	WOL	kaitela	RAG	
YAM	tomorokoşi	MAG	latuŋ	PAA	silā
ISN	[maʔit]	NGA	hae	LEW	[kona]
KAL	bākaw	*SIK	βatar	POR	
TAG	[maʔis]	*RTI	pela-k	NTA	[noakon]
AKL	[maʔis]	*BUR	biskutu	KWA	
PAL	[maʔis]	*DOB	[ʔoytela]	*NEM	hāno
MOL	[mais]	IRA	botə	*CEM	[wòtelea]
KAG	[maʔis]	*SAW	[kastela]	*AJI	[maī]
BLA	əgul	NYI	kalom	XAR	[māya]
SAB	[gandum]	MAM	[ʔoni]	NEN	keḱe
MUR	bubudit	TAK		KIR	
MGY	kaḱaka	*DAM	kurukes	MSH	
ACE	ḱagoŋ	MAB	yagoŋ	PON	
BAT	ḱagoŋ	YAB	ya <sup>h</sup> gəm	WLE	
MIN	ḱagu <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ	KAU	[akon]	EFI	silā
IND	ḱagoŋ	TOL		WFI	hīlā
SUN	ḱagoŋ	BUA	saḱom	RTU	[kono]
JAV	ḱagoŋ	*ADZ	[ḱzankum]	TON	[koane]
MAD	ḱag <sup>h</sup> uŋ	*KIL	maisi	SAM	
*BAL	[ḱagoŋ]	TAW	pegapega	MEL	[kōno]
SAS	ḱagoŋ	MOT	[koni]	TAH	tōpopaʔā
GOR	bi <sup>n</sup> de	MEK	[kaoni]	RAP	tarake
DAA	ḱole	ROV	keto		

RUK *lapanay* 'corn in general', *ḱadopo* 'tender corn, beans, etc.'

BAL From Malay/Javanese.

UMA *dagoa* (Tobaku dialect), *legoa* (Bansa dialect).

- KON Also *baddo?*
- SIK Also *ləle, ʔaʃa, aʃaβa.*
- RTI *pela, pela hi-k* originally ‘sorghum’; maize or *pela sina*, ‘Chinese maize’, was assimilated to the category of sorghum when it was introduced.
- BUR *biskutu* ‘roasted’; grown mostly for the husks which are dried and used to roll home-grown tobacco into cigarettes; *biskutu afa-n, biskut era-n* ‘corn husk’; *biskutu waku-n* ‘corn cob’. From Portuguese *biscoito?* (Corn is typically eaten roasted.)
- DOB From Spanish *castilla (?)*.
- SAW From Spanish.
- DAM From Russian (Corn was introduced to the area by Nicolai Maklai.)
- ADZ Also [*dzankom*]. Probably from Yabêm, *saŋ kom* ‘species of pandanus (?) with thin red fruit’ (Yabêm) (Streicher, 1982: 513).
- KIL From English ‘maize’.
- NEM Maize is imported, but bears the name of an earlier grain plant, *Coix lacryma jobii*.
- CEM Borrowing of uncertain origin.
- AJI From French *maïs*.

## 08.480 RICE

English: rice
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- |      |       |      |        |      |       |
|------|-------|------|--------|------|-------|
| *ATA | pati? | *BLA | fəli   | *SAS | bəras |
| *TSO | pai   | *SAB | pāy    | *GOR | pale  |
| *RUK | pagay | *MUR | bilod  | *DAA | pae   |
| PAI  | paday | *MGY | vari   | UMA  | pae   |
| YAM  | moʃiʃ | *ACE | pade   | BUG  | ase   |
| *ISN | ammay | *BAT | eme    | *KON | pare  |
| *KAL | pāgoy | *MIN | padi   | *WOL | fae   |
| TAG  | pālay | *IND | padi   | MAG  | voʃa  |
| *AKL | pāʃay | *SUN | pare   | NGA  | kosu  |
| PAL  | parəy | *JAV | pari   | *SIK | pare  |
| MOL  | padoy | *MAD | [paɖi] | RTI  | hade  |
| KAG  | ummay | *BAL | padi   | *BUR | pala  |



DOB	waway	MOT	[raisi]	*XAR	[lāçi]
IRA	φasə	MEK	[laitsi]	NEN	
*SAW	fəs	ROV	[raisi]	KIR	te [raiti]
NYI		MAR		MSH	[raic]
MAM	[raisi]	LAU	[raisi]	PON	[rais]
TAK		KWO		*WLE	[kōmē]
DAM		RAG	[raisi]	EFI	[raisi]
MAB		PAA	haidou	WFI	[raisi]
*YAB	[padi]	*LEW	kokulu-keru	RTU	[raisi]
KAU	[rais]	POR		TON	[laise]
TOL	[rais]	NTA	[rais]	SAM	[alaisa]
BUA	[padi]	KWA		MEL	[raisi]
ADZ		NEM	[lait]	TAH	[raiti]
KIL	[raisi]	*CEM	[hārī]	RAP	[raiti]
*TAW	[laisi]	AJI	[lāyi]		

ATA *pai?* ‘rice plant, unhusked rice’; *βuax* ‘husked rice’; *mami?* ‘cooked rice’.

TSO *pai* ‘rice plant, unhusked rice’; *firsī* ‘husked rice’; *navru* ‘cooked millet or rice’.

RUK *pagay* ‘rice plant, husked rice’; *φobo* ‘unhusked rice’; *aga* ‘cooked rice’.

ISN *asāp* ‘husk of rice’; *baggāt* ‘rice’ (milled); *aggi?* ‘rice, seed(ling)’; *dagāmi* ‘rice straw’; *nabāw* ‘rice cooked’.

KAL *pāgoy* (growing); *bināyu* (milled); *isna* (cooked); *lusbak* (husk).

AKL *pāṭay* ‘rice plant’; *bugas* ‘milled rice’; *humay* ‘cooked rice’, Proto-Philippines *\*hemay*; *upah* ‘husk of rice’, Proto-Philippines *\*qepa*; *dagāmiḥ* ‘rice straw’; *binhi?* ‘rice seed’.

BLA *fali* ‘unhusked rice’; *msə* ‘husked rice’.

SAB *pāy* ‘growing rice’; *buwas* ‘husked rice’; *k-in-akan* ‘cooked rice’.

MUR *bilod* ‘rice plant, unhusked grain’; *bagas* ‘husked rice’; *kalū?* ‘cooked rice’.

MGY Compare *wari* in some Southeast Barito languages.

ACE *pade* ‘the plant, and the unhusked grain’; *bruwəh* ‘the husked grain’; *bu* ‘cooked rice’.

BAT *eme* ‘unhusked rice’; *dahan-ən* ‘husked rice’; *iddahan* (*in-dahan*) ‘cooked rice’.

MIN Also *bareh*.

- IND *padi* ‘rice on the stalk’; *bəras* ‘uncooked rice’; *nasi* ‘cooked rice’
- SUN ‘rice plant’; *gabah* ‘unhusked rice grains’; *beas* ‘milled, uncooked rice’; *kejo*, *sagu* ‘cooked rice’.
- JAV *pari* ‘rice plant’; *bəras* ‘uncooked rice’; *səgɔ* ‘cooked rice’; *gabah* ‘unhusked rice’.
- MAD From Malay; Safioedin (1977) *laas* ‘unhusked rice grains’; *bəras* ‘milled rice’; *nasi?* ‘cooked rice’.
- BAL *padi* ‘rice on the stalk, rice plant’; *jiʒih* ‘grains of unhulled rice’; *baas* ‘hulled rice’; *nasi* ‘cooked rice’; *iñjin* ‘black sticky rice’; *kətan* ‘white sticky rice’; *padi gagə* ‘dry-field rice’.
- SAS Thoir et al (1985): *pare* ‘paddy’; *bəras* ‘paddy; uncooked rice; generic term for seed’; *me*, *mi*; *nasi?* ‘cooked rice’.
- GOR *pale* ‘rice-plant’; *tiʔiboŋo*, *pale tiʔiboŋo* ‘rice that has been harvested, but still in the husk’; *tapu lo pale* ‘uncooked rice’; *?ila* ‘cooked rice’; *pale pulu* ‘glutinous rice (plant)’.
- DAA *pae* in field; *guyu* harvested, not threshed; *ose* milled; *tibo* cooked.
- KON Also *lessoro*, *banne* ‘threshed rice’; *berasa* ‘milled rice’; *kanre* ‘cooked rice’.
- WOL *bae* ‘rice (in the field, uncooked)’; *keleu* ‘rice grown in the mountains’; *k-in-a<sup>n</sup>de* (*ka<sup>n</sup>de*) ‘boiled rice, food, meal’.
- SIK *pare* ‘rice plant, rice in field’; *nalu*, *pare βəra-ŋ* ‘hulled rice’; *ara* ‘cooked rice’.
- BUR Kayeli and Lisela: *hala*; *pala ki-oko* ‘rice in the husk’.
- SAW ‘rice, any type’.
- YAB From Malay.
- TAW *diwidiwi pouna* lit ‘ant’s eggs’.
- LEW ‘ant’s eggs’; also [*rais*].
- CEM From French *riz*.
- XAR Also *xɔ-xā* ‘ant’s egg’, or *p<sup>w</sup>ā-k<sup>w</sup>ere* ‘straw fruit’.
- WLE From Japanese; also *perāsi*.

### 08.510 GRASS

ATA	kiʔman	PAI	ɕəməɭ	KAL	bollat
TSO	srō	YAM	tamək	TAG	damo
RUK	obolo	ISN	kaddat	AKL	halimun-un

*PAL	ilɔmunɔn	*SIK	βaʔa-ŋ	RAG	mʷanea
*MOL	ilamun	RTI	naʔu	PAA	laumunai
*KAG	lamu'nun	*BUR	mehe-t	*LEW	mʷa-mʷini
BLA	sabat	DOB	kʷuru	POR	me <sup>n</sup> dʻov
SAB	padaŋ	*IRA	samuinə	*NTA	manuβəl <sup>h</sup>
MUR	sakot	SAW	gemunɛ	KWA	nurhi
MGY	ahitʰa	NYI	bʷidiu	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> eyɛc
ACE	nalwəŋ	MAM	siresire	CEM	mête
BAT	rabba	TAK	gunaffur	AJI	dēwi
MIN	rumpuyʔ	*DAM	yeye	XAR	mei
IND	rumpu	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bun <sup>m</sup> būtu	NEN	gewoč
SUN	ʃukut	YAB	gegʷaŋ	KIR	te uteute
JAV	sukət	KAU	epilil	MSH	wicōc
MAD	rəbb <sup>h</sup> a	*TOL	vurə	*PON	tīp <sup>w</sup>
BAL	padaŋ	BUA	payup	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> uxoŋi
SAS	pupaʔ	*ADZ	sai	EFI	ðō
*GOR	huʔoyoto	KIL	mnumonu	WFI	mau
DAI	kavoko	TAW	hiyamone	RTU	məʔusu
UMA	koβoʔ	*MOT	rei	*TON	musie
BUG	willa	*MEK	ava	*SAM	mutia
KON	rukuʔ	ROV	duduli	*MEL	[mʷānamu]
WOL	ru <sup>m</sup> pu-ru <sup>m</sup> pu	MAR	buburu	TAH	mātie
MAG	rəmaŋ	*LAU	loua	RAP	mauku
NGA	məre	KWO	farisi		

PAL *pɔpɔɔsɔn* ‘medicinal herbs’.

MOL *ilamun* + *-on*.

KAG From (*la'mun* + *-ən*); also ‘weeds’.

GOR Also *du<sup>h</sup>gala* ‘a kind of grass that is eaten by cattle’.

SIK Also *riʔi*, *uru-ŋ*.

BUR ‘smooth edged variety of grass’ (lit ‘close, tight’); *rei* ‘grass with saw-toothed edge’.

IRA Also *safenə* ‘kunai grass’.

DAM Also *tumu* and *ϕiϕi*, both varieties of grass.

TOL *vurə* ‘short grass’; *kunəi* ‘long grass’.

ADZ ‘*Imperata* species’.

MOT Also *kurukuru* ‘long (kunai) grass’.

MEK ‘grasses and weeds’; *muku-muki* ‘short grasses’; *kapina* ‘very long grass of the savannah’.

LAU 'shore grass', also [*garasi*].

LEW Also *vilu-m<sup>wini</sup>*.

NTA Also [*makras*].

PON Also 'weed'; *rē*.

TON Also *mohuku*.

SAM 'tall grass' *vao*.

MEL From Efate.

### 08.520 HAY

ATA	naʃʃan	*UMA	sio <sup>ɔ</sup> koʔ	MAR	
TSO	rasʔi	BUG	darame	LAU	
RUK		KON	rukuʔ raŋko	KWO	
PAI		WOL		RAG	
YAM	tamək	MAG		PAA	
ISN	dagāmi	NGA		LEW	
KAL	sakāti	SIK	kuta-ŋ	POR	
TAG	dayāmih	RTI	naʔu tu-k	NTA	
AKL	dagāmih	*BUR	kodo-n	KWA	
PAL		DOB		NEM	
MOL		IRA		CEM	
KAG		SAW		AJI	dēwi ara
BLA		NYI			b <sup>w</sup> āřāwē
SAB	kumpay	MAM	siresire-	XAR	
MUR			marajo	NEN	
MGY	viluna	TAK		KIR	
*ACE	[ʃʉndraŋ]	DAM		MSH	
BAT	durame	MAB	rie	PON	
MIN	rumpuyʔ	YAB		WLE	
	kari <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ	KAU		EFI	ðō-madū
IND	ʃərami	TOL		WFI	
*SUN	ʃukut gariŋ	BUA		RTU	
*JAV	sukət gariŋ	ADZ		*TON	[hei]
*MAD	daramiyan	KIL		*SAM	mutia maŋo
*BAL	somi	TAW		MEL	
*SAS	ʃami	*MOT	rei kakoro	TAH	
GOR	lāto	MEK		RAP	
DAA		ROV	[hei]		

ACE	Mon-Khmer ‘rice straw’.
SUN	Also <i>ǰarami</i> ‘rice straw’.
JAV	‘dry grass’.
MAD	From ( <i>darami-an</i> ); Safioedin (1977): also <i>darami</i> .
BAL	‘rice straw’.
SAS	Teeuw: <i>ǰami</i> , <i>ǰarami</i> . (See Sumbawanese <i>ǰarami</i> ??)
UMA	Also <i>deami</i> .
BUR	<i>fete-n kodo-n</i> ‘millet straw’.
MOT	<i>kakoro</i> ‘dry (of leaves)’.
TON	From English ‘hay’, also <i>mohuku</i> .
SAM	<i>maŋo</i> (vb intrans) ‘dry’; also <i>vao maŋo</i> .

### 08.530 PLANT (n)

ATA	pa-p-in- umua?	JAV	tandur-an	YAB	
		*MAD	bu-tumbuwan	KAU	
TSO		BAL	puñə	TOL	
RUK		SAS	tə-talət-an	BUA	
PAI		GOR	mulo	ADZ	
YAM	moamoa	DAA	tuǰa	KIL	kai
ISN	mūla	UMA	h-in-u?a	*TAW	pehi
KAL	mūla	BUG	taniŋ-taniŋ	*MOT	hadohado
TAG	halāman	KON	lamuŋ-lamuŋ		ǰau-na
*AKL	tanum	*WOL	pene <sup>m</sup> bula	*MEK	upe
PAL	luluwakən	MAG		ROV	linetelete
*MOL	tanom	NGA	pu?u	MAR	
*KAG	gatubu ta ba'sak	*SIK	?ai oba	LAU	
BLA	fuli	*RTI	ai	KWO	
SAB	t-in-anom	BUR	ii dula-n	RAG	
		DOB		PAA	vatte
*MUR	tatanom	IRA	φeφo	LEW	
MGY	zava-maniri	SAW	təntənəm	POR	
ACE		NYI	baso	NTA	
*BAT	suatsuanan	MAM	?ai-be-siresire	*KWA	nei
MIN	tanam-an	*TAK	ai	NEM	poya
IND	tanam-an	DAM	ā	CEM	ādānu
*SUN	pə-pəlak-an	MAB		AJI	

XAR		*WLE	waʔü-waʔü	*SAM	lāʔau
NEN	sereie	EFI	i-tei	MEL	
*KIR	te aroka	WFI	i-loʔo	TAH	rāʔau
*MSH	kʌtkan	RTU	hū	RAP	
*PON	ʔūke	TON	ʔakau		

AKL See 08.531.

MOL *tanom + -in-*.

KAG ‘thing growing in the ground’.

MUR *tatanom* ‘cultivated plant’; *buŋaʔ* ‘ornamental plant’, from Malay *buŋa* ‘flower’; *bakag* ‘climbing or creeping plant’.

BAT (*suan-suan-an*).

SUN Also *tu-[tuwuh]-an* Javanese.

MAD From (*RED-tumbu-an*); Safioedin (1977): *tumbu* ‘grow’.

WOL ‘cultivated plant, crop’.

SIK Also *ʔβou ʔβoβo-ŋ*.

RTI Also *selek*.

TAK ‘tree’ (08.600).

TAW ‘seed plant’.

MOT *yau* ‘thing’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *aβa*, *au*: the former is ‘weed’, the latter ‘tree’.

MEK *upe* ‘taro tops kept for planting; anything for planting, anything planted’.

KWA Prototypically ‘tree’.

KIR *te aroka* ‘cultivated plant’; *kai* also ‘tree, wood’.

MSH *kʌtkan* CON, possessive classifier for plants; *keinikkan* ‘(full of) plants’; *wæcke* ‘cultivated plant’.

PON ‘cultivated plant’.

WLE Also ‘tree’.

SAM See 01.420, 08.600.

### 08.531 PLANT (vb)

ATA	mumuaʔ	PAI	t-əm-aɭəm	*KAL	mūla
*TSO	m-imʔi	YAM	mimoa	*TAG	tanim
*RUK	wa-ləɖəkə	ISN	mag-mūla	*AKL	tanum

PAL	məŋluluwak (luluwak)	MAG	vəri	KWO	kiru-a
		*NGA	mula	RAG	rivu
*MOL	tanom	*SIK	paʔat	PAA	luhi
*KAG	ta'nəm	RTI	sele	*LEW	mapila
*BLA	m-uli	*BUR	seka-k	POR	lum <sup>w</sup> -i
*SAB	tanom	DOB	ʔa-yayi	*NTA	-afe
*MUR	-tanom	IRA	natanə	*KWA	-ahawi
MGY	mam-buli	SAW	tənəm	NEM	tami
ACE	pula	NYI	atah	CEM	cēmi
BAT	suan	MAM	tano	AJI	nai
MIN	ba-tanam	*TAK	-pae	XAR	nãĩ
IND	mənanam (tanam)	*DAM	i-tenē-ya	*NEN	ča
		MAB	-pāza	KIR	unika
*SUN	məlak (pəlak)	*YAB	-se	*MSH	katək
JAV	nandur (tandur)	KAU	βha	*PON	pətok
		*TOL	və-umə	WLE	fatoxī
MAD	tamən	*BUA	βaroŋ	EFI	tei-a
BAL	mulə (pulə)	*ADZ	rim-	WFI	loβo-nia
SAS	nalət (talət)	*KIL	-sopu	RTU	hao
*GOR	mo-mulo	TAW	lupehi	TON	tō
DAA	no-tuʒa	MOT	hadohado	SAM	totō
UMA	huʔa	MEK	e-fau(-ŋa)	*MEL	[lao-a]
BUG	mat-taniŋ	ROV	letea	TAH	tanu
*KON	aʔ-lamuŋ	*MAR	ʒaʔi	RAP	ʔoka
WOL	po- <sup>m</sup> bula	*LAU	kilu		

TSO Also *miʔ-a*.

RUK *wa-ləḍəkə* 'to plant (taro)'; *wa-doko* 'to plant trees'; *wa-əpə* 'to plant rice or millet'; *payvay* 'to plant peanut or corn'; *pa-wa-orasi* 'to plant sweet potato'.

KAL *mūla + man-*.

TAG *tanim + mag-/i-*; also (*tamn-an*).

AKL *tanum + i-*; also *tamn-an*.

MOL *tanom + i-/on*.

KAG *ta'nəm + mag-/ø*.

BLA Root: *fuli*.

SAB *tanom + aN-/ø*.

MUR *-tanom (maŋ- -on)*.

SUN Also *məlak-an(pəlak-an)*.

GOR	Also <i>mo-po-mulo</i> .
KON	Also <i>a<sup>?</sup>-tanaŋ</i> .
NGA	<i>mula</i> ‘plant (seedling)’; <i>tuza, gose</i> ‘plant (seed)’.
SIK	Also <i>nona, huβu</i> .
BUR	‘to stab s.th. into s.th.’ referring to action of <i>sua-n</i> ‘dibble stick’; <i>tane</i> ‘to plant a post, stick or shoot into the ground’; also <i>tea-k</i> ‘plant (taro)’; <i>safu-k</i> ‘sow, broadcast, plant millet or vegetable seed’; <i>hude-k pala</i> ‘plant rice’.
TAK	See note on 08.310.
DAM	‘3sg-plant-INF.
YAB	‘make holes for planting’; also <i>-keŋ</i> lit ‘give’.
TOL	<i>və</i> - CAUS, <i>umə</i> ‘plantation’.
BUA	Also <i>yin</i> ‘poke hole in ground and drop seed in’.
ADZ	<i>rim-</i> ‘plant sweet potato’; <i><sup>n</sup>taŋ-</i> ‘plant seeds’; <i>po-</i> ‘plant bananas and other vegetative material’.
KIL	<i>-sopu</i> (yams); <i>-βali</i> (other than yams).
MAR	Also <i>jo<sup>?</sup>u</i> .
LAU	‘to plant taro’.
LEW	See 08.310.
NTA	Also <i>əs</i> ‘plant yam, sweet potato and corn’.
KWA	<i>-ahawi</i> ‘plant, e.g. yams and sweet potatoes’; <i>-ap<sup>w</sup>e</i> ‘plant e.g. taro, papaya, kava, sugarcane and manioc’; <i>-arup<sup>w</sup>i</i> ‘plant a tree, etc. by poking it into the earth’; <i>-əru<sup>i</sup></i> ‘plant yams’; <i>-ruk<sup>w</sup>i</i> ‘plant seeds’.
NEN	Also <i>čan, kudo(n)</i> .
MSH	<i>kalp<sup>w</sup>in</i> also ‘bury’.
PON	<i>sōn</i> ‘plant yams’.
MEL	From Efate.

**08.540 ROOT**

ATA	yami†	TAG	ugat	*MUR	bakat
TSO	rmisi	AKL	gamut	MGY	faka-n-kazu
RUK	balaϕə	PAL	gamut	ACE	ukhuə
PAI	kapaz	MOL	ramut	BAT	urat
YAM	yamot	KAG	gamut	*MIN	ure <sup>?</sup>
ISN	gamut	BLA	dalil	IND	akar
KAL	lamut	SAB	gamut	SUN	akar



JAV	ɔyɔt	TAK	dabi-n	NTA	nok-n
MAD	ramuʔ	DAM	wari	*KWA	nua-
BAL	akah	*MAB	ukāna	NEM	wān
SAS	akah	YAB	ŋa-wakaʔ	CEM	wâ-n
GOR	wu-waʔato	KAU	imut	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> ē
*DAA	kale	TOL	okor	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ē
UMA	raliʔ	BUA	gəga	*NEN	weresereie
BUG	uriʔ	*ADZ	waiyan	KIR	te wakā
KON	akaʔ	*KIL	kainawari	*MSH	okaɾ
WOL	kulese	TAW	dede-na	*PON	kaleu
MAG	vake	MOT	ramu	WLE	waxara
NGA	kabu	MEK	ŋamu	EFI	waka-
SIK	ʔramut	ROV	dadaya	*WFI	-waka
*RTI	oka-k	*MAR	grabu	RTU	vaʔa
*BUR	lahi-n	LAU	lali	TON	aka
DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aʔir	KWO	lari-na	SAM	aʔa
*IRA	kakɔakərə	RAG	ɣaro	*MEL	[koākoa]
SAW	wɔwo	PAA	utite	TAH	aʔa
NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d'on	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> eliŋa-sia	RAP	aka
MAM	ziri	POR	čri-xai		

MUR Also *dalid* 'buttress-root'.

MIN Also *umbi*.

DAA Also *rali*.

RTI *oka-k* root(s), in general; *samu-k* or *oka-samu-k* 'thin, fine roots'.

BUR 'main roots, trunk, and main branches'. In extended meaning it covers the entire tree. The most significant kin relation is with mother's oldest brother who is called *mem lahi-n* 'root uncle'; *kodo-n lahi-n* 'roots hanging from tubers'; *lahi-n dita-n* 'roots that reappear above the ground away from the plant, runners'; (gums in which the teeth sit are *ŋisi-n aka-n* 'gums, teeth base', compare Malay *akar*).

IRA *kakɔakərə* 'small roots'; *ɛwarə* 'large roots'; *ɛ war səpəri* 'buttress'.

MAB *ukāna* 'above ground'; *urāna* 'underground'.

ADZ *waiyan* Amari, Yarus; Ngarowapum; Central; *far* Central; *wain* Intsi? Guruf.

KIL *kainawali*, *kailawali*, *kaiβiliwali*; also *uula* 'root, base; reason for anything'.

MAR *grabu* 'small root'; *glat<sup>h</sup>i* 'tap root'.

LEW Also *pia-sia*.

KWA Also *nəmrekə* ‘small tertiary root’; *tapiresi* ‘surface’.

NEN Also *yewen*.

MSH Also *win* also ‘base’.

PON Also *kalo*.

WFI Also *-dʼaya*.

MEL From Efate.

### 08.550 BRANCH

*ATA	raḵniʔ	UMA	raʔa	MAR	greye
TSO	exti	BUG	takke	LAU	hare ʔai
RUK	riʕiŋi	KON	taŋke	*KWO	ʔai
PAI	riʕiŋ	WOL	raha	RAG	rara
YAM	yaŋaw	MAG	paŋa	PAA	latte
ISN	pasəŋa	*NGA	daʔa	*LEW	loŋo-sia
KAL	saŋa	*SIK	klerə-ŋ	POR	paču-xer
*TAG	saŋa	RTI	ˀdana-k	NTA	nelmə nəŋ
*AKL	saŋah	*BUR	kau lawa-n	KWA	rəŋi-
PAL	saŋa	DOB	ʔay laŋay	*NEM	hi-n cək
MOL	saŋa	*IRA	ranə	CEM	dīhe-n
KAG	saŋa	SAW	səŋsəŋ	AJI	ʒĩ kē
BLA	fəŋə	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> dʼan	*XAR	mē rə k <sup>w</sup> ã
SAB	saŋa	MAM	sapara	*NEN	aðaʔač
*MUR	rān	*TAK	irae-n	KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> aŋa
MGY	raʕan-kazu	DAM	were	MSH	ra
ACE	čabuəŋ	*MAB	ke namāna	PON	rā
BAT	ḍakka	YAB	ŋa-laka	WLE	rō
MIN	dahan	*KAU	sa βili-n	EFI	taba-
*IND	čabaŋ	TOL	iŋarinə	WFI	-čula
SUN	dahan	BUA	nəma	RTU	rā
*JAV	čawaŋ	*ADZ	gai baŋi-n	TON	vaʔa
MAD	rañčaʔ	KIL	sisi-	SAM	lālā
*BAL	[čaraŋ]	TAW	laga-na	MEL	maŋa
SAS	pempaŋ	MOT	riŋi	TAH	ʔamaʔa
GOR	taŋo	MEK	ʔaŋa	RAP	maŋa
*DAA	paŋa	ROV	lelaŋa		

ATA	Also <i>raḡat</i> .
TAG	'fork' (08.740).
AKL	'fork' 08.740.
MUR	Also <i>paŋo</i> 'major fork'.
IND	Also <i>dahan</i> .
JAV	Also <i>paŋ</i> .
BAL	Old Javanese; <i>səpak</i> 'one of the two or three main branches or sections of the trunk of a tree, of a pole which has been split, of a road'.
DAA	<i>paŋa</i> 'large branch'; <i>raʔa</i> 'small branch'.
NGA	Also <i>tara</i> 'small branch, twig'.
SIK	Also <i>klerə-ŋkletik</i> , <i>klagə-ŋ</i> .
BUR	<i>kau saŋa-n</i> 'fork in a tree'; <i>tune-t</i> 'stump of cut or broken branch'.
IRA	<i>rəranə</i> 'twigs'.
TAK	Also <i>rae-n</i> ; <i>irae-n</i> from reanalysis of <i>ai-rae-n</i> 'tree branch' (see 08.560).
MAB	'arm of a tree'.
KAU	'tree hand-its'.
ADZ	'tree arm-3sg POSS'.
KWO	Also <i>uru</i> 'frond', and <i>faru</i> .
LEW	'smaller branch'; also <i>la-sia</i> 'bigger branch from stem'.
NEM	'arm of tree'.
XAR	'arm of tree'.
NEN	Also <i>amasereie</i> .

### 08.560 LEAF

ATA	ʔaβay	PAL	daʔun	MIN	daun
TSO	xəŋə	MOL	doʔun	IND	daun
*RUK	vasaw	KAG	daun	SUN	daun
*PAI	asaw	BLA	doʔon	JAV	gəḡəŋ
YAM	vəḡəŋ	SAB	dahun	MAD	ḡaun
ISN	adon	*MUR	daun	BAL	don
KAL	tūbu	MGY	ravin-kazu	*SAS	daun
TAG	dāhon	ACE	on	GOR	dūŋo
AKL	dāhun	BAT	buluŋ	DAA	tava

UMA	rau	KAU	kin	NEM	do
BUG	daʊŋ	TOL	məpinai	CEM	mádi-àcūt
KON	rauŋ	BUA	ris	AJI	dē kē
*WOL	tawa	ADZ	gai yafan	XAR	nē
MAG	sauŋ	KIL	yek <sup>w</sup> esi	NEN	runen
NGA	vunu	TAW	lugu-na	KIR	te bā
*SIK	ʔrou	*MOT	rau	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ələk
RTI	do-k	MEK	ŋaŋau-ŋa	*PON	ʔē
*BUR	omo-n	ROV	elelo	*WLE	ʃō
*DOB	rak <sup>w</sup> un	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akla	EFI	drau-
IRA	rə	LAU	ʔbe	WFI	-rau
SAW	ay wlu	KWO	gae-na	RTU	rau
NYI	laʔun	RAG	rau	TON	lau
MAM	dau	PAA	laute	SAM	lau
*TAK	irou-n	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> a-sia	MEL	rau
DAM	arau	*POR	nu-xer	*TAH	rau <sup>ʔ</sup> ere
MAB	ke rūnu	NTA	nəmal-n	RAP	raupā
YAB	ŋa-lauŋ	KWA	nəma-		

RUK *sopoŋo* ‘leaves on a branch’.

PAI *viak* ‘special leaf for ritual’.

MUR Also *untu* ‘new leaves’; *umbus* ‘leaves as food’; *sāp* ‘dead leaves’.

SAS Also *geden*.

WOL Also *take*.

SIK Also *ʔrou-ŋ*.

BUR Plural *kau-r omo-n* (from several trees).

DOB Also *ler*.

TAK Also *rou-on*; *irou-n* is apparently the result of the reanalysis of *ai rou-n* ‘tree leaf’ (see 08.550).

MOT Also ‘page in a book’.

POR Also *nu-kai*.

MSH Also *māŋ* ‘pandanus leaf’.

PON *pā* 3sg POSS ‘leaf of large-leafed plant’.

WLE Also *ūrūi*.

TAH *raomai<sup>ʔ</sup>a* ‘banana leaf’; *rau<sup>ʔ</sup>uru* ‘leaf of breadfruit tree’.

## 08.570 FLOWER

ATA	pahpah	UMA	βuŋa	ROV	havoro
TSO	bivni	BUG	buŋa	MAR	sisi
RUK	bəŋəlay	*KON	buŋa	LAU	tageʔai
PAI	vəlʔəŋaw	*WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> ba	*KWO	lama-na
YAM	ʃavəŋ	MAG	vela	RAG	vira-nɣai
ISN	būta	NGA	voŋa	PAA	huŋaite
KAL	sāboŋ	SIK	puhu-ŋ	LEW	vina-sia
*TAG	bulaklak	RTI	buna-k	POR	püsa-xai
AKL	būrak	*BUR	sawe-n	NTA	naŋu-n
PAL	burak	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> oɸi	KWA	tihi-
MOL	burak	*IRA	ɸu	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> ün
KAG	bulak	*SAW	[buŋa]	CEM	mû-n
BLA	bulək	*NYI	kañeu	AJI	būrū kē
SAB	sumpiŋ	MAM	moare	XAR	pūrε-ε
*MUR	busak	TAK	bob	NEN	aŋasereie
MGY	vuni-n-kazu	DAM	muni	KIR	teuē
ACE	buŋəŋ	*MAB	manman	MSH	ut
BAT	buŋa		pwōno	*PON	kap <sup>w</sup> aɬ
MIN	buŋo	YAB	ŋa-òla	*WLE	masürüi
IND	buŋa	KAU		EFI	sē-
*SUN	[kəmbaŋ]	*TOL	pupū-nə	WFI	-hē
*JAV	kəmbaŋ	BUA	səsik	RTU	hosa
MAD	kəmbaŋ	ADZ	maraburuap	TON	matala
*BAL	buŋə	KIL	lala	SAM	fuŋa
SAS	kəmbaŋ	TAW	wihiya	*MEL	[kum <sup>w</sup> a]
*GOR	hulaʔo	*MOT	herahera	*TAH	tiare
DAA	buŋa	MEK	kai-kai	RAP	tiare

TAG Proto-Southern Philippines \**būdak*.

MUR *buŋaʔ* ‘ornamental flower’ from Malay, *aluguy* (of palm trees).

SUN From Javanese.

JAV Also *sari*.

BAL Also *kəmbaŋ*.

GOR Also [*buŋa*], from Malay.

KON Also *buŋa-buŋa* ‘decorative’.

WOL Also *ka<sup>m</sup>ba-ka<sup>m</sup>ba*.

BUR Also *tutu-n*; most common form is [*buŋa*] from Malay.

DOB	'flower on trees'.
IRA	$\phi u$ 'flowers of fruit bearing trees'; <i>kakanə</i> 'decorative flowers'.
SAW	From Malay.
NYI	Also <i>ñā<sup>n</sup>d'en</i> .
MAB	'hibiscus' also <i>aigau</i> .
TOL	<i>nə</i> DEREL.
MOT	<i>hera</i> 'personal adornment'; sometimes for 'flower' <i>tano herahera-na</i> ( <i>tano</i> 'ground').
KWO	Also <i>tātaga</i> .
PON	Also [ <i>rōs</i> ] from English.
WLE	[ <i>firōṛasi</i> ] Spanish, 'flower, hibiscus'.
MEL	From Efate, also <i>mēmea</i> .
TAH	Also <i>vaʔa</i> .

### 08.600 TREE

*ATA	kahunik	*JAV	wit	DAM	ā
TSO	evi	*MAD	kaʔ-buŋkaʔ-an	MAB	ke
RUK	aŋato	*BAL	puña-n kayu	YAB	ka
PAI	kasiw	*SAS	lolo	KAU	sa
YAM	kayo	*GOR	buŋo	TOL	dəvai
ISN	kāyu	DAA	kayu	BUA	ḱale
KAL	kāyu	UMA	kaʃu	ADZ	gai
TAG	kāhoy	BUG	poŋ	KIL	kai
*AKL	kāhuy	KON	pokoʔ (kaʃu)	TAW	mayau
PAL	kayu byag	WOL	puu	*MOT	au
MOL	kayu	MAG	haʃu	*MEK	au
KAG	kauy	NGA	puʔu-kaʃu	ROV	huda
BLA	kayu	SIK	ʔai	MAR	gaiʃu
SAB	kayu	RTI	ai hu-k	LAU	ʔai
MUR	tataun	*BUR	lahi-n	KWO	ʔai
*MGY	hazu	DOB	ʔay	RAG	yai
ACE	baʔ	IRA	ε	PAA	āi
BAT	hau	SAW	ay	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uru-laki
MIN	bataŋ	NYI	kei	POR	na-xai
IND	pohon	MAM	ʔai	NTA	nəŋ
*SUN	taŋkal	TAK	ai	KWA	nei

NEM	cēk	MSH	kēn	TON	fuʔuʔakau
CEM	àcūt	PON		*SAM	lāʔau
AJI	kē	WLE	iṛō	MEL	rākau
XAR	kʷǎ	EFI	βū-	TAH	tumu rāʔau
*NEN	sereie	WFI	-βū	RAP	tumu
KIR		RTU	ʔci		

ATA Also *kahuy*.

AKL PAN \**kāSiw*.

MGY Possibly borrowed from Malay, given maintenance of \*-y- (> z).

SUN 'tree, trunk'; also *taṅkal kai*; *kai* 'wood' (see 01.430); *ki-* 'tree', in compounds.

JAV Also *uwit*.

MAD From (RED-*buṅka-an*); Safioedin (1977): *kaʔ-buṅkaʔ-an* 'trees'; see 08.730 and Safioedin (1977): *buṅka* 'tree trunk'. In species names, *buṅka* alone is used with the sense 'tree' cf. 08.670, 08.810, 08.840.

BAL 'wood plant'.

SAS Also *lolon*.

GOR Also *buṅo lo ʔayu* 'tree' linker 'wood'.

BUR Also *kau* and *puu-n*. There are collocational restrictions, reflecting how a particular tree is classified, thus *niwe lahi-n* 'coconut tree', *tuat lahi-n* 'tree from which palm wine is made', *ka bahu-t* 'Philippine mahogany', *pelat puu-n* 'stinging nettle tree' etc.

MOT Also 'wood'.

MEK Also 'wood, stick, piece of wood'.

NEN Also *arel* (respectful).

SAM See 08.530.

## 08.610 OAK

Not found in Austronesian language area.

## 08.620 BEECH

Not found in Austronesian language area.

**08.630 BIRCH**

Not found in Austronesian language area.

**08.640 PINE****English:** *pine***Latin:** *pinus***Sanskrit:** *camara-* 'plume'

*ATA	hayriŋ	UMA	ki <sup>?</sup> ou <sup>?</sup>	MAR	
TSO	sroŋi	BUG	poŋaju-	LAU	
RUK	aɭəŋə		[čamara]	KWO	
PAI	taɭəŋ	*KON	['pinusu]	RAG	
YAM	aroŋ	WOL		PAA	
ISN	tālaŋ	MAG		LEW	
KAL	sāloŋ	NGA		POR	
*TAG	aguho <sup>?</sup>	SIK		NTA	
*AKL	agūho <sup>?</sup>	*RTI	kai ou	KWA	
PAL	dəkɔkɔkɔn	BUR		*NEM	wāwe
MOL		DOB		*CEM	êja
*KAG	[payn]	IRA		AJI	kāre
BLA	mgu <sup>?</sup> u	SAW		*XAR	kɔde
SAB		NYI		*NEN	odi
MUR		MAM	boainai	KIR	
MGY		TAK		MSH	
*ACE	aron	DAM		PON	
BAT	si-mare	MAB		WLE	
MIN		*YAB	kemesi <sup>?</sup>	EFI	[paini]
*IND	pohon	KAU	yat	WFI	[βaini]
	[čamara]	TOL		RTU	
SUN	[čamara]	BUA	bazeŋ	TON	[paini]
JAV	[pinus]	ADZ		SAM	
MAD	[pinus]	KIL		MEL	[paina]
BAL	[čamarə]	TAW		TAH	[paina]
SAS	[čamarə]	MOT		RAP	
GOR	wəhu	MEK			
DAA		ROV			

ATA Also *haŋ*.TAG *Casuarina equisetifolia*.



AKL	<i>Casuarina</i> .
KAG	From English <i>pine</i> .
ACE	<i>Casuarina</i> , also <i>sala</i> .
IND	Also [ <i>pinus</i> ].
SAS	From Sanskrit.
KON	Also <i>kaĵu aṅiṅ</i> .
RTI	<i>Casuarina</i> spp.
YAB	<i>Araucaria</i> .
NEM	<i>Araucaria cookii</i> .
CEM	<i>Araucaria cookii</i> , Norfolk pine.
XAR	<i>Araucaria cookii</i> , Norfolk pine.
NEN	Also <i>yeodi</i>

### 08.650 FIR

Not found in Austronesian language area.

### 08.660 ACORN

Not found in Austronesian language area.

### 08.670 VINE

**Arabic** *anqūd* ‘bunch of grapes’

**Persian:** *angūr* ‘grape’.

ATA	wahiy	PAL	bəlagən	MIN	
TSO	viçi	MOL		*IND	pohon [aŋgur]
RUK		KAG	blagən	*SUN	pəlak [aŋgur]
PAI		BLA	walad	*JAV	[aŋgur]
YAM	zai	SAB	bāhan	*MAD	buŋka-na
*ISN	lasiw	*MUR	bakag		[aŋgur]
*KAL	wakal	MGY	vua-lubuka	*BAL	bun
*TAG	bāgin	*ACE	[aŋgo]	SAS	
AKL	baḥāgun	*BAT	addər	GOR	

DAA	valaa	YAB	ɔ	KWA	nak <sup>w</sup> us
UMA	βalaa	KAU	elik	NEM	
BUG	welāriŋ	TOL		CEM	
KON	kaleleŋ	BUA	aγis	*AJI	[vine]
WOL		ADZ	bru?	XAR	
MAG		*KIL	ma-kai-na	NEN	dero
NGA	koba		[waini]	KIR	
SIK	tali	TAW	gologolowa	MSH	
*RTI	[a <sup>ɗ</sup> gor]se- sele-k	*MOT	βaroβaro	PON	
*BUR	wahe-t	*MEK	ue	WLE	
DOB		*ROV	aroso	EFI	
IRA	warə	MAR	ñaɾo	WFI	
SAW		LAU		*RTU	[vino]
NYI	bada malou	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ala	*TON	[vaine]
MAM	uarige	RAG	γao	SAM	fue
TAK	kam	PAA	voiāu	MEL	
DAM	malum	LEW	kilika	*TAH	tumu [vine]
MAB	wōro	POR		*RAP	hue
		NTA	nol		

ISN *uway* ‘rattan’.

KAL *iwoy* ‘rattan’.

TAG Also *bāgiŋ*; Proto-Southern Philippines *balāRen*.

MUR General term for climbing/creeping plants.

ACE ‘grape vine’, from Malay. Also *uret* ‘liana, vine’.

BAT ‘creepers’.

IND ‘grape vine’.

SUN ‘grape vine’; also *tu-tuwuh-an nu ŋa-rambat* ‘climbing plant’.

IAV ‘grape vine’.

MAD ‘grape vine’.

BAL Generic term ‘climbing plant’; [*aŋgur*] ‘grapevine’.

RTI ‘grape vine’.

BUR Generic; *ua* ‘rattan’; *wahe-t tifu-n lale* ‘heavy concentration of vines in the jungle’.

KIL ‘that-long/rigid’; from English *wine* (See 05.760.)

MOT Also ‘veins, arteries’. Note *βaro* ‘thread, string, dugong or turtle net’.

MEK Also *uve* ‘generic term for all vines and creepers’.

ROV	Also <i>vaini</i> .
AJH	From French <i>vigne</i> .
RTU	Probably from Latin <i>vinum</i> .
TON	From English <i>vine</i> .
TAH	From French.
RAP	Also <i>ure</i> .

## 08.680 TOBACCO

Dutch: <i>tabak</i>		English: <i>tobacco</i>		Spanish: <i>tabacco</i>	
ATA	[tamakuʔ]	UMA	[tamako]	*MAR	viri
TSO	[tamaku]	BUG	ičo	*LAU	firi
*RUK	[tamako]	KON	[tambako]	KWO	firi
PAI	[camaku]	*WOL	[tafako]	RAG	[tavayʉ]
*YAM	[tabako]	MAG	[ <sup>m</sup> bako]	PAA	
ISN	[tabāku]	NGA	[bako]	*LEW	m <sup>w</sup> a-[tepaka]
KAL	tēku	SIK	[bako]	POR	
TAG	[tabāko]	RTI	modo	NTA	[təpaka]
AKL	[tabākoʔ]	BUR	[tabako]	KWA	
PAL	sigup	*DOB	[tabaʔu] ller	NEM	[tavak]
MOL	sigup	IRA	[təbaku]	*CEM	[tapa]
KAG	[tabaku]	SAW	[tabako]	*AJI	[yikā]
BLA	[tabakuʔ]	NYI	[tabak]	*XAR	[çikā]
SAB	[tabaku]	MAM	soʔai	*NEN	diʒa
MUR	sigup	*TAK	kas	KIR	
MGY	paraki	DAM	yakau	MSH	
ACE	[bakoŋ]	MAB	koi	PON	
BAT	[tibbahə]	*YAB	daŋ	WLE	[tamōxo]
*MIN	[timbakau]	*KAU	ebos	EFI	[taβako]
IND	[təmbakau]	TOL	[təpeka]	WFI	kuβukuβu
SUN	[bako]	BUA	aru	RTU	rau
JAV	[təmbako]	ADZ	pau	TON	[tapaka]
MAD	[bako]	*KIL	[tobaki]	*SAM	[tapaʔa]
BAL	[mako]	TAW	[tepeke]	MEL	[paka]
*SAS	[mako]	MOT	kuku	TAH	ʔavaʔava
GOR	[tabaʔa]	*MEK	tsiale	RAP	ʔava-ʔava
DAA	[ta <sup>m</sup> baku]	*ROV	elelo piala		

- RUK [*tamako*] ‘tobacco’, loan from Dutch.
- YAM From Japanese.
- MIN Also *santo*.
- SAS Teeuw: *təm(b)ako*; *mako*.
- WOL *paro<sup>m</sup>pi* ‘chewing tobacco’; also [*roko*].
- DOB *ller* ‘leaf’.
- TAK See note on 01.830.
- YAB ‘smoke’.
- KAU Also *sakip*.
- KIL Also [*tabaki*].
- MEK *tsiale* (*kiale*) is ‘native tobacco’; *kuku* ‘European tobacco’ NW Mekeo *tsiugu* ‘both kinds of tobacco’.
- ROV *elelopiala* ‘leaf - smoke’, also [*tabaika*].
- MAR *sausavu* ‘locally grown tobacco’.
- LAU ‘twist tobacco’.
- LEW Also [*sitiki*] (from Bislama).
- CEM From French *tabac*.
- AJI From English *cigar*, also [*tapa*] from French *tabac*.
- XAR Also [*tap<sup>w</sup>aka*] ‘cigar’, ‘tobacco’.
- NEN Also *rune dija*.
- SAM (polite) *mea nāmuleaŋa*, *mea* ‘thing’, *nāmu* (vb intrans) ‘smell of’, *leaŋa* (vb intrans) ‘be bad’, *mea taumafa*, *mea taute* see, 05.120.

### 08.690 SMOKE (tobacco)

**Dutch:** *roken* ‘smoke’

ATA	manik tamaku?	*KAL	upus	*SAB	sigup
		*TAG	hitit	*MUR	sigup
*TSO	re-m <sup>?</sup> um <sup>?</sup> u	*AKL	yupyup	MGY	seɽ <sup>?</sup> uka
RUK	[tamako]	PAL	məgsigup	*ACE	mɯ-[rukə <sup>?</sup> ]
*PAI	[camaku]	*MOL	sigup	BAT	timus
YAM	aob	*KAG	sansuy	*MIN	ma-iso <sup>?</sup>
ISN	manulla	BLA	s-m-igufən	*IND	mə-[rokok]

*SUN	ŋ-udud	MAM	soʔai	NTA	-alh
JAV	udut	TAK	-rae	*KWA	-əse
MAD	[rukuʔ]	*DAM	yakau y-ō-ya	NEM	uvi
*BAL	mə-[roko]	MAB	-kan koi	*CEM	cũ-nâdo
SAS	[rokoʔ]	*YAB	dauŋ -nòm	AJI	ku [yikā]
*GOR	molotopo	*KAU	i ebos	*XAR	šue çikā
DAA	[no-roko]	*TOL	vuvu	NEN	uti
UMA	mo-[rokoʔ]	BUA	βe aru	*KIR	temeka
BUG	rumpu	ADZ	is-pau	*MSH	kʌpʷātāt
*KON	aʔ-kaluruʔ	*KIL	[-pʷaeki]	*PON	sōk
WOL	sosoki	*TAW	lubogahu	*WLE	üřümī
MAG	[roʰko]	*MOT	(kuku) ani-a	EFI	βaka-taβako
NGA	musu-[bako]	*MEK	(kuku) e-ani-a	*WFI	βa-kuβukuβu
SIK	musu-ŋ	ROV	tuŋaha piala	RTU	hɔʔi
RTI	masu-k	MAR	pipila	TON	ifī
*BUR	opi [tabako]	LAU	hasu na biʔala	SAM	ula
*DOB	ʔa-kʷutaw	KWO		MEL	kačia
IRA	soʔətə	RAG		TAH	puhipuhi i te
	[təbaku].	PAA	[tovak]		ʔavaʔava
SAW	n-čoref (soref)	*LEW	ve-[simok]	RAP	ʔomo
NYI	kasuʔer	POR	čim-i		

TSO Also *re-mʔumʔ-i*.

PAI From Japanese.

KAL *upus + maN-*.

TAG *hítit + -um/-in*.

AKL *yupyup + -un*.

MOL *sigup + mog-*.

KAG *sansuy + mag-*; also *[sigarilyu] + mag-* from Spanish *cigarillo*.

SAB *sigup + aN-*.

MUR *sigup (mag-)*.

ACE Also *pīəp [rukɔʔ]*.

MIN Also 'to suck'.

IND Also *isap* 'suck'.

SUN Also *ŋa-lelet, [nāsəp] ([səsəp])* from Javanese.

BAL *[roko]* 'cigarette'.

GOR (*totopo + moN-*).

KON	Also <i>aʔ-toleʔ</i> .
BUR	'blow'.
DOB	'suck'.
DAM	'tobacco 3sg-eat-INF'.
YAB	'smoke-drink'.
KAU	'eat tobacco'.
TOL	Also <i>pitmur</i> 'smoke a pipe'.
KIL	From tobacco, reanalysed as <i>ta-</i> '1dual' <i>p<sup>w</sup>aeki</i> (?). cf. Dobuan word <i>tap<sup>w</sup>aʔi</i> 'tobacco'.
TAW	'to make smoke'.
MOT	<i>ani-a</i> 'to eat'.
MEK	<i>ani</i> 'eat'.
LEW	From English.
KWA	Also 'blow'.
CEM	'blow thing'.
XAR	'blow tobacco'.
KIR	<i>temeka</i> also 'suck'; [ <i>moko</i> ] from English.
MSH	<i>ke-</i> CAUS, <i>p<sup>w</sup>āt</i> 'smoke'
PON	'ingest'.
WLE	'drink'.
WFI	Also <i>kani-a</i> .

**08.691 PIPE**Dutch: *pijp*English: *pipe*Portuguese: *pipa*Spanish: *pipa*

ATA	tutih	*AKL	kuwākuh	ACE	[pipa]
TSO	re-toxv-a	PAL	uŋsuy	BAT	
RUK	aŋoʕo	MOL		MIN	[pipa]
PAI	kuŋʕuy	KAG		*IND	čaŋkəloŋ
YAM	[paypo]	BLA	kwɔku	*SUN	pa-(u)dud-an
ISN	suwāku	SAB	kuwāku	JAV	[pipɔ]
KAL	swāku	*MUR	sūt	MAD	pa-[rukuʔ]-an
*TAG	kuwāko	*MGY	[pipa]	*BAL	[čaŋkloŋ]

SAS		MAB		KWA	
GOR	[pipa]	*YAB	gasu <sup>?</sup> dauŋ-ŋa	NEM	[p <sup>w</sup> aip]
DAA		KAU		CEM	[p <sup>w</sup> aip]
UMA		TOL	[paep]	AJI	[p <sup>w</sup> aipi]
BUG	[pipa]	BUA		XAR	[p <sup>w</sup> aipi]
KON		*ADZ	yamu <sup>ŋ?</sup>	NEN	[paipi]
*WOL	[pipa]	KIL	bobau	KIR	te [baibi]
MAG	[pipa]	*TAW	baubau	MSH	[paip]
NGA		*MOT	baubau	PON	[paip]
SIK	suga-ŋ	*MEK	oala	WLE	[paipi]
RTI	[pipa]	*ROV	piala	*EFI	[paipo]
BUR	čupa	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ipila	WFI	[βaiβo]
DOB		LAU	bi <sup>?</sup> ala	RTU	[pɔipi]
IRA		KWO		TON	[paipa]
SAW	[peip]	RAG	laha	SAM	[paipa]
NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isi [tabak]	PAA	[vaiv]	MEL	[paipa]
MAM	[paipu]	LEW	pia-kurki	TAH	[paipu]
TAK	[paep]	POR		RAP	puhi-puhi
DAM		NTA	[paip]		

TAG Also [pīpa].

AKL Also [pīpah].

MUR *sūt* ‘traditional pipe’; *tūŋ* ‘modern pipe’.

MGY From French.

IND Also [pipa].

SUN Also *čaŋkloŋ*.

BAL From Malay.

WOL Also *<sup>m</sup>balo* ‘bamboo pipe (formerly also for smoking)’.

YAB ‘bamboo smoke-for’.

ADZ ‘bamboo’, i.e. ‘bamboo pipe’.

TAW Early smoking was done with bamboo pipes.

MOT *bau* ‘bamboo’.

MEK ‘traditional pipe made of bamboo’.

ROV Also [paipa].

EFI Also [βaiβo].

## 08.720 TREE STUMP

ATA	puḱiŋ	UMA	putuaʔ	ROV	paliŋutu
TSO	proŋu	BUG	ati-aʃu	*MAR	čokri
RUK	taŋadanə	KON	toʔ	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> oriʔai
PAI		WOL	ka-tu <sup>m</sup> pu	KWO	gōriʔai
*YAM	atŋəna	MAG	čočök	RAG	
ISN	attud	NGA	duʔe	PAA	vatileite
KAL	tuŋod	SIK	ʔai tubo-ŋ	*LEW	m <sup>w</sup> e-sia
TAG	tuʔod	RTI	ai se-k	POR	<sup>m</sup> bari-xai
AKL	tuʔud	BUR	kau tue-n	NTA	noukat-n
PAL	puʔun ət kayu	DOB	ʔay yeɸil	*KWA	nəpopu-
MOL	tuod	IRA	ε turə	NEM	pue-cēk
KAG	tuʔud	SAW	tuəl	*CEM	wàtihe-àcūt
BLA	tuad	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> oʔo kei	AJI	g <sup>w</sup> ā kē
SAB	tuŋgul	MAM	ʔai-soa	*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> ā-k <sup>w</sup> ā
MUR	tuod	*TAK	ai katuk	NEN	teɖe
MGY	futu-kazu	DAM	uyu	*KIR	te oi
ACE	čuduə	MAB	ke tūnu	*MSH	rep <sup>w</sup> okut
BAT		*YAB	ka-katuʔ	PON	ṭōk
MIN	tuŋgu <sup>ə</sup>	*KAU	sa sii-n sii-n	WLE	
IND	tuŋgul		poβut	EFI	dulumi
SUN	tuŋgul	TOL	tikul	WFI	-jura
JAV	tuŋgul	BUA	ḱalə dæg <sup>w</sup> a	RTU	polofo
MAD	tuŋgul	*ADZ	gai gudzu-n	TON	tuŋaʔi-
*BAL	tuŋgak	*KIL	uulo-toula	SAM	poŋai
SAS		TAW	tugutugu	MEL	[lake]
GOR	tuwodu	*MOT	au dubuka-na	TAH	tumu
DAA	patuʔa	*MEK	ŋome	*RAP	tutuma

YAM ‘its source’.

BAL Also *tuəd*.

TAK ‘tree stump’.

YAB ‘tree-stump’.

KAU ‘tree base-its base-its knee’.

ADZ ‘tree head-3sg POSS’.

KIL ‘base-true’.

MOT *au* ‘tree’, *dubuka* ‘stump’ (also *tubuka*, *tubika*); also *au badi-na* (*badi* ‘base’).



MEK *ɲome* an important symbol of ‘truth, fundamental essence, foundation’.

MAR Also *pik<sup>h</sup>u*.

LEW Also *puru-p<sup>w</sup>e-sia, miasi-na*.

KWA *nəpopu-* ‘stump’; *nəpatəkə* ‘base’.

CEM ‘origin of the tree’.

XAR ‘head of tree’.

KIR Also ‘base, essence’.

MSH Also *rəprep* ‘trunk, stump’.

RAP Also *take*.

### 08.730 TREE TRUNK

ATA	kamūʔ	GOR	bataŋo	*TAW	mayau sipoli-na
TSO		DAA	bata <sup>ɬ</sup> gayu		
RUK	lədasə	*UMA	tumoto	*MOT	au ihua-na
PAI		BUG	bataŋ-aʃu	MEK	ua
YAM	kayo	KON	bataŋ kaʃu	ROV	dedekuru
ISN	arutāŋ	WOL	lae-na kau		huda
KAL	puʔun	MAG	puʔu	*MAR	gaiyai (?)
TAG	pūnoʔ	NGA	puʔu	LAU	kada ʔai
AKL	pūnoʔ	SIK	ʔai puʔa-ŋ	KWO	
PAL	bataŋ ɔt kayu	RTI	ai hu-k	*RAG	b <sup>w</sup> atu-n yai
MOL	bataŋ kayu	*BUR	kau en-hela-n	PAA	tavoleite
*KAG	lawa ta kauy	DOB	ʔay ɸatin	LEW	puru-m <sup>w</sup> o-sia
BLA	laweh kayu	IRA	ε ɸatənə	POR	<sup>m</sup> bari-xai
SAB	bataŋ kayu	SAW	ay ni bao	NTA	nəpat-n
*MUR	pūn	NYI	bada kei	*KWA	nükune-
MGY	vatan-kazu	MAM	ʔai-soa	*NEM	fayō-n cēk
*ACE	baʔ	*TAK	ai lua-n	*CEM	ê-beçūle-n
BAT	bəna	DAM	ā luwa	AJI	pū kē
MIN	bataŋ kayu	MAB	ke lwōno	*XAR	wāp <sup>w</sup> ē-k <sup>w</sup> ā
*IND	pokok	*YAB	ka (ŋa-)da <sup>m</sup> be	NEN	
SUN	taŋkal	*KAU	sa put	*KIR	te boto
JAV	bəŋgəl	TOL	buruə	*MSH	rəprep
*MAD	buŋka	BUA	ka le aya	*PON	lukopen ʔuke
BAL	puun	*ADZ	gai fugun	*WLE	xōxō
SAS	lə-lolo	KIL	tap <sup>w</sup> ala	EFI	tolo-

WFI	-dolo	*SAM	ʔoŋā-lāʔau	RAP	tumu
*RTU	hū	*MEL	[malōmalō]		
TON	sinoʔi-	TAH	tumu		
KAG	'body of the tree'.				
MUR	Also <i>taunan</i> .				
ACE	Also <i>purudea</i> .				
IND	Also <i>bataŋ pohon</i> .				
MAD	See note, 08.600.				
UMA	Also <i>βoto kajū</i> .				
BUR	Also <i>kau lahi-n</i> (includes trunk and main roots, extended to refer to whole tree); <i>kau kaku-n</i> 'tree trunk leaning over'; <i>kau fata-n</i> 'tree trunk already felled'.				
TAK	'tree stomach' (see 04.460).				
YAB	'tree (its-)stem';. also <i>ka-da<sup>m</sup>be</i> .				
KAU	See 04.310. 04.350. 04.462.				
ADZ	<i>gai fugun</i> (Amari); <i>gai wain</i> (Central, Ngarowapum, Ongaʔ); <i>gai waiyan</i> (Yarus).				
TAW	'tree middle'; some dialects <i>tipoli-na</i> .				
MOT	<i>au</i> 'tree', <i>ihua</i> 'midway point'. <i>au badi-na</i> also used for this.				
MAR	'stem'.				
RAG	'base of tree', 'bole of tree'.				
KWA	<i>nukune-</i> 'trunk'; <i>nəpra-</i> 'body'.				
NEM	'middle of tree'.				
CEM	'to hold it upright'.				
XAR	'central part of tree'.				
KIR	Also 'base, foundation'.				
MSH	<i>rəprəp</i> also 'base, essence'; <i>kān</i> , <i>kein</i> CON; arch. <i>cekān</i> , <i>rəpin</i> CON.				
PON	'middle/waist of a tree'.				
WLE	<i>xōxō</i> 'stalk, trunk', <i>xarōŋa</i> 'body, shell, tree trunk'.				
RTU	Also <i>hün ʔi</i> .				
SAM	<i>oŋā-</i> 'shaft, trunk, stem' (see 04.351), <i>la</i> , <i>au</i> 'tree, wood'.				
MEL	From Efate.				

## 08.740 FORKED BRANCH

ATA	karax	UMA	paŋa	*ROV	vaze huda
TSO	xpoŋi	BUG	takke	MAR	reye
RUK	palaka	KON	paŋka	LAU	
PAI		*WOL	ka- <sup>n̄</sup> čaŋa	KWO	matəŋa-na
YAM	mišaŋa	MAG	da <sup>n̄</sup> ka		(?ai)
ISN	pasəŋa	NGA	saga	RAG	
KAL	padaŋ <sup>ʔ</sup> al	*SIK	?ai klerə-ŋ	*PAA	vashasi elu
*TAG	səŋa	*RTI	<sup>n̄</sup> dana-k	LEW	koroa-sia
*AKL	səŋah	*BUR	səŋa-n	POR	na-xai pači
*PAL	səŋa	DOB	φorba laŋay	NTA	-əsəm
MOL	səŋa	IRA	sagə	*KWA	nəkowahaien
*KAG	parti na	SAW	səŋsəŋ	NEM	pic
	gasəŋa	NYI	sakan	CEM	âp <sup>w</sup> əŋ
*BLA	fəŋə	MAM	sapara	AJI	kapiwā
SAB		TAK	pilage-n	XAR	nem <sup>w</sup> agəa
MUR	paŋə	DAM	orowa	NEN	
MGY	sampana	MAB	-bōgo	KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> āŋa
ACE	ranteŋ	*YAB	ka-səŋa	MSH	
BAT	dakka	*KAU	səŋa-n	PON	kasəŋ
MIN	dahan	TOL	vərpagə	WLE	ttou
IND	čabaŋ	*BUA	ka <sup>l</sup> e ayə	EFI	basəŋa
SUN	čagak		bəsen	WFI	-bahaŋa
JAV	čawaŋ	*ADZ	gai bwaŋan	RTU	mača
MAD	čaŋka	KIL	-gei	TON	maŋa
*BAL	čaraŋ kayu	*TAW	mayau	SAM	maŋa
*SAS	pempaŋ		lagalaga-na	MEL	maŋa
GOR	taŋə da <sup>ʔ</sup> a	MOT		TAH	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> ara <sup>ʔ</sup> a
DAA	paŋa <sup>n̄</sup> gayu	*MEK	?aŋa-?aŋa	*RAP	vaha maŋa

TAG Also 'branch' (08.550).

AKL See 'branch' 08.550.

PAL Also *rəpakan*.

KAG 'part that branches'.

BLA Also *uket*.

BAL See 08.550.

SAS Also *bewen*; (Goris: *bewe*, *bewe-n kayu*?).

WOL Also *ko-<sup>m</sup>paŋa*.

SIK	Also <i>klagə-ŋ</i> .
RTI	Also <i>ndana ana-k</i> .
BUR	Also <i>tune-t</i> ‘stump of branch, forked piece of wood used to catch the trigger ( <i>fawe</i> ) of a snare’.
YAB	‘tree-fork’.
KAU	Also <i>uβa-n</i> .
BUA	Also <i>ḡalenəma</i> .
ADZ	<i>gai bwanan</i> (Amari); <i>gai ranəʒ</i> (Central and other dialects).
TAW	‘tree branches’.
MEK	From <i>ʔana</i> ‘branch, thigh’.
ROV	<i>vaze huda</i> ‘fork’, <i>lelanana</i> ‘branch’.
PAA	‘to fork in two’.
KWA	Also <i>sapanj</i> ; <i>tapakova</i> , <i>pəisəŋi</i> , <i>tap<sup>w</sup>aŋ</i> ‘twin forks’; <i>nəkehiap</i> ‘crotch, base of appendages’.
RAP	<i>vaha maŋa</i> ‘fork (between two branches)’; <i>pipi</i> ‘fork of a branch growing out of the main trunk’.

### 08.750 BARK

ATA	ḡaʔiʔ	*BAT	laklak	*BUR	kau oko-n
TSO	rapti	MIN	kuliʔ kayu	DOB	ʔay ʔalay
RUK	bakoro	IND	kulit kayu	IRA	ε ritə
PAI	ḡal <sup>y</sup> iʔ	*SUN	kulit kai	*SAW	ay lik-ə
YAM	kolit no kayo	JAV	klikə	NYI	kuʔi kei
ISN	kapsit	MAD	kuliʔ-na kaʒu	MAM	ʔai-ʔusi
KAL	upik di kāyu	*BAL	kulit	*TAK	ai sukulo-n
*TAG	balat (naŋ kāhoy)	SAS	lendoŋ kayuʔ	DAM	ā gabari
*AKL	pānit	*GOR	ʔalipo ʔayu	MAB	ke kulīni
PAL	kulit	DAA	kuli <sup>ŋ</sup> gayu	*YAB	(ka) ŋa-oliʔ
MOL	upak	UMA	kuluma kaʒu	*KAU	sa elit
*KAG	lanɡit	BUG	oliʔ-aʒu	*TOL	pəl-ə-dəvai
BLA	kulit	KON	bukkuleŋ kaʒu	BUA	(ḡəle)naβi
SAB	kuwit kayu	WOL	kuli-na kau	*ADZ	gai ganan
MUR	kulapaʔ	MAG	loke haʒu	KIL	kanaβina
MGY		NGA	huki-kaʒu	*TAW	mayau opi-na
ACE	kulet kayəə	SIK	ʔai ʔuli-t	*MOT	kopi
		RTI	ai lou-k	*MEK	au faaŋā

ROV	kapu huda	*KWA	tekə-	WLE	xiři
MAR	guli gaiju	*NEM	cī-n cēk	EFI	kuli-
LAU	ʔuŋe ʔai	*CEM	î-àcūt	WFI	-taba
KWO	susuŋa -na	AJI	kāřā kē	RTU	ʔuli
RAG	vinu-n ɣai	XAR	kāl	*TON	kiliʔi-
PAA	hiłite	NEN	nenun	*SAM	paʔu
LEW	kulu-sia	*KIR	kunin te kai	MEL	kiri
POR	nūru-xai	MSH	kilwɔr	TAH	paʔa rāʔau
NTA	nuβiŋ-n	PON	kīl	RAP	kiri miro

TAG Also 'skin' (04.120).

AKL See 'skin' 04.120.

KAG 'skin'.

BAT Also *takki* 'treated bark for use'.

SUN *kulit* 'skin'.

BAL 'skin'; *babak-an* 'bark which has been harvested'.

GOR *ʔalipo* 'skin' *ʔayu* 'wood'.

BUR Rana dialect and Li Enyorot *kau koli-n*.

SAW From *like-o*.

TAK 'tree skin'.

YAB '(tree) its-skin'.

KAU 'tree skin'.

TOL *pəl* 'skin', ə CONN, *dəvai* 'tree'.

ADZ *gai gaŋan* (Onga?, Guruf, Central); *gai ubit* (Central, Yarus, Intsi?); *gai rini gaŋan* (Amari).

TAW 'tree skin'.

MOT 'skin'.

MEK NW Mekeo *aka* 'bark, rind'.

KWA Also 'skin'.

NEM 'skin of tree'.

CEM 'skin tree'.

KIR 'plant skin'.

TON Also *kili*.

SAM See 04.120.

## 08.760 SAP

ATA	βuk	*DAA	juu	ROV	oto
TSO	spiçirsi	UMA	lite?	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> olo
RUK		BUG	dadi? aǰju	LAU	totoŋa
PAI	ḱətim	KON	'rutusu	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aik <sup>w</sup> ai-na
YAM	nini	WOL	uwe-na kau	RAG	totoa
ISN	danum kāyu	MAG	nunu	PAA	toaite
KAL	dāloy	NGA	vae	LEW	wa-sia
*TAG	dagta?	*SIK	nana	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> umu-xai
*AKL	taguk	RTI	ai da-k	NTA	nahui-n
*PAL	tipas	*BUR	wae-n	*KWA	nəse-
MOL	tagok	DOB	?ay sitay	NEM	die-n
KAG	ta'gək	*IRA	ǰirə	CEM	
BLA	litak	SAW	getgit	AJI	ǰārā kē
*SAB	gatta?	NYI	sa?e kei	*XAR	madā-k <sup>w</sup> ǎ
MUR	bonod	MAM	dai-dama?a	NEN	laresereie
MGY	ranu-n-kazu	*TAK	ai pata-n	*KIR	ranin te kai
ACE	gūtah	DAM	gaula	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> il
BAT	gəta ni hau	MAB	siŋīni	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> il
MIN	gatah	*YAB	(ka) ŋa-tek <sup>w</sup> i	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> iřisa
IND	gətah	KAU	sa kimlut-an	EFI	drā
	tumbuh-an	*TOL	bulit	WFI	-toa
SUN	gītah	BUA	ḱəg <sup>w</sup> i	RTU	pulu
JAV	tlutuh	*ADZ	gai gurun	*TON	to?i
MAD	gətta	KIL	p <sup>w</sup> atiga	SAM	āpulupulu
BAL	gətah	TAW	boda	*MEL	[tōtoa]
SAS	gəta?	*MOT	tode	TAH	tāpau
GOR	taŋi	*MEK	koko	RAP	tapau

TAG Also *katas*, *sāhiŋ*.

AKL Also *dūga?*, *sāḱuŋ*.

PAL *tipas* 'clear sap'; *tagək* 'milky, sap'.

SAB Also *tagok*.

DAA Also *pulu*.

SIK Also *nana-ŋ*, [*gəta*] Malay.

BUR Modifies head noun, e.g. *papai wae-n* 'papaya sap'.

IRA *wagubatə* 'sticky sap used to catch birds'.

TAK 'tree kidney'.

YAB '(tree) its-juice'.

TOL Also *polo*.

ADZ 'tree juice'.

MOT Also 'gum'.

MEK *koko*, also *ko* 'sap'; *ŋaʔa* is 'juice' (of plant).

KWA Also 'blood'.

XAR *madā-k wā* 'blood of tree'; *tɔ rɛ k wā* 'that which drip from tree'.

KIR 'tree water'; *te karewe* 'sap from coconut spathe', also 'sweet'.

MSH *ræn* 'coconut sap'; also 'water, liquid'.

PON Also 'gum, resin'.

TON Also *toiʔi*.

MEL From Efate.

## 08.810 PALM TREE

Dutch: *palm*

Spanish: *palma*

*ATA	βayik	IND	pohon	IRA	
*TSO	rxufu		[paləm]	SAW	
RUK	abarə	SUN	[paləm]	NYI	
PAI	val <sup>y</sup> -val <sup>y</sup>	JAV	[paləm]	MAM	
YAM		*MAD	buŋka-na niur	TAK	
ISN		*BAL		DAM	
KAL		SAS		MAB	
*TAG	[palma]	*GOR	boŋo	*YAB	nip
*AKL	[palmas]	DAA	kayu kaluku	*KAU	
PAL	ñug	UMA		TOL	ləma
MOL		BUG	poŋ inruʔ	*BUA	βasol
KAG		*KON	inruʔ	ADZ	
BLA	nifoʔ	*WOL	konau	*KIL	luya
SAB		*MAG	tuak	*TAW	boda
*MUR	bukad	NGA	tua	MOT	
MGY	hazu [palma]	SIK		MEK	
*ACE		*RTI	tua	*ROV	edeve
*BAT	bagot	*BUR	niwe lahi-n	MAR	
MIN	anaw	DOB		*LAU	ʔageru

KWO		CEM	álica	*EFI	masei
RAG		AJI	kiwē	*WFI	roro
PAA	ipi	*XAR	kim <sup>w</sup> ã	*RTU	ota
*LEW	lua	NEN		*TON	piu
POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>g</sup> gur	KIR	te nī	*SAM	[pāma]
NTA		*MSH	ni	*MEL	niu
*KWA	napuŋow	PON	nī	*TAH	[tamara]
*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ep le kuc	WLE	řü	*RAP	niu

ATA Also *βayāš*.

TSO *rxufu*, *Trachycarpus excelsus*; *χῆιχῆι*, *Arenga engleri*.

TAG Also [*palmēra*], from Spanish *palmera* ‘date palm’.

AKL *nīpa?*, *pāwud* ‘nipa palm’; Proto-Philippines *\*pāwed*.

MUR *bukad* ‘nibong-palm’; *lumbio* ‘sago-palm’; *paguŋ* ‘nipah-palm’; *pinaŋ* ‘areca palm’.

ACE *ranup* ‘areca palm’; *iboih*, *muriya* ‘sago palm’; *nipah* ‘thatch palm’; *u* ‘coconut palm’, also *ǰo?*

BAT Also *harabbir* ‘coconut palm’; *piniŋ* ‘areca palm’.

MAD ‘coconut palm tree’.

BAL No generic term. *puña-n ñuh* ‘coconut palm’ see 08.530; *puña-n əntal* ‘sugar palm’; *puña-n buah* ‘areca palm’.

GOR *boŋo* ‘coconut palm’; *lipa* ‘nipah (thatch) palm’; *?o<sup>m</sup>bulo*, *to<sup>m</sup>bito* ‘nibung palm (*Oncosperma filamentosum*)’; *tu<sup>m</sup>ba*, *tu<sup>m</sup>baŋo* ‘sago palm’; *wa<sup>o</sup>lo* ‘toddy-palm (*Arenga saccharifera*)’.

KON *inru?* ‘sugar palm’; *kaluku lohe* ‘thatch palm’; *nipa* ‘nipah palm’; *tala* ‘fan palm’.

WOL ‘palm wine’.

MAG *Arenga pinnata* ‘sugar palm’.

RTI Also *tua hu-k*. ‘lontar palm’ (*tua*). Also *tula* ‘gewang palm’; *no* ‘coconut palm’; *pua* ‘areca palm’.

BUR *niwe lahi-n* ‘coconut palm’; *tuat lahi-n* ‘palm from which palm wine *eha* is made’; *nibon* ‘hardwood palm from which barbs are made for fishing spear’; *bia lahi-n* ‘sago palm’; *fua lahi-n* and *slai* ‘areca palm’; *pigi* ‘wild betel palm in jungle’.

YAB ‘coconut palm’.

KAU No generic term.

BUA ‘black palm, used for making bows’.



KIL	<i>luya</i> ‘coconut palm’; <i>yabia</i> ‘sago palm’; no general word, only species.
TAW	‘black palm used for flooring’.
ROV	‘sago palm’.
LAU	‘areca palm’.
LEW	‘black palm’; also <i>pipia</i> , <i>manumanu</i> ‘k. o. palm tree’.
KWA	<i>napuŋow</i> ‘ <i>Veitchia</i> sp.’; also <i>niepi metroxylon</i> sp.; <i>nikur</i> ‘royal palm’.
NEM	‘coconut palm in forest’.
XAR	‘forest palm, <i>Burretiokentia vieillardii</i> ’.
MSH	‘coconut palm’.
EFI	‘fan palm’.
WFI	‘fan palm’; <i>tag<sup>w</sup>a</i> ‘kind of palm with edible nuts’.
RTU	‘sago-palm’.
TON	<i>piu</i> ‘fan-palm’; <i>logologo</i> ‘ <i>Cycas</i> ’.
SAM	Also [ <i>palema</i> ] from Latin.
MEL	Also <i>pua</i> , <i>nipi</i> .
TAH	From Hebrew.
RAP	<i>niu</i> ‘palm (non-fruit-bearing)’; <i>ha<sup>?</sup>ari</i> ‘palm (fruit-bearing)’.

## 08.820 COCONUT

ATA	MGY	vua niu	*WOL	kaluku
TSO	ACE	u	MAG	nio
RUK	*BAT	harabbir	NGA	nio
PAI	*MIN	karambi <sup>3</sup>	*SIK	kabor
YAM	IND	kəlapa	RTI	no
*ISN	SUN	kalapa	*BUR	niwe
KAL	*JAV	kləpə	DOB	nor
TAG	MAD	ñiur	IRA	umage
*AKL	BAL	ñuh	SAW	niwe
PAL	SAS	ñiur	NYI	niu
MOL	*GOR	huŋo lo boŋo	MAM	niu
KAG	DAA	kaluku	TAK	niu
BLA	UMA	kuluku	DAM	sō
SAB	BUG	kaluku	YAB	nip
*MUR	KON	kaluku	KAU	eβit

TOL	ləma	PAA	matou	*PON	ūp <sup>w</sup>
BUA	bək	*LEW	maru	WLE	uφ <sup>w</sup> u
ADZ	ba <sup>m</sup> pi <sup>o?</sup>	POR	marü	EFI	niu
KIL	luya	NTA	niən	WFI	niu
TAW	neula	KWA	napuei	RTU	niu
MOT	niu	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> en t <sup>h</sup> ep	TON	niu
*MEK	koŋa	CEM	áce-nû	*SAM	niu
ROV	ŋohara	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ẽ nũ	MEL	niu
MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oilo	*XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ã-nũ	TAH	ha <sup>?</sup> ari
LAU	niu	NEN	nu	RAP	ha <sup>?</sup> ari kai
KWO	niu	KIR	te moimoto		
RAG	niu	MSH	ni		

ISN *pakat* ‘coconut cream/milk’; *ūbud* ‘coconut heart’; *kakkalodan* ‘young/unripe coconut’.

AKL *butuŋ* ‘unripe coconut’; *ūbud* ‘coconut heart’; *gata<sup>?</sup>* ‘coconut cream’.

MUR From Brunei Malay *piasau*.

BAT Compare Minangkabau *karambi<sup>o?</sup>*, Javanese *krambil*.

MIN Also *ñiu<sup>o?</sup>*.

JAV Also *krambil*; Horne: *krambil* everyday form, *klɔpɔ* polite.

GOR *huŋo* ‘flower’; *lo*, linker.

WOL Also ‘coconut palm’; *kauwa* ‘coconut shell’.

SIK Also [*niur*] Malay.

BUR WaeSama *nive*; *niwe kepa-n* ‘germinated coconut’.

MEK ‘coconut, coconut palm’.

LEW Also *pra-niu*, *pra-wa*.

XAR ‘fruit of coconut palm’.

PON Also *pēn* 3sg POSS, hon.

SAM (polite) *vailolo*.

## 08.830 CITRUS FRUIT

<b>Tok Pisin:</b> <i>muli</i>
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\*ATA ?iyuk

TSO xuv<sup>o</sup>

RUK

PAI

YAM varačinok

ISN

KAL

\*TAG kalamansi<sup>?</sup>

\*AKL simūyaw

*PAL	kalamansi	SIK	mude	RAG	moli
MOL	limow	RTI	delo boa-k	PAA	amol
KAG		*BUR	puha-t	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> oli
BLA	kbuleŋ	*DOB	[lemo]	POR	
SAB	muntay	IRA	katara	*NTA	
*MUR	[limaw]	SAW	fəfə pyən-o	KWA	nəmərhi
MGY	vua-sari	NYI	[moli]	*NEM	dəgan
	makirana	MAM	muli	*CEM	dòlogə
*ACE	giri	TAK	[muli]	*AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ē [yitōřō]
BAT	utte	DAM	muli	XAR	
MIN		MAB	[muli]	NEN	
IND	buah jərək	YAB	kawasun	KIR	
*SUN	[jərək]	KAU	[muli]	*MSH	[ləim <sup>w</sup> ]
JAV	jəru?	TOL	muli	*PON	karer
*MAD	[jərək]	BUA	[mori]	WLE	xuřuxuřu
BAL	juuk	ADZ	ŋarugawam	EFI	moli
SAS	jərək	*KIL	[lemoni]	WFI	moli
GOR	limu	*TAW	sipolo	RTU	mori
DAA	lemo	*MOT	siporo	TON	moli
UMA	mu <sup>n</sup> te	*MEK	fae-fae	SAM	moli
BUG	bua [lemo]	ROV	vua huda	MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> oli]
KON	lemo		kakatua	TAH	tāporo
WOL	makalona	MAR	moli	RAP	
*MAG	<sup>n</sup> deru	LAU	moli		
NGA	mude	KWO			

ATA ?iyuk ‘orange’, tařaki? ‘lemon’.

TAG *Calamondin*; no generic term.

AKL *Calamondin*, no generic term.

PAL Also əgsəm.

MUR From Malay.

ACE Also [kruət] ‘lime’ from Mon-Khmer.

SUN From Malay or Javanese.

MAD From Malay or Javanese.

MAG ‘kind of citrus’.

BUR ‘pomelo’; puh mina-t ‘fatty citrus: orange or tangerine’; Rana and WaeSama hosi-k.

DOB From Malay.

KIL	'citrus fruit' from English.
TAW	'lime'; <i>anani</i> 'orange'. No generic word.
MOT	From a Polynesian language, via missionaries? See Rarotongan <i>tiporo</i> , Samoan <i>tipolo</i> .
MEK	Also [ <i>olanitsi</i> ], and [ <i>lemoni</i> ].
NTA	No general term; <i>noanəmoli</i> , <i>noanəmləh</i> 'orange'; <i>noastroŋ</i> 'lemon'; [ <i>mantri</i> ] 'mandarin'.
NEM	'native orange tree, <i>Citrus macroptera</i> '.
CEM	'native orange tree, <i>Citrus macroptera</i> '.
AJI	From French <i>citron</i> .
MSH	From English.
PON	Also <i>peren</i> .

#### 08.840 BANANA TREE

*ATA	yukiʔuh	MAD	buŋka-na	*YAB	ɪm
TSO	ʔnimi		gəɖʰaŋ	KAU	muhuk
RUK	bələbələ	*BAL	puña-n biu	TOL	vudu
PAI	vəlʷ-vəlʷ	SAS	puntiʔ	BUA	βud
YAM	vinəvə	*GOR	huŋo lo la <sup>m</sup> bi	*ADZ	ganaŋ
ISN	bāgat	DAA	loka	*KIL	usi
KAL	bālat	UMA	lokaʔ	*TAW	bihiya
*TAG	sāgiŋ	BUG	poŋ utti	*MOT	dui
AKL	sagiŋ	KON	loka	*MEK	kui
PAL	punti	*WOL	loka	ROV	hakua
MOL	punti	MAG	muku	MAR	čau
KAG	sagiŋ	NGA	puʔu-muku	LAU	bou
BLA	sagiŋ	SIK	muʔu	KWO	baʔa
SAB	poʔon saiŋ	*RTI	huni	RAG	ihi
MUR	puti	*BUR	fuat lahi-n	PAA	ahis
*MGY	[akundʳu]	DOB	muʔu	LEW	vi
ACE	pisaŋ	IRA	ʔudə	POR	<sup>m</sup> bre-vüč
*BAT	bəna ni pisaŋ	SAW	loke bao	NTA	nəpən
MIN	bataŋ pisaŋ	NYI	bur	KWA	taik
IND	pohon pisaŋ	MAM	udi	*NEM	pijiŋ
SUN	taŋkal čau	TAK	fud	CEM	jùhi
JAV	wit gəɖaŋ	DAM	ūdi	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> iʒei
		MAB	pin	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> i

NEN	waʔeθe	EFI	βudi	MEL	fuči
*KIR	te[banana]	WFI	βuʃi	*TAH	tumu meiʔa
MSH	kēpraŋ	RTU	pəri	RAP	maika
PON	ūṭ	TON	fusi		
WLE	wiʃi	SAM	faʔi		

ATA Also *yukuh*.

TAG Also ‘banana’; Proto-Philippines *\*sāRiŋ*.

MGY From Bantu, also ‘banana’.

BAT Also *tabbirik* ‘young banana tree’; *gaɔl* ‘banana’.

BAL See 08.530.

GOR See 08.820.

WOL Also ‘banana (fruit)’.

RTI Also *huni hu-k*.

BUR *WaeSamafiat, fiet*.

YAB Homophonous with *in* ‘origin’, but with different etymologies: Proto-Oceanic *\*pudi* ‘banana’ and *\*puqun* ‘base, origin’.

ADZ *ganaŋ* ‘term for yams and bananas’; *ri<sup>n</sup>tai* used when referring to banana garden – *gum ri<sup>n</sup>tai*.

KIL Avoided in mixed company, especially if people knowing the Dobu language are within hearing, as in that language *usi* is ‘their female genitals’. Instead the Dobuan word *udi* ‘banana’ is used.

TAW Other dialects *hakowa*.

MOT *biku* ‘banana fruit’.

MEK *kui* ‘domestic banana tree’; *ʔamea* ‘wild banana trees’. For the fruit, East Mek (bisyllabic) *oo* (see Kuni *ko, koko*), North Mekeo *foa* and West Mekeo, NW Mekeo *poa*.

NEM *pijij* ‘native banana’; [*sāmua*] introduced species.

KIR From English.

TAH Also *tumu maiʔa*.

**08.850 BANYAN**

ATA	šawit	UMA	nunu?	*MAR	glolo
TSO		BUG	poŋ wariŋiŋ	LAU	dalo
RUK	daralapə	KON	'erasa	KWO	baolo
PAI	jaral <sup>y</sup> ap	WOL	ɗawi-ɗawi	RAG	ramute
YAM		MAG	la <sup>ŋ</sup> ke	PAA	avek
ISN	balīsi	NGA	ŋədu	LEW	pa
KAL	balīti	SIK	bao	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>ŋ</sup> g
TAG	balīti?	*RTI	keka	*NTA	nepək
AKL	balīti?	BUR	lapi-t	KWA	nəpək
PAL	bəliti	DOB		NEM	t <sup>h</sup> uk
MOL	boriŋin	IRA	udaφə (rigətə)	CEM	tīli
KAG		SAW	ay yowen	AJI	bə
BLA		NYI	eu kei	XAR	duru
SAB		MAM		NEN	yeθa
MUR		TAK	aiyao	KIR	
MGY		DAM	kayo	MSH	
ACE		MAB	mala	PON	aiiau
*BAT	hariara	*YAB	ka-gae	WLE	
MIN	bariŋin	KAU	akalupi	EFI	baka
IND	pəhon bəriŋin	*TOL	giau	WFI	yayawa
SUN	čariŋin	BUA		RTU	æeva
JAV	(w)riŋin	ADZ		TON	?ōvava
MAD	briŋin	KIL		SAM	āoa
BAL	biŋin	TAW		MEL	āoa
*SAS	bunut	MOT		TAH	?ōrā
GOR	lulu?o	MEK		RAP	
DAA	kayu nunu	ROV	kalala		

BAT From *kayu ara*.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *bunut; bəriŋin*.

RTI Also *nunu*.

YAB Also *gae*.

TOL Also *giao, nunu*.

MAR Also *moro*.

NTA Also *namkenən*.

## 08.910 SWEET POTATO

Spanish: *camote, castilla*Polynesian languages: *kumara, kumala*.

ATA	βuŋaʔ	UMA	<sup>n</sup> taloku	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> umara
TSO	fʔure	BUG	lame kandora	LAU	kairogi
RUK	orasi	*KON	lamiŋaha	*KWO	kumara
PAI	vurati	WOL	<sup>n</sup> ka-owi-owi	*RAG	[kumala]
YAM	wakay	MAG	tete	PAA	kumal
ISN	[kamusi]	NGA	ɗao	LEW	kumala
KAL	gannagan	SIK	tuka	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> etete
TAG	[kamōte]	RTI	ufi sina	NTA	kolei
AKL	[kamōtih]	*BUR	maŋa-t	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> arei
PAL	saŋlay	DOB	ʔur <sup>l</sup> aw ta <sup>n</sup> in	NEM	[kum <sup>w</sup> la]
MOL	saŋlay	IRA	waraŋeφə	CEM	[kùm <sup>w</sup> alá]
*KAG	[kamuti]		tabərə	AJI	[kum <sup>w</sup> aŋa]
	blagən	*SAW	daso	XAR	[kum <sup>w</sup> ara]
BLA	kəsiləʔ	NYI	kasou	*NEN	[kumala]
SAB	[kamuntiʔ]	MAM	moarepi	KIR	[kumara]
MUR	[kasilaʔ]	TAK	kubulak	*MSH	[piteto]
*MGY	vumanga	DAM	kubilim	*PON	[petēte]
ACE		MAB	sere <sup>m</sup> bat	WLE	xam <sup>w</sup> ūtiya
BAT	gadəŋ	*YAB	bəʔ-kəkəʔ	*EFI	kumala
MIN	ubi ʒala	*KAU	kibak	*WFI	[kumala]
IND	ubi ʒalar	TOL	kəkəu	RTU	kumara
*SUN	boled	BUA	rabəŋ	TON	kumala
JAV	[(kə)telə]	*ADZ	unas	SAM	ʔumala
*MAD	sabrəŋ	KIL	simsim <sup>w</sup> ai	*MEL	[kumala]
BAL	[(kə)selə]bun	TAW	kumala	TAH	ʔumara
SAS	ambon	*MOT	kaema	*RAP	kumara
GOR	[ʔatetela]	*MEK	mekoi		
DAA	<sup>n</sup> toloku	ROV	luzu vaka		

KAG 'vine [kamuti]'.  
MGY Probably from \*uvi-manga.  
SUN Also hui boled.  
MAD Safioedin (1977): sabb<sup>ə</sup>raŋ 'cassava'.  
KON Also lameŋaha.

BUR	Rana/Lisela [ <i>ubi-t/obi-t</i> ]; WaeSama <i>man deŋa-n</i> .
SAW	Also <i>wɔŋ</i> .
YAB	'tuber-red' ( <i>bɔʔ</i> 'wild tuber').
KAU	Also <i>pasolo</i> .
ADZ	Also <i>onas</i> .
MOT	Eastern Motu <i>mose</i> .
MEK	North Mekeo <i>akole</i> , <i>akore</i> West Mekeo <i>ikole</i> , NW Mekeo <i>ukuba</i> .
KWO	Also [ <i>faka</i> ].
RAG	Also [ <i>kumara</i> ].
NEN	Also <i>erena</i> .
MSH	From English.
PON	From English.
WFI	Standard Fijian, from Tongan.
EFI	Tongan.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	Also <i>kumā</i> .

### 08.912 YAM

ATA	šakuy	BAT	suhat	RTI	ufi
*TSO	taʔruɕo	MIN		*BUR	maŋa-t
RUK	baŋiloko	*IND	ubi	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> al tulir
PAI		*SUN	hui	IRA	
YAM	ovi	JAV	uwi	SAW	sesul
ISN	ūbi	MAD	tila	NYI	kana
KAL	ūbi	*BAL	ubi	MAM	uaŋai
*TAG	ūbi	SAS	ambon	*TAK	dabel
AKL	ūbih	GOR	wiwi (?)	DAM	gamu
PAL	pulugan	DAA	uvi	*MAB	bīdi (mami)
MOL		UMA		*YAB	ame
KAG		BUG	lame kalolo?	KAU	eni
BLA		KON		TOL	up
SAB	ubi	*WOL	owi	BUA	go
MUR	sakut	*MAG	uvi	*ADZ	ganəŋ
MGY	uvi	NGA	uvi	*KIL	taitu
ACE		SIK	tuka	TAW	woida



*MOT	maho	NTA	nup	*WLE	sepa
*MEK	lama	KWA	nuk	EFI	uβi
ROV	marihi	NEM	kūk	WFI	βičua
*MAR	nufi	CEM	û	RTU	?uhi
LAU	kai	AJI	mɔu	TON	?ufi
KWO	kai	XAR	ku	SAM	ufi
RAG	damu	*NEN	koko	MEL	ufi
PAA	auh	KIR		*TAH	ufi
LEW	yui	*MSH	[iām <sup>w</sup> ]	RAP	?uhi
POR	na- <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> am	PON	kēp		

TSO *ta?rufo* ‘wild yam’; *f?ure-tarmorɪ* ‘cultivated yam’.

TAG (purple variety).

IND Also *kɔladi* ‘*Colocasia esculenta*’.

SUN ‘generic term for tubers and root foods’.

BAL Also [(*kə*)*selə*]; [*kətələ*] ‘taro’; *kladi* ‘k.o. root food’.

WOL *owi* ‘k.o. big yam’; *opa* [*kaladi*] ‘taro’.

MAG In western dialects: *kei* and *ŋaŋ*.

BUR See note for 08.910.

TAK *dabel* ‘long yam’; *anŋanaŋ* ‘short yam’, from *anaŋ* ‘food’ (05.120).

MAB Also *kiu* ‘really large yam’.

YAB ‘short yam’; also *kepi* ‘long yam’.

ADZ ‘term for yams and bananas’; see 08.840.

KIL Also *kuβi* ‘long yam’.

MOT Also *taitu* ‘sweet yam’; *maho taitu* ‘all yam’.

MEK North Mekeo, West Mekeo *ani-ani*, NW Mekeo *aŋimai*; East Mek *?u-?ui* for ‘wild yams in general’, *ku-kui* in the other dialects.

MAR *nufi* generic; *bop<sup>h</sup>a* ‘greater yam’; *p<sup>h</sup>ana* ‘goa yam’.

NEN Also *wakoko*.

MSH From English.

WLE Also *toxi*.

TAH Also *uhi*.

## 08.920 TAPIOCA, MANIOC, CASSAVA

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>cassave</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>tapioca, manioc</i>	<b>French:</b> <i>manioc</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>camote</i>		

ATA		GOR [kasubi]	ROV oremarihi
*TSO fʔure-evi		DAA [kasubi]	MAR bia
RUK		*UMA a <sup>m</sup> poʔ	LAU kaiʔai
PAI		BUG lame aʃju	*KWO kai ʔai
YAM		KON bittahe	RAG
ISN balaŋkuy		WOL owi kau	PAA [maniok]
KAL pagpagli		*MAG tete haʃu	LEW [manioki]
TAG [kamōte]-ŋ		NGA uvi-ʃava	POR
		*SIK ʔai ʔohu	NTA [maniota]
AKL [kamōti]-ŋ		RTI ufi ai	KWA [manto]
		*BUR maŋ-kau	NEM [maño]
PAL kumbahaŋ		DOB ur'law ʔay	CEM [meño]
MOL saŋlay kayu		IRA waraʃeʔə ñe	AJI [mãñõ]
*KAG [kamuti]kauy		*SAW [kasbi]	XAR [meñõ]
BLA kəsiloʔ kayu		NYI [tapiyok]	NEN
SAB kamuntiʔ		MAM sula	KIR
		TAK beb	MSH [tapioka]
MUR mundok		DAM moya	*PON [tapiōka]
MGY manga-hazu		MAB [manioka]	WLE
ACE ubi		YAB [anioka]	EFI [taβioka]
*BAT gadɔkkau		KAU kapiok	WFI [taβioka]
*MIN ubi parañčih		TOL [təpiok]	RTU [tapiko]
*IND ubi kayu		BUA amego	TON [mānioke]
*SUN [sampi]		*ADZ gana wauf	SAM [manioka]
*JAV [kaspɔ]		KIL [tapiyok <sup>w</sup> a]	MEL [manioka]
MAD təŋgaŋ		*TAW [tapiyoka]	TAH [maniota]
*BAL [(kə)selə]		MOT [maniota]	RAP [manioka]
SAS ambon kayuʔ		MEK [manioka]	

TSO 'tree yam'.

KAG 'tree kamuti'.

BAT (gadɔŋ + hau).

MIN 'French tuber' from French.

IND Also *siŋkoŋ*.

SUN	From Dutch or Javanese?
JAV	From Dutch?
BAL	Also ( <i>kə</i> ) <i>selə sawi, səsawi; kəsawi</i> .
UMA	<i>na<sup>m</sup>po</i> (Southern dialect); <i><sup>n</sup>taloku kasu</i> (Tobaku dialect); <i><sup>n</sup>taloku kau</i> (Winatu dialect); the last two mean ‘wood(en) sweet-potato’.
MAG	Also <i>daeŋ</i> (- <i>se</i> ).
SIK	Also <i>ʔohu ʔai</i> .
BUR	Also <i>dodi</i> ‘an edible jungle tuber’; <i>gehu-t</i> ‘taro (Lisela <i>koho-t</i> ). Central and Li Enyorot dialects [ <i>kasbi-t</i> ] ‘cassava’ with ultimate stress. Note Ambonese Malay, <i>kasbi</i> .
SAW	From Malay.
ADZ	‘yam kapok’ i.e. ‘yam with leaves like kapok tree’ (introduced plant).
TAW	Also [ <i>maniyoka</i> ].
KWO	‘yam tree’, introduced cultigen.
PON	Also [ <i>maniok</i> ] <i>kēp tūke</i> lit ‘tree yam’.

### 08.930 GOURD

Portuguese: <i>calabaça</i>	Sanskrit: <i>alābu-</i>
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ATA	taβaʔ	ACE	[labu]	NGA	ŋəme
*TSO	tofi	BAT	guddur	SIK	besi
RUK	talioro	*MIN	[labu]	RTI	<sup>u</sup> gela oe
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> ui	*IND	[labu]	*BUR	[calabasa]
YAM	tavalay	*SUN	[waluh]	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ol tawaʔan
ISN	bakūbaʔ	*JAV	bligo	IRA	rabuni
KAL	tabūŋaw	MAD	kunḍur	*SAW	walu
*TAG		BAL	waluh	*NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isi eh
*AKL		SAS	klende	MAM	au-paʔi
PAL	inum-an	*GOR	bobo	TAK	mumur
MOL		DAA	tabo	DAM	gulub
KAG		UMA	[laboʔ]	MAB	
BLA		BUG	[lawo]	YAB	walo
SAB	[labu]	*KON	bila	*KAU	βeleput
MUR	[lalabuʔ]	*WOL	paratukala	TOL	vuvu
MGY	vua-tangu	MAG	tavu	BUA	malōk

*ADZ	was ga <sup>ɔ</sup> kaŋ	LEW	sisua	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ilel
KIL	yaguma	POR		WLE	xuŋuxuŋu
*TAW	tubi	NTA		EFI	βaŋo
MOT	ahu	KWA		*WFI	[laukī]
*MEK	vei	NEM	we-kaē	RTU	piroroŋo
ROV	daka	CEM	h <sup>w</sup> ī	TON	hina
*MAR	du <sup>ʔ</sup> e	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã rã	SAM	faŋu
LAU	fena	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> e xarie	MEL	
KWO		*NEN	aloθe	TAH	hue
RAG		KIR		RAP	ipu kaha
PAA	idu	*MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> ãŋkɛ]		

TSO *tofi* ‘bottle gourd’; *va<sup>ʔ</sup>ati* ‘sponge gourd’.

TAG See squash (08.931).

AKL See squash 08.931.

MIN Also *kundu*<sup>?</sup>.

IND Also [*kalabasa*].

SUN From Javanese, also *kukuk*, *kundur*, *lejet*.

JAV Also *kanti*.

GOR [*samale<sup>ɔ</sup>ga*] ‘tallow gourd, wax gourd’; *tahala* ‘*Lagenaria vulgaris* Ser.’; *walu* ‘*Cucurbita pepo* L’; *sogano* (gloss not specified); *bolo<sup>ɔ</sup>ga* ‘*Civtullus vulgaris* Schrad.’.

KON *bila* ‘tree gourd’; *lahu* ‘vine gourd’.

WOL ‘pumpkin, melon’

BUR From Portuguese via Malay.

SAW Also *patola* ‘small gourd’, from Ternate (?).

NYI ‘lime container’.

KAU Also *ekuh*.

ADZ ‘lime skin shell’ i.e. ‘shell for lime powder’.

TAW *tubi* ‘large gourd’; *yaguma* ‘small gourd’.

MEK ‘gourd for holding water’. *faŋa* ‘symbolic lime-gourd of the peace-chief’.

MAR *du<sup>ʔ</sup>e*, *gri<sup>ʔ</sup>o* ‘gourd or bamboo container’.

NEN Also *čei*, *wawen*.

MSH From English.

WFI From Hindi.

## 08.931 PUMPKIN, SQUASH

Spanish: <i>calabaça</i> 'gourd'
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ATA	riɬum	UMA	kaboʃaʔ	ROV	[pamukeni]
TSO	pusiaxi	BUG	lawo	MAR	maduku
RUK	goɭo-goɭ-anə	*KON	kolu-kolu	LAU	
PAI		*WOL	ko <sup>n</sup> duru	KWO	
YAM	pinyaw	MAG	<sup>n</sup> desi	RAG	
ISN	[karabāsa]	NGA	besi	PAA	[vamukin]
KAL	[kalubāsa]	SIK	besi	LEW	[pamken]
TAG	[kalabāsa]	RTI	<sup>ɲ</sup> gela-s	POR	
AKL	[kaɬabāsah]	BUR	walu	NTA	[noakamkən]
PAL	[labuʔ]	DOB	losa	KWA	
MOL	[labuʔ]	IRA		NEM	we
KAG	[kalabasa]	*SAW	[sambiki]	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ɪ
BLA	bəbɔsɔl	NYI	boɟam bada	AJI	lɔlɔ
SAB	kabasiʔ		malou	XAR	dɔk <sup>w</sup> e
MUR		MAM	[punigeŋ]	NEN	waʃei
MGY	vua-tavu	TAK	walu	KIR	
ACE	piʔ	DAM	olu	MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> āŋkɛ]
BAT	ʃelok	MAB		PON	[p <sup>w</sup> eŋkin]
MIN	[labu]	YAB	walowalo	WLE	[xəɾeɸ <sup>w</sup> ɔsi]
IND	[labu] manis	KAU	[pankin]	EFI	[βaβukeni]
*SUN	[waluh]	TOL	[pamkin]	*WFI	simusimu
JAV	waluh	BUA	ruɣaruɣ	RTU	[paukene]
MAD	[labu]	ADZ	[bā <sup>ɲ</sup> kiŋ]	TON	hina
BAL	waluh	KIL	[pamk <sup>w</sup> ena]	SAM	[maukene]
SAS	bokah	TAW	bonubonu	MEL	
*GOR	bolo <sup>ɲ</sup> ga	*MOT	mosino	*TAH	[mauteni]
DAA	taboyo	*MEK	[maukeni]	RAP	[mautini]

SUN [waluh] 'pumpkin' from Javanese; *leʃet* 'gourd sp'.

GOR 'pumpkin'(?).

KON Also '*kunrulu*'.

WOL Also *paratukala*.

SAW From Ternate?

MOT Also Western Motu [*mausini*].

MEK Also [*mauteni*].

WFI Also [*βaβukeni*].

TAH Also [*mau~~n~~ni*] from English.

### 08.940 BAMBOO

*ATA	βuiḱaʔ	DAA		*ROV	beti
*TSO		UMA	βalo	*MAR	pop <sup>h</sup> osa
*RUK	balabalə	BUG	awoʔ	LAU	kao
*PAI	ḱau	*KON	parrɨŋ	KWO	ʔau
YAM	kawalan	*WOL	<sup>m</sup> balo	RAG	bua
*ISN	pasɨŋan	*MAG	bətoŋ	PAA	eau
*KAL	būlu	*NGA	βəto	*LEW	pla-p <sup>w</sup> e
*TAG	kawāyan	*SIK	pəli	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bu
*AKL	kawāyan	*RTI	o	NTA	nau
*PAL	kawayan	*BUR	uka	KWA	tikinau
MOL	kowayan	*DOB	yamal	NEM	yavic
KAG	kawayan	*IRA	φebarə	CEM	ô
*BLA		*SAW	gɔf	AJI	kaře
SAB	kayawan	NYI	eu	XAR	yā
MUR	buluʔ	MAM	ʔazara	NEN	
MGY	vulu-n- çangana	TAK	suduk	KIR	
ACE	triəŋ	*DAM	digē	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ae
BAT	bulu	*MAB	kaukau	PON	pēri
*MIN	bulu <sup>ʔ</sup> h	*YAB	eʔ	WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> ōü
*IND	[bambu]	*KAU	kaut	EFI	bitu
SUN	awi	TOL	kəur	WFI	biču
JAV	(ə)m)priŋ	BUA	apel	*RTU	vau
MAD	pərrɨŋ	ADZ	yamu <sup>ʔ</sup> ʔ	*TON	kofe
*BAL	tiŋ	KIL		*SAM	ʔofe
SAS	təreŋ	TAW	baubau	MEL	lopu
*GOR	talilo	MOT	bau	*TAH	ʔofe
		*MEK	pieni	RAP	ʔohe

ATA *βuiḱaʔ*, *ḱawran*, *βatakan*, *βanḱu*, *ḱau-a-γ* 'various species of bamboo'.

TSO No generic word, species include *oru*, *pasi*, *ʔoti*, *tpoi*, *ŋutu* etc.

RUK *kavaðanə* 'a species of large bamboo', *kilakili* 'a species of small bamboo'.

- PAI *ɕuvuk* ‘bamboo shoots’; *kavay-an* ‘thorny bamboo’; *navu-navuk* ‘a type of bamboo’
- ISN *pasīŋan* ‘bamboo spiny’; *bayug* ‘bamboo thick’; *būlu* ‘bamboo thin’.
- KAL *būlu* (thin species); *kawāyan* (spiny species).
- TAG (spiny species); PHN \**kawāyan*; not a generic term.
- AKL (spiny variety); PHN \**kawāyan*.
- PAL *Bambusa blumeana*.
- BLA No generic terms; *sufəʔ*; *ɕfus*; *salban*; *kliŋ* etc. bamboo varieties.
- MIN Bamboo varieties include *batuʔŋ*, *tamiŋ*, *auʔ*; *talaŋ*, *pariʔŋ*, *sariaʔ*.
- IND Also *buluh*.
- BAL Old Balinese *təriŋ*; species include *tiŋ ampel*, *tiŋ buluh*, *tiŋ gəsiŋ*, *tiŋ jaŋaŋ*, *tiŋ pətuŋ* (= *tiŋ jləpuŋ*), *tiŋ santəŋ*, *tiŋ suat*.
- GOR *talilo* ‘*Bambusa longinodis* Miq.’; also *wawohu* ‘*Bambusa* sp.’; *hulapa* ‘bamboo with thinner wood, smaller stalk’; *tomula* ‘bamboo of medium size, with thin wood, *Schizostachyum brachycadum* Kurz’.
- KON Also *oro*, *pattoŋ*, *bulo*, *timallaŋ*.
- WOL Also *paraawata*, *pola<sup>n</sup>to*, *tari*, *patu*, *lumai*.
- MAG *Dendrocalamus asper*, the largest bamboo in Manggarai.
- NGA Varieties include *ɕəto*, *bəla*, *guru* and *ila*.
- SIK Various species: *ʔaur*, *petu-ŋ*, *Bulu* etc.
- RTI *mila* ‘a fine, thinner bamboo’; *teli-k* ‘larger sort of bamboo’.
- BUR Frequently elided to *ka*, as is *kau* ‘wood’. Bamboo species commonly used are: *kawaa-n*, *epi-t*, *uka bolo*, *em-naku-n* (Rana *neta-t*), *naŋa*, *nemu*.
- DOB ‘species of bamboo’. Other species are: *k<sup>w</sup>odan*, *timin* and *tu'may*.
- IRA *ɕebarə* ‘water bamboo’; *ɛɕotə* ‘thin kind of bamboo’.
- SAW Also *sosora*, *bəlile*, *flæ*, *wem*, different species.
- DAM Also *moo*, distinct variety.
- MAB *kaukau* (big species), *somsom*, *ko* (small species).
- YAB Generic term. Also *gasuʔ* ‘bamboo tube’; *som* ‘kind of large bamboo’.
- KAU Also *keser* (used to make combs); *labu* (used to make blowpipes), *ɕsu*.
- MEK West Mekeo *bidzeni*, *bieni*.

ROV	<i>beti</i> ‘small bamboo, used for fishing rod’; <i>kevu</i> ‘bigger one’; <i>lohe</i> ‘very large, used for carrying water’.
MAR	<i>pop<sup>h</sup>osa</i> ‘green bamboo’; <i>na<sup>?</sup>esa</i> ‘large, yellow bamboo’.
LEW	Also <i>pla-yu</i> .
RTU	Also <i>?efu</i> .
TON	Also <i>pitu</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>maṅamatē</i> .
TAH	Also <i>?ohe</i> .

### 08.941 SUGAR CANE

ATA	<i>tiyuβu<sup>?</sup></i>	UMA	<i>toβu</i>	MAR	<i>nehu</i>
TSO	<i>tifsi</i>	BUG	<i>tibbu</i>	LAU	<i>ofu</i>
RUK	<i>ɣoboso</i>	KON	<i>tabbu</i>	KWO	<i>ŋāŋasi</i>
PAI	<i>cəvus</i>	*WOL	<i>towu</i>	RAG	<i>toi</i>
YAM	<i>onaş</i>	MAG	<i>teu</i>	PAA	<i>ateh</i>
ISN	<i>unāt</i>	NGA	<i>təvu</i>	LEW	<i>tevi</i>
KAL	<i>unas</i>	SIK	<i>təβu</i>	POR	<i>narəv</i>
TAG	<i>tubo</i>	RTI	<i>tefu</i>	NTA	<i>netəp</i>
AKL	<i>tubuh</i>	BUR	<i>tefu</i>	KWA	<i>nəruk</i>
PAL	<i>təbu</i>	DOB	<i>k<sup>w</sup>uŋar</i>	NEM	<i>k<sup>ɔ</sup>uñ</i>
MOL	<i>təbu</i>	*IRA	<i>weφo</i>	CEM	<i>ùja</i>
KAG	<i>tabbu</i>	SAW	<i>tep</i>	AJI	<i>wāre</i>
BLA	<i>tbu</i>	NYI	<i>a<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>ai</i>	XAR	<i>de</i>
SAB	<i>tubbu</i>	MAM	<i>tou</i>	NEN	<i>wa<sup>?</sup>ea</i>
MUR	<i>tabu</i>	TAK	<i>tou</i>	*KIR	<i>te [tioka]</i>
*MGY	<i>fari</i>	DAM	<i>dā</i>	MSH	<i>tə</i>
ACE	<i>tubəə</i>	MAB	<i>teu</i>	PON	<i>səu</i>
BAT	<i>təbu</i>	YAB	<i>te</i>	WLE	<i>wou</i>
MIN	<i>tabu</i>	KAU	<i>eyim</i>	EFI	<i>doβu</i>
IND	<i>təbu</i>	TOL	<i>tup</i>	WFI	<i>toβu</i>
SUN	<i>tiwu</i>	BUA	<i>ləβ</i>	RTU	<i>fo<sup>?</sup>u</i>
JAV	<i>təbu</i>	ADZ	<i>yait</i>	TON	<i>tō</i>
MAD	<i>təbbu</i>	KIL	<i>tou</i>	SAM	<i>tolo</i>
BAL	<i>təbu</i>	*TAW	<i>keketa</i>	MEL	<i>toro</i>
SAS	<i>təbu</i>	MOT	<i>tohu</i>	*TAH	<i>tō</i>
GOR	<i>patodu</i>	*MEK	<i>eni</i>	RAP	<i>toa</i>
DAA	<i>tovu</i>	ROV	<i>suti</i>		



MGY From \**pajəy* 'paddy'.

WOL Also *batari* 'job's tears'.

IRA Also *tofə*.

TAW *tom* (dialect).

MEK *ini* other dialects, except NW Mekeo *eni*.

KIR From English *sugar*.

TAH *Alsotō piavere, tō ?ā?eho*.

### 08.960 FISH POISON (root)

ATA	ta-tuβa?	UMA	tuβa	MAR	guyunu
TSO	otof-nana	BUG	tua	LAU	boe
RUK	ɖapolo	KON	tuha peppe?	KWO	uka
PAI	ɣayu	*WOL	tuwele	*RAG	rau-vuvunuva
YAM		MAG	lareŋ	PAA	
ISN		NGA	tuva	*LEW	
KAL	tūba	SIK	plea	POR	xo ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o <sup>ŋ</sup> g
TAG	tūba	RTI	tufa	*NTA	
AKL	tūba	*BUR	bore	*KWA	nək <sup>w</sup> erəŋ
PAL	tuba	DOB	da?a	*NEM	giralik
MOL	tuba	IRA	ɸerərenə	*CEM	dū-cìe
KAG	tubli	SAW	wəs	AJI	aŋu
BLA	sol	NYI	bokei	XAR	di
SAB	gāsi	MAM	olomari	NEN	čičo
MUR	tuo	TAK	sasos	KIR	
MGY		DAM	gereb	*MSH	wəp
*ACE	tuba ʃunuun	MAB	nā <sup>m</sup> ba	*PON	ūp
BAT	tuba	*YAB	ɔ-labeŋ	WLE	supa
MIN	tubo	*KAU	isel	EFI	duβa
IND	upas	TOL		WFI	čuβa
SUN	tua	BUA	bayōs	RTU	fuha
JAV	ʃənu	ADZ	munu?	TON	kavafisi
MAD	tubba	KIL	soka	SAM	
BAL	tubə	TAW	tuwa	MEL	
SAS	kuə	MOT	imora	TAH	rā?au
GOR	tubo	*MEK	veko		fa?ata?ero i?a
DAA	tuva	ROV	buna iyana	RAP	

ACE	Also <i>junun, junu</i> .
WOL	Also <i>pa<sup>n</sup>dita</i> .
BUR	Noun; <i>tufa</i> 'use poison root to paralyse the fish' (vb).
YAB	'vine-Adam's apple', 'kind of poisonous vine used in fishing'.
KAU	'a vine from which poison is extracted'.
MEK	'a bush, the milky sap of which blinds the fish'. <i>peo</i> another plant the juice of whose bark and leaves is used. Three similar plants <i>bio</i> , <i>buko</i> and <i>baŋo</i> West Mekeo.
RAG	'plant, the leaf of which is used as fish poison'.
LEW	<i>wap</i> 'fish poison (fruit)'; <i>kurki</i> 'fish poison (skin)'; <i>miani</i> 'fish poison (vine)'.
NTA	Two fruits are used: <i>noutən</i> and <i>nakətəp</i> .
KWA	'fish poison tree, <i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> '.
NEM	<i>Derris trifoliata</i> .
CEM	<i>Derris trifoliata</i> .
MSH	<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> .
PON	<i>Derris elliptica</i> .

## 08.970 NETTLE

ATA	βayaşuk	MIN	ĵilataŋ	DOB	ʔawaʔu
*TSO	pixo	IND	ĵələtaŋ	IRA	re
RUK	valoŋo	*SUN	pulus	SAW	gemgamen
PAI		JAV	latəŋ	NYI	
YAM		*MAD	biya	MAM	zalato
ISN	alalātaŋ	BAL	latəŋ	*TAK	dalat
KAL	sait	SAS		DAM	udum
TAG	kulītis	*GOR	tahi	MAB	lōtō
*AKL	kulītis	DAA		YAB	lɔʔgom
PAL		UMA	ĵilata	*KAU	suβu
MOL		BUG	aweu	*TOL	bətəl
KAG		*KON	katiri bahi	BUA	zazap
BLA		*WOL	ɖelato	*ADZ	ɖzar
SAB		MAG	la <sup>n</sup> təŋ	KIL	
MUR	olopoy	NGA	pəza	TAW	yag <sup>w</sup> ata
MGY	amiana	SIK	ʔlada-ŋ	*MOT	yiniyini
ACE	ĵulataŋ	RTI	ai-do mase-k	MEK	apəŋe
BAT		BUR	pela-t		

*ROV	elelo vari rakihi	*KWA	nəwirak <sup>w</sup>	*EFI	salato
		NEM		*WFI	halato
MAR		CEM		RTU	usoro
LAU	k <sup>w</sup> ailasi	AJI		TON	hoŋohoro
KWO	ʔalagaugau	XAR		SAM	orooro
*RAG	galato	NEN		MEL	kara
PAA	āl	KIR		TAH	
*LEW	ke	MSH		RAP	
POR	naxe	PON			
NTA		WLE			

TSO *pixo* 'Urtica thunbergiana', *freisi* 'Laportea pterostigma'.

AKL *Amaranthus viridis*.

SUN Also *jalatoŋ*, *jalatraŋ*.

MAD Safioedin (1977): *ñalatəŋ* 'plant with stinging leaves'.

GOR Also *bulili* 'stinging nettle'.

KON *katiri bahi* 'nettle'; *kahuasa bororoŋ* 'thistle'.

WOL 'stinging nettle'.

TAK 'nettle tree'.

KAU Also *ninyuŋ*, *bohboh*.

TOL Also *bərbāgo*, *bərabago*, *kələŋ*, *kələkələŋ*, *məkulu*, *makuluə*.

ADZ *dzar*, *dzu<sup>m</sup>pi* 'two different types of nettle'.

MOT Used with prefix *aβa*. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) and Bible also give *siniura* 'a prickly creeper'.

ROV Also *zilatoŋo*, *sakita*, *akaku* 'vine with thorns'.

RAG 'tree nettle'.

LEW Also *makowawe*, *ī*.

KWA *nəwirak<sup>w</sup>* 'tree with stinging leaves, *Endrocnode* sp'; *nirəs* 'tree with stinging leaves, *Semecarpus vitiensis*'; *nerəŋ* 'tree with stinging leaves'.

WFI 'nettle tree'.

EFI 'nettle tree'.

## 08.980 MUSHROOM

*ATA	ta-ka-kinuy	RUK	tamarig	YAM	kanatəŋ
TSO	uŋo	*PAI	vadiw	ISN	ūʔuŋ

KAL	maʔili	*NGA	fako	PAA	avol
*TAG	kabute	*SIK	bokak	*LEW	kiliŋap <sup>w</sup> e
AKL	ūhuŋ	RTI	pu-ku	POR	na <sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> i
PAL	ɔmuruŋ	*BUR	uta-n	*NTA	nəpəruə
MOL	kulat	*DOB	ʔuwan	KWA	kapnumnum
*KAG	payuŋ-payuŋ	IRA	εφina	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> awec
BLA	kulət	SAW	remo	CEM	èmet
SAB	tayubuʔ	NYI	buku	AJI	jāxē
MUR	kulat	MAM	uasiruru	*XAR	xai
MGY	hulaʔ <sup>r</sup> a	TAK	pinapaŋ	*NEN	adral
ACE	kulat	DAM	talik	KIR	
*BAT	dan	MAB	tīli	MSH	
MIN	tindawan	YAB	wala	*PON	saleŋen eni
IND	ʒamur	KAU	iliŋ	*WLE	taʔiŋa-paca
SUN	supa	TOL	pəpai	EFI	daliŋa-ni-kau
JAV	ʒamur	BUA	ḱədik	WFI	taliŋa
MAD	kulat	*ADZ	rain <sup>n</sup> tuŋʔ	RTU	faliag ne
*BAL	ooŋ	KIL			ʔatua
SAS	təŋkoŋ	TAW	unago	TON	fakamalu-ʔa-
*GOR	mo <sup>ŋ</sup> gulāli	MOT			tēvolo
*DAA	rava	*MEK	fumo	*SAM	pūlou aitu
UMA	raβaʔ	ROV	pukete	MEL	seka
BUG	bassi	MAR	noko	TAH	tariʔa ʔiore
*KON	'pippisi	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ero	RAP	hatatiri
WOL	huu	KWO			
*MAG	hūm	RAG	ʔorotai		

ATA *ḱhuŋ* 'a type of large edible mushroom which grows on the ground';  
*wiša* 'a type of white mushroom which grows on trees'; *kapašiyak* 'a  
wild inedible mushroom'.

PAI *ŋi!-ŋi!* 'mushroom (edible)'.

TAG *kūlat* 'fungus'; not generic; PHN \**kūlat*.

KAG 'little umbrella'.

BAT From Proto-Batak \**dawan*; also *sariddan*.

BAL Also *woŋ*.

GOR (edible), also *buloŋa lo lati* 'Hydrophora punicea Fr.', lit 'ear (of)  
demon'.

DAA Also *ta<sup>m</sup>batu*.

KON Also *kala-kala, ʒarakila?*

- MAG 'the largest edible mushroom'; variants *huŋ*, *uŋ*.
- NGA Also *fako-peli*; *peli* means 'adult termite'.
- SIK Also *?loŋ*.
- BUR Emically classified as a vegetable *uta-n*, species include *uta emama*, *uta gogo*, etc.
- DOB A kind of fungus that grows on rotting wood.
- ADZ 'mushroom banana trunk', 'type of round, flat mushroom found on rotting banana trunks'.
- MEK *fumo* 'large white mushroom'. *o?ele*, and *aina* are other species of fungus.
- LEW 'fungi'.
- NTA 'an edible fungus'.
- XAR Also *biriŋi*, *b<sup>w</sup>aiti* (black dust); *xomŋ* (phosphorescent); *b<sup>w</sup>akəte*.
- NEN Also *yečeneŋo*.
- PON 'ghost's ear'.
- WLE See *taŋiŋa* 'ear'
- SAM *pūlou* 'hat', *aitu* 'spirit'.

## 09.110 DO, MAKE

Spanish: <i>obra</i>
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ATA	kaβaʔay	*SAB	hinaŋ	DAA	no-via
*TSO	mō-rai	*MUR	bāl	UMA	babehi
RUK		*MGY	manau	BUG	mak-kebbu
PAI		*ACE	pu-[get]	KON	aʔ-baʃu
YAM	mamazəŋ	BAT	baɛn	*WOL	ewau
ISN	maŋwa	MIN	bueʔ	MAG	[pa <sup>n</sup> de]
*KAL	maŋwa	*IND	məm-buat	NGA	tau
*TAG	gawaʔ	SUN	niin (jiin)	*SIK	təna
*AKL	būhat	*JAV	nindaʔke (tindaʔ-ke)	RTI	noi-tao
PAL	məmaʔal (baʔal)	MAD	g <sup>ə</sup> abay	*BUR	puna
MOL	baʔal	*BAL	ŋae (gae)	DOB	?a-dem
*KAG	[ubra]	*SAS	miaʔ (piaʔ)	IRA	
BLA	m-imoʔ	GOR	mo-hutu	SAW	n-pe
				NYI	amekes

MAM	emaʔi	*MAR	eni	*KIR	karaoa
*TAK	-gane	LAU	ilia	*MSH	cerp <sup>u</sup> al
*DAM	i-no-ya	*KWO	age-a	PON	wia
*MAB	-kam	RAG	loli	WLE	fōrī
*YAB	-gom	PAA	mūmoni	EFI	ḏaka-βa
KAU	niŋ	*LEW	kila	WFI	tara-a
TOL	pəit	POR	max-i	RTU	rē
BUA	βoŋ	NTA	-ol	TON	fai
ADZ	naŋ-	KWA	-o	SAM	fai
KIL	-βagi	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wai	MEL	fai-a
TAW	dewa-ya	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ḡ	*TAH	hāmani
MOT	kara-ia	AJI	wā	RAP	aŋa
*MEK	e-kapa(-i-a)	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> i		
ROV	tavetia	NEN	rue		

TSO Also *t-ra-i*.

KAL From *kokwa + maN-*.

TAG (*gawin*).

AKL Also [*obrah*].

KAG [*ubra*] + *m-/-ən*; also *buat + mag-/-ən*.

SAB *hinəŋ + aN-/ø*.

MUR *bāl (mag- -on)*.

MGY From (*maN-tau*).

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *məm-bikin, mə-laku-kan, mə-/[laksana]-kan*.

JAV Also *ŋ-gawe*.

BAL Old Balinese *mamek* interpreted by Goris as *maN-bek* 'make'. Only one occurrence in texts.

SAS Also *ŋ-gawek*.

WOL Also *pe-wau*.

SIK Also *guʔa*.

BUR Also *garu-k*. Central and Li Enyorot dialects *doa*.

TAK *-ga* (see 10.630). See *-ŋane, -ŋa* (11.160).

DAM '3sg-put-INF.

MAB 'do, make'; also *-urpe, -karakiti* 'make, fix'.

YAB 'make, create'; also *-yàm* 'do', *-màsaŋ* 'arrange'.

MEK	'do, make'; also <i>e-kau(-ŋa)</i> (common especially in NW Mekeo).
MAR	<i>eni</i> 'do, make'; <i>e<sup>2</sup>ei</i> 'make, build'.
KWO	Also <i>lauŋe<sup>?</sup>eni-a</i> .
LEW	Also <i>sī</i> 'create' (see 04.732).
KIR	<i>ka-</i> CAUS, <i>raoi</i> 'good'; <i>aera</i> 'do what?'
MSH	Also <i>kamm<sup>w</sup>an</i> from <i>mm<sup>w</sup>an</i> 'good'; <i>wacake</i> , also 'behave'; <i>m<sup>w</sup>arm<sup>w</sup>are</i> 'perform a task'; <i>et</i> 'do what?'
TAH	Also <i>?ohipa, rave</i> .

## 09.120 WORK

Sanskrit: *kārya-*Spanish: *trabajo, obra*

ATA	ma-tauwaw	*BAL	mə-gae	BUA	βoŋ yuk
TSO	rā-xioa	SAS	pə-gawe-an	ADZ	naŋ gũm
RUK	wa- twatomanə	GOR	[karaŋa]	KIL	-paisewa
*PAI	karakuda	DAA	na <sup>ɟ</sup> gavia	TAW	bagibagi
YAM	mivaray	UMA	bago	*MOT	ɣaukara
ISN	magkuwa	BUG	maŋ-ŋama	*MEK	e-pinauŋa
*KAL	kokwa	*KON	an-ŋama	ROV	tavtavete
*TAG	gawa <sup>?</sup>	*WOL	[karaŋaa]	MAR	loku
*AKL	[trabāhoh]	MAG	gori	LAU	rao
PAL	[karadya <sup>?</sup> ]	NGA	ŋoo	KWO	tauŋa <sup>?</sup> i
MOL	[koraŋa]	SIK	gu <sup>ʔ</sup> a	RAG	lol rovoya
KAG	[ubra]	*RTI	tao	PAA	mũm
BLA	m-imo <sup>?</sup>	*BUR	puna	LEW	yum <sup>w</sup> ae
*SAB	hinaŋ	*DOB	naroban	POR	<sup>ɟ</sup> gasian
*MUR	[kodoŋo]	IRA	nudə <sup>ɸ</sup> e	NTA	-oluok
MGY	mi-asa	SAW	n-pe yabe	*KWA	-aməna
ACE	buət	NYI	lahou	NEM	vai
BAT	ula	MAM	malipi	CEM	pēnem
*MIN	[karaŋo]	*TAK	urat	*AJI	[wake]
IND	bə-[kərŋa]	DAM	kabī	*XAR	[wake]
*SUN	[gawe]	MAB	urāta	NEN	ruač
*JAV	ñambut gawe	*YAB	-yām kom	KIR	m <sup>w</sup> m <sup>w</sup> akuri
MAD	laku	KAU	kum	MSH	ceɾp <sup>w</sup> al
		*TOL	pəpəlum	PON	tətōk

*WLE	yeŋōŋa	TON	ŋāue	TAH	rave i te
EFI	ḍakaḍaka	*SAM	ŋalue		ʔohipa
*WFI	dʳawe	*MEL	[wesīwesi]	RAP	aŋa
RTU	ŋarue				

PAI *ma-səŋ-səŋ* ‘work in the field’.

KAL *kokwa + man-*.

TAG Derived from *gawin*; also [*trabāho*].

AKL [*trabāhoh*] + *-un*

SAB *hinaŋ + aN-/ø*.

MUR *kodoŋo (mag-)*

MIN Also *kako?*

SUN From Javanese, also [*karya*].

JAV Also *ma-[karyɔ]*.

BAL *gae (n); mə-gae (vb intrans)*.

KON Also *aʔ-kareso*.

WOL Also *ko-miʔku* ‘move, work’.

RTI No general term; *tao* ‘to do, make’; *ue* ‘exertion in field labour’; *ue-ledis*, ‘field labour-palm-tapping’ the main forms of male labour.

BUR Also *enei, [karya]*.

DOB Noun. Also *noban*.

TAK Noun. No verb semantically equivalent to ‘work’.

YAB ‘do garden’; also *-yām kɔleŋ* ‘do hard work’.

TOL From *pəlum* (vb trans) ‘touch, handle work’.

MOT *yau* ‘thing’, *kara* ‘to make, do’.

MEK NW Mekeo *kabaea e-gaba-i-a* ‘work he/she does/did it’.

KWA ‘labour to improve’.

AJI From English *work*.

XAR From English; *çeŋū* ‘traditional work associated with social organisation’.

WLE Also *tariḥ<sup>w</sup>ōxo; mōta* ‘garden work’.

WFI Also *ḍakaḍaka* standard Fijian.

SAM Also *fai-ŋālue-ŋa, fai* ‘do’, *ŋālue* (vb intrans) ‘work’, *-ŋa* NOM.

MEL From Efate.



## 09.140 BEND

ATA	βihuy	*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka- de <sup>ŋ</sup> go	ROV	poloso
*TSO	ti-keŋzu			MAR	lolomno
RUK	aḷa-karoŋ	UMA	kolu	LAU	oia
PAI	ḍ-əm-ukuŋ	BUG	ma-ri <sup>k</sup> ko?	*KWO	ridifi-a
YAM	pitagiloən	KON	al-lökko?	*RAG	γibe
ISN	pikkut	*WOL	peka- <sup>ŋ</sup> keu	PAA	lubusi
*KAL	kēlu	MAG	və <sup>ŋ</sup> gul	LEW	kawe-kap <sup>wi</sup> - ni
*TAG	baluktot	NGA	viu		
*AKL	tiku?	SIK	ləpət	POR	xa <sup>m</sup> b <sup>wi</sup>
PAL	boryuŋən	RTI	dilu	NTA	-afaiu
*MOL	boriŋku?	BUR	teku-k	KWA	-rə <sup>ϕ</sup> e
*KAG	bugan	DOB	?a-ŋayal	NEM	tēji
*BLA	b-an-kuŋ	IRA	kərə kərə	CEM	cî
*SAB	peko?	*SAW	n-ekuken	AJI	nō
*MUR	pikoŋ	NYI	awaha	XAR	šə
*MGY	mamuriṭ'a	MAM	lo <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*NEN	leda
*ACE	[kiwiəŋ]	TAK	-luwi	*KIR	kabaoa
BAT	bekkək	DAM	bosō	*MSH	ruk <sup>w</sup> al
MIN	beŋko <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	*MAB	-kōgo	*PON	welik
*IND	mənəkuk	*YAB	-poŋ	*WLE	xa-p <sup>w</sup> a <sup>rō</sup>
	(təkuk)	KAU	ŋol ŋol	EFI	loβe-ḍa
SUN	ŋa-beŋkok- kin	TOL	likun	WFI	loβe-ḍia
*JAV	m-beŋkək	*BUA	βahyə	RTU	lo <sup>ʔ</sup> u
MAD	təlku?	ADZ	ipi <sup>0ʔ</sup> -	TON	piko <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*BAL	ŋ-ləgləg	*KIL	-ki-didogi	*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> a-lo <sup>ʔ</sup> u
*SAS	ŋə-beŋkok-aŋ	TAW	luyouna	MEL	lapeia
*GOR	mo-letu	*MOT	ha-gageβa-ia	TAH	ha <sup>ʔ</sup> afefe
		MEK	e-lou(-a)	*RAP	haka piko

TSO Also *ti-keŋzu-a*.

KAL From *kēlu + -on*.

TAG From *baluktot + mag-/-in*.

AKL From *niku<sup>ʔ</sup> + -un*.

MOL From *boriŋku<sup>ʔ</sup> + -on*.

KAG From *baug + mag-/-an*.

BLA Also *b-an-kut*.

SAB *peko<sup>ʔ</sup> + aN-/ø*.

MUR	<i>pikoŋ</i> ( <i>maŋ- -on</i> ).
MGY	From <i>maN-furiṯ<sup>ʰ</sup>a</i> .
ACE	From Mon-Khmer.
IND	Also <i>beŋkok</i> ‘bent, crooked’.
JAV	Also <i>ŋ-ləŋkuŋ</i> .
BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>ləg</i> ; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>leŋkoŋ-aŋ</i> ( <i>leŋkoŋ</i> ‘bent’); ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>beŋkot-aŋ</i> ( <i>beŋkot</i> ‘bent’).
SAS	Also <i>meŋkok-aŋ</i> ( <i>beŋkok-aŋ</i> ).
GOR	Also <i>momi<sup>ɔ</sup>gewuŋo</i> ( <i>bi<sup>ɔ</sup>gewuŋo + moN-</i> ).
DAA	‘cause to be-bent’.
WOL	Also <i>pa-kelu</i> .
SAW	Also <i>n-kebele</i> ‘bent’.
MAB	<i>-kōgo</i> (trans); <i>-ku<sup>n</sup>kun</i> (intrans); also <i>-libi</i> (trans); <i>-tu<sup>n</sup>du</i> , <i>-rāba</i> ‘bend over’.
YAB	Intransitive verb. Also <i>-m<sup>wè</sup></i> ‘bend (transitive)’.
BUA	<i>βahyɔ</i> ‘bend a bow, to string it’; <i>βayōk</i> .
KIL	‘do with hands vigorously-bend’.
MOT	<i>gageβa</i> ‘crooked’.
KWO	Also <i>lolo<sup>ʔ</sup>i-a</i> .
RAG	Also <i>gibe</i> .
NEN	Also <i>del, tubi</i> .
KIR	From <i>bao</i> ‘bent’.
MSH	<i>ruk<sup>wal</sup></i> ‘bend over, bow one’s head’; also <i>kkup<sup>wAl</sup></i> , <i>ælk<sup>wAc</sup></i> also ‘fold’; <i>kiel</i> .
PON	<i>welik</i> ‘bend back’; also <i>kup<sup>wel</sup></i> .
WLE	From <i>p<sup>warɔ</sup></i> ‘curved’; <i>xarūixū</i> ; <i>xapeyō</i> also ‘slant’.
SAM	<i>fā<sup>ʔ</sup>a-</i> CAUS, <i>lo<sup>ʔ</sup>u</i> (vb intrans) ‘be bent’, <i>lolo<sup>ʔ</sup>u</i> (vb trans) ‘bend’.
RAP	<i>haka piko</i> ‘bend, curve (slightly)’; <i>haka pini</i> ‘bend (90 degrees, lit: make a corner)’; <i>haka vari</i> ‘bend (around an object, i.e. more than 90 degrees)’.

### 09.150 FOLD

ATA	h-um-uku	PAI	ϕ-əm-ipil <sup>y</sup>	*KAL	lopton
*TSO	ti-pe-xarso	YAM	topiən	*TAG	tiklop
RUK	wa-ϕikipi	ISN	kappil	*AKL	pilu <sup>ʔ</sup>

PAL	pupudan (pupud)	NGA	ləpe	*RAG	viyi
		SIK	ləpə-t	PAA	lumi
*MOL	lipot	*RTI	di-ku	LEW	kawe-prani
*KAG	pilu'on	BUR	leku-k	POR	<sup>m</sup> bru <sup>ŋ</sup> g-i
BLA	l-an-fi?	*DOB	ʔa-wata	*NTA	afaiu
*SAB	lupi?	IRA	narunə	*KWA	-akoui
*MUR	lopot	SAW	n-εtuke	NEM	fīdi
MGY	mi-furiʔa	NYI	alokom	CEM	càpipihi
ACE	lipat	MAM	ʔoto	AJI	rō
BAT	lōppit	*TAK	-funi	XAR	nepiti
MIN	lipe?	DAM	ʔuwo	NEN	tubi
IND	mə-lipat	MAB	-lek	*KIR	nukuma
*SUN	[ŋa-lipət]	*YAB	-dib	*MSH	lim
*JAV	ŋ-lipət	*KAU	hik put	PON	lim
MAD	pəlkut	TOL	likun	*WLE	řimī
BAL	nampih (tampih)	*BUA	βayinin	EFI	lobi-a
SAS	ŋə-ləmpit	ADZ	ipi <sup>ŋ</sup> ?	WFI	lobi-a
*GOR	mo-lupi	KIL	-katubili	RTU	lo <sup>ʔ</sup> u
DAA	no-tilu	TAW	numula	TON	pelu
*UMA	tilu?	MOT	loku-a	SAM	ŋauŋau
BUG	mal-lippi?	MEK	e-kiu(-a)	*MEL	[welukina]
KON	al-lappa?	ROV	polo	TAH	fəʔa <sup>ʔ</sup> opi
WOL	lupi	MAR	lo <sup>ʔ</sup> opo	RAP	ha-hatu
MAG	ləpət	LAU	oia		
		KWO	logu-a		

TSO Also *ti-pe-xars-a*.

KAL From *lopot + -on*.

TAG From *tiklop + mag-/-in*.

AKL From *pilu<sup>ʔ</sup> + -un*.

MOL From *lipot + -on*.

KAG From *pilu + mag-/-ən (pilu'un)*; *pilu* 'fold over things like paper, hem of a dress'; *ipid + mag-/-ən (ipiren)* 'fold clothes'.

SAB From *lupi<sup>ʔ</sup> + aN-/ø*.

MUR *lopot (mag-/maŋ- -on)*.

SUN From Javanese, also *niləp (tiləp)*.

JAV Also *nəkuk (N-təkuk)*.

GOR Also *momi<sup>ʔ</sup>u (pi<sup>ʔ</sup>u + moN-)*.

UMA	Also <i>lupi</i> .
RTI	<i>di-ku</i> 'to fold a letter/mat'; <i>dilu</i> 'to bend/shape a fishhook/lontar bucket'.
DOB	<i>ʔa-wata</i> 'roll up, fold', also <i>ʔa-ʃlipaʃ</i> 'fold (cloth)'.
TAK	'hit', <i>yamel i-funi-da</i> 'cloth he-fold-IMPRF', i.e. 'he is folding the cloth'.
YAB	(vb trans); also <i>-gasuŋ</i> 'fold end over'.
KAU	'break middle'.
BUA	<i>βayinin</i> 'fold in half'; <i>yun</i> 'fold in pleats'.
RAG	Also <i>biyi</i> .
NTA	Also <i>-aiu</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-rup<sup>w</sup>eŋi</i> 'fold up, roll up (as a mat)'.
KIR	Also <i>rukuma</i> .
MSH	<i>ælk<sup>w</sup>ace</i> also 'bend'.
WLE	Also <i>piŋi</i> 'twist, fold, lash'.
MĒL	From Efate.

### 09.160 TIE, BIND

ATA	m-huʃ	*MIN	kabeʔ	*BUR	hapu
*TSO	s-m-o-ʔrisi	*IND	məŋ-ikat	DOB	ʔa-ʔak <sup>w</sup> ay
*RUK	wa-kərəŋ	*SUN	nalian (tali)	*IRA	nəberə
*PAI	v-ən-əŋət <sup>y</sup>	*JAV	naleni	SAW	n-piten
*YAM	bəɖbəɖən	MAD	pikut	NYI	aseu
*ISN	gālut	*BAL	nəgul (təgul)	MAM	uauri
*KAL	takod	*SAS	naliʔ (tali-ʔ)	TAK	-fau
*TAG	tāliʔ	*GOR	molihuto	*DAM	i-ɸo-kele-ya
*AKL	hīgut	DAA	nom-poʔu	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> bit
*PAL	gɔsŋət-ən	UMA	hooʔ	*YAB	-kiʔ
*MOL	sigot	BUG	mas-sioʔ	*KAU	kan
*KAG	igu'tan	*KON	añ-ñekkoʔ (sekkoʔ)	*TOL	vi
*BLA	b-n-ataŋ	*WOL	foke	BUA	zō
*SAB	heŋkot	MAG	poŋo	ADZ	ɖzur-
*MUR	dukug	*NGA	paʔu	KIL	-sipu
*MGY	mamatuʃ <sup>r</sup> a	SIK	pəte	TAW	pani
ACE	ikat	*RTI	heŋe	MOT	yui-a
BAT	tali			*MEK	e-ŋope(-i-a)

*ROV	pusia	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> (i)	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> eñya
*MAR	pip <sup>h</sup> igla	*NEM	waŋi	EFI	βesu-ka
LAU	kania	*CEM	cíe	WFI	nahu-kia
*KWO	gau-a	AJI	pɔi	*RTU	ʔoro
*RAG	liyo	XAR	fΔi	*TON	nonoʔo
PAA	pare	NEN	wose	*SAM	noa
LEW	viari	*KIR	kataia	*MEL	[likōjia]
*POR	tax-in-i	*MSH	luk <sup>w</sup> Δc	*TAH	tāʔamu
*NTA	-əfarus	*PON	pire	RAP	here

TSO Also *s-roʔis-i* ‘tie up an animate (man, animal, insect, etc.) with a rope/cord’; *s-m-o-ʔiri* (also *s-roʔti-neni*) ‘tie an animal to a tree’; see also *re-pʔuŋu* ‘tie a knot’.

RUK *wa-əɾəʔə* ‘to tie a knot’.

PAI *v-ən-uçuŋ* ‘tie (a knot)’.

YAM *bəɖbəɖən* ‘tie in a bundle’; *libɖən* ‘bind up’.

ISN *gālut* ‘tie, bind (up)’; *i-sīlu* ‘tie, tether’; *passat* ‘tie in bundle’.

KAL From *takōd + -on*; also *sīlu* ‘tether’; *bōbod* ‘tie in bundle’.

TAG *tāliʔ + mag-/an* from Malay.

AKL (*higt-an*); *gāpus -un* ‘tie, bind up’; *bugkus* ‘tie in a bundle’.

PAL Also *sigot-an*.

MOL *sigot + -an*.

KAG From *iʔgut + mag-/an*.

BLA *b-n-ataŋ* ‘tie as a parcel’; *b-n-akas* ‘tie in bundles’; *b-n-əkus* ‘truss’; *n-ikat* ‘tether’; *lɔfuh* ‘tie together (securely)’.

SAB *heŋkot + aN-/an*.

MUR *dukug (mag-/maŋ- -on)*.

MGY Also *maN-futuʔa*.

MIN Also *ikeʔ*.

IND Also *məm-balut*.

SUN Also *miŋkit (biŋkit)*.

JAV From (*N-tali-ni*).

BAL (*N-təgul* ‘tie up something to something’; (*N-səət* ‘tie string/rope around something’ e.g. *nəət padi* ‘tie up *padi* into a sheath’; (*N-bəɖbəɖ* ‘bandage’).

SAS Also *nəkoʔ (sekoʔ)*.

- GOR (*tihuto + moN-*), also *momuhuto (buhoto + moN-)*, *momulito (bulito + moN-)* ‘tie/bind one by one in parallel’.
- KON Also *as-sekko?*; *an-nambaŋ (tambaŋ)* (of animals); *am-moto?* (*poto?*) ‘tie ends of string together’.
- WOL Also *ulu-<sup>m</sup>pore*.
- NGA Also *rati*.
- RTI *heje* ‘to tie in general’; *paʔa* ‘to tie someone or something up; to bind, enclose, fence’.
- BUR Also *helu-k* ‘gird a (machete) belt around the waist’; *srupi* ‘tie off the end of a section of thatch so it does not unfurl’; *kamu atet* ‘tie thatch to rafters’; *hapu atet* ‘tie sago leaves in bundles for transport’; *lili-k* ‘twist to tie four coconuts together’; *foki* ‘tie s.th. in a bundle inside a wrapping’; *pef-loko-k* ‘tie a knot’; *tene* ‘tie cuscus for carrying’.
- IRA Also *nəremətə*.
- DAM ‘3sg-tie-COMP-INF’.
- MAB *-<sup>m</sup>bit* ‘tie to something’; *-po* ‘tie a fence, bandage, build a house’; *-<sup>m</sup>bat* ‘tie leaves together’; *-<sup>g</sup>gēre* ‘tie wood together’; *-kaukau* tie loosely; *-gagāra* ‘tie up the legs of an animal’; *-īgi*, *-koko* ‘close by tying’; *-<sup>m</sup>buk* ‘tie a knot’; *-pezekat* ‘tie in the middle’; *-mol*, *-sē<sup>m</sup>be* ‘tie a loop’.
- YAB ‘tie’; also *-sò* ‘bind’, *-biŋ* ‘tie together’, *-biliŋ* ‘tie something to pole to carry it’, *-ko ... toŋ* ‘stand something firmly’ i.e. ‘tie up (animal, boat)’.
- KAU Also *kas*.
- TOL Also *kubu* ‘tie a knot, fasten’.
- MEK EMek also *fai-na*, *faʔi-na*, from *fai* ‘knot’.
- ROV Also *puspusi*.
- MAR *pip<sup>h</sup>igla* ‘tie up, fasten’; *haru* ‘tie up a parcel’.
- KWO Also *firi-a*.
- RAG *b<sup>w</sup>ale* ‘tie with rope’; *daluhi* ‘tie knot’; *sisi* ‘to tie two ends together’.
- POR Also *<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>g</sup>gis-i* ‘bind securely’.
- NTA Also *-alis*, *-em*.
- KWA *-ak<sup>w</sup> (i)* ‘tie together, tie down, bring together, string (as a bow)’; *arihi* ‘tie up, bind up in leaves, tie onto’; *-aruk<sup>wi</sup>* ‘join together, bind up’; *-erup<sup>w</sup>un* ‘connect, tie, join together’; *-otorerən* ‘string (as a bow), tie up (as an animal)’; *-ruk<sup>w</sup>utih* ‘tie a knot’.

NEM *w̄ŋi* ‘tie up bird’; *t<sup>h</sup>ā* ‘tie up (horse)’.

CEM *cíε* ‘bind’; *tā* ‘tie up’.

KIR Also *kabeaea, b<sup>w</sup>auta*.

MSH Also *κλρ<sup>w</sup>ōc*; *koře* ‘bandage’; *pout* ‘bind, coil’.

PON Also *salī*; *tune* ‘tie in a bundle’.

WLE Also *sōtī*; *fiti*, *ϕ<sup>w</sup>uxosī* ‘tie together, connect’; *fařoxi* ‘tie, tight’.

RTU Also *hihiri*.

TON Also *haʔi*.

SAM Also *fusi*.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *ruru*.

### 09.161 UNTIE

ATA	<i>muk̄iʔ</i>	MAD	<i>mukkal</i>	*MAB	<i>-putke</i>
*TSO	<i>m-ur̄ŋu</i>		( <i>bukkal</i> )	*YAB	<i>-gab<sup>w</sup>aʔ</i>
RUK	<i>mo-a-ərəʔə</i>	*BAL	<i>ŋ-əmbus</i>	KAU	<i>plos</i>
PAI	<i>s-əm-u-vuʔuŋ</i>	SAS	<i>m-bukaʔ</i>	TOL	<i>pələ</i>
YAM	<i>ovayən</i>	*GOR	<i>moŋuʔadu</i>	BUA	<i>kəβeləkin</i>
ISN	<i>ussadān</i>	DAA	<i>no<sup>m</sup>ba-vole</i>	ADZ	<i>kiraʔ-</i>
*KAL	<i>ussag</i>	UMA	<i>bo<sup>ŋ</sup>ka</i>	KIL	<i>-taneku</i>
*TAG	<i>kalas</i>	BUG	<i>mal-lukka</i>	TAW	<i>lupena</i>
*AKL	<i>hubār-un</i>	KON	<i>am-ʔmuŋkara</i>	MOT	<i>ruha-ia</i>
*PAL	<i>bəbadan</i>		( <i>huŋkara</i> )	*MEK	<i>e-ŋope-lai-a</i>
*MOL	<i>uŋkas</i>	*WOL	<i>lelesi</i>	ROV	<i>rupahia</i>
*KAG	<i>ubaren</i>	MAG	<i>čača</i>	MAR	<i>ruarut<sup>h</sup>a</i>
BLA	<i>n-bəl</i>	*NGA	<i>ova</i>	LAU	<i>lukea</i>
*SAB	<i>puklas</i>	*SIK	<i>laʔa</i>	KWO	<i>rube-a</i>
*MUR	<i>labus</i>	RTI	<i>poʔi</i>	*RAG	<i>tuyu</i>
*MGY	<i>mamaha</i>	*BUR	<i>fuka</i>	PAA	
*ACE	<i>pui-glah</i>	DOB	<i>ʔa-walaʔu</i>	LEW	<i>lup<sup>w</sup>ari</i>
BAT	<i>taŋgal</i>	IRA	<i>nəruwətə</i>	POR	<i><sup>m</sup>bač-i</i>
MIN	<i>uŋkay</i>	SAW	<i>n-əsələ</i>	NTA	<i>-əkəs</i>
*IND	<i>məŋ-uŋkai</i>	NYI	<i>tolowei</i>	*KWA	<i>-oseri</i>
SUN	<i>ŋ-udar</i>	MAM	<i>rubetaʔi</i>	NEM	<i>tua</i>
JAV	<i>ŋ-uɟar-i</i>	TAK	<i>-filale</i>	CEM	<i>túo</i>
		DAM	<i>biru</i>	AJI	<i>cō</i>

XAR	šā	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> aisī	*SAM	tatala
NEN	memejɛŋ	EFI	sere-ka	MEL	vetea
*KIR	kabarā	WFI	here-kia	*TAH	tātara
MSH	mecaļe	RTU	sui	RAP	ve-vete
*PON	lap <sup>w</sup> at	TON	vete-ʔi		

TSO Also *ruŋ-a*.

KAL From *ussag + maN-*.

TAG Also *kalag + mag-/-in*.

AKL From (*hubād*).

PAL Also *basbasɔn*.

MOL From *uŋkas + -on*.

KAG From *ubad + mag-/-ən (ubaren)*.

SAB From *puklas + aN-/-an*.

MUR *labus (mag-/maŋ-; -in)*.

MGY From *maN-vaha*.

ACE Also *pu-lhuəh*.

IND Also *məm-buka* ‘open, undo, untie’.

BAL (*N*-)əmbus ‘undo a rope, take something apart without damaging it’ (e.g. take off clothes, a ring, take a building apart to reassemble it elsewhere). (*N*-)əmbud ‘untie, cause something to come out of a tight outer cover’: e.g. (*N*-)əmbud *kasur* ‘take the stuffing out of a mattress’; (*N*-)dasdas ‘cut or break a rope, a chain’.

GOR Also *mohuʔadu* both from root *wuʔadu*.

WOL Also *lesa, papasi, soka*.

NGA Also *tova*.

SIK Also *ləsok*.

BUR ‘open, untie, uncover, loosen’; *tehe-k kata* ‘open, take off one’s pants’.

YAB Also *-pela* ‘untie, unravel, unfold’.

MAB Also *-pēze*.

MEK *e-ŋope-lai-a* is lit ‘tie free’; also *e-ŋupu-ka*.

RAG Also *duyu*.

KWA Also *-sk<sup>w</sup>ini* ‘loose, free, let go’.

KIR Causative.

PON Also *lawat, lap<sup>w</sup>a; sap<sup>w</sup>at*.



SAM Also 'open'.

TAH Also *mātara*.

## 09.180 CHAIN

<b>English:</b> <i>chain</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>rantai</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>cadena</i>
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ATA	paparay	UMA	ra <sup>n</sup> te	ROV	[seni]
TSO		BUG	rante	MAR	
RUK		KON	rante	LAU	[seni]
PAI		*WOL	ra <sup>n</sup> te	KWO	
YAM	vaʔ alaŋ	MAG	rā <sup>n</sup> te	RAG	
ISN	kāwar	NGA	təbu	PAA	
KAL	kināwad	SIK	loda-ŋ	*LEW	[sen]
*TAG	tanikalaʔ	RTI	tali he-heŋe-k	POR	
AKL	[kadīnah]	BUR		NTA	[sen]
PAL	rantay	DOB	ʔebal	KWA	
MOL	[kodina]	IRA		NEM	
KAG	[kadina]	SAW	[rante]	*CEM	íti-he-tòki
BLA	sankaliʔ	NYI		*AJI	[layəni]
SAB	[kadena]	MAM	[seŋ]	XAR	
MUR	[dantay]	TAK		*NEN	[čeniyefao]
MGY	ruǰzu	DAM		*KIR	te taurekereke
ACE	rante	MAB		*MSH	[cēn]
BAT	ratte	YAB		*PON	[sein]
MIN	rantay	KAU		WLE	[cēna]
IND	rantai	TOL	[ten]	EFI	sinuǰodo
*SUN	[rante]	BUA	[sen]	*WEI	sinudodo
JAV	rante	ADZ		RTU	[čene]
MAD	rantay	KIL		TON	[sēini]
BAL	rante	*TAW	gulawa	*SAM	maea uʔamea
SAS	rante		pawapawasi	MEL	[jēni]
GOR	ra <sup>n</sup> de	*MOT	[seini]	TAH	fifi ʔāuri
DAA	ra <sup>n</sup> te	MEK		RAP	vivi

TAG Also [*kadēna*].

SUN From Javanese.

- WOL Also [*ra<sup>n</sup>te-ra<sup>n</sup>te*] ‘small chain’.
- TAW ‘iron vine’.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *gadea* ‘cable; chain; mooring cane of *lagatoi*’.
- LEW Also *kilika* (=09.190).
- CEM ‘thread of iron’.
- AJI From French *la chaine*.
- NEN Also [*yefao*] from Polynesian *fao*.
- KIR Also *te rō* also ‘rope, belt, anchor’.
- MSH Also *m<sup>w</sup>io* ‘coconut-leaf fishing chain’.
- PON Also [*sīn*].
- WFI Standard Fijian *sinuōodo*.
- SAM *maea* ‘rope’, *u<sup>?</sup>amea* see 09.670, ‘metal’.

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**09.190 ROPE, CORD**

- |      |           |      |        |      |                     |
|------|-----------|------|--------|------|---------------------|
| *ATA | ḱinaʔapiʔ | *JAV | tali   | DAM  | malum               |
| TSO  | tresi     | MAD  | tali   | *MAB | wōro                |
| RUK  | ʧaʔisi    | BAL  | tali   | *YAB | lep <sup>w</sup> a  |
| PAI  | ʧaʔis     | SAS  | tali   | KAU  | elik                |
| *YAM | kolili    | *GOR | [lesi] | *TOL | vinau               |
| *ISN | lūbid     | DAA  | kaloro | *BUA | ayis                |
| *KAL | sīlu      | UMA  | koloro | *ADZ | bruʔ                |
| *TAG | lūbid     | BUG  | tuluʔ  | KIL  | yuwoyoula           |
| *AKL | kaʔat     | KON  | tuluʔ  | TAW  | metametana          |
| PAL  | tali      | WOL  | raʔuta | *MOT | k <sup>w</sup> anau |
| MOL  | tali      | MAG  | vase   | *MEK | ʔaŋau               |
| *KAG | kalat     | NGA  | aze    | *ROV | iku                 |
| BLA  | tali      | *SIK | tali   | *MAR | ñaḡo                |
| SAB  | lubid     | RTI  | tali   | LAU  | ʔoko                |
| *MUR | tali      | *BUR | wahe-t | KWO  | k <sup>w</sup> alo  |
| MGY  | tadi      | DOB  | yal    | RAG  | ḡao                 |
| ACE  | talɔə     | IRA  | wara   | PAA  | voīāu               |
| BAT  | tali      | SAW  | wəle   | *LEW | kilika              |
| MIN  | tali      | NYI  | malou  | POR  | na-xo               |
| IND  | tali      | MAM  | uarige | *NTA | nol                 |
| SUN  | tali      | TAK  | kam    | *KWA | nak <sup>w</sup> us |
-

NEM	wāk	MSH	to	TON	maea
CEM	tái	PON	sāl	SAM	maea
AJI	k <sup>w</sup> e	WLE	taři	MEL	vāvā
*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ā	EFI	dali	TAH	taura
NEN	ṅawose	WFI	tali	RAP	taura
*KIR	te rō	*RTU	unu		

ATA Also *kinayapi?*

YAM *ovid* 'string'.

ISN *binola* 'string'.

KAL Also *tali, lūbid*.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*lūbij* string.

AKL *lūbid* 'string'; Proto-Philippines *\*lūbij*.

KAG *kalat* 'rope'; *i'got* 'cord'.

MUR *tali* 'rope, string'; also *pitol* 'string, twine'; *kalak* 'rope for tethering'.

JAV Also *kənur*.

GOR [*lesi*] (made from jute); also *buwatulo* (made from the black fibre of the sugar palm).

SIK See 08.670.

BUR Also *wihi-t* 'a cord that is intended for use as a strap or handle'.

MAB (generic), *re, mantie* 'heavy duty rope'.

YAB Also *lekoŋ*, made from a different plant.

TOL *vinau* 'vine, creeper, rope'.

BUA *ayis* 'light vine rope, string'; *ayob* 'heavier vine rope, often plaited'; *buḡək* 'heavy vine rope'.

ADZ *bru?* 'narrow bark-cloth rope'; *kiç* 'twined string'.

MOT Also *βaro* 'string, thread'.

MEK *?aŋau* 'heaviest kind of bush cordage'; *fupa* 'another heavy variety (West Mekeo *kuga*)'; *kamaku* 'rope' western dialects.

ROV Also *aroso* 'vine'.

MAR *ñaro* 'vine, string, rope'; *p<sup>h</sup>ukri* 'braided rope, twine'; *p<sup>h</sup>ijiri* 'braided rope'.

LEW See 08.670.

NTA See 08.670.

KWA *nak<sup>w</sup>us* also 'vine'; *k<sup>w</sup>ataur* 'cord made from inner bark of banyan tree, used for bow string'; *k<sup>w</sup>atəsi-* also means 'aerial root'; also *toura*.

XAR *k<sup>w</sup>ā* ‘thick rope, vine’; *k<sup>w</sup>ɪ* ‘thin rope, vine’.

KIR Also *te* [*kora*] from English.

RTU Also *lū*, *ʔæpe*.

### 09.192 KNOT (n)

ATA	tariʔ	UMA	oluʔ	*ROV	puku
TSO	re-pʔuŋ-a	BUG	siŋkɪruʔ	*MAR	p <sup>h</sup> uku
RUK	əɾəʔə	KON	potoʔ	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ouŋ <sup>w</sup> ou
PAI	vuʔuŋ	WOL	ka-ulu	KWO	gōgou
YAM	mikəʔəŋ	MAG	dukut	RAG	
ISN	bītul	NGA	buku	PAA	āu
KAL	bik <sup>ʔ</sup> ul	SIK	mata	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> uru-pu
TAG	buhol	RTI	bu <sup>ʔ</sup> u-k	POR	ko <sup>m</sup> bu-xer
AKL	balighut	*BUR	foko-n	NTA	kəfum
PAL	tugbuŋ	DOB	yeʔuʔu	*KWA	kuruk <sup>w</sup> utihi
MOL	simpul	IRA	məremətə	*NEM	kave-pigi
KAG	bləgət		benitə	*CEM	â-pîñi
BLA	bukul	SAW	səplik	AJI	kā pəi
SAB	buku	NYI	sakab <sup>w</sup> itiniy	XAR	i-curu
MUR	timbuku	MAM	uarige tu <sup>ʔ</sup> uia	NEN	ŋaθurul
MGY	vuna	TAK	bitanek	*KIR	te kabae
ACE		DAM	segī	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ɔc
BAT		MAB	<sup>m</sup> buk	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ukop <sup>w</sup> uk
MIN	buhu <sup>a</sup>	YAB	m <sup>w</sup> atiŋ	WLE	ʔ <sup>w</sup> uxoʔ <sup>w</sup> uxo
*IND	simpul	*KAU	elik mata-n	EFI	i-buki
SUN	čəŋɾid	*TOL	kukubu	WFI	i-buku
JAV	bundəl	BUA		RTU	ʔoɾpofo
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>h</sup> əl-an	ADZ	gusu <sup>n</sup> tu <sup>n</sup> ʔ	TON	fakapona
*BAL	səət	KIL	buluβa	SAM	pona
SAS	bontəl	TAW	lutama	*MEL	[sūp <sup>w</sup> ele]
GOR	hu-u-tulo	*MOT	i-k <sup>w</sup> atu	TAH	tāpona
DAA	pom-po <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*MEK	fai	*RAP	puku

IND ‘knot in string’; also *buku* ‘knot in bamboo’.

BAL Also *səət-an* see 09.160.

BUR ‘wood knot, bone joint’.

KAU ‘rope eye-its’.

TOL	From <i>kubu</i> 'tie a knot, fasten'.
MOT	<i>k<sup>w</sup>atu-a</i> 'to tie a knot'.
MEK	<i>fai</i> 'knot in a cord', <i>fo<sup>?</sup>oa</i> 'knot or node in bamboo (or on the back bone)'.
ROV	<i>pukua</i> (vb).
MAR	Also <i>grede</i> 'knot of a tree'.
LEW	See 04.320.
KWA	Also <i>narəp</i> 'slip knot'.
NEM	'place-knot'.
CEM	'place knot'.
KIR	<i>te b<sup>w</sup>ao</i> 'slip knot'.
PON	Also <i>likoserek</i> 'slip knot'.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	Also <i>hono</i> 'knot by joining two ropes etc.'.

### 09.210 STRIKE (hit, beat)

ATA	mahiy	IND	məmukul	IRA	matəbe
*TSO	reo-bako		(pukul)	*SAW	n-pun
*RUK	wa-łomay	*SUN	ningil (tiŋgil)	NYI	ub <sup>w</sup> iy
*PAI	p-ən-aŋuł	JAV	ŋ-antəm	*MAM	paliti
YAM	bakbakan	MAD	pukul	*TAK	-funi
ISN	tappit	*BAL	ñagur (jagur)	*DAM	y-u-ya
*KAL	kabkab	*SAS	ŋ-əmpuk	*MAB	-pun
*TAG	pālo <sup>?</sup>	*GOR	mohu <sup>m</sup> badu	*YAB	-yà <sup>?</sup>
*AKL	hampak	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-boba	KAU	
*PAL	lipakən	*UMA	βeba <sup>?</sup>	*TOL	lubə
*MOL	baji	BUG	mak-kidduŋ	*BUA	sis
*KAG	lagpi	*KON	am-meppe <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	is-
*BLA	munəl		(peppe <sup>?</sup> )	KIL	-waia
*SAB	pokpok	*WOL	ra <sup>m</sup> bi	TAW	lawi
*MUR	lamba <sup>?</sup>	MAG	o <sup>ɔ</sup> ga	MOT	k <sup>w</sup> adi-a
*MGY	mameli	*NGA	ɓore	*MEK	e-au-ŋa
*ACE	[pəh]	*SIK	tola	*ROV	sekea
BAT	pukkul	*RTI	fepa	MAR	aknu
*MIN	laka <sup>?</sup>	*BUR	paha	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aea
		DOB	ʔa-tomal	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i

*RAG	tutui	*AJI	ya	*WFI	raβu-sia
PAA	muī	*XAR	ça	RTU	čau
LEW	we	*NEN	čaʔataŋoni	TON	tā
*POR	tam <sup>wis-i</sup>	KIR	orea	*SAM	sasa
NTA	-oh	*MSH	itāk	MEL	taia
*KWA	-os (i)	*PON	pəkɪh	*TAH	tūpaʔi
NEM	kāi	*WLE	pōī	*RAP	ti-tiŋi
CEM	àhi	*EFI	samu-ta		

TSO Also *reo-bak-a*.

RUK *siatīti* 'to hit'.

PAI *ɟ-əm-uku!* 'hit (with fist)', *ç-əm-ag-çag* 'hit (with stone)', *ç-əm-ug-çug* 'hit (with fingers)'.

KAL *kabkab + -on* 'hit (thing)'; *bintug + -on* 'hit (person)'.

TAG Also *hampas + -um/-in*.

AKL From *hampak + -un*; also *sampuk + -un*.

PAL Also *təpəsan*.

MOL From *bajī + -on*.

KAG *lagpiʔ + mag-/-ən*; *lagpiʔ* 'hit with the flat of one's palm'; *tampaʔ + mag-* 'hit with the flat of one's palm'; *lagpas + mag-* 'hit with an object one is holding'.

BLA *muno!* 'strike with instrument' (root: *buno!*); *mədo!* (root: *bədo!*) 'strike (with an instrument)'; *s-m-amfak* 'strike (with hand)'.

SAB *pokpok + aN-/ø* 'to tap or pound with hand'; *lubak + aN-/an* 'to slap a child'; *kakal + aN-/ø* 'to hit someone with a stick'; *lisag + aN-* 'to strike a gong'.

MUR *lamba (mag-/maŋ-; -on)*.

MGY From *maN-veli*, also *mi-kapuka*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *tokoʔ*, *pukuʔ*.

SUN Also *niŋgar (tiŋgar)*.

BAL (*N-*)*ɟagur* 'hit with fist, punch'; (*N-*)*kamplaŋ-in* 'slap, hit with open hand'; (*N-*)*tigtig* 'beat (something) with a stick, with a clenched fist'; (*N-*)*gədig* 'hit, typically with a broad stick, also with hand'; (*N-*)*gətok* 'hit, typically with a hammer or a stone, also with the knuckles'; (*N-*)*daldal* 'hammer repeatedly' (e.g. metal, to flatten it) figuratively, 'hit a person repeatedly'; (*N-*)*təpak* 'beat (a drum,

a gong, a wooden message drum (*kulkul*) with a stick'; (*N-*)*pantəg* 'hit (one's thigh), chest with open hand, to express feelings'; (*N-*)*lantig* 'hit with a stick'; (*N-*)*lambət* 'hit with a whip, a rope'; (*N-*)*bənal* 'hit with stick, whip'.

SAS See 20.220 *pəmantok* (from *pantok*) 'club'. Thoir et al. (1985) *pantok-aŋ* 'hit' (see 09.222 'chop'); *ŋ-anu?* 'hit, disturb' (root *anu* 'something'); *gəbuk* 'hit with something heavy'; *tangel* 'rap with knuckles'.

GOR From (*wu<sup>m</sup>badu + moh-*); also *mo-dudu<sup>o</sup>* and *momubohu* (*bubohu + moN-*).

UMA Also *pao?*

KON Also *am-malu(palu)*.

WOL Also *wa<sup>n</sup>du, bebe*.

NGA *ʒore* 'strike (using open palm)'; *luga* 'strike (using stick)'; *dəva* 'strike (using fist)'.

SIK Also *βera, toge, pati*.

RTI Also *fapa*.

BUR Generic; *flali* 'beat s.o. for punishment or retaliation'; *srapa* 'hit with an open hand'; *toke* 'hit with a hammer or back of machete blade'; *flehe* 'pound, beat sago or dirt'; *tefe subu* 'knock on door'; *loho-k* 'strike (a steel to flint) with a downward motion'; *buka* 'hit (a dog)'; *lefe* 'hit (a gong)'; *bara-k* 'beat bark to loosen it for stripping'; *toto* 'thrust downward, pound (grain)'.

SAW 'hit someone', also *n-pes* 'hit something'.

MAM Also *uŋ*.

TAK *-funi* is used in a wide variety of contexts connected with hitting or impact: see 01.570, 01.861, 04.550, 04.760, note on 04.980, 09.150, 09.211, 10.431, note on 11.520, 16.450, 19.470.

DAM '3sg-hit-INF'.

MAB *-pun* 'hit' (generic); *-rou* 'hit and pierce'; *-tut* 'hit with a rigid instrument'; *-balis* 'hit with an elongated instrument (i.e. stick or rope)'; *-balbut* 'knock down with a stick'; *-kot* 'break with a round instrument'.

YAB Also *-i* 'hit with stick'; *-tap* 'slap'; *-makəp* 'smack'.

TOL Also *kitə, rəpu*.

BUA *βēk* 'beat with stick, switch'.

MEK NW Mekeo *i-u-ŋa*.

ROV	Also <i>pohara</i> ‘slap’.
RAG	Also <i>dutui</i> .
POR	Also <i><sup>n</sup>dari</i> .
KWA	- <i>os</i> ( <i>i</i> ) ‘strike, hit (especially with a spherical object)’; - <i>apətin</i> ‘strike down, kill at a blow’; - <i>ak<sup>w</sup>(i)</i> ‘beat, hit’.
AJI	Also <i>kuřau</i> .
XAR	Also <i>dike</i> ‘punch’; <i>fīda</i> ‘hit with an instrument’; <i>p<sup>w</sup>ea</i> ‘hit with a stick’.
NEN	Also <i>ridi</i> .
MSH	Also ‘collide’; also <i>notoŋe</i> .
PON	<i>wəkih, keme</i> ; also <i>seker</i> (of a bell).
WLE	Also <i>wiřīya, wau</i> .
EFI	Also <i>rubi-đa</i> .
WFI	Also <i>rubi-đia</i> .
SAM	<i>tā</i> ‘strike, hit’; <i>pō</i> ‘slap’; <i>fasi</i> ‘beat’; <i>tu<sup>ʔ</sup>i</i> ‘blow, punch’.
TAH	Also <i>ta<sup>ʔ</sup>iri; papa<sup>ʔ</sup>i; rutu</i> .
RAP	<i>ti-tiŋi, tiŋi-tiŋi</i> ‘strike, hit (an object to destroy it)’; <i>rotu-rotu</i> ‘strike lightly, tap (an object to repair or straighten it)’; <i>ava</i> ‘strike, knock about (an object without breaking)’; <i>tiaŋi</i> ‘strike, beat (a person/animal furiously to destroy him)’; <i>pu<sup>ʔ</sup>a-pu<sup>ʔ</sup>a</i> ‘beat (by thrashing with a cane, stick, whip, rope, etc.)’.

### 09.211 POUND WITH FIST

ATA	t-um-utiŋ	*KAG	pukpukon	JAV	ŋ-antəm
*TSO	t-m-o <sup>ʔ</sup> -fo <sup>ʔ</sup> - fo <sup>ʔ</sup> ri	BLA	s-m-untuk	MAD	tampiliŋ
RUK	wa-diŋi-diŋi	*SAB	pokpok	*BAL	ñagurin (jagur-in)
PAI	ʃ-əm-ukuł	*MGY	man-ume	SAS	ñ-jaŋur
YAM	mitokitoki		tutu-[hund <sup>ʔ</sup> i]	*GOR	momu <sup>n</sup> duŋo
ISN	bitug	ACE	soh	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-jaŋuru
*KAL	tugtug	BAT	tijju	UMA	timolu
*TAG	suntok	*MIN	tumbu <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUG	maĵ-jaŋguru <sup>ʔ</sup>
*AKL	bayu	*IND	məŋ-gočoh	KON	an-nunruŋ (tunruŋ)
PAL	məŋlɔbək	SUN	noŋjok (toŋjok)	WOL	busu
*MOL	lu <sup>ʔ</sup> tud				



MAG	vučuk	ADZ	di <sup>n</sup> tip-	AJI	dawiři
NGA	tugu	KIL	-yowai	XAR	šū
*SIK	tubi	*TAW	omtutu	NEN	
RTI	<sup>n</sup> dufa	MOT	tutu-a	KIR	ikua
*BUR	sodi	*MEK	e-ao-ŋe-ai-na	*MSH	cuki
DOB	ʔa-tuŋul	ROV	tupa	PON	suk
IRA	makukə	MAR	tutu	*WLE	p <sup>w</sup> ōři
*SAW	n-tit	LAU		EFI	tuki-a
NYI	alibiy	KWO	gumuri-a	WFI	čuki-a
MAM	tutuʔi	*RAG	tutui	RTU	ʔusu
*TAK	-funi	PAA	muti	TON	tuki
DAM	dani	LEW	su	SAM	fusu
MAB	- <sup>n</sup> duŋ	*POR	tuxtux-i	MEL	tukia
*YAB	-tuʔ	NTA	-ahtaht	TAH	moto
KAU	taŋ	KWA	-əru	RAP	
TOL	tibul	NEM	tabi		
BUA	kətul	CEM	cēbi		

TSO Also *tʔo-fʔo-fʔori-i*.

KAL From *tugtug + -on*.

TAG From *suntok + -um-/-in* 'box'.

AKL (*bayw-un*).

MOL From *luʔtud + -on*.

KAG From *pukpuk + mag-/-ən* (*pukpukon*).

SAB From *pokpok + aN-/ø*.

MUR *tumbuk* (*maŋ- -on*).

MGY From Bantu; lit 'to give a blow with the fist'.

MIN Also *tiŋju*.

IND Also *məniŋju* (*tiŋju*).

BAL (*N-*)*jaŋur-in* 'punch repeatedly' see (*N-*)*jaŋur* etc. 09.210;  
*(N-*)*dogdog* 'beat on a door'.

GOR From (*bu<sup>n</sup>duŋo + moN-*).

SIK Also *tubilabi*.

BUR 'punch'; *cp-sodi-n* 'fist fight'; *sodi-n* 'deer antlers'.

SAW 'hit hard'; also *n-tok* 'hit softer'.

TAK 'hit'.

YAB *-makiŋ* 'shatter with a blow'.

TAW	‘stamp with fist or instrument’.
MEK	Also <i>e-au-ŋe-ai-na</i> ‘thrash’.
RAG	Also <i>dutui</i> .
POR	Also <i>ruxrux-i</i> .
MSH	<i>cuki</i> ‘pound breadfruit or taro’; <i>rripinpiŋ</i> also ‘throb’; <i>reŋate, notone</i> also ‘strike, spank’.
WLE	Also <i>sixü</i> .

## 09.220 CUT

*ATA	h-um-iβay	UMA	puaʔ	*MAR	aḷa
*TSO		BUG	polo	*LAU	ʔolea
*RUK	wa-kātə	KON	am-moloŋ	KWO	tofu-a
PAI	k-əm-ic		(poloŋ)	*RAG	tai
YAM	aktəbən	*WOL	dʰoɔo	PAA	dehei
ISN	puʔdan	MAG	ropo	*LEW	sī
*KAL	īwa	NGA	gəte	POR	čav-i
*TAG	hīwaʔ	*SIK	poro	NTA	-ate
*AKL	sīʔad	RTI	tati	*KWA	-arai
PAL	putək-an	*BUR	lata	*NEM	-bune
*MOL	puʔtok	*DOB	ʔa-so	*CEM	táhegei
*KAG	uturon	*IRA	mətiφənə	AJI	yohəřə
BLA	tibə	*SAW	n-ewetes	XAR	çəpuru
*SAB	kehet	*NYI	saniy	*NEN	θa
*MUR	babat	MAM	toto	KIR	korea
MGY	man-didi	*TAK	-tale	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> e
*ACE	[kəh]	*DAM	bogō	*PON	sepe
BAT	seət	*MAB	-tāra	*WLE	feřaxī
*MIN	čatuʔʔ	*YAB	-sa	*EFI	đebe-ta
IND	məmotoŋ	*KAU	klat	*WFI	nisi-a
	(potoŋ)	*TOL	poko	*RTU	mutu
*SUN	motoŋ (potoŋ)	BUA	ray	*TON	hele
JAV	nugəl (tugəl)	ADZ	saf-	*SAM	tipi
MAD	kəřtuk	KIL	-bobu	MEL	sērea
*BAL	nugəl (tugəl)	*TAW	tala	*TAH	tāpū
*SAS	pəloŋ	*MOT	iβa-ia	RAP	hore
*GOR	momo <sup>n</sup> dodu	*MEK	e-iva(-i-a)		
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-koto	ROV	mayu		

- ATA *h-um-awβiŋ* ‘to cut with a knife’; *paḳuway* ‘to cut with scissors’.
- TSO No generic term.
- RUK *wa-gəḷə-gəḷə* ‘to cut, to slice (as of meat, throat)’; *wa-kaçianə* ‘to cut with scissors’; *wa-ŋotoḷo* ‘to cut apart’.
- KAL *īwa + on* ‘slice’.
- TAG *hīwaʔ + -um-/-in* ‘slice (as meat)’.
- AKL (*sīʔad*) *siʔār-un* as in slicing meat.
- MOL *puʔtok + -on*.
- KAG From (*utud + mag-/-ən*).
- SAB *kehet + aN-/ø* ‘to cut with a knife’; *guntiŋ + aN-/ø* ‘to cut with scissors’.
- MUR *babat (mag- -in)* ‘cut a path through vegetation’; *baŋaw (maŋ- -on)* ‘sever (branch etc.) with one stroke’; *binsil (maŋ- -in)* ‘cut up meat into bite-size pieces’; [*guntiŋ*] (*maŋ- -on*) from Malay ‘cut with scissors’; *kinis (maŋ- -on)* ‘cut into small slices/slivers’; *lompod (maŋ- -on)* ‘cut the end off (hair, fingernails, animal’s tail)’; *pidis (maŋ- -on)* ‘cut, slash with a weapon’; *putul (maŋ- -on)* ‘cut into two pieces usually lengthways’; *popow (maŋ- -on)* ‘cut out (e.g. rotten part)’; *tatas (maŋ- -on)* ‘cut through s.th. suspended’.
- ACE From Mon-Khmer, also *siə*.
- MIN Also *pakuʔ*.
- SUN Also *ŋirət (kirit)*.
- BAL (*N-*)*tugəl* ‘cut something into two pieces, cutting sideways, typically using a heavy instrument like a chopper, an axe or a saw’; (*N-*)*godot* ‘cut into more than one piece, cutting sideways, using a knife’; (*N-*)*kaət*, (*N-*)*kəət* ‘cut into small pieces, using a knife’; (*N-*)*təbih* ‘split or cut lengthways’ (see (*N-*)*sibak* 09.270); (*N-*)*jiis* ‘slice with a motion away from the body, e.g. a mango’; (*N-*)*əəb* ‘slice with a downwards motion, e.g. banana trunk’.
- SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *pələŋ* ‘cut’; see 09.260 ‘break’.
- GOR (*po<sup>n</sup>dodu + moN-*); also *mo-dilito* and *mo-hu<sup>n</sup>diŋo* ‘cut with scissors’; *mo-layahu* ‘cut off end(s)’; *moli<sup>n</sup>balato (ti<sup>m</sup>balato + moN-)* ‘cut with a machete’; *mohemito (wamito + moh-)* ‘slice’.
- WOL Also *sea, tata, tata-ri, ti<sup>m</sup>be*.
- SIK Also *poʔok, patar pati*.
- BUR Generic; *foto* ‘cut s.th. using a back-and-forth motion’; *taha* ‘fell s.th., cut down s.th. that is standing vertically’; *hete* ‘cut around s.th.’

as thick as an arm or less to cut it into lengths'; *ep-ture* 'cut s.th. short, to behead'; *tete* 'to chop into pieces, to kill'; *sila* 'split s.th. roughly'; *faka* 'split s.th. with the grain for further use of the wood'; *bisi* 'carve s.th. carefully (with repeated motion) into a particular shape with instrument not leaving surface'; *dasa* 'cut to a sharp point'; *enogi* 'cut brush/grass to clear a field'; *bobi* 'cut grass to clean around house/village'; *soho-k* 'shave s.th. to reduce it, strip away the non-core with single motion away from body'; *sopi-k* 'peel, pare using instrument, blade going away from body' (contrasted with *ali-k* 'peel with hand'); *sala* 'cut into and twist hard to break into pieces (e.g. cassava)'; *fasa* 'cut with scissors or chainsaw'; *fola* 'cut/divide (coconut) into pieces'; *lodo* 'cut/clean/sharpen bamboo with motion away from body but parallel to bamboo section'; *loo* 'climb a tree and cut it down in sections so it does not damage s.th.'; *sawi* 'scrape s.th. smooth with blade perpendicular to wood'; *lau kau* 'cut around a tree, girdle it so as to kill it'; *ohi* 'clean and cut rattan for use'; *snapa tonal* 'split cuscus for smoking (collocational restriction)'; *tera* 'cut into wood at about 5cm intervals (for making it smaller without splitting the piece)'; *pala-k* 'cut a notch'; *sisi-k* 'cut/peel bark off for further use'; *sobi* 'slash once through'; *popo-k* 'cut off (e.g. pig's trotters)'; *sosi-k* 'slice (cut hand)'; *pono* 'slice (cabbage) into shreds'; *sabi-k* 'shave (hair off pig or face)'.

DOB ?*a-so* means to slice, usually food.

IRA Also *mətotə*.

SAW Also *n-tipel* 'cut, but not right through'.

NYI Also *m<sup>w</sup>etehei* (there are many specialised words for cut/chop, etc.).

TAK 'cut meat'.

DAM Also *i-tu-ya* 'cut wood'; *bogō phi-ya* is usually used for 'cutting fruit'.

MAB *-tāra* 'cut'; *-ye<sup>m</sup>but* 'cut off'; *-ut* 'cut off'; *-pal* 'slice'; *-sa<sup>m</sup>bar* 'cut grass'; *-pup* 'cut hair'.

YAB 'cut with a (formerly bamboo) knife'; also *-sap* 'chop with stone axe'; *-bɔb* 'slash (grass)'; *-pa* 'chop horizontally, sharpen to a point'.

KAU Also *kes*, *mut*.

TOL Also *kutu* 'cut into pieces, sever', *poko kutu* 'cut into pieces'.

TAW *tala* 'cut with grain'; *boli* 'cut across grain, cut in pieces'.

MOT *iβa-ia* 'to cut up e.g. meat'; *utu-a* 'to cut off e.g. branch of tree'; also *siri-a* 'to cut up firewood' (09.222); *lapa-ia oho* 'to hit with sword or machete (*ilapa*) and cut off'; *tara-ia* 'to adze, chop, cut wood'.

- MEK 'cut as with a knife'; *e-aŋa* 'cut, chop' see 09.222.
- MAR *aŋa* 'cut, split, slice'; *če* 'cut, make a single slit'; *daŋa* 'cut skin or flesh, butcher'; *hihimoto* 'cut in cross-section (long object)'; *kuči* 'cut off, trim'; *kusu* 'cut off, break apart (rope-like object)'; *ŋutu* 'cut off a tree branch'; *puphugra* 'cut off a piece or section'; *roroohi* 'cut, carve into, mark with sharp implement'; *tohi* 'slice, cut back and forth with knife'; *totoyolo* 'cut lengthwise, down the middle'.
- LAU *ʔolea* 'cut with scissor'; *tabalia* 'chop down'.
- RAG Also *dai*, *dara* 'to cut with knife or axe'; *tara*, *dara* 'cut with a sawing motion'.
- LEW Also *tē*.
- KWA *-arai* 'cut, slice'; *-ak<sup>w</sup>ai* 'cut bush'; *awskrini* 'cut lengthwise'; *-əkihi* 'cut up, dice, shave'; *-pup* 'cut off'.
- NEM *-bune*, *-gane* take different prefixes denoting manner or instrument (with/ without percussion, with the hand, with the teeth etc.); *cei* 'cut with scissors'; *yei* 'cut, slice, cut oneself'.
- CEM See also *tále-hi* 'slice'; *éi* 'incise'.
- NEN Also *čie*.
- MSH *p<sup>w</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>e* Eastern dialect; *m<sup>w</sup>icit* Western dialect; *cek* also 'chop, hew'.
- PON *sepe* 'cut into pieces'; *p<sup>w</sup>alaŋ* 'slit, divide, cut open'; *lopuk* 'cut crosswise'.
- WLE *ppatō*; *xopīya* also 'chop'.
- EFI Also *musu-ka*, *koti-βa*.
- WFI Also *kosi-a*.
- RTU Also *ʔofi*
- TON Also *tā*.
- SAM (polite) *poi* 'of hair'; *ʔoti* (vb trans).
- TAH Also *ʔoti*, *ʔoʔoti*, *ʔotiʔoti*; *pāʔoti* 'cut with scissors'; *tipi* 'cut with a knife'.

### 09.221 CUT DOWN

ATA	<i>mutuʔ</i>	YAM	<i>manba</i>	*AKL	<i>putuʔ</i>
*TSO	<i>t-m-orǰi</i>	ISN	<i>kallaŋ</i>	PAL	<i>tobɔŋ-ɔn</i>
RUK	<i>poaləbə</i>	*KAL	<i>pokpok</i>	*MOL	<i>toboŋ</i>
PAI		TAG	<i>pūtol</i>	*KAG	<i>pukan</i>

*BLA	k-an-laŋ	RTI	loʔo	RAG	
*SAB	tobboŋ	*BUR	taha	PAA	dāruē
*MUR	tagad	DOB	ʔa-reɸi	LEW	tē-rovi
*MGY	manapaka (tapaka)	*IRA	merete ε	POR	e-te puri
*ACE	tuɓaŋ	SAW	n-čelep (sələp)	*NTA	-ahtəl
*BAT	manaba (taba)	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> etehei ki	KWA	-arai
MIN	kareʔ		a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> i	NEM	ūi
IND	mənəbaŋ (təbaŋ)	MAM	polo	*CEM	táhagei-pà- betī
SUN	nuar (tuar)	*TAK	-tare	AJI	yoŕāi
JAV	nəgor (təgor)	*DAM	i-tu i-rā-ya	*XAR	çō-x <sup>w</sup> ē
MAD	pugər (pugər)	*MAB	-kas	NEN	čača
*BAL	ŋə-bah-aŋ	*YAB	-bɔb	*KIR	tiri
SAS	ŋə-rəbaʔ	KAU	tai	MSH	cuok
*GOR	moluwodu	TOL	mut	*PON	koṭe
DAA	no-tovo	BUA	βuβ	WLE	xa-macō
UMA	toki	*ADZ	rab- utap	EFI	ta-ya
BUG	tubbaŋ	*KIL	-teya	*WFI	tahi-a
KON	an-nabbaŋ (tabbaŋ)	TAW	tala hopu	RTU	fɔi
*WOL	pa-toɓata	*MOT	utu-a oho	TON	tuʔu-si
MAG	poka	MEK	e-aŋa-lei-a	SAM	
NGA	pogo	*ROV	maho vagorea	*MEL	[lovāia]
*SIK	roʔa	*MAR	rave	*TAH	tāpū
		LAU	tabalia	RAP	paʔo
		KWO	fedaa		

TSO Also *troç-a*.

KAL *pokpok + i-* (with a *bolo*); *gabba + i-* (with an axe).

AKL (*putl-un*); *tubaʔ*, PHN *\*tebaʔ* ‘cut down bananas’.

MOL *toboŋ + -on*.

KAG *pukan + mag-/-ən*.

BLA *n-bək* ‘fell (e.g. a tree)’.

SAB From *tobboŋ + aN-/ø*.

MUR *tagad (mag- -on)* ‘cut down trees’; *dilik (ma-/um-)* ‘cut down undergrowth’; *gapiʔ (mag- -on)* ‘cut down sugar-cane’.

MGY From (*maN-tapaka*).

ACE Also [*kɔh*] from Mon-Khmer.

BAT (*maN-taba*).

- BAL (*N-*)*bah-aŋ* from *bah* ‘collapse lengthways after being in a vertical position; fall over, of a tall thin object like a tree, a person’, see 10.230).
- GOR From (*tuwodu + moN-*).
- WOL Also *pale*.
- SIK Also *gəʃo*.
- BUR See 09.220.
- IRA *ɔ bu mɛɛɛɛ ɛ* ‘cut the tree!’
- TAK ‘fell a tree, cut wood’.
- DAM ‘3sg-cut 3sg-throw-INF.
- MAB *-kas* ‘hack down’; *-dēbe* ‘cut down brush’.
- YAB ‘slash (grass)’; also *-siŋ* ‘cut at’.
- ADZ ‘cut OBJ (e.g. tree) down, altogether’.
- KIL Also *-taβi* ‘cut (anything; including self, by accident)’.
- MOT *oho* ‘away, off’.
- ROV ‘axe cause go down’, i.e. ‘cut down with axe’.
- MAR Also *kato*.
- NTA Also *-əhoal*.
- CEM ‘cut make fall’.
- XAR ‘hit until fall down’.
- KIR Combines with various nouns referring to plant parts.
- PON Also *kar* of vines.
- WFI Also *taka-βia*.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *faʔahiʔa*.

### 09.222 CHOP, HEW

ATA	pa-tβayβuy	*TAG	tabtab	*MUR	kolog
*TSO	ti-priçŋi	*AKL	saksak	*MGY	mi-kapa
RUK	wa-θyabə	*PAL	mənbak	*ACE	[kəh]
PAI	v-ən-alʲakəc	*MOL	tigbas	BAT	taŋgə
YAM	aboakən	*KAG	tigbas	MIN	pakuʔʔ
ISN	mag-kallaŋ	BLA	n-bək	*IND	məmotəŋ
*KAL	dapdap	*SAB	tuwis		(potəŋ)

*SUN	nutuh (tutuh)	NYI	apou	POR	te kröv-i
*JAV	nutuh (tutuh)	*MAM	toto	NTA	-ahtəp
MAD	čačča	*TAK	-file	KWA	-arai
*BAL	ɲandik (kandik)	*DAM	i-sēi-ya	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> avi
*SAS	pantok	MAB	-sap	CEM	cée
GOR	mo-tiboto	*YAB	-sap	AJI	ji
DAA	no-to <sup>ɔ</sup> go	*KAU	kut	XAR	çu
*UMA	buhu?	*TOL	mut-kutu	NEN	čača
BUG	čičča	BUA	βuβ	*KIR	koro kai
KON	an-rata?	ADZ	rab-	*MSH	cek
*WOL	lae-lae	KIL	-βisikai	PON	wak
MAG	čočo	*TAW	hapi	WLE	ttasi
NGA	gəte	MOT	siri-a	EFI	siβi-ta
*SIK	poro	MEK	e-aŋa(-i-a)	*WFI	boka-sia
*RTI	bia	ROV	sokoa	*RTU	fɔi
*BUR	tete	*MAR	fike	TON	tā
DOB	ʔa-toɸa	LAU		*SAM	tātā
*IRA	mətarə (ema)	KWO	lafo	MEL	taia
SAW	n-fa-tɛ-tɛtl-ɛ (tɛtl)	RAG	riŋo	TAH	tarai
		PAA	dai	RAP	paʔo
		LEW	tē-yavi		

TSO *Alsoti-priçŋ-a* ‘chop with an axe (*priçŋi*)’; *s-m-eʔ-purpuru* (also *sʔe-purpur-a*) ‘chop meat or vegetables with a bushknife’.

KAL *dapdap + -an*.

TAG Also [*labra*] + *mag-/in*, from Spanish *labra* ‘carving’.

AKL *saksak + -un*; also *tagbas + -un*.

PAL Also *mamisak*.

MOL From *tigbas + -on*.

KAG From *tigbas + mag-/ən*.

SAB *tuwis + aN-/ø*; also *kapa* (‘axe’) + *aN/ø*.

MUR *kolog (mag- -on)*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *məməŋgal(pəŋgal)*, *mərambah*, *məm-babat*, *mən-čiččaŋ*.

SUN Also *maŋkas(paŋkas)*.

JAV Also *m-bačɔʔ (N-)*.



- BAL (N-) *kandik* ‘chop with a hatchet, axe’ (*kandik* ‘hatchet, axe’) see -*tugəl* 09.220; (N-) *čakčak*, (N-) *təktək* ‘chop into fine pieces’.
- SAS Also *poloŋ*. Thoir et al. (1985): *pantok-aŋ* ‘strike with’; *poloŋ-aŋ* ‘cut with’.
- UMA *buhu?* ‘chop into lengths’; *beho* ‘to split for firewood’; *toki* ‘chop down, fell a tree’.
- WOL Also *ti<sup>m</sup>be; me<sup>n</sup>damu* ‘chop wood’.
- SIK Also *pati*.
- RTI *bia* ‘to split, cleave’; *tata* ‘to chop, split in two’.
- BUR See 09.220.
- IRA *nəkarə* ‘hew a canoe’.
- MAM Also *sare*.
- TAK ‘chop firewood’.
- DAM ‘3sg-chop-INF’.
- YAB ‘chop with stone axe’; also -*sapu* ‘chop off’; -*ga* ‘chop/split wood’; -*dim* ‘chop off’.
- KAU Also *klas*.
- TOL *mut* ‘fell trees, cut lumber’, *kutu* see 09.221.
- TAW ‘chop it’; *tala-ya* ‘hew it’ (tree).
- MAR Also *uge*.
- KIR ‘cut wood’ (vb intrans).
- MSH Also *cuok, cepake*.
- RTU Also *?olo*
- WFI Also *loga-sia*.
- SAM See 09.210.

### 09.223 STAB

ATA	h-um-aβ	*TAG	saksak	*MUR	tobok
*TSO	to <sup>?</sup> si-menzu	*AKL	bunu <sup>?</sup>	*MGY	mameli amin-
RUK	wa-ɔlolo	PAL	tamparən		ni lefu-puhi
PAI	ɟ-əm-ui	*MOL	dugsu <sup>?</sup>	ACE	tɔp
YAM	pasobsobən	*KAG	bunu <sup>?</sup> on	BAT	tusuk
ISN	bagkuŋ	BLA	d-n-ugsaŋ	*MIN	tikam
*KAL	duspak	*SAB	dugsu <sup>?</sup>		

IND	mənikam (tikam)	*SAW	n-εtɛpɛs	POR	
		NYI	asoʔei	NTA	-aru
*SUN	[nəwək] ([təwək])	MAM	naguri	KWA	-əp (i)
JAV	tusuʔ	*TAK	-sue	*NEM	k <sup>ɲ</sup> eli
MAD	čučču	DAM	borū	CEM	wóli
*BAL	nəbək (təbək)	*MAB	-kurūmu	AJI	r̄owəxɛ
SAS	galah	YAB	-guŋ	XAR	
*GOR	molobuʔo	KAU	ni	NEN	
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-tosu	*TOL	go	KIR	ewara
*UMA	ʃalo	BUA	gəlu	*MSH	ɹɿɿɿ
BUG	witta	ADZ	<sup>n</sup> taŋ-	*PON	təkɔ
KON	an-noboʔ (toboʔ)	KIL	-basi	WLE	toū-a
*WOL	tofo-ki	*TAW	tona-ya	EFI	sua-ka
MAG	ʃəlok	MOT	g <sup>w</sup> ada-ia	WFI	hua-kia
NGA	ɖuku	*MEK	e-fau(-ŋa)	RTU	kō
*SIK	rəhuk	ROV	hova	*TON	hoka
RTI	pau	*MAR	ʃaʔi	SAM	tui
*BUR	seka	LAU	labua	MEL	sukia
DOB	ʔa-wur	KWO		TAH	pātia
IRA	mətəro	RAG		RAP	ʔoʔoka
		PAA	dai		
		LEW	yuri		

TSO Also *toʔsi-mɛŋzu-i* ‘stab with a spear (*mɛŋzu*)’. There is no generic term for stabbing.

KAL From *duŋpak + -on*.

TAG Also *īwaʔ + -um/-in*.

AKL From *bunuʔ + -un*.

MOL From *dugsuʔ + -an*.

KAG From *bunuʔ + mag/-ən (bunuʔun)*.

SAB From *dugsuʔ + aN-/ø*.

MUR *tobək (maŋ- -on)*.

MGY ‘to strike with a *lefu-puhi* (k.o. short dagger)’.

MIN Also *amuʔ* from Old Javanese *amūk (wūk)* ‘attack furiously’.

SUN From Old Javanese.

BAL (*N-*)*təbək* ‘stab and withdraw’; (*N-*)*pačək* ‘stab and leave in’ from *pačək* ‘nail, nail-like object’.

GOR From (*tobuʔo + moN-*).

UMA	Also <i>tohu?</i>
WOL	Also <i>pa-solopi</i> .
SIK	<i>rohuk</i> ‘stab with spear’; <i>robak</i> ‘stab with knife’; <i>təgu</i> .
BUR	Instrument not leaving hand; also <i>rusa</i> ‘jab repeatedly upward’; <i>fage</i> ‘throw a spear (with it leaving the hand)’; <i>toto</i> ‘thrust downward with a spear’.
SAW	Also <i>n-tiw</i> ‘stab, using spear’.
TAK	‘dig with a digging stick; crush with a pestle; stab’ (see also 05.560, 08.220).
MAB	Also <i>-up</i> .
TOL	‘stab as with a spear’.
TAW	‘stab it’.
MEK	<i>e-fau-ŋa</i> lit ‘plant, implant’ (see 08.531); <i>e-ʔani</i> is ‘poke, prod’.
MAR	Also <i>joʔu</i> .
NEM	‘stab with a spear’.
MSH	<i>arac</i> ‘cut into strips, slash, stab’; <i>wəkare</i> , <i>wəik</i> also ‘give an injection’; <i>p<sup>m</sup>iæŋ</i> .
PON	Also <i>katuk</i> .
TON	Also <i>tuiheleʔi</i> .

## 09.230 KNIFE

English: *knife*

Polynesian languages: *hele*

*ATA	takīš	BLA	bansuŋ	*SAS	ladik
*TSO	fuʔfu	SAB	lariŋ	GOR	pito
*RUK	labo	*MUR	[pisaw]	DAA	ladi
PAI	sikunu	MGY	aŋçi	UMA	ladiʔ
YAM	ipaŋan	ACE	sikin	BUG	pisu
ISN	iku	BAT	raut	*KON	pisu
KAL	uku	MIN	pisaw	WOL	pisu
*TAG	kampit	IND	pisau	*MAG	[pisu]
AKL	siyaw	SUN	pesu	NGA	tufi
*PAL	paʔis	*JAV	laŋiŋ	*SIK	tudi
MOL	ladiŋ	MAD	ladd <sup>f</sup> iŋ	RTI	dope
KAG	bari	*BAL	tiuk	*BUR	katue-n

DOB	turaʔu	MOT	kaia	XAR	nəa
IRA	.warada	*MEK	aʔiva	NEN	[hele]
*SAW	yet goro	ROV	mayu	*KIR	te [naibi]
NYI	samen	MAR	naflahi	*MSH	ri
MAM	asi	LAU	isi	*PON	kēpiṭ
*TAK	meit	KWO		*WLE	sōrii
DAM	dimig	*RAG	bua	EFI	i-sele
MAB	buza	PAA	eau	*WFI	[i-hele]
YAB	boyaṅ	LEW	pla-yu	RTU	sere
*KAU	[naip]	POR	ičao	TON	hele
TOL	bənəm	NTA	[naip]	*SAM	[naifi]
BUA	yipək	KWA	nau	*MEL	[masimasi]
*ADZ	mudzuk	NEM	[hele]	TAH	tipi
*KIL	[naipa]	*CEM	[hēle]	RAP	hoe
*TAW	[naipi]	AJI	řařa		

ATA Also *takiř*.

TSO Also *porave* ‘bushknife’, see 05.380.

RUK *bakalə* ‘a kitchen knife’; *takiθi* ‘a pocket knife’; *řabo* ‘a large native knife’.

TAG Also [*kutsilyo*].

PAL Also *pikuʔ*.

MUR [*pisaw*] from Malay ‘any small knife’; *kinandoy* ‘large working knife, machete’; *gogolob* ‘knife made of bamboo’; *kiniloṅ* ‘kris’.

JAV Also *pisə*.

BAL See 05.380

SAS Teeuw: ‘rice harvesting knife’ *raṅkap*; *rəraṅgapan*.

KON Also *beraṅ*, *bassi-bassi*.

MAG Malay; *ladiṅ* ‘a knife used by women’.

SIK Also *kiʔat*, *supi*, *rodi-ṅ*, *poro-ṅ* ‘large machetes’.

BUR ‘machete’ (from *kau tue-n* ‘sharp stick’); *kat-ana-n* ‘knife’ (from *katue-n ṭana-n* ‘small machete’); WaeSama, Central and Li Enyorot dialect *stodo* ‘machete’, *iri-t* ‘knife’. See also 05.380 and 20.270.

SAW Also *yet mya* ‘small knife’.

TAK ‘bamboo knife’.

KAU Tok Pisin.

- ADZ *mudzuk* ‘small metal knife’; *paip* ‘bush knife, metal machete’; *ya<sup>ŋ</sup>kaf* ‘stone knife’.
- KIL Also [*kutou*] from French see 05.380.
- TAW Also *oeya* (obsolete).
- MEK Originally ‘knife made from bamboo’ (see Motu *gadiva*), NW Mekeo *kie-kie*; *oka*, *eke* ‘shell knives’ (EMek); *tsipili* ‘grass-knife’ (smaller than *a<sup>?</sup>iva*).
- RAG *bua tavgava* ‘bamboo knife’; *bua taitai* ‘metal knife’.
- CEM Also *tāt* ‘oyster knife used for slicing tubers’.
- KIR *te bitī* ‘anything made of iron’; *te tāba* also ‘cutlass, sword, machete’.
- MSH Eastern dialect; also ‘bone’; *cæcæ* also ‘cutlass, sword, machete’; [*naib*]; *p<sup>w</sup>akp<sup>w</sup>ek* Western dialect.
- PON Also [*teike*] from English *dagger*; [*naip*].
- WLE Also *tapatapa* also ‘cutlass, sword, machete’.
- WFI From Standard Fijian *i-sele*.
- SAM (polite) *polo*, *o<sup>?</sup>e*, *?ofe* (08.940).
- MEL From Efate.

### 09.240 SCISSORS, SHEARS

**English:** *scissors*

**Malay:** *gunting*

ATA	paḳuway	MUR	[guntɨŋ]	BUG	[gončɨŋ]
*TSO	fu <sup>?</sup> fu no pūtu	MGY	heti	KON	[gončɨŋ]
RUK	kaʒianaə	ACE	gunteŋ	WOL	[gu <sup>n</sup> ti]
PAI	kaʒap	BAT	[gustɨŋ]	MAG	[gu <sup>n</sup> tiŋ]
*YAM	tətədtəd	MIN	gunti <sup>?</sup> ŋ	NGA	[gudi]
ISN	kartib	IND	guntɨŋ	SIK	[guti-ŋ]
KAL	kaltib	SUN	guntɨŋ	RTI	<sup>ŋ</sup> gu- <sup>ŋ</sup> gutek
*TAG	guntɨŋ	JAV	guntɨŋ	BUR	[guntɨŋ]
AKL	guntɨŋ	MAD	guntɨŋ	DOB	[guntɨŋ]
PAL	gunɨŋ	*BAL	čakət	IRA	
MOL	guntɨŋ	SAS	guntɨŋ	SAW	[guntɨŋ]
KAG	guntɨŋ	GOR	hu-hu <sup>n</sup> dino	NYI	
BLA	guntɨŋ	DAA	[gu <sup>n̄</sup> ji]	MAM	[sisisi]
SAB	guntɨŋ	UMA	[gu <sup>n̄</sup> či]	TAK	

DAM		LAU	kote	*KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> anai
MAB		KWO		MSH	[cicæc]
YAB	kapiŋ	RAG		PON	[siseŋ]
KAU		PAA	[sises]	WLE	[tīṛasa]
*TOL	kiə	LEW	[seses]	EFI	i-koti
BUA	kapiŋ	POR		WFI	i-kosi
ADZ		NTA	[sətəs]	RTU	[sisesə]
KIL		KWA		TON	hele-kosi
TAW		NEM	k <sup>n</sup> et	SAM	seleulu
*MOT	[pakosi]	*CEM	[cícó]	MEL	kapekape
*MEK	i-epe	AJI	kada	TAH	pā <sup>?</sup> oti
*ROV	pana poko	XAR	kanada	RAP	pa <sup>?</sup> oti
MAR	p <sup>h</sup> apala	NEN	nepisi		

TSO ‘knife of the Chinese’.

YAM Also *taŋaliŋ*.

TAG PHN *\*guntiŋ*.

BAL *čakət* ‘shears used to cut areca nut’; also [*guntiŋ*].

TOL Originally a pair of bamboo tongs, see 05.391.

MOT From a Polynesian language. Compare Rarotongan *pakoti* lit ‘to lay hold of and cut’ and used for ‘scissors, shears, tongs’.

MEK *epe* ‘pinch’ (vb).

ROV *pana poko* ‘scissors to cut material’; *pana* ‘shell used for shaving’.

CEM From French *ciseaux*.

KIR *te m<sup>w</sup>anai* also ‘crab sp.’; *te tati* also ‘crab’s pincers’.

## 09.250 AXE

ATA	yašam	PAL	kapa	MIN	kapa <sup>?</sup>
TSO	priçŋi	MOL	kapa	*IND	kampak
RUK	komogo	KAG	wasay	SUN	kampak
PAI	val <sup>y</sup> əs	*BLA	balyuŋ	*JAV	kapa <sup>?</sup>
*YAM	zayig	SAB	kapa	MAD	kapak
ISN	parakul	MUR	panā <sup>?</sup>	*BAL	kandik
KAL	wāsay	*MGY	famaki	SAS	kandik
*TAG	palakol	*ACE	galaŋ	GOR	buliŋo
AKL	paraku†	BAT	takke	DAA	baliu

UMA	pati	YAB	ki	*KWA	paha
BUG	wase	KAU	eyak arut	NEM	gi
*KON	'paŋkulu	TOL	pem	CEM	gî
*WOL	<sup>n</sup> damu	BUA	ķõβ	AJI	gi
MAG	čola	*ADZ	gir	XAR	gie
NGA	taka	KIL	kema	*NEN	gie
SIK	taka	TAW	ilama	*KIR	te aŋara
RTI	taka	MOT	ira	*MSH	mæ̃!
*BUR	gomi	*MEK	ina-ina	PON	sile
DOB	yiram	ROV	maho	*WLE	yaša
IRA	suri	*MAR	ŋimara	EFI	matau
SAW	kmøn	LAU	matau	WFI	kia
NYI	samen	KWO		RTU	?ia
	kamo <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ou	RAG	talai	TON	toki
MAM	ogi	PAA	telai	*SAM	to?i
*TAK	pilagis	*LEW	pila-kiavi	*MEL	[tākōto]
*DAM	manau	POR	taŋot	*TAH	to?i
*MAB	nakabasi	NTA	kəpas	RAP	?ohio

YAM Also *wašay*.

TAG Also [*puthaw*], from Chinese.

BLA *balyuŋ* 'axe handle driven into head'; *bosi* 'axe head protruding from hole in handle'; [*fadakul*] 'commercial axe'.

MGY From *faN-vaki*.

ACE Also *bači, kapa?, srøn*.

IND Also *kapak*.

JAV Also *waduŋ*.

BAL Also *dapak*; *blakas* 'chopper, or small machete with long heavy blade'.

KON *'paŋkulu* 'large axe'; *banči* 'small, hatchet'.

WOL Also *bali-bali* 'small axe'.

BUR *gomi-yao* 'hatchet'.

TAK *pilagis* 'European axe'; *noŋ* 'stone cutting tool which is hammered into wood'.

DAM 'stone axe, steel axe'; also [*saφor*] 'steel axe' from Russian *topór*, also introduced by Maklai.

MAB *nakabasi* 'axe'; *nogo* 'hatchet'.

ADZ	<i>gir</i> ‘stone axe’; [ <i>dza<sup>n</sup>ʒun</i> ] ‘steel axe’ – borrowing from Wampar <i>aidz a<sup>n</sup>ʒou</i>
MEK	‘steel axe’; [ <i>lau</i> ] western dialects, from the Eleman languages of Gulf Province (?); <i>ʔoŋea</i> ( <i>koŋea</i> ), <i>faia-faia</i> and <i>aleo</i> are ‘stone axes’, NW Mekeo has <i>buŋo</i> .
MAR	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ila</i> ‘tomahawk’.
LEW	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>e-kiavi</i> .
KWA	Also <i>ʔaʔau</i> ‘canoe-carving axe’.
NEN	Also <i>giefao</i> .
KIR	Also <i>te toki</i> .
MSH	Also <i>ilil</i> ; <i>celcel</i> ‘stone axe’.
WLE	Also <i>ʒōpaŋa</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>aŋa ʔese</i> , <i>ʔausulu</i> , <i>matau</i> , <i>maleke</i> , <i>fa ʔaola fanua</i> , <i>ulaŋe</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>ʔōpahi</i> archaic or dialectal.

## 09.251 ADZE

ATA	<i>yašam</i>	MIN	<i>baliu<sup>3</sup>ŋ</i>	*IRA	<i>madi madi</i>
TSO	<i>tuʔu</i>	IND	<i>bəliuŋ</i>	SAW	<i>kmən ta</i>
RUK	<i>komogo</i>	SUN	<i>baliuŋ</i>		<i>myaku</i>
PAI	<i>val<sup>y</sup>əs</i>	JAV	<i>pətel</i>	*NYI	<i>samen<sup>n</sup>dʔalai</i>
YAM	<i>pipazipazəŋ</i>	MAD	<i>čudəŋdəŋ</i>	MAM	<i>tauru</i>
ISN	<i>pandarās</i>	*BAL	<i>timpas</i>	*TAK	<i>gimagim</i>
KAL	<i>landok</i>	SAS	<i>landik</i>	DAM	<i>wegei</i>
*TAG	<i>daras</i>	GOR	<i>totāʔo</i>	*MAB	<i>manaba</i>
*AKL	<i>wasay</i>	DAA		*YAB	<i>ki-gewεʔ</i>
PAL	<i>wasoy</i>	UMA	<i>pati</i>	KAU	
MOL	<i>wasoy</i>	BUG	<i>wasse</i>	TOL	<i>apəp</i>
*KAG	<i>biŋkuŋ ta</i> <i>kauy</i>	KON	<i>paleppenə</i>	BUA	<i>mā</i>
BLA		WOL	<i>bali-bali</i>	ADZ	<i>gir</i>
SAB	<i>pag-u-ukil</i>	MAG		KIL	<i>ligogo</i>
MUR		NGA	<i>taka</i>	*TAW	[ <i>hedisi</i> ]
MGY		SIK	<i>taka</i>	*MOT	<i>gogomu</i>
*ACE	<i>buuliyəŋ</i>	RTI	<i>tala</i>	*MEK	<i>ai-opu</i>
BAT		BUR	<i>gomi</i>	*ROV	<i>pego</i>
		*DOB	<i>malatu</i>	MAR	<i>p<sup>h</sup>aʒa</i>



LAU		*CEM	gî-tíme-nû	WFI	hiβihiβi
*KWO	?ila	AJI	gi tē	RTU	aŋsara
RAG		XAR	ginēre	TON	toki tātā
PAA	tāta	NEN		*SAM	toʔi
LEW	tarirua	*KIR	te ntaraia	MEL	toki
POR	reai töa <sup>ᵈ</sup> g	*MSH	całtok	*TAH	?oma
NTA	ualupe	*PON	sile	*RAP	?ohio teki
KWA	kakər	*WLE	şõpařa		
NEM	gi	EFI	matau siβisiβi		

TAG Also [*aswēla*], from Spanish *hachuela*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**wāsay*.

KAG *ta kauy* ‘of wood’, see 08.250 ‘hoe’ for another kind of *biŋkuŋ*.

ACE Also *čurkeh*.

BAL *timpas* ‘large *blakas* (see 09.250) used by carpenters to shape blocks of wood’.

IRA ‘small adze’.

DOB ‘small one handed adze used for cutting out canoes’; larger adzes are *yiram seŋaŋa* ‘Kei axes’.

NYI Also *kawen*.

TAK Also *tir* both ‘stone adzes’: *gimagim* is used to shape the inside of, for example, a canoe, *tir* the outside.

MAB Also *kaboŋ*.

YAB ‘axe-bent’; also *ki-tapa* ‘axe-flat’ i.e. ‘hollow adze’; *pelo* ‘small pointed stone adze for making holes’.

TAW From English *adze*, also *kadikadim*.

MOT ‘curved adze, used in constructing canoes’; also *omo*.

MEK ‘downward-looking’; also *au-meʔe*, lit ‘striking sideways’; *meŋaua* is the native ‘pick’ used to give force to an adze-head; other dialects *kataia*, *bilo*, *omo*.

ROV *pego* (large made of shell), *seopo* (small made of shell).

KWO ?*ila* (chert); also *kame*.

CEM ‘axe sheath coconut spathe’.

KIR Also *te kabao*; *te tanai*.

MSH *mæł* ‘steel axe’.

PON Also ‘axe’; *kī* ‘adze from shell of giant clam’.

WLE Also *peşuxuřu*; *teřõ*.

SAM See 09.250.

TAH Also *toʔi* archaic.

RAP *ʔohio teki* ‘large adze for working wood, timbers’; *kau-teki* adze ‘small hand adze for carving’.

## 09.260 BREAK

ATA	ma-šitʔax	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-koto	*MAR	bruja
*TSO	ti-bkoçi	UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-pe <sup>ŋ</sup> ka	*LAU	magā
RUK	wa-ʔəakə	BUG	rippaʔ	KWO	ʔoi-a
PAI	p-ən-ətək	KON	am-mue (pue)	RAG	roto
*YAM	kavaən	*WOL	katu-ki	PAA	vuli
*ISN	n̄tuʔ	MAG	kəkar	LEW	kila-rovi
*KAL	botak	*NGA	kəla	POR	lapuri
*TAG	bāliʔ	*SIK	boga	*NTA	-atŋalh
AKL	bāliʔ	*RTI	ladi	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> (i) eri
PAL	bəriʔən (bariʔ)	*BUR	gesu-k	*NEM	-bī
*MOL	binasa	*DOB	ʔa-ŋayal	*CEM	tūb <sup>wi</sup>
*KAG	buʔuŋun	*IRA	biməsə	AJI	yovī
*BLA	t-an-foʔ	*SAW	n-ε-pes-ε	XAR	fa-pīrī
*SAB	bilaʔ	NYI	ibok	*NEN	puçi
*MUR	pəto	*MAM	ʔoto	*KIR	otea
*MGY	mamaki	*TAK	-balsini	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ilək
*ACE	buakah	*DAM	kerā	*PON	ʔip <sup>w</sup> aŋ
BAT	bola	*MAB	-te	*WLE	ʔ <sup>w</sup> ünü-a
*MIN	pəçah	*YAB	-pə	EFI	musu-ka
*IND	pəçah	*KAU	hik	WFI	muhu-kia
*SUN	mīpis-kin (pīpis)	TOL	puər	RTU	kao
JAV	məçah (pəçah).	BUA	kəyey	*TON	foa
MAD	pəçča	*ADZ	du <sup>m</sup> pu-	*SAM	motu-sia
*BAL	ŋə-luŋ	*KIL	-katuβi	*MEL	tapasia
SAS	məcaʔ (pəcaʔ)	TAW	luwotowi	*TAH	vāvāhi
*GOR	mo-po-[rusa]	*MOT	ha-makohi-a	*RAP	ŋaʔaha
		*MEK	e-au-po-ŋa		
		*ROV	poraka		

TSO Also *ti-bkoç-a* ‘break something long’.

YAM Also *şomaspi*.

ISN *narupaʔ* ‘broken in pieces’.

- KAL *botak + -on*.
- TAG *bāsag* ‘break glass’, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*bāriq* ‘fracture’.
- MOL *binasa + -an*.
- KAG From *buʔuŋ + -ən*; *buʔuŋ* ‘break of fragile things like dishes’; *bali + -ən* ‘break of things that snap and split such as bones’.
- BLA *t-an-foʔ* ‘break (long object)’; *b-an-gaŋ* ‘break (for bulky or hollow objects)’.
- SAB *bilaʔ + aN-/ø*; also *pōŋ + aN-/ø* (of wood).
- MUR *poto (maŋ- -on)* ‘break into pieces’, *ukat (maŋ- -on)* ‘break of rope, thread’, *pandak*.
- MGY From *maN-vaki*.
- ACE Also *patah*.
- MIN Also *balah, kapiʔŋ*.
- IND Also *patah* ‘break of bones, twig etc.’.
- SUN Also *motoŋ-kin (potoŋ-kin)*.
- BAL (*N-*)*luŋ* ‘break in two, snap e.g. a twig, a bone’; (*N-*)*bəlah* ‘burst, break into pieces’; (*N-*)*usak* ‘cause to be not working properly, no longer usable’.
- GOR ‘causative affix’. Also *momoli (boli + moN-)* ‘break (something of rod-like shape)’; *momoʔo (poʔo + moN-)* ‘shatter (something)’; *moŋāʔdulu (?āʔdulu + moN-)* 1 ‘destroy’ 2 ‘tear’; *momuʔdo (buʔdo + moN-)* ‘sever’.
- WOL Also *ma-katu-katu* ‘break into pieces’; *ma-pasa, pas-ki* ‘break/smash’; *peka-pasa*.
- NGA ‘break using machete’.
- SIK Also *bige, bitak, bəta, rəpu-ŋ*.
- RTI *ladi* and *tiʔu* ‘breaking of long, hard objects’; *helu ladi* ‘bend something until it breaks’; *seŋi* ‘break off, pluck’; *faŋi* ‘break glass or break the earth’; *na-baen* ‘break, divide into pieces’.
- BUR ‘break in the middle (e.g. branch, leg) (vb intrans)’; *kesu-k* ‘break s.th. intentionally’; *fadi-k* ‘break s.th. (vb trans)’; *eg-fasa-k* ‘break off at the trunk’; *eg-huda-k* ‘fall apart’; *prega tepu telu-n* ‘break open an egg’; *pehe-k* ‘break by stepping on’; *fas-tela* ‘cause (a man and woman) to break up’.
- DOB (vb trans).
- IRA *nəbako* ‘break of glass etc.’

- SAW 'break, glass objects'; also *n-ε-pekεt* 'break of wooden objects'.
- MAM Also *sare*.
- TAK *-balsini*, *-birti* used respectively of sticks and ropes.
- DAM Also *weru φi-ya*, 'to break completely'.
- MAB *-te* 'break a piece of food in two'; *-<sup>9</sup>gurūmu* 'break one of one's limbs'; *-pamapāla* 'break accidentally'; *-mumu*, *-kinmumu* 'break into crumbs'; *-pāla*, *-rēge* 'tear down, destroy'; *-kuŋ* 'break by crushing'; *-kelpāla* 'break using a pointed instrument'; *-kotpāla* 'break by hitting with some instrument'; *-bokāt* 'break, snap off'; *-sebōgo* 'break in two'. Intransitive verbs: *-kam borok* 'break down'; *-mapāla* 'break apart'; *-murēge* 'fall apart'; *-pol* 'break in two, collapse'; *-petekat* 'snap in two'.
- YAB 'break in two'; also *-poŋ ... tulu* 'break in two'; *-madom* 'break with a crack'.
- KAU Also *luŋ*.
- ADZ *du<sup>m</sup>pu* 'break in two, e.g. stick'; *is-* (OBJ) *fafarab* 'break into pieces, e.g. pot'; *idza<sup>?</sup>-* 'break off, e.g. branch of tree'.
- KIL *-dadaimi* with different adverbial prefixes: *-ko-didaimi* 'destroy, render completely useless'; *-katu-didaimi* 'break up using some instrument'; *-katu-mimisi* 'smash into small fragments'.
- MOT See 09.261.
- MEK *po* 'break', *au* 'strike'; *e-au-po-ŋa-ka* is somehow stronger in meaning. North Mekeo *fai-po-ŋa*, West Mekeo, NW Mekeo *pai-bo-ŋa* 'break'; verbal suffix *-u(-a)* after any base has the meaning of 'separation, breaking'.
- ROV 'break (as in glass)'.
- MAR *bruŋa* 'break, shatter into bits'; *klopa* 'break in two (long object)'; *kok<sup>h</sup>oju* 'break in two (long object)'; *kuri* 'break, smash by hammering'; *kusu* 'break apart, cut off (rope-like object)'; *lopa* 'break off a piece of reed or sugarcane'; *p<sup>h</sup>isu* 'break off at the stem'; *p<sup>h</sup>osa* 'break, crack, shatter (curved, hollow object)'; *tohu* 'break, crack, give way with a snap'.
- LAU Also *duk<sup>w</sup>e*.
- NTA Also *-oralh*, *-orapələs* depending on object.
- KWA *-ak<sup>w</sup> (i) eri* 'break open'; *-epui* 'break off, break apart'; *etahi* 'break apart, disassemble'; *-ətephi* 'break an elongated object, snap'; *-əwi aphi* 'step on and break'; *-əwəse* 'break off at a joint'.

NEM	<i>-bī</i> takes different prefixes to indicate manner or instrument; <i>yū</i> ‘break by bending (e.g. a branch)’.
CEM	‘break in two’; also <i>ī</i> (preceded by different prefixes ‘break into pieces’).
NEN	Also <i>aedeni</i> .
KIR	<i>urua</i> ‘destroy, ruin’.
MSH	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ilɔk</i> ‘fracture’; also <i>m<sup>w</sup>dɔuc</i> ; <i>ɔuce</i> , <i>ɔup</i> , <i>k<sup>w</sup>ʌce</i> ‘snap’
PON	‘break of long objects’; <i>m<sup>w</sup>eit</i> ; <i>kawēla</i> see <i>ōla</i> ‘broken’.
WLE	Also [ <i>ɾipīya</i> ] from English; <i>tewasī-a</i> ; <i>ɸ<sup>w</sup>eɾiŋi</i> of long objects.
TON	Also <i>maumauʔi</i> .
SAM	<i>motu</i> ‘break’ (vb intrans), <i>-sia</i> trans, <i>momotu</i> (vb trans) ‘break off’.
MEL	Also <i>fačīa</i> .
TAH	<i>haʔafati</i> ‘break long object’; <i>tupararī</i> ‘break compact object’.
RAP	<i>ɲaʔaha</i> ‘break (by shattering?, e.g. a bottle, window, cup, box, table etc.)’; <i>ha-hata</i> ‘break (by snapping?, e.g. a plant, wood, knife, sawblade, etc.)’.

### 09.261 BROKEN

ATA	ma-βkaʔ	MIN	patah	*DOB	ʔa-bata
TSO	a-bkoʒi	*IND	pəçah	IRA	bu nəbako
*RUK	māɕwakə	SUN	poton	*SAW	n-t-ε-ʔpes
PAI	ma-pətək	JAV	pəçah	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔa-bok
*YAM	makava	MAD	bəlla	MAM	maʔoto
ISN	narītu	*BAL	luŋ	*TAK	-puk
*KAL	nabtak	*SAS	pəcaʔ	DAM	kerā
*TAG	siraʔ	*GOR	mo-[rusa]	*MAB	-sāna
*AKL	samad	DAA	na-koto	*YAB	pəpəʔ
PAL	nəbarik	UMA	mo-pe <sup>n</sup> ka	KAU	
MOL		BUG	pollo	*TOL	ta-puər
*KAG	buʔuŋ	*KON	pue	BUA	təkuβ
*BLA	ma-tfoʔ	*WOL	ma-fofo	ADZ	puʔ-
*SAB	bilaʔ	MAG	bike	KIL	-tawoula
*MUR		*NGA	bəta	TAW	luwotowi
MGY	vaki	*SIK	boga	*MOT	makohi
*ACE	bukah	*RTI	ladin	MEK	e-ʔopo
BAT	sega	*BUR	gesu-k	*ROV	moku

*MAR	klopa	NEM	felet	EFI	kamusu
LAU	maga	CEM	tûb <sup>w</sup> i	WFI	đa-muhu
KWO	madik <sup>w</sup> a	AJI	řavī	RTU	momo
RAG		XAR	pīřī	*TON	mafoa
PAA	mavul	*NEN	ed	SAM	motu
LEW	wu-rovi-a	*KIR	oteaki	MEL	fači
POR	ma <sup>m</sup> b a ino <sup>ḡ</sup> g	*MSH	m <sup>u</sup> ḡruc	*TAH	fati
*NTA	-ətaŋət	*PON	ṭip <sup>w</sup>	*RAP	
*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> əpər	*WLE	řipiŋaxi		

RUK *mā-ŋətələ* ‘broken as a string cut by a knife’; *mā-bitakə* ‘broken by stretching both ends of a string’

YAM Also *mašpi*.

KAL From *botak + na-*.

TAG ‘not working, out of order’.

AKL *samad* ‘not working, out of order’; *pusa?* ‘broken in pieces’, PHN \**pecaq*.

KAG *bu?uŋ + ma*; also *bali + ma-*.

BLA *ma-tfo?* ‘broken (long object)’; *ma-bgaŋ* ‘broken (for bulky or hollow objects)’.

SAB *bila?* + *a-*; also *pōŋ + a-* (of wood); *bakkat* or *bugtu?* + *a-* (of rope/string).

MUR See 09.260.

ACE Also *patah*.

IND Also *patah* (as of bone or twig).

BAL *luŋ* ‘broken in two, snapped e.g. a twig, a bone’; *bəlah* ‘burst, broken into small pieces e.g. a container, a pot, a glass’; *usak* ‘damaged, no longer usable’; *uug* ‘fallen down, destroyed’ of a building.

SAS *pəca?* ‘broken into pieces’; *sedə* ‘not working, out of order’; see 05.560, ‘crush’.

GOR From Malay *rusak*. Also *mo-boli* ‘broken (something of rod-like shape)’; *mo-po?o* ‘shattered, broken in pieces’; *mo-bu<sup>n</sup>do* ‘severed’.

KON Also *panra?*, *poloŋ*, *tappu?*.

WOL Also *ma-fo<sup>ḡ</sup>ka*, *ma-fo<sup>u</sup>tu*.

NGA *bəta* (rope); *beka* (ceramic, glass).

SIK Also *bige*, *bitak*, *bəta*, *rəpu-ŋ*.

RTI Also *ba?en*.

BUR	'of s.th. long and relatively small'; <i>guhu-k</i> 's.th. broken that cannot be used'.		
DOB	An intransitive verb, the subject of which is the thing broken: <i>?ay ne ?a-bata</i> means 'that wood is broken'.		
SAW	Also <i>n-ε-m-pekət</i> (as of a twig or bone).		
TAK	'be broken' (stative verb).		
MAB	<i>-sāna</i> 'ruined, not functioning'; also <i>mapālaḡana, polḡana</i> .		
YAB	Also <i>tulu</i> .		
TOL	<i>ta-</i> intrans, see Mosel 1984: 151.		
MOT	'broken, smashed as pottery, glass'; <i>k<sup>w</sup>aidu</i> 'break, broken in two as stick, limb'; <i>motu</i> 'break, broken as a thread'. Also <i>huari-a</i> 'to break, e.g. coconut shell, pottery'; <i>rahu-a utu</i> 'to strike and sever, e.g. of rope'.		
ROV	<i>moku</i> (of pencil), <i>poraka</i> (of glass).		
MAR	'of a long object'.		
NTA	Also <i>-arəḡəḡ</i> , <i>-es</i> depending on object.		
KWA	<i>-ak<sup>w</sup>əpər</i> 'of elongated objects'; <i>-əparua</i> 'smashed'; <i>-m<sup>w</sup>erəs</i> 'separated, broken up'.		
NEN	Also <i>ḡaed</i> .		
KIR	Also <i>uruaki</i> .		
MSH	Also <i>rup</i> .		
PON	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>ei, ōla; marop</i> 'smashed'; <i>sawa</i> 'of containers for liquid'.		
WLE	Also <i>tettewasi; ɸ<sup>w</sup>ünü; m<sup>w</sup>ateřü; mařipi</i> 'shattered'.		
TON	Also <i>maumau</i> .		
TAH	<i>fati</i> (long object); <i>pararī</i> (compact object).		
RAP	<i>ḡa?aha</i> 'break (by shattering?, e.g. a bottle, window, cup, box, table etc.)'; <i>ha-hata</i> 'break (by snapping?, e.g. a plank, wood, knife, sawblade, etc.)'.		

## 09.270 SPLIT

ATA	maymuy	YAM	piřızaən	*AKL	bus?ak
TSO	a-xtosi	*ISN	nasi?lāt	*PAL	ridis-ən
*RUK	wa-boçoko	*KAL	bī?ik	MOL	bola?
*PAI	min-çalaç	*TAG	sibak	*KAG	bi?ak

*BLA	b-an-sek	DOB	ʔa- <del>ɸ</del> eta	PAA	masiv
*SAB	bilaʔ	IRA	məragəte	LEW	te-pae
*MUR	lapak	*SAW	n-čegəl	POR	pepai
*MGY	manataka		(səgəl)	*NTA	-ətap
*ACE	plah	NYI	ap <sup>w</sup> ai	KWA	-oskriŋi
BAT	sibak	MAM	sare	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> e-gane
MIN	balah	TAK	-gifte	CEM	táwā
*IND	bəlah	DAM	mareb	AJI	yɔtia
SUN	mīlah (bīlah)	*MAB	-supāla	XAR	para
JAV	m-bəlah	YAB	-ga	*NEN	kedi
MAD	puka	KAU	pal	*KIR	b <sup>w</sup> enā
*BAL	nībak (sibak)	*TOL	ərik	*MSH	kacaŋ
SAS	ŋə-bəlah	BUA	ɣək	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> aik
*GOR	momotaʔo	ADZ	du <sup>m</sup> pu-	WLE	
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-bi <sup>ŋ</sup> ga	KIL	-taβisi	EFI	sei-a
UMA	bikaʔ	*TAW	gunahedali	WFI	lihi-a
BUG	lilleʔ	*MOT	ha-parara-ia	RTU	pəsi
KON	am-mue (pue)	*MEK	e-fafa(-i-a)	TON	fahi
*WOL	ma-weta	*ROV	vigala	SAM	isi
*MAG	vəga	MAR	aɭa	MEL	talā
NGA	təya	*LAU	foea	*TAH	ʔāmaha
SIK	kəlak	*KWO	foge-a	RAP	ʔavahi
RTI	tata	RAG	bola		
*BUR	sila				

RUK *wa-boʔoko* ‘to split (firewood)’, *wa-čəkarə* ‘to split (taro, melon, etc.)’.

PAI *ma-čəkas* ‘split (skin)’.

ISN *passit* ‘crack (as urn)’.

KAL *biʔik + -on*; also *gisgis + -on*.

TAG Also *biyak + mag-/-in*, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*besʔak* ‘chop firewood’.

AKL *busʔak + -un*, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*besʔak* ‘chop firewood’; *giltak* ‘crack’ (as urn).

PAL Also *bəlagən*.

KAG *biʔak + mag-/-ən*; *biʔak* usually implies ‘to split in half’; also *bisʔak + mag-/-ən* (var: *basʔak*).

BLA *b-an-sek* ‘split (as for bamboo)’; *t-n-ifək* ‘split (as firewood)’.



- SAB *bila?* + *aN-/ø*, also *tastas* + *a-* (of seam that has come undone);  
*bahagi?* + *a-* (of something that has come apart).
- MUR *lapak* (*maŋ-* -on), also *piduo* (*maŋ-* -on) ‘split into two parts’.
- MGY From *maN-tataka*.
- ACE Also *črah*.
- IND Also *rətak*.
- BAL (*N-*)*sibak* ‘split something into equal halves lengthways, e.g. a piece of bamboo’; (*N-*)*səbit* ‘split bamboo or rattan into very thin pieces’ see 09.220; (*N-*)*səpak-in* ‘split a pole or a long piece of wood into two or three branches’ see 08.550.
- GOR Also *momuta?o* (*buta?o* + *moN-*).
- WOL Also *seka*.
- MAG Also *təgak*, *tegak*.
- BUR See 09.220 for distinction between *sila*, *faka*, and *folā*; *snapa tonal* ‘split cuscus for smoking (collocational restriction)’.
- SAW Also *n-paket* ‘he splits a coconut’.
- MAB Also *-tarpāla*.
- TOL *tārik* ‘be torn, split’.
- TAW *gunahedali* ‘be split (of wood, rock, etc)’; most generic word; *gunakekehi* ‘be split’-weaving; *gunahaya* ‘be split lengthwise’.
- MOT *parara* ‘to be split, divided’.
- MEK *e-fafa* ‘divide’, *e-folā* ‘split lengthways’.
- ROV *vigala* ‘split neatly lengthways’; *pirata* ‘split of tree in wind’.
- LAU Also *tolijia*, *fita*.
- KWO Also *tobe-a*.
- NTA *iətap* ‘split using knife’; *-əhoap* ‘split with an axe’.
- NEN Also *size*.
- KIR Also *b<sup>w</sup>enauā* ‘split in two’; with *-ua* ‘two’.
- MSH From *car* ‘split, torn’; *cepake*; *baŋræik* ‘cut lengthwise, cut in half’.
- PON *leser* (of husked coconut).
- TAH *?āmaha*, *?afā*, *?afāfā* (vb intrans); *vāhi*, *fa?a?afā* (vb trans).

## 09.280 TEAR (vb)

ATA	y-um-aʔik	UMA	heuʔ	*ROV	rikata
*TSO	re-rkiki	BUG	sappeʔ	MAR	breku
RUK	wa-puriʔi	KON	aŋ-ŋekkeʔ	LAU	karia
PAI			(kekkeʔ)	KWO	kasi-a
YAM	zamiʔən	*WOL	ʃe <sup>n</sup> ʃi	RAG	hera
ISN	piʔsi	MAG	virot	PAA	dali
*KAL	pissay	NGA	visi	LEW	vitol-p <sup>w</sup> e
*TAG	pūnit	*SIK	sarit	POR	tar-i
*AKL	gīsiʔ	RTI	si baʔen	*NTA	-earasin
PAL	uyat-ən	BUR	hida	*KWA	-ek <sup>w</sup> ihi
*MOL	pisat	*DOB	ʔa-yiya	*NEM	to-bune
*KAG	gi'si		ʃeta'ray	CEM	tîe
BLA	k-n-aseʔ	*IRA	nəbəsasə	*AJI	řetia
*SAB	gedet	SAW	n-ε-gawes	XAR	tia
*MUR	binsaŋ	NYI	taraniy	NEN	ʔapa
MGY	man-d <sup>r</sup> uvit <sup>r</sup> a	MAM	sare	KIR	raea
ACE		TAK	-sirei	*MSH	kekele
BAT	ribak	DAM	serek	*PON	[t̄er]
MIN	čabiʔʔ	*MAB	-rāza	*WLE	tōriŋō
*IND	mə-robek	*YAB	-kaʔ	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> esu-ka
*SUN	nəoh-kīn (soeh)	KAU	kas	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> ehu-kia
JAV	ñɔeʔ (sɔeʔ)	*TOL	rədə	*RTU	faʔa
MAD	bədd <sup>ʃ</sup> a	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> ēk	TON	hae
*BAL	ŋ-uek	ADZ	gari-	*SAM	sa-sae
*SAS	roek	KIL	-kisi	MEL	
*GOR	moŋayidaŋo	TAW	loloya	*TAH	pāhae
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-seri	MOT	dare-a	*RAP	ihi
		*MEK	e-ʔiʔi(-na)		

TSO Also *re-rkik-* 'tear off a long piece (cloth, paper) with hands'; *re-p̄ʔi* also *re-p̄ʔi-a* 'tear off a small piece (cloth, paper) with hands'; *ka-rkiki* 'tear off a long piece with teeth'.

KAL *pissay* + *-on*.

TAG Also *pīlas* + *-um/-in*.

AKL *gīsiʔ* + *-un*.

MOL *pisat* + *-on*.

KAG *gi'si* + *mag/-ən/ma-*.

SAB	<i>gedet + aN-/ø</i> , also <i>gesse? + aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>binsaŋ (maŋ- -on)</i> .
IND	Also <i>sobek</i> .
SUN	Also <i>ñosoeh (so-soeh)</i> , <i>ñasaak (sa-saak)</i> .
BAL	From <i>uek</i> ‘torn’.
SAS	Also <i>roek-an</i> . Thoir et al. (1985) <i>so(w)ek</i> .
GOR	( <i>?ayidaŋo + moN-</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>βeka</i> ‘break open, force/jerk open’.
SIK	Also <i>bidur, biha</i> .
DOB	<i>?a-yiya</i> ‘tear’; <i>φeta’ray</i> ‘torn, broken in pieces’.
IRA	<i>nebāsasə</i> ‘tear paper’; <i>asasəradəni</i> ‘I tore my shirt’.
MAB	<i>-rāsa</i> (vb trans); <i>-marāza</i> (vb intrans).
YAB	Also <i>-ta</i> .
TOL	<i>tə-rədə</i> ‘be torn’.
MEK	<i>e-?i?i(-na)</i> can be used transitively or intransitively, also <i>e-pa-?i?i-na</i> ‘make tear’.
ROV	<i>sira</i> ‘shred’.
NTA	<i>-earasin</i> (vb trans); <i>-əhap</i> (vb intrans).
KWA	<i>-ek<sup>w</sup>ihi, -etəhi</i> ‘tear up, tear apart, rip up’; <i>-əwi</i> also ‘pull’.
NEM	<i>to-bune</i> ‘rip in two’; <i>waji</i> ‘snag, tear’.
AJI	Also <i>tia</i> .
MSH	<i>kekēle</i> Western dialect; <i>peḍt</i> Eastern dialect; also <i>potake; meṛṛaḷḍke</i> .
PON	From English.
WLE	<i>feiŋi; xa-taca</i> , from <i>taca</i> ‘ripped’ (coarse).
RTU	Also <i>čei</i> .
SAM	<i>sae</i> (vb trans) ‘(of skin) tear off’.
TAH	Also <i>pīhae, tūmutu</i> .
RAP	<i>ihi</i> ‘tear (intentionally) (vb trans)’; <i>pa-ihi</i> ‘tear (unintentionally, accidentally) (vb trans)’, ‘tear (vb intrans)’.

### 09.290 FLAY, SKIN

ATA	<i>pu-kuahiṭ</i>	YAM	<i>kolitan</i>	*AKL	<i>pānit</i>
*TSO	<i>tu-?xo?xo</i>	ISN	<i>lalātan</i>	PAL	<i>upas-an</i>
*RUK	<i>ko-a-ḷaŋiṭ</i>	*KAL	<i>latlat</i>	*MOL	<i>anit</i>
PAI		*TAG	<i>bakbak</i>	*KAG	<i>panit ta laŋgit</i>

BLA	n-lɔnit	NGA	lui	KWO	ʔuke-a
*SAB	lahod	SIK		*RAG	hihi
*MUR	anit	RTI	ali	PAA	mūli
MGY	man-endaka	*BUR	flali	LEW	yeli
	huditʳa	DOB	ʔa-ɸaʔal	POR	čle-i
*ACE	pluaʔ	IRA	məsosə	NTA	-aβiŋ
BAT		*SAW	n-ɛsuf	*KWA	-arai raka
MIN	kubaʔ	NYI	lokolei	NEM	ŋibʷi
IND	mə-ŋulit-i (kulit)	MAM	sisiʔi	CEM	tá-pʷadi
SUN	ñisit (sisit)	TAK	-gile	*AJI	kāvaři
JAV	ŋəleti (kəlet-i)	DAM	loko	XAR	pəru
*MAD	ŋulbat (kulbat)	MAB	-sek	NEN	
		YAB	-kʷalɛʔ	KIR	kuota
*BAL	mlulaŋin (blulaŋ-in)	KAU	klok	*MSH	ækil
		TOL	kulit	PON	rere
*SAS	ŋə-bətaʔ	BUA	kəye naβi βer	WLE	tōraüřa
*GOR	mohelito	ADZ	is-	EFI	drudru-ŋa
DAA	no-sisi	KIL	-tanini	WFI	βoði-a
UMA	aniʔ	TAW	omtuwopa	RTU	sisi
BUG	ulliʔ	MOT	kopa-ia	TON	fohi
KON	aŋŋ-aniʔ	*MEK	e-pa-iki-lai-a	SAM	sae
WOL	kula-si	ROV	kapua	MEL	vasivasia
MAG	čičik	*MAR	boklo	TAH	hohore i te ʔiri
		LAU	lafua ʔuŋa	RAP	haka hā

TSO Also *tu ʔxoʔx a.*

RUK *ko-a-laŋiç* ‘to flay, to skin’ from *laŋiç* ‘animal skin’; *ko-a-ŋiço* ‘to peel’.

KAL *latlat + on.*

TAG Also *tālop + mag-/-an.*

AKL *pānit + -an*; also *bakbak + -un.*

MOL *anit + -an.*

KAG ‘peel the skin’.

SAB *lahod -/ni-an.*

MUR *anit (maŋ- -in).*

ACE Also *lhaʔ.*

MAD Safioedin (1977): intransitive, ‘be grazed, come off (skin) because of a fall’.

BAL	From <i>blulaŋ</i> ‘animal’ skin’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>pəlut</i> ‘peel fruit, vegetables’.
SAS	Also <i>ŋə-bura?</i>
GOR	From ( <i>walito + moh-</i> ).
BUR	See note for 09.210.
SAW	Also <i>n-epires</i> ‘to peel’; <i>n-εunεf</i> ‘to skin a fish’.
MEK	Also <i>e-pa-iki-lai-sa</i> from <i>iki</i> ‘pinch’.
MAR	<i>boklo</i> ‘flay, peel off, come loose’; <i>flau</i> ‘peel off (skin)’; <i>fliti</i> ‘peel off (skin)’; <i>kmijiu</i> ‘peel off the outer skin of a nut; flay’; <i>liḷigi</i> ‘skin, peel off skin (animal or bark)’; <i>p<sup>h</sup>oklo</i> ‘flay, peel off, come loose’; <i>tohi</i> ‘peel off skin with a knife, as in peeling potato’.
RAG	‘skin’.
KWA	<i>-arai raka</i> ‘cut out, cut off’; <i>-averi</i> ‘kin, husk, peel’; <i>-əwi asisi</i> ‘tear off, strip off’; <i>-os(i) rəpusir</i> ‘beat naked, flay’; <i>-uwsisi</i> ‘strip, pull off’.
AJI	Also <i>pavaṛi</i> .
MSH	From <i>kil</i> ‘skin’, also <i>kakil</i> .

### 09.310 RUB, WIPE

*ATA	γ-um-ašyuš	MIN	goso?	*BUR	isa
*TSO	s-m-aso	*IND	məŋ-gosok	DOB	?a-yasir
RUK	wa-sələðə	*SUN	ŋosok (gosok)	IRA	nisərə
PAI	ʃ-əm-uas	JAV	ŋ-goso?	*SAW	n-εmomes
YAM	ponaşan	MAD	kusut	NYI	owe
ISN	li?gesān	*BAL	ñutsut (sutsut)	*MAM	ara
*KAL	pūnas	*SAS	osok	*TAK	-sasi
*TAG	pāhid	*GOR	mohededu	DAM	oroko
*AKL	pāhid	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-sosoro	*MAB	-mus
PAL	riyab-an	UMA	pori	*YAB	-lesa
*MOL	panis	BUG	gosso?	KAU	luk
*KAG	[trapuan]	*KON	añ-ñossoro	TOL	u
*BLA	n-udes		(sossoro)	*BUA	rī
*SAB	sapu	*WOL	gigi-si	ADZ	sis-
*MUR	pīd	MAG	koso	*KIL	-youli
*MGY	mamauka	NGA	ugu	*TAW	omhamaga
ACE	sampoh	*SIK	bloso	MOT	dahu-a
*BAT	daissən	*RTI	lose	*MEK	e-fai(-na)

*ROV	tavusia	*KWA	-ahak <sup>w</sup> (i)	*WLE	nüwa
*MAR	dale	NEM	tadi	*EFI	masi-a
LAU	usua	CEM	táhi	WFI	kuhi-a
KWO	fulo-a	AJI	cāwā	RTU	sarao
*RAG	maŋi	*XAR	nĩrĩ	*TON	olo
PAA	mūli	*NEN	t <sup>h</sup> iri	*SAM	mili
LEW	yumu-vani	*KIR	tārā	*MEL	sōlā
*POR	čle-i	*MSH	iri	*TAH	ʔui
NTA	-afəl	*PON	iris	*RAP	haroʔi

ATA *ɣ-um-ašyuš* ‘to rub’, *č-um-aum* ‘to wipe’, *ʔ-um-aβuh* ‘to dust’.

TSO Also *sas-a* ‘rub’; *ma-hisi* from *pa-hisi* ‘wipe’.

KAL *pūnas + -an*.

TAG *pāhid + mag-/an*; Proto-Philippines *\*pāhid* ‘wipe’.

AKL (*pahīr-an*), Proto-Philippines *\*pāhid* ‘wipe’.

MOL *panis + -an*.

KAG [*trapu*] + *mag-/an* (*trapuan*) from Spanish *trapu* ‘wipe with a dry cloth’; *lampasuan* (*lampasu + mag-/an*) ‘to wipe with a damp cloth’; *pairen* (*paid + mag-/an*) ‘to rub or spread something on’.

BLA *n-udes* ‘rub’; *n-ifu* ‘wipe’.

SAB *sapu + aN-/an*.

MUR *pīd* (*maŋ- -in*) ‘wipe (liquid involved)’, *puyay* (*maŋ- -on*) ‘rub (no liquid involved)’.

MGY From (*maN-fauka*).

BAT From (*dais-hon*).

IND Also *məñapu* (*sapu*), *məŋ-urut*.

SUN Also *ŋa-gosok*.

BAL ‘wipe with a cloth’; (*N-*)*usap* ‘wipe with hand or cloth’.

SAS Also *osok-aŋ*; Thoir et al. (1985) *osoʔ(-aŋ)*.

GOR *mohededu* (*wudedu + moh-*) ‘rub’; also *momayidu* (*payidu + moN-*), *mo-[lapu]* from Dutch *lap*, *momepato* (*pepato + moN-*) ‘wipe, rub, clean with a cloth’; *mo-luluto* ‘wipe off, wipe away’.

KON *añ-ñossoro* (*soссора*) ‘wipe back and forth’; *al-luʔluʔ*; *añ-ñapu* (*sapu*) ‘wipe once only’.

WOL Also *puiŋi*, *kukusi*.

SIK Also [*hapu*] from Malay; *boho*, *moho*.

- RTI Also [*sapu*], possibly from Malay.
- BUR Also *kodo-k* 'action of using a whetstone'.
- SAW Also *n-toles* 'to wipe dry'.
- MAM Also *utu*.
- TAK Transitive. Homophonous with *-sasi* 'boil' (05.220).
- MAB Also *tāba*; *-kāza* 'wipe dry'.
- YAB Also *-buŋ*.
- BUA Also *reβu*.
- KIL *-youli* 'rub'; *-ta-lubu-labu* 'wipe dry'.
- TAW *omhamaga* 'wipe with cloth'; *omgoho* 'rub hand on something'.
- MEK Also *e-aka*; *e-ʔaʔi(-na)* 'wipe'.
- ROV *tavusia* 'dust (vb)'; also *ŋunahia* 'rub'; *puha* 'wipe'.
- MAR *dale* 'rub off, wipe'; *yiha* 'rub on, wipe, spread (greasy substance)'; *nunuju* 'rub or wipe, as an eye'.
- RAG 'wipe'.
- POR Also *ʔgar-i*.
- KWA *-ahak<sup>w</sup>(i)* 'rub, scrub, clean by scrubbing'; *-ahate* 'wipe one's backside'; *-awai* 'massage, rub hard'; *-rai* 'rub out, erase'.
- XAR *riĩ* 'rub'; *ʔē* 'wipe'.
- NEN Also *kora(n)*.
- KIR 'rub a towel, dry oneself'; also *kaoa*, *irea* also 'polish, file'.
- MSH *m<sup>w</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>ili* also 'knead, roll'; *taŋale* also 'poke'.
- PON Also *tālim<sup>w</sup>* 'wipe'.
- WLE 'wipe, clean'.
- EFI *gusi-a*.
- TON Also *holo*, *mili*.
- SAM *solo* 'wipe'.
- MEL Also *furuna*.
- TAH Also *ʔui ʔui*.
- RAP *haroʔi*, *horoʔi* 'wipe (with a rag)'; *oro-oro* 'rub (with hand)'; *tauromi* 'rub, massage (the body)'.

## 09.320 STRETCH

ATA	paškaɾɣ-an	*GOR	moma <sup>n</sup> daŋo	*MEK	e-apa(-i-a)
TSO		DAA	no-rii	ROV	nadoro
RUK	paosəgə	*UMA	ka <sup>n</sup> ta	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uŋnu
PAI	c-im-əladuk	BUG	kakkan	*LAU	lafi baibai
YAM	nənətən	*KON	am-meru <sup>?</sup>	KWO	
ISN	na <sup>?</sup> nātan		(peru <sup>?</sup> )	RAG	
*KAL	bennat	*WOL	ka <sup>n</sup> tadi	PAA	
*TAG	bānat	*MAG	lōt	LEW	ure-yaveve
*AKL	ūnat	*NGA	rəda	POR	püaxe
PAL	kuliŋkəŋan (kuliŋkəŋ)	*SIK	aga-ŋ	NTA	-earaŋin
*MOL	unut	RTI	ni-nio (ao)	*KWA	-əwi
*KAG	unat	*BUR	teta	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> aŋēi
*BLA	na-nit	*DOB	ʔa-talay sak <sup>w</sup> u	*CEM	pà-b <sup>w</sup> alī
*SAB	higtal		sayi	AJI	lai
*MUR	laŋgat	IRA		*XAR	çī
*MGY	mamelaɾ <sup>r</sup> a	*SAW	n-əweles	*NEN	adederue
ACE	ruət	NYI	aluwiy	*KIR	katika
BAT	pa-gaǰǰaŋ	MAM	narara <sup>?</sup> i	*MSH	eļļoke
MIN	rantaŋ	TAK	-radidari	*PON	waik
*IND	mə-rəntaŋ- kan	*DAM	yagigī	*WLE	xacarō
*SUN	narik-an (tarik)	*MAB	-dāda	EFI	dodo-ka
		*YAB	-meto <sup>?</sup>	*WFI	dodo
JAV	manɬəŋ (panɬəŋ)	*KAU	uus	RTU	a <sup>?</sup> roči
MAD	pəntaŋ	*TOL	kodo	TON	fao
*BAL	ŋəñataŋ (kəñat)	BUA	patōkin	*SAM	meme <sup>?</sup> i
SAS		*ADZ	tatu-	MEL	
		*KIL	-yosali (yamila)	*TAH	fa <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> eta <sup>?</sup> eta
		*TAW	momota	RAP	haro
		*MOT	ha-roro-a		

KAL *bennat* + -on; also *natnat* + -on.

TAG Also *ūnat* + *mag*-/*in*.

AKL *ūnat* + -un.

MOL *unut* + -on.

KAG *unat* + *mag*-/*ən*/*ma*-.

BLA *na-nit* ‘stretch (as elastic)’; *laŋnit* ‘stretch (as of a person)’.



- SAB *higtal + pa-/ø*; also *hinit + aN-/ø* ‘to stretch cloth’; *hannat + pa-* ‘to stretch ones’ body’.
- MUR *langat (maŋ- -on)*, also *bilod (maŋ-)* ‘stretch one’s body’.
- MGY From *maN-velatʰa*.
- IND Also *mənarik(tarik)*.
- SUN Also *ŋampar-kin(ampar-kin)*.
- BAL (*N-*)*kəñat-aŋ* ‘stretch tight e.g. a skin, a rope’ from *kəñat* ‘stretched tight’; (*N-*)*əntəŋ-aŋ* ‘stretch out, spread out e.g. a rope, the fingers of one’s hand’ see 09.340; (*N-*)*kəñəŋ-aŋ*; *-kəñəŋ* ‘stretched tight, of rope; erect, of penis’.
- GOR (*pa<sup>n</sup>daŋo + moN-*).
- UMA Also *bi<sup>n</sup>ta*.
- KON *am-meru<sup>?</sup>(peru<sup>?</sup>)* (of people); *a<sup>?</sup>-gattaŋ* (of materials).
- WOL Also *peka-<sup>h</sup>kana*.
- MAG Also *tə<sup>n</sup>di*.
- NGA Also *ləda*.
- SIK Also *βido, toto*.
- BUR Also *nara-k* ‘pull’; *kutu* and *alu-k* ‘stretch and pull off a piece (of dough)’.
- DOB ‘pull until it is long’.
- SAW ‘stretch oneself’; also *n-atəl* ‘stretch stg.’.
- DAM (vb trans), also *atitī y-e-ya* (vb intrans).
- MAB *-dāda* ‘pull’; *-swōro* ‘stretch out one’s limb’.
- YAB ‘stretch, straighten’; also *-so ...toŋ* ‘stretch something taut’; *-mèsə<sup>?</sup>* ‘stretch’ (vb intrans).
- KAU Also *urus* ‘stretch one’s body’.
- TOL Also *ta-kodo* ‘be straight’; *əl-kodo* ‘pull and straighten’; *və-kodo* ‘make straight’.
- ADZ *tatu* ‘stretch, e.g. one’s arm or leg’; *dzu<sup>h?</sup>-a gin* ‘stretch something’.
- KIL *-yosali (yamila)* ‘stretch hand out’; also *-katu-βakai (laya)* ‘stretch out (sail)’ (e.g. to dry it).
- TAW *momota* ‘stretch rubber’; *lodomi* ‘stretch out limbs’.
- MOT *roro* ‘stretched; cracked’; *toi-a roro* ‘to stretch out, as arm or leg’.
- MEK We also have *e-fiu-(ŋa)* for ‘stretch’.
- MAR *t<sup>h</sup>uŋnu* (vb intrans); *yeva* ‘stretch body’.

LAU	‘pull tight’.
KWA	<i>-əwi atuk<sup>w</sup></i> ‘stretch oneself’.
CEM	‘stretch out, lengthen, lay out’.
XAR	çī ‘hold out (one’s hand)’; <i>nē m<sup>w</sup>ā</i> ‘stretch’.
NEN	Also <i>aderue</i> .
KIR	From <i>tiki</i> ‘taut’; <i>karēnā</i> from <i>rēna</i> ‘elastic’.
MSH	<i>eļļoke</i> also ‘spread out’; <i>kanak</i> ; <i>lətlət</i> (vb intrans); ‘stretched (of rope)’.
PON	Also <i>kataŋ</i> .
WLE	From <i>caṛa</i> ‘straight, taut’.
WFI	Also <i>dokia</i> .
SAM	<i>meʔi</i> ‘flinch, draw back, wince’.
TAH	Also <i>faʔatō</i> , <i>faʔatoro</i> .

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**09.330 PULL**

ATA	<i>h-um-uʔuy</i>	SUN	<i>narik</i> (tarik)	TAK	<i>-rae</i>
*TSO	<i>re-ʔtiri</i>	JAV	<i>nariʔ</i> (tariʔ)	DAM	<i>dī</i>
RUK	<i>wa-bilibili</i>	MAD	<i>tajaʔ</i>	*MAB	<i>-yāru</i>
*PAI	<i>r-əm-akaç</i>	*BAL	<i>ŋədəŋ</i> (kədəŋ)	*YAB	<i>-e</i>
YAM	<i>miŋitən</i>	*SAS	<i>awek</i>	KAU	<i>nak</i>
ISN	<i>gamnīdan</i>	*GOR	<i>moma<sup>n</sup>daŋo</i>	TOL	<i>əl</i>
*KAL	<i>butbut</i>	DAA	<i>no<sup>m</sup>ba-taja</i>	BUA	<i>dadī</i>
*TAG	<i>hīla</i>	UMA	<i>diiʔ</i>	*ADZ	<i>a<sup>n</sup>tir-</i>
*AKL	<i>būtuy</i>	BUG	<i>gittŋ</i>	KIL	<i>-bia</i>
PAL	<i>guyud-ən</i>	KON	<i>an-ruiʔ</i>	TAW	<i>teini</i>
*MOL	<i>tarik</i>	*WOL	<i>hela</i>	MOT	<i>veri-a</i>
*KAG	<i>bətəŋ</i>	MAG	<i>poto</i>	*MEK	<i>e-laʔa(-i-a)</i>
BLA	<i>dyol</i>	NGA	<i>vii</i>	ROV	<i>dakua</i>
*SAB	<i>hellaʔ</i>	*SIK	<i>gide</i>	*MAR	<i>tunŋu</i>
*MUR	<i>lāt</i>	*RTI	<i>hela</i>	LAU	<i>lafia</i>
*MGY	<i>manintuna</i>	*BUR	<i>hesa-k</i>	KWO	<i>uguni-a</i>
ACE	<i>tareʔ</i>	DOB	<i>ʔa-talay</i>	RAG	<i>rava</i>
BAT	<i>tarik</i>	IRA	<i>gesə</i>	PAA	<i>lehei</i>
MIN	<i>elo</i>	SAW	<i>n-atel</i>	LEW	<i>ure</i>
IND	<i>mənarik</i> (tarik)	NYI	<i>ariu</i>	POR	<i>pilev</i>
		MAM	<i>repe</i>	NTA	<i>-iuβ</i>

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*KWA	-ewi	*KIR	aita	RTU	futi
NEM	p <sup>w</sup> eli	*MSH	aike	TON	fusi
CEM	cēi	*PON	waik	SAM	tosō
AJI	rē	*WLE	řexi-a	MEL	tōia
XAR	šē	EFI	d <sup>f</sup> e-ta	*TAH	huti
*NEN	uši	*WFI	toto	RAP	haro

TSO Also *re-<sup>?</sup>tir-i*.

PAI *v-ən-il<sup>y</sup>ə-vil<sup>y</sup>* 'pull'.

KAL *butbut + -on* 'pull (one person)'; *gulluy + -on* 'pull (of many people)'; *laylay + -on* 'pull (with one hand)'.

TAG Also *bātak + -um-/-in*.

AKL *gūyud* 'drag', Proto-Philippines *\*Rūyud* 'drag, pull along'.

MOL *tarik + -on*.

KAG *beteŋ + mag-/en*.

SAB *hella<sup>?</sup> + aN-/ø*.

MUR *lāt (mag-/maŋ- -on)*; also *bunduk (maŋ- -on)* 'pull towards oneself (door, clothes on line)'; *ralāt (mag-/maŋ- -on)* 'pull, drag s.th. on a rope'.

MGY From *maN-sintuna*.

BAL *(N-)batək* 'pull tight' also fig. 'feel an urge to something'; *(N-)kədit*, *(N-)kədət* 'give a short tug'; *(N-)paid* 'drag'; *(N-)umad*, *(N-)emed* 'pull forcefully'.

SAS Also *antu<sup>?</sup>*; Thoir et al. (1985): *bətək*.

GOR From *(pa<sup>n</sup>daŋo + moN-)*; also *moheluto (waluto + moh-)*, *momiya<sup>n</sup>daŋo (biya<sup>n</sup>daŋo + moN-)* 'pull, tug'.

WOL Also *soro*.

SIK Also *toβa, ŋoro*.

RTI Also *le<sup>?</sup>a*.

BUR *hesa-k* 'pull, drag s.th. that is relatively smooth (e.g. canoe, gunny sack)'; *nara-k* 'pull, drag s.th. with great resistance (e.g. tree, log)'; *teta* 'stretch'; *fatu-k* 'pull up (tubers)'.

MAB Also *-tak* 'yank, tug'; *-māta* 'pull from different corners'; *-yakat*, *-yasašāra* 'pull by hand'; *-puru* 'pull out'.

YAB Also *-bu<sup>?</sup>* 'root out', *-mò* 'pull out (plants)', *-taiŋ* 'extract (a long object)'.

ADZ	<i>a<sup>n</sup>tir</i> ‘pull (a longer time involved)’; <i>dzu<sup>n</sup>-a gin</i> ‘take, snatch, stretch’; <i>abir-</i> ‘pull away from someone’.
MEK	Other dialects <i>aka</i> ; NW Mekeo <i>e-piŋa</i> .
MAR	Also <i>koŋo</i> .
POR	Also <i>pilve-i</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-wi, -əwi</i> .
NEN	Also <i>ekor</i> .
KIR	<i>rauta</i> also ‘pick out, select’; also <i>katika, burita, uākina</i> .
MSH	<i>aike</i> ‘tow, draw’; <i>atake</i> ; <i>kanak</i> ‘pull taut, stretch’; <i>kkælet, wic</i> also ‘pick out, select’; <i>nnl̄r</i> ‘pull out’; <i>yoloke</i> ‘pull at/down’.
PON	<i>apī</i> ‘pull rope’; <i>ruwāteki</i> alternate <i>urāteki</i> .
WLE	<i>řexii-a</i> ‘tow, draw’, <i>řuxosī; tařī</i> .
WFI	Also <i>tokia</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tō, ?ume</i> .

### 09.340 SPREAD OUT

ATA	<i>γ-um-awik</i>	*IND	<i>məm-bəntaŋ</i>	*BUR	<i>flesa-k</i>
*TSO	<i>re-oʔori</i>		<i>kan</i>	DOB	<i>na-ʔulela</i>
RUK	<i>wa-sapa</i>	*SUN	<i>[ñəbar]-kin</i>	IRA	
PAI			<i>([səbar])</i>	*SAW	<i>n-esaen</i>
YAM	<i>titayin</i>	JAV	<i>ñəbar (səbar)</i>	NYI	<i>talahaniy</i>
ISN	<i>biʔladan</i>	MAD	<i>tabur</i>	MAM	<i>ulalaʔi</i>
*KAL	<i>ukyad</i>	*BAL	<i>ŋəbatəŋ</i>	*TAK	<i>-rafilale</i>
*TAG	<i>bilad</i>		<i>(kəbat-aŋ)</i>	*DAM	<i>ʔirogagāū</i>
AKL	<i>buʔad</i>	SAS		*MAB	<i>-war</i>
PAL	<i>i-sabug</i>	*GOR	<i>momuʔadu</i>	YAB	<i>-laiŋ</i>
*MOL	<i>parak</i>	DAA		*KAU	<i>yas</i>
*KAG	<i>ladlaren</i>	UMA	<i>kodo</i>	TOL	<i>vuəre</i>
BLA	<i>n-bəl</i>	BUG	<i>tabburre</i>	BUA	<i>təkin</i>
*SAB	<i>kanat</i>	*KON	<i>an-'nalasa</i>	ADZ	<i>aŋa<sup>m</sup>p-</i>
*MUR	<i>bilad</i>		<i>('talasa)</i>	*KIL	<i>-yeya</i>
MGY	<i>mampi-eli</i>	*WOL	<i>ʔake</i>	*TAW	<i>omyawaya-</i>
*ACE	<i>buuntuuəŋ</i>	MAG	<i>tala</i>		<i>wahana</i>
BAT	<i>pa-hebbaŋ</i>	NGA	<i>vəka</i>	*MOT	<i>lahai-a</i>
MIN	<i>ampay-an</i>	*SIK	<i>plaha</i>	*MEK	<i>e-au-ŋeŋe</i>
		*RTI	<i>pela</i>		<i>(-i-a)</i>

ROV	repahia	*KWA	-apəna	*WLE	feraxiñi
*MAR	brihibraha	*NEM	tē-weli	EFI	teβu-ka
LAU	folā	*CEM	tálihi	WFI	seβu-kia
KWO	lafateʔeni-a	AJI	ī vɛ maī	*RTU	hola
RAG	lelei	XAR	šeri	TON	folahi
PAA	volesi	NEN	θa	SAM	folahi
*LEW	koan-tetae	*KIR	tākina	MEL	forsia
POR	püax <sup>m</sup> bisal	*MSH	elləke	*TAH	haʔapurara
NTA	-apen	*PON	irepe	RAP	heriki

TSO Also *re-oɕor-i*.

KAL *ukyad + -on*.

TAG *bilad + mag-/i-*; Proto-Philippines *\*belaj* ‘spread out to dry’.

AKL *buʔad + i-*.

MOL *parak + -on*.

KAG *ladlaren (ladlad + mag-/ə-n)*; *ladlad* ‘unroll’; *buklad + mag-/ə-n (buklaren)* ‘spread out or open up’ such as when a tablecloth is put on the table.

SAB *kanat + aN-/ø*; also *ballat + aN-/ø* ‘to spread out a mat etc’.

MUR *bilad (maŋ--on)*.

ACE Also *luwəŋ*.

IND Also *məŋ-hampar-kan, səbar-kan, tabur-kan*.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL *(N-)kəbat-aŋ* ‘stretch out, spread out something which can be folded, e.g. a piece of cloth, a mat, one’s fingers’; *(N-)sasah-aŋ* ‘spread out e.g. padi, sand’; *(N-)berber-aŋ* North Bali, *(N-)kəber-aŋ* South Bali ‘spread out (padi, cakes, clothes) to dry’.

GOR *(buʔadu + moN-)*.

KON *an-nalasa (talasa)* (of grain); *aŋ-ŋaʔraŋ (kaʔraŋ)* (of mats).

WOL *fake* ‘unfold, open out, unroll, lay out’; *ma<sup>n</sup>tale* (adj) ‘spread out’.

SIK *plaha* ‘spread out a mat’, *tugur, bəka-ŋ, aʔar*.

RTI Also *naka-pe-pela*.

BUR ‘spread out, roll out (mat)’ *flesa-k kati-n*.

SAW Also *n-esyape*.

TAK See 09.161.

DAM Also *daũ ɕi-ya* ‘to flatten out’.

MAB	Also <i>-san</i> ; also (vb trans): <i>-miyāra</i> , <i>-mozōro</i> , <i>-murēge</i> , <i>-yāra</i> .
K̄AU	Also <i>tah</i> .
KIL	Also <i>-yaβi</i> .
TAW	'spread clothes to dry'.
MOT	<i>haripiu</i> 'spread out (of news)'.
MEK	<i>neje</i> 'be spread out'.
MAR	<i>brihibraha</i> 'scatter'; <i>pakra</i> 'spread out on ground'.
LEW	Also <i>vike</i> 'opening up and spreading out, of folded mat'.
KWA	Also <i>-araṅhar</i> 'spread out in the sun to dry'.
NEM	<i>tē-weli</i> 'spread earth, ashes'; <i>t<sup>h</sup>avi</i> 'spread out on the ground (mat)'.
CEM	<i>tálihi</i> 'spread out (presents)'; <i>títili</i> 'scatter'.
KIR	<i>tawa</i> 'spread out to dry'; <i>kabāoa</i> from <i>bāo</i> 'spread out'.
MSH	Also <i>eḷḷoke</i> , <i>čērere</i> .
PON	<i>kam<sup>w</sup>arak</i> also 'sow seed'; see 08.310.
WLE	<i>feraxiṅ</i> 'unfold', see <i>feraxi</i> 'unfolded'; <i>woṛatī</i> .
RTU	Also <i>forasi</i> .
TAH	Also <i>ha<sup>?</sup>apuehu</i> ; <i>vauvau</i> .

### 09.341 HANG UP

ATA	ḵ-um-uyi <sup>?</sup>	*ACE	lhat	*KON	aŋ-gentuŋ
*TSO	t-m-irxi	BAT	gattuŋ	WOL	loe
RUK	wa-kəḷay	MIN	gantu <sup>ə</sup> ŋ-an	MAG	veo
PAI	k-əm-əḷay	IND	məŋ-gantuŋ-	NGA	ḍae
YAM	tizayin		kan	*SIK	oṛə
ISN	isablay	SUN	ŋa-gantuŋ-kin	RTI	lo-lo <sup>?</sup> en
*KAL	kīsin	JAV	ŋ-gantuŋ	*BUR	soo-k
*TAG	bītin	MAD	gantuŋ	DOB	<sup>?</sup> a-loy
*AKL	bītay	BAL	ŋantuŋ	IRA	məsəgə
PAL	i-sayug		(gantuŋ)	*SAW	n-əsəbey
*MOL	gantuŋ	*SAS	nāntelaŋ	NYI	sukik
*KAG	sablay		(santel)	MAM	tobila <sup>?</sup> i
BLA	tlaweŋ	*GOR	mə- <sup>n</sup> dayaŋə	TAK	-siŋani
*SAB	sagnat	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-loe	*DAM	i-sege-ya
*MUR	pilik	*UMA	ha <sup>m</sup> pe	MAB	-palwēze
*MGY	manantuna	BUG	gattuŋ	*YAB	-kiaŋ ... (sa)

*KAU	βa-i si kuk	KWO	fu <sup>?</sup> e-a	*KIR	katinea
*TOL	və-təba	RAG	dule	MSH	totōk
BUA	rəkə	PAA	dekaini	*PON	laŋa
*ADZ	rugu-	*LEW	tēlani	*WLE	ʃaŋaxiŋi
*KIL	-sagi	POR	taxitax	EFI	βaka-lili-ŋa
*TAW	witake	NTA	-atupər	WFI	βa-rube-nia
*MOT	tau-a dae	KWA	-ruk <sup>w</sup> i	RTU	øp- <sup>?</sup> əki
*MEK	e-pa- <sup>?</sup> ava (-i-a)	*NEM	pa-yagōi	TON	tautau
ROV	siyoto	CEM	pàiwī	*SAM	tautau
*MAR	fagegefe	AJI	pɛ cəʃɔ	MEL	tauria
LAU	kulua laŋi	*XAR	fa-ʝɛ	*TAH	fa <sup>?</sup> atautau
		NEN	θidi	*RAP	tau

TSO Also *trix-a* 'hang string/cord (as of a bushknife) on a hook'; *ŋov<sup>?</sup>o* also *ŋov<sup>?</sup>-eni* 'hang clothing on a hook'; *mi-fkire* also *fkirz-eni* 'hang clothing on a string, bamboo pole'.

KAL *kīsin + i-*; also *tayun + i-*.

TAG Also *kabit + mag-/i-*.

AKL *bītay + -un*; also *bītin + -un*.

MOL *gantuj + i/-on*.

KAG *sablay (sablay + mag-/ən)* 'hang over a line (without clothespins or hangers)'; *agay + mag-/ən* 'hang still wet clothes over a line in a sheltered area'; *bitay + mag-/ən* 'hang up on a hook or nail so as to dangle there' (such as a picture on the wall); *sabbit + mag-/ən* 'hang up in a hooking over fashion such as clothes on a hook or nail'.

SAB *sagnat + pa-/ø* 'hang something on a hook'; *sablay + aN-/an* 'hang by draping over a line, beam etc'; *gantuj + aN-/ø* 'hang down, hang oneself'.

MUR *pilik (maŋ- -on)*; also *taid (maŋ- -on)* 'hang up on a rope'; *kait (maŋ- -on)* 'hang up on a hook'.

MGY From (*maN-hantuna*).

ACE Also *gantuj*.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *čantel-aŋ*.

GOR Also *molaŋato (taŋato + moN-)*.

UMA Also *hoda*.

KON Also *am-bindoek-i*.

SIK Also *heβər, sakət*.

BUR	'hang up using cord'; <i>pihi-k</i> 'hang up on hook'.
SAW	Also <i>n-esɔkte</i> 'hang up on a nail'.
DAM	'3sg-hang-INF'.
YAB	'suspend something'; also <i>-tɔʔ ... -eŋ-kalɛŋ</i> lit 'put something hang suspended', <i>-sekiŋ ... sa</i> 'suspend something by handle'.
KAU	'carry-it move upwards stay' (serial verb construction).
TOL	<i>və</i> 'CAUS', <i>təba</i> 'hang'.
ADZ	Also <i>rogo-</i> 'hang up, hang on' (vb trans); <i>sabara-</i> , <i>sabaŋa-</i> 'hang on a tree' (vb trans); <i>ari-</i> 'hang up sth (e.g. on line)' (vb trans); <i>tupriʔ</i> 'hang from something' (vb trans/intrans).
KIL	(vb trans); also (vb intrans) <i>-kanekuk<sup>wa</sup></i> '(it) hangs (there)'.
TAW	'cause to hang'.
MOT	<i>tau-a</i> 'to hang (up)', <i>dae</i> 'up'.
MEK	Also <i>e-au-ʔava</i> , <i>e-pa-au-a</i> , <i>e-poŋo-a</i> .
MAR	Also <i>fasesei</i> .
LEW	Also <i>sīlani</i> .
NEM	'CAUS-hook'.
XAR	Also <i>fa-çipe</i> .
KIR	From <i>tine</i> 'suspended'; also <i>tinea</i> 'hang from'.
PON	Also <i>teneki</i> .
WLE	See <i>caŋaxi</i> 'hanging'.
SAM	<i>tau</i> (vb intrans) 'hang'.
TAH	Also <i>tān̄</i> .
RAP	Also <i>tauaki</i> 'drape over (a wire, chair back, etc.)'.

### 09.342 PRESS

ATA	<i>r-um-aʔruʔ</i>	*AKL	<i>dūʔut</i>	ACE	<i>tuŋɔn</i>
*TSO	<i>b-oxtipti</i>	PAL	<i>pagaʔ-ɔn</i>	BAT	<i>pisat</i>
RUK	<i>wa-ɖəpətə</i>	*MOL	<i>dohon</i>	*MIN	<i>takan</i>
PAI	<i>ɣ-əm-əzəç</i>	*KAG	<i>[mlansa]</i>	*IND	<i>mənəkan</i>
YAM	<i>paşəbən</i>	*BLA	<i>f-an-di</i>		<i>(təkan)</i>
ISN	<i>lipit</i>	*SAB	<i>tokkon</i>	*SUN	<i>ŋa-gəñçet</i>
*KAL	<i>tugmod</i>	*MUR	<i>pagaʔ</i>	JAV	<i>mɛjɛt (pejɛt)</i>
*TAG	<i>diʔin</i>	*MGY	<i>maneri</i>	MAD	<i>təkkət</i>



*BAL	nəən (təən)	MAB	- <sup>m</sup> bim	*KWA	-aki
SAS	əñjək-aŋ	YAB	-koniŋ	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ā
*GOR	mohoduto	KAU	paŋ	*CEM	píte
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pa-roʔo	TOL	biŋ	*AJI	yawifi
UMA	ooʔ	BUA	dəginəŋin	XAR	tōnĩ
BUG	piŋsiʔ	ADZ	ŋi <sup>oʔ</sup> -	NEN	čanilu
KON	aŋŋ-assaʔ	*KIL	-βilituyai	KIR	taona
*WOL	ruka	*TAW	lumomota	*MSH	kēŋ <sup>w</sup>
*MAG	dənət	MOT	nunu-a	PON	
*NGA	ɖəni	*MEK	e-poŋo-	*WLE	şōŋĩ
SIK	pəra		ka(-i-a)	EFI	taba-ka
RTI	neʔe	*ROV	mono	WFI	tani-a
*BUR	oto	MAR	bukru	RTU	hasa
DOB	ʔa-ŋoŋum	LAU	felesia	*TON	tataʔo
IRA	bigənə	*KWO	bibi(-a)	SAM	ʔoʔomi
SAW	n-ɛtinfe	*RAG	ibi	MEL	
NYI	atisiy	PAA	dākati	*TAH	tāumi
MAM	pisaʔi	LEW	wu-ari	*RAP	ŋatu
TAK		POR	roŋov-i		
*DAM	lai ɸi-ya	NTA	-atəŋ iahau		

TSO Also *xotpit-neni*.

KAL From *tugmod + i-*; also *podpod + -on* 'press soil'.

TAG From *diʔin + -um-/i-*.

AKL Also (*dutʔ-an*).

MOL From *dohon + -on*.

KAG *mlansa* ([*plansa*] + *m-/əŋ*) from Spanish *plancha* 'iron clothes'.

BLA *f-an-di* 'press (with fingers)'; *dkan* 'press down (as to compress)'.

SAB *tokkon + aN-/ø* 'press with the finger as a switch etc'; *gipit + aN-/an* 'press by placing something heavy on top, tread underfoot'.

MUR *pagaʔ* (*maŋ- -on*).

MGY From (*maN-teri*).

MIN Also *kampo*.

IND Also *tindis, tindas*.

SUN Also *mirit* (*pirit*).

- BAL (N-)təən ‘press against with the hand’; (N-)tətəh ‘weigh heavily down upon (one object on another)’; (N-)taləs ‘press down on’; (N-)tindəs ‘iron clothes’; *tindih* ‘being pressed down upon’.
- GOR Also *mohuduto* (*woduto* + *moh-*); *moho<sup>n</sup>do<sup>o</sup>*, *mohu<sup>n</sup>do<sup>o</sup>* (*wo<sup>n</sup>do<sup>o</sup>* + *moh-*), *mo-dēhu* ‘press down on’.
- WOL Also *seketi*, *asaki*.
- MAG Also *rənət*.
- NGA Also *letu*.
- BUR ‘press, lean on’; *ot-fatu-k* ‘pressure from a rock leaning on s.th.’; *pese* ‘press/ pump (e.g. shake a hand, use a paddle)’; *loa nofi-k* ‘press/pump bellows’.
- DAM ‘pressing down 3sg TRANS AUX-INF’.
- KIL ‘press against it’.
- TAW ‘cause to stretch’.
- MEK *e-poŋo-ka* ‘press out’; also *e-ao-ŋa* ‘press, e.g. sago pulp’.
- ROV Also ‘massage’, *nono* ‘press down’.
- KWO Also *bibi fāfi-a*, *baba (-te<sup>?</sup>eni-a)*, *te<sup>?</sup>eni-a* ‘trans’.
- RAG Also *bio* ‘press down on part of body, book, etc’.
- KWA *-aki* ‘press, pack down’; *-ewa* ‘use downwards pressure’.
- CEM ‘compress, squeeze’.
- AJI Also *kāwiŋi*.
- MSH ‘squeeze’; *ciper*, *cōn*.
- WLE Also ‘massage’, *fiyaŋi*; *woŋiti* also ‘squeeze’.
- TON Also *lomi*.
- TAH Also *nēne<sup>?</sup>i*.
- RAP Also *haka hepi<sup>?</sup>i* ‘squash, smash’; *rei* ‘stamp down, press down (with foot or heavy object)’.

### 09.343 SQUEEZE, WRING

ATA	<i>muk</i>	YAM	<i>poŋpoŋ</i>	PAL	<i>bidbid-ən</i>
*TSO	<i>ti-spuŋu</i>	ISN	<i>pagtan</i>	*MOL	<i>poga<sup>?</sup></i>
RUK	<i>wa-</i> <i>gəməgəmə</i>	*KAL	<i>poklom</i>	*KAG	<i>kəməs</i>
PAI		*TAG	<i>piga<sup>?</sup></i>	*BLA	<i>f-an-lə<sup>?</sup></i>
		*AKL	<i>pūga<sup>?</sup></i>	*SAB	<i>pissil</i>

*MUR	pilos	BUR	p-rehe	PAA	gumi
*MGY	mamia	DOB	na-ra'k <sup>w</sup> oy	LEW	wu-ni
*ACE	prah	IRA	go <sup>h</sup> ərə	POR	ro <sup>m</sup> bus-i
*BAT	pərə	SAW	n-fo	NTA	-aβər
MIN	pilin	NYI	akadiy	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> riŋi
*IND	məmərəs (pərəs)	MAM	pisa	NEM	ʷeli
		TAK	-pipi	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> óti
*SUN	mirit (pirit)	*DAM	asi ʔi-ya	AJI	tuwā
JAV	mərəs (pərəs)	MAB	-pīzi	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ē
MAD	kipi?	YAB	-pip	NEN	wi
*BAL	mərəs (pərəs)	*KAU	paŋ	KIR	oŋira
SAS	əñjək	*TOL	pipit-e	MSH	kēŋ <sup>w</sup>
*GOR	molo <sup>n</sup> dolo	*BUA	gig	PON	wəŋit
DAA	nom-pule	ADZ	ŋi <sup>h</sup> ?	*WLE	woŋitū
*UMA	pea?	*KIL	-poli	*EFI	bobo-ka
BUG	pira?	TAW	buyo	*WFI	bō-kia
*KON	am-mera (pera)	*MOT	muki-a	RTU	hō
		MEK	e-pepe-ka	TON	tatau
WOL	pio	ROV	mono	SAM	tatau
MAG	kərak	*MAR	fro?i	*MEL	kanūm <sup>w</sup> ia
*NGA	pəse	LAU	losia	*TAH	?u?umi
SIK	pəra	KWO	filo-a	*RAP	haka hini
RTI	na-laka	RAG	bolo		

TSO Also *ti-spuç-a*.

KAL From (*pokol + -on*).

TAG *piga?* + *-um/-in*, PHN *\*peRaç*.

AKL *pūga?* + *-un*.

MOL *poga?* + *-an*.

KAG *kəməs + mag/-ən* 'squeeze'; *pəga?* + *mag/-ən* 'wring'.

BLA *f-an-lə?* 'squeeze'; *f-n-ilas* 'wring'.

SAB *pissil + aN-/ø* 'squeeze'; *tabid + aN-/an* 'wring'; also *piyut + aN-/ø*, *pagga?* + *aN-/ø* 'squeeze (grated coconut)'.

MUR *pilos (maŋ- -on)*.

MGY From (*maN-fia*).

ACE Also *juapat*.

BAT From Proto-Batak *\*pərəh*.

IND Also *rəmas*.

- SUN Also *nəkən* (*təkən*).
- BAL (*N-*)*pərəs* ‘squeeze to extract liquid’ e.g. coconut flesh, citrus fruit;  
 (*N-*)*pəsəŋ* ‘squeeze to extract liquid, e.g. clothes, coconut flesh’;  
 (*N-*)*bəjək* ‘squeeze or press (typically, food ingredients) with the fingers’.
- GOR (*to<sup>n</sup>dolo + moN-*); also *momitodu* (*pitodu + moN-*) ‘wring’.
- UMA *pie* (Southern dialect).
- KON Also *am-marro?* (*parro?*).
- NGA *pəse* ‘squeeze (using two fingers)’; *pote* ‘to wring’.
- DAM ‘squeeze 3sg TRANS AUX-INF’.
- KAU Also *βolβol* ‘wring out’.
- TOL ‘wring the milk out of grated coconuts through a fibre, squeeze, wring clothes’.
- BUA Also *pip*.
- KIL Also *-ki-pu-poli* ‘do by hand-CONT-wring’, ‘hand-squeeze’.
- MOT Also *mutu-a* ‘to squeeze, as to extract coconut oil, squeeze water out of clothes’.
- MAR *fro?i*, *poji* ‘squeeze, wring liquid’; *puriki* ‘wring, twist’.
- KWA *-ak<sup>w</sup>riŋi* ‘wring out by hand, squeeze in one’s hand’; *-askin* ‘wring by wrapping cloth, etc. around two short sticks and twisting’; *awai* ‘squeeze, pinch’.
- CEM ‘compress, knead’.
- WLE Also *fiyaŋi*.
- EFI Also *loba-ka*.
- WFI Also *loba-kia*, *βilo-ðia*.
- MEL Also [*polōsia*].
- TAH Also *tāviri*.
- RAP *haka hini* ‘wring (to dry out)’; *tatau* ‘squeeze, wring (a liquid into a container for later use)’.

### 09.350 POUR

- |      |           |      |          |      |        |
|------|-----------|------|----------|------|--------|
| *ATA | h-um-ī?   | PAI  | ϕ-əm-aça | *KAL | iyīsig |
| *TSO | mo-sʔusnu | *YAM | iglo     | *TAG | būhos  |
| RUK  |           | ISN  | iʔalūbu  | *AKL | buʔbuʔ |

*PAL	i-bək̆bak	MAG	čök	KWO	ʔirisi-a
*MOL	burbur	NGA	doʔi	RAG	
*KAG	buʔbuʔan	*SIK	hoβe	PAA	sehei
*BLA	kok	RTI	diʔa	LEW	taroni
*SAB	tuwaŋ	*BUR	tofa	POR	ᵐbʷir-i
*MUR	bidis	DOB	ʔa-soʔa	NTA	-iuβpən
*MGY	man-dʔuɕaka	IRA		*KWA	-wi
ACE	leŋ	SAW	n-εp	NEM	kuli
BAT	use-hən	NYI	asolou	CEM	cēi-hi
*MIN	tuəŋ	MAM	suburaʔi	AJI	piyɔwĩ
*IND	mənuəŋ-kan (tuəŋ)	*TAK	-wali	XAR	xʷē
SUN	ñiči-kin (čiči)	DAM	ϕi	*NEN	pie
JAV	ñiliŋ (siliŋ)	*MAB	-liŋ	*KIR	kabʷarɔa
MAD	silin	YAB	-keʔ	*MSH	lutək
*BAL	mriok-aŋ (briok-aŋ)	KAU	yukyuk	PON	witeki
SAS	nələŋ (toləŋ)	*T●L	liŋir-e	*WLE	xaliyō
*GOR	momulaʔadu	BUA	tō	EFI	liβi-a
DAA	nan-toli	*ADZ	yat- ... rai	WFI	lido-o
*UMA	tua	KIL	-ligabu	RTU	liŋu
BUG	mat-tiriʔ	TAW	hiwoga	TON	liŋi-ʔi
*KON	am-maʔliŋ (paʔliŋ)	*MOT	sei-a	SAM	liŋi
*WOL	busaka	*MEK	e-faka(-i-a)	MEL	riŋi-a
		ROV	zoropo	*TAH	māniʔi
		MAR	tofa	*RAP	huri
		LAU	igitainia		

ATA č-um-iķ ‘to pour away’.

TSO Also *po-sʔusn-i*.

YAM Also *ibokbok*.

KAL From *īsig + i-*; also *dalay + i-*.

TAG Also *sālin + mag-/i-*.

AKL *buʔbuʔ + i-*; also *tāgay, tayun + i-*.

PAL Also *ijulaʔ*.

MOL *burbur + i-*.

KAG *buʔboʔ + mag-/an (buʔbuʔan)*.

BLA *t-n-iʔis* ‘pour into’; *t-n-ubel* ‘pour onto and into’.

SAB *tuwaŋ + aN-/an*.

MUR *bidis (maŋ- -in)*; also *sugug (maŋ- -on)*.

- MGY [*roçaka*] from Old Javanese *rūg + sāk*.
- MIN Also *baya?-an*.
- IND Also *məñ-čurah-kan, siram*.
- BAL ‘pour, spill’; also (*N-*)*turuh-an* from Old Javanese?
- GOR (*hula?adu + moN-*), also *mo-po-heheto* ‘pour in drops, sprinkle’.
- UMA Also *βoβo*.
- KON Also *an-niri?* (*tiri?*).
- WOL Also *lali*.
- SIK Also *loka, ti; kula* ‘pour rice into a basket’.
- BUR Also *toda-k; temu* ‘pour slowly and carefully’; *stife* ‘sprinkle (water on ground with hand)’.
- TAK *-wali* ‘pour a small quantity’; *kulaek* ‘tip out’.
- MAB *-liŋ* ‘pour out’ (vb trans); *-miliŋ* ‘pour out, spill’ (vb intrans); *-kes* ‘pour into’.
- TOL *-e TR, liŋir* (vb intrans) not attested, but *ta-liŋir* ‘to be poured out’.
- ADZ ‘pour-*OBJ* (e.g. water) out, away’.
- MOT Also *βeda-ia* ‘pour water into a water vessel’.
- MEK Usually intransitive; *e-pa-faka(-i-a)* (vb trans); also *e-lolo, e-pa-lolo* ‘pour in a slow trickle’; *e-ŋau* ‘spill’, *e-pa-ŋau-lei-a* ‘make something spill out’; *e-?eva(-i-a)* ‘pour water (into, on); water something’; *e-fopu-uka, e-fou-lai-a (-lei-a)* ‘pour into’, pour out of’.
- KWA *-əramən* ‘pour to fill’.
- NEN Also *piečile*.
- KIR From *b<sup>w</sup>aro* ‘spill’; *atoa*.
- MSH Also *tōr* ‘gush, pour, flow’ (vb intrans).
- WLE *xakī* from *ki* ‘poured’.
- TAH Also *nīni?i; ūtō* ‘pour into a large container’.
- RAP Also *haka pariŋi* ‘pour (emptying completely a container of liquid or dry goods)’.

### 09.360 WASH

*ATA	ma-βahuḵ	*PAI	s-əm-ənaw	*KAL	bulu
*TSO	tu-fku	*YAM	oyaşən	*TAG	hūgas
RUK	wa-sinaw	*ISN	baggu	*AKL	hūgas

PAL	mənɯlpuk (tulpuk)	NGA	rasi	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> aya
*MOL	ugas	*SIK	popo	PAA	gasi
*KAG	munak	RTI	safe	*LEW	siri-vani
*BLA	n-alob	*BUR	hobo	POR	kakas-i
*SAB	kose?	DOB	?a-yo?ay	NTA	-aikuas
*MUR	liuŋ	*IRA	bərasə	*KWA	-ahak <sup>w</sup> (i)
*MGY	manasa	*SAW	n-εus	NEM	ñage
*ACE	[srah]	NYI	sikinei	CEM	pú
*BAT	tattap	MAM	asa?i	AJI	gã
*MIN	basu <sup>h</sup>	TAK	-filani	XAR	ŋūrū
*IND	mən-[čuçi]	DAM	kulo	*NEN	aseni
SUN	ñisih (sisih)	*MAB	- <sup>ŋ</sup> gūru	*KIR	teboka
*JAV	ŋumbah (kumbah)	*YAB	-k <sup>w</sup> asiŋ	*MSH	k <sup>w</sup> aɭ
MAD	sassa	KAU	kiis	*PON	lop <sup>w</sup> or
*BAL	ŋ-umbah	*TOL	[vuas]	*WLE	uɸ <sup>w</sup> ūɸ <sup>w</sup> u
SAS	popo?-aŋ	BUA	ripək	EFI	saβa-ta
*GOR	moŋulo	*ADZ	yi?-	WFI	haβa-sia
*DAA	no-tapasi	*KIL	-wini	RTU	ruku
UMA	bohoi?	*TAW	oga	TON	fufulu-?i
BUG	mas-sessa?	MOT	huri-a	*SAM	tā-mea
*KON	a?-bissa	MEK	e-ikua	MEL	-nāoa
*WOL	ku <sup>n</sup> de-ku <sup>n</sup> de	*ROV	ŋuzapa	*TAH	horoi
MAG	vəvas	MAR	titihi	RAP	tata
		LAU	fulua		
		*KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ari-a		

ATA *ma-βahuk* 'to wash clothes', *k-um-uwax* 'to wash utensils', *ma-ima?* 'to wash hands, to bathe'.

TSO Also *tu-fku-a* 'wash clothes'; *to-nzou* *alsoto-nzov-i* 'wash utensils'; see also *ro-muru* 'wash one's face'; *matro-fju* 'wash one's head'; *ro-rmuɕu* 'wash one's hands'; *a-ono* 'wash one's feet'.

PAI *pi-ɭima* 'wash (hands)'; *ki-ɭamata* 'wash (face)'; *ma-vanaw* 'wash, bathe'.

YAM *mipipiɕ* 'wash clothes'; *vazaən* 'wash dishes'; *mavanaw* 'wash hands'; *mizamon* 'wash face'.

ISN *magsu?na?* 'wash clothes, launder'; *magidārup* 'wash face'; *magbaggu* 'wash hands'.

KAL From *bulu + man-/an*; also *dal?up + man-* 'wash face'; *saksak + maN-/an* 'wash clothes'.

TAG	<i>hūgas + mag-/an</i> PHF *SūRas.
AKL	<i>hūgas + -an</i> , also [ <i>ʔabah</i> ] ( <i>ʔabh-an</i> ) ‘wash clothes’, Spanish <i>lavar</i> , <i>palibānaw</i> ‘wash hands’; <i>hīlamʔus</i> ‘wash face’, Proto-Philippines * <i>hiDaʔmus</i> .
MOL	<i>ugas + -an</i> .
KAG	From <i>bunak + m-/an</i> ( <i>munak</i> ) ‘wash clothes’; <i>ugas + m-/an</i> ‘wash things other than clothes’.
BLA	<i>n-alob</i> ‘to wash (an object or portion of body)’; <i>d-an-yo</i> ‘to wash (an animal or person)’; <i>m-fuk</i> ‘to wash clothes’.
SAB	From <i>koseʔ + aN-/an</i> ‘to wash’, <i>dakdak + aN-/an</i> ‘wash clothes’.
MUR	<i>liuŋ</i> ( <i>mag- -in</i> ) ‘wash eating utensils’; also <i>pupuʔ</i> ( <i>mag-/maŋ- -in</i> ) ‘wash clothes’; <i>baguʔ</i> ( <i>mag-; -in</i> ) ‘wash under running water’.
MGY	From ( <i>aN-sasa</i> ).
ACE	From Mon-Khmer.
BAT	<i>tattap</i> ( <i>taptap</i> ) ‘wash clothes’; <i>huri</i> ‘wash dishes, hands, etc’.
MIN	Also <i>čuēi</i> from Sanskrit.
IND	From Sanskrit.
JAV	Also <i>umbah-umbah</i> .
BAL	( <i>N-</i> ) <i>umbah</i> ‘wash (objects) (vb trans).’ (not clothes); ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>pantiŋ</i> ‘wash clothes (vb intrans/trans)’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>pañjus-aŋ</i> , ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>pandus-aŋ</i> (vb trans) ‘wash living things: people or animals’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>basəh-in</i> ‘wash hands or feet’; <i>mə-sugi</i> ‘wash face (vb intrans)’.
GOR	From ( <i>wulo + moN-</i> ); also <i>momuboʔo</i> ( <i>buboʔo + moN-</i> ) ‘wash clothing’.
DAA	‘wash clothes’.
KON	Also <i>as-sassa</i> ‘clothes’.
WOL	<i>ku<sup>n</sup>de-ku<sup>n</sup>de</i> ‘wash one’s hair’; <i>pe-wanu</i> ‘wash hands’; <i>pe-rou</i> ‘wash one’s face’; <i>po-ku<sup>n</sup>de</i> ‘wash hair’; <i>tapasi</i> ‘wash clothes’.
SIK	<i>popo</i> ‘wash clothes’; <i>rasi</i> ‘wash dishes’; <i>kusa-ŋ</i> ‘wash hair’.
BUR	‘wash hands and feet’; <i>foi</i> ‘bathe’; <i>priho</i> ‘wash face’; <i>pen-lehe/pe-lehe</i> ‘wash clothes’; <i>temu kada-n</i> ‘ceremonial washing of bride’s feet upon first entering house of husband’s parents’.
IRA	<i>ja fərasə</i> ‘I wash (my) clothes’.
SAW	Also <i>n-totəf</i> ‘wash (clothes)’.
MAB	<i>-ri</i> ‘rinse’.
YAB	‘wash something clean’; also <i>-sagu</i> ‘douse in water’.



- TOL From English *wash*, *vuvuas* (vb intrans).
- ADZ *yi?*- 'wash oneself'; *adzɔ?*- 'wash something'.
- KIL 'wash clothes'; *-kakaya* 'wash self, swim'.
- TAW *oga* 'wash body'; *ludeo* 'wash clothes'.
- ROV Also *sopsopu* 'wash clothes'; *ɲuzɲuzapa* 'wash dishes'; *pezaku* 'wash hands'.
- KWO *k<sup>w</sup>ari-a* 'clean'; *narufi-a, siufi-a* 'wash'.
- LEW 'wash (clothes)'; also *ke-vani* 'wash (body)'; *kulu* 'bathe, swim'.
- KWA *-ahak<sup>w</sup> (i)* 'wash by scrubbing'; *-aikuas* 'wash clothing or dishes'; *-arpəsu* 'wash face'; *-aruk<sup>w</sup>eriŋ* 'wash hands'.
- NEN Also *se*.
- KIR Also [*uātia*] from English, *kaitiaka* from *itiaki* 'clean'.
- MSH *am<sup>w</sup>win* 'wash one's hands'; *ɔɾmɛc* 'wash one's face'.
- PON *lop<sup>w</sup>or* 'wash clothes'; *witen, witē* 'wash one's feet'.
- WLE *uɸ<sup>w</sup>ūɸ<sup>w</sup>u* (vb intrans); *urumata* 'wash one's face'; *nūwa*.
- SAM *tā* (vb trans) 'hit', *mea* 'thing'.
- TAH *tāmā*; *puoro* 'rinse'.

## 09.370 SWEEP

English: *broom*French: *balai*

*ATA	č-um-apiŋ	*SAB	sapu	*SAS	ŋ-usap
*TSO	tu-si <sup>?</sup> ŋi	*MUR	alus	*GOR	moŋa <sup>?</sup> ato
RUK	wa-swapə	*MGY	mamafa	DAA	no-seve
PAI	s-əm-uap	ACE	sampoh	UMA	mo-hai
YAM	mivias	BAT	sapu	BUG	mas-siriŋ
ISN	mag-kaged	*MIN	sepay	KON	as-sariŋ
*KAL	sagad	IND	məñapu	*WOL	sa <sup>m</sup> bure
*TAG	walis		(sapu)	MAG	roi
*AKL	silhig	*SUN	sa-sapu	NGA	pui
PAL	mənilig (tilig)	JAV	ñapu (sapu)	*SIK	moni
*MOL	walis	MAD	sapu	RTI	sapu
*KAG	millig	BAL	ñampat	*BUR	sahal
BLA	m-uni		(sampat)	DOB	?a-la <sup>?</sup> ur

IRA	nisərə	*MEK	e-ʔamu(-ŋa)	NEN	[burum]
SAW	n-ε-lesən	ROY	sasara	*KIR	iākina
NYI	asir	*MAR	haglu	*MSH	pōk
MAM	roroi	LAU	salofia	PON	kōkō
TAK	-riani	KWO	salafi-a	*WLE	pōñ
DAM	wāñ	*RAG	giri	EFI	taβi-raka
*MAB	-sīri	PAA	mutelasi	WFI	taβi-raki-nia
YAB	-sa	LEW	ye-vani	RTU	tafi
KAU	saeh	POR	sisir	TON	tafi
*TOL	arupə	NTA	-ol [pərəm]	SAM	salu
BUA	sakē	KWA	-aias	*MEL	tāfia
ADZ	samur-	NEM		*TAH	[purūmu]
KIL	-taneβi	CEM	táuli	RAP	[purumu]
*TAW	lugogona	*AJI	yeñi		
MOT	daro-a	*XAR	[barē]		

ATA Also *č-um-apuh*.

TSO Also *tu-siʔŋ-a*.

KAL *sagad + man-*.

TAG *walis + mag-/an*; see (09.380).

AKL *silhig + -an*; also 'broom' 09.380.

MOL *walis + -an*.

KAG *millig* from *sillig + m-/an/-ən*.

SAB From *sapu + aN-/an*.

MUR *alus (mag-/maŋ- -in)*.

MGY From (*maN-fafa*).

MIN Also *sapu*.

SUN Also *nāpu-an, nāpu-kīn (sapu)*.

SAS Also *nīkat (sikat)* 'brush'; Thoir et al. (1985) *-sapu, -sambat* 'sweep'; see 09.380.

GOR (*ʔaʔato + moN-*).

WOL Also *sapu-i* 'sweep, stroke, caress'.

SIK Also *βaŋa*.

BUR Rana dialect; in Masarete [*mañapu*] from Malay more frequent (as both noun and verb).

MAB *-waitapāra;-yatapāra* (broom).

TOL *arup-e* (vb trans).

TAW Also *lugadala*.

MEK Other dialects *e-kau-ŋa*.

MAR *haglu, tatasu* ‘sweep with a broom’; *hasu* ‘sweep out, sweep aside’.

RAG Also *hiri*.

AJI Also [*bale*].

XAR Also ‘broomgrass, *Sida acuta* Burm’.

KIR Also *taeā*.

MSH Also [*p<sup>w</sup>urum<sup>w</sup>*].

WLE Also ‘hit’.

MEL Also [*sarā*].

TAH Also [*poroumu*].

## 09.380 BROOM

English: *broom*

French: *balai*

ATA	ča-čapuh	SUN	sapu	MAM	raroa
TSO	si <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋi	JAV	sapu	TAK	-riβriβ
RUK	swapə	*MAD	pu-sapu	DAM	dirub
PAI	suap-an	BAL	sampat	MAB	malwe
YAM	viviaş	*SAS	sampat	YAB	-sa
ISN	kaged	*GOR	ʔa-a-ʔato	*KAU	βehək-ŋin
KAL	sāgad	DAA	seve	*TOL	noko
*TAG	walis	UMA	po-hai	BUA	səpυb
AKL	silhig	BUG	pas-siriŋ	ADZ	samur
PAL	silig	KON	pas-sariŋ	*KIL	kai-taneβa
MOL	walis	*WOL	ka-sa <sup>m</sup> bure	*TAW	[bulum]
KAG	sillig	MAG	pui	*MOT	puriki
BLA	funi	NGA	pui	MEK	i-ʔamu-ʔamu
SAB	sa-sapu	SIK	oni	ROV	sasarana
MUR	gagalus	RTI	sa-sapu-k	*MAR	haglu
*MGY	kifafa	*BUR	ka sahal	LAU	sasalo
*ACE	[puñampoh]	DOB	la <sup>ʔ</sup> ur	KWO	sāsala
BAT	sapu	IRA	səsapu	RAG	
MIN	sapu	SAW	leslesen	PAA	isel
IND	sapu	NYI	sisir	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> aŋi

POR	nise	NEN	[burum]	RTU	taufære
NTA	[pərəm]	*KIR	te kai n iāki	TON	taufale
KWA	kaias	MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> urum <sup>w</sup> ]	SAM	salu
NEM	[bale]	*PON	kepennok	*MEL	[nī-sara]
*CEM	bê-táuli-nâdo	*WLE	pōpō	TAH	[purūmu]
*AJI	juřu nũ	EFI	i-taβitaβiraki	RAP	[purumu]
XAR	[barē]	WFI	i-taβitaβiraki		

TAG Also 'sweep' (09.370).

MGY *ki-* is originally a Bantu classificatory prefix.

ACE From Malay.

MAD From (RED-*sapu*); *sapu* 'sweep'.

SAS Thoir et al (1985) *sapu* 'broom', *sampat* 'broom of palm-leaf ribs'.

GOR From *ʔaʔato* 'sweep'.

WOL Also *ka-sapu-i*, *sapu*.

BUR See 09.370.

KAU 'put in order-NOM'.

TOL 'broom made of the midribs of palm leaf'.

KIL 'long-rigid-sweep'.

TAW 'western broom'; *dinodino* 'frond rib broom'.

MOT 'broom made of midrib of coconut palm leaf'.

MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>atasu*.

CEM 'for sweep thing'.

AJI Also [*bale*].

KIR 'sweeping stick/tool'.

PON *kepennok* lit 'bundle of straw'; *sawelīm<sup>w</sup>* hon.

WLE Also [*pṛūm<sup>w</sup>u*].

MEL From Efate.

## 09.422 TOOL

Arabic: *āla*

Malay: *pərkakas*

Spanish: *herramienta*

ATA	pa-p-tauaw	RUK	sa-to-a-	YAM	ipipazpazəŋ
*TSO	ʔo-romz-ana		tomanə	ISN	[aruminta]
		PAI		KAL	[alumēnta]

*TAG	saŋkap	SIK	[alat]	RAG	
*AKL	saŋkap	RTI		PAA	
PAL	kəsəŋkapan	BUR	[alat]	*LEW	laki na
MOL	koloŋkapan	DOB	[pakakas]		yum <sup>u</sup> aena
KAG	saŋkap	IRA		POR	
BLA	imo?	SAW	[alat]	NTA	
SAB	ka-pañap-an	*NYI	lakou ta lahou	KWA	
MUR		MAM		NEM	
*MGY	fiasána	TAK		*CEM	bê-pênem
*ACE	[alat]	DAM		AJI	pɛ wake
BAT	par-həhas	MAB	<sup>m</sup> buru urāta	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> iō-rɛ
*MIN	pa-kakeh		kana	NEN	u
*IND	[alat]	YAB		*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ai ni
*SUN	[alat]	KAU			m <sup>w</sup> m <sup>w</sup> akuri
JAV	[pərkakas]	TOL		*MSH	kɛin cɛp <sup>u</sup> al
MAD	[pakakas]	BUA		*PON	mɛn tɔtɔk
*BAL	prabot	*ADZ	nam	*WLE	mini
SAS	[pəkakas]	KIL		EFI	i-yāyā
*GOR	[pokākasi]	*TAW	ani	WFI	i-yāyā
DAA		*MOT	yaukara	RTU	tē ŋaruɛŋa
*UMA	pa-reβa		yau-na	TON	me <sup>?</sup> a-ŋāue
BUG	[pakkakkasa <sup>?</sup> ]	MEK		*SAM	meafai-
KON	[pak'kakkasa]	ROV			ŋāluɛ-ŋa
*WOL	[parakakasi]	MAR		MEL	[tūlu]
MAG		LAU	raoŋa	TAH	tauiha <sup>?</sup> a
NGA	ŋani	KWO		*RAP	[ramienta]

TSO 'thing to be used', see *b-ormi* from *romz-a* 'to use'.

TAG From *saŋkap + ka--an*; also *gāmit*.

AKL Also *kagamitan* (root: *gāmit* 'use').

MGY From *fī-asa-ana*.

ACE Also *ŋɔn*, [*pukakaih*].

MIN Also *paragay<sup>?</sup>*.

IND Also *pərkakas*.

SUN Also *parabot*.

BAL Also [*pəkakas*].

GOR Malay *pərkakas*.

UMA *reβa* lit 'stuff, things', but it is used as English would use 'tools'.

WOL Also *parewa*.

NYI	‘something for work’.
ADZ	‘thing, object’.
TAW	<i>ani goda</i> lit ‘thing for stirring’.
MOT	<i>yaukara</i> ‘work’, <i>yau</i> ‘thing’.
LEW	‘stick for working’ (used of all tools including iron ones).
CEM	‘for work’.
KIR	‘work thing’; <i>kain</i> CON ‘tool for’.
MSH	‘work thing’, also [ <i>tūl</i> ] from English.
PON	Also <i>kep<sup>w</sup>ēntōtōk</i> .
WLE	‘work thing’, [ <i>sepaiki</i> ] ‘metal tool’ probably from English.
SAM	<i>mea</i> ‘thing’, <i>fai-ŋā lue-ŋa</i> ‘do work’.
RAP	Also <i>teiha<sup>a</sup></i> , from Tahitian.

### 09.430 CARPENTER

English: <i>carpenter</i>	Malay: <i>tukaŋ kayu</i>	Spanish: <i>carpintero</i>
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ATA	*SUN	tukaŋ [bas]	IRA
*TSO [saixu]	JAV	tukaŋ kayu	*SAW [bas]
RUK	MAD	tukaŋ kaʒu	*NYI <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amak ta
PAI	*BAL	[tukaŋ] kayu	am <sup>w</sup> ekes asiu
YAM mikikawar	SAS	tukaŋ kayu <sup>?</sup>	MAM pera- <sup>?</sup> eli- <sup>?</sup> eli
ISN [karapinteru]	*GOR	pani lo <sup>?</sup> ayu	TAK
KAL [kalupantēl]	DAA		DAM
*TAG alwāgi	UMA		MAB
*AKL [panday]	BUG	panre aʒʒu	YAB [kamu <sup>n</sup> da]
*PAL məmənwa	*KON	panre kaʒu	KAU
MOL [karpintiru]	*WOL	[tukaŋ] kau	TOL [kəmdā]
KAG [karpintiru]	MAG	[tukaŋ] haʒu	BUA
BLA	NGA	lima-pade	ADZ
SAB [karpentedo]	SIK	(ata) raʒi-ŋ	KIL [kamda]
MUR		<sup>?</sup> ai	TAW [kamda]
MGY mpan-ɖ <sup>f</sup> afiɖ <sup>f</sup> a	RTI	[tuka] ai	*MOT [kamuta]
ACE utoih kayəə	*BUR	geba ka lata	MEK
BAT tukkaŋ		kau	ROV tie kuri vetu
MIN tukaŋ kayu	*DOB	ne narla <sup>a</sup>	MAR
IND tukaŋ kayu		naroban	LAU

KWO		CEM	[kāmuda]	EFI	mātai
RAG		AJI	ka r̄u m <sup>w</sup> ā	WFI	mātai
*PAA	meteisau	XAR		RTU	mačau
LEW	[kapenta]	NEN		TON	tufuŋa
POR		KIR	te [kamta]	*SAM	tufuŋa
NTA	iol nima	MSH	[kām <sup>u</sup> tΛ]	MEL	mataisau
KWA		*PON	[taiksaŋ]	TAH	tāmuta
NEM	ka-ŋit	*WLE	[taikusaŋa]	*RAP	tamuta

TSO From Minnan *sai-hu* ‘skilled workman’.

TAG Also [*karpintēro*].

AKL Malay *panday*, from Tamil; also [*karpintiruh*].

PAL Root *bənwa*.

SUN From Dutch.

BAL From Malay.

GOR *pani* ‘artisan’; *lo* linker; *?ayu* ‘wood’.

KON Also [*tukaŋ*] *kaŋu* Malay.

WOL Malay, also [*pa<sup>n</sup>de*] Sanskrit.

BUR ‘person HAB cut wood’ (not really an emic distinction since everyone habitually works with wood); also [*tukaŋ kau*] (Malay).

DOB ‘someone who knows work’.

SAW From Dutch.

NYI ‘person for making houses’.

MOT Probably via a Polynesian language by missionaries.

PAA See also ‘mason’.

PON From Japanese; *souse* ‘master carpenter’.

WLE From Japanese.

SAM (polite) *mātaisau, aŋaiotupu*.

RAP *tamuta* ‘master workman’ (general term; must further specify kind of trade).

## 09.440 BUILD

ATA	kaβaŋay	YAM	mamažəy	*AKL	tindug
TSO	re-rmo	ISN	maŋwa	*PAL	mɔmaʔal
RUK	paya	*KAL	sākat		(baʔal)
PAI	s-əŋ-anumaŋ	*TAG	tayoʔ	*MOL	baʔal

*KAG	buat	*RTI	napa-dedei-k	*PAA	gilīlini
*BLA	f-dak	*BUR	puna	*LEW	kila
*SAB	pa-tenge	DOB	ʔa-turu	POR	ʔgas
*MUR	bāl	IRA	bonə	NTA	-ilakən
MGY	manam-buaʔa	SAW	n-fa-wəsle	*KWA	-arpakau
*ACE	pu-[dɔŋ]	NYI	atah	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> abe
*BAT	pa-ʔɔŋʔɔŋ	MAM	ʔeli	*CEM	pà-cūli
*MIN	bueʔ	*TAK	-abi	AJI	vāi
IND	məm-baŋun	*DAM	ʔō i-no-ya	XAR	ša
*SUN	[ŋa-waŋun]	*MAB	-po	NEN	aseri
IAV	m-baŋun	*YAB	-k <sup>w</sup> e	*KIR	katea
MAD	a-baŋun	*KAU	niŋ	*MSH	ecāk
BAL	maŋunaŋ (baŋun)	*TOL	pəit	*PON	wiāta
*SAS	məmiaʔ (piaʔ)	BUA	leβ	*WLE	[xasi-a]
*GOR	momoŋu	ADZ	rim-	EFI	tara-a
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-baŋu	KIL	-kaliai	WFI	tara-a
UMA	baŋu	*TAW	dewa-ya	RTU	veko
BUG	mak-kebbuʔ	*MOT	ha-gini-a	*TON	laŋa
*KON	aʔ-baŋu	*MEK	e-pa-apa(-i-a)	*SAM	fau
*WOL	pa-karo	ROV	kurkuri	MEL	pākia
*MAG	[pa <sup>n</sup> de]	*MAR	bana	TAH	faʔatiʔa
NGA	vake	LAU	haŋai sidō	RAP	aŋa
*SIK	βakə	*KWO	lale-a		
		RAG			

KAL *sākat + -on* ‘build a house’.

TAG *tayoʔ + mag-/i-*; also *gawaʔ*, see ‘make’ 09.110 or ‘work’ 09.120.

AKL *tindug + i-pa-* ‘erect’; see 09.110, and 09.120.

PAL Root *baʔal* ‘do, make’.

MOL *baʔal + -on*.

KAG *buat + mag-/ən*.

BLA *m-imoʔ* ‘make’.

SAB *pa-tenge + ag-/ø*.

MUR *bāl (mag- -on)*.

ACE Mon-Khmer, also *pu-[get]* from Mon-Khmer.

BAT *pa-ʔɔŋʔɔŋ* ‘build house, something big’; *baen* ‘build (make) something smaller’.

MIN Also *tagaʔ-an*.



SUN	From Old Javanese.
SAS	From <i>pia?</i> ‘do’; also <i>ŋ-gawe?</i>
GOR	From ( <i>boŋulo + moN-</i> ).
KON	Also <i>a?-pa-hauŋ</i> .
WOL	Also <i>po-wale</i> ‘build a hut’.
MAG	From Malay.
SIK	Also <i>laba, soro-ŋ</i> .
RTI	<i>napa-dedei-k</i> , ‘erect, to make stand’, from <i>napa-dei-k</i> ‘stand’.
BUR	<i>puna</i> ‘do, make, build’; also <i>ep-kere</i> ‘erect (literally ‘cause to stand’)’; <i>feda-k</i> ‘build, found (a village, church, organisation)’.
TAK	‘hold’ (11.150).
DAM	‘house 3sg-put-INF’.
MAB	<i>-po</i> ‘tie’; <i>-kam</i> ‘do, make’.
YAB	Primary meaning ‘dig’, but used of building a house.
KAU	Also <i>neh/nemeh, nom</i> ‘build (a fence)’.
TOL	<i>pəpəit</i> (vb intrans).
TAW	<i>dewa-ya</i> ‘make something’; <i>wogo-ya</i> ‘build house or boat’.
MOT	<i>gini</i> ‘to stand’.
MEK	‘make stand’.
MAR	<i>bana</i> ‘build a house’; <i>e?ei, horo</i> ‘build, make’.
KWO	<i>feda-a</i> what one does to a house, but lit ‘fell’.
PAA	‘stick into ground’.
LEW	See 09.110.
KWA	<i>-arpakau</i> also ‘specialise in, have knowledge to do’; <i>-rhəkin</i> ‘put together, improve’.
NEM	<i>t<sup>h</sup>abe</i> ‘assemble the framework of a house’; also <i>parui</i> ‘establish, stand upright’.
CEM	‘raise, stand up’.
KIR	<i>katea</i> ‘erect’; <i>kabā</i> ‘build by tying (as canoes)’.
MSH	<i>ecāk</i> ‘erect’, also <i>ece</i> ; <i>kaccūr</i> , from <i>cūrək</i> ‘erected’; <i>kalλk</i> .
PON	‘to make, do’
WLE	Also <i>fateřexō</i> ‘construct’; <i>fōřī</i> .
TON	Also <i>fa?u, fo?u</i> .
SAM	<i>fau</i> ‘build wooden objects’ (vb trans), <i>ati</i> ‘build with stones or concrete’ (vb trans).

## 09.460 BORE

Dutch: *boren*Spanish: *barrenar* (vb); *barrena* (n)

ATA	pa-pawik	UMA	lole	*MAR	bibiru
*TSO	p-ti-xʔiti	BUG	pag-goroʔ	LAU	
RUK	waloto	*KON	aŋ'ŋ-eŋkolo	KWO	falo-a
PAI		WOL	[ʃoro]	*RAG	tav <sup>w</sup> ili
YAM	woʃwoʃan	*MAG	rohek	*PAA	gosi
ISN	mag-abbut	NGA	kove	LEW	vuloni-p <sup>w</sup> e
*KAL	abūt	SIK	putik	POR	xir-i
*TAG	būtas	RTI	bo	NTA	-uβəh
*AKL	[barīnah]	BUR	[bor]	KWA	-wəsi
PAL	i-[barina]	DOB	ʔa-[bor]	NEM	hili
*MOL	[borina]	IRA		CEM	īli
*KAG	luŋag	SAW	n-ε-doke	AJI	piřa
BLA	n-səl	NYI	abukoh	XAR	pira
*SAB	lowaŋ	MAM	goairi	NEN	
*MUR	buloŋow	TAK	-bidi	*KIR	una
MGY	man-duaka	DAM		MSH	rræil
ACE	gurudəə	*MAB	-kir	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ure
BAT	[bər]	YAB	-lài	*WLE	[ϕ <sup>w</sup> urō]
*MIN	giriʔ?	*KAU	kil	EFI	giβa-a
IND	məŋ-gerek	TOL	bər	WFI	giβa-sia
SUN	ŋa-[bər]	BUA	kē	RTU	viri
JAV	ŋə-[bər]	ADZ	rugit-	TON	vili
MAD	[bor]	KIL	-katuponani	SAM	vili
BAL	pusut	TAW	buhu	*MEL	kālia
SAS	ŋə-[bər]	MOT	budu-a	TAH	hou
*GOR	momūru	MEK		*RAP	hou
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-[bor]	ROV	rorore		

TSO Also *p-ti-xʔit-i*.KAL *abūt + -an* 'bore a hole'.TAG Also *[barēna] + mag-/an*.AKL *[barīnah] + -an*.MOL *borina + -han*.KAG *luŋag + -an*.

SAB *lowaŋ + ni-an.*

MUR *buloŋow (maŋ--in).*

MIN Also *lubaŋ-i.*

GOR From (*[būru] + moN-*).

KON Also *a?-gorodi.*

MAG Also *werok.*

MAB ‘drill a hole’.

KAU ‘dig, bury, bore’.

MAR Also *gigiru.*

RAG Also *dav<sup>w</sup>ili.*

PAA ‘drill’.

KIR *kab<sup>w</sup>aŋab<sup>w</sup>aŋā* lit. ‘to put holes in’; *ewara.*

WLE From English; also *ṣē-a.*

MEL Also *kōlia.*

RAP Also *haka pū.*

### 09.461 HOLLOW OUT

ATA	γ-um-i-kūy	BAT	hurak	RTI	na-bolo
TSO		MIN	lubaŋ-i	BUR	guhe-k
RUK		*IND	mən-dodos	*DOB	dal yabil φay
PAI		*SUN	ŋa-liŋŋ-an	IRA	
YAM	šoṣawan	JAV	ŋ-growoŋ-i	SAW	n-ɔley
ISN	mag- kaluŋkoŋ	MAD	a-lubaŋ-i	NYI	aso <sup>ʔ</sup> er
*KAL	lūŋug	*BAL	muyunjin (puyun)	MAM	ilo-tara
*TAG	ūka <sup>ʔ</sup>	SAS	ŋə-loaŋ	*TAK	-pasi
*AKL	ūkib	*GOR	molabo <sup>ʔ</sup> o	*DAM	i-se-ya
PAL		DAA		*MAB	-kan lelēne
*MOL	ruaŋ	UMA	loŋa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	-kim
*KAG	tə <sup>ʔ</sup> əb	BUG	mas-sibbo <sup>ʔ</sup>	KAU	kam
*BLA	k-n-ɔgwɔŋ	KON	am-ma <sup>ʔ</sup> (pa <sup>ʔ</sup> )	TOL	ubu-tuŋ
*SAB	lowaŋ	WOL	ḃa <sup>ʔ</sup> kai	BUA	raḃōḃ
*MUR	amad	MAG	təkaŋ	ADZ	tami <sup>ʔ</sup> -
MGY	man-davaka	NGA	roḃa	KIL	-taḃi
*ACE	puu-ruhuŋ	*SIK	korək	TAW	omyala
				MOT	ḃai-a

*MEK	e-ŋio-pa(-i-a)	KWA	-ekui	*WLE	xatou
*ROV	horea	*NEM	po-ne-n	EFI	ðalo-βa
MAR	ʃou	CEM	āi	WFI	sibi-kia
LAU	garu	AJI	kī	RTU	kara
KWO	kalu-a	*XAR	kī	TON	toʔoliu
RAG	laha	NEN		*SAM	faʔa-ʔau-pū
PAA	musah lāti	*KIR	kab <sup>w</sup> aŋu-	MEL	
LEW	kori p <sup>w</sup> ulu-sia		b <sup>w</sup> aŋua	*TAH	tūpā
POR	xir-i	MSH		RAP	kakaro
NTA	-ol nəpaŋən	PON	weir		

KAL *lūŋug + -an.*

TAG Also *ūkit + -um/-in.*

AKL *ūkib + -un.*

MOL *ruaŋ + -an.*

KAG *təʔəb + mag-/-an.*

BLA *n-akol* ‘dig out’.

SAB *lowaŋ + ni-an.*

MUR *amad* (*maŋ- -in*) (boat, mortar); *upol* (*maŋ- -in*) (blowpipe).

ACE ‘put a hole in’.

IND Also *korok.*

SUN *liaŋ* ‘hole’.

BAI ‘empty’, from *puyuy* ‘empty, hollow’.

GOR (*taboʔo + moN-*).

SIK Also *ləku.*

DOB ‘they take the inside from (it)’.

TAK ‘open’ (12.240).

DAM ‘3sg-hollow out-INF’; also *ku y-ale-ya* ‘to make a hole’.

MAB Also *-sap lelēne.*

YAB Also *-kəʔəp, -sap.*

MEK ‘clean out’.

ROV *horea* ‘hollow out canoe’; *rorea* ‘dig out wood’; *didere* ‘bore small holes with sharp coral’.

NEM ‘make-its interior’.

XAR Also *tō.*

KIR From *b<sup>w</sup>aŋu* ‘hollow’.

WLE (vb intrans) 'hewed, chopped, hollowed out'.

SAM *ʔaupū* 'be hollow' (vb intrans), *faʔa*-CAUS, *pū* 'hole'.

TAH *tūpā* 'hollow out a canoe'; *ʔūfao* 'hollow out with a chisel'; *pao* 'hollow out vertically'; *ʔ●* 'hollow out soil'.

### 09.480 SAW

**English:** *saw*

**Polynesian languages:** *kili*

**German:** *Säge*

**Sanskrit:** *krakaca-*

ATA	ha-hirhir	UMA	ʃojiʔ	LAU	
*TSO	ʔo-romz-ana	BUG	[gareggeʔ]	KWO	
	ma-a-paso	KON	[garagaʃi]	RAG	
RUK	riɖaiɖi	WOL	[karakaʃi]	PAA	[sō]
PAI	riɖa-riɖ	MAG	[gərgaʃi]	*LEW	suri-na-vili-
YAM	gəgətgət	NGA	zozə		ena
ISN	tarutso	SIK	[gərgaʃi]	POR	
*KAL	[lagādi]	RTI	ho-holo-k	NTA	[soa]
TAG	[lagāriʔ]	*BUR	[gərgaʃi]	KWA	
AKL	[ʔagāriʔ]	DOB	sisar	NEM	[gili]
PAL	gəgabas	IRA		*CEM	[gili]
MOL	[gowgadiʔ]	SAW	[garagaʃi]	AJI	[kiʔi]
*KAG	[lagari]	NYI		XAR	kiri
BĻA	gabas	MAM	toto	NEN	kili
SAB	ke-kehet	TAK		KIR	te [tao]
MUR	[gadagaʃi]	DAM		MSH	cirpæn
MGY	man-aʒufa	MAB		PON	rasaras
ACE	[gurgajʒə]	YAB	[səgɛ]	WLE	ɾɛɾɛ
BAT	[gargaʃi]	*KAU	kim	EFI	βaro-ta
MIN	[gargaʃi]	TOL	[sō]	WFI	i-βaro
IND	[gərgaʃi]	BUA	[sagɛ]	RTU	[sō]
SUN	[ragaʃi]	ADZ	saf-	TON	kili
JAV	[graʃi]	KIL		SAM	ʔili
MAD	[gargaʃi]	TAW	kiko	MEL	[sōro]
*BAL	[rəgaʃi]	MOT	iri	TAH	ʔeʔe
SAS	ŋ-[gərgaʃi]	*MEK	[iri]	RAP	hia-hia
GOR	[halahadi]	ROV	[so]		
DAA	[garagaʃi]	MAR	vuvuri		

- TSO 'sawing tool', see *ma-a-paso(pa-pas-a)* 'to saw'.
- KAL From Ilocano [*fragadi*].
- KAG [*lagari*] is a generic term; also [*surutsu*] from Spanish *serrucho* 'hand saw'.
- BAL Also [*gərgaji*].
- BUR [*senso*] 'chainsaw' from English.
- KAU 'saw, carve' (see also 06.790).
- MEK From Motu?; it was traditionally made from a shell with serrated edges
- LEW Also [*sō*].
- CEM Polynesian borrowing (PPN \**kili*).

## 09.490 HAMMER

English: <i>hammer</i>	Malay: <i>palu</i>	Portuguese: <i>martelão</i>
Spanish: <i>martillo</i>		

ATA	*SUN	palu	MAM	[ama]
TSO	putu	JAV	palu	TAK
RUK	paŋoŋo	MAD	pətil	DAM
PAI	cuk-cuk	*BAL	palu	MAB
YAM	papatok	SAS	palu	*YAB [hama]
ISN	[martilyu]	*GOR	du-u-duʔo	KAU
KAL	[mattilyu]	DAA	[palu-palu]	*TOL akək
TAG	[martilyo]	UMA	palu	BUA [ama]
AKL	[martilyoh]	BUG	palu-palu	ADZ di <sup>n</sup> tip-
PAL	tutukul	KON	palu-palu	KIL [am]
MOL	tukul	*WOL	[maratelu]	TAW [hama]
KAG	[martilyu]	MAG	tuku	*MOT [hama]
BLA	buntuk	NGA	pəsa	MEK [amala]
SAB	tukul	SIK	dota	*ROV [hama]
*MUR	[atak]	RTI	tutu-k	MAR tutu
MGY	tan-tanana	*BUR	ka toto-l	LAU [hama]
ACE	pələ	*DOB	ɸa-[ɸalu]	*KWO
BAT	təktək	IRA	mumu	RAG
*MIN	panokoʔ	SAW	[maratelu]	PAA [hāma]
IND	palu	NYI		*LEW suri na-su-ena

POR		XAR	çābΛ	WFI	i-čuki
NTA	[hama]	*NEN	[mareto]	RTU	[hamā]
KWA		KIR	te [āma]	TON	[hamala]
*NEM	ba-kāi dā-n piuk	*MSH	[wic	*SAM	[sāmala]
*CEM	bê-tānibē-tóki	*PON	[ama]	MEL	[ama]
AJI	pe dawiri	WLE	[yemmō]	TAH	[hāmara]
		EFI	i-tuki	RAP	[hamara]

MUR From Brunei Malay; also *tukul* ‘large hammer’; *popok* ‘small hammer’.

MIN (*paN-toko?*).

SUN Also [*martil*].

BAL Also *pangul* ‘wooden hammer used to strike gamelan instruments’.

GOR Also [*martelu*].

WOL ‘large hammer’; also *palu-palu*.

BUR Also [*martelo*].

DOB Also [*martelo*].

YAB From German.

TOL From *ak* ‘hammer’ (vb trans).

MOT The closest traditional term, give in Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) and used in Bible is *laβu* ‘mallet’.

ROV Also *muzmuzarana*.

KWO No noun, *mudu ?i -a* ‘hammer’ (vb).

LEW Also *kilavaru* ‘stone’ and [*ama*].

NEM ‘for hitting nails’.

CEM ‘for drive in nail’.

NEN From French *marteau*; also [*samala*] from English ‘hammer’.

MSH [*wic* also ‘mallet’; [*am<sup>w</sup>a*].

PON Also [*ām<sup>w</sup>e*].

SAM Also *tu<sup>?</sup>i fao*, *tu<sup>?</sup>i* ‘punch’.

## 09.500 NAIL

<b>English:</b> <i>nail</i>	<b>Malay</b> <i>paku</i> ‘nail’; <i>rañcaŋ</i> ‘stake’	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>lanza</i>
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*ATA	[taŋ]	UMA	paku?	MAR	pisumarau
TSO	so-sfixt-ana	BUG	pakku	LAU	[nila]
RUK	sa-kəḍə-kəḍə	KON	paku	KWO	
*PAI	[kugi]	WOL	paso	RAG	duru
YAM	miniləŋ	MAG	[paku]	PAA	[nīl]
ISN	[lansa]	NGA	nəpu	LEW	[nila]
*KAL	[lānsa]	SIK	paku	POR	
TAG	pāko?	RTI	[paku]	NTA	[noanil]
*AKL	[ʔansaŋ]	BUR	[paku]	KWA	
PAL	ransaŋ	DOB	[paku]	*NEM	dā-n piuk
MOL	ransaŋ	IRA	[paku]	*CEM	mé-mîden
KAG	lansaŋ	SAW	[paku]	*AJI	[vaʔ]
BLA	lənsəŋ	NYI		*XAR	[faʔ]
SAB	lansaŋ	MAM	[nili]	NEN	
MUR	[paku?]	TAK		KIR	te [nera]
MGY	fançika	*DAM	[tuti]	MSH	rila
ACE	labəŋ	*MAB	kiruŋu	*PON	[nīl]
BAT	labəŋ	YAB	belem	WLE	cīferü
MIN	paku	KAU		EFI	i-βako
IND	paku	*TOL	ot	WFI	i-βako
SUN	paku	BUA	brem	RTU	faʔo
JAV	paku	*ADZ	[birim]	TON	faʔo
MAD	paku	*KIL	kai-basi	SAM	fao
BAL	səpaku	*TAW	tutu	MEL	[nīla]
SAS	paku	*MOT	i-koko	TAH	[naero]
GOR	[paku]	*MEK	[ikoko]	RAP	veo
DAA	paku	*ROV	poka		

ATA From Taiwanese [taŋ] ‘copper, brass’

PAI From Japanese.

KAL From Spanish *lanza* ‘lance, pike’(?).

AKL From Malay *rañcaŋ* ‘stake’.

DAM Obsolete, from Russian? Also [nil]; also archaic *geu ulul* now only with primary meaning, ‘thorny vine variety’.



MAB	<i>kiruŋu</i> (n); <i>-rou</i> (vb).
TOL	Originally ‘short hard wooden spike’, also [ <i>nil</i> ].
ADZ	From Yabêm <i>bêlêm</i> ‘point of spear’ (Streicher, 1982: 41).
KIL	‘long rigid-pierce’.
TAW	Also (dialect) <i>pawasi</i> .
MOT	<i>koko-a</i> ‘to drive in, nail’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.): original meaning of <i>ikoko</i> ‘uprights driven into the outrigger of a canoe’.
MEK	<i>i-koko</i> (?) from Motu? EMek <i>e-koko</i> ‘enter’.
ROV	‘wooden nails’.
NEM	‘spear of star’.
CEM	‘piece of heaven’.
AJI	From Polynesian.
XAR	From Polynesian, also ‘iron’.
PON	Also [ <i>mete</i> ] from English ‘metal’.

### 09.560 GLUE

**Dutch:** *lijm*

**English:** *glue*

**French:** *la colle*

ATA	ɣʰuk	BAT	[lem]	RTI	di-dita
TSO		MIN	pa-rake?	BUR	polo-n
RUK		*IND	pə-rakat	DOB	[lem]
PAI		*SUN	[lem]	IRA	
YAM	panɔkət	JAV	[lim]	*SAW	getgit
*ISN	ipipigkat	MAD	ʝilit	NYI	
KAL	pīkot	*BAL	[lim]	*MAM	nato
*TAG	pan-dikit	SAS	[lim]	*TAK	ag
*AKL	kāpuʰ	GOR	taŋi	DAM	dim
*PAL	paskət	DAA	pulu	*MAB	zim siŋīni
MOL	kanʝi?	UMA	po-pita-i?	YAB	
*KAG	pi'lit	BUG	pap-pijʝi?	*KAU	sa kimlo
BLA	fa-dkat	*KON	[leŋ]	*TOL	bulit
SAB	pag-pikit	WOL	pidʰa	BUA	zəg <sup>wi</sup>
*MUR	[gām]	*MAG	čoʰa	ADZ	
MGY	dinti	NGA	ɓura	KIL	pikipaki
ACE	gutah	SIK	nana-ŋ	*TAW	[pasi]

*MOT	kamokamo	NTA	[kəlu]	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> iřisa
*MEK	koo	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> aniap <sup>w</sup> it	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> eŋa
*ROV	napnapitiana	*NEM	die-savēn	WFI	i-bulu
MAR	gluti	*CEM	ólo	RTU	pulu
LAU		*AJI	ořo	TON	[kulū]
KWO		*XAR	xutu	SAM	[kelū]
RAG		*NEN	teđe	MEL	[kulū]
PAA	[lakol]	*KIR	te kanim	TAH	tāpiri
*LEW	pilu	MSH	[kiļu]	*RAP	haka pi-piri
POR		*PON	mēn kapas		

ISN Also *dumkat* ‘stick, adhere’.

TAG Also [kōla], Spanish *cola*.

AKL Also *pilit*; *dukut* ‘stick, adhere’.

PAL Root *sakot*.

KAG From the word meaning ‘sticky’; also [kula] from Spanish *cola*.

MUR From English *gum*.

IND Also [lem].

SUN Also [paŋ-rapət] from Javanese.

BAL Also *əŋkət* ‘sticky sap used to trap birds, dragonflies etc.; glue’; [ŋ-rakət] from Old Javanese?; [aŋčur] ‘glue used to glue gold leaf to cloth’, from Old Javanese.

KON Also *pa<sup>?</sup>-pija<sup>?</sup>*.

MAG *čō<sup>?</sup>a* ‘glue from the *čō<sup>?</sup>a* (bee’s comb)’; *nunu lale* ‘latex of the *lale* tree’.

SAW Also [lem].

MAM Also *gola*.

TAK ‘kind of tree with adhesive resin’.

MAB *zim siŋīni*; *ŋanra<sup>m</sup>ba siŋīni* two different trees whose sap is used as glue; -*sekap* (vb).

KAU See 08.760.

TOL See 08.760.

TAW From English ‘putty’.

MOT *kamo* ‘to stick’.

MEK *koo* (*ko<sup>?</sup>*) ‘vegetable gum, resin; manufactured glue’. See 08.760 ‘sap’.

ROV	‘sap or beeswax’, also [ <i>gulu</i> ].
LEW	‘sap of bread-fruit tree; chewing-gum’; also <i>suri na-vilori-ena</i> .
NEM	‘sap of <i>Cordia myxa</i> ’.
CEM	Name of <i>Garnenia</i> sp. ‘glue tree’.
AJI	Also [ <i>kōli</i> ] from French.
XAR	‘k. o. shrub, <i>Gardenia audiepe</i> ’, the resin of which is used as a glue.
NEN	(vb).
KIR	<i>nim</i> ‘stick’, <i>ka-</i> ‘CAUS’.
PON	‘thing for fastening’; also [ <i>kulū</i> ] from English.
WLE	Also ‘gum, sap’; [ <i>nōrī</i> ] from Japanese.
TON	From English <i>glue</i> .
RAP	(vb trans).

### 09.600 SMITH, BLACKSMITH

Malay *tukaṅ bəsi*

Hindi: *pāṇḍe*

Prakrit: *paṇḍia*

ATA	MIN	tukaṅ basi	*BUR	geba ka toto
*TSO	[pxatxi]	*IND	tukaṅ besi	momol
RUK	SUN	[panday]	DOB	
PAI	JAV	[paṇḍe]	IRA	
YAM	MAD	[paṇḍ <sup>hi</sup> ]	*SAW	kyat ta r-tok
ISN	BAL	[pande] bəsi		[besi]
KAL	SAS	[pande] bəsi	NYI	
*TAG	*GOR	[pani] lo wu-	MAM	
		wate	TAK	
*AKL	DAA	topo-me <sup>m</sup> pe	DAM	
PAL	UMA	to-pe-ta <sup>m</sup> pa	MAB	
*MOL	*BUG	pal-lanro	YAB	
KAG	KON	[panre] bassi	KAU	
BLA	WOL	[pa <sup>n</sup> de] ase	TOL	
SAB	MAG	[tukaṅ bəsi]	BUA	
MUR	NGA	lima-pade	ADZ	
*MGY	SIK		KIL	
ACE	RTI	[tuka besi]	TAW	
*BAT			MOT	

MEK	KWA	EFI		
ROV	NEM	WFI		
MAR	*CEM	â-cini-tòki	RTU	
LAU	AJI	ka āřā [vaɔ]	TON	taŋata tuki- ukamea
KWO	XAR		SAM	
RAG	NEN		MEL	
<del>PAA</del>	<del>KIP</del>		TAH	taʔata tūpaʔi ʔāuri
LEW	MSH		RAP	
POR	PON			
NTA	WLE			

TSO Also [*pxatxia*] both from Minnan *phah-thih-a* ‘blacksmith’; *de-mūtu*.

TAG *bākal* ‘iron’.

AKL Also [*panday*].

MOL *salsal + po-no-*.

MGY From (*mpaN-tefi vi*).

BAT Also *panopa (paN-topa)*.

IND Also [*pandai*] *bəsi*.

GOR [*pani*] ‘artisan’, *lo*, linker, *wu-wate* ‘iron’.

BUG Also *pal-lanro-bissi*.

BUR ‘person HAB pound iron’ (usually a Butonese immigrant); also [*tukaŋ besi*].

SAW ‘person that hits steel’, from Malay.

CEM ‘one who burns iron’.

## 09.610 FORGE

See 09.600

ATA	*TAG	[panday]	*MUR	panitipan	
TSO	mūtu	*AKL	ʔandas	*MGY	ʔʔanu
RUK	wa-darəpə	PAL	labuŋ-an		faneʔfena
PAI		*MOL	salsal	ACE	tumpa
YAM	pitataŋtaŋan	*KAG	[urnuan]	BAT	
ISN	magbuntuʔ	BLA	lubin	MIN	apa
*KAL	bobossalan	SAB	pag-sasal-an		

*IND	mənəmpa (təmpa)	SAW NYI	POR NTA
*SUN	nīpa (tīpa)	MAM	KWA
JAV	[pandɛ]-an	TAK	NEM
*MAD	[pandʰiyan]	DAM	*CEM cî-tòki
BAL		MAB	AJI āřā [vaɔ]
*SAS	[bɛŋkel]	YAB	XAR
*GOR	molopu	KAU	NEN
DAA		TOL	KIR
UMA	mo-ta <sup>m</sup> pa	BUA	MSH
BUG	al-lanroŋ	ADZ	PON
*KON	pam-[manre]- aŋ [tukaŋ] bassi	KIL TAW MOT	WLE EFI WFI
WOL	raβu	MEK	RTU
MAG		ROV	TON
NGA	səvu	MAR	SAM
*SIK	pəpi	LAU	MEL
RTI	pesa	KWO	TAH tūpaʔi ʔāuri
*BUR	nofi-t	RAG	RAP
DOB		PAA	
IRA		LEW	

KAL From (*R*<sup>1</sup>-bossal-an).

TAG *panday + mag-/-in*.

AKL Also *saʔsaʔ*.

MOL *solsal + -on*.

KAG From (*[urnu] + -an*) lit 'oven' from Spanish *horno*.

MUR From *titip (maŋ--on)* 'forge (vb)'.  
 MGY From *tʰanu + faN-tefi-ana*.

IND (vb).

SUN (vb).

MAD From *[pandʰi-an]*.

SAS From Dutch.

GOR From (*topu + moN-*); also *mo-dupa*.

KON *pam-manre-aŋ* from (*[panre]*); also *sau-aŋ*.

SIK (vb).

BUR ‘bellows’; *loa nofi-t* ‘work the bellows’.

CEM ‘bend iron’.

### 09.620 ANVIL

ATA		GOR	tonata	ROV	
TSO	reo-piɕ-a	DAA	ta <sup>n</sup> dasa	MAR	
RUK	tapaliŋiɭanə	UMA	tonoha	LAU	
*PAI	til <sup>y</sup> u	BUG	pal-lanroŋ	KWO	
YAM	panaŋtaŋ	KON	linrasaŋ	RAG	
ISN	panān	*WOL	busoa	PAA	
*KAL	bobokbokan	MAG		LEW	
*TAG	palihan	NGA	pena	POR	
AKL	[ɬandāsan]	SIK	nera-ŋ	NTA	
PAL	londas-an	RTI	pe-pesa-k	KWA	
MOL	londosan	BUR		NEM	
KAG		DOB		CEM	
BLA	dansələn	IRA		AJI	kā daxai [vaɔ]
SAB	ka-pañap-an paN-sa-sasal	SAW		XAR	
		NYI		NEN	
MUR	landasan	MAM		KIR	
MGY	[landaizana]	TAK		MSH	
ACE	landaih	DAM		PON	
*BAT	landasan ni	MAB		WLE	
	panopa	YAB		EFI	
MIN	landas-an	KAU		WFI	
*IND	[paron]	TOL		RTU	
*SUN	bisi panipa-an (tipa)	BUA		TON	
JAV	parən	ADZ		SAM	
MAD	lanŋan	KIL		MEL	
BAL		TAW		TAH	tūpaʔi ʔāuri
SAS	landasan	MOT		RAP	
		MEK			

PAI *ca-caɭə-caɭ-an* ‘chopping board (for cutting melons)’.

KAL From (*R*<sup>1</sup>-*bokbok-an*).

TAG Also *pandāy-an*.

BAT Also *tahanŋar*.

IND From Javanese, also *landas-an*.

SUN Also *tahan-an*.

WOL 'bellows'.

### 09.630 CAST (metals)

ATA		DAA		ROV
TSO		*UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-ʔili	MAR
RUK		BUG	balibbiʔ	LAU
PAI		*KON	an-niriʔ (tiriʔ)	KWO
YAM		*WOL	po-toŋai-a	RAG
ISN		MAG	vovo	PAA
KAL		NGA		LEW
*TAG	[molde]	SIK		POR
AKL		RTI		NTA
PAL		BUR		KWA
MOL		DOB		NEM
KAG		IRA		CEM
*BLA	tmubel	SAW		AJI ja
*SAB	sasal	NYI		XAR
MUR		MAM		NEN
MGY	lasiʔa	TAK		KIR
ACE		DAM		MSH
BAT	tɔppa	MAB		PON
MIN	četaʔ	YAB		WLE
*IND	mənuəŋ (tuaŋ)	KAU		EFI
		TOL		WFI
*SUN	ñitak (čitak)	BUA		RTU
JAV	ñitaʔ (čitaʔ)	ADZ		TON
MAD	əččur	KIL		SAM
BAL		TAW		MEL
SAS		MOT		TAH
*GOR	moluwəŋo	MEK		RAP

TAG [molde] + mag-/i- from Spanish *molde*.

BLA *t-m-ubel* 'pour'; *mimoʔ gu-t-m-ubel* 'make a place of pouring, cast'.

SAB *sasal* + aN-/ø.

IND (vb).

SUN 'use a mold', see 09.720.

GOR (*tuwago + moN-*) lit 'fill'.

UMA *ili* 'melt', extension 'cast metal'.

KON Also *am-ma'liŋ (pa'liŋ)*.

WOL 'model (anything)'.

## 09.640 GOLD

**English:** *gold*

**Malay:** (*ə*)*mas*

ATA		UMA	<i>bulaβa</i>	MAR	
TSO		BUG	<i>ulawiŋ</i>	LAU	
RUK		KON	<i>bulaeŋ</i>	KWO	
PAI		WOL	<i>βulawa</i>	RAG	
*YAM	<i>voawan</i>	MAG	<i>əmas</i>	PAA	
ISN	<i>balitu?</i>	NGA	<i>vca</i>	*LEW	[ <i>kol</i> ]
KAL	<i>bulāwan</i>	SIK	<i>bahar</i>	POR	
TAG	<i>ginto?</i>	*RTI	<i>lilo pilas</i>	NTA	[ <i>tol pras</i> ]
*AKL	<i>buḥāwan</i>	*BUR	<i>flawan</i>	KWA	
PAL	<i>bulawan</i>	DOB	[ <i>masa</i> ]	NEM	
MOL	<i>bulawan</i>	IRA	[ <i>mas</i> ]	CEM	
KAG	<i>blawan</i>	SAW	[ <i>mas</i> ]	*AJI	[ <i>lɔ</i> ]
BLA	<i>blawən</i>	NYI		XAR	
SAB	<i>bulawan</i>	MAM	[ <i>gol</i> ]	NEN	
*MUR	[ <i>amas</i> ]	TAK		KIR	
*MGY	<i>vula-mena</i>	DAM		MSH	
ACE	<i>muih</i>	MAB		PON	
BAT	<i>mas</i>	*YAB	[ <i>gɔβɔβ</i> ]	WLE	
MIN	<i>ameh</i>	KAU		EFI	[ <i>koula</i> ]
IND	<i>əmas</i>	TOL	[ <i>golet</i> ]	WFI	[ <i>koula</i> ]
SUN	<i>əmas</i>	BUA	[ <i>gōr</i> ]	RTU	[ <i>koro</i> ]
JAV	( <i>ə</i> ) <i>mas</i>	ADZ		TON	[ <i>koula</i> ]
MAD	<i>əmmas</i>	KIL	[ <i>goula</i> ]	*SAM	[ <i>auro</i> ]
BAL	<i>mas</i>	TAW	[ <i>gole</i> ]	MEL	
SAS	<i>mas</i>	MOT	[ <i>golo</i> ]	*TAH	[ <i>pirū</i> ]
GOR	<i>hulawa</i>	MEK		RAP	
DAA	<i>bulava</i>	ROV	[ <i>golo</i> ]		



YAM Also *apiaşkolit*.

AKL PHF \**buLāw-an*.

MUR Also *bulawan*, the original word, now unknown except in stories.

MGY *vula* 'money'.

RTI 'red *lilo*' see 09.650.

BUR Also [*mas*].

YAB Also [*gold*], both from English/German.

LEW Also *pra-pinae* 'a gold coloured fruit'.

AJI From French *l'or*.

SAM From Latin *aurum*.

TAH From Spanish *perú*; also [*?auro*] from Latin.

## 09.650 SILVER

English: <i>silver, money</i>	Malay: <i>perak</i>
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ATA	SUN perak	MAM [silba]
TSO	JAV pera?	TAK
RUK doray	*MAD suwasa	DAM
PAI vul <sup>y</sup> avan	*BAL [slakə]	MAB
YAM volaŋat	SAS slakə	*YAB [silber]
ISN	GOR tala <sup>?</sup> a	KAU
*KAL [palāta]	DAA salaka	TOL [siliva]
*TAG [pīlak]	UMA salaka?	BUA [sariβa]
AKL [pīlak]	BUG salaka	ADZ
PAL pirak	KON salaka	KIL [siliba]
MOL pirak	WOL salaka	TAW [siluba]
KAG pilak	*MAG [real]	MOT
BLA sɔlβi <sup>?</sup>	NGA vea-βara	MEK
SAB pilak	SIK bahar bura	ROV [siliva]
MUR [pidok]	*RTI lilo fula-k	MAR
MGY vula-fuŋi	BUR [perak]	LAU
ACE pira <sup>?</sup>	DOB [βera]	KWO
BAT perak	IRA	RAG
MIN pera?	SAW [perak]	PAA
IND perak	NYI	LEW

POR		NEN		RTU	[siliva]
NTA	[tol pras]	KIR		TON	[siliva]
KWA		MSH		SAM	[siliva]
NEM		PON		MEL	
*CEM	[m <sup>w</sup> ānī]	WLE		*TAH	[moni]
AJI	[m <sup>w</sup> āne] mē	EFI	[siliβa]	RAP	
XAR	[çileva]	WFI	[siliβa]		

KAL From Spanish *plata*.

TAG Also [*plāta*].

MAD Safioedin (1977): 'mixture of gold and copper'.

BAL Old Balinese has *pirak*, no longer used.

MAG Archaic, via Makassar; nowadays [*perak*].

RTI 'white *lilo*', see 09.640.

YAB From German.

CEM Used for different precious metals (gold, silver, copper).

TAH Also [*?ario*] from Greek.

## 09.660 COPPER, BRONZE

**English:** *copper*

**Prakrit:** *tamba-* (cf. Gonda 1973: 91)

**Spanish:** *tumbaga*

ATA		SAB	[tumbaga]	DAA	[ta <sup>m</sup> baga]
*TSO	[taŋkia]	MUR	[tambaga <sup>?</sup> ]	UMA	<sup>ŋ</sup> kala
RUK	bolavanə	MGY	varahina	BUG	[tambaga]
PAI		ACE	[tumaga]	*KON	[tambaga]
*YAM	mavalačigaḍ	BAT	[təbbaga]	WOL	[ta <sup>m</sup> baga]
ISN	bāga	MIN	[timbago]	MAG	
KAL	bayoŋ	*IND	[təmbaga]	NGA	nama
*TAG	tanso <sup>?</sup>	*SUN	[tambaga]	SIK	bəra
*AKL	saway	*JAV	[təmbəgə]	RTI	liti
*PAL	[tumbaga <sup>?</sup> ]	MAD	[dimbaga]	BUR	[tambaga]
MOL	[təmbaga]	BAL	[təmagə]	DOB	[tebaga]
*KAG	[tambaga]	SAS		IRA	
BLA	[təbəgə]	GOR	[to <sup>m</sup> baha]	SAW	

NYI	ROV [kopa]	NEN [kopa]
MAM	MAR	KIR
TAK	LAU	MSH
DAM	KWO	PON
MAB	RAG	WLE
*YAB [kupaɔɔ]	PAA	EFI [kopa]
KAU	LEW	WFI [kopa]
*TOL [kapa] meme	POR	RTU [kapa]
BUA	NTA [tol pras]	TON [kopa]
ADZ	KWA	*SAM [ʔapa]-memea
KIL [barasi]	NEM	MEI
TAW [kapa]	CEM	TAH veo
*MOT [kapa]	*AJI [m <sup>w</sup> ãne] mī	RAP
MEK	XAR	

TSO From Minnan *taŋ* ‘copper’(?).

YAM A specific kind of *vaʔalaŋ* (see 09.670).

TAG Also [*tumbāga*] ‘alloy’.

AKL Also [*tumbāga*].

PAL [*tumbagaʔ*] ‘red copper’; *kawat* ‘yellow copper’.

KAG [*brunsi*] from Spanish *bronce* ‘bronze’.

IND [*tambaga*] ‘copper’; *pəruŋgu* ‘bronze’, *kuniŋ-an*; [*gaŋsa*] ‘brass’, compare Prakrit *kamsa*-.

SUN [*tambaga*] ‘copper’; *paruŋgu* ‘bronze’.

JAV Also *pruŋgu*.

BAL [*təmagə*] ‘copper’; *kuniŋ-an* ‘bronze’; [*gaŋsə*] KIB: ‘type of bronze or brass; musical instrument made of bronze’.

KON [*tambaga*] ‘copper’; *suasa* ‘bronze’, see Gonda (1973).

YAB From German/English.

TOL *meme* ‘red’.

MOT Bible uses [*auri*], which Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives as ‘iron, metal (introduced from Tahitian)’, and [*auri*] *laboralabora* (*laboralabora* ‘yellow’).

AII From English ‘money’; also [*kuive*] from French *cuivre*.

SAM *memea* ‘yellowish, brown’.

## 09.670 IRON

Malay *bəsi*

*ATA	[thiʔ]	UMA	aheʔ	MAR	
TSO	mre-mreno	BUG	bissi	LAU	salo
RUK	aðəmə	KON	bassi	KWO	
PAI	vacul <sup>y</sup> ayan	WOL	ase	RAG	
*YAM	vaʔalaŋ	MAG	bəçi	PAA	
ISN	balayyāŋ	NGA	nəpu	LEW	patoto
KAL	bālyāŋ	SIK	rəbu	POR	mareai
TAG	bākal	RTI	[besi]	*NTA	[iaiaŋ]
ΛKL	saʔsāʔ-un	BUR	momol	KWA	
*PAL	bəsiʔ	DOB	[besi]	*NEM	[toyi]
MOL	bosiʔ	IRA	[besi]	*CEM	[tòki]
KAG	salsa'lən	SAW	[besi]	ΛJI	[vaɔ]
BLA	tək	NYI		XAR	[faɔ]
SAB	basiʔ	MAM	[aen]	NEN	[fao]
MUR		TAK		KIR	te biti
MGY	vi	DAM		*MSH	[aen]
ACE	bʊsəə	MAB		*PON	[teppaŋ]
BAT	bosi	*YAB	ki	WLE	pəraŋa
MIN	basi	KAU		EFI	[kaukamea]
IND	bəsi	*TOL	[kapa]	*WFI	[ukamea]
SUN	bisi	BUA		RTU	?ia
JAV	wəsi	ADZ		TON	ukamea
MAD	bəssi	KIL	[aiyani]	SAM	[u?amea]
BAL	bəsi	*TAW	pawasi	MEL	[aeani]
SAS	bəsi	*MOT	[auri]	TAH	?āuri
GOR	wu-wate	*MEK	[auri]	RAP	?auri
DAA	ase	ROV	[aeana]		

ATA From Taiwanese.

YAM 'metal'.

PAL Also *balan*.

YAB Originally 'stone blade'; by extension, 'iron axe, iron'.

TOL Also *pal-a-riam*, *pal* 'skin, any flat thing', *riam* 'stone axe', *pal-a-riam* 'stone of the stone axe, blade of a steel axe, iron, steel'.

TAW	<i>pawasi</i> e.g. 'crowbar'; also [ <i>ayani</i> ].
MOT	See note 09.660.
MEK	Also <i>auli</i> 'metal, things made of metal'.
NTA	Also [ <i>kapa</i> ] for 'corrugated iron', from English 'copper'.
NEM	From Polynesian.
CEM	Polynesian borrowing (PPN <i>*toki</i> ).
MSH	Also <i>mæl</i> .
PON	From Japanese 'sheet iron'.
WFI	Also [ <i>kaukamea</i> ] standard Fijian, from Tongan.

## 09.680 LEAD

English: *lead*French: *plomb*

ATA	paʔayʔuk	*BAL	timah sələm	KAU
TSO	pania	SAS		TOL
RUK	wantoko	GOR	timohe	BUA
PAI		*DAA	[tima]	ADZ
*YAM	vaʔalaŋ	UMA	baloʔ	KIL
ISN	buli	BUG	tumira	TAW
KAL	buli	KON	tumera leʔleŋ	*MOT [leidi]
TAG	tiŋgaʔ	WOL	timara	MEK
AKL	tiŋgaʔ	MAG	[məra]	ROV
PAL	tiŋaʔ	NGA	nama-ʔara	MAR
MOL	tiŋgaʔ	SIK	bəra mita-ŋ	LAU
*KAG	[təməŋ'gaʔ]	*RTI	eŋe ʔgeo-k	KWO
BLA	təmlo	*BUR	[timbaŋ]	RAG
SAB	tiŋgaʔ	*DOB	[tima]	PAA
MUR	indulay	IRA		LEW [pol]
*MGY	[firaka]	SAW	bəlʔbəl	POR
*ACE	timah		beplate	NTA [let]
BAT	sibbora	NYI		KWA
MIN	timah	MAM		NEM
IND	timah hitam	TAK		CEM
*SUN	timah hidig	DAM		AJI [pōlō]
JAV	timbəl	MAB		XAR ʔarəmədi
MAD	tima	YAB		NEN

KIR	EFI	uma	*SAM	[pulu]
*MSH	æŋini	*WFI	[uma]	MEL
PON	RTU	[lete]	TAH	tāpau
WLE	TON	pulu	RAP	tapau

YAM ‘metal’.

KAG From Spanish *tumbaga*, see 09.660.

MGY From Malay *perak* ‘silver’.

ACE Also ‘tin, zinc’.

SUN *hidin* ‘black’.

BAL ‘black tin’.

DAA Indonesian *timah*.

RTI ‘black eye’, see 09.690.

BUR From Malay.

DOB From Malay.

MOT Bible uses *aurimetau-na* (*metau* ‘heavy’).

MSH *æŋini* ‘escort’, *kipel*, *kāl* ‘lure, entice’, *tlɛ* ‘direct’, *uke* (of people or animals’.

WFI Probably standard Fijian.

SAM From English *bullet*.

## 09.690 TIN, TINPLATE

<b>English:</b> <i>tin, copper</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>lata</i>
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ATA	šiyuŋ	KAG	saway	MAD	tima
TSO		BLA	[lata]	BAL	timah
RUK		*SAB	[mital]	SAS	
PAI		MUR		GOR	timohe
YAM	vaklit	*MGY	vi-fuçi	*DAA	suraya
ISN	lāta	*ACE	timah	UMA	balo?
KAL		BAT	tima	BUG	bissi-nipi?
TAG	[lāta]	MIN	timah	KON	tumera
*AKL	sim	*IND	timah putih	*WOL	timara
PAL	tapak	SUN	timah	MAG	
*MOL	[mital]	JAV	timah	NGA	rea

SIK	bəra bura	ADZ		CEM
*RTI	eje fula-k	KIL		*AJI [letā]
*BUR	arpaka	TAW		XAR
DOB		MOT	[tini]	NEN
IRA		MEK	[tsini]	KIR
SAW	bəlʔbəl ta	ROV		MSH
	mfuse	MAR		PON
NYI		LAU		WLE
MAM	[tiŋ]	KWO		EFI [tini]
TAK		RAG	[tini]	WFI [sini]
DAM		PAA		RTU [tini]
MAB		*LEW	[kap <sup>w</sup> a]	TON [tini]
*YAB	wapap	POR		SAM [ʔapa]
KAU		NTA	[kapa]	MEL
TOL	[kapa]	KWA		*TAH [piura]
BUA	[kapa]	NEM		RAP

AKL *sim* for roofing; also [lata] *lata* 'tin (plate)'.

MOL From English.

SAB From English.

MGY Also *fira-fuči*.

ACE Also *timah puteh*.

IND *timah daun* 'tin foil'.

DAA 'tin-plate'.

WOL Also *tuta*.

RTI 'white *eje*', see 09.680.

BUR Possibly 'pewter'.

YAB 'thunder'.

LEW 'corrugated iron roofing'.

AJI From French *l'étain*.

TAH From English *pewter*.

## 09.710 POTTER

ATA		PAI	kapua	*KAL	mandidiwin
TSO		YAM	mitanatana	TAG	mag-pa-
RUK		ISN			palayok

AKL	manug-kūḥun	BUG	urittana	ROV	[pota]
PAL	məṅdidyun	KON	pa-haju gori	MAR	
MOL		WOL	po-ma <sup>n</sup> du	LAU	
*KAG	ma'nig <sup>?</sup> ubra ta kurun	MAG	dūṅ	KWO	
*BLA	to m-imo <sup>?</sup>	NGA	podo	RAG	
	kulaṅ tənə <sup>?</sup>	SIK		PAA	
SAB	ag-ta-tampa	RTI	mana-li <sup>?</sup> u ule- k	LEW	
MUR		BUR		POR	
MGY	mpan-efi	DOB		NTA	
	vilani	IRA		KWA	
ACE	utoih tumika	SAW		NEM	
BAT		NYI		CEM	
*MIN	tukaṅ bue <sup>?</sup>	MAM		AJI	ka ja ka
	pariu <sup>??</sup> tanah	*TAK	bod be-k	XAR	
*IND	tukaṅ təmbikar	DAM		NEN	
		MAB		KIR	
*SUN	tukaṅ	*YAB	(ṅa <sup>?</sup> -ke-lesob)	MSH	
	gagarabah		-ku-waga	PON	
JAV		KAU		WLE	
MAD	tukaṅ piyadar	TOL		EFI	dau-tulituli
*BAL	[tukaṅ] payuk	BUA		WFI	d <sup>1</sup> au-βoḍa- dare
SAS		*ADZ	garam is-a gur	RTU	
*GOR	tā mo-hu- hutu-wa ʔuloṅo	*KIL	to-bubuli kulia	TON	tufuṅa ipu
		*TAW	nau tu wogo	SAM	
		*MOT	uro kara	MEL	
DAA	topo-ma <sup>n</sup> du		tau-na	*TAH	[potera]
UMA	to-pe-ponu	MEK		RAP	

KAL (*man-R<sup>1</sup>-diwin*).

KAG 'maker of a *kurun* pot'.

BLA 'person who makes earth pots'.

MIN 's.o. who makes earthenware pots'.

IND Also *pəm-buatgarabah*.

SUN (*ga*)*garabah* 'earthenware'.

BAL Malay *payuk* 'pot'.

GOR *tā* personal nominaliser, 'habitually makes earthenware cooking pot'.

TAK 'pot hold-NOM'; *be-k* is the nominalised form of *abi* 'hold' (11.150).  
Pot-making is not a traditional Takia occupation.



YAB	'(man-he-form-)pot-er'. Also <i>ŋaʔ-ge-yàʔ-ku-waga</i> 'man-he-hit-pot er'.
ADZ	'man make-PART pot', i.e. 'man who makes pots'.
KIL	'person-build pot'.
TAW	'person who makes pots'.
MOT	<i>uro</i> 'earthenware pot', <i>kara-ia</i> 'to make', <i>tau</i> 'man'.
TAH	From Greek.

### 09.720 MOULD (clay etc)

Spanish: *horma*

ATA		SAS		KIL	-bubuli
TSO		GOR		TAW	wogo
RUK		DAA	no-ma <sup>n</sup> du	MOT	kui-a
PAI		UMA	ponuʔ lemo	MEK	
YAM	mitanatana	BUG	ač-čuaŋ-iŋ	ROV	kineha
ISN		KON	kadapaŋ	MAR	
*KAL	diwin	*WOL	po-toŋai-a	LAU	
*TAG	[hulma]	MAG	dedek	KWO	
*AKL	[hormah]	NGA	pepe	RAG	
PAL	sabuŋ	SIK		PAA	
MOL		*RTI	liʔu	LEW	voŋo-ruru
*KAG	kurti	BUR		POR	
BLA		*DOB	ʔa-ʔor k <sup>w</sup> u'r <sup>or</sup>	NTA	-aβəraβər
*SAB	tampa	IRA		KWA	
MUR		SAW		NEM	k <sup>ʔ</sup> oʃi
*MGY	man-daçaka ami ni lasiʔa	NYI	abonei	CEM	
ACE		MAM		AJI	ja
BAT		TAK		XAR	
MIN	bantuʔ	DAM		NEN	
*IND	ačuan	MAB	- <sup>m</sup> būzu	KIR	
SUN	ñitak (čitak)	YAB	-lesob	MSH	
JAV		KAU	lapatpat	PON	
MAD	baŋun	TOL		WLE	
BAL		BUA		EFI	tuli-a
		ADZ	ŋi <sup>ʔ</sup> -	WFI	buli-a

RTU		SAM		TAH
TON	takao	MEL		RAP

KAL *diwin + man-*.TAG [*molde*] + *mag-/i-*, from Spanish *molde* 'pattern'.AKL [*hormah*] + *-an*.

KAG 'shape'.

SAB *tampa aN-/ø*.MGY *mandat̄aka* 'to put down, cast down', *ami* 'with', *lasit̄'a* 'a mould cast'.IND *ačuan* (n.); *māñ-četak* (vb), *məm-bəntuk* 'form, mold s.th. into a shape'.

WOL 'model, mould, cart'.

RTI *naka-da-dadi-k*, from, *dadi*, means 'make, cause to make'.

DOB 'she hits a pot', as the moulding of clay pots is done by hitting the clay into shape.

**09.730 CLAY**

ATA		BAT	tanə liat	*BUR	rahis [mera]-t
TSO		MIN	tanah-lie?		em-polo-t
RUK	dokaçə	*IND	tanah liat	DOB	bala lotu
PAI		*SUN	tanih likət	IRA	
YAM	apwa	JAV	ləmpuŋ	SAW	bətʔbet məkətə
ISN		MAD	ləmpuŋ	NYI	balak
KAL	pīta	BAL	tanah lægit	MAM	ʔateʔa-poasa
*TAG	luʔad	SAS	tanaʔ malit	*TAK	bod
AKL	dagaʔ	*GOR	huta delidu	DAM	maçer
PAL	dəkutən	DAA	tana lei	*MAB	tōnopedeg-
MOL	pulut	UMA	tanaʔ puluʔ		dēgeŋana
*KAG	ba'sak na mi'nug	BUG	tana-litta	YAB	nəm-ku
BLA		KON	tana piʔ	KAU	epluŋ
SAB	pisak	WOL	reo	TOL	pəpapə
MUR	tanaʔ	MAG	tana læviŋ	BUA	ŋagək
MGY	tani-manga	NGA	tana-paki	*ADZ	i <sup>n</sup> tap gur
*ACE	tanəh liat	SIK		*KIL	mlom <sup>w</sup> aluβa
		*RTI	dae ule-k	TAW	bigabiga

MOT	raro	NTA	noantanəmta	*WLE	řapa
*MEK	mea	KWA	nurepa	EFI	dreta
ROV	bupara	NEM	guc	WFI	g <sup>w</sup> ele
MAR		CEM	pêlu	RTU	pear ʔumea
LAU		AJI	guři	TON	ʔumea
KWO		XAR	dəa	SAM	omea
RAG		NEN		*MEL	[lepa]
PAA		KIR		TAH	ʔaraea
LEW	kila-tano	MSH		RAP	
POR	ran <sup>mbü</sup> <sup>mbüüč</sup>	PON	peirūru		

TAG Also *luwad, pīla*.

KAG 'red soil'.

ACE Also *tanəhkliət*.

IND Also *ləmpuŋ*.

SUN Also [*ləmpuŋ*] from Javanese or Malay.

GOR Also *huta talu*.

RTI 'clay', lit 'pot earth' i.e. 'earth suitable for making earthen pots'.

BUR 'sticky red dirt'; also *wae tai-n* 'river excretion, clay (used to make a grey-white paint)'.

TAK 'clay, clay pot' (sec 05.260).

MAB Also *tōnotektēgeŋana*.

ADZ 'ground pot', i.e. 'potting clay'.

KIL Also *p<sup>w</sup>adidiweta* 'mud'.

MEK 'red clay'.

WLE 'red clay, red'

MEL From *Ēfate*.

## 09.740 GLASS

**Dutch:** *glas*

**Sanskrit:** *kāca-*

**English:** *glass*

**Malay:** *čərmin*

ATA *ķariwař*

TSO

RUK [*gałas*]

PAI

YAM [*garař*]

ISN [*sarmiŋ*]

KAL [*samliŋ*]

TAG [*salamin*]

AKL [*sařamiŋ*]

PAL	sawan	SIK	lino-ŋ	RAG	
MOL	[suramin]	RTI	[ <sup>ɗ</sup> galas]	PAA	
*KAG	[ispiu]	*BUR	[kača]	LEW	[kilas]
BLA	sabuy	DOB	ʔilala	POR	
SAB	[samin]	IRA		NTA	[klas]
*MUR	[kasaʔ]	SAW	[gɛlas]	KWA	
MGY	fi-taraɬ <sup>ɾ</sup> a	NYI		*NEM	k <sup>ɗ</sup> et
*ACE	[kača]	MAM	[galasi]	*CEM	kêt
BAT	[galas]	*TAK	nad	AJI	peo
MIN	[kačo]	DAM		XAR	
*IND	[kača]	MAB		NEN	xi
SUN	[kača]	*YAB	[gɛlasi]	KIR	te [kirati]
*JAV	bəliŋ	KAU		MSH	[kilac]
MAD	[gəlas]	*TOL	tiroə	PON	[kilās]
BAL	[kačə]	BUA	[garas]	*WLE	[xeřāsi]
SAS	[kačə]	ADZ		EFI	iloilo
GOR	[kača]	KIL		WFI	iloilo
DAA	[galas]	TAW	[galasi]	RTU	[lasa]
UMA		MOT	[galasi]	TON	sioʔata
BUG	[kačča]	MEK	[kalatsi]	SAM	tioata
KON	[kača]	ROV	[gelasi]	MEL	[kalāsi]
WOL	to <sup>n</sup> de	MAR		TAH	hiʔo
MAG	[kača]	*LAU	iroiro	RAP	hiʔo
NGA	moge-meo	KWO			

KAG From Spanish *espejo*.

MUR (substance); also [galas] (object).

ACE Also [glaiŋ].

IND Also [gəlas] ‘drinking glass’; čərmin ‘mirror’.

JAV Also [kɔcɔ].

BUR ‘window-glass, mirror’.

TAK ‘volcanic glass, obsidian’.

YAB From German/English.

TOL Also [galas].

LAU ‘looking glass’.

NEM ‘piece of quartz or glass, razor’.

CEM Also ‘quartz, razor’.

WLE Also *pīpī*.

## 09.750 WEAVE, PLAIT

*ATA	t-um-inuḵ	DAA	no-lati	ROV	tiyisia
TSO		UMA	βaŋu	*MAR	tik <sup>h</sup> i
RUK	wa-tinono	*BUG	maŋ-ŋaniŋ	LAU	falia
PAI	ḵ-əm-aɟapi	KON	aŋŋ-anaŋ	KWO	fao-a
YAM	ṣaḵapīḍ	*WOL	tolu	*RAG	vatu
ISN	maŋ-lāga	MAG	roḵo	PAA	vai
*KAL	abol	NGA	nana	*LEW	ve
*TAG	tirintas	*SIK	bea	*POR	vae
*AKL	saḵapīḍ	*RTI	tenu	NTA	-ouh
PAL	lupi?	*BUR	pali	*KWA	-kusi
MOL		DOB	ʔa-yiba	NEM	pai
*KAG	lala	IRA	guɛnə	CEM	pêi
*BLA	san-lɔfin	SAW	n-yɔnɛm	AJI	la
*SAB	anom	NYI	adi	XAR	pɛti
*MUR	batu	MAM	moli	*NEN	iri
MGY	man dʻari	*TAK	-abi	KIR	bira
ACE	manuim	*DAM	i-Ḷi-ya	MSH	piṛəke
BAT	tɔnun	*MAB	-we	*PON	iŋit
*MIN	tanun	*YAB	-wà	WLE	fīrɛxī
*IND	mənənun	KAU	nok	EFI	tali-a
	(tɔnun)	TOL	piṛ	WFI	tali-a
*SUN	ninun (tinun)	*BUA	βasu	RTU	saʔa
JAV	anam	ADZ	fir-	*TON	lalaga
MAD	tənnun	KIL	-woula	SAM	lalaga
*BAL	nunun (tunun)	*TAW	wogo	MEL	firia
*SAS	seseḵ-aŋ	MOT	hatu-a	*TAH	haʔune
*GOR	mohalamo	*MEK	e-aŋ-ŋa	RAP	hiro

ATA Also *t-um-inun*.

KAL *abol* + *man-* ‘weave cloth’; also *laga* + *man-* (*mallaga*) ‘weave basket’.

TAG *tirintas* + *mag-/in* ‘make baskets, braid’.

AKL From (*saḵapīr-un*) ‘make baskets, braid’.

KAG *lala* + *mag-*; see 04.612.

BLA *san-lɔfin* ‘braid’; *m-anim* ‘weave (as a mat)’; *m-abal* ‘weave (as cloth)’.

SAB *anom* + *aN-/ø*, also *anyam* + *aN-/ø*.

MUR	<i>batu</i> ( <i>mag-</i> -on).
MIN	Also <i>añam</i> , <i>lapiʔh</i> .
IND	<i>mənənun</i> ‘weave (fabric)’; <i>məŋ-añam</i> ‘plait (bamboo)’; <i>məñ-ǰalin</i> .
SUN	Also <i>ŋ-añam</i> .
BAL	( <i>N-</i> ) <i>tunun</i> ‘weave cloth’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>ulat</i> ‘weave (rattan, bamboo etc.)’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>plintir-aŋ</i> ‘plait hair’ from Old Javanese(?).
SAS	(vb trans); see <i>ñesek</i> ( <i>sesek</i> ) ‘weave’ (vb intrans).
GOR	( <i>walamo + moh-</i> ).
BUG	<i>maŋ-ŋaniŋ</i> ‘weave’; <i>mal-lippi</i> ‘plait’.
WOL	Also <i>kini</i> , <i>tuuri</i> ; <i>ana</i> ‘plait’.
SIK	Also <i>ʔ-ana</i> .
RTI	<i>tenu</i> ‘weave’; <i>ane</i> , <i>laʔe</i> ‘plait’.
BUR	<i>pali</i> ‘plait’; <i>saru</i> ‘weave’.
TAK	‘hold’ (11.150).
DAM	‘3sg-weave-INF’.
MAB	- <i>we</i> ‘weave’; <i>perek</i> ‘braid, plait’.
YAB	See 06.921.
BUA	Also <i>βi</i> .
TAW	Also (dialect) <i>meta</i> .
MEK	<i>e-ao-ŋa</i> is homonymous with 09.342.
MAR	<i>tikʰi</i> ‘plait, weave’; <i>flehi</i> , <i>pijiri</i> ‘weave, braid rope’.
RAG	Also <i>batu</i> ‘to hand weave pandanus or coconut fibre’.
LEW	Also <i>taī</i> ‘plait tassel of mat’, <i>vinori</i> ‘weave rib of mat’, <i>vili</i> ‘plait join in coconut leaf mat’.
POR	<i>vüs-i</i> (of bamboo).
KWA	- <i>ak</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>sərup</i> ‘weave a basket’; - <i>atiri</i> ‘plait’.
NEN	<i>iri</i> ‘weave a rope’; <i>kada</i> ‘weave basket’.
PON	‘braid’.
TON	Also <i>fī</i> .
TAH	Also <i>raraʔa</i> .

## 09.760 BASKET

ATA	<i>wawaʔ</i>	*PAI	<i>k-alʷ-auju</i>	KAL	<i>lakba</i>
*TSO	<i>parŋoni</i>	*YAM	<i>yala</i>	*TAG	<i>bākol</i>
RUK	<i>karaɗalə</i>	ISN	<i>laʔba</i>	*AKL	<i>aʔat</i>

*PAL	tabig	*SIK	kata	RAG	ɣete
MOL	baka?	*RTI	neka hade	PAA	ateli
*KAG	[basket]	*BUR	nasa	*LEW	karo
*BLA		DOB	k <sup>w</sup> oba	POR	na-xa <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>
SAB	baka?	IRA		NTA	katəm
*MUR	buyuŋ	*SAW	teglas	*KWA	tənərup
*MGY	[haruna]	*NYI	kohei	NEM	kēt
ACE	raga	MAM	raba	CEM	èlet
BAT	appaŋ	*TAK	kuram	AJI	kare
MIN	karañjaŋ	DAM	karam	XAR	ke
IND	kərañjaŋ	*MAB	kiri	NEN	wačəŋ
SUN	karañjaŋ	*YAB	gada	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> aene
JAV	krañjaŋ	*KAU	eyel	*MSH	iep
MAD	karañjaŋ	TOL	rat	*PON	kop <sup>w</sup> ou
*BAL	krañjaŋ	BUA	zebaŋ	*WLE	šixii
SAS	krañjaŋ	*ADZ	ʧiʧu <sup>?</sup> fir-an	EFI	kato
*GOR	[karanji]	*KIL	peta	*WFI	kato
*DAA	kara <sup>n̄</sup> ji	TAW	poha	RTU	?afa
*UMA	luβu	MOT	bosea	TON	kato
BUG	karanjeŋ	MEK	fo <sup>?</sup> ea	SAM	ato
*KON	baku?	ROV	huneke	MEL	kato
*WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> bisa	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ara <sup>?</sup> o	*TAH	?ete
MAG		*LAU	wai	*RAP	[kanato]
NGA	bere	KWO	wa <sup>?</sup> i		

TSO *parŋoni* ‘fine meshed carrying basket’; *ruŋku* ‘coarse-meshed carrying basket’; *apuŋu* ‘winnowing basket’.

PAI *ka-ɟapaɟ*, *kaɟay* ‘a small basket’.

YAM *karapar* ‘winnowing basket’

TAG ‘four-cornered bamboo basket’.

AKL No generic term, *aɬat* made of bamboo; *nīguh* ‘winnowing basket’.

PAL *tiŋkap* ‘basket carried on back’.

KAG [*basket*] from English, ‘basket with a handle arching over the top and usually used for going to the market’; *tabuŋus* ‘very large grain storage basket’; *tabid* ‘basket with a shoulder strap usually used when harvesting rice’; *bla<sup>?</sup>ən*, *alat* ‘small basket with a handle used when gathering shellfish’; *baŋkat* ‘large basket with handles on the side usually used when digging up sweet potatoes or cassava’.

BLA No generic term; *be<sup>?</sup>en*, *ɔɬot*, *bnɪ<sup>?</sup>in* etc. basket varieties.

- MUR Also *baunon*, *balait*, *taŋkalaŋ* (various types).
- MGY From Malay *karuŋ*.
- BAL *krañjaŋ* ‘basket with large holes’; *sok*, *kəbən*, *bodag* ‘different sizes of square closely woven bamboo basket, with a separate cover’; *pənarak* ‘round closely woven bamboo basket, without a separate cover’; *baŋsuŋ* ‘large, long basket in which a pig is transported, “poke”’.
- GOR Malay *kərañjaŋ*, also *ʔadidi* (archaic); also [*ʔabila*], loanword from the Galela.
- DAA *kara<sup>n</sup>ji* ‘rattan basket’; *to<sup>n</sup>do* ‘reed basket’.
- UMA No generic: *luβu* ‘basket carried on back’, *baki* (Southern dialect), *kapipi* (Tolee); *lu<sup>n</sup>ču* ‘storage basket in home’; *bi<sup>n</sup>ka<sup>?</sup>* ‘small basket for cooked food’.
- KON *baku<sup>?</sup>* ‘woven head basket’; *karaŋjeŋ* ‘large coconut frond basket’; *baka* ‘fish basket’; *baku-puli* ‘wedding basket’; *kamboti* ‘cocōnut frond basket’.
- WOL *ka<sup>m</sup>bisa* ‘basket made of leaves’; *fa<sup>l</sup>ase* ‘cylinder shaped basket made of leaves’; *ko<sup>m</sup>piu* ‘basket made of leaves of the *aŋal* tree’; *sa<sup>m</sup>pasa<sup>m</sup>pa*, *woha* ‘small basket’; *la<sup>n</sup>ka*.
- SIK Many terms for specific kinds of baskets.
- RTI No generic word: *neka-hade* ‘basket for storing rice’; *lepe-neu* ‘smaller basket for rice’; *sai-lope-k* ‘basket with cover’; *loka-k* ‘basket made from the leaf-ribs of the lontar leaf used for serving meat at a feast’; *lu<sup>?</sup>a-k* ‘fine leaf basket for serving rice at a feast’; *(ke) pisa-k* ‘protecting basket for lontar bucket hung in a tree’.
- BUR *nasa* ‘basket for holding rice’; also *fodo* ‘conical garden basket carried on back using tumpline or shoulder straps’; *sisat* ‘winnowing tray’; *koko-l* ‘bucket shaped basket for picking coffee’.
- SAW Also *čɛ<sup>?</sup>čɛk* ‘basket for fish’; *wɔɾɛ* ‘basket ‘basket for carrying things to garden’.
- NYI *kohei* ‘basket for betel nut, etc.’; *<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>om* ‘basket for sago’; *b<sup>w</sup>ak* ‘basket for fish’ etc.
- TAK *kuram* ‘larger types of basket’; *sareg* ‘small basket’.
- MAB Also *<sup>n</sup>gamar*, *pelpēle*, *nakaral*, *tīgi*, *tā<sup>n</sup>ga*, *kapalāna*, *<sup>n</sup>gomsāba*.
- YAB ‘small basket for food’; also *gadɔb* ‘large coconut-frond basket’.
- KAU Also *aumah*.



- ADZ ‘coconut frond weave-PART’, i.e. ‘basket woven from one coconut frond’.
- KİL *peta* ‘round basket’; *βataga* ‘small basket, flat side’; *p<sup>w</sup>atai* ‘very large yam basket, for ceremonial display’; *p<sup>w</sup>eya* ‘large woven basket, for carrying materials used in skirt manufacture’. See also 09.780.
- MAR ‘basket made from coconut frond’.
- LAU *wai* ‘a bag’; *kukudu* ‘small round-bottomed, made of coconut leaves’.
- LEW Also *karo poposi* ‘coconut leaf basket’; *pōra* ‘large coconut leaf basket’; *kurup<sup>w</sup>e* ‘coconut leaf basket used for carrying food from garden’.
- KWA Also *kukusi*.
- KIR *te b<sup>w</sup>aene* ‘basket without lid’; *te abein* ‘basket with lid’; also ‘craw, stomach’; *te baba* ‘rough coconut leaf basket’.
- MSH Also *p<sup>w</sup>uwaŋ* archaic; *mm<sup>w</sup>aŋ* ‘fishing basket’; *cepe* ‘kind of small basket’, also *enŋe*; *banənōŋ* ‘coconut frond basket with handles’; *βacɔ* ‘fine weave basket’.
- PON *kop<sup>w</sup>ou*, *kup<sup>w</sup>u* also ‘purse, handbag’; *ohtou*, *palaŋ* hon. *kiam* ‘rough coconut leaf basket’.
- WLE Also *xiiwama* ‘long basket’; *ŋcipa*; *tuxu*; *xeixaŋa* ‘fine weave basket’.
- WFI Also *tabe*.
- TAH Also *ʔoʔini* ‘basket made of coconut leaves’; *haʔapeʔe*; *tāvae*.
- RAP From Spanish *canasto*, also *taropa* (archaic); *kete* woven bag or pouch.

### 09.770 MAT

*ATA	šayurun	MOL	domdam	SUN	kekesed
TSO	daxapi	KAG	ikam	JAV	klɔsɔ
RUK	sapā	BLA	igəm	MAD	tikər
PAI	səkam	SAB	tepo	BAL	tikəh
YAM	atpil	MUR	apin	SAS	tipah
ISN	abaʔ	MGY	çihi	GOR	ʔamoŋo
KAL	obok	*ACE	tika	DAA	o <sup>m</sup> pa
*TAG	banig	BAT	lage	UMA	aliʔ
*AKL	banig	MIN	lapiʔʔ	BUG	tappere
PAL	dəmdam	IND	tikar	KON	aʔ-tappere

*WOL	kiwalu	BUA	kañe	CEM	tálihi
MAG	loče	*ADZ	çiçu? fir-an	AJI	āmā
NGA	te?e	KIL	moi	*XAR	do xou
SIK	?oha	*TAW	liyapa	*NEN	nečoe
RTI	ne?a-k	*MOT	geda	*KIR	te rob <sup>wa</sup>
*BUR	kati-n	*MEK	ile	*MSH	eṛeṛ
*DOB	?ira	ROV	tege	*PON	lōs
IRA	ḡarasiaḡə	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ifra	*WLE	xirīya
*SAW	musela	*LAU	eba	EFI	ibe
NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʹou	KWO	e?eba	WFI	i-ō
MAM	rigina	RAG	ebe	RTU	?epa
TAK	gadab	PAA	sūven	TON	fala
DAM	ḡatare	*LEW	metaepe	SAM	fala
*MAB	mi	POR	<sup>n</sup> dʹu <sup>m</sup> ban	*MEL	[panu]
YAB	me	NTA	nəmətiβən	TAH	pe?ue
KAU	umu	KWA	kaḡete	RAP	pe?ue
TOL	kubin	*NEM	k <sup>n</sup> am		

ATA *ša-šamay* ‘a mat’, lit ‘something to spread out’.

TAG ‘sleeping mat’.

AKL ‘sleeping mat’.

ACE Also [*?uŋka*] from Mon-Khmer.

WOL *kiwalu* ‘mat for sleeping or sitting’; *la<sup>n</sup>daka* ‘mat made of split bamboo’; *lobaloḡa* ‘mat made of pandanus leaves’.

BUR Also ‘pandanus plant from which mats are usually woven’; *kati-fi-sia* ‘single weave mat’; *kati-fi-rua* ‘double weave mat’.

DOB ‘woven grass mat’.

SAW Also *senat*; *dab*.

MAB ‘mat made of pandanus leaves’.

ADZ *çiçu? fir-an* ‘mat woven from coconut frond’; *gurugur fir-an* ‘other mats’.

TAW ‘sleeping mat’ made from pandanus leaves.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also ‘plant on river edge from which mats are made; sail’.

MEK *ile* ‘k.o. reed, mat’; also *ipi* (obsolete) ‘mat made from bark, loincloth’; in other areas a kind of pandanus leaf is used, *fou* or *pou*. NW Mekeo [*keta*] ‘mat’ from Motu.

MAR Also *nāgru*.

- LAU 'pandanus mat'.  
 LEW Also *takue*, *toŋi*, *yepē* 'kinds of pandanus leaf mats'; *toŋipae*, *p<sup>w</sup>ela* 'kinds of coconut leaf mats'.  
 NEM *k<sup>ɔ</sup>am* 'pandanus mat'; [*pola*] 'coconut mat', from Polynesian.  
 XAR Also *kate*; these are also names of two pandanus spp. from which mats are made.  
 NEN Also *beno*.  
 KIR *te rob<sup>w</sup>a* 'coarse pandanus mat'; *te kie* 'sleeping mat'.  
 MSH *caki*, *kinien* CON, POSS CLASS for mats.  
 PON Also *lirop*; *məŋər*; *kie* 3sg POSS; CLASS for mats/beds.  
 WLE *xiŋiya* 'outdoor mat', *xiŋiya-*; *tapexau* 'indoor mat', *yepē* 'infant mat'; *m<sup>w</sup>ōcō*.  
 MEL From Efate.

## 09.771 RUG

English: *blanket*Malay: *pərmadani*

ATA	BAT	lage	BUR
TSO	MIN	[pərmadani]	DOB
RUK	*IND	babut	IRA
PAI	*SUN	[alkətip]	SAW
YAM	*JAV	babut	NYI
ISN	MAD	babut	MAM
KAL	BAL		bazali-auara
*TAG	*SAS	[hambal]	TAK
*AKL	GOR	[palamadeni]	DAM
*PAL	DAA		MAB
MOL	UMA		YAB
*KAG	BUG	[ambala <sup>?</sup> ]	KAU
BLA	KON		TOL
SAB	WOL		BUA
MUR	MAG		ADZ
*MGY	NGA		KIL
ACE	SIK	ʔoha	*TAW
	RTI		lupulu
			MOT
			MEK

*ROV	ivara hatara	NEM		WFI	
MAR		*CEM	céhi-n	RTU	
LAU		AJI	kā tē	TON	sipi kafu
KWO		XAR		*SAM	solo-vae
RAG		NEN		MEL	[panu]
PAA		KIR			furufuru
LEW	[planket]	MSH		TAH	vauvau
POR		PON		RAP	peʔue
NTA	[plankət]	WLE			
KWA		EFI			

TAG From Spanish *alfombra*.

AKL From English *rug*.

PAL *kukuskus*.

KAG 'a protective cloth between two things' (e.g. can also mean 'hotpad').

MGY From English *carpet*.

IND Also *pərmadani*.

SUN From Arabic.

JAV Also *pərmadani*.

ŠAS From Arabic.

TAW 'cover or blanket'.

ROV 'to spread on floor'.

CEM 'covering (table cloth, bedspread etc.)'.

SAM *solo* 'wipe (vb trans)', *vae* 'foot, leg'.

## 09.780 NETBAG

**Dutch:** *tas*

**Tok Pisin:** *bilum*

ATA	kariʔ	TAG	bayoŋ	MUR	
TSO	kripi	*AKL	bayūʔuŋ	MGY	
*RUK	kaɖay	*PAL	syud	ACE	
PAI	sikau	MOL		*BAT	hirakkiraŋ
YAM	kaɖay	KAG		MIN	
ISN		*BLA	[netbag]	*IND	jala
KAL		SAB			

*SUN	kantəŋ rambaŋ	*SAW	loben	LEW	
JAV		NYI	[bilum]	POR	lvelev
MAD	[tas] raʃut	MAM	mazapi	NTA	
BAL		TAK	kutaok	KWA	
SAS		DAM		NEM	
GOR		MAB	kāri	CEM	
DAA		*YAB	à	AJI	poə
UMA		KAU		XAR	
BUG	purukaŋʃala- ʃala	TOL	[bilum]	NEN	gučeŋ
KON	binti?- bintiŋaŋ	BUA	βayek	KIR	
*WOL	ta <sup>m</sup> bi	ADZ	tayap	MSH	
MAG		*KIL	kauya	PON	
NGA	koo	TAW	goba	WLE	
SIK		MOT	kiapa	EFI	taŋa
RTI		*MEK	ve?a	WFI	
*BUR	[tase]	ROV	hapuele	RTU	taŋa
DOB		MAR	t <sup>h</sup> oklo	*TON	taŋai
IRA	dobə	LAU		SAM	
		KWO		MEL	
		RAG		TAH	?upe?a
		PAA		*RAP	

RUK *kaḍay* ‘men’s netbag’; *talābabay* ‘women’s netbag’.

AKL ‘large woven bag’.

PAL ‘fishing net’.

BLA From English.

BAT (*hiraŋ-hiraŋ*).

IND Also ‘cast net’.

SUN *rambaŋ* ‘net’.

WOL ‘k.o. sling carried on the back’.

BUR ‘bag’; *epu* ‘hunting pouch made from bark cloth for carrying tobacco, betelnut chewing supplies, and fire-making utensils’.

SAW Also [*ʃala*] ‘small netbag’, from Sanskrit.

YAB Also *à-beloŋ* ‘netbag suspended from head’; *à-wàsan* ‘coarse netbag’.

KIL *kauya* ‘shoulder bag (carried under arm, hung from shoulder)’.

MEK *ve?a* ‘netbag’; *ve?a-ŋa* ‘very large netbag used by women suspended from the forehead’; *ve?a-ka* ‘small shoulder bag carried by the men’; *ve?a-ve?a* ‘smallest kind of netbag’.

TON 'bag, sack'.

RAP See 09.760 'basket'.

**09.790 FAN (n)****Malay:** *kipas (anjin)***Spanish:** *abanico*

ATA	taptap	UMA	po-pepeʔ	ROV	nebnebe
TSO	reo-porepe	BUG	papiʔ	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> eutehu
RUK	sa-vigi-vigi	KON	paʔ-kapiʔ	LAU	teteru
PAI	si-payz-an	WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> bero	KWO	
YAM	ipipaypaid	MAG		RAG	iri
ISN	ipi-pibped	NGA	papi	PAA	ailihilih
KAL	yayabyab	*SIK	beβar	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ilili
*TAG	pamaypay	RTI	ʔge-ʔgeʔu-k	POR	lviriv
*AKL	kabkab	BUR		NTA	kelel
*PAL	kabkab	DOB	ssayan	KWA	kerieri
MOL	kiap	IRA	wataφəɾə	NEM	
*KAG	kayab	SAW	lɛlilɛp	CEM	bê-táuli-kañe
BLA	əfil	NYI		AJI	pe ku ve awe
SAB	kabkab	MAM	iʔiʔi	XAR	bəñã
MUR	uyup	TAK	titawit	NEN	
MGY	fi-kupaka	DAM	teitei	KIR	te iriba
ACE	kipaih	MAB		MSH	rɛl
BAT	[kipas]	YAB		*PON	tɛnɪr
MIN	kipɛh	KAU		WLE	xɔ̄rɪp̄ō
IND	kipas	*TOL	təptəp	EFI	iri
*SUN	kipas	BUA		WFI	iri
*JAV	kəpət	*ADZ	nam is-a amas	RTU	siva
MAD	kəppay	*KIL	kai-βisi	TON	ī
*BAL	ilih	*TAW	ani	SAM	ili
SAS	[kipas anjin]		luwayawayau	MEL	iri
GOR	ʔo-ʔayabu	MOT	i-tapo	TAH	tāhirihiri
DAA	po-veba	*MEK	i-ʔape-ʔape	RAP	

TAG Also [*abaniko*].AKL Also *paypay*, [*abanīkoh*].

PAL	Also <i>kyab</i> , <i>kibkyab</i> .
KAG	<i>kayab</i> ‘hand fan’; [ <i>bintiladur</i> ] from Spanish <i>ventilador</i> .
SUN	Also [ <i>kəpət</i> ] from Javanese.
JAV	Also <i>tepas</i> .
BAL	<i>ilih</i> ‘fan made of bamboo or rattan, used to fan a fire’; <i>kəpət</i> ‘dancer’s decorative fan’.
SIK	Also <i>blejor</i> , <i>plelir</i> .
TOL	From <i>təp</i> ‘fan (vb trans)’.
ADZ	‘thing strike-PART wind’, i.e. ‘thing for beating/fanning wind’.
KIL	‘long rigid-fan’.
TAW	‘thing to make cold’.
MEK	‘sago-leaf fan for fires, etc.’
MAR	‘leaf used for fanning’.
LEW	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>alili</i> .
PON	Also <i>irlapiso</i> hon.

### 09.791 FAN (vb)

ATA	t-um-aptap	IND	məŋipas	BUR	fidi-k
TSO	reo-porepe		(kipas)	DOB	ʔa-sayan
RUK	wa-vigi-vigi	*SUN	ŋipas-an	IRA	mətəfətəfə
*PAI	c-əm-apəs		(kipas)		φena
YAM	ipipaypaid	JAV	ŋəpəti (kəpət)	SAW	n-əlilep
ISN	mag-pibped	MAD	ŋəppay	NYI	taleh
*KAL	yabyab		(kəppay)	MAM	ʔiʔira
*TAG	paypay	BAL	ŋ-ilih-in	TAK	-titawi
*AKL	kabkab	*SAS	ŋ-ampet	DAM	yukebuwa
PAL	məŋyab (kyab)	GOR	məŋayabu (-ʔayabu)	MAB	-kam mīri
*MOL	kiap	DAA	no-veba	*YAB	-kayə
*KAG	kayab	UMA	pepeʔ	KAU	
BLA	m-əfil	UMA	pepeʔ	TOL	təp
*SAB	kabkab	BUG	map-papiʔ	BUA	
*MUR	uyup	KON	aʔ-kapiʔ	ADZ	is-a amas
		WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> bero	KIL	-βisi
MGY	mi-kupaka	MAG		*TAW	luwayawayau
ACE	mu-kipaih	NGA	papi	MOT	tapo-a
BAT	hirap	*SIK	pelir	*MEK	e-ʔape
MIN	kipeh	RTI	ŋge-ŋgeu	ROV	nebea

*MAR	bue	NEM		EFI	iri-βa
LAU	terufi	CEM		WFI	iri-βia
KWO		AJI	ku ve awe	RTU	iri
RAG	iri	XAR	bōnā	TON	tapili
*PAA	lihilih	NEN		*SAM	ta-pili
LEW	vilili	*KIR	iriba	MEL	rifia
POR	rirvis-i	MSH	rēl	TAH	tāhirihiri
*NTA	-ilil	PON	irip	RAP	rapu-rapu
KWA	-erieri	WLE	xōřipō-a		

PAI Also 'winnow, blow'.

KAL *yabyab + man-*.

TAG *paypay + mag-/-an*.

AKL *kabkab + -an*; also *paypay + -an*.

MOL *kiap + mog-*.

KAG *kayab + mag-/-an*.

SAB *kabkab + aN-/-an*.

MUR *uyub (maŋ- -in)*.

SUN Also [*ŋəpət*]-*an* (*[kəpət]*) from Javanese.

SAS Goris *ampet* 'fan for fire (noun)'.

SIK Also *plelir*.

YAB Also *-lai*.

TAW 'make cold'.

MEK 'he moves it to and fro'.

MAR Also *teutehu* 'fan with a leaf'.

PAA 'fan oneself'.

NTA *-ilil* (vb trans); *-elēl* (vb intrans).

KIR Also *iribia*.

SAM *ta-* trans, *-pili`?* also *aloalo*.

## 09.810 CARVE

ATA		ISN		*PAL	məŋlukis
TSO		KAL			(lukis)
RUK	wa-koso-koso	*TAG	lilok	MOL	
PAI		AKL	ūkit	*KAG	batak
YAM	mivatək			BLA	



*SAB	ukil	*DOB	da-dem	PAA	musahi
*MUR	batik		ʔowuy	LEW	tē
*MGY	manau sukif <sup>a</sup>	IRA		POR	čav
ACE	uke	SAW	n-fa-rogi-rogi	*NTA	-ate narmə nat
BAT	gɔrga	NYI	asehek	KWA	-arai
MIN	uki <sup>ʔ</sup>	MAM	gere	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> avi
IND	məŋ-ukir	TAK	-sui	CEM	eéé
*SUN	ŋ-ukir	DAM	ɸaluma	*AJI	pa
JAV	ŋ-ukir	*MAB	-pal lelēne	*XAR	ga
MAD	ukir	*YAB	-sap	*NEN	čawaŋom
*BAL	ŋ-[ukir]	*KAU	kim	KIR	
SAS	ŋ-ukir	TOL	kələ	MSH	
*GOR	moŋ[ūkiri]	BUA	sap	PON	
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-uki	ADZ	ɸapi-	WLE	xa-tuɸ <sup>w</sup> u
UMA	βoti <sup>ʔ</sup>	KIL	-gini	EFI	siβi-ta
BUG	map-pa <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAW	lukidi	WFI	hiβi-sia
*KON	aŋ'ŋ-ukiri	*MOT	koro-a	RTU	ʔolo
*WOL	paati	*MEK	e-ʔani-na	*TON	hifi
MAG	vətik	ROV	maymayu	SAM	vane
NGA	rona	MAR	sari	MEL	taia
*SIK	lage	LAU	kede	*TAH	tarai
RTI	doki	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ari-a	RAP	tarai
*BUR	bisi	*RAG	tavtava		

TAG Also *ūkit + mag/-in*.

PAL *məŋlukir* 'incised work'; *məmɔlu<sup>ʔ</sup>* 'wood carving'.

KAG *batək + mag/-an*.

SAB *ukil + aN/-an*.

MUR *batik (məŋ-)* 'carve a design on'.

MGY *sukif<sup>a</sup>* 'engraving, work done with a chisel'.

SUN Also *mahat(pahat)*.

BAL Malay; also *(N-)paət, paət* 'chisel'.

GOR (*[ʔūkiri] + moN-*), from Malay; also *momāhati ([pāhati] + moN-)*, from Malay.

KON Also *añ-ñobbi<sup>ʔ</sup> (sobbi<sup>ʔ</sup>)*.

WOL 'chisel out a hole'.

SIK Also *kerət*.

BUR	'cut s.th. with precision into a particular shape with the cutting instrument not leaving surface', see note 09.220.
DOB	'they make a shape'.
YAB	'chop with stone axe'; also <i>-peŋ</i> 'decorate with carvings'.
MAB	Also <i>-pun mos</i> .
KAU	'saw, carve' (see also 06.790).
MOT	Also <i>koroko-a</i> (Eastern Motu?).
MEK	<i>e-ai-ŋeŋeva</i> , from <i>ŋeŋeva</i> 'pattern, design'.
RAG	'carving'.
NTA	'cut the image of something'.
AJI	Also <i>ta</i> .
XAR	<i>ga</i> 'sculpt, carve'; <i>kete</i> 'engrave'.
NEN	Also <i>kokoč</i> .
TON	Also <i>toŋi, tātoŋitoŋi</i> .
TAH	Also <i>nanaʔe</i> .

## 09.820 SCULPTOR

ATA		BAT		RTI	mana-doki-k
TSO		MIN	tukaŋ bueʔ	BUR	
RUK			patuʔŋ	DOB	
PAI		*IND	pəmahat	IRA	
*YAM	mamazəŋ so tana a taotao		patuŋ	*SAW	[bas] [patuŋ]
ISN		SUN		NYI	
KAL		JAV	tukaŋ tatah	MAM	moarupu
		MAD	tukaŋ ukir		ememaʔi
*TAG	manlililok	*BAL	[tukaŋ] togog	TAK	
AKL	manug-ūkit	SAS		DAM	
*PAL	məŋlulukis	GOR		MAB	
MOL		DAA		YAB	
KAG		UMA		KAU	
BLA		BUG	pap-paʔ	TOL	
SAB		*KON	pa-'ukiri	BUA	
MUR		WOL		*ADZ	garamϕapi-
MGY	mpanau sukiʔa	MAG			dan
		NGA	lima-pade	*KIL	to-gini
ACE	utoih muu-uke	SIK	raβi-ŋ lage	TAW	

MOT		KWA		EFI	dau-siβisiβi
MEK		NEM		WFI	d <sup>r</sup> ou-hiβihiβi
ROV	tie maymayu	*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> ṣ-	RTU	
MAR			p <sup>w</sup> âhâmī-àcūt	TON	taha
LAU		AJI	ka pa		tātoŋitoŋi
KWO		*XAR	a-ga rɛ k <sup>w</sup> ã	SAM	
RAG		NEN		MEL	
PAA		KIR		*TAH	ta <sup>?</sup> ata tarai
LEW		MSH		RAP	
POR		PON			
NĀ		WLE			

YAM 'one making miniature people from dirt'.

TAG Also [eskultor], from Spanish *escultor*.

PAL Also *məŋuŋukir*.

IND From (*pəN-pahat*) 'chiseller'.

BAL From Malay.

KON Also *pa-sobbi?*

SAW From Dutch, Malay.

ADZ 'man carve-PART' i.e. 'man who carves'.

KIL 'person-carve'.

CEM 'one who makes wooden faces'.

XAR 'one who carves wood'.

TAH Also *ta<sup>?</sup>ata nana<sup>?</sup>o*.

## 09.830 STATUE

**Sanskrit:** *arcā-*

**Spanish:** *bulto* 'bulk, statue, bust'

ATA		KAL	sinantōlay	*SAB	[santu]
TSO		*TAG	[istatuwa]	MUR	sinuŋkalaiŋ
RUK		AKL	[ribulto]	MGY	sari
PAI		*PAL	taw-taw	ACE	patuŋ
*YAM	nipaʒəŋ	MOL		BAT	patuŋ
	tawtao	KAG		MIN	patu <sup>?</sup> ŋ
ISN	sinan tolayān	BLA		IND	patuŋ

SUN	[arča]	TAK		KWA	
JAV	[rəčɔ]	DAM		NEM	
MAD	[arča]	MAB	kunu-	CEM	
*BAL	togog	YAB		AJI	kaxō
SAS	bəbonto	KAU		XAR	
GOR		*TOL	[kulap]	*NEN	puliwaŋom
DAA		BUA		*KIR	te boua
*UMA	p-in-o-tau	ADZ		*MSH	annaŋ
BUG	patuŋ	KIL	tokolu	PON	
KON		*TAW	talaoloto	WLE	
WOL	patu	MOT		EFI	i-βakatā-
MAG		MEK			karakara
NGA	teo	ROV	vina tiyono	*WFI	[matakau]
SIK	kela-ŋ kəlak	MAR		RTU	tupuʔa
RTI		LAU		*TON	tamapua
BUR		KWO		*SAM	faʔa-taŋata
*DOB	tamatu ʔowuy	RAG		MEL	
IRA		PAA	nāna	*TAH	hohoʔa tarai
*SAW	[patuŋ]	LEW		RAP	moai
NYI	sukumadakei	POR			
MAM	aem ʔai	NTA	narmə nat		

YAM 'crafted (or made) miniature people'.

TAG From Spanish *estatua* 'statue', also *[rebutlo]*.

PAL Diminutive of *taw* 'man'.

SAB From Spanish *santo* 'holy'.

BAL Also *bədogol* 'large statue near a road'.

UMA *pinotau* 'small doll-like figure made of palm fibres'; *ana noe* 'small doll-like figure made of banana stalk or soft wood', both used in healing rites.

DOB 'a person's shape'.

SAW From Malay.

TOL From New Ireland(?). Also *təbələr*.

TAW 'cut male'.

NEN 'make statue'.

KIR *te boua n anti* 'idol', lit 'spirit post'.

MSH *annaŋ* also 'image, picture'; *ekcap<sup>w</sup>*.

WFI Standard Fijian.

TON 'image, idol, doll', also *maka fakamanatu*.



MUR	From Malay <i>pahat</i> .
MIN	Also ‘screw driver’.
JAV	<i>natah</i> (vb trans); <i>tatah</i> (n).
BAL	Also <i>pəət</i> .
BUR	Malay, but could also be interpreted as <i>paha-t</i> ‘the hitting instrument’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also <i>pako</i> ‘a small chisel’.
SAM	<i>tofi</i> ‘split, cleave, divide (vb trans)’; also [ <i>kolosisi</i> ] from English <i>cold chisel</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tohitohi</i> .
RAP	From English <i>chisel</i> ?

### 09.880 PAINT (n)

**English:** *paint*    **Malay:** *čat, čet* (from Chinese?)    **Spanish:** *pintura, pintar*

ATA	JAV	[čet]	DAM	dag	
TSO	ua- <del>ə</del> ou-a	MAD	[čet]	*MAB	salan
RUK	paḷinābə	*BAL	[warnə]	YAB	[peŋ]
PAI		SAS	[čet]	KAU	emi
*YAM	lino	GOR	[četi]	TOL	[pen]
ISN	[pinta]	DAA	[čee]	BUA	guβəŋ
KAL	[pintul]	UMA	sapuru?	ADZ	
*TAG	[pintūra]	BUG	če?	*KIL	-luulau
AKL	[pintah]	*KON	[če?]	TAW	haba
*PAL	saʔap	*WOL	ka-malo	MOT	[peni]
MOL	saʔat	MAG	[čēt]	*MEK	kuma
*KAG	[pintura]	NGA	mia	ROV	[pedi]
BLA	[fintura]	*SIK	lepa	MAR	
SAB	[pintuda]	RTI	[cet]	LAU	[feda]
MUR	[sāt]	BUR	[čete]	KWO	
MGY	luku	*DOB	bbol	RAG	
ACE	[čat]	IRA		PAA	
BAT	[cet]	SAW	[čet]	*LEW	susunu
MIN	[čat]	NYI	bom	POR	naro
IND	[čat]	MAM	ʔatiri	NTA	[pen]
SUN	[čet]	*TAK	[bala]	KWA	naφəriən

NEM		MSH	wino	TON	vali
*CEM	bê-tími	PON	liṭep <sup>w</sup>	SAM	vali
AJI	βɔxλ	WLE	xamisi	MEL	[pēni]
XAR	muge	EFI	i-boro	TAH	[pēni]
*NEN	ṭa	*WFI	i-boro	RAP	[peni]
*KIR	terebu	RTU	pōni		

YAM Also *vozilaw*.

TAG Also [*pinta*].

PAL [*pintura*].

KAG Also *balaw*.

KON Also *parada*.

WOL Also *po-ka-malo*.

SIK Also [*sət*].

DOB ‘that which is rubbed on’.

TAK ‘paint applied to face and body before dancing’; from Gedaged.

MAB *salaj* ‘red paint’; *koskōzo* ‘black paint’; *kou* ‘white paint’.

KIL *-luulau* ‘paint for canoe’; *-soba* ‘paint for face’.

MEK *kuma* ‘paint, oil, mixture of oil and ochre’.

LEW See 06.390.

CEM ‘for paint’.

NEN Also [*peidre*] from English *paint*.

KIR *te [bēn]* from English.

WFI Also *i-nag<sup>wa</sup>* ‘body paint’.

### 09.890 PAINT (vb)

See 09.880.

ATA	č-um-aum	*KAL	[pintul]	BLA	[f-n-intura]
TSO		*TAG	[pinta]	SAB	[pintaw]
RUK	padəraw	*AKL	[pintah]	*MUR	[sāt]
PAI	v-ən-əʃik	PAL	salapən	MGY	man-ḍuku
YAM	manlino	*MOL	[saʔat]	ACE	[čət]
ISN	mag-[pinta]	*KAG	[pintura]	BAT	[cət]

MIN	[čat]	NYI	atah bom	LEW	yowa
IND	məŋə-[čat]	MAM	iʔatiri	POR	pere
SUN	ŋə-[čət]	*TAK	-pani	NTA	-ol [pen]
JAV	ŋə-[čət]	DAM	oroko	KWA	-aɸəri
*MAD	ŋa-[čət]	*MAB	-bēde	NEM	tōmi
*BAL	mulas (pulas)	*YAB	-se peŋ	CEM	tími
SAS	ŋə-[čət]	KAU	pan	AJI	rēi
*GOR	mo-[četi]	*TOL	tumu	XAR	xε
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-[čee]	BUA	kəβu	*NEN	ta
UMA	sapuruʔ	*ADZ	kakar-	*KIR	rebua
BUG	mač-[čeʔ]	KIL	-katububuli	MSH	winōk
*KON	aʔ-[čeʔ]	TAW	haba-ya	*PON	liɬap <sup>w</sup> i
WOL	po-ka-malo	MOT	[peni-a]	WLE	xamisī-a
MAG	[čēt]	*MEK	e-pa-	EFI	boro-ya
NGA	jali		kuma(-i-a)	*WFI	boro-sia
SIK	[sət]	ROV	[pedia]	RTU	pōni
*RTI	dula	MAR		TON	vali-ʔi
BUR	[čete]	LAU	[feda]	SAM	vali
*DOB	ʔa-bol	KWO	giri-a	*MEL	pania
IRA		*RAG	uli	*TAH	[pēni]
SAW	[baʔčət]	PAA		RAP	paru

KAL *pintul + man-/-an.*

TAG Also [*pintūra*] + *mag-/-an.*

AKL [*pintah*] + *-an* from.

MOL *saʔat + mog-/-on.*

KAG [*pintura*] + *magpa-/an*, also *balaw + mag-/-an.*

MUR *sāt (mag-/maŋ- -on).*

MAD Safioedin (1977): *ŋə-čət [ŋəččət].*

BAL (*N-*)*pulas* ‘apply paint to, using traditional colours’ e.g. shadow puppets, statues, offering stands; (*N-*)*[warna]-in* ‘to colour’ from Sanskrit; (*N-*)*[čət]* ‘paint walls, furniture etc.’; (*N-*)*gambar* ‘paint a picture’ from Malay.

GOR See 09.880.

KON Also *aʔ-[parada]* from Sanskrit.

RTI *dula* ‘to make a pattern, form (by various means including painting)’; *dama* ‘to cover over, plaster, paint’.

DOB ‘rub’.



TAK	'give' (11.210).
MAB	'paint (certain figures)'.
YAB	Also <i>-sɪ pɛŋ, -tɔ</i> 'draw'.
TOL	Also [ <i>pen</i> ] (vb trans).
ADZ	'paint, draw, write'.
MEK	<i>e-pa-kuma</i> 'anoint with coloured oils'; <i>e-au-ŋeŋeva-ŋa</i> and <i>e-au-mariro-ŋa</i> 'cover with designs, decorate with (coloured) patterns'.
RAG	'paint to decorate the body'; also <i>nunu</i> 'paint a picture'.
NEN	Also [ <i>peide</i> ] from English <i>paint</i> .
KIR	Also [ <i>bēnia</i> ] from English.
PON	<i>mālenī</i> 'paint a picture of something'.
WFI	Also <i>nag<sup>w</sup>a-sia</i> 'paint body'.
MEL	Also <i>tusia</i> .
TAH	Also <i>parai i te</i> [ <i>pēni</i> ].

### 10.110 MOVE

ATA	mawi?	*IND	bər-gərak	IRA	bonə
*TSO	au-tʰo-tʰəu	*SUN	mindah-kin		səbəsomə
RUK	ŋi-a-vələvələ		(pindah)	*SAW	n-meyawən
PAI	ma-pa-rumal <sup>y</sup>	*JAV	obah	NYI	adek
		MAD	g <sup>h</sup> uli	MAM	moa <sup>?</sup> usu
YAM	pilişən	*BAL	mə-kisid	*TAK	-tər
ISN	magalit	*SAS	leŋka?	DAM	godo
*KAL	gidu	*GOR	l-um-alilo	*MAB	-siri
*TAG	galaw	*DAA	no-li <sup>n</sup> ja	*YAB	-yàm ... ok <sup>w</sup> i
*AKL	hū <sup>+</sup> tag	*UMA	mə- <sup>n</sup> kale	KAU	kikiŋ
*PAL	pədisig	BUG	lette?	TOL	kəri
*MOL	usik	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -lette?	BUA	yē
*KAG	giu	*WOL	ko-mi <sup>n</sup> ku	*ADZ	yut-a rini-n
*BLA	m-idul	MAG	vuli	KIL	-m
*SAB	hibal	NGA	ḏeso	*TAW	lidagu-ya
*MUR	imbuod	*SIK	nehək	*MOT	marere
MGY	mi-heḏika	RTI	lali	*MEK	e-e
*ACE	gra?	*BUR	iko	*ROV	rizu
*BAT	mar-husər	*DOB	nal <sup>?</sup> i	*MAR	tuya
*MIN	asa?			LAU	<sup>?</sup> idu

KWO	ʔudu-a	CEM	pênem	*EFI	toso
*RAG	rihu	AJI	gλ	WFI	ðekuču
*PAA	gal	*XAR	bλ	*RTU	rue
LEW	kululu	*NEN	leda	*TON	ʔunu
POR	kopkopux	*KIR	buti	*SAM	ŋāoioi
NTA	-aloal	MSH	mm <sup>w</sup> akit	MEL	
*KWA	-a	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> ekit	*TAH	haʔuti
NEM	vā	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ī-	*RAP	makenu

TSO Also *au-tʔo-tʔov-a*.

KAL *gidu + man-*; also *kulīʔit + man-*.

TAG Also *kīlos, kiboʔ + -um-*.

AKL *hūʔag* ‘be in motion’.

PAL Also *pəðalisɔg*.

MOL *usik + mog-/on*.

KAG *giu + mag-*; also *ulag + m-* ‘move (body)’; *laktəd + mag-/ən* ‘move to another place’.

BLA *m-idul* ‘to move something’; *m-ili* ‘to move for someone’.

SAB *hibal + aN-/ø*.

MUR *imbuod (-um-)* ‘make movement’ (vb intrans); *bandiŋ (-um-)* (vb intrans), (*maŋ- -in*) (vb trans) ‘transfer’.

ACE Also *pinah* ‘move house’.

BAT Also *h-um-usər*.

MIN Also *pindah-kan*.

IND (vb intrans); *məŋ-gərak-kan* ‘move s.th.’; *bər-pindah* ‘move (location) (vb intrans)’; *pindah-kan* ‘move (location of) s.th.’.

SUN Also *ŋa-robah*.

JAV Also *pindah*.

BAL *mə-kisid* (vb intrans); (*N-*)*kisid-aŋ* (vb trans).

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *leŋkaʔ; leŋkak* ‘step over, jump over’.

GOR Also *mo-[pi<sup>n</sup>da]* from Malay, *mo-ti-heyi* (vb intrans), *mo-koliyoʔo* (vb intrans), *mo-lalilo*, *mo[mi<sup>n</sup>da]* (vb trans), *heyi-yolo* ‘to be moved/shifted’ and *moŋīdu* (ʔidu + moN-) ‘move, slide (something)’.

DAA ‘move from one place to another’.

UMA <sup>n</sup>*kale* ‘to move, shift position (vb intrans)’; *toli* ‘to move something to a new place (vb trans), move to a new house (vb intrans)’.

- WOL Also *po-li<sup>m</sup>ba*.
- SIK ‘move an animal from one place to another’; also *keʔo neʔo*.
- BUR Also *kiko* ‘go, move’; *heka* ‘run, move away, move over!’; *laŋa* ‘move to another place’; *laŋa-k* ‘move s.th.’; *sali* ‘receive, move s.th., transfer s.th.’; *sehe-k* ‘move over, move back, slide over’.
- DOB ‘he takes (it) into/to’, i.e. ‘he moves it’.
- SAW Also *n-luε* ‘move s.th.’; *n-dirke* ‘move s.th.’.
- TAK ‘move about’.
- MAB *-siri* ‘move by lifting (vb trans)’; *-zūru* ‘move by pushing (vb trans)’; *-ruk* ‘move oneself a bit (vb intrans)’; *-muzik* ‘fidget’; *-rak* ‘move back and forth, dance (vb intrans)’; *-ūzu* ‘move via a conveyance’, also *-seke*.
- YAB ‘do ... apart’ i.e. ‘put elsewhere’, also *yali* ‘move something to and fro’.
- ADZ ‘move-PART body-3sg POSS’, i.e. ‘moving one’s body’.
- TAW *lidagu-ya* ‘move something’; *widagudagu* ‘be moving’.
- MOT Also *raiβa, raiβaraiβa* (Lister-Turner and Clark n.d.).
- MEK *e* is a root meaning ‘move, roll, budge’, also *e-ŋoŋo*.
- ROV Also *hagi* ‘to move permanently’.
- MAR *tuya* (vb trans); *riu* ‘be in motion, change location’.
- RAG *rihu* (vb intrans); *rihui* (vb trans).
- PAA (vb intrans).
- KWA *-a* combines with directional suffixes; *-e* combines with directional suffixes, ‘move away’; *-uw* combines with directional suffixes, ‘move towards’.
- XAR Also *ŋū*.
- NEN Also *nide*.
- KIR *m<sup>w</sup>aē* also ‘drag on anchor’; *wāki* ‘advance, progress’.
- PON *m<sup>w</sup>ekit* (vb trans); *sep<sup>w</sup>il* with directional suffixes; also ‘change status’; *kei-* with directional suffixes; (vb trans) *kai-*; *kosou* (vb trans) *kasau*.
- WLE *ϕ<sup>w</sup>ɿ-* with directional suffixes; *tō* also ‘climb’; *maxi-* with directional suffixes: also ‘migrate’.
- EFI Also *yāβala*.
- RTU Also *ʔutu*.
- TON *ʔunu* ‘move along’; *ŋaʔunu* ‘move slightly’; *ŋaue* ‘move, budge’.

SAM *ŋāoioi* (vb intrans) ‘move (vb intrans), be in motion’; *faʔa-ŋāoioi* (vb trans) ‘move (into activity)’, *faʔa-* CAUS; *ŋāeʔe* (vb intrans) ‘move (vb intrans)’, *faʔa-ŋāeʔe* (vb trans) ‘move (vb trans)’.

TAH (vb intrans/trans).

RAP *makenu* move (about in one place); *ŋaeʔi* move (from one place to another).

## 10.120 TURN OVER

ATA	mtupiyux	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pa-tuobo	*MEK	e-efo
TSO	topu-neni	*UMA	βoliʔ	*ROV	iliria
RUK	wa-baʔə	BUG	gilliŋ	*MAR	fakopo
PAI		*KON	am-mulintaʔ	*LAU	bulutainia
YAM	valyatən		(bulintaʔ)	*KWO	bulo-a
ISN	mag-balintag	*WOL	βalili	RAG	
*KAL	balisa	MAG	vali	PAA	vūsai
*TAG	baligtad	NGA	βale	LEW	vilop <sup>w</sup> u
AKL	baliskad	*SIK	βalər	POR	kov san-i
PAL	tuməŋwaʔ	RTI	nasa-fali	*NTA	-ouhlin
*MOL	balik	*BUR	polo duwe	*KWA	-uwsini
*KAG	bliskaren	DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> atu	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> eri
BLA	bləliŋ		ɸaʔa	CEM	bûli
*SAB	bīŋ	IRA	magarɸarə	AJI	pūgewe
*MUR	lapiat	*SAW	n-pəlen	XAR	šep <sup>w</sup> iri
*MGY	mamadika	NYI	tubuni	*NEN	auleleni
ACE	baleʔ	MAM	baga-buiri	*KIR	kab <sup>w</sup> arāka
BAT	pa-'balik	TAK	-pitolani	*MSH	certak
MIN	baliʔ <sup>?</sup> -an	DAM	ɸalei	*PON	welik
IND	məm-balik-	MAB	-tōro	WLE	woʔa-woʔa
	kan	*YAB	-ku	EFI	βuki
SUN	malik-kin	*KAU	phai	WFI	βuli-ðia
	(balik)	*TOL	puku-e	RTU	huli
JAV	m-balik	BUA	kəyoβəkin	TON	fulihi
MAD	tuli	*ADZ	patam-a gin	SAM	fuli
*BAL	madiŋaŋ	*KIL	-kanu-	MEL	
	(badiŋ)		bilabala	TAH	huri
SAS	gantiʔ-aŋ	TAW	ombui	*RAP	haka taviri
GOR	mo-lo <sup>m</sup> buli	MOT	giro-a hanai		

- KAL *balisa + man-*.
- TAG *talikwas + mag-/in* ‘turn inside out, upside down’.
- MOL *balik + -on*.
- KAG From *bliskad + mag-/ən* ‘turn over an object’; *daʔəb + mag-* ‘turn over onto one’s stomach’; *ayaŋ + mag-* ‘turn over onto one’s back’; *takilid + mag-* ‘turn over onto one’s side’.
- SAB *bīŋ + pa-/ø*; also *sīp + pa-* ‘turn oneself over in bed’.
- MUR *lapiat (mapa-; pa- -on)*; also *tiŋkulub (maŋ- -on)* (hollow objects).
- MGY From (*maN-vadika*).
- BAL See 10.130.
- UMA Also *bilita?*
- KON *am-mulinta?(bulinta?)* (of a person); *aʔ-giliŋ* (of things).
- WOL Also *laʔkoi*.
- SIK Also *balə-ŋ, tobe, tobə-ŋ*.
- BUR ‘turn upside down, make a mess’; *pal kofu* ‘turn over (baby, plates)’.
- SAW Also *n-elolet*.
- YAB Also *-po ... -e<sup>n</sup>duʔ, -oʔ ... ok<sup>wi</sup>*.
- KAU ‘turn, twist’.
- TOL *puku-ai* (vb intrans), *ta-puku* ‘to be overturned, turned round’.
- ADZ *patam-a gin, parim-a gin* ‘turn something around or over’; *poak* ‘turn over e.g. leaf of book’.
- KIL *-kanu-bilabala* ‘lie-turning’, ‘roll over in a prone position’.
- MEK *e-efo* (vb intrans), *e-pa-efo* and *e-afi-efo* (vb trans); also *e-pa-e paŋai-na, paŋai* ‘over, across’.
- ROV *iliria* ‘turn over, translate’; also *kepuhia* ‘to turn over sheet, page’.
- MAR *fakopo* ‘turn over bottom-up, upside-down (container)’; *fapogru* ‘turn over backside-up or upside-down (flat object)’; *fatoto* ‘turn over bottom-up, upside-down (container)’; *fifikhei* ‘turn over food being cooked’.
- LAU Also *bulusia*.
- KWO Also *geu-a, foʔiteʔeni-a*.
- NTA Also *-aβəhin* when referring to self.
- KWA Also *-usrere* ‘upend, turn over’.
- NEN Also *lorod*.
- KIR *ka-* CAUS.
- MSH *certak* (vb intrans) also ‘fall on one’s back’; *perwan* (vb intrans) *pero* ‘turn oneself over, capsized’; *ukəc* also ‘topple’.

PON *wikit* also ‘change (habits, opinions)’.

RAP *haka taviri* ‘turn over (round objects)’; *huri* ‘turn over (flat-sided objects)’.

### 10.130 TURN AROUND

*ATA	matmayray	DAA	ne-goli	ROV	taliria
TSO	ma <sup>?</sup> -kuruŋu	UMA	goli	MAR	figri
*RUK	ŋi-a-	BUG	mač-činne <sup>?</sup>	LAU	bulutai
	θaŋiŋolo	KON	amm-iti <sup>?</sup>	KWO	ori
PAI	v-ən-aŋidi		(iti <sup>?</sup> )	RAG	
YAM	variŋoŋawən	*WOL	peka-patii	PAA	viles
ISN	mag-baliwag	MAG	ve <sup>n</sup> toŋ	LEW	vilop <sup>wu</sup>
*KAL	ligus	NGA	ŋeo-vado	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e-i
*TAG	ikot	*SIK	pleur	NTA	-ətalau
*AKL	tīyug	*RTI	na-puta	*KWA	-arari
PAL	pətəriduŋ	*BUR	leli	*NEM	b <sup>w</sup> eri
*MOL	sui <sup>?</sup>	DOB	na-ta'wul	*CEM	bîte-hi
*KAG	lisu <sup>?</sup> on	IRA	magarφarə	AJI	yabeře
BLA	fa-tbiliŋ	*SAW	n-elolet	*XAR	šep <sup>w</sup> iri
*SAB	taikut	NYI	təbolowe	*NEN	θaŋide
*MUR	limpatuy	MAM	buiiri	KIR	rikāki
MGY	mi-tudika	TAK	-bulsa	MSH	ɔktak
ACE	paleŋ	DAM	koriri	*PON	wikitek
*BAT	mar-balik	MAB	-tōro	*WLE	soşoro
*MIN	belo <sup>?</sup>	*YAB	-ka <sup>?</sup> ... ok <sup>w</sup> i	EFI	saumaki
*IND	bər-paliŋ	*KAU	phai mata-n	*WFI	wālehu
SUN	mutər (putər)	*TOL	tur-likun	*RTU	furi
JAV	mutər (putər)	BUA	pəyirin	*TON	tafoki
*MAD	ləŋləŋ	*ADZ	parim i ruan	*SAM	fe-liu-a <sup>?</sup> i
*BAL	madiŋaŋ (badiŋ)	*KIL	-to-βila	MEL	firiu
		TAW	luhagawila	TAH	huri
*SAS	ganti <sup>?</sup> andaŋ	*MOT	giro-a	*RAP	haka teka
GOR	mo-bale	*MEK	e-pua-ai-pini		

ATA *ma-t-mayray, mauwik* ‘turn something around’.

RUK *ŋi-a-θaŋiŋolo, ŋi-a-vaŋitototoko* ‘turn around something’; *wa-paliçi, ŋi-a-paliçi, ŋi-a-paŋwaloday* ‘turn something around’.

- KAL *ligus + man-*.
- TAG *īkot + -um-* ‘turn, revolve’.
- AKL *ūyug, būyug* ‘turn, revolve (vb intrans)’.
- MOL *sui? + -on*.
- KAG From *liso? + mag-/-ən*.
- SAB *taikut + pa-* ‘turn one’s back towards someone’; also *paharap ni buli?an* ‘turn around to face behind’; *pa-harap ni munda? an* ‘turn around to face the front’.
- MUR *limpatuy (maŋ- -on)*.
- BAT *mar-balik* (vb intrans); *pa-balik; balikkan (balik-hən)* (vb trans).
- MIN Also *ma-eŋoŋ*.
- IND Also *bər-balik, bər-putar*.
- MAD Safioedin (1977): *ləŋləŋ* ‘giddy, dizzy’; *liŋliŋ* ‘turn around’ (vb intrans).
- BAL (vb trans), see 10.120. *mə-tolih-an* (vb intrans), human referents.
- SAS *andaŋ* ‘front; direction faced’.
- WOL Also *balili, lari*.
- SIK Also *pleut, pleho*.
- RTI *na-puta* ‘to turn’; *nasa-fali* ‘to turn around, come back’.
- BUR Also *əli* ‘return’; *bale dedu-k* ‘return again’.
- SAW Also *n-pələn*.
- YAB ‘turn something apart’ i.e. ‘turn by force’.
- KAU ‘turn eye his’.
- TOL *tur* (vb intrans) ‘stand’, *likun* (vb intrans) ‘come or turn back’, (vb trans) ‘bend, fold’.
- ADZ *parim i ruan* ‘turn oneself, turn OBL -self’, i.e. ‘turn oneself around’; *tani<sup>0?</sup>* ‘turn around and face the other way’.
- KIL *-to-βila* ‘stand-turn’, i.e. ‘turn while standing’; also *-si-βila* ‘sit-turn’, i.e. ‘turn round in a sitting position’; *-kanu-βila* ‘lie-turn’, i.e. ‘turn while lying down’; *-nina-βila* ‘mind-turn’, i.e. ‘change mind’.
- MOT *he-giro* ‘to turn oneself around’.
- MEK *e-pua* base denoting movement or position, *pini* ‘revolve on oneself’.
- KWA *-arari* ‘turn around, rotate’; *-kuriŋi* ‘rotate, travel in a circle’.
- NEM *b<sup>w</sup>eri* ‘turn around’; *taniŋ* ‘surround, move around s.th.’.
- CEM Also *tābeε* ‘go around s.th.’.
- XAR Also *biri*.

NEN	Also <i>tukuie</i> .
PON	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ur</i> ‘turn’; <i>sapāl</i> ‘return’.
WLE	Also <i>fōni</i> , <i>taxunu</i> of wind.
WFI	Also <i>tauβoli</i> .
RTU	Also <i>takmuli</i>
TON	Also <i>tafuli</i> .
SAM	(vb intrans) <i>liu</i> (vb trans) ‘alter, change’.
RAP	<i>haka teka</i> ‘turn around (an object, so that its opposite side is facing)’; <i>rori</i> ‘turn around (change of direction)’.

### 10.140 WIND, WRAP

*ATA	matkayran	*SAS	buŋkus	TAW	huma-ya
*TSO	ɕ-m-ofu	*GOR	momululo	*MOT	loku-a
RUK	wa-ɕabo	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-veve	*MEK	e-moka(-i-a)
PAI	ɕ-əm-avu	*UMA	βeβe	*ROV	viloro
YAM	kəkəkən	BUG	mad-doko?	MAR	piri
ISN	puseput	*KON	an-roko?	LAU	?afua
*KAL	bugus	*WOL	kafe	KWO	buta-a
*TAG	bālōt	MAG	rokot	RAG	
*AKL	(pust-un)	NGA	voe	PAA	visīsi
PAL	buluŋan	*SIK	βolo-t	*LEW	wan-ari
*MOL	lilit	RTI	na-feo	POR	xa <sup>m</sup> biuč-i
*KAG	sambəren	*BUR	fōki	NTA	-alp <sup>w</sup> in
*BLA	b-n-ɔlun	DOB	na-kaliba	*KWA	-weŋi
*SAB	lebod	IRA	mətəbanə	*NEM	dēi
*MUR	lopot	*SAW	n-egwal	*CEM	pîpi-hi
*MGY	manguruna	NYI	tap <sup>w</sup> iu	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> irī
ACE	balot	*MAM	pipisi	*XAR	p <sup>w</sup> irī
*BAT	[bukkus]	TAK	-dini	*NEN	xetul
MIN	buŋkuyh	DAM	sili	KIR	minota
*IND	məŋ-guluŋ	*MAB	-kat	*MSH	iŋiŋ
SUN	milit-kin (bilit)	*YAB	-gi	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ulepene
IAV	m-buntəl	*KAU	mol	WLE	fitī
*MAD	putər	*TOL	lim-e	EFI	βiβi
*BAL	ŋuluŋ (guluŋ)	*BUA	βəβir	*WFI	βiβi
		*ADZ	ɖzur-	RTU	takɔi
		*KIL	-kapola	*TON	takai



*SAM	taʔai	*TAH	pōtaro
MEL	talikina	*RAP	teka-teka

- ATA *ma-t-kayran* 'to turn around something'; *č-um-aβuʔ* 'to wrap'.
- TSO Also *ɸfu-a* 'wrap'; *t-m-ai-ɸuɸunu* also *tai-ɸuɸunv-a* 'wind' (yarn, bandage, etc.).
- KAL *bugus + -on*.
- TAG *bālot + mag-/in*.
- AKL From *putus*.
- MÖL *iiit + an*.
- KAG *sambəd + mag-/ən* 'wind tying material around something several times'; *bləbəd + mag-/ən* 'wind up, such as fishing line on a reel'; *putus + mag-/ən* 'to wrap up, such as a gift in paper'.
- BLA *b-n-ɔlun* 'wind'; *f-n-uŋas* 'wrap', *f-n-uŋas* 'to wrap s.th. up'; *n-labed* 'wrap s.th. around s.th.'.
- SAB *lebod + aN-/an* 'wind'; *putus + aN-/ø* 'wrap'.
- MUR *lopot (mag-/maŋ- -on)*.
- MGY From *maN-huruna*.
- BAT From Malay.
- IND Also *məm-balut, məm-bəlit*.
- MAD Safioedin (1977) *putər* 'turn around' (vb trans).
- BAL (*N-*)*guluŋ* 'wind'; (*N-*)*kaput* 'wrap up in leaves, paper'; (*N-*)*uŋkus* 'wrap up'; (*N-*)*[boŋkos]* 'wrap up', from Malay.
- SAS *m-buŋkus* 'wrap'; *ŋ-guluŋ* 'wind'.
- GOR *momululo (hululo + moN-)* 'wind'; *momututo (pututo + moN-)* 'wrap'; also *momalu, momolu (bolulo + moN-)* 'wrap'.
- UMA *ra-βeβe* 'wind around and around something (with string, rope)'; *ra-putuʔ* 'wrap up something (with a leaf or cloth)'.
- KON *an-rokoʔ* 'of objects'; *aʔ-pa-kaluʔ, aʔ-pa-'tekolo* 'of string'.
- WOL *kabe* 'wind around the finger'; *taŋ* 'roll, wrap up, wind'.
- SIK Also *hoar, boə-ŋ, plihur*.
- BUR 'wrap up inside a wrapping'.
- SAW Also *n-bɔlet*.
- MAM Also *suʔumi*.
- MAB *-kat* (of string); also *-tau* 'wind'; *-zuk* 'wrap up'.

YAB ‘roll into a parcel’; also *-sabaŋ*; *-baŋ* both ‘wrap in a parcel’; *-kamuj* ‘wrap in leaves’, *-le<sup>n</sup>duŋ* ‘wrap in bundle’.

KAU Also *kas*.

TOL No simple form attested.

BUA Also *təta*.

ADZ *dzur-* ‘wind something around something; *pati?* ‘wrap something up’.

KIL *-kapola* ‘wrap’; *-katupini* ‘wind’.

MOT *ləku-a* ‘to fold, roll up e.g. clothes’; *kumi-a* ‘to wrap up e.g. a parcel’.

MEK *e-moka*, *e-umi-a* ‘wrap, as bananas’; *e-oka(-i-a)* ‘wind, as string’.

ROV *viloro* ‘wind’; *hudea* ‘wrap’; *poloa* ‘fold’.

LEW Also *wavin-ari* ‘wind up (e.g. fishing line)’; *lulu-ari* ‘wrap up (bundle of food etc)’.

KWA *-weŋi* ‘wrap’; *-uwsuwsini* ‘coil, wind up’.

NEM *dēi* ‘wind a rope’; *t<sup>h</sup>ewi* ‘wrap’.

CEM *pīpi-hi*, *cāpīpi-hi* ‘wind’; *tawī* ‘wrap’.

XAR *p<sup>w</sup>īrī* ‘wind’; *xari* ‘wrap’.

NEN Also *runi*.

MSH Also *ləkoŋ*, *roçroç*, *lemlem*.

WFI Also *βiðia*.

TON *takai* ‘wind’; *kofukofu* ‘wrap’.

SAM Also *afīfī* ‘wrap, do something up in a bundle (vb trans)’; *afī* ‘bundle’.

TAH Also *?ōtaro*, *tāviriviri*.

RAP *teka-teka* ‘wind (turning, e.g. rope fibers, a wristwatch)’; *taka* ‘wind (rolling up, e.g. fishing line, rope, wire, ribbon, hair, paper)’; *viri* ‘wrap up (an object, in paper, a cloth, etc.)’.

## 10.150 ROLL

ATA	h-um-uku	ISN	mapar-	PAL	bəruruŋ-ən
TSO	t-m-ai-r <sup>?</sup> oxi		paragay	*MOL	ligid
*RUK	wa-baʎolo	*KAL	lūkut	*KAG	lukutan
*PAI	ma-ʎikupu	*TAG	gūloŋ	*BLA	n-lulun
*YAM	kokowən	*AKL	līgid	*SAB	lūn

*MUR	luid	*RTI	lunu	RAG	
*MGY	mana-kudia	*BUR	ef-like-k	PAA	deitei
ACE	gulon	DOB	ʔa-wata	LEW	melilivi-ni
*BAT	mar-putar	IRA	bɛrɛriɸɛrɛ	POR	ᵐburuᵑg-i
MIN	guluᵑᵑ	*SAW	n-ɛ-m-lilɛs	NTA	-urin
*IND	məᵑ-gəlindiᵑ	NYI	tuⁿdʳuⁿdʳu	*KWA	-apʷəkɛr
*SUN	ᵑa-golon-an	MAM	lulumi	*NEM	bʷawe
JAV	ᵑ-gulon	*TAK	-bibili	CEM	bīni-hi
MAD	galundun	DAM	wele	AJI	pɛrī
*BAL	ᵑulunᵑ	*MAB	-pel	*XAR	pʷirī
	(gulun)	*YAB	-lèʔ	*NEN	airisani
SAS	gulun	KAU	siᵑ	*KIR	minota
*GOR	mo-lilidu	*TOL	bulu	*MSH	karɛpili
DAA	noᵐba-goli-	BUA	tətolin	*PON	tār
	aka	ADZ	riᵐpiᵑʔ-	*WLE	taliweᵑixī-
*UMA	luliʔ	*KIL	-katukʷabili	*EFI	togi-na
BUG	lulun	TAW	pili	*WFI	gigi
KON	am-maluʔ	*MOT	ɣeye-a	RTU	tokiri
	(haluʔ)	*MEK	e-lofe(-i-a)	TON	teka
*WOL	ɖole	*ROV	vigusia	*SAM	taʔavale
MAG	ᵑgoleᵑ	*MAR	pʰipli	MEL	lūmʷia
NGA	goli	LAU		*TAH	ʔōfirifiri
SIK	gogo	KWO	buʔo-a	RAP	

RUK *wa-balolo* 'roll up (a mat)'; *wa-pəḷəpəḷə* 'roll up one's sleeves'.

PAI *ma-ruku* 'roll stone'; *ma-lunḷun* 'roll down (log)'; *ma-kaḷuvu* 'roll around, confused'.

YAM 'roll (rope or paper)'; *aloalologen* 'roll (a tube)'.

KAL From *lūkut* + *-on*.

TAG From *gūlon* + *-um-*.

AKL *baḷilin* 'roll up (as mat)'.

MOL *ligid* + *i-*.

KAG *lukut* + *mag-/ən* (*lukutan*).

BLA *n-lulun* 'roll something'; *m-lulid* 'to roll (vb intrans)'.

SAB *lūn* + *aN-/ø*.

MUR *luid* (*-um-*).

MGY *kudia* 'wheel'.

BAT *mar-putar* (vb intrans); *putar* (vb trans).

- IND Also *məŋ-guluŋ* 'roll s.th. up'; *məŋ-giliŋ* 'roll over s.th.'.
- SUN Also *ŋa-guluŋ-kin*.
- BAL Also (*N-*)*piliŋ* 'roll between the palms of the hands, e.g. a cigarette'.
- GOR *mo-lilidu* (vb intrans); *mo-po-lilidu* (vb trans).
- UMA *luli?* 'roll something (along the ground)'; *lulu* 'roll up (a mat)'.
- WOL Also *dole*.
- RTI *lunu* 'to roll up a mat'; *loli* 'to roll a stone'.
- BUR 'roll into coils'; *ef-lolo-k* 'roll up a sleeping mat (*kati-n*).
- SAW (vb intrans); also *n-elile* 'roll s.th.'; *n-elils-o* 'roll over s.th.'.
- TAK (vb trans).
- MAB *-pel* 'roll up (like tobacco)'; *-pati<sup>m</sup>bil<sup>m</sup>bil* 'move by rolling'.
- YAB 'roll along (vb trans)'; also *-luy* 'roll something up'.
- TOL Also *pul* (vb trans), *tapulpul* (vb intrans), *ta-* intrans, see Mosel 1984: 151.
- KIL *-katuk<sup>w</sup>abili* 'roll (it) up; also *-lo-pilipili* 'roll (it) along'; *-katu-bilibili* 'roll (self) over and over'.
- MOT *yeye-a* 'surround; twist a thing round a stick'; *hekuihekui* 'roll around on the ground' (Lister-Turner and Clark n.d. 'to wallow').
- MEK *e-lofe* 'roll up (vb intrans/trans)'; *e-pa-ŋeva(-i-a)* 'make revolve' (*ŋeva* also 'dance').
- ROV *vigusia* 'roll a cigarette'; *topili* 'roll a ball'.
- MAR *p<sup>h</sup>ipli* 'roll over'; *pili* 'move by turning over and over'.
- KWA *-ap<sup>w</sup>əkər* 'roll off, roll away'; *-arəpə* 'roll up' (as a cigarette); *-asaku* 'roll, roll about, toss and turn'; *-rup<sup>w</sup>eŋi* 'roll up, fold up' (as a mat).
- NEM *b<sup>w</sup>awe* 'roll a stone'; *bī*, *bīdi* 'roll up a mat'.
- XAR Also *mĩ* (of a mat, cigarette); *kĩrĩ* 'roll fibres on one's thigh'; *piteri* 'roll sth. along the ground'; *ŋĩrĩ* 'roll under one's hand or foot'.
- NEN Also *čečegowo(n)*.
- KIR *minota* (vb trans) 'to turn a handle, to twist'; *ka-minoa* 'make a roll of'; (vb intrans) *mino*; *rabinoa*.
- MSH *mm<sup>w</sup>Λleiŋiŋ* also 'bob, sway'; *m<sup>w</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>wili* also 'knead'.
- PON *tār* (of fish); *uke*; *tap<sup>w</sup>ur*.
- WLE Also *φ<sup>w</sup>ōĩrĩ-a*.
- EFI Also *đibi-na*.
- WFI Also *giđia*.

SAM *faʔa-taʔavale* (vb trans) 'roll (vb trans)'; also *lole* (vb intrans).

TAH *ʔōfirifiri* 'fall rolling'; *tāraʔo* 'roll a canoe on rollers'.

### 10.160 DROP (n)

ATA	ma-šihuwaw	*GOR	mo-po-dehu	ROV	hoga
TSO	su-proxi	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-navu-	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oko
RUK	mo-a-çili		saka	LAU	faʔasia
PAI	ma-cani	UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-naβuʔ	KWO	daudilafi-a
YAM	pakaşən	BUG	minruŋ	RAG	
ISN	metaʔnag	KON	ambuaŋ	PAA	gur tōni
*KAL	otdag	*WOL	peka- <sup>n</sup> dawu	*LEW	liŋani loru
*TAG	laglag	*MAG	paʔu	POR	kuč <sup>m</sup> bani
*AKL	hūʔug	NGA	βəka	NTA	-alhman
PAL	idəgdag (dagdag)	*SIK	ʔəla	*KWA	-araka
		*RTI	tuda	NEM	parawe
*MOL	dabuʔ	*BUR	ep-toho-k	CEM	pátip <sup>w</sup> ɔ
*KAG	ulug	*DOB	nam-ni ʔaφan	AJI	kāyāi
BLA	f-tatək	IRA	be nəmatetə	*XAR	xē-šlə
*SAB	hulug	*SAW	n-pawel	*NEN	nuθa(n)
*MUR	datuʔ	NYI	ruwanij	*KIR	kab <sup>w</sup> akā
MGY	man-daçaka	MAM	liʔitaʔi	*MSH	kəotlök
*ACE	[lhəm]	*TAK	-bul-du	*PON	lakit
BAT	dabu-hən	DAM	φolō	*WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> üŋütī
MIN	jatuh-kan	*MAB	-top	EFI	βaka-lutu-ma
IND	məñ-jatuh- kan	*YAB	-ù	WFI	βa-luču-nia
SUN	ŋa-ragrag-kin	KAU	maŋ	RTU	čeru
*JAV	nibaʔke (tibaʔke)	*TOL	və-burə	*TON	fakatō
		BUA	to	*SAM	faʔa-palasi
*MAD	ma-g <sup>h</sup> agg <sup>h</sup> ar	*ADZ	ruaʔ-	MEL	tarup <sup>w</sup> akina
*BAL	ŋuluŋ-aŋ (uluŋ)	*KIL	-kiposa	*TAH	haʔamarua
		*TAW	woipeuna	RAP	haka viri
*SAS	pə-təriʔ-aŋ	*MOT	ha-moru-a		
		*MEK	e-pa-ʔua-lai-a		

KAL *otdag + -on*.

TAG Also *bagsak + mag-/i-*; also *hūlog* 'fall'.

AKL *hūʔug + i-*.

- MOL *dabu?* + *i-*.
- KAG *ulug* + *magpa-/pa-* ‘causing something to fall’; *wigit* + *ma-* ‘drop accidentally’.
- SAB *hulug* + *aN-/an*.
- MUR *datu?* (-*um-*); also *labus* (*maŋ-* -*in*), ‘release from the hands’.
- ACE From Mon-Khmer; also *puu-srot*.
- JAV From *N-tiba-(?)ke*; *tibɔ* ‘fall’.
- MAD From *pa-gʰaggʰar* see 10.230.
- BAL See 10.230.
- SAS *təri?* ‘fall’.
- GOR ‘drop deliberate’; *?il-o-dehu-wa* ‘(s.th.) dropped (involuntarily)’.
- WOL Also *tabur-aka*, *tigi*, *pakatepa*.
- MAG With *lə* ‘by’.
- SIK Also *batu*; *goru* ‘fruit dropping from a tree’.
- RTI Also *na-tuda*.
- BUR ‘cause s.th. to descend’; *data-k* ‘s.th. drops to the ground, falls through the air’; *tata-k* ‘person drops s.th. deliberately’.
- DOB ‘he cause it to fall’.
- SAW Also *n-fa-mnap*.
- TAK Also *-bul-si*, both ‘drop, go down’.
- MAB *-top* (vb intrans); *-potop* (vb trans).
- YAB ‘drop (vb trans)’; also *-yàm ... sapu* ‘do ... down’ i.e. ‘drop (vb trans)’.
- TOL *və*- CAUS, *burə* (vb intrans) ‘fall’.
- ADZ *rua?*- ‘drop, fall’; *ru?*- ‘go down’.
- KIL *kiposa* ‘drop accidentally’; *-kilaβi* ‘drop on purpose’.
- TAW ‘cause to fall’.
- MOT See 10.230.
- MEK See 10.230.
- LEW Also *kila-lu* ‘drop by accident’.
- KWA *-araka* ‘drop, discard’; *-arɸai* ‘drop, let go of’; *-asas* (vb intrans) ‘fall (as leaves)’; *-əɸaraka* ‘drop, let go of, stop doing’ (variant of *-araka*); *-meji* ‘drop, let fall’; *-m<sup>w</sup>ei* ‘fall down, drop down’.
- XAR Also *xē-nū*; *xē-* ‘action with hand’, *šʌə* ‘miss’; *nū* ‘let go’.
- NEN Also *wəθera*.
- KIR From *b<sup>w</sup>aka* ‘fall’.

MSH From *wətɬɔk* 'drop from a height'.

PON Also *kese*.

WLE *m<sup>w</sup>oɾo-m<sup>w</sup>oɾo* of fruit; *petaxi* of rain.

TON Also *fakahomoki*.

SAM *faʔa*- CAUS, *palasi* (vb intrans) 'fall'; *toʔulu* 'fall, drop (vb intrans) of leaves, fruit, hair', *faʔa-paʔu* (vb trans) 'fell', *paʔu* (vb intrans) 'fall'.

TAH Also *faʔaruʔe*.

### 10.170 TWIST

ATA	makīʔ	*GOR	momibidu	ROV	viloro
*TSO	ti-koru	DAA		*MAR	pukri
RUK	wa-paliçi	UMA	uleʔ	LAU	bulobulo
PAI		BUG	map-piraʔ	KWO	firi (si)-a
YAM	ilipəzəş	*KON	aʔ-tuluʔ	RAG	
ISN	maligut	*WOL	u <sup>n</sup> te	PAA	gilesi
*KAL	tilitil	MAG	golep	LEW	vuloni
*TAG	pili	NGA	pote	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e-i
AKL	buə <sup>+</sup> ābud	*SIK	dəlu-ŋ	NTA	-uarin
PAL	lisuʔ	RTI	pode	*KWA	-akoui
*MOL	tabid	*BUR	er-pule-k	*NEM	bide
*KAG	lubag	DOB	na-ra <sup>k</sup> woy	*CEM	ê <sup>m</sup> wī-n
BLA	b-an-labed	IRA	masaϕurə	AJI	řō
*SAB	tabid	SAW	n-εbulē	XAR	ŋē
*MUR	dilit	NYI	tobolowe	*NEN	adize
MGY	man-ulana	*MAM	pipisi	*KIR	minota
ACE	lilet	*TAK	-bile	*MSH	κ <sup>Λ</sup> pōļe
BAT	mar-putar	DAM	ϕagig	PON	pirer
MIN	pilin	*MAB	-piu	*WLE	piřī
*IND	məmutar (putar)	*YAB	-koŋ	EFI	mulo-đa
*SUN	[mutər]-kīn (putər)	*KAU	phai	WFI	mulo-đia
JAV	mlintir (plintir)	*TOL	vuru -e	*RTU	muli
MAD	pintəl	BUA	bəbinin	TON	mio-ʔi
*BAL	ŋ-ilut	*ADZ	adzu <sup>ʔ</sup> -	SAM	milo
SAS		*KIL	-k <sup>w</sup> ani (it)	*MEL	[pəlōsia]
		TAW	dagewa	TAH	tāviri
		MOT	moye-a	*RAP	hiro
		*MEK	e-pa-ino		

- TSO ‘twist and pull a little (a child’s ear)’.
- KAL *tilitil + -on*.
- TAG *pilipit + mag-/-in* ‘wind together’; see ‘turn’ (10.130).
- MOL *tabid + -on*.
- KAG *lubag + mag-/-ən*.
- SAB *tabid + aN-/ø*.
- MUR *dilit(mag-/maŋ- -in)*.
- IND Also *mə-milin (pilin)*, *məmintal (pintal)* ‘entwine’; *bər-liku-liku* ‘twisty’; *məm-bəlit*.
- SUN From Javanese, also *ŋa-rara*.
- BAL (*N-*)*ilut* ‘twist e.g. threads together; twist someone’s arm’; (*N-*)*lələs* ‘twist e.g. threads together’; (*N-*)*[plintir]* ‘braid’ from Old Javanese?
- GOR (*bibidu + moN-*).
- KON Also *aŋ’ŋ-otere*.
- WOL ‘twist, skein, coil’.
- SIK Also *klagə-ŋ, kalə-ŋ*.
- BUR ‘twist fibre (*nawa*) from *tua-t* tree into rope’; *bala nawa* ‘large motion twisting two strands of rope into a single larger strand’; *tukel nawa* ‘twist or coil the rope around the elbow and hand’; *lili-k* ‘twist strands from coconuts to tie them in bunches (of four)’.
- MAM Also *poira?i*.
- TAK *-bile* ‘roll a cigarette etc.’; *-bibile* ‘twist a limb’.
- MAB *-piu* ‘twist around, go around’; *-twōro* ‘twist rope’; *-perek* ‘braid, plait’.
- YAB ‘twist, make string’; also *-monaŋ* ‘twist off’, *-mogiŋ* ‘twist, twirl (trans)’, *-pele* ‘twist between fingers’.
- KAU ‘turn, twist’.
- TOL Also *vur, vuru* ‘twist, bore (vb trans)’ (Meyer 1961: 488).
- ADZ *aɟzu<sup>ŋ?</sup>* ‘twist rope, etc (vb trans); *risu<sup>ŋ?</sup>*- ‘twist around (e.g. toes, branch of tree) (vb trans)’; *ripis-* ‘twist and roll around (vb trans)’.
- KIL *-luβidoudoga* ‘twist body’.
- MEK *ino* (vb intrans/trans), *e-afi-fio-ka*.
- MAR ‘twist, twine together’.



KWA	<i>-akoui</i> ‘twist, curve’; <i>-ikou</i> ‘bend, turn aside’; <i>-kurigi</i> ‘twist, rotate’; <i>-rape</i> ‘bend, fold, twist pliable objects’; <i>-ruk<sup>w</sup>uísini</i> ‘twist, turn at the waist’.
NEM	<i>tagi</i> ‘roll on one’s thigh (to make a rope)’.
CEM	‘roll (in making string)’.
NEN	Also <i>agidoni</i> .
KIR	<i>minota</i> also ‘revolve, tangle’, <i>biroa</i> as with a screwdriver; also <i>birob<sup>wa</sup></i> ‘twist, plait, wring’, <i>bira</i> ‘plait, braid’.
MSH	<i>kapōle</i> ‘twist around, encircle’; <i>piti</i> ‘twist sennit’; <i>inrak</i> ‘twisted’.
WLE	<i>piñ</i> also ‘fold, lash’; <i>iyōpī-a</i> , <i>yapilī</i> .
RTU	Also <i>?alolo</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	<i>hiro</i> ‘twist (e.g. as in making rope)’; <i>haka hihi</i> ‘twist, wring (e.g. clothes, one’s arm, etc.)’.

## 10.210 RISE

ATA	mak-rakiyaš	IND	naik	*SAW	n-paŋen
TSO		SUN	naek (taek)	*NYI	eme loke
RUK	mo-a-bələ- bələŋ	*JAV	m-uŋgah	*MAM	marəŋ
PAI	lʷi-a-vavaw	MAD	uŋg <sup>fa</sup>	*TAK	-sida
YAM	mimway	*BAL	əndag	*DAM	ϕā
ISN		SAS	taek	*MAB	-se
*KAL	ŋātu	GOR	mo-layi <sup>ʔo</sup>	*YAB	-di sa
*TAG	sīlaŋ	DAA	ne <sup>m</sup> baŋu	*KAU	kek si
AKL	subat	UMA	te- <sup>ʔo</sup> ko <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TOL	kuməpəŋ
*PAL	lumaŋkəw	BUG	təkkəŋ	*BUA	kədi
*MOL	tindal	*KON	nai <sup>ʔ</sup>	ADZ	mu <sup>n</sup> ti-
*KAG	maŋun	*WOL	ɬale	KIL	-m <sup>w</sup> ena
BLA	m-tek	MAG	tua	TAW	gae
*SAB	sakat	NGA	tə <sup>ʔo</sup>	*MOT	dae
*MUR	aloy	*SIK	gəra	*MEK	e-kae
MGY	mi-akat <sup>ʔa</sup>	RTI	ti	ROV	saye
ACE	e <sup>ʔ</sup>	*BUR	hosa-k	MAR	ŋaye
BAT	nakkək	DOB	<sup>ʔa</sup> -k <sup>w</sup> aŋar	LAU	tatae
MIN	nai <sup>ʔʔ</sup>	IRA	(rəɛ)	KWO	ta <sup>ʔe</sup>
			nəbərietə	*RAG	tomare

PAA	daŋosa	XAR	catoa	*RTU	valaʔa
*LEW	lap <sup>w</sup> a	NEN	puʃa	*TON	tuʔu-hake
POR	saŋan-i	*KIR	rierake	*SAM	nofo i luŋa
NTA	-ər	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> ʌto	MEL	ake
*KWA	-uta	*PON	tak	*TAH	taʔuma
*NEM	tabe-ta	*WLE	naŋa	*RAP	eke
CEM	cáma	EFI	ðabe		
*AJI	tei	*WFI	ðake		

KAL *ŋātu + -um-*.

TAG Also *sīkat + -um-* (of sun).

PAL Also *patyɔg*.

MOL *tindal + -um-*.

KAG From *baŋun + m-* ‘stand up or sit up from a prone position’; *tindeg + mag-* ‘stand up’.

SAB *sakat + pa-*.

MUR *aloy (mag-)*.

JAV (vb intrans).

BAL *əndag* ‘rise (of the sun)’; *baŋun* ‘rise from sleeping, or lying down’; *mənek (Npənek)* ‘go up’.

KON Also *aʔ-kinreŋ* ‘rise from sitting position’.

WOL Also *pua* ‘rise, tilt up’, *te<sup>n</sup>de* ‘rise, jump up, hop up’; *ko<sup>m</sup>pa* ‘climb’; *pene* ‘go up, mount, came up’.

SIK Also *bəkor* (of sun).

BUR *hosa-k* ‘awake, get up, arise’; *keha* ‘get up, climb, charge, ascend’, Li Enyorot *faŋo*.

SAW (of a person); also *n-čɔ* (of sun or moon).

NYI ‘come up’.

MAM Also *tui*.

TAK *-sida* ‘rise (of sun etc)’ (10.471); *-ma-sa* ‘wake up, get up’ (04.630).

DAM Also *kō y-e-ya, sō y-e-ya* ‘to get up on something’.

MAB *-se, -sala, -sama* ‘go up’; *-ma<sup>ɟ</sup>ga* ‘get up’.

YAB ‘get up upward’.

KAU ‘crouch move upwards’ (serial verb construction).

TOL *pəpəŋai* ‘to appear (vb intrans)’, *kuməpəŋ* ‘go up (vb intrans)’, *tut* ‘rise, arise, as from bed’.

BUA	<i>kədi</i> ‘wake up, get up, stand, rise’, <i>kəd</i> ‘swell up, rise’.
MOT	<i>tore isi</i> ‘stand up’, <i>tore</i> ‘to rise’, <i>isi</i> ‘up’.
MEK	<i>e-kæ</i> ‘rise in the abstract, also of (river-) water’; <i>e-ʔue</i> ‘stand up, perch up(right)’.
RAG	Also <i>domare</i> .
LEW	(of substances (e.g. dough)); also <i>siröp</i> ‘swell up’, <i>sum<sup>w</sup>alu</i> ‘stand up’.
KWA	Also <i>-teuta</i> ‘as smoke’; <i>-eruk<sup>w</sup></i> ‘as the sun’.
NEM	<i>tabe ta</i> ‘rise (of smoke)’; <i>caget</i> ‘rise, get up’; <i>nōn</i> ‘rise (of sun, moon)’.
AJI	Also <i>tei rua</i> .
KIR	Also <i>tei rake</i> ‘stand up’.
MSH	<i>cip<sup>w</sup></i> (of bread); <i>uwε</i> see entry for ‘ride’; of bread, dough.
PON	<i>tak</i> (of the sun or moon); <i>it</i> (of the tide); <i>p<sup>w</sup>il</i> (of streams); <i>mp<sup>w</sup>osa-ta</i> , <i>-ta</i> ‘up (of bread)’.
WLE	<i>naŋa</i> ‘ripen’, <i>xütapp(a)</i> ; <i>xa-tataxe</i> .
WFI	Also <i>ðadra</i> .
RTU	‘rise, get up’; also <i>pala</i> (sun), <i>hofu</i> (moon).
TON	Also <i>hopo</i> (sun).
SAM	<i>nofo</i> ‘sit, sit up or down (vb intrans)’, <i>i</i> ‘locative-directional’, <i>luŋa</i> ‘up, top’, see 12.080; <i>oso</i> ‘rise (of the sun)’, see 10.430.
TAH	Also <i>maraʔa</i> , <i>paʔuma</i> , <i>paʔiuma</i> , <i>ʔaʔe</i> , <i>haere i niʔa</i> .
RAP	<i>eke</i> (vb intrans); <i>eʔa risen</i> (perfect aspect).

### 10.220 RAISE, LIFT

ATA	tan-βaβaw-ik	PAL	ipɔdibwat	MIN	nai <sup>ʔʔ</sup> -an
*TSO	re-epe		(dibwat)	*IND	məŋ-aŋkat
RUK	wa-aʎogo	*MOL	aŋkat	SUN	ŋ-aŋkat
*PAI	s-əm-u- ʎakəv	*KAG	arsa	JAV	ŋ-aŋkat
YAM	agnatən	BLA	n-kət	MAD	aŋkaʔ
ISN	akkat-an	*SAB	buhat	*BAL	niŋtiŋ
*KAL	ŋātu	*MUR	kayaŋ		(tiŋtiŋ)
*TAG	tayoʔ	*MGY	manund <sup>ʔ</sup> u <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*SAS	pə-tæk-aŋ
*AKL	alsah	ACE	pɯ-eʔ	*GOR	momotulo
		BAT	hiddat	DAA	naŋ-o <sup>ŋ</sup> gotaka

UMA	<sup>m</sup> po- <sup>ʔ</sup> o <sup>ʔ</sup> ko <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KAU	βa-i si	*NEM	cega
BUG	ma-rakka <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TOL	puək	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> í
KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -pa-nai <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	βer	*AJI	tōmã
*WOL	pa-pene	*ADZ	ra <sup>ʔ</sup> - ... gin	*XAR	nawi toa
MAG	teti	KIL	-lupi	*NEN	kedi
NGA	ɗaɗo	TAW	wohepa	*KIR	euta
*SIK	regi-ŋ	*MOT	abi-a isi	*MSH	æɬk
RTI	so <sup>ʔ</sup> u	MEK	e-afi-a-kae	*PON	ɕile
*BUR	tuu-k	*ROV	ovulia	*WLE	ʃifetī
*DOB	<sup>ʔ</sup> a- <sup>ʔ</sup> ala φo	MAR	haɣe	EFI	laβe-ta
IRA	məsigaɗə	LAU	ūa	WFI	kabe-sia
SAW	n-ɛɬŋɛ	KWO	lafu-a	RTU	siki
NYI	asore	RAG		TON	hiki
MAM	do <sup>ʔ</sup> i-tete	PAA	vaulāti	SAM	si <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*TAK	-abi-sa	LEW	kusi-lua	MEL	-sikea
*DAM	y-ale-se-ya	POR	pür san i	TAH	hopoi
MAB	-wit	NTA	-ləsipər	RAP	haka eke
*YAB	-ka <sup>ʔ</sup> ... sa	*KWA	-amter		

TSO Also *re-epz-a* ‘raise something heavy with hands’; *re-sifou* also *re-sifov-a* ‘pull up something heavy with a rope’.

PAI ‘lift cover’ cf. *s-əm-u-ituŋ* ‘lift coverlet, lift clothes’.

KAL *ŋātu + i-*; also *tāyag + i-*

TAG *ta<sup>ʔ</sup>as + mag-/i-*, also used with *pa-* causative.

AKL [*alsah*] + *-un* from Spanish *alzar*.

MOL *aŋkat + -on*.

KAG [*arsa*] + *mag-/əŋ* ‘to lift something up a short distance’; *datas + magpa/pa- -əŋ* ‘to make something become higher up’.

ŠAB *buhat + aN/ø*.

MUR *kayaŋ (maŋ- -on)*.

MGY From (*maN-sund<sup>r</sup>u<sup>r</sup>a*).

IND Also *mə-naik-kan*.

BAL Also (*N-*)*goson* ‘lift a heavy object collectively’; (*N-*)*pənek-aŋ* ‘raise’.

SAS Also *pə-tae<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

GOR (*botulo + moN-*); also *mo-po-la<sup>ŋ</sup>gato*.

WOL Also *pa-pua*, *pa-ko<sup>m</sup>pa*, *tu<sup>n</sup>du-tu<sup>n</sup>du*.

SIK	Also <i>poto</i> .
BUR	<i>tuu-k</i> ‘lift up, appoint’; <i>waku</i> ‘lift, pick up’; <i>ep-keha-k</i> ‘lift s.th. up’; <i>lepa-k</i> ‘raise, appoint’.
DOB	ϕo is a preposition.
TAK	‘hold-climb’ (11.150, 10.472).
DAM	‘3sg-take-up-INE.
YAB	‘push ... up’; also <i>-sip ... sa</i> ‘carry ... up’; <i>-sùŋ ... sa</i> ‘push ... up’.
KAU	‘carry-it move upwards’ (serial verb construction).
TOL	<i>puək</i> ‘lift and carry in the arm or hand (vb trans)’; <i>və-tut</i> ‘make a person stand up (vb trans)’; <i>və-tur</i> ‘make something, someone stand (vb trans)’.
ADZ	<i>ra?</i> - + dir. obj + <i>gin</i> .
MOT	<i>abi-a</i> ‘to hold, get’, <i>isi</i> ‘up’; <i>dudui-a isi</i> ‘to lift up (hands)’; <i>dudui-a</i> ‘to point, stretch out (hand)’.
ROV	Also <i>ovulu</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-awahi uta</i> ‘carry upwards’; <i>-rup<sup>w</sup>enji</i> ‘lift up (as a skirt)’.
NEM	<i>cega</i> ‘raise in the air (hand)’; <i>yabe, tabe</i> ‘lift’.
AJI	Also <i>pε tomā</i> .
XAR	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>e toa</i> .
NEN	Also <i>iθuduon</i> .
KIR	<i>tabeka, katea</i> ‘erect’; <i>taura</i> also ‘hang up’.
MSH	<i>æɫɫk</i> ‘turn over (pages), pull out’; [ <i>p<sup>w</sup>i!ake</i> ] from English <i>block</i> ; also ‘increase, turn up (as a lamp)’; [ <i>!ɫp<sup>w</sup>ate</i> ] from English <i>lever</i> ; <i>kotake</i> .
PON	<i>tile</i> ‘raise with one hand’; <i>p<sup>w</sup>ek; kau</i> ‘erect’.
WLE	<i>şifetī</i> ‘lift with hands’, <i>şif<sup>w</sup>ctī</i> ‘lift with instrument’.

### 10.230 FALL

ATA	ma-taku	TAG	hūlog	*MUR	datu?
TSO	s-m-o-pçuku	*AKL	hūʃug	MGY	mian-dzera
*RUK	mo-a-ɖəkə	PAL	nɔ-dagdag	ACE	srot
*PAI	ma-ipuɕ	*MOL	dabu?	BAT	ma-dabu
YAM	makaş	*KAG	ulug	*MIN	rareh
ISN	mebina?	*BLA	m-tatak	IND	jatuh
*KAL	otdag	*SAB	labu?	*SUN	ragrag

JAV	tibɔ	TAK	-du	*NTA	-əsas
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> agg <sup>h</sup> ar	DAM	kubū	*KWA	-m <sup>w</sup> ei
*BAL	uluŋ	*MAB	-top	*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> awe
SAS	təri <sup>?</sup>	*YAB	-ù (tauŋ)	*CEM	típ <sup>w</sup> ɔ
GOR	mo-dehu	*KAU	ploŋ	AJI	ma
DAA	na-navu	TOL	burə	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ē
UMA	mo-nauu <sup>?</sup>	BUA	βes	NEN	čara
BUG	mɪnruŋ	*ADZ	rua <sup>?</sup> - ... ru <sup>?</sup> -	KIR	b <sup>w</sup> aka
*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -dappo <sup>?</sup>	KIL	-kapusi	*MSH	tipŋəl
*WOL	ma- <sup>n</sup> dawa	TAW	peu	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> up <sup>w</sup>
MAG	pa <sup>?</sup> u	*MOT	moru	*WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> uɾo
NGA	bonu	*MEK	e- <sup>?</sup> ua-lai	EFI	lutu
*SIK	ʔəla	ROV	hoga	WFI	luču
RTI	tuda	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oko	RTU	vili
*BUR	moho	LAU	ʔasia	TON	tō
DOB	ʔa-φan	KWO	tori	SAM	pa <sup>?</sup> ū
IRA	bə nəmatetə	*RAG	hovi	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> elul]
SAW	n-ɛmnap	PAA	lāpo	*TAH	topa
NYI	taku	*LEW	loru	*RAP	hiŋa
*MAM	tamoŋ	*POR	tex		

RUK *mo-a-dəkə* ‘to fall from a standing position, to stumble’; *mo-a-ləvəsə* ‘to fall over a cliff’.

PAI *ma-ipuḵ* ‘fall (from a standing position)’; *ma-cani* ‘fall (drop)’.

KAL *otdag + ma-*.

AKL *hūfug + ma-* stative counterpart of 10.160.

MOL *dabu<sup>?</sup> + mo-*

KAG *ulug + ma-/m-*, *dagdag + ma-* ‘to fall from off a height’; *tumba + ma-* ‘to fall over from a stationary position’; *dagpa<sup>?</sup> + ka-* (*karagpa*) ‘to fall over because of tripping’.

BLA *m-tatək* ‘fall off or out of’; *fugən* ‘fall over’.

SAB *labu<sup>?</sup> + a-*; also *hulug + a-*.

MUR *datu<sup>?</sup> (-um-, ma-)*.

MIN Also *ǰatu<sup>h</sup>*.

SUN Also *murag (purag)* ‘fall, of leaves, hair etc (not people)’.

BAL Also *labuh* restricted to human/higher animal referents; *bah* ‘collapse lengthways after being in a vertical position’, ‘fall over’ of a tall thin object like a tree, a person; (*N-*)*sərod* lit ‘slip’ also ‘fall’ in figurative

senses, e.g. of prices, of women who lose high-caste status by marrying into lower castes.

KON Also *aʔ-dabbuŋ*.

WOL Also *ma-<sup>n</sup>duli*; <sup>n</sup>*dawu* ‘fall down’; *roβa* ‘fall over’; *to-βata* ‘fall down’; *topi<sup>n</sup>to* ‘fall out, fall off’, *wuwuro*.

SIK Also *βatu*; *goru* (of fruit).

BUR *moho* ‘(person) fall’; *dati* ‘(s.th.) fall over by itself’; *tati* ‘(s.th.) falls over because of volitional agent’; *groho-k* ‘(leaf) fall’; *brogi* ‘(tree) fall over (no agent)’; *bodi* ‘(tree) fall over (human agent)’; *dola-k* ‘(tree or person) fall down’; *eg-huda-k* ‘(building) collapse (no volition)’; *data-k* ‘fall to the ground from a high place’ (compare *tata-k* ‘drop s.th.’).

MAM Also *tapulo*.

MAB *-mel* ‘stumble’; *-su* ‘go down’.

YAB ‘drop (self)’ (see 10.160); also *-ku* ‘fall over’; *-su* ‘descend’; *-tɔʔ* ‘(fruit) fall’.

KAU Also *pus*.

ADZ See 10.160.

MOT *moru* ‘fall from a height’; *keto* ‘to fall over (of a person or thing standing on ground)’.

MEK *e-ʔua-lai* ‘fall (of objects)’; *e-kipo* ‘fall (of river-water)’.

MAR *khoko* ‘fall off or out of’; *oha* ‘stumble and fall’.

RAG ‘to fall down or over’.

LEW Also *vivili* (of fruit).

POR *tex* ‘fall and smash’; *lavur* ‘tumble over’.

NTA Also *-iet*.

KWA Also *-asas* ‘fall (as leaf)’; *-atou(i)* ‘fall over’.

NEM *p<sup>w</sup>awe* ‘fall, lose one’s balance’; *tawa* ‘fall from a height’.

CEM Also *tēn* ‘lose balance’; *bfi* ‘collapse’.

MSH Also *o-!ok*, *-!ok* ‘away’, ‘to topple (as a tree)’; *ɔkcak* ‘fall from standing, overturn, capsized’; *uk<sup>w</sup>ac* (vb trans).

PON *lempēti* (of unripe fruit); *-ti* ‘down’, hon. ‘to fall’.

WLE *ϕ<sup>w</sup>uro* ‘tumble’; *m<sup>w</sup>oro* (of fruit); *petaxi* (of rain); *ppüŋü*; *šapeřaxi*.

MEL From Efate.

TAH *maʔiri*, *marua*; *hiʔa* (of a long object).

RAP *hiŋa* ‘fall (a person, from e.g. a horse, motorcycle, chair, tree, etc.)’;  
*viri* ‘fall (an object)’; *vi-viri* ‘fall (various objects)’; *topa* ‘fall (an  
object dropped unawares and lost)’.

### 10.240 DRIP

ATA	h-um-biŋ	GOR	h-um-eheto	ROV	honhoni
TSO	re-sʔisʔi	DAA	nan-titi	MAR	koto
RUK	atotoɔo	UMA	n-tudoʔ	LAU	ʔudu ʔudu
PAI	c-əm-əzak	BUG	tittiʔ	KWØ	ugu
YAM	amyətəŋ	KON	amm-attiʔ	RAG	siri
ISN	mag- patpattaʔ	*WOL	tiri	PAA	mutitil
*KAL	toɔtoɔ	*MAG	ŋgirik	LEW	siŋiriŋi
*TAG	tūloʔ	NGA	dəti	POR	tütü
AKL	tūʔuʔ	SIK	dolo dətik	NTA	-alh
PAL	məŋtəpas (təpas)	*RTI	titi	KWA	-aməri
*MOL	taras	BUR	temu	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> at
*KAG	tulu	DOB	na-maturu	CEM	têp
BLA	t-am-dak	IRA	(wər) nəturə	AJI	doŋo
*SAB	tūʔ	SAW	n-fət	*XAR	kawi
*MUR	posok	*NYI	atekeu	NEN	θera
MGY	mi-tete	MAM	tiʔi	KIR	tim
ACE	titep	*TAK	dut	*MSH	pp <sup>u</sup> itp <sup>u</sup> it
BAT	tətes	DAM	togor	PON	tiŋ
MIN	titiʔʔ	MAB	<sup>n</sup> doŋ <sup>n</sup> doŋ	WLE	ssəp <sup>w</sup> u
IND	mənetes (tetes)	*YAB	-leni	EFI	turu
*SUN	člak-člak-an	*KAU	susuk ko	WFI	čuru
*JAV	netes (tetes)	TOL	tuə	RTU	čeru
*MAD	katuruʔ	BUA	təɔ	TON	toʔi
BAL	ŋətəl (kətəl)	ADZ	čururuŋ-	SAM	sisina
SAS		*KIL	-busi	MEL	tüturu
		TAW	tohi	TAH	tōpatapata
		MOT	hetuturu	RAP	turu-turu
		MEK	e-oŋu		

KAL *toɔtoɔ + man-*.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*tūluq*; also *patak + -um-*.

MOL *taras + mog-*.



KAG	<i>tulu + mag-</i> .
SAB	<i>tū<sup>?</sup> + pa-</i> ; also <i>pattak + aN-</i> .
MUR	<i>posok (maŋ-)</i> .
SUN	Also <i>netes (tetes)</i> .
JAV	Also <i>tumetes, (*-um-)</i> no longer productive.
MAD	Safioedin (1977): ‘leak, of a roof’.
WOL	Also <i>titi, waro</i> .
MAG	Also <i>titik</i> .
RTI	Also <i>nosi, titi-nosi</i> form a doublet meaning ‘to drip’.
NYI	Also <i><sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>u<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>u<sup>?</sup>un, soso<sup>?</sup>on</i> .
TAK	Noun, as in <i>duf i-du-da</i> ‘drop it-go down-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘a drip is coming down’, ‘it is dripping’.
YAB	Also <i>-tewiŋ</i> .
KAU	Also <i>sut ko</i> ( <i>sut</i> ‘flow’; <i>ko</i> ‘move downward’) (serial verb construction).
KIL	Also (with locative suffix) <i>-b<sup>wi</sup>-ki</i> ‘drip-to’ i.e. ‘drip onto (something)’.
XAR	Also <i>tə</i> .
MSH	Also <i>pil, piliŋliŋ</i> .

## 10.250 THROW

ATA	<i>pakti<sup>?</sup></i>	MGY	<i>man-ari</i>	*KON	<i>an-’nihara</i>
*TSO	<i>ma-m-refi</i>	ACE	<i>srəm</i>		(’tihara)
RUK	<i>wa-çili</i>	BAT	<i>dangur</i>	*WOL	<i>tud’a</i>
*PAI	<i>v-ən-əriç</i>	MIN	<i>lanti<sup>?</sup>ŋ</i>	MAG	<i>oke</i>
YAM	<i>patəlmən</i>	IND	<i>mə-lempar</i>	NGA	<i>biyu</i>
*ISN	<i>ba<sup>?</sup>ba<sup>?</sup></i>	SUN	<i>ŋ-aluŋ</i>	*SIK	<i>roga</i>
*KAL	<i>dawat</i>	*JAV	<i>m-balaŋ</i>	RTI	<i>pia</i>
*TAG	<i>hāgis</i>	MAD	<i>tambu</i>	*BUR	<i>spele</i>
*AKL	<i>habuy</i>	*BAL	<i>ñabat (sabat)</i>	DOB	<i>ʔa-yayi</i>
PAL	<i>itimbag</i>	*SAS	<i>plewas</i>	IRA	<i>məti</i>
*MOL	<i>bakal</i>	*GOR	<i>moma<sup>?</sup>i</i>	SAW	<i>n-te</i>
*KAG	<i>la’byug</i>	DAA	<i>no<sup>m</sup>ba-re<sup>m</sup>pe</i>	NYI	<i>akahei</i>
BLA	<i>bat</i>	*UMA	<i>tene<sup>?</sup></i>	MAM	<i>ro<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>i</i>
*SAB	<i>hiyak</i>	BUG	<i>remp<sup>i</sup>ʔ</i>	TAK	<i>-bal</i>
*MUR	<i>patid</i>			DAM	<i>i-rā-ya</i>

*MAB	-piri	KWO	a <sup>?</sup> o-a	MSH	kar
YAB	-baliŋ	RAG		PON	kese
*KAU	psik	PAA	sōni	*WLE	xašē-a
*TOL	vu-e	*LEW	koani	EFI	βiri
BUA	tε	POR	p <sup>w</sup> irič-in-i	WFI	daβa
*ADZ	tapu-	NTA	-atəpin	*RTU	kiri
KIL	-laβi	*KWA	-arak(i)	TON	ī
TAW	wihulu	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> aiwan	SAM	toŋi
MOT	taho-a	CEM	táhi	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> alāia]
*MEK	e-pu-ake	AJI	virai	*TAH	taora
*ROV	ɣona	XAR	g <sup>w</sup> ere	*RAP	tau
*MAR	koko	*NEN	čedon		
LAU	ʔuia	KIR	karea		

TSO Also *pa-p-ref-i*.

PAI *v-ən-ul<sup>y</sup>uḵ* ‘throw at’.

ISN *ippa?* ‘throw away, discard’.

KAL *dawat + i-* ‘throw away’; *pituŋ + i-* ‘throw ball’; *batu + -on* ‘throw stone’.

TAG *hāgis + mag-/i-*.

AKL *habuy + i-* ‘throw (as ball)’; *pilak + i-* ‘throw away’.

MOL *bakal + i-*.

KAG *la'byug + mag-/ø*.

SAB *hiyak + aN-/an*.

MUR *patid (maŋ- -in)* ‘throw away’, also *bobol (maŋ- -on)* ‘throw in order to hit’.

JAV Also *m-bandəm*.

BAL Also *(N-)timpug*; *(N-)slampar* ‘throw a long distance’; *(N-)agəl* ‘hit (object) with a club or throw something at (object), with all one’s strength’; *(N-)əñčur* ‘throw at (object)’.

SAS Also *ŋapəkaŋ (kapək-aŋ)*.

GOR *(pa<sup>?</sup>i + moN-)*; also *mo-de<sup>m</sup>beŋo*.

UMA *tene?* ‘underhanded’; *pana?* ‘overhanded’.

KON Also *an-rembasa*.

WOL Also *sid<sup>u</sup>* ‘throw up, toss up’, *tud’a, tud’aaka* ‘throw at’.

SIK Also *geba, βelo, βehak*.

- BUR *spele* ‘throw a stone’; *spele yaha-k* ‘to throw things to make s.th. go away’; *fage* ‘throw (a spear)’; *tiba-k* ‘toss s.th. up in the air’; *hefa-k* ‘throw s.th. away’; *peka* ‘throw s.th. (not needed) out’; *yaha-k* and *lofa* ‘evict, throw out’.
- MAB Also *-gībi*; *-lu* ‘throw (of long stick)’.
- KAU Also *peh*, *kun*.
- TOL *vu-ai* (vb intrans).
- ADZ Also *tapo-*.
- MEK Also *e-piu-ŋa*; *e-ʔafo* ‘toss (vb intrans/trans)’.
- ROV *yona* (some distance); *okinia* (short distance).
- MAR *koko* ‘throw out or away’; *fada* ‘throw, shoot, spear’.
- LEW Also *koveni* ‘throw at’.
- KWA *-arak(i)* ‘throw away, discard, throw a mat, etc. over something’; *-aruk<sup>w</sup>i* ‘throw a spherical object, throw a stone, shoot a gun’; *-arup<sup>w</sup>i* ‘throw an elongated object, throw a spear’; *-eruk<sup>w</sup>* ‘throw a spherical object’ (vb intrans); *-eruk<sup>w</sup>atan* ‘throw a spherical object, fight with rocks or guns’; *-erup<sup>w</sup>*, ‘throw an elongated object (vb intrans)’; *-erup<sup>w</sup>atan* ‘throw an elongated object, fight with spears’; *-ak<sup>w</sup>(i)aueni* ‘throw something over something’; *-amnamən* ‘throw simultaneously with another person’.
- NEN Also *čede*.
- WLE *xaṣē-a* ‘throw (a projectile)’; *ttara* ‘throw (at a target)’.
- RTU Also *kir-ʔɔki*.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *maoʔa*, *tiri*, *tīʔue*.
- RAP Also *vero* ‘throw, (a sharp pointed object, e.g. a knife, harpoon, sharpened stick)’.

### 10.252 CATCH (BALL)

ATA	r-um-akāp	*KAL	sikpaw	BLA	t-n-ɔmuk
*TSO	ti-rou	*TAG	salo	*SAB	sambut
RUK	p <sup>w</sup> ala	AKL	saʔap	*MUR	dakop
PAI	ɟəm-a-ɟas	PAL	sɔgmakən	MGY	man-ɟ <sup>f</sup> ai
YAM	toɟaən	*MOL	sambut	ACE	drɔp
ISN	taʔpaw	*KAG	salap	BAT	takkup

MIN	sambuyʔ	DOB	ʔa-toyi	PAA	sōhi
IND	mənaŋkap (taŋkap)	IRA	nudə	LEW	ikopi
SUN	ñəŋgap (saŋgap)	SAW	n-čəlok (səlok)	POR	sxov-i
JAV	mañčaʔ (pañčaʔ)	NYI	soborohei	NTA	-əro
MAD	saŋgaʔ	MAM	siʔo	KWA	-arou (i)
*BAL	nakəp (dakəp)	TAK	-sawi	NEM	ta-yim <sup>wi</sup>
SAS	bau	*DAM	sela	CEM	hēgi
*GOR	mo-deʔopo	MAB	-sībi	AJI	clɪ
*DAA	no-sa <sup>m</sup> bo	*YAB	-katom	XAR	xēdirɪ
UMA	ga <sup>ŋ</sup> ko	KAU	pa	NEN	xexeb
BUG	mat-timaŋ	*TOL	əb-e	*KIR	abuta
KON	an-nimaŋ (timaŋ)	BUA	ʔo	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ouʔ
WOL	raga	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> puŋ-	PON	taper
MAG	haeŋ	KIL	-kanamosi	WLE	tōrɪ
NGA	ɖaʔo	TAW	kamota	EFI	ðigo
SIK	raʔa	MOT	ʔobe-a	WFI	hogo-mia
RTI	hoʔu	*MEK	e-fiʔo(-i-a)	RTU	tōri
*BUR	frake	ROV	haloa	TON	hapo
		MAR	tako	SAM	sapo
		LAU	hakoa	MEL	sikofia
		*KWO	daŋe-a	*TAH	ʔapo
		*RAG	taba	*RAP	ʔa-ʔaru

TSO Also *ti-rov-a*.

KAL *sikpaw + -on*.

TAG Also *sambot + -um-/-in*, counterpart of throw (10.250).

MOL *sambut + -um-/-on*.

KAG *salap + mag-/-ən*.

SAB *sambut + aN/ø*.

MUR *dakop (maŋ- -on)*.

BAL (*N*-)*dakəp* ‘catch with both hands’; (*N*-)*čəŋglak* ‘catch falling object with both hands’.

GOR ‘catch anything’, also *moheʔupo* (*waʔupo + moh-*).

DAA Also *bula*.

BUR ‘catch animal alive using hands’; also *ŋei* ‘catch’.

DAM Also *ololoϕi-ya*.

YAB Also *-lo ... toŋ* ‘grasp ... firmly’.

TOL	<i>əb-əi</i> (vb intrans).
MEK	<i>e-peko</i> in West Mekeo, NW Mekeo.
KWO	Also <i>gemasi-a</i> .
RAG	Also <i>daba</i> .
KIR	Also 'take, carry in hand'; also <i>rawea</i> .
TAH	Also <i>haru</i> .
RAP	Also <i>rovaʔa</i> 'capture, grab'.

**10.260 SHAKE**

ATA	ʔ-um-ayʔay	DAA	no-goya	*MEK	e-uʔe-uʔe
*TSO	t-m-aizi	*UMA	mo-leŋo	ROV	niniu.
RUK	wa-vələvələ	BUG	maŋemboŋ	*MAR	ŋali
PAI	ki-cið-cið	*KON	an-'nettere	LAU	gelogelo
*YAM	pariŋriŋən		('tettere)	KWO	ʔirideʔeni-a
ISN	kuluŋ	*WOL	huɗ'a	RAG	
*KAL	yugāyug	MAG	heur	PAA	sākulūluni
*TAG	kalog	NGA	veʃo	*LEW	kukululu
*AKL	kaʔug	*SIK	betot	POR	liilau-in-i
PAL	gələŋən	RTI	na-ŋgeŋo	NTA	-alkoalin
*MOL	riog	*BUR	wea-k	*KWA	-kiu
*KAG	kinuʔ-kinuʔun	DOB	ʔa-san	NEM	cili
*BLA	kakəs	IRA	məsəguiɸərə	CEM	gîli
*SAB	ʃabʃab	*SAW	n-egige	AJI	ŋuŋŋu
*MUR	uyog	*NYI	ŋokoda	XAR	širi
*MGY	manifika	MAM	ruruʔaʔi	*NEN	anudeni
ACE	gəʔ-gəʔ	*TAK	-gidide	*KIR	karurua
BAT	hutor	DAM	yoku	*MSH	irik
MIN	kuŋčəŋ	*MAB	-tir	*PON	iʔik
*IND	məŋ-guŋčəŋ	*YAB	-kələŋ	WLE	üşüxü
*SUN	ŋočok	*KAU	tihok	EFI	kure-a
	(kočok)	*TOL	və-dədər	WFI	hakure
JAV	ŋəčəʔ (kəčəʔ)	BUA	kəŋəyɪn	RTU	rū
MAD	kuččuʔ	*ADZ	gruᵐkraŋ-	TON	lulu
BAL	ŋočok	*KIL	-motatina	*SAM	luc
	(kočok)	*TAW	tatawa	MEL	ruiruia
SAS	ŋ-əŋgok	*MOT	ha-	*TAH	ueue
*GOR	mo-huhelo		heudeheude-a	RAP	tū-tū

- TSO Also *taiz-a*.
- YAM ‘shake e.g. thermometer or clothes’; *koykoin* ‘shake a liquid’.
- KAL *yugāyug + i-*.
- TAG *kalog + mag-/-in* (vb trans).
- AKL ‘shake to see if something is inside’.
- MOL *riog + -on*.
- KAG From *kinu?kinu? + mag-/-ən*.
- BLA *kakəs* ‘shake off’; *k-an-ligoŋ* ‘shake (in a container)’.
- SAB *jabjab + aN/-an*; also *jogjog + a-* (of a house that is shaking).
- MUR *uyog (maŋ- -on)* ‘shake from side to side’; also *uyug (maŋ- -on)* ‘shake (of wind or earthquake)’.
- MGY From *maN hifika*.
- IND Also *bər-gətar*.
- SUN Also *ŋočlok (kočlok)*.
- GOR Also *mo-huhulo*.
- UMA Also *mo-duja*.
- KON Also *amm-iri-aŋ*.
- WOL *hud’a* ‘shake, rock’; also *le<sup>n</sup>du*, *le<sup>n</sup>du-ki*, *le<sup>ŋ</sup>ko*, *re<sup>ŋ</sup>ku*.
- SIK ‘shake one’s head’; also *hənu* ‘shake a house’; *glea* ‘shake a tree’.
- BUR ‘shake deliberate’; *pese* ‘shake/pump (hands)’.
- SAW Also *n-m-ε-l-gig* (vb intrans) ‘shake, shakable’.
- NYI Also *<sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>okəñä*.
- TAK *-gidide*, ‘shake loose a coconut (vb trans)’, *-gigiani* ‘shake a tree (vb trans)’.
- MAB Also *-yel*; *-tok* ‘like earthquake shakes house’; *kat nama-* ‘shake hands’; (vb intrans): *-murur*, *riŋriŋ ikam + ALL PRON*; *-kam katkat* ‘shake’.
- YAB Also *-koyo?* ‘jolt, rock’; *-koteŋ* ‘shake in one’s hand’.
- KAU Also *tiok*; also *toh* ‘shiver’.
- TOL *və-* CAUS, *dəðər* (vb intrans) ‘shake, tremble (of persons and things)’.
- ADZ *gru<sup>ŋ</sup>kraŋ-* ‘rattle, clatter s.th.’; *u<sup>n</sup>çianŋ + gin* ‘shake, make s.th. vibrate’.
- KIL ‘vibrate’, also *-tatuβa* ‘shiver with cold or fever’, *-sapi* ‘shake off (clinging insect)’.

TAW	Compare <i>tapeitatawa</i> .
MOT	<i>heudeheude</i> ‘to tremble, shake (vb intrans)’; <i>laga</i> ‘to shake from fear; quake (of earth)’.
MEK	Also ‘tremble’.
MAR	<i>ɣali</i> ‘shake, vibrate’ (vb intrans); <i>nuye</i> (vb trans).
LEW	Also <i>yuwawa</i> ‘shiver’.
KWA	Also <i>-ahaŋi</i> ‘shake, rattle (vb trans)’; <i>-amhua</i> ‘shake off’; <i>-arakarak</i> ‘shake, quiver (vb intrans)’; <i>-erur</i> ‘shake down, agitate’; <i>-etəŋ(a)təŋ</i> ‘shake down, agitate’.
NEN	Also <i>θumi</i> .
KJR	From <i>ruru</i> ‘shake, shiver, vibrate (vb intrans)’; <i>ioa, roba</i> ‘shake (as a sail in the wind)’; <i>iŋ</i> (vb intrans).
MSH	Also <i>im<sup>u</sup>uki</i> ; <i>wiririr</i> ‘shake (as a sail in the wind)’; <i>copæl</i> .
PON	Also <i>rer</i> .
SAM	Also <i>lūlū</i> (vb trans).
TAH	Also <i>tūtū</i> ‘shake his legs, etc.’.

### 10.320 FLOW

*ATA	mana-huɬuy	BAT	ma-baɔr	RTI	fa
*TSO	mox-rovɕu	MIN	ma-ili <sup>ɔ</sup>	*BUR	mano
RUK	mo-a-ɭoɔo	IND	məŋ-alir	DOB	na-r-tar
PAI	si-kaɭ <sup>y</sup> uɿ	SUN	ŋoɕor	IRA	nəpəpə
YAM	amvoyog		(koɕor)	SAW	n-čele (sele)
ISN	āyus	*JAV	mili (m-ili)	NYI	atohou
*KAL	āyus	MAD	g <sup>h</sup> ili	MAM	panana
*TAG	āgos	BAL	ŋ-ɔmbah	*TAK	-ao
*AKL	ilug	SAS		*DAM	kokō
PAL	mɔgburbur (burbur)	*GOR	tolo-tolohu	MAB	-rēre
		DAA	no-ili	YAB	-seleŋ
*MOL	royas	UMA	mo-?ili	KAU	sut
*KAG	ilig	BUG	mas-solo <sup>?</sup>	TOL	əlir
BLA	m-aloh	*KON	a?-čolo <sup>?</sup>	BUA	βār
*SAB	tubud	WOL	le <sup>m</sup> bo	ADZ	ru <sup>u</sup> t-
*MUR	tās	MAG	va <sup>?</sup> a	*KIL	-tayelu
MGY	mi-kuriana	NGA	bere	TAW	kololo
ACE	ile	SIK	ba	*MOT	aru

*MEK	e-lolo	KWA	-arəs	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> od <sup>r</sup> o
ROV	totolo	*NEM	ye	WFI	roro
MAR	brit <sup>h</sup> a	*CEM	iéte	RTU	au
LAU	iga	AJI	ɟ	TON	tafe
KWO	afe	XAR	ɟ	SAM	tafe
RAG		*NEN	la	MEL	tafe
PAA	muolōl	*KIR	b <sup>w</sup> aro	*TAH	tahe
LEW	lau	*MSH	eōl	*RAP	hiho
POR	če	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> il		
NTA	-aiəh	*WLE	sere		

ATA *ma-kaʔuit* 'to flow or wash away'.

TSO *mox-rovʔu* 'flow downward'; *mox-ʔusnu* 'flow into (as into a house, etc.)'; *s-m-o-rvoi* 'flow in quantity'.

KAL *āyus + man-*.

TAG *agos + -um-*.

AKL PHN *\*iluR*.

MOL *royas + mog-*.

KAG *ilig + mag-/m-*.

SAB *tubud + pa-*.

MUR *tās (-um-)*.

JAV *ili* 'flow, current'.

GOR 'flowing'.

KON Also *aʔ-toʔloro*.

BUR (vb intrans), e.g. of water, or sand washing away *ena mano*; *panu* 'wash away, sweep away (vb trans)' e.g. *wae panu ena* 'the water washed away the sand'.

TAK 'go' (10.470).

DAM Also *molowiʔi-ya*.

KIL 'flow tide or current', also *-ʔigogu* 'flow into (something)'; *-bu-busi* CONT-flow down', i.e. 'flowing down (as blood from wound)'.

MOI Also *heau* 'to run; flow (of water e.g. from tap)'.

MEK *e-lolo* (of small quantities of liquid); *e-kipo* (of a river) lit 'it descends'.

NEM *ye* 'flow (of stream, river)'; *tūt* 'flow (of liquid, blood)'.

CEM Also 'run, go forward, sail'.



NEN Also *ūra*, *θa*.

KIR *b<sup>w</sup>aro* also ‘spill, scatter, overflow’; *raŋa*.

MSH *tōŋ* also ‘gush, ooze, shed’; *ʌl*.

PON *p<sup>w</sup>il* also ‘rise, flood’; *āt-* with directional suffixes, *āt* ‘current’.

WLE *seŋe* also ‘spilled’; *sēti*.

TAH Also *māʔi* (of leakage).

RAP Also *tehe* ‘flow, leak’; *aʔa* ‘flow, run (only of water after rain)’.

### 10.330 SINK

ATA	ma-tiyup	UMA	tiri	MAR	plulu
TSO	six-ɕʔo	BUG	tal-limmiʔ	LAU	kurū
*RUK	mo-a-rənərə	KON	tallaŋ	KWO	kurū
PAI	sə-rətəg	*WOL	ka-loβu	RAG	moru
YAM	omnəɖ	*MAG	bə <sup>m</sup> bəl	PAA	marid
ISN	umlad	NGA	molu	LEW	prasusu
*KAL	malnod	*SIK	ləmer	POR	ma <sup>n</sup> dʔən
*TAG	lubog	RTI	bolo	NTA	-amnəm
*AKL	ɕugdaŋ	*BUR	molo	KWA	-am <sup>w</sup> henum <sup>w</sup>
*PAL	malmas	DOB	na-baʔarum	NEM	tivulip
*MOL	liŋnod	IRA	daɕurə	CEM	nūt
*KAG	ləɖdaŋ	SAW	n-ɛmdirə	AJI	mū
BLA	ga-lɪnab	NYI	atuh	XAR	mutu
*SAB	tonnob	MAM	moaloba	NEN	lorod
*MUR	kalom	TAK	-sarir	*KIR	ī
MGY	mi-lentika	DAM	kobō	*MSH	pelaɭ
ACE	lham	*MAB	-mon	*PON	sinom
BAT	lənəŋ	YAB	-ne	*WLE	ɕauʔo
*MIN	karam	KAU	ii	EFI	dromu
IND	təŋgəlam	*TOL	dudu	WFI	ðidromu
*SUN	tɪlim	BUA	məyūp	RTU	lō
JAV	kələm	*ADZ	maɖzap-ruʔ-	TON	ŋoto
MAD	silləm	*KIL	-salili	*SAM	ŋoto
*BAL	kələb	TAW	yoli	*MEL	[çiro]
SAS	kə-čəɭup	MOT	mutu	TAH	tomo
GOR	l-um-oduʔo	*MEK	e-fufu	RAP	emu
DAA	na-tala	ROV	loɖu		

- RUK *mo-a-θənə* ‘to sink as in a quicksand’.
- KAL *lonod + ma-*.
- TAG *lubog + -um-*.
- AKL Also *ʔūnud*, Proto-Philippines *\*lūnud*.
- PAL Also *mələnəb*.
- MOL *liɲnod + -um-*.
- KAG *leddaŋ + ma-/mag-*.
- SAB *tonnob + pa-*.
- MUR *kaləm (ma-)* ‘sink (of boat)’, *linʃoŋ (-um-)* ‘sink into mud, sand’, *litop (-um-)* ‘sink into water’.
- MIN Also *ta-banam*.
- SUN Also *nīlim-kin(tīlim-kin)*.
- BAL Also *kələm; kələbu* of humans, animals.
- WOL Also *tidʔomu, to<sup>n</sup>du*.
- MAG Also *mələpmələ*.
- SIK Also *sugu-ŋ*.
- BUR See note for 04.751 and 10.320.
- MAB *-mon* ‘sink down’; *-dubup* ‘dip into’.
- TOL *va-dudu* ‘make something sink, sink (vb trans)’.
- ADZ *maqzap- + ru<sup>?</sup>* ‘sink (e.g. into a grave)’; *saŋkroŋ-* ‘settle or sink (e.g. river, into bed)’; *satop-* ‘sink, go under water’; *mugru<sup>?</sup>* ‘drip, douse, immerse, sink’ (vb intrans/trans; all intransitive except *mugru<sup>?</sup>*).
- KIL (of stone); also *-beku* ‘founder (as canoe submerges but remains floating)’, *-sa-b<sup>w</sup>abula* ‘sink-bubble’, i.e. ‘sink with bubbling sound’.
- MEK *e-fufu* is ‘be submerged, founder’; *e-koŋo* is also ‘sink, submerge’ (compare 04.751).
- KIR Also ‘fade, diminish, turn to dust’; *ī nako* ‘sink, go down’ (lit ‘fade away’).
- MSH *ruŋlək* also ‘dive’, *tal* ‘submerge’, also *tunŋilalələk; timaruk* ‘take on water, sink’, also *turrulək*.
- PON *sinom* also ‘penetrate, pierce’; *ir-* with directional suffixes; *sūr* ‘sink in mud’.
- WLE *m<sup>w</sup>eüsü* also ‘settle, subside’.
- SAM *fa<sup>?</sup>a-ŋoto* ‘sink (vb trans)’, *fa<sup>?</sup>a-* CAUS, *ŋoto* ‘sink (vb intrans)’.
- MEL From Efate.

## 10.340 FLOAT

*ATA	ma-š-ka- kaʔiʔ	*GOR	la <sup>n</sup> du- la <sup>n</sup> duŋo	*MEK	e-ŋau
TSO	ŋoxɕu	DAA	nem-baya	*ROV	ale
RUK	ki-a-pəlay	UMA	na <sup>ŋ</sup> ko	MAR	pogla
PAI	sə-vali	BUG	mawaŋ	LAU	hakohako
YAM	maʔataʔataw	KON	amm-onəŋ	KWO	faʔo
*ISN	mag-lattāt	*WOL	ka-a <sup>m</sup> pe- a <sup>m</sup> pe	RAG	halhala
*KAL	taplak	MAG	le <sup>n</sup> teŋ	PAA	dāheah
*TAG	lūtaŋ	NGA	tede	LEW	yelala
AKL	ʔutaw	*SIK	baβak	POR	kos
PAL	lumtaw	RTI	bonu	NTA	-eaieai
*MOL	lopuŋ	BUR	edhama	KWA	-eai
*KAG	luttaw	DOB	ʔa-men	NEM	yaulāp
BLA	l-am-təw	IRA	nabəra	CEM	pūlā
*SAB	lantup	SAW	n-empure	AJI	oʔo
*MUR	labuy	NYI	telebek	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ārī
MGY	mi-ɕinkafuna	MAM	poati	*NEN	manid
*ACE	ampon	TAK	-fot	KIR	beibeti
BAT	m-ubbaŋ	DAM	solī	*MSH	ppec
*MIN	ma-rapu <sup>a</sup> ŋ	MAB	-potpot	PON	pei
*IND	məŋ-apuŋ	YAB	-p <sup>w</sup> aʔ	WLE	ppesi
*SUN	ŋambaŋ (kambaŋ)	KAU	[plot]	EFI	nawa
JAV	ŋambaŋ (kambaŋ)	*TOL	əlir	WFI	nawa
MAD	ŋambaŋ (kambaŋ)	BUA	ɣɔk bəl βaβunɛ	RTU	nənu
BAL	ŋambaŋ (kambaŋ)	ADZ	map-	*TON	tētē
SAS	ompal-ompal	KIL	-beu	*SAM	opeopia
		TAW	tenam	*MEL	[sale]
		MOT	hure	*TAH	pāinu
				RAP	raŋa-raŋa

ATA *man-βasbuš* 'to float up'.

ISN *millud* 'drift with current'.

KAL *taplak + maN-*.

TAG *lūtaŋ + -um-*.

MOL *lopuŋ + og-*.

KAG *luttaw + mag-*.

SAB	<i>lantup + pa-</i> .
MUR	<i>labuy (-um-)</i> ‘come to surface, bob about’; <i>lampaw (-um-)</i> ‘float downisucani’.
ACE	Also <i>lampuŋ</i> .
MIN	A back formation from <i>ma(r)-apuʔŋ</i> ; also <i>ma-apuʔŋ</i> .
IND	Also <i>mə-lampuŋ</i> .
SUN	Also <i>palid</i> .
GOR	‘floating’.
WOL	Also <i>la<sup>n</sup>to</i> (on water, in the air).
ŠIK	Also <i>lera-ŋ</i> .
TOL	<i>əlir-e</i> (vb trans).
MEK	<i>e-ŋau</i> also ‘swim’, NW Mekeo <i>e-pogi</i> (Brown).
ROV	Also <i>tapala</i> ‘drift’.
NEN	Also <i>ŋae</i> .
MSH	<i>ppec</i> ‘watery, diluted, float’; also <i>ppepe</i> .
TON	Also <i>maʔanu</i> .
SAM	<i>faʔa-opeopea</i> (vb trans) <i>faʔa-</i> CAUS, <i>opeopea</i> ‘float (vb intrans)’; also <i>faʔa-tafe</i> , see 10.320.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>maraʔa</i> .

### 10.350 SWIM

ATA	ʔ-um-aŋuy	*MUR	saduy	UMA	mo-naŋu
TSO	rū-xŋuzu	*MGY	mi-l-um-anu	BUG	naŋe
*RUK	wa-laŋoy	ACE	mu-laŋuə	KON	aʔ-laŋe
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> -əm-aŋuy	*BAT	mar-laŋe	*WOL	ka-ŋano
YAM	miawawat	MIN	ba-ranaŋ		ŋano
ISN	manalug	IND	bə-rənaŋ	MAG	aŋiŋ
*KAL	tapug	SUN	ŋoŋay	NGA	naŋu
TAG	laŋoy		(koŋay)	*SIK	nani
AKL	ʔaŋuy	JAV	ŋ-laŋi	RTI	aŋe
PAL	laŋuy	MAD	laŋŋuy	*BUR	uka
*MOL	lomпой	BAL	ŋ-laŋi	DOB	ʔa-nen
*KAG	luuy	SAS	ŋotər	IRA	məkaka
BLA	k-m-ahuŋ	GOR	mo-[lolaŋi]	SAW	n-εwowe
*SAB	laŋi	DAA	no-rabu	*NYI	aya

MAM	ɲara	MAR	tao	KIR	uaua
TAK	-log	LAU	garu	MSH	aʌ
DAM	yoyō	KWO	balaʔau	*PON	pap
MAB	-yāgo	RAG		WLE	yafa
YAB	-ekoʔ	*PAA	gul	EFI	galo
KAU	su	*LEW	kulu	WFI	gau
TOL	əlir	POR	ɲioŋ	RTU	rōpi
BUA	ʁeβək bel	NTA	-eai	TON	kakau
*ADZ	map-	*KWA	-aiu	SAM	ʔaʔau
KIL	-kakaya	NEM	yōm	MEL	kau
*TAW	tuba	CEM	ẽom	*TAH	ʔau
MOT	hanu	AJI	ũ	RAP	kau
MEK	e-ɲau	XAR	xẽ		
*ROV	tunuru	NEN	al		

RUK *wa-lədədəpə* ‘to swim’; *wa-laŋoy* ‘obsolete form of swimming’.

KAL *tapug + maN-*.

MOL *lomпой + -um-*.

KAG *luuy + mag-/m-*.

SAB *laŋi + pa-*; also *laŋoy + pa-*.

MUR *saduy (mag-)*.

MGY Root *lanu*.

BAT From Proto-Batak *\*laŋey*.

WOL *ka-ŋano-ŋano* ‘swim about, also float about’; also *po-ŋaŋo*.

SIK Also *baβak*.

BUR *uka* ‘swim’; also *foi* ‘bathe, swim’; *naŋo* ‘wade’; Lisela *naŋo* ‘swim’.

NYI Also *eya* (1sg 3sg).

ADZ Also *is-mpui*.

TAW ‘swim/play’.

ROV *tunuru* ‘swim’; *taptapala* ‘crawl, stroke’; *huhuve* ‘bathe’.

PAA *muol* ‘swim (to a goal)’.

LEW Also *ye* ‘swim in deep water’.

KWA *-aiu* also ‘go, proceed, run’; *-arau* also ‘reach out, box’; *-aru* also ‘bathe’.

PON *taŋ* (of fish).

TAH *ʔau tua*, *ʔau o tua* ‘swim on the back’; *ʔau ʔōpū* ‘swim on the stomach’.

## 10.351 DIVE

ATA	ma-	*GOR	mo-dulopo	*ROV	sovitili
	tumamkaik	DAA	noti <sup>n</sup> ja	MAR	ʃufu
TSO	ru-froʔi		<sup>m</sup> patua	LAU	sū
RUK	mo-aḍiŋ	*UMA	<sup>ʔ</sup> kali-suhu?	KWO	sū
PAI	l̥-əm-ədəp	BUG	pilluŋ	*RAG	siu
YAM	omokʂo	*KON	as-sallu?	PAA	munū
ISN	magsappug	WOL	lea	LEW	talū
KAL	lumtop	MAG	čunu	*POR	ku <sup>m</sup> bax va
*TAG	lirip	NGA	sumu		na-ras
AKL	ʃurup	*SIK	molū	NTA	-ahau
PAL	magədəm (pədəm)	RTI	sui-k	*KWA	-asu
*MOL	tolop	*BUR	molo	NEM	po-tēp
*KAG	antus	*DOB	<sup>ʔ</sup> a-num	CEM	tipu
BLA	k-am-yaf	IRA	morə	AJI	lū
*SAB	tuhun	SAW	n-tilem	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> e
*MUR	tolop	NYI	asumor	NEN	ṃu
MGY	man-dentika	MAM	susu	KIR	tebo
ACE	sunəm	TAK	-patu	*MSH	tup <sup>u</sup> aṛ
BAT	ukkər	*DAM	uyu-le	PON	tu
			kiyole-ya	*WLE	mm <sup>w</sup> uso
*MIN	mañalam (salam)	*MAB	kilkīli	EFI	nunu
		*YAB	-im	WFI	riu
*IND	məñəlam (səlam)	KAU		RTU	čopu
		*TOL	gumu	TON	uku
*SUN	tilim	BUA	rəŋə	SAM	tofu
JAV	ñiləm (siləm)	ADZ	mugru <sup>ʔ</sup> -	MEL	sopu
*MAD	silləm	KIL	-loluwa	TAH	hopu i raro
*BAL	ñiləm (siləm)	TAW	yoli	RAP	rere hai
SAS	ñələm (sələm)	MOT	pau		pu <sup>ʔ</sup> oko
		MEK	e-kiu		

TAG Proto-Philippines \*ledep.

MOL *tolop* + *mog-*.

KAG *antus* + *mag-*.

SAB *tuhun* + *pa-* ‘dive from surface to seabed’; *tugpa<sup>ʔ</sup>* + *pa-* ‘dive by jumping from above’.

MUR *tolop* (-um-).

MIN	( <i>maN-salam</i> ).
IND	Also <i>səlundup</i> .
SUN	Also <i>nīlīm-an</i> ( <i>tīlīm-an</i> ).
MAD	Safioedin (1977): 'dive underwater'.
BAL	<i>-siləm</i> 'swim underwater'; <i>mə-čəbur</i> , <i>mə-ləbu</i> 'jump from a high place to a lower one'.
GOR	'dive down to'; also <i>mo-tinulopo</i> .
UMA	Also <i>me<sup>o</sup>ka-ǰula?</i>
KON	Also <i>am-mi-sallu?</i> from ( <i>aŋ-pi-sallu?</i> ).
SIK	Also <i>sugu-ŋ</i> , <i>sugu-ŋ βi<sup>o</sup>i-ŋ</i> .
BUR	See note for 04.751, 10.320 and 10.330.
DOB	'dive underwater'.
DAM	'nose-wards jump-INF'.
MAB	<i>-kilkīli</i> 'do a surface dive'; <i>-kūzu</i> 'dive down to pick up s.th.'.
YAB	'swim under water'; also <i>-im sep bu</i> 'dive into the water'.
TOL	See 04.690.
ROV	Also <i>suvu</i> 'go underwater'.
RAG	Also <i>uru</i> 'to dive for'.
POR	'jump to the-sea'.
KWA	<i>-asu</i> 'skin dive'; <i>-ewa</i> 'dive into'.
MSH	<i>tup<sup>u</sup>aŋ</i> 'dive head first', <i>p<sup>u</sup>aŋ</i> 'head'; <i>lɔŋak</i> 'fall head first, dive (of planes)'; also <i>tulok</i> , <i>ttūr</i> .
WLE	<i>tū-řoŋo</i> , <i>-řoŋo</i> 'into'.

### 10.352 SPLASH

ATA	man-pa-p <sup>h</sup> ik	PAL	pəsəbur	*ACE	[čubo]
TSO			(səbur)	BAT	ma-birsak
RUK	ŋi-a-boray	*MOL	simbur	*MIN	lameh
PAI		*KAG	sablig	*IND	məmərčik-
YAM	mipišit	*BLA	filik		kan (pərčik)
ISN	sumarub	*SAB	pisik	*SUN	[ŋəpret]-kɪn
*KAL	tupyak	*MUR	ias		([lʃəpret])
*TAG	tilamsik	MGY	mam-	JAV	ŋiprat
*AKL	āsik		pipitika		(čiprat)

MAD	čabbur	TAK	-balfirak	NTA	-efautəm <sup>w</sup>
*BAL	mə-čəmpluŋ	*DAM	i-ɸilige-ya	KWA	-erahawen
SAS	čəluŋ-aŋ	*MAB	-parkūzu	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> e-yali
GOR	mo-puloti <sup>?</sup> o	*YAB	-sànem	CEM	tàtue-hi
*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka- lijo <sup>m</sup> pe ne	KAU		AJI	yaŋai
*UMA	te-paja <sup>?</sup>	TOL	əpur	*XAR	mə-ci <sup>˘</sup>
BUG	tas-simbuŋ	BUA	tē	NEN	
KON	ta <sup>?</sup> -bassi <sup>?</sup>	*ADZ	ari-da ruan i m <sup>h</sup> pui	KIR	bururua
*WOL	po-ta <sup>m</sup> pesa	KIL	-katuluβa	*MSH	cceɬap <sup>w</sup> ɬap <sup>w</sup>
MAG	kə <sup>m</sup> buk	*TAW	kabu	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> uŋur
NGA	gəβa	*MOT	petari-a	WLE	
SIK	hira hotak	MEK	e-pi <sup>?</sup> i-pi <sup>?</sup> i	EFI	kasou
RTI	oe piso-k	ROV	siru	*WFI	tohou
*BUR	pesa	MAR	bosa	*RTU	polkō
*DOB	na-labetar	*LAU	kalukalu	TON	pihi
IRA	məsənaɸərə wərə	*KWO	bisile <sup>?</sup> eni-a	*SAM	pisi
SAW	n-etape	RAG		*MEL	fuia
NYI	sakadan	PAA	vosa	*TAH	pahī
MAM	tapu	LEW	wī keka	*RAP	opape
		POR	xavüč-i		

KAL *tupyak + i-*.

TAG *tilamsik + -um/-an*; also *wisik + mag/-an* ‘sprinkle’.

AKL Also *tamsik*.

MOL *simbur + mog/-an*.

KAG *sablig + mag/-an/ma- -an*.

BLA *filik* ‘splash (as from flicking fingers)’; *t-am-sik* ‘(inadvertently) splatter (on something)’.

SAB *pisik + aN/-an*; also *daplak + pa-* (of waves splashing on the shore); *kusibul + aN-* ‘make a splashing sound (of a person diving from above)’.

MUR *ias (maŋ- -in)*.

ACE From Malay. ‘fallen into water’.

MIN Also *simbu<sup>?</sup>*.

IND Also *mən-dəbur, mən-čəbur, čəmpluŋ*.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL (vb intrans).



DAA	'to splash water'.
UMA	Also <i>te-raĵa?</i>
WOL	Also <i>ra"ča, tepa</i> .
BUR	(of waves); <i>stife</i> 'splash (of children)'.
DOB	(of water).
DAM	'3sg-splash-INF.
MAB	'splash others with water'.
YAB	(vb trans).
ADZ	'raise -PART self LOC water', i.e. 'splash oneself with water'.
TAW	<i>kabu</i> 'splash (making a booming sound)'; <i>lutepotepo</i> 'splash wildly'.
MOT	Also (?) <i>pisiri</i> .
LAU	Also <i>kalufia</i> .
KWO	<i>bisi</i> (vb intrans).
XAR	<i>mɔ-cī</i> 'splash with the foot'; <i>mɔ-cī, xē-cī xē-cī</i> 'splash with the hand'.
MSH	Also <i>pp<sup>w</sup>iŋktiki</i> .
PON	<i>usup</i> also <i>usupī</i> .
WFI	Also <i>katahoni-sia</i> .
RTU	Also <i>pusi</i> .
SAM	<i>fā?a-pīsi</i> (vb trans), <i>fā?a-</i> CAUS.
MEL	Also <i>pusia</i> .
TAH	Also <i>pahū</i> .
RAP	Also <i>?utu-?utu te vai; hoa-hoa te vai; re-rere te vai</i> .

### 10.360 SAIL.

ATA		PAL	lumayag	*BAT	[layar]
TSO			(layag)	MIN	ba-layi <sup>2</sup>
RUK		MOL	layag	IND	bər-layar
PAI		*KAG	layag	SUN	ba-layar
YAM	viləḍ	*BLA	ləyɔl	*JAV	lə-layar-an
ISN		*SAB	leha	MAD	laĵar
KAL		MUR		*BAL	mə-[layar]
*TAG	lāyag	MGY	man-deha	SAS	layar
*AKL	ʔāyag		an-ϕambu	GOR	mɔ-bite
		ACE	mu-layuuə		

DAA	no-sumo <sup>m</sup> ba (so <sup>m</sup> ba)	DAM	solī	NTA	-asua
		MAB	-yāra	*KWA	-əsua
*UMA	mō-s-um- o <sup>m</sup> pa	YAB	-laʔ	NEM	t <sup>n</sup> ōn
BUG	sompe	*KAU	[lilia]	*CEM	téte
KON	añ-ñombala (‘sombala)	*TOL	vanə mə ra [sel]	AJI	pə k <sup>w</sup> ā
		BUA		XAR	xĩĩ
*WOL	manusuru	ADZ		*NEN	iya
MAG	[laʃar]	*KIL	-kewa	*KIR	[bōrau]
NGA	laʃa	TAW	kuka	*MSH	ceṛak
SIK	abə	*MOT	heau	PON	serek
*RTI	la	*MEK		*WLE	teṛaxi
BUR	soba-k	*ROV	tepe	EFI	soko
DOB	ʔa-lar	MAR		WFI	hoko
*IRA	banə wəṛə ϕunə	LAU	[selo]	*RTU	titiu
SAW	n-čobel (sobel)	KWO		TON	folau
		RAG		SAM	folau
NYI	alakak	*PAA	loh	MEL	tere
MAM	reba	*LEW	ure-ni m <sup>w</sup> ale	*TAH	tere
TAK	-yawai	*POR	van kan a xa <sup>m</sup> ban	*RAP	

TAG *lāyag + mag-* see *-um-* see 10.880.

AKL See 10.880.

KAG *layag + mag-*.

BLA *layal* (n); *m-layal* (vb), *m-awəŋ* ‘travel by boat’.

SAB *leha + aN-*; also *banog + aN-*.

BAT From Malay, also *rear*.

JAV (RED-*layar-an*).

BAL [*layar*] verbal root, North Bali only (Kersten 1984); *bidak* (n).

UMA Probably from Kaili or some other coastal language.

WOL *manusuru* ‘sail with a fair wind’; also *paŋa-awa*.

RTI *la* ‘sail (n), to sail (vb)’; *saʔe ofa-k* ‘to sail (i.e. ride) in a boat’.

IRA ‘go at sea’.

KAU From an Arawe dialect on the coast.

TOL *vanə* ‘go’, *mə* ‘with’, *ra* ART, [*sel*] ‘sail’.

KIL (vb), also used is adverbial prefix *-dou-* ‘by sailing canoe’, added to verb root, e.g. *-dou-laguβa* ‘cross over by sailing canoe’. *-dou-busi*

‘arrive by sailing canoe’, *-dou-laβi* ‘leave, sail away’; *-dou-pela* ‘go to there by sailing canoe’.

MOT	Lit. ‘to run’.
ROV	<i>tepe</i> (n), <i>tepepe</i> (vb).
PAA	Used for any kind of travelling.
LEW	‘pull-up sail’; also <i>kusi wa</i> ‘take a boat’.
POR	‘go with at sail’.
KWA	‘travel by watercraft’.
CEM	Also <i>púla</i> .
NEN	Also <i>siñeu</i> .
KIR	From Polynesian; <i>ieic</i> .
MSH	Also <i>cep<sup>w</sup>lāk</i> .
WLE	<i>taxē-a</i> ‘sail in (vb trans)’.
RTU	Also <i>forau</i> .
TAH	Also <i>horo</i> ; <i>fano</i> arch.
RAP	<i>haka tere</i> ‘drive (e.g. boat, a car, airplane).

### 10.370 FLY (vb)

ATA	man-βahay	MIN	tabaŋ	IRA	manə sorə
TSO	tor-soso	IND	tərbaŋ	SAW	n-ope
RUK	ŋi-a-palay	*SUN	hibər	NYI	atah
PAI	miŋ-ļayap	JAV	m-abur	MAM	ro
YAM	şomalap	MAD	abb <sup>β</sup> ər	TAK	-rou
ISN	kumāyab	BAL	mə-kəbər	*DAM	ϕatutu i-le-ya
*KAL	tā <sup>ʔ</sup> ud	SAS	kelep	MAB	-rie
*TAG	lipad	GOR	t-um-o <sup>m</sup> boto	YAB	-lob
AKL	ʃupad	DAA	ne- <sup>m</sup> bua	KAU	yap
*PAL	luməpad (ləpad)	*UMA	ʔkali-moko	TOL	pururuŋ
*MOL	layug	BUG	luttu <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	βēŋ
*KAG	la'yug	KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -ribba <sup>ʔ</sup>	ADZ	dʒuf-
BLA	m-ayeŋ	*WOL	po-laka	KIL	-yowa
*SAB	leyaŋ	MAG	lelap	TAW	lupa
*MUR	siab	NGA	voa	*MOT	roho
*MGY	manidina	SIK	horo	*MEK	e-ŋopo
*ACE	[pə]	RTI	la	ROV	tapuru
BAT	habaŋ	*BUR	laba-k	MAR	flalo
		DOB	ʔa-niw	LAU	lofo

KWO	lofo	CEM	tè̃	EFI	βuka
*RAG	γaya	AJI	cē̃	WFI	ḍaβu
PAA	muka	XAR	eī̃	RTU	fere
LEW	ka	*NEN	dede	TON	puna
POR	ku <sup>m</sup> bax	KIR	kiba	*SAM	lele
NTA	-iβiŋ	*MSH	pik	MEL	rere
*KWA	-eai	PON	pīr	*TAH	rere
NEM	tan	WLE	yaři	RAP	rere

KAL *tāʔud + -um-*.

TAG *lipad + -um-*.

PAL Also *lumpad*.

MOL *layug + -um-*.

KAG *la'yug + mag-*.

SAB *leyaŋ + pa-*.

MUR *siab (mag-)*.

MGY From (*maN-sidina*).

ACE Also [*phɔ*] from Mon-Khmer, spelled with *-r*.

SUN *ŋapuŋ (kapuŋ)*.

UMA <sup>n</sup>*kali-wara* (Tolee, Winatu dialects).

WOL Also *taraβaŋu*.

BUR Also *loi* 'throw s.th. out a long distance'; Kayeli, Lisela *tifo* 'fly'.

DAM 'waving wings 3sg-go-INF', only of beings with wings; for aircraft *iluni-le-ya* 'go above'.

MOT Also 'jump'.

MEK 'fly, jump'.

RAG Also *gaya*.

KWA Also 'soar'; *-iwa* also 'leap'.

NEN Also *tukuie, ruel*.

MSH *kæ-* with directional suffixes; *kkæke*.

SAM *fāʔa-lele* 'fly an aeroplane (vb trans)', *faʔa-* CAUS.

TAH Also *maʔue; peʔe* (of an inanimate object when thrown).

## 10.380 BLOW

ATA	ʔ-um-iyup	UMA	tuβuiʔ	MAR	ifu
*TSO	porepe	BUG	miriʔ	LAU	ʔufulia
RUK	wa-ipi	*KON	am-marruŋ	KWO	ufi(-a)
*PAI	v-ən-ali		(harruŋ)	RAG	
YAM	aviotan	WOL	to-wii	PAA	mūhi
ISN	mag-sup	MAG	pūr	LEW	yui
*KAL	sapʔuy	NGA	zupi	POR	vuv <sup>w</sup> -i
*TAG	hīhip	*SIK	plupi	*NTA	-ep
AKL	huyup	RTI	ru	*KWA	-əse
PAL	təpyug-an	BUR	opi	NEM	uvi
*MOL	tibuhuʔ	DOB	ʔa-so	CEM	cú
*KAG	əyəp	IRA	guφə φena	AJI	kui
*BLA	m-yuf	SAW	n-uf	XAR	šue
*SAB	tiyup	NYI	oloh	NEN	uti
*MUR	sampuy	MAM	eurī	KIR	uka
MGY	mi-çuka	TAK	-wi	*MSH	pæl
*ACE	pot	DAM	wese	*PON	peuk
BAT	obbus	MAB	-wi	*WLE	uxū
MIN	ambuyh	YAB	-yu	EFI	uβu-ða
IND	məniup	*KAU	kun	WFI	u-βia
	(tiup)	TOL	vuvu	*RTU	ui
SUN	niup (tiup)	BUA	βε	*TON	aŋi
*JAV	sumilir	*ADZ	gufi-	*SAM	aŋi
MAD	sərrup	*KIL	-yuβi	*MEL	[suia]
BAL	ŋ-upin	TAW	huwe	*TAH	puhipuhi
SAS	pəpək-aŋ	*MOT	hiriri-a	RAP	puhi
GOR	mo-hīpo	*MEK	e-pua		
DAA	nan-tavui	ROV	ivua		

TSO *porepe* ‘blow (of wind)’; *mre-pūçu* also *pre-pūçu* ‘blow with the mouth’.

PAI *v-ən-ali* ‘blow (wind)’, *ɟ-əm-apəs* ‘blow (with breath)’.

KAL *sapʔuy* + *-an*.

TAG *hīhip* + *-um*/*hīp-an* Proto-Southern Philippines *\*heyup*.

MOL *tibuhuʔ* + *-um-*.

KAG *eyep* + *mag*/*-an*.

BLA *m-yuf* ‘blow (by mouth)’; *f-alis* ‘be blown (by wind)’.

SAB	<i>tiyup + aN-/ø.</i>
MUR	<i>sampuy (-um-).</i>
ACE	(most commonly of the wind) also <i>proih.</i>
JAV	(vb intrans), of the wind, <i>*-um-</i> is a fossilised infix, no longer productive.
KON	Also <i>a<sup>?</sup>-tui<sup>?</sup></i> ; <i>aŋ-ʔassala</i> ‘ceremonial’.
SIK	Also <i>kəro</i> ‘to blow a spark into flame’.
KAU	<i>kun</i> ‘blow (into a blowgun)’; <i>phoŋ</i> ‘blow (onto fire)’.
ADZ	(vb trans).
KIL	Also <i>-uu</i> ‘wind blows’; also <i>-kayoki</i> ‘breathe on, blow gently, huff’.
MOT	<i>hiriri-a</i> ‘to blow e.g. trumpet, horn’, <i>toa</i> ‘to blow (of wind)’, <i>iruhai</i> ‘to blow one’s nose’.
MEK	<i>e-pua</i> (vb intrans); <i>e-ipi-na</i> ‘blow something’; other dialects <i>poa, boa, bua.</i>
NTA	<i>-ep</i> (vb trans); <i>-ep</i> (vb intrans).
KWA	<i>-əse</i> ‘blow on, blow into’; <i>-arəs</i> ‘blow away’; <i>-ek<sup>w</sup>aik</i> ‘as wind through trees’; <i>-ek<sup>w</sup>i</i> ‘blow about, blow around’; <i>-əsəsau</i> , ‘blow (as the wind) (vb intrans)’.
MSH	Also <i>retak</i> (of wind).
PON	Also <i>ipir, malimali</i> hon.
WLE	Also <i>firā.</i>
RTU	Also <i>mure.</i>
TON	<i>aji</i> ‘wind blow’; <i>puhi</i> ‘blow with mouth’.
SAM	(of wind); <i>feula</i> ‘blow one’s breath into/on (vb trans)’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>pupuhi.</i>

#### 10.410 CREEP, CRAWL

ATA	mana-huɬuy	*KAL	kadammaŋ	*KAG	daik
TSO	mā-kako	*TAG	gāpaŋ	BLA	k-m-ɔmɔŋ
RUK	goarapaŋanə	AKL	kāmaŋ	*SAB	lele
PAI	v-ən-avuy	PAL	mɔg-lulub	*MUR	tuŋkama <sup>?</sup>
YAM	mananap		(-lulub)	MGY	man-dadi
ISN	magadāŋ	*MOL	unanap	ACE	ũy

BAT	mar-tugarəŋ	NYI	ariu	*POR	kalax
MIN	ma-raŋkaʔ	*MAM	daŋ	NTA	-akioh
*IND	mə-rayap	TAK	-karak	*KWA	-akerha
*SUN	ŋa-randaŋ	*DAM	ibor-om	NEM	yova
JAV	m-brəŋkaŋ		i-yo-ya	CEM	ēoo
MAD	raŋkaʔ	MAB	-karara	AJI	cū
BAL	mə-gaaŋ	*YAB	-galab	XAR	ŋã
SAS	ŋ-umaŋ	KAU	hahah	NEN	xexe
*GOR	?-um-alapo	*TOL	kəkao	*KIR	kawa
*DAA	neka <sup>n̄</sup> ʔjolo	BUA	yeβəʔ	*MSH	tʌp <sup>u</sup> al
UMA	mo-de <sup>n̄</sup> ke	ADZ	afaf-	*PON	kerep
BUG	mak-kaloloʔ	KIL	-sagina	*WLE	tōnawa
*KON	aʔ-kaloloʔ	TAW	dala	EFI	gasi
WOL	po- <sup>n̄</sup> dele	MOT	rau	WFI	gani
MAG	halal	*MEK	e-ipa-ŋeŋe	RTU	vata
NGA	paka	*ROV	oʔolo	TON	totolo
*SIK	godo	*MAR	agra	*SAM	totolo
*RTI	na-loŋe	LAU	aŋo	*MEL	ttoro
*BUR	lōki	KWO	aŋo	*TAH	neʔe
DOB	na-y-le	*RAG	taga	RAP	totoro
IRA	benagətə	PA	sileh		
SAW	n-čale (sale)	LEW	kekea		

KAL *kadammaŋ + man-*; also *kāyap + -um-* (of insect).

TAG *gāpaŋ + -um-*.

MOL *unanap + -um-*.

KAG *daik + mag-* ‘to crawl on one’s stomach’; *baka-baka + mag-* ‘to crawl on one’s hands and knees’.

SAB *lele + pa-*.

MUR *tuŋkamaʔ (maŋ)* (of infant); also *sinok (mag-)* (of hunter, thief).

IND *mə-rayap* ‘creep’; *mə-raŋkak* ‘crawl’.

SUN Also *ŋa-rayap*.

GOR ‘creep (of either plants or animals)’; *mo-ti-daŋa* ‘crawl (of humans)’.

DAA ‘of child’.

KON Also *aʔ-toppaŋ*.

SIK Also *kləpak, nesər*.

RTI Also *na lo-loŋe*.

BUR	‘crawl baby or cuscus’; <i>hoko</i> ‘crawl (of vine)’; <i>rura</i> ‘crawl (of snake)’.
MAM	Also <i>ʔoaʔoa</i> .
DAM	‘knee with 3sg-walk-INF’.
YAB	Also <i>-le</i> .
TOL	Also <i>kəkau</i> , (vb intrans) from <i>kao/kau</i> ‘climb something (vb trans)’.
MEK	<i>e-ipa</i> ‘walk on tiptoe’; <i>ŋeŋe</i> ‘walk slowly, step-by-step’; also <i>e-ʔaŋa</i> , from <i>ʔaŋa</i> ‘thigh, leg’.
ROV	Also <i>ŋame</i> ‘crawl’.
MAR	<i>agra</i> ‘crawl in crouch’; <i>tagu</i> ‘crawl, creep on ground, as ants, babies, vines’; <i>yohmo</i> , <i>kopro</i> ‘creep up on’.
RAG	<i>daga</i> ‘crawl’.
POR	Also <i>ʔgalo</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-ate</i> ‘crawl on one’s backside’; <i>-ərko</i> ‘creep’.
KIR	Also <i>aeae</i> ‘approach with stealth’.
MSH	<i>wə̄r</i> ‘approach with stealth’.
PON	<i>kerep</i> ‘crawl on all fours’; <i>lim<sup>w</sup>ātek</i> ‘crawl on the belly’.
WLE	<i>tōnawa</i> archaic; <i>xaraxa</i> .
SAM	<i>tolo</i> (vb intrans) ‘crawl, swarm (said of animals found in numbers)’.
MEL	Also <i>soana</i> .
TAH	Also <i>toro</i> .

### 10.412 KNEEL

ATA	k-um-an-ta-tariʔ	MOL	soluʔkud	MAD	a-ḍikkun
TSO	pu-ka-kadi	*KAG	luʔud	*BAL	mə-tedoh
RUK	wa-piḍoro	BLA	lkuad	*SAS	ñoŋkok (soŋkok)
PAI	ϕ-əm-uŋaḷ	*MUR	igugulatud	*GOR	mo-ti-boḷgo
YAM	mililitoḍ	*MGY	man-duhalika		huʔu
ISN	mag-palintud	*ACE	[suʃut]	*DAA	no-ti <sup>m</sup> ba kotu
*KAL	palintūmoŋ	BAT	mar-singəŋ	*UMA	βiḷkudu
*TAG	lūhod	MIN	ma-lutuyʔ	BUG	mak-kaluttuʔ
AKL	ʃūhud	IND	bər-lutut	KON	aʔ-kulantuʔ
PAL	suməlukud (səlukud)	SUN		WOL	ḍe <sup>m</sup> po
		JAV	ʃəŋkəŋ	MAG	tikul



NGA	səgo ulu-tuu	*ADZ	idzaʔ- faga-n	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> i-gan-jit
SIK	nidi	*KIL	-tapopula	*CEM	tí-jĩli-n
RTI	sene-k		k <sup>w</sup> aitutula	AJI	yuuu bē ã
BUR	sin too	TAW	omtutone-	XAR	çī b <sup>w</sup> ā-xě
*DOB	dam yaba		tonena	NEN	aseri karedi
	tuna	*MOT	he-tuitui	*KIR	katorobubua
IRA		*MEK	e-ʔani-feʔu	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> elɬɬ
SAW	n-ɛtig	ROV	kokotuŋu	PON	kelep <sup>w</sup> iki
*NYI	buli <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> uʔu-n	MAR	sutupupuku	*WLE	xasiϕ <sup>w</sup> iixiwa
	ki a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> i	LAU	boururu	EFI	tekiduru
MAM	ʔineŋ	KWO	bou urūru	WEI	siki-čuru
*TAK		*RAG	sisi-a-b <sup>w</sup> au	RTU	loʔ fū
*DAM	ibori-tenē-ya	PAA	deteŋairil	TON	tūʔulutui
*MAB	-lek ku <sup>m</sup> bu-	LEW	kinae	*SAM	toʔo-tuli
*YAB	-poŋ à-duʔ	POR	čikindür	*MEL	[čip <sup>w</sup> p <sup>w</sup> ātua]
*KAU	poβut ko sul	NTA	-əsin nuβələn	TAH	tūturi
*TOL	ki-lilikun	*KWA	-num <sup>w</sup> i	RAP	tu-turi
BUA	tuŋ lus		nukuru-		

KAL *palintūmoŋ + man.*

TAG *lūhod + -um-* Proto-Philippines *\*lūhud.*

ĶAG *luʔud + mag-*.

SAB *lukkuʔ + pa-*.

MUR *igugulatud (-um-).*

MGY See 04.360 (knee).

ACE From Arabic *sajad* ‘prostrate oneself’.

BAL *mə-tedoh* ‘sit on ground with lower legs folded back under thighs’;  
*nuŋkul (N-duŋkul)* ‘kneel as a sign of defeat’ (*duŋkul* ‘with knees  
drawn up before one’s chest, e.g. when sleeping’).

SAS ‘kneel to pray’; Thoir et al. (1985): *joŋkoʔ* ‘sit on haunches’.

GOR *huʔu* ‘knee(s)’.

DAA Also *neka-dede.*

UMA Also *βi<sup>ŋ</sup>kotoʔ.*

DOB ‘they do knee’.

NYI ‘face his-knee go down’.

TAK *turu-n tan i-sue-da* ‘knee-his ground it-stab-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘his knee is  
stabbing the ground’, ‘he is kneeling’.

DAM	‘knee 3sg-plant-INF.
MAB	Also <i>-mbut ku<sup>mbu</sup>-</i> .
YAB	‘bend knee’ (cf. 04.360).
KAU	<i>poβut</i> ‘knee’; <i>ko</i> ‘move downwards’.
TOL	<i>ki</i> ‘sit (vb intrans)’, <i>lilikon</i> ‘bend (vb trans)’.
ADZ	‘bend, break + leg-3sg POSS’, i.e. ‘bend one’s knees’.
KIL	‘bend knee’.
MOT	tui ‘knee’, also <i>tui-na hadai-a</i> .
MEK	<i>e-ʔani-feʔu</i> ‘manipulate joint, kneel’, also <i>kiu-ai e-ʔue-kipo</i> , <i>kiu</i> ‘knee, angle’; <i>e-ʔue-kipo</i> ‘crouch down’.
RAG	‘kneel on both knees’.
KWA	‘bury knee’.
NEM	‘touch-knee’.
CEM	‘touch knees’.
KIR	‘put down the knees’.
MSH	Also <i>cūp<sup>wk</sup> wε</i> lit ‘stand on the knees’.
WLE	‘stand on the knees’.
SAM	<i>toʔo</i> ‘lean on a stick (vb intrans)’, <i>tuli</i> ‘joint, knee’.
MEL	From Efate.

### 10.413 CROUCH

ATA	may-nuʔtu	SAB		DAA	
TSO	sū-tutʔiŋxi	*MUR	isisiŋkulow	UMA	mo-torogogoʔ
RUK	kiaʔəpəŋ	MGY	mi-turuvuka	BUG	mač-čekkeŋ
PAI	maʔi-kuʔul <sup>y</sup>	*ACE	tiŋgoŋ	KON	aʔ-lesseʔ
YAM	mililitoʔ	BAT		*WOL	o <sup>ɖ</sup> ko
ISN	mag-pipikkut	MIN	mam-buŋku <sup>ʔʔ</sup> -	MAG	hopi
*KAL	paligāwgaw		buŋku <sup>ʔʔ</sup>	NGA	noyo
*TAG	yukyok	*IND	məriŋkuk	*SIK	(dəri) ligir
*AKL	yukuʔ	*SUN	čiŋogo	RTI	loe
PAL	pəkupuŋ	JAV	n-ɕʌɕʌʔ	*BUR	eptea taf daŋa-
	(kupuŋ)	*MAD	ŋandaʔ		k
MOL	kuduʔ	*BAL	ŋ-untuk	*DOB	ʔa-talar yaba-y
*KAG	ləʔəb	SAS			tibir
BLA	lkatot	*GOR	moheluŋo		

*IRA	nəmatərə naϕe maminə	MOT	idori	*XAR	cue to šãẽ
SAW	n-čěčerek	*MEK	e-ʔue-kipo	*NEN	guatutub
NYI	aluh	*ROV	hərodidi	KIR	
*MAM	nari	MAR	rama	MSH	ripæl
TAK	-kurakor	LAU		PON	karākiti
*DAM	ibor kũ ϕe i-bodo-ya	KWO	ofotoʔi	WLE	tixinesü
MAB	-madada	RAG		EFI	nəgə
YAB	-duʔ	PAA	sali	WFI	ere
*KAU	kek	LEW	tap <sup>w</sup> urup <sup>w</sup> uru	RTU	fiaʔrere
*TOL	ki-rokrok	POR	ra <sup>m</sup> bo	TON	noku
BUA	ɣəβəɣ	NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> alah	*SAM	faʔa-tū
ADZ	a <sup>m</sup> put-		βiərβiər	MEL	taunakānaka
*KIL	-si-totu	*KWA	-akure uta	TAH	pūtoʔi
TAW	medobudobu	NEM	tārūt	*RAP	noi
		CEM	tētē		
		AJI	tərei		

KAL *paligāwgaw + maN-*.

TAG *yukyok + -um-*.

AKL ‘stoop’.

KAG From *ləʔəb + m-*.

MUR *isisiŋkulow (-um)* ‘squat on one’s haunches’.

ACE Also *ndap* ‘crouch, duck (to conceal oneself)’.

IND Also *ḷoŋkok* ‘squat’.

SŪN̄ ‘squat’.

MAD (*N-ʔ*): no morpheme break indicated.

BAL *ŋ-untuk* ‘lower one’s head’; *ŋ-untul* ‘bend over, lowering head’;  
*ŋ-əəd* ‘bend over, lowering head in sign of humility’; *ñoŋkok*  
(*N-ḷoŋkok*) ‘squat on one’s heels’.

GOR (*waluŋo + moh-*).

WOL ‘stoop, bend down’.

SIK Also [*ḷoŋkok*] Malay, and *dəri huga, dəri klugu*.

BUR ‘squat’; *tor neno* ‘crouch down to fight’.

DOB ‘he sits on his calves’.

IRA ‘sit like a *suga*’ (kind of trap in which the animal falls on sharp bamboos).

MAM Also *sara-ʔidiʔidi-soaʔi*.

DAM ‘knee down 3sg-sit-INF’.

KAU	See 12.270.
TOL	<i>ki</i> 'sit (vb intrans)', <i>rokrok</i> 'frog'.
KIL	'sit stand'.
MEK	'crouch down', or perhaps more exactly 'perch down'.
ROV	Also <i>kokopo</i> 'bend over'.
KWA	<i>-akure uta</i> 'squat with flat feet'; <i>-akure k<sup>w</sup>opsase</i> 'squat on tiptoes'.
XAR	'sit partially'.
NEN	Also <i>yada</i> .
SAM	<i>fāʔa</i> - CAUS, <i>tū</i> 'stand'.
RAP	<i>noi</i> 'crouch, bend down (as e.g. to go through a wire fence)'; <i>raha</i> 'bend, duck down (so as not to bump head, as e.g. to go through a low doorway, under a tree, into a cave)'.

### 10.420 SLIDE, SLIP

ATA	ma-š-hahaur	JAV	kə-pl̩set	*YAB	-ka seleleʔ
TSO	bi-trisi	MAD	ta-liččir	KAU	yeye
RUK	mo-a-θoʎoŋo	*BAL	mə-sərod	*TOL	tə-gəlir
PAI	qi-ka-rubu-	SAS	kə-dəsor	*BUA	səzun
	rub-ay	*GOR	mee-huluto	*ADZ	ris- + gin
YAM	koməliəş	DAA	nate-pakaya	KIL	-saididi
ISN	mag-kusor	*UMA	te-ʒela	TAW	haha
*KAL	kadūs	BUG	tas-solla	MOT	dedi
*TAG	ɖulas	*KON	tas-solla	*MEK	e-kae-kae
AKL	danlug	*WOL	si <sup>n</sup> doli	*ROV	kokotisi
*PAL	sugbak	MAG	ɖgasar	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> oglo
*MOL	dorunday	NGA	ʒoro	LAU	rurusu
*KAG	dandan	*SIK	dəsor	KWO	kolo
BLA	tlidos	*RTI	kosi-k	RAG	
*SAB	landog	*BUR	s-moho	PAA	vel sāu
*MUR	sunsuyad	DOB	na-tamumur	LEW	visirave
MGY	mi-bulisat <sup>r</sup> a	IRA	nəβesasuirə	POR	seleta <sup>mb</sup>
ACE		*SAW	n-t-ε-fsis	NTA	-eŋuatete
BAT	tar-su'laddit	NYI	atosou	*KWA	-akək
MIN	ta-galiči <sup>oʔ</sup>	MAM	malazi	NEM	tēlavi
*IND	məluñčur	TAK	-kirir	*CEM	nît
*SUN	nəlap-kɪn (səlap)	DAM	lolokoi	AJI	təveŋi
		*MAB	-kam ɖgiris	XAR	məçori

NEN	ku <sup>0</sup> e	EFI	dara	MEL	seke
*KIR	tikeke	WFI	doya <sup>0</sup> i	*TAH	he <sup>?</sup> e
*MSH	miric	RTU	čara	RAP	pororeko
*PON	kiris	*TON	heke		
*WLE	mmiti	SAM	se <sup>?</sup> e		

KAL *kadus + mai-*.

TAG *dulas + -um-/mā-*.

PAL Also *nəsugbak aku, buranyad*.

MOL *dorunday + mog-*.

KAG *dandan + maka-* ‘to slide’; *ligdas + mag-* ‘to slip’.

SAB *landog + pa-/ni-an*; also *liddas + pa-*.

MUR *sunsuyad (maka-)*

IND Also *tər-gəliñčir*.

SUN Also *ti-səlap, ti-soledat*.

BAL Also *ñərod (N-sərod)*.

GOR ‘slip unintentionally’.

UMA Also *te-ǰole?*

KON Also *ta<sup>?</sup>-čolla*.

WOL Also *taǰoro* (of a car).

SIK Also *globor, neni-ŋ* ‘glide’.

RTI Also *sapi-kodi*.

BUR *s-moho* ‘slip and fall’; *s-nodo* ‘slide on bottom downhill’; *spisa, prisa* ‘slippery’.

SAW Also *n-fa-t-ε-fsis-ε* ‘make slip’; *n-fa-tuf* ‘slide s.th. in’.

MAB Also *-yasipir*.

YAB ‘step slipping’ i.e. ‘slip and fall’.

TOL Meyer (1961:77): *gəliṛ* ‘be slippery’, *gəliṛ-e* ‘let something slide down’, Lanyon-Orgill (1960: 338) *gəliṛə* ‘slide, slip’, Bley (1917: 16) ‘ausgleiten’ *tə-gəliṛ, gəlgəliṛ*, also *maǰolo* or *duladulə* ‘be slippery’.

BUA Also *rəpəḳ*.

ADZ *ris- + gin* ‘slide’; *ǰi<sup>0</sup>? + gin* ‘slide backwards’; *gagr<sup>0</sup>?* ‘slip’ (Amari dialect); *gr<sup>0</sup>?* ‘step’ (other dialects).

MEK *e-kae-kae* ‘be slippery’; *e-ŋafa-kaka* ‘slip, lose footing’ (*ŋafa* ‘move (the foot), voluntarily or otherwise, kick’).

ROV *kokotisi* ‘to slide on a board’; also *gulazoro* ‘slip on wet step’.

MAR Also *ǰagra*.

- KWA *-kək* ‘slip down, slip off, slip onto’; *-eraier* ‘slip and lose one’s balance’; *-əwi akəsər* ‘slide into, slide across something’; *-skərhi* ‘slide something across, skim’.
- CEM Also *cā-nît*.
- KIR Also *tikera; tiba* ‘slip away, get loose, miss’.
- MSH *ciriŋək* ‘slip unintentionally, have an accident’; *ɾAŋək* ‘slip from grasp’.
- PON Also *nît* ‘slide in, out (vb trans)’; *ṭōr* (vb trans), *reŋk* (of rocks); *eŋkiti* (of rocks, sand), with suffix *-ti* ‘down’.
- WLE Also *ssētî*.
- TON *heke* ‘slide’; *hekea* ‘slip’.
- TAH Also *faʔaheʔe* ‘slide voluntarily’.

### 10.430 JUMP, LEAP

*ATA	ma-š-tatail	MAD	lunčaʔ	*KAU	teŋ
TSO	mo-ftiʔi	*BAL	mə-kəčos	TOL	pil
RUK	wa-itoko	SAS	leŋkak-aŋ	BUA	pəsəŋ
PAI	min-tuŋək	*GOR	l-um-a <sup>n</sup> diʔo	*ADZ	atup-
YAM	liktawən	DAA	neka-va <sup>n</sup> tu	KIL	-leusa
ISN	lumatuʔ	*UMA	ʔkali-teneʔ	TAW	lupa
*KAL	lagtuk	BUG	luppiʔ	*MOT	roho
*TAG	lukso	KON	aʔ-lumpaʔ	*MEK	e-ŋopo
*AKL	ṭumpat	*WOL	saβu	ROV	horu
PAL	luməmpud (lampud)	MAG	tekar	MAR	ɣasa
*MOL	lumpat	NGA	moʔo	*LAU	ʔaru
*KAG	lusku	*SIK	bətok	KWO	olo
*BLA	fkək	RTI	naka-boku	*RAG	visiri
*SAB	laksu	*BUR	foŋo	PAA	vut
*MUR	tindak	DOB	ʔa-yetar	LEW	wula
MGY	man-dingana	IRA	məsor	POR	ku <sup>m</sup> bax
*ACE	grop	SAW	n-yəg	NTA	-etəp
BAT	akkat	NYI	sa <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> oh	*KWA	-iwa
MIN	ma-lompeʔ	MAM	noʔu	NEM	yalāp
*IND	mə-lompat	TAK	-sikalik	CEM	tēt
*SUN	luñčət	DAM	gurusā	AJ	koyo
*JAV	m-lompat	*MAB	-lek	XAR	cī
		YAB	-b <sup>w</sup> aŋ	NEN	šota

KIR	ewe	EFI	lade	*SAM	oso
*MSH	kælpk	WFI	rido	MEL	sopo
PON	lus	RTU	hoto	*TAH	ʔouʔa
WLE	řütü	*TON	hopo	RAP	rere

ATA *panaphyawiy* 'to jump across a creek or something dangerous'.

KAL *lagtuk + -um-*; also *salāpaw + -um-* 'jump over'; *lāyug + -um-* 'jump down'.

TAG *lukso + -um-* also *lundag + -um-/-in*.

AKL Also *ʔuksuh, liksih* 'jump over'.

MOL *lumpat + -um-*.

KAG *luskū + mag-*; also *tugpa + mag-* 'to jump down from'.

BLA *fkək* 'leap about'; *fa-ltu* 'jump (up onto as onto a horse)'; *k-am-yaf* 'jump over'.

SAB *laksu + pa-*; also *tugpaʔ + pa-*.

MUR *tindak (-um-)*.

ACE Also *lumpat*.

IND Also *mə-loñčat*.

SUN Also *ŋa-luĩčat-an*.

JĀV (vb intrans).

BAL Also *mə-kəčog*; *mə-kəčis* 'make small jumps (of small animals, insects)'.

GOR 'jump (upward)', also *t-um-ayaŋo* 'jump (horizontal)'.

UMA Also *mo-haʃo*.

WOL *sabu* 'jump down'; *te"de* 'jump up'; also *tiba*.

SIK Also *səlo-ŋ bətok, poar, soʔar, plədo-ŋ, bula-ŋ, holok*.

BUR 'jump from branch to branch (cuscus)'; *pana* 'leap'.

MAB *-lek* 'jump over'; (*-lu + ACC* pronoun) 'jump'.

KAU Also *lup*.

ADZ *atup-* 'jump over s.th.'; *atupatup-* 'jump up and down'; *frip-* 'jump up, spring up'; *pruts-* 'jump over s.th.'.

MOT See also 10.370.

MEK *e-ŋopə* also 'fly', NW Mekeo *e-boŋei* (Brown).

LAU Also *lofo*.

RAG Also *bisiri*.

KWA Also *-arouarou* ‘jump up to something’; *-arprəp* ‘jump aside, leap’;  
*-ewa* ‘jump off of something’; *-əwi aueni* ‘jump over’.

MSH *pæl-* with directional suffixes.

TON Also *puna*.

SAM *musa* ‘jump, hop (vb intrans)’.

TAH Also *paŋi* (of fishes, etc.).

### 10.431 KICK

**English:** *kick*

ATA	k-um-an-ča- čri?	JAV	nəndəŋ (təndəŋ)	MAB	-pakat
*TSO	mo-ʔpoti	MAD	tand <sup>h</sup> u?	*YAB	-ka
RUK	wa-tətərə	*BAL	nañjuŋ (tañjuŋ)	*KAU	kii-n taŋ
PAI	ɟ-əm-aka- jak	SAS	təndaŋ-aŋ	*TOL	ruə
YAM	patoktokan	*GOR	moledu <sup>o</sup>	BUA	βaɣe
ISN	kugtār	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-sepa	*ADZ	is- i faga-n
*KAL	kussad	*UMA	sepa	KIL	-βali ɿ
*TAG	sīpa?	BUG	mas-sempe?	*TAW	launi
AKL	sīpa?	*KON	añ-ñemba? (semba?)	MOT	laha-ia
*PAL	sipaʔən			MEK	e-ŋafa(-i-a)
*MOL	sipa?	*WOL	sepa	ROV	taka
*KAG	tindas	MAG	vəda	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> oɣi
BLA	s-m-if <sup>o</sup> ?	NGA	sifa	LAU	[kiki]
*SAB	sipa?	*SIK	kəda	KWO	uri-a
*MUR	tandaŋ	RTI	fiti	RAG	bui
*MGY	man-daka	BUR	tare	PAA	pusi
ACE	sipa?	DOB	ʔa-ʔay	LEW	te
BAT	sipak	IRA	masepə	POR	ta <sup>m</sup> b <sup>wil</sup> -i
MIN	sipa?	SAW	n-epat	NTA	-oh e nelkən
*IND	məñepak (sepak)	*NYI	atuwiy na kati n	*KWA	-iekī
*SUN	ñepak (sepak)	MAM	duatate	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ai ho-n
		*TAK	-funi	CEM	táputē-hi
		*DAM	ye-m y-u-ya	AJI	ɟəxai
				XAR	jeke
				*NEN	utaweli
				KIR	



*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> iccike	WFI	ðage-sia	MEL	[kūpi-a]
*PON	[kikim]	RTU	tæpe	*TAH	tu <sup>?</sup> e
*WLE	fētī	TON	ʔaka	RAP	hoa hai va <sup>?</sup> e
EFI	ðage	*SAM	tā-vae		

TSO Also *po-ʔpot-i*.

KAL *kussad + i-*; also *pātud + i-*.

TAG *sīpaʔ + -um-/-in* Proto-Southern Philippines *\*sīpaʔ*.

PAL Also *tumbanan*.

MOL *sipaʔ + -um-/-an*.

KAG *tindas + mag-/-ən* also *patid + mag-/-ən* 'a sideways kick'.

SAB *sipaʔ + aN-/-an*.

MUR *tandaŋ (maŋ- -on)*, also *tunob (maŋ- -on)* 'kick backwards'.

MGY From (*maN-daka*).

IND Also *mənəndaŋ(təndaŋ)*.

SUN Also *naŋoŋ(taŋoŋ)*.

BAL (*N-*)*tañjuŋ* 'kick forward with the point of the foot'; (*N-*)*tiñjak* 'kick forward with the sole of the foot'; (*N-*)*sepak* 'kick to the side'; (*N-*)*kaper* 'kick backwards, of a horse'.

GOR (*tedu<sup>?</sup>o + moN-*); also *moli<sup>ŋ</sup>godu (ti<sup>ŋ</sup>godu + moN)* 'to kick with the heel'; *molepa (tepa + moN-)* 'kick with the instep'.

UMA Also *sedoʔ*.

KON Also *an-nudduʔ (tudduʔ)* 'kick with bottom of foot'.

WOL Also *se<sup>m</sup>ba*.

SIK [*sepa*] Malay; also *du<sup>?</sup>u-ŋ, kito, itor, hido, hido hano*.

NYI 'push with his leg'.

TAK 'hit'.

DAM 'leg with 3sg-hit-INF'.

YAB 'step, tread, kick'.

KAU 'foot-his hit'.

TOL *ruruə* (vb intrans).

ADZ 'hit instrument foot-3sg POSS'.

TAW 'hit'.

KWA Also *-apəti* 'kick, stub a toe'.

NEM 'throw foot'.

NEN Also *weli*.

MSH	<i>cūř</i> also ‘tread on’; <i>cam<sup>w</sup>e</i> , <i>cep<sup>w</sup>ici</i> , compare <i>cep<sup>w</sup>ic</i> ‘spur (of chicken)’
PON	Also <i>tepek</i> .
WLE	Also <i>şepexī</i> .
SAM	<i>tā</i> ‘hit (vb intrans)’, <i>vae</i> ‘foot, leg’ (see 04.350); also [ <i>kiki</i> ] (vb intrans) from English <i>kick</i> .
TAH	Also <i>patu</i> .

**10.440 DANCE**

ATA	ma- <i>kuš</i>	*UMA	raego?	MAR	ragi
TSO	prix-to-to- txomi	BUG	serre	LAU	wae
RUK	wa- <i>daļay</i>	KON	a <sup>?</sup> - <i>ǰoge?</i>	KWO	mao
*PAI	ǰ- <i>əm-akian</i>	*WOL	ka- <i>legoa</i>	RAG	sav <sup>w</sup> a <i>γoro</i>
YAM	<i>maganam</i>	*MAG		PAA	vol
ISN	<i>mag-sāla</i>	NGA	ǰa <sup>?</sup> <i>i</i>	LEW	wolu
*KAL	<i>tadok</i>	*SIK	<i>soka</i>	POR	sav
TAG	<i>sayaw</i>	RTI	<i>loǰe</i>	*NTA	- <i>əmakō</i>
*AKL	<i>sā<sup>?</sup>ut</i>	*BUR	ep- <i>kiki</i>	KWA	- <i>orupu</i>
*PAL	<i>mog-kondar</i>	DOB	ʔa- <i>ler</i>	NEM	<i>pila</i>
*MOL	<i>alay</i>	IRA	<i>məsəφarə</i>	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> olu
*KAG	<i>sayaw</i>	SAW	n- <i>čawel</i> ( <i>sawel</i> )	ΛJI	k <sup>w</sup> e
BLA	<i>sayew</i>	NYI	<i>mana</i>	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> e
*SAB	<i>pansak</i>	MAM	<i>uagu</i>	NEN	<i>pia</i>
*MUR	<i>ligo?</i>	TAK	- <i>tari</i>	*KIR	m <sup>w</sup> aiē
*MGY	<i>man-dihi</i>	DAM	seg <i>kuwi</i>	*MSH	ep <sup>w</sup>
ACE	<i>nari</i>	MAB	- <i>rak</i>	*PON	kālek
BAT	<i>törtör</i>	*YAB	- <i>te we</i>	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> öü
*MIN	<i>manari</i>	KLU	<i>yik</i>	EFI	<i>meke</i>
IND	<i>mənari</i> ( <i>tari</i> )	TOL	<i>malagene</i>	WFI	<i>wehi</i>
*SUN	[ <i>ŋ-igəl</i> ]	BUA	<i>lō</i>	RTU	<i>maka</i>
JAV	<i>ñ-ǰoǰet</i>	ADZ	ŋu <sup>m</sup> p-	TON	<i>me<sup>?</sup>e</i>
MAD	<i>tandəŋ</i>	KIL	- <i>kaiwosi</i>	*SAM	<i>siva</i>
*BAL	<i>ŋ-igəl</i>	TAW	<i>hala</i>	MEL	<i>poi</i>
SAS	<i>ǰoǰet</i>	*MOT	<i>maβaru</i>	TAH	ʔori
*GOR	mo-[ <i>ǰo<sup>o</sup>ge</i> ]	MEK	c- <i>ŋeva</i>	RAP	ʔori
*DAA		ROV	<i>peka</i>		

- PAI *z-əm-ian* ‘dance (in group)’.
- KAL *tadok + maN-* (native); *sāla + man-* (non-native).
- AKL Proto-Southern Philippines \**sāʔut* ‘war dance’.
- PAL *mɔg-sajaw, mɔg-tarčk*.
- MOL *alay + moŋ-*.
- KAG *sayaw + m-/mag-* (*mayaw*).
- SAB *pansak + aN-*.
- MUR *ligoʔ (-um-)*; also *sayaw (mag-)* ‘war dance’.
- MGY From *maN-dihi*.
- MIN (*maN-tari*).
- SUN From Old Javanese; also [*daŋsa*] ‘dance in European manner’ from Portuguese.
- BAL Also *ʒoged* ‘k.o. dance’.
- GOR From Malay *ʒoget* ? – one of several traditional dances; also [*mo-daŋita*] ‘dance in Western style’.
- DAA No generic term.
- UMA No generic *mo-raegoʔ* and *mo-dero* refer to specific types of dances.
- WOL Also *paʒogi*.
- MAG No generic term.
- SIK Also *soka pleba*.
- BUR *ep-kiki* ‘dance involving women in a circle’ like *enusi*; *fehe* ‘dance with a small drum while entering a village’, *sawa-t* ‘dance in a village (with drums) to receive guests’; [*ʒuma-k*] like *sawa-t*, it also involves gongs and special rhythms that carry fixed messages; *cefal* ‘war dance known in Maluku as *cakalele*’; *bailele* ‘dance at special weddings and ceremonies involving party enclosed in circle of white cloth’ (probably from Portuguese *bailar*).
- YAB ‘spin song’.
- MOT (of traditional dancing); *kemekeme* ‘to waltz’ (*keme* ‘chest’).
- NTA Subject is always woman.
- KIR Also ‘amusement, play’.
- MSH Also [*tanic*] from English, ‘western-style dance’.
- PON *kālek p<sup>w</sup>ɔlop<sup>w</sup>ɔl* ‘western-style dancing (lit hugging dance)’; *p<sup>w</sup>erik* archaic.
- WLE *kasixa*; *uŋu* also ‘amusement, play’.
- SAM (polite) *saʔasaʔa, sāusaunoa*.

**10.450 WALK**

ATA	h-um-akay	DAA	no-lumako	ROV	ene
TSO	ϕor-ϕorni	UMA	mo-makoʔ	*MAR	ǰaoǰaʔo
RUK	wa-davaϕə	BUG	ǰokka	LAU	fali
PAI	ǰ-əm-avaϕ	*KON	aʔ-dakka	KWO	leka
YAM	omalam	*WOL	ǰele	RAG	layo
ISN	manalen	MAG	lako	PAA	gāka
*KAL	kiyaŋ	NGA	laʔa	LEW	yali
*TAG	lākad	SIK	pano	POR	van
*AKL	tikaŋ	RTI	laʔo	NTA	-aliuok
PAL	manow	*BUR	iko	*KWA	-əwi
*MOL	panow	DOB	ʔa-samur	NEM	hemaen
*KAG	panaw	*IRA	bane	CEM	êŋen
BLA	m-ɔgu	*SAW	n-loŋen	ΛJI	vāřā
*SAB	laŋŋan	*NYI	adek	XAR	fΛdΛ
*MUR	tanaʔ	MAM	alale	NEN	hue
*MGY	maminɕ <sup>r</sup> a	*TAK	-tor	*KIR	nakonako
*ACE	[ǰaʔ]	*DAM	i-yō-ya	*MSH	etal laǰ
BAT	mar-dalan	MAB	-pa	*PON	alu
MIN	ba-ǰalan	YAB	-selen	*WLE	fōřaxi
IND	bər ǰalan	KAU	mukmuk	EFI	taubale
SUN	līmpaŋ	*TOL	libur	WFI	yato
JAV	m-laku	BUA	yē mōya	*RTU	laʔo
MAD	ǰ <sup>h</sup> alan	ADZ	yuŋ-	*TON	ʔalu
BAL	mə ǰalan	KIL	-loula	*SAM	savali
*SAS	lampak	*TAW	nae	MEL	sāria
*GOR	mo-o-naʔo lo ʔoʔato	MOT	raka	*TAH	haere
		*MEK	e-pea	RAP	haʔere

KAL *kiyaŋ + -um-*.

TAG *lākad + -um-*.

AKL Also *baktas* ‘go on foot’.

MOL *panow + mo-*.

KAG From *panaw + mag-/m-*.

SAB *laŋŋan + pa-*.

MUR *tanaʔ (mag-)* ‘go on foot’, also *ugad (-um-)*.

MGY From (*maN-finɕ<sup>r</sup>a*).

ACE From Mon-Khmer, also [*laŋkah*] from Malay.

SAS	Thoir et al (1985): <i>lampak</i> ‘sole, palm’; <i>lampa?</i> ‘walk’.
GOR	‘go linker foot/leg’.
KON	Also <i>a?-liŋka</i> .
WOL	Also <i>ka-li<sup>9</sup>ka-li<sup>9</sup>ka</i> ; <i>mбели</i> ‘stroll, walk about’; <i>wele</i> also ‘stroll’.
BUR	‘go’; may be specified e.g. <i>ik kada-k</i> ‘go by foot’.
IRA	<i>bane</i> ‘walk!’; <i>nəfanə</i> ‘he walks’.
SAW	Also <i>n-fan</i> .
NYI	Also <i>edek</i> (1sg, 3sg).
TAK	Also <i>-par</i> .
DAM	‘3sg-walk-INF.
TOL	‘walk without specific goal, stroll about’; otherwise: <i>vana</i> .
TAW	‘go’.
MEK	<i>e-pea</i> ‘walk, march’; other dialects <i>poa, boa</i> ; <i>e-pea-ŋeŋe</i> ‘stroll about, go walking’, ( <i>e-pea-isoŋa (-isoŋe)</i> in EMek).
MAR	<i>nolo</i> ‘stroll’.
KWA	Also <i>-an</i> ‘be in motion’; <i>-awən</i> ‘be in motion’.
KIR	Compare <i>nako</i> ‘go, away’; <i>waerake</i> ‘walk east, inland’, compare <i>te wae</i> ‘leg’; also <i>wairio</i> ‘walk west, shorewards’.
MSH	<i>etal la!</i> ‘go on the ground’; <i>etetal</i> see <i>etal</i> ‘go’; <i>wæwe, wan</i> with directionals.
PON	Also <i>sapal</i> ‘journey on foot’; <i>weit, keit</i> ‘walk in a specific direction’.
WLE	Also ‘walk along the shore’, <i>tō</i> lit ‘go on the ground’.
RTU	Also <i>sekseke</i> .
TON	Also <i>lue</i> .
SAM	‘walk (vb trans, a horse etc.)’: <i>fə<sup>?</sup>a-savali, fə<sup>?</sup>a-</i> CAUS; <i>eva</i> ‘walk for pleasure’.
TAH	<i>haere nā raro</i> ‘to go on feet’.

### 10.451 LIMP

ATA	mahɬay	ISN	magtagkilay	MOL	tigpa?
TSO	ro-ɕi <sup>?</sup> -ɕi <sup>?</sup> o	*KAL	akintob	*KAG	kiaŋ
RUK	ma-pilay	*TAG	pīlay	*BLA	ɔ <sup>?</sup> ke?
PAI	ma-pil <sup>y</sup> ay	*AKL	paki?	*SAB	peŋka?
*YAM	mapilay	PAL	mɔŋpiŋka	*MUR	kimpo?

MGY	man-dʹinga	*DOB	ʔa-ɸan k <sup>w</sup> uyar	PAA	git
*ACE	čapioʔ		yabay	LEW	wala
BAT	m-ekkat	IRA	nəɸanə nətorə	POR	toŋon
*MIN	teŋkaʔ	*SAW	n-katep	NTA	-eəhoaleəhoal
*IND	bər-jalan piñčaŋ	NYI	aseʔeu	KWA	
		MAM	tuʔuma	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ip
SUN	čijəkəd	*TAK	-par-wadik	CEM	céi-tâb <sup>wa</sup>
JAV	(m-laku) piñčaŋ	*DAM	kitō	AJI	bē
		MAB	-pa kelsuk	*XAR	çikã
MAD	tippaŋ	*YAB	-selenŋ g <sup>w</sup> εʔ-	NEN	
*BAL	eñjok-eñjok		geŋ-g <sup>w</sup> εʔ-geŋ	*KIR	tebetebe
SAS	tempaŋ	KAU	kamtuk	*MSH	accukup <sup>u</sup>
GOR	mo-po-te <sup>ɖ</sup> ge- te <sup>ɖ</sup> ge	TOL	pəɖukai	*PON	teriwaŋ
		BUA	taḳōt	WLE	
DAA	na-kejo	ADZ	a <sup>n</sup> truŋ-	EFI	gera
UMA	mo-ti <sup>ɖ</sup> kadeeʔ	KIL	-pem	WFI	moge
BUG	keppaŋ	TAW	wikeho	RTU	laʔ hoto
*KON	aʔ-keppaŋ	MOT	lage	TON	ketu
*WOL	<sup>ɖ</sup> keɖo	MEK		*SAM	ʔetu
*MAG	sə <sup>ɖ</sup> got	ROV	ike	*MEL	[pāsā]
NGA	jəɖe	MAR	yekla	*TAH	piriʔoʔi
*SIK	jəto-ŋ	LAU	kasito	*RAP	koke
RTI	doʔo ei-k	KWO	igcige		
BUR	leha	RAG			

YAM *mapilay* ‘lame’.

KAL *akintob + man-*.

TAG Also *hiŋkod, tikod*.

AKL *pakiʔ* ‘limp, crippled’.

KAG *kiaŋ + mag-*.

BLA *dɔʔ sag* ‘limp’.

SAB *peŋkaʔ + a-* ‘lame’.

MUR *kimpoʔ* (*mag-*).

ACE ‘lame, crippled’.

MIN Also *piñčaŋ*.

IND Also *bər-jalan ləmbik*.

BAL *perot* ‘lame’.

KON *aʔ-keppaŋ* (of people); *as-seŋkoŋ* (of animals).

WOL	Also <i>ka-sede-sede</i> , <i>ka-ke</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>pa</i> .
MAG	<i>di<sup>ŋ</sup>get</i> , <i>sə<sup>ŋ</sup>gə-soat</i> , <i>sə<sup>ŋ</sup>gəŋ</i> , <i>sə<sup>ŋ</sup>get</i> ‘various manners of limping’.
SIK	Also <i>pipak</i> , <i>nego-ŋ</i> .
DOB	‘he falls following his leg’.
SAW	Also <i>n-εčuga</i> ‘limp because of a wound’.
TAK	‘walk-lame’ (see 10.450).
DAM	Also <i>φadig φi-ya</i> ‘stagger’; <i>wago wagol y-e-ya</i> ‘walk with a pronounced hip movement’.
YAB	<i>-selen</i> ‘walk’; <i>g<sup>wε?</sup>geŋ-g<sup>wε?</sup>geŋ</i> ‘limping’ (from <i>g<sup>wε?</sup>geŋ</i> lit ‘yielding-only’).
XAR	<i>çikã</i> ‘limp from birth’; <i>çixəra</i> ‘limp temporarily’.
KIR	<i>tebe</i> ‘bob, pop, dart’; also <i>wae tebetebe</i> ; <i>turatura</i> , from <i>tura</i> ‘genuflect’, <i>wae kiekie</i> .
MSH	<i>cciprə</i> Western dialect; <i>kuŋ<sup>w</sup>ək</i> also ‘wilt, shrink’; <i>cipicu!</i> .
PON	Also <i>piliŋek</i> .
SAM	Also <i>vae-si<sup>ʔ</sup>i</i> , <i>vae</i> ‘leg, foot’, <i>si<sup>ʔ</sup>i</i> ‘lift (vb trans)’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>piri<sup>ʔ</sup>o<sup>ʔ</sup>i</i> ‘crippled’; <i>tūte<sup>ʔ</sup>ite<sup>ʔ</sup>i</i> ‘clump along’.
RAP	Also <i>koke-koke</i> .

### 10.460 RUN

ATA	<i>maktaɬiyum</i>	*SAB	<i>dagan</i>	*GOR	<i>t-um-ete<sup>ʔ</sup>o</i>
TSO	<i>ru-maɕoŋo</i>	*MUR	<i>simbul</i>	DAA	<i>no-ŋova</i>
RUK	<i>wa-laylay</i>	*MGY	<i>mi-</i>	UMA	<i>mo-keno</i>
PAI	<i>mə-kəl<sup>y</sup></i>		<i>hazakazaka</i>	BUG	<i>lari</i>
YAM	<i>malalayo</i>	ACE	<i>pluəŋ</i>	KON	<i>numari</i>
ISN	<i>managtag</i>	BAT	<i>lojɔŋ</i>	*WOL	<i>ʂu<sup>n</sup>tuli</i>
*KAL	<i>toddak</i>	MIN	<i>lari</i>	MAG	<i><sup>m</sup>buruk</i>
*TAG	<i>takbo</i>	IND	<i>bər-lari</i>	*NGA	<i>paru</i>
AKL	<i>daɬāgan</i>	SUN	<i>lumpat</i>	SIK	<i>plari</i>
PAL	<i>dumadak</i> ( <i>rarak</i> )	*JAV	<i>mlayu</i> ( <i>playu</i> )	*RTI	<i>na-lai-k</i>
*MOL	<i>koskas</i>	MAD	<i>buru</i>	*BUR	<i>heka</i>
*KAG	<i>mlagan</i>	BAL	<i>mə-laib</i>	DOB	<i>ʔa-la</i>
*BLA	<i>m-ila</i>	SAS	<i>pəlai</i>	*IRA	<i>bərɔr</i>

SAW	n-čerere (serere)	MEK	e-piau	*NEN	nide
		ROV	hagala	KIR	biri
NYI	sakaliye	MAR	čari	MSH	ttər
MAM	panana	LAU	lalao	PON	taŋ
*TAK	-mas-palu	KWO	totola	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> ete
DAM	gudu gudur	RAG	rovo	EFI	ðiði
MAB	-lō <sup>n</sup> dō	PAA	lōh	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> uha
YAB	-leti	LEW	kiriri	RTU	čoni
KAU	sa	POR	ev	TON	lele
*TOL	vilau	NTA	-aiu	*SAM	tamo <sup>?</sup> e
BUA	tup	KWA	-aiu	MEL	tere
ADZ	ru <sup>n</sup> t-	NEM	t <sup>n</sup> ōn	TAH	horo
KIL	-sakaula	CEM	téte	RAP	tahuti
TAW	bulili	AJI	rāmā		
MOT	heau	*XAR	pūxūrū		

KAL *toddak + maN-*; also *dukłus + maN-*.

TAG *takbo + -um-*.

MOL *koskas + -um-*.

KAG From *dlagan + m-*.

BLA Also *sa-dlu*.

SAB *dagan + pa-*.

MUR *simbul (mag-)*.

MGY From *mi-hazaka-hazaka*.

JAV From (*N-playu*).

GOR Also *t-im-ete<sup>?</sup>o*.

WOL *bu<sup>n</sup>tuli* also 'walk fast'; *kaĵu<sup>?</sup>kura* also 'be in a hurry'; *marua*.

NGA Also *gubi*.

RTI 'run, flee'.

BUR 'move quickly'; *sabo* 'run'.

IRA *bərər* 'run!'; *nəfərər* 'he runs'.

TAK 'wake up-come' (10.210, 10.480).

TOL Also *vut*.

XAR Also *tawa*.

NEN Also *ewalal(n)*.

WLE Also *rixixi* 'hurry', *ruwa-ruwa* 'be a fast runner'.

SAM Also *momo<sup>?</sup>e*.



## 10.470 GO

ATA	mušaʔ	*UMA	(hi)lou	*MAR	tei
TSO	uso	BUG	lao	LAU	lea
RUK	mwa	KON	aʔ-lampa	KWO	leka
PAI	vaik	WOL	li <sup>9</sup> ka	*RAG	vano
YAM	maŋay	MAG	ŋō	PAA	vā
ISN	mawe	NGA	laʔa	LEW	vano
*KAL	umoy	*SIK	ʔa	POR	van
*TAG	punta	RTI	neu	NTA	-uβən
*AKL	adtu	BUR	iko	*KWA	-e
*PAL	panɔw	DOB	ʔa-yi	NEM	hen
*MOL	tuju	*IRA	ba	CEM	án
*KAG	iliŋ	SAW	n-fan	AJI	vi
*BLA	salu	*NYI	ala	XAR	fɛ
*SAB	pēʔ	MAM	alale	*NEN	hue
*MUR	oŋoy	TAK	-ao	*KIR	nako
MGY	man-deha	*DAM	i-le-ya	*MSH	etal
*ACE	[jaʔ]	MAB	-la	*PON	kō-
*BAT	laɔ	YAB	-yà	*WLE	řa
MIN	pai	KAU	li	EFI	lako
IND	pərgi	TOL	vanə	WFI	lā
SUN	indit	BUA	ya	RTU	laʔo
JAV	luŋɔ	ADZ	fa-	TON	ʔalu
MAD	intar	*KIL	-wa	*SAM	alu
*BAL	laku	TAW	nae	MEL	fano
SAS	lalo	MOT	lao	TAH	haere
GOR	mo-o-naʔo	*MEK	e-lao	*RAP	oho
DAA	na-lau	ROV	la		

KAL From *oy* + *-um-*.

TAG Also *lākad* + *-um-*.

AKL *adtūn-an* 'go there' (deictic verb).

PAL Also *ɔw*, *suruŋ*, *sumuruŋ*.

MOL *tiju* + *-um-*.

KAG *iliŋ* + *m-*.

BLA *m-dɔʔ* 'depart'; *m-ɔgu* 'travel or operate (as a machine goes)'

SAB *pēʔ* + *∅*.

MUR *oŋoy* (*-um-*).

- ACE From Mon-Khmer; no deictic direction is implied, could mean ‘come’ or ‘go’. See 10.480.
- BAT Also *laho*.
- BAL Also *kəmə*, *kəmu* ‘go there’. *laku* is found only in 1. imperatives e.g. *mai laku!* ‘come here!’ and 2. questions *kiǰə laku-nə* ‘where has (s)he/they gone’).
- UMA *rou* (Southern, Winatu dialects).
- SIK Also *pano*.
- IRA Also (*ǰa*) *fa*.
- ÑYI Also *ili* (1st, 3s).
- DAM ‘3sg-go-INF.
- KIL *-wa* ‘go to there’; *-la* ‘go from here’. A number of different forms use the locative suffix *-ki* with morphophonemic adaptations, as: *-wa* ‘go (to you there)’, (*-wo-ki*)(*-wo-kaia*) ‘go-to (you, him, etc); *-la* ‘go (to some place away from here), (*-lo-ki*) (*-lo-kaia*) ‘go-to’ (him, that place, away from here).
- MEK North Mekeo, West Mekeo *ao* ‘go’; NW Mekeo *o* ‘go’.
- MAR Also *ari*.
- RAG Also *bano*.
- KWA Also *-en*, *-ewən*.
- NEN Also *leŋ* (respectful).
- KIR Occurs with directionals *mai* ‘hither’, *wati* ‘thither’; *nako* also ‘away’; *bō* with directionals ‘go’, otherwise ‘meet, contact, come (about)’.
- MSH *cep<sup>w</sup>lāk* ‘depart’; *wæwε* ‘negotiate obstacles’; *wan-* with directional suffix
- PON With directional suffixes.
- WLE *řa* precedes other verbs; *řaxo* also directional ‘away’.
- SAM (polite) *afio*, *susū*, *sosopo*.
- RAP Also *reva* ‘go (esp. when one goes by airplane or ship)’.

## 10.471 GO UP

ATA	mak-rakiyaš	DAA	nan-te <sup>n</sup> de	ROV	saye (la)
TSO	s-m-o-paro	UMA	ŋ-kahe <sup>?</sup>	MAR	haye
*RUK	mo-a-ɖaɖa	BUG	menre <sup>?</sup>	LAU	lea laŋi
PAI	pa-l <sup>y</sup> ə-zaya	KON	nai <sup>?</sup>	KWO	ta <sup>?</sup> e
YAM	tomangə	WOL	pene	RAG	hae
ISN	umune <sup>?</sup>	MAG	tuke	PAA	vina
*KAL	ŋātu	NGA	ɣəɖi	LEW	vavini
*TAG	panhik	*SIK	lema	POR	v mesav
AKL	sāka <sup>?</sup>	RTI	<sup>n</sup> da <sup>?</sup> e	NTA	-ər
PAL	tumuŋul (tuŋul)	*BUR	keha	KWA	-auta
*MOL	tindal	DOB	ʔa-yaɸul	NEM	ta
*KAG	mana <sup>?</sup> ik	*IRA	ñεεε	CEM	tâ
BLA	m-nagad	SAW	n-pak	AJI	vi rua
*SAB	sakat	NYI	ala loke	XAR	pere
*MUR	aloy	MAM	ʔauta <sup>?</sup> i	*NEN	te
MGY	mi-akaɖ <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*TAK	-sida	*KIR	bō rake
ACE	e <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	i-se-le-ya	MSH	wantak
BAT	nakkək	*MAB	-se	*PON	kōta
MIN	nai <sup>ə</sup> ?	YAB	-pi	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> itaxe
IND	naik	*KAU	li si	EFI	ðabe
SUN	naek (taek)	*TOL	vanə urəmə	WFI	βodo
JAV	m-uŋgah		liu	RTU	čoro
MAD	ŋ-ulbu <sup>?</sup>	BUA	ruk ya	TON	hake
*BAL	mənek (pənek)	ADZ	yab-	*SAM	a <sup>?</sup> e
SAS	taek	*KIL	-m <sup>w</sup> ena	MEL	ake
*GOR	mo-bötulo	TAW	gae	TAH	haere i ni <sup>?</sup> a
		*MOT	dae kau	RAP	iri
		*MEK	e ʔaŋau kae		

RUK *mo-a-ɖaɖa* ‘to go upland’, *mo-a-bələŋə* ‘to go on a tree, roof, etc.’

KAL *ŋātu + -um-*.

TAG *panhik + -um-* ‘climb up stairs’, PHN *\*panahik*.

MOL *tindal + -um-*.

KAG *na<sup>?</sup>ik + maŋ-/magpa-* (*mana<sup>?</sup>ik*).

SAB *sakat + pa-*.

MUR *aloy (mag-)*.

BAL See 10.210.

GOR	‘climb (ladder, stairs)’.
SIK	Also <i>haʔe</i> .
BUR	<i>keha</i> ‘climb’; <i>lepa-k</i> ‘go up a slope’; <i>gam saka-k</i> ‘go upward’.
IRA	<i>ñεtε ε</i> ‘he climbs a tree’, <i>ja ga jεtə ε</i> ‘I want to climb the tree’.
TAK	Example: <i>i-sida y-ao-da</i> ‘he-go up he-go-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is going up’ (see 10.210).
DAM	‘3sg-up-go-INF’.
MAB	- <i>se</i> ‘up to the speaker’; - <i>sala</i> ‘go up from the speaker’; - <i>sama</i> ‘go up to the hearer’.
KAU	‘go move upwards’ (serial verb construction).
TOL	<i>urəmə</i> ‘upwards’, <i>liu</i> ‘high above’, also <i>kuməpəŋ</i> .
KIL	Also - <i>pela</i> ‘go up inland’.
MOT	<i>kau</i> ‘to reach’. See 10.550.
MEK	Also <i>e-ʔana-au-kae</i> ; NW Mekeo <i>i-uŋi</i> .
NEN	Also <i>erele</i> (respectful).
KIR	With directional ‘up’, also ‘go east’; <i>urake, waerake</i> .
PON	Also ‘go east’.
WLE	Also ‘go east’.
SAM	Also <i>alu aʔe</i> (vb intrans).

## 10.472 CLIMB

ATA	r-um-akiyaš	*MUR	kiwaʔ	*SAS	taek-in
*TSO	oʔʔo	MGY	man-anika	*GOR	mo-taʔodu
RUK	wa-kāpa	ACE	eʔ	DAA	nam-pone
PAI	lʲə-vavaw	*BAT	majjakkīt	*UMA	ma-nakeʔ
YAM	komalat	MIN	pañjeʔ	BUG	mempeʔ
ISN	umuneʔ	*IND	məmañjat	*KON	an-naŋga
*KAL	tagada		(pañjat)		(taŋga)
*TAG	akyat	SUN	naekan	*WOL	ko <sup>m</sup> pa
*AKL	sākaʔ		(taek)	MAG	tuke
*PAL	minik (inik)	JAV	meneʔ	NGA	ɗəke
*MOL	inakod		(peneʔ)	SIK	haʔe
*KAG	katay	MAD	naiʔ	RTI	kae
BLA	m-kəf	*BAL	mənekin	*BUR	keha
*SAB	dāg		(pənek)	DOB	ʔa-yaϕul

*IRA	sa ratərumə	*MEK	e-ʔaŋau	NEN	te
*SAW	n-pak	*ROV	haele	KIR	tam <sup>w</sup> aka
*NYI	añek	*MAR	apla	*MSH	wanləŋ
MAM	eneʔi	LAU	rāfia	PON	taur
TAK	-sa	KWO	fane	*WLE	ppaşa
DAM	gāri	RAG	hae	EFI	kaba
*MAB	-no	PAA	holau	WFI	ðake
YAB	-pi	LEW	wuyu	RTU	hako
*KAU	si	POR	saŋan-i	TON	kaka
TOL	kao	*NTA	-aiu e	*SAM	aʔe
BUA	ɣək	*KWA	-auta	MEL	kake
ADZ	yab-	*NEM	yova-ta	*TAH	taʔuma
KIL	-m <sup>w</sup> ena	*CEM	nàjit	*RAP	eke
TAW	geini	AJI	tei		
*MOT	dae	XAR	pere		

TSO Also *oçʔov-a* 'climb up mountain, slope'; *ço-çapo* (also *ço-çap-*) 'climb tree, ladder, etc'.

KAL *tagada + maN-* 'climb (slope)'; *sakay + -um-* 'climb (tree)'.

TAG *akyat + -um-/-in*.

AKL *sākaʔ + -un*.

PAL Also *məŋinik*.

MOL *inakod + mog-/-on*.

KAG From *katay + mag-/m-*.

ŠAB *dāg + pa-*.

MUR *kiwaʔ (mag-)*.

BAT (*maN-ǰakkit*).

IND Also *mən-daki* 'climb a mountain'; *naik* (generic) 'go up, climb'.

BAL Also (*N-*)*poŋkod* 'climb a tree, hugging the trunk to one's chest e.g. a coconut palm'; (*N-*)*tliti* 'climb a tree without the chest touching the trunk'.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985).

GOR *mo-taʔodu* 'climb (hill)', *mo-piyaʔato* 'climb (tree)'.

UMA *nakeʔ* 'climb mountain'; *kaheʔ (ŋ-kaheʔ)* 'climb tree, stairs etc'.

KON *an-nan̄ga* (of slopes); *aŋŋ-ambiʔ* (of trees).

WOL Also *ko<sup>m</sup>pa-si, paŋara*.

BUR	‘climb a mountain or tree’, also ‘go (up) into a house, climb into a boat’, also extended meaning in <i>fafu keha</i> ‘the pig charged’.
IRA	‘climb mountain’.
SAW	Also <i>n-awet</i> ‘climb an incline’.
NYI	Also <i>iñek</i> (1sg, 3sg).
MAB	Also <i>-se, -sala</i> .
KAU	‘move upwards’ (serial verb construction).
MOT	Also <i>dara dae</i> ( <i>dara</i> ‘to ascend’).
MEK	<i>e-ʔaŋau</i> or <i>e-ʔana-au</i> .
ROV	Also <i>hale</i> .
MAR	<i>apla</i> ‘climb a tree or pole’; <i>grafà</i> ‘climb a hill’.
NTA	<i>-aiu e</i> (vb trans); <i>-ər</i> (vb intrans).
KWA	<i>-auta</i> ‘climb, as a hill’; <i>-əputa</i> ‘climb, as a tree’.
NEM	‘crawl-go up’.
CEM	<i>nàjit</i> ‘scale’; also <i>pâla</i> ‘climb a tree’.
MSH	Also <i>tɔ</i> ‘climb down’; <i>talləŋ</i> ‘climb up’.
WLE	Also <i>tõxī</i> .
SAM	Also <i>tausili</i> ‘climb (a tree or pole)’.
TAH	Also <i>paʔuma, paʔiuma, ʔaʔe</i> .
RAP	Also <i>hi-hiri</i> ‘climb, scale (e.g. a growing vine, a person climbing up a cliff, etc.)’.

### 10.473 GO DOWN

ATA	mak haʔuay	BLA	m-asol	SAS	əntun
*TSO	mo-rovʕu	*SAB	duwaʔi	*GOR	mo-lāhu
RUK	mo-a-laoʔo	*MUR	tūn	DAA	no-tua
PAI	lʔə-lauz	*MGY	midina	UMA	ma-naʔu
YAM	omøʂok	ACE	tron	BUG	møʔ
ISN	umūlug	BAT	turun	*KON	naug
*KAL	doba	MIN	turun	WOL	sapo
*TAG	babaʔ	IND	turun	MAG	vaʔu
AKL	nāʔug	SUN	turun	NGA	goru
PAL	m-in-aʔug	*JAV	m-uʔun	*SIK	ʔlohör
*MOL	tugpa	MAD	turun	RTI	kona
*KAG	manaʔug	BAL	tuun	*BUR	toho

DOB	na-llu	TAW	hopu	AJI	vi ria
IRA	saru	MOT	diho	XAR	šē
	ratərumə	MEK	e-kipo	*NEN	ere lu
*SAW	n-tebe	ROV	ɣore la	*KIR	bō rio
NYI	ala a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> i	*MAR	so <sup>o</sup>	MSH	wanlaɭ
MAM	taoio	LAU	sifo	*PON	kōti
*TAK	-du	KWO	sifo	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> itiwe
*DAM	i-si-le-ya	RAG	hivo	EFI	siro
*MAB	-su	PAA	vīta	WFI	bale
YAB	-sep	*LEW	vatove	*RTU	temo
*KAU	li ko	POR	či <sup>m</sup> bu	TON	hifo
*TOL	vənə ba	*NTA	-atite	*SAM	alu ifo
BUA	luḱ	KWA	-euaiu	MEL	ifo
ADZ	ru <sup>?</sup> -	NEM	tic	*TAH	pou
KIL	-busi	CEM	ót	RAP	туру

TSO *mo-rovʉu* ‘go down mountain, slope’; *ru<sup>?</sup>si-vovri* ‘go down tree, ladder, etc’.

KAL *doba + -um-*; also *gusad + -um-*.

TAG *baba<sup>?</sup> + -um-*; also *panā<sup>?</sup>og*, Proto-Philippines *\*panā<sup>?</sup>uR*.

MOL *tigpa + -um-*.

KAG *na<sup>?</sup>ug + maŋ-/magpa-* (*mana<sup>?</sup>úg*).

SAB *duwa<sup>?</sup>i + pa-*.

MUR *tūn (-um-)*; also *ingana<sup>?</sup> (-um)* (of s.th. in the air).

MGY From *mi-idina*.

JAV Also *mə-dun*.

GOR *mo-tuhuto* ‘go down (mountain)’.

KON Also *añ-ñoloro (soloro)*, *an-nimporoŋ (timporoŋ)*.

SIK Also *?lore*.

BUR *toho* ‘go down a mountain or a tree’; also *logo-k* ‘go down a slope’; *nodo* ‘go down (steep)’; *gam pao-k* ‘go downward’; *toho* is nominalised to *toho-n* ‘path, trail, road, way’; *doho-k* ‘sag downward’; *oro* ‘sag’.

SAW Also *n-duen* ‘descend from an incline’.

TAK Example: *i-du y-ao-da* ‘he-go down he-go-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is going down’.

DAM ‘3sg-down-go-INF’.

MAB	-su 'down to the speaker'; -sula 'down from the speaker'; -suma 'down to the hearer'.
KAU	'go move downwards' (serial verb construction).
TOL	vanə 'go (vb intrans)', ba 'down'.
MAR	Also soru, suk <sup>ha</sup> .
LEW	Also tapulu 'go down from tree, vehicle'.
NTA	Also -eiuaiu, -alial.
NEN	(respectful).
KIR	With directional 'down'; wairio.
PON	With directional 'down'; ; p <sup>w</sup> ūr 'descend'.
RTU	Also pū.
SAM	alu 'go (vb intrans)', ifo 'down'.
TAH	Also ha <sup>?</sup> apou, haere i raro.

## 10.474 GO OUT

ATA	muša <sup>?</sup>	*SUN	ka-luar	MAM	pusi <sup>?</sup> a
*TSO	mo-rafo	*JAV	mətu (wətu)	*TAK	-lasa
RUK	mo-a-lataḁə	*MAD	ka luwar	*DAM	delē i-le-ya
PAI	ʔasaw	*BAL	pəsu	*MAB	-pera
YAM	makobot	*SAS	lalo	YAB	-sa
ISN	lumawān	*GOR	l-um-uwalo	*KAU	li pol
*KAL	laksun	DAA	ne-suvu	TOL	irop
*TAG	labas	UMA	ma-lai	BUA	ya dobəne
AKL	guwa <sup>?</sup>	BUG	massu <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	wa <sup>?</sup> -
PAL	lumiwan	KON	an-sulu <sup>?</sup>	KIL	-sunapula
	(liwan)	WOL	li <sup>m</sup> ba	TAW	huhopu
*MOL	luas	MAG	ŋō pe <sup>?</sup> aŋ	*MOT	raka lasi
*KAG	'gwa	NGA	gəḁo	*MEK	e-pea-lei
BLA	l-am-wə <sup>?</sup>	*SIK	βəda	ROV	vura la
*SAB	luwas	*RTI	leo dea-k	MAR	ʒifla
*MUR	iŋkual	*BUR	suba	LAU	lea i ma
MGY	mi-vuaka	DOB	na-la'ḁe	KWO	
ACE	tubiət	IRA	sərotə	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> ihavare
BAT	ha-ruar	SAW	n-čəpen	PAA	sital
MIN	kalua		(səpen)	LEW	molue
IND	kə luar	NYI	ala manan	*POR	van <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> an-i



NTA	-iet	*KIR	manaŋa	TON	hū ki tuʔa
*KWA	-ier	*MSH	riwəc	*SAM	ulu-fafo
NEM	uva	PON	m <sup>w</sup> esel	*MEL	[tave]
CEM	wīe	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> ū-waü	TAH	haere i rāpae
AJI	tu	EFI	ðuru i tuba	RAP	eʔa
XAR	catoa	WFI	hita i rārā		
NEN	muobot	RTU	sai		

TSO *mo-rafo* ‘go (or come) out of the house’; *ru-rafo* ‘go (or come) out of the hole, shade, etc’.

KAL *laksun + -um-*.

TAG *labas + -um-*.

MOL *luas + -um-*.

KAG *ʔgwa + mag-*.

SAB *luwas + pa-*.

MUR *iŋkual (-um-)*.

SUN *ka* ‘to’.

JAV From (*N-wətu*).

MAD *ka* preposition, ‘to’; *luwar* ‘outside’.

BAL Also *luas* ‘go away from one’s home, e.g. on a visit’.

SAS Also *sugul*.

GOR Also *mo-[kalūwari]*, from Malay.

SIK Also *eʔi βina (ma)*; *ʔlohor* ‘go out of a house’.

RTI In ordinary speech, *leo* is often pronounced *lo*.

BUR ‘cross a threshold’ (thus may mean ‘enter’ or ‘leave’); also *iko* ‘go’; *ef-kere* ‘leave a village’ (lit. ‘stand up and go out’).

TAK Example: *i-lasa y aə-da* ‘he-go out he-go-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is going out’.

DAM ‘journey 3sg-go-INF’.

MAB *-pera* ‘out towards the ocean’; *-yōto* ‘out of house’.

KAU ‘go arrive’ (serial verb construction).

MOT *raka* ‘walk’; *lasi* ‘to go/come out’.

MEK *e-poa-lai*, *e-boa-lai* in other dialects. See 10.550, note.

POR ‘go away-s.th.’.

KWA *-ier* ‘exit, leave’; *-irap<sup>w</sup>* ‘go outside, emerge out of’.

KIR Also *nakoati* with directional (*w*)*ati* ‘thither’.

MSH With directional ‘thither’.

WLE With directional 'thither'.

SAM *ulu* 'enter (vb intrans)' *fafo* 'outside'.

MEL From Efate.

### 10.480 COME

ATA	<i>mwah</i>	DAA	<i>nā-rata</i>	ROV	<i>mae</i>
TSO	<i>uso</i>	UMA	<i>tumai</i>	MAR	<i>mei</i>
RUK	<i>wa-kəla</i>	BUG	<i>pole</i>	LAU	<i>lea mai</i>
PAI	<i>idu</i>	KON	<i>mae</i>	KWO	<i>leka mai</i>
YAM	<i>mai</i>	*WOL	<i>mai</i>	RAG	<i>mai</i>
*ISN	<i>umbet</i>	MAG	<i>mai</i>	PAA	<i>mai</i>
*KAL	<i>datəŋ</i>	*NGA	<i>ŋoŋo</i>	LEW	<i>imi</i>
*TAG	<i>hali</i>	*SIK	<i>mai</i>	POR	<i>vanima</i>
*AKL	<i>mali</i>	RTI	<i>mai</i>	NTA	<i>-βa</i>
*PAL	<i>aniʔ kə</i>	*BUR	<i>kadu-k</i>	*KWA	<i>-uw</i>
*MOL	<i>kuan</i>	DOB	<i>ʔa-ma</i>	NEM	<i>he-me</i>
*KAG	<i>iliŋ</i>	IRA	<i>ma</i>	CEM	<i>ábe</i>
BLA	<i>salu dini</i>	SAW	<i>n-wəm</i>	AJI	<i>mi</i>
*SAB	<i>pa-itu</i>	*NYI	<i>ame</i>	XAR	<i>mě</i>
*MUR	<i>datəŋ</i>	MAM	<i>mai</i>	*NEN	<i>pina</i>
MGY	<i>tunga</i>	TAK	<i>-palu</i>	*KIR	<i>roko</i>
*ACE	<i>[jaʔ]</i>	*DAM	<i>i-se-ya</i>	*MSH	<i>atok</i>
*BAT	<i>rə</i>	*MAB	<i>-mar</i>	*PON	<i>kōto</i>
MIN	<i>datəŋ</i>	YAB	<i>-mən</i>	*WLE	<i>toxo</i>
IND	<i>datəŋ</i>	KAU	<i>me</i>	EFI	<i>lako mai</i>
SUN	<i>datəŋ</i>	TOL	<i>pot</i>	WFI	<i>lā mā</i>
JAV	<i>təkə</i>	BUA	<i>yam</i>	RTU	<i>leəm</i>
MAD	<i>datəŋ</i>	ADZ	<i>ba-</i>	TON	<i>haʔu</i>
*BAL	<i>təkə</i>	KIL	<i>-ma</i>	*SAM	<i>sau</i>
SAS	<i>datəŋ</i>	TAW	<i>nei</i>	MEL	<i>fini-mai</i>
*GOR	<i>mo-o-naʔo</i>	MOT	<i>mai</i>	TAH	<i>haere mai</i>
	<i>mayi</i>	MEK	<i>e-mai</i>	RAP	<i>oho mai</i>

ISN *magulli* 'return home'.

KAL *datəŋ + -um-*.

TAG 'come here', *lāpit* + *-um-/ -an* 'approach'.

AKL *mali* 'come here!', PAN \**mari*.

- PAL Also *atuʔkə* ‘here you’.
- MOL *kuan + -um-*.
- KAG *ilij + m-*.
- SAB *pa-itu + ∅*.
- MUR *daton* (*-um-/maton*), also *sukuʔ (-um-)* ‘arrive’.
- ACE See 10.470.
- BAT From Proto-Batak *\*rəh*.
- BAL ‘come, arrive’; also *mai* ‘come here’.
- GOR *mayi* ‘hither’. See 10.470.
- WOL Also *u<sup>m</sup>ba, kawa*.
- NGA Also *tadʔo* (formal) uses the perspective of the person referred to, while *mai* uses the speaker’s perspective; *tadʔo* also ‘welcome!’.
- SIK Also *boʔu*.
- BUR Also *taga; mahi* ‘hortative: come ...let’s’.
- NYI Also *eme* (1sg, 3sg).
- DAM ‘3sg-come-INF’.
- MAB *-mar* ‘come (to speaker)’; *-ma* ‘come (to hearer)’.
- KWA *-uw* ‘come, move toward’; usually takes directional suffixes; *-uwehe* ‘come towards speaker/hearer’; *-aku, -akur* ‘come from’.
- NEN Also *leŋ* (respectful).
- KIR Also *nakomai, mai* ‘hither’.
- MSH Also *wætok*.
- PON With enclitic suffix ‘hither’.
- WLE Also *ϕ<sup>w</sup>ūtoxo*.
- SAM (polite) *afio mai, faʔaeʔe mai, maliu mai, sosopo mai, susū mai, mai* ‘hither, to the person or place in focus’.

### 10.481 COME BACK

ATA	ma-βuynah	*KAL	ulin	BLA	s-am-fuleʔ
TSO	ruo-vri	*TAG	balik	*SAB	balik
*RUK	mə-a-baliw	*AKL	balik	*MUR	uliʔ
PAI	kəl <sup>y</sup> u	*PAL	pəʔuliʔ (uliʔ)	MGY	mi-verina
*YAM	mioli	*MOL	uliʔ	*ACE	[wəə]
ISN	mag-ulli	*KAG	malik	BAT	m-ulak

*MIN	ba-bali <sup>ʔ</sup>	NYI	ame hamon	POR	veii ame
*IND	kəmbali	MAM	mule	NTA	-ətaləŋ
*SUN	datəŋ dii	*TAK	-mul	KWA	-rerəŋ
JAV	bali	*DAM	kel i-se-ya	NEM	he-ŋa-me
MAD	a-bali	MAB	-mīli	CEM	ém <sup>w</sup> obe
*BAL	mə-lipət-an	*YAB	-mù -meŋ	AJI	mi tāl
*SAS	tulak	*KAU	kiok me	*XAR	muge mē
*GOR	mo-to-wuli	*TOL	lilikun	NEN	
DAA	na-ñjili	BUA	yom	KIR	oki
*UMA	ñčuli-i <sup>ʔ</sup>	*ADZ	tip-ba-	MSH	ṛōl
BUG	lisu	*KIL	-keiita	*PON	sapāl
*KON	amm-inro	TAW	nememai	WLE	tefāñ
WOL	<sup>m</sup> buli	*MOT	lou mai	EFI	lesu mai
MAG	kole	*MEK	e-mue e-mai	WFI	lehu mā
NGA	vado	ROV	pule mae	RTU	ho <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*SIK	βalo-ŋ naŋ	MAR	pulo	TON	foki mai
RTI	fali	LAU	ʔoli mai	SAM	fo <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*BUR	oli	KWO	ori mai	MEL	pāfiriu
DOB	ʔa-mul	*RAG	tabayilu	TAH	ho <sup>ʔ</sup> i mai
*IRA	ɸa sanə	PAA	ris	RAP	hoki mai
*SAW	n-ɛley	LEW	wasup <sup>w</sup> e		

RUK *mo-a-baliw* ‘to return to one’s village’; *mo-a-tavananə* ‘to return to one’s home’.

YAM *mioli* ‘return home’; *mišinaoli* ‘come back’

KAL *ulin + maN-*.

TAG *balik + -um-*.

AKL Also *uli?* ‘return home’.

PAL Also *muli?*.

MOL *uli?* + *po-*.

KAG From *ba’lik + m-*.

SAB *balik + pa*.

MUR *uli?* (*-um-*) ‘return home’; also *lukiat (-um-)* ‘return to beginning-point’.

ACE Spelled *wil* from Mon-Khmer, also *gisa*.

MIN Also *pulaŋ*.

IND Also *pulaŋ* ‘return (home)’.

SUN	Also <i>balik</i> .
BAL	Also <i>mulih</i> ‘go home’ (from <i>*m(ə)-ulih, ulih</i> ‘return’).
SAS	Thoir et al. (1985) <i>uləʔ</i> .
GOR	Also <i>mo-bale mayi</i> ‘come back’; <i>mohuwaliŋo</i> ( <i>wuwaliŋo + moh-</i> ) ‘come/go home’.
UMA	From <i>huli</i> ‘to repeat’.
KON	Also <i>amm-onoʔ</i> .
SIK	Also <i>panoləkuk</i> .
BUR	Also <i>leli</i> ; <i>bale dedu-k</i> ‘come back again’ (unclear if [ <i>bale</i> ] is borrowing from Malay <i>balik</i> ); <i>oli saki</i> ‘return again’.
IRA	<i>ja ga fa sanə</i> ‘I go home’.
SAW	Also <i>n-polen</i> .
TAK	‘go back’, as in <i>i-mul i-palu-da</i> ‘he-go back he-come-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is coming back’.
DAM	‘back 3sg-come-INF’.
YAB	‘go back –come’.
KAU	‘go again come’ (serial verb construction).
TOL	Also <i>talil</i> .
ADZ	‘do again + come’.
KIL	Also <i>-kaimilaβau</i> .
MOT	<i>lou</i> ‘to return’.
MEK	<i>e-mue</i> ‘turn back’.
RAG	Also <i>dabayilu</i> .
XAR	‘again come’.
PON	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ur</i> also ‘turn’.

### 10.490 GO AWAY, DEPART

ATA	ma-pa- puyayay	*KAL	dālan	*SAB	tulak
TSO	ri-rʔoxi	*TAG	alis	*MUR	ugad
RUK	ma-toasə	AKL	pānaw	MGY	man-deha
PAI	vaik-aŋa	*PAL	mogugad	ACE	buŋka
YAM	komazo	*MOL	bukad	*BAT	laə
ISN	mag-tālaw	*KAG	manaw	*MIN	baraŋkeʔ
		BLA	m-dəʔ	IND	bəraŋkat

SUN	indit-	*NYI	ou aʔau	POR	van <sup>n</sup> dʳan-i
*JAV	maŋkat	MAM	alale	*NTA	-iet
	(paŋkat)	*TAK	-ao	*KWA	-ap
MAD	maŋkat	*DAM	i-torō-ya	NEM	he-ŋa
*BAL	mə-ʒalan	*MAB	-zem	CEM	cêp <sup>w</sup> a
SAS	lalo	*YAB	-eʔ	AJI	vi a m <sup>w</sup> ãã
*GOR	mo-bu <sup>ɟ</sup> gato	*KAU	silā	XAR	fɛ
DAA	na <sup>ɟ</sup> galivo	TOL	vanə	NEN	θahue
	(kalivo)	BUA	ya	KIR	manaŋa
UMA	me-ʔo <sup>ɟ</sup> koʔ	ADZ	taŋin-	*MSH	ilək
BUG	lao	*KIL	-silaβi	*PON	sam <sup>w</sup> alār
KON	aʔ-lampa	*TAW	omhoe	*WLE	řixitī
*WOL	li <sup>ɟ</sup> ka	*MOT	raka oho	*EFI	lako
MAG	bečəŋ	*MEK	e-vai	WFI	lā dei
NGA	bugu-toʔo	ROV	taloa	RTU	rou
*SIK	pano	MAR	ɣae	TON	mavahe
RTI	laʔo	*LAU	lea tau	*SAM	māvae
*BUR	iko	KWO	leka kau	MEL	
DOB	ʔa-bana	RAG		*TAH	reva
*IRA	gɔ bu ba	PAA	loh koveini	RAP	oho
SAW	n-fan	LEW	liŋani		

KAL *dālan + maN-*.

TAG *alis + -um-*.

PAL Also *mugad*.

MOL *bukad + mog-*.

KAG From *panaw + m-*; also *larga + m-* 'to depart on a trip of considerable distance'.

SAB *tulak + pa-*.

MUR *ugad (-um-)*; also *pintod (-um-)* (formally).

BAT Also *lahɔ*.

MIN From *\*bar-aŋkat*.

JAV Also *budal*.

BAL *mə-ʒalan* 'walk', but also 'set off'; also *mə-kalah*; *mə-gədi* 'go away for good, because of ill-feeling'.

GOR *h-um-uwato, mo-huwato* 'depart, make a trip on foot'.

WOL Also *ḡose* 'be abroad'.

SIK	Also <i>rəma</i> .
BUR	See 10.474.
IRA	<i>gɔ bu ba</i> 'you go away'; <i>a bu fa</i> 'I go away'.
NYI	'you go away' (requires a pronoun accompaniment).
TAK	'go', see 10.470.
DAM	'3sg-leave-INF'.
MAB	Also <i>-la le-</i> ; <i>-pas</i> + ACC pronoun.
YAB	Also <i>-eʔ...-ya</i> 'depart ... go'.
KAU	Also <i>tət</i> .
KIL	See 10.470.
TAW	(dialect) <i>womahili</i> .
MOT	<i>raka</i> 'to walk'; <i>oho</i> 'away'.
MEK	<i>e-vai</i> 'go back to where one belongs, go home'.
LAU	Also <i>ʔek<sup>w</sup>a</i> .
NTA	Also <i>uβən, -aŋəm</i>
KWA	Also 'flee'; <i>-ier</i> also 'go out'.
MSH	Also <i>wæɫɔk</i> , see <i>wæwɛ</i> 'go', <i>ɫɔk</i> 'away'.
PON	With suffixes <i>-la</i> 'away', <i>-er</i> 'finished'; also <i>m<sup>w</sup>esɛl</i> .
WLE	(vb trans); also <i>ʃüwa</i> .
EFI	Also <i>ŋole</i> .
SAM	<i>teva</i> 'go away in anger'.
TAH	<i>fəʔareva</i> 'go momentarily'.

### 10.491 DISAPPEAR

ATA	m-ši-ʔukaš	*MOL	tadin	IND	məŋ-hilaŋ
TSO		*KAG	duwad ta	SUN	liŋit
RUK			pananʔaw	JAV	ŋ-ilaŋ
PAI	ma-uɭaw	*BLA	lana di mɔtɔ	*MAD	[sɪrna]
*YAM	ja čita zana	*SAB	lopas	*BAL	ŋ-ilaŋ
ISN	umawan	*MUR	linos	*SAS	ilaŋ
KAL		MGY	levuna	*GOR	mɔ-oli
*TAG	walaʔ	ACE	puijam	DAA	na-lipo
*AKL	waɭaʔ	BAT	m-ago	*UMA	me <sup>ŋ</sup> ka-ro <sup>n</sup> to
PAL	malam	MIN	ma-ilaŋ	BUG	tidden

*KON	al-lañña?	TOL	pənie	*CEM	tálupe
*WOL	sosopa	BUA	γō	AJI	vi lū
MAG	mora	*ADZ	fa- + sib	XAR	me
*NGA	ebo	KIL	-tam <sup>w</sup> au	NEN	tako
*SIK	pota-t	TAW	welugowada	KIR	m <sup>w</sup> auna
RTI	mopo	*MOT	boio	*MSH	cakō
BUR	difu-k	MEK	e-ŋea	*PON	sōrala
*DOB	φuy	*ROV	murmuri	WLE	toŋo
IRA	nemaguənə	MAR	ahu	EFI	yali
SAW	n-ε-m-yaŋes	*LAU	ano	WFI	lāβele
NYI	amai leleyah	KWO	nag <sup>w</sup> a	RTU	mao
MAM	leoaba	RAG	roro	TON	puli
TAK	-mianuk	PAA	suai	*SAM	mou
*DAM	i-min-kele-	LEW	kovio	MEL	sakutea
	ya	POR	mači <sup>ŋ</sup> g	*TAH	mo <sup>ʔ</sup> e
MAB	- <sup>m</sup> birīzi	NTA	-əka	RAP	ŋaro
*YAB	yàm le <sup>n</sup> soŋ	KWA	-iuan		
KAU	kis	*NEM	cie-		

YAM 'can no longer be seen'.

TAG *wala<sup>ʔ</sup> + ma-* 'none, nothing'.

AKL *wa<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup> + ma-* 'nothing'.

MOL *tadin + mo-*.

KAG 'lost to view'.

BLA 'lost to eye'.

SAB *lopas + a-*.

MUR *linos (-um-)*.

MAD From Sanskrit.

BAL Also *mə-kliəŋ* 'go very quickly without taking leave'.

SAS Also *nəlaŋ, təlaŋ*.

GOR From (*woli + mo-*).

UMA Also *paca*.

KON Also *ta<sup>ʔ</sup>-pela<sup>ʔ</sup>; al-laŋaŋ* 'evaporate'.

WOL *sosopa* 'disappear from sight'; *ila* 'disappear, decease'.

NGA Also *pota*

SIK Also *pota-tməse-ŋ; [ila-ŋ]* Malay.

DOB 'lost, in the state of having disappeared'.

DAM '3sg-hide-COMP-INF'.



YAB	‘do hidden’.
ADZ	‘go + COMP’, i.e. ‘disappear, go altogether’; <sup>n</sup> čup- ‘be gone, be finished’.
MOT	Also ‘be lost’.
ROV	Also <i>muliŋu</i> ‘lost’.
LAU	Also <i>funu</i> .
NEM	<i>cie-ek</i> (of someone); <i>cie</i> (of something).
CEM	<i>tálupe</i> ‘disappear from view’; <i>tíedε-n</i> ‘be no longer there’.
MSH	Also <i>cetlok</i> , with the suffix <i>-lok</i> ‘away’, ‘vanish over the horizon’; <i>lot</i> ‘die out’; <i>cēpeplok</i> also ‘destroy’.
PON	<i>sōr</i> ‘transient’; <i>-la</i> ‘away’.
SAM	<i>ŋālo, lilo, nimo</i> .
TAH	Also <i>haʔamoʔe</i> .

### 10.510 FLEE

ATA	ma-ŋiyay	*JAV	m-bərsət	*DAM	i-ya-ya
TSO	pkāko	*MAD	buru	MAB	-ko
RUK	mə-a-bərə	*BAL	ŋ-rorəd	*YAB	-eʔ -ya
PAI	ma-vilad	*SAS	pəlai	*KAU	βhal
YAM	malalayo	GOR	mo-lahi	*TOL	təkap
ISN	mag-tālaw	DAA	na-lai	BUA	βəya
*KAL	gumtik	UMA	me-tiboʔ	*ADZ	ru <sup>n</sup> t- + sinu <sup>ʔʔ</sup>
*TAG	tākas	BUG	liññiʔ	KIL	-sakaula
AKL	ʔāʔas	*KON	al-leseʔ	TAW	lowo
PAL	mə-lɔgyu	WOL	pa-lai	*MOT	heau
MOL	moloʃu	MAG	loši	*MEK	e-piau-ani(-a)
*KAG	layas	NGA	paru	*ROV	ɣovete
BLA	m-ila	SIK	plari ropo	MAR	rik <sup>h</sup> a
*SAB	lahi	*RTI	nalai-k	*LAU	tafi
*MUR	iduʔ	*BUR	heka	KWO	ʔak <sup>w</sup> a
*MGY	mi-[lefa]	DOB	ʔa-la	RAG	
ACE	pluəŋ	IRA	bərɔr	PAA	loh sal
BAT	littun	SAW	n-ɔws-ε	LEW	ure
MIN	lari		(ɔws)	POR	v <sup>n</sup> dʔan-i
*IND	mə-lari-kan	NYI	atob <sup>w</sup> ak	NTA	-aŋəm
	diri	MAM	ratu	*KWA	-ataka
SUN	kabur	TAK	-sol	NEM	talep

CEM	cêla	*PON	sopo	*SAM	sola
AJI	ǝřǝ	*WLE	cē	MEL	tere
XAR	xuru	EFI	dʰǝ	*TAH	horǝ
NEN	isič	WFI	čuba	RAP	tere
*KIR	biri nako	RTU	čoni		
*MSH	rec	TON	hola		

KAL *butik + -um-*.

TAG *tākas + -um-* ‘run away’; *īwas + -um/-an* ‘keep away from’.

KAG *layas + mag-*; also *laguy + mag-*.

SAB *lahi + a-*.

MUR *idu?* (*mag-*).

MGY From Malay *lāpas* ‘freed, loose’.

IND ‘to run oneself away’; also *bər-lāpas diri*.

JAV Also *m-layu (N-playu)*.

MAD ‘run’.

BAL *N-rorod* often has a special sense of ‘elope’; *ŋ-rarud* ‘flee en masse’; *N-leb* ‘escape, of animals or prisoners’.

SAS ‘run’.

KON Also *numari*.

RTI See 10.460.

BUR ‘run’; *hek tata-k* ‘flee and abandon everything’.

DAM ‘3sg-flee-INF’.

YAB ‘depart ... go’; also *-e? su* ‘depart ... go.down’.

KAU Also *mhup*.

TOL Also *vilau* (vb intrans), 10.460.

ADZ ‘run + away’.

MOT See 10.460.

MEK *e-piau* ‘run’, *ani* ‘away’ (compare Motu *tani*); also *e-fou* ‘flee’, *e-kani* ‘run away, flee’.

ROV Also *varihogai* ‘to elope, fall together’.

LAU Also *ag<sup>wa</sup>*.

KWA Also *-ap*.

KIR *biri nako* ‘run off’; *mumun* ‘retreat, break ranks’.

MSH Also *ko*.

PON Also *taŋ*.

WLE Also *xawa*.

SAM Also *sulu*.

TAH Also *tapuni*.

## 10.520 FOLLOW

ATA	γ-um-ɬuy	UMA	m <sup>h</sup> po-tuku <sup>h</sup>	MAR	leɭeyu
*TSO	mre <sup>h</sup> o-frixni	BUG	mač-čoe	LAU	lea sulia
RUK	ma-bi-bilili	KON	am-minahaŋ	KWO	(leka) suri-a
*PAI	ki-ja-jaɭ-an		(pinahaŋ)	RAG	
YAM	mačilolo	*WOL	ose	PAA	mūsili
ISN	umunud	*MAG	lūt	LEW	taveve
*KAL	tuŋ <sup>h</sup> ud	NGA	ɖepo	POR	sür-i
*TAG	sunod	*SIK	tepo	NTA	-atoupən
AKL	sunud	*RTI	tuŋa	*KWA	-akurira
PAL	məg-lundug	BUR	hai	*NEM	yayure
*MOL	tuhut	DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> uyar	*CEM	úti
*KAG	sunud	*IRA	meri	AJI	kɔiwā
*BLA	m-lalo <sup>h</sup>	SAW	n-derere	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ai
*SAB	tudul	NYI	an hamon	NEN	huelen
*MUR	baya <sup>h</sup>	MAM	taga	KIR	ira
MGY	man-araka	TAK	-ri	*MSH	lōr
*ACE	sutet	*DAM	dōɸi-ya	PON	itawēn
BAT	ihut-i	MAB	-to	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> iɾi-a
*MIN	ikuy <sup>h</sup>	YAB	-dagu <sup>h</sup>	EFI	muri-a
IND	məŋ-ikut-i	*KAU	ira	WFI	seku-ɖia
SUN	nudur-kin	TOL	mur	RTU	taupiri
	(tudur)	BUA	səpa	TON	muimui
*JAV	məlu (m-əlu)	ADZ	aɕu <sup>h</sup> ɖ- <sup>h</sup>	*SAM	mulimuli
MAD	туру <sup>h</sup>	KIL	-bokuli	*MEL	[-usia]
*BAL	ŋə-tut	*TAW	wotago	TAH	ha <sup>h</sup> ape <sup>h</sup> e
*SAS	nerut	*MOT	muri-na raka	*RAP	haka tika
*GOR	molunuhu	*MEK	e-pea-lai-na		
DAA	nan-tuki	ROV	luli		

TSO Also *pre<sup>h</sup>o-frixn-i*.

PAI *ki-a-jaɭ-an* 'follow, go behind'; *ki-ɕiur* 'follow, accompany with'.

KAL	<i>tujʔud + mai.</i>
TAG	<i>sunod + -um-/sund-an.</i>
AKL	PAN * <i>suNuD.</i>
MOL	<i>tuhut + -um/-on.</i>
KAG	<i>sunud + mag-/m-/-ən (derived forms: munud, sunurun); also lutos + m-/-ən (derived forms: mutus, lutusun) ‘to follow at a later time’.</i>
BLA	<i>t-m-adol ‘follow (directly behind)’.</i>
SAB	<i>tudul + pa-/ø.</i>
MUR	<i>bayaʔ (-um-) (vb intrans); bayaʔ (maŋ- -on) (vb trans).</i>
ACE	Also <i>ikot.</i>
MIN	Also <i>turuyʔ.</i>
JAV	Also <i>ilu ‘childish variant of m-elu’ (Horne).</i>
BAL	Also <i>(N-)tutut-in; milu ‘join in, follow along (vb intrans)’.</i>
SAS	Morpheme break not indicated? Thoir et al. (1985) <i>turut.</i>
GOR	<i>(tunuhu + moN-); also mohunuhu (wunuhu + moh-).</i>
WOL	Also <i>pa-ǰere, sora-sora ‘move along, follow’; tuulawulu.</i>
MAG	Also <i>loroŋ.</i>
SIK	Also <i>dətu.</i>
RṬI	Also <i>na-tuŋa.</i>
IRA	<i>(m-eri).</i>
DAM	‘following 3sg TRANS AUX-INF’.
KAU	Also <i>pet.</i>
TAW	Also <i>wimuli ‘go behind’.</i>
MOT	<i>muri-na ‘behind someone’; raka ‘to walk’.</i>
MEK	Also have <i>e-muni-ai-na.</i>
KWA	<i>-akurira ‘follow, come behind, come afterwards’; -ap<sup>w</sup>it ‘follow, be guided by’; -esi ‘follow a road, follow someone’; -sui ‘follow, occur as a consequence of’.</i>
NEM	<i>yayure ‘follow something’; hen tai-n ‘follow someone’ lit ‘go behind him’.</i>
CEM	<i>úti ‘follow (a path)’, é-céi-n ‘walk behind, follow’.</i>
MSH	Also ‘comply’.
WLE	<i>m<sup>w</sup>iṛī-a ‘go after’; taϕ<sup>w</sup>ē-a ‘accompany’; saxē-a also ‘chase, pursue’; faiü-a.</i>

SAM *tatsao* (vb trans) 'follow in the tracks of'; *sosoʔo* (vb intrans) 'follow, come next'.

MEL From Efate.

RAP Also *tute*.

### 10.530 PURSUE

ATA	mahāy	*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-raga	MAR	ŋoʔo
*TSO	mreo-baŋo	UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-dapaʔ	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aitarī
RUK	wa-korisi	BUG	mal-lilluŋ	KWO	sule-a
PAI	l̥-əm-aiŋ	*KON	aŋ'ŋ-usiri	RAG	
YAM	aɖaʂən	WOL	pa-ʃere	PAA	gātauni
ISN	aplan	*MAG	leor	LEW	veve
*KAL	dogdog	NGA	lele	POR	varax-in-i
*TAG	hābol	SIK	plari tepo	NTA	-ətap
*AKL	ʔagas	*RTI	usi-sopu	*KWA	-rup <sup>wi</sup>
PAL	məg-lombus	BUR	tehu	*NEM	t <sup>n</sup> ōni
*MOL	ibut	DOB	ʔa-totar	CEM	tái
*KAG	lagas	IRA	nəφərərufətə	AJI	vi koiwā
BLA	t-m-afik	SAW	n-fejale	XAR	fāte
*SAB	apas	NYI	tikahei	*NEN	pi
*MUR	ilow	MAM	tao	KIR	kāea
MGY	man-endzika	TAK	-kidi	MSH	
ACE	puičrəʔ	DAM	dō φi-ya	PON	itawēn
BAT	lele	MAB	-keto	*WLE	ʂaxē-a
MIN	ikut-i	YAB	-ya <sup>n</sup> da	*EFI	βaka-muri-a
IND	məŋəʃar (kəʃar)	KAU	lumto	WFI	ro-βia
SUN	ŋ-udag	TOL	korot	RTU	ʔofi
*JAV	ŋ-oyaʔ	BUA	səpa	TON	tuli
MAD	tabaŋ	*ADZ	daru-	*SAM	tuli-loa
*BAL	ŋəpuŋ (kəpuŋ)	KIL	-bokaβili	*MEL	ārā
SAS	ŋə-maləʔ	TAW	wiyaga	TAH	tāpapa
*GOR	mohilapito	MOT	yaβa-ia	RAP	tute
		*MEK	e-iva		
		ROV	hadua		

TSO Also *preo-baŋ-a*.

KAL *dogdog + -on*; also *bonag + -on*.

TAG	Also <i>tūgis</i> + <i>-um/-in</i> ‘run after, chase’.
AKL	Derived from <i>†ags-un</i> ; also <i>†ūtus</i> .
MOL	<i>ibut</i> + <i>-um/-on</i> .
KAG	<i>lagas</i> + <i>mag-/-an</i> .
SAB	<i>apas</i> + <i>pa-∅</i> .
MUR	<i>ilow</i> ( <i>maŋ- -on</i> ).
JAV	Also <i>ŋubər</i> ( <i>N-ubər</i> ).
BAL	Also ( <i>N-ubər</i> ).
GOR	( <i>yilapito</i> + <i>moh-</i> ).
DAA	‘chase’.
KON	Also <i>aŋŋ-ondaŋ</i> .
MAG	Also <i>doloŋ, kudu</i> .
RTI	<i>usi</i> ‘to chase after, chase away’; <i>sopu</i> ‘to pursue, hunt’.
ADZ	Also <i>daro-</i> .
MEK	Also <i>e-uu-a, e-iu-a</i> ; also <i>e-puŋo-ka</i> ‘chase (away?) with hue and cry’; NW Mekeo <i>ba-gani-a</i> (East Mek <i>pa-kani-a</i> ) and <i>ba-kau-a</i> .
KWA	<i>-rup<sup>wi</sup></i> ‘chase, investigate’; <i>-sui</i> ‘run after’.
NEM	Also <i>havai</i> .
NEN	Also <i>tīlī</i> .
WLE	Also <i>fōcaxē-a, faü-a</i> .
EFI	Also <i>ðēmuri-a</i> .
SAM	<i>tuli</i> ‘hunt, chase (vb trans)’, <i>loa</i> ‘immediately’.
MEL	Also <i>moemoeakina</i> .

### 10.550 REACH, ARRIVE

ATA	tayhuk	PAI	apətən (əpat)	MIN	sampay
*TSO	si-ɕʔixi	*MOL	datəŋ	*IND	sampai
*RUK	wa-daʎoʎo	*KAG	a'but	*SUN	təpi
PAI	ʃ-əm-al <sup>y</sup> un	*BLA	g-n-uma	*JAV	təkɔ
*YAM	makazanəʂ	*SAB	abut	MAD	ɖapaʔ
ISN	dumataŋ	*MUR	saboy	*BAL	nəkəd
*KAL	dakŋon	*MGY	maha-tʃatʃa		(təkəd)
*TAG	datiŋ	*ACE	troih	*SAS	sampe
*AKL	abut	BAT	sahat		

*GOR	mē-du <sup>ɟ</sup> gā mayi	*MAB	-pet	*KWA	-esite
		*YAB	-o lase	NEM	ṛac
DA	na-rata	KAU	pol	CEM	tēhi
UMA	rata	*TOL	tə <sup>ɔ</sup> v	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> a
BUG	mad-dapi	BUA	tə <sup>ɔ</sup> ya	XAR	toan <sup>õ</sup>
*KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -lante	*ADZ	<sup>n</sup> toap-	*NEN	pina
*WOL	ka-wea	*KIL	-kaloubusi	KIR	roko
MAG	čai	TAW	geleta	*MSH	t <sup>ɬ</sup> keak
*NGA	sai	*MOT	kau	PON	lel
*SIK	bo <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*MEK	e-pea-lai	*WLE	tiwexī
*RTI	hapu	*ROV	kamo	EFI	ya <sup>ɔ</sup> o-βa
*BUR	dena	*MAR	posa	WFI	ðadra-βia
*DOB	<sup>ʔ</sup> a- <sup>ɸ</sup> an	LAU	daon <sup>ʔ</sup> ana	*RTU	h <sup>ɔ</sup> <sup>ʔ</sup> u
IRA	bu nəma	KWO	nigi	TON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> u
SAW	n-wəm	RAG		*SAM	o <sup>ʔ</sup> o
*NYI	asos	*PAA	dokoli	*MEL	[takālia]
MAM	pura	*LEW	toli	TAH	tae
TAK	-lasa	POR	<sup>m</sup> braxō	RAP	tu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
DAM	wō	*NTA	oarus		

TSO Also *si-<sup>ɕ</sup><sup>ʔ</sup>x-i*.

RUK *kəla* 'to arrive'.

YAM Also *mašašnad*.

KAL From *datoŋ + -on*.

TAG Also *sipot + -um-*.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*qabut*.

MOL *datoŋ + -um-*.

KAG *a<sup>ʔ</sup>but + mag-/m-*; also *tuman + mag-*, *lambut + mag-* both 'to reach a place'.

BLA *g-n-uma* 'reach'; *kəl* 'arrive'.

SAB *abut + pa-* 'reach'; *takka + a-* 'arrive'.

MUR *saboy (-um-)*; also *suku<sup>ʔ</sup> (-um-)*.

MGY Also *tonga*.

ACE Also *to<sup>ʔ</sup>*, *tro<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

IND Also *məñ-čapai*.

SUN Also *dataŋ*.

JAV Also *təkan*.

- BAL *nəkəd* ‘arrive (vb intrans)’; (*N-*)*antəg* ‘reach (vb intrans)’; *təkə* ‘arrive’.
- SAS Thoir et al (1985) *kanti, sampe*.
- GOR *mayi* ‘hither’.
- KON Also *mae, rie?, battu*.
- WOL *ka-wea* ‘reach’; *kawa* ‘arrive at’.
- NGA Also *pəʃa*.
- SIK Also *boʔu mai, daʔa*.
- RTI *hapu* ‘to reach, get, obtain’; *losa* ‘up to’.
- BUR Also *kadu-k* ‘come, arrive’; *en-kadu-k* ‘arrival’; *date* ‘reach for s.th.’; *eta* ‘upon arrival, upon reaching the point in time’, *suba* ‘cross a threshold’.
- DOB Also ‘fall’, but when followed by a locative noun (no preposition) ‘arrive’: *ʔa-ϕan ϕanó-ti* ‘he’s already arrived at the village’.
- NYI Also *isos* (1sg, 3sg).
- MAB Also *-se ki-*; *-<sup>n</sup>dēŋe*.
- YAB ‘come forth’.
- TOL Also *tədəp* (vb trans), *pukai* (vb intrans) ‘arrive, land’; *vut* (vb intrans) ‘come’; *pət* (vb intrans) ‘come’.
- ADZ *<sup>n</sup>toap-* ‘emerge, appear, arrive’; *ba- + wa + sib* ‘come + COMP ‘altogether’, i.e. ‘to have arrived’.
- KIL Also *-bilou-busi* ‘place-arrive’, ‘arrive at a place’; *-dou-busi* ‘sail-arrive’, ‘arrive by vessel under sail’; *-lo-busi* ‘journey-arrive ‘arrive at journey’s destination’.
- MOT Also *gini dae* (*gini* ‘to stand’, *dae* ‘to ascend’).
- MEK *e-pea-lai* (other dialects: *e-poa-lai, e-boa-lai*) ‘approach, reach, arrive; go out, depart, set out’; *lai* also *-lei*.
- ROV Also *hoyoto*.
- MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>oke*.
- PAA Lit. ‘touch’.
- LEW Also *woru*.
- NTA Also *-ietpən*.
- KWA Also *-əp(i) irap<sup>w</sup>* ‘come out at’.
- NEN Also *šedo* (respectful).
- MSH Also *τλπαρ;* *cirāk* (by canoe); *po* (by plane or ship).



WLE	<i>tiwexī</i> (vb trans), <i>sēre</i> ; <i>xolō</i> (vb trans), lit 'seize', <i>īra</i> ; <i>toxa</i> also directional 'hither'.
RTU	Also <i>heleʔu</i> .
SAM	<i>tau</i> (vb intrans) 'reach (vb intrans)', <i>tau-nuʔu</i> 'reach one's destination', <i>nuʔu</i> 'village'.
MEL	From Efate.

### 10.560 APPROACH

ATA	ʔi-ša-šu-βih-an	*GOR	mohi <sup>m</sup> bidu	ROV	tata kamo
*TSO	s-m-ai-ϕmuʔu	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-mosu	MAR	
RUK	wa-dəθə	UMA	mohu-iʔ	LAU	garaŋia na
PAI		BUG	takka-dapi	KWO	
YAM	mipaŋŋən	KON	aʔ-biriŋ	RAG	
ISN	magidda-	*WOL	ka-sui	*PAA	sōlukuti
	dataŋ	MAG	ruis	*LEW	va laviŋi
*KAL	adani	NGA	veʔe	*POR	vanim
*TAG	lāpit	SIK	mai groʔo		pariça <sup>ŋ</sup> g
AKL	ʔapit	*RTI	deka-deka	NTA	-βa iuakər
PAL	əgap-ən	BUR	epa-k	*KWA	-əwi apehe
*MOL	obiʔ	DOB	ʔa-ŋal	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> a-me
*KAG	parani	IRA	nəbəbabərə	*CEM	é-m <sup>w</sup> ōnu
BLA	f-dadoŋ	SAW	n-ε-rakn-o	AJI	vi ve úb <sup>w</sup> a
*SAB	sōŋ		(raken)	*XAR	ā mē
*MUR	iŋgād	*NYI	ame mirihik	*NEN	ačenon
MGY	man-akaiki	*MAM	taona	KIR	kānia
ACE	pu-rap	TAK	-nini	*MSH	citāk
BAT	dənɔh-i			PON	
*MIN	dakeʔ-i	*DAM	garan i-se-ya	WLE	xəpəpō
IND	mən-dəkət-i	MAB	-garau	EFI	βōleka-ta
*SUN	ŋa-dikāt-an	*YAB	-dabiŋ	WFI	βōleka-sia
JAV	nədaʔi (čədaʔ-i)	*KAU	li pol tikayuŋ	RTU	aʔele
*MAD	nəmmaʔi (-səmmaʔ)	TOL	tədəv	TON	faka-ōfi
		BUA	ya dus	*SAM	faʔa-latalata
*BAL	maəkin (paək)	*ADZ	ba- + wa + uϕ	MEL	tārā
SAS	ŋə-rapət-aŋ	KIL	-maima	*TAH	tāpiri
		TAW	tuliyaliyana	RAP	haka hahine
		*MOT	lao heni-a		
		*MEK			

TSO	<i>s-m-ai-ɕmuʔu</i> ‘approach by walking’; <i>s-m-o-ɕmuʔu</i> ‘approach by running’.
KAL	<i>ādaani + -um-</i> .
TAG	<i>lāpit + -um-/-an</i> Proto-Philippines * <i>dāpit</i> ‘nearby’.
MOL	<i>obiʔ + po-</i> .
KAG	( <i>dani + pa-</i> ) + <i>mag-/m-</i> ( <i>marani</i> ).
SAB	<i>sōŋ + pa-</i> ; also <i>seŋgod</i> , <i>sekot</i> (lit ‘near’) + <i>pa-</i> .
MUR	<i>iŋgād (-um-)</i> .
MIN	Also <i>ampiʔŋ-i</i> .
SUN	Also <i>ŋa-dataŋ-an</i> .
MAD	Safioedin (1977): <i>səmmaʔ</i> ‘close’.
BAL	<i>paək</i> ‘near’.
GOR	From ( <i>yi<sup>m</sup>bidu + moh</i> ); also <i>mo-tahudu</i> .
WOL	Also <i>pekakasu</i> ; <i>sari</i> ‘be near, came near’.
RTI	‘go in’.
NYI	‘come close’.
MAM	Also <i>tao</i> .
DAM	‘toward 3sg-come-INF’.
YAB	Also <i>-tu gasuʔ</i> lit ‘become near’.
KAU	‘go arrive near’ (serial verb construction).
ADZ	‘come COMP + short’.
MOT	<i>lao</i> ‘go’ - <i>heni</i> trans (compare <i>heni-a</i> ‘to give’). Also <i>raka heni-a</i> ( <i>raka</i> ‘to walk’) and <i>rakakahira</i> ( <i>kahira</i> ‘near’).
MEK	See 10.550.
PAA	‘sneak up on’.
LEW	‘go close to’.
POR	‘come near’.
KWA	‘move towards, near’.
CEM	‘go towards’.
XAR	‘a little come’.
NEN	Also <i>ačeton</i> (respectful).
MSH	Also <i>cikrək</i> ‘arrive’; and <i>kepāk</i> ‘move closer’.
SAM	<i>faʔa-</i> CAUS, <i>lata, latalata</i> ‘be close, near’.
TAH	Also <i>haʔafātata</i> .

## 10.570 ENTER

ATA	maup	UMA	me-sua <sup>?</sup>	*MAR	jugru
TSO	ri-mrimi	BUG	tamma	LAU	ru
*RUK	mo-a-dānə	KON	antama <sup>?</sup>	KWO	ru <sup>?</sup> u
PAI	tədəp	WOL	pe-sua	RAG	haroro
YAM	ʂəʂdəp	MAG	ŋō one	*PAA	vā naim
ISN	lumna <sup>?</sup>	NGA	lole	*LEW	va loima
*KAL	lumnok	*SIK	tama	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> is
*TAG	pāsok	RTI	leo dalek	NTA	-uβən ima
*AKL	suʔud	*BUR	rogo	*KWA	-auru
PAL	sumuləd (suləd)	*DOB	ʔa-wuy	NEM	ura
*MOL	solod	*IRA	nəri	*CEM	tā
*KAG	məlləd	SAW	n-čuj (suj)	AJI	vi ru
BLA	fusuk	*NYI	a bolon	XAR	cati
*SAB	sōd	MAM	sili	NEN	okone
*MUR	subəl	TAK	-laodu	KIR	rin
*MGY	miditʔa	*DAM	name-n i-le-ya	*MSH	reɭəŋ
ACE	taməŋ	*MAB	-le	*PON	pitoloŋ
BAT	masuk	YAB	-so	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> ūrɔŋo
MIN	masu <sup>ə?</sup>	KAU	sup	EFI	ðuru-ma
IND	masuk	TOL	ruk	WFI	hita-βia
SUN	asup	BUA	loŋ ya	RTU	suru
JAV	m-ləbu	ADZ	ata <sup>ə?</sup> -	TON	hū
MAD	masu <sup>?</sup>	KIL	-suβi	*SAM	ulu
BAL	mə-čələp	TAW	lui	MEL	uru
SAS	tamə	MOT	βareai	*TAH	tomo
*GOR	t-um-uwoto	MEK	e-koko	*RAP	uru
DAA	ne-sua	ROV	nuguru		

RUK *mo-a-dānə* ‘to enter a house’; *mo-a-ađiŋi* ‘to enter a cave or into water’.

KAL From *lonok* + *-um-*.

TAG *pāsok* + *-um-*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**seled*.

MOL *solod* + *-um-*.

KAG From *selled* + *m-*.

SAB *sōd* + *pa-*.

- MUR *subol* (-um-).
- MGY From *mi-idiṯʳa*.
- GOR Also *mo-[maso]*, from Malay *masuk*.
- SIK Also *logu*.
- BUR *rogo* ‘enter s.th. wide or easy’; *oso* ‘enter s.th. narrow or difficult’; *suba* ‘cross a threshold’ (see 10.474.); *rog-ute* ‘burst into a house (when attacking s.o.)’; *raka* ‘thrust hand into a hole’; *f-rogo-k*, *py-oso-k* ‘put s.th. into s.th.’; *roga* ‘force s.th. into a tight fit’.
- DOB Used with things such as caves; enter a house: *ʔa-yaḟul* ‘go up into’.
- IRA *ǰa ri sanə* ‘I enter the house’.
- NYI ‘go inside’.
- DAM ‘middle-in 3sg-go-INF’.
- MAB *-le* ‘go inside towards the speaker’; *-lela* ‘go inside from the speaker’; *-lema* ‘go inside towards the hearer’.
- MAR Also *ruma*.
- PAA ‘go inside’.
- LEW ‘go inside’.
- KWA *-auru* ‘pass through, pass into’; *-uwnim* <sup>w</sup>a ‘enter a building’.
- CEM *tá* ‘go up, go into (a house)’; *kópi* ‘go into, penetrate’.
- MSH *relɔŋ* lit ‘facing inside, insert, import’; *mḍn*.
- PON With suffix *-loŋ* ‘into’; also *til*.
- WLE Also *tōřoŋo*, *-řoŋo* ‘into’.
- SAM ‘enter a house’: *ulu-fale* (vb intrans), *fale* ‘house’; ‘enter for a social call’: *afe*.
- TAH Also *haere i roto*.
- RAP Also *oʔo* ‘enter, insert (of e.g. a person entering a house through a window to steal or violate)’.

### 10.610 CARRY (bear)

*ATA	ma-paŋaʔ	*ISN	agtuwan	*MOL	akut
*TSO	t-m-opori	*KAL	awit	*KAG	dlaən
RUK	wa-iloko	*TAG	dalah	BLA	m-ibi
PAI	s-ən-əvalʔ	*AKL	daʔah	*SAB	bowa
*YAM	miakot	PAL	bibit-ən	*MUR	ibit

MGY	mi-tundʳa	DOB	ʔa-ɸo	LEW	wari
ACE	buɪʔot	IRA	nanəɸa	POR	pač-i
*BAT	boan	*SAW	n-ut	NTA	-ələs
MIN	aŋkuyʔ	NYI	bose	*KWA	-uwahi
*IND	məm-bawa	MAM	bazi	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> awa
SUN	mawa	*TAK	-sini	*CEM	pé
	(bawa)	DAM	ɸāli	AJ	pə
JAV	ŋ-gowɔ	MAB	-bāda	*XAR	kē
MAD	kiba	*YAB	-koʔ	NEN	adeni
*BAL	ŋ-abə	*KAU	lat	KIR	uota
SAS	ŋ-aŋkat	TOL	kəp	*MSH	aleek
*GOR	mo-delo	BUA	ko	PON	wa
DAA	na <sup>ɖ</sup> geni	ADZ	yu-	*WLE	xasī
	(keni)	KIL	-keula	EFI	kau-ta
UMA	keni	*TAW	waya	WFI	kou
BUG	reŋeʔ	*MOT	abi-a	*RTU	hoʔa
KON	aŋŋ-eraŋ	MEK	e-pua(-i-a)	TON	fua
*WOL	po-ti <sup>m</sup> bawa	ROV	paleke	*SAM	ʔave
*MAG	bā	MAR	pala	MEL	kāmoa
NGA	ɖadɔ	LAU	koua	*TAH	ʔāfaʔi
*SIK	ʔ-əti	KWO	fē-a	*RAP	maʔu
*R̄T̄I	ne-ni	RAG			
*BUR	ego	PAA	lahi		

ATA *ma-paŋaʔ* ‘to carry something on one’s back’.

TSO Also *tropor-a*.

YAM *pavaŋən* ‘transport’.

ISN *agtu-wan* ‘carry, transport’.

KAL *awit + man-*.

TAG *dalah + mag-/dalh-in*, Proto-Philippines *\*dadah* ‘bear’.

AKL (*daʔh-un*); *hakwat* ‘carry, transport’.

MOL *akut + mөг-/on*.

KAG *dala + mag-/əŋ* (*dləən/dluun/dlaən*).

SAB *bowa + aN-/ø*.

MUR *ibit* (*mag-*, *maŋ-*, *-on*; *-in*).

BAT See 10.620.

IND Also *məŋ-aŋkat*, *məŋ-aŋkut*; *məŋ-gendoŋ*.

- BAL Also (N-)gandoŋ ‘carry on one’s back (human agent)’; (N-)siŋal, (N-)ñanŋ ‘carry a child on one’s hip, with one of the child’s legs behind, one in front’. (N-)saŋkol ‘carry (a baby) in both arms, on one’s chest’; (N-)pondoŋ ‘carry on back, of an animal’; (N-)suŋsuŋ ‘carry (a god or a king) on one’s head’; (N-)buat ‘carry, transport in a vehicle’; also sanan ‘carrying pole’.
- GOR Also mo-lāto ‘carry together’; molani (tani + moN-) ‘in the palm(s) of the hand, in a plate, etc.’; momōwo (bōwo + moN-) ‘carry on one’s back’.
- WOL Also fawa, wulu.
- MAG ‘bring for someone’
- SIK Also ?βara, pa?u, leba, βua-ŋ, li?u; βiti.
- RTI ne-ni ‘to carry, to bring, to take’ (3sg form).
- BUR ‘carry, take, get, fetch’; gao ‘grasp in hand, carry (e.g. a spear)’; wada ‘carry (bulky thing) on shoulder’; leba ‘carry on shoulder with a pole’; wihi-k ‘carry by hand at one’s side (e.g. a bucket)’; reŋe ‘carry s.th. in a basket on one’s back using a tumpline (headstrap)’; reŋ-olo-k ‘carry s.o. (child or sick person) in a cloth on one’s back using a cloth as a strap around one’s forehead’; ep-labu-k ‘carry on back using shoulder straps’; t-ol-fafa-k ‘carry s.th. on head’; pinu ‘carry with strap over shoulder (e.g. hunting pouch)’; [baba] ‘carry a child on one’s side with a carrying cloth’; sgera ‘carry a child with his legs straddling one’s hip’; slolo ‘carry a child in one’s arms’; tedu ‘carry a child sitting on one’s shoulders or hanging on one’s back’; sgege ‘carry s.th. under one’s arm’; bihi-k ‘carry (bird) by feet’; ep’lea ‘carry cargo’; edaba ‘carry gifts on shoulder in procession’.
- SAW Also n-imet; n-bet.
- TAK ‘carry (esp. on shoulder), collect, gather’.
- YAB -balanŋ ‘carry on shoulders (two or more people)’; -bi? ‘carry on back’ (gebi?); -bi? ‘carry on shoulder’ (ke-bi?), -geŋ ‘carry by the handle (lamp)’, -megom ‘carry in fist’, -m<sup>w</sup>asiŋ ‘carry carefully’; -noŋ ‘carry around the neck’, -nu ‘hanging on chest (from neck)’, -tolonŋ ‘carry a load (of firewood)’, -seŋeŋ ‘carry in the mouth (with teeth)’, -wi ‘carry a netbag (handle over forehead)’.
- KAU Also soh.
- TAW ‘take it’.
- MOT abi-a ‘get, have, hold’.

KWA	Also <i>-wahi, -awahi; -aka</i> ‘carry piggy back’; <i>-arahi</i> ‘carry something hanging from a pole with another person’; <i>-atipa</i> ‘carry on back’.
NEM	<i>t<sup>h</sup>awa</i> ‘carry on the back’; <i>cāviyi</i> ‘carry in the arms’.
CEM	<i>pé</i> ‘take, carry’; <i>táwɔ-n</i> ‘carry in hand (basket)’.
XAR	<i>kě</i> ‘carry on back or shoulder’; <i>janā</i> ‘carry across the body’; <i>akɔ</i> ‘carry with aid of harness’; <i>jī</i> ‘carry at arms length’; <i>çošē</i> ‘carry by handle’; <i>jišē</i> ‘several people carrying at once’; <i>nōdə, p<sup>w</sup>e, kanə</i> ‘carry baby, on back arms, in sling’.
MSH	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ak</i> ‘carry off’; <i>leak-</i> ‘transport’, which always takes directional suffix.
WLE	Also <i>rōxī</i> .
RTU	Also <i>?apo</i> .
SAM	See 10.630, 650, 660, <i>la?u</i> ‘carry, load (vb trans)’.
TAH	Also <i>hōpoi, amo, fa?auta, tie, tari</i> .
RAP	<i>ma?u</i> ‘carry, convey’; <i>tari</i> ‘carry, haul’.

### 10.612 CARRY-IN-HAND

ATA	mi <sup>ʔ</sup> iŋ	*IND	məñ-jiñjiŋ	*BUR	wihi-k
TSO		SUN	ŋa-jiñjiŋ	DOB	?a-φo
RUK	wa-takilili	JAV	ñanŋkiŋ	IRA	nudə nanəφa
PAI	k-əm-aład-ay		(čanŋkiŋ)	SAW	n-lewte
YAM	avitən	MAD	tiŋtiŋ	NYI	bose na
ISN	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> bīt-an	*BAL	neŋteŋ		mine-n
*KAL	begkeŋ		(teŋteŋ)	MAM	do <sup>ʔ</sup> i-silele
*TAG	bitbit	SAS	bentek	*TAK	-abi
*AKL	bitbit	GOR	mo-delo	*DAM	i-rou-ya
PAL	bikyat-ɔn	DAA	no-salili	*MAB	-pie
MOL		UMA	heni <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	-tap
*KAG	ibit	BUG	mab-biččəŋ	KAU	βa
BLA	kitin	*KON	an-neteŋ	*TOL	puək
*SAB	bembet		(teteŋ)	BUA	zom
*MUR	sapanay	WOL	keni-keni	ADZ	api <sup>ʔ</sup> -
MGY	mi-tund <sup>ʔ</sup> a	MAG	tipa	KIL	-yousi
ACE	tijik	NGA	dəo	TAW	woitaketake
BAT	boan	SIK	?-əti	*MOT	abi-a
*MIN	jiñji <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ	*RTI	ho <sup>ʔ</sup> u		

MEK	ima-ŋ-ai e-pua(-i-a)	POR	vav-i *NTA ələs	PON	ɰile
ROV	paleke	*KWA	-apeki	WLE	
*MAR	loku	NEM	tu-ve	*WFI	kabe-sia
LAU	koua ʔana ʔaba	*CEM	cécɛle-hi	*RTU	ʔovi
		AJI	tuvia	TON	taki
KWO	fē-a	XAR	təp <sup>w</sup> e	SAM	lulu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
RAG		*NEN	eado	MEL	kāmoa
PAA	guri	KIR	abuta	TAH	
LEW	tari	*MSH	aɾoɾæiki	RAP	

KAL *begkeŋ + -on.*

TAG *bitbit + mag-/-in.*

AKL PHN *\*bitbit.*

KAG *ibit + mag-/m-/-an; also awid + mag-/-an; bitbit + mag- 'to hold in hand in a dangling fashion (such as a basket)'.*

SAB *bembet + aN-/ø.*

MUR *sapanay (maŋ- -on).*

MIN Also *tati<sup>ʔ</sup>ŋ.*

IND Also *məməgaŋ(pəgaŋ).*

BAL Also *(N-)tadtad.*

KON Also *am-mintiŋ(hintiŋ)* 'hanging from hand'.

RTI *ho<sup>ʔ</sup>u* 'to hold, grip'; *ho<sup>ʔ</sup>i* 'to take, carry'.

BUR See note 10.610.

TAK 'hold' (11.150).

DAM '3sg-hold-INF.

MAB *-pie* 'hanging down'; *-<sup>m</sup>barāra* 'holding in arms'.

YAB 'carry something pressed against the body'

TOL *puək* 'lift and carry in the arm or hand', see 10.220.

MOT The words *ima-na ai* 'in one's hand' may be added; *rosi-a* 'to carry in one's arms; embrace'.

MAR 'hold'.

NTA Also *os* if (small object), *ətol* 'carry by handle'.

KWA Also *-asoria* 'carry hanging on a pole over a shoulder, carry hanging from a finger'; *-ruin* 'carry by a handle (as of a basket)'.

CEM *cécɛle-hi* 'carry in hand (basket)'; *âi* 'carry in one's arms'.

NEN Also *ekedon.*



MSH Archaic; *pæṛæcete* ‘carry in one hand’; *pæṛoṛæik* ‘carry in both hands’.

RTU Also *apeiʔoki*.

WFI Also *čube-ria*.

### 10.613 CARRY-ON-SHOULDER

*ATA	ma-haŋaʔ	*DAA	nom-	MEK	ʔepe-ŋ-ai
*TSO	ŋore		pasinaka		e-pua(-i-a)
*RUK	wa-ŋəalə	UMA	pahaʔa	ROV	kokovaria
PAI		BUG	mas-soppo	*MAR	pala
YAM	işabway	KON	añ-ñompo	LAU	koua ʔana
ISN	bugtūŋ-an		(sompō)		gʷouna ʔaba
*KAL	būkud	WOL	soḏa	KWO	
*TAG	pasan	MAG	pola	*RAG	tatalo
AKL	pasʔan	NGA	saʔa	PAA	vausi
PAL	kulibabaʔ-ən	SIK	βara	LEW	kusi
*MOL	poʔsan	RTI	lepa	POR	pač-i
*KAG	pasʔan	*BUR	wada	*NTA	-ahun
BLA	t-n-iəŋ	DOB	ʔa-tabay	KWA	-awrani
*SAB	taŋguŋ	*IRA	nəpərə	NEM	ŋogi
*MUR	sān	SAW	n-pə	CEM	cáni-hi
MGY	mi-landza	NYI	bose na	AJI	kā
ACE	gulam		kase-n	XAR	kē
BAT	tuhuk	MAM	bazi	NEN	adon
*MIN	pikuʔ	*TAK	-sini	*KIR	amoa
IND	məmikul	DAM	ḑāli	MSH	inene
	(pikul)	*MAB	-kwāra	PON	kapaik
SUN	maŋgul	YAB	-oʔ	WLE	xāuwafaṛə
	(paŋgul)	KAU	lul	EFI	ḑola-ta
*JAV	maŋgul	TOL	toke	*WFI	daŋi-a
	(paŋgul)	BUA	kəre	RTU	tole
MAD	pikul	*ADZ	bwari <sup>0?</sup>	*TON	fua
*BAL	nəgən (təgən)	*KIL	-saili	*SAM	amo
SAS	poŋgoʔ		oβilaβala	*MEL	[ōvā]
*GOR	məməta	TAW	awala	TAH	amo
		MOT	hua-ia	RAP	ʔamo

ATA	<i>ma-haŋaʔ</i> ‘to carry on one’s shoulder’, <i>ma-unrara</i> ‘for two people to carry the same thing with one pole on their shoulders’.
TSO	Also <i>ŋorv-i</i> .
RUK	<i>wa-ŋaalə</i> ‘to carry by heaving things on shoulder’; <i>wa-baça</i> ‘to carry things on shoulder with a pole’.
KAL	<i>ūkuū</i> + <i>-on</i> .
TAG	<i>pasan</i> + <i>mag-/in</i> , PHN * <i>pasaqan</i> .
MOL	<i>poʔsan</i> + <i>mog-/on</i> .
KAG	<i>pasʔan</i> + <i>mag/-an</i> .
SAB	<i>taŋguŋ</i> + <i>aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>sān</i> ( <i>mag-; -on</i> ).
MIN	Also <i>sandaŋ</i> .
JAV	Also <i>mikul</i> ( <i>pikul</i> ) ‘carry-on-shoulder with a pole’.
BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>tikul</i> ‘carry a heavy object on the back or shoulder’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>taŋguŋ</i> ‘carry on a shoulder-pole (two people)’.
GOR	Also <i>momotālo</i> ( <i>potālo</i> + <i>moN-</i> ).
DAA	Also <i>na-<sup>n̄</sup>ju<sup>m</sup>buaka</i> ( <i>su<sup>m</sup>buaka</i> ).
BUR	Also <i>leba</i> ; see note for 10.610.
IRA	Also means ‘to feed (a little child)’; ‘to pay’.
TAK	See 10.610.
MAB	Also <i>-siŋ</i> with a pole.
ADZ	<i>b<sup>w</sup>ari<sup>ʔʔ</sup></i> ‘carry on shoulder using a pole’; <i>baiya<sup>ʔʔ</sup></i> – ‘carry on shoulder in a sling’; <i>asu-</i> ‘carry directly on shoulder’.
KIL	Also <i>-papi</i> ‘carry on back’.
MAR	Also <i>bolo</i> ‘carry (heavy object)’.
RAG	Also <i>datalo</i> ; <i>rosi</i> ‘carry on bow or on stick on shoulder’.
NTA	Also <i>alis</i> ‘carry slung on pole held by two or more people’.
KIR	‘using a stick’.
WFI	Also <i>ðuku-a</i> .
TON	Also <i>haʔamo</i> ‘carry-on-shoulder with stick’.
SAM	Usually: ‘carry on a yoke’, see 10.780.
MEL	From Efate.

## 10.614 CARRY-ON-HEAD

ATA		BUG	maǰ-ǰuǰuǰ	MAR	
TSO	po-fŋu	*KON	as-sohoŋ	LAU	koua ʔana
RUK	wa-odo	WOL	suuŋi		kete
PAI	t-əm-ukulʷ	MAG	čuʔuŋ	*KWO	aʔari-a
YAM	iʂon	NGA	suʔu	RAG	
ISN	tutun-an	*SIK	liʔu	PAA	
*KAL	agtu	RTI	hoʔu lai-k	*LEW	kusi e pari-na
*TAG	sūnoŋ	*BUR	t-ol-fafa-k	POR	čun-i
*AKL	tusʔun	DOB	na-y-tudun	NTA	-ahun
PAL	kuluʔ-ən	*IRA	nəʔaʔə nene	KWA	
*MOL	duŋduŋ		rəgunə	NEM	
*KAG	duruŋun	SAW	n-etopel	CEM	
BLA	suduʔ	NYI	bose na	AJI	pε (rə g <sup>wā</sup> )
*SAB	lutu		batu-n	XAR	
*MUR	tampak	MAM	dinaʔi	NEN	
MGY	mi-luluha	TAK	-kidi	KIR	
ACE	suʔon	*DAM	i-tēi-ya	MSH	
BAT	hutti	*MAB	-kū <sup>n</sup> du	PON	
MIN	ǰuǰuʔŋ	YAB	-kuʔ	WLE	
IND	məñ-ǰuñǰuŋ	KAU	βun	EFI	
SUN	nūhun	TOL	toke	WFI	
	(suhun)	BUA	kud	RTU	
JAV	nūŋgi (suŋgi)	*ADZ	fīʔ-	TON	
MAD	suʔun	*KIL	-gabi	SAM	
*BAL	nūun (suun)	TAW	naba	*MEL	[sūna]
SAS		*MOT	do-bo-a	TAH	
*GOR	mohu <sup>n</sup> du	MEK	kani-ai	RAP	
DAA	nəm-potoru		e-pua(-i-a)		
UMA	hu <sup>n</sup> tu	ROV	kotua		

KAL agtu + -on.

TAG: sūnoŋ + mag-/in.

AKL PHF \*suquN.

MOL duŋduŋ + mog-/on.

KAG From duruŋ + mag-/ən.

SAB lutu + aN-/ø.

MUR tampak (mapa-; pa- -on).

BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>sunsuŋ</i> ‘carry a holy object on head, carry a person of high status’
GOR	( <i>wu<sup>n</sup>du + moh-</i> ).
KON	Also <i>as-soŋi</i> .
SIK	‘carry on back with head strap’.
BUR	From <i>tu-olo-fafa-k</i> (‘by means of-head-top-VerbMarker’); for 10.610.
IRA	‘carry on head (netbag)’.
DAM	‘3sg-carry on head-INF’.
MAB	<i>-poi</i> ‘carry with a string bag hanging from the forehead’.
ADZ	<i>fiç-</i> ‘carry on head in netbag’; <i>u<sup>n</sup>tu-</i> ‘carry directly on top of head’.
KIL	Verb focus form, <i>-gebila</i> ‘head-carry’; object focus, <i>-gabi</i> ‘head-carry (something)’.
MOT	Western Motu <i>ora-ia</i> .
KWO	From tumpline.
LEW	‘carry on head’.
MEL	From Efate.

### 10.615 CARRY-UNDER-ARM

ATA	pa-kiku†	*BAT	makkapitən	MAG	lele
TSO		MIN	kapi?	NGA	kipe
RUK	wa-kaçipi	*IND	məŋəpit	SIK	?-əti
PAI			(kəpit)	RTI	na-kabi
YAM	şopitən	*SUN	ŋelek (kelek)	*BUR	sgege
ISN	a?pīl-an	JAV	ŋəmpit	*DOB	?a-k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a
*KAL	agīpit		(kəmpit)		ɸay dek <sup>w</sup> ul
*TAG	kipkip	MAD	kəppi?		?isin
AKL	sīpit	*BAL	ŋaŋkil	*IRA	nəɸaɸə
PAL	gɔgɔ?-ən		(saŋkil)	SAW	n-çegigel
*MOL	kapit	SAS			(seɣigel)
*KAG	sikit	*GOR	momudu?o	NYI	bose udu bolo
BLA	s-n-ifit	DAA	no-salipiu		kabede-n
*SAB	sipit	UMA	hikiki	MAM	?api
*MUR	atupil	BUG	mak-kaleppe?	TAK	-pini
*MGY	mi-sakelika	KON	a?-kalepe?	*DAM	kawīt-em
ACE	gapiət	WOL	keke-pi	MAB	-wiliŋ

*YAB	-kapiŋ	LAU	koua ʔana	NEN	menuŋon
KAU			fara ʔaba	KIR	
*TOL	bəi-ne	KWO	g <sup>w</sup> ae-a	*MSH	ap <sup>w</sup> cæik
BUA	ze	RAG		PON	apit
ADZ	si <sup>m</sup> piaʔ-	PAA	gahin kati	WLE	yafitī
KIL	-p <sup>w</sup> esi	LEW	iŋari	EFI	kiriwa-na
TAW	awehi	POR	xav-in-i	WFI	gamu-sia
*MOT	kadidiha-ia	NTA	-ualuin	*RTU	kɔʔu
MEK	kikina-ai	*KWA	-rukuwn	TON	ʔefi
	epua(-i-a)	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ewagi	SAM	ʔafisi
ROV	kaminia	CEM	nénebe-hi	MEL	
MAR	kak <sup>h</sup> ači	AJI	pavia	TAH	
		XAR	bīnēi	RAP	

KAL *agīpit + -an.*

TAG *kipkip + -um-/-in.*

MOL *kapit + mog-/-on.*

KAG *sikit + mag-/-ən.*

SAB *sipit + aN-/ø.*

MUR *atupil (maŋ- -on).*

MGY *\*helika ‘armpit’.*

BAT *(maN-hapit-ɔn).*

IND Also *məŋempit (kəmpit).*

SUN *kelek ‘armpit’.*

BAL *(N-)saŋkil ‘carry between one’s arm and one’s side, either under the armpit or on the side/hip’; (N-)sabit ‘carry under the armpit’.*

GOR *(puduʔo + moN-).*

BUR See 10.610.

DOB ‘carry with armpit’.

IRA ‘carry in a sling under the arm’.

DAM ‘armpit-with’.

YAB Also *-piŋ.*

TOL *bəi- ‘armpit’, -ne trans.*

MOT *kadidiha ‘armpit’.*

KWA Also *-awahi arouarou.*

MSH Also *alp<sup>w</sup>akp<sup>w</sup>əke* archaic.

RTU *rɔʔu ‘carry on arm’.*

**10.620 BRING**

ATA	maras̥	UMA	keni tumai	MAR	at <sup>h</sup> a mei
*TSO	ma-afo	BUG	tiwiʔ	LAU	ŋalia mai
RUK	wa-iloko	KON	aŋŋ-alle	KWO	ŋari-a mai
PAI	k-əm-aʃu	*WOL	a <sup>ɖ</sup> ku	RAG	
*YAM	iai	MAG	bāŋ	PAA	guri mai
ISN	ilbet	NGA	idi	LEW	la-imi
*KAL	datoŋ	*SIK	ʔ-ala	*POR	pač-i vanima
*TAG	dala	*RTI	ne-ni	NTA	-os mβa
*AKL	daʔah	*BUR	ego	*KWA	-uwahi pehe
PAL	bibit-ɔn	*DOB	ʔa-φo ma	*NEM	fē-me
*MOL	biʔbit	*IRA	gudə mama	*CEM	pé-be
*KAG	dlaən	SAW	n-ut	AJI	pe vi
BLA	n-ibi	NYI	atiye	*XAR	mē kere
*SAB	bowa	MAM	eluaʔi	*NEN	čue
*MUR	ibit	*TAK	-ŋa-palu	*KIR	uota mai
MGY	mi-tund <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*DAM	i-rou-se-ya	*MSH	p <sup>ʷ</sup> ʌk
*ACE	mē	*MAB	-kam (ma)	*PON	wāto
BAT	boan		imar	*WLE	xaφ <sup>w</sup> ūřoŋō-a
MIN	bao	*YAB	-yɔŋ -meŋ	EFI	kau-ta mai
IND	məm-bawa	*KAU	βa-i me	WFI	kou mā
SUN	mawa	*TOL	kəp pə	RTU	hoʔame
	(bawa)	BUA	ʔo yam	TON	ʔomai
JAV	ŋ-gowo	ADZ	yu-	*SAM	ʔau-mai
MAD	kiba	*KIL	-mai	MEL	kam-mai
*BAL	ŋ-abə	*TAW	neiyai	*TAH	ʔāfaʔi mai
SAS	ñ-ǰauʔ	*MOT	mai-lai-a	*RAP	maʔu mai
*GOR	mo-hama mayi	*MEK	e-mai-sei-na (e-mai-ei-na)		
*DAA	na <sup>ɖ</sup> geni vemai	*ROV	paleke maenia		

TSO Also *haf-a*.

YAM *iai* ‘bring here’; *iaŋay* ‘bring there’.

KAL *datoŋ + i-*.

TAG *dala + mag-/dalhin* see ‘carry’ 10.610.

AKL Also ‘carry’.

MOL *biʔbit + m-/on*.

KAG	<i>dala + mag-/-ən (dləən/dluun/dlaən).</i>
SAB	<i>bowa + aN-/ø.</i>
MUR	See 10.610.
ACE	Also <i>ba</i> .
BAL	See 10.610.
GOR	'fetch hither'; also <i>mo-lāt-ayi (mo-lāto + mayi)</i> ; <i>mo-delo mayi</i> and <i>mo-depit-ayi (mo-depito + mayi)</i> 'bring, deliver, accompany'.
DAA	'carry to here'.
WOL	Also <i>u<sup>m</sup>ba-aka</i> 'bring along'.
SIK	Also <i>ʔoti</i> .
RTI	See 10.610.
BUR	See note for 10.610.
DOB	'bring, come'
IRA	'you hold-come'.
TAK	'take-come' (11.130, 10.480).
DAM	'3sg-hold-come-INF'.
MAB	'cause to come'.
YAB	Also <i>-koʔ-meŋ</i> .
KAU	'carry-it come' (serial verb construction).
TOL	<i>kəp</i> (vb trans) is neutral in respect to the direction, <i>pə</i> 'bring towards the speaker or the participant in focus' (Mosel 1984: 131).
KIL	Also <i>-mia-ki</i> 'bring-to-(recepient pronominal)' plus object NP e.g. <i>ku-mia-kai-gu ma-k<sup>w</sup>ai-na βaβagi</i> you-bring-to-me that-thing-that thing', i.e. 'bring me that'.
TAW	<i>neiyai</i> trans sg; <i>nehimai</i> trans pl.
MOT	<i>mai</i> 'to come'; <i>-lai</i> suffix meaning accompaniment or instrument.
MEK	<i>-sei (-ei)</i> 'suffix of remote transitivity'; <i>mai</i> 'come'; also <i>e-afi-a-mai</i> 'take-something-come'.
ROV	Also <i>hena lania, turaŋa maenia babe lamo</i> .
POR	'carry come'.
KWA	'carry towards'.
NEM	<i>fē-me</i> 'bring towards speaker'; <i>fē-dec</i> 'carry away'.
CEM	<i>pé-be</i> 'bring'; <i>pé-le</i> 'carry off'.
XAR	Also <i>pε mē</i> lit 'come with'.
NEN	Also <i>enono</i> .
KIR	'carry hither'.
MSH	Also <i>uke</i> .

PON Also *sēre*.

WLE ‘to make come in’.

SAM *ʔau* cognate with *ʔave* ‘carry’, 10.610.

TAH Also *ʔāfaʔi mai*, *hopoi mai*, *amo mai*.

RAP Also *tari mai* see 10.610.

### 10.630 SEND

ATA	š-um-atuʔ	GOR	mo-lawo	*MEK	e-u-lai-a
*TSO	mai-ʔusnu		(lawolo)	*ROV	yarunia
RUK	wa-satəḏə	DAA	nom-pakatu	MAR	fatei
PAI		UMA	pakatu	LAU	falea
YAM	paʒaʒaən	BUG	mad-datu	KWO	ale-a
ISN	ipawʔit	*KON	aʔ-kiriŋ	RAG	
*KAL	baʔūn	WOL	la <sup>mb</sup> boko	*PAA	sāni
*TAG	pa-dala	MAG	vuat	LEW	la-vano
*AKL	pa-daʔah	NGA	idi	*POR	pisax-in-i
*PAL	i-pɔ-bibit (bibit)	*SIK	natu		i-van
*MOL	biʔbit	*RTI	haitua	*NTA	-ahli-(pən)
		BUR	katu-k	KWA	-ərhi
*KAG	dala	DOB	ʔa-now	*NEM	peñe
BLA	f-ibi	IRA	(surati)	*CEM	pāhide
*SAB	pa-bowa		nəʔənəʔa	AJI	kāyāi
*MUR	irim	SAW	n-fənat	XAR	nū
MGY	man-defa	NYI	suniy	NEN	sia(n)
*ACE	[kirem]	MAM	nepi	*KIR	kanakoa
BAT	suru	*TAK	-ga -ao	MSH	cilkin
MIN	kirin	DAM	sur	*PON	katar
IND	məŋirim (irim)	*MAB	-se <sup>ŋ</sup> gēre	*WLE	faʒa
		YAB	-sakiŋ	*EFI	βākau-ta
SUN	ŋirim (irim)	KAU	tih	WFI	βatala-sia
JAV	ŋirim (irim)	TOL	tul	*RTU	eʔa
MAD	irim	BUA	βoŋ ya	TON	ʔave
*BAL	mapet (pə-ɔt)	ADZ	taŋin-	*SAM	ʔave
		KIL	-witali	*MEL	[jiparekina]
*SAS	[irim]	TAW	himila	*TAH	hāpono
		MOT	siai-a	RAP	haka maʔu



- TSO Also *pai-ʔusn-a*.
- KAL *baun + i-* (person); *pawʔit + i-* (thing).
- TAG *pa-dala + mag-/i-* 'CAUS + bring'.
- AKL *pa-daʔah + i-* 'CAUS + bring'.
- PAI Also *i-pɔ-lusu*.
- MOL *biʔbit + i-po-*.
- KAG *dala + magpa-/pa-*.
- SAB *pa-bowa + aN-/ø*
- MUR *kirim* (*maŋ* ; *iu/maɸa* ; *pa on*).
- ACE From Malay, also *pu-et*.
- BAL (*N-*)*papet* 'entrust to someone to deliver'; *N-[kirim]* from Malay.
- SAS From Malay.
- KON Also *as-suru eraŋ*.
- SIK *natu* 'send letter, message'; *ʒoka* 'send a summons'; *odo* 'send a person on an errand'; *deβa, nuru* 'send news'.
- RTI 'to head'.
- TAK 'do go' (09.110, 10.470), as in *ŋa-ga y-ao-ya* 'I-do it-go-PRF', i.e. 'I have made it go', 'I have sent it' (see 11.220).
- MAB *-seʔgēre* 'send s.th.'; *-ʔgo* 'send someone'.
- MEK *-lai* 'distributive' suffix (sometimes *-lei*); in West Mekeo assimilation yields *ilaia* (*e-i-lai-a > i-i-lai-a*).
- ROV Also *valaia* 'send e.g. to school'.
- PAA 'give'.
- POR 'distribute-to-s.o.-s.th. it-go'.
- NTA With directional suffixes (e.g. *-pən*); also *-ahlap<sup>wis</sup>* 'send (person)'.
- NEM Also *fayei*.
- CEM 'send someone to do something'.
- KIR From *nako* 'go'.
- PON Also *ilek-* with directional suffixes, 'send a message'; *kasare* 'send away, cast out'.
- WLE *xanē-a* also 'give'.
- EFI Also *tala-a* 'send person'.
- RTU Also *nā*.
- SAM See 10.610, *lafo* 'send, post (vb trans)'.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *tono* 'send a person somewhere'.

### 10.640 LEAD

ATA	ɣ-um-aɬain	GOR	mo-dcdeʔo	ROV	turaja
*TSO	pvoxɬi	DAA	na <sup>ɰ</sup> geni-aka	*MAR	batu
RUK	wa-saŋiloko		(keni)	*LAU	ete inao
PAI		*UMA	keni	KWO	fāteʔeni-a
*YAM	kalaən	BUG	mad-denreŋ	RAG	
ISN	maŋituruŋ	KON	an-renreŋ	PAA	mulamuneri
*KAL	pūyut	WOL	to <sup>ɰ</sup> da	LEW	ure
*TAG	hatid	*MAG	karouŋ	POR	pūsan-in-i
*AKL	hatud	*NGA	vii	NTA	-it
PAL	ibut-an	*SIK	rego	*KWA	-iri
*MOL	tundan	RTI	na-laŋa	NEM	te-yai
*KAG	una	*BUR	pahu-k	CEM	pēni
BLA	m-ɔɔk	*DOB	ʔa-ɬedi	AJI	pɛ vārā
*SAB	tundan	IRA		XAR	pɛ fɛ
*MUR	āk	*SAW	[pimpin]	*NEN	menuo(n)
*MGY	mi-[tarika]	NYI	an m <sup>w</sup> ena	KIR	
ACE	uɔntat	MAM	mua	*MSH	æŋini
BAT	uluh-ɔn	TAK	-nug	PON	
MIN	bimbi <sup>ɔ</sup> ŋ	*DAM	uyu i-rou-ya	WLE	pōrī
*IND	məmpin	*MAB	-yāru	EFI	liu-taka
	(pimpin)	*YAB	-we	*WFI	me-a
SUN	miŋpin	KAU	pau	*RTU	tōki
	(piŋpin)	TOL	ben	TON	taki
JAV	mimpin	BUA	li	*SAM	taʔitaʔi
	(pimpin)	ADZ	ufum-	*MEL	[ōvā]
MAD		KIL	-kug <sup>w</sup> ai	TAH	arataʔi
*BAL	nandan	TAW	tahaya	RAP	haka uŋa
	(dandan)	*MOT	ha-kau-a		
*SAS		*MEK	e-pua (-i-a)		

TSO *pvoxɬi* also *pvoxɬ-a* 'show the way to by going in advance'; *rea-kako* also *rea-kak-a* 'guide by taking by a rope' (an animal).

YAM 'lead a person', *lolo + pa- + -ən* 'lead an animal'.

- KAL *pūyut + i-* ‘lead the way’.
- TAG *hatid + mag-/i-* ‘escort’.
- AKL *hatud + i-* (*hatd-an*) ‘escort’.
- MOL *tundan + mog-/on*.
- KAG *una + mag-/m-/an* lit ‘go first’; also [*gayd*] + *mag-*, from English *guide*.
- SAB *tundan + aN-/ø*; also *ambit + ag-/ø* ‘lead by the hand’.
- MUR *āk* (*mapa-*; *pa-on*) (by hand), *ralāt* (*mag-*, *maŋ- -on*) ‘lead with rope’.
- MGY From Malay.
- IND Also *məŋ-arah-kan* ‘guide’.
- BAL (*N-*)*dandan* ‘lead a person by the hand, or an animal by a rope’; (*N-*)*tuntun* ‘lead someone of higher status than self’.
- SAS Goris, Thoir et al. (1985) *denden*.
- UMA *keni* ‘carry’ used figuratively ‘lead’; also *ᵐpo-tudoʔohea* ‘point the way’.
- MAG Also *podo*.
- NGA Also *tuu*.
- SIK Also *dəte donə-ŋ*.
- BUR ‘show the way, escort, accompany’; also *ala-k*.
- DOB ‘go ahead’.
- SAW From Malay.
- DAM ‘nose 3sg-hold-INF’.
- MAB Also *-kam pēze pa/-mū<sup>h</sup>gu pa*.
- YAB Also *-kam*.
- MOT ‘to cause to arrive’; also *guna-lai-a* ‘lead’ (*guna* ‘before, first’; *-lai-* instrument/ accompaniment’).
- MEK *e-pua* ‘carry’, by extension ‘lead’; also *e-pua-lai-na*, *e-pua-ŋoŋo-a*.  
NW Mekeo *e-ba-kani-u-a*.
- MAR *batu* ‘lead, direct’; *tali* ‘lead, guide, accompany’.
- LAU ‘go first’, also *lea inao*, *talai*.
- KWA Also *-akup<sup>w</sup>ən* ‘precede, go first’; *-əmehe* ‘lead, go first, go before’; *-ərieki* ‘lead as children, train, educate, guide’.
- NEN Also *tiče sič*.
- MSH *əŋini* ‘escort’; *kipel*; *kāl* ‘lure, entice’; *talē* ‘direct’; *uke* ‘lead people or animals’.
- WFI Also *seimata*.

RTU Also *mua-ʔoki*.

SAM *taʔi* 'lead (the way) (vb trans)', *taʔitaʔi* 'lead (people, horse, etc.) (vb trans)'.

MEL From Efate, also *sāia*.

## 10.650 DRIVE

**English:** *drive*

ATA	miray	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pa-ʔala	ROV	taŋini kalaha
TSO		UMA		MAR	
RUK		BUG	mag-ganden	LAU	
PAI		*KON	aʔ-pa-dakka	KWO	
*YAM	toyoən	*WOL	pa-ʔala	*RAG	lusi
ISN		MAG		PAA	
*KAL	addag	*NGA	lei	*LEW	kusi
*TAG	taboy	*SIK	rusik	POR	
*AKL	būgaw	RTI	na-uli	NTA	-ələs
*PAL	məg-[draiv]	*BUR	kaha-k	*KWA	-asiŋhi
*MOL	una	*DOB	ʔa-rir	*NEM	pa-t <sup>n</sup> ōn-i
*KAG	[drayb]	IRA		*CEM	pá-téte-hi
*BLA	m-ibi	SAW	n-fa-femil	AJI	pe řāmā
*SAB	pa-dagan	*NYI	sariye	*XAR	pe[lotō]
*MUR	ugad	MAM	tao	*NEN	anonon
MGY	mi-tundʔa	TAK		*KIR	kabuta
*ACE	mē	*DAM	subo	*MSH	[tɪraip]
*BAT	[manupir]		ʔe-di-ya	*PON	[unteŋ]
MIN	alaw	*MAB	-tēge pēze	*WLE	xateraxī
*IND	məŋəmudi (kəmudi)	YAB		EFI	toso-ya
		KAU	lulto	WFI	wesi-a
SUN	ñupiran ([supir])	*TOL	kəp (rə[kar])	RTU	hoʔa
		BUA		*TON	aŋi
*JAV	ŋ-lakʔke	*ADZ	daru-	*SAM	ʔave
*MAD	tumpaʔ	*KIL	-yabi	*MEL	[jīa]
*BAL	ŋ-atəh-aŋ	*TAW	litahatahaya	*TAH	faʔatere
*SAS		*MOT	tari-a	RAP	haka tere
*GOR	[stir]	*MEK	e-pa-piau-ŋa		

- YAM *toyəən* (of goats or pigs); *mapaʂoŋay* (of vehicles).
- KAL *addag + -on* (of animals).
- TAG *taboy + mag-/i-*.
- AKL Also *tābug*.
- PAL From English *drive*.
- MOL *una + i-po-*.
- KAG [*drayb*] + *mag-* from English *drive*; also *andar + magpa-/pa- -ən* lit ‘to cause something to operate’.
- BLA *m-ibi* ‘drive as of vehicles’; *m-dal* ‘to drive (animals)’.
- SAB *pa-dagan + aN-/ø* ‘drive a vehicle’; *tundan* ‘lead (of animals)’ *bowa* ‘bring (of animals)’.
- MUR *ugad (mapa-; pa- -on)*.
- ACE ‘drive e.g. a car’.
- BAT From French.
- IND Also *məŋ-antar-kan*.
- JAV From (*N-laku-(?)ke*); *laku* ‘walk’.
- MAD Safioedin (1977): ‘travel on a vehicle’.
- BAL Lit. ‘accompany’, also ‘drive cattle or ducks’; (*N-gətak-aŋ*) ‘drive cattle or horses from behind, holding a rope attached to the animal(s); (*N-dədəh-aŋ*) ‘drive animals before one’ (Kersten 1984 ‘only for poultry’, Panitia 1978 ‘cattle’). (*N-)[sətir]* ‘drive a vehicle’ from Dutch.
- SAS Thoir et al. (1985) *ŋə-lampaʔ-aŋ*.
- GOR From Dutch *sturen*.
- KON Also *aʔ-pa-[jalaŋ], aʔ-pa-[lari]* Malay.
- WOL *pa-ǰala* ‘drive a car’; *samaŋi* ‘drive a horse’; *uligi* ‘drive a car’.
- NGA ‘drive (cattle)’.
- SIK Also *odo*.
- BUR ‘steer’; *teh-mori-k waga* ‘steer a boat’, also *ego* ‘take’ see 10.610.
- DOB ‘drive animals from behind’.
- NYI ‘drive (an animal)’.
- DAM ‘push 3sg TRANS AUX-3pl-INF’.
- MAB Also *-kam pēze*.
- TOL [*kar*] from English *car*, *rə* ART.
- ADZ Also *daro-*.

KIL	- <i>yabi</i> ‘drive out’; - <i>bokaβili</i> ‘chase out’; also [- <i>daraiβa</i> ] ‘to drive vehicle’; - <i>kuliga</i> ‘to drive, steer (vehicle or canoe)’.
TAW	‘cause road’, ‘drive a land vehicle’.
MOT	Originally ‘steer (a canoe)’, now ‘drive any type of vehicle’.
MEK	<i>e-pa-piau-ŋa</i> lit ‘make run’; also <i>e-piau-ŋa</i> ‘run something’, NW Mekeo <i>e-ba-goa</i> .
RAG	‘drive (e.g. fowls)’.
LEW	See 10.613.
KWA	‘drive an animal, lead on a rope’.
NEM	‘CAUS-run-trans’.
CEM	‘make go forward’.
XAR	‘take the car’.
NEN	<i>anonon</i> (of animals) also <i>agočeni</i> .
KIR	From <i>buti</i> ‘move’.
MSH	From English; derivatives on vehicle names, like [ <i>citoca</i> ] (from Japanese) <i>kāraŋ</i> ‘to drive a car’.
PON	Also [ <i>winteŋ</i> ] from Japanese.
WLE	<i>xateraxī</i> from <i>xa-</i> ‘CAUS’, <i>teŋaxī</i> ‘pull, move’; [ <i>ūntēŋa</i> ] from Japanese.
TON	<i>aŋi</i> ‘drive horse and cart’; <i>faka-ʔuli</i> ‘drive vehicle’.
SAM	See 10.610.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>faʔahoro</i> ‘drive a vehicle’; <i>pūtō</i> ‘drive an animal’.

### 10.660 RIDE

ATA	ɣ-um-ʔuy	PAI	suməkət	*BAT	mar-hoda
TSO			(səkət)	*MIN	račaʔ
*RUK	ŋo-a-rigi	*MOL	sakoy	*IND	mənunŋaŋ
PAI		*KAG	sakay		(tuŋgaŋ)
YAM	miavaŋ	BLA	s-m-əkoy	SUN	tumpak
ISN	magtakay	*SAB	kudaʔ	*JAV	nunŋaŋ(-i)
*KAL	kabāyu	*MUR	sakoy		(tuŋgaŋ)
TAG	sakay	MGY	mi-taingin-	MAD	tuŋgaŋ
AKL	sakay		ɕuavali	*BAL	nəgakin
		*ACE	gi-duəʔ		(təgak-in)

SAS	taek	*MAB	-se ma -la	NEM	
*GOR	mo-ti-lu <sup>n</sup> du	YAB	- <sup>ŋ</sup> goŋ	*CEM	têb <sup>w</sup> ɔ-wî-n
DAA	ne-savi		[həs (osi)]	AJI	tə ɔ yovaŋi
UMA	haβi?	KAU	lulto	XAR	tū
BUG	tonaŋ	*TOL	ki (ra [ot])	*NEN	θede
*KON	a?-doŋko?	BUA	raŋ nədo	KIR	toka
*WOL	sawi	*ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pa- ... da	*MSH	uwe
*MAG	leti		fa-	PON	take
NGA	saka	*KIL	-sila	WLE	taxē-a
*SIK	saka-ŋ	*TAW	gelu	EFI	βodo-ka
RTI	sa?e	*MOT	gui	*WFI	βodo-kia
*BUR	keha	*MEK	e-aŋu-au	*RTU	hoti
*DOB	?a-talar muri ϕiϕin	ROV	surəŋa	TON	heka
IRA		MAR		*SAM	ti?ete?e
*SAW	n-čapl-o (sapel)	LAU		MEL	
		KWO		TAH	haere nā ni?a
		RAG			i te
NYI		PAA			pua?ahoro
*MAM	bosi	LEW	kome		fenua
TAK		POR		RAP	
*DAM	teten i-bodo-ya	NTA	-asua e		
		*KWA	-aiu ia		

RUK *ŋo-a-rigi* ‘to ride’ < *rigi* ‘horse’, *ŋo-a-rigi ki loəŋ* ‘to ride a buffalo’.

KAL *kabāyu + -an*.

MOL *sakoy + -urn-*.

KAG *sakay + mag-/m- (makay)*.

SAB *kuda? + aN-/ø* ‘ride a horse’.

MUR *sakoy* lit ‘to mount’, and only its perfective aspect can be translated as ‘to ride’. It is more normal to use verbs derived with *taN-* ‘make use of’ and the name of the thing being ridden, e.g. *tambasikal (maŋ-)* ‘ride a bike’ (from [*basikal*] ‘bicycle’, *taŋkadabaw (maŋ-)* ‘ride a water-buffalo’ (from *kadabaw* ‘water-buffalo’) etc.

ACE ‘sit upon (e.g. a horse)’.

BAT See 03.410.

MIN Also *tuygay*.

IND Also *naik, goñceŋ, mənumpaŋ (tumpaŋ)*.

JAV	<i>nunḡaŋ(-i)</i> ‘ride a horse’; also <i>numpa?</i> ( <i>tumpa?</i> ) ‘ride horse, vehicle etc.’.
BAL	‘sit on’; also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>pənek-in</i> , lit ‘climb onto’.
GOR	Also <i>mo-ti-ta?e</i> ; <i>ti-</i> ‘REFL’.
KON	Also <i>a?-bai (hai)</i> (of horses).
WOL	‘embark, get in/on, ride’.
MAG	Also <i>tuke</i> ( <i>ḡaraŋ</i> ‘horse’).
SIK	‘ride on a horse’.
BUR	‘climb’; also ‘ride (boat, car, airplane)’.
DOB	‘sit on top of (its) back’ (not done in this culture).
SAW	Also <i>n-dε</i> .
MAM	‘ride on back’.
DAM	‘on top 3sg-sit-INF’.
MAB	Also <i>-lō<sup>n</sup>do pa</i> , <i>-ko pa</i> .
TOL	<i>ki</i> ‘sit’, [ <i>ot</i> ] ‘horse’, <i>ra</i> ART.
ADZ	<i><sup>m</sup>pa-i</i> + OBL + <i>da fa-</i> ‘sit + obl. obj marker + (e.g horse log), + and go’.
KIL	‘get on’.
TAW	‘get on board’.
MOT	Originally ‘to board (a canoe)’, now ‘ride (any type of vehicle, a horse)’.
MEK	<i>e-aŋu-au</i> ‘sit up’; also <i>e-aŋu-uka</i> ‘sit in’, both of canoes as well as motor vehicles.
KWA	‘proceed by’.
CEM	‘be seated on’.
NEN	(of wave).
MSH	Also <i>welɔk wæɔk</i> ‘go away, mount, ride’, with directional <i>ɔk</i> ‘away’; <i>kæ-</i> with directionals, ‘ride on a plane’.
WFI	Also <i>tadra-ḡia</i> ‘ride horse’.
RTU	‘ride a horse’.
SAM	<i>ti?eti?e</i> ‘sit astride, sit on a chair’, <i>ti?eti?e i le solofanua</i> ‘sit on a horse’; <i>?ave le solofanua</i> ‘ride a horse’.



10.670 **PUSH, SHOVE**

*ATA	r-um-uruay	*GOR	mohu <sup>n</sup> dulo	MEK	e-koni-na
*TSO	po-r <sup>?</sup> oxi	DAA	nan-tu <sup>m</sup> bo	*ROV	zuzua
RUK	wa-ḍomolo	*UMA	rusu	*MAR	huju
PAI	z-əm-uruᅇ	BUG	soroᅇ	LAU	suia
YAM	padondonən	KON	añ-ñoroᅇ	KWO	usu-a
ISN	maᅇ-isu <sup>?</sup> lin		(soroᅇ)	*RAG	tayara
*KAL	dūlud	*WOL	jujul-aka	PAA	dīori
*TAG	tūlak	MAG	dūr	*LEW	sup <sup>w</sup> oni
*AKL	dusu <sup>?</sup>	NGA	zoka	POR	kov san i
PAL	itulud	*SIK	rusik	NTA	-atəᅇ
*MOL	tulak	*RTI	tipa	*KWA	-arər
*KAG	tulud	*BUR	tobe	*NEM	tēni
*BLA	t-n-ulud	DOB	ʔa-rir	CEM	cīne
*SAB	lintuwad	IRA	nəᅇəsisə	AJI	yuuu
*MUR	sikog	SAW	n-ətəf	XAR	çī
*MGY	manusika	NYI	atuw	*NEN	puzə
ACE	tula <sup>?</sup>	MAM	ele	*KIR	waᅇa
BAT	ᅇjar	TAK	-saddirini	MSH	cipeᅇᅇok
*MIN	tula <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	subo	*PON	[p <sup>w</sup> ūs]
IND	mən-doroᅇ	*MAB	-pusuk	*WLE	tīᅇī
*SUN	ñoroᅇ (soroᅇ)	*YAB	-sūᅇ	EFI	bili-ᅇa
*JAV	ñuruᅇ (suruᅇ)	KAU	poet	*WFI	bili-a
		TOL	tulən	RTU	keu
		BUA	rət	TON	teke
MAD	suruᅇ	ADZ	usu-	SAM	tulei
*BAL	ñorog (sorog)	KIL	-tupi	*MEL	[toᅇᅇovia]
SAS	soroᅇ	TAW	dudu	*TAH	tūra <sup>?</sup> i
		MOT	dori-a	RAP	tone

ATA Also *r-um-uruᅇ*.

TSO Also *po-r<sup>?</sup>ox-a*.

KAL *dūlud + i-*.

TAG *tūlak + mag-/i-*.

AKL Also *tulud*, Proto-Philippines *\*tulud* 'push along'

MOL *tulak + -um-/i-*.

KAG *tulud + mag-/ø-*.

BLA Also *uluk*.

- SAB *lintuwad + aN-/-an.*
- MUR *sikog (maŋ- -in).*
- MGY From *maN-tusika.*
- MIN Also *doroŋ.*
- SUN Also *ŋa-doroŋ.*
- JAV Also *ñ-jōrōk-ke* (Home: *jōrōg*).
- BAL (*N-*)*sorog* ‘push an object’; (*N-*)*sogok* ‘push a person or object’; (*N-*)*tulud-aŋ* ‘push a person violently’; (*N-*)*daŋsək*, (*N-*)*dəsək* ‘push close together’.
- GOR (*wu<sup>n</sup>dulo + moh-*) ‘push using only a part of the body’; also *mo-hipelo* ‘push with the whole body’; *moluludu (tuludu + moN-)* ‘push (a cart, etc.)’.
- UMA Also *tu-um-ulaka*
- WOL Also *pa-ŋulu, seke-ti.*
- SIK Also *pləra-ŋ.*
- RTI *tipa* ‘to push against an object’; *si<sup>?</sup>u* ‘to push away with the arm, sweep aside’; *soli* ‘to push with hands’; *tulu-k* ‘to shove’.
- BUR Also *tola.*
- DAM See 10.650, also [*kar*] *ne ulum i-rou-ya* ‘drive a car’, lit ‘hold the paddle (steering wheel) of a car’, see 10.851.
- MAB Also *-zūru* ‘push aside’; *-kelzūru* ‘push away’.
- YAB Also *-liŋ.*
- ROV *zuzua* ‘push’, *tupelia* ‘shove’.
- MAR *huŋu* ‘push a person’; *huta* ‘push against’.
- RAG Also *dayara, soyai.*
- LEW Also *susuni.*
- KWA Also *-aki* ‘push down’; *-ap<sup>w</sup>əkər* also ‘push and roll’; *areŋi* ‘push aside’; *-əsua* ‘shove’.
- NEM Also *-lēi.*
- NEN Also *k<sup>h</sup>oro.*
- KIR *wākina, wāki* ‘advance, progress’; *butua* ‘push away’, *butu* ‘sulk’.
- PON From English, also *siken.*
- WLE Also *seixī, paŋüŋü.*
- WFI Also *čule-kia.*
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *hōpara* ‘to push someone’.

## 10.710 ROAD

Spanish: <i>calzada</i>
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*ATA	ranik	BUG	laliŋ	MAR	nabrou
TSO	ʔroni	*KON	annor-aŋ	LAU	tala
RUK	ka-daʔan-anə		(annoro)	KWO	
PAI	jaʔan	WOL	ʔala	RAG	hala
YAM	zaʔaʔan	MAG	salaŋ	PAA	sisel
ISN	[kalsāda]	NGA	zala	LEW	mrapa
KAL	[kālsa]	SIK	lala-ŋ	POR	puse
*TAG	daʔan	RTI	eno-k	NTA	suatəp
*AKL	[kalyih]	*BUR	toho-n	KWA	suatuk
PAL	[kərasada]	DOB	sala	NEM	c <sup>n</sup> ēdan
MOL	dalan	*IRA	radəni	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> āden
*KAG	dalan		nabadə	AJI	kāyɔ
*BLA	dələn	SAW	yefen	XAR	əpe
SAB	lān	NYI	san	*NEN	len
MUR	dalan	MAM	zala	KIR	te kawai
MGY	lalana	TAK	dal	MSH	iaʔ
*ACE	ret	DAM	nābu	PON	āl
BAT	dalan	MAB	zala	WLE	yaʔa
*MIN	labu <sup>h</sup>	*YAB	intena	EFI	ŋau-ni-sala
IND	jaʔan	*KAU	sopot nuhum	WFI	ðaleβu
SUN	jaʔan	*TOL	[rət]	RTU	sala
JAV	dalan	BUA	ayata	*TON	hala
MAD	ʔ <sup>ɔ</sup> alan	*ADZ	sanab	*SAM	ʔau-ala
*BAL	[ruruŋ]	KIL	keda	MEL	ara-matua
SAS	laʔan	TAW	tahaya	*TAH	[purūmu]
GOR	dalalo	*MOT	dala	RAP	ara
DAA	jala	*MEK	keŋa		
*UMA	ohea	ROV	siraŋa		

ATA Also *rān*.TAG Also *lansāŋan*, [*karsāda*].AKL From Spanish *calle*, also [*karsāda*].KAG Also [*karsada*] ‘road capable of taking vehicular traffic’.BLA Also [*karsada*].

ACE	Also [ʃalan] from Malay.
MIN	Also ʃalan.
BAL	‘path, road’ Old Javanese; also ʃalan South Bali; <i>ambah-ambah-an</i> , <i>mambahan</i> ‘path, road’.
UMA	[karaʃaa] ‘main road’ from Sanskrit.
KON	Also aʔ-ruŋaŋ, batattana.
BUR	Also ‘path, trail, way’, nominalisation of <i>toho</i> ‘go down’.
IRA	‘main road’.
YAB	From <i>iŋ</i> ‘road, way’, <i>tena</i> ‘its mother’.
KAU	‘path large’.
TOL	From English <i>road</i> .
ADZ	<i>sanab</i> ‘short form of <i>sana<sup>m</sup>pun</i> ’ (all dialects); <i>faga a<sup>m</sup>pun</i> (Amari dialect only).
MOT	Also ‘path, way in general’.
MEK	<i>gea</i> , <i>gia</i> in other dialects, (EMek has the fossilised 3sg suffix <i>-ŋa</i> ), originally ‘main track between two villages’; <i>keŋa-faʔa</i> ‘important road, (vehicle) track’.
NEN	Also <i>gurelan</i> .
TON	Also ʔaluŋa.
SAM	ʔau- prefix used with nouns referring to long objects, <i>ala</i> ‘path, road’.
TAH	Also [puroumu] from English <i>broom</i> ; <i>aratiʔa</i> archaic.

## 10.720 PATH

*ATA	ʔa-ʔaiŋ	SAB	lān	DAA	ʃala
TSO	ʔroni	MUR	dalan	UMA	ohea
*RUK	olo	MGY	sakeli-dalana	BUG	laliŋ-ŋaʃje
PAI		ACE	ʃuroŋ	KON	annor-aŋ (annoro)
YAM	zazakan	BAT		WOL	
ISN	dālen	MIN	ʃalan	MAG	pale
KAL	dālan	*IND	ʃalan sərəp	NGA	zala
TAG	landas	*SUN	ʃalan litik	SIK	lala-ŋ
AKL	dāʔan	JAV	dalan	RTI	eno ana-k
PAL	dalan	MAD	lampat	*BUR	toho-n
MOL	dalan	*BAL	lubuk-an	DOB	sala
*KAG	dalan	SAS	roroŋ	IRA	radəni kəsi
BLA	dələn	GOR	dalalo		

*SAW	yefɛn ta myaku	*MEK	ineŋea	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> āi
		*ROV	siraŋa ŋirisi	NEN	gurewala
NYI	san	MAR	nabrou	*KIR	te kawai
MAM	zala-siʔi-siʔi	LAU	tala	*MSH	ial
TAK	dal	KWO	tala	*PON	āl
DAM	nābu	RAG	hala	WLE	yaŋa
MAB	zāla	*PAA	sīsel havivi	EFI	sala
*YAB	intena	*LEW	mrapa kokan	*WFI	ōaleβu
KAU	soput	*POR	puse mo- keke	RTU	sala
TOL	ŋa			TON	hala
BUA	aŋata	NTA	suatəp	*SAM	ala
*ADZ	sanab	KWA	suatuk	MEL	ara
KIL	keda	NEM	c <sup>h</sup> ēdan	TAH	ʔēʔa
TAW	tahaya	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ādɛn	RAP	ara
MOT	dala	AJI	wēyē		

ATA ʔaʔaik ‘a temporary path’; tuŋiy ‘an animal trail’.

RUK olo ‘animal trail’.

KAG Also *agiʔan* (*agiʔ + -an*) ‘any place one can traverse’.

IND Also *jalan lorong*; *jalan sə-tapak*.

SUN *litik* ‘small’; also *jalan sa-tapak*, *tapak* ‘footprint’.

BAL *lubuk-an* ‘small foot-path’; *sunut-an* ‘small path, not passable by vehicles’; *ambah-ambah-an*, *mambahan* ‘path, road’.

BUR See 10.710.

SAW ‘street/path that is small’.

YAB See 10.710.

ADZ Also *sana<sup>m</sup>pun*, *faga a<sup>m</sup>pun*.

MEK Also *vaɛŋa* ‘track that runs behind the houses in a village’; Desnoës gives *faina* for a track along the side of a mountain; *ivivi* ‘track’.

ROV ‘bush track’.

PAA ‘small road’.

LEW ‘small road’.

POR ‘way ASP-little’.

KIR Also ‘road’.

MSH *meceto* ‘path from house to beach’.

PON Also ‘road’.

WFI Also *ōala*.

SAM See 10.710.

## 10.740 BRIDGE

English: *bridge*Malay: *jəmbatan*

*ATA	hakriʔ	BUG	[jambatan]	LAU	
*TSO	xia-proz-a	KON	pa-'lappara	KWO	tātalaŋa
RUK	taloḍo	*WOL	[ja <sup>m</sup> bata]	RAG	
PAI	cakuḍaŋ	MAG	[ʃə <sup>m</sup> bataŋ]	PAA	
YAM	zazakan no	NGA	paḍa	LEW	
	ayo	*SIK	lete	*POR	xai e-sax
ISN	raŋtāy	RTI	le-lete		kröv-i
KAL	allātoy	BUR	ka tita-l	NTA	[pris]
TAG	tulay	DOB	ʔay letay	*KWA	nəkoukau
AKL	tuʃay	*IRA	ε φatənə	NEM	wōm
*PAL	tulay		rərərə	CEM	ālā
*MOL	toytoy	SAW	doudou	AJI	ɔpe
*KAG	lata'yan	NYI	sarek	XAR	ñabere
BLA	kitoy	*MAM	[birisi]	NEN	
*SAB	taytayan	TAK		KIR	
MUR	apad	*DAM	tetek	MSH	
MGY	tetezana	*MAB	pāra	PON	[piris]
*ACE	tutuə	YAB	pələŋ	WLE	yōfa
*BAT	hite	*KAU	kus-ŋin	EFI	i-kawakawa
*MIN	titi-an	*TOL	turtur leke	*WFI	[waβu]
*IND	jəmbat-an	BUA	lel	RTU	[piriči]
SUN	sasak	ADZ	rir	*TON	hala-
*JAV	wət	*KIL	kabo-teta		kavakava
MAD	galaḍak	TAW	tete	*SAM	ala lau-papa
*BAL	titi	*MOT	nese	MEL	[piriji]
SAS	tete	*MEK	ŋee	*TAH	ʔeʔa turu
*GOR	hūlud-e	ROV	siraŋa	RAP	
DAA	[ja <sup>m</sup> bata]		karovo		
*UMA	kote	MAR	glalako		

ATA Also *hakaw*.TSO *xia-proz-a* 'bridge with no handrails'; *itki* 'large (suspension) bridge with handrails'.PAL Also *totajtajan*.MOL *toytoy + -an*.

- KAG From *latay* + *-an*; also *taytay*.
- SAB Also [*puwente*] ‘large bridge’ from Spanish.
- ACE Also *titi*.
- BAT Also [*jabbatan*].
- MIN Also [*jabat-an*].
- IND ‘bridge, dock’.
- JAV Also *krətək* (Horne: *krətəg*).
- BAL Also [*krətəg*] from Javanese.
- GOR From *huludu* ‘upper part’.
- UMA Also [*ĵampata*].
- WOL Also *tetea*.
- SIK Also *letə-ŋ*.
- IRA ‘place-to-go-across’.
- MAM From English.
- DAM Also ‘ladder’, almost completely replaced by [*bris*], [*lata*], see 7.370.
- MAB *pāra* ‘big bridge’; *rēte* ‘small sticks put to make a bridge’.
- KAU ‘cross over-NOM’.
- TOL *turtur* (n) ‘stand, support’ from *tur* ‘stand (vb intrans)’; also *lekaleke* from *leke* ‘go over, or across (vb intrans/trans)’; *vələvələu*.
- KIL ‘instrument-cross/ascend’.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) ‘ridge of mountain or hill’; *nesehanai* ‘bridge across a river’ (*hanai* ‘to cross, pass through’).
- MEK *ŋee* ‘traditional native bridge, made up of twisted vines and other bush materials’.
- POR ‘wood it-pass over crossed-s.th.’.
- KWA Also ‘platform’.
- WFI From English *wharf*, also *idadawa*.
- TON Also *hala-faka-kavakava*.
- SAM See 07.570.
- TAH Also *arauturu* obs.

## 10.750 CARRIAGE, WAGON, CART

**Sanskrit:** *padāti-* ‘pedestrian, foot-soldier’ see Gonda (1973: 575).  
**Spanish:** *carretón, carro*    **Tamil:** *vaṇḍi*

ATA		BUG	[karoba]	ROV	
TSO	kurai	*KON	[garobaʔ]	MAR	
RUK		*WOL	[kareta]	LAU	
PAI		MAG		KWO	
YAM	alələ	NGA		RAG	
ISN	[karison]	*SIK	[bendi]	PAA	
KAL	[kaliton]	RTI	[kareta]	*LEW	[kati]
*TAG	[kariton]	BUR		POR	
AKL	[kāro]	DOB		*NTA	[trela]
PAL	[karitun]	IRA		*KWA	tamamp <sup>w</sup> ir
MOL	[koritun]	SAW	[kareta]	NEM	
*KAG	[karitun]	NYI		CEM	
*BLA	[kaditun]	*MAM	[ʔaris]	*AJI	[waciɔ]
*SAB	[kalesa]	TAK		XAR	
MUR	[kuditaʔ]	DAM		*NEN	[kaɕe]
MGY	[sareti]	*MAB	wō <sup>ɔ</sup> go tōno	KIR	
*ACE	[gurubaʔ]		kana	MSH	
*BAT	[padati]	YAB		PON	
*MIN	garobaʔ	KAU		WLE	
*IND	[kareta]	*TOL	kiki-nə-v-in-	EFI	gigi
*SUN	[kareta]		əvanə	WFI	gigi
JAV	[kretɔ]	BUA		RTU	hat tokiri
MAD	čikar	ADZ		*TON	[sāliote]
*BAL	gədəbəg	*KIL	waga kai-	*SAM	taʔavale
*SAS	[dakar]		bibiu	MEL	
*GOR	[kareta]	TAW	wam	TAH	pereʔoʔo
*DAA	[garoba]	*MOT	[rerue]	RAP	pereʔoa
UMA		MEK			

TAG Also [karwāhe], from Spanish *carruaje*.

KAG Also [karo].

BLA Also *kaŋga* ‘(sled type) cart’.

SAB [kalesa] ‘carriage’; [kado] ‘cart’.

ACE From Malay, also [pudati].



BAT	Also [ <i>kareta</i> ].
MIN	Also [ <i>padati</i> ].
IND	Also <i>gərobak</i> , [ <i>dokar</i> ] from Dutch, [ <i>andon</i> ] from Javanese.
SUN	Also [ <i>roda</i> ][ <i>padati</i> ].
BAL	Also <i>glindiŋ</i> .
SAS	From Dutch.
GOR	[ <i>kareta</i> ] ‘carriage, cart’; [ <i>be<sup>n</sup>di</i> ] ‘gig’, also [ <i>goroba</i> ] ‘two-wheeled horse-drawn cart, with motorcar wheels and tyres’; [ <i>roda</i> ] ‘bullock cart’.
DAA	From Malay.
KON	Also [ <i>bendi</i> ].
WOL	Also ‘car’.
SIK	Also [ <i>bedi</i> ].
MAM	From English.
MAB	‘canoe of the land’.
TOL	<i>kiki</i> ‘seat’ (from <i>ki</i> ‘sit’) <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>v-in-əvanə</i> ‘going’ (from <i>vanə</i> ‘go’).
KIL	‘vehicle long rigid-pulling’, i.e. ‘a vehicle pulled along’.
MOT	Possibly from English <i>railway</i> : there was a railway line from a copper mine in the Laloki Valley to Bootless Bay.
LEW	From Bislama.
NTA	From English <i>trailer</i> .
KWA	‘wheeled vehicle’, 19th century neologism?
AJI	From French <i>wagon</i> .
NEN	From English <i>cart</i> .
TON	From English <i>chariot</i> .
SAM	See 10.150.

## 10.760 WHEEL

**English:** *wheel*

**Portuguese:** *roda*

**Spanish:** *rueda*

ATA	ta-mayray	PAI	cuku-cuku	*TAG	guloŋ
TSO	t-m-ai-ku- kruŋ-si	*YAM	ai no alələ	*AKL	[kariton]
		ISN	liŋay	PAL	guloŋ
RUK	paḷidiŋ	KAL	pīlid	MOL	guloŋ

*KAG	guluŋ	*RTI	[roda]	RAG	tagege
BLA	bilin	BUR		PAA	
SAB	silikan	DOB	[roda]	*LEW	la-na
MUR	[dudaʔ]	IRA		POR	
*MGY	kudiarana	*SAW	[bola]	NTA	[uil]
ACE	[ruda]	NYI		KWA	
BAT	[roda]	MAM	[uili]	NEM	
MIN	[roda]	TAK		*CEM	pêá
IND	[roda]	DAM		AJI	āgē
*SUN	gilindiŋ	MAB		*XAR	pā-[lotō]
JAV	[rodə]	YAB		NEN	wačuen
MAD	[ruɖʰa]	KAU		KIR	
BAL	[rodə]	TOL	{vilvil}	MSH	
SAS	[rodə]	BUA		PON	
GOR	[roda]	ADZ		WLE	
DAA	[roda]	KIL	[wiri]	EFI	yaβa-
UMA		TAW	gabawa	WFI	-lā
BUG	[roda]	*MOT	[wili]	RTU	tokiri
KON	[roda]	*MEK	i-pa-ŋeva	*TON	vaʔe
WOL	[roda]	ROV	totopili	SAM	[uili]
MAG	[roda]	MAR		MEL	[wīli]
NGA	ǰata	LAU		TAH	[huira]
SIK	ǰata	KWO		RAP	tutu

YAM 'leg of the vehicle'.

TAG Also [ruwēda].

AKL From Spanish *carretón* 'cart'.

KAG Also [rida].

MGY Also *kudia*.

SUN Also [roda].

RTI Also [kareta] *ei-n* from Portuguese.

SAW From Portuguese.

MOT Bible uses *ava-keikei*, originally 'a toy wheel made of sago or coconut leaf' (*ava-* 'weed, plant', *kei-a* 'to roll over and over').

MEK 'that which is made to turn'; also [wili].

LEW See 04.350, also [wili].

CEM 'w' eel, ball'.

XAR 'foot of the car'.

TON Also *veʔe-teka*.

## 10.770 AXLE

Dutch: *as*English: *axle*Spanish: *eje*

ATA		UMA		MAR	
TSO		BUG	[asiʔ]	LAU	
RUK		KON		KWO	
PAI		WOL	[asi]	RAG	
YAM		MAG		PAA	
ISN		NGA	keŋe	LEW	
KAL		SIK		POR	
TAG	[ēhe]	RTI		NTA	
AKL	[ihih]	BUR		KWA	
PAL	ikiʔ	DOB		NEM	
MOL	[botanɡa]	IRA		CEM	
KAG	[aksil]	SAW		AJI	
BLA	[ihi]	NYI		XAR	
SAB		MAM		NEN	
MUR		TAK		KIR	
MGY		DAM		MSH	
ACE		MAB		PON	
BAT	[as]	YAB		WLE	
MIN	sumbu	KAU		EFI	
IND	gandar	*TOL	bolābolo	WFI	
SUN	[as]	BUA		RTU	
JAV	inḍen	ADZ		TON	[ʔakisela]
MAD	[as]	KIL		SAM	ʔau
BAL		TAW		MEL	
SAS	[as] [rødə]	MOT		TAH	ʔāuri ʔohu
GOR	[ʔasi]	MEK		RAP	
DAA	lasu	ROV			

TOL 'crossbeam', from *bolo* 'cross, go across (vb)'.  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## 10.780 YOKE

Sanskrit: *yuga-*Spanish: *yugo*

*ATA	[ʔak]	UMA	pasaja	MAR	
TSO		BUG	rakkala	LAU	
RUK	tikoŋ	*KON	[aʃoa]	KWO	
PAI	gutaŋ	*WOL	ka <sup>n̄</sup> čofoa	RAG	
YAM		MAG	le <sup>m</sup> ba	PAA	
ISN		NGA		*LEW	[yok]
KAL	taŋkēlu	*SIK	ʔleba-ŋ	POR	
*TAG	pamātok	RTI		NTA	
AKL	[yūgoh]	BUR		KWA	
PAL		*DOB	tabay	NEM	
MOL	siŋkow	IRA		CEM	
KAG	siŋkaw	SAW		AJI	kā jīre
BLA	mətuk	NYI		XAR	
SAB	kukuʔuŋ	MAM		NEN	neiŋuaʃeu
*MUR	[pikulan]	TAK		KIR	te amo
*MGY	[dʒiuga]	DAM	sū	MSH	
ACE	[yoʔ]	MAB		PON	oŋe
BAT	[auga]	YAB		WLE	
MIN	pasaja-an	KAU		EFI	i-βua
IND	kuk	*TOL	kip	*WFI	i-tabe-kai
SUN	pasaja-an	BUA		RTU	ʔihauŋa
*JAV	pikul-an	ADZ		*TON	faka-molū
*MAD	paŋonoŋ	KIL	kaitakewa	SAM	amo
BAL	[ugə]	TAW		MEL	
*SAS		MOT		*TAH	[tuto (zugo)]
*GOR	[pasaja]	MEK		*RAP	[iua]
DAA	pasaja	ROV	[ioke]		

ATA From Hakka.

TAG Also *paʔod*, [yūgo] from Spanish *yugo*.MUR Possibly from Malay *pikulan*.

MGY From French.

JAV Also *pasaja-an*.

MAD Safioedin (1977) 'kind of carrying pole', one morpheme.

SAS	Thoir et al. (1985): <i>tuntuŋ</i> .
GOR	From Malay <i>pasagan</i> ; also <i>wu-ulul-a</i> .
KON	Also [ <i>aʃoka</i> ].
WOL	'carrying pole, stretcher, litter'.
SIK	Also <i>ʔai goi-ŋ</i> .
DOB	'yoke with which people carry things on their shoulders'.
TOL	'pole on which something is carried between two persons'.
LEW	From English.
WFI	Also [ <i>duata</i> ] for oxen, from Hindi <i>čūātā</i> .
TON	Also [ <i>ioke</i> ] for oxen, from English.
TAH	From Greek, biblical.
RAP	From Spanish <i>yunta</i> .

### 10.810 SHIP

**English:** *steamer, man-o'-war*   **Spanish:** *barco, vapor*   **Tamil:** *kappal*

ATA	kačuŋ	IND	[kapal]	SAW	[kapal]
TSO		SUN	[kapal]	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> on tinan
RUK		JAV	[kapal]	MAM	ʔati-reba-reba
PAI		MAD	[kapal]		
YAM	avaŋ	*BAL	[prau]	TAK	
ISN	[bapor]	SAS	[kapal]	DAM	wāg
KAL	[bapol]	GOR	[kāpali]	MAB	wō <sup>n</sup> go
*TAG	[bapor]	DAA	sakaya		tubudu
*AKL	[bapor]	UMA	[kapala]	YAB	waŋ
PAL	[kapal]	BUG	[kappalaʔ]	KAU	
MOL	[kappal]	KON	[ʔkappala]	*TOL	pərau
*KAG	[barku]	WOL	[kapala]	BUA	
*BLA	[kɔfɔ]	MAG	[kəpal]	*ADZ	[maɔzun]
SAB	[kappal]	NGA	bero	*KIL	waga
MUR	[kapal]	SIK	ʃoŋ	*TAW	wam baneina
*MGY	[sambu]	RTI	ofa	*MOT	lagatoi
ACE	[kapay]	*BUR	waga haa-t	MEK	[tsitsima]
BAT	[kapal]	DOB	[ʔabal]	ROV	vaka
MIN	[kapa]	IRA		MAR	vaka

LAU	faka	NEM	waj	EFI	waga
KWO		CEM	[citim <sup>w</sup> a]	WFI	waga
RAG	waga	*AJI	k <sup>w</sup> ā kau	*RTU	?ahəi
PAA	ōk	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ā	TON	vaka
LEW	wā	NEN	koekal	SAM	va?a
*POR	n-ōa <sup>ŋ</sup> g sa	*KIR	te kaibuke	MEL	paki
	xa <sup>m</sup> bat	*MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> āk]	*TAH	pahī
NTA	neŋo	*PON	[sōp]	*RAP	pahī
KWA	nəteta	*WLE	[φ <sup>w</sup> ōrekowa]		

TAG Also [*barko*].

AKL Also [*barko*].

KAG ‘a large ocean going, motorized ship’; also [*bapur*]; *batil* ‘a small single masted sailing ship’; *blañay* ‘a large two masted sailing ship’.

BLA [*barku*].

MGY Compare Old Malay *sāmvaw*; *sambo* and *sāmvaw*, probably ultimately borrowed from Khmer.

BAL Malay? Also [*kapal*] from Malay.

BUR ‘big boat’.

NYI ‘canoe-hig’.

TOL Also [*titima*], [*sitima*].

ADZ ‘water raft’; probably from Wampar *madzun* ‘boat, canoe’, an extension of *madzun* ‘hour-glass wooden drum’. Neither Adzera nor Wampar had canoes, etc. before European contact.

KIL *waga laya* ‘ship sail’, i.e. ‘sailing vessel’; *waga dududu* ‘ship engine’, i.e. ‘trawler’; also [*sitima*] ‘large ship’.

TAW ‘big boat’.

MOT ‘vessel made by lashing together three or more large canoe hulls (*asi*) used in the *hiri* trading expeditions’.

POR ‘the-canoe to European’.

AJI Also [*yitim<sup>w</sup>ā*].

KIR Source unclear, but Maori has same word; [*manuao*].

MSH From Spanish *barco* also [*tim<sup>w</sup>a*] ‘steamer’, [*m<sup>w</sup>Λnwa*].

PON [*sōp*] from English; [*taiasu*] from Japanese ‘steel-hulled ship’; [*menuwa*].

WLE From Spanish; [*taiyōšü*] from Japanese.

- RTU From English *ahoy?*, also [*tima*].  
 TAH *pahī tira toru* ‘three masts’; also [*manūa*].  
 RAP Also *miro* (archaic; was used only when the masts or upper parts of a ship were first sighted on the horizon).

## 10.830 BOAT

English: *boat*Spanish: *batel* ‘small boat’; *lancha*

ATA	parnah	BUG	lopi	MAR	vaka
TSO	ʔapaŋi	KON	lopi	LAU	
RUK	varokoro	WOL	ʔa <sup>ŋ</sup> ka	*KWO	[faka]
PAI	varukur	MAG	va <sup>ŋ</sup> ka	RAG	waga
YAM	avaŋ	NGA	raʔo	PAA	[vōt]
ISN	baraŋay	SIK	tena	*LEW	wā kokan
KAL	bāŋka	RTI	ofa	POR	
*TAG	paraw	BUR	waga	NTA	
AKL	[batil]	*DOB	ʔalay si daba	KWA	nəteta
*PAL	kumpit	*IRA	kapəri somə	NEM	waŋ
MOL	gubaŋ	SAW	yel	CEM	ōŋ
*KAG	buti	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>ʔ</sup> on	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> ā
*BLA	awəŋ	MAM	ʔaleti-ʔati	XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ā
SAB	[lansa]	TAK		*NEN	[bot]
*MUR	[sampan]	DAM	wāg	KIR	te [bōti]
*MGY	[sambu]	MAB	wō <sup>ŋ</sup> go	MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> ōc]
*ACE	[bot]		tubudu	PON	[p <sup>w</sup> ōt]
BAT	solu	YAB	gɔ <sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> a	WLE	[ʔ <sup>w</sup> oto]
MIN	bidu <sup>ʔ</sup>	KAU	imut	EFI	waga
IND	pərahu	TOL	[pot]	WFI	[boto]
SUN	parahu	BUA	yaŋ	RTU	vaka
IAV	prau	*ADZ	[madzun]	TON	vaka
*MAD	[sampan]	KIL	waga	*SAM	vaʔa
*BAL	ʔukuŋ	TAW	wam	MEL	[pōji]
*SAS	[kapal]	*MOT	[bouti]	TAH	[poti]
GOR	bulotu	MEK		RAP	vaka
DAA	sakaya	ROV	vaka		
UMA	sakaea				

- TAG *paraw* ‘sailboat’; [*batel*] ‘small boat’.
- PAL Also *səkajan*.
- KAG ‘rowboat’.
- BLA Also [*lansa*] from Spanish *lancha* ‘boat (with motor)’.
- MUR From Chinese.
- MGY See 10.810.
- ACE Also [*bhot*].
- MAD From Chinese.
- BAL *ĵukuŋ* ‘prau with outriggers’; *ĵaŋ(g)olan* South Bali ‘large dinghy, without outriggers; large prau’; *golekan* North Bali ‘dinghy without outriggers’.
- SAS Also [*montor bot*].
- DOB ‘boats and canoes’, compound noun phrase with a singular meaning.
- IRA ‘fishing boat’.
- ADZ See 10.810.
- MOT Also [*sisima*], from *steamer*, [*dinigi*], from *dinghy*, and [*lonisi*] from *launch*.
- KWO Loanword.
- LEW ‘small boat’; also [*pot*], [*panet*].
- NEN Also *koe*.
- SAM (polite) *sā*, *uiuiŋa*, *meli*. ‘large passenger boat’.

## 10.831 CANOE

Chinese: <i>sampan</i>
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ATA		*PAL	baŋka	MIN	
TSO		MOL	killi	*IND	[ <i>sampan</i> ]
RUK		*KAG	lunday	*SUN	parahu lisuŋ
PAI		BLA	[ <i>talundas</i> ]	JAV	prau
YAM	tatala	*SAB	baŋka?	MAD	parau
ISN	baraŋay	*MUR	[ <i>padau</i> ]	BAL	
KAL	bāŋka	*MGY	lakana	SAS	ĵukuŋ
*TAG	baŋka?	*ACE	puraho	GOR	
*AKL	baŋka?	BAT	solu	DAA	sakaya



UMA	sakaea	*KAU	[nak]	*NEM	b <sup>w</sup> āyala
BUG	lopi-lopi	TOL	oagə	CEM	kàrapā
KON	[sampaŋ]	BUA	yag	AJI	kařavā
*WOL	ʃa <sup>ŋ</sup> ka-ʃa <sup>ŋ</sup> ka	*ADZ	miʔ	*XAR	kəropā
*MAG	[sa <sup>m</sup> paŋ]	*KIL	waga	NEN	koe
NGA	kova	*TAW	kewokewou	KIR	te wā
SIK	gəpu-ŋ	*MOT	ʃanayɪ	MSH	wa
*RTI	ofa ana-k	*MEK	ŋaŋa	PON	wār
BUR	waga	*ROV	hore	WLE	wō
DOB	daba	*MAR	hore	EFI	bāβelo
IRA	ʃu	LAU	ola	*WFI	waga
*SAW	lepalepa	KWO	aōla	RTU	vaka
NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> on	RAG	waga-huahua	TON	pōpao
MAM	ʔati	PAA	vakili	*SAM	paopao
TAK	wog	*LEW	tawa	MEL	paki
DAM	wāg	*POR	n-ōa <sup>ŋ</sup> g xaroi	*TAH	vaʔa
MAB	wō <sup>ŋ</sup> go	*NTA	[kənu]	*RAP	vaka poe-poe
YAB	waŋ	KWA	nəteta		

TAG Also *barōto*, Proto-Philippines \**barūtu*.

AKL Also *barōto*.

PAL Also *səkayan*.

KAG ‘outrigger canoe’.

SAB Also *pelaŋ* and *pelad* ‘kinds of canoe’.

MUR Possibly from Malay *perahu*.

MGY Compare Ngaju Dayak *raŋkan*, Iban *lanŋan*.

ACE Also *ʃalo*.

IND Also *kolek*, *pərahu* with regional preferences.

SUN Also *parahu lagar*.

WOL Also *koli-koli* ‘small boat, dinghy’; *lete-lete*, *sope* ‘sailing canoe’; *sope-sope* ‘small sailing canoe’; [*boti*] ‘large vessel’.

MAG From Malay.

RTI ‘small boat’.

SAW Also *yel*.

KAU From an Arawe dialect on the coast.

ADZ ‘raft, small water craft’.

KIL	<i>kewou</i> ‘small fishing canoe, simple dugout’; <i>masawa</i> ‘k.o. large ocean-going canoe’; <i>nagega</i> ‘k.o. large ocean-going canoe’ etc.
TAW	<i>kewokewou</i> ‘outrigger canoe’; <i>lopo</i> ‘single hull canoe’; <i>kuka</i> ‘sailing canoe’.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives <i>puapua</i> ‘two canoes lashed together with no outrigger’.
MEK	<i>ŋaŋa</i> ‘tree from which canoes are made; double canoe without outriggers, with a platform for carrying passengers and cargo’. Also <i>fafao</i> ‘dugout’, <i>alakaisa</i> ( <i>arakaisa</i> ; <i>alakaia</i> ) ‘larger dugout from Gulf Province’.
ROV	Also <i>mola</i> ‘olden-day stitched canoe’.
MAR	<i>hore</i> ‘dugout canoe’; <i>mola</i> ‘plank-constructed canoe’.
LEW	Also <i>tawaŋka</i> .
POR	‘the-canoe genuine’.
NTA	From English.
NEM	<i>b<sup>w</sup>āyala</i> ‘outrigger canoe’; <i>karavā</i> ‘double-hulled canoe’.
XAR	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ērēwea</i> .
WFI	Also <i>baβelo</i> .
SAM	‘small dugout canoe’.
TAH	<i>va<sup>?</sup>a tau<sup>?</sup>ati</i> ‘double canoe’; <i>va<sup>?</sup>a tā<sup>?</sup>ie</i> ‘sailing canoe’.
RAP	<i>vaka poe-poe</i> ‘outriggerless canoe’; <i>vaka ama</i> ‘outrigger canoe’.

### 10.832 OUTRIGGER

ATA		SAB	katig	DAA	
TSO		MUR	katig	UMA	
RUK		MGY	fanari	BUG	paŋati <sup>?</sup> lopi
PAI		*ACE	gati	KON	somaŋ
YAM	mibəkbək	BAT		WOL	ʒara <sup>ŋ</sup> ka
ISN		MIN	čadi <sup>??</sup>	MAG	
KAL		IND	katir	NGA	rodo
TAG	kātig	SUN	katir	*SIK	βaga
AKL	kātig	JAV		*RTI	ofa ma-ei-k
PAL	katig	MAD	katir	*BUR	sema-n
MOL	katig	*BAL	[katir]	DOB	loba tay
KAG	katig	SAS		IRA	ʒu pəra
BLA	kotig	*GOR	[sema-sema]	SAW	somən

NYI	sam	ROV	hakasi	*NEN	weg
MAM	rama	MAR		KIR	te rama
TAK	sam	LAU	fakasi	MSH	kup <sup>w</sup> āk
DAM		KWO		PON	tām
MAB	sāma	RAG	hama	WLE	tama
YAB	sap	PAA	asem	EFI	ḍama
KAU		LEW	yame	WFI	ḍama
TOL	amən	POR	načam	RTU	sama
BUA		NTA	rəmal	TON	hama
ADZ		*KWA	temən	SAM	ama
KIL	lamila	*NEM	yeye-n	MEL	ama
*TAW	halima	CEM	pālē-n	TAH	ama
MOT	darima	AJI	duyu	RAP	ama
MEK		XAR	wage		

ACE Also *kati*.

BAL From Malay or Javanese?

GOR From Menado Malay.

SIK Also *elər*.

RTI 'boat with legs'.

BUR Loan? see Ambonese Malay *seman*.

TAW 'outrigger of canoe'.

KWA 'outrigger float'.

NEM Also *dabe-n*.

NEN Also *wegerekoe*.

## 10.840 RAFT

Spanish: <i>balsa</i>
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ATA		KAL	lākit	BLA	alul
TSO		TAG	[balsa]	SAB	alul
RUK		*AKL	gākit	MUR	gakit
PAI		PAL	baŋkar	MGY	zahaṭ <sup>r</sup> a
YAM	tataloŋan	MOL	[balsa]	ACE	raket
*ISN	gākit	KAG	[balsa]	BAT	

MIN	raki?	MAM		*KWA	napuei
IND	rakit	TAK	ragarag		kuruk <sup>w</sup> utihi
SUN	rakit	DAM	suḥi	NEM	fae
JAV	geṭe?	MAB	raŋraŋ	CEM	páe
MAD	gitik	YAB	k <sup>w</sup> a <sup>m</sup> boŋ	AJI	k <sup>w</sup> ā kaře
BAL		*KAU	[mahiŋit]	*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> ā be-yā
SAS	rakit	*TOL	kān	*NEN	aeweg
GOR	he?it-a	BUA	bək	*KIR	te aeae
DAA	aki	*ADZ	mi?	MSH	[ṛāp <sup>w</sup> ]
UMA	aki?	KIL	deu	PON	[ṛāp]
BUG	pinčara	*TAW	dau	WLE	fōfata
KON	raki?	*MOT	tupa	EFI	bilibili
WOL	raki	*MEK	[lafu]	*WFI	bilibili
MAG		ROV	bana	RTU	[rafa]
NGA	bero	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oko?eve	TON	vakavaka-
SIK		LAU	faoa		?āmei
RTI		KWO	?ai faoa	*SAM	va?a-
BUR	due-n	RAG			mōso?oi
DOB	?ay ta'ron	PAA	tārivat	MEL	fata
IRA	diḥə	*LEW	takē	TAH	pa?epa?e
SAW	yət	POR		RAP	
NYI		*NTA	narmə kənu		

ISN *idudu?du?* 'pole-bamboo, punt stick'.

AKL PHN \**Rākit*, also [*baʔsah*].

KAU From an Arawe dialect on the coast.

TOL Also *gokāra*.

ADZ See 10.831.

TAW Also *keyauga*.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives Western Motu *era*, Eastern Motu *tupe*.

MEK [*lafu*] corresponds to Roro [*rapu*] 'raft'.

LEW Also 'large piece of driftwood'.

NTA 'model canoe'.

KWA 'coconut knot' (logs lashed together).

XAR Made from bamboo poles.

NEN Also *weg*.

KIR Also 'drag, tow (vb intrans)'.

WFI Also *dolosi* ‘raft of banana trunks’.

SAM *vaʔa* ‘ship’ (10.810); *mosoʔoi* ‘the ylangylang tree’, the timber of which is used for houses and boats.

### 10.850 OAR

ATA	ka-kiβuy	UMA	po-βose	MAR	
TSO		BUG	wise	LAU	fote
RUK		*KON	bise	KWO	
PAI		WOL	ǰao	RAG	
YAM	şavilak	MAG		PAA	vatīhos
ISN	uwela	NGA	wəsa	LEW	pilavalua
KAL	īdus	SIK	tuku	POR	
*TAG	gāʔod	RTI	sefe	NTA	nəβea
AKL	bugsay	BUR	sahi-n	KWA	niweia
PAL		DOB	φasan	NEM	ba-hāt
MOL	dayuŋ	IRA	εǰε	CEM	kāt
KAG	gayuŋ	*SAW	n-ewilen	AJI	tawāru
BLA	doyuŋ	NYI	bahau	XAR	tap <sup>w</sup> āru
SAB	dayuŋ	*MAM	[ore]	NEN	xarue
MUR	kakabil	TAK	koi	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ē
*MGY	fi-vui	DAM		*MSH	[cep <sup>w</sup> e]
*ACE	dayoŋ	MAB		*PON	ilil
BAT	luga	YAB	gōlem	WLE	şepe
*MIN	dayu <sup>ə</sup> ŋ	*KAU	[upui]	*EFI	i-βoðe
IND	dayuŋ	TOL	vo	WFI	i-βoðe
*SUN	dayuŋ	BUA		RTU	hose
JAV	dayuŋ	ADZ		TON	fohe
MAD	d <sup>h</sup> aǰuŋ	KIL	βaiga	SAM	foe
BAL	dayuŋ	TAW	yabe	MEL	foe
SAS	dayuŋ	MOT	bara	TAH	hoe
*GOR	pomite	MEK		RAP	hoe vaka
DAA		ROV	gelu		

TAG Proto-Philippines \**gahud*.

MGY *vui, ve*.

ACE Also [*pəŋayoh*] from Malay.

MIN Also *kayu<sup>ə</sup>h*.

SUN Also *paŋ-[wələh]* from Javanese.

GOR From (*bite + poN-*), also *bi-bite*.

KON Also *tokoŋ* ‘pole’.

SAW ‘scull while fishing’.

MAM From English.

KAU From an Arawe dialect on the coast.

KIR Also ‘rudder, fish tail’; *te b<sup>w</sup>ētua* ‘oar’; *te b<sup>w</sup>ē uru* ‘steering oar’; *te b<sup>w</sup>ēnarina* ‘paddle’.

MSH From Kiribati.

PON *ilil* ‘steering oar’; [*patil*] from English *paddle*.

EFI Also *i-sua* ‘scull’.

### 10.851 PADDLE (n)

ATA	ka-kiβuy	BAL	dayuŋ	TOL	vo
TSO		SAS	dayuŋ	BUA	kaβid
RUK		*GOR	pomite	*ADZ	sama?
PAI	kiya-kiy	DAA	vose	KIL	wola
*YAM	avat	UMA	po-βose	*TAW	woe
ISN	pilūga	BUG	wise	MOT	hode
KAL	īdus	KON	bise	MEK	poke
*TAG	sagwan	WOL	βose	ROV	vose
AKL	bugsay	MAG		MAR	goṛa
PAL	bəgsəy	NGA	wəsa	*LAU	fote
MOL	borsi	SIK	tuku	KWO	fote
KAG	bəgsay	RTI	sefe	RAG	vohe
BLA	kwa	BUR	sahi-n	PAA	
SAB	busay	DOB	φeri	LEW	pilavalua
MUR	kakabil	IRA	nəφuərə	POR	nivos
MGY	fi-vui	SAW	ipe	NTA	nəβea
ACE	dayoŋ	NYI	bos	KWA	niweia
BAT	luga-luga	MAM	[ore]	NEM	
*MIN	dayu <sup>ə</sup> ŋ	TAK	fei	CEM	
*IND	dayuŋ	DAM	ulum	AJI	ā
*SUN	paŋ-[wələh]	MAB	pēze	XAR	xā
JAV	dayuŋ	YAB	ò?	NEN	xarue
*MAD	[pəddal]	KAU	sau	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ēnarina

*MSH	[cep <sup>w</sup> e]	*WFI	i-βoðe	MEL	foe
*PON	[patil]	RTU	hose	*TAH	hoe
*WLE	fatūřa	TON	fohe	RAP	hoe vaka
EFI	i-βoðe	SAM	foe		

YAM Also *kakawoð*.

TAG See also oar.

MIN Also *paŋayu<sup>h</sup>* (*paN-kayu<sup>h</sup>*).

IND Also *kayuh*.

SUN From Javanese, also *dayuŋ*.

MAD From Dutch?

GOR From (*bite + poN-*); also *bi-bite*.

ADZ ‘wooden paddle, used for stirring soup and pudding’; has been extended to ‘paddle for boat or canoe’.

TAW *woe* ‘small paddle’; *yabi yabi* ‘large paddle used for steering’.

LAU Also *falita*.

KIR See ‘oar’.

MSH From Kiribati.

PON From English.

WLE *tipi* ‘steering paddle’.

WFI Also *i-tayalo*.

TAH *hoe fa<sup>?</sup>atere* ‘steering paddle’.

## 10.852 ROW (vb)

ATA	ḱ-um-iβuy	*KAG	gayuŋ	MAD	a-daj <sup>β</sup> uŋ
TSO		BLA	d-m-ɔyuŋ	BAL	nayuŋ
RUK		*SAB	dayuŋ		(dayuŋ)
PAI		*MUR	kabil	SAS	n-dayuŋ
YAM	maŋawoð	MGY	mi-vui	*GOR	momite
ISN	mamilūga	ACE	kayoh	DAA	no-voŋe
*KAL	tagwan	BAT	luga-hɔn	UMA	mu-βoŋe
*TAG	gā <sup>?</sup> od	*MIN	dayu <sup>?</sup> ŋ	BUG	ji <sup>?</sup> ji <sup>?</sup>
*AKL	bugsay	*IND	bər-dayuŋ	*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -biŋe
PAL	mɔg-bɔgsay	*SUN	ŋa-dayuŋ	*WOL	pa-jao
*MOL	dayuŋ	JAV	n-dayuŋ	*MAG	[biŋe]

NGA	kae	ADZ		CEM	káti-hi
SIK	βehe	KIL	-βaiga	AJI	tamāru
RTI	sefe	TAW	woe	XAR	tap <sup>w</sup> āru
*BUR	sai	MOT	bara-ia	NEN	xarue
DOB	?a-φasan	MEK	e-poke	*KIR	[buru]
IRA		ROV	gelua	*MSH	[ɔru]
SAW	n-ap	MAR		*PON	saī
NYI	abahau	LAU	falita	WLE	ʃepe
MAM	[ore]	KWO		EFI	βoðe
TAK	-koi	*RAG	hua	WFI	βoðe
DAM	yoyō	PAA	valus	RTU	sua
MAB		LEW	valua-ni	TON	?a?alo
*YAB	-da? gɔlem	POR	paüs	*SAM	alo
KAU	sau	NTA	-asua	MEL	sua
*TOL	valu	KWA	-əsua	TAH	hoe
BUA	tē bel	NEM	hāt	RAP	hoe

KAL *tagwan + -on.*

TAG *gā?od + -um/-an.*

AKL *bugsay + -an.*

MOL *dayuŋ + mөг-.*

KAG *gayuŋ + mag-/-an.*

SAB *dayuŋ + aN-.*

MUR *kabil (mag-).*

MIN Also *kayu<sup>h</sup>.*

IND Also *bər-kayuh.*

SUN Also *ŋa-[wəlah]* from Javanese.

GOR *(bite + moN-).*

KON Also *am-mise (hise).*

WOL Also *ðose.*

MAG From Makassarese.

BUR *sai-k* ‘row s.o. somewhere’.

YAB ‘lever oar’; also *-yàm gɔlem* ‘do oar’, *-siŋ* ‘paddle (canoe)’.

TOL Also *valuə* (vb intrans), *valu-e* ‘row (vb trans)’.

RAG ‘paddle (canoe)’.

KIR From English *pull*; *b<sup>w</sup>ētua* also ‘oar’.



MSH From English *oar*, via Japanese.

PON *saī* 'row canoe'; *petiaŋ* 'row against the wind'.

SAM *alo le vaʔa* 'row the boat'.

### 10.860 RUDDER

*ATA	taptap	*UMA	[po-guliʔ]	MAR	
TSO		BUG	kamudi	LAU	
RUK		KON	guliŋ	KWO	
PAI		WOL	uli	RAG	
YAM	şavilak	MAG		PAA	seman
ISN		NGA	uli	LEW	la-n-wo
KAL	īpay	SIK	uri	FOR	
*TAG	ūgit	RTI	uli	NTA	
*AKL	ulin	*BUR	sahi-n bobi-n	KWA	
PAL	mag-[timun]	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ulim	*NEM	ho-n waŋ
*MOL	bansa	IRA		CEM	á-ôŋ
*KAG	bansa'lan	SAW	wilen	AJI	voe
BLA	bənsələn	NYI	kulik	XAR	yəwe
SAB	bansān	MAM	siŋara	NEN	ol
MUR	ulin	TAK	un	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ē
MGY	fana-muri	DAM		*MSH	[cep <sup>w</sup> e]
ACE	kumudəə	MAB	pēze	*PON	ilīl
BAT	hole	YAB	(ŋa-)goliŋ	*WLE	tipi
MIN	kamudi	KAU		EFI	uli
IND	kəmudi	*TOL	pede-na-moŋ	WFI	uli
SUN	kamudi	BUA		RTU	həs uli
JAV	kəmuḍi	ADZ		TON	fohe-ʔuli
MAD	kamudd <sup>fi</sup>	*KIL	kai-kuliga	*SAM	foe-uli
*BAL	[kəmudi]	TAW	yabayaba	MEL	samani
SAS	kəmudi	*MOT	tari	*TAH	hoe pahī
GOR	wulilo	*MEK	[maari]	RAP	huira
DAA	guli	ROV	kalaha		

ATA 'tail of fish, rudder'.

TAG Also [timon].

AKL Also [timon].

MOL *bansa* + *-han*.

KAG	Also [ <i>timun</i> ].
BAL	From Malay?
UMA	Loanword(?)
BUR	'fish tail paddle'.
TOL	Literal meaning unclear, perhaps 'little shark'.
KIL	'long rigid-steer'.
MOT	<i>tara-a</i> 'steer; drive'.
MEK	From Roro <i>hari</i> 'rudder'.
NEM	'foot of boat'.
KIR	Also 'paddle'; <i>te b<sup>wē</sup> uru</i> 'steering oar'.
MSH	From Kiribati.
PON	'steering oar'.
WLE	Also 'steering paddle'.
SAM	<i>uli</i> 'steer (vb trans)'.
TAH	Also <i>hoe fa<sup>?</sup>atere</i> , <i>hoe</i> .

### 10.870 MAST

ATA		IND	<i>tiaŋ kapal</i>	SAW	<i>tēp-tibe</i>
TSO		SUN	<i>tihəŋ</i>	NYI	<i>ka<sup>?</sup>e balei</i>
RUK		JAV	<i>tiaŋ</i>	MAM	<i>aliara</i>
PAI		MAD	<i>tiyaŋ</i>	TAK	<i>piyar</i>
YAM	<i>inyalaŋan</i>	BAL		DAM	
ISN		SAS	<i>tiaŋ</i>	MAB	<i>palyāra</i>
KAL		GOR	<i>pato<sup>?</sup>o</i>	YAB	<i>yam<sup>w</sup>a</i>
*TAG	[ <i>pālo</i> ]	*DAA	<i>ti<sup>n</sup>ja sakaya</i>	KAU	
AKL	[ <i>pāloh</i> ]	UMA		*TOL	<i>toro</i>
PAL		BUG	<i>alliri sompi<sup>?</sup></i>	BUA	
MOL	<i>tihəŋ</i>	KON	<i>pa-laŋariŋ</i>	ADZ	
KAG	<i>tyaruk</i>	WOL	<i>ko-ko<sup>m</sup>bu</i>	KIL	<i>βalia</i>
BLA	<i>tud ləyəl</i>	MAG	<i>la<sup>n</sup>do</i>	TAW	<i>wiyali</i>
SAB	<i>taduk</i>	NGA	<i>maŋu</i>	*MOT	<i>au-tubua</i>
MUR		SIK	<i>maŋu-ŋ</i>	*MEK	<i>aifua</i>
*MGY	<i>and<sup>r</sup>i</i>	*RTI	<i>la-ai</i>	ROV	<i>dedeyere</i>
ACE	<i>tihəŋ</i>	*BUR	<i>tea-n</i>	MAR	
BAT		DOB	<i>tak<sup>w</sup>al</i>	LAU	<i>ʔai</i>
MIN	<i>toŋga<sup>?</sup>-layi<sup>?</sup></i>	IRA	<i>maru ñe</i>	KWO	

*RAG	bua	*CEM	ê-níp	EFI	i-βanā
PAA	asil	AJI	penā	WFI	i-βanā
*LEW	laki	XAR	penā	RTU	pou
POR	na- <sup>m</sup> ber a n-öa <sup>g</sup>	NEN	tana(n)	TON	fanā
*NTA	[mas]	KIR	te aneaŋ	SAM	fanā
KWA	tira	*MSH	kacu	MEL	jira
*NEM	c <sup>n̄</sup> edūt	PON	kēu	TAH	tira
		WLE	xaüsü	RAP	tu <sup>?</sup> u

TAG Also [*albor*], from Spanish *palo, arbol*.

MGY See 07.560.

DAA 'canoe post'.

RTI 'sail's wood/pole'.

BUR 'pole, post'.

TOL 'post or support of a ridgepole of a house, mast'.

MOT *au* 'timber' *tubua* 'upright'.

MEK Rōrō *āipua*.

RAG Also *mamaua* (archaic), *turuyai*.

LEW See 01.430.

NTA From English.

NEM 'centre post'.

CEM 'sail post'.

MSH Eastern dialect, Western dialect *kicu*.

## 10.880 SAIL (n)

**English:** *sail*

ATA		AKL	ɬayag	ACE	laytuə
TSO		PAL	layag	*BAT	rear
RUK		MOL	layag	MIN	layi <sup>9</sup>
PAI		KAG	layag	IND	layar
YAM	viləɖ	BLA	lɔyɔl	SUN	layar
ISN		*SAB	leha	JAV	layar
KAL		MUR		MAD	laʃar
TAG	lāyag	MGY	lai-n-ɕambu	BAL	bidak

SAS	layar	MAB	le	KWA	niwən
GOR	layahu	YAB	laʔ	NEM	ɲep
DAA	so <sup>m</sup> ba	KAU		CEM	níp
*UMA	[so <sup>m</sup> pa]	TOL	[sel]	AJI	nõ
BUG	sompeʔ	BUA	[sel]	XAR	nõ
KON	'sombala	ADZ		NEN	siñeu
*WOL	paŋa-awa	KIL	laya	KIR	te ie
MAG	[laʃar]	TAW	oleole	MSH	wəɕlæ
NGA	laʃa	MOT	palai	PON	serek
SIK	laʃar	*MEK	[laea]	WLE	üwa
*RTI	la	ROV	tepe	EFI	laða
BUR	laa	MAR		WFI	laya
DOB	lar	LAU	eba	RTU	læe
IRA	maru	KWO		TON	lā
SAW	lœ	RAG	ɣabani	SAM	lā
NYI	balei	PAA	ala	MEL	rā
MAM	reba	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> ale	TAH	?ie
TAK	lai	POR	xa <sup>m</sup> ban	RAP	kahu vaka
DAM		NTA	niuβən		

SAB Also *banog*.

BAT Also [*layar*] from Malay.

UMA Loanword(?).

WOL Also *paŋa-owa*.

RTI Also *la-do-k*.

MEK From Roro *raea*.

## 10.890 ANCHOR

**English:** *anchor*

**Spanish:** *ancla*

ATA		KAL		BLA	blɔŋɔw
TSO		*TAG	[aŋkla]	SAB	bahudʒiʔ
RUK		AKL	[aŋkla]	MUR	
PAI		PAL	duŋguʔ	MGY	vatu-fançika
YAM	panənboŋ	*MOL	bouʒiʔ	ACE	saʔoh
ISN	buttug	*KAG	pundu	BAT	

MIN	sau <sup>h</sup>	*NYI	hanai	POR	
*IND	ǰaŋkar	MAM	zozo	NTA	[iaŋke]
SUN	ǰaŋkar	*TAK	[aŋgai]	KWA	
JAV	ǰaŋkar	DAM		NEM	ñu
MAD	ǰaŋkar	*MAB	pat	CEM	ñû
*BAL	baton	YAB	butea	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> axō
SAS	ǰaŋkar	KAU		XAR	b <sup>w</sup> aŋũ
*GOR	[ǰa <sup>ɟ</sup> ga]	TOL	[agə]	NEN	ohne
DAA	balano	BUA	[anka]	*KIR	te ati n rō
*UMA	[balano <sup>?</sup> ]	ADZ		*MSH	[aŋkʌ]
BUG	balano	*KIL	-lola	*PON	poutek
KON	balano	TAW	yogona	*WLE	fōtaxi
WOL	laβu	MOT	dogo	EFI	i-kelekele
*MAG	[ǰa <sup>ɟ</sup> kar]	MEK	ikoo	WFI	i-kelekele
*NGA	muti	ROV	siyoto	RTU	fōvi
SIK	βatu tara	MAR	sobo	TON	taula
RTI	na-ka	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> alu	*SAM	taula
*BUR	fa-wahe-n	KWO		MEL	[aŋke]
*DOB	si <sup>?</sup> asi	*RAG	vat(u)-tuli	*TAH	tūtau
*IRA	sərəretə	PAA	telai	*RAP	[ <sup>?</sup> aka]
SAW	tapu	*LEW	kila-varu		

TAG Also *sinipēte*, [aŋkōra]/from Spanish *áncora*.

MOL ‘anchor with two opposing prongs’.

KAG Also [aŋkla].

IND Also *sauh*.

BAL From *\*batu-an*; also *maŋgar*.

GOR From Malay *ǰaŋkar*.

UMA See 10.860.

MAG From Malay, also *ma<sup>ɟ</sup>gar*.

NGA *vatu-muti*, *moso*.

BUR Also *sau*.

DOB *si<sup>?</sup>asi* ‘hook-like anchor’, *toba* ‘stone anchor’.

IRA Formerly ‘rope with which canoe is moored’, now ‘anything which holds canoe’.

NYI Also *awan* ‘post anchor (tethered)’.

TAK From English?

KIL *-lola* (n); *-kota* (vb).

MAB 'stone'.

RAG (n).

LEW See 01.440.

KIR 'anchor stone'; also *te rō*.

MSH Also 'base, foundation, back'; also *emcak*.

PON Also [*aŋke*].

WLE Also [*yaŋikaŋa*].

SAM Also *tau-vaʔa*, *tau* 'moor, anchor (vb trans)', *vaʔa* 'boat' 10.810.

TAH Also *tūrauraʔa pahī*.

RAP From either English, Spanish, or French *ancre*.

## 10.910 HARBOR, PORT

ATA		*BAL [pələbuhan]	TOL
TSO		SAS pə-labu-an	BUA yağ ben
RUK		*GOR milaŋo	ADZ
PAI		DAA ka-sa <sup>m</sup> po-a	*KIL kabo-kota
*YAM [minato]		UMA	TAW huhu
ISN dudūŋān		BUG sanresin̄ lopi	*MOT he-tu gabu-na
*KAL dadan̄potan		KON labuaŋ	MEK
*TAG 'paŋanlūŋan		*WOL laβusa	ROV hoyhoyo-toana
*AKL [pantalan]		MAG	MAR
PAL [pəntaran]		NGA maʔu	LAU sū
MOL poŋkalan		*SIK alok	KWO suʔu
*KAG pundu'an		RTI namo	RAG
BLA gu-d-m-uʔuŋ		*BUR nama	*PAA meteihol
SAB pag-duŋkaʔ-an		*DOB tay're	*LEW lowe
MUR		*IRA φaφərenə	POR
*MGY seran-ana		*SAW [bobane]	*NTA [pasəs]
*ACE [banda]		NYI salan	*KWA nəφeiaφe
BAT labu-an		*MAM raua	NEM kave-ñu
MIN pa-labuh-an		TAK	CEM ûnedu
IND pə-labuh-an		DAM	AJL k̄a ciñ i k <sup>w</sup> ã
SUN pa-labu(h)-an		MAB māta	*XAR i-cē re k <sup>w</sup> ã
JAV pə-labuh-an		*YAB lelom	NEN ŋaon̄
*MAD palabb <sup>β</sup> uwan		KAU	

KIR	te matab <sup>w</sup> aiawā	*EFI	i-kelekele	MEL	feiova
		WFI	i-kelekele	TAH	tāpaeraʔa pahī
*MSH	[ap <sup>w</sup> a]	RTU	fōviŋa	RAP	ʔuahu
PON		TON	taulaŋa		
WLE		*SAM	tāula-ŋa		

YAM From Japanese *minato*.

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>-daŋpot-an*)

TAG Also [*puwertō*], from Spanish *puerto*.

AKL From Spanish *pantalán*.

KAG From (*pundu + -an*).

MGY Also *fi-tudian-ŋambu* ‘place where boats moor/land’.

ACE Arabic/Persian *bandar*, also [*bhom*] Dutch.

MAD From *pa-labb<sup>δ</sup>u-an*.

BAL From Malay.

GOR Also [*labuwa*], [*rabuwa*], from Malay *pəlabuhan*.

WOL Also *ŋapa*.

SIK Also *ola-ŋ toʔa*.

BUR Also *leku*.

DOB Also ‘coast’.

IRA Also *ŋu mədədorə*.

SAW Ternate.

MAM Also *ilo*.

YAB ‘inside’; also *seʔlùŋ* ‘beach where canoes are left’ (*lùŋ* ‘roller for beaching canoe’).

KIL ‘place for anchoring’.

MOT *hetū* ‘to be anchored’; *gabū* ‘place’, also *goura* ‘a good place for anchoring’.

PAA ‘clear passage through reef’.

LEW ‘passage, break in reef’.

NTA From English ‘passage’.

KWA ‘canoe launching site, reef passage’.

XAR ‘place where boat ties up’.

MSH From English; also *metto* archaic.

EFI Also *matāsawa* ‘landing’.

SAM *tāula* see 10.890, *-ŋa* NOM.

## 10.920 LAND (vb)

ATA		BUG	puttanaŋ	MAR	toya
TSO		KON	a <sup>?</sup> -puntana	*LAU	tolo
RUK		*WOL	pene i ati	KWO	sifo
PAI		MAG		*RAG	vabute
YAM	məyəkəş	NGA	maza	PAA	veut
ISN	dumuŋ	*SIK	to <sup>?</sup> a	*LEW	va ura
*KAL	daŋpot	RTI	se	*POR	tav
*TAG	lunsad	BUR	er-nama	NTA	-uβar
AKL	duŋka <sup>?</sup>	*DOB	ʔa-bana rasa	*KWA	-uware
*PAL	məg-[landiŋ]	*IRA	saru nari	*NEM	cada
*MOL	duŋu		wiromə	*CEM	têda
*KAG	kawas	SAW	n-dime	AJI	kε
BLA	d-m-u <sup>?</sup> uŋ	*NYI	ame amik	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ã
*SAB	duŋka <sup>?</sup>	MAM	to <sup>?</sup> a	NEN	
*MUR	asak	*TAK	-si-la	*KIR	waerake
MGY	mi-tudi	*DAM	tenebu-r sō	*MSH	pø
ACE	mu-darat		y-e-ya	PON	
*BAT	mad'darat	*MAB	-sorlela	*WLE	tiwexī
MIN	man-dare <sup>?</sup>	*YAB	-so baŋ	EFI	udu
IND	mən-darat	*KAU	li sup	WFI	uǰu
SUN	ba-labuh	TOL	pukai	RTU	fo <sup>?</sup> a
JAV	n-darat	BUA	raŋ ya ronək	*TON	tū <sup>?</sup> uta
MAD	a-labb <sup>h</sup> u	ADZ		*SAM	tū-lau-
*BAL	mə-daat	KIL	-busi		ʔele <sup>?</sup> ele
*SAS	ŋə-laboh	*TAW	gota	MEL	tauisake
*GOR	mu-huwato	*MOT	diho	*TAH	tāpae
*DAA	ne-tu <sup>?</sup> u	MEK		RAP	tomo
UMA	me- <sup>n̄</sup> čore	ROV	hogoto		

KAL *daŋpot + -um-*.

TAG *lunsad + -um-* (vb intrans); also *baba<sup>?</sup>* 'go down'.

PAL From English *landing*, also *mugpa<sup>?</sup>* (*tugpa<sup>?</sup>*).

MOL *duŋu + -um-*.

KAG *kawas + mag-/m-* (*mawas*) 'to go ashore'; *duŋka + mag-* 'to arrive at the shore or one's anchorage'.

SAB *duŋka<sup>?</sup> + pa-*.

MUR *asak* (of person), *jujul* (of vessel), *dagana<sup>?</sup>* (of aircraft).



BAT	From ( <i>maN-darat</i> ).
BAL	<i>daat</i> 'dry land'; <i>mə-labuh</i> from Malay.
SAS	Thoir et al. (1985) <i>bə-darat</i> .
GOR	Also <i>h-um-uwato</i> .
DAA	'land (airplane)'.
WOL	'go up on land'.
SIK	Also <i>tiβa-ŋ</i> .
IRA	'go down on the land'.
DOB	'go to land'.
NYI	'come shore'.
TAK	'go down-go to'.
DAM	'land-on go up 3sg-AUX-INF.
MAB	Also <i>-koroklela</i>
YAB	'enter beside'; <i>-pi bau</i> '-climb land' i.e. 'land (go ashore)'.
KAU	'go enter' (serial verb construction).
TAW	<i>gota</i> 'arrive in boat'; <i>hepa</i> 'beach a canoe'.
MOT	'go down, descend'.
LAU	Also <i>gano</i> .
RAG	'disembark'.
LEW	'go ashore'.
POR	(of a bird).
KWA	'come landwards'.
NEM	<i>cada</i> (of a ship); <i>ŋo</i> (of birds, planes).
CEM	Also <i>tí</i> 'touch, land'.
XAR	Also <i>cē</i> .
KIR	<i>waerake</i> also 'go up, go east'; <i>aeka</i> also 'transport'; <i>nako-anna</i> see entry for 'earth, land'.
MSH	<i>po</i> of a sailing vessel or airplane; also <i>cirāk</i> .
WLE	<i>tiwexī</i> 'land somewhere (vb trans)', <i>toxoxo</i> also directional 'hither', <i>xořō, iřa</i> .
TON	Also <i>tau</i> .
SAM	<i>tū</i> 'stand (vb intrans)', <i>lau-?ele?ele</i> 'land' see 01.210; also <i>tuta</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tau</i> (of bird, airplane).

## 11.110 HAVE

ATA	kiya	DAA	na-ria	ROV	tayoā
*TSO	m-ipiti	*UMA	ria-ki	MAR	au
RUK	i-a-kai	BUG	punna	LAU	alu
PAI	i-zua	KON	rie?	KWO	
YAM	yamian	*WOL	ko-	*RAG	hago
ISN		*MAG	maŋa	PAA	
KAL	awad	*NGA	ne?e	*LEW	kusi
*TAG	may-	*SIK	nora-ŋ	POR	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>
*AKL	may-	RTI	ma-nu	*NTA	
*PAL	maya	*BUR	nake	*KWA	-wahi
MOL	togo?	*DOB	?a'ni	*NEM	
*KAG	may	*IRA	te	*CEM	
BLA	nun	*SAW	ni	AJI	wī
*SAB	niya?	*NYI	ta-n	*XAR	ε x <sup>wi</sup>
*MUR	maka-	MAM	enona	*NEN	numu
*MGY	manana	*TAK	da	*KIR	iai
*ACE		DAM	ado	*MSH	oŋ
*BAT	nappuna	*MAB	le-	*PON	mie
*MIN	ado	YAB		*WLE	yōŋo
IND	məm-puŋa-i	KAU		EFI	
SUN	boga	*TOL	və-tur vək-e	WFI	
*JAV	(n-) duwe	BUA	nəŋep βu	RTU	?ese
MAD	andi?	*ADZ		TON	ha?u
*BAL	ŋələh	KIL	-yousi	*SAM	
	(-gələh)	*TAW		*MEL	[lekina]
SAS	ŋ-epe-aŋ	*MOT	mai	TAH	
*GOR	?o-	*MEK	?e	*RAP	

TSO Also *pit-a*.

TAG 'existential marker'; Proto-Central Philippines *\*may*.

AKL 'existential marker'.

PAL 'there is/are'.

KAG 'existential marker,' 'there is'.

SAB *niya? + a-*.

MUR Negative form *kōndo?*.

MGY From (*ma-anana*).

ACE	Possession is normally indicated with <i>na</i> ‘be, exist’ or <i>ata</i> ‘possession’.
BAT	( <i>na-appuna</i> ).
MIN	Also <i>puño</i> .
JAV	From Sanskrit.
BAL	<i>golah</i> ‘possession’.
GOR	(plus noun).
UMA	Verb ‘to be’ with benefactive clitic ‘there is to (one)’.
WOL	Verbal prefix e.g. <i>ko-ana</i> ‘have children’.
MAG	<i>toe maŋa jaraŋ-gaku</i> ‘I have no horse’.
NGA	Also <i>latu</i> .
SIK	Also <i>puŋ</i> .
BUR	3sg possessive pronoun in possessive construction (POSSESSOR) + POSS. PRONOUN + POSSESSED; 1sg <i>naŋo</i> ; 2sg <i>namo</i> ; 1pl excl <i>nami</i> ; 1pl incl <i>nane</i> ; 2pl <i>nimi</i> ; 3pl <i>nunu</i> ( <i>nini</i> by some WaeSama speakers).
DOB	The paradigm is: 1sg <i>?a’na</i> , 2sg <i>?a’mu</i> , 3sg <i>?a’ni</i> 1pl excl <i>?a’ma</i> , 1pl incl <i>?a’da</i> , 2pl <i>?a’mi</i> , 3pl <i>?a’da</i> .
IRA	<i>ɔɔte tɔbaku</i> ‘do you have tobacco?’
SAW	Also <i>nɔ</i> . Different possessive relationships.
NYI	General possession (alienable) uses the ‘loose possessive’ pronouns: <i>ta-n</i> ‘his/hers/its’ (3rd person singular).
TAK	‘exist’, as in <i>yeb a-d da-ya</i> ‘areca nut POSSESSION-their exist-PRF’, i.e. ‘areca nut exists belonging to them’, ‘they have some areca nut’.
MAB	<i>le-</i> ‘inedible objects which are controlled by the possessor’; <i>ka-<sup>1</sup></i> ‘edible objects which are controlled by the possessor’; <i>ka-<sup>2</sup></i> ‘any object which is not controlled by the possessor’.
TOL	Only modern Tolai (Mosel 1984:163f, 167), <i>vatur</i> ‘hold (vb trans)’, <i>və CAUS</i> , <i>tur</i> ‘stand (vb intrans)’, <i>vəke</i> ‘retain (vb trans)’.
ADZ	‘have, own, possess’ are expressed by possessive markers on the noun possessed, for alienable possession. The concept of ‘one’s own’ thing is expressed by an emphatic/reflexive pronoun with possessive markers for alienable possession.
TAW	Marked by possessive morpheme.
MOT	The construction is <i>mai</i> + possessive pronoun + possessed noun or, in the case of inalienable possession, <i>mai</i> + possessed noun +

possessive suffix; e.g. *ia na mai ena ira* 'he has an axe', *ia na mai aonega-na* 'he has wisdom/is wise'; *abi-a* 'get, acquire' (11.160).

MEK ?*e* is always inflected for person and means something like 'proximity; with oblique case marking and an existential verb it functions to express the concept of impermanent physical possession: ?*e-u-ai moni e-ka-e-ŋa* ('proximity-1sg-OBL money 3sg-lie-CONT-EMPH') 'I have money'; ?*e-mu-ai moni laai* ('proximity-2sg-OBL money NEG') 'you have no money'.

RAG Also 'hold, grasp'.

LEW Also *la*, more usually expressed with possessive pronouns.

NTA Possessive pronoun used to give this meaning.

KWA Also *-awahi*.

NEM No verb 'have'; ownership expressed by: 'there is + noun + possessive'.

CEM Translated by 'there is + nom + possessor'. Example *p<sup>wô</sup> nài-lu* 'there are children to they two', 'they two have children'.

XAR 'there is, there exists'.

NEN 'there is/are'

KIR Kiribati frequently forms verbs meaning 'have n' from nouns with the transitive suffix, e.g. *um<sup>wana</sup>* 'have/use s.th. as shelter', from *um<sup>wa</sup>* 'house'; *iai* existential predicate 'there is/are'.

MSH 'existential predicate, 'there is/are'

PON 'existential predicate, 'there is/are'. Ponapean has a set of 'having' verbs, like *āniki* 'own', formed from possessive classifiers.

WLE *yōro* 'existential predicate, 'there is/are'; also a set of 'having' verbs, with the suffix *-rĩ* e.g. *yōrĩ*.

SAM There is no verb 'have, possess, own'; 'have, own, possess' is expressed by three types of constructions:

e	a-	na	le	X	he/she has
TA	POSS-3s		ART		(X is his/hers)
e	iai	l-a	-na	X	
TA	exist	ART-POSS-3s		X	(his/her X exists)
e	iate	ia	le	X	
TA	LOC	3s	ART	X	(X is at him/her)

MEL From Efate.

RAP Possession is expressed using the verb *ai* 'exist, be' in constructions meaning 'exist to me', 'there is X of mine'.

## 11.120 OWN, POSSESS

ATA		BUG	ap-punna-ŋiŋ	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oto
TSO		*KON	rieʔ	LAU	dōnia
RUK		*WOL	kaɗaaŋia	KWO	toʔo
PAI		*MAG	mori-	RAG	
YAM	yamian	NGA	neʔe	PAA	
ISN	kuwa	*SIK	puŋ	LEW	
KAL	kokwa	RTI	na-nu	POR	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>
*TAG	may (roʔon)	*BUR	nake	*NTA	
*AKL	may	*DOB	ʔa'ni	*KWA	-wahi
PAL	saridi	IRA		NEM	
*MOL	ompuʔ	*SAW	ni	CEM	
*KAG	aŋkən	NYI	ta-n labai	AJI	wī (ye)
BLA	n-fun	MAM	nemi	XAR	aŋē
*SAB	tag-dapu	TAK		*NEN	numu
MUR	makōndoʔ	DAM	ado	*KIR	b <sup>w</sup> aina
*MGY	manana	*MAB	le-	MSH	pēk
*ACE		YAB		PON	āniki
*BAT	nappuna	KAU		WLE	yōñi
MIN	puño	TOL		EFI	tauke-na
*IND	mə-milik-i	BUA	tu yi ŋā	WFI	yatani-sia
*SUN	boga	*ADZ		RTU	ʔese
*JAV	n-[duwe]-ni	*KIL	-yousi (la	TON	maʔu
MAD	andiʔ		βaβagi	SAM	
*BAL	ŋələh (gələh)		tatoula)	MEL	
*SAS	bə-[doe]	*TAW		TAH	fatu
*GOR	ʔo-	*MOT	mai	*RAP	
*DAA	anu	*MEK	e		
*UMA	tu <sup>m</sup> pu-i	*ROV	taɣoa		

TAG 'there is'.

AKL *may* (ūnaʔ) 'there is'.

MOL *ompuʔ* + *mog-*.

KAG *aŋkən* + *mag-/-ən*.

SAB 'owner' (n).

MGY From *ma-anana*.

ACE See 11.110.

BAT (*na-appuna*).

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IND	Also <i>puña</i> .
SUN	Also <i>ŋa-boga-an</i> .
JAV	From Sanskrit.
BAL	See 11.110.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985) <i>bə-[due]</i> from Sanskrit.
GOR	(plus noun).
DAA	'belong to'.
UMA	'its owner/lord' (n).
KON	Also <i>pata</i> .
WOL	'state, condition, position' (n).
MAG	<i>d-aku mori-n ʃaraŋ hoʔo</i> 'I am the owner of this horse'.
SIK	Also <i>toma</i> .
BUR	See 11.110.
DOB	See 11.110.
SAW	(of things); also <i>nɔ</i> (of edibles).
MAB	<i>le-</i> (of non-edibles); <i>ka-</i> of (edible things).
ADZ	See 11.110.
KIL	'hold (his things true)'.
TAW	Nominal expression; <i>a ginouli</i> 'his possession'.
MOT	See 11.110.
MEK	<i>e</i> is always inflected for person and expresses the concept of personal ownership. Thus, <i>e-ŋa-(?)ina ŋaŋa</i> , <i>lau e-u ŋaŋa</i> ('that canoe, I e- 1sg canoe'), 'that canoe (is) my canoe'.
ROV	<i>tinayotayo</i> 'possessions'.
MAR	'own property, land'.
NTA	Possessive pronoun used to give this meaning.
KWA	Also <i>-awahi</i> .
NEN	'there is/are'.
KIR	cf. <i>b<sup>w</sup>ai</i> 'thing'.
RAP	See 11.110.

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## 11.130 TAKE

ATA	mayat	DAA	naŋ-ala	MAR	at <sup>h</sup> a
*TSO	m-aro	UMA	ala?	LAU	ŋalia
RUK	wa-mara	BUG	tiwi?	KWO	ŋari-a
PAI	ma-ɭap	KON	aŋŋ-alle	RAG	lai
YAM	aʁapən	*WOL	ala	PAA	guri
ISN	ala?	MAG	əmi	LEW	la
*KAL	alan	NGA	eki	POR	vav-i
*TAG	hāwak	SIK	?-ala	NTA	-os
*AKL	bu?ut	*RTI	ne-ni	*KWA	-wahi
PAL	isyən (isi)	*BUR	ego	NEM	fe
*MOL	isi?	DOB	nal	CEM	pé
*KAG	dala	IRA	nudə	AJI	pε
BLA	n-wə?	SAW	n-ε-yə	XAR	pε
*SAB	kollo?	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ei	*NEN	yo
*MUR	alap	MAM	do?i	*KIR	anā
MGY	man-d <sup>r</sup> ai	*TAK	-ŋane	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ak
*ACE	[čə?]	*DAM	i-rou-ya	PON	ale
BAT	buat	*MAB	-kam ma ila	*WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> exī
MIN	ambi <sup>ə</sup> ?	YAB	-ko?	EFI	tau-ra
IND	məŋ-ambil	*KAU	βa	WFI	ðagu-βia
SUN	ñokot (čokot)	*TOL	kəp pə	RTU	ho?a
JAV	ñ-jupu?	BUA	ko	*TON	to?o
MAD	kala?	ADZ	yu-	*SAM	?ave
*BAL	ñəmak (jəmak)	KIL	-kau	MEL	kāmoa
SAS	ŋə-bait	TAW	waya	TAH	rave
GOR	mə-hama	*MOT	laohai-a	RAP	to?o
		MEK	e-afi(-a)		
		ROV	vayia		

TSO Also *ra-a*.

KAL *ala + -an*.

TAG *hāwak + -um/-an* 'take, get, hold'.

AKL (*bu?un*) 'take, get', see 11.160.

MOL *isi? + mog-*.

KAG *dala + mag/-ən (dləən/dluun/dlaən)* 'take to'; *kamaŋ + m/-ən* (surface forms *mamaŋ, maŋen*) 'take from'.

SAB *kollo? + aN-/ø*.

MUR	<i>alap</i> ( <i>maŋ-</i> ; <i>-on</i> ; <i>-in</i> ).
ACE	From Møn-Khmer.
BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>juəŋ</i> ‘take and keep’.
WOL	Also <i>tarima</i> ‘take, receive’.
RTI	Also <i>hoʔi ne-ni</i> ; see 10.610.
BUR	See 10.610.
TAK	‘get, obtain’ (11.160).
DAM	‘3sg-hold-INF.
MAB	‘cause to go’.
KAU	‘receive’.
TOL	See 10.610, 10.620.
MOT	<i>lao</i> ‘go’, <i>-hai</i> ‘away with/from’; also <i>abi-a</i> see 11.120, 11.160.
KWA	Also <i>-awahi</i> .
NEN	Also <i>yose</i> .
KIR	<i>kaira</i> ‘lead’; from <i>iri</i> ‘follow’; <i>rawea</i> ‘seize’; <i>uota</i> ‘carry’; <i>urakina</i> ‘convey, transport’.
MSH	Also <i>uke</i> ‘lead’; <i>lyak-</i> ‘transport’; with directional suffixes; <i>lakake</i> ‘draw, drag’.
WLE	Also <i>ɸ<sup>w</sup>iriṭi</i> ‘remove’, <i>xasī</i> ‘convey’, <i>taʔomī</i> ‘take in a container’.
TON	Also <i>ʔave</i> .
SAM	See 10.610, 11.210.

### 11.140 SEIZE, GRASP

ATA	ɣ-um-irhuɣ	*MOL	sagmak	*SUN	newak
*TSO	ti-rɕi	*KAG	agaw		(tewak)
RUK	wa- gəməgəmə	BLA	skot	JAV	ŋ-rəbut
*PAI	mi-ɕəŋ	*SAB	saggaw	MAD	a-gaga
YAM	pəɕəɕən	*MUR	gāw	BAL	ŋisi (gisi)
ISN	pūlat	MGY	mi-hazuna	SAS	naŋkəp
*KAL	dokma	*ACE	ruət		(taŋkəp)
*TAG	suŋgab	BAT	takkup	*GOR	mohehu
AKL	āgaw	*MIN	čokoʔ	DAA	na <sup>n̄</sup> joko
PAL	agawan (agaw)	*IND	məməgaŋ (pəgaŋ)		(soko)
				UMA	hokoʔ
				BUG	jippaʔ



*KON	an-ǰappu?	*TOL	tək	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ōt
*WOL	keni	BUA	zom	CEM	têjō-hi
MAG	dəko	*ADZ	yu-	*AJI	tuwiŋi
NGA	dave	*KIL	-yousi	XAR	xē-diri
*SIK	tor	*TAW	tapeuni	NEN	eθedon
*RTI	ho?u	*MOT	daba-ia	*KIR	rawea
*BUR	ego	MEK	e-afi(-a)	*MSH	cip <sup>w</sup> e
*DOB	nadi na?u	*ROV	saputia	PON	kulī
IRA		MAR	takuri	*WLE	tōŋi
*SAW	n-ε-yɔ	LAU	dau rigita	EFI	koβe-a
*NYI	taraniy	KWO	lau-a	*WFI	ŋuhu-sia
MAM	do?i-mate	RAG		*RTU	sasapo
TAK	-abi-tani	PAA	gur kati	*TON	hamu
DAM	i-rou-ya	LEW	yopua	*SAM	taŋo
MAB	-sou	POR	ta <sup>ŋ</sup> gačö <sup>m</sup> bean	MEL	
*YAB	-kam	NTA	-arpərəp o	*TAH	haru
*KAU	suŋ	*KWA	-aŋher	RAP	?a-?aru

TSO Also *ti-rɕ-a*.

PAI *jaʒasəŋ* ‘seize, catch thief’.

KAL *dokma + -an*.

TAG *suŋgab + -um/-an* see also ‘take’ and ‘hold’.

MOL *sagmak + -um/-on*.

KAG *agaw + mag/-ən*.

SAB *saggaw + aN-/ø*; ‘seize’; *antan + aN/-an* ‘grasp’; also *agaw* ‘grab’.

MUR *gāw (mag-; -on)*.

ACE Also *rampaih*.

MIN Also *taŋko?*

IND Also *məŋ-gəŋgam; məŋ-ambil*.

SUN Also [*nəkəl*] ([*čəkəl*]) from Javanese.

GOR (*wahu + mōh-*); also *mō-la<sup>m</sup>bato*; *mō-dehito, momuluto (poluto + mōN-)* ‘take hold of with all five fingers’; *modumo?o* ‘take/catch with all five fingers straight’.

KON Also *an-ǰakkala*.

WOL Also *taanaka* ‘catch, seize’; *pu<sup>n</sup>du* ‘grasp, catch in the hand’.

SIK Also *doe*.

RTI	<i>hou</i> ‘hold, grip, grasp’; <i>kobo</i> ‘clutch in the hand(s), cover over with hand(s)’
BUR	Also <i>gao, gepe</i> ; see note for 10.610.
DOB	A serial verb construction <i>nadi naʔu</i> ‘he holds he catches’.
SAW	Also <i>n-etane</i> .
NYI	Also <i>ribidiy</i> .
YAB	Also <i>-megom</i> ‘hold in fist’.
KAU	Also <i>nak</i> ‘grab something away from someone else’.
TOL	Often <i>tək pə</i> ; for <i>pə</i> see Mosel (1984:13).
ADZ	<i>yu-</i> ‘take, seize’; <i>mpuŋ-</i> ‘grasp, hold fast’.
KIL	<i>-yousi</i> ‘hold’; <i>-yousikikiti</i> ‘hold tight’.
TAW	<i>tapeuni</i> ‘grab by hand’; <i>uni</i> ‘seize, kill’.
MOT	Also <i>dabai-a tao, abi-a</i> ; <i>guguba-ia</i> ‘hold tightly’.
ROV	<i>saputia</i> ‘seize’, <i>tugea</i> ‘grasp’.
KWA	Also <i>-ak<sup>w</sup>tenhi, -ak<sup>w</sup>(i)tamiri</i> .
AJI	Also <i>ɔxařa</i> .
KIR	Also ‘hold’; <i>konā</i> ‘to catch (in hunting or fishing)’.
MSH	Also <i>kūl</i> .
WLE	Also <i>xořɔ</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βulu-kia</i> .
RTU	Also <i>hau</i> .
TON	<i>hamu</i> ‘seize’; <i>kuku</i> ‘grasp’.
SAM	Agent: ABS, patient: LOC.
TAH	Also <i>mau</i> .

### 11.150 HOLD

ATA	<i>miʔiŋ</i>	*AKL	<i>buyut</i>	*ACE	[ <i>mat</i> ]
*TSO	<i>m-ipiti</i>	PAL	<i>kulipət-an</i>	BAT	<i>tiop</i>
RUK	<i>wa-əçəŋə</i>	*MOL	<i>korəŋ</i>	*MIN	<i>pagaŋ</i>
PAI	<i>t-əm-apul<sup>y</sup>u</i>	*KAG	<i>awid</i>	IND	<i>məmegaŋ</i>
*YAM	<i>kəmkəmən</i>	BLA	<i>n-agot</i>		( <i>pəgaŋ</i> )
ISN	<i>immān</i>	*SAB	<i>antan</i>	SUN	<i>ñəkəl (čəkəl)</i>
*KAL	<i>aggom</i>	*MUR	<i>gūt</i>	JAV	<i>ŋ-gəgəm</i>
*TAG	<i>hāwak</i>	MGY	<i>mi-fikiʔa</i>	MAD	<i>təgg<sup>h</sup>uʔ</i>

*BAL	ɲisi (gisi)	DAM	i-rou-ya	*KWA	-wahi
SAS	amben	*MAB	-tēge	NEM	cim <sup>w</sup> i
*GOR	mo-dihu	*YAB	-ko <sup>ʔ</sup> ... -toŋ	CEM	îm <sup>w</sup> i
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-soko	*KAU	isum	AJI	tɔ xaʃa
UMA	kamu	TOL	kinim	XAR	xānī
BUG	makka-tinnin	BUA	zom	NEN	punise
*KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -kambian	*ADZ	kip-	KIR	taua
*WOL	keni-a	KIL	-yousi	*MSH	ræpic
MAG	čau	TAW	womomota	PON	kol
NGA	đeo	*MOT	dogo-a	*WLE	xemm <sup>w</sup> aʃi
SIK	toe	MEK	e-afi(-a)	EFI	tau-ra
*RTI	tata-n	*ROV	tugea	WFI	gulu-mia
*BUR	gao	MAR	loku	RTU	sapo
DOB	nadi	LAU	daufafia	TON	puke
*IRA	nudə	KWO	dau (suri-a)	SAM	ʔu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
	nə <sup>ʔ</sup> igənə	RAG	hago	MEL	-sōkia
SAW	n-etanə	PAA	vuli kati	*TAH	tāpe <sup>ʔ</sup> a
NYI	tawiy	LEW	tari	*RAP	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> u
MAM	do <sup>ʔ</sup> i-do <sup>ʔ</sup> i	POR	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> gean		
*TAK	-abi	NTA	-askalam		

TSO (pit-a).

YAM kəmkəmən 'hold in hand'.

KAL aggom + -an.

TAG hawak + -an.

AKL (buyt-an).

MOL koron + -um/-an.

KAG awid + mag-/-an (awiran); also ibit + mag-/m-/-an.

SAB antan + aN-/-an.

MUR gūt (mag-; -on).

ACE From Mon-Khmer?

MIN Also gangam, pači?

BAL (N-)gəməl 'hold in clenched fist'; (N-)jəmək 'take, pick up'.

GOR (dihumo + moh-).

KON Also a<sup>ʔ</sup>-kantian, a<sup>ʔ</sup>-pa-tantaŋ.

WOL Also pa-<sup>ʔ</sup>keni.

RTI Also ho<sup>ʔ</sup>u tata-n.

BUR	Also <i>gepe</i> .
IRA	'take-grasp'.
TAK	The verb <i>-abi</i> is used in a wide variety of senses and in numerous phrasal expressions: see 04.520, 05.470, 05.540, 06.330, 09.440, 09.710, 09.750, 10.220, 10.610, 11.140, 14.240, 15.710, 18.320, 20.650, 21.440.
YAB	'take ... firmly'; also <i>-kam ... toŋ</i> 'grasp ... firmly'; <i>-megom</i> 'hold in fist'.
MAB	Also <i>-kis</i> .
KAU	Also <i>kasum</i> .
ADZ	'hold in the hand'.
MOT	<i>tao</i> 'hold fast', <i>dogo-a</i> 'to give'. See 11.170.
ROV	Also <i>taŋinia</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-awahi</i> ; <i>-sani</i> 'hold in one's hand'; <i>-sai</i> 'hold up, buoy up'.
MSH	<i>ræpic</i> 'hold on to'; <i>cip<sup>w</sup>e</i> also 'seize'; <i>kap<sup>w</sup>iceŋe</i> 'hold in the hand'.
WLE	From <i>mm<sup>w</sup>ašü</i> 'caught, held'; <i>tōri</i> ; <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>ürü-a</i> .
TAH	Also <i>mau</i> .
RAP	<i>tarupu</i> (archaic); also <i>taupe</i> 'hold, retain, keep'.

### 11.160 GET, OBTAIN

ATA	tihkan	*ACE	tuməə	KON	aŋŋ-uppa
*TSO	m-aro	BAT	dapət-an	*WOL	pe-rapi
RUK	poala	MIN	dapeʔ	*MAG	ŋaəŋ
PAI		*IND	mən-dapat	NGA	ŋee-ŋala
YAM	akapən	SUN	minaŋ	SIK	toma
ISN	alaʔ		(binaŋ)	RTI	hapu
*KAL	āla	JAV	oleh	*BUR	ego
*TAG	kūha	MAD	ulli	*DOB	ʔa-[daɸa]
*AKL	buʔuʔ	*BAL	maan (baan)	IRA	nudə
PAL	isyən (isi)	SAS	nrimaʔ	SAW	n-duk
*MOL	isiʔ		(trimaʔ)	NYI	akohok
*KAG	kamaŋ	GOR	mo-ʔo-	*MAM	doʔi
BLA	n-wəʔ		toduwo	*TAK	-ŋane
*SAB	kolloʔ	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-rata	*DAM	y-ale-ya
*MUR	alap	UMA	m <sup>p</sup> o-rata	MAB	-kam
*MGY	ma-hazu	BUG	ma-rala	*YAB	-tap sa

*KAU	βa	RAG	lai	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> Λk
*TOL	kəp	PAA	guri	PON	ale
BUA	kə	LEW	la	*WLE	taʔomī
ADZ	yu-	POR	ča <sup>m</sup> bar	EFI	rawa-ta
*KIL	-kau	NTA	-os	*WFI	ðagu-βia
TAW	waya	*KWA	-wahi	RTU	poʔo-m
MOT	abi-a	NEM		TON	maʔu
*MEK	e-aŋa(-i-a)	CEM		*SAM	mau-a
*ROV	vayia	AJI	wī (yε)	MEL	
MAR	at <sup>h</sup> a	XAR	pε	*TAH	roaʔa
LAU	to ʔana	NEN		RAP	ravaʔa
*KWO	tala	*KIR	karekea		

TSO Also *ra-a*.

KAL *āla + maN-*.

TAG *kūha + -um-/kūn-in*.

AKL Also *buʔ<sup>?</sup>-un*.

MOL *isiʔ + m-/on*.

KAG *kamaŋ + mag-/m-/ən (mamaŋ, maŋen)* see 11.130.

SAB *kolloʔ + aN-/ø*.

MUR *alap (maka-; ma-)*.

MGY See Maanyan *kaiyoh* 'be able to'.

ACE Also *tumunŋ*.

IND Also *məŋ-ambil*.

BAL From Old Balinese *\*bəri-an, bəri* 'give', *-an* 'undergoer pivot'? See 11.210; also *(N-)bakat-aŋ*.

WOL Also *pa-kawa-aka*.

MAG Also *haeŋ, demoŋ*.

BUR See 10.610.

DOB From Malay *dapat*.

MAM Also *baga*.

TAK Also *-ŋa* (see 10.620); see *-gane, -ga* (09.110).

DAM '3sg-get-INF.

YAB 'slap upward'.

KAU Also 'carry'.

TOL See 10.610, 10.620.

KIL	'take, get (it)'; also <i>-bani</i> 'find'.
MEK	Compare <i>e-aga</i> 'bite' (04.580); also <i>e-uge-pa</i> 'receive, accept'.
ROV	Also <i>henaia</i> .
KWO	'accrue to'.
KWA	Also <i>-ewahi, -awahi</i> .
KIR	From <i>reke</i> 'obtained'.
MSH	<i>lo</i> also 'see'.
WLE	<i>werī</i> also 'see'.
WFI	Also <i>rewa-sia</i> .
SAM	<i>-a</i> trans.
TAH	Also <i>noa?a</i> .

### 11.170 KEEP, RETAIN

ATA	širahy-un	*JAV	ñimpən	*TAK	-abi-tani
TSO			(simpən)	DAM	i-rou-ya
RUK	poaḍiṇay	MAD	simpən	*MAB	-kiskis
PAI	k-əm-ayan	*BAL	ñimpən	*YAB	-gamiṅ
YAM	aḱapən		(simpən)	KAU	isum
ISN	i ariman	*SAS	ṅuasə	*TOL	və-tur vək-e
*KAL	dūlin		([kuasə])	BUA	zom
*TAG	tāgo?	*GOR	molahu	ADZ	kip-
*AKL	tāgu?	DAA	nom-boli	KIL	-sisii
*PAL	pugwən	UMA	timama-hi	TAW	nugoneya
	(pugu)	BUG	taro	MOT	dogo-a tao
*MOL	handa?	KON	an-nanro	*MEK	e-pa-mau-a
*KAG	tagu	*WOL	sawau	*ROV	kopunia
BLA	busik	*MAG	na?a	MAR	loḷoti
*SAB	tau?	NGA	na?a	*LAU	susulia
*MUR	tau?	*SIK	na?i	KWO	aru-a
MGY	mi-hazuna	RTI	naka-tata-k	RAG	
ACE	thun	BUR	gao	PAA	gur kati
BAT	sippan	*DOB	?a-rak <sup>w</sup> a nal	LEW	la-arari
*MIN	pači?	IRA	naḶesi	POR	ta <sup>ᵈ</sup> gačö <sup>m</sup> bean
*IND	mənanhan	SAW	n-isən	NTA	-ləs rahan
	(tahan)	*NYI	ta-n udu	*KWA	-apatiṅ
*SUN	ṅa-[jaga]	*MAM	do?i-mate	NEM	ta-yim <sup>w</sup> i

CEM	îm <sup>w</sup> i	*PON	nekitala	SAM	mau
*AJI	rēwiri	WLE	isañ	*MEL	[mūjia]
XAR	ḡañ	EFI	mārōroi-a	TAH	tāpeʔa
NEN	anene	*WFI	maroroi-sia	RAP	hapaʔo
*KIR	taua	RTU	æf-ʔoki		
*MSH	ræpic	TON	tauhi		

KAL *dūlin + i-*.

TAG *tāgoʔ + mag-/i-* ‘put away’; see ‘hide, conceal’ 12.270.

AKL *tāguʔ + i-* ‘put away’; see hide 12.270.

PAL Also *igmətɔn*.

MOL *handaʔ + i-*.

KAG *tago + mag-/ən (taguun)*.

SAB *tauʔ + aN-/ø*.

MUR *tauʔ (mag-)*; *towo-on* irregular passive.

MIN Also *pagaŋ*.

IND Also *məñimpan (simpan)*; *məməgaŋ (pəgaŋ)*.

SUN From Sanskrit; also *ḡ-urus*, [*miara*] ([*piara*]) from Sanskrit.

JAV Also *ñiŋgahi (singah-i)* ‘put away in a safe place’.

BAL (*N-*)*simpən* ‘put away for safekeeping’; (*N-*)*səpəl* ‘store (vb trans.)’.

SAS Also [*mliharaʔ*], both Sanskrit. Thoir et al (1985): *paləs* ‘store’.

GOR From (*tahu + moN-*); also *mohetu (watu + moh-)*.

WOL Also *dika* ‘place, set, put, store, keep, save, spare’.

MAG Also *tiŋaŋ*.

SIK Also *məko-t*.

DOB Serial verb construction, lit ‘he keeps takes’.

NYI ‘his stay’.

MAM Also *muleaʔi*.

TAK See 11.140.

MAB Also *-tektēge*.

YAB Also *-yàm ... toŋ* ‘do ... firmly’.

TOL Only modern Tolai (Mösel 1984:163f,167), *vətur* (vb trans) ‘hold’,  
*və-* CAUS, *tur* (vb intrans) ‘stand’, *vəke* ‘retain’.

MEK See 11.240.

ROV Also *nagitia* ‘keep for a long term’.

LAU 'to look after, care for'.

KWA Also *-ak<sup>w</sup>tenhi, -ak<sup>w</sup>(i)tamiri*.

AJI Also *arua*.

KIR *taua* also 'hold'; *kāwakina* (*kāwaki* 'precious, valuable, worthy'); *rab<sup>w</sup>ana* (*rab<sup>w</sup>a* 'hidden, guarded').

MSH Also 'hold'.

PON With suffix *-la* 'away'.

WFI Also *βahami-a*.

MEL From Efate.

## 11.180 THING

**Malay:** *baraŋ*

ATA	ḡaraḡarax	BAL	[baraŋ]	TOL	məgit
TSO	maçuçuma	*SAS	[baraŋ]	BUA	ŋā
*RUK	la-manəmanə	GOR	[bāraŋi]	ADZ	nam
PAI	n-əm-aŋa	DAA		KIL	βaβagi
YAM	aprapratan	*UMA	anu	TAW	ginouli
ISN		BUG	waraŋ-paraŋ	MOT	γau
KAL	bānag	KON	apa-apa	MEK	kapa
TAG	bāgay	WOL	[bara]	ROV	tiŋitoŋa
*AKL	butaŋ	MAG	ča <sup>ʔ</sup> o-čā	MAR	glepo
*PAL	pərakakas	NGA	nəka	LAU	nadō
MOL		*SIK	ʔagar	KWO	ʔola
KAG	butaŋ	RTI	buah-s	RAG	γinau
BLA	kandi <sup>ʔ</sup> in	BUR	ii	PAA	tauneh
SAB		*DOB	bar'lay	LEW	suri
MUR	[badaŋ]	IRA	ϕe	POR	taus
MGY	zavaŋ <sup>r</sup> a	*SAW	[gina]	NTA	nat
*ACE	[aruuta]	NYI	lakou	KWA	nari
BAT		MAM	ʔana	NEM	aman
MIN	[baraŋ]	TAK	mel	CEM	nâdo
*IND	[baraŋ]	DAM	ereb	AJI	kā
SUN	[baraŋ]	MAB	koron	XAR	dou
JAV	[baraŋ]	YAB	geŋ	*NEN	oče <sup>ʔ</sup> il
MAD	[b <sup>β</sup> araŋ]	KAU	eda	*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ai



*MSH	men	WFI	k <sup>w</sup> ā	MEL	nea
*PON	tip <sup>w</sup> isou	RTU	tē	*TAH	mea
*WLE	maře	TON	me <sup>?</sup> a	RAP	me <sup>?</sup> e
EFI	kā	SAM	mea		

RUK *la-manəmanə* ‘things’ (*manəmanə* ‘what’).

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*betəŋ* ‘put’.

PAL Also *bagaj*.

ACE From Sanskrit ‘goods, possessions’; also [*bunda*] Sanskrit ‘goods’, *baraŋ* ‘things, materials’.

IND Also [*bənda*] from Sanskrit.

SAS From Malay?

UMA Also *reβa*.

SIK Also *ŋaβu-ŋ*.

DOB ‘stuff’ (not a count noun).

SAW Ternate; also [*wədol*].

NEN Also *ač*.

KIR *te mena* ‘whatever, something or other’; non-specific, in contrast to *te b<sup>w</sup>ai*; *kain* ‘thing for, tool for’.

MSH Also *mən* ‘thing, creature’; *kein* ‘thing for, tool for’; *eřko* ‘the things, here they are!’; one of a set of sentence demonstratives.

PON *kep<sup>w</sup>e* also ‘internal organs of larger animals, genitalia’; *ape* also ‘etcetera’; *mən* ‘thing for, person from’.

WLE *maře* ‘this thing’; one of a set of demonstratives; *pitexi* ‘thing, goods, belonging’; also *xapitexi* with CAUS prefix *xa-*.

TAH Also *tao<sup>?</sup>a*.

## 11.210 GIVE

*ATA	maik	*TAG	bigay	*MUR	ani <sup>?</sup>
*TSO	mo-fi	*AKL	ta <sup>?</sup> u-	*MGY	man-ume
RUK	wa-bāy	PAL	bəgəy-an	*ACE	bri
PAI	pa-vai	*MOL	bogoy	*BAT	le-hən
*YAM	ipanta	*KAG	atag	*MIN	agi <sup>h</sup>
ISN	idde	BLA	ble	*IND	məm-bəri
*KAL	itdon	*SAB	buwan	SUN	mere (bere)

*JAV	menɛhi (wɛnɛh)	MAM	ani	POR	pisax
		TAK	-pani	*NTA	-osi-pən
MAD	bərriʔ	*DAM	i-ɸenē-ya	*KWA	-wahi pehe
*BAL	maɔŋ (baɔŋ)	*MAB	-kam pa	*NEM	na hi-n
SAS	ŋə-beŋ	YAB	-keŋ	CEM	né
*GOR	moŋohi	*KAU	βa-i si ta	AJI	nã
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-vai	*TOL	tər	XAR	xi
UMA	βaiʔ	BUA	βo βu	NEN	kano(n)
BUG	mab-bere	ADZ	rim-	KIR	aŋan
*KON	as-sare	KIL	-saiki	*MSH	le-
*WOL	ɖawu	*TAW	wele-ya	*PON	kīeŋ
MAG	tei	MOT	heni-a	*WLE	fəŋa
NGA	tiʔi	*MEK	e-peni-a	EFI	solli-a
SIK	βəli	*ROV	ponia	WFI	holi-a
RTI	fe	MAR	tufa	RTU	nā
*BUR	tuke	LAU	falea	TON	foaki
*DOB	nal yaʔa	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ate-a	*SAM	ʔave
*IRA	nane	RAG	lai	*MEL	[no-]
SAW	n-po	PAA	sāni	*TAH	hōroʔa
*NYI	adeu	LEW	la vano	*RAP	vaʔai

ATA Also *muay*.

TSO Also *fi-i, fa-eni*.

YAM Also *itozo*.

KAL *itod + -on*.

TAG *bigay + mag-/i-/bigyan*.

AKL *tawʔ-an*.

MOL *bogoy + m-/i-/an*.

KAG *atag + mag-/i-/an (tagan)*.

SAB *buwan + aN-/paN-*.

MUR Also *tāk (maŋ- in/mapa-pa-on)*.

MGY With fossilised *\*-um-*.

ACE Also *bi, joʔ*.

BAT See Proto-Batak *\*bərey* 'to give'; reflected in *bɛɛ* 'a man's sister's child, who is to be given in marriage to another lineage-group'; see 02.530 and 02.540.

MIN Also *bari*.

IND	Also <i>kasih</i> .
JAV	Also <i>meneh-ke</i> ( <i>N-weneh-ke</i> ).
BAL	Old Balinese has <i>b(ə)ri</i> . <i>baaŋ</i> probably from <i>*bəri-aŋ</i> . Old Balinese <i>biri</i> is probably an infix form <i>b-i-əri</i> .
GOR	( <i>wohi + moN-</i> ).
KON	Also <i>an-dahu</i> .
WOL	<i>paka-dawu</i> ‘give as a present’.
BUR	Also <i>duwe</i> ; <i>lai-k</i> ‘present, give a gift’; <i>huke</i> ‘present s.o. with s.th. (publicly)’ (may be Rana only); <i>ego</i> is sometimes used as in <i>ego la rine</i> ‘give it to her’.
DOB	‘take to’.
IRA	<i>mageja!</i> ‘give it to me!’
NYI	Also <i>edeu</i> (1sg/3sg).
DAM	‘3sg-give.him-INF’.
MAB	<i>-kam lē-</i> , <i>-kam ka-</i> (cause to have).
KAU	‘carry-it move upwards to’ (serial verb construction).
TOL	Often combined with other verbs, e.g. <i>tək tər</i> (vb trans) ‘take with hands and give’, <i>tul tər</i> ‘put forth and give’, also <i>təbər (X) mə (Y)</i> ‘give (Y) to (X) as a present’ (Mosel 1984:170, 172f).
TAW	‘give to him’.
MEK	<i>e-bini-a</i> in other dialects; the object-marking suffix agrees in person and number with the recipient.
ROV	Also <i>valania</i> , <i>adenia</i> ‘pass to s.o.’.
NTA	Directional suffix changes.
KWA	<i>-wahi pehe</i> ‘give to a second person’; <i>-wahipen</i> ‘give to a third person’; <i>-ariari</i> ‘give out, give away, distribute’.
NEM	‘put in hand’.
MSH	With directional suffixes.
PON	<i>kīeŋ</i> with suffix <i>-eŋ</i> ‘to(wards)’; <i>kisikise</i> ‘give a gift’.
WLE	Also <i>xanē-a</i> .
SAM	See 10.610, 10.620, 10.630, 10.650; ‘give me’: <i>?au-mai</i> , ‘give you’: <i>?av-atu</i> ; ‘give him/her/them’: <i>?ave</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>hō</i> .
RAP	Also <i>?avai</i> .

## 11.220 GIVE BACK

ATA	pa-šayuy	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> po pa-	*ROV	poni pulenia
*TSO	m-ōvri		ñjili	*MAR	fapup <sup>h</sup> ulo
RUK	wa-bāi	*UMA	popo-ñčuli?	LAU	ʔolifainia
PAI	pa-ϕikał	BUG	map-palesu	KWO	orifeʔeni-a
YAM	paoliən	KON	aʔ-pa-inro	RAG	
ISN	ipatulli	WOL	pa- <sup>m</sup> buli	PAA	sātelesi
*KAL	iyulin	MAG	leko	*LEW	la-marani
*TAG	balik	NGA	tiʔi-vado	POR	pisax veu
*AKL	ūliʔ	SIK	βəliβalo-ŋ	NTA	-osi-pən
*PAL	ipəʔ-uliʔ	RTI	fe fali-k	*KWA	-erup <sup>w</sup> un
*MOL	uliʔ	BUR	duwe saki-k-e	NEM	wāji
*KAG	ba'lik	*DOB	nal mul	*CEM	ûje
BLA	fuleʔ	*IRA	i su nane ma	*AJI	nā tā
*SAB	pa-balik	SAW	n-fa-mul	XAR	bape
*MUR	duliʔ	*NYI	adeu ki	NEN	išudu
*MGY	mamerina		hamon	*KIR	kaoka
ACE	pulaŋ	MAM	muleaʔi	MSH	
BAT	pa-ulak	*TAK	-gane-mul	*PON	tupuk
MIN	baliʔ-an	*DAM	kel i-ϕenē-ya	WLE	
IND	məŋəmbali-	*MAB	-pokot	EFI	βaka-suka-a
	kan(kəmbali)	*YAB	-yaʔ top	WFI	βa-huka-nia
SUN	mulaŋ-kin (pulaŋ)	*KAU	βa-i kiok li ta	RTU	hə-ʔoki
		*TOL	və-mul-e	TON	fakafoki
*JAV	m-baleʔke	BUA	βo yaŋ	*SAM	faʔa-foʔi
*MAD	mag <sup>fi</sup> i (-bag <sup>fi</sup> i)	*ADZ	tip- + rim-	MEL	
BAL	ŋ-ulih-aŋ	KIL	-kaimali	TAH	faʔahoʔi
SAS	nulakaŋ (tulak)	*TAW	welime-ya	RAP	haka hoki
		*MOT	heni-a lou		
GOR	mo-po-bale	*MEK	e-oŋe-mue		

TSO Also *rōvri-neni*.

KAL *ulin + i-*; also *paʔōli + i-*.

TAG *saʔūliʔ + mag-/i-*.

AKL *uliʔ + i-*, PMP *\*uliq*; also *balik + i-*, PMP *\*balik* 'return'.

PAL Also *iyuliʔ*.

MOL *uliʔ + i-po-*.

KAG *bal'ik + ø*.

- SAB *pa-balik + aN-/ø*.
- MUR Also *saguli?* (both *mapa-*; *pa--on*).
- MGY (*maN-verina*).
- JAV From (*N-bali-(?)ke*); *bali* ‘come back’.
- MAD Safioedin (1977) *-bag<sup>di</sup>* ‘give’.
- UMA From *huli* ‘repeat’.
- DOB ‘take back’.
- IRA *i su nane ma* ‘they give (it) back’; *a su ra ma* ‘I give (it) back’.
- NYI ‘give go back’.
- TAK ‘do go back’ (09.110, 10.481), as in *i-gane i-mul-da* ‘he-do it-go back-IMPRF’, ‘he is making it go back’, i.e. ‘he is giving it back’ (see 10.630).
- DAM ‘back 3sg-give.him-INF’.
- MAB Also *-pimili*.
- YAB ‘strike debt’ i.e. ‘pay back’; *-keŋ e-mu ... e-na* ‘-give it-go.back ... it-go’.
- KAU ‘carry-it go again go to’ (serial verb construction).
- TOL *və*-CAUS, *mul-* ‘back, again’, *-e* trans 14.350.
- ADZ *tip-* + *rim-* ‘give back again’; *bu-rim* ‘repetitive prefix-give’, i.e. ‘give back’.
- TAW ‘give again’.
- MOT *heni-a* ‘to give’, *lou* ‘to return; back’.
- MEK Also *e-peni-mue* ‘3sg-give-return’; *e-ao-mue* ‘press back’, also say *e-pa-mue-mai* ‘3sg-CAUS-return-come’ (for ‘give back here, to me, us’) *e-pa-mue-lao* ‘3sg-cause-return-go’ (for ‘give back there, to some third person/s’).
- ROV Also *valapulenia*.
- MAR *fapup<sup>h</sup>ulo* ‘send back’; *tuyu* ‘give back, change, replace’.
- LEW Also *la-sup<sup>w</sup>e*, and *siliu* ‘give customary pay-back’.
- KWA *-erup<sup>w</sup>un* ‘give back similar goods’; *-uahakər* ‘give back dissimilar goods’.
- CEM ‘give back, reimburse’.
- AJI Also *ΛrΛ*.
- KIR *kaoka* causative form, from *oki* ‘return’; *korea taekana* ‘repay’, lit ‘inscribe its word’.
- PON ‘repay’.
- SAM *fa?a*-CAUS, *fo?i* (vb intrans) ‘return’.

## 11.240 PRESERVE, LOOK AFTER

Hindi: *jāgā*Sanskrit: *parigraha-*

ATA	š-um-irhuy	*GOR	[momalihara]	*MAR	reireyi
TSO		DAA	[nom-piara]	LAU	adasulia
RUK	wa-daṅaḷo	UMA		*KWO	ʔabelo ʔani-a
PAI	ki-ḷaḷaiṅ	BUG	map-paraka	RAG	
YAM	apṛātan	*KON	aʔ-katuho	PAA	lēkati
ISN	taraʔnan	WOL	ḍa <sup>m</sup> ba-aka	LEW	visu-ari
*KAL	ila	MAG	tinu	*POR	kara sūr-i eri- voi
*TAG	ḷiṅap	*NGA	geo	NTA	-ehm
*AKL	aḷilaʔ	*SIK	[jaga]	*KWA	-ata amasan
PAL	timuṅan (timuṅ)	*RTI	naka-bo-boi	*NEM	k <sup>n</sup> āt
*MOL	pia	DOB	ʔa-saʔa	CEM	cīle
*KAG	tagu	IRA	nəḷarə	AJI	wā to ṛū
*BLA	busik	*SAW	n-ε[jaga]	XAR	ṅārī
*SAB	tauʔ	NYI	ato <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ok	NEN	čumo(n)
*MUR	talimo	MAM	adoraʔi	*KIR	kāwakina
MGY	mi-aru	*TAK	kagin-pani	*MSH	lale
*ACE	bla	DAM	lō	*PON	ap <sup>w</sup> aḷi
BAT	[jaga]	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> boro	*WLE	xafanī-a
*MIN	[jago]	*YAB	-yàmyaəm	EFI	taṅo-maka
*IND	mə-[məlihara] ([pəlihara])	KAU	tili	WFI	yatau-nia
*SUN	[miara] ([piara])	*TOL	kov-e	RTU	æf-ʔəki
IAV	ṅ-[rəksə]	BUA	gin	TON	faka-toloṅa
MAD	[jaga]	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pa-tayaṅ-gin	SAM	tausi
*BAL	[miarə] ([piarə])	KIL	-yamati	*MEL	[mūjia]
SAS	ñ-[jagə]	TAW	galenaitete-ya	TAH	tiaʔi
		*MOT	nari-a	RAP	roʔou
		*MEK	e-pa-mau-a		
		*ROV	nagitia		

KAL *ila + man- -an.*TAG *ḷiṅap + -um/-in; also aḷagaʔ + mag-/-an.*AKL *aḷilaʔ + -un.*MOL *pia + ko--an.*

- KAG *tagu + mag-/-ən* ‘preserve’; *sagud + mag-/-ən* ‘look after’.
- BLA *busik* ‘preserve’; *n-ifat* ‘look after’.
- SAB *tau?* + *aN-/-ø*.
- MUR *talimo (mag- -on)*.
- ACE Also [*puulara, puulahra*].
- MIN Also [*paliaro*].
- IND Also *mən-[jaga]*.
- SUN Also *ŋa-[jaga]*.
- BAL Also (*N-*)*[jagə]* ‘keep watch over, guard’; (*N-*)*kəñčan-in* ‘look after someone, e.g. a sick person, a child’; (*N-*)*kəmit* ‘keep watch over, guard religious objects, or someone of high status’; (*N-*)*ubuh* ‘keep animals’.
- GOR (*[palihara] + moN-*) ‘look after’.
- KON *a<sup>?</sup>-katuho* (of living things); *a<sup>?</sup>-[piara]* (of anything).
- NGA Also *noo*.
- SIK From Malay; also *nara, bela-ŋ, abo-ŋ*.
- RTI ‘to care for, to take care of’.
- BUR Also *oto-k*.
- SAW Also *n-tən* ‘wait for, look after’.
- TAK ‘fashion, manner give’ (11.210, 17.490); the origin of this idiom is unclear.
- YAB ‘do guard’; also *-yɔb* ‘guard, take care of’.
- MAB Also *mata-pa* ‘eye on’.
- TOL *kovo, kovo* ‘take care, be on alert (vb intrans)’.
- MOT Also ‘wait for’; also *ita-ia tao* (*ita-ia* ‘see’, *tao* ‘hold fast; general intensification’).
- MEK ‘cause something to be safe, whole’; *e-ima* ‘mind, guard, look after’.
- ROV *nagitia* ‘preserve’, *kopunia* ‘look after’.
- MAR *reireyi* ‘tend, look after’; *taji* take care of, care for’.
- KWO *?abelo ?ani-a* ‘observe after’; *aga suri-a* ‘look around’.
- POR ‘look follow-s.th. it-ASP-good’.
- KWA *-ata amasan* ‘see good’, ‘protect, look after’; *-atui* ‘look after (as children or animals), guard’; *-awahi muru* lit ‘give alive’; *-awsik* ‘look after, take responsibility for’.
- NEM Also *hoa*.

KIR	<i>tararuā</i> see <i>tarā</i> ‘look at’.
MSH	<i>lale</i> also ‘look, see’; <i>on<sup>w</sup>āke</i> .
PON	<i>n<sup>senō</sup>ki</i> lit ‘concerned about’, also <i>kanaiēŋ</i> .
WLE	<i>xafanī-a</i> causative form, from <i>fani-a</i> ‘watch’; <i>xamm<sup>w</sup>erē</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

## 11.250 SAVE, RESCUE

Arabic: <i>salāma</i> ‘safety’
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ATA		MAD		*KAU	ŋhio
*TSO	to-ʔusnu	BAL	nuluŋin	*TOL	və-ləun
RUK	paliboʎo		(tuluŋ-in)	BUA	ko βer
PAI	ḱ-əm-əl <sup>y</sup> iŋ	SAS	[pliharaʔ]	*ADZ	rim ... sib
*YAM	akapən	GOR	mo-po-	KIL	-katumoβi
ISN	alaʔ		[salāmati]	TAW	halo-ya
*KAL	tagūwon	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-	*MOT	ha-mauri-a
*TAG	ligtas		[salama]	*MEK	e-pa-mau-ŋa
*AKL	ʔuwas	*UMA	hore	ROV	harupia
PAL	bawinən	BUG	map-pedečəŋ	MAR	fakaŋa
	(bawin)	*KON	aŋŋ-alle	LAU	fāmouria
*MOL	tampu	*WOL	ago	KWO	
*KAG	bawi	*MAG	[sa <sup>m</sup> be]	RAG	
BLA	fa-lwəʔ	NGA	vaʔu	PAA	
*SAB	tabaŋ	*SIK	soŋ	LEW	tamali
*MUR	-ayag	*RTI	tao na-soda	POR	čöax-in-i
*MGY	mamundzi	*BUR	leŋa	*NTA	-asitu e
*ACE	tuloŋ	*DOB	nal ʔai kkoy	*KWA	-awahi muru
BAT	pa-lua-hən		ʔaʔuy	NEM	fa-maric
*MIN	toloŋ	IRA		*CEM	pá-mûlipī-hi
*IND	mə[ñələmat]-	*SAW	n-gali	AJI	caɪ
	kan	NYI	aseben	XAR	fa-muru
	([sələmat])	MAM	uʔeti	NEN	awarumani
*SUN	[ñələmat]-kin	*TAK	patu-n-pasi	*KIR	kamaiua
	([salamət])	*DAM	i-sen-nē-ya	*MSH	lɔmɔβe
JAV	[ñələmat]-ke	*MAB	-kamke	PON	tore
	(slamət)	*YAB	-yām ... ke-si	*WLE	touŋa



EFI	βaka-bula-a	TON	fakahaofi	TAH	faʼaora
WFI	βa-ðola-nia	*SAM	faʼa-sao	RAP	haka ora
*RTU	aʼ-mauri	MEL	fakamauria		
TSO	Also <i>to-ʼusn-i</i> .				
YAM	'to get'.				
KAL	<i>tāgu + -on</i> .				
TAG	<i>ligtas + mag-/i-</i> .				
AKL	PMP * <i>luás</i> 'come out'.				
MOL	<i>tampu + -um/-on</i> .				
KAG	<i>bawi + mag-/ən</i> .				
SAB	<i>tabaŋ + aN-/ø</i> .				
MUR	<i>-ayag (mapa-;pa-on)</i> .				
MGY	<i>(maN-vundzi)</i> .				
ACE	Also <i>pu[sulamati]</i> .				
MIN	Also [ <i>salamayʼ</i> ]- <i>an</i> .				
IND	Also <i>mənoloŋ (toloŋ)</i> .				
SUN	Also <i>nuluŋ (tuluŋ)</i> .				
UMA	<i>hore</i> 'lift up, pick up' used figuratively, 'help someone out of trouble'.				
KON	Also <i>an-rappuŋ</i> .				
WOL	Also <i>pa-[salamati]</i> .				
MAG	'to ransom'.				
SIK	Also <i>haβər</i> .				
RTI	'make safe'.				
BUR	<i>leŋa</i> 'prevent from harm'; <i>faŋo</i> 'pick s.o. up (out of trouble)'; <i>tuu-k</i> 'lift up'; <i>hiwi</i> 'grab s.o. by hand to keep them from being swept away by current'.				
DOB	'take from death's hole'.				
SAW	'help'.				
TAK	'back-his open' (04.190,12.240); origin of this idiom is unclear.				
DAM	'3sg-help-3sg-INF'.				
MAB	Also <i>-wēne, -we tu- pa, -tatke</i> .				
YAB	'do ... he-is.near'				
KAU	Also <i>koh</i> .				

- TOL *və*- CAUS, *ləun* ‘live’.
- ADZ *rim* + dir.obj. + *sib* ‘help, save’; *ga<sup>n</sup>dzi-* ‘spare, be merciful towards’; *si<sup>n</sup>tiŋ<sup>?</sup>*- ‘save, spare’.
- MOT Lit. ‘cause to live’.
- MEK *e-pa-mau-ŋa*, solely by virtue of the changed 3sg suffix, takes on a much more active and concrete meaning than *e-pa-mau-a* (11.240). Although in many cases the choice of *-ŋa* or *-a* seems dictated by purely phonological rules, *-a* nonetheless suggests a less affected and more autonomous object, being the expected ending on causativized state verbs (such as this one), while *-ŋa* seems to imply a passive undergoer whose state of being is materially affected by the process described by the verb stem.
- NTA Also *-os meŋah*.
- KWA ‘give alive’.
- CEM ‘make alive’.
- KIR From *maiu* ‘alive, life’; *kaināomatā* from *ināomata* ‘free’.
- MSH Also *tʰlʰaŋ* ‘save from a storm’.
- WLE ‘rescued’.
- RTU Also *sɔi<sup>?</sup>ɔki*.
- SAM *fa<sup>?</sup>a*-CAUS, *sao* ‘be saved (vb intrans)’.

## 11.270 DESTROY

Old Javanese: *rūg-sāk* ‘broken, destroyed’

ATA	t-um-iaki <sup>†</sup>	*KAG	gubba <sup>?</sup>	JAV	ŋ-rusa <sup>?</sup>
*TSO	a-on <sup>?</sup> oi	BLA	to <sup>?</sup> o fa-lmo	MAD	ma-[rusak]
*RUK	wa-bo <sup>?</sup> loko	*SAB	pa-ka <sup>?</sup> at		(pa-[rusak])
PAI	ka-pa <sup>?</sup> lak-ən	*MUR	bunsay	*BAL	ŋ-uug
YAM	kavaən	MGY	man- <sup>ɖ</sup> ava	*SAS	tə <sup>?</sup> laŋ-aŋ
ISN	dada <sup>?</sup> lan	*ACE	puu-[rusa <sup>?</sup> ]	*GOR	mohu <sup>m</sup> bulito
*KAL	yam <sup>?</sup> an	BAT	sarsar-hən	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-gero
*TAG	sīra <sup>?</sup>	MIN	[rusa <sup>?</sup> ]-an	UMA	gero
AKL	sāmad	*IND	məŋ-hančur-	BUG	mak-kasolaŋ
PAL	rəŋkat-an		kan	KON	am-manrak-i
*MOL	binasa	*SUN	ŋa-[ruksak]		(panra <sup>?</sup> )

*WOL	pa-ha <sup>ñ</sup> čuru	*TOL	və-kəinəvə-	NEM	yaJan
*MAG	a <sup>m</sup> pus		pər	CEM	ǎē-hi
NGA	rae	*BUA	βəŋ rī raɕ	AJI	mui
*SIK	buhə	*ADZ	is-farab	*XAR	fa-paī
RTI	taona-lutu	*KIL	-dadaimi	*NEN	adēni
*BUR	eb-rega-t	TAW	goluta	KIR	urua
DOB	nam <sup>?</sup> asetə	*MOT	ha-ore-a	*MSH	cēpepɔk
IRA	nəbesege-	*MEK	e- <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i-na	*PON	kawēla
	gigərə	*ROV	huaria	*WLE	ɾipī-a
SAW	n-εslukε	*MAR	pa <sup>?</sup> e	EFI	βā-ŋeaβu-taka
NYI	təkosei mari	*LAU	labasia	WFI	βa-geaβu-
MAM	gama	*KWO	ŋada-a		takinia
TAK	-pitiŋgini	RAG		*RTU	a <sup>?</sup> -raksa <sup>?</sup> -ɔki
DAM	dāū	PAA	mūleini	TON	faka <sup>?</sup> auha
*MAB	-rēge	LEW	kila-kare	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a-leaŋa
*YAB	-sèŋ ... su	POR	lapoi	MEL	nea-sājia
KAU	mhuk	NTA	-arakən	*TAH	vāvāhi
		*KWA	-oraha	*RAP	hakamarere

TSO Also *a-on<sup>?</sup>oz-a*.

RUK *wa-bołoko* ‘to destroy (a house)’, *wa-ka-bəbətəθə* ‘to destroy (things)’.

KAL *yam<sup>?</sup>an + -on*.

TAG *sīra<sup>?</sup> + -um-/-in*.

MOL *binasa + mog-/-an*.

KAG *gubba<sup>?</sup> + -ən/ma-*; also [*distrusu*] + *mag-/-ən* from Spanish *destrózar*.

SAB *pa-ka<sup>?</sup>at + aN-/-an*.

MUR Also *lunsay* (both *maŋ- -on*).

ACE ‘wreck’, also *pu-hančo*.

IND Also *mə-[rusak]-kan*.

SUN Also *ŋ-ančur-kin*.

BAL ‘destroy a building’.

SAS ‘cause to disappear’.

GOR (*pulito + moh- + wum-<sup>?</sup>*) possibly from *mo-pulito* ‘all gone, finished’.

WOL Also *pa-binasa*, *daki-daki*.

MAG With *lə* ‘by’.

SIK Also *dota-ŋ*.

BUR	Also <i>ebrarik</i> .
YAB	'destroy ... downwards'.
MAB	Also <i>-pa<sup>m</sup>birīzi</i> 'obliterate'.
TOL	<i>və</i> - CAUS, <i>kəinə</i> 'bad', <i>par</i> 'be finished, complete', <i>vəkəinə vəpər</i> lit 'make completely bad'.
BUA	<i>βəŋ rī rak</i> , <i>βasap</i> 'treat badly, destroy, abuse, waste'; <i>kəβoy</i> 'break down, destroy'.
ADZ	<i>farab</i> ~ <i>fafarab</i> 'strike broken', i.e. 'destroyed altogether'.
KIL	Verb focus form (object focus form) <i>-didaimi</i> ; also 09.260.
MOT	Lit. 'to cause to end/be finished'; also <i>ha-bua-ia tari</i> 'to cause to die in large numbers' (see <i>tarikatarika</i> 'thoroughly').
MEK	Also <i>e-ʔaʔi-oka</i> more emphatic 'destroy-disperse'.
ROV	Also <i>zaloa</i> 'decimate', <i>ŋoŋovala</i> 'to harm'.
MAR	Also <i>reʔeʔo</i> , <i>roʔoʔe</i> .
LAU	Also <i>fāfunu</i> .
KWO	Also <i>dau-a</i> .
KWA	<i>-ek<sup>w</sup>ihi</i> 'take apart, break up'; <i>-etəhi</i> 'destroy, disassemble'.
XAR	'make die'.
NEN	Also <i>ačalini</i> .
MSH	With suffix <i>-lək</i> 'away'; also <i>kəkkure</i> .
PON	Causative form, from <i>ōla</i> 'broken'.
WLE	Also <i>tewasī a</i> .
RTU	Also <i>maneʔəki</i> ; <i>huɔr-ʔəki</i> 'demolish'.
SAM	<i>faʔa</i> -CAUS, <i>leəŋa</i> 'be bad'.
TAH	Also <i>tūpararī</i> ; <i>haʔamou</i> .
RAP	Also <i>huaʔi</i> 'destroy, mess up'.

## 11.280 HARM, INJURE, DAMAGE

See 11.270.

ATA	paʔaβaš	PAI		*KAL	sugat
*TSO	a-fʔori	YAM	kavakavaən	*TAG	pinsālaʔ
RUK	pakadola	ISN	dadaʔlan	*AKL	sakit

*PAL	nə-səkɪt-an	*NGA	ʙuli	RAG	
*MOL	doʔot	*SIK	[rugi]	*PAA	purūni
*KAG	sakit	RTI	naka-hina	*LEW	kila-nene
BLA	fa-lmo	*BUR	eb-rega-t	POR	<sup>m</sup> bul <sup>m</sup> bule
*SAB	pa-kaʔat	*DOB	namk <sup>w</sup> udi-n	NTA	-oltəp <sup>w</sup> ələp
*MUR	pilat	IRA	səgigərə	*KWA	-etkəraha
*MGY	manimba	*SAW	n-fa-ləʔle	NEM	pə-amo
*ACE	pu-[rusaʔ]	NYI	tokosei	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ʕ-tà-hi
BAT	jehe-hon	MAM	goaləŋaʔi	AJI	wā vɛ yāne
MIN	[rusaʔ]-an	*TAK	mala-n-sue	*XAR	fa-çā
*IND	mə-[rusak]-kan	*DAM	i-ʔəkõĩ-ya	NEN	nia
		MAB	-pasāna	*KIR	kabuanib <sup>w</sup> aia
*SUN	ŋa-rugi-kin	*YAB	-gom... g-εɔ	*MSH	kacoŋræn
JAV	ŋ-lara-ni	KAU	phaik	*PON	kawēla
MAD	[rusak]	*TOL	və-kəina	*WLE	xewasii
*BAL	ŋ-[usak]	*BUA	βasap	EFI	βaka-maβoa-taka
SAS		ADZ	soro-		
GOR	mo-ʔo-[rusa]	KIL	-yogagi	WFI	βa-burā-nia
*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-juʔa	TAW	wiapapoe-ya	*RTU	mane-ʔoki
UMA	sero-hi	*MOT	ha-dika-ia	TON	maumauʔi
BUG	maloʔ	*MEK	e-pa-lifu-a	*SAM	faʔa-leaŋa
*KON	am-maʔris-i	*ROV	ŋovalia	MEL	nea-sājia
	(paʔrisi)	*MAR	neŋei	*TAH	faʔaʔino
WOL	peka-rugi	LAU	magā	RAP	hakarake-rake
*MAG	<sup>m</sup> boha	*KWO	ŋada-a		

TSO Also *a-fʔor-a* (of earthen or glass wares).

KAL *sūgat + -on*.

TAG *pinsālaʔ + -um/-in*; also *sīraʔ* 'break'.

AKL *sakit + -un*.

PAL Also *sakitan*.

MOL *doʔot + -on*.

KAG *sakit + -ən* (of living things); *samad + mag-/-ən* (inanimate things).

SAB *pa-kaʔat + aN-/-an* (of things), *mula + ag-* (of a person's body).

MUR *pilat (maŋ- -in)* 'inflict a wound'.

MGY From (*maN-simba*).

ACE Also *pu-luka* 'wound, hurt'.

IND Harm; *mə-luka-i* 'injure'.

- SUN 'do damage to'; also *ŋa-ruksak* Javanese.
- BAL [*usak*] 'damaged'.
- DAA *no<sup>m</sup>paka-ju<sup>a</sup>* 'injure'; *no<sup>m</sup>paka-gero* 'damage'.
- KON Also *am-manrak-i* (*panra?*), *am-baččo<sup>?</sup>-baččok-i*, *as-sirati*.
- MAG Also *rowak*.
- NGA Also *rae-rona* from Sanskrit?
- SIK Also [*rusak*], [*silaka*] from Sanskrit.
- BUR Also *ep-huda-k* 'tear down (house)'; *pehe-k* 'step on, crush'; *ruka* 'bother, disturb'; *kaluŋa-n* 'revenge (noun)'; *ŋadu-k* 'bother'.
- DOB 'wound him'.
- SAW 'make bad'; also *n-fa-yobet* 'make cut/sores'.
- TAK 'eye-his stab' (04.221, 09.223).
- DAM '3sg-injure-INF'.
- YAB '-do someone it-distress'; also *-gom ... keɕo* '-do someone something amiss'.
- TOL See 11.270.
- BUA *βoŋ rī raḵ* see 11.270.
- MOT 'to cause to be bad'.
- MEK *e-pa-lifu-a* means 'cause to become bad or wrong; spoil'; (*lifu* on its own means 'bad, wrong, spoilt'), compare Roro *ripu* 'disordered, immoral'.
- ROV *ŋovalia* 'harm', *bakora* 'injure', *huara* 'damage'.
- MAR *nepei* 'harm, hurt'; *fadidi<sup>a</sup>* 'damage, spoil'.
- KWO Also *mala* (-a).
- PAA Also *gāreni*.
- LEW Also *kila-kare* (=11.270).
- KWA Also *-otakiŋi* 'injure an existing wound'.
- XAR 'make bad'.
- KIR Causative form, from *buanib<sup>wai</sup>* 'damage', lit 'damage to thing'; also *kaikoaka*, causative form, from *ikoaki* 'hurt', see *ikoa* 'hurt s.o. or s.th.'.
- MSH Causative form, from *coṛṛæ̃n* 'injury, damage'; also *tuwe*, *kɔkkure*.
- PON Causative form, from *ōla* 'broken'; with suffix *-la* 'away'; *medek* (vb intrans).
- WLE Causative form, from *was* 'hurt'.

RTU Also *raʔo-a* 'injure'.

SAM *faʔa-tauməʔi* 'spoil, waste (vb trans)', *faʔa-tāmaʔi* 'destroy, devastate (vb trans)', *tāma ʔi-a* 'be destroyed (vb intrans)', -a trans (?).

TAH Also *tūʔino*.

### 11.310 SEEK, LOOK FOR

**Sanskrit:** *cārin-* 'walking about, living'.

ATA	k-um-iyum	UMA	paliʔ	*MAR	hara
*TSO	bir-b-iŋi	BUG	mas-sappaʔ	LAU	nani ʔuria
RUK	wa-silapə	KON	aʔ-boʃa	*KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ailofi-a
PAI	k-əm-im	*WOL	pe-elo	RAG	hige
YAM	kalaən	MAG	kave	PAA	lēkati
ISN	sapūlan	NGA	gae	LEW	kale
*KAL	īnap	*SIK	tota	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o <sup>g</sup>
*TAG	hānap	RTI	saŋa	*NTA	-airəŋhin
*AKL	ūsuy	BUR	hama	*KWA	-eŋəs
PAL	abyaʔ	DOB	ʔa-salu	*NEM	yala
*MOL	irum	*IRA	nəʔəruetə	CEM	hàne
*KAG	ŋita	SAW	n-eyowε	*AJI	meye
BLA	f-an-ŋabal	NYI	asilah	XAR	pīce
*SAB	piha	MAM	lele	NEN	čeŋo(n)
*MUR	uyum	*TAK	-baŋ-ile	*KIR	ukera
MGY	mi-tadi	*DAM	i-mirē-ya	MSH	pukot
ACE	mita	MAB	-ru	PON	rapāki
BAT	lulu-i	*YAB	-səm	*WLE	faxiři
MIN	[čari]	KAU	laŋun	EFI	βā-ŋara-a
IND	mən-[čari]	TOL	tikən	WFI	βa-dā-nia
SUN	neəŋan(teaŋ)	BUA	səro	RTU	ao
IAV	ŋ-goleʔ(-i)	*ADZ	wam-	TON	kumi
MAD	ñari (sari)	*KIL	-neβi	*SAM	suʔe
BAL	ŋ-alih	TAW	beiha	MEL	sārā
SAS	metə(petə)	MOT	tahu-a	*TAH	ʔimi
*GOR	mo-lolohu	*MEK	e-kapu(-ŋa)	RAP	kimi
DAA	naŋ-elo	ROV	hataia		

TSO	Also <i>riʔm-a</i> .
KAL	<i>īnap + man-</i> ; also <i>sallap + man-</i> .
TAG	<i>hānap + -um/-in</i> .
AKL	<i>ūsuy + -un</i> .
MOL	<i>irum + m-/on</i> .
KAG	<i>ŋita + maŋ-/ən (maŋita)</i> .
SAB	<i>piha + aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>uyum (mag-; -on; -in)</i> .
GOR	Also <i>mo-pēhu</i> ‘look for’, <i>mohiʔapo (hiʔapo/yiʔapo + moh-)</i> ‘look for carefully’.
WOL	Also <i>nunu, pe-nunu</i> .
SIK	Also <i>aba-ŋ, ʔahi</i> .
IRA	Also <i>dərəfatə; ʔafəruetə</i> ‘I am looking for (it)’.
TAK	‘seek see’ (15.510), as in <i>i-baŋ y-ile-da</i> ‘he-see he-see-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is looking for it’.
DAM	‘3sg-search-INF’.
YAB	Also <i>-seleŋ</i> ‘look for’, <i>-ba</i> ‘search at random’, <i>-belem</i> ‘search inside’.
ADZ	Also <i>sau, sao</i> .
KIL	Also <i>-neβi-koli</i> ‘seek-try’, i.e. ‘to try and find (something)’.
MEK	<i>e-kapu-kapu</i> ‘hunt for’; <i>e-ŋaŋai(-na)</i> ‘look for something with the eyes; examine, scrutinise’.
MAR	Also [ <i>hiro</i> ] from Bughotu.
KWO	Also <i>k<sup>w</sup>ailo ʔōfi-a</i> ‘search, looking for’.
NTA	Also <i>eŋasin</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-atui</i> also ‘take care of’, ‘wake’, ‘be born’; <i>-uwai</i> ‘proceed unsuccessfully’, i.e. ‘search’.
NEM	<i>yala</i> ‘look for s.o.’; <i>yalagi</i> ‘look for s.th.’.
AJI	Also <i>eye</i> .
KIR	Also <i>kāea</i> .
WLE	<i>sessə</i> (vb intrans), also ‘observe, scrutinise’.
SAM	Also <i>sāʔili</i> .
TAH	Also <i>māʔimi</i> ‘look for intensively’; <i>pāʔimi</i> ‘look for everywhere’.



## 11.320 FIND

ATA	ruwan	*GOR	ʔo-du <sup>ɟ</sup> ga-a	*MEK	e-kapu-lai-sa
*TSO	edi		mayi	ROV	doyoria
RUK	ki-a-ɖiŋay	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-rata	MAR	deni
PAI	k-əm-im	UMA	rua <sup>ʔ</sup>	LAU	dao tōna
YAM	makala	BUG	runtu <sup>ʔ</sup>	KWO	(to <sup>ʔ</sup> o)dari-a
ISN	sam <sup>ʔ</sup> an	*KON	aŋŋ-tappa	RAG	
*KAL	maŋdas	*WOL	po-kawa-aka	PAA	votīni
*TAG	kīta	MAG	ita	*LEW	m <sup>w</sup> ali
*AKL	kīta <sup>ʔ</sup>	NGA	mu <sup>ʔ</sup> a	POR	m <sup>b</sup> ar
PAL	tulus	SIK	toma	NTA	-ehm
*MOL	samban	RTI	hapu	*KWA	-ata
*KAG	kita	*BUR	[dapa-k]	NEM	tayi
*BLA	ta-te <sup>ʔ</sup> en	*DOB	ʔa-[daɸa]	CFM	tō-li
*SAB	bāk	*IRA	bu si	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> a yeŋi
*MUR	kita	SAW	n-duk	XAR	toan <sup>̃</sup>
*MGY	ma-hita	*NYI	takalei	NEN	uni
*ACE	mutumeə	*MAM	lele	*KIR	karekea
BAT	dapət	*TAK	-ile	*MSH	lo
MIN	dape <sup>ʔ</sup>	*DAM	ɸaɸa	PON	tiar
*IND	mənəmu-kan (təmu)	MAB	- <sup>n</sup> dēŋe	WLE	rūxū
*SUN	nimu (timu)	*YAB	-tap ... sa	EFI	kune-a
*JAV	nəmu (təmu)	KAU	suβo	WFI	dā-nia
MAD	təmmu	*TOL	tikən pə	RTU	ræc
BAL	nəpukin (təpuk)	BUA	tək βu	TON	ʔilo
SAS	n-dait	ADZ	yu-	*SAM	maua
		KIL	-bani	MEL	maua
		TAW	tuhaga	*TAH	ʔitea
		MOT	daβari-a	*RAP	tike <sup>ʔ</sup> a

TSO (edi-a).

KAL odas + maN-.

TAG kīta + maka-/mā-.

AKL kīta<sup>ʔ</sup> + ma-; also 'see'.

MOL samban + ko-/mo--an.

KAG kita + ma-.

BLA 'see'.

SAB bāk + maka-/ta-.

MUR	<i>kita</i> ( <i>maka-</i> ; <i>ma-</i> ).
MGY	Also 'see'.
ACE	Also <i>mutumuŋ</i> .
IND	Also <i>mən-dapat-kan</i> .
SUN	Also <i>maŋgih</i> ( <i>pangih</i> ).
JAV	Also <i>nəm nni</i> ( <i>N-təmu-ni</i> ).
GOR	'is/are found', also <i>lo-ʔo- duŋga mayi</i> '(someone) found (someone, something)'.
KON	Also <i>am-'muntulu</i> (' <i>huntulu</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>po-tifa-aka, si<sup>n</sup>tomu</i> 'find, meet'.
BUR	From Malay, borrowing fully assimilated; also <i>dula</i> .
DOB	From Malay <i>dapat</i> .
IRA	'already seen'.
NYI	Also <i><sup>n</sup>d<sup>r</sup>uniy</i> .
MAM	Also <i>te</i> .
TAK	'see' (15.510).
DAM	Also <i>i-li-ya</i> 'see'.
YAB	'strike something upward'.
TOL	<i>pə</i> see Mosel (1984: 131), also <i>tikən tədəv</i> , see 10.550, 10.560.
MEK	Also <i>e-kapu-lei-a</i> ; NW Mekeo <i>ioŋa</i> (from <i>ia</i> 'see').
LEW	Also <i>lua-li, kira-wali</i> .
KWA	'see'.
KIR	Causative form, from <i>reke</i> 'obtained', <i>kunea</i> also 'guess'.
MSH	<i>lo</i> 'see, detect, get'; <i>pukot</i> 'look for, find'.
SAM	See 11.160, <i>-a</i> trans.
TAH	Also <i>roʔa, noaʔa</i> .
RAP	Also <i>rovaʔa</i> .

### 11.330 LOSE

ATA	<i>m-šihuwaw</i>	YAM	<i>nimabo</i>	*AKL	<i>dūʔaʔ</i>
*TSO	<i>paroʔi</i>	ISN	<i>iwāgaʔ</i>	PAL	<i>alam</i>
RUK	<i>mo-a-çili</i>	*KAL	<i>tālak</i>	*MOL	<i>tadin</i>
PAI	<i>sə-vəriç</i>	*TAG	<i>walaʔ</i>	*KAG	<i>duwad</i>

BLA	f-lana	*BUR	dala	PAA	gur tōni
*SAB	lopas	*DOB	nam ɸuy	LEW	kila-lu
*MUR	tatak	IRA		POR	hur mačing
*MGY	mameri	SAW	n-ɛmsay	NTA	-əkəl
*ACE	gadɔh	NYI	talou	*KWA	-oraha riuān
BAT	magɔ	*MAM	roʔaʔi	NEM	pa-cieni
MIN	ilaŋ	TAK	-biliao	CEM	pà-tieden
*IND	kə-hilaŋ-an	DAM	ɸō	AJI	kā ve bʷiʔi
*SUN	ka-liŋit-an	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> biŋzi pa	XAR	fa-mʷa
*JAV	kelaŋan	*YAB	-yām ... sapu	*NEN	atakoni
MAD	ilaŋ	*KAU	kis	*KIR	kabuā
BAL	ŋ-ilaŋ-aŋ	*TOL	və-rəra	*MSH	kacakouk
*SAS	kə-təlaŋ-an	BUA	βū	*PON	[pērdi]
*GOR	ʔo-dehu-wa	ADZ	taŋin- + rai	WLE	
*DAA	na-lipo	KIL	-kitumou	EFI	βaka-yali-a
UMA	ro <sup>n</sup> to	TAW	lipeu	WFI	βa-βele-nia
BUG	tiddeŋ	*MOT	ha-boio-a	RTU	mao
*KON	taʔ-pelaʔ	*MEK	e-pa-ŋea	*TON	fakapuliki
*WOL	ma-talo	*ROV	muliuŋu	*SAM	lē-iloa
MAG	mora	MAR	dofi	MEL	
NGA	nea	LAU	laŋiʔana	*TAH	moʔe
*SIK	ʔəla naŋ	*KWO	fō	RAP	ŋaro
RTI	mopo	RAG	liŋi		

TSO Also *paroʔ-a*.

KAL *tālak + -on*.

TAG *walaʔ + mag-/mai-* verbal counterpart of negative existential.

AKL *dūʔaʔ + ma-*.

MOL *tadin + mo-*.

KAG *duwad + -ən/ma-* (*duwarən, maruwad*).

SAB *lopas + ka-an*.

MUR *tatak (ma-)* (passive only).

MGY Also *maha-veri*.

ACE 'lost'.

IND *tər-səsət, kə-sasar* 'lose one's way'.

SUN 'have lost something'.

JAV From *kə-ilaŋ-an*.

SAS	Thoir et al (1985): ( <i>pə</i> ) <i>təlaŋ-aŋ</i> ( <i>təlaŋ</i> ‘disappear’).
GOR	‘(someone) dropped/lost (something)’, ( <i>yi-</i> ) <i>lo-oli</i> ‘(something) is/was lost’.
DAA	Also <i>na-to<sup>n</sup>to</i> ‘be lost’.
KON	Also <i>am-mela?</i> ( <i>pela?</i> ), <i>ta?</i> ‘bebbese’.
WOL	<i>ma-talo</i> ‘lose game’; <i>talo</i> ‘lose in a battle’; <i>ma-<sup>m</sup>buu</i> ‘be lost, be missing’.
SIK	Also <i>pota-t</i> , <i>oβa-ŋ</i> .
BUR	‘lose one’s way’; <i>dcfu-k</i> ‘leave s.th. behind’; <i>difu-k</i> ‘s.th. disappear’.
DOB	‘cause to be lost’.
MAM	Also <i>leoa</i> .
YAB	‘do something wide.of.the.mark’; also <i>-yàŋa</i> ‘be lost’.
MAB	‘disappear from’.
KAU	Intransitive: ‘be lost, be absent’.
TOL	<i>və</i> - CAUS, <i>rərə</i> ‘get lost (vb intrans)’; also <i>və-burə</i> ‘lose by letting fall (vb intrans)’.
MOT	‘cause to be lost’.
MEK	<i>e-pa-ŋea</i> ‘cause to become lost, perceive as lost’, see 10.491.
ROV	<i>muliŋu</i> ‘lost in bush, temporarily’, <i>okipalae</i> ‘lost (little hope of finding)’.
KWO	‘be lost (of thing or person)’.
KWA	‘destroy not exist’.
NEN	Also <i>adēni</i> .
KIR	causative form, from <i>bua</i> ‘lost’.
MSH	CAUS of <i>cako</i> ‘lost’.
PON	From Spanish ‘perder’; <i>[lūs]</i> from English.
TON	Also <i>faka-moleki</i> .
SAM	<i>lē</i> ‘not’, <i>iloa</i> ‘recognise, know (vb trans)’.
TAH	Also <i>ha<sup>?</sup>amo<sup>?</sup>a</i> .

### 11.340 RELEASE, LET GO

ATA	ši- <sup>?</sup> aʔax	PAI	s-əm-aw	*KAL	lipsut
*TSO	me-torŋaso	*YAM	pakobotən	*TAG	bitiw
RUK	paŋoabərə	ISN	ipursāg	AKL	būhi <sup>?</sup>

*PAL	ipɔ-liwan	*WOL	ra <sup>m</sup> ba-saka	LAU	lugasia
*MOL	bu <sup>ʔ</sup> lian		pasi-puli	KWO	rube-a
*KAG	buy <sup>ʔ</sup> an	*MAG	lədo	*RAG	liŋi
*BLA	f-alo	NGA	ʂaka	PAA	lokoveni
*SAB	lappa	*SIK	bəlu-ŋ	LEW	liŋani
*MUR	labus	*RTI	po <sup>ʔ</sup> i	POR	kuč <sup>m</sup> ban-i
MGY	man-afaka	*BUR	sal-gae	NTA	-alhman
ACE	pu-lhuəh	*DOB	nal-in <sup>ʔ</sup> abana	KWA	-sk <sup>w</sup> ini
BAT	palua	IRA	do <sup>ʔ</sup> əra	NEM	panua
MIN	lapeh-kan	SAW	n-εε	CEM	pàwiε
*IND	məm-bebas- kan	NYI	ruwaniy	AJI	kāyāi (ye)
*SUN	ŋa-lipas-kin	MAM	rubeta <sup>ʔ</sup> i	XAR	nū toa
JAV	ŋə-cul-ke	*TAK	-bisei- -ao	NEN	nueči(le)
MAD	turut	*DAM	i-tor-nē-ya	*KIR	kaināomatā
*BAL	ŋ-leb-aŋ (leb-aŋ)	*MAB	-zem	MSH	kʌtlɔk
SAS	ŋə-ləpas	*YAB	wì ... siŋ	*PON	katar
*GOR	mo-lopato	KAU	maŋ	*WLE	xa <sup>ʔ</sup> ar <sup>ʔ</sup>
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba- kabasaka	*TOL	və-ləŋələŋə	EFI	lai-βa
UMA	bahaka	BUA	lēin	WFI	dci-nia
BUG	lippi <sup>ʔ</sup>	*ADZ	dzrob-	RTU	sai
KON	al-lappas-aŋ (lappasa)	KIL	-taneku	TON	tuku aŋe
		*TAW	wohale	*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> a sa <sup>ʔ</sup> oloto
		*MOT	ruha-ianεge	*MEL	[toroa]
		*MEK	e-ŋupu-ka	*TAH	tu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
		*ROV	vatarupahia	*RAP	haka poko <sup>ʔ</sup> o
		MAP	lica		

TSO Also *pi-torŋas-a*.

YAM Also *pašawayən*.

KAL *lipsut + -an*.

TAG *bitiw + -um/-an* 'let go'; *pa-lāya<sup>ʔ</sup> + mag/-in* 'set free'.

PAL Also *ipɔpanaw, ipɔsuruŋ*.

MOL *bu<sup>ʔ</sup>lian + -an*.

KAG From *bui<sup>ʔ</sup> + -an*.

BLA *f-tɔku* 'release (something confined, e.g. a tethered animal)'.

SAB *lappa + aN/-an*; also *pa-luwa<sup>ʔ</sup> + aN/ø* 'release someone from hospital, jail etc.'

MUR *labus (mag/maŋ; -in)*.

IND	Also <i>mə-ləpas-kan</i> .
SUN	Also <i>ŋa-ləsət-kin</i> .
BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>lumbar</i> ‘allow (cattle/pigs etc.) to graze freely’.
GOR	Also <i>momuli</i> ( <i>huli + moN-</i> ), and <i>moŋuʔadu</i> ( <i>ʔuʔadu + moN-</i> ) ‘release/untie rope, leash, tether’.
WOL	‘let loose, set free’.
MAG	Also <i>ləgo</i> .
SIK	Also <i>loar</i> .
RTI	Also <i>pəʔi heni</i> .
BUR	‘release one’s hands’; <i>ep-heka</i> ‘release an animal (lit ‘cause to run’’).
DOB	‘take it it go’.
TAK	‘leave hold go’, as in <i>i-bisei-g y-ao-da</i> ‘he-leave hold-REAL it-go-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he leaves hold and it goes’, ‘he is letting it go’.
DAM	‘3sg-leave-3sg-INF’.
MAB	Also <i>-pēze; -putke</i> ‘untie’.
YAB	‘carry something apart’.
TOL	See 10.160; <i>və-</i> CAUS, <i>ləŋələŋə</i> (vb intrans) ‘free’, also <i>pələ vue</i> ‘loosen and let go (vb trans)’, see 09.161, 10.250.
ADZ	<i>dzrob-</i> ‘to release something e.g. a knot or something tied up’; <i>taŋin- + rai</i> ‘let someone or something go’.
TAW	<i>wohale</i> ‘release from hands’; <i>luhale</i> ‘release from cage’.
MOT	<i>ruha-ia</i> ‘to untie’, <i>nege</i> ‘away from’ ( <i>nege-a</i> ‘to throw away’).
MEK	<i>e-ŋupu</i> ‘be/become undone, untied, free’, <i>-ka</i> .
ROV	<i>vata rupahia</i> ‘release from physical restraint’, <i>vata luaria</i> ‘let go, also of divorced couple’.
RAG	‘let go’.
KIR	Causative form, from <i>ināomata</i> ‘free’.
PON	Also <i>lap<sup>w</sup>āta; p<sup>w</sup>eisaŋ</i> .
WLE	<i>xaφ<sup>w</sup>arō</i> ‘loosen’; <i>xa-faŋō, tesašē</i> .
SAM	(of prisoners, captives); <i>faʔa</i> -CAUS, <i>saʔoloto</i> ‘be free’; <i>faʔa-taŋa</i> ‘let someone off, give someone leave, permit, allow (vb trans)’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>faʔaora</i> .
RAP	Also <i>haka rere</i> ‘let go, permit go (e.g. a child to play)’.

## 11.430 MONEY

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>duit</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>money</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>cuarta</i> 'quarter'
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ATA	piʔaʔ	UMA	[doi]	*MAR	nanugra
*TSO	rupasi	BUG	[doiʔ]	LAU	malefo
RUK	payso	KON	[doiʔ]	KWO	bata
PAI	paysu	*WOL	[doi]	*RAG	homu
YAM	niʔpi	*MAG	[doi]	*PAA	ahat
ISN	piraʔ	NGA	[doi]	*LEW	kila-varu
KAL	pilak	*SIK	[hoa-ŋ]	POR	na-var
*TAG	[pēra]	RTI	[doi-k]	NTA	[mani]
AKL	[kwarta]	*BUR	mata-n	KWA	
PAL	pirat	DOB	ʔuballaba	NEM	[mʷani]
MOL	pirak	IRA	pipisi	*CEM	[mʷani]
KAG	[kwarta]	*SAW	[pipis]	AJI	[mʷāne]
*BLA	[kwarta]	*NYI	suʔubek	*XAR	[mʷanē]
*SAB	sīn	MAM	[mone]	NEN	[mane]
MUR	[duit]	TAK	[moni]	KIR	te[mʷane]
MGY	vula	DAM	mēni	*MSH	mʷāk
*ACE	peŋ	*MAB	pat	PON	[mʷōni]
BAT	hepeŋ	*YAB	awa	*WLE	[saʔōpiya]
*MIN	pitih	KAU	eyuk	EFI	i-laβo
*IND	uaŋ	*TOL	[mani]	*WFI	[i-laβo]
SUN	[duit]	BUA	[mone]	*RTU	[selene]
JAV	[duit]	ADZ		TON	paʔaŋa
MAD	pissi	KIL	[mani]	SAM	tupe
BAL	pipis	TAW	[mone]	MEL	[mʷanea]
SAS	kepeŋ	MOT	[moni]	TAH	[moni]
GOR	[doyi]	MEK	[moni]	RAP	[moni]
DAA	[doi]	ROV	poata		

TSO Also *peisu*.

TAG From Malay *perak* 'silver'; [*kuwarta*], [*kuwalta*].

BLA From Spanish; *filok* 'money (seldom used)'.  
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SAB Also *pilak* 'money, peso'.

ACE Also *pēŋ*.

MIN Also *uaŋ*.

IND	Also [ <i>dana</i> ] ‘funds’ from Sanskrit; [ <i>duit</i> ].
WOL	Also <i>kupa</i> .
MAG	Also <i>seŋ</i> .
SIK	From Malay.
BUR	Also [ <i>kepeŋ</i> ] from Chinese generally implying coins; [ <i>doit</i> ] implying larger amounts of money/funds; [ <i>rea</i> ] from Spanish <i>real</i> .
SAW	From Tidore.
NYI	‘money/pay in general’, <i>luk</i> ‘traditional dog teeth money’.
MAB	<i>ro, roŋana</i> ‘paper money’.
YAB	Originally traditional valuables; also [ <i>mɔŋɛ</i> ].
TOL	Also <i>tabu</i> ‘shell money’.
MAR	Also [ <i>roŋo</i> ] from Bughotu.
RAG	Formerly ‘shell money’.
PAA	Also ‘stone’.
LEW	See 01.440.
CEM	Also ‘jewel’.
XAR	Also <i>mā</i> ‘traditional money made of flying fox bones’.
MSH	Also [ <i>m<sup>w</sup>ani</i> ].
WLE	From Yapese.
WFI	Standard Fijian.
RTU	From English ‘shilling’, also [ <i>monē</i> ].

## 11.440 COIN

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>duit</i> ‘money’	<b>French:</b> <i>franc</i>
<b>English:</b> <i>money, shilling, silver</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>sencillo</i> ‘change’

ATA		AKL	[ <i>sinsilyo</i> ]	MGY	<i>vulama-</i>
TSO	<i>peisu</i>	PAL	<i>siʔin məktul</i>		<i>dinika</i>
RUK		MOL	<i>mokotul naʔ</i>	*ACE	<i>peŋ</i>
PAI	<i>pakiaw</i>		<i>pirak</i>	BAT	<i>geŋep</i>
YAM	<i>nirpi</i>	KAG	[ <i>sinsilyu</i> ]	*MIN	<i>pitih</i>
ISN	<i>pinalāta</i>	BLA	<i>flata</i>	*IND	<i>uaŋlogam</i>
KAL	<i>palātanpilak</i>	SAB	[ <i>sinsilyo</i> ]	SUN	[ <i>duit</i> ] <i>logam</i>
*TAG	[ <i>sinsilyo</i> ]	*MUR	[ <i>usin</i> ]	*JAV	[ <i>duit</i> ] <i>čriŋ</i>



*MAD	pissi kini?	*TAK	patu-n	POR	na-var
*BAL	keteŋ	DAM		NTA	[sələn]
SAS		MAB	pat	KWA	
*GOR	doyitala?a		mozōroŋana	NEM	
DAA	[doi] see	YAB	[mōne]	*CEM	pēi-mʷani
UMA		*KAU	[silβa]	*AJI	[vāŋge]
BUG	[doi] tiddi?	TOL		XAR	
KON	mata [doi?]	BUA	[mōne]	NEN	duremane
WOL	gaβa-gaβa	*ADZ	tauf	KIR	
*MAG	[uvaŋ]	*KIL	dakuna	MSH	
NGA	[doi]-vatu	*TAW	[mōne]	PON	
SIK	[səŋ]		bibitutuna	WLE	
*RTI	[doi] fula-k	*MOT	[moni] ta	EFI	
*BUR	[kepeŋ]	MEK	[moni]	WFI	i-laβo
*DOB	ʔuballaba	*ROV	poatavaka		kaukamea
	[φera]	MAR		*RTU	[selene]
IRA	sen	LAU		*TON	foʔi paʔaŋa
*SAW	[pipis]	KWO		*SAM	tinoi-tupe
NYI	suʔubek	RAG		MEL	para
	boroh	PAA	[selen]	TAH	[moni] paʔari
MAM		LEW		*RAP	[tara] (?auri)

TAG Also *[barya]*, from Spanish *variar* ‘vary’.

MUR From Dutch *cent*.

ACE See 11.430.

MIN Also *uaŋ*.

IND *mata uaŋ* ‘currency, coinage; *uaŋ kəçil* ‘change’.

JAV Also *[duit] rēčeh*.

MAD *kini?* ‘small’.

BAL Chinese coins, formerly the only accepted tender.

GOR *[doyi] tala?a* ‘silver money’; *[doyi] to<sup>m</sup>baha* ‘copper money’; *[doyi] hulawa* ‘gold money’. See 11.430.

MAG From Malay archaic ‘divining coin’; no longer in use are *ʔgobaŋ*, *mata-manuk*, *[tali]*, *[rupia]* and *[riʔgi]*, respectively 0.025, 0.10, 0.25, 1.00 and 2.50 rupiah, from Malay.

RTI ‘white or silver money’.

BUR See 11.430.

DOB ‘silver money’.

SAW	From Tidore.
TAK	‘fruit, nut, egg, seed’ (05.710, 05.770, 05.970, 08.311).
KAU	Tok Pisin.
ADZ	‘stone, coins’.
KIL	‘stone’.
TAW	‘round money’.
MOT	<i>ta</i> ‘a, one’.
ROV	Also <i>poata karovona</i> .
CEM	‘stone money’.
AJI	From French <i>franc</i> .
RTU	From English ‘shilling’.
TON	Also <i>paʔaŋa maka</i> .
SAM	Also [ <i>siliva</i> ] lit ‘silver’ from English.
RAP	<i>tara</i> from English ‘dollar’.

## 11.510 RICH

Malay <i>kaya</i>
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ATA	maʃiβiniʔiŋ	BAT	mɔʔa	*RTI	suʔi
TSO	ru-rupasi	MIN	kayo	*BUR	geba ewasa
RUK	sa-payso-anə	IND	kaya	*DOB	neʔatalar tan
PAI	na-ma-ŋuaŋ	SUN	bɪŋhar		barláyφiφin
YAM	minakəm	JAV	sugih	*IRA	sədagərə
ISN	baʔnāŋ	MAD	sugi	*SAW	re ni re nə
KAL	baknaŋ	BAL	sugih	*NYI	ta-n lakou
*TAG	yāman	SAS	sugih		soloʔan
*AKL	maŋgar-ānun	*GOR	[kaya]	MAM	[mone]-
PAL	məyaman	DAA	na-sugi		ʔoʔoʔo
MOL	doyahan	UMA	mo-ʔuaʔ	*TAK	filia-n
*KAG	maŋgaranən	BUG	sugiʔ	DAM	saφina ado
*BLA	to nun knun	*KON	kalumaññaŋ	*MAB	mbio ūnu
SAB	daya-han	*WOL	ka-[doi]	*YAB	tə-lelom
*MUR	pāwaŋ	MAG	[bosa]	*KAU	akono
*MGY	manan-karena	NGA	ŋai	TOL	uviana
ACE	[kaya]	SIK	mənu-ŋ balik	BUA	los ayo

*ADZ	nama <sup>m</sup> pi biḡan	PAA		*MSH	cep <sup>w</sup> an
		*LEW	na-suri-m <sup>w</sup> oki	PON	kep <sup>w</sup> ēp <sup>w</sup> e
*KIL	toli-guguwa bidubadu	*POR	vi-su <sup>m</sup> b	*WLE	tōtaxe
		*NTA	rahannauta tep <sup>w</sup> at	EFI	βutuniyau
*TAW	tu wasawasa			*WFI	βučuniyau
MOT	taya	KWA		RTU	ʔes koroa
*MEK	mai-ʔefu	NEM	ka-t <sup>h</sup> āp	TON	keloa <sup>ʔ</sup> ia
ROV	taytayo	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ô-nâmū-n	*SAM	mau-ʔoloa
*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> oya	AJI	kigōʔodiwi	*MEL	[soŋolapa]
LAU	todedō	XAR	jikie	*TAH	ʔona
KWO	ʔola <sup>ʔ</sup> a	NEN	munuač	RAP	ʔono
RAG		*KIR	kaub <sup>w</sup> ai		

TAG *yāman + ma-*.

AKL From *mangad* ‘wealth’.

KAG From (*mangad + -anən*).

BLA Also [*ma-yaman*].

MUR ‘rich, powerful man’ (no adjective).

MGY *harena* ‘riches, wealth’.

GOR Also, *woluwo*, e.g., *tā woluwo* ‘a well-to-do person’ (*tā* personal nominaliser).

KON Also *tau rie?*

WOL Also *ko-kadʔaŋja*, [*ra<sup>ʔ</sup>kaea*] from Malay.

RTI Also *kama-su<sup>ʔ</sup>i-k*; *su<sup>ʔ</sup>i-betes* form a doublet ‘rich, wealthy’.

BUR Also [*kaya*].

DOB ‘he who sits on top of stuff’.

IRA ‘rich man’.

SAW ‘has things and edibles (gardens)’; also *kyat ta n-bos* ‘swollen person’, i.e. ‘rich’; [*kayaŋ*].

NYI ‘his something much’.

TAK ‘material wealth, inc. livestock’ (see 03.150), as in *filia-d a-d da-ya* ‘wealth-their POSS-their exist-PERF’, i.e. ‘they are rich’ (see *da*, 11.110).

MAB <sup>m</sup>*bio ūnu* ‘source of wooden plates’; *tomtom ta le koronŋana* ‘someone who has things’.

YAB ‘with-inside’: *lelom* ‘inside, room’, *tɔ-lelom* ‘with many rooms’.

KAU ‘important man’, also *miran*.

ADZ	‘thing lots true’, ‘(someone) with, having lots of things’.
KIL	‘person-possession many’.
TAW	<i>tu wasawasa</i> ‘rich person’.
MEK	‘with wealth’, <i>?efu</i> ‘traditional valuables such as armshells and necklaces and feather ornaments’, also <i>e-pa-?efu</i> ‘he/she is rich’; <i>?amu</i> , <i>?amu-?amu</i> ‘wealth in terms of more utilitarian items: pots and pans, tools, clothing, a canoe’, thus <i>mai ?amu</i> ‘wealthy’; NW Mekeo has <i>uga</i> ‘rich’, compare East Mekeo <i>uka</i> ‘heavy with fruit, milk’.
MAR	‘thousand’, i.e. ‘(having) thousands’.
LEW	‘of plenty of things’.
POR	‘towards sit down’ (only high men were allowed to sit down).
NTA	‘his goods are many’.
CEM	‘be goods to him’.
KIR	‘abundance of things’.
MSH	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>εīe</i> .
WLE	<i>tōtaxe</i> lit ‘climb up’, [ <i>wini</i> ] from English ‘win’.
WFI	Also <i>lima-tawa</i> .
SAM	<i>mau</i> ‘get’ <i>?oloa</i> ‘trade goods’, also <i>mau-mea</i> ( <i>mea</i> ‘thing’), <i>mau-?oa</i> ( <i>?oa</i> valuable goods, esp. houses), <i>tamāo?āiŋa</i> (perhaps cognate with <i>tama</i> ‘child’, <i>o</i> POSS, <i>?āiŋa</i> ‘family’).
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also [ <i>moni</i> ] from English.

## 11.520 POOR

**Arabic:** *miskīn*, *maḍarra* ‘harm (damage)’

**Spanish:** *pobre*

ATA	<i>m-tiʔahiy</i>	PAL	[ <i>miskin</i> ]	*MIN	<i>bansay?</i>
TSO	<i>txiʔɕia</i>	MOL	[ <i>miskin</i> ]	IND	[ <i>miskin</i> ]
RUK	<i>mā-siasilaŋo</i>	*KAG	<i>imul</i>	*SUN	[ <i>miskin</i> ]
PAI	<i>ma-pul<sup>y</sup>u</i>	BLA	<i>to landə?</i>	JAV	[ <i>mlarat</i> ]
YAM	<i>pakananakən</i>	SAB	[ <i>miskin</i> ]	MAD	[ <i>miskin</i> ]
ISN	[ <i>pubri</i> ]	MUR	[ <i>malāt</i> ]	*BAL	<i>lačur</i>
KAL	<i>kapus</i>	*MGY	<i>mahanʔa</i>	SAS	<i>ʃələŋ</i>
*TAG	<i>hīrap</i>	ACE	<i>gasiən</i>	*GOR	[ <i>mosikini</i> ]
AKL	[ <i>pubrih</i> ]	BAT	<i>po'gos</i>	*DAA	<i>nā-kakiasi</i>

UMA	kabu	*YAB	ŋa-lelom	NTA	-an rat
BUG	kasiasi		sawa	KWA	
*KON	ka-asi-asi	KAU		NEM	ka-ut
*WOL	[fakiri]	*TOL	luveanə	*CEM	éte
MAG	le <sup>ŋ</sup> ge	BUA	ayo məris	AJI	řauade
NGA	řere	*ADZ	nam	XAR	kirica
*SIK	nəə-ŋ		punu <sup>m</sup> pan i-	NEN	
*RTI	nu ta-k		ma <sup>?</sup>	*KIR	akikaub <sup>w</sup> ai
*BUR	gebatam-	*KIL	to-namakaβa	MSH	ceřam <sup>w</sup> Al
	lagu-n	TAW	dayadayabu	PON	sem <sup>w</sup> ēm <sup>w</sup> e
*DOB	ne nda <sup>?</sup> a'ni	MOT	ogoyami	*WLE	xa-ffaxō
	leliye	*MEK	ulalu	EFI	draβudraβua
*IRA	kəφarati	ROV	habahuala	*WFI	[draβudraβua]
*SAW	re ni re nə pa	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> uma	RTU	keia
*NYI	ta-n lakou b <sup>w</sup> e	*LAU	siofā	TON	masiva
MAM	tago-ta'go	KWO	galafa	SAM	mativa
*TAK	weir	RAG	hiru	MEL	vuluara
DAM	maleg	PAA	liveri	TAH	veve
MAB	sorokŋa-	*LEW	lima-kurena	RAP	veve
		*POR	rar u <sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> es		

TAG *hīrap + ma*; also [*pobre*]; [*dukha?*] from Sanskrit.

KAG Also [*pubri*].

MGY From *maha-* + *ant<sup>r</sup>a* 'pity, charity, compassion'.

MIN Also [*miskin*].

SUN Also [*malarat*].

BAL Also *tīwas*.

GOR Also [*misikini*].

DAA Also *na-pakasi*.

KON Also *tau anre?*

WOL Arabic; also *ma-asi-asi*, [*miskini*].

SIK Also *nukak*.

RTI 'to possess nothing'.

BUR See *tam-lago* 'naked'.

DOB 'he who has nothing'.

IRA 'poor man'.

SAW	‘does not have things and edibles’; also <i>n-čusa</i> from Malay [ <i>susa</i> ] ‘difficulty, hardship’.
NYI	Also <i>nōhan</i> ‘destitute’.
TAK	‘poverty’, as in <i>weir i-fini-da</i> ‘poverty it-hit (-him)-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘poverty is hitting him’, ‘he is poor’.
YAB	‘its-room empty’.
TOL	Also <i>luvenə</i> .
ADZ	‘thing lots REAL-no’, i.e. ‘someone without lots of things’.
KIL	‘person-no possessions’.
MEK	<i>ulalu</i> ‘non-chiefly, common’ and, by extension, ‘wretched, poor’; also <i>?efu laai</i> , <i>?amu laai</i> , <i>fo?ama laai</i> specifying the way in which a person is poor ( <i>laai</i> ‘not, is not’; <i>fo?ama</i> ‘vegetable food’).
LAU	‘miserable, enduring hardship’.
LEW	‘nothing in hand’.
POR	‘man nothing’.
CEM	‘inept, clumsy’.
KIR	<i>aki kaub<sup>wai</sup></i> lit ‘not rich’, <i>kai n nano</i> ‘wretched, deprived’; <i>raŋ</i> ‘destitute, landless, low class’.
WLE	Causative form, from <i>ffaxō</i> ‘love, pity’.
WFI	From Standard Fijian; also <i>lima-ŋ<sup>walala</sup></i> .

### 11.530 BEGGAR

**Spanish:** *limosna* ‘alms’

*ATA	[khayčia <sup>?</sup> ]	*PAL	kə[miskin]an	*MIN	uraŋ minta <sup>?</sup>
TSO	txi <sup>?</sup> çia	MOL			[sidakah]
*RUK	[kaçiaçia]	*KAG	manig-	IND	pəŋ-əmis
PAI			paki[limus]	*SUN	tukaŋ
YAM	mačiami	BLA	to m-ni		baramaen
ISN	makakādaŋ	SAB	paN-a-amu <sup>?</sup>	JAV	kere
*KAL	maŋkokodaw	MUR		*MAD	riŋ ŋəmmis
TAG	mag-pa-pā-	*MGY	mpangataka	BAL	gəgendəŋ
	[limos]	ACE	simu-lakəə	*SAS	tukaŋ [nunas]
AKL	manug-paka-	BAT	paŋ-ido-ido	*GOR	tāmo-hi-hile-
	[limus]				ya

DAA	tope-rapi	KAU		NEM	
UMA		*TOL	tenəni-lul	*CEM	â-île
BUG	pak-kere?	BUA		AJI	ka anã
KON	pa-era-era	*ADZ	maragab	XAR	a-nã
WOL		*KIL	to-ni-nigada	NEN	čisiboač
MAG		TAW	tu lupali	*KIR	te tia ŋeŋe
NGA	zuu-zee	*MOT	noinoi tau-na	*MSH	kæm <sup>w</sup> āl
*SIK	terə	*MEK	pi-noi pi-noi	PON	
*RTI	mana-noke-k		au-ŋa	WLE	
BUR		ROV	tietepatepa	EFI	dau-kerekere
*DOB	ne na r səl	MAR		*WFI	βaŋasere
IRA		LAU	ganido	RTU	
SAW	ma-ror	KWO		TON	tahakolekole
NYI	añolou	RAG		*SAM	taŋata
MAM	sinaunau	PAA			fa <sup>?</sup> atoŋa.
*TAK	gudgod tamol	*LEW	yaruna-lele-	MEL	
DAM	malegtamo		ena	TAH	ta <sup>?</sup> atatāparu
MAB	sorokŋa-	POR		RAP	otare
*YAB	(ŋa <sup>?</sup> ) mata- lasom	NTA			
		KWA			

ATA From Taiwanese *kit čia?* ‘beggar’.

RUK [*kačiačia*] ‘beggar’ from Taiwanese.

KAL From (*man-R<sup>1</sup>-kodaw*).

PAL Also [*miskin*] *banar*.

KAG From (*limos + manig- + paki-*).

MGY From (*mpaN-hataka*).

MIN Arabic.

SUN Also *tukaŋ jaŋaluk*.

MAD *-əmmis* ‘beg’, from Malay?

SAS From Balinese.

GOR *mo-hile* ‘ask for’; *mo-hi-hile-ya* ‘habitually ask for’; *tā*, personal nominaliser.

SIK Also *nerək*.

RTI ‘he who asks, request’. Family/lineage/clan structure does not allow for beggars in Rotinese society.

DOB ‘he who asks for (things)’.

TAK Found only in the Bible; from RED-god (god ‘beg for’) *tamol* ‘man’.

YAB	‘his.eye-blowfly’, used of a person who always appears where others are eating.
TOL	<i>tenə</i> ‘expert’, <i>ni-</i> NOM., <i>lul</i> ‘beg (vb trans)’.
ADZ	‘poor fellow’.
KIL	‘person asking’.
MOT	Also <i>hegame tau-na</i> ( <i>game-a</i> ‘beg, implore; <i>tau</i> ‘man’).
MEK	<i>pi-noi</i> ‘beg, wheedle continually’ ( <i>pi-</i> reciprocal/repetitive prefix), see <i>pina-penia</i> ‘beg, beseech’.
LEW	‘man of begging’.
CEM	‘one who begs’.
KIR	<i>ŋeŋe</i> ‘covet food’ with agent formant <i>tia</i> ; <i>te ŋeŋetaia</i> , <i>te b<sup>w</sup>aua</i> also ‘kind of fish, which scavenges in shallows near latrines’.
MSH	‘beg for food’; also <i>kakkau</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βataŋere</i> .
SAM	<i>taŋata</i> ‘person’, <i>fa<sup>?</sup>a-toŋa</i> ‘ask for (vb intrans)’, <i>toŋa<sup>?</sup></i>

### 11.540 AVARICIOUS, STINGY

ATA	ma-uβ-iŋ	IND	kikir	SAW	ma-metue
*TSO	ʔoam-radi	SUN	hawək	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> akok
RUK		*JAV	mədit	MAM	ʔapisa
PAI		MAD	čərri <sup>?</sup>	TAK	gidged
*YAM	maŋiŋat	*BAL	dəmit	*DAM	saϕina wau y-
ISN	natarin	SAS	mədit		ũ-dig
*KAL	īmot	*GOR	tama <sup>?</sup> o	*MAB	mata-
*TAG	kurīpot	DAA	na-sina		konŋana
AKL	kurīput	UMA	bosi <sup>?</sup>	*YAB	teta <sup>?</sup> gamiŋ
PAL		BUG	ma-sekke <sup>?</sup>	*KAU	susuh-ŋin-an
*MOL	ituŋ	*KON	‘pikkiri	TOL	laŋodo
*KAG	igpit	WOL	ru <sup>m</sup> pi	BUA	mala anō
*BLA	młomi knun	MAG	luŋi	ADZ	mara aba
SAB	iskut-an	NGA	ki <sup>?</sup> i	KIL	-kalim <sup>w</sup> ala
MUR	makalit	SIK	ki <sup>?</sup> ir	TAW	omboho
MGY	ma-hihit <sup>r</sup> a	*RTI	mali	*MOT	ima he-kou
*ACE	[tumu <sup>?</sup> āh]	*BUR	kau moko-t	MEK	e-moŋe-moŋe
BAT	ho‘lit	DOB	ʔaseta	*ROV	puhi pa lio
*MIN	čeke	*IRA	ϕətakabia	*MAR	ɣamu ŋoto



*LAU	g <sup>w</sup> eabaŋau	NEM	ka-ṃido	EFI	buroburoŋo
KWO		*CEM	â-tápi	WFI	kanakana-lō
RAG		*AJI	biḷu	*RTU	ʔurū
PAA	metenān	XAR	dap <sup>w</sup> ī	*TON	mamae
*LEW	puluvisi	NEN	čikakaeg	*SAM	mataʔū
POR	m <sup>r</sup> akan	*KIR	tauti	MEL	kaip <sup>w</sup> otu
*NTA	iouməs	*MSH	aṛak	*TAH	ʔōpipiri
*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> (i)tamiri nari	PON	nōrok	*RAP	ʔohumu
		WLE			

TSO 'not generous (lavish)'.

YAM Also *maḷazaten*, *mabayo*. In some varieties *maḷiŋat* only has the meaning of 'expensive' and not of 'stingy'.

KAL *īmot + na-*.

TAG Also *ma-rāmot*.

MOL *ituŋ + mo-*.

KAG Also *imət. makəg*.

BLA *mlomi knun* 'avaricious'; *m-adəmət* 'stingy'.

ACE From Arabic *ṭamā'a* 'greed', also *kriət*.

MIN Also *ba-lapi?*, *sampili?*.

JAV Also *čətīl*.

BAL Also *pripit*; *čupar*; *črəkiŋ* 'dishonest in avoiding paying one's bills'; *tet* 'reluctant to pay one's bills'.

GOR *tama?o* 'avaricious'; *mo-timuto*, *bu<sup>ŋ</sup>gili* and *pa<sup>n</sup>dala* 'stingy'.

KON Also *si-sukka?*.

RTI Also *mali-tua*.

BUR *kau moko-tisi-n* 'stingy far beyond the range of acceptability'.

IRA 'bad stomach'.

DAM 'wealth liver 3sg-hit-HAB'.

MAB Also *nama-lululŋana*.

YAB 'bowels binding', *gamiŋ* 'binding used in making a canoe'. The sense is 'he holds things back like a *gamiŋ* binding', i.e. 'he is avaricious'; similarly *teta?dani* 'bowels thicket'.

KAU 'greed-NOM-ATTR'.

MOT *ima* 'hand', *he-kou* 'closed' (*kou-a* 'to close'); 'generous' is *ima hekeho* (*keho-a* 'to open').

ROV	<i>puhi pa lio</i> ‘avaricious’, <i>tie puhi</i> ‘stingy’, also <i>teheki</i> ‘mean’.
MAR	‘eats alone’, i.e. ‘selfish’.
LAU	Also ‘greedy’.
LEW	Also <i>piavisi</i> , <i>lemare</i> , <i>terae</i> .
NTA	‘stingy person’.
KWA	‘hold onto things’.
CEM	‘one who refuses to give’.
AJI	Also <i>ānū</i> .
KIR	Also <i>b<sup>w</sup>akanikoroa</i> , <i>kani b<sup>w</sup>aib<sup>w</sup>ai</i> lit ‘wanting things’.
MSH	<i>kipp<sup>w</sup>oŋ<sup>w</sup></i> ; [ <i>mīn</i> ] from English ‘mean’.
RTU	Also <i>huan kūm</i> .
TON	Also <i>nima-ma<sup>?</sup>u</i> .
SAM	Also <i>lima-vale</i> lit ‘have an unpleasant hand’, <i>lima</i> ‘hand’, <i>-vale</i> ‘unpleasant’.
TAH	Also <i>pa<sup>?</sup>ari</i> , <i>hōro<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>ino</i> .
RAP	Also <i>ŋū</i> (archaic), <i><sup>?</sup>ino</i> ‘stingy’.

## 11.610 LEND

ATA	ši-kaβaux	*MIN	pa-salaŋ-kan	R <sup>?</sup> TI	tona fe
TSO	ru-vax-a	IND	məminŋam-	*BUR	egu-k peni
RUK	pa-ki-a-salo		kan (piñjam)	*DOB	nal ya <sup>?</sup> a
PAI	pa-səjam	SUN	ŋ-iñjim-kin		<sup>?</sup> a-φa <sup>?</sup> i
YAM	pavokoðən	JAV	ñilihke (silih)	IRA	
ISN	pa <sup>?</sup> kaw	*MAD	ma-iñjam	SAW	n-fa-ləm-o
*KAL	gāwat		(pa-iñjam)	*NYI	atehei
*TAG	pa-hiram	BAL	ñilihaŋ (silih)	MAM	ani
*AKL	pa-huŋam	SAS	ñiŋga <sup>?</sup> aŋ	TAK	
PAL	ipə-limbəs		(siŋga <sup>?</sup> )	*DAM	wareg
*MOL	bolos	GOR	mo-po-buloto		i-φēnē-ya
*KAG	ələs	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> popo-i <sup>n</sup> da	*MAB	-yok pa
BLA	f-dəm	UMA		*YAB	-keŋ e-tu top
*SAB	pa-indam	BUG	map-pinriŋ	*KAU	nhgio
*MUR	ida <sup>?</sup>	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -pi-inraŋ	*TOL	lɔ tər
MGY	mampi-	*WOL	pa-aða	BUA	
	sambuŋa	MAG		*ADZ	rim-
*ACE	pu-[ŋguy]	NGA	ti <sup>?</sup> i-voli	KIL	-togu
BAT	pa-ijjam	*SIK	hao	TAW	luteina

*MOT	heni-atorehai	NTA	-osipən am	WLE	
*MEK	e-loŋo-ai-na	*KWA	-asitu	EFI	solī-aβaka-
ROV	valapakia	NEM			dīnau
MAR	snakre	CEM		WFI	
LAU	falomainia	ΛJI	nā wiñ	RTU	
KWO	ganiʔa	*XAR	xi-ra	*TON	homo
RAG		*NEN	nuen	SAM	ʔune
PAA		*KIR	taŋoa nako	MEL	
*LEW	tam <sup>w</sup> ani	MSH		TAH	hōroʔa
POR	pis-i	PON		RAP	

KAL *gāwat + mampa-*.

TAG *pa-hiram + mag-/i-* ‘borrow’ + *pa-* CAUS.

AKL ‘borrow’, \**pa-* causative.

MOL *bolos + i-po-*.

KAG *əlas + magpa-/pa--ən* (*pələsən*).

SAB *pa-indam + aN-/-an*.

ACE Mon-Khmer.

MUR *idaʔ* (*mapa-; pa- -on*).

MIN Also *piñjam-kan*.

MAD *-iñjam* ‘borrow’.

WOL Also *pa-ad’a-ka, po-ad’a, po-ad’a-ad’a*.

SIK Also *sogo-ŋ*.

BUR Also *ego hei k* both ‘take for a short time’.

DOB ‘give for him to use’.

NYI Also *kewek op* ‘go-to-you first’: idiom for ‘borrow’.

DAM ‘debt 3sg-give him-INF’.

MAB ‘agree to’.

YAB ‘give it-become debt’.

KAU Also *holoβoŋ*.

TOL *lə* only in compositions, *lə pə* ‘borrow (vb trans)’, *lə tər* ‘lend (vb trans)’, *la vue* ‘take away (vb trans)’ (Mosel 1984: 131f, 144).

ADZ ‘give’.

MOT *heni-a* ‘give’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.); *torehai* ‘over and above’

MEK ‘he/she condones it’, in this case ‘it’ meaning the use of one’s property, see *e-loŋo*, ‘know’ (17.170).

LEW ‘permit’.

KWA 'help'.

XAR *-ra* 'for a moment'; *xi-ra* 'give for a moment', *pe-ra* 'take for a moment'.

NEN 'land for cultivation'.

KIR 'borrow away'.

TON Also *ʔomai, nō*.

## 11.620 BORROW

ATA	kaβaux	DAA	naŋ-i <sup>n</sup> da	MAR	
TSO	ru-vaxo	UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-pe-bolo	LAU	ŋali dō siana
RUK	ki-a-saḷo	BUG	minriŋ	KWO	gani-a
PAI	ki-səjam	KON	aŋŋ-inraŋ	RAG	
YAM	voxoðən	*WOL	aða	PAA	
ISN	mag-takkaw	*MAG	čeloŋ	LEW	
*KAL	gāwat	*NGA	voli	POR	pis-i
*TAG	hiram	*SIK	hao	NTA	-os am
AKL	huɬam	RTI	tona	*KWA	-ares
PAL	məŋ-limbəs	*BUR	elahahei-k	NEM	
*MOL	bolos	*DOB	nalɔay	CEM	
*KAG	ələs	IRA		AJI	pe wiři
BLA	m-dəm	SAW	n-ələm	XAR	pe-ra
*SAB	indam	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ei op	NEN	
*MUR	ida <sup>?</sup>	MAM	baga	KIR	taŋoa
MGY	mi-sambuɬ <sup>r</sup> a	TAK		MSH	cata
*ACE	[ŋuy]	*DAM	wareg i-no-ya	PON	
BAT	iŋjam	*MAB	-witāra	WLE	
*MIN	saŋaŋ	*YAB	-ko <sup>?</sup> e-tu top	EFI	kere-a
IND	məmiŋjam (piŋjam)	KAU		WFI	
SUN	ŋ-iŋjim	*TOL	ləpə	RTU	teka
JAV	ñilih (silih)	BUA		*TON	kole
MAD	ŋ-iŋjam	*ADZ	tip- + yu	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a- <sup>?</sup> une
BAL	ñilih (silih)	KIL	-wasi	MEL	
SAS	ñiŋga <sup>?</sup> (siŋga <sup>?</sup> )	*TAW	wibagibagi	*TAH	tipe <sup>?</sup> e
GOR	mo-buloto	*MOT	abi-atorehai	RAP	
		MEK			
		ROV	henapakia		

KAL	<i>gāwat + -um-</i> .
TAG	<i>hiram + -um-/in</i> , Proto-Philippines <i>*hedam</i> .
MOL	<i>bolos + m-/on</i> .
KAG	<i>aləs + m-/an</i> .
SAB	<i>indam + aN-/an</i> .
MUR	<i>ida?</i> ( <i>mapa-</i> ; <i>pa on</i> ).
ACE	Mon-Khmer.
MIN	Also <i>piñjam</i> .
WOL	Also <i>po-ad'a-ad'a</i> .
MAG	Also <i>čokol</i> 'borrowing with paying interest in kind'.
NGA	Also <i>sogo</i> 'borrow money'.
SIK	Also <i>sago</i> , <i>sogo-ŋ hoə-ŋ</i> .
BUR	'request for a short time'.
DOB	'take from'.
DAM	'debt 3sg-put-INF'.
MAB	'ask to borrow'.
YAB	'take it-become debt'.
TOL	See 11.610, also <i>kail</i> (vb trans), see 11.630.
ADZ	'again get', i.e. 'give back again'.
TAW	'make use of something'.
MOT	<i>abi-a</i> 'take, get'.
KWA	'ask'.
TON	Also <i>nō</i> .
SAM	Also <i>?aitālafu</i> (vb trans).
TAH	<i>tārahu</i> 'borrow money'.

### 11.630 OWE

ATA	kinβaxan	*TAG	ūtaŋ	*MUR	[utaŋ]
TSO		*AKL	may ūtaŋ	MGY	mi-tʰusa
*RUK	[kiamə]	*PAL	ibayad	ACE	mu-utaŋ
PAI		MOL	togo? utaŋ	BAT	mar-utaŋ
YAM	[nivəβod]	*KAG	may utaŋ	MIN	ba-utaŋ
ISN	umūtāŋ	BLA	m-utəŋ	*IND	bər-hutaŋ
*KAL	ūtaŋ	*SAB	utaŋ	*SUN	boga hutaŋ

JAV	ŋ-utaŋ	TAK		*LEW	kilalap <sup>wū</sup>
*MAD	a-utaŋ	*DAM	wareg ado	POR	ču <sup>m</sup> bači <sup>m</sup> b
*BAL	m-utaŋ	MAB		*NTA	-ol [kaon]
SAS	ŋ-utaŋ	YAB		KWA	
GOR	mo-buli	*KAU	naum-ŋin ...	NEM	
DAA	no-i <sup>n</sup> da		pit po ...	CEM	
UMA	mo-ʔi <sup>n</sup> ta	TOL	kəil	AJI	řowəwĩ
BUG	makkinriŋ	BUA		XAR	
KON	rieʔ inraŋ ri	*ADZ	namɕum-an	NEN	
WOL	ko-ɗosa		ru-mi <sup>ɗ</sup> ʔ	*KIR	bae iroun
MAG		KIL	-wasi	*MSH	likcap <sup>w</sup>
NGA	neʔe-səpu	*TAW	liyaga-ya	PON	
*SIK	əle	*MOT	mai ena abi-	WLE	
RTI	na-huta		torehai	EFI	ɗīnau-taka
BUR	muta	MEK		WFI	ʒīnau
*DOB	ʔa'ni ser'boy ʔa-me saʔu	ROV	yale	*RTU	[tinau]
		MAR		TON	moʔua
IRA		LAU	ŋalilaŋa	SAM	ʔaitālafu
SAW	n-yagi	KWO		MEL	
NYI		RAG		TAH	
MAM	oti	PAA		RAP	tarahu

RUK [kiamə] 'to owe', loan from Taiwanese *k'iam*.

YAM (borrowed).

KAL *ūtaŋ* + *-on*.

TAG *ūtaŋ* + *may-* see 11.640.

AKL 'have debt'.

PAL Also *bayad*.

KAG 'have a debt'.

SAB *utaŋ* + *aN/-an*.

MUR [*utaŋ*] (*maka-*).

IND Also *ber-utaŋ*.

SUN Also *ŋa-hutaŋ*.

MAD *utaŋ* 'debt'.

BAL 'have debt', *utaŋ* 'debt'.

SIK Also [*huta-ŋ*] from Malay.

DOB 'his wages/money is with me'.

DAM	'debt have'.
KAU	'owe-NOM ... stand PREP ...'.
ADZ	'thing owe-PART CONT-be', i.e. 'there is still a debt owing'.
TAW	'owe him'.
MOT	<i>ia na mai ena abitorehai</i> 'he/she has a debt' (see 11.110 for this construction).
LEW	'make account'; also <i>kila lap<sup>w</sup>ui</i> .
NTA	From Bislama.
KIR	'be obligated to'.
MSH	Also 'fall short, not reach, be too late'; <i>m<sup>w</sup>uri</i> .
RTU	From Fijian <i>dinau</i> .

### 11.640 DEBT

ATA		SAS	utaŋ	*ADZ	namçum-an
*TSO	[kiami]	*GOR	b-il-uli	KIL	wasi
RUK		DAA	i <sup>n</sup> da	TAW	yaga
PAI		UMA	i <sup>n</sup> ta?	MOT	abi-torehai
YAM	[novokod]	BUG	inriŋ	*MEK	?ava
ISN	ūtāŋ	KON	inraŋ	ROV	vekoyale
KAL	ūtāŋ	*WOL	d'osa	MAR	
TAG	ūtāŋ	MAG	rauŋ	LAU	laŋa
AKL	ūtāŋ	NGA	səpu	KWO	faŋalaŋa
PAL	utaŋ	SIK	ələhuta-ŋ	*RAG	vuro
MOL	utaŋ	RTI	huta-k	PAA	
KAG	utaŋ	BUR	muta-n	*LEW	lap <sup>w</sup> ū
BLA	utəŋ	*DOB	ser-boy	*POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bur
SAB	utaŋ	IRA		*NTA	[kaon]
MUR	[utaŋ]	*SAW	[utɛn]	KWA	
*MGY	ʔ <sup>r</sup> usa	*NYI	[dinau]	NEM	
ACE	utaŋ	MAM	oti	CEM	
BAT	utaŋ	TAK		*AJI	pe rōwōwī <sup>z</sup>
MIN	utaŋ	DAM	wareg	XAR	
*IND	hutaŋ	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bun	NEN	
SUN	hutaŋ	YAB	top	*KIR	te bae
JAV	utaŋ	KAU	naum-ŋin	*MSH	likcap <sup>w</sup>
MAD	utaŋ	TOL	dinau	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> eip <sup>w</sup> ant
BAL	utaŋ	BUA		WLE	

EFI	dīnau	TON	moʔua	TAH	tārahu
WFI	ḡinau	SAM	ʔaitālafu	RAP	tarahu
*RTU	[tinau]	MEL			

TSO From Minnan *khiam* ‘deficient, to owe money’.

MGY From Sanskrit via Malay.

IND Also *utaḡ*.

GOR Also *b-il-oli*.

WOL Also *para-dōsa*.

DOB See 11.780.

SAW From Malay.

NYI From Tok Pisin.

ADZ ‘thing owe -PART’.

MEK ʔava also ‘price’ (see 11.870) ‘bride price’; West Mekeo, North Mekeo *awa, kawa*; NW Mekeo *kawa*.

RAG Also *buyu* ‘debt of pigs or mats’.

LEW Also *lap<sup>w</sup>ui*.

POR ‘the hole’.

NTA From Bislama.

AJI Also [*dēti*] from French *dette*.

KIR ‘that which binds’.

MSH Also ‘fall short, be late’; *m<sup>w</sup>uri*.

PON ‘late cost’.

RTU From Fijian *dinau*.

## 11.650 PAY (vb)

ATA		AKL	bāyad	BAT	garar
TSO	pxin-i	PAL	bayadan	MIN	bayiʔ
RUK		*MOL	bayad	IND	məm-bayar
PAI		*KAG	bayad	SUN	mayar(bayar)
*YAM	pantan ṣo	BLA	b-n-ayad	JAV	m-bayar
	niṛpi	*SAB	bayad	MAD	maḡar(baḡar)
ISN	mag-bāyad	*MUR	[bayad]	BAL	mayah
*KAL	bāyad	MGY	man-dua		(bayah)
TAG	bāyad	ACE	bayu1ə	SAS	m-bayah



*GOR	[momāyari]	*MAB	-kam kadōno	NTA	-ətou
*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-		ila	KWA	-arəku
	[bayari]	*YAB	-yà <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋa-top	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ū
UMA	bayari	KAU	kul	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ᶑ-cúhi-n
BUG	makka-maǰa <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL	tokom	AJI	uᶑi
KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -'bañara	BUA	bago	XAR	xadī
*WOL	pə-meə	ADZ	rim-	NEN	tize
*MAG	[bayar]	KIL	-mapu	*KIR	kabōa
NGA	ti <sup>ʔ</sup> i-vəli	*TAW	lidumalu	*MSH	kʌl̩l̩æ
SIK	riβa	*MOT	daβaheni-a	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ain
RTI	tifa(bae)	*MEK	ʔava	WLE	
*BUR	sili		e-oŋe(-i-a)	EFI	sau-ma
DOB	ʔa-φasir	ROV	tabaria	WFI	hau-mia
IRA	nəφarə	MAR	koko	RTU	toŋi
SAW	n-poles	LAU	folifoli	TON	totoŋi
*NYI	akunoh	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ae-a	SAM	totoŋi
*MAM	zaza	*RAG	tav <sup>w</sup> e	MEL	fakatau-ia
TAK	-dad	PAA	vuli	TAH	ʔaufau
*DAM	nāi-rā-ya	LEW	wuli	*RAP	ʔouhou
		POR	vur-i		

YAM 'give money'.

KAL *bāyad* + -an.

MOL *bayad* + *mog*-/-an.

KAG *bayad* + *mag*-/ø/-an.

SAB *bayad* + aN-/-an.

MUR [*bayad*] (*mag*- -in) from Malay.

GOR (*bāyari* + moN-) from Malay *bayar*.

DAA From Malay *bayar*.

WOL *po-meə-aka* 'pay a debt'; *po-na<sup>m</sup>bo-aka* 'pay wage, fee'.

MAG From Malay.

BUR Also *tregu-k* 'pay off a debt (lit 'close s.th.')'.

NYI 'reward (vb trans)'.

MAM Also *taba*.

DAM 'day 3sg-throw-INF'; also *mala solo φi-ya* 'pay back'.

MAB Also -ur *kadōno ila*.

YAB 'strike its-debt'; also -*keŋ* [*mone*] 'give money'.

TAW *lidumalu* 'pay debt'; *iligona* 'pay workers by feeding them'.

MOT	<i>daβa</i> ‘price, wages, return for something’; <i>daβa heni-a</i> is used in particular for paying ‘bride price’. See 11.780, 11.870.
MEK	‘put (the) price’.
RAG	Also <i>dav<sup>w</sup>e</i> ; ‘to pay for services rendered’.
CEM	‘make the price’.
KIR	Causative form, from <i>bō</i> ‘cost, price’; also <i>rōna</i> ‘pay salary’; <i>karekea rōna</i> ‘get one’s wages’.
MSH	<i>kʌʌ!æ</i> ‘get paid’; <i>ŋ<sup>w</sup>aon<sup>w</sup>ean</i> CON: ‘compensation, pay, wages’.
RAP	Also <i>?auhau</i> .

## 11.660 ACCOUNT, RECKONING

Spanish <i>cuenta</i>	Dutch <i>rekenen</i> ‘count’; <i>rekening</i> ‘bill, account’.
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ATA	†-um-puy	*MAD	ŋarina	MAB	
TSO			(karina)	YAB	
RUK		BAL		KAU	
PAI		SAS	borək	*TOL	t-in-oto
YAM	viləŋan	*GOR	b-iŋ-oli	BUA	
ISN	mag- [kuwinta]	DAA		ADZ	
KAL		UMA		KIL	kala wasi
*TAG	ūtaŋ	BUG	mad-dekeŋ	TAW	yaga
AKL	[kwenta]	KON	pa <sup>?</sup> -[rekeŋ]- aŋ	*MOT	abi-torehai
PAL	pugu	WOL		*MEK	?ava ke-pi- oŋe
*MOL	[kuinta]	MAG		ROV	tinabara
*KAG	[suma]	NGA	gee	MAR	
*BLA	n-inɔf i utəŋ	*SIK	gata kira-ŋ	LAU	
*SAB	[jumla]	*RTI	[le-leke-k]	KWO	
*MUR	kikida <sup>?</sup>	BUR		*RAG	vuro
MGY	tumbum- baru <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*DOB	?a-tiya ?a'ni ser-boy	PAA	
*ACE	itəŋ	IRA		LEW	
*BAT	[maŋ-etoŋ]	SAW	tət-eten	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bur
*MIN	etoŋ	NYI		*NTA	[kaon]
IND	pər-hituŋ-an	MAM		KWA	
*SUN	ituŋan	TAK		NEM	
JAV	ŋ-etoŋ	DAM	wareg	CEM	
				AJI	vāṛā

XAR		*WLE	pōŋī	*SAM	[pili]
NEN	ŋikan	EFI	i-sononi	MEL	
*KIR	te ware	WFI		TAH	
*MSH	ləkε	RTU	fakrau	*RAP	tapa
*PON	p <sup>w</sup> eip <sup>w</sup> ant	*TON	tohi mo <sup>ʔ</sup> ua		

TAG *ūtaŋ + pagka-ka-*, also [kuwenta].

MOL [kuinta] + mog-/an.

KAG [suma] + mag-/ən/-an.

BLA Also [kwinta].

SAB From Arabic *jumla* 'sum, totality'.

MUR From Malay *kira-kira*.

ACE Also [itəŋan] from Malay.

BAT 'count (vb)' from Minangkabau.

MIN Also *etoŋ-an*.

SUN Also [rekəniŋ].

MAD *-karina* 'count (vb trans)'.

GOR See 11.640.

SIK Also [rekə-ŋ] Dutch.

RTI From Dutch *reken(en)*.

DOB 'they write his debt'.

TOL *-in-* NOM, *toto* 'count (vb intrans/trans)', *to* 'count (vb trans)'.

MOT Bible uses *abitorehai pepa-na* ([pepa] 'paper'), *moni iyaukara-lai-na dala-na* 'way of using the money' (*yaukara* 'to work', *-lai-* instrument or accompaniment).

MEK 'mutually put (the) price'.

RAG 'account'.

NTA From Bislama.

KIR *te ware b<sup>w</sup>ai*, incorporation of *b<sup>w</sup>ai* 'thing'.

MSH Also *aŋ<sup>w</sup>tōn* slang, derived from proper name.

PON 'debt'.

WLE *xaūraūra* causative form 'proportional', *xa-paṣapaṣa* causative form 'accurate'.

TON *tohi mo<sup>ʔ</sup>ua* 'account'; *tufa totoŋi* 'reckoning'.

SAM From English *bill*; *tau* 'cost, price'.

RAP *tapa* 'count, consider, reckon'; *ta-taku* 'count'.

## 11.690 TAX, TRIBUTE

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>belasting</i>	<b>Malay:</b> <i>paĵak</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>tax(es)</i>
<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>vyaya-</i> ‘spending’; <i>utpatti-</i> ‘production, profit’		

ATA	š-in-imuy	*UMA	[paĵaʔ]	*MAR	fafara
TSO	tmu-xno-i	BUG	sima	LAU	[takisi]
RUK		KON	sima	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	sima	RAG	
YAM	dəykiŋ	*MAG	[paĵak]	PAA	
ISN	buʔis	NGA		LEW	[takis]
KAL	bugis	*SIK	[bea]	POR	
TAG	buwis	RTI	[bea]	NTA	[takəs]
AKL	buhis	*BUR	enati(tati)	KWA	
PAL	bwis	DOB		NEM	
*MOL	tuluŋ	IRA		CEM	
KAG	buis	*SAW	[bos]	AJI	pε uī
*BLA	bayad tɔnɔʔ	NYI	[takis]	XAR	
SAB	ĵakat	*MAM	[tagisi]	NEN	ŋaelen
*MUR	[sukay]	TAK		*KIR	teŋab <sup>w</sup> ai
MGY	heɽ <sup>r</sup> a	DAM		MSH	owɛ
*ACE	paĵaʔ	MAB		*PON	[taks]
BAT	[balastiŋ]	YAB	[takis]	*WLE	saweya
MIN	paĵaʔ	*KAU	[takis]	EFI	i-βakaðaβaðaβa
IND	paĵak	*TOL	totokom	WFI	i-taβi
*SUN	[paĵəg]	BUA		RTU	fatoŋia
*JAV	paĵək	ADZ		TON	tukuhau
*MAD	[paĵak]	KIL	pokala	*SAM	lāfo-ŋa
BAL	paĵəg	TAW	[takisi]	MEL	
SAS	[upəti]	*MOT	[takisi]	TAH	tute
*GOR	[pāĵaki]	MEK	[takis]	RAP	
DAA	[balasitee]	*ROV	[takisi]		

MOL *tuluŋ + tu--an.*

BLA *bayad tɔnɔʔ* ‘land taxes’; [taksis].

MUR From Malay *čukai*.

ACE From Malay, also [uputi], [ĵakuət] from Arabic *zakāt*, *zakwa* ‘alms, a religious tax’.

- SUN [paʃəg] ‘tax’ from Javanese; [upəti].
- JAV Home: paʃəg.
- MAD From Malay.
- GOR Also [hāsili], from Arabic *ḥāṣil* ‘sum’.
- UMA Also [balasitee].
- WOL Also *weti*.
- MAG Also, archaic, *taki* ‘tax in kind’; [bea] ‘excise-duty’.
- SIK Also [paʃak].
- BUR Also [balasteŋ].
- SAW Dutch.
- MAM Also *taba*.
- KAU Tok Pisin.
- TOL *tokom* ‘hire, pay taxes, fee etc. (vb trans)’.
- MOT Bible also *heaiβa*, Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives as ‘payment to sorcerer for causing rain, restoring wind, etc’.
- ROV Also *veko vinarivuruvurai* ‘tribute of first fruit’.
- MAR ‘make a ritual offering’.
- KIR ‘give thing’.
- PON Also [taksis]; *isais* ‘tribute, gift’; *kam<sup>wāu</sup>* ‘communal labour, contribution’; causative form, from *m<sup>wāu</sup>* ‘good’.
- WLE ‘tribute system of the Yapese Empire’.
- SAM *lafo* ‘contribute money (vb trans)’.

## 11.770 HIRE

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>gage</i> ‘wages’	<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>sevā</i> ‘employment’
<b>English:</b> <i>rent</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>alquiler</i>

ATA		*KAL	taŋdan	SAB	sukay
*TSO	s-m-uxnu	*TAG	ūpa	MUR	
RUK		AKL	[arkila]	*MGY	man-ufa
PAI		PAL	limbas-an	ACE	[siwa]
YAM	panirpiəna paʃananən	*MOL	sukay	*BAT	[sewa]
ISN	taŋdān-an	*KAG	batun	MIN	seo
		*BLA	t-m-adən		

IND	məñewa ([sewa])	SAW	n-[sewa]	POR	
		NYI		NTA	-ol [ren] e
SUN	[ñewa] ([sewa])	MAM		KWA	
		TAK		NEM	
JAV	ñewə (sewə)	DAM		CEM	
MAD	[sewa]	*MAB	- <sup>ŋ</sup> golon	*AJI	[lue]
BAL	[sewə]	YAB		XAR	
*SAS	[sewə]	KAU	kul	NEN	
GOR	mo-[sewuwa]	*TOL	tokom	KIR	
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-[gəji]	BUA		*MSH	oŋ <sup>w</sup> ean
*UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-tomo-i	ADZ		*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ain
BUG	[sewa]	KIL	-mapu	WLE	
KON	as-[seha]	TAW		EFI	sau-ma
*WOL	[sewa]	*MOT	[renti-a]	WFI	dole-ia
MAG	[seva]	*MEK	[haia]	*RTU	[lisi]
NGA	muku-manu	ROV	kokopa	TON	nō
*SIK	[upa]	MAR		SAM	tautala
RTI	[seba]	LAU	foli	MEL	
BUR		KWO		*TAH	hōro <sup>?</sup> a tārahu
*DOB	nal ser-boy ya <sup>?</sup> a-n	RAG		RAP	
		PAA			
IRĀ		*LEW	wuli		

TSO Also *skun-a*.

KAL *taŋdan + -an*.

TAG Also [*arkila*] + *-um/-an*.

MOL *sukay + mog-*.

KAG *batun + mag/-ən (batunun)* lit 'to accept'; *bayad + pa- -an/ma- -an (pabayaran, mabayaran)* lit 'be paid'.

BLA *t-m-adən* 'hire by day or hour'; *fakyaw* 'hire (by the job)'.

MGY Compare Malay *upah* 'wage, pay'.

BAT Also *idjam*.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *alu* 'rent'.

UMA Also *<sup>m</sup>po-[gəji]*.

WOL *pa-sewa-aka* 'hire out to'.

SIK Malay; also *upa bəli; keβe* 'hire land'; *lagə-ŋ* 'hire a boat'.

DOB 'give wage to him'.

MAB	'hire people to work', also - <i>ŋgīmi</i> .
TOL	See 11.650.
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>batu-a</i> 'to hire, of canoe or house' used in Bible.
MEK	From English 'hire'.
LEW	Also <i>kusi</i> (see 10.613).
AJI	From French <i>louer</i> .
MSH	CON; also 'price, cost of'.
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ain</i> also 'buy, pay'; <i>kətətōki</i> causative form, from <i>tətōk</i> 'work'.
RTU	From English <i>lease</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tārahu</i> .

## 11.780 WAGES

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>gage</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>sueldo</i>
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ATA	ḱ-in-aβu?	*SUN	[gaʃih]	MAM	zazaŋa
TSO	xnō	JAV	opah	*TAK	urat nao-n
RUK		MAD	[g <sup>h</sup> aʃi]	*DAM	nā
PAI		*BAL	upah	MAB	kadōno
YAM	niŋpi	SAS	upa?	*YAB	ŋa-òli
ISN	taŋdān	GOR	[gaʃi]	KAU	
KAL	taŋdan	DAA	[gaʃi]	*TOL	[votovoto]
*TAG	sāhod	*UMA	tomo	BUA	
*AKL	sūhuʔ	BUG	saro	ADZ	
PAL	pikaras	KON	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> -guna	KIL	mapula
MOL	[gaʃi]	*WOL	[gaʃi]	TAW	meiha
*KAG	su <sup>ʔ</sup> ul	MAG	[ <sup>ɳ</sup> gaʃiŋ]	*MOT	daβa
BLA	tadən	*NGA	upa	*MEK	ʔava
SAB	[gaʃi]	*SIK	[gaʃi]	ROV	tinabara
MUR	[gaʃi]	*RTI	[ <sup>ɳ</sup> gadi]	MAR	
*MGY	[karama]	*BUR	em-loo-t	LAU	folilā
*ACE	[gaʃi]	*DOB	ser-boy	KWO	
BAT	upa	IRA		RAG	
MIN	upah	*SAW	[gaʃi]	PAA	hulien
*IND	upah	NYI	sihinen	*LEW	na-la-ena

POR		NEN		RTU	fɔʔi
NTA	nətouan	KIR	te rō	TON	vāheŋa
KWA		MSH	oŋ <sup>w</sup> ean	*SAM	totoŋi
NEM	davit	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> eip <sup>w</sup> ei	MEL	fakattau-raŋa
*CEM	cúhi-ɛŋ	WLE		*TAH	[moni] ʔāvaʔe
*AJI	pɛ uŋi	EFI	i-sau	*RAP	[moni] aŋa
*XAR	ně	*WFI	i-hau		

TAG Also *kīta*, [suwéldo].

AKL Also [sweldoh].

KAG Also [swildu].

MGY From Arabic *karīma* ‘precious thing, something valuable’.

ACE Also *upah*.

IND Also [gaʃi] ‘salary’.

SUN Also *buruh*, *bayar-an*.

BAL Also [gaʃih].

UMA Also [gaʃi].

WOL Also *po-na<sup>m</sup>bo*.

NGA Also *koma-kasa*.

SIK Also *upa*.

RTI Also *se-[seba]-k*.

BUR From *em-loo* ‘tired’; also *em-loo luke-n* ‘returns from hard work, dividends’.

DOB *ser-* ‘NOM’-*boy* ‘be tired’, (the payment) for one’s tiredness’, i.e. ‘wages’.

TAK ‘work face-its’ (09.120, 04.204), i.e. ‘the face of work’ (see also 11.870).

DAM ‘day, pay for a day’s work, then any kind of exchange’ see 11.650, 11.810, 11.820 and 11.830.

YAB ‘its-price’; also *ŋa-geyo* ‘its-item.of.exchange’.

TOL From Fijian, introduced by Methodist missionaries.

MOT See 11.650.

MEK ‘price’; see 11.640 and 11.870.

LEW ‘gift, present’.

CEM ‘price to him’.

AJI Also *pɛ yadī*.

XAR Also *x<sup>w</sup>iněi*.



PON	Also 'cost, reward'.
WFI	Also <i>i-dole</i> .
SAM	See 11.650.
TAH	[ <i>moni hepetoma</i> ] 'weekly salary', from English, Greek.
RAP	Also [ <i>moni</i> ] <i>?ava?e</i> ( <i>moni</i> from English).

## 11.790 EARN

ATA		*GOR	mo-lolohē	*TAW	wilata
*TSO	ea-rupasi		[doyi]	*MOT	daβari-a
RUK	mo-a-lawlaw	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-rata	*MEK	[moni]e-afi(-a)
PAI	ki-paysu		[gaʃi]	ROV	vayāvoro
YAM	miniṛpi	*UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-rata tomo	MAR	
ISN	alluwān	BUG	[gaʃi]	LAU	
*KAL	labbu	KON	aŋŋ-uppa	*KWO	tala
*TAG	sāhod		[doiʔ]	RAG	
*AKL	paŋītaʔ	WOL		PAA	
*PAL	timuŋ-an	MAG	čīr	*LEW	taulu
*MOL	[gaʃi]	NGA	ŋee	POR	ča <sup>m</sup> bar
*KAG	kita	SIK	toma	*NTA	-ol [uin]e
BLA	ga-m-wəʔ di n-imoʔ	RTI	hapu	KWA	-awahi
*SAB	usaha	BUR	dapa-k	NEM	
MUR		*DOB	?a-daφa ?a'ni	CEM	
MGY	ma-hazu		ser-boy	AJI	ca i pe uŋi
*ACE	paʃoh [gaʃi]	*IRA	ɔ bu bagoda	XAR	
BAT			pipisi	NEN	
*MIN	čari pitih	*SAW	n-duk [pipis]	*KIR	karekearōna
*IND	mən-dapat upah	NYI		*MSH	kamm <sup>m</sup> an
		*MAM	doʔi	PON	
*SUN	mīnaŋ (bīnaŋ) [gaʃih]	TAK		WLE	
		DAM		EFI	rawa-ta
*JAV	oleh blaŋja	*MAB	-kam	WFI	rewa-sia
*MAD	sari	YAB		RTU	
*BAL	naŋgap	*KAU	kuma-naum	TON	maʔu
	(taŋgap) upah	*TOL	kāle	*SAM	sāʔili l-o-na ola
*SAS	nrimaʔ upaʔ	BUA		MEL	
		ADZ		TAH	roaʔa
		*KIL	-takuna	RAP	

TSO	Also <i>ea-peisu</i> .
KAL	<i>labbu + man-</i> .
TAG	Also <i>kīta</i> , <i>gāna</i> + <i>-um/-in</i> .
AKL	Root: <i>kīta?</i> ‘see’.
PAL	Also <i>mənimuŋ</i> .
MOL	<i>[gaji] + mog-</i> .
KAG	<i>kita</i> + <i>-ən/ma-</i> lit ‘find, see’.
SAB	<i>usaha</i> + <i>aN-/ta-</i> .
ACE	‘eat a wage’.
MIN	Also <i>dape?</i> <i>pitih</i> .
IND	Also <i>məmpər-oleh</i> .
SUN	<i>binaŋ</i> ‘get’.
JAV	‘get wages’.
MAD	‘look for’.
BAL	‘receive wages’.
SAS	<i>trima?</i> ‘receive’.
GOR	( <i>mo-lolohu</i> + LIG <i>a</i> + <i>doyi</i> ‘money’); for <i>[doyi]</i> , see 11.430.
UMA	Also <i><sup>m</sup>po-rata [gaji?]</i> .
DOB	‘he gets his wage’.
IRA	‘you already receive wages’.
SAW	‘get money’; <i>[pipis]</i> from Tidore.
MAM	Also <i>nemi</i> .
MAB	‘get, receive’.
KAU	‘work PREP-debt’, i.e. ‘work for pay’.
TOL	<i>kəle</i> ‘earn, claim (vb trans)’.
KIL	Also <i>-bani</i> ( <i>aβaka b-i-bodi</i> ) ‘find what INCOMPLETE-it-fitting’, i.e. ‘get payment for work’. <i>paisau</i> ( <i>la mani</i> ) work (obj. focus) his money ‘work (for his money)’.
TAW	‘cause to grow’.
MOT	‘find’ (11.320).
MEK	‘take money’.
KWO	<i>tala</i> ‘accrue’; also <i>dari-a</i> .
LEW	‘win over, accomplish’.
NTA	From English ‘win’.
KIR	‘obtain his pay’.
MSH	Causative form from <i>mm<sup>w</sup>an</i> ‘good’.
SAM	<i>sā?ili</i> ‘search for (vb trans)’, <i>lona</i> ‘his/her’, <i>ola</i> ‘life, living’.

## 11.810 BUY

*ATA	ma-βaynay	UMA	oli	MAR	foli
*TSO	m-xino	BUG	mālli	LAU	folia
RUK	wa-laŋay	KON	am-malli	KWO	suga ʔani-a
PAI	v-ən-əli		(halli)	*RAG	voli
*YAM	šařaŋan	WOL	ali	PAA	vuli
ISN	gumātaŋ	*MAG	vəli	*LEW	wuli
*KAL	ŋīna	NGA	vəli	POR	vur-i
*TAG	bili	SIK	βotər	NTA	-os namtən
AKL	bakaʃ	RTI	asa	*KWA	-awahi
PAL	mɔŋ-ɔlɔn	BUR	safe		nenime-
*MOL	olon	DOB	ʔa-tuʔar	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ū
*KAG	malit	IRA	nəməgura	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ʃ-cúhi-n
BLA	mayad	*SAW	n-gɔn	AJI	urī
	(bayad)	NYI	asih	XAR	xadī
*SAB	billi	*MAM	zaza	*NEN	tize
*MUR	bali	TAK		*KIR	kabōa
*MGY	mi-vidi	*DAM	nā y-ale-ya	MSH	wia
ACE	blɔə	MAB	-ŋgīmi	*PON	neʃ
BAT	tuhər	*YAB	-yāmoli	*WLE	[kamōřī]
*MIN	mam-bali	KAU	kul	EFI	βoli-a
IND	məm-bəli	TOL	kul	WFI	βoli-a
SUN	mīli(bīli)	BUA	bago	RTU	toŋi
*JAV	tuku	ADZ	yu-	TON	fakataumai
MAD	məlli(bəlli)	KIL	-gim <sup>w</sup> ala	*SAM	faʔa-tau(mai)
BAL	məli(bəli)	*TAW	gimala	MEL	fakatau-ia
SAS	m-bəli	*MOT	hoi-a	TAH	hoʔo
GOR	mo-tali	*MEK	e-ʔava-i-sa	RAP	hoʔo
DAA	naŋ-oli	ROV	həlua		

ATA Also *ma-βāy*.

TSO Also *p-xin-i*.

YAM Also *mačiqinaŋina*.

KAL *ŋīna + -um-*.

TAG *bili + -um-/-hin*.

MOL *olon + m-/-on*.

KAG From *pa'lit + mag-/m-/-ən*.

SAB *billi + aN-/ø*.

MUR	<i>bali</i> ( <i>mag-l -onl-in</i> ).
MIN	Also <i>manuka</i> ( <i>maN-tuka</i> ).
JAV	Also <i>nuku</i> ( <i>N-tuku</i> ).
MAG	Also <i>ǰaji</i> .
SAW	Also <i>n-tukel</i> .
MAM	Also <i>ʔatuga</i> .
DAM	'day 3sg-take-INF'.
YAB	'do price'.
TAW	Dialect <i>gim<sup>w</sup>ala</i> .
MOT	'buy or sell'. Used by itself it now tends to mean 'to buy'.
MEK	<i>e-ʔava-i-sa</i> ( <i>e-ʔava-i-a</i> ) 'buy, sell, perform a commercial transaction'; <i>ʔava e-oŋe</i> is more exactly 'buy'.
RAG	Also <i>boli</i> .
LEW	See 11.650.
KWA	'take eye/face-of'.
NEN	Also <i>itico(n)</i> .
KIR	Compare <i>bō</i> 'cost'.
PON	<i>neʔ</i> 'trade, barter, do business', <i>p<sup>w</sup>ain</i> also 'pay, hire'.
WLE	[ <i>kamōrī</i> ] Satawalese word; <i>cuwōi-a</i> also 'sell'.
SAM	<i>tau</i> 'cost, price, charge', <i>faʔa</i> - CAUS, <i>mai</i> DIR, 'hither, to the person or place in focus', see 11.870.

## 11.820 SELL

English: *sell*

*ATA	ši-βaynay	PAL	i-pa-ʔɔlɔn	MIN	mañ-ǰua
TSO	p-xi-eni	*MOL	olon	IND	məñ-ǰual
RUK	ki-a-laŋay	*KAG	bligya	SUN	ŋa-ǰual
PAI	pa-vəli	BLA	fa-bli	JAV	ŋə-dəl
YAM	ipanaŋaŋ	*SAB	pa-billi	MAD	ǰuwal
ISN	maglāku	*MUR	talan	BAL	ŋ-adəp
*KAL	lāku	MGY	mi-varuʔa	SAS	ñ-ǰual
*TAG	bili	ACE	pu-blɔə	GOR	mo-po-tali
*AKL	baligyaʔ	BAT	gadis	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> po-balu

UMA	po-balu?	KAU		NEM	iyu
BUG	balu	*TOL	ivur-e	CEM	ìcu-hi
KON	a?-balu?	BUA	taɣūin	AJI	řəwəi
WOL	aso	ADZ	taɣin-	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> iri
MAG	pika	KIL	-gim <sup>w</sup> ala	NEN	itičo(n)
NGA	teka	*TAW	gimala	*KIR	kabōa nako
SIK	te?a	MOT	hoi-a nege	*MSH	[cop <sup>w</sup> ai]
RTI	na-se?o	*MEK	e-?ava-i-sa	*PON	neɟ
*BUR	fili-k	ROV	holholunia	*WLE	cuwōi-a
DOB	?a-k <sup>w</sup> aŋu	MAR	foli	EFI	βoli-taka
IRA	məti	LAU	fəfoli?ana	WFI	βoli-takinia
SAW	n-wage	KWO	suga-a	RTU	təŋ-?əki
NYI	ta sisih	*RAG	soɣai	TON	fakatauatu
MAM	ani-be-zaza	PAA	[salemeni]	*SAM	fa?a-tau(atu)
TAK		LEW	wul-wuli-ni	MEL	soria
*DAM	nā sur ɸi-ya	POR	pos	TAH	ho?o
*MAB	- <sup>ɲ</sup> gomōno	NTA	-ol[sel]əmin	RAP	ho?o
YAP		KWA			

ATA Also *ši-βāy*.

KAL *lāku + i-*.

TAG *bili + mag-/ipag-*.

AKL *baligya? + i-*.

MOL *olon + i-pog-*.

KAG *bligya + mag-/əŋ*.

SAB *pa-billi + aN-/an*; also *dagaŋ + aN-/an* ‘to sell small items, to vend’.

MUR *talan (mag- -on)*.

BUR Also *ek-fili-k*.

DAM ‘day send 3sg TRANS AUX-INF’.

MAB Also *-kam ŋgomo pa*.

TOL From *ivura* (vb intrans).

TAW Also *gimalahalena*.

MEK Also ‘sell’; *?ava e-afi(-a)* is more exactly ‘sell’ (i.e. ‘take price’).

RAG Also [*salei*].

KIR ‘trade away’.

MSH From Japanese; *wia* also ‘trade, buy’.

PON Also ‘trade, buy’.

WLE Also 'buy'.

SAM *atu* 'to the hearer, away from the speaker or person or place in focus'.

### 11.830 TRADE, BARTER

ATA	ma-p-βaynay	BUG	sisapi?	*LAU	ūsia
TSO	m-rire	KON	as-sambe	KWO	usi-a
RUK		*WOL	sa <sup>m</sup> bei	RAG	
PAI		MAG	paluk	PAA	vuluhul
YAM	mamalit	NGA	geu	*LEW	wuli
ISN	magtāli	*SIK	te?a βotər	POR	vur-i
*KAL	sukāt	RTI	dagaŋ	*NTA	-aβluin
*TAG	palit	BUR	ep-ka-leli	*KWA	-apuhur
*AKL	bayluh	*DOB	dal φay da-r- φay-e	NEM	ulip
PAL	məg-sambi			*CEM	pî-é-p <sup>w</sup> ó-n
*MOL	sambi?	*IRA	nəφanəriφərə	AJI	vi jana
*KAG	baylu		muərərəba	XAR	jana
BLA	s-luluk	SAW	n-fa-l-wage	*NEN	neitič
*SAB	dagaŋ	NYI		*KIR	iokina
*MUR	alig	MAM	tabuli	*MSH	[cænic]
MGY	fifanakaluzana	TAK		PON	neŋ
ACE	mukat	DAM	nā sur φi-ya	*WLE	cuwōi-a
*BAT	manukkar	MAB	<sup>m</sup> burōŋo	EFI	βei-βoli
MIN	tuka-manuka	*YAB	-tulu geŋ	WFI	βiβoli
	(baraŋ)	KAU	suksuk	RTU	toŋi
*IND	pər-dagaŋ-an	TOL	buə	TON	fe-fakatau- ?aki
*SUN	dagaŋ	BUA	tayūin		
*JAV	dədəl	*ADZ	rim-a muŋa?	*SAM	fe-fa?a-tau- a?i-ŋa
*MAD	rup-purub-an	*KIL	-gimləki	MEL	
*BAL	mə-dagaŋ	TAW	une	*TAH	tapiho?o
SAS	dagaŋ	MOT	hoihoi	*RAP	taui
*GOR	mo-lo <sup>m</sup> buli	*MEK	?ava-?ava		
DAA	nosi- <sup>n̄</sup> jula	*ROV	galo		
UMA	sula?	MAR	fari t <sup>h</sup> uyu		

KAL *sukat* + *i*.

TAG *palit* + *makipag* / *ipag* -.

AKL *bayluh* + *-un*.

- MOL *sambi?* + *mog-/on*.
- KAG *baylu* + *mag-/an*, also *balyu* ‘to exchange’; [*nigusyu*] + *mag-* from Spanish *negocio* ‘to trade as does a middle-man in business’.
- SAB *dagaŋ* + *ag-/an* ‘trade’; *sambi* + *ag-/an* ‘barter’.
- MUR *alig* (*mag-* *-in*).
- BAT (*maN-[tukkar]*) from Malay, compare *tuhər* (11.810), the inherited Toba Batak form.
- IND Also *pər-niaga-an*.
- SUN Also *balantik* (vb intrans).
- JAV Historically \*(RED-*dəl*), from *-dəl* ‘sell’.
- MAD From (RED-*purup*)-*an*, Safioedin (1977): *purup* ‘exchange’.
- BAL *mə-dagaŋ* ‘do business, trade’; also *m-urup(urup)* ‘barter’, from Old Javanese?
- GOR *mo-lo<sup>m</sup>buli* (small-scale), *mo-[dāhaŋi]* (large-scale): from Malay.
- WOL Also *po-d’ad’a*, *po-d’aga* ‘carry on trade, do business’.
- SIK Also *pleur balər*.
- DOB *dalφay* ‘they take from’, *da-r-φay-e* ‘they exchange’ (reciprocal).
- IRA ‘he goes he asks for goods in-return’.
- YAB ‘barter thing’; also *-yàm boleŋ* ‘do trade.article’, *-tulu awa* ‘barter valuables’, *-tulu waba* ‘barter household.items’, *-bəŋ* ‘exchange’.
- ADZ ‘give-PART propitiation, compensation’, i.e. ‘to pay back, give as payment of debt’.
- KIL Also *-katu-mapu* ‘do.indirectly-answer’, ‘exchange’.
- MEK *?ava-?ava* ‘bargaining, trade’; *pi-peni* ‘barter’ (*pi-* REC, *peni* ‘give’).
- ROV ‘barter on trading trip’, also *varihobei* ‘exchange between friends’.
- LAU Also *k<sup>wai</sup> ?olisia*.
- LEW Also *kewo* ‘exchange’.
- NTA Always occurs in dual.
- KWA *-apuhur* ‘trade goods, blows, etc.’; *-awriue*, *oserahaŋən* ‘trade which is balanced and simultaneous’; *-erup<sup>wun</sup>* also ‘repay, revenge, connect, continue in a behaviour’; *-rapi tapi* ‘reciprocate’; *-uahakər* ‘trade of dissimilar goods, nonsimultaneous trade of goods’.
- CEM ‘pass over’.
- NEN Also *itiče*.
- KIR (vb intrans); also *iokinib<sup>wai</sup>* ‘trade’ (lit ‘exchange of things’); *bōb<sup>wai</sup>*.

MSH From English; *cop<sup>w</sup>ai*.

WLE Also [*kōkaŋa*] from Japanese.

SAM *fe-...aʔi* REC, *-ŋa* NOM, *faʔa-tau* 11.810, 11.820.

TAH Also *taui*.

RAP From Tahitian *taui*; also [*kamiare*], from Spanish *cambiar*.

## 11.840 MERCHANT

Persian: *saudāgar*

Spanish: *negociante*

*ATA	pa-pa-t- βaynay	*BAL	dagaŋ	BUA	
TSO		SAS	[saudagar]	ADZ	
RUK		*GOR	[dāhaŋi]	*KIL	-to-gigim <sup>w</sup> ala
PAI		DAA	topodaga	TAW	tu
*YAM	mačiŋinaŋina	UMA	pa-daga		wigimagimala
ISN	marag-laʔlāku	BUG	padaŋkaŋ	*MOT	hoihoitau-na
KAL	[negosiyānte]	KON	pa-daŋgaŋ	MEK	ʔava-ʔava au- ŋa
*TAG	'maŋaŋalakal	*WOL	ɗaga		
*AKL	manog- baligyaʔ	*MAG	ata[dagaŋ]	ROV	
PAL	mɔŋdɔdagaŋ (dagaŋ)	NGA	ɗaŋa-ɗaya	MAR	
		*SIK	papalele	LAU	lifunifolia
MOL		RTI	man-daŋgaŋ	KWO	
KAG	[nigusyanti]	BUR	gebka-leli	RAG	
BLA	tofa-bli	*DOB	lawuy	PAA	
SAB	pa-da-dagaŋ	*IRA	[sədagərə]	LEW	
MUR		*SAW	kyatta	POR	
MGY	mpi-varuʔ <sup>r</sup> a		n-fa-l-wage	NTA	
ACE	[šəɔdaga]	NYI		KWA	
BAT	par-tiga-tiga	*MAM	[bisnis-man]	NEM	ka-po-iyu
MIN	uraŋ maŋ- galeh	TAK		*CEM	â-ìcu
*IND	pə-dagaŋ	DAM		AJI	ka rōwɔi
*SUN	pa-dagaŋ	*MAB	tomtom ɗgomo kana	XAR	a-x <sup>w</sup> iri
JAV	bakul	YAB		NEN	ŋomereitič
MAD	dag <sup>ɓ</sup> aŋ	KAU		*KIR	te tia bōb <sup>w</sup> ai
		*TOL	tena k-un- ukul	*MSH	[təɾeta]
				PON	
				WLE	



EFI	dau-βei-βoli	*TON	tahafakatau	TAH	taʔata hoʔo
WFI	βoliβoli-taki		koloa		tāoʔa
RTU	leʔ təŋ-ʔæk tē	*SAM	faʔa-tau-ʔoloa	RAP	
		MEL			

ATA Also *pa-p-ti-βāy*.

YAM 'buy'.

TAG Also [*negosyánte*].

AKL Also [*negosyante*].

IND Also *pəñ-ǰual*.

SUN Also [*sudagar*].

BAL From Malay. Also [*saudagar*].

GOR Malay (*pə*-) *dagar*; also [*koda*].

WOL Also *pa-po-d'aga*, [*saud'agara*].

MAG *papa-[lele]* 'pedlar', from Makassarese.

SIK Also *pleu-t βalər*; *ata teʔa βotər*.

DOB 'foreigner/Chinaman'.

IRA See 11.510.

SAW 'person that sells'.

MAM From English.

MAB Also *gurāba* 'trading partner from a different language group'.

TOL *tena* 'expert', *-un-* NOM., *kukul* (vb intrans), from *kul* 'buy (vb trans)' 11.810.

KIL 'person buy, sell'; also [*tureida*] from English 'trader'; *to-[okooko]* 'person-trading', origin unknown; now rarely used).

MOT *tau* 'man'.

CEM 'one who sells'.

KIR With agentive *tia*.

MSH From English *trader*.

TON Also [*mesaianiti*] from English.

SAM *faʔa-tau* 11.810, 11.820; *ʔoloa* 'goods', also *fai-ʔoloa*, *fai* 09.110.

## 11.850 MARKET (place)

<b>English:</b> <i>market</i>	<b>Hindi /Persian:</b> <i>bāzār</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>palenque</i>
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ATA	pa-t-β-in-āš- an	BUG	[pasaʔ]	*MAR	[baʃa]
TSO		*KON	paʔ-[pasar]- aŋ	LAU	ūsia
RUK		WOL	ɗaoa	KWO	usiŋa
PAI		*MAG	[a <sup>m</sup> ba]	RAG	
YAM	pačiginaninan	*NGA	[pasa]	*PAA	aut
ISN	aglakuwān	SIK	rəga-ŋ		tahulhulien
*KAL	lalakkuwan	RTI	pasa-k	LEW	
*TAG	[paleŋke]	BUR	[pasar]	POR	
*AKL	[tindāh-an]	DOB		NTA	[makət]
PAL	tətəbwan (tabu)	IRA	pasəɾə	KWA	
KAG	[paliŋki]	SAW	[pasar]	NEM	janap
BLA	fadyan	NYI	baʔen	CEM	jênep
*SAB	tabuʔ	MAM	[maʔeti]	AJI	nejana
*MUR	[tamu]	TAK	[maket]	XAR	jana
MGY	çena	DAM	[maket]	NEN	
ACE	pukan	MAB	noɫmurīni	*KIR	te nne ni böb <sup>w</sup> ai
BAT	ɔnan	*YAB	səm	MSH	[m <sup>w</sup> akit]
*MIN	pakan	*KAU	nal-βal	PON	
IND	[pasar]	TOL	buŋ	WLE	
SUN	[pasar]	BUA	[maket]	EFI	[mākete]
JAV	[pasar]	ADZ		WFI	[mākete]
MAD	[pasar]	KIL	bikubaku	RTU	[makete]
*BAL	[pəkən]	TAW	ani unegabu	TON	fakatauʔaga
SAS	pəkən	*MOT	[maketi]	SAM	[maketi]
GOR	[pātali]	*MEK	ʔava-ʔava	MEL	[mākita]
DAA	po-tomu		afu-ŋa	TAH	[mātete]
UMA	po-tomu	ROV	vasina	*RAP	[merkao]
			holholuana		

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>laku-R<sup>2</sup>-an*).TAG Also [*merkādo*], Spanish *mercado*.AKL From Spanish *tienda*.SAB Also [*tiyanggi*] from Chavacano.

- MIN Also [*pasa*].
- MUR From Malay *tamu* 'meet', or possibly from Malay *tamu* 'guest, visitor'.
- BAL From Old Javanese? Old Balinese has [*pasar*]. Goris describes *pəkən* as 'replacing' Old Balinese [*pasar*], though low North Balinese has *pəkən*, high has [*pasar*] which may be a later re-borrowing, from Javanese or Malay.
- KON Also [*pasara*].
- MAG From Bimanesic; new markets are called [*pasar*].
- NGA [*pasa*] traditionally 'take a wife and pay the bride price'; the word could be borrowing.
- YAB 'pig market'.
- KAU *-bal* 'each other' (reciprocal morpheme).
- MOT Also *hoihoi gabu-na* (*gabu* 'place').
- MEK Also [*maketsi*].
- MAR Pijin.
- PAA 'buying place'.
- KIR 'place for trade'.
- RAP From Spanish *mercado*.

## 11.860 STORE, SHOP

**English:** *store*

**French:** *magasin*

**Spanish:** *tienda*

*ATA	[tiam]	SAB	[tinda]	DAA	goda
TSO		*MUR	[kaday]	UMA	
*RUK	[tiam]	MGY	[mangazai]	BUG	[gadde]
PAI		ACE	kuɗe	KON	[toko]
YAM	panaŋaŋan	*BAT	[tɔkkɔ]	WOL	[toko]
ISN	sininda	*MIN	kaday	MAG	[toko]
KAL	[tendāʔan]	*IND	[toko]	NGA	
TAG	[tindāhan]	*SUN	[toko]	*SIK	[toko]
*AKL	[barāka]	JAV	waruŋ	RTI	[toko]
PAL	[tinda]	MAD	[tuku]	BUR	[toko]
MOL	[tinda]	BAL	[toko]	DOB	[toko]
*KAG	[tindaʔan]	SAS	[toko]	IRA	[toko]
*BLA	[tinda]	GOR	[toko]	SAW	[toko]

NYI		*MOT	[sitoa]	XAR	[m <sup>w</sup> agaçã]
MAM	[situa]	MEK	[tsitoa]	NEN	
TAK	[stua]	ROV	[sitoa]	KIR	te[titoa]
DAM	[stua]	MAR		*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> Λn wia
MAB	rūmu ᵇgīmiŋana (kana)	LAU	beu ni folilā	*PON	[sitōwa]
		KWO		WLE	[stōwō]
		RAG		EFI	[sitoa]
YAB	[sitōa]	PAA	[sitoa]	WFI	[sitoa]
KAU		*LEW	sī-kuli	RTU	koroa
*TOL	pəl-nə-k-un- ukul	POR		TON	fale-koloa
		NTA	[stoa]	*SAM	fale-ʔoloa
BUA	[stawa]	KWA		MEL	[stoa]
ADZ		*NEM	ŋe-n t <sup>h</sup> ōt	TAH	fare [toa]
KIL	[sitowa]	CEM	[mègèhé]	RAP	hare [toa]
*TAW	anigimala	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā vi řōwōi		

ATA [tiam] ‘store’, from Hakka or Taiwanese *tiam* ‘store’.

RUK [tiam] ‘store’, from Taiwanese.

AKL From Spanish *barraca* ‘hut, shed’.

KAG ([tinda] + -an); also *tyaŋgi* ‘a very small store, usually operated out of one’s home’.

BLA Also *gu-m-ayad (bayad)* ‘place to buy’.

MUR Also [karay], from Malay.

BAT From Chinese via Malay.

MIN Also *lapaw, paŋa?*; [toko] Chinese.

IND Also *kədai*.

SUN Also [waruŋ] from Javanese.

SIK Also [kios] from Dutch.

MAB ‘buying house’.

TOL pəl ‘house’, nəLIG, *k-un-ukul*; see 11.840.

TAW (dialect) *anigim<sup>w</sup>ala* lit ‘buy place’.

MOT Also *hoihoi ruma-na (ruma)* ‘house’.

LEW Lit. ‘dog-excrement’; also *yum<sup>w</sup>a na-wuli-wuli-ena*, [sitoa] (from Bislama).

NEM ‘house of riches’.

MSH ‘trading house’.

PON *im<sup>w</sup>en neṭ* lit 'trading house'.

SAM *fale* 'house', *?oloa* 'trade goods'.

## 11.870 PRICE

Sanskrit: *argha-*

Spanish: *precio*

ATA	βa-βaik-an	UMA	oli-na	*MAR	nanugra
TSO	xu-pxin-a	BUG	illi	LAU	fita dō
RUK		KON	balli(-nna)	*KWO	forila-i
PAI		*WOL	[haragaa]	RAG	voli
YAM	ṅina na	MAG	[čo <sup>ʔ</sup> i]	PAA	
ISN	bāyad	NGA	vəli	LEW	mara-na
KAL	bāyad	SIK	βeli-ṅ	POR	
*TAG	[halaga]	RTI	beli-n	NTA	namtən
*AKL	[haṭgah]	BUR	fili-n	*KWA	nenime-
PAL	[arga]	DOB	φeli	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ū-n
MOL	[horga]	IRA	φəri	CEM	cúhi-n
*KAG	bayad	SAW	mulo	AJI	pε uṛī
BLA	btas	*NYI	sabe	XAR	dī
SAB	[halga <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	MAM	zazaṅa	NEN	θuben
MUR	[logo]	*TAK	nao-n	KIR	te bō
MGY	vidi-ni	DAM	mala	MSH	oṅ <sup>w</sup> ean
ACE	yum	*MAB	kadōno	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> eine
BAT	[arga]	*YAB	ṅa-òli	WLE	paṛūwaṛ
MIN	[arago]	*KAU	eyuk ta	EFI	i-sau
IND	[harga]	TOL	mətainə	WFI	i-hau
SUN	[harga]	BUA		RTU	toṅi
JAV	[rəgə]	ADZ		TON	mahu <sup>ʔ</sup> iṅa
MAD	[arga]	*KIL	mapu-la	SAM	tau
*BAL	aḷi	TAW	maiha	MEL	fakattau-raṅa
*SAS	[aḷi]	*MOT	daβa	*TAH	[moni] ho <sup>ʔ</sup> o
*GOR	[haraga]	*MEK	?ava	RAP	
DAA	olina	ROV	hinolu		

TAG Also [*presyo*].

AKL Also [*presyoh*].

KAG	Also [ <i>prisyu</i> ].
BAL	Probably derives from the homophonous instrumental preposition.
SAS	From Balinese?
GOR	Also [ <i>halaga</i> ] from Sanskrit.
WOL	Also 'value'; <i>kali</i> .
NYI	'how much', also <i>sowan</i> (traditional usage).
TAK	'face' (04.204).
MAB	Also <i>kakuk</i> .
YAB	'its-price'.
KAU	'kina-shell of' (the kina-shell is a large bivalve serving as an article of value in Papua New Guinea traditional societies and giving its name to the modern Papua New Guinea currency unit, the kina).
KIL	'price-its'.
MOT	See 11.650.
MEK	Also 'debt', see 11.640.
MAR	Also 'money'; [ <i>roŋo</i> ] from Bughotu, also 'money'.
KWO	'buying of it'.
KWA	Also 'eye/face'.
PON	3sg POSS form.
TAH	From English <i>money</i> .

### 11.880 DEAR (costly, expensive)

**Sanskrit:** *argha-*

**Malay:** *mahal*

ATA	ma-mati?	*MOL	[horga]	SUN	mahal
*TSO	pepe	KAG	ma'al	JAV	laraŋ
RUK	mā-koṭiŋaḷə	BLA	ma-btas	MAD	laraŋ
PAI	pa-zaŋaḷ	*SAB	[halga?]	BAL	maəl
YAM	maŋiŋat	MUR	[mologo]	SAS	mahəl
ISN	naŋīna	MGY	lafu	GOR	[mahale]
*KAL	ŋīna	ACE	muhāy	DAA	na-suli
TAG	[mahal]	*BAT	[ar'ga]	UMA	ma-suli?
AKL	[maha†]	MIN	maha	BUG	masuli?
PAL	marga	IND	mahal	KON	suli?

WOL	[maali]	TOL	ɲətɲat	NEM	hun t <sup>h</sup> ū-n
MAG	vəgit	BUA	mone rak ya	*CEM	úb <sup>w</sup> ɔ̄ â cúhi-n
NGA	vəli-meze	ADZ		AJI	ka kau pɛ uñi
*SIK	βeli-ɲ gahu	*KIL	sainam <sup>w</sup> au	*XAR	d̄i-re ɕe
RTI	na-beli		mapu-la	NEN	ɲa re θuben
*BUR	fili-ntirin	*TAW	mihana i gae	*KIR	bō rā
*DOB	φeli bari	*MOT	daβa-nabada	*MSH	receɲ
IRA	φəritərəɔ	*MEK	ʔavāakaikia	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> eilaut
SAW	mulopelɔy	ROV	sage hinolu	WLE	
NYI	sowan tinan	*MAR	niɲigrana	EFI	sau-leβu
*MAM	zazaɲa- atabalatina	LAU	liubaita	*WFI	haumi-g <sup>w</sup> au
*TAK	nao-n lak-na-ya	KWO		RTU	təɲ tiʔu
		RAG		TON	mamafa
DAM	malaodug	*PAA	vina nesa	*SAM	tau-ɲatā
*MAB	kadōno isala	*LEW	mara-nava	*MEL	[tūmasi]
*YAB	ɲa-olikap <sup>w</sup> eɲ		metava	*TAH	[moni]rahi
*KAU	eyuk ta-n nuhum	POR		RAP	
		*NTA	namtəntiakəs		
		*KWA	-əkənekən		

TSO 'high'.

KAL *ɲina + na-*.

MOL *horga + mo-*.

SAB *halgaʔ + a-*; also *hunit + a-*.

BAT Sanskrit.

SIK Also *βeli-ɲ ʔəpaɲ*.

BUR 'excessive price'.

DOB 'big price'.

MAM Also *ʔareʔare*.

TAK 'face, price-its high-POST-PERF' (11.870, 12.310), i.e. 'its price is high'.

YAB 'its-price big'.

MAB Also *kakukɲana*.

KAU 'kina-shell of-it large' (see 11.870).

KIL 'very heavy price-its'.

TAW 'its price is high'.

MOT *bada* 'big'.

MEK	‘price-its big’.
MAR	‘expensive, difficult’.
PAA	‘go up’.
LEW	‘price goes up’; also <i>mara-na keviu</i> ‘big-priced’.
NTA	‘price is difficult’.
KWA	‘dificult, tough’.
CEM	‘big its price’.
XAR	‘its price is big’.
KIR	Also <i>bō buaka</i> , lit ‘bad cost’.
MSH	‘severe’.
PON	‘big cost’.
WFI	Also <i>haumi-leβu</i> .
SAM	<i>tau</i> (here) ‘buy’, <i>-ŋatā</i> ‘difficult to’
MEL	From English ‘too much’.
TAH	Also [ <i>moni</i> ] <i>hoʔo teiaha</i> from English ‘money’.

## 11.890 CHEAP

Malay: *murah*Spanish: *barato*

ATA	ma-hnuk	ACE	murah	NGA	vəli-khəɸi
*TSO	çirçi	BAT	mu'ra	SIK	eneβeli-ŋ
RUK	mā-doay	MIN	murah	*RTI	beli-ta-k
PAI	ma-juḷu	*IND	[murah]	BUR	fili-nrahe-n
*YAM	yaʃaŋat	SUN	murah	*DOB	ɸeliʔuran
ISN	nalapat	JAV	murah	IRA	ɸəriɸərərənə
*KAL	lāsu	MAD	muɸʰa	SAW	muločuči
TAG	mūra	BAL	mudah	NYI	sowan bʷisik
AKL	[barātoḥ]	SAS	muraʔ	MAM	zazaŋa-tago-
PAL	mɔluhay	GOR	[mura]		ilaba
MOL	mura	DAA	na-[mura]	*TAK	nao-ntan-na-
KAG	[baratu]	UMA	ma-se <sup>m</sup> po		ya
*BLA	m-dənoʔbtas	BUG	ma-sempo	DAM	malanalu
*SAB	luhay	KON	sempo	MAB	kadōno isu
MUR	[mamuda]	WOL	ma-muɸa	*YAB	ŋa-oli saun
*MGY	çilafu	MAG	roes		



*KAU	eyuk ta-n sakun	KWO RAG		NEN	waʔamire θuben
*TOL	pəiŋətŋat	*PAA	mot	*KIR	bōraoi
BUA	mone luḵ ya	*LEW	mara-navato	*MSH	rik oŋʷean
ADZ			tano	*PON	pʷeiṭikiṭik
*KIL	gagabila	POR		WLE	
	mapu-la	*NTA	namtən	*EFI	sau-lailai
*TAW	mihana i hopu		təmetiŋ	WFI	haumi-hewa
*MOT	daβa-na	*KWA	-məru	RTU	təŋ vavhina
	marayi	NEM	mʷaŋ tʰū-n	TON	maʔamaʔa
*MEK	ʔavā ʔeʔele	CEM		*SAM	tau-ŋōfie
ROV	gore hinolu	AJI	ka yaŋi pə uŋi	*MEL	[čīpi]
*MAR	bligi	*XAR	dī-re were	TAH	māmā
LAU	liu toʔou			RAP	

TSO 'low'.

YAM 'not expensive'.

KAL *lāsu + na-*.

BLA Also [*badatu*].

SAB *luhay + a-*.

IND Probably from Javanese.

MGY 'not expensive', also *mora*.

RTI 'not expensive'.

DOB 'small price'.

TAK 'face, price-its ground-POST-PERF' (11.870, 12.320), i.e. 'its price is low'.

YAB 'its-price small'.

KAU 'kina-shell of-it little' (see 11.870).

TOL *pə* 'not', *i* 3sg, *ŋətŋat* 'expressive'.

KIL 'easy/light price-its'.

TAW 'its price is down'.

MOT *marayi* 'small'.

MEK 'price-its small'.

MAR 'cheap, easy'.

PAA 'fall down'.

LEW 'price goes down'; also *mara-na tekaki* 'small priced'.

NTA Also *namtən teiuaiu* 'price is easy' or 'price descends'.

KWA	'soft, easy'.
XAR	'its price is small'.
KIR	Also <i>materaoi</i> .
MSH	Idiom 'its cost is small'.
PON	'small cost'.
EFI	Also <i>sau-rawarawa</i> .
SAM	- <i>ŋōife</i> 'easy to'.
MEL	From English.

### 11.910 SHARE (distribute)

Sanskrit: *bhāgin-* 'sharing in'

*ATA	kaṃaṣuay	SAS		BUA	βoɣelək
*TSO	a-ŋare	*GOR	molayadu	*ADZ	gi <sup>n</sup> ç- + ruan
RUK	mā-vaḷa	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-[bagi]	KIL	sagali
PAI		UMA	[bagi]	TAW	luguta
YAM	vonon	BUG	mat-tawa	MOT	hari-a
ISN	ikīpāt	*KON	a <sup>?</sup> taha-taha	*MEK	e-vake
*KAL	bīŋay	WOL	po-ḍawu-	ROV	vari va hiania
*TAG	[bahāgi]		ḍawu	MAR	tufa
*AKL	panūpud	*MAG	pati	LAU	tolin̄ia
*PAL	iras	NGA	fara	KWO	torin̄i-a
*MOL	[bahagi <sup>?</sup> ]	SIK	βuβu	RAG	bete
*KAG	tagtag	*RTI	bae <sup>?</sup>	PAA	ḍitī
*BLA	n-ɔlɔw	BUR	ep-sama-k	LEW	vio-ni
*SAB	[bahagi <sup>?</sup> ]	*DOB	?a-yita	POR	pepex-in-i
*MUR	tayad	*IRA	narirə	NTA	-ōr
MGY	mi-zara	SAW	n-fan-ten	*KWA	-auai
ACE	wuə <sup>?</sup>	NYI	weleyaniy	*NEM	n̄ame
BAT	[bagi]	MAM	nege	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> âtō-hi
MIN	[bagi]	TAK	-wae	AJI	vi wī
IND	məm-[bagi]	DAM	gadō	*XAR	beti
SUN	ŋa-[bagi]	*MAB	-rai	*NEN	θawan
JAV	m-[bage]	*YAB	-yà <sup>?</sup> sàm	*KIR	tib <sup>w</sup> ā
MAD	[bagi]	*KAU	naa	*MSH	acece
*BAL	ŋə-[dum]	*TOL	tibə	*PON	n̄ək

*WLE	pixeremō	TON	tufa	*RAP	hakatano-
EFI	βota-a	SAM	tufa		tano
WFI	βota-ia	MEL	tufākina		
RTU	væe	*TAH	ʔōpere		

ATA Also *ḡamašuy*.

TSO Also *ā-ŋarz-a*.

KAL *bīŋay + i-*.

TAG [*bahāgi*] + *mag-/-in* see also 'divide' 12.232.

AKL *panūpud + i-* 'hand out', see 12.232.

PAL Also *tahak*, [*bagi?*].

MOL [*bahagi?*] + *mog-/-on/-an*.

KAG *tagtag + mag-/-ø/-an* also [*parti*] + *mag-/-ən* from Spanish *parte*; also *ulas + mag-/-ən/-an*.

BLA *numun* 'to share (as a gift)'; *s-an-s-aləl* 'to apportion (to each)'.

SAB [*bahagi?*] *ag-/-ø*.

MUR *tayad (mag- -on -in)*.

BAL Old Balinese has [*bagi*], apparently displaced by Old Javanese [*dum*]; NB (*N-*)[*bagi*] re-borrowing from Malay? See also 12.232.

GOR (*toyadu + moN-*).

KON Also *a<sup>?</sup>-[bage]-[bage]*.

MAG Also *bahi*.

RTI *bae<sup>?</sup>* 'share, divide, distribute in shares'; also *ba-ba<sup>?</sup>e-k*, *ha-hapu-k*.

DOB Also *nam k<sup>w</sup>aŋu*.

IRA *marə metə* 'share, portion'.

MAB Also *-kam mos pa*.

YAB 'do distribution'.

KAU Also *kikiu* 'distribute as a gift' (c.g. pig meat at a feast).

TOL *tib-e (vb trans)*.

ADZ 'share, distribute + REFL', i.e. 'distribute amongst selves'.

MEK *e-vake* is the most general word; *e-e<sup>?</sup>a* 'divide up; distribute in portions'.

KWA Also *-awahi kərikəri* 'give one-by-one'.

NEM Also *m<sup>w</sup>anoi*.

XAR Also *fa-di* 'share out equally'.

NEN Also *iθue*.

KIR *kaonoa* causative form, from *ono* ‘share, portion’.

MSH Also *caketɔ-caketak* lit ‘give to and fro’.

PON Also *kepinwarī*.

WLE Also *iřetī-a*.

TAH Also *tātuhaʔa; vāvāhi* (concrete object).

RAP *haka tano-tano* ‘share’; *tuhaʔa* ‘distribute’.

## 11.920 WEIGH

Malay: *timbang*

Spanish: *kilo*

ATA	t-um-iŋtiŋ	*BAL	nimbaŋ	MAB	-repatanana
TSO	kinkin-i		(timbang)		ki
RUK		SAS	nimbaŋ	YAB	
PAI			(timbang)	*KAU	karoŋ
YAM	paŋananŋan	*GOR	molimeŋo	*TOL	və-lər
ISN	[kiluwan]	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-ti <sup>m</sup> ba	*BUA	taŋu
*KAL	[kilūwon]	UMA	ti <sup>m</sup> pa	ADZ	
*TAG	timbang	BUG	taniʔ	KIL	-βisaikoli
AKL	timbang	KON	an-nimbaŋ	*TAW	witake
PAL	bogat		(timbang)	*MOT	ha-he-toho
*MOL	timbang	WOL	ti <sup>m</sup> ba-ŋi	MEK	
*KAG	kiluun	MAG	[ti <sup>m</sup> baŋ]	ROV	padaia
BLA	t-n-imbaŋ	NGA	ŋako		mamatana
*SAB	timbang	*SIK	[tiba-ŋ]	MAR	
*MUR	[timbang]	RTI	tai	LAU	gulu lana
MGY	man-dandza	*BUR	[timbang]	KWO	
ACE	timaŋ	DOB	ʔa-laɸa	RAG	
BAT	tibbaŋ	IRA	sutə	PAA	
MIN	timbang	SAW	[timbang]	*LEW	telani
IND	mənimbaŋ (timbang)	NYI	maha	POR	
SUN	nimbaŋ (timbang)	MAM	moatubuŋa- lelei	NTA	-akil
		*TAK	[skel]-gane	*KWA	-akiri
*JAV	m-bəbət	DAM		NEM	ŋeŋi
MAD	timbang			CEM	ʒà-hi
				AJI	vi gai

*XAR	[wē]	*PON	ʔeneki	TON	fua
NEN		*WLE	kinō-a	*SAM	fua
*KIR	baireate	EFI	βakarau-taka	*MEL	[sikēle]
	rawata	WFI	βarau-takinia	*TAH	fāito
MSH	p <sup>m</sup> duni	RTU	foho	RAP	hāito

KAL *kīlu + -on.*

TAG *timbaŋ + mag-/-in.*

MOL *timbaŋ + mog-/-on.*

KAG *[kilo] + -ən.*

SAB *timbaŋ + aN-/ø.*

MUR *[timbaŋ] (maŋ- -on).*

JAV Historically \*RED-bot. Also *nimbaŋ (N-timbaŋ).*

BAL Also *(N-)[dačin]* from Malay?

GOR *(timeŋo + moN-).*

SIK Also *gasik, api-ŋ gasik.*

BUR Also *[daciŋ]* ‘scales’ from Malay.

TAK ‘measure do’; *[skel]* from English.

KAU ‘try’, test’.

TOL *və-lər* (vb trans) ‘measure, compare, try’, *və-* causative prefix; *lər* (vb trans) ‘measure, mark out’.

BUA *tayu* ‘try, test’; *ŋo* ‘hear, sense’; both also ‘weigh’.

TAW ‘cause to hang’.

MOT *toho-a* ‘try’; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) adds ‘to mark for cutting, rule lines’.

LEW ‘hang (on scale)’; also *nunu* ‘gauge weight, holding in hand’.

KWA Also ‘measure, divide into measured amounts’.

XAR From English ‘weigh’; *fa-agε* ‘make balance’.

KIR ‘organise the weight’.

PON Also ‘hang up’; also *ʔautawi, ʔoutowi* ‘weight’.

WLE *xa-cau-a* causative form, from *cau* ‘heavy’, ‘weigh down’.

SAM Also ‘measure’.

MEL From English *scale(s)*.

TAH Also *[tātiro]* from French.

## 12.010 AFTER

ATA	ti-putiŋ	*UMA	bokoʔ	MAR	leyu
TSO	a-tavri-si	BUG	pura	LAU	buirā
RUK	lo-bi-bilili	*KON	maeŋ-pi	KWO	huri-na
PAI	i-vililʸ	*WOL	sii <sup>m</sup> po	RAG	atayu
*YAM	təyka	MAG	musi	PAA	vaitir
ISN	kalpasān	*NGA	moli-kəna	LEW	sirau-ni
*KAL	ābus	*SIK	baʔimuri-ŋ	POR	arax
*TAG	tāpos	*RTI	so	NTA	uarisiŋ
*AKL	pagka-tāpus	*BUR	ba hai	*KWA	kurira
*PAL	pəgkətəbəs	*DOB	na-ʔa'may	NEM	kerai-n
MOL	puas	*IRA	sə	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ēcehi
KAG	tapus	SAW	re-wəɾɛ	*AJI	nedē
BLA	t-m-adol	NYI	hamon	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> au
*SAB	ubus	MAM	alauri	NEN	ʔuben
MUR	(da)tauli	*TAK	mar-na	*KIR	im <sup>w</sup> in
*MGY	auriana	*DAM	dum-en	*MSH	ælikin
ACE	lhuwəh	*MAB	to	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> uri
*BAT	di pudi	*YAB	-dagu	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> iŋiŋ
MIN	di-balakaŋ	*KAU	anima	*EFI	oti
*IND	sə-sudah	*TOL	namurtə	*WFI	osi
*SUN	sa-(ə)ŋgās	BUA	rək	RTU	fakmuri
*JAV	saʔ-wis-e	ADZ	rai i	TON	hili
MAD	sa-əlla-na	*KIL	oluβi	SAM	
*BAL	suud	TAW	u muli-na	MEL	i-muri
*SAS	uah	*MOT	gabea	*TAH	i muri iho
*GOR	lapat-aʔo	*MEK	muni	RAP	
DAA	ri puri	*ROV	sipu beto		

YAM 'finished'.

KAL *ābus + ma-*.

TAG *tāpos + pagka-*.

AKL 'temporal'.

PAL Also *pəgtəbəs*.

SAB Also *puwas*.

MGY From *\*a-uri-ana*.

BAT Also *mu'se* 'later'.

IND Also *sə-təlah*.

SUN	'after (temporal)'; also <i>di tukaŋ</i> 'LOC-behind (physical location)'.
JAV	<i>saʔ-wis-e</i> (temporal); <i>m-buri</i> 'behind'.
MAD	Calqued on Malay <i>se-sudah-nya?</i>
BAL	<i>suud</i> 'finished'; <i>di suud-e</i> nominalised form of <i>suud</i> .
SAS	'already'.
GOR	( <i>lapato + maʔo</i> ); also <i>yi-lapatā mota</i> ( <i>yi-lapato</i> a LIG, <i>mota</i> ).
UMA	<i>puri</i> (Tolee, Winatu dialects).
KON	Also <i>ri-maen-a</i> .
WOL	Also <i>paḏa-aka</i> .
NGA	Also <i>γəso</i> .
SIK	Also <i>baʔa</i> .
RTI	Also <i>basa ndia</i> .
BUR	'DUR follow'.
DOB	<i>na-ʔa'may</i> 'he finishes (vb)', used clause finally to mark a clause as a temporal subordinate clause, e.g. 'after he came I left' <i>ʔa-ma na-ʔa'may sa saʔu ʔu-bana</i> , lit 'he comes he finishes and I leave'.
IRA	Also <i>sa</i> ; e.g. <i>ba, sa asuma</i> 'go, afterwards I-follow'.
TAK	'behind-at'.
DAM	'after it'; <i>dum</i> 'after, later, behind', <i>-en</i> 'after/behind it'.
MAB	Also <i>kaimer to</i> .
YAB	'follow after'.
KAU	Also <i>suluŋ/siluŋ</i> 'later'.
TOL	<i>na-mur</i> (adv), <i>na-</i> LIG (?), <i>mur</i> (vb trans) 'follow', <i>tə</i> multifunctional preposition (see Mosel 1984: 210). This construction is only used in modern Tolai.
KIL	Also <i>igau oluβi</i> 'another time after'.
MOT	Also <i>muri-nai, murikaha-nai</i> ( <i>kaha</i> 'side, part').
MEK	'back'; <i>muni-kai, muni-ai</i> 'after' (with OBL case-ending): <i>muni-na-ai</i> ('after someone/something'); also <i>afe</i> 'beyond', <i>afe-ŋa-ai, afeŋai</i> 'after'; <i>maʔe</i> 'after' in the temporal sense (i.e. 'later'); NW Mekeo also has <i>kema</i> .
ROV	Also <i>beto</i> .
KWA	<i>kurira</i> 'second in a series, behind someone, next'; <i>-əp(i) raka</i> 'pass by (spatial)'.
AJI	Also <i>rāde</i> .

KIR	CON with locative prefix <i>i-</i> .
MSH	(n); <i>lok<sup>w</sup>an</i> also ‘bottom, tail’; <i>lak</i> ‘after, afterwards, and then’; <i>tokun</i> .
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>uri</i> (3sg form, noun); <i>tauli</i> ‘pass by (of time)’.
WLE	‘pass by (of time)’
EFI	Also <i>sibi</i> .
WFI	Also <i>deβu</i> .
TAH	Also <i>i muri a<sup>ʔ</sup>e</i> .

## 12.011 BEHIND

ATA	ma-kašuy	UMA	tili <sup>ɔ</sup> kuri-a	MAR	ke leyu
TSO	ri <sup>ʔ</sup> onz-a	*BUG	ri-munri	LAU	ʔisi
RUK	li-koḁaḁ-anə	KON	ri-boko	KWO	huri-na
PAI	i-vilil <sup>y</sup>	WOL	taliku	RAG	atayu
YAM	ḁo likoḁ	MAG	musi-mai-	PAA	taun
ISN	likud	NGA	ḁore	LEW	varau
*KAL	awid	*SIK	to <sup>ʔ</sup> ə	POR	arax
*TAG	likod	RTI	nai dea-k	NTA	uarisiḁe
*AKL	likud	*BUR	pa-mori-t	*KWA	kurira
*PAL	likud	*DOB	ʔame muri	*NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> ut
MOL	ka <sup>ʔ</sup> ay likud	*IRA	mətorə	CEM	àlece
*KAG	tudtud ta	SAW	tou	AJI	pə <sup>ʔ</sup> ə
BLA	fule	NYI	hamon	XAR	beberi
SAB	buli <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	MAM	muri	NEN	dirin
MUR	datalikud	*TAK	patu-n-na	*KIR	im <sup>w</sup> in
MGY	auriana	*DAM	dum-en	*MSH	ælikin
ACE	likot	*MAB	<sup>n</sup> deme- ūnu	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> uri
BAT	di pudi	*YAB	-mu	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> iriḁ
MIN	balakaḁ	KAU	βetpo	EFI	daku-
IND	di bəlaḁaḁ	*TOL	tə rə muru-nə-	WFI	takū
*SUN	di tukaḁ	BUA	raḁ dəmi	*RTU	muri
JAV	(m-)buri	*ADZ	ba <sup>m</sup> pan	TON	rnui
MAD	buḁi	*KIL	o-tuboulo-la	*SAM	i tua o
*BAL	(di) [uri]	TAW	u muli-na	MEL	i-muri
*SAS	mudi	MOT	muri-nai	*TAH	i muri
*GOR	to[dibalaka]	*MEK	muni/afe	*RAP	ʔi tu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
DAA	ritaliku	ROV	mudina		



- KAL *pidon* 'behind house'.
- TAG Also *sa likod nan*.
- AKL *sa likud* 'at the back'.
- PAL *likud* 'back'; *ijow* 'on the other side of'.
- KAG *tudtud ta* 'at the back of'; also *liu ta* 'on the other side of'.
- SUN Also *ka tukang* 'to the rear'.
- BAL Old Javanese; also *(di) [duri]*.
- SAS Also *muri*.
- GOR From Malay *di bəlakang*, to LOC.
- BUG Also *ribōko*.
- SIK Also *toʔe mai*.
- BUR From *pao mōri-t* 'down behind', as in 'behind the house'.
- DOB 'it is at its back'.
- IRA Also *mətorə amurə* 'sit down behind me'.
- TAK 'back-his-at', i.e. 'behind him' (see 04.190).
- DAM 'behind it'; *dum* 'after, later, behind', *-en* 'after/behind it'.
- MAB 'at the back'.
- YAB Enclitic/postposition. Also *-mu-ŋa* '-behind-ABL' i.e. 'from behind'; *ŋa-mu-ŋa* 'its-behind-ABL' i.e. 'from behind it'; *(ŋa-)dem<sup>w</sup>e-mu* '(its-) back-behind' i.e. 'behind (it)'; *ŋa-dem<sup>w</sup>e-ŋa* 'its-back-ABL' i.e. 'from behind it'.
- TOL *tə* see 12.010, *rə* ART, *muru-* 'back' *na* LIG.
- ADZ 'tail'.
- KIL 'at-back-his'.
- MEK See 12.010, and 12.060.
- KWA Also *ia takuta-* 'at back'.
- NEM Also *tai-n*.
- KIR See 'after'.
- MSH Also *ʃok<sup>w</sup>an*; *lik* 'backward, behind'.
- PON See 'after'.
- WLE See 'after'.
- RTU Also *ʔe fəʔu*.
- SAM 'in the back of'.
- TAH Also *i muri mai*, *i muri atu*.

RAP *tuʔu* ‘back’, *muri* ‘proximity’, *raro* ‘bottom’, *muʔa* ‘front’, *roto* ‘interior’, *haho* ‘exterior’, and *ruŋa* ‘top’ are nouns; the English locative adverbs of the word list are expressed by one of these nouns preceded by a preposition such as *ʔi* ‘in, at’, *ki* ‘to, toward’, *a* ‘by, through’, *mai* ‘from’, *o* ‘of’, *nai* ‘here at’, *ai* ‘there at’, etc.

## 12.020 BESIDE

*ATA	βih	UMA	ñčori	MAR	reña
*TSO	saxçir-a	BUG	sidde	LAU	nimana
RUK	bila	KON	ri-saʔri	KWO	suri-a
PAI	i-gidi	WOL	saripi	*RAG	tagigi-
YAM	çokataŋkæd	MAG	lupi	PAA	usite
ISN	katagiŋ	*NGA	kəmo	LEW	e ye-pa-sia
*KAL	sogʔon	SIK	ha papa	POR	pariča <sup>ŋ</sup> g
*TAG	tabi	RTI	nai bo-boa-k	NTA	e nəkalən
AKL	īpiŋ	BUR	naen-kaha-n	*KWA	iankare-ī
PAL	məkabiʔ	*DOB	tabil	NEM	le file-n
MOL	kaʔay binit	IRA	besigərə	*CEM	pêhi-n
*KAG	təŋŋædta	SAW	lapo	AJI	rəp <sup>w</sup> aŋa
BLA	safed	*NYI	kaʔu-n	XAR	binē
SAB	bihiŋ	MAM	saʔe	NEN	
MUR	databibikon	*TAK	sirŋe-n-na	*KIR	irarikin
MGY	an-ila-ni	*DAM	siri-n	MSH	turun
ACE	gunireŋ	MAB	zilŋa-	*PON	lim <sup>w</sup> ā
BAT	di labbuŋ	*YAB	-baŋ	*WLE	xetōř
MIN	di sabalah	KAU	porilin	EFI	yasa-
*IND	di sampiŋ	*TOL	tə rə pəpər-ə-	WFI	-siki
SUN	gigir	BUA	βiŋ	RTU	vakvaka
*JAV	sisih-e	*ADZ	riŋan	TON	tafaʔaki
MAD	iriŋ	*KIL	o-papa-la	*SAM	i tafatafa o
BAL	(di) sampiŋ	TAW	uliyaliya-na	MEL	tafa
SAS	deket	MOT	badi-nai	TAH	i pahaʔi iho
*GOR	mi <sup>n</sup> dihu	*MEK	mapeŋai	*RAP	ʔi muri
DAA	ri si <sup>n</sup> çori	ROV	pakapana		

ATA *šaw-βih* ‘near’, *šyay* ‘shore’, *ŋauš* ‘edge’, *ʔuβah* ‘edge of a cliff’.

TSO *ā-skiti*, *ski-skit-na* ‘beside the field, river, etc.’

KAL	Also <i>dolʔag</i> .
TAG	Also <i>sa tabi naŋ</i> .
KAG	<i>təŋgəd ta</i> ‘next to’; also <i>naan ta kilid</i> ‘at the side of’.
IND	Also <i>di səbəlah</i> .
JAV	<i>sisih</i> ‘side’ -e ‘DEF’; also <i>sandiŋ-e</i> .
GOR	Also <i>yɪ<sup>n</sup>dihu</i> .
NGA	Also <i>beri</i> .
DOB	‘its side’, e.g. <i>ʔa-me k<sup>w</sup>alar nay tabil</i> , lit ‘it-stay house this its-side’, ‘it is beside this house’.
NYI	‘beside it/him’, also <i>kabede-n</i> .
TAK	‘side-his-at’, i.e. ‘beside him’.
DAM	‘side-on’.
YAB	Enclitic/postposition. Also <i>ŋa-màge</i> ‘its-wing’ i.e. ‘beside it’.
TOL	<i>tə</i> see 11.920, <i>rə</i> ART, <i>pəpər</i> ‘side’, <i>a</i> LIG.
ADZ	‘ear’.
KIL	‘at side its’.
MEK	Also <i>mape-ŋa-ai</i> , <i>mape</i> ‘side (of body, etc.)’.
RAG	Also <i>huri</i> ‘right beside’.
KWA	‘at side’.
CEM	<i>pêhi-n</i> ‘beside, with (of things)’; <i>pêlɛ-n</i> ‘beside, at (of persons)’.
KIR	Forms as for ‘after’.
PON	Also <i>peian</i> ‘be next to s.th.’; <i>paʔerek</i> ‘alongside’; forms as for ‘after’.
WLE	Forms as for ‘after’.
SAM	‘at the side of’.
RAP	See 12.011.

### 12.030 DOWN, BELOW

*ATA	yahuʔ	*TAG	babaʔ	MUR	daganaʔ
*TSO	fʔufʔu	*AKL	i-dāʔum	MGY	am-bani
RUK	laodo	PAL	sanad	ACE	baroh
PAI	i-təku	MOL	kaʔay sirib	BAT	di tōru
YAM	tizaəm	KAG	da'ləmta	MIN	di bawah
ISN	taggad	BLA	duŋon	IND	di bawah
KAL	doba	SAB	deyoʔ	*SUN	dihandap

JAV	ŋ-isɔr	TAK	atan-pae	NTA	lahau
MAD	baba-na	*DAM	ɸarume-n	*KWA	pirap <sup>w</sup>
BAL	(di)bāten	MAB	melēbe	NEM	kodie
*SAS	(le?) bawə?	*YAB	ŋa-labu	*CEM	é-ot
*GOR	tibawa	*KAU	ko li	*AJI	te ria
DAA	ri peo	*TOL	ərətə	XAR	anã
UMA	ara?	*BUA	aɣu	NEN	tenezo
BUG	ri-awa	ADZ	wara <sup>ɔ?</sup>	*KIR	ā
*KON	i-raha	KIL	o-sikowa-la	*MSH	laɭ
WOL	ta <sup>m</sup> be	TAW	u gabouli-na	*PON	pā
MAG	vā	MOT	henu-ai	*WLE	tiwe
NGA	au	*MEK	papaŋai	*EFI	sobu
*SIK	βaβa	*ROV	panapeka	*WFI	bale
RTI	nai dae	*MAR	pari	*RTU	sio
BUR	pao	*LAU	haegano	TON	lalo
*DOB	ɸaɸa	*KWO	olofa-na	*SAM	i lalo o
*IRA	nɛnɛ tuiɸa	*RAG	ata	MEL	i-aro
*SAW	tɔp	PAA	netan	TAH	i raro
NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> i	LEW	va tano	*RAP	?i raro
*MAM	elau	POR	a-pan		

ATA *mkāhu?* ‘down below (nearby)’, *huyəʃ* ‘down below (far away)’.

TSO *iʔufʔu*, *skufu* ‘under a tree, waves, etc.’; *oriʔi* ‘down below (from a mountain side)’, *no-prɔxi* ‘be down below (from the mountain side, as a field)’, *no-sʔori* ‘be underneath something piled up’.

TAG *baba?* + *i-*.

AKL See ‘under, bottom’.

SUN Also *ka handap* ‘to below’.

SAS *le?* ‘locative preposition’.

GOR *ti[bawa]* ‘down’, *to ti[bawa]* ‘below’, *[bawa]* probably from Malay.

KON Also *raha*.

SIK Also *βaβa puʔa*.

DOB ‘ground’.

IRA ‘there below’.

SAW Also *nɔp*; *ntɔp*; *pɔp*.

MAM Also *eruma*.

DAM ‘under-on’.

YAB	‘its-underside’; also <i>ěloŋ</i> ‘down below’ (locative adverb).
KAU	‘go downwards go’ (serial verb construction).
TOL	<i>əɾə</i> ‘down there (adv)’, <i>tə</i> see 12.010.
BUA	Also <i>ayu yi</i> .
MEK	<i>papaŋai</i> ( <i>papa-ŋa-ai</i> ) ‘below’; <i>kipo</i> ‘down, downriver’.
ROV	Also <i>pakauruna</i> .
MAR	Also <i>ke pari</i> .
LAU	Also <i>ano</i> .
KWO	Also <i>olofa-i</i> .
RAG	‘below’; also <i>ahivo</i> ‘downward’.
KWA	Also <i>inherəp</i> ‘down’.
CEM	<i>é-ot</i> (visible); <i>ǰé-ot</i> (out of sight).
AJI	Also <i>ria</i> .
KIR	<i>ā</i> also ‘underside, bottom’; <i>iān</i> CON, with locative prefix <i>i-</i> ; <i>rio</i> directional enclitic/suffix.
MSH	Also ‘world, country’; directional enclitic/suffix.
PON	<i>pā</i> 3sg POSS form; <i>-ti</i> directional enclitic/suffix.
WLE	<i>tiwe</i> , <i>sařo</i> directional enclitic/suffix; also <i>tařo</i> , <i>itařo</i> ‘below’.
EFI	Also <i>rā</i> .
WFI	Also <i>rā</i> .
RTU	Also <i>?e lopo</i> , <i>?e fɔni</i>
SAM	‘in the space below of’.
RAP	See 12.011.

## 12.040 BEFORE

ATA	<i>čuŋa?</i>	PAL	<i>bagu</i>	MIN	<i>di muko</i>
TSO		MOL	<i>ka?ay hadap</i>	*IND	<i>sə-bəlum</i>
RUK	<i>ko-nađoma</i>	KAG	<i>una ta</i>	*SUN	<i>sa-memeh</i>
PAI	<i>pa-su-sanas</i>	BLA	<i>m-uno</i>	*JAV	<i>ŋ-arəp</i>
YAM	<i>manoma</i>	*SAB	<i>insa? lagi?</i>	MAD	<i>sa-bəllun-na</i>
ISN	<i>saŋwanan</i>	*MUR	<i>pagulu</i>	*BAL	<i>sə-tonden</i>
*KAL	<i>da?ān</i>	MGY	<i>a-luha</i>	*SAS	<i>səndekman</i>
*TAG	<i>bāgo</i>	ACE	<i>gəh-ləm</i>	*GOR	<i>to ?u dī-po</i>
*AKL	<i>bāguh</i>	BAT	<i>di jolo</i>	DAA	

*UMA	riʔulu	*YAB	-nem	*KWA	kup <sup>w</sup> ən
BUG	ri-olo	*KAU	koho	NEM	ṅaut
*KON	ri-olo(-aŋ)	*TOL	lua tə	CEM	à nabun
*WOL	aroa	BUA	ɣepmala	AJI	bāyē
MAG	olo-mai-	ADZ	miamun	XAR	mǎi-tā
NGA	olo	*KIL	o-mata-la	NEN	
*SIK	nulu	*TAW	tahaya	*KIR	im <sup>w</sup> ain
RTI	nai ulu-k	MOT	βaira-nai	*MSH	m <sup>u</sup> ān
BUR	leu-k	*MEK	aŋoŋai	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> owe
*DOB	'nataʔa	*ROV	lopuele	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> owař
*IRA	nene	*MAR	ulu	EFI	liu
	φənəməta	LAU	i nao ua	WFI	mata
*SAW	ga	KWO	naʔo-na	RTU	mumua
*NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ena	RAG	amua	TON	muʔa
*MAM	aro	PAA	mulamun	SAM	
*TAK	inug-mi	LEW	sum <sup>w</sup> o-ni	MEL	moaŋe
DAM	φau	POR	vönamo	*TAH	nā mua aʔe
MAB	mu <sup>ŋ</sup> gu	NTA	aupan	*RAP	ʔi muʔa

KAL Also *agay*.

TAG *bāgo* CONJ; also *mūna* enclitic particle.

AKL *bāguh* CONJ; *ānay* enclitic particle.

SAB *insaʔ lagiʔ* (of time); *mundaʔ-an* (of space).

MUR *pagulu* (in order), (*da galiŋ-i*, (*da laid-i* (in time).

IND Also *dahulu*, *dulu*

SUN 'before (time)'; also *di harip-in* 'before (physical)'.  
 JAV *arəp* 'front'; also *saʔ-duruŋ-e* 'before (temporal)'.  
 BAL *sə-tonden* 'before' (followed by subordinate clause) from *tonden* 'not yet'; *malu* 'first' (adverbial usage).  
 SAS Compare Thoir et al (1985): (*ə*)*ndekman*, Goris *əndeʔ man* both 'not yet'.  
 GOR *to* LOC, *ʔu* NOM, *dīpo* 'not yet'.  
 UMA *bokoʔ* and *riʔulu* (12.010, 12.040) primarily 'behind (on a trail)' and 'before' respectively.  
 KON *ri-olo(-aŋ)* temporal and positional; *ri-anreʔ-na-pa* temporal only.  
 WOL *porikana* 'come first, go before'.  
 SIK *nulu*, *nulu-ŋ*, *ʔoti*, *laʔe-ŋ* (temporal); *soβae*, *eʔi βae* (spacial).

DOB	‘not yet’.
IRA	‘there in front’.
SAW	Also <i>pafule</i> .
NYI	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>ena</i> .
MAM	Also <i>matamata</i> .
TAK	‘early-only’ (see 14.160).
YAB	Enclitic/postposition; also <i>-nem-ŋa</i> ‘-front-ABL’, i.e. ‘from in front’; <i>ŋa-nem-ŋa</i> ‘its-front-ABL’ i.e. ‘from in front of it’.
KAU	In a temporal sense. Also <i>muk</i> ‘first in a line of succession’, used temporally, ‘first of all’.
TOL	<i>lua</i> ‘before (adv)’, <i>tə</i> see 12.010.
KIL	‘at-eye-his’.
TAW	‘go before’.
MEK	( <i>aŋo-ŋa-ai</i> ).
ROV	<i>lopuele</i> ‘immediately before’, <i>visarohe</i> ‘long ago’.
MAR	<i>ulu</i> (prep), <i>ulahu</i> (adj).
KWA	‘first in a series, before someone or something, the previous before this’.
KIR	CON with locative prefix <i>i-</i> .
MSH	<i>m<sup>w</sup>ān</i> CON; also <i>mm<sup>w</sup>akac</i> ‘precede, go before’; <i>m<sup>w</sup>okta</i> ‘earlier, before’ (in time).
PON	3sg POSS form.
WLE	CON, also <i>mm<sup>w</sup>ař</i> ; <i>ixawē</i> 3sg.
TAH	Also <i>i mua</i> ‘in front’.
RAP	See 12.011.

### 12.041 FRONT

ATA	yaʔaiŋ	*AKL	atubāŋ-an	ACE	kuə
TSO	mi-ʔusn-i	PAL	ɔrapan	BAT	ʒolo
RUK	ʔō-ʔoboŋo	MOL	hadap	MIN	muko
PAI	i-kayaw	KAG	tubaŋta	*IND	di dəpan
YAM	ʔotaŋain	*BLA	m-unə	*SUN	harip
ISN	aʔrāŋ	SAB	mundaʔ	JAV	(ŋ-)arep
KAL	atūbaŋ	MUR	da tiŋkuaŋan	MAD	aðaʔ
*TAG	[harap]-an	*MGY	ni-at <sup>r</sup> eh-ana	*BAL	(di) aəp

SAS	ǰulu	*MAB	kere-	*KWA	ia nenime-
*GOR	tal <u>u</u>	*YAB	nem	NEM	ṅaut
DAA	ri ṅayo	*KAU	emata	*CEM	âle-n
*UMA	ñãño-a	*TOL	tə rə luai-nə-	AJI	bāyěři
BUG	ri-olo	BUA	mala	XAR	māi
*KON	ri-dallek-aṅ	ADZ	maran	NEN	tadan
WOL	aroa	*KIL	o-mata-la	KIR	tem <sup>w</sup> ai
MAG	one raṅa	TAW	u nao-na	MSH	m <sup>w</sup> ān
NGA	ṅia	*MOT	βaira	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> owe
*SIK	βaliβae	MEK	aṅo	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> owař
RTI	nai ulu-k	ROV	kenuna	EFI	mata-
*BUR	sak-mena	MAR	ulu	WFI	mata
DOB	mona	LAU	nao	RTU	mua
IRA	ḥənəməta	KWO	na <sup>?</sup> o-na	TON	mu <sup>?</sup> a
SAW	usno	RAG		*SAM	i luma o
*NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ena	PAA	nān	MEL	moa
MAM	aro	LEW	vam <sup>w</sup> o	TAH	i mua
*TAK	nao-n-na	POR	na-xon	*RAP	<sup>?</sup> i mu <sup>?</sup> a
DAM	wage	NTA	aupan		

TAG Malay *hadap*.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*atūbaṅ*.

BLA Also *k-an-fi*.

MGY Also *ni an-ulu-ana; a-luha* ‘ahead, first’.

IND Also *di [muka]* from Sanskrit.

SUN Also ‘next, coming (time)’.

BAL Also *(di) malu*.

GOR Also *dulu* ‘front (off vehicle or ship)’; [*dimuka*] ‘front’, as in to *dimuka lo bele* ‘in front of the house’ from Malay.

UMA *ñaṅo-a* (Tolee, Tobaku, Winatu dialects).

KON Also *ri-olo(-aṅ)*.

SIK Also *e<sup>?</sup>i βa<sup>?</sup>a*.

BUR From *saka mena* ‘up in front’ (see 12.011).

NYI Also *m<sup>w</sup>ena*.

TAK ‘face-his-at’, i.e. ‘in front of him’ (see 04.204).

MAB Also *kere- unu; mata-* ‘its eye’.

YAB (n) see 12.040; also *ṅa-mata* ‘its-eye’ i.e. ‘in front of it’.



KAU See 04.210.

TOL *tə* see 12.010, *luai* ‘front’, *nə* LIG.

KIL ‘at-eye-his’.

MOT *βairai* ‘in front’ (contraction of *βaira-ai*).

KWA ‘in the eye/face’.

CEM ‘its face, opposite it’.

PON 3sg POSS form.

WLE *m<sup>w</sup>owař* 3sg, also *mm<sup>w</sup>ař*, *wen* ‘front part’.

SAM ‘in the front of’.

RAP See 12.011.

## 12.050 INSIDE, IN

ATA	<i>tiyi-čka?</i>	SAS	<i>daləm</i>	*KIL	<i>olumoule-la</i>
*TSO	<i>mi<sup>?</sup>ro-na</i>	GOR	<i>to delomo</i>	TAW	<i>u hine-na</i>
RUK	<i>ađiŋi</i>	DAA	<i>ri ara</i>	*MOT	<i>lalo-nai</i>
PAI		UMA	<i>rala</i>	*MEK	<i>aloŋai(alo-</i> <i>ŋa-ai)</i>
YAM	<i>đo şakađ</i>	BUG	<i>ri-laliŋ</i>	ROV	<i>korapana</i>
ISN	<i>unag</i>	*KON	<i>i-lalaŋ</i>	*MAR	<i>lamna</i>
KAL	<i>dālom</i>	WOL	<i>nu<sup>ř</sup>ča</i>	LAU	<i>ilalo</i>
*TAG	<i>lo<sup>?</sup>ob</i>	MAG	<i>one-mai-</i>	KWO	<i>ʔubu-na</i>
AKL	<i>suřud</i>	NGA	<i>one</i>	RAG	<i>alolo-</i>
PAL	<i>sələd</i>	*SIK	<i>unə</i>	PAA	<i>naīm</i>
MOL	<i>ka<sup>?</sup>ay solod</i>	RTI	<i>nai date-k</i>	*LEW	<i>loima</i>
KAG	<i>na<sup>?</sup>an ta</i> <i>səlləd</i>	*BUR	<i>lale-n</i>	*POR	<i>leim</i>
BLA	<i>lam</i>	*IRA	<i>ganə</i>	NTA	<i>im<sup>w</sup>a</i>
SAB	<i>deyom</i>	SAW	<i>min</i>	*KWA	<i>ianak<sup>w</sup>a-</i>
MUR	<i>dalalom</i>	NYI	<i>bolon</i>	NEM	<i>le, le ne-n</i>
MGY	<i>an-ati</i>	MAM	<i>ilonalo</i>	CEM	<i>hė-n</i>
*ACE	<i>lam</i>	*TAK	<i>ilo-n-lo</i>	*AJI	<i>rə</i>
BAT	<i>di bagas-an</i>	*DAM	<i>name-n</i>	XAR	<i>ne<sup>w</sup>ē</i>
*MIN	<i>didalam</i>	*MAB	<i>lela</i>	*NEN	<i>ri</i>
IND	<i>didalam</i>	*YAB	<i>(ŋa-)lelom</i>	*KIR	<i>inanon</i>
*SUN	<i>di [jəro]</i>	*KAU	<i>mi</i>	*MSH	<i>i-lowa</i>
JAV	<i>(ñ-)jəro</i>	*TOL	<i>tə rə bəla-nə-</i>	*PON	<i>nan</i>
MAD	<i>daləm</i>	BUA	<i>loķ</i>	*WLE	<i>řařo</i>
BAL	<i>(di) teŋah</i>	ADZ	<i>wasa<sup>?</sup></i>	EFI	<i>loma-</i>

*WFI	i	*SAM	i totonu o	*RAP	?i roto
RTU	laloŋa	MEL	i-roto		
TON	loto	TAH	i roto		
TSO	<i>mi?ro-na, a-rmo-na</i> ‘inside of something thickly surrounded, e.g. wall, hedges’; <i>no-oro</i> ‘be (exist) in’ (box, bag, etc.).				
TAG	Also <i>sa lo?ob naŋ</i> .				
ACE	Also <i>dalam</i> .				
MIN	Also <i>dalam</i> .				
SUN	From Javanese.				
KON	Also <i>lalaŋ-aŋ</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>unə-ŋ</i> .				
BUR	<i>da tase lala-n</i> ‘inside the bag’; <i>da lala</i> ‘it’s inside’; <i>lala-n</i> also ‘liver, feelings, emotions, character’.				
DOB	A noun, ‘its inside’.				
IRA	<i>nənə sanə gane</i> ‘there in the house’.				
TAK	‘inside-its-in’, i.e. ‘inside it’ (see 01.240, 01.340).				
DAM	‘middle-on’.				
MAB	Also <i>lele-</i> .				
YAB	‘(its )inside’.				
KAU	Locative noun: ‘inside’ (see 01.240, 04.146, 12.620, 12.820, 12.850, 13.220, 16.230, 16.350).				
TOL	<i>tə</i> see 12.010, <i>rə</i> ART, <i>bəla-</i> ‘belly, interior’, <i>nə</i> LIG, see Mosel (1984:56f).				
KIL	<i>olumoule-la</i> ‘in the middle of’; <i>o-lopo-la</i> ‘inside’.				
MOT	Also <i>lalomai</i> ( <i>laloma</i> ‘inside’ of building).				
MEK	<i>alo</i> ‘(the) inside of someone or something’; <i>alo</i> goes to <i>ao</i> in all other dialects.				
MAR	Also <i>ke lamna</i> .				
LEW	Also <i>lo-sia</i> .				
POR	Also <i>nala</i> .				
KWA	<i>ia nak</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>a-</i> ‘in the mouth’; <i>ia reri-</i> ‘in the heart’; <i>ia rue-</i> ‘in the interior’.				
AJI	Also <i>lewe</i> .				
NEN	Also <i>ŋor, hulo</i> .				
KIR	<i>inanon</i> con.; with locative prefix <i>-i</i> , <i>kanoana</i> ‘its contents’; <i>i</i> ‘at, in, on’; <i>n</i> with common nouns.				
MSH	<i>i-lowa</i> ‘inside, interior’; <i>lo</i> also <i>ilo</i> ‘at, in’; <i>i</i> ‘at, in, on’.				

PON	<i>lɔle</i> 3sg POSS form; <i>kanɛɛ</i> 'its contents'.
WLE	<i>řařo</i> 'inside, interior', <i>řeř</i> CON, <i>ni</i> 'at, in, on'.
WFI	Also <i>yaloŋa</i> .
SAM	'in the interior of'.
RAP	See 12.011.

## 12.060 OUTSIDE

*ATA	tay-ʔatanux	UMA	mali	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> osi
*TSO	ʔoʔa	BUG	ri-saliwiŋ	LAU	i mā
RUK	lataɖə	*KON	i-'pantara	KWO	i mā
PAI	i-ʔasaw	WOL	sa <sup>m</sup> bali	*RAG	avare
YAM	ɖo pantaw	MAG	pe <sup>ʔ</sup> aŋ (-mai-)	PAA	hale
ISN	lasi	NGA	mo <sup>ʔ</sup> a	LEW	vanua
KAL	lasin	*SIK	βina	POR	vavae
*TAG	labas	RTI	nai dea-k	NTA	ihlua
*AKL	guwa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*BUR	kaku	*KWA	irua
PAL	liwan	*DOB	ʔaʔa	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> ap
MOL	ka <sup>ʔ</sup> ay luas	*IRA	barie	CEM	póm <sup>w</sup> o
KAG	na <sup>ʔ</sup> an ta 'gwa	SAW	tə	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ě wěyě
BLA	lwə <sup>ʔ</sup>	NYI	manan	XAR	nekexũã
SAB	luwas-an	MAM	elu <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*NEN	obot
MUR	da liwad	*TAK	patu-n-fo	*KIR	itinanikun
MGY	i-vela-ni	*DAM	dumetu-r	*MSH	lik
ACE	luwa	MAB	mat	*PON	liki
BAT	di ruar	*YAB	awe	*WLE	řüxü-
MIN	di lua	*KAU	po	EFI	tuba
IND	di luar	*TOL	nə-təmantə	WFI	rārā
SUN	di luar	BUA	ɖəbane	RTU	ʔe sisi
JAV	(ñ-)jɔbo	ADZ	mana <sup>ʔ</sup>	TON	tu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
MAD	luwar	KIL	o-kouk <sup>w</sup> eda	*SAM	i fafo o
BAL	(di) sisi	*TAW	hoi uputa	MEL	i-tua
SAS	luah	MOT	murimuri-ai	*TAH	i rāpae
*GOR	to bulemeŋo	*MEK	afəŋai	*RAP	ʔi haho
DAA	ri savaliku	*ROV	sada		

ATA Also *tyi-ʔata<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

TSO *ʔoʔa* 'outside of the house'; *no-rafo* 'be (exist) outside'.

- TAG Also *sa labas naŋ*.  
 AKL Also *līwan*.  
 GOR *to [dilūwari] lo lipu* ‘outside the country, abroad’ from Malay.  
 KON Also *pantar-aŋ (pantara)*.  
 SIK Also *eʔi βina*.  
 BUR Also *gida*.  
 DOB ‘on the ground’ as opposed to up in a house.  
 IRA *nɛnɛ sanə barie* ‘there outside the house’.  
 TAK *patu-n-fo* ‘back-its-on’, i.e. ‘outside it’ (see 04.190); *kuei-te* ‘outside-at’.  
 DAM ‘outside on’; *-r*, LOC, cognate with *dum*.  
 YAB Locative adverb. Also *awe-ŋa* ‘outside-ABL’ i.e. ‘from outside’.  
 KAU ‘outside surface of a person or object’.  
 TOL *nə* LIG, *təman* ‘outside’, *tə* see 12.010, 01.230.  
 TAW Also (dialect) *hau uputa*.  
 MEK (*afe-ŋa-ai*), *afe* ‘back, exterior, outside of anyone/anything; the space outside or beyond’; see 12.010.  
 ROV Also *pa sada*.  
 RAG Also *halavare*.  
 KWA Also *-irap<sup>w</sup>* ‘outwards’.  
 NEN Also *ŋuobot*.  
 KIR CON; with locative prefix *i-*.  
 MSH *lik* also ‘behind, in back, ocean side’ arch. *liki; nabæc*.  
 PON 3sg POSS form.  
 WLE *sowa* also ‘edge, exterior’.  
 SAM ‘in the space outside of’.  
 TAH Also *i rāpæʔau, i vaho*.  
 RAP See 12.011.

## 12.070 UNDER

ATA	yik	ISN	linuŋ	MOL	kaʔay sirib
TSO	skufu	KAL	sogwab	KAG	daʔləmta
RUK	ləbə	*TAG	babaʔ	BLA	duŋon
PAI	pa-təku-təku	AKL	i-dāʔum	SAB	dəyoʔ
YAM	ɔo bo	PAL	siruŋ	MUR	da ganaʔ

MGY	am-ba-ni	IRA	tuiϕa	LEW	va-tano-ni
ACE	yup	SAW	pəp-o	POR	pena-xer
BAT	di təruru	NYI	baha <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> an	NTA	lahau
MIN	di bawah	MAM	eruma	*KWA	pirap <sup>w</sup>
IND	di bawah	*TAK	pae-n-na	NEM	lekale-n
*SUN	di handap	*DAM	ϕarume-n	CEM	háhî-n
JAV	ḡ-isər	MAB	<sup>m</sup> barmāna	AJI	e ve ria
MAD	baba	*YAB	ḡa-labu	XAR	kerex <sup>wā</sup>
*BAL	(di) bəten	KAU	βet	NEN	ten
SAS	bawa <sup>?</sup>	*TOL	nə-vəvəitə	*KIR	iān
*GOR	toti[bawa]	BUA	ḡəbine	*MSH	yum <sup>w</sup> win
*DAA	ri kele	ADZ	wara <sup>ʔ?</sup>	*PON	pā
UMA	une <sup>?</sup>	KIL	o-sikowa-la	*WLE	fō-
BUG	ri-awa	TAW	u gabouli-na	EFI	ruku-
*KON	i-raha	MOT	henu-nai	WFI	ruku
WOL	ta <sup>m</sup> be	*MEK	ʔofuḡai	RTU	ʔe fəni
MAG	vā	ROV	kauruna	TON	lalo
NGA	au	MAR	ke pari	*SAM	i lalo o
*SIK	βaβa	LAU	i fanara	MEL	i-aro
RTI	nai dae	KWO	olofa-na	TAH	i raro a <sup>ʔ</sup> e
*BUR	pao	RAG	ate-	*RAP	ʔi raro
*DOB	ʔisin	PAA	hehen		

TAG *baba<sup>?</sup> + i-*; also *ilālim*.

SUN Also *(di) handap-in*.

BAL Also *batan*.

GOR From Malay *bawah* also *to waluḡo*.

DAA Also *ri vayo*.

KON Also *rahaḡ-aḡ*.

SIK Also *βaβa pu<sup>ʔ</sup>a*.

BUR See also 12.030.

DOB ‘its underneath’.

TAK ‘underneath-his-at’, i.e. ‘under him’.

DAM ‘under-on’.

YAB ‘its underside’.

TOL *nəLIG, vəivəi* ‘space underneath’, *tə* see 12.010.

MEK (*ʔofu-ḡa-ai*).

KWA Also *ia təpu-* ‘at the belly’.

KIR	CON, with locative prefix <i>i-</i> .
MSH	<i>yum<sup>w</sup>win</i> CON, also archaic <i>cəm<sup>w</sup>win</i> ; <i>lɔrun</i> CON archaic; also 'sleeping place'; also <i>lɔri</i> .
PON	3sg POSS form.
WLE	CON, with locative prefix <i>i-</i> .
SAM	See 12.030.
RAP	See 12.011.

### 12.080 UP, ABOVE

*ATA	βaβaw-ik	*UMA	βo <sup>ɔ</sup> ko	*MAR	kliña
*TSO	pepe	BUG	ri-asi <sup>?</sup>	LAU	i laŋi
*RUK	daða	*KON	i-rate	KWO	fofo-na
PAI	i-vavaw	WOL	βawo	RAG	amare
YAM	ɔ <sup>ɔ</sup> tiŋato	MAG	eta	PAA	nesa
ISN	ŋūdu	NGA	zeta	LEW	metava-ni
KAL	ŋatu	*SIK	reta	POR	po-xer
*TAG	ta <sup>?</sup> as	RTI	nai lai-n	NTA	iləs
AKL	i-bābaw	*BUR	saka	*KWA	puta
PAL	dibwat	*DOB	ɸiɸin	NEM	koda
MOL	ka <sup>?</sup> ay libuat	IRA	ɸaɸo	*CEM	é-da
KAG	apaw ta	SAW	pepolo	*AJI	e ve rua
BLA	tah	*NYI	loke	XAR	xū
SAB	diyata <sup>?</sup>	MAM	atabala	NEN	ripon
*MUR	da limbow	*TAK	lak-na	*KIR	ieta
MGY	am-bu-ni	*DAM	ilu-n	*MSH	ləŋ
ACE	atuəh	MAB	kor	*PON	-ta
BAT	(di) giŋjaŋ	*YAB	ò	*WLE	-yasa
MIN	di ateh	KAU	ili	*EFI	ðake
IND	di atas	*TOL	urəmə	*WFI	ðake
*SUN	di luhur	*BUA	raŋ	*RTU	ʔe rere
JAV	n-ɖuwur	ADZ	wagu <sup>ɔ?</sup>	TON	ʔoluŋa
MAD	attas	*KIL	o-daba-la	*SAM	i luŋa o
*BAL	mənek	TAW	u moya-na	MEL	i-ruŋa
SAS	taek	MOT	atai-ai	*TAH	i ni <sup>?</sup> a iho
*GOR	totitāto	*MEK	laaŋai	*RAP	ʔi ruŋa
DAA	ri ba <sup>?</sup> a	ROV	pana ulu		

- ATA *mkaraya?* ‘up there (nearby)’, *riatux* ‘up there (far away)’.
- TSO *pepe*, *omz-a* ‘up above (from the river side or foot of mountain)’; *no-epe* ‘be up above (in view of downside)’; *nō-skopi* ‘be on the top of’.
- RUK *ḍaḍa* ‘up, on top’, *bələŋə* ‘above’.
- TAG *taʔas + i-*.
- MUR Also *da sawat*.
- SUN Also *luhur-in*.
- BAL See 10.471: *mənek* (*N-pənek*) ‘go up’, here used adverbially e.g. *mə-liat mənek* ‘look up’; *babuan*, [*duur*] Old Javanese ‘above, upper part’; *ulu* ‘upper part’; *luan(an)* ‘up-river; mountainwards’.
- GOR ‘above’ and also means ‘on top (of)’.
- UMA *βoŋko* ‘uphill’; *lolo* ‘above, on top of’.
- KON Also *rate, rate-aŋ*.
- SIK Also *reta baʔu, reta βutu*.
- BUR Also *fafa-n* ‘on top’; *sak fafa-n* ‘it’s up on top’.
- DOB ‘its surface’.
- NYI Also *b<sup>w</sup>eleʔe* ‘on top of’.
- TAK See note on 12.310.
- DAM ‘above-on’.
- YAB (adverb); also *ḍ-ŋa* ‘up.top-ABL’ i.e. ‘from above’; *ŋa-ḍ-ŋa* ‘its-top-ABL’, i.e. ‘from above it’; *loloʔ* ‘upstairs’ (adverb).
- TOL *urəmə* ‘there up to (direction)’, *əɾəmə* ‘there up (position)’, see Mosel (1984:195).
- BUA Also *βaβunε*.
- KIL ‘at head its’.
- MEK *laaŋai* (*laa-ŋa-ai*) ‘on top of, above’; *aaŋai* in the other dialects; *kaeŋai* (*kae-ŋa-ai*) ‘upriver, up, above’, NW Mekeo *au-kuni* (Brown).
- MAR Also *ke kliña*.
- KWA Also *irenha* ‘up’ (in relation to a referent).
- CEM Also *Jê-da*.
- AJI Also *tɔ rua*.
- KIR *ieta* see ‘top’, *iaon* see ‘on’, *rake* directional enclitic; ‘up, east, landward’.
- MSH See ‘on’; *cim<sup>w</sup>a* ‘more than’; used with numerals.

PON	- <i>ta</i> directional suffix; <i>powe</i> see 'top'; <i>pōnaŋi</i> 'above, upper, upwind, windward'.
WLE	- <i>yasa</i> 'up', used in some compounds, <i>taxe</i> see 'on', suffixed alternate <i>-taxe</i> ; <i>weñi</i> see 'top', <i>iyata</i> with locative prefix <i>i-</i> .
EFI	Also <i>dela-</i> .
WFI	Also <i>yata</i> .
R'TU	Also <i>se'e</i> .
SAM	'in the space above of'.
TAH	Also <i>i ni'a</i> .
RAP	See 12.011.

## 12.110 PLACE

Spanish: <i>lugar</i>
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ATA		*MAD	kənnəŋ-an	*YAB	gameŋ
TSO	ro-ni	BAL	toŋos	*KAU	pi
RUK	po-a-saɭarə	SAS	taoʔ	*TOL	piə
PAI	pi-zua	*GOR	[tā <sup>m</sup> bati]	BUA	ñeŋ
YAM	paŋain	DAA	nan-tuʔu	*ADZ	ga <sup>m</sup> p
ISN	giyān	UMA	pon-tuʔu-a	*KIL	-saili
KAL	igaw	BUG	onroŋ	*TAW	tupo
*TAG	[lugal]	*KON	tuʔju	MOT	gabu
*AKL	[lugar]	*WOL	di <sup>ŋ</sup> ka-na	MEK	afu
PAL	luŋsud	MAG	osaŋ	ROV	vasina
MOL	binonua	*NGA	ŋia	MAR	namono
*KAG	bə'taŋ	SIK	əla-ŋ	LAU	lifu
BLA	f-kah	R'I	ma-mana-k	KWO	lefu
*SAB	toŋod	*BUR	nete-n	RAG	tano
MUR	intok	*DOB	re	PAA	aut
MGY	tuer-ana	IRA	mədədorə	*LEW	lele-na
ACE	tumpang	SAW	gɛw-gɔw	POR	na-ur
BAT	iŋan-an	NYI	kon	*NTA	ikən
MIN	tampeʔ	MAM	ʔaba	*KWA	ikən
IND	təmpat	*TAK	abe-n	NEM	kave-
*SUN	[təmpat]	DAM	modōū	*CEM	â-mú-nɛ-n
*JAV	papan	*MAB	muri-	AJI	kā tɔ



XAR	ketε	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> üřei	*SAM	mea
NEN	guṇen	EFI	βanua	*MEL	kī
*KIR	tatabo	WFI	βanua	*TAH	vāhi
*MSH	cikin	RTU	tekæe	RAP	kona
*PON	wasa	TON	feitu <sup>?</sup> u		

TAG Also [lugar], [puwésto], from Spanish *puesto*.

KAG *bə'taŋ + mag-/-an*.

SAB Also *lahat*.

SUN From Malay.

JAV Also *paŋgonan (pa-aŋgon-an)*.

MAD Safioedin (1977): *-kənəŋ* 'stay, live'; *kənəŋan* 'house, residence'.

GOR From Malay *təmpat*; the more usual way to express 'place' is to affix *poh-*, or *poN-* or *po-* + duplication of the root-initial syllable of a verb + *-a* to the root of a verb, thus *po-li-lihu-wa* 'place to have a bath'; also forms like *hu-hulo<sup>?</sup>-a* 'place to sit' (duplication of root-initial syllable, *-a*); from *mo-dutu* 'put/place' is derived *dūtu-wa-liyo* 'its place'.

KON Also *paĵa*.

WOL 'place (where something belongs)', lit 'its place'.

NGA Also *la<sup>?</sup>e*.

BUR Also (X) *ele-n* 'X's place of nesting, abode'; *ele-t* 'X's territory'.

DOB 'there'.

TAK See 12.450 for example.

MAB *muri-* 'its place', *lele* 'place, non-possessed'.

YAB 'place, area, locality, region'; also *mala* 'his place'; *mala-m* 'your place', *ŋa-mala* 'its place'.

KAU 'place (in a geographical/environmental sense)'; *eβi* 'place (in the sense of position)'.

TOL See 01.210.

ADZ *ga<sup>m</sup>p* 'village, place where people are'; *mumai* 'undefined place, location'.

KIL (vb).

TAW 'place, direction, quadrant'; *houna* 'to place'.

LEW Also *yo*.

NTA Also *ik, lak*.

KWA Also *k<sup>w</sup>opun, im<sup>w</sup>a* 'place'.

CEM	'place where he lives'.
KIR	Also <i>te nne</i> .
MSH	<i>ice</i> 'this place', one of a set of demonstratives.
PON	Also <i>tēu</i> .
SAM	Also 'thing'.
MEL	From Efate, also <i>naḡona</i> .
TAH	Also <i>vaehaʔa</i> .

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**12.120 PUT**


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ATA	ʔ-um-a-ʔax	GOR	mo-dutu	ROV	vekoa
*TSO	mo-si	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-dika	MAR	ḡaʔa
RUK	saḡarə	UMA	tuʔu	LAU	alua
PAI		BUG	mat-taro	KWO	aru-a
YAM	paḡain	KON	al-labbiaḡ	*RAG	tau
ISN	ippāy	WOL	ḡika	PAA	liḡi
KAL	igga	MAG	pəhər	LEW	liḡani
*TAG	lagay	NGA	pia	POR	p-čini
*AKL	butaḡ	SIK	naʔi	NTA	-alhaus
PAL	iḡatun	RTI	peḡa	*KWA	-əḡri
*MOL	daʔtun	*BUR	tahu	NEM	na
*KAG	bə'taḡ	*DOB	nal ʔi	CEM	né
BLA	f-kah	*IRA	nəḡenənə	AJI	nā
*SAB	patannaʔ	SAW	n-fa-peḡ	XAR	çue
*MUR	uli	NYI	atehei	NEN	ḡaʔane
*MGY	mameḡʔaka	MAM	naḡa	*KIR	nnea
ACE	pu-duəʔ	*TAK	-gane	*MSH	rōḡ
*BAT	peakkən	*DAM	i-no-ya	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> il
MIN	lataʔ-an	MAB	-ur	*WLE	řixitī
*IND	mənaruh (taruh)	*YAB	-keḡ	EFI	biu-ta
SUN	nindin (tindin)	*KAU	ḡa ... li nuk	*WFI	ču-nia
JAV	nēleh-ke (seleh)	TOL	vuḡ	*RTU	tuku
MAD	sabaʔ	BUA	tuḡ	TON	tuku
*BAL	ḡə-ḡaḡ	ADZ	rim-	SAM	tuʔu
SAS	toloʔ	KIL	-saili	MEL	
		TAW	houna	TAH	tuʔu
		MOT	ato-a	*RAP	
		MEK	e-oḡe		

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- TSO Also *si-i, si-a*.
- TAG *lagay + mag-/i-*.
- AKL *butaŋ + i-*.
- MOL *daʔtun + -um-/i-*.
- KAG *bə'taŋ + mag-/an*.
- SAB *patannaʔ + aN-/ø*.
- MUR *uli (mapa-; pa- -on)* 'put s.th. in its normal place'.
- MGY From (*maN-petʔaka*).
- BAT From (*peak-hən*).
- IND Also *mə-lətak-kan, mən̄impan (simpan)*.
- BAL Also (*N-*)*pəjəŋ*.
- BUR Also *ŋotō-k, weri-k* 'put s.th. up for storage'; *eb-leta-k* 'place, put'.
- DOB *nal ʔi* 'he takes (it) onto'.
- IRA (*nəʔe nənə*)?
- TAK 'do' (09.110).
- DAM '3sg-put-INF'.
- YAB 'give'; also *-tʊʔ* 'put down', *-səmʊŋ* 'put (something) in'.
- KAU 'carry (OBJ) go stay' (serial verb construction).
- RAG Also *dau*.
- KWA Also *-arup<sup>wi</sup>* 'put down on the ground'; *-aws(i)* 'put an object or body part into proximity with a second'; *-ʔata* 'put away, put out of the way'; *-əputa* 'put on top of'; *-kure* 'put, set'.
- KIR *nnea* cf. *te nne* 'place'; *kamenā* causative form, from *mena* 'be in a place'; *nikira* 'put back'.
- MSH *likit* also 'contribute, deposit'.
- PON *p<sup>wil</sup>* 'put aside (beliefs or emotions)'; *nekit* 'put away'.
- WLE Also *xap<sup>würü</sup>* CAUS; see 'place'.
- WFI Also *siki-nia, tau-nia*.
- RTU Also *nā*.
- RAP *ha-haʔo* 'insert (e.g. sparkplugs, shoelaces)'; *hue* 'put (something in its respective place, where it belongs)'; *popo* 'put into (things into a place or receptacle)'; *puʔa* 'put covering (e.g. hats, gloves, a top or cover on anything)'; *tuʔu* put (on top of, e.g. a book on a table)'.

## 12.130 SIT

*ATA	ma-thawnak	UMA	mo-hura	ROV	habotu
*TSO	ru-suxŋu	BUG	tudaŋ	MAR	ŋokro
RUK	wa-nənə	*KON	aʔ-čidoŋ	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ouru
PAI	ḱ-əm-ilaŋ	*WOL	ka-(n)too-	KWO	toʔo-ru
YAM	omlišna		tooro	*RAG	toyo
ISN	mag-tugaw	*MAG	lo <sup>n</sup> to	*PAA	dōtan
*KAL	tūpak	*NGA	poḍu	LEW	tōtano
TAG	opoʔ	SIK	təri	POR	ta <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>
*AKL	liŋkud	RTI	naŋa-tu-k	NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> alah
*PAL	maduŋ	*BUR	eptea	*KWA	-akure
*MOL	aduŋ	DOB	ʔa-talar	NEM	tago
*KAG	muŋku	IRA	nəmatorə	CEM	têb <sup>w</sup> o
BLA	sudəŋ	SAW	n-tolen	AJI	cue
*SAB	teŋkōʔ	NYI	mañah	XAR	cue
*MUR	tuduŋ	MAM	soaʔiria	NEN	meneŋ
MGY	mi-peṭ <sup>r</sup> aka	*TAK	-ma-si	KIR	tekateka
ACE	duəʔ	*DAM	i-bodō-ya	MSH	cicet
BAT	huddul	*MAB	<sup>m</sup> bule- isu	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> ōt
MIN	duduʔʔ	*YAB	- <sup>n</sup> goŋ	WLE	matto
*IND	duduk	KAU	uŋ	EFI	dabe
SUN	dīuk	TOL	ki	WFI	tad <sup>r</sup> a
JAV	luŋguh	BUA	nədo	*RTU	pæe
MAD	tujuʔ	*ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pa- + ruʔ-	*TON	nofo
*BAL	nəgak (təgak)	KIL	-sili	SAM	nofo
SAS	tokol	*TAW	duhuna	MEL	nofo
*GOR	mo-ti-huloʔo	*MOT	helai	*TAH	pārahi
DAA	neka-toko	MEK	e-aŋu	RAP	noho

ATA Also *man-tahūk*.

TSO *ru-suxŋu* 'sit on the chair'; *su-kū-kruçu* 'sit on the ground'.

KAL *tūpak* + *man-*.

AKL Proto-Central Philippines *\*liŋkud*, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*iŋkud*.

PAL *məgsampilaʔ* 'sit cross-legged'.

MOL *aduŋ* + *m-*.

KAG From *puŋko* + *m-*.

SAB *teŋkōʔ* + *aN-*.

MUR	<i>tuduŋ (mag-)</i> .
IND	Also <i>bər-sila</i> ‘sit on floor with legs crossed’.
BAL	(vb intrans). <i>nəgak mə-silə</i> ‘sit cross-legged’; <i>mə-tedoh</i> ‘kneel, sit on ground with legs folded back’.
GOR	<i>ti-</i> REFL.
KON	Also <i>as-sidoŋ</i> .
WOL	<i>ka-unču-unčura</i> ‘sit down’; <i>pa<sup>ŋ</sup>kora</i> , <i>unčura</i> ‘sit, sit down’; <i>pa-seβa</i> ‘sit on the floor with legs crossed’.
MAG	Also <i>o<sup>n</sup>to</i> .
NGA	Also <i>moku</i> .
BUR	Frozen form from <i>ep-tea</i> lit ‘cause to sink a pole i.e. to stay long enough to put up a house, stay, sit’; <i>defo</i> also ‘stay, sit’; <i>eptea taf daŋa-k</i> ‘squat on haunches’.
TAK	‘stay-go.down’, ‘sit down’ (see 10.210); see also <i>ma-sa</i> , 04.630.
DAM	‘3sg-sit-INF’.
MAB	‘buttocks go down’.
YAB	‘sit, live, dwell, remain’.
ADZ	‘stay sit + down’.
TAW	Also (dialect) <i>tugula</i> .
MOT	Also <i>helai diho</i> ‘to sit down’ ( <i>diho</i> ‘down; go down’).
RAG	Also <i>doyo</i> .
PAA	‘stay down’.
KWA	Also <i>-ak<sup>w</sup>ejai</i> ‘sit astride’.
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>ōt</i> usually <i>m<sup>w</sup>ōnti</i> with suffix <i>-ti</i> ‘down’; <i>m<sup>w</sup>əlēti</i> hon.
RTU	Also <i>noho</i> .
TON	Also <i>taŋutu</i> , <i>ta<sup>ʔ</sup>utu</i> .
TAH	Also <i>noho</i> obsolete.

## 12.140 LIE DOWN

*ATA	matayayay	ISN	mag-idda	*MOL	ilonŋ
TSO	o-rvoi	*KAL	umbog	*KAG	nəgga <sup>ʔ</sup>
RUK	wa-apəʔə	*TAG	higa <sup>ʔ</sup>	BLA	m-ilə <sup>ʔ</sup>
PAI	ki-taŋəʔ	AKL	ʔubug	*SAB	bahāk
YAM	mizay	PAL	pə-buntul	*MUR	iluluya <sup>ʔ</sup>

*MGY	mandʰi	*DOB	nen	LEW	mono
ACE	eh	*IRA	tagatogara	POR	pač
BAT	peak	SAW	n-bɔy	NTA	-aməlh
*MIN	ba-goleʔ	NYI	ales	KWA	-amak
*IND	bər-bariŋ	MAM	enoria	NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> ona
*SUN	ŋa-goloyoh	TAK	-ansin	CEM	púlut
*JAV	turən	*DAM	y-eně-ya	AJI	kuřu
*MAD	ɖuŋ-tiɖuŋ-an	*MAB	-kēne	XAR	meti
*BAL	mə-[sare]	*YAB	-eʔ siʔ	*NEN	θaeti
*SAS	ŋə-rəbaʔ	*KAU	ko nuk	KIR	wene
	awak	TOL	vā	MSH	p <sup>u</sup> ap <sup>u</sup> u
*GOR	mo-ti-balato	BUA	ɣep	*PON	wenti
*DAA	no-turu	ADZ	gi <sup>ɔ</sup> ʔ-	WLE	wořo
UMA	turu	KIL	-kenu	EFI	daβo
BUG	leu	TAW	eno	WFI	daro
KON	amm-ene	*MOT	he-kure	RTU	taka
*WOL	ka- <sup>m</sup> bale-	*MEK	e-ka-kipo	TON	tokoto
	<sup>m</sup> bale	ROV	eko	*SAM	taʔoto
MAG	toko	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uru soru	MEL	moe
NGA	vala	LAU	teohaegano	TAH	taʔoto
SIK	tuʔə	KWO	eno	RAP	moe
RTI	naŋa-peʔu-k	RAG	eno		
*BUR	bage	*PAA	matil		

ATA *makšikakiʔ* ‘lie on one’s side’.

KAL *obog + -um-*.

TAG Proto-Philippines \**hideRaq*.

MOL *iloŋ + po-*.

KAG Also *niggaʔ*.

SAB *bahāk + pa-*.

MUR *iluluyaʔ(-um-)*.

MGY From (*ma-andʰi*).

MIN Also *ta-goleʔ*.

IND Also *tidur* ‘sleep, lie down’.

SUN Also *ŋa-goler*.

JAV From (*turu-an*), *turu* ‘sleep’; also *ləsən* (*ləsū-an*); *ləsū* ‘listless’.

MAD From (*RED-tiɖuŋ*)-*an*.

BAL	From Old Javanese; also <i>mədəm</i> ( <i>N-pədəm</i> ) (vb intrans) the original Old Balinese term, now restricted to animal referents in SNB varieties; <i>mə-bah-an, ɲəbah</i> ( <i>N-bah</i> ) (vb intrans) ‘lie down to rest’.
SAS	<i>ɲə-rəbaʔ</i> ‘lay down’ <i>awak</i> ‘body’.
GOR	<i>ti-</i> REFL.
DAA	Also ‘sleep’.
WOL	<i>ka-<sup>m</sup>bale-<sup>m</sup>bale</i> ‘lie on one’s back’; <i>ka-<sup>m</sup>bara-<sup>m</sup>bara</i> ‘lie flat’; <i>ka-ofo-ofo</i> ‘lie face downwards’, <i>po-tid’ole, tid’ole</i> .
BUR	Also ‘sleep’; <i>leta kaku-n</i> ‘ease one’s back’.
DOB	‘sleep’ or ‘lie down’.
IRA	<i>agenə tagə togərə</i> ‘I sleep, lying down’.
DAM	‘3sg-lie-INF’.
MAB	<i>-kēne</i> (vb intrans); <i>-peɲēne</i> (vb trans).
YAB	‘lie.down downward’; also <i>-ù tau-ɲ siʔ</i> ‘drop self downward’.
KAU	‘go downwards’ + ‘stay’ (serial verb construction).
MOT	<i>kure-a</i> ‘put down, (often of something heavy)’.
MEK	<i>e-ka</i> ‘lie’, <i>kipo</i> ‘down’.
PAA	Also ‘sleep’.
NEN	Also <i>niɖet(e)</i> .
PON	<i>-ti</i> ‘down’.
SAM	Also <i>taʔatia</i> , (polite) <i>faʔa-saʔosaʔo</i> , <i>faʔa-</i> CAUS, <i>saʔo</i> (vb intrans) ‘be straight’.

## 12.150 STAND

*ATA	man-čaʔrux	*KAG	mindəg	*JAV	ɲ-adək
TSO	raʔʔi	BLA	tadag	*MAD	mañjəŋ
*RUK	wa-idi	*SAB	teŋge	*BAL	mə-juʔuk
*PAI	mi-gaʔalʔ	*MUR	bigod	SAS	ɲ-añjəŋ
YAM	tomanək	MGY	mi-ʕangana	*GOR	mo-ti-tihulo
ISN	magsikād	*ACE	[dɔŋ]	DAA	neka-ɳgore
*KAL	sikad	BAT	ʔəŋjəŋ	UMA	mo-kore
*TAG	tayoʔ	MIN	tagaʔ	BUG	tittəŋ
AKL	tindug	IND	bər-diri	KON	amm-enteŋ
PAL	tumyɔg (tyag)	SUN	naŋtuŋ	*WOL	ka-ʕale-ʕale
*MOL	tiʔdog		(taŋtuŋ)	MAG	həse

NGA	duge	ADZ	mu <sup>n</sup> ti-	CEM	cût
SIK	gəra	*KIL	-totu	AJI	təmā
RTI	napa-dei-k	TAW	towolo	XAR	tã
BUR	kere-k	*MOT	gini	NEN	ser(e)
DOB	na-r-tama'rer	MEK	e-apa	KIR	tei
IRA	nəmarirə	ROV	туру	*MSH	cuṛək
SAW	n-əsəl	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> egra	*PON	ū
NYI	ales	LAU	take	WLE	sü
MAM	tui	KWO	ula	RTU	fū
TAK	-tur	*RAG	tu	EFI	tū
*DAM	i-ɸare-ya	*PAA	dōmal	WFI	uʃu
MAB	-me <sup>n</sup> der	LEW	sum <sup>w</sup> alu	TON	tu <sup>?</sup> u
YAB	-ko	POR	tül	SAM	tū
KAU	pit	NTA	-atul	MEL	tū
TOL	tur	KWA	-arer	*TAH	ti <sup>?</sup> a
BUA	nare	NEM	tüt	RAP	maroa

ATA Also *man-čakruy*.

RUK *wa-ačəgə-čəgə* 'stand', *wa-idi* 'stand up'.

PAI *maḷi-ŋəʃəl<sup>y</sup>* 'stand upright'.

KAL *sikad + -um-*.

TAG Also *tindig*, Proto-Philippines *\*tindeR*.

MOL *ti<sup>?</sup>dog + -um-*.

KAG From *tindəg + m-*.

SAB *teŋge + aN-*.

MUR *bigod (-um-)*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

IAV Horne: *-adəg*.

MAD One morpheme (Safioedin 1977).

BAL Also *baŋun* 'stand up'.

GOR *ti-REFL*.

WOL *ka-bale-bale* 'stand upright, stand erect'; *ka-karo*, *po-<sup>n</sup>tide* 'stand on tiptoe', *sigo* 'stand up, be erect'.

DAM '3sg-stand-INF'.

KIL *-toli* 'stand (vb trans)'; also *-to-malaula* (vb focus) 'stand upright', *-to-miliwoli* (obj. focus) 'stand-it-upright', *-tokaia* (vb focus form only) 'stand up'.

MOT Also *tore isi* 'stand up' (*tore* 'rise', *isi* 'up').



RAG	Also <i>du</i> .
PAA	‘stay straight’.
MSH	Also <i>kowawa</i> also ‘cross one’s legs’; <i>cutak -tak</i> ‘stand up’.
• PON	Also <i>kesīnen</i> ; <i>ninleḡita</i> hon.
TAH	Also <i>tū</i> archaic.

## 12.160 REMAIN, STAY

ATA	mimʔumʔux	DAA	ne-toʔo	*ROV	koa hola
*TSO	a-ḡaʒo	UMA	tida	MAR	au au
RUK	i-a-kai	BUG	monro	LAU	tō, nofo
PAI		*KON	amm-antaḡ	KWO	nānaʔi
YAM	to ḡian	WOL	ᵐboore	RAG	
ISN	magyān	MAG	kaʔeḡ	PAA	dō
KAL	iḡgaw	NGA	doḡo	*LEW	sū
*TAG	pa-iwan	SIK	təri ʔloʔa	POR	rox
*AKL	bilin	RTI	leo	NTA	-atəḡ
PAL	luməḡdəḡ (ləḡdəḡ)	*BUR	defo	*KWA	-ara
*MOL	olat	DOB	ʔa-me	NEM	mō
*KAG	[ti'nir]	*IRA	nami	CEM	mú
BLA	m-nəʔ	SAW	n-tolen	AJI	tāñ
*SAB	tagad	*NYI	udu	XAR	tā-dē
*MUR	ayan	MAM	soaʔi	NEN	menəḡ
MGY	mi-andʔi	*TAK	-mado	*KIR	tiku
*ACE	tiḡgay	*DAM	i-bodō-ya	MSH	pær
BAT	tiḡgal	*MAB	-ᵐbotᵐbot	*PON	mi
MIN	tiḡga	YAB	-mʷa	WLE	miʔa
IND	tiḡgal	*KAU	in	EFI	tiko
*SUN	čičiḡ	*TOL	mono	WFI	nō
JAV	kari	BUA	nədo	RTU	fuʔu
MAD	ənnəḡ	*ADZ	ᵐpa(i)-	TON	nofo
*BAL	ḡoyəḡ (oyəḡ)	*KIL	-sisu	*SAM	nofo
*SAS	məroʔ	*TAW	mamae	MEL	nofo
GOR	tola-tola	MOT	noho	*TAH	faʔaea
		*MEK	e-aḡu-e	RAP	noho

TSO Also *a-ḡaʒv-a*.

TAG *pa-iwan + mag-*; also *tīḡil + -um-*.

- AKL *bilin + pa-*.
- MOL *olat + m-/-on*.
- KAG [*ti'nir*] + *mag-* from Spanish *tener*?
- SAB *tagad + aN-*.
- MUR *ayan (-um-)* 'reside, stay (in s.o.'s house)'; *sodoy* (base vb) 'stay, remain (of), be left (over)'.
- ACE Also *tutup*.
- SUN Also *matuh (patuh)*; see 12.160, 01.322.
- BAL Also *nəŋil (N-təŋil)* 'remain, remain silent'.
- SAS See 07.110, 'live, dwell'.
- KON Also *a?-bora*.
- BUR See also 12.130.
- IRA *jami werafutə*, 'I'm staying at Werefuta'.
- NYI Also *areu, ado*.
- TAK 'stay, remain, dwell, live' (see 07.110); also *-ma*, see 04.630, 12.130.
- DAM '3sg-sit-INF'.
- MAB Also *-mbot le-* 'stay behind'.
- KAU Also *kuk* (plural form of *in*), *nuk* 'stay overnight', and *uŋ* 'dwell in a place'.
- TOL 'remain and take care of the home while the others go hunting, fishing, etc.'
- ADZ *<sup>m</sup>pa(i)-* 'stay, remain (animate subject)', *-i* if the verb is at the end of sentence; *miŋ<sup>?</sup>* 'stay, remain (inanimate subject)'.
- KIL Also *-gaga*.
- TAW Also (dialect) *memae*.
- MEK From *e-aŋu* 'sit', *-e* CONT.
- ROV *koa hola* 'stay forever', *koa* 'stay'.
- LEW Also *sike, tō, teke*.
- KWA Also *-amak*.
- KIR Also *mena* 'be in a place'.
- PON Also *keiru* 'stay temporarily'; *p<sup>w</sup>ei-ti* (with suffix *-ti* 'down'); spend the night'.
- SAM See 12.130.
- TAH Also *toe*.

## 12.170 REMAINS, LEFT OVERS

<b>Sanskrit:</b> śeṣa- ‘remainder, rest’
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*ATA	miṣikāṅ	UMA	toro	ROV	boboṅyisi
TSO	ϕoxriϕri	BUG	sesa	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> akade
RUK	təḍānə	*KON	labbi-nna	LAU	si dō eore
PAI	s-ərn-əkəz	*WOL	[sisa]	*KWO	oleṅeʔe
YAM	mavəḥəḍ	MAG	reči	RAG	malahi
ISN	nabunna	NGA	resi	PAA	sokoite
KAL	būna	SIK	βot	LEW	kororo-sia
*TAG	tira	RTI	ela-k	*POR	čuj xanian
*AKL	salin	*BUR	hisi-n	NTA	nəmusmusən
PAL	apəḍ	*DOB	ʔumuy si	KWA	nəp <sup>w</sup> are-
MOL	opod		ʔaratay	*NEM	t <sup>n</sup> ele-n
KAG	samaʔ	IRA	wənəga rərə	CEM	nēhi-n
BLA	g-dəʔ	*SAW	səsə	AJH	nəbə
SAB	kapin	NYI	erah	XAR	nue
MUR	suo	MAM	enobaṅa	NEN	waθeren
MGY	[sisa]	*TAK	wada-n	KIR	tenikira
ACE	untəə	DAM	tuni	MSH	p <sup>u</sup> e
BAT	lobi-lobi	*MAB	ka lwono	*PON	luwe
MIN	[siso]	*YAB	ṅa-gedo-gedo	WLE	para
*IND	[sisa]	*KAU	misikin pit	EFI	βō
SUN	[sesa]	*TOL	ibə-nə-məgit	WFI	βō
*JAV	sisan	BUA	mətes	*RTU	tore
MAD	kari	*ADZ	nam buru <sup>m</sup> pir	TON	toeṅa
BAL	[sisə]	*KIL	-kesa	*SAM	meatotoe
*SAS	[sisə]	TAW	omtelena	MEL	
*GOR	labito	MOT	bahu	TAH	toeʔa
DAA	labi-na	*MEK	ame-ʔafu	*RAP	toeṅa

ATA *miṣikāṅ* ‘have remains or leftovers’, *təha, təraʔ* ‘leftovers (of food)’.

TAG Also *labi* ‘leftovers’.

AKL Also [*sobra*], from Spanish *sobra*.

IND Also *bəkas, pəningalan (tingal)*.

JAV From (*[sisa]-an*)

SAS Also *onəs*.

GOR	Also <i>[sisa]</i> .
KON	Also <i>[sesa]</i> (of food).
WOL	Also <i>tapa-tapa, bilaa</i> .
BUR	Also <i>iya-r geran</i> ‘excess things’.
DOB	‘leftovers of food’.
SAW	Also <i>gleo</i> .
TAK	‘remainder, end, half’.
MAB	<i>ḡāra</i> ‘left over food’.
YAB	Also <i>ḡa-pɔpɔʔ</i> ‘broken bits’, <i>ḡa-sàliḡ-sàliḡ</i> ‘scattered bits’.
KAU	‘half stand’.
TOL	<i>ibə</i> ‘remainder’, <i>nə</i> CONN, <i>məgit</i> ‘thing, food’.
ADZ	‘food remains, cold left overs’.
KIL	<i>-kesa</i> ‘remnant, anything’; <i>kob<sup>w</sup>aga</i> ‘leftover, cold food’.
MEK	<i>ame-ʔafu</i> ‘crumbs, leavings’; <i>ʔama-ʔama</i> ‘rubbish, sweepings’, especially the shells of the areca nut.
KWO	Also <i>oleʔe</i> ‘left over of’.
POR	Also <i><sup>m</sup>batxanian</i> .
NEM	<i>t<sup>n</sup>elen-n</i> ‘remains’; <i>ḡap</i> ‘food left overs’.
PON	3sg POSS form.
RTU	Also <i>tē tortore</i> .
SAM	<i>mea</i> ‘thing’, <i>totoe</i> (vb intrans) ‘remain, be left’.
RAP	Also <i>toe eḡa; topa</i> .

## 12.210 COLLECT, GATHER

ATA	ʔ-um-utuʔ	*MOL	tiʔpun	IND	məḡumpul-kan (kumpul)
*TSO	a-trurunu	*KAG	tipunun		
RUK	isa-robo	*BLA	s-an-tifun	SUN	ḡumpul-kin (kumpul)
PAI		*SAB	tipun		
YAM	akpəxən	*MUR	lulud	JAV	ḡumpul-ke (kumpul)
ISN	urnūḡan	MGY	mi-uti		
*KAL	sīnup	*ACE	puu-sa-pat	MAD	ma-kumpul (-pa-kumpul)
*TAG	tīpon	BAT	pa-puḡu		
*AKL	tīpun	*MIN	kampu <sup>ʔ</sup> ḡ-kan	*BAL	munduh-aḡ (punduh)
PAL	mɔ-ʔisiʔ				

SAS	ñopoʔaŋ (sopoʔ)	*MAB	- <sup>n</sup> dou	*KWA	-awaka
		YAB	-yɔŋ	*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> ede
*GOR	moŋa <sup>m</sup> bu	KAU	tamuk	CEM	táb <sup>w</sup> ɔ
DAA	nom-pasiromu	*TOL	və-rurue	AJI	ya
UMA	ru <sup>m</sup> pu	BUA	supin	XAR	ši
BUG	mad-deppuŋ-iŋ	ADZ	ufum-	NEN	čini
KON	an-rappuŋ	KIL	-kouguguli	*KIR	ikota
*WOL	ɓuso	*TAW	lugogona	*MSH	ain
MAG	pukul	*MOT	ha-bou-a	*PON	rik
*NGA	utu	*MEK	e-pa-kai-ŋuŋu-	*WLE	xašū-a
*SIK	utu-ŋ		a	*EFI	soŋo-na
*RTI	naka-bu-bua	ROV	varuyarani	*WFI	ɓitoroki-nia
*BUR	ep-sia-k	MAR	salo	RTU	fakputu
DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> ul	LAU	konia	TON	tānaki
IRA	notənə	KWO	ogu(-a)	*SAM	sao
SAW	n-fa-ʃɔl	RAG	hara	*MEL	[kurukina]
*NYI	atukum	PAA	lahi	TAH	haʔaputu
*MAM	budinaʔi	LEW	wari	*RAP	haʔa putu
*TAK	-sini	POR	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> avo		
DAM	legēi	NTA	-uər		
TSO	Also <i>a-trurun-a</i> .				
KAL	<i>sīnup + man-</i> .				
TAG	Also <i>īpon + mag-/in</i> .				
AKL	<i>tīpun + -un</i> , PHN <i>*ti(m)pun</i> .				
MOL	<i>tīʔpun + mog-/on</i> .				
KAG	<i>tīpon + mag-/ən</i> .				
BLA	<i>n-uku</i> ‘gather’.				
SAB	<i>tīpun + aN-/ø</i> ; also <i>pūn + aN-/ø</i> , <i>momos + ag-/ø</i> (of things).				
MUR	<i>lulud (maŋ- -on)</i> .				
ACE	‘cause to be in one place’.				
MIN	Also <i>kumpue-kan</i> .				
BAL	Also <i>(N-)duduk</i> ‘pick up; collect (fine, tax, levy)’.				
GOR	<i>(ʔa<sup>m</sup>bu + moN-)</i> ; also <i>mohulu (wulu + moh-)</i> .				
WOL	Also <i>romus-aka</i> .				
NGA	Also <i>ɓou</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>omok</i> ; <i>ŋamo</i> ‘collect grass, rubbish’.				

- RTI 'gather together into a group'.
- BUR *ep-sia-k* 'cause to be one, gather, collect, mix'; *ebrau* 'gather people together'; *ep-sulu-n* 'gather (people/things) together'; *ef-loli geb em-tua-t-o* 'gather the elders'; *hiwi boli-boli* 'gather around a person, surround'; *hoki kau* 'gather (fire) wood'; see also 08.320.
- NYI Also *añidiu*.
- MAM Also *ʔabuŋ*.
- TAK See 10.610.
- MAB Also *-kor, -yo, -yogēge*.
- TOL *və*- CAUS, *ruru-e* (vb trans); *ruru-əi* (vb intrans) 'tread upon, visit, to stoop and peep into'; *ruə/ru-e* 'kick, tread upon (vb trans)'; see 10.431.
- TAW *lugogona* also 'sweep'; *wotamtama* 'collect items by hand'.
- MOT 'cause to be together' (*bou* 'together').
- MEK *kai* 'movement unspecified for direction', *ŋuŋu* 'here, together', hence 'make something come together'; NW Mekeo *i-uoŋaina*.
- KWA Also *osisumun* 'gather, as a group'; *-əp(i) sumun* 'stick together'; *-orərup<sup>w</sup>* 'gather, as a group'.
- NEM *p<sup>w</sup>ede* 'pick fruit'; *cevi* 'pick leaves, young shoots'.
- KIR *ikota* 'gather up'; *rikoa, bōta* 'particularly of people'.
- MSH *təl; cinwər* (of coconuts or breadfruit).
- PON Also *akerpene* with *-pene* 'together'; *rōk*.
- WLE *xaşū-a* causative form, from *şū* 'meet'; *üyeĩ; tteüya*.
- WFI Also *ō-βia*.
- EFI Also *kumu-na*.
- SAM Also *faʔa-potopoto* 'collect, gather', *potopoto* 'assemble, gather (vb intrans)', *faʔa*- CAUS.
- MEL From Efate.
- RAP Also *runu*.

## 12.212 PICK UP

ATA	r-um-iri†-iḱ	PAI	, l <sup>y</sup> -əm-u-l <sup>y</sup> u	*KAL	aknam
*TSO	ma-tm̄iti	YAM	akapən	*TAG	pūlot
RUK	si-a-lodo	ISN	piḱit-an	*AKL	pū†ut

PAL	pudut-ən	NGA	ɗaɗo	RAG	
MOL	pudut	*SIK	regi-ŋ	PAA	lahlāti
*KAG	timurun	*RTI	ketu	*LEW	la-lua
BLA	n-ulut	*BUR	tuu-k	POR	xir-i
*SAB	puwa?	DOB	ʔa-lebi	NTA	-ləsipər
*MUR	pū	IRA	neɸerarurə	KWA	-awahi uta
MGY	mi-ɸimpuna	SAW	n-ɛlɔŋɛ	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ēi
*ACE	[čɔʔ]	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ei	CEM	tái
BAT	ǰɔpput	MAM	doʔitate	AJI	kañ
MIN	ambiʔ?	*TAK	-abi-sa	XAR	kapiti
*IND	məŋ-aŋkat	DAM	ɸito	NEN	čini
SUN	ñokot (čokot)	MAB	-yo	*KIR	rikoa
JAV	ñ-ǰupu?	YAB	-gelu?	MSH	ain
*MAD	ma-puluŋ	*KAU	βa-i ... si	*PON	lijmēta
	(pa-puluŋ)	TOL	tək	*WLE	firi
BAL	nuduk	BUA	zom rak	EFI	tomi-ka
	(duduk)	ADZ	yu-	WFI	luŋi-a
SAS	ŋə-bait	KIL	-lupi	RTU	fui
*GOR	momi <sup>n</sup> daʔo	TAW	omtuwaluna	TON	tufi
DAA	na-ŋo <sup>ŋ</sup> gotaka	*MOT	abi-aisi	SAM	tae
UMA	tima?	*MEK	e-afi-a-kae	MEL	kofia
BUG	mad-duppa	ROV	pudiki vayi	TAH	ʔohi
*KON	an-rappuŋ	MAR	sene	*RAP	runu
*WOL	roro	LAU	hamo ʔuria		
MAG	pili	KWO	soʔofi-a		

TSO Also *pa-tmit-a*.

KAL From *aknam + man-*.

TAG *pūlot + -um-/-in*.

AKL *pūɸut + -un*.

KAG *timod + mag-/-ən (timurun)*.

SAB *puwa? + aN-/ø*.

MUR *ū (maŋ- -on)*.

ACE Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *məmuŋut (puŋut)*.

MAD Safioedin (1977): 'gather together, make one'.

GOR (*bi<sup>n</sup>daʔo + moN-*); also *momuwato (huwato + moN-)*.

KON Also *an-ǰappu?*

WOL	Also <i>sad<u>u</u>, ene</i> .
SIK	Also <i>poto</i> .
RTI	Also <i>kolu</i> .
BUR	Also <i>waku, lepa-k, ep-keha-k</i> .
TAK	See 10.220.
KAU	'carry-it OBJ move upwards' (serial verb construction).
MOT	<i>abi-a</i> 'get, obtain', <i>isi</i> 'up'.
MEK	<i>e-afia-a-kae</i> lit 'pick something up'; <i>e-afi-au-a</i> 'pick up something' ( <i>au</i> 'upward').
LEW	Also <i>kinari-lua</i> 'pick up in fingers'.
NEM	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ēi</i> 'pick up one by one'; <i>cai</i> 'pick up in handfuls'.
KIR	<i>rikoa</i> 'gather, collect'; <i>bōta, ikota</i> .
PON	<i>limēta</i> (with <i>-da</i> 'up'); 'gather, take along'; <i>rik</i> .
WLE	<i>fiṛ</i> also 'choose', <i>ciϕ<sup>w</sup>e</i> 'pick up with an instrument'.
RAP	Also <i>to<sup>o</sup> mai</i>

### 12.213 PILE UP

ATA	ʔ-um-utuʔ	MIN	uŋgu <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	*WOL	tapi
*TSO	ma-rpe-svi-sviri	IND	mānimbun (timbun)	MAG	i <sup>m</sup> puŋ
RUK	wa-robo	SUN	numpuk-kin (tumpuk)	NGA	ʃou
PAI	ḵ-əm-pu			*SIK	oŋgok
YAM	paḍponən	JAV	numpuʔ (tumpuʔ)	*RTI	fua
ISN	buntūn-an			BUR	ef-loli-k
*KAL	pintok	*MAD	maddək (paddək)	*DOB	na-r-dem ϕiϕan-di
*TAG	tambak			IRA	notənə
*AKL	tambak	BAL	nambuŋaŋ (tambun)	*SAW	n-pəpəl
PAL	i-gusud			NYI	tukum <sup>w</sup> iy
MOL	bunbun	*SAS	nompo <sup>ʔ</sup> aŋ (tompo <sup>ʔ</sup> )	MAM	subu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*KAG	tumpukun			TAK	-diri
BLA	s-an-tifun	GOR	mo-po-hu <sup>n</sup> du	DAM	tetetete
*SAB	baŋkat	DAA		*MAB	- <sup>ʔ</sup> gas
*MUR	buʃuk	UMA	loʃu <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	-b <sup>w</sup> a
MGY	man-anguna	BUG	mas-susuŋ	KAU	haluŋ
ACE	tamən	KON	an-nambuŋ (tambuŋ)	TOL	vəŋən
*BAT	pa-gukguk			*BUA	supin



ADZ	siri-	*LEW	virani-ruru	PON	kəsoke
*KIL	-kouguguli	POR	rvaruv-in-i	*WLE	wōteřaxi
*TAW	luemota	*NTA	-arŋataiən	EFI	bini-a
*MOT	senu-a	*KWA	-ouete	WFI	koro-nia
*MEK	e-ŋaŋo	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ai	*RTU	tanəki
ROV	tavetebotbotu	CEM	né-ībū-hi	TON	fokotu <sup>?</sup> u
*MAR	bubukrei	AJI	řavāi	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a-putu
LAU	<sup>?</sup> ogoua	*XAR	çu-tū	MEL	suakina
KWO		*NEN	akudeni	TAH	ha <sup>?</sup> apu <sup>?</sup> e
RAG		*KIR	kab <sup>w</sup> arikoa	RAP	hakataka-taka
PAA	sōruaini	*MSH	ecāke		

TSO Also *pa-pre-svi-svir-a*.

ƘAL *pintok + -ən*.

TAG Also *bunton + mag-/i-*, *salansan* ‘in an orderly manner’.

AKL *tambak + -un*.

KAG *tumpok + mag-/ə-n*.

SAB *baŋkat + aN-/ø*.

MUR *buĵuk (maŋ- -in)* ‘pile up (food on plate, rice in basket)’; *pumpun (maŋ- -in)* ‘bring together in a pile’.

BAT Also *susun*.

MAD Safioedin (1977): ‘erect, build’.

SAS Goris: *tumpuk*.

WOL Also *su<sup>n</sup>çu*.

SIK Also *dari-ŋ, plota*; [*susu-ŋ*] from Malay.

RTI Also *tana, t-tana*.

DOB ‘he does their tops’.

SAW Also *n-put*.

MAB Also *-<sup>n</sup>dou, -parkoto*.

YAB Also *-katəŋ*.

BUA *supin* ‘gather together in a heap’; *zale* ‘pile long objects together in a heap’; *ruĵ* ‘increase, pile up’.

KIL Also *-sobubuna*.

TAW *luemota* ‘pile together in piles’; *lutepana* ‘pile on top’.

MOT Also *habou-a* (see 12.210).

MEK	<i>e-ŋaŋo</i> (vb intrans); <i>e-oŋe-ŋaŋo</i> and <i>e-pa-ŋaŋo-a</i> (vb trans); <i>e-ŋai-ŋai-a</i> ‘pile up, heap up (vb trans)’.
MAR	Also <i>tot<sup>h</sup>oyei</i> .
LEW	Also <i>koani-arari</i> , <i>koani-vira-virani</i> .
NTA	Also <i>-elen</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-weri</i> ‘pile something on top of something’.
NEM	Also <i>perai</i> .
XAR	‘put in a heap’.
NEN	Also <i>kudo(n)</i> .
KIR	CAUS form, from <i>b<sup>w</sup>ariko</i> ‘heap, pile’; <i>ikota</i> .
MSH	<i>cocōn</i> ‘stack, put on top’; <i>pænuki</i> .
WLE	‘piled, stacked (vb intrans)’.
RTU	Also <i>hoʔi</i> .
SAM	<i>faʔa</i> - CAUS, <i>putu</i> ‘(of rows of people, trees, etc.) be serried, crowded (vb intrans)’.

## 12.220 JOIN, UNITE

ATA	ʔ-um-uβu	BAT	pa dōmu	NGA	ili
*TSO	ϕ-m-uŋxu	MIN	sambuʔŋ	*SIK	ʔlelə-ŋ
RUK	wa-ϕoŋolo	*IND	məŋ-hubuŋ-	*RTI	tao neu esa
PAI	na-ma-təvəl <sup>y</sup>		kan	*BUR	ep-sia-k
YAM	pitolaŋan	*SUN	ŋa-hiʃi-kin	DOB	ʔa-tura
ISN	mag-amuŋ	JAV	ŋ-gabuŋ	IRA	nanəʔetabəbə
*KAL	osa	*MAD	ma-puluŋ	*SAW	n-pe be esə
*TAG	kabit		(pa-puluŋ)	NYI	tabadah
*AKL	sugpun	*BAL	ñambuŋ	*MAM	bata
*PAL	lumamud (lamud)		(sambuŋ)	TAK	-bitane
*MOL	sombilug	*SAS	bə-sopoʔ	DAM	bagu
*KAG	duma	*GOR	mo-po-	*MAB	-sē <sup>ʔ</sup> ge
			tuwawu	*YAB	-yàʔ teku
*BLA	s-an-tugad	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-u <sup>m</sup> pu	KAU	sumsum
*SAB	dakayuʔ	UMA	u <sup>m</sup> puʔ	*TOL	vuŋ guve
*MUR	tunŋul	BUG	sibawa	*BUA	gəlu lək
MGY	mana-	*KON	aʔ-pa-seʔre	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pruʔ-
	kambana	WOL	o <sup>m</sup> pu	*KIL	-sepituki
*ACE	pu-sa	MAG	tu <sup>ʔ</sup> ku	TAW	popo

*MOT	ha-tamona-ia	NTA	-əlpən	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> eři-a
*MEK	e-ʔima	*KWA	-awəni	EFI	sema-a
*ROV	vari sotoi	NEM	tējai	WFI	hema-sia
*MAR	salofodu	CEM	c-pətē-hi	RTU	taunɔʔi
LAU	ofua	AJI	kaveäi	*TON	fakahoko
KWO	ogu(-a)lado-a	XAR	idə	*SAM	faʔa-soʔo
RAG		NEN	ituluo(n)	MEL	tütakina
PAA	sōsōrineni	*KIR	tomā	*TAH	ʔāmui
*LEW	si-koli	*MSH	rəpicək	RAP	hakapiri
POR	si <sup>m</sup> bran-i	PON	kaokone		

TSO Also *çɨuh-i*.

KAL *osa + man- -an*.

TAG *dugtoŋ + mag-/i-*.

AKL *sugpun + -un* 'join together'.

PAL Also *məglamud*.

MOL *sombilug + mөг-/on*.

KAG *duma + mag-/ən* 'join'; *isyá + mag-* 'unite'.

BLA *s-an-satu* 'make one'.

SAB *dakayuʔ + pa-/ø; dakayuʔ + ag-* (of people).

MUR *tungul (maŋ- -on)* (to enlarge or extend s.th.); *supuk (maŋ- -on)* (to repair s.th. broken).

ACE 'cause to be one'.

IND Also *məm-pər-satu-kan, məŋ-gabuŋ-kan, mənambuŋ (sambuŋ)*.

SUN *hiji* 'one'.

MAD See 12.212. Safioedin (1977): 'gather together, make one'.

BAL *(N-)sambuŋ* 'join lengthways'; *(N-)akit* 'join together to make wider, assemble parts of a whole'; *(N-)atəp(aŋ)* 'press closely together'; *(N-)barəŋ-in* 'join a group of people in an activity'.

SAS (vb intrans); Thoir et al. (1985): *sopoʔ* 'one'; *sambuŋ* ('ngeto-ngete dialect') 'join, unite'.

GOR 'unite', also *mo-po-helumo*.

KON Also *añ-nambuŋ (sambuŋ), aʔ-paʔ-rappuŋ-aŋ*.

SIK Also *pəte, sube*.

RTI *tao neu esa* 'make one'; *naka-bubua* 'to gather together into a group'.

BUR 'make one'; see also 12.210.

SAW	'make one'; <i>ndadieso</i> 'become one'.
MAM	Also <i>teʔanana</i> .
MAB	- <i>sēnge</i> 'join, add to'; - <i>lup</i> 'unite'.
YAB	'hit addition'; also - <i>teku</i> 'join together'.
TOL	<i>vuŋ</i> 'put (vb trans)', 12.720, <i>guv-e</i> (vb trans) <i>guv-ai</i> (vb intrans) 'together' only used in compounds like <i>vuŋ guv-e</i> (vb trans).
BUA	<i>gəlu loḵ</i> 'join something into something else'; <i>galumin</i> 'join end to end, to extend something'.
KIL	- <i>sepituki</i> 'join'; - <i>seguliki</i> 'assemble, put close together, unite'.
MOT	'cause to be one' ( <i>tomona</i> 'one', probably from <i>ta</i> 'one' and <i>mo</i> 'only').
MEK	Also <i>e-ʔima-lai-sa(-lei-a)</i> .
ROV	Also <i>varihoda</i> (of rope, wood).
MAR	<i>salo fodu</i> 'meet, join together'; <i>tudu, ʒoŋi</i> 'join two things together'.
LEW	'add to'; also <i>su-koli</i> 'join together', <i>la-virani-ruru</i> .
KWA	Also - <i>arukʷi</i> also 'throw a spherical object'; - <i>arupʷi</i> also 'throw an elongated object'; - <i>erupʷun</i> also 'exchange, bring two objects together'; - <i>sumun</i> 'connect, bring together' (as hand, lips, etc.)'.
KIR	<i>tutā, reita</i> 'join, lengthen'; <i>ribʷata</i> 'bind, mend, set'.
MSH	<i>ræpicək</i> 'joined (vb intrans)'; also <i>kəpʷaik</i> .
TON	<i>fakahoko</i> 'join'; <i>faka-tahatahaʔi</i> 'unite'.
SAM	<i>faʔa-</i> CAUS, <i>sosoʔo</i> (vb intrans) 'be connected, follow next'.
TAH	Also <i>tūʔati, faʔatūʔati, tāhōʔē, tāpiri</i> .

## 12.230 SEPARATE

ATA	č-um-kaʔ	*PAL	səridyən	MIN	čaray-an
*TSO	t-m-as-ʔusnu		(saridi)	IND	məmisah-kan
RUK	wa-vagay	*MOL	sarak		(pisah)
*PAI	pa-pa-pilik	*KAG	bəlag	SUN	misah-kin
YAM	papinpinən	BLA	s-an-təni		(pisah)
ISN	mag-sibna	*SAB	saddī	JAV	misah (pisah)
*KAL	sīna	*MUR	suay	MAD	a-pisa
*TAG	bukod	MGY	mampi-saraka	*BAL	məlas(-aŋ)
*AKL	buʔag	*ACE	wuəʔ		(bəlas)
		BAT	siraŋ	*SAS	

*GOR	momo <sup>n</sup> dolo	MAB	-pēte	NEM	pe-t <sup>h</sup> e
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> popo-	*YAB	-wà ... e-ko?	CEM	pî-né-íte
	ga <sup>?</sup> a	KAU	slök	*AJI	vidur
UMA	gaa <sup>?</sup>	*TOL	vər-bəi-əne	XAR	fa-šetia
BUG	mas-saraŋ	*BUA	rū	*NEN	aeneweni
*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -pa-si-	ADZ	qzaf-	*KIR	kaokoroa
	sa <sup>?</sup> la <sup>?</sup>	*KIL	-taβileβi	*MSH	cenolōke
*WOL	pa-po-gaa	*TAW	kahakaha-na	*PON	kaṭōre
MAG	čear	*MOT	ha-parara-ia	*WLE	xaiyōxī-a
NGA	sega	*MEK	e-pa- <sup>?</sup> eŋe-pa	EFI	wase-a
*SIK	bega	ROV	vari-pagahe	WFI	wahe-ia
RTI	le <sup>?</sup> a kofe <sup>?</sup> e-k	MAR	sopa	RTU	væe
*BUR	ep-sama-k	LAU	totagala	*TON	faka-
DOB	da-basiyar	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aitatari		mavahe <sup>?</sup> i
*IRA	dəφerə	RAG		SAM	vavae
SAW	n-far-fara	PAA	gur rāsīlīni	*MEL	[wotāia]
NYI	ap <sup>w</sup> ai	*LEW	su-tetae	*TAH	fa <sup>?</sup> ata <sup>?</sup> a
MAM	ramoa <sup>?</sup> i	POR	pepex-in-i	*RAP	vahi
TAK		NTA	-alhau pəsən		
DAM	uru φara	*KWA	-φiφi		

TSO Also *tas-<sup>?</sup>usn-a* ‘separate objects’; *t-m-as-mo-φvihi* also *tas-mo-φvi-a* ‘separate animate beings (e.g. fighting people)’.

PAI *p-ən-īlik* ‘pick out’.

KAL *sina + man- -on*.

TAG *bukod + mag-/pag--in* ‘part’; *āwat + -um-/in* ‘separate people quarreling’.

AKL *bu<sup>?</sup>ag + -un*.

PAL Also *parakən*.

MOL *sarak + mog-/on*.

KAG *belag + mag-/ən*.

SAB (*saddī + pa-/ø*); *pa-saddī* ‘separate things’; *butas + ag-/ø* ‘part/separate, of people’.

MUR *suay (mag-), tuliad (-um-)* ‘go different ways’; *lili<sup>?</sup> (mag-, maŋ- -on)* ‘sort out’.

ACE Also *pu-lhuwəh* ‘release’; *čre* ‘divorce, separate’.

BAL Also (*N-*)*palas-aŋ* ‘separate (people e.g. when fighting); divorce (third parties)’.

SAS	Thoir et al. (1985): <i>bəlas</i> .
GOR	( <i>po<sup>n</sup>dolo + moN-</i> ); also <i>mo-po-wiwi</i> .
KON	Also <i>a<sup>?</sup>pa-saraeŋ</i> .
WOL	Also <i>po-ḡoli, po-ḡoli-ḡoli, po-gaa</i> .
SIK	Also <i>ʔabar</i> .
BUR	Also <i>tela</i> .
IRA	‘seperate fighting people’.
YAB	‘separate something it-divide’ i.e. ‘divide into two’; similarly <i>-wa ... e-ʔgiʔ</i> .
TOL	<i>vər-REC, bæi</i> ‘push aside (vb trans)’, <i>-əne</i> trans; <i>vər-bæi-əi</i> ‘separate, go from one another (vb intrans)’.
BUA	Also <i>βasuy, kətəkɪn</i> .
KIL	Also <i>-kilaβi</i> .
TAW	<i>kahakaha-na</i> (adj); <i>telekaha</i> (vb); <i>omkaha</i> ‘separate after travelling together’; <i>gunanoha</i> ‘become separated’; <i>houna liyena</i> ‘place separately’.
MOT	‘cause to be separate’ ( <i>parara</i> ‘be split, divided, separate’).
MEK	<i>e-pa-ʔeŋe-pa</i> ‘separate out; split’; also <i>e-ʔeŋe-lai-sa(-lei-a)</i> .
LEW	Also <i>ure-ure</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-sisi</i> .
AJI	Also <i>pivito</i> .
NEN	Also <i>aiθuani</i> .
KIR	Causative form, from <i>okoro</i> ‘different, distinct’; <i>karaurea</i> causative form, from <i>raure</i> ‘separated’.
MSH	<i>cepel</i> also ‘diverge, divorce’.
PON	<i>kaṭōre</i> compare <i>ṭōrōr</i> ‘different, distinct’; <i>irepesen</i> ( <i>ire</i> ‘its border’, <i>-pesen</i> ‘apart’).
WLE	Causative form, from <i>iyōxi</i> ‘sever, separate’; <i>wē-a</i> ‘place apart’; <i>xa-iyem<sup>w</sup>esü-a</i> causative form, from <i>iyem<sup>w</sup>esü</i> ‘detached’.
TON	Also <i>vaheʔi</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>vehe</i> .
RAP	Also <i>vahi-vahi; haka to-topa; haʔa taʔa</i> .

## 12.232 DIVIDE

Sanskrit: <i>bhāgin-</i> 'sharing'
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ATA	pa-ta-ti-ʔaʔax	UMA	[bagi]	*LAU	tolinʒa
TSO		BUG	mab-[bage]	KWO	daloʔi-a
RUK	pa-o-vagay	KON	aʔ-taha-taha	RAG	
PAI	ma-vaday	*WOL	ʒidʔa-ʒidʔa	PAA	dītī
YAM	pəykətəbən	MAG	pati	*LEW	vio-ni
ISN	uwaran	*NGA	paa	POR	pepex-in-i
*KAL	gogwa	SIK	maʔa	NTA	-ōr
*TAG	hātiʔ	*RTI	baʔe	KWA	-arup <sup>w</sup> uϕi
*AKL	huʔay	BUR	ep-sama-k	NEM	n̄ame
*PAL	bəgyən (bəgy)	DOB	ʔa-yita	CEM	pādā
*MOL	[bahagiʔ]	*IRΛ	n̄erirə	*AJI	vi wī
*KAG	ulas	SAW	n-fan-tən	XAR	šetia
*BLA	s-an-salel	NYI	ap <sup>w</sup> ai	*NEN	iθuba
*SAB	[bahagiʔ]	MAM	nege	KIR	tib <sup>w</sup> ā
*MUR	tayad	TAK		*MSH	acɛc
MGY	mampi-saraka	DAM	uru ϕara	*PON	nēk
ACE	wuəʔ	*MAB	-te	*WLE	iřetī-a
BAT	[bagi]	*YAB	-yāʔ sam	*EFI	wase-a
*MIN	[bagi]	KAU		WFI	ḍigi-sia
IND	məm-[bagi]	*TOL	vər-bəi-əne	RTU	væc
SUN	ŋa-[bagi]	*BUA	rū	TON	vahevahe
JAV	mərɔ(pɔɔ)	ADZ	a <sup>n</sup> kaf-	SAM	vavae
MAD	[bagi]	KIL	-βili	MEL	[wotāia]
*BAL	miak(piak)	TAW	wikaha	*TAH	faʔatuhaʔa
*SAS	maro(parɔ)	*MOT	hari-a	RAP	haka tano-
*GOR	momoloto	MEK	e-aŋa-po(-ŋa)		tano
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-[bagi]	ROV	va hia		
		MAR	foafota		

KAL *gogwa* + *-on* 'divide in two'.

TAG *hātiʔ* + *mag-/in* see also 'share' 11.910.

AKL *huʔay* + *-un*.

PAL *takakən*.

MOL [*bahagiʔ*] + *mog-/on*.

KAG	<i>ulas + mag-/əŋ</i> ; also [ <i>parti</i> ] + <i>mag-/əŋ</i> , from Spanish <i>parte</i> .
BLA	<i>s-an-salel</i> ‘in portions’; <i>s-an-tɔʔ</i> ‘divide (in half)’.
SAB	[ <i>bahagi?</i> ] + <i>ag-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>tayad</i> ( <i>mag-/maŋ -on -in</i> ).
MIN	See 11.910.
BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>səpih</i> ; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>pah</i> ‘divide a number’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>[bagi]</i> ; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>tandiŋ</i> ‘divide food or offerings into portions’ see also 11.910.
SAS	Thoir et al. (1985): <i>paro</i> ‘divide in two’.
GOR	( <i>woloto + moN-</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>po-dʼawu</i> , <i>wole</i> .
NGA	Also <i>ɬai</i> , <i>seya</i> .
RTI	‘share, divide, distribute in shares’.
IRA	<i>a bu rirə</i> ‘I have divided it’
MAB	Also <i>-ye<sup>m</sup>but</i> .
YAB	‘hit distribution’.
TOL	See 12.230.
BUA	<i>rū</i> ‘divide something into two’; <i>Basuy</i> ‘separate, break off’; <i>kətekin</i> ‘disperse’.
MOT	Also <i>karoa-ia</i> ( <i>karoa</i> ‘division, share’).
LAU	Also <i>fita</i> .
LEW	Also <i>lip<sup>w</sup>ere</i> .
AJI	Also <i>ciṛəṛə</i> , <i>paṛəṛə</i> .
NEN	Also <i>θubi</i> .
MSH	Also <i>ṛæccə</i> ‘divide into two parts’; <i>kaccə</i> ‘apportion’.
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>alaŋ</i> also ‘break, split’; <i>apalipesəŋ</i> ‘divide into groups’, lit ‘one section apart’.
WLE	Also <i>pixerəmə</i> ‘apportion’; <i>xaiyōxi-a</i> causative form, from <i>iyōxi</i> ‘separate’; <i>giṛi-a</i> ‘split up’.
EFI	Also <i>tiki-ḏa</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tātuha<sup>?</sup>a</i> .

## 12.240 OPEN

ATA	γ-um-awah	PAI	s-əm-u-	ISN	lu <sup>?</sup> tān
*TSO	ma-avo		ḱəl <sup>y</sup> əv	*KAL	bukat
RUK	mo-a-ələbə	YAM	iwaŋan	*TAG	bukas



*AKL	[abrih]	MAG	če <sup>ɲ</sup> ka	KWO	ʔulasi-a
PAL	tukasan	NGA	kai	RAG	
	(tukus)	*SIK	tie	PAA	seha
*MOL	buka <sup>ʔ</sup>	RTI	hu-ka	LEW	vitava
*KAG	bukas	BUR	fuka	POR	čaŋav-in-i
*BLA	n-ukɔ <sup>ʔ</sup>	DOB	ʔa-ɸay	*NTA	-erahe
*SAB	ukab	IRA	səgaɸənə	*KWA	-ɸi
*MUR	ukab	SAW	n-ɛpil	NEM	tami
*MGY	mamuha	*NYI	sihiy	CEM	têhi
ACE	hah	*MAM	ʔaʔa	AJI	cī
BAT	bukka	TAK	-pasi	XAR	cū
*MIN	siŋko <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	DAM	kā	NEN	tohe
IND	məm-buka	*MAB	-kāga	*KIR	kauka
SUN	muka (buka)	*YAB	-ŋà	*MSH	eɾɿpke
JAV	m-buka <sup>ʔ</sup>	KAU	klas	*PON	riɿiŋ
MAD	bukka <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL	pəpə	*WLE	sūxī
*BAL	ŋ-ampak-aŋ	BUA	taɿinin	EFI	dola-βa
SAS	buka <sup>ʔ</sup>	ADZ	tus-	WFI	dola-βia
*GOR	mo-po-hu <sup>ʔ</sup> o	KIL	-ulaim	*RTU	sæe
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-bea	*TAW	hoe	*TON	ava
UMA	bea	MOT	keho-a	SAM	tatala
BUG	tab-bukka	*MEK	e-aŋa-lai	*MEL	[p <sup>w</sup> alaŋačia]
*KON	an-nimba <sup>ʔ</sup>	*ROV	tukele	*TAH	ʔiriti
	(timba <sup>ʔ</sup> )	MAR	tora	RAP	mataki
*WOL	βu <sup>ɲ</sup> kale	LAU	ʔifiŋia		

TSO Also *pa-av-i*.

KAL *bukat + -an*.

TAG *bukas* ‘not shut’; *buka* (of leg or wound).

AKL From Spanish *abrir*.

MOL *buka<sup>ʔ</sup> + m-/-an* ‘of splitting’.

KAG *bukas + mag-/-an*; also [*abri*] + *mag-/-an* from Spanish *abierto*.

BLA *f-an-wes* ‘open (by removing a cover or lid)’.

SAB *ukab + aN-/ø*; also *ukay*.

MUR *ukab (maŋ- -in)*.

MGY From (*maN-vuha*).

MIN Also *buka<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

- BAL (N-) *ampak-aŋ* ‘open a door or a window’; (N-) *gagah* ‘open a bag, something wrapped up, a box’; (N-) *uŋkab* ‘open the lid of a container, take off a hat’; (N-) *uak* ‘make an opening in a fence, wall’; (N-) *buŋkah-in* ‘open a door’; (N-) *buŋkah* ‘take apart, disassemble’; (N-) *bukak* ‘open for business, of a shop, an office etc.’; (N-) *əmpug* ‘break open a coconut, open a bottle’.
- GOR Also *momu<sup>ɔ</sup>galo* (*bu<sup>ɔ</sup>galo + moN-*).
- KON Also *añ-ñuŋke* (*suŋke*).
- WOL Also *tube* ‘open a window’.
- SIK Also *βakak* ‘open eyes’.
- NYI Also *sulu<sup>ʔ</sup>iy* (see 12.250).
- MAM Also *uasari*.
- MAB *-kāga, -sol* ‘open door’; *-pēre* ‘open eyes’; *-pēze* ‘reveal secrets’, *-pēle* ‘open book’.
- YAB (vb trans).
- TAW *lutane* (of flower opening).
- MEK *e-aŋa-lai* ‘it is open’ (*aŋa* ‘touch’, hence ‘it touches away’); *e-pa-aŋa-lai-sa* (*-lai-a*) (vb trans); NW Mekco *e-maba* ‘open’ and *mabaŋai* ‘openly’.
- ROV *tukelia* ‘to open’.
- NTA Also *-ahap, -ahterakəs*.
- KWA *-ϕi* ‘open as a book or flower, disentangle, untie’; *-ak<sup>w</sup>aŋ* ‘gaping’ (adjective); *-arawerəŋ* ‘open as a store, box, door’; *-asewur* also ‘reveal’.
- KIR Causative form, from *uki* ‘be open’; *kaurea* causative form, from *ure* ‘separate, come apart, open’.
- MSH Also ‘spread out’; *peŋlok* ‘ajar’.
- PON *riŋiŋ* (of hinged objects); *lap<sup>w</sup>at* (of objects like bags); also *lawat*.
- WLE Also *ϕ<sup>w</sup>isixī* (of coconuts/containers for liquid).
- RTU Also *hu<sup>ʔ</sup>e*
- TON Also *fakaava, avañi*.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *tātara*.

## 12.250 SHUT, CLOSE

Spanish <i>cerrar, cerrado</i>
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ATA	k-um-tu?	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-piku	*MAR	bobot <sup>h</sup> o
*TSO	re-miti	UMA	u <sup>n</sup> ča	*LAU	belika
RUK	wa-ələbə	BUG	tat-tutu?	*KWO	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> abono-a
PAI	k-əm-əl <sup>ʔ</sup> əv	*KON	an-ǰempaŋ	*RAG	ɣoro
YAM	aʂlətan	*WOL	[tutuβi]	PAA	goteheni
ISN	gi <sup>ʔ</sup> pān	MAG	tadu	LEW	kotava
*KAL	onob	NGA	le <sup>ʔ</sup> u	POR	kokö-in-i
*TAG	[sara]	*SIK	ləbe	*NTA	-asisiŋ
AKL	[sarah]	RTI	ta-tana	*KWA	-asisəŋ
PAL	təŋləbən (təŋləb)	*BUR	trego	NEM	hī
*MOL	kotup	DOB	ʔa- <sup>ʔ</sup> uy	CEM	cāpuh
*KAG	saraduan	IRA	nətemə	AJI	yāwī
*BLA	t-n-akab	SAW	n-fa-k-εpil-o	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ērē
*SAB	tambol	*NYI	sulu <sup>ʔ</sup> iy	NEN	θeɣe
*MUR	tutup	MAM	ono	*KIR	kaina
MGY	mana-katuna	TAK	-futani	MSH	kīl
ACE	top	*DAM	i-no-ya	PON	riŋiŋ
BAT	tutup	*MAB	-kotkāla	*WLE	mürü-a
*MIN	sao <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	-makəp	EFI	soŋo-ta
IND	mənutup (tutup)	KAU	sabal	WFI	hoŋa-sia
SUN	nutup (tutup)	TOL	bənu	RTU	pā
JAV	nutup (tutup)	BUA	βəyī	TON	tāpuni
*MAD	[tutup]	ADZ	çuŋin-	SAM	tapuni
*BAL	ŋ-ubət-aŋ	*KIL	-katubodi	MEL	ponjia
SAS	ŋ-əmpət	*TAW	gudu	*TAH	tāpiri
GOR	mo-he <sup>ʔ</sup> uto	MOT	kou-a	RAP	puru
		*MEK	e-kupu		
		ROV	tukua		

TSO Also *re-mit-a*.

KAL *onob* + *-an* (door); *kissop* + *man-* (eyes).

TAG [*sara*] + *mag-/i-* (*sarh-an*).

MOL *kotup* + *i-*.

KAG [*saradu*] + *mag-/an*; also [*siradu*].

- BLA 'to close a door'.
- SAB *tambol + aN-/ø*.
- MUR *tutup (maŋ- -in)* from Malay, also *aŋob* 'shut (door)'.
- MIN Also *tutuy?*.
- MAD From Malay or Javanese.
- BAL *(N-)ubət-aŋ* 'shut a door, a window'; *(N-)təkəp(in)* 'shut with a lid or a cover, close off a hole/space with something else'; *(N-)əmpət* 'shut off a passageway, a road, a hole (e.g. nostril, ear)'.
- KON Also *an-noŋko?* (*toŋko?*).
- WOL From Malay.
- SIK Also *ladi*.
- BUR 'shut a door or a tin'.
- NYI *sihiy* and *sulu?iy* are used interchangeably depending on present state of object whether open or closed.
- DAM '3sg-put-INF'.
- MAB Also *-pakāla*.
- YAB 'clap together, shut'; similarly *-kapi?*. Also *-sàŋ* 'cover up, close (a door)'.
- KIL *-katubodi* 'close using something'; *-kibodi* 'close gently'; also *-kapatu* (vb focus) 'close mouth' i.e. 'shut up, be silent (while others talk)'; object focus form *-kipito-ki* 'silence (him)'.
- TAW *gudu* 'shut doors'; *pota* 'shut eyes/ears'.
- MEK *e-kupu* 'it is blocked, closed'; *e-kupu-ŋa* (vb trans); also *e-pa-kupu-a* (with causative *pa-*), *e-afi-apu-a*, *e-kai-apu-a* (*apu*, *kupu* 'closed' *kupu* seems to have meant originally 'dense undergrowth'); NW Mekeo *e-bababua* (compare East Mekeo *apua* 'completely').
- MAR Also *fotho*.
- LAU Also *fono*.
- KWO Also *bonosi-a*.
- RAG *Alsogoro*; 'close up, shut up and fasten'.
- NTA Also *ahtosəŋ*.
- KWA Also *-arapinha* 'shut a door'; *-wisim* 'closed, shut' (adj).
- KIR Causative form, from *in* 'closed, locked'.
- WLE Also *ttī-a*.
- TAH Also *?ōpani*.

## 12.260 COVER

ATA	ʔ-um-umuk	*GOR	molaʔubu	ROV	nobia
*TSO	mi-friʔsi	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-tutu	*MAR	fufruni
*RUK	wa-ʒaəbə	*UMA	lou-iʔ	*LAU	ʔafu
PAI	ʒ-əm-aqəv	BUG	mat-tutuʔ	KWO	rū fāfi-a
YAM	toŋoŋən	*KON	an-noŋkoʔ	RAG	
ISN	taʔbān		(toŋkoʔ)	PAA	mutaluhkole
*KAL	taŋob	*WOL	[tutuʒi]	LEW	kali-wo
*TAG	takip	MAG	ču <sup>m</sup> bu	POR	kuran-i
*AKL	takʔub	NGA	luʒu	NTA	-afatain
*PAL	təkapan (kakəp)	SIK	βuta	*KWA	-weri
		RTI	ta-tana	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> eboi
*MOL	tognop	*BUR	take-k	CEM	tálu
*KAG	takləb	DOB	ʔa-tana	AJI	karui
*BLA	s-n-aŋab	*IRA	ratemə	XAR	çaşə
*SAB	lokob	SAW	n-far-fura	*NEN	čečereŋ
*MUR	taub	NYI	tubuluhiy	KIR	rabuna
MGY	man-ɖ <sup>f</sup> akuɖ <sup>f</sup> a	*MAM	ʔubati	*MSH	pinəc
*ACE	top	TAK	tuani	*PON	pere
BAT	tutup-i	DAM	kerub	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> aři-a
MIN	saoʔ	*MAB	-koto	EFI	ubi-a
IND	mənutup-i (tutup)	*YAB	-gade	*WFI	čuʒi-a
SUN	nutup-an (tutup-an)	*KAU	paŋ	*RTU	fau
		TOL	tubə	TON	ʔufiʔufi
JAV	ŋ-larap-i	*BUA	kəbu	*SAM	ufi
*MAD	[tutup]	*ADZ	boafir-	MEL	kafučia
*BAL	nəkəp-in (təkəp-in)	*KIL	-katu-bodi	*TAH	tāpoʔi
		TAW	lutata	*RAP	ʔapi
SAS	ŋ-əmpət	*MOT	ato-a ahu		
		*MEK	e-ʔafa(-i-a)		

TSO Also *friʔs-a*.

RUK *wa-ʒaəbə* 'cover (a box)', *si-a-ʒaobo* 'cover (one's body with a blanket)'.

KAL *taŋob + -an*.

TAG *takip + mag-/takp-an*, PHN *\*takep*.

AKL Also *takup (takpan)*.

PAL Also *təkpan*.

- MOL *tognop* + *-an*.
- KAG *takləb* + *mag-/-an*.
- BLA *s-n-aṅab* ‘cover with lid’; *s-n-afaṅ* ‘cover over’.
- SAB *lokob* + *aN-/-an* (of container); *tambun* + *aN-/-an* (of something covered with something else); *turuṅ* + *ag-/-an* (of head); *hanig* + *ni-an* (of table/bed cover etc).
- MUR *taub* (*maṅ- -in*) (in order to remove from sight); *gōm* (*mag- -on*) (with the hand), *kusib* (*maṅ- -on*) (with cloth, blanket).
- ACE Also *pu-[dap]* from Mon-Khmer.
- MAD From Malay or Javanese.
- BAL *təkəp* (n) ‘lid, cover’; *kəkəb* (n) ‘lid of rice steamer’; *kəbən* (n) ‘lid of basket (*sok*)’.
- GOR (*taʔubu* + *moN-*).
- UMA *lou-i* ‘cover with a lid’; *bohotii* ‘cover with a cloth or leaf’.
- KON Also *an-ḡempaṅ*.
- WOL *tutubi* ‘cover, shield, protect’; *ulumi* ‘cover (as clouds covering the mountain)’.
- BUR *take-k* ‘cover a house’; *trego* ‘cover s.th. by closing’.
- IRA *a bu arə eritə ratemə* ‘I already took cloth to cover (it)’.
- MAM Also *zaḡetutu*.
- MAB Also *-kop*, *-kāla*, *-kutun*.
- YAB Also *-geduʔ*.
- KAU Also *suk* ‘wrap’.
- BUA *kəbu* ‘cover as with a blanket’; *ḡerin* ‘cover, hide, obscure’.
- ADZ *boafir-* (Central); *tauf-* (Amari).
- KIL *-katu-bodi* ‘cover with something’; *-sili-bodi* ‘cover by putting something on it’; *-to-bodi* ‘cover by standing on it’; *-kanu-bodi* ‘cover by lying on it’.
- MOT *ato-a* ‘put’, *ahu* ‘closed’; *kou-a* ‘to close’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) lists *karuhi-a*, *habubuni-a*, and *βaβa-ia* (of box).
- MEK *e-kai-apua* ‘cover, close’.
- MAR Also *totoku* ‘cover for protection’.
- LAU Also *sūfafia*.
- KWA Also *-seṅi* also ‘protect’; *-aḡaḡau* also ‘wear a hat’, ‘put a hat on’; *-auiui* also ‘protect, sit on’ (as a bird her eggs); *-osaman* ‘cover up,

cover over'; -*os(i)arum*<sup>w</sup>*ini* 'beat/effect cover'; -*rupaskun* 'put a lid on (as a pot or fuel drum)'.

NEN Also *kuyo(n)*.

MSH *pinɛc* 'hide from view'; *p<sup>w</sup>ɔtɔuk* 'protect from the elements'; *kɪp<sup>w</sup>ūc*.

PON *pere* 'screen from view', also 'room'; *p<sup>w</sup>ain-ti* (-*ti* 'down').

WLE Also *yaŕērō* 'protect from dirt'.

WFI Also *taboi-nia*.

RTU Also *kukulu*.

SAM (polite) *fa<sup>?</sup>a-pūlou*, *fa<sup>?</sup>a- CAUS*, *ūlou* (vb intrans) 'be covered', see 06.550.

TAH Also *ha<sup>?</sup>apo<sup>?</sup>i*.

RAP *<sup>?</sup>api* 'cover (to conceal, e.g. face, immodesty, something coveted by others)'; *pu<sup>?</sup>a* 'cover, put a top on something'.

## 12.270 HIDE, CONCEAL

*ATA	ɪ-um-kiŋ	JAV	m-umpət	TAK	miani
*TSO	m-ifŋi	MAD		*DAM	i-no-kele-ya
*RUK	ki-a-ləpəŋə	*BAL	m-əŋkəb	*MAB	-ke
PAI	ɕ-əm-il <sup>y</sup> a	SAS	ñəbo <sup>?</sup> aŋ	*YAB	-siŋ ... ok <sup>w</sup> i
YAM	tayoən		(səbo <sup>?</sup> )	*KAU	kek
ISN	isiru <sup>?</sup>	*GOR	momuli	TOL	pidik
*KAL	suluk	DAA	nan-tabuni-	BUA	βun
*TAG	tāgo <sup>?</sup>		aka	*ADZ	dzigin-
*AKL	tāgo <sup>?</sup>	UMA	vuni	KIL	-katup <sup>w</sup> ani
PAL	itagu <sup>?</sup> (tagu <sup>?</sup> )	BUG	mas-sobbu	TAW	gowadi
*MOL	tagu <sup>?</sup>	*KON	as-sobbu	MOT	huni-a
*KAG	magu	*WOL	βuni-aka	*MEK	e-puni-ai-na
BLA	buni	*MAG	čəha	ROV	tome
*SAB	tapuk	*NGA	zoko	MAR	poru
*MUR	buni	*SIK	səsu	LAU	ag <sup>w</sup> a
MGY	man-afina	*RTI	funi	*KWO	la <sup>?</sup> agoni-a
ACE	səm	BUR	foni	*RAG	tahuli
*BAT	tabuni-hən	DOB	<sup>?</sup> a-luŋun	PAA	gur suaini
MIN	suru <sup>?</sup> -an	IRA	nəbərəβunə	LEW	la-wani
IND	bər-səmbuñi	SAW	n-ɛpin	POR	sasanö
*SUN	ñumput (sumput)	NYI	aton	NTA	-alhuaiŋin
		*MAM	zum <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i	*KWA	-aruk <sup>w</sup> aφa

NEM	t <sup>h</sup> uivi	*MSH	pinɛc	*TON	fufū
CEM	nédue-hi	*PON	ruk	*SAM	nanā
*AJI	nā uyūi	WLE		MEL	fūnā
XAR	çūārā	EFI	βuni-a	*TAH	tāponi
NEN	oe	WFI	holo-makinia	*RAP	na?a
*KIR	karabā	RTU	næe		

ATA *ʔ-um-kiŋ* ‘hide or conceal (something)’, *tu-ʔkiŋ* ‘(for someone) to hide’.

TSO Also *fiŋ-a*.

RUK *ki-a-ləpəŋə* ‘(of people) hide’; *wa-balay* ‘conceal something’.

KAL *suluk + i-*.

TAG *tāgo?* + *mag-/i-*, PHN \**tāRuq*.

AKL *tāgo?* + *i-*.

MOL *tagu?* + *mog-/i-*.

KAG *tagu + m-/əŋ* (*magu, taguun*).

SAB *tapuk + pa-* (vb intrans); *+aN-/an* (vb trans).

MUR *buni* (*maŋ- -on*).

BAT Related to *buni* ‘hidden’.

SUN Also *ñumput-kin* (*sumput-kin*).

BAL (vb intrans); (*N-*)*əŋkəb-aŋ* (vb trans); (*N-*)*siŋid-aŋ* ‘keep secret’ (*siŋid* ‘secret’); (*N-*)*ilid-aŋ* ‘keep secret, hide’ (*ilid* ‘hidden, not visible’).

GOR (*huli + moN-*); also *molū?o* (*tū?o + moN-*).

KON Also *am-mi-sobbu* (*aŋ-pi-sobbu*); *a?-dukku(-dukku)* ‘hide oneself’.

WOL Also *opo* ‘hide oneself’; *pa-opo, opo-aka* ‘hide from’.

MAG Also *bone*.

NGA Also *yəðe*.

SIK Also *təsu*.

RTI Also *na-funi*.

MAM Also *?omaŋa?i*.

DAM ‘3sg-put-COMP-INF’, lit ‘put completely’ (vb trans); also *i-mini-ya* ‘hide (reflexive)’.

MAB *-ke* (vb intrans); *-turke* (vb trans).

YAB ‘conceal something around’; also *-sà ... àu?* lit ‘cover something wrongly’; *-sàŋ ... àu?* lit ‘conceal something wrongly’.



- KAU See 10.413.
- ADZ Also *ririŋʔ*- both (vb trans).
- MEK *e-puni* 'it is hidden, concealed'; takes the suffix of remote transitivity, *-ai(-na)*; also *pine*, *vake* (vb intrans), *e-pine-ai-na* (vb trans), *e-oŋe-pine* (vb trans), *e-oŋe-vake* (vb trans); *e-pine* (*e-pa-pine*) also 'be discreet'.
- KWO Also *faʔanag<sup>w</sup>a-a* 'cause be hidden'.
- RAG 'hide'; also *dahuli*.
- KWA Also *-oŋaŋa* 'do secretly', 'do in darkness'.
- AJI Also *təuyūi*.
- KIR Causative form, from *raba* 'hidden'.
- MSH *ŋ<sup>w</sup>ōc*; *m<sup>w</sup>əccə* 'hide oneself, play hide-and-peek'; *kāttiləklək* also *kāttiləkək* causative form, from *tiləkək* 'hidden'.
- PON *ruk* also 'take shelter'; *riri*, *ekila* (*-la* 'away').
- TON Also *toitoi*.
- SAM Also *faʔa-lilo*, *faʔa-* CAUS, *lilo* (vb intrans) 'be concealed'.
- TAH Also *tāpuni*, *tāhuna*.
- RAP *naʔa* 'hide, conceal (a thing)'; *piko* 'hide, conceal (a person)'.

## 12.310 HIGH

ATA	ʔi-βaβaw-ik	MGY	am buni	*WOL	ma-laŋa
TSO	pepe	ACE	maŋaŋ	MAG	la <sup>ŋ</sup> kas
RUK	mā-bələŋə	BAT	tib'bo	NGA	leva
PAI	vavaw	MIN	tingi	*SIK	gahar
YAM	makazaŋ	IND	tingi	RTI	dema-k
ISN	aliŋudu	SUN	luhur	*BUR	em-kele
*KAL	taknaŋ	JAV	duwur	DOB	sayi
*TAG	taʔas	MAD	tingi	IRA	tərərə
*AKL	tāʔas	BAL	təgəh	SAW	n-ε-məgε
PAL	mələŋkəw	*SAS	kə-atas-an	NYI	loken
*MOL	laŋkəw	*GOR	mo-la <sup>ŋ</sup> gato	MAM	raʔebuli
KAG	datas	DAA	na-laŋa	*TAK	lak-na
BLA	m-datah	UMA	mə-la <sup>ŋ</sup> kə	DAM	meluk
*SAB	laŋa	BUG	ma-tanre	MAB	kor
*MUR	masawat	KON	tingi	*YAB	k <sup>w</sup> alaŋ

KAU	ili aβon	RAG		KIR	rietāta
*TOL	tuluai	PAA	vina nesa	*MSH	ləŋ
BUA	yaβaβune	LEW	vametava	PON	
ADZ	gu <sup>n</sup> ti?		manenea	WLE	taxiyata
KIL	walakaiwa	POR	masav	EFI	ðēðere
TAW	gege-na	NTA	iləs	WFI	yawa-i-yata
MOT	atai	KWA	-apomus	RTU	lamlama
*MEK	ʔonia	*NEM	p <sup>w</sup> iep	TON	māʔoluŋa
ROV	ululu	CEM	dâ-íte	*SAM	maua-luŋa
MAR	kliña	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã rua	MEL	lūlū
LAU	ilaŋi	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> e	TAH	teitei
*KWO	ilaŋi	NEN	meloi	RAP	ruŋa nui

KAL *taknaŋ + na*.

TAG *taʔas + ma-*.

AKL *tāʔas + ma-*.

MOL *laŋkow + mo-*.

SAB *laŋa + a-*; also *laŋkaw*.

MUR Also *malayow*.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *atas* 'on; high'.

GOR Also *layuhu* 'high, tall'; and *layi-layiʔo* 'rather high/tall'.

WOL 'high, tall'.

SIK Also *tokar*.

BUR Also 'tall, deep'; *rema-t* 'long, tall'.

TAK *lak* 'high' -*na* 'at', see 01.270, 12.320.

YAB (of trees etc); also *baliŋ* 'long, far'.

TOL *liu* (adv) 'high'.

MEK Also *aʔuni*.

KWO *i laŋi* 'up above'; *tek<sup>w</sup>a* 'high, tall'.

NEM Also *yaya*.

MSH *ləŋ* also directional 'up, above'; and *utiēc*.

SAM *luŋa* see 12.080.

## 12.320 LOW

*ATA	ʔi-ra-rauk	UMA	di <sup>n</sup> kiʔ	MAR	pari
TSO	çirç̣i	BUG	ma-ri-awa	LAU	i ano
RUK	a-ləbə	*KON	kappeʔ	KWO	koʔosu
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> a-təku	*WOL	ma-pa <sup>n</sup> da	RAG	
YAM	maəpəp	MAG	radak	PAA	vītanetan
ISN	aniʔgad	NGA	ʃoko	LEW	vatomanenea
*KAL	doba	SIK	buluk	POR	a-pan
*TAG	bābaʔ	*RTI	kabaʔo(k)	NTA	lahau
*AKL	nabaʔ	*BUR	rahe-n	KWA	-k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a
PAL	məbabaʔ	DOB	ʃaʃay	NEM	
*MOL	babaʔ	IRA	ʃəɾəranə	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ɔlu
KAG	babaʔ	SAW	n-parak	AJI	ūb <sup>w</sup> a
BLA	m-dəŋəʔ	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> dʔi	XAR	xūā
*SAB	dəyoʔ	MAM	ibala	NEN	hulu
MUR	madiwaʔ	*TAK	tan-na	*KIR	rinano
MGY	am-bani	DAM	tobeya	MSH	ttæ
ACE	rundah	MAB	melebe	*PON	karakarāk
BAT	tə'ru	*YAB	letuʔ	WLE	tettaʃo
MIN	randah	*KAU	ko nuk a-βet	EFI	loloβirā
*IND	rəndah	*TOL	ŋuŋu	WFI	yawa-i-rā
SUN	handap	BUA	nəyepayū	*RTU	ʔe
*JAV	endəʔ	ADZ	uç	TON	māʔulalo
*MAD	[anç <sup>β</sup> ap]	KIL	watanawa	*SAM	maua-lalo
BAL	endep	TAW	hopuhopu-na	MEL	
SAS	dendeʔ	MOT	henu	*TAH	haʔehaʔa
*GOR	mo-opa	MEK		RAP	raro nui
DAA	na-edə	ROV	pepeka		

ATA Also ʔi-ya-utik

KAL doba + na-

TAG bābaʔ + ma-

AKL nabaʔ + ma-

MOL babaʔ + mo-

ŠAB dəyoʔ + a-

IND Also pendek.

JAV Also çəndəʔ; asɔr.

MAD From Javanese.

GOR	(wopa + mo-).
KON	Also <i>dampa?</i>
WOL	'short, low'.
RTI	<i>kaba?o(k)</i> 'low'; <i>dema-k</i> 'low'.
BUR	'short, low to the ground'.
TAK	<i>tan</i> 'ground' - <i>na</i> 'at' (01.100) ( <i>na</i> is not omissible); see 01.270, 12.310).
YAB	(of trees etc.); also <i>baɔb(-gɛŋ)</i> 'lid(-only)', (of low-roofed houses and rooms)
KAU	'go downwards stay PREP-under'.
TOL	Also <i>ŋu</i> , <i>tutukana</i> 'low,short'.
CEM	'situated in a depression, at ground height'.
KIR	Also 'humble'; lit 'pass below'.
PON	'low, humble, respectful'.
RTU	Also <i>?ele</i> .
SAM	<i>lalo</i> see 12.030, 12.070.
TAH	Also <i>ha?aha?a</i> .

### 12.330 TOP

*ATA	ruɬiuy	*ACE	pučo?	*SIK	keβok
TSO	pepe	BAT	gidʒaŋ	RTI	poi-n
RUK	sa-bə-bələŋə- ŋa	MIN	puŋča?	*BUR	fafa-n
*PAI	kaɬiw	*IND	puŋčak	*DOB	talobir
YAM	tivavana	*SUN	puŋčak	IRA	tubərə
ISN	ūtun	*JAV	puču?	SAW	pepolo
KAL	labaw	MAD	tiŋgi	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ele <sup>ʔ</sup> en
*TAG	tuktok	*BAL	[duur]	MAM	atabala
*AKL	alipuŋtuh	SAS	pučuk	TAK	diŋdiŋ
PAL	timbɔw	*GOR	yitāto	*DAM	agara
MOL	timbow	DAA	ba?a	MAB	utēne
KAG	apaw	UMA	lolo	*YAB	ŋa-tep <sup>w</sup> e
BLA	tah	BUG	ma-ri-asi?	*KAU	mihi
SAB	diyata?	KON	bahə	*TOL	ul-ə
MUR	tampak	*WOL	lolo	BUA	to
MGY	avu	MAG	čomoŋ	*ADZ	wara <sup>ʔ</sup> ?
		*NGA	lobo	KIL	dabala

TAW	tepa-na	NTA	nahŋə-n	EFI	dela-
MOT	dori	KWA	takure-	*WFI	-d'au
*MEK	ʔoni	NEM	hule-n	*RTU	rere
ROV	pana ulu	*CEM	pûni-n	*TON	fuŋa
MAR	kliña	AJI	mē	*SAM	taua-luŋa
LAU	fafona	XAR	nǝ	MEL	-ruŋa
KWO	māmā-na	NEN	guelen	*TAH	vāhi teiteiroa
*RAG	ŋalivu-	*KIR	eta		aʔe
PAA	romoite	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ɔ̄ɔɔ	RAP	ruŋa
LEW	wo-sia	*PON	im <sup>w</sup> i		
POR	masav sorox	*WLE	siyaɸ <sup>w</sup> o-		

ATA Also *ruʔuy*.

PAI ‘top of room’.

TAG Also *taluktok*, *bābaw + i-*.

AKL Also *alituktuk*.

ACE Also [čɔŋ] ‘extremity, summit’ from Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *bagian atas*, *uʔuŋ*.

SUN Also *poñčot*.

JAV Also *duur*.

BAL ‘upper part’, from Old Javanese; *muñčuk* ‘peak of a mountain, tip, extremity’ see 12.350.

GOR Also *tudu* (as of a table).

WOL Also *sa-tope-topene-na*; *topu* ‘top of the mountain’.

NGA *lobo* ‘top (of a tree)’, *yeɗa* ‘summit’.

SIK *keβok* ‘top of mountain’; *uβu-ŋ* ‘top of tree’.

BUR Also *saka*; see 12.080; *napa-n* ‘top of foot’.

DOB (of trees): *ʔay talobir*.

DAM (of flat objects); also *sosokion* ‘summit’; *libo* ‘top of fence’; *bodi* ‘head of tree’.

YAB ‘peak, tip’. Also *ŋa-o-ŋa*, cf. 12.080.

KAU ‘head’ (see 04.200).

TOL -ə DEREL, see 04.200.

ADZ *warəŋʔ* ‘top’; *mamai yun* ‘summit of mountain’.

MEK ‘tip, peak’.

RAG Also *ulu-*.

CEM	‘head’.
KIR	<i>eta, ieta</i> ‘on top’ (refers to sky (with reference to ground), land (with reference to sea). etc.); <i>te taubuki</i> also ‘summit’; <i>te ao</i> ‘top, surface, on’.
MSH	cf. <i>p<sup>w</sup>ḍr̄</i> ‘stopper, cap’; <i>iōn</i> CON; <i>p<sup>w</sup>aṛ</i> also ‘head, tip’.
PON	<i>im<sup>w</sup>i</i> 3sg POSS form; ‘top, summit, outcome’; <i>kotoke</i> 3sg POSS form.
WLE	‘top, peak, crest’.
WFI	Also <i>-ulu</i> .
RTU	Also <i>uluṅa</i> .
TON	<i>fuṅa</i> ‘upper-surface’; <i>tumu<sup>?</sup>aki</i> ‘summit’.
SAM	<i>luṅa</i> see 12.080; <i>tumutumu</i> ‘summit’.
TAH	Also <i>tapua<sup>?</sup>i</i> archaic; <i>i ni<sup>?</sup>a roa</i> .

## 12.340 BOTTOM

ATA	kunuy	JAV	ḍasar	DAM	akor
TSO		*MAD	ba-baba	*MAB	<sup>m</sup> bule-
RUK	sa-lə-ləbəŋə	*BAL	bəten	*YAB	ŋa-gebi
PAI	pa-taḷa-taḷaɟ	SAS	toŋkel	*KAU	sii
YAM	ḍo r̄oʂok na	*GOR	ti[bawa]	*TOL	bit
ISN	pani <sup>?</sup> gad	DAA	kele	BUA	dəg <sup>w</sup> a
KAL	datag	*UMA	βono	ADZ	wagu <sup>ʔ</sup>
TAG	ilālim	BUG	ri-awa	KIL	kaikela
AKL	i-dāɬum	KON	paja	*TAW	baba-na
PAL	ɔmbut	*WOL	ta <sup>m</sup> be	*MOT	henu
MOL	buli <sup>?</sup>	MAG	riti	*MEK	uŋu
*KAG	labbut	NGA	vəna	*ROV	panapeka
BLA	duŋɔn	SIK	ʔliti-ŋ	MAR	pari
SAB	deyo <sup>?</sup>	RTI	bui-n	LAU	fara
MUR	tumbuŋ	*BUR	pao	KWØ	ae-na ga <sup>?</sup> e-na
MGY	fara-vudi	*DOB	yidi	*RAG	tete
*ACE	yup	IRA	warə	PAA	voten
BAT	təru	SAW	pəp	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ere-na
*MIN	bawah sakali	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> e <sup>?</sup> en	POR	<sup>m</sup> bu-xer
*IND	dasar	MAM	eruma	NTA	noukat-n
SUN	dasar	*TAK	fu-n	*KWA	ia nəsu-

NEM	p <sup>w</sup> ĩ-n	*MSH	kapin	TON	takele
CEM	p <sup>w</sup> āhɛ-n	*PON	kāu	*SAM	taʔele
AJH	kūřū	*WLE	tepe	*MEL	paŋo
XAR	kū	EFI	boto-	*TAH	raroraʔa
NEN	ta-	WFI	-βū	RAP	raro
*KIR	te kabi	*RTU	huni		

KAG Also *daləm*.

ACE Also *miyup*.

MIN Lit. 'very low'.

IND Also 'base, foundation'.

MAD From *baba* 'below'.

BAL *baten* 'lower part'; *jit* 'buttocks, base of certain man-made objects e.g. pots, pans'; *boŋkol* 'base of a hill, tree, a broom'; *tuɔl* 'base of tree, of the neck, of a column'.

GOR See 12.030, 12.070; also *huli* (as of a water-jar).

UMA Also *uneʔ*.

WOL Also *la<sup>n</sup>te, puu*.

DOB 'bottom of a container', also *ʔori; koba yidi, koba ʔori* 'bottom of a basket'.

TAK 'bottom, basis'.

MAB *u-* 'base'.

YAB 'lower part of something'.

KAU 'base'.

TOL See 04.464.

TAW *baba-na* 'base'; *hipu-na* 'buttocks'.

MOT *kunu* 'anus, buttocks, keel of a ship, etc.'.

MEK 'buttocks, base'.

ROV *panapeka* 'underneath'; also *hubina* 'bottom of a basket'.

RAG (of sea, river, hole).

KWA *ia nəsū* 'at the foot'; *nəkarei pirap<sup>w</sup>* 'side-of down'.

KIR *te kabi* also 'keel', *te kī* (of a person).

MSH *lok<sup>w</sup>an* also 'after', 3sg form; *rəpin* 'its base, foundation, bottom'.

PON Also *kapi* 3sg POSS from.

WLE *şapi* also 'beginning'; *tope* also 'base'.

RTU Also *čio*.

SAM *ʔau-vae* ‘foot of a hill’ (*vae* ‘foot’).

MEL Also *i-aro*.

TAH Also *hohonuraʔa*.

## 12.350 END

ATA	putiŋ	UMA	βu <sup>n</sup> tu	ROV	vina beto
TSO	patinsox-a	BUG	pač-čapur-iŋ	*MAR	kukru
RUK	tao-taoθo	KON	čappaʔ	LAU	ʔisiŋana
PAI		WOL	tapa	KWO	māmā-na
YAM	kavošan	MAG	čəmol	*RAG	noŋo-nan
ISN	buŋraw	NGA	buu	PAA	keleite
KAL	kīdoŋ	SIK	βutu-ŋ	LEW	lua-sia
*TAG	dūlo	RTI	peda-k	POR	<sup>n</sup> ge-xer
*AKL	[puntaŋ]	*BUR	esnege-n	NTA	namnun
PAL	rəpəd		(sege)	*KWA	nakurak <sup>w</sup> eri-
MOL	podpod	*DOB	φuy	NEM	hule-n
KAG	ugbus	*IRA	mata	CEM	úte-hi-n
*BLA	sfo	SAW	wəmo	*AH	k <sup>w</sup> ā
SAB	tōŋ	NYI	noʔon apus	XAR	xure
*MUR	polos	MAM	manubuŋa	NEN	wabunen
MGY	tend <sup>f</sup> u	*TAK	wada-n	*KIR	tetabo
ACE	uŋoŋ	DAM	ibu	*MSH	cap <sup>w</sup> an
BAT	uŋuŋ	*MAB	se <sup>ŋ</sup> gāŋa	*PON	iti
MIN	uŋu <sup>ŋ</sup>	*YAB	ŋa-à-mu	*WLE	xəretař
*IND	[axir]	*KAU	kut	EFI	mua-
*SUN	[ahir]	*TOL	mutuai-nə	*WFI	-jū
JAV	pɔʔ	BUA	ñε βəwen	RTU	utu
MAD	buŋkil	*ADZ	uruguç	*TON	iku
*BAL	təŋu	*KIL	kala	*SAM	iʔu-ŋa
*SAS	pənutu <sup>ʔ</sup> (tutuʔ)		βigimkoβila	*MEL	məa
*GOR	tu <sup>ŋ</sup> gilo	TAW	sig-na	*TAH	hōpeʔa
*DAA	vu <sup>n</sup> tu	MOT	doko	*RAP	potu
		*MEK	maa		

TAG Also *dulūh-an*.

AKL From Spanish *punta*.



BLA	<i>tukəʔ</i> ‘tip’.
MUR	<i>polos</i> ‘end of road, song, journey’; <i>pompod</i> ‘end of pole, spear, tail’.
IND	From Arabic <i>āhir</i> , also <i>ujūṅ</i> , <i>pəṅ-habis-an</i> .
SUN	From Arabic <i>āhir</i> , also <i>tūṅtuṅ</i> .
BAL	<i>taṅgu</i> ‘end of long object e.g. rope, bench, edge of a village, of a country, end of the world’; <i>tu(k)tuk</i> ‘end of pointed body parts e.g. nose, tongue, breast’; <i>muñčuk</i> ‘pointed extremity of a long thin object, e.g. of a kris, a spear, a finger, a leaf, peak of a mountain’; <i>tūṅtuṅ</i> ‘end of a long thin object, like a coconut tree, a pole, a whip’.
SAS	Thoir et al. (1985) <i>pənutuʔ</i> ( <i>pə-N-tutuʔ</i> ) ‘final, last’.
GOR	Also <i>pulit-iyo</i> ( <i>pulito</i> ‘last’, <i>-liyo</i> , 3sg POSS) ‘end (as, of a rope, a stalk of sugar-cane etc.)’.
DAA	Also <i>ta<sup>m</sup>pa</i> .
BUR	<i>es-nege-n</i> ‘end of a story’; <i>luke-n</i> ‘end, tip (of tree, story)’.
DOB	‘finished’; [ <i>miṅgu</i> ] <i>nay</i> <i>ḥuy nama ʔubana</i> ‘I’ll go at the end of this week’.
IRA	Also <i>rəba</i> .
TAK	‘remainder, end, half’.
MAB	Also <i>ku<sup>n</sup>dūnu</i> ; <i>seṅgāṅa</i> ‘border’; <i>swo-</i> ‘end of of lifespan’.
YAB	‘its-foot-behind’ i.e. ‘rope end’; also <i>ṅa-màdiṅ</i> ‘edge’.
KAU	<i>hut</i> (tail); also <i>hut</i> (nose) and <i>ṅiriṅin</i> .
TOL	Also <i>ṅu-na</i> , <i>mutuai-na</i> also ‘the last one’, <i>-na</i> DEREL.
ADZ	‘end ( e.g. as in node of bamboo)’.
KIL	‘its end’.
MEK	‘eye, tip, end’.
MAR	<i>kukru</i> ‘end point’; <i>leyulahu</i> ‘last endmost’.
RAG	‘end-of’.
KWA	<i>nakurak<sup>w</sup>eri-</i> , <i>nəsuwenhi-</i> ‘upper end’; <i>nukunhi-</i> ‘lower end’.
AJI	Also <i>bōmē</i> .
KIR	Also <i>te buki</i> ‘hindquarters, bottom, end’.
MSH	<i>cap<sup>w</sup>an</i> CON, also archaic <i>cap<sup>w</sup>e</i> , <i>cap<sup>w</sup>i</i> :: root <i>cap<sup>w</sup></i> -; <i>acoklæ</i> (of island); <i>kiwīl</i> (of islet); <i>tur</i> .
PON	<i>im<sup>w</sup>i</i> 3sg POSS; ‘top, end’; <i>iki</i> 3sg POSS ‘tail’.
WLE	Also <i>taḥ<sup>w</sup>o</i> ‘district, end (of island)’, <i>re-taḥ<sup>w</sup>o<sup>r</sup></i> ‘at the end of’.
WFI	Also <i>-ḏō</i> .
TON	Also <i>ṅata-ʔaṅa</i> .

SAM *iʔu* (vb intrans) ‘be finished, end’, -*ŋa* NOM; *sīʔui* ‘tip, extremity’.

MEL Also *paŋo*.

TAH Also *hiti*.

RAP *potu* ‘end, endpoint’; *hopeʔa* ‘end (the farthest reaches of a distance or time)’.

## 12.352 POINTED

ATA	tay-raʔuan	DAA	na-taʔa	ROV	huhuku
TSO	ma-reno	UMA	mo-taʔa	MAR	čočopli
RUK	ririodo	BUG	mačača	LAU	susuia
PAI		KON	taraŋ	KWO	lāladuŋau
YAM	manarotok	WOL	ma-taʔa	RAG	
ISN	nasigādan	MAG	lolo	PAA	gān
*KAL	lāʔi	NGA	təka	LEW	pras-m <sup>w</sup> ali
*TAG	tulis	SIK	dira-ŋ	POR	kan
*AKL	taʔāwis	RTI	tane-k	NTA	tasəla
PAL	məmunuŋ	*BUR	em-tae	KWA	
*MOL	rawis	*DOB	ʔa-saram	*NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wa mā-n
KAG	tala'wis	IRA	karirə	CEM	ðon
BLA	talam	SAW	m-dalem	AJI	ume
*SAB	pussuk	NYI	madan	XAR	mīdɔ
MUR	malais	MAM	mata-ʔaʔaʔasi	NEN	iwie
MGY	mi-çilu-çilu	*TAK	mala-n sigsig	*KIR	wai kakaŋ
ACE	mu-uʔoŋ	DAM	waila	MSH	kkaŋ
BAT	ta'jɔm	MAB	matānaŋana	*PON	keŋ
MIN	ruñçiʔŋ	*YAB	tɔ-mata	*WLE	ū
*IND	runçiŋ	KAU	keŋ	*EFI	mōmoto
*SUN	ñuŋčuŋ (čuŋčuŋ)	*TOL	turu-nə	WFI	ŋataŋata
JAV	lañçip	BUA	yu gərurəʔ	RTU	is ʔā
MAD	kuñčuʔ	*ADZ	nifu barara <sup>ŋʔ</sup>	TON	muʔa-tōtao
*BAL	mə-muñčuk	*KIL	-simati	*SAM	ma-tuitui
SAS		*TAW	mata-na	MEL	
GOR	mo-luwito	*MOT	maimata-na	TAH	ʔoeʔoe
		MEK	pioŋe	RAP	moko-moko

KAL *lāʔi + na-*.

TAG Also *tūlis + may-*.

AKL	<i>taḷāwis + ma-</i> , Proto-Philippines <i>*dāwis</i> .
MOL	<i>rawis + mo</i> .
SAB	<i>pussuk + a-</i> .
IND	Also <i>tajam</i> .
SUN	Also <i>neros (teros)</i> .
BAL	‘having a pointed extremity’ see 12.350; <i>lañip</i> ‘dangerously sharp and pointed, e.g. a thorn, a claw’; <i>tajəp</i> ‘pointed e.g. a pencil, an eyebrow’.
BUR	<i>em-tae</i> ‘sharp (point)’; <i>foro-n</i> ‘pointed stick’; <i>glipi</i> ‘pointed jabbing instrument for hunting cuscus’.
DOB	‘sharpen to a point’; <i>maḡan-ni</i> (inanimate: <i>maḡin</i> ) ‘sharp of a point or an edge’.
TAK	‘eye-its sharp’.
YAB	‘with-sharp.edge’; cf. 12.353.
TOL	<i>-nə</i> DEREL, cognate with <i>tur</i> ‘stand’.
ADZ	‘mouth pointed’, i.e. ‘pointed end’.
KIL	Also <i>mata-la</i> ‘eye-its’, i.e. ‘point of knife’.
TAW	‘its point’.
MOT	<i>mata</i> ‘eye, point’; possessive construction, see 11.110.
NEM	‘there is its point’.
KIR	‘sharpened point’.
PON	<i>keḡ</i> ‘sharp (of point)’; <i>seisei</i> ‘sharpened to a point’.
WLE	<i>tī</i> ‘to stick out’.
EFI	Also <i>ḡāḡata</i> .
SAM	<i>tui</i> ‘stab, jab (vb trans)’, see 09.223, 08.260.

### 12.353 EDGE

*ATA	ḡauš	*TAG	tabi	*MUR	kīḡ
TSO	fitfi	*AKL	biʔbiʔ	MGY	muruna
RUK	babiabila	PAL	igəḋ	ACE	bineh
PAI	lʷaviḡ	*MOL	olot	BAT	təpi
YAM	vaḡana	KAG	kilid	MIN	tapi
ISN	saʔḡiḡ	BLA	kilil	*IND	təpi
KAL	paḡpaḡ	SAB	bihḡ	SUN	sisi

JAV	liŋir	TAK	gigi-n	NTA	nəkal-n
MAD	piŋg <sup>6</sup> ir	DAM	iri	*KWA	nəkarkare-
BAL	sisi	*MAB	orka-	NEM	jele-n
SAS	sədi	*YAB	ŋa-tali	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ú-bàtī
*GOR	bīhu	KAU	βori-ŋin	*AJI	kāřawā
DAA	vivi	*TOL	ŋu-nə	XAR	ñidā
UMA	βiβi <sup>?</sup>	BUA	ñe	*NEN	čada-
BUG	wiriŋ	*ADZ	mu-n	KIR	temataniwī
KON	birin	KIL	papa-	*MSH	apař
WOL	si <sup>m</sup> pi	TAW	liyaliya-na	*PON	keile
MAG	bi <sup>n</sup> tiŋ	*MOT	ise-ise	WLE	ŋaše
NGA	điri	*MEK	nie	*EFI	bati-
*SIK	həri-ŋ	*ROV	hukhukirina	WFI	-basi
RTI	su <sup>?</sup> u-k	MAR	geri	RTU	fua
*BUR	gili-n	LAU	nimana	TON	tapa
DOB	suk <sup>w</sup> ay	KWO	nigifa-na	SAM	pito
IRA	giriε	RAG		MEL	tafa
SAW	lapo	PAA	iŋite	*TAH	hiti
NYI	kirin	LEW	i-sia	*RAP	hihi
*MAM	zage	POR	<sup>ɖ</sup> ga <sup>ɖ</sup> garin		

ATA *ʔuβah* ‘edge of a cliff’.

TAG Also *gīlid* ‘side’.

AKL Also *biŋgit*, *bigkih*.

MOL *olot + -an*.

MUR Also *igig*.

IND Also *pəsisir*, *piŋgir*.

GOR ‘lip’.

SIK *heri-ŋ* ‘edge of road’; *tokoŋ* ‘edge of table’; also *lepiti*.

BUR Also *fifi-n*; *hawa baba-n* ‘edge of garden’; *masi tea-n* ‘edge of sea’.

MAM Also *buru*.

MAB *sirkat* ‘edge of cliff etc.’; *zilŋāna* ‘side of’; *matāna* ‘sharp edge of knife etc.’; *kwopirīni* ‘edge of cloth, hem’.

YAB ‘edge, hem, seam’; also *ŋa-teke* ‘edge’, *ŋa-mata* ‘sharp edge’.

TOL *nəDEREL*, *ŋu-* ‘edge, corner, end of something’.

ADZ ‘mouth-3sg POSS.’

MOT Also *ise* ‘tooth; border, edge’.

MEK *nie* ‘tooth, edge’; also *ʔeje* (see 12.360), *aʔo*.

ROV ‘the edge’.

KWA Also *nəməŋi-* (of a basket, bark skirt, etc).

AJI Also *pəřo*.

NEN Also *čeden*.

MSH *apar* (of mat, road), also ‘put alongside’; *ram<sup>u</sup>* also ‘forehead’;  
*təřəřein*, *ilil* also ‘side’.

PON Also *mese* ‘edge of the reef’, also ‘eye, face’.

EFI Also *tutu-*.

TAH Also *urupae* ‘edge of sea, mountain’.

RAP Also *titi*; *taha-taha*.

## 12.360 SIDE

ATA	šyay	BAL	sisi	TOL	pəpər
TSO	fron-a	*SAS	deket	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> əben
RUK	θīli	*GOR	ʔi <sup>m</sup> bihu	*ADZ	riŋa-n
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> aviŋ	DAA	sabi <sup>ŋ</sup> ga	KIL	kaniβala
YAM	ŋařab na	UMA	soso	TAW	liyaliya-na
ISN	bīkat	BUG	sewali	*MOT	kaha, ohe
KAL	īgid	K●ON	saʔri	*MEK	ʔeje
*TAG	tabi	*WOL	saripi	ROV	kalina
AKL	kīlid	*MAG	birin	*MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ile
PAL	abiʔ	*NGA	fale	LAU	barana
MOL	binit	*SIK	korok	KWO	bari-na
KAG	kilid	RTI	bo-boa-k	RAG	balsi
BLA	lohok	*BUR	kaha-n	PAA	usīte
SAB	bihin	DOB	tabil	*LEW	ye-pa-sia
*MUR	tabibikon	*IRA	ruφətu	POR	vaxi-xer
*MGY	ila-ni	SAW	fa-spal	NTA	nəkal-n
*ACE	bīnəh	NYI	kabeden	KWA	nəkare-
*BAT	labbuŋ	*MAM	ege	NEM	file-n
MIN	sisi	TAK	girəŋe-n	CEM	ǰêǰe-n
*IND	sisi	DAM	siri	AJI	ekařae
*SUN	bīlah	*MAB	keze-	XAR	ñidā
JAV	piŋgir	*YAB	ŋa-sagin	NEN	guređan
MAD	sisi	*KAU	pilin	KIR	terariki

*MSH	təɾɛɾein	WFI	-hanihani	MEL	tafa
*PON	pali	*RTU	hanhapa	*TAH	pae
*WLE	paŋiya	TON	tafaʔaki	*RAP	paʔeŋa
EFI	yasa-	*SAM	tafa		

TAG Also *gīlid*, Proto-Philippines \**gīlij*.

MUR ‘side of body’ *kalalamian* (between ribs and hip), *kabilan* (between shoulder and thigh); of carcass, *tataʔ*, *tinggulan* ‘side of house (parallel to roof-ridge)’, *pinapason* ‘side (at right-angle to roof-ridge)’, *sōr* ‘side of family’.

MGY Also *rira-ni*.

ACE Also *biti*.

BAT (of place).

IND Also *sə-bəlah*, *pingir*.

SUN Also *gigir-in*.

SAS Thoir et al (1985): *sisi*.

GOR Also *ʔa<sup>m</sup>bahu*, *ma<sup>n</sup>dahu*, *mi<sup>n</sup>dihu*.

WOL Also *wala*.

MAG Also *bitiŋ* (12.353).

NGA Also *papa*.

SIK Also *higu-ŋ*.

BUR ‘on one side, on the other side’.

IRA *rufətu* (of body); *girie* (of object).

MAM Also *zage*.

MAB Also *zilŋa-*, *orka-*.

YAB ‘side/wall of house’; also *ŋa-makeŋ* ‘side/half of something’.

KAU Also *βorilin*.

ADZ ‘ear-3sg POSS.’

MOT *kaha* ‘side, part’; *ohe* ‘side’; *ohe-nai* ‘beside’, also *ohe-na kaha-nai* ‘beside someone’.

MEK Perhaps synonymous with *mape* (12.020, 04.451).

MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>iba*.

LEW Also *le-pa-sia*.

MSH CON; also ‘rim, border’; *iil*, *kat* (of animates); *kīn* CON (of houses).

PON Also *pepepepe* from Polynesian; *masʎe* 'inner side'; *masliki* 'outer side', lit 'outside face'.

WLE Also *peiy* 'alongside, space beside'.

RTU Also *vakvaka*.

SAM Also *tafatafa* see 12.020, also *?au-tafa*.

TAH Also *hiti*.

RAP Also *rara* (archaic).

### 12.370 MIDDLE, CENTRE

ATA	mi-čka-čka?	UMA	lain-tono?	MAR	notei
TSO	taifo	BUG	tiŋŋa	*LAU	lalo
RUK	ka-biçəlak-anə	KON	taŋŋa	*KWO	daruma-na
PAI	vəçəkad-an	WOL	taŋa	RAG	
YAM	avak na	MAG	reha	PAA	len
ISN	tūlad	NGA	kisa	LEW	lika
KAL	gāwa	*SIK	?lora-ŋ	POR	r <sup>m</sup> baen
TAG	gitna?	RTI	talada	NTA	iluŋən
*AKL	tuŋa?	*BUR	tifu-n	KWA	kuruk <sup>w</sup> a-
PAL	təŋa?	DOB	seroyi	NEM	fayō-n
MOL	toŋa?	IRA	rəφunə	CEM	âwíeme-n
*KAG	təŋŋa?an	SAW	fa-pəlun	*AJI	negowe
BLA	gu-tŋɔ?	NYI	alih	XAR	neçipipī
SAB	taŋŋa?	*MAM	lu?alu?a	*NEN	etin
MUR	taŋa?	*TAK	tiŋ-tiŋae-mi	KIR	te nūka
*MGY	am-puvu-ani	DAM	atu	*MSH	ioɔap
ACE	tuŋɔh	*MAB	lukutūnu	*PON	nanwereŋe
BAT	təŋa	YAB	ŋa-lūŋ	*WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> oŋa
MIN	taŋah	*KAU	emin	EFI	loma-donu
*IND	təŋah	*TOL	livua-nə	WFI	-buto
*SUN	[təŋah]	BUA	βuyəŋ	RTU	una
JAV	təŋah	ADZ	wasə?	TON	lotomālie
MAD	təŋŋa	KIL	olumoulela	*SAM	?oŋā-totonu
BAL	təŋah	TAW	sipoli-na	*MEL	i-roto
SAS	təŋa?	*MOT	ihua-nai	*TAH	rōpūra?a
*GOR	hūŋo	*MEK	ipuaina	RAP	vaeŋa
DAA	toŋo	*ROV	kokorapa		

- AKL Also 'half' 3.240.
- KAG From (*təŋŋaʔ + -an*) 'middle'; also [*sintru*] from Spanish *centro* 'centre'.
- MGY From (*aN-fuvu-an-ni*).
- IND *təŋah* 'middle'; *pusat* 'centre'.
- SUN From Malay or Javanese, also *pusir* 'navel, centre'.
- GOR Also *tommutaʔa* (*butaʔo + toN-*, + lengthening of resultant m, + *-a*) 'middle', as in 'middle of the month'.
- SIK Also *puʔa-t*.
- BUR 'middle (of the road, of the jungle, of the night)'; *ana-men-tifu-n* 'middle child'.
- MAM Also *luʔauʔa*.
- TAK 'in the middle': reduplication of *tiŋae-* 'intestine' (04.461) + *-mi* 'only'.
- MAB Also *mazwāna*.
- KAU See 12.370.
- TOL *-nə* DEREL.
- MOT Also *bogarayi-nai* (from *boga* 'belly').
- MEK (? *i-pu-ai-na*).
- ROV Also *kokorapana* 'in the middle'.
- LAU Also *?initona*.
- KWO Also form: *gaoʔa-na*.
- AJI Also *neviu*.
- NEN Also *nidi(n)*.
- MSH *ioʔap* Eastern dialect; Western dialect *eoʔap*; *luk* <sup>w</sup>Λn.
- PON *nanwereŋe* 3sg POSS; *lukope*.
- WLE Also *řuxoř*; *mōřawa* 'of a place'.
- SAM *?oŋā-* 'shaft, trunk, main or visible part', see 04.351, 08.730, *totonu* 'interior'; *vaelua-ŋa* 'half, middle', *vae-lua* 'divide in two', *-ŋa* NOM, *vae-* cognate with *vavae* 'divide (vb trans)'.
- MEL Also *ŋāroto*.
- TAH Also *i rotoŋi*



## 12.410 RIGHT (side)

ATA	ʔanan	BUG	atau	MAR	(p <sup>h</sup> ile)ŋeta
TSO	vxon-a	KON	kanəŋ	LAU	baliaolo
RUK	vananə	WOL	kaana	KWO	gulalea
PAI	ka-naval <sup>y</sup>	MAG	vanəŋ	RAG	m <sup>w</sup> atua-
YAM	wanan	NGA	vana	PAA	matu
ISN	panediwanān	SIK	βana	LEW	va marua
KAL	diwanan	RTI	kona	POR	vaxi-xertavoi
TAG	kānan	BUR	kaha-n wana	NTA	m <sup>w</sup> atəp
*AKL	tuʔuh	DOB	mila	KWA	m <sup>w</sup> atuk
PAL	kəwanan	IRA	tu	NEM	duhi
MOL	kowanan	SAW	wəney	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ô-ʃû-í-n
KAG	tuʔu	NYI	salin	AJI	e gāmā
BLA	kwəŋəŋ	MAM	ege uana	XAR	çedenürü
*SAB	kowan	TAK	won	*NEN	nata
MUR	pamidis	DAM	biya	*KIR	atai
MGY	havanana	MAB	nama-wōnə	*MSH	anmōŋ <sup>w</sup>
ACE	untun	*YAB	ano-ŋa	*PON	maun
BAT	si-amun	*KAU	βorilin tin eto	WLE	paükofu
*MIN	suoʔ		sa men	EFI	matau
IND	kanan	*TOL	limətunə	WFI	-matau
SUN	katuhu	BUA	βəsa	*RTU	ʔatmai
JAV	təŋəŋ	*ADZ	baŋi bini	TON	mataʔu
MAD	kaŋan	*KIL	o-lakakata	*SAM	tau-matau
*BAL	təŋawan	*TAW	awala	MEL	matau
SAS	kanan		hinebawa-na	TAH	ʔatau
GOR	ʔolowala	*MOT	idiba	RAP	mataʔu
DAA	ʔgana	*MEK	kai-na		
UMA	kaʔana	ROV	kalimatao		

AKL Proto-Central Philippines *\*tuʔuh*.

SAB Also *kawan*.

MIN *mañuoʔ* ‘bring food to the mouth (done with the right hand)’; see Malay *suap* ‘hand feeding, mouthful’; also *kanan*.

BAL Also *kənanawan*.

YAB ‘on the right’.

KAU ‘side REL hold wood REL’ (*tin ə men* brackets a relative clause), ‘the side which holds the spear’.

TOL	<i>limə</i> ‘hand’, <i>tunə</i> ‘real, true’.
ADZ	‘hand good’.
KIL	‘at his right’.
TAW	‘right shoulder’.
MOT	Also <i>kaha namo</i> , lit ‘good side’.
MEK	<i>kai</i> can occur alone; 3sg suffix is semi-fossilised: compare <i>kaina-ŋa-ai</i> ‘on his/her/its right’, with a second, redundant <i>-ŋa kai</i> also ‘(unspecified) direction’; <i>kainaŋai</i> also ‘near’.
CEM	‘on the right hand’.
NEN	Also <i>gulanata</i> .
KIR	<i>atai</i> also ‘skill, knowledge’; <i>te aŋātai</i> ‘right side’.
MSH	Also <i>anp<sup>w</sup>icmaŋoŋ</i> .
PON	<i>palimaun</i> ‘right side’.
RTU	Also <i>nočo</i> .
SAM	<i>tau-</i> ‘prefix used before bases denoting the position or location of the parts of a whole (Milner 1966: 248)’, <i>matau</i> ‘hull side of a canoe as opposed to the outrigger’.

## 12.420 LEFT (side)

ATA	ʔiʔ	BAT	habbirəŋ	RTI	ki
TSO	vri-na	*MIN	kida	BUR	kaha-nbali
RUK	viri	IND	kiri	DOB	ŋaʔa
PAI	ka-viri	SUN	keñča	IRA	batə
YAM	ori	JAV	kiwə	SAW	balet
ISN	pane kasīgid	MAD	kačir	NYI	kam <sup>w</sup> eu
KAL	kawigi	*BAL	kebot	MAM	ege-ŋasi
*TAG	kaliwaʔ	*SAS	kiri	TAK	ŋas
AKL	waʔah	GOR	ʔoloyihi	DAM	kile
PAL	gibaŋ	DAA	ñjidi	MAB	nama-ŋas
MOL	gibaŋ	UMA	kiʔii	*YAB	gase-ŋa
KAG	wala	BUG	abeo	*KAU	βorilin tin eto
BLA	ibeŋ	KON	kairi		iliomen
SAB	bibaŋ	WOL	kaai	TOL	mairə
*MUR	kipaŋ	MAG	leo	BUA	ķez
MGY	havia	NGA	leu	*ADZ	baŋiyas
*ACE	[jawiə]	SIK	βiri	*KIL	o-lakikiwama

*TAW	awala kehakeha-na	POR	vaxi-xer tömaer	*PON	palimeiq
				WLE	paütakofu
*MOT	lauri	NTA	möl	EFI	mawī
*MEK	lafanina	KWA	mour	WFI	-mawī
ROV	kaliyede	NEM	mo	*RTU	koko
MAR	mairi	CEM	ēāmu	TON	hema
LAU	balimouli	AJI	e dara	*SAM	tau-aḡavale
KWO	gula mōri	XAR	çedeyā	MEL	masui
RAG	m <sup>w</sup> airi-	NEN	ḡoroḡi	TAH	?au
PAA	maīl	KIR	maiḡ	RAP	maui
LEW	vam <sup>w</sup> eli	*MSH	anmīḡ		

TAG Proto-Central Philippines \**walah + ka-li-* locative.

MUR Also *kait*.

ACE Also [wiə] from Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *kiri*.

BAI Also *kee, kedel, təḡebot*.

SAS Also *kebot*.

YAB ‘on the left’.

KAU ‘side REL hold shield REL’ (*tin ə men* brackets a relative clause), ‘the side which holds the shield’.

ADZ *baḡiyas* ‘hand left’ (Central dialect); *baḡik<sup>w</sup>aniaḡ* (Amari dialect).

KIL ‘at his left’.

TAW ‘left shoulder’.

MOT Also *kauli* ‘lefthand(ed)’.

MEK *awani-na* other dialects, *lafaninai, lafaninaḡai* ‘on his/her/its left’.

MSH Also *anp<sup>w</sup>icp<sup>w</sup>an*.

PON See *pali* ‘part, side’.

RTU Also *sema*.

SAM *tau-* see 12.410, *agavale* ‘left hand’.

### 12.430 NEAR (adv)

ATA	šaw-βih	PAI	i-a-dut	KAL	adani
TSO	çum <sup>?</sup> u	YAM	maḡḡən	*TAG	lāpit
RUK	dəḡə	ISN	adanni	*AKL	ʔapit

PAL	məkabi?	NGA	ve?e	KWO	galani-a
*MOL	obi?	*SIK	gro?o	RAG	abe-
KAG	dani	RTI	naimata	PAA	vesesal
BLA	m-dadoŋ	*BUR	b-raŋi-n	LEW	lavisi
*SAB	seŋgod	DOB	ren	POR	pariča <sup>ŋ</sup> g
MUR	mamād	IRA	nəbabərə	NTA	iuakər
MGY	akaiki	SAW	raken	KWA	ipaka
ACE	rap	NYI	mirihik	NEM	ŋeŋeno
BAT	də'nək	MAM	sariŋa	CEM	əm <sup>w</sup> anu
*MIN	dake?	TAK	sumaikan	AJI	vε ūb <sup>w</sup> a
IND	dəkət	DAM	melsa	XAR	nubə
SUN	dikit	MAB	kolouŋana	*NEN	ṃūla
JAV	čəḍa?	*YAB	da <sup>m</sup> be-geŋ	*KIR	kān
MAD	səmma?	KAU	tikayuŋ	*MSH	epāk
BAL	paək	*TOL	mərəvai	*PON	keren
SAS	rapət	BUA	dus βu	*WLE	maʔoř
*GOR	to ?u	ADZ	uç	EFI	βōleka
	mē <sup>m</sup> bidu	KIL	katitaikina	*WFI	βaleka
DAA	na-mosu	*TAW	liyaliya-na	RTU	?el?ele
UMA	mohu?	MOT	kahira	TON	ofi
BUG	mak-kawe?	*MEK	kainaŋai	*SAM	latalata
*KON	ambani	ROV	tata	MEL	tata
*WOL	ma-kasu	MAR	reña	*TAH	fātata
MAG	ruis	LAU	garaŋja	*RAP	hahine

TAG *lāpit + ma-*.

AKL *ʔapit + ma-*.

MOL *obi? + mo-*.

SAB *seŋgod + a-*; also *sekot + a-*.

MIN Also *ampi?*.

GOR to LOC; ?u, NOM; *mē<sup>m</sup>bidu* (*yi<sup>m</sup>bidu + mo-*) 'near (adj)'.

KON Also *ampi?*.

WOL Also *ma<sup>ŋ</sup>ku*.

SIK Also *gro?o-ŋ, ro?o; ro?o-ŋ* (space); *?omi* (time).

BUR Also *epa-k; bram* 'near (in time)' e.g. *bram lea* 'almost daylight'.

YAB 'short-only'.

TOL See Mosel (1984: 188).

TAW *liyaliya-na* (adj).

MEK	( <i>kai-na-ŋa-ai</i> ) ; also <i>ʔeŋai</i> ( <i>ʔe-ŋa-ai</i> ) and <i>ʔeʔeŋai</i> ( <i>ʔe-ʔe-ŋa-ai</i> ). NW Mekeo <i>pipinaŋai, pipinania; abiaŋai</i> ‘near; towards’.
NEN	Also <i>humūli, ŋūni, huli</i> .
KIR	(vb intrans).
MSH	<i>turun</i> CON.
PON	Also <i>karanī</i> (vb trans).
WLE	<i>maʔoʔ</i> usually with reference to a taro pit, <i>ʔep</i> (vb trans) <i>xaʔepō</i> ‘close to’; <i>xetōʔ</i> CON.
WFI	Also <i>boleka</i> .
SAM	<i>latalata</i> (vb intrans), can be used as a modifier within the verb phrase; see 10.560.
TAH	Also <i>i te vāhi fātata; i pihaʔi iho</i> .
RAP	Also <i>tupuʔaki</i> .

### 12.440 FAR (adv)

ATA	tatuhiʔ	JAV	adɔh	TAK	asau
TSO	ɕovxi	MAD	ʃau	*DAM	gerō
RUK	a-dāili	BAL	ʃoh	MAB	molo
PAI	i-a-ɕaja	SAS	ʃaoʔ	*YAB	balɨŋ-gɛŋ
YAM	mazai	*GOR	to ʔu mo-	KAU	hiin
ISN	adayyu		lamiŋo	TOL	vəilik
KAL	adayu	DAA	na-kavao	BUA	adiŋəne
*TAG	lāyuʔ	*UMA	mo-laa	*ADZ	gu <sup>n</sup> tiʔ
*AKL	ʔayuʔ	BUG	ma-bela	KIL	kaduwonaku
PAL	mərayuʔ	KON	lere	*TAW	mawai dao
*MOL	oduʔ	WOL	ma-riɕo	MOT	daudau
KAG	madyu	*MAG	ta <sup>n</sup> daŋ	*MEK	aŋomai
BLA	m-ɔwɔg	*NGA	dada	ROV	seu
*SAB	lantaʔ	SIK	blaβir	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> eibrahu
MUR	mālud	RTI	do-k	LAU	tau
MGY	lavitʔa	*BUR	b-rema-n	KWO	lalau
*ACE	ʃuʔoh	DOB	saw	RAG	hautu
BAT	da'o	IRA	nerɔ	PAA	sautin
MIN	ʃau <sup>ə</sup> h	SAW	lɔw	LEW	perina
IND	ʃauh	NYI	len	POR	amo
SUN	ʃauh	MAM	ʔasauba	NTA	isou

KWA	isup <sup>w</sup> ən	KIR	rāroa	RTU	sousou
NEM	hōt	*MSH	lēlle	TON	mama <sup>ʔ</sup> o
CEM	íte	PON	tō	*SAM	mamao
AJI	m <sup>w</sup> āi	WLE	ttōwa	MEL	mmao
XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā	EFI	yawa	*TAH	ātea
NEN	iθua	WFI	βayawa	RAP	roa

TAG *lāyu?* + *ma-*, Proto-Philippines *\*dayuq*.

AKL *ʔayu?* + *ma-*.

MOL *odu?* + *mo-*.

SAB *lanta?* + *a-*; also *tā* + *a-*.

ACE Also *ǰara?*

GOR *mo-lamiŋo* ‘far’.

UMA *kawao* (Southern, Winatu dialects).

MAG Also *deu*.

NGA Also *ola*.

BUR *rema* ‘long’; also *lawe* ‘downstream, far, overseas’.

DAM Also *meluk* ‘long’ e.g. *nābu meluk* ‘a long way, far’.

YAB ‘long-only’ i.e. ‘distant, far’; also *yae<sup>ʔ</sup>-geŋ* ‘far-only’ i.e. ‘distant, far’; *baliŋ-baliŋ* ‘long ago’.

ADZ *gu<sup>n</sup>ti?* ‘long, far away’; *ipisipis* ‘a very long way away’.

TAW *mawa i dao* ‘the distance is long (vb)’; *mawa daodao-na* ‘a long (adj) distance’.

MEK (*aŋo-ma-ai*), *aŋo* ‘land, country’, *-ma* ‘other, remote’.

MAR Also *t<sup>h</sup>eiga<sup>ʔ</sup>u*, *k<sup>h</sup>aba*.

MSH Also *lele*; also *tto<sup>l</sup>ok* (*-<sup>l</sup>ok* ‘away’).

SAM (vb intrans).

TAH Also *i te vahi ātea*.

## 12.450 EAST

*ATA	βaβu <sup>ʔ</sup> an na <sup>ʔ</sup> wayi <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAM	ɖaɖan no azaw	*AKL	su <sup>ʔ</sup> ubāt-an
*TSO	eos-momx-a xire	ISN	panelattakān	PAL	sabutan ot
RUK	ta- <sup>l</sup> awa-anə	KAL	kapon lotawanīnit	*MOL	loput
PAI	ka- <sup>ʔ</sup> ədas	*TAG	sīlaŋ	*KAG	sənnəŋ-an

BLA	gsən di gu-sut i du	DOB	wumur	*RAG	hala-nmata-ni alo
		*IRA	[timur]		
SAB	səbaŋ-an	SAW	timəl	PAA	
MUR	sidaŋon	NYI	lan	*LEW	laŋi ura
MGY	a-çinanana	MAM	amari-raʔea	*POR	roxearo
ACE	timu	*TAK	ad abe-n	*NTA	pah
*BAT	[purba]	*DAM	gā i-se-ya	*KWA	peraha
*MIN	[timuʔ]	*MAB	zoŋ unu	NEM	
IND	timur	*YAB	ɔʔ ŋa-ɪn	*CEM	é-ot
*SUN	[wetan]	*KAU	pi tin sinaŋ	AJI	kā p <sup>w</sup> e i mēxa
JAV	wetan		me si epo-n	*XAR	
MAD	timur		men	*NEN	hada
*BAL	kaŋin	*IOL	təur	*KIR	mainiku
SAS	timuʔ	BUA	ŋəg raç βərup	*MSH	rēār
*GOR	[tīmuru]	ADZ		PON	palimese
DAA	pebuluna	*KIL	bomatu	*WLE	xōtuwa
UMA	mata-ʔeo	*TAW	tupo	EFI	ðake
BUG	alauʔ		kaluwabu	WFI	yata
*KON	i-lauʔ	*MOT	mairiβeina	*RTU	[is]
WOL	ti <sup>m</sup> bu	MEK		TON	hahake
*MAG	avo	ROV	γasarimata	SAM	muliaʔi
*NGA	lau	*MAR	mayati	*MEL	[isi]
*SIK	ləro bəkor	LAU	tae lana hatu	TAH	hitiʔa o te rā
RTI	dulu	*KWO	taʔelanasina	RAP	
*BUR	timo				

ATA 'the location of sunrise'.

TSO 'place where the sun rises'.

YAM 'where the sun rises'.

TAG *sīlaŋ + -an or -anan*.

AKL 'place of sunrise'; root: *subat*.

MOL *loput + -an*.

KAG Also *sinaŋan*.

BAT From Sanskrit; *ha-biççar-an*.

MIN Probably from Malay; also *mato ari tabiʔ* lit '(where) the sun rises'.

SUN From Javanese.

- BAL *kaŋin* ‘towards the east’; (*bə*)*daŋin* ‘lying east of something’; forms from \**aŋin* (compare NB \**aŋin*, ‘wind’) typically ‘east’, but in some areas ‘the direction to one’s right, when facing mountainwards’.
- GOR Also *mato lo dulahu* ‘sun, east’; [*timuru*] from Malay.
- KON *i-lau?* ‘in the direction of the sea’.
- MAG *awo* and following three entries, can function as prepositions, adverbs and adjectives; *pār* ‘east’, (in eastern dialects *būr*) ‘orient’ compare. *pār lesoga* ‘risen sun already’.
- NGA *lau* ‘toward the sea’ often ‘east’; compass points (*ḅala-ola*) use the sea and mountain and the speaker as points of orientation, *Lau-zele* are opposite points on a slightly slant axis: *lau* ‘seaward’ or ‘downstream’, *zele* ‘toward the mountain’ or ‘inland’; *məna-zale* opposite points on a horizontal axis and are equivalent to ‘left’ (*leu*) and ‘right’ (*vana*) when one faces seaward.
- SIK Also [*timu*] from Malay; direction and orientation are indicated by deictic and locative verbs and adverbs which denote direction and movement in relation to the mountain range; directional adverbs include, *reta* ‘up, upward, above, upslope’, *lau* ‘down, downward, below, downslope’, *ripa* ‘to the right, rightward (when facing downslope)’, *ḅali* ‘to the left, leftward (when facing downslope)’, *lala* ‘diagonally across a slope, either upward or downward’, see Lewis (1989: 312-316).
- BUR *ful timo*, *musu-n timo* ‘east monsoon’; also *lea keha-n* ‘rising of the sun, east’.
- IRA From Malay.
- TAK ‘sun place-its’, i.e. ‘the place of the sun’ (01.520, 12.110).
- DAM ‘sun 3sg-up-INF; also *yāt* ‘east’, *ḅā* ‘west’ (both of direction near speaker); *gā i-se-ya* (sun-rise), *gā i-si-le-ya* (sun-set) both of places a fair distance away.
- MAB *zoŋ unu* ‘origin of sun’; *lele ta zoŋ ise* ‘place where the sun rises’; *re unu* ‘origin of south-east wind’.
- YAB ‘sun its-origin’; also *ə? ke-pi-ŋa* ‘sun it-rise-ABL’, [*əsə*]/(-*ŋa*) from German *Ost*.
- KAU ‘place REL sun come go-upwards base-its REL’ (*tin ə men* brackets a relative clause), ‘the place where the sun comes up’.
- TOL ‘Wind from the North-East’, hence ‘North-East’, no word for ‘East’.
- KIL Usually *o-pili-bomatu* ‘at-part-east’, ‘in the east, eastwards’.



TAW	<i>tupo kaluwabu</i> ‘place of east wind’; <i>kabudala anani geleta</i> ‘place where sun rises’.
MOT	These direction terms are in Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) and the Bible but appear to be losing out to borrowings from English.
MAR	‘south-easterly direction (along lay of the island)’.
KWO	‘rising of sun’.
RAG	‘path of eye of sun’.
LEW	‘(south)-east (trade) wind’, etc; no terms for points of compass, the four cardinal points are referred to as <i>prapuna vari</i> ‘four corners’; the names of various winds are used as approximations, also [ <i>is</i> ], [ <i>wes</i> ], [ <i>not</i> ], [ <i>saot</i> ] from English.
POR	‘east wind’.
NTA	‘towards coast’.
KWA	‘seawards’.
CEM	‘low down’, also, ‘north of the island (in the direction of the predominant wind)’.
XAR	<i>ax<sup>w</sup>ε</i> ‘upwards, towards the head of the island’, <i>anã</i> ‘downwards, towards the sea’; <i>ak<sup>w</sup>ē</i> ‘parallel to the coast’.
NEN	<i>hada</i> (visible); <i>hazo</i> (not visible).
KIR	Also <i>rake</i> also ‘up’, as in <i>waerake</i> ‘go east’.
MSH	Also <i>rear</i> ; <i>tak</i> ‘up, east’; <i>cetak</i> ‘on the east side’, <i>caɬtak</i> ‘facing east’; <i>wetān</i> CON ‘east of’; <i>likiec</i> ‘east side’.
WLE	Also <i>xōtuwa-maiya</i> ( <i>maiya</i> ‘against the wind’); <i>tax</i> directional ‘up, east’.
RTU	From English <i>east</i> .
MEL	From English, also <i>mat-te-mataŋi</i> .

## 12.460 WEST

*ATA	ʔaʔušaʔ naʔ wayiʔ	KAL	kapon maipsukan	BLA	gsən di gu- sdaf i du
*TSO	m-rōvz-a xira		īnit	SAB	soddop-an
RUK	ta-lyog-anə	*TAG	kanlūran	MUR	kalasan
PAI	ka-ləɖəp	*AKL	katuɬund-an	*MGY	an-[d <sup>r</sup> efana]
*YAM	aʂɖəpan no aʒaw	*PAL	səɖəpan	ACE	barat
		*MOL	sodop	*BAT	[pastima]
ISN	sirbūtan	*KAG	saləppan	*MIN	[barat]

IND	barat	MAM	amari-balaia	*LEW	laŋi-awa
*SUN	[kulon]	TAK		POR	
JAV	kulon	*DAM	gāi-si-le-ya	*NTA	par
MAD	bara?	*MAB	zoŋ isula	*KWA	pare
*BAL	kauh	*YAB	ɔʔke-sep-ŋa	NEM	
*SAS	bat	*KAU	pi tin sinaŋ li	*CEM	é-da
GOR	ʔo-tolop-a		ko epon men	AJI	kā lūi mēxa
DAA	kasolo nu eo	TOL		XAR	
UMA	ka-solo-a	BUA	ñeŋ luŋ ya	*NEN	hadi
BUG	orai?	ADZ		*KIR	maeao
*KON	anrai?	*KIL	k <sup>w</sup> aib <sup>w</sup> aga	MSH	ɾælik
WOL	bara	*TAW	tupoyalasi	PON	palikapi
*MAG	sale	*MOT	tahodiho	WLE	řetowa
*NGA	zele	MEK		EFI	rā
*SIK	[βarat]	ROV	lodurimata	WFI	rā
RTI	muli	*MAR	mosu	*RTU	[ues]
*BUR	fahat	LAU	sulana hato	TON	hihifo
DOB	ɸara	*KWO	sūlana sina	SAM	sisifo
IRA	muməri	*RAG	hala-nmata-ni	*MEL	[wēsi]
*SAW	ŋan čepo		al-roro	TAH	toʔoa o te rā
NYI	jaha	PAA		RAP	

ATA 'the location of sunset'.

TSO 'place where the sun sets'.

YAM 'where the sun enters'.

TAG From *lūnod* 'drown, sink'.

AKL 'place of sunset'; root: *tūnud*.

PAL Also *lɔdɔpan*.

MOL *sodop + -an*.

KAG From (*saləp + -an*).

MGY From Malay *dəpan* 'in front'.

BAT From Sanskrit.

MIN From Malay, also *mato ari ta-banam* lit '(where) the sun sets'.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL *kauh* 'toward the west', Old Balinese *karuh*; (*bə*)-*dauh* 'lying to the west of something', Old Balinese *daruh*; forms from *\*auh* typically 'west', but in some areas 'the direction to one's left, when facing mountainwards'.

SAS Also *barət*.

KON	Also <i>i-raġa</i> ‘in the direction of the mountains’.
MAG	<i>koləp</i> ‘the west’.
NGA	‘towards the mountain’.
SIK	From Malay, see note 12.450.
BUR	<i>musu-n fahat</i> ‘west monsoon’.
SAW	‘sun set (the direction of)’.
DAM	‘sun 3sg-down-go-INF; see 12.450.
MAB	<i>iwāra unu</i> ‘north-west wind’s origin’.
YAB	‘sun it-go.down-ABL’; also [ <i>wese</i> ]( <i>-ŋa</i> ) from German <i>West</i> .
KAU	‘place REL sun go go-downwards base-its REL’ ( <i>tin ə men</i> brackets a relative clause), i.e. ‘the place where the sun goes down’.
KIL	Usually <i>o-pili-k<sup>w</sup>aib<sup>w</sup>aga</i> ‘at-part-west’, i.e. ‘in the west, westwards’.
TAW	<i>tupo yalasi</i> ‘the place of the west wind’; <i>kabudala, anani yoli</i> ‘place where the sun goes down’.
MOT	See 12.450.
MAR	‘northwesterly direction (along lay of the island)’.
KWO	‘setting of sun’.
RAG	‘path of eye of deep sun’.
LEW	See 12.450.
NTA	‘inland’.
KWA	‘landwards’.
CEM	‘above’; also ‘south of the island’.
NEN	Also <i>haduo</i> .
KIR	Also <i>rio</i> directional ‘down, west’.
RTU	From English <i>west</i> .
MEL	From English.

## 12.470 NORTH

Sanskrit: <i>uttara-</i>	Spanish: <i>norte</i>
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*ATA	tay-ḡamiš-an	ISN	dāya	MOL	hiraga?
TSO	or?i	*KAL	lāgud	*KAG	[nurti]
RUK		*TAG	hilāga?	BLA	sabnal
PAI		*AKL	amīhan	SAB	
YAM		PAL	iraga?	MUR	[utada]

*MGY	a-[varatʰa]	IRA		PAA	
ACE	[utara]	SAW		*LEW	laŋi-soi
BAT	[utara]	NYI	tolau	*POR	nesiv
MIN	[utaro]	MAM	auara-puraia	NTA	pahap
IND	[utara]	TAK		*KWA	prəhi
*SUN	[kaler]	*DAM	yāt	NEM	
JAV	lɔr	MAB		CEM	
MAD	ɖaʃa	*YAB	musa <sup>u</sup> gu-ɪn (-ŋa)	AJI	g <sup>w</sup> ānevā
*BAL		KAU	maranaiŋ	XAR	
SAS	dayə	*TOL	labur	*NEN	hādi
*GOR	[ʔūtara]	BUA	ayōŋ yam	KIR	meāŋ
DAA	tasina	ADZ		MSH	eaŋ
UMA		*KIL	yaβata	PON	paliepeŋ
BUG	manoraŋ	*TAW	tupo bauli	WLE	yefaŋi
KON		*MOT	mirigini	EFI	tokalau
WOL	napa	MEK		WFI	tokalau
*MAG	lau	ROV	ɣede	*RTU	[not]
*NGA	məna	MAR		TON	tokelau
*SIK	[utara]	LAU		SAM	mātū
*RTI	ki	KWO		*MEL	[not]
BUR		RAG		TAH	ʔapatoʔerau
DOB	mada'mar			RAP	

ATA *tay-kaŋiŋ-an* 'north', from *kaŋiŋ-an* 'winter'.

KAL 'down river'.

TAG Also [*norte*].

AKL Also [*norte*].

KAG Also [*nurti*].

MGY From Malay *barat* 'west'.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL The basic directional axis is mountainwards-seawards; in south Bali, mountainwards generally equates with north; forms from *\*-aʃə* express 'mountainwards', those from *\*-lod* 'seawards' (compare Old Balinese *daya* 'mountainwards'); *kaʃə* 'mountainwards', in south Bali: 'towards the north' (in north Bali 'towards the south'); (*bə*)*daʃə* 'lying mountainwards', in south Bali generally 'lying to the north' (in north Bali with 'lying to the south'); *klod* 'seawards', in North Bali generally 'towards the north', in south Bali: 'towards the south';

(*bə-*)*klod* 'lying seawards', in north Bali 'lying to the north', in south Bali: 'lying to the south'.

- GOR Also *tilayo* 'north, region upriver, the interior'.
- MAG *lau* 'downstream', south of the central chain of mountains 'south', north of the same chain 'north'.
- NGA 'towards the left when facing *lau*'.
- SIK See 12.450.
- RTI 'left'.
- DAM See 12.450.
- YAB 'north-west.monsoon-origin'; [*nədə*] from German *Nord*.
- TOL 'wind from the north-west', hence 'north-west', no word for 'north'.
- KIL Usually *o-pili-yaβata* at-part-north, 'in the north, northwards'.
- TAW 'place of the north wind'.
- MOT See 12.450.
- LEW See 12.450.
- POR 'north wind'.
- KWA 'counter clockwise around the island' north when in east Tanna, but south if in west Tanna.
- NEN Also *hađio*.
- RTU From English *north*.
- MEL From English.

## 12.480 SOUTH

Spanish: *sur*

*ATA	tay-yaβay-an	MOL	solatan	*SUN	[kidul]
TSO	omz-a	*KAG	[sur]	JAV	kidul
RUK		BLA	timul	MAD	lau?
PAI		SAB		*BAL	
YAM		MUR	[salatan]	SAS	lau?
ISN	allod	MGY	a-çimu	*GOR	[salātani]
*KAL	dāya	ACE	sulatan	DAA	puluna
*TAG	tīmog	BAT	[daksina]	UMA	
*AKL	sałātan	MIN	[salatan]	BUG	yattan
PAL	salatan	*IND	səlatan	KON	

WOL	salata	BUA	saŋ yam	CEM	
*MAG	le	ADZ		AJI	bənevā
*NGA	zale	*KIL	bolimila	XAR	
*SIK		*TAW	tupoyawana	NEN	mađio
*RTI	kona	*MOT	diho	KIR	maiaki
BUR		MEK		*MSH	řak
DOB	taragan	ROV	matao	PON	palieir
IRA		MAR		WLE	iyeiři
SAW		LAU		EFI	đeβa
NYI	kum	KWO		WFI	đeβa
MAM	gamaia-puraia	RAG		*RTU	[saot]
TAK		PAA		TON	toŋa
*DAM	φā	*LEW	laŋi-ye	SAM	saute
MAB		POR		*MEL	[saut]
*YAB	mula-ṁ(-ŋa)	NTA	pis	TAH	ʔapatoʔa
*KAU	soloŋ siin	*KWA	pesu	RAP	
*TOL	təubar	NEM			

ATA *tay-yaβay-an* ‘south’, from *yaβayan* ‘summer’.

KAL ‘upriver’.

TAG PHN \**tīmuR*; also *sur*.

AKL Also [*sur*], Spanish *sur*.

KAG Also [*su*].

IND Historically *səlat-an*.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL No term, see 12.470.

GOR Also *huli-ya-liyo* ‘lower course (of a river), south’.

MAG The opposite of *lau*.

NGA ‘towards the right when facing *lau*’.

SIK See 12.450.

RTI ‘right’.

DAM See 12.450.

YAB ‘south-east.trade.wind-origin’; [*sidi*] from German *Süd*.

KAU *sii-n* ‘base’.

TOL ‘wind from the south-east’, hence ‘south-east’, no word for ‘south’.

KIL ‘south-east’, *o-pili-bolimila* ‘in the south, southwards’, also *bolimilayouya* ‘south’.

TAW	'place of south wind'.
MOT	See 12.450
LEW	See 12.450.
KWA	'clockwise around the island', south when in east Tanna, but north if in west Tanna.
MSH	<i>rək</i> , <i>yōtŋe</i> archaic: 'on south side of', <i>turək</i> 'southern part'.
RTU	From English <i>south</i> .
MEL	From English.

### 12.530 GROW

ATA	m-rakiyaš	DAA	na-tuvu	ROV	togolo
*TSO	ru-suxçï	UMA	tuβu?	MAR	kotu
*RUK	mā-ɖa-ɖaw	BUG	tuo	*LAU	bulao
PAI	mə-kaça-kaça	KON	a?-timbo	KWO	bila?u
YAM	mamno	*WOL	tuwu	RAG	mauri
ISN	umabay	MAG	uva	PAA	mūlu
*KAL	dakol	NGA	təbu	*LEW	kap <sup>w</sup> uru
*TAG	tūbo?	*SIK	taβa	POR	ru <sup>m</sup> b
AKL	tūbu?	RTI	moli	*NTA	-atep <sup>w</sup> at
*PAL	lumanbu (lambu)	*BUR	haa	*KWA	-uta
*MOL	gaya	DOB	?a-yala	*NEM	cim
*KAG	tubu	IRA	subə	CEM	cîm
BLA	l-am-nok	SAW	n-tub	AJI	kani
*SAB	sulig	NYI	ateh	XAR	tue
*MUR	tū?	MAM	laba	*NEN	apuʒani
*MGY	mi-tumbu	*TAK	-talbisi	*KIR	riki rake
*ACE	–	*DAM	odug-eya	*MSH	rrek
BAT	ma-godaŋ	*MAB	-tum	PON	keirita
MIN	tumbu <sup>h</sup>	*YAB	-top	*WLE	fasa
IND	bər-tumbuh	*KAU	pun	EFI	tubu
*SUN	[tuwuh]	TOL	tavuə	WFI	čubu
JAV	tuwuh	BUA	rig	RTU	fupu
MAD	tumbu	ADZ	yab-	TON	tupu
*BAL	tumbuh	*KIL	-tam	*SAM	fai-a?e
SAS	tewo?	*TAW	lata	*MEL	[wora]
*GOR	mo-butu	*MOT	bada	*TAH	tupu
		*MEK	e-uki	RAP	nui-nui

- TSO *ru-suxçi* ‘increase in size’; *ç-m-ifri* ‘spring up (plants)’.
- RUK *mā-daḍaw* ‘grow up’; *wa-swa-swai* ‘grow’; *wa-diadili* (of a living thing) ‘grow’.
- KAL *dakol* + *-um-*; also *tūbu* + *-um-* (plant).
- TAG *tūbo?* + *-um-*.
- PAL *tumuhu?*, *mɔgbjag*.
- MOL *gaya* + *ko-/um-*.
- KAG *tubu* + *mag-*.
- SAB *sulig* + *aN-*.
- MUR *tū?* (*-um-*).
- MGY From PMP *\*t-um-ubuq*.
- ACE *tumbɔh* ‘swell up’; *timɔh* ‘sprout’; *e?* ‘rise’.
- SUN From Javanese; also [*tumuwh*].
- BAL *tumbuh* (vb intrans) ‘grow, appear, of plants, teeth, hair etc. (vb intrans)’; *m-ənɪk* ‘sprout’.
- GOR Also *t-um-umulo* ‘live, grow’.
- WOL Also *tuwu-la<sup>ŋ</sup>ka* ‘grow fast’.
- SIK Also *sut*, *sot*, *tubuk*.
- BUR ‘of humans, animals’; *dula* (of plants).
- TAK *-talbisi* (of people and animals), *-sa* ‘climb’ (10.742) (of plants).
- DAM ‘big-INF; also *biya-ya*, *melu-ya*; all three are from adjectives *odug* ‘big’, *biya* ‘good, grown up’, *meluk* ‘long’.
- MAB *-tum* ‘become bigger’; *-<sup>n</sup>dom* ‘used of plants’.
- YAB Also *-sɛwɛ?* ‘grow fat’.
- KAU Also *pplok* ‘sprout up’.
- KIL ‘sprout, begin growing’; *-veka* ‘big’ functions as a verb root ‘grow’ with the appropriate classifier prefixed: *-to-βeka* ‘person-bigs’, ‘(he) grows’; *-na-βeka* ‘animal-bigs’, ‘(it) grows (of animal, bird, etc)’; *-kai-βeka* ‘straight/rigid-bigs’, ‘it grows (tree)’; *-ya-βeka* ‘thin/flexible-bigs’, ‘it grows (grass, creeper)’ etc.
- TAW *lata* ‘increase in size’; *wilata* ‘cause to grow/make big’.
- MOT ‘be(come) big’; may be used very generally. Also *tubu* ‘grow, esp. of plants, etc’.
- MEK *uki* is used for ‘shoot, penis’; *e-u?i* ‘grow again (of burnt bush or replanted seed tubers)’.



LAU	Also <i>ala baita</i> .
LEW	Also <i>vitovi</i> .
NTA	'grow in quantity'.
KWA	Also <i>-wera</i> 'sprout, grow over, increase'.
NEM	<i>cim</i> 'grow (of a plant)'; <i>k<sup>h</sup>oa</i> 'grow, become taller'.
NEN	Also <i>niri</i> .
KIR	With directional 'up'.
MSH	<i>yɔŋ</i> also 'sprout'; <i>cep<sup>m</sup>ar</i> 'sprout, grow (of plants)'
WLE	Also <i>iya, ci</i> with directional 'up'; <i>tum<sup>w</sup>uŋa</i> also 'sprout'.
SAM	<i>fāi-</i> only in combination with directional particles, and <i>a<sup>ʔ</sup>e</i> 'go up, climb (vb intrans)'.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>rahi</i> .

## 12.540 MEASURE

Malay: *ukur*

ATA	č-um-puŋ	MIN	uku <sup>ə</sup>	*BUR	esgoi
*TSO	to-sfit-i	IND	məŋ-ukur	DOB	ʔa-yaɸan
RUK	wa-ləkətə	SUN	ŋ-ukur	IRA	masutə
PAI		JAV	ŋ-ukur	SAW	n-əsut
*YAM	aktokto	MAD	ukur	NYI	mu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> oh
*ISN	gukud-an	*BAL	ñikut (sikut)	MAM	ŋaoa
*KAL	īŋos	*SAS	ŋ-[ukur]	*TAK	[mak]-ga
*TAG	sūkat	*GOR	molu <sup>ʔ</sup> udu	DAM	kisi
*AKL	sūkat	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-	MAB	kin
*PAL	sukuran		[ukuru]	*YAB	-è doŋ
MOL	sukud	UMA	huha <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KAU	ekai
*KAG	sukulun	BUG	[ukkuru <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	*TOL	və-lər
BLA	b-an-tas	*KON	as-suka <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	taŋu
*SAB	sukud	*WOL	suka-ti	ADZ	ram-
*MUR	[sukat]	*MAG	volə	KIL	-βisaikola
MGY	man-d <sup>f</sup> efi	NGA	laye	*TAW	[sikele]
ACE	uko	*SIK	kula	*MOT	ha-he-toho-a
*BAT	balga	*RTI	[uku]	*MEK	i- <sup>ʔ</sup> opo

ROV	padaia	KWA	-akiri	*WLE	ɲefō
MAR	fananaba	NEM	ɲeɲi	EFI	βakarau-taka
LAU		CEM	jà hi	WFI	βarau-takinia
KWO	faʔaladami-a	AJI	dāwā	RTU	foho
*RAG	tovo	XAR	tī	TON	fua
PAA		NEN	tuo(n)	SAM	fua
LEW	toutou-ni	*KIR	bairea	*MEL	[towo]
POR	tōtor-in-i	*MSH	coɲe	*TAH	fāito
*NTA	-os [mak] e	*PON	sōɲ	RAP	hāito

TSO *to-sfīt-i* ‘measure the length’; *pro-sfīt-a* ‘measure the quantity’.

YAM Also *ʒaɲan* ‘span of hand’.

ISN *dāɲan* ‘span of hand, 8 inches’.

KAL *īɲos + -on*.

TAG *sūkat + -um/-in*.

AKL *sūkat + -un*.

PAL Also *pəpədan*.

KAG *sukul + mag-/-ən*; also *takəs + mag-/-ən* like *sukul*, ‘measure length’; *səkkəb + mag-/-ən* ‘measure volume/quantity’.

SAB *sukud + aN/ø*.

MUR [*sukat*] (*mag-; maɲ-; -on*); also *ukul* (*maɲ- -on*) ‘measure out piece of land (for building), cloth (for garment) etc.’ possibly from Malay *ukur*.

BAT ‘size’.

BAL Also *N-səpat*.

SAS Malay? Only eight *u*-initial entries in Thoir et al. (1985).

GOR (*tuʔudu + moN-*); also *moɲ[ūkuru]* (*ʔūkuru + moN-*);.

KON Also *aʔ-gantaɲ* (of volume).

WOL Also *səɲa, seʔka, suka, [ukuru]*.

MAG ‘measure length’.

SIK Also *tetu* (liquid), *huʔər, api-ɲ, gasik, api-ɲ gasik*.

RTI Also *sudi* ‘measure, measure out, try, test’; *leʔa* ‘measure in lengths (*depa*/fathom)’.

BUR Also *sol-dohi* ‘inspect, examine, discuss boundaries’.

TAK ‘mark do’ (09.110), i.e. ‘make a mark’. [*mak*] from Tok Pisin.

YAB ‘pull yardstick’; also *-yàm doɲ* ‘do yardstick’.

- KAU 'like or equal to'.  
 TOL See 11.920.  
 TAW [*sikele*] 'measure weight' from English *scale*; [*omluwa*] 'measure length' from English *ruler*; *mawa a dao* 'distance its length (large scale)'.  
 MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *toho* 'mark for cutting; rule lines'.  
 MEK From *ʔopo* 'test, examine, measure, compare, imitate, try', also 'same as'; also *i-luma* 'measurement of length' from *luma* 'measure with, or as with string'.  
 RAG Also *dovo*.  
 NTA From English.  
 KIR *bairea* also 'arrange, organise'; *uakorā* cf. *uakora* 'two basketfuls', *ḡāea* 'measure by fathoms'.  
 MSH cf. *coḡan* 'amount of'; *tēḡ* noun; also 'division, grade'.  
 PON Also *ḡepe*.  
 WLE Also *xapō-a*.  
 MEL From Efate.  
 TAH Also [*tāmētera*] from French.

### 12.541 SPAN, FATHOM

ATA	č-um-puḡ	*ACE	duupa	NGA	bapa
*TSO	to-...-hi	*BAT	gaḡjaḡ	*SIK	paga
RUK		*MIN	jaḡka	*RTI	teḡa
PAI		*IND	ḡaḡkal	BUR	repa
YAM	aḡpa	*SUN	ḡiḡkal	DOB	re
ISN	sūba	*JAV	kilan	IRA	sutə
KAL	simbāla	MAD	allaʔ	*SAW	lof
TAG	dipa	*BAL	dəpə	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʰokowan
*AKL	dupah	*SAS	ḡaḡkəl	MAM	ḡaoa
PAL	dapaʔan	*GOR	lopo	TAK	
MOL	dopa	DAA	<sup>n</sup> dopo	DAM	kisi
KAG	duppa	UMA	dopo	MAB	re
BLA	difī	BUG	liuḡ	YAB	-saka
SAB	dappa	*KON	lamaʔ	KAU	
*MUR	lopo	WOL	<sup>n</sup> dapa	*TOL	poko-no
MGY	refi	MAG	dake	BUA	

ADZ		LEW		PON	ŋāp
*KIL	uβa-	POR		WLE	yeŋōŋa
*TAW	guli	NTA		*EFI	ḏaŋa
MOT	roha	KWA		*WFI	ḏaŋa
MEK		NEM	halam	*RTU	anika
*ROV	labe	CEM	éādā	*TON	haŋa
MAR	k <sup>h</sup> aŋafa	AJI		SAM	ŋafa
LAU	ʔabala	XAR		MEL	
KWO	tafaŋa	NEN	ŋaepan	TAH	ʔetaʔeta
*RAG	ŋava	KIR	teŋā	RAP	maroa
PAA		MSH	ŋeŋe		

TSO *to-nso-xi* ‘one span’; *to-pus-ki* ‘two spans’, etc.; *ti-...-xa ta muŋu* ‘fathom’, *ti-nso-xa ta muŋu* ‘one fathom’; *ti-pus-ka ta muŋu* ‘two fathoms’, etc.

AKL *dāŋaw*, Proto-Southern Philippines \**dāŋaw* ‘span of hand’.

MUR *lopo* ‘fathom’, *sondopo* ‘one fathom’, *x ŋolopo* ‘x fathoms’; *laŋow* ‘span’, *sandaŋow* ‘one span’; *x ŋalaŋow/ŋandaŋow* ‘x spans’.

ACE ‘fathom’.

BAT *gaŋŋaŋ* (horizontal); *bagas* (depth).

MIN Also *ukur-an*.

IND *ŋəŋkal* ‘span’; *dəpa* ‘fathom’.

SUN *ŋiŋkal* ‘span’; *dipa* ‘fathom’.

JAV *kilan* ‘span’; *dəpa* ‘fathom’.

BAL *dəpə* ‘length from tip of fingers of left hand to tip of fingers of right hand when arms fully stretched out at 180 degrees from each other’; *čəŋkaŋ* ‘from tip of thumb to tip of index finger’; *ləŋkat, laŋkat* ‘from tip of thumb to tip of first finger’.

SAS *ŋəŋkəl* ‘span’; *dəpə* ‘fathom’; Teeuw: *ŋəŋkak* ‘span’.

GOR ‘span’.

KON *lamaʔ* ‘span’; *rappa* ‘fathom’.

SIK Also *rəpa, elo*.

RTI *teŋa* ‘span’; *leʔa* ‘fathom’.

SAW Also *n-εσɔŋ* ‘span’.

TOL *-no DEREL*.

KIL *uβa-* (classifier) plus numeral suffix.

TAW ‘outstretched arm/wave of sea’.

ROV *labe* ‘wide, width’; *nava* ‘span’.

RAG	‘fathom’.
EFI	Also <i>katu</i> .
WFI	Also <i>kaču</i> .
RTU	<i>anika</i> ‘span’; <i>aŋa</i> ‘fathom’.
TON	<i>haŋa</i> ‘span’; <i>ofa</i> ‘fathom’.

## 12.550 LARGE, BIG

ATA	rahuwa†	*UMA	bohe	MAR	biʔo
TSO	mro-isi	BUG	ma-loppo	LAU	baita
RUK	mā-ɖaw	*KON	lompo	KWO	baʔita
PAI	kudał	*WOL	maoge	*RAG	yaivua
YAM	azako	MAG	mese	PAA	mariso
ISN	abay	NGA	meze	*LEW	keviu
KAL	dakōl	SIK	gəte	POR	<sup>m</sup> bao
*TAG	laki	RTI	matua	*NTA	iahŋin
*AKL	bahu†	*BUR	haa-t	KWA	-asori
PAL	kɔlaʔ	DOB	bari	NEM	hun
MOL	ogaya	IRA	nabadə	CEM	ún
*KAG	bakəd	SAW	n-pələy	AJI	kau
*BLA	boŋ	NYI	tinan	XAR	kaxē
*SAB	mehe	*MAM	biabia	NEN	ma
*MUR	māyo	TAK	tubu-n	*KIR	ab <sup>w</sup> āb <sup>w</sup> aki
MGY	lehi be	DAM	odug	*MSH	lap
ACE	rayuʔ	MAB	bībi	*PON	laut
BAT	bal'ga	YAB	kap <sup>w</sup> eŋ	*WLE	řapa
MIN	gadaŋ	*KAU	nuhum	EFI	leβu
IND	bəsar	TOL	ŋalə	*WFI	leβu
*SUN	ləga	BUA	bɔp	RTU	tiʔu
JAV	gəde	ADZ	ɕiraʔ	TON	lahi
MAD	raja	KIL	-βeka	*SAM	tele
*BAL	[gədə]	*TAW	banei-na	*MEL	[p <sup>w</sup> oulapa]
SAS	bəleʔ	MOT	bada	TAH	rahi
*GOR	daʔa	*MEK	akaikia	RAP	nui-nui
DAA	na-bete	ROV	nomana		

TAG *laki + ma-*, Proto-Philippines *\*dakel*.

AKL *bahu† + ma-*.

KAG	Also <i>darku</i> (plural referent).
BLA	<i>boŋ</i> ‘large (one object)’; <i>ma-lboŋ</i> ‘large (more than one item)’.
SAB	<i>mehe</i> + <i>a-</i> .
MUR	<i>māyo</i> , also <i>māŋka?</i> , <i>malaŋka?</i> (of gap).
SUN	Also [ <i>gəde</i> ] from Javanese.
BAL	From Old Javanese, has displaced Old Balinese <i>bəsar</i> , <i>raya</i> .
GOR	Also <i>dumaŋo</i> and <i>huli<sup>n</sup>da</i> .
UMA	Also <i>kama</i> .
KON	Also <i>bakka?</i> .
WOL	Also <i>ma-ewa</i> ‘wide’.
BUR	Li Enyorot <i>bagu-t</i> .
MAM	Also <i>laba</i> .
KAU	Also <i>apluk</i> .
TAW	Plural <i>balubalu-hi</i> .
MEK	<i>maua</i> in the other dialects; East Mekeo <i>fa<sup>?</sup>a</i> ‘great, stout, fat’; other East Mekeo terms for physical largeness are: <i>fuale/fuaŋe</i> , <i>lau-lau</i> , <i>kolafu/koŋafu</i> , <i>moŋafu</i> ; <i>komaru</i> (of big/large girls or women).
RAG	<i>yaivua</i> (singular referent); <i>lalavoa</i> (plural referent).
LEW	<i>ker-keviu</i> (plural referent).
NTA	Also <i>asol</i> .
KIR	Also <i>bubura</i> .
MSH	<i>kilep</i> ; <i>repp<sup>w</sup>Λn</i> ‘enormous’.
PON	Also <i>lap</i> (big in stature or importance); also <i>kalaim<sup>w</sup>un</i> .
WLE	Also <i>faŋixiti</i> ; <i>yaiiŋapa</i> .
WFI	Also <i>dou</i> .
SAM	Also <i>lāpo<sup>?</sup>a</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

## 12.560 SMALL, LITTLE

ATA	<i>tikay</i>	YAM	<i>alikäy</i>	*AKL	<i>isut</i>
TSO	<i>oko-si</i>	ISN	<i>bitti<sup>?</sup></i>	PAL	<i>kikisək</i>
RUK	<i>tiki-anə</i>	KAL	<i>baŋ<sup>?</sup>og</i>	MOL	<i>toitu<sup>?</sup></i>
PAI	<i>kədi</i>	*TAG	<i>li<sup>?</sup>it</i>	*KAG	<i>tisə<sup>?</sup></i>

*BLA	tukay	BUR	roi-n	PAA	havivi
*SAB	nahut	*DOB	biteḡay	*LEW	tekaki
*MUR	bobodok	IRA	kəsi	POR	keke
MGY	keli	SAW	n-ε-myaku	*NTA	netiakaku
*ACE	ubit	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isik	*KWA	-ouihi
BAT	mət'mət	*MAM	mu <sup>ʔ</sup> u-mu <sup>ʔ</sup> u	NEM	m <sup>w</sup> añ
*MIN	kete <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAK	tusa-n	CEM	wáhin
IND	kəčil	DAM	nālu	AJI	yaři
SUN	litik	*MAB	musāna	XAR	were
JAV	čili <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	saun	NEN	wa <sup>ʔ</sup> ami
MAD	kini <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KAU	tun	KIR	uarereke
*BAL	čənik	*TOL	ikilik	*MSH	rik
*SAS	kode <sup>(?)</sup>	BUA	mayen	PON	ṭikiṭik
*GOR	kiki <sup>ʔ</sup> o	ADZ	isi <sup>ʔ</sup>	*WLE	xiti
DAA	na <sup>ʔ</sup> gedi (kedi)	KIL	-kekita	EFI	lailai
UMA	kedi <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TAW	habulu-na	*WFI	hewa
BUG	bečču	*MOT	marayi	*RTU	mea <sup>ʔ</sup> me <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*KON	čaddi	*MEK	e <sup>ʔ</sup> ele	TON	si <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*WOL	ma-id'i-id'i	ROV	hitekena	*SAM	la <sup>ʔ</sup> itiiti
*MAG	koe	MAR	ikoi	*MEL	[kekēla]
NGA	kədi	LAU	to <sup>ʔ</sup> ou	*TAH	iti
*SIK	kəsik	*KWO	sika <sup>ʔ</sup> u	RAP	<sup>ʔ</sup> iti- <sup>ʔ</sup> iti
RTI	ana-k	*RAG	tiri <sup>ʔ</sup> i		

TAG *li<sup>ʔ</sup>it + ma-*; also *munti<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

AKL *ísut + ma-*.

KAG *dərsə<sup>ʔ</sup>* (plural referent).

BLA *tukay* 'small (one object)'; *tukik* 'small'; *ma-lnak* 'small (more than one item)'.

SAB *nahut + a-*.

MUR *bobodok* (of gap); *makikit* (in area); also *malilis*.

ACE Also *ubut*.

MIN Also *kači<sup>ʔ</sup>?*

BAL Also *čərik* 'small because young, small'.

SAS Teeuw: *kode<sup>(?)</sup>*, *bəri<sup>ʔ</sup>*, *bərik*, *bəči<sup>ʔ</sup>*, *keče<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

GOR Also *kiki*, *kikiḡo*, *kikino*, *niniḡo*; also plural form in the phrase *tā<sup>ʔ</sup>u kekē<sup>ʔ</sup>i* (personal-NOM + non-personal NOM + small pl) 'children'.

KON Also *diki* (-*diki*).

WOL	Also <i>li<sup>n</sup>ti-na, makid'ikid'i, wali<sup>n</sup>čad'a</i> .
MAG	Eastern dialects: <i>loe</i> .
SIK	Also [ <i>anak</i> ] from Malay <i>anak</i> 'child'.
DOB	<i>kasili, bitaleḡay, ?iteḡay</i> .
MAM	Also <i>si?i-si?i</i> .
MAB	Also <i>ri, munmun</i>
YAB	Also <i>wàla-wàla</i> 'tiny because of distance'; <i>ḡa-lenu-lenu</i> 'very tiny' ( <i>lenu-lenu</i> 'tiny bits'); <i>ḡa-gε?</i> 'a little'.
KAU	Also <i>milai</i> .
TOL	Also <i>ik</i> .
TAW	Plural <i>muhomuho-hi</i> .
MOT	Also <i>maraki</i> .
MEK	Presumably <i>?e?ele</i> ; also <i>kekele, meme, memeḡe</i> in East Mekeo; North Mekeo, West Mekeo <i>pepela, bebela</i> ; NW Mekeo <i>tsitsino (titino); kino; kikino</i> .
KWO	Also <i>sīsika</i> .
RAG	<i>tiriyi</i> (singular referent); also <i>riviyi</i> (plural referent).
LEW	Also <i>tomaki</i> ; and plural <i>terekaki, tomomaki</i> .
NTA	Also <i>netən</i> .
KWA	Also <i>k<sup>w</sup>ati</i> .
MSH	<i>cirrik</i> 'petty, minor'; <i>niḡ, wirrik</i> also <i>winniḡ</i> 'tiny, puny'
WLE	Also <i>kīti</i> .
WFI	Also <i>ḡere</i> .
RTU	<i>riri?i</i> pl.
SAM	Also <i>itiiti, tama?i</i> see 03.240, 03.290, 03.380, 03.450, of surfaces.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>na?ina?i; hu?a</i> 'very small'; <i>ha?i ha?i, ri?i</i> 'humble, small'.

## 12.570 LONG

ATA	ḡanarūx	YAM	anazo	*AKL	hāba?
TSO	taḡvoh?i	ISN	adaddu	PAL	məbwat
RUK	mā-ḡagi	KAL	andu	*MOL	buat
*PAI	ḡaḡuḡ	*TAG	hāba?	KAG	mḡaḡkaw



BLA	təhəʔ	BUR	rema-t	PAA	tavelah
*SAB	tahaʔ	DOB	sayi	LEW	viavi
*MUR	māwar	IRA	mərərə	POR	<sup>m</sup> be <sup>m</sup> beav
MGY	lava	SAW	n-ε-mləŋe	NTA	kaiəfamah
ACE	pañəŋ	NYI	lawe	KWA	-apomus
BAT	gadʔjaŋ	MAM	salaga	NEM	galia
MIN	pañjaŋ	TAK	milae-n	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ali
IND	pañjaŋ	DAM	meluk	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã
SUN	pañjaŋ	MAB	molo	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ã
IAV	dəwə	*YAB	balij	NEN	iweiai
MAD	lanjaŋ	KAU	nomalak	KIR	anānau
*BAL	dawə	TOL	lolovina	MSH	aetok
SAS	belo	BUA	adiŋ	PON	reirei
GOR	hayaʔo	ADZ	gu <sup>n</sup> tiʔ	*WLE	yenai
DAA	na- <sup>n</sup> date	KIL	-wonaku	EFI	balaβu
UMA	mo-laja	TAW	daodao-na	WFI	balaβu
BUG	ma-lampeʔ	MOT	lata	RTU	roa
KON	labbu	*MEK	maewa	TON	lōloa
*WOL	ma-arate	ROV	yelena	SAM	ʔumi
MAG	leve	MAR	brahu	MEL	tōtoe
NGA	leva	LAU	tek <sup>w</sup> a	TAH	roa
SIK	bloŋ	KWO	tek <sup>w</sup> a	RAP	roa
RTI	ma-nalu	RAG	ŋava		

PAI *ɕuay* ‘long (time)’.

TAG *hābaʔ + ma-*.

AKL *hābaʔ + ma-*.

MOL *buat + mo-*.

SAB *tahaʔ + a-*.

MUR *māwar* (of gap); also *mabuoy*.

BAL Also *lantəŋ*.

WOL (of rope etc.).

YAB See *-balij* ‘throw’.

MEK *maewa* North Mekeo and West Mekeo, *maeaŋa* NW Mekeo.

WLE Also *řer̄i*, *fařim* <sup>w</sup>oʃo also ‘tall’; see *mm* <sup>w</sup>oʃo ‘short’.

## 12.580 TALL

ATA	ʔi-βaβaw-ik	UMA	mo-la <sup>ɔ</sup> ko	MAR	brahu
TSO	pepe	BUG	ma-tanre	*LAU	tek <sup>w</sup> a
RUK	mā-ələŋə	*KON	tiŋgi	*KWO	tek <sup>w</sup> a
PAI	kaça	WOL	ma-laŋa	RAG	ŋava
YAM	makazaŋ	MAG	mese	PAA	tavelah
ISN	nasāgay	NGA	leva	LEW	viavi
*KAL	taknaŋ	SIK	gahar	POR	m <sup>b</sup> ao
*TAG	taʔas	*RTI	ma-dema	NTA	kaiəfamah
*AKL	taʔas	*BUR	em-kele	*KWA	-asori
PAL	məlaŋkəw	DOB	sayi	NEM	galia
*MOL	laŋkəw	IRA		*CEM	pilehə-n
*KAG	datas	SAW	n-ε-məge	AJI	kau
*BLA	təhəʔ	NYI	lawe	XAR	çe
*SAB	laŋa	MAM	salaga-raʔe	NEN	ma
*MUR	masawat	*TAK	milae-	*KIR	rietāta,
MGY	vaventi	DAM	meluk	*MSH	actək
ACE	paŋaŋ	*MAB	ku <sup>m</sup> bu-molo	*PON	reirei
BAT	tib'bo	*YAB	kap <sup>w</sup> eŋ	*WLE	faŋim <sup>w</sup> oŋo
MIN	tiŋgi	KAU	nomalak	EFI	balaβu
IND	tiŋgi	*TOL	lələvinə	WFI	balaβu
SUN	jaŋkuŋ	BUA	adiŋ	RTU	lamlama
JAV	duur	ADZ	gu <sup>n</sup> tiʔ	TON	lōloa
MAD	tiŋg <sup>h</sup> i	KIL	-wonaku	SAM	ʔumi
*BAL	təgəh	*TAW	gahi-na i dao	MEL	roa
*SAS	tiŋgaŋ	MOT	lata	*TAH	roa
GOR	mo-la <sup>ɔ</sup> gato	MEK	ŋapu-ŋapu	RAP	roa-roa
DAA	na-laŋa	ROV	ululu		

KAL *taknaŋ + na-*.

TAG *taʔas + ma-*.

AKL *taʔas + ma-*.

MOL *laŋkəw + mo-*.

KAG Also *layug*.

BLA *tahaʔ* 'tall (of narrow things)'; *m-datah* 'tall (generally of bulky objects such as mountains)'.

SAB *laŋa* or *laŋkaw* (of trees, buildings etc.); *lanjaŋ* of person; all take *a-*.

MUR Also *malayow* (of palm trees).

BAL	<i>təgəh</i> (of both humans and objects); <i>gəngas</i> 'tall and well-built (humans)'; <i>landuŋ</i> 'tall' (stature).
SAS	Thoir et al. 1985: <i>tingi</i> .
KON	Also <i>'laŋkasa</i> .
RTI	<i>dema(k)</i> 'tall, deep'.
BUR	Also 'high'; <i>rema-t</i> 'tall, long'.
TAK	See 12.570.
MAB	'long legs'.
YAB	Also <i>baliŋ</i> (cf. 12.550, 12.580).
TOL	Also 'long'.
TAW	'his/her stature is long'.
LAU	Also <i>baita</i> .
KWO	Also <i>lalau</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-apomus</i> .
CEM	'of large dimensions, enormous'.
KIR	<i>toa</i> 'gigantic, powerful'; also <i>āintoa</i> .
MSH	<i>aetok</i> 'gigantic, powerful'; also <i>inəya</i> 'gigantic, of great stature'.
PON	<i>reirei</i> also 'long'; <i>aŋet</i> 'gigantic, powerful'.
WLE	<i>řerři</i> also 'long'.
TAH	<i>roa</i> (of person); <i>teitei</i> (of object); <i>rahi</i> 'big'.

## 12.590 SHORT

ATA	<i>ʔištɨŋ</i>	*SAB	<i>pondok</i>	DAA	<i>na-ede</i>
*TSO	<i>nanixti</i>	*MUR	<i>madiwaʔ</i>	*UMA	<i>redeʔ</i>
RUK	<i>əḍəkana</i>	MGY	<i>fuhɨ</i>	BUG	<i>ma-pončɔ</i>
PAI	<i>ḍikic</i>	ACE	<i>panuʔ</i>	*KON	<i>bodo</i>
YAM	<i>maəpʒəp</i>	BAT	<i>pəd'dək</i>	*WOL	<i>ma-pa<sup>n</sup>da</i>
ISN	<i>abibbaʔ</i>	*MIN	<i>pendeʔ</i>	MAG	<i>vokok</i>
KAL	<i>aboba</i>	*IND	<i>pendek</i>	NGA	<i>ʒoko</i>
*TAG	<i>pandak</i>	SUN	<i>pondok</i>	SIK	<i>buluk</i>
*AKL	<i>tagʔud</i>	*JAV	<i>čəndaʔ</i>	RTI	<i>ke-keʔu-k</i>
PAL	<i>məbabaʔ</i>	MAD	<i>pinḍaʔ</i>	*BUR	<i>ture-n</i>
*MOL	<i>babaʔ</i>	*BAL	<i>bawak</i>	DOB	<i>ʔaʔay</i>
*KAG	<i>li'puʔ</i>	SAS	<i>dendeʔ</i>	IRA	<i>ʔutə</i>
*BLA	<i>fukal</i>	*GOR	<i>kodo-kodoʔo</i>	SAW	<i>n-keʔobe</i>

NYI	moʔon	ROV	papaka	NEN	gukokod
MAM	tuʔura	MAR	kmoʔe	KIR	kīmototo
TAK	katuka-n	LAU	kukuru	*MSH	karu
DAM	tobeya	KWO	koʔosu	PON	m <sup>w</sup> oʔom <sup>w</sup> oʔ
MAB	katɲa-	RAG	v <sup>w</sup> elv <sup>w</sup> ele	*WLE	mm <sup>w</sup> oʔo
*YAB	da <sup>m</sup> be	PAA	tamurel	EFI	lekaleka
*KAU	hut yis	*LEW	plasi	WFI	leka
TOL	tutukanə	POR	mi <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ö	RTU	luka
BUA	dus	NTA	akuakər	TON	nounou
ADZ	uç	*KWA	-k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a	SAM	puʔupuʔu
KIL	-kekita	NEM	hum <sup>w</sup> a	MEL	pōpoto
*TAW	kuku-na	CEM	bàhi-n	TAH	poto
MOT	k <sup>w</sup> adoyi	AJI	ūb <sup>w</sup> a	RAP	poto-poto
*MEK	foʔoa	XAR	xib <sup>w</sup> ε		

TSO *nanixti* ‘not long’; *çirçi* ‘low, not tall’.

TAG *pandak* (of person); *ikliʔ + ma-* (of thing).

AKL *tagʔud + ma-* (of thing); *putut* (of person).

MOL *babaʔ + mo-*.

KAG Also *babaʔ*.

BLA *fukal* ‘short (narrow things)’; *m-dənəʔ* ‘short (generally of bulky objects)’.

SAB *pondok + a* (of all except a person); *pandak + a-* (of a person).

MUR *madiwaʔ* ‘short of person’; also *mapandak*.

MIN Also *randah*.

IND Also *rəndah*.

JAV ‘short in length’; *čəndek*, ‘short in height, low’.

BAL Also *endep*; *gantut* ‘too short, of clothes’.

GOR Also *li<sup>m</sup>bu-li<sup>m</sup>buʔo* ‘short’; *li<sup>m</sup>bo-li<sup>m</sup>boŋo* ‘short (usually of people only)’; and *mo-opa* (*wopa + mo-*) ‘low, short (of a haircut)’.

UMA *redeʔ* ‘short in length’; *din<sup>k</sup>iʔ* ‘short in height’ (some dialects use *redeʔ* for both).

KON Also *budu-budu*, *pančeʔ*, *dampaʔ*.

WOL *ma-pa<sup>n</sup>da* ‘vertically’; *ma-<sup>m</sup>po<sup>d</sup>o* ‘horizontally’.

BUR ‘short in length’; *rahe-n* ‘short, low to the ground’.

YAB Also *letuʔ* ‘short (of trees); *metuʔ* ‘short of stature, sturdy’.

KAU *hut* ‘nose’.

TAW *gahi-na i kuku* ‘a short person’, lit ‘his stature is short’.

MEK *fokoa* North Mekeo, *potoa* NW Mekeo, *ku-kupa* West Mekeo.

LEW Also *plasi-kuto* ‘very short’.

KWA Also *-ouihi*.

MSH Also *kanu*.

WLE *mm* <sup>w</sup>oʃo also ‘severed’; *xarā-se-ϕ* <sup>w</sup>üni.

## 12.610 WIDE, BROAD

*ATA	ʔiʔahaŋ	*BUG	battowa	LAU	reba
*TSO	fa-fʔoxi	KON	ʔuara	KWO	afola
RUK	mā-ŋolapa	WOL	ma-ewa	RAG	
PAI	mə-ɭava	MAG	gə <sup>m</sup> bak	PAA	mariso
YAM	movoŋ	NGA	ʔea	LEW	lepas keviu
ISN	nalawāg	*SIK	kləβa-ŋ	*POR	ᵑgaᵑgarin
*KAL	nāwag	RTI	ma-loa		e- <sup>m</sup> bao
*TAG	lāpad	BUR	haa-t	NTA	iahŋin
*AKL	ʔāpad	DOB	labay	*KWA	-asori
*PAL	mələmku	IRA	ʔariʔərə	NEM	kalava
*MOL	lagaʔ	SAW	n-ε-msɔy	*CEM	pîtétɔ
KAG	mlapad	NYI	tinan	AJI	dařā
BLA	m-abal	MAM	pala	XAR	dāra
*SAB	luha	*TAK	bubaŋa-n	NEN	marezaŋan
MUR	mapilaʔ		tubu-n	KIR	rababa
MGY	ma-lalaka	DAM	odug	MSH	repakpak
ACE	luwaih	MAB	babaŋa-	PON	ʔələp
BAT	bi'daŋ	*YAB	gab <sup>w</sup> aʔ	*WLE	ʃōřapa
*MIN	leba	*KAU	βo-n nuhum	EFI	raba-i-leβu
*IND	lebar	TOL	təbabə	WFI	raba
SUN	rubak	*BUA	bəp	*RTU	tafa
JAV	ɔmbɔ	ADZ	maradza	TON	laulahi
MAD	libar	KIL	-beiyaya	*SAM	lau-tele
*BAL	lombeŋ	TAW	yawata	MEL	rafarafa
*SAS	goar	MOT	lababa	TAH	ʔaʔano
GOR	mo-taᵑgalo	*MEK	falapa	RAP	ʔaʔano
DAA	na-luo	ROV	labe		
UMA	mo-βelaʔ	MAR	krepa		

ATA	Also <i>yiʔahaŋ</i> .
TSO	<i>fa-fʔoxi</i> ‘broad’ (as of cloth, road); <i>ʕo-ʕora</i> ‘wide’ (field, etc.).
KAL	<i>nāwag + na-</i> .
TAG	<i>lāpad + ma-</i> .
AKL	<i>ʔāpad + ma-</i> .
PAL	Also <i>mɔlakbaʔ</i> .
MOL	<i>lagaʔ + mo-</i> .
SAB	<i>luha + a-</i> ; also <i>lambu + a-</i> .
MIN	Also <i>laweh</i> .
IND	Also <i>luas</i> .
BAL	<i>lombeŋ</i> (of an object); <i>liŋgah</i> (of an open space).
SAS	Also <i>galuh</i> .
BUG	Also <i>ma-sakka</i> .
SIK	Also <i>peŋa-ŋ, ʒea-ŋ</i> .
TAK	As in <i>dal bubəŋa-n tubu-n-a</i> ‘road width-its big-its-PERF’, i.e. ‘the road’s width is large’, ‘the road is wide’.
YAB	‘wide (opening of vessels)’; <i>sapaʔ-sapaʔ, tu-tuʔ</i> both ‘broad and flat’.
KAU	‘body-its large’.
BUA	<i>bɔp</i> ‘big’; <i>ayɛ tabāk</i> ‘open, broad’.
MEK	NW Mekeo has <i>e-pakaŋai</i> .
POR	‘side it-big’.
KWA	Also <i>-isias</i> ‘as a tree’.
CEM	‘ample (of garment)’.
WLE	Also <i>waŋu</i> .
RTU	Also <i>ofrau</i> .
SAM	<i>tele</i> see 12.550, <i>lau-/an-</i> prefix occurring with words referring to flat objects; cognate with ‘leaf’?; <i>vā-tele</i> ‘width of interval between two things’, <i>vā</i> ‘space, interval between two things’.

## 12.620 NARROW

*ATA	ʔirhiy	RUK	ŋwā-tiki	ISN	nagipit
*TSO	t-m-ux-va- vxoŋi	PAI	kul <sup>y</sup> ay	*KAL	sūpit
		YAM	məyliɗ	*TAG	kītid

*AKL	kitid	*SIK	ipot	PAA	mahinihīn
PAL	məkitid	RTI	ma-ka-bi <sup>?</sup> a-k	LEW	tekaki
*MOL	ki <sup>?</sup> kid	*BUR	es-ŋapi	POR	<sup>ɟ</sup> gu <sup>ɟ</sup> gun
*KAG	kitid	*DOB	manik <sup>w</sup> ay	NTA	netən
BLA	lɔ <sup>?</sup> m-abal	IRA	sotə	KWA	-awirəŋ
*SAB	kiput	SAW	n-ε-mot	NEM	ubec
MUR	mapisok	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> isik	CEM	pìcu
MGY	teri	*MAM	bazali-mapala	AJI	cē
ACE	arat	*TAK	puŋpoŋa-n	XAR	g <sup>w</sup> ākāl
BAT	səp'pit	DAM	nālu	NEN	wa <sup>?</sup> ami re
MIN	sampi <sup>?</sup>	MAB	<sup>ɟ</sup> gom <sup>ɟ</sup> gomŋa-		zaŋan
IND	səmpit	YAB	gasu <sup>?</sup> -gasu <sup>?</sup>	*KIR	uaiki
SUN	hirit	*KAU	βo-n tun	*MSH	airik
JAV	səmpit	TOL	irivo	PON	ṭṭṭik
*MAD	niŋki <sup>?</sup>	*BUA	dus	*WLE	šōxiti
BAL	čupit	ADZ	isi <sup>?</sup>	EFI	ŋiŋō
SAS		KIL	-patata	WFI	ogi
GOR	mo-totolo	*TAW	gado	*RTU	?ele
DAA	na-pii	*MOT	he-kahi	*TON	lausi <sup>?</sup> i
UMA	ḵopi <sup>?</sup>	*MEK	ope	*SAM	lau-itiiti
BUG	ma-čikke	ROV	ŋirisi	MEL	wolawolākai
*KON	seppaŋ	*MAR	gobro	TAH	əəəa
WOL	ma-seke	LAU	logo	*RAP	vako-vako
*MAG	keot	KWO	sisitai		
NGA	piro	RAG			

ATA Also *yirhiy*.

TSO *t-m-ux-va-vxoŋi* (of breadth [as of cloth, road, etc.]); *m-xoŋni* (of the space between two objects).

KAL *sūpit + na-*.

TAG *kītid + ma-* (of breadth); *kīpot + ma-* (of space available).

AKL *kitid + ma-*.

MOL *ki<sup>?</sup>kid + mo-*.

KAG Also *siput*.

SAB *kiput + a-*.

MAD Also 'shallow', see 12.680.

KON Also *čipu*.

MAG Also *ke<sup>?</sup>ot*.

SIK	Also <i>blelær</i> .
BUR	'narrow (of trail)'. DOB (of, for example, a path).
MAM	Also <i>siʔi</i> .
TAK	As in <i>dal awa-n punpoŋa-n-a</i> 'road mouth-its narrow-its-PERF', i.e. 'the road's mouth is narrow', 'the road is narrow'.
KAU	'body-its small'; also <i>mi-n tun</i> 'inside-its small'.
BUA	<i>dus</i> 'short'; <i>aγε kaβiŋ</i> 'restricted, narrow'.
TAW	<i>gado</i> 'valley', or 'narrow area'; <i>gadou-na</i> 'neck'.
MOT	<i>kahi</i> 'to be too narrow, tight'.
MEK	<i>ope-ope</i> is perhaps more common than <i>ope</i> ; the reduplicated form is normal in North Mekeo and West Mekeo. NW Mekeo has <i>e-tsiove</i> ( <i>e-tsi-obe</i> ?), and <i>bebea</i> .
MAR	<i>gobro</i> 'narrow, tight'; <i>ririhi</i> 'narrow, thin lines'.
KIR	Compare <i>ua</i> 'size, dimension'; probably with fossilised <i>riki</i> 'small'; <i>irariki</i> cf. <i>ira</i> 'strip, strand'; <i>reme</i> ; <i>raereke</i> (particularly of land); compare <i>rae</i> 'narrow strip, isthmus'.
MSH	Also <i>ainiŋ</i> , <i>uwairikrik</i> , <i>wicap</i> <sup>w</sup> æc of land.
WLE	<i>šōxiti</i> lit 'small leaf'; <i>šōm<sup>w</sup>iti</i> 'narrow, limited'; <i>yaüšigi</i> 'narrow, slender' lit 'small shape'.
RTU	Also <i>foʔe</i>
TON	Also <i>fāsiʔi</i> .
SAM	See 12.560, 12.610, also <i>vā-iti</i> , <i>vā-apiapi</i> .
RAP	Also <i>kao-kao</i> .

### 12.630 THICK (in dimension)

ATA	kihma	PAL	məkapał	MIN	taba
*TSO	ɔʔmiri	*MOL	kapal	IND	təbəl
RUK	mā-kodəməɭə	*KAG	dakməl	*SUN	[kandəl]
PAI	kudəməl	BLA	m-aŋfəl	JAV	kandəl
*YAM	magsaŋ	*SAB	kapal	MAD	kand <sup>h</sup> əl
*ISN	naʔnag	*MUR	makapał	BAL	təbəl
*KAL	poʔoŋ	MGY	ma-tevina	SAS	təbəl
*TAG	kapal	ACE	tubay	GOR	mo-hulodu
*AKL	dāmuʔ	BAT	ha'pał	DAA	na-ku <sup>m</sup> ba



*UMA	mo-ku <sup>m</sup> pa	*KAU	epum	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> abo
BUG	ma-umpi <sup>?</sup>	TOL	tubu	CEM	tábo
KON	'kapala	BUA	aɣeɣoɣ	AJI	yivē
WOL	ma-kapa	ADZ	ɕira <sup>?</sup>	XAR	šaba
*MAG	ki <sup>m</sup> pur	KIL	-bidubadu	NEN	
NGA	kapa	TAW	potopoto-na	KIR	mmaten
SIK	ʔapar	MOT	uduna	MSH	micel
RTI	ma-kate-k	MEK	ʔafua	*PON	mosul
*BUR	ef-telo	ROV	moata	WLE	xeʂaΦ <sup>w</sup> uʂapa
DOB	ɕunay	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> uta	EFI	βāβaku
IRA	ɕata torə	LAU	ʔubuʔubua	WFI	kuba
SAW	n-bebtit	KWO	fonu	RTU	mafolu
NYI	hutuʔun	RAG	vonoya	TON	matolu
MAM	matoli	PAA	matetel	SAM	mafia
TAK	mutunol	LEW	merorol	MEL	mātoru
DAM	odug	POR	mariirü	TAH	meʔumeʔu
*MAB	puŋpuŋana	NTA	əpəkəpək	RAP	peŋo-peŋo
*YĀB̄	ŋa-sewam	KWA	-kumkum		

TSO *oʕmiri* (as of board, paper, etc.); *kaxkimni* (as of one's arm, thigh, or a log, pillar, etc. anything long and round?).

YAM Also *matava*.

ISN *naluʔmag* 'fat' (of person).

KAL *poʔōŋ + na-*; also *taba* 'fat (of person)'.

TAG *kapal + ma-*

AKL *dāmuʔ + ma-*; *tambuk + ma-* 'fat (of person)'.

MOL *kapal + mo-*.

KAG *dakməl* 'thick in depth'; *baʔal* 'thick in diameter'.

SAB *kapal + a-*.

MUR Also *makalu* (of snakes, tree trunks, bananas and other cylindrical objects).

SUN From Javanese.

UMA *mo-kapa* (Tolee, Winatu dialects).

MAG Also *ku<sup>m</sup>pul*.

BÜR Also *naa-t* 'big'.

MAB Also *puŋpuŋ*.

YAB *da<sup>m</sup>be-b<sup>w</sup>a* 'thick (corpulent)'.

KAU Also *eβum*.NEM Also *huju*.PON *ālap* ‘stocky’; cf. *lap* ‘large’.**12.650 THIN (in dimension)**

ATA	†ihpik	UMA	mo-reni?	*MAR	gagaro
*TSO	xipsi	BUG	ma-nipi?	LAU	referefea
RUK	mā-robiri	KON	ˈnipisi	KWO	wanema
PAI	lʷusəpit	*WOL	ma-nipi	RAG	manevnevi
*YAM	matazipiʃ	MAG	seŋ	PAA	mahinihin
*ISN	niŋpit	NGA	nipi	*LEW	maniuniu
*KAL	kupit	*SIK	blelər	POR	manviniv
*TAG	nipis	RTI	niʔis	NTA	aŋeŋe
*AKL	nipis	*BUR	em-nipi	*KWA	-əŋeəŋe
PAL	mənipis	DOB	kʷariŋay	NEM	terep
*MOL	nipis	IRA	bəniϕənə	CEM	ēlelōp
*KAG	nipis	SAW	n-menifəs	AJI	aʔanabi
BLA	m-ŋifi	NYI	me <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ehe	XAR	ju
*SAB	nipis	MAM	manipi	*NEN	ami
*MUR	manipis	*TAK	kimkima-n	KIR	mmani
MGY	ma-nifi	DAM	nālu	*MSH	məni
ACE	lipəh	*MAB	koŋkoŋŋa-	*PON	menipinip
BAT	niˈpis	*YAB	wəso-wəso	WLE	maʔifi
*MIN	mipih	KAU	enep	EFI	māmare
IND	tipis	*TOL	mədər	*WFI	mare
SUN	ipis	BUA	aŋe nəβis	RTU	mahini
JAV	tipis	ADZ	isi?	TON	manifi
MAD	tipis	KIL	-ikieki	SAM	manifi
*BAL	tipis	*TAW	dinadina-na	*MEL	māmā
SAS	tipis	MOT	seβera	*TAH	rairai
GOR	mo-lipa	*MEK	manipi	*RAP	rai-rai
DAA	na-nipi	*ROV	manivisi		

TSO *xipsi* (as of board, paper, etc.); *vxon̄i* (of one’s arm, thigh, or a log, pillar, etc. (anything long and round?)).

YAM Also *magolaŋ* ‘skinny’.

ISN *nanīwāŋ* ‘skinny, thin’ (person).

- KAL *kupit + na-*.
- TAG *nipis + ma-*.
- AKL *nipis + ma-*; *nīwaŋ + ma-* 'skinny, thin', PHN \**nīwaŋ*.
- MOL *nipis + mo-*.
- KAG *nipis* 'thin in depth'; *gamay* 'thin in diameter'.
- SAB *nipis + a-*.
- MUR Also *matukal* (of person).
- MIN Also *tipih*.
- BAL Also *bərag* (of person).
- WOL *ma-<sup>h</sup>kuru* 'thin (of people)'.
- SIK Also *ʔalus*.
- BUR Also *golo* 'thin, skinny person'; *fata-n toho* 'get thin, lose (a little) weight'.
- TAK *kimkima-n* (of trees, persons etc.); *miriasa-n* (of meat, cloth etc).
- MAB Also *<sup>m</sup>bin<sup>m</sup>binŋa-*, *<sup>n</sup>diloŋa-*, *-minip* (like paper).
- YAB Also *wapi* 'thin, threadbare'.
- TOL 'thin, as a board'; *pəlaur* 'thin, bony (of a body)'.
- TAW *dinadina-na* 'thin pale, arm, leg, waste'; *awaawa-na* 'thin paper, leaf'; *uyogoyawa* 'thin or skinny person'.
- MEK *manipi* 'thin like string; fine'; *kikima* (*kiki-ma* ?) 'skinny', NW Mekeo *kikiaŋa* 'skinny'.
- ROV Also *vivige* (of person).
- MAR *gagaro* 'body'; *glaʔa, niŋi* 'thin, sheetlike'.
- LEW Also *kulu-kulu-sia*.
- KWA Also *-aŋa* 'tall and thin' (*nəŋa* = bow); *-əkərakiri* 'thin (as hair), meagre, bony'; *-əkriau* 'thin, bony, skinny'.
- NEN Also *nerere*.
- MSH *ainiŋ* also 'narrow'; also *airik*, see 'small'.
- PON *ḥi* 'skinny', *āḥik* 'slender', see *ḥik* 'small'.
- WFI Also *lama*.
- MEL Also *manivinivi*.
- TAH *pārarai, rorea* (of man); *hiroeroe* (of plants); *ʔariʔari* (land, isthmus).
- RAP Also *mo-moko; kao-kao*.

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inside, in	12.050	last, endure	14.252
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lead	10.640	lunch	05.430
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leg	04.350	male	02.230
lend	11.610	male (adj)	03.120
let, permit	19.470	man (vs. woman)	02.210
lick	04.590	mare	03.440
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light (in weight)	15.820	married woman	02.390
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light, kindle, ignite	01.860	mason	07.610
lightning	01.550	mast	10.870
lightning (as striking)	01.570	master	19.410
like, similar	12.920	mat	09.770
limp	10.451	match	01.870
line	12.840	mead	05.910
linen; flax	06.230	meal (a)	05.410
lion	03.720	meal, flour	05.550
lip	04.250	measure	12.540
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live; living; life	04.740	meet	19.650
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long	12.570	milk (noun)	05.860
long-time (for a)	14.332	milk (vb)	05.870
look, look at	15.520	mill	05.570
loom	06.340	mind	17.110
lose	11.330	mirror	06.960
loud	15.450	misfortune, bad luck	16.190
louse	03.811	miss (target)	20.630
love	16.270		

mistake, error	16.770	neck	04.280
molar tooth	04.272	necklace	06.750
mold (clay etc)	09.720	need, necessity	17.450
Monday	14.630	needle	06.360
money	11.430	neighbour	19.540
monkey	03.760	nephew	02.530
month	14.710	nest	03.580
moon	01.530	netbag	09.780
more	13.160	nettle	08.970
morning	14.440	never	14.340
mortar	05.580	new	14.130
mortar	07.630	niece	02.540
mosquito	03.832	night	14.420
mother	02.360	nine	13.090
mother's brother	02.511	nipple, teat	04.412
mother's sister	02.521	nit (louse egg)	03.812
mother-in-law		no, negative	17.560
(of a woman)	02.621	noble, nobleman	19.360
mother-in-law		noon, midday	14.450
(of a man)	02.620	north	12.470
mountain, hill	01.220	nose	04.230
mouse, rat	03.630	nostril	04.231
mouth	04.240	now	14.180
move	10.110	nut	05.770
mow, reap	08.320	oak	08.610
much, many	13.150	oar	10.850
mucus (nasal)	04.232	oath	21.250
mud	01.214	oats	08.460
mule	03.470	obey	19.460
multitude, crowd	13.190	obscure	17.350
mumble	18.160	ocean	01.329
murder	21.420	offspring	
mushroom	08.980	(son or daughter)	02.430
naï	09.500	often	14.320
naked, bare	04.990	oil	05.790
name	18.280	ointment	06.940
nape of neck	04.281	old	14.150
narrow	12.620	old man	02.461
navel	04.430	old woman	02.471
near (adv)	12.430	older brother	02.444

older sister	02.454	pepper	05.820
olive	05.780	perjury	21.470
omen, portent	22.470	person, human being	02.100
one	13.010	perspire	04.550
one's native country	19.120	pestle	05.590
one-hundred	13.105	physician	04.870
one-thousand	13.106	pick up	12.212
open	12.240	pig	03.350
opossum	03.622	pile up	12.213
or	17.540	pillow	07.421
ornament, adornment	06.710	pin	06.630
orphan	02.750	pinch	15.712
outrigger	10.832	pine	08.640
outside	12.060	pipe	08.691
oven	05.250	pitcher, jug	05.340
owe	11.630	pity	16.350
owl	03.596	place	12.110
own, possess	11.120	plain, field	01.230
ox	03.220	plaintiff	21.210
paddle (noun)	10.851	plant (noun)	08.530
pain	16.310	plant (verb)	08.531
paint (noun)	09.880	plate	05.320
paint (vb)	09.890	play	16.260
pair	13.370	plough	08.210
palm	08.810	pocket	06.610
palm of hand	04.331	poet	18.670
pan	05.280	pointed	12.352
paper	18.560	poison	04.890
parents	02.370	poncho	06.411
parrot	03.592	poor	11.520
part, piece	13.230	porpoise, dolphin	03.662
pasture	03.160	post, pole	07.560
path	10.720	pot, cooking vessel	05.260
pay (vb)	11.650	potato	05.700
peace	20.140	potter	09.710
peel	05.460	pound with fist	09.211
pen	18.570	pour	09.350
penalty, punishment	21.370	praise	16.790
penis	04.492	pray	22.170
people (populace)	19.210	preach	22.220

pregnant	04.730	relatives, kinsmen, kin	02.810
preserve, look after	11.240	release, let go	11.340
press	09.342	religion	22.110
price	11.870	remain, stay	12.160
priest	22.180	remains, left overs	12.170
prison, jail	21.390	remember	17.310
promise	18.360	rest	04.912
prostitute	19.720	retard, delay	14.240
proud	16.480	retreat	20.450
pubic hair	04.145	rib	04.162
pull	09.330	rice	08.480
pumpkin, squash	08.931	rich	11.510
pupil	17.260	ride	10.660
pursue	10.530	ridgpole	07.530
pus	04.857	right (side)	12.410
push, shove	10.670	right, correct	16.730
put	12.120	ring (for finger)	06.730
put on (clothes)	06.110	ripe	05.123
queen	19.330	rise	10.210
quiet, silence	15.460	river, stream, brook	01.360
rabbit	03.614	road	10.710
raft	10.840	roast, fry	05.230
rafters	07.540	roll	10.150
rain (noun)	01.750	roof	07.510
rainbow	01.590	room	07.210
raise, lift	10.220	root	08.540
rake	08.270	rope, cord	09.190
ram	03.260	rotten	05.125
rape	21.440	rough	15.760
rattle	18.740	rough (of sea)	01.323
raw	05.122	round	12.810
razor	06.930	row (vb)	10.852
reach, arrive	10.550	rub, wipe	09.310
read	18.520	rudder	10.860
ready	14.290	rug	09.771
rebuke, scold	18.390	rule, govern	19.310
red	15.660	run	10.460
reef	01.342	rye	08.450
refuse	18.370	sacrifice, offering	22.150
regret, be sorry	16.340	sail	10.360

sail (noun)	10.880	sharp	15.780
salt	05.810	sheep	03.250
salty	15.360	shelf	07.470
sand	01.215	shell	03.655
sandfly (midge), gnat	03.831	shield	20.340
sap	08.760	shine	15.560
Saturday	14.680	ship	10.810
saucer	05.360	shirt	06.440
sausage	05.630	shiver	04.680
save, rescue	11.250	shoe	06.510
saw	09.480	shoemaker, cobbler	06.540
say	18.220	shoot	20.620
scar	04.858	shore	01.270
school	17.280	short	12.590
scissors, shears	09.240	shoulder	04.300
scorpion	03.815	shoulderblade	04.301
scrape	05.480	shout, cry out	18.130
sculptor	09.820	shovel	08.240
sea	01.320	show	15.550
seagull	03.582	shriek, screech	18.180
season	14.780	shut, close	12.250
second	13.360	sibling	02.456
secret	17.360	sick, sickness	04.840
see	15.510	sickle, scythe	08.330
seed	08.311	side	12.360
seek, look for	11.310	side of head, temple	04.201
seem	17.180	sieve, strain	05.470
seize, grasp	11.140	silent (be)	18.230
sell	11.820	silk	06.250
send	10.630	silver	09.650
separate	12.230	sing	18.120
servant	19.430	sink	10.330
seven	13.070	sister	02.450
sew	06.350	sit	12.130
shade, shadow	01.630	six	13.060
shake	10.260	skin, hide	04.120
shallow	12.680	skirt	06.460
shame (noun)	16.450	skull	04.202
share (distribute)	11.910	sky, heavens	01.510
shark	03.661	slave	19.420



sleep	04.610	spider	03.818
slide, slip	10.420	spider web	03.819
sling	20.230	spin	06.310
slow	14.220	spindle	06.320
small, little	12.560	spine	04.191
smell (vb intrans)	15.210	spit	04.560
smell (vb trans)	15.220	splash	10.352
smile	16.251	spleen	04.452
smith, blacksmith	09.600	split	09.270
smoke (noun)	01.830	spoon	05.370
smoke (tobacco)	08.690	spread out	09.340
smooth	15.770	spring	14.750
snail	03.940	spring, well	01.370
snake	03.850	square	12.780
sneeze	04.540	squeeze, wring	09.343
sniff	15.212	stab	09.223
snore	04.612	stable, stall	03.190
snow (noun)	01.760	staff, walking stick	19.250
soap	06.950	stallion	03.420
soft	15.750	stand	12.150
soldier	20.170	star	01.540
some	13.181	statue	09.830
sometimes	14.330	steal	21.510
son	02.410	stepdaughter	02.740
son-in-law (of a man)	02.630	stepfather	02.710
son-in-law (of a woman)	02.631	stepmother	02.720
soon	14.331	stepson	02.730
sorceror, witch	22.430	stingray	03.664
soul, spirit	16.110	stinking, bad smelling	15.260
sound, noise	15.440	stir, mix	05.490
soup, broth	05.640	stocking, sock	06.490
south	12.480	stomach	04.460
sow	03.340	stone, rock	01.440
sow	08.310	store, shop	11.860
spade	08.230	storm	01.580
span, fathom	12.541	stove	07.320
speak, talk	18.210	straight	12.730
spear	20.260	stranger	19.550
speech (make a)	18.222	stretch	09.320
sphere, ball	12.830	strife, quarrel	19.620

strike (hit, beat)	09.210	temple, church	22.130
strong, mighty,		ten	13.100
powerful	04.810	tent	07.140
study	17.242	testicle	04.490
stutter, stammer	18.211	thatch	07.520
suck	05.160	they	02.960
sugar	05.850	thick (in dimension)	12.630
sugar cane	08.941	thief	21.520
summer	14.760	thigh	04.351
sun	01.520	thin (in dimension)	12.650
Sunday	14.620	thing	11.180
supper	05.450	think	
sure, certain	17.370	(= be of the opinion)	17.140
surprised, astonished	16.150	think (= reflect)	17.130
surrender	20.460	third	13.420
suspect	17.440	thirst	05.150
swallow	05.181	thread	06.380
swamp	01.380	threaten	18.440
swear	21.240	three	13.030
sweep	09.370	three times	13.440
sweet	15.350	thresh	08.340
sweet potato	08.910	threshing-floor	08.350
swelling	04.853	throat	04.290
swift, fast, quick	14.210	throw	10.250
swim	10.350	thumb	04.342
sword	20.270	thunder	01.560
table	07.440	Thursday	14.660
tail	04.180	tide	01.352
tailor	06.130	tie, bind	09.160
take	11.130	time	14.110
tall	12.580	tin; tin-plate	09.690
tapioca, manioc, cassava	08.920	tired, weary	04.910
taste	15.310	tobacco	08.680
tattoo	06.790	today	14.470
tax, tribute	11.690	toe	04.380
teach	17.250	tomorrow	14.480
teacher	17.270	tongs	05.391
tear	09.280	tongue	04.260
tear (noun)	16.380	tool	09.422
tell story	18.221	tooth	04.270

top	12.330	vine	08.670
touch	15.710	voice	18.110
towel	06.820	vomit	04.570
tower	20.360	vulture	03.586
trade, barter	11.830	wages	11.780
trap (noun)	20.640	waist	04.462
trap (verb)	20.650	wake up	04.630
tree	08.600	walk	10.450
tree (cf 08.600)	01.420	wall	07.270
tree stump	08.720	war, battle	20.130
tree trunk	08.730	warm	15.851
tribe, cla	19.230	wash	09.360
trough	07.480	wasp	03.823
trousers	06.480	water	01.310
true	16.660	waterfall	01.390
try, attempt	17.480	wave	01.350
Tuesday	14.640	way, manner	17.490
turn around	10.130	we	02.940
turn over	10.120	we exclusive	02.942
turtle	03.980	we inclusive	02.941
twelve	13.102	weak	04.820
twenty	13.104	weapons, arms	20.210
twins	02.458	weather	01.780
twist	10.170	weave	06.330
two	13.020	weave, plait	09.750
two times	13.380	Wednesday	14.650
udder	04.420	week	14.610
ugly	16.820	weigh	11.920
uncle	02.510	well; health	04.830
under	12.070	west	12.460
understand	17.160	wet, damp	15.830
untie	09.161	whale	03.663
up, above	12.080	what?	17.640
urinate	04.650	wheat	08.430
valley	01.240	wheel	10.760
vegetables	05.650	when?	17.650
veil	06.590	where?	17.660
vein, artery	04.151	which?	17.670
victory	20.410	whirlpool	01.362
village	19.160	whisper	18.150



## 12.670 DEEP

ATA	ʔiyayik	UMA	mo-nala	MAR	maṃara
TSO	roroʔa	BUG	ma-lamuŋ	LAU	ōlo
RUK	mo-a-aḍiŋ	KON	lantaŋ	KWO	
PAI	i-a-talaŋ	WOL	ma- <sup>n</sup> dala	RAG	roro
YAM	mazaəm	MAG	deləm	PAA	anev
ISN	adallam	NGA	ləma	LEW	merorol
KAL	adālom	SIK	ləma-ŋ	POR	vli <sup>m</sup> bur
*TAG	lālim	*RTI	dema-k	NTA	lokamnəm
*AKL	dāʔum	*BUR	(wae) liku-n	KWA	-am <sup>w</sup> henum <sup>w</sup>
PAL	məraməm	DOB	raluy	NEM	nigi
*MOL	dalom	IRA	guegə	CEM	nùm <sup>w</sup> ihi
KAG	da'ləm	SAW	n-ε-mləmən	*AJI	tu
BLA	m-ŋalam	NYI	g <sup>w</sup> a lawe	*XAR	poa
*SAB	lōm	MAM	elaurumalo	*NEN	ṃuhulu
*MUR	malandom	TAK	kuror	*KIR	nano
MGY	lalina	DAM	maʔa	*MSH	ʔoŋ
ACE	lhoʔ	*MAB	-sula kat	PON	lɔl
BAT	ba'gas	*YAB	gab <sup>w</sup> aŋ	*WLE	řařo
MIN	dalam	KAU	mut	EFI	tītobu
IND	dalam	*TOL	lulur	WFI	nubu
*SUN	[jəro]	BUA	adiŋ	RTU	lala
JAV	jəro	ADZ	ruŋum	TON	loloto
MAD	ɖaləm	*KIL	tulub <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> au	*SAM	loloto
BAL	daləm	*TAW		*MEL	[ppua]
SAS	daləm	MOT	dobu	*TAH	hohonu
GOR	mo-delomo	MEK	moai	*RAP	parera
DAA	na- <sup>n</sup> dala	ROV	lohi		

TAG *lālim + ma-*.

AKL *dāʔum + ma-*.

MOL *dalom + mo-*.

SAB *lōm + a-*.

MUR *malandom*; also *mōlow* 'deep of voice'; *malaboŋ* 'deep (of musical note)'.  
 note).

SUN From Javanese.

RTI See 12.580.

BUR	(of water); <i>em-kele</i> lit 'tall, high' (of height of a river is on the body when crossing); also <i>pir gore-t</i> 'deep dish, bowl'.
MAB	<i>li</i> 'deep spot in freshwater'; <i>leleñeñana</i> 'deep dish'; <i>mozo</i> 'deep sea'.
YAB	Also <i>ge-dim</i> .
TOL	(of the sea, a box or hole); <i>lubu</i> 'deep of the sea'.
KIL	(of sea).
TAW	<i>boga dumdum</i> 'deep sea'; <i>pona gololo</i> 'deep voice'; <i>goila daodao-na</i> 'deep river'.
AJI	Also <i>nenui</i> .
XAR	<i>poa</i> (of depth of water); <i>pō</i> (of depth of a hole).
NEN	Also <i>kuno</i> .
KIR	<i>kīrōrō</i> (of great depth), 'sea trench'.
MSH	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>wilal</i> ; <i>cat</i> 'deep water'.
WLE	Also <i>tto</i> .
SAM	See <i>loto</i> 'stretch of deep water, pool'.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>moana</i> (of water, river etc.); <i>hauriuri</i> (of a valley, chasm).
RAP	Also <i>raro nui</i> .

## 12.680 SHALLOW

ATA	ʔihpiḱ	*MGY	ʔilalina luatʔa	WOL	ma-ati
TSO	porapo	*ACE	lɔuə]	MAG	ne <sup>n</sup> tap
RUK	ya-bə-bələŋ	BAT	ʔɔl'lok	NGA	ʔoko
PAI		*MIN	daŋke?	*SIK	herak
YAM	mavavaw	IND	daŋkal	RTI	kaba <sup>ʔ</sup> o-k
ISN	abibbaw	SUN	deet	BUR	rahe-n
KAL	atāpaw	JAV	čətə?	DOB	burum
*TAG	bābaw	*MAD	niŋki?	IRA	namatotə
*AKL	nabaw	*BAL	babuk	SAW	n-ε-maŋe
PAL	məbabəw	SAS	dawot	NYI	g <sup>w</sup> a mo <sup>ʔ</sup> on
*MOL	babow	GOR	mo-huta	MAM	atabalatu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
KAG	babaw	*DAA	da <sup>ʔ</sup> ana- <sup>n</sup> dala	TAK	futfota-n
BLA	babu	UMA	lo <sup>n</sup> ke	DAM	karek
*SAB	babaw	BUG	ma-čenne?	*MAB	magat
MUR	maniŋka?	KON	ambaho	*YAB	bau

KAU	palamiyat	RAG		MSH	рєсрєс
*TOL	məma	PAA	mahinihin	PON	petepet
BUA	dus	LEW	maniuniu	*WLE	pete
ADZ	ɕarariʔ	POR	manviniv	EFI	βōdea
*KIL	mamada	NTA	lokuakər	WFI	madē
*TAW	dedeyani	KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> əta	RTU	ʔelʔele
MOT	kuiho	NEM		TON	mamaha
*MEK	ŋeŋa-ŋeŋa	CEM		SAM	papaʔu
ROV	masa	AJI	nemeři	MEL	masa
MAR	t <sup>h</sup> oe	XAR	dɔ	TAH	pāpaʔu
*LAU	løbo	NEN	čadae	RAP	taʔe parera
KWO	tētē	*KIR	ora		rahi

TAG *bābaw + ma-*.

AKL *nabaw + ma-*.

MOL *babow + mo-*.

SĀB *bābaw + a-*.

MGY Also *ma-rivu*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *daŋka*

MAD Also 'narrow', cf. 12.620.

BAL Also *daken* South Bali; *deken* North Bali.

DAA *daʔa* 'not'.

SIK Also *təhor*.

MAB (Of water).

YAB Also *-seleʔ*.

TOL (of the sea see) 01.342, 01.353.

KIL (of sea).

TAW (of water).

MEK Also *ŋeŋau* (*ŋeŋa-au* ?); also *e-paisa-ŋai-mo* (*e-paia-ŋa-ai-mo*), from *paisa* (*paia*), 'sand(-bank)', with adverbialising suffixes.

LAU Also *walo*.

KIR *ora* also 'low tide'; *orāba*.

WLE Also *ϕ<sup>w</sup>ata*.

## 12.710 FLAT

Old Javanese: <i>ratā</i>
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ATA	βaʔnux	UMA	mo-le <sup>m</sup> pe	*MAR	sare
TSO	ponro	BUG	[rata]	LAU	dema
RUK	datānə	KON	'lappara	KWO	lalafaʔa
PAI		*WOL	ma- <sup>n</sup> depa	*RAG	tababa
YAM	mazatay	MAG	bea	PAA	vopa
ISN	natanāp	NGA	ḡere	LEW	yo-tep
*KAL	tanap	*SIK	desar	POR	<sup>m</sup> būmav
*TAG	pantay	*RTI	ma-tetu-k	NTA	ntaniatəp
AKL	piʔiʔ	*BUR	em-ribe	*KWA	-apəni
PAL	bəlnək	*DOB	toḡar-ni	NEM	kalava
MOL	pantay	IRA	barəgenomə	CEM	bêlece
KAG	pantay	*SAW	n-metegel	AJI	bavaʔa
BLA	dətəl	*NYI	nemesen	*XAR	tadi
*SAB	peraʔ	MAM	bababa	NEN	paupara
*MUR	madata	TAK	labaka-n	*KIR	aoraoi
MGY	fisaka	DAM	sala	*MSH	pikin
ACE	[rata]	*MAB	ketēneḡana	*PON	paṭapaṭ
*BAT	[rata]	*YAB	ḡedeʔ-ḡedeʔ	WLE	ṡōpōpa
MIN	data	KAU	iaḡa	EFI	sababa
*IND	datar	TOL	pələr	*WFI	daβaβa
*SUN	datar	BUA	aḡepətes	RTU	teap-tepa
JAV	rətə	*ADZ	rāsab	TON	lafalafa
MAD	[rata]	KIL	-patata	*SAM	mā-folafola
*BAL	asah	*TAW	koyakoya-na	MEL	soropara
SAS	[ratə]	*MOT	palakapalaka	TAH	pārahurahu
*GOR	wapadu	MEK	maḡe-ʔafu	RAP	pararaha
*DAA	na-dele	*ROV	labc		

KAL *tanāp + nan-*.

TAG Also *pātag*.

SAB *peraʔ + a-*; also *papad + a-* (of a roof); *pantay + a-*, *patag + a-* (of flat land).

MUR From Malay *rata*; also *malampay* (of country); *tapipilaʔ* (of plates, gongs, circular objects).

BAT Also *hərnəp*, *hernep*.



IND	Also [rata].
SUN	Also [rata].
BAL	<i>asah</i> ‘having an even, level surface; flat’; also <i>dangsah</i> ‘flat and broad (of field, a plain)’; <i>lempeh</i> ‘thin and flat’; <i>pedel</i> ‘squashed flat’.
GOR	Also <i>payadu</i> .
DAA	Also <i>na-rano</i> .
WOL	Also <i>mo<sup>n</sup>tete</i> , <i>pepe</i> , <i>rata</i> .
SIK	Also <i>desak</i> , <i>dətu-ŋ</i> .
RTI	<i>tetu-(k)</i> ‘upright, erect, even’; i.e. ‘flat’, ‘in order’.
BUR	Also <i>em-ŋesa</i> , [rata] ‘a flat place’.
DOB	Inanimate referent form: <i>tojir</i> ; also ‘straight’.
SAW	‘right’; also [rata].
NYI	Also <i>animir</i> .
MAB	Also <i>rāteŋana</i> , <i>-baba</i> .
YAB	Also <i>ŋa-danab</i> ‘pressed flat’.
ADZ	Also <i>bu<sup>m</sup>p</i> .
TAW	<i>wapu</i> ‘flat land’.
MOT	Also <i>palaka</i> .
ROV	<i>labe</i> ‘flat’, <i>memehe</i> ‘smooth’.
MAR	<i>sare</i> ‘flat, level’; <i>tataba</i> ‘be flat, as a board’.
RAG	Also <i>tatavola</i> ref. large flat areas.
KWA	Also <i>-atənhī</i> .
XAR	Also <i>bešā</i> .
KIR	‘good surface’; <i>b<sup>w</sup>ao</i> , <i>bora</i> also ‘flat surface, shelf, carapace’.
MSH	<i>pikin</i> (of land); <i>yōn wət cuon</i> ; <i>yōn</i> ‘surface of’, <i>cuon</i> ‘one’, sense of <i>wət</i> is unclear.
PON	<i>patapaŋ</i> (of a surface); <i>metentel</i> .
WFI	Also <i>rabaraba</i> .
SAM	<i>ma-</i> intrans, <i>fōla</i> (vb trans) ‘spread’, <i>ma-fōla</i> (vb intrans) ‘be level’.

## 12.730 STRAIGHT

ATA	man-čahū?	PAI	ma-səvəŋ	*KAL	gadoŋ
TSO	siŋçi	YAM	matarino	*TAG	tuwid
RUK	mā-ŋiŋəŋəs	ISN	natūnuŋ	*AKL	tadluŋ

PAL	mətigna?	*SIK	dəlor	KWO	odo
*MOL	tiddoŋ	*RTI	<sup>n</sup> dos	RAG	
*KAG	tadləŋ	BUR	dofot	PAA	mal
BLA	ma-tlu	*DOB	toŋar-ni	LEW	mesmesu
*SAB	bontol	IRA	netomənə	POR	nör
MUR	mabanis	SAW	n-melolen	NTA	atuatəp
MGY	ma-hiçi	NYI	monen	KWA	-atuk <sup>w</sup> atuk <sup>w</sup>
ACE	tupat	MAM	adoado	NEM	tuva
BAT	ti'gər	TAK	itouta-n	CEM	móm <sup>w</sup> ən
MIN	luruyh	DAM	madur	AJI	tāri
IND	lurus	*MAB	-zal	XAR	tapī
*SUN	[ləmpəŋ]	*YAB	sələp	NEN	netiti
JAV	lurus	KAU	sik	*KIR	eti
MAD	lurus	*TOL	takodo	*MSH	ceccet
BAL	bənəŋ	BUA	ni rəp	PON	inen
SAS	təpəŋ	ADZ	rururuŋ-	*WLE	çara
GOR	mo-tulidu	KIL	duwosisia	EFI	dodonu
DAA	na-noa	TAW	dumadumalu-	WFI	dodonu
UMA	mo-naa?		na	*RTU	roçi
*BUG	ma-limpu	*MOT	maoromaoro	*TON	totonu
KON	'lambusu	*MEK	ʔopai(-na)	SAM	saʔo
*WOL	toto-d'ala	ROV	toŋoto	MEL	totonu
MAG	<sup>ŋ</sup> gəluk	MAR	doglo	TAH	ʔāfaro
*NGA	yoa	LAU	ʔolo ʔoloa	RAP	ti-tika
KAI	<i>gadoŋ + na-</i>				
TAG	<i>tuwid + ma-</i>				
AKL	<i>tadluŋ + ma-</i>				
MOL	<i>tiddoŋ + mo-</i>				
KAG	Also <i>tanus</i> .				
SAB	<i>bontol + a-</i>				
SUN	From Javanese.				
BUG	Also <i>mu-luru?</i>				
WOL	Also <i>ma-kate</i> .				
NGA	Also <i>netu</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>məndor, mudə-ŋ</i> .				
RTI	'straight ahead'.				
DOB	Inanimate referent form: <i>toŋir</i> .				

MAB	Also <i>zalŋa-</i> .
YAB	‘straight and upright’; also <i>kato</i> ‘straight, correct’.
TOL	<i>ta-</i> intrans see Mosel (1984:151), <i>kodo, kado</i> (vb trans) ‘straighten’.
MOT	<i>maoro</i> ‘straight, right, correct’.
MEK	NW Mekeo <i>pipi-na</i>
KIR	<i>ineti</i> with the formant <i>in-</i> ‘oriented’.
MSH	Also <i>cim<sup>w</sup>e</i> .
WLE	<i>cifa, uweře</i> ‘straight up, overhead, noon’, <i>tōfaxi</i> also ‘rubbed’.
RTU	Also <i>nočo</i> .
TON	Also <i>haŋatonu</i> .

## 12.740 CROOKED

ATA	ma-βihu	SAS	beŋkok	BUA	niβəyū
TSO	keŋzu	GOR	kewu-	ADZ	ŋwaŋ-
RUK	mā-kilɔŋo		kewuŋo	KIL	doudoga
PAI	ma-vikiŋ	DAA	na-de <sup>ɔ</sup> go	TAW	giyogiyo-na
YAM	magilo	UMA	be <sup>ɔ</sup> ku?	*MOT	gageβa
ISN	nakīwal	BUG	ma-ʒekko	MEK	faeva
*KAL	kēlu	*KON	ʒeko?	ROV	kogi
*TAG	kilo?	*WOL	kelu	MAR	peko
AKL	tiku?	MAG	<sup>n</sup> dəkok	LAU	ʔe <sup>ʔ</sup> eo
*PAL	buliŋkəŋ	NGA	leko	KWO	e <sup>ʔ</sup> eola
MOL	boriŋku?	*SIK	lekok	RAG	
KAG	blikə?	RTI	peko-k	PAA	gekavel
BLA	bigko?	*BUR	gleko	LEW	ve-valu
*SAB	beŋkok	DOB	wuli	POR	pipirix
*MUR	tadidikəŋ	IRA	kəkərə	NTA	ekoeko
MGY	vukuka	SAW	n-kəbele	*KWA	-akeis
*ACE	[kuwiəŋ]	*NYI	che <sup>ʔ</sup> eu	NEM	wek
BAT	peɔl	MAM	bo <sup>ʔ</sup> au	CEM	hēgo
MIN	beŋko?	TAK	ikaela-n	*AJI	bia
IND	beŋkok	DAM	goiliya	XAR	kā
SUN	beŋkok	*MAB	-kōgo	NEN	giðo
*JAV	beŋko?	*YAB	p <sup>w</sup> ali?	KIR	bao
MAD	bilu?	KAU	kulukluk	*MSH	ankeke
*BAL	beŋkot	TOL	gege	PON	pu

*WLE	p <sup>w</sup> aro	RTU	fei	MEL	kole
EFI	βeβe	TON	pikopiko	*TAH	fefe
WFI	βere	SAM	pi <sup>ʔ</sup> o	*RAP	piko
KAL	<i>kēlu + na-</i> .				
TAG	Also <i>liko?</i> , <i>baluktot</i> .				
PAL	Also <i>məkilu</i> .				
SAB	<i>beŋkok + a-</i> .				
MUR	<i>tandidikoŋ</i> (zig-zag); <i>nansikoŋ</i> (of branch, limb); <i>taŋkikiloŋ</i> (winding).				
ACE	Also [ <i>kiwiəŋ</i> ] from Mon-Khmer.				
JAV	Also <i>mleŋkuŋ</i> ( <i>N-pləŋkuŋ</i> ).				
BAL	Also <i>leŋkoŋ</i> .				
KON	Also <i>ĵeko?</i> - <i>ĵeko?</i> .				
WOL	Also <i>ma<sup>ʔ</sup>keu</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>pekək</i> , <i>hagər</i> .				
BUR	‘winding path (not straight)’; ( <i>X</i> ) <i>leku-n-leku-n</i> ‘( <i>X</i> ) is full of twists and turns’.				
NYI	Also <i>hewan</i> .				
MAB	Also <i>kōgoŋa-</i> .				
YAB	Also <i>du-du?</i> ‘hunched, bent over’.				
MOT	<i>gageva</i> ‘crooked (of leg)’; <i>yeveva</i> ‘crooked (of line)’.				
KWA	Also <i>-ikou</i> ‘twisted, curved, bent’.				
AJI	Also <i>tē</i> .				
MSH	Also <i>ip</i> .				
WLE	<i>yapiraxi</i> ‘twisted’.				
TAH	Also <i>ʔoha</i> (of branches).				
RAP	Also <i>pi-piko</i> ; <i>piko-piko</i> .				

## 12.750 HOOK

*ATA	ra <sup>ʔ</sup> uŋ	YAM	saŋit	*AKL	kaw <sup>ʔ</sup> it
*TSO	ʧoʧku	ISN		*PAL	kakawit
RUK	rakoili	*KAL	kāwit	MOL	kauk
PAI	ka-lavis	*TAG	kāwit	*KAG	kalikutan

BLA	sdəŋ	*BUR	kawil	PAA	
*SAB	pag-sagnat-an	*DOB	ʔaliŋu yisin	LEW	kinatap
*MUR	kait	IRA	naŋie ʒe	POR	teŋa <sup>m</sup> b
MGY	farangu	SAW	yawel	*NTA	noanmətau
*ACE	č-wŋ-awīəʔ	NYI	kau	KWA	kəkir
BAT	hail	MAM	ʔaula	*NEM	ba-pa-yāgōi
MIN	poʒoʔ	*TAK	ouŋ	CEM	úb <sup>w</sup> ata
*IND	kait	DAM	yoki	AJI	kəŋye
SUN	pələŋkuŋ	MAB	kwīli	XAR	tī
JAV	gantəl	*YAB	gauʔ	*NEN	yewaxeič
MAD	kaiʔ	*KAU	amenek	*KIR	tematau
BAL	saŋket	TOL	il	MSH	käc
SAS	čantol-an	*BUA	g <sup>w</sup> āk	PON	kēs
GOR	ʔo-ʔayito	ADZ		*WLE	metaixō
DAA	meʔi	KIL	bani	EFI	i-ŋaso
UMA	hokaʔ	*TAW	ani take	WFI	i-yakau
BUG	suŋ	*MOI	kimai	RTU	fei
*KON	paʔ-kaiʔ	MEK	i-au-au	TON	mātaʔu
*WOL	ka-kai	*ROV	vinetuŋu	SAM	mātau
MAG	kaet	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> oŋa	MEL	
NGA	dolu	*LAU	igau	*TAH	tārou
*SIK	kaβir	KWO	finou	RAP	haka raʔu
RTI	ka-kai-k	RAG			

ATA Also *nayip* ‘fish hook’.

TSO Also *duŋu* ‘fishing hook’.

KAL Also *buŋwit* ‘fishing hook’.

TAG (gen); also *tagaʔ*, *kawil* ‘fish hook’.

AKL Generic; *kawil* ‘fishing line’.

PAL Also *kuliŋkaŋ*.

KAG From (*kalikut* + *-an*); also *blikəʔ-an*.

SAB *pag-sagnat-an* ‘a hook to hang things on’; *pissi* ‘fish hook’.

MUR *kait* ‘hook for fishing’; also *pamata* from Brunei Malay *pamata*.

ACE From *čawīəʔ* ‘to hook’.

IND Also *kail*.

KON Also *pekaŋ* ‘fishhook’; *paʔ-keŋkeŋ*.

WOL ‘unbaited hook’.

SIK	<i>kaβir, hago-t</i> (n); <i>bitu</i> (vb).
BUR	‘fish-hook’; <i>paga-n</i> ‘thorn, barb (of spear)’; [ <i>paku</i> ] ‘nail to hang things on’ from Malay; <i>pihi-t</i> ‘hook to hang things on’.
DOB	‘fish-hook’.
TAK	‘fishing hook’.
YAB	Also <i>le<sup>ɟ</sup>ge?</i> ‘large hook for pulling down fruit’.
KAU	Also <i>amonek</i> .
BUA	<i>g<sup>w</sup>āk</i> ‘hook for fishing, or for picking fruit’; <i>pəko</i> ‘hook for hanging things on’.
TAW	‘hanging thing’.
MOT	Also ‘fish using a line’.
ROV	Also <i>yaili</i> ‘bonito hook (shell)’.
LAU	Also <i>finau</i> .
NTA	‘fish hook’.
NEM	‘for-CAUS-hang up’.
NEN	Also <i>wagi</i> .
KIR	<i>te matau</i> ‘fishhook’; <i>te [uki]</i> from English.
WLE	‘wooden hook for hanging’.
TAH	Also <i>rou</i> .

## 12.760 CORNER

ATA	<i>kuŋ</i>	*MUR	<i>pisuk</i>	BUG	<i>sikku?</i>
*TSO	<i>ɕuɕudidi</i>	MGY	<i>zuru</i>	KON	<i>kačuču</i>
RUK	<i>kaliliopanə</i>	ACE	<i>sagɔə</i>	WOL	<i>si<sup>ɲ</sup>ku</i>
PAI	<i>putuŋ</i>	BAT	<i>suhi-suhi</i>	*MAG	<i>gi<sup>ɲ</sup>ču</i>
YAM	<i>ʃiko</i>	MIN	<i>suduy?</i>	NGA	<i>ɬisu</i>
ISN	<i>sīku</i>	IND	<i>sudut</i>	SIK	<i>higu-ŋ</i>
KAL	<i>sīku</i>	SUN	<i>ʃuru</i>	RTI	<i>bu<sup>ʔ</sup>u-k</i>
*TAG	<i>sulok</i>	JAV	<i>pəjɔ?</i>	*BUR	<i>hese-t somo-n</i>
*AKL	<i>ka-rugw-an</i>	*MAD	<i>d<sup>h</sup>u-padd<sup>h</sup>u</i>	*DOB	<i>wu<sup>ʔ</sup>uy</i>
PAL	<i>suluk</i>	BAL	<i>buču</i>	IRA	<i>sitəɸu</i>
MOL	<i>piʃuru?</i>	SAS	<i>buču</i>	SAW	<i>se-sun</i>
KAG	<i>pusud</i>	GOR	<i>tutu</i>	NYI	
BLA		DAA	<i>sidu</i>	MAM	<i>zage-</i>
SAB	<i>piʃu</i>	UMA	<i>huno</i>		<i>edo<sup>ʔ</sup>iŋa<sup>ʔ</sup>adi</i>

TAK	suruga-n	LAU	ŋorona	*KIR	te
*DAM	irikaleyan	KWO	du <sup>?</sup> udu <sup>?</sup> a		m <sup>w</sup> aniŋaniŋa
*MAB	zurūnu	RAG	siyu	*MSH	cap <sup>w</sup> Λn
*YAB	lesu-ìn	PAA		PON	keim <sup>w</sup>
*KAU	sii-n emol	LEW	prapu-na	WLE	řiϕ <sup>w</sup> aisīsi
*TOL	ŋu-nə	POR		EFI	tutu-
BUA	ñe katu	NTA	nounəsin	WFI	doβi
ADZ	sinigit	KWA	tawtawn	*RTU	fua
*KIL	kabulu-la	NEM	k <sup>ɲ</sup> udi	TON	tuliki
TAW	dudu-na	CEM	ôlū-n	*SAM	tuli-manu
MOT	daiguni	*AJI	kā rō m <sup>w</sup> ã	MEL	p <sup>w</sup> ēsuki
*MEK	kiu	XAR	kūcā	*TAH	poro
ROV	iio	*NEN	iwan	RAP	pini
MAR	sulu <sup>?</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> u				

TSO *çuçudidi* ‘outer corner’; *çaçiku* ‘inner corner’.

TAG *sūlok* (+paN--an); also [kanto], from Spanish *canto*.

AKL Root: *dugu*, PHN \*ZūRu ‘meet at right angles’.

MUR *pisuk* ‘internal corner (e.g. of room)’; *linsuk* ‘external corner (e.g. of table)’.

MAD From (*RED-padd<sup>bu</sup>*); Safioedin (1977): *padd<sup>bu</sup>* ‘corner’, *d<sup>bu</sup>-padd<sup>bu</sup>* ‘in the corner’.

MAG Also *čiko*.

BUR ‘corner of house’.

DOB ‘inside corner’.

DAM ‘edge round’.

MAB Also *ŋuzūnu*.

YAB ‘corner-origin’, i.e. ‘corner (of house)’; also *ŋa-ke<sup>?</sup>-lesu* ‘inside corner of room or house’, *ŋa-lesu-gedo* ‘its-corner-edge’ i.e. ‘corner (of bag etc)’.

KAU *sii-n* ‘base-its’; *mol* ‘wind, wrap’.

TOL See 12.353.

KIL ‘projection/point-its’.

MEK Also means ‘knee, joint’.

AJI Also *k<sup>w</sup>ãñürü m<sup>w</sup>ã*.

NEN Also *wain*.

KIR Also *te riŋiriŋ* also ‘edge of roof’; also *te niŋiniŋ*.

MSH *kæpōn* ‘intersection of roads’, also *kæp<sup>w</sup>oŋ*; [kona] from English.

RTU Also *piu*.

SAM See *tuli* 'joint', *manu*?

TAH Also *hiti*.

## 12.770 CROSS

<b>English:</b> <i>cross</i>	<b>French:</b> ( <i>la</i> ) <i>croix</i>	<b>Greek:</b> <i>stauros</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>cruz</i>		

ATA	KON	battarappo	LAU	ʔai rafolo
TSO	WOL		KWO	
RUK	MAG	pa <sup>ɲ</sup> gɔl	RAG	
PAI	NGA	kogo	PAA	āiveave
YAM	*SIK	[krus]	*LEW	lakitarovia
ISN	RTI	kabaʔe-k	POR	
KAL	*BUR	kau tea-n pa-	NTA	kaluau
TAG		pele	*KWA	nei
AKL	*DOB	na-taɸara		kemaruk <sup>w</sup> au
PAL	IRA		NEM	[kuruse]
MOL	*SAW	[salib]	CEM	[kùrucé]
KAG	NYI	to <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> eh	AJI	[kɔɾɔa]
BLA	MAM	ʔapalapala	XAR	
*SAB	TAK	yakubarek	NEN	
*MUR	DAM	tetek	KIR	tebaŋaki
MGY	*MAB	ke	MSH	rep <sup>w</sup> æl
ACE		pa <sup>m</sup> bāraŋana	PON	lōp <sup>w</sup> u
BAT	*YAB	ka ge-boʔ	WLE	fōiɸ <sup>w</sup> a
MIN	*KAU	kluŋput-βal	*EFI	βeilātai
*IND	*TOL	bolabolo	WFI	
*SUN	BUA	kəle pəko	RTU	ʔɔi fakrava
JAV	ADZ		TON	[kolosi]
MAD	KIL	[korose]	*SAM	[koluse]
*BAL	*TAW	[sataulo]	MEL	
SAS	*MOT	[korosi]	TAH	[tatauro
GOR	*MEK	pi-ŋeva		(satauro)]
DAA	ROV	huda	RAP	[tataurō]
UMA		pilivarata		
BUG	MAR	yaibabala		



SAB	‘crossroads’.
MUR	<i>alipaᅇ</i> ‘horizontal/vertical cross (+)’; <i>aliwaᅇ</i> ‘diagonal cross (X)’.
IND	Also [ <i>salib</i> ] from Arabic, <i>pər-silaᅇ-an</i> .
SUN	From Sanskrit; also <i>palaᅇ</i> .
BAL	‘pigeon’s foot’, ‘cross with vertical axis’; <i>paᅇ-paᅇ-an</i> ‘multiplication symbol, X-shaped cross’ ( <i>paᅇ</i> ‘times’); <i>N-andaᅇ</i> ‘lying across, at an angle to something’.
SIK	From Portuguese; also <i>pot</i> , <i>raka</i> (vb).
BUR	‘place where poles cross each other’.
DOB	‘cross things over each other (vb)’.
SAW	From Arabic <i>ᅇalīb</i> .
MAB	‘crossed sticks’.
YAB	‘wood it-cross’ i.e. ‘crosspiece, crossbar’.
KAU	<i>-ᅇal</i> ‘each other’.
TOL	<i>bolo</i> (vb intrans/trans) ‘cross, go across’.
TAW	[ <i>sataulo</i> ] (noun); <i>ani take</i> ‘hanging thing’; ‘cross (vb)’; <i>ludamana</i> ‘cross river, bay’; <i>lutagona</i> ‘cross mountains’.
MOT	Also [ <i>satauro</i> ] ‘Christian cross’.
MEK	<i>pi-ᅇeva</i> ‘intersection of two roads or rivers’, [ <i>koᅇose</i> ] ‘Christian crucifix’.
LEW	Also <i>laki pepe</i> .
KWA	‘tree intersecting’.
EFI	Also <i>ᅇakabābā</i> .
SAM	[ <i>sātauro</i> ] ‘Christian cross’.

## 12.780 SQUARE

**English:** *square*

**French:** *carré*

**Spanish:** *cuadrado*

ATA	KAL	kinab-kabon	BLA
TSO	*TAG	parisukat	SAB pasagi?
RUK	AKL	[kwadrādoᅇ]	*MUR [basagi]
PAI	PAL	mᅇgbawaᅇ	MGY [karé]
YAM	MOL	posagi? opat	ACE sagᅇᅇpᅇwᅇt
ISN	KAG	[kwadradu]	BAT opat suhi

MIN	buju <sup>3</sup> saŋka	MAM		*NTA	[fokona]
IND	pər-səgi	TAK		KWA	-awtawta
SUN	pasagi	DAM		*NEM	p <sup>h</sup> oec jele-n
*JAV	pəsagi	MAB		CEM	
MAD	pasagi	*YAB	(ŋa-)teke	AJI	[kare]
*BAL	mṛəpat	*KAU	ekai-βal	*XAR	fiε-didi
*SAS	[pərsəgi]	*TOL	vərogop	NEN	
GOR	paliliŋo	BUA		*KIR	toatoa
*DAA	pata- <sup>n̄</sup> jidu	ADZ		MSH	[cuk <sup>w</sup> ēa]
UMA	sulapa <sup>?</sup> opo <sup>?</sup>	KIL		PON	permasepeŋ
BUG	mas-sulapa	TAW		WLE	
*KON	appa <sup>?</sup> sulapa <sup>?</sup>	MOT	[sik <sup>w</sup> aea]	EFI	riβiriβi
*WOL	pata-wala	MEK		WFI	ribiribi
MAG	pərvalaŋ	ROV	made iio	RTU	fuafua
NGA	kigu-vutu	MAR	babakla	TON	tapafā
*SIK	βala-ŋhutu	LAU		SAM	[sikuea]
*RTI	bu <sup>?</sup> u ha-k	KWO		MEL	
BUR		RAG		*TAH	<sup>?</sup> ōrapa
*DOB	wu <sup>?</sup> uy <sup>?</sup> awa	PAA		RAP	
IRA		*LEW	prap <sup>w</sup> u-na		
*SAW	sε-sun aben fət		varo-ka-ŋa		
NYI		POR			

TAG Also [kuwadrādo].

MUR From Malay *bərsəgi* ‘having angles or facets’.

JAV Also *pasagi*.

BAL (adjectival sense) ‘square, rectangular’ (*pat* ‘four’).

SAS From Malay.

DAA ‘four corner’.

KON Also *pattaŋ sulapa<sup>?</sup>* ‘four-sided’; *sulapa<sup>?</sup> appa<sup>?</sup>*, *sama sulapa<sup>?</sup>* ‘of four equal sides’.

WOL Also *pata-si<sup>ŋ</sup>ku*.

SIK Also *higu-ŋ hutu*.

RTI ‘four-cornered’.

DOB ‘four corners’

SAW ‘corner four’.

YAB ‘its-corner’, i.e. ‘having corners’; also *teke-teke*.

KAU -*βal* ‘each other’ (reciprocal morpheme).

TOL	Also 'be equal'.
LEW	'four cornered'.
NTA	From English <i>four corner</i> .
NEM	'four sides'.
XAR	'four identical'.
KIR	Also 'cube'; cf. <i>te toa</i> 'counterpart'; <i>toāŋ</i> archaic; <i>tabanin</i> also 'complete, entire'.
TAH	Also <i>?orapa maha</i> ; [ <i>tuea</i> ] from English.

### 12.810 ROUND

ATA	m-tumurul	UMA	mo-haloli	MAR	viviloho
TSO	tauçunu	BUG	ma-lebu	LAU	galigalia
RUK	liməmətəkə	KON	boddoŋ	KWO	?ele
PAI	liŋul <sup>y</sup>	WOL	ma-li <sup>m</sup> bu	RAG	
YAM	maədəd	MAG	<sup>m</sup> bolon	PAA	vupu
ISN	libbutu	*NGA	bebe	LEW	talivi
*KAL	bukol	*SIK	guər	POR	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> pupu
TAG	bilog	RTI	bo-boŋo-k	NTA	otota
*AKL	libūnug	BUR	em-loli	KWA	-rupu
PAL	məriru <sup>?</sup>	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> alabuway	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> alago
MOL	bilug	IRA	φuturomə	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> āñihi
*KAG	lisən	*SAW	fofolulu	AJI	powē
*BLA	lbukuk	NYI	abuluw	*XAR	powē
*SAB	tibuluŋ	MAM	boa <sup>?</sup> uboa <sup>?</sup> u	*NEN	waela
*MUR	maŋulod	*TAK	-tilanti	KIR	mronron
MGY	buri-buri	*DAM	obu	MSH	rōlul
ACE	gloŋ	MAB		PON	p <sup>w</sup> onop <sup>w</sup> on
BAT	tikkə	YAB	kuku	WLE	
MIN	bule <sup>?</sup>	*KAU	molmol	EFI	mokimokiti
*IND	bundar	TOL	kikil	WFI	giligili
*SUN	[bundər]	BUA	aɣəkəkəŋ	RTU	kəlkəlu
JAV	bundər	ADZ	tumu <sup>ʔ</sup>	TON	fuopotopoto
MAD	buntər	KIL		*SAM	lā-potopoto
*BAL	bundər	TAW	wiwila-na	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> olim <sup>w</sup> oli]
SAS	bələt	*MOT	kuborukuboru	*TAH	menemene
GOR	hulu-hululo	*MEK	e-pa <sup>?</sup> i(e-pa-ii)	RAP	?ohu
DAA	na-lionu	ROV	bobolokuhae		

- KAL *bukol + na*.
- AKL *libūnug + ma-*; also *lipū†un + ma-*.
- KAG *lisən* ‘round like a circle’; *bilug* ‘round like a ball’.
- BLA *buŋkug* ‘round and bulky’.
- SAB Also *tibu?uk* ‘round, circle, sphere, ball’.
- MUR *maŋulor* (circular), *mapuŋol* (spherical).
- IND Also *bulat*.
- SUN From Javanese; also *bulid*.
- BAL *buntər* ‘spherical’ (Kersten 1984); *gilik* ‘cylindrical’ (Kersten 1984).
- NGA Also *ḃoda* ‘round and solid (like a stick)’; *gomo* ‘round (like a plate)’.
- SIK Also *gulo*.
- SAW Also *pəkpokem* (of people).
- TAK ‘go round in a circle’ (vb).
- DAM Also *kori φi-ya*.
- KAU See 10.140.
- MOT *kuboru* ‘round, circular’.
- MEK *e-pa?i* (of halos around the moon); also *e-i-lofe, e-lofe-lofe*, see 12.820.
- XAR Also *p<sup>w</sup>ex<sup>̃</sup>* ‘round, chubby (of a person)’.
- NEN (of moon).
- SAM *lā-potopoto* (vb intrans) ‘round, spherical’, *lā-? potopoto* ‘be assembled, be in a body’; *ta?amito* ‘go round, circle around; be circular (vb intrans)’.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *pōta?a* ‘round mark’.

## 12.820 CIRCLE

Spanish: *circulo*

ATA	ma-t-†a-†iŋay	YAM	mataliwədwəd	AKL	[sirkuluh]
TSO	tauçunu	ISN		PAL	bəruruŋ
RUK	liməmətəkə	*KAL	baligoŋgoŋ	MOL	buntar
PAI	liŋul <sup>y</sup>	*TAG	bilog	*KAG	lisən

BLA		*BUR	loli-n	PAA	
*SAB	tibuluŋ	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> alabuway	LEW	talivi
MUR		IRA		POR	
MGY	vuri-vuri	*SAW	gɛ-gwal	NTA	otota
ACE	bulat	NYI	abuluw	*KWA	-kurau
BAT	tikkə	MAM	boaboaliŋ	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> alago
*MIN	liŋkar-an	*TAK	kalam-bulbol	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> añihi
*IND	liŋkar-an	DAM	kolili	AJI	powē
SUN	bulid-an	*MAB	tatiliugana	XAR	šēcə
JAV	bundər-an	*YAB	mɛə	NEN	aḍoḍoʒeu
MAD	biŋkər	*KAU	mi-ne-mol-in	*KIR	mronron
BAL	bundər	TOL	kikil	*MSH	rɔlul
SAS	bələt-an	BUA	[nur]	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> onop <sup>w</sup> on
GOR	liliŋə	ADZ		WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> ɔ̄ri-yāri
DAA		KIL		EFI	wirini
UMA	mo-haloli	*TAW	bibitutu-na	WFI	
BUG	mač-činne?	MOT		RTU	
KON	boddoŋ	*MEK	ii	*TON	[seakale]
WOL	ka-li <sup>m</sup> bu-a	ROV	bobolokuhæ	SAM	liʔo
MAG	gelep	*MAR	liloho	MEL	
*NGA	gili	LAU	molimolia	TAH	porotaʔa
SIK	loka-ŋ	KWO	gari	*RAP	ʔohu
*RTI	bo-boŋo-k	RAG			

KAL *baligoŋoŋ + na-*.

TAG *bīlog (+ka--an)*; also [*sirkulo*].

KAG Also [*sirkulu*] from Spanish *circulo*.

SAB ‘round, circle, sphere, ball’, also *tibuʔuk*.

MIN Also *bunta*.

IND Also *bulat-an*.

NGA Also *bege*.

RTI Also *feo-k*, *eʔelok*.

BUR *tola-t* ‘rattan hoop’.

SAW Also *fofolulu*.

TAK ‘moon circular’.

MAB *tatiliugana* ‘circular’.

YAB ‘circular’; also *mɛə-mɛə*.

KAU	'inside-its ART-wind round-NOM' (see 10.140, 12.810).
TAW	'circular'.
MEK	<i>ii</i> '(chiefly) halo around the moon in certain weather'; also <i>i-lofe</i> 'circle, roll' from <i>e-lofe</i> 'be rolled up, roll up'.
MAR	<i>liloho</i> (vb), <i>lit<sup>h</sup>u</i> (vb).
KWA	(vb).
KIR	<i>tobibi</i> also 'round'.
MSH	Also <i>pō!</i> 'encircled'
PON	Also 'round'.
TON	From English <i>circle</i> .
RAP	Also <i>taka-taka</i> .

## 12.830 SPHERE, BALL

Dutch: *bal*

Spanish: *bola*

ATA		*SUN	bulidan	NYI	kukum <sup>w</sup> en
TSO	tau <u>ɕu</u> ɕu	JAV	bundər-an	MAM	boa <sup>?</sup> uboa <sup>?</sup> u
*RUK	[maɭi]		kəpləŋ	*TAK	[bal]
PAI		*MAD	buŋ-kəmbuŋ	DAM	obu
*YAM	[boro]	*BAL	buntər	MAB	ko <sup>m</sup> boko-
ISN		*SAS	[bɔlə]		<sup>m</sup> boŋana
KAL	būla	GOR	hululo	*YAB	[bal]
TAG	[bōla]	DAA	[bola]	*KAU	po tuktuk
AKL	[bōla]	UMA	mo-haloli	TOL	[bol]
PAL	[bula]	BUG	sirappi	BUA	[bār]
MOL	bululuŋ	KON	gulu <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	
KAG	[bula]	WOL	golu	KIL	[boli]
BLA	lbukuk	MAG	[bola]	TAW	bibitutu-na
*SAB	tibuluŋ	NGA	ɬala	MOT	[bolo]
*MUR	gūl	*SIK	gulo	*MEK	popo
*MGY	[baulina]	RTI	bo-boŋo-k	*ROV	tiŋitoŋa
*ACE	bhan	*BUR	oŋo-n		bobolokuhæ
BAT	tikkɔ	DOB	[bal]	MAR	[bolo]
MIN	bule <sup>?</sup>	IRA	bora	LAU	[bolo]
*IND	bulat-an	SAW	fofolulu	KWO	

POR	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> pupu	*NEN	[bol]	RTU	[poro]
NTA	[bol]	*KIR	te ano	*TON	[kolope]
*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> atpinami	*MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> ɔ̄l]	SAM	[pələ]
NEM	[bōn]	PON	mp <sup>w</sup> ei	MEL	[pōlo]
CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ède	*WLE	[ɸ <sup>w</sup> ōr̄ɔ̄]	*TAH	[pōro]
*AJI	[balō]	EFI	[polo]	RAP	viri-viri
*XAR	dəu powē	WFI	[βələ]		

RUK [maʎi] ‘ball’, from Japanese.

YAM From English via Japanese.

SAB ‘round, circle, sphere, ball’; also *tibuʔuk*.

MUR Also [bulaʔ] from Portuguese.

MGY From French.

ACE ‘ball’.

IND Also [bola].

SUN Also [bal].

MAD From (*RED-kəmbuŋ*).

BAL *buntər* ‘spherical’; [bal].

SAS Also *bolət-an*.

SIK Also [bola].

BUR ‘ball carved from trunk of tree fern’; [bola] ‘ball’; also [baal].

TAK From German.

YAB From German.

KAU Also *emtut tin*.

MEK *popo* ‘ball made of a pig’s bladder’; also [polo] ‘hollow coconut (used as a ball)’.

ROV ‘s.th. round’, also [bələ].

KWA ‘ball’ (‘extremity-of urine’, i.e., ‘pig’s bladder’).

AJI From French *ballon*.

XAR ‘thing round’.

NEN Also *wačō*.

KIR ‘ball made from pandanus or coconut leaves, used in traditional game’;  
*te [boro]*, *mronron* ‘round, spherical’; also *tironron*, *tobibi* ‘circular’.

MSH *anirep* ‘pandanus leaf ball’.

WLE From Spanish; [ɸ<sup>w</sup>ōro] from English; ɸ<sup>w</sup>ōr̄i-yañ ‘round’.

TON From English *globe*.

TAH Also *pōpō* ‘ball, balloon’.

## 12.840 LINE

**English:** *line*

**Malay:** *garis*

**Spanish:** *línea*

*ATA	ḱutux	UMA		*MAR	soa
TSO		BUG	[garisiʔ]	LAU	
RUK	giasə	KON	ḱoriʔ	KWO	talēʔola
PAI	ϕuis	WOL	ḱori	RAG	vara
YAM	kororitan	MAG	[garis]	PAA	
ISN	karit	NGA	uri	LEW	
KAL	linya	SIK	ʔura-t	POR	
*TAG	[linya]	RTI	[ḱgalis]	NTA	[laiən]
AKL	[linya]	*BUR	ruha-k	KWA	tarhe-
PAL	taltal	*DOB	ʔa-siyar	NEM	ñin
MOL	baḱar	IRA	wərəro	CEM	nîdɛ-n
KAG	[liña]	SAW	gəs-gəs	AJI	cī
BLA	baḱal	*NYI	malou	XAR	kām <sup>wā</sup>
SAB	bantaḱ	*MAM	babasi	NEN	koḱe
*MUR	[gadisan]	TAK		KIR	te rinan
MGY	laharana	DAM	gī	*MSH	[lain]
ACE	gareh	*MAB	sisirāna	*PON	irek
BAT	garis	*YAB	ḱa-denaḱ	WLE	kaürü
MIN	barih	*KAU	[mak]	EFI	i-tosi
IND	garis	*TOL	ḱai-nə	WFI	i-ori
*SUN	gurat	BUA	abel	RTU	əfu
JAV	garis	ADZ		TON	[laine]
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> aris	*KIL	kasa-	SAM	[laina]
*BAL	goet	*TAW	omlelega	MEL	[laeni]
SAS	garis	*MOT	[laini]	*TAH	[rēni (leni)]
GOR	[gārisi]	*MEK	lele	RAP	hore
DAA	[garisi]	*ROV	ḱasi		

ATA ḱutux ‘line’ lit ‘one’.

TAG *gūhit*; [*pīla*] ‘row’, from Spanish *fila* ‘file, queue’.



MUR	<i>[gadisan]</i> ‘straight line drawn on paper, sportsfield etc.’ from Malay <i>garisan</i> ; <i>lalab</i> ‘line of people working or searching’; <i>gintin</i> ‘line of people waiting’; <i>bombolot</i> ‘line on forehead, palm etc.’.
SUN	Also <i>jaĵar-an</i> .
BAL	Also <i>suat</i> ; <i>səpat</i> ‘string used by carpenters etc. to mark a straight line’; <i>ŋ-orten</i> ‘sketch’.
BUR	‘draw a line’.
DOB	‘draw a line (vb)’.
NYI	Also <i>jai</i> .
MAM	Also <i>?aurape</i> .
MAB	Also <i>ris</i> ‘stripe’.
YAB	‘row, line’.
KAU	From English ‘mark’.
TOL	Also ‘row’, lit ‘its way’, <i>ŋa</i> ‘way’.
KIL	(classifier); <i>-daili</i> (vb) e.g.: <i>-to-daili</i> ‘stand-line’, ‘stand in a line’; <i>-βa-daili</i> ‘foot-line’, ‘walk in line’.
TAW	<i>omlelega</i> ‘people in line’; <i>tamatama</i> ‘things in line’; <i>guguni</i> ‘line of inheritance/ clan’.
MOT	From English <i>line</i> ; also <i>βaro</i> ‘string; measuring line’.
MEK	<i>lele</i> ‘line in traditional patterns or designs’; ‘writing, drawing’ [ <i>laini</i> ] ‘straight line’
ROV	<i>yasi</i> ‘line on paper’; <i>turu vatokele</i> ‘stand in a line’.
MAR	<i>soa</i> ‘line, stripe’; <i>t<sup>h</sup>ura</i> ‘line or string of things, people’.
MSH	From <i>κΑτάν</i> CON; ‘boundary line, difference’; <i>lācṛak</i> .
TAH	Also <i>?āna?ira?a</i> , <i>pāna?ira?a</i> , <i>nana?ira?a</i> ‘row, line’.

## 12.850 HOLE

ATA	kūy	AKL	būhu?	ACE	ruhuŋ
*TSO	froŋo	PAL	dəlaŋ	BAT	lubaŋ
RUK	baroŋolo	MOL	ruaŋ	MIN	liaŋ
PAI	bəru-bəruŋ	*KAG	luŋaŋ	*IND	lobaŋ
YAM	mičilaos	BLA	səl	SUN	liaŋ
ISN	abbut	SAB	lowaŋ	JAV	bələŋ-an
KAL	abūt	*MUR	luaŋ	MAD	lubaŋ
*TAG	būtas	MGY	lavaka	*BAL	soŋ

SAS	loaŋ	*MAB	su <sup>m</sup> būnu	*KWA	rue-
GOR	huwaŋo	*YAB	(ŋa-)gesuŋ	NEM	wa
DAA	bolo	*KAU	mi-n pil	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ʒ-n
UMA	βulou?	TOL	tuŋ	AJI	nevõ
BUG	sibbo?	*BUA	len	*XAR	põ
KON	kalibboŋ	ADZ	<sup>n</sup> ʒuf	NEN	waba
*WOL	βalo	KIL	ponana	*KIR	teb <sup>w</sup> aŋa
MAG	lavo	*TAW	domo	MSH	ɾoŋ
NGA	gavo	MOT	matu	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> õr
*SIK	lia-ŋ	*MEK	ine	*WLE	keři
RTI	bolo-k	*ROV	pou	EFI	ŋara
*BUR	feŋa-n	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ora	WFI	g <sup>w</sup> ara
DOB	ɸaɸuy	LAU	kilu	RTU	paŋaŋa
*IRA	taburə	KWO	kiru	TON	luo
SAW	mdoke	RAG	lulu	SAM	pū
*NYI	lek	PAA	vuluvul	MEL	rua
MAM	boaziŋa	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu-sia	*TAH	ʔāpoʔo
TAK	gib	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bur	RAP	pū
*DAM	ku	NTA	nəpaŋ		

TSO *froŋo* (of natural objects); *kea-xʔit-a* (of artifacts, such as of clothes, pans, roof, etc.).

TAG *būtas* ‘hole in wood, clothes’; *lubak*, *hūkay* ‘hole in ground, road’.

KAG Also *buslu*.

MUR *luaŋ* ‘hole in ground’; *buloŋow* ‘hole in garment, wall, container etc.’

IND Also [*lowoŋ*] Javanese.

BAL *soŋ* ‘hole which occurs naturally, or is made on purpose e.g. entrance to animal’s home such as a mousehole’; *soŋ čuŋuh* ‘nostril’; *soŋ jaum* ‘hole in a needle’; *boloŋ* ‘hole which develops where it’s not wanted e.g. in a bucket, in clothes’; *baŋbaŋ*, *bluŋbaŋ* ‘hole dug in the ground’; *blumbaŋ* ‘wallow, water-filled depression in the ground’.

WOL *βalo* ‘hole, pit, cave’; also *βalo<sup>o</sup>ko*, *lia*.

SIK Also *boa-ŋ*, *robo-ŋ*, *robək*.

BUR ‘hole in tree, rock, mouth, nose’; *kau guhe-n* ‘hollow log (lengthwise)’.

IRA *taburə* ‘hole in ground, large hole in s.th.’; *nəbətərofəntə* ‘small hole’ e.g. in old thatch.

NYI *lek* ‘hole with depth’; *munun* ‘hole in a surface’.

DAM	Also <i>meku</i> ‘grave’.
MAB	Also <i>nāla</i> .
YAB	‘hole, cavern, crevice, cave’; also ( <i>ṅa-</i> ) <i>lase</i> ‘hole, perforation’, <i>pelo-àwa</i> ‘stone.axe mouth’; <i>àwa-sùṅ</i> ‘mouth cavity’; <i>taṅa-sùṅ</i> ‘ear cavity’.
KAU	Also <i>mi-n pok</i> ( <i>mi-n</i> ‘inside-its’).
BUA	<i>len</i> ‘hole, opening, space’; <i>səβ</i> ‘hole in the ground, e.g. for planting yams’; <i>asorəṅ</i> ‘large hole in ground, e.g. toilet hole, excavation’.
TAW	<i>domo</i> ‘hole in ground’; <i>[liku]</i> ‘hole in boat’ (from English ‘leak’).
MEK	<i>ine</i> ‘small holes’; <i>?apu</i> ‘holes in the ground’.
ROV	<i>pou</i> ‘hole made by man’, <i>gogoro</i> ‘hole in ground, made by animals’.
KWA	Also <i>nəpṅi-</i> .
XAR	<i>pō</i> ‘hole, depression, tomb’; <i>x<sup>w</sup>ā-mōrō</i> ‘hole resulting from a perforation’.
KIR	Also <i>te nib<sup>wa</sup></i> ‘small hole, notch’, also ‘source, place of’.
PON	<i>līp<sup>w</sup></i> ‘large hole in ground’; <i>p<sup>w</sup>ār</i> ‘yam hole’.
WLE	<i>šēšē</i> ‘opening, orifice’, <i>řīḥ<sup>wa</sup></i> , <i>ṅata</i> .
TAH	<i>pa<sup>o</sup>ana</i> ‘small cave’; <i>rua</i> obsolete.

## 12.920 LIKE, SIMILAR

**Sanskrit:** *rūpa-*

**Spanish:** *parejo(s)*

ATA	ma-čka?	MUR	koson da	BUG	pada-pada
*TSO	m-aiça	MGY	uhaṭʼa	*KON	bansa
RUK	mā-ṅiamia	ACE	sa	*WOL	tua
PAI	tajaḷan	BAT	dos	MAG	čama
YAM	miaṅay	*MIN	čando	NGA	moc
ISN	mag-pāda	*IND	səperti	*SIK	ganu
*KAL	pāda	*SUN	[sapərti]	*RTI	leo
*TAG	ka-tūlad	JAV	məmpər	BUR	gam dii
AKL	[parīhuh]	MAD	kaṅa	DOB	taṅaʼlay
*PAL	sama	*BAL	[čarə]	IRA	
MOL	mogina	SAS	padə	*SAW	dolo
*KAG	[parias]	GOR	?odelo	NYI	i lese
*BLA	gam-bət	DAA	na-si <sup>m</sup> bayu	*MAM	suri-teʼe
SAB	sali?	*UMA	heβa	*TAK	nao-n kaek

DAM	gen	*LAU	usulia	*KIR	ai
*MAB	ke <sup>m</sup> bei	*KWO	ʔilaka	*MSH	aṛin
*YAB	ke-tom	RAG	kun	*PON	tuwēte
*KAU	kai	PAA	suvali	*WLE	wē-a
*TOL	da	*LEW	sa	EFI	βakā
BUA	nəβe	POR	lōloŋo <sup>m</sup> bu	WFI	kodaki
ADZ	bi-	*NTA	tahm <sup>w</sup> ene	*RTU	faka
KIL	makawala	*KWA	-am <sup>w</sup> hen	TON	haṅē
*TAW	mei	NEM	ʷemā-n	SAM	pei
MOT	heyereyere	CEM	wíε-n	*MEL	[tausia]
*MEK	koā	AJI	virtu	*TAH	au
ROV	kekeŋoŋo	*XAR	didi	RAP	pe
MAR	ḷateu	NEN	inckore		
TSO	Also <i>raiḡa</i> .				
KAL	<i>pāda + nan-</i> .				
TAG	Also <i>ka-mukha?</i> , <i>pāra</i> , <i>ka-gāya</i> .				
PAL	Also <i>salī?</i> .				
KAG	Also [ <i>pariu</i> ].				
BLA	<i>g-am-bət</i> ‘like’; <i>salḡad</i> ‘the same as’.				
MIN	Also <i>sa-[rupa]</i> .				
IND	Also <i>sə[rupa]</i> , <i>sama</i> , <i>sə-ḷānis</i> .				
SUN	From Javanese, also <i>sa-[rupa]</i> .				
BAL	‘manner’ from Sanskrit; <i>mirib</i> , <i>məsib</i> ‘similar to’; <i>patuh</i> ‘same as’.				
UMA	Also <i>heba</i> preposition ‘like as’; <i>neo?hibalia</i> ‘almost the same’.				
KON	Also <i>la-pada</i> .				
WOL	Also <i>sii<sup>m</sup>bo</i> , <i>hi<sup>m</sup>bo</i> , <i>hi<sup>m</sup>boo</i> , <i>kabilāṅa</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>hama</i> , <i>hama ganu</i> .				
RTI	Also <i>sama leo</i> .				
SAW	Also <i>dεlo</i> ‘similar’.				
MAM	Also <i>to-te?e</i> .				
TAK	‘face-his one’.				
MAB	Also <i>rarāte</i> .				
YAB	‘it-resemble’; also <i>a<sup>m</sup>b<sup>w</sup>a?</i> ‘like, as if’ (conjunction).				
KAU	Also <i>ken</i> .				
TOL	<i>dari</i> ‘like this’, <i>damənə</i> ‘like that’.				

TAW	Particle.
MEK	<i>koā</i> postposition: <i>nao koā</i> ‘like a foreigner, a European’; also <i>i-ʔopo-ŋa</i> ‘his/her/its likeness’, as in <i>nao i-ʔopo-ŋa</i> ‘just like a foreigner, a European’. See 12.540, note.
LAU	Also <i>bobola</i> .
KWO	Also <i>mala-</i> .
LEW	Also <i>toroki</i> .
NTA	Also <i>tolm<sup>wa</sup></i> .
KWA	Also <i>-os(i)</i> ‘take after, resemble’.
XAR	<i>didi</i> ‘identical’; <i>didi, dīmā</i> ‘similar’.
KIR	Nominal proclitic; <i>n ai aron</i> ‘the same as’ (lit ‘in the same manner as’); <i>tī te bō</i> lit ‘only the equivalent’.
MSH	‘only the equivalent’; <i>æin</i> CON; <i>æinwat</i> see <i>wæt</i> ‘just, only’.
PON	See <i>tuwe</i> ‘its way, manner’; <i>ras</i> ‘same’.
WLE	‘resemble, be the same as (vb trans)’; <i>paxü-a, xaffitexi</i> .
RTU	Also <i>əri</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>mai</i> ‘as’; <i>hōʔē ā huru</i> ‘alike’.

## 12.930 CHANGE

ATA	nanak	*MGY	manakalu	WOL	ɓalii
TSO	a-rzuxu	*ACE	tuka	MAG	čaliŋ
RUK	twapəla	BAT	gatti	NGA	geu
PAI	ma-pa-valit	*MIN	ubah	*SIK	selu-ŋ
YAM	ablisen	*IND	bər-ubah	RTI	nasa-fali
ISN	naussi	*SUN	robah	*BUR	pili-k
*KAL	sukāt	JAV	owah	*DOB	ʔa-say ɸeta
*TAG	iba	MAD	uba	*IRA	sagigəra
*AKL	ʔaʔin	*BAL	mə-salin	SAW	n-iwen
PAL	səmbyan	SAS		NYI	saluwen
*MOL	pinda	*GOR	momoliʔo	*MAM	tabuli
*KAG	sili	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-bali	TAK	
*BLA	m-ili	UMA	mə-baliʔ	DAM	ɸalei
*SAB	pinda	BUG	mas-selle	*MAB	-tōro
*MUR	kulaw	KON	aʔ-pinra	*YAB	-yɔ

*KAU	βieβial	RAG	dori	*MSH	ikiŋ
*TOL	kiə	PAA	viles	*PON	wilian
*BUA	pək <sup>w</sup> ε	*LEW	vuloni	*WLE	wexiti
ADZ	tani <sup>ʔ</sup> -	POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>m</sup> be-in-i	EFI	βeisau
KIL	-katumapu	NTA	-ouhlin	WFI	βihau-takinia
*TAW	bui	*KWA	-uwsini	RTU	iu
*MOT	bolo-a	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> eri	TON	liliu
*MEK	e-poni	CEM	tātē-hi	*SAM	sui
ROV	hobe	AJI	bawi	*MEL	[jenjel
MAR	tuyu	XAR	pəpə	*TAH	tāui
LAU	ʔolitala	NEN	ure	*RAP	[kamiare]
KWO	du <sup>ʔ</sup> a-a	*KIR	bita		

KAL *sukāt + -an.*

TAG *iba + mag-/-in; also bāgo + mag-/-in.*

AKL *ʔa<sup>ʔ</sup>in + mag-* ‘become different’.

MOL *pinda + mog-/-an.*

KAG *sili + mag-/-an.*

BLA *n-umən* ‘redo’.

SAB *pinda + aN-/-an.*

MUR *kulaw (-um)* (vb intrans); *kulaw (maŋ- -on)* (vb trans).

MGY From *(maN-takalu)*.

ACE ‘exchange’.

MIN Also *ganti, tuka.*

IND Also *ganti, robah.*

SUN Also *ŋa-robah.*

BAL (vb intrans) with incorporated noun eg *mə-salin baju* ‘change shirt’  
Also *N-ganti; mə-silur* ‘exchange, change’; *mə-seh* ‘change clothes,  
change (one’s ways) for better’.

GOR (*boli<sup>ʔ</sup>o + moN-*); also *mo-lomelo.*

SIK Also *balə-ŋ, mbalə-ŋ.*

BUR *pili-k* ‘replace (thatch roofing)’; *nili-k* ‘change (clothes)’.

DOB ‘undo something before redoing it’.

IRA (of tradition).

MAM Also *buiŋi.*

MAB *-kel* ‘change (of clothes)’; *-we* ‘become’.

YAB	(vb intrans); also <i>-yàm ... -ok<sup>wi</sup></i> ‘do ... otherwise’, <i>-po ... ok<sup>wi</sup></i> ‘arrange ... otherwise’, <i>-sa ... ok<sup>wi</sup></i> ‘place ... otherwise’, all (vb trans).
KAU	Also <i>phai-βal</i> ‘turn-RECIP’; also <i>siŋ</i> ‘change of appearance’.
TOL	<i>vər-kia</i> ‘change with one another (vb intrans)’, <i>vər-kiə-ne</i> (vb trans).
BUA	<i>pək<sup>wε</sup></i> ‘change something by turning it around’; <i>pamōk</i> ‘exchange something for something else’; <i>pō</i> ‘change by transformation, e.g. butterfly from caterpillar’.
TAW	‘turn over/reverse/change direction’.
MOT	‘possess (of evil spirit possessing person); substitute; change’; also <i>ha-idau-a</i> ‘cause to become’ ( <i>lao</i> ‘go’); also <i>ha-lao-a</i> .
MEK	<i>e-poni</i> ‘be transformed’; [ <i>e-tsentsi</i> ] from English.
LEW	Also <i>kewo</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-awrumun</i> ‘replace’.
KIR	Also <i>onea, onika</i> .
MSH	<i>ikir</i> also ‘distort, rearrange’; <i>ukot. kæ</i> (of wind); <i>kʌkǣl</i> causative form, from <i>kǣl</i> ‘new, fresh’.
PON	<i>wilian</i> ‘substitute’; <i>wikit, kasau</i> ‘change location’
WLE	Also <i>řweři-a</i> ‘replace’.
SAM	‘change’ (vb intrans): <i>liu</i> .
MEI	From English.
TAH	Also <i>haʔamono, mono</i> ‘replace’; <i>fəʔahuru ʔē</i> ‘transform’.
RAP	From Spanish <i>cambiar</i> .

### 13.000 ZERO, NOTHING

Dutch: *nul*

Spanish: *cero*

ATA	ʔukaš	*AKL	uwaʔ (gid)	*ACE	[nɔy]
TSO		PAI	kaya	*BAT	[nɔl]
RUK	kaɖoa	MOL	indaʔ koy	MIN	koson
PAI	nəka	*KAG	[siru]	IND	[nol]
YAM	abo	BLA	landəʔ	SUN	[ənol]
ISN	āwan	SAB	insaʔniyaʔ	JAV	
KAL	naʔid	*MUR	kōndoʔ	MAD	[nol]
*TAG	walaʔ	*MGY	ɕi misi	BAI	[nol]

*SAS	[koson]	MAB	koron sa som	KWA	-iuan
*GOR	[nōlo]	YAB		NEM	koi
DAA	[nolo]	KAU	enul	CEM	
UMA		*TOL	pətəməgit	AJI	na yeri
BUG	[nōloʔ]	BUA	[nur]	XAR	vaçie
*KON	bilo	*ADZ	maʔ-	NEN	
WOL	[nolu]	*KIL	gala aβaka	KIR	akea
MAG	[nōl]	TAW	egawai	*MSH	ɔɔ
NGA	apa-βaʔi	*MOT	talasi	*PON	sero
SIK		*MEK	kapaŋaolaai	*WLE	tōro
*RTI	lou-k	ROV	loketonja	*EFI	[saiβa]
*BUR	saa moo	MAR	tʰeʔoli	*WFI	hukai hila
*DOB	nda ye	*LAU	doloa	*RTU	[ʔō]
IRA	ñati	KWO		TON	noa
SAW	tis-o	RAG		*SAM	[selo]
NYI	b <sup>w</sup> e	*PAA	tovuol	MEL	
MAM	tago	*LEW	[not]	TAH	aore
*TAK	tia-i	POR	na-urtali <sup>m</sup> ban	*RAP	ʔina
*DAM	daku	*NTA	təka		

TAG Negative existential.

AKL Negative existential.

KAG Also *u'laʔ* 'nothing'.

MUR *kōndoʔ* (mathematical); *kusuŋ* from Peninsular Malay *koson* 'empty, nought, zero'.

MGY *misi* from *\*isi* 'content; meat, flesh'.

ACE Also *hana sa-pua* 'nothing'.

BAT Also *sada* 'not existent'.

SAS From Malay, 'empty, nothing'.

GOR Also *diyālu maʔo tuwawu* (there-is-not emphatic one) 'there is nothing'.

KON Also *anreʔ papa*.

RTI 'empty'; see 13.220.

BUR 'not one'.

DOB 'not one'.

TAK 'not exist-PRF' (see 04.820, 04.910, 04.970, 13.170, 14.340, 15.790, 16.520, 17.560).

DAM 'empty'; also *goro* 'nothing'.



TOL	<i>pətə</i> ‘no’, <i>məgit</i> ‘thing’, see Mosel (1984: 18).
ADZ	Verb root ‘no, not’.
KIL	‘not what’.
MOT	<i>ta</i> ‘one’, <i>lasi</i> ‘no, not’; also <i>asi yau-na</i> ‘nothing’, lit ‘not to have anything’ ( <i>yau</i> ‘thing’).
MEK	<i>kapaŋao laai</i> ( <i>kapa aŋaʔo laai</i> ) ‘not one thing’.
LAU	Also <i>laŋi</i> .
PAA	‘having nothing, not exist’.
LEW	From English.
NTA	‘it is not’.
MSH	Also <i>ecec</i> .
PON	<i>sōte</i> ‘nothing, none’; <i>tamaŋo</i> ‘zero (as a score)’.
WLE	‘be nothing’.
EFI	From English <i>cipher</i> , also <i>seŋa</i> .
WFI	Also <i>hukai</i> .
RTU	From English <i>o</i> .
SAM	From English <i>zero</i> .
RAP	Also <i>e kore e tahi</i> .

### 13.010 ONE

*ATA	<i>ḱutux</i>	MGY	<i>irai</i>	*WOL	<i>ʔise</i>
*TSO	<i>ɸoni</i>	ACE	<i>sa</i>	MAG	<i>čā</i>
RUK	<i>iθa</i>	BAT	<i>sada</i>	*NGA	<i>əsa</i>
PAI	<i>ita</i>	*MIN	<i>čieʔ</i>	SIK	<i>ha</i>
YAM	<i>aša</i>	IND	<i>satu</i>	RTI	<i>esa</i>
ISN	<i>isa</i>	SUN	<i>hiʃi</i>	*BUR	<i>em-sia-n</i>
KAL	<i>osa</i>	JAV	<i>siʃi</i>	DOB	<i>ye</i>
TAG	<i>isa</i>	MAD	<i>sittuŋ</i>	IRA	<i>εso</i>
*AKL	<i>isaʔah</i>	*BAL	<i>s(ə)-</i>	SAW	<i>pu-sɔ</i>
PAL	<i>isaʔ</i>	*SAS	<i>səkek</i>	NYI	<i>ari</i>
MOL	<i>isaʔ</i>	*GOR	<i>tuwawu</i>	MAM	<i>teʔe</i>
*KAG	<i>isya</i>	DAA	<i>sa-oŋu</i>	*TAK	<i>kisaek</i>
BLA	<i>satu</i>	*UMA	<i>isaʔ</i>	*DAM	<i>tekelei</i>
*SAB	<i>isa</i>	BUG	<i>seddi</i>	MAB	<i>ta</i>
*MUR	<i>dondoʔ</i>	KON	<i>seʔre</i>	*YAB	<i>teŋ</i>

KAU	tehen	RAG	yai-tuv <sup>w</sup> a	MSH	cuon
*TOL	tikai	PAA	tāi	PON	ēu
BUA	ti	LEW	tāŋa	WLE	seuw
*ADZ	biç <sup>i</sup> ta?	POR	čika	EFI	dua
*KIL	-tala	NTA	kitiah	*WFI	hila
*TAW	emosi	*KWA	riti	RTU	tā
MOT	ta	NEM	hēc	TON	taha
*MEK	aŋao	CEM	céiu	*SAM	tasi
ROV	keke	*AJI	řa	MEL	tasi
*MAR	kaisei	*XAR	řā	*TAH	hō <sup>?</sup> ē
LAU	eta	NEN	sa	*RAP	tahi
*KWO	eta	KIR	teuana		

ATA A different set of numerals are used while counting: *ḵun* ‘one’, *ruša<sup>?</sup>* ‘two’, *tū<sup>?</sup>* ‘three’, *šupat* ‘four’, *t-ima<sup>?</sup>* ‘five’, *ma-tū<sup>?</sup>* ‘six’, *pitu<sup>?</sup>* ‘seven’, *pat* ‘eight’, *ḵišu<sup>?</sup>* ‘nine’, *puy* ‘ten’.

TSO *řixi* ‘one person’.

AKL Proto-Southern Philippines *\*-da* ‘only’.

KAG Their numbers are used to name the number of items, whereas Spanish numbers are used in naming the price; for numbers larger than twenty Spanish or English numbers are more often used in counting; the younger generation generally does not know the counting system of their language after the number 19.

SAB *isa* (in counting only); *dakayu<sup>?</sup>* elsewhere, or *daN-*.

MUR (in counting); also *sā<sup>(?)</sup>*.

MIN Also *satu*.

BAL Also *a-*; *bəsik*. *sə-* only occurs when counting the series ‘one, two three ...’ *sə*, *duə*, *təlu* ..., and in certain numerals (*sə-likur* ‘21’; *sə-timan* ‘45’; *s-atuś* ‘100’; *\*s-íu* ‘1000’); *a-* is prefixed to classifiers, units of measurement e.g. *baas a-kilo* ‘one kg of rice’; *bəsik* has the basic meaning ‘unit’, i.e. it functions as a general classifier for counting inanimate objects: *a-bəsik* ‘one unit’; *dua-ŋ bəsik* ‘two units’. It also means ‘one’ in certain compound numerals e.g. *təlu-ŋ dasə bəsik* ‘31’, *pət-aŋ dasə bəsik* ‘41’.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *sopo<sup>?</sup>* in *pə-sopok* ‘unite’, *lə<sup>?</sup> sopo<sup>?</sup> jəlo* ‘one day’; also *ah-* (clitic to noun counted).

GOR Also *tuwewu*; in counting, *řo-yi<sup>n</sup>da*.

UMA	<i>ha-</i> and <i>ro-</i> ‘two’ bound forms used with classifiers (e.g. <i>ha-dua</i> ‘one-person’; <i>ro-maʔa</i> ‘two-animal’); <i>isaʔ</i> and <i>dua</i> ‘two’ are independent counting forms.
WOL	Also <i>saŋu</i> (of objects)
NGA	<i>se-</i> (bound form).
BUR	Also <i>saa</i> , <i>sia</i> .
TAK	Short variant is <i>kaek</i> ‘one, alone’ (13.330), used in various compounds: see 02.810, 12.920, 14.330.
DAM	These numbers, particularly the first three, are still in use, but all are often replaced by their equivalents in Tok Pisin.
YAB	Also <i>ta-gεŋ</i> ‘one-only’.
TOL	For numerals see Mosel (1984: 65), also <i>voana</i> .
ADZ	<i>bisiʔtaʔ</i> (Amari dialect).
KIL	Numeral suffix. Classifier-numeral is obligatory for numbers less than one hundred; for whole hundreds and whole thousands the classifier is optionally present. 13.010 to 13.106 etc.
TAW	Also <i>emoti</i> ; <i>gehouna</i> ‘one/another’.
MEK	<i>aŋao</i> ( <i>aŋaʔo</i> ); <i>alaka</i> , West Mekeo; <i>alakao-ŋa</i> and <i>alakao-ŋa-mo</i> (where <i>-ŋa</i> is a 3sg and <i>-mo</i> ‘just, only’) North Mekeo, also <i>akao-ŋa-mo</i> ‘one’, <i>aminia</i> ‘one, a’, <i>aipinamu</i> (cardinal) ‘one’.
MAR	<i>kaisei</i> (adj); <i>kaha</i> (in counting).
KWO	Also <i>teʔe</i> .
KWA	Also <i>kʷatia</i> .
AJI	Also <i>rãxã</i> .
XAR	The numeral system is both quinary and vigesimal.
WFI	Also <i>tahila</i> .
SAM	Of people: <i>toʔa-tasi</i> , <i>toʔa-lua</i> , <i>toʔa-tolu</i> etc. ( <i>toʔa</i> - classifier).
TAH	Also <i>tahi</i> .
RAP	Also <i>hoʔe</i> (in numbers greater than one).

### 13.020 TWO

ATA	ʔuša-iŋ	ISN	duwa	MOL	dua
*TSO	ruso	KAL	duwa	*KAG	darawa
RUK	ɖosa	*TAG	dalawa	BLA	lwi
PAI	ɖusa	*AKL	daywah	SAB	duwa
*YAM	aɖwa	PAL	duwa	MUR	duo

MGY	rua	IRA	riϕo	LEW	lua
ACE	duwa	SAW	pe-lu	POR	eii
BAT	dua	NYI	la <sup>?</sup> uh	NTA	keiu
MIN	duo	MAM	rua	KWA	kəru
IND	dua	TAK	raru	NEM	heluk
SUN	dua	*DAM	uru	CEM	álo
JAV	loro	MAB	ru	AJI	kāřu
MAD	đuwa <sup>?</sup>	YAB	lùage <sup>?</sup>	XAR	bāru
*BAL	duə	KAU	ponβal	*NEN	rewe
SAS	duə	*TOL	uruə	KIR	uoua
*GOR	du-luwo	BUA	lū	MSH	řuo
DAA	roŋu	ADZ	iru <sup>?</sup> run	PON	riau
*UMA	dua	KIL	-yu	WLE	řiwa-uwa
BUG	dua	TAW	luwaga	EFI	rua
KON	rua	MOT	rua	WFI	rua
*WOL	řua	*MEK	řua	RTU	rua
MAG	sua	ROV	karua	TON	ua
NGA	zua	*MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ia	SAM	lua
SIK	rua	LAU	rua	MEL	rua
RTI	dua	KWO	rua	*TAH	piti
BUR	rua	RAG	yai-rua	*RAP	rua
ĐOB	ro	PAA	elu		

TSO *roso* 'two persons'.

YAM *đowa* used when counting only.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*da-duha*.

AKL Also *dařwah*, Proto-Philippines *\*da-duha*.

KAG Also *darwa*.

BAL Post-nominally: *da-duə* e.g. *sampi da-duə* 'two cows', pre-nominally (where the nominal is always a classifier or a unit of measurement) *dua-ŋ* e.g. *dua-ŋ tali* 'two thousand'; *puan* 'two days'.

GOR *řo-luwo* (in counting).

UMA Also *ro-*.

WOL Also *-<sup>n</sup>dua*, *-rua*.

DAM See 13.010.

TOL Also *evut*, *ivut*.

MEK *autsina* North Mekeo, West Mekeo; *iařopu* NW Mekeo (Brown has *iařuo*).

MAR *p<sup>h</sup>ia* (adj); *pea* (in counting).

NEN Also *rue*.

TAH Also *rua* archaic.

RAP Also *piti* (in numbers greater than two).

### 13.030 THREE

ATA	tu-ya†	UMA	tolo	*MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ilo
TSO	туру	BUG	tillu	LAU	olu
RUK	toḷo	KON	tallu	KWO	oru
PAI	cəḷu	WOL	talū	RAG	γai-tolu
*YAM	atlo	MAG	təlu	PAA	etel
ISN	tallu	NGA	təlu	LEW	telu
KAL	uru	SIK	təlu	POR	eröi
*TAG	tatlo	RTI	telu	NTA	kəsəl
*AKL	tatluh	*BUR	telo	KWA	kahar
PAL	təlu	DOB	lay	NEM	heyen
MOL	təlu	IRA	torə	CEM	cíe
KAG	tallu	SAW	pə-tel	AJI	kariři
BLA	tlu	NYI	taloh	XAR	bašē
SAB	tullu	MAM	toli	NEN	ten
MUR	talū	TAK	utol	KIR	teniua
MGY	telu	*DAM	towo	MSH	cilu
ACE	lhəə	MAB	tel	PON	silū
BAT	tolu	YAB	teleà?	WLE	seři-uwa
MIN	tigo	KAU	miuk	EFI	tolu
IND	tiga	TOL	utul	WFI	tolu
SUN	tilu	BUA	lō	RTU	folu
JAV	təlu	ADZ	iru? da biç	TON	tolu
MAD	təllu?	KIL	-tolu	SAM	tolu
*BAL	təlu	TAW	tonuga	MEL	toru
SAS	təlu	MOT	toi	TAH	toru
*GOR	to-tolu	*MEK	oiso	RAP	toru
DAA	tolu-oŋu	ROV	ŋeta		

YAM Also *tilo* used when counting only.

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*ta-teluh*.

AKL Proto-Philippines *\*ta-teluh*.

BAL	Post-nominally: <i>tətəlu</i> e.g. <i>sampi tətəlu</i> ‘three cows’; pre-nominally (see 13.020) <i>təlu-ŋ</i> e.g. <i>təlu-ŋ tali</i> ‘three thousand’.
GOR	<i>ʔo-tolu</i> (in counting).
BUR	Culturally <i>telo</i> is associated with taboos, therefore if one must give s.o. three items, one <i>rua geran</i> ‘two plus’.
DAM	See 13.010.
MEK	Also <i>oio</i> * <i>oi-oi</i> , North Mekeo <i>oizo</i> , West Mekeo <i>oido</i> ; NW Mekeo <i>kokapu-ŋa</i> .
MAR	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ilo</i> (adj); <i>tilo</i> (in counting).

### 13.040 FOUR

ATA	šapāt	UMA	opoʔ	*MAR	fati
TSO	sip̄ti	BUG	ippaʔ	LAU	fai
RUK	səpatə	KON	appaʔ	KWO	fai
PAI	səpac	*WOL	apa	RAG	ɣai-vasi
YAM	apat	MAG	pāt	PAA	ehat
ISN	appāt	NGA	vutu	LEW	vari
KAL	opat	SIK	hutu	POR	evač
*TAG	āpat	RTI	ha	NTA	kuvet
*AKL	apʔat	BUR	paa	KWA	keɸa
PAL	apat	DOB	ʔawa	NEM	p <sup>h</sup> oec
MOL	opat	IRA	gegəte	CEM	pá
KAG	appat	SAW	pɛ-fət	AJI	kavutɛ
BLA	fət	NYI	hahuw	XAR	kēɛfɛ
SAB	mpat	MAM	oati	NEN	eče
MUR	apat	TAK	iwaiwo	KIR	aua
MGY	efaɸa	*DAM	aiwa-ado-do	MSH	emæn
ACE	puwət	MAB	paŋ	PON	pāieu
BAT	ɔpat	YAB	àʔle	WLE	fō-uwa
MIN	ampeʔ	*KAU	nal	EFI	βā
IND	əmpat	*TOL	ivat	WFI	βā
SUN	opat	BUA	lubəlū	RTU	hæke
JAV	papat	ADZ	iruʔ da iruʔ	TON	fā
MAD	əmpaʔ	KIL	-βasi	SAM	fā
*BAL	pat	TAW	wohepali	MEL	fā
SAS	əmpat	MOT	hani	*TAH	maha
*GOR	wopato	*MEK	pani	*RAP	hā
DAA	a <sup>m</sup> pa	ROV	made		

TAG	Proto-Philippines * <i>?a-?epat</i> .
AKL	Proto-Philippines * <i>?a-?epat</i> .
BAL	Post-nominally: <i>pa(t)pat</i> e.g. <i>sampi pa(t)pat</i> 'four cows'; pre-nominally (see 13.020) <i>pət-aŋ</i> e.g. <i>pət-aŋ tali</i> 'four thousand'.
GOR	<i>?o-pato</i> (in counting).
WOL	<i>pata-</i> (bound form).
DAM	'spouse-have-have'; see 13.010.
KAU	Also <i>mnal</i>
TOL	Also <i>varvivi</i> .
MEK	NW Mekeo <i>iaŋo-iaŋo</i> (Brown <i>iaŋuo-iaŋuo</i> ).
MAR	<i>fati</i> (adj); <i>fati</i> 'counting'.
TAH	Also <i>fā, hā</i> archaic.
RAP	Also <i>maha</i> (in numbers greater than four).

### 13.050 FIVE

ATA	<i>?ima-yaʔ</i>	JAV	<i>limo</i>	*DAM	<i>imatekelei</i>
TSO	<i>rimo</i>	MAD	<i>lima?</i>		( <i>ku-ɸesi-ya</i> )
RUK	<i>lima</i>	*BAL	<i>limə</i>	MAB	<i>lamata</i>
PAI	<i>lima</i>	SAS	<i>limə</i>	*YAB	<i>ləmeŋ-teŋ</i>
YAM	<i>lima</i>	*GOR	<i>limo</i>	KAU	<i>eip</i>
ISN	<i>limma</i>	DAA	<i>alima</i>	TOL	<i>ilimə</i>
KAL	<i>lima</i>	UMA	<i>lima</i>	BUA	<i>nəmadəβayi</i>
TAG	<i>lima</i>	BUG	<i>lima</i>	ADZ	<i>iru? da iru? da</i>
AKL	<i>limah</i>	KON	<i>lima</i>		<i>biɕ</i>
PAL	<i>lima</i>	WOL	<i>lima</i>	KIL	<i>-lima</i>
MOL	<i>lima</i>	MAG	<i>lima</i>	*TAW	<i>nima i tutu</i>
KAG	<i>lima</i>	NGA	<i>lima</i>	MOI	<i>ima</i>
BLA	<i>limi</i>	SIK	<i>lima</i>	MEK	<i>ima</i>
SAB	<i>lima</i>	RTI	<i>lima</i>	ROV	<i>lima</i>
MUR	<i>limo</i>	BUR	<i>lima</i>	*MAR	<i>glima</i>
MGY	<i>dimi</i>	DOB	<i>lima</i>	LAU	<i>lima</i>
ACE	<i>limoŋ</i>	IRA	<i>rɛɸidə</i>	KWO	<i>nima</i>
BAT	<i>lima</i>	SAW	<i>pe-lim</i>	RAG	<i>yai-lima</i>
MIN	<i>limo</i>	NYI	<i>limeh</i>	PAA	<i>elim</i>
IND	<i>lima</i>	MAM	<i>lima</i>	LEW	<i>lima</i>
SUN	<i>lima</i>	*TAK	<i>kafə-n</i>	POR	<i>erim</i>

NTA	kariləm	KIR	nimaua	TON	nima
KWA	kərirum	MSH	lələm	SAM	lima
NEM	nim	PON	limau	MEL	rima
CEM	ním	WLE	řima-uwa	*TAH	pae
AJI	kanī	EFI	lima	*RAP	rima
XAR	kērēnīrī	WFI	lima		
NEN	sedəŋ	RTU	lima		

BAL Post-nominally: *ləlimə* e.g. *sampi ləlimə* ‘five cows’; pre-nominally (see 13.020) *lima-ŋ* e.g. *lima-ŋ tali* ‘five thousand’.

GOR ?o-*limo* (in counting).

TAK ‘his thumb’ (04.342).

DAM ‘hand one (COMP-make-INF): see 13.010.

YAB ‘hand one’.

TAW *nimitutu*; *nima i tutu* ‘hand it joint’.

MAR *glima* (adj); *falima* ‘counting’.

TAH Also *rima* archaic.

RAP Also *pae* (in numbers greater than five).

### 13.060 SIX

ATA	ma-ma-tū?	ACE	nam	NGA	lima-əsa
TSO	nomi	BAT	ənom	SIK	əna
RUK	ənəmə	MIN	anam	RTI	ne
PAI	unəm	IND	ənam	BUR	nee
YAM	anəm	SUN	gənəp	DOB	dubu
ISN	annam	JAV	ənəm	IRA	idenərəpida
KAL	onom	MAD	ənnəm	SAW	pə-wonəm
TAG	ānim	*BAL	nəm	NYI	onoh
AKL	anʔum	SAS	nəm	MAM	lima-be-teʔe
PAL	ənom	*GOR	wolomo	TAK	
MOL	onom	DAA	aono	*DAM	imatekelei
KAG	annəm	UMA	ono		gegetekelei
BLA	nam	BUG	innij	MAB	lamatamita
SAB	nnom	KON	annaŋ	*YAB	ləmeŋ-teŋ
MUR	onom	*WOL	ana		ŋano ta
MGY	enina	MAG	ənəm	*KAU	ta me-sup



*TOL	ləp-tikai	RAG	ɣai-ono	NEN	sedoŋ ne sa
BUA	nəmadəβayi	PAA	lahitāi	KIR	onoua
	βin təkə ti	LEW	orai	*MSH	eileino
ADZ		POR	emočukai	PON	weneu
KIL	-lima-tala	*NTA	[sikəs]	WLE	woŋo-uwa
*TAW	nimitutu po	KWA	kərirum	EFI	ono
	emosi		k <sup>w</sup> atia	WFI	ono
MOT	tauratoi	NEM	nib <sup>w</sup> ēc	RTU	ono
*MEK	ima-ŋea	*CEM	ním b <sup>w</sup> ǒ mú	TON	ono
ROV	onomo		céiu p <sup>w</sup> ó-n	SAM	ono
*MAR	namno	AJI	kanī na mā	MEL	ono
LAU	ono		rāxā	*TAH	ono
KWO	ono	XAR	kērēnīrā mē šā	RAP	ono

BAL Post-nominally: *nənəm* e.g. *sampi nənəm* ‘six cows’; pre-nominally (see 13.020) *nəm* e.g. *nəm tali* ‘six thousand’.

GOR *?o-lomo* (in counting).

WOL *nama-* (bound form).

DAM ‘hand one finger one’.

YAB ‘hand-one its fruit one’, where *lemɛŋ-tɛŋ ŋano* ‘hand-one its fruit’ i.e. ‘the fingers of one hand’, *ta* ‘one’ refers to one extra finger.

KAU ‘one and-five’.

TOL *ləp-* (?), *tikai* ‘one’, *ləp-tikai* probably ‘one more (than five)’.

TAW Most speakers use English for six and above, e.g. [*sikisi*].

MEK ‘five-disappeared’; NEast Mekeo *ima-aipinamu* ‘five one’.

MAR *namno* (adj); *famno* ‘counting’.

NTA From English.

CEM ‘five then remains one on it’.

MSH cf. *cilu* ‘three’.

TAH Also *fene* archaic.

### 13.070 SEVEN

ATA	ma-pitu <sup>?</sup>	PAI	picu	KAL	pitu
TSO	pitu	YAM	pito	TAG	pito
RUK	pito	ISN	pittu	AKL	pituh

PAL	pitu	DOB	dubu'yam	LEW	olua
MOL	turu?	IRA	rune re <sup>h</sup> idə	POR	emoxü
KAG	pitu	SAW	pə-fit	*NTA	[sepən]
BLA	fitu	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o taloh	KWA	kərirumkəru
SAB	pitu?	MAM	lima-be-rua	NEM	nib <sup>w</sup> eluk
MUR	tulu?	TAK		CEM	ním b <sup>w</sup> ŋ mú
MGY	fitu	*DAM	imatekelei		álo p <sup>w</sup> ŋ-n
ACE	tuʃoh		gege uru	AJI	kanī na mā
BAT	pitu	MAB	lamata mi ru		kāru
MIN	tuʃu <sup>h</sup>	*YAB	lemeŋ-teŋ	XAR	kērēnīrīmē
IND	tuʃuh		ŋano luage?		bāru
SUN	tuʃuh	*KAU	ponβal mesup	NEN	sedoŋ ne
JAV	pitu	*TOL	ləv-uruə		rewe
MAD	pittu?	BUA	nəmadəβayi	KIR	itiua
*BAL	pitu		βin təkə lū	*MSH	cilcilimcuon
SAS	pitu?	ADZ		PON	isū
*GOR	pitu	KIL	-lima-yu	WLE	fisi-uwa
DAA	papitu	TAW	nimitutu po	EFI	βiru
UMA	pitu		luwaga	WFI	βiču
BUG	pitu	MOT	hitu	RTU	hifu
KON	tuʃu	*MEK	ima-ŋeaŋua	TON	fitu
WOL	pitu	ROV	zuapa	SAM	fitu
MAG	pitu	*MAR	fitu	MEL	fitu
NGA	lima-zua	LAU	fiu	TAH	hitu
SIK	pitu	KWO	fiu	RAP	hitu
RTI	hitu	RAG	γai-bitu		
BUR	pito	PAA	laulu		

BAL May be a borrowing from Javanese, cf. Old Balinese *tuʃuh*, however this occurs only once. *pitu* occurs several times in the same Old Balinese texts). Post-nominally *pəpitu* e.g. *sampi pəpitu* ‘seven cows’; pre-nominally (see 13.020) *pitu-ŋ* e.g. *pitu-ŋ tali* ‘seven thousand’.

GOR ?o-*pitu* (in counting).

DAM ‘hand one finger two’; see 13.010.

YAB See 13.060.

KAU ‘two and-five’.

TOL See 13.060, *uruə* ‘two’.

MEK *ima-ŋea autsina* North Mekeo and West Mekeo; NW Mekeo *ima iaŋopu* ‘five two’.

MAR *fitu* (adj); *fitu* (in counting).

NTA From English.

MSH ‘three-three and one’.

### 13.080 EIGHT

ATA	ma-ma-špat	WOL	walu	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> alu
TSO	voru	MAG	alo	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aru
RUK	vaŋo	NGA	rua-butu	RAG	yai-v <sup>w</sup> elu
PAI	aŋu	SIK	βalu	PAA	lautel
YAM	wawo	RTI	falu	LEW	orelu
ISN	walu	BUR	etrua	POR	emoxuröi
KAL	walu	DOB	ʔa'ro	*NTA	[ieiət]
TAG	walo	IRA	torənerə	KWA	kərirumkahar
AKL	waʔu		rəʔidə	NEM	nib <sup>w</sup> eyen
PAL	walu	SAW	pɛ-wal	CEM	ním b <sup>w</sup> ô mú
MOL	walu	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔu laʔuh		ćie p <sup>w</sup> ó-n
KAG	walu	MAM	lima-be-toli	AJI	kanī na mā
BLA	walu	TAK			kariři
SAB	walu <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	imatekelei	XAR	kērēnīrīmē
MUR	balu <sup>?</sup>		gege towo		bašē
MGY	valu	MAB	lamatami tel	NEN	sedoŋ ne ten
ACE	lapan	*YAB	lɛmɛŋ-teŋ	KIR	waniuā
*BAT	ualu		ŋano telea <sup>?</sup>	MSH	ruwalitək
MIN	salapan	*KAU	miuk mesup	PON	walū
*IND	dəlapān	*TOL	ləv-utul	WLE	waři-uwa
SUN	dalapan	BUA	nəmādəβayi	EFI	walu
JAV	wolu		βin təkā lō	WFI	walu
MAD	ballu <sup>?</sup>	ADZ		RTU	volu
*BAL	kutus	KIL	-lima-tolu	TON	valu
SAS	balu <sup>?</sup>	TAW	nimitutu po	SAM	valu
*GOR	walu		tonuga	MEL	varu
DAA	valu	MOT	taurahani	*TAH	vaʔu
UMA	βalu	*MEK	ima-ŋea oiso	RAP	vaʔu
BUG	aruwa	ROV	vesu		
KON	karua	*MAR	ŋana		

BAT	From Proto-Batak <i>*waluh</i> .
IND	Etymologically; ‘two taken from (ten)’; see note, 13.090.
BAL	Also <i>ulu-</i> in some compounds. Post-nominally: <i>a-kutus</i> e.g. <i>sampi a-kutus</i> ‘seven cows’; pre-nominally (see 13.020) <i>kutus</i> e.g. <i>kutus tali</i> ‘eight thousand’, <i>təlu-ŋ dasə kutus</i> ‘thirty-eight’, <i>nəm dasə kutus</i> ‘sixty-eight’, but <i>sasih kə-ulu</i> ‘eighth month’; <i>ulu-likur</i> ‘twenty-eight’; <i>ulu-ŋ dasə</i> ‘eighty’; <i>ulu-ŋ dasə kutus</i> ‘eighty-eight’.
GOR	? <i>o walu</i> (in counting).
DAM	‘hand one finger three’; see 13.010.
YAB	See 13.060.
KAU	‘three and-five’.
TOL	See 13.060, <i>utul</i> ‘three’.
MEK	NW Mekeo <i>imakokapu-ŋa</i> ‘five-three’.
MAR	<i>ŋana</i> (adj); <i>hana</i> (in counting).
NTA	From Bislama.
TAH	Also <i>varu</i> arch.

### 13.090 NINE

ATA	ma-ma-kišu?	MIN	sambilan	DOB	yera
TSO	sio	*IND	səmbilan	IRA	gegetənerə
RUK	baŋatə	*SUN	salapan		rəʔidə
PAI	siva	JAV	səŋə	SAW	pə-popət
YAM	syam	MAD	saŋa?	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> o ari
ISN	siyām	*BAL	siə	MAM	lima-be-oati
KAL	siyam	SAS	siwa?	TAK	
*TAG	siyam	*GOR	tiyo	*DAM	imatekelei
*AKL	siyam	DAA	sasio		gege aiwa-
PAL	syam	UMA	sio		ado-do
MOL	siam	BUG	asera	MAB	lamata mi paŋ
KAG	isyam	KON	salapaŋ	*YAB	ləmeŋ-təŋ
BLA	syəm	WOL	sio		ŋano à <sup>?</sup> le
SAB	siyam	MAG	čioċ	*KAU	nal mesup
MUR	siam	NGA	tarəsa	*TOL	ləv-uvat
MGY	sivi	SIK	hiβa	BUA	nəmadəβayi
ACE	si-kurtuəŋ	RTI	sio		βintəka
*BAT	sia	*BUR	ečia		lubəlū

ADZ		LEW	ovari	KIR	ruaiua
KIL	-lima-βasi	POR	emoxüpač	*MSH	ruwatimcuon
TAW	nimitutu po wohepali	*NTA	[naiəŋ]	PON	tuwau
MOT	taurahanita	KWA	kərirum keɸa	WLE	tiwa-uwa
*MEK	ima-ŋeapani	NEM	nibovac	EFI	ðiwa
ROV	sia	CEM	ním b <sup>w</sup> ó mú	WFI	ðiwa
*MAR	ŋeva		pǎ p <sup>w</sup> ó-n	RTU	siva
LAU	sik <sup>wa</sup>	AJI	kanī na mā	TON	hiva
*KWO	mule		kavue	SAM	iva
RAG	ɣai-sivə	XAR	kērēñǎmē	MEL	siva
PAA	lauhat		kērēfiε	TAH	iva
		NEN	sedoŋ ne eč	RAP	iva

TAG Proto-Philippines \**siyam*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**siyam*.

BAT From Proto-Batak \**siwah*.

IND Etymologically ‘one taken from (ten)’; *məŋ-ambil* ‘take s.th.’.

SUN Etymologically ‘one taken from (ten)’; see *ŋ-alap* ‘take something (for oneself)’.

BAL Also [*saŋə*] from Old Javanese? *saŋə* only occurs in certain compounds. Post-nominally: *a-siə* e.g. *sampi a-siə* ‘seven cows’; pre-nominally (see 13.020) *siə* e.g. *siə tali* ‘eight thousand’, *təlu-ŋ dase siə* ‘thirty-nine’, *nəm dasə siə* ‘sixty-nine’, but *sasih kə-saŋə* ‘ninth month’; *saŋa-likur* ‘twenty-nine’; *saŋa-ŋ dasə* ‘ninety’ (south Bali *siə dasa*). Note that *saŋə* as free form means ‘nine hundred’.

GOR ?*o-tiyo* (in counting).

BUR Also *ekčia*.

DAM ‘hand-one finger spouse-have-have’; see 13.010.

YAB See 13.060.

KAU ‘four and-five’.

TOL See 13.060, *uvat* variant of *ivat* ‘four’ (vowel assimilation).

MEK NW Mekeo *ima iaŋo-iauo*, (*ima iaŋuo-iauo*).

MAR *ŋeva* (adj); *heva* (in counting).

KWO Also *sik<sup>wa</sup>*.

NTA From English.

MSH ‘eight-and-one’; the root for ‘eight’ is etymologically ‘nine’, however.

## 13.100 TEN

ATA	ma-ya†-puy	KON	sam-pulo	*MAR	nabot <sup>h</sup> o
TSO	maski	WOL	sa-pulu	LAU	taŋafulu
RUK	poŋoko	*MAG	(čə-)pulu	*KWO	ak <sup>w</sup> ala
PAI	ta-puŋuk	NGA	se-bulu	*RAG	haŋvulu
*YAM	aša-ŋarnan	SIK	pulu ha	PAA	hālualim
ISN	saŋapūlu	RTI	sana-hulu	LEW	lua-lima
*KAL	simpūlu	BUR	polo	POR	sa <sup>ŋ</sup> geav
TAG	sa-m-pu?(o?)	DOB	wur	*NTA	[ten]
*AKL	pū†u?	IRA	φaradəru	KWA	kərirum
PAL	səŋpulu?	SAW	yɔfɛ-sɔ		kərirum
MOL	som pulu?	NYI	ronoh	NEM	paidu
KAG	sampu'lu	MAM	ʔulemoa	CEM	pàʒilu
BLA	s-falo?	TAK		AJI	pārɔʔɔ
SAB	watoŋ	*DAM	ima uru	XAR	dušĕxĕ
MUR	mopod	MAB	lāmuru	NEN	rue sedoŋ
MGY	fulu	*YAB	ləmeŋ-lu	*KIR	təb <sup>w</sup> ina
ACE	si-ploh	*KAU	eip ponβal	MSH	cəŋɔul
*BAT	sappulu	TOL	vinun	*PON	eisek
MIN	sa-pulu <sup>h</sup>	BUA	nəmadəluɔ	WLE	se-ixa
IND	sə-puluh	*ADZ	baŋimarafain	EFI	tini
SUN	sa-puluh		da baŋi	*WFI	sini
JAV	sə-puluh		marafain	RTU	saŋhulu
MAD	sa-pulu	*KIL	-luwo-tala	TON	hoŋofulu
*BAL	[dasə]	TAW	nimaluwaga	SAM	sefulu
SAS	sə-pulu		hi tutu	MEL	ŋafuru
*GOR	mo-pulu	MOT	g <sup>w</sup> auta	TAH	hō <sup>?</sup> ē <sup>?</sup> ʔahuru
DAA	sa- <sup>m</sup> pulu	*MEK	ou <sup>?</sup> a-ŋa	*RAP	ʔaŋahuru
UMA	ha- <sup>m</sup> pulu?	ROV	maneyeputa		
BUG	sip-pulo				

YAM aša poko (of money).

KAL (sin-pulu).

AKL pū†u? + na-.

BAT From sa-ŋ-pulu.

BAL From Sanskrit, has replaced Old Balinese *puluh*; post-nominally: *a-dasə* e.g. *sampi a-dasə* ‘seven cows’, pre-nominally (see 13.020) *dasə* e.g. *dasə tali* ‘eight thousand’, *təlu-ŋ dasə* ‘thirty’, *pət-aŋ dasə* ‘forty’;

[*sekət*] ‘fifty’ from Old Javanese see 13.106, cf also entries for ‘eight’, ‘ninety’ and ‘twenty’.

GOR	<i>ʔo-pulu</i> (in counting).
MAG	<i>pulu</i> is used in counting etc; otherwise: <i>ča-pulu</i> , <i>čə-pulu</i> or <i>čə<sup>m</sup>pulu</i> .
DAM	‘hand two’; see 13.010.
YAB	‘hands two’.
KAU	‘five two’.
ADZ	‘hand a and hand a’.
KIL	‘ten(s) one’.
MEK	<i>oka-ŋa</i> other dialects, except for NW Mekeo <i>ima-abia abia-pu</i> ( <i>abia</i> ‘take, have, hold’, <i>pu</i> ‘finished (?)’, hence, ‘five-take-it take-it-finished’ or ‘take two fives’.
MAR	<i>nabot<sup>h</sup>o</i> (adj); <i>bot<sup>h</sup>o</i> ‘counting’.
KWO	Also <i>taŋafuru</i> .
RAG	Also <i>haŋvul</i> .
NĀA	From English.
KIR	For objects counted with <i>-ua</i> general counting classifier; <i>teŋaun</i> .
PON	Also <i>ŋoul</i> , <i>ēk</i> (See Rehg 1981 <i>Ponapean reference grammar</i> for more information).
WFI	Also <i>čini</i> .
RAP	<i>kauatu</i> (archaic); also <i>ʔahuru</i> (in numbers greater than ten).

### 13.101 ELEVEN

**Spanish:** *once*

*ATA	<i>mayaɬpuɣ čuʔ kɯn</i>	MOL	<i>som puluʔ buʔ isaʔ</i>
TSO	<i>maski vria u-çini</i>	KAG	<i>sampulu daw isya</i>
RUK	<i>maŋaləsi vaəva</i>	BLA	<i>s-faloʔ satu</i>
PAI	<i>ta-puɬuk saka ita</i>	SAB	<i>watoŋ adda</i>
YAM	<i>aša ikarwa na</i>	*MUR	<i>mopod am sā(?)</i>
ISN	<i>saŋapūlu se isa</i>	*MGY	<i>iraikaambi-ni-fulu</i>
*KAL	<i>simpūlut oša</i>	ACE	<i>si-blaih</i>
*TAG	<i>labiŋ-isa</i>	BAT	<i>sappulu sada</i>
AKL	[ <i>onsi</i> ]	MIN	<i>sa-baleh</i>
PAL	<i>səŋpuluʔ isaʔ</i>	IND	<i>sə-bəlas</i>

*SUN	sa-[wəlas]	TAW	nima luwaga hi tutu po emosi
JAV	sə-wəlas		
MAD	sa-bəllas	MOT	g <sup>w</sup> autata
*BAL	[solas]	*MEK	ouʔa-ŋa ŋea aŋao-ŋa-mo
SAS	solas	ROV	maneye-eke
*GOR	mo-pulu wawu tuwawu	MAR	nabot <sup>h</sup> okaisei
DAA	sa- <sup>m</sup> pulu sa-oŋu	LAU	ak <sup>w</sup> alaeta
UMA	ha- <sup>m</sup> puluʔ ha-(mehaʔ)	KWO	ak <sup>w</sup> ala ma teʔe ai
BUG	sip-pulo-seddi	RAG	haŋvul dom <sup>w</sup> anyai-tuv <sup>w</sup> a
KON	sam-pulo an-seʔre	*PAA	tāi dan tāi
WOL	sa-pulu sa-aŋu	LEW	lua-lima yam tāŋa pa tāŋa
MAG	ča pulu-čā	POR	esa <sup>ŋ</sup> geav <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> umu-xer čika
NGA	se-bulu (neʔe) seʔasa	*NTA	[lepən]
SIK	pulu ha βot ha	KWA	kərirum kərirum k <sup>w</sup> atia
RTI	sana hulu esa	NEM	paidu b <sup>w</sup> an hēc
*BUR	polo geran em-sia-n	*CEM	pàjilu kâ cėiu
DOB	wur na ye	AJI	pārōŋ na mā rāxā
IRA	φaradəru risi eso	XAR	dušēxē mē sā
SAW	yɔfɛ-so re pu-sɔ	NEN	rue sedoŋ ne sa
NYI	ronoh ari	KIR	teb <sup>w</sup> ima teuana
MAM	ʔulemoa-be-teʔe	MSH	cəŋɔulcuon
TAK		PON	eisek ēu
DAM		WLE	seixa me seuw
MAB	lāmuru mi ta	EFI	tini-a-dua
*YAB	ləmɛŋ-lu ŋano ta	*WFI	sini-đađa-hila
KAU	eip pɔnβal u tehen ta	RTU	səŋhul-ma-tā
*TOL	vinun mə tikai	TON	hoŋofulu mā taha
BUA	nəmadəluɣo βin taka ti	*SAM	sefulu ma le tasi
ADZ		MEL	te-ŋafuru antūimā ētasi
KIL	-luwotala-tala	TAH	hōʔē ʔahuru mā hōʔē
		*RAP	hoʔe ʔahuru ma hoʔe

ATA 'ten plus one'.

KAL (*sin-pulu-ut osa*).

TAG Also *{onse}*.

MUR (in counting) also *mopod am dondo?*

MGY *irajka* ('one' in units higher than ten) lit 'one added to ten'.

SUN From Javanese, also *sa-[bəlas]* from Malay.

BAL From Old Javanese (unexpected lenition of *-bəlas* to *\*\*wəlas > -olas*).



GOR	<i>wawu</i> ‘and’, <i>tuwawu</i> varies with <i>tuwewu</i> .
BUR	<i>geran</i> or <i>gera-n</i> ?
YAB	See 13.060 and 13.101.
TOL	‘ten and one’.
MEK	North Mekeo <i>oka-ŋa ŋua-ŋa-ai akao-ŋa-mo</i> ; West Mekeo <i>oka-ŋa alaka ŋua-ŋa-ai alaka</i> ; NW Mekeo <i>ima-abia abia-puaipinamu</i> .
PAA	‘one down one’.
NTA	From English.
CEM	‘ten and one’.
WFI	Also [ <i>čini-ka-dua</i> ], from Standard Fijian.
SAM	<i>ma</i> ‘and’, <i>le</i> ART: also <i>sefulu tasi</i> , ( <i>sefulu lua</i> , <i>sefulu tolu</i> etc.).
RAP	<i>tahi te kauatu ma tahi</i> (archaic).

### 13.102 TWELVE

ATA	<i>mayaɬpuy ču? ruša?</i>	*BAL	[ <i>roras</i> ]
TSO	<i>maski vria ruso</i>	SAS	<i>dua olas</i>
RUK	<i>maŋalə si ɖosa</i>	GOR	<i>mo-pulu wawu du-luwo</i>
PAI	<i>ta-puɭuɣ saka ɖusa</i>	DAA	<i>sa-<sup>m</sup>pulu roŋu</i>
YAM	<i>aɖwa ikazwa na</i>	UMA	<i>ha-<sup>m</sup>pulu<sup>?</sup> ro-(meha<sup>?</sup>)</i>
ISN	<i>saŋapūlu se duwa</i>	BUG	<i>sip-pulo-dua</i>
*KAL	<i>simpūlutduwa</i>	KON	<i>sam-pulo an-rua</i>
TAG	<i>labin-dalawa</i>	WOL	<i>sa-pulu ru-aŋu</i>
*AKL	[ <i>dūsi</i> ]	MAG	<i>čə-pulu sua</i>
PAL	<i>səŋpulu<sup>?</sup> dwa</i>	NGA	<i>se-bulu (ne<sup>?</sup>e) <sup>?</sup>əsa-zua</i>
MOL	<i>som pulu<sup>?</sup> bu<sup>?</sup> dua</i>	SIK	<i>pulu ha βot rua</i>
KAG	<i>sampulu daw darwa</i>	RTI	<i>sana hulu dua</i>
BLA	<i>s-falo<sup>?</sup> lwɨ</i>	BUR	<i>polo gera rua</i>
SAB	<i>watoŋ duwa</i>	DOB	<i>wur na ro</i>
MUR	<i>mopod am duo</i>	IRA	<i>ɸaradəru risi riɸo</i>
*MGY	<i>ruambinifulu</i>	SAW	<i>yɔfɛ-sərc pɛ-lu</i>
ACE	<i>duwa blaih</i>	NYI	<i>ronoh la<sup>?</sup>uh</i>
BAT	<i>sappulu dua</i>	MAM	<i><sup>?</sup>ulemoa-be-rua</i>
MIN	<i>duo baleh</i>	TAK	
IND	<i>dua bəlas</i>	DAM	
*SUN	<i>dua [wəlas]</i>	MAB	<i>lāmaru mi ru</i>
JAV	<i>rolas</i>	*YAB	<i>ləmɛŋ-lu ŋano luage<sup>?</sup></i>
MAD	<i>ɖu-bəllas</i>	KAU	<i>eip ponβal u ponβal</i>

*TOL	vinun ma uruə	NEM	paidu b <sup>w</sup> an heluk
BUA	nəmad luyə βin taka lū	CEM	pəʃilu kâ álo
ADZ		AJI	pārəʔə na mā kāʔu
KIL	-luwotala-yu	XAR	dušēxē mē bāru
TAW	nima luwaga hi tutu po luwaga	NEN	rue sedoŋ ne rewe
MOT	g <sup>w</sup> autarua	KIR	teb <sup>w</sup> ī ma uoua
MEK	ou <sup>ʔ</sup> a-ŋa ŋea ŋua	MSH	cəŋəul ʔuo
ROV	maneye-rua	PON	eisek riau
MAR	nabot <sup>h</sup> o p <sup>h</sup> ia	WLE	seixa me ʔūwa-uwa
LAU	ak <sup>w</sup> alarua	EFI	tini-a-rua
KWO	ak <sup>w</sup> ala ma rua ai	*WFI	sini-ðaða-rua
RAG	haŋvul dom <sup>w</sup> an ʔai-rua	RTU	saŋhul-ma-rua
PAA	tāi dan elu	TON	hoŋofulu mā ua
LEW	lua-limayam tāŋa pa lua	*SAM	sefulu ma le lua
POR	esa <sup>ɔ</sup> geav <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> umu-xer eü	MEL	te-ŋafuru antū mā ērua
*NTA	[tuel]	TAH	hō <sup>ʔ</sup> ē ʔahuru mā piti
KWA	kərirum kərirum kəru	*RAP	ho <sup>ʔ</sup> e ʔahuru ma piti

KAL From (*sin-pulu-ut duwa*).

AKL From Spanish *doce*.

MGY From (*roa + ambi + ni + fulu*) ‘two added to ten’.

SUN Also *dua* [bəlas]. See 13.101.

BAL From Old Javanese; see note 13.101, plus anomalous /rVr/.

YAB See 13.060 and 13.101.

TOL ‘ten and two’.

NTA From English.

WFI Also [*čini-ka-rua*], from Standard Fijian.

SAM See 13.101.

RAP *tahi te kauatu ma rua* (archaic).

### 13.103 FIFTEEN

**Spanish: quince**

ATA mayaʔpuy ču<sup>ʔ</sup> ima<sup>ʔ</sup>

TSO maski vria rimo

RUK maŋaləsi lima

PAI ta-puʔuk saka lima

YAM	alima ikazwana	MAB	lamoromata
ISN	saŋapūlu se limma	*YAB	ləmɛŋ-luŋa-lɛmɛŋ-tɛŋ
*KAL	simpūlulutlima	*KAU	eip miuk
*TAG	labin-lima	*TOL	vinun ma ilimə
AKL	[kinsi]	BUA	nəmadəluɣtəmadəβayɪ
PAL	səŋpulu <sup>?</sup> lima	ADZ	
MOL	səm pulu <sup>?</sup> bu <sup>?</sup> lima	KIL	-luwotala-lima
KAG	sampulu daw lima	TAW	nima luwaga hi tutu po ae emosi itutu
BLA	s-falo <sup>?</sup> limi	MOT	g <sup>w</sup> autaima
SAB	watoŋlima	MEK	ou <sup>?</sup> a-ŋa ŋea ima
MUR	mopod am limo	ROV	maneyɛ-lima
MGY	dimiarɲbinifulu	MAR	nabot <sup>h</sup> o glima
ACE	liməŋblaih	LAU	ak <sup>w</sup> alalima
BAT	sappululima	*KWO	ak <sup>w</sup> ala ma nima ai
MIN	limobaleh	RAG	haŋvuldəm <sup>w</sup> anɣai-lima
IND	limabəlas	PAA	tāi dan elim
*SUN	lima[wəlas]	LEW	lua-lima yam tāŋa pa lima
JAV	liməlas	POR	esa <sup>n</sup> geav <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> umu-xer erim
MAD	lima-bəllas	*NTA	[feftin]
*BAL	[limolas]	KWA	kərirum kərirum kərirum
SAS	liməolas	NEM	paidu b <sup>w</sup> an nim
GOR	mə-pulu wawu limo	CEM	pàjilu kâ ním
DAA	sa- <sup>m</sup> pulu lima	AJI	pārɔʔ na mā dexã e ā
UMA	ha- <sup>m</sup> pulu <sup>?</sup> lima	XAR	acā, dušĕxĕ mĕ kĕrĕnĕrĕ
BUG	sip-pulo-lima	NEN	tenesedoŋ
KON	sam-puloan-lima	KIR	teb <sup>w</sup> i ma nimaua
WOL	sa-pulutalu-aŋu	MSH	cəŋcuŋlələm
MAG	čə-pululima	PON	eiseklimau
NGA	se-bulu (ne <sup>?</sup> e) <sup>?</sup> əsa-lima	WLE	seik me řima-uwa
SIK	pulu ha βot lima	EFI	tini-a-lima
RTI	sana hulu lima	*WFI	sini-ðaða-lima
BUR	pologeran lima	RTU	saŋhul-ma-lima
DOB	wur na lima	TON	hoŋofulu mā nima
IRA	ɸaradəru risi reɸidə	*SAM	sefulu ma le lima
SAW	yɔfɛ-sɔ re pɛ-lim	MEL	te-ŋafuru antū mā ērima
NYI	ronoh limeh	TAH	hō <sup>?</sup> ē <sup>?</sup> ahuru mā pae
MAM	<sup>?</sup> ulemoa-be-lima	*RAP	hō <sup>?</sup> e <sup>?</sup> ahuru ma pae
TAK			
DAM			

KAL	( <i>sin-pulu-ut lima</i> ).
TAG	Also [ <i>kinse</i> ].
SUN	Also <i>lima [bəlas]</i> . See 13.101
BAL	From Old Javanese? See note 13.101.
YAB	See 13.050 and 13.101.
KAU	'five three'.
TOL	'ten and five'.
KWO	Also <i>rua-na e nima</i> .
NTA	From English.
WFI	Also <i>čini-ka-lima</i> , Standard Fijian.
SAM	See 13.101.
RAP	<i>tahi te kauatu ma rima</i> (archaic).

### 13.104 TWENTY

ATA	ma-puša-†	SUN	dua puluh	DAM	
TSO	mpusku	JAV	rə-ŋ-puluh	MAB	tomōta
RUK	ma-posa-lə	MAD	ɖu-pulu	*YAB	ŋaʔ-samuʔ
PAI	ɖusa a pułuk	*BAL	duaŋ [dasə]	*KAU	eipnal
*YAM	aɖwaŋaznan	SAS	duəpulu	*TOL	ura vinun
ISN	duwa pūlu	*GOR	dū lo pulu	BUA	məyɔdayis
*KAL	duwampūlu	DAA	ro- <sup>m</sup> pulu	*ADZ	baŋimarafain
TAG	dalawa-m	UMA	ro- <sup>m</sup> puluʔ		da baŋi
	pu(ʔoʔ)	BUG	duap-pulo		marafainfaga
*AKL	daywa-ŋ	KON	ruam-pulo		marafainda
	pū†uʔ	WOL	rua-pulu		fagamarafain
PAL	dwaŋpuluʔ	MAG	suā- <sup>m</sup> pulu	*KIL	-luwo-yu
MOL	duam puluʔ	NGA	bulu-zua	*TAW	oloto emosi i
KAG	kaluʔan	SIK	pulu rua		hilage
BLA	lwi faloʔ	RTI	dua hulu	MOT	ruahui
SAB	duwam-puʔ	*BUR	po-rua	*MEK	ouʔa-ŋa ŋua
MUR	duo ŋōpod	DOB	wuraɸi ro	ROV	hiokonaputa
MGY	rua-m-pulu	*IRA	matu teni	MAR	varadaki
ACE	dua ploħ	SAW	yəfe-lu	LAU	roak <sup>w</sup> ala
BAT	dua pulu	NYI	lunoh	KWO	rua ak <sup>w</sup> ala
MIN	duo pulu <sup>ə</sup> h	*MAM	ʔulemoa-rua	RAG	ŋavul-yai-rua
IND	dua puluh	TAK		*PAA	hanu mau

LEW	lua-limayam lua	*CEM	céiuâpulip	EFI	rua-sagaβulu
		*AJI	tawareŕa	*WFI	rua na sini
POR	<sup>m</sup> baleü		kāmɔ	RTU	ruaŋhulu
*NTA	[tuante]	XAR	xē šā kāmūrū	TON	uofulu
*KWA	kərirum	NEN	sareŋom	SAM	lua-sefulu
	kərirum	*KIR	uab <sup>w</sup> ī	MEL	ŋafuru ērua
	kərirum	*MSH	roŋoul	TAH	piti ʔahuru
	kərirum	*PON	rieisek	*RAP	piti ʔahuru
*NEM	hē kac	*WLE	ŕüwa-ixa		

YAM *aḍwa poko* (of money).

KAL (*duwa-un-pulu*).

AKL Also [*baynti*], from Spanish *veinte*.

BAL From Sanskrit; numbers from 20 to 29 are expressed by adding the units 1-10 to [-*likur*], ‘twenty’ from Old Javanese e.g. *səlikur* ‘twenty-one’, *dua-likur* ‘twenty-two’, *təlu-likur* ‘twenty-three’; exception: [*səlae*] ‘twenty-five’ from Old Javanese, see 13.106.

GOR *dū* short form of *du-luwo* ‘two’; *lo* LIG.

BUR *pol-telo* ‘thirty’, *pol-paa* ‘forty’ etc.

IRA Also ‘pregnant woman’.

MAM Also *tamoata-teʔe*.

YAB ‘man whole’, i.e. ‘hands/fingers + feet/toes’.

KAU ‘five four’.

TOL ‘two ten(s)’.

ADZ ‘hand a and hand a, foot a and foot a’.

KIL ‘ten(s) two’.

TAW ‘one man he died/finished’; *oloto emosi* ‘one man’.

MEK *oka-ŋaautsina* North Mekeo and West Mekeo; NW Mekeo *ima iaŋo au iaŋo* ‘two hands two men’.

PAA ‘whole person’.

NTA From English.

KWA *iuān u miuān u* ‘none here, none here’ (i.e., all fingers and toes counted).

NEM ‘one man’.

CEM ‘one man’.

AJI Also *ŕa kāmɔ*.

KIR	Also <i>uagaun</i> , see 'ten'.
MSH	See 'ten'.
PON	Also <i>riēk</i> , <i>riejoul</i> ; see entry for 'ten'.
WLE	See 'ten'.
WFI	Also [ <i>rua-saŋaβulu</i> ], from Standard Fijian.
RAP	<i>rua te kauatu</i> (archaic).

### 13.105 HUNDRED

English: *hundred*

ATA	kaβhu†	DAA	satu	*KIL	lakatu-tala
TSO	sre <sup>?</sup> -ϕonz-a	UMA	ha- <sup>?</sup> atu	TAW	[handele]
RUK	iday	BUG	si-ratu <sup>?</sup>		emosi
PAI	taiday	KON	si-bilaŋ-aŋ	MOT	sinahu ta
*YAM	aša poβo	WOL	sa-atu	*MEK	[tsinapu]
ISN	magatut	MAG	čə-ratus	ROV	keke yoyoto
*KAL	siŋgasūt	NGA	se-ŋasu		puta
*TAG	da <sup>?</sup> an	SIK	ŋasu ha	MAR	kaisei gobi
*AKL	gatus	RTI	natu-n esa	LAU	tetaleŋedo
PAL	soŋgatus	BUR	utu-n	KWO	taŋalaŋ
MOL	soŋ gatus	*DOB	[ratu] ye	RAG	vudolua
KAG	isya gatus	IRA	ratu eso	*PAA	hanu mau
BLA	m-lotu	SAW	witen-čə		elim
SAB	da-hatus	NYI	rinek	LEW	ponotia
*MUR	matus	MAM	tamoatadi-	POR	<sup>m</sup> balesa <sup>ɟ</sup> geav
MGY	zatu		lima	NTA	[hantrət]
ACE	si-rutoih	TAK		KWA	
BAT	sa ratus	DAM		*NEM	nimkac
MIN	sa-ratuyh	MAB	tomtolamata	CEM	ní mápulip
IND	sə-ratus	*YAB	ŋa <sup>?</sup> -samu <sup>?</sup>	*AJI	kanī kāmə
SUN	sa-ratus		ŋa-ləməŋ-teŋ	*XAR	xē kērēnīrī
JAV	satus	*KAU	eip eip nal		dēri
MAD	sa-ratus	TOL	mar	NEN	sedoŋreŋom
*BAL	s-atuś	BUA	nəyɔdayis	KIR	tebubua
SAS	satus		nəmadəβayi	MSH	cip <sup>w</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> i
*GOR	mo-hetuto	ADZ		PON	ep <sup>w</sup> iki

WLE	seϕ <sup>w</sup> üxüwa	RTU	tarau	MEL	mijikao
EFI	dua na d <sup>r</sup> au	TON	teau	TAH	hō <sup>?</sup> ē [hānere]
WFI	hila na d <sup>r</sup> au	SAM	selau	*RAP	ho <sup>?</sup> e [hanere]

YAM *aşa zanaw* (of money).

KAL From (*sin-gasut*).

TAG Also [*siyento*], from Spanish *ciento*.

AKL *gatus + sa-ŋ-*.

MUR *duo ŋātus* ‘two hundred’.

BAL *s-atus* ‘100’; [*s-atak*] ‘200’ from Old Javanese; *təluŋ atus* ‘300’, *samas* ‘400’ (etymologically ‘one-gold’); *təluŋ atak* ‘600’; *pitunŋ atus* ‘700’; *domas* ‘800’ (etymologically ‘two-gold’); *saŋə* ‘900’ from Old Javanese; also *saŋa-ŋ atus* ‘900’.

GOR Also *ŋo-hetuto*.

DOB From Malay *ratus*.

YAB ‘whole man of it five’; cf. note on 13.104.

KAU ‘five five four’.

KIL ‘hundreds one’.

MEK [*tsinapu*] (*kinapu*) from Motu.

PAA ‘five whole person’.

NEM ‘five man’.

XAR ‘extremities of five men’.

RAP *tahi te rau* (archaic).

### 13.106 THOUSAND

English: <i>thousand</i>	Malay: <i>ribu</i>
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ATA	mayatpuy kaβhuʔ	AKL	[lību]	BAT	sa ribu
		PAL	səŋribu	MIN	sa-ribu
TSO	posi- <sup>?</sup> fou	MOL	so ribu <sup>?</sup>	IND	sə-ribu
RUK	koðolo	KAG	isya libu	SUN	sa-rebu
PAI	kuzul <sup>y</sup>	BLA	m-libu	*JAV	səwu
*YAM	aşa zanaw	SAB	da-N-ibu	*MAD	[sibu]
ISN	maribu	*MUR	[sadibu]	*BAL	[siu]
*KAL	sillību	MGY	[arivu]	*SAS	siwu
TAG	[lībo]	ACE	si-ribəə	GOR	ŋo-lihu

DAA	sa- <sup>n̄</sup> jobu	KAU		KWA	
UMA	ha- <sup>n̄</sup> čobu	*TOL	vinun-nə-	NEM	
BUG	si-sibbu		mərmər	CEM	
KON	si-sabbu	BUA	[tausən]	AJI	kāřukāmo
WOL	sa-rewu	ADZ			kāmōna mā
MAG	čā səbu	*KIL	lakatu-luwo-		pārōčkāmō
NGA	se-rivu		tala	*XAR	ba
SIK	riβu ha	TAW	[tausana]	NEN	sarerue
RTI	lifu-n esa		emosi	KIR	teṅā
BUR	rara-n	MOT	dahata	*MSH	ceṅapən
DOB	[ribu] ye	MEK		PON	kit
IRA	[ribu]	ROV	keketina	WLE	saṅeṅasi
SAW	čalen-čō	MAR	kaiseit <sup>h</sup> oṅa	EFI	dua na udolu
NYI	rawa	LAU	te tōnido	WFI	hila na udolu
MAM	[tausən]-te <sup>?</sup> e	KWO	to <sup>?</sup> oni	RTU	æfe
TAK		RAG		TON	taha-afe
DAM		PAA		SAM	afe
*MAB	pius tomtō	LEW	manu	MEL	mano
	lamata	POR		TAH	hō <sup>?</sup> ē [tauatini]
*YAB	[tausən]	NTA	[taosən]	*RAP	ho <sup>?</sup> e [ta <sup>?</sup> utini]

YAM *aša rīvo* for money.

KAL (*sin-libu*).

MUR From Malay *sədibu* (*sə-* ‘one’, *dibu* ‘thousand’; *duo ṅadibu* ‘two thousand’).

JAV From \**sa-ewu*.

MAD From Javanese.

BAL From Old Javanese (see unexpected lenition of intervocalic /b/ in \*\**sa-ribu*); other units of one thousand expressed by *tali* ‘string’: *dua-ṅ tali* ‘2000’, *təlu-ṅ tali* ‘3000’ etc. (Until recently Chinese coins, *keteg*, were the only acceptable currency; they had a hole in the centre and were strung into bundles of fixed numbers for convenience, hence also *sələc* ‘twenty-five’ from Old Javanese *sə-lawe* ‘one thread’, *təluṅ bənaṅ* ‘seventy-five’, lit ‘three threads’: *sekət* ‘fifty’ from Old Javanese *sa-ikət* ‘one tie, one bundle’.)

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *iu* in multiples e.g. *balu<sup>?</sup> iu* ‘8,000’.

MAB ‘hundred ten kina notes’.

YAB From German/English.



TOL	<i>vinun</i> ‘ten’, <i>na</i> LIG, <i>mərrnar</i> (distributional plural) ‘hundreds’ see Mosel (1984: 78f), also <i>ərip</i> .
KIL	‘hundred-tens-one’.
XAR	‘multitude’.
MSH	Also [ <i>təucin</i> ].
RAP	<i>tahi te piere</i> (archaic).

## 13.107 COUNT

Dutch: <i>rekenen</i>
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ATA	ʔ-um-puʔ	UMA	bilaʔ	MAR	kaha
*TSO	s-m-ipri	*BUG	biləŋ	*LAU	etemia
RUK	wa-asipi	KON	aʔ-biləŋ	KWO	idumi-a
PAI	s-əm-upu	*WOL	gagari	RAG	
YAM	miviləŋ	MAG	[rekeŋ]	PAA	vulī
ISN	mag-bīlāŋ	NGA	gee	LEW	wulo
*KAL	bīləŋ	*SIK	[reke-ŋ]	POR	pe-i
TAG	bīləŋ	RTI	leke	NTA	-afin
AKL	huyap	*BUR	hae-k	KWA	-awsini
PAL	ituŋ-ɔn	DOB	ʔa-saw	NEM	fine
*MOL	ituŋ	IRA	neʔə	CEM	píne
*KAG	biləŋ	SAW	n-eten	AJI	vāřā
BLA	n-si	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>o</sup> m	XAR	fāřā
*SAB	ituŋ	MAM	uare	*NEN	ieie
*MUR	untob	TAK	-siti	KIR	wareka
MGY	man-isa	*DAM	i-wese-ya	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> ini
ACE	itoŋ	*MAB	-nin	PON	watek
BAT	biləŋ	*YAB	-dibleme-ŋ	*WLE	pōŋī
MIN	etoŋ	KAU	tik	EFI	wili-ka
IND	məŋ-hituŋ	TOL	luk	WFI	oka-sia
SUN	ŋ-ituŋ	BUA	teβin	RTU	hata
JAV	ñāčah(čačah)	ADZ	faris-	TON	lau
MAD	ituŋ	*KIL	-kalau	*SAM	fai-tau
*BAL	mətek(pətek)	TAW	hiyawa	MEL	tāoa
SAS	ituŋ-aŋ	*MOT	duahi-a	*TAH	taiʔo
GOR	mo-[rēkeni]	*MEK	e-kuapi(-na)	*RAP	ta-taku
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-bila	ROV	nae		

TSO	Also <i>spir-a</i> ‘enumerate numbers’; <i>t-m-a-sfīti</i> also <i>ta-sfī-t-a</i> ‘enumerate objects’.
KAL	<i>bīlaŋ + man-</i> .
MOL	<i>ituŋ + mog-/on</i> .
KAG	<i>bīlaŋ + mag-/əŋ</i> .
SAB	<i>ituŋ + aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>untob (maŋ- -on)</i> ; also <i>kida?</i> ( <i>maŋ- ?</i> ) from Malay <i>kira</i> .
BAL	( <i>N-</i> ) <i>ituŋ</i> ‘calculate’, ‘think something other, waying up the pros and cons’.
BUG	Also [ <i>rekeŋ</i> ].
WOL	Also <i>ka-gagari</i> , <i>le<sup>n</sup>tu</i> , <i>le<sup>n</sup>tu-le<sup>n</sup>tu</i> , <i>ŋetu</i> .
SIK	Also <i>gata kira-ŋ</i> , <i>gasik</i> , <i>api-ŋ gasik</i> .
BUR	Also <i>kau ukur</i> and [ <i>lidi</i> ] ‘counting stick’.
DAM	‘3sg-count-INF’; also now ‘read’.
MAB	<i>-robon</i> ‘count out’; <i>-sinin</i> , <i>-zirin</i> ‘count out and distribute’.
YAB	‘bend hand-our’, i.e. ‘count off on fingers’; also <i>-sa sa</i> , <i>-sam</i> .
KIL	‘count something’.
MOT	Also ‘read’; Porebada <i>duhai-a</i> ; also <i>hagau-a</i> ‘to count, add up’.
MEK	<i>e-kuapi</i> ‘count, recite, read’; compare Kuni <i>kua-ŋa</i> ‘make notches’. East Mekeo also has a verb <i>api-a</i> ‘count, check’ (the expected East Mekeo reflex of Kuni /k/is /ʔ/).
LAU	Also <i>etemia</i> .
NĒN	Also <i>ačeri</i> .
MSH	Also <i>watAk</i> .
WLE	Also <i>wetaxī</i> .
SAM	See <i>fai-</i> ‘do, make’, <i>tau</i> ‘price, cost’.
TAH	Also [ <i>nūmera</i> ] from Latin.
RAP	<i>ta-taku</i> ‘count’; <i>tapa</i> ‘count, consider, determine’.

### 13.140 EVERY, ALL

ATA	<i>kahaβāy</i>	PAI	<i>ma-pul<sup>y</sup>ad</i>	KAL	<i>āmin</i>
TSO	<i>a-çixi</i>	YAM	<i>mamimin</i>	TAG	<i>lahat</i>
*RUK	<i>makanaəɭə</i>	ISN	<i>ŋāmin</i>	AKL	<i>tanan</i>

*PAL	ginsan	*RTI	esa-esa-k	*RAG	ɲoto
MOL	gotanan	*BUR	hansiak	PAA	vasī
*KAG	[kada]	*DOB	da-ʔa'may	LEW	pinuia
BLA	kdiʔi	*IRA	temebe	POR	pʷiči
*SAB	kahemon	*SAW	fa-rime	NTA	rafin
*MUR	ɲai-ɲaiʔ	*NYI	marakon	*KWA	pam
MGY	rehetra	MAM	mōaruɲa	NEM	sowen
*ACE	(ban-)[dum]	*TAK	fidia-n	CEM	tái
BAT	su'de	*DAM	adok	AJI	řau
*MIN	tioʔ-tioʔ	*MAB	(ta)bōzomen	XAR	wanĩ
IND	səmua	*YAB	gedeɲ-gedeɲ- geɲ	NEN	nodei
*SUN	uɲgal	*KAU	mosop	*KIR	bane
JAV	sabən	TOL	parikə	*MSH	aolep
*MAD	[kabbʰi]	BUA	pin	*PON	kɔros
*BAL	məkəʃaɲ	ADZ	sa <sup>n</sup> tan	*WLE	pōɲař
SAS	biləɲ	KIL	kom <sup>w</sup> aidona	EFI	keðe
*GOR	tiʔidu	*TAW	emosi po emosi	WFI	ðoko
DAA	pura-pura	*MOT	ibou-nai	RTU	ʔatakoa
*UMA	omea	MEK	aufa	TON	kotoa
*BUG	tuli	ROV	doduru	SAM	ʔuma
KON	(ia-)ɲaseʔ	*MAR	goro	*MEL	[sara]
*WOL	ðari-ðari	LAU	gera tefou	*TAH	tāʔātoʔa
*MAG	[tauɲ]	*KWO	toʔotoʔo-ni	*RAP	paurō
*NGA	gee-ɲia				
*SIK	haha				

RUK *makanaələ* 'all (people)'; *dəmədəmə* 'all (things)'.

PAL Also *kətanən*.

KAG From Spanish *cada*; *ta'nan* 'all'.

SAB *kahabaʔ* used with time words.

MUR Also *mōnoɲ* (with unit of time).

ACE Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *sado-ño* (\**sa-ado-ño*).

SUN Also *saban*, [*kabeh*] from Javanese.

MAD From Javanese.

BAL *məkəʃaɲ* 'all'; *oñə* 'all, all gone, finished'; (*sə*)*biləɲ* 'each time'; *padə* 'each' adverbial uses only; *padə ɲ-abə buku* '(they) each carry books'; *ñabran* 'each, every (for units of time)' see Old Javanese *sabran*;

*nābran dina* ‘every day’; [asiŋ] Old Javanese, used to form relative clauses, e.g. [asiŋ] *təkə* ‘each (person who) came ...’; *soaŋ-soaŋ* ‘respective’, adjectival uses: *umah-ne soaŋ-soaŋ* ‘their respective houses’.

GOR *tiʔidu, t-im-iʔidu* ‘every’; *ŋo-ʔāʔami, ŋāʔami, ŋa-aʔami-la, mo-ʔāʔami (-la)* ‘all’; also *tōnu-lo* ‘everything all’.

UMA Also *haveʔea*.

BUG Also *yamanīŋ*

WOL Also *ma-liŋu*.

MAG Also *saʔge-*, from Makassarese.

NGA Also *masa* ‘all’.

SIK Also *saβə, moga-ŋ, moga-t, leʔu, təma-ŋ, ʔahan*.

RTI Also *basa*.

BUR ‘each, every’ is expressed by reduplication: *geba-geba* ‘each person’, *msian-msian* ‘each one’, *pol-polo* ‘each one had ten’.

DOB *da-ʔaʔmay* ‘they are finished’; *kʷakʷa de da-bana da-ʔaʔmay*, lit ‘children those 3pl-go 3pl-finish’, ‘all the children have gone’; also *dam φuy* ‘they do finish’.

IRA *moeni temεbe* ‘all the children’.

SAW Also *ndimε*

NYI Also *mari*.

TAK *fidia-n* ‘every (singular)’; *fidia-di* ‘all (plural)’, as in *iŋ nao-d fidia-di* ‘they face-their all-their’, ‘all their faces’, i.e. ‘all of them’.

DAM Also *ganan* ‘all/whole’.

MAB *iwal* ‘everybody’.

YAB Also *saməb, peβeŋ* ‘all together’.

KAU Also *məyəŋ*.

TAW *emosi po emosi* ‘every/each’; *atapu-hi* ‘all’.

MOT From *bou* ‘together’? Also *iboubou-nai*.

MAR *goro* ‘all, the whole group’; *kafe* ‘all, both’; *leuleyu* ‘every, each and every’; *fat<sup>h</sup>eʔo* ‘all, every’.

KWO Also *ʔafuta-na*.

RAG ‘all’.

KWA Also *-p<sup>w</sup>ia* also ‘naked, bare, smooth’.

KIR (vb intrans), also adverbial clause *ni kabane*.

MSH Also *cap<sup>w</sup>rewat; wətəmceɛ* see *watəm* ‘very, entirely’.

PON *kərūsie* ‘every’, with suffix *-e* ‘superlative’.

WLE *pōŋař* CON; *iřexiř*.

MEL From Efate, also *weji*.

TAH Also *pāʔatoʔa, pau roa, hope roa*.

RAP *paurō* ‘every’; *taʔatoʔa* ‘all’.

### 13.150 MUCH, MANY

ATA	payux	BUG	mega	MAR	kmana
*TSO	butŋoni	KON	lohe	LAU	ʔoro
*RUK	mā-kaɭa	*WOL	ɬari	*KWO	aula
PAI	liaw	MAG	dō	*RAG	ivusi
YAM	aʒo	NGA	voso	PAA	hauhu
ISN	adu	SIK	gaβa-ŋ	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> oki
KAL	adu	RTI	baʔu-k	POR	eŋas
*TAG	ma-rāmi	BUR	edeme-n	NTA	tep <sup>w</sup> at
AKL	abuʔ	*DOB	betay	*KWA	-puk
*PAL	mədɔram	IRA	mogə	NEM	hai
*MOL	doram	SAW	fəʔle	CEM	tóme-n
KAG	tama	NYI	soloʔan	AJI	pōřō
BLA	dɪʔi	MAM	biataŋa- ʔoʔoʔo	XAR	šem <sup>w</sup> ā
*SAB	hekaʔ			NEN	ačala
MUR	masuaŋ	TAK	wei	*KIR	m <sup>w</sup> aiti
MGY	beɕaka	DAM	musei	*MSH	kup <sup>w</sup> ɔrp <sup>w</sup> ɔr
*ACE	[li]	MAB	bōzo	*PON	tōto
BAT	go'daŋ	*YAB	yauʔ(-geŋ)	*WLE	touřapa
MIN	bañaʔ	KAU	munuman	EFI	leβu
IND	bañak	*TOL	peal	WFI	wara
*SUN	loba	BUA	ŋayi	*RTU	tiʔu
JAV	akeh	ADZ	a <sup>m</sup> pi	TON	lahi
MAD	baññaʔ	*KIL	-βeka	*SAM	tele
*BAL	liu	*TAW	magamagou- na	*MEL	[tōpe]
*SAS	loeʔ			*TAH	e rare rahi
*GOR	ŋo-hu <sup>n</sup> du-wa	*MOT	bada	*RAP	rahi
DAA	na-dea	MEK	maʔo		
UMA	βoriʔ	ROV	soku		

- TSO *butɿɿni* (of human beings); *manʔi* (of non-liquid objects); *fozu* (of liquid).
- RUK *θaθaθa* ‘much, many’.
- TAG *dāmi + ma-*.
- PAL Also *məkansaŋ, məsucɔn*.
- MOL *doram + mo-*.
- SAB *hekaʔ + a-*.
- ACE Also (dialect) [lo] from Mon-Khmer.
- SUN Also *rea*.
- BAL Old Balinese *liur. səpalə* ‘a very large number’; *bək* ‘full’, colloquially, ‘much, many’.
- SAS See 13.190.
- GOR Also *ŋo-hu<sup>n</sup>du-wa-la, dā-dāta*.
- WOL Also *ko-<sup>n̄</sup>čau*.
- DOB Also *loφay*.
- YAB ‘very many (- only)’; *g<sup>w</sup>alekiŋ* ‘many’, *tae-səm* ‘many’ (lit ‘his.belly-distribution’).
- TOL ‘many (but still countable)’; *maɟoro* ‘many (a quantity which is too large to be countable)’; *ŋala* ‘big, much’ (of amorphous matter or substance), Mosel (1984: 63).
- KIL Also *bidubadu*.
- TAW *magamagou-na* ‘much’; *magomagou-hi* ‘many’.
- MOT *bada* ‘much’; *momo* ‘many’; also *diayau* ‘many’; *hoho* ‘many’; *hutuma* ‘many (people); crowd’ (see 13.190) *loyora* ‘all, many’.
- KWO *aula* ‘much’; *iki* ‘many’.
- RAG ‘many’.
- KWA Also *-asori*.
- KIR Also *bati, uanao*.
- MSH *lɿŋ; p<sup>w</sup>ɿlec* with directional suffixes.
- PON Also *nōn* ‘too much’.
- WLE Also *ppüŋü*.
- RTU Also *maʔoi*.
- SAM (of people) *toʔa-tele*, (*toʔa-* classifier).
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *e mea rahi*.
- RAP *rahi* ‘many’; *riʔa-riʔa* ‘much’.

## 13.160 MORE

ATA	payux ču? kāj	UMA	tena	MAR	keha
TSO	n?a	BUG	elomupa	LAU	ʔoro ʔasiana
RUK	aroakakala	KON	labbi	KWO	aba
PAI		WOL	laβi	*RAG	liu
YAM	azoazo	MAG	čeve	PAA	
ISN	ad?adu	NGA	ɲara voso	*LEW	yeve
KAL	pay	*SIK	to?i	POR	i <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> esame
*TAG	higit	RTI	lena-k	*NTA	kitm <sup>w</sup> ən
*AKL	ʔa'bi gid	*BUR	gera-n	KWA	m <sup>w</sup> i
PAL	lɔbi	*DOB	loɸay ɸay	NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> oye
MOL		IRA	səɸarə	CEM	
*KAG	tama	*SAW	dɛɛ	AJI	tā
BLA	ma-tnu?	NYI	sola ja	XAR	barə
*SAB	heka?	MAM	ʔoʔoʔo	NEN	ete
MUR	poyo	TAK	tidami	KIR	riki
MGY	ari kua	DAM	baban	MSH	p <sup>u</sup> aɾ
ACE	luβeh	*MAB	bōzo ɲana	PON	
BAT	tabba	*YAB	-lele?	*WLE	fai
MIN	labi <sup>h</sup>	*KAU	kara maksin	*EFI	leβuðake
IND	ləbih	*TOL	ta ik mule	*WFI	βaleβu
SUN	liwih	BUA	kəsū	RTU	te a?a
JAV	luweh (akɛh)	*ADZ	a <sup>m</sup> pi biɲan	TON	lahi aɲe
MAD	puli		i-yus	SAM	sili
*BAL	liu-nan	*KIL	tuβaila	MEL	
SAS	malik	TAW	gehου-hi	*TAH	ā
*GOR	[lebe]	*MOT	maidama	*RAP	hau
DAA	-pa	*MEK	puɲu		
		ROV	kaiga pule		

TAG Also *lālo?* (pa).

AKL Also *mas abu?*

KAG Also *subla*.

SAB *heka?* + a-.

BAL See *liu* 'many'.

GOR From Malay *ləbih?*

SIK Also *alak, kəsə, mole*.

BUR See 13.101.

DOB	‘much from’, as in <i>saʔu ʔu-[daʔa] loʔay ʔay ʔa</i> ‘I got more than you’.
SAW	Also [ <i>foloi</i> ] from Ternate.
MAB	<i>pakan</i> ‘more added’.
YAB	<i>ke-leleʔ ... su</i> ‘it-exceed ... away’ i.e. ‘is more than ...’.
KAU	‘some again’.
TOL	<i>ta</i> ‘some’, <i>ik</i> ‘little’, <i>mule</i> ‘again’.
ADZ	‘lots true REAL-be in excess’.
KIL	Also connective; also verb forms: <i>-katu-mkoluβa</i> (verb focus) ‘add more’ <i>-katu-mkuloβi</i> (object focus) ‘add’ plus object.
MOT	Also <i>herea-ia</i> ‘be more than, exceed’ ( <i>herea</i> ‘very’).
MEK	<i>puŋu</i> ‘again, more’; <i>maʔo</i> ‘much’, also ‘more’.
RAG	‘more, more than’.
LEW	Also <i>taulu</i> , and modifier <i>la</i> .
NTA	‘one again’; also <i>aprakəsin</i> ‘more than’.
WLE	‘only, almost, more’.
EFI	Also <i>tale</i> .
WFI	Also <i>tale</i> .
TAH	Also <i>faʔahou</i> , <i>faʔahou ā</i> .
RAP	Also <i>ʔata</i> (adv) ‘more’.

### 13.170 LITTLE (quantity), FEW

ATA	<i>tikay</i>	*MUR	<i>bobodok</i>	BUG	<i>čeddeʔ</i>
*TSO	<i>xoʔxia</i>	MGY	<i>ʕibeʔakaluatʔa</i>	KON	<i>si-kiddi</i>
RUK	<i>bəkalanə</i>	*ACE	[ <i>bačut</i> ]	*WOL	<i>sa-edfe</i>
PAI	<i>kədi</i>	BAT	<i>sa-ətik</i>	MAG	<i>čə-koc</i>
YAM	<i>yapəzə</i>	MIN	<i>sa-keteʔ</i>	*NGA	<i>se-kədi</i>
ISN	<i>bittiʔ</i>	IND	<i>sədikit</i>	*SIK	<i>kəsik ha</i>
KAL	<i>akit</i>	SUN	<i>sa-itik</i>	RTI	<i>fa-k</i>
*TAG	<i>untiʔ</i>	JAV	<i>sitiʔ</i>	*BUR	<i>ro-roi-n</i>
*AKL	<i>saŋ-kurut</i>	MAD	<i>sakuniʔ</i>	*DOB	[ <i>ʔuran</i> ]
*PAL	<i>kikisək</i>	*BAL	<i>bəlik</i>	IRA	<i>metətu</i>
MOL	<i>soŋkoit</i>	SAS	<i>sə-kədiʔ</i>	SAW	<i>čuče</i>
*KAG	<i>ti'səʔ</i>	GOR	<i>ŋo-ʔidi</i>	NYI	<i>sese</i>
BLA	<i>ləʔdiʔi</i>	DAA	<i>na-kura</i>	*MAM	<i>tago-ʔoʔoʔo</i>
*SAB	<i>dikiʔ</i>	UMA	<i>haŋ-kediʔ</i>	*TAK	<i>wei tia-i</i>



DAM	musei sā	LAU	laŋi si ʔoro	NEN	wakaredo
*MAB	ri	KWO	taritoʔo	*KIR	teutana
*YAB	tela-geŋ	*RAG	hen	*MSH	cet
KAU	sakun	PAA	havivi	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> ur
*TOL	pəupau	LEW	lua-laŋa	*WLE	xiti
*BUA	təka	POR	čikčikai	*EFI	lailai
ADZ	isiʔ	*NTA	noan mesən	WFI	βiða
*KIL	sitana		am	*RTU	meaʔmeʔa
TAW	wabihaga	*KWA	-ouihi	TON	siʔi
*MOT	sisi-na	NEM	hoyuk	*SAM	itiiti
*MEK	afa	CEM	mēhi-n	MEL	fāriki
ROV	visvisa	AJI	duwē	*TAH	e mea iti
*MAR	bua	XAR	çietə	*RAP	taʔe rahi

TSO *xo-ϕxia* (of human beings); *kakutia* (of non-liquid objects); *mux-ririʔi* (of liquid).

TAG *untiʔ + ka-*.

ĀKĪL ‘one pinch’.

PAL Also *mərinək*, *ibun-ibun*.

KAG *tiʔəʔ* ‘little’; *pila naŋ buʔuk* ‘few’.

SAB *dikiʔ + a-*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer; also *nit*, *mit*, [*dit*] from Mon-Khmer.

MUR ‘not much’; also *kalo masuaŋ* ‘not much, not many’.

BAL Also *a-gigis* ‘a little’ in adverbial senses e.g. *sakit a-gigis* ‘a little painful’.

WOL Also *ma<sup>n</sup>daria*, *kura*.

NGA Also *se-đoso*.

SIK Also *tetak ha*, *pira ko pira*.

BUR Also *breu-breuk*.

DOB From Malay *kuraŋ*.

MAM Also *muʔunaba*.

TAK ‘many not exist’-PERF, i.e. ‘there are not many’.

MAB *ri* ‘a little’; *tataŋa* ‘a few’.

YAB ‘a little-only’; also *luageʔ-geŋ* ‘two-only’ i.e. ‘just a few’, *ŋa-geʔ* ‘a little, a small quantity’.

TOL *ik* ‘little (of amorphous stuff)’.

BUA Also *mayentaka*.

KIL ‘some’; also *-kekita* ‘little’ (suffixed to the classifier) becomes a compound verb stem, thus: *-k<sup>w</sup>ai-kekita* ‘thing-small’, i.e. ‘become small’; *-kapo-kekita* ‘parcel-small’, i.e. ‘become a small parcel’; also *gala i-bawa* ‘not it-many’ i.e. ‘not many (of them)’; *pikekita wala* ‘small (quantity) only, only a few (or little)’; *gala bidubadu* ‘not many’.

MOT *sisi-na* ‘little (quantity), small piece’; *tai-na dia momo* ‘not many, few’; also *gadoi* ‘few’.

MEK Also *afa<sup>?</sup>ŋa-mo*. North Mekeo *afakana-mo*, West Mekeo *alaka-ŋa-mo*; and with NW Mekeo *tsilo-ŋa-mo* (*kino-ŋa-mo*), *kala-tsino-mo* ‘drop’ (e.g. ‘a little liquid’); *afa*, *apa* all four dialects; Desnoës has East Mekeo *afa-fa<sup>?</sup>a* ‘very little’.

MAR *bua* ‘few’; *kat<sup>h</sup>a* ‘a little bit, small amount of’.

RAG ‘a little’.

NTA Also *takaku*.

KWA Also *k<sup>w</sup>anep<sup>w</sup>un*.

KIR (numeral); ‘one bit’.

MSH Also *cecco, iet*.

PON Also *malaulau*.

WLE Also *seφ<sup>w</sup>isi* (numeral).

EFI Also *βiða*.

RTU *mea<sup>?</sup>me<sup>?</sup>a* ‘little’; *heua* ‘few’.

SAM See 12.840; *to<sup>?</sup>a-itiiti* (of people), *to<sup>?</sup>a-* classifier; *ausage* ‘be few in number (vb intrans)’.

TAH Also *ma<sup>?</sup>a*, *ma<sup>?</sup>a vāhi iti*.

RAP Also *vara-vara* ‘the few remaining (of a group, of many)’.

### 13.180 ENOUGH

Malay: *čukup*

Spanish: *justo*

ATA *čka<sup>?</sup>*

PAI *cə-zua*

KAL *lo<sup>?</sup>og*

TSO *a-mso*

YAM *čan na*

\*TAG *tāma<sup>?</sup>*

RUK *mā-kaļətə*

ISN *annuŋ na*

\*AKL *tāma<sup>?</sup> (†un)*

PAL	sədəŋ	SIK	dugar	RAG	
MOL	sodəŋ	RTI	dai	PAA	vinvin
KAG	[ustu]	BUR	ŋesa-k	LEW	təroki
BLA	gabləʔ	*DOB	ʔa-sak <sup>w</sup> an	POR	no <sup>ŋ</sup> g
SAB	sadaŋ	IRA	nəbərəŋgenə	NTA	nahm <sup>w</sup> en
*MUR	samaʔ	SAW	buŋ	*KWA	-am <sup>w</sup> hen
*MGY	antunina	NYI	winiyan	NEM	jak
*ACE	sep	MAM	iboadu	CEM	jàn
BAT	sæ	*TAK	da-i-sida	AJI	pāri
MIN	čukuyʔ	DAM	kisi	*XAR	ε di
IND	čukup	MAB	irao	NEN	kue <sup>ʔ</sup> il
SUN	čukup	*YAB	ke-tom	KIR	tau
JAV	čukup	*KAU	kut	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> e
*MAD	[čukup]	*TOL	ot	PON	iŋar
*BAL	gənəp	BUA	yoβək	WLE	tau
*SAS	čokop	*ADZ	i-sa <sup>ŋ</sup> ʔ	EFL	rau-ta
*GOR	[čükupu]	*KIL	i-bodi	WFI	rausi-a
DAA	na-gana	*TAW	amaka	*RTU	vəhi
UMA	honoʔ	*MOT	heyreyere	TON	fe <sup>ʔ</sup> uŋa
BUG	ginniʔ	*MEK	e-kai(-na)	SAM	lava
KON	gannaʔ	ROV	padana	MEL	tälasi
WOL	kawa	*MAR	naba	*TAH	ʔua rava <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*MAG	rəmo	LAU	bobola na	RAP	topa
*NGA	remo	*KWO	to <sup>ʔ</sup> omi-a		

TAG Also *sapat*, [*husto*].

AKL Also [*husto*].

MUR Also *gamaʔ*; (*ma*) [*sukup*].

MGY Also *ampi*, *sahaza*, *auka irai*.

ACE Also [*čukop*].

MAD From Malay or Javanese.

BAL Also *sədəŋ*, *sandaŋ*, *ñandaŋ*.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *čukup*.

GOR Also [*sa<sup>m</sup>be*], from Malay *sampai*.

MAG Also *əmo*, *həmo*.

NGA Also *kia*.

DOB ‘it has reached enough’.

- TAK 'exist-go up' (11.110, 10.210), i.e. 'there is enough', as in *ŋai anaŋ da-i-sida-ya* 'I food exist-PERF- go up-PERF', i.e. 'I have enough food'.
- YAB 'it is the same, it is enough'.
- KAU *kut* also the perfective morpheme (see 04.750 note).
- TOL *ki* (vb intrans) 'be sufficient'.
- ADZ 'REAL-be.enough'.
- KIL 'it suits'; also exclamatory particles such as: *bog<sup>wa</sup> desi* 'already stop', 'that's enough now'; *gala tuβaila* 'not more, 'no more, not again'; *desi* 'stop'.
- TAW *amaka* (exclamation); *emoemota-na* 'suitable/fitting'.
- MOT See also 12.920.
- MEK *e-kai* 'suit, be appropriate, be adequate'; other dialects have an expression *e-ake, i-ake* 'it's enough!'.
- MAR Also *faja*.
- KWO 'fitting, sufficient for'.
- KWA Also *-ap<sup>wah</sup>* 'have enough'.
- XAR 'it's enough'.
- MSH Also *kekε* (of goods, needs).
- RTU Also *tau telei*.
- TAH Also *e rava<sup>ʔi</sup>, ʔātirā, ʔātī<sup>ʔā</sup>, tīrārā*.

### 13.181 SOME

ATA	kia-tikay	BLA	dadimi	*SAS	pirə
TSO		SAB	niya <sup>ʔ</sup>	*GOR	ŋo-olo
RUK		MUR		DAA	bara sakuya
PAI		MGY	keli-keli	*UMA	ba ha <sup>ʔ</sup> kuja
YAM	kazoanna	ACE	pa-dum	BUG	čedde <sup>ʔ</sup>
ISN	atānda	BAT	deba	KON	si-kura
*KAL	sat udum	*MIN	sa-kete <sup>ʔ</sup>	*WOL	sa-gaa
*TAG	ilan	*IND	sa <sup>ɔ</sup> likit	MAG	čə-koe-n
*AKL	saŋ-kurut	SUN	sababaraha	NGA	se-veya
PAL	iba	JAV	sa <sup>ʔ</sup> -wətorə	*SIK	pira ko pira
MOL	soŋkoit	MAD	sakuni <sup>ʔ</sup>	RTI	deu be
KAG	pila bu <sup>ʔ</sup> uk	BAL		BUR	ro-roi-n

*DOB	ʔa'ye	MOT	haida	XAR	xū
IRA	eseso	*MEK	isa (ia)	NEN	kosoten
SAW	iʔgle	ROV	kaiga	*KIR	teutana
*NYI	rayah	MAR	keha	MSH	cet
MAM	alu	LAU	si dō lau	PON	ckei
TAK	ta	*KWO	ta	*WLE	seφ <sup>w</sup> isi
DAM	tuni	RAG	rituai	EFI	sō
MAB	pakan	PAA	koan	WFI	βalu
*YAB	ŋa-gedo	LEW	la-pa-sia	RTU	ʔe ʔon rereŋe
KAU	kara	POR	i <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> es	TON	ha
*TOL	tə ik	NTA	nēn	*SAM	nisi
BUA	la	*KWA	nep <sup>w</sup> un	MEL	faru
ADZ	fain	NEM	ɸari	*TAH	tetahi
KIL	mimilisi	CEM	âcunā	RAP	te-tahi
TAW	gehōu-hi	AJI	duwē		

KAL 'not all'.

TAG 'how many', see 'few' (13.170).

AKL Also 13.170.

MIN Also *ba-barapo*.

IND Also *sə-jumlah kəčil*.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *pira* 'how many/how much', from Javanese?

GOR 'several, some'

UMA 'several, a few'.

WOL Also *sa-kia*.

SIK Also *kəsik ha*.

DOB ʔa'ye used only with count nouns; *te* used with count and non-count nouns.

NYI Also *raʔon*.

YAB 'some, some more'.

ʔOL *tə* 'some' (unspecific article), *ik* 'little'.

MEK North Mekeo *iza*, West Mekeo *ida*, NW Mekeo *iya, ia*; also *afa, apa* (13.180); also *oiso (oio)*, originally 'three, few'.

KWO Also *gula ta*.

KWA Also *k<sup>w</sup>opti*.

KIR 'one bit'; *tabeua* 'a few'.

WLE *seφ<sup>w</sup>isi* 'one bit'; *sem<sup>w</sup>eü* 'a few'.

SAM *ni* 'non-specific plural article', *isi* 'other'; *sina* 'a little'.

TAH Also *te tahi tau, te tahi mau, te hō?ē mau, vētahi mau, te tahi pu?era?a;*  
*veto?ofanu* obsolete.

### 13.190 MULTITUDE, CROWD

**Sanskrit:** *ramya*

ATA	haβāy	UMA	<sup>n</sup> to-dea	ROV	kobi tinoni
TSO		*BUG	mal-lappo	*MAR	tot <sup>h</sup> oyei
RUK	mā-pa-paŋalə	KON	tabbala	LAU	?ogua baita
PAI		WOL	ka-βari-a	KWO	oguŋa
YAM	azo	MAG	lava	RAG	
ISN	adu wa tolay	NGA	rivu	PAA	talīte
*KAL	ka?aduwan	*SIK	riβu-ŋ	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> una
*TAG	kāwan	*RTI	lea	POR	nevox
AKL	panuŋ	*BUR	geba-redeme-n	NTA	nafuto
PAL	dōram	*DOB	rora	*KWA	nəmani-
MOL	mahaĵana	IRA	rarurə	NEM	pumen
KAG	pa'nən na ittau	*SAW	kyat fele	CEM	bēt
*BLA	m-ləbuŋto	NYI	lau solə?an	AJI	ba
*SAB	banos	MAM	dum	XAR	ba
MUR	masuaŋ ulun	TAK	mirareŋ	*NEN	eŋaŋom
MGY	vahuaka	DAM	tamo-kayau	*KIR	te bōtaki
ACE	[rame]		mala	*MSH	inelep
*BAT	halak na tōrəp	*MAB	wal bōzo	*PON	polo
MIN	uraŋ baña?	*YAB	taesamŋa-se?	*WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> atu
*IND	kə-rumun-an	*KAU	poβa-ilio	EFI	soŋoni
*SUN	rea([ĵalma])	TOL	kər	WFI	gili
JAV		BUA	alarmŋaŋ isaŋe	*RTU	rəfu
MAD	galumpuk	*ADZ	garama <sup>m</sup> pi	*TON	putuŋa
*BAL	[rame]		biŋan	*SAM	malu
*SAS		KIL	tobobawa	MEL	
*GOR	tawu ŋo- hu <sup>n</sup> du-wa-la	*TAW	bolu	*TAH	ti?a?a
DAA	taudea	MOT	hutuma	RAP	
		*MEK	la?a-fou		

KAL	Also <i>ka-adu-an</i> .
TAG	‘crowd, swarm’.
BLA	<i>diʔi to</i> ‘many people’.
SAB	<i>banos + a-</i> .
BAT	<i>tərɔp</i> ‘a multitude; much, many’ from Proto-Batak * <i>tərəb</i> .
IND	Also <i>oraŋ bañak</i> , <i>gərɔmbol-an</i> , <i>pər-himpun-an</i> .
SUN	From Sanskrit; lit ‘many people’.
BAL	‘crowded’.
SAS	See 13.150
GOR	<i>tawu</i> ‘person/people’, see 13.150.
BUG	Also <i>mag-goppo</i> .
SIK	Also <i>ata riβu-ŋ</i> .
RTI	Also <i>lea-a baʔuk</i> , <i>deʔu be</i> .
BUR	‘many people’; Rana <i>gɔba waro</i> .
DOB	‘gathering for some reason, normally noisy’.
SAW	‘people many’.
YAB	‘many its-bad’.
MAB	Also <i>iwal bībi</i> .
KAU	‘they take-shield’, i.e. a band of warriors.
ADZ	‘man lots true’.
TAW	<i>bolu</i> ‘group’, <i>bolu bancina</i> ‘a big crowd’; <i>lawa himaga duma</i> ‘many people, multitude’.
MEK	‘pull-together, draw together’.
MAR	Also <i>bukrei</i> .
KWA	Also <i>touei nermama</i> ‘crowd of people’.
NEN	Also <i>nod</i> .
KIR	<i>te botaki</i> cf. <i>bō</i> ‘meet’; <i>te aba</i> also ‘land, country’.
MSH	Also <i>caŋlepcu</i> .
PON	Also <i>ʔōn</i> ‘crowded’.
WLE	Also ‘bush’.
RTU	Also <i>maʔoi</i> .
TON	Also <i>fuʔu kakai</i> .
SAM	Also <i>motu</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tiria</i> archaic.

## 13.210 FULL

ATA	m-ka-ši <sup>?</sup> un	UMA	ponu <sup>?</sup>	MAR	fodu
TSO	ŋaŋɕiŋɕi	BUG	buke	LAU	fuŋu
*RUK	swaətə	KON	panno	KWO	fonu
*PAI	ma-pəl <sup>y</sup> uk	WOL	ɓuke	*RAG	masiri
YAM	mapno	MAG	pəno(ŋ)	PAA	vil
ISN	napnu	NGA	bənu	LEW	wule
*KAL	napnu	*SIK	bənu	POR	pü
TAG	puno <sup>?</sup>	RTI	henu-k	*NTA	tənər
AKL	punu <sup>?</sup>	*BUR	tau-n	*KWA	-kuar
PAL	baha	DOB	sali	NEM	punuk
MOL	ponu <sup>?</sup>	IRA	nə <sup>ɸ</sup> onə	CEM	ôba
KAG	pannu	SAW	bək-bak	AJI	rãri
BLA	fno <sup>?</sup>	*NYI	idih	XAR	xuda
*SAB	ponno <sup>?</sup>	MAM	?auri	NEN	punič
*MUR	mapanu <sup>?</sup>	*TAK	awa-n i-sa-i	*KIR	on
MGY	fenu	*DAM	i-soko-se-ya	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> ap <sup>u</sup>
ACE	pu <sup>n</sup> ɔh	*MAB	bok	PON	tir
BAT	gok	*YAB	meŋ-ge <sup>?</sup>	*WLE	ssexü
MIN	panu <sup>h</sup>	KAU	kol	EFI	sīnai
IND	pənuh	TOL	bukə	WFI	βuga
SUN	pinuh	BUA	pup	RTU	hoi
JAV	kəba <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	fu <sup>?</sup> -	TON	fonu
MAD	pussa <sup>?</sup>	KIL	-kasewa	SAM	tumu
BAL	bək	*TAW	amhiyouga	MEL	fonu
SAS	pəno <sup>?</sup>	MOT	honu	*TAH	ʔi
GOR	mo-polu	*MEK	poŋu	*RAP	ku ʔi ʔā
DAA	na-ponu	ROV	siŋi		

RUK *swaətə* 'full (as a container)'; *mā-boʔoko* 'full (after eating)'.

PAI *ma-vətu* 'full (after eating)'.

KAL *punu + na-*.

SAB *ponno<sup>?</sup> + a-*

MUR Also *māsug* 'full after eating'.

SIK Also *muok*.

BUR (of containers or time); *tase tau-n* 'full pouch'; *lea tau-n* 'all day'; *lea lale-nkema-t* 'one full day'.

NYI Also *irek*.



TAK	‘mouth-its it-climb-PERF’, as in [kap] awa-n i-sa-i ‘it has climbed to the cup’s mouth’, i.e. ‘the cup is full’ ([kap] from English).
DAM	‘3sg top-come-INF’.
MAB	Also -pen, ŋak, -zaban, -momokou.
YAB	‘it is full (of vessels)’, ge-oʔ ‘it is full (of bags)’; -lòʔ ‘be blocked’ (used of rooms).
TAW	amhiyouga (of person); hogohogo-na (of thing).
MEK	NW Mekeo muŋiu (Brown).
RAG	Also latlate ‘brimfull’.
NTA	‘it has risen’.
KWA	Also -arisi ‘full of liquid’; -etum <sup>w</sup> ‘full of liquid’.
KIR	tibutau (of food), lit ‘belly enough’.
MSH	Also ‘compact’; [p <sup>w</sup> ɔ̄] from English; kaɬak, ɬŋ also ‘abundant’; mæcircir; op <sup>w</sup> rak; mat (of food).
WLE	Also ŋütü; mat (of food).
TAH	Also api ‘full of people’.
RAP	Also piri ‘full, complete, replete’.

### 13.220 EMPTY

Malay: koson

ATA	ʔukaš	SAB	insaʔ niyaʔ isi	DAA	na-boa
TSO	a-amorā-raro		na	UMA	ka-loa-a
RUK	oŋaonao	MUR	kōndoʔ suaŋ	*BUG	lobbaŋ
PAI		MGY	fuana	*KON	koson
YAM	abo o oʔan na	*ACE	[sɔh]	*WOL	koso
ISN	āwanmayān	*BAT	[koson]	MAG	kanaŋ
*KAL	lūkaw	MIN	koson	NGA	kana
*TAG	wala-ŋlaman	IND	koson	*SIK	nəlar
*AKL	wa-t suʔud	SUN	koson	RTI	lou-k
PAL	kaya sunuʔ	JAV	koton	BUR	fuu-n
MOL	indaʔ koy sunuʔ	MAD	kusun	DOB	walay
*KAG	ula ugsak	*BAL	puyun	IRA	ñati
*BLA	landəʔ lam	*SAS	[koson]	SAW	məməwel
		GOR	[kōsoni]	NYI	aliyb <sup>w</sup> e

*MAM	ubanaba	*MAR	beso	*KIR	akeakanoana
TAK	kaon	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ou	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ar
DAM	daku	KWO	baka	PON	ṭēn
*MAB	kolkolŋana	*RAG	b <sup>w</sup> en	*WLE	pō
*YAB	sawa	PAA	vuol	EFI	lala
*KAU	mi-n eŋun	LEW	tap <sup>w</sup> a	WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> alala
TOL	pəbɔnɔ	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ø <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>	*RTU	tafa
*BUA	ayo medək	*NTA	nuβin	TON	maha
ADZ	ma <sup>?</sup> -	*KWA	-uku	*SAM	ātiŋi
KIL	-wokuβa	*NEM	lap	MEL	ŋaonao
*TAW	guma-na	CEM	tíeε-áne-n	*TAH	pau
*MOT	asi ani-na	AJI	yeri ē	RAP	tahaŋa
*MEK	maini	*XAR	pure-		
ROV	paho	NEN			

KAL *lūkaw + na-*.

TAG ‘no contents. nothing inside’.

AKL ‘nothing inside’.

KAG ‘no contents’.

BLA *landə<sup>?</sup>* ‘empty (nothing inside)’; *m-ti* ‘to empty’.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

BAT Also *lunaŋ, rumar, tukkis, ŋaŋaŋ, labbaŋ*.

BAL *puyuy* ‘empty container, hollow’; *suuy* ‘deserted, of a place’; *mə-talaŋ* ‘empty, unused, empty-handed’.

ŠAS From Malay?

BUG Also *kosoy*.

KON Also *bilo*.

WOL Also *lo<sup>n</sup>čo*.

SIK Also *blinə-t*.

MAM Also *pa<sup>?</sup>inaba*.

MAB *kolkolŋana* ‘of vessel’; *bilimŋana* ‘of place’.

YAB *ke-pa* ‘empty (of vessels)’; *a<sup>n</sup>du-tu<sup>?</sup>* ‘the house is empty’.

KAU Also *mi lal-ŋin*; *mi-n*, *mi* ‘inside’.

BUA *ñeg məris*; *mey* ‘empty, abandoned, barren’.

TAW *guma-na* (of shell, container); *kokoε-na* ‘empty/finished’.

MOT ‘having no contents’ (*ani* ‘content, substance’).

MEK	Also ‘bare, barren, deserted, naked’; <i>aŋe</i> ‘empty; void of meaning’; see <i>aŋe-mo</i> ‘for nothing, aimlessly; in vain’.
MAR	Also <i>peso</i> , <i>kekedo</i> ‘empty (liquid)’.
RAG	‘be empty of liquid’.
NTA	‘its skin’.
KWA	Also <i>-ama</i> ‘empty of liquid’.
NEM	<i>koi yane-n</i> (lit ‘no contents’) is used more often than <i>lap</i> .
XAR	Also ‘empty shell’; <i>didī</i> , <i>dīmāpure-m<sup>wā</sup></i> ‘empty house’; <i>didī</i> , <i>dīmāpure-ε</i> ‘its emptiness, it is empty’.
KIR	‘its contents do not exist’.
MSH	<i>māt</i> ‘used up, no more’; [ <i>æmce</i> ] from English.
WLE	<i>waŋi</i> also ‘hollow, deformed’.
RTU	Also <i>oŋi</i> , <i>vaŋa</i> , <i>ŋaŋao</i> .
SAM	<i>ātiŋi</i> ‘empty container’, mostly in compounds, e.g. <i>ātiŋi ʔapa</i> ‘empty tin’.
TAH	<i>ʔaita hōʔa ʔohipa i roto</i> ; <i>aore</i> ‘nothing’.

## 13.230 PART, PIECE

<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>bhāgin-</i> ‘sharing in’	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>parte</i>
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ATA	*MGY	sasa-ni	*WOL	sa-gaa
TSO	ACE		MAG	(ća)pati
RUK	BAT	[bagi]-an	NGA	se-[bagi]
PAI	MIN	[bagi]-an	SIK	maʔa doŋ
YAM	*IND	[bagi]-an	RTI	ba-baʔe-k
ISN	*SUN	[bagi]-an	*BUR	eŋa-n
*KAL	JAV	pəraŋ-an	DOB	ϕin
*TAG	*MAD	[bagi]yan	IRA	matameto
*AKL	*BAL	dum-an	SAW	wəm
PAI	SAS	[bagian]	*NYI	sese
*MOL	*GOR	tayadu	*MAM	ege
KAG	DAA	sa-gaʔa	TAK	kilake-n
BLA	*UMA	ham-puaʔ	*DAM	utin
SAB	BUG	bege-aŋ	MAB	surūnu
*MUR	KON	taha	*YAB	ŋa-makeŋ

KAU	tiŋit	*RAG	tavihe	*MSH	m <sup>u</sup> attan
*TOL	pəka-nə	PAA	hatte	*PON	pali
*BUA	βəwen	LEW	kəm-pa-sia	*WLE	ta <sup>ɸ</sup> wo
ADZ	fain	POR	<sup>m</sup> bati-xer	EFI	tiki-
*KIL	pila-tala	NTA	mesən	WFI	-siki
TAW	tupo-na	*KWA	nore-	RTU	utu
*MOT	kaha-na	NEM	bale-n	TON	koŋa
*MEK	afa	CEM	bēhi-n	*SAM	fāsi
ROV	kukuruna	*AJI	go	*MEL	[ŋasipa]
*MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ike	*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> εε	*TAH	tuha <sup>?</sup> a
*LAU	balidō	NEN	gure-	RAP	parehe
KWO	mā <sup>?</sup> e	*KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> akoro		

KAL ‘a share’.

TAG Also [parte].

AKL Also [parteh].

MOL *bahagi?* + *so-*.

MUR (of s.th. cut up); also *pāt*.

MGY *sasaka* ‘half’ + *ni* (possessive preposition).

IND Also *se-potoŋ*.

SUN Also *sa-[bagi]-an*.

MAD From *bagi-an*.

BAL *dum-an* ‘share’; *piak-an* ‘division, share’; [bagi-an]; *keñjaŋ* ‘half a total, a portion’ (Kersten 1984).

GOR Also *botu* (of small, round objects) and *pitango* ‘piece, fragment’.

UMA Also *ha-[bagi]-a*.

WOL Also *rea* (of land), *weta*.

BUR Also *somo-n*, *ture-n*.

NYI Also *bilisiu*.

MAM Also *mapala*.

DAM Also *tuni* ‘some’.

YAB ‘side/half of something’; also *ŋa-seku* ‘part of a span’; *ŋa-teku* ‘additional piece, extension’; *la<sup>h</sup>gaŋ* ‘chips, small pieces’; (*ŋa-*)*sebu* ‘slice’, *a-pɔ-pɔ?*; *ŋa-lagu?* ‘back-part’; *ŋa-bɔla* ‘top part’; *ŋa-gebi* ‘bottom part’; *ŋa-seku*, *ŋa-teku*, *ŋa-katu?* ‘stump’.

TOL -nə DEREL, see 04.110.

- BUA *βāwen* ‘the half at one end of something’; *βayi* ‘the half one side, as opposed to the other’.
- KIL ‘flat-piece-one’ (classifier); also *bubo-tala* ‘cut off-one’, ‘one piece cut off’; *ma-gubo-na bagula* ‘that-section-that garden’, ‘that garden division’; *kuwo-talakaula* crumb-one food ‘a crumb of yam’ etc.
- MOT Also *tai-na*, see 12.360 and 13.170.
- MEK *afa* ‘some, a little, a piece’; *apu* ‘piece, portion, share’.
- MAR *p<sup>h</sup>ike* ‘piece or part broken off’; *vido* ‘piece of, part of, section’; *p<sup>h</sup>ugra* ‘piece of (long object)’.
- LAU Also *ʔuŋe dō*.
- RAG ‘piece’.
- KWA *nape-* ‘section, length, area between joints or boundaries’; *nəpri-*, *nəmuti-* ‘body, piece’; *nəmuti-* ‘scrap, bit’.
- AJI Also *bo*, *bōmē*.
- XAR Also *šāšē* (of flat objects).
- KIR cf. *korō* ‘cut’; *te naibi*.
- MSH CON; also ‘member of, associate of, partner of’; *mato!* also *cemmato!* ‘part, third’; *wicen* CON; Western dialect; Eastern dialect *wiccien*; *wur*, *tipen* CON.
- PON *pali* ‘numeral classifier for sections, hands, feet’; *lep* ‘numeral classifier for oblong pieces’; *ep<sup>w</sup>iuk* ‘a fragment’.
- WLE *-tipa* ‘numeral classifier for cut pieces’, *seϕ<sup>w</sup>ünü* ‘a bit’; lit ‘one break’; *utu*.
- SAM Only used in compounds e.g. *fāsi povi* ‘piece of beef’.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *paeʔau*, *vaehaʔa*, *vāhi*; *ʔapaʔapa* ‘big pieces, quarter of beef’.

### 13.240 HALF

**English:** *half*

**Javanese:** *səparo*

ATA	čkaʔ-an	YAM	kašiši	AKL	tuŋaʔ
TSO	ā-tisk-a	ISN	gudduwa	PAL	təŋaʔ
RUK	pararamao	KAL	kagogwa	MOL	toŋaʔ
PAI	pa-pamaw	TAG	kala-hātiʔ	KAG	təŋa

BLA	tɲɔʔ	RTI	se-seli-k	RAG	udui
SAB	toŋaʔ	*BUR	kaha-n	PAA	tei
*MUR	satəŋaʔ	*DOB	ɸoŋuy	LEW	komsu-sia
MGY	a-sasa-ni	IRA	reɸidene	POR	<sup>m</sup> bati-xer
ACE	si-khan	SAW	fa-spal	NTA	mesən
BAT	sa-toŋa	NYI	ranah	KWA	nəpere-
*MIN	sa-[parɔ]	MAM	ege-rua	NEM	
*IND	sə-[paruh]	*TAK	wada-n	CEM	céi dūā-n
*SUN	sa-təŋah	DAM		*AJI	řa lē
*JAV	sə-paro	MAB	pakāna	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> erɛ x <sup>w</sup> ã-rɛ
*MAD	sa-[paru]	*YAB	ŋa-makeŋ	NEN	gularewon
*BAL	təŋə	KAU	misikin	KIR	teitera
SAS	sə-[parɔ]	TOL	pəpər	*MSH	cimattan
*GOR	ŋo-tayadē	*BUA	βayɪ	*PON	elep
	du-luwo	ADZ	mərəfain	*WLE	setaɸ <sup>w</sup>
DAA	sa- <sup>n</sup> toŋo	*KIL	kabulo-tala	EFI	βeimāmā
*UMA	ha-mikaʔ	TAW	tupo-na	WFI	βīmamā
BUG	si-tiŋŋa	*MOT	kaha	*RTU	[hafa]
KON	taŋŋa	MEK	apie	*TON	vaheua
*WOL	mo- <sup>n</sup> taŋa	ROV	kalina	*SAM	[afa]
*MAG	(ča)vaga	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ile	MEL	p <sup>w</sup> okāp <sup>w</sup> oka
NGA	se-poʔi	LAU	bali dō	TAH	[ʔāfa]
*SIK	ha papa	*KWO	tofuʔi	RAP	[ʔapa]

MUR Also *sampiduo*.

MIN Also *sa-təŋah*.

IND Also *sə-təŋah*, *sə-bəlah*.

SUN Also *[parɔ]*.

JAV Also *sə-təŋah*.

MAD *[paru]* ‘half’.

BAL Also *a-pah duə*; *sibak* ‘half of something which has been split in two’; *keŋŋaŋ* ‘half a total, a portion’ (Kersten 1984); also *[parɔ]*.

GOR *ŋo-tayadu* ‘a/one part’, a LIG (*u + a > ē*); *du-luwo* ‘two’.

UMA *ha-mikaʔ* (from *bika*, see 09.270) ‘half of something split vertically’; *ha-n-toŋoʔ* and *ha-n-taŋaʔ* are more generic.

WOL Also *sa-taŋa*, *weta*.

MAG Also *ča poka*, *ča reha*.

SIK Also *ha papa-ŋ*.

BUR	'side', also <i>eŋa-n, somo-n, ture-n</i> .
DOB	<i>φoŋuy</i> 'something that has been halved horizontally or in quantity'.
TAK	'remainder, end, half'.
YAB	'side/half of something'.
BUA	Also <i>βəwen</i> see 13.230.
KIL	'half one'; also classifier <i>pila-</i> 'symmetrical half'.
MOT	See 12.360, 12.230 <i>mai kaha-na</i> 'and a half'.
KWO	Also <i>tofiʔi</i> .
AJI	Also <i>ekarae</i> .
MSH	With fossilised unit number morphology <i>ci- -n</i> ; <i>cep<sup>w</sup>lɔk<sup>w</sup>an</i> CON, also <i>cep<sup>w</sup>əlɔk<sup>w</sup>an</i> , perhaps from <i>p<sup>w</sup>ələk</i> 'leaf'.
PON	With unit number prefix <i>e-</i> .
WLE	(of long objects), <i>seφ<sup>w</sup>ōt</i> (of pairs).
RTU	Also <i>væeaŋ rua</i> .
TON	Also <i>væcua</i> .
SAM	'half (n), be half way through (vb)'.

### 13.330 ALONE, ONLY

ATA	yaninanak	*ACE	si-drəə	*SIK	poi
TSO	φix-φixi	BAT	holan	*RTI	mesa-k
RUK	kaθanə	*MIN	surəŋ	*BUR	em-sika-n
PAI	sa-pul <sup>y</sup> u	*IND	səndiri	*DOB	na-yen-ni
*YAM	mavivow	*SUN	soraŋ-an	*IRA	nəguesə
ISN	sissa	*JAV	iŋen	SAW	kumel
*KAL	ossa <sup>ʔ</sup> an	MAD	niŋ	NYI	lebaile
*TAG	lāmaŋ	*BAL	pə-didi	MAM	rube-naba
*AKL	isasaʔanhun	SAS	mesa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TAK	kaek
PAL	yaya	*GOR	tu-tuwawu	*DAM	dēlu
MOL	diddiri	*DAA	sa- <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>ʔ</sup> a-na	*MAB	itu-tamen
KAG	naŋ	*UMA	ha-du-dua	*YAB	-geŋ
*BLA	satu	*BUG	si-ale-ale	*KAU	misa-
*SAB	dakayu <sup>ʔ</sup> - kayu <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KON	-to <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL	kakikə
*MUR	ayuk	*WOL	sa-mia-mia-na	*BUA	pərurək
MGY	tukana	MAG	hanaŋ	*ADZ	ru <sup>n</sup> ta <sup>ʔ</sup> aŋu
		NGA	me <sup>ʔ</sup> a-me <sup>ʔ</sup> a	*KIL	wala

*TAW	tunawa-na	POR	či <sup>m</sup> bon	*PON	kalap <sup>w</sup> uk
*MOT	sibo-na	NTA	pəsən am	*WLE	xařa
*MEK	ifo	*KWA	a	*EFI	ŋā
*ROV	telena	NEM	gāeno	*RTU	?atā
MAR	sopa	CEM	cəhi	WFI	tahila
LAU	teifilia	*AJI	řaři	*TON	tokotaha
*KWO	te?e	XAR	řā	SAM	na?o
*RAG	mau	NEN	so	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> asu]
PAA	keses	KIR	tī	*TAH	ana?e
*LEW	-ŋa	*MSH	make	RAP	hoko-tahi

YAM Also *yařařa*.

KAL (*osa-R<sup>2</sup>-an*).

TAG Also *laŋ*.

AKL Also *dugalīŋun; eaŋ, eāmaŋ* enclitic.

BLA *satu* ‘alone’; *alo?* ‘only’.

SAB *dakayu?-kayu?* (of things); *daŋan-daŋan* (of people).

MUR *ayuk* ‘only’, *malūr* ‘alone’.

ACE ‘alone (person)’, also *sagay* ‘only’.

MIN From *\*sa-uraŋ*; also *año*.

IND *səndiri* ‘alone’; *hařia, sařa, čuma* ‘only’.

SUN *\*sa-uraŋ-an* ‘alone, of people’; also *hiři-hiři-na*.

JAV From *\*iři-an*; *iři* ‘unit, item, piece’; also *řewe*.

BAL *pə-didi* ‘alone’, i.e. without help from others (adverbial); *pə-didi-an* ‘alone’, i.e. unaccompanied by others (adverbial); also (adverbial, adnominal) *dogen, tuah*; *lonto* North Bali ‘only’.

GOR *tu-tuwawu* ‘alone’; *bō* ‘only’; also *wa<sup>m</sup>ba?o* ‘only’.

DAA ‘one person’.

UMA Used only of a person, based on the human classifier *-dua*; ‘a thing all alone’ is *ha-me-meha?* (*-meha?* classifier for things); ‘an animal all alone’ *ha-ma-ma?a* (*-ma?a* classifier for animals).

BUG Also *alalena*

KON Also *kale-kale-nna*.

WOL Also *soŋo-soŋo*.

SIK Also *poi ha, hařua*.

RTI Also *ka?da*.



- BUR *em-sika-n* ‘by oneself, alone without accompaniment’; *em-hewa-k* ‘alone without another’s participation’; *geba sia-t* ‘only child’; *rahe-k, baa* adverbial ‘only’.
- DOB 3sg form; verb with a coreferential reflexive suffix.
- IRA *ǰa gagueso ǰa* ‘I’m going on my own’.
- TAK *kaek* ‘one, alone’ (see 13.010 and note), as in *se-n kaek* ‘self-his’ + ‘alone’, i.e. ‘he alone’; *mi* ‘only’, as in *fud iwaiwo mi* ‘banana four only’, i.e. ‘only four bananas’.
- DAM Also *tekelei* ‘one’, and *yogo tekelei* ‘the only one’.
- MAB Also *men*.
- YAB ‘only’; *tau-geŋ* ‘himself-only’; *aom tao-m-geŋ* ‘you self-your-only’ i.e. ‘just you (singular)’.
- KAU Takes an obligatory pronoun ending, e.g. *misa-ŋo* ‘I alone’.
- BUA Also *mu*.
- ADZ Also *ru<sup>h</sup>ta<sup>h</sup> aŋo* ‘oneself only’, i.e. ‘lonely’; *aŋu (aŋo)* ‘only’.
- KIL *wala* ‘only, just’; *kalam<sup>w</sup>aleta* ‘he, alone’.
- TAW Also (dialect) *tuawa-na*.
- MOT *sibo-na* ‘alone’; *mo* ‘only’.
- MEK *ifo* ‘oneself alone’, inflected for person and number; *mo* ‘only, just’, can combine with *ifo*: *ifo-ŋa-mo* ‘on his (very) own’; and, by extension, ‘on his own head be it’; see NW Mekeo *kapumo* ‘lonely, deserted’.
- ROV *telena* ‘by himself’; *koa eke* ‘all alone’.
- KWO *te<sup>h</sup>e* ‘only’; *i talana* ‘by itself’.
- RAG Also *yahe* ‘alone’.
- LEW (post-clitic).
- KWA Also *apa, aŋa*.
- AJI Also *řo*.
- MSH ‘be alone’; *wet* ‘only’.
- PON Also *kelēp<sup>w</sup>, ǰōr*, also *-ǰe* ‘only’, a nominal enclitic.
- WLE Also ‘again’, *semaři* ‘by oneself, alone’ (for animates lit ‘one (animate)’).
- EFI Also *taudua*.
- RTU Also *ʔesca*.
- TON Also *pē* ‘only’.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *noa*; *?ōtahi* ‘unique’.

### 13.340 FIRST

**Sanskrit:** *mūla-*, *prathama-*

**Spanish:** *una*

ATA	?a-?ariŋ-an	BUG	pam-{mula}-ŋ	ROV	kekenu
TSO		*KON	maka-se?re(-	*MAR	ulahu
RUK	moasaka-		na)	LAU	toŋena
	vaəva	*WOL	ʒaa-ʒaa-na	KWO	eta-na
PAI	saŋas-an	MAG	lariŋ-čai	RAG	mua
YAM	manoma	NGA	vuŋa	PAA	mulamuneni
ISN	munna	*SIK	βəru-ŋ rabək	LEW	na-sum <sup>w</sup> o
*KAL	[una]		ha	POR	xi-amo
*TAG	[ūna]	RTI	ma-ka-so-	NTA	tətaupan
AKL	ha-[ūnah]		sosa-k	*KWA	-akup <sup>w</sup> ən
PAL	[una]	*BUR	leu-k	NEM	ba-hēyen
*MOL	[una]	*DOB	?a-ϕedi	*CEM	bê-céiu-he-n
*KAG	[una]	*IRA	rətənəma	AJI	ka bāyē
*BLA	tənin	SAW	fa-i-wəbn-o	XAR	mō
*SAB	dahū		(woben)	NEN	čodan
*MUR	kasā(?)	NYI	mam <sup>w</sup> ena	KIR	moa
MGY	vua-luha-ni	MAM	muamuatu?a	*MSH	mm <sup>u</sup> Δkac
ACE	phon	TAK	lalmalan	*PON	keieu
BAT	par-ŋolo	*DAM	uyu i-rou-ya	WLE	xaseuw
*MIN	[paratamo]	*MAB	matānakana	EFI	i-matai
*IND	[pərtama]	*YAB	ŋa-mata(-ŋa)	WEI	i-matai
*SUN	ka-hiŋi	KAU	muk	*RTU	mumua
JAV	ka-pisan	*TOL	luai-nə	TON	?uluaki
*MAD	ɖa?-aɖa?	BUA	muginsen	*SAM	muamua
*BAL	[prətamə]	ADZ	mu <sup>ʔ</sup> -	MEL	moaŋe
*SAS	[awal]	*KIL	i-kug <sup>w</sup> a	*TAH	mātāmua
*GOR	?o-yi <sup>n</sup> da	TAW	tahatahaya-na	RAP	ra?e
DAA	pa-{mula}-na	*MOT	gini-guna-na		
UMA	lomo?	*MEK	uai-na		

KAL	<i>una + na-</i> .
TAG	Also <i>nanununa</i> .
AKL	From Spanish <i>una</i> ‘one’.
MOL	<i>una + ko-</i> .
KAG	Also [ <i>primiru</i> ] from Spanish <i>primero</i> .
BLA	<i>m-[unɔ]</i> ‘in the front’.
SAB	Also <i>dahau</i> .
MUR	Also <i>kodondo?</i>
MIN	Also <i>nan pali<sup>2</sup>η dulu</i> .
IND	Also <i>dulu, dulu-an</i> .
SUN	Also <i>mimiti</i> .
MAD	From ( <i>RED<sup>2</sup>-ada?</i> ), <i>ada?</i> ‘front’.
BAL	[ <i>prətamə</i> ] ‘first’; <i>malu</i> ‘first, before doing something’; <i>si malu</i> ‘positioned first of all, at the front’; <i>tumben</i> ‘first time, never before’; <i>kə-[muiaj-n</i> ‘origin’.
SAS	Arabic; also [ <i>mulə</i> ].
GOR	Also <i>bohu lo</i> (plus nominal), and (nominal plus) <i>bohu-liyo</i> .
KON	Also <i>maka-se?re-a</i> .
WOL	Also <i>ka-pepuu, uali</i> .
SIK	Also <i>βæ βəru-η, ei βa?a</i> .
BUR	‘first, in front of, before doing s.th. else’; also <i>peni, beka, tagaha-k</i> ‘first, before doing s.th. else’; <i>bal-bala-k</i> ‘first, formerly’.
DOB	‘to be first, go ahead (vb)’.
IRA	‘the first to come’.
DAM	‘nose 3sg-hold-INF; also <i>matu</i> ‘first born’.
MAB	<i>-kam matāna pa, -<sup>m</sup>buk matāna pa</i> ‘first to do something’.
YAB	‘its-eye-LOC’.
TOL	<i>luə</i> ‘be first’, (adv) ‘first’, <i>-nə</i> 3sg.
KIL	‘he firsts’.
MOT	<i>gini</i> ‘to stand’, <i>guna</i> ‘before, first’.
MEK	<i>uai-na</i> ‘ancestral, primordial’ <i>u-vai-na</i> ; <i>aia-ηa</i> in the west; <i>kau, kau-kau</i> ‘first, at first, be first’.
MAR	Also <i>ululahu</i> .
KWA	Also <i>sarakup<sup>wən</sup></i> ‘the first one’.

CEM	‘for one of him; the first of the group’.
MSH	Also ‘go first’; <i>kein kacuon</i> ( <i>kein</i> ordinal formant); <i>kkā</i> ‘use for first time’.
PON	Causative form, from numeral ‘one’
RTU	Also <i>?on tā</i> .
SAM	<i>mua?i</i> (preverbal and pronominal particle) ‘first’, <i>ulua?i</i> (preverbal and pronominal particle) ‘first’.
TAH	Also <i>matameha?i</i> archaic.

### 13.350 LAST

**Arabic:** *āhir* ‘end’

ATA		*MAD	di-buḍi	*YAB	ḡa-mu(-ḡa)
TSO		*BAL	si duri	*KAU	po-kut
RUK	bi-biḷili-ḡa	*SAS	[akhir]	*TOL	muru-nə
PAI	viḷil <sup>y</sup> -an	*GOR	?u huli	*BUA	tamusen
YAM	manoḡi	DAA	ka-opu-na	*ADZ	ba <sup>m</sup> pan
ISN	muddi	UMA	ka-?omea-na	*KIL	i-ḡa-bodanim
*KAL	ūdi	BUG	pač-čappur-iḡ	*TAW	waimuli-na
*TAG	huli	KON	ka-labbus-aḡ	*MOT	doko-na
*AKL	ulīhi		(‘labbusu)	*MEK	ou <sup>?</sup> a-ḡa
PAL	kōtimpusan	*WOL	[aahiri]	ROV	mumudi
*MOL	tapus	MAG	(ata)musi	MAR	leyulahu
KAG	uri’an	NGA	eko-repo	LAU	?isi buri
BLA	fule	*SIK	ḡutu-ḡ	KWO	?isila-i
SAB	damuli	RTI	ma-te <sup>?</sup> e-n	RAG	
*MUR	pupusan	*BUR	ba hai	PAA	kor
MGY	fara-ni	*DOB	nam bana	LEW	na-marə
ACE	[akhe]		muri	POR	xi-arax
BAT	par-pudi	IRA	nanətətərəba	NTA	tatuarisiḡ
MIN	ka-sudah-an- ñə	SAW	ta isem		aḡən
		NYI	<sup>u</sup> d <sup>r</sup> obek	*KWA	-akurira
IND	tər-[axir]	MAM	alalauritu <sup>?</sup> a	NEM	ba-koinen
*SUN	panuḡtuḡ (tuḡtuḡ)	TAK	wada-n-pasik	*CEM	bē-nāb <sup>w</sup> enē-n
		*DAM	ibu-ya	AJI	ka b <sup>w</sup> ide
*JAV	puḡkas-an	MAB	kaimerḡa-	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> i

NEN	ṅadiri	EFI	i-otioti	*MEL	[malapa]
*KIR	te toki	*WFI	i-deβudeβu	*TAH	hōpeʔa
*MSH	lɔk	RTU	fakmuri	RAP	hopeʔa
*PON	kotie	*TON	muiaki		
WLE	xōšiyaši	*SAM	mulimuli		
KAL	<i>ūdi + -um-</i> .				
TAG	<i>huli + pinaka-</i> ; also <i>ka-tapus-an</i> .				
AKL	<i>ulīhi (+ pinaka-)</i> see late 14.170.				
MOL	<i>tapus + ko an</i> .				
MUR	<i>pupusan</i> ‘last of a series’; <i>kaiʔ</i> , <i>mumul</i> ‘the last remaining’.				
SUN	Also <i>pamuṅkas (puṅkas)</i> .				
JAV	Also <i>kari</i> .				
MAD	From (RED- <i>buḍi</i> ); <i>buḍi</i> ‘behind’.				
BAL	‘positioned last of all’; <i>duri</i> ‘behind’.				
ŠAS	Also <i>paliṅ muri</i> .				
GOR	<i>?u</i> non-personal nominaliser, <i>huli</i> ‘rear’.				
WOL	Also <i>guli-guli</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>tosī</i> .				
BUR	‘follow behind’.				
DOB	‘he comes from the back’.				
DAM	‘tail-INF’.				
YAB	‘its-back-LOC’.				
KAU	Also <i>suluṅ</i> .				
TOL	<i>murū-</i> ‘back’, see 04.190, <i>-nə</i> 3sg, <i>murū-nə</i> ‘its back’.				
BUA	<i>tamusen</i> ‘follows everything else’; <i>nəyepγus</i> ‘lying at the tail’.				
ADZ	‘tail’.				
KIL	‘he-walks-last in a line’; <i>kala βigimkoluβa</i> ‘its end’, i.e. ‘the last (item)’.				
MOT	<i>doko</i> ‘end’.				
MEK	<i>ouʔa-ŋa</i> ‘ten’ (13.100), ‘last’ is the more basic meaning; <i>afi-fua(-ŋa)</i> also ‘last, past’.				
KWA	<i>sarakurira</i> ‘the last one’.				
CEM	‘for end of him’.				
KIR	Also <i>te kabane</i> causative form, from of <i>bane</i> ‘all, exhausted, finished’.				
MSH	<i>lɔk</i> noun phrase enclitic, also directional ‘away’; <i>ælikin</i> CON; also ‘behind, after, back’.				

PON *kotie* 3sg POSS; *ikm* <sup>w</sup>*ir* ‘be last in a sequence’.

WFI Also *i-osiosi*.

TON Also *faka-ʔosi*, *faka-muimui*.

SAM *muliaʔi* (preverbal and prenominal particle) ‘last’.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *tō muri* ‘the last one’.

### 13.360 SECOND

ATA		BUG	maka-dua	MAR	fapea
TSO		*KON	maka-rua-na	LAU	ruana
RUK	moasaka-ɔsa	WOL	pen-ɗua	KWO	rua-na
PAI	masan-musa-l <sup>y</sup>	MAG	ata sua-	RAG	ɣai-rua-na
YAM	mikaɗwa	NGA	ŋia-zua	PAA	elueni
ISN	mekaʔduwa	SIK	rabək rua	LEW	na-lua
*KAL	maikagwa	RTI	ka-dua	POR	xi-süri
*TAG	paŋalawa	*BUR	kah rua-n	NTA	tatuarisiŋ
*AKL	paŋaywah	*DOB	ʔayr'roy-ni	KWA	səro kəru
PAL	sunud	*IRA	naneruerebe	NEM	ba-heluen
*MOL	dua	*SAW	ta nuen lu	CEM	bê-álo-he-n
*KAG	paŋarawa	NYI		AJI	pekāru
BLA	ga-lwi	MAM	ruaia	XAR	fa-bāru
SAB	ika-duwa	TAK		NEN	rewon
MUR	kaduo	*DAM	matudō-phi-ya	KIR	kauoua
MGY	faha-rua	MAB	iwe ru pa	MSH	kaɾuo
ACE	kui duwa	*YAB	(k)e-tu luageʔ	PON	kariau
BAT	pa-dua-hən		(-ŋa)	WLE	xa-riüwa-uwa
MIN	ka-duo	*KAU	me ponβal	EFI	i-ka-rua
IND	kə-dua		aŋan	WFI	i-ka-rua
SUN	ka-dua	*TOL	və-evut	RTU	ʔon rua
JAV	ka-pindo	BUA	nətu lū	TON	hono ua
*MAD	[nomər]-ɔwaʔ	*ADZ	i-mi <sup>ɔʔ</sup> iruʔ run	*SAM	l-o-na lua
*BAL		*KIL	tai-yuwe-la	MEL	tno-rua
SAS	kə-duə	TAW	wiluwaga-na	TAH	tepiti
GOR	ʔo-luwo	*MOT	iha-rua-na	RAP	rua
DAA	ka-roŋu-na	*MEK	i-pa-ŋua		
*UMA	ka-ro-dua-na	ROV	vina-rua		

KAL	From ( <i>mai-ka-duwa</i> ).
TAG	Also <i>ikalawa</i> .
AKL	Also <i>ikaywah</i> .
MOL	<i>dua + ko-ko-</i> .
KAG	From ( <i>darawa + pag-</i> ).
MAD	From Dutch.
BAL	No NB term: Old Balinese <i>puan</i> is glossed by Goris as ‘the second’, cf NB <i>puan</i> ‘two days’; expressions like <i>ane buin bāsik</i> ‘the other one’; <i>kə-piŋ pindo</i> ‘the second time’.
UMA	<i>ka-ro-dua-na</i> ‘second person’; <i>ka-ro-meha<sup>?</sup>-na</i> ‘second thing’; <i>ka-ro-ma<sup>?</sup>a-na</i> ‘second animal’, as in footnote 13.330.
KON	Also <i>maka-rua-ya</i> .
BUR	‘second side’; <i>rua dii</i> , <i>men-dedu-n</i> ‘again, second’ (e.g. <i>ana-men-dedu-n</i> ‘second child (of many)’; <i>faha-men-tifu-n dedu-n</i> ‘next finger after the middle one – i.e. ring finger’).
DOB	<i>ʔayr’roy-ni</i> (of animate noun), <i>rro</i> (of inanimate), <i>turaw ne ro</i> ‘that’s the second knife’. The initial consonant of the stressed syllable is reduplicated to form ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers.
IRA	‘the second one’.
SAW	‘that is number two’; also [ <i>kedua</i> ] from Malay.
DAM	‘first-born follow 3sg TRANS AUX-INF’, i.e. ‘second born’, (not second in other senses).
YAB	‘it-become two(-LOC)’.
KAU	‘come two times’.
TOL	<i>və</i> -CAUS, <i>evut</i> ‘two’, lit ‘making two, a pair’.
ADZ	‘REAL-be two’, i.e. ‘be second, be number two’.
KIL	‘person second’.
MOT	<i>rua</i> ‘two’.
MEK	Also [ <i>eke</i> ] ‘junior, second in rank, precedence’, from Fuyughe.
SAM	<i>l-</i> ART, <i>-o-</i> POSS, <i>-na</i> 3sg, <i>lua</i> ‘two’.

## 13.370 PAIR

<b>English:</b> <i>pair</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>par, pareja</i>
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ATA	ɣɬuy	UMA	ha-moko	ROV	karuakalina
TSO		BUG	si-pasaŋ	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> akri
RUK	to-ɖoa-ɖosa	*KON	si-aʝoa	LAU	ro dō ofu
PAI	marə-tail <sup>y</sup>	*WOL	<sup>n</sup> dai	KWO	labi
*YAM	yaɖwa	MAG	a <sup>ɬ</sup> kəm	RAG	
ISN	[pāris]	NGA	doa	PAA	lumāli
KAL	lōban	SIK	[paris]	LEW	luo-ka
*TAG	[pāris]	RTI	tada-lapa-k	POR	lümsöan
AKL	[pāres]	BUR	rua	*NTA	ilaup <sup>w</sup> ian
PAL	tɔpɔd	*DOB	selɬaɬi	KWA	periperi
MOL		IRA		NEM	pe-yeyen
*KAG	mag <sup>?</sup> atu	*SAW	[sepasaŋ]	CEM	pî-álo
BLA	blɔ <sup>?</sup>	NYI	la <sup>?</sup> uh	AJ	vidu
SAB	da-pasaŋan	MAM	rua	XAR	çẽ
MUR	[sapasaŋ]	TAK		*NEN	teda-
MGY	ɕi-rua-rua	*DAM	uruw-om	*KIR	tetoa
ACE	pasaŋ	*MAB	kado	*MSH	[pea]
BAT	sa-pasaŋ	*YAB	luage <sup>?</sup>	*PON	pelie
MIN	sa-pasaŋ	*KAU	eyuk sii-n ta	WLE	
IND	sə-pasaŋ	*TOL	evut	EFI	βei-sā
SUN	sa-pasaŋ	BUA	luɔ	WFI	βihā
*JAV	rakit	ADZ	iru <sup>?</sup> run	RTU	soa
*MAD	sapasaŋ	*KIL	kasi-tai-yu	TON	hoa
*BAL	[pasaŋ]		wala	*SAM	to <sup>?</sup> a-lua
SAS	pasaŋ	TAW	luluwaga-na	MEL	tawi
*GOR	ŋo-pa <sup>ɬ</sup> galo	MOT	rua	*TAH	[pea]
DAA	<sup>n</sup> ja <sup>m</sup> boko	*MEK	auni	*RAP	e rua (me <sup>?</sup> e)

YAM (of things or animals), ɶaɶwa ‘two people’.

TAG Also [pāres], [parēha].

KAG From (atu + mag-); also mag-[paris].

JAV Also ɶodo.

MAD Safioedin (1977): pasaŋ, sapasaŋ, ‘one pair’.



BAL	From Malay? <i>akit</i> ‘pair of cattle’; <i>ampin</i> ‘pair of bananas’; <i>pačək</i> ‘pair of doves’; <i>kəmbər</i> ‘human twins’.
GOR	‘a pair’, also <i>ŋo-bihe</i> .
KON	Also <i>si-aḷoka</i> ‘yoked’; <i>si-kalabini</i> ‘couple’; <i>si-pasaŋ</i> .
WOL	<sup>n</sup> <i>dai</i> (of coconuts and the like); also <i>pasa</i> , <i>sa-<sup>n</sup>dai</i> .
DOB	‘pair of animals or people (male and female)’.
SAW	From Malay.
DAM	‘two-with’.
MAB	Also <i>paka-</i> .
YAB	‘two’; also <i>luage?-geŋ</i> ‘two-only’.
KAU	‘kina-shell bottom one’, i.e. ‘two matching halves of a kina-shell’.
TOL	Also <i>ivut</i> .
KIL	‘their-people-two-only’.
MEK	<i>auni</i> ‘both, both together’.
NTA	‘he with his brother’.
NEN	(of fish)
KIR	<i>te toatoa</i> ‘square, cube’; <i>te tāŋa</i> ‘married couple, group’.
MSH	<i>čəkren</i> ten pairs (copra, fish)’; Marshallese has a number of other words for different numbers of pairs.
PON	3sg POSS ‘one of a pair, counterpart’.
SAM	<i>to?a-</i> classifier, <i>lua</i> ‘two’ (only of people); also <i>pea</i> ‘pair in general’ from English <i>pair</i> .
TAH	From English.
RAP	Also <i>hoko-rua</i> ‘two of something’.

### 13.380 TWO TIMES

<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>kāla-</i> ‘time’	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>veces, vez</i>
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ATA	mana-puša-†	*KAL	mamigwa	*KAG	darwa isab
*TSO	o-pso-xi	*TAG	makālawa	BLA	lwi dule?
RUK	ŋoasi-posa-lə	AKL	daywa-ŋ	SAB	min duwa
PAI			[bīsis]	MUR	induo
YAM	ipiḍwa	PAL	kɔ-dwa	MGY	in-d <sup>r</sup> ua
ISN	mamidduwa	*MOL	dua	ACE	duwa gɔ

BAT	dua [hali]	*NYI	san laʔuh	LEW	yam lua
MIN	duo [kali]	MAM	boŋ-rua	POR	e-vxaii
IND	dua [kali]	*TAK	nal raru	NTA	mau keiu
SUN	dua [kali]	DAM	sain uru	KWA	nəpən kəru
JAV	piŋ pindo	MAB	pa ru	NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> o-heluk
MAD	ɖu-[kali]	*YAB	(k)e-tu dim	CEM	ôkalo
*BAL	paŋ [pindo]		luageʔ	AJI	pekāru
SAS	duə [kali]	*KAU	aŋanponβal	XAR	p <sup>ɔ̃</sup> ru
GOR	poʔō-luwo	*TOL	və-uruə	NEN	harewe
DAA	ro <sup>ɔ</sup> gani	BUA	bəron lū	*KIR	kauoua
UMA	ro- <sup>ɔ</sup> kani	ADZ	oboŋu <sup>m</sup> p iruʔ	MSH	ruwāl
BUG	wekka-dua		run	PON	
KON	pin-rua-ŋ	*KIL	siβa-yu	WLE	
WOL	rua- <sup>m</sup> pe aro	TAW	malaluwaga	EFI	βaka-rua
MAG	suaŋ-[kali]-	*MOT	nega rua	WFI	βa-rua
NGA	vaʔi-zua	MEK	kina ŋua	RTU	aʔrua
SIK	βaʔi rua	ROV	karua totošo	TON	tuʔo ua
RTI	lai dua	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> iafata	*SAM	faʔa-lua
BUR	lalerua	LAU	ro sikada	MEL	nīrakeērua
*DOB	may ro	KWO	ruaalata	*TAH	e piti [taime]
IRA	neφeriφo	*RAG	va-rua	RAP	
SAW	nuen lu	PAA	vālu		

TSO *o-pso-xi* ‘go twice’; *riʔ-po-pso-xi* ‘do/make twice’.

KAL *duwa + mamin-*.

TAG Also *dalawa-ŋ* [bēses].

MOL *dua + ko-*.

KAG Also *darwa* [bisis].

BAL From Javanese? *paŋ* ‘times’. Also *piŋ pindo*.

DOB Also *baʔa ro*.

NYI Also *san lusan*.

TAK ‘time two’.

YAB ‘it-become time two’.

KAU ‘time two’.

TOL *və* CAUS, *uruə* ‘two’, lit ‘making two’.

KIL ‘try/time-two’.

MOT *nega* ‘time, occasion’.

RAG ‘twice’.

KIR *uatai* see 'three times'.SAM *faʼa*-CAUS, *lua* 'two'.TAH From English; *tāpiti* 'do something twice'.**13.420 THIRD**

ATA		UMA	ka-tolu-ŋ	MAR	fat <sup>h</sup> iloi
TSO		BUG	maka-tillu	LAU	oula
RUK	moasaka-toŋo	*KON	maka-tallu-a	KWO	oru-na
PAI	masan-cəŋu-l <sup>y</sup>	WOL		RAG	ɣai-tolu-na
YAM	ikatlo	MAG	ata təlu-	PAA	etel
ISN	mekaʔlu	NGA	ŋia-təlu	LEW	na-telu
*KAL	maikatlu	SIK	rabək təlu	POR	
*TAG	ikatlo	RTI	ka-telu	NTA	tatolkəsəl
*AKL	ikatluh	BUR	telo dii	KWA	səro kahar
PAL	talū	*DOB	ʔaylʔlay-ni	NEM	ba-heyenen
*MOL	təlu	IRA		CEM	bē-cīe-hē-n
*KAG	paŋallu	*SAW	ta nuen tel	AJI	pekariři
BLA	ga-tlu	NYI		XAR	fa-bašē
SAB	ika-tullu	MAM	tolia	NEN	tenon
MUR	katalu	TAK		*KIR	kateniua
MGY	faha-telu	DAM		MSH	keinkacilu
ACE	ku l hεə	MAB	iwe tel pa	PON	kesilū
BAT	pa-tolu-hən	*YAB	ke-tu teleaʔ	WLE	xa-seři-uwa
MIN	ka-tigo		(-ŋa)	EFI	i-ka-tolu
IND	kə-tiga	*KAU	me miuk aŋan	WFI	i-ka-tolu
SUN	ka-tilu	*TOL	və-utul	RTU	ʔon folu
IAV	ka-təlu	BUA	nətu lō	TON	hono tolu
*MAD	[numər]- təlluʔ	*ADZ	i-mi <sup>ʔʔ</sup> iruʔ da biʔ	*SAM	l-o-na tolu
*BAL		*KIL	tai-tolu-la	MEL	tno-toru
SAS	kə-təlu	TAW	witonuga-na	TAH	te toru
GOR	ʔo-tolu	*MOT	iha-toi-na	RAP	toru
DAA	ka-tolu-oŋu- na	MEK	i-pa-oi-na		
		ROV	vinəŋeta		

KAL *tulu + maika-*.TAG Also *paŋatlo*.

AKL	Also <i>paṅatluh</i> .
MOL	<i>tolu + ke ke</i> .
KAG	From ( <i>tallu + paṅ-</i> ).
MAD	From Dutch.
BAL	See 13.360, <i>kapiṅ tolu</i> ‘three times’.
KON	Also <i>maka-tallu-na</i> .
DOB	<i>ʔaylay-ni</i> (of animate noun), <i>llyay</i> (of inanimate) as in <i>turaw ne llyay</i> ‘that’s the third knife’.
SAW	‘that three times’; also [ <i>ketiga</i> ] from Malay.
YAB	See 13.360.
KAU	‘come three times’.
TOL	<i>və</i> -CAUS, <i>utul</i> ‘three’.
ADZ	‘REAL-be two and one’, i.e. ‘be third’.
KIL	‘person-third’.
MOT	<i>toi</i> ‘three’.
KIR	Causative form.
SAM	<i>l-</i> ART, <i>-o-</i> POSS, <i>-na</i> 3sg, <i>tolu</i> ‘three’.

### 13.440 THREE TIMES

ATA	mana-tū-ʔ	MIN	tigo[kali]	DOB	maylay
*TSO	o-tur-xu	IND	tiga[kali]	IRA	neʔetorə
RUK	ṅoasi-toʔo-lo	SUN	tilu[kali]	SAW	nuen tel
PAI		JAV	piṅ tolu	*NYI	san taloh
YAM	ipitlo	MAD	təlu[kali]	MAM	boṅ-toli
ISN	mamiʔlu	BAL	paṅ tolu	*TAK	nal utol
*KAL	mamitlu	SAS	təlu[kali]	DAM	sain towə
*TAG	makā-tatlo	GOR	poʔo-tolu	MAB	pa tel
AKL	tatlu-ṅ[bīsis]	DAA	tolu-ᵒgani	*YAB	ke-tu dim teleaʔ
PAL	kə-tolu	UMA	tolu ṅ-kani	KAU	
*MOL	tolu + ke	BUG	wekka-tillu	*TOL	və-utul
*KAG	talluisab	KON	pin-tallu	BUA	bəron lō
BLA	tlu duleʔ	WOL	tal- <sup>m</sup> pe-aro	ADZ	oboṅ <sup>m</sup> p iruʔ
SAB	mintullu	MAG	təluṅ-[kali]-		da biṅ
MUR	intalu	NGA	vaʔi-təlu	*KIL	siṅa-tolu
MGY	in-telu	SIK	ṅaʔi təlu	TAW	malatonuga
ACE	lhəəgə	RTI	lai telu	*MOT	nega toi
BAT	tolu[hali]	BUR	lale-ntelo		

MEK	kina oiso (oio)	NTA	mau kəsəl	WLE	
		KWA	nəpən kahar	EFI	βaka-tolu
ROV	ŋeta totoso	NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> o-heyen	WFI	βa-tolu
MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ilofata	CEM	ôcie	RTU	aʔfolu
LAU	olu sikada	AJI	pəkariři	TON	tuʔo tolu
KWO	orualata	XAR	p <sup>ɔ</sup> šē	*SAM	faʔa-tolu
*RAG	va-tolu	NEN	haten	MEL	nīrake ētoru
PAA	vārel	*KIR	kateniua	*T'AH	e toru [taime]
LEW	yamtelu	MSH	alencilu	RAP	
POR	e-vaxaröi	PON			

TSO *o-tur-xu* 'go three times'; *riʔ-to-tru-xu* 'do/make three times'.

KAL *tulu + mamin*.

TAG Also *tatlo-ŋ* [bēses].

MOL *tolu + ko-*.

KAG Also *tallu* [bisis].

NYI Also *san tulusin*.

TAK 'time three'.

YAB See 13.380.

TOL *və-* CAUS, *utul* 'three'.

KIL 'time/try-three'.

MOT *nega* 'time, occasion'.

RAG 'thrice'.

KIR Also *tentai*.

SAM *faʔa-* CAUS, *tolu* 'three'.

TAH From English; *tātoru* 'do something three times'.

#### 14.110 TIME

**Arabic/Persian:** *zamān, waqt*

**English:** *time*

**Portuguese:** *tempo*

**Spanish:** *hora(s), tiempo*

ATA hrik

YAM

AKL [oras]

TSO

ISN [orās]

PAL lisag

RUK vai

KAL [timpu]

MOL waktu

PAI

\*TAG panahon

KAG [timpu]

*BLA	kagkah i du	*BUR	toro-wahe-r	*PAA	avoŋ
*SAB	[waktu]	*DOB	baʔa	*LEW	pʷoŋi
*MUR	[jām]	IRA		POR	mariö
*MGY	[ura]	SAW	[waktu]	NTA	nian
ACE	[wateə]	*NYI	len	KWA	nəpən
BAT	tikki	*MAM	boŋ	*NEM	waraun
*MIN	[maso]	*TAK	saen	*CEM	wôde-n
IND	[waktu]	DAM	sain	*AJI	nedā
*SUN	[waktu]	*MAB	gorgor	*XAR	xērē-kamīā
JAV	wayah	*YAB	(ŋa-)tem	*NEN	ezien
MAD	[baktu]	KAU	pi	*KIR	tetai
*BAL	[kali]	TOL		*MSH	təre
SAS	[jam]	BUA	ñegmala	*PON	ansou
*GOR	[jamu]	*ADZ	gubuʔ	*WLE	fōriyato
DAA	[te <sup>m</sup> po]	KIL	tuta	EFI	ŋauna
UMA	[te <sup>m</sup> po]	*TAW	kabudala	*WFI	[ŋauna]
BUG	[wittu]	MOT	nega	RTU	ava
KON	[hattu]	*MEK	kina	TON	[taimi]
*WOL	<sup>m</sup> pe-aro	ROV	totoso	SAM	[taimi]
MAG		*MAR	taŋi	*MEL	[malo]
NGA	təve	LAU	kadamaja	*TAH	tau
*SIK	[tempo]	KWO	alata	RAP	[hora]
RTI		*RAG	mahava		

TAG Also [ōras].

BLA *kagkah i du* ‘time of day’; *baŋ* ‘period of time’; [uras].

SAB Also *waktu*; *lisag pila na* lit ‘how many strikes?’, i.e. ‘what time is it?’

MUR *jām* ‘time of day’ from Malay *jām* ‘clock, hour, o’clock’, from Persian; [taim] ‘period’ from English *time*; *pāt* ‘occasion’.

MGY See 14.510.

MIN Sanskrit, also [ukatu].

SUN Also [tempo].

BAL Also [kalə] from Sanskrit; *kali kenken jani* ‘what’s the time now’; [masə] from Sanskrit ‘season’.

GOR ‘hour, time’, also *to<sup>h</sup>gadu* ‘time, period, era’; [te<sup>m</sup>bo], as in ‘not have time to ...’.

WOL Also [saʔati] from Arabic *sāʔa* ‘hour’, *wuliŋa*, [zamani].

SIK	Also [ <i>tempu</i> ], [ <i>oras</i> ].
BUR	<i>torowaherpila?</i> ‘What time is it?’ Compare <i>swahe</i> ‘chat’; Rana [ <i>oras</i> ].
DOB	Also <i>may</i> .
NYI	Also <i>ben</i> (lit ‘night’).
MAM	Also <i>ramani</i>
TAK	‘time, weather’.
MAB	<i>gorgor</i> ‘long period’; <i>mazwāna</i> ‘short period’; <i>zoŋ matāna</i> ‘clock time’; <i>nol</i> ‘time for something to happen’.
YAB	Originally ‘season’; <i>tem kōm-ɔ-ŋa</i> , <i>kōm-o</i> ‘wet season’; <i>tem ɔʔ ke-sa-ŋa</i> , <i>ɔʔ-ke-sa</i> ‘dry season’: for other seasons, see 14.710.
ADZ	<i>gubu?</i> ‘time of day, sun’; <i>gubu? maran</i> ‘time face’, ‘time according to a clock’.
TAW	<i>kabudala</i> ‘sun/period of time’; <i>houga</i> ‘season/time’.
MEK	‘sun, day, time, watch, clock’.
MAR	‘point in time’.
RAG	‘period of time’.
PAA	Also ‘day’.
LEW	Also [ <i>aura</i> ] from English; <i>p<sup>w</sup>oŋosi</i> .
NEM	Also <i>waden</i> .
CEM	‘time, period’.
AJI	Also <i>pē mēxa</i> .
XAR	‘moment of the sun’.
NEN	Also <i>kačen</i> .
KIR	<i>te tai</i> also ‘season, occasion, clock time’; [ <i>te aoa</i> ] (of a timepiece) from English.
MSH	<i>təre</i> ‘time of day’; <i>iēn</i> also ‘chance, occasion’; archaic <i>iē</i> ; <i>awa</i> ‘tie together, connect’; <i>alen</i> also ‘turn, occasion’.
PON	[ <i>kulɔk</i> ] (of a timepiece), from English.
WLE	<i>fōŋiyato</i> also ‘season’, lit ‘under the sun’; [ <i>ikaŋ</i> ] from Japanese <i>jikan</i> ; also ‘hour’, <i>ribeř-</i> CON; ‘at the time of’, [ <i>křōka</i> ] (of a timepiece from) English.
WFI	From Standard Fijian.
MEL	Also [ <i>malōvā</i> ] from Efate.
TAH	Also [ <i>taime</i> ]; <i>ʔanotau</i> ; [ <i>hora</i> ] from Latin.

## 14.120 AGE

Arabic: *ʿumr* ‘age’; *zamān* ‘time’Spanish: *edad*

ATA	kāʔ	UMA	[umuru]	ROV	vuaheni
*TSO	to-...-ha	BUG	[umuruʔ]	MAR	
RUK	ʕaili	KON	[ʕumuru]	LAU	baitala
PAI	ʕavilʸ	*WOL	[ʔumuru]	KWO	
YAM	kawakawan	*MAG	uva	RAG	
ISN	dagun	NGA	lii	*PAA	auh
KAL	tawon	SIK	taβa-ŋ	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi
*TAG	[edad]	*RTI	teu-k	POR	na- <sup>n</sup> d'am
AKL	[idad]	*BUR	musu-n	*NTA	nup
PAL	guraŋ	*DOB	naraʔu	KWA	
MOL	[umur]	IRA		NEM	doi-n
KAG	[i'dad]	SAW	[umur]	*CEM	ʒ <sup>o</sup> -he-n
*BLA	ka-lnoʋo	NYI	ʒaha	AJI	nedo
SAB	[umul]	MAM	barasi	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-x <sup>w</sup> ada
*MUR	tinuo	TAK		NEN	
*MGY	tauna	DAM		*KIR	te roro
ACE	[umu]	MAB	ka- <sup>n</sup> dāma	*MSH	rer
BAT	[umur]	YAB		PON	sounpar
MIN	[umu <sup>3</sup> ]	KAU	elup	*WLE	ɾaxi
*IND	[umur]	*TOL	kilalə	EFI	yabaki
*SUN	[abad]	BUA	yi ta	WFI	-yabaki
*JAV	[umur]	ADZ		RTU	mafua
MAD	[umur]	KIL	taitu	TON	taʔu
BAL	tuuh	*TAW	a bolima	*SAM	matua
SAS	[umur]		magouna	MEL	
GOR	tu-tumulo	*MOT	layani-na	TAH	matahiti
DAA	[umuru]-na	*MEK	ʔinipo	RAP	matahiti

TSO *to-nso-ha* ‘one year of age’; *to-pus-ka* ‘two years of age’, etc.TAG Also *gūlaŋ*.BLA Also *k-tuʋ*.MUR Also *[umur]*.

MGY Also ‘year’.

IND Also *[ʒaman]*; *[usia]* from Sanskrit.



SUN	Also [zaman].
JAV	Also [yuswa] from Sanskrit.
KON	Also [amuru].
WOL	Also <i>d'adi</i> .
MAG	Also <i>ubu</i> .
RTI	'year'; see 14.730.
BUR	'season'; <i>musu-n pila</i> 'How old is she?'
DOB	'year(s)'.
TOL	Also 'season, the time yams take to ripen, i.e. one year'.
TAW	'its/his years number...'
MOT	'year'.
MEK	? <i>inipo</i> 'year', originally 'kind of a grass that flowers once a year (at the end of the rainy season)'.
PAA	Also 'yam'. 'What is your age?' is 'How many yams (i.e. yam seasons) do you have?'
NTA	'year'.
CEM	'its seasons'.
KIR	'generation'.
MSH	<i>rer</i> 'stage of growth'; also <i>epepen</i> 'age, generation'.
WLE	Also 'year'.
SAM	See <i>matua</i> 'be old', see 14.150.

### 14.130 NEW

*ATA	?ikaš	SAB	baha?u	DAA	na-bou
TSO	farva	*MUR	bagu	UMA	bo?u
RUK	bāvanə	MGY	vau-vau	BUG	bāru
PAI	va?u-an	ACE	baro	*KON	beru
YAM	avayo	BAT	ibbaru	WOL	ḡaau
ISN	baru	*MIN	baru	MAG	vəru
KAL	bagu	IND	baru	NGA	muzi
TAG	bāgo	SUN	añar	*SIK	βəru
AKL	bag?uh	JAV	añar	RTI	beu-k
PAL	bagu	MAD	añar	BUR	fehu-t
MOL	ba?gu	*BAL	marə	DOB	tu'bay
KAG	bag?u	SAS	baru	IRA	bunatə
BLA	falami	GOR	bohu	*SAW	n-ɔben

NYI	haʔun	ROV	vagura	*NEN	kabe
MAM	uauau	MAR	maʃayani	*KIR	[bōu]
TAK	fou-n	LAU	falu	MSH	kāel
DAM	mata	KWO	fōru	PON	kap <sup>w</sup>
MAB	popoŋa-	RAG	ɣara	*WLE	fō
YAB	wakuʔ	PAA	hāu	EFI	βou
KAU	homan	LEW	viu	WFI	βou
TOL	kələmanə	POR	veveu	RTU	foʔou
BUA	məwis	NTA	βi	TON	foʔou
ADZ	faʔ	KWA	-wi	SAM	fou
*KIL	-βau	NEM	kaya	MEL	fōu
TAW	wou-na	CEM		*TAH	ʔāpī
MOT	matamata	AJI	dɔwō	RAP	ʔāpī
*MEK	mama(-ŋa)	XAR	mata		

ATA Also *yikaš*.

MUR Also *baguonn*.

MIN Also *joloŋ*.

BAL Also *bau* [*wawu*] (high register); all three adverbial uses only: ‘newly, recently, just now’; Old Balinese *baru* was used adjectivally; [*añar*] ‘brand new’, from Old Javanese.

KON Also *heru*.

SIK Also *βeru-ŋ, βo*.

SAW Also *wɔbn-o*.

KIL Suffixed to classifier.

MEK *mamaŋa* is frequently used as the root word (i.e. with fossilised 3sg suffix).

NEN Also *kayečen*.

KIR From Polynesian.

WLE Also *yemata* ‘raw, new’.

TAH Also *hou* archaic.

## 14.140 YOUNG

*ATA	ʔaki-ʔakiʔ	PAI	maʔa-ɕuvu-	KAL	aben
TSO	foinana		ɕuvuŋ	TAG	bātaʔ
*RUK	yaɕəŋəɕəŋə	YAM	malavayo	AKL	bātaʔ
		ISN	nabbiŋ	PAL	mɔmurəŋ

*MOL	anak	*SIK	nibo-ŋ	RAG	
KAG	bata <sup>?</sup> pa	RTI	muli-k	PAA	litetai
BLA	fa-l-am-nok	*BUR	fehu-t	*LEW	m <sup>wē</sup>
*SAB	makannak baha <sup>?</sup> u	*DOB	dowi	POR	m <sup>wē</sup> elaul
MUR	mamulok	IRA	bunata	*NTA	alua
MGY	tan-ura	*SAW	geləl	*KWA	-wi
ACE	muda	*NYI	loweu	NEM	
BAT	pə'sə	*MAM	amuna	*CEM	éwa
*MIN	mudo	*TAK	fou-n	AJI	dowa
IND	muda	DAM	gǎũ	XAR	dop <sup>w</sup> a
SUN	ŋora	MAB	popoŋa-	NEN	wa <sup>?</sup> ami
JAV	nəm	*YAB	mata <sup>?</sup>	*KIR	ataei
MAD	ŋuda	KAU	nereŋin	*MSH	rik
BAL	ŋudə	TOL	nət	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ulop <sup>w</sup> ul
*SAS	oda <sup>?</sup>	*BUA	məwis	WLE	maŋiŋa
*GOR	bohu lo	ADZ	fa <sup>?</sup>	EFI	ŋone
DAA	na-ŋura	*KIL	-tubo-βau	WFI	bero
UMA	mo-ŋura	*TAW	yaubo	RTU	mea <sup>?</sup> me <sup>?</sup> a
BUG	ma-lolo	*MOT	matamata	TON	si <sup>?</sup> i
*KON	lolo	*MEK	aŋu <sup>?</sup> a	SAM	la <sup>?</sup> itiiti
*WOL	kaŋura	*ROV	vagura	MEL	ŋotoŋoto
MAG	koe	MAR	maŋjayani	*TAH	ʔāpī
*NGA	zo <sup>?</sup> o	*LAU	ʔalak <sup>w</sup> a	*RAP	ʔāpī
		*KWO	sika <sup>?</sup> u		

ATA *mayumatak* 'young man, boy'; *makurakiš* 'young lady, girl'.

RUK *ya-čəŋə-čəŋə* 'young', *moa-ka-θabar-a* 'young man'.

MOL *anak + m●ŋ-*.

SAB Also [*hoben*] from Spanish.

MIN Also *matah*.

SAS Also *baŋaŋ*.

GOR Also: [*muda*], from Malay.

KON Also *roŋo* 'young in appearance'.

WOL Also *loβu-loβu* 'very young'.

NGA Also *zo<sup>?</sup>o-mai*.

SIK Also *βeru-ŋ*.

BUR 'new (person)'; *niwe lolo-n* 'young coconut'; *uta-n mura-n* 'young/tender vegetables'; *ikan mura-n* 'baby fish'.

DOB	<i>tu'bay</i> ( <i>dowi</i> is younger than <i>tu'bay</i> ).
SAW	Also <i>n-ε-myaku</i> .
NYI	<i>loweu</i> 'young' (referring to males); <i>bihin</i> 'young' (referring to females).
MAM	i.e. 'young man'.
TAK	'new' (14.130).
YAB	'young (of persons, plants), unripe, raw, green'; also <i>waku?</i> 'new, young'; <i>ŋa-masiŋ</i> 'young (of plants)'; <i>ŋa-g<sup>w</sup>alε-pɔm</i> 'young (of birds)'; <i>ŋa-kεkɔ</i> 'young (of marsupials)'.
BUA	<i>məwis</i> 'new'; <i>nalu</i> 'offspring of ...'.
KIL	'generation-new'.
TAW	<i>meyameya</i> 'young human'; <i>yaubo</i> 'young animal'; <i>numo</i> 'young leaf'.
MOT	Also <i>eregabe</i> 'young married man or woman' ( <i>ere</i> 'row' <i>gabe</i> 'last, later').
MEK	<i>auka</i> in other dialects (Kuni has <i>aluka</i> ; compare Motu <i>karu</i> 'unripe').
ROV	<i>tie vagura</i> 'young people, teenagers'.
LAU	Also <i>gaela</i> 'young, of animals'.
KWO	'small'.
LEW	(of human); <i>viu</i> 'young (of animal)'.
NTA	Only in phrase <i>etam alua</i> 'young man'.
KWA	Also <i>-ouihi</i> 'small'.
CEM	(of child).
KIR	Also <i>aki ikawai</i> .
MSH	Also <i>niŋ</i> .
PON	Also <i>ṭikiṭik</i> .
TAH	Also <i>hou</i> archaic.
RAP	Also <i>taŋa</i> .

### 14.150 OLD

*ATA	čapaŋ	ISN	nanākam	*MOL	tua?
TŠO	ma-mroi	*KAL	lākay	KAG	manakəmən
*RUK	mā-roḍaŋə	*TAG	lūma?	BLA	tuɔ
PAI	vulu-vuluŋ	*AKL	ḥāgi	*SAB	to?a + a-
*YAM	aḍan	PAL	məguroŋ	*MUR	laid(on)

MGY	antitra	*IRA	radi	LEW	marua
ACE	tuha	*SAW	ren-legae	POR	xivux
BAT	tu'a	NYI	malen	*NTA	nuβəh
MIN	tuo	MAM	toiraira	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> as
*IND	tua	TAK	wagama-n	NEM	vai
SUN	kolot	DAM	tubau	CEM	úkeiu
JAV	tuə	MAB	mu <sup>ŋ</sup> guŋa-	AJI	beãĩ
MAD	tuwa	*YAB	la <sup>ŋ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> a	XAR	bēĩ
*BAL	tuə	KAU	hiangan	*NEN	gumoma
SAS	toa?	TOL	məulanə	*KIR	ikawai
*GOR	mi-hīhewo	*BUA	mugəŋ	*MSH	ṛitto
*DAA	na-tu?a	*ADZ	rabun	*PON	laut
UMA	tu?a	KIL	-bog <sup>w</sup> a	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> esi
BUG	ma-toa	TAW	odubo-na	*EFI	ŋase
KON	toa	*MOT	guna	*WFI	čūg <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> ā
WOL	ma <sup>ŋ</sup> čua-na	*MEK	apao	*RTU	mafua
MAG	tu?a	*ROV	koana	TON	motu?a
NGA	bupu	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> iatifa	*SAM	matua
*SIK	blupur	*LAU	waru	MEL	matua
RTI	lasi-k	KWO	kōko'o	*TAH	rū?au
*BUR	em-keda	RAG		*RAP	tuai
*DOB	ta'ɸar	PAA	matu		

ATA *čapaŋ* 'old (thing)'; *naβakiš* 'old (in age)'.

RUK *sopihi* 'old (things)'; *mā-rođanə* 'old (in age)'.

YAM Also *monay* (of things); *zazake* (of people).

KAL *lākay + na-*.

TAG *lūma?* (of thing); *tanda? + ma-* (of person).

AKL *ʔāgi* (of thing); *gūʔaŋ + ma-* (of person).

MOL *tua? + mo-*.

SAB *to?a + a-* (of people); *andaŋ* (of things).

MUR *laid(on)* (opposite of 'new'); also *matuo* (opposite of 'young').

IND Also *lama*.

BAL See 02.380; also *wayah*; *buuk* 'old, worn of objects' e.g. clothes, a road, a market'; *pidə* 'a long time ago'.

GOR Also *mo-hūhewo*, *pa<sup>ŋ</sup>gola* and *moloheto* (*toheto + moN-*).

DAA *na-tu?a* 'old people'; *na-sae* 'old things'.

- SIK Also *blupur hußer*.
- BUR Also *enosi-t* ‘old place, former site’; *geha-n, em-rahe-k, oma-k* ‘long time’; *em-tua-t* ‘parent or elder of a clan’.
- DOB (of people).
- IRA *radi* (of objects); *naba ridā* (of people).
- SAW ‘already old man’; also *ren-pegele* ‘already old woman’; [*tua*] from Malay.
- YAB ‘very old, venerable’.
- BUA *mugen* ‘old, worn out’; *atoß* ‘adult, mature, aged’.
- ADZ *rabun* ‘old, (of humans)’, archaic; usually refers to ancestors; *ratar* ‘old, (of non-animate objects)’; *fufi* ‘old (of living animals, things)’.
- MOT *guruka* ‘old (of people)’; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives first meaning as ‘white (of hair)’.
- MEK *apao* (*apou* ?) ‘mature; big, old’; East Mekeo *aŋe-faʔa*, North Mekeo and West Mekeo *abao, abo* ‘old person’. NW Mekeo *au-paka*, as in *au au-paka* ‘old man’; *akeke* as in *babie akeke* ‘old woman’.
- ROV *koana* (of things); *baroyoso* (of people).
- LAU Also *kukue*.
- NTA Also *aŋuəlh* (of person).
- KWA Also *-asori* ‘large’; *-iwus* also ‘shrivelled, dirty, used up’; *tui* ‘existing for a long time’.
- NEN *gumoma* (of man); *waetešet* (of woman).
- KIR *ikawai* ‘grown, mature’; *kara* ‘aged’; *m<sup>w</sup>ane* ‘used’.
- MSH *řitto* ‘aged’; *m<sup>w</sup>or* ‘used’
- PON *laut* also ‘big’; *mā* ‘aged’; *meriŋ* ‘used’; *tok* ‘used’.
- WLE *φ<sup>w</sup>esi* ‘used’, *tuxofaiya* ‘aged’.
- EFI *makawa* (of inanimates).
- WFI Also *čukani*.
- RTU Also *ne roa*.
- SAM *matua* (vb intrans)(of people in general); *toeaʔina* (vb intrans) (of men), *matuāaliʔi* (polite); *loʔomatua, ʔolomatua* (of women), (polite) *matuātamaʔitaʔi, matuāsusi* (polite).
- TAH Also *ruhiruhia, paʔari roa, tahito*.
- RAP *tuai* ‘old (of inanimates)’; *ruʔau* ‘old (of animates)’; *korohuʔa* ‘old (of men)’.

## 14.160 EARLY

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>awwal</i> 'first'	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>temprano</i>
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ATA	kan-kanuwan	UMA		*MAR	yagranapasa
*TSO	au-pɕiro	BUG	ma-eleʔ	LAU	toŋe nao
RUK	ŋoalalakəsə	*KON	eleʔ-eleʔ	KWO	
PAI	mə-ɟama	WOL	ma-ɗei	RAG	
YAM	makikai	*MAG	gelaŋ	*PAA	visokonsemau
ISN	nagabi	NGA	ŋoʔu	LEW	yuroro
*KAL	sāpa	*SIK	ropo	*POR	lepanxoxor
*TAG	āga	RTI	dai fai	NTA	
AKL	[timprānuh]	*BUR	sup-sup-a-n	KWA	uahai
*PAL	mədiklɔm	*DOB	ddowi	*NEM	galia gāwāk
*MOL	[awal]	*IRA	mumətiətəmə	CEM	pʷíɛle
KAG	[timpranu]	*SAW	dərɔremilesu	AJI	ātu
BLA	m-lal	NYI		XAR	məšə
SAB	[timprano]	*MAM	uabube	NEN	
MUR	modondom	*TAK	inug	*KIR	moantai
MGY	faingana	*DAM	kaisā	*MSH	ililcu
*ACE	away	*MAB	karau	PON	
BAT	ti'bu	*YAB	kanuʔ-gəŋ	WLE	titi
MIN	[awa]	*KAU	hus	*EFI	totolo
*IND	ləkas	*TOL	kilalə	WFI	watoto
SUN		BUA		RTU	miči
JAV	gasiʔ	ADZ	maratait	*TON	muʔaki
*MAD	ŋ-aɗaʔ	*KIL	i-ki-kiβiβisiga	SAM	vave
*BAL	(pə-)səməŋ-an	*TAW	anai uguwa-na	*MEL	[pelēpele]
SAS	[awal]	*MOT	e kau haraya	*TAH	ʔoiʔoi
*GOR	dumodupo	MEK	kau-kau	*RAP	pōʔā
*DAA	na-salisa	ROV	kenu		

TSO Also *monʔi*.

KAL *sāpa + ma-*.

TAG *āga + ma-*.

PAL Also *mədurək*.

MOL *awal + n-ko-*.

ACE Also *nujaŋ*.

- IND 'quickly'; *pagi-pagi* 'early (in the day)', [*awal*].
- MAD *aḍa?* 'front'.
- BAL 'early in the morning'; *səlid* 'the first half of the day', by extension 'early'; *pradaŋ* 'earlier in the morning than usual'; *ulu* 'several days before the due date'.
- GOR Also *di-dimodupo* 'morning, early in the morning'; *mē-mulo* 'early (future)'; *lē-mulo* 'early (past)'.
- DAA 'quickly'.
- KON Also *ele? kale-a, ita?*
- MAG 'fast, quick'.
- SIK Also *ropo robit*.
- BUR 'early in the morning'; to say 'come early', one uses the previous time division of the day.
- DOB As in *may're ddowni* 'early morning'.
- IRA 'early in the morning'.
- SAW 'still dark'.
- MAM Also *aro-mua*.
- TAK See 12.040.
- DAM Also *bagai* (intensifier) as in *bonimeibagai* 'early morning'.
- MAB Also *loŋa* 'quickly, faster than expected'.
- YAB Lit. 'dark-only'; also *geleŋ-ŋa lase* 'dawn-at from'; *geleŋ-mata* 'dawn-its. eye' i.e. 'day break'.
- KAU 'get up early'.
- TOL 'to go early, at dawn', very early in the morning (adv).
- KIL 'it-CONT-break glow' i.e. 'early morning, daybreak'; also *-mai-bog<sup>wa</sup>* 'come-first 'come early, be first'.
- TAW 'with his dark' i.e. 'while it was still dark'.
- MOT 'quick(ly)'. See 14.210.
- MAR 'early morning'.
- PAA 'still morning'.
- POR 'early in the morning'.
- NEM 'long morning'.
- KIR 'start of time'.
- MSH *ililcu* 'early tomorrow' (*ilcu* 'tomorrow'); *mæcinmūr* 'wake early'.
- EFI Also *taudonu*.



TON	Also <i>vave</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>vave</i> .
RAP	<i>pōʔā</i> ‘early (of day)’.

### 14.170 LATE

**Dutch:** *te laat*

*ATA	maḵ-ši-čuḵiʔ	UMA		MAR	gleyu
TSO	pohaʔo	BUG	[tillaʔ]	*LAU	ʔisi
*RUK	waoŋo	*KON	malliŋ	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	ka-ḡusi	RAG	
YAM	maḡay	MAG	paes	*PAA	daun
ISN	naḡadaw	NGA	ḡore	LEW	susu-ni
*KAL	lādaw	*SIK	negə-ŋ	POR	vrarax
*TAG	huli	RTI	[telat]	*NTA	ol [let]
*AKL	ulīhi	*BUR	moda-n	KWA	-iek
PAL	əmuri	*DOB	butemuy	NEM	
*MOL	rumbayaʔ	IRA	manənatəŋə	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> êca
KAG	uri'an	*SAW	məlil	*AJI	rēre
BLA	leʔet	NYI		XAR	nō
*SAB	[atadasaw]	MAM	alauriba	NEN	kuremug
*MUR	ma[lambat]	*TAK	mar-na	KIR	bae ni kai
*MGY	ela	DAM	dum	*MSH	pp <sup>w</sup> at
*ACE	[tulat]	*MAB	-markaimer	PON	p <sup>w</sup> ant
*BAT	giŋŋari	*YAB	əʔ gebe e sep	*WLE	mm <sup>w</sup> ai
*MIN	[talayʔ]	KAU	yus	EFI	bera
IND	lambat	*TOL	pəur	WFI	bere
SUN	[təlat]	BUA		*RTU	fepi
JAV	kasep	ADZ	ba <sup>m</sup> pan	TON	tōmui
*MAD	[kasip]	*KIL	-yobali	SAM	tuai
*BAL	kasep(-an)	*TAW	hi witai	*MEL	[vāraka]
SAS	[təlat]	MOT	se kau haraya	*TAH	tāere
*GOR	yi-[lā <sup>g</sup> gari]	*MEK	muni	*RAP	ahi-ahi
DAA	na-sae	ROV	mumudi		

- ATA *šmyahuḵ* ‘late, not in time’.
- RUK *tar-waŋo* ‘late arrival, to return home late’.
- KAL *lādaw + na-*.
- TAG *huli + na-*.
- AKL *ulīhi + ma-*.
- MOL *rumbaya?* + *no-ko-*.
- SAB From Spanish.
- MUR From Malay *lambat*.
- MGY Also *ʔaʔaoriana*.
- ACE Also *dudɔə* ‘later’; *ʒula* ‘late, especially at night’.
- BAT *giʒʒaŋ ari* ‘late in the day’; *bɔt ari* ‘late in the evening’, see 12.080, 12.330.
- MIN Also *ta-lambe?*.
- MAD From Javanese.
- BAL *kasep(an)* ‘later than expected, not on time’; *sepan-an* ‘later than expected, not on time’; [*təlat*].
- GOR Malay *la<sup>u</sup>gar?*
- KON Also *lalo hattu*.
- WOL Also *talati, lati* ‘be late’.
- SIK Also *nane*.
- BUR *moda-n* ‘late in the day’; to ‘come late’, one uses the next time division of the day.
- DOB Also means ‘slow’.
- SAW Also *n-emyɔt*.
- TAK See 12.010 and note.
- MAB Also *loŋa som*.
- YAB ‘sun as-if it-set’; *ɔʔ ge-yà su* ‘sun it-go downwards’ i.e. ‘the sun is about to set’.
- TOL Often *pəur vue* ‘be too late’; *kəɾəmu* ‘come too late (vb intrans)’, ‘come too late for (vb trans)’.
- KIL ‘come late, delay’.
- TAW *hi witai* ‘they are heavy (late to arrive)’; *kabudala amaka i yoli* ‘the sun has gone down’.
- MEK *muni* ‘behind, after’, (see 12.010), by extension, ‘late’; also [*e-leitsi*] from English *late*.

LAU	Also <i>huri</i> .
PAA	Also ‘dawdle, play’.
NTA	From English.
AJI	Also <i>yido</i> .
MSH	<i>cowēc</i> (of time or tide); <i>aʎo</i> Eastern dialect; Western dialect <i>ʎum<sup>w</sup>wic</i> .
WLE	Also ‘slow’.
RTU	Also <i>fəp</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>maoro</i> .
RAP	<i>ahi-ahi</i> ‘late (of day)’.

#### 14.180 NOW

ATA	ka-hani	BAL	ʎani	BUA	
TSO	mai-tan <sup>ʔ</sup> e	SAS	nane	ADZ	aru ani
RUK	ki-kai-kai	*GOR	[masā]-tiya	*KIL	tutabaisa
PAI	tuʎu	DAA	ve <sup>ʔ</sup> i-ve <sup>ʔ</sup> i	*TAW	utaima
YAM	ʎičaikwaya	UMA	βae-lau	MOT	harihari
ISN	kīdi	BUG	mak-kuk-kue	*MEK	pau
KAL	sin sātun	*KON	kamunni-na	ROV	kamahire
*TAG	ŋayon	WOL	sii-sii	MAR	goñaro
*AKL	makarun	MAG	tə ho <sup>ʔ</sup> on	LAU	kada nae
PAL	tiban	NGA	təve-dia	KWO	alata lo <sup>ʔ</sup> o
MOL	mogina	*SIK	enate <sup>ʔ</sup> i	*RAG	ʎek-hado- yaha
KAG	anduni	RTI	besa-k ia	*PAA	kosa
BLA	sadni	*BUR	leanaa	LEW	nenanane
SAB	buwat-ina <sup>ʔ</sup> an	*DOB	sa <sup>ʔ</sup> aran	POR	alönixa
*MUR	daino	IRA	bunatadəni	NTA	roiu
MGY	ankehi <sup>ʔ</sup> ini izau	SAW	nete	*KWA	tak <sup>w</sup> tak <sup>w</sup> nu
*ACE	ʎinəə	NYI	na dah	NEM	ŋa
BAT	saon-ari	MAM	ʔaitu <sup>ʔ</sup> atina	CEM	ʎēnā
MIN	kini	*TAK	gamu	*AJI	xina
*IND	səkarəŋ	DAM	gama	XAR	anā
SUN	ayina	*MAB	buri	*NEN	onekom
JAV	sa(?)-iki	YAB	galə <sup>ʔ</sup>	KIR	ŋkai
MAD	satiya	*KAU	ii	*MSH	ca
		*TOL	go		

*PON	me	RTU	ʔe ʔon ʔiʔi	TAH	i teie nei
WLE	ixeřō	*TON	eni	RAP	ʔi te hora nei
EFI	oŋō	SAM	nei		
WFI	ok <sup>w</sup> ē	MEL	napō-nā		

TAG *na* ‘now, already’ (completive).

AKL Also *ʔun* ‘already’ (completive).

MUR Also *dagino*.

ACE From *ʔan-nōa* ‘this time’.

IND Also *pada [saʔat] ini* ‘temporal deictic *ini*’, from Arabic *sā’a* ‘hour’.

GOR From Sanskrit; also [*masā*] *bo-tiya*, *masā* ‘(period of) time’ from Malay, *tiya/bo-tiya* ‘this’; *to ʔu bo-tiya* (to locative particle nominaliser ‘this’).

KON Also *kunni-kunni(-na)*.

SIK Also *ala-ŋ*.

BUR ‘this day’; also *leŋina naa* ‘any time adjacent to and including now’; *lei naa* ‘now’; *ptil-ptilo* ‘now, in a moment’.

DOB A clause-final clitic, *-da* is also used, as in *ta-bana k<sup>w</sup>alar-da* ‘let’s go home now’, lit ‘1pl-go house-now’.

TAK ‘now, today’.

MAB Also *kōzi*.

KAU Also *homan* ‘new, now’ (as opposed to ‘before’ or ‘later’).

TOL Also ‘this’.

KIL ‘time this-now’; *tuta baīsa* ‘time this’, i.e. ‘now (e.g. today), ‘this year’ etc. *baīsa tuta* ‘this time’, i.e. ‘right now, this instant’. See also example, 14.190.

TAW Also (dialect) *amalai* ‘now/today’.

MEK NW Mekeo *ikiva* ‘now’.

RAG Also *kek-hado-yaha*.

PAA Also ‘today’.

KWA Also *ip<sup>w</sup>etmene* ‘today plural marker’, i.e., ‘these days’.

AJI Also *rē*.

NEN Also *onom*.

MSH Also *kīn*, *kīA*.

PON Also *met*.

TON Also *ni*.

## 14.190 IMMEDIATELY

ATA		DAA	ka-liu-liu	*ROV	hinoga
*TSO	-m <sup>?</sup> uxu	UMA		MAR	t <sup>h</sup> aǰi
RUK	saḷa	BUG	si-lalo-na	LAU	ʔeliʔeli asi go
PAI	ki-ḷimu	*KON	tappa	KWO	loʔo buʔi
*YAM	makikai	*WOL	ma-si <sup>m</sup> ba	RAG	
ISN	dāgus	MAG	muiŋ	*PAA	kosāsek
KAL	dāgus	NGA	lama	LEW	verakurena
*TAG	agad	*SIK	ropo	POR	konosa <sup>m</sup> b
*AKL	ḷāgi	RTI	lai-lai	NTA	roiu m <sup>w</sup> ən
PAL	lagi-lagi	*BUR	ptil-tilo	*KWA	tak <sup>w</sup> tak <sup>w</sup> nu
MOL	mogti	*DOB	lak <sup>w</sup> ay	NEM	
*KAG	da'yun	IRA		CEM	ǰēnā ni
BLA	ani nan	*SAW	n-bable	AJI	rē
*SAB	ag-tuwi	NYI	nawin b <sup>w</sup> e	XAR	anātoa
MUR	madayus	MAM	uaiʔiʔitina	NEN	čaṇa
MGY	mi-araka	*TAK	gamu-gik	*KIR	ṅkainaba
	amin-ni vava	DAM	gama-i	*MSH	kīΛ kīΛ
ACE	laǰu	*MAB	ta buri	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ataṇeṭe
*BAT	pittər	*YAB	gaʔ-geŋ	WLE	
*MIN	[sugiro]	*KAU	kut kai	EFI	sara
*IND	(dəŋan)	*TOL	və-kaiən	WFI	gea
	[səgəra]	BUA	pəβisaβu ti	RTU	miči
SUN	gañčaŋ	ADZ	aru ani	TON	leva
*JAV	sa(?)-nalikə	*KIL	baisa-gatuta	SAM	loa
MAD	ḷuli	*TAW	geka houga-	MEL	
*BAL	[pra]-ǰani		na	*TAH	i muri iho
SAS	bəčat	*MOT	maoromaoro		mau
*GOR	huʔa	MEK	pau-moʔe	RAP	ʔi te hora nei

TSO *au-m<sup>?</sup>uxu* 'go/come immediately; *ou-m<sup>?</sup>uxu* 'eat immediately', etc.

YAM Also *ǰi miononay*.

TAG Also *kagyat, dagliʔ*.

AKL 'right away'.

KAG Also *dali-dali*.

SAB Also *sarūndūn, buwat-buwat inān*.

BAT Also *təʔrus*.

MIN From Sanskrit *sīghra-*.

IND	From Sanskrit (see above).
JAV	Also <i>saʔ-kəlɔ</i> , <i>saʔ-kal</i> .
BAL	From Sanskrit; also <i>engal</i> ‘quickly, at once’.
GOR	Also <i>lāto</i> .
KON	Also <i>itaʔkale-a</i> .
WOL	‘fast, rapid’.
SIK	Also <i>ropo roβit</i> .
BUR	See 141.80; also <i>rabo-rabo</i> ‘quickly, immediately’.
DOB	Also ‘fast’.
SAW	Also <i>n-ε-mla</i> .
TAK	See 14.180.
MAB	Also <i>patāṅa</i>
YAB	‘forthwith-only’; also <i>gao-geŋ</i> ‘easy-only’, i.e. ‘at once, quickly’; <i>galɔʔ-ɛnɛʔ</i> ‘now-exactly’, i.e. ‘right now’; <i>galɔʔ-tɔnɛʔ</i> ‘now-this’, i.e. ‘right now’; <i>belan-geŋ</i> ‘scraped-only’, i.e. ‘at the same moment’.
KAU	‘PERF be equal to’.
TOL	<i>və</i> - CAUS, <i>kaiən</i> ‘be startled’, lit ‘make someone startled’, also ‘suddenly’.
KIL	‘this-EMPH time’.
TAW	‘this time’.
MOT	Also ‘very straight; (normally) right, just’.
ROV	Also <i>lopu sana</i> .
PAA	‘right now’.
KWA	Also <i>raka</i> .
KIR	<i>ŋkai naba</i> lit ‘now too, right now’; <i>waetata</i> ‘be quick (to/in)’.
MSH	Western dialect, see <i>kīl</i> ‘now’; Eastern dialect, <i>kīn kīn</i> ; <i>cap<sup>w</sup> rum<sup>w</sup>wic</i> lit ‘without delay’; Eastern dialect <i>cap<sup>w</sup> ruŋɟic</i> .
TAH	<i>i teie nei iho ā</i> ‘at the present moment’.

### 14.210 SWIFT, FAST, QUICK

ATA	hayɬay	*YAM	masakɬak	*AKL	daliʔ
TSO	ma-raxe	ISN	napardād	PAL	mɔtikas
RUK	ma-ridarə	*KAL	dalas	*MOL	daliʔ
PAI	cal <sup>y</sup> aw	*TAG	bilis	*KAG	dasig

*BLA	m-lal	*BUR	f-rike-n	PAA	gālah
*SAB	sapat	DOB	lak <sup>w</sup> ay	*LEW	yuroro
*MUR	malibok	IRA	nəpərərərə	*POR	rere
MGY	haingana	*SAW	n-ε-mla	NTA	ueiuəhai
*ACE	bagaih	NYI	suwi	*KWA	uahai
BAT	ha'təp	MAM	mara <sup>?</sup> a		putəkputək
*MIN	čəpe <sup>?</sup>	*TAK	wulwale-mi	NEM	taru
*IND	čəpat	DAM	gama-ne	CEM	êpin
SUN	gañčəŋ	*MAB	karau	AJI	bəfē
JAV	čəpət	*YAB	səbəŋ	XAR	manīrī
MAD	santa <sup>?</sup>	*KAU	ketek	NEN	ibetu
*BAL	bəčət	*TOL	rurut	*KIR	waetata
SAS	bəčət	BUA	pəβis	*MSH	īm <sup>ʷ</sup>
*GOR	mo- <sup>?</sup> alihu	ADZ	suŋ (suŋ)	PON	marāra
*DAA	na-gasi	KIL	nanak <sup>w</sup> a	*WLE	mmarā
*UMA	sohi <sup>?</sup>	*TAW	i bulili	EFI	totolo
BUG	ma-gatti	MOT	haraya	*WFI	watoto
*KON	parri-parri	*MEK	fia-koa	*RTU	vəve
*WOL	ma-si <sup>m</sup> ba	*ROV	tuture	TON	vave
MAG	li <sup>ŋ</sup> gaŋ	MAR	γose	*SAM	vave
NGA	fo <sup>?</sup> e-βa <sup>?</sup> e	LAU	ʔeli <sup>?</sup> eli	*MEL	[pelēpele]
*SIK	ropo	KWO	ʔaferu	*TAH	ʔoi <sup>?</sup> oi
RTI	lai-lai	*RAG	vilehi	RAP	horou

YAM Also *makšerĩ*.

KAL *dalas + na-*.

TAG Also *tūlin + ma-*.

AKL *dali<sup>?</sup> + ma-*.

MOL *dali<sup>?</sup> + mo-*.

KAG Also *dalas*.

BLA *blatik* 'fast'.

SAB *sapat + a*; also *samut + a-*; *likkas + a-* (of person or vehicle).

MUR Also *māug* (of current).

ACE Also [*sigra*] from Sanskrit, *nujāŋ*, *draih*.

MIN Also *guluy<sup>?</sup>*.

IND Also *ləkas*.

- BAL *engal* ‘at once, quickly’; *gaŋsar* ‘quick’ when walking or running; *eñcol* ‘rushed, in a hurry’; *čəpət* ‘be quick to understand, have a ‘quick’ mind’.
- GOR Also *mo-li<sup>ɔ</sup>gahu* and *mo-lamemeto*.
- DAA Also *na-sasinta*, *na-salisa*.
- UMA Also *mo-gasi*, *mo-liga<sup>?</sup>*.
- KON Also *aŋ-ŋaro-ŋaro (karo)* ‘in a hurry’; *timpala*; *ita<sup>?</sup>* ‘quickly’; *hebbere*, *‘lassiri*.
- WOL Also *ma-si<sup>ɔ</sup>ka*.
- SIK Also *ropo roβit*, *bla<sup>?</sup>a-ŋ*.
- BUR Also onomatopoetic *cike-cake* (e.g. fast typing, drum playing).
- SAW Also *n-bable*.
- TAK ‘quick-only’.
- MAB Also *loŋa*, *wis*; *res* ‘of flowing movement’; *burup* ‘suddenly’.
- YAB Also *sepsep* ‘quick as lightning’; *ŋa-gao* ‘quick, deft’; *gao-geŋ* ‘easy-only’ i.e. ‘at once, quickly’.
- KAU Also *nagnaŋ*.
- TOL ‘act quickly, be quick’.
- TAW *i bulili* ‘he runs/goes fast’; *wam sagesage-na* ‘a fast boat/plane/car (not used of animate beings)’.
- MEK Also *pa-afi-afi* and *ŋoa-ŋoa* (see 14.230), *paŋa* (corresponding to Motu *haraya*), and *paŋa-paŋa*.
- ROV *tuture* ‘come quickly’; *rerege* ‘fly fast, run fast’.
- RAG Also *vilvilehi*.
- LEW Also *kawa*, *marera*.
- POR Also *navil*.
- KWA Also *ak<sup>wak<sup>w</sup></sup>*.
- KIR *waetata* (of movement); *baitata* ‘deftly, quick in doing things’; *wītata* (of speech); *tawe*.
- MSH Also *yur*, *ḷlaεoεo* (of vessels).
- WLE *kiŋi*, *ttiri* also ‘prompt, early’.
- WFI Also *rewarewa*.
- RTU Also *miči*.
- SAM Also *saosaoa*, *ŋāsolo*, *tele-vave* (vb intrans).
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *fa<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>oi<sup>?</sup>oi*, *ha<sup>?</sup>ape<sup>?</sup>epe<sup>?</sup>e*, *vave*; *ha<sup>?</sup>avitititi*.



## 14.220 SLOW

ATA	ma-čukiʔ	UMA	pieʔ	*ROV	hithite
TSO	poxaʔo	BUG	ma-tiŋŋiʔ	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> oyei
RUK	ŋi-a-balay	*KON	deŋkeŋ	LAU	lea toʔou
PAI	k-əm-al <sup>y</sup> u	*WOL	ma-lu <sup>n</sup> tu	KWO	gole
YAM	mawali	*MAG	heʃol	*RAG	ravrava
ISN	natakalāŋ	NGA	mave	PAA	daun
*KAL	bannay	SIK	mauk	*LEW	malum <sup>w</sup> u
*TAG	bāgal	RTI	koe-koe	POR	me <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ao
*AKL	hīnay	BUR	roho-roho	NTA	metəŋ
PAL	mələmbat	*DOB	butemuy	*KWA	-iek
*MOL	lalay	IRA	ʃematə	NEM	meiñ
*KAG	luya	SAW	lew-ləw	CEM	céi
BLA	leʔet	NYI	amunum	AJI	yidō
SAB	lallay + a	*MAM	maraʔa-tago	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> i
*MUR	mototoy	*TAK	pasak-na-mi	NEN	kuremug
MGY	mi-adana	DAM	ʔoinene	*KIR	rem <sup>w</sup> e
*ACE	[pʷuluhʷəŋ]	*MAB	riŋa	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> at
BAT	lab'bat	*YAB	malo-gəŋ	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ant
MIN	lambeʔ	KAU	hinhin	WLE	mm <sup>w</sup> ai
*IND	lambat	*TOL	vavʷəŋ	EFI	berabera
*SUN	[kəndor]	BUA	kəpək	*WFI	berebere
JAV	aləŋ	ADZ	isiʔ (isiʔ)	*RTU	fepi
MAD	laun	*KIL	sitanasitana	*TON	māmālie
BAL	adeŋ	*TAW	wam i bam	*SAM	teleŋese
*SAS	enak		hota	*MEL	[vāraka]
*GOR	mo-boyu	MOT	metairametaira	*TAH	tāere
DAA	na-ole	*MEK	pa-kaipa-kai	RAP	koraʔiti

KAL *bannay + na-*.

TAG *bāgal + ma-*.

AKL *hīnay + ma-*.

MOL *lalay + mo-*.

KAG Also *inay-inay*.

MUR Also *ma[lambat]* from Malay.

ACE From Malay; also *bačut-bačut*, see 13.170.

IND Also *pər-lahan-lahan*.

SUN From Malay *kəndor?*, also *laun*.

SAS	Also <i>adeŋ</i> .
GOR	Also <i>mo-opoto</i> ( <i>wopoto + mo-</i> ).
KON	Also <i>malliq</i> ; ' <i>mi?mili</i> 'way one does something'.
WOL	Also <i>ma-noe</i> .
MAG	(of walking); also <i>ʉgejɔl</i> .
DOB	Also <i>k<sup>w</sup>ay'moy</i> .
MAM	Also <i>aboaboabe</i> .
TAK	'slowness-at-only'.
MAB	<i>riŋa</i> 'slowly' (adv.); <i>-naunau</i> 'be slow, reluctant in doing something'; <i>yomyōm</i> 'slacken off'; <i>-zuar</i> 'be slow'; <i>-ŋguol</i> 'be lazy'.
YAB	'slow-only'.
TOL	'be slow, long time'; also <i>vovovon</i> 'slow(ly)', only used with other verbs.
KIL	'little, little'; also <i>-kasai</i> 'slow, difficult'; <i>-yobali</i> 'be slow, delay coming' (see 14.170, 240).
TAW	<i>wam i bam hota</i> 'the boat is really slow'; <i>iwihinihinibiga</i> 'he is lazy/slow'.
MEK	<i>pa-kai</i> 'be careful, act properly', thence 'go slow, slowly'.
ṚŌŪ	<i>hihite</i> 'slow, soft (of radio)'; also <i>ninideke</i> (of speech, working).
RAG	'slowly'.
LEW	Also <i>kila-male-ni</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-maru</i> also 'easy, soft'.
KIR	Also <i>m<sup>were</sup></i> ; <i>waerem<sup>w</sup>e</i> 'slow to move (lit slow leg)'; <i>bairem<sup>w</sup>e</i> 'slow in doing things (lit 'slow hand')'.
MSH	<i>ʀum<sup>w</sup>wic</i> also 'late', Western dialect; Eastern dialect <i>ʀuŋic</i> .
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ant</i> also 'late'; <i>wai</i> 'slow to move'; <i>koŋ</i> 'slow to mature'.
WFI	Also <i>βa-hewa</i> .
RTU	Also <i>føp</i> .
TON	Also <i>āloŋa</i> .
SAM	Also <i>lēmū</i> , <i>tuai</i> (see 14.170).
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>ha<sup>?</sup>amarirau</i> , <i>taupupū</i> .

## 14.230 HASTEN, HURRY

ATA	naβiβuiy	UMA	sahu	MAR	γose
*TSO	-pɕiro	BUG	ma-sittaʔ	LAU	lak <sup>w</sup> alak <sup>w</sup> a
RUK	kili-moa	KON	aʔ-paka-	KWO	ʔaferu(-a)
PAI	ma-puru-pur		'lassiri	RAG	suv <sup>w</sup> a
YAM	mibərɸər	*WOL	po-agori	*PAA	loh
ISN	mag-karu	*MAG	diki-dakaŋ	LEW	yuroro
*KAL	dāgus	NGA	roʔi	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> i <sup>m</sup> brias
*TAG	ma-daliʔ	*SIK	sadadata-ŋ	NTA	-aut
*AKL	daliʔ	RTI	naka-la-lai-k	*KWA	-aruk <sup>w</sup> əpin
PAL	məsigrəʔ	BUR	rabo	*NEM	hen taru
*MOL	daliʔ	*DOB	lak <sup>w</sup> ay ʔuʔu	CEM	pî-êpin
*KAG	da'liʔ	IRA	rararə	AJI	vi beɾē
BLA	fa-flal	SAW	n-ε-mla	*XAR	manĩri
*SAB	daiʔdaiʔ	NYI	suwi	*NEN	ñide
*MUR	māgow	MAM	uaiʔiʔi	*KIR	kawaetata
MGY	manau	*TAK	wulwale-mi-	*MSH	ap <sup>w</sup> əpp <sup>w</sup> əp <sup>w</sup>
	faingana		ao	*PON	kapiser
*ACE	pu-bagaih	DAM	ɸē	WLE	xa-paka
BAT	hudus	*MAB	-piyar	EFI	kusa
MIN	gagēh	YAB		WFI	βalaβala
*IND	bər-gəgas	KAU	pus	RTU	saŋsaŋa
SUN	buru-buru	*TOL	vut	TON	fakavave
JAV	kə-susu	BUA	βoŋ rasap	*SAM	tope
*MAD	[kaburu]	*ADZ	fa-suŋ	MEL	sōnā
*BAL	ŋ-ɛŋgal-aŋ	*KIL	ku-nanak <sup>w</sup> a	*TAH	faʔaʔoiʔoi
SAS	gupuh	*TAW	unabulili	*RAP	horou
GOR	ʔo-huleleto	MOT	haraya		
DAA	nə <sup>m</sup> pari	*MEK	e-fia-koə		
	<sup>m</sup> pari	*ROV	vahutureia		

TSO *au-pɕiro* 'go/come in a hurry'; *ou-pɕiro* 'eat in a hurry', etc.

KAL *dāgus* + *-on*.

TAG *ma-daliʔ* + *mag-*; also [*apura*], from Spanish *apurar* 'fret'.

AKL *daliʔ* + *-un*.

MOL *daliʔ* + *ko-/og-do-*.

KAG *da'liʔ* + *mag-/əŋ-*; also *apura* + *mag-*.

SAB *daiʔdaiʔ* + *ag-*; also *samut* + *pa-*

- MUR (adj) 'in a hurry', *pulaliʔ* (mag- -in) (vb trans).
- ACE Also *pu-[sigra]*, see 14.210.
- IND Also *lėkas*, *čėpat*, *buru-buru*.
- MAD From Malay, see Stevens (1968).
- BAL (vb trans), *m-engal-engal-an* (vb intrans), also (N-) *eñcol-aŋ*; (N-) *pə-bəčat-in* 'speed up'.
- WOL Also *ago-agori*.
- MAG 'hasty', also *doko-dakaŋ*.
- SIK Also *ropo roβit*.
- DOB ?*uʔu* 'intensifier'.
- TAK 'slowly go' (14.210, 10.470).
- MAB *-piyar* 'hurry someone'; *-paguruk* 'hurry a task'; intransitive: *kete-ipitpit* lit 'liver jumps', also *kete-gurukguruk*.
- TOL Also *vutvut*.
- ADZ 'go quick'.
- KIL 'you-hurry'.
- TAW 'you run'.
- MEK Also *e-pa-afi-afi* and *e-pa-ŋoa-ŋoa*.
- ROV Also *varereyea*.
- PAA Also 'run'.
- KWA Also *-ok<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>*.
- NEM 'go fast'.
- XAR Also *piriñ*.
- NEN Also *ziko(n)*.
- KIR Causative form, from *waetata* 'fast'; also *kāraki*.
- MSH Also *p<sup>ɬ</sup>icəkoŋkoŋ*.
- PON See *piserala* 'go off in a hurry'.
- SAM Also *topetope* (vb intrans); *nati* 'hasten to get something (vb intrans)'; *taʔalise* (vb intrans) 'hurry'.
- TAH Also *haʔapeʔepeʔe*.
- RAP Also *keʔo-keʔo*.

## 14.240 RETARD, DELAY

ATA	ma-ta-hua- huway	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-sae	ROV	lopu tuturei
TSO		*UMA	poka-pie?	MAR	paipailiyi
RUK		BUG	mappa-tanʒeŋ	LAU	malawela
PAI		KON	a?-pa-lette?	KWO	fa?agole-a
YAM	painyinan		hattumaje	RAG	
ISN	mata?ta	*WOL	pa-sowo	PAA	
*KAL	taktak	MAG	re <sup>ɔ</sup> ge	LEW	kila varuru
*TAG	bālam	NGA	soje	POR	
*AKL	pa-būhay	*SIK	hakə-ŋ	NTA	-olm <sup>w</sup> e
PAL	ipɔ-[lambat]	*RTI	napa- <sup>ɔ</sup> ge	*KWA	-o tənɔn
MOL	agak	BUR	roho-roho	NEM	
*KAG	a'wat	*DOB	?a-dem	CEM	
*BLA	f-le?et		?aywata ya?a	*AJI	ɔowi
SAB	teggol + a	IRA		XAR	çitōa
*MUR	iŋa?	SAW	n-εsue	NEN	čačalan
*MGY	mangataka and <sup>ɽ</sup> u	NYI		*KIR	waerem <sup>w</sup> e
*ACE	pu-dudɔə	MAM	mulea?i	*MSH	aeperper
*BAT	[lat]	*TAK	-ab-tuani	PON	kɔromp <sup>w</sup> a
MIN	ta-lambe?	*DAM	kū ɸene-ya	*WLE	xaɸ <sup>w</sup> oŋi
*IND	mənunda (tunda)	*MAB	-lil	EFI	βaka-bera-a
*SUN	nunda (tunda)	*YAB	-lena	WFI	βa-bere-nia
JAV	ŋ-rəndət	KAU	iyak	*RTU	fep-?aki
MAD	čiččir	*TOL	vəvuən-e	*TON	fakatuai?i
BAL	ŋ-aden-əŋ	BUA	nəkɔpək	*SAM	tuai
SAS	ŋ-aden-əŋ	*ADZ	fa-isi?	MEL	toro-vāraka
*GOR	molohudu	*KIL	ku-yobali	*TAH	fa?atāere
		*TAW	yohola	RAP	ŋe?i
		*MOT	heyonu		
		*MEK	e-pa-kai		

KAL *taktak* + -on.

TAG *bālam* + -um-/-in; also *tagal* + pa-; *bāgal* + pa- 'make slow'.

AKL *pa-būhay* 'extend'; *awat* 'bother'.

KAG *a'wat* + mag-.

BLA *f-ɔŋɔ?* 'delay (someone)'.

MUR *iŋa?* (mag- -in); also *tauli* (mapa-; pa- -on).

MGY From *maN-hataka* + and<sup>ɽ</sup>u.

- ACE See 14.170.
- BAT Also [*tarlat*] from Dutch.
- IND Also *kə-lambat-an*.
- SUN Also [*kəndor*]-*kin*, see note 14.220.
- GOR ‘delay’
- UMA Also *poka-hae*.
- WOL ‘withdraw, postpone’.
- SIK Also *nehək, nehək namar*.
- RTI Also *nama-<sup>u</sup>ge*.
- DOB ‘he does hinderance to’.
- TAK ‘hold-cover’.
- DAM ‘delay-INF’.
- MAB *matapot* ‘slow in doing’; *riŋariŋa* ‘slowly’; *-pun mēte* ‘cause to cease’.
- YAB ‘hesitate’.
- TOL See 14.220, *-e* trans.
- ADZ ‘go slow’.
- KIL ‘you-slow’.
- TAW Verbal particle ‘later’; also *todi* ‘be delayed’.
- MOT ‘mix up and so slow someone down’.
- MEK *e-pa-kai* ‘go slowly and carefully, act properly’; [*e-pa-leitsi*] ‘make late’.
- KWA Also *-o tup<sup>w</sup>a, -o kəməŋ; -əwi penpen* ‘postpone an event’.
- AJI Also *yidō*.
- KIR *waerem<sup>w</sup>e* lit ‘slow leg’; *kawaerem<sup>w</sup>e* causative form.
- MSH *ałokp<sup>w</sup>ar; rum<sup>w</sup>wic* Western dialect; Eastern dialect *ruŋic* also ‘slow, late, tarry’.
- WLE Causative form, from *ϕ<sup>w</sup>oŋi* ‘night, delay till night’.
- RTU Also *fəp-ʔki, aʔ-fepi-a*.
- TON Also *toloji*.
- SAM See 14.170, *faʔa-tuai* (vb trans), *faʔa-* CAUS.
- TAH Also *faʔataupupū, hʔamarirau*.

## 14.250 BEGIN, BEGINNING

Arabic: <i>awwal</i> 'first'	Sanskrit: <i>mūla-</i>	Spanish: <i>empezar</i>
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ATA	ma-na-ʔariŋ	UMA	tepuʔu	*MEK	kua
*TSO	a-xoi	BUG	mappam-	*ROV	podalae
RUK	patagili		[mula]	*MAR	funu
PAI	pa-tagilʏ	*KON	aʔ-paka-ra-	LAU	talaʔae
YAM	papoan		[mula]	KWO	etala-i
ISN	maŋgayāt	*WOL	pe-puu-ŋi	*RAG	mua
*KAL	lapu	*MAG	vaʔka-	PAA	vatte
*TAG	simulaʔ	NGA	bugu-toʔo	LEW	siari
*AKL	[umpisah]	*SIK	puʔa-ŋ	POR	to <sup>m</sup> bat-in-i
PAL	tɔŋnaʔan	RTI	[mulai]	NTA	natuouənən
*MOL	tagnaʔ	*BUR	dupa-k leu-k	*KWA	-urkakun
*KAG	[umpi'sa]	DOB	na-r-buna	NEM	pū-n
*BLA	t-am-buʔ	IRA	mabetatu	*CEM	â-tâbuihi-kó-n
*SAB	tagnaʔ	*SAW	fa-i-wɔbn-o	AJI	kā řavū
*MUR	pūn		(wɔben)	XAR	i-nābu
*MGY	fi-an-du'hana	NYI	mam <sup>w</sup> ena	NEN	ɣan
*ACE	phon	*MAM	marajaʔi	*KIR	moana
*BAT	[mula-i]	*TAK	fu-n	*MSH	cino
*MIN	[muloi]	DAM	gariya	*PON	ɬapiata
*IND	[mula i]	*MAB	-ma <sup>ɖ</sup> ga be	WLE	ɬapi
*SUN	mimiti	*YAB	ɪn	EFI	tekiβū
JAV	wiwit	KAU	hoosi	WFI	sekiβū
MAD	[awwal]	*TOL	vunə	RTU	kamata
*BAL	ñumunin	*BUA	ko rak	TON	kamata
	(ɟumu-nin)	ADZ	raʔ-	SAM	ʔāmata
*SAS	[mulai]	*KIL	-βitouula	*MEL	[tūlake]
*GOR	[mulayi]	TAW	wawala	*TAH	haʔamata
DAA	nom-pa[mula]	MOI	matama	RAP	haʔamata

TSO Also *a-xoz-a*.KAL *lapu + man-/-an*.TAG Also *[umpisa]*.AKL *[umpisah] + -an*.MOL *tagnaʔ + -um-/-an*.

- KAG *umpi'sa + mag-* 'begin'; *ka?umpisaan* ([*umpisa*] + *ka-* -*an*) 'beginning'.
- BLA *t-am-bu?* 'begin'; *gu-t-am-bu?* 'beginning'.
- SAB *tagna? + aN-* 'begin'; *tagna?-an* 'beginning'.
- MUR Also *talimpūn*.
- MGY From *fi-anduha-ana*.
- ACE Also *asay, away*.
- BAT [*mula*]-*i* (vb); [*mula*] (n).
- MIN Also [*mulo*].
- IND [*mula*]*ji* 'begin'; *pər-[mula]-an, [awal]* 'beginning'.
- SUN From Javanese, also [*wiwitan*] from Javanese; [*awal*].
- BAL (*N-*)*ǰumu-nin* 'begin'; *pəñumu* (*pəN-* *ǰumu*) 'beginning'.
- ᯊAS Also [*awal*].
- GOR Also *mo-[mula]yi* 'to begin'; [*mulo-mulō*]-*lo* 'beginning-noun'. Also *molumulo* (*tumulo + moN-*) and *tu-u-[mul-a]* 'beginning (noun)'.
- KON Also '*buḡasa*.
- WOL *pe-puu-ŋi* 'start, begin'; *ka-pe-puu-a* 'beginning'; also *buḡasai*.
- MAG Also *pu?uŋ*.
- SIK Also *nulu-ŋ, huŋ βa?a*.
- BUR 'begin first'; *bamba* aspect marker 'immediate past, just began'; [*malai*] borrowed from Malay *mulai*; *fidi bal-bala-k* 'from the beginning (of the time period in question)'; *lahi-n* 'beginning (of story)'.
- SAW 'from the new/first'.
- MAM Also *matamata*.
- TAK See 12.340.
- MAB *manga be* (+ sentence), *manga pa* (+ NP) 'begin to do'; *-kam matāna pa, -we matāna pa* 'be first one to do s.th.'; *-kam māta pa* 'start s.th.'; *mata popo* 'beginning', also *-pumūngu*.
- YAB 'origin, beginning'.
- TOL *vunə* 'the beginning (n)', 'begin, commence (vb)', see 02.820, 17.420.
- BUA Also *ñε muginsen*.
- KIL *-βitouula* 'begin'; *kalaβitouula* 'its beginning'.
- MEK *kua* originally 'nose', also 'beginning'; *e-?ina* 'begin'.
- ROV Also *punodalaena* 'beginning'.
- MAR *funu* (vb); *k<sup>h</sup>ukru* (n).



RAG	‘beginning’.
KWA	Also <i>-arawerəŋ</i> also ‘open’; <i>-ewa</i> also ‘leap, fly off’; <i>urkuməŋ</i> also ‘crack open’.
CEM	‘place where it starts’; also <i>wàtihe-n</i> ‘its origin’.
KIR	(vb trans) also <i>te moa</i> .
MSH	Also <i>buŋ</i> (vb intrans), also ‘come into existence’.
PON	Also <i>tapīta</i> ; <i>ŋeŋe</i> ‘covet food’ with agent formant <i>tia</i> ; <i>tapi</i> 3sg POSS; also ‘base of tree’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>haʔamatarəʔa, ʔomuaraʔa</i> ‘beginning’.

#### 14.252 LAST, ENDURE

ATA		*GOR	mo-ʔo-	BUA	nədo yus adiŋ
*TSO	a-sŋiʔi		[tāhaŋi]	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pa(i)
RUK	pa-ka-olay	*DAA	na-i <sup>n</sup> ti	*KIL	-si-gaga
PAI		UMA	<sup>n</sup> taha	*TAW	mamae
YAM		BUG	tahaŋ	*MOT	noho/mia
ISN	nanāyun	KON	parrəŋ		daudau
*KAL	donoy	WOL		MEK	e-kina
*TAG	tagal	MAG	taʔoŋ	ROV	koahola
*AKL	būhay	NGA	dəŋo	MAR	au au
PAL	kətimpušan	SIK	piʔe	LAU	ʔisi na
*MOL	ogon	RTI	naka- <sup>n</sup> do	KWØ	
*KAG	lugay	*BUR	geha	RAG	
BLA	t-m-əyud	*DOB	ʔuwatu	PAA	dō lāti
SAB	sandal + a-	IRA		*LEW	su yam viavi
*MUR	tān	SAW	n-əfen	POR	<sup>m</sup> be <sup>m</sup> beav
*MGY	maharitra	*NYI	udu luluwen	*NTA	-atultuβəh
*ACE	thuun	MAM	enoŋasalaga-	KWA	-ara
BAT			laga	NEM	waye-n
MIN	lamo-ño	TAK		CEM	
*IND	bər-laŋsuŋ	DAM	metuk	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã
SUN		*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> bot ma	XAR	
JAV	ləstari		molo	NEN	seserekan
MAD	sərraʔ	YAB		*KIR	tematoa
BAL		*KAU	sii-n-dak nuk	MSH	to
SAS		TOL		PON	werei

*WLE	xoşo	RTU	noh roa	MEL	
EFI	dedē	TON	toloŋa	TAH	vai maoro
WEI	čuei	*SAM		RAP	

TSO Also *a-sŋiç-a*.

KAL *donoy + man-*.

TAG Also *luwat + mag-*.

AKL *būhay + mag-*.

MOL *ogon + og-ko-*.

KAG *lugay + mag-*.

MUR *tān (ma-)*.

MGY From (*maha-ari*ra).

ACE From Arabic.

IND Also *tahan, lama*.

GOR From Malay *tahan*.

DAA (of things).

BUR Also *oma-k*.

DOB ‘strong, lasting’.

NYI ‘stay long’.

MAB Also *-<sup>m</sup>bot ma alok*.

KAU ‘base-its-? stay’.

KIL ‘stay long-time’, ‘endure for a long time’; also *-si-βagasi* ‘stay for a very long time, for ever’; *gala b-i-wokuβa* ‘not it-will-finish, unending, enduring’, frequently doubled, giving the sense of ‘for ever and ever’.

TAW Also (dialect) *memae*.

MOT *noho* ‘remain, exist (of living things)’; *mia* ‘remain, exist (of inanimate objects)’; *daudau* ‘distant (of place or time)’.

LEW ‘exist for long time’.

NTA Also *-aməlh tuβəh*.

KIR ‘stand firm’, also ‘stable, solid’; *aki bane* ‘not exhausted’.

WLE Also *wō*.

SAM cf. the paraphrase *?o le ā le ?umi o* ‘what is the length (*?umi*) of?’

## 14.260 END (temporal)

Arabic: <i>āhir</i>
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ATA		UMA	ka-hudu-a	*MEK	(e-)fua
TSO		*BUG	pura	ROV	vinabetona
RUK	kaθanə	*KON	aʔ-pi-labbus-i	MAR	
PAI	pu-amil		('labbusu)	LAU	ʔsiɣana
YAM	paŋaʂovanna	*WOL	ka-(m)paɗa-a	KWO	ʔisila-i
ISN	panda	MAG	čəmöl	RAG	
KAL	anūŋus	*NGA	meɗa	PAA	
*TAG	wakas	*SIK	baʔa	*LEW	lua-sia
AKL	ka-tapūs-an	RTI	ma-teʔe-n	POR	ʎge-xer
PAL	kətimpušan	*BUR	sepo haik	NTA	namnun
*MOL	tobos	*DOB	ɸuy	KWA	-ɸa
*KAG	katapu'san	IRA		NEM	koin
BLA	gu-sen	*SAW	wəre	*CEM	â-nâb <sup>w</sup> en
SAB	toɓtoɓ	NYI	ano	AJI	lē
MUR	polos	MAM	mamboaʔi	XAR	i-fa-cok <sup>w</sup> a
MGY	fara-ni	TAK		*NEN	bun
ACE	[akhé]	DAM	bure	KIR	toki
BAT	újuɣ	*MAB	-map	MSH	cem <sup>w</sup> lɔk
MIN	[akiʔ]	*YAB	-tem	*PON	ɬok
*IND	[axir]	KAU	ponsol	*WLE	ffaʂo
SUN	[ahir]	*TOL	mutuai-nə	EFI	tini
*JAV	puŋkas-an	BUA	ɣus	WFI	i-sinisini
MAD	ubus	ADZ	<sup>n</sup> ɸup-	RTU	aʔ-øfiŋa
*BAL	pəñuud	*KIL	kala	TON	ŋata
SAS	[akhir]		βigimkoβila	*SAM	iʔu
GOR	[ʔāhiri]	TAW	sigana	MEL	moa
DAA	ka-opu-na	*MOT	doko	*TAH	hopeʔa
				RAP	oti

TAG Also *ka-tapus-an*.MOL *tobos + ko--an*.KAG From (*tapus + ka- -an*).IND Also *kə-sudah-an*.JAV Also [*wasɔnɔ*] from Sanskrit.

BAL	( <i>pə-N-suud</i> ); <i>suud</i> ‘be finished, over’.
BUG	Also <i>čappu</i> .
KON	Also <i>ka-maeŋ-aŋ, pa-tappus-aŋ</i> ( <i>tappusu</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>ka-pupu-a, kiama</i> .
NGA	Also <i>ɣora</i> .
SHK	Also <i>βutu-ŋ naŋ baʔa</i> .
BUR	Also <i>esnege-n</i> .
DOB	As in <i>φulan φuy</i> ‘end of the month’, <i>ʔama φisi k<sup>w</sup>er φuy-ye-ti</i> ‘our time here is up’.
SAW	Also <i>wɔɾε-ro</i> .
MAB	Also <i>-met</i> .
YAB	(vb intrans); also <i>gedo</i> ‘end (n)’, e.g. <i>komò-gedo</i> ‘end of wet season’.
TOL	Also <i>ŋu-nə, mutuai-nə</i> also means ‘the last one’, <i>-na</i> DEREL.
KIL	‘its end’; also <i>bog<sup>w</sup>a le-i-wokuβa</i> ‘already COMPL-it-end’, ‘it is finished’, both temporal and spatial reference.
MOT	Also <i>ore</i> ‘end (temporal or of quantity)’.
MEK	Also <i>ŋoaŋoa</i> (both verbs).
LEW	See 12.350.
CEM	‘place where it finishes’.
NEN	Also <i>wabun</i> .
PON	Also <i>ikia-la</i> ‘be at the end of’; <i>era-la, -la</i> ‘away’.
WLE	Also <i>ūxū</i> .
SAM	<i>iʔu-ŋa, -ŋa</i> NOM.
TAH	Also <i>faʔaotiraʔa, otiʔa</i> .

## 14.270 FINISH

ATA	<i>manakruʔ</i>	*TAG	<i>tāpos</i>	*MUR	<i>kaiʔ</i>
*TSO	<i>a-rpīŋi</i>	*AKL	<i>tāpus</i>	*MGY	<i>manapitra</i>
RUK	<i>wa-ļəpəŋə</i>	PAL	<i>təbəs</i>	ACE	<i>pui-lhuəh</i>
PAI	<i>ma-gutəm</i>	*MOL	<i>tobos</i>	*BAT	<i>'sæ</i>
YAM	<i>pakavoşən</i>	*KAG	<i>tapusun</i>	*MIN	<i>abih</i>
ISN	<i>nabalin</i>	BLA	<i>f-an-ŋi</i>	*IND	<i>sələsai</i>
*KAL	<i>gaŋput</i>	SAB	<i>ubus</i>	*SUN	<i>aŋgis</i>

*JAV	rampuŋ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʳano	POR	no <sup>ŋ</sup> g
*MAD	mari	MAM	manubu	NTA	-olnamnun
*BAL	suud	TAK		*KWA	-os(i)atarini
*SAS	[akhir]	DAM	bure	*NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wai figi
*GOR	mo-po <sup>ʔ</sup> o- lapato	*MAB	-pemet	CEM	nâb <sup>w</sup> en
		*YAB	-yâ <sup>ʔ</sup> dabiŋ	AJI	pɛ cowa
DAA	no- <sup>m</sup> paka- opu	*KAU	uspo	XAR	fa-cok <sup>w</sup> a
UMA	hudu	*TOL	və-pər	*NEN	as
BUG	littu	BUA	βoŋ ɣoβək	*KIR	katiā
		ADZ	<sup>n</sup> çup-	*MSH	cem <sup>w</sup> lɔk
*KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -pi-labbus-i (‘labbusu)	*KIL	-βigimkuloβi	PON	keim <sup>w</sup> isak
		*TAW	-wolo	*WLE	xəɾet̄
WOL	paɖa	*MOT	ha-ore-a	EFI	tini-a
*MAG	poli	*MEK	pu	WFI	sini
NGA	moli	ROV	beto	RTU	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -vɔhi
*SIK	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> a	MAR	ñafa	TON	<sup>ʔ</sup> osi
RTI	na-tetu	LAU	suina	*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> a- <sup>ʔ</sup> uma
BUR	sepo	KWO	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> asui-a	MEL	weji
DOB	na- <sup>ʔ</sup> a'may	*RAG	noyo	*TAH	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> aoti
*IRA	bonəbeñati	PAA	vus	RAP	hakamao
SAW	re-wɔre	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> isi		

TSO Also *a-rpiŋ-a*.

KAL *gaŋput + -on*.

TAG *tāpos + mag-/in*.

AKL *tāpus + -un*.

MOL *tobos + mog-*.

KAG *tapus + mag-/ma-/ən*.

MUR *kai<sup>ʔ</sup>* (*maŋ-*, irregular passive *koyōn*) ‘use up’; *poŋo* (*maka-*; *ma-*) ‘complete’.

MGY From (*maN-tapit<sup>ʔ</sup>a*).

BAT Also *siduŋ*.

MIN From *\*habis* ‘all, entirely; completed finished off’; also *salasay*.

IND Also *məñudah-i* (*sudah*), *habis*.

SUN Also [*tamat*] from Arabic *tammat*.

JAV ‘finished, over; complete’.

MAD One morpheme.

- BAL *suud* ‘be over; be finished’; *uud* ‘almost over e.g. of a market, a season’ see also 14.280. *subə* ‘already (aspectual)’; *tələh* ‘all gone, used up’.
- SAS From Arabic *āhir* ‘end’, Teeuw: ‘finished, done with’: *bis*; *bih*, *bi?*; *bue?*.
- GOR Also *mo-poʔo-ʔāhu*.
- KON *aʔ-pi-labbus-i* ‘to use up’; *aʔ-pa-maen*; *aʔ-pa-tepu* ‘finish something being made’.
- MAG ‘finished’; also ‘already’.
- SIK Also *saʔe baʔa*.
- IRA Also *bonəbe mənu*.
- MAB Also *-posop*.
- YAB ‘strike conclusion’; also *-yàʔmata* ‘strike its eye’.
- KAU ‘use up’; also *suk* ‘complete’.
- TOL *və* CAUS, *pər* ‘be finished, complete (vb intrans)’.
- KIL ‘to end (it)’; also *-βinaku* ‘finish doing something’.
- TAW Verbal suffix ‘complete work’.
- MOT ‘cause to be finished/end’.
- MEK *e-apa-fua* also ‘finish (vb intrans)’; *e-pa-apa-fua* is ‘finish (vb trans)’.
- RAG Also *yasi*, *gasi* ‘be finished’.
- KWA *-os(i) atarini* ‘finish, bring to a close’; *-k<sup>w</sup>iri*, *-kurau* also ‘circle, pass by, happen’; *-o sampam* ‘do the last one’, i.e., ‘complete’.
- NEM ‘do completely’.
- NEN Also *aseni*.
- KIR *katiā* causative form, from of *tia* ‘finish’; *kabanea* causative form, from of *bane* ‘exhausted, gone, all’.
- MSH *-lok* ‘away’.
- WLE *xaretō* causative form, from *reta* ‘finished, completed, consumed’; *xesaϕ<sup>wō</sup>* causative form, from *saϕ<sup>wō</sup>* ‘finished, completed’; *xemanō* causative form, from *mano* ‘finished, ready’; *xaceceta*.
- SAM *faʔa-* CAUS, *ʔuma* ‘be finished (vb intrans)’; also *faʔa-māeʔa* ‘finish, put an end to, terminate (vb trans)’; *faʔa-* CAUS, *māeʔa* ‘be finished, complete’.
- TAH Also *faʔahope*; *oti* ‘finished’.

## 14.280 CEASE, STOP

*ATA	muhjik	UMA	me- <sup>n</sup> to <sup>o</sup>	MAR	ñafa
TSO	noxa <sup>o</sup>	BUG	map-pesau	LAU	laŋina
RUK	i-a-ḍəŋərə	*KON	amm-aññaŋ	*KWO	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> asui-a
PAI	s-əm-əkəz	WOL	u <sup>n</sup> to	RAG	
YAM	iptaḍ	MAG	asi	PAA	vati
ISN	makusap	*NGA	məḍe	LEW	su-woyo-ni
*KAL	lipsut	SIK	nari	*POR	tasi
*TAG	hinto <sup>ʔ</sup>	RTI	na-te <sup>ʔ</sup> e	NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> as
*AKL	[punduh]	*BUR	de-a-k	*KWA	-ḥa
*PAL	tuməŋaw	*DOB	ʔa-sak <sup>w</sup> an ḥay	NEM	
*MOL	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> loŋ	IRA	do	*CEM	cūt
*KAG	tə <sup>n</sup> əŋ	*SAW	n-təben	*ΛJI	cowa
BLA	fanak	*NYI	ado rasi	XAR	tā
*SAB	dohoŋ	*MAM	do <sup>ʔ</sup> i-mate	NEN	sere lo
*MUR	dodo <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAK	-tout	KIR	toki
MGY	mi-ḥahatra	DAM	bure	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> əçrak
*ACE	piyoh	*MAB	-ur ni-	*PON	tok
BAT	sə	*YAB	-lewaŋ	WLE	üxiifaxi
MIN	bar-anti	*KAU	mut put	EFI	modu
IND	bər-henti	TOL	par	WFI	muju
SUN	irən	BUA	su βoŋ rə	RTU	vəhi
*JAV	ŋ-əndək	ADZ	<sup>n</sup> ḥup-	TON	tuku
MAD	arnbu	*KIL	desi	*SAM	pau
*BAL	suud	*TAW	talagagali	MEL	weci
*SAS	mən-tələh	*MOT	doko	*TAH	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> aea
*GOR	mo-dutu	*MEK	e-apa-kipo	RAP	haka noho
DAA	ne-no <sup>n</sup> to	ROV	noso		

ATA Also *muhjaw*.

KAL *lipsut* + *-um/-an*.

TAG *hinto<sup>ʔ</sup>* + *-um-* (vb intrans); *pa--in* (vb trans); also *tigil* ‘suspend’, *pigil* ‘prevent’.

AKL [*punduh*] + *-un* from Spanish *punto* ‘point, period’.

PAL *pataran* ‘have a rest’.

MOL *ta<sup>ʔ</sup>loŋ* + *-urn/-an*.

KAG *tənəŋ* (of temporary halt); *untat* + *mag-* (of total halt).

SAB *dohoŋ* + *pa-*; also *hali* + *pa-*.

- MUR *dodo?* (-um-) ‘cease an activity (temporarily)”; *logo?* (-um-) ‘cease an activity (permanently)”; *uog* (-um-) ‘stop, halt (of moving object)”; *linos* (-um-) ‘stop, cease (of pain)’.
- ACE Also *pu-[dɔŋ]* from Mon-Khmer.
- JAV Also *m-andək*.
- BAL *suud* ‘stop’ (plus complement clause); (N-) *suud-in*; (N-) *suud-aŋ* ‘cease, stop’ (plus complement clause), see also 14.270.
- SAS See 04.912.
- GOR Also *mo-[bere<sup>n</sup>di]* from Malay *bərhenti*.
- KON Also *amm-ari*.
- NGA Also *mezza*.
- BUR As in ‘stop on the trail’; *es-gac* ‘finish a job’; (*deka-t*) *dere* ‘rain stops, lets up’.
- DOB Also *na-diyala* *ɸay* (*ɸay* ‘from’).
- SAW Also *re-wɔɾɛ*.
- NYI ‘stay one (place)’.
- MAM Also *manubu*.
- MAB ‘put skin’; *kete-su* lit ‘liver goes down’, ‘rest from doing s.th.’; *-met pa*, *map-pa* ‘quit doing’; *-zem* ‘stop doing’.
- YAB For example *-lcwaŋ kom* ‘cease to work’.
- KAU ‘stop middle’; also *poh* ‘stop raining’.
- KIL *desi* ‘stop’; *-sim* ‘stay there’.
- TAW *talagagali* ‘refuse/stop/prevent/obstruct someone’; *boho* ‘stop motor or lamp’; *dela* ‘stop crying’; *woidedela* ‘cause to stop crying’; *higolo* ‘stop raining’; *omhalohalo* ‘stop fighting’; *wihaahalana* ‘cause to stop fighting’.
- MOT Also *ha-doko-a* ‘stop’.
- MEK *e-apa-kipo* ‘stand down’, also ‘stop, halt (vb intrans)’; *e-pa-apa-kipo* is ‘stop someone, something’.
- KWO Also *sui*.
- POR (vb +) *tasi*.
- KWA Also *-arer* ‘stop (as a vehicle)’; *-ap<sup>w</sup>ah* ‘stop doing, stop happening’.
- CEM ‘stop, stand still’.
- AJI Also *tɔmā*.



PON *p<sup>w</sup>eiek* ‘stop suddenly, move backwards’; *sarata*; *ūti* ‘stop moving’;  
*mākata* ‘of rain’.

SAM *tuʔu* ‘stop, give up (vb trans)’; *tāofi* ‘stop, hold up (vb trans)’.

TAH *tāpeʔa*.

## 14.290 READY

**Sanskrit:** *sajja-*

**English:** *ready*

ATA	ma-ta-ʔari- ʔariṅ	*UMA	rodo	ROV	namnama
		BUG	sakkiʔ-tagi-	MAR	kaikaliti
TSO	a-aroḷi		tagi	LAU	adeagau
RUK	pātoḷo	*KON	[sadia]	KWO	sasari
PAI		*WOL	ma-ḍota	RAG	metue
YAM		MAG	mo <sup>ḍ</sup> kək	PAA	mesel
*ISN	nakasagāna	NGA	gea	LEW	kila-ruru
*KAL	sagāna	SIK	[sədia]	POR	[rere]
TAG	handāʔ	RTI	ma-hele	NTA	tənoḷ[rere]
AKL	haʔum	*BUR	mata-k	KWA	
PAL	paṅap	*DOB	soba	NEM	
MOL	sakap	IRA	ṅati	CEM	
KAG	iməs	*SAW	n-fa-lele	AJI	təvā
BLA	ga-tləgəd	NYI	aləkou	XAR	kā
SAB	a-momos	*MAM	ʔaluʔa	NEN	
*MUR	ʔoṅo	TAK	aria	*KIR	tauraoi
MGY	vununa	*DAM	saika	*MSH	rere
*ACE	kumaih	*MAB	[rere]	*PON	onopa-ta
BAT	raʔde	YAB		*WLE	maʔamaʔa
MIN	siap	KAU	hihi	EFI	βakarau
*IND	siap	*TOL	ləṅəlaṅə	WFI	βarau
SUN	[sadia]	BUA	yoy βu	RTU	iatita
JAV	siap	ADZ	sa <sup>ḍ</sup> ʔ-	*TON	maau
*MAD	[siyap]	*KIL	bog <sup>w</sup> a	*SAM	sāuni
*BAL	pragat	TAW	amaka	MEL	
SAS	[sədiə]	MOT	he-yaeyae	*TAH	ineine
GOR	[sadiya]	*MEK	e-fua	*RAP	[rito]
*DAA	na-[sadia]				

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ISN	<i>magindag</i> ‘wait’.
KAL	<i>uway</i> ‘wait’.
MUR	<i>ʔoŋo</i> ( <i>ma-</i> ); also [ <i>siap</i> ] ( <i>ma-</i> ) from Malay.
ACE	Also <i>čakap</i> .
IND	Also [ <i>sədia</i> ].
MAD	From Malay or Javanese.
BAL	‘completed, ready (of something made)’; [ <i>sədiə</i> ] ‘ready, of people or things.’
DAA	Also <i>na-sagena</i> .
UMA	Also [ <i>sadia</i> ].
KON	Also <i>paruru, maen</i> .
WOL	Also <i>mo<sup>n</sup>do, reko</i> ‘ready for use’.
BUR	Also <i>oto-k</i> ‘guard, watch, be ready’.
DOB	‘completed, good’.
SAW	‘make ready, become ready’; also <i>n-fa-rekato</i> .
MAM	Also <i>moatau</i> .
DAM	Also <i>saya, dodoku</i> .
MAB	Also <i>-sa be; -mata- siŋsiŋ pa</i> ‘eye is red for...’.
TOL	‘be free (to do)’.
KIL	<i>bog<sup>w</sup>a</i> ‘I’m ready’ (exclam); <i>-katubaiasa</i> ‘get ready’.
MEK	‘be finished, completed’; also [ <i>e-ledi</i> ] from English.
KIR	See <i>tau</i> ‘suitable, enough’.
MSH	Also <i>pocak</i> see <i>pɔ</i> ‘ripe (of pandanus)’.
PON	<i>-ta</i> ‘up’.
WLE	Also ‘cleared’; <i>tapa</i> .
TON	Also <i>mateuteu</i> .
SAM	‘get ready, prepare, be ready, be prepared’.
TAH	Also <i>nahonaho</i> ‘prepared’.
RAP	From Spanish <i>listo</i> .

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## 14.310 ALWAYS

Spanish: <i>firme</i>
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ATA	kari?ari?ax	BUG	saŋiŋ	*MAR	koba
*TSO	a-sŋiçi	KON	'tulusu	LAU	
RUK		WOL	sa-dia	KWO	furifuri
PAI		*MAG	mole-taŋ	RAG	tayaro
YAM	maŋdəy	NGA	liba	PAA	līseles
ISN	peyaŋ	SIK	dadi-n	LEW	silau
KAL	kanāyun	RTI	tata	POR	ita <sup>m</sup> b
*TAG	lāgi?	*BUR	lea-lea	NTA	nian rafin
AKL	[pernih]	DOB	ssel	*KWA	rerin
PAL	apus-apus	*IRA	nəφərərə	NEM	paɟēn
MOL	dadān	*SAW	[selalu]	CEM	tétēda
KAG	[pirmi]	NYI	len marakon	AJI	bā
*BLA	landə? sən	MAM	izamaizama	XAR	ī
*SAB	dadān	TAK	pempemi	NEN	iara
*MUR	adi-adi?	*DAM	φaimud	*KIR	n aki toki
MGY	man-dʳakariva	*MAB	gorgori	*MSH	aolepīen
ACE	sabe	*YAB	ŋa-paŋ	PON	pəten
BAT	tək'təŋ	*KAU	ŋin-aŋan	WLE	tau
*MIN	taruyh	*TOL	və-tikai	EFI	dau
IND	sə-lalu	BUA	yoy βu buk	*WFI	dʳou
SUN	sa-lawas-na	ADZ	māna?mana?	RTU	fa?a
JAV	məsti	*KIL	tutatuta	TON	ma?u ai pē
MAD	paggʳun	*TAW	houga	*SAM	i aso ?uma
*BAL	sətətə		magomagou-	*MEL	[saralēāçi]
SAS			na	*TAH	i te mau
*GOR	layito	*MOT	negaibou-diai		[taime]ato?a
DAA	batena	MEK	aonia(-mo)	*RAP	nō
*UMA	butu ŋ-kani	ROV	doduru toroso		

TSO Also *a-açni*.

TAG *lāgi?* + *pa-*; also *panay*, [*pirme*].

BLA *landə?* 'without end'; *k-lit* 'every time'.

SAB *dadān* + *a-*.

MUR From Malay *səhari-hari* 'daily'.

MIN	Also <i>sa-lalu</i> .
BAL	Also <i>sai(sai)</i> , <i>sasai</i> ‘every day’; from <i>*sə-wai</i> ‘every day’.
GOR	Also <i>mo-lo--a</i> , <i>mo-tolo--a</i> affixed to the root of a verb, ‘always, a great deal, a lot’.
UMA	Also <i><sup>h</sup>čuu</i> .
MAG	Contracted forms: <i>mə(n)taun</i> ; <i>ŋə<sup>n</sup>taun</i> from <i>ŋai<sup>n</sup>taun</i> .
BUR	<i>lea-lea</i> ‘every day, always’; <i>ka</i> ‘habitual aspect, always, normally’; <i>pas-kema-k</i> ‘completely, always (for time)’; <i>sin-kan-kane-k-e</i> ‘until the end of time, forever’.
IRA	Also <i>nəfətətərə</i> .
SAW	From Malay; more commonly habitual aspect marker /n/ in the verb carries the meaning, e.g. <i>n-ε-n-fan</i> ‘he always goes’.
DAM	Also <i>wededem</i> , lit ‘every day, always, most of the time’.
MAB	Also <i>totomen</i> .
YAB	Also <i>paŋ-gεŋ</i> , <i>paŋ-paŋ</i> .
KAU	<i>aŋan</i> ‘time, occasion’.
TOL	<i>və</i> CAUS, <i>tikai</i> ‘one’.
KIL	<i>tuta tuta</i> ‘time time’; <i>tutakom<sup>w</sup>aidona</i> ‘time all’.
TAW	Also <i>-wahaga</i> (verbal suffix, ‘intensifier’).
MOT	<i>nega</i> ‘time’; <i>ibou-diai</i> ‘all (3pl)’.
MAR	<i>koba</i> ‘always, often’; <i>k<sup>h</sup>uru</i> ‘always, constantly, habitually’.
KWA	Also <i>aputaha(ke)</i> .
KIR	A complement structure, lit ‘unending’.
MSH	‘every time’.
WFI	Also <i>drau</i> .
SAM	<i>i</i> LOC, <i>aso</i> ‘day’, specific pl, <i><sup>?</sup>uma</i> ‘be all, complete, finished’, see 14.270.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	<i>i te mau mahana ato<sup>?</sup>a</i> ; <i>ē<sup>?</sup>a muri noa atu</i> ‘from now on’; <i>mai te reira noa</i> ‘it is always like that’.
RAP	Also <i><sup>?</sup>avai</i> . Both are grammatical particles of the verb phrase.

## 14.320 OFTEN

ATA	mahananu?	UMA	ǰau	MEK	kina ma <sup>?</sup> o- <sup>?</sup> i-
TSO	a-sɲiɕi	BUG	tuli		ai
RUK	ta-pia-pia-pia-anə	*KON	suaŋ	ROV	hoke
		WOL	me <sup>n</sup> turu	MAR	koba
PAI		MAG	do- <sup>n</sup> kali	LAU	tesikada
YAM	maʃaŋib	NGA	ɖaŋa	KWO	furifuri
ISN	nakīrad	*SIK	βa <sup>?</sup> i gaβa-ŋ	RAG	
*KAL	kankanāyun	RTI	lai esa lai esa	*PAA	hatte haulu
*TAG	dalas	*BUR		*LEW	yamm <sup>w</sup> oki
*AKL	sunsun	*DOB	mayira	POR	xaŋas
PAL	dadan	IRA	nə <sup>ɸ</sup> a nə <sup>ɸ</sup> e	NTA	nian mən
MOL	polo-polo		derəte	*KWA	ia nəpən me
*KAG	tama [bisis]	*SAW	[səriŋ]	NEM	yamaŋ
BLA	gal	NYI	len marakon	CEM	ōhiwən
*SAB	dadan	MAM	boŋ- <sup>?</sup> o <sup>?</sup> o <sup>?</sup> o	AJI	tāye
MUR	masalək	*TAK	nalpempem	XAR	xanī
MGY	ma-tetika	*DAM	sain musei	NEN	hamayai
*ACE	[kayem]	*MAB		*KIR	
BAT	ǰo <sup>?</sup> ǰot	*YAB	tɔ-dim-tɔ-dim	*MSH	kut
*MIN	kado	*KAU	kə-kiok	PON	
IND	səriŋ	*TOL	vələ	WLE	tau
SUN	mindəŋ	BUA	bəron ŋa <sup>?</sup> i	EFI	wāsomā
*JAV	kərəp		səke	WFI	dodo
MAD	səggut	ADZ	mai <sup>?</sup> mai <sup>?</sup>	*RTU	a <sup>?</sup> -ma <sup>?</sup> oi
BAL	pəpəs	*KIL	tuta bidubadu	TON	fa <sup>?</sup> a
SAS	kərəŋ	*TAW	mala	SAM	so <sup>?</sup> o
GOR	po <sup>?</sup> o-po <sup>?</sup> o-dāta		wabihaga	*MEL	[saralēači]
		*MOT	nega momo	*TAH	pinepine
DAA	na-oso			RAP	ruŋa-ruŋa

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>-kanayan*).

TAG *dalas + ma-*; also *limit + ma-*.

AKL *sunsun + ma-*; also *sīgin + ma-*.

KAG ‘many times’ from Spanish *veces*; also *semmet*.

SAB *dadan + a-*.

ACE From Arabic *kam* ‘many’, also *sunto?*.

MIN Also *ačo?*.

JAV	Also <i>sɔʔ</i> .
KON	Also <i>biasa</i> 'usually'.
SIK	Also <i>dais</i> , <i>dai-t</i> .
BUR	Reduplication of verb; also <i>edeme-n</i> 'many, much, often'; <i>ka</i> 'habitual aspect, normally, often'.
DOB	'(by) day'.
SAW	From Malay; commonly aspect marker / <i>n</i> / in the verb e.g. <i>n-ε-n-fan</i> 'he always goes'.
TAK	'time frequently'.
DAM	'time much'.
MAB	Reduplicated verb for habitual acts.
YAB	Also <i>èleme</i> 'often but in vain'.
KAU	Reduplicated form of <i>kiok</i> 'go again'.
TOL	Prenuclear marker within the verb complex, see Mosel (1984: 116).
KIL	'time many'.
TAW	'often/few'; also (dialect) <i>mala i bihaga</i> .
MOT	<i>momo</i> 'many'.
PAA	'many times'.
LEW	Also post-verbal <i>-lue</i> .
KWA	'at times'.
KIR	Reduplication is the usual marker.
MSH	<i>kut</i> also 'thick, dense'; <i>makickic</i> also 'common'; <i>lɔŋ alen</i> lit 'many times'.
RTU	Also <i>aʔ-mou</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>haʔapinepine</i> .

### 14.330 SOMETIMES

ATA	mahananuʔ	KAL	mamiŋsan	BLA	slɔ-an
TSO	ā-sfiti	*TAG	kuŋ minsan	SAB	mahumu
RUK	yakai lo	AKL	kun amat	*MUR	[kākadaŋ]
PAI		*PAL	mɔrakəŋ	MGY	indʰainɖʰai
YAM	tomakatakaw	MOL	wada	ACE	kadaŋ
ISN	nu duddūma	KAG	kaʔi'san	BAT	si'pata

*MIN	[kutiko- kutiko]	SAW	nuen tɛptipen	POR	mari <sup>m</sup> bo <sup>ŋ</sup> g
		*NYI	len rayah	NTA	nian kit
*IND	kadaŋ-kadaŋ	MAM	boŋ-alu	*KWA	ia nəpən iti
*SUN	sa-kapiŋ	*TAK	nalkaek-kaek	NEM	
JAV	kadaŋ	*DAM	sain taka taka	CEM	
MAD	ampu	MAB	mazwāna	AJI	tɛi bōŋi
BAL	di-kenken-e		tataŋa	*XAR	b <sup>w</sup> ere-dā
SAS	ŋaraŋ	*YAB	tɔ-sawa	NEN	
GOR	ŋo-pe <sup>ʔ</sup> ē-ŋo- pe <sup>ʔ</sup> e	*KAU	uŋunankara	*KIR	n tāi tabetai
		*TOL	tə umanə buŋ	MSH	ce <sup>ʔ</sup> i en
DAA	sa <sup>ŋ</sup> gani- sa <sup>ŋ</sup> gani	BUA	bəron la	PON	
		*ADZ	gubu <sup>ʔ</sup> fain	WLE	
*UMA	po <sup>n</sup> tu-na	*KIL	mimilisituta	EFI	βāŋauna
BUG	tač-čičiŋ-čičiŋ	TAW	houga	WFI	čučuyahila
KON	tas-si-kali-kali		gehου-na	*RTU	ʔe av ʔe ʔon
WOL	sa-gaa	*MOT	negahaida		rereŋe
MAG	čā-čā- <sup>ŋ</sup> kali-n	*MEK	kina isa-ʔi-ai	TON	taimini ʔihi
NGA	se-va <sup>ʔ</sup> i-se- va <sup>ʔ</sup> i	ROV	haiga to <sup>ʔ</sup> oso	*SAM	i nisi aso
		MAR	kehafata	MEL	sereā
SIK	kasa-ŋ	LAU	tesi kada maŋa	*TAH	i te tahi
RTI	lai esa-lai esa	*KWO	ta alata		[taime]
BUR	lale-n-lale-n	RAG		RAP	to <sup>ʔ</sup> ona hora
DOB	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> aayyatu-di	*PAA	avoŋ koan		
IRA		LEW	yamtai		

TAG Also *pa-minsan-minsan*.

PAL Also *saŋmɔnu*.

MUR From Malay *kadaŋ-kadaŋ*.

MIN From Sanskrit; also *kadaŋ-kadaŋ*.

IND Also *səkali-səkali*

SUN Also *kadaŋ [kala]* from Sanskrit; *kadaŋ-kadaŋ*.

UMA Also *saro-na*.

NYI Also *len ra<sup>ʔ</sup>on*.

TAK ‘time one-one’.

DAM ‘time one-one’.

YAB ‘with-empty’ i.e. ‘at intervals’; also *tɔ-sawa-tɔ-sawa*.

KAU *kara* ‘some’.

TOL *tə* ‘some’, *umanə* pl, *buŋ* ‘day’.

ADZ	‘day some’.
KIL	‘some-them time’.
MOT	<i>haida</i> ‘some’.
MEK	Also <i>aniava</i> ‘sometimes’ (see 14.340).
KWO	<i>ta-nialata</i> lit ‘some of the time’.
FAA	‘sometimes’.
KWA	‘at one time’.
XAR	‘some days’.
KIR	‘at a few times’.
RTU	Also <i>karau</i> .
SAM	<i>i</i> LOC, <i>ni-</i> unspecific ART pl, <i>-si</i> ‘other’, lit ‘on some other days’, also <i>nisi vāi-taimi</i> lit ‘some periods’, <i>vāi</i> ‘interval’, [ <i>taimi</i> ] ‘time’, see 14.110.
TAH	Also <i>e [taime]ra</i> .

### 14.331 SOON

ATA	kišaʔ	*IND	[səgəra]	NYI	mirihikai
TSO	osni	SUN	gañčan	MAM	sariŋa-tuʔa
RUK	ipadaləŋa	*JAV	sə-dələ	*TAK	kiteka-n-da-p
PAI	nu-sauni	MAD	ləkkas	*DAM	sain melsa y-ene-k
YAM	makikai	*BAL	eŋgal		
ISN	makaru win	SAS	aruan	*MAB	molo som to
*KAL	sāpa	*GOR	dē	*YAB	galəʔ
*TAG	san-daliʔ	*DAA	manama-sae	KAU	
*AKL	ma-ʔaŋan-ʔaŋan	UMA	ha- <sup>m</sup> paiʔ	*TOL	ə ik boko
		BUG	ma-gatti	BUA	pəβis
PAL	ŋinɔ	*KON	itaʔ	*ADZ	pas aŋu
MOL	sokaŋap	*WOL	aagoria	*KIL	makateki
KAG	da'liʔ naŋ	MAG	toe beheŋ	TAW	
*BLA	lɔʔ m-lo	NGA	lama	*MOT	nega sisi-na
*SAB	sōŋ	*SIK	roʔo	*MEK	pau-kai
*MUR	māgu	RTI	lai-lai-k	ROV	kote
MGY	veti-veti	*BUR	rama-k	MAR	namo
*ACE		*DOB	nda saw	LAU	garaŋi
BAT	ha'top	IRA	rəge	*KWO	biʔi
*MIN	[sugiro]	*SAW	fa-čuče ga	RAG	



PAA	vesesal	*XAR	ε çī m <sup>w</sup> ā	RTU	miči
LEW	lavisi	NEN	ŋei	*TON	mei
POR	<sup>m</sup> brias	*KIR	kān	SAM	vave
NTA	otəsusbəhan	*MSH	epāk	MEL	s-emmao-kē
*KWA	ipaka	PON		*TAH	ʔarauaʔe
NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> ohēč	*WLE	ttiri	RAP	e ko roa
*CEM	ô cá té jû	EFI	βakarau		
AJI	rē	*WFI	βōleka		

KAL *sāpa + ma*.

TAG *san-daliʔ* ‘little while’; *ma-mayaʔ, ma'ya-mayaʔ* ‘by and by’.

AKL ‘in a little while’.

BLA *laʔ m-lo* ‘not long’; *m-lal* ‘quickly’.

SAB Also *iŋgaʔi na a-teggol*.

MUR *māgu (-no)*.

ACE Various alternatives: *nujŋ* ‘quickly, early’; *[saʔat] truʔ* from Arabic ‘in a moment’; *hana trep* ‘not long’.

MIN From Sanskrit, see note 14.190, also *sabanta-lai*.

IND From Sanskrit, see note 14.190, also *nanti, səbentar*.

JAV Horne ‘moment, short interval’.

BAL ‘quickly’.

GOR ‘soon, after a bit, after a while, later’; *bolo ŋo-pcʔe mola* ‘it won’t be long before ...’

DAA ‘not a long time’.

KON Also *ʔassiri*.

WOL Also *[saba<sup>n</sup>tara]* ‘a while’; *sai-saidʔe itu* ‘soon’.

SIK Also *grōʔo, ʔomi*.

BUR Also *tagaha-k, ptil-ptilo*.

DOB ‘not long’.

SAW Also *nəmesu*.

TAK ‘little-its-with-IRR MED’.

DAM ‘time close 3sg-lie-PRES’.

MAB ‘It won’t be long and then ...’.

YAB ‘now, soon’; also *sauŋ-geŋ* ‘little-only’.

TOL ə ART, *ik* ‘little’, *boko* ‘still’.

ADZ ‘moment + only’.

KIL	'about to come'.
MOT	<i>sisi-na</i> 'a little'; also <i>asi βanaha-na</i> 'a short time' ( <i>βanaha</i> 'long time', in the negative construction); <i>haraya</i> 'quickly'.
MEK	Also <i>afaʔaŋa-mo</i> , both 'in a little while'; see NW Mekeo <i>kema</i> .
KWO	Aspect marker.
KWA	<i>ipaka</i> also 'near'; <i>k<sup>w</sup>opun-ouihi</i> 'place small'.
CEM	Succession of preverbal particles.
XAR	'it is not long'.
KIR	<i>kān</i> also 'near'; <i>naŋ</i> verbal proclitic, 'immediate future'.
MSH	<i>epāk</i> also 'near'; <i>m<sup>w</sup>Λttancirik</i> lit 'part of small'.
WLE	Also 'fast, early'.
WFI	Also <i>βarau</i> .
TON	Also <i>vave</i> .
TAH	Also <i>ʔaʔuanej, fātata</i> .

#### 14.332 LONG TIME (for a)

ATA	ʔiŋašuy	*SUN	lila	MAM	uanana-
TSO	nanaʔv-a	JAV	sue		sasalaga
RUK	ma-olay	*MAD	[abit]	*TAK	milae-n-mi
PAI	ɕuay	*BAL	məkəlo	DAM	sain meluk
YAM	monay	SAS	laeʔ	*MAB	ma molo
ISN	mabayāg	*GOR	mo-hihewo	*YAB	balij-balij
*KAL	bayag	DAA	na-sae	KAU	
*TAG	tagal	UMA	ma-hae	*TOL	maŋoro nə
AKL	ma-būhay	BUG	ma-itta		kilalə
PAL	məkwit	KON	mallij	BUA	γus adij
*MOL	kuit	*WOL	ma-ra <sup>m</sup> be	ADZ	araŋan ugu
KAG	lugay	MAG	beheŋ	*KIL	sainatuta
BLA	m-lo	NGA	ɖeŋo		kadu-wonaku
*SAB	teggol	*SIK	nane	*TAW	kabudala
MUR	mabuoy	RTI	do-k		daodao-na
MGY	ela	*BUR	geha-n	*MOT	negadaudau
ACE	trep	DOB	saw	MEK	kina maʔo
BAT	le'lej	IRA	radi	ROV	seunae
MIN	lamo	SAW	mnu	MAR	fabrahu
IND	lama	NYI	luluwenlabai	LAU	tau ʔua

KWO	aburu	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ali	EFI	dedē
*RAG	vai	AJI	yawi	WFI	čuei
PAA	tueitīn	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> am <sup>wā</sup>	*RTU	roa
LEW	yamviavi	NEN	iwe	TON	fuoloa
POR	saröai	KIR	mān	*SAM	ʔumi
NTA	tuβəh	MSH		MEL	tōtoe
*KWA	tui	*PON	mās	TAH	maoro
NEM	p <sup>m</sup> waneŋe-n	WLE		RAP	

KAL *bayag + na-*.

TAG *tagal + ma-*; also *lāʔon + ma-*.

MOL *kuit + ko-*.

SAB *teggol + a-*.

SUN Also *lawas*.

MAD From Javanese.

BAL Also *məd* 'bored; a long time'.

GOR Also *mo-hūhewo*.

WOL Also *ma-ŋeŋe*.

SIK Also *moβa-ŋ, noβa-ŋ, bloŋ, bloŋ blosok*.

BUR Also *oma-k, em-rahe-k*.

TAK 'long-its-only' (12.570, 13.330).

MAB Verb phrase + *ma molo*.

YAB See 12.570; also *la<sup>g</sup>wa-la<sup>g</sup>wa* 'long ago' (see 14.150); *a<sup>n</sup>daŋ-geŋ* 'at.first-only' i.e. 'very long ago'.

TOL *maŋoro* 'many', *nə* *LIG*, *kilalə* 'year'.

KIL 'very time path-long'.

TAW *kabadala daodao-na* 'many hours'; lit 'a long season'; *houga daodao-na* 'long time' lit 'a long season' (best construction).

MOT *daudau* 'distant (place or time)'.

RAG Also *tuai*.

KWA Also *-o mesite* 'do until (the present)'.

PON 'long ago'.

RTU Also *aʔroa, ma roa*.

SAM *leva* 'be a long time since (vb intrans)'.

## 14.340 NEVER

ATA	ʔikāt naʔ	*GOR	dīla peʔē <sup>n</sup> da	*MEK	aniava
TSO		DAA	daa sa <sup>ɔ</sup> gani	ROV	lopu hite
RUK		*UMA	umaria	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> eʔome ke
PAI		BUG	deʔniŋka	LAU	laŋi na
YAM	yabo	*KON	anreʔ na-	KWO	
ISN	āwan		maeŋ	RAG	
KAL	pulus	WOL	i <sup>n</sup> da <sup>m</sup> puu	PAA	
*TAG	ka-ʔilan-man + hindiʔ	MAG	toe deʔit	*LEW	-li
*AKL	indiʔ gid	*NGA	ḃaʔi-mema	POR	
*PAL	diki	*SIK	laʔə-ŋ ḃaʔi ha	*NTA	
MOL		*RTI	ta lai esa	*KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> ah
*KAG	u'laʔ	*BUR	sala-k moo	NEM	
BLA	lɔʔlmən	*DOB	naʔu'da	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ácōn
SAB	iŋgaʔi toʔod	IRA	budo	*AJI	da
*MUR	kalo	*SAW	n-pa	*XAR	dɔçie
MGY	na uviana na uviana	NYI	winiyan b <sup>w</sup> e	NEN	haŋo
*ACE	hān[tɔm]	MAM	tago-iboadu	*KIR	[tuai]
*BAT	ḃakke'a	*TAK	tia-geig	*MSH	caŋin
MIN	indaksa-kali juo	*DAM	sa-n	*PON	sōla
IND	tidakpərnah	MAB	pa sa zen	*WLE	teiti
SUN	tara	*YAB	masi-ano	EFI	seŋaβakadua
*JAV	ora tau	KAU		WFI	tamubou
*MAD	taʔtau	*TOL	pətəkək̄it	RTU	kat ... ʔe ta av
*BAL	siŋtaen	BUA	ma	*TON	ʔikai...teitei
*SAS	əndeʔuah	*ADZ	maʔ- + aŋu	*SAM	le...lava
		*KIL	gala aβai tuta	MEL	
		*TAW	ega wai	*TAH	eʔita roa atu
		*MOT	nega ta lasi	RAP	

TAG *hindi-ŋ hindiʔ* 'not at all'.

AKL 'not at all'.

PAL Also *kai*.

KAG *uláʔ* used with the present/past tense; *dili* is used with the future tense and commands.

MUR Also *kā igondoʔ*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer 'not ever'.

BAT (*daŋ + hε'a*).

JAV	'not ever'.
MAD	<i>tau</i> 1. 'know' 2. (in this collocation) 'ever', cf. Javanese <i>ora tau</i> 'not ever'.
BAL	'not ever'.
SAS	'not already'; Goris <i>əndeʔman</i> 'not yet'.
GOR	'not once'.
UMA	'is not' used with a verb 'never', e.g. <i>uma-i ria hilou</i> (lit 'not-he is go') 'he never goes/went'.
KON	Also <i>tala-maeŋ</i> .
NGA	Also <i>mu-βaʔi</i> .
SIK	Also <i>ene βaʔi ha</i> .
RTI	'not one time'.
BUR	<i>da keha sala-k gam sak fuka moo</i> 'he has never gone up the mountains'; <i>bara...moo</i> 'don't ever'.
DOB	'no, not' often abbreviated to <i>nda</i> .
SAW	Habitual marker on the verb.
TAK	<i>tia</i> 'not exist' (13.000).
DAM	'not-past'; from the negative, <i>sa</i> , following the verb, it means that the action of the verb never happened. Another negative, <i>to</i> , occurs before the verb to negate a single action.
YAB	'not exist-intensifier' i.e. 'not at all'.
TOL	<i>pətə</i> 'not', <i>kək̄it</i> 'at all'; also <i>pə</i> (SM-vb) <i>kək̄it</i> , <i>pə</i> 'not', <i>kək̄it</i> 'at all'.
ADZ	'neg. only', 'never'.
KIL	'not what time'.
TAW	More fully <i>ega awai</i> .
MOT	'not one time' ( <i>ta</i> 'one'; <i>lasi</i> 'no, not').
MEK	<i>aniava</i> used with a negative verb, 'never'.
LEW	Construction using negative and post-verbal <i>-li</i> .
NTA	This meaning achieved by using various negatives and emphatics in the verb phrase.
KWA	Also 'refuse, not want, choose not to, stop'.
CEM	'impossible'.
AJI	Also <i>wāvi</i> .
XAR	'truly not'.
KIR	'not yet'; from Polynesian; <i>ākoa</i> 'not at all, no longer'.

MSH	<i>cajin</i> ‘not yet’; also <i>cain</i> ; <i>kicεr</i> ‘not yet’.
PON	<i>sōla</i> ‘no longer’; <i>saik</i> ‘not yet’; also <i>saikinte</i> , <i>kaik</i> , <i>kaikinte</i> ; <i>tēr</i> negative command ‘never’.
WLE	<i>teiti</i> ‘not yet’.
TON	Discontinuous morpheme.
SAM	<i>lē</i> ‘not’, <i>lava</i> emphatic particle.
TAH	Also <i>?aita roa atu</i> .

### 14.350 AGAIN

ATA	ɬawiy	UMA	βoʔo	MAR	ke
TSO		BUG	paimiŋ	LAU	lau
RUK	pəla	*KON	pole	KWO	laʔu
PAI	a-uta	WOL	mini	RAG	
YAM	mizwapa	MAG	kole	*PAA	haitetāris
ISN	manin	NGA	vali	LEW	sina
KAL	payyan	*SIK	mole	POR	ame
TAG	ūlit	RTI	selu-k	NTA	m <sup>w</sup> ən
AKL	uman	*BUR	dedu-k	KWA	m <sup>w</sup> i
PAL	səwup	DOB	tu	NEM	k <sup>ɲ</sup> oye
*MOL	uliʔ	IRA	εbe	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> o
KAG	i'sab	SAW	nɔtε	AJl	m <sup>w</sup> āřā
BLA	leʔman	NYI	ja	XAR	muge
SAB	ag-balik	MAM	ʔababe	NEN	yawe
*MUR	poyo	*TAK	fou-n-mi	KIR	maŋa
MGY	mbula	DAM	baban	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ař
ACE	lɔm	MAB	mini	*PON	sapāl
BAT	mu'se	*YAB	(k)etiam	*WLE	xařa
MIN	sa-kalilai	*KAU	kiok	EFI	tale
IND	lagi	*TOL	muləi	WFI	tale
SUN	dii	BUA	ɣok yayin	RTU	hoiʔoki
JAV	məneh	*ADZ	bu-	TON	toe
MAD	puli	*KIL	tuβaila	SAM	toe
*BAL	buin	*TAW	-meme	MEL	foki
SAS	malik	*MOT	ləu	*TAH	ā
*GOR	m-uli	*MEK	puŋu	RAP	haka ʔou
DAA	sa <sup>ɲ</sup> gani-pa	ROV	pule		

MOL	<i>uli?</i> + <i>po-</i> .
MUR	Also <i>igondo?</i> <i>poyo</i> .
BAL	Also <i>biin</i> , <i>bin</i> .
GOR	<i>m-uli</i> ‘non-past’; <i>l-uli</i> ‘past’.
KON	Also <i>umpa</i> , <i>isse?</i> .
SIK	Also <i>moga</i> , <i>βalo-ŋ</i> .
BUR	Also <i>saki</i> .
TAK	‘new-its-only’ (14.130, 13.330).
YAB	‘once more, repeatedly’.
KAU	‘go again’; also <i>maksin</i> .
TOL	See Mosel (1984: 199).
ADZ	<i>bu-</i> (verb root) ‘repetitive or reiterative’; <i>tip-</i> (verb) ‘do s.th. again’.
KIL	Also <i>-βau</i> adv. suffix ‘(do)-again’.
TAW	(verbal suffix)
MOT	Also <i>ma</i> .
MEK	<i>puŋu</i> also ‘more’ see 13.160.
PAA	‘one more time’.
PON	<i>sapāl</i> ‘return’; also <i>p<sup>w</sup>urēŋ</i> ‘turn towards’.
WLE	Also ‘also, only’.
TAH	Also <i>fa?ahou</i> , <i>fa?ahou ā</i> .

### 14.410 DAY

*ATA	kaʎy-an	BLA	du	SAS	ǰəlo
TSO	xire	SAB	allaw	*GOR	dulahu
RUK	vay-anə	*MUR	odow	DAA	eo
PAI	ma-u-kaɖaw	MGY	and <sup>f</sup> u	UMA	eo
YAM	aɖaw	ACE	urɔə	BUG	isso
ISN	algaw	*BAT	'ari	KON	allo
KAL	ālgaw	MIN	ari	WOL	eo
TAG	āraw	*IND	hari	MAG	ləso
AKL	adlaw	SUN	birəŋ	NGA	ləza
PAL	ɔldɔw	*JAV	[dinɔ]	SIK	ləro-ŋ
MOL	oddow	MAD	aban	*RTI	maŋa-ledo
KAG	adlaw	*BAL	[dinə]	*BUR	lea

DOB	mayira	MOT	dina	XAR	dā
IRA	gonə	MEK	kina	*NEN	ran
*SAW	ŋen-ŋan	ROV	rane	*KIR	te boŋ
NYI	len	MAR	narane	MSH	ṛān
*MAM	amari	LAU	dani	PON	rān
TAK	adian	KWO	gani	*WLE	ṛane
DAM	nā	RAG	rani	EFI	siŋa
*MAB	aigule	PAA	avoŋ	WFI	hiŋa
*YAB	be?	LEW	leŋjena	*RTU	teroni
KAU	pi mha-ŋin	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> boŋ	TON	?aho
TOL	buŋ	NTA	nian	*SAM	aso
*BUA	buk	*KWA	-ran	MEL	ao
ADZ	gubu?	NEM	mala	*TAH	mahana
KIL	yam	CEM	tàn	*RAP	mahana
TAW	iyeta	AJI	nedā		

ATA *kaŋiy-an* ‘daytime’; *ri?ax* ‘(one) day’.

MUR *soŋodow* ‘one day’, *x ŋōdow* ‘x days’.

BAT From Proto-Batak *\*wari*.

IND Also *siaŋ* ‘day time’.

JAV From Sanskrit.

BAL From Sanskrit; also *wai*, principally used when counting, occurs in combinations up to ‘three days’: *a-wai*, *duaŋ wai*, *təluŋ wai*; after that *dina* (*pətaŋ dina* etc); *sai* ‘every day’ (see Old Balinese *ari* ‘daily’, also *ŋə-wai* ‘daily’; *ləmah* ‘daytime’ (as opposed to night-time, e.g. in the expression *pətəŋ ləmah* ‘night and day, non-stop’).

GOR In counting days *huwi* ‘night’ is used.

RTI Also *le ledə k*.

BUR ‘sun’; when talking about a time span of days, one uses the term for ‘night’, *beto-n pila?* ‘how many days (did you travel)?’, Li Enyorot *haŋa-t*.

SAW Also *ŋane*.

MAM Also *ariata*.

MAB Also *kōzo*.

YAB *be?* ‘day and night: day of 24 hours’.

BUA Also *yuk*.

KWA ‘be day’ (adj).



NEN	Also <i>bun</i> .
KIR	Also <i>te ŋaina</i> ‘daylight’, <i>te ōta</i> ‘day light’.
WLE	Also <i>taiiwata</i> ‘daylight’.
RTU	Also <i>rɔni</i> .
SAM	<i>ao</i> ‘day, daylight’.
TAH	Also <i>ao</i> .
RAP	Also <i>raʔā</i> .

### 14.420 NIGHT

ATA	mhatan	DAA	ᵑgavenji	ROV	boŋi
TSO	friŋna	UMA	ᵑka-beŋi-a	MAR	boŋi
RUK	maoŋo	BUG	winni	LAU	rodo
PAI	ᵑə-zəmə- zəməc	KON	baŋŋi	*KWO	boniaʔi
YAM	aəp	WOL	malo	RAG	boŋi
ISN	gabi	MAG	vie	PAA	voŋien
KAL	labi	NGA	kobe	*LEW	lemalo
TAG	gabi	*SIK	ʔβau-ŋ	POR	mariᵑg
AKL	gabīʔih	RTI	leʔo-dae-k	NTA	lapən
PAL	gɔbi	*BUR	beto-n	KWA	nəpən
MOL	gobi	DOB	ᵑiʔay	NEM	gen
KAG	kiləm	*IRA	gisie	CEM	bʷēn
BLA	butaŋ	SAW	dorem	AJI	bʷē
SAB	saŋom	NYI	ben	XAR	mō
*MUR	dondom	MAM	oabubu	NEN	ridi
MGY	alina	TAK	tidom	*KIR	te boŋ
ACE	malam	DAM	bō	MSH	pʷəŋ
BAT	'bɔŋin	MAB	ᵑbeŋ	*PON	pʷōŋ
MIN	malam	*YAB	beʔ	*WLE	ᵑʷoŋi
IND	malam	KAU	pi luk	EFI	boŋi
SUN	pitiŋ	TOL	marum	WFI	boŋi
*JAV	bəŋi	BUA	buk	RTU	poŋi
MAD	maləm	*ADZ	sifu	*TON	pō
*BAL	pətəŋ	KIL	bogi	SAM	pō
SAS	kələm	*TAW	upom	MEL	pō
GOR	huwi	*MOT	hanua-boi	*TAH	pō
		MEK	ŋapi	RAP	pō

MUR	<i>sodondom</i> ‘one night’, x <i>ɲodondom</i> ‘x nights’.
JAV	Also <i>wəŋi</i> .
BAL	Also <i>ləməŋ</i> .
SIK	Also <i>guma-ŋ</i> .
BUR	See 14.410.
ĪRA	Also <i>gənitə</i> .
YAB	<i>be?</i> ‘day and night: day of 24 hours’.
ADZ	<i>sifu</i> (Amari dialect); <i>pas wasa?</i> Central dialect; <i>idziaŋ</i> all other dialects.
TAW	<i>uguwa</i> ‘dark/night’; <i>didibala</i> ‘black/night’.
MOT	‘night is falling’ <i>hanua e-boi-mu</i> ( <i>hanua</i> ‘village’; <i>e</i> 3sg SUBJ; <i>mu</i> CONT; compare <i>boi?</i> ‘to call’, <i>boi</i> can be used by itself ‘last night’).
KWO	Also <i>gania?i</i> .
LEW	Also <i>lemaliko</i> .
KIR	‘twenty-four hour period’ (as a counting classifier); <i>te rō</i> ‘night, darkness’.
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ōŋ</i> ‘twenty-four hour period’ (as a counting classifier); <i>pānkop<sup>w</sup>ul</i> hon.
WLE	<i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>oŋi</i> ‘twenty-four hour period’ (as a counting classifier); <i>rošo</i> ‘night, darkness’.
TON	Also <i>po?uli</i> .
TAH	Also <i>ru?i</i> , <i>?āru?i</i> .

### 14.430 DAWN

Arabic: *fajr*, *subuh*

ATA	šaʔuwan	*AKL	suʔubātan	*MGY	mangiran-
TSO	moso ro?oxŋi	PAL	kukwəldəw		dʔaʕi
RUK	mwalakəsə	MOL	kuku oddow	*ACE	ban bu[ŋoh]
PAI	ma-lʔia-lʔia	KAG	mapit-madlaw	BAT	'buha 'ari
YAM	maɖagɖag	*BLA	m-ayə?m-wəl	*MIN	pagi bana
ISN	danni lāwa	SAB	[subu]	*IND	dinihari
KAL	wiswis?it	*MUR	kudalow-	*SUN	balebat
*TAG	ma-dali-ŋ āraw		palad	JAV	rainə
				MAD	

*BAL	əndag ai	*MAB	mbeŋ <sup>m</sup> beŋ	NTA	loulaunən
SAS	[faʃar]		ŋana		aŋən
GOR	[pāʃari]	*YAB	kanu?	*KWA	akahak
DAA	ka-bobaya-na	KAU	pi plas	NEM	mairān
UMA	me-ŋiri <sup>?</sup> eo	*TOL	potapotol	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> áŋ
BUG	[sūbu]	BUA	ñeg heŋ	AJI	wē dā
*KON	[subu]	ADZ	pis-	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-dā
*WOL	[faʃara]	*KIL	ikikiβiβisiga	NEN	orobon
MAG	čili-čəlap	TAW	mala i tom	KIR	karaŋaina
NGA	busu-boo	*MOT	daba	*MSH	ciṛān
*SIK	ləro bəkor		marayimarayi	*PON	wasarānpeseŋ
RTI	dulu fula-k	MEK	ʔafa	*WLE	mana
*BUR	leakeha	ROV	vagvagasa	EFI	malawa
DOB	mayiratutuy	MAR	ya granapasa	WFI	βu-ni-g <sup>w</sup> ata
IRA	nəpərəwə	LAU	ʔuboŋi	RTU	usu
*SAW	təmemməne		galogalo	*TON	hejiheji
NYI	kon aleu	KWO	finigalo	*SAM	vave-ao
MAM	anua-zamaŋa	*RAG	ute m <sup>w</sup> a rani	MEL	māŋoanjo
TAK	salso	*PAA	aut lan	*TAH	tātaiao
DAM	wē	*LEW	ye-laŋi	RAP	popohaŋa
		POR	lepanxoxor		

TAG 'soon day'.

AKL Root: *sūbat* 'rise (sun)'.

BLA Also *m-ayəʔ faya*; *m-ayəʔ kwal*.

MUR Also *tutulawaŋ*.

MGY From (*maN-hirana + raçi*); *hirana* 'glimmer of light'; *raçi* 'bad'.

ACE 'just, barely morning' from Mon-Khmer.

MIN 'very early'.

IND Also [*subuh*], *matahari tərbit*.

SUN 'first light'; also *janari* 'time between midnight and break of day'.

BAL *əndag* 'rise, of the sun'; *pə-limun-an*, *das ləmah*, *ruput* 'the period just before dawn when people wake, before the sky has lightened' (*das ləmah* lit 'almost daytime'); these are earlier than: *galaŋ kaŋin* 'just before sunrise', lit 'bright (sky) to the east'.

KON Also *ambuaʔalloa*.

WOL Also *ka-eo-a*, *raneo*.

SIK 'sunrise'.

BUR	'sun climbs'.
SAW	Also <i>ɲenɲan n-ěɔ</i> 'sun rise'.
MAB	Also <i>berek, kozare/kozēre, lele iris, lele imarmar, lele ikoukou, wau</i> .
YAB	Also <i>ɲa-kanu?</i> , <i>geleɲ-ɲa lase</i> , cf. 14.160.
TOL	'early morning about 5am', see Mosel (1984:196).
KIL	<i>ikikiβi βisiga</i> 'first light', <i>eyam</i> 'full light, before sunrise'.
MOT	<i>daba</i> 'morning', <i>marayimarayi</i> 'very small'; also <i>daba-rere</i> ( <i>rere</i> 'spread, of light at dawn'), <i>daba mata-na</i> ( <i>mata</i> 'eye, point').
RAG	'daybreak'.
PAA	'the place is daylight'.
LEW	Also <i>yosuluwa</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-əmskare</i> .
XAR	'opening of the day'.
MSH	Also <i>rāntak</i> , also <i>coṛāntak</i> , see <i>rān</i> 'day', <i>-tak</i> 'up'.
PON	See <i>rān</i> 'day'; <i>pesen</i> 'apart'.
WLE	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>ōüwäü</i> , <i>soṛasoṛa</i> .
TON	Also <i>mafoa e a'ta</i> .
SAM	<i>vave</i> 'be fast, soon (vb intrans)' (see 14.210), <i>ao</i> 'daylight'.
TAH	Also <i>fera?ora?ora?a</i> .

#### 14.440 MORNING

ATA	kašašanan	SAB	mahina?at	UMA	mepulo
TSO	tasrona	MUR	suab	BUG	ele?
RUK	myaḷaḷa	MGY	ma-raina	KON	ele?
PAI	ka-ɟama- ɟama-n	*ACE	bu[ɲɔh]	*WOL	malo-malo
YAM	apnərak	*BAT	manogot	MAG	gula
ISN	pagmakāt	MIN	pagi	NGA	rofa
KAL	bigbigat	IND	pagi	*SIK	kaβu
TAG	umāga	SUN	isuk	RTI	fa-fai-k
AKL	agāh-un	JAV	esu?	*BUR	supa-n
*PAL	dikdikləm	*MAD	gu-laggu	DOB	may're ddowni
MOL	durok	*BAL	səmən(-an)	IRA	mumətiε
KAG	səlləm	*SAS	klema?	SAW	təmēmɔne
*BLA	k-wəl	*GOR	dumodupo	NYI	ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> aben
		DAA	<sup>m</sup> pado <sup>n</sup> do	MAM	uabunabiabia

TAK	tidomi	MAR	hamerane	KIR	te iŋāboŋ
DAM	bonimeɪ	LAU	ʔuboŋi	*MSH	cipp <sup>w</sup> ɔŋ
*MAB	mankwōno	KWO	ʔusugani	*PON	menseŋ
*YAB	(ŋa-)bebeʔ	RAG		*WLE	řōsoŋo
*KAU	pi kiŋ-kauk-aŋan	PAA	visokon	EFI	mataka
		LEW	lulani	WFI	g <sup>w</sup> ata
*TOL	məlanə	POR	le <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ean	RTU	mičarəni
BUA	monəbuk	NTA	loulaunən	TON	poŋipəŋi
ADZ	tataʔ	KWA	nəpnəpən	SAM	taeao
KIL	kauk <sup>w</sup> au	NEM	gāwāk	MEL	taiao
*TAW	malatomtom	*CEM	âcāma	TAH	poʔipoʔi
MOT	daba	AJI	melō	RAP	pōʔā
*MEK	ʔamaŋai	XAR	kōdā		
ROV	munmunu	NEN	ore		

PAL Also *durək*.

BLA *flɔfus* ‘early morning’.

ACE Mon-Khmer.

BAT (*maN-sogot*).

MAD From (RED-*laggu*); *laggu*, ‘morning, tomorrow’; Safioedin (1977): *gu-laggu* ‘early in the morning’.

BAL ‘from dawn up to the middle of the morning’, see also 14.450. Also *səlid* in expression *səlid [saŋjə]* ‘morning and afternoon’.

SAS See 14.480 *lemaʔ* ‘tomorrow’.

GOR Also *di-dimodupo*

WOL Also *sa-eo-na, subuhi*.

SIK Also *kaβu nia-ŋ*.

BUR *sup-supan* ‘early morning’; *supa-n* also ‘tomorrow’.

MAB ‘bird-mouth-its’.

YAB See 14.410. Also *ŋa-gɛɛŋ* ‘first light’.

KAU See 14.480; *aŋan* ‘time, occasion’.

TOL *keake* ‘sun; the time after 10am’.

TAW ‘before 9 am’.

MEK *ʔama-ŋa-ai* (*ʔama-ŋa-ai*) ‘in (the) cold of’ nowadays used as an unanalysable root-word; NW Mekeo *ŋabi-mu* ‘morning’.

CEM ‘time get up’.

MSH *okrān* ‘be morning/dawn (vb intrans)’.

PON Also *sōrān* ‘pre-dawn hours’.

WLE *in sora* ‘in the morning; *soraŕoiy* ‘this morning’.

### 14.450 NOON, MIDDAY

ATA	kakri <sup>ʔ</sup> axan	BUG	taŋ-ŋasso	LAU	initōnahato
TSO	ʒoxzona	KON	taŋŋ-allo-allo-a	KWO	asuā
RUK	mwaliŋədələ	WOL	po- <sup>n</sup> taŋa eo	RAG	
PAI		MAG	pədək ləso	PAA	tavoial
YAM	mazazaw	NGA	ləza-hii	LEW	lipae
ISN	agpapāsu	SIK	ləro dətu	POR	lema <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> iima <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup>
*KAL	mātuk	RTI	ledo hana	*NTA	məttənatul
*TAG	[taŋhāli]	BUR	lea tifu-n		atuatəp
*AKL	tru <sup>ʔ</sup> adlaw	DOB	laru turun	KWA	ruk <sup>w</sup> asikar
*PAL	təŋa <sup>ʔ</sup> əldəw	IRA	rərərə ʔunə	NEM	gōn kat
MOL	təŋa <sup>ʔ</sup> oddow	SAW	ŋenŋan	CEM	gôahən
KAG	ugtu <sup>ʔ</sup> adlaw		fapelune	AJI	go karē
BLA	boŋ du	*NYI	an udu halas	*XAR	wāp <sup>w</sup> ep <sup>w</sup> e
SAB	ugtuallaw	MAM	amari-soasoa		kāmīā
MUR	taŋa <sup>ʔ</sup> nu odow	*TAK	ad bibe-n	NEN	ledenad
*MGY	antu-and <sup>f</sup> ube	*DAM	gā ado	KIR	tetawanou
*ACE	[čət] urə	MAB	aigulepalakūtu	MSH	ṛaelep
BAT	təŋa ari	*YAB	ə <sup>ʔ</sup> ke-ko ŋa-lùŋ	PON	souwas
*MIN	taŋari	*KAU	pi sinaŋ-an	*WLE	ni-uweŕeŕi-
*IND	təŋah hari	*TOL	keake-tur		yaŕo
*SUN	[təŋah] poe	BUA	ñeg buyəŋ	EFI	siŋa-leβu
JAV	awan	ADZ	gubu <sup>ʔ</sup> wasa <sup>ʔ</sup>	WFI	hiŋa-leβu
MAD	bədd <sup>h</sup> uk	*KIL	lalaβi,	RTU	ian-ina
*BAL	təŋai	TAW	iyetabolinai	TON	ho <sup>ʔ</sup> atā
SAS	təŋari	*MOT	dina tubua	*SAM	aoauli
GOR	mo-hulōnu	MEK	atsiava	MEL	tōtea
DAA	<sup>n</sup> toŋo eo	ROV	korapa rane	*TAH	avatea
UMA	toŋo <sup>ʔ</sup> eo	MAR		RAP	hora kai

KAL *mātuk + ma-/na-*.

TAG From Malay *teŋah* ‘mid’, *hari* ‘day’.

AKL Also *udtu ru adlaw*, Proto-Philippines \**qudtu* ‘zenith’.

PAL Also *təna<sup>ʔ</sup> səgit*.

MGY	Also <i>mi-tata'u-vuvunana (ni and<sup>r</sup>u)</i> lit 'the sun is over the ridge-pole'.
ACE	'vertical sun' from Mon-Khmer.
MIN	From <i>*təŋah ari</i> 'mid-day'.
IND	Also <i>siaŋ</i> .
SUN	From Malay or Javanese.
BAL	<i>təŋai</i> 'the middle of the day from around 10 am to the middle of the afternoon', from <i>*təŋah (w)ai</i> 'middle (of the) day'; [ <i>kali</i> ] <i>təpət</i> 'noon, when the sun is directly overhead'.
NYI	'sun stay middle'.
TAK	'sun heart-its', i.e. 'the sun's heart'.
DAM	'sun have'.
YAB	'sun it-stand its-middle'; ɔʔ- <i>salɔ</i> 'forenoon, midday'.
KAU	'place sun-ATTR'.
TOL	<i>keake</i> 'sun', <i>tur</i> 'stand'.
KIL	<i>lalaβi, lalai</i> 'daytime 10am-2pm.'; <i>itowotakalasia</i> 'it stands sun'.
MOT	<i>dina</i> 'sun, day', <i>tubua</i> 'upright, top'. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives <i>adoata</i> ( <i>ado</i> 'sun', <i>ata</i> from <i>atai</i> 'high').
NTA	'the sun has stood straight'; also [ <i>tina</i> ] from English.
XAR	'right in the middle of the sun'.
WLE	'at the straight of the sun'; also <i>uweře</i> 'straight, noon'.
SAM	Also <i>tū-tonu o le lā, tū</i> 'stand (vb intrans)', <i>tonu</i> 'be straight (vb intrans)', <i>o</i> POSS, <i>le</i> specific ART, <i>lā</i> 'sun'.
TAH	Also <i>i teʔahuru mā piti</i> .

#### 14.451 AFTERNOON

ATA		MOL	mapun	*SUN	sore
TSO		KAG	mapun	JAV	sore
RUK		BLA	flobi	MAD	
PAI		SAB	komohap	*BAL	[sañjə]
YAM	nakoyab	MUR	maiʔ	SAS	təŋaʔjələ
ISN	gīdām	MGY	antu-and <sup>r</sup> u	GOR	lolāŋo
KAL	gidgidam	*ACE	[luho]	DAA	ka-ede eo
TAG	hāpon	*BAT	bət-ari	UMA	ᵐpo-ʔeo
AKL	hāpun	MIN	lapehtajari	BUG	arawej
*PAL	mapun	*IND	sore	KON	karahieʔ

*WOL	konowia	*ADZ	nam nuf-an	CEM	àlɛɛ-hi-
MAG	mane	KIL	koyaβi		gōahen
NGA	ləza-faʔa	*TAW	ibiga	AJI	nedē ara
SIK	ləro biko	*MOT	ado-rahi	XAR	
RTI	ledo noso	MEK	kinae-apa-	NEN	θubaledenad
*BUR	moda-n		paŋai	*KIR	tanimaeantāi
*DOB	kʷar'sor	ROV	velvelu	MSH	
IRA	reϕϕa	MAR	naublat <sup>h</sup> a	PON	
SAW	merim	LAU	hatok <sup>w</sup> aefolo	*WLE	paŋa-yaŋo
NYI	beyeh	KWO	laulafi	EFI	yakaβi siŋa
MAM	rairai	RAG		WFI	yaβi
TAK	guraian	PAA	kovanes	RTU	asoha
*DAM	gā kele-ya	LEW	evekilavi	TON	efiafi
MAB	(ro)rou	POR	laur iav	SAM	afiafi
*YAB	ke-tu-là	NTA	ehnaip <sup>w</sup> ən	MEL	fiafi
*KAU	pi luk-aŋan	KWA	ruk <sup>w</sup> asikar	*TAH	taperaʔa
TOL	raviən	NEM	kerac-gōnkat		mahana
BUA	səyuk			RAP	ahi-ahi

PAL Also *limpas*.

ACE From Arabic *zühr* 'time immediately after noon'?

BAT From Proto-Batak \**bəd* 'evening'.

IND *sore* 'late afternoon'; also *pətaŋ*.

SUN 'late afternoon'; also *biraŋ*, 'day; middle of the day'.

BAL From Sanskrit 'from the middle of the afternoon to night fall' see also 14.450.

WOL *konowia* 'first part of the evening'; also *soo eo*.

BUR Also 'wind, shade, shadow'.

DOB Also *ϕifi*.

DAM 'sun tilt-INF', 'early afternoon'; also *gā you ϕi-ya* 'late afternoon', lit 'sun getting dim'.

YAB 'it become evening' (fossilised phrase); Also *(ŋa-)ɔʔ-mata* '(its-)sun-eye'.

KAU 'place night-time'.

ADZ 'thing cold-PART', 'cooling time', i.e. 'afternoon'.

TAW After 3 pm.



- MOT ‘afternoon/evening is coming’ *ado e-rahi-mu*. (*ado* ‘sun’, *e* 3sg SUBJ, *mu* CONT, *rahi* ‘to decline’). Note *ado* only occurs in *adoata* and *adorahi*; it is not used by itself for ‘sun’.
- KIR ‘westward path of the sun’.
- WLE *ře-taϕ<sup>w</sup>o-ři yařo* ‘in the afternoon’ (lit ‘at the end of the sun’).
- TAH Also *pae avatea*.

## 14.460 EVENING

ATA	yaβi-an	DAA	ᵛgovia	*ROV	velvelu
TSO	rofna	*UMA	ᵛčimonou?	MAR	grafi
RUK	myawaobo	BUG	winni	LAU	haulafi
PAI	ma-suləm	KON	baŋŋi	KWO	gigī
YAM	maəp	WOL	malo	RAG	(ute)ravravi
ISN	kalkallap	*MAG		PAA	kovəŋes
*KAL	nasdəm	NGA	kobe	*LEW	evekilavi
TAG	gabi	SIK	ʔβau-ŋ	POR	laur iav sorox
*AKL	ka-hapun- ānun	RTI	ledo tena-k	NTA	ehnaip <sup>w</sup> ən
PAL	gəbi	*BUR	moda-n	*KWA	naruwaruw
MOL		*DOB	ϕi <sup>ʔ</sup> ay	NEM	bareap
KAG	kiləm	IRA	wənəgənənītə	CEM	bəb <sup>w</sup> en
BLA	kimal	SAW	dorem	AJI	rēře
SAB	saŋəm	NYI	kon abeyeh	XAR	šēdc
*MUR	mai <sup>ʔ</sup>	MAM	rairai-tu <sup>ʔ</sup> a	NEN	lakidi
MGY	hariva	*TAK	guraian	*KIR	tetairiki
ACE	supot	*DAM	aragau	MSH	cəta
*BAT	bəŋŋin	MAB	<sup>m</sup> beŋ	*PON	soutik
MIN	malam	*YAB	ketu-là	*WLE	fexōfiřa
*IND	malam	*KAU	pi ii	EFI	yakaβi
*SUN	pitig	*TOL	təlvivi	WFI	yaβi-karawa
*JAV	surup	BUA	rayita	RTU	asoha
MAD		ADZ	idziaŋ	TOŇ	cfiafi
*BAL	[saru] muə	KIL	bogi	*SAM	afiafi pō
SAS	kələm	*TAW	aipom	MEL	fiafi
*GOR	huwi	MOT	ado-rahi	TAH	ahiahi
		MEK	ŋapi-ŋapi	*RAP	moiko

KAL	<i>sodom+na-</i> .
AKL	‘dusk’
MUR	Also <i>palungai?</i>
BAT	See Karo Batak <i>bəŋji</i> .
IND	Also <i>sore</i> , <i>səñja</i> .
SUN	Eringa (1984): <i>pitiŋ</i> ‘evening, night’.
JAV	Also <i>wəŋji</i> .
BAL	‘twilight dusk’ lit ‘unclear face’; [ <i>saru</i> ] ‘unclear’, from Javanese.
GOR	<i>lolāŋo</i> ‘afternoon until nightfall’.
UMA	Also <i>ḥumnonou</i> , <i>ḥunou</i> . <sup>9</sup> <i>kowia</i> (Tobaku, Tolee, Winatu dialects).
MAG	As soon as it is dark, <i>wie</i> ‘night’ is used.
BUR	Overlaps with <i>beto-n</i> ‘night’; also <i>lea tola</i> , <i>lea pao</i> and <i>lea toho</i> ‘sun went down’; <i>em-hawe-n</i> ‘dusk, just dark’.
DOB	‘evening, night’.
TAK	See 14.451.
DAM	‘evening, late afternoon’.
YAB	‘it become evening’ (fossilised phrase); also <i>ketu-là-là</i> .
KAU	‘time sink’.
TOL	‘6 pm till 7 pm’.
TAW	Also <i>ibiga</i> .
ROV	‘up to 10 p.m.’.
LEW	Also <i>yokomkom</i> , <i>p<sup>w</sup>oŋji malum<sup>w</sup>u</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-ipin</i> ‘dusk, twilight’.
KIR	With fossilised <i>*riki</i> ‘small’, see Ponapean entry.
PON	‘small sun’.
WLE	Undoubtedly a morphologically complex form, with root <i>yafi</i> ‘fire’; <i>nifexōfi</i> ‘in the evening’.
SAM	<i>pō</i> ‘night’.
RAP	<i>moiko</i> ‘evening (dusk)’; <i>ahi-ahi pō</i> ‘evening (a little later than dusk)’.

## 14.470 TODAY

ATA	<i>šawni?</i>	YAM	<i>šičazawya</i>	*AKL	<i>makarun</i>
TSO	<i>mai-tanʔe</i>	ISN	<i>ki daddān ni</i>		( <i>ŋa adlaw</i> )
RUK	<i>kaykaməanə</i>	KAL	<i>sātun ālgaw</i>	PAL	<i>tiban nōŋ</i>
PAI	<i>tuʔu</i>	*TAG	<i>ŋayon</i>		<i>oldow</i>

MOL	ɲonti oddow iti	*SIK	toma teʔi	RAG	ɣariyi
		RTI	fai-kia	PAA	kosa
KAG	anduni	*BUR	leanaa	LEW	pʷane
BLA	du ani	*DOB	mayiranay	POR	arkixa
SAB	allawitu	IRA	rərə adeni	NTA	roiu
MUR	odow-ti	SAW	peʔsɛɛ-nte	KWA	ipʷet
*MGY	andʳu-ani	NYI	na len dah	*NEM	ven mala da
ACE	urɔəñɔə	MAM	ʔaituʔa	CEM	ʒɛnā
*BAT	sadari 'on	*TAK	gamu	*AJI	xina
MIN	ari ko	DAM	gama	XAR	anā
IND	hari ini	MAB	kōzi	NEN	onom
*SUN	poe ii	*YAB	ɔʔ tɔnɛʔ	*KIR	n te boŋ aei
*JAV	[dinɔ] iki	KAU	homani	*MSH	ɣainin
*MAD	satiya	*TOL	gori	*PON	rānweŋ
*BAL	[dina]-ne ʒani	BUA	gʷɛbəŋ	*WLE	ɣōŕɛiya
SAS	ʒəlo ne	*ADZ	gubuʔ aruani	*EFI	edaidai
*GOR	yi <sup>n</sup> diye	KIL	lagaila	WFI	nikua
DAA	eo eʔi	*TAW	ataima	RTU	ʔi
*UMA	eo toi	*MOT	hari [dina]	TON	he ʔaho ni
BUG	isso-ewe	MEK	pau-kina	*SAM	i le asō
KON	inni-llo-a	ROV	ɲinoroi	MEL	nānei
WOL	eo sii	MAR	goñaro	TAH	i teiʔe mahana
MAG	leso hoʔo	LAU	taraʔena	*RAP	ʔaŋanirā
NGA	ləza-dia	KWO	talaʔina		

TAG Also 'now'.

AKL Also 'now' 14.180.

MGY 'today (but past)' andʳu 'day', ani 'there'; aniu 'today (the part of the day ahead of us)'.

BAT (*sada ari on*).

SUN 'this day'.

JAV From Sanskrit, *iki* 'this'.

MAD From Sanskrit, also 'now'.

BAL From Sanskrit, 'the day now'.

GOR Also *yi<sup>n</sup>dī*, *dulahē bo-tiya* (*dulahu* 'day' + a *LIG bo-tiya* 'this').

UMA Also *eo toe lau*.

SIK Also *ləro-ŋ enateʔi*.

BUR See 14.180. Li Enyorot *haŋ nao*.

DOB	Often abbreviated to <i>mir'nay</i> , or <i>mayir'nay</i> , lit 'this day'.
TAK	See 14.180.
YAB	'sun this'.
TOL	Also <i>ieri</i> .
ADZ	Also <i>aruani</i> .
TAW	Also (dialect) <i>amalai</i> .
MOT	<i>hari</i> 'now; the one being talked about'; [ <i>dina</i> ] 'day'.
NEM	'day this'.
AJI	Also <i>kina</i> .
KIR	'at this day'.
MSH	'this day'
PON	'this day'
WLE	'at this day'
EFI	Also <i>nikua</i> .
SAM	Also <i>i le aso nei</i> , <i>i</i> LOC, <i>le</i> specific ART, <i>aso</i> 'day', <i>nei</i> 'this'.
RAP	<i>ʔaŋanirā</i> 'today (with perfect and perfective aspects)'; <i>a nirā</i> 'today (with imperfective aspect)'.

#### 14.480 TOMORROW

ATA	čašan	*ACE	si ŋoh	NGA	roβa-zeʔe
TSO	xuɕma	BAT	mar-sogot	SIK	ʔluʔa-t
RUK	lo-ya	MIN	barisuʔ	RTI	balaha
PAI	nu-tiaw	*IND	besok	*BUR	supa-n
YAM	šimazaw	*SUN	isuk-an	*DOB	may're
ISN	kalāwa	*JAV	sesuʔ	IRA	rərərə
KAL	nu bigāt	*MAD	lagguʔ	SAW	mɔne
TAG	būkas	*BAL	mani	NYI	na biʔi
AKL	hin-ʔāgah	*SAS	lemaʔ (aru)	MAM	zama
PAL	diktəm	GOR	lō <sup>mb</sup> bu	*TAK	gabulo-p
MOL	sopulow	DAA	naile	DAM	nīl
KAG	kis'yəm	UMA	<sup>m</sup> peneo	MAB	gāga
BLA	faya	BUG	bāja	*YAB	ɛlɛŋ-ŋa
*SAB	sāuŋ	KON	am-muko	KAU	pi kiŋ-kauk
MUR	susuab	*WOL	naile	*TOL	niŋene
*MGY	rahampiɕu	MAG	diaŋ	BUA	nəyɛŋ

ADZ	tataʔ	LEW	peni	PON	lakap <sup>w</sup>
KIL	nab <sup>w</sup> aia	POR	pean	WLE	řaü
*TAW	hoimalatom	NTA	olauŋ	EFI	ni-mataka
MOT	kerukeru	KWA	trak <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> i	WFI	i-g <sup>w</sup> ata
*MEK	favoko	NEM	newāk	RTU	kā
ROV	vuyo	CEM	mêê	TON	ʔaponiponji
MAR	nat <sup>h</sup> uʔi	AJI	gāřa	SAM	taeao
LAU	boboŋi	XAR	are	MEL	aretū
KWO	gani	NEN	orore	TAH	ānānahi
RAG	vai-youyo	KIR	niŋāboŋ	RAP	āpō
PAA	visuvonŋ	MSH	ileu		

SAB Also *saluŋ*.

MGY From *raha-ampiçu*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

IND Also *esok*.

SUN Also *isuk*.

JAV See *esuʔ* ‘morning’.

MAD Also ‘morning’ (Safioedin 1977); see 14.440.

BAL ‘the next day, tomorrow’, also *buin mani*.

SAS Also *řamaʔ*. Thoir et al. (1985) *aru* ‘morning’.

WOL Also *naile-aka-na* ‘the next day’.

BUR See 14.440.

DOB Formed from *mayira re* ‘that day’.

TAK ‘tomorrow-IRR MED.

YAB ‘tomorrow-LOC ( $\epsilon$ -*leŋ* (realis: *gɛleŋ*) is a fossilised verb); also *ŋa-eleŋ*.

TOL Also *karagam*.

TAW Also (dialect) *haumalatom*.

MEK North Mekeo *afoko*, West Mekeo *apogo*, NW Mekeo *wai*; first three from Kunimaipaʔ; but common Polynesian *apopo* ‘tomorrow’.

#### 14.481 DAY-AFTER-TOMORROW

ATA	ma-kaxaʔ	PAI	sika-cəļu	KAI	ka-bigat-na
TSO	xo sreixi	YAM	řimakřiřazaw	TAG	kina-bukās-an
RUK	lo-pakavālə	ISN	taŋalawān	AKL	hin-ʔisah

PAL	kinɔdwanan	NGA	vəŋi-zua	LAU	fule
*MOL	dua	SIK	(laʔə-ŋ)rəma	KWO	fuleʔe
KAG	sinadlaw		rua	RAG	vai-weihe
BLA	saɬu faya	*RTI	bina-esa-k	PAA	visuvoŋ lāti
SAB	sumuddai	BUR	supa-n rua	LEW	vewo
*MUR	malās	DOB	ya-mayira	POR	xois
*MGY	raha-fak- ampiɕu	IRA	rərərənabe	NTA	oniəh
ACE	lusa	SAW	i-plu	*KWA	(ti) neis
*BAT	ha-du'an	NYI	na hiben	NEM	t <sup>n</sup> evena
MIN	sa-sudah barisuʔʔ	MAM	zamane	*CEM	álo-b <sup>w</sup> éni-n
IND	lusa	*TAK	salso-p	AJI	goaʔa uʔu
SUN	(pa)geto	DAM	ara	XAR	nexuru
*JAV	(suʔ) əmben	MAB	malama	NEN	odeniwol
*MAD	ɬu-maləm	*YAB	ŋa-eleŋteŋ	KIR	
*BAL	buin puan	KAU	pimalam	MSH	cekɭac
*SAS	ʒələlemaʔ	TOL	oari	PON	pali
GOR	ŋōnu	BUA	dū	WLE	
DAA	nepua	ADZ	tataʔmaŋan	EFI	boŋi-rua
UMA	romeŋi ( <sup>m</sup> paiʔ)	*KIL	bugi-yu	WFI	boŋi-rua
BUG	saŋādi	TAW	hoimalatom	RTU	terani te ʔi
KON	embara		pomalatom	TON	ʔaʔanoiha
WOL	naipua		geha	*SAM	talātutaeao
MAG	ča sua	MOT		MEL	taraje
		*MEK	eŋani	TAH	ānānahiatu
		*ROV	repere	RAP	āpōera
		MAR	nauriha		

MOL *dua + ko- -an.*

MUR *Also kaduāŋ.*

MGY *fak-ampiɕu* from (*faka-ampiɕu*).

BAT (from *\*ka-dua-an*).

JAV Compare *sesuk* 'tomorrow'.

MAD 'two nights'.

BAL *puan* 'period of two days'.

SAS *Also ʒəmaʔ.*

RTI *Also bin-esa-k.*

TAK 'dawn-IRR MED' (see 14.430).

YAB See 14.480.

KIL 'night-two'.

MEK *eŋani* goes to *ŋani* in the other dialects, except NW Mekeo (which has *eŋani*).

ROV Also *panaŋeta* 'two days hence'.

KWA '(future) two days from now'.

CEM 'two nights'.

SAM *talātu* 'beyond', *taeo* 'tomorrow'.

### 14.490 YESTERDAY

ATA	čuhiša?	UMA	βeŋi	MAR	ñora
TSO	ne xuçma	BUG	ri-winni	LAU	rogi
RUK	ko-ya	*KON	si-karie?	KWO	nāboni
PAI	ta-tiaw	WOL	iawi	RAG	ninovi
YAM	no kakyab	MAG	məsəŋ	PAA	neŋaneh
ISN	kagidamen	NGA	nəbu-mai	LEW	nakoneva
KAL	kalabyan	SIK	məra	POR	xi <sup>m</sup> boŋ
*TAG	kahāpon	RTI	hua-s	NTA	neniap
AKL	ka-hāpun	*BUR	le-beto	KWA	neiw
PAL	kapun	DOB	ʔik <sup>w</sup> usan	NEM	t <sup>n</sup> enegen
MOL	ka <sup>ʔ</sup> pun	*IRA	rəpəpə	CEM	háb <sup>w</sup> ēn
KAG	gibi <sup>ʔ</sup> i	SAW	pep	*AJI	xōm <sup>w</sup> ē
BLA	məlfəbi	NYI	na mene	XAR	amū
SAB	di <sup>ʔ</sup> ilaw	MAM	nora	NEN	oxedidi
MUR	mamai <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAK	nor	KIR	ŋkoānanao
MGY	umali	DAM	nor	MSH	inne
ACE	barə	MAB	nēri	PON	aio
BAT	nattə-ari	*YAB	no-gəŋ	WLE	řařowa
MIN	ka-pataŋ	KAU	pi toisap	EFI	e-nanoa
IND	kəmarin	TOL	nabuŋ	WFI	ni-yaβi
SUN	kamari	BUA	βəseβəŋ	RTU	asa
JAV	wiŋi	ADZ	mai <sup>ʔ</sup>	TON	ʔaneafi
MAD	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> ari	KIL	loβa	SAM	ananafi
*BAL	ibi	TAW	pom	MEL	nānafi
*SAS	ǰələ ui <sup>ʔ</sup>	MOT	βarani	TAH	inanahira
GOR	ʔolaŋo	*MEK	vai	RAP	ʔaŋataiahi
DAA	yovi	ROV	norae		

TAG	*ka- 'past', hāpun 'afternoon'.
BAL	From *i-bi; i 'PAST' occurs as a proclitic in time expressions, e.g. i təlun 'three days ago'. see also 14.500.
SAS	Also rubin. Teeuw: wi?; rubin; tərbin; təbin.
KON	Also si-karahie?.
BUR	Also la-beto, possibly from lea beto 'day night'.
IRA	See 14.451.
YAB	'past-only'.
MEK	vai often pronounced fai; NW Mekeo wai 'tomorrow, yesterday'; the other two dialects aḡani.
AJI	Also kōm <sup>wē</sup> .

#### 14.491 DAY-BEFORE-YESTERDAY

ATA	ču-ma-kaxa?	*JAV	wiŋenane	DAM	warī
TSO	ne sreixi	*MAD	ḡu-maləmman	MAB	urīzi
RUK	lopasakatołolo		-na	*YAB	wali-geḡ
PAI	sika-səpac	*BAL	i puan	KAU	pi tois
YAM	no	SAS	lae?	TOL	nari
	kaminaşazaw	*GOR	tunuhu ʔolaḡo	BUA	ḡəp
ISN	kagabi	DAA	pua	ADZ	maiʔmaḡan
KAL	osankalabyan	UMA	r●-meḡi	KIL	silobala
TAG	noḡ īsa-ḡ		(to liu)	TAW	pom geḡa-na
	āraw	BUG	saḡadi-winni	MOT	
AKL	ku isaḡa-ḡ	KON	kaka-nna si-	*MEK	paʔe
	adlaw		karie?	*ROV	ḡetoi
PAL	kədwanan	WOL	ipua-mo	MAR	naurihei
*MOL	dua	MAG	one sua	LAU	danigi
KAG		NGA	vəḡi-zua	KWO	
BLA	satuməlfəbi	SIK	rəma rua eʔi	RAG	
SAB	bahaḡidiʔilaw	RTI	bala-dema-k	PAA	noais
MUR	dadai?	*BUR	rua dii	LEW	nua-ye-m-
MGY		*DOB	ʔira monaʔu re		lani-neva
ACE	barəsa	IRA	rəpəpəpəiḡi	POR	xin●is
BAT	nattə-arisa'da	SAW	ta-i-pesə	NTA	niəh
*MIN	kalamari	NYI	na kalu	KWA	neis
IND	kəmarin dulu	MAM	norane	*NEM	gen heluk
SUN	maḡkuk-na	TAK	wari	*CEM	b <sup>wē</sup> nālo



AJI	teb <sup>w</sup> ēřu	*PON	mantakenaio	*SAM	talātuananafi
XAR	mōxuru	WLE	mas	MEL	nasereā
NEN		EFI	boŋi-rua	TAH	inanahiatu
KIR		WFI	boŋi-rua	RAP	ʔaŋataiahiera
*MSH	inne yo ɭok cuon	RTU	ræʔtaŋa		
		TON	ʔaneheafi		

MOL *dua + k-in-o--an.*

MIN Also *salimbari.*

JAV From *\*\*<sup>(wiŋi-an-an-e)</sup>.*

MAD From *(du-maləm-an-na).*

BAL See 14.481.

GOR *tunuhu* ‘that which comes next to’; *ʔolango* ‘yesterday’.

BUR Also *beto rua dii.*

DOB *ʔira* is probably an abbreviation of *mayira* ‘day’, lit ‘that first day’, now frozen.

YAB ‘formerly-only’.

MEK ‘before yesterday’, North Mekeo *batsi*, West Mekeo *bati*.

ROV Also *reporoi.*

NEM ‘night two’.

CEM ‘nights two’.

MSH ‘one away from yesterday’; *řān eo tuřun inne* lit ‘the day next to yesterday’.

PON See *manta* ‘next day’; *aio* ‘yesterday’.

SAM *talātu* ‘beyond’, *ananafi* ‘yesterday’.

## 14.510 HOUR

Arabic: <i>sā‘a</i>	English: <i>hour</i>	Portuguese: <i>hora</i>
Spanish: <i>hora</i>		

ATA	YAM	AKL	taknaʔ
TSO	ISN	PAL	lisag
RUK	KAL	MOL	[jaʔam]
PAI	TAG	KAG	[uras]

BLA	[udas]	*BUR	toro-wahe-r	PAA	
SAB	[jām]	DOB	[jam]	LEW	[aura]
*MUR	[jām]	IRA		POR	mariö
*MGY	[ura]	SAW	[jam]	NTA	[aua]
ACE	[juəm]	NYI	mada an	KWA	
*BAT	[jom]	MAM	amari-siri?i-ne	*NEM	hin negat
MIN	[jam]	TAK		*CEM	ine-tèat
IND	[jam]	*DAM	sain	AJI	pē mēxa
SUN	[jam]	MAB		*XAR	xērē-kamīā
*JAV	[jam]	YAB	[aua]	*NEN	gularan
MAD	[jam]	KAU		KIR	te[aoa]
*BAL	dauh	*TOL	pəkə-nə-buŋ	MSH	[awa]
*SAS	[jam]	BUA	ñegmala	*PON	[awa]
GOR	[jamu]	ADZ		*WLE	[sikaŋa]
DAA	ti <sup>n</sup> ti	KIL		EFI	[awa]
UMA	[jaa]	*TAW	kabudala	WFI	[i-aua]
BUG	[jaŋ]	MOT	[hora]	RTU	[aoa]
KON	tette?	*MEK	kina-maa-ŋa	TON	[houa]
*WOL	[jamu]	*ROV	[aoa]	*SAM	itū-lā
MAG	[jām]	MAR		MEL	[aoa]
NGA		LAU	kada hato	*TAH	[hora]
*SIK	liŋ	KWO		*RAP	[hora]
RTI	li?u	RAG			

MUR *sanjām* ‘one hour’; *x ŋa(n)jām* ‘x hours’.

MGY From Latin *hora* (?).

BAT Also *ɔbbas* ‘division of time’.

JAV Also *pukul*.

BAL *dauh* ‘period of about one and a half to two hours long’ used in the former system of dividing the daytime into eight periods: *dauh pisan*, *dauh [ro]*, *dauh təlu* etc. from Old Javanese.

SAS Also [*waktu*] Arabic *waqt* ‘time’.

WOL Also *ra<sup>m</sup>bi*.

SIK Also [*oras*] *liŋ*.

BUR See 14.110, Rana dialect [*oras*].

DAM ‘occasion’, usually understood as a day, but employed for telling the time, e.g. *sain uru*, ‘two o’clock’, in other contexts ‘twice’ or ‘two days’.

TOL	<i>pəkə</i> ‘piece’, <i>nə</i> LIG, <i>buŋ</i> ‘day’.
TAW	‘sun’.
MEK	<i>kina-maa-ŋa</i> ‘watch’, also ‘time, hour(s)’.
ROV	Also <i>totoso</i> .
NEM	‘sign of sun’.
CEM	‘sign sun’.
XAR	‘moment of the sun’.
NEN	Also <i>kačadu</i> .
PON	Also [ <i>kuʔək</i> ] ‘time, hour, clock, watch’.
WLE	From Japanese <i>jikan</i> ‘time, hour’.
SAM	<i>itū</i> ‘side’, <i>lā</i> ‘sun’.
TAH	From Latin.
RAP	From Spanish <i>hora</i> ?

### 14.530 CLOCK, TIMEPIECE

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>jum‘a</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>clock, watch</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>reloj</i>
<b>Dutch:</b> <i>horloge</i>	<b>Japanese:</b> <i>tokei</i>	

ATA	ACE	[jtuəm]	SIK
TSO	BAT	[jəm]	RTI
RUK	*MIN	[jəm]	BUR
PAI	*IND	[jəm]	*DOB
*YAM	*SUN	[jəm]	IRA
ISN	JAV	[jəm]	SAW
KAL	MAD	[jəm]	NYI
TAG	BAL		MAM
*AKL	*SAS	[jəm]	TAK
*PAL	GOR	[ʔaroloʃi]	DAM
MOL	DAA		*MAB
KAG	UMA	[jaa]	*YAB
BLA	BUG	[jaŋ]	*KAU
SAB	KON	[jaŋ]	TOL
*MUR	*WOL	[jamu]	BUA
*MGY	*MAG	[arloʃi]	*ADZ
	NGA		KIL

TAW	kabudala	POR		PON	[kulɔk]
*MOT	dinayauna	NTA	[uas]	WLE	[křōka]
*MEK	kina-maa-ŋa	KWA		EFI	[kaloko]
ROV	[koloko]	NEM	hin ɲegat	WFI	[kaloko]
MAR	naho	CEM	íne-téât	RTU	[uča]
*LAU	[oloto]	AJI	pē mēxa	TON	[uasi]
KWO		*XAR	pɛ-kirica	SAM	[uati]
RAG		NEN		MEL	[kalōko]
PAA		KIR	tetauantai	*TAH	[uāti]
*LEW	mrae	MSH	[awa]	*RAP	[hora]

YAM Also *tovil no dɔɔɔ do azaw* ‘mark of the sun’.

AKL Also [reloh].

PAL Also *lisagan*.

KAG From (*uras + -an*).

MUR See 14.510.

MGY (*faN-fantaɽ<sup>r</sup>a-ana + and<sup>r</sup>u*); *famantarana* ‘sign, indication’.

MIN Also [loʃi].

IND Also [arloʃi].

SUN Also *ločɛŋ*.

SAS Also *loñceŋ*.

WOL Also *garaga<sup>n</sup>ta*.

MAG Also [ʃam]; [lo<sup>n̄</sup>čɛŋtaŋan] from Malay ‘wrist watch’.

DOB ‘foreign bracelet’, ‘wrist watch’.

MAB ‘eye of the sun’.

YAB ‘sun-shadow’.

KAU Also [klok].

ADZ ‘sun face’.

MOT *dina* ‘day’, *ɣau* ‘thing’.

MEK ‘sun face-its’.

LAU From French *horloge*.

LEW ‘sun’; also [hanwas], [taem] (from English).

XAR ‘stone of famine’.

TAH [hora] ‘watch’ from Latin; [hora] *tautau* ‘pendulum’.

RAP From Spanish *hora*?

## 14.610 WEEK

<b>English:</b> <i>week</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>domingo</i> ‘Sunday’
<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>semana, domingo</i> ‘Sunday’	

ATA	ʔahaŋiŋan	DAA	<sup>n</sup> tipa	MAR	[wiki]
TSO		UMA	[mi <sup>ɖ</sup> ku]	LAU	[wiki]
RUK	nimakapitolanə	*BUG	[miŋgu]	KWO	
PAI		*KON	[miŋgu]	RAG	[wik]
*YAM	aŋa ka	WOL	[mi <sup>ɖ</sup> gu]	*PAA	avonɔlaulu
	ipiwalam	MAG	[me <sup>ɖ</sup> gu]	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> onji (ve) olua
	nokanakan	NGA		POR	
ISN	[liggu]	SIK	[dumiŋgu]	*NTA	nafakan
KAL	[dumiŋgu]wan	*RTI	ma-maso-k	*KWA	naɸakien
*TAG	[liŋgo]	*BUR	[miŋgu]	*NEM	bare-po-iri
*AKL	[dimiŋguh]	DOB	[miŋgu]	*CEM	nâdeni-tàn
*PAL	[liŋgu]	IRA		AJ	nejeřě ařĩ
MOL		SAW	[miŋgu]	*XAR	nek <sup>w</sup> ā-xiti
KAG	[dumiŋgu]	NYI	sa <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e ari	NEN	
*BLA	[simana]	MAM	[ui <sup>?</sup> i]	KIR	te [wīki]
SAB	pitu <sup>?</sup>	*TAK	ubou	MSH	[wīk]
*MUR	[miŋgu <sup>?</sup> ]	*DAM	[sande]	PON	[wīk]
*MGY	herin-and <sup>r</sup> u	MAB		WLE	[wīke]
*ACE	sigɔ[aluhət]	*YAB	[wɔkɛ]	EFI	māḍawa
BAT	[miŋgu]	KAU	[βik]	*WFI	[maḍawa]
*MIN	pakan	TOL	[vik]	RTU	ŋasava
IND	[miŋgu]	BUA	[soda]	TON	[uike]
SUN	[miŋgu]	ADZ		*SAM	vāi-aso
*JAV	[pasar]	KIL	[wiki]	MEL	[wīki]
MAD	[miŋgu]	*TAW	gaogao	*TAH	[hepetoma]
*BAL	pitu-ŋ dinə	*M●T	[wiki]	RAP	[tapati]
SAS	sə[miŋgu]	MEK	ivi		
GOR	[dimiŋgu]	ROV	[wiki]		

YAM ‘one children’s vacation’; also [ničio] from Japanese.

TAG Also ‘Sunday’.

AKL Also ‘Sunday’.

PAL Also *pituŋ* ɔldɔw.

BLA From Spanish *semana*.

MUR	<i>samingu?</i> ‘one week’, <i>x ηamingu?</i> ‘x weeks’.
MGY	<i>herina</i> ‘turning, rotation’ + <i>andru</i> ‘day’.
ACE	From Arabic <i>al-aḥad</i> ‘one Sunday’.
MIN	Also <i>belo?</i>
JAV	From Arabic <i>faṣl</i> ‘division’ ?; also [ <i>mingu</i> ].
BAL	<i>pitu-η dinə</i> ‘seven days’; <i>uku</i> ‘period of seven days, by the traditional calendar’.
BUG	Also <i>pasa?</i>
KON	Also <i>tuḷu-a</i> , [ <i>ḷjuma?</i> ] from Arabic <i>jum</i> ‘a’.
RTI	Formed from Malay <i>masuk</i> , meaning ‘to enter’, <i>ma-masok</i> ‘the day for entering, going to church’, i.e. ‘Sunday’, also ‘week’.
BUR	[ <i>mingu</i> ] <i>sahe-k</i> ‘next week’.
TAK	‘week, Sunday’.
DAM	From English ‘Sunday’.
YAB	From German <i>Woche</i> ; also [ <i>wik</i> ].
TAW	‘gap’.
MOT	Also [ <i>pura</i> ] from a Polynesian language?, and [ <i>hebedoma</i> ] from Greek <i>hēbdomos</i> ‘seventh’.
PAA	‘seven days’.
NTA	Also [ <i>uik</i> ].
KWA	Nominalised form of <i>-aḷaki</i> ‘pray’; from 19th century Bible translation.
NEM	‘after Sunday’.
CEM	‘interval day’.
XAR	‘interval between two Sundays; <i>xiti</i> ‘holy, feast’.
WFI	Standard Fijian.
SAM	Abbr. of <i>vāi-aso-sā</i> , <i>vāi-</i> ‘interval between’, <i>aso</i> ‘day’, <i>sā</i> ‘be sacred (vb intrans)’; lit ‘interval between two sacred days, i.e. Sundays’.
TAH	From Greek.

## 14.620 SUNDAY

**Arabic:** *al-aḥad***English:** *Sunday, Sabbath***Portuguese:** *domingo***Spanish:** *domingo*

ATA		KON	[ahaʔ]	LAU	[sade]
*TSO	[niʕiyōbi]	*WOL	[mi <sup>ɖ</sup> gu]	KWO	
RUK		*MAG	laso [me <sup>ɖ</sup> gu]	RAG	[sande]
PAI		NGA		PAA	
*YAM	ikapitona	*SIK	rəga-ŋgəte	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi (na-) olua
ISN	[dumiŋgu]	*RTI	ma-maso-k	POR	
KAL	[dumiŋgu]	BUR	[har miŋgu]	NTA	[sante]
TAG	[liŋgo]	*DOB	mayirane	KWA	
AKL	[dumiŋguh]		dubuy'yam	NEM	po-iri
PAL	[liŋgu]	IRA		*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ē-ītihi
MOL	[ahad]	SAW	ŋen-ŋan	AJI	añ
KAG	[dumiŋgu]		[miŋgu]	*XAR	xiti
BLA	[liŋgu]	NYI	[sa <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e]	*NEN	bureŋi
SAB	[ahad]	MAM	[sande]	KIR	te[tābati]
*MUR	[adimiŋguʔ]	*TAK	ubou	MSH	[cap <sup>w</sup> ʌt]
MGY	[alahadi]	DAM	ūbū	*PON	rān sarawi
ACE	[aluhāt]	MAB	aigule	WLE	[santei]
BAT	ari [miŋgu]		potomŋana	EFI	siŋa-tabu
MIN	[akaiʔ]	*YAB	ɔm	WFI	hiŋa-tabu
*IND	hari [miŋgu]	KAU	[sade]	*RTU	[sapatō]
SUN	[ahad]	*TOL	buŋ tabu	TON	[sāpate]
*JAV	[miŋgu]	BUA	[soda]	*SAM	aso sā
MAD	[ahat]	*ADZ	[so <sup>n</sup> tai]	MEL	[sanrea]
*BAL	[rədite]	KIL	[sabate]	TAH	[tāpati]
SAS	[ahad]	*TAW	dalabu	RAP	mahana [tapati]
GOR	[ʔahadi]	*MOT	[pura]		
DAA	eo aka	*MEK	ivi-kina		
UMA	eo [mi <sup>ɖ</sup> ku]	ROV	[sade]		
BUG	[ahaʔ]	MAR	[sade]		

TSO From Japanese.

YAM Also *ipiwalam no tao*.MUR From Malay *hari Minggu* (*hari* 'day', [miŋgu] Sunday).

IND Also [ahad].

- JAV Also [*ahad*].
- BAL From Sanskrit.
- WOL Also [*ahadi*].
- MAG Also archaic [*ahas*].
- SIK Ata Tana 'Ai count the seven days of the week from Sunday, *rəga-ŋ gəte* 'big meeting', 'big market' as *ləroŋ hat* 'first day', 'Monday', *ləro-ŋ ruat* 'second day', 'Tuesday', ... *rega-ŋ anak* 'little meeting', 'little market'. Informants say that by tradition the regional market at Talibura on the north coast of the Tana 'Ai region met on Sunday and that people began gathering at Talibura the day before (*rəga-ŋ anak* 'Saturday'). The market now meets on Friday, but the days of the week are still counted from 'big market day'. Ata Sika Natar [*dumiŋgu*] 'week'; [*lero-ŋ dumiŋgu*] 'Sunday', [*səgunda*] 'Monday'; [*tərsa*] 'Tuesday'; [*kβarta*] 'Wednesday'; [*kinta*] 'Thursday', [*sesta*] 'Friday'; [*sabut*] 'Saturday', all from Portuguese.
- RTI See 14.610.
- DOB 'the seventh day'.
- TAK See 14.610.
- YAB Traditionally 'day of rest'; Tok Pisin day names are mostly used now.
- TOL *buŋ* 'day', *tabu* 'sacred'.
- ADZ From German *Sonntag*.
- TAW 'rest'.
- MOI 'Sunday, week' from a Polynesian language?; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *pure* 'public worship' and says it is borrowed from Rarotongan.
- MEK 'day of song' with reference to hymn-singing; also [*sande*]; NW Mekeo [*sabati*].
- CEM 'make holy'.
- XAR 'holy, feast'.
- NEN Also [*sabaθ*].
- PON 'holy day'.
- RTU From unidentified classical language, also *teræn haʔa*.
- SAM See 14.610.



## 14.630 MONDAY

Arabic: *yaum al-aşnen*English: *Monday*Spanish: *lunes*

ATA		KON [sanneŋ]	KWO
*TSO [geçuyōbi]		WOL [isinini]	RAG [mande]
RUK		MAG læso [seneŋ]	PAA
PAI		NGA	*LEW p <sup>w</sup> oŋi na- sum <sup>w</sup> o
YAM ikaşa na		*SIK læro-ŋ hat	
ISN [lūnis]		*RTI hali-manak	POR
KAL [lūnes]		BUR [harmandak]	NTA [mante]
TAG [lūnes]		*DOB mayirane	KWA
AKL [lūnes]		ma <sup>ʔ</sup> a re	NEM kerae-po-iri
PAL [lunis]		IRA	*CEM âcāma-p <sup>w</sup> ê- ítihi
MOL [isnin]		SAW ŋen-ŋan	
KAG [lunis]		[senin]	*AJI [lādi]
BLA [lunis]		NYI [ma <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e]	*XAR mara-mō
SAB isnin		MAM [mande]	NEN θubaŋaŋi
*MUR [adisatu <sup>ʔ</sup> ]		TAK [mandei]	*KIR temoaniboŋ
MGY [alaçinaini]		DAM [mande]	MSH [m <sup>w</sup> ande]
*ACE [sunañan]		*MAB urāta iwe ta	*PON niēt
BAT (ari) [se'nen]		YAB	*WLE xacitaxeñi
MIN [sinayan]		KAU [made]	yeŋōŋa
IND [sənin]		*TOL kubək	EFI [mōniti]
SUN [sənen]		BUA [made]	WFI [mōnite]
JAV [sənen]		ADZ	RTU [mōnrē]
*MAD [senin]		*KIL	TON [mōnite]
*BAL [somə]		*TAW wiwawala	*SAM aso ŋafua
SAS [sənən]		MOT [manide]	MEL [manrē]
GOR [ʔisinini]		MEK [mande]	TAH [monirē]
DAA eo [sinaya]		ROV [made]	RAP [monirē]
UMA eo [sinee]		MAR [made]	
BUG [aseneŋ]		LAU [made]	

TSO From Japanese.

MUR From Bazaar Malay *hari satu* 'Monday'; *hari* 'day', *satu* 'one'.ACE Also *sulañan*.MAD Safioedin (1977): *sənen*.

BAL From Sanskrit.

SIK	See note 14.620.
RTI	<i>soda fai esak</i> 'first day of the week', [hali]-[manak] from Malay <i>hari</i> and Dutch <i>maandag</i> .
DOB	'the first day'.
MAB	'work becomes one'.
TOL	<i>kubək</i> originally 'day after an important event such as a feast'.
KIL	Days of month used to be named, on distinctive days preceding and following full moon.
TAW	'start', also [monde].
LEW	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>oŋi tāŋa</i> .
CEM	'morning Sunday'.
AJI	From French <i>lundi</i> .
XAR	'cultivate first'.
KIR	'first day'.
PON	'day one'.
WLE	CAUS; see <i>šitaxeř yeŋōŋ</i> 'beginning of work'; also [montōga] German.
SAM	<i>aso</i> 'day', <i>ŋafua</i> (vb intrans) 'be free from restrictions, taboo, etc.'

## 14.640 TUESDAY

Arabic: <i>al-šulāsa</i>	English: <i>Tuesday</i>	Spanish: <i>martes</i>
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ATA	SAB	[salasa]	DAA	eo[salasa]	
*TSO	[kayōbi]	*MUR	[adidua?]	UMA	eo[salasa]
RUK	MGY	[talata]	BUG	[salasa]	
PAI	ACE	[sulasa]	KON	[salasa]	
YAM	ikaɖwa na	BAT	[selasa]	WOL	[salasa]
ISN	pidduwa	MIN	[salasa]	MAG	ləso[selasa]
KAL	kagwa	IND	[səlasa]	NGA	
TAG	[martes]	SUN	[salasa]	*SIK	ləro-ŋ rua-t
AKL	[martes]	JAV	[səloso]	RTI	soda fai dua-k
PAL	[martis]	MAD	[salasa]	*BUR	[har dua]
MOL	[solasa]	*BAL	[aŋgarə]	*DOB	mayira ne rro
KAG	[martis]	SAS	[səlasə]	IRA	
BLA	[martis]	GOR	[salāsa]	SAW	[selasa]

NYI	[tu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e]	MAR	[tuside]	*KIR	tekauaboŋ
MAM	[tude]	LAU	[tiuside]	MSH	[cuce]
TAK	[tudei]	KWO		*PON	niare
DAM	[tude]	*RAG	yub <sup>w</sup> eŋ-ɣai- rua-na	*WLE	xaŋiwaŋaneŋi yeŋōŋa
*MAB	urāta iwe ru				
YAB		*PAA	avoŋ elu	EFI	[tūsiti]
KAU	[tude]	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi (na-)lua	WFI	[čūsiti]
*TOL	buŋ a uruə	POR		RTU	ræn rua
BUA	[tude]	NTA	nola keiu	TON	[tūsiti]
ADZ		KWA		*SAM	aso lua
KIL		NEM	nim po-iri	MEL	[justei]
*TAW	wiluwaga	*CEM	nímp <sup>w</sup> ê-ítihi	TAH	mahanapiti
*MOT	[tuside]	*AJI	[marədi]	RAP	mahanapiti
MEK	[tsiusde]	*XAR	fa-bāru dā		
ROV	[tiusde]	NEN	rewerebu		

TSO From Japanese.

MUR From Bazaar Malay *hari dua*, *dua* ‘two’.

BAL From Sanskrit.

SIK See note 14.620.

BUR Borrowed from Malay calque on Portuguese system.

DOB ‘the second day’.

MAB ‘work becomes two’.

TOL *buŋ* ‘day’, a ART, *uruə* ‘two’.

TAW ‘second’.

MOT See 14.630.

RAG ‘day-second’.

PAA ‘day two’.

CEM ‘five Sunday’ (five days before Sunday).

AJI From French *mardi*.

XAR Also *fa-bāru kamīā* lit ‘second day’; ‘second sun’.

KIR See ‘Thursday’.

PON See ‘Thursday’.

WLE See ‘Thursday’.

SAM *aso* ‘day’, *lua* ‘two’.

## 14.650 WEDNESDAY

Arabic: <i>yaum al-arba'a</i>	English: <i>Wednesday</i>	Spanish: <i>miércoles</i>
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ATA	UMA	eo [rabu]	LAU	[winiside]
*TSO	BUG	[suiyōbi]	[arabaʔ]	KWO
RUK	*KON	[ara'bai]	*RAG	ɣub <sup>w</sup> ɛŋ-ɣai-
PAI	WOL	[ʔarabaʔa]		tolu-na
YAM	*MAG	ləso rabu	*PAA	avoŋetel
ISN	NGA	piʔlu	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi
KAL	*SIK	katlu		(na-)telu
TAG	RTI	[mi'yerkoles]		ləro-ŋtəlu-t
AKL	BUR	[mi'yerkoles]	POR	soda fai telu-k
PAL	*DOB	[har tiga]	NTA	nola kəsəl
MOL	IRA	[mirkulis]	KWA	mayira nellay
KAG	SAW	[arbaʔa]	NEM	p <sup>h</sup> oec po-iri
BLA	NYI	[mirkulis]	CEM	pāp <sup>w</sup> ê-ítih
SAB	*MAM	[myerkulis]	*AJI	[mekərədi]
*MUR	TAK	[albaʔa]	*XAR	fa-bašē dā
*MGY	DAM	[aditigaʔ]	NEN	tenon
ACE	MAB	[alarubia]	KIR	tekatēnibon
BAT	YAB	[rabu]	MSH	[wance]
MIN	KAU	[rabu]	PON	niesil
*IND	*IOL	[rabu]	WLE	xaseřīraneři
SUN	BUA	[rəbo]		yeŋōŋa
JAV	ADZ	[rəbo]	*EFI	[βukelulu]
MAD	KIL	[rəbu]	*WFI	[burelulu]
*BAL	*TAW	[budə]	RTU	rən folu
SAS	*MOT	[rəbo]	TON	pulelulu
*GOR	MEK	dulahu	*SAM	aso lulu
	ROV	[ʔarabaʔa]	MEL	[wenistei]
DAA	MAR	eo [robaa]	TAH	mahana toru
			RAP	mahanatoru

TSO From Japanese.

MUR From Bazaar Malay *hari tiga, tiga* 'three'.

MGY From Arabic.

IND Also [rəbu].

BAL From Sanskrit.

GOR	<i>dulahu</i> ‘day’.
KON	Also [ <i>ara’ba?</i> ].
MAG	Archaic [ <i>reba?a</i> ].
SIK	See 14.620.
DOB	‘the third day’.
MAM	From English.
TOL	<i>utul</i> ‘three’.
TAW	‘third’.
MOT	See 14.630. Also [ <i>pura</i> / <i>marayi-n</i> . lit ‘little Sunday’ - a church service was held on Wednesdays, and still is in villages.
RAG	‘day-third’.
PAA	‘day three’.
AJI	From French <i>mercredi</i> .
XAR	‘third day’.
EFI	Tongan <i>pulelulu</i> .
WFI	From Tongan <i>pulelulu</i> .
SAM	<i>aso</i> ‘day’, <i>lulu?</i>

## 14.660 THURSDAY

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>yaum al-ḥamīs</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>Thursday</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>jueves</i>
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ATA		SAB	[hammis	DAA	eo kamisi]
*TSO	[mökuyōbi]	*MUR	[adiampat]	UMA	eo[kamisi]
RUK		MGY	[alakamisi]	BUG	[kammisi?]
PAI		ACE	[hameh]	KON	[‘kammisi]
YAM	ikapatna	BAT	[kamis]	WOL	[hamisi]
ISN	pimpāt	MIN	[kamih]	*MAG	lāso [kamis]
KAL	kapāt	IND	[kamis]	NGA	
TAG	[huwēbes]	SUN	[kəmis]	*SIK	ləro-ŋ hutu-t
AKL	[huwēbes]	JAV	[kəmis]	RTI	soda fai ha-k
PAL	[huwibis]	MAD	[kəmis]	BUR	[har ampa]
MOL	[hammis]	*BAL	[rəspati]	*DOB	mayirane
KAG	[wibis]	SAS	[kəmis]		??awa
BLA	[hwebis]	GOR	[hamisi]	IRA	

SAW	[kaʔmis]	*ROV	rane turu	*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ade
NYI	[po <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> e]	MAR	[soside]	NEN	ečerebu
MAM	[pode]	LAU	[toside]	*KIR	te kāboŋ
TAK	[fodei]	KWO		MSH	[taice]
DAM	[ɸode]	*RAG	ɣub <sup>w</sup> eŋ-ɣai-	*PON	niepeŋ
MAB	urāta iwe paŋ		vasi-na	*WLE	xefōraneři
YAB		*PAA	avoŋchat		yeŋōŋa
KAU	[fode]	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi	EFI	lotuleβu
*TOL	buŋ a ivat		(na-)vari	WFI	wahe-βunau
BUA	[pode]	POR		RTU	ræn hæke
ADZ		NTA	nolakuβet	TON	tu <sup>ʔ</sup> apulelulu
*KIL	[fosidei]	KWA		*SAM	aso tofi
*TAW	wiwohepali	NEM	heyen po-iri	MEL	[tōstei]
*MOT	[teside]	CEM	ciep <sup>w</sup> ê-ítih	TAH	mahanamaha
MEK	[tasde]	*AJI	[yēdi]	RAP	mahanamaha

TSO From Japanese.

MUR From Bazaar Malay *hari empat*, *empat* ‘four’.

BAL From Sanskrit.

MAG Also archaic [*hamis*], via Bimanese.

ŠIK See 14.620.

DOB ‘the fourth day’.

TOL *ivat* ‘four’.

KIL From English ‘Thursday’; note here use of *f*.

TAW ‘fourth’.

MOT *reβareβa ore-na* ‘Thursday’, lit ‘end of writing’; the early village schools operated only from Monday to Thursday.

ROV ‘day to start up (for confession for Methodists)’.

RAG ‘day-fourth’.

PAA ‘day four’.

AJI From French *jeudi*.

XAR The day on which one was not allowed to burn *m<sup>w</sup>ade* (*Trema veillardii* Schltr).

KIR ‘fourth day’.

PON ‘at four’.

WLE ‘fourth day of work’.

SAM *aso* ‘day’, *tofi* ‘divide (vb trans)’ (?)

## 14.670 FRIDAY

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>yaum al-jum'a</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>Friday</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>viernes</i>
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ATA	BUG [jumaʔ]	LAU [faraede]
*TSO [kiŋ yōbi]	KON [jumaʔ]	KWO
RUK	WOL [jumaa]	*RAG ɣub <sup>w</sup> eŋ-ɣai-
PAI	*MAG ləso [jumat]	lima-na
YAM ikalimana	NGA	PAA
ISN pilimma	*SIK ləro-ŋlima-t	LEW p <sup>w</sup> oŋi(na-)lima
KAL kalima	RTI soda fai lima-k	POR
TAG [biyernes]	*BUR [har lima]	NTA [fraete]
AKL [bi'yernes]	*DOB mayira ne llima	KWA
PAL [bimis]	IRA	NEM heluk po-iri
MOL [jomaʔat]	SAW [juʔmat]	CEM álop <sup>w</sup> ê-ítih
KAG [birnis]	NYI [para <sup>n</sup> dʔe]	*AJI [vādərədi]
BLA [byernis]	MAM [praide]	*XAR pa-m <sup>w</sup> ērē
SAB [jumaʔat]	TAK [fraidei]	NEN buretan
*MUR [adilimaʔ]	DAM [ʔaiʔde]	KIR tekanimaboŋ
MGY [zuma]	MAB urāta iwe	MSH [p <sup>m</sup> ʌraire]
ACE [jumuʔāt]	lamata	PON nialem
BAT [jumat]	YAB	*WLE xařimařaneři
MIN [jumaiʔ]	KAU [praide]	yeŋōŋa
IND [jumʔat]	*TOL buŋ a ilimə	EFI βakarau-buka
SUN [jumaah]	BUA [praide]	WFI βarau-balaβu
JAV [jumuwah]	ADZ	RTU terænlima
MAD [jumat]	KIL [paraidei]	TON [falaite]
*BAL [sukrə]	*TAW winimitutu	SAM aso [faraile]
SAS [jumat]	*MOT [faraide]	MEL [faraitei]
GOR [jumaʔati]	MEK [flaide]	*TAH mahanapae
DAA eo [jumaa]	ROV [fraede]	RAP mahanapae
UMA eo [jumaaʔ]	MAR [fraede]	

TSO From Japanese.

MUR From Bazaar Malay *hari lima, lima* 'five'.

BAL From Sanskrit.

MAG Also archaic [jəmaʔak].

SIK See 14.620.

BUR	From Malay.
DOB	'the fifth day'.
TOL	<i>ilimə</i> 'five'.
TAW	More fully <i>winimi itutu</i> , lit 'fifth'; also [ <i>palaide</i> ].
MOT	See 14.630.
RAG	'day-fifth'.
AJI	From French <i>vendredi</i> .
XAR	'which are closed'.
WLE	'fifth day of work'.
TAH	Also [ <i>farairē</i> ].

## 14.680 SATURDAY

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>yaum as-sabt</i>	<b>English:</b> <i>Saturday</i>	<b>Portuguese:</b> <i>sábado</i>
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>sabado</i>		

ATA	SUN [saptu]	NYI [sarare]
*TSO [doyobi]	JAV [sətu]	MAM [sarere]
RUK	MAD [sattu]	TAK [sarrei]
PAI	*BAL [sanisčarə]	DAM [sarede]
YAM <i>ikanəmna</i>	SAS [saptu]	MAB <i>urāta iwe</i>
ISN [sabādu]	GOR [sahutu]	<i>lamatami ta</i>
KAL [sabadu]	DAA <i>eo [satu]</i>	YAB
TAG ['sabado]	UMA <i>eo [satu]</i>	KAU [sarere]
AKL ['sabado]	BUG [sattu]	*TOL <i>buŋ vəninarə</i>
PAL [sabadu]	KON [sattu]	BUA [sarere]
MOL [sabtʉ?]	WOL [saputu]	ADZ
KAG [sabadu]	*MAG <i>ləso [saptu]</i>	KIL [sadadei]
BLA [sabadu]	NGA	*TAW <i>kiwadi</i>
SAB [sabtʉ?]	SIK <i>rəga-ŋanak</i>	*MOT [satade]
*MUR [adianam]	RTI <i>soda fai ne-k</i>	MEK [satade]
MGY [asabuçi]	BUR [har saptu]	ROV [sarere]
*ACE [saptu]	*DOB <i>mayirane</i>	MAR [sarere]
BAT [saptu]	<i>ddubu</i>	LAU [sarere]
MIN [satu]	IRA	KWO
IND [sabtʉ]	SAW [sabʉtu]	RAG [sarere]



PAA		XAR	[çatetɛ]	RTU	teræn aʔita
LEW	pʷoŋi (na-)orai	NEN	bure laekākā	TON	tokonaki
POR		*KIR	te kaonoboŋ	*SAM	aso toʔonaʔi
NTA	[sarere]	MSH	[cærere]	MEL	[sarerei]
KWA		*PON	nikaunop	TAH	mahanamāʔa
NEM	[savato]	WLE	[seɸʷɔ̄tō]	RAP	mahana hopu
CEM	[capeto]	EFI	βakarau-wai		
*AJI	[yamədi]	WFI	βarau-leka		

TSO From Japanese.

MUR From Bazaar Malay *hari ənam*, *ənam* ‘six’.

ACE Also [*satu*].

BAL From Sanskrit.

MAG Also [*səpə-tu*].

DOB ‘the sixth day’.

TOL *vəninərə* (vb intrans) ‘prepare’, *buŋ vəninərə* ‘the day on which the preparations for Sunday are done’; also *varuruəi* lit ‘gathering’.

TAW ‘preparation’.

MOT See 14.630.

AJI From French *samedi*.

KIR ‘sixth day’.

PON Also *rān kaunop* lit ‘sixth day’.

SAM *toʔonaʔi* ‘collect and prepare food for the Sunday meal (vb intrans)’.

## 14.710 MONTH

ATA	βua-tiŋ	KAG	bulan	MAD	bulan
*TSO	[-gaçu]	BLA	bulən	*BAL	bulan
*RUK	çamarə	SAB	bulan	SAS	bulan
PAI	kiʎas	*MUR	bulan	*GOR	hulalo
YAM	vəan	MGY	vulana	DAA	vula
ISN	būlān	ACE	buluən	UMA	βula
KAL	būlan	BAT	bulan	BUG	uliŋ
*TAG	buwan	MIN	bulan	KON	buləŋ
AKL	būʎan	IND	bulan	WOL	ᵐbula
PAL	bulan	SUN	bulan	MAG	vulaŋ
MOL	bulan	*JAV	[sasi]	NGA	vula

SIK	βula-ŋ	KIL	tubukona	AJI	vaʔui
RTI	bula-k	*TAW	wama hiya	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ea
*BUR	fula-n	*MOT	hua	NEN	čekol
DOB	ϕulan	*MEK	ŋava	*KIR	tenam <sup>w</sup> akaina
IRA	sieba ɛsɔ	ROV	sidara	MSH	alləŋ
SAW	sni	MAR	[ŋigra]	PON	sounp <sup>w</sup> oŋ
NYI	bun	LAU	sinali	WLE	maɾama
MAM	ʔalea	*KWO	siŋari	EFI	βula
*TAK	kalam	RAG	vula	WFI	βula
DAM	ogõ	*PAA	avati	RTU	hula
MAB	pūlu	LEW	kupario	TON	māhina
*YAB	ayoŋ	POR	xa <sup>m</sup> bači	*SAM	māsina
*KAU	namih	NTA	nauŋ	MEL	marama
*TOL	gai	*KWA	mak <sup>w</sup> a	TAH	ʔāvaʔe
BUA	k <sup>w</sup> eβ	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wē	*RAP	ʔavaʔe
*ADZ	ukam	*CEM	wóle		

TSO From Japanese.

RUK *ɖamarə* ‘moon, month’.

TAG Also ‘moon’.

MUR *sambulan* ‘one month’, *x-ŋambulan* ‘x months’.

JAV From Sanskrit.

BAL ‘period of thirty-five days’, also ‘moon’.

GOR Also *hula*.

BUR ‘moon’.

TAK ‘moon’ (01.530).

YAB ‘moon’; names of Yabem ‘moons’/‘months’: January *kom-siŋ (igiŋ-to-lilu)* ‘sago-sword’; February *pe<sup>ŋ</sup>gɔ<sup>?</sup>-awa-a<sup>n</sup>daŋ (lanip-laŋ-k<sup>w</sup>a<sup>n</sup>daŋ)* ‘Pengo scorching breath’; March *selim-dewi<sup>?</sup>(lageŋ-awəŋ-a<sup>n</sup>daŋ)* ‘field burning’; April *mata-ge<sup>?</sup> (nip-lema)* ‘monsoon dying’; May *dabu<sup>?</sup>-benoŋ (saŋalua)* ‘millet calm’; June *sɔŋ-sauŋ (se-li-awəŋ-sa)* ‘small pandanus’; July *sɔŋ-sega* ‘main pandanus hunt’; August *bu-ani (bo<sup>?</sup>-i<sup>?</sup>)* ‘water abundance’; September *age<sup>?</sup>-se-po* ‘both shine (mixture of sun and rain)’; October *igeaŋ ŋa-mop* ‘seaworm muddiness’; November *igeaŋ ŋa-walo* ‘seaworm swarm’; December *tana<sup>?</sup>ŋa-aŋ* ‘transition’.

KAU ‘moon’.

TOL Also ‘moon’.

ADZ	Also 'moon' all dialects; <i>bura<sup>m</sup>p</i> 'moon, month' Yarus dialect.
TAW	'moon'.
MOT	Also 'moon'.
MEK	Also 'moon'.
KWO	'moon'.
PAA	Also 'moon'.
KWA	'moon'.
CEM	'moon'.
KIR	Also <i>te oiaki</i> .
SAM	Also 'moon'.
RAP	Also <i>marama</i> (archaic).

## 14.730 YEAR

German: <i>Jahr</i>
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ATA	kā†	JAV	taun	*DAM	[yar]
*TSO	to-...-ha	MAD	taun	MAB	<sup>n</sup> dāma
RUK	ʔaili	BAL	tiban	*YAB	[yala]
PAI	ʔavil <sup>y</sup>	SAS	taun	KAU	posan
YAM	kawan	*GOR	[tāwunu]	TOL	kilalə
ISN	dagun	DAA	<sup>m</sup> pae	BUA	ta
KAL	dagun	*UMA	<sup>m</sup> pae	ADZ	[yara]
TAG	taʔon	BUG	tauŋ	KIL	taitu
AKL	dagʔun	KON	tauŋ	*TAW	bolima
PAL	taʔun	*WOL	tao	MOT	layani
MOL	toun	MAG	<sup>n</sup> tauŋ	*MEK	ʔinipo
KAG	taʔun	NGA	hiva	ROV	vuaheni
BLA	fəli	SIK	ʔliβa-ŋ	MAR	finoya
SAB	tahun	RTI	teu-k	LAU	ŋali
*MUR	bilod	*BUR	musu-n	*KWO	farisi
MGY	tauna	DOB	naraʔu	RAG	taulu
ACE	thon	IRA	taun εso	*PAA	auh
BAT	taən	*SAW	[tahun]	*LEW	kasia
MIN	taun	NYI	ʔaha	*POR	na- <sup>n</sup> dʔam
IND	tahun	MAM	barasi	*NTA	nup
SUN	taun	TAK	anaŋar	*KWA	nuk

NEM	tok	*MSH	[iʌ]	TON	taʔu
CEM	jô	*PON	sounpar	*SAM	tausana
AJI	nedo	WLE	ɾaxi	MEL	tau
XAR	xʷada	EFI	yabaki	TAH	matahiti
NEN	wakoko	WFI	yabaki	RAP	matahiti
KIR	teririki	RTU	fau		

TSO *to-nso-xa* ‘one year of age’; *to-pus-ka* ‘2 years of age’, etc.

MUR Also [*taun*]; *sambilod/santaun* ‘x year’; *x nambilod/nantaun* ‘x years’.

GOR From Malay *tahun*.

UMA From *pae* ‘rice’.

WOL *sa-bara* ‘one year’.

BUR ‘season’.

SAW From Malay.

DAM This has replaced *kabī kāu*, lit ‘garden fence’ (the marking off of a period or garden cycle).

YAB Also [*yia*] from English.

TAW *bolibolima* ‘S-E tradewinds’.

MEK *?inipo* ‘kind of grass that flowers annually at the end of the rainy season’.

KWO ‘yam planting’.

PAA Also ‘yam’.

LEW Also *ka-yui*.

POR ‘the yam’.

NTA ‘yam’.

KWA ‘yam’.

MSH From English.

PON Also *phar*.

SAM Originally ‘seasonal crop of yams’.

## 14.740 WINTER

ATA	ka-miŝ-an	PAI	ka-l <sup>y</sup> a-	KAL	
TSO	xo-sorim-a		l <sup>y</sup> al <sup>y</sup> əɕəl-an	*TAG	tag-lamig
*RUK	kala-kəɕəl-anə	YAM	amian	*AKL	tig-ɬa-ɬamig
		ISN	amiyān	*PAL	basat

MOL		*SIK		*PAA	avoŋ ten an
*KAG	tag-tig'naw	*RTI	fai nasufu-k	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi na
BLA		BUR			miava
*SAB	[tempo haggut]	DOB		POR	
MUR		IRA		*NTA	təniaruan
MGY	ririnina	SAW	bəbəbəl	*KWA	nəpənrak <sup>w</sup> iei
ACE		NYI		NEM	
BAT		MAM		*CEM	bĕnām <sup>w</sup> ə-n
*MIN	[musim] diŋin	TAK			kó-âb <sup>w</sup> âla
*IND	[musim] [salju]	*DAM	[dobu sain]	AJI	nek <sup>w</sup> enavo
		MAB		*XAR	
		YAB		NEN	
*SUN		*KAU	pi yuŋ alumus	KIR	aumeāŋ
JAV		TOL		MSH	aŋΛneŋ
*MAD	namb <sup>ɛ</sup> ara?	BUA		PON	
*BAL		ADZ		WLE	yefaŋi
SAS		KIL		EFI	βula-i-βila
GOR		*TAW	houga wayau	WFI	βula ni yaliwa
DAA		*M●I	keru nega-na	*RTU	
UMA		*MEK	apaŋa	TON	fa <sup>?</sup> ahita <sup>?</sup> u
BUG		ROV	totoso ibu		momoko
*KON	hattu bara?	MAR		*SAM	taumālūlū
WOL		LAU		MEL	
MAG		KWO		TAH	
NGA		RAG		RAP	toŋa

RUK *kala-kəʔəʔ-anə* 'winter', lit 'cold season', see *mā-kəʔəʔə* 'cold'.

TAG 'cold season'.

AKL 'cold season'.

FAL 'rainy season'.

KAG *tag-tig'naw* (*tignaw + tag-*) 'cold season'; *tag-uran* (*uran + tag-*) 'rainy season'.

SAB From Spanish.

MIN From Arabic.

IND 'snow season' from Arabic; also *musim diŋin*.

SUN Principal season names: *usum barat* 'season of west monsoon'; *usum timur* 'season of east monsoon'; *usum nalado* 'dry season'; *usum ŋijih* 'rainy season'.

- MAD Safioedin (1977): also *nimb<sup>h</sup>ara?* ‘rainy season’; from *-b<sup>h</sup>ara?* ‘west (wind)’? see 14.760 ‘summer’.
- BAL [*masa-n uʃan*] ‘wet season, rainy season’; [*masa*]-*n panəs*, [*masa*]-*n əndaŋ* ‘dry season’ (*panəs* ‘hot’; *əndaŋ* ‘dry weather after rain’).
- KON Also *pa-hosi* ‘rainy season’.
- SIK Two principal seasons: *lelə-ŋ* (or *βula-ŋ lelə-ŋ*), the ‘wet season’ or ‘wet months’ of the south-west monsoon, and *dara-ŋ* (or *βula-ŋ dara-ŋ*), the ‘hot’ or ‘dry’ months of the north-east monsoon; the rainy season (*βula-ŋ lelə-ŋ*) is divided into four periods: *odoŋ ʔai kara-ŋ* (late December, the season during which winds ‘fell dry (or dead) trees’); *nepa lite* (January, when one ‘steps on grass shoots’ and when rice shoots appear in the gardens); *həgu kibok* (February, the ‘base of the young bamboo’, when the largest species of bamboo put out new shoots); *duru more* (March to April, the season of ‘flying ants’); *dara-ŋ* is not divided into periods.
- RTI Rotinese do not recognise a four season year; ‘cold season’, calque of the Indonesian term.
- DAM From Tok Pisin; actual meaning: ‘wet season’; also *uye sain* ‘rain time’, ‘wet day at any time of the year’.
- KAU ‘rainy season’; *pi* ‘place’; *yuŋ* ‘rain’.
- TAW ‘cold time’.
- MOI Only two seasons, wet and dry, or hot and cooler: *keru nega-na* (*keru* ‘cold’), *siahu nega-na* (*siahu* ‘hot’); also *lahara* ‘north-west wind, and its season’, *guitau* ‘season of south-east monsoon’ (south-east wind is *laurabada*).
- MEK *apaŋa* ‘kind of of reed; rainy season’.
- PAA ‘time of cold’.
- LEW ‘time of cold’.
- NTA Also *nian oas*.
- KWA ‘time cold’, (cold, dry season).
- CEM ‘season for cold’.
- XAR The following seasons are distinguished: *ĵē* ‘rainy season (January-February)’; *xā-kī* ‘season where first yams are unearthed’ (March-April); *ñē* ‘kind of tree which flowers then (May)’; *xā-xipe* ‘cold season’; *xā-mī* ‘cold damp season (June-July)’; *xā-xū* ‘gardening season, (August-September)’; *xā-mēgi* ‘hot season (November-December).
- RTU The Rotuman year is six months.
- SAM *tau* ‘season’, *mālūlū* ‘be cold (vb intrans)’.

**14.750 SPRING**

*ATA	ma-na-ʔariŋ yaβayan	UMA		LAU	
TSO		BUG	bariʔ	KWO	
RUK		KON		RAG	
PAI	ka-l <sup>y</sup> a-vavə- an	WOL		PAA	
YAM		MAG		LEW	
ISN		NGA		POR	
KAL		*SIK		NTA	
*TAG	tag-ʔulan	*RTI	fai buna-k	KWA	
*AKL	tig-ʔuʔ-ūʔan	BUR		NEM	
PAL		DOB		CEM	
MOL		IRA		AJI	nekuʔuo
KAG		SAW		XAR	
BLA		NYI		NEN	
SAB		MAM		KIR	
MUR		TAK		*MSH	keiyuyu
*MGY	luha-tauna	*DAM	ayū sain	PON	
ACE		MAB		WLE	
BAT		YAB		EFI	βula-i- tubutubu
MIN	[musim] buŋo	*KAU	pi po iβhup	WFI	βula ik <sup>w</sup> ad <sup>f</sup> ē
IND	[musim] səmi	TOL		RTU	
*SUN		BUA		TON	faʔahitaʔu matala
JAV		ADZ		*SAM	tau tuputupu
MAD		KIL		MEL	
*BAL		*TAW	houga galugalu	TAH	
SAS		*MOT		RAP	ʔavaʔe pipi
GOR		*MEK	ŋauŋa		miro
DAA		ROV			
		MAR			

ATA *ma-na-ʔariŋ yaβayan* ‘spring’, lit ‘beginning of summer’.

TAG ‘wet season’.

AKL ‘wet season’.

MGY ‘head of the year’.

SUN See 14.740.

BAL See 14.740.

SIK See 14.730.

RTI	Sec 14.740.
DAM	Around April when many fruit trees flower.
KAU	'transition time between the rainy season and dry season'; 'kind of tree which buds at this time'.
TAW	'time of new shoots'.
MOT	See 14.740.
MEK	A transitional season.
MSH	<i>kɛyuyu</i> also <i>kæiyuyu</i> 'swamp spring, tide hole in swamp'; <i>æp<sup>w</sup>æ</i> 'any drinking water or source of drinking water'.
SAM	<i>tau</i> 'season', <i>tuputupu</i> 'grow (vb intrans)'.

### 14.760 SUMMER

ATA	yaβayan	JAV		TOL	
TSO	xo-muʔri-na	*MAD	nimur	BUA	
*RUK	kala-ɖaraŋə- ɖaŋ-anə	*BAL		ADZ	
PAI	ka-l <sup>y</sup> a-səzam- an	SAS	kəbalit	KIL	
*YAM	tiitika	GOR		*TAW	mamapom
ISN	magdagun	DAA		*MOT	siahu nega-na
KAL		UMA		*MEK	kina-faʔa
*TAG	tag-ʔinit	BUG	timoʔ	ROV	totosomaŋini
*AKL	tig-ʔil-īnit	*KON	hattu'timoro	MAR	
*PAL	bulag	WOL		LAU	
MOL	[poŋaraw]	MAG		KWO	
*KAG	tagʔadlaw	NGA		RAG	
RI A		SIK		*PAA	avoŋ ten eai
*SAB	[tempo pasuʔ]	*RTI	faihanas	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi na
MUR		BUR			yevisusun
MGY	faha-varaʔ <sup>r</sup> a	DOB		POB	
ACE		IRA		*NTA	niaməta
*BAT	ari logo	SAW	ŋeŋŋan	*KWA	nəpən
MIN	[musim] paneŋ	NYI			rap <sup>w</sup> anap <sup>w</sup> an
IND	[musim] panas	MAM		NEM	
*SUN	usum panas	TAK		*CEM	bêñám <sup>w</sup> ɔ-n
		*DAM	saneya sain		kó-ét
		MAB		AJI	nekarē
		YAB		XAR	
		*KAU	pi nilil	NEN	



*KIR	te aumaiaki	WFI	βula i	*SAM	tau
*MSH	cem <sup>u</sup> aɾ		čunučunu		māfanafana
PON		RTU		MEL	
*WLE	řecex	TON	faʔahitaʔu	TAH	
EFI	βula-i- katakata		māfana	RAP	[hora]

RUK *kala-ɖaraŋə-ɖaŋ-anə* ‘summer’, lit ‘hot season’. see *mā-ɖaraŋə-ɖaŋ* ‘hot’.

YAM Also *zayon*.

TAG ‘hot season’.

AKL ‘hot season’.

PAL ‘dry season’.

KAG From (*adlaw + tag-*) ‘sunny season’.

SAB From Spanish.

BAT *ari logo* ‘dry season’; *ari udan* ‘wet season’.

SUN See 14.740.

MAD From *timur* ‘east (wind)’? see 14.740.

BAL See 14.740.

KON ‘hot or dry season’; also *par-allo*.

RTI See 14.740.

DAM ‘dry season’, from May to October; also *gā sain*, ‘sun time’, also ‘sunny day’; *sain biya* ‘good time’, or ‘fruit time’; *arau sain* ‘leaf time’.

KAU ‘dry season’.

TAW ‘dry season’ (December-February); also *kabudala a houga* ‘sunny period’.

MOT See 14.740.

MEK ‘big sun’; also ‘noon’.

PAA ‘time of sunshine’.

LEW ‘time of humidity’; also *p<sup>w</sup>oŋi marera* ‘hard time (cyclone season)’.

NTA Also *nian βi*.

KWA ‘time heat’, (hot, rainy season).

CEM ‘season for heat’.

KIR ‘period of the year in which the sun is moving south’; *tain rim<sup>w</sup>imata* lit ‘time of Antares’.

MSH *ɾak* also ‘south’.

WLE *ɾaxi* also ‘year, age’; also *ɾe-cex* (*ɾe-ɾaxi*), *ɾe-LOC*.

SAM *tau* ‘season’, *māfanafana* (vb intrans) ‘be warm’.

### 14.770 AUTUMN

*ATA	ma-na-ʔariŋ ɸamišan	DAA		KWO	
		UMA		RAG	
TSG		BUG		PAA	
RUK		KON		LEW	
PAI	ka-lʲa- ɸinuman-an	WOL		POR	
		MAG		NTA	
YAM		NGA		KWA	
ISN		SIK		NEM	
KAL		RTI		CEM	
*TAG	tag-lagas	BUR		AJI	nekōrō
AKL		DOB		XAR	
PAL		IRA		NEN	
MOL		SAW		KIR	
KAG		NYI		MSH	
BLA		MAM		PON	
SAB		TAK		WLE	
MUR		*DAM	agā arau y-u-k	EFI	βula-i- botabota
MGY	fara-ranu	MAB		WFI	βula i magu
ACE		YAB		RTU	
BAT		*KAU	pi po nhum	TON	faʔahitaʔu fakatōlau
MIN	[musim] gugur	TOL			
		BUA			
IND	[musim] gugur	ADZ		*SAM	tau e āfu ai mea
		KIL			
*SUN		TAW		MEL	
JAV		MOT		TAH	
MAD		MEK		RAP	ʔavaʔe marere o te raupā o te miro
*BAL		ROV			
SAS		MAR			
GOR		LAU			

ATA	<i>ma-na-ʔariŋ</i> <i>kaṃišan</i> ‘autumn’, lit ‘beginning of winter’.
TAG	‘time of falling off’.
SUN	See 14.740.
BAL	See 14.740.
DAM	‘the <i>agā</i> tree looses leaves’ (around September).
KAU	The transition between the dry season and the rainy season; the term is taken from a tree which buds at this time.
SAM	<i>tau</i> ‘season’, <i>e</i> TA, <i>āfu</i> ‘wither (vb intrans)’, <i>ai</i> anaphoric <i>mea</i> ‘things’, lit ‘the season in which the things wither’.

## 14.780 SEASON

Arabic: *musim* ‘season’, *waqt* ‘time’  
Portuguese: *tempo*

Sanskrit: *māsa-*  
Spanish: *tiempo*

ATA		MAD	[musim]	*MAB	gorgor ki
TSO		*BAL	[masə]	YAB	(ŋa-)tem
RUK		SAS	[musim]	KAU	
PAI		GOR	[se <sup>m</sup> bo]	*TOL	kilalə
*YAM	kakawan	DAA	[te <sup>m</sup> po]	BUA	
ISN	[tiyampu]	UMA	ro <sup>n</sup> ča	ADZ	uɟzuf
KAL	[tīmpu]	BUG	[wittu]	KIL	k <sup>w</sup> eluβa
*TAG	panahon	KON	[hattu]	TAW	houga
*AKL	panahun	WOL	[wakutuu]	MOT	nega
PAL	pətəwnan	MAG	čəkəŋ	MEK	
MOL	[musim]	*NGA	vula	ROV	totoso
KAG	[tīmpu]	SIK	βula-ŋ	MAR	
*BLA	dəŋon	RTI	fai	LAU	si kada maŋa
SAB	[waktu]	*BUR	musu-n	KWO	
MUR		*DOB	nara <sup>?</sup> u	*RAG	taro
*MGY	fizaran-tauna	*IRA	orie	PAA	
ACE	[musem]	SAW	[musim]	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi
BAT	par-taɔn-an	NYI		POR	
MIN	[musim]	MAM	amari-boŋ-	NTA	
IND	[musim]		be-ʔalea-boŋ	KWA	nəpən
SUN	[usum]	*TAK	nal	NEM	
JAV	[mɔŋsɔ]	DAM	sain	CEM	bênám <sup>w</sup> ɔ-n

AJI	ařε	PON		TON	faʔahitaʔu
XAR	xā-re	WLE	fōñiyato	SAM	tau
NEN		EFI	βula	MEL	
*KIR	te tai	WFI	βula	TAH	ʔanotau
MSH	p <sup>u</sup> uŋ	RTU	ava	RAP	

YAM *kakawan* ‘weather’.

TAG Also ‘time, weather’.

AKL Also ‘time, weather’.

BLA *baŋ* ‘a period of time’.

MGY From *fi-zara-ana + tauna*; *zara* ‘a lot, share, division’.

NGA *vula-rute* ‘rainy season’; *vula-ləza* ‘dry-season’.

BUR Also *fula n.*

DOB Also ‘year’.

IRA *orie* ‘dry season’; *mumeri* ‘wet season’

TAK ‘time, occasion, season’ (see 13.380, 13.440, 14.320, 14.330).

MAB *yaŋ ka gorgor, gorgor ki yaŋ* ‘time for rain’; *zoŋ ka gorgor, gorgor ki zoŋ* ‘time for the sun’.

TOL See 14.120.

RAG ‘time’.

KIR Also ‘time’.

### 15.210 SMELL (vb intrans)

ATA	šauk-an	*SAB	hamut	DAA	ne-soa
*TSO	re-ʔxoŋi	MUR	mōwow	UMA	
RUK	wa-sabaŋi	*MGY	manimbulu	BUG	bau
PAI	s-əm-əŋu	ACE	mu-beə	KON	aʔ-[rasa]
*YAM	maŋot	BAT	bau	WOL	ko-βou
ISN	malāb	MIN	ba-bau	MAG	vau
*KAL	suŋuŋ	IND	bər-bau	NGA	səŋu
*TAG	amoy	SUN	bau	SIK	βau-ŋ
*AKL	hugum	JAV	n-ambu	RTI	na-bo
PAL	ɔbu	MAD	bau	BUR	faa-n
*MOL	abu	*BAL	mə-bo	*DOB	nam leŋuŋ
*KAG	mapalimawan	SAS	bər-ambu	*IRA	gumerə
BLA	m-uŋaf	*GOR	[rasa-rasa]	SAW	f-fɔten

*NYI	mahun	ROV	humaja	*NEN	bo(n)
MAM	boau-loŋo	MAR	siri	KIR	boi
TAK	-wen	LAU	moko	*MSH	pp <sup>wi</sup> lælap
*DAM	sumei ɸi-ya	KWO	si?ini	*PON	iŋirek
MAB	kuzī-	*RAG	boni	WLE	ɸ <sup>wō</sup>
*YAB	ŋa-malu ke-sa	PAA	vō	EFI	boi
KAU	ipek	LEW	ve pono-sia	WFI	ŋaru
ʼTOL	aŋinə	POR		*RTU	poa
BUA	rəyu ya	NTA	-apiən	*TON	namu
*ADZ	rin(i) u fin	KWA	-apein	*SAM	nāmu
KIL	-sikoni	NEM	gon	MEL	nnamu
TAW	pugu	CEM	úde	TAH	hau?a
*MOT	bona-na dae	AJL	bo	RAP	hau?a
MEK	e-foŋa	XAR	bu		

ʼTSO Also *re-?xoŋ-i*.

YAM *maŋot* ‘smell bad’.

KAL *suŋsuŋ + man-*.

TAG *amoy + maŋ-* ‘emit aroma’; *bāho?* + *-um-* ‘emit bad odor’.

AKL *hugum + mag-*.

ʼMOL *abu + og-*.

KAG *palimau + maŋ-/ma-/ma- -an* (*maŋimau, mapalimawan*).

SAB *hamut* ‘good smell’; *bau* ‘bad smell (n)’.

MGY From (*maN-ambulu*).

BAL *bo* ‘smell, odour’.

GOR From Sanskrit.

DOB ‘does smell’.

IRA Also *numərə*.

NYI Also *manahun*.

DAM ‘smell 3sg TRANS AUX-INT’.

YAB ‘its-perfume it-rise’ i.e. ‘something smells good’; *ŋa-su ke-sa* ‘its-stink it-rise’ i.e. ‘something smells bad’.

ADZ ‘skin smell’, i.e. ‘smell (of something)’.

MOT *bona-na* ‘smell (n)’ *dae* ‘ascend, rise’.

RAG ‘have an odour’.

NEN Also *bi*.

MSH *pp<sup>wi</sup>lælap* ‘have body odour’; *næm* also ‘taste’; *ætæt*.

PON Also *p<sup>wō</sup>p<sup>wō</sup>*; *lel-* with directional suffixes; ‘smell up a place’.

RTU Also *pene*.

TON Also *nanamu*.

SAM *nāmu* ‘smell of, have the odour of (vb intrans)’, *manoḡi* ‘smell sweetly (vb intrans)’ (polite) ‘have a bad odour, stench’.

### 15.212 SNIFF

**Sanskrit:** *čom*

ATA	š-um-auk	UMA	honeʔ	MAR	ḡalu
*TSO	re-di	BUG	marem-mau	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> aḡosua
RUK	wa-sabaḡi	KON	aʔ-bau	KWO	siʔini toʔona
PAI	s-əm-əḡu	*WOL	ḡou	RAG	
YAM	aḡnotən	MAG	isuk	PAA	pis rah
ISN	lāban	NGA	səḡu	LEW	ləponi
*KAL	siḡʔut	*SIK	piru	POR	kinūs
*TAG	siḡhot	RTI	hae	*NTA	-amiouən
*AKL	siḡhut	BUR	mau	*KWA	-iruk
PAL	subukən	DOB	ʔa-yaḡur	NEM	ḡi
*MOL	abu	IRA	səḡəḡəḡ	CEM	
*KAG	siḡḡut	SAW	n-fōten	AJI	mudə
*BLA	s-am-yut	NYI	ahon	XAR	çidiri
*SAB	hamut	MAM	boau-uni	NEN	kasinod
MUR		TAK	-rasani	KIR	
MGY	mi-tʔuka	*DAM	i-bunokō-ya	*MSH	kātet
*ACE	hirop	MAB	-yōzo	PON	ḡuḡor
BAT	maḡ-aḡḡə	YAB	-lib	WLE	ḡürī
MIN	idu	KAU	pin	EFI	ḡaka-boi-ḡa
*IND	mən-dəḡus	TOL	luḡ	WFI	çuḡiḡu
*SUN	ḡ-ambī	BUA	taḡūḡ	RTU	huḡa
JAV	ḡ-ambus	ADZ	<sup>n</sup> taf-	TON	mihi
MAD	çiyum	KIL	-punugogu	SAM	sosoḡi
BAL		TAW	hulugae	*MEL	[sunōḡoa]
SAS	ambu	*MOT	ha-iru	TAH	hoʔihoʔi
GOR	mo-dīlo	MEK	e-fəḡa-fəḡa	RAP	ʔuʔume
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pe-suḡi	*ROV	sitōḡo		

TSO	Also <i>re-dī-i</i> .
KAL	<i>siŋʔut + man-</i> .
TAG	<i>siŋhot + -um-/in</i> .
AKL	Usually said of animals.
MOL	<i>abu + opon-</i> .
KAG	<i>siŋŋut + mag-/an</i> .
BLA	<i>s-am-yut</i> ‘sniff up’; <i>s-m-aluf</i> ‘sniff the air’.
SAB	<i>hamut + aN-/ø</i> .
ACE	Also [ <i>čom</i> ].
IND	Also [ <i>čium</i> ].
SUN	Also <i>ñisip</i> ( <i>sisip</i> ).
WOL	<i>so<sup>n</sup>de</i> ‘sniff up, inhale’.
SIK	Also <i>piru heŋok</i> .
DAM	‘3sg-sniff-INF’.
MOT	See <i>iruhai</i> ‘to blow one’s nose’.
ROV	Also <i>humhumaŋa</i> (vb intrans), <i>hibi</i> ‘get a whiff’.
NTA	Also <i>eaŋpəx</i> .
KWA	Also <i>peŋhi</i> .
MSH	Also <i>kaŋæmnæm</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 15.220 SMELL (vb trans)

ATA	<i>š-um-auk</i>	BLA	<i>n-bun</i>	SAS	<i>ñiruk</i> (siruk)
*TSO	<i>re-dī</i>	*SAB	<i>hamut</i>	*GOR	<i>mo-ʔōbo</i>
RUK	<i>wa-sabaļi</i>	*MUR	<i>alok</i>	*DAA	<i>no<sup>m</sup>pe-soa</i>
PAI	<i>s-əm-əŋu</i>	*MGY	<i>man-uruka</i>	UMA	<i>eŋaʔ</i>
YAM	<i>aŋnoən</i>	*ACE	[ <i>čom</i> ]	BUG	<i>marem-mau</i>
ISN	<i>lāban</i>	BAT	<i>aŋgɔ</i>	KON	<i>aŋŋ-araʔ</i>
KAL	<i>suŋsuŋon</i>	*MIN	<i>idu</i>	WOL	<i>wo<sup>n</sup>du</i>
*TAG	<i>amoy</i>	*IND	<i>mən-[čium]</i>	MAG	<i>doiŋ</i>
*AKL	<i>humut</i>	SUN	<i>ŋ-ambi</i>	NGA	<i>səŋu</i>
PAI	<i>ɔbwɔn</i>	JAV	<i>ŋ-ambu</i>	*SIK	<i>sino-ŋ</i>
*MOL	<i>obu</i>	MAD	[ <i>čiyum</i> ]	RTI	<i>hae</i>
*KAG	<i>siŋŋu'tan</i>	BAL	<i>ŋ-adək(-in)</i>	BUR	<i>mai-k</i>

*DOB	ʔa-surun ʔay'k <sup>w</sup> a	KIL	-sikoni	CEM	têne úde
IRA	səgəʔə	*TAW	niutei-na	AJI	bofəʔə
SAW	n-fɔtn-ε (fɔten)	MOT		XAR	bu
NYI	ahon	MEK	foŋa e-loŋo	NEN	bo(n)
MAM	boau-iloŋo	*ROV	humaŋa	KIR	aroka
*TAK	-wen -loŋ	*MAR	ñapi	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ɪn
*DAM	sumeɪ karī y-e-ya	LAU	mokə	*PON	iŋir
*MAB	-toŋou	KWO		WLE	ŋjūri
*YAB	-ŋù	RAG		EFI	boi-ðə
KAU	pek	PAA	mūsi	WFI	ŋaru-sia
TOL	aŋine	LEW	ləponi	RTU	huŋa
BUA	pamu	*POR	e-loŋon-i a na- <sup>m</sup> bon	TON	nāmu-ʔi
*ADZ	tujis-	NTA	-ato	SAM	laŋona
		KWA	-reŋi	MEL	saum <sup>w</sup> āčia
		NEM	tena	TAH	hauʔa
				RAP	hoŋi

TSO Also *re di i*.

TAG *amoy + -um-/-in*.

AKL Also *humt-un*.

MOL *obu + -on*.

KAG From (*siggut + -an*).

SAB *hamut + aN-/ø*.

MUR *alok (man- -in)* ‘sniff at, kiss (person or object)’; *alok (mag- -on)* ‘smell (odour) actively’; *alok (maka-; ma-)* ‘smell, perceive (odour)’; *sinud (man- -in)* ‘smell, sniff at (an object) with long inhalation’.

MGY Also ‘to kiss’.

ACE From Sanskrit.

MIN Also [*čium*] (probably borrowed via Malay; Adelaar 1988: 62).

IND From Sanskrit.

GOR *mo-ʔobo* ‘to smell an odor’; *bōlo* ‘odor’.

DAA Also *no<sup>m</sup>pe-suji*.

SIK Also *sato-ŋ; [rasa]* from Sanskrit; *piru*.

DOB ‘he smells encounters’, serial verb construction, no inflection on the second verb.

TAK ‘smell perceive’ (15.210, 15.410).

DAM ‘smell hear 3sg-AUX-INF’.



MAB	Also <i>-kam kuzi-</i> ; <i>kuzu- ikam</i> ‘nose gets’.
YAB	<i>-òʔ</i> ‘smell, perceive’, <i>-lib</i> ‘sniff’.
ADZ	<i>tujis-</i> (all dialects); <i>tumis</i> Sauf village only (Central dialect); <i>ʰtaf -a gin</i> (Amari dialect) ‘smell (vb trans)’.
TAW	Also (dialect) <i>nonoli</i> , lit ‘to hear’.
ROV	Also <i>tivusu</i> ‘get a whiff bad or good’.
MAR	<i>n̄aŋi</i> (distant object); <i>n̄aŋo</i> (nearby object).
POR	‘he-feel-sth at the-smell’.
MSH	Construct noun used verbally.
PON	Also <i>net</i> .

### 15.250 FRAGRANT, GOOD SMELLING

ATA	kin šauk-an	*GOR	m●-●nu	*ADZ	ufin bini
TSO	na-musŋau	ĐAA	na-vəŋi	*KIL	maiina
RUK	saŋəaʎəmə	UMA	mo-hoŋa		b <sup>w</sup> aina
PAI	salum	BUG	ma-bau	TAW	dimumu
YAM	maisaŋno	KON	hauʔ	*MOT	bona-na
ISN	nabaŋug	*WOL	ka-wo <sup>n</sup> du		namo
*KAL	baŋu	MAG	bəŋe	MEK	foŋā felō
*TAG	baŋo	NGA	faru	ROV	huməŋa lea
*AKL	humut	SIK	mənik	MAR	noŋari
*PAL	məŋəŋu	RTI	na-bo meni	LAU	moko diana
*MOL	hamut	BUR	fəa-n gosa-t	KWO	
KAG	ammut	*DOB	ma'ŋay	*RAG	bon-boni
BLA	fyi bun	IRA	numerəderə	PAA	mautūt
*SAB	hamut	SAW	pəpu mmo	*LEW	pono-si
*MUR	mōwow	NYI	mahun		taninu
*MGY	maniʔ <sup>r</sup> a		m <sup>w</sup> asin	*POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bon
ACE	harom	MAM	boau-uariʔa		e-čas
BAT	a'ŋur	*TAK	-wen uya-n	*NTA	namiouən
MIN	arun	DAM	sumei		taβər
*IND	harum	MAB	kuzini	*KWA	-apein
SUN	siŋit		a <sup>m</sup> baiŋana		amasan
JAV	waŋi	*YAB	ŋa-malu	NEM	go-koa
MAD	ruʔum	*KAU	ipek	CEM	úde-é
BAL	miik	*TOL	əŋ-nə-boinə	AJI	bořē
SAS	səŋeh	BUA	ŋaneɣəŋ	XAR	bušē

NEN	bureroi	*EFI	boi βinaka	MEL	namukkara
*KIR	boiarara	WFI	hoŋaru	TAH	noʔanoʔa
*MSH	ŋac	*RTU	pen ʔiʔisi	RAP	ʔeo
*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ōŋik	*TON	ŋaŋatu		
*WLE	ŋasa	SAM	manoŋi		

KAL *baŋu + na-*.

TAG Also *samyoʔ + ma-*.

AKL *humut + ma-*.

PAL Also *mamut, məbəŋlu*.

MOL *hamut + mo-*.

SAB *hamut + a*.

MUR Also *māŋiʔ*.

MGY From *ma-haniʔa*.

IND Also [*waŋi*] from Javanese.

GOR From (*wonu + mo-*).

WOL Also *ma-wo<sup>n</sup>du*.

DOB Noun.

TAK As in *i-wen uya-n-da* ‘it-smell good-its-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘it smells good’.

YAB *ŋa-saŋiŋ* ‘blossoms, perfume’, *ŋa-gaŋ-gaŋ* ‘smell of roasted meat’.

KAU See 15.210; also *iluk* ‘scent’.

TOL *əŋ* ‘smell’, *nə* LIG, *boina* ‘something good’, also *əŋ-nə-kətkat* ‘smell of something nice?’.

ADZ ‘good smell’; also *pas wasaʔ* Central dialect *ofin/ufin bini*.

KIL ‘odour good’.

MOT ‘good smell’.

RAG ‘smell nice’.

LEW Also *pono-sitanea*.

POR ‘the-smell it-fragrant’.

NTA Also *-apiən βər*.

KWA ‘smell good’.

KIR See *te boi* ‘smell’.

MSH Also *mælu* of flowers.

PON ‘small smell’.

WLE Also *ϕ<sup>w</sup>ōŋasa*, see *ϕ<sup>w</sup>ō* ‘smell’.

EFI Also *boi sareŋureŋu*.

RTU Also *poa ʔiʔisi*.

TON Also *ʔalaha*.

### 15.260 STINKING, BAD SMELLING

ATA	šauk-an	BUG	ma-kibboŋ	MAR	siri
TSO	na-kuzo	*KON	[rasa]	LAU	moko tā
*RUK	mā-baʔə	*WOL	ko-ʔou	KWO	moko
PAI	sasəku	MAG	ŋəru	RAG	boni
YAM	maŋot	NGA	vau	*PAA	vō
ISN	nasableʔ	*SIK	βau-ŋ gəla	*LEW	pono-si
*KAL	baŋtit	RTI	na-bo		viowa
*TAG	bantot	*BUR	faa-n mefu-n	POR	e- <sup>m</sup> bo
*AKL	bāhuʔ	*DOB	lcɣuy saŋil	NTA	-apiən
*PAL	məburuk	IRA	numere kabia	KWA	-əptaha
*MOL	buruk	SAW	pəpu lə	NEM	gouc
KAG	bauʔ	NYI	mahun	CEM	úde-tà
BLA	sasəʔ bun		<sup>n</sup> dʔaʔin	AJI	boā
SAB	bau-an	MAM	moapuru	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> iyā
*MUR	mōtoŋ	*TAK	-wen sae-n	NEN	burenia
*MGY	mamufuna	DAM	wai ʔiya	*KIR	boirā
*ACE	khēp	*MAB	kuzīni	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> in-puwaʔ
BAT	ba'u		sanangana	*PON	ŋelijel
MIN	busu <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	ŋasu	*WLE	ʔ <sup>w</sup> ōrapa
IND	bər-bau	KAU	hiyis	*EFI	boi dā
	busuk	*TOL	aŋinə	WFI	mara
SUN	bau	BUA	niβe	*RTU	pen roroa
JAV	baɖək	*ADZ	ufin mais	*TON	namukū
MAD	bačəŋ	*KIL	saina bogina	*SAM	masa
*BAL	bəŋu	*TAW	boho	MEL	purau
SAS	səŋit	*MOT	bona-na dika	*TAH	neʔoneʔo
*GOR	mo-hutodu	*MEK	fəŋā apala	*RAP	piro
DAA	na-vau	ROV	huməŋa		
UMA	mo-hoa		hikare		

RUK *mā-baʔə* ‘stinking (as of a rotten corpse)’, see 05.125, *mā-ŋaθəra* ‘bad smell (as of flatulence)’.

- KAL *baṅtit + na-*; also *buyuk + na-*.
- TAG *bāho?*
- AKL *bāhu? + ma-*.
- PAL Also *mələṅsi*, *məbahu?*, *məpasəṅ*.
- MOL *buruk + mo-*.
- MUR Also *mātuṅ*.
- MGY From (*maN-fufuna*).
- ACE Also [*khōp*, *khīəṅ*]; all probably from Mon-Khmer.
- BAL Also *pəṅit*; *məṅsit* ‘the smell of urine’; *andih* ‘the smell of fish, particularly when old, or of ripening durian, the smell of small babies’; *mə-bo* (if used without adjectival qualifiers), ‘smell unpleasantly’.
- GOR ‘rotten’ + *bōl-iyō* ‘its odour/smell’.
- KON From Sanskrit; also *huru?*; *parru* ‘smell of urine’.
- WOL Also *ma-raṅi* (of fish).
- SIK Also *wau-ṅ ger*.
- BUR ‘rotten smelling’; also *faa-n boho* ‘bad smelling’.
- DOB ‘rotten smell’.
- TAK As in *i-wen sae-n-da* ‘it-smell bad-its-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘it smells bad’.
- MAB *kuzīni sananṅana* ‘bad smelling’; *-būzu* ‘be rotten’.
- YAB *ṅa-maniṅ* ‘smell of meat turning bad’; *ṅa-gōla* ‘sharp odour’; *ṅa-yae* ‘animal or human odour’; *geṅ ge-mob* ‘smell of something decomposed’; *ṅa-tom*, *tom* ‘perspiration, odour of animals’; *ṅa-yamop* ‘stench’.
- TOL Also *əṅ-nə-kainə* ‘smell of something bad’; *əṅ-nə-məvur* ‘smell of something dirty’.
- ADZ ‘bad smell’; also *pas wasa?* Central dialect *ofin mais*.
- KIL ‘very stink’.
- TAW ‘rotten/stinking’.
- MOT ‘bad smell’; also *bodaya*.
- MEK *foṅā* (unqualified) ‘unpleasant smell’, smell of something burning’.
- PAA Also ‘rotten’.
- LEW Also *pono-si kona*.
- KIR ‘bad smell’.
- MSH ‘foul smell’.

PON	Also $p^{w\bar{o}p^{w\bar{o}}}$ .
WLE	Also $\phi^{w\bar{o}ma\dot{s}a}$ , $ma\dot{s}a$ 'stink, be rotten'.
EFI	Also <i>bona</i> .
RTU	Also <i>poa roroa</i> .
TON	Also $?elo$
SAM	<i>elo</i> 'smell' (of dead animal) (vb intrans); <i>manoḡi</i> (polite), (see 15.210).
TAH	Also <i>piropiro</i> ; <i>veoveo</i> 'bad smell of urine'; <i>ha<sup>?</sup>uri</i> 'bad smell of coral, blood, fish'.
RAP	Also <i>ne<sup>?</sup>o-ne<sup>?</sup>o</i> 'very bad smelling (worse than <i>piro</i> )'.

## 15.310 TASTE

Sanskrit: <i>rasa-</i>
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ATA	t-um-aṣam	MAD	[rassa]	*MAB	kwo-
*TSO	ō-txomi	*BAL	[asə]		ikanamāla
RUK	palalava	*SAS	idap	YAB	-sàe
PAI	pa-ḡayam	GOR	mo-lamito	KAU	toḡ
YAM	kakanan	*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pe-koni	*TOL	iən-kiləḡ-e
ISN	ramān	UMA	mita	BUA	tep
*KAL	kapkap	BUG	mač-čoba	ADZ	i <sup>n</sup> ča <sup>?</sup> -
*TAG	[lāsa]	KON	pa <sup>?</sup> -pi-sa <sup>?</sup> riḡ	*KIL	-kam- koni
*AKL	[sabor]	*WOL	ko-nami	TAW	hanalemo
PAL	[rasa]	*MAG	ta <sup>n</sup> da	*MOT	mami-a toho
MOL	[rasa]	NGA	zapa	*MEK	ḡamuḡa
*KAG	[lasa]	*SIK	sino-ḡ	ROV	liḡliḡi
BLA	g-nim	RTI	ma-lada	MAR	ḡiḡiu
*SAB	kinam	*BUR	tepe	LAU	
*MUR	kinam	DOB	lalim	KWO	mea to <sup>?</sup> ona
MGY	man-and <sup>r</sup> ana	IRA	nasi	RAG	
ACE	[rasa]	SAW	n-bōsem	PAA	ḡan vīsi
BAT	dai	NYI	ḡimiḡem	*LEW	kani-li
*MIN	[raso]-i	MAM	toi	*POR	xan ris-i
*IND	mən-čičip-i	*TAK	-pile -ile	*NTA	-uspən
SUN	[rasa]	*DAM	kisi	KWA	-reḡi
*JAV	ḡ-ičip-i			NEM	cagi

CEM	némi	*PON	soŋ	SAM	tofo
AJI	newā	*WLE	naṛī	MEL	kītani
XAR	ninṅ	EFI	toβole-a	TAH	tāmata
NEN	aḍemi	WFI	toβo-lia	RAP	haka ʔatu
KIR	nam	RTU	nōmi		
MSH	næm	*TON	ifo		

TSO (*ō-txom-i*).

KAL *kapkap + man-/-an*

TAG From Malay *rasa*.

AKL From Spanish *savor*.

KAG *lasa* (n); *tilaw + mag-/m-/-an* (*milaw*) (vb).

SAB *kinam + aN-/-an*; also *nanam* (n) ‘taste’.

MUR *kinam* (*maŋ- -in*) also ‘try’; *ili?* (*maŋ- -in*) also ‘experience’.

MIN Also *kiñam*.

IND Also [*rasa*] (n).

JAV Also *ŋ-[rɔsɔ]*.

BAL See 15.720, ‘feel’.

SAS Also [*rase*].

DAA ‘taste by eating a little’.

WOL Also *pe-nami, pe-nami-<sup>ɲ</sup>kuku*.

MAG Also *čəmək* ‘taste (liquid)’.

SIK Also *sato-ŋ*.

BUR ‘taste, flavour’.

TAK ‘lick see’ (04.590, 15.510).

DAM Also *bale-ya*.

MAB ‘mouth senses’; *kwo- itēge* lit ‘mouth holds’.

TOL *iən* ‘eat’, *kiləŋ* ‘test, try’ only in compounds.

KIL *-kam- koni* ‘eat-try, taste by eating’; *-mom- koli* ‘drink-try, taste by drinking’; *kakam<sup>w</sup>ena-la* ‘taste-its’.

MOT *mami-na* ‘feeling, taste (noun)’; *mami-a* ‘to feel, test’, *toho* ‘to try’.

MEK *ŋamuŋa* ‘essence, flavour, spirit’ from *ŋamu* ‘root’? *ŋamuŋā e-opo* ‘taste something’.

LEW ‘taste food’; also *muni-li* ‘taste drink’.

POR ‘eat look-s.th.’.

NTA 'try a mouthful'.

PON Also *nam* slang.

WLE Also *nana*.

TON Also *?ahi?ahi?i*.

### 15.350 SWEET

ATA	ʔa-ʔβiŋ	DAA	na-momi	ROV	lomoso
TSO	ʔoxmi	UMA	momiʔ	MAR	maemahe
RUK	mā-liməmə	BUG	ma-činniŋ	LAU	masia
PAI	ʔ-alʏ-əm- ʔəm	KON	tanniŋ	KWO	masiʔa
		WOL	ma-meko	RAG	lulumu
YAM	maganinəm	MAG	mi <sup>n</sup> če	PAA	gās
ISN	nadaŋir	NGA	nari	LEW	kiki
*KAL	maʔis	*SIK	mi	POR	naröv
*TAG	tamis	RTI	ma-ke-k	NTA	ətəhen
*AKL	tamʔis	BUR	em-oro	KWA	-əsien
PAL	mərɔgmis	DOB	milay	NEM	nea
*MOL	omis	IRA	nanə	CEM	néʔe
KAG	tamʔis	*SAW	[mami]	*AJI	ne [yuka]
BLA	mi	*NYI	simidin	XAR	niɔru
*SAB	mamis	MAM	mona	NEN	buruia
*MUR	māmis	TAK	bulbal	*KIR	karewe
MGY	mami	ĐAM	dā ado	*MSH	məmet
ACE	mameh	*MAB	-namut	*PON	mem
BAT	tɔŋ'gi	YAB	ŋa-kana	*WLE	nō
MIN	manih	KAU	pit	EFI	kamikamiða
IND	manis	TOL	kələmi	WHI	kamiða
SUN	amis	BUA	nəŋen	RTU	momi
JAV	ləgi	ADZ	ŋabaŋib-	TON	melie
MAD	manis	KIL	sumokainia	*SAM	sua-malie
BAL	manis	TAW	gugau	MEL	kākasi
SAS	mateŋ	*MOT	mai diyara-na	*TAH	monamona
*GOR	mo-oliŋo	*MEK	mekia	RAP	nene

KAL *maʔis + na-*.

TAG *tamis + ma-*.

AKL *tamʔis + ma-*.

MOL	<i>omis + mo-</i> .
SAB	<i>mamis + a-</i> .
MUR	Also <i>matamis</i> .
GOR	( <i>woliŋo + mo-</i> ).
SIK	Also <i>hure</i> .
SAW	From Ternate.
NYI	Also <i>ñaman</i> .
MAB	<i>X -namut Y</i> 'X is sweet to Y'; <i>namutjana</i> 'sweet' (adj.).
MOT	<i>diyara</i> 'fat; sweet' (see 11.110 for construction). Also <i>gaiho</i> 'sweet'.
MEK	'tasty, strong-tasting'; <i>mitsia</i> in other dialects.
AJI	From English <i>sugar</i> .
KIR	<i>karewe</i> also 'sweet toddy'; <i>kaŋkaŋ</i> 'tasty, delicious'.
MSH	Also <i>tŋal</i> .
PON	<i>iou</i> also 'sweet toddy'.
WLE	<i>nō</i> also 'sweet toddy'; <i>mami</i> .
SAM	<i>sua</i> 'contain water (vb intrans)', <i>malie</i> 'pleasant (vb intrans)'.
TAH	Also <i>momona</i> .

### 15.360 SALTY

ATA	<i>ta-timu?</i>	ACE	<i>masen</i>	NGA	<i>məsi</i>
TSO	<i>maski</i>	BAT	<i>aŋčim</i>	*SIK	<i>hini</i>
RUK	<i>mā-palili</i>	MIN	<i>masin</i>	RTI	<i>masi-k</i>
PAI	<i>ka-pədaŋ</i>	IND	<i>asin</i>	BUR	<i>masi</i>
YAM	<i>mapait</i>	*SUN	<i>asin</i>	DOB	<i>maʔay</i>
ISN	<i>napet</i>	JAV	<i>asin</i>	IRA	
*KAL	<i>asin</i>	MAD	<i>assin</i>	SAW	<i>n-ε-myasen</i>
*TAG	<i>ālat</i>	BAL	<i>pakəh</i>	NYI	<i>ˈdʳas ˈdʳas</i>
*AKL	<i>ālat</i>	*SAS	<i>paeʔ</i>	MAM	<i>ʔapisa</i>
PAL	<i>masin</i>	GOR	<i>mo-pa<sup>ŋ</sup>gelo</i>	TAK	
*MOL	<i>asin</i>	DAA	<i>na-paga</i>	DAM	<i>diri kai</i>
KAG	<i>ma'sin</i>	UMA	<i>mo-poiʔ</i>	MAB	<i>taitai</i>
BLA	<i>m-ahiʔ</i>	BUG	<i>ma-piŋje</i>	YAB	<i>ŋa-makiʔ</i>
SAB	<i>ma-asin</i>	*KON	<i>hale</i>	KAU	<i>pit</i>
MUR	<i>māsin</i>	WOL	<i>ma-para</i>	*TOL	<i>mə rə ta</i>
*MGY	<i>misi sira</i>	MAG	<i>čərak</i>	BUA	<i>nəŋen</i>



*ADZ	fiak	LEW	kawa	PON	
KIL	-yona	POR	kon	*WLE	meṛata
TAW	winiha	NTA	-arəp e sol	EFI	tuituina
*MOT	tadika	*KWA	-əsien	WFI	ŋaḏaŋaḏa
*MEK	mekia	NEM	yac	RTU	məsi
*ROV	pasa	CEM	màle	TON	kona
MAR	tatahi	AJI	māi	SAM	māi
LAU	asila	XAR	dia	MEL	mmara
KWO	asila	NEN	keč(e)	TAH	?ava?ava
RAG		KIR	tarika	RAP	maŋeo
PAA	gōn	*MSH	catak		

KAL *asin + na-*.

TAG *ālat + ma-*; also *asin + may-*.

AKL *ālat + ma-*.

MOL *asin + mo-*.

MGY ‘with salt’.

SUN Also (some dialects), *amis* (Eringa).

SAS Also *asin*.

KON Also *paĵĵa*.

SIK Also [*gara-ŋ*] Malay.

TOL *mə* ‘with’, *rə* ART, *ta* ‘saltwater, sea, salt’.

ADZ *fiak* ‘salty (adj)’; *<sup>m</sup>paŋ?* ‘very salty (stative verb)’; *piŋipiŋ?* (Yarus dialect) ‘be salty’; *piŋiŋ?* (other dialects) ‘be salty’; *giriŋiŋ?* (other dialects) ‘be salty’.

MOT *tadi* ‘seawater’.

MEK Also ‘sweet’, see 15.350.

ROV Also [*solo*].

KWA Also *-əφia* ‘too salty’.

MSH ‘salty, sour (of beverages)’.

WLE *meṛata* ‘bitter, sour’; *xasīxō, tettati*.

### 15.370 BITTER

ATA	ma-ŋihu	PAI	ka-did	*KAL	pa?it
TSO	ma-rimi	YAM	makopaḏ	*TAG	pa?it
RUK	mā-palili	ISN	napet	*AKL	pa?it

PAL	məpəyt	*SIK	baʔis	RAG	
*MOL	poit	RTI	maka-hedu-k	PAA	gōn
KAG	paʔit	BUR	em-pai-t	*LEW	melkalka
BLA	feʔet	DOB	sisim	POR	mekanin
*SAB	paʔit	IRA	mageigətə	NTA	-arəp
MUR	mapait	SAW	n-marey	KWA	-əʔia
MGY	ma-ngidi	NYI	ñakadan	NEM	ku-nit
ACE	phet	MAM	ʔapisa	CEM	mâga
BAT	paét	TAK	gige-n	*AJI	neā
MIN	paiʔ	DAM	kai bagai	XAR	madi
IND	pahit	MAB	pakpakɲana	*NEN	keč(e)
SUN	pait	YAB	ɲa-makiʔ	KIR	tenatena
JAV	pait	KAU	makalek	*MSH	með
MAD	paiʔ	TOL	məpək	*PON	kaʔik
BAL	pait	BUA	məŋēs	WLE	meṛata
SAS	pait	ADZ	ɲaɲaɲaɲ-	*EFI	ɲaɲa
GOR	mo-paʔato	KIL	-yayana	WFI	koma
DAA	na-paʔi	TAW	wigola	RTU	ʔona
UMA	mo-paiʔ	*MOT	idita	TON	tamala
BUG	ma-pai	*MEK	kia	SAM	ʔoʔona
KON	paiʔ	*ROV	kakatua	MEL	mmara
*WOL	ma-paʔi	*MAR	p <sup>h</sup> aragaha	TAH	maramara
MAG	paʔit	LAU	ʔafac	RAP	maŋeʔo
NGA	baʔi	KWO	ʔafā		

KAL *paʔit + na-*.

TAG *paʔit + ma-*.

AKL *paʔit + ma-*.

MOL *poit + mo-*.

SAB *paʔit + a-*.

WOL Also *paʔi*.

SIK Also *baʔit*.

MOT *uri* ‘on edge (of teeth)’.

MEK *kia* ‘bad taste’, opposite of *mekia* ‘strong tasting’; *kimu*, *kelo* closer to ‘bitter’.

ROV Also *gagarikaɲa*.

MAR Also *praha*, *raha*.

LEW Also *male*.

AJI	Also <i>mεε</i> .
NEN	Also <i>čačebon</i> (respectful).
MSH	Also <i>mεη</i> .
PON	Also <i>laikīk</i> of kava.
EFI	Also <i>baku</i> .

### 15.380 ACID, SOUR

ATA	šikšayšuy	UMA	mo-ʔo <sup>h</sup> čo	MAR	ñolu
TSO	ma-sriči	BUG	ma-kičči	LAU	ʔafae asiana
*RUK	mā-lio	KON	kačči	KWO	ukala
PAI	k-al <sup>y</sup> -əʔ-kəʔ	WOL	ma-kolo	RAG	
YAM	malaŋət	MAG	heo	PAA	gōn
ISN	nalsam	NGA	nilu	LEW	le
*KAL	sīlom	SIK	niluk	POR	konkon
*TAG	āsīm	RTI	ma-kei-s	NTA	-aŋən
*AKL	aslum	BUR	milo	KWA	-əʔia
PAL	məgsəm	DOB	ʔaŋelay	NEM	ŋaŋiñ
*MOL	ogsom	IRA	məsəniərə	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> áŋin
KAG	ag'səm	SAW	n-menil	AJI	nemā
BLA	m-asam	NYI	titiʔin	XAR	niyā
SAB	assom	MAM	maŋiŋ	NEN	neineič
MUR	matadis	TAK	munak	*KIR	mai
MGY	handatʔa	DAM	makik	*MSH	meɒ
ACE	asam	MAB	meneljana	PON	karer
BAT	a'səm	YAB	ŋa-makiʔ	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> ana
*MIN	masam	KAU	manman	EFI	wīwī
IND	asam	TOL	məpək	WFI	winiwini
SUN	hasim	BUA	aŋeyin	RTU	taviri
JAV	kəčut	ADZ	ʔkiaŋ-	TON	mahi
MAD	ciluʔ	KIL	-p <sup>w</sup> ayuyu	SAM	ʔoʔona
BAL	masəm	TAW	tululuwa	*MEL	[malāmala]
SAS	pədis	MOT	mai urirui-na	*TAH	ʔavaʔava
GOR	mo-lotiŋo	*MEK	faiʔa	RAP	maŋeʔo
DAA	na-poi	*ROV	kakatua		

RUK	<i>mā-saʔəsəgəsəgə</i> ‘sour’.
KAL	<i>sīlom + na-</i> .
TAG	<i>āsīm + ma-</i> .
AKL	<i>aslum + ma-</i> .
MOL	<i>ogsom + mō-</i> .
MIN	Also <i>asam</i> .
MEK	<i>faiʔa</i> also ‘cinnamon’.
ROV	Also <i>pasa</i> .
KIR	Also <i>maŋiŋ</i> .
MSH	Also <i>mεŋ</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>tehutehu</i> ‘hot, pungent’.

### 15.390 BRACKISH

ATA	<i>ta-timuʔ tikay</i>	MAD	<i>ñamñam</i>	MAB	<i>tai kuruk</i>
TSO		BAL		YAB	<i>ŋa-kōla</i>
RUK		SAS	<i>añəp</i>	KAU	<i>maihiō</i>
PAI		*GOR	<i>(taluhu) butu</i>	TOL	<i>roro</i>
YAM		DAA		BUA	
ISN	<i>taptappet</i>	UMA		ADZ	
*KAL	<i>buŋlug</i>	BUG	<i>ma-pijje-</i>	*KIL	<i>sita b<sup>w</sup>ainā</i>
*TAG	<i>ālat</i>		<i>pijje</i>	TAW	<i>tomatoma</i>
*AKL	<i>āʔat</i>	*KON	<i>hale</i>	*MOT	
PAL	<i>mədamal</i>	WOL	<i>ma-a<sup>m</sup>ba</i>	MEK	
*MOL	<i>damal</i>	MAG		ROV	<i>idere</i>
KAG	<i>bas'yaw</i>	NGA	<i>səŋa</i>	MAR	
BLA	<i>m-əlom</i>	*SIK	<i>bəlar</i>	LAU	<i>mala asila</i>
SAB	<i>maʔatuway</i>	RTI	<i>nasa-ba</i>	KWO	<i>asila</i>
*MUR	<i>māsīn</i>	*BUR	<i>wae meda</i>	RAG	
MGY	<i>ma-ʔaʔu</i>	*DOB	<i>nam k<sup>w</sup>ar law</i>	*PAA	<i>oailau</i>
*ACE	<i>lagəŋ</i>	IRA	<i>wərə tē</i>	LEW	<i>kawa</i>
BAT	<i>habbar</i>	*SAW	<i>n-memis</i>	POR	<i>čm<sup>w</sup>iras</i>
MIN	<i>asin</i>	NYI		NTA	<i>-amahal</i>
IND	<i>payau</i>	MAM		*KWA	<i>-əʔia</i>
SUN		TAK	<i>girger</i>	NEM	<i>c<sup>n̄</sup>amac<sup>n̄</sup>an</i>
JAV	<i>sə-təŋah asin</i>	DAM	<i>diri kai</i>	*CEM	<i>ʝiē-kâ-dùnēm</i>

AJI	nediriwië	PON		TON	taitai
XAR	wācete	WLE	meṛata	*SAM	sua-lua
NEN		EFI	βeilāroi	MEL	
KIR	tarika	WFI	βilari	TAH	taitai
MSH	kʌlʌep <sup>w</sup> aŋ	RTU	marosi	RAP	kava

KAL *bunlug + na-*.

TAG *ālat + ma-*.

AKL *ālat + ma-* also 'salty'.

MOL *damal + mo-*.

MUR *matañum* 'slightly brackish'.

ACE Also *masen*.

GOR *taluhu* 'water'

KON Also *paĵĵa*.

SIK Also *blata-ŋ, hambar*.

BUR Also *wacem-hei-k* 'tepid'.

DOB 'it does sea water'.

SAW 'unsalty'.

KIL 'slightly good'.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *maga*.

PAA 'brackish water'.

KWA *-əp(i) təsi* 'resemble the sea'.

CEM 'salt and fresh water'.

SAM *sua* 'contain water (vb intrans)', *lua* 'hole, pit'.

## 15.410 HEAR

ATA	muŋ	PAL	məkɪŋɔŋ	MIN	daŋa
*TSO	t-m-a-di	*MOL	doŋog	IND	mən-dəŋar
RUK	ki-a-lala	*KAG	ma'ti	SUN	ŋa-deŋe
PAI	ki-ɭaŋda	BLA	m-liŋi	*JAV	ŋruŋu (kruŋu)
YAM	mamiŋəŋ	*SAB	kale	MAD	ŋ-iɖiŋ
ISN	magi?na	*MUR	doŋog	BAL	niŋəh (diŋəh)
*KAL	doŋol	MGY	man-ɖ'e	SAS	n-dəŋah
*TAG	diniŋ	*ACE	luŋɔ	GOR	mo-?o-
*AKL	bati?	BAT	um-bege		duŋohu

DAA	naŋ-epe	YAB	-ŋò	NEM	tena
UMA	epe	KAU	hul	CEM	têne
BUG	ma-reŋ	*TOL	valoŋor	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ěřě
	kaliŋa	BUA	ŋo	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ata
KON	al-'laŋgere	*ADZ	riŋa <sup>n</sup> t-a gin	NEN	taeɖeŋi
WOL	raŋo	*KIL	-lagi	KIR	oŋo
MAG	dəŋe	TAW	nonəli	MSH	řoŋ
NGA	zəŋe	MOT	kamonai	*PON	roŋ
*SIK	rəna	*MEK	e-loŋo	WLE	řoŋořoŋo
RTI	nama-nene	ROV	avoso	EFI	roŋo-ða
*BUR	čaa-n	MAR	noŋo	WFI	roŋo-o
DOB	ʔa-reŋin	LAU	roŋoa	RTU	a <sup>ʔ</sup> foi
IRA	naɸarogəɾə	KWO	loŋo-a	TON	fanoŋo
SAW	n-loŋe	RAG	roŋo	*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> aloŋo
NYI	anuhun	PAA	loŋe	MEL	raŋona
MAM	loŋo	LEW	loŋe	TAH	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> aro <sup>ʔ</sup> o
*TAK	-loŋ	POR	loŋon-i	RAP	ŋaro <sup>ʔ</sup> a
DAM	kaŋi	NTA	-ato		
*MAB	-leŋ	KWA	-reŋi		

TSO Also *ta-di-i*.

KAL *doŋol + ma-/on* (*magnol; doŋlon*).

TAG *dinig + ma-/ding-in*.

AKL *bati<sup>ʔ</sup> + maka-/ma--an*.

MOL *doŋog + mo-/og-ko-*.

KAG *ma'ti + ma-/ma--an*.

SAB *kale + maka-/ta-*.

MUR *doŋog* (*maka-; ma-*), also *iniŋ* (*maka-; ma-*).

ACE Also *duŋɔ*.

JAV *ruŋon* (*ruŋu-an*) 'sense of hearing'.

SIK Also *plina*.

BUR Common usage but irregular in that /č/ is low frequency and /n/ does not normally end a verb; central and Li Enyorot dialects *p-reŋe*.

TAK 'hear, perceive'.

MAB *talŋa-ikam* 'ear gets', *talŋa-ileŋ* 'ear hears', 'overhear'.

TOL *valoŋor-e* 'hear, listen to (vb trans)'.

ADZ *gin* (~ *i ~in*) OBL, precedes thing heard.

KIL 'hear something'.

MEK *e-loŋo* 'perceive, hear, know'; initial /l-/ is an accretion in East Mekeo, selective borrowing into North Mekeo, West Mekeo and NW Mekeo gives *oŋo* 'hear, perceive', *loŋo* 'know' in these dialects.

PON Also *elielpaitoke* hon.

SAM *faʔafofona* (vb intrans, polite).

## 15.420 LISTEN

ATA	muŋ	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pe-taliŋa	*MEK	aina e-pau-a
*TSO	t-m-a-di	UMA	pe-ʔepe-i	ROV	avoso
RUK		BUG	eŋ-kaliŋa	MAR	fanomo
PAI	l-əm-aŋda	*KON	aʔ-pi-laŋŋer-i	LAU	fafu roŋo
YAM	amiŋŋən	*WOL	raŋo-a	*KWO	laŋo fai
ISN	giʔnān	MAG	seŋet	RAG	roroŋtai
*KAL	dumŋol	NGA	deŋe	PAA	daləŋ
*TAG	kinig	*SIK	diʔi-ŋ	LEW	yaŋoŋo-ni
*AKL	pamātiʔ	*RTI	nene-nene	POR	laŋon-i
PAL	kiŋŋən	*BUR	čaa-n	NTA	-ətaləŋin
*MOL	doŋog	DOB	ʔa-reŋin	KWA	-atəriŋ
*KAG	maʔti	IRA	naɸarogəro	NEM	farən
BLA	f-liŋi		ɸe	CEM	tábemi
*SAB	kale	SAW	n-fa-me-loŋe	AJI	tə p <sup>w</sup> ěřě
*MUR	kidəŋog	NYI	anuhun	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ata
MGY	mi-hainu	MAM	loŋo	NEN	taeɸeŋi
*ACE	luŋo	*TAK	-loŋ	*KIR	oŋorā
BAT	taŋi-hən	DAM	karī	MSH	roŋcake
MIN	daŋa kan	*MAB	-leŋ la	*PON	kəroŋe
IND	mən-deŋar- kan	*YAB	-oŋ taŋa (-sùŋ)	*WLE	roŋoroŋo
SUN	ŋa-deŋe-kin	*KAU	hul pit	EFI	raka-roŋo-ða
*JAV	ŋruŋəʔke	*TOL	valəŋor	WFI	βa-roŋo
MAD	ŋ-iɸiŋ	BUA	ŋo	RTU	aʔ-faliŋa
*BAL	niŋəh-aŋ (diŋəh)	ADZ	riŋa <sup>l</sup> t-a gin	TON	fakafanoŋo
SAS	n-dəŋah-aŋ	KIL	-lega	*SAM	faʔaloŋoloŋo
GOR	mo-duŋohu	TAW	lutanigana	MEL	raŋona
		*MOT	hakala	TAH	faʔaroʔo
				RAP	haka roŋo

- TSO Also *ta-di-i*.
- KAL *doŋol + -um-*.
- TAG *kinig + ma-/pa-king-an*.
- AKL *bāti?* ‘hear’ + *paN-*.
- MOL *donog + -um-/on*.
- KĀG *māti + mag-*.
- SAB *kale + pa-/ø*.
- MUR *kidogog (maŋ-)*; also *kuliman (mag- -in)* ‘listen out for’.
- ACE Also *diuŋɔ* see 15.420.
- JAV From (*N-kruŋu-(?)ke*) ‘hear’.
- BAL Also (*N-)pə-diŋəh-aŋ*.
- KON *a<sup>?</sup>pi-laŋŋer-i(laŋŋere)*; also *a<sup>?</sup>pi-na<sup>?</sup>na<sup>?</sup>*.
- WOL *raŋo-a* imperative.
- SIK Also *plina, rəna*.
- RTI Also *ne-nene*.
- BUR See 15.410.
- TAK See 15.410.
- MAB Also *-ur talŋa-*; *-ŋgun talŋa-*.
- YAB ‘-wait ear his(-hole)’.
- KAU ‘hear stand’.
- TOL See 15.410.
- MOT Also *kamonai*; for the transitive form, *heni-a* is added to both verbs e.g. *hakalaheni-a*.
- MEK *aina e-pau-a* ‘prick up (one’s ear(s))’; *e-loŋo* can also be used transitively.
- KWO Also *fafuloŋo*.
- KIR See entry for ‘hear’.
- PON Also *kapaitoke hon*; see entry for ‘hear’.
- WLE Also *taŋiŋɔ* ‘listen, pay attention to’, *mafiri* hon; see ‘hear’.
- SAM (polite) *fa<sup>?</sup>afogafoga*.



## 15.440 SOUND, NOISE

Sanskrit: *svara-*

ATA	šm-ta-tunux	UMA	moni	*ROV	mamalaiṅgi
TSO	mimi	BUG	oni	*MAR	uareye
RUK	liṅao	KON	saʔra	*LAU	liṅe na
PAI	zaiṅ	WOL	ru <sup>ᵛ</sup> ka	KWO	riṅē ʔola
YAM	miṅriak	MAG	lao	*RAG	silo
ISN	tannug	NGA	lii	PAA	verēn
KAL	damit	*SIK	liṅ	LEW	to-na
TAG	tunog	RTI	li-k	POR	paro <sup>ᵛ</sup> gian
AKL	tunug	*BUR	tede-n	NTA	naṅatan
PAL	gibok	DOB	dudum	*KWA	nəkərikəriēn
MOL	boros	IRA	ro	*NEM	det
*KAG	tunu	SAW	gli	*CEM	pāti-nâdo
BLA	uni	*NYI	kurutuwen	*AJI	mēṅē
SAB	ulaṅig	MAM	sururui-be-	XAR	gū-
*MUR	dagu		garurui	NEN	yepo
MGY	feu	*TAK	liliṅam	*KIR	te roṅoa
*ACE	su	DAM	kotuk	*MSH	ṅil
*BAT	[sɔara]	*MAB	orōro	*PON	eliṅe
*MIN	[suaro]	*YAB	ṅa-ɔ <sup>ᵛ</sup> da	*WLE	maṅjūṅū
*IND	buṅi	*KAU	sokoṅ	EFI	roroṅo
*SUN	[sora]	*TOL	varekrek	WFI	roroṅo
*JAV	uni	BUA	dəḍun	RTU	tō
MAD	[suwara]	*ADZ	riririṅ	TON	oṅo
BAL	muṅi	KIL	butula	SAM	leo
SAS	[suarə]	TAW	gololona	*MEL	[misileo]
GOR	tiṅohu	MOT	reye	*TAH	taʔi
*DAA	va <sup>m</sup> ba	MEK	aʔo	*RAP	poṅeha

KAG Also *kagi*.MUR *dagu* also 'speech'; *bolos* also 'voice'.ACE Also *ruyoh* 'noisy'.MIN Also *buṅi*.

IND Also [suara].

SUN Also *gandey* 'noisy'.

- JAV Also [swɔrɔ].
- ḌAA Also *moni*.
- SIK Also *kapu klag*.
- BUR Also *es-toke-n* ‘sound of a knocking or tapping’.
- NYI Also *ñaron, sokoroʔok*.
- TAK Also *leiŋ* ‘sounds made by human beings’.
- MAB *orōro* ‘noise’; *kalŋa-* ‘sound, voice’.
- YAB ‘noise, uproar’; also *ŋa-kiʔsea* ‘noise, jingle, din’.
- KAU ‘noise which is constant and annoying’; *βaŋan* ‘sudden noise of two objects impacting one another’; *iŋut* ‘sounds uttered by humans and animals’; *ut* is used with various qualifiers to refer to the quality of a sound, e.g. *ut psaa*s ‘sizzle’, *ut puruk* ‘thud’, etc..
- TOL *vəɾəvareo* ‘great noise made by talking and laughing people as on the market’, also *vareareo* (*vareo* ‘to speak or laugh loudly’); *taoroŋ* (vb intrans, n) ‘(make a) loud noise as the voices of many singing or crying people’; *pum* ‘noise of an explosion’; *rururut* ‘noise of falling rain’.
- ADZ *niririŋ* ‘noise, non-human’; *nifu ga* ‘voice, human noise’.
- ROV Also *vevehe*.
- MAR ‘noise, loud noise’.
- LAU Also *alifia*.
- RAG ‘noise’.
- KWA Also *tərhuŋaru, nuwruŋuwruŋien*.
- NEM Also *gun, yēn*.
- CEM ‘voice of something’.
- AJI Also *māṛā, kūṛū*.
- KIR Also *karoŋoa; taŋin* LIG; see *taŋ* ‘cry’; *te bʷana* ‘voice’.
- MSH Also [ainikien] Polynesian.
- PON *eliŋe* 3sg POSS; *iŋiŋ, mōt* ‘distant, barely audible sound’.
- WLE Also *ʃiŋiʃiŋi, ʃiŋōxo*.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH *māniania* ‘troubling noise’; *paʔaʔina* ‘applause’; *aoaoa* ‘confusing noise’; *haruru* ‘sound of thunder’; *taʔu* ‘sound of explosion’; *ʔatutu* ‘noise of machine, drum’; *ʔāhēhē* ‘sound of ...’; *vāvā* ‘sound of rain, sea, wind’.

RAP *poŋeha* ‘noise (in general)’; *mania-nia* ‘noise (of people), a loud person’.

### 15.450 LOUD

ATA	hanāŋ	UMA	me-reiʔ	ROV	ululae
TSO	a-pta-ptaiŋi	BUG	ma-rukka	MAR	fabiʔo
RUK	akoadao	KON	ruŋka	LAU	ri baita
PAI	mə-zaŋalʔ	WOL	ko <sup>n</sup> dii	*KWO	riŋē ʔola
YAM	manilo	MAG	teles		baʔita
ISN	naggat	NGA	gego	*RAG	mutai
*KAL	damit	*SIK	kio(k) kaok	PAA	ver
*TAG	īŋay	RTI	na-ka-di	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> āŋa
*AKL	sāŋag	*BUR	haa	*POR	paro <sup>n</sup> gian
PAL	mətəgər	*DOB	sin	NTA	-aŋat afumah
*MOL	riu	IRA	səragərə	*KWA	-apomus
KAG	tudu	SAW	[kuat]	NEM	ka-po-det
BLA	boŋ uni	NYI	tinan	*CEM	tíhi-n
*SAB	hibuk	MAM	garurui-laba	*AJI	paya
MUR	mosoŋow	*TAK	tubu-n	*XAR	ko xaxa
MGY	mi-raun-	DAM	əduŋ	NEN	ləreran
	ɬ <sup>r</sup> auna	*MAB	kalŋa- bībi	*KIR	karoŋoa
*ACE		YAB	yaya	*MSH	l̥l̥ac
BAT	gogó	*KAU	iŋut habip	PON	
*MIN	kareh	*TOL	uruŋ	WLE	ttixi
*IND	ñariŋ	BUA	bəp	EFI	roŋo-leβu
*SUN	tarik	*ADZ	nam riririŋ-an	WFI	roŋo-leβu
*JAV	səru		ɕiraʔ	RTU	tō tiʔ
MAD	raŋiŋ	*KIL	kaiga-βeka	TON	leʔo-lahi
*BAL	jaŋih	*TAW	pona banei-	*SAM	leo-tele
SAS	uyut		na	MEL	mārō
*GOR	daʔa	*MOT	reye-na bada	TAH	pūai
DAA	na-gai	MEK	aʔo akaikia	RAP	puai

KAL *damit + na-*.

TAG *īŋay + ma-* ‘noisy’.

AKL *sāŋag + ma-* ‘noisy’.

MOL *riu + mo-*.

- SAB Also *kosog + a-* lit ‘strong’.
- ACE Usually a word meaning ‘large’ is used e.g. *raya* ‘big, loud’.
- MIN Also *saje?*, *ñariəŋ*, *laŋkiəŋ*.
- IND Also *kəras* ‘loud (sound, voice)’.
- SUN *tarik* also ‘fast’; *bədas* ‘loud; strong’.
- JAV Also *sorɔ*.
- BAL *gəde* lit ‘big’; *gətar* ‘clear (of speech)’.
- GOR Also *mo-buluhuto*.
- SIK Also *kaʔu raʔu-t*, *hiŋa haŋa-r*, *ʔledo-ŋ*.
- BUR Primary sense ‘big, large, great’; *tede-n haa-t* ‘loud noise’.
- DOB *sin* ‘big’, also *bbari* ‘big, loud’, thus *ler ssin*, *ler bbari* both ‘his voice is loud’.
- SAW From Sanskrit.
- TAK ‘big’ (12.550), as in *leiŋ tubu-n-a* ‘sound big-its-PERF’, i.e. ‘the sound is loud’.
- MAB Also *kalŋa-ketēne*.
- KAU *iŋut*: see 15.440.
- TOL (of language, sea).
- ADZ ‘thing be noisy-PART big’, i.e. ‘noisy thing, a loud noise’.
- KIL *kaiga-βeka* ‘loud voice’; *-kapini-βeka* ‘speak loudly’.
- TAW *pona banei-na* ‘a loud voice’; *gololona baneina* ‘a big noise’; *liyapoila* ‘noise of explosion’.
- MOT ‘big sound’; *badabada* ‘loudly’ (*bada* ‘big’) e.g. *hereβa badabada* ‘speak loudly’.
- KWO ‘big sound’.
- RAG ‘loudly’.
- POR Also *mo-<sup>m</sup>bao*.
- KWA Also means ‘tall, long’.
- CEM ‘clacking noise’; *būhe-n* ‘explosion’; *gūn* ‘thud, dull noise’.
- AJI Also *kō*.
- XAR ‘full of noise’.
- KIR From *roŋoa* ‘noise’.
- MSH Also ‘sonorous, melodious’; *peŋan koŋap*.
- SAM *leo* ‘voice’, *tele* ‘big’, *leo-tele* (vb intrans) lit ‘have a big voice’.

## 15.460 QUIET, SILENCE

ATA	mimtumtux	BUG	mam-mikko	*LAU	aroaro
TSO		*KON	sannaŋ	KWO	
RUK	yasasələbə	WOL	ma-lino	*RAG	gogonai
PAI	na-ma-liçəŋ	*MAG	mələŋ	*PAA	dō raloŋ
YAM	yabo miririak	*NGA	hii	*LEW	yarerae
ISN	āwan imʔimaʔ	*SIK	bile	*POR	naur ma <sup>n</sup> dʔao
*KAL	ginok	*RTI	ne-ne	NTA	naŋatan təka
TAG	tahimik	*BUR	em-toro	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anamrəŋ
*AKL	hīpus	*DOB	ler kk <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a	NEM	haŋom
PAL	pəkənsyəs	*IRA	nəpəmamuro	CEM	
MOL	indaʔ koy riu		te	AJI	tārādā
KAG	li'nəŋ	*SAW	n-təntəŋən	XAR	çūadə
BLA	landəʔ uni	NYI	mu <sup>n</sup> dʔi <sup>n</sup> dʔiyou	NEN	paekoč
*SAB	honnok	*MAM	moadubulae	*KIR	rau
*MUR	kodod	*TAK	malin	MSH	ikəŋ
*MGY	fangi'nana	DAM	nin kē	PON	nennen
*ACE	suŋap	*MAB	-mane	*WLE	maʔiwaʔiwa
*BAT	so'naŋ	*YAB	malo	EFI	βaka-dī-
*MIN	anoʔ	*KAU	sikip		roroŋo
*IND	kə tənəŋ-an	*TOL	v-ən-a-mut	WFI	waʔiwaʔi
*SUN	tiis-in	BUA	mayen	RTU	totoka
JAV	səpi	*ADZ	çrup-	*TON	loŋo
MAD	səppi	*KIL	-kapatu	SAM	fīlēmū
*BAL	siəp	*TAW	genuwana	*MEL	fakarəŋo
SAS	təndoʔ	*MOT	reye ta lasi	TAH	māniana ʔore
GOR	woyoŋo	*MEK	aʔo laai	RAP	koraʔiti
DAA	na-lino	ROV	noso		
UMA	mə-lino	MAR	kmu		

KAL *ginok + na-*.

AKL *hīpus + ka-*.

SAB *honnok + a-*.

MUR *kodod (mag-)* 'be silent, make no noise'; *tulow (-um-)* 'cease talking'; *mōmor* 'silent, taciturn'.

MGY From (*faN-gina-ana*).

ACE Also *iəm* 'to keep quiet'.

BAT 'so'naŋ 'quiet, silence'; so'naŋ 'happy, quiet'.

- MIN Also *diam, aniəŋ*.
- IND Also *təduh*.
- SUN Also [*səpi*] ‘still, deserted, lonely’ from Javanese.
- BAL *siəp* ‘silent, of a place or a person’; *m-əndəp* ‘be quiet, not speak’.
- KON Also *sino, lino-lino*.
- MAG Adjective ‘quiet’.
- NGA Also *ʃəte* ‘keep quiet, not talk (of people)’.
- SIK Also *ŋera-ŋ*.
- RTI Also *ne-s*.
- BUR Also *oto-k* ‘wait quietly (to ambush)’; *rohi* ‘stalk silently’.
- DOB ‘small voice’.
- IRA ‘it does not make a sound’.
- SAW (of people); also *bətcliŋən* (of place).
- MAM Also *maloŋa-tago*.
- TAK See 01.322.
- MAB *-mane, -ur ni-* ‘be quiet’; *lele ikam kiŋ* ‘it is quiet’.
- YAB Also *yamaŋ* ‘be quiet!’; *ŋaŋeŋ* ‘quiet, undisturbed, unchanging’.
- KAU Also *βieβie*.
- TOL *-in-* NOM., *və-* CAUS, *mut* ‘silent’, *və-mut* ‘make silent, quieten’.
- ADZ *ʃrup-* ‘be silent (human)’; *ʃia-* ‘be silent, stop talking (human)’; *riŋiriŋ-* ‘be still, motionless and silent’; *uf* ‘still, quiet, empty (non-human) (adj)’; *muf* ‘still, quiet, empty (non-human) (adj)’.
- KIL *-kapatu* ‘stop speaking’; *-βa-silam* ‘walk quietly’.
- TAW ‘to be quiet’.
- MOT ‘not a sound’ (*ta* ‘one’, *lasi* ‘no, not’). Also *asireye-na*.
- MEK *aʔo laai* ‘no noise’; also *komo* ‘be quiet!’ (NW Mekeo *kemu*), and *koŋo-mai-na*, a reflexive verb ‘keep quiet’.
- LAU Also *bona*.
- RAG ‘quietly, silently’. Also *magemu* ‘quietly, quiet’(adj).
- PAA ‘be quiet’.
- LEW Archaic.
- POR ‘place quiet’.
- KWA Also *-apiuan* also ‘calm’.

KIR Also 'peaceful, tranquil', *kainab<sup>w</sup>ābu* lit 'shut the racket'; also *aki karōŋea* 'not noisy'.

WLE *maŕūwaŕūwa* also 'loose', *ŕūwō* also 'calm (of water)'.

TON Also *faka-loŋologo*.

MEL Also [*tam<sup>w</sup>atēmanu*] from Efate.

### 15.510 SEE

ATA	k-um-ita-a†	DAA	na <sup>ŋ</sup> gita (kita)	ROV	doyoria
*TSO	b-aito	UMA	hilo	MAR	filo
RUK	wa-dālə	BUG	sita	LAU	rikiā
PAI	l <sup>y</sup> -əm-əŋ-	KON	aŋŋ-itte	KWO	agasi-a
	l <sup>y</sup> əŋ	*WOL	ka-mata	*RAG	ŷita
YAM	tomita	MAG	ita	PAA	lesi
ISN	nasijan	NGA	tei	LEW	visu
*KAL	īla	*SIK	ʔita	POR	ris-i
*TAG	kīta-	RTI	n-ita	*NTA	-ehm
AKL	kītaʔ	*BUR	kita	KWA	-ata
PAL	syək-ən	*DOB	ʔa-yok <sup>w</sup> a	NEM	wene
*MOL	lotog	*IRA	si	CEM	āli-hi
*KAG	kita	SAW	n-ε-m-naw	AJI	ŕū
BLA	m-iti	NYI	atou	XAR	tē
*SAB	andaʔ	MAM	te	NEN	ule
*MUR	kito	TAK	-ite	KIR	nōra
MGY	mi-dzeri	*DAM	i-li-ya	*MSH	lo
*ACE	u	MAB	-re	PON	kilaŋ
BAT	bərəŋ	YAB	-liʔ	WLE	weŕī
*MIN	lieʔ	*KAU	kon	*EFI	rai-ōa
IND	mə-lihat	*TOL	gir-e	WFI	dā-nia
SUN	nenjo (tenjo)	BUA	le	RTU	ræe
*JAV	wəruh	ADZ	ɕaŋan-	*TON	sio
MAD	abas	KIL	-gisa	*SAM	vaʔai
*BAL	ŋə-not	TAW	gale	MEL	seia
SAS	gitaʔ	MOT	ita-ia	TAH	ʔite
*GOR	mo-ʔo-o <sup>n</sup> do	*MEK	e-isa	*RAP	tikeʔa

TSO (*ait-i*).

KAL *īla + -um-*.

TAG *kīta-* + *mā-*.

MOL *lotog* + *mo-/og-ko-*.

KAG *kita* + *ma-*.

SAB *anda?* + *maka-/ta-*.

MUR *kito(maka-; ma-)*.

ACE Also *kalɔn, ŋiəŋ* see 15.520.

MIN Also *pandaŋ, čaliə?, teŋo?*.

JAV Also 'know'.

BAI Also *mə-liat, (N-)[tiŋal-in]* 'look at' from Old Javanese.

GOR (*wo<sup>n</sup>doŋo* + *mo-ʔo-*).

WOL Also *po-ka-mata, si<sup>m</sup>bau*.

SIK Also *niʔa*.

BUR Also *liŋa, tou-k, bafa-k, aŋa-k*.

DOB *ʔa-yok<sup>w</sup>a* (vb trans), *ʔa-ɸular* (vb intrans).

IRA *məsi* 'look!'.

DAM '3sg-see-INF'.

KAU Also *ion* 'perceive with the eyes or ears'.

TOL *gir-ai* (vb intrans).

MEK *e-isa (e-ia)* 'look, see'.

RAG Also *gita*.

NTA Also *-aplan*.

MSH Also *lale*.

EFI Also *kune-a*.

TON Also *ʔilo*.

SAM (polite) *silasila* (vb intrans).

RAP *tikeʔa* 'see (contemplate)'; *takeʔa* 'see (discovering)'; *uʔi* 'see (observe; focusing on object)'.

## 15.520 LOOK, LOOK AT

ATA	k-um-ita-aʔ	YAM	čitaən	AKL	tanʔaw
*TSO	b-aito	ISN	sinnan	*PAL	birin-ɔn
RUK		*KAL	ilan	*MOL	lotog
PAI	pa-ɸun	*TAG	tiŋin	*KAG	mu'ag



BLA	n-iyi	RTI	n-ita	PAA	lēle
*SAB	anda?	*BUR	tou-k	LEW	kira
*MUR	iloy	DOB	?a-yok <sup>wa</sup>	POR	risris-i
*MGY	mi-[zaha]	IRA	nəgagəri	NTA	-araplan
*ACE	u	*SAW	n-ɛŋət-o	*KWA	-ata
BAT	ida	NYI	añolom	NEM	kalo
*MIN	nampa?	*MAM	te	*CEM	nìe
*IND	məmandan (pandan)	*TAK	-ile	AJI	tō rŭ
*SUN	nəmpo (təmpo)	*DAM	lō φi-ya	XAR	tara
		*MAB	mata-ila	NEN	ule
JAV	n-dələŋ	*YAB	mata ge-diŋ	*KIR	tara
MAD	ŋ-abas	*KAU	supa	*MSH	cucæł
*BAL	ŋ-liat	*TOL	bobo	*PON	kilaŋ
SAS	təgas-aŋ	BUA	le	*WLE	wōrī
*GOR	momilohu	ADZ	foris-	EFI	rai-ða
DAA	na <sup>ŋ</sup> gita (kita)	KIL	-gisi	WFI	tola-βia
UMA	pe hilo-i	*TAW	wihalu	RTU	?io
BUG	ita	*MOT	ita-ia	TON	sio
*KON	a?-boja-boja	*MEK	e-ŋaŋai(-na)	*SAM	mātamata
*WOL	ka-mata	*ROV	dotu	MEL	sireia
MAG	lelo	MAR	filo	TAH	hi?o
*NGA	iso	LAU	adasia	RAP	u?i
SIK	?ita	KWO	agāga		
		*RAG	yarere		

TSO Also *ait-i*.

KAL *īla + -an*.

TAG *tigin + -um-/tiŋn-an*.

PAL Also *syəkan*.

MOL *lotog + -um/-an*.

KAG *luag + m-/əŋ (muág/lagán)*; also *tan<sup>aw</sup> + mag/m-/əŋ (man<sup>aw</sup>)*  
‘look at, watch’.

SAB *anda? + aN-/ø*.

MUR *iloy (-in)*; also *iloŋ (mag-)* (suppletive verb).

MGY From Sanskrit via Malay *jaga* ‘to watch’.

ACE Also *kalən, ŋiəŋ* see 15.510.

MIN Also *čaliə?, pandan, lic?, teŋo?*.

IND Also *tinjau, [pərikša], lihat*.

- SUN Also *nenjo* (*tenjo*).
- BAL Also (*N-*)*liat-in*; (*N-*)*iwas-in* ‘look at’.
- GOR *bilohu + moN-*.
- KON Also *an-nontog*.
- WOL Also *to<sup>n</sup>to*.
- NGA Also *ɲira*.
- BUR See 15.510.
- SAW Also *n-ε-m-naw*; *n-εftamε*.
- MAM Also *dede*.
- TAK See 15.510.
- DAM ‘look 3sg-TRANS AUX-INF’.
- MAB ‘eye goes’, also *-re la*.
- YAB ‘eye his it-aim at’.
- KAU Also *tupa* ‘examine closely’.
- TOI *hob-e* (vb trans) ‘look at’.
- TAW *wihalu* ‘look intently’; *galena imahi* ‘look carefully’; often expressed by progressive aspect *i-ga-gale-ya* ‘he looked at him’.
- MOT *rara-ia* ‘stare at’; *roha* ‘look’ as in *roha isi* ‘look up’ (*isi* ‘up’), *roha diho* ‘look down’ (*diho* ‘down’).
- MEK *e-ɲaɲai(-na)* ‘look at, examine’; also *e-pi-me<sup>?</sup>e* ‘stare’.
- ROV Also *doɲo la*.
- RAG Also *garere*; ‘look in a particular direction’.
- KWA Also *-arup<sup>w</sup>asuk* ‘look up’; *-ak<sup>w</sup>ata*; *-ataren* ‘look to the side’.
- CEM ‘look towards’.
- KIR *tiroa* also ‘scrutinise, stare, admire’.
- MSH *cucæɫ* ‘look toward’; *lale*; *aluce* also ‘watch, admire’.
- PON Also ‘see’.
- WLE Also *saʒē-a*, *pīpī-a*.
- SAM (polite) *māimoa* (vb intrans); *pupula* ‘look, stare (vb intrans)’; *tepa* ‘look at, glance (vb intrans)’; *tilotilo* ‘look at, glance, peep (vb intrans)’.

## 15.550 SHOW

ATA		SAS	boyə-aŋ	ROV	va doyoronia
*TSO	pa-b-aito	*GOR	mo-po-bilohu	MAR	takle
RUK	pa-ḡələ	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> popo-kita	LAU	fātai
PAI	cəvuta	UMA	popo-hilo-i	KWO	fāte <sup>?</sup> eni-a
YAM	pačitaən	BUG	map-pitaŋ	RAG	
ISN	ipassiŋan	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -pi-itte-aŋ	PAA	dieni
*KAL	īla	WOL	pa-ka-mata	LEW	kī-viani
*TAG	pa-kīta	MAG	toi	POR	püsan
*AKL	pa-kīta <sup>?</sup>	NGA	tota	NTA	-aŋətun
*PAL	ituldu <sup>?</sup> (tuldu <sup>?</sup> )	*SIK	tonə-ŋ	KWA	-sani
*MOL	lotog	RTI	na-tudu	*NEM	wēgei
*KAG	tudlu <sup>?</sup>	BUR	ep-tou-k	CEM	hàb <sup>wi</sup>
BLA	f-itì	DOB	?a-roru	AJI	yəjī
*SAB	pa-anda <sup>?</sup>	*IRA	nanə tē isi	XAR	xaciɑ
*MUR	kito	SAW	n-fa-f-tul	*NEN	æŋeni
MGY	mampi-sehu	NYI	leheya	*KIR	kaota
ACE	pu-lumah	MAM	tì <sup>?</sup> iŋ	*MSH	kəcəreik
BAT	pa-tudu-hən	TAK	-kibiai	*PON	kasale-
MIN	tuñju <sup>?</sup> -an	*DAM	i-ϕele-ya	*WLE	xawerī
IND	məmpər-lihat-	*MAB	-so	EFI	βaka-rai-taka
	kan	YAB	-to <sup>?</sup>	*WFI	βatakei-a
SUN	nemboŋ-kin (temboŋ)	KAU	suk	RTU	kel- <sup>?</sup> oki
JAV	nuduh-ke (tuduh)	*TOL	ve	TON	fakahā
*MAD	ma-tau (-pa-tau)	BUA	tato	*SAM	fā <sup>?</sup> ali
*BAL	ŋ-edep-aŋ (edeŋ)	ADZ	sa <sup>n</sup> tì <sup>??</sup> -	MEL	fēkina
		KIL	-βituloki	TAH	fa <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> ite
		*TAW	wiatatiye-ya	*RAP	haka tike <sup>?</sup> a
		*MOT	ha-he-ita-lai-a		
		*MEK	e-pa-kina(-i-a)		

TSO Also *pa-<sup>?</sup>t-cni*.

KAL *īla + pa-*.

TAG *pa-kīta + mag-/i-* 'let someone see'.

AKL 'let someone see'.

PAL Also *ipandu<sup>?</sup>*.

MOL *lotog + i-po-*.

KAG *tudlu<sup>?</sup> + mag-/ø/-an (tudluan)*.

- SAB *pa-anda?* + *aN-/ø*.
- MUR *kito* (*mapa-*; *pa--on*).
- MAD *tau* ‘know’. *pa-tau* ‘cause to know’.
- BAL (*N-*)*edeŋ-aŋ* ‘show s.th. (to a person)’; (*N-*)*edeŋ-in* ‘show a person (s.th.)’.
- GOR Also *mo-po-ʔo-o<sup>n</sup>doŋo*, *mo-po-ʔo-o<sup>n</sup>do* (*wo<sup>n</sup>doŋo + ʔo-*).
- SIK Also *duru*.
- IRA ‘give so that he sees’.
- DAM ‘3sg show INF’.
- MAB *-so X pa Y* ‘show Y to X’; *-swe* ‘reveal’; *-pamāla* ‘publicly display’; *-piyōto* ‘bring forth and exhibit’.
- TOL *ve* (vb trans) ‘show, inform, tell’, *vər-ve-ai* (vb intrans), *vər-* intrans, *-ai* intrans.
- TAW ‘show him’.
- MOT *ita* ‘to see’.
- MEK *e-pa-kina(-i-a)* ‘make (s.th.) appear’.
- NEM *pa-cidu* ‘point with finger’.
- NEN Also *gaŋa*.
- KIR Causative form, from *oti* ‘visible, clear, manifest’.
- MSH Causative form, from of *cære* ‘appear, become visible’; also *kowałok* causative form, from *wałok* ‘appear, happen’.
- PON With directional suffixes; causative form; see *sansal* ‘clear, obvious’.
- WLE Causative form, from *weřī* ‘see’.
- WFI Also *basei-a*.
- SAM *faʔa-ali* lit ‘make visible’, *faʔa-* CAUS, *aliali* ‘be visible, appear (vb intrans)’.
- RAP *haka tikeʔa* ‘show (an object, person, etc.)’; *haka takeʔa* ‘show (a panorama, etc.)’.

### 15.560 SHINE

ATA	č-um-iʔax	*YAM	manizay	*AKL	sīlak
TSO	psor-tiskou	ISN	dumilāŋ	PAL	simimpar
RUK		*KAL	siliŋ		(simpar)
PAI		*TAG	sīkat	*MOL	lantaʔ

*KAG	sinaŋ	RTI	na-pila	*PAA	muoh
*BLA	m-nəŋ	*BUR	sida	*LEW	tēŋo
*SAB	illat	*DOB	ʔa-ton	POR	paŋ
*MUR	matawaŋ	*IRA	φeimətie nəφe	*NTA	-asia
MGY	man- dʒupiaka	SAW	sarəraφotə gɛ-glew	*KWA	-ser
*ACE	mur [čahya]	*NYI	ñikilikin	*NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wa halōme-n
*BAT	mar-linaŋ	MAM	malamalama	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ō-mēlā-n
*MIN	ba-kileʔ	TAK	-ded	AJI	kařa
*IND	bər-sinar	DAM	medēi	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā
*SUN	ñorot (sorot)	*MAB	-yāra	NEN	neren
*JAV	sumərət	YAB	-po	KIR	ranea
MAD	sunar	*KAU	pal	*MSH	kæilaŋ
*BAL	ŋ-ənter	*TOL	kāpə	*PON	liŋan
SAS	ŋə-loneŋ	BUA	tum	*WLE	were
GOR	t-im-inelo	*ADZ	ari-	EFI	đila
*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-va <sup>n</sup> ta	*KIL	-.βiβila	*WFI	dr <sup>ʔ</sup> a
UMA	me-hini	*TAW	lalana	RTU	pəni
BUG	ma-čakka	*MOT	kiama	TON	ulo
*KON	'sinara	MEK	e-poa	*SAM	pulapula
*WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> be- na <sup>m</sup> be-na	*ROV	ŋedala	MEL	čī
MAG	gerak	*MAR	sigla	*TAH	ʔanaʔana
*NGA	βera	*LAU	tala	*RAP	pura
*SIK	gliok	*KWO	iloiloʔa		
		RAG	leyi ʔa		

YAM *manizay* (of the sun); *maŋowap* (of metals, etc.).

KAL *siliŋ + -um-*.

TAG *sikat + -um-* 'shine as sun'; *kislap* 'shine as diamond'.

AKL (as sun).

MOL *lantaʔ + -um-/og-*.

KAG *sinaŋ + mag-* 'shine such as polished metal does'; *sennaŋ + mag-* 'shine, emit light such as the sun does'.

BLA *s-am-filoʔ* 'sparkle'.

SAB *illat + aN-*; also *sinaŋ + a-* of the sun.

MUR *matawaŋ* (of s.th. polished); *budi (maka-)* (of bright colour); also *patalilok*.

ACE From Sanskrit; also [*sina*] from Malay.

- BAT Also *mar-hilloŋ*.
- MIN Also *ba-[čayo]*.
- IND Also *bər-kilat*.
- SUN Also *gilap*.
- JAV *um* a fossilised infix, no longer productive.
- BAL ‘shine brightly, of sun, lamp etc. (vb intrans)’.
- DAA ‘shine on s.th.’.
- KON Also *tappa?*, *sio*, *a<sup>?</sup>billo?*.
- WOL Also *ko-čahea*, *ko<sup>m</sup>be-na*.
- NGA Also *ri-la*.
- SIK *gliok* (n); *hile*, *k(l)ilo-ŋ* *k(l)alo-ŋ*, *nilo*, *ple<sup>?</sup>ak* (vb).
- BUR Also *kuma* ‘glow, shimmer’.
- DOB (of the sun).
- IRA ‘sun it shines’.
- NYI Also *aña*, *ñikadin*, *lomadan*.
- MAB *-yāra* ‘shine, ‘radiate light’; *-kilili* ‘dazzle’ (vb trans); *-kululu* ‘dazzle’ (vb intrans).
- KAU *pal* (of the sun and moon); *ɛɟil ɛɟil* ‘shiny effect produced by light being refracted by water, e.g. dew’.
- TOL Also ‘be light, bright, clear’.
- ADZ *ari-* ‘shine (sun and moon)’; *pu<sup>?</sup>* ‘shine’ (stars).
- KII ‘glitter’. Note phonemic stress here, i.e.: *βiβila* ‘woman’: *βiβila* ‘shine, glitter’ (something catches light in a dark place); also *-guyug<sup>w</sup>ayu* ‘dazzle, glitter brilliantly or blindingly (e.g. setting sun across still water)’; *-tapi kalasia* ‘shine sun’, ‘the sun shines’.
- TAW *lalana* ‘sun’; *ebala* ‘flame, light’.
- MOT Also *tara* ‘shine (of sun)’.
- ROV Also *madakili* ‘dazzle, of sun’s rays’.
- MAR *sigla* (reflected light); *aya* (direct light).
- LAU Of sun or moon.
- KWO ‘shiny’.
- PAA Also ‘white’.
- LEW Also *viāŋa*.
- NTA Also *-aməlh* (of moon).
- KWA Also *-an* (as the sun); *-mer* (as the moon).

NEM	'there is its brilliance'.
CEM	'make light'.
MSH	<i>kæilar</i> causative form, from <i>ilar</i> 'fancy, brightly-coloured'; <i>romāk</i> see <i>romrom</i> 'give light'.
PON	Also <i>lijaliŋ</i> , <i>meleŋileŋ</i> .
WLE	<i>weŋe</i> also 'light, flash, glow'; <i>ttūŋa</i> also 'glow, twinkle'; <i>maŋiwaŋiwa</i> , <i>maŋiweŋi</i> .
WFI	Also <i>tabu</i> (of moon).
SAM	(of eyes, sun, etc.); <i>susulu</i> 'of sun and moon'; <i>?i?ila</i> 'of surface (vb intrans)'.
TAH	Also <i>?ānapanapa</i> .
RAP	<i>pura</i> 'shine (a light), flash, shiny'; <i>rapa</i> 'shine (light mottling water, landscape, grasses)'; <i>rapa-rapa</i> 'shine, sparkle (sunlight on water on bright sunny days)'; <i>rapo-rapo</i> 'shine, shimmer (light on water on overcast cloudy days, and also moonlight on water)'.

### 15.570 BRIGHT

ATA	šaŋwan	SUN	gumilaŋ	*MAM	uasuaua
TSO	tiskov-a	JAV	padaŋ	*TAK	mala-n
RUK	wa-ləða	MAD	tərraŋ	DAM	lalāni
PAI	t-əm-əl <sup>y</sup> al <sup>y</sup>	BAL	galaŋ	*MAB	milmilŋana
YAM	maŋaŋ	SAS		*YAB	ŋawasi
ISN	nawada	GOR	mo-tilaŋo	KAU	pipih
*KAL	padda	DAA	na-reme	*TOL	kāpə
*TAG	liwānag	UMA	mo-baŋa	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> əlagək
*AKL	hāyag	BUG	ma-čakka	*ADZ	ŋarogo?
*PAL	mərɔnta	*KON	'sinara	*KIL	saina βisigala
*MOL	lanta?	WOL	mai-nawa	TAW	namanamala
KAG	pawa	MAG	<sup>m</sup> bilar	*MOT	kiamakiama
BLA	to <sup>o</sup> m-nəŋ	NGA	lila	*MEK	e-pa-ea-ea
*SAB	sawa	*SIK	iŋa	ROV	ŋedaŋa
MUR	matawaŋ	*RTI	na-sa <sup>o</sup> a	MAR	prai
MGY	ma-dera	*BUR	naa-n	*LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aoa
ACE	traŋ	DOB	ŋa'lay	KWO	
BAT	tə'raŋ	IRA		RAG	
*MIN	taraŋ	SAW	ma-nano	PAA	muoh
*IND	bər-[čahaya]	NYI	lomadan	*LEW	təŋo m <sup>w</sup> arera

POR	papaŋ	XAR	pērē	*WFI	hiŋa-ðēðē-
*NTA	-arakən	NEN	neren		leβu
	nəŋanamtam	KIR	raneanea	RTU	riamrima
KWA	-amher	*MSH	kap <sup>w</sup> əlp <sup>w</sup> əl	TON	ŋiŋila
NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wā	*PON	marain	*SAM	susulu mālosi
	halōme-n	WLE	uwara	MEL	mārama
CEM	mēlā-n	EFI	sērau	TAH	māramarama
*AJI	rī			RAP	?uira

KAL *padda + na-*.

TAG *liwānag + ma-*.

AKL *hāyag + ma-*.

PAL Also *məsanaŋ*.

MOL *lanta? + mo-*.

SAB *sawa + a-*.

MIN Also *ta-čela?*.

IND From Sanskrit; also *toraŋ*.

KON Also *sio*.

SIK Also *iŋa teŋa-ŋ*.

RTI Also *na-ndela*.

BUR e.g. *bana naa-n* 'bright fire'; *fulan naa-n* 'bright moon'; *rede-k-rede-k* 'bright'.

MAM Also *malama*.

TAK See 15.780.

MAB *milmilŋana* 'shiny'; *kililiŋana* 'dazzling'.

YAB 'brightness, gleam'; also *ŋawa* 'clear, lucid, clean'; *ŋawe* 'a bright light'.

TOL See 15.560, *kokolo* (vb intrans) 'painted in bright colours'.

ADZ *ŋarogo?* 'bright weather' (Guruf only); *mara riwar* 'bright weather' (other dialects); *poait* 'brilliant, bright (adj)'.

KIL 'very light-its'. See 15.560.

MOT Also *kimorekimore*.

MEK 'make light'.

LAU Also *folā*.

LEW 'shine greatly'.

NTA 'spoils your eyes'.

AJI Also *rī e*.



MSH *mælʌtʌt; meṛam* also 'light'

PON Also *liḡaliḡ* 'shiny, clear'.

WFI Also *mudre-leβu*.

SAM *susulu* 'shine (vb intrans)', *mālosi* 'strong (vb intrans)'; *mālosi* (of the sun), also *tinitini*; *mālosi* (vb intrans) (of colour); *?i?ila* (vb intrans) (of surfaces), *pupula* (of stars).

## 15.610 COLOUR

**English:** *colour*

**Sanskrit:** *varṇa-*

**Spanish:** *color*

ATA		*UMA	le <sup>n</sup> če	*MAR	ḡale
TSO	tposi-si	BUG	attanəḡ	LAU	
RUK	kolao	*KON	tanḡa?	KWO	
PAI		WOL	[waranaa]	RAG	
YAM	gara	*MAG	tara	PAA	
ISN	[kolor]	NGA		*LEW	susunu
KAL	[kolol]	*SIK	βaə-ḡ βaə-ḡ	POR	v <sup>w</sup> ise
*TAG	[kūlay]	RTI		NTA	
AKL	[kolor]	BUR	laḡa-n	KWA	
*PAL	batak	*DOB	ruḡa	NEM	haḡune-n
MOL		IRA	ḡəṛəḡanə	CEM	mī-n
*KAG	kulay	*SAW	[warna]	AJI	ga
BLA	batak	NYI		XAR	ḡā-
SAB	walna?	MAM	lam-bo <sup>?</sup> ibo <sup>?</sup>	NEN	peḡen
MUR	kulay	TAK		KIR	te m <sup>w</sup> ata
MGY	luku	DAM		*MSH	wino
ACE	[waruna]	*MAB	matāna	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> āi
BAT	[bɔma]	*YAB	[peḡ]	WLE	
MIN	[rono]	*KAU	po tuni	EFI	roka
IND	[warna]	TOL		*WFI	-roka
*SUN	[rupa]	BUA		RTU	
JAV	[warnə]	ADZ		TON	lanu
MAD	[barna]	KIL	-βau	SAM	lanu
BAL	[warnə]	TAW	giluma-na	MEL	kanukanu
SAS	[warnə]	MOT	[kala]	TAH	[pēni]
GOR	[warana]	MEK		RAP	
DAA		ROV	[kala]		

TAG	Malay <i>kurai</i> ‘adorned’; also [ <i>kolor</i> ].
PAL	Also <i>dagbos, bilug</i> .
KAG	Also [ <i>kulur</i> ].
SUN	From Sanskrit.
UMA	‘appearance’.
KON	Also <i>tanĵeŋ-aŋ</i> ‘basic cloth colour to which others are overlaid’.
WOL	From Sanskrit.
MAG	‘appearance’.
SIK	Also <i>waə-ŋ aŋo-ŋ</i> , [ <i>warna</i> ].
DOB	‘appearance’.
SAW	Also [ <i>kler</i> ] from Dutch.
MAB	‘eye’.
YAB	From English <i>paint</i> .
KAU	‘what colour is it?’; there is no single generic word for ‘colour’.
MAR	<i>ŋale, doadora</i> ‘colourful’.
LEW	Also <i>mara-na, yepe-na</i> .
MSH	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>ΛŋAN</i> CON.
PON	Also <i>pō</i> .
WFI	Also <i>-mata</i>

### 15.620 LIGHT (in colour)

ATA	pawmawmaš	MUR	matawaŋ	BUG	ma-lolo
TSO		*MGY	tanura	KON	lolo
RUK		ACE	puteh	*WOL	ma-ŋuru
PAI		BAT	soddaŋ	MAG	
YAM	makazaləy	*MIN	mudo	NGA	eko-dara
ISN		*IND	muda	*SIK	da?a-ŋ nurak
*KAL	pōlkas	*SUN	ŋora	RTI	
*TAG	mūra?	JAV	nəm	*BUR	gawa-t
*AKL	pus?aw	*MAD	ŋuða	DOB	
PAL	mərənta	*BAL	ŋudə	IRA	
*MOL	lanta?	SAS	təraŋ	SAW	
KAG	pus?aw	*GOR	mē <sup>ŋ</sup> go	NYI	
BLA		DAA		MAM	malama
SAB	bulak-bulak	UMA	mo-ŋura	TAK	

DAM	karos sā	*MAR	giṛa	NEN	
*MAB	kokouṇana	LAU		*KIR	māi
YAB	sep	KWO		*MSH	eemēc
KAU		RAG		PON	merimeri
TOL	pua	*PAA	muaṇoaṇ	WLE	
BUA		*LEW	sape yuwowo	*EFI	rārama
*ADZ	matap	POR	mači	WFI	heahea
KIL	-pup <sup>w</sup> akau	NTA	haṇhaṇ	RTU	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> a
TAW	wakewakeke- na	KWA	-apsan	TON	maama
MOT	kurokuro	NEM		*SAM	vāivai
MEK		CEM		MEL	
ROV	keoro	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> aṛa	TAH	māramarama
		XAR	mere	RAP	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> eha

KAL *pōlkas + na-*.

TAG e.g. *mūra-ṇ asul* ‘light blue’.

AKL *pus<sup>ʔ</sup>aw + ma-ʃ-*.

MOL *lanta<sup>ʔ</sup> + mo-*.

MGY See 14.140.

MIN Also *kuraṇ*.

IND ‘young’.

SUN ‘young’.

MAD ‘young’.

BAL ‘young’ e.g. *gadaṇ ṇudə* ‘light green’.

GOR But as modifier of *me-elamo* ‘red’, *mo-luhihi*; thus, *me-elamaa mo-luhihi* ‘pink’ (*me-elamo*+LIG *amo-luhihi*).

WOL ‘young’.

SHK Also *herə-t linok*, *mera linok*.

BUR ‘clean’, Li Enyorot ‘white’.

MAB *bedbēdeṇa-* ‘light skin colour’.

ADZ *matap*, *watwat* ‘pale after sickness’; *watawat-* ‘become yellowish, pale’.

MAR ‘light (skin)’.

PAA ‘bright/shining/clear’.

LEW ‘wants to be white’.

KIR ‘greyish, whitish, pale’.

MSH Neg. of *mēc* ‘dark in colour’.

EFI Also *siawa*.

SAM Also 'weak'; also *paʔepaʔe* 'pale, light coloured, white (vb intrans)ʔ'.

### 15.630 DARK (in colour)

ATA		UMA	mo-tuʔa	ROV	muho
TSO		BUG	ma-toa	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ubi
RUK		KON	toa	LAU	
PAI		WOL	ma-tuʔa	KWO	
*YAM	mavaəŋ	MAG		RAG	
ISN		NGA	ŋao	PAA	malikelik
*KAL	ŋīsit	SIK	duʔa-ŋ	*LEW	sape malolo
*TAG	tiŋkad	RTI	maka-hatu-k	POR	<sup>m</sup> bʷiŋal
*AKL	kūtum	*BUR	[tua-n]	NTA	aluŋən
PAL	məytəm	*DOB	ʔuʔu	KWA	-pitow
*MOL	ruʔrom	IRA		NEM	p <sup>h</sup> om
KAG	lutu	SAW		CEM	pīng
BLA		NYI		AJI	lū
SAB	toʔa	MAM	uabubu	XAR	kəɔɔ
MUR	molondom	TAK		NEN	šidi
MGY	antitra	DAM	karos	*KIR	rorō
*ACE	itam	*MAB	gabgapŋana	*MSH	cil
BAT	hoʔlom	YAB	(ŋa-)mayaŋ	PON	reŋet
*MIN	tuo	KAU	kal	*WLE	xerōti
IND	tua	TOL	kəkodo	*EFI	butō
*SUN	kolot	BUA		WFI	kata
JAV	tuɔ	*ADZ	biŋiboŋ	RTU	maksulu
*MAD	tuwa	KIL	-b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> au	TON	faka-pōpōʔuli
*BAL	wayah	TAW	waididibate-	*SAM	mālosi
SAS	pətəŋ		na	MEL	
GOR	mo-lutu	MOT	korema	TAH	pōiri
DAA		MEK	e-ʔufa	*RAP	poʔiri

YAM Also *mašizem*.

KAL *ŋīsit + na-*.

TAG *tiŋkad + ma-*.

AKL *kūtum + ma-*.

MOL *ruʔrom + mo-*.

ACE	Also <i>hitam</i> .
MIN	Also <i>kalam</i> .
SUN	'old'.
MAD	'dark'.
BAL	'old' e.g. <i>gadaŋ wayah</i> 'dark green'.
BUR	(colour) [ <i>tua-n</i> ] e.g. <i>mera-t tua-n</i> 'dark red' (from Malay); also <i>biru tua-n</i> 'dark blue/green' from Malay.
DOB	<i>ʔuʔu</i> intensifier, when used with a colour 'dark shade (of that colour)'.
MAB	<i>-gabgap</i> 'be dark'.
ADZ	'dark' (adj); 'darkness night' (n).
LEW	'wants to be black'.
KIR	<i>roro see rō</i> 'darkness, gloom'; <i>b<sup>w</sup>ata</i> .
MSH	Also <i>mēc</i> .
WLE	Also 'smoky, foggy'.
ĒFI	Also <i>kata</i> .
SAM	Also 'strong', also <i>uliuli</i> 'be dark (of hair), black (vb intrans)'.
RAP	<i>poʔiri</i> 'dark'; <i>kere-kere</i> 'very dark'; <i>puai</i> 'dark' (lit 'strong').

### 15.640 WHITE

ATA	ma-ʔuβaʔ	MGY	fuçi	*WOL	ma-puti
ṬSO	firçiʔz-a	ACE	puteh	MAG	bakok
*RUK	po-poli	BAT	bət'tar	NGA	ɓara
PAI	vu-təçi-təçilʏ	MIN	putiʔh	*SIK	bura
YAM	malavaŋ	IND	putih	RTI	fula-k
ISN	pusaʔ	SUN	bodas	*BUR	boti-t
*KAL	pūkaw	JAV	putih	DOB	delay
*TAG	putiʔ	MAD	puti	IRA	baɸutə
*AKL	putiʔ	*BAL	putih	SAW	n-ε-mfus
PAL	məputi	SAS	putiʔ	NYI	belen
*MOL	putiʔ	GOR	mo-putiʔo	MAM	uauaua
KAG	pu'ti	*DAA	na-bula	*TAK	malkouk
BLA	bukay	UMA	bula	DAM	lalau
SAB	poteʔ	BUG	ma-pute	*MAB	kokouŋana
MUR	mapulak	KON	pute	*YAB	k <sup>w</sup> alam

KAU	eun	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> āk <sup>w</sup> aoʔa	KIR	m <sup>w</sup> ainaina
TOL	pua	RAG	maita	MSH	mɔuc
BUA	βərō	PAA	muoh	PON	p <sup>w</sup> eɬep <sup>w</sup> eɬ
*ADZ	sāp	LEW	yuwowo	WLE	p <sup>w</sup> eʃe
*KIL	p <sup>w</sup> aka	POR	paxapux	EFI	βulaβula
TAW	wakewakeke-	NTA	ruan	WFI	buðo
	na	KWA	-apsan	RTU	fisi
MOT	kurokuro	NEM	pulo	TON	hinehina
*MEK	kelo(-ŋa)	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ájo	SAM	paʔepaʔe
ROV	keoro	AJI	mɛ. ue	MEL	tētea
MAR	veya	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ārã	*TAH	ʔuoʔuo
*LAU	k <sup>w</sup> ao	NEN	gada	*RAP	tea-tea

RUK *laolapoŋo* ‘white’.

KAL *pūkaw + na-*.

TAG *putiʔ + ma-*.

AKL *puti<sup>h</sup> + ma-*.

MOL *putiʔ + mo-*.

BAL *putih sɔntak* ‘dazzling white’.

DAA Also *na-puti*.

WOL Also *lamasa* ‘pure white’.

SIK Also *bura bara, ibok*.

BUR Rana and Li Enyorot *gawa-t*.

TAK ‘white, clean’.

MAB *-kokou* ‘be white’, cf. *kou lime*.

YAB Lit ‘the white cockatoo’.

ADZ *sāp* all dialects except Amari; *maraga<sup>m</sup>p* Amari dialect, and Central. (*sāp* ‘white ashes’).

KIL Also *pup<sup>w</sup>akau*.

MEK *kelo(-ŋa)*, *kelo* ‘white’ in all dialects except NW Mekeo; NW Mekeo *gagaeŋa*; North Mekeo *gagalŋa* (obsolete).

LAU Also *k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>afurerea*.

TAH Also *teatea* archaic.

RAP *tea-tea* ‘white’; *rito-rito* ‘very white’.

## 15.650 BLACK

*ATA	ma-yaʔawaʔ	UMA	mo-ʔeta	*MAR	pipito
TSO	kuaʔoŋ-a	BUG	ma-lotoŋ	LAU	bora
RUK	ma-iʕəʔəŋə	KON	leʔleŋ	KWO	bobolaʔa
PAI	kə-ʕəŋə-ʕəŋəʔ	*WOL	ma-eta	RAG	meto
YAM	mavaəŋ	*MAG	mitəŋ	PAA	malikelik
ISN	ŋĩsit	NGA	mite	LEW	malolo
*KAL	ŋĩsit	*SIK	mita-ŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> brömör
*TAG	itim	RTI	ʔgeo-k	NTA	apən
*AKL	itum	*BUR	mite-t	KWA	-pitow
PAL	maytom	DOB	ʔolay	NEM	p <sup>h</sup> om
*MOL	itom	IRA	garəmutəna	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> it
KAG	mi'təm	SAW	n-bəblate	ΛJI	b <sup>w</sup> ērē
BLA	fitam	NYI	bokodon	XAR	ŋĩrĩ
SAB	etom	MAM	zimzim	NEN	ḍiḍi
MUR	maitom	*TAK	tidom-tubu-n	KIR	rorō
MGY	ma-inti	DAM	karəs	*MSH	ditəp <sup>w</sup>
*ACE	itam	*MAB	gabgapŋana	*PON	təntəl
BAT	bi'rəŋ	*YAB	yε-yεʔ	*WLE	rošo
MIN	itam	KAU	ku	EFI	loaloa
IND	hitam	TOL	korəŋ	WFI	lō
SUN	hidĩŋ	BUA	βərĩk	*RTU	kele
JAV	irəŋ	*ADZ	marabusəŋ	TON	ʔuliʔuli
MAD	čəlləŋ	KIL	b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> au	SAM	uliuli
*BAL	sələm	TAW	didibala-na	MEL	paku
SAS	birəŋ	MOT	korema	*TAH	ʔereʔere
*GOR	mo-yitomo	*MEK	umu(-ŋa)	*RAP	ʔuri-ʔuri
DAA	na-vuri	ROV	muho		

ATA *ma-yaʔūʔ* 'black'.

KAL *ŋĩsit + na-*.

TAG *itim + ma-*.

AKL *itum + ma-*.

MOL *itom + mo-*.

ACE Also *hitam*.

BAL Also *badəŋ*; *sələm dəkot* 'jet black'.

GOR Also *dihe*.

WOL Also *doloma*.

MAG	Also <i>neni</i> .
SIK	Also <i>mitak</i> .
BUR	Also <i>mede-t</i> .
TAK	'night-big-its' (14.420, 12.550).
MAB	Also <i>koskōzoŋana</i> , cf. <i>koskōzo</i> 'charcoal'.
YAB	Also <i>yε<sup>?</sup>-oma</i> .
ADZ	<i>marabusuŋ</i> Amari, Central, Yarus Guruf, Ngarowapum; <i>dzidzai</i> Central, Yarus.
MEK	<i>umu</i> 'black ash, charcoal'; <i>e-umu</i> 'be black; be ash'; NW Mekeo <i>uma-uma</i> (see <i>uma</i> 'burn, bake').
MAR	<i>pipito, sesepa</i> 'black, dark blue'.
MSH	Also <i>kilmēc</i> .
PON	<i>roŋap<sup>w</sup>āk</i> 'pitch black'.
WLE	<i>rošo</i> also 'night'; <i>šōřo</i> .
RTU	Also <i>lahlaha</i> .
TAH	Also <i>uri</i> .
RAP	? <i>uri-?uri</i> 'black'; <i>kere-kere</i> 'very black'.

### 15.660 RED

ATA	ma-tanah	ACE	mirah	NGA	toro
TSO	fixŋor-a	BAT	ra'ra	*SIK	mera-ŋ
*RUK	ma-dirələ	*MIN	sirah	RTI	pilas
PAI	ku-jijil <sup>y</sup>	IND	merah	*BUR	miha-t
YAM	mabazaŋbaŋ	SUN	birim	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> udi
ISN	daggāŋ	JAV	abaŋ	IRA	karəruerə
*KAL	dokot	MAD	mira	SAW	n-məkət
TAG	pula	*BAL	barak	NYI	saraman
*AKL	pu†ah	*SAS	abaŋ	MAM	daradara
PAL	mərogaŋ	*GOR	me-elamo	*TAK	dara-n
*MOL	riga <sup>?</sup>	DAA	na-lei	DAM	giriya
KAG	minug	UMA	mo-lei	*MAB	siŋsiŋgana
BLA	fuli <sup>?</sup>	BUG	ma-čilla	YAB	kə-kə <sup>?</sup>
SAB	peyat	KON	eja	*KAU	mhe
MUR	malia <sup>?</sup>	*WOL	kale <sup>?</sup> i	TOL	meme
MGY	mena	MAG	vara	BUA	koq



*ADZ	bi?	*LEW	pevaŋa	*PON	weiṭāṭa
*KIL	marakana	POR	<sup>m</sup> bisi <sup>m</sup> bis	*WLE	cō
TAW	kayakaya-na	NTA	asia	EFI	damudamu
MOT	kakakaka	*KWA	-aruweruw	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> ād <sup>r</sup> ā
*MEK	pito(-ŋa)	NEM	mia	RTU	mi <sup>?</sup> a
ROV	ziŋara	CEM	mâgat	TON	kulokula
MAR	ukru	AJI	mī	*SAM	mūmū
LAU	kekero	XAR	mīā	MEL	mmea
KWO	meku	NEN	ḍičaḍiča	*TAH	?ute?ute
RAG	memea	*KIR	uraura	*RAP	mea-mea
PAA	vilhili	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> iṛiṛi		

RUK *do-doli* 'red', *di-rə-rəḷə* 'tangerine(colour), reddish orange'.

KAL *dokot + na*; also *dūlaw + na*.

AKL *puṭah + ma-*.

MOL *riga? + mo-*.

MIN Also *merah*.

BAL Also *baag, baak* 'red' (as in the colour of the face of an angry or sick person); *biiŋ* 'red, of rooster'.

SAS Also *bea?*

GOR (*welamo + mo-*).

WOL Also *ma-le?i*.

SIK Also *merak, laka*.

BUR Also [*mera*]-*t* from Malay (e.g. [*kastori mera-t*] 'red parrot').

TAK 'blood-its' (04.150).

MAB Compare *siŋ* 'blood'.

KAU Also *geh-geh*.

ADZ *bi?* all dialects ('blood'); *raŋuŋ?* Amāri only.

KIL Also *b<sup>w</sup>eyani; dailarugu* 'dark red, purple'.

MEK *pito* has completely ousted an earlier *piko*. East Mekeo also has *pino*, much less commonly in use.

LEW Also *mene*.

KWA Also *-meta* also 'bloody'.

KIR *mea* 'reddish yellow, rust-coloured'.

MSH Also *er* (of leaves); *miṛ* of (coconuts, sky).

PON Also *mer* 'rust-coloured'.

WLE *cō* also 'blood'; *ṛowōsi, ṛowaṛowa*.

SAM See *mū* 'burn, be inflame (vb intrans)'.  


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TAH Also *?ura?ura*.

RAP *mea-mea* 'red'; *mea* 'light red, pink'; *ura-ura* 'very (bright) red'.  


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## 15.670 BLUE

**English:** *blue*

**Spanish:** *azul*

ATA	ma-yahiβuŋ	UMA	mo-leβue	ROV	[bulu]
TSO	reŋxov-a	BUG	ma-gau	*MAR	pipito
RUK	salōsəsə	KON	gahu?	*LAU	[bulu]
PAI	ʎa-ŋia-ŋia	*WOL	ka-ka <sup>n</sup> da	KWO	bobola?a
YAM	mogazo	MAG	ni <sup>n</sup> to	*RAG	m <sup>w</sup> eto
ISN	mannāw	NGA	ŋura	PAA	
*KAL	ŋīsīt	SIK	da?a-ŋ linok	LEW	memaena
*TAG	bughaw	RTI	mo-modo-k	POR	kinkinač
AKL	[asul]	*BUR	mala-t	NTA	apən
PAL	məligun	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> alrak <sup>w</sup> un	*KWA	-pitow
MOL	[bilu]	*IRA		NEM	p <sup>m</sup> uñ
*KAG	[blu]	SAW	n-bešbis	CEM	pùn
BLA	m-lunu	NYI	ñarawin	*AJI	kōrō
SAB	[bilu]	MAM	botiboti	*XAR	nexō
*MUR	motomow	*TAK	yedyed	*NEN	[bulu]
MGY	manga	DAM	kadib	KIR	māwawa
ACE	iʃo	MAB	keskēzeŋana	MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> ɪlu]
BAT	balau	*YAB	(ŋa-)mayaŋ	PON	mei
MIN	biru	*KAU	ku	*WLE	xōrawaṛawa
IND	biru	*TOL	bələ-marum	EFI	karakarawa
*SUN	bulao	BUA	ni raru	WFI	karawa
JAV	biru	*ADZ	dzuadzub	RTU	čarava
*MAD	buŋu	KIL	b <sup>w</sup> ab <sup>w</sup> au	TON	lanu-moana
BAL	pəluŋ	TAW	wai-idaidaga-	*SAM	lanu-mona
SAS	biru		na	*MEL	[kesakesa]
GOR	yahu <sup>?</sup> e <sup>n</sup> de	*MOT	[bulu]	*TAH	nīnamu
DAA	na-ramata	MEK		*RAP	moana

KAL	<i>ŋīsit + na-</i> .
TAG	Also [ <i>asul</i> ].
KAG	Also [ <i>asul</i> ].
MUR	'deep blue-green'; [ <i>bidu?</i> ] 'blue' from Malay.
SUN	From Dutch <i>blauw?</i>
MAD	Safioedin (1977): 'violet'.
WOL	<i>ka-ka<sup>n</sup>da</i> , <i>kilapa</i> 'dark blue'; <i>ma-ra<sup>n</sup>da</i> 'deep blue', also 'purple'.
BUR	'turquoise, the colour of the ocean from a distance'; also [ <i>biru</i> ] from Malay.
IRA	'green'.
TAK	'kind of plant dye'.
YAB	'dark-coloured, sea-blue'; also <i>yu-yu</i> 'colour of the sap of the <i>yu</i> shrub'.
KAU	Also <i>amaŋ</i> .
TOL	<i>bələ</i> 'inside, interior, belly', <i>marum</i> 'night'.
ADZ	<i>dzuadzub</i> all areas; also <i>mudzu</i> 'horseshoe pea, with blue flower' ( <i>Clitoria</i> sp).
MOT	Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>gadokagadoka</i> 'light green, blue' (from <i>gado</i> 'ocean'). Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.), Bible also <i>βaiuri</i> ( <i>βaiuri</i> ), which Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) says is a loanword.
MAR	<i>pipito</i> , <i>sesepa</i> 'black and dark blue'; <i>kakaŋa</i> 'green and light blue'.
LAU	Also <i>boborā</i> .
RAG	Also 'blue-black'.
KWA	<i>-pitow</i> 'dark blue'; <i>-amrəmera</i> 'light blue'.
AJI	Also [ <i>yirō</i> ] from English <i>yellow</i> .
XAR	'sky'.
NEN	Also <i>mečiwe</i> .
WLE	Also 'green'.
SAM	<i>lanu</i> 'colour', <i>moana</i> 'deep sea'; lit 'have the colour of the deep sea'.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>moana</i> , <i>?ere?eremoana</i> .
RAP	<i>moana</i> 'blue'; <i>moana ?ere-?ere</i> 'very blue'.

## 15.680 GREEN

English: *green*Spanish: *verde*

ATA	ma-wašik	UMA	mu-leβue	ROV	buma
TSO	reŋxov-a	BUG	ma-kudara	*MAR	kakaṛa
RUK	salōsəsə	*KON	mončon	*LAU	akasa
PAI	kə-lʷəŋə- lʷəŋək	(bulo)		*KWO	mamalak <sup>w</sup> aʔa
		*WOL	hiʝo	*RAG	malayeha
YAM	mogazo	MAG	taʔa	PAA	talauai
ISN	mannāw	NGA	ɲura	LEW	memaena
*KAL	āta	SIK	daʔa-ŋ	POR	kinkinač
*TAG	luntiʔ (-an)	RTI	mo-modo-k	NTA	amiaməta
AKL	[birdih]	*BUR	mua-t	KWA	-amrəmera
PAL	məlunəw	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> alrak <sup>w</sup> un	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> uñ
MOL	gadduŋ	IRA	məmatə	CEM	pùn
*KAG	[grin]	SAW	n-besbis	AJI	kōřō
BLA	m-lunu	NYI	ñorowan	*XAR	nē-k <sup>w</sup> ā
SAB	gadduŋ	MAM	ʔarairai	NEN	mečiwe
*MUR	masansam	*TAK	ai-rou-k	KIR	māwawa
MGY	ma-içu	DAM	mata	*MSH	maṛoṛo
ACE	iʝo	MAB		*PON	pōntip <sup>w</sup>
BAT	ra'ta	*YAB	mataʔ-mataʔ	*WLE	xōṛawaṛawa
*MIN	iʝaw	KAU	keŋ	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> okad <sup>r</sup> oka
IND	hiʝau	TOL	limut	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> okad <sup>r</sup> oka
SUN	heʝo	BUA	ni məwis	RTU	čarava
JAV	iʝo	*ADZ	rini pisia	TON	lanu-mata
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> iru	KIL	semitamata	*SAM	lanu-mea- mata
BAL	gadaŋ	*TAW	wai-gomi- gomida-na	*MEL	[kesakesa]
SAS	iʝo			*TAH	mātie
*GOR	ʔu yidu	*MOT	[girini]	RAP	rito mata
DAA	na-ramata	*MEK	aŋe-aŋe		

KAL *āta + na-*.TAG Also [*berde*].KAG Also [*birdi*].

MUR 'light blue-green'.

MIN Also *biru daun*.

- GOR *mo-yidu* (root: *yidumo*). <sup>?</sup>*u*, non-personal nominaliser.
- KON Also *ižo*.
- WOL Also *hižoma-tu?a* ‘dark green’, *hižo bale-bale* ‘light green’; *ma-ižo*.
- BUR ‘junglish’.
- TAK ‘tree-leaf-my (vocative)’ (08.560; see 04.140).
- YAB ‘fresh green’ (cf. 14.140); also *ŋa-wawa* ‘fresh green’; *ŋa-keŋ-keŋ* ‘dark green’.
- ADZ *rini pisia* ‘green (light and medium green)’; *sirintai* ‘green (darker green)’ Yarus only.
- TAW *wai-idaidaga-na*.
- MOT From English *green*.
- MEK *aŋe-aŋe* ‘kind of large-leaved water-plant, kind of green parrot; ‘aquatic vegetation in general’; NW Mekeo has *uŋiŋiŋa* ‘green’.
- MAR ‘green and light blue’.
- LAU Also *ma?a*.
- KWŌ Also *malak<sup>wa</sup>*.
- RAG Most of ‘green’ plus much of ‘blue’.
- XAR ‘tree leaf’.
- MSH Also [*kiŋin*] from English.
- PON *pōn<sup>i</sup>p<sup>w</sup>* lit ‘on the grass’; *molomol* of plants.
- WLE Also ‘blue’; see ‘green, unripe’; *maürü* also ‘fresh, alive (of plants)’.
- SAM *lanu* ‘colour’, *mea* ‘things’, *mata* (vb intrans) ‘be raw’, lit ‘have the colour of raw things’.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *nīnamu* archaic.

## 15.690 YELLOW

English: <i>yellow; curry</i>
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- |      |  |      |                    |      |                |
|------|--|------|--------------------|------|----------------|
| ATA  | <i>may-turakiš</i>                           | YAM  | <i>koazəy</i>      | *AKL | <i>duław</i>   |
| TSO  | <i>xof<sup>?</sup>or-a</i>                   | ISN  | <i>ŋila</i>        | PAL  | <i>mökunit</i> |
| *RUK | <i>boa-bolavanə</i>                          | KAL  | <i>komat künig</i> | *MOL | <i>kuniŋ</i>   |
| PAI  | <i>ḵu-l<sup>y</sup>iza-l<sup>y</sup>izar</i> | *TAG | <i>dilaw</i>       | *KAG | <i>dilaw</i>   |

*MGY	vuni	IRA	taɸə	PAA	tolokohis
ACE	kunɛŋ	SAW	n-gɛlpœ	LEW	leru
*BAT	hunɪk	NYI	ñokowan	POR	ŋöaŋ
MIN	kuniʔŋ	*MAM	aŋotaŋota	NTA	auiah
IND	kuniŋ	TAK	kidabog	KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> eis
SUN	koneŋ	DAM	bailu	NEM	[kari]
JAV	kuniŋ	*MAB	we <sup>ɟ</sup> gāra	CEM	[kári]
MAD	kuniŋ	*YAB	yəŋ-yəŋ	*AJI	kəpɛdəxaŋu
*BAL	kuniŋ	*KAU	molo	XAR	kērēnāwā
SAS	kuniŋ	TOL	gobol	NEN	wineɖe
GOR	mo-lalahu	BUA	ni saŋsaŋ	*KIR	bā bobo
DAA	na-kuni	*ADZ	ɖzuŋɖzuŋ	*MSH	[iaɭɔ]+mæŋ
UMA	mo-kuni	KIL	tauβau	PON	ɔŋɔŋ
BUG	ma-ridi	TAW	wai-kanikani-	*WLE	(pe)raŋaŋaŋa
KON	didi		yoga-na	EFI	d <sup>ɾ</sup> omod <sup>ɾ</sup> omo
WOL	ma-kuni	*MOT	labɛralabora	WFI	d <sup>ɾ</sup> omod <sup>ɾ</sup> omo
MAG	leros	*MEK	laofa(-ŋa)	RTU	perpero
NGA	sese	ROV	meava	TON	ejeɛŋa
SIK	herə-t	*MAR	kopi	SAM	samasama
RTI	kuni-k	LAU	gogoa	*MEL	[m <sup>w</sup> onōm <sup>w</sup> ono]
*BUR	koni-t	KWO	ataʔatak <sup>w</sup> aʔa	TAH	reʔareʔa
*DOB	na-r-ʔuŋul-ni	*RAG	aŋo-ɣa	RAP	toua mamari

RUK *bolavanə* ‘copper’.

TAG *dilaw + ma-*.

AKL *duɬaw + ma-*.

MOL *kuniŋ + mo-*.

KAG Also *dulaw*.

MGY Also *tum/amu-tamu* from Malay or Javanese *tamu* ‘wild ginger’, generic for *Curcuma* spp.

BAT ‘*hunik* ‘curcuma’; from Proto-Batak \**kunig* ‘curcuma; yellow’.

BAL *gadiŋ* ‘yellowish’; *lumlum* ‘yellowish green’; *lumlum gadiŋ* ‘bright yellow (like the leaves of the *dapdap* tree).

BUR Also ‘turmeric’.

DOB *na-r-uŋul-ni* a reflexive verb ‘be yellow’; or alternatively *nam mmuʔu*, lit ‘it does banana’, may be used.

MAM Also *aŋoŋo*.

MAB *wɛŋgarŋgāraŋana, naŋoŋoŋana*

YAB	Also ( <i>ŋa-</i> ) <i>ganiŋ</i> ‘turning yellow, ripening’.
KAU	Also <i>lok</i> .
ADZ	<i>ɟzuŋudzuəŋ</i> all dialects except Amari; <i>maradzuəŋ</i> Amari ( <i>maradzuəŋ</i> , <i>ɟzuŋudzuəŋ</i> ‘turmeric’).
MOT	Also [ <i>fielo</i> ].
MEK	<i>laofa</i> ‘kind of plant with yellow flowers, used in dyes and as a medicine’; <i>e-maŋe</i> ‘become yellow’ like the sky at dawn and dusk.
MAR	Also <i>ŋoŋe</i> , <i>ŋoaŋosa</i> .
RAG	‘become yellow’.
AJI	Also [ <i>kari</i> ].
KIR	Also <i>meamea</i> .
MSH	‘yellowish’; [ <i>ialɔ</i> ] from English.
WLE	Also <i>yaŋoyəŋo</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 15.710 TOUCH

*ATA	ma-βiʔiŋ	*IND	məñəntuh	SAW	n-εglay
*TSO	a-aso		(səntuh)	NYI	añokar
RUK	wa-soɭapə	*SUN	noel (toel)	MAM	doʔi
PAI	ɔ-əm-aɟua	*JAV	n-dəmeʔ	*TAK	-abi
YAM	pinanan	MAD	ŋiddʰiŋ	DAM	kobũ
ISN	tuʔbitan	*BAL	ŋ-usud	*MAB	-tēge
*KAL	sakgel	SAS	čolet	*YAB	-m <sup>w</sup> asaʔ
*TAG	hīpoʔ	*GOR	molo <sup>n</sup> dalo	KAU	kah
*AKL	tabiŋ	*DAA	nan-tui	*TOL	tukiə
PAL	kutɔw	UMA	reo	BUA	bə nəma rak
*MOL	kopkap	BUG	karawa	ADZ	is-
*KAG	tandəg	*KON	aʔ-karaha	KIL	-kabikoni
*BLA	n-agot	*WOL	perere	TAW	tayag <sup>w</sup> ahi
*SAB	antan	MAG	čegoŋ	*MOT	kau-a toho
*MUR	kamaʔ	NGA	ɟəpa	*MEK	e-afi-afua-ŋa
MGY	mi-kasika	*SIK	rama	*ROV	taŋinia
ACE	raba	*RTI	nafa-loe	MAR	tabo
BAT	ʔjama	*BUR	keme	LAU	dautona
MIN	siŋu <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ	*DOB	ʔa-tomal tan	*KWO	tani-a
		IRA	sanə	*RAG	sib <sup>w</sup> eri

PAA	dokali	XAR	çānĩ	*RTU	ʔatɔku
LEW	toli	NEN	ruerue	TON	ala
POR	čö <sup>m</sup> bar-i	KIR	rĩŋa	*SAM	taŋo
NTA	-ek	MSH	uŋuŋi	*MEL	[takālia]
*KWA	-rap(i)	*PON	tōke	*TAH	fāfā
NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ĩ	*WLE	yeŋasĩ	*RAP	puā
CEM	tĩ	EFI	tara-a		
AJI	paxɛ	WFl	dere-ia		

ATA *k-um-uβih* ‘touch lightly’.

TSO Also *a-as-a* ‘touch unintentionally’; *mru-aso* also *pru-as-a* ‘intentionally’.

KAL *sakgel + -on*.

TAG Also *salat + -um-/-in*.

AKL *tabiŋ + -un*.

MOL *kopkap + -um-/-on*.

KAG *tandəg + mag-/-ən*.

BLA *t-an-dil* ‘disturb (by touching)’.

SAB *antan + aN-/-an*.

MUR *kama<sup>?</sup> (mag- -on)*.

IND Also *pəgaŋ*.

SUN Also *ñiŋgiŋ*.

JAV Also *n-dumu<sup>?</sup>*.

BAL (*N-*)*usud* ‘touch, stroke’; (*N-*)*gabag*, (*N-*)*gadab* ‘rub, feel’.

GOR (*to<sup>n</sup>dalo + moN-*).

DAA Also *na<sup>n</sup>gabe (kabe)*.

KON Also *a<sup>?</sup>-toleaŋ*; *a<sup>?</sup>-karambaŋ* ‘touch (without seeing)’.

WOL *pe-rere* ‘grab about in the dark’; *di<sup>n</sup>ku* ‘touch’.

SIK Also *kəpa*, *he<sup>?</sup>u*, *nehu*, *hepu-t*.

RTI Also *koila<sup>?</sup>e*.

BUR Also *gao* lit ‘grasp, hold’; *kisi* ‘nudge gently with fingers’; *ef-geme* ‘grab roughly with hand’.

DOB ‘hit onto’.

TAK ‘hold’ (11.150).

MAB ‘touch, hold’.



YAB	‘touch, grope, finger, feel’; also <i>-gamu?</i> ‘touch lightly, knead’.
TOL	Also <i>bili</i> (vb trans).
MOT	<i>dau-a</i> ‘touch, feel’; <i>toho</i> ‘try’.
MEK	<i>e-afi-afua-ŋa</i> ‘touch lightly’; NW Mekeo <i>i-oŋe-iu-a</i> .
ROV	Also <i>tigua</i> .
KWO	Also <i>dau i suri-a</i> .
RAG	‘touch with fingers’.
KWA	Also <i>-akiek(i)</i> ‘nudge, brush against’; <i>-ieki</i> ‘contact, kick’ (as a ball).
PON	<i>tōke</i> also ‘fight’; <i>sair</i> also ‘come in contact with’.
WLE	<i>yeŋasī</i> also ‘reach for’; <i>xattapō</i> also ‘reach for, prepare for’; causative form, from <i>tapa</i> ‘ready’.
RTU	Also <i>tæc</i> .
SAM	Also <i>paʔi</i> (vb intrans).
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>faʔatiʔaia</i> archaic.
RAP	Also <i>haka puā</i> .

### 15.712 PINCH

ATA	k-um-ikuʔ	BAT	ʔisat	*SIK	guhu
*TSO	ti-fkiçï	*MIN	piriʔ?	RTI	biʔi
RUK	wa-gatiŋi	*IND	mən-čubit	*BUR	hete-k
PAI		SUN	ñiwit (čiwit)	DOB	
YAM	akdotən	JAV	ñ-jiwit	IRA	nimətə
ISN	pinidsil	*MAD	miñču?	SAW	n-epipet
*KAL	kudut	BAL	niŋit (sigit)	NYI	bʷitik
*TAG	īpit	SAS	nəkiʔ (təkiʔ)	MAM	ʔiŋ
*AKL	kūsiʔ	*GOR	momihito	TAK	-kitini
*PAL	pisilin	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-kaloti	DAM	kamididī
*MOL	kodit	UMA	koloti	MAB	-kenut
*KAG	kusnit	BUG	kab-bitti	YAB	-penip
BLA	k-n-amet	*KON	aŋ-ŋapiuʔ (kapiuʔ)	KAU	kapit
*SAB	kibbit			*TOL	biŋ
*MUR	kadut	WOL	βi <sup>n</sup> çi-βi <sup>n</sup> çi-ki	BUA	kənil
*MGY	manungu	MAG	kəvit	*ADZ	amur-
*ACE	[čubet]	*NGA	ləve	KIL	-kimsi

TAW	kimota	POR	xinič-i	PON	kinī
MOT	kini-a	NTA	-aŋanəm	*WLE	fatixī
*MEK	e-iki-pa	*KWA	-awai	EFI	kini-ta
ROV	kimitia	NEM	cebi	WFI	kini-sia
*MAR	kiti	CEM	im <sup>w</sup> odō-hi	RTU	?ini
LAU	laua	AJI	kā ve piṛī	TON	la?u
KWO	?ini-a	XAR	kēge	*SAM	uŋa
RAG	ŋisi	NEN	kumuze	MEL	kinčia
PAA	ŋiniti	KIR	kinika	TAH	?i?iti
LEW	kineri	*MSH	kinci	*RAP	hakura

TSO (*ti-fkiç-a*).

KAL *kudut + -on*.

TAG *īpit + -um/-in* generic term.

AKL *kūsi? + -un*.

PAL Also *pəɔɔlən*.

MOL *kodit + -on*.

KAG *kusnit + mag-/-ən*.

SAB *kibbit + aN/ø*.

MUR *kadut (maŋ- -on)*.

MGY From (*maN-çungu*).

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *pie?*, *čubi?*.

IND Also *ǰəpit*, *səpit*.

MAD Morpheme break not indicated?

GOR (*pihito + moN-*); also *mo-lubiŋo*, and *moŋubiŋo (kubiŋo + moN-)*.

KON Also *a?-kandiddi?*.

NGA Also *luvi*, *kəve*, *kuvi*.

SIK Also *gumi-t*, *bəme*.

BUR ‘pinch off bite of sago paste with fingers’.

TOL See 09.342.

ADZ *amur-* all dialects ; *afranŋ?*- Amari only.

MEK Also *epe* ‘grip as in a pincer’.

MAR *kīti* ‘pinch, pluck at, pick out’; *kisu* ‘poke or pinch’.

KWA *-awai* also ‘squeeze’; *-atum<sup>w</sup>(i)* also ‘pluck’; *-wəsi* ‘pinch-off’.

MSH *kinci* ‘pinch with the nails’; *apic* ‘pinch with the fingers’.

WLE *fatixī* also 'pluck';  $\phi^{w}aikeṣī$ -a.

SAM Also *?ini* (vb trans).

RAP Also *hakura-kura*.

## 15.720 FEEL

Sanskrit: *rasa-*

ATA	kiṣiṭ-ik	BUG	map-peni $\dot{d}$ diṅ	ROV	tapoa
TSO		KON	sa <sup>?</sup> riṅ	*MAR	habo
RUK		*WOL	rere	LAU	totona
PAI		MAG	$\dot{d}$ oiṅ	KWO	
YAM	maliliw	NGA	$\dot{d}$ əpa	RAG	roṅo
ISN	gi <sup>?</sup> nān	SIK	[rasa]	*PAA	loṅe
*KAL	gikna	RTI	na-meda	*LEW	loṅe-lia
*TAG	damdam	BUR	[rasa]	POR	loṅon-i
*AKL	batyag	DOB	<sup>?</sup> a-k <sup>w</sup> umar	NTA	-ato
*PAL	rəsanən	IRA	səsanə	KWA	-reṅi
*MOL	[rasa]	SAW	fa-bəsm-ε	NEM	tena
*KAG	batyag		(bosem)	CEM	tēne
BLA	lyalo	NYI	atona	AJI	tā pē
*SAB	sa $\dot{d}$ sad	MAM	<sup>?</sup> ilala-naṅa	XAR	pāē
*MUR	liman	TAK	kibiani	*NEN	taeḍeṅi
MGY	maha- $\phi$ iaru	*DAM	karī	KIR	nam <sup>w</sup> akina
ACE	[rasa]	*MAB	-yamāna	*MSH	eṅcake
BAT	hi'lala	*YAB	-səe	*PON	tōke
*MIN	[rəso <sup>?</sup> ]	*KAU	saa	WLE	meyafi
IND	mə-[rasa]	*TOL	kəir-əne	EFI	βaka-tara-a
*SUN	ṅabak (čabak)	BUA	paray	WFI	boro-kia
*JAV	ṅ-[rasa] <sup>?</sup> ke	*ADZ	rawab-a gin	RTU	<sup>?</sup> atəku
*MAD	a-paṅ-[rasa]	*KIL	-kabi koni	*TON	oṅo <sup>?</sup> i
*BAL	ṅ-[asə]	*TAW	maya-na i	*SAM	laṅona
SAS	ṅ-usap		waya	MEL	raṅona
*GOR	<sup>?</sup> o-[rasa]-wa	*MOT	mami-na abi-	TAH	ta <sup>?</sup> a
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-leme		a	*RAP	hāhā
UMA	epe	*MEK	e-afi-opo-ṅai-		
			na		

- KAL *gikna + -on.*
- TAG *damdam + maka-/ma--an*; also *dama + -um/-in* ‘perceive’.
- AKL *batyag + -an.*
- PAL Also *batíʔon.*
- MOL *rasa + -an.*
- KAG *batyag + ma-.*
- SAB *sadsad + aN-/* ‘feel by touching’; *lassa + ta-* and *nanam + ta-* ‘feel by sensing’.
- MUR *liman (maka-; ma- -an).*
- MIN Possibly also from Sanskrit (see *raso* 15.310).
- SUN Also *ñagap (čagap).*
- JAV From (*N-[rɔsɔ]-(ʔ)ke*) from Sanskrit; also *k[rɔsɔ]*.
- BAL *[fasə]*, (noun) ‘feel(ing)’; also synonymous forms (*N-)[rasa](aŋ)* (vb); *[rasə]* (n) later re-borrowings, via Javanese or Malay.
- GOR ‘felt’, also *ʔo-onem-a* ‘felt’ (*wonemo + ʔo--a*).
- WOL Also *pe-nami.*
- DAM Also *kobū ŋi-ya*, see 15.710 and 15.410
- MAB *kanamāla* ‘sense somebody coming’.
- YAB ‘feel, test’; also *-li* ‘feel, stroke, caress’, *-moasaʔ* ‘touch, grope, finger, feel’.
- KAU *saa* for tactile sensation; also *poî-poŋ* ‘search by feeling’; *hip* ‘sense, be aware of’.
- TOL *kəir* ‘feel pain (vb intrans)’.
- ADZ *gin* ‘OBL’ before object.
- KIL ‘touch-try’.
- TAW ‘he feels it’.
- MOT *mami-na* ‘feeling’, *abi-a* ‘get, obtain’.
- MEK *e-afi-opo-ŋai-na* ‘touch experimentally’.
- MAR *habo* ‘feel with hand’; *haimi* ‘sense’.
- PAA Also ‘hear’.
- LEW Also *toli-lia.*
- NEN Also *šu.*
- MSH Also ‘experience, sense’; *uŋiri* also ‘touch’.

PON *tōke* also ‘touch’; *pēm* ‘perceive, sense, think’; *kēn* also ‘experience’.

TON *oŋoʔi* ‘sense’, *fā* ‘with hand’.

SAM ‘feel with the hand’: *taŋo* (vb intrans) (15.710).

RAP *hāhā* ‘feel (examining, registering)’.

### 15.740 HARD

ATA	ma-matiʔ	UMA	mo-tuʔa	*MAR	maku
TSO	kixtōsi	BUG	ma-tiddiʔ	LAU	ŋasi
RUK	mā-kaolokolo	*KON	ʔterasa	*KWO	bou
*PAI	ʔalʔəkil	*WOL	ma-kaa	RAG	raga
YAM	mačigraŋ	MAG	čiraŋ	PAA	gaih
ISN	nakulnit	NGA	tigi	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> arera
*KAL	bolaŋ	*SIK	təra-ŋ	POR	tamta <sup>m</sup> bač
*TAG	tigas	RTI	ma-tea	NTA	askasək
*AKL	tigʔah	BUR	giwe	KWA	-əkənekən
PAL	məktul	DOB	deʔir	NEM	ŋāyuk
*MOL	kotul	IRA	səragənə	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> áiu
KAG	dəssən	SAW	n-mətue	AJI	məřə
*BLA	m-gal	NYI	botoʔon	XAR	xatx
*SAB	tuwas	MAM	ʔaiboaŋi	NEN	tač
MUR	mokotog	TAK	sakar	KIR	matoa
MGY	ma-fi	DAM	totol	MSH	pən
ACE	kruəh	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> boljana	*PON	kekel
BAT	pir	*YAB	ŋa-yaŋa	*WLE	masowa
MIN	kareh	*KAU	po kokloŋ	EFI	kaukua
IND	kəras	TOL	leo	WFI	kaikai
SUN	tias	BUA	niwək	RTU	moumou
JAV	atəs	ADZ	baba <sup>m</sup> paf-	TON	fefeka
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> ali	KIL	kasai	SAM	malō
BAL	katos	*TAW	kadidili	MEL	mārō
SAS	kəras	*MOT	auka	TAH	paʔari
GOR	mo-to-toheto	*MEK	ʔinoka	RAP	hio-hio
DAA	na-koʔo	ROV	ŋira		

PAI *ku-čəsul* ‘difficult, hard’.

KAL *bolaŋ + na-*.

TAG *tigas + ma-*.

AKL *tigʔah + ma-*.MOL *kotul + mō-*.BLA *m-ageŋ* ‘hard (as a rock)’.SAB *tuwas + a-*.KON Also *kassaʔ*.WOL *ma-hi<sup>n</sup>dolu* ‘hard (of tubers, not cooking well)’; also *ma-tuʔa*.SIK Also *məno-ŋ, təgor*.MAB *-<sup>m</sup>bol* ‘be hard’; *-<sup>ŋ</sup>gor* ‘hard to bite’, also *-keke*.YAB ‘firm, hard’; also *ŋa-mayaŋ* ‘hard as iron’.KAU *po* ‘skin’.TAW *kadidili* ‘hard/difficult/strong’; *kapala* ‘hard/solid/firm’.

MOT Also ‘difficult’.

MEK North Mekeo *tsinoka*, NW Mekeo *kinogo*, West Mekeo *aŋoga*, *aŋaoga*.

MAR ‘hard, firm’.

KWO Also *ŋasi*.PON *kekeluwak* ‘tough (of meat)’; see *kēl* ‘hardness’.WLE Also ‘strong’; *cemōwa*.**15.750 SOFT**

ATA	<i>ma-hnuk</i>	MGY	<i>ma-lemi</i>	*WOL	<i>ma-lulu</i>
TSO	<i>norʔinʔi</i>	*ACE	<i>luməh</i>	*MAG	<i>dəhəl</i>
RUK	<i>mā-məļə</i>	BAT	<i>daʔuk</i>	NGA	<i>məku</i>
PAI	<i>luməlʔak</i>	*MIN	<i>lambuyʔ</i>	*SIK	<i>məmək</i>
YAM	<i>məma</i>	*IND	<i>ləmbut</i>	RTI	<i>ma<sup>ŋ</sup>g-naʔu-k</i>
ISN	<i>nalamaʔ</i>	SUN	<i>hipu</i>	*BUR	<i>em-losi</i>
*KAL	<i>uyāmos</i>	JAV	<i>əmpuʔ</i>	DOB	<i>k<sup>w</sup>oway</i>
*TAG	<i>lambot</i>	MAD	<i>ləmbuʔ</i>	IRA	<i>maḫərə</i>
*AKL	<i>hūmuk</i>	*BAL	<i>ləmuh</i>	SAW	<i>n-kələlime</i>
*PAL	<i>mərəbu</i>	*SAS	<i>lapəʔ</i>	NYI	<i>b<sup>w</sup>eseken</i>
*MOL	<i>rabu</i>	*GOR	<i>mo-luʔoyo</i>	MAM	<i>poasapoasa</i>
KAG	<i>yəmʔək</i>	DAA	<i>na-leo</i>	TAK	<i>matala-n</i>
BLA	<i>lumak</i>	UMA	<i>mo-ʔolu</i>	*DAM	<i>labub</i>
*SAB	<i>lunuk</i>	BUG	<i>ma-pēča</i>	*MAB	<i>pepepŋana</i>
MUR	<i>malamiʔ</i>	*KON	<i>lumu</i>	*YAB	<i>pale(-pale)</i>

*KAU	βia	*KWO	magaʔu	KIR	marau
*TOL	molo	RAG	mada-mada	*MSH	pirɔrɔ
BUA	niyes	PAA	meramerau	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> uʔerek
ADZ	tatapiʔ-	LEW	malum <sup>w</sup> u	WLE	meʂaxüʂaxü
KIL	p <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> asa	POR	ˈd <sup>r</sup> ame <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>	EFI	malumu
*TAW	moita	NTA	metmetəŋ	WFI	malumu
MOT	manoka-	*KWA	-məru	*RTU	marū
	monoka	NEM	ñat	TON	molū
*MEK	mameʔa	CEM	ñát	SAM	malū
ROV	malohoro	*A.II	yɔʔa	MEL	marūrū
*MAR	plasu	XAR	b <sup>w</sup> i	TAH	marū
LAU	osooso	NEN	apuapue	RAP	heka-heka

KAL *uyamos / na*.

TAG *lambot + ma-*.

AKL *hūmuk + ma-*.

FAL Also *məlumu*.

MOL *rabu + mo-*.

SAB *lunuk + a-*.

ACE Also *lumiaʔ*.

MIN Also *ampu<sup>ʔ</sup>, lunaʔ*.

IND Also *ləmbek*.

BAL *ləmuh* (e.g. of a mattress, of one's voice, or of a smooth manner of dancing); *məs* (of earth, or meat).

SAS Also *ləməs*.

GOR Also *mo-luhihiʔo* 'soft, mouldy, rotten (of wood etc.)'.

KON Also *pečaʔ*.

WOL Also *ma-lute, ma-runa* (also of wind); *ma-wita*.

MAG (e.g. of a cushion).

SIK Also *dekə-ŋ*.

BUR (of wood rotting); *em-lobo* 'soft (of wood easy to carve)'; *em-luba* 'soft (of steel easy to work)'; *bono* 'soft (e.g. tubers)'.

DAM Also 'sensitive, easily hurt or upset'.

MAB Also *<sup>m</sup>birirjana; <sup>m</sup>bēzejana, mormorjana*.

YAB 'soft, rotten'; also *amuʔ-amuʔ* 'soft, smooth, hairy', *lawεʔ-lawεʔ* 'soft, mushy'.

KAU Also *βiakβiak*.

TOL Also *molāmolo, got*.

TAW *moita* ‘soft/sticky’; *mitamita* ‘of over-ripe fruit’.

MEK NW Mekeo *malo-malo*.

MAR *plasu* ‘soft, not firm’; *pila* ‘soft, cushiony’.

KWO Also *wadaʔu, nabe*.

KWA Also *-əmʷəsi* ‘as fruit’.

AJI Also *yuaō*.

MSH *cciprəɔ* also ‘limp, supple’; *meomeo* ‘soft to touch’.

PON *lususūr* (as in a swamp); *kopʷukopʷ* ‘fragile’.

RTU Also *paɪpaɪa*.

## 15.760 ROUGH

ATA	ma-kua-kuar	*BAL	pəsak	*KAU	pə kikisan
TSO	ŋorɕiŋɕi	SAS	bərat	*TOL	rubuən
RUK	raŋiɕi	*GOR	mo-ʔalato	BUA	gəlɔgin
PAI	surəgi	DAA	na-kasara	ADZ	tatiʔ-
YAM	mapər	UMA	mo-kara	KIL	pitupitu
ISN	nagurad	BUG	ma-kolli	*TAW	yabayababa
*KAL	sagadaŋ	KON	'kasara	*MOT	rigirigi
*TAG	gaspaŋ	*WOL	ta <sup>m</sup> parasa	MEK	
*AKL	gaʔas	MAG	səhak	ROV	ləpu memehe
PAL	məsimpurəd	NGA	dʔogo-dʔəgi	*MAR	kaukaru
*MOL	kasap	*SIK	glo-ro-ŋ glara-t	LAU	ŋaruŋaru
KAG	sapla	RTI	sela-k	KWO	ʔala ʔala ʔa
BLA	m-iləŋ	BUR	wala-laka-k	RAG	
*SAB	kasap	DOB	k <sup>ʷ</sup> umir	PAA	vurovur
MUR	mokolop	IRA	nətəɸəti ɸərə	*LEW	kinakina-sia
MGY	ma-rau-rau	*SAW	n-mənenes pa	POR	kač
ACE	gasa	NYI	momoron	*NTA	pərpər
BAT		MAM	garamoata	*KWA	-aruk <sup>ʷ</sup> aruk <sup>ʷ</sup> a
*MIN	kasa	TAK		NEM	m <sup>ʷ</sup> arec
IND	kasar	DAM	didi ado	CEM	ūlicədi
*SUN	kasar	*MAB	m <sup>ʷ</sup> buŋar-	AJI	kəvipai
JAV	kasar		ŋarŋana	XAR	firi <sup>ʷ</sup> p <sup>ʷ</sup> ep <sup>ʷ</sup> e
MAD	kasar	*YAB	asaŋ-asaŋ	NEN	



*KIR	karekereke	EFI	masamasā	*SAM	tālatala
*MSH	kkac	WFI	horihori	MEL	tattara
PON	m <sup>w</sup> aŋaiŋai	RTU	vɔnu	TAH	taratara
WLE	meŋaŋiŋaŋi	TON	petepete	*RAP	raʔa-raʔa

KAL *sagadaŋ + na-*.

TAG *gaspaŋ + ma-*.

AKL *gaʔas + ma-*.

MOL *kasap + mo-*.

SAB *kasap̄ + ā-*.

MIN Also *kaseʔ*.

SUN Also *karadak*.

BAL Also [*kasar*] from Malay.

GOR Also *ba<sup>ŋ</sup>gaŋa*.

WOL Also [*kasara*].

SIK Also *glara-ŋ*.

SAW ‘smooth not’; also [*kasar*] Malay.

MAB (of rough, nobby surface).

YAB ‘rough, torn, jagged’; also (*ŋa-*)*gəneŋ* ‘rough, hairy, scratchy’;  
(*ŋa-*)*geleŋ* ‘rough, uneven’.

KAU *po* ‘skin’.

TOL Also *rupuən*.

TAW ‘rough/careless’; *kilikilipa* ‘rough surface’.

MOT ‘small branch, twig’ (from *rigi* ‘branch’); also *rigikarigika*, *budubudu*.

MAR *kaukaru* ‘rough, not smooth’; *klupi* ‘rough, not finely hewn’.

LEW ‘to have small particles sticking up from surface, e.g. unplanned timber’; also *kawa* ‘rough of sea’.

NTA Also *apərapər*; *-mapəlmapəl* or *-ef*.

KWA Also *-pisu* also ‘dented’.

KIR *karekereke* ‘uneven, pointed’; causative form, from of *reke* ‘caught’;  
*aobuaka* lit ‘bad surface’; *rekareka* also ‘rugged, sharp’.

MSH Also ‘to bump’; *kurp<sup>w</sup>aləklək*, *kuŋeŋe*.

SAM *tala* ‘spike, thorn’.

RAP Also *ra-raʔa*; *makiri*; *makiri-kiri*.

## 15.770 SMOOTH

ATA	hawtiʔ	*UMA	mo-ludu	ROV	memehe
TSO	ma-frisi	*BUG	[alūsuʔ]	MAR	snaļu
RUK	mā-sa-solapə	*KON	'alusu	*LAU	dolo
PAI	ḱ-aḱ-amə-	WOL	ma-raro	*KWO	dada
	ḱam	MAG	ᵇgələk	RAG	maharavi
*YAM	mowaş	NGA	milu	PAA	muto
ISN	nenār	*SIK	ʔalus	*LEW	yani
*KAL	imlun	RTI	tali-modis	POR	sasalil
*TAG	kīnis	*BUR	em-ribe	NTA	ap <sup>w</sup> ia
*AKL	daḷīnuʔ	DOB	luray	KWA	-p <sup>w</sup> ia
PAL	məlnis	IRA	səruidənə	NEM	hēla
*MOL	lonuʔ	SAW	n-mēnēnes	CEM	nīt
KAG	dānləg	NYI	nēmesen	AJI	arao
BLA	m-linag	MAM	ʔusi-malazi	XAR	mariri
*SAB	lanuʔ	TAK		NEN	kuarori
MUR	malumis	DAM	didi sā	*KIR	aoraōi
MGY	ma-lama	*MAB	ᵇgēzeḱana	MSH	metal
ACE	haloih	*YAB	ḱa-tip	*PON	metentel
BAT	le'mes	*KAU	po yeye	*WLE	şani
*MIN	aluyh	*TOL	dəmiə	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> aβia
*IND	halus	BUA	galəp	WFI	darama
*SUN	[ləməs]	ADZ	fafus-	RTU	marmarōri
JAV	alus	*KIL	dudubuna	TON	molemole
MAD	alus	*TAW	hegohegoya-	SAM	mole
BAL	bəlig		na	MEL	moremore
SAS	alus	MOT	manada-	TAH	mānina
*GOR	[ʔāruti]		manada	*RAP	pororeko
DAA	na-lusu	MEK	maḱe-ʔafu		

YAM Also *matalnoş*, *mazolan*.

KAL *imlun + na-*.

TAG *kīnis + ma-*.

AKL *daḷīnuʔ + ma-*; also [*pīnuh*], from Spanish *fino* 'fine'.

MOL *lonuʔ + mo-*.

SAB *lanuʔ + a-*.

MIN Also *ličīn*.

IND	Also <i>ličin</i> ‘smooth, slippery’.
SUN	From Javanese.
GOR	From Malay <i>halus</i> ; also <i>tidito</i> (used by elderly people), and <i>mo-dipulatāmo-piyohu</i> ( <i>mo-dipulato</i> ‘slippery’ + a <i>LIG</i> ‘good’).
UMA	Also <i>mo-rolī?</i>
BUG	From Malay.
KON	Also <i>lačču?</i>
SIK	Also <i>melur, glohor, plasur</i> .
BUR	‘flat’.
MAB	<i>ṅgēzeṅana, zamāgaṅana</i> ‘smooth’; <i>-ṅgēze</i> ‘be smooth’.
YAB	‘even, level’; also <i>mai?-mai?</i> ‘smooth-haired, straight-haired’.
KAU	<i>po</i> ‘skin’.
TOL	Also <i>dəmdamiə</i> .
KIL	<i>dudubuna</i> ‘smooth’; <i>dumokikina</i> ‘slick, slippery’.
TAW	‘smooth/calm temperament’; <i>wihabuhabu</i> ‘smooth surface’.
LAU	Also <i>dema</i> ‘flat’.
KWO	Also <i>dala</i> .
LEW	Also <i>meri, tep</i> (‘flat’).
KIR	‘good surface’; <i>maranran, maratirati</i> ‘slippery’.
PON	<i>kiṭeṅtel</i> ‘slippery’.
WLE	<i>šanü</i> ‘calm’; <i>mōrissi; xuṛumeṣarī</i> ‘slippery’.
RAP	Also <i>tī tika</i> .

### 15.780 SHARP

ATA	ṅauš-un	*MOL	tadom	SUN	sikit
TSO	frofro	KAG	taləm	JAV	lanḍəp
RUK	mā-raṅisi	*BLA	g-am-ban	MAD	taʃ <sup>h</sup> am
*PAI	raʃaj	*SAB	tōm	*BAL	maṅan
YAM	matazəm	MUR	maladom	SAS	məraṅ
ISN	natadam	MGY	ma-ranitra	GOR	mo-lalito
*KAL	todom	ACE	taʃam	DAA	na-taʃa
*TAG	talim	BAT	taʃəm	UMA	baka?
*AKL	taʃum	MIN	taʃam	BUG	ma-tāriṅ
*PAL	motarəm	IND	taʃam	KON	taraṅ

WOL	ma-taɗa	BUA	nəβu	CEM	áñē
MAG	harat	ADZ	barara <sup>9?</sup>	AJI	ke
NGA	teka	KIL	kakata	XAR	nūrū
SIK	dira-ŋ	*TAW	kam	NEN	neičie(n)
RTI	tane-k	*MOT	mataka	*KIR	kakaŋi
*BUR	em-tae	*MEK	ako	MSH	kkaŋ
*DOB	maŋan-ni	ROV	ŋaru	PON	keŋ
IRA	rəɸo ʒe kərəra	MAR	fnonu	WLE	kaŋi
SAW	n-ε-mdalem	*LAU	lasia	EFI	ŋata
NYI	madan	KWO	ŋau	WFI	ŋata
*MAM	sagode	RAG	mamayani	RTU	ʔā
TAK	mala-n	PAA	gān	TON	māsila
DAM	waila ado	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> ali	*SAM	maʔai
*MAB	matānaŋana	POR	kan	MEL	mačikai
*YAB	ŋa-mata	NTA	asəla	TAH	ʔoi
KAU	ŋin	KWA	-ahia	RAP	kaʔi-kaʔi
TOL	maŋi	NEM	cac		

PAI *raɟay* ‘sharp (blade)’; *ru-ijum* ‘sharp, acute (point)’.

KAL *todom + na-*.

TAG *talim + ma-*.

AKL *taɟum + ma-*.

PAL Also *mɔtmu*.

MOL *todom + mo-*.

BLA *g-am-ban* ‘sharp (as blade)’; *talam* ‘sharp (pointed)’.

SAB *tōm + a-*.

BAL *N-saŋih* ‘sharpen’.

BUR A blade may also be said to *kaa* lit ‘eat, bite’.

DOB The form which agrees with nouns of the inanimate class is *maŋin*.

MAM Also *sararai*.

MAB Also *wilwilŋana*.

YAB ‘sharp-edged, sharp-pointed’; also *ŋa-waniʔ* ‘sharp-edged’.

TAW (vb).

MOT Also *matakamataka*, *ganokagonoka*, *mai gano-na*.

MEK *ako* ‘sharp-edged’, NW Mekeo *inago*; *pione* ‘sharp-pointed’.

LAU Also *k<sup>w</sup>atok<sup>w</sup>ato*.

KIR Also *mariro*.

SAM *ma-tuitui* ‘be sharp, pointed (vb intrans)’, *ma-* intrans, *tui* ‘jab, stab, sting (vb trans)’.

### 15.790 BLUNT, DULL

ATA		BUG	ma-kunru	*MAR	puk <sup>h</sup> a
TSO	ʔoa frofro	*KON	'poʔŋolo	LAU	ūru
RUK	mā-iļoθo	*WOL	ma-ku <sup>n</sup> du	KWO	gomu
PAI		MAG	də <sup>m</sup> pul	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> atoa
YAM	maŋalə	NGA	dubu	PAA	vut
ISN	nakaʔdul	*SIK	bou-ŋ	LEW	masi
*KAL	ŋudol	RTI	paʔa-k	POR	<sup>m</sup> but
*TAG	purol	*BUR	dodo-t	NTA	apəs
AKL	daŋaʔ	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ulam-ni	KWA	-ϕa
PAL	məŋadəl	IRA	kumə	NEM	neñ
*MOL	adol	SAW	pəm-pume	CEM	añeb <sup>wə</sup>
KAG	mabəl	*NYI	madan maʔis	AJI	keā
*BLA	lɔʔ g-am-ban	MAM	mata-	XAR	m <sup>wā</sup> ĩ
*SAB	tompol		tagotago	NEN	čabaŋ
MUR	maŋaŋol	*TAK	mala-n tia-i	KIR	rotu
MGY	dumbu	DAM	waila odu	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> icil
ACE	tumpoy	*MAB	mata	PON	kons
BAT	bol'bol		<sup>n</sup> dutŋana	WLE	kaϕ <sup>wu</sup>
MIN	maja	YAB	tuʔ	EFI	muðu
*IND	majal	*KAU	ŋin som	*WFI	d <sup>r</sup> ili
SUN	mintul	TOL	bot	RTU	marmarəri
JAV	kətul	BUA	nəβu ma	TON	peku
MAD	tumpul	ADZ	mututuʔ	SAM	matatupa
BAL	puntul	KIL	bebutu	MEL	mačipuru
SAS	koŋol	*TAW	tutuma	TAH	mania
GOR	mo-hulaŋo	*MOT	patutu	*RAP	puni-puni
DAA	na- <sup>ŋ</sup> gulu	*MEK	fuŋu		
UMA	mo-kuluʔ	ROV	pako		

KAL *ŋudol + na-*.

TAG *purol + ma-* ‘dull (as knife)’; Proto-Philippines *\*pudel*.

MOL *adol + moŋ-*.

BLA	<i>lɔʔ talam</i> ‘not sharp (pointed)’.
SAB	<i>tompol + a-</i> .
IND	Also <i>tumpul</i> .
KON	Also ‘ <i>pokkolo</i> ’.
WOL	Also <i>ma-tutu</i> .
SIK	Also <i>mumuk</i> .
BUR	Also <i>kaa moo</i> ‘does not eat, does not bite’, ‘is not sharp’ (see 15.780).
DOB	The form which agrees with nouns of the inanimate class is <i>kulim</i> .
NYI	Also <i>madan tuk</i> .
TAK	‘sharp-its not exist-PERF’ (15.780, 13.000).
MAB	Also <i>matapa<sup>m</sup>bukālaŋana, mata somŋana</i> .
KAU	‘sharp not’.
TAW	(vb).
MOT	Also <i>asi gano-na</i> .
MEK	<i>fu</i> other dialects; NW Mekeo <i>puŋuŋuŋa</i> .
MAR	<i>puk<sup>h</sup>a</i> (of edge); <i>tutuŋu</i> (of point).
MSH	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>icil, licip<sup>w</sup>, kkəp<sup>w</sup></i> .
WFI	Also <i>juβuβuβu</i> .
RAP	<i>puni-puni</i> ‘blunt (of pointed objects)’; <i>poro-poro</i> ‘dull (of knives, saws, scissors, axes, etc.)’.

### 15.810 HEAVY

ATA	<i>ʔimuʔ-ik</i>	BLA	<i>blət</i>	SAS	<i>bərat</i>
TSO	<i>reɕvixi</i>	*SAB	<i>buhat</i>	GOR	<i>mo-bu-</i> <i>buheto</i>
RUK	<i>mā-tələgə</i>	MUR	<i>māgat</i>	DAA	<i>na-tomo</i>
PAI	<i>sa-jəlɔŋ</i>	*MGY	<i>ma-vesat<sup>r</sup>a</i>	UMA	<i>mo-tomo</i>
*YAM	<i>maŋagpo</i>	*ACE	<i>ghən</i>	BUG	<i>ma-tane</i>
ISN	<i>nadammat</i>	BAT	<i>dək'dək</i>	KON	<i>'hattala</i>
*KAL	<i>dāgson</i>	MIN	<i>bareʔ</i>	WOL	<i>ma-tamu</i>
*TAG	<i>bigat</i>	IND	<i>bərat</i>	MAG	<i>mə<sup>n</sup>do</i>
*AKL	<i>bug<sup>ʔ</sup>at</i>	SUN	<i>birat</i>	NGA	<i>date</i>
PAL	<i>məbəgat</i>	JAV	<i>abət</i>	*SIK	<i>[bərat]</i>
*MOL	<i>bo<sup>ʔ</sup>gat</i>	MAD	<i>bərraʔ</i>	RTI	<i>bela-k</i>
KAG	<i>bəg<sup>ʔ</sup>at</i>	*BAL	<i>baat</i>		

*BUR	beha	*TAW	witewitei-na	AJI	yē
*DOB	ŋeŋan-ni	MOT	metau	XAR	mēçē
IRA	reməŋə	*MEK	meau	NEN	nure
SAW	n-mɛʔtew	ROV	mamata	KIR	rawāwata
NYI	mahaʔan	MAR	tahu	MSH	rro
MAM	moatubu	LAU	gulu	PON	ʔouʔou
TAK	muruwa-n	KWO	gelo	WLE	cau
DAM	morō	RAG	marahi	EFI	bībī
*MAB	pataŋana	PAA	melas	*WFI	bibita
YAB	ŋa-wapaʔ	LEW	urmi	RTU	maha
*KAU	maik	POR	meač	TON	mamafa
TOL	məmət	NTA	afəŋam	SAM	mamafa
BUA	mayin	KWA	-ɸam	MEL	mmafafa
ADZ	barabin-	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ēc	TAH	teiaha
KIL	m <sup>w</sup> au	CEM	té	RAP	paŋahaʔa

YAM Also *mazemet*.

KAL *dāgson + na-*.

TAG *bigat + ma-*, PMP *\*beRqat*.

AKL *bugʔat + ma-*.

MOL *boʔgat + mo-*.

SAB *buhat + a-*.

MGY From Malay *bəsar* ‘big’.

ACE Also *brat*.

BAL Old Balinese *bərat, bahat*.

SIK From Malay.

BUR *beha* ‘heavy (thing)’; *em-teno* ‘heavy (person)’.

DOB *ŋeŋin* (of inanimate nouns).

MAB *-pata* ‘be heavy’.

KAU Also *manik*.

TAW *witewitei-na* (adj); *witai* ‘be heavy (vb)’.

MEK *miau* in the other dialects, *miuŋa* in NW Mekeo.

WFI Also *lubita*.

## 15.820 LIGHT (in weight)

*ATA	ʰihkaʔ	*UMA	mo-na <sup>u</sup> koʔ	*MAR	feo
TSO	sopʔo	BUG	ma-riŋiŋ	LAU	hala hala
RUK	mā-lyapay	KON	riŋaŋ	KWO	dādaŋe
PAI	sa-ʔəkai <sup>y</sup>	*WOL	ma-gaa	RAG	mamara
YAM	mapow	MAG	geal	PAA	melāla
ISN	nalapaw	NGA	feʔa	LEW	melala
*KAL	lapaw	*SIK	heak	POR	malmale
*TAG	gaʔan	RTI	daʔu-k	*NTA	alukaluk
*AKL	ugan	BUR	em-hama	KWA	-aruwarewa
PAL	məgaŋan	DOB	ŋaluy	NEM	haom
*MOL	roʔŋan	IRA	marəranə	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ía
KAG	gaʔan	SAW	n-mənəne	AJI	māmā
BLA	m-ləʔən	NYI	clan	XAR	mebo
*SAB	lampuŋ	*MAM	maraʔaraʔa	NEN	ncroi
MUR	mamān	TAK	pasama-n	KIR	bēbete
MGY	ma-ivana	DAM	karika	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> ʌlaj
ACE	phuy	*MAB	-potpot	PON	marāra
BAT	ne'aŋ	*YAB	ŋa-gao	WLE	ppaʔa
MIN	riŋan	KAU	malil	EFI	māmada
IND	riŋan	*TOL	pəpa	WFI	māmā
SUN	hampaŋ	BUA	səpəp	RTU	čeamčema
JAV	entəŋ	ADZ	puapup-	TON	maʔamaʔa
MAD	d <sup>h</sup> ammaŋ	KIL	gagabila	SAM	māmā
*BAL	iŋan	TAW	teyateya-na	*MEL	[masalēsale]
SAS	deəŋ	MOT	haraya	TAH	māmā
GOR	mo-hēlo	MEK	meau laai	RAP	maʔa-maʔa
DAA	na-ŋaʔa	ROV	mamahelo		

ATA Also *ʰihβaw*.

KAL *lapaw + na-*.

TAG *gaʔan + ma-*.

AKL *ugan + ma-*.

MOL *roʔŋan + mo-*.

SAB *lampuŋ + a-*.

BAL Also *iŋ*.

UMA *mo-naʔa* (Tolee dialect).

WOL Also *ma-gaa-gaa*.



SIK Also *heak hokok*.

MAM Also *tago-moatubu*.

MAB *-pata som* 'not be heavy'.

YAB Also *lilɔ-lilɔ* 'light in weight', *ŋa-pɔŋ-pɔŋ* 'lighter than water'.

TOL Also *eŋaɛŋa* (vb intrans).

MAR Also *kofe*.

NTA Also *oiŋoiŋ*.

MSH Also *meŋa*.

MEL From Efate.

### 15.830 WET, DAMP

ATA	ma-huiɕ	*UMA	mo-sii?	*MAR	bot <sup>h</sup> u
TSO	nor <sup>?</sup> iɕi	BUG	ma-riɕa	LAU	g <sup>w</sup> ini
*RUK	mā-dapəŋə	*KON	jiɕa	KWO	wasiu
PAI	cəvə-cəvəŋ	WOL	ma-ɓaho	*RAG	meho
YAM	mavaɕa	MAG	bakəs	PAA	merumer
ISN	nabasa	NGA	fie	*LEW	metū
*KAL	basa	SIK	gəma	*POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bö
TAG	basa?	*RTI	maka-hoe-k	NTA	ap <sup>w</sup> ələt
AKL	basa?	BUR	wae-t	*KWA	-əputəŋ
PAL	məbasa?	*DOB	bitay	NEM	muña
*MOL	basa?	IRA	səruerə	CEM	titi
*KAG	ba'sa?	SAW	n-melom	AJI	di
*BLA	fafe?	NYI	sabu	XAR	meɔ
*SAB	basse?	MAM	tubutubu	NEN	ɕaibi
*MUR	māsa?	*TAK	-gan	*KIR	m <sup>w</sup> aim <sup>w</sup> ai
MGY	lena	DAM	lumi ado	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> ɔɔ <sup>w</sup> owi
ACE	basah	MAB	-wizis	*PON	wisekese
BAT	tɔnu	*YAB	ŋa-wa <sup>m</sup> bu?	*WLE	ɕiɾaxi
*MIN	basah	KAU	pis	EFI	suasua
IND	basah	*TOL	pupuk	WFI	lūlū
SUN	basih	BUA	ni ruk	RTU	matmata
JAV	tələs	ADZ	nufunuf-	TON	viku
MAD	bačča	KIL	p <sup>w</sup> atutu	SAM	susū
*BAL	bəlus	*TAW	niginigi	MEL	leusa
SAS	basa?	MOT	paripari	*TAH	haumi
*GOR	mo-bata	*MEK	e-vei	*RAP	rari
DAA	na-sii	ROV	boboso		

- RUK *mā-dəpə* 'wet (as of clothes)'.
- KAL *basa + na-*.
- MOL *basa?* + *mo-*.
- KAG *ba'sa?* 'wet'; *gun?ug* 'damp'.
- BLA *fafe?* 'wet'; *m-nu?* 'damp'.
- SAB *basse?* + *a-*; also *basse?* 'wet'; *hemmel + a-* 'damp'.
- MUR Also *māsa-asa?*.
- MIN Also *lambo?*.
- BAL Also *isis* 'still somewhat damp, of clothes put out to dry'; *bəsəg* 'very wet, waterlogged'.
- GOR Also *mo-luhe*.
- UMA Also *me<sup>n̄</sup>če*.
- KON Also *hasa*.
- RTI Also *maka-doe-k*.
- DOB Also *basay*.
- TAK 'be damp, rotten' (05.125).
- YAB 'wet from rain'; also *ŋa-gebom* 'damp'.
- TOL From *puk* 'wet (vb trans), soak (vb trans)'.
- TAW (vb).
- MEK 'it's water'. West Mekeo, North Mekeo have *e-kome*; NW Mekeo has *e-pika, pikaŋa*.
- MAR *bot<sup>h</sup>u* 'wet'; *bubla* 'damp, cold'.
- RAG 'wet'.
- LEW Also *papa*.
- POR 'mud'.
- KWA Also *-əmtəmit, -awanəs* 'damp, humid'.
- KIR Also 'urinate'; *maki* 'drenched, soaked'.
- MSH Also 'dew, moisture, humidity'; *ŋ<sup>w</sup>ok* Eastern dialect; *tutu* Western dialects.
- PON Also *winakanak* (of hair); *winap<sup>w</sup>ək* (of clothing).
- WLE *šīraxi* passive of *šīrī* 'moisten, wet'; *coxi*.
- TAH Also *rari* 'soaked'.
- RAP *rari* 'wet'; *hehe-hehe* 'humid, damp'.

## 15.840 DRY

ATA	ma-rŋuʔ	*UMA	baŋi	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> apra
TSO	ormiʔmi	BUG	ma-rakko	LAU	laŋa
RUK	ma-məalə	*KON	raŋko	KWO	laŋa
PAI	mətad	*WOL	ma-tuu	*RAG	mamaha
YAM	makořay	*MAG	daŋo	PAA	mes
ISN	namaga	NGA	royo	LEW	mema
*KAL	maga	*SIK	duʔur	POR	mamas
TAG	tuyoʔ	RTI	mada-k	NTA	amiaŋ
*AKL	ugah	*BUR	maŋi	*KWA	-awahak
PAL	mətuʔug	DOB	maray	NEM	mayuk
*MOL	tuʔug	IRA	mamua	CEM	mēiu
*KAG	mara	SAW	n-maŋ	AJI	meñi
BLA	kafag	NYI	soboren	XAR	mɿta
*SAB	tohoʔ	MAM	barabara	NEN	papa
MUR	mapuaʔ	TAK	gos	KIR	m <sup>w</sup> au
MGY	ma'ina	DAM	gerere	*MSH	ceccat
*ACE	[khuəŋ]	*MAB	rarāzaŋana	*PON	mat
BAT	ma-hiaŋ	*YAB	ŋa-keleŋ	WLE	pařa
*MIN	kariʔŋ	KAU	malβol	EFI	māmađa
IND	kəriŋ	*TOL	ge	WFI	mađaamađa
SUN	gariŋ	BUA	kəɬək	RTU	mamasa
JAV	gariŋ	*ADZ	çaraʔ-	TON	mōmoa
MAD	kəriŋ	KIL	lubulabu	SAM	maŋo
*BAL	tuh	*TAW	hayahaya-na	MEL	mātū
SAS	goro	MOT	kaukau	TAH	marō
GOR	mo-heŋu	*MEK	e-fuŋa	*RAP	paka
DAA	na-ŋau	ROV	popa		

KAL *maga + na-*.

AKL Also *mařa- + ma-*.

MOL *tuʔug + mo-*.

KAG *mara* (of wet things, such as laundry, getting dry); *egaʔ* (of things like leaves, rice getting dry).

SAB *tohoʔ + a-*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also *masiʔ*.

BAL *tuh akiŋ* 'very dry'; (*N-*)*jəmuh* (vb trans).

UMA	Also <i>mara</i> .
KON	Also <i>mara, ka'lotoro, esa?</i>
WOL	<i>pe-ka-tuu</i> 'to dry' (causative).
MAG	(of fire-wood); <i>masa</i> (of clothes).
SIK	Also <i>mara</i> .
BUR	(vb intrans); <i>mena-t</i> also (vb intrans); <i>waha-k</i> 'dry s.th. (in the sun)'; <i>dapi</i> 'dry s.th./smoke s.th. over a fire'.
MAB	Also <i>mamāzajana, -gorok; -rāza</i> 'to dry (vb intrans) (of clothing drying)'; <i>-māga, -mamāza</i> 'to dry up (used of bodies of liquid drying up)'.
YAB	'dry (of a cloth etc)'; also <i>ŋa-mase</i> 'dry (of dead wood)'; <i>ŋa-lèlɛŋ</i> 'dry, brittle'.
TOL	Also <i>matektek</i> .
ADZ	<i>çara?</i> 'be dry' (leaves, body, food etc); <i>ri?</i> 'water dry'.
TAW	<i>hayahaya-na</i> (adj); <i>hayahaya-na</i> 'dry land'; <i>poina</i> 'dry coconut'; <i>lalana</i> 'dry clothes'; <i>yatayatata</i> 'dry weather'; <i>kokodila</i> 'dry sticks/leaves'; <i>mamapom</i> 'dry season'.
MEK	<i>e-fuŋa</i> 'dry (as opposed to wet)'; <i>e-oŋoŋo</i> 'dried up as by heat'.
MAR	Also <i>moĵa</i> .
RAG	Also <i>goru</i> 'be/become dry'.
KWA	Also <i>-auke</i> 'dried up (as a tuber)'; <i>-əpət kai</i> 'dry (as one's mouth)'; <i>-mhia</i> 'dry (as wood, dried out)'.
MSH	(as of the reef); <i>m<sup>w</sup>Λn<sup>w</sup>akn<sup>w</sup>ak, m<sup>w</sup>Λræ, næl</i> 'dehydrated'; <i>ŋaŋ</i> 'dry and brittle'.
PON	Also <i>ŋalaŋal</i> 'dried out'; <i>peleŋ</i> 'dried by the sun'
RAP	Also <i>paka-paka</i> .

### 15.850 HOT

ATA	ma-kiɬux	*KAL	īnit	*SAB	pasu?
*TSO	mu?ri	*TAG	īnit	*MUR	malasu?
*RUK	mā-	*AKL	īnit	MGY	maha-mai
	ɖaraŋəɖaŋə	PAL	mɔ?init	*ACE	[su?uəm]
*PAI	ma-çul <sup>y</sup> u	*MOL	init	*BAT	m-ɔhɔp
YAM	makwat	*KAG	pasu?	MIN	aŋe?
ISN	napāsu	BLA	m-init	*IND	panas

SUN	panas	TAK	wanana-n	KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> an
JAV	panas	DAM	uruwa ado		(ap <sup>w</sup> an)
MAD	panas	*MAB	bayouŋana	NEM	het
*BAL	kəbus	*YAB	(ŋ-)a <sup>n</sup> daŋ	CEM	ét
SAS	panas	KAU	ŋeŋŋeŋ	AJI	pixē
*GOR	mo-patu	*TOL	mələpəŋ	*XAR	məgi tete
DAA	na-pane	*BUA	ni kərus	NEN	p <sup>h</sup> o
UMA	mo-rani?	*ADZ	sasus-	KIR	bue
BUG	ma-pilla	KIL	yubiyaβi	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> il
KON	hambaŋ	*TAW	wipoya	*PON	karakar
*WOL	ma-pane	MOT	siahu	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> eʃi
MAG	kolaŋ	*MEK	isapu	EFI	katakata
NGA	bana	*ROV	maŋini	WFI	katakata
*SIK	gahu	*MAR	brana	RTU	sunu
*RTI	ma-tobi-k	LAU	?ago?ago	TON	vela
*BUR	poto-t	KWO	?ago?ago	SAM	vevela
DOB	nanay	RAG	aruaru	MEL	vvera
IRA	winəϕəmani	PAA	mutin	TAH	ve?ave?a
*SAW	n-mafyanəs	LEW	visunu	*RAP	ve?a-ve?a
NYI	ñarahan	POR	ka <sup>m</sup> b		
*MAM	ragogo	*NTA	ap <sup>w</sup> cap <sup>w</sup> c		

TSO *mu?ri* (of weather); *ϕuvru* (of objects).

RUK *mā-ɖaraŋəɖaŋə* 'hot (weather)'; *mā-ϕolo* 'hot (things)'.

PAI *ma-səzam* 'very hot'.

KAL *īnit + na-*.

TAG *īnit + ma-*.

AKL *īnit + ma-*.

MOL *īnit + mo-*.

KAG *pasu?* (of the temperature of an object); *danga* (of a person feeling hot or the weather being hot).

SAB *pasu? + a-*.

MUR Also *malasuan* 'feel hot'.

ACE From Mon-Khmer, also *tutoŋ* 'very hot'.

BAT Also *m-ɔ'hɔp*.

IND Also *pədas* 'spicy hot'.

- BAL *kəbus* (of an object, hot to the touch; also of weather, figuratively); *panəs* (of weather, also of the body, feverish); *opək* ‘hot and stuffy in a building’; *oŋkəb* ‘hot and humid’.
- GOR Also *mo-liŋaŋato* ‘warm (of the body)’, because the weather is hot, or because the air is close.
- WOL Also *ma-sodə*, *ma-waa* ‘red hot’, *ma-waa-waa* ‘very hot’.
- SIK Also *goʔoŋ*, *rou*, *rou rada-ŋ*.
- RTI Also *nama-hana*, *ma-fupu-k*; *tobi-k* ‘hot, boiling hot’; *hana* ‘hot (of water, the body, the day or season (and of ritual heat))’; *fupu-k* ‘hot (of the sun, fire, the earth in the dry season)’.
- BUR *poto-t* ‘hot (from fire)’; *rara-t* ‘hot (from sun)’; *basa-t* ‘hot (from spices, chili)’.
- SAW Also *n-ε-mfənes* ‘spicy’.
- MAM Also *gita*.
- MAB *-bayou* ‘be hot’.
- YAB Also *ŋa-mɔʔdεʔ* ‘red hot’.
- TOL (of water, food, and body).
- BUA *ni βane* (as with fever).
- ADZ *sasus-* ‘hot (water, sun, skin, objects)’; *gauʔt* ‘steaming, hot (food only)’.
- TAW (vb), ‘hot/powerful’.
- MEK *isapu* ‘heat (physical)’; also a metaphysical concept used to describe states ranging from natural emotions to ritual ‘power’; also *ŋaŋai* ~ *ŋaiŋai*, *ŋaŋaŋai*, *puŋuŋu* ‘hot, warm’; NW Mekeo *kaka(-ŋa)*, *iabu*.
- ROV Also *varikina* ‘hot (of saucepan)’.
- MAR Also *fobo*.
- NTA Also *-aŋapan*.
- XAR Also *mɛgi ʃʌʃʌ*.
- PON Also *kəl*, *mʷəl* (of objects).
- RAP *veʔa-veʔa* ‘hot (environmental)’; *vera* ‘hot (non-environmental)’.

### 15.851 WARM

ATA	haʃhuʃ	YAM	maridaŋdaŋ	*AKL	ʃabāʔab
TSO	norano	ISN	napaʔpasu	PAL	mɔʔinit-init
RUK		*KAL	pūdut	MOL	
PAI	s-əm-u-ɭapəlʷ	*TAG	alinsāŋan	KAG	labaʔab

BLA	m- <b>duf</b>	*RTI	hanas	KWO	ʔagoʔago
*SAB	pasuʔ-pasuʔ	*BUR	muruk	RAG	
MUR	malālasuʔ	*DOB	nanay k <sup>w</sup> atan	*PAA	dema
MGY	ma-fana	IRA	winə	LEW	
*ACE	[suʔuəm]	SAW	boreaso	POR	
*BAT	m- <b>ɔhɔp</b>	NYI	ñarahan sese	NTA	arion
MIN	aŋeʔ-aŋeʔ	MAM	tago-	KWA	-areuan
	kuku		ragogotina	NEM	hinu
IND	haŋat	*TAK	wanana-n	CEM	ét
SUN	hanit	DAM	lai gogok	AJI	māxe
JAV	aŋət	*MAB	ibayou	XAR	megi
MAD	aŋaʔ	YAB	(ŋ-)a <sup>n</sup> <b>daŋ</b>	NEN	čawa
BAL	aŋət	*KAU	ŋeŋŋeŋ loŋ	*KIR	aŋibue
SAS	aŋət	*IOL	mələpəŋ	MSH	māēŋ <sup>w</sup> æŋ <sup>w</sup>
*GOR	mo-hi-hilonu	*BUA	ni βanɛ.	*PON	karakar
DAA	na-ŋolo	ADZ		*WLE	patapata
UMA	mo-ʔomuʔ	*KIL	sita yuβiyaβi	*EFI	katakata
BUG	ma-kimmu	*TAW	wipoya	WFI	bočunu
KON	kammuʔ- kammuʔ	*MOT	siahusiahu	RTU	mahmahana
*WOL	ma-pane	MEK	pa-ŋai-ŋai	TON	māfana
MAG	kolaŋ	ROV	maŋini hite	SAM	māfanafana
NGA	muu	MAR	brabrana	MEL	pua-vvera
*SIK	gahu	LAU	ʔago ʔago toʔou	TAH	māhanahana
				*RAP	veʔa-veʔa

KAL *pūdut + na-*.

TAG *alinsāŋan + ma-* ‘sultry’; also *tnit + ma-* ‘hot, warm’ (15.850).

AKL *ʔabāʔab + ma-* ‘lukewarm (of water)’.

ŠAḂ *pasuʔ-pasuʔ + a-*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer.

BAT Also *m-ɔʔhɔp*.

GOR ‘lukewarm (of liquid)’.

WOL Also *masofo; pane-ʔkulu* ‘lukewarm’.

SIK Also *goʔo-ŋ, rou*.

RTI Also *ma ha k*.

BUR Also *le-poto-n* ‘warmth from the sun’.

DOB ‘empty hot’.

TAK See 15.850.

MAB	Also <i>bayouŋana</i> also 'hot'.
KAU	<i>ŋeŋŋeŋ</i> 'hot'.
TOL	(of water, food, and body).
BUA	<i>ni kərus</i> (of external temperature).
KIL	'a little hot'.
TAW	(vb).
MOT	Also <i>siahu</i> .
PAA	'lukewarm (of liquids)'.
KIR	'hot wind; of air, liquid'; also <i>bue</i> .
PON	Also <i>kiriniol</i> 'warm, hot'.
WLE	<i>řuxü-pařapařa</i> lit 'dry exterior'.
EFI	Also <i>tunumaka</i> .
RAP	<i>ve?a-ve?a</i> 'warm (environmental)'; <i>mahana</i> 'warm (environmental and of water)'.

## 15.860 COLD

*ATA	<i>yihāk</i>	SUN	<i>tiis</i>	*MAM	<i>madidi</i>
*TSO	<i>sormi</i>	JAV	<i>ađəm</i>	TAK	<i>bubarum</i>
*RUK	<i>mā-kəʔələ</i>	MAD	<i>čilləp</i>	DAM	<i>medir</i>
*PAI	<i>l<sup>y</sup>a-l<sup>y</sup>əʔəl</i>	*BAL	<i>diŋin</i>	*MAB	<i>-lomo</i>
YAM	<i>mazəkmə</i>	SAS	<i>ñət</i>	*YAB	<i>(ŋa-)lù?</i>
ISN	<i>nasanaŋ</i>	GOR	<i>mə-huhulo</i>	KAU	<i>ŋlik</i>
*KAL	<i>kūmog</i>	DAA	<i>na-leni</i>	*TOL	<i>mədoldol</i>
*TAG	<i>lamig</i>	*UMA	<i>mo-lahe?</i>	*BUA	<i>nikul</i>
*AKL	<i>ʔamig</i>	BUG	<i>ma-kičče?</i>	*ADZ	<i>raŋaraŋ-</i>
PAL	<i>məramig</i>	*KON	<i>diŋiŋ</i>	*KIL	<i>tula</i>
*MOL	<i>ramig</i>	*WOL	<i>ma-gari</i>	*TAW	<i>wayau</i>
*KAG	<i>bugnaw</i>	*MAG	<i>čəs</i>	*MOT	<i>keru</i>
BLA	<i>tno</i>	NGA	<i>jaa</i>	*MEK	<i>e-kekea</i>
*SAB	<i>haggut</i>	*SIK	<i>blata-ŋ</i>	ROV	<i>ibu</i>
*MUR	<i>masimu?</i>	*RTI	<i>ma-ka-sufu-k</i>	*MAR	<i>reka</i>
*MGY	<i>mangaʔiaka</i>	BUR	<i>b-riɖi-n</i>	LAU	<i>g<sup>w</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>aria</i>
*ACE	<i>sijuə?</i>	*DOB	<i>sek<sup>w</sup>ar-ni</i>	KWO	<i>g<sup>w</sup>ari</i>
BAT	<i>ŋa'li</i>	IRA	<i>riɖənə</i>	RAG	<i>masisi</i>
MIN	<i>ɖiŋin</i>	SAW	<i>n-bəbəbəl</i>	PAA	<i>madil</i>
*IND	<i>diŋin</i>	NYI	<i>ñala?an</i>	LEW	<i>manini</i>



POR	süsüs	NEN	čeon	RTU	matiti
NTA	atap <sup>w</sup>	*KIR	m <sup>w</sup> aitoro	TON	momoko
KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> iei	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> əɬə	SAM	mālūlū
*NEM	cayuk	*PON	pou	MEL	makariri
CEM	b <sup>w</sup> āla	WLE	ffōü	TAH	to <sup>?</sup> eto <sup>?</sup> e
ΛJI	kiεo	EFI	batabatā	*RAP	take <sup>?</sup> o
XAR	xipe	WFI	kakahali		

ATA *yihāk* ‘cold (weather)’; *ta<sup>?</sup>tu<sup>?</sup>* ‘cold (thing)’.

TSO *sormi* (of weather); *ɬoxriçiri* (of objects).

RUK *mā-kəɬəɬə* ‘cold (weather)’; *mā-tətərə* ‘cold (things)’.

PAI *l<sup>y</sup>a-l<sup>y</sup>əɬəɬ* ‘cold (weather)’; *vuɬəɬə<sup>y</sup>* ‘cold (thing)’.

KAL *kūmog + na-*.

TAG *lamig + ma-* ‘cold weather’; also *ginaw + ma-* ‘cold water’.

AKL *ɬamig + ma-*.

MOL *ramig + mo-*.

KAG *bugnaw* (of an object); *tignaw* (of person, or the weather).

SAB *hagut + a-*; also *dingin + a-*.

MUR *masimu<sup>?</sup>* (of weather); also *masimuan* ‘feel cold’; *masaluy* (of water).

MGY From (*maN-haçtaka*).

ACE Also *lupiə*.

IND Also *səjuk* ‘cool’.

BAL *gəsit* ‘cold feeling because of cold weather’; *tis* ‘cool’.

UMA *mo-lahe<sup>?</sup>* ‘cold (physical)’; *mo-leŋi<sup>?</sup>* ‘feel cold’.

KON Also *kačičči<sup>?</sup>*.

WOL *ma-gari* ‘feel cold’; *sosoga* ‘be cold, feel cold’.

MAG (of water); *menes* ‘(feel) cold is’.

SIK Also *blata-ŋ blira-ŋ*, *blata-ŋ bla<sup>?</sup>ur*.

RTI Also *na-sufu*, *maka-lini-k*; *sufu* ‘cool, fresh, cooling’; *lini* ‘cool, cold’.

DOB 3sg inanimate form *sek<sup>w</sup>ir*, (Kojabi also *sek<sup>w</sup>ur*).

MAM Also *tumura*.

MAB Also *lomoŋana*.

YAB ‘cold (of weather, water etc); also (*ŋa-*)*malə* ‘cool (of weather)’.

TOL *madiriŋ* ‘cold (of water, food)’, *mudiən* ‘cold (of body)’.

BUA	<i>nikul</i> ‘cold, sickness’; <i>ayōŋ</i> ‘cold wind which blows down the valley’
ADZ	<i>raŋaraŋ-</i> ‘be cold (of food)’; <i>nuf-</i> ‘cold, moist (of weather, etc)’.
KIL	<i>tula</i> (weather); <i>sibula</i> (person).
TAW	<i>wayau</i> ‘cold weather’; <i>gupouma</i> ‘be cold’.
MOT	Also <i>kerumakeruma</i> , <i>paraka</i> .
MEK	‘cold, dreary, wretched; profane’; <i>e-ʔama</i> ‘morning, physical sensation of cold’.
MAR	<i>reka</i> (body temperature); <i>rifu</i> (to the touch).
NEM	<i>cayuk</i> ‘cold’; <i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i> ‘be cold’.
KIR	<i>m<sup>w</sup>aitoro</i> (of things); <i>mariri</i> ‘feel cold (of people)’.
MSH	Also <i>piɔ</i> (of things).
PON	<i>pou</i> (of things); <i>kopou</i> (of people); <i>lem<sup>w</sup>lem<sup>w</sup>ur</i> also ‘damp’.
RAP	Also <i>takeo</i> .

## 15.870 CLEAN

<b>Spanish:</b> <i>limpio</i>
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*ATA	ma-tašik	BAT	i'as	RTI	ma-la-lao-k
TSO	ʔofkora	*MIN	[suçi]	BUR	gida
*RUK	mā-diomələ	IND	bərsih	*DOB	soba
PAI	ma-sukuŋ-ay	*SUN	[bərəsih]	IRA	waʔərə
YAM	manonow	JAV	rəsiʔ	*SAW	n-bēelen
ISN	nadalus	MAD	bərsi	*NYI	belen
*KAL	dalus	BAL	kədas	MAM	goazagoaza
*TAG	linis	SAS	bərsih	*TAK	malkouk
AKL	[limpiyoh]	*GOR	[beresi]	DAM	amuyē sā
*PAL	məlnis	DAA	na-gasa	*MAB	ʔgēzeŋana
MOL		UMA		*YAB	seleʔ
KAG	[limpyu]	BUG	ma-paččiŋ	KAU	yil
BLA	m-lanib	KON	'taŋkasa	TOL	gomgom
*SAB	lissin	*WOL	ma-ʔkilo	*BUA	ni ʔapik
*MUR	mapasaw	MAG	ʔgələk	*ADZ	faʔ
MGY	ma-diu	NGA	bila	KIL	migileu
ACE	gleh	SIK	meluk	TAW	yeuyeu-na

MOT	yoeva	*NTA	ruan	*WLE	ffō
*MEK	pa-kai	*KWA	-amher	EFI	saβasaβā
ROV	via	*NEM	koi gēk nen	WFI	haβahaβā
*MAR	gae	CEM		RTU	maʔmaʔa
LAU	falu	AJI	koī	TON	maʔa
KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ari	*XAR	mata	SAM	mamā
RAG		NEN	ṇaṣaba	MEL	tētea
PAA	muto	KIR	itiaki	TAH	mā
LEW	ikiiki	*MSH	kk <sup>w</sup> Λcaṛcaṛ	RAP	maʔitaki
POR	mači	PON	m <sup>w</sup> akelekel		

ATA *ma-taš-iḱ, ma-tašaw* ‘clean (as of water)’; *ma-ʔuβaʔ* ‘white, clean’.

RUK *mā-bolā* ‘clean (as of water)’.

KAL *dalus + na-*.

TAG *līnis + ma-*.

PAL Also *malnis*.

SAB *lissin + a-*.

MUR Also *mōnsoy*.

MIN From Sanskrit; also *barasiʔh*.

SUN From Malay, also *barəsih*.

GOR From Malay *bərsih*.

WOL Also *ma-dete*.

DOB *soba* ‘clean, good, desirable’.

SAW Also *n-[berəsi]*, from Malay.

NYI *belen* ‘clean (object)’, *lewen* ‘clean (water)’.

TAK See 15.640.

MAB Also *puspuuzuṇana*.

YAB Also *ṇa-wasi* ‘gleaming, glistening’.

BUA *ni ḱapīk* ‘clean, shiny, smooth’; *ni vāsa* ‘good, clean’.

ĀDŽ ‘new’.

MEK *pa-kai* also ‘slow; careful; proper; orderly, *comme il faut*’.

MAR *gae* ‘clean, washed’; *bleana* ‘clean, clear (water)’.

NTA Also *ap<sup>w</sup>ia*.

KWA Also ‘bright, shiny’.

NEM ‘without dirt inside’.

XAR 'new'.

MSH Also 'pure, sacred'; *ṛreo*.

WLE *ffō* 'new, clean'; *kiññi* 'cleaned'.

### 15.880 DIRTY, SOILED

ATA	ma-ʔuray	*DAA	na-depu	ROV	boni
TSO	ɕaʔi	UMA	baboʔ	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ona
*RUK	mā-	BUG	ma-rōta	LAU	bilia
	tyadəŋəsəɾə	*KON	ʃammaŋ	*KWO	biribiriʔa
*PAI	p-ən-al <sup>y</sup> ik	*WOL	ma-ro <sup>m</sup> bu	RAG	
YAM	malolit	MAG	saki	PLA	amus
ISN	naragit	NGA	rano	LEW	namename
*KAL	īsaw	SIK	miʔak	*POR	pa <sup>ɟ</sup> gaçoŋ
*TAG	dumi	RTI	ma- <sup>ɟ</sup> ge- <sup>ɟ</sup> geo-k	NTA	apən
*AKL	hiŋkuʔ	*BUR	mite-t	*KWA	-aruk <sup>w</sup> as
PAL	mədaki	DOB	ʔasetə	NEM	gək
*MOL	damaʔ	IRA	nəsəɾə	CEM	əlili
*KAG	buliŋ	SAW	n-kekone	AJI	kɔʃA
BLA	n-usiŋ	*NYI	kəʔak	XAR	xadi
*SAB	limmiʔ	*MAM	ziʔaziʔa	NEN	eon
MUR	maʃamol	*TAK	nun a-n da-ya	KIR	barekareka
MGY	ma-lutu	*DAM	ganam ado	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> iltōnɔn
*ACE	kutə	MAB	mukmukŋa-	PON	p <sup>w</sup> elip <sup>w</sup> el
BAT	rəʔtak	*YAB	ŋa-tem <sup>w</sup> i	*WLE	meşaɾo
*MIN	kumu <sup>h</sup>	*KAU	po-n leŋβal	EFI	duka
IND	kotor	TOL	dur	*WFI	denideni
SUN	kotor	BUA	ni ŋəyək	RTU	pearpera
JAV	rəgət	ADZ	bubu <sup>m</sup> pwa-	TON	ʔuli
MAD	kutur	KIL	pupagatu	*SAM	ʔeleʔele-a
*BAL	daki	TAW	gobugobu-na	*MEL	kerekere
SAS	gəmi	MOT	mai miro-na	*TAH	repo
*GOR	mo-to <sup>n</sup> dolomu	*MEK	e-ofu	*RAP	ʔoʔone

RUK *mā-tyaʃabəabə,mā-koɟoʃo* 'dirty'.

PAI *ʃ-əm-əɾətəŋ* 'very dirty'.

KAL *īsaw + na-*.

- TAG Also *ma-rumi*.
- AKL *higku?* + *ma-*.
- MOL *dama?* + *mo-*.
- KAG *buliŋ* + *ma-* -*an* ‘dirt on things’; *ligna* ‘unhealthy, germ laden dirt’.
- SAB *limmi?* + *a-*.
- ACE Also *mu-ligan*.
- MIN Also *ba-kubaŋ*.
- BAL *māni* south Bali, ‘dirty, typically of the body’; *bəŋil* ‘very dirty’ e.g. of a dog; *koməl*, *kuməl* ‘dirty, unhygienic person’; *m-ooŋ* ‘dirty because of a growth of fungus’ (*ooŋ* ‘fungus’) south Bali; ‘dirty in general’ north Bali; *səbəl*, *lətəh* ‘religiously unclean’.
- GOR Also [*kōtoro*], Malay *kotor*.
- DAA Also *na-raŋu*.
- KON Also *ru?musu*, *ŋammara*.
- WOL Also *ro<sup>m</sup>bu-ro<sup>m</sup>bu*, *ma-rewu*.
- BUR ‘black’.
- NYI *ko?ak* ‘dirty (as in clothes)’, *kabur* ‘dirty (water)’.
- MAM Also *?ate?ate?a*.
- TAK ‘dirt POSS-its exist-PERF’, i.e. ‘it has dirt’, i.e. ‘it is dirty’ (see *dai*, 11.110).
- DAM Also *amuyē ado* ‘dirty, morally unclean’.
- YAB Also *ŋa-ye?* ‘dirty, black’.
- KAU ‘skin-its bad (of something with a dirty surface)’; *mi-n leŋbal* (of a dirty substance, e.g. water).
- MEK *e-ofu* ‘body waste, excretions or secretions that are still thought of as ‘belonging’ in some sense to someone and can be used in sorcery against them’. A child is *metaphorically* a woman’s *ofu*, a man’s loincloth ‘is’ his *ofu*. Nowadays *ofu* also ‘dirt’ also ‘filth’, *ela-ela*, *ifi-ifi*, *fuko-fuko* (‘scum’), also *e-feka* ‘it’s rotten, dirty’.
- KWO Also *wadola*.
- POR Also *<sup>m</sup>bremer*.
- KWA Also *-aruk<sup>w</sup>* also ‘old, shrivelled’.
- MSH Also *ttən*; *r̄ran* ‘smudged, sooty’.
- WLE Also *macocora*, [*kitenai*] from Japanese; *maşora*.
- WFI Also [*ŋuka*] from Standard Fijian *duka*.

SAM *ʔeleʔele* 'earth, soil', -a ornative suffix (Mosel 1985: 75f); also *palapalā* see 02.214.

MEL Also *paku*.

TAH Also *vari*; *piro* (of clothes); *veʔuveu* (of house, person).

RAP *ʔoʔone* 'dirty'; *iŋo-iŋo* 'dirty, soiled (from work, travel, etc.)'; *eŋo-eŋo* 'dirty, stained (e.g. page of a book, clothes from lack of care, etc.)'.

### 15.890 WRINKLED

AʻTA	ma-škaʔkuʔ	UMA	mo-ʔkuruʔ	MAR	ñouñoru
*TSO	ā-tutuxu	BUG	ma-lōko-lōko	LAU	kokosu
RUK	mā-ŋəʔəʔə	*KON	aʔ-kuru-kuru	*KWO	rugu
PAI		WOL	poʔkorofi	RAG	
YAM		MAG	pəkə-rikut	PAA	makutukut
ISN	narikkan	*NGA	fuku	LEW	pʷiŋpʷiŋ
*KAL	kusu	*SIK	klugur	POR	
*TAG	kulubot	*RTI	na-ka-pu-putu	NTA	-ərukrukən
AKL	kurinut	BUR		KWA	
*PAL	pirəs	*DOB	na-taʔowal	NEM	ŋʷet
MOL	kuriʔbot	IRA	dəbərərənə	CEM	ñélu
*KAG	yəkkət	*SAW	n-fekfuk	AJI	yayĩ
BLA	skidit	NYI	akoreh	XAR	mōrō
*SAB	kənot	MAM	ʔuruʔuru	NEN	ekose
MUR	kulilionʔot	TAK	isaŋi	KIR	manunu
*MGY	keʔʔuna	*DAM	kasī-ya	*MSH	ləktək
ACE	krot	*MAB	-selul	*PON	mʷerek
BAT	mar-harukkut	*YAB	bele-bele	*WLE	mʷuʔotaxi
MIN	kariñuʔʔ	KAU	βuu	EFI	salulu
*IND	bər-kərut	TOL	bibiən	*WFI	haɡʷaluki
*SUN	kusut	BUA	gilin	*RTU	soʔsoʔo
JAV	kisut	ADZ	piŋiʔʔ-	*TON	feʔufeʔu
MAD	kiruʔ	KIL	panunu	*SAM	maʔanu- rminumi
BAL	kisut	TAW	pilopilo-na	MEL	
SAS	ñosot (sosot)	*MOT	makuku		
GOR	mo-ʔoyoto	*MEK	e-kafefe	*TAH	miʔomiʔo
DAA	na-kusu	ROV	viziri	*RAP	piti-piti

- TSO *ā-tutuxu* (as of cloth, paper, etc.); *tou-spispi* (of the skin).
- KAL *kusu + na-*.
- TAG *kulubot* (of skin); *lukot* (of cloth).
- PAL *kurəbət*.
- KAG *yekket + ma-*.
- SAB *konot + a-*.
- MGY (of skin).
- IND Also *bər-kədut*.
- SUN Also *karijūt*.
- KON Also *a<sup>?</sup>-gapuru<sup>?</sup>*.
- NGA Also *uku-eke*.
- SIK *klugur* ‘wrinkled skin’; *lulu-ŋ ləpə-t*, *kluku-t βəgər*, *klugur βəgər* ‘wrinkled cloth, paper’.
- RTI *naka-puputu* ‘wrinkled (of cloth)’; *kukulu* ‘wrinkled (of the skin)’.
- DOB ‘be wrinkled’.
- SAW Also *n-fororo* (of skin).
- DAM ‘wrinkle-INF’.
- MAB *-selul* (of clothing); *-morou*, *-mulul* (of skin).
- YAB ‘wrinkled, shrivelled’; also *ke-ti<sup>?</sup>* ‘wrinkle (vb intrans) of skin, from being wet too long’; *ke-tu-ke-tu* ‘wrinkle (of clothes, dresses)’; *meliŋ-meliŋ* ‘wrinkled, withered (of faces)’.
- MOT Also *mai makuku-na* (see 11.110 for construction).
- MEK Also *e-peŋo*.
- KWO Also *rurugula*.
- MSH Also *nəkcek*.
- PON Also *m<sup>w</sup>erekirek*.
- WLE Also *fīṛōṛō*.
- WFI Also *wəβewəβe*.
- RTU Also *veveve*.
- TON Also *miŋimiŋi*.
- SAM See *ma<sup>?</sup>anumi* ‘crease’.
- TAH Also *ʔōmiomi<sup>?</sup>o*.
- RAP *piti-piti* ‘wrinkled, creased (clothes, paper, etc.)’; *miŋo-miŋo* ‘wrinkled (from old age, e.g. people, fruits, etc.)’.

## 16.110 SOUL, SPIRIT

Arabic: *rūḥ*Sanskrit: *jīva-*

ATA	kaʕimuʔ	*UMA	kaoʔ	*MAR	[t <sup>h</sup> aruŋa]
TSO	xzō	BUG	ñawa	*LAU	maŋo
RUK	abakə	*KON	paʔ-maeʔ	*KWO	ano
PAI	gaʕal <sup>y</sup>	*WOL	iñawa	*RAG	taŋaroa
YAM	paʕaɖ	MAG	vakar	PAA	ninīn
ISN	kaduduwa	NGA	mae	LEW	ninu-na
KAL	kadogwa	*SIK	mae-ŋ	POR	nūniin
TAG	'kalulūwa	RTI	samane	NTA	narm <sup>wə</sup> -n
AKL	kaʕag	*BUR	enibi	KWA	nanumu-
PAL	kurudwa	DOB	yari	NEM	nawe-n
*MOL	orua	IRA		CEM	jêne-n
*KAG	kalag	SAW	[jīwa]	AJI	ko
*BLA	layəf	NYI	malawiu	XAR	k <sup>wē</sup>
SAB	ñawa	*MAM	mairaba	*NEN	uien
*MUR	ambiluo	TAK	ŋutu-n	*KIR	te tāmnei
MGY	fanahi	*DAM	malakanon	*MSH	ʎoʎætæt
*ACE	[rəh]	MAB	kunu-	*PON	ŋēn
*BAT	təddi	*YAB	katu	*WLE	ŋeʔū
*MIN	aŋoʔ	*KAU	enu	EFI	yalo-
*IND	[jīwa]	*TOL	tuluŋea-	WFI	-yalo
*SUN	[jīwa]	*BUA	kaŋu	RTU	?ata
*JAV	[jīwə]	*ADZ	ganu-	TON	laumalie
MAD	ñaba	KIL	baloma	SAM	aŋāŋa
*BAL	[atmə]	TAW	alugo-na	*MEL	ata
SAS	[rəh]	MOT	lauma	*TAH	vārua
*GOR	[jīwa]	*MEK	lau-lau	RAP	varua
*DAA	nosa	ROV	magmaŋo		

MOL *orua* 'soul'; *niawa* 'spirit'.KAG *kalag* 'ghost (does not exist while a person is still alive)'; [*ispiritu*] from Spanish *espiritu*.BLA *layəf* 'soul'; *Imagol* 'spirit'.MUR Also *painawo*, *saliŋuor*.ACE Also *suməŋat*.



- BAT *tōddi* ‘individuality, soul, non-physical body; guardian spirit’; *begu* ‘spirit, soul of a dead person (to be feared)’; *[rōha]* ‘mind’; *sumaṅṅot*, *simāṅṅot* ‘spirit of deceased relative’ (of a higher level than *begu*).
- MIN Also *ñao* from PM \**ñawa* ‘soul, life, breath’.
- IND Also *[roh]*.
- SUN Also *[roh]*.
- JAV Also *səmaṅṅat*.
- BAL Also *[jīwə]*; *[sukmə]* all from Sanskrit; Old Balinese *hantu* ‘spirit of a dead person’.
- GOR ‘soul’, also *[ñawa]* from Malay.
- DAA ‘spirit’.
- UMA Also *inoha?*
- KON Also *ñaha*.
- WOL Also *ñawa*.
- SIK Also *uhər manar*, *uhək*.
- BUR *enibi* ‘spirit of dead person’; *[jīṅi]* probably from Arabic *jinn* ‘spirit’; *lale-n* ‘insides, soul, emotions, feelings’; *fo-leli sar-holi* ‘charisma, soul, giftedness’.
- MAM Also *mariaba*.
- DAM ‘drawing, reflection, the visible manifestation of a ghost’, now used by the church for ‘soul’; also *barañ* ‘ghost’; *āg* ‘ghost of murdered person’, see 22.350.
- YAB Also *ḡaləu* ‘breath of wind, spirit of person’.
- KAU *enu* ‘soul of living person’; *yubun/iβun* ‘soul of a dead person’.
- TOL *tuluḡen* ‘spirit (impersonal)’.
- BUA *ḡənu* ‘spirit, shade, shadow’; *anon* ‘fruit, body, essence of something’.
- ADZ *ganu-* ‘soul, spirit of living person or newly dead person’ (with inalienable possessive suffix); *mamafi* ‘spirit of long-dead person; ghost, devil, etc’.
- MEK *lau-lau* ‘spirit; soul; image, idea, reflection, shadow; aura’, also ‘luck, destiny; charisma; charm’; other terms for (kinds of) spirits: *?auni*; *isaṅe (iaṅe)*; *isaṅe-uṅo* (ancestral ‘ghosts’); *fai-fai* (malevolent water-spirits). NW Mekeo *lulu* ‘ghost’; *laupa* in East Mekeo seems to mean ‘presence, aura’.
- MAR *[tʰaruṅa]* ‘soul’ (from Bughotu); *na?itu* ‘spirit (generic)’.

LAU	Also <i>anoedō</i> .
KWO	<i>nunu-na</i> 'shade'.
RAG	'spirit'.
NEN	Also <i>uiewaien</i> (respectful).
KIR	Also 'picture'.
MSH	Also 'mind, wisdom, intellect'; [ <i>an</i> ] from Polynesian.
PON	<i>paliḡēn</i> see <i>pali</i> 'side'.
WLE	Also 'picture'.
MEL	Also <i>māori</i> .
TAH	Also <i>vāite</i> obsolete.

### 16.150 SURPRISED, ASTONISHED

Arabic: *ḡira*

ATA	ma-nakux	JAV	gumun	*DAM	wau terē
*TSO	roxzi	MAD	ta-kərġat	*MAB	-murur pa
RUK	mā-samali	*BAL	təŋkəġut	*YAB	-ŋa? ləme-ŋ
PAI	min-cus	SAS	bəŋa?	KAU	teret
YAM	makalak	GOR	[hērani]	TOL	kaiən
ISN	nasda?āwan	*DAA	no-gumaa	BUA	aβi tək
KAL	nasdā?aw	UMA	ko <sup>n</sup> če	ADZ	frip-
*TAG	gūlat	BUG	tak-kini?	*KIL	i-tutu nona
*AKL	kibut	*KON	ta?-baŋka	TAW	nugogohola
*PAL	pəklatan	WOL	me <sup>n</sup> te	MOT	hoa
*MOL	[hiran]	MAG	ləŋət	*MEK	e-kauai
*KAG	tiŋala	NGA	se-γəđo	ROV	mayasa
BLA	tikəŋ	*SIK	bəgo	MAR	ġaglo
*SAB	k-in-obla?-an	*RTI	ᵛge <sup>ᵛ</sup> ge	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> ele
MUR	maŋimuag	BUR	dike-k	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> a?aru
MGY	taitra	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> olubul-ni	RAG	
ACE	[hiruən]	IRA	[heranə]	PAA	sil
BAT	tar-səŋgət	SAW	n-tə?ləl	LEW	ila-ni
MIN	ta-kəġuy?	NYI	manitur	POR	
*IND	tər-čəŋaŋ	MAM	pitila?i	*NTA	narm <sup>w</sup> ən
*SUN	[kaget]	*TAK	-siror		tiβəŋ

*KWA	-akur	KIR	kub <sup>w</sup> a	RTU	ferehiti
NEM	tada	MSH	ilp <sup>u</sup> ək	*TON	ofo
*CEM	tēle-kó-n	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> uriam <sup>w</sup> ei	*SAM	te <sup>?</sup> i
AJI	cěřǔ	WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ōϕ <sup>w</sup> ō	MEI	lāpā
XAR	блцїшї	EFI	kurabui	TAH	maere
NEN	ṇačadedi	WFI	karaḏi-	*RAP	maere

TSO *roxzi* (physically caused, as with a sudden loud noise, or as when patted unexpectedly); *ramçi* (visually caused, as when noticing a corpse on the path, etc.).

TAG *bigla?* ‘unprepared’.

AKL ‘startled, jump with surprise’.

PAL *diṅkolatǔn*.

MOL [*hiran*] + *mo-/og-ko-*.

KAG *tiṅala + mag-*.

SAB (root *kobla?*).

IND Also *kaget*, [*heran*]. *tǔr-kǔjut*.

SUN From Javanese? Also [*heran*].

BAL Also *mǔ-kǔsiab* ‘surprised’; *ṅon* ‘amazed’.

DAA ‘astonished’.

KON Also *ʔannasa, ta<sup>?</sup>-kende?*.

SIK Also *hida, muro dǔra, klibur*.

RTI ‘surprised, startled’.

TAK ‘shiver’ (04.680).

DAM ‘liver shiver’.

MAB ‘be surprised by’; also *-morsop pa*; *mata- pokpok pa* ‘be startled by’; *-ṅa nama-* ‘bite hand in disbelief’.

YAB ‘bite hand-their’; also *-take* ‘have a fright’.

KIL ‘it-hits mind’.

MEK (? *e-kau-ai*).

NTA ‘his spirit flew’.

KWA Also *-arkǔri nari*.

CEM ‘jump because of it’.

PON Also *lusita* lit ‘jump up’; *eim<sup>w</sup>olu*.

TON Also *ʔohovale*.

SAM Also *ofo* (vb intrans).

RAP Also *ma<sup>?</sup>u-rima*.

## 16.180 GOOD FORTUNE, LUCK

Sanskrit: *bhāgya-*Spanish: *suerto, buenas*

ATA	βaʃaɪkʰa ʔutux	UMA	rasiʔ	*MEK	[e-laki]
		*BUG	upi	*ROV	wulea
TSO	rā-xzō	KON	dalleʔ haʃiʔ	*MAR	nasnori
RUK	sasipianə	WOL	u <sup>n</sup> tuŋa	*LAU	ʔoi lakea
PAI	(na-ŋuak a) səpi	MAG	dəlek	KWO	nanamaŋā
		NGA	vaka-molo	RAG	
YAM	apia ʃo allag	*SIK	[ʔuntu-ŋ]	*PAA	maulien
ISN	nagāsāt	*RTI	ua nale ma-	LEW	
*KAL	gāsāt		lole	POR	ʔgal
*TAG	ka-palār-an	*BUR	noro-n gosa-t	*NTA	[laki]
*AKL	[swerte]		noro	KWA	
*PAL	mənuŋa sukud	*DOB	soba-n	NEM	uya
MOL	mopia sukud	IRA		CEM	cēb <sup>w</sup> ε-hi
KAG	[swirti]	*SAW	[beregā]	AJI	ki ə na
*BLA	fyɪ bəgiʔ	NYI		XAR	
SAB	hāp sukud	MAM	ado	NEN	roi
MUR		TAK		*KIR	teteke raoi
MGY	ʃara vintana	DAM	ʃoi biya	MSH	ceʃāmm <sup>w</sup> an
ACE	untoŋ	*MAB	siŋ ki-	PON	paiam <sup>w</sup> āu
*BAT	mar-tua		a <sup>m</sup> baŋana	WLE	pōfiʃi
MIN	untu <sup>ŋ</sup>	YAB	mete	EFI	kalouŋata
*IND	kə-muʃur-an	*KAU	edara tunus	*WFI	[kalouŋata]
*SUN	untuŋ		pak pit	RTU	ɔlɔlumu
*JAV	[bəkjɔ]	*TOL	ni-doan	TON	monū
MAD	untuŋ	BUA		SAM	manū
*BAL	agət	ADZ		MEL	
*SAS	[muʃur]	KIL	i-yub <sup>w</sup> aila	TAH	fānaʔo
*GOR	[rijiki]	*TAW	wialoalo	*RAP	pō riva-riva
DAA		*MOT	nega namo-na		

KAL . gāsāt + na-.

TAG Also [suwerte], [buēnas].

AKL Also [bwēnas].

PAL Also mənuŋa guris.

- BLA *fyi faləl* ‘good luck’.
- BAT Also *tua*.
- IND Also [*nasib*] *baik* ‘good fate’, also [*untuŋ*] both from Arabic.
- SUN Also [*bagja*].
- JAV Also [*bəjɔ*]. Home [*bəgɔ*].
- BAL *sədəŋ məlah-ə* ‘by good luck, fortunately’; *sədəŋ* ‘right time’; *məlah* ‘good’.
- SAS From Malay?
- GOR From Arabic *rizq* ‘sustenance’, also [*ʔu<sup>n</sup>duŋi*], from Malay *untuŋ*.
- BUG Also *ma-upi?*
- SIK From Malay; also *kasa-ŋ ʔəpa-ŋ*, *sage*, *saro*.
- RTI ‘good fortune’.
- BUR ‘clan, fate, race’; *uku-r gosa-t* ‘good fate’; *snoho-n gosa-t* ‘good bloodline/clan affiliation’.
- DOB ‘good’.
- SAW ‘blessing’ from Arabic *baraka*.
- MAB ‘good blood’; also *bunji- a<sup>m</sup>baiŋana* lit ‘good bodily discharge’.
- KAU ‘thing good cut stand’.
- TOL *ni-* NOM, *doan* ‘fortunate, blessed (vb intrans)’.
- TAW Also [*laki*] from English via Tok Pisin.
- MOT ‘good time, occasion’.
- MEK From English *lucky*; also *isapu* ‘heat, hot’ in certain contexts?
- ROV Also *pera*.
- MAR Also *maluaga*.
- LAU Also *waluda*.
- PAA Also ‘life’.
- NTA From English.
- KIR Also *manuia*.
- WFI Standard Fijian.
- RAP Also *mate*; *vairua* (archaic).

## 16.190 MISFORTUNE, BAD LUCK

Sanskrit: *chalaka-* 'delusive'Spanish: *(de) malas*

ATA	aḱih ʔa ʔutux	*BUG	a-[čilaka]-ŋ	ROV	lopu
TSO	puskukuvʔa	*KON	[čilaka]		vayāvoro
RUK	moalisi	*WOL	[čilaka]	MAR	ɣero
PAI	(na-kuya a)	*MAG	čalaŋ	LAU	laŋi ta
	səpi	NGA	vaka-ḡaʔi		waluda
YAM	malaət ʃo	*SIK	[ruŋi]	KWO	
	ŋilin	*RTI	ua nale	RAG	
ISN	nadakeʔ gāsət		maŋa-lau-k	PAA	
KAL	lawēŋa gasət	*BUR	noro-n boho-t	LEW	
*TAG	sāwiʔ	*DOB	ʔa'ni ssamur	*POR	e-loŋon
*AKL	buʔsit		ʔasetə		e-sa <sup>m</sup> b
*PAL	mayat sukud	IRA	siraka	NTA	
MOL	modoʔot	*SAW	n-duk ta le	KWA	
	sukud	NYI		NEM	wañe-n
KAG	[malas]	MAM	tago-uia	CEM	áp <sup>w</sup> ε-hi
*BLA	sasəʔ bəŋiʔ	TAK		AJI	ki yāne na ...
SAB	laʔat sukud	DAM	ḡoi sanc	XAR	
MUR		*MAB	buŋi- kalān	*NEN	nian
*MGY	fahuriana		som	*KIR	tekebuaka
ACE	malaŋ	YAB	yaŋ	MSH	ceɾata
BAT	sial	*KAU	eɖara leŋβal	*PON	paisuwet
MIN	malaŋ		pak pit	*WLE	pāϕ <sup>w</sup> uta
*IND	kə-malaŋ-an	*TOL	kainə	EFI	kalouḡā
SUN	[čilaka]	BUA		*WFI	[kalouḡā]
JAV	[čiləkə]	ADZ		*RTU	armou
MAD	kalir	*KIL	e-i-boda	TON	mala
*BAL	[lačur]		m <sup>w</sup> au	SAM	mala
*SAS	[čələkə]	*TAW	houga apapoe	MEL	
*GOR	sowe	*MOT	nega dika-na	TAH	ʔati
DAA		MEK		*RAP	pō rake-rake
UMA	buiʔ				

TAG Also *ka'sawīʔan*, [*demālas*].AKL Hokkien Chinese *bo* 'nò', *ui* 'clothes', *sit* 'food'; also [*dimālas*].PAL Also *mayat guris*.

- BLA *sasəʔfaləl* ‘bad luck’.
- MGY (*faha-uri-ana*).
- IND Also [*nasib*] *buruk* from Arabic *naṣīb*, [*čəlaka*] *sial*.
- BAL From Malay?
- SAS Also *sial*.
- GOR [*marapo*] ‘unlucky, unfortunate’.
- BUG Also *ma-[čilaka]* Sanskrit.
- KON Also *totoʔ, dalleʔkodi*.
- WOL Also *bala*.
- MAG Also *čopel*.
- SIK From Malay; also *susar*.
- RTI ‘bad fortune’.
- BUR Also *uku-r boho-t, snoho-n boho-t* (see 16.180).
- DOB ‘his walk is bad’.
- SAW ‘got s.th. bad’.
- MAB ‘unlucky’, also *buŋi-ipata* ‘heavy bodily discharge’.
- KAU ‘thing bad cut stand’.
- TOL ‘everything that is bad’.
- KIL ‘he-has-met heavy’.
- TAW ‘a bad time’.
- MOT ‘bad time, occasion’; also *ha-he-dika yau-dia* (*dika* ‘bad’, *yau* ‘thing’).
- POR ‘he-feel it-bad’.
- NEN Also *ṅanian*.
- KIR Also *tekerā* lit ‘caught/struck badly’.
- PON *paisuwet* lit ‘bad luck’; *maiai*.
- WLE ‘bad luck’.
- WFI Standard Fijian.
- RTU Also *pefæʔe*.
- RAP Also *mate; vairua* (archaic).

## 16.230 JOYFUL, GLAD, HAPPY

Sanskrit: *gambhīra-*

ATA	maḱaš	*BUG	rīnnu	*MAR	gleʔa
TSO	karbi	KON	rannu	LAU	elea
RUK	ki-a-ragay	WOL	u <sup>n</sup> de	KWO	
PAI	maḷəva	MAG	nisaŋ	*RAG	samsamara
YAM	maṣazay	*NGA	gore	*PAA	nasīnau
ISN	magangam	*SIK	grəŋa-ŋ	LEW	kekara
*KAL	aŋgom	*RTI	dale loa-k	POR	ŋgal
*TAG	ligāya	*BUR	lale-n [sənaŋ]	*NTA	-aŋien
*AKL	līpay	*DOB	soba	*KWA	-aŋien
*PAL	məḱosi	IRA	dienəna	NEM	yāvu
*MOL	korog	SAW	n-čəŋe (seŋe)	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> əḷēn
*KAG	lipay	NYI	sekese	AJI	vi oʔo
*BLA	ləhəw	MAM	suri-ua	XAR	ōro
*SAB	k-in-ōg-an	*TAK	uya-sisai	*NEN	opodon
*MUR	mōnsoy guaŋ	*DAM	wau el	KIR	kukurei
*MGY	mirana	*MAB	menmēn	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> Λŋ <sup>w</sup> Λŋ <sup>w</sup> Λ
ACE	stunaŋ	*YAB	ŋa-lelom	*PON	peren
BAT	las rəha		ŋa-wasi	WLE	keḗ
MIN	sanaŋ	*KAU	mi- ... keh	EFI	mārau
*IND	sənaŋ	TOL	gugu	WFI	ḍiga
*SUN	[gumbira]	*BUA	aɣe niβəsa	*RTU	fūrmaria
*JAV	sənaŋ	*ADZ	nugu-n	TON	fiefia
MAD	[gumbira]		ɟziaʔ-an	SAM	fiafia
*BAL	dəmən	*KIL	m <sup>w</sup> asawa	*MEL	[samāsama]
SAS	čəmoh	*TAW	kaoha	*TAH	ʔoaʔoa
*GOR	me-eŋahu	MOT	moale	*RAP	koa
DAA	na-da <sup>m</sup> ba	*MEK	alo e-ŋama		
UMA	goeʔ	ROV	getu		

KAL *aŋgom + na-*.TAG *ligāya + ma-*; also *saya + ma-*.AKL *līpay + ma-*.PAL Also *məlami*.MOL *korog + mog-/og--an*].



- KAG *lipay + ma-/magka-*; also *sadya + mag-/ma--an* ‘happy’, having a good time’.
- BLA *m-lɔʔən nawa* ‘happy’.
- SAB (root *kōg*).
- MUR *mōnsoy guaŋ* ‘content’; *makānsuk guaŋ* ‘joyful’; *masamba?* ‘pleased’.
- MGY From *mi-irana*.
- IND Also [*gəmbira*].
- SUN Also [*sənaŋ*] from Malay.
- JAV Also *buŋah*.
- BAL Also *kəndəl, ləgə*.
- GOR (*wəŋahu + mo-*); also [*saŋaŋi*], Malay *sənaŋ*.
- BUG Also *ma-rinnu*.
- NGA Also *melo*.
- SIK Also *boʔa*.
- RTI ‘happy, wide heart/insides’, *dale* ‘heart’.
- BUR From Malay.
- DOB Has a wide semantic range including ‘good’ and ‘happy’.
- TAK *uya-sisai* ‘joy (n)’, *uya-* ‘good’ (16.710); *sisai* does not occur independently.
- DAM ‘liver well’.
- MAB *menmēn + ACC PRO*; also *lele- a<sup>m</sup>bai* ‘insides are good’.
- YAB ‘his-inside gleaming’.
- KAU ‘inside-POSS happy’; also *mi- ... tunus-gin* ‘inside-POSS good-NOM’.
- BUA *aɣe niβəsa* (more emotional); *k<sup>w</sup>a βəsa* (more intellectual).
- ADZ *nugu-n ɟziaʔ-an* ‘liver-3sg POSS be clear-PART’, i.e. ‘be peaceful, happy’; *nugu-n nuf-an* ‘liver-3sg POSS be cold-PART’, i.e. ‘be content, happy’.
- KIL *m<sup>w</sup>asawa* ‘happy’; *i-m<sup>w</sup>a-m<sup>w</sup>asilanona* ‘it-being-happy mind’.
- TAW *kaoha* ‘happy’; *nugokaoha* ‘joyful (deeper)’.
- MEK *alo* ‘inside’, *e-ŋama* ‘grow’. NW Mekeo *labau* ‘pleasure’?
- MAR Also *glealeʔa*.
- RAG ‘be happy or pleased, rejoice’.
- PAA ‘I am happying myself’.

NTA	Also <i>nəkin tətəŋien</i> 'his heart is happy'.
KWA	Emotions are generally attributed to one's <i>reri-</i> 'insides, heart', e.g., <i>rerik ragien</i> 'my insides are happy'.
NEN	Also <i>kata(n)</i> .
MSH	Also <i>wiriŋriŋ</i> .
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>uŋ</i> 'joyous, lusty'; <i>kerem<sup>w</sup>el</i> , <i>kerem<sup>w</sup>eliso</i> hon.
RTU	Also <i>ʔoafʔofa</i> .
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>ʔanaʔanatae</i> 'enthusiastic'.
RAP	Also <i>kata-kata</i> 'cheerful'.

## 16.250 LAUGH

ATA	ma-šiyak	SAS	ŋə-lələʔ	ADZ	rubu <sup>ʔ</sup> -
*TSO	ʧoʧvo	*GOR	mo-ʔiʔi	KIL	-gigila
RUK	mo-a-ɭakay	DAA	no-ŋiri	*TAW	maliwa
PAI	ɟ-əm-əli	UMA	taβaʔ	MOT	kiri
YAM	mikamiŋ	BUG	me-čawwa	*MEK	e-aʔa
ISN	makagalaʔ	*KON	nu'makkala	ROV	heyere
*KAL	āmaŋ	*WOL	po-tawa	MAR	maʔe
*TAG	tāwa	MAG	tava	LAU	waela
AKL	hibayag	NGA	tava	KWO	ʔosa
PAL	kosit	*SIK	to	RAG	mana
*MOL	kosit	RTI	hi-ka	PAA	viteal
*KAG	tawa	BUR	mali	LEW	vitale
BLA	m-uŋe	DOB	ʔa-mel	POR	man
*SAB	tettowa	IRA	nabariϕə	NTA	-alah
*MUR	kudit	SAW	n-ε-mlif	KWA	-arəs
*MGY	mi-umehi	NYI	eheʔen	NEM	ŋān
*ACE	[khem]	MAM	ao	CEM	âp
BAT	mëkkəl	TAK	-sel	*AJI	kaʔ
MIN	galaʔ	DAM	kasā	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ārā
*IND	tər-tawa	MAB	-sē <sup>ʔ</sup> ge	NEN	ŋuma
SUN	siri	YAB	-omaʔ	KIR	ŋare
JAV	ŋ-guyu	*KAU	les	*MSH	lleckakkak
MAD	a-gəllaʔ	*TOL	noŋon	*PON	kourūr
BAL	kədək	BUA	nəp	*WLE	ffasa

EFI	d <sup>r</sup> ed <sup>r</sup> e	TON	kata	TAH	ʔata
WFI	mali	*SAM	ʔata	RAP	kata
RTU	kahā	MEL	kata		

TSO Also *çoçv-i*.

KAL *āmaŋ + -um-*.

TAG *tāwa + -um-/tawān-an*.

SAB *tettowa + aN-*.

MOL *kosit + meŋ*.

KAG *tawa + mag-/in- (mawa)*.

MUR *kudit(maka-)*; also *lakak (mag-)* ‘laugh loudly’.

MGY From *(h-um-ehi)*.

ACE From Mon-khmer; dialect *[khiem]*.

IND Also *kə-tawa*.

GOR Also *mo-[ŋe<sup>n</sup>de]* from Menado Malay.

KON Also *aʔ-ŋisi*.

WOL Also *po-tawa-aka*, *po-tawa-iki* ‘laugh at’; *po-ŋiri* ‘laugh scornfully  
ridicule’.

SIK Also *rede*.

KAU Also *pik* ‘laugh to one’s self’.

TOL *noŋon-e* ‘laugh at (vb trans)’.

TAW *maliwa* ‘laugh/smile’; *winama* ‘laugh/joke’; *haha* ‘laugh’.

MEK *e-aʔa* ‘laugh, smile, be awake’.

AJI Also *piyu*.

MSH ‘laugh’; *reŋe* Eastern dialect; Western dialect *ttəŋ*; *lēa* ‘hysterical  
laughter’.

PON *kourūr* ‘laugh’, see *urūr* archaic ; *rarenei* hon. ; *sirei* ‘smile’;  
*kiparamaŋ* hon.

WLE Also *mmaŋi*.

SAM (polite) *soisoi*; of several people: *tōē* (vb intrans).

## 16.251 SMILE

ATA	ma-šiya- šiyaḵ	UMA	imuʔ	LAU	mui
TSO	tu-ʔiri	BUG	čabberuʔ	KWO	mui
RUK	paraŋiθi	KON	taʔ-muri	RAG	ŋiŋiha
PAI	lišəŋilʔ	*WOL	pe <sup>m</sup> boi	PAA	viteal kīs
YAM	magaga	MAG	imus	*LEW	i-ŋo-na ure
ISN	makesam	NGA	ḡumi	*POR	man me <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ao
*KAL	ēmes	SIK	ʔrəmi ʔreo-ŋ	NTA	-iŋah
*TAG	ŋitiʔ	RTI	hume	*KWA	-ḡi rewu-
AKL	hiyum-hīyum	BUR	mal-muŋe-k	NEM	civayi
PAL	soləm	DOB	ʔa-mel	CEM	
*MOL	soləm	IRA	nabarəriḡə	AJI	kaʔ
*KAG	yəʔəm	SAW	n-ε-mlif pirso	XAR	
BLA	dalme	NYI	eheʔen	NEN	numanuma
*SAB	kiyum	MAM	ao-sisi	*KIR	matanare
*MUR	kudit	*TAK	-sel-sisi	*MSH	ttəŋ rikrik
MGY	mi-ḡiki	DAM	balir	*PON	sirei
*ACE	[khem]	MAB	zoŋo- isir	*WLE	pitiffasa
BAT	ta'ta supiŋ	YAB		EFI	matad <sup>r</sup> əd <sup>r</sup> ed <sup>r</sup> e
MIN	galaʔ manih	KAU	sun misis	WFI	mali
IND	tər-səñum	*TOL	noŋon mut		kumukumu
SUN	imut	BUA	nəp	RTU	malumu
JAV	m-εsəm	ADZ	rubu <sup>ḡ</sup> -	*TON	malimali
*MAD	misəm	KIL	-gigila	*SAM	ʔataʔata
*BAL	kəñəm	TAW	omtailiwa	MEL	
SAS	kəmos	MOT	kiri	TAH	ʔataniho
*GOR	ʔiyo-ʔiyomo	*MEK		RAP	kata
DAA	no-kamiʔi	ROV	komolo		
		MAR	maʔe muhi		

KAL *ēmes + ma-/um-*.

TAG *ŋitiʔ + um-/an*.

MOL *solom + mog-*.

KAG *yeʔem + mag-*.

SAB *kiyum + a-*.

MUR *kudit(maka-)*.

ACE From Mon-Khmer, also *siñom*. See 16.250.

MAD One morpheme.

BAL	Also <i>kəñir</i> ‘smile broadly’.
GOR	‘smiling’.
WOL	Also <i>po-mapo-tawa-iki, po-po-tawa-i, po-tawa-iki</i> ‘smile at’.
TAK	‘laugh-almost do’ (see 16.250).
TOL	<i>mut</i> ‘silent, silently’.
MEK	See 16.250.
LEW	‘sides of mouth spread’.
POR	‘laugh slow’.
KWA	‘open lips’.
KIR	‘laughing face’; also <i>moaŋare</i> .
MSH	‘smile, laugh’; also ‘giggle’; <i>reŋe</i> Eastern dialect: ‘laugh, smile’.
PON	<i>kiparamaŋ</i> hon. ‘smile, laugh’.
WLE	<i>pitimmaŋa, ffaŋa, mmaŋi</i> ‘laugh, smile’, with prefix <i>piti-</i> ‘slightly’.
TON	Also <i>katakata</i> .
ŠAM	See 16.250.

## 16.260 PLAY

ATA	<i>muyunau?</i>	IND	<i>bər-main</i>	*DOB	<i>nam</i>
TSO	<i>mimio</i>	SUN			<i>sinak<sup>w</sup>alar</i>
RUK	<i>ki-a-vavaŋ</i>	JAV	<i>main-an</i>	IRA	<i>neraduenə</i>
PAI	<i>kī-vaŋa-vaŋ</i>	MAD	<i>main</i>	SAW	<i>n-eməŋe</i>
YAM	<i>mialalam</i>	*BAL	<i>mə-čandə</i>	NYI	<i>ñorei</i>
ISN	<i>mag-aŋrād</i>	SAS	<i>bə-kədək</i>	MAM	<i>guzui</i>
*KAL	<i>alimok</i>	GOR	<i>mo-yitohu</i>	TAK	<i>-kok</i>
TAG	<i>laro?</i>	DAA	<i>no-more</i>	DAM	<i>kodě</i>
AKL	<i>hampaŋ</i>	UMA	<i>ori?</i>	*MAB	<i>-<sup>m</sup>būlu lele</i>
PAL	<i>məg-bəlbəŋəl</i>	BUG	<i>mač-čule</i>	*YAB	<i>-yəm doa-doa</i>
*MOL	<i>kokawat</i>	KON	<i>a?-kare?-</i>	KAU	<i>kop</i>
*KAG	<i>ampaŋ</i>		<i>karena</i>	*TOL	<i>libur</i>
BLA	<i>m-əgəf</i>	*WOL	<i>ma-gasia</i>	BUA	<i>βəŋ kətod</i>
*SAB	<i>kulikuli</i>	*MAG	<i>labar</i>	ADZ	<i>paip-</i>
*MUR	<i>kuli</i>	NGA	<i>dəya</i>	KIL	<i>-m<sup>w</sup>asawa</i>
MGY	<i>mī-lalau</i>	SIK	<i>?ləbe</i>	*TAW	<i>gohagoha</i>
ACE	<i>mwa?ēn</i>	RTI	<i>na-ka-mina-k</i>	MOT	<i>gadara</i>
*BAT	<i>mar-meam</i>	BUR	<i>midi</i>	*MEK	<i>e-?opua</i>
MIN	<i>main</i>				

ROV	loplopi	KWA	-apur	WLE	uṛu
MAR	lalahu	NEM	pe-himen	EFI	ṅito
LAU	labala	CEM	jēle	WFI	wage
KWO	masa	AJI	koyɔ	RTU	maneʔa
RAG	mosomoso	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ārā	TON	vaʔiŋa
PAA	daun	NEN	eleda	*SAM	taʔalo
LEW	krakrae	*KIR	takākaro	*MEL	[mesi]
POR	ramram <sup>w</sup> e	*MSH	kkurɛ	*TAH	haʔuti
NTA	-ahkul	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> atoŋ	*RAP	kori

KAL *alimok + man-*.

MOL *kokawat + mog-*.

KAG *ampaŋ + m-/-an*.

SAB *kulikuli + ag-*.

MUR *kuli (mag-)*.

BAT *m/εam* from \**ayam* 'domesticated (pet); toy'.

BAL Also *mə-platian (p(ə)-lali-an* 'toy').

WOL Also *ma-gasia-aka* 'play with'.

MAG Also *gəga*.

DOB *sinak<sup>w</sup>alar* from *sina* 'mother' and *k<sup>w</sup>alar* 'house'; (with a connotation something like 'playing houses')?

MAB Also *-zōgolele*.

YAB 'do games'.

TOL Often *limlibur* see 10.450.

TAW *winama* 'fool around'.

MEK *e-ʔopua* 'play', *e-paʔau* 'joke about'; NW Mekeo *e-kauku*; West Mekeo *e-ba-gapoko (e-pa-kafoʔo* East Mekeo); 'act the fool'.

KIR *m<sup>w</sup>aiē* also 'organised dance'.

MSH Also *ikien* 'frolic, pester, play tricks'.

PON *keseŋ* 'play music'; *kape* 'play with toy boats'; [*pile*] from English (of cards).

SAM (polite) *sāunoa*.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also [*perē*] 'play (cards)' from English.

RAP Also [*pere*] 'play (games)'.

## 16.270 LOVE

Sanskrit: <i>cintā</i> ‘thought, care, concern’
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*ATA	γ-um-uʔaʔuʔ	UMA	ahiʔ	ROV	tataru
*TSO	ma-raʕiŋi	BUG	čanriŋ	MAR	naṃa
RUK	mā-dalamə	KON	am-metta	LAU	rake diana
PAI	ciŋəlay		(petta)	KWO	laeni-a
YAM	mazilaw	*WOL	amasi	*RAG	tabe
ISN	aminya	MAG	momaŋ	*PAA	vati
*KAL	piya	*NGA	mora	LEW	sitomi
TAG	ībig	SIK	məgu	*POR	na-lö-n
*AKL	īlaʔ	*RTI	sue-lai		e-kač-in-i
*PAL	məʔ-irəg	*BUR	musi-k	NTA	-olkeikei
MOL	kasi	*DOB	ʔa'ni suʔa-n	KWA	-okeikei
*KAG	gugma	*IRA	nəʔətiʔəna	*NEM	ñame-n
*BLA	kan-boŋ	*SAW	məsie	CEM	ānime-n
	nəwə	NYI	aseken	*AJI	meaʔi
*SAB	lasa	*MAM	rere-taʔa	XAR	xʷeɾi
*MUR	masagaʔ	*TAK	bube-n -pani	*NEN	alan
MGY	tia	DAM	orō-ya	KIR	taŋjira
*ACE	sayaŋ	*MAB	lele- ilip pa	*MSH	iəkwə
*BAT	ha-hələŋ-i	*YAB	tetaʔ ge-wiŋ	*PON	mʷāuki
*MIN	sayaŋ	KAU		*WLE	faxō-a
*IND	kasih	*TOL	məri	EFI	domo-na
*SUN	bogoh	BUA	aγe βiŋ	WFI	mataβinā-sia
*JAV	[trəsŋə]	*ADZ	mara-n ari-da	*RTU	ʔofa
MAD	sənnəŋ		gin	TON	ʔofa
*BAL	dəmən təken	KIL	-yebʷaili	SAM	alofa
*SAS	mele	*TAW	luhogala	MEL	mānatu
*GOR	toliʔaŋo	*MOT	lalokau	*TAH	here
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> po-tove	*MEK	ani-na e-ani	*RAP	here

ATA γ-um-uʔaʔuʔ ‘parental love, elderly love’; *ma-š-βaʔaik* ‘mutual love’.

TSO Also *ta-raʕiŋi*.

KAL *piya + -on*.

AKL *īlaʔ + na-/na--an*.

PAL Also *maʔiŋin*.

- KAG *gugma + mag-*.
- BLA *k-am-do* ‘to pity, love’.
- SAB *lasa + a/ka-an*.
- MUR Also *ma[sintaʔ]* ‘sexual love’.
- ACE Also [*chen*] from Mon-Khmer, *wuəh*, [*činta*].
- BAT *ha-* is often prefixed to verbs denoting an emotional state.
- MIN Also *kasiʔh*.
- IND Also [*činta*], *sayar*.
- SUN Also [*činta*].
- JAV From Sanskrit.
- BAL ‘feel happy with’; see 16.230; *N-dəmən-in*.
- SAS Also *dəmən*. Thoir et al (1985), Goris *mele* ‘want’.
- GOR Verbs *mo-toliʔaŋo* and *mo-tabi*.
- WOL Also *po-maasi-aka*, *po-pe-elu* ‘love each other’; *maasi* ‘have compassion, feel pity, feel love’.
- NGA *raʔa-bere* lit ‘blood-flow’.
- RTI *sue-lai* a doublet, ‘love, to have affection for someone’.
- BUR ‘attraction, infatuation, love, fond of’; *here-n* ‘dear, beloved’.
- DOB ‘he likes her’.
- IRA *ja φətiφən ə* ‘I love you’.
- SAW Also [*sayar*], Malay.
- MAM Also *ʔulaŋ*.
- TAK ‘heart-his give’ (04.440, 11.210), as in *bube-n i-pani-da* ‘heart-his he-give (- her)-IMPRF’, ‘he gives his heart to her’, i.e. ‘he loves her’.
- MAB Also *lele- pa ilip* ‘insides are for exceedingly’.
- YAB ‘belly go with’.
- TOL Also: ‘pity, favour’, *vər-mari* ‘love each other (vb intrans)’, ‘love (n)’, see 16.350.
- ADZ ‘eye-3sg POSS pierce-PART OBL’, i.e. ‘(his) eyes pierced her’, i.e. ‘he loves her’.
- TAW ‘love/like/want’.
- MOT *lalo* ‘inside’, *kau* ‘to reach’; also *ura* ‘wish, desire, love’; verbs *lalokau heni-a*, *ura heni-a*.
- MEK From Roro *ari-na na-ari*, ‘I die his/her death’ (East Mekeo *ani* ‘violent death’ Desnoës); also *mae-ŋa e-mae* ‘death-3sg 3sg-die’;



East Mekeo also *e-ari-ai-na* (sic), *e-ame(-i-a/-i-na)* ‘desire, like; be pleased (by)’.

RAG	Also <i>dabe</i> .
PAA	‘love, like, want’.
POR	‘the-inside-his it-like-to s.o.-s.th.’.
NEM	‘his heat, his desire’.
AJI	Also <i>vimeaři</i> .
NEN	Also <i>era</i> .
MSH	<i>κlnak</i> also ‘wear, be surrounded by’.
PON	See <i>m<sup>w</sup>āu</i> ‘good’; <i>limpək</i> see <i>mpəke</i> ‘kiss’; <i>pəkepək</i> also ‘affection’.
WLE	<i>xam<sup>w</sup>ūwa</i> causative form, from <i>m<sup>w</sup>ū</i> ‘good’, <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>ai</i> ‘romantic love’; <i>faxořa</i> archaic .
RTU	Also <i>hanisi</i> .
TAH	Also <i>hina?aro</i> ‘love, desire’.
RAP	<i>here</i> ‘love’; <i>haņa</i> ‘want, desire, love’.

## 16.290 KISS

Sanskrit: *cumb-*

*ATA	ma-hihip	*MGY	man-uruka	BUG	sibau
*TSO	rupa-re- m <sup>?</sup> um <sup>?</sup> u	ACE	[čom]	KON	si-hau
RUK	wa-oma	*BAT	umma	WOL	iki
PAI	ki-saņue	*MIN	idu	MAG	omo
YAM	ađkanan	*IND	məŋəčup (kəčup)	NGA	muu
ISN	umma <sup>?</sup>	SUN	[ñium] ([čium])	SIK	piru
*KAL	ogok	JAV	ŋ-ambuŋ	RTI	de <sup>?</sup> i
TAG	halik	MAD	[čiyum]	BUR	musi-k
AKL	haru <sup>?</sup>	*BAL	niman (diman)	DOB	?a-suma
PAL	imbuwan	SAS	bə-siduk-an	IRA	nəbabobəřə
*MOL	adok	GOR	mo-dīlo	SAW	n-fōten
*KAG	arək	DAA	naŋ-eki	NYI	
BLA	n-alak	UMA	eki	MAM	arə <sup>?</sup> i
*SAB	[siyum]			*TAK	awa- -ŋane
*MUR	alok			DAM	uma
				*MAB	-kan kwo-

YAB	-lesop	RAG		*MSH	mecenmaik
KAU	tumum	PAA	mūsi	*PON	[kis]
*TOL	gəlum	*LEW	muni	WLE	ŋŋüřewe
BUA	mul	POR	čum <sup>w</sup> -i	EFI	reŋu-đa
ADZ	çuçuf-	NTA	-ap <sup>w</sup> ah	WFI	yabo-sia
KIL	-βayaula	KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> as (i)	RTU	aso
*TAW	niu yagona	NEM	gōmac	TON	?uma
*MOT	ha-rahua	CEM	mòm <sup>w</sup> awi	*SAM	[kisi]
MEK	e-ŋoa-pa(-i-a)	AJI	ji ve biə	MEL	sōŋia
*ROV	ahoa	XAR	ba	*TAH	?āpā
MAR		NEN		RAP	hoŋi
LAU	noia	*KIR	aroka		
KWO	nono?i-a		b <sup>w</sup> airina		

ATA *ma-hihip* ‘kiss or lick each other’, *h-um-ihip* ‘to lick’.

TSO ‘suck each other’.

KAL *ogok + man-/an*.

MOL *adok + mog-/on*.

KAG *arek + mag-/an*.

SAB [*siyum*] + *aN-/ø*.

MUR *alok (mag-)*.

MGY See 15.220.

BAT *maŋ-umma* ‘to kiss’.

MIN Also [*čium*] see 15.220.

IND Also [*čium*].

BAL (vb trans).

TAK ‘mouth take’ (04.240, 11.130), as in *awa-n i-ŋane-da* ‘mouth-her he take (-her)-IMPRF’, ‘he is taking her mouth’, i.e. ‘he is kissing her’.

MAB ‘eat the mouth of’.

TOL Also ‘lick’, *vər-galum* ‘kiss each other’; *dəm* ‘lick, taste with the tongue, kiss (vb trans)’.

TAW ‘rub noses’.

MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) lit ‘cause to smell’ (traditional action was to rub noses).

ROV Also [*uma*] from Fijian/Tongan.

LEW See 05.130; used here in compounds *muni pipi-na / muni kulu-ŋo-na* ‘kiss cheek/ lips’.

KIR 'plant one's nose'.

MSH Also *umm<sup>w</sup>aik*.

PON From English; *meṭik* also *miṭik*; *mēn*, *mpəke* 'kiss, rub noses'.

SAM From English *kiss*.

TAH Also *hoʔihoʔi* 'contact with nose'.

### 16.300 EMBRACE

ATA	γ-um-iβaʔ	DAA	na <sup>ɖ</sup> galipiu	ROV	ɲazaia
*TSO	si-ʔfɪni		(kalipiu)	MAR	faglougloku
RUK	wa-kəbərə	UMA	kupui	LAU	ōfi
PAI	t-əm-apul <sup>y</sup> u	BUG	mad-daka	KWO	loloʔi-a
YAM	mikalopkop	*KON	an-rakaʔ	RAG	
ISN	gaʔballan	WOL	sakulaka	PAA	gav kati
*KAL	kawol	*MAG	<sup>ɖ</sup> gepo	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> iɲari
*TAG	yākap	NGA	yeu	POR	čum <sup>w</sup> i
AKL	kupkup	*SIK	ʔaʔa	*NTA	-atuiləm
PAL	kakəpan	RTI	holu	KWA	-aŋha
*MOL	soliakod	*BUR	hiti	NEM	pe-piŋo
*KAG	akəs	DOB	ʔa-ŋaɸal	CEM	
BLA	lkaf	IRA	nəɸesəramətə	AJI	yakü
*SAB	gapus	*SAW	r-fa-gbi	XAR	çatə
*MUR	gapus	NYI		NEN	ebon
*MGY	mamihina	MAM	boabuni	*KIR	rab <sup>w</sup> atā
ACE	uəm	TAK	-lati	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> ɸk <sup>w</sup> ɸc
BAT	haɸl	DAM	kokorai	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> ɸlētī
MIN	paguyʔ	MAB	- <sup>m</sup> beŋbēŋe pa	*WLE	caxo
IND	məməluk	YAB	-b <sup>w</sup> eŋ	EFI	moko-ta
	(pəluk)	KAU	suŋ	WFI	oko-βia
SUN	ŋa-raŋkul	*TOL	təl	*RTU	kəlu
JAV	ŋəkəp	BUA	kəbi	*TON	fāʔufua
	(kəkəp)	*ADZ	aga-	*SAM	fusi-mau
MAD	g <sup>ɸ</sup> əlluʔ	KIL	-kaipapi	MEL	tāp <sup>w</sup> osāia
*BAL	ŋəlut (gəlut)	TAW	talaluluna	TAH	tauahi
SAS	bə-kapoŋ-an	MOT	rosi-a	RAP	haʔi
*GOR	moŋoʔodu	*MEK	ima-ʔie-au-lofe		

- TSO *si-ʔfini* also *s-ʔifn-i* ‘hold with the arms gently (human beings as well as objects)’; *sirɕi* also *sirɕ-i* ‘hold with the arms tightly (human beings)’; *max-saxo* also *pax-sax-a* ‘hold with the arms (a baby)’.
- KAL *kawol + man-/on*.
- TAG Also *yapos + -um-/in*.
- MOL *soliakod + mog-/on*.
- KAG *akes + mag-/an/mag- -ay*.
- SAB *gapus + aN-/ø*.
- MUR *gapus (maŋ -on)*.
- MGY From (*maN-fihina*).
- BAL (vb trans).
- GOR (*ʔoʔodu + moN-*).
- KON Also *si-rakaʔ*.
- MAG Also <sup>9</sup>*gao*.
- SIK (vb), also *gaʔa, abə-ŋ, gapu*.
- BUR ‘gentle, partial embrace’; *s-loko-k* ‘full embrace by one party’; *pes-loko-n* ‘full reciprocal embrace’; *ed-hiti-n* ‘a child that hangs on its father or mother excessively’.
- SAW ‘mutual embrace’.
- TOL *vər-tal* ‘embrace each other (vb intrans)’.
- ADZ *aga* ‘embrace’; <sup>m</sup>*pun-ufiak* ‘hold strongly, tightly’.
- MEK *ima-ʔi e-au-lofe* ‘he/she throws/threw-around arms’, also reciprocal verb *ke-pi-ŋoapi*; other dialects *e-ŋaopai-na, e-ŋobai-na* ‘embrace’.
- NTA Always dual; also *-askalam, -otain*.
- KIR See *rab<sup>w</sup>ata* ‘body’.
- MSH Also *atp<sup>w</sup>ɔk<sup>w</sup>Λc*; *kaerɛr* lit ‘to pamper a child’; *kūl* also ‘cling, choke’.
- PON *-ti* ‘down’.
- WLE (vb intrans); also *raxomi*.
- RTU Also *kapiti*.
- TON Also *fāʔofua*.
- SAM *fusi* ‘bind, lash (vb intrans)’; *mau, opoopo* ‘hold fast (vb trans)’.

## 16.310 PAIN

*ATA	mu-xāʃ	UMA	pedaʔ	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> abru
TSO	ʃoŋo	BUG	ma-piddiʔ	LAU	fī
RUK	wa-aŋə-aŋə	KON	'paʔrisi	KWO	fīŋa
PAI	sakəcu	WOL	ka-pii	RAG	ɣayarasi
YAM	miŋən	MAG	bəti	PAA	māhien
ISN	takit	NGA	rio	LEW	laea
KAL	sīgab	SIK	blara	*POR	e-la <sup>ʔ</sup> g
TAG	sakit	RTI	hedis	NTA	nahman
AKL	sakit	BUR	em-peit	*KWA	nəpamien
*PAL	sakit pəɔɔs	*DOB	saray	NEM	pe-t <sup>h</sup> oli
MOL	sakit	IRA		CEM	cínu
KAG	sakit	SAW	n-pise	AJI	māfʌʃʌ
BLA	ka-tduk	NYI	sisiʔin	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-cəmīā
SAB	piddiʔ	MAM	sururu	NEN	laʃō
MUR	maduol	TAK	madai	KIR	maraki
*MGY	fanaintainana	DAM	darau	MSH	metak
ACE	saket	MAB	yoyouŋana	PON	metek
BAT	hatčit	YAB	ŋa <sup>n</sup> daŋ	WLE	metaxi
MIN	sakiʔ	KAU	man	*EFI	mosi
IND	sakit	*TOL	k-in-ədik	WFI	raðia
*SUN	[nəri]	BUA	ni saŋ	RTU	rū
JAV	lɔɔ	ADZ	ʃakia-	*TON	mamahi
MAD	sakiʔ	KIL	mayuyu	*SAM	tīŋā
BAL	sakit	TAW	wiyuwa	MEL	mmae
SAS	sakit	MOT	hisihi	*TAH	māuiui
GOR	ŋoŋoto	*MEK	kie-kie	RAP	mamae
DAA	ʃuʔa	ROV	siyiti		

ATA Also *m-a-w-xaʔ*.

PAL Also *bisa*.

MGY From (*faN-taina-taina-ana*).

SUN From Malay.

DOB (adj).

TOL From *kədik* 'be in pain, have pain (vb intrans)', *-in-* NOM.

MEK *e-kie-kie* 'feel pain, cause pain', West Mekeo *e-jie-ji*; NW Mekeo *baŋaŋa* 'pain'.

POR (*n +*) *e-la<sup>ʔ</sup>g*.

KWA Also 'heaviness'.

EFI Also *βutu*.

TON Also *laŋa*.

SAM Also 'be painful (vb intrans)'.

TAH Also *mamae*.

## 16.320 GRIEF, SORROW, SADNESS

**Sanskrit: *duḥkha-***

ATA	manaβačik	DAA	na-susa rara	*MEK	alo e-mafu
TSO	xuača-nač <sup>ʔ</sup> o	*UMA	mo <sup>n</sup> to <sup>ʔ</sup>	ROV	talotaŋa
RUK	mā-sələmə	BUG	ma-sussa	*MAR	di <sup>ʔ</sup> a nañafa
PAI	ma-varuŋ	*KON	sara	LAU	lio bokonua
*YAM	mazaət so	WOL	ka-poro	KWO	
	ononəđ	MAG	[susa] nai	RAG	
ISN	pannakit	NGA	more	PAA	devūen
KAL	domdom	*SIK	ʔβatə-ŋ susar	*LEW	sine-na viowa
*TAG	hāpis	*RTI	dale hedis	POR	loŋon e-sa <sup>mb</sup>
*AKL	subu <sup>ʔ</sup>	*BUR	daka late-n	*NTA	nəkin tahma
PAL	rupuk	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ay'loy-ni	*KWA	-apou
MOL	[dukka]	IRA	mənənurə	NEM	yāwa
*KAG	ka-lisəd	*SAW	wlo pise	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> āčhe-n
*BLA	k-lidu <sup>ʔ</sup>	NYI	tikisiy	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ēpΛ
*SAB	susa	MAM	nodo	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-tēi
MUR	masiluk (guaŋ nu)	*TAK	ilo-miŋane-k	NEN	čiajoni
MGY	alahelu	DAM	morō	*KIR	nanokāwaki
ACE	[duka-čita]	*MAB	lele- isāna pa	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> irom <sup>w</sup> əc
*BAT	arsak	*YAB	ŋa-lalom	*PON	nsensuwet
*MIN	ibo ati		ŋawapa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*WLE	řařom <sup>w</sup> eüi
*IND	kə-sədih-an	KAU	tuŋ	EFI	rarawa
*SUN	[sədih ]	*TOL	ni-liŋur	WFI	yalo-burā
JAV	sədih	*BUA	ayo mayin	RTU	putu
MAD	sussa	*ADZ	nugu-n	TON	mamahi
*BAL	sədih		barabin-dan	*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> anoanoa
SAS	ero <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KIL	-ninam <sup>w</sup> au	MEL	
*GOR	mo-ohuto	*TAW	nugodubu	*TAH	ʔoto
		*MOT	lalo-hisihisi	RAP	ʔaroha

- YAM *ikapaw* ‘miss someone’.
- TAG Also *lun̄kot*, [*dalamhati?*] from Malay ‘inside + heart’.
- AKL *subu?* + *ka-*; also *mīḡaw* ‘lonely, sad’.
- KAG ‘grief, sorrow’; *ḡəsəʼbə* ‘sad’.
- BLA *k-lidu?* ‘sorrow, grief’; *m-lidu?* ‘be sad’.
- SAB *susa* ‘sorrow’; *lamma?* + *a-* ‘sad’.
- BAT *m-arsak* ‘be sad’.
- MIN Also *sadiʰ*.
- IND Also *susah hati*, [*duka-čita*], *sakit hati*.
- SUN From Malay or Javanese, also *susah*, [*duka*].
- BAL Also *səbət* south Bali, north Bali ‘irritated’; *əḡsək* ‘speechless because of sadness’.
- GOR (*wohuto* + *mo-*) ‘sad’; also *mo-ololo* (*wololo* + *mo-*) ‘sad, longing’.
- UMA Also *susa?*.
- KON Also *paʰrisi ati*.
- SIK Also *ʔbatə-ḡhala-ḡlera-ḡ*.
- RTI ‘sick heart/insides’.
- BUR ‘sorrow, mourn’.
- SAW ‘heart sick’.
- TAK As in *ilo-n i-miḡani-da* ‘inside-his it-miss (-him)-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘his inside is missing him’, i.e. ‘he is sorry for him’.
- MAB ‘insides are bad because of’; also *lele- ipata pa* ‘insides are heavy because of’.
- YAB ‘his-inside heavy’; also *te-taʰḡawapaʰ* ‘his-belly heavy’.
- TOL From *ligur* ‘be sad (vb intrans)’, *ni-NOM*.
- BUA Also *k<sup>w</sup>a paya*, see 16.230.
- ADZ ‘liver-3sg POSS be heavy-PART’.
- KIL Also *i-m<sup>w</sup>au nona* ‘it-heavy mind’.
- TAW *nugodubu* ‘grief’; *nugotou* ‘sorrow’; *lunugotootogo* ‘be sad’.
- MOT *lalo* ‘inside’, *hisihisi* ‘pain; to feel pain’.
- MEK *alo e-mafu* ‘inside be-bad’; also *alo e-fufu* ‘inside be-blocked’ ‘grief, deep sorrow’.
- MAR *diʰa nañafa* ‘feel sadness, regret’; *taḡi* ‘be sorry for, grieve, mourn over’.
- LEW ‘gut is bad’, also *loḡe viowa*.

NTA	Also <i>nəkin tapou</i> ; lit ‘his heart is sore/his heart is tired’.
KWA	Also <i>-awahirəpam</i> ‘have heavy’.
CEM	‘he is unlucky, worthy of pity’; ‘sorrow’ expressed by <i>té</i> ‘heavy’.
KIR	Compare <i>te nano</i> ‘heart, inside’.
MSH	Also <i>ilomec</i> ‘dead inside’.
PON	‘bad feelings’.
WLE	‘broken heart’.
SAM	Also ‘be sad (vb intrans)’; also <i>tōtoaʔi</i> (vb intrans).
TAH	Also <i>mihi, māuiui, mamae</i> .

### 16.330 ANXIETY, WORRY

ATA	šikaki† na? kištik	SAS	kiwah	*ADZ	nam barabin- dan
TSO	naʔo	*GOR	mo-li-li <sup>m</sup> buto	KIL	-nokubukubu
RUK	mā-opoŋo	UMA	koroʔ	*TAW	nugohelele
PAI	ma-varuŋ	BUG	ma-sessa	*MOT	lalo-hek <sup>w</sup> arahi
*YAM	ikalaw	KON	bata-bata	*MEK	opopo
ISN	lidug	WOL	sukara		(opo-opo)
KAL	dānag	*MAG	[si <sup>m</sup> puŋ]	ROV	kuliusu
*TAG	balisa	NGA	ate-bute	MAR	naŋa
*AKL	hāwag	*SIK	dədo	LAU	maŋo lebe
*PAL	susa	RTI	bi	KWO	
MOL	susa	BUR	ge-gea-t	RAG	
*KAG	libəg	*DOB	ʔa-babar	PAA	devūen
*BLA	səmuk nɔwɔ	IRA	nəmətətə	*LEW	sitomi
SAB	susa	SAW	[hawatir]		manenea
*MUR	masusaʔ guan nu	NYI	tikisiy	POR	
MGY	tebi-tebi	MAM	ilo-buʔu	NTA	nəkin taht pək
ACE	biŋɔŋ	*TAK	ilo-murawa-n	KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> supus
BAT	biar	DAM	morō	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> iru
MIN	susah	*MAB	kopo-ruru	CEM	bēnime-n
*IND	kə-čəmas-an	*YAB	ŋa-lelomŋa- gɔgɔ	AJI	vi nenāwēřē
*SUN	[mələŋ]	KAU	kiŋ	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-k <sup>w</sup> εšə
*JAV	sumələŋ	*TOL	b-un-urut	NEN	unia
MAD	[kubatir]	BUA	aɣε rak	*KIR	raraomā
*BAL	iŋuh			*MSH	taŋukelel
				*PON	ŋɔŋ



*WLE	řařoiřaŋi	RTU	kokono	MEL	
EFI	taŋayā	*TON	loto-mo <sup>ʔ</sup> ua	*TAH	pe <sup>ʔ</sup> ape <sup>ʔ</sup> a
WFI	tag <sup>w</sup> ayā	*SAM	popole	RAP	mana <sup>ʔ</sup> u

YAM *ikalaw* ‘worry about’

TAG Also *pa-ala-ala*.

AKL *hāwag + ka-*.

PAL Also *sawyaw*.

KAG *libəg + mag-*.

BLA *m-ani nɔwɔ* ‘to worry’.

MUR Also *maimaŋ* (both adj).

IND Also [*xawatir*].

SUN From Javanese, also *hariwaŋ*.

JAV *um* fossilised infix, no longer productive.

BAL *keweh* also ‘difficult (to do)’.

GOR ‘worry (state) worried’.

MAG From Makassarese.

SIK Also *muro, brau*.

DOB *ʔa-babar* ‘fear, worry about something that might happen’.

TAK ‘anxious’ as in *ilo-n murawa-n-da* ‘inside-his heavy-its-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘his inside is heavy’, i.e. ‘he is worried’.

MAB *kopo- ruru* ‘stomach is seeking’; also *lele- ipata* ‘insides are heavy’; *lele- i<sup>m</sup>buk<sup>m</sup>buk* ‘insides are knotted’; *twer* ‘be worried about’.

YAB ‘his-inside go vine like’.

TOL From *buru* ‘to fear, be afraid (vb intrans)’, *un-* NOM.

ADZ ‘thing be heavy-PART’.

TAW *nugohелеле* ‘nervous/anxious’, *nugogeno* ‘worry’, *nugotomatoma* ‘despair/anxiety’.

MOT *lalo* ‘inside’, *hek<sup>w</sup>arahi* ‘work hard, with great effort and concern’.

MEK *e-opo-opo* ‘think a lot’.

LEW ‘think about greatly’.

KIR *nanoa* ‘to take to heart’

MSH Also *ikrēlel; inēpata, kicēřēř* ‘eager, impatient’.

PON *p<sup>w</sup>unot; t̄iwo; nsenōki* ‘be worried, concerned about’.

WLE Also [*simpai*] from Japanese.

TON Also *hohaʔa*.

SAM Also 'be worried (vb intrans)'

TAH Also *ahaho, tapitapi; horuhoru, hauririʔa* archaic.

### 16.340 REGRET, BE SORRY

ATA	yania ʔaʔiʔ	DAA	na <sup>n</sup> ʔoso rara	MAR	diʔa nañafa
*TSO	maʔ-susurare	UMA	sohoʔ	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aيمانatai
RUK	ŋi-a-	BUG	mas-sissi-kale	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aيمانadai
	tatasiolioli	*KON	sassala	RAG	
PAI	pa-təlʔip	WOL	soso	PAA	mudevū
YAM	manənoʔə	*MAG	təsər	LEW	sine-na
ISN	akappoli	NGA	lisu		viowa-ŋa-ni
*KAL	babawi	*SIK	rudu	POR	lələ sa <sup>m</sup> b-in-i
*TAG	sīsi	*RTI	sale dale	NTA	nəkin tahma o
*AKL	nuʔuʔ	*BUR	[sio]	*KWA	-apou tə
*PAL	məg-susun	*DOB	na-r-tutu si	NEM	hōu
MOL	susun		na-r-moray-n	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ōli-hi
*KAG	nəlsəl	IRA	ʔətasənati	AJI	tā vi nenā
BLA	m-sal	*SAW	[mañasal]	XAR	nārāyā
*SAB	susun	NYI	tikisiy	NEN	lereie
*MUR	malubat	MAM	ŋoŋo	*KIR	raraomāea-
MGY	ma-nenina	*TAK	ilo- -pani		kina
*ACE	laih	*DAM	wau y-ū-ya	*MSH	acʔok
BAT	səlsəl	*MAB	-rere pa itu-	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> uria-
*MIN	mañasa	*YAB	tae malo		m <sup>w</sup> eikila
IND	məiñəsəl (səsəl)	KAU	hiim	WLE	niyafiyafi
		*TOL	nuk puku	EFI	βei-βutu-ni
*SUN	handil	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a paya in	WFI	umi-ðakinia
*JAV	gətun	ADZ	ga-da <sup>n</sup> dza	RTU	huahaʔa
MAD	a-sapura	*KIL	i-m <sup>w</sup> au nona	*TON	tālakituʔa
*BAL	ñə(l)səl (sə(l)səl)	*TAW	nugodubu	*SAM	faʔanoanoa
SAS	sə-pakat	*MOT	boga-ia hisi	MEL	
GOR	mo-leʔe	*MEK	alo e-mafu	TAH	tātarahapa
		ROV	talotaŋa	*RAP	ʔaroha

TSO Also *taʔ-susuraz-a*.

KAL *babawi + man-*.

TAG	<i>sīsi + mag-/-in</i> ; also <i>hināyaŋ + maŋ-/paŋ--an</i> ‘feel sorry’.
AKL	( <i>nuɬʔ-an</i> ).
PAL	Also <i>sayaŋ</i> .
KAG	<i>nəlsəl + mag-</i> ; also <i>nali + ma--an</i> (but this does not imply a desire to not do it again as <i>nəlsəl</i> does).
SAB	<i>susun + ag-</i> .
MUR	(adj).
ACE	Also <i>susay</i> .
MIN	From ( <i>maN-sasa</i> ).
SUN	Also <i>hañjakal</i> .
JAV	Also <i>kəduwuŋ</i> .
BAL	(vb trans), also <i>mə-sə(l)səl-an</i> (vb intrans).
KON	Also <i>añ-ñassala</i> .
MAG	Also <i>ləli, nae</i> .
SIK	Also <i>tura</i> .
RTI	<i>sale dale</i> general expression for indicating regret; <i>sale dale/tuka (tuke) tei</i> form a dyadic set in ritual language, often used in ordinary speech.
BUR	<i>[sio]</i> ‘regret’; <i>ep-tofo</i> ‘apologies upon leave-taking’; <i>pun dofo lale-n moo</i> ‘feel remorse’; <i>[kasian]</i> from Malay.
DOB	Glosses not yet elicited.
SAW	From Malay.
TAK	‘be sorry for’: as in <i>ilo-g i-pan-o-da</i> ‘inside-my it-give-thee-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘my inside is giving to you’, i.e. ‘I am sorry for you’.
DAM	‘liver 3sg-hit-INF’.
MAB	‘be looking at oneself’.
YAB	‘his-belly quiet’.
TOL	<i>nuk</i> ‘think (vb trans)’, <i>puku</i> ‘turn round (vb intrans)’.
KIL	<i>i-m<sup>w</sup>au nona</i> ‘it-heavy mind’; <i>i-inayuyu nona</i> ‘it-hurts mind’.
TAW	<i>nugodubu</i> ‘regret’; <i>ludalili</i> ‘be sorry’.
MOT	Also <i>lalo-hisihisi</i> (see 16.320).
MEK	NW Mekeo <i>e-kau-buŋa</i> .
KWA	‘sad for (something)’.
KIR	(vb trans); compare <i>raraomā</i> ‘regret, anguish, anxiety’; <i>nanokāwaki</i> also ‘sad’; <i>ritañia</i> .
MSH	<i>ukeɬək</i> also ‘confess, feel remorse’; <i>bīroin<sup>w</sup>æc</i> (vb trans); see <i>ɾaɾaomā</i> ‘regret, anguish, anxiety’.
PON	‘be shocked about’; see <i>p<sup>w</sup>uriam<sup>w</sup>ei</i> ‘surprised’.

TON Also *faka-tomala*.

SAM See 16.320; *tōtoaʻi* ‘regret (vb intrans)’.

RAP Also *taŋi*, *ʔo-ʔoka*, *maui-ui*.

### 16.350 PITY

*ATA	šaiŋan	UMA	<sup>m</sup> pe-ʔahi-iʔ	ROV	talotaŋa
TSO		BUG	ma-mase	MAR	kok <sup>h</sup> oni
RUK	mā-tiakokoro	KON	masse	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aimanataia
PAI		WOL	kaasi	KWO	(k <sup>w</sup> ai)aetaʔā
YAM	ikaŋi	MAG	baʔeŋ	RAG	
ISN	agkallaʔ	NGA	məsu	PAA	māhisī
KAL	kaʔāsi	*SIK	bohe kasi-ŋ	LEW	sine-na ye
*TAG	āwaʔ	RTI	sue	POR	
*AKL	ʔūʔuy	*BUR	musi-k	NTA	nəkin tapou o
PAL	iŋasiʔ	DOB	na-siʻlan	KWA	-api
MOL	iŋasiʔ	IRA		NEM	yēwe-n
*KAG	luʔuy-an	SAW	sən	CEM	émemeda
BLA	k-am-do	NYI	tikisiy	*AJI	kāwā
*SAB	aseʔ	MAM	ilo-taga	XAR	nārā
*MUR	asiʔ	*TAK	ilo-pane-k	NEN	čeŋeran
*MGY	fangurahana	DAM	wau y-ū-ya	KIR	te nanoaŋa
ACE	sayaŋ	*MAB	-muŋai	*MSH	p <sup>m</sup> irom <sup>m</sup> æc
BAT	asi ni rəha	*YAB	tae labu	*PON	pəkēla
MIN	ibo	*KAU	mi- ... suk	*WLE	faxō-a
IND	kasih-an	*TOL	vər-mari	EFI	loma-na
*SUN	[karuñā]	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a pəsifβin	WFI	loma-nia
*JAV	māsaʔ-ke	*ADZ	mara-n <sup>n</sup> toaʔ-	RTU	hanisi
MAD	ŋ-iman-i		an	TON	faka-ʔofa-ʔia
*BAL	pədaləm	KIL	-nokapisi	*SAM	faʔanoanoa-ŋa
*SAS	priak	TAW	winugototogo	MEL	mānatu
GOR	toliʔaŋo	*MOT	boga-hisi	*TAH	arofa
DAA	na-nasi mata	*MEK	ŋuā e-ani-a	RAP	ʔaroha

ATA *šiyu-ʔaluʔ* ‘pity, sympathy’.

TAG Also *habag + pagka-*.

AKL *ʔūʔuy + ka-*.

KAG *luʔuy + ma-/-an*.

SAB	<i>ase?</i> + <i>ma-/ka-an</i> .
MUR	<i>asi?</i> ( <i>maka-</i> ; <i>ka- -an</i> ).
MGY	From ( <i>faN-huraka-ana</i> ).
SUN	From Sanskrit.
JAV	From ( <i>məsaə?</i> - <i>ke</i> ).
BAL	<i>pədaləm</i> (n); <i>N-pədaləm-in</i> (vb trans).
SAS	<i>priak</i> (n); <i>mriakaŋ</i> ( <i>priak-aŋ</i> ) (vb trans).
SIK	Also [ <i>saya-ŋ</i> ] from Malay.
BUR	‘pity, love, affection’.
TAK	‘inside-give-NOM’; see 16.340.
MAB	<i>-muŋai</i> ‘ease the suffering of’; also <i>lele- isāna pa</i> ‘feel bad for’.
YAB	‘his-belly quiet’; also <i>teta? labu</i> ‘his-belly quiet’; <i>tac walo</i> ‘his-belly coupling’.
KAU	‘inside-POSS pity’.
TOL	<i>vər-</i> nom., <i>mari</i> (vb trans) ‘love, pity, favour’, see 16.270.
ADZ	‘eye-3sg POSS. exhaust-participle’, i.e. ‘his eyes felt sorry for ...’.
MOT	(vb) <i>boga-ia hisi</i> , as 16.340; <i>boga</i> ‘belly’, <i>hisi</i> ‘pain’ (as <i>hisihisi</i> ).
MEK	‘heart-3sg 3sg-eat-it’ ‘a mixture of affection, desire and compassion, or pity; God’s love for man (in the writings of the missionaries)’.
AJI	Also <i>vi k̄awā</i> .
MSH	Also ‘sad, sadness’; <i>tirjam</i> <sup>uo</sup> also ‘sympathy’.
ṔON	(vb trans); <i>-la</i> ‘away’.
WLE	(vb trans) also ‘love’.
SAM	<i>-ŋa</i> NOM.
TAH	Also <i>aroha</i> .

### 16.370 CRY, WEEP

ATA	mi-ŋiʃiʃ	*TAG	īyak	*MUR	taŋi?
*TSO	ō-szori	AKL	tāŋis	*MGY	mi-tumani
*RUK	wa-tobi	PAL	mogsyak	*ACE	məə
PAI	ḱ-əm-auŋ	*MOL	rubit	BAT	taŋis
YAM	amlavi	*KAG	agal	*MIN	manaŋih (taŋih)
ISN	sumāŋit	*BLA	m-ŋil		
*KAL	ībil	*SAB	taŋis		

IND	mənaŋis (taŋis)	SAW	n-taŋes	LEW	taŋi
		*NYI	aden	POR	ra <sup>h</sup> gis-i
SUN	čirik	MAM	taŋ	*NTA	-asak
JAV	naŋis (taŋis)	TAK	-tata	*KWA	-api
MAD	taŋis	DAM	kě	NEM	ye
BAL	ŋə-liŋ	*MAB	-taŋ	CEM	é
SAS	naŋis (taŋis)	YAB	-taŋ	AJ	tā
*GOR	h-um-oyoŋo	*KAU	hau	XAR	tēi
DAA	na-geo	TOL	təŋi	NEN	mane
UMA	geo?	BUA	su	KIR	taŋ
BUG	tiri	ADZ	raŋ-	MSH	eaŋ
KON	aŋ-ŋarraŋ (karraŋ)	*KIL	-βalam	*PON	seŋ
WOL	taŋi	*TAW	tou	WLE	taŋi
MAG	retaŋ	MOT	tai	EFI	taŋi
*NGA	rita	*MEK	e-apepe	WFI	taŋi
SIK	tani	ROV	kabo	RTU	ou
RTI	ki	MAR	taŋi	TON	taŋi
BUR	taŋi	LAU	āŋia	*SAM	taŋi
DOB	?a-ten	KWO	ani	MEL	taŋi
IRA	nətagə	RAG	dci	*TAH	ta?i
		PAA	mīs	RAP	taŋi

TSO Also *ō-szor-a*.

RUK *wa-gə!əθə* ‘(for a child) to cry’.

KAL *ībil + man-*.

TAG *īyak + -um/-an*.

MOL *rubit + mog-*.

KAG *agal + m-*; also *yagak + mag-*; *ug?og + mag-* ‘weep as in grief’.

BLA [*k-am-wak*] ‘cry, bawl’.

SAB *taŋis + aN-*.

MUR *taŋi? (mag-)*.

MGY See PMP *\*-um- + \*taŋis*.

ACE Also *kli?*.

MIN (*maN-taŋih*).

GOR (*hiyogo + um-*).

NGA Also *naŋi*.

NYI Also *eden* (1sg, 3sg).

MAB	Also <i>-kam tiŋīzi</i> ‘do crying’.
KAU	Also <i>tinis</i> ‘shed tears’.
KIL	<i>-ɸalam</i> ‘weep’; <i>i-bubusimitilagila</i> ‘it-dripping tears’.
TAW	<i>tou</i> ‘cry’; <i>toubahabaha</i> ‘weep’.
MEK	<i>e-ikeke, e-igege</i> in other dialects.
NTA	Also <i>-eau, -iaraj</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-asək</i> also ‘call out, shout’; <i>-eau</i> ‘sob’.
PON	Also <i>teŋtenīr</i> see <i>teŋīr</i> ‘waterfall’; <i>witeutam<sup>w</sup>er</i> hon., lit ‘wash wrinkles’.
SAM	(polite) <i>tutulu</i> (vb intrans).
TAH	Also <i>?oto, heva</i> obsolete.

### 16.380 TEAR (n)

*ATA	βuḵ na <sup>?</sup> rauik	*BAL	yeh mata	*TOL	lur
TSO	rsī	SAS	rock-an	BUA	mala ruk
RUK	ļəsə	GOR	ponu	*ADZ	mara gurun
PAI	ļusəḵ	DAA	ue mata	KIL	mitilagila
YAM	kawowo	UMA	ue mata	TAW	dilig <sup>w</sup> eg <sup>w</sup> e
ISN	luwa	BUG	uwae-mata	*MOT	iruru-mata
KAL	lūwa	KON	ere mata	MEK	
TAG	lūha <sup>?</sup>	WOL	lolu	ROV	kolomata
AKL	ḵūha <sup>?</sup>	MAG	(vae) lu <sup>?</sup> u	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> olo tat <sup>h</sup> a
PAL	luha <sup>?</sup>	NGA	lu <sup>?</sup> u	LAU	kafo mā
MOL	luha <sup>?</sup>	SIK	luḵ	KWO	
KAG	lua <sup>?</sup>	RTI	lu oe	RAG	
BLA	lwak	BUR	rama-n wae-n	*PAA	simetok
SAB	bohe <sup>?</sup> mata	*DOB	mata k <sup>w</sup> ar	LEW	wa-mara-na
MUR	lomow	IRA	matie rue	POR	merai
MGY	ranu-masu	SAW	yowen	NTA	nahui namtən
ACE	ie mata	NYI	wa <sup>?</sup> i madan	*KWA	nəsei nenime
BAT	ribak	MAM	mata-daj	*NEM	we-t <sup>n</sup> amā-n
MIN	ai <sup>?</sup> mato	TAK	iro-n	CEM	tábe-hé-mî-n
IND	air mata	DAM	igoya	AJI	p <sup>wē</sup> rā
*SUN	či[panon]	MAB	mata lulūnu	*XAR	p <sup>wā</sup> -k <sup>w</sup> e
JAV	loh	*YAB	mata-sulu	NEN	lamane
MAD	aiḵ mata	*KAU	tinis-ŋin	*KIR	te ran ni mata

*MSH	rænnin kʌmcālaɭ	EFI	wai-ni-mata	*SAM	loimata
		WFI	-wai-ni-mata	MEL	rīmata
PON	pīlen mese	RTU	sui ne mafa	*TAH	papemata
WLE	ʂaʔūři mata	TON	loʔi-mata	RAP	mata-vai

ATA *βuʔ naʔ rauik* ‘tears’, lit ‘juice of face’.

SUN *či* ‘water’; [*panon*] ‘eye’ from Javanese.

BAL ‘water (of) eye’.

DOB ‘eye water’.

YAB ‘eye-liquid’.

KAU ‘weep-NOM’.

TOL *lur* ‘shed tears (vb intrans)’.

ADZ ‘eye juice-3sg POSS’.

MOT *mata* ‘eye’.

PAA ‘my eye water’.

KWA ‘fluid-of eye’.

NEM ‘water of his eye’.

XAR ‘drop of water’.

KIR ‘eye water’.

MSH ‘water of sorrow’.

SAM (polite) *loifofona, mataʔu*.

TAH Also *roimata*.

## 16.390 GROAN

ATA	ʂ-um-ihuŋ	*KAG	lagay	*MAD	a-garuŋguŋ
TSO	troe-ɕreŋi	BLA	d-m-alonŋ	*BAL	duuh-duuh
RUK	wa-ɕaŋə	*SAB	dahiŋ	SAS	ŋə-rəŋ
PAI		MUR		GOR	mo-hu-
YAM	omkabkab	MGY	mi-treruna		huŋoto
ISN	maka tūlag	ACE	baʔɤ	DAA	naka-lo <sup>ŋ</sup> ji
*KAL	alūdoŋ	BAT	m-ɔrɔŋ-ɔrɔŋ	UMA	<sup>n</sup> todohaka
*TAG	halihhiŋ	MIN	ma-araŋ	BUG	mad-diŋŋiʔ
AKL	aguʔuʔ	*IND	mə-rintih	KON	aʔ-ŋanro
PAL		*SUN	ŋa-haruruŋ	WOL	po-kid'e
MOL	oŋok	JAV	ŋ-(rə)rintih	MAG	pasar



NGA	vəre	ADZ	priʔ-	CEM	hù
*SIK	nuʔu	KIL	-kayagigila	AJI	dũ
RTI	na-ho	TAW	talagabala	XAR	dũ
*BUR	m-ŋaha	MOT	yanayana	NEN	kolo
DOB	na-r-tora	*MEK	e-makuŋa	KIR	ŋira
IRA	nanəɸerəgə	*ROV	silava	*MSH	ŋŋiŋ
*SAW	n-elin	MAR	eʔegre	PON	iŋiŋik
NYI	añar	LAU	kʷai	WLE	ŋiŋi
MAM	ilo-ʔoto	KWO	ŋola	EFI	βutuŋū
TAK	-sasai	RAG		WFI	ŋuha
DAM	kininil	PAA	gat vohuvoh	RTU	ŋū
MAB	-yak	LEW	ŋoŋoru	TON	toʔe
*YAB	-yām də	POR	xaxaiv	SAM	ōi
*KAU	yutyut	NTA	-əkəməs	MEL	taiterīŋi
TOL	riri	KWA	-enən	*TAH	ʔuʔuru
BUA	bəlol	NEM		*RAP	ʔuʔuru

KAL *alūdōŋ + man-*.

TAG Also *daʔiŋ + -um-*.

KAG *lagay + mag-*; see 04.612.

SAB *dahiŋ + ag-*.

IND Also *məŋ-əraŋ, məŋəluh (kəluh)*.

SUN Also *humaruruŋ*.

MAD Safioedin (1977): ‘grumble’.

BAL Also *mə-duuh-an (aduh, interjection expressing pain, strong emotions)*.

SIK Also *βohe βorə-ŋ*.

BUR ‘(person) shout, groan’; *eg-raga* ‘sound of animal (deer, pig) in pain’.

SAW Also *n-otes* ‘grunt-type’.

YAB ‘do groaning’.

KAU Also *hos kaip, βetβet*.

MEK *e-makuŋa* ‘groan; complain’; *e-nie* (? *e-nio*) ‘groan, sob’.

ROV Also *soliji*.

MSH Also *ŋielək*.

TAH Also *auē*.

RAP *ʔu-ʔuru* ‘groan, grunt (from pain), sound of running motor, etc.’;  
*ʔu-ʔū* ‘grunt (of a mute or vocally handicapped person, not from pain)’.

### 16.410 HATE

ATA	š-um-ša-šʔaŋ	BUG	čačča	LAU	māniula
*TSO	maʔ-siʔ-siʔno	*KON	aʔ-kahirisi	KWO	
RUK	mā-liši	WOL	ma-rika	RAG	
PAI	ma-dudu	*MAG	ʃogot	PAA	
*YAM	oyaoya	NGA	sunu	*LEW	sine-na kari
ISN	luʔsaw-an	*SIK	sudi-ŋ	POR	
*KAL	laweŋ	*RTI	na-peda dale k	NTA	-etəhau
*TAG	poʔot	*BUR	pei poso-n	KWA	-əməki
*AKL	nawʔay		da lale	NEM	yalīŋ
PAL	riŋit	*DOB	ʔe ɸuy ɸay-ni	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> īhi
MOL	boŋsi	*IRA	ɸata sagenə	AJ	vi rīā
*KAG	dəmət	*SAW	n-məgisne	XAR	kē-mīri
BLA	m-naŋ nɔwɔ	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ale-n	NEN	ekečo
*SAB	binsi	*MAM	segeaʔi	KIR	ribā
MUR	malikokot	TAK	siai	*MSH	kərate
*MGY	fankaha'lana	DAM	gē	*PON	kailoŋki
*ACE	banči	MAB	-ur koi pa	*WLE	xa-ŋŋawɔ
BAT	hɔsɔm	*YAB	-deʔ	*EFI	ða-ta
*MIN	banči	*KAU	mut	WFI	matakunu
IND	məm-banči	*TOL	milikuən-e		kunu-sia
*SUN	ŋewa	BUA	le paya	RTU	fesiʔa
JAV	səŋit	ADZ	bugin-	TON	fehiʔa
MAD	baʃiʔ	KIL	-kowoloβa	SAM	ʔinoʔino
*BAL	gətiŋ	*TAW	wihinigigiyana	MEL	finnūkina
SAS	gədək	*MOT	inai heni-a	*TAH	feʔiʔi
GOR	mo-ŋiŋi	*MEK	oaka	RAP	riri
DAA	na-vua mata	ROV	kanaia		
UMA	poka-hukuʔ	*MAR	kukunu		

TSO Also *taʔ-siʔ-siʔnov-a*.

YAM Also *pačioyen*.

KAL *laweŋ + -on*.

- TAG Also *suklam* + *ma-/ka--an*.
- AKL *naw<sup>2</sup>ay* + *na-*.
- KAG *de'mət* + *mag-/an*.
- SAB *binsi* + *a-/ka-an*.
- MGY From *fanka-hala-ana*.
- ACE Also *dun<sup>2</sup>ki*, *dam*.
- MIN Also *ja<sup>2</sup>o<sup>2</sup>*.
- SUN Eringa: 'dislike'.
- BAL *gətiŋ*, *doləg* (n); also *gədəg* (n) lit 'anger'; (*N-*)*gədəg-aŋ* (vb trans).
- KON Also *aŋ-ŋahirisi*.
- MAG Also *ra<sup>2</sup>kat nai*.
- SIK Also *moro sudiŋ*, *βatə ŋ sudi ŋ*.
- RTI 'put/keep inside'.
- BUR 'hurt inside chest'; *nak suka geba di moo* 'doesn't like that person'; *plag-ii-k* 'character assassination'
- DOB 'his desire is finished from him'.
- IRA *ja φətagə sagen i* 'I hate him'.
- SAW Also *ɛ*.
- MAM Also *tago-rereta<sup>2</sup>i*.
- YAB Also *teta<sup>2</sup> gɛ-dɛ<sup>2</sup>* 'belly.his it-detest'; *kisa* 'hate, enmity'.
- KAU Also *nol*.
- TOL *milikuən* 'be ugly, hateful (vb intrans)', *mulikuən-əi* 'hate (vb intrans)'.
- TAW 'hate/reject'.
- MOT *inai* 'enemy'. *badu heni-a* 'to be angry with someone'.
- MEK *oaka* corresponds to Motu *vada*, a form of sorcery, but in Mekeo the word means 'hate', the emotion. *e-pa-mafu-a* is 'dislike something intensely', but see 22.420, note.
- MAR 'harbour resentment, bear a grudge'.
- LEW 'gut bites'.
- CEM Expresses above all disgust.
- MSH *rike* also 'reject, disapprove, resent'; *ap<sup>w</sup>əp<sup>w</sup>* also 'refuse, decline'; *kitətəik* also 'be angry about'
- PON See *kailok* 'hatred'.
- WLE Also *ŋŋawēti* alternate *xəŋŋewō*, *ŋŋawəŋaŋ* see *ŋŋawe* 'bad, foul'.

EFI Also *sē-βaka*.

TAH Also *tāiroiro*.

## 16.420 ANGER

ΛTA	ma-šʔaŋ	UMA	roc	*MAR	diʔa ta(ñā)
*TSO	siʔno	BUG	čai	LAU	rekehasu
RUK	mā-ḷisi	KON	larro	KWO	ogaria
*PAI	ḷimuʔəŋ	*WOL	ʔamara	*RAG	horō
YAM	mioya	*MAG	rugi	PAA	vuruh
ISN	luʔsaw	*NGA	miso	*LEW	sine-na mimi
*KAL	sūlag	*SIK	moro	*POR	na-lø-n e-paŋ
*TAG	galit	*RTI	nasa-k	*NTA	neməha
*AKL	ākig	BUR	sefe-n	*KWA	niamaha
PAL	məysəŋ	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> uray-ni	NEM	ciāc
*MOL	isog	IRA	neʔierə	CEM	ôkē
*KAG	gilək	*SAW	ma-sawan	AJ	vi rōē
*BLA	k-labəʔ	NYI	losen	XAR	bərə
*SAB	amā	*MAM	nama-ra	NEN	čeŋenia
*MUR	saŋit	*TAK	ilo- sae-n	KIR	un
*MGY	fahatezerana	DAM	ou	*MSH	k <sup>w</sup> i
ACE	buŋəh	*MAB	kete- malmal	*PON	sall
*BAT	muruk	*YAB	tetaʔ ŋa <sup>n</sup> daŋ	*WLE	ssōŋa
MIN	beraŋ	*KAU	ian sal	EFI	ðudru
IND	kə-marah-an	TOL	kəŋkan	WFI	oða-sia
SUN	ambək	BUA	aŋe səŋen	RTU	feke
*JAV	[nəpsu]	*ADZ	a <sup>n</sup> tu <sup>n</sup> ʔ-a aŋu	TON	ʔita
*MAD	a-[naksu]	KIL	-gibuluwa	SAM	ita
*BAL	gədəg	TAW	(lu)uyogigai	MEL	fīnunū
SAS	sili	MOT	badu	*TAH	riri
*GOR	mo-yiŋo	*MEK	ŋua e-kupu	RAP	riri
DAA	na-rau	ROV	buŋoro		

TSO (*siʔnov-a*).

PAI *g-aḷ-əmə-gəm* 'lose one's temper'.

KAL *sūlag + na-*.

TAG *galit (+ma-)*.

AKL *ākig + na-*; also *ugut, hāŋit*.

MOL	<i>isog + mo-/mog-</i> .
KAG	<i>gilek + mag-/an</i> .
BLA	<i>k-labəʔ, ka-lbut</i> ‘anger’, <i>f-labəʔ, ma-lbut</i> ‘angry’.
SAB	<i>amā + ag-</i> , also <i>astol + aN-/an</i> .
MUR	<i>saŋit (-um)</i> .
MGY	From ( <i>fa’ha + tezitra + ana</i> ).
BAT	(n)
JAV	From Arabic, also [ <i>nəsu</i> ].
MAD	[ <i>nafsu</i> ] from Arabic <i>nafas</i> .
BAL	Also <i>pəɖih; bəsus</i> ‘quick to anger’.
GOR	‘angry’, also <i>ǰalo</i> ‘angry, anger’.
WOL	Also <i>gera, sese</i> ‘angry’.
MAG	Also <i>rabo</i> .
NGA	Also <i>foǰo</i> .
SIK	Also <i>moro moi-ŋ, hara-ŋ</i> .
RTI	Also <i>nama-nasa</i> .
SAW	Also <i>n-čawan (sawan)</i> (vb.).
MAM	Also <i>ilo-ra</i> .
TAK	‘angry’, see <i>ilo-d sae n da</i> ‘inside their bad IMPRF’, i.e. ‘their inside is bad’, i.e. ‘they are angry’.
MAB	‘liver is fighting’.
YAB	‘belly his hot’.
KAU	<i>sal</i> ‘wound, sore’; also <i>mi-... luk</i> ‘inside-POSS dark’; <i>mi-... kakarsun</i> .
ADZ	Also <i>antəŋʔ-a aŋu</i> .
MEK	<i>ɣua e-kupu</i> ‘heart be closed, blocked’ (see 04.440); also <i>e-ʔeʔefa, e-loʔu, e-fae-faeʔa, e-kipuŋa</i> ‘be angry, violent’; NW Mekeo <i>koŋa</i> ‘anger’.
MAR	‘he’s angry’.
RAG	‘become angry’; also <i>b<sup>w</sup>ahu-ɣa</i> ‘become angry’.
LEW	‘gut is angry’, also <i>sine-na kawa</i> ‘gut is hard’.
POR	‘the-inside-his it-angry’.
NTA	Also <i>-autu</i> .
KWA	<i>niamaha</i> ‘anger’; <i>-ap<sup>w</sup>an</i> ‘angry’, also ‘hot’.
MSH	<i>k<sup>w</sup>i</i> ‘short tempered, provoked’; <i>kɪɫɪɫɪ</i> ‘malice, rage, hatred’; <i>matərtərtə</i> .
PON	Also <i>liŋeriŋe</i> ; <i>m<sup>w</sup>əl</i> ‘red hot’; <i>eŋieŋ</i> hon. (lit ‘windy’).

WLE Also *sixa*.

TAH Also *ʔoʔoʔo*, *haraʔoʔo*; *hae* ‘anger’.

## 16.440 ENVY, JEALOUSY

ATA	k-um-anraram	UMA	mo-hiŋiʔ	ROV	kono
*TSO	s-m-oʔir- konvosi	BUG	empūru	MAR	gogotu
RUK	paθala	*KON	iri ati	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aifia
PAI	pa-talaŋ	WOL		KWO	māʔudu(-a)
YAM	ikinanaət	MAḠ	mēt	RAG	
ISN	āsil	*NGA	roo	*PAA	tinok gatiat
*KAL	āpal	*SIK	sudi-ŋ	*LEW	vielue
*TAG	iŋgit	*RTI	nasa dale-k	POR	lūsūr
*AKL	hīkaw	*BUR	lale-n geba ii-n	NTA	-etəhak
PAL	məymun	*DOB	na-r-lebay	KWA	-etet
MOL	daŋkiʔ	IRA	nəʔerenə	NEM	kīa
*KAG	pagʔimun	*SAW	ma-teŋeŋ	CEM	pī-p <sup>w</sup> ŋ-kó-n
BLA	m-iŋʔ <sup>?</sup> nəwə	*NYI	mada likis	AJI	vi peři
*SAB	lindi	MAM	uana	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-k <sup>w</sup> ara
*MUR	solon	TAK	malasek	NEN	ikuja
MGY	fi-alun-ana	*DAM	i-le oro-ya	*KIR	b <sup>w</sup> akantaŋ
*ACE	ŋuren	*MAB	mata- m <sup>bur</sup> m <sup>bur</sup>	*MSH	cūnm <sup>ar</sup>
BAT	late	YAB	lemuŋ	*PON	luwak
*MIN	biŋiʔ	KAU	kustu	WLE	saxaŋgawa
IND	kə-čəmburu-an	*TOL	vər-ŋu	EFI	βūβū
SUN	sirik	BUA	ayo sis yi	WFI	tokomata
*JAV	meri	ADZ	mara mimi	RTU	fuaʔa
MAD	tamburuwan	KHL	pogi	TON	meheka
BAL	jələ	TAW	onigena- genalili	SAM	fuā
SAS	təlo ate	MOT	mama	MEL	
*GOR	mo-hīhiya	*MEK	pikupa	TAH	pohehae
DAA	na-siriati			RAP	mākota

TSO Also *soʔir-konvos-a*.

KAL *āpal + na-*.

TAG *iŋgit + pagka-*; also *hīliʔ + pananag-*.

AKL *hīkaw + ka-*.

- KAG From (*imun + pag-*); also *pagʔibut* (*ibut + pag-*).
- SAB *lindi* ‘envy’; *limbu* ‘jealousy’.
- MUR Also *iŋot* ‘sexual jealousy’.
- ACE Also [*čumuru*] from Malay.
- MIN Also *čimburu*.
- JAV (vb intrans), from *\*ma-iri*; also *butarəp*; *čəmburu*.
- GOR ‘envious’; *mo-po-tilibu* ‘jealous (in romantic attachments)’.
- KON Also *sirati* and *siri ati* ‘so strong as to be destructive’.
- NGA Also *ate-roo*.
- SIK Also *ʔbatə-ŋ gəte*.
- RTI ‘anger (angry) inside’; the nuances do not coincide with the English.
- BUR ‘want s.o.’s possessions’; *ŋei* ‘towards, want, lust, covet’.
- DOB *na-r-lebay* ‘feel jealousy (vb intrans)’; *ʔo-r-lebay yaʔa ʔaʔni barʔlay* ‘I’m jealous of his possessions’.
- SAW Also *n-dewε* ‘jealous of husband talking with another woman’.
- NYI *madalikis* ‘jealousy over things’, *ubun* ‘jealousy over one’s spouse’.
- DAM ‘3sg-go wish-INF’.
- MAB *mata- mburmbur* ‘jealous’; *mata- berber* ‘envious’.
- KAU Also *kos* ‘marital jealousy’.
- TOL *nar-* NOM., *ŋu* ‘envy (vb trans)’.
- MEK *pikupa* ‘envy, jealousy, spite’; *piapu* ‘possessiveness vis-à-vis women over whom one has control’, i.e. jealousy plus suspicion.
- PAA ‘my guts are itchy’.
- LEW Also *loi*.
- XAR Also *mεmε* ‘jealousy between husband and wife only’.
- KIR *bʷakantaŋ* lit ‘giving in to crying’; *tauan nne* ‘guard jealously’; lit ‘hold the place’, *ŋeŋe* (of food or drink).
- MSH Also *cucal*, *ʔolʔccer*.
- PON Also *peirin*.

### 16.450 SHAME (n)

ATA	š-um-i-ša-ši- čā†	RUK	ISN	āliyaw
TSO	xʔoinv-eni	PAI	KAL	baʔin
		YAM	TAG	hiyaʔ

*AKL	huya?	SIK	mea-ŋ	RAG	
PAL	lɔʔɔw	*RTI	mae	PAA	memauen
MOL	koya?	BUR	em-gea	LEW	na-memawa-
*KAG	gaiya	*DOB	na-ma'taw		ena
BLA	k-yɔʔ	*IRA	ritə derətə	POR	mamau
SAB	iya?	SAW	mei-mɔɛ	*NTA	-auləs
*MUR	mauyu?	NYI	bulima	KWA	naurəsien
MGY	henat'a	MAM	maia	NEM	maic
ACE	maleə	*TAK	miai	CEM	tánim
BAT	ila	DAM	mama	AJI	kō
MIN	malu	MAB	ka-miaŋ	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ã-cara
IND	([rasa]) malu	*YAB	maya	NEN	čiaŋanani
*SUN	era	*KAU	man-ŋin	*KIR	māmā
JAV	isin	*TOL	ni-ruvə	*MSH	cōk
MAD	tuḍus	BUA	nimumsen	*PON	sarō
*BAL	lək	*ADZ	rini-n mia?	WLE	mō
SAS	lilə		an	EFI	māduā
GOR	wolito	KIL	mosila	WFI	βa-βa-mē
DAA	eya mata	TAW	wihinimae	*RTU	mæe
UMA	ea?	MOT	hemarai	TON	mā
BUG	siri?	*MEK	ofueŋe	*SAM	mā
KON	siri?	ROV	kinurekure	*MEL	[maliere]
*WOL	ka-ea	MAR	mamaʒa	TAH	haʔamā
*MAG	ritak	LAU	ʔidalā	RAP	haʔa mā
NGA	mea	KWO	maʔu		

AKL *huya?* + *ka-*.

KAG *gaiya* + *ma-*; also *gayya*.

MUR (adj).

SUN Also *kaera*.

BAL *lək* also 'shy'; *ʒəŋah* 'anger and shame at being beaten'.

WOL Also *kaʔaebu*.

MAG (adj) *toe maŋa ritak-n* 'he has no shame'.

RTI Also *ma-mae-k*.

DOB (vb), 'feel shame'.

IRA 'skin bad'.

TAK As in *ŋai miai i-fun-ag-da* 'me shame it-hit-me-IMPRF', i.e. 'shame is hitting me', i.e. 'I am ashamed'.



YAB	'his shame'; <i>maya-m</i> 'your shame'.
KAU	'sour-NOM'.
TOL	<i>ni-</i> NOM., <i>ruvə</i> (vb intrans) 'be ashamed'.
ADZ	'skin-3sg POSS be ashamed-participle'.
MEK	<i>ofueŋe</i> 'buried rage consequent upon humiliation, loss of face (?)'; <i>e-meaŋai</i> 'be embarrassed, ashamed'.
NTA	'be ashamed'.
KIR	<i>nuka</i> (of wrongdoing).
MSH	<i>lo</i> 'taken aback, disconcerted'; <i>peɬək</i> .
PON	Also <i>māk</i> 'formal, restrained, easily embarrassed'.
RTU	Also <i>masraŋa</i> .
SAM	Also 'be ashamed (vb intrans)'.
MEL	From Efate.

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**16.480 PROUD**


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ATA	ma-ša-šaɬaw	*IND	banġa	NYI	atudun iy
*TSO	bi-tano	*SUN	rɪis	MAM	ne-reʔeaʔa
RUK	ŋi-a-kaliŋigo	*JAV	mɔŋkɔk	*TAK	-pitiani
PAI	mi-azua-n	MAD	b <sup>h</sup> uŋa	●DAM	seli kulō
YAM	mapaka- roaroay	*BAL	aĵum	*MAB	-pakur itu-
ISN	napasindāyaw	SAS	giraŋ	*YAB	te-bela àŋ-geŋ
*KAL	paswal	*GOR	[sō <sup>m</sup> boŋi]	KAU	βaŋan
*TAG	yābaŋ	*DAA	na-so <sup>m</sup> bo	TOL	kolakolo
AKL	bugaɬ-un	*UMA	bohe nono	BUA	maḵɔd
PAL	mabu	BUG	tɪmpo	*ADZ	ɸarif-a ruŋ- gan
*MOL	abbu	*KON	tampo	KIL	dubakasala
*KAG	ugal	*WOL	lewa	TAW	nugogegae
BLA	m-datah nɔwɔ	MAG	mese nai	*MOT	hekokoroku
SAB	abbu-han	NGA	bəŋa	*MEK	aina-ʔau
*MUR	mapukaʔ	*SIK	kaħə bətir	ROV	hesi pulenia
MGY	mi-avun- avuna	*RTI	dale nama-tua	MAR	fahaehaye
ACE	mboŋ	*BUR	hapa	LAU	lafea
*BAT	gid'jaŋ rɔħa	*DOB	ʔa'ni ɸuk <sup>wa</sup> bari-n	KWO	aileʔa
MIN	somboŋ	IRA		*RAG	rav <sup>w</sup> eya
		*SAW	[somboŋ]	PAA	vūti

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*LEW	wariwari	XAR	i-çɔ	WFI	βa-tataki-nia
*POR	max a liŋalu	NEN	diŋa	RTU	fakmanʔia
NTA	-ausit	*KIR	nanorieta	*TON	loto-pōlepole
KWA	-arup <sup>w</sup> i	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> uŋ-p <sup>w</sup> əɔ	*SAM	mimita
NEM	pe-hun	*PON	akuṭūwāu	MEL	fano-ki-ruŋa
CEM	nóno	*WLE	p <sup>w</sup> axü-a	*TAH	haʔapeu
AJI	p <sup>w</sup> āto	EFI	dokadokā	*RAP	teʔo-teʔo

TSO *bi-taso* ‘proud of one’s strength’.

KAL *paswal + na-*.

TAG *yābaŋ + ma-*; also *hambog*.

MOL *abbu + mo-*.

KAG Also *ambug, bugal*.

MUR Also *masumbuŋ* from Malay *sombog*.

BAT See 12.080, 12.330.

IND ‘pride in achievement’; *sombog* ‘arrogant, stuck up’.

SUN Also *agul*.

JAV Horne: *m-oŋkog*.

BAL (negative sense).

GOR From Malay *sombog*.

DAA ‘arrogant’.

UMA ‘big heart’ (*nono* ‘heart’ i.e. seat of emotions; lit ‘pith or heartwood’); see also 17.130)

KON Also *araʔ ni-areʔ, buak-aŋ baba, pa-turuŋ pau*.

WOL Also *dēde, tamaamu; ma-ogeḅaa* ‘a big head’.

SIK Also *ʔbatə-ŋ gəte*.

RTI ‘great/large heart’.

BUR Negative value; *lale-n haa* (positive value)

DOB ‘his heart is big’.

SAW Malay, also *çogo neyaoro*, lit ‘it’s said you’re up high’.

TAK ‘be proud’, as in *se-ni-pitiani-da* ‘self-his it-proud-IMPRF’.

MAB *-pakur itu-* ‘lift up oneself’; *-kam seu* ‘do bragging’; *-sēbe kao, -sēbe kaiwos* ‘brag’; *-wit itu- za-* ‘lift one’s own name’; *-kam ni-* ‘do skin’, i.e. ‘show off’.

YAB ‘forehead-his erect-only’ i.e. ‘he is proud’.

ADZ	‘glorify, praise-PART REFL-3sg POSS’, i.e. ‘praise, glorify oneself; be proud, haughty’.
MOT	<i>kokoroki</i> ‘domestic fowls’.
MEK	‘voice-high’; <i>e-pa-fau</i> ‘swagger, vaunt’.
RAG	‘be proud’.
LEW	Also <i>vilave</i> .
POR	‘make at naughty’.
KIR	‘tall heart’; <i>kainikatoŋa</i> (see <i>katoŋa</i> ‘stunning’).
MSH	‘important heart’; <i>cuwa</i> ; <i>kAŋ<sup>w</sup>kAMM<sup>w</sup>an</i> lit ‘habitually acting good’.
PON	Also <i>aklapalap</i> ( <i>lapalap</i> ‘important’).
WLE	<i>p<sup>w</sup>axii-a</i> ‘proud of it (vb trans)’; <i>fōsü</i> ‘boastful’, <i>ceifōsü</i> ‘be a show-off’.
TON	Also <i>ʔafuŋi</i> .
SAM	Also <i>faʔa-maualuŋa</i> ‘be proud (vb intrans)’, ‘pride’, <i>maualuŋa</i> ‘high (vb intrans)’.
TAH	Also <i>faʔaʔoru</i> , <i>teʔoteʔo</i> .
RAP	Also <i>hakapa-paka</i> ; fig. <i>haka meʔe</i> .

## 16.510 DARE

ATA	BAT	barani	*RTI	napa-la-lani
TSO	*MIN	barani		aon
RUK	IND	bərani	*BUR	lomo geba
PAI	*SUN	[wani]	*DOB	nda ʔa-babar
*YAM	JAV	wani	IRA	ʔitə
ISN	MAD	baŋal	SAW	
*KAL	*BAL	bani	NYI	
*TAG	SAS		MAM	toi
*AKL	GOR	buheli	TAK	
*PAL	DAA	na-bia	*DAM	ʔekuk
*MOL	UMA	dahoʔ	*MAB	lele- imet
KAG	BUG	tiruʔ	*YAB	tə ke-pa su- geŋ
BLA	*KON	am-meha		
*SAB	*WOL	lau	*KAU	ʔo ʔulu-ŋin
*MUR	MAG	vi <sup>ŋ</sup> kər	*TOL	və-lər upi
MGY	NGA	ʔue	BUA	
*ACE	*SIK	amə-ŋ		

*ADZ	su- ragi na <sup>m</sup> paŋ	PAA		MSH	
		*LEW	yuri	PON	
KIL	tubaluwa	POR		*WLE	kapaüpeü
*TAW	nugomotu	NTA		EFI	bole-a
*MOT	ura k <sup>w</sup> alimu	KWA	-əniese	WFI	bole-sia
MEK		NEM	cūŋi	RTU	kākā
*ROV		CEM		TON	pole <sup>?</sup> i
MAR		AJI	rī vε ə	*SAM	lavā-tia
*LAU	rarā lā	XAR		MEL	
KWO		NEN		*TAH	itoito
RAG		*KIR	ninikoria	RAP	

YAM 'is not afraid'.

KAL *appot + -um-*.

TAG *lakas-lo<sup>?</sup>ob + mag-/pag--an*; also *hāmon* 'challenge'.

AKL 'fortify oneself'.

PAL Also *tələp, pəgəgəru*.

MOL *isog + do--on*.

SAB [*tawakkal*] + *aN-/an* from Arabic *tawakkal* 'trust entirely in God'.

MUR *kau<sup>?</sup> (maka-)*.

ACE Possibly from Sanskrit (Cowan 1983:175).

MIN Also *baga<sup>?</sup>*.

SUN 'be brave (enough to ...)' from Javanese; also *nantaŋ (taŋtaŋ)* 'challenge'.

BAL Also *juari*.

KON Also *barani*.

WOL Also *si<sup>m</sup>biti*.

SIK Also *βatə-ŋ mənə-ŋ, rani-ŋ*.

RTI (root *lanī*) *pa-lani* 'person who is brave, daring'.

BUR 'dare s.o. to do s.th., persuade'.

DOB 'not fear'.

DAM 'to push someone to do something'; also *nugo φi-ya*; see also 16.520

MAB *lele-imet* 'insides breaks'; *kuli-imet* 'skin breaks'.

YAB 'belly.his it-oppose away-only' i.e. 'he is daring', also *ŋa-te nasi* 'liver-his not.exist'.

KAU *βo* 'say'.

TOL	<i>və-lər</i> 'try', <i>upi</i> 'for', also <i>oŋor</i> (vb intrans) <i>upi</i> , lit 'be strong for'.
ADZ	'be arse strength', i.e. 'be brave, daring', i.e. 'dare'.
TAW	<i>nugomotu</i> 'dare or risk something'; <i>embateke</i> exclamation 'dare you!'.
MOT	<i>ura</i> 'will, desire', <i>k<sup>w</sup>alimu</i> 'conquer, overcome; be strong, successful'; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>ura k<sup>w</sup>alimu</i> 'to act as if free'.
ROV	<i>lopu</i> + verb = prohibitive.
LAU	'boldness'.
LEW	See 09.223; used figuratively <i>yuri e vis-ena</i> 'poke (provoke) with words'.
KIR	Also 'brave'.
WLE	Also 'brave'.
SAM	<i>lavā</i> 'be able to', <i>-tia</i> trans.
TAH	Also <i>tāmata</i> 'try'.

### 16.520 BRAVE

ATA		IND	<i>bərani</i>	SAW	<i>n-wələ</i>
TSO	<i>ʔitri</i>	*SUN	<i>[wani]</i>	*NYI	<i>banoh b<sup>w</sup>e</i>
RUK	<i>ma-garaŋə</i>	JAV	<i>kəndəl</i>	MAM	<i>aburo</i>
PAI	<i>t-əm-uru</i>	MAD	<i>baŋal</i>		<i>ʔaiboŋi</i>
YAM	<i>mavowoŋ</i>	*BAL	<i>bani</i>	*TAK	
ISN	<i>naturad</i>	SAS	<i>bani</i>	*DAM	<i>ʔese-ya sā</i>
*KAL	<i>tulod</i>	GOR	<i>buheli</i>	*MAB	<i>-ye kuli- pa</i>
*TAG	<i>tāpaŋ</i>	DAA	<i>na-bia</i>	*YAB	<i>ŋa<sup>ʔ</sup>-tek<sup>w</sup>a</i>
*AKL	<i>īsug</i>	UMA	<i>bia<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	KAU	<i>nomkah</i>
PAL	<i>mədakag</i>	BUG	<i>warāni</i>	*TOL	<i>lebe</i>
MOL	<i>tuakkal</i>	KON	<i>barani</i>	BUA	<i>nəwa kəpək</i>
KAG	<i>i'səg</i>	WOL	<i>ma-sega</i>	*ADZ	<i>ragi na<sup>m</sup>paŋ</i>
BLA	<i>labə<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	*MAG	<i>rani</i>	KIL	<i>-tuβaluwa</i>
*SAB	<i>esog</i>	NGA	<i>bani</i>	TAW	<i>nugomotu</i>
*MUR	<i>bāni</i>	*SIK	<i>amə-ŋ</i>	*MOT	<i>boga auka</i>
*MGY	<i>be heri-m-pu</i>	*RTI	<i>napa-lani</i>	*MEK	<i>aipa</i>
*ACE	<i>buhɣ</i>	*BUR	<i>geba em-hana</i>	ROV	<i>varane</i>
BAT	<i>bara'ni</i>	*DOB	<i>nda ʔa-babar</i>	MAR	<i>frane</i>
*MIN	<i>baga<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	IRA	<i>ʔitə</i>	*LAU	<i>ramo</i>

*KWO	ʔame maʔu	CEM		EFI	yalo-ŋāŋā
RAG		*AII	gunimā	WEI	yalo-kaikai
PAA		XAR		RTU	huan toʔa
LEW		NEN	geigei	TON	loto-toʔa
POR	<sup>n</sup> dʔa <sup>ŋ</sup> g	*KIR	ninikoria	*SAM	loto-tele
*NTA	-əsəŋənən	*MSH	kicoŋ	MEL	fei-tāne
*KWA	-atiŋenhen	PON	komm <sup>w</sup> at	TAH	itoito
NEM	ka-cūŋi	*WLE	ɸwaɾaxa	*RAP	haka kē

KAL *tulod + na-*.

TAG *tāpaŋ + ma-*.

AKL *īsug + ma-*.

SAB *esog + a-*.

MUR *bāni* (in conflict); *pusuan* (in hunting, games).

MGY *heri* ‘strong’, *fu* ‘heart’.

ACE Also *burani*.

MIN Also *barani*.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL Also [*wanen*] ‘daring’, from Old Javanese.

MAG Also *čə<sup>m</sup>pu*.

SIK Also *rani-ŋ*.

RTI Also *pa-lani*, see 16.510.

BUR ‘brave, courageous’ (associated with Malay *berani*) not to be confused with *ana-mhana* ‘male’; *geba snaa-n* ‘exceptionally courageous (warrior, entrepreneur); *lal poto* ‘inspired’.

DOB ‘not fear’.

NYI ‘fear not’.

TAK *iŋ irirek a-n tia-i* ‘fear POSS-his not exist-PERF (16.530, 13.000), i.e. ‘he has no fear’, i.e. ‘he is brave’.

DAM ‘care-INF not’, ‘regardless of danger’, e.g. *kusi boun ɸese-ya sa i-le-n* ‘he went to the fight regardless of danger’.

MAB *-ye kuli- pa* ‘sacrifice one’s skin for?; *-nin kosa sa som* ‘doesn’t count a thing’.

YAB ‘man-bone’ i.e. ‘a brave man’; also *ŋaʔ-lai* (see 04.810).

TOL Also *make* (vb intrans).

ADZ ‘arse strength’.

MOT	<i>boga</i> ‘belly’, <i>auka</i> ‘hard’.
MEK	<i>aipa</i> ‘courage’ also ‘ferocity, fighting rage’; also <i>?inoka</i> (‘hard’) and <i>ma?a-kia</i> .
LAU	Also <i>rigita</i> .
KWO	‘not afraid’.
NTA	‘not afraid’.
KWA	Also <i>-atəŋase</i> .
AJI	Also <i>məřo</i> .
KIR	Also ‘dare’.
MSH	<i>pən p<sup>w</sup>iŋuon</i> lit ‘strong-hearted’, 3sg form; <i>peŋan</i> .
WLE	Also <i>fātaxi</i> .
SAM	‘have a big heart’, <i>loto</i> ‘heart’, <i>tele</i> ‘big (vb intrans)’ , also <i>toa</i> .
RAP	Also <i>ito-ito</i> .

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**16.530 FEAR, FRIGHT**


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ATA	<i>ma-?ičuy</i>	JAV	<i>wədi</i>	DAM	<i>kumī</i>
TSO	<i>s-m-oro</i>	MAD	<i>taku?</i>	*MAB	<i>motoŋana</i>
RUK	<i>mə-a-kələðə</i>	*BAL	<i>ǰəǰəh</i>	*YAB	<i>gələ?</i>
PAI	<i>ma-rəkuc</i>	*SAS	<i>takut</i>	*KAU	<i>lem</i>
YAM	<i>manyaəy</i>	*GOR	<i>limelo</i>	*TOL	<i>b-un-urut</i>
*ISN	<i>aggansiŋ</i>	DAA	<i>eka</i>	BUA	<i>ɣənəŋəsən</i>
*KAL	<i>ogyat</i>	UMA	<i>eka?</i>	*ADZ	<i>rat-a gin</i>
TAG	<i>takot</i>	BUG	<i>pīlloriŋ</i>	KIL	<i>koukola</i>
*AKL	<i>hadluk</i>	KON	<i>am-malla?</i>	TAW	<i>matouta</i>
*PAL	<i>takut</i>	*WOL	<i>ka-eka</i>	MOT	<i>gari</i>
MOL	<i>əddək</i>	MAG	<i>ra<sup>n</sup>taŋ</i>	*MEK	<i>mani?i</i>
KAG	<i>adlək</i>	NGA	<i>ɣia</i>	ROV	<i>matayutu</i>
BLA	<i>k-liko?</i>	SIK	<i>blau</i>	*MAR	<i>ŋayɣu</i>
SAB	<i>tāw</i>	*RTI	<i>bi</i>	LAU	<i>mou</i>
*MUR	<i>malā?</i>	BUR	<i>em-tako</i>	KWO	<i>ma?u</i>
MGY	<i>tahutra</i>	DOB	<i>?a-babar</i>	RAG	<i>matayu-ana</i>
ACE	<i>takot</i>	IRA	<i>namətətə</i>	PAA	<i>metauen</i>
BAT	<i>biar</i>	SAW	<i>n-ε-m-tat</i>	*LEW	<i>marau</i>
MIN	<i>takuy?</i>	NYI	<i>anoh</i>	POR	<i>marax</i>
IND	<i>kə-takut-an</i>	MAM	<i>taburi-ra</i>	NTA	<i>-aŋən</i>
SUN	<i>siin</i>	*TAK	<i>irire-k</i>	KWA	<i>-əhekər</i>

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NEM	haga	*MSH	kɔɾ	TON	manavahē
CEM	m <sup>w</sup> óti	PON	masak	*SAM	fefe
AJI	bařa	*WLE	metaxü	MEL	mataku
XAR	bata	EFI	rere	*TAH	riʔariʔa
NEN	pareu	WFI	mataku-đia	*RAP	mataku
KIR	māku	RTU	fea		

ISN *magansiŋ* ‘fear, be afraid’.

KAL Also *kimut*.

AKL *hadluk + ka-*.

PAL Also *raʔas*.

MUR (adj).

BAL (vb); also *ñoh*; *takut* north Bali.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *ǰǰah*.

GOR Also *duwito*.

WOL Also *ma-eka-i*.

RTI Also *bi ao*.

TAK ‘fear-NOM’.

MAB Also *-moto*, *-pok*; *kete- ikam keŋ* ‘get a fright’.

YAB ‘faint-hearted, fearful’; also *-teʔ*: ‘fear (vb)’, *-take*, *-lɛ<sup>n</sup>dɛʔ* both ‘get a fright’.

KAU ‘be afraid of’.

TOL See 16.330

ADZ *gin* ‘OBL’.

MEK *e-maniʔi-ai-na* (vb trans) *upo-upo* ‘coward’; also *maʔau* (*e-maʔau-ai-na* (vb trans).

MAR Also *mono(ñā)* ‘he’s afraid’.

LEW Also *maneno*.

MSH *kɔɾ* ‘terrified’; *lɛ!ŋŋŋ* also ‘awe, panic’; *micak*.

WLE Also *řüwa*.

SAM (polite) *mataʔu*.

TAH Also *mataʔu*, *taĩā*, *atāta*, *meha meha*.

RAP Also *riʔa-riʔa*.



## 16.540 DANGER

Sanskrit: *bhaya-* ‘fear, dread, peril’Spanish: *peligro*

ATA		*UMA	[silaka]	LAU	
*TSO	ropxi	BUG	abala?	KWO	
*RUK	sapapaçay	*KON	bala	RAG	
PAI	g-əm-agay	WOL	iʔriæ-a	PAA	
YAM	maṇinanawa	MAG	čalaṅ	LEW	na-marau-ena
ISN	dalikādu	*NGA	ṅəro	POR	
KAL	gaʔogyat	*SIK	[silaka]	NTA	
*TAG	paṅānib	RTI	maṅa-lau-k	KWA	
AKL	[piligroh]	BUR	edaku-n	NEM	
PAL	gəmər	*DOB	kʷaysaṅal	CEM	ábʷəbʷə
MOL	mura	IRA		AJI	wēgō
*KAG	[marisgu]	*SAW	[bolito]	XAR	
BLA	gam-sasə?	NYI		NEN	
*SAB	maka-tāw-tāw	MAM	zala-goala	*KIR	te kaoa ni kai
MUR		TAK		*MSH	uwλta
MGY	luza	*DAM	waila ado	*PON	keper
*ACE	[bala]	*MAB	nāla kezēne	*WLE	xefařu
BAT	mara	*YAB	-ba?	EFI	βaka-rere-βaki
MIN	[bayo]	*KAU	hun-ṅin	WFI	βa-mataku
IND	[bahaya]	BUA		RTU	maməru
*SUN	[bahya]	*ADZ	nam rat-a ḡin	TON	tuʔutāmaki
JAV	[bə-bəyɔ]	*KIL	kabo-silagi	*SAM	tūlaṅa faiṅatā
MAD	[ba-baʃa]	*TAW	yahiyahi	MEL	
*BAL	[bayə]	*MOT	dika yau-na	*TAH	ʔati
SAS	[bayə]	MEK		RAP	ʔati
GOR	topotala	ROV	tinasuna		
DAA		MAR			

TSO Also *ropxi-a*.RUK *mā-tiaokoloḡo* ‘dangerous’.TAG Also [*peligro*].KAG From Spanish *riesgo*.

SAB ‘dangerous’.

ACE	From Arabic.
SUN	Also [ <i>bahla</i> ] ‘calamity’.
BAL	Also <i>ilə-ilə</i> ‘dangerous’; <i>ilə</i> ‘taboo, dangerous’.
UMA	From Sanskrit.
KON	Also <i>bala-ya</i> .
NGA	Also <i>ero-ae</i> .
SIK	Also <i>susar</i> [ <i>silaka</i> ].
DOB	‘unspecified danger’.
SAW	From Ternate.
DAM	‘tooth with’.
MAB	‘edge of grave’.
YAB	‘be in danger’; also <i>-yaiŋ tau-ŋ</i> ‘-waste self our’ i.e. ‘put ourselves in danger’.
KAU	‘die-NOM’.
TOL	<i>kinit vək-e</i> ‘pinch (vb trans)’.
ADZ	‘thing be afraid -PART OBL’.
KIL	‘instrument-tragedy’.
TAW	<i>yahiyahi</i> ‘untamed/wild/dangerous’; <i>woiyawa</i> ‘sacred/forbidden/dangerous’.
MOT	<i>dika</i> ‘bad’, <i>yau</i> ‘thing’; also <i>hahegari</i> ‘something that causes people to fear’.
KIR	<i>te kaoa ni kai</i> lit ‘throwing the stick’; <i>te nib<sup>w</sup>a ni mate</i> lit ‘source of death’; <i>kamāmate</i> lit ‘causing death’.
MSH	‘in danger of’, causative form <i>kauwātata</i> ‘dangerous’.
PON	Causative form, derived from <i>per</i> ‘fearful’.
WLE	<i>xefařü</i> ‘dangerous object’; [ <i>abonai</i> ] Japanese, ‘dangerous’.
SAM	<i>tūlaŋa</i> ‘situation’, <i>faiŋatā</i> ‘difficult to cope with (vb intrans)’.
TAH	Also <i>fifi</i> .

## 16.620 DESIRE, WANT

Spanish: *gusto*

ATA	ʔaʔaʔun	PAI	sal <sup>y</sup> iŋa	*KAL	piya
TSO	xosadi-a	YAM	ikakřa	*TAG	nāʔis
*RUK	moalikay	ISN	piyān	*AKL	[gustoh]

PAL	gaʔay	*SIK	ʔansi-ŋ	RAG	doroni
*MOL	imok	*RTI	hi	PAA	vati
*KAG	miag	*BUR	ŋei	*LEW	sine-na-ni
BLA	k-n-ayəʔ	*DOB	ʔa'ni suʔa	POR	loŋon-i
*SAB	bayaʔ	IRA	sukə	NTA	-olkeikei
*MUR	masagaʔ	*SAW	wlonɛ ni	KWA	-okeikei
*MGY	man-iri		dɛrɛr-o	NEM	n̄ame-n
ACE	hūt	NYI	aseken	CEM	níme-n
BAT	ma-sihol si-tutu	MAM	rere	AJI	baʔi
		*TAK		XAR	xʷɛrī
*MIN	kandaʔ	*DAM	oro-ya	NEN	alan
*IND	məŋ-iŋin-kan	*MAB	lele- pa	*KIR	taŋira
SUN	hayaŋ	*YAB	-yàm àwa su	MSH	kʌŋʷān
JAV	peŋin	*KAU	mi epo	*PON	ineŋ
MAD	tərru	*TOL	məiŋ-e	*WLE	tipaʔi
*BAL	mə-kitə	BUA	aɣɛ βoŋ in	*EFI	βia
*SAS	[niat]	ADZ	mwarut-	*WFI	mata
*GOR	mo-to-hilawo	*KIL	magi-la	*RTU	pa-ʔese
DAA	na-dota	*TAW	luhogala	*TON	holi
*UMA	poka-hina	*MOT	ura	*SAM	manaʔo
BUG	činna	*MEK	c-maa-ŋa	*MEL	[mūrina]
*KON	ŋai	*ROV	okoro	*TAH	hinaʔaro
*WOL	arasi	*MAR	maña haye	RAP	haja
*MAG	ŋoɛŋ	LAU	doria		
NGA	saŋo	KWO	siri-a		

RUK *mā-dalamə* 'fond of'.

KAL *piya + -on*.

TĀĠ *Āiso [gusto]*.

AKL *[gustoh] (+ na--an)*.

MOL *imok + mo-/ku--an*.

KAG *liag + m-*.

SAB *bayaʔ + a-/ka-an*.

MUR NEG *madadaʔ* 'not want'.

MGY From Malay.

MIN From *\*kə-həndak*.

IND Also *kə-mau-an*.

- BAL *ñak* ‘want’, also ‘agree (to do something)’; *dot, mələd, kədəh* ‘want very much’ (+ complement clause); *ŋ-aat* ‘want very much, desire intensely (+ complement clause)’.
- SAS From Arabic *nīya* ‘intention’.
- GOR Also *mo-huto* and *?o-hilawo*.
- UMA *poka-hina* (vb trans); *doko?* (vb intrans).
- KON Also *a?ra?*, *činna*.
- WOL Also *ka-peelu, peelu, peelu-a, pee-peelu-a*.
- MAG Also *bara, nūk, bələk*.
- SIK *?ansi-ŋ* (n); *ga?i, grəŋa-ŋ* (vb).
- RTI *hi,vnau* (vb); *hi-hi-k, na-nau-k* (n).
- BUR ‘move towards, want, lust, covet’; *la* ‘irrealis complementiser, modal of purpose, desire, intent used in purpose construction’ (e.g. *kam la kam iko* ‘we’re going to go, we intend to go’); also [*suka*] ‘desire’ as in *kam nam [suka]* ‘our desire’ from Sanskrit.
- DOB ‘his desire’, i.e. ‘he wants’.
- SAW From *derere* lit ‘followings of the heart’.
- TAK Expressed either by *-wo* ‘desiderative’ or by *-mat* ‘die’ with a postpositional phrase (noun + *o*), as in *fud ŋ-ani-wo* ‘banana I-eat-DES’ or *fud o ŋa-mat da* ‘banana POST I die-IMPRF’, both ‘I want a banana’.
- AM ‘wish-INF’.
- MAB *lele- pa* ‘want s.th.’ lit ‘insides are for’; *lele- be* ‘want to do s.th.’, ‘insides to’; *-so (be)* ‘want to do s.th.’, ‘say that’; *mbura- pa som* ‘not want s.th.’, ‘strength is not for’; *lele- pa som* ‘not want s.th.’, ‘insides are not for’.
- YAB ‘do his mouth away’ i.e. ‘long for, desire, crave’.
- KAU ‘inside cause’.
- TOL No simple form *\*maiŋa*, but *məmaiŋə* ‘desire, want, intention (n)’, see 17.410.
- KIL *magi-la* ‘his desire’; *nano-la* ‘his mind’.
- TAW Also *nugonugo-na*.
- MOT *ura heni-a* ‘desire, want’.
- MEK *e-maa-ŋa* from *maa* ‘eye’?; also *e-ari-ai-na* ‘desire’, apparently from Roro (Mekeo has no /r/). NW Mekeo has *e-ŋua-gae-ai-na*.
- ROV *okoro* ‘covet, envy’; also *hiva*.

MAR	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae</i> ‘desire, want to possess’; <i>maña haye</i> ‘want, need, wish for’; <i>mamaña</i> ‘want to possess, desire, especially jealous desire’; <i>ṅagu</i> ‘like, want to possess, desire (especially food, material objects)’; <i>ro(ña)</i> ‘(he) wants to do, feels like’; <i>ti la</i> ‘want strongly, desire, wish’.
LEW	‘gut-transitive’, also <i>sitomi</i> , <i>sape</i> .
KIR	Also <i>kan</i> verbal proclitic, [ <i>bia</i> ] Polynesian.
PON	<i>ineŋ</i> (n), <i>kup<sup>w</sup>ur</i> (n) hon.; <i>men</i> .
WLE	Also <i>xaph<sup>w</sup>eřē-a</i> .
EFI	Also <i>βinaka-ta</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βinā-sia</i> .
RTU	Also <i>he?a</i> .
TON	Also <i>manako</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>finagalo</i> (vb intrans); <i>naunau</i> (vb intrans) ‘desire, want’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>hia?ai</i> ‘strong desire’; <i>nounou</i> ‘covet’.

## 16.622 CHOOSE

ATA	<i>m-wāy</i>	IND	<i>māmilih</i>	*BUR	<i>tōke</i>
*TSO	<i>epri</i>		( <i>pilih</i> )	DOB	<i>?a-yilatu</i>
RUK	<i>wa-piḷi</i>	SUN	<i>milih</i> ( <i>pilih</i> )	IRA	<i>nəpirə</i>
PAI	<i>p-ən-ilik</i>	JAV	<i>milih</i> ( <i>pilih</i> )	*SAW	[ <i>pili</i> ]
YAM	<i>piliən</i>	MAD	<i>pili</i>	NYI	<i>aseken</i>
ISN	<i>mag-pīli</i>	*BAL	<i>milih</i> ( <i>pilih</i> )		<sup>n</sup> <i>d<sup>r</sup>aheh</i>
*KAL	<i>pilyon</i>	SAS	<i>mele?</i> ( <i>pele?</i> )	MAM	<i>naŋata</i>
TAG	<i>pīli?</i>	*GOR	<i>mo-l-ul-</i>		<i>rereta?a</i>
AKL	<i>pīli?</i>		<i>awoto</i>	TAK	<i>-pilani</i>
PAL	<i>pili-nən</i>	DAA	<i>nom-pelisi</i>	*DAM	<i>i-giri-ya</i>
*MOL	<i>pili?</i>	UMA	<i>pelih</i>	*MAB	<i>-rōgo</i>
*KAG	<i>pili</i>	BUG	<i>pīle</i>	YAB	<i>-yaliŋ</i>
BLA	<i>m-alek</i>	KON	<i>am-milc-i</i>	*KAU	<i>pele</i>
*SAB	<i>pene?</i>		( <i>pile</i> )	TOL	<i>pilək</i>
*MUR	<i>pili?</i>	WOL	<i>pili</i>	BUA	<i>γōin</i>
MGY	<i>mi-fantina</i>	*MAG	<i>pile</i>	*ADZ	<i>yu- sa<sup>ʔ</sup>-</i>
ACE	<i>pileh</i>	NGA	<i>ḏili</i>		<i>mara- fur-an</i>
BAT	<i>pillit</i>	*SIK	<i>li?i</i>	KIL	<i>-nagi</i>
MIN	<i>pili<sup>ʔ</sup>h</i>	*RTI	<i>hele</i>	TAW	<i>winagana</i>

*MOT	abi-a hidi	*NTA	-aɲatun	WLE	fiɾi
MEK	e-kina-ŋa	*KWA	-ruɸi	EFI	diŋi-a
ROV	vizata	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> am <sup>w</sup> i	WFI	βa-wili-a
*MAR	fahi	CEM	pî-gà	RTU	hili
LAU	adafilia	AJI	pābiɾi	TON	fili
KWO	firi-a	XAR	nē	*SAM	filifili
RAG	m <sup>w</sup> aløi	*NEN	anenin	MEL	firia
PAA	gur lelāti	KIR	rinea	*TAH	maʔiti
*LEW	kila-lua	*MSH	cɛrkæ	RAP	vae
POR	vxač-in-i	*PON	pil		

TSO Also *epri-a*.

KAL *pīli + -on*.

MOL *pili<sup>?</sup> + m-/-on*.

KAG *pili + mag-/-ən*.

SAB *pene<sup>?</sup> + aN-/ø*.

MUR *pili<sup>?</sup> (maŋ -on)*.

BAL Also *(N-)gəlik-in, (N-)səlik-in* 'choose carefully'.

GOR *(tawoto + -ul- + moN-)*.

MAG Also *lir, <sup>g</sup>gale*.

SIK Also *galə-ŋ*.

RTI Also *he-lele*.

BUR 'choose, pick out, appoint'; *ego* 'take, get'; *em-pili-t* 'chosen'.

SAW From Malay.

DAM '3sg-choose-INF'.

MAB Also *-pei* 'choose, pick'; *-pelēle* 'reject what is offered and choose s.th. else'; *-sei pa* 'choose to do s.th. for someone else'.

KAU Also *βhem*.

ADZ 'take be.like, according to eye wants-PART', i.e. 'take according to one's wish'.

MOT *abi-a* 'get, hold', *hidi* 'choose'.

MAR Also *vahi*.

LEW Also *liŋani-lua*.

NTA 'point out'.

KWA Also *-ata am<sup>w</sup>hen* 'see acceptable/fitting'.

NEN Also *ure*.

MSH Also *kkālot*.

PON Also *p<sup>w</sup>inik* ‘pick out an animal’.

SAM Also *nainai* (vb intrans) ‘pick, choose’.

TAH Also *faʔataʔa, tāpaʔo*.

### 16.630 HOPE

ATA		UMA	sarumaka	MAR	roḡonu
TSO	a-ko-koru	BUG	ellau	LAU	manata fitoa
RUK		*KON	rminasa	KWO	māfanea
PAI		*WOL	[harapu]	RAG	
*YAM	inaoy	MAG	bə <sup>ʔ</sup> kəs nai	PAA	mudesinī
ISN	namnāma	NGA	mete	LEW	wasine
*KAL	namnāma	SIK	metə-ŋ	POR	
*TAG	āsa	*RTI	nama-hena	NIA	
*AKL	sālig	*BUR	ba sohi-k	*KWA	-etenhi
PAL	arap-ɔn	DOB	ʔa-mala	NEM	moila
MOL	kannal	IRA		CEM	cēi-hi
*KAG	pagsalig	*SAW	[ŋoŋano]	AJI	vi tāri
BLA	imən nɔwɔ	NYI	aseken	XAR	kē-x <sup>w</sup> erī
*SAB	holat	*MAM	ilo-pile	NEN	čiuroi
MUR	malansan	TAK		*KIR	kāntaniŋa
*MGY	fanante'nana	*DAM	wau i-rō-ya	*MSH	kɔcatrikrik
ACE	harap	*MAB	-ur mata- pa	*PON	kɔp <sup>w</sup> ɔrɔp <sup>w</sup> ɔr
BAT	a'rɔp	*YAB	-keŋ mata	WLE	
MIN	aroʔ	KAU	homi	EFI	nui-taka
IND	harap-an	*TOL	ki uŋ pə	*WFI	nui-takinia
*SUN	ŋa-[harəp]	BUA	βo k <sup>w</sup> a	RTU	ʔɔirɔt-ʔɔki
*JAV	ŋ-arəp-arəp	*ADZ	ni-	TON	ʔamanaki
*MAD	ŋ-[arəp]	KIL	pik <sup>w</sup> aku	SAM	faʔamoemoe
*BAL	ŋ-aʔap	*TAW	winugonu-	*MEL	[saralēsoko]
SAS	aŋən-aŋən		totuhu lagona	TAH	tīʔaturi
*GOR	[harapu]	*MOT	ura	*RAP	haŋu ŋatu
DAA	na <sup>n̄</sup> jarumaka (sarumaka)	*MEK	c-afi-aama		
		ROV	rovea		

YAM ‘would that something be’.

KAL *namnāma + -on*.

TAG	<i>āsa + -um/-an.</i>
AKL	<i>sālig + -an.</i>
KAG	From ( <i>salig + pag-</i> ).
SAB	<i>holat + aN-/ø.</i>
MGY	From <i>fan-antena-ana.</i>
SUN	<i>ŋ-[arəp]-ŋ-[arəp]</i> from Javanese.
JAV	<i>arəp</i> ‘front, before, next’.
MAD	From Javanese.
BAL	Also <i>[(N-)apti-aŋ]</i> from Sanskrit; <i>(N-)ačəp-aŋ</i> ‘hope in a god, pray to god expressing hope’; <i>(N-)andəl-aŋ</i> ‘rely on someone’; <i>(N-)[čagər]-aŋ</i> ‘rely on someone’, from Javanese.
GOR	From Malay <i>harap.</i>
KON	Also <i>pan-rannu-aŋ.</i>
WOL	Arabic.
RTI	<i>nama-hena</i> (vb); <i>nama-hena-k</i> (n).
BUR	‘DUR wait’; also <i>ba sohi-k ka-sia.</i>
SAW	From Tobelo.
MAM	Also <i>ilo-rere.</i>
DAM	‘liver third-talk-infinitive’; meaning: ‘to want strongly’; also <i>āli ado</i> ‘to be happy, joyful’ can also mean ‘having hope’ (not hopeless).
MAB	‘put eye on’.
YAB	‘-give his. eye’.
TOL	<i>ki</i> (vb intrans) ‘sit, stay’, <i>uŋ</i> (vb intrans) ‘hope, wait for’, <i>pə see</i> Mosel (1984: 131).
ADZ	‘want, like, hope, intend, say’.
TAW	‘think beyond’.
MOT	<i>ura</i> ‘want’, <i>diba</i> ‘know’ cover part of this semantic area; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) and Bible give <i>laro-a</i> ‘wait for, expect, hope’, but there is doubt about the extent of its use; variant of <i>lalo-a</i> ‘to think’?
MEK	<i>e-afi-aama</i> ‘have hope’; <i>e-afi-aama-lai-na</i> ‘put trust in someone/ something’.
KWA	‘wait for’.
KIR	‘near to waiting’.
MSH	Causative form, from <i>catrik</i> ‘deceptively, surprisingly’.



PON Also 'have faith'.

WFI Also *čure-ia*.

MEL From Efate.

RAP Also *ŋatu haŋu; haka mate; haŋa*.

## 16.650 FAITHFUL

**Sanskrit:** *satya-*

ATA	ma-šaʔšuʔ	UMA		MAR	
TSO		BUG	[satiya]	LAU	toʔolo
RUK		*KON	[satia]	KWO	
PAI		WOL		RAG	
YAM	pianan	MAG	kəpe	PAA	
ISN		NGA	mole	*LEW	wari-ruru
KAL		*SIK	plolo	POR	
*TAG	tumpak	*RTI	tuŋa na-hele	*NTA	-aiu asanən
*AKL	ma-saliŋ-un	*BUR	ba lale-k	*KWA	-kənkən
PAL	məynandəl	*DOB	soba-n yaʔa	NEM	
*MOL	bontol	IRA		CEM	
*KAG	masaligan	SAW	[setia]	AJI	pʷēřēwā
BLA	g-səlig	NYI	mʷasin labai	XAR	
SAB		MAM	muziŋa-ua	NEN	seseko
MUR		*TAK	kagin -pani	*KIR	kakaonimaki
MGY	maha-tuki	*DAM	aruna biya	*MSH	mʷəl
ACE	[suɬiya]	*MAB	-ur lele- pa	PON	lələpʷət
BAT		*YAB	ŋaŋeŋ	WLE	
*MIN	luruyh	*KAU	βo akono	EFI	yalo-dina
IND	[sətia]	*TOL	padikət	WFI	yalo-ŋina
SUN	[satia]	BUA		RTU	(huaŋ) aire
JAV	[sətyə]-tuhu	ADZ	<sup>n</sup> tras-	*TON	loto-tōnuŋa
*MAD	[nasip]	KIL	kimadagi	SAM	faʔamaoni
*BAL	tindih	*TAW	dumalu	MEL	
SAS	nurut (turut)	*MOT	abidadama	*TAH	pāpū
*GOR	[tāʔati]	MEK		RAP	
DAA	na-tu <sup>n</sup> du	*ROV	ŋoŋo		

- TAG Also *totoʔo*, *wastoʔ*; *tapat + ma-* ‘loyal, trustworthy’.
- AKL ‘trustworthy’.
- MOL *bontol + mo-*.
- KAG From (*salig + ma--an*).
- MIN Also *jujur*, [*satia*].
- MAD From Arabic *nāsik* ‘devout’.
- BAL *tindih* ‘faithful e.g. to one’s friends, family, country’; *tær* ‘consistent, faithful e.g. to one’s promise, one’s original intention’.
- GOR From Arabic *tā’a* ‘obedience, worship of God’.
- KON Also *si-puranraŋ-i,aŋ-ŋai*.
- SIK Also *ploloplata-ŋ*.
- RTI Also *tuŋa doʔo-doʔo*.
- BUR Also *ba hai* ‘DUR follow’.
- DOB ‘good to’; *ne soba-n yaʔa-ʔa* ‘he is faithful to you’.
- TAK ‘fashion, manner give’, as in *iŋ kagin i-pani-da* ‘he fashion, manner he-give-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is faithful/loyal’; see 11.240.
- DAM Also *dõ phi-ya biya* ‘follow well’ and *karĩ y-e-ya biya* ‘hear (obey) well’.
- MAB ‘committed’ lit ‘put insides to’; also *mata se pa* lit ‘eye arises for’.
- YAB ‘faithful, quiet, undisturbed, unchanging’.
- KAU ‘speak chieftain’.
- TOL Also ‘strong, firm’.
- TAW ‘straight/reliable/faithful’.
- MOT ‘strong, reliable’.
- ROV *ŋoŋo* ‘trust’; *raŋraŋe* ‘faithful’.
- LEW ‘hold firmly to’.
- NTA ‘run strongly’.
- KWA Also ‘holding in’ (from 19th century Bible translation?).
- KIR Causative form, from *onimaki* ‘confidence, belief’.
- MSH *ṃōl* ‘loyal, correct’; *tilcek* also ‘prudent, thrifty’.
- TON Also *piki ma ʔu pē*.
- TAH Also *faʔaroʔo*.

## 16.660 TRUE

ATA	čubafay	UMA	ma-kono	MAR	tuani
TSO	a-ʔimti	BUG	tonjɨŋ	LAU	mamana
RUK	patəŋānə	*KON	toʃeʔ	KWO	toʔo
PAI	pa-kulid	*WOL	tokamo	*RAG	m <sup>w</sup> asiyi
YAM	manoyəŋ	MAG	tuʔuŋ	PAA	anatin
ISN	kurug	NGA	nətu	LEW	lelaŋa
KAL	tuttūwa	*SIK	daʔa	POR	xavoi
*TAG	totoʔo	RTI	te-teʔe-k	NTA	pahriən
AKL	tūʔud	BUR	rese-k	KWA	parhien
*PAL	banar	*DOB	nam tama	NEM	duŋeduk
MOL	banar	IRA	ʃeitu	CEM	ʒû
KAG	matuʔud	*SAW	molen	AJI	avāri
BLA	glut	NYI	ha <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> u	XAR	dɔ
SAB	bannal	MAM	moimoi	NEN	seseko
*MUR	motopot	TAK	rumok	*KIR	koaua
*MGY	marina	DAM	mumei	*MSH	lukkūn
*ACE	buutoy	MAB	ŋonōno	*PON	mēlel
BAT	sitʔtəŋ	*YAB	biŋ ŋano	*WLE	neta
*MIN	bana	*KAU	iraβin	EFI	dina
*IND	bənar	TOL	dovot	WFI	ʒina
*SUN	[bənər]	*BUA	anon	RTU	aire
*JAV	sə[ʒati]	*ADZ	nan nidzun	TON	moʔoni
MAD	bəndər	KIL	mok <sup>w</sup> ita	*SAM	moni
*BAL	bənəh	TAW	moina	MEL	māōri
*SAS	[syah]	MOT	momokani	TAH	mau
*GOR	[banari]	*MEK	kōa	RAP	parau-tiʔa
DAA	na-kono	ROV	hinokara		

TAG Also *tūnay*.

PAL Also *sugat* ‘exact’.

MUR *motopot* ‘correct’, *tōʃo* ‘genuine’.

MGY *ma-arina* ‘uprightness, levelness, equilibrium’.

ACE Also *buuna*.

MIN Also *luruyh*, [*satia*] from Sanskrit.

SUN From Javanese.

IND Also *bətul*.

JAV From Sanskrit.

BAL	Also [saʃa-(a)n], from Sanskrit.
SAS	From Arabic <i>ṣiḥāḥ</i> ‘correct, complete, healthy’.
GOR	From Malay <i>bənar</i> .
KON	Also <i>a-naba</i> .
WOL	<i>toka-mo</i> ‘true enough’; <i>toto, totuu</i> .
SIK	Also <i>dəmə-ŋ, tio-ŋ, hela-ŋ</i> .
DOB	? <i>a-wuli nam tama</i> ‘he is telling the truth’, lit ‘he talks he does contents’; <i>tama</i> ‘contents of something’.
SAW	Also <i>tu</i> .
YAB	‘talk its fruit’ i.e. ‘truth’.
KAU	Also <i>ainan</i> ‘real, really’.
BUA	Also <i>sogək</i> ‘real, true, actual’.
ADZ	Also <i>biŋan</i> .
MEK	<i>kōa</i> has two syllables and penultimate stress.
RAG	‘true, truth, truly’.
KIR	See ‘sure, certain’.
MSH	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>ōl</i> see ‘sure, certain’.
PON	See ‘sure, certain’.
WLE	Also <i>tōsü, tiwexiři</i> .
SAM	Also <i>moʔi</i> .

## 16.670 LIE, TELL LIES

**Sanskrit:** *duṣṭa-* ‘evil’

ATA	ma-kaʔiwaŋ	*MOL	ubor	*SUN	bohoŋ
*TSO	me-knuru	*KAG	bulaʔ	JAV	gərəh
RUK	mā-va-vaga	*BLA	keŋ	*MAD	[ličik]
PAI	v-ən-əʔa	*SAB	putiŋ	*BAL	bo(g)bog
YAM	maŋalalaŋ	*MUR	abaw	SAS	ləkak
ISN	mag-busid	MGY	man-dainga	*GOR	mohi <sup>m</sup> bulo
*KAL	tūli	ACE	sulet	DAA	no-dava
*TAG	sinuŋaliŋ	BAT	mar-gabus	*UMA	boaʔ
AKL	puril	*MIN	kiču <sup>3</sup> h	BUG	mab-bille
PAL	ambut	*IND	bər-[dusta]	KON	aʔ-bura-bura

*WOL	para	BUA	gagək k̄uŋsən	CEM	gêt
MAG	<sup>ɔ</sup> gopet	*ADZ	su-da u <sup>m</sup> pur	AJI	vē
NGA	ye <sup>ʔ</sup> o	KIL	soupa	XAR	fi
SIK	puhe	TAW	koyama	NEN	ačiθoni
*RTI	peko	MOT	koikoi	KIR	kewe
*BUR	stor-leda-k	*MEK	e-pi-fone	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> oŋ <sup>w</sup>
DOB	<sup>ʔ</sup> a-ya <sup>ʔ</sup> al	ROV	kokoha	*PON	likam <sup>w</sup>
IRA	ro sarəru	MAR	čayi	*WLE	xattixa
*SAW	n-ləl	LAU	suge lagi	EFI	lasu
*NYI	wasai	*KWO	koto kae	WFI	ŋiri
MAM	bəli	RAG		RTU	siko
TAK	-rawi	PAA	luvos	TON	loi
*DAM	i-degē-ya	LEW	vis-kokani	SAM	pepele
MAB	-pakām	POR	li <sup>m</sup> boŋ	MEL	pōlo
*YAB	biŋ da <sup>n</sup> saŋ	NTA	-eiua	TAH	ha <sup>ʔ</sup> avare
*KAU	totok	*KWA	-ekua	RAP	reo-reo
TOL	vaŋo	NEM	ŋa <sup>n</sup>		

TSO *me-knuru* ‘lie by saying that one did not, though one actually did’;  
*preʒo* ‘lie by saying that one did, though one actually did not’.

KAL *tūli + man*.

TAG *sinuŋaliŋ + mag-*; also *bulā<sup>ʔ</sup>-an + mag-*.

MOL *ubor + mog-*.

KAG *bula<sup>ʔ</sup> + mag-*; also *bakak + mag-*.

BLA *keŋ* ‘lie’; *t-m-ulənkeŋ* ‘tell lies’.

SAB *putiŋ + ag-*.

MUR *abaw (mag- -on; in)*.

MIN Also *tipu, ba-[duto]*.

IND Also *bər-bohoŋ*.

SUN Also *ŋa-bohoŋ*.

MAD From Malay.

BAL Also *mauk, bobab, mokak; [liñok]* ‘dishonest, deceiving, lying’ from Old Javanese<sup>ʔ</sup>; Old Balinese has *nibab* glossed by Goris as ‘lie, cheat’.

GOR (*yi<sup>m</sup>bulo + moh-*).

UMA Also *pakaβa<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

WOL Also *pe-wuli, wuli* ‘lie, falsehood’; *gau-gau*.

RTI	Also <i>pe-pekomas-a</i> - <sup>n</sup> <i>da</i> - <sup>n</sup> <i>dali-k</i> .
BUR	Also <i>stor-dohi-k</i> ‘gossip’; <i>stor-maga-k</i> ‘deceive’.
SAW	Also <i>n-ma-bosu</i> .
NYI	Also <i>we</i> <sup>n</sup> <i>d</i> <sup>f</sup> <i>eya</i> .
DAM	‘3sg-deceive-INF’; also <i>wā</i> <i>ϕi-ya</i> ‘deceive’, and <i>koriri</i> <i>ϕi-ya</i> ‘go round’ (i.e. ‘avoid a straightforward answer’).
YAB	‘talk deceit’, i.e. ‘untruth, lie’; also <i>biŋ kaɔp</i> ‘talk untruth’ i.e. ‘untruth, lie’.
KAU	Also <i>kusamu</i> , <i>poŋ poŋ</i> .
ADZ	<i>suda u<sup>m</sup>pur</i> ‘tell lies’; <i>naragian-</i> ‘tell lies’ (very rude, cannot be said about, or in front of, any in-laws).
MEK	<i>e-pi-foŋe</i> ‘lie’ (vb intrans); <i>e-foŋe(-i-a)</i> ‘deceive; trick someone’.
KWO	Also <i>kae</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-oϕeϕe</i> .
MSH	Also ‘deceive’; <i>nān cekr<del>o</del>on</i> lit ‘words disregarded’; <i>mār</i> .
PON	<i>pīŋ</i> also ‘cheat’; <i>witiŋ</i> also ‘deceive, defraud’.
WLE	<i>xattixa</i> causative form, from <i>tixe</i> ‘slanted’; <i>missī-a</i> , <i>rutū-a</i> .

## 16.680 DECEIT

<b>Spanish:</b> <i>loco</i> ‘crazy’.
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ATA	ma-ka <sup>?</sup> iwaŋ	SAB	akkal	UMA	bagiu
*ISO	me-knuru	*MUR	dūŋ	BUG	ma-čekku
RUK	ma-	*MGY	ϕi fanadzana	*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -boče
	tavovoŋoϕo	*ACE	tipɛə	*WOL	pe-ka-gau
PAI	v-ən-əϕa	*BAT		MAG	adoŋ
*YAM	manlita	*MIN	tipu	*NGA	bole-ɬale
ISN	sabāgan	*IND	kə-bohoŋ-an	SIK	puhe
*KAL	pakalmun	*SUN	ličik	*RTI	ke-kedi-k
*TAG	dāya <sup>?</sup>	JAV	apus	*BUR	maga
*AKL	dāya <sup>?</sup>	MAD	tipu	*DOB	?a-ya <sup>?</sup> al
*PAL	rugi <sup>?</sup>	*BAL	[liñok]	IRA	
MOL	tipu	SAS	ləkak	SAW	ma-ləl
KAG	daya	*GOR	tomuyogo	NYI	wasai
*BLA	ka-f-gow	DAA	bagiu	MAM	bolesi

*TAK	rawe-k	LAU	dō e suge	*KIR	kewe
DAM	i-degē-ya	KWO	kotoŋa	*MSH	ankiliŋiap <sup>m</sup>
*MAB	-pakām	RAG		*PON	witiŋ
*YAB	da <sup>n</sup> saŋ	PAA	luvosien	*WLE	ttefati
*KAU	βo amu	*LEW	na-kila-	EFI	βeidābui
*TOL	vər-tuam		kokani-ena	WFI	βī-βakoihini
BUA	tatuŋiŋsen	POR		RTU	siko
*ADZ	nan u <sup>m</sup> pur	NTA	-aneamnin	TON	kākā
KIL	-sipuloki	KWA	nəfəfəien	SAM	pepelo
TAW	koyama	*NEM	ŋagic	MEL	pōlo-raga
MOT	koikoi	CEM	pî-p <sup>w</sup> ô-ŋô	*TAH	rāmā
MEK	foŋe-foŋe	AJI	vēvē	*RAP	poriko
ROV	seksekei	XAR			
*MAR	čaičayi	*NEN	waiao		

TSO Also *pe-knur-i*.

YAM *manlita* 'deceive'.

KAL *pakalmun + -an*.

TAG Also *pan-lo-[lōko]*.

AKL Also *[lōkoh] + -un*.

PAL Also *rundiŋ*.

BLA *ka-fliŋu* 'pretence'.

MUR *dūŋ* (*mag- -on*) (vb trans).

MGY From (*zi + faN-hadža-ana; hadža*) 'honour, respect, reverence'.

ACE Also *taki*.

BAT *hilan; mismis* (with regard to divination); *saŋa, mar-gabus* (vb intrans)

MIN Also *[duto]* from Sanskrit.

IND Also *pənipu-an (tipu)*.

SUN Also *čuraŋ*.

BAL From Old Javanese?

GOR Also *[ʔākali]* from Arabic?

KON Also *aʔ-paʔ-doŋoʔ, anreʔ na-'lambusu*.

WOL Also *pe-ka-wuli*.

NGA Also *ŋemo-ŋamo*

RTI Also *ma-kedi-k*.

BUR	Also <i>p-sab-lali</i> ‘mix, deceive, evade, have (illicit) sex’.
DOB	‘deceive’.
TAK	‘lie-NOM’; see 16.670.
MAB	‘deceive, trick’.
YAB	Also <i>-sè ... àu?</i> ‘cheat, deceive’, <i>-tim</i> ‘deceive, decoy, entice’.
KAU	Also <i>βo sut-sut, βo nuk mara; βo</i> ‘say’.
TOL	<i>vər-</i> NOM, <i>tuam</i> (vb trans) ‘deceive, lie’, also <i>vər-tuam</i> (vb intrans) ‘deceive, lie; deceive each other’.
ADZ	‘talk lie’, i.e. ‘lying speech’.
MAR	<i>čaičayi</i> ‘deceive’; <i>fakuiti</i> ‘deceive, trick’; [ <i>maǰora</i> ] from Bughotu; <i>p<sup>h</sup>ipliposa</i> ‘deceive, betray’.
LEW	Also <i>na-kila-kotalia-ena</i> .
NEM	Also <i>pe-t<sup>n</sup>ua</i> .
NEN	Also <i>iao</i> .
KIR	(vb intrans).
MSH	‘deceitful will’; also <i>m<sup>w</sup>oŋ<sup>w</sup></i> .
PON	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>alaun</i> ; (vb intrans).
WLE	<i>ttefati</i> ‘deceived’, <i>xatefatī</i> ‘to deceive’; <i>xacepara</i> causative form, from <i>cepara</i> ‘convinced’.
TAH	Also <i>ha<sup>?</sup>avare</i> .
RAP	Also <i>ha<sup>?</sup>a vare</i> ‘deceit, fraud’.

## 16.690 FORGIVE

Arabic: *mu’āf*

Malay: *ampun*

ATA		*PAL	mapən	*BAT	sesa dosa
TSO			(ampun)	MIN	ampun
RUK	pāçəpə	MOL	ampun	*IND	məŋ-ampun-i
PAI		*KAG	patawarən	SUN	ŋa-hampura
YAM	pikaboboən	BLA	m-lifət	JAV	ŋ-apura-ni
ISN	pakawan-an	*SAB	ampun	MAD	sapura
*KAL	pakawan	*MUR	[ampun]	*BAL	ŋ-[ampura]-aŋ
*TAG	pa-tāwad	*MGY	mamela	SAS	ŋə-[maaf]-aŋ
*AKL	pa-sayluh	*ACE	pu-[mu <sup>?</sup> aih]	GOR	mo-[ma <sup>?</sup> apu]



DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba- [a <sup>m</sup> puŋi]	*MAB	-rēge sanāna	KWA	
		*YAB	-su? ... ok <sup>w</sup> i	NEM	today
UMA	[a <sup>m</sup> puŋi]	*KAU	klök	*CEM	nēu-hi
BUG	mad-dampin	*TOL	pun vue	*AJI	cō
*KON	a?-pam- mopporan	BUA	dayun	XAR	
	(popporan)	*ADZ	nugu-n <sup>n</sup> ϕum-a ruan	NEN	ie
*WOL	[a <sup>m</sup> poni]	*KIL	-ligaiwa	*KIR	kab <sup>w</sup> arā te bure
MAG	tein [a <sup>m</sup> poŋ]		mitugaga	*MSH	colok p <sup>w</sup> ad
*NGA	soro-vado	*TAW	paligigila	*PON	ṭonmeṭeikīla
SIK	[?ampo-ŋ]			WLE	
*RTI	fe do?o	*MOT	lalo-a nege	EFI	βoso-ta
*BUR	em-derula-k	MEK	e-afi-ŋoŋopu-a	WFI	βoḏo-sia
*DOB	nda k <sup>w</sup> uray-ni	ROV	taleoso	RTU	rət-?oki
	ya?a	MAR		TON	fakamolemole- ?i
IRA	nəϕatiϕənə	LAU	manata lukea	*SAM	fa?a-māŋalo
*SAW	n-fasəsao	KWO		MEL	saraletū
*NYI	bale-n kamaniy	RAG		TAH	fa?a?aore i te
MAM	giri?i-ro?a?i	PAA			hape
*TAK	-pare -du	LEW	viewo	*RAP	haka kore
*DAM	mosor y-ale-le- ya	POR			
		*NTA	-salpənən nətain		

KAL *pakawan + man-/on.*

TAG *pa-tāwad + mag-/in.*

AKL *pa-sayluh + -un; also [pasensyah], from Spanish *paciencia*.*

PAL Also *tikikən*.

KAG *tawad + magpa-/pa--ən.*

SAB *ampun + aN-/ø.*

MUR Also *maap* from Malay *maaf* from Persian.

MGY From (*maN-vela*).

ACE Arabic, also *pu-?ampon*.

BAT *sesa* 'wipe (off)', [*dosa*] from Sanskrit 'sin'.

IND Also *mə-[ma?af]-kan*.

BAL Old Javanese; also (*N*)[*aksama-aŋ*] from Sanskrit.

KON Also *a?-pa-'lappasa*.

WOL Also [*m?afu*]aka.

NGA	Also <i>valo-molo</i> .
RTI	Also [ <i>apon</i> ].
BUR	Term not well known, sometimes <i>em-durlaa-k</i> .
DOB	'not be angry towards'.
SAW	'smooth out'; also <i>n-fa-i-fio</i> 'make right'; [ <i>maaf</i> ].
NYI	'neck-his loose'.
TAK	'step go down'.
DAM	'sin 3sg-take-go-INF'; also <i>mosori-rai-le-ya</i> 'throw away sin'.
MAB	Also <i>-urpe lele-</i> , <i>-urpe sanāna</i> .
YAB	'push something aside'.
KAU	Primary meaning 'remove'.
TOL	<i>pun</i> (vb trans) 'erase', <i>vuc</i> (vb trans) 'do away, throw away'.
ADZ	'liver-3sg POSS be in debt-PART RFL'.
KIL	'throw away evil'.
TAW	<i>paligigila</i> 'pronounce something removed'; <i>nugotata</i> 'forget/forgive (actions not person)'.
MOT	<i>lalo-a</i> 'think', <i>nege</i> 'away from' ( <i>nege-a</i> 'throw away').
NTA	'not payback'.
CĒM	'forget'.
AJI	Also <i>tānō</i> .
KIR	'untie the offence'.
MSH	'discard the offence'.
PON	'forgive and forget', <i>-la</i> 'away'.
SAM	<i>fa?a</i> - CAUS, <i>māŋalo</i> 'be forgiven (vb intrans)' (polite) <i>fa?a-solo-fua</i> , <i>fa?a</i> - CAUS, <i>solo</i> 'move forward, go along (vb intrans)', <i>fua</i> 'without anything, without conditions, restrictions (adv)'.
RAP	Also <i>haka oti</i> .

## 16.710 GOOD

ATA	βaʔa-ik	ISN	napiya	*MOL	pia
TSO	imni	*KAL	piya	KAG	miad
RUK	mā-θariri	*TAG	būti	BLA	fy+
PAI	na-ŋuaq	*AKL	mayad	*SAB	hāp
YAM	yapia	PAL	mōnuḡa	MUR	mōnsoy

*MGY	[ɕara]	IRA	derə	LEW	wo
*ACE	[get]	*SAW	n-fiɛ	POR	voi
BAT	de'ŋan	NYI	m <sup>w</sup> asin	NTA	βət
*MIN	eloʔ	MAM	iauia	KWA	-amasan
*IND	baik	*TAK	uya-n	NEM	koa
*SUN	hade	DAM	biya	CEM	wée
JAV	apiʔ	MAB	a <sup>m</sup> bai	AJI	ə
MAD	bəččiʔ	*YAB	ŋayam	XAR	xɔru
*BAL	luuŋ	KAU	tunus	NEN	roi
SAS	solah	*TOL	boinə	*KIR	rairoi
GOR	mo-piyohu	BUA	niβəsa	MSH	mm <sup>w</sup> an
DAA	na-belo	*ADZ	(ŋaru)bini	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> āu
*UMA	lo <sup>m</sup> peʔ	KIL	b <sup>w</sup> aina	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> āü
BUG	ma-kissij	*TAW	dewadewa	EFI	βinaka
*KON	hajiʔ	MOT	namo	WFI	βinā
WOL	ma-lape	*MEK	[felō]	R̄TU	lelei
MAG	diʔa	ROV	leana	TON	lelei
NGA	mođe	MAR	keli	SAM	lelei
SIK	ʔəpa-ŋ	LAU	diana	MEL	marie
*RTI	ma-lole	KWO	leʔa	ṬAH	maitaʔi
*BUR	gosa	RAG	tavuha	RAP	riva-riva
*DOB	loʔarni	PAA	tahos		

KAL *piya + na-*.

TAG Also *galiŋ, hūsay, ma-*; *baʔit + ina-* 'kind, well-behaved'.

AKL Also *ma-būʔut* (of character).

MOL *pia + mo-*.

SAB *hāp + a*.

MGY From Sanskrit.

ACE From Mon-Khmer; the script suggests an earlier *-c*.

MIN Also *rañčaʔ*.

IND Also *bagus*.

SUN Also *alus* 'fine, of good quality/appearance'.

BAL Also *məlah*.

UMA *beloʔ* (Tolee, Winatu dialects).

KON Also *ballo*.

- RTI *ma-lole-manda-k* ‘good and proper’ dyadic set in ritual, often used in ordinary language; ‘good’ and ‘beautiful’ (*ma-lole/mana?a*) are linked (see 16.810) and ‘bad’ and ‘ugly’ (*maŋa-lau-k*) are linked (see 16.720 and 16.820).
- BUR Li Garan *pia*.
- DOB The inanimate form is *lo?ir*, also *soba*.
- SAW Also *n-birahi*.
- TAK The semantic field covered by *uya-n* is greater than that of English ‘good’: see 15.250, 16.230, 16.730, 16.810.
- YAB Also *gabe-yàm* ‘favour-do’, i.e. ‘good (of a person), beneficent’.
- TOL Attributively *bo*, also *ko*.
- ADZ (*ŋaru*)*bini*, *ŋarobini* (adj); *daum-*.
- TAW ‘customary’.
- MEK [*felō*] from Roro (since 1911-Desnoës); also *lo pia*, also ‘chief/ly’, *fauni-na*, nowadays at least has connotations of moral (morally) good.
- KIR Also enclitic *raoi*.
- PON Also *kanakan* archaic.
- WLE *xacii* also enclitics/suffixes *-fiši*, *-ŋasa*.

## 16.720 BAD

Arabic: *jaḥd* ‘apostasy’

ATA	aḳih	BLA	sasə?	SAS	ləŋe
TSO	kuzo	*SAB	la?at	GOR	mo-lēto
RUK	mā-ŋaŋa	MUR	malāt	DAA	na-[j̄aa]
*PAI	na-kuya	MGY	rafi	*UMA	da?a
YAM	mazaət	ACE	bro?	BUG	maŋa
ISN	nadake?	BAT	rə'a	KON	kodi
KAL	laweŋ	MIN	buru??	WOL	ma-d'aki
*TAG	sama?	*IND	buruk	MAG	da?at
AKL	ʔā?in	SUN	goreŋ	NGA	ŋəsa
*PAL	məya?at	JAV	ɔlo	*SIK	go?is
*MOL	do?ot	MAD	ʔʔuba?	RTI	maŋa-lau-k
KAG	la?in	*BAL	ʔəle	BUR	boho

*DOB	ʔatay	MOT	dika	XAR	çā
IRA	kabia	*MEK	apala	NEN	nia
SAW	n-le	ROV	kaleana	KIR	buakaka
NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔaʔin	MAR	diʔa	MSH	nana
MAM	goala	LAU	tā	*PON	sakanakan
*TAK	sae-n	KWO	ria	WLE	ŋgawe
DAM	sane	RAG	hantai	EFI	ḏā
*MAB	sanang-a-	PAA	tīsa	WFI	burā
YAB	seʔ	LEW	viowa	RTU	raksaʔa
KAU	leŋβal	POR	sa <sup>m</sup> b	TON	kovi
TOL	kainə	NTA	rat	SAM	leaga
BUA	nipaya	*KWA	-eraha	MEL	sā
ADZ	mais-	NEM	tāc	TAH	ʔino
KIL	gaga	CEM	tā	RAP	rake-rake
TAW	apapoe	AJI	yāne		

PAI *sa-lucuk* ‘bad (person)’.

TAG *samaʔ + ma-* ‘not good (health, weather, morals)’.

PAL Also *moraʔat*, *mɔsamala*.

SAB *laʔat + a*.

MOL *doʔot + mo-*.

IND Also *ǰələk*; [*ǰahat*] ‘bad, evil’.

BAL Also [*čorah*] ‘dishonest’ from Sanskrit; [*ǰaat*] ‘evil’.

UMA Also *dadaʔa*.

SIK Also *goʔi-t*, *həmu*.

DOB *ʔatay* ‘bad’ also *k<sup>w</sup>aŋay*, *k<sup>w</sup>aysaŋal* and *ʔaset*.

TAK The semantic field covered by *sae-n* is much greater than that of English ‘bad’: see 01.323, 04.890, 04.940, 05.190, 15.260, 16.420, 16.820.

MAB Also *kalān som*.

MEK Also *e-lifu*; *abala* in other dialects, except NW Mekeo *abaea*. Kuni *abaia*.

KWA Also *-m̩our* also ‘left side’.

PON Also *suwet*.

## 16.730 RIGHT, CORRECT

ATA	ču-βaɬay	UMA	ma-kono	*MAR	doglo
*TSO	e-tuxɕu	BUG	tuʃu	LAU	aolo
RUK	mā-θariri	KON	a-naba	*KWO	toʔo
PAI	pa-ɕuɭid	*WOL	ma-lape	*RAG	didini
YAM	manoyon	MAG	leʔe	*PAA	mal
ISN	[kustu]	NGA	molo	LEW	mesmesu
KAL	[kustu]	*SIK	akə-t	POR	nör
*TAG	tāmaʔ	*RTI	laʔe-n	NTA	atuatəp
*AKL	tāmaʔ	*BUR	beta	*KWA	-atuk <sup>w</sup> atuk <sup>w</sup>
*PAL	banar	*DOB	tonar-ni	NEM	tuva
MOL	sugat	IRA	ɸeitu	CEM	móm <sup>w</sup> ən
KAG	igu	*SAW	fa-tu	AJI	tāri
BLA	glut	NYI	am <sup>w</sup> enen	XAR	ɬap̄i
*SAB	tawwaʔ	*MAM	iuia	NEN	seseke
MUR	motopot	*TAK	uya-n	KIR	eti
MGY	ma hiɕi	DAM	biya	*MSH	ccccet
ACE	buttoy	MAB	"dēŋeŋana	PON	p <sup>w</sup> uŋ
BAT	sit'təŋ	*YAB	kato	WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> üŋü
*MIN	bana	KAU	sik	EFI	donu
*IND	bətul	*TOL	ta-kədə	WFI	dədənu
*SUN	[bənər]	BUA	nirəp	RTU	nonočo
JAV	bənər	*ADZ	niɖzun	TON	tonu
MAD	bəndər	KIL	duwosisia	SAM	saʔo
BAL	bənəh	TAW	dumalu	MEL	tōtonu
SAS	kənə	*MOT	maoro	*TAH	ʔafaro
*GOR	[banari]	MEK	e-kai(-na)	*RAP	tano
DAA	na-kono	*ROV	tonoto		

TSO Also *e-mzo*.

TAG *totoʔo*, *tumpak* (overlap with 'faithful').

AKL Also [*husto*], from Spanish *justo*.

PAL Also *tama*, *tuman*.

SAB *tawwaʔ + a-*.

MIN Also *batuʔ*.

IND Also *bənər*.

SUN From Javanese.

GOR Malay *bənər*.

WOL	Also <i>toto, totuu</i> .
SIK	Also <i>dəməŋ</i> .
RTI	Also <i>la-laʔe-k</i> .
BUR	Also <i>gosa</i> 'good, right'; <i>dofō</i> 'straight, correct'.
DOB	'straight', <i>toŋir</i> (of inanimate).
SAW	Also <i>molen</i> .
MAM	Also <i>iado</i> .
TAK	See 16.710.
YAB	'straight, correct'.
TOL	<i>kodo</i> (vb trans) 'make straight, right', <i>ta-</i> intrans, see Mosel (1984: 151).
ADZ	<i>niɟzun</i> 'truth, right essence' (n); <i>saŋʔ-</i> 'be right, be correct, be enough'.
MOT	<i>maoromaoro</i> '(morally) right, just'.
ROV	Also <i>yoto</i> .
MAR	'right, correct, straight'.
KWO	Also <i>odo</i> .
RAG	'properly, correctly'.
PAA	Also 'straight'.
KWA	<i>-atuk</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>atuk</i> <sup>w</sup> 'straight'; <i>-am</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>hen</i> 'fitting, appropriate'; <i>m</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>atuk</i> , also 'right side'.
MSH	<i>cim</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>we</i> ; <i>lukkūn</i> also 'exact, indeed'; <i>m</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>ōl</i> also 'true'.
TAH	Also <i>tiʔa, tano</i> .
RAP	Also <i>ti-tika</i> .

## 16.740 WRONG

ATA	ma-nahuk	*AKL	sayup	MGY	çi ma hiçi
*TSO	ʔoa e-tuxçu	PAL	mə-salaʔ	ACE	salah
RUK	pasalio	MOL	salaʔ	BAT	sala
PAI	pa-saliw	KAG	salaʔ	MIN	salah
YAM	malaş	BLA	isi glut	IND	salah
ISN	sābag	SAB	iŋgaʔi	SUN	salah
KAL	bokon		tawwaʔ	JAV	luput
*TAG	maliʔ	MUR	salaʔ	MAD	sala

*BAL	pəlih	*DAM	to biya	*NTA	-sahm <sup>w</sup> enən
*SAS	kə-sala <sup>?</sup> -an	MAB	ŋōbo	*KWA	-eraha
GOR	mə-to-tala	*YAB	k <sup>w</sup> alɛ <sup>?</sup>	NEM	ʷek
DAA	na-sala	KAU	iyeh	*CEM	tíme móm <sup>w</sup> ɔn
UMA	ma-sala <sup>?</sup>	TOL	rarə	AJI	tē, vē
BUG	sala	BUA	su nirɔp rɛ	XAR	kā
KON	sala	*ADZ	anu <sup>ɲ?</sup> i-sa <sup>ɲ?</sup> u	*NEN	giðo
WOL	sala	*KIL	sula	*KIR	aki eti
MAG	bōt	*TAW	mepowa	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> əd
NGA	sala	MOT	kerere	PON	sap <sup>w</sup> uŋ
SIK	hala	*MEK	apala	WLE	tamm <sup>w</sup> eē
RTI	sala-k	ROV	sea	EFI	ðala
*BUR	sala	MAR	jafra	WFI	ðala
DOB	yala	LAU	garo	*RTU	siri
*IRA	səru	*KWO	fō	TON	hala
SAW	n-čɔl (sɔl)	*RAG	hantai	SAM	sesē
NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i	*PAA	romaltei	MEL	
MAM	giri <sup>?</sup> i-ema <sup>?</sup> i	LEW	viowa	TAH	həpe
TAK		*POR	e-sba-nör	*RAP	ta <sup>?</sup> e tano

TSO Also *ʔoa e-mzo*.

TAG See 16.770 and 16.760.

AKL See ‘mistake’ and ‘fault’.

BAL *salah* ‘incorrect, inappropriate’, also ‘guilty’.

ŠAS See, 01.620

BUR Also *ep-haka-t* ‘evil deed, sin’.

IRA Also ‘descend’.

DAM ‘not good’; also *moror* ‘sin, a wrong deed’.

YAB ‘false, incorrect’; also *kesɔ* ‘wrong (n)’; *gɛɔ* ‘error, mistake’.

ADZ ‘NEG REAL-be correct NEG’, i.e. ‘not correct’; also *anuŋ<sup>?</sup> i-saŋ<sup>?</sup> o*.

KIL *sula* ‘error, mistake’; *mitugaga* ‘evil behaviour’.

TAW ‘do wrong/go astray’.

MEK *apala* ‘bad’, also [*kelele*] (see 16.770) and *lif u*.

KWO Also *kuta*.

RAG ‘bad, incorrect’.

PAA ‘not straight’.

POR ‘it-not-straight’.



NTA	'not fitting'.
KWA	Also <i>-mour</i> .
CEM	'not correct'.
NEN	Also <i>tja</i> .
KIR	Also <i>kairua, bure</i> .
RTU	Also <i>siko</i> .
RAP	Also <i>kai tano; hape</i> .

## 16.760 FAULT

ATA		UMA	sala?	ROV	sinea
TSO		BUG	kaleru	MAR	nak <sup>h</sup> ibo
RUK		*KON	sala	LAU	garolā
PAI	pa-saliw	WOL	sala	KWO	
YAM	zazātən	MAG	sala	RAG	
ISN	sābag	NGA	sala	PAA	
KAL	bāsul	SIK	hala-ŋ	*LEW	pe pani
TAG	[sāla]	RTI	sala-n	POR	
*AKL	sata?	BUR	sala	NTA	
*PAL	dusa	*DOB	ʔa'ni sere	KWA	
MOL	salla		k <sup>w</sup> aysaŋal	NEM	yālic
KAG	sala?	IRA		CEM	
*BLA	gu-kuləŋ	SAW	sel-səl	AJI	iē
*SAB	salla?	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> aʔi	XAR	xu
*MUR	[kasalān]	MAM	giriʔi	NEN	čimenu
MGY	ha-disu-ana	TAK		*KIR	tekairua
ACE	salah	*DAM	kubolu sane	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> əd
BAT	sala	*MAB	ūnu	PON	
MIN	salah	YAB	ŋa-kəsə	WLE	
IND	kə-salah-an	KAU	lasiin	*EFI	đala
SUN	salah	*TOL	ni-rarə	WFI	bale-si-
*JAV	kə-salah-an	BUA	βəŋ paya	RTU	siri
MAD	kaliru	ADZ	asub	TON	foʔui
*BAL	pəlih	*KIL	kala pakula	*SAM	sala
SAS	sata?	*TAW	gou	MEL	
GOR	to-tala	MOT	kerere	*TAH	hape
DAA	sala	MEK	fau-fau	RAP	hape

AKL	Also 16.770.
PAL	Also <i>sala?</i>
BLA	<i>gu-g-səɔʔ</i> ‘place of erring’.
SAB	Also <i>sā?</i> ‘mistake’, <i>dusa</i> ‘sin, fault’.
MUR	Possibly from Malay <i>kəsalahan</i> .
JAV	Also <i>salah</i> .
BAL	Also <i>kə-pəlih-an</i> .
KON	Also <i>ka-sala-an</i> .
DOB	‘his bad characteristic’.
DAM	‘manner bad’.
MAB	‘culpability’.
TOL	<i>ni</i> NOM, <i>rarč</i> ‘be wrong (vb intrans)’.
KIL	‘his blame’.
TAW	‘fault/responsibility (positive as well as negative)’.
LEW	‘be concerning someone’.
KIR	<i>te kairua</i> cf. <i>rua</i> ‘error, mistake, be confused’; <i>te bure</i> also ‘sin, crime’.
MSH	Also ‘sin, crime’; <i>ŋ<sup>w</sup>ota</i> also ‘grudge’; <i>ruon</i> 3sg POSS form.
EFI	Also <i>bale</i> .
SAM	Also ‘make a mistake (vb intrans)’, also <i>pona</i> .
TAH	Also <i>hapa</i> ; <i>hara</i> ‘transgression’.

### 16.770 MISTAKE, ERROR

ATA	<i>ma-nahuk</i>	*BLA	<i>g-səɔʔ</i>	SAS	<i>kəliɾu</i>
*TSO	<i>-ʔpəu</i>	SAB	<i>sā?</i>	GOR	<i>to-tala</i>
RUK		*MUR	[ <i>kasalān</i> ]	DAA	<i>ka-sala-na</i>
PAI	<i>pa-səliw</i>	MGY	<i>disu</i>	UMA	<i>sala?</i>
YAM	<i>malaş</i>	ACE	<i>salah</i>	BUG	<i>a-sala-ŋ</i>
ISN	<i>sābag</i>	BAT	<i>sala</i>	*KON	<i>sala</i>
KAL	<i>kamali</i>	MIN	<i>salah</i>	*WOL	<i>sala</i>
*TAG	<i>mali?</i>	*IND	<i>kə-salah-an</i>	MAG	<i>sala</i>
AKL	<i>sala?</i>	*SUN	<i>ka-salah-an</i>	NGA	<i>sala</i>
PAL	<i>sala?</i>	JAV	<i>kleru</i>	*SIK	<i>hala-ŋ</i>
MOL	<i>sala?</i>	*MAD	<i>ka-sala?-an</i>	*RTI	<i>sala-k</i>
KAG	<i>sala?</i>	*BAL	<i>kə-pəlih-an</i>	*BUR	<i>pun sala</i>

DOB	yalā	MOT	kerere	XAR	
IRA	səru	*MEK	[kelele]	NEN	menu
SAW	səl-səl	ROV	sinea	*KIR	te kairua
NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i	MAR	naʃafra	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> əd
*MAM	giri <sup>?</sup> i	LAU	garolā	PON	
TAK		KWO	kutaŋa	WLE	m <sup>w</sup> aseya
DAM	kubolu to biya	RAG		EFI	ðala
MAB	sosor	PAA	sakkolkalien	WFI	ðala
*YAB	(ŋa-)kəsɔ	*LEW	na-kila-lu- ena	RTU	sara
KAU	iyeh	POR		TON	hala
TOL	ni-rarə	NTA	-ol pəkən	*SAM	sesē
BUA	βoŋ paya	*KWA	-aϕakour	MEL	marikīpele
ADZ	asub	NEM	tāc	TAH	hape
KIL	sula	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ŋtío	*RAP	hape
TAW	powa	AJI	vi miŋŋi		

TSO *e-<sup>?</sup>pōu* ‘make a mistake in telling a story’; *t-m-a-<sup>?</sup>pōu* ‘make a mistake in writing’; *mo-<sup>?</sup>pōu* ‘take something different’, etc.

TAG *mali<sup>?</sup> + pagka-*.

BLA *g-səɔɔ* ‘mistake’; *səɔɔ<sup>?</sup>* ‘error’.

MUR See 16.760.

IND Also *kə-kəliru-an*.

SUN Also *kaliru*.

MAD From *ka-sala-an*.

BAL See 16.760.

KON Also *ka-sala-aŋ*.

WOL Also *ka-liŋu* ‘forgetfulness’.

SIK Also *hala-ŋhulir*.

RTI ‘mistake’; *sala-siŋo-k* ‘miss, go astray’ dyadic set in ritual language, often used in ordinary language.

BUR ‘make a mistake’.

MAM Also *pa<sup>?</sup>a*.

YAB Also *gɛɔ* ‘error, mistake’; *sɛ<sup>?</sup>* ‘badness, evil, sin’.

MEK Also [*kerere*] from Motu.

LEW Also *na-kila-pali-ena*.

KWA *-aϕakour* ‘make a mistake, be in error’; *-aripun* ‘make a mistake, be in error’.

CEM 'break a rule, make a mistake'.

KIR *te kairua* cf. *rua* 'be in error'; *te bure* also 'crime, sin'.

SAM Also *sala*.

RAP Also *poteko*; *manaia* 'error of planning, misjudgement; miscalculation'; *moʔe* 'forget, error of memory'.

## 16.780 BLAME

ATA	šikūʔ	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-sala-	*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> au heni-a
TSO			vaka	MEK	e-pa-fau-fau-a
RUK		UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-sala-iʔ	ROV	zutu
PAI		BUG	sala	*MAR	fayoro
YAM		*KON	aʔ-čalla	LAU	
ISN	panaŋiyān	WOL	pa-sala-aka	KWO	
KAL	amūyu	MAG	čəla	RAG	
*TAG	sīsi	NGA	leʔi	PAA	dekaini
*AKL	bāsuʔ	SIK	hala-ŋ	*LEW	sisi
PAL	tambag	RTI	fe sala-k	POR	
*MOL	bintaŋ	BUR	ep-sala-k	NTA	-atupən
*KAG	basulun	*DOB	yala-n	KWA	
*BLA	ḍ-m-alam	IRA		NEM	maui
SAB	susun	SAW	n-fa-səl	CEM	pèle
*MUR	ūʔ	*NYI	toʔen	*AJI	kā ve tāri
MGY	çini	MAM	ora	XAR	
ACE	salah	*TAK	ai wada-n	NEN	iala nian
BAT	sala-hən	*DAM	bowa y-u-ya	*KIR	bukina
*MIN	mañialah-an	*MAB	-suk sua pa	*MSH	kλmmatλɾ
*IND	məñ-čəla	*YAB	-goliŋ biŋ	*PON	keināki
SUN	ka-salah-an	*KAU	hik put βuŋin	WLE	
JAV	ñalah-ke		pit po	*EFI	bale
	(salah)	TOL	təkun	WFI	taβui-sia
*MAD	salaʔ-ag <sup>h</sup> i	BUA	dəg <sup>w</sup> a βu	RTU	keu
*BAL	məlih-aŋ	*ADZ	oso-da nan	TON	tukuakiʔi
	(pəlih)		gin	*SAM	fāitio
SAS		*KIL	i-luluki kala	*MEL	[jilasōkia]
GOR	mo-po-leʔe		pakula	*TAH	faʔahapa
		TAW	wigou	RAP	tuhi

TAG	Also <i>paninīsi</i> .
AKL	<i>bāsu† + -un</i> .
MOL	<i>bintaŋ + -an</i> .
KAG	<i>basul + mag-/ən</i> .
BLA	<i>m-le səlɔʔ</i> ‘accuse of error’.
MUR	<i>ūʔ (maŋ- -in)</i> .
MIN	From ( <i>maN-salah-an</i> ).
IND	Also <i>māñalah-kan(salah)</i> .
MAD	From ( <i>sala-ag<sup>hi</sup></i> ); <i>sala</i> ‘wrong’.
BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>salah-aŋ</i> .
GOR	‘to blame’.
KON	Also <i>aʔ-čēčē</i> .
DOB	‘he is wrong’.
NYI	Also <i>tuniy</i> .
TAK	‘tree remainder-its’ (01.420, 12.170), as in <i>ai wada-n sini-wa</i> ‘tree + remainder-its (thou-) carry-FUT’, i.e. ‘you will carry the consequences/blame’.
DAM	‘body 3sg-hit-INF’; meaning: ‘point at someone’s body’; actually more the sense of ‘accuse’ than ‘blame’, see 21.310
MAB	<i>-suk sua pa</i> ‘push talk to’; <i>-<sup>g</sup>gal sua pa</i> ‘shoot talk to’.
YAB	‘steer talk’, i.e. ‘accuse falsely’.
KAU	‘break middle behaviour stand PREP’.
ADZ	‘accuse-PART speech-OBL’, i.e. ‘to accuse s.o., blame s.o.’.
KIL	‘he-tells (someone) his blame’ i.e. ‘he tells someone that he has done wrong; he blames him’.
MOT	<i>g<sup>wau</sup></i> ‘speak; speak with anger’; also <i>g<sup>wau</sup> dika heni-a</i> , weaker than <i>g<sup>wau</sup> heni-a (dika</i> ‘bad’).
MAR	Also <i>fat<sup>h</sup>oro</i> .
LEW	Also <i>kovena, vis-kokani-ni</i> .
AJI	Also <i>rōřu</i> .
KIR	<i>kabuakakā</i> see ‘accuse’.
MSH	Causative form, from <i>matarɽɽɽ</i> ‘furious, offended’; <i>n<sup>waruon</sup></i> 3sg; <i>čekpen</i> .
PON	Also <i>ikitiki</i> .
EFI	Also <i>bili-taka</i> .

SAM Also 'criticize (vb intrans)'; also *leaŋa* (16.720), *tio*, *fāitio-ŋa*, *-ŋa*  
NOM.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *faʔahape*, *ʔavau*.

## 16.790 PRAISE

**Sanskrit:** *pūjā-* 'worship, adoration'

ATA	š-um-kaḥaš	BUG	map-puḥi	MAR	čeke fakeli
TSO		KON	aʔ-[puḥi]	LAU	baelafea
RUK	wa-	WOL	[puḥi]	KWO	bātafea
	ɖəŋəɖəŋərə	MAG	nariŋ	RAG	saye
PAI		NGA	mani	PAA	masmasi
*YAM	işazay	*SIK	pleβa-ŋ	LEW	yelu-ari
ISN	dayāwan	*RTI	koa	POR	
KAL	dāyaw	*BUR	rehe-k	NTA	-ən βi
*TAG	[pūri]	*DOB	ʔa-wuli ʔa'ni	*KWA	-əŋuəŋni
*AKL	dāyaw		ssoba	*NEM	fa-hun-i
PAL	əŋəp	IRA	əŋəse	*CEM	pá-únu-hi
*MOL	bantug	SAW	n-tail	*AJI	pe kau
*KAG	dayaw	*NYI	atudun	XAR	
BLA	dayən	MAM	raʔeaʔa	NEN	iala
*SAB	pudḥi	*TAK	yaŋa- -abi-sa	*KIR	karereia
*MUR	ompod	*DAM	yana y-ale-	*MSH	nɔpʷaʔ
MGY	dera		se-ya	PON	kepiŋa
ACE	[puḥə]	*MAB	-pakur za-	WLE	
BAT	[puḥi]	*YAB	-la <sup>m</sup> biŋ	EFI	βaka-
MIN	[puḥi]	KAU	samsam		ðereðere-a
IND	[puḥi]-an	TOL	pite	*WFI	βa-ðakeðake-
SUN	[puḥi]-an	BUA	ko rak		ia
JAV	ŋ-aləm	ADZ	ɕarif-	RTU	voiʔəki
MAD	[puḥi]	KIL	yakaula	*TON	foka-
*BAL	ŋ-aḥum	*TAW	hune		hikihikiʔi
*SAS	[syukur]	*MOT	hanamo-a	*SAM	vīʔi-ŋa
GOR	deʔo	*MEK	e-pa-	*MEL	[samānia]
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-toiya		lopi(-ŋa)	*TAH	arue
UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-ʔuneʔ	ROV	vahesi	RAP	haka paka

YAM	<i>işazay</i> ‘be happy about’.
TAG	[ <i>pūri</i> ] (+ <i>pag-</i> ).
AKL	<i>dāyaw</i> + <i>-un</i> .
MOL	<i>bantug</i> + <i>-on</i> .
KAG	<i>dayaw</i> + <i>mag-/əŋ</i> .
SAB	[ <i>pudji</i> ] + <i>aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>ompod</i> ( <i>mag-</i> ).
BAL	See <i>aĵum</i> ‘proud, conceited’.
SAS	From Arabic <i>śuhra</i> ‘fame’.
SIK	Also <i>sorak</i> , <i>dodor</i> .
RTI	Also <i>koa-kio</i> , <i>ko-koa-k</i> .
BUR	Also [ <i>puĵi</i> ].
DOB	‘I say his goodness’.
NYI	Also <i>masiye</i> , <i>asore</i> .
TAK	‘name lift’ (18.280, 10.220), see 18.450.
DAM	‘name 3sg-take-up-INF’.
MAB	<i>-wit za-</i> ‘lift name’; <i>-wit uru-</i> ‘lift reputation’.
YAB	‘praise, fame, glory’; also <i>lanem</i> ‘praise, flattery’.
TAW	<i>hune</i> ‘praise’; <i>paligegae</i> ‘praise/exalt’; <i>wigiyeya</i> ‘praise/exalt’; <i>wotalagae</i> ‘praise/ extol (particularly used of God)’.
MOT	‘cause to be good’.
MEK	<i>e-pa-lopia(-ŋa)</i> formerly ‘make like (a) chief’? Also <i>e-pau-ari(-ai-na)</i> and <i>akā e-pa-ari(-a)</i> , originally acclamations received by a warrior who had claimed a victim in the days of traditional warfare? (Desnoës); also <i>e-iva-ŋai-na</i> , <i>e-au-afa-ŋai-na</i> ‘praise, acclaim’.
RAG	‘to praise’.
KWA	Also <i>-akurak<sup>w</sup>era</i> .
NEM	‘CAUS-big-trans’.
CEM	‘make big’.
AJI	Also <i>vi pε kau</i> .
KIR	<i>karereia</i> causative form, from <i>rerei</i> ‘perfect, fine’; <i>kaekea</i> causative form, from <i>eke</i> ‘renowned’.
MSH	Also ‘admire’; also <i>ɾɔ!ɔke</i> , <i>tip<sup>w</sup>!otake</i> .
WF1	Also <i>βa-laβe-laβe-sia</i> .
TON	Also <i>viki</i> , <i>sani</i> .

SAM *viʔi* 'praise (vb trans)', *-ŋa* NOM.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *ʔumere, haʔamaitaʔi, faʔateitei, faʔateniteni*.

## 16.810 BEAUTIFUL

**Spanish:** *guapa*

ATA	may-βatunux	DAA	na-gaya	*ROV	tolavaena
*TSO	imni	*UMA	<sup>n̄</sup> čola	MAR	famane
RUK	mā-θariri	BUG	ma-kissin	LAU	ada nula
PAI	buḷa-buḷay	KON	ballo-ballo	*KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aŋaʔa
YAM	yapiya	*WOL	ma-lape	RAG	
ISN	napiya	MAG	diʔa	*PAA	tahos
*KAL	balu	NGA	bila	*LEW	tanea
*TAG	ganda	*SIK	mior	POR	voi
*AKL	mayadʔayad	RTI	ma-naʔa	*NTA	taβrtaβr
PAL	mōnuḡa	*BUR	gosa	KWA	-amasan
*MOL	mopia dagbos	DOB	loʔar-ni	NEM	koa
*KAG	dayad	IRA	derə	*CEM	wée â mî-n
BLA	fyi bawəh	SAW	n-fie	AJI	ə, rīře
*SAB	liŋkat	NYI	konen labai	XAR	xoru
*MUR	mōnsoy	MAM	ʔulanḷaŋ	NEN	kariroi
MGY	maha- finariḷʔa	TAK	uya-n	KIR	tamāroa
*ACE	[get]	DAM	meli bagai	*MSH	reḷ
BAT	ulí	*MAB	ru <sup>ŋ</sup> gū- a <sup>m</sup> bai	*PON	liḡan
*MIN	rañčaʔ	*YAB	ḡayam	*WLE	niḡa
*IND	indah	KAU	luḡin	EFI	totoka
*SUN	endah	*TOL	potar	WFI	totoka
*JAV	ayu	*BUA	niβasa	*RTU	helava
MAD	radd <sup>ɸ</sup> in	*ADZ	ḡarubini	TON	fakaʔofoʔofa
BAL	ḡəgeg	*KIL	-minab <sup>w</sup> aita	*SAM	lālelei
*SAS	eḡəs	*TAW	diidiga	MEL	
*GOR	[gaga]	*MOT	mai hairai-na	*TAH	nehenehe
		*MEK	felō	*RAP	tau



- TSO *imni*, *roŋxu* (of women); *mīr-dīdī* (of men, 'handsome').
- KAL *balu + na-*.
- TAG *ganda + ma-*.
- AKL Also [*guwāpah*].
- MOL 'good appearance'.
- KAG Also *dayaw*; [*gwapa*] (of women).
- SAB *liŋkat + a-*.
- MUR Also *mantalud* (of women).
- ACE From Mon-Khmer, also *jrɔh*.
- MIN Also *ǰumbaŋ*.
- IND Also *bagus*.
- SUN Also *gilis*.
- JAV Also *endah*.
- SAS Also *solah*.
- GOR Manado Malay, also *mo-lamahu* 'beautiful, good-looking'.
- UMA Also *subo?*
- WOL Also *ma-limu-a*; *pasole* (of persons or things made by man); *sa-ma-lape-na: ma-ŋaʔa*.
- SIK Also *mior maor*, *osiɔβar*.
- BUR Also idiom for women *fīla-n ba lata*, *fīla-n ba lei*.
- MAB *ruŋgu- a<sup>m</sup>bai* 'appearance is good'; *mata- i<sup>ɔ</sup>gēze* 'eyes are smooth'.
- YAB 'good'.
- TOL Also *bo*, *livuanə*, *mari*, *metek*.
- BUA *niβəsa* 'good'; *mala ŋari* 'having little hairs or markings on it to give it a beautiful appearance'.
- ADZ *daum-* (vb).
- KIL Also *-mitab<sup>w</sup>aila*.
- TAW *ayuli* exclamation (of sunset/baby/rainbow/stars etc.).
- MOT *hairai* 'beauty, good appearance'; also *mai itaita-na* (*itaita* 'appearance', from *ita-ia* 'see'), see 11.110 for construction.
- MEK *felō* 'good, beautiful (of women), also *komaru* 'fat, sturdy; ready to bear children'.
- ROV Also *leleana* 'pretty'.
- KWO Also *le<sup>?</sup>a*.

PAA	‘good, nice’.
LEW	Also <i>powa</i> .
NTA	‘it is good, it is good’.
CEM	‘beautiful his appearance’.
MSH	Also <i>kacaic</i> , <i>m<sup>w</sup>Ataŋ</i> ; <i>oļyD</i> (of things); <i>wæc</i> also ‘precious, fine’.
PON	<i>kaselel</i> also ‘precious, fine’.
WLE	<i>xem<sup>w</sup>atijatiya</i> causative form, from <i>m<sup>w</sup>atijatiya</i> ‘peaceful, calm, good’.
RTU	Also <i>keleaŋlelei</i> .
SAM	<i>lelei</i> see 16.710; ‘beautiful girl or woman’: <i>lā-lelei</i> ; <i>?au-lelei</i> (of men); <i>mānaia</i> , <i>mātaŋofie</i> (of things); <i>mālie</i> (of music).
TAH	Also <i>purotu</i> (woman); <i>mā?ohe</i> archaic.
RAP	Also <i>nehe-nehe</i> .

### 16.820 UGLY

ATA	aķih tā†-an	*SUN	goreŋ	*TAK	sae-n
TSO	mi-kuz-kuzo	JAV	ɔɔ	*DAM	nowa sane
RUK	ŋyalisianə	*MAD	ǰ <sup>h</sup> uba?	*MAB	ru <sup>ɖ</sup> gu- a <sup>m</sup> bai
PAI	sə-kuɮuŋ	*BAL	bočok		som
YAM	maʒawoy	SAS	lɔŋe	*YAB	sɛ?
ISN	nadake?	GOR	mo-lēto	KAU	amutŋin
KAL	lawēŋ	*DAA	da?a na-gaya	TOL	bilək
TAG	pāŋit	UMA	dada?a	BUA	nipaya
*AKL	†aw?ay	*BUG	maǰa	ADZ	mais-
PAL	mɔsɔwala	KON	kodi tanǰa?	KIL	-migaga
*MOL	modo?ot	WOL	ma-ǰaki	*TAW	galenana
	dagbos	MAG	da?at		apapoena
*KAG	la?in	NGA	ŋəsa	*MOT	asi itaita-na
BLA	sasə? bawəh	SIK	həmu	*MEK	apala
*SAB	limmi?	RTI	maŋa-lau-k	ROV	kalkaleana
MUR	malāt	BUR	boho	MAR	
*MGY	raçi tarehi	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aŋay	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> ela
ACE	brø?	IRA	kabia	KWO	ria
BAT	rɔ'a	SAW	n-lɛ	RAG	
MIN	buru??	NYI	muña?un	*PAA	tīsa
*IND	ǰəlek	MAM	moaŋaruru	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ilip <sup>w</sup> ili

POR	sa <sup>m</sup> b	NEN		RTU	keleaŋ
NTA	-ol naŋinən	*KIR	kamaira		raksaʔa
KWA	-eraha	MSH	cepa	*TON	palakū
*NEM	tāc b <sup>w</sup> a-n	*PON	massuwet	*SAM	ʔauleaŋa
*CEM	tà â mî-n	*WLE	xausuŋgawa	MEL	
AJI	yāne	EFI	rairai-ðā	TAH	hāʔiriʔiri
*XAR	poa çā	WFI	buraburaihau	RAP	rake-rake

AKL ʔawʔay + ma-.

MOL ‘bad appearance’.

KAG Also *lawʔay*.

SAB *limmiʔ + a-*.

MGY ‘bad of appearance’.

IND Also *buruk*.

SUN Also *goreŋ patut*.

MAD Also ‘bad’.

BAL Also *bodo*, North Bali.

DAA *daʔa* ‘not’.

BUG Also *makaʔaʔ*.

TAK ‘bad’ (16.720).

DAM Also ‘looking angry’; also *baraū nowa gen* ‘like a ghost’s face’, and *nowa werese y-e`ya* ‘angry face’.

MAB Also *rungu-baiŋana*.

YAB ‘bad’.

TAW ‘bad appearance’.

MOT See 16.810; also *asi hairai-na*.

MEK See 16.720.

PAA ‘bad’.

LEW Also *viowa*.

NEM ‘bad his head’.

CEM ‘bad his appearance’.

XAR ‘very deep’.

KIR ‘disgusting, filthy’; also *kamairia; matabuni* lit ‘pufferfish face’.

PON ‘bad face’; also *kersuwet*, see *ker* derogatory term for ‘face’.

WLE *xausuŋgawa* lit ‘look bad’, *maŋiŋgawa* (of people).

TON Also *mata-kove* (of person).

SAM Also *lefu*, *?au-lefu*, *mātaṅā* (vb intrans) (of things, behaviour).

### 16.830 GREEDY

ATA	ma-kiču? ?ari-?ari?	BUG	ma-kella- kella	ROV	puhi
TSO		*KON	ṅoa	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> iri
*RUK	apiakaə-kanə	*WOL	ma-siḃu	LAU	
PAI	ma-ramil <sup>y</sup>	*MAG	go <sup>m</sup> pəṅ	KWO	dulamak <sup>wa</sup> ?etela
*YAM	maḃa	NGA	haba-ta <sup>ʔ</sup> i	RAG	
ISN	nāgum	SIK	dəḃa-ṅ	PAA	metanān
*KAL	lāwot	*RTI	nasa-la-la <sup>ʔ</sup> e	*LEW	puluvisi
*TAG	tākaw	*BUR	geba ka	*POR	xan eləṅ
*AKL	suḃuk		moko-t	NTA	-aum <sup>wə</sup> s
PAL	məsurug	*DOB	?a'ni yaṅal	*KWA	-ak <sup>w(i)</sup> tamiri
*MOL	[napsu <sup>ʔ</sup> ]		ḃay		nari
*KAG	daluk	IRA	nasəḃəsufətə	NEM	ka-ḃi-aman
*BLA	tyan	*SAW	goloḃo	CEM	cələle
SAB	[napsu]-han	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> akok	AJI	pimāni
MUR	modōt	*MAM	?apisa	*XAR	da pε-xata
*MGY	tendan- kanina	TAK		NEN	pakākā
*ACE	[lubha]	*DAM	akor-ou	*KIR	b <sup>w</sup> akanikoroa
BAT	hi'sap	*MAB	mata- berberṅana	*MSH	aḃak
*MIN	[lobo]			*PON	nəɾək
*IND	tamak	*YAB	mata-katu	*WLE	ṣaxau
SUN	hawək	KAU	suh	EFI	koḃokoḃo
JAV	srasah	TOL	loṅodo	WFI	koḃokoḃo
MAD	tama <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	mala anon	*RTU	huaṅ pu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*BAL	[lobə]	*ADZ	ragi sa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TON	havala
SAS	lobə	*KIL	-youloḃeka	SAM	matape <sup>ʔ</sup> ape <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*GOR	?o-lalo-wa	TAW	omboho	MEL	mata-
DAA	na-doku	*MOT	mata yaniyani		m <sup>wā</sup> ṅura
UMA	ḃa <sup>m</sup> pa	*MEK	e-moṅe-moṅe	TAH	?arapo <sup>ʔ</sup> a
				*RAP	ono-ono

RUK *apia-kaə-kanə* 'greedy, fond of eating'; *wa-kanə* 'eat'; *maramiḃi* 'overeat or overdrink'.

- YAM Also *malatab*.
- KAL *lāwot + na-*.
- TAG Also *sakim, yāmo?* + *ma-*.
- AKL *suʔuk + ma-*.
- MOL [*napsu?*] + *mo-*.
- KAG Also *takab*.
- BLA *lom* ‘greed’; *laguk* ‘greed (for food)’.
- MGY *tenda* ‘throat’; *tendána* ‘voracious’; *hanina*.
- ACE From Sanskrit *lobhā*.
- MIN Also *čama*.
- IND Also [*loba*], *sarakah*.
- BAL From Sanskrit, also *momo*.
- GOR Also *tama?*.
- KON Also *palla?* ‘inconsiderate’; *pikkiri* ‘miserly’.
- WOL Also *ma-so?*.
- RTI Also *dale-sale*.
- BUR ‘greedy, stingy’.
- DOB (of someone who always takes other people’s things without asking, or is always trying to improve his own situation).
- SAW Also *babloko*.
- MAM Also *nem-ilom-ŋaŋ?*.
- DAM ‘breast-1sg POSS’; also *aya dēlu y-e-ya* ‘to say ‘me’ only’.
- MAB Also *mata-koroŋŋana*.
- YAB ‘his.eye-shadow’, i.e. ‘covetous, avaricious’; also *mata-sɛɛ?* ‘his.eye-slippery’ i.e. ‘covetous, avaricious’, *gedampe?* ‘selfish, refusing to share’.
- ADZ *ragi sa?* ‘greedy for all kinds of food’; *ragi mwadžia* ‘greedy for meat’.
- KIL *-youloβeka* ‘have much’; *-gugobeka* ‘eat to excess’; also *i-kau mata-la* ‘it-takes eye-his’, ‘he lusts after it’.
- MOT *mata* ‘eye’, *ɣaniyani* ‘greedy’; also *ani gunita* ‘to eat selfishly’.
- MEK *e-moŋe-moŋe* ‘selfish, avid’; *pio-koŋo* ‘gluttonous’ (*pio* ‘cassowary’, a bird known to be indiscriminately voracious); for *koŋo* see 04.751, 05.181, 10.330.
- LEW Also *sine-na sī*.

POR	Also <i>xan ita<sup>m</sup>b</i> ‘eat always’.
KWA	‘grasp things’, ‘retain’.
XAR	‘eat take-strong’.
KIR	<i>b<sup>w</sup>akanikoroa</i> (especially for food), lit ‘to fall about’, <i>matabai</i> lit ‘see things’.
MSH	<i>tar</i> ; <i>mattīa</i> ‘greedy (for food)’.
PON	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>inimas</i> .
WLE	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>eṣaṛīyō</i> ; <i>ṣiṅōṅō</i> lit ‘see things’.
RTU	Also <i>huan kumi</i> , <i>kakafa</i> .
TON	Also <i>mānumanu</i> ; <i>?uakai</i> (for food).
RAP	<i>ono-ono</i> ‘greedy (wanting all of something)’; <i>titau</i> ‘greedy (wanting more and better than what one already has)’; <i>nou-nou</i> ‘greedy’.

### 16.840 CLEVER

ATA	βaʔaik tunux	*MAD	[pintar]	*YAB	tō-kauʔ
*TSO	toxij̄i	BAL	duəg	*KAU	emos
RUK	mā-ḷigili	SAS	penter	TOL	melem
PAI	ma-ʔaku	*GOR	mo-to-ta	BUA	lōs k <sup>w</sup> a
YAM	matopoş	DAA	na-ta <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*ADZ	uwaya <sup>n</sup> t
ISN	nala <sup>ʔ</sup> iṅ	UMA	pa <sup>n</sup> te	KIL	-kabitam
*KAL	la <sup>ʔ</sup> iṅ	BUG	mačča	TAW	hanapu
*TAG	talino	*KON	mačča	*MOT	mai aonega-
*AKL	āʔam	WOL	ma-kid <sup>a</sup>		na
PAL	məpəndəȳ	MAG	ᵑgalas	MEK	e-ikifa
*MOL	[pikir]	NGA	ate-rika	*ROV	bokboka
*KAG	[brayt]	*SIK	bisa	MAR	glalase
BLA	fuluṅ	*RTI	ma-lela-k	LAU	liotō
*SAB	hāp kōk	*BUR	em-tewa-t	KWO	wataga
*MUR	mapanday	*DOB	narla <sup>ʔ</sup> a ʔaʔa	RAG	
MGY	ma-hai	IRA	nanərunəʔe	PAA	giteliel
ACE	čarəṅ	*SAW	[kolakola]	*LEW	pe pari-na
BAT	pis'tar	NYI	tanən labai	*POR	<sup>m</sup> bai-n e-voi
*MIN	[panday]	MAM	?aoa-?aoa	NTA	-ətun nat
*IND	pandai	TAK	kawila-n	*KWA	-rukurən nari
*SUN	[pintər]	DAM	keke	NEM	ka-tamaṅ
JAV	pintər	MAB	ᵑgarṅa-	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ᵑnime-n

AJI	gāmā	*PON	marain	TON	poto
*XAR	ŋū-bēĩ	*WLE	ṛēpiya	*SAM	atamai
NEN	nata	*EFI	βuku	MEL	matmātua
*KIR	rab <sup>w</sup> akau	*WFI	matai	*TAH	māramarama
MSH	kapēl	*RTU	poto	RAP	mara-marama

TSO Also *boϕ-bo-ϕxio*.

KAL *laʔiŋ + na*.

TAG *taĩno + ma-*.

AKL *˚āʔam + ma-*; also *abtik + ma-*.

MOL *pikir + mo-*.

KAG From English *bright*.

SAB *hāp kōk + a-* ‘clever’; *a-hāp kōk* ‘intelligent’ (lit ‘a good head’); *a-tahaʔ [akkal]* ‘clever at tricking people’ from Arabic.

MUR *mapanday* ‘able’; *mailo* (neg) ‘unable’; also *makautok* ‘brainy’.

MIN Also *čadiʔ?*

IND Also *pintar*.

SUN From Javanese.

MAD From Malay.

GOR Also [*pī<sup>n</sup>dari*] from Malay, and [*kalesani*].

KON Also *čaradde?*

SIK Also *ŋaisia-ŋ*.

RTH ‘cleverness, understanding, idea’ are all based on the root, *lela(k)*, ‘faculty of intelligence’; opposite is *ʔgoa-k* (see 17.220).

BUR Also *enewa-t(tewa)* ‘skilled’.

DOB ‘he knows the ground’.

SAW From Ternate (?); also [*pintar*] from Malay.

YAB ‘with-understanding’.

KAU Also *erep*.

ADZ *uwayant* ‘cleverness, intelligence’; *mara roro* ‘clever (adj)’.

MOT *aonega* ‘wisdom; wise’; also *lalo parara*, lit ‘inside/ mind open’.

ROV Also *tumtumae*.

LEW ‘be (well) headed’; also *kilia po*.

POR ‘head-his it-good’.

KWA ‘know things’.

XAR	'move about like the elders'.
KIR	<i>rab<sup>w</sup>akau</i> 'skilled'; <i>wanawana</i> 'intelligent'.
PON	<i>marain</i> also 'bright'; <i>kadek</i> .
WLE	Also <i>řimařigi</i> .
EFI	Also <i>mātai</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βuku</i> .
RTU	Also <i>potsusunu, filo<sup>?</sup>lelei</i> .
SAM	Also <i>poto</i> (vb intrans).
TAH	Also <i>pa<sup>?</sup>ari, <sup>?</sup>aravihi, <sup>?</sup>ite</i> .

### 17.110 MIND

**Arabic:** 'aql 'sense'; fikr 'mind, thought'

ATA	kiřriř	MAD	[pikkir]-an	*YAB	ŋa-lelom
TSO	to- <sup>?</sup> toxij	*BAL	kənəh	*KAU	tulu-
RUK	kiđəməđəmə	SAS	aŋən-an	*TOL	nuknuki-
PAI	vavak	GOR	[pikiraŋi]	BUA	
YAM	nakənəkəm	DAA	[pekiri]	*ADZ	uwaya <sup>n</sup> t
ISN	uray	UMA	[pekiri]	*KIL	nona
KAL	somsomok	BUG	taŋŋa <sup>?</sup>	*TAW	nugonugo-na
*TAG	īsip	KON	[ <sup>?</sup> akkala]	*MOT	lalo
*AKL	bu <sup>?</sup> ut	WOL	ŋaŋa-ra <sup>n</sup> da	*MEK	opo
*PAL	[pikir]	MAG	nūk	ROV	binalabala
MOL	imunuŋ	NGA	maya	MAR	gaoyat <sup>n</sup> o
*KAG	pag <sup>?</sup> isip	SIK	[ <sup>?</sup> akar]	LAU	liōna
BLA	utak	*RTI	du-du <sup>?</sup> a-k	*KWO	manatala(-na)
SAB	[pikil]-an	BUR		RAG	
*MUR	guaŋ	*DOB	ŋura φaφuy	*PAA	en
MGY	hevitra	IRA		LĒW	sitomi-ena
*ACE	[akay]	SAW	[fikir]an	POR	mičmičean
*BAT	rōha	NYI	budon	NTA	nəki-n
*MIN	kiro-kiro	MAM	ilo	KWA	rer-
*IND	[akal] [budi]	TAK		NEM	
*SUN	[pikir]-an	DAM	kisi	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> š-nīmi-hi
*JAV	[pikir]-an	*MAB	<sup>ɗ</sup> gar	AJI	vi tā nexāi



XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ã-nãrã	*WLE	ɳpa	*SAM	māfaufau
NEN		EFI	loma-	MEL	kele
*KIR	te nano	WFI	-yaloŋa	*TAH	manaʔo
*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> əkləkət	RTU	huŋa	RAP	roro
*PON	kup <sup>w</sup> ur	TON	ʔatanai		
TAG	Also <i>pag-ʔiʔisip</i> .				
AKL	'interior self. sense of reason'.				
PAL	Also <i>dɔŋdɔŋ</i> .				
KAG	<i>(isip + pag-)</i> 'thinking'.				
MUR	<i>guaŋ</i> 'heart, feelings, thoughts'; [ <i>akal</i> ] 'intelligence, sense'; <i>utok</i> 'brain'.				
ACE	Also [ <i>pike</i> ].				
BAT	Also [ <i>pikkir</i> ]-an, see 16.110.				
MIN	Also [ <i>pikir</i> ]-an.				
IND	From Sanskrit; also [ <i>pikir</i> ]-an.				
SUN	From also [ <i>iŋət</i> ]-an from Javanese.				
JAV	From also <i>paŋ-galih</i> .				
BAL	<i>kənəh</i> 'thought, mind'; <i>idəp</i> 'thought, attitude'; <i>ati</i> 'liver, seat of emotions'.				
RTI	Also <i>aʔ-afi-k</i> .				
DOB	'brain hole'.				
MAB	<i>ʔgar</i> 'thinking'; <i>mata-</i> 'eye', i.e. 'centre of cognition'.				
YAB	'his-inside'; also <i>tetaʔ</i> , <i>tae</i> 'his belly', both 'seat of the emotions' see, for example, 11.540, 16.230, 16.320, 16.320, 16.330, 16.330, 16.340, 16.350, 16.410, 16.420, 16.510, 17.130.				
KAU	As in <i>tulu-ŋə hui kiok</i> lit 'mind-my think about go again' (serial verb construction), i.e. 'I remember, recall' (see also 17.310, 17.320).				
TOL	<i>nuknuki</i> - relational noun like body-part terms; absolutive counterpart is <i>nuknuk</i> 'thought, idea' (17.190); both from <i>nuk</i> 'think (vb trans)'.				
ADZ	<i>uwayant</i> 'intelligence, mind, memory'; <i>mara-n fur-an</i> 'think, remember'.				
KIL	<i>nona</i> (unpossessed); <i>nano-</i> (possessed).				
TAW	'his/her heart', 'seat of thought, desires and emotion'.				
MOT	'inside mind'.				

MEK	<i>opo</i> ‘seat of thought’; <i>oje</i> ‘seat of the imagination (e.g. dreams, visions)’.
KWO	Also <i>manata(na)</i> .
PAA	‘seat of emotions’; subject to a variety of verbs expressing emotions.
KIR	Also ‘interior, soul’.
MSH	Also <i>lolætæt</i> .
PON	‘desire, heart, plan’.
WLE	<i>tipa</i> ‘mood, frame of mind’, <i>řařo</i> also ‘interior, soul’.
SAM	Also ‘think (vb intrans)’.
TAH	Also <i>feruriraʔa</i> .

## 17.130 THINK (= reflect)

Arabic: <i>fikkīr</i> ‘thoughtful’
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ATA	ʔ-um-aŋʔuŋ	SUN	mikir ([pikir])	MAM	ilo-ani
TSO	ma-ʔto-ʔtoxijɿ	JAV	ŋ-gagas	*TAK	kan-kan
RUK	ki-a	MAD	[pikkir]	DAM	kisi
	ɖəməɖəmə	*BAL	mə-kənəh	*MAB	-kam ʔgar pa
PAI	v-ən-aruŋ	SAS	aŋən-aŋən	*YAB	tæ ge-yəm (e-nam)
YAM	naknakmən	GOR	momikīraŋi	*KAU	mata-n ira
ISN	mag-		[pikir]	*TOL	nuknuk
	lamlammat	DAA	nom-[pekiri]	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> aβo
*KAL	somsomok	UMA	mo-ka-nono	ADZ	mara-n fur-an
*TAG	īsip	BUG	[pikkiriʔ]	KIL	-nanamsa
*AKL	paʔinu-ʔīnuh	*KON	aʔ-[pikkiri]	TAW	nugotuhu
PAL	[pikir]	WOL	[fikiri]	MOT	lalo-a
*MOL	[pikir]	MAG	tənaŋ	*MEK	e-opolaŋa
*KAG	isip	NGA	maya	ROV	balbala
BLA	fandam	*SIK	huk	MAR	yaoyat <sup>h</sup> o
*SAB	[pikil]	*RTI	duʔa	LAU	manatasi
*MUR	kadaʔ	*BUR	nanu-k	*KWO	manadai-a
MGY	mi-hevitra	DOB	ʔa-laɸa yaʔa	RAG	
ACE	[pike]	*IRA	nəɸetiɸənə	PAA	redem
BAT	mar-[pikkir]		nəɸərərə rə	*LEW	sitomi-lia
MIN	ba-[pikiʔ]	SAW	n-uta	POR	mičmiče
*IND	bər-[pikir]	NYI	abudon		

NTA	-ətələŋin	*KIR	nanoa	RTU	aʔhæe
*KWA	-atəriŋ	*MSH	kɔlmæn-	TON	fakakaukau
NEM	ñiñami		lɔkceŋ*	*SAM	māfaufau
CEM	nĩmi-hi	*PON	metewe	MEL	manatu
AJI	tā nexāi	*WLE	maŋī-a	TAH	feruri
XAR	nārā	*EFI	nanu-ma	*RAP	haka topa
*NEN	ua	WFI	numi-a		

KAL *somsomok + man-*.

TAG *īsip + mag-/in* ‘have ideas, use the mind’.

AKL *paʔinu-ʔīnuh + -un*.

MOL [*pikir*] + *mom-*.

KAG *isip - mag-*; also [*pinsar*] + *mag-* from Spanish *pensar*.

SAB [*pikil*] + *aN-an*.

MUR *kadaʔ (mag- -on)*.

IND Also *məñan̄ka (saŋka), məŋira (kira)* ‘think, imagine’.

BAL Also *mə-pinəh*.

KON Also *aʔ-[pikkiʔ-ʔikkiri]*.

SIK Also *nəra*.

RTI Also *afi*.

BUR Rarely *en-hanu-k*.

IRA ‘he thinks it goes and goes’.

TAK ‘thoughts’, as in *iŋ kan-kan i-ga-da* ‘he thoughts he-do -IMPRF’.

MAB ‘do thinking about’; *mata- iŋgal* ‘eye pierce’, ‘think about’; *mata- ila pa* ‘eye goes to’, ‘think about’; *mata- imīli* ‘eye returns’, ‘think back’.

YAB ‘his belly do’.

KAU ‘eye-his follow’.

TOL (durative).

MEK *e-opolaŋa* ‘think; think of; remember’; *e-oŋopai(-na)* ‘think about; meditate; reflect’; *e-opo-nini-a* is ‘think connectedly; think through’;  
NW Mekeo *i-obobo* ‘think’ (East Mekeo *opo-opo* ‘worry’).

KWO Also *manata suri-a, k<sup>w</sup>aifi*.

LEW Also *sitomi-veve*.

KWA *-atəriŋ* also ‘listen’; *-auar* also ‘recall’; *-arhi* ‘concentrate’.

NEN Also *luo*.

KIR *nanoa* cf. *te nano* ‘heart, conviction, will’; *iaŋoa*.

MSH	Causative form; also ‘meditate, concentrate’, root * <i>l̥əmæŋ</i> <sup>w</sup> ; also <i>l̥əmŋ<sup>w</sup>ak</i> .
PON	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>userēre</i> (vb intrans); hon.; <i>pēm</i> (vb intrans), also ‘sense, feel’.
WLE	<i>maŋī-a</i> also ‘expect, remember’; <i>yaxī-a</i> .
EFI	Also <i>βakanānanu</i> .
SAM	Also <i>mānatunatu</i> .
RAP	<i>haka topa</i> ‘think (reflecting)’; <i>tuiā</i> ‘study, analyse’.

### 17.140 THINK (= be of the opinion)

ATA	tā†-an muru <sup>?</sup>	UMA	[pekiri]	*ROV	balbala
TSO		BUG	pak-kira	MAR	ɣaoyat <sup>h</sup> o
RUK		KON	a <sup>?</sup> -naha-naha	LAU	manata sulia
PAI	v-ən-aruŋ	WOL	ko-[fikiri]	*KWO	iri-a
YAM	naknakmən	MAG	bət	*RAG	vinihī
ISN	lamlamt-an	NGA	maya	PAA	mudemi
KAL	somsomok	*SIK	huk	LEW	sitomi sape
*TAG	akāla <sup>?</sup>	*RTI	dudu <sup>?</sup> a	POR	
*AKL	†ā <sup>?</sup> um	BUR	nanu-k	NTA	nəkin taht
PAL	[pikirən]	DOB	ʔa-laɸa		məmə
*MOL	[pikir]	IRA	gəte	KWA	-ua
*KAG	may isip	SAW	n-εçog-o	NEM	ñiñami
BLA	man nɔwɔ	NYI	budon ta-n	CEM	ními-hi
*SAB	[pikil]-an	MAM	ilo-lelena <sup>?</sup> i	AJI	tā newɛi
*MUR	guaŋ-ku	*TAK	-bol	XAR	tam <sup>w</sup> ā
*MGY	manau (tau)	DAM	kisi	*NEN	tutuo
ACE	[pike]	*MAB	-re ke <sup>m</sup> bei	*KIR	taku
*BAT	di rɔha	*YAB	-be	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> āp <sup>u</sup>
MIN	kiro	*KAU	βo taku	*PON	lerne
*IND	bər-pəndapat	TOL	nuk	*WLE	niiniwana
*SUN	[pikir]an	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a βo	*EFI	kai-a
JAV	ŋirɔ (kirɔ)	ADZ	mara-nrapi <sup>?</sup> - an	*WFI	numi-a
MAD	kira			RTU	a <sup>?</sup> hæe
*BAL	ŋaden (kaden)	KIL	-doki	TON	tui
SAS	kirə-kirə	TAW	winugonu- gotuhu	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> apea
*GOR	[kira]			MEL	mantua
*DAA	na-ria po <sup>m</sup> ba- rata	*MOT	lalohadai	TAH	mana <sup>?</sup> o
		*MEK	e-opolaja	RAP	mana <sup>?</sup> u

- TAG *akāla?* + *mag-/in* ‘consider, have an opinion’.
- AKL *ʔāʔum* + *-an*; *ʔāʔum ko* ‘I thought ...’.
- MOL [*pikir*] + *-an*.
- KAG ‘have a thought’.
- SAB (n).
- MUR *guaŋ-ku* ‘I think’, *indos-ku* ‘I thought (mistakenly)’.
- MGY From (*maN-tau*); also ‘to do, act’.
- BAT *beʔha rɔʔha-m?* ‘what do you think?’ (‘how is your mind’).
- IND Also *bər-[pikir]* Arabic.
- SUN Also *pamaŋgih*(*paŋgih*).
- BAL Also (*N-*)[*səŋguh*], from Old Javanese.
- GOR Also [*harapu*], both nouns, and both from Malay.
- DAA ‘have opinion’.
- SIK Also *nəra*.
- RTI Also *ma-du-duʔa-k*, *ma-afi-k*.
- TAK ‘say’ (18.220).
- MAB *-re ke<sup>m</sup>bei* ‘see like this’; *-so* ‘say’.
- YAB *-bɔʔ* ‘think falsely’.
- KAU ‘say try’ (see 17.410).
- MOT *lalo* ‘inside mind’; *hadai*, ‘to make firm’; in some contexts *g<sup>w</sup>au* ‘speak, say, be of opinion’, also *toma* ‘say’.
- MEK *a-la-opolaga* ‘I don’t think so’.
- ROV Also *rovea*.
- KWO ‘say’.
- RAG Also *binihi*.
- NEN Also *uan*.
- KIR *taku* also ‘say (vb intrans)’; *katautau* causative form, from *tau* ‘hold’; *iaŋoa* also *n au iaŋo b<sup>w</sup>a...* ‘I think that ...’; lit ‘in my thought that’.
- MSH Also *ʔlmŋ<sup>w</sup>ak*.
- PON *leme* also ‘believe’; *kup<sup>w</sup>urēioŋ* also ‘feel’.
- WLE *nünüwana* also ‘remember’; *yane* also ‘wise’.
- EFI Also *nanu-ma*.
- WFI Also *kwai-a*.
- SAM Also *manatu* (vb intrans), *masalo* (vb intrans).

## 17.150 BELIEVE

Sanskrit: *pratyaya-*

ATA	šnuayun	BUG	tippiʔ	LAU	manata
*TSO	t-m-ā-ʔuzo	*KON	aʔ-tappaʔ		mamana
*RUK	kiapaotəŋa	*WOL	[paračaea]	KWO	loʔo
PAI		MAG	i <sup>m</sup> pi	*RAG	vinihi
YAM	anoyŋən	NGA	d̄əme		m <sup>w</sup> asiyi
ISN	maŋurug	*SIK	metə-ŋ	PAA	mudem kati
*KAL	manuttūwa	RTI	nama-hele	LEW	lelaŋa
*TAG	tiwālaʔ	*BUR	ba-lale-k	*POR	ka xavoi
*AKL	pātih	*DOB	ʔa-reŋin	NTA	-ən
PAL	məŋandəl	IRA	tətonə		nəpahrienən e
MOL	porissaya	SAW	n-dəle	*KWA	-ua
*KAG	tu'ʔu	NYI	budon ha <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> u	NEM	famai
BLA	fa-glut	MAM	lama-uni	CEM	môm <sup>w</sup> ehĩ
*SAB	kahagad	*TAK	ilo-rumok	AJI	tā newei
*MUR	intopot	*DAM	wau mumei	*XAR	fa-kērēnədo
MGY	m-inu	*MAB	-urla ki	NEN	uan
ACE	pateh	*YAB	-keŋ ge-wiŋ	KIR	onimakina
BAT	[pərseə]	*KAU	βo-n nuk βet	*MSH	ləke
MIN	[pičayo]	TOL	nur	*PON	leme
*IND	[pərčaya]	BUA	βoŋ βiŋ	WLE	šapara
SUN	[pərčaya]	ADZ	mwaruŋ-	EFI	βaka-bau-ta
JAV	[pərčəyɔ]	KIL	-dubumi	WFI	βabau-sia
MAD	[parčaʃa]	TAW	witumagana	RTU	aier-ʔoki
*BAL	ŋugu (gugu)	*MOT	hereβa abi-a	TON	tui
*SAS	[yakin]		dae	*SAM	talitonu
GOR	[paračaya]	*MEK	kōa e-pa-mia	*MEL	[saralēsoko]
*DAA	nom-	ROV	vahinokaria	TAH	tiʔaturi
	[parasaya]	MAR	fatutuani	RAP	haka roŋo
UMA	paŋalaʔ				

TSO Also *tā-ʔuzv-a*.RUK *mā-saŋo* 'firmly believe, contented'.KAL From (*tuttūwa + maN-*).TAG *tiwālaʔ + maN-/paN--an*.

- AKL *pātih + -an*.
- KAG *tuʔu + mag-*; also *pati + mag-/-ən* also ‘believe, obey’.
- SAB *kahagad + aN-/ø*; also *bannal + aN/-an*.
- MUR *intopot (maŋ- -on)*.
- IND Also *bər-[pikir]* from Arabic, see 17.130.
- BAL Also [*pərčaya*] Sanskrit; (*N-*)*sadin* ‘believe someone’.
- SAS From Arabic *yakin* ‘certain, sure’; also *saduʔ*.
- DAA Also *nom-paŋala*.
- KON Also *an-nappaʔ*.
- WOL Also *saron-aka* (vb intrans).
- SIK Also [*pərsaya*].
- BUR *ba-lale-k* ‘strong sense’; *nanu-k* ‘weak sense’.
- DOB *ʔa-reŋin* ‘hear, believe’, *ʔokʷaʔlay m-reŋin-ni* ‘don’t believe him’.
- TAK ‘belief’: ‘inside-true’ (12.050, 16.660), as in *iŋ sa-n ilo-rumok lo man ə* ‘he POSS-his inside-true in TOP’, i.e. ‘according to his belief ...’, i.e. ‘in his opinion ...’.
- DAM ‘liver true’.
- MAB Also *-ur ila ki*.
- YAB ‘-give it-go,with’.
- KAU ‘mouth-his stay under’.
- MOT *hereβa* ‘word’, *abi-a dae* ‘receive’ (*abi-a* ‘get, hold’, *dae* ‘go up’); also *kamonai (heni-a)* ‘to hear, believe’; *abidadama hen-i-a* ‘to believe, have faith in’.
- MEK *kōa e-pa-nīa* ‘make (it) be true; take (it) for true’; NW Mekeo *e-obo-ui-na* (Brown); East Mekeo *e-opo-ŋai-na* ‘think hard about’, ‘believe in’.
- RAG Also *binihimʷasiyi*.
- POR ‘tell genuine’.
- KWA *-ua* ‘believe that’; *-ahata* ‘believe in’, also ‘lean against’; *-atiŋite* ‘believe in, be sure of’.
- XAR ‘render sure, make truth’.
- MSH Also *tΛmak* ‘believe, have faith’.
- PON *kamēlele* causative form, from *mēlel* ‘true’; *pʷoson* ‘trust in’.
- SAM Also *faʔatuatua* (vb intrans) ‘believe in, have faith in’.
- MEL From Efate.

## 17.160 UNDERSTAND

Arabic: <i>faham</i>		Sanskrit: <i>arthen(n)-</i>		Spanish: <i>entender</i>	
ATA	βak-un	UMA	[paha]	LAU	haitamana
*TSO	t-m-a-ʔxoŋi	BUG	[pahaŋ]	*KWO	loŋoa
RUK	moaʕəgao	*KON	aŋŋ-isseʔ	RAG	
PAI		*WOL	[fahamu]	PAA	loŋ kilela
YAM	katəŋŋan	*MAG	paʔel	*LEW	loŋe-kilia
ISN	awātan	*NGA	beʔo	POR	l <sup>m</sup> bai
*KAL	āwat	*SIK	raʔinta-ŋ	NTA	-ətun
*TAG	unāwaʔ	*RTI	na-lela-k	*KWA	-rukurən
*AKL	ka-ʔubut	*BUR	tewa	NEM	tamaŋi
*PAL	məʔotiyān	*DOB	na-maliŋu	CEM	tēmehi
*MOL	oroti	IRA	nanərunə	AJI	rīagürü
*KAG	[intindi]	SAW	n-čae (sae)	XAR	nexl̃
BLA	glabat	NYI	tanān	NEN	čaraŋewe
*SAB	hati	*MAM	ʔaoa	*KIR	atā
*MUR	[adatiʔ]	*TAK	-loŋ	*MSH	melele
MGY	ma-hazu	*DAM	wau okō	*PON	ese
ACE	[muphom]	*MAB	-kilāla	*WLE	metafa
BAT	attus-i	*YAB	-yala	EFI	maðala
MIN	maŋ-[arati]	*KAU	mata-n ira	WFI	gulu-mia
IND	məŋ-[ərti]	*TOL	matoto	RTU	ʔinea
SUN	ŋ-[arti]	BUA	raŋ ni	TON	mahino
JAV	ŋ-[ərti]	*ADZ	rīŋa <sup>n</sup> t-a giŋ	*SAM	mālamalama
MAD	ŋ-[arti]	KIL	-kateta	MEL	man-tāea
*BAL	ŋ-rəsəp	TAW	hanapu	*TAH	taʔa
SAS	[pahaman]	*MOT	lalo-na parara	*RAP	aŋi-aŋi
GOR	[moŋarati]	*MEK	e-ikifa-lei-na		
DAA	na <sup>n</sup> gi <sup>n</sup> ʔani ( <sup>n</sup> ʔani)	*ROV	yilania		
		*MAR	fīlo deni		

TSO (ta-ʔxoŋ-i).

KAL āwat + ma- -an.

TAG unāwaʔ + -um-/-an; also [intindi].

AKL Also [intindh]-an.

PAL Also məsəwdan.



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MOL	<i>oroti + og-ko--an.</i>
SAB	<i>hati + maka-/ta-</i> .
KAG	<i>[intindi] + ma- -an, also sat<sup>?</sup>em + ma--an.</i>
MUR	<i>[adati<sup>?</sup>](maŋ-); also [pām].</i>
BAL	Also <i>ŋ-[ərti].</i>
KON	Also <i>a<sup>?</sup>-[pahaŋ].</i>
WOL	Also <i>losuaŋi,[maŋarati].</i>
MAG	Also <i>haeŋ, ŋaeŋ, ita.</i>
NGA	Also <i>sia</i>
SIK	Also <i>[məŋərti].</i>
RTI	See 16.840.
BUR	Also means 'know, be able to'
DOB	Also means 'not know'.
MAM	Also <i>zama.</i>
TAK	'hear, perceive' (15.410).
DAM	'liver clear'.
MAB	<i>ŋgar ipet</i> 'thinking appears'.
YAB	Also <i>kau<sup>?</sup>ke-sa</i> 'knowledge it-go.out'.
KAU	See 17.130.
TOL	<i>mətot-e</i> (vb trans).
ADZ	'to hear, understand s.th.'
MOT	See 16.840; also <i>diba</i> 'to know'.
MEK	<i>e-ikifa-lei-na</i> 'understand, comprehend'; Desnoës has <i>e-ia-iopi-na</i> ( <i>ia</i> is modern <i>isa</i> 'see') 'understand, know, be aware of'; see NW Mekeo <i>i-iobina</i> 'know, understand'.
ROV	Also <i>nonoyaia.</i>
MAR	<i>filo deni</i> 'understand, realise'; <i>filo glani</i> 'understand, recognise'.
KWO	Also <i>su<sup>?</sup>a.</i>
LEW	Also <i>kilia-ruru.</i>
KWA	Also <i>-ata</i> 'see'.
KIR	<i>atā</i> also 'know'; <i>ōta</i> 'clear, understood'.
MSH	(vb intrans).
PON	Also <i>eruwān</i> 'understand completely'.
WLE	'understand completely'.

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SAM Cognate with *malama* (vb intrans) ‘break (of the dawn)’.

TAH Also *ʔaʔapo*.

RAP *aŋi-aŋi* ‘understand (used most often in declarations)’; *maʔa* ‘understand (used most often in questions)’.

### 17.170 KNOW

ATA	βaḵ-un	UMA	i <sup>n̄</sup> ča	LAU	haitamana
*TSO	bo-ϕxio	BUG	issin	KWO	suʔa
RUK	wa-θiŋalə	KON	aŋŋ-isseʔ	RAG	ilo
PAI	k-əm-əl <sup>y</sup> aŋ	WOL	ma-tau	PAA	gilela
YΛM	katəŋŋan	*MAG	pəčin	LEW	kilia
ISN	ammuwan	NGA	beʔo	POR	l <sup>m</sup> bai
KAL	tigammu	SIK	raʔinta-ŋ	NTA	-ətun
*TAG	ālam	RTI	bu-bulu-k	KWA	-rukurən
*AKL	sāyud	*BUR	tewa	NEM	hina
PAL	məŋ-sawud	DOB	na-r-laʔa	CEM	tēmehi
*MOL	soud	IRA		AJI	tāwai
*KAG	mlaman	SAW	n-unc	XAR	tam <sup>wā</sup>
BLA	gadəʔ	NYI	tanən	*NEN	ule
*SAB	taʔu	MAM	ʔaoa	*KIR	atā
*MUR	panday	*TAK	-loŋ	*MSH	ceḷæ
MGY	maha-lala	DAM	kelēi	*PON	ese
*ACE	thəə	MAB	-ute	WLE	xüřō
*BAT	bətə	*YAB	-yala	EFI	kila-a
MIN	tau	*KAU	hop	*WFI	kila-sia
IND	tahu	*TOL	nunur-e	RTU	ʔinea
*SUN	ñaho	BUA	rak ni	TON	ʔilo
*JAV	wəruh	ADZ	sruʔ-a gin	SAM	iloa
MAD	tau	KIL	-nikoli	MEL	tāea
*BAL	tau	*TAW	hanapuge-ya	TAH	ʔite
SAS	taoʔ	MOT	diba	*RAP	ʔite
*GOR	ʔo-tā-wa	*MEK	e-loŋo		
DAA	na <sup>ʔ</sup> ginʃani (nʃani)	ROV	ɣilania		
		MAR	lase		

TSO Also *ϕoxiv-i*.

TAG *ālam + ma--an*; also *batid + ma-*, see also ‘understand’ (17.160).

AKL	<i>sāyud + ka- (na-sayr-an).</i>
MOL	<i>soud + ku-/ku--an.</i>
KAG	<i>alam + ma-/ma- -an</i> ‘know facts’; <i>kala + ma-/ma--ay</i> ‘know, recognise a person’.
SAB	<i>taʔu + a-</i> .
MUR	<i>panday (ma-; ma--an), ilo (ma-; ?ma--an)</i> (NEG) ‘not know’.
ACE	Also <i>tu-</i> suffixed to ‘wh-’ words; e.g. <i>tupat</i> ‘know where’; <i>tupuwə</i> ‘know what’ etc.
BAT	From Proto Batak <i>*batəh</i> .
SUN	Single morpheme; also <i>[wawuh]</i> ‘know, be familiar with’ from Javanese.
JAV	Also <i>ṅ-[ərti]</i> from Sanskrit.
BAL	Also <i>(N-)tawəŋ (*-tau-aŋ)</i> .
GOR	‘is/are known’.
MAG	Also <i>[bae]</i> , from Bimanese.
BUR	See 17.160.
TAK	‘hear, perceive’ (15.410).
YAB	Also <i>-liʔ su</i> ‘-see away’; <i>-ŋo su</i> ‘-hear away’.
KAU	<i>hop</i> ‘be familiar with’; <i>pon ta</i> ‘know (fact)’.
TOL	<i>nurnur</i> ‘have trust, confidence (vb intrans)’.
TAW	‘know something or someone’.
MEK	<i>e-loŋo</i> also ‘hear’ (see 15.410, note). NW Mekeo <i>i-iobina</i> .
NEN	Also <i>čaraŋewe</i> .
KIR	<i>kinā</i> ‘know, recognise’.
MSH	Also <i>kīli</i> ‘know by heart’.
PON	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>āŋī hon</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βakawa-ia</i> .
RAP	Also <i>maʔa</i> (used most often in questions).

### 17.171 GUESS

ATA	RUK	lawli ka	YAM
TSO		miyaya	ISN gattukan
	PAI	kəl <sup>y</sup> aŋu	*KAL pugtu

*TAG	<i>hūla?</i>	*NGA	<i>zuʔu</i>	PAA	<i>detohonī</i>
*AKL	<i>tugmah</i>	*SIK	<i>perə-ŋ huk</i>	*LEW	<i>visa-wele</i>
*PAL	<i>tumarsəd</i>	RTI	<i>na-daəŋa</i>	*POR	<i>e-<sup>m</sup>bar-in-i</i>
*MOL	<i>sarap</i>	BUR	<i>ele-k</i>		<i>či<sup>m</sup>bo-n</i>
*KAG	<i>lagpat</i>	DOB	<i>ʔa-ray</i>	NTA	<i>-ən apnapən</i>
BLA	<i>n-tuk</i>	IRA			<i>am</i>
*SAB	<i>tokod</i>	*SAW	<i>[taksir]</i>	KWA	
MUR		NYI	<i>abudon le</i>	NEM	
*MGY	<i>maminani</i>	MAM	<i>pile-ba</i>	CEM	<i>pî-hàne</i>
*ACE	<i>kira</i>	*TAK	<i>kan-kan -gane</i>	AJI	<i>ya ye</i>
BAT	<i>maŋa-rippu</i>	DAM	<i>kisi</i>	*XAR	<i>nārā-cē</i>
MIN	<i>tako?</i>	*MAB	<i>-so sorok</i>	NEN	
*IND	<i>mənərka</i> ( <i>tərka</i> )	*YAB	<i>-bē</i>	*KIR	<i>iaŋoa</i>
SUN	<i>nəguh (təguh)</i>	*KAU	<i>poŋ mi</i>	*MSH	<i>kaccidədə</i>
JAV	<i>m-bədə?</i>	*TOL	<i>vətəŋ</i>	*PON	<i>kasawī</i>
MAD	<i>təbbak</i>		<i>vələvəlar</i>	*WLE	<i>xarēre</i>
*BAL	<i>mədə (bade)</i>	BUA	<i>k<sup>w</sup>a βo</i>	EFI	<i>kilakila-a</i>
SAS	<i>bədə?</i>	ADZ		WFI	<i>βa-kila-kila-</i>
*GOR	<i>mo-[kiral]</i>	KIL	<i>-doki</i>		<i>sia</i>
DAA		TAW	<i>luyadaga</i>	RTU	<i>ær-ʔoki</i>
UMA	<i>toβa?</i>	*MOT	<i>g<sup>w</sup>au toho</i>	TON	<i>mate</i>
BUG	<i>dassere?</i>	MEK	<i>e-loŋo-iopi-na</i>	SAM	<i>mate</i>
KON	<i>an-nappu</i> ( <i>tappu</i> )	ROV	<i>dovia</i>	MEL	
WOL	<i>rai-rai</i>	*MAR	<i>fiti čeke</i>	TAH	
MAG	<i>paŋoŋ</i>	LAU	<i>bae kerofana</i>	RAP	<i>ʔati</i>
		KWƏ			
		RAG			

KAL *pugtu + man-/-an.*

TAG *hūla? + -um/-an.*

AKL *tugmah + -un.*

PAL Also *sumərbat.*

ĪMŪL *sarap + -on.*

KAG *lagpat + mag-/-ən; also pintu + mag-/-ən (pintuun).*

SAB *tokod + aN-/ø.*

MGY From (*maN-vinani*).

ACE Also *kuukira* archaic.

IND Also *mən-duga, [taksir]* from Arabic *yahzir?*.

BAL	Also ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>təbag</i> ‘guess’, also ‘accuse’; <i>čawaŋ</i> ‘estimate’; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>takəh</i> ‘guess, suspect’.
GOR	Malay <i>kira</i> ; also <i>moloneʔo</i> ‘guess, estimate (usually, the depth of a body of water)’; <i>toneʔo + moN-</i> .
NGA	Also <i>mara-zuʔu</i> .
SIK	( <i>vb</i> ), also <i>pere</i> .
SAW	From Arabic <i>yaḥzirʔ</i>
TAK	‘thoughts do’ (17.130, 09.110).
YAB	‘want, intend, think, mean, guess’.
MAB	Also <i>-pāta ten</i> .
KAU	‘search inside’.
TOL	<i>vətəŋ</i> ‘say’, <i>vələvəlar</i> ‘imitate’.
MOT	<i>g<sup>w</sup>au</i> ‘say’; <i>toho-a</i> ‘try’.
MAR	‘just talk’.
LEW	Also <i>visa-lia</i> , <i>visa-tam<sup>w</sup>e-lia</i> .
POR	‘he-catch-to s.o.-s.th. alone-his’.
XAR	‘think with a precise goal’.
KIR	<i>iaŋoa</i> also ‘think, imagine’; <i>kunea</i> also ‘discover, imagine’.
MSH	Causative form, from [ <i>cirē</i> ] ‘fate, chance’, from Japanese; <i>kaccimalēlē</i> ‘foretell, predict’; also <i>accimalēlē</i> ; <i>leləmŋ<sup>w</sup>ak</i> .
PON	Also ‘examine, diagnose’.
WLE	Also ‘wonder, be uncertain’; <i>xaxiřa</i> causative form, from <i>xiřa</i> ‘clear, recognised’; <i>xamm<sup>w</sup>axa</i> causative form, from <i>mm<sup>w</sup>axa</i> ‘suspicious, dubious’.

## 17.172 IMITATE

ATA	<i>ma-raŋiʔ</i>	*AKL	<i>tūřad</i>	BAT	<i>tiru</i>
TSO	<i>mo-mara-</i> <i>marazo</i>	*PAL	<i>sulit</i>	MIN	<i>tiru</i>
RUK	<i>patoalalaw</i>	*MOL	<i>siŋod</i>	IND	<i>məniru (tiru)</i>
PAI	<i>pa-çual<sup>y</sup></i>	*KAG	<i>sunud</i>	*SUN	<i>niru (tiru)</i>
YAM	<i>inazaən</i>	BLA	<i>g-am-bət</i>	JAV	<i>niru (tiru)</i>
ISN	<i>taldan</i>	*SAB	<i>seŋod-seŋod</i>	MAD	<i>tiru</i>
KAL	<i>pappāʔawat</i>	*MUR	<i>tilu</i>	BAL	<i>nulad (tulad)</i>
*TAG	<i>tūlad</i>	*MGY	<i>maka tahaka</i>	SAS	<i>niru (tiru)</i>
		ACE	<i>tirəə</i>	*GOR	<i>mo-duduʔo</i>

DAA	no-sanaka	*YAB	-gomŋa-	KWA	-uwnihi
*UMA	m-penau?		doŋdoŋ	NEM	pe-wiōc
BUG	mat-turu?	KAU	tintin	CEM	pî-p <sup>w</sup> ŋhewī-n
*KON	a?-turu?	*TOL	və-lər	AJI	pe vi ciŋi
*WOL	ka-ose-ose	*BUA	tayu	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> i-perī
MAG	loroŋ	*ADZ	ram-a gin	*NEN	leu
NGA	nosi	KIL	-kaβisaki	*KIR	katotoŋa
*SIK	hiri	*TAW	witutupogana	*MSH	aŋi
RTI	tao tuŋa	*MOT	tohotoho-a	*PON	kasosōŋ
*BUR	hai	*MEK	e-pa-	*WLE	pom <sup>w</sup> oŋi
DOB	?a-?utu	*ROV	totozi lulia	EFI	βaka-
IRA	dəbegəŋə	MAR	fagriugriu		tōtōmuri-a
SAW	n-talk-o	LAU	ilisulia	WFI	βa-seku-ðia
NYI	none	KWO	irife?eni-a	RTU	rako
MAM	tua?i	RAG		TON	fa?ifa?itaki
TAK	-titiŋani	PAA	mūm tetohoni	SAM	fa?ata?ita?i
DAM	made	*LEW	toutou-ni	MEL	fakaolia
MAB	-patwen	POR		*TAH	fa?ahua
		NTA	-ehm-təkun	RAP	haka ?atu

TAG *tūlad + -um/-an* 'be like'; *huwad + -um/-an* 'reproduce, copy'.

AKL (*tuʃār-an*).

PAL Also *sunsun*.

MOL *siŋod + -an*.

KAG *sunud + mag/-ən* 'to follow'.

SAB *seŋod-seŋod + aN/-an*.

MUR *tilu (maŋ- -on)* (respectfully, playfully); *intilu (maŋ- -on)* (in scorn).

MGY *m-aka* 'fetch, bring, take'; *tahaka* 'like, as, similar to'.

SUN Also *nurut-an (turut-an)*.

GOR Also *molu?udu* 'mimic (someone's speech)' (*tu?udu + moN-*).

UMA Also *mpo-?uhi*, *mpo-haβa*.

KON Also *an-nuruk-i (turu?)*.

WOL *ose* 'follow'.

SIK Also *hiri-ŋ*, *tepo*.

BUR 'follow'.

YAB '-create its-echo'.

TOL	<i>və-</i> causative prefix, though <i>və-lər</i> ‘to measure, compare, try (vb trans)’ is not semantically a causative of <i>lər</i> ‘to measure, mark out (vb trans)’.
BUA	Also <i>βoŋ tayu tayu</i> .
ADZ	‘compare -PART OBL’.
TAW	<i>witutupogana</i> ‘imitate/copy actions’; <i>metago</i> ‘imitate/follow lifestyle’.
MOT	See <i>toho-a</i> ‘try’; also <i>heyoi-a</i> ‘to be like’.
MEK	<i>e-pa-ŋoŋo</i> ‘act like a Roro’ ( <i>ŋoŋo</i> ‘Roro’).
ROV	Also <i>magituli</i> .
LEW	Also <i>siruoni</i> ‘imitate playfully/teasingly’.
XAR	‘make the same’.
NEN	Also <i>ruelewe, tun</i> .
KIR	<i>b<sup>w</sup>aka</i> ‘pretend’ (lit ‘fall’).
MSH	Also <i>aṛin</i> ; cf. <i>aṛ</i> ‘image, class’; <i>anλk</i> also ‘pattern’; <i>kaccioŋe</i> also ‘try, endeavour’.
PON	<i>m<sup>w</sup>om<sup>w</sup>ēta</i> see <i>m<sup>w</sup>ōm<sup>w</sup></i> ‘appearance’; <i>-ta</i> ‘up’; <i>alasaŋ</i> lit ‘path from’; <i>alemeŋī</i> ‘copy fashion or behaviour’.
WLE	See <i>pom<sup>w</sup>o</i> ‘posture, gesture’.
TAH	‘pretend’.

### 17.180 SEEM

ATA	<i>ašiya?</i>	SAB	<i>sali?</i>	*GOR	[ <i>laku-laku</i> ]- <i>liyo</i>
TSO		MUR		DAA	
RUK	<i>miakao</i>	MGY	<i>huatra</i>	*UMA	<i>le<sup>n</sup>če-na</i>
	<i>maiya</i>	ACE	<i>saŋ</i>	BUG	<i>samanna</i>
PAI		*BAT		KON	<i>tanja?-na</i>
*YAM	<i>ala</i>	MIN	<i>nampa?-ño</i>	WOL	<i>ka-ḍilaŋa</i>
ISN	<i>ummān</i>	*IND	[ <i>rupa</i> ]-[ <i>rupa</i> ]- <i>ña</i>	MAG	
KAL	<i>kamat</i>	*SUN	<i>kawas-na</i>	NGA	<i>d’əya</i>
*TAG	<i>mukha-ŋ</i>	*JAV	<i>katən</i>	*SIK	<i>hiri-ŋ βi?i-ŋ</i>
*AKL	<i>matsa</i>	MAD	<i>pula</i>	RTI	<i>nəno kabai</i>
PAL	<i>tiban ət</i>	*BAL	<i>uləs-ne</i>	*BUR	<i>nanu-k</i>
MOL	<i>bogo?</i>	SAS	<i>mara?</i>	*DOB	<i>?a-yok<sup>w</sup>a</i>
*KAG	[ <i>pariu</i> ]			IRA	
BLA	<i>sadi</i>				

*SAW	delo bo i	*MEK	e-isa	XAR	
NYI	tahiyan	ROV	guana	NEN	
MAM	suri	*MAR	ǰateu	*KIR	n ai aron
*TAK		LAU	usulia	*MSH	æinwɔt
*DAM	gen	*KWO	aga tāʔua	*PON	likam <sup>w</sup> ala
*MAB	ko	RAG		*WLE	wē-a
YAB		*PAA	alesi	EFI	rairai
*KAU	mata-n ekeni	LEW	sa	WFI	rairai
TOL	mələ	POR		RTU	keleŋa
BUA	βoŋ bē	NTA		*TON	haŋehaŋē
*ADZ	bi-	KWA	-am <sup>w</sup> hen	*SAM	pei
*KIL	kala gigisa	NEM	pe-ɰemā-n	MEL	
*TAW	galena-na	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ɔhewī-n	*TAH	e au ē
*MOT	e kara	AJI	ūřū	RAP	tuʔu pe he

YAM *ala* ‘maybe’; *akmi* ‘like’

TAG Also *wāriʔ*, *pāra baŋ*, *tīla*.

AKL Also *miŋko*, both adverbial particles.

KAG From Spanish *parejo*.

BAT *suʔman tu* ‘similar to’.

IND From Sanskrit, also *tampak-ñā*.

SUN Also [*rupa*]-*na* from Sanskrit.

JAV ‘look, appear, seem’; also *ketɔʔ*.

BAL *uləs-ne* ‘it appears’. This usage of *-ne* DEF from Malay/Indonesian?; *ǰəŋəŋə* ‘apparently, perhaps’; *alah* ‘as though, like’.

GOR From Malay *laku* ‘conduct (noun)’.

UMA ‘its appearance’.

SIK Also [*rupa*], and *βaə-ŋβaə-ŋ*.

BUR Also *odo*.

DOB *ʔa-yok<sup>w</sup>a k<sup>w</sup>alar ne ʔuwatu* lit ‘he sees that house strong’, ‘that house seems strong to him’.

SAW ‘like this’; also [*rupa*].

TAK One sense of ‘seem’ is expressed by the incorporated adverb *manoŋ*, as in *i-palu-manoŋ-da* ‘he-come-probably-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘it seems he is coming’.

DAM ‘like’, e.g. *tamo biya gen i-bodo-k* ‘he is like a good man’ or ‘he seems a good man’.



MAB	Indicates speaker's uncertainty.
KAU	<i>mata-n</i> 'eye-his'.
ADZ	'be like, appear, seem like'.
KIL	'its appearance'; also exclamation <i>kaina</i> 'maybe'.
TAW	'its appearance'.
MOT	<i>e kara</i> e.g. <i>e kara asi βaraβara-gu</i> 'it is as if I have no relatives'; also (exemplified) <i>tama-na na heto</i> , <i>tama-na bamo-na heyereyere</i> 'like his father' ( <i>tama-na</i> 'father'); <i>heyereyere oi ese bo hoiamu</i> 'it is as if you are going to buy it'.
MEK	<i>e-isa</i> ( <i>e-ia</i> ) 'see, look, seem': <i>amu?e koā e-isa</i> 'he looks like a dog'; also <i>amu?e koā i-?opo-ŋa</i> '(he is/seems) the image of a dog'.
MAR	'like, similar to'.
KWO	'look as though'.
PAA	'they see it ...' i.e. 'it seems ...'
KIR	'in the same manner as', <i>mata</i> also 'face, appearance'; <i>kāŋa</i> causative form, from <i>aŋa</i> 'way'; 'apparently, as if, so to speak'.
MSH	Also <i>tipen</i> CON; 'way of'; <i>tuon</i> also 'trick, skill'.
PON	See <i>likam<sup>w</sup></i> 'lie', <i>-la</i> 'away'.
WLE	Also <i>paxü-a</i> 'similar to'.
TON	Also <i>ŋaliŋali</i> .
SAM	Also <i>peisea<sup>ʔ</sup></i> (vb intrans).
TAH	'it seems that ...'

### 17.190 IDEA, NOTION

ATA	ʔ-in-aŋtuŋ	KAG	isip	*MAD	[pikkir]-an
TSO		BLA	nun fandam	*BAL	kənəh
RUK		SAB	[pikil]-an	SAS	saran
PAI		MUR		*GOR	[pikīraŋi]
YAM	pamnəmnəkan	MGY		DAA	pom-[pekiri]
ISN	lammat	*ACE	[pikeran]	*UMA	reke
KAL	paŋgop	BAT	[pikkir]-an	BUG	pat-tuŋuŋ
*TAG	pa-lagay	MIN	pan-dape <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KON	paŋŋ-uppa
*AKL	[idiya]	*IND	gagas-an	WOL	ka-[fikiri]
PAL	kira-kira	*SUN	[čita-čita]	MAG	
*MOL	[pikir]	JAV	gagas-an	NGA	mayā

SIK	ʔai-ŋ aŋo-ŋ	ADZ	uwaya <sup>nt</sup>	CEM	
*RTI	ma-lela-n	KIL	nanamsa	AJI	vi tā nexāi
*BUR	ii	TAW	nugotuhu	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-nārā
*DOB	ʔa-laɸa naŋa-'wa	*MOT	lalohadai	NEN	uan
IRA		*MEK	opo	*KIR	te iaŋo
*SAW	[pendapat]	ROV	binalabala	MSH	l̩mŋ <sup>w</sup> ak
NYI	budon	MAR	yaoyat <sup>ho</sup>	*PON	lamalam
MAM	ilo	LAU	si manata	*WLE	yaxi-yaxi
*TAK	kan-kan	KWO	manatala(-na)	*EFI	βā-kāsama
DAM	kisi	RAG		WFI	βa-kahama
MAB	ka <sup>ŋ</sup> gar	PAA	redemien	RTU	a <sup>ʔ</sup> hæe
YAB		LEW	sitomi-ena	TON	fakakaukau
*KAU	βuŋin	POR	mičmičean	*SAM	manatu
*TOL	nuknuk	NTA	nətaliŋən	MEL	
BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a	*KWA	nataien	*TAH	ferurira <sup>ʔ</sup> a
		NEM		*RAP	rave <sup>ʔ</sup> a

TAG Also *kuru-kūro*<sup>ʔ</sup>, [idea], Spanish *idea*.

AKL From Spanish *idea*.

MOL [*pikir*] + *-an*.

ACE From Malay.

IND Also [*akal*] from Arabic *ʿaql*.

SUN From Sanskrit.

MAD From Arabic.

BAL 'thought'.

GOR From Malay *pikiran* 'thought (noun)'; the root *pikir* is from the Arabic *fikr* 'thought', *fikkīr* 'thoughtful'.

UMA Also [*akala*] from Arabic *ʿaql*.

KON Also [*pikir*]-*an* from Arabic.

RTI See 16.840.

BUR 'thing' e.g. *ep-toto-k ii* 'to get an idea'; [*akal*] 'evil notion'.

DOB 'he thought like this'.

SAW Indonesian.

TAK 'thoughts' (17.130).

KAU 'idea, behaviour, manner'.

TOL Also *bəla*- see 04.440.

MOT See 17.140.

MEK	<i>opo</i> means ‘(a) thought’. <i>oŋe</i> means ‘mental image; idea’. See 17.110, note.
KWA	<i>nataien</i> ‘be wise’, also means ‘crack’, ‘snap’; <i>narhien</i> ‘seeing’.
KIR	Also ‘thought, think’ (vb intrans).
PON	Also ‘thought, think’ (vb intrans).
WLE	Also ‘thought, think’ (vb intrans).
EFI	Also <i>i-lē</i> .
SAM	See 17.130, 140.
TAH	Also <i>manaʔo</i> .
RAP	Also <i>manaʔu; tuia</i> .

### 17.210 WISE

**Sanskrit:** *vicakṣaṇa-* ‘intelligent, wise’

ATA		MAD	[biʃaksana]	*DAM	kelēi-ya
*TSO	toxiŋi	BAL	[wičaksanə]	*MAB	ʔgarŋa-
*RUK	ŋi-a-θiŋalə	*SAS	[adil]	*YAB	tə-kauʔ
PAI		*GOR	[ʔāripu]	*KAU	mata-n ples
YAM	matənəŋ	DAA	na-belo		βuŋin
ISN	našrib	UMA		*TOL	kəbinənə
*KAL	laʔiŋ	BUG	ačča	BUA	los k <sup>w</sup> a
*TAG	tafino	KON	paʔ-maeʔ baʃiʔ	ADZ	mara roro
*AKL	āʃam	*WOL	[βudimani]	KIL	kabitam
PAL	upama	MAG	ŋalis (nai)	TAW	hanapu
*MOL	akkal	NGA	mosa-mina	*MOT	mai aonega-na
*KAG	[ways]	SIK	ŋaisia-ŋ	*MEK	e-ikifa
BLA	boŋ k-fuluŋ	RTI	ˀdolu	ROV	tumtumae
*SAB	hāppikil-an	BUR	em-tewa-t	MAR	glalase
MUR	mapanday	*DOB	na-r-laʔa ɸaɸa	LAU	liotō
MGY	handʔi	*IRA	nabəridə	*KWO	sua ʔolaʔa
*ACE	[biʃaʔ]		nanərunə ɸe	RAG	mataisao
BAT	biʔsuk	*SAW	[kolakola]	PAA	loŋoloŋ
*MIN	čadiʔʔ	NYI	tanan labai	LEW	manmarua
IND	[biʃaksana]	MAM	ʔaoa-ʔaoa	*POR	l <sup>m</sup> bai sorox
*SUN	[biʃaksana]	*TAK	kan-kan	NTA	-ehm-ahm <sup>w</sup> en
JAV	[wičaksənə]		milae-n	*KWA	-arpakau

*NEM	ka-hina aman	MSH	kapēl	TON	poto
CEM	pîtemaŋ	*PON	eripit	*SAM	poto
*AJI	gāmāx	WLE	yane	MEL	
XAR		*EFI	βuku	TAH	paʔari
NEN	čeŋeŋomenata	WFI	βuku	RAP	
*KIR	rab <sup>w</sup> akau	RTU	ʔatmai		

TSO Also *boφ-bo-φxio*.

RUK *saoloanə* ‘wise’.

KAL *laʔiŋ + na-*.

TAG Also *dūnoŋ + ma-*.

AKL *āʔam + ma-*, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*ādam*.

MOL *akkal + mo-*.

KAG From English *wise*.

SAB ‘good thought’.

ACE Abbreviation of [*biʒaʔsana*].

MIN Also *arīh*.

SUN Also [*arīf*] from Arabic ‘*ārīf* ‘learned’.

SAS From Arabic ‘*ādīl* ‘just’.

GOR Arabic *ārīf*.

WOL From Sanskrit.

DOB ‘he knows the ground’.

IRA *nabəridə nanərunə φe* ‘old man who knows things’; *matu nərunə φe* ‘man who is knowledgeable’.

SAW Ternate (?); also [*biʒaksana*].

TAK ‘thoughts long-its’.

DAM ‘know-infinitive’.

MAB Also *ʔgar a<sup>m</sup>bai* ‘thinking is good’.

YAB ‘with-understanding’.

KAU ‘eye-his discern behaviour’ (see 21.260).

TOL Also *kəbənənə*.

MOT See 16.840.

MEK *e-ikifa* means ‘clever, intelligent, wise’ (see 16.840). *e-maŋoŋo* is also ‘wise’.

KWO Also *manataʔa*.

POR ‘know too much’.

KWA -*arpakau* ‘be wise about, have specialised knowledge of’; -*əsua* also means ‘travel by watercraft’, i.e., ‘be well-travelled’; -*uahar* also means ‘crack’, ‘snap’.

NEM ‘one who knows things’.

AJI Also *beruřu*.

KIR Also *wanawana*.

PON Also *kup<sup>w</sup>urekeg*.

EFI Also *yalo-matua*.

SAM Also *atamai* (vb intrans).

### 17.220 FOOLISH, STUPID

ATA	ma-ŋutik	DAA	na-doyo	ROV	pekpeki
TSO	noŋonoŋo	UMA	βojo	*MAR	noli
RUK	mā-koŋoŋo	BUG	ma-toŋko	*LAU	nuwe
PAI	ma-kuŋuŋ	*KON	doŋo?	KWO	bābaula
*YAM	ja tənətənəŋ	WOL	ka-βoŋo-βoŋo	RAG	
ISN	ug <sup>?</sup> og	MAG	bapa	PAA	mūnaun
KAL	dalusūdus	*NGA	zuŋu-ŋede	LEW	wowe
*TAG	taŋa	SIK	ŋaŋa-ŋ	POR	melmel
*AKL	[bōbo]	RTI	<sup>u</sup> goa-k	NTA	-alməlh
PAL	dupaŋ	*BUR	bele-n	*KWA	-arməri
MOL	dupaŋ	*DOB	namaliŋu φaφa	*NEM	ŋen b <sup>w</sup> a-n
*KAG	ba'rug-ba'rug	IRA	dabarode	*CEM	tice p <sup>w</sup> əŋime-n
*BLA	lɑ <sup>?</sup> fuluŋ	*SAW	nune geleso pa	AJI	gupo
	faldam	NYI	bale-n b <sup>w</sup> e	*XAR	ŋū-xū
*SAB	dupaŋ	MAM	ŋaŋao	*NEN	ačeon
*MUR	paluy	TAK	serawoi	KIR	baba
MGY	ketrina	DAM	neneya	MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ep <sup>w</sup> ε
*ACE	[ŋut]	*MAB	nagara	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> eip <sup>w</sup> ei
BAT	o'to	*YAB	melə?	*WLE	φ <sup>w</sup> ušo
*MIN	bodoh	*KAU	βuŋin ulil	EFI	dođe
IND	bodoh	*TOL	boŋ	*WFI	ŋāŋā
*SUN	tolol	*BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a ma	RTU	huanŋ hap
JAV	bodo	ADZ	opoto	TON	vale
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> uđ <sup>h</sup> u	*KIL	nagowa	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a-valea
BAL	bəlog	*TAW	buuwa	MEL	lialia
*SAS	bodo	*MOT	kaβakaβa	TAH	ma <sup>?</sup> au
GOR	mo-hulodu	*MEK	ŋaŋapai	RAP	ʔetene

- YAM Also *şomagpien*.
- TAG Also *gāgo/-a*, [*lōko/-a*], Spanish *loco/-a* 'crazy'; *gaguear* 'stammer'.
- AKL [*bōbo*] m.; [*bōba*] f.; Spanish *bobo*, -a.
- KAG *ba'rug-ba'rug* 'foolish'; *pelpel* 'stupid'.
- BLA *laʔfuluŋ faldam* 'foolish'; *kuləŋ* 'stupid'.
- SAB Also *babbal* 'stupid'.
- MUR Also *īsan*, *sasambuŋon*.
- ACE Mon-Khmer, also *baŋay*, *duŋeə*.
- MIN Also *tea*, *oŋoʔ*.
- SUN Also *bodo*.
- SAS Also *bebel*.
- KON Also *paʔ-maeʔkodi*.
- NGA Also *peŋo*
- BUR Also 'retarded'; *bele-k lale-n* 'confused'.
- DOB 'he does not know the ground'.
- SAW 'knows nothing'.
- MAB Also *taliliŋa-*; *kankānaŋa-* 'not understanding, confused'.
- YAB 'foolish, stupid, insane'; also *-boʔ* 'be foolish, stubborn'; *kauʔ masi* 'knowledge not exist'.
- KAU *βuŋin* 'behaviour'.
- TOL Also *boŋboŋ*.
- BUA *k<sup>w</sup>a ma* 'foolish'; *βoŋ ŋoŋ ŋoŋ* 'do something without thinking or wisdom'.
- KIL Also verb phrase *i-tuli taiga-la* it-deaf ear-his 'he is a fool!'
- TAW Dialect *bu uwa*.
- MOT Also *asi lalo-na* (*lalo* 'inside, mind').
- MEK *ŋaŋapai* means 'clumsy, stupid, ignorant'; *alō aŋe* means 'inside empty', i.e. 'stupid, ignorant'.
- MAR Also *goigoli*.
- LAU Also *oewane*.
- KWA Also *nip<sup>w</sup>ana-* *rəp<sup>w</sup>ia* 'forehead smooth'; *-ata aua* 'see incorrectly'; *nuk<sup>w</sup>ane-rəsəkai* 'head hard'; *nuk<sup>w</sup>ane-rərənekən* 'head strong'.
- NEM 'closed his head'.
- CEM 'without intelligence'.

XAR ‘move about like a youngster’.

NEN Also *punič*.

PON Also *lɔlop<sup>w</sup>on*.

WLE Also *mmaŋa* ‘foolish, retarded’.

WFI Also *doŋadoŋa*.

SAM *faʔa*- CAUS, *valea* ‘insane, crazy’.

### 17.230 INSANE, CRAZY

ATA	ma-ya-ʔutux	UMA	βuli	*MAR	noli
TSO	re-rinçi	BUG	uʃaŋ-iŋ	LAU	nuwe
RUK		KON	ʔoŋoro	*KWO	kakaru
PAI		WOL	ma-gila	RAG	
YAM	romiak	MAG	vedol	PAA	mūnaun
ISN	allut	NGA	biŋu	*LEW	wowe
*KAL	tīwoŋ	*SIK	βaə-ŋ ruma-ŋ	POR	liʔai
*TAG	baliw	RTI	kamulus	NTA	-alməlh
AKL	ka-ʔumaŋ-un	*BUR	lale-n boho-n	KWA	-arməri
*PAL	sasow	DOB	seray-ni	NEM	ka-kulaŋ
MOL	laip	IRA	taratə	CEM	olo
KAG	buaŋ	SAW	n-bebow	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> eje
BLA	boʔok	NYI	loloʔou	*XAR	ɔrɔrē
SAB	belaw + -in-	*MAM	ŋao	NEN	gaon
MUR	mantuyaŋ	TAK	buraurau	*KIR	raŋiraŋ
*MGY	[adala]	DAM	wadā	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ep <sup>w</sup> ε
ACE	puŋɔ	*MAB	ʔgar ikankāna	PON	iāk
BAT	rittik	*YAB	meʔoʔ	WLE	mmaŋa
MIN	gilo	*KAU	meŋeh-an	EFI	lialia
IND	gila	TOL	luŋə	WFI	riβa
SUN	gelo	*BUA	[roŋroŋ]	RTU	čaurarā
JAV	edan	ADZ	buburiʔ-	*TON	faha
MAD	g <sup>h</sup> ila	KIL	nagowa	SAM	valea
BAL	buduh	*TAW	badebade	MEL	lōlia
SAS	ʃogaŋ	MOT	kaβa	*TAH	maʔamaʔa
GOR	biyoŋo	*MEK	e-kafoʔo	*RAP	maʔa-maʔa
DAA	na-gila	ROV	ilipuŋana		

KAL	<i>tīwoṅ + na-</i> .
TAG	Also <i>ulol</i> , [ <i>lōko/-a</i> ], Spanish <i>loco</i> , <i>-a</i> .
PAL	<i>riyu</i> .
MGY	From Bantu.
SIK	Also <i>βaə-ŋglə-t</i> .
BUR	Bad insides, bad character, bad emotions = crazy; also <i>wapu-n boho</i> 'bad brain = not right in the head'; <i>wapu-n bado</i> 'occasionally not right in the head'.
MAM	Also <i>boṅboṅ</i> .
MAB	'thinking is confused', also <i>ᵒgar imap</i> .
YAB	'foolish, stupid, insane'; also <i>sau? ke-lè"soṅ</i> 'knowledge it-vanish'.
KAU	<i>meṅch</i> is a spirit which is believed to cause insanity.
BUA	From Tok Pisin.
TAW	<i>badebade</i> can include a deaf and dumb person; <i>waiyagana</i> stronger word.
MEK	<i>e-kafo?o</i> can mean 'act like an idiot' as well as 'act insane'. NW Mekeo has <i>aṅe</i> (see 17.220, note), and <i>pa-aṅe pa-aṅe</i> (Brown).
MAR	Also <i>goigoli</i> .
KWO	Also <i>kaku</i> .
LEW	Also <i>komsu-sia</i> (=13.240).
XAR	Also <i>n̄ō̄</i> .
KIR	Also <i>baba</i> .
MSH	Also <i>wiryakyak</i> .
TON	Also [ <i>fakasesele</i> ] from Lau Fijian <i>vakasesele</i> .
TAH	Also <i>neneva</i> .
RAP	Also <i>roko</i> from Spanish <i>loco</i> .

## 17.240 LEARN

Sanskrit: <i>guru-</i>
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ATA	ma-ki-βak	PAI	ki-ϕaku-an	*KAL	ādal
TSO	pa-ma-?ϕoxio	YAM	mačinanao	*TAG	tūto
RUK	ki-a-boḷo	ISN	ammuwān	*AKL	tu?un



PAL	məganad (anad)	SIK	pələndər	RAG	
		RTI	na-noli	PAA	lānini
*MOL	soud	*BUR	tewa	*LEW	[ve-lanem-
*KAG	tuʔun	*DOB	ʔa-[aʃar]		ini]
BLA	g-am-bət	*IRA	nudə	POR	čae
*SAB	anad		pələjaʃaran	*N'IA	-ol [lan] e
*MUR	igigīlaʔ	*SAW	[bəlaʃar]	*KWA	-reŋi sas
MGY	mi-anatra	NYI	akohok tanan	NEM	petā
ACE	mu-runwə	*MAM	ʔaoataʔi	CEM	pīcā
BAT	mar-si-aʃar	*TAK	maŋa'o -loŋ	AJI	aʔpāgüŋü
*MIN	ba-[guru]	*DAM	kisi y-ale-ya	XAR	inū
IND	bəl-aʃar	*MAB	-tomtō <sup>m</sup> bo	NEN	yeno(n)
*SUN	di-aʃar	*YAB	-sam e-tu toŋ	KIR	reireina
JAV	aʃar	KAU		MSH	katakin
MAD	aʃar	*TOL	vər-tovo	*PON	tapereti
*BAL	[m-uruk]	BUA	ko k <sup>w</sup> a	*WLE	xəφ <sup>w</sup> iŋjü
SAS	bər-aʃah	*ADZ	riŋa <sup>n</sup> t-a gin	EFI	βuli-đa
*GOR	mo-[balāʃari]	*KIL	-ligatega	WFI	βuli-đia
DAA	ne-[guru]	*TAW	wimataina	RTU	rako
UMA	m-penauʔ	*MOT	diba-ia	TON	ako
BUG	mag-[guru]	MEK		*SAM	aʔoaʔo
*KON	aʔ-pi-'laʃara	ROV	va nonoʔa	*MEL	[laeni]
*WOL	pe <sup>ŋ</sup> ka-ađari	MAR	lalase	TAH	haʔapiʔi mai
*MAG	[aʃar]	LAU		*RAP	hāpī
NGA	lasa	KWO	nanau-a		

KAL *ādal + -on.*

TAG *tūto + 'ma/'ma--an; see also study.*

AKL *tuʔun + mag-*, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*tuʔen.*

MOL *soud + mog-ku-*.

KAG *tuʔun + mag-* (to study; therefore, will learn); *alam + n-* (to know; therefore, have learned).

SAB *anad + aN-/ø;* also *[guru] + ag-* 'to learn from a religious teacher or medicine man'.

MUR *igigīlaʔ(-um-),* also *[balāʃar]* from Malay *bəlaʃar.*

MIN Also *bar-aʃa.*

SUN 'Passive' of *-aʃar,* see 17.250

BAL Old Javanese; also *(N-)[plaʃah].*

GOR	From Malay <i>bəlaĵar</i> , same meaning.
KON	Also <i>aʔ-paʔ-pi-'laĵari, aʔ-[guru]</i> .
WOL	Also <i>paʔka-aġari-aka, po-[guru]</i> .
MAG	From Malay; archaic; also <i>nuʔku</i> .
BUR	<i>la da tewar</i> 'so he will know'.
DOB	From Malay.
IRA	'take lessons'.
SAW	From Malay.
MAM	Also <i>to</i> .
TAK	As in <i>skul lo w-ao-p maġau ta u-loġ</i> 'school in you-go-IRREALIS MEDIAL knowledge some you-hear', i.e. 'go to school and get some learning!'
DAM	'think third-take-infinitive'.
MAB	'trying'.
YAB	'say name it-become together' (- <i>don</i> 'teach' mostly used rather than 'learn').
TOL	<i>vər-</i> intrans, <i>vər-tovo</i> (vb intrans), lit 'to be involved in the action of teaching as a teacher or a pupil/student', hence <i>vər-tovo</i> (vb intrans) 1. 'teach (vb intrans)', 2. 'learn (vb intrans)', <i>vər-tovo tə</i> 'learn something' ( <i>tə</i> preposition).
ADZ	'hear, learn, etc'.
KIL	See 15.420.
TAW	'learn through experience'.
MOT	<i>diba</i> 'to know'.
LEW	From Bislama; also <i>kila-lia</i> .
NTA	From Bislama.
KWA	'sense correctly'.
PON	'to catch onto', with suffix <i>-ti</i> 'down'.
WLE	<i>[skūʔo]</i> from English, (vb intrans), 'learn, teach, study'.
SAM	See 17.250, var. <i>aʔo</i> (vb trans).
MEL	From English.
RAP	Also <i>haka mataʔu</i> 'accustom, learn'; <i>haka mahani</i> 'adapt, learn, accustom, acclimatise'.

## 17.242 STUDY

See 17.240.

ATA		UMA	m-penau?	MAR	
TSO	t-m-opsi	BUG	mag-[guru]	LAU	
RUK	ki-a-θia-	*KON	a?-pi-'laɟara	KWO	
	θiŋala	*WOL	pe <sup>ŋ</sup> ka-aɟari	RAG	hige
PAI		MAG		PAA	
YAM	mačinanao	NGA	taki	*LEW	[ve-stati]
ISN		SIK	pləndər	POR	čae
*KAL	ādal	RTI	na-noli	*NTA	-ol  stati
*TAG	[āral]	*BUR	la da tewa	KWA	
*AKL	tu <sup>?</sup> un	*DOB	ʔa-[aɟar]	NEM	somu
PAL	məganad	IRA		CEM	pīcā
*MOL	[aɟiʔ]	*SAW	[bəlaɟar]	AJI	a <sup>?</sup> pāgūřū
*KAG	tu <sup>?</sup> un	NYI	akohok tanan	XAR	inū
BLA	g-am-bət	*MAM	sule	NEN	yeno(n)
*SAB	adɟiʔ	*TAK	-ile -loŋ	*KIR	rəirei
*MUR	[balaɟar]	DAM	kisi y-ale-ya	*MSH	katak
MGY	mi-anatra	MAB	-kam <sup>ŋ</sup> gar pa	*PON	onop
*ACE	[buət]	*YAB	-pu <sup>?</sup> biŋ ŋam	*WLE	[ɸ <sup>w</sup> enkiyō]
*BAT	mar-si-aɟar	KAU		EFI	dike-βa
*MIN	ba-[guru]	*TOL	vər-tovo	*WFI	ula-sia
*IND	məm-pəl-	BUA	luɟ dub	RTU	rako
	aɟar-i	*ADZ	fari-	*TON	ako
*SUN	di-aɟar	KIL	-gini	*SAM	su <sup>?</sup> esu <sup>?</sup> e
JAV	sinau	*TAW	winugohiya-	MEL	
MAD	aɟar		hiyawa	*TAH	ha <sup>?</sup> api <sup>?</sup> i mai
*BAL		*MOT	haero-a	RAP	hāpī
SAS	bər-aɟah	*MEK	e-malele		
*GOR	m●-[balāɟari]		(e-ma-lele)		
DAA	ne-[guru]	ROV	va nonoɟa		

KAL *ādal + man-*.TAG *[āral] + mag-/pag--an* from Malay *ajar* 'instruction'.AKL *(tu<sup>?</sup>-an)*, Proto-Southern Philippines *\*tu<sup>?</sup>en*.MOL *[aɟiʔ] + moŋ-* from Arabic?KAG *tu<sup>?</sup>un + mag-*; also *[istudyu] + mag-/--an* from Spanish *estudio*.

SAB	<i>adji?</i> + <i>aN/-an</i> .
MUR	See 17.240
ACE	From Sanskrit, spelled <i>-c</i> .
BAT	<i>mar-si-aĵar</i> (intrans); <i>par-si-aĵar-i</i> (trans).
MIN	Also <i>bar-aĵa</i> .
IND	Also <i>bəl-aĵar</i> .
SUN	See note 17.240.
BAL	See 17.240.
GOR	See learn, 17.240. Also [ <i>sikola</i> ]- <i>alo</i> ‘to be studied (at school)’, from Malay <i>səkolah</i> , a loanword from Portuguese.
KON	Also <i>a<sup>?</sup>-pa<sup>?</sup>-pi-’laĵari</i> .
WOL	Also <i>pe<sup>ŋ</sup>ka-adari-aka</i> , <i>po-guru</i> .
BUR	So he can know.
DOB	Malay.
SAW	Malay.
MAM	Also <i>to</i> .
TAK	‘see hear’ (15.510, 15.410).
YAB	‘push speech its.origin’.
TOL	See 17.240.
ADZ	‘read’.
TAW	[ <i>wisikulu</i> ] from English <i>school</i> .
MOT	<i>diba</i> ‘knowledge’, <i>tahu-a</i> ‘to look for’. Also <i>haero-a</i> .
MEK	<i>lele</i> means ‘writing, drawing; design; line’ (see 12.840). <i>ma-lele</i> , which is no doubt based on Roro <i>ma-rere</i> , is used nowadays for anything to do with writing (e.g. ‘letter’) or education (e.g. ‘school’).
LEW	From Bislama; also <i>kila-lia</i> .
NTA	From Bislama.
KIR	Also ‘learn, teach’.
MSH	Also <i>liŋəŋ</i> .
PON	Also ‘prepare’.
WLE	[ <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>eŋkiyō</i> ] Japanese; <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>āϕ<sup>w</sup>iyorō-a</i> (vb trans) see entry for ‘book’, [ <i>skūrō</i> , <i>stātī</i> ] from English; <i>kaϕ<sup>w</sup>üŋü</i> causative form, from <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>üŋü</i> ‘correct’.
WFI	Also <i>bule-đia</i> .
TON	Also <i>fakatotolo</i> .

SAM See *suʔe* (vb trans) ‘look for, try to find’.

TAH Also *tāmau*.

## 17.250 TEACH

See 17.240

ATA	pa-ši-βak	UMA	tuduiʔ	ROV	vatumitumae
*TSO	ma-ʔoxio	BUG	mappag-	*MAR	falalase
RUK	wa-boʔo-boʔo		[guru]	LAU	fātolomaia
PAI	t-əm-uʔu	*KON	aŋʔa-ajara	KWO	faʔananau-a
YAM	magʔnanao	*WOL	pa-[guru]	*RAG	vayahi
ISN	magtuʔgud	MAG	toiŋ	PAA	vīsaini
*KAL	tudtudu	NGA	pera	LEW	viani
*TAG	tūroʔ	*SIK	donə-ŋ	POR	pūsan-i
*AKL	tudluʔ	RTI	na-noli	NTA	-aŋəʔun
PAL	tulduʔan (tulduʔ)	*BUR	ep-toke	*KWA	-ahatən
*MOL	tuturuʔ	DOB	na-r-naw	NEM	po-somu
*KAG	tudluʔan	*IRA	narəpəlaʔaran	CEM	pá-cémuni-hi
BLA	t-am-doʔ	*SAW	n-[fasodoto]	AJI	pāgūrū
*SAB	tōʔ	NYI	leheya	XAR	çati
*MUR	ilaʔ	*MAM	siŋara	NEN	ininata(n)
MGY	mampi-anatra	TAK	-pitŋani	*KIR	reireina
ACE	puurunə	*DAM	od i-φel-nē-ya	*MSH	katak
BAT	maŋ-aʔar	*MAB	-paute	*PON	patākī
MIN	ma-aʔa	*YAB	-doŋ	*WLE	xaφ <sup>w</sup> üŋü
IND	məŋ-aʔar	KAU	kot	EFI	βaka-βuli-ða
SUN	ŋ-aʔar	TOL	tovo	WFI	βa-βuli-ðia
JAV	mulaŋ (wulaŋ)	BUA	taŋu	RTU	rak-ʔoki
*MAD	ŋ-aʔar	ADZ	sa <sup>n</sup> ti <sup>oʔ</sup> -	TON	akoʔi
*BAL	ŋ-uruk	KIL	-βituloki	*SAM	aʔoaʔo
SAS	ŋ-aʔah	TAW	wiatatiyana	*MEL	tāvanāusa
*GOR	moŋ āʔari	*MOT	ha-diba-ia	*TAH	haʔapiʔi
DAA	nopa-[guru]	*MEK	e-pa-malele	*RAP	hāpī

TSO (*pa-ʔoxiv-i, pa-ʔoxinv-eni*).

KAL *tudtudu + man-*.

- TAG *tūro?* + *mag-/i-*, Proto-Philippines *\*tulduq*, PHN *\*tunZuq*.  
 AKL Proto-Philippines *\*tulduq*, PHN *\*tunZuq*.  
 MOL *tuturu?* + *mog-/i-/on/-an*.  
 KAG *tudlu?* + *mag-/an*.  
 SAB *tō?* + *aN/-an*.  
 MUR *ila?* (*maŋ- -on; -in*); also [*aǰad*] from Malay.  
 MAD Safioedin (1977): *-buruk* ‘educate’.  
 BAL From Old Javanese; also (*N-*)*aǰah-in*.  
 GOR From Malay *məŋaǰar*.  
 KON Also *a?-pa?-[guru]*.  
 WOL Also *aǰari*.  
 SIK Also *nao donə-ŋ*.  
 BUR Also [*aǰar*] Malay borrowing.  
 IRA ‘give lessons’.  
 SAW Ternate (?)  
 MAM Also *toŋaʔi*.  
 DAM ‘talk third-show-third-sing-infinitive’; also *tai φi-ya*.  
 MAB ‘make know’.  
 YAB Also *-to?* ‘show, explain, demonstrate’.  
 MOT ‘to cause to know’.  
 MEK NW Mekeo has *e-ba-i-obi*, ‘make understand’.  
 MAR Also *fariŋiu*.  
 RAG Also *bayahi*.  
 KWA Also means ‘point’.  
 KIR Also *reireia*; also ‘learn, study’.  
 MSH Also [*cikū!*] from English.  
 PON Also [*sukūli*] from English.  
 WLE Also [*xasukūra*] from English.  
 SAM See 17.240, var. *aʔo* (vb trans).  
 MEL Also *fēkina*.  
 TAH Also *haʔapiʔiatu*.  
 RAP Also *haka maʔa*.

## 17.260 PUPIL

Arabic: <i>murīd</i>
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*ATA	pa-patik	*KON	ana <sup>?</sup>  guru	ROV	tie  sikulu
TSO		*WOL	[mori]	MAR	
RUK		*MAG	ata nu <sup>9</sup> ku	LAU	wela  sukulu
PAI		NGA	ana-kapo	KWO	
YAM	mačinanao	SIK		RAG	
ISN		*RTI	[sakola] ana	PAA	
*KAL	[uswila]	*BUR	ana-  skola	LEW	na-loŋe-ena
*TAG	mag- <sup>?</sup> a- <sup>?</sup> a'ral	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a	POR	
*AKL	[estudiyante]		skola -ye	NTA	
PAL	tutuldu <sup>?</sup> an	IRA		KWA	
*MOL	anak [iskul]	SAW	murid	NEM	ka-somu
*KAG	tinudlu <sup>?</sup> an	NYI		*CEM	â-pîcā
*BLA	to tdo <sup>?</sup>	*MAM	[sumatin]	AJI	ka a <sup>?</sup> pāgūrū
SAB	mulid	*TAK	[sumatin]	XAR	a-inū
MUR	migigīla <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	[sumatin]	NEN	ŋayeno
MGY	mpi-anatra	MAB	na <sup>9</sup> gaŋ	*KIR	te reirei
ACE	[murip]	*YAB	ŋapale lom	*MSH	rikatak
*BAT	si'se-an		[papia]-ŋa	*PON	ṭōnsukūl
*MIN	ana <sup>?</sup> sasian	*KAU	[sumatin]	*WLE	[seitō]
IND	[murid]	*TOL	bul-nə-vər-	EFI	ŋone-βuli
SUN	[murid]		tovo	WFI	k <sup>w</sup> ahewa βuli
*JAV	[siswə]	BUA	ŋur mayen	RTU	le <sup>?</sup> rako
MAD	[murit]	*ADZ	mama <sup>?</sup>	*TON	tamasi <sup>?</sup> i ako
*BAL	[murid]	KIL	to-liga-lega	*SAM	tamaitiiti ā <sup>?</sup> o-
SAS	[murid]	*TAW	hewali		ŋa
*GOR	[ <sup>?</sup> ana-sikola]	*MOT	[sikuli] mero-	MEL	
*DAA	ŋana  sikola		na/kekeni-na	*TAH	pipi
*UMA	ana <sup>?</sup>  guru	MEK	malele imoi-	*RAP	taŋata hāpī
*BUG	ana <sup>?</sup>  guru		na		

ATA *pa-patik*, *pa-pataš* 'student, pen, pencil'.

KAL From Spanish *escuela*.

TAG Root: *āral*, [*estudyante*], Spanish *estudiante*.

AKL Spanish *estudiante*.

- MOL From English.
- KAG (*tudlu?* + *-in-* + *-an*); also [*istudyanti*] from Spanish *estudiante*.
- BLA *tog-am-bət* ‘person who learns’.
- BAT This is a blending of Toba Batak *sise* ‘to interrogate’ and Sanskrit *śiṣya-* ‘pupil’.
- MIN Also [*muri?*].
- JAV From Sanskrit.
- BAL Also [*sisia*] ‘person studying to be priest’, from Sanskrit.
- GOR Malay *anak sekolah* (*anak* ‘child’, *sekolah* ‘school’; see 17.242).
- DAA Portuguese.
- UMA From Sanskrit.
- BUG From Sanskrit.
- KON From Sanskrit.
- WOL Also [*muri*].
- MAG Nowadays: [*murit*].
- RTI Portuguese. The Rotinese have had a continuous school tradition, using Malay, since the early part of the 18th century.
- BUR School child.
- DOB ‘school children’. [*skola*] is a Malay borrowing, here used as an adjective.
- MAM From Tok Pisin, also *sule-sule*.
- TAK From Tok Pisin.
- DAM From Tok Pisin.
- YAB ‘child house paper-for’.
- KAU Tok Pisin.
- TOL *bul* ‘child’ *nə* CONN.
- ADZ ‘child’.
- TAW *hewali* ‘young man’; *tu lubulubu* ‘learner’ (lit ‘learning to shoot arrows’).
- MOT ‘school boy/girl’ (*[sukulu]* from English *school*); *ha-he diba* also used, especially for ‘disciple’ in Bible.
- CEM Also *â-cémun*.
- KIR *reirei* ‘teach, learn’.
- MSH cf. *katak* ‘learn, teach, study’; with agentive prefix *ri-*.
- PON ‘participant in school’.



WLE Japanese.

TON *tamasiʔiako* (male); *taʔahineako* (female).

SAM *tamaitiiti* 'child', *āʔo-ŋa* 'school' (17.280).

TAH Also *tamariʔi haʔapiʔi*.

RAP For a child *poki hāpī*

## 17.270 TEACHER

Sanskrit: *guru-*

ATA		GOR	[guru]	TAW	tu-wiatatiyana
*TSO	[sense]	DAA	[guru]	*MOT	ha-he-diba
RUK		UMA	[guru]		tau-na
PAI		BUG	[guru]	MEK	pa-maleleau-
YAM	maŋnanao	KON	[guru]		ŋa
ISN	misturu	WOL	[guru]	ROV	[titisa]
*KAL	[mistulu]	MAG	[guru]	*MAR	[mae
*TAG	[gūroʔ]	NGA	ɗaŋa-poo		velepuhi]
*AKL	[maestra]	SIK	[guru]	LAU	wane
PAL	mɔnunulduʔ (tulduʔ)	*RTI	[mesen]		fatolomai
MOL	guruʔ	BUR	[guru]	KWO	
*KAG	manigtudluʔ	*DOB	[tuwan]	RAG	vayahi
BLA	to t-am-doʔ	IRA		*PAA	[tisa]
*SAB	gudu	SAW	[guru]	LEW	na-viani-ena
*MUR	maŋiŋilaʔ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʳamak ta leheya	POR	
MGY	mpampi- anatʳa	*MAM	[tisa]	NTA	iaŋətun
ACE	[gureə]	*TAK	gire-k maŋa'o	KWA	iahatən
BAT	[guru]	*DAM	[tise]	NEM	ka-po-somu
MIN	[guru]	*MAB	pautəŋana ka	CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> 5-cémun
IND	[guru]		tomtom	AJI	ka pāgiūri
SUN	[guru]	*YAB	ke-doŋ-waga	XAR	a-fa-inū
JAV	[guru]	*KAU	[tisa]	*NEN	θu ininata
MAD	[g <sup>h</sup> uru]	*TOL	tenə vər tovo	*KIR	te tia reirei
BAL	[guru]	BUA	tatoβaya	*MSH	rikaki
SAS	[guru]	*ADZ	[kiduŋ waga]	*PON	sounpatāk
		KIL	to-βituloki	*WLE	[sensei]
				EFI	ŋase-ni-βuli

*WFI	[gahe-ni-βuli]	*SAM	fai-āʔo-ŋa	RAP	taŋata hāpī
RTU	leʔrē rako	MEL	fefeāu		
TON	fai-ako	*TAH	ʔorometua		

TSO Loanword from Japanese.

KAL Also [*mistula*] from Spanish *maestro, maestra*.

TAG Malay *guru* (= Sanskrit); also [*maestra*], [*maestro*], Spanish *maestra, o*.

AKL [*maestra*] f.; [*maestro*] m.; Spanish *maestro, -a*.

KAG (*tudluʔ + manig-*); also *manunudluʔ* (*tudluʔ + maŋ-* and redup.); also [*mistru*] from Spanish *maestro* ‘male teacher’; also [*mistra*] from Spanish *maestra* ‘female teacher’.

SAB Also [*maystro/a*] from Spanish.

MUR Also [*guduʔ*].

RTI Dutch *meester*.

BUR School teacher; borrowed from Sanskrit via Malay.

DOB Malay borrowing from *tuan* ‘lord’.

MAM From English.

TAK ‘write-NOM knowledge’ (18.510, 17.240).

DAM From Tok Pisin; also *odi-ŋel-nē-di-ya tamo* ‘word showing-the man’, but as a description, not a term of address.

MAB ‘teaching person’.

YAB ‘he-teach-er’.

KAU Tok Pisin.

TOL *tenə* ‘expert’.

ADZ From Yabêm- *kêdôŋ waga* ‘teacher(s)’ Streicher, (1982: 614).

MOT *ha-he-diba* ‘cause someone to know’, *tau* ‘man’.

MAR From Bughotu.

PAA From English, via Bislama.

NEN Also *θu yeno*.

KIR With agentive formant.

MSH CAUS.

PON CAUS.

WLE Japanese.

WFI Standard Fijian *gaseniβuli*.

SAM *fai* (vb trans) 'do make', *āʔo-ŋa* 'school' (17.280).

TAH Also *ʔorometuahaʔapiʔi*.

## 17.280 SCHOOL

**English:** *school*

**Portuguese:** *escola*

**Spanish:** *escuela*

*ATA	pa-patik-an	BUG	[sikola]	MAR	
*TSO	[gakko]	KON	[sikola]	LAU	[sukulu]
RUK		WOL	[sikola]	KWO	
PAI		MAG	[səkola]	*RAG	[sikulu]
YAM	pivatvatkan	NGA		*PAA	[sukul]
ISN	iskul	SIK	[əskolah]	*LEW	[skul]
*KAL	[uswilaʔan]	RTI	[sakola]	POR	
*TAG	pā-ʔaral-an	BUR	[skola]	*NTA	[skul]
AKL	[eskwelah-an]	DOB	[skola]	KWA	
*PAL	lansagan	IRA		NEM	somu
MOL	[iskul]	SAW	[sakola]	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ā-cémun
*KAG	iskwilaʔan	*NYI	[sukul]	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā yu pēci
*BLA	[skwila]	MAM	sule	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā-inū
*SAB	[eskuwela]	*TAK	[skul]	NEN	ŋayeno
*MUR	[sikūl]	*DAM	[skul]	*KIR	te reirei
*MGY	[sekuli]	*MAB	pautējana ka	MSH	[cikūl]
ACE	[sikula]		rūmu	PON	[sukūl]
BAT	[sikkola]	*YAB	lom  papia	WLE	[skūřo]
MIN	[sikolah]	*KAU	[skul]	EFI	koro-ni-βuli
IND	[səkolah]	*ʔOL	pəl-nə-vər-	WFI	rārā-ni-βuli
SUN	[sakola]		tovo	RTU	(rī)rako
*JAV	[səkolah]	BUA	dub-kaŋpiya	TON	ako-ʔaŋa
*MAD	[sakolaʔ]-an	*ADZ	uŋar  papier	*SAM	ʔāo-ŋa
BAL		KIL	[sikulu]	MEL	[sukulu]
SAS	[səkolah]	TAW	[sikulu]	TAH	fare
GOR	[sikola]	*MOT	[sikuli]		haʔapiʔiraʔa
DAA	po-[sikola]	MEK	malele afu-ŋa	RAP	hare hāpī
UMA	[sikola]	ROV	[sikulu]		

ATA Also *pa-pataš-an*.

TSO Loanword from Japanese.

KAL	<i>[uswila, uswilaʔan]</i> .
TAG	Also <i>[eskuwelahan]</i> .
PAL	Also <i>[iskulan]</i> .
KAG	<i>([iskwila] + -an)</i> .
BLA	<i>gu-g-ambət</i> ‘place of learning’.
SAB	Also <i>[iskul]</i> . Use <i>[madrasa]</i> for Koranic school.
MUR	Also <i>sikulan</i> ‘school-building, premises’.
JAV	Also <i>(pa-wiata-an)</i> , <i>wiata</i> ‘instruction, teachings’.
MAD	From <i>[sakola]-an</i> .
RTI	See 17.260.
NYI	From Tok Pisin.
TAK	From Tok Pisin.
DAM	From Tok Pisin.
MAB	‘teaching building’.
YAB	‘house paper’.
KAU	Tok Pisin.
TOL	<i>pal</i> ‘house’, <i>vər-tovo</i> ‘school, as an institution, education’.
ADZ	‘house paper’, i.e. ‘school’ (from Adzera ‘house’ and German <i>Papier</i> ); also <i>oŋar papir</i> .
MOT	See 17.260.
RAG	Also <i>[im<sup>wa</sup> sikulu]</i> lit ‘house-school’.
PAA	From English, via Bislama. Also used for ‘church’ and ‘religion’.
LEW	From Bislama; also <i>yum<sup>wa</sup> na viani-ena</i> .
NTA	From Bislama.
KIR	Also ‘instruction, education’.
SAM	<i>aʔo</i> (vb trans) ‘learn, teach’, <i>-ŋa</i> NOM.

### 17.310 REMEMBER

ATA	ʔuŋu-ʔuŋun	*KAL	gasmok	*KAG	dəmdəm
TSO	ta-di-a	*TAG	tandaʔ	BLA	ga-faldam
RUK	ŋoalɪŋaw	*AKL	tandaʔ	*SAB	ossob
PAI	pa-ʔənəc	PAL	rəndəmən	*MUR	kadaʔ
YAM	manakəm		(rəndəm)	MGY	maha-ʔiaru
ISN	damdamman	*MOL	rondom	ACE	iŋat

BAT	iŋət	*NYI	samany	NTA	nəkin taht
*MIN	takana	MAM	ilo-ani	*KWA	-arhi
IND	məŋ-iŋat	*TAK	ilo-sou	NEM	ñiñami
*SUN	[iŋət]	DAM	kisi	CEM	nîmi-hi
JAV	eliŋ	*MAB	mata- i <sup>ŋ</sup> gal	AJI	tā nexāi tā
MAD	iŋa?	*YAB	-sa ... sa	XAR	nārāpārī,
BAL	iŋət	*KAU	tulu-hu		benēi
SAS	iŋət	*TOL	nuk pə	NEN	ua
*GOR	mololomo	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a βo	KIR	uriŋa
DAA	nan-tora	*ADZ	mara-n i-fur	*MSH	ememec
UMA	kiβoi	KIL	-luluwai	*PON	ʔaman
BUG	ma-reŋŋir-aŋ	*TAW	nugogae	*WLE	maŋi-a
KON	aŋŋ-u <sup>ʔ</sup> raŋi (u <sup>ʔ</sup> raŋi)	*MOT	he-lalo daβari	EFI	nanu-ma
WOL	uɖani	*MEK	e-opolaŋa	WFI	numi-a
MAG	nūk	ROV	balbala vekoa	*RTU	fak-foti
NGA	ɖəya	MAR	ʔat <sup>h</sup> o fapulo	TON	manatu
*SIK	əŋ gita	LAU	manata tōna	*SAM	mānatu-a
*RTI	nafa- <sup>n</sup> dele	*KWO	manadai-a	MEL	mantu-
BUR	nan-beta	*RAG	vinihi dum		varakāčia
*DOB	ʔa- yiŋa	PAA	mudem kati	TAH	ha <sup>ʔ</sup> amana <sup>ʔ</sup> o
IRA	nanərunə	LEW	sitom-ali	RAP	mana <sup>ʔ</sup> u
*SAW	n-lolem	*POR	e-miče-in-i ame		

KAL *gasmok + ma-/na-*.

TAG *tanda<sup>ʔ</sup> + ma- -an.*

AKL *tanda<sup>ʔ</sup> + ma- -an.*

MOL *rondom + -on.*

KAG *demdem + ma-/ma- -an/-ən.*

SAB *ossob + aN-/ø; also assob; entom + aN-/ø.*

MUR *kada<sup>ʔ</sup> (maka-; ma-) ‘recall’; pulanu (maŋ- -in) ‘take note of’; ondom (ma-) ‘remember fondly’.*

MIN Also *iŋe<sup>ʔ</sup>.*

SUN From Javanese.

GOR *(tolomo + moN-); also moluwoto (tuwoto + moN-); and mo-<sup>ʔ</sup>ēla.*

SIK Also *əŋ huk.*

RTI Also *nafa-nde-nde-k.*

DOB Probably a Malay borrowing from *iŋat* ‘remember’.

SAW	Also <i>n-fa-tɛ-f-silɛn</i> ; <i>n-fa-tɛ-lolm-o</i> .
NYI	Also <i>b<sup>w</sup>etenei</i> .
TAK	‘inside throw (spear)’, as in <i>ilo-n i-sou-da</i> ‘inside-his it-throw-IMPERF’, i.e. ‘he remembers it’.
MAB	<i>mata-ingal</i> ‘eye pierce’; <i>mata-ila pa</i> ‘eye go to’.
YAB	‘arrange ... upward’.
KAU	<i>tulu-</i> ‘mind’.
TOL	<i>nuk</i> (vb trans) ‘think of’, 17.140, <i>pa</i> see Mosel (1984: 131).
ADZ	‘eye-3sg POSS. REAL-collect’.
TAW	<i>nugogae</i> ‘recall’; <i>nugomomota</i> ‘hold in memory’.
MOT	<i>lalo-a</i> ‘to think’, <i>daɸari-a</i> ‘to find’.
MEK	<i>e-opolaŋa</i> means ‘think’, but also ‘remember’ (see 17.130, 17.140, notes).
KWO	<i>manata-dari-a</i> ‘think-find’.
RAG	Also <i>binihi dum</i> .
POR	‘he-think-to s.o.-s.th. again’.
KWA	Also <i>-euini</i> which also means ‘miss’ (as a person).
MSH	Also <i>kēmemeɕ</i> .
PON	Also <i>kataman</i> CAUS.
WLE	<i>maŋi-a</i> also ‘think’; <i>nüniwanē-a</i> .
RTU	Also <i>a<sup>?</sup>hæ hoi-<sup>?</sup>ɔki</i> .
SAM	<i>manatu</i> (vb intrans) ‘think’, <i>-a</i> trans.

### 17.320 FORGET

ATA	<i>ʔ-um-uŋi<sup>?</sup></i>	*MOL	<i>lipat</i>	SUN	<i>poho</i>
*TSO	<i>ma<sup>?</sup>-paro<sup>?</sup>i</i>	*KAG	<i>lipat</i>	JAV	<i>lali</i>
RUK	<i>mā-rimaro</i>	BLA	<i>g-lifət</i>	MAD	<i>luppa</i>
PAI	<i>ma-ɖawɖaw</i>	SAB	<i>lupa + taka-</i>	BAL	<i>əŋsap</i>
*YAM	<i>iawaw</i>	*MUR	<i>lilian</i>	SAS	<i>lupa<sup>?</sup></i>
ISN	<i>kaligpanān</i>	*MGY	<i>manadinu</i>	GOR	<i>mo-lipato</i>
*KAL	<i>li<sup>?</sup>u</i>	ACE	<i>tuwɔ</i>	DAA	<i>na-liŋa</i>
*TAG	<i>limot</i>	BAT	<i>lupa</i>	UMA	<i>lipo<sup>?</sup></i>
*AKL	<i>lipat</i>	MIN	<i>lupo</i>	BUG	<i>takka-lupa</i>
PAL	<i>lipatan (lipat)</i>	IND	<i>lupa</i>	*KON	<i>ta<sup>?</sup>-kaluppa</i>

WOL	ma-liŋu	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a βirək in	NEM	today
*MAG	heməŋ	*ADZ	mara-ni-	CEM	néu-hi
NGA	reβo		samur	AJI	tā nenui
SIK	hulir	KIL	-lum <sup>w</sup> eiloβa	XAR	mənēi,
RTI	nafa- <sup>n</sup> dele	*TAW	nugoguluwi		camidəi
	heni-n	*MOT	he-lalo boio	NEN	neduŋo(n)
BUR	eg-lidu-k	*MEK	e- <sup>?</sup> aŋeŋe	*KIR	m <sup>w</sup> aniŋga
*DOB	ta <sup>?</sup> ar dayala	ROV	mulijinia	MSH	me <sup>l</sup> ok <sup>l</sup> o <sup>k</sup> e
*IRA	nanəmənigərə	*MAR	yat <sup>h</sup> o koko	*PON	meliēla
*SAW	n-fa-tē-lolm-	LAU	manata buro	WLE	ma <sup>ř</sup> üwaxi <sup>ř</sup>
	o-pa (lo <sup>l</sup> em)	KWO	mābōlosi-a	EFI	ŋuileḏa-βa
NYI	maniy	RAG	malioi	WFI	numi-dei-nia
MAM	ilo- <sup>?</sup> o <sup>?</sup> o	*PAA	lok boboŋini	RTU	mao- <sup>?</sup> o <sup>?</sup> ki
*TAK	ilo- <sup>n</sup> aŋuŋ	*LEW	sine-na poni	TON	ŋalo
DAM		*POR	na-lö-n	SAM	ŋalo
*MAB	mata- <sup>m</sup> belele		e- <sup>m</sup> boŋ <sup>m</sup> boŋ-	MEL	man-sarāvia
*YAB	-liŋ ... siŋ		in-i	*TAH	mo <sup>?</sup> e
*KAU	tulu-... som	NTA	-aluin	RAP	rehu
*TOL	nuk vue	*KWA	-enouenou		

TSO (ta<sup>?</sup>-paro<sup>?</sup>-a).

YAM Also kakamaŋan.

KAL li<sup>?</sup>u + ma- -an.

TAG *līmot* + -um-/ka--an.

AKL *lipat* (ha -an), Proto-Philippines \**lipat*.

MOL *lipat* + -on.

KAG *lipat* + ma-/ma- -an/-an.

MUR *lilian* (ma- -an; -in).

MGY From maN-tadino.

KON Also aŋ-ŋaluppa-i(kaluppa).

MAG Also mamur.

DOB ‘your ears grow’.

IRA a bu ramənigərə ‘I have forgotten’.

SAW ‘he doesn’t remember’.

TAK ‘inside forget’, as in *ilo-g i-ŋaŋuŋ-da* ‘inside-my it-forget-IMPERF’, i.e. ‘I have forgotten it’.

MAB ‘eye shrivel’.

YAB	'move something away'.
KAU	For example <i>tulu-ŋo som</i> 'mind-my not', i.e. 'I forget'.
TOL	<i>vue</i> 'do away, throw away'.
ADZ	'eye-3sg POSS REAL-sweep'.
TAW	'buried thought'.
MOT	<i>lalo-a</i> 'to think', <i>boio</i> 'to be lost'.
MEK	<i>e-ʔaŋeŋe</i> is intransitive; <i>e-ʔaŋeŋe-ai-na</i> is transitive.
MAR	Also <i>yath<sup>h</sup>o iho</i> .
PAA	'my interior forgot'.
LEW	Also <i>sinc-na p<sup>w</sup>csani</i> .
POR	'the-inside-his it-forget-to s.o.-s.th.'
KWA	Also <i>-ap<sup>w</sup>aha</i> 'leave something behind'.
KIR	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>anouka</i> .
PON	With suffix <i>-la</i> 'away'; <i>manokēla</i> .
TAH	Also <i>haʔamoʔe; ʔaramoina</i> arch.

### 17.340 CLEAR, PLAIN

ATA	a-ši-βak-i- βak-i	BAT	tə'raŋ	*BUR	glina gosa
TSO		MIN	ʃaleh	*DOB	nam tama
RUK	aθiŋalanə	*IND	ʃələs	*IRA	ʃəʔade ʃə
PAI		*SUN	ečes	SAW	metegəl
YAM	maʃonəŋ	*JAV	čətə	NYI	lewan
ISN	nawada	MAD	tərraŋ	*MAM	maŋata
*KAL	lawag	*BAL	pədas	*TAK	kuei-te-ya
*TAG	līnaw	SAS	təraŋ	DAM	ʔokō
*AKL	athag	GOR	mo-patato	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> bot mat pa
*PAL	mətəlaŋ	DAA	na-noto	*YAB	g-eʔ awe
*MOL	towtow	UMA	mo-noto	*KAU	ek
*KAG	[bistu]	BUG	ma-čakkaʔ	*TOL	kāpə
BLA	m-baŋal	KON	nassa	BUA	ʃep raŋaʃ
SAB	sawa + a-	WOL	ti <sup>n</sup> da	*ADZ	mara fururuŋ
MUR	matawaŋ	MAG	siʔaŋ	KIL	mimilakatila
MGY	ma-zava	NGA	gəsa	TAW	nugogada- gadala
*ACE	ʃulaih	*SIK	ʔlendə-ŋ	*MOT	hedinarai
		*RTI	nasa-la		



*MEK	e-malolo	KWA		*EFI	maḏala
ROV	bakala	NEM	mala	WFI	maḏala
MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ora	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> āt	*RTU	tafa
LAU	folā	AJI	ūrū	TON	mahino
KWO	wataga	XAR	mεrε	*SAM	mālamalama
*RAG	rarani	NEN	aral	MEL	
PAA	mesel	KIR	oti	*TAH	māramarama
LEW	merarava	*MSH	meleḷe	*RAP	
POR	mači	*PON	tēte		
NTA	haḡhaḡ	*WLE	xiřa		

KAL *lawag + na-*.

TAG *līnaw* (water); *liwānag* (view).

AKL *athag + ma-*; also [*klāro*], from Spanish *claro*.

PAL Also *mālnis*.

MOL *towtow + mo-*.

KAG From Spanish *visto*; [*klaru*] from Spanish *claro*; also *tinʔaw*.

ACE Also *ḡraḡ*.

IND Also *təraḡ*.

SUN Also *tetela*, [*təraḡ*] from Malay.

JAV Also *gamblaḡ*.

BAL Also *sinah*.

SIK Also *βoer*; [*təraḡ*] Malay.

RTI The root term is *la*.

BUR Also *dofo* ‘straight, clear’.

DOB ‘it does contents’ which can mean ‘it is clear’ or ‘it is true’.

IRA ‘that’s clear’.

MAM Also *kadaḡa*.

TAK ‘outside-at-PERFECT’ (12.060), i.e. ‘(it) is on the outside’, i.e. ‘it is plain’.

MAB ‘be in the light with respect to’ = be clear about.

YAB ‘it-lie outside’.

KAU Also *uḡ phih*

TOL See 15.560, 15.570.

ADZ ‘plain, straightforward’.

MOT ‘to be open, be clear, appear’.

MEK	<i>e-malolo</i> is primarily used of clear water but can also be used of e.g. language. <i>ai?apa</i> is 'clear' of water, 'plain' of food.
RAG	'to become clear'.
MSH	Also 'evident, understood'; <i>alikkaŕ</i> .
PON	<i>tēte</i> also 'evident'; <i>sansal</i> .
WLE	<i>xir̃a</i> also 'obvious', <i>ffata</i> also 'real'.
EFI	Also <i>matata</i> .
RTU	Also <i>liuliu</i> (water).
SAM	See 17.160.
TAH	Also <i>pāpū</i> .
RAP	Figuratively: <i>tao?a e tahi: ma?eha: ma?itaki</i> .

### 17.350 OBSCURE

ATA		*MAD	mar-samar	*YAB	g-ε? lelem
TSO		*BAL	urəm	KAU	kalβuŋ
RUK		SAS	saru	TOL	bobotoi
PAI		*GOR	mo-olomo	BUA	mayin
YAM	ja ʃonoŋ	DAA	na-gavu	ADZ	mara fururuŋ
ISN	akkan nawada	UMA	uma mo-noto		i-ma?
KAL		BUG	halaŋ-iŋ	KIL	-nigonig <sup>w</sup> a
*TAG	lābo?	KON	anre?na- nassa	*TAW	nugopilipili
*AKL	ʃubug	*WOL	ma-lala <sup>n</sup> da	*MOT	
PAL	məribuŋ	MAG	nə <sup>n</sup> dəp	*MEK	e-upu (e-?upu)
*MOL	lubog	NGA	gibu	ROV	lopu bakala
KAG	ləbbəg	SIK	ruma-ŋ	*MAR	bafu
*BLA	lɔ? m-baŋal	*RTI	ta nasa-la	LAU	si do usia
SAB	iŋga?i tampal	*BUR	kabo	*KWO	g <sup>w</sup> afola
*MUR	molondom	DOB	dumay-ni	RAG	
MGY	ma-izina	IRA		PAA	
ACE	baləm	*SAW	məlmol	LEW	
BAT	go'lap	*NYI	baleu b <sup>w</sup> e	POR	
MIN	kalam	*MAM	?oma	NTA	-ol nəruuən e
IND	samar	*TAK	mianuk	KWA	aɸaɸa
*SUN	saru	DAM	kisi togu	NEM	
JAV	pətəŋ	*MAB	sua tōroŋana	*CEM	tôt

AJI	orē	WLE	maxořa	*SAM	fa?a-
XAR		EFI	buawa		nimonimo
NEN	řidi	WFI	d'iod'iō-si-	MEL	
*KIR	rō	RTU	mɔ'iro	*TAH	pōiri
*MSH	aelok	TON	nenefu	*RAP	
PON					

TAG *lābo?* + *ma-* 'not clear'; also *tago?* 'hidden from view'.

AKL *řubug* + *ma-*; also *indi? klāro* 'not clear'.

MOL *lubog* + *mo-*.

BLA 'not clear'; *ma-g-liduř* 'covered over, obscure'.

MUR Also *mobōt* (of sun, moon).

SUN Also *samar*.

MAD From RED-*samar*.

BAL Also *saru*.

GOR *mo-olomo* (*wolomo* + *mo-*) (of vision/sight'; also *řā ?o-onuh-e* (*řā* 'not' + *wonuhu* + *?o--e*), of writing; *?o-onuh-e* 'can be seen clearly'.

WOL Also *galapu*.

RTI 'not clear'; see 17.340.

BUR *kabo* 'murky, cloudy, obscure'; *dofu mohede* 'not yet straight/clear'.

SAW Also *kesnope*.

NYI 'not clear'.

MAM Also *tago ?ilala*.

TAK See 17.360.

MAB *sua tōrořana* 'turned talk' = parable; *sua pa<sup>m</sup>bārařana* 'crossed talk' = indirect hint, also *-ur sua se ki*.

YAB 'it-lie inside'.

TAW 'tangled thought'.

MOT No simple equivalent. *hereřa se-abi-a* 'he/she did not understand what was said' (*hereřa* 'word, what was said', *se* 3sg negative subject prefix, *abi-a* 'to get obtain') is one possibility. Another nowadays is *dia [kila]* 'not clear' from English 'clear'.

MEK *e-upu* is primarily used of murky water but can also be used of a topic or discourse. *e-pini* means 'complicated, difficult, involved'. East Mekeo *e-upu* corresponds with *e-kopu*, *e-kobu* in the other dialects.

MAR 'not clear, blurry'.

KWO Also *?afola*.

CEM 'tangled, mixed up'.

KIR *maṅori* 'lowly, insignificant'.

MSH Also *ttinɔ*.

SAM Var. *fa?a-ninimo*, *fa?a-* CAUS, *nimo* (vb intrans) 'vanish, disappear'.

TAH Also *pōuri*, *ta?a?ore*.

RAP figuratively *pōhāhā*; *po?uri*; *tiho*; *kai ti-tika*; *kai tano*.

### 17.360 SECRET

**Sanskrit:** *rahasya-*

**Spanish:** *secreto*

ATA		*BAL	siŋid	*YAB	keleʔ(-geŋ)
*TSO	ā-rʔi-rʔixi	SAS	[rasia]	KAU	kaun-ŋin
RUK	kiaboboli	GOR	[rahasiya]	TOL	pidik
PAI		DAA		BUA	βunsen
*YAM	matayo	UMA		*ADZ	namfatafat-
ISN		BUG	[rahasia]		an
KAL	sekiḷitu	KON	[rahasia]	KIL	-kium
*TAG	līhim	*WOL	[harasia]	*TAW	baha-
*AKL	līhim	*MAG	čurup bone		gowagowada
*PAL	isubuk	*NGA	ɗoʔe-ɗaʔe	*MOT	he-huni
MOL		SIK	səsu	*MEK	e-vake
*KAG	likəm	RTI	na-funi-k	*ROV	tomena
BLA	buni	BUR	foni	*MAR	poru
SAB	tapuk	*DOB	?a-luŋun	*LAU	banitai
*MUR	silolopot	*IRA	sənanə	KWO	beri
*MGY	çi-ambara- telu		bəɾəʔaʔunə	*RAG	dahuliyi
		*SAW	meiten	PAA	
*ACE	[rasiya]		pəmpin	LEW	na-visa-wani- ena
BAT	bu'ni	NYI	aton	POR	
MIN	[rasia]	*MAM	ilo-si?ita	NTA	anion
IND	[rahasia]	TAK	mianuk	KWA	aʔaʔa
SUN	[rasiah]	DAM	imini-ya-n	NEM	tʰiñam
JAV	wadi	*MAB	koron	*CEM	-meli
MAD	[rusiya]		turkejana		

AJI	tō yēřē	*PON	rir	TON	fakapulipuli
XAR	xiti	WLE	nibōxi	SAM	lilo
NEN	unid	*EFI	βuni	MEL	salavātaku
KIR	raba	WFI	k*ā lō	*TAH	parau huna
MSH	tтинə	RTU	næe	RAP	

TSO (*ā-rʹi-rʹix-a*).

YAM *matayo* ‘hidden’.

TAG Also [*sekrēto*].

AKL Also [*sikrītuh*].

PAL *taguʹ ikinəs*.

KAG Also *tinagu* (*tagu + -in-*); also [*sikritu*].

ṀUR (n).

MGY ‘not inform a third’.

ACE Also *rahsiya*.

BAL Also *silib* ‘secret, hidden’; (*N-)**ilid-an* ‘keep, hide’ (*ilid* ‘hidden, not visible’).

WOL Also *ka-wuni-wuni, wuni*, [*rahasia*] Sanskrit.

MAG Also *čurup cəha*.

ṀGA Also *une-ate*.

DOB A verb meaning ‘keep secret’.

IRA ‘a question which is kept hidden’.

SAW ‘hidden speech’.

MAM Also *labu-siʹita*.

MAB ‘something hidden’.

YAB ‘secretly(-only)’; similarly *kεεʹ(-geŋ)*.

ADZ ‘thing whisper-part’, i.e. ‘a whispered thing, secret’.

TAW ‘a hidden word’; *nugohine* ‘secret/inner thoughts’.

MOT *huni-a* ‘to hide’.

MEK *e-vake* means ‘hidden, secret’; as does *e-pine*. *e-puni* is ‘hidden’.  
NW Mekeo has *e-ŋaŋamu*.

ROV Also *yolomona*.

MAR *poru* ‘hide, be secret’; *cheke poru* ‘hidden talk’.

LAU ‘safe, secret’.

RAG ‘secretly’.

CEM Used as a post-verb, 'in secret'.

PON *ekiek* 'hidden, concealed'.

EFI *lō*.

TAH Also *parau moʻe*.

### 17.370 SURE, CERTAIN

**Arabic:** *yaqīn*

ATA		UMA	ma-ta <sup>n</sup> tu	ROV	hinokara
TSO		BUG	toŋiŋ	*MAR	lase fakeli
RUK	itara	*KON	aʔ-tantu	LAU	nia mamana
PAI		WOL	yaakini	KWO	
*YAM	manoyoŋ	*MAG	tuʔuŋ	RAG	
ISN	[sigurādu]	*NGA	ɗəme	PAA	
KAL	[sigulādu]	*SIK	dəmə-ŋ	*LEW	nunu
*TAG	tiyak	RTI	te-teʔe-k	POR	suxavoi
*AKL	[sigurādo]	BUR	mata-k haik	NTA	-ətun βər
PAL	banar	*DOB	ʔoŋaʔlay	KWA	
MOL	tantu	IRA	təse	NEM	
*KAG	[siguru]	SAW	fa-tu	CEM	máŋ
*BLA	toʔo g-dohoʔ	NYI	tanān	AJI	avāri
SAB	tantu + a-	*MAM	lama-uni	XAR	kērēnədo
*MUR	[matantuʔ]	TAK		NEN	
*MGY	marina tukua	*DAM	kelēi-ya bagai	*KIR	koaua
ACE	tuunteə	*MAB	-ute	*MSH	m <sup>u</sup> ōl
BAT	tuʔtu	*YAB	biŋ-	*PON	ūtān
*MIN	indaʔ buliʔh		ŋano(-geŋ)	*WLE	tōsū
	tidaʔ	*KAU	po-n ta-n βeh	EFI	dei
*IND	pasti	*TOL	dovot	*WFI	kila-sia βinā
*SUN	pasti	BUA	yənon	RTU	aier ʔəki
*JAV	məsti	*ADZ	nidzun	TON	pau
MAD	[jakin]	*KIL	mok <sup>w</sup> ita	*SAM	mautino
*BAL	səkən	*TAW	memewahaga-	MEL	
SAS	tətu		na	*TAH	pāpū
*GOR	[ta <sup>n</sup> du]	MOT	momokani	*RAP	aŋi-aŋi
DAA	na-ta <sup>n</sup> tu	*MEK	ka-moʔe		

- YAM *manoyoŋ* ‘true’.
- TAG Also [*pihādo*], Spanish *fijado* ‘fixed’.
- AKL From Spanish *segurado*.
- KAG From Spanish *seguro*.
- BLA *toʔo g-dohoʔ* ‘surely come to pass’; *toʔo glut* ‘very true’.
- MUR From Malay *təntu*.
- MGY See 16.660.
- MIN Also [*yakin*].
- IND Also [*yakin*].
- SUN Also *taŋtu*.
- JAV Also *təmtu*.
- BAL Also *tlatar*; *sinah* ‘clear’.
- GOR Malay *təntu*.
- KON Also *aʔ-nassa*.
- MAG Also [*ta<sup>n</sup>tu*] Malay.
- NGA Also *tuʔu-tuʔu*.
- SIK Also [*təntu*] from Malay.
- DOB *ʔoŋaʔlay* has a large semantic range, meaning ‘indeed’, ‘certainly’ in the sense of something that will certainly happen.
- MAM Also *moimoi*.
- DAM Also *demumei* meaning ‘it is really true’.
- MAB *ute* ‘know’; *kola* adverb indicating high speaker certainty about a future event.
- YAB ‘talk-its.fruit(-only)’.
- KAU ‘skin-its of-it be necessary’.
- TOL See 16.660.
- ADZ ‘seed, truth, essence’.
- KIL Also phrase *gala nina-yuwa* not mind-two ‘not divided in his mind, certain’; or exclam. *makawala* ‘Thus!’
- TAW ‘remain permanently’ (adj); *a baha mei gaima meme wahagana* ‘his word is like a permanent/certain rock’.
- MEK *ka-moʔe* is roughly synonymous with *la-koa* (perhaps for *ŋa-koa*).
- MAR ‘know well’.
- LEW Also *loge-lup<sup>wari</sup>*.
- KIR Also ‘true’.

MSH Also *lukkūn* ‘true’.

PON ‘surely, certainly’.

WLE Also *neta, tiwexiři*.

WFI Also *kaha*.

SAM Cognate with *tino* (vb intrans) ‘be openly expressed, revealed’.

TAH Also *mau*.

RAP Also fig: *ma<sup>?</sup>u hio-hio*.

### 17.380 EXPLAIN

ATA	panḡakū <sup>?</sup>	*SAS	nəraŋ-aŋ	*TOL	və-kəpə
TSO			(təraŋ-aŋ)	*BUA	ner tato
RUK	pa-ḡoŋolo	*GOR	molo <sup>m</sup> bāŋo	*ADZ	ragi- nan wasi
PAI			(to <sup>m</sup> bāŋo)	*KIL	-luki
*YAM	ononoŋan	DAA	no-tara <sup>ŋ</sup> ga	TAW	palihana-
ISN	ilawlawāg	UMA	poka-noto		hanapu
*KAL	lawlawag	BUG	map-petajaŋ	*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> au-rai-a
*TAG	pa-liwānag	*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -paka-		maoro
*AKL	pa-hāyag		'sinara	*MEK	e-pa-ikifa
PAL	ipətəlaŋ	*WOL	pa-ti <sup>n</sup> da	ROV	va bakalia
	(təlaŋ)	MAG	toiŋ	*MAR	čeke fagriu
*MOL	oroti	*NGA	punu	LAU	fadā
*KAG	saysay	SIK	donə-ŋ	KWO	
*BLA	fa-ḡlabat	RTI	tui fe-n	RAG	
*SAB	pa-hati	*BUR	ep-toke	PAA	vit meseleni
*MUR	adati <sup>?</sup>	*DOB	?a-wuli toŋar	*LEW	visa-wali
*MGY	mana-zava	IRA	naḡegəgəgə	POR	učur-i
*ACE	[baywən]	SAW	fa-metegel	NTA	ən-βər
BAT	pa-təraŋ	NYI	tiye kam <sup>w</sup> e <sup>?</sup> es	*KWA	-awahaŋ
MIN	taraŋ-kan	MAM	labu-si <sup>?</sup> ita	NEM	po-ḡaŋe-n
IND	mənəraŋ-kan		pasi <sup>?</sup> a	CEM	pî-úti
	(təraŋ)	*TAK	-filale	AJI	pāḡūři
*SUN	ŋ-ečes-kin	DAM	ḡaded	XAR	šex <sup>w</sup> ae
*JAV	nela <sup>?</sup> ke	*MAB	-kam mos pa	NEN	ačaraḡjeweni
	(tela- <sup>?</sup> ke)	*YAB	-wā (biŋ/ŋam)	*KIR	kaota
*MAD	tərraŋŋ-ag <sup>hi</sup>		sa	*MSH	kammelele
*BAL	nlataraŋ	*KAU	pok put	*PON	kawēwe
	(tlatar)		siinsiin	*WLE	xematafō



EFI	ɓaka-maḏala-taka	RTU	sui-ʔoki	MEL	taku-matākina
		TON	faka-matala	*TAH	faʔataʔa
WFI	ɓa-maḏala	*SAM	faʔa-ma-tala	RAP	haka aŋi-aŋi

YAM Also *varitaən*.

KAL *lawlawag + i-*.

TAG *pa-liwānag + mag-fi-*; also *pa-līmaw*.

AKL *pa-hāyag + i-*; also *pa-ʔathag + i-*.

MOL *oroti + i-po-*.

KAG *saysay + mag-*; also [*iksplikar*] + *mag-* from Spanish *explicar*.

BLA *fa-glabat* ‘cause to understand’; *m-ubəd* ‘interpret’.

SAB *pa-hati + aN-/ø*.

MUR *adatiʔ* (*mapa-*; *pa- -on*), see 17.160.

MGY *zava* ‘clearness, transparency’.

ACE Arabic.

SUN Also *nəraŋ kin* (*təraŋ kin*), *netela kin* (*tetela kin*).

JAV ‘announce, explain’, also *mratelaʔke* (*N-pratela-(ʔ)ke*).

MAD *təraŋ* ‘clear’.

BAL See *tlatar* ‘clear, plain’.

SAS *təraŋ* ‘clear’, ‘plain’.

GOR Also *mo-to<sup>m</sup>bāŋo*.

KON Also *aʔ-paʔ-tantu*, *aʔ-pa-nassa*.

WOL Also [*tara<sup>h</sup>ka*] Malay; *peka-inawa*; *pa-[fahamu]-aka* from Arabic *fahhama* ‘make s.o. understand, explain’.

NGA Also *punu-pede*.

BUR Also *eglina*, *eprepa-k*.

DOB ‘say straight’.

TAK ‘untie’ (09.161).

MAB Also *-swe*, *-pēze*, *-so ka ŋgar*.

YAB ‘separate (speech/its.origin) away’.

KAU ‘announce stem cause’.

TOL *və*-CAUS, *kāpə* ‘clear’; also *və-mətoto* (see 17.160); *və-nunure* (see 17.170).

BUA *nər tato* ‘explain out loud, give directions’; *tatekin* ‘open something up, explain it’.

ADZ	'explain-talk in the open'.
KIL	<i>-luki</i> 'tell'; <i>-ulaim</i> 'open'.
MOT	<i>g<sup>w</sup>au-rai-a</i> 'to speak about' ( <i>g<sup>w</sup>au</i> 'to say, speak'), <i>maoro</i> 'straight, correct'. Also <i>ani-na ha-hedinarai-a</i> 'to cause the meaning to be clear' ( <i>ani-na</i> 'content, substance', <i>hedinarai</i> 'to be clear, appear'), and <i>g<sup>w</sup>au-rai-ahedinarai</i> 'to speak about clearly'.
MEK	'make clever, wise'.
MAR	'give instructions'.
LEW	Also <i>visa-yu</i> .
KWA	<i>-awahan</i> 'set straight, advise'; <i>-phi</i> 'open up'; <i>-ni sas</i> 'say correctly'; <i>-oseri</i> 'unroll, unwind, solve, translate'.
KIR	CAUS of <i>oti</i> 'plain, clear'.
MSH	CAUS of <i>melele</i> 'understand'.
PON	Causative form, from <i>wewe</i> 'understood'.
WLE	Causative form, from <i>matafa</i> 'understand'.
SAM	<i>fa?a-</i> CAUS, <i>ma-tala</i> (vb intrans) 'be open', <i>ma-</i> intrans, <i>tala</i> (vb trans) 'unfold, undo'.
TAH	Also <i>tātara, ha?amāramarama, ha?apāpū</i> .

## 17.410 INTENTION, PURPOSE

**Arabic:** *maqṣūd, nīya*

ATA		*SAB	[maksud]	DAA	pa-tuʃu
TSO		MUR	tōjōn	UMA	patuʃu
RUK	loloto	*MGY	fī-kendʃena	BUG	ak-katta
PAI		ACE	[muksut]	*KON	[niaʔ]
YAM	kalalapoən	BAT	lapat-an	*WOL	neati
ISN	gākat	*MIN	tuʃu-an	*MAG	nanen
KAL	paŋgop	IND	[maksud]	NGA	nəka
*TAG	lāyon	SUN	[maksud]	*SIK	gaʔi
AKL	tūyuʔ	*JAV	karəp	RTI	so-soa-n
*PAL	təmədən	MAD	[maksut]	*BUR	lale-n
MOL	haʃat	*BAL	nət	*DOB	ʔarani
KAG	tuyuʔ	SAS	[niat]	*IRA	matotə
BLA	fan n-imoʔ	GOR	[makusudu]		sənanə

SAW	[maksud]	*MEK	e-oma	XAR	xure
NYI		ROV	hiniva	NEN	tan
*MAM	ilo la <sup>ʔ</sup> o	MAR	gaoyat <sup>h</sup> o	*KIR	te kāntaniŋa
TAK		LAU	ilia fuana si	MSH	wiŋ
DAM	kisi		dō	*PON	kup <sup>w</sup> ur
*MAB	ūnu	*KWO	manatala-na	*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> amē
*YAB	-bɛ	RAG		EFI	i-naki
*KAU	taku	PAA		WFI	i-naki
*TOL	mə-maiŋə	*LEW	sitomi-ruru	RTU	ʔamŋoki
BUA		POR		TON	taumu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*ADZ	ni-dan	NTA		*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> amoemoe
*KIL	nano-la	KWA		MEL	
	m <sup>w</sup> ada	NEM		TAH	hina <sup>ʔ</sup> aro
*TAW	nugotuhu	CEM	â-pî-nínim		tumu
*MOT	ura	AJI	lē	RAP	tumu

TAG Also *haŋad, taŋka<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

PAL Also *paksa*.

SAB [*maksud*] (n) ‘intention or purpose in doing something’; *tu<sup>ʔ</sup>ud + -in-* ‘something done intentionally, or on purpose’.

MGY Also *fī-kasana*.

MIN Also [*mukasuy<sup>ʔ</sup>*].

JAV Also *tuju*.

BAL Also *kanoh*.

KON Also *a<sup>ʔ</sup>ra<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

WOL Also [*niati*].

MAG New synonym: [*maksūt*].

SIK Also *ga<sup>ʔ</sup>i gəle*.

BUR e.g. *ya naŋ lale-n* ‘my purpose’; [*maksut*] Arabic via Malay *maksud*.

DOB This is a conjunction indicating intention or purpose, there does not seem to be a noun for ‘purpose’.

IRA ‘decide a matter’.

MAM Also *ilo rere*.

MAB *-pāta ka-*, *-ur pa* ‘intend’; *-so* ‘say’ + verb.

YAB Verb: ‘want, intend, think, mean, guess’.

KAU An adverb meaning ‘try’ or ‘intend’.

TOL *məiŋ-e* (vb trans) ‘want’ (see 16.620), also *nuknuk* (see 17.130).

ADZ	‘say PART’
KIL	‘his-mind intention’.
TAW	<i>nugotuhu</i> ‘intention’; <i>anona</i> ‘purpose’.
MOT	‘to wish, want’. Also <i>lalohadai</i> and <i>lalo-a</i> ‘to think’ (17.130,140) and the use of the future tense form of a verb.
MEK	<i>e-oma</i> (which goes to <i>e-ma</i> in the other dialects) means ‘mean, purpose, intend; utter meaning’. It is a subordinating verb and plays a key role in the expression of mental processes in Mekeo, identifying the subjective “source” of an utterance or mentation.
KWO	‘mind’.
LEW	Also <i>visa-ari</i> .
KIR	<i>te kataniŋa</i> also ‘hope’; <i>te buki</i> also ‘bottom, end reason’.
PON	<i>kup<sup>w</sup>ur</i> hon. also ‘heart’; <i>pōson</i> also ‘foundation, home, uterus’; <i>kārepe</i> 3sg POSS; see <i>kārēta</i> ‘to cause, be the reason for’.
WLE	Also <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>eřü</i> , <i>tere</i> .
SAM	Also (vb intrans).

## 17.420 CAUSE

Arabic: *sabab*

ATA		*ACE	kən	KON	[sabaʔ]
TSO		BAT	ala	*WOL	<sup>m</sup> baka
RUK	lolodanə	MIN	[sabab]	*MAG	pa <sup>n</sup> de
PAI		IND	mə[nəbab]-	NGA	pu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
YAM	yapoan		kan (səbab)	SIK	loni-ŋ
ISN	gapu	*SUN	ŋa-[lantaran]-	RTI	hu
KAL	gapu		kin	*BUR	ep-
*TAG	pa-	*JAV	ǰalar-an	*DOB	ya <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*AKL	pa-	MAD	[sabap]	IRA	
*PAL	pu <sup>ʔ</sup> un	*BAL	saŋkal	SAW	n-pe [sabab]
MOL	[sawab]	SAS	[səbab]	NYI	
*KAG	ka-baŋdan-an	*GOR	mo- <sup>ʔ</sup> o-	MAM	pura <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*BLA	g-um-də <sup>ʔ</sup>		[sababu]	*TAK	-gane
*SAB	[sabab]-an	*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-ǰadi	DAM	nigin
MUR	[sabab]	UMA	[saba]-na	*MAB	-pa-
MGY	maha-tunga	BUG	pas-[sabaʔ]	*YAB	ɪm

*KAU	siin-siin	RAG		*MSH	win
*TOL	vunə	PAA		*PON	kārēta
BUA	dəg <sup>w</sup> a	LEW	mia-sia	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> eřü
ADZ	u <sup>n</sup> tap-a gin	POR		EFI	βaka-βū-na
KIL	uula	NTA	-ol + verb	WFI	βa-βu-nia
*TAW	binei	KWA	-o	RTU	huni
*MOT	badi	NEM	po-pū-n	*TON	tupu-ʔaŋa
*MEK	puo	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ō mē	*SAM	ala
ROV	yinuyua	*AJI	pū	MEL	lake
*MAR	fa	*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> i-pū-re	TAH	faʔatupu
LAU		NEN	tan	*RAP	haka
KWO		*KIR	ka-		

TAG PAN \*pa- causative prefix.

AKL PAN \*pa- causative.

PAL Also *sabab*.

KAG ‘the thing blamed’; *alinan* (*alin* + *-an*) ‘the source’.

BLA *g-um-dɔʔ* ‘source’; *duən* ‘reason’.

SAB [*sabab*]-*an* (n) ‘cause or reason’. The verb ‘cause’ is usually rendered by the causative prefix *pa-* with the appropriate verb.

ACE Also *murə*.

SUN Javanese.

JAV Also [*krənɔ*] Sanskrit.

BAL Also [*saŋkan*], Old Javanese?; *mə-kadə* ‘cause’; [*kranə*] (n) from Sanskrit; [*awanən*] (n) from Old Javanese; Old Balinese *hətu* ‘cause’ (n).

GOR *mo-ʔo-* abilitative. But this notion is normally expressed by prefixing *mo-po-*, the causative affix, to verb roots.

DAA ‘cause to be’.

WOL Also *ra<sup>m</sup>pa*, [*sababu*].

MAG ‘make’, but mostly with *lə* ‘by’ without a verb, e.g. *lə anak-n tara bora-n* ‘(caused) by child-his that rich-he’.

BUR Also *puna* ‘make, do’ (periphrastic causative).

DOB This is a causative conjunction ‘because of’.

TAK ‘do’ (09.110). See notes on 10.630, 11.220 for examples of causative usage.

MAB	- <i>pa-</i> verb direct causation; - <i>kam ma</i> verb indirect causation. Also <i>tana, ta, tanata</i> ‘therefore’; <i>tabe</i> ‘and so’.
YAB	‘origin’; also <i>ŋa-ìn</i> ‘its-origin’.
KAU	‘base’ or ‘bottom’.
TOL	See 14.250.
TAW	Dialect <i>ubeina</i> . Usually expressed by post position, <i>binei/ubeina</i> , which is marked for person and number.
MOT	‘base, foundation’; also <i>g<sup>w</sup>au</i> (see 16.780).
MEK	<i>puo</i> means ‘cause, reason’ but sometimes also ‘aim, purpose’, and even ‘consequence, result, blame’. <i>ŋome</i> ‘foot of tree; base’ is also used to mean ‘cause; basis’.
MAR	Causative prefix.
CEM	‘make that’; also expressed by causative prefix <i>pa-</i> .
AJI	Also <i>wāpū̃</i> .
XAR	‘make the origin/cause’.
KIR	The causative prefix.
MSH	Noun ‘base, cause, root’.
PON	CAUS (bound root with suffix - <i>da</i> ‘up’), also <i>kārepe</i> ‘its cause’.
WLE	Also <i>tere</i> noun ‘cause, reason’.
TON	Also <i>tupuŋa</i> .
SAM	Also <i>māfua-ŋa, māfua</i> (vb intrans) ‘originate from’, - <i>ŋa</i> NOM.
RAP	<i>haka</i> CAUS (verb phrase particle); <i>haʔa</i> CAUS (verb phrase particle); <i>tumu</i> CAUS, motive, reason.

### 17.430 DOUBT

ATA		*AKL	[dūdah]	*BAʔ	bo-bonos-an
TSO	uʔaxo-ʔusn-i	PAL	alaŋalaŋ	MIN	ragu
RUK	mā-lavarə	MOL	kiaʔ	IND	mə-ragu-kan
PAI			porissaya	*SUN	[saŋsi]
*YAM	mapika- makanali	*KAG	du'a-du'a	JAV	gojak-gajək
		BLA	ka-lwi nɔwɔ	MAD	maŋmaŋ
ISN	maggad- gadduwa	*SAB	duwa-duwa	*BAL	biŋbaŋ
		*MUR	pagagāŋan	SAS	ragu
*KAL	duwaduwa	MGY	mi-sala-sala	*GOR	bata-bata
*TAG	'alinlāŋan	*ACE	[šɔʔ]	DAA	no-leŋa rara

UMA	mo-rara?	*YAB	ŋa-lelom ge- yà lu (-lu)	*NTA	nəkin tataht məmə tateiua
BUG	bata-bata				
KON	bata-bata	*KAU	βunjin ponβal	KWA	-atkahaw
*WOL	pe-suri	*TOL	nuknuk lələr	NEM	heluheluk
MAG	paki sua nai	BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a lū lū in	CEM	môm <sup>w</sup> ehi-gêt
NGA	doo-daa	ADZ	mami-da gin	ΛJI	vi rē
SIK	metə-ŋ merət	*KIL	ninayuwa	*XAR	dɔ tam <sup>w</sup> ā
RTI	ta nama-hele	*TAW	lunugoluwa- luwaga	NEN	čirewerewe
*BUR	nanu-k fen moo	MOT	daradara	*KIR	nanokoraki
				MSH	perper
*DOB	nam i ro	MEK		PON	
IRA		ROV	pupuhu	*WLE	kiñ-a
*SAW	n-dele pa	MAR	yat <sup>h</sup> o peapea	EFI	βaka-titiñā
NYI	budon ta-n barih b <sup>w</sup> e	LAU	manata hala	WFI	βa-hakihaki- sia
MAM	ilo-rua	KWO	manata fofoda(la)	RTU	ararua
*TAK	ilo-wei	RAG		*TON	tāla <sup>?</sup> a
*DAM	kisi i-le-ϕ i- si-ϕ	PAA		SAM	taumate
*MAB	lele- iwe ru pa	LEW	sitomi-pule	MEL	mantūputu
		POR		TAH	fe <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> a
				RAP	

YAM Also *ji anoyŋi* ‘not believe’.

KAL *duwaduwa + man-*.

TAG ‘*alinlāŋan + mag-/pag--an* also *[dūda]*, from Spanish *duda*.

AKL *[dūdah]* + *-an* from Spanish *duda*.

KAG *du'a-du'a + mag-*; also *mere-mere + mag-*.

SAB *duwa-duwa + ag-/pag-an*.

MUR ‘doubtful, hesitant’ (adj).

ACE From Arabic *šakk*, also *tujjalɔ?*.

BAT ‘not know what to do, be at a loss’.

SUN From Sanskrit? (see Gonda 411-412); also *asa-asa*.

BAL Also *kəɖə-kəɖə* ‘uncertain about what decision to make’.

GOR Also *[bī<sup>m</sup>baŋi]*, from Malay *bi<sup>m</sup>baŋ*, and *mo-bu-buhcto hilawo* ‘heavy (of) heart (as seat of the emotions)’.

WOL Also *pe-ura, tomeri-aka, wasu-wisu*.

BUR Think say/that no.

DOB	‘put in two (minds)’.
SAW	‘doesn’t believe’.
TAK	‘be doubtful’: ‘inside many’ (12.050, 13.150), as in <i>ilo-g wei-da</i> ‘inside-my many-IMPERF’, i.e. ‘my inside is many’, i.e. ‘I am doubtful’.
DAM	‘think third-go-present third-come-present’.
MAB	‘insides become two about’; <i>ko</i> indicates speaker uncertainty.
YAB	‘his-inside it-go two’; also <i>teta? lulu</i> ‘his.belly two’, <i>teta? ŋa-dani</i> ‘his.belly blocked’.
KAU	‘idea two’.
TOL	<i>nuknuk</i> (vb trans) ‘think’ (see 17.130), <i>lələr</i> ‘tentatively’ (see 17.480).
KIL	See 17.370.
TAW	‘be in two minds’.
NTA	‘he thinks he is lying’.
XAR	Also <i>dɔ nexā</i> .
KIR	<i>nanokoraki</i> ‘to have diverse thoughts’; also <i>nanououa</i> ‘to be of two minds’.
WLE	Also <i>tipa-m<sup>w</sup>aɾa-m<sup>w</sup>aɾa</i> lit ‘undecided mind’.
TON	Also <i>faka-veiveina</i> .

### 17.440 SUSPECT

ATA		MGY	mi-ahi-ahi	*UMA	kapa
TSO		*ACE	[ʃɔʔ]	BUG	to-ri-bata-
RUK	mā-lavarə	BAT			bata-i
PAI		MIN	čuriga	KON	bata-bata
YAM	ilanan	*IND	mə-[ñɔŋka]	WOL	peura
ISN	padalīnān		([saŋka])	MAG	ba <sup>ŋ</sup> ka
*KAL	paŋgop	*SUN	čuriga	NGA	bei
*TAG	hinālaʔ	JAV	ñurigani	*SIK	metə-ŋ
*AKL	bu'taŋ-būtaŋ		(čuriga-ni)	RTI	du-clu <sup>ʔ</sup> a-n
*PAL	təndɔs	MAD	[saŋka]	*BUR	nanu-k
MOL	tondos	*BAL	ñɔlaŋin	DOB	ʔa-roban
*KAG	[sus'pitsa]		(səlaŋ)	IRA	nənaku
BLA	man nɔwɔ	SAS	čurigə	SAW	n-petən
*SAB	tokod	*GOR	mohe <sup>1</sup> dobu	NYI	abudon
*MUR	guaŋ-guaŋ ku	*DAA	no-[sa <sup>ŋ</sup> ga]	MAM	ilo-ani



TAK		*MAR	gege	*NEN	ialu
DAM	kisi	LAU	sūṅainia	*KIR	kanam <sup>w</sup> akina
*MAB	-so ko	KWO	fīṅe <sup>?</sup> eni-a	*MSH	eṅ <sup>w</sup> ake
*YAB	(ṅa-)we <sup>?</sup>	RAG		*PON	m <sup>w</sup> elekī
KAU	ho mi	PAA		*WLE	kiṛī-a
*TOL	gop	LEW	sitomi-wele	EFI	siṅe-ma
BUA	k <sup>w</sup> a βo	POR		WFI	kahami-
ADZ		*NTA	-aplan am lan		takinia
KIL	-doki		mətun məmə	RTU	masar-ɔki
*TAW	nugote	KWA		*TON	mahalo- <sup>?</sup> i
*MOT	duana-ia	NEM	māni	*SAM	māsalo <sup>s</sup> alo
	kaβa	CEM	tēi-hi	MEL	
MEK		AJI	dā (yε)	TAH	
ROV	rovrove	XAR	çī	RAP	

KAL *paṅgop + -on.*

TAG *hināla<sup>?</sup> + mag-/pag--an.*

AKL *bu'taṅ-būtaṅ + -an; also [suspetsah] + -an, from Spanish sospechar.*

PAL Also *tawil.*

KAG *[sus'pitsa] + mag-/pa- -an from Spanish sospechar; also kuno-kuno + -an.*

SAB *tokod + aN-/an; also tuhuma + aN-/ø.*

MUR 'I suspect'.

ACE From Arabic *šakk*, also *tuḡalə<sup>?</sup>*.

IND Also *mən-[čuriga]-i.*

SUN Also *[ṅaṅka] ([saṅka]) Sanskrit.*

BAL *səlaṅ* 'suspicion'; also *[saṅsayə]* 'suspicion' from Sanskrit.

GOR *(wa<sup>n</sup>dobu + moh-)* (pejorative). Also with pejorative meaning: *mo-po-tuludu.*

DAA From Sanskrit.

UMA Also *<sup>m</sup>po-raa-ra-rai<sup>?</sup>* reduplication of root *rai<sup>?</sup>* 'accuse' see 21.310.

SIK Also *merət, metə-ṅmerət.*

BUR Also *odo.*

MAB *-so ko* 'say perhaps ...'; *lele- iur sorok* 'insides put for no reason'.

YAB 'omen, portent, suspicion'; also *ṅa-we<sup>?</sup> ge-yà<sup>?</sup> ae* 'suspicion it-hit me' i.e. 'I suspect'.

TOL	Also <i>vəpīr</i> (vb trans); <i>rī</i> (vb intrans) ‘be suspicious’.
TAW	Particle ‘perhaps, surely’.
MOT	<i>duanai-a</i> ‘to point out’, <i>kaβa</i> ‘in vain; just’.
MAR	‘suspect quality of’.
NTA	‘look at him and know that’.
NEN	Also <i>luo(n)</i> .
KIR	CAUS of <i>nam<sup>w</sup>akina</i> ‘feel’; also <i>karam<sup>w</sup>akina</i> .
MSH	<i>eŋ<sup>w</sup>ɔ</i> ‘be suspicious’; <i>kkəlcake</i> ‘have a hunch’.
PON	<i>leme</i> also ‘believe’.
WLE	<i>kiŋ<sup>r</sup>-a</i> also ‘doubt’, <i>xamm<sup>w</sup>axɔ</i> also ‘guess’.
TON	Also <i>hu<sup>?</sup>uhu<sup>?</sup>u</i> .
SAM	See 17.140.

### 17.441 BETRAY

Arabic: *hiyāna*

ATA		IND	məŋ-[xianat]-i	*DOB	ʔa-dem moray
TSO	bi-rizuxu	SUN	[hianat]		ʔasetā
RUK	ki-a-laŋay	*JAV	ñidrani	IRA	
PAI			([čidra]-ni)	*SAW	n-fa-[kaŋelaŋ]
*YAM	patwawon	*MAD	puŋkir	NYI	saʔoh
ISN		BAL		MAM	lumao-naŋa
*KAL	tūyuk	*SAS	[hianat]	*TAK	kuei-te-gane
*TAG	kanulo	GOR	mo-[hiyānati]	*DAM	yaurō
*AKL	budhiʔ	DAA		*MAB	-swe la ka- koi
PAL	rundiŋ	UMA	bali-hi	*YAB	-ɔʔ ... lase
*MOL	akkal	BUG	pap-peʒaʔ	KAU	phae mata
*KAG	luʔib	KON	aʔ-'balasa kodi		eŋin
BLA	n-ɔŋkəl	WOL	[hiaanati]	*TOL	vəgu
*SAB	tipu	MAG	lelek	BUA	ner raŋay
MUR		NGA	yole	*ADZ	poaʔ-a nan
*MGY	mamadika	SIK			wasi
ACE	[kiyanat]	RTI	na-kedi	KIL	-kasali
BAT		*BUR	ek-fili-k	TAW	nugohalena
*MIN	[čido]			*MOT	tao tore

*MEK	e-pa-au-a	*KWA	-akarakar	*EFI	liu-muri-taka
ROV	gorgorania	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ebune fali-n	WFI	βa-kohī-sia
*MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ipliposa	*CEM	â-pî-mî-wāli	RTU	kō-ʔoki
LAU	ʔoleilalo	AJI	arui	TON	lavaki
KWO		*XAR	še-pā	*SAM	faʔa-lata
RAG		NEN	wakewio(n)	MEL	
PAA		*KIR	kam <sup>w</sup> anea	TAH	haʔavare
LEW	vie-lua	*MSH	ketak	RAP	toʔa
POR		*PON	paŋala		
NTA	-eŋhaninpən	*WLE	xapetōxi		

YAM This just means ‘to tell on someone’. It is not nearly as strong a word as ‘betray’; *pačīŋinaŋina* ‘to sell’, might be used at times.

KAL *tūyuk + i-*.

TAG *kanulo + mag-/ipag-*.

AKL *budhiʔ + -un*; also *ʔūʔib + -un*.

MOL *akkal + -an*.

KAG *luʔib + mag-/an*; also [*traydor*] + *mag-* from Spanish *traidor*.

SAB *tipu + aN-/ø*.

MGY From *maN-vadika*.

MIN From Sanskrit.

JAV From Sanskrit.

MAD Safioedin (1977): ‘deny’.

SAS Also *brugun*.

BUR ‘sell’.

DOB ‘do bad act’. ‘He betrayed his brother’ would be; *ʔa-dem moray ʔasetay aʔa ʔani k<sup>w</sup>alisan*.

SAW ‘make difficult’, form Tobelo.

TAK ‘outside-at do, put’ (12.060, 09.110/12.020), as in *kuei-te i-gane-ya* ‘outside-at he-do-PERFECT’, i.e. ‘he put (him) on the outside’, i.e. ‘he betrayed him’.

DAM ‘to bring out into the open’ (not necessarily ‘betray’).

MAB *-swe la ka- koi* ‘reveal to an enemy’; *-ur la ka- koi nama-* ‘put in the hands of an enemy’

YAB ‘betray, reveal’; also *-som ... lase* ‘speak ... forth’.

TOL Also *vaŋo* (vb intrans/trans).

ADZ ‘disclose-PART talk in.the.open’, i.e. ‘betray’.

- MOT Possibly *tao-a* ‘to push down’, *tore* ‘to write’ i.e. ‘to write about someone to accuse them’.
- MEK *e-pa-au-a* is the word used by the missionaries to describe Judas’ betrayal of Christ. *au* means ‘distance’, hence perhaps to ‘distance someone’. Brown gives *au-uŋa e-ŋauoia*.
- MAR *p<sup>h</sup>ipliposa* ‘deceive, betray’; [*majōra*] from Bughotu.
- KWA Also *-ni pui* ‘inform on’.
- NEM ‘break one’s word’.
- CEM ‘one who looks in all directions; spy’.
- XAR ‘say in obvious way’.
- KIR CAUS of *m<sup>w</sup>ane* ‘ensnared’.
- MSH Also *kinak*; *liāk!ok* with suffix *-!ok* ‘away’, also ‘condemn’.
- PON With suffix *-la* ‘away’.
- WLE Also ‘disclose, reveal; *ūpaūpa* ‘be unfaithful to, betray’.
- EFI Also *kanakanayārua-taka*.
- SAM *faʔa-* CAUS, *lata* (vb intrans) ‘be close, near’.

### 17.450 NEED, NECESSITY

**Arabic:** *fard* ‘(religious) duty’

ATA		*MGY	ni ilaina	*KON	[parallu]
TSO		*ACE	[puuruleə]	WOL	[faraluu]
RUK	moaʔikay	BAT	[pərlu]	*MAG	[sekek]
PAI		MIN	ka-[paralu]-	NGA	roke
YAM			an	SIK	[pərlu]
ISN	kasapūlan	*IND	kə-[pərlu]-an	RTI	[parlu]
*KAL	sāpul	*SUN	ka-[pərlu]-an	*BUR	ŋei
TAG	kaʔilāŋan	JAV	kə-butuh-an	DOB	
AKL	kinahaŋʔan	*MAD	ka[parlu]wan	IRA	
*PAL	kaʔilaŋan	*BAL	(mə-)buat	SAW	[farlu]
*MOL	guna	SAS	[pərlu]	NYI	aseken
KAG	kinanŋlan	*GOR	ʔu[paralu]	MAM	rere-taʔi
BLA	k-liduʔ	DAA	[paraluu]	TAK	
SAB	ka-guna-han	UMA	[paraluu]	*DAM	sā-φere
MUR	gōnon	BUG	[parillu]	*MAB	le-urāta pa

YAB		KWO		KIR	riai
KAU	βeh	RAG		MSH	aikuc
*TOL	ni-ibə	PAA		PON	anān
BUA		*LEW	lima-na plasi	*WLE	sipaxiři
*ADZ	nam sasus-an	POR		EFI	leja
*KIL	i-bodi	*NTA	-akaikē mos	WFI	leg <sup>w</sup> a
*TAW		KWA	-akeikei	RTU	ʔes-ʔao
*MOT		NEM		TON	fiemaʔu
MEK		CEM		SAM	tatau
ROV	tahivae	AJI	neara	MEL	
*MAR	maña hayei	XAR	i-nā	TAH	hinaʔaro
LAU	doria	NEN	teteet	RAP	

KAL *sāpu!* + *ma*.

PAL Also *kaylaŋan*.

MOL *guna* + *ko--han*.

MGY From *ni* + *ila-ina*, lit 'what is needed'.

ACE Also *čita* 'duty'.

IND Also *kə-butuh-an*.

SUN Also *paŋabutuh* (*butuh*).

MAD From *ka-[parlu]-an*.

BAL (*mə-*)*buat* 'important; necessary'; (*N-*)*sarat-aŋ* 'need, attach importance to'.

GOR 'that which is necessary'. *ʔu*, non-personal nominaliser and relative pronoun.

KON Also *ka-[parallu]-aŋ*.

MAG From Makassarese.

BUR *ya ŋei ii dita* 'I need that stuff'; also [*perlu*] (e.g. *ya naŋ perlu* 'my need').

MAB *le-urāta pa* 'have work for something'; *bela* necessative adverb.

DAM Also *lā*  $\phi$ -*ou* $\phi$  'not-future condition, death 3sg TRANS AUX vb-future'; meaning: 'if not, he will die'. There is no word which means 'need'. Also *gai* 'must', e.g. *i gai ado-u* $\phi$  'he must have it'.

TOL *ni-* NOM, *ibə* (vb intrans/trans) 'lack', see 12.170.

ADZ 'thing hot-PART'.

KIL *i-bodi* 'it suits'; *i-bod-aigu* 'it suits me'.

- TAW No word – they use *nugonugo-na* ‘his wants’. I have extensively discussed this concept in their language, so feel fairly confident of a definite exclusion.
- MOT No simple equivalent. The ordinary future tense is often used e.g. *kerukeru ba mailai-a* ‘you must bring it tomorrow’ (*kerukeru* ‘tomorrow’, *ba* 2sg future, *mailai-a* ‘to bring (vb trans)’).
- MAR ‘need, want’.
- LEW ‘to have short hands’.
- NTA ‘must have’.
- WLE Also  $\phi^{we}$ ,  $\phi^{we}$  preverbal marker of futurity, intention.

### 17.460 EASY

ATA	ʔirɬay	UMA	mo-ʒoli	MAR	bliyi
TSO	soni	BUG	ma-lomo	LAU	waluda
*RUK	mā-doay	*KON	lomo	KWO	wadaʔu
PAI	ma-juɬu	*WOL	ga <sup>m</sup> pa	RAG	
YAM	ʒasalit	*MAG	emoŋ	PAA	temale
ISN	nalapat	NGA	noa	*LEW	meme-ŋa
*KAL	lāsu	*SIK	heak	POR	malmale
*TAG	daliʔ	RTI	muda-k	NTA	metəŋ
*AKL	ɬumuh	*BUR	em-hama	KWA	-məru
PAL	mərugəy	*DOB	lak <sup>w</sup> ay	NEM	k <sup>ɔ</sup> oɣoa
*MOL	luhay	IRA	bisə	CEM	tícecōn
*KAG	ləmmək	*SAW	[gampaŋ]	AJI	tāveŋi
BLA	m-ulə	NYI	manamun	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> aie
SAB	luhay + a-	*MAM	emaʔa-iauia	NEN	ŋeroi
*MUR	maluoɣ	*TAK	pasama-n	*KIR	kai
MGY	mura	*DAM	mateka	*MSH	pirəɣə
ACE	maŋat	*MAB	ipata som	PON	kēn
BAT	mu'ra	YAB	ŋa-gao	WLE	
MIN	murah	KAU	mlus-ŋin-an	EFI	rawarawa
*IND	mudah	TOL	pəpā	WFI	rewarewa
SUN	babari	BUA	səpəp	RTU	vav-hina
JAV	gampaŋ	ADZ	puapap-	TON	faiŋofua
MAD	gampaŋ	*KIL	p <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> asa	*SAM	-ŋōfie
*BAL	aluh	*TAW	teyateya	MEL	masalesale
SAS	muraʔ	*MOT	haraya	*TAH	ʔohie
*GOR	[gā <sup>m</sup> baŋi]	*MEK	e-pa-kai	RAP	taʔe roa
DAA	na-ga <sup>m</sup> pa	ROV	lopu tasuna		

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RUK	<i>mā-ḍoay</i> ‘easy, cheap’.
KAL	<i>lāsu + na-</i> .
TAG	Also <i>gaʔan</i> , dialect forms: <i>alwan</i> , <i>luwag + ma-</i> .
AKL	<i>ʔumuh + ma-</i> .
MOL	<i>luhay + mo-</i> .
KAG	Also [ <i>simpli</i> ] from Spanish <i>simple</i> ; also <i>daʔliʔ</i> .
MUR	Also <i>makasuʔ</i> (of journey).
IND	Also <i>gampaŋ</i> .
BAL	Also <i>daŋan</i> .
GOR	Malay <i>gampaŋ</i> .
KON	Also <i>gampaŋ</i> .
WOL	Also <i>kata-muḍa</i> , <i>ma-muḍa</i> .
MAG	Also <i>ʔgoes</i> .
SIK	Also <i>noaŋ</i> .
BUR	Lightweight, easy; <i>nega</i> ‘prepared and ready, easy’.
DOB	‘quickly’.
SAW	Malay.
MAM	Also <i>tago-ira</i> .
TAK	‘light (in weight)’ (15.820).
DAM	Also <i>karika</i> ‘light’ (weight).
MAB	‘not hard’; also <i>marraŋana</i> , <i>rauraŋana</i> .
KIL	‘soft’, also <i>gagabila</i> ‘possible, easy’.
TAW	‘light weight’.
MOT	Also <i>dia auka</i> ‘not hard’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives <i>asi hepui-na</i> ‘twisted together, difficult’; Bible uses <i>yau pipiki-na</i> .
MEK	NW Mekeo has <i>e-gau-gau</i> .
LEW	Also <i>mclala</i> .
KIR	Preverbal particle ‘easily’.
MSH	Also ‘soft, tender, brittle’.
SAM	Suffix attached to verbs meaning ‘easy to do or be what the verb refers to’, e.g. <i>fai-ŋōfiē</i> (vb intrans) ‘easy to do’, <i>fai</i> (vb trans) ‘do’.
TAH	Also <i>māmā</i> .

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**17.470 DIFFICULT**

*ATA	ma-mati?	UMA	mo-koro	MAR	niņigrana
TSO	ņovro	BUG	ma-sussa	LAU	ʔafetaia
*RUK	mā-koʒiŋaʎə	*KON	'sukkara	KWO	ʔato
PAI	ku-ḍəsul	*WOL	ma-rasai	RAG	
YAM	maşalit	MAG	məna	PAA	gaih
ISN	nasulit	NGA	date	LEW	m <sup>w</sup> arera
*KAL	sīgab	*SIK	susar	POR	tamta <sup>m</sup> bač
*TAG	hīrap	*RTI	ta muda-k	NTA	iakəs
*AKL	lisud	*BUR	em-goi-n	*KWA	-əkənekən
PAL	məlyut	DOB	ʔaylilay	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> awa
*MOL	hunit	IRA	susə	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ăcôn
*KAG	bəllay	*SAW	[kaŋelaŋ]	AJI	tā cere
BLA	m-alima	NYI	botoʔon	XAR	xata
SAB	hunit + a-	MAM	emaʔa-ira	NEN	niŋən
*MUR	mapagon	*TAK	muruwa-n	KIR	kāŋāŋa
MGY	saruṭ <sup>r</sup> a	DAM	mərō	MSH	pen
*ACE	susah	MAB	ipata	PON	ap <sup>w</sup> al
BAT	ma'ol	*YAB	ŋa-wapa?	WLE	wairesi
MIN	suli?	*KAU	aβuh-ŋin	EFI	d <sup>r</sup> ēd <sup>r</sup> ē
*IND	sulit	TOL	dekdek	WFI	d <sup>r</sup> eid <sup>r</sup> ei
SUN	hese	BUA	mayin	RTU	noanoa
JAV	aŋel	ADZ	barabin-	TON	faiŋataʔa
*MAD	[malarat]	*KIL	m <sup>w</sup> au	*SAM	-ŋatā
*BAL	kətil	*TAW	pilipili	MEL	mārō
SAS	səŋkə	MOT	auka	*TAH	fifi
*GOR	mo-totolo	*MEK	e-pini	RAP	aŋa rahi
DAA	na-kaŋa	ROV	tasuna		

ATA *aihuŋ* 'difficult, gloomy, not accessible to sunlight'.

RUK *mā-koʒiŋaʎə* 'difficult, expensive'.

KAL *sīgab + na-*.

TAG *hīrap + ma-*.

AKL *lisud + ma-*.

MOL *hunit + mo-*.

KAG Also *kuli?*.

MUR Also *mologo*.

ACE Also *payah*.



IND	Also <i>susah, sukar</i> .
MAD	Arabic ('very poor', Jones 1978).
BAL	Also <i>sukəh, səŋkə, kewəh</i> .
GOR	Also <i>mo-palato</i> 'difficult (life)'.
KON	Also <i>hataŋ, rajjiŋ</i> .
WOL	Also <i>paea</i> .
SIK	Also [ <i>bərat</i> ] Malay.
RTI	'not easy'.
BUR	Commonly [ <i>susa</i> ]; <i>em-huna</i> 'to be in a fix, in a difficult position'.
SAW	Tobelo.
TAK	'heavy' (15.810).
YAB	'heavy, difficult'.
KAU	Also <i>khuk, talok mi-n, kalβok</i> .
KIL	Also <i>kasai</i> 'hard; stern; unfair'.
TAW	'tangled'.
MEK	<i>e-pini</i> means 'difficult, involved', as business affairs, trading expeditions; <i>pini</i> seems indeed to be cognate with Motu <i>hiri</i> . We can also say here <i>e-ʔinoka</i> 'it's hard', or <i>e-muʔi</i> 'it's fast, firm'.
KWA	Also <i>-səkai</i> ; <i>-mour</i> also means 'left side'.
CEM	'that which presents difficulties'; 'difficult; impossible'.
SAM	Suffix attached to verbs meaning 'difficult to do or be what the verb refers to', e.g. <i>fai-ŋatā</i> (vb intrans) 'difficult to do', <i>fai-</i> (vb trans) 'do'.
TAH	Also <i>ʔatā</i> adv.

### 17.480 TRY, ATTEMPT

ATA	t-um-aʔam	*PAL	sulayan	MIN	čubo
*TSO	ai-sfiti	*MOL	subaʔ	*IND	mən-čoba
RUK	wa-lavalava	*KAG	milaw	SUN	ñoba (čoba)
PAI		BLA	tiliw	JAV	ñobɔ (čobɔ)
YAM	taʔataʔaən	*SAB	sulay	MAD	uddi
ISN	ramanān	*MUR	kinam	*BAL	nəgar-aŋ
*KAL	pādas	MGY	man-andʔana		(təgar)
*TAG	taŋkaʔ	*ACE	či	SAS	ñobə (čobə)
*AKL	tiŋuhaʔ	BAT	uʔi	*GOR	mo-poʔo-wali

DAA	nom-pe <sup>m</sup> bai	*YAB	-sàe	KWA	-arkut
UMA	pe-soba	*KAU	toŋ	NEM	cagi
BUG	mač-čoba	*TOL	və-lər	CEM	táceb <sup>w</sup> en
KON	čoba	BUA	ta <sup>y</sup> u	AJI	wāwā
WOL	jaǰali	ADZ	i <sup>n</sup> ča <sup>?</sup> -	XAR	cucu
MAG	damaŋ	KIL	-βigikoni	NEN	tubuŋid
NGA	zagu	*TAW	lugadana	*KIR	keiakina
*SIK	[soba]	*MOT	Verb + toho	*MSH	iracoŋcoŋe
*RTI	[soba]	MEK	e- <sup>?</sup> opo	*PON	soŋ
*BUR	reha-k	ROV	podekia	*WLE	xaxiřō
DOB	na-ra <sup>?</sup> utu	MAR	fariuriu	*EFI	təβole-a
IRA	merəbonə	LAU	ilitōna	WFI	toβo-lia
SAW	n-tofən	KWO	irito <sup>?</sup> ona	RTU	æs <sup>?</sup> oki
NYI	none	*RAG	roŋo	TON	feiŋa
MAM	toi	PAA	mūm vīsi	*SAM	tau-mafai
*TAK	-ga -ile	*LEW	kila-yoni	MEL	nea-kītani
DAM	kisi	POR	max ris-i	TAH	tāmata
MAB	-tō <sup>m</sup> bo	NTA	-ol aŋəβən	RAP	haka <sup>?</sup> atu

TSO (*ai-sfīt-a*).

KAL *pādas + -on*.

TAG *taŋka<sup>?</sup> + mag-*; also *āto + -um/-in*, *sūbok* ‘try, test, taste’.

AKL Also *hiŋūha<sup>?</sup>* root: *kuha<sup>?</sup>* ‘take’.

PAL Also *kilaman*.

MOL *suba<sup>?</sup> + -um/-an*.

KAG *tilaw + m/-an*.

SAB *sulay + aN/-an*.

MUR *kinam (-um-; -in)*.

ACE Also *čuba*.

IND Also *bər-[usaha]* Arabic?

BAL Also (*N-*)*indayaŋ* (*[inda]-aŋ*) from Old Javanese?

GOR Also *moŋ[usāha]* (*?usāha + moN-*). Malay *usaha*, from Sanskrit.

SIK Also *suda-ŋ sogor*, *guda goho-ŋ*.

RTI Also *[so-soba-k]* both from Malay.

BUR Also *[čoba]*.

TAK ‘do see’ (09.110, 15.510), as in *wilwil loy-ao-wo i-ga i-le-da* ‘bicycle on he-go-DESIDERATIVE he-do he-see-IMPERF’, i.e. ‘he is trying to ride a bicycle’.

YAB	'attempt, test'.
KAU	Also <i>karog</i> .
TOL	See 11.920.
TAW	<i>lugadana</i> 'try/test'; <i>wileta</i> 'try/strive' (implies success).
MOT	e.g. <i>siedi e karaia toho to se saisi</i> 'he tried the shirt on but it did not fit' ( <i>seidi</i> 'shirt', <i>kara-ia</i> 'to make, do', <i>to</i> 'but', <i>saisi</i> 'to be the right size, fit'). Also <i>ura</i> 'wish, desire, want', e.g. <i>ena ura motuka baine tari-a</i> .
RAG	'to try to'.
LEW	Also <i>kila-lia</i> .
KIR	<i>katā</i> also 'imitate, emulate'.
MSH	Also 'examine'; <i>kaccioŋe</i> also 'imitate, emulate'; <i>mæleccoŋe</i> also 'experiment, prove'.
PON	Also 'taste'.
WLE	<i>xaxiřō</i> also 'guess, recognise', <i>yatemaxiřī-a</i> ; <i>xařōřō</i> (vb intrans) CAUS.
EFI	Also <i>saŋa-a</i> .
SAM	<i>tau-</i> prefix denoting an attempt or effort to do what is denoted by the base (Milner 1966:246), <i>mafai</i> (vb trans) 'can do'.

## 17.490 WAY, MANNER

Sanskrit: *cāra-*

ATA	*BLA	k-ibo?	SAS	əntan
TSO	*SAB	addat	*GOR	pə-
RUK	*MUR	dalan	*DAA	[akala]
PAI	MGY	fumba	UMA	ohea
YAM	*ACE	lageə	BUG	[čara]-na
ISN	BAT		KON	bate
KAL	MIN	[čaro]	WOL	ďala
*TAG	IND	[čara]	MAG	salaŋ
AKL	SUN	[čara]	NGA	zala
PAL	JAV	[čoro]	SIK	[sara]
*MOL	MAD	[čara]	*RTI	[hada-k]
*KAG	BAL	[čarə]	*BUR	laga-n

*DOB	naŋa-'wa	*MOT	dala	*XAR	kē-
IRA		*MEK	kai(-na)	*NEN	peŋen
SAW	[čara]	*ROV	surəŋa	*KIR	te aro
NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>f</sup> iyen	MAR	puhi	*MSH	ial
MAM	mata	LAU	abulu lana	*PON	ānepe
TAK	kagin	KWO	fui <sup>?</sup> ola	*WLE	unünüffi-
DAM	nābu	RAG		EFI	i-toβo
*MAB	<sup>m</sup> bulu	PAA	sakien	*WFI	βohaki
*YAB	(ŋa)leŋ	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> elaŋa	RTU	aŋa
*KAU	βuŋin	POR		TON	fouŋa
TOL	məŋanə	NTA	nələn	*SAM	amio
BUA	ayata	*KWA	suatuk	MEL	nafeiŋa
ADZ	wain	NEM	wedō-n	*TAH	huru
*KIL	keda	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ō-p <sup>w</sup> ō-nɛ-n	*RAP	huru
*TAW	mei	AJI	cāwā		

TAG Root: *daʔan*.

MOL *agi + ko-/ko--an*.

KAG (*agi + pa-*).

BLA *k-iboʔ* 'way'; *k-fōgu* 'manner'.

SAB *addat* used of the 'custom' of people in doing things a certain way. Normally 'way, manner' would be rendered by the expressions 'how' or 'like this'; 'how' is *saingahan*; 'like this' is *saitu*.

MUR *dalan* 'way, method', *koson* 'manner, style'.

ACE Also *ban, ri*.

GOR With adjectives, *po-* + duplication of initial syllable of root, + root. With most verbs, *poh-/poN-/po-* + dupl. of initial syllable of root, + root. Examples: *po-bo-botoʔo* 'way (someone) faints'; *po-lo-loʔiya* 'way (someone) speaks'.

DAA From Arabic.

RTI From Arabic *āda* 'manner, mode, custom, habit'; *ta-tao-n* is from the root *tao* 'to do'.

BUR Manner; *toho-n* 'way' (e.g. *hama toho-n* 'try to find a way to do s.th.').

DOB A verb meaning 'do like this', *naŋa-wa* is a verb with a portmanteau prefix, it is a combination of *naŋay* underlying form: *na-* + *aŋay* 'do next, do like' and *wa* 'this'.

MAB *<sup>m</sup>bulu* 'manner, custom, behaviour'; *zāla* 'road, way'.

YAB	<i>gebom</i> ‘tradition’.
KAU	‘idea, behaviour, manner’.
KIL	<i>keda-la</i> ‘his way’.
TAW	<i>mei</i> ‘like/such as’; <i>iyowai/iyowaka</i> ‘how/in such a way/manner?’
MOT	<i>dala</i> ‘path, road, way’; <i>kara</i> ‘act, conduct, manner, custom’.
MEK	<i>kai</i> here means ‘direction; way; manner’.
ROV	Also <i>yuahe</i> .
KWA	Also means ‘road’.
CEM	‘way of doing it’.
XAR	<i>kē-</i> a noun-forming prefix meaning ‘way, manner’ in which in action to performed; <i>x<sup>w</sup>ā-virē</i> indicates attitude (good or bad).
NEN	Also <i>lata</i> .
KIR	<i>te aro</i> also ‘religion’; <i>te kawai</i> also ‘path, road’; <i>te katei</i> ‘custom’; <i>te aŋa</i> adverb ‘in this way’; <i>ni kāŋai</i> adverb ‘in this way’; <i>kāŋa</i> interrogative verb ‘in what way’.
MSH	Also <i>tipen</i> ; <i>kəl</i> ‘procedure, technique’.
PON	<i>ānepe</i> 3sg POSS; ‘customary manner’; <i>cp<sup>w</sup>ē</i> 3sg POSS; see <i>āne</i> ‘heed’; <i>tiāk</i> also ‘religion’; <i>tuwe</i> 3sg POSS.
WLE	Also <i>ffir</i> CON; <i>saŋa-</i> CON; also ‘shape, method’.
WFI	Also <i>i-βarau</i> .
SAM	Also <i>uiŋa</i> .
TAH	Also <i>peu</i> .
RAP	<i>huru</i> ‘way, manner (of being, characteristic)’; <i>rave?a</i> ‘way, manner (of doing something)’

### 17.510 AND

*ATA	ru?	MOL	moko?	SUN	ǰiŋ
TSO	xo	KAG	daw	JAV	lan
RUK	si	*BLA	na	MAD	kalaban
PAI		SAB	maka	*BAL	aǰak
*YAM	kano	MUR	am	SAS	dait
ISN	se	MGY	ari	GOR	wawu
*KAL	kan	*ACE	ŋɔn	*DAA	pade
TAG	at	BAT	dɔhɔt	*UMA	pai?
AKL	ag	MIN	ǰo	BUG	sibawa
PAL	səkɔ?	IND	dan	*KON	na-

*WOL	ko	*BUA	lob	*CEM	kâ
MAG	agu	ADZ	da	AJI	mã
NGA	neʔe	*KIL	deli	*XAR	mẽ
SIK	mole	*TAW	po	NEN	ka
*RTI	ma	*MOT	bona	*KIR	ao
*BUR	tu	*MEK	ke	*MSH	im <sup>w</sup>
*DOB	sa	ROV	meke	*PON	ō
*IRA	eru	*MAR	nei	*WLE	ŋe
SAW	re	LAU	fainia	EFI	kei
NYI	ma	KWO	ma	WFI	geini-
MAM	be	RAG		RTU	ma
*TAK	da	PAA	ka	*TON	pea
*DAM	ado	*LEW	a	*SAM	ma
*MAB	mi	POR	kan	*MEL	[ŋo]
YAB	ma	*NTA	kən	TAH	ʔe
*KAU	ma	*KWA	kəni	*RAP	ʔe
TOL	mə	NEM	ma		

ATA Also *kiʔ* ‘and’.

YAM Also *kani* if connecting a proper noun.

KAL Also *ot*.

BLA *umən* ‘and also’.

ACE Also *duŋən*.

BAL *aʃak*, *təkən* ‘with’ conjoin nominals; *tur* conjoins sentences, also adjectival predicates; [*muah*] (from Old Javanese?, occurs in Old Balinese texts); [*lan*, *len*] from Old Javanese ‘as well as’; Old Balinese *dan*, *ndan* glossed by Goris as ‘and’.

DAA Also *bo*.

UMA *padeʔ* (Tolee, Winatu dialects).

KON Also *si-uraŋ*.

WOL Also *te*.

RTI Also (*no*).

BUR Used to coordinate NPs; to coordinate clauses, *pa* is used.

DOB Used as a conjunction between two clauses. Other words used in different environments can also be translated ‘and’, e.g. *na* and *si*.

IRA Also *nəre*.

TAK Comitative postposition, as in *Meit iŋ Irion da* ‘Meit they Irion with’, i.e. ‘Mait with Irion’, i.e. ‘Mait and Irion’.

DAM	Also noun phrase clitic -g.
MAB	<i>mi</i> conjoins conceptually distinct entities or events; <i>ma</i> conjoins serialised or conceptually merged entities or events.
KAU	Also <i>u</i> .
BUA	Also <i>log, lom, lok</i> .
KIL	'with'.
TAW	<i>po</i> 'close conceptual link'; <i>ma</i> 'not so close/adversative'.
MOT	More restricted in use is <i>ma</i> . 'he tried/ wanted to drive the car' (lit 'his wish car he will drive-it').
MEK	<i>ke</i> is a postpositional conjunction, i.e. it precedes a pause. We also have <i>keke</i> . <i>mai</i> (also <i>mei</i> ) means 'and' in the sense of 'with'. NW Mekeo has <i>iaga</i> .
MAR	<i>ye</i> 'to conjoin personal names'; <i>nu</i> 'and then'.
LEW	Also <i>wari-ari, mio</i> 'with, and'.
NTA	<i>kən</i> between clauses; <i>ne</i> within phrases respectively.
KWA	Also <i>məne</i> , used to join two or more nouns; <i>mə</i> , used to join two or more nouns.
CEM	<i>kā</i> 'and'; <i>mē</i> 'with'.
XAR	<i>mē</i> links words other than prepositions; <i>nā</i> links prepositions.
KIR	<i>ao</i> 'and following', <i>ma</i> 'together with'.
MSH	Also <i>em<sup>w</sup>æc</i> .
PON	<i>ā, ap<sup>w</sup></i> 'and then'.
WLE	Also <i>mē, ye</i> .
TON	Also <i>mo</i> with nouns.
SAM	Also 'with'.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	Also juxtaposition of phrases or clauses.

## 17.520 BECAUSE

Arabic: *bi-sabab*

Sanskrit: *kāraṇa-*

ATA	<i>aḱih yi<sup>?</sup></i>	YAM	<i>ta</i>	*AKL	<i>ay</i>
TSO		ISN	<i>ta</i>	PAL	<i>sabad</i>
*RUK	<i>asiloyata</i>	KAL	<i>gapu ta</i>	MOL	[ <i>sawab</i> ]
PAI	<i>ul<sup>y</sup>a</i>	*TAG	<i>sapagka-t</i>	*KAG	<i>tak</i>

BLA	du	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> aŋu	PAA	veni
*SAB	[sabab]	IRA		*LEW	kom-ini
*MUR	da	*SAW	se	POR	ra <sup>m</sup> ba
*MGY	satria	NYI	tasah	NTA	meto in un
*ACE	[sabap]	*MAM	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> ara	*KWA	tə nari in nah
BAT	ala	*TAK	-ta-g	NEM	ai
*MIN	[karano]	DAM	nigin	CEM	bê
IND	[karəna]	*MAB	pa	AJI	wɛ
*SUN	[lantaran]	YAB		XAR	dɔb <sup>w</sup> a
JAV	awit	KAU	epo	*NEN	weno
MAD	[karana]	TOL	təgo	*KIR	p <sup>w</sup> a
*BAL	apan	BUA	in	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> e
SAS	seja <sup>ʔ</sup>	ADZ	i + causal clause	*PON	p <sup>w</sup> e
*GOR	[sababu]			*WLE	ɸ <sup>w</sup> c
DAA	[sabana]	*KIL	paila	*EFI	baleta
UMA	apa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TAW	baba-na	*WFI	ni
BUG	na[saba <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	*MOT	badi-na be	RTU	ʔe reko
*KON	ka-	*MEK	puoŋai (puo- ŋa-ai)	TON	koe <sup>ʔ</sup> uhi
*WOL	ka-apaa-ka			*SAM	ʔauā
*MAG	ai	ROV	sina	MEL	ton-lake
NGA	pu <sup>ʔ</sup> u-ŋia	*MAR	nauña	*TAH	nō te mea ē
SIK	loni-ŋ	LAU	sulia	RAP	ʔo ira
RTI	hu	KWO	suri-a		
*BUR	tu	RAG	b <sup>w</sup> atu-na be		

RUK *aī* 'because'.

TAG *kasi* enclitic particle.

AKL Also *baŋud*, *tugud*.

KAG *təŋəɬta*.

SAB Also *pagga<sup>ʔ</sup>* and *pasal*.

MUR Also [sabab]; [pasal] (*da*) from Arabic?

MGY From Malay or Javanese, ultimately from Sanskrit.

ACE Also [kurruna].

MIN Also [sabab].

SUN Javanese.

BAL (+ clause). Also *baan* + noun; [kranə].

GOR Also [karna], [karana].

KON Also *na-[saba<sup>ʔ</sup>]*.



WOL	Also [ <i>karana</i> ], <i>roonamo</i> .
MAG	Also <i>la</i> , <i>losin</i> , <i>woko</i> , <i>meseŋ</i> , <i>ʋasaŋ</i> , <i>soho</i> , <i>la<sup>n</sup>diŋ</i> etc.
BUR	Most frequent; also <i>waha-n</i> .
DOB	<i>yaʔa</i> which also means ‘to’ is used in some contexts.
SAW	Also [ <i>sabab</i> ] <i>ta</i> .
MAM	Also <i>boʔaiʔa</i> .
TAK	Clause enclitic sequence: <i>-ta-</i> reason enclitic (see 17.530); <i>-g</i> realis medial enclitic.
MAB	<i>tana</i> , <i>ta</i> , <i>tanata</i> ‘therefore’, ‘and so’ (less direct causation).
KIL	‘for’, also <i>paila uula</i> ‘for reason’.
TAW	<i>matababa-na</i> lit <i>baba</i> ‘base’, <i>mata</i> ‘eye’. Stylistic differences, interchangeable in all positions.
MOT	<i>badi</i> ‘base, cause’ (see 17.420). Also <i>dai-nai</i> ( <i>dai</i> ‘cause’).
MEK	<i>puoŋai</i> is of course a postposition. See 17.420. West Mekeo has <i>ŋemaŋa</i> ‘therefore’.
MAR	Also [ <i>eiña</i> ] from Bughotu.
LEW	Also <i>miasi</i> , <i>vano-ni</i> .
KWA	‘for thing third person singular pronoun that’.
NEN	Also <i>wenore</i> .
KIR	<i>ibukin</i> conjunction ‘because of’.
MSH	Also <i>kən</i> ‘with, concerning’; <i>kənke</i> also ‘since, as’.
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>ēki</i> ‘because of’; <i>āki</i>
WLE	Also $\Phi^{wona}$ , $\Phi^{wona}\Phi^{we}$ ; <i>yaxiř</i> .
WFI	Also <i>balesia</i> .
EFI	Also <i>ni</i> .
SAM	Also <i>ʔona</i> , <i>talū (ai)</i> .
TAH	Also <i>i te mea ē</i> .

**17.530 IF**

*ATA	<i>nišinaʔ</i>	YAM	<i>ši</i>	AKL	<i>kuŋ</i>
TSO	<i>xoçi</i>	ISN	<i>nu</i>	PAL	<i>baʔ</i>
*RUK	<i>nay</i>	KAL	<i>nu</i>	MOL	<i>soʔ</i>
PAI	<i>saka-nu</i>	TAG	<i>kon</i>	KAG	<i>daw</i>

BLA	ku	*BUR	eta	*RAG	sobe
SAB	baŋ	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> otu	PAA	munak
*MUR	[amon]	IRA		LEW	visae
MGY	raha	*SAW	iga	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>wi</sup> ᵀga
*ACE	muŋ	NYI	buku	NTA	okam <sup>w</sup> a
BAT	mɔɔ	MAM	tago-ŋe	*KWA	ka
*MIN	ḷoko?	*TAK	-ta-p	NEM	p <sup>m</sup> wane
*IND	ḷika	*DAM	ere	CEM	mêpie
SUN	lamun	*MAB	so( <sup>m</sup> be)	AJI	na ki
JAV	yen	YAB	ɛ <sup>m</sup> bɛ	*XAR	dɔu-me
*MAD	kalamun	*KAU	taku	*NEN	ma
*BAL	[yen]	*TOL	ona	*KIR	ŋkana
SAS	anden	BUA	bɛ	*MSH	ŋe
GOR	wonu	*ADZ	bi-da	PON	ma
DAA	ane	KIL	kidam <sup>w</sup> a	*WLE	ix̄
UMA	ane	*TAW	ipa	*EFI	kē
BUG	čoban-na	MOT	bema	WFI	kodaki
KON	punna	*MEK	aisama	*RTU	nōnō ka
*WOL	ne		(aiama)	TON	kapau
*MAG	eme	ROV	be	*SAM	pe <sup>ʔ</sup> ā
NGA	mali	*MAR	ḷame	*MEL	[tausia]
SIK	ra <sup>ʔ</sup> ik	LAU		*TAH	mai te mea ē
*RTI	leo	KWO	lauta	*RAP	ana

ATA Also <sup>ʔ</sup>atuna ‘if’.

RUK *nikai, loyasi, lo, sana, alayasi* ‘if’.

MUR From Malay *lamun* (obsolete); also *nu/du*.

ACE Also *ada?*, *muñɔ* from *muŋ-ñɔ*.

MIN Also *ñampaŋ*.

IND Also *kalau, bila, apabila, bilamana*.

MAD From Javanese *lamun?*

BAL Also [*yenin*] both from Old Javanese; [*lamun*] from Old Javanese?

WOL Also *ane*.

MAG Variants: *ome, omo*; also *maram, maraŋ*.

RTI Often *leo* is pronounced *lo*.

BUR ‘until, if, when’; usually no overt marker is used; *ute* ‘toward, to’; *ka-tefe-n*.

SAW Also [*čoba*] from Malay; *bo* future marker.

- TAK Clause enclitic sequence: *-ta-* reason enclitic (see 17.520); *-p* irrealis medial enclitic. For example, *iŋ y-ao-ta-p ŋai dam ŋ-ao-wa* ‘he he-go-REASON-IRREALIS MEDIAL I also I-go-FUTURE’, i.e. ‘If he goes, I shall go too’.
- DAM (following verb).
- MAB *so*<sup>(mbe)</sup> *X inako Y* ‘if X then Y’ lit ‘saying X, then Y’; *be/so X so Y* ‘if X had happened then Y would have happened’.
- KAU See 17.410.
- TOL Also *əri, ba, tumu* (north coast dialects), *gələ* irrealis marker, Mosel (1984: 113f).
- ADZ At beginning of clause.
- TAW *inapa* (irr sing); *hinapa* (irr plural) ‘possible’; *itapa* (unreal sing); *hitapa* (unreal plural) ‘impossible’.
- MEK ‘when; time when’. NW Mekeo has *goŋa*.
- MAR *ǰame* ‘if, in the event that’; *ne* (vb), *ŋa nu* ‘if (vb) then’.
- RAG Also *so*.
- KWA Also *tuk<sup>wa</sup>, ko, tuk<sup>wo</sup>, tuk<sup>w-</sup>, rəpua*.
- XAR Also *dəb<sup>wa</sup>-mε*.
- NEN Also *ŋei, kačen*.
- KIR Also ‘when (in the future)’.
- MSH Also ‘when’ (in the future); *eŋaŋŋe*.
- WLE *ixō* also ‘here, when’; *xarē* ‘or, whether, if’.
- EFI Also *kēβakā*.
- RTU Also *kepoi ka*.
- SAM Also ‘when’ with reference to the future; also *peʔāfea*.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *mai te peu ē; ʔahiri, ʔahini* ‘unreal condition’.
- RAP Also *mə*.

## 17.540 OR

Sanskrit: *atha vā*

ATA	ʔiniyaʔ	PAI		KAL	onnu
TSO		*YAM	kano	TAG	o
RUK		ISN	onu	*AKL	u

PAL	u	SIK	ko	RAG	sa
MOL	[otawa]	RTI	do	PAA	vuol
*KAG	[u]	BUR	pi	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ona
BLA	ku dīmi-n	DOB	yi	POR	
SAB	[atawa]	IRA		NTΛ	o
*MUR	nu	SAW	pari	KWA	ua
MGY	na	NYI	de	NEM	ā
*ACE	[atawa]	MAM	ʔi	CEM	āí
BAT	manəŋ	TAK	●	AJI	ra
MIN	[atau]	DAM	bc	XAR	tōi
IND	[atau]	*MAB	o	NEN	ŋei
SUN	[atawa]	YAB	mε	KIR	ke
JAV	[utəwə]	KAU	βa	MSH	ak
MAD	[utaba]	TOL	ba	PON	te
*BAL	apə	BUA	mε	*WLE	xarē
SAS	[atawə]	ADZ	ma	EFI	se
*GOR	meyalo	KIL	kaina	WFI	he
*DAA	[atau]	*TAW	bo	RTU	ne
UMA	ba	MOT	eiaβa	TON	pe
BUG	yareg-ga	*MEK	maʔe	*SAM	poʔo
KON	iareka	ROV	ba be	MEL	pe
*WOL	[atawa]	MAR	ba	*TAH	aore rā
*MAG	ko	LAU	ma	*RAP	[ʔo]
NGA	yo	KWO	ʔamoc		

YAM Also *a no*, *a beken a no* depending on context.

AKL Also *ukun*.

KAG From Spanish *o*.

MUR Also *du*, [ataw] from Malay [atau].

ACE Also [atə] Sanskrit via Malay.

BAL ‘what’, expresses ‘or’ in contrastive constructions: NP1 *apə* NP2? ‘NP1 or NP2?’; *apə* (sentence), *apə siŋ?* ‘Is (sentence) the case, or not?’.

GOR Also *meya<sup>m</sup>bo*.

DAA Indonesian [atau], also *bara*.

WOL Also [tawa].

MAG Also *kō*.

MAB Also *som*, cf. *som* ‘not’.

TAW Also oo less adversative.

MEK *maʔe* is an interrogative particle; it means ‘or; or what’ (see German *oder*). *maʔe* also means ‘after’. (See 12.010, note.)

WLE Also ‘if, whether’.

SAM Var. *pē*.

TAH Also *ʔaita rā*.

RAP From Spanish *o*. Also *ʔe*; juxtaposition.

### 17.550 YES, AFFIRMATIVE

*ATA	čubafay	UMA	ioʔ	MAR	uve
TSO	te	BUG	iyyeʔ	LAU	iuka
RUK	ono	*KON	io	KWO	kiu
PAI	uy	*WOL	ia	RAG	ue
YAM	noʔon	MAG	ēŋ	PAA	kā
ISN	oʔ	NGA	eʔe	LEW	ēē
KAL	on	*SIK	[ʔia]	POR	evo
*TAG	ōʔo	RTI	hei	NTA	ouəh
*AKL	huʔu	BUR	ehe	KWA	ouah
PAL	əʔ	DOB	ʔe	NEM	eloŋ
MOL	ohoʔ	IRA	ǰo	CEM	éā
KAG	əʔə	*SAW	ǰo	AJI	üü
BLA	haə	*NYI	ehe	XAR	ĩ
SAB	ahəʔ	MAM	e	*NEN	e
*MUR	iow	TAK	awo	KIR	eŋ
MGY	eni	*DAM	e	*MSH	āet
ACE	ño	MAB	e	*PON	ei
BAT	əlo	YAB	àeʔ	WLE	ŋō
*MIN	iyō	KAU	βai	EFI	io
IND	ya	TOL	məio	*WFI	io
*SUN	əña	BUA	ē	*RTU	ʔi
JAV	iə	ADZ	haiʔ	TON	ʔio
MAD	iya	*KIL	e	*SAM	ʔioe
*BAL	əə	TAW	ee	*MEL	[iore]
*SAS	yə	*MOT	oibe	TAH	ʔē
*GOR	ʔōʔo	*MEK	e	RAP	ʔē-ē
DAA	iyō	ROV	uve		

ATA	<i>čuβaʔay</i> ‘really, yes’, <i>ʔuwaʔ, yani</i> ‘yes’.
TAG	<i>ō-poʔ</i> honorific, PHN <i>*heʔe-</i> .
AKL	PHN <i>*heʔe</i> .
MUR	<i>iow</i> (answering a yes-no question), <i>indaʔ</i> (agreeing with a statement), <i>ba</i> (consenting to a request/suggestion), <i>ū</i> (answering a summons).
MIN	Also <i>jadi</i> .
SUN	Also ‘true, genuine, indeed’.
BAL	<i>ə</i> expresses agreement, affirms; <i>nah</i> expresses permission or approval.
SAS	Also <i>aoʔ</i> .
GOR	(Familiar). More formal/polite: <i>jō</i> (male speakers), and, for female speakers, <i>[saya]</i> (Malay <i>saya</i> , <i>sahaya</i> ‘humble servant’, from Sanskrit).
KON	<i>io</i> (familiar); <i>ieʔ</i> (honorific); <i>baʔa</i> (contradictory); <i>ia</i> (agreement).
WOL	Also <i>ie</i> , <i>u<sup>m</sup>be</i> , <i>ʔuʔu</i> .
SIK	Malay; also <i>nimu</i> .
SAW	Also <i>iya</i> .
NYI	Also <i>abo</i> .
DAM	Also <i>yo</i> .
KIL	Also exclam. <i>makawala</i> ‘So! Thus!’
MOT	<i>oibe</i> , <i>io</i> both common. <i>oibe</i> is probably <i>oi be</i> ‘you are (correct)’.
MEK	<i>e</i> is the affirmative; <i>o</i> means ‘yes, I’m here, this way’ (i.e. giving directions to an unseen person looking for speaker).
NEN	Also <i>egewa</i> .
MSH	Also <i>yij, ijŋæ</i> .
PON	<i>ēŋ + iej</i> (for negative question).
WFI	Also <i>ia</i> .
RTU	Also <i>ʔō</i> .
SAM	Var. <i>ʔī</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 17.560 NO, NEGATIVE

ATA	<i>ʔi-kaʔ</i>	PAI	<i>ini</i>	*KAL	<i>bokon</i>
TSO	<i>ʔoa</i>	*YAM	<i>bəkən</i>	TAG	<i>hindiʔ</i>
RUK	<i>ini</i>	ISN	<i>akkan</i>	*AKL	<i>indiʔ</i>

*PAL	diki	SIK	e <sup>o</sup> -ŋ	RAG	siyai
MOL	indi <sup>?</sup> koy	RTI	ta	PAA	vuol
*KAG	u'la <sup>?</sup>	*BUR	moo	*LEW	pere
BLA	lo <sup>?</sup>	*DOB	na <sup>?</sup> u'da	POR	em <sup>w</sup> e
*SAB	iŋga <sup>?</sup> i	IRA	te	NTA	kap <sup>w</sup> a
*MUR	kalo	*SAW	pa	KWA	rekəm
MGY	ɕia	NYI	b <sup>w</sup> e	NEM	koi
*ACE	kən	MAM	tago	*CEM	oho
BAT	daŋ	*TAK	tia-i	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> a
MIN	inda <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	sã	XAR	ɕie
*IND	tidak	MAB	som	NEN	deko
*SUN	hənti	*YAB	masi	*KIR	aki
JAV	ora	KAU	aβu	*MSH	ēap <sup>w</sup>
*MAD	əñja <sup>?</sup>	TOL	pətə	*PON	sō
*BAL	siŋ	BUA	ma	*WLE	yēɕ <sup>w</sup> e
SAS	ənde <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	i-ma <sup>?</sup>	EFI	seŋa
*GOR	de <sup>?</sup> e	KIL	gala	*WFI	sikai
DAA	da <sup>?</sup> a	*TAW	eega	RTU	ʔiŋka <sup>?</sup> i
UMA	uma	MOT	lasi	TON	ʔikai
BUG	de <sup>?</sup>	*MEK	laai	SAM	leai
KON	anre <sup>?</sup>	ROV	lokari	MEL	sāi
*WOL	i <sup>n</sup> da	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>?</sup> o	*TAH	ʔaita
MAG	toe	*LAU	laŋi go	*RAP	ʔina
NGA	ɕa <sup>?</sup> i	KWO	ʔamoe		

YAM Also *ji*, *ta*.

KAL Also *adi*.

AKL *indi<sup>?</sup>* 'will not'; Proto-Philippines *\*he(n)di<sup>?</sup>*; *bukun* negator of a noun or adj.

PAL Also *kay*.

KAG *u'la<sup>?</sup>* used with present/past verbs; *dili* used with future/command verbs.

SAB Other negatives are *insa<sup>?</sup>* 'no, none' and *duma<sup>?</sup>in* 'not so'.

MUR *kalo* 'no, not (negating a verb or adjective)'; *sala<sup>?</sup>* 'no'; *sala<sup>?</sup> ka* 'not (negating a noun)'; *pai<sup>?</sup>* 'do not (negating an imperative verb)'; *ko(l)ondo<sup>?</sup>* 'there is/are not (negating the existence of a noun)'; *kalio* 'is/are not present'.

ACE Also *hān* 'not'.

- IND Standard negation i.e. negating the proposition. Also *bukan* negating nominal, *belum* 'not yet'.
- SUN Also *lain*.
- MAD Also *ta?*, cf. 14.340 'never'.
- BAL *tusiŋ* an emphatic form of *siŋ*, occurs before both verbal (inc. adjectives) and nominal predicates; *tuarə, tərə* typically before verbal predicates; *doŋ (ǰə)* before nominal predicates; *tidoŋ* (emphatic form of *doŋ*; in some areas eg parts of Klungkung, modifies verbs?); there is regional variation in the way individual forms are used.
- GOR *deh* (familiar) (no). Formal/polite: *dīla, diya, jā*.
- WOL Also *i<sup>n</sup>daa*.
- BUR Also *mahede, mohede* 'not yet'; *mele* (negative adverbialiser) 'so that you don't'; *bara* 'don't (imperative)'.
- DOB Often abbreviated to *nda*.
- SAW Standard negation i.e. negating the proposition or a nominal. Also *tise* 'no' standing alone; *tise lesu* 'not yet'.
- TAK See 13.000.
- DAM Also means 'not' as a general negation, e.g. *i-ro-ya sa* 'does not speak', see *to* 'in' *to i-ro-n* 'he did not speak'.
- YAB 'not exist' (negation of nouns); *atəm* 'not' (negation of predicates).
- TAW *eeɡa* absolute; *ega* in sentence.
- MEK *laai* is both 'no' and, after a verb, 'not'. It is also the existential negator: 'there is not'. The other dialects have *aibaia* (NW Mekeo *aibaea*); a case where predictable consonantal intrusion in the environment /i\_a is still only incipient.
- LAU Also *laŋinago*.
- LEW Also disjunctive form *pe...re...poli*.
- CEM Also *b<sup>w</sup>a*.
- KIR *aki* verb negator, 'not'; *e aki no!* sentential negative; *tiaki* noun phrase negator; *akea* existential negative.
- MSH Sentential negative as is *cap<sup>w</sup>*; *cap<sup>w</sup>* verb negator; *p<sup>w</sup>an* future negative.
- PON *sō* sentential negative; *sōte* verbal and existential negative; *kaitēn* noun phrase negator.
- WLE *yēϕ<sup>w</sup>e* sentential negative; *tai* verb negator, alternate *ta-*; *tewai* verb negator 'not'; *e aki!* 'no!', sentential negative.



WFI Also *hukai*.

TAH *eʔita* (imperfective); *ʔeiaha* (nominal); *ʔaore, eʔore* arch.

RAP Also *kai*; (*e*) *ko*; *taʔe*.

### 17.610 HOW?

*ATA	mahananuʔ	BUG	pek-kugi	MAR	faneha
TSO	mai-nenu	KON	anteʔ-pakua	LAU	ʔutā
*RUK	tomanə	WOL	tua apa	KWO	ʔūtā
PAI	k-əm-uda	MAG	čoʔo	RAG	hani-ʔi
YAM	ikoʔo	NGA	moe-dee	PAA	mukave
ISN	mapāna	SIK	ganupae	LEW	senape
KAL	kamaʔān	RTI	leo (lō) be	POR	eʔge <sup>m</sup> be
TAG	pa-ʔāno	*BUR	gam doo	NTA	tahrol
AKL	maʔunuh	*DOB	naŋa-'ba	*KWA	-əʔa
PAL	anukwan	IRA	nanə	NEM	wēbē
MOL	kopopoʔnu	SAW	fawa	CEM	wāte
*KAG	inu paʔagi	NYI	buku sah	AJI	tāi
BLA	tan i k-iboʔ	MAM	baituʔa	XAR	xaipe
SAB	saingahan	*TAK	dugo	NEN	koiwan(e)
*MUR	ati kulān	DAM	naig	*KIR	kaŋā
MGY	ahuana	MAB	be padei	*MSH	ekæckan
ACE	pa-kri	*YAB	a <sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> aʔ ə <sup>n</sup> dəʔ	*PON	ia tuwen
BAT	bē'ha	*KAU	tua	WLE	
MIN	ba-a	*TOL	dave	*EFI	βāeβei
IND	bagai-mana	BUA	nəbɛ təna	*WFI	kuʔa
SUN	kumaha	ADZ	bi-da anu <sup>ʔ</sup>	RTU	tapene
JAV	kəprie	*KIL	am-	TON	fēfē
MAD	dəʔrəmmaʔ		makawala	SAM	faʔapēfea
*BAL	kenken	*TAW	iyowai	MEL	pēfea
*SAS	brəmbe	*MOT	ede-heto	*TAH	nāfea
GOR	wolōlo		ede....toma	RAP	pe hē
·DAA	ivenu	*MEK	alā koā		
UMA	beiβa	ROV	veyua		

ATA Also *humičuaʔ*.

RUK *tomanə* 'how (non-future)', *ai-tomanə* 'how (future)ʔ'.

KAG 'what way'.

MUR	Also <i>ati koson</i> .
BAL	See also 17.630.
SAS	<i>bər-əmbe?</i> See <i>əmbe</i> (17.670). Teeuw: <i>brəmbe; ģumbe, kumbe</i> .
BUR	‘to where?’
DOB	A compound verb made up of <i>naġay</i> , a verb used as an auxiliary to indicate intentional or directional aspect, and <i>ba</i> , the question marker.
TAK	‘where?’; ‘how?’ (see 17.660).
YAB	‘like which?’
KAU	Also <i>tuni</i> .
TOL	Also <i>biva, divə</i> .
KIL	‘query-this’.
TAW	Dialect <i>iyowaka</i> .
MOT	Eastern Motu <i>eda</i> . Western Motu <i>ede</i> in this and related forms e.g. 17.650, 17.670. The Western Motu forms are given as they are now more common even in Eastern Motu.
MEK	‘what like’ – there is no single word for ‘how’. <i>alā koā</i> goes to <i>ā koā</i> , <i>ā goā</i> in North Mekeo and West Mekeo. NW Mekeo has <i>gai...oma?</i> ‘manner...meaning?’
KWA	‘interrogative prefix be in motion/proceed’.
KIR	<i>kaġā</i> ‘do in what manner’; <i>irana</i> ‘treat in what way’; <i>uara</i> ‘be in what condition’.
MSH	Construct possessive form; <i>wæwēn</i> CON; lit ‘form of’; <i>ia</i> also ‘where’
PON	‘what is the condition of’; also <i>tātuwe, tākoġ tuwe</i> ‘what condition’.
EFI	Also <i>βakaḏaβa</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βa-ḏā</i> .
TAH	Also <i>mai te aha</i>

### 17.620 HOW MANY?

ATA	piya?	KAL	piga	BLA	fili
TSO	pio	TAG	ilan	SAB	pila
RUK	pia	*AKL	pilah	*MUR	kula?
PAI	pida	PAL	sanu	*MGY	firi
YAM	apiza	MOL	pida	ACE	pa-dum
ISN	piga	KAG	pila bu'uk	BAT	piga

*MIN	barapo	NYI	sabe	LEW	via
IND	bərapa	MAM	ira	POR	evis
SUN	sabaraha	TAK	sapita	NTA	kuβəh
JAV	pirə	DAM	gani	KWA	kewa
MAD	barampa	MAB	pīzi	NEM	nēn
*BAL	kudə	YAB	te <sup>n</sup> də?	CEM	nî
*SAS	pirə loə?	*KAU	kout elini	AJI	kaniwī
GOR	ŋōlo	TOL	iviə	XAR	banī
DAA	sakuya	BUA	βa la	*NEN	hael
UMA	ha <sup>u</sup> kuja	ADZ	ibi anu <sup>u</sup> ?	*KIR	iraua
BUG	si-aga	KIL	classifer + -	MSH	cete
KON	si-kura		βila	PON	tepe
*WOL	pia	*TAW	wabihaga	*WLE	fita-uwa
MAG	pisa	MOT	hida	EFI	βiða
NGA	piza	MEK	pika	WFI	βiða
SIK	pira	ROV	kavisa	RTU	hisi
*RTI	ba <sup>u</sup> be	MAR	niha	TON	fiha
BUR	pila	*LAU	fita si dō	SAM	fia
*DOB	?a-yira	KWO	fita	MEL	fia
IRA	ña	RAG	γai-viha	*TAH	ehia
*SAW	pε-fis	PAA	ehis	RAP	e hia

AKL Quantity or cost; PAN *\*pijah*.

MUR Also *in̄kula?* ‘how many times?’.

MGY From PMP *\*pija*.

MIN Also *bara*.

BAL *a-kudə* post-nominally e.g. *sampi a-kudə?* ‘how many cows?’; *kuda-ŋ* when occurring before the thing counted *kuda-ŋ bulan* ‘how many months?’.

SAS See 13.150.

WOL Also *sa-opea*.

RTI Also *deu be hida*.

DOB With inanimate nouns: *yira*.

SAW Also *aben fis*; *sε-fis*.

KAU Also *kot esini*.

TAW Dialect *ibihaga*.

LAU Also *oro ?utā*.

NEN Also *xarael*.

KIR Numeral.

WLE Numeral.

TAH ?*ahia* (inceptive).

### 17.630 HOW MUCH?

ATA	piya?	UMA	ka <sup>o</sup> kuja	MAR	niha
*TSO	su-pzoi	BUG	si-aga	LAU	fita dō
RUK	pia	KON	si-kura	KWO	fita
PAI	pida	WOL	sa-opea	RAG	
YAM	apiža	*MAG	čapa	PAA	chis
ISN	piga	NGA	se-apa	LEW	via
KAL	piga	SIK	pira ko pira	POR	evis
*TAG	magkāno	RTI	hida	NTA	kuβəh
*AKL	man <sup>?</sup> uh	BUR	pila	KWA	kewa
PAL	sanu	*DOB	ray-'ba	NEM	nən
MOL	pida	IRA		CEM	nîŋ
KAG	pila	*SAW	pəlo-o fawa	ΛJI	kaniwī
BLA	tani ka-lboŋ-	NYI	sabe	XAR	banĩ
	an	*MAM	ira	NEN	hael
*SAB	pila sīn	*TAK	sapita	KIR	iraua
MUR	kula?	■AM	gani	MSII	ɛwi
*MGY	huaŋ <sup>ʔ</sup> -inuna	MAB	pīzi	PON	tepe
ACE	pa-dum	*YAB	te <sup>h</sup> dō?	WLE	fita-uwa
*BAT	sadia (godan)	KAU	kout elini	EFI	βiða
*MIN	barapo	TOL	iviə	WFI	βiða
IND	bərapa	BUA	βa la	RTU	hisi
SUN	sabaraha	ADZ	ibi anu <sup>o?</sup>	TON	fīha
JAV	piro	*KIL	classifier + -	SAM	fia
MAD	barampa		βila	MEL	fia
*BAL	kudə	*TAW	wabihaga	*TAH	ehia
SAS	pirə	MOT	hida	RAP	e hia
GOR	ŋōlo	MEK	pika		
■AA	sakuya	ROV	kavisa		

TSO 'how much (price)?'.

TAG Also *ga-?ano*.

AKL	‘to what degree?’
SAB	<i>pila sīn</i> means ‘how much is the price?’; for other than price, use <i>pila</i> .
MGY	<i>huaŋtra</i> ‘equal, like’.
BAT	<i>sadia godaŋ</i> quantity; <i>sadia</i> price.
MIN	Also <i>bara</i> .
BAL	See 17.620; also the ‘comparatives’ <i>amun-apə</i> , <i>amun-ken</i> (see 17.610), <i>amun-əñčən</i> ‘as big as what?’: from <i>amun-</i> ‘as much as/as big as’, plus <i>apə</i> ‘what’, ( <i>əŋ</i> ) <i>ken</i> , <i>əñčən</i> ‘which’. Forms using <i>amun-</i> are often used in contexts where ‘how much?’ is used in English.
MAG	French <i>combien</i> = <i>coʔo</i> ; but <i>capa-y leve-n</i> means ‘quelle est sa longueur’.
DOB	Made up of <i>ray</i> ‘size’ and <i>ba</i> , the question marker.
SAW	‘how big’.
MAM	Also <i>labatiʔa-baituʔa</i> .
TAK	See 17.620.
YAB	Also ‘how many’.
KIL	Also <i>mokai-la</i> ‘its weight’.
TAW	Dialect <i>ibihaga</i> .
TAH	<i>ʔahia</i> (inceptive).

## 17.640 WHAT?

ATA	<i>nanu-an</i>	MGY	<i>inuna</i>	WOL	<i>opea</i>
TSO	<i>ʒuma</i>	*ACE	<i>puə</i>	MAG	<i>apa</i>
RUK	<i>manəmanə</i>	BAT	<i>aha</i>	NGA	<i>apa</i>
PAI	<i>a-nəma</i>	*MIN	<i>apə</i>	*SIK	[ <i>apa</i> ]
YAM	<i>ikoŋo</i>	IND	<i>apa</i>	*RTI	<i>be</i>
ISN	<i>inna</i>	SUN	<i>naon</i>	*BUR	<i>sapa-n</i>
KAL	<i>ŋādan nat</i>	JAV	<i>ɔpɔ</i>	DOB	<i>ya</i>
*TAG	<i>anə</i>	MAD	<i>apa</i>	*IRA	<i>ña</i>
*AKL	<i>anuh</i>	BAL	<i>apə</i>	SAW	<i>sɔi</i>
PAL	<i>anu</i>	SAS	<i>apə</i>	*NYI	<i>saba lakou</i>
MOL	<i>onu</i>	GOR	<i>wolo</i>	MAM	<i>raʔana</i>
KAG	<i>anu</i>	DAA	<i>nuapa</i>	TAK	<i>ata</i>
BLA	<i>tan</i>	UMA	<i>napa</i>	*DAM	<i>ere</i>
SAB	<i>aiyan</i>	BUG	<i>agga</i>	*MAB	<i>sokorei</i>
MUR	<i>atan</i>	KON	<i>apa</i>	*YAB	<i>asa-gəŋ</i>

KAU	ele	KWO	tā	*KIR	terā
TOL	āvə	*RAG	hano	*MSH	ta-et
BUA	βa	PAA	asa	*PON	tā
*ADZ	namidzuwai	LEW	ya(ra)	*WLE	mettō
KIL	aβaka	POR	nisava	EFI	ðaβa
TAW	awai	NTA	naka	WFI	ðā
MOT	dahaka	KWA	nəʔe	RTU	tese
*MEK	kapa-ʔina (kapa-ina)	NEM	ta	TON	hā
*ROV	sa	CEM	dê	SAM	ā
MAR	uŋa	AJI	jiʌ	MEL	afa
LAU	tā	XAR	jōpe	*TAH	eaha
		NEN	ŋe	RAP	he aha

TAG PHN \*anuh ‘whatchamacallit?’.

AKL Also *nānuh*, PMP \*anuh ‘whatchamacallit?’.

ACE Dialect *puə*.

MIN Also *a*.

SIK From Malay.

RTI Also *lo be*.

BUR Verbal ‘what’s he doing?’; also *teni-k*, nominal ‘what kind, which one?’.

IRA *ñā fadāñe* ‘what is it?’.

NYI Also *sasah*.

DAM (before noun or verb).

MAB *sokerei* ‘what thing’; *so* ‘what activity’.

YAB Also *à-gεŋ, ŋa-à-gεŋ*.

ADZ *namidzuwai* ‘what thing’; *i-mantun* ‘what was just said’.

MEK *kapa-ʔina* is an extended form of *kapa*, which can mean ‘do; make; thing’. The glottal stop is intrusive. North Mekeo and West Mekeo have *ga-gaba* while NW Mekeo has *gaba-ŋu* ‘what?’.

ROV Also *nasa*.

RAG Also *havanau*.

KIR Also *aera*.

MSH Also *cikət* ‘do what’.

PON Also *tāme+tākot; tākei; tāŋe*.

WLE Also *ifō, ka-fa*.

TAH Also *te aha*.

**17.650 WHEN?**

ATA	ʔi-kanuwan	UMA	<sup>n</sup> toʔuma	*ROV	totoso sa
TSO	xomna	BUG	ma-ganna	MAR	niha
*RUK	ko-iganə	*KON	si-kura-ya	*LAU	aŋita
PAI	nuŋida	*WOL	naipia	KWO	nānita
*YAM	ʃi maŋo	*MAG	dū nia	*RAG	batenhano
ISN	nūŋay na	NGA	vəŋi	PAA	neŋais
KAL	kapiga	*SIK	nora pae	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> oŋi-wai
TAG	kaʔilan	RTI	fai hida-k	POR	ŋais
*AKL	kanʔuh	*BUR	pila saa	*NTA	naŋhan
PAL	ŋiran	DOB	ʔiba'ren	*KWA	nesən
MOL	kidan	IRA	gonə ŋa	NEM	t <sup>n</sup> ēn
KAG	kanʔu	*SAW	ŋanɛ fīs	CEM	ē-nît
BLA	kilən	NYI	saba len	AJI	ānī
SAB	sumilan	MAM	aira	XAR	anī
MUR	saŋgilan	TAK	saŋepna	NEN	oɔael
MGY	uviana	DAM	ere sain	KIR	nniŋai
ACE	pa-ŋan	MAB	ŋīzi	*MSH	ŋe
*BAT	addigan	*YAB	ge-deŋ ɔ <sup>n</sup> dəʔ	PON	iāt
*MIN	bilo	*KAU	to pi elini	WLE	ilēte
IND	kapan	TOL	viŋaiə	EFI	naiða
SUN	iraha	BUA	naŋerək	WFI	ŋiða
JAV	kapan	*ADZ	gubuʔ	RTU	kisi
MAD	bila		idzuwai	*TON	ʔafē
*BAL	pidan	*KIL	aβai tuta	*SAM	āfea
SAS	pīran	TAW	meyanai	*MEL	āfea
*GOR	ʔomo-ʔomolu	*MOT	ede-na-nega-i	*TAH	ʔāfea
DAA	nepia	MEK	ŋaika	RAP	a hē

RUK *ko-iganə* ‘when (non-future)’, *lo-iganə* ‘when (future)’.

YAM *ʃi maŋi* future; *no kaŋo* past.

AKL *kanʔuh* past; *hinʔunuh* future.

BAT *addigan* (future); *naddigan* (past).

MIN Also *pabilo* (\**apa* + *bila*).

BAL Also *buin pidan*, *biin pidan* ‘when (in the future)?’. *i pidan* ‘when (in the past)?’, see *pidə* ‘a long time’.

GOR (past); *ʔomolu-wa* (future).

KON *si-kura-ya* (future); *si-kura-nna*, *ri-ŋura-nna* (*kura*) (past).

WOL	Also <i>pia-mo</i> .
MAG	Also <i>lete nia</i> .
SIK	Also <i>nora ləro-ŋ pae, nora [oras] pae</i> Portuguese.
BUR	'how many ones?'. Also <i>beto-n pila</i> 'how many days = when?'
SAW	'which day'.
YAB	'it-move.towards where?'. Imaginative: <i>e-<sup>n</sup>deŋ ɔ<sup>n</sup>dɔ?</i>
KAU	'at time how-much'.
ADZ	'day what'.
KIL	'which time'.
MOT	Also a shorter form <i>edenegai</i> . <i>ede-na</i> 'which', <i>nega</i> 'time', <i>-(a)i</i> 'at'.
ROV	Also <i>sipu</i> .
LAU	Also <i>maŋa, kada</i> .
RAG	Also <i>la mahavana be</i> .
LEW	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>oŋi-ya</i> .
NTA	<i>naŋhan</i> past; <i>onaŋhan</i> future.
KWA	Also <i>tə nesən</i> 'when (in future)'.
MSH	Also <i>ŋǣt</i> .
TON	<i>?afē</i> future; <i>?anefē</i> past.
SAM	With future reference; with past reference: <i>ana-fea</i> .
MEL	Also <i>nafea</i> .
TAH	<i>i nāfea ra</i> (past).

### 17.660 WHERE?

ATA	?inu?	*KAG	indi	*MAD	i-ḍimma
TSO	nenu	BLA	tani?	*BAL	diḷə
RUK	ino	SAB	maŋgahan	*SAS	le? əmbe
PAI	i-nuan	MUR	ati	*GOR	to ?u tōnu
YAM	ḍo anḷin	MGY	aiza	DAA	ri u <sup>m</sup> ba
ISN	ka wa?na	ACE	pat	UMA	hiapa
KAL	kawad	BAT	di-dia	BUG	kēgi
TAG	sa?an	MIN	di ma	*KON	ante?
AKL	si?in	IND	di mana	*WOL	iapai
PAL	ɔmbɔ	SUN	di mana	MAG	nia
*MOL	imbo	JAV	(ŋ-)əndi	NGA	vi-dee



SIK	ʔəpae	*KIL	am-baisa	CEM	wè
RTI	nai be	TAW	meka	*AJI	rɔ-wɛ
*BUR	fi doo	*MOT	ede-seni	XAR	xai
*DOB	ba	MEK	kapai	NEN	ʃewe
IRA	nɛnɔ		(kapa-ai)	*KIR	iā
*SAW	pua	ROV	pavei	*MSH	ɛwi
NYI	udu heh	MAR	heva	*PON	iawasa
MAM	inaŋa	LAU	ifai	*WLE	īyā
*TAK	dugo	KWO	i fai	EFI	βei
*DAM	nain	*RAG	behe	WFI	βei
MAB	sugoi~swoi	PAA	kave	RTU	tei
YAB	ɔʔdɔʔ	LEW	pe	TON	fē
KAU	kopit a	POR	a <sup>m</sup> be	SAM	fea
*TOL	əkave	NTA	hia	MEL	fea
BUA	təna	*KWA	paku	*TAH	i hea
ADZ	anu <sup>ʔ</sup>	NEM	ve	RAP	ʔi hē

MOL Also *ombo*.

KAG Also *indya*.

MAD *i-*, 'locative'.

BAL 'at where'; also *kijə* 'to where'.

SAS *leʔ* 'locative preposition'.

GOR (locational). *ʔode ʔu tōnu* (of direction/destination).

KON Also *antereʔ*.

WOL Also *pai*.

BUR 'at where?'; Rana and Lisela *fə doo*.

DOB When used with a locative or directional verb, the question marker *ba* means 'where?'.

SAW Also *po sɔi lo*.

TAK 'where?', 'how?' (see 17.610).

DAM Also *nari* 'from where'.

TOL *əkave* 'where?' (location of entities)', *ave* 'where?' (location of actions)', *uve* 'where?' (direction of movements)' (Mosel 1982: 122f).

KIL 'query-this'.

MOT Also Eastern Motu *edaiseni*. *-seni* occurs in other place words: *iniseni* ‘here’, *eneseni* ‘there (near person addressed)’, *unuseni* ‘there (away from person addressed)’.

RAG Also *hala-behe*.

KWA Also *isa*.

AJI Also *tɔwɛ*.

KIR Also *īa, nakea, ŋā*.

MSH Also *ia*.

PON Also *iāŋe+ia* ‘where, which’.

WLE Also *ifō, kafō, ikafō, fō*.

TAH Also *tei hea* (present).

## 17.670 WHICH?

ATA	yaku? ?ainu?	BAL	əñčɛn	TOL	nuve
TSO	nenu	SAS	əmbɛ	*BUA	re
RUK	amanikino	GOR	tōnu	ADZ	wai a wai
PAI	i-nuan	DAA	ri u <sup>m</sup> ba	*KIL	am-ma-
YAM	wajin ɗaŋ	UMA	to <sup>ʔ</sup> uma		(classifier)-na
ISN	inna kadayān	BUG	tegae	TAW	awai
KAL	ŋādan nat	KON	antere-a	MOT	ede-na
TAG	alin	*WOL	opea	*MEK	ala-?ina (ala-
AKL	alin	MAG	apa		ina)
PAL	ɔmbɔ	NGA	dena	ROV	avei
MOL	onu	SIK	ha pae	MAR	uŋa
KAG	inu	RTI	<sup>n</sup> de be-k	LAU	dō tā
BLA	ni?	*BUR	teni-k	KWO	ŋai tā
SAB	maingahan	*DOB	ba	*RAG	kebe
*MUR	ati	IRA	ɸadə nɛnɔ	PAA	kave
MGY	iza	SAW	ta i pua	LEW	nenape
ACE	təh	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a heh	POR	xi <sup>m</sup> bi
BAT	na-dia	MAM	naŋata	NTA	pahruən
MIN	nan ma	TAK	dugomai	*KWA	nəɸe
IND	yaŋ mana	DAM	ereb	NEM	ta
*SUN	(nu) mana	MAB	i <sup>n</sup> goi	CEM	
JAV	əndi	*YAB	geŋ ɔ <sup>n</sup> dɔ?	*AJI	jiɬ
MAD	si kəmma	KAU	tin akani	XAR	ai

NEN	ŋeŋo	*EFI	βei	MEL	fea
KIR	te...rā	WFI	i βei	TAH	teihea
*MSH	ta	RTU	tese	RAP	ko hē
*PON	mēnia	TON	fē		
*WLE	ifō	SAM	lēfea		

MUR Also *atok*.

SUN *nu* ‘relativiser, complementiser’.

WOL Also *iapai*.

BUR See note for 17.640.

DOB When used directly after a noun, the question marker *ba* means ‘which?’, thus: *k<sup>w</sup>alar ba* ‘which house?’.

YAB ‘thing where?’.

BUA *re* ‘who, which’; *təna* ‘where, which’.

KIL ‘query-that-(classifier)’. *am-* is prefixed to the deictic *ma-CL-na*, the classifier specifying the reference of the speaker, viz., *am-ma-kai-na* ‘which (tree)?’; *am-ma-gulo-na* ‘which (heap)?’; *am-ma-gudi-na* ‘which (child)?’; etc.

MEK *ala-ʔina* goes to *kapā*, *gabā* in the other dialects. The glottal stop is intrusive.

RAG Also *yabe*.

KWA Also *paku, isa*.

AJI Also *ɔ jɪl*.

MSH Also *me*.

PON Also *ia*.

WLE Also *kafō, fō, ikafō*.

EFI Also *ḏaβa*.

## 17.680 WHO?

ATA	ʔimaʔ	KAL	ŋādan	BLA	sinto
TSO	sia	*TAG	sīno	SAB	saiyan
RUK	anəanə	AKL	sinʔuh	MUR	oşoy
PAI	tima	PAL	sinu	MGY	iza
YAM	şino	MOL	kosi	ACE	səə
ISN	inna	KAG	kinu	BAT	ise

*MIN	si-apo	NYI	are	POR	xase
IND	siapa	MAM	naita	NTA	pah
SUN	saha	TAK	inti	*KWA	si
JAV	səpɔ	*DAM	ai-m	NEM	rhūde
*MAD	[sapa]	*MAB	asiŋ	CEM	wó
BAL	ñen	YAB	asa	AJI	jae
SAS	sai	*KAU	ate	*XAR	yāpe
GOR	tā tōnu	TOL	īə	NEN	la
DAA	sema	BUA	re	*KIR	antai
UMA	hema	*ADZ	wan igi	*MSH	me
BUG	iga	KIL	aβaila	*PON	īs
KON	(i)nai	*TAW	iyai?	WLE	iteii
WOL	i <sup>n̄</sup> čema	*MOT	daika	EFI	ðei
MAG	čei(ŋ)	MEK	kai	WFI	ðei
NGA	sei	ROV	esei	*RTU	sei
SIK	hai	MAR	hei	TON	hai
RTI	se	LAU	tei	SAM	ai
BUR	sane	KWO	(ni) dai	MEL	kuai
*DOB	ba-ni	RAG	ihei	*TAH	?o vai
IRA	gata	PAA	isei	RAP	ko ai
SAW	pai	LEW	a(i)		

TAG Proto-Philippines *\*si-anuh*.

MIN Also *sia*.

MAD Javanese?

DOB When used with an animate third person agreement, suffix, singular *-ni*, and plural *-di*, the question marker *ba* means ‘who?’ It would also mean ‘which’ when referring to a non-human noun which is classified as animate in Dobel.

DAM Also *ai* for a stative question.

MAB *asiŋ* singular; *ziŋoi* plural.

KAU Also *ata*.

ADZ Also *maŋan*.

TAW *iyai* (sing); *iyawoi* (plural).

MOT Pl. *dai-dia*.

KWA Also *səməmi* dual; *səme* trial; *səməmīrahar* plural.

XAR Also *yāmū* more respectful form.

KIR Also *nanta*.

MSH Also *wan*.PON Also *isiŋe*.RTU Also *seia*.TAH *nā vai* (emphatic actor).**17.690 WHY?**

ATA	mi-čuwa?	BUG	magai	*MEK	kapa puo
*TSO	ɕuma na kua	KON	aŋ-ŋura (kura)	ROV	naveyoa
*RUK	asī			MAR	neha?
PAI		*WOL	apokia	LAU	?utā
YAM	ikoŋo	MAG	apa raŋan	*KWO	tofu-na tā
ISN	tanna	NGA	da-moe-dee	RAG	huri-hano
KAL	āpay	SIK	loni-ŋ apa	PAA	vensa
TAG	bākit	RTI	hu hata	*LEW	miasi ya
*AKL	ham?an	*BUR	em-kua	POR	ra <sup>m</sup> banisava
PAL	manu	*DOB	ya?a ya	NTA	o naka
MOL	mino?nu	IRA	nano	*KWA	rəfo
*KAG	man?u	SAW	pe soi se	NEM	ai p <sup>m</sup> wā
*BLA	kan	NYI	tasah	CEM	kónāte
SAB	aŋayan	MAM	ba?ara?a	*AJI	ki-ye
*MUR	kua	TAK	intao	XAR	wije
*MGY	nahuana	DAM	ere nigin	*NEN	se ŋe
ACE	pa-kon	*MAB	paso	*KIR	aera
BAT	bɔasa	*YAB	(k)e-tu àgeŋ- ŋa	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> e
*MIN	maŋa			*PON	mēnta
*IND	məŋapa	*KAU	epo ele	WLE	ɕ <sup>w</sup> amē
*SUN	naha	TOL	dāve	*EFI	baleta
*JAV	ŋ-ɔpɔ	BUA	in βa	WFI	balesia
MAD	arapa	ADZ	i-bi anu <sup>ɔ?</sup> da	*RTU	la tes(e)
BAL	ŋudə	*KIL	aβaka paila	TON	hā
SAS	kembe?	*TAW	awai	*SAM	?ai-se-ā
*GOR	moŋola		binei/ubeina?	MEL	kua
DAA	nokuya	*MOT	badi-na	*TAH	no te aha
*UMA	mo-apa		dahaka	RAP	mo aha

TSO ‘what is the reason...?’.

RUK *ki-a-tomanə* ‘why’ < *tomanə* ‘how’.

- AKL Also *pamʔan*; *kuwan* ‘whatchamacallit’; Proto-Philippines \**kua(n)*.
- KAG Also *manʔu tak*.
- BLA *tan i duanan* ‘for what reason’.
- MUR Also *atan/sabab* (see 17.520).
- MGY Used with reference to past events.
- MIN Also *manapo, baapo*.
- IND Also *kənapa*.
- SUN Also introduces a ‘yes-no’ question.
- IAV Also *kənaŋ əpə*.
- GOR (present/future); (*yi*)*loŋola* (past).
- UMA Also *napa paiʔ*.
- WOL Also *pokia*.
- BUR Also *la sapa-nʔ* ‘for what purpose (did he do it)?’.
- DOB ‘to what?’.
- MAB *paso* less polite ‘what for’; *padei ta* ‘how is it that ...’.
- YAB ‘it-become what-from’.
- KAU ‘reason what’.
- KIL *aβakapaila* ‘what for’, *aβakauula* ‘what reason’.
- TAW *awai binei/ubeina* (sing); *awai bihiyei/ubeihi* (plural).
- MOT Two expressions are in common use. *badi-na dahaka* ‘what (is) the reason’; *dahaka dainai* ‘because of what’ (see 17.520, 640).
- MEK *kapa puo* corresponds to *ga-gaba buo* in North Mekeo and West Mekeo. See 17.640. NW Mekeo has *gaba-ŋu buo*, *gaba-ŋu gai-na-ai* and *ŋomegaba-ŋu*.
- KWO ‘because of what?’; also *ʔē fēʔua*.
- LEW Also *komini ya, vano-ni ya*.
- KWA *rəp̄o* ‘third person singular prefix interrogative prefix’ + ‘do/make’; *tənəp̄e* ‘for what’.
- AJI Also *xi-ye*.
- NEN Also *θu ŋe*.
- KIR Also *terā bukin*.
- MSH Also *tawinin, enta, etke*.
- PON Also *tāme-ki*.
- EFI Also *ḏaβa....kina*.
- RTU Also *ʔe reko tes(e)*.

SAM ?ai 'from', se unspecific ART sg, ā 'what' (17.640).

TAH Also *eaha ... ai; eaha te tumu ... ai*.

## 18.110 VOICE

Sanskrit: *svara-*

ATA	hanāṅ	UMA	libu?	MAR	
TSO		BUG	sadda	LAU	liṅena
RUK	liṅaw	KON	[sa?ra]	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> ala-na
*PAI	zaiṅ	*WOL	oni	RAG	silo-
YAM	irirak	MAG	rəvəṅ	*PAA	hirēk
ISN	alaṅā?ag	NGA	səzu	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu-ṅo-na
KAL	gīṅa	SIK	li?ar	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> aen
*TAG	tīnig	RTI	hala-k	NTA	nəki-n
*AKL	līmug	*BUR	lie-n	*KWA	rerī-
*PAL	baba?	*DOB	lar-m	*NEM	gē-n falik
MOL	[suara?]	IRA	ro	CEM	pāti-n
KAG	kagi	SAW	gli	AJI	mēṛē rē
*BLA	bkakəṅ	NYI	ṅaro bəhon	XAR	gū-xa
SAB	[suwala]	MAM	maloṅa	NEN	laneṅoč
MUR	bolos	*TAK	kilagu-n	KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> anā
MGY	feu	*DAM	ait	MSH	ainikien
ACE	su	*MAB	kaṅa	*PON	ṅil
BAT	[sɔara]	*YAB	àwa	*WLE	m <sup>w</sup> aliyaliya
MIN	[suaro]	*KAU	emhoṅ	EFI	domo-
IND	[suara]	TOL	nilai-	WFI	-lio
SUN	[sora]	BUA	aye	RTU	lio
*JAV	[swɔrɔ]	ADZ	nifu ga	TON	le?o
MAD	[suwara]	*KIL	kaiga-la	*SAM	leo
*BAL	muṅi	TAW	pona	MEL	rō
*SAS	[suarə]	*MOT	gado	TAH	reo
*GOR	[suwara]	*MEK	aina	RAP	re?o
DAA	[suara]	ROV	mamalaiṅi		

PAI *l'ijaw* 'echo'.

TAG Also [*bōses*], Spanish *voz* (pl) *voces*.

AKL	Also [ <i>bōses</i> ], Spanish <i>voz</i> (pl: <i>voces</i> ).
PAL	Also <i>liəg</i> .
BLA	Usually pertaining to singing, not speech.
JAV	Also <i>uni</i> ‘sound, utterance’.
BAL	‘sound’; <i>oməŋ</i> ‘speech’.
ṢAS	Also <i>uni</i> .
GOR	Also <i>tihuhu</i> .
WOL	Also [ <i>suara</i> ].
BUR	Also <i>ina-n</i> .
DOB	The third singular form ‘his voice’ is <i>ler</i> . <i>ler</i> is also sometimes used as the root throughout the paradigm.
TAK	See 04.290.
DAM	Also <i>ula bani</i> ‘singing voice’, ‘throat’, ‘tune’ or ‘accent’.
MAB	Also <i>nager</i> .
YAB	Also <i>ŋa-àwa, ŋa-wà</i> .
KAU	Also <i>βut</i> ‘neck, voice’.
KIL	‘voice-his’.
MOT	Also ‘throat; language’.
MEK	<i>aina</i> is homophonous with <i>aina</i> ‘ear’; it is also used to mean ‘will; command; judgement, opinion’.
PAA	‘my voice’, also used for ‘neck’.
KWA	<i>rerī-</i> ‘inside’; <i>nak<sup>wa</sup>-</i> ‘inner mouth’.
NEM	‘sound of word’.
PON	Also <i>eliŋe</i> .
WLE	<i>m<sup>w</sup>aliyaliya</i> also ‘speech’, <i>ttixi</i> also ‘noise’, <i>ŋīŋī</i> also ‘hum’.
SAM	<i>si<sup>?</sup>ufofəŋa</i> .

### 18.120 SING

ATA	ma-ḵuwaš	ISN	mag-	*MOL	ligu <sup>?</sup>
*TSO	pasunaeno		kansiyon	*KAG	manta
RUK	wa-sənay	*KAL	[kānta]	BLA	m-liŋag
PAI	s-əm-ənay	TAG	āwit	*SAB	kalaŋ
YAM	mianoanobod	*AKL	[kantah]	*MUR	ilulupot
		*PAL	məgtultul	MGY	mi-hira



ACE	mu-ñāñi	*DOB	nal yaba	PAA	musau
BAT	mar-ɛdde	IRA	sisə	LEW	yau
MIN	ma-ñāñi	*SAW	[ñāñi]	POR	kakai
IND	bər-ñāñi	NYI	ayah wari	NTA	-an napuan
*SUN	[nəmbaŋ] ([təmbaŋ])	MAM	moasi	*KWA	-oskaϕa
JAV	nəmbaŋ (təmbaŋ)	TAK	-bar	NEM	kot
MAD	ñāñi	DAM	seg y-ale-ya	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ô-ñêbi
BAL	gəndiŋ	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> bo	AJI	řə
*SAS	ñāñian	*YAB	-yàm we	XAR	xō
*GOR	mo-mañāñi	KAU	lut	NEN	eran
DAA	no-dade	*TOL	kəil-e	*KIR	anene
*UMA	mo-rona?	BUA	βoŋ raro	MSH	al
BUG	mak-keloŋ	*ADZ	is-a mi <sup>n</sup> t	*PON	koul
KON	a?-keloŋ	KIL	-wosi	*WLE	ϕ <sup>w</sup> ařüxü
WOL	lagu	*TAW	leleleu	EFI	sere
MAG	dere	*MOT	ane abi-a	WFI	here
*NGA	meño	*MEK	e-ivi	RTU	maka
*SIK	[kantar]	ROV	kera	TON	hiva
*RTI	soda	MAR	koje	*SAM	pese
*BUR	wene	LAU	ŋu	MEL	ŋgoro
		KWO	ŋū	TAH	hīmene
		RAG	lol iboi	*RAP	[himene]

TSO (*pasunaenv-a*).

KAL [*kānta*] + *man-* from Spanish *cantar*.

AKL From Spanish *cantar*.

PAL *məgtultul* ‘sing epics’; *məgkulilal* ‘sing *kulilal* songs’.

MOL *ligu?* + *mog-*.

KAG [*kanta*] + *mag-/m-*? from Spanish *cantar*.

SAB *kalaŋ* + *aN-/ø*.

MUR *ilulupot(mag-)*; also *dimbay(mag-)*.

SUN From Javanese, also *nəmbaŋ-kin(təmbaŋ-kin)*.

SAS Also *laka?-aŋ*.

GOR Malay *meñāñi (ñani + me-)* ‘to sing’.

UMA *mo-?uli-a* (Tolee dialect); from root *uli?* ‘to say’.

NGA *seu* refers to traditional singing or singing traditional songs.

SIK From Portuguese; also *sora sorai*.

- RTI *soda* is the general term for singing (of humans); *dasi* and *hele* refer to the singing of birds (and, figuratively, of humans); *helo* is a kind of chant-singing of ritual verses; *naka-me* refers to church and school singing (and also the bleating of sheep and goats).
- BUR See *lie-n wene-t*, *lie-n rema-n* ‘ballad’; *iŋa fuka* lit ‘piece of the island/mountain = k.o. song’.
- DOB ‘take song’.
- SAW Malay.
- YAB ‘do song’.
- MAB <sup>m</sup>*boe* ‘song’.
- TOL *kəil* (vb intrans/trans) ‘call out in a high-pitched voice’, compare 11.620, var. *kəkail-əi* (vb intrans) ‘sing’.
- ADZ *is-a mint* (all dialects); *raŋ-a mint* ‘strike-PARTsong’, i.e. ‘sing’ (PART of Amari dialect only).
- TAW *leleleu* ‘sing idly’; *lawi* ‘sing a song’ (lit ‘hit it’).
- MOT *ane* ‘song’, *abi-a* ‘to get, hold’.
- MEK *e-ivi* means ‘sing’ in the most general sense of the word. The other dialects have *e-ibi*, *i-ibi*, except for NW Mekeo which has *iui*, *iwi*, meaning ‘prayer’. *ivi*, which is now ‘song’, originally referred to a kind of woodcock that calls out early in the morning. *e-pike* is to sing in the traditional Mekeo manner; to chant in a monotone, ‘intone’. NW Mekeo has *bile* ‘song’ (Brown).
- KWA Also *-ni nupu* ‘say song’.
- CEM ‘make song’.
- KIR *melikāka, kuna* ‘to compose, rehearse’.
- PON *melikāka* hon.; *kataileŋ* ‘sing falsetto’.
- WLE Also *roŋiroŋi* also ‘recite, verbalise’.
- SAM (polite) *fōfōŋa, sāusaunoa* (vb intrans).
- RAP From English ‘hymn’ (via Tahitian?). Also *ako* (archaic).

### 18.130 SHOUT, CRY OUT

ATA	h-um-uaw	YAM	amlotoŋ	AKL	siŋgit
*TSO	ō-szori	ISN	makasāraw	*PAL	gumərwak
RUK	wa-tawtaw	*KAL	pākuy		(gərwak)
PAI	ḱ-əm-aw-ḱaw	*TAG	sigaw	*MOL	surak

*KAG	mingit	*RTI	nasa- <sup>9</sup> gati	PAA	vise
BLA	m-we	*BUR	em-ŋaha	*LEW	vio
*SAB	allaŋ	*DOB	nam ler ssin	POR	is
*MUR	golok	IRA	surə	NTA	-aŋət afumah
MGY	mi-kia-kiaka	SAW	n-gelay	*KWA	-atam <sup>w</sup>
*ACE	sura?	*NYI	arah	NEM	bua
BAT	gəra	MAM	mere	CEM	ū
MIN	ma-ari <sup>9</sup> k	TAK	-sasai	AJI	kau?
IND	bər-təriak	*DAM	ī	XAR	ŋǎ
SUN	ŋa-gorowok	*MAB	-bōbo	NEN	saua
JAV	m-bəŋə?	YAB	-mae?	KIR	takārua
MAD	tanara?	*KAU	iŋut	*MSH	lam <sup>w</sup> æc
*BAL	mə-kauk-an	TOL	kukulə	*PON	wer
SAS	surak	BUA	taɣi	WLE	taūra
*GOR	moŋuwati <sup>9</sup> o	*ADZ	nu <sup>9</sup> -	EFI	kaila
DAA	no-ŋare	KIL	-dou	WFI	muo
*UMA	ʒeu?	*TAW	otu	*RTU	ʔohō
BUG	gora	MOT	lolo	TON	kaila
*KON	am-maraŋ (maraŋ)	*MEK	e-aŋaŋa	*SAM	vala <sup>9</sup> au
*WOL	ka-kee-kee	*ROV	kukili	*MEL	[kkua]
MAG	čiek	MAR	eha	TAH	tūō
NGA	vuku	LAU	rībaita	RAP	ohu
*SIK	gəri	KWO	o <sup>9</sup> omae		
		*RAG	hahari-ɣi		

TSO (*ō-szor-a*).

KAL *pākuy + man-*.

TAG Also *hiyaw + -um/-an*.

PAL Also *lumalan*.

MOL *surak + mog-*.

KAG *siŋgit + mag-/m-*.

SAB *allaŋ + aN-*

MUR *golok (mag-)*.

ACE Also *dumpe?*

BAL Also *ñərit (N-ʒərit)*.

GOR (*wuwati<sup>9</sup>o + moN-*); also *mo-huwa<sup>9</sup>o* ‘shout at (to attract the person’s attention)’, and *mo-mala<sup>9</sup>o* ‘shout at’.

UMA Also *ka<sup>9</sup>alo*.

KON	Also <i>aʔ-gora</i> .
WOL	Also <i>sa<sup>m</sup>bo; ko-kee</i> .
SIK	Also <i>βoŋ</i> .
RʻII	Also <i>eki</i> .
BUR	Also <i>hea-n</i> ‘shout, raise a ruckus’; <i>hulu-n</i> ‘shout in gladness’; <i>wei-k</i> ‘hoot, an extra loud shout to draw attention’; <i>eg-raga</i> ‘animal shout, groan’.
DOB	‘do voice big’.
NYI	Also <i>takaʔi, kuwik</i> .
DAM	Also <i>kāi y-e-ya</i> and <i>i-wegi-ya</i> ‘to call’ or ‘summon (not necessarily loudly)’.
MAB	Also <i>-yōto, -yak, -wōro</i> .
KAU	Also <i>βut plai, βut pitpit, ŋeŋhek, yuk yuk</i> .
ADZ	Also <i>noʔ</i> .
TAW	<i>otu</i> ‘call out/call’, <i>baha labatana</i> ‘to speak loudly/shout’.
MEK	<i>e-aŋaŋa</i> is ‘cry, cry out’. NW Mekeo has <i>e-iua, e-iwa</i> in the sense of ‘shout, call out’ (see East Mekeo <i>iva</i> : 18.220, 18.260).
ROV	Also <i>velvela</i> .
RAG	‘shout’.
LEW	Also <i>lokai, kī</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-ak<sup>w</sup>ein apomus</i> ‘call loudly’; <i>-kərikəri</i> ‘shout, make noise’; <i>-un</i> ‘cry out to make known one’s presence’.
MSH	Also <i>kkeilok</i> .
PON	Also <i>weriŋ</i> (vb trans).
RTU	Also <i>heʔo, fəŋi</i> .
SAM	Also <i>faʔatāiō</i> (vb intrans); <i>ʔē</i> (vb intrans); (polite) <i>ʔalaja</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 18.150 WHISPER

ATA	<i>makašhahiuʔ</i>	ISN	<i>mag-arʔaratāt</i>	MOL	<i>konos</i>
TSO	<i>cu-ϕʔo-ϕʔou</i>	*KAL	<i>agasāʔas</i>	*KAG	<i>waw'waw</i>
RUK	<i>wa-tətəŋə</i>	*TAG	<i>buloŋ</i>	BLA	<i>m-uŋag</i>
PAI	<i>cəm-əŋə-cəŋ</i>	AKL	<i>hutik-hūtik</i>	*SAB	<i>kemot-kemot</i>
YAM	<i>iakakak</i>	PAL	<i>kinəs</i>	*MUR	<i>konos</i>

*MGY	[mi-biçi- biçika]	IRA	naɸe sənənanə	LEW	virəŋoŋo
		SAW	n-fa-geyasə	*POR	uç me <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ao
ACE	sāih	*NYI	suburuk	NTA	asiβan
BAT	mar-husip	MAM	maləŋa-si <sup>ʔ</sup> i	KWA	-əsiuan
MIN	ba-bisi <sup>ʔʔ</sup>	*TAK	kisisik -bol	NEM	pa-yāŋo
IND	bər-bisik	*DAM	mumu	CEM	êwān
SUN	ŋa-harewəs	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> burum pa	AJI	a <sup>ʔ</sup> vi yiāwēřē
JAV	bisi <sup>ʔ</sup> -bisi <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	-yà <sup>ʔ</sup> biŋ kəsə <sup>ʔ</sup> - kəsə <sup>ʔ</sup>	*XAR	xa çūade
*MAD	tu <sup>ʔ</sup> -kutu <sup>ʔ</sup>			NEN	orere
BAL	mə-kisi	*KAU	sakal kas-kas	KIR	wīnəŋinəŋ
SAS	pese <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL	vər-məiənau	*MSH	accinono
GOR	mo-lohumo	BUA	paterəŋ	*PON	m <sup>w</sup> əŋinijin
*DAA	nosi-vavayo	ADZ	fatafat-	WLE	ŋŋürinürü
UMA	mo-βara <sup>ʔ</sup>	KIL	-kasilam	EFI	βakasolo- kakana
BUG	mab-biçi	TAW	yagahayahaya	WFI	hauβene
KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -bisi <sup>ʔ</sup>	*MOT	hereβa	RTU	musu
WOL	ka-mu <sup>n</sup> tui		metairametaira	TON	fafana
MAG	saok	MEK	e-iva-kekeva	SAM	musumususu
NGA	govi	ROV	manmanasa	*MEL	[tälakolako]
*SIK	kətu	MAR	fəŋaŋŋau	TAH	ʔōmuhumuhu
RTI	nama-ku- kutu-k	LAU	fuaro	RAP	ha <sup>ʔ</sup> umu- <sup>ʔ</sup> umu
BUR	per-kodo-k	KWO	fata ŋuruŋuru		
DOB	nam ɸaɸa tim	RAG	ŋutu		
		PAA	selūs lālāu		

KAL *agasā<sup>ʔ</sup>as + man-*.

TAG *buləŋ + -um-* (vb intrans); *mag-/i-* (vb trans).

KAG *waw'waw + mag-*.

SAB *kemot-kemot + aN-/-an*; also *higun-higun + aN-/-an*.

MUR *konos (mag-)*.

MGY From Malay.

MAD From *RED-kutu<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

DAA Reciprocal only.

SIK Also *ka<sup>ʔ</sup>at*.

NYI Also *ohei*.

TAK 'in a whisper say'.

DAM Also *ɸoinene wogō y-e-ya* 'to talk quietly or slowly'.

MAB Also *-so (ma) kalŋa- musāna, -so sua riŋa*.

YAB	'hit speech darkly'.
KAU	<i>sakal</i> 'speak'.
MOT	<i>hereβa</i> 'to speak', <i>metairametaira</i> 'slowly; softly'. Lister-Turner – Clark (n.d.) <i>hereβakima</i> ( <i>kima</i> 'noiselessly').
POR	'speak slow'.
XAR	'speak in silence'.
MSH	Also <i>wɪnɔːcɪrɪkɪk</i> , <i>mm<sup>w</sup>airikrik</i> .
PON	Also <i>iŋiŋ+m<sup>w</sup>olūlu</i> , <i>m<sup>w</sup>okūku</i> , <i>loiloit̪ik</i> hon.
MEL	From Efate.

### 18.160 MUMBLE

ATA	h-um-awhaw	*MAD	mu <sup>?</sup> -kimu <sup>?</sup>	*YAB	-e <sup>ɟ</sup> gim àwe-ŋ
TSO		BAL	ŋrəŋkrəŋ	*KAU	sakal ŋen-ŋen
RUK			(krəŋkəŋ)	*TOL	mukmuk
PAI		SAS	ŋə-rumun	BUA	ŋūk
YAM	maŋoçim	*GOR	bihē mo-po-	*ADZ	ni-da nan i
ISN	dumdumu-		?imu-?imu		ma-n
	gūdum	DAA		KIL	-kabelobelo
*KAL	bēlbel	UMA		TAW	baha unuunula
*TAG	buluŋ-buloŋ	BUG	man-noko	*MOT	hemaunu
AKL	ŋūʔab	*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -garimomo	MEK	e-iva-muŋu-
PAL	mɔgampaŋ	*WOL	ka-mu <sup>h</sup> tu-		muŋu
MOL	buruŋ-buruŋ		mu <sup>h</sup> tui	ROV	gimgimutu
*KAG	alla <sup>?</sup> -alla <sup>?</sup>	MAG	humit	MAR	ŋuruŋau
BLA	umal	NGA	emo-amo	LAU	ŋunuŋunu
*SAB	lemomo	*SIK	gləpu	KWO	ŋoleŋolea
*MUR	buoŋ	RTI	na-ka-mumu	RAG	
MGY	mi-munu-	*BUR	maa-n ture-n	*PAA	muŋas mēn
	mununa	*DOB	?abelar loyi	LEW	visa-mumu
ACE	mukumet-	IRA		POR	uč <sup>m</sup> buxer
	kumet babah	SAW	n-fa-geyaso	NTA	-ən metiŋ
BAT	mar-uŋut-uŋut	NYI	nunu <sup>?</sup> uh	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> m <sup>w</sup> i
MIN	ma-ŋeçe <sup>?</sup> ba-	MAM	guluŋae	NEM	taraŋut
	gumam	TAK	-ŋurŋur	CĒM	kɔ̄lɛ
*IND	bər-suŋut	DAM	kosese	AJI	bəʔɔ̄dũ
SUN		*MAB	ɟgure-	XAR	bududũ
JAV	grənəŋ-grənəŋ		wōro <sup>ɟ</sup> gou	NEN	neŋoçešoŋon

*KIR	ɲure	WFI	yalikumusia	TAH	mutamuta
MSH	alɲirɲir	RTU	ɲū-ʔɔki	RAP	vanəŋa hai
PON		*TON	ɲoneɲone		niho
WLE		SAM	memumemu		
EFI	βosa minimini	MEL	ɲūɲū		

KAL *bēlbel + maN-*.

TAG *buluŋ-buloŋ + -um-/i-*; also *uŋot + -um-* ‘as in baby-talk’.

KAG *allaʔ-allaʔ + mag-*.

SAB *lemomo + aN-*.

MUR *buoŋ (maŋ-)*.

IND *məŋ-gərutu* ‘grumble’

MAD From RED-*kimuʔ*.

GOR *bīhu* ‘lip(s)’ + ligature *a > bīhe*; *mo-po-ʔimu-ʔimu* means ‘keep on moving’.

KON Also *aʔ-moro-moro* (includes anger).

WOL Also *ka-mui-mui*.

SIK Also *gləpu-ŋgleβu-t*.

BUR ‘short tongue’.

DOB ‘your tongue is short’.

MAB *-kam unuŋ unuŋ* ‘murmur in complaint’.

YAB ‘-step mouth-our’ i.e. ‘step on our voices’; also *-lem<sup>w</sup>em* ‘chew without teeth, mumble’.

KAU *sakal* ‘speak’. Also *sakal mi βut* ‘speak inside neck’, *sakal ta siŋin*.

TOL Also *mukamuk, mukumuk*.

ADZ ‘say-PARTtalk instrument tongue-3sg POSS.’, i.e. ‘stutter’.

MOT Note also *maumau* ‘to grumble’.

PAA ‘chew one’s tongue’.

KWA *-ak<sup>w</sup>m<sup>w</sup>i* also means ‘gum’, ‘suck on’, ‘keep in one’s mouth’; also *-ni wowa*.

KIR *wīrikiriki* also ‘whisper’; cf. *wī* ‘mouth’.

TON Also *ɲuluŋulu*.

## 18.170 WHISTLE

ATA		UMA	ᵐkohe	MAR	ŋoŋŋoŋji
*TSO	reo-soxru	BUG	map-pa-čudi	LAU	kʷadi
RUK	θəvəʔə	KON	aʔ-pa-luiʔ	KWO	kʷadi
PAI	pa-ulʷug	WOL	pe-ka-wowo	RAG	
YAM	pačəčək	MAG	holəŋ	PAA	van
ISN	pagiwīpiw	NGA	ori	LEW	wu
*KAL	īsiw	SIK	hiβor	*POR	panupan
*TAG	sīpol	RTI	kofiə	NTA	-ahal
AKL	panihut	*BUR	wanə	KWA	awerhəp
*PAL	tihul	DOB	ʔa-yaɸar	NEM	ʷayuk
MOL	tihul	IRA	nəɸagəsə	CEM	wótāut
*KAG	uyuk	SAW	n-ɛft-o	*AJI	wã
BLA	m-nuhul	NYI	bʷiñiu	*XAR	piaxõ
*SAB	taghuy	MAM	ezu	NEN	wapedo(n)
*MUR	siuk	TAK	-ped	KIR	kanimomoi
MGY	mi-siaka	DAM	ko	*MSH	acwewe
*ACE	yup babah	MAB	-wen	*PON	kuwai
*BAT	mar-milmil	YAB	-yob	WLE	xauwa
MIN	ba-kičaw	*KAU	βu-βuh	EFI	kalu
IND	bər-siul	TOL	vivigul	WFI	kʷalu
SUN	ŋa-heot	BUA	somək	RTU	savini
JAV	siŋsət	ADZ	suaᵐp-	TON	mapu
MAD	siyul	KIL	-βigula	*SAM	mapu
BAL	mə-suir	TAW	lutaputapu	*MEL	[wēwenu]
*SAS	[pəluit]	*MOT	hioga	TAH	hio
*GOR	mohi <sup>n</sup> duwolo	MEK	e-paloa	RAP	puhi
DAA	no-sasui	*ROV	vizolo		

TSO Also *reo-soxguru*.

KAL *īsiw + maN-*.

TAG *sīpol + -um-/-an*.

PAL Also *tarumpit*.

KAG *uyuk + mag-*.

SAB *taghuy + aN-*.

MUR *siuk (mag-)*.

ACE Also *yop babah*.

BAT Also *mar-miul, mar-ŋiul, maniul (maN-siul)*.



SAS	Dutch.
GOR	( <i>yi<sup>n</sup>duwolo + moh-</i> ).
BUR	Also <i>wan foo</i> ‘whistle with fingers in mouth’.
KAU	Also <i>wus-wus</i> .
MOT	Lister-Turner – Clark (n.d.); some say <i>ihoga</i> .
ROV	Also <i>hiovo</i> .
POR	Also <i>supex</i> (through the fingers).
AJI	Also <i>yip<sup>w</sup>ãĩ</i> .
XAR	<i>piaxõ</i> ‘whistle with lips rounded’; <i>fiaxõ</i> ‘whistle with lips stretched, lower lip between teeth’; <i>jiak<sup>w</sup>ĩã</i> ‘whistle with the fingers’.
MSH	Also <i>owe</i> .
PON	<i>peukpe</i> ‘whistle through fingers’; <i>suwaim<sup>w</sup>oʔ</i> hon.
SAM	‘whistle with lips’; ‘whistle with a whistle’: <i>fã<sup>ʔ</sup>aili</i> (vb intrans), <i>ili</i> (vb trans) ‘blow’.
MEL	From Efate.

### 18.180 SHRIEK, SCREECH

ATA	<i>miŋaŋ</i>	IND	<i>mən-ǰərit</i>	SAW	<i>n-yab</i>
TSO		*SUN	<i>ŋa-[ǰərit]</i>	NYI	<i>añar</i>
RUK	<i>mā-raləalə</i>	JAV	<i>n̄-ǰərit</i>	MAM	<i>maləŋa-goala<sup>ʔ</sup>iŋa- ipusi<sup>ʔ</sup>a</i>
PAI		*MAD	<i>a-[ǰ<sup>h</sup>ərit]</i>		
YAM	<i>loloŋ</i>	*BAL	<i>n̄ərit (ǰərit)</i>		
ISN	<i>makatal<sup>ʔ</sup>i</i>	SAS	<i>kuih</i>	TAK	<i>-sasaili</i>
*KAL	<i>kulis</i>	GOR	<i>mo-ti<sup>ɖ</sup>galahu</i>	DAM	<i>kininil</i>
TAG	<i>tili<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	DAA	<i>no-ŋare</i>	*MAB	<i>kalŋa-</i>
*AKL	<i>siyak</i>	*UMA	<i>mo-kigi<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	YAB	<i>-waki<sup>ʔ</sup></i>
PAL	<i>bənsag</i>	BUG	<i>ěiči<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	*KAU	<i>həh</i>
MOL	<i>goruak</i>	KON	<i>aŋ-ŋariu<sup>ʔ</sup> (kariu<sup>ʔ</sup>)</i>	TOL	<i>ululilə</i>
*KAG	<i>tig<sup>ʔ</sup>ik</i>			BUA	<i>ŋək</i>
BLA	<i>m-kit</i>	WOL	<i>pekei</i>	*ADZ	<i>nu<sup>ʔ</sup>-a naŋian</i>
*SAB	<i>dahit</i>	MAG	<i><sup>n</sup>čoəŋ</i>	KIL	<i>-wai-weya</i>
*MUR	<i>aisak</i>	NGA	<i>vuku-gego</i>	*TAW	<i>tou</i>
MGY	<i>mi-d<sup>r</sup>ad<sup>r</sup>a- d<sup>r</sup>ad<sup>r</sup>a</i>	*SIK	<i>gləka</i>	MOT	<i>ɣaba</i>
*ACE	<i>doh-doh</i>	*RTI	<i>koa-k</i>	MEK	<i>e-pako</i>
BAT	<i>mar-ŋaŋak</i>	BUR	<i>ewei-k</i>	ROV	<i>pirpirəŋa</i>
MIN	<i>ma-maki<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	DOB	<i>na-ba'ray</i>	MAR	<i>au<sup>ʔ</sup>aku</i>
		IRA		LAU	

KWO		CEM	há	EFI	ŋólou
*RAG	ɲara	*AJI	vi ku	WFI	boala
PAA	m̄is k̄ai	XAR	xip̄ō	RTU	ŋā
LEW	lokai yuwawa	NEN	saua	*TON	kekekeke
POR	is	KIR	taekeke	SAM	ʔi
NTA	-eau afumah	*MSH	kkeilok	MEL	
KWA	-akit	*PON	wer	TAH	ʔāoaoa
NEM	k <sup>ʔ</sup> āk	WLE		RAP	ki-kiu

KAL *kulis + man-*.

AKL Also *siyagʔit*.

KAG *tigʔik + mag-*.

SAB *dahit + aN-*.

MUR *aisak (-um-)*; also *ginsak (-um-)*.

ACE Also *ɲurep, hop-hop, gumučiəʔ*.

SUN From Malay or Javanese.

MAD From Malay or Javanese.

BAL Also *mə-kaik; mə-gərəŋ* 'yell in anger'.

UMA Also *mo-kii, mo-kari*.

SIK Also *gəka, haŋar, hiŋa haŋar*.

RTI Also *ʔgasi*.

KAU Also *kaβhoŋ* '(bird) screech' ; *βa βhim*.

MAB Also *sanāna*.

ADZ 'call-PART shrill'.

TAW *tou* 'shriek'; *otu powapowa* 'screech'.

RAG 'to yell'.

AJI Also *kauʔ*.

MSH Also *wirikke* 'in pain or fear'.

PON Also *weriŋ* (vb trans).

TON Also *kikī*.

## 18.190 HOWL

ATA		PAI		*KAL	tagaʔūk
TSO		YAM	loloş	*TAG	hagulhol
RUK	wa-kawkaw	ISN	magtol	*AKL	ŋabŋab

PAL	məgamgu (amgu)	*MAG	ʰkāŋ	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> au
		NGA	vəre	RAG	
*MOL	waŋ	*SIK	pəsu	PAA	mīs
*KAG	ŋulŋul	RTI	na-ho	LEW	lokai
BLA	m-lənu	BUR	dau	POR	
SAB	ullup+ ag-	*DOB	ʔa-ru	NTA	-atakuat
*MUR	auŋ	IRA	nagaɸo	KWA	-əkri
MGY		SAW	n-lawε	NEM	
*ACE	durru	NYI	takaʔuk	CEM	pî-é
BAT	aŋguk	MAM	ʔaua	*AJI	bo
MIN	ma-rauʔŋ	TAK		XAR	xia
IND	mə-loloŋ	DAM	kone	NEN	čipatiti
*SUN	ba-bauŋ	*MAB	-yeryer	*KIR	maŋo
JAV	m-bəker	YAB	-taŋ	MSH	uwāŋaŋ
MAD	a-tuwat	KAU	muu	*PON	wer
*BAL	ŋ-ulun	TOL	kukulə	WLE	ŋāŋā
*SAS	goŋgoŋ	BUA	tuŋ kəkukək	EFI	lolo
GOR	mo-	ADZ	yaiʔ-	WFI	lolo
	hewuwaŋo	KIL	-wai-weya	RTU	marnæe
DAA		TAW	tou	TON	ŋala
UMA	mo-ʔoa	MOT	tai	*SAM	ʔeʔē
BUG	mab-boka	*MEK	e-ao	MEL	taŋi
	setaŋ	*ROV	hoho	TAH	ʔūʔā
*KON	aʔ-lolloŋ	*MAR	yoŋoina	*RAP	ki-kiu
WOL	kaʔou	LAU			

KAL tagaʔūk + man-.

TAG hagulhol + -um- of people; aluloŋ + -um- of dogs.

AKL As a dog.

MOL (of dogs).

KAG ŋulŋul + mag-.

MUR auŋ (mag-); also uaŋ (mag-).

ACE Also baʔs.

SUN Also ŋa-bauŋ.

BAL ŋ-ulun 'howl, of a dog or a person crying'; ŋəlur (N-gəlur) 'give a long drawn out yell (of person)'.

SAS 'howl, of dogs'.

KON aʔ-lolloŋ (dogs); aʔ-ŋoeʔ (cattle); aʔ-pitoto (as at funeral).

MAG 'howling of a dog'.

SIK Also *βæbur* (wind); *liŋ βoiŋ* (surf); *dəgu dədə* (thunder); *bu?a koak* (dog).

DOB Of a dog, while sitting or standing still.

MAB Also -*m̄bōlo* of dogs.

MEK *e-ao* and *e-pa?o* are both used of dogs.

ROV '(dog) bark'.

MAR Also [*p<sup>h</sup>aopado*] from Bughotu.

AJI Also *ubo*.

KIR *taŋ* also 'cry'.

PON Also 'scream, yell, holler'.

SAM See 18.130.

RAP Also *?au-?au* (archaic).

## 18.210 SPEAK, TALK

Sanskrit: *vicāra-*

ATA	k-um-āḥ	MIN	ma-ŋeče?	BUR	stori
*TSO	ao-moti?i	*IND	bər-[bičara]	DOB	na-r-siφar
RUK	kawriya	*SUN	ñarita	IRA	nəφierə φe
PAI	c-əm-umalʔ		([čarita])	SAW	n-ma-meiten
YAM	manizəŋ	JAV	ɔməŋ	NYI	aschck sahou
ISN	magūni	MAD	čača	MAM	pile
*KAL	bagbaga	*BAL	ŋ-omoŋ	*TAK	-bol
*TAG	wīka?	*SAS	muni	*DAM	od i-rō-ya
AKL	hambaḥ	*GOR	mo-lo?iya	MAB	-so sua
*PAL	məgampa	DAA	no-tesa	*YAB	-som biŋ
*MOL	[bissara]	UMA	mo-lolita	KAU	sakal
*KAG	ambal	BUG	mab-[bičara]	TOL	təta
BLA	talū?	*KON	a?-[bičara]	*BUA	nər
*SAB	[bissara]	*WOL	po-gau	ADZ	nan
*MUR	indagu	MAG	čurup	KIL	liβala
MGY	mi-resaka	NGA	mazi	TAW	baha nae
ACE	marit	*SIK	baboŋ	MOT	hereβa
*BAT	mak-[kata]-i	*RTL	ko-kola	*MEK	e-nini-?ani

ROV	zama	KWA	-aŋkiari	*WLE	kapata
MAR	čeke	NEM	pala	EFI	βosa
*LAU	faorai	CEM	cīhe	*WFI	tata
*KWO	alafū	AJI	ταυα	RTU	fæeŋa
RAG	avo	XAR	xa	TON	lea
PAA	selūs	*NEN	neŋoč	*SAM	tautala
LEW	visi	*KIR	taetae	MEL	vānaŋa
POR	uč	*MSH	κλmlατ	*TAH	parau
NTA	-aŋhat	*PON	lokaia	RAP	vanana

TSO Also *ra-ʔre-i*.

KAL *bagbaga + man-*.

TAG *wīkaʔ + mag-/in* see also 18.220.

PAL Also *məgbəɾəs, məgsudsugid*.

MOL Also [*bitsara*].

KAG *ambal + mag-/m-/ən*.

SAB [*bissara*] + *aN-/ø*; also *mūŋ + ta-*.

MUR *indagu (-um-; -in)*; also *ayam (mag-)* ‘have a chat’.

BAT (*maN-[hata]-i*); also *mar-[hata]* from Sanskrit.

IND Also *bər-[kata]* from Sanskrit, *bər-čakap*.

SUN From Sanskrit; also *ŋ-omoŋ*.

BAL Also *mə-muñi*.

SAS Also [*ŋə-raos*] Javanese; see also 18.220.

GOR Also *mo-[bisala]*.

KON Also *aʔ-miaʔ*.

WOL Also *kooni, kooni-aka, po-pulu*.

ŠIK Also *tutur*.

RTI Also *de-deʔa*.

TAK See 18.220.

DAM ‘talk third-talk-infinitive’; also *wogō y-e-ya* not used to introduce direct or indirect speech.

YAB ‘say speech’; also *-yàm biʔgalom* ‘do conversation’.

BUA Also *βəŋ<sup>w</sup>εŋ*.

MEK *e-nini-ʔani* means ‘talk, converse’.

LAU Also *bae*.

KWO Also *fata*.

NEN Also *wateno* (respectful).

KIR *ŋōŋō* also 'make one's voice heard, sound of voices'.

MSH *kannān* also 'report, testify'; *knono* also 'read, verbalise, recite'.

PON *māsen, kapiṭ; kōsōi* also 'tell stories'.

WLE *kapata* (vb trans); *xapatō* 'talk about something'; *yōřaxi* 'chat';  
*m<sup>w</sup>ařiyařiya*.

WFI Also *βoha*.

SAM (polite) *fofona, fetalai, saunoa, tulei*.

TAH Also *ta'o* arch.

### 18.211 STUTTER, STAMMER

ATA	kařauwaw	*BAL	kətə	*YAB	-som biḡ
TSO		SAS	bə-gaga <sup>ʔ</sup>		k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a <sup>ʔ</sup> -geḡ
RUK	moakakaḡə	*GOR	madodo	*KAU	βo-n po maik
PAI		DAA	na- <sup>ɳ</sup> gadada		to sakal-ḡin
YAM		UMA	mo-ka-rara <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL	məməmaḡə
ISN	magat <sup>ʔ</sup> atatta	BUG	gaga <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	lay mədōmin
KAL		*KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -na <sup>ʔ</sup> na <sup>ʔ</sup>	ADZ	dadabu-i nan
*TAG	utal (-utal)	WOL	ka- <sup>ʔ</sup> aa- <sup>ʔ</sup> aa	KIL	-mto-mota
*AKL	ḡāřa <sup>ʔ</sup>	MAG	dəka	TAW	baha
PAL		NGA	ga <sup>ʔ</sup> a		luteleteleya
MOL	momo <sup>ʔ</sup>	*SIK	hida-ḡ dar	*MOT	hereβa
*KAG	əntəd-əntəd	*RTI	(ko-kola) ma-		lanalana
BLA	gmaḡ		heta-k	MEK	
*SAB	taḡa-taḡa <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUR	stori p-sab-	ROV	zamaḡiri
MUR			lebe-k	MAR	kakaramaku
MGY	mi-ambak- ambaka	*DOB	<sup>ʔ</sup> a-tebi yari-n	LAU	
		IRA		KWO	
ACE	gagap	*SAW	n-meiten ta	RAG	
BAT	hallot		fapsəbe	PAA	meḡmeḡ
MIN	gago <sup>ʔ</sup>	NYI	ko <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ek	LEW	nene
IND	məḡ-gagap	MAM	pile-tarapa <sup>ʔ</sup> a	POR	
*SUN	arapap-iriḡip	TAK	-bol -gilile	NTA	-am <sup>w</sup> em <sup>w</sup> e
JAV	pləga <sup>ʔ</sup> -pləgu <sup>ʔ</sup>	DAM	gole	KWA	-ni wowa
MAD	gagap	MAB	-mimi	NEM	cayuk ḡa-n

CEM	pênehó	PON	lōteŋ	*SAM	taŋito <sup>?</sup> ia
AJI	a <sup>?</sup> pecoŋe	WLE		MEL	
XAR	pēpē	EFI	kaka	*TAH	ʔū <sup>?</sup> ū
NEN	keked	WFI	maβere	RAP	haka punoko
*KIR	bae newe	*RTU	kækæke		
MSH	allo	TON	ʔelelo-u <sup>?</sup> u		

TAG *utal (-utal) + -um-*.

AKL Also *ŋūʔu<sup>?</sup>, in-apa<sup>?</sup>* ‘be mute’.

KAG *ented-anted + mag-*.

SAB *taŋa-taŋa<sup>?</sup> + ag-*; also *ag-sagga-sagga<sup>?</sup>baŋ amissara*.

SUN Phonetically [*ʔarap<sup>?</sup>ap<sup>?</sup>iŋi<sup>?</sup>ip<sup>?</sup>ip*]; also [*ʔari<sup>?</sup>p<sup>?</sup>ip*].

BAL (adjectival); *badil* (north Bali) ‘pronounce incorrectly, like a small child’.

GOR Adjective.

KON Also *a<sup>?</sup>kotte<sup>?</sup>* (k-impediment speech); *a<sup>?</sup>kosso* (r-impediment speech).

SIK Also *tutur səŋ ledər, liβo laβor*.

RTI Also *bode-ma-k*.

DOB ‘he commands his breath’.

SAW ‘speech that is tangled, hung’.

YAB ‘say word splintering-only’.

KAU ‘mouth-his PREP heavy PREP speak-NOM’.

MOT *lanalana* ‘to stammer’.

KIR ‘tongue tied’; *rerarera* of children.

RTU Also *fæeaŋ kækæke*.

SAM *taŋito<sup>?</sup>ia a-na tala* ‘he stammers’, -a POSS, -na 3sg, *tala* ‘speech’.

TAH Also *maumau (tōna reo)*.

## 18.220 SAY

ATA	m-haču	ISN	kagiyan	MOL	boros
*TSO	ma-inça	*KAL	ūgud	KAG	ambal
RUK	la ya	*TAG	sābi	BLA	man
PAI	c-əm-umal <sup>y</sup>	AKL	hambaʔ	SAB	yuk
YAM	ipanči	PAL	mōros (bōros)	*MUR	kōn nu...

MGY	mi-laza	IRA	nəφierə	*LEW	visa
*ACE	khun	SAW	n-εčeg	POR	kae
BAT	dək	*NYI	tiye	NTA	-ən
*MIN	ba-[kato]	MAM	ipile	KWA	-ni
*IND	bər-[kata]	*TAK	-bol	NEM	pēi
*SUN	ŋ-omoŋ	*DAM	i-rō-ya	CEM	pî
JAV	kəndə	MAB	-so	AJI	ēřē
MAD	ŋuča? (-uča?)	YAB	-som	XAR	še
*BAL	ŋ-[orah]-aŋ	KAU	βo	NEN	ie
SAS	bər-uni	*TOL	biti	*KIR	taku
GOR	mo-lo?iya	BUA	ner	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> a
DAA	naŋ-uli	ADZ	ni-	*PON	nta
*UMA	uli?	*KIL	-luki	*WLE	serü
BUG	mak-kida	TAW	pa	*EFI	kai-a
KON	aŋ-kua	*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> au	WFI	kwai-a
WOL	po-tutu	*MEK	e-iva	RTU	?ea
*MAG	tac	ROV	zamania	TON	pehē
NGA	naŋi	MAR	čeke	*SAM	fai
*SIK	βəta	LAU	haea	MEL	taku-a
RTI	na-fada	KWO	iri-a	*TAH	fa?a?ite
*BUR	prepa	*RAG	veve	RAP	kī
DOB	?a-wuli	PAA	vitcni		

TSO (*ra-inča*).

KAL *ūgud + maN-*.

TAG *sābi + mag-/-in*; also *din/rin* (quote particle) ‘he/she said’.

MUR Also *dokōn nu* ....

ACE Also *puŋah*.

MIN From Sanskrit.

IND From Sanskrit.

SUN Also *ñarita* (*[čarita]*) Sanskrit.

BAL From Old Javanese *warah*; (*N-*)*sambat-aŋ* ‘mention, utter (someone’s name)’.

UMA *teha* (Southern dialect); *uli?* (or *teha*) is basically transitive: ‘to say (something)’, whereas *lolita* (18.210) is intransitive: ‘to speak’; there is also *mo-libu?* ‘to utter’.

MAG A noun.

SIK Also *həro-ŋ, kiri-ŋ, tutur bəta*.



BUR	Lisela <i>bina</i> .
NYI	Also <i>aña</i> .
TAK	'say, speak, talk'.
DAM	'third-say-infinitive'.
TOL	Only in connection with direct speech, <i>tatik-e</i> (vb trans) 'say (a word)', <i>v-e</i> 'inform (a person)'.
KIL	<i>-luki</i> 'say so'; <i>-kaibiga</i> 'say'.
MOT	Also <i>toma</i> 'to think; intend; say'.
MEK	<i>e-iva</i> corresponds with <i>e-oabi</i> , <i>e-wabi</i> in North Mekeo and West Mekeo; NW Mekeo has <i>kabi</i> . I have also collected West Mekeo <i>e-koabi</i> . <i>e-inaka</i> is a verb used with <i>e-iva</i> immediately before direct reported speech: <i>e-iva e-inaka</i> , '...'. NW Mekeo uses <i>e-giba</i> here.
ĀĀĀ	Also <i>beve</i> .
LEW	Also <i>ve</i> , <i>sape</i> , <i>kila</i> .
KIR	Polynesian.
MSH	<i>p<sup>w</sup>Λla</i> Eastern dialect; <i>kΛmlΛt</i> .
PON	<i>p<sup>w</sup>a</i> archaic; <i>tene</i> .
WLE	<i>xapatō</i> also 'talk about'; <i>xōū</i> also 'tell, mention'.
EFI	Also <i>kai-naka</i> , <i>tuku-na</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>afio-ina</i> (vb trans).
TAH	Also <i>parau mai</i> ; <i>?āparau</i> , <i>nā?ō</i> .

## 18.221 TELL STORY

**Sanskrit:** *carita-*

ATA		*AKL	sūgid	BAT	pa-boa-hən
TSO	eu-xo-xamo	*PAL	məgtuturan	*MIN	ba-[čarito]
RUK		MOL	tutur	IND	bər-[čarita]
PAI		*KAG	[istorya]	SUN	[nārita]-kin
YAM	mikavava- tanən	BLA	s-am-tulən		([čarita])
		*SAB	[kissa]	JAV	[ñrita]-ni
ISN	mag-[istorya]	*MUR	tunuŋ		([črita])
*KAL	ul?ulnūg	*MGY	mi-[tantara]	MAD	[čarita]
*TAG	bīda	*ACE	khum	*BAL	nātuə(-satuə)

*SAS	bə-[wačan]	*DAM	od wogō	NTA	-an noanəŋe
*GOR	mohu <sup>ɟ</sup> guli	MAB	-pit <sup>m</sup> bol	KWA	-əʔuku
DAA	no-tesa	*YAB	-yà <sup>ʔ</sup> (ŋa-)miŋ	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> uyi
*UMA	mo-[jarita]	KAU		CEM	úti
BUG	mač-[čarita]	TOL	pirpir	AJI	vi y ʌi
KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -[čarita]	BUA	turin gagək	XAR	fa-x <sup>w</sup> ata
WOL	pe-tula-tula	ADZ	fisa-gin	NEN	ieonəte
MAG	to <sup>m</sup> bo	KIL	-kunebu	*KIR	karaki
NGA	punu-nəŋe	TAW	dede	*MSH	inɔŋ
SIK	tutur tatar	*MOT	siβarai	*PON	kɔsɔi
*RTI	tui		hamaoro-a	*WLE	fiyaŋo
BUR	dohi-k	*MEK	isonioni e-iva	*EFI	[talanoa]
*DOB	ʔa-wuli	ROV	vivininia	*WFI	kolekolē
	ta <sup>ʔ</sup> una	MAR	toutonu	*RTU	hanuču
IRA	na <sup>ʔe</sup> garagerə	*LAU	ūnu	*TON	talanoa
*SAW	n-efeten	KWO	sisifo	SAM	tala
NYI	asehek	*RAG	vev huri	MEL	kura
	ku <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> uh	PAA	dūn	TAH	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> ati <sup>ʔ</sup> a
MAM	nanari	LEW	suni	RAP	ʔa <sup>ʔ</sup> amu
TAK	-pas	POR	p <sup>w</sup> ep <sup>w</sup> eaŋ		

KAL *ul<sup>ʔ</sup>ulnūg + man-*

TAG Also [*kuwento*], from Spanish *cuento* ‘story’.

AKL *sūgid + i-* (vb); also [*kwentoh*], Spanish *cuento* ‘story’.

PAL Also *məgsudsugid*.

KAG [*isturya*] + *mag-* from Spanish *historia*.

SAB [*kissa*] + *aN-* from Arabic *qiṣṣa*.

MUR *tunuŋ (mag- -on; -in)*.

MGY From Sanskrit.

ACE Also *puḡah*.

MIN Also *ba-[kaba]* from Arabic *ḥabar* ‘news, information’.

BAL (vb intrans) from *satua* (n) ‘story’; also (*N-*)*tutur-in*.

SAS From Sanskrit.

GOR (*wu<sup>ɟ</sup>gili + moh-*).

UMA Also *mo-tutura*.

RTI Alos *tu-tui*.

DOB *ta<sup>ʔ</sup>una* is a traditional folk story.

SAW	Also <i>n-fa-[čarita]</i> .
DAM	'talk tell'.
YAB	'hit story'.
MOT	<i>siβarai</i> 'story', <i>hamaoro-a</i> 'to tell so'.
MEK	<i>isonioni</i> goes to North Mekeo <i>izonioni</i> , West Mekeo <i>idonioni</i> ; NW Mekeo has <i>pou. e-pai-na</i> in East Mekeo means 'tell someone something', but also sometimes 'tell off'.
LAU	Also <i>ūnuūnu</i> .
RAG	Also <i>bev huri</i> ; 'to discuss, talk about'.
KIR	'water of sorrow'; <i>roŋoroŋo</i> .
MSH	For folkloristic stories; also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ep<sup>w</sup>enato</i> .
PON	Also <i>pətəpət</i> .
WLE	Also <i>tittinapa</i> .
EFI	Tongan.
WFI	Also [ <i>talanoa</i> ] Standard Fijian, from Tongan.
RTU	Also <i>talanoa</i> .
TON	Also <i>fanaga</i> .

## 18.222 SPEECH (make a)

See 18.210

ATA	k-um-naβhuŋ	BLA	talu?	*SAS	ŋə-[raos]
TSO		*SAB	[bissara]	*GOR	mo-{pidato}
RUK		MUR		DAA	no-tara <sup>ɔ</sup> ga
PAI		*MGY	mi-[kabari]	UMA	mo-lolita
YAM	maŋononoŋ	*ACE	[pidatə]	*BUG	pedato
ISN	mag- ba <sup>?</sup> ba <sup>?</sup> nān	*BAT	mad'dək [hata]	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -pidato
*KAL	palawag	MIN	ba-pidato	WOL	pe <sup>ɔ</sup> ato
*TAG	salita <sup>?</sup>	IND	bər-pidato	MAG	
AKL	hamba†	SUN	pidato	NGA	mazi
PAL	məŋ-[bisara] ([bisara])	*JAV	mədar [sapdə]	*SIK	naruk tutur
*MOL	[bissara]			*RTI	ko-kola-k
*KAG	[diskursu]	MAD	pi <sup>ɔ</sup> ato	*BUR	[fisara]
		BAL		*DOB	na-r-si <sup>ɔ</sup> ar
				IRA	

SAW	n-ma-meiten	MEK	iva nini-na	AJI	vi vā
NYI	asehek sahou		e-ʔani-na	XAR	pūrā
MAM	pile-salaga	ROV	zinama	*NEN	aniwoton
*TAK	boum -rao	MAR	čeke	KIR	
DAM	od (i-rō-ya)	LAU	fale faroia	MSH	
MAB	-so sua	KWO	alafū	PON	
*YAB	-som biŋ	RAG		WLE	
KAU		PAA	selūs	EFI	βosa
*TOL	vər-v-ai	*LEW	kila vis-ena	*WHI	βoha
BUA	nər gagək	POR		RTU	fæŋa
*ADZ	ni da nan	NTA	-aŋhat e	TON	malaja
	wasi		noanəmləŋ	*SAM	tautala-ŋa
KIL	-guguya	*KWA	-ni asori	MEL	
TAW	wibaabani	*NEM	pūnet	TAI	ʔōrero
*MOT	gwai lasi	CEM	pî-p <sup>w</sup> ōti	RAP	tatara

KAL *palawag + man-*.

TAG *salitaʔ + mag-*.

MOL *[bissara] + mom-*.

KAG *[diskursu] + mag-* from Spanish *discurso*.

SAB *[bissara] + aN-* ‘make a speech’; *himumuŋan* ‘speech’ (n).

MGY From Arabic *ħabar* ‘news, information’.

ACE From Malay.

BAT *(maN-dək)*, *[hata]* from Sanskrit.

JAV *N-wəḍar [sapdɔ]* Sanskrit, also *sə-sorah*.

SAS From Javanese.

GOR From Malay (?) *pidato*.

BUG Also *map-pedato*.

SIK Also *naruk prəgasa-ŋ*.

RTI *kola-deʔa* or *ko-kola-de-deʔa* form a dyadic set in ritual language and also a doublet in ordinary language. *de-deʔa* can refer to word, speech, language, court case.

BUR More precisely ‘one’s piece during negotiations or the settling of a dispute’. Rana and Lisela *psara*.

DOB *na-r-siḥar* includes speaking in both informal and formal settings.

TAK ‘ceremonial speech orate’.

YAB ‘say speech’.

TOL	Intransitive counterpart of <i>v-e</i> (vb trans) ‘inform (a person)’.
ADZ	‘say-PART talk in.the.open’.
MOT	<i>gwau</i> ‘to speak, say’, <i>lasi</i> ‘to come out’. Also <i>hereβa lasi</i> . Note <i>haroro</i> ‘to make a speech’, now especially ‘to preach’ ( <i>haroro tau-na</i> ‘preacher, pastor’).
LEW	Also <i>visa-wali, visi</i> .
KWA	‘say big’.
NEM	<i>pūnet</i> ‘speech to welcome a guest’; <i>hōt</i> ‘harangue’ (traditional speech).
NEN	(respectful); also <i>eneŋočo</i> .
WFI	Also <i>tata</i> .
SAM	<i>tautala</i> see 18.210; <i>lafolafo-ŋa</i> ‘speech of an orator’; <i>lāuŋa</i> ‘speech, sermon’; <i>fetalai-ŋa, sāunoa-ŋa, tulei-ŋa</i> .

## 18.230 SILENT (BE)

ATA	*JAV	mənəŋ	MAB	-mane
TSO	MAD	sirəp	*YAB	-yàm tau-ŋ toŋ
RUK	*BAL	siəp	KAU	homəŋ
PAI	SAS	tədoʔ	*TOL	muŋə
YAM	*GOR	mo-oyəŋo	BUA	aye ma
ISN	DAA	neka-lino	*ADZ	uf
*KAL	UMA	ʔkabaʔi	KIL	-kapatu
*TAG	BUG	mam-mikko	TAW	todi
AKL	*KON	anreʔ na-miaʔ	*MOT	asi reyereye-na
*PAL	*WOL	pe-toʔu	*MEK	e-koŋo-mai-na
MOL	*MAG	həma	ROV	mokmoko
	NGA	ʔəte	*MAR	kmu
*KAG	*SIK	bile	*LAU	to aroaro
BLA	*RTI	ne	KWO	noto
SAB	BUR	em-toro	RAG	
*MUR	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> oy'ʔuy-ni	PAA	dō raloŋ
MGY	IRA		*LEW	yopuru
*ACE	SAW	n-tən-teŋən	POR	<sup>m</sup> bur
BAT	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>l</sup> uʔuk	NTA	-apnapən am
*MIN	MAM	moadubulae	*KWA	-apenapən
*IND	*TAK	awa- itaoa-n	*NEM	hūn
*SUN	*DAM	nin ke y-ale-ya	*CEM	-cimen

AJI	tāwādē	*PON	nennen	TON	fakaloŋo
XAR	mē-dɔdɔ	*WLE	maŋuwa-ŋuwa	*SAM	fīlēmū
NEN	paekoč(ɔn)	EFI	ŋalu	MEL	fakaroŋo
*KIR	kainabābu	WFI	βāwaŋiwaŋi	TAH	māmū
*MSH	ikəŋ	*RTU	totoka	RAP	mou

KAL *ginok + -um-*.

TAG *wala-ŋimik* ‘nothing said’.

PAL Also *pəkisnəŋ*.

KAG *ipes + m-*.

MUR *kodod (mag-)*.

ACE Also *suŋap*.

MIN Also *ano?*, *diam*.

IND Also *bər-diam diri*. *bər-diam* by itself means ‘to reside’.

SUN Also *ǰəmpliŋ*.

JAV Horne lists as both *mə-nəŋ* and a separate root *mənəŋ*.

BAL Also *m-əndəp*.

GOR (*woyoŋo + mo-*); also *<sup>n</sup>dowoŋo*.

KON Also *am motto?*

WOL Also *tapoki, toŋo* ‘be motionless, keep still’.

MAG Also *va<sup>n</sup>til*.

SIK Also *bileməkət*.

RTI Also *ne-ne, deŋe-deŋe*.

DOB An adjective.

TAK ‘mouth closed-its’, as in *awa-n itaoa-n* ‘mouth-his closed-its’, i.e. ‘his mouth is closed’, i.e. ‘he is silent’.

DAM quiet third-take-infinitive’.

YAB ‘do self-our together’ i.e. ‘we stay silent’.

TOL In compounds *mut* (vb intrans) is used, e.g. *ki mut* ‘sit silently’, ‘be silent’, *noŋon mut* (vb intrans) ‘(laugh silently-) smile’, see 16.250.

ADZ Also *muf*.

MOT Negative construction with *reyereye* from *reye* ‘sound’; lit ‘without a little sound’. Also *asi-ena hereβa*, lit ‘without his word’ i.e. ‘with nothing to say’. Also *se mareremarere* ‘he/she/it did not move’ i.e. ‘made no sound’.

MEK	<i>komo</i> is a common exclamation meaning ‘be silent’. NW Mekeo has <i>kemu</i> ‘silence’.
MAR	Also <i>glikmu</i> .
LAU	Also <i>bona</i> .
LEW	Also <i>va-ruru</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-amtapu</i> ‘refuse to answer, remain silent’.
NEM	Also <i>ta-higuk</i> .
CEM	Used as a post-verb; ‘in silence’.
KIR	Also <i>rau</i> see entry for ‘quiet’.
MSH	See also ‘quiet’.
PON	See entry for ‘quiet’.
WLE	See entry for ‘quiet’.
RTU	Also <i>meŋo</i> ‘stop crying’.
SAM	Also <i>lē tautala</i> ‘not talk’, see 18.210; <i>lē pisa</i> ‘not make noise’.

## 18.240 LANGUAGE

Sanskrit: *bhāṣa-*

ATA	kaiʔ	BAT		*RTI	de-deʔa(k)
TSO	reʔre	*MIN	[čaro]	*BUR	lie-t
RUK	vaga	IND	[bahasa]	*DOB	ser-siɸar
PAI	kai	SUN	[basa]	*IRA	iraro
*YAM	iñiak	JAV	[bəsə]	SAW	meiten
ISN	aggūni	MAD	[basa]	NYI	boho kon
KAL	bagbaga	*BAL	omoŋ	MAM	pile
*TAG	salitaʔ	SAS	[basə]	TAK	ru
*AKL	hambaɸ	GOR	[bahasa]	DAM	od
PAL	ampaŋ	DAA	[basa]	MAB	kalŋa-
MOL	[baʔasa]	UMA	[basa]	*YAB	biŋ
*KAG	ambal	BUG	[basa]	*KAU	sakal-ŋin
BLA	buŋ taluʔ	*KON	[bičara]	*TOL	t-in-əta
SAB	[bahasa]	WOL	po-gau	BUA	aye
MUR	dagu	MAG	čurup	ADZ	nan
MGY	fi-teni	NGA	səzu	KIL	biga
ACE	[basa]	*SIK	[sara]	TAW	pona

*MOT	gado	NTA	naŋhatan	*WLF	kapata
*MEK	mala	KWA	naŋkiarīen	EFI	βosa
ROV	zinama	*NEM	fare-	*WFI	tata
MAR	čeke	*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ó-n	RTU	fæŋa
*LAU	baea	AJI	měě a?	TON	lea
*KWO	fatala-na	XAR	nã	SAM	ŋaŋana
RAG	avo-ana	*NEN	lanəŋoč	MEL	a-tara
*PAA	selūsien	KIR	te taetae	*TAII	reo
LEW	vis-ena	MSH	kac	*RAP	?arero
POR	ničian	*PON	lokaia		

YAM Also *čizečizeŋ*.

TAG Also *wīka?*, [*leŋguwāhe*], from Spanish *lenguaje*.

AKL Also [*leŋguwāhe*], from Spanish *lenguaje*.

KAG Also [*laŋgwayi*] (var: *liŋgwayi*) from Spanish *lenguaje*.

MIN Also [*baso*].

BAL Also *muñi* e.g. *oməŋ Bali*, *muñi Bali* ‘Balinese’; also [*baso*].

DAA Also *pan-uli* ‘talk’.

KON From Sanskrit; also [*baso*].

SIK From Sanskrit.

RTI See 18.222.

BUR Elided to *li* (e.g. *Li Enyorot*, *Li Garan*).

DOB *ser-* is a class-changing prefix which transforms the verb root *siφar* ‘speak’ into a noun ‘language’.

IRA ‘their speech’.

YAB Also *əwε-ŋ* lit ‘our mouth’.

KAU ‘speak-NOM’.

TOL *-in-* nom., *təta* (vb intrans) ‘speak’, lit ‘speaking’.

MOT ‘throat, voice, language’.

MEK ‘tongue’.

LAU Also *fəroia*.

KWO ‘talking’.

PAA Also ‘speech, word’.

NEM From *falik* ‘word’; e.g. *fare-pup<sup>w</sup>āle* ‘French’ (‘word of Europeans’).

CEM ‘mouth, voice’.

NEN Also *pene*.

PON Also *māisen* hon.



WLE Also *kasa* ‘foreign language’.

WFI Also *βoha*.

TAH Also *parau*.

RAP Also *vanaja*.

## 18.260 WORD

**Sanskrit: *kathā-***

ATA	kai?	BUG	ada	ROV	zinama
TSO		*KON	pau	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ugra čeke
RUK	vaga	WOL	{kalima}	LAU	si baea
PAI	kai	MAG	tae	*KWO	mā <sup>ʔ</sup> e fataja
YAM	čizəčizəŋ	NGA	vivi	RAG	
ISN	ūni	SIK	βa	PAA	selūsien
KAL	ūgud	*RTI	de-de <sup>ʔ</sup> a-ko-	LEW	vis-ena
*TAG	[salita <sup>ʔ</sup> ]		kola-n	POR	
*AKL	pamisā <sup>ʔ</sup> a?	*BUR	li kase-n	NTA	naŋhatan
PAL	bərs	DOB		KWA	naŋkiarēn
MOL	sombilug	*IRA	sənanə	NEM	falik
	boros		wədərə	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ōti
*KAG	ambal	SAW	məiten	AJI	nō
BLA	talū <sup>ʔ</sup>	NYI	sahou	XAR	təpə
*SAB	[lapal]	MAM	pile	*NEN	lanəŋoč
MUR	dagu	TAK	ru	KIR	te taeka
MGY	teni	DAM	od	MSH	nān
ACE	narit	MAB	sua	*PON	lepin lokaia
*BAT	[hata]	*YAB	(biŋ) ŋa-lə	*WLE	kapata
*MIN	[kato]	*KAU	sakal-ŋin	EFI	ŋaŋa-
IND	[kata]		put ta	WFI	siki-ni-tata
SUN	kəčap	*TOL	pəkə-nə-t-	*RTU	fæeŋa
JAV	təmbuŋ		in-əta	TON	fo <sup>ʔ</sup> i lea
MAD	uča <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	gagək	SAM	ʔupu
BAL	krunə	ADZ	nan	MEL	a-tara
SAS	[kata]	KIL	biga	*TAH	parau
*GOR	lo <sup>ʔ</sup> iya	TAW	baha	RAP	vanaja
DAA	tesa	*MOT	hereβa		
UMA	lolita	*MEK	iva		

TAG	Malay [ <i>cerita</i> ] ‘tale’ = Sanskrit.
AKL	Root: <i>bisāṭa?</i> ‘utter’.
KAG	Also <i>taga?</i> .
SAB	From Arabic <i>lafaz</i> ‘utter a word’.
GOR	Also <i>tahe</i> .
KON	Also <i>pa?-pau</i> .
RTI	See 18.222.
BUR	‘section of speech’.
IRA	‘utterance-piece’.
YAB	‘(speech) its-claw’.
KAU	‘speak-NOM stem one’.
TOL	<i>pəkə</i> ‘part, piece’, <i>nə</i> CONN, lit ‘piece of speaking’.
MOT	See also 18.210. Also <i>ere</i> ‘speech, word’.
MEK	<i>iva</i> goes to <i>oabi</i> , <i>wabi</i> in North Mekeo, West Mekeo, and to NW Mekeo <i>kabi</i> . The meanings covered are ‘word, words, talk, speech’. See 18.220, note.
KWO	‘piece of talking’.
NEN	Also <i>laie</i> .
PON	Also <i>lepin masen</i> .
WLE	<i>kapata</i> ‘language’, <i>m<sup>w</sup>aliya-</i> ‘story’.
RTU	Also <i>fæeaŋ pupu</i> .
TAH	Also <i>reo</i> .

### 18.280 NAME

ATA	raṭu?	KAG	ŋaran	MAD	ñama
TSO	oŋko	BLA	dagit	*BAL	adan
RUK	naganə	SAB	ōn	SAS	aran
PAI	ŋadan	MUR	iŋgalan	GOR	ta <sup>ŋ</sup> gulo
YAM	ŋazan	MGY	anarana	DAA	saŋa
ISN	ŋāgan	ACE	nan	UMA	haŋa?
KAL	ŋādan	BAT	gɔar	BUG	asiŋ
*TAG	paŋālan	*MIN	[namo]	KON	areŋ
AKL	ŋāṭan	*IND	[nama]	WOL	saro
PAL	ŋaran	SUN	ŋaran	MAG	ŋasaŋ
MOL	ŋadan	*JAV	ṭənəŋ	NGA	ŋaza

*SIK	nara-ŋ	*KIL	yegila	AJI	nē
RTI	nade-k	TAW	gowa-na	XAR	nī
BUR	ŋaa-n	*MOT	lada	NEN	yelen
DOB	tam	*MEK	aka	KIR	te ara
IRA	no	ROV	pozana	MSH	at
SAW	ŋɔsɛn	*MAR	naŋa	PON	āt
NYI	ñara-n	LAU	hatana	WLE	ita
MAM	ara	KWO	lata-	EFI	yaḏa-
TAK	yanga-n	RAG	iha	WFI	-yaḏa
DAM	yana	*PAA	isok	RTU	asa
MAB	za-	LEW	kia	TON	hiŋoa
YAB	(ŋa)e	POR	naxis	*SAM	iŋoa
KAU	ia	NTA	narŋ-n	MEL	iŋoa
*TOL	iəŋ	*KWA	naŋhu-	*TAH	iʔoa
BUA	arɛ	NEM	yat	RAP	ʔiŋoa
ADZ	biŋa-	CEM	nī		

TAG PAN \*ŋājan.

MIN From Sanskrit.

IND From Sanskrit.

IAV Also *aran*.

BAL Also *paŋkus-an* 'acquired nick-name or title'.

SIK Also *nara*.

TOL For the possessive construction of *iəŋ* see Mosel 1984: 45.

KIL *yegila* (unpossessed); *yaga-* (possessed).

MOT Is inalienably possessed *ia lada-na* 'his/her name'.

MEK *va/vaa* is 'namesake; shared name'.

MAR '(his) name'.

PAA 'my name'.

KWA Also *nahaŋ*.

SAM (polite) *suafa*.

TAH Also *iʔoa piʔi*.

## 18.310 ASK (question, inquire)

ATA	makut	DAA	ne-kuta-na	*ROV	tepa
*TSO	tuo- $\zeta$ osi	UMA	pekune?	MAR	yusna
*RUK	ki-a-vaga	BUG	pak-kutan-aŋ	LAU	ledia
PAI	ki-vadaḡ	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -kuta <sup>?</sup> naŋ	KWO	orisi-a
YAM	ipačiči	*WOL	aḡa	RAG	
ISN	ipamutu?	MAG	rei	PAA	vīsi
*KAL	imus	NGA	tana	LEW	viuni
*TAG	tanoŋ	*SIK	pla	POR	xus-i
*AKL	kutāna-	RTI	na-tane	NTA	-atapah
PAL	məgiŋkut (iŋkut)	BUR	enika	KWA	-ares
*MOL	utana	DOB	ʔa-saman	NEM	um <sup>w</sup> ai
*KAG	insa	IRA	neriḡəḡə	CEM	táhim <sup>w</sup> o-hi
BLA	s-m-alək	SAW	n-utne	AJI	ΔΛwā
*SAB	tilaw	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> emeña	XAR	fā
*MUR	kuot	*MAM	tegi	NEN	eton
*MGY	man-untani	TAK	-simiai	KIR	titirakina
ACE	tañəŋ	DAM	to	*MSH	kacitikin
BAT	sukkun	*MAB	-wi	*PON	itek
MIN	ba-taño	*YAB	-tu kena?	WLE	xassiya
IND	bər-taña	*KAU	kines	EFI	taro-ŋa
*SUN	naña (taña)	TOL	tir	WFI	βeðu-ŋia
JAV	takən	BUA	lək təpeḡ in	RTU	sai <sup>?</sup> o
MAD	taña	ADZ	gut-a gin	*TON	fehu <sup>?</sup> i
*BAL	mə-[takən]	KIL	-katupoi	SAM	fesili
SAS	ŋətoan (kətoan)	TAW	lubayada	MEL	fēwia
*GOR	mohi <sup>n</sup> du	*MOT	he-nanadai	*TAH	ui
		MEK	e-pa-ʔani- peni(-a)	RAP	ʔui

TSO (tuo- $\zeta$ os-i).

RUK ki-a-vaga 'to ask vaga (word, language)'.

KAL imus + maN-/on.

TAG tanoŋ + mag-/in.

AKL kutāna- + paN-/un.

MOL utana + moŋ-/an.

KAG insa + mag-/m-/əŋ/-an; also taksar + mag-/əŋ.

SAB tilaw + aN-/ø.

MUR	<i>kuot (maŋ- -in).</i>
MGY	From PMP <i>*(ku)taña</i> .
BAL	From Javanese.
SUN	Also <i>naña-kin(taña-kin)</i> .
GOR	<i>(yi<sup>n</sup>du + moh-)</i> ; also <i>mo-[habari]</i> ‘ask’ (very respectful), from Arabic <i>ḥabar</i> .
WOL	Also <i>tapaki</i> .
SIK	Also <i>pla plina, pla ?lo?a</i> .
NYI	Also <i>lelen</i> .
MAM	Also <i>sinau, a?oro</i> .
MAB	‘Ask for information’.
YAB	‘become question’; also <i>-yàm kena?</i> ‘do question’, <i>-lesu</i> ‘ascertain by questioning, enquire’.
KAU	Also <i>kileŋ</i> .
MOT	<i>he-nanadai</i> (vb intrans), <i>nanadai-a</i> (vb trans).
ROV	Also <i>nanasa</i> .
MSH	Also <i>(kac)citək</i> .
PON	Also <i>kateik, keitek hon</i> .
TON	Also <i>?eke</i> .
TAH	Also <i>ani</i> .

## 18.320 ANSWER

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>jawāb</i> (n); <i>jāwab</i> (vb)
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ATA	č-um-iyuk	*PAL	məgtubag	MIN	[jəwab]
*TSO	ei-sfiti		(tubag)	IND	mən-[jəwab]
RUK	to-a-baɭə	*MOL	sambag	SUN	ŋa-[jəwab]
PAI	t-ən-əvəɭə	*KAG	sabat	JAV	maŋsuli
YAM	toviʃan	BLA	t-m-imil		(waŋsul-i)
ISN	suŋbāt	*SAB	sambuŋ	MAD	[jəwap]
*KAL	suŋbat	*MUR	tām	BAL	mə-saut
*TAG	sagot	*MGY	mamali	SAS	[jəwap]
*AKL	sabat	*ACE	suʔot	*GOR	molameto
		BAT	aius-i	DAA	ne-sono

*UMA	to <sup>m</sup> poi?	*YAB	-yo ... àwa (-sùŋ)	NTA	-ualp <sup>w</sup> ən
BUG	pappe-bali			*KWA	-erup <sup>w</sup> unə
KON	a <sup>?</sup> pi-hali	*KAU	sakal βet sun	NEM	ñabe
*WOL	lawana	*TOL	bəli	CEM	hêgi
*MAG	vale	BUA	nər yay	AJI	a <sup>?</sup> ɕli
NGA	təŋo	*ADZ	ni-da nan	*XAR	xax <sup>w</sup> ae
*SIK	dər		muŋa <sup>?</sup>	NEN	jen(øn)
RTI	na-ta	*KIL	-mapu	KIR	kaeka
BUR	sade	*TAW	wimihe-ya	*MSH	uwāk
*DOB	naŋay	*MOT	ha-ere	PON	sapeŋ
IRA		MEK	iva e-pa-muc	WLE	pařüwařĩ
SAW	n-čəŋel (səŋel)	ROV	olaŋa	EFI	sau-ma
NYI	asumon	MAR	čeke tuyu	WFI	hau-mia
MAM	pile- <sup>?</sup> atu	LAU	bae talamia	RTU	toŋi
*TAK	awa- -abi	*KWO	du <sup>?</sup> a-a	TON	tali
DAM	ait	RAG		*SAM	tali
MAB	-pekel kwo-	*PAA	vit kelesi	MFL	
		LEW	visa-tam <sup>w</sup> e	TAH	pāhono
		*POR	uč vari	RAP	pahono

TSO (*ei-sfīt-neni*); *ru-t<sup>?</sup>iŋi* (*ru-t<sup>?</sup>iŋ-a*) 'to act in return to a call'.

KAL *suŋbat + -um-*.

TAG *sagot + mag-/-in*.

AKL Proto-Philippines \**sabat*.

PAL Also *məgsimbat*.

MOL *sambag + -um-/-an*.

KAG *sabat + mag-/-ən*; also *baləs + mag-/-an* 'to respond'.

SAB *sambuŋ + aN-/-an*; also *sambag + aN-/ø*.

MUR *tām (-um-)*; also *balos (mag- -in)* 'answer (a letter)'.

MGY *maN-vali* from PWMP \**baləs*.

ACE Also [*jawuəp*].

GOR (*tameto + moN-*); also *mo-tuwahu* 'reply/respond (when called or questioned)'.

UMA Also *hono?*

WOL Also *lawani*.

MAG Also *va<sup>n</sup>til*.

SIK Also *ploβar dor*.

- DOB *naŋay* is a verb always used before direct speech; there does not seem to be a word meaning ‘answer’, but the context makes it clear that it is an answer.
- TAK ‘mouth hold’, as in *awa-g y-abi-ya* ‘mouth-my it-hold-PERF’, i.e. ‘my mouth held (it)’, i.e. ‘I answered’.
- YAB ‘-give.in.return ... his.mouth(-cavity)’; also *-o biŋ* ‘-give.in.return speech’.
- KAU ‘speak underneath someone’.
- TOL Also ‘compensate’, *torom* (vb trans) ‘answer, obey’.
- ADZ ‘say-PART talk back’.
- KIL Also used are: *-katu-mapu* ‘answer’; *-bitakaula* (verb focus) ‘answer’, *-bitakaulo-ki* (object focus) ‘answer-to (someone)’.
- TAW Answer a word, not a person.
- MOI See 18.260 ere.
- KWO Also *nē*.
- PAA ‘say in return’.
- POR ‘speak side’.
- KWA *-erup<sup>w</sup>un* also means ‘reciprocate’; *-rup<sup>w</sup>i* also means ‘throw an elongated object’.
- XAR Also *xatə*.
- MSH *ŋ<sup>w</sup>awæwē-* ‘answer a question’; *eəɔroŋ* ‘answer a call’.
- SAM *talia-a* (vb trans) ‘reply’, *tali* (vb intrans) ‘answer’, *-a* trans.

### 18.330 ADMIT, CONFESS

ATA		BLA	d-m-əwət	BAL	ŋ-aku
TSO			səɔɔ?	SAS	ŋ-aku?
RUK		*SAB	sa-bannal	*GOR	moŋaku
PAI		*MUR	akon	DAA	naŋ-aku
YAM	patwawən	MGY	mi-aiki	UMA	paŋ-aku?
ISN	admitaran	*ACE	aŋkəə	BUG	maŋ-aku
*KAL	tulon	*BAT	[aku-i]	*KON	a?-pau
*TAG	āmin	MIN	kaku	WOL	maŋ-[aku]
*AKL	āku?	IND	məŋ-aku	MAG	tura
*PAL	nɔsulutan	SUN	ŋ-aku	NGA	punu-gəsa
*MOL	torima	*JAV	ŋ-akɔ-ni	SIK	ploβar
*KAG	maŋaku	*MAD	sa[ruju?]	RTI	naka-hei-k

*BUR	eru-k	TAW	wibena-	CEM	
DOB	ʔa-toran		benama	AJI	ēřē vea
IRA		*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> aurai-a	XAR	bǎtiri
*SAW	n-[ŋaku]		hedinarai	NEN	un
NYI	ñowoña iy	*MEK	e-iva-fou-a	KIR	
MAM	maŋata-pile	*ROV	va-aɣoso	MSH	
*TAK	kuei-te-bəl	MAR	fatakle	PON	
*DAM	korō ɸe-se-ya	LAU	faroŋo ana si	WLE	
*MAB	-yok		dōgi	EFI	tusa-naka
*YAB	-loʔ sa	KWO		WFI	čuha-nakinia
*KAU	pok put	RAG		RTU	ʔoliŋa
*TOL	mulaot	*PAA	māleni	*TON	faka-moʔoni
BUA	ner raŋay	LEW	tam <sup>w</sup> ani	*SAM	ʔioe
*ADZ	ni-da wasi	POR	ka pai	MEL	taku-seia
KIL	-kamtuli	NTA	-ən atuatəp	*TAH	fāriʔi
		*KWA	-ni irap <sup>w</sup>	*RAP	haʔa tiʔa
		NEM	pa-uvāli		

KAL *tulon + i-*.

TAG *āmin + -um/-in*.

AKL *ākuʔ + -un*, PHN *\*ākuʔ*.

PAL Also *nənaŋə*.

MOL *torima + -an*.

KAG *ŋaku + ma-*.

SAB *sa-bannal + ag-*

MUR *akon (maŋ- -in)* ‘admit, acknowledge’; also *aŋku (maŋ- -in)* ‘confess’.

ACE Also *aku, muʔaku*.

BAT Malay, also *oku-i; makka-pərseə-i* ‘to confide’.

JAV From *N-aku-ni*.

MAD Arabic.

GOR (*ʔaku + moN-*) from Malay *məŋaku (aku + meN-)*.

KON Also *aŋŋ-ani, sama-turuʔ*.

BUR Also *prepa-k*.

SAW Arabic.

TAK ‘outside-at speak’ (12.060, 18.220).

DAM ‘openly third person.transitive.aux.vb.-come’.

MAB *-yok* ‘agree to’, *-swe lele-* ‘reveal one’s insides (= confess)’.



YAB	'-answer.affirmatively upward'; also -som ... <i>lase</i> 'speak something forth'
KAU	'announce stem'.
TOL	Also 'agree', <i>tətə k̄apə</i> (vb intrans) 'speak clearly, openly, confess'.
ADZ	'say-PART in the open'.
MOT	Also 'to explain' (see 17.380).
MEK	NW Mekeo has <i>poupai e-mia</i> (Brown).
ROV	Also <i>helhelac</i> .
PAA	Also 'agree'.
KWA	'say outwards'.
TON	Also <i>vete</i> .
SAM	Also <i>tali-a-ina</i> see 'confess': <i>fāʔali</i> see <i>taʔu-tino</i> (vb trans), <i>taʔu</i> (vb trans) 'tell', <i>tino</i> (vb intrans) 'be openly expressed', see 17.370.
TAH	Also <i>faʔatiʔa</i> .
RAP	Also <i>haʔaki</i> .

### 18.340 DENY

Arabic: *yunkir, inkār*

ATA	MGY	man-da	KON	as-'sassala
TSO	ACE	[iŋkuə]	WOL	pe-sapu
RUK	BAT	sə-ada-hən	MAG	pali
PAI	*MIN	[muŋkiʔ]	NGA	ree
YAM	*IND	məñŋkal	SIK	plai-ŋ
ISN		(saŋkal)	*RTI	tipa
*KAL	SUN	[muŋkir]	BUR	crei
*TAG		([puŋkir])	*DOB	nam [malawan]
AKL	JAV	selaʔ		ɸay
PAL	*MAD	[tulak]	IRA	
*MOL	*BAL	mə-boyə	*SAW	n-etəf
*KAG	*SAS	ŋ-[iŋkar]	NYI	aña b <sup>w</sup> e
BLA	*GOR	momāhu	MAM	boli
	DAA	ne-sapu	TAK	-tot
*SAB	UMA	sapu	*DAM	i-no-ya sā
*MUR	BUG	mas-sakka		i-rō-ya

*MAB	-watkāla	KWO	tofe-a	MSH	kārmæccet
*YAB	-sà ... àu?	RAG		PON	
KAU	βo kōklet	*PAA	seseini	WLE	
*TOL	vər-pu-əi	*LEW	virovi	EFI	đaki
BUA	ner bē ma	POR		WFI	haki-takinia
*ADZ	ri?-a ruan gin	NTA	-əmə taruru	RTU	ē
*KIL	-yakali	KWA	-ni ap <sup>w</sup> ini	*TON	faka-ʔikai-ʔi
TAW	bowi	NEM	wec	*SAM	faʔafiti
*MOT	he-yore	CEM	wótetā	MEL	taku-piččia
*MEK	e-puni-ai-ai-na	AJI	aʔvi yiāwī	*TAH	pātoʔi
ROV	osonia	XAR	bāçie	*RAP	naʔa
MAR	tutufu	NEN	čačere		
LAU	tofea	*KIR	kāki		

KAL *sulib + man-*.

TAG *tangi + -um/-an*; also *takwil* ‘disown, reject’.

MOL *poilu + han* ‘if lying’.

KAG *dili + mag-*; also *balibad + mag/-an (balibaran)* ‘deny by making an excuse’.

SAB *pailu + aN-*; also *limbuŋ + aN-*.

MUR *imbuali (mag-)*; also *ali?* (*mag-, maŋ- -on* ‘deny the theft of’).

MIN Also *bantah*.

IND Also *mānolak (tolak)* ‘deny a request’.

MAD From Malay or Javanese; Safioedin (1977) [*puŋkir*] ‘deny’; [*tulak*] ‘reject’.

BAL Also (*N-*)*boya-nin*.

SAS Arabic.

GOR (*pāhu + mōN-*).

RTI Also *ta sipok*, lit ‘not receive’.

DOB [*malawan*] is a Malay borrowing; ‘he opposes from’.

SAW ‘push off’.

DAM ‘third-put-infinitive not third-say-infinitive’.

MAB Also *wotkāla*.

YAB ‘fasten something wrongly’; also *-pa biŋ* ‘chop talk’.

TOL *pu-e* (vb trans) ‘deny, refuse’.

ADZ ‘deny-PART reflexive obl.obj.’.

KIL	‘denies accusation’. Other types of denial: <i>-paiki</i> ‘denies responsibility; refuses to do’; <i>-yusi</i> ‘denies use of item, withholds’.
MOT	<i>he-yore</i> (vb intrans), <i>yore-a</i> (vb trans).
MEK	<i>e-puni-ai-ai-na</i> is used by the missionaries to describe Peter’s denial of Christ. See 12.270, 17.360. We can also say <i>pi-foŋe e-mai-a</i> (? <i>e-maia</i> ).
PAA	Also ‘refuse’.
LEW	Also <i>visa-lup<sup>wari</sup></i> .
KIR	CAUS of <i>aki</i> ‘not’
TON	Also <i>faka-fisiŋaʔi</i> .
SAM	Also <i>teteʔe</i> (vb trans).
TAH	Also <i>tāpeʔa</i> .
RAP	Also <i>taʔe haʔa tiʔa</i> ; <i>haka ere</i> (archaic).

### 18.350 ASK, REQUEST

ATA	mayahuβuy	MAD	pinta	YAB	-teŋ
*TSO	ā-tviri	BAL	ŋ-idih	KAU	kines
RUK		SAS	ŋ-əndeŋ	TOL	lul
PAI		*GOR	mə-hile	BUA	kətag
*YAM	inowin	DAA	ne-rapi	ADZ	rim-a uʔuŋ
ISN		UMA	perapiʔ	KIL	-nigada
*KAL	dāwat	BUG	mellan	TAW	lupali
*TAG	hiŋiʔ	KON	aŋŋ-era	*MOT	noinoi
*AKL	ayuʔ	WOL	emani	MEK	e-ŋoi(-a)
PAL	nəŋaŋat	MAG	təgi	ROV	tepa
*MOL	aat	NGA	ŋede	MAR	tore
*KAG	ayu	*SIK	nəni	*LAU	gania
BLA	m-ni	RTI	no-ke	KWO	soe-a
*SAB	amuʔ	*BUR	laha	*RAG	hudali-ŋi
*MUR	maki-	DOB	ʔa-sol	PAA	vīsi
*MGY	mangataka	IRA	nəgei gərə	*LEW	viuni
ACE	lakeə	SAW	n-eror	POR	xus-i
BAT	maŋ-ido	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʳemeña	NTA	-atapahin
*MIN	mintəʔ	*MAM	sinəu	*KWA	-ase
*IND	mə-minta	*TAK	-godana	NEM	cila
SUN	menta	DAM	to	CEM	île-hi
JAV	ñ-ǰaluʔ	*MAB	-wi	AJI	pālǰi

XAR	p <sup>w</sup> ešere	WLE	tiḡaṛo	*SAM	ole
NEN	eton	EFI	kere-a	MEL	kainūm <sup>w</sup> ia
KIR	bubuṫī	WFI	kere-βia	*TAH	ani
MSH	(kac)citək	RTU	fara	RAP	nono <sup>ʔ</sup> i
PON	peki	TON	kole		

ṬSO (*ā-tvir-a*).

YAM Also *maḡḡaw*.

KAL *dāwat + -um/-on*.

TAG *hiḡi<sup>ʔ</sup> + -um-/hiḡin*.

AKL *ayu<sup>ʔ</sup> + paN-*; also *hinyu<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

MOL *aat + moḡ/-on*.

KAG *ayu + maḡ-*.

SAB *amu<sup>ʔ</sup> + aN-/ø*.

MUR *maki-* + (n) ‘ask for (n)’, *ikikiasi<sup>ʔ</sup>(-um-)* ‘ask a favour’.

MGY From *maN-hataka*.

MIN Also *pinto*.

IND Also *mə-mohon*.

GOR Also *mohi<sup>n</sup>du* (*yindu + moh-*). There is also the ‘requestive’ prefix *pe<sup>ʔ</sup>i-* (active, non-past form *me<sup>ʔ</sup>i-*; past *le<sup>ʔ</sup>i-*), which is affixed to the roots of verbs. Example: *me<sup>ʔ</sup>i-na<sup>ʔ</sup>o* ‘request/tell (someone) to go’.

SIK Also *nəni not, haβo-ḡ*.

BUR *en-laha-t* ‘a request’.

NYI Also *lelen*.

MAM Also *a<sup>ʔ</sup>oro*.

TAK As in *yeb o i-godana-ya* ‘areca nut’ + postposition + ‘he-request-PERFECT’, i.e. ‘he asked for some areca nut’.

MAB Also *-suḡ pa*.

MOT *noinoi* (vb intrans); *noi-a* (vb trans).

LAU Also *soea*.

RAG ‘ask’.

LEW See 18.310.

KWA Also *-esi* which also means ‘pick’ (fruit), ‘marry’, ‘follow’; *-akei* also means ‘cajole’.

SAM Also *taḡi* (vb intrans), sec 16.370.

TAH Also *tītau*.

## 18.360 PROMISE

Malay: <i>janji</i>
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ATA	š-um-iwa†	DAA	no- <i>janji</i>	ROV	vina tatara
TSO		*UMA	ja <sup>n̄</sup> či	MAR	ŋa <sup>?</sup> a čeke
RUK	pałain	BUG	maǰ- <i>janči</i>	LAU	bae alualu
PAI	ki-saļu	KON	a <sup>?</sup> - <i>janji</i>	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aifarunja <sup>?</sup> i
YAM		WOL	[ja <sup>n̄</sup> ji]	*RAG	tatau-leo
ISN	kari	MAG	rake	PAA	vat kati
*KAL	sapata	NGA	lese	LEW	visa-ari
*TAG	āko <sup>?</sup>	*SIK	[jaǰi]	POR	
*AKL	[promīсах]	RTI	helu	NTA	-atupən o
PAL	nənaŋo <sup>?</sup>	BUR	taho	KWA	
*MOL	aku <sup>?</sup>	DOB	nam now	NEM	
*KAG	tug <sup>?</sup> an	IRA		CEM	
BLA	fəkəŋ	SAW	n-ε[jaǰi]	AJH	kibō
*SAB	janji <sup>?</sup>	NYI	ta <sup>n̄</sup> d <sup>?</sup> akan	*XAR	še māi
*MUR	bantu	MAM	moimoibe- pile	NEN	yebuŋi
MGY	mampan- an'tena	TAK		*KIR	berita
ACE	janji	*DAM	i-giri-ya	MSH	kallim <sup>w</sup> ur
BAT	ǰad'ǰi-hən	*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> buk sua	*PON	inou
MIN	ba- <i>janji</i>	*YAB	-yá <sup>?</sup> mata	WLE	kekepaři
IND	mən- <i>janji</i> - kan	*KAU	βo kuk mata	EFI	yala-taka
SUN	ŋa- <i>janji</i> -an	*TOL	və-limə	WFI	yala-takinia
JAV	n̄- <i>janje</i> -ni	RTU	porōki	RTU	porōki
MAD	ǰ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>n̄</sup> ji	BUA	ner	TON	tala <sup>?</sup> ofa
*BAL	mə-subayə	ADZ	raga-	*SAM	fōlafola
SAS	janji	KIL	-katotila	MEL	taku-
GOR	mo- [daa <sup>n̄</sup> diya]	TAW	paliwitu- magana		sokisōkia
		MOT	gwau hamata	TAH	faufau
		*MEK	e-iva-ŋou(-a)	RAP	

KAL *sapata + man-*.TAG *āko<sup>?</sup> + maŋ-/ipaŋ-*.AKL From Spanish *promesa* (n).MOL *aku<sup>?</sup> + poŋ-*.

KAG	<i>tugʔan + mag-</i> ; also <i>saʔad + mag-</i> .
SAB	<i>janjiʔ + aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	(n), also [ <i>janjiʔ</i> ] (n and vb).
BAL	Also <i>-sobayə; mə-saŋketə; mə-sumayə, -səmayə</i> .
UMA	Also <i>tipaʔ</i> .
SIK	Also [ <i>jaʃi su(m)pa</i> ], and <i>sasər, sasi, sasi-ŋ</i> .
DAM	‘third-promise-INF’.
MAB	‘tie talk’.
YAB	‘hit his. eye’.
KAU	‘speak stay eye’.
TOL	<i>və</i> -CAUS, <i>limə</i> ‘hand’, <i>və-limə</i> ‘swear, promise’.
MEK	<i>e-iva-ŋou(-a)</i> means ‘confidently foretell; speak straight’; <i>e-iva-pa-uma</i> is synonymous; <i>iva-ŋome e-iva</i> means ‘tell the truth, speak truly, promise’.
RAG	Also <i>datau-leo</i> .
XAR	‘say before’.
KIR	<i>berita</i> see entry for ‘oath’; <i>m<sup>w</sup>ioko</i> also ‘confide, entrust’.
PON	Also <i>pilerēre</i> .
SAM	Also ‘announce publicly’.

### 18.370 REFUSE

ATA		*MUR	<i>ingalad</i>	DAA	<i>no<sup>m</sup>po-ara</i>
TSO		MGY	<i>çi m-eti</i>	*UMA	<i>huna</i>
RUK	<i>kay paɭain</i>	ACE	<i>tulaʔ</i>	BUG	<i>tōlaʔ</i>
PAI		*BAT	<i>daŋ maŋ-olo-i</i>	*KON	<i>anda na-</i>
YAM	<i>ikaşəkə</i>	MIN	<i>indaʔ amu<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>tarima</i>
ISN	<i>naddi</i>	*IND	<i>mənolak</i>	WOL	<i>me<sup>n</sup>deu</i>
*KAL	<i>adi</i>		<i>(tolak)</i>	MAG	<i>ogo</i>
*TAG	<i>pa-hindiʔ</i>	SUN	<i>nolak (tolak)</i>	NGA	<i>bau</i>
AKL	<i>balibad</i>	*JAV	<i>nolaʔ (tolaʔ)</i>	*SIK	<i>jəka</i>
PAL	<i>nəgməncliʔ</i>	*MAD	<i>[tulak]</i>	*RTI	<i>ta sipo-k</i>
*MOL	<i>saggaʔ</i>	*BAL	<i>piwal</i>	*BUR	<i>erei</i>
*KAG	<i>dili</i>	SAS	<i>tampiʔ</i>	*DOB	<i>ʔe ɸuy</i>
*BLA	<i>ləʔ dməwət</i>	*GOR	<i>dii-la</i>	IRA	<i>gibu</i>
SAB	<i>iŋgaʔi a-bayaʔ</i>		<i>mololimo</i>	SAW	<i>n-etof</i>

NYI	b <sup>w</sup> ale-n	ROV	korona	NEN	keo(n)
MAM	sege	*MAR	tiro(nā)	KIR	rawa
*TAK	-mōi	LAU	ote nia	*MSH	ap <sup>w</sup> əp <sup>w</sup>
*DAM	sā y-e-ya	KWO	ma <sup>ʔ</sup> asiri	*PON	kāŋ
*MAB	-tit		(te <sup>ʔ</sup> eni-a)	WLE	
*YAB	-gamiŋ	RAG		*EFI	bese-taka
KAU	luun	PAA	seseini	WFI	ʃua
*TOL	pu-e	LEW	visa-lup <sup>w</sup> ari	RTU	aŋoi
BUA	ner bē ma	POR		TON	fakafisi
ADZ	iri <sup>ʔ</sup> - nam	NTA	-aht	*SAM	tē <sup>ʔ</sup> e-a
*KIL	-paiki	KWA	-ap <sup>w</sup> ah	MEL	
*TAW	nugone-ya	*NEM	bu	TAH	pāto <sup>ʔ</sup> i
*MOT	dadarai	CEM	àlɛ-hi	*RAP	e ko haŋa
MEK	e-umaka	AJI	viɔ		
	(-lai-na)	XAR	fiɔ		

KAL *adi + -um-*.

TAG *pa-hindi<sup>ʔ</sup> + mag-/-an*; also *taŋgi + -um-/-an*.

MOL *sagga<sup>ʔ</sup> + -um-/-an*.

KAG *dili + mag-*.

BLA *ʔla<sup>ʔ</sup>dməwət* ‘not accept’; *lɔ<sup>ʔ</sup>m-ayə<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘not want to’.

MUR *iŋgalad (maŋ- -in)* ‘refuse permission’; *pisik (maŋ- -on)* ‘refuse to do s.th.’.

BAT ‘not say yes’.

IND Also *məŋ-iŋkar-i*.

JAV Also *nampi<sup>ʔ</sup> (N-tampi<sup>ʔ</sup>)*.

MAD From Malay or Javanese.

BAL Also *tulak*.

GOR *(hi-hile)* ‘not to accept (a request)’ (*tolimo + moN-*); also *mo-[tōlaki]* from Malay *tolak*.

UMA Also *poraŋu, poka-<sup>ʔ</sup>oŋa*.

KON Also *anre<sup>ʔ</sup> na-a<sup>ʔ</sup>ra<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

SIK Also *ʃəkaŋok, bəβə-ŋ, halə-ŋ, le<sup>ʔ</sup>e*.

RTI See 18.340.

BUR Also *tobe*.

DOB ‘his desire is finished’.

TAK ‘not want’ (see 02.341).

- DAM 'not third-aux.vb-infinitive'.  
MAB Also *-yok som* 'not to agree to'.  
YAB 'refuse to give, withhold'; also *-yàm ... àu?* 'do something wrongly' i.e. 'refuse to give'.  
TOL See 18.340.  
KIL 'refuse to do'. Also *-biwoli* 'refuse to receive'; *-βigisaki* 'refuse to help'; *-kaβilaβila* 'refuse to agree'.  
TAW 'refuse something'.  
MOT Also *ura* 'to want' with negative. Note *rū-a* 'to hold someone back, refuse consent to someone'. (*ū* is long.)  
MAR '(he) refuses'.  
NEM Also *kan, ciba*.  
MSH Western dialect; *ap<sup>w</sup>in* Eastern dialect; *m<sup>w</sup>akəkəkik* 'refuse to do something'.  
PON *kāj* 'decline'; *sip<sup>w</sup>e* 'refuse to comply'.  
EFI Also *burei-taka*.  
SAM cognate with *tete<sup>?</sup>e, te<sup>?</sup>c* 'become hostile'; *musu* (vb intrans) 'be uncooperative, refuse (to do something)'.  
RAP Also *ta<sup>?</sup>e haŋa; kai haŋa*.

### 18.380 FORBID

ATA	h-um-tu	MGY	man-d <sup>r</sup> ara	*KON	anre <sup>?</sup> na
*TSO	potano	ACE	laraŋ		kella-i
RUK	wa-təkəpə	BAT	ɔra-i	*WOL	me <sup>n</sup> deus-aka
PAI	k-əm-ə <sup>?</sup> əv	MIN	tagah	MAG	re <sup>?</sup> iŋ
YAM	zatən	IND	mə-laraŋ	*NGA	gaka
ISN	i <sup>?</sup> allaŋ	*SUN	ŋa-laraŋ	*SIK	ǰaga
*KAL	iyapa	JAV	ŋ-laraŋ-i	*RTI	pada-k
*TAG	bāwal	*MAD	ŋəgga	*BUR	ep-hai-k
AKL	bāwa†	*BAL	-[warə]	DOB	ʔa-yaŋar
PAL	tulak	*SAS	ŋəñili <sup>?</sup>	IRA	nə <sup>?</sup> ɸierə nətətə
*MOL	tagga	*GOR	moŋe <sup>n</sup> delo	SAW	n-čawan
*KAG	dili	DAA	nan-tagi		(sawan)
BLA	f-naŋ	UMA	tagi	NYI	winiyan b <sup>w</sup> e
*SAB	lāŋ	BUG	meč-čəŋ	MAM	babari
*MUR	saway			TAK	-padao



DAM	katũ	*LAU	mata lukea	NEN	wa <sup>o</sup> ebo(n)
*MAB	- <sup>o</sup> galsek pa	KWO	rui-a	KIR	tũka
*YAB	-yà <sup>o</sup> ya <sup>o</sup>	RAG		*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> Λp <sup>w</sup> rae
KAU	ulu	PAA	vit kole	*PON	irēti
*TOL	tigəl	LEW	visa-lup <sup>w</sup> ari	*WLE	xetaφ <sup>w</sup> ũ
BUA	nərin	POR	uč ŋal	EFI	βaka-tabu-ya
ADZ	pa <sup>o</sup> - a gin	NTA	-aniahau	WFI	βa-tabu-nia
KIL	-silibodi	KWA	-akise, -nise	RTU	ha <sup>o</sup> a
TAW	paligudugudu	NEM	fa-hiri	TON	tapui
*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> au-a tao	CEM	pácīti-hi	*SAM	fa <sup>o</sup> a-sā
*MEK	afu e-fau-ŋa	AJI	ya ve aĩ/ ya	MEL	čip <sup>w</sup> āpicčia
*ROV	va nosoa		pε aĩ	*TAH	ʔōpani
*MAR	fanagra	XAR	mĩri	*RAP	puru
TSO	(potan-i).				
KAL	āpa + i-.				
TAG	bāwal + mag-/ipag-; also saway + -um-/in.				
MOL	tagga + -han.				
KAG	dili + mag-; also impri + mag-/an; also pegeŋ + mag-/an implies 'to restrain'.				
SAB	lāŋ + aN-/ø.				
MUR	saway (mag- -on).				
SUN	Also nārek (čare-).				
MAD	Morpheme break not indicated?				
BAL	From Old Javanese. Also [-laraŋ], from Malay (more usual: siŋ (N-)baaŋ 'not allow' lit 'not give'.				
SAS	Root sili <sup>o</sup> ? See 18.390.				
GOR	(ʔe <sup>n</sup> delo + moN-).				
KON	Also a <sup>o</sup> -paraŋga.				
WOL	Also sasi.				
NGA	Also bəri.				
SIK	Also jaga pita, pa <sup>o</sup> ot pita.				
RTI	Also kena-ka <sup>o</sup> i.				
BUR	Also erei.				
MAB	Also -potom pa 'make unapproachable or forbidden', -peteke.				
YAB	'strike prohibition'.				

TOL	<i>var-tigal</i> (vb intrans); <i>tətē bat</i> (vb trans) ‘forbid, defend’, <i>təta</i> (vb intrans) ‘speak’, <i>bat</i> (vb trans) ‘obstruct’.
MOT	See 16.690.
MEK	<i>afu e-fau-ŋa</i> means in fact ‘place a taboo on something’, e.g. a tree (usually by tying a twist of leaf around it). NW Mekeo has <i>galabagu</i> , perhaps from Motu <i>taravatu</i> .
ROV	Also <i>hekinia</i> , <i>lopu vamaloŋia</i> .
MAR	<i>fanagra</i> ‘block, obstruct’; <i>soka</i> ‘place tabu upon’.
LAU	Also <i>fāābu</i> .
MSH	<i>kipel</i> also ‘advise, reproach, compel’.
PON	<i>irēti</i> with suffix <i>-ti</i> ‘down’, see <i>ire</i> ‘its border, limit’; <i>inap</i> <sup>wī</sup> .
WLE	Causative form, from <i>taφ<sup>wu</sup></i> ‘forbidden’.
SAM	<i>faʔa</i> - CAUS, <i>sā</i> (vb intrans) ‘be forbidden’; <i>tapu</i> (vb intrans) ‘be forbidden’, <i>tapu-ina</i> ‘forbid’.
TAH	Also <i>rahui</i> (fishing, gathering); <i>tapu</i> arch.
RAP	Also <i>taʔe haʔa tiʔa</i> .

### 18.390 REBUKE, SCOLD

ATA	ma-šʔaŋ	*MIN	man-čači	*BUR	ep-hai-k
*TSO	koiϕi	*IND	mə-marah-i	*DOB	ʔa-k <sup>wu</sup> uray
RUK	mā-əlala	*SUN	ŋa-gambreŋ		yaʔa
PAI	ki-rivu-an	*JAV	ŋuneʔuneʔke	*IRA	nəpəpəte
YAM	manoya	MAD	ñali (-cali)	*SAW	n-fa-sloē
ISN	al alŋān	*BAL	(N-)uel-in	NYI	losen
*KAL	sūlag	*SAS	ñiliʔaŋ	MAM	ebulo
*TAG	bulyaw		(siliʔ-aŋ)	TAK	-pei
AKL	paŋ-isug	*GOR	moŋa <sup>n</sup> diŋo	DAM	bulū
*PAL	tərwa	DAA	naŋ-o <sup>n</sup> tiaka	*MAB	- <sup>n</sup> gal mata-
*MOL	pijōl	*UMA	taneeʔ		pa
*KAG	saway	BUG	elleʔ	*YAB	-som ŋaʔ/lau
BLA	n-ŋək	KON	aŋŋ-iññaraŋ		təŋ
*SAB	amā	*WOL	maŋ-katu	*KAU	pio
*MUR	saŋit	MAG	palak	*TOL	bor
MGY	man-devi-levi	NGA	nora	BUA	ner
ACE	čarot	*SIK	rudu	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> piʔ-
BAT	muruh-i	RTI	naka-mumu	*KIL	-buyoyu

TAW	paliye	POR	čoxo <sup>m</sup> b-in-i	*PON	kitāwe
*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> au heni-a	NTA	-əhai	WLE	
*MEK	e-pai-na	KWA	-əski	EFI	βanau-đa
ROV	γeyese	NEM	maui	WFI	tataki-sia
MAR	nayo	CEM	pèle	RTU	samu
LAU		AJI	kā ve tāri	*TON	valoki
KWO		XAR	xatī	SAM	ʔote
RAG		NEN	iločie	MEL	kūm <sup>w</sup> ia
PAA	sel mini	*KIR	takua	*TAH	aʔo
*LEW	visi-ni kuli	*MSH	kɔp <sup>u</sup> ile	*RAP	ture

TSO (*koiç-a*).

KAL *sūlag + -an*.

TAG *bulyaw + -um/-an*.

PAL Also *saŋka*.

MOL *pijɔl + -on*.

KAG *saway + mag-/-ən*; also *ay + mag-/-ən (ayen)*.

SAB *amā + ag-/pag-an*.

MUR *saŋit (maŋ- -on)*.

MIN Also *man-čače?*

IND Also *məŋ-[hardik]*, *mənəgur* and *mə-maki* (vulgar).

SUN Also *ŋ-ambək (ambək ‘anger’)*.

JAV From (*N-RED-uni-(?)ke*), *uni* ‘sound, noise, utterance’.

BAL Also (*N-*)*opak*; (*N-*)*ča(d)čad* ‘criticise’.

SAS *sili?* ‘angry’.

GOR (*?a<sup>n</sup>diŋo + moN-*); also *mo-tadiya* ‘to scold’.

UMA Also *kamaro*.

WOL Also *wesi*.

SIK Also *jao-ŋ jəŋa*, *boʔo*, *hara-ŋ*.

BUR ‘cause to follow’; *ep-toke* ‘teach, instruct, (scold)’.

DOB ‘to be angry to’.

IRA ‘scold each other’.

SAW Also *n-[ŋamo]* from Temate.

MAB ‘pierce eye about’; *-yā<sup>m</sup>ba*, *-ŋasasāra* ‘scold’.

YAB ‘speak person/people otherwise’; also *-bu* ‘blame, find fault with’.

KAU	Also <i>tep</i> .
TOL	<i>bobor</i> (vb intrans).
KIL	Gentle. Various degrees of intensity of rebuking include: <i>-luluki</i> ‘rebuke’ (stern, hard words spoken); <i>-kamogi</i> ‘utterly condemn’; <i>-kominimani</i> ‘argue the rights and wrongs of’; emotional, wordy rebuke.
MOT	<i>g<sup>w</sup>au</i> ‘cause (always of something wrong)’; <i>heni-a</i> ‘to give’, used to construct transitive form of verbs. Also, weaker, <i>lo<sup>u</sup> heni-a</i> .
MEK	NW Mekeo has <i>e-keke-ŋa</i> .
LEW	‘talk like <i>kuli</i> -bird’.
KIR	<i>takua</i> cf. <i>taku</i> ‘say’; <i>mā</i> , <i>boā</i> .
MSH	Also <i>kauweik</i> ; <i>kipel</i> ‘advise, instruct’.
PON	<i>lip<sup>w</sup>ore</i> ; <i>aŋiaŋi</i> also ‘be angry at’.
TON	Also <i>tafulu<sup>?</sup>i</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tama<sup>?</sup>i</i> ; <i>?āvau</i> archaic.
RAP	Also <i>pohi</i> ‘scold (not severely)’.

### 18.410 CALL (=summon)

ATA		*MIN	imbaw	*RTI	na-lo
*TSO	re-oxo <sup>?</sup> i	IND	məmaŋgil (paŋgil)	*BUR	kala-k
RUK	wā-daolo			DOB	?a-tara
PAI	ḱ-əm-akiv	*SUN	[ŋəluk]-an ([čəluk])	IRA	
YAM	tawagan			SAW	n-kakem
ISN	palbetan	JAV	ŋ-undaŋ	NYI	aloh
*KAL	āyag	MAD	uŋ <sup>ʃ</sup> aŋ	MAM	?elia <sup>?</sup> i
*TAG	tāwag	*BAL	(N-)gəlur-in	TAK	-wagi
AKL	tāwag	SAS	əmpoh	*DAM	i-wegi-ya
PAL	məgtiŋkag	*GOR	mo-tiyaŋo	MAB	-bōbo
*MOL	tawag	DAA	nom-pokio	YAB	-yatu
*KAG	umawun	UMA	kio <sup>?</sup>	KAU	yuk
BLA	tlo	BUG	obbi <sup>?</sup>	*TOL	oro
*SAB	liŋan	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -keo <sup>?</sup>	BUA	ta <sup>?</sup> i
*MUR	piaw	*WOL	gora	ADZ	nu <sup>?</sup> -
MGY	mi-ançu	MAG	be <sup>n</sup> ta	KIL	-dou
*ACE	[hoy]	NGA	ḱee	*TAW	otuge-ya
BAT	ḱou	*SIK	topo	*MOT	boiri-a

MEK	e-iva-ŋa	KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> ein	EFI	kaði-βa
ROV	titioko	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> o	WFI	ðō-βia
MAR	kilo	CEM	tó	*RTU	li <sup>ʔ</sup> o
LAU	ara	AJI	a <sup>ʔ</sup> yε	TON	ui
KWO	o <sup>ʔ</sup> omaesi-a	XAR	xace	*SAM	vala <sup>ʔ</sup> au
RAG	ulo	NEN	kaio(n)	MEL	tāpā
PAA	vise	*KIR	wetea	*TAH	tūō
LEW	vio	*MSH	kiri	RAP	raŋi
POR	kae	*PON	eker		
NTA	-aunin	WLE	faseŋü		

TSO (re-oxo<sup>ʔ</sup>-a).

KAL āyag + -an.

TAG tāwag + -um-/-in, Proto-Philippines \*tāwaR.

MOL tawag + -um-/-on.

KAG umaw + mag-/-ən.

SAB liŋan + aN-/-an.

MUR piaw (mag- -on).

ACE Possibly Mon-Khmer.

MIN Also paŋgiə.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL Also (N-)kauk-in, (N-)jərit-in.

GOR Also moŋabuto (?abuto + moN-) ‘to call (someone or a vehicle that is passing)’.

WOL Also ke<sup>m</sup>ba.

SIK Also dopo bele, dopo pripo-ŋ.

RTI na-lo ‘to call’; naka-bu-bua ‘to gather together’ (see 12.210 /220).

BUR Also ala-k ‘summon and escort’; raŋi ‘summon (polite)’; eŋati ‘call (summon) cuscus’.

DAM ‘third-call-infinitive’.

TOL Often oro pa; for pa see Mosel 1984: 131.

TAW ‘call to someone’.

MOT boi ‘to call (intrans)’.

KIR kaoa CAUS of oo! ‘hey!’.

MSH lam<sup>w</sup>æce also ‘holler’.

PON Also likuwer, malipe, etiniei hon.

RTU Also *heʔo*.

SAM (polite) *fōnō*.

TAH Also *piʔi*.

**18.420 CALL (=name)**

ATA		GOR	mo-ʔo-ta <sup>ɲ</sup> gulo	ROV	pozania
TSO		DAA	no <sup>m</sup> popo-saŋa	MAR	kilo
RUK		UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-haŋaʔ	LAU	ʔai ʔana
PAI	ḱ-əm-aḱiv	BUG	maŋ-obbiʔ		hatana
YAM	iŋazan	*KON	as-sare areŋ	KWO	faʔalata-a
ISN	karrawān	*WOL	sa-roŋi	*RAG	hui
*KAL	ŋādan	MAG	be <sup>n</sup> ta	PAA	vise
*TAG	paŋālan	*NGA	ʔee	*LEW	vio
*AKL	hiŋāʔan	SIK	topo	POR	
PAL	məgbakyan	RTI	na-lo	*NTA	-aunin
*MOL	ŋadan	*BUR	fal-ŋae-k	KWA	-seŋi
*KAG	ŋaran	DOB	ʔa-tam	*NEM	na yale-n
BLA	d-n-agit	IRA	naguirə	CEM	tōi-nî-n
*SAB	ōn	SAW	n-ečeg	*AJI	aʔye
*MUR	iŋgalan (maŋ-; -in)	NYI	to <sup>n</sup> dʔohon	XAR	
*MGY	na-tau hue	MAM	ʔilau	NEN	atoyelen
*ACE	[hoy]	*TAK	yaŋa- -bol	*KIR	arana
BAT	gəar-i	*DAM	yana y-ū-ya	*MSH	ŋ <sup>w</sup> aetan
MIN	imbaw	*MAB	-pāta za-	*PON	kātaneki
*IND	məñəbut (səbut)	YAB	-e	*WLE	xaitō
		KAU	sik	EFI	βaka-toka-a
*SUN	[ñəbut] ([səbut]) (ŋaran)	*TOL	və-təŋ	WFI	βatoko-nia
		BUA	tuŋ yeβ rak	RTU	heʔo
IAV	ñəluʔ (čəluʔ)	ADZ	fariŋ-	TON	faka-hiŋoa
MAD	ŋ-uluk	*KIL	-doki	*SAM	faʔa-iŋoa
*BAL	(N-)kauk-in	*TAW	wigowa-ya	MEL	tāpā
SAS	əmpoh-aŋ	*MOT	lada-na hato-a	*TAH	piʔi
		*MEK	aka-ŋa-ai e- au-aŋo	RAP	nape

KAL *ŋādan + -on*.

TAG *paŋālan + mag-/i-*.

- AKL (*hiɟadlan*).
- MOL *ɟadan + po--an*.
- KAG *ɟaran + -an*.
- SAB *ōn + paɟ-/ni-an*.
- MUR *ingalan (maɟ- -in)*; also *sabit (maɟ- -on)* ‘call (=refer to)’.
- MGY e.g. *natau-ku hue Pauli izi* lit ‘called-by-me like Paul, he’, or ‘I call him Paul’.
- ACE Possibly Mon-Khmer.
- IND Also *mə-[nama]-kan* Sanskrit.
- SUN From Malay or Javanese.
- BAL Also (*N-*)*adan-in*, from *adan* ‘name (n)’.
- KON Also *a?-talla?*
- WOL Also *pe-ka-ma<sup>ɟ</sup>katu*.
- NGA Also *saa*.
- BUR Also *fal-ɟaa-k*.
- TAK ‘name say’ (18.280, 18.220), as in *ɟai nanu-g yaɟa-n Malcolm ɟa-bol-a* ‘I child-my name-his M I-say-PERFECT’, i.e. ‘I named my son Malcolm’.
- DAM ‘name third-hit-infinitive’.
- MAB *-pāta za- (be) X* ‘to name someone X’; *-bōbo X pa Y* ‘to name Y X’.
- TOL Also *və-iəɟ* (vb trans) *və-* CAUS, *iəɟ* ‘name’, 18.280.
- KIL Also *-βabu*.
- TAW ‘name something’.
- MOT *lada-na* ‘name’ (see 18.280); *hato-a* ‘to pronounce a name’.
- MEK *aka-ɟa-ai* means ‘by name’ (‘name-3sg-oblique’); *e-au-aɟo* is ‘indicate; call’.
- RAG ‘to name’.
- LEW Also *si-kia* ‘bestow a name on someone’.
- NTA Also *-osipən narɟən*.
- NEM ‘give his name’.
- AJI Also *ēřē nē*.
- KIR *arana* ‘give a name’ (< *ara* ‘name’); *atoɟa* ‘mention, recite, name’; *iɟoana* ‘have the same name as (< *iɟoa* namesake)’, possibly of Polynesian origin.
- MSH Third singular form, also *etɟ<sup>w</sup>ake* ‘name after someone’.

- PON *kātaneki* CAUS from noun 'name'; *adiṭikī* 'nakename'.  
 WLE CAUS from noun 'name'.  
 SAM *faʔa*- CAUS, *iḡoa* (vb intrans) 'be named' ; also *taʔu-a* (-a trans).  
 TAH Also *maʔiri i te iʔoa* 'give a name'.

## 18.430 ANNOUNCE

Arabic: *maʔlum* 'made known'; *ʔumūmī* 'be public'

ATA	ɣ-um-āŋ čuʔ kaiʔ	GOR	mo-po-lele	*MEK	e-iva-fou-a
		DAA	no <sup>m</sup> pato-lele	ROV	toziɣurania
TSO		*UMA	po-po-ʔi <sup>n̄</sup> ča-i	MAR	
RUK		BUG	mappal-lɪbbaŋ	LAU	ai taloŋai(ni)
PAI		KON	aʔ-pau-aŋ	KWO	faʔafoua
YAM	manawag	WOL		RAG	seserai
ISN	ikagi	MAG	vero	*PAA	vit meseleni
*KAL	palawag	NGA	reku	LEW	visa-wali
*TAG	pa-talastas	*SIK	deβa	POR	
*AKL	pa-hi-sāyud	RTI	na-fada	NTA	-əniarap
*PAL	səʔəwd	*BUR	prepa-k	KWA	-awisau
*MOL	boritaʔ	DOB	na-r-ɸaiyiri	NEM	jāt
*KAG	sugid	IRA		CEM	tōī
BLA	f-gadəʔ	SAW	n-fəbiŋe	*AJI	čřč rəà
*SAB	pa-hati	NYI	tīye tanan	XAR	fa-abā
MUR		MAM	maŋata-pile	*NEN	aɛŋeni
MGY	mi-laza	*TAK	-bol -lasa	KIR	atoŋa
*ACE	bri [maʔlum]	*DAM	i-rō-di karī	MSH	kēaŋ
BAT	pa-bəʔə-hən		d-oup	PON	pakāir
MIN	ma-lewa-kan	*MAB	-soyāra	WLE	xappiyō
*IND	məŋ-[umum]- kan	*YAB	-som ... lase	EFI	kaði-βaka
*SUN	ŋ-[umum]-kin	KAU	pək	*WFI	βarəŋə-takinia
JAV	wəʔə-wəʔə	*TOL	və-ərik-e	RTU	heʔ-ɔki
MAD	ŋ-[umumm]- aɣ <sup>f</sup> i	BUA	ner	TON	fanəŋonəŋə
*BAL	ŋ-[arah]-aŋ	*ADZ	ni-da wasi	*SAM	taʔu
*SAS	ŋə-[wartə]-aŋ	*KIL	-kamituli	*MEL	[rəŋəʔəŋəkina]
		TAW	paligelete-ya	*TAH	faʔaara
		*MOI	g <sup>w</sup> au hedinarai	RAP	haʔaki



- KAL *palawag + i-*.
- TAG *pa-talastas + mag-/i-*.
- AKL *pa-hi-sāyud + i-* ‘notify’.
- PAL *səʔsəʔs* ‘make known’; *parati* ‘make understand’.
- MOL *borita? + i-*.
- KAG *sugid + mag-/an*; also *butyag + mag-*.
- SAB *pa-hati + aN-/ø*; also *tañag + aN-/ø*.
- ACE Also *pu-ma?lum*.
- IND Also *məm-bəri-tahu-kan*, *məm-bərīta-kan*, *mə-ñata-kan*.
- SUN Also *ŋa-wawar-kən*.
- BAL ‘announce news to each house in a village’; from Old Javanese.
- SAS From Sanskrit.
- UMA *popo-ʔi<sup>n</sup>ča-i* ‘to cause to know, tell’; *po-pa-rata* ‘cause to arrive, deliver news’.
- SIK Also *deβa dət*, *bəli ra?inta-ŋ*.
- BUR Also *bleta-k*.
- TAK ‘say come out’ (18.220, 04.720).
- DAM ‘third-say-different.subject hear they-future’.
- MAB *-soyāra* ‘proclaim’; *-soṭāra* ‘notify’.
- YAB ‘-speak ... forth’.
- TOL ‘make something known’, *və-* CAUS, *-e* trans, *ərik-əi* (vb intrans) ‘become known’.
- ADZ See 18.330.
- KIL See also 18.330.
- MOT Transitive *g<sup>wau</sup>-rai-a hedinarai*. see 17.380, 18.330. Also *hereβa-lai-a* ‘to speak about’, (*hereβa* ‘to speak’, *-lai-* accompaniment/instrument); *haripiu* ‘to report news’ (also *hari-piu-a*); *g<sup>wau</sup>aug<sup>wau</sup>* ‘to report (bad) news’ (*g<sup>wau</sup>* ‘to speak’).
- MEK *e-iva-fou-a* is synonymous with 18.330, ‘admit, confess’. NW Mekeo has *inoŋa*.
- PAA Also ‘explain’.
- AJI Also *γλῥλi*.
- NEN Also *laenatan*.
- WFI Also *βadawadawa*.
- SAM ‘announce publicly’: *?alaŋa* (vb intrans), *fōlafola* (vb trans), (polite) *pāui* see 18.130, 18.360.

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *faʔaʔite*.

### 18.440 THREATEN

ATA	š-um-ʔaʔičuɣ	BUG	maŋ-aŋčəŋ	LAU	fāmoua
TSO	mao-ŋoxriŋri	*KON	aŋŋ-aŋjaʔ	KWO	fāʔuʔua
RUK		*WOL	[a <sup>h</sup> čamu]	RAG	
PAI		MAG	ŋərək	PAA	
YAM	alalawən	NGA	ŋuʔu	LEW	vie-kuli
ISN	panansiŋan	*SIK	huʔar	POR	
*KAL	kigtut	RTI	balata	NTA	
*TAG	bālaʔ	BUR		*KWA	-emhan
*AKL	paʔag	DOB	ʔa-yoʔay	NEM	fa-hagai
*PAL	pɔdusaʔan	IRA		*CEM	pá-m <sup>w</sup> óti
*MOL	saŋgup	SAW	n-fa-sloε	AJI	təjǎ
*KAG	paəg	NYI	nohowa	XAR	fa-m <sup>w</sup> ǎ
BLA	f-an-likoʔ	MAM	sagari	NEN	čami
*SAB	saŋgup	*TAK	ilo-rer -pani	*KIR	taborā
*MUR	akaŋ	*DAM	kumīi-φenē-	*MSH	micak
MGY	man-ɖ <sup>r</sup> ahuna		ya	PON	
ACE	pui-takot	MAB	-pamoto	WLE	
BAT	ɔddam	*YAB	-guŋ koʔ	EFI	βaka-rere-a
MIN	añčam	*KAU	βo si mata	WEI	βa-mata-
IND	məŋ-ančam	TOL	məŋ		mataku-ðia
SUN	ŋ-añčam	BUA	ner	RTU	rara
JAV	ŋ-añčam	ADZ	radzo <sup>h</sup> ʔ-	TON	fakamana-ʔi
MAD	ŋ-ara	*KIL	-kapoki	*SAM	faʔa-fefe
*BAL	ñəjəhin (jəjəh)	TAW	palilowolowo	MEL	
SAS	ŋ-añčəm	*MOT	ha-gari-a	TAH	faʔariʔariʔa
GOR	mo-po-diya	MEK	e-iva-ʔeʔefa	*RAP	haka riʔa-riʔa
DAA	nom-pararai	ROV	vamat-		
UMA	po-ŋasa-iʔ		matayutu		
		*MAR	noro		

KAL *kigtut + -on*.

TAG Also *bantaʔ + mag-/pag--an*.

AKL *paʔag + -un*.

PAL	Also <i>pinadusaʔan</i> .
MOL	<i>sangup + -an</i> .
KAG	<i>paeg + mag-/-ən</i> .
SAB	<i>sangup + aN-/-an</i> .
MUR	<i>akaŋ (maŋ--in)</i> .
BAL	‘frighten’.
KON	Also <i>aʔ-paka-mallaʔ</i> .
WOL	Malay.
SIK	Also <i>jana-t, ogo-ŋ, pora-ŋ, nau-ŋ jaŋo-ŋ, naŋo-ŋ</i> .
TAK	‘inside-fear give’, as in <i>ilo-rer i-pani-ya</i> ‘inside-fear he-gave (-him)-PERF’, i.e. ‘he threatened him’.
DAM	‘fear third-give him-infinitive’.
YAB	‘prick death threat’ (used esp. of threatening revenge for a death); also <i>-lò koʔ</i> ‘throw death threat’ (used of declaring war); <i>-yòŋ</i> ‘threaten’, <i>-yo</i> ‘threaten’.
KAU	‘speak move upwards eye’.
KIL	Also <i>-bitu-kukoli</i> cause-fearing ‘threaten vindictively, causing him to be afraid’.
MOT	‘to cause fear’.
MAR	‘threaten with a weapon’.
KWA	‘threaten to strike’.
CEM	‘make fear; frighten’.
KIR	‘bad place’; also ‘curse, insult’; <i>wībuakāea</i> ‘speak ill of’.
MSH	‘threatened, frightened’.
SAM	<i>faʔa</i> CAUS, <i>fefe</i> ‘be afraid’ (16.530); also <i>faʔa-mataʔu</i> .
RAP	<i>haka riʔa-riʔa</i> ‘frighten, intimidate’.

### 18.450 BOAST

ATA	ma-na-ʔaβaš	*KAL	paswal	BLA	f-dog
TSO	bi-tano	*TAG	yabaŋ	*SAB	abbu
RUK	ɖəɖəŋərə	*AKL	pa-bugaɬ	*MUR	isisimbawol
PAI	v-ən-əʔa	PAL	mogabu (abu)	MGY	mi-rehaka
YAM	maparway	*MOL	abbu	ACE	buhaʔ
ISN	ibanābag	*KAG	bugal	*BAT	hagidjakkən

MIN	maruoʔjua- koyoʔ	IRA		*LEW	wariwari
		SAW	n-fa-seŋe	POR	vuv <sup>w</sup> -i
*IND	məñombon- kan (sombon)	NYI	iy atudun iy	NTA	-osipər atəp in
		MAM	ne raʔeaʔa	*KWA	-əwi atuk <sup>w</sup>
*SUN	agul	*TAK	se- yaŋa-	*NEM	pe-fa-huni
JAV	umuʔ		-abi-sa	CEM	pī-pī-dê-n
MAD	gəmbus	*DAM	aya-m-aya-m	*AJI	aʔve ə
*BAL	ŋ-aʃum-aŋ iba	*MAB	-kam ni-	XAR	peti
SAS	okok	*YAB	-kiaŋ tau-ŋ sa	NEN	akuian(on)
GOR	mo-ti-ti-	*KAU	βaŋan pon	*KIR	kamoamoa
	ma <sup>ɔ</sup> ga	*TOL	vəgiə	*MSH	cæcek
*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> paka-laŋa rara	BUA	ko yi raŋ	*PON	ū
		*ADZ	ʒarif-a ruan	*WLE	xatixo
*UMA	po-pe-liu	KIL	-kamnom <sup>w</sup> ana	EFI	dokadokā-
BUG	ma-timpo	TAW	kawayagala		taka
*KON	horon aʔ- [bičara]	*MOT	heayɪ	WFI	bole
		*MEK	ifoc-iva-ŋai-	RTU	ʔara
WOL	pa-lewa		na	*TON	tāla-lākulaku
MAG	ʃopak	ROV	hesi pulenia	*SAM	mitaʔi
*NGA	hou	MAR	čeke	MEL	tupu-
*SIK	kahe βiʔi-ŋ		fahaehaye		soссорokina
RTI	koa ao-n	LAU	fā naunau	*TAH	faʔatietie
BUR	stor-haa	*KWO	fatanaunau	*RAP	teʔo-teʔo
*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> asar si basir-ni	*RAG	av-ŋari ŋari		
		PAA	vūti		

KAL *paswal + maN-*.

TAG Also *hambog + mag-/ipag-, bansag*.

AKL *pa-bugaʔ + i-*.

MOL *abbu + o-po-*.

KAG *bugal + mag-*.

SAB *abbu + ag-*.

MUR *isisimbawol(mag-)*.

BAT (*ha-gidʒaŋ-hən*); *ha-* is often prefixed to verbs denoting an emotional state, see 12.080, 12.330.

IND Also *bər-cakap anin* 'talking air'.

SUN See 16.480 'proud'; also *adiguŋ* 'cocky, conceited'.

- BAL Also (*N*-)*aǰum-aŋ* [*dewek*] both lit ‘praise self’; [*dewek*] from Old Javanese.
- DAA ‘cause to be high insides’.
- UMA ‘to put oneself ahead’.
- KON From Sanskrit.
- NGA Also *hou-təŋo*.
- SIK Also *kahe bətir*, *kahe beʔek*, *kahe beok*.
- DOB A compound phrase of two synonyms meaning ‘boastful’, only the second adjective in these phrases takes the agreement suffix.
- TAK ‘praise oneself’ (see 16.790): ‘self name lift’ (18.280, 10.220), as in *se-n yaŋa-n y-abi-sa-da* ‘self-his name-his he-hold-climb-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘he is holding up his own name’, i.e. ‘he is boasting’.
- DAM ‘I-by I-by’
- MAB *-kam ni-* ‘do skin’; *-kam seu* ‘do boasting’.
- YAB ‘hang self-our up’ i.e. ‘boast about ourselves’; also *-lanem tau-ŋ* ‘-praise self-our’.
- KAU Also *βa-i si pit* ‘carry-it move upwards’ + ‘stand’.
- TOL *vəgi* (vb trans) ‘boast with’.
- ADZ ‘praise-part reflexive’.
- MOT Also *heayi-lai-a* ‘to boast about, be proud of’; *hekokoroku* ‘to show off, be proud’.
- MEK *ifo e-iva-ŋai-na* means ‘himself he-praises-him’. We also have *e-pa-fau* ‘swagger, act in a boasting manner’.
- KWO ‘talk-me-me’.
- RAG Also *sayerei*.
- LEW = 16.480, also *vilave*.
- KWA ‘pull reflexive marker’, i.e., ‘pull oneself’.
- NEM ‘REF-CAUS -big’.
- AJI Also *pə kau*.
- KIR ‘to put first’.
- MSH Also *likΛmcæcε*; *kΛŋ<sup>w</sup>kΛmm<sup>w</sup>an* lit ‘to make oneself good’.
- PON Also *kās*.
- WLE Also *xatinapa*.
- TON Also *tāla-ŋānaŋana*.
- SAM See 16.480, *mimita* (vb intrans) ‘be proud’.

TAH Also *faʔaahaaha, faʔateitei, fateniteni*.

RAP Also *hiki puku* 'boast (of wrong doing, bad) (archaic)'

### 18.510 WRITE

*ATA	matik	DAA	nan-tulisi	*MAR	riso
*TSO	t-m-opsi	UMA	mo-ʔukiʔ	LAU	kekede
RUK	wa-paʕasə	BUG	ma-roki	KWO	giri-a
PAI	v-ən-əʔik	KON	aŋ'ŋ-ukiri	RAG	rava
YAM	mivatvatək	*WOL	ɓuri	PAA	mutis
ISN	mag-sūrāt	*MAG	[tulisi]	LEW	siri
*KAL	kaŋlit	NGA	uri	POR	tös-in-i
*TAG	sūlat	SIK	kəla	NTA	-ate
*AKL	[suʔat]	RTI	sula-k	*KWA	-rai
PAL	məgsurat (surat)	*BUR	sula	NEM	tī
		DOB	ʔa-tiya	CEM	tī
*MOL	surat	IRA	negəʔə	AJI	yu
*KAG	sulat	*SAW	n-[lefo]	XAR	çu
BLA	s-m-ulət	NYI	atorou	NEN	xiwamomo(n)
*SAB	sulat	MAM	gere	*KIR	korea
*MUR	[tulisi] (maŋ-; -in)	TAK	-gire	*MSH	cece
*MGY	manuratra	*DAM	i-toto-ya	*PON	nŋiŋ
ACE	tuleh	MAB	-bēde	*WLE	fatoxi
*BAT	manurat	*YAB	-tə	EFI	βola-a
*MIN	mañureʔ	*KAU	pan sakal-ŋin	WFI	βola-ia
*IND	mənulis (tulisi)	*TOL	tumu	RTU	fəʔi
SUN	nulis (tulisi)	BUA	kəβu	TON	tohi
JAV	nulis (tulisi)	ADZ	kakar-	*SAM	tusi
MAD	tulis	*KIL	-gini	MEL	kanua
*BAL	nulis (tulisi)	TAW	giluma	TAH	pāpaʔi
SAS	nulis (tulisi)	*MOT	tore-a	*RAP	papaʔi
*GOR	moluladu	*MEK	e-pa-pua		
		ROV	kubkubere		

ATA Also *mataš*.

TSO (*tpos-i*).

KAL *kaŋlit + maN-*.

TAG *sūlat + -um-/i-* from Malay *surat* = PHN \**sūRat*.

- AKL [*suʔat*] + *i-* from Malay *surat* = PHN \**sūRat*.
- MOL *surat* + *mog-/-um-/i-*.
- KAG *sulat* + *mag-/-ø/-an*.
- SAB *sulat* + *aN-/ø*.
- MUR [*tulis*] (*maŋ- -in*) from Malay *tulis*.
- MGY From *maN-suratra*.
- BAT (*maN-surat*).
- MIN From (*maN-sure?*); also *manulih*(*maN-tulih*).
- IND Also *məñurat* (*surat*) ‘write a letter’.
- BAL Also *ñurat* (*N-[surat]*) (vb intrans) from Old Javanese?
- GOR (*tuladu* + *moN-*).
- WOL *reka* ‘write a story’.
- MAG Malay, archaic synonym is [*tu<sup>n</sup>ti*], from Bimanese.
- BUR Also means ‘create’.
- SAW Ternate.
- DAM ‘third-write-infinitive’.
- YAB ‘write, draw, paint’.
- KAU ‘paint speak-NOM’.
- TOL Originally ‘paint small patterns on canoes’.
- KIL Originally ‘to carve a design or pattern’, this is now regularly used to refer to writing.
- MOT *tore-a* (vb trans); *toretore* (vb intrans) ‘to mark a design on the skin before tattooing’; hence ‘to write’.
- MEK means ‘bear fruit, make bear’; the paper ‘bears’ the writing at the behest of the pen.
- MAR Also [*kakafna*] from Bughotu.
- KWA Also means ‘rub’.
- KIR Also *koro boki*.
- MSH Also [*m<sup>w</sup>alen*] from German.
- PON Also *ntiŋī*.
- WLE Also *tafō*.
- SAM Also ‘point with finger, draw’.
- RAP Also *rero-rero* (archaic).

## 18.520 READ

**Sanskrit:** *vacas-* ‘word speech’, cf. *vācā-* ‘sacred text, holy words’

ATA	ʈ-um-puy	GOR	mo-[bača]	*MEK	e-kuapi(-na)
*TSO	mo-ʔreŋxo	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-[basa]	ROV	tiro
RUK	si-a-ḷigo	UMA	mo-[basa]	MAR	iʃuʔiʃu
PAI	s-əm-upu	BUG	mab-[bača]	LAU	idu
YAM	mivilaŋ	KON	aʔ-[bača]	KWO	
ISN	mag-[bāsa]	WOL	[bača]	*RAG	vasoɣo
*KAL	[bāsa]	*MAG	toto	*PAA	lesi
*TAG	[bāsa]	NGA		LEW	wulo
*AKL	[bāsah]	SIK	ʔata	*POR	uč sūr-i
PAL	mɔg-[batyaʔ]	*RTI	[les]	NTA	-afin
*MOL	[bassa]	BUR	[bača]	*KWA	-awsini
*KAG	[basa]	DOB	ʔa-sanam	*NEM	fine tī
BLA	[m-ɔsɔ]		[suratu] yabil	CEM	píne
SAB	[bassa]	IRA	neφitə φe	AJI	vāřā
*MUR	[basaʔ]	SAW	n-[wača]	XAR	fārā
*MGY	mamaki teni	NYI	añolom	NEN	ieie
*ACE	[buət]	*MAM	[leze]	*KIR	wareka
*BAT	[jaha]	*TAK	-siti	*MSH	kʌnono
MIN	mam-[bačo]	*DAM	i-wese-ya	PON	watek
IND	məm-[bača]	MAB	-pāta	WLE	xa-řōxī
SUN	[mača]	YAB	-sam	EFI	wili-ka
	([bača])	*KAU	mata-n ira	WFI	wili-kia
JAV	[mɔčɔ]	*TOL	luk	RTU	hata
	([wɔčɔ])	BUA	teβin	TON	lau
MAD	[baca]	ADZ	fāris-	*SAM	faitau
BAL	[macə]	KIL	-kalawa	*MEL	[fefe]
	([pačə])	TAW	hiyawa	TAH	taiʔo
SAS	m-[bačə]	*MOT	duahi-a	*RAP	taiʔo

TSO (*reŋx-a*).

KAL {*bāsa*} + *man-*.

TAG [*bāsa*] + *-um/-in* from Malay *bacah*.

AKL [*bāsah*] + *-un* from Malay *bacah*.

MOL [*bassa*] + *mog-/an*; also *batsa* + *mog-/an*.



KAG	[basa] + mag-/-ən.
MUR	[basa?] (mag- -in) from Malay <i>bača</i> from Sanskrit.
MGY	From <i>maN-vaki + teni</i> .
ACE	Written -c.
BAT	From Sanskrit.
MAG	Nowadays: [bača].
RTI	Dutch <i>lezen</i> .
DOB	'he asks the inside of a book/letter'. Often the Malay [bača] is used.
MAM	From German.
TAK	'count' (13.107).
DAM	'third-count-infinitive'.
KAU	'eye-his follow'.
TOL	Originally only 'count'.
MOT	Also 'to count'. Porebada <i>duhai-a</i> .
MEK	<i>e-kuapi(-na)</i> originally meant 'count, tell off, check off' (see 13.107, note). NW Mekeo has <i>e-ba-gae-a</i> (= East Mekeo <i>e-pa-kae-a</i> ).
RAG	Also <i>basoyo</i> .
PAA	Also 'see, look at'.
POR	'talk follow-s.th.'.
KWA	Also means 'count'.
NEM	'recite writing'.
KIR	<i>wareka</i> also 'count, spell, calculate'; <i>wareboki</i> 'read', with incorporated object [boki] book.
MSH	Also 'recite': <i>wāke</i> .
SAM	Also 'count'; <i>faitau tusi</i> (vb intrans) 'read' (vb intrans), lit. 'read book'.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	Also <i>rutu</i> (archaic).

## 18.560 PAPER

**Arabic:** *qirtās, qarāṭīs*

**English:** *paper*

**Spanish:** *papel*

ATA ruaš

PAI ɣadupu

KAL [papil]

TSO saiptuku

YAM vakoŋ

TAG [papel]

RUK sənətə

ISN |papel|

AKL [papel]

PAL	[karatas]	*SIK	[surat]	*KWO	gae ʔola
MOL	[koratas]	RTI	[kaltas]	RAG	
KAG	[pa'pil]	*BUR	[kərtas]	*PAA	[vēva]
BLA	[fafil]	*DOB	[suratu]	LEW	lum <sup>w</sup> aki
SAB	[katas]		rak <sup>w</sup> in	POR	
MUR	[kadatas]	IRA		*NTA	ma[pepe]
MGY	[taratasi]	SAW	[karaʔtas]	KWA	
ACE	[kuɾutaih]	NYI	laʔukei	NEM	hā-n tī
BAT	[harɔtas]	MAM	[pepa]	CEM	áhi-tì
MIN	[karateh]	*TAK	[pepa]	AJI	dē pɛci
IND	[kərtas]	*DAM	[pɛpɔ]	*XAR	bɔ-pecì
SUN	[kərtas]	MAB	ro	NEN	[pepa]
*JAV	dluan	*YAB	[papia]	KIR	te [bēba]
*MAD	[daluban]	*KAU	kisaŋ	MSH	[pɛp <sup>w</sup> a]
*BAL	[dluan]	TOL	[pepe]	PON	tɔrop <sup>w</sup> e
SAS	[kərtas]	BUA	[kapiya]	*WLE	[ɸ <sup>w</sup> ãɸ <sup>w</sup> iyorɔ]
GOR	[karatasi]	*ADZ	[papier]	*EFI	[βɛβa]
DAA	[karatasa]	*KIL	[pepa]	*WFI	[βɛβa]
UMA	sura	*TAW	lugu	RTU	[pepa]
BUG	[karittasaʔ]	MOT	[pepa]	TON	[pepa]
KON	[ka'rattasa]	*MEK	[pepa]	SAM	[pepa]
WOL	[karatasi]	ROV	[pepa]	MEL	[pēpa]
*MAG	[kərtas]	MAR		*TAH	parau
NGA	sura	LAU	[beba]	RAP	parau

MAD From Javanese.

BAL From Javanese.

JAV Also *kərtas*.

MAG Archaic; also [buʃaŋ], from Makassarese.

SIK From Malay.

BUR Also *lafa-n* 'a page, sheet'.

DOB 'a book's leaves'.

TAK From Tok Pisin.

DAM From Tok Pisin.

YAB From German *Papier*.

KAU 'leaf'.

ADZ From German *Papier*.

KIL Another transliteration of the same word is *p<sup>w</sup>eipu*.

TAW 'leaf of paper'.

MEK Also [*nīuspepa*] from 'newspaper', used mainly as cigarette paper.

KWO 'leaf thing'.

PAA From English, via Bislama.

NTA From Bislama.

XAR 'piece of book'.

WLE Also 'book, letter'.

EFI From Tongan [*pepa*] from English.

WFI Probably Standard Fijian, from Tongan, from English.

TAH Also [*pāpiē*] from French.

### 18.570 PEN

**Arabic:** *qalam*

**English:** *pen; ballpoint*

**Dutch:** *pen; vulpen*

*ATA	pa-patik	MAD	[əppen]	*YAB	[pɛda]
TSO		BAL		*KAU	[pen]
RUK		SAS	[penə]	TOL	[pen]
PAI		GOR	[polopeni]	BUA	[peda]
YAM	pivatvatək	DAA	[pena]	*ADZ	[girifi]
ISN		UMA	po-ʔukiʔ	KIL	[peni]
KAL	lāpis	BUG	[polopen]	TAW	animgiluma
*TAG	[plūma]	*KON	[polopen]	*MOT	[peni]
*AKL	[plūmah]	*WOL	[folupeni]	MEK	[peni]
*PAL	[pinsil]	MAG	[pena]	ROV	[peni]
MOL	[bulpin]	NGA		MAR	
KAG	[bulpin]	SIK		LAU	[beni]
BLA	[bolfen]	*RTI	[pena]	KWO	
SAB	[bolpen]	*BUR	ka sula-t	RAG	
MUR	[pīn]	DOB	[pena]	PAA	
MGY	[penina]	IRA		*LEW	[pensel]
ACE	[kalam]	SAW	[pena]	POR	
BAT	[pen]	*NYI	lakou ta tarou	*NTA	[pensil]
*MIN	[pena]	MAM	[pen]	KWA	
*IND	[pena]	*TAK	[pen]	NEM	ba-tī
SUN	[kalam]	*DAM	[ɸen]	*CEM	bê-tī
JAV	[pen]	MAB		AJI	pɛ yu pɛci

XAR		WLE	[pene]	SAM	[peni]
*NEN	nečen	*EFI	[βeni]	*MEL	[pensila]
KIR	te [bēn]	*WFI	[βeni]	TAH	[pēni] tara
MSH	[pēn]	RTU	[pene]	*RAP	[pentara]
PON	[pēn]	TON	[peni]		

ATA Also *pa-pataš*.

TAG From Spanish *pluma*; also [pen].

AKL From Spanish *pluma*.

PAL From English *pencil*.

MIN Portuguese, also [kalam].

IND Also [pulpen].

KON Also [*potolo*] pencil.

WOL Also *kaburia*, [pena].

RTI Portuguese or Dutch.

BUR 'writing stick'; [pena].

NYI 'something for writing'.

TAK From Tok Pisin.

DAM From Tok Pisin.

YAB From German *Feder*.

KAU Tok Pisin.

ADZ From German *Griffel*.

MOT Lister-Turner – Clark (n.d.) *pur* 'stick for marking before tattooing; pen'.

LEW From Bislama.

NTA From Bislama.

CEM 'for write'.

NEN Also *nexiwamomo*.

EFI Tongan [peni] from English.

WFI Probably Standard Fijian, from Tongan, from English.

MEL From English.

RAP From English *pen* or *pencil*.

## 18.610 BOOK

Arabic: *kitāb*  
Spanish: *libro*

Dutch: *boek*English: *book*

ATA	ruaš	UMA	[buku]	MAR	
TSO	tpoʃi	BUG	bobboʔ	LAU	[buka]
RUK		*KON	boʔ-'boʔ	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	[boku]	RAG	[buk]
YAM	vakon	*MAG	[buku]	*PAL	tūs
ISN	mibru	NGA		LEW	tusi
KAL	iblū	*SIK	[surat]	POR	
TAG	aklat	RTI	[buku]	NTA	naoa
AKL	[libroh]	BUR	[buku]	*KWA	nəkukua
*PAL	dibruwan	*DOB	[suratu]	NEM	tī
MOL	[ribru]	IRA		CEM	tī
KAG	[libru]	SAW	[buk]	AJI	peci
BLA	[liblu]	*NYI	[buk]	XAR	peci
*SAB	[būk]	MAM	[buʔu]	NEN	tusi
MUR	[būk]	*TAK	[buk]	KIR	te boki
MGY	[buki]	*DAM	[buk]	MSH	[pʷək]
ACE	[buku]	MAB		PON	[pʷuk]
BAT	[bukku]	*YAB	[buku]	*WLE	[buka]
*MIN	[buku]	*KAU	[abuk]	EFI	i-βola
IND	[buku]	TOL	[buk]	*WFI	[i-βola]
SUN	[buku]	BUA	[kapiya]	RTU	[puku]
JAV	[buku]	*ADZ	[papier]	TON	tohi
MAD	[buku]	KIL	[buki]	*SAM	tusi
*BAL	don əntal	TAW	[buka]	*MEL	[atusi]
SAS	[buku]	MOI	[buka]	TAH	[puta]
GOR	[buku]	MEK	[buka]	RAP	[puka]
DAA	[buku]	ROV	[buka]		

PAL Also [ribru, libru].

SAB From English; also [libru]; religious book is [kitab].

MIN Also sure?; [kitab].

BAL *don əntal* 'lontar palm leaf used to make a book', by extension, the book itself (may be shorten to *əntal*). Also [lontar] from Old Javanese *ron əntal*; *čakəp-an* 'bundle of written lontar leaves, lontar

manuscript' (*čakəp* 'hold tightly together'); *kropak* 'wooden box containing *lontar* manuscript, or shadow puppets'; [*buku*].

KON Probably a borrowing from Dutch.

WOL Also [*kitab*].

MAG Formerly: [*surak*].

SIK From Malay; also [*buku*].

DOB From Malay *surat* 'letter'.

NYI From Tok Pisin.

TAK From Tok Pisin.

DAM From Tok Pisin.

YAB Also [*buk*] from German/English.

KAU Tok Pisin.

ADZ See 18.560.

PAA Now usually [*pūk*] from English, via Bislama.

KWA Also means 'mark', 'scar', 'tattoo'.

WLE [*ʔwāʔwiyoro*] from English *paper*.

WFI Standard Fijian.

SAM See 18.510.

MEL From Efate.

## 18.670 POET

ATA		BLA	to m-aləm	*SAS	[puʃaŋgə]
TSO		SAB		*GOR	tā molo
RUK		MUR			la <sup>ŋ</sup> goma
PAI		*MGY	mpanau	*DAA	tau napa <sup>n</sup> de
YAM			tunun-kira		no-via dulua
ISN		ACE		UMA	
*KAL	duklit	BAT		BUG	pas-suri <sup>?</sup>
*TAG	makāta <sup>?</sup>	*MIN	tukaŋ [sair]	*KON	pa-[bičara]
AKL	manug- baʔaybay	*IND	pəña <sup>?</sup> ir [sya <sup>?</sup> ir]	WOL	pasəŋ
PAL	məŋaŋaran (karaŋ)	*SUN	[buʃaŋga]	MAG	
		*JAV	[puʃəŋgə]	NGA	
MOL		*MAD	pa[ñair]	SIK	
KAG		*BAL	[kawi]	*RTI	mana-helo

BUR	geba k a bata	ADZ		AJI	
DOB		KIL		XAR	
IRA		TAW	tu wipakulo	NEN	
SAW	sawat	MOT		*KIR	te tia kuna
*NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amak ta asehek	MEK		MSH	
	batub <sup>w</sup> ah	ROV	[poeti]	PON	
		MAR		WLE	
MAM		LAU		EFI	dau-ni-βuđu
TAK		KWO		WFI	drou-lawata
DAM		RAG		*RTU	manotu
MAB		PAA		*TON	punake
*YAB	ŋa <sup>?</sup> -ge-ga- we-waga	LEW		*SAM	tusi-tala
*KAU	nut-nut	POR		*MEL	[urea]
	sakal-ŋin	NTA		TAH	rohipehe
TOL		KWA		RAP	
BUA		NEM			
		*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> ô-téno		

KAL *duklit + na-*.

TAG Root: *katha?*, 'manunūla?' root: *tula?*

MGY 'the maker of poetry'; *tununa* 'a joint, articulation, pronunciation';  
*hira* 'song, music'.

MIN From Arabic *šā'ir*.

IND From Arabic *šā'ir*.

SUN From Sanskrit? (see Gonda's comments). Also [*ahli*] *daṅḍiṅ* from Arabic.

JAV From Sanskrit? See Gonda (1973: 557-561).

MAD From Arabic *šā'ir*. Safioedin (1977): [*sair*] 'poetry'.

BAL From Old Javanese.

SAS Sanskrit?; see Gonda (1973: 557-561).

GOR (personal nominaliser + *ta<sup>n</sup>gomo* 'verse' + *moN- R l -a*; the resulting form means 'makes a habit of composing poems')

DAA 'person clever make poem'.

KON From Sanskrit.

RTI 'person who chants' (*helo*).

NYI 'person of telling poetry'.

YAB 'man-he-chop-song-er'.

KAU	Also <i>nut-nut lut-ŋin. sakal-ŋin</i> ‘speak-NOM’, i.e. ‘language’; <i>lut-ŋin</i> ‘sing-NOM’, i.e. ‘song’.
CEM	‘one who makes poetry’.
KIR	‘composer, one who sings’.
RTU	Also <i>purotu</i> .
TON	Also <i>faʔu maau</i> .
SAM	<i>tusi</i> (vb trans) ‘write’ (18.510), <i>tala</i> ‘story’.
MEL	From Efate.

### 18.710 FLUTE

ATA	βaʔiʔ	UMA	laloβe	*MAR	nifu
TSO	prigu	BUG	solin	LAU	ʔau
RUK	bolali	*KON	sulin	KWO	ʔau
PAI		WOL	suli	*RAG	bua
YAM		MAG	su <sup>n</sup> diŋ	PAA	
ISN	balīʔiŋ	NGA	foi	*LEW	pia-maru- teŋteŋ
*KAL	baldu	*SIK	plupi	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> bu mal
*TAG	bansiʔ	*RTI	kinu-k	NTA	nau
*AKL	[plawta]	*BUR	[efluit]	KWA	k <sup>w</sup> ataratara
*PAL	sulin	DOB	ŋula	NEM	hago
MOL	baŋsiʔ	IRA		CEM	òp <sup>w</sup> e
KAG		*SAW	[sulin]	AJI	kuʔo
BLA	slali	NYI	balaʔeu	*XAR	bε-šō
SAB	sulin	MAM	gopu	*NEN	wekon
*MUR	sulin	*TAK	dum	KIR	
*MGY	[sudina]	DAM	kelol	MSH	
*ACE	[baŋsi]	MAB	mamāza	PON	
BAT	sulin	YAB	gasuʔ	WLE	
*MIN	pupuyʔ	*KAU	laβi	EFI	dulali
*IND	serulin	*TOL	vuvu	WFI	i-βataŋi biču
SUN	sulin	BUA		*RTU	ʔefu
JAV	sulin	ADZ		TON	faŋufaŋu
*MAD	sarunin	KIL	loloni	*SAM	faŋufaŋu
BAL	sulin	TAW	dilehu	MEL	
SAS	sulin	*MOT	iβilikou	TAH	vivo
GOR	tulali	*MEK	ine-ine	RAP	puhi
DAA	sasuli	ROV	suki		



- KAL *baldu* ‘long flute’; *ulimɔŋ* ‘short flute’.
- TAG Also [*plauta*], Spanish *flauta*.
- AKL From Spanish *flauta*.
- PAL Also *bəbərək*.
- MUR *suliŋ* ‘mouth flute’ from Malay *suliŋ*; *tulali* ‘traditional nose-flute’.
- MGY From Malay.
- ACE From Sanskrit.
- MIN Also *bansi*, *saluəŋ*, *suliəŋ*.
- IND Also *suliŋ*
- MAD cf. Malay *sərunai* ‘kind of wind instrument’.
- KON *suliŋ* ‘side flute’; *basiŋ* ‘oboe-type flute’; *lebuŋ-lebuŋ* ‘front flute’.
- SIK Also *plupi klekər*, *βulu*.
- RTI Also *feku*.
- BUR From Dutch.
- SAW From Malay.
- TAK ‘bamboo flute’.
- KAU Also *laresup*, *lapulβi*, *lailul*, *kukulβek*, *kukubek*.
- TOL Instrumental noun, derived by reduplication from *vu* (vb intrans/trans) ‘blow’.
- MOT Also *βiliβili*.
- MEK *ine-ine* is a special, thin bamboo used for flutes. Two West Mekeo terms are *biligo*, *babalo*.
- MAR ‘panpipe’.
- RAG *bua* ‘bamboo flute’; also *silo-n m<sup>w</sup>ai*, *hui-n atmate* ‘both types of bamboo flute’.
- LEW ‘single length of bamboo, blown through into coconut shell filled with water’.
- XAR ‘piece of reed’.
- NEN Also *watenid*.
- RTU *fəŋfəŋu* ‘nose flute’.
- SAM Cognate with *fəŋu* ‘bottle’.

## 18.720 DRUM

Dutch: *tamboer*Spanish: *tambor*

ATA	ʔinuyʔun	UMA	ti <sup>n</sup> tiʔ	*MAR	[belo]
TSO		BUG	ɡinraŋ	*LAU	ō
RUK	baŋəbaŋə	KON	ɡanraŋ	*KWO	ʔoʔo
PAI		*WOL	ɡa <sup>n</sup> da	RAG	siŋsiŋi
YAM	pakbokboktən	MAG	[ta <sup>m</sup> bor]	PAA	ave
ISN	lūdāɡ	NGA	laba	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> e
KAL	[tambul]	SIK	βani-ŋ	POR	na- <sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> e
*TAG	[tambol]	RTI	labu	*NTA	[tamtam]
*AKL	bagtu†	*BUR	tuba	KWA	
PAL	ɡimbal	DOB	ʔola	*NEM	b <sup>w</sup> an- <sup>j</sup> ep
MOL	ɡondaŋ	IRA	rumə, rimə	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> á <sup>j</sup> ep
KAG	[tambul]	SAW	silep	AJI	dawa
*BLA	slagi	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔan	XAR	dɔb <sup>w</sup> ɛ
SAB	[tambul]	*MAM	uagu	NEN	aebe
*MUR	[ɡandaŋ]	*TAK	dugadug	*KIR	[turam]
*MGY	ampunga	*DAM	dir	*MSH	ace
ACE	[tambo]	MAB	ko <sup>m</sup> bom	PON	aip
BAT	[tabbor]	*YAB	ɔŋ	*WLE	[taikō]
*MIN	[tambu <sup>3</sup> ]	KAU	pahiu	EFI	lali
*IND	ɡəndəraŋ	*TOL	kudu	WFI	lali
*SUN	kəndaŋ	BUA	ʔagəŋ	*RTU	[čaramu]
JAV	kəndaŋ	*ADZ	si <sup>m</sup> pup	TON	nafa
MAD	ɡəndaŋ	*KIL	kaisosou	SAM	talipalau
BAL	kəndaŋ	TAW	inaga	MEL	ttuki
SAS	ɡəndaŋ	*MOT	ɡaba	*TAH	pahu
*GOR	ha <sup>n</sup> dalo	MEK	afa	*RAP	tampuru
DAA	gi <sup>m</sup> ba	*ROV	[belo]		

TAG [bombo] 'large drum', Spanish *tambor*, *bombo* 'bass drum'.AKL *bagtu†* 'bamboo drum'; also [tambu†].

BLA 'gong'.

MUR Possibly from Malay *ɡəndaŋ*.MGY *ampunga* 'drum'; *amponɡatapaka* 'tambourine'.IND Also [tambur], *ɡəndaŋ*, *tifa*.

- SUN From Javanese; also [*tambur*].
- GOR The drum in a mosque is called *hūṅo*. Large drums, and also western-type drums, are called *towohu*.
- WOL *ga<sup>n</sup>da* especially the home-made model; *ta<sup>m</sup>buru* of western type.
- BUR Broad and flat drum; *tub dolo* ‘long and narrow drum’; *tuba fnehe-t* ‘small narrow drum played while walking’.
- MAM Also *giramo*.
- TAK *dugadug* ‘hour-glass drum’; *do’u* ‘slitgong’.
- DAM ‘a small portable drum, used in dancing’ (Tok Pisin *kundu*). Also *kadod* ‘a message drum made from a hollowed-out log’ (Tok Pisin *garamut*).
- YAB ‘hourglass drum’.
- TOL *kudu* ‘long small drum’, *garamut* ‘long drum’.
- ADZ ‘hour glass wooden drum’.
- KIL Form given as text example is generic term for any drum. A variant form is *kaisosau*. Specific reference to different sizes of drums is by *katunenia* ‘small drum’ (played with one finger), *kaibela* ‘medium size drum’, *kaiula* ‘large drum’.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also gives *sede* ‘bamboo drum’. *gaba* is also used for ‘bell’.
- ROV Pijin.
- MAR Pijin.
- LAU ‘wooden gong’.
- KWO ‘slit gong’.
- NTA From Bislama.
- NEM Pads made of the bark of the *Ficus habrophylla* which are beaten together.
- CEM ‘back hand drum’.
- KIR From English.
- MSH Also [*tiṛam<sup>w</sup>*] from English.
- WLE Japanese.
- RTU From English *drum*.
- TAH Also *to<sup>?</sup>ere* ‘wooden drum’.
- RAP From Spanish *tambor*.

## 18.730 HORN, TRUMPET

Dutch: <i>trompet</i>
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ATA		DAA		ROV	buki
TSO		UMA		MAR	
RUK		BUG	[tarompeʔ]	LAU	
PAI		KON	[tarompeʔ]	*KWO	buŋu
*YAM	[rapa]	*WOL	ka-puu-puu	RAG	
ISN		MAG		PAA	
KAL	taŋgūyub	NGA	rudu	*LEW	kumasua
*TAG	tambūliʔ	SIK		POR	
AKL	turūtut	RTI	fufu-k	*NTA	toui
PAL		*BUR	[foli]	*KWA	kisəp
*MOL	buʃuŋ	*DOB	ta'ʃir	*NEM	dālōk
*KAG	turutut	IRA		CEM	jātō
*BLA	twaŋ	SAW		AJI	dō
*SAB	tabuliʔ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d'ah	XAR	
MUR		MAM	tauru	NEN	
*MGY	[tʰumpetʰa]	TAK		KIR	te bū
ACE		DAM	kōku	MSH	eilel
*BAT	[sarunɛ]	*MAB	twiri	*PON	sewi
*MIN	pupuy- tanduʔ?	*YAB	[pəsaunɔ]	WLE	rep <sup>w</sup> ō
		KAU	kiyak	EFI	daβui
*IND	[tərompet]	*TOL	tavur	WFI	
SUN	[tarompet]	BUA	aβūk	*RTU	tē uiui
JAV	[trəmpet]	ADZ	num	*TON	[talupite]
MAD	[tarompet]	*KIL	tauya	SAM	pū
*BAL	[sompɾet]	TAW	himogo	MEL	pū
SAS	[trəmpet]	*MOT	kibi	TAH	pū
GOR	[toro <sup>m</sup> beti]	*MEK	fīʔi	RAP	

YAM Japanese borrowing.

TAG (conch); also *torotot*.

MOL 'horn made of shell'.

KAG Also [*trumpita*] from Spanish *trompeta*.

BLA Also *few*.

SAB	Made of shell; also <i>saṅkakala</i> ‘the trumpet to be blown on Resurrection day’.
MGY	From French.
BAT	From Persian <i>surṅā</i> .
MIN	Also [ <i>tarompe?</i> ].
IND	Also <i>solompret</i> .
BAL	From Dutch?
WOL	Also [ <i>turu<sup>m</sup>peta</i> ].
BUR	Bamboo or large shell used to call people.
DOB	<i>ta'ḥir</i> is the nearest equivalent to trumpet, it is a large shell (conch shell) in which there is a small hole and it gives off one note, usually used for gathering people to a meeting. It can be heard from far away.
MAB	Conch shell, which is blown as a signal.
YAB	From German <i>Posaune</i> ; <i>dau?</i> , <i>dau? baŋa<sup>m</sup>baŋ</i> ‘conch shell’.
TOL	Trumpet shell ( <i>Triton tritonis</i> ), used as a horn.
KIL	‘shell’.
MOT	‘shell trumpet’; also now used for car horn.
MEK	<i>fīʔi</i> is ‘conch’.
KWO	‘conch shell’.
LEW	‘conch-shell’.
NTA	‘conch shell’.
KWA	‘shell trumpet’.
NEM	Conch shell, <i>Tritonis</i> sp.
PON	Also [ <i>koronīta</i> ] from Spanish.
RTU	Also <i>ʔuŋa</i> .
TON	From English.

### 18.740 RATTLE

ATA		KAL		BLA	
*TSO	torontuŋa	TAG	kalansiŋ	SAB	kuluŋ-kuluŋ
RUK		AKL	kiliŋ-kiliŋ	MUR	tutubik
PAI		PAL		MGY	
YAM		MOL	giriŋ-giriŋ	*ACE	brīŋ-brīŋ
ISN		KAG	ka'liŋ-ka'liŋ	BAT	

MIN	ba-buñi-buñi	NYI		POR	
IND	giriᅇ-giriᅇ	MAM	sipai	*NTA	noanpərəpa
SUN		TAK		KWA	
JAV		*DAM	kara kara	NEM	ba-cili
MAD		MAB	kakāba	CEM	
*BAL	goᅇseᅇ	*YAB	geᅇᅇb	ΛJI	
ᅆAᅆ		KAI		XAR	fa-paca
GOR	ʔele <sup>ᅇ</sup> geᅇo	*TOL	tobo	NEN	
DAA		BUA	dələᅇ	KIR	
UMA		ADZ		MSH	
BUG	mag-garese	KIL	sasani	PON	
KON	garenuᅇ	TAW	kelele	WLE	
WOL	ra <sup>ᅇ</sup> ka-ra <sup>ᅇ</sup> ka	MOI	tareko	EFI	ᅇiriᅇiri
MAG		MEK	loko-loko	WFI	
NGA	səya-səya	ROV		*RTU	ororo
*SIK	liᅇ	*MAR	sesele	TON	meʔa-ᅇatata
RTI		LAU	k <sup>w</sup> erete	*SAM	tuʔi-ipu
BUR	grin-grin	KWO	falage	MEL	
*DOB	ᅇili	RAG		TAH	ʔoroʔoro
IRA		PAA		RAP	
SAW		*LEW	pra-pop <sup>w</sup> e		

TSO *torontuᅇa* ‘rattles, clappers in the field to drive away birds’.

ACE Like a tambourine.

BAL *goᅇseᅇ* ‘small bells attached to the feet of babies, also to legs of doves and horses’; *ᅇeᅇ-ᅇeᅇ* ‘cymbal in gamelan orchestra’.

SIK (vb).

DOB Noun: the thing rattled, an instrument.

DAM ‘to rattle or jingle’. Also *kesu malai y-e-ya* ‘something attractive to a child’s eye’ (a toy).

YAB ‘clapper made of *geᅇᅇb* fruits’.

TOL Made out of the claw of a crab.

MAR *sesele* ‘dance bracelet-rattle’; *gogobo* ‘dance anklet-rattle’.

LEW ‘fruit of *pop<sup>w</sup>e* tree, strung together to make dancing rattle’.

NTA ‘seeds tied to ankles’.

RTU To attract sharks under water.

SAM *tuʔi* (vb trans) ‘knock’, *ipu* ‘coconut shell’ (see 05.310, 05.350).

## 19.110 COUNTRY

<b>Sanskrit:</b> <i>nagarī, nagara</i> 'town'
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ATA	UMA	MAR
TSO	BUG wanua	LAU
RUK	KON kampon	KWO
PAI	*WOL lipu	RAG
YAM poŋso	MAG tana	*PAA atan
ISN īli	NGA tana	LEW p <sup>w</sup> uru-vanua
KAL	SIK tana	POR
*TAG [bansa?]	*RTI nusa-k	*NTA [kantri]
*AKL banwah	*BUR fuka	*KWA təna
PAL luŋsud	*DOB lofi	NEM kave-mō
MOL	*IRA miφərə rəba	CEM âmú
*KAG [nasyun]	*SAW bəten ta pəloy	AJI nevā
BLA banwi	NYI kon muñak	*XAR nɛp <sup>w</sup> ē-kɛtɛ
SAB lahat	MAM ʔaba	NEN nod
*MUR pərnagunan	TAK	*KIR te aba
MGY tani	DAM teneb	*MSH [aɛlən]
ACE [nəŋgrə]	*MAB lele	*PON wēi
BAT luat	YAB gameŋ	WLE faʔiwa
MIN [nagari]	*KAU pi	EFI βanua
*IND [negara]	*TOL gunən	*WFI mataničū
*SUN [nəgri]	*BUA doɓ	RTU hanua
JAV [nəgərə]	ADZ	TON fonua
MAD [nagara]	KIL βalu	*SAM atu-nuʔu
*BAL [nəgarə]	*TAW [basileiya]	MEL fenua
SAS [nəgri]	*MOT tanobada	TAH fenua
GOR lipu	MEK	RAP henua
DAA ŋata	ROV popoa	

TAG Malay *banŋsa*; also *bāyan*, contrast 19.120.

AKL PMP *\*banua* 'local ecology'.

KAG From Spanish *nacion*.

MUR Also [nəgiri?].

IND Also [nəgəri].

SUN Also [nagara].

BAI	<i>[gumi]</i> , <i>pe-[gumi]-an</i> from Sanskrit (Gonda); <i>[kutə]</i> from Sanskrit/Indic 'region, city town', see 19.150.
WOL	Also 'estate, region'.
RTI	'country, domain, state'.
BUR	'island, mountain'. Also <i>nete-n</i> 'place'.
DOB	Means 'flag', but used for 'country'.
IRA	Also <i>kami rəba</i> 'group territory'.
SAW	'land that is big'.
MAB	Also <i>lelepakāna</i> .
KAU	Means 'place' and has a wide variety of uses.
TOL	'land, home, hamlet, village'.
BUA	<i>dob</i> 'earth, ground'; <i>ñeg</i> 'place'.
TAW	Greek word.
MOT	See 01.100, 01.260.
PAA	Also 'land' or 'ground'.
NTA	From Bislama.
KWA	<i>təna</i> 'land'; <i>im<sup>w</sup>a-</i> 'place-of'.
XAR	'interior of a place'.
KIR	Also 'land, island'.
MSH	Also 'land, island'; <i>lal</i> 'nation, world'.
PON	'any political unit'.
WFI	Also <i>βanua</i> .
SAM	<i>atu</i> 'row', <i>nu<sup>?</sup>u</i> 'village'.

### 19.120 ONE'S NATIVE COUNTRY

ATA		PAL	luṣud	MGY	tani-n-
TSO			palawan		d <sup>ʔ</sup> azana
RUK		MOL		ACE	
PAI		*KAG	nasyun na	*BAT	huta-niba
YAM	poŋso		natawan	*MIN	kampu <sup>ʔ</sup> ŋ-
ISN	īli	BLA	banwi g-um-		alaman
KAL			d <sup>ʔ</sup>	IND	tanah air
*TAG	lūpa-ŋ	SAB	lahat	SUN	
	tinubū <sup>ʔ</sup> an	MUR	pamagunan	*JAV	tanah wutah
AKL	ina-ŋ banwah				rah



*MAD	tana [asal]	NYI		LEW	
*BAL	pəŋləkadan	MAM	ʔaba-ne	POR	
SAS		TAK		NTA	ima-n
GOR	lipu	DAM	teneb gariya	KWA	im <sup>w</sup> a-
DAA	ŋata <sup>m</sup> boto	*MAB	lele ki-	NEM	kave-mō
*UMA	pe-bere-a <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	gameŋ-moke	CEM	
	tanoana <sup>ʔ</sup>	*KAU	pi siinsiin	AJI	nevā
BUG	wanua	*TOL	gunən	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> āciri
KON	pa <sup>ʔ</sup> rasaŋeŋ	BUA	yi dob	NEN	nod
WOL		ADZ		KIR	
*MAG	tana (agu)	*KIL	ulo βalu	MSH	
	vae		tatou-gu	PON	
NGA	nua-tana	*TAW	meyagai	WLE	
*SIK	natar tana	*MOT	tano	EFI	βanua
RTI	dae oe	MEK		WFI	βanua
*BUR	ele-tem-	ROV	popoa	RTU	hanua
	lomo-n	MAR		*TON	fonua
*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> udu si	LAU		SAM	nu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
	φoφar	KWO		MEL	
IRA		RAG		TAH	ʔāi <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*SAW	wæ re βetβet	PAA		RAP	henua

TAG *ina-ŋ bāyan* ‘motherland’.

KAG ‘nation that’s one’s birth place’.

BAT ‘one’s village’.

MIN Also *tanah ai<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

JAV *tanah* ‘land’, *wutah* ‘spill out’, *rah* ‘blood’ - ‘the land [one would] shed one’s blood (for)’. Calque of Malay *tanah tumpah darah<sup>ʔ</sup>*?

MAD Arabic.

BAL ‘birth place’; (*-ləkad* ‘be born’).

UMA ‘the (place of) the appearing of one’s pate’.

MAG ‘birth place’.

SIK Also *nia-ŋ pu<sup>ʔ</sup>a-ŋ*, *nia-ŋ tana*, *tana ola-ŋ puhər ʔoha*.

BUR ‘place of birth’.

DOB ‘blood and homeland’.

SAW ‘water and land’.

MAB Also *kark i-*

YAB ‘place-head’; *mala<sup>ʔ</sup>-moke* ‘village-head’ i.e. ‘home village’.

KAU 'place basic'.

TOL 'land, home, hamlet, village'.

KIL 'my place true-my'.

TAW *meyagai* 'grave': where one returns to die; *guguni* 'clan': the centre of a person's allegiances.

MOT See 01.210. Also *hanua* 'village, hence one's place of origin' *tanobada* 'country'.

TON Also *[nuʔu]* from Samoan *nuʔu*.

### 19.150 CITY, TOWN

Sanskrit: *koṭa-*

ATA	tin-kaṭaṅ-an	SAS	[koṭa]	*ADZ	ga <sup>m</sup> p ɕiraʔ
TSO		GOR	[koṭa]	*KIL	βalu βilou-
RUK		DAA	ɲata		βeka
PAI		UMA	ɲata	*TAW	dobu
YAM	ili	BUG	[kōṭa]	*MOT	[taoni]
ISN	īli	KON	kampon	*MEK	[tauni]
KAL	īli	WOL	togo	ROV	[vasileana]
*TAG	luṅsod	MAG	[koṭa]	MAR	
*AKL	[poblasyon]	NGA	nua	LAU	
PAL	pəkən	SIK	natar gəte	KWO	
MOL		*RTI	[koṭa]	RAG	
*KAG	[siudad]	*BUR	fena	*PAA	[taun]
*BLA	lunsud	DOB	bendar	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu-kum <sup>w</sup> ali
*SAB	daʔira	IRA		POR	
*MUR	pamagunan	*SAW	pnu ta pəloy	*NTA	[taun]
*MGY	ta'nana lehi be	NYI	kən tinan	KWA	
*ACE	ktude	MAM	anua-biabia	NEM	
BAT	[koṭa]	*TAK	taon	*CEM	póm <sup>w</sup> o úb <sup>w</sup> ɔ
MIN	[koṭa]	DAM	ɸonō odug	AJI	nevā
IND	[koṭa]	MAB	kar bībi	XAR	
SUN	[koṭa]	*YAB	malaʔ-sega	*NEN	[taun]
JAV	[kuṭɔ]	*KAU	[taun]	KIR	
MAD	[kutta]	*TOL	piə-nə-pal	MSH	
*BAL	[koṭə]	BUA	]daun]	PON	

WLE		*RTU	[taono]	MEL	[taone]
*EFI	koro-leβu	TON	kolo	*TAH	[ʔoire]
*WFI	[tauni]	*SAM	ʔaʔai	RAP	

TAG Also [*siyudad*], Spanish *ciudad*; *bāyan* ‘town’.

AKL ‘town center’.

KAG [*siudad*] ‘city’ from Spanish *ciudad*; *banwa* ‘town’.

BLA Also *banwī*; [*syudad*] from Spanish *ciudad*.

SAB Also commonly used is [*siyudad*] from Spanish.

MUR Also [*bandad*] from Persian *baldah* ‘city’.

MGY *ta'nana* from \**tana-ana*.

ACE Also [*kuta*].

BAL Also [*kutə*]; [*nəgarə*] from Sanskrit.

RTI In Rotinese, *kota* once referred specifically to the Dutch fort at Kupang and to the town of Kupang in general.

BUR Extended usage from ‘clan, village’. Usually the name of the town or city is used with no classifier.

SAW ‘village that is big’.

TAK From Tok Pisin.

YAB ‘village-major’; also *malaʔkap<sup>w</sup>en* ‘village-big’.

KAU Tok Pisin.

TOL *piə* ‘earth, land’ 01.210, *nə*CONN, *pal* ‘house’.

ADZ ‘village big’, i.e. ‘town’.

KIL ‘place, big’.

TAW ‘land area’.

MOT From English ‘town’. Also *hanua* ‘village’ is sometimes used for ‘town’ and *hanua bada-na* ‘big village’ for ‘city’.

MEK From English *town*.

PAA From English, via Bislama.

NTA From Bislama.

CEM ‘hamlet big’.

NEN From English *town*.

EFI [*tāuni*] from English.

WFI Probably standard Fijian, from English.

RTU From English *town*.

SAM Also: 'village', *tāulaŋa* 'harbour, town' (cognate with *taula* 'anchor').

TAH From Hebrew.

## 19.160 VILLAGE

Sanskrit: *deśa-*

ATA	kaʃaŋ	UMA	ŋata	LAU	fera
TSO	xosa	BUG	kampoŋ	KWO	fanua
RUK	ʃəkələ	*KON	kampoŋ	RAG	vanua
PAI	kiŋaʎ <sup>y</sup> an	*WOL	ka <sup>m</sup> po	PAA	meteimal
YAM	ili	MAG	beo	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> ulu- kum <sup>w</sup> ali
ISN	ili	NGA	nua	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> im
KAL	boboloy	SIK	natar	NTA	natuanu
*TAG	nāyon	RTI	<sup>ɔ</sup> golo-k	KWA	ruk <sup>w</sup> anu
*AKL	[baryo]	*BUR	fena	NEM	hōgo
PAL	ruruŋan- ruruŋan	DOB	ʃa <sup>n</sup> o	CEM	póm <sup>w</sup> o
MOL		IRA	wənomə	AJI	nevā
*KAG	[baryu]	SAW	pnu	XAR	xūā
BLA	banwi	NYI	kon	*NEN	paŋameneŋ
SAB	kaum-an	MAM	anua	KIR	te kāwa
*MUR	pamagunan	TAK	panu	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> ʌn
MGY	ta'nana keli	DAM	ʃonō	*PON	wēi
ACE	gampoŋ	MAB	kar	*WLE	iŋeīta
*BAT	[huta]	YAB	mala <sup>?</sup>	EFI	koro
*MIN	kampu <sup>ɔ</sup> ŋ	*KAU	mi-lain	WFI	rārā
*IND	[desa]	TOL	gunən	*RTU	hanua noho
*SUN	[desa]	BUA	bəyaŋ	TON	kolo
JAV	[desə]	ADZ	ga <sup>m</sup> p	*SAM	nu <sup>?</sup> u
MAD	[d <sup>h</sup> isa]	KIL	βalu	MEL	kāiŋa
*BAL	[desə]	*TAW	dobu	*TAH	[ <sup>?</sup> oire]
SAS	[dasan]	MOT	hanua	RAP	
*GOR	[ka <sup>m</sup> buŋu]	*MEK	paŋua		
DAA	ŋata	ROV	[vasileana]		
		MAR	namono		

TAG	Also [ <i>baryo</i> ], Spanish <i>barrio</i> ‘ward, quarter’.
AKL	From Spanish <i>barrio</i> ‘ward, quarter’.
KAG	From Spanish <i>barrio</i> .
MUR	Also [ <i>kampung</i> ] from Malay <i>kampung</i> .
BAT	Sanskrit.
MIN	Also <i>dusun</i> .
IND	Also <i>kampung</i> .
SUN	Also <i>kampung</i> .
BAL	<i>benua</i> Old Balinese.
GOR	Malay <i>kampung</i> .
KON	Also [ <i>desa</i> ], <i>dusun</i> .
WOL	Also <i>limbo</i> , <i>togo</i> .
BUR	‘clan’. If one wants to disambiguate the two and specify village, <i>fen lale</i> is used. Malay [ <i>negri</i> ] is also used.
KAU	Appears to be derived from Kaulong <i>mi</i> ‘in, inside’ plus Tok Pisin <i>lain</i> ; traditionally, the Kaulong did not live in villages, but in small, scattered hamlets referred to as <i>pi</i> ‘place’ or <i>tanu</i> ‘burial ground’.
TAW	<i>dobu</i> ‘large village’; <i>meyagai</i> ‘small village’ lit ‘cemetery-burial place’.
MEK	<i>paŋua</i> goes to North Mekeo, West Mekeo <i>baŋua</i> ; NW Mekeo has <i>aŋo</i> for ‘village’ (see 01.210, note).
NEN	Also <i>mune</i> (respectful).
MSH	<i>eukeuk</i> ‘community, colony, inhabited area’.
PON	‘district, municipality’.
WLE	<i>xasoxasoxa</i> causative form, from <i>soxo</i> ‘inhabited’; <i>xapiřam</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>o</i> ‘village, hamlet’.
RTU	<i>itu?u</i> ‘district’.
SAM	(polite) <i>lā?o?ai</i> .
TAH	<i>mata?eina?a</i> ‘district’.

### 19.170 BOUNDARY

*ATA	ḱaiš	PAI	tidəḱ	ISN	nag-
TSO	esa	*YAM	palawan		pandanān
RUK	sagi-agisi			KAL	kidəŋ

*TAG	haŋgān-an	MAG	rahit	*KWO	furiʔi bota
AKL	duʔūn-an	NGA	laŋe	RAG	
PAL	ɔlatan	SIK	duə-ŋ	PAA	hākot
*MOL	olot	RTI	to	LEW	pʷuru-kove
KAG	dulunan	*BUR	wau-t	POR	
BLA	gu-sa-bləŋ	DOB	siʔatu	NTA	nahliat
SAB	tobtob-an	*IRA	tatotə	KWA	
*MUR	balit	SAW	bati	NEM	pe-t <sup>he</sup>
MGY	fariʔa	NYI	kobek	CEM	cé-n
ACE	aram-aram	MAM	dagadaga	AJI	lē nevē
BAT	balək	TAK	geg	*XAR	i-citia
*MIN	bateh	DAM	daū	NEN	gon(e)
*IND	tapal batas	*MAB	ka <sup>m</sup> basa	KIR	te tia
*SUN	[watəs]	YAB	ŋa-madiŋ	*MSH	kaʔtān
JAV	watəs	KAU	pi βoreŋin	PON	pēs
MAD	batəs	TOL	ləŋun	WLE	siyō
*BAL	batəs	BUA	den	EFL	i-yalayala
SAS	batəs	ADZ	a <sup>m</sup> pap	WHI	βi-ala
GOR	tihedu	KIL	kalatutila	RTU	tohiŋa
DAA	po-bi <sup>ŋ</sup> ga	TAW	sigasiga	*TON	tafa
*UMA	kotoa	MOT	hetoa	*SAM	tuāʔoi
BUG	watasaʔ	MEK	ŋou	*MEL	[koi]
KON	paʔ-baəŋ-	ROV	voloso	TAH	ʔouʔa
	baəŋ	MAR	geri	RAP	titaʔa
*WOL	[batasi]	LAU			

ATA Also *kaŋiŋ*.

YAM Also *piawan*.

TAG Also *dūlo*.

MOL *olot + -an*.

MUR *balit* (marker), *balitan* (line), *pambalitan* (region), also *polos* 'limit'.

MIN Also *sumpadan*.

IND Also *pər-batas-an*, *sipat*.

SUN From Javanese.

BAL Also *[watəs]*, *[seŋkər]* from Old Javanese; *[kutə]* from Sanskrit/Indic ('archaic', Kersten 1984).

UMA Also *sipaʔ*.

WOL Malay.

BUR	Also <i>fat-aa</i> ‘boundary marker’; <i>sipa-t</i> ‘boundary’.
IRA	<i>tatotō</i> of garden; <i>mārərīrā</i> of territory.
MAB	Also <i><sup>m</sup>but</i> , <i>nabut</i> ‘border of a planted area’; <i>seḡgāna</i> ‘edge, end’.
KWO	‘fence site’.
XAR	Also <i>x<sup>w</sup>āpāgā</i> .
MSH	Construct possessive form.
TON	Also <i>ḡataʔaḡa</i> .
SAM	Also ‘neighbour’, (vb intrans) ‘be next to’.
MEL	From Efate.

### 19.210 PEOPLE (populace)

Arabic: *raʔya*

ATA		MAD	[raʔyat]	*MAB	tomōto ma
TSO	ʔou	*BAL	[wargə]		mōri
*RUK	lakawkawl	*SAS	[kawulə]	YAB	lau
PAI	ʔaw-ʔaw	GOR	[raʔiyati]	KAU	pō tunus
YAM	tao	DAA	todea	*TOL	tərāi
ISN	umīli	UMA	<sup>n</sup> todea	BUA	alam
KAL	tāgu	*BUG	tomega	ADZ	rib
*TAG	madlaʔ	*KON	[raʔjaʔ]	KIL	tomota
*AKL	ka-tawh-an	WOL	[raʔeati]	TAW	lawa
PAL	taw	MAG	ata	*MOT	tau-dia
MOL	ʔolama	NGA	isi	*MEK	papiau
KAG	maḡa ittaw	SIK	ata riβu-ŋ	ROV	tinoni
BLA	dad to	RTI	lau-n	*MAR	[mavitu]
SAB	aʔa	*BUR	geba-ro	LAU	tōa
*MUR	ulun	*DOB	ʔaʔno yabil	KWO	
*MGY	uluna	IRA		*RAG	sinobu
ACE	[raʔyat]	*SAW	[bala]	*PAA	mola-
*BAT		NYI	lau	LEW	yeririna
*MIN	uraḡ nan	MAM	tamoata-be-	*POR	arar ḡail
	baḡaʔ		aine	NTA	nətamim
IND	[raʔyat]	*TAK	tamol-pein	*KWA	nakur
SUN	[rayat]	DAM	tamo-kayau	*NEM	ḡen kac
*JAV	[kawulo]				

*CEM	âpulie-hé- âmú	*MSH	ri-	*RTU	famori
		PON	mēn	TON	kakai
AJI	pārā kāmo	WLE	weř	*SAM	itu-ʔāiŋa
XAR	dēri	EFI	lewe-	*MEL	[rei]
NEN	nod	WFI	lewe-ni-	TAH	nunaʔa
*KIR	te aba		βanua	RAP	taŋata

RUK *lakawkawl* ‘common people (as opposed to noblemen)’.

TAG Also *maŋa tāʔo*, [‘publiko], Spanish *público*.

AKL Root: *tāwuh* ‘person’.

MUR *ulun* ‘people’, [*dayat*] ‘citizenry’.

MGY See Maanyan *ulun* ‘people’.

BAT *halak na tɔrɔp* ‘crowd’.

MIN Also [*raʔyat*].

JAV From Sanskrit.

BAL From Sanskrit.

SAS From Sanskrit.

BUG Also *totibbiʔ*.

KON Also *tautabbala, tumaʔbutta*.

BUR Also [*frayat*].

DOB ‘the village’s contents’.

SAW Ternate.

TAK ‘man-woman’ (02.210, 02.220).

MAB Also *iwal (bibi)*.

TOL Pl, also ‘men’.

MOT *tau* ‘man, person’, *-dia* plural marker. Often used with an appropriate noun e.g. *hanua tau-dia* ‘villagers, people of the place’. For ‘everybody’ *taunimani iboudiai* is used. (See 02.100, 13.140.)

MEK Also means ‘person’ – see 02.100, note.

MAR From Bughotu; also *nak<sup>h</sup>apru*.

RAG ‘a large group of people’.

PAA The ‘people of’.

POR ‘man plural’.

KWA Also *nermama* ‘plural marker person’.

NEM ‘the men’.

CEM ‘people in country’.



KIR	Also 'land, country'; <i>kāin</i> ; <i>i-</i> prefix to place names, in the sense of 'person/people from'; <i>nākai</i> 'these people'; one of a set of personal demonstratives.
MSH	<i>īi-</i> personal/agentive prefix; <i>çṛo</i> prefix to place names, in the sense of 'person/people from'.
RTU	Also <i>kakoi</i> .
SAM	<i>itū</i> 'side, part', <i>ʔāiŋa</i> (vb intrans) 'be related', 'family, relatives, home'.
MEL	From Efate.

### 19.230 TRIBE, CLAN

ATA		UMA		ROV	butbutu
TS●		BUG	wīja	*MAR	kok <sup>h</sup> olo
RUK		KON		LAU	ʔacbara
PAI		WOL		KWO	māʔe mae
YAM	tao	MAG	vaʔu	RAG	
ISN	taŋāmalan	NGA	voe	*PAA	vatitelaim
KAL	paksiyon	*SIK	atabi ʔa-ŋ ŋəŋ	LEW	yolai
*TAG	aŋkan		ŋera-ŋ	POR	<sup>n</sup> ɹ <sup>n</sup> u <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup>
*AKL	[trībo]	*RTI	leo	NTA	neŋo
PAL		*BUR	noro	*KWA	nəm <sup>w</sup> ip <sup>w</sup> u-
MOL	baŋsa	DOB	k <sup>w</sup> a'lan	NEM	tūn
KAG	minu'ruʔ	IRA	waməsə ɛso	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> á
*BLA	buŋto	*SAW	[suku]	*AJI	nevā
*SAB	pihak	NYI	boho kamen	*XAR	xūā
*MUR	[bansaʔ]	*MAM	bagi	*NEN	si
*MGY	fuku	*TAK	gugoi	KIR	baroŋa
*ACE	[kawom]	DAM	iber	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ic
*BAT	[marga]	MAB	u-	*PON	tip <sup>w</sup>
*MIN	suku	*YAB	lau-ɪm	*WLE	tappa
*IND	suku	KAU	phoŋinin	*EFI	yaβusa
*SUN	[kaum]	*TOL	vunə-tərəi	WFI	bito
*JAV	[kulɔ]-[gotrɔ]	*BUA	alam	RTU	kainəŋa
MAD		*ADZ	mua <sup>n</sup> ɕi	TON	haʔa
*BAL	[dadiə]	KIL	kumila	*SAM	itu-ʔāiŋa
*SAS	[waŋsə]	*TAW	guguni	MEL	kainəŋa
GOR	linula	*MOT	iduhu	TAH	ʔāti
*DAA	topo-	*MEK	i-kupu	RAP	mata

- TAG Also *līpi?*; [*trību*], Spanish *tribu*.
- AKL From Spanish *tribu*.
- BLA Also *dadgakid*.
- SAB Also *baŋsa* (used for 'tribe/nation/race').
- MUR [*bansa?*] 'nation, race' from Sanskrit; [*suku?*] 'ethnic group' from Malay *suku*.
- MGY See Swahili *ufungu* 'relations, kinsmen'.
- ACE Arabic *qawm* 'people, nation'; [*baŋsa*] Sanskrit.
- BAT Sanskrit.
- MIN Also [*banso*].
- IND *suku* 'tribe'; [*marga*] 'clan' (Sanskrit?)
- SUN Arabic *qawm*; also *goloŋ-an*.
- JAV From Sanskrit. Also [*suku*], Malay.
- BAL [*dadiə*] from Sanskrit, 'worship group descended from a common ancestor'; *pəmaksan* (*pə-N-[paksə]-(a)n*) from Sanskrit, 'worship group consisting of descendants of one or more families'; *pasək* 'name of various clans in Bali' e.g. *pasək Gəlgel*, *pasək kayu sələm*.
- SAS Sanskrit.
- DAA Plus name of tribe.
- SIK Also *kua-t*, *kua-t βuŋu-ŋ*, *suku-ŋ* (Tana 'Ai)
- RTI On Roti, *leo* are the named origin groups or clans that constitute the domain or *nusa-k*.
- BUR Also *fena*; Malay (from Ternate) [*soa*] sometimes used. To specify s.o. is from (X) clan, one he is (X) *tau-n*, e.g. *Masbait taun* 'from the Lesnussa clan'. A female is *em-huka* (X), e.g. *em-huka Masbait*. The larger alliances of clans, e.g. Masarete, Lisela, WaeSama, etc, don't seem to have a cover term.
- SAW Malay.
- MAM Also *tubu*.
- TAK 'patrilineal clan'.
- YAB 'people-origin'; also *lau àwε-ŋ ta-gεŋ* 'people mouth-their one-only' i.e. 'people of same language'; *goloa?-moke* 'family-head' i.e. 'clan'.
- TOL *vuna* 'origin', see 14.250, 17.420, 02.820.
- BUA Also *dəg<sup>w</sup>a*.
- ADZ 'tribe' has no meaning in Adzera society; the largest named group was the District Group (a term coined by K.E. Read, 1946/1947), and

members of this group called themselves *garam gar* 'true men' as opposed to outsiders who were all called *garam buman* 'wild men'; clan was called *mua<sup>n</sup>ti* (Amari), *utup* (Central) and *a<sup>m</sup>pan* (Central and rest).

TAW 'clan'.

MOT Also *bese* 'family, tribe, nation'.

MEK *i-kupu* is a patrilineal 'clan'.

MAR 'clan'.

PAA Actually, a clan within a village.

KWA *nəm<sup>w</sup>ip<sup>wu</sup>-* 'grandchildren'; *nəteta* 'canoe'.

CEM Also 'house'.

AJI Also *m<sup>w</sup>āciři*.

XAR *xūā* 'tribe'; *x<sup>w</sup>ā-m<sup>w</sup>ādə* 'clan'.

NEN Also *guṇamenəjoien*.

MSH Also *cōwi*.

PON *tip<sup>w</sup>* matrilineal; *sou; keinek* also 'extended family'.

WLE Also *xaiřaṇa*.

EFI Also *matagali*.

SAM *itū* 'side, part', *?āiṇa* (vb intrans) 'be related', 'family, relatives, home'.

## 19.240 CHIEF, CHIEFTAIN

**Sanskrit:** *kapāla-*

*ATA	[tauki?]	MOL	poŋlima	JAV	lurah
ISO	proŋsi	*KAG	paŋulu	MAD	[kəpala]
RUK	talyalalay	BLA	dətu?		[d <sup>h</sup> isa]
*PAI	ma-mazaŋil <sup>y</sup>	*SAB	datu?	*BAL	klian
	an	*MUR	maŋkakaunan	*SAS	[jəro]
YAM	paniřizŋən	*MGY	ben-ni tani	*GOR	tā ?u da?a
ISN		*ACE	uleə-balaŋ	DAA	madika
KAL	pāŋat	*BAT	ulu-an	*UMA	paŋ-heni
*TAG	dāto?	*MIN	datu <sup>o</sup> ?	BUG	poŋ-gawa
*AKL	dātu?	IND	[kəpala]	*KON	[kapala]
PAL	pəgibutan	SUN	[kapala]	WOL	fo <sup>n</sup> to

*MAG	dalu	ADZ	nifuɕarif	AJI	ɔʔɔkau
NGA	mori-nua	KIL	guyau	XAR	āxa
SIK		TAW	guyau	*NEN	doku
*RTI	mane-k	*MOT	lohia	*KIR	te uea
*BUR	latu	*MEK	lopia	*MSH	cemm <sup>w</sup> ān
*DOB	ssaʔay	ROV	baŋara	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ōnsap <sup>w</sup>
IRA	kusi nada <sup>ɸə</sup>	MAR	funei	*WLE	piʔuŋu
SAW	wlɔn	LAU	alafa	EFI	tūraŋa
NYI	kabin	KWO	alafa	WFI	βiaŋ <sup>w</sup> ane
*MAM	tanepoa	RAG	ratahiyi	RTU	ŋaŋača
*TAK	gurma-n	PAA	asuv	TON	ʔeiki
DAM	mudur	LEW	sup <sup>w</sup> e	*SAM	matai
*MAB	bībi	*POR	na-su <sup>m</sup> b	MEL	tēriki
YAB	apomtau	*NTA	ienəŋo	*TAH	raʔatira
*KAU	miran	*KWA	iermənu	RAP	ʔariki
*TOL	luluai	*NEM	dāma		
BUA	ɣəβ	CEM	dāme		

ATA [taukiʔ] ‘chief’, loan from Taiwanese *thau ke*.

PAI *pa-lay-layŋ-an* ‘secretary of the tribe’.

TAG PMP \*dātuʔ, also *pūnoʔ*, [hēpe], Spanish *jefe*.

AKL PMP \*dātuʔ, also [hīpi] from Spanish *jefe*.

KAG (*ulu + paŋ-*).

SAB Also *pagbebeyaʔ-an* ‘leader’.

MUR Also [nitip sīp] from English *native chief*.

MGY Also *lehibe, fi-luha, mpi-fehi*.

ACE Also *paŋuleə*.

BAT Also *paŋ-ulu* ‘leader’.

MIN Also *tuo, iñiʔ*.

BAL Also *kliŋ* see *kəlih-an* ‘elder’.

SAS Balinese? Also [kliŋ] Balinese?

GOR (of a village); *tā*, personal nominaliser; *ʔu*, non-personal relative; *daʔa* ‘big’. Also [huhuhu] and [jogugu] ‘chief of a district’ (no longer in use, as the particular political subdivision has been abolished). These last two forms were borrowed from Galela, a language of North Halmahera; the first is a Gorontalisation of the second.

- UMA *paŋ-keni* 'carrier'; [*sepu?*] is a loan from Dutch or English.
- KON Also *puŋkaha* 'boss'.
- MAG Chief of a former feudal district.
- RTI *mane-k* from the root, *mane-* 'male' was the term for the Raja or Lord of a domain (*nusa-k*), *mane-* could also be used for the head of a clan or lineage: *mane-sio* or *mane-teo*; or in reference to the head of a specific clan: as, for example, *mane Iŋu-beuk*. *mane ana* were the noble descendants of the Manek; also *ma-laŋan*.
- BUR A *latu* is head of a tribal domain, a loose alliance of clans (Malay *Petuanan*, Dutch *Regentschap*). Masarete is an alliance of 10 clans, one of which is now extinct from poisoning, and another of which is nearly extinct. Malay (Sanskrit) [*raja*] is also used. Up at Rana the term *mat-gugul* is used. A clan head is called *geb-haa* in Masarete, but *mate* up at Rana; *olo*, *py-olo-t*, and *geba em-ŋaa* ('person with a name/title') are all used to mean 'head, leader'.
- DOB Used for any leader or important person.
- MAM Also *anuatanepoa*.
- TAK 'head' (04.200).
- MAB *bībi* 'big one'; *merere* 'lord'; *kon tu<sup>m</sup>būnu* 'chief, traditional leader'.
- KAU Also *akono*. Note also *lamit* 'chief's wife'.
- TOL From *lua* 'first'.
- MOT Also, *lohia-bada* (*bada* 'big'), used for 'Lord' in Bible; *yau-bada* 'great chief'.
- MEK *lopia* means 'chief: chiefship', referring to the institution as much as to any individual. The office is ordinarily hereditary, going to the eldest son; but there is usually a junior chief, *lopia eke*, in each clan and sub-clan, who will be the/a younger brother. The *lopia* is more particularly the 'peace chief'. The war chief is known as *iso (io)* 'spear'; the war-sorcery chief is *fai<sup>?</sup>a* which actually means 'cinnamon', the symbol of war magic; and the 'chief sorcerer' is *lopia e-ŋa ŋa-ŋa*. The institution of *lopia* originated (?) in the East Mekeo area and only reached the West Mekeo villages in the second or third decade of this century; it has not yet penetrated as far as the NW Mekeo area. In earliest times it seems there was only the war chief, *iso (io)*, and the war-magician or *fai<sup>?</sup>a*. The NW Mekeo nowadays refer to the chief or village head as *biaku* (see Motu *biagu* 'owner'). See Hau'ofa for a full account of East Mekeo institutions.

POR	<i>su<sup>m</sup>b</i> arch. ‘for to be seated’.
NTA	Also <i>erəmərə, ierəmanəŋ, [tíf]</i> .
KWA	Also <i>iani nəteta</i> ‘spokeman of the canoe’.
NEM	Also <i>t<sup>n</sup>eamā</i> .
NEN	Also <i>retok</i> .
KIR	<i>te mataniwī</i> also ‘director, commander’.
MSH	Kiribatese <i>te mm<sup>w</sup>āne</i> ‘male, man’; <i>īrōc</i> .
WLE	<i>piṛuŋu</i> ‘clan head’; <i>[saweya]</i> Yapese ‘chief, tyrant’.
SAM	‘high chief’: <i>ali<sup>?</sup>i</i> , ‘paramount chief of a whole district’: <i>tui</i> .
TAH	Also <i>[tāvana]</i> from English.

### 19.250 STAFF, WALKING STICK

ATA	hauku <sup>?</sup>	SAS	tuñjaŋ	ADZ	i <sup>n</sup> trup
TSO		GOR	tū <sup>g</sup> gudu	KIL	kaituk <sup>wa</sup>
RUK	okočo	DAA	le <sup>m</sup> bau	TAW	digona
PAI		UMA	lua <sup>?</sup>	MOT	itotohi
YAM	şişikod	*BUG	ana <sup>?</sup> [ guru]	MEK	
ISN	ta <sup>?</sup> dukud	KON	takkaŋ	ROV	kolu hodu
KAL	sūlkud	WOL	ka-tuko	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> odo
*TAG	tuŋkod	*MAG	do <sup>?</sup> ar	LAU	kubou
*AKL	[baston]	NGA	do <sup>?</sup> a	KWO	kaba <sup>?</sup> u
PAL	susuŋkud	*SIK	ti <sup>?</sup> o	*RAG	malio
MOL	suŋkud	RTI	ai te-te <sup>?</sup> e-k	PAA	aisal
KAG	suŋkud	*BUR	tabu	LEW	plasiŋai
BLA	tugad	DOB	tila	*POR	toŋon
SAB	tuŋkud	IRA	tonə	NTA	kasəkən
MUR	susukud	SAW	te-ton	KWA	kaskən
*MGY	tehina	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>o</sup>	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> arija
ACE	muju <sup>l</sup> ih	MAM	si <sup>?</sup> a	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> āja
BAT	tukkət	*TAK	tok	AJI	mējɔ
MIN	tuŋke <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	sīrī	XAR	çašə
IND	toŋkat	MAB	tete	*NEN	guto
*SUN	itik	YAB	to <sup>?</sup>	KIR	te oko
JAV	təkən	KAU	kamtuk-ŋin	*MSH	cokoŋ <sup>w</sup>
MAD		*TOL	bukə	PON	sokon
BAL	tuŋkəd	BUA	atoɣəŋ	WLE	soxo

EFI	i-tūtoko	TON	tokotoko	TAH	turu toʔotoʔo
WFI	i-toko	SAM	toʔotoʔo	*RAP	toko-toko
RTU	ʔoi toko	MEL	[čiko]		

TAG Also [*baston*], Spanish *bastón*.

AKL From Spanish *bastón*.

MGY From PMP \**təkən*.

SUN Also [*toŋkat*], Malay (not in Eringa). Eringa lists [*tuŋkət*] ‘dialectal’; also *it̄ik*.

BUG Sanskrit; also *tikkīṅ*.

MAG Also *doᵝkar*, *naṅa*.

SIK Also *gai*.

BUR Also *mae-t* ‘spear handle with no tip’.

TAK *tok* ‘ceremonial staff’; *kudud* ‘walking stick’.

DAM ‘cane’ (the staff of earlier colonial officials). Also meaning ‘crutch’, (support for an injured person) and *ketuk* ‘walking stick’.

TOL Also *bukabukə*, also [*titik*] from English ‘stick’ ‘stick of the judge’.

RAG Formerly ref. ‘club’.

POR Also means ‘to grope’.

NEN Also *gupula* (respectful).

MSH Also *cōṛ* also ‘pillar, post’.

RAP Also *turu-turu* (archaic, with this meaning).

### 19.310 RULE, GOVERN

Malay: *pərintah*

ATA	maṭahaṅ	*AKL	gahum	*MGY	manapaka
TSO		PAL	magmilik	*ACE	ato
RUK			(milik)	*BAT	maṅ-atuṛ
PAI		*MOL	kowasa	MIN	parentah
YAM	itaḷamorōṅ	*KAG	dumala	IND	məmərintah
ISN	maṅiturāy	*BLA	m-ibi		(pərintah)
*KAL	apu	*SAB	bayaʔ	SUN	marentah
*TAG	bahālaʔ	*MUR	[padintaʔ]		(parentah)

*JAV	[rɛh]	NYI	ato <sup>n</sup> dʻok	LEW	ve-sup <sup>w</sup> e-ni
MAD		*MAM	pananuaʔi	POR	
*BAL	[ñənəŋ] [agun]	*TAK	-tirni	*NTA	-it
	(-jənəŋ)	DAM	lō	*KWA	-ermənu
SAS	mrəntah	*MAB	-kam pēze	NEM	wedo
	(prentah)	*YAB	-yām goliŋ	*CFM	pī-wō
*GOR	[momare <sup>n</sup> da]	*KAU	hiŋ	*AJI	vi cāwā
DAA	no- pare <sup>n</sup> ta	*TOL	kur-e	*XAR	še re tɛpə
UMA	mo- pare <sup>n</sup> ta	BUA	ŋin	NEN	musi(on)
BUG	aturəŋ	ADZ		KIR	tautaeka
KON	am- marenta	*KIL	-guyau	*MSH	kien
	( parenta )	TAW	tu	*PON	kaun
WOL	[pari <sup>n</sup> taŋi]		tanitaniwaga	WLE	
*MAG	[pəre <sup>n</sup> ta]	*MOT	biagu-a	EFI	lewa-a
NGA	bəge	MEK		WFI	lewa-ia
*SIK	ʔodo	ROV	baŋarania	RTU	pure
RTI	[paleta]	*MAR	batu	TON	pule
BUR	[eprinta]	LAU		*SAM	pūle-a
DOB	ʔa-saʔa	KWO		*MEL	[marākia]
IRA		RAG		TAH	faʔatere
*SAW	n- kawasa	*PAA	lĕkati	RAP	ʔao

KAL *apu + i/-on*.

TAG *bahālaʔ + maN-/paN--an*; also *hāriʔ + mag-/pag--an*.

AKL (*gamh-an*); also *hāriʔ + mag-* 'reign'.

MOL *kowasa + mog-*.

KAG *dumala + mag-/an*.

BLA *m-agot* 'to be in charge of'; *m-ɔlok* 'to lead'.

MUR [*padintaʔ*] (*maŋ--on*).

SAB *bayaʔ + ag-an/pag-an*.

MGY From *maN-tapaka*; also 'to cut'.

ACE 'rule, pass judgement'.

BAT *maŋ-atur* 'to rule'; [*raja*]-*i* 'to dominate'.

JAV Dutch *recht* 'law'.

BAL From Old Javanese; also *ñənəŋ* (*N-[jənəŋ]*) [*ratu*] 'rule' from Old Javanese; *pñənəŋan* (*pə-N-[jənəŋ]-an*) 'period as ruler'; (*N-*)*gisi* [*gumi*] from Sanskrit, lit 'hold country'.



- GOR (*pare<sup>n</sup>da + moN-*). The root of this verb, *pare<sup>n</sup>da* (or *palc<sup>n</sup>da*), Malay *pərintah*, means ‘order’, as in ‘to give orders’. *momare<sup>n</sup>da* was, however, probably borrowed already formed (Malay *məmərintah*) ‘rule, govern’.
- MAG Also *pukul*.
- SIK Also *βa bəli, rego reo-ŋ, βage; bəli[parinta]*.
- SAW Sanskrit.
- MAM Also *tanepoa*.
- TAK ‘give orders’.
- MAB Also *-<sup>m</sup>boro* ‘look after’.
- YAB ‘do steering’.
- KAU ‘be dependent upon’: used of one who possesses authority by virtue of his wealth or social abilities; political authority among the Kaulong is achieved rather than inherited.
- TOL *var-kur-ai* (vb intrans) ‘decide, judge, govern’.
- KIL Form given in text above is the verb focus form for ‘to rule, to be chief’; the object focus form is *-guyoi* ‘to rule (them)’. This word may only be used in reference to hereditary chiefs who occupy their place by proper appointment. A more general reference to governing powers by anyone in authority is: *-karaiwaga* (verb focus) ‘rule, give orders, decide’; *-karaiwogi* (object focus) ‘rule (them)’.
- MOT See 19.410. Also *lohia-ia* (*lohia* ‘chief’).
- MAR ‘lead, direct’.
- PAA Also ‘look after’.
- NTA Also *-ahun, -am<sup>w</sup>ək*.
- KWA Also *-awahinəteta* ‘take canoe’.
- CEM ‘decide, deliberate’.
- AJI Also *vi tāři*.
- XAR ‘say the custom’.
- MSH Also ‘law, government, commandment’; *pēk* (vb trans) ‘decide, rule on’.
- PON ‘rule, lead, direct’.
- SAM *pule* ‘authority, power, decision, ruling, ruler, manager’.
- MEL From Efate.

## 19.320 KING, RULER

Arabic: *sulṭan*Sanskrit: *rājā*

*ATA	pukɨŋ [taukiʔ]	DAA	magau	*ROV	baɟara
TSO		UMA	magauʔ	MAR	
RUK		BUG	aruŋ-porane	LAU	
PAI		KON	karaeŋ	KWO	
YAM	panizʂizɟəŋ	*WOL	laki-na lipu	RAG	
ISN	āri	MAG	[raʒa]	PAA	
KAL	apu	NGA	[raʒa]	*LEW	paraŋ
*TAG	hāriʔ	SIK	ratu	POR	
*AKL	hāriʔ	*RTI	mane-k	*NTA	[kiŋ]
*PAL	[surutan]	*BUR	latu	KWA	
MOL	[sulutan]	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ul si ʔaɸala	NEM	
KAG	ari	IRA		*CEM	dāme ún
*BLA	hariʔ	*SAW	[kolano]	ΛJI	ɔʔkəu
*SAB	[sultan]	NYI	kabin	XAR	
MUR	[daʒa]	MAM	tanepoa	NEN	
*MGY	mpan-ɸaka lahi	TAK		*KIR	te uea
		*DAM	mudur	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> io
ACE	[raʒa]	*MAB	kən tu <sup>m</sup> būnu	*PON	nanm <sup>w</sup> ariki
*BAT	[raʒa]	*YAB	goliŋ-waga	*WLE	saweya
*MIN	[raʒo]	KAU		*EFI	sau
*IND	[raʒa]	*TOL	[tui]	WFI	hau
*SUN	[raʒa]	*BUA	məyə bəp	RTU	sau
*JAV	ratu	ADZ		TON	tuʔi
*MAD	[ratu]	*KIL	[kini]	*SAM	tupu
*BAL	[raʒə]	*TAW	tu wasawasa	MEL	
*SAS	[raʒə]	*MOT	lohia tau-na	TAH	ariʔi
*GOR	[ʔoloŋiya]	MEK		RAP	ʔariki

ATA Loan from Taiwanese *thau ke*.

TAG PHN \*hāziʔ.

AKL PHN \*hāziʔ.

PAL Also *raya*.BLA *hariʔ* 'king'; *ulu* 'ruler, head'; *to m-ɨbi i banwi* 'the person who rules the land'.

- SAB Also *pagbebeya<sup>?</sup>-an* ‘leader’.
- MGY From *mpaN-zaka + lahi*; [*zaka*] from Sanskrit.
- BAT This word is also used as a term of address or reference for prestigious men.
- MIN Also *pa-marentah(paN-parentah)*.
- IND Also [*sultan*] with regional preferences and meanings.
- SUN Also *ratu*.
- JAV Also [*rɔʃɔ*].
- MAD From Javanese.
- BAL *aʃi* is used in Old Balinese royal titles, and as an honorific meaning ‘father’ in NB; *datu*, *ratu* are both found in Old Balinese texts; Old Javanese has both *ḍatu* and *ratu*; *datu* is not found in NB. *atu* and *ratu* are terms of address for nobles of high status; *ratu* may therefore have been borrowed twice, at first displacing Old Balinese *datu* and undergoing the native loss of initial /r/; then reborrowed later as *ratu*; *anak [agun]* from Old Javanese, a satria caste-title lit ‘big, great person’.
- SAS Also *datu*.
- GOR A loanword from the Galela language of North Halmahera.
- WOL Also *lakaki-aka, [raʃa]* Sanskrit.
- RTI See 19.240.
- BUR See note for 19.240.
- DOB This is one of the Dobel compound phrases with a single meaning, lit ‘heads and gods’, but it is used for the (plural) leadership of a village or area.
- SAW Ternate.
- DAM ‘head’; leaders placed above other headmen by the colonial powers were called *murur odug* ‘big leader’, and this term is sometimes used to talk about the Queen, although the English words King and Queen are more common.
- MAB Also *pēze katūnu*.
- YAB ‘steer-er’.
- TOL From Fijian *tui* ‘king’.
- BUA *məyɔbɔp* ‘big, important man’; *yeβ* ‘leader’.
- KIL From English *king*. It is used in reference to a constitutional monarchy. The word used for anyone not a hereditary ruler who is in authority is *to-k<sup>w</sup>araiwaga* ‘person-rule’ i.e. ‘ruler’.

- TAW *tu wasawasa* ‘rich person’, king; *taniwaga* ‘ruler’.
- MOT *tau* ‘man’. For ‘king’ the Bible uses *hanua paβapaβa-na*, given as ‘king, queen’ by Lister-Turner – Clark (n.d.). There were no kings or queens in traditional society, so the original meaning is uncertain.
- ROV Also *tie kopu*.
- LEW Also *sup<sup>w</sup>e, pari-n sup<sup>w</sup>e, [kiŋ]* (from Bislama).
- NTA From Bislama.
- CEM ‘chief big’.
- KIR *te toka* ‘chief’.
- MSH Also *irōc*.
- PON Title of highest chief in each district of Ponape; *kaun* ‘leader’.
- WLE [*saweya*] Yapese chief; *piŋuŋu*.
- EFI Also *tui, masi*.
- SAM ‘ruler’: *pule* see 19.310.

## 19.330 QUEEN

English: *queen*Javanese: *ratu*Spanish: *reina*

ATA		MGY	mpan-dzaka	KON	karaeŋ bahine
TSO			vavi	WOL	
RUK		*ACE	[putrɔə]	*MAG	vina də [raʃa]
PAI		BAT		NGA	
YAM	[panizsizŋən]	*MIN	[raʃo]	SIK	[ratu]
ISN			parampuan	*RTI	ina mane-k
*KAL	[palinsisa]	IND	[ratu]	BUR	
TAG	[reyna]	SUN	[ratu]	DOB	
AKL	[raynah]	JAV	ratu	IRA	
*PAL	linamin	MAD	[ratu]	*SAW	[kolano] ni
	binukut	*BAL	[prameswari]		pegele
MOL	poŋian	SAS	[ratu]	NYI	mulis
KAG	[rayna]	*GOR	[pūtiri]	MAM	moede
BLA	[rena]	DAA	magau besi	TAK	
SAB	dayaŋ-dayaŋ	UMA		DAM	
*MUR	[kuin]	BUG	aruŋ- makkunrai	*MAB	mernan
				YAB	

KAU		KWO		MSH	
*TOL	[radi]	RAG		PON	
BUA	[k <sup>w</sup> in] aβey	PAA		WLE	
ADZ		LEW		EFI	radi
KIL	giyouβila	POR		*WFI	raʒi-ni-βanua
*TAW	wasawasa	*NTA	[kuin]	*RTU	sauhɔni
	wawine-na	KWA		*TON	tuʔi
*MOT	[kuini]	NEM		*SAM	tupu
*MEK	[kwini]	*CEM	tóm <sup>w</sup> o-d̄me		tamaʔitaʔi
ROV	baɲara	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε ɔʒkəu	MEL	
	magota	XAR		TAH	ariʔi vahine
MAR		NEN		RAP	ʔariki vahine
LAU		KIR			

KAL From Spanish *princesa*.

PAL Also *dayaŋ*.

MUR From English *queen*.

ACE From Sanskrit.

MIN From Sanskrit.

BAL From Sanskrit, 'highest status wife of a ruler, of equal descent status to her husband'; [*padmi*] from Sanskrit 'highest status wife of a nobleman, of equal descent status to her husband'; Old Balinese [*ratu*] *luhur* Old Balinese *luhur* 'female', North Balinese *luh*.

GOR 1. 'princess', 2. 'wife of a king'. Malay [*putəri*], from Sanskrit.

MAG Sanskrit.

RTI See 19.240.

SAW 'king's wife', Ternate.

MAB Also *kon tu<sup>m</sup>būnu kusīni*.

TOL From Fijian *radi* 'queen'.

TAW 'rich woman'.

MOT Also *lohia hahine-na* (*hahine* 'woman, female') See 19.320 also.

MEK Refers specifically to the British monarch.

NTA From Bislama.

CEM 'women chief'.

WFI Also *βibulou*

RTU Also *fæʔ nohoŋa*.

TON Also [*kuini*].

SAM *tamaʔitaʔi* 'lady', see 02.220.

## 19.360 NOBLE, NOBLEMAN

ATA		DAA		ROV	
TSO		*UMA	[maradika]	MAR	
RUK	talyalalay	BUG	ana?-karuŋ	LAU	
PAI	pa-lay-layŋ-an	*KON	puan	KWO	
YAM	minakəm a tao	*WOL	kaomu	RAG	
ISN		*MAG	[kəraeŋ]	PAA	
KAL	kadaŋyan	NGA	ga?e	LEW	yer-kawa
TAG	maharlika?	*SIK	ata ratu	POR	
*AKL	[don]	*RTI	mane ana	NTA	
PAL		BUR		KWA	
MOL	[soudagar]	DOB		NEM	
KAG		IRA		CEM	dâme
BLA		*SAW	kyat ta pelɔye	*AJI	ka yē
*SAB	[baŋsa-han]	NYI		XAR	
MUR		MAM	bagi-tanepoa	NEN	
MGY	andʻiana	TAK		KIR	te toka
*ACE	[baŋsa]-[wan]	*DAM	tamo yana ado	MSH	p <sup>u</sup> io
BAT	anak ni [raja]	MAB		*PON	m <sup>w</sup> ōnsap <sup>w</sup>
MIN	uraŋ	YAB		WLE	
	ba-[banso]	KAU		EFI	turaŋa
*IND	[baŋsa]-[wan]	*TOL	ŋələŋələ	WFI	ɸiaŋ <sup>w</sup> ane
*SUN	menak	BUA	məŋɔbɔp	RTU	tok ne hanua
*JAV	niŋrat	ADZ		*TON	[nōpele]
MAD	alim	*KIL	to-k <sup>w</sup> araiwaga	*SAM	tamāliʻi
*BAL	anak menak	TAW		MEL	
SAS	mena?	MOT		TAH	huiariʻi
*GOR	tā [baŋusa]	MEK		RAP	?ariki

AKL From Spanish *Don*.

SAB From Sanskrit via Malay.

ACE From Sanskrit via Malay.

IND From Sanskrit *vaṃśa-* + Sanskrit *-van*.

SUN Also [niŋrat] Javanese.

JAV From *niŋ-rat* lit 'of the land'; abbreviation of *ratu niŋ-rat* 'monarch of the land'.

BAL [triwaŋsə] from Sanskrit 'the three noble castes': [*brahmana*, *satriə*, *wesiə*] all from Sanskrit.

GOR	Malay [ <i>baṅsawan</i> ], from Sanskrit. Also <i>tā du-du-laʔa</i> , formed from <i>daʔa</i> ‘big’, preceded by <i>tā</i> , personal nominaliser.
UMA	From Sanskrit.
KON	Also <i>paʔ-tola</i> .
WOL	Also <i>ḥoʔto</i> , <i>ka-lalaki-a</i> , <i>laki</i> , <i>lalaki</i> , [ <i>mulia</i> ].
MAG	From Makassar.
SIK	Also <i>moʔaṅ pulu</i> (Sara Sika).
RTI	See 19.240.
SAW	‘person that is big’.
DAM	‘man name having’.
TOL	<i>ṅalə</i> ‘big’.
KIL	‘person, rule’.
AJI	Also <i>yē</i> .
PON	‘high ranking chief’; lit ‘front of the land’; <i>lapalap</i> ‘high ranking’.
TON	From English <i>noble</i> .
SAM	<i>tama</i> ‘boy’ (02.250), <i>aliʔi</i> ‘high chief’.

### 19.370 CITIZEN, SUBJECT

**Sanskrit:** *varga-*; *nagara-*

ATA		MGY	vahuaka	DAA	todea
TSO		ACE	anuʔ	UMA	paliliʔ
RUK			[naŋgrəə]	BUG	pab-banna
PAI		BAT		*KON	tau tabbala
YAM		*MIN	anaʔ [nagari]	WOL	
ISN	umīli	IND	[warga]-	MAG	roʔeṅ
KAL	tāgu		[nəgara]	NGA	isi
*TAG	māmamayan	SUN	[warga]-	*SIK	ata
*AKL	mag-banwa		[nagara]	*RTI	lau-n
PAL	adat	*JAV	[wargə]-	*BUR	[rayat]
*MOL	[raʔyat]		[nəgərə]	*DOB	toru si ta'raw
*KAG	pumuluyu	*MAD	[raʔyat]	IRA	
BLA	to di banwi	*BAL	pañjak	SAW	
SAB	aʔa	*SAS	[kawulə]	NYI	
*MUR	[dayat]	*GOR	walaʔo lipu	MAM	gadagada

TAK		*MAR	mae	*NEN	čelereŋom
*DAM	tamo ege		k <sup>h</sup> omabro	KIR	
MAB		LAU	tōa i <sup>ʔ</sup> aefera	MSH	
*YAB	gameŋ ŋatau	KWO		PON	
KAU		RAG		WLE	
TOL		*PAA	horotan	EFI	lewe-ni-
BUA	məyətɪ	LEW			βanua
ADZ		POR		WFI	tauβanua
KIL	tokai	NTA		RTU	tapua <sup>ʔ</sup> famori
*TAW	wiodubo	KWA		*TON	taŋata <sup>ʔ</sup> ifonua
MOT		NEM	yab <sup>w</sup> ec	*SAM	taŋatā-nu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
*MEK	ulalu	*CEM	àb <sup>w</sup> ē	MEL	
ROV		AJI	kāmɔ	TAH	huira <sup>ʔ</sup> atira
		XAR		RAP	

TAG Root: *bāyan*.

AKL *kasimanwa* 'fellow citizen'

MOL From Arabic *ra'īya*.

KAG *pumuluyu* 'citizen'; *sinake'pan* (*sakep* + *-in-* + *-an*) 'subject'.

MUR See 19.210.

MIN From Sanskrit.

JAV Also [*kaulɔ*] Sanskrit.

MAD 'populace; the people', from Arabic *ra'īya*.

BAL Also [*kaulə*] from Sanskrit; *anak[sudrə]* from Sanskrit; *anak jabə* 'the lowest, commoner class' (*jabə* 'outside').

SAS From Sanskrit.

GOR 'child (of) country'.

KON Also *rajja<sup>ʔ</sup>*, *tuma<sup>ʔ</sup>butta*.

SIK e.g. *ata Sika*, *ata Tana 'Ai*.

RTI Also *maŋa-lau*.

BUR See note for 19.210.

DOB 'chickens and dogs', but means an accepted member of a community.

DAM 'man nothing'.

YAB 'place its-person'.

TAW 'to become old'.

MEK *ulalu* means 'poor, wretched' but also 'common, non-chiefly'.



MAR	'common man'.
PAA	'person of a particular place'.
CEM	'commoners'.
NEN	Also <i>bein</i> .
TON	Also <i>fefine?ifonua</i> (female).
SAM	<i>taɣata</i> 'person', <i>nu?u</i> 'village, home'.

### 19.410 MASTER

ATA		*UMA	tua	MAR	
TSO		BUG	aǰǰo-arıŋ	LAU	
RUK		*KON	puan	KWO	
PAI		*WOL	hiri	RAG	
YAM	panizşizŋən	MAG	mori	*PAA	asuv
ISN	apu	NGA	mori	*LEW	yer-kawa
KAL	apu	*SIK	mo?an	POR	
*TAG	paŋino?on	R'TI	lamatua	*N'TA	masta
*AKL	[āmo]	*BUR	opo	KWA	
*PAL	ampu?	DOB	duk <sup>w</sup> ay	NEM	kāvū-n
*MOL	ompu?	IRA		*CEM	âp <sup>w</sup> ihi-n
KAG	aga'lən	SAW		AJI	kāvū
*BLA	amu	*NYI	jam	XAR	apū
SAB	papu?	MAM	biabiadi	*NEN	masiŋa
MUR		TAK		KIR	te toka
*MGY	tumpu	DAM		MSH	
*ACE	pə	MAB	bībi	PON	
BAT	bəkka	*YAB	masta	WLE	
MIN	indu <sup>o?</sup> samaŋ	*KAU	puha	EFI	tūraŋa
IND	tuan	*TOL	luluai	WFI	
SUN	dunuŋ-an	BUA	yeβ	RTU	le? pure
*JAV	[bəndɔrɔ]	ADZ		TON	pule
MAD		*KIL	to-karaiwaga	*SAM	ali?i
*BAL	[gusti]	TAW	taniwaga	MEL	taɣata
*SAS	epe-n bale	*MOT	biagu-na		maramara
*GOR	[tuwani]	*MEK	[potsi]	TAH	fatu
*DAA	tua	*ROV	baŋara	RAP	hatu

- TAG Also [*āmo*], Spanish *amo* ‘boss, landlord’.
- AKL From Spanish *amo* ‘boss, landlord’.
- PAL *datu?* ‘owner, proprietor’.
- MOL *ompu?* + *go--an* ‘master of slave’.
- BLA Also *ulu* and *dōtu?*
- MGY From PMP \**ə(N)pu*.
- ACE Also *tuwan*.
- JAV Hindi/Gujarati (Gonda 1973: 379).
- BAL [*gusti*] Old Javanese (of high caste); (*pə-*)*məkəl* (of low caste); *tuhan* in Old Balinese texts ; [*tuan*] probably a later reborrowing from Malay.
- SAS ‘owner of house’.
- GOR From Malay *tuan*.
- DAA From Malay *tuan*.
- UMA Also *pue?*
- KON Also *karaeŋ*.
- WOL Also ‘gentleman’.
- SIK Also *mo<sup>?</sup>a-t*, [*tua-ŋ*] Malay (Sara Sika).
- BUR A dog’s master is his *opo*. The term’s primary usage is ‘grandfather, grandmother, grandchild’, but it is also used for ‘God’; also *tobo-n* e.g. *huma tobo-n* ‘master of the house’.
- NYI Refers to white man.
- YAB From Tok Pisin: ‘European’.
- KAU *puha* is a Kaulong term which is used to refer to government officials and expatriates; it seems to be the equivalent of the Tok Pisin term *masta*.
- TOL See 19.240.
- KIL Also *to-kug<sup>wa</sup>* person-first ‘leader’.
- MOT See 19.310.
- MEK From English *boss* – there was no native word for ‘master’ or ‘owner-boss’ (i.e. no equivalent to Motu *biagu*).
- ROV Also *palabatu*.
- PAA Also ‘chief’ and ‘boss’.
- LEW See 19.360.
- NTA From Bislama.

CEM Master and proprietor (of magic, dance, place).

NEN From English *master*.

SAM See 19.240.

### 19.420 SLAVE

ATA	šašmiḵun	DAA	ba-tua	ROV	pinausu
TSO		UMA	batua	*MAR	nasneka
RUK		BUG	ata	LAU	
PAI		KON	ata	KWO	
YAM	lamlamṣoy	*WOL	ḡatu-a	RAG	
ISN	assassu	MAG	mə <sup>n</sup> di	PAA	
*KAL	baba <sup>ʔʔ</sup> unon	NGA	ho <sup>ʔ</sup> o	LEW	
*TAG	alīpin	SIK	maha	POR	
*AKL	ulīpun	RTI	ata	NTA	
PAL	uripɔn	*BUR	ata	KWA	
MOL	uripon	DOB	ʔabasa <sup>ʔ</sup> an	NEM	
KAG	ulipən	IRA	marienə	CEM	
*BLA	lifan	SAW	beyak	AJI	kāmɔ ē yavia
SAB	ata	NYI	bəñ <sup>ʔ</sup> ou	*XAR	ka
*MUR	ulipon	MAM	dududu	NEN	
*MGY	mpanumpu (tumpu)	TAK		*KIR	te kauḡa
*ACE	būlaga	DAM	raibeg	*MSH	[kuli]
BAT	hatoban	MAB	m <sup>b</sup> esōḡo	PON	
*MIN	buda <sup>ʔ</sup>		sorok	WLE	
*IND	budak	YAB		EFI	bōbula
SUN	budak (bīlian)	KAU		WFI	
JAV	buḡa <sup>ʔ</sup>	*TOL	viləvilau	RTU	mamaua
*MAD	[abdi]	BUA	ḡur	*TON	hopoate
*BAL		ADZ		SAM	poloḡa
*SAS	[bədendə]	*KIL	touwata	MEL	fičikaum <sup>wa</sup>
GOR	wato	TAW		TAH	tītī
		*MOT	he-siai tau-na	RAP	
		MEK			

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>-baun-R<sup>2</sup>-on*)

TAG PHN \*qūDip live + -en.

AKL PHN \*qūDip 'live' + -en.

- BLA Also *fasak*.
- MUR Also *ulipon* ‘hereditary class of slaves (in the past)’; *ulun-ulun* ‘debt-slave, one born free who becomes another’s slave through inability to pay debt (usually bride-price); he and his offspring become freemen upon payment of the debt, or upon his death’; *dakop* ‘slave taken in battle; can be put to death at any time, e.g. to make ‘head-score’ with enemy tribe even; his offspring become *ulipon*.
- MGY From *mpaN-tumpu*; also *an'devu* from Proto Malagasy \*aN-\*lewu ‘person belonging to the house, a domestic’; see Maanyan *lewu* ‘house’.
- ACE Also *namiət*.
- MIN Also *dapan*.
- IND Also *hamba*.
- MAD Arabic.
- BAL See 19.430.
- SAS Dutch.
- WOL Also *ka<sup>n</sup>tinale*.
- BUR Also *geb-/kuli*; this term is used to describe those forced into labour for the Dutch (ca. 1880) to build the dock at Tifu and by the Japanese (ca. 1941-43) to build the airstrip at Namlea.
- TOL From *vilau* (vb intrans) ‘run away’.
- KIL Also *to-wotetila* person-send ‘someone sent to do a task’, *ula* ‘drudge’ (anyone living in a family group by favour, who is at everyone’s beck and call).
- MOT Primarily ‘servant’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) *hesiat* ‘message, errand’ lit ‘someone sent (to do something)’.
- MAR ‘captive’.
- XAR Also *k<sup>w</sup>ara* subject, ‘chief’s servant’; *ka* also means ‘victim’.
- KIR Also *tekatauŋa* (arch.)
- MSH From English.
- TON Also *pōpula* from Fijian *bōbula* ‘captive’.

### 19.430 SERVANT

ATA	YAM	lamlamşoy	*AKL	ka-būlig
TSO	ISN	bobonān	PAL	dōdakən
RUK	*KAL	baba <sup>??</sup> unon	*MOL	tindog
PAI	*TAG	utos-an	*KAG	sugu <sup>?</sup> un

BLA	səlig	*BUR	geba breu-t	LEW	
*SAB	so-sohoʔ-an	*DOB	ser-tebi	POR	
*MUR	[ama]	IRA		*NTA	iol-[uok]
MGY	mpi-asa	SAW	nən-ane	KWA	
*ACE	hamba	NYI	lohowan	NEM	
BAT	paŋ-urup-i	MAM	malipilipi	*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> ô-jû-
*MIN	anaʔ samaŋ	TAK			tôm <sup>w</sup> o
*IND	pə-layan	*DAM	kabī tamo	AJI	kāmɔ yaŋi
*SUN	badega	*MAB	m <sup>w</sup> besōŋo	*XAR	a-wake
JAV	babu	*YAB	sakiŋ-waga	NEN	wasinemeneŋ
MAD	babu	KAU		*KIR	te kauŋa
*BAL	[parək-an]	*TOL	kudakudər	*MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> uwaɛ]
*SAS	[abdi]	BUA	ɣur	*PON	litu
*GOR	tā momaya	ADZ		*WLE	[nīmpū]
DAA	ba-tua	*KIL	to-wotetila	*EFI	dau-βeiŋaraβi
UMA		TAW	tu bagibagi	WFI	talaikai
BUG	ʃoaʔ	MOT		*RTU	leʔ eʔa
KON	pan-nunraŋ-i (tunraŋ)	*MEK	kalaa	*TON	tamaioʔeiki
WOL	batu-a	ROV	nabulu	*SAM	tautau
*MAG	vaʔi-lime	MAR		MEL	
NGA	ana-kapo	LAU	wane rao	*TAH	[tāvini]
SIK	ata hiβi haok	KWO		RAP	[tavini]
RTI	ana uma dale	RAG			
		*PAA	ailoholoh		

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>baun-R<sup>2</sup>-on*).

TAG Also *aŋlaʔ*, *ka-tūloy* ‘helper’.

AKL ‘helper’.

MOL *tindog + ti-*.

KAG (*sugu + -ən*) ‘one who is commanded’.

SAB Also *ipāt-an* for ‘residential domestic servant’.

MUR [*ama*] ‘female servant’ from Malay/English *amah* from Portuguese;  
[*bui*] ‘male servant’ from English ‘boy’.

ACE Also *uruəŋ lam rumɔh*.

MIN Also *pam bantu*.

IND Also *pə-layan*, *pəm-bantu*.

SUN Also *buʃaŋ* ‘young man; servant (male or female)’.

- BAL 'dependent servant, feudal subject of a lord' from Old Javanese; *pəñəroan* (*pə-N-ḷəro-an*) 'female dependent servant', feudal subject of a lord.
- SAS Arabic.
- GOR *tā*, personal nominaliser, plus *momaya* (*baya + moN-*) 'to serve'. Thus, 'one who serves'.
- MAG Also *susuŋ*, *runiŋ*.
- BUR 'underling' (Malay *anak buah*).
- DOB *ser-* is a nominalising prefix here, on the verb root *tebi* 'order, command'.
- DAM 'work man'.
- MAB Also *tomtom urātakana* 'worker'.
- YAB 'service-person'. Also *sakiŋ-waga-ə* 'service-person-feminine', *ŋa<sup>2</sup>-sakiŋ* 'man-service', *àwe-sakiŋ* 'woman-service'.
- TOL Also *tultul*.
- KIL 'person-send'. See alternative forms quoted in 19.420. Additional form is *to-paisewa* person-work 'worker'.
- MEK *kalaa* is *kaala* in the other dialects; it may be mission-introduced although there is an old word, *kaala*, in West Mekeo, meaning 'victim in battle' and once, conceivably, 'captive, slave'. *laafi* means 'labourer, worker' in general; while nowadays [*leipa*] is used in East Mekeo to describe the role of in-laws at certain feasts where they must act as slaves/servants. (Desnoës has *kalaafi* 'servant, domestic'; this is a predictable replica of English *slave*).
- PAA 'messenger'.
- NTA Also *poi* from Bislama.
- CEM 'one who performs the role of real wife'.
- XAR 'the one who work'.
- KIR *te raŋ* 'low class, fit only to serve'.
- MSH From English 'boy'; *ḷiccelək* also 'apostle, disciple'; *ḷikam<sup>m</sup>akəkək* see *kam<sup>m</sup>akəkək* 'force to serve'; [*kuli*] from English.
- PON *litu* 'female servant'; *latu* 'male servant'.
- WLE Japanese, 'labourer, servant'.
- EFI *βada* 'female', *kaiβale* 'kitchen-hand'.
- RTU Also *le<sup>?</sup>garue*.
- TON *tamaio<sup>?</sup>eiki* male; *kaunaŋa* female.

SAM 'untitled man who serves a *matai*' (19.240).

TAH From English; also *teuteu* obs.

### 19.440 FREEMAN

**Sanskrit:** *maharddhika-*

ATA		UMA		MAR	
TSO		BUG	to-dečeŋ	LAU	
RUK		KON	puaŋ	KWO	
PAI		WOL	[marad̪ika]	RAG	
YAM		MAG	ata leke	PAA	
ISN		NGA		LEW	
*KAL	gawāyan	SIK		POR	
*TAG	lāya? + ma	RTI		NTA	
*AKL	[libreh]	BUR		KWA	
PAL	sɔmunsaga	DOB		NEM	t <sup>h</sup> aniŋ
MOL	ra?yat	IRA		CEM	
KAG		SAW		*AJI	yeri kui
BLA	isi lifan	NYI		XAR	
SAB		MAM	tamoata-	NEN	
MUR			rereŋanalo	*KIR	te ināomata
MGY	huva		ialalale	*MSH	anemk <sup>w</sup> Λc
ACE		TAK		PON	
BAT	anak ni raʒa	DAM		WLE	
MIN	uraŋ   biaso	MAB		EFI	ŋalala
IND	oraŋ	YAB		WFI	
	[mərdeka]	KAU		RTU	
SUN		TOL		TON	taŋata
JAV	wɔŋ	BUA	məyɔti		tau?atāina
	[marɔdikɔ]	ADZ		SAM	
MAD		KIL	toli-βalu	MEL	
BAL		TAW		TAH	ti?amā
SAS		MOT		RAP	
*GOR	tā [maladeka]	MEK			
DAA		ROV			

KAL Not bound by terms of local peace-pact.

TAG Also [*libre*], Spanish *libre*.

AKL From Spanish *libre*.

GOR (personal nominaliser + 'free').

AJI Also *dətə*.

KIR Also 'independence'.

MSH 'freedom'.

### 19.450 COMMAND, ORDER

ATA	t-um-uʔ	DAA	nom-pakau	MAR	kuru
*TSO	s-m-uxnu	*UMA	haβaʔ	LAU	
RUK		BUG	parenta	KWO	ʔai-a ale-a
PAI		*KON	parenta	RAG	
*YAM	paʂonʂonən	*WOL	tu <sup>m</sup> pu	PAA	meŋ kati
ISN	bīlin	*MAG	ʒəra	LEW	na-visa-lua-
KAL	bīlin	NGA	supu		ena
*TAG	ūtos	*SIK	odo	*POR	pisax a süe
*AKL	sūguʔ	*RTI	na-denu	*NTA	-ən noan
PAL	təhagən	*BUR	siu-k	*KWA	nak <sup>w</sup> a-
	(tahag)	*DOB	ʔa-tebi	NEM	wedoi
*MOL	daʔak	IRA	surə	CEM	pī-ʔō-te-n
*KAG	suguʔun	*SAW	n-anɛ	AJI	vi winō
BLA	dək	NYI	batanau	*XAR	ʂe rɛ tepə
*SAB	sohoʔ	*MAM	rai	NEN	musi(on)
*MUR	susub	*TAK	kibiae-ŋ	*KIR	tua
MGY	mi-fehi	*DAM	kabī i-ϕenē-	MSH	kaiŋ
*ACE	yuə		ya	*PON	ruwes
*BAT	manuru	*MAB	-ur sua pa	WLE	kūrō
MIN	parentah	YAB	(ŋa-)yatu	*EFI	lewa-a
*IND	məmərintah	KAU	βuŋin	WFI	ro-sia
	(pərintah)	*TOL	tul	RTU	fasʔoki
SUN	parentah	BUA	nɛr	TON	fekau
JAV	printah	ADZ	aga-	*SAM	faʔa-tonu
*MAD	[parenta]	KIL	karaiwaga	MEL	kauna
*BAL	ŋonkon	TAW	wihinihinini	*TAH	faʔaue
	(konkon)	*MOT	ha-dua-ia	RAP	haka aŋa
SAS	prentah	*MEK	aina		
*GOR	po-ʔahu	ROV	tinarae		



- TSO (*skun-a*).
- YAM Also *paʃoʀʃoʀən*.
- TAG Also [*mando*] + *mag-/-an*, Spanish *mando*.
- AKL *sūgu?* + *-un*, PHN \**sūRuq*.
- MOL *daʔak* + *mog-/-um-/-on*.
- KAG *sugu* + *mag-/-ən*.
- SAB *soho?* + *aN-/ø*.
- MUR *susub* (*maŋ- -on*); also *bilin* (*mag- -in*).
- ACE Also *rintah*.
- BAT (*maN-suru*).
- IND Also *məñuruh* (*suruh*), *məməsan* (*pəsan*), [*komando*].
- MAD Malay (cf. Stevens 1968: 164,178).
- BAL Also (*N-*)*tunden*.
- GOR (*ʔahulo* + *po-*); also [*pale<sup>n</sup>da*] from Malay *pərintah* (see 19.310).
- UMA Also *hubui*.
- KON Also *pas-suro-aŋ*.
- WOL *tu<sup>m</sup>pu* (vb intrans); *ka-tu<sup>m</sup>pu* (n.); also [*pari<sup>n</sup>ta*] Malay.
- MAG Meaning ‘feet and hands’, ‘right-hand man’.
- SIK Also *bəli*/*parinta*] Malay, and *βage*.
- RTI Also [*paleta*].
- BUR Also [*komando*] borrowed via Malay from some European language; [*printa*] ‘order, govern (Malay)’.
- DOB Verb. Synonym: *ʔa-teti*.
- SAW Also *n-faftət* ‘order s.th.’.
- MAM Also *ncpi*.
- TAK Noun: ‘show-NOM’ (see 15.550).
- DAM ‘work third-give him-INF’.
- MAB *-ur sua pa X pa Y* ‘put talk to X about Y’; *kwo- i<sup>m</sup>bol pa X pa Y* ‘mouth was strong to X about Y’.
- TOL Also *vər-tulaŋ* (vb intrans) *upi*, *vər-kur-ai* (vb intrans) *upi*; *upi* ‘for, to, in order to’; *vər-tul-ai* (vb intrans) ‘send, tell, give order’.
- MOT Also *hagani-a*.
- MEK *aina* simply means ‘voice; will’; there is no word in Mekeo that carries the perlocutionary force of English ‘command, order’; in this language one can only ‘advise’.

POR 'give to story'.

NTA Also *-alhau naŋhatan*.

KWA 'inner mouth' (noun).

XAR 'say the custom'.

KIR Also 'law'.

PON Also *pōrone* hon. (vb trans); *panŋokī* also 'law'.

EFI Also *βaka-rō-ta*.

SAM *faʔa-* CAUS, *tonu* (vb intrans) 'be just, right'; also *poloaʔi* (vb intrans), *pūle-a* 19.310.

TAH Also *raʔatira*.

### 19.460 OBEY

ATA		*BAL	nuut-aŋ (tuut)	BUA	βoŋ βiŋ
*TSO	mimxo	SAS	nurut (turut)	*ADZ	su-da riŋa
RUK	kialala	*GOR	mo-[tūruti]		ma-frip
PAI		DAA	na-tu <sup>n</sup> du	*KIL	-kabikaula
YAM	onotan	*UMA	tukuʔ	TAW	wiponawogo
ISN	kurugan	BUG	tunruʔ	*MOI	kamonai
*KAL	tuttūwa	KON	an-nuruk-i		heni-a
*TAG	sunod		(turuʔ)	*MEK	ainā e-loŋo
*AKL	tūman	WOL	raŋoni	ROV	vatabea
PAL	galagən	MAG	loroŋ	*MAR	noŋo
	(galəŋ)	NGA	depo	LAU	rosuli
*MOL	asip	*SIK	tepo	KWO	loʔo
*KAG	pati	RTI	tuŋa	RAG	
BLA	m-imin	*BUR	hai	*PAA	loŋe
*SAB	beyaʔ	*DOB	tulmaʔu-ni	LEW	loŋe-ari
*MUR	kidoŋoŋ	IRA	neφenə tagəra	*POR	sür a nüčian
MGY	mi-lefiṭ <sup>r</sup> a	*SAW	n-dərere	*NTA	-ol noan
*ACE	turot	NYI	anuhun	*KWA	ap <sup>w</sup> it
BAT	olo-i	MAM	loŋo be taga	NEM	naya
MIN	patu <sup>h</sup>	TAK	awa- -ripani	CEM	têne-de-hi
*IND	məmatuhi	DAM	dō	AJI	p <sup>w</sup> ēfēwā
	(patuh)	*MAB	-leŋla sua	XAR	çax <sup>w</sup> erē
*SUN	nurut (turut)	*YAB	taŋa wamu	NEN	anineni
*JAV	manut	*KAU	hul βet	*KIR	oŋo taeka
*MAD	turuʔ učaʔ	TOL	torom	MSH	pokake

*PON	peik	RTU	noh aʔfoi	*TAH	faʔaroʔo
*WLE	tařĩᅇā	TON	talaŋofua	RAP	haka roŋo
*EFI	βakaroroŋo	SAM	usitaʔi		
WFI	βaroroŋo	MEL			
TSO	<i>(mimx-a)</i> .				
KAL	<i>tuttūwa + maN-</i> .				
TAG	<i>sunod + -um-/sund-in</i> ; also [ <i>tařĩma</i> ] = Malay <i>terima</i> ‘accept’.				
AKL	<i>tūman + -un</i> .				
MOL	<i>asip + moŋ-</i> .				
KAG	<i>paŋi + mag-/əŋ</i> ; also <i>tuman + mag-/əŋ</i> .				
SAB	<i>beyaʔ + aN-/ø</i> .				
MUR	<i>kidoŋog (mag-)</i> ‘heed, pay attention’, <i>maya da dagu nu ...</i> lit ‘follow the words of’.				
ACE	Also [ <i>taʔat</i> ] from Arabic.				
IND	Also <i>mə-[naʔat]-i(taʔat)</i> , Arabic.				
SUN	Also [ <i>taat</i> ] from Arabic.				
JAV	One morpheme, also <i>ŋ-anut</i> .				
MAD	<i>туруʔ</i> ‘follow’, <i>уџаʔ</i> ‘word’.				
BAL	Also <i>(N-)idəp-aŋ</i> .				
GOR	Malay <i>turut</i> .				
UMA	Also means ‘follow’.				
SIK	Also <i>tepo nora</i> , <i>tepo dətu</i> .				
BUR	‘follow’; also <i>џaa-n</i> ‘hear, obey’.				
DOB	An adjective, which can mean ‘obedient’, but can also be used for ‘obey’. So <i>tulmaʔu-ni</i> can mean either ‘he is obedient’ or ‘he obeyed’.				
SAW	Also <i>n-џigar-o (sigaro)</i> .				
MAB	<i>-leŋla sua</i> ‘listens to talk’; <i>-leŋla kaŋa-</i> ‘listens to voice’; <i>-mbot la X kopo<sup>m</sup>barmana</i> ‘stays under the stomach of X’.				
YAB	‘his ear obedient’ i.e. ‘he is obedient’.				
KAU	‘hear under’; also <i>ira βuŋin</i> ‘follow an order’.				
ADZ	‘be-part ear neg-be alarmed’ = ‘be obedient’; also <i>so-da</i> .				
KIL	Also <i>-kabitutuki</i> ‘obey’.				

MOT	Also <i>hereβa badina-ia</i> ‘to follow or obey (someone’s) words’ ( <i>hereβa</i> ‘speech, word(s)’).
MEK	<i>ainā e-loŋo</i> simply means ‘hear someone’s voice, attend’. More emphatically we can say <i>ainā e-loŋo-ʔafe</i> , ‘attend well’ to someone.
MAR	<i>noŋo</i> ‘obey, listen’; <i>faʔuve</i> ‘agree, obey’.
PAA	‘hear’.
POR	‘follow at speech’.
NTA	Also <i>-atoupən</i> .
KWA	<i>-ap<sup>wit</sup></i> ‘be guided by, obey a rule’; <i>-o nak<sup>wa</sup></i> ‘do mouth’; <i>-siai</i> also means ‘respect, honour’.
KIR	‘hear the word’.
PON	‘obedient’.
WLE	‘attend to, listen to, obey’.
EFI	Also <i>muri-a</i> .
TAH	Also <i>auraro</i> .

### 19.470 LET, PERMIT

**Arabic:** *izn* ‘allowance’

ATA	š-um-iwaʔ	*ACE	[idin]	*MAG	sə <sup>n</sup> do
*TSO	t-m-ormi	BAT	pa-lɔas	NGA	sele
RUK		MIN	buli <sup>h</sup> -kan	*SIK	pliβar
PAI		*IND	məm-boleh-	*RTI	poʔi
YAM	apyaən		kan	BUR	ba risu-k
ISN	ipalūbus	SUN	ŋ-[idin]-an	*DOB	ʔa-toran
KAL	ipalūbus	JAV	ŋ-lila-ni	IRA	natonə
*TAG	pāyag	MAD	ŋ-[idin]-i	*SAW	n-po i fie
*AKL	sugut	*BAL	maaŋ (baaŋ)	NYI	abo
PAL	məmuhun	*SAS	təbeŋ	MAM	sumoala
*MOL	tugut	GOR	mo-luli	*TAK	-ile-funi
*KAG	tugut	*DAA	nom-pala <sup>m</sup> ba	*DAM	i-tor-nē-ya
BLA	faloh	UMA	peleleʔ	*MAB	-yok pa be
*SAB	sohoʔ	BUG	paʔalo	YAB	-loʔ
*MUR	mapa-	*KON	am-pa-lalo-aŋ	KAU	maŋ
*MGY	mamela (vela)	WOL	taro-aka	*TOL	mulaot

BUA	ner	PAA	māleni	*MSH	kʌtʌpke
*ADZ	ni-da nifu-n	*LEW	tam <sup>w</sup> ani	PON	m <sup>w</sup> eit
KIL	-tag <sup>w</sup> ala	POR	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> am <sup>w</sup> -in-i	*WLE	faŋa
TAW	palihale	NTA	-eŋhanin	*EFI	βaka-dōnu-ya
*MOT	maoro heni-a	KWA		WFI	βa-donu-a
*MEK	e-loŋo-ai-na	NEM		RTU	sɔi-ʔoki
ROV	va eŋoa	CEM	pàwiε	TON	fakaŋofua
MAR	snakre	*AJI	kāyāi	*SAM	faʔa-taŋa
LAU	fāwaluda	XAR	tiri	*MEL	[toroa]
KWO	alami-a	NEN		TAH	faʔatiʔa
RAG		*KIR	kariaia	RAP	haʔa tiʔa

TSO (*trom-i, trom-neni*).

TAG *pāyag + -um/-an*; also *pa hintūlot + mag / -an*.

AKL (*sugt-an*).

MOL *tugut + i/-an*.

KAG *tugut + mag/-an*.

SAB *sohoʔ + aN/-an*.

MUR *mapa- + verb stem*; also *pūn (ma-)*.

MGY From *maN-vela*.

ACE Also *pu-ʔidin*.

IND Also *məm-biar-kan, məŋ-[iʃin]-kan*.

BAL ‘give’.

SAS Also *aluraŋ*.

DAA Also *nom-paloga* ‘allow’.

KON Also *kuaʔ-m-injo*.

MAG Also *<sup>n</sup>doŋ, o<sup>n</sup>daŋ*.

SIK Also *do bəli, bəlu-ŋ*.

RTI Also *na-poʔi, ela*.

DOB Means ‘agree’, but also used when someone asks permission, then one permits them to do something.

SAW ‘give him well’.

TAK ‘see-hit’ (15.510, 09.210), as in *Nigel ŋ-ile-funi-du-go yeb i-mam-a* ‘N I-see-hit-CONTINUATIVE-REALIS MEDIAL areca nut he-chew-PERFECT’, i.e. ‘I allowed Nigel to chew areca nut’.

DAM ‘third-leave-third sing-INF’.

MAB *-yok pa X be, -zem X ma* ‘let X do ...’, *-pateke*.

TOL See 18.330.

ADZ ‘say-PART mouth-3sg POSS.’.

MOT *maoro* ‘right’, *henia* ‘to give’. *g<sup>w</sup>au maoro* ‘to give permission’;  
(*g<sup>w</sup>au* ‘to speak’).

MEK *e-loŋo-ai-na* is the remote-transitive form of *e-loŋo* ‘know’; hence  
‘condone’ rather than ‘permit’ or ‘let’.

LEW = 18.330.

AJI Also *nā tāri*.

KIR CAUS of *riai* ‘necessary, convenient, right’.

MSH Also *kamælim* CAUS of *mælim* ‘permitted’.

WLE Also ‘give, send’.

EFI Also *βaka-tara-a*.

SAM *faʔa*- CAUS. *taŋa* (vb intrans) ‘be permitted’.

MEL From Efate.

### 19.510 FRIEND, COMPANION

*ATA	rawin	*IND	kawan	SAW	del
*TSO	naŋxia	*SUN	batur	*NYI	kawas
*RUK	taŋagi	JAV	kəñčə	MAM	ruaŋa
*PAI	kaŋi	MAD	kañča	TAK	tiran
YAM	kaŋazay	*BAL	timpal	DAM	tā
ISN	kabulun	*SAS	batur	*MAB	wae-
*KAL	gayyom	*GOR	[tamani]	*YAB	ŋaʔ
*TAG	ka-ʔibīg-an	DAA	roa	*KAU	tita
*AKL	abyan	*UMA	doo	*TOL	təlai-
*PAL	bilaʔ	BUG	silaoŋ	BUA	məyɔ
MOL	ibal	KON	uraŋ	ADZ	rini-
*KAG	aʔəy	*WOL	a <sup>n</sup> de-a	*KIL	so-
BLA	dimi s-gələk	MAG	ata hae	*TAW	tula-na
*SAB	bagay	NGA	ɣili	*MOT	tura
*MUR	daŋan	*SIK	irnu-ŋ	*MEK	eke-faʔa
*MGY	[sakaiza]	*RTI	tia	ROV	baere
*ACE	kawan	*BUR	roko	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> era(ña)
BAT	dəŋan	*DOB	[sobatu]	*LAU	ruana
*MIN	kawan	*IRA	amatu	KWO	

RAG		AJI	kāvēāi	*WFI	ŋ <sup>w</sup> ajī
*PAA	fīmol tahos	XAR	be	RTU	kau-
LEW	erau	NEN	waŋoresa		mane <sup>ʔ</sup> aŋa
POR	<sup>m</sup> bü <sup>m</sup> büian	KIR	te rao	TON	kaume <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*NTA	rah-n-[met]	*MSH	ceṛæ	*SAM	uō
*KWA	nəm <sup>w</sup> an	*PON	[kompani]	MEL	soa
NEM	bē-n	WLE	maṛayara	*TAH	hoa
*CEM	bê	*EFI	i-tau	RAP	hoa

ATA *rawin* 'friend'; *βaiš* 'companion'.

TSO *naŋxia* 'friend'; *xax<sup>ʔ</sup>o* 'companion'.

RUK *taḷagi* 'a boy's friend'; *ali* 'a girl's friend'.

PAI *ḍava* 'friend (female only)'; *suju* 'lover'.

KAL Also *bulun*.

TAG *ka-<sup>ʔ</sup>ibīg-an*, 'friend'; *ka-sāma* 'companion'.

AKL Also [*amīgō/amīga*], from Spanish *amigo*, *-a*; *ka-ibāh-an* 'companion'.

PAL Also *bi<sup>ʔ</sup>bila<sup>ʔ</sup>*, *ila<sup>ʔ</sup>*, *iboy-iba*.

KAG *a<sup>ʔ</sup>rəy* 'friend'; *duma* 'companion'.

SAB *bagay* 'friend'; *sehe<sup>ʔ</sup>* 'companion'; also *beyan*.

MUR Also *kubayaw*; *amud* (term of address).

MGY From Malay *sakay* from Sanskrit.

ACE Also *rakan*, *ŋon*.

MIN Also *kanti*, [*koñčo*] Javanese.

IND Also *təman*, [*sahabat*] from Arabic *ṣaḥāba*.

SUN Also [*sobat*] from Arabic.

BAL Also [*roaŋ*] from Old Javanese; (*kə*)*kasih-an*.

SAS Also *kañčə*.

GOR Malay *təman*. Also [*sahaabati*] 'friend' (closer than *tamani*), Malay *sahabat*, from Arabic.

UMA Also *bale*, *ema<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

WOL Also *saba<sup>ʔ</sup>ka*, [*sahaabati*] from Arabic.

SIK Also *imu-ŋ deu-ŋ*, *imu-ŋ delu-ŋ*.

RTI *tia* and *sena* form a dyadic set in ritual language; each is used separately in ordinary speech but they do not form a doublet.

- BUR More in the sense of ‘playmate’; Li Enyorot *tawe*.
- DOB Malay *sobat*. Also *k<sup>w</sup>alisan*, lit ‘brother’, is used for close friends.
- IRA Also *imatu*.
- NYI Also *borob<sup>w</sup>ar*.
- MAB *wae-* ‘close associate’; *toro-*, *paka-* ‘companion’; *”daŋ* ‘term of address for a close companion’; *gurāba* ‘friend from another language group’.
- YAB ‘man’.
- KAU ‘associate with’; also *lahun* used primarily of married couples.
- TOL Also *tələi*.
- KIL *so-* ‘acquaintance’, *lubai-* ‘close friend’.
- TAW *tula-na* ‘his friend’; *heliyam* ‘friend’.
- MOT Also *bamo-na* ‘companion, friend’ (*bamo-a* ‘to accompany someone’).
- MEK ‘junior-senior’ – i.e. ‘neither the one nor the other’. See Hau’ofa (1981: 154-160), for a detailed analysis of this relationship. *eke-fa<sup>?</sup>a* is, however, used to mean any intimate with whom one is not inescapably involved on the level of traditionally defined rights and obligations. *aki-mauni* is another word for an informal friend (usually of the same age). NW Mekeo has *agia* ‘friend’.
- MAR ‘(his) friend’.
- LAU Also *wanek<sup>w</sup>aimani*.
- PAA ‘good friend’.
- NTA From Bislama.
- KWA Also *nəmahān* which also means ‘trade partner’; *-ieri* ‘do towards speaker/hearer’.
- CEM ‘friend, ally, relative’.
- MSH Possibly Kiribatese; [*kom<sup>w</sup>p<sup>u</sup>ani*] from English.
- PON From English; *kompəkəpā* 3sg POSS.
- WFI Also *wətai*.
- EFI Also *i-tōkani*.
- SAM Also *soa*.
- TAH Also *tau<sup>?</sup>a*, *taiō* arch.



## 19.520 ENEMY

ATA	ḱričuwat	BUG	musu <sup>?</sup>	MAR	naoka
TSO	haŋi	KON	bali	LAU	mālimaea
RUK	baḍa	*WOL	ewali	KWO	mārimae
PAI	ḱal <sup>y</sup> a	MAG	ata bali	RAG	
YAM	kavošoyən	NGA	bu <sup>?</sup> u	*PAA	tīmōl tīsa
ISN	kaḷiŋa	*SIK	ata nuhu	*LEW	na-sine-kari
KAL	kabūsul	RTI	musu	POR	
*TAG	ka-āway	*BUR	geba p-lawa-n	NTA	təkəmər
*AKL	ka- <sup>?</sup> āway	DOB	musum	*KWA	nuruse
PAL	kanbanta	IRA		*NEM	wādak
*MOL	banta	*SAW	[musu]	CEM	
*KAG	[kuntra]	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amak ta	AJI	ka rīā
BLA	dīmī s-duən		kalin	XAR	ka
SAB	banta	MAM	ere <sup>?</sup> ei	NEN	ičūma
*MUR	pantabug	TAK	ager	KIR	te aia
MGY	faha valu	DAM	kiwai	MSH	kəcrat
ACE	musoh	MAB	ka- kōi	PON	im <sup>w</sup> inṭiṭi
BAT	musu	*YAB	ŋa <sup>?</sup> -yò	WLE	
*MIN	musu <sup>h</sup>	KAU	nolo	EFI	meḍa
IND	musuh	TOL	ebər	WFI	meḍa
SUN	musuh	BUA	alam nēg ṅ <sup>w</sup> ε	RTU	firi
JAV	muṅsuh	ADZ	garam ipiap	TON	fili
MAD	musu	KIL	tilaula	SAM	fili
BAL	musuh	*TAW	gawiya	MEL	
SAS	lawan	MOT	inai-na	*TAH	[ <sup>?</sup> enemi]
*GOR	bali	*MEK	ou	*RAP	to <sup>?</sup> a
DAA	bali	ROV	kana		
UMA	bali <sup>?</sup>				

TAG *ka-lāban*, *ka-digma<sup>?</sup>* ‘opponent in war’.

AKL Also [*kontra*h], from Spanish *contra*.

MOL *banta* + *ko-*.

KAG From Spanish *contra*.

MUR Also *pantula<sup>?</sup>* ‘personal enemy’.

MIN Also *lawan*.

GOR Also [*lāwani*], Malay *lawan*.

WOL Also *musu*; *bali*.

- SIK Also *ata tau nuhu*.
- BUR Also *musu* (loan ?), e.g. *tasa musu* ‘watch for enemies’; *geba lano* described as *orang Papua*, but the stories involve ships, warriors, battles, and forts. More likely from Seram/Ambon-Lease as many clan names from those areas refer to Seram as *selano*, e.g. *Pattiselanno*, *Huliselan*, etc.
- SAW From Malay.
- YAB ‘man-wild taro’; also *səŋɔ-səŋɔ* ‘enemy’, *gɔb* ‘rival’.
- TAW Also *ihalana*.
- MEK *ou-aʔi* is a stronger term; *aʔi* means ‘wild, savage’.
- PAA ‘bad friend’.
- LEW See 16.410.
- KWA Also *təkəmər*.
- NEM Also *ṽādūp*.
- TAH From English.
- RAP *toʔa* ‘traitor (enemy by implication)’; [*enemi*] from either Spanish *enemigo* or English ‘enemy’.

### 19.540 NEIGHBOUR

ATA		*MGY	mpifanulu-	*KON	tu-r-ampiʔ
TSO			budirindʳina		ballaʔ
RUK	pasialisi	*ACE	[jiran]	WOL	sarim-ʃanua
PAI		*BAT	dəŋatsahuta	MAG	ata či <sup>m</sup> piŋ
YAM	kataib	*MIN	uraŋ sa-balah	NGA	ata-saʔo-ləŋe
ISN	karūba	*IND	tətaŋga	*SIK	ata ori-ŋ
*KAL	ka-pāway	SUN	tataŋga		ledər
*TAG	kāpit-bāhay	JAV	təŋgɔ	*RTI	uma tai-k
*AKL	ka-hi-lāpit	MAD	tataŋg <sup>ʰ</sup> a	BUR	geba p-sike-n
PAL	kəruruŋ	BAL	pisagə	DOB	
*MOL	ruruŋ	*SAS	sə-gubuk	IRA	tagetu
KAG	siliŋan	*GOR	tā ʔu ŋo-wale	*SAW	del um lapo
BLA	dimi saldan	*DAA	tau to	NYI	lau badu
SAB	ag-bihiŋ		nosi <sup>ʳ</sup> ga-məsu		mirihik
	lumaʔ	UMA	to <sup>ʳ</sup> ki	MAM	soaʔi-budu
*MUR	sambalayan	BUG	siawe		ruaŋa
				TAK	muduban

*DAM	ϕō tura	MAR		NEN	
MAB	walki	LAU		*KIR	i tabo ni
*YAB	lau meŋ- baŋ(-ŋa)	KWO			b <sup>w</sup> ata
KAU	nopu	RAG		*MSH	ṛiturin
*TOL	təlai-	PAA		PON	
BUA	alam	*LEW	na-lavisi-	*WLE	yaṛoř
ADZ			p <sup>w</sup> u-na	EFI	βei-tiki-βi
KIL	so-	POR			βale
*TAW	u liyaliya-na	NTA	in kit	WFI	
	tu mae	KWA		RTU	
*MOT	deke-na tau- na	NEM		TON	kaunā?api
*MEK	paŋua au-ŋa	CEM		*SAM	tuā?oi
ROV		AJI	kāmō ka tō ve ūb <sup>w</sup> a	MEL	
		XAR	a-nubō	TAH	ta?ata tupu
				RAP	taŋata hare
KAL	(ka-paway).				
TAG	ka-haŋga ‘next house’ (n).				
AKL	Root: <i>ʔāpit</i> ‘near’.				
MOL	<i>ruruŋ + -an</i> .				
MUR	‘neighbour from nearby house’, <i>sampagunan</i> ‘neighbour from nearby village’.				
MGY	From <i>mpifan-oloṭ’a + vudi + rinḍ’ina</i> ‘those who have bordering wall fundaments’.				
ACE	From Arabic <i>jīrān</i> .				
BAT	(dōŋan + sa-huta) ‘companion/mate/fellow of same village’.				
MIN	Also <i>tataŋga</i> , [jīran] from Arabic.				
IND	Also <i>oraŋ sō-bələh</i> .				
SAS	‘same-village’.				
GOR	Also <i>tihedu</i> 1. ‘boundary’ 2. ‘neighbour’, and <i>tā to tili lo bele</i> ‘neighbour’ (personal-nominaliser at place-near linker house).				
DAA	‘person reciprocal close’.				
KON	Also <i>pas-si-ampik-aŋ</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>ata daŋ kada-ŋ</i> , <i>ata he?u-ŋ mai</i> .				
RTI	<i>uma tai-k</i> lit ‘neighbouring house’; <i>ti-tia-ta-tai-k</i> form a dyadic set in ritual language.				
SAW	‘friend on the house’s side’.				

DAM	'house brother'.
YAB	'people come-close' i.e. 'neighbours'.
TOL	See 19.510.
TAW	Lit. 'one living nearby'.
MOT	<i>deke-na</i> 'to(wards), by the side of'.
MEK	<i>paŋua au-ŋa</i> is simply 'village person' (it is also applied to the village pigs). <i>aua</i> means a 'friend' from a neighbouring village, one with whom one has regular exchanges; the clans from which one can acquire such 'friends' are prescribed by custom.
LEW	'one close-by'.
KIR	Lit. 'at the end of the house'.
MSH	Constrict possessive form; lit 'one who is near'.
WLE	<i>yaŋoŋ</i> constrict possessive form, 'vicinity'; <i>xarepa</i> 'neighbouring'; causative form, from <i>repa</i> 'near'.
SAM	See 19.170.

### 19.550 STRANGER

ATA		IND	oraŋ asiŋ	BUR	geba man
TSO		*SUN	[jalma] ti		laut tau-n
RUK	baða-baða		[wawuh]	DOB	
PAI	ka <sup>ʎ</sup> a-ka <sup>ʎ</sup> a	JAV		IRA	matu
YAM	jabwabwaji	MAD	uriŋ mañča		naminama
*ISN	agtaŋeli	*BAL	anak tawah	*SAW	kyatwem-
KAL	kakka <sup>ʔ</sup> ili	*SAS	dəŋan lain		wəm
*TAG	dayūhan	*GOR	tā [ʔāsiŋi]	NYI	lau badu
*AKL	dayūhan	*DAA	tau <sup>ŋ</sup> ga ri		lehcleh
*PAL	kumədat		savaliku	MAM	a <sup>ʔ</sup> ereŋa
MOL	kia <sup>ʔ</sup> kobiaksa	UMA		*TAK	tal-pein se-n
*KAG	ba'guan	BUG	to-pole-pole	*DAM	ϕō taka tamal
BLA	to lo <sup>ʔ</sup> dilə <sup>ʔ</sup>	KON	tau anre <sup>ʔ</sup> na-	*MAB	lē <sup>m</sup> be
SAB	a <sup>ʔ</sup> a saddī		isse <sup>ʔ</sup>	*YAB	ŋa <sup>ʔ</sup> -yaba
*MUR	ulun nu	WOL	ɖaga	KAU	nomisaŋ
	bokon	MAG	ata bana	TOL	vairə
*MGY	[vahini]	*NGA	isi-aku	BUA	məyɔ ñeg ŋ <sup>w</sup> ε
*ACE	ja <sup>m</sup> εə	*SIK	ata βəru-ŋ	*ADZ	garam mana <sup>ʔ</sup>
*BAT	halak	RTI	hata-holi	KIL	to-mitawasi
MIN	uraŋ lain		fe <sup>ʔ</sup> e-k	TAW	hewahewa

*MOT	idau tau-na	NTA	etam	*PON	wai
*MEK	aki-au-mauni		p <sup>w</sup> əsp <sup>w</sup> əs	*WLE	wāsōrā
ROV	tie karovona	KWA	iap <sup>w</sup> supus	EFI	kaitani
*MAR	mae kosi	NEM	kaya	WFI	koi-hehe
LAU	wane ʔe ʔete	CEM	cóho	RTU	helava
KWO	(wane) k <sup>w</sup> aitā	AJI	kāmə-vāřǎ	*TON	[sola]
*RAG	ta-ure-ure	XAR	a-fʌdʌ	*SAM	taŋata-ʔese
PAA	molasav	*NEN	ačēni	*MEL	[tāsap <sup>w</sup> o]
LEW	wolawa	KIR	te iruwa	TAH	taʔata ʔēʔē
POR	<sup>m</sup> bra <sup>m</sup> bos	*MSH	řuwamæccet	RAP	taŋata kē

ISN *sabāli* ‘other, another, different’.

TAG *banyāgaʔ* ‘from another country’.

AKL Also [*estranghēro*]

PAL Also *tumpaŋ*, *lɔju taw*.

KAG (*bagʔu ± -an*); also [*istranjiru*] from Spanish *extranjero*.

MUR *amud* (term of address).

MGY From Bantu.

ACE Also *aseŋ* ‘stranger, foreigner’.

BAT ‘man’, i.e. other.

SUN [*řalma*] from Sanskrit; [*wawuh*] from Javanese.

BAL *tawah* ‘unusual, bizarre’ but here simply ‘unknown person’;  
*pəŋəndonan* (*pə-N-əndon-an*), *əndon-an* ‘person who visits or stays in  
a far-away place; newcomer, stranger’.

SAS *dəŋan* ‘person’, *lain* ‘other’.

GOR Malay *asiŋ* ‘foreign’.

DAA ‘person from outside’.

NGA Also *goa*.

SIK Also *ata blaha-ŋ*, *ata bano mai-ŋ*, *βaə-ŋ βəru-ŋ*, *ata βəru-ŋ βata-ŋ*.

SAW ‘person who comes, e.g. newcomer’.

TAK ‘person self-his’ (see 02.100).

DAM ‘house other from’.

MAB *lē<sup>m</sup>be* ‘visitor’; *kar toro* ‘from another village’.

YAB ‘man-foreign’.

ADZ ‘man outside’, i.e. ‘outsider, stranger’.

MOT *idau* ‘different, strange’.

MEK	<i>aki-au-mauni</i> means someone who is not an acquaintance; <i>aʔi au-ŋa</i> or <i>au aʔi</i> means someone from afar, from beyond the ‘wild’ or virgin forest ( <i>aʔi</i> ). North Mekeo also has <i>aka-maina au-ŋa</i> .
MAR	‘outsider’.
RAG	‘foreigner’.
NEN	Also <i>eθeni</i> .
MSH	<i>aʔmɛc cērwa</i> ‘European’.
PON	Also <i>mēn wai</i> ‘European’.
WLE	<i>ʃēfō</i> ‘newcomer’.
TON	From Lau Fijian; also [ <i>vūlaŋi</i> ] from Fijian.
SAM	<i>taŋata</i> ‘person’ (02.100), <i>ʔese</i> (vb intrans) ‘be different’; also <i>taŋata fāimai</i> , <i>fāimai</i> (vb intrans) ‘come from outside’, <i>faʔalaʔa</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

## 19.560 GUEST

Spanish: <i>visita</i>
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ATA		*MIN	ǰamu	DOB	soba
TSO		IND	tamu	IRA	mətatemə
RUK	baða-baða	*SUN	semah	SAW	bey-bay
PAI	kaʔa-kaʔa	JAV	dayoh	NYI	lau leheleh
YAM		MAD	tamuy	MAM	lou
ISN	apat	*BAL	[tamiu]	*TAK	lou tamol
KAL	saŋaʔili	SAS	təmoe	*DAM	lō tamo
*TAG	dālaw	*GOR	tā t-il-oduwo	MAB	lē <sup>m</sup> be
AKL	[bisītah]	DAA	torata	*YAB	ŋaʔ-lèŋ
PAL	mənumbaləy	UMA	to-rata	KAU	
MOL	luduk	BUG	toana	TOL	vairə
KAG	[bisita]	KON	tu-battu	BUA	βateβək
*BLA	to tləŋ	*WOL	mia mo-u <sup>m</sup> ba	ADZ	a <sup>m</sup> pi
SAB	aʔa	MAG	məka	*KIL	so-
*MUR	tambuluy	NGA	ŋoʔe	*TAW	toumana
*MGY	nasaina	*SIK	ata mai lako	*MOT	βadiβaditau-
ACE	ǰameə	*RTI	mana-mai-k		na
BAT	tamue	*BUR	geba snuba-t	*MEK	paʔi

ROV	tie maena	KWA		WLE	
MAR		NEM		EFI	βūlaŋi
LAU		*CEM	jēlu	WFI	βunilaŋi
KWO		AJI		*RTU	leʔ ʔihi
RAG		XAR	a-fΛdΛ	TON	fakaafe
PAA		NEN		*SAM	mālō
LEW		KIR		MEL	
POR		MSH		*TAH	manihini
NTA		PON		*RAP	taŋata ʔaʔaku

TAG Also *panaʔūhin*, [*bisīta*].

BLA *to m-lauy* 'visitor'.

MUR *maguguot* 'relatives of bridegroom at wedding'.

MGY From *na asa-ina* 'the invited one'.

MIN Also *tamu*.

SUN Also *tatamu*.

BAL From Old Javanese *tamuyʔ*; also [*tamu*], often with the meaning 'tourist', a recent borrowing from Malayʔ

GOR Also [*tamu*], Malay *tamu*. *tāt-il-oduwo* 'person-who was-invited'.

WOL 'man who has come'.

SIK Also *ata mai dala-ŋ*, *ata dulu dala-ŋ*.

RTI 'one who comes' or 'one who has come'.

BUR Person who crosses a threshold (from *en-suba-t* with regular metathesis); also *geb ma leli* 'traveller'.

TAK 'make presentation man' (22.150, 02.210),

DAM 'watch man'.

YAB 'man-visitor'.

KIL Other forms include: *so-* plus personal pronoun possess. '(his) casual guest'. *lubai-* plus personal pronoun possess. 'close friend, (my) darling'. *ugowaga* 'family hanger-on'.

TAW *toumana* 'visitor' (but always treated as guest).

MOT *βadiβadi-a* 'to visit'.

MEK *paʔi* means 'visitor, visit' and can also of course function verbally.

CEM 'uterine relative'.

RTU Also [*vulæŋ*] from Fijian *vulagi*.

SAM Also *taŋata valaʔau-lia*, lit 'invited person', *valaʔau* 'call', *-lia* trans.

TAH Also *manuhini*.

RAP *taŋata* followed by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *taŋata ʔaʔaku*, *taŋata ʔaʔau*, *taŋata ʔaʔana*, etc.

### 19.570 HOST

ATA		BUG	to-punna bola	ROV	tie
TSO		*KON	pata bola		vakenkenue
RUK	tama-tama	*WOL	mia-na ʔanua	MAR	
PAI		MAG	ŋara <sup>m</sup> baru	LAU	
YAM		NGA	mori-saʔo	KWO	
ISN	bumalay	SIK	moʔa-ŋ ori-ŋ	RAG	
*KAL	maŋaŋaʔili	RTI	uma isi	PAA	
*TAG	may-bāhay	*BUR	huma-nak	LEW	
*AKL	tag-baʔay		opo	POR	ken-i
PAL	maŋiŋidaŋ	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> alar	NTA	
MOL			duk <sup>w</sup> ay	KWA	
KAG	tag-balay	IRA		NEM	
BLA		*SAW	ta ni ume	*CEM	kāpūné
SAB	tag-dapu	NYI		AJI	ka c <i>ai</i> kāmō
MUR	mamagun	MAM	pera-marau	*XAR	apū-xūā
MGY	tumpu-ʔ <sup>r</sup> anu	*TAK	ab muroun	NEN	
ACE		*DAM	ʔō gariya	KIR	
*BAT	par-tamue		tamo	MSH	
MIN	si-paŋka	*MAB	kini tamāna	PON	
*IND	tuang rumah	*YAB	ŋaʔ-leŋ ŋa-	WLE	
*SUN	[pribumi]		tau	EFI	i-taukei
*JAV	siŋ duwe omah	KAU		WFI	e-yatani
		TOL		RTU	
*MAD	[tuwan ruma]	BUA		TON	
BAL		ADZ		*SAM	aliʔi tali-mālō
*SAS	epc-n bale	*KIL	to-yamata	MEL	
*GOR	tā ʔo-huʔuwo	TAW	taniwaga	TAH	
	lo bele	*MOT	he-abi-dae	*RAP	taŋata hapaʔo
*DAA	pue n <i>ʔ</i> apo		tau-na		
UMA	pueʔ tomi	MEK			

KAL *saŋaʔili + maN-*.

TAG ‘has house’, *may-anyāya* ‘has invitation’.



AKL	‘home owner’.
BAT	‘one having a guest’.
IND	Also <i>yaṅ puñā rumah</i> .
SUN	Sanskrit.
JAV	‘owner of the house’.
MAD	Malay.
SAS	See note 19.410.
GOR	personal-nominaliser + ‘own(s)’ + linker + house.
DAA	‘owner house’.
KON	Also <i>pata balla?</i>
WOL	‘man of the house’.
BUR	‘master of the house’; also <i>huma tobo-n</i> ; Malay [ <i>tuan rumah</i> ] also used.
DOB	‘house lord’.
SAW	‘who has a house’.
TAK	‘house owner’.
DAM	‘house base man’.
MAB	<i>kini katūnu</i> ‘father of the feast’, also <i>rūmu katūnu</i> .
YAB	‘man-visitor his-person’.
KIL	Verbal forms include: <i>-βa-uli</i> do gently-look after ‘entertain, host (someone)’; <i>-sisi<i>ai</i></i> ‘take care of’.
MOT	<i>abi-a dae</i> ‘to welcome, accept’ ( <i>abi-a</i> ‘to get, hold’ <i>dae</i> ‘to ascend; up’). Also <i>βaβe-a tau-na</i> preceded by the name of the person(s) invited ( <i>βaβe-a</i> ‘to send for, invite’).
CEM	Also ‘longtime resident’.
XAR	‘master of the house’.
SAM	<i>ali<sup>?</sup>i</i> ‘gentleman, chief’ (see 19.410), <i>tali</i> (vb trans) ‘receive’, <i>mālō</i> ‘guest’.
RAP	<i>taṅata hapa<sup>?</sup>o</i> ‘host (of house guests)’; <i>taṅata <sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>ana te ṅoṅoro</i> ‘host (of a party or feast)’.

### 19.580 HELP, AID

*ATA	r-um-āy	PAI	pu-salaṅ	*KAL	sālak
*TSO	su- <sup>?</sup> usnu	YAM	ṣomidoṅ	*TAG	tūloṅ
RUK	palabolo	ISN	iseṅ	*AKL	būlig

PAL	tabaŋ (ganap)	NGA	laka	RAG	
MOL	tabaŋ	SIK	laka-ŋ	PAA	gātauni
*KAG	mabaŋ	*RTI	fali	LEW	ila
BLA	t-m-abəŋ	*BUR	[bantu]	*POR	čax-in-i
*SAB	tabaŋ	DOB	?a-ɸan'tan		naveix
*MUR	indaŋan	IRA		NTA	-asitu
MGY	man-ampi	SAW	n-gali	*KWA	-asitu
*ACE	tuloŋ	NYI	seben	NEM	yage
*BAT	urup-i	MAM	duma	CEM	bêle
*MIN	toloŋ	TAK	-dini	AJI	nābē
*IND	məm-bantu	*DAM	i-sen-nē-ya	XAR	eīwi
*SUN	nuluŋ (tuluŋ)	*MAB	-ūlu	*NEN	iule
*JAV	pi-tuluŋ-an	*YAB	-yàm ... sa	KIR	buoka
*MAD	[partuluŋan]	*KAU	ŋhio	*MSH	cipaŋe
*BAL	nuluŋin (tuluŋ)	TOL	məravut	PON	sewese
SAS	tuluŋ	BUA	loŋ ɸu	*WLE	šiyerī
*GOR	məhiyo	ADZ	rima- + sib	EFI	ɸuke-a
DAA	nan-tuluŋi	KIL	-pilasi	*WFI	totoko-sia
*UMA	tuluŋi	TAW	hagu	RTU	asoa
BUG	pat-toloŋ	*MOT	duru-a	TON	tokoni
*KON	an-nuluŋ (tuluŋ)	*MEK	e-pa-laŋai-na	*SAM	fe-soasoa-ni
*WOL	ha <sup>m</sup> ba	*ROV	tinokae	MEL	p <sup>w</sup> ačīŋia
MAG	ča <sup>m</sup> pe	MAR	toyo	TAH	tauturu
		LAU	k <sup>w</sup> ai <sup>?</sup> adomia	*RAP	tautoru
		KWO	alofa (a-na)		

ATA Also *r-um-ayay*.

TSO (*su-?usn-i*).

KAL *sālak + -um-/-an*.

TAG *tuloŋ + -um-/-an*, PHN \**tuluŋ* (or Chinese?).

AKL Also *tābaŋ*.

KAG *tabaŋ + mag-/m-/-an*.

SAB *tabaŋ + -aN-/ø*.

MUR *indaŋan* (*maŋ- -on*); also [*tuluŋ*] (*maŋ- -on*) from Malay *toloŋ* from Chinese?; *dogop* (n) 'community aid'.

ACE Also *bantu*.

BAT (vb trans).

MIN Also *bantu*.

IND	Also <i>mənoloŋ</i> ( <i>toloŋ</i> ).
SUN	Also <i>ŋa-bantu</i> .
JAV	Also <i>tuluŋ</i> .
MAD	Malay.
BAL	( <i>N-</i> ) <i>oop-in</i> North Bali; ( <i>N-</i> ) <i>uop-in</i> south Bali, ‘give one’s labour for free, on a mutual cooperation basis’; <i>ŋ-ayah</i> (vb intrans) ‘do compulsory unpaid work (for village, temple or lord)’.
GOR	( <i>yiyo + moh-</i> ); also <i>mo-[tūluŋi]</i> , Malay <i>toloŋ</i> , and <i>mohubodu</i> ( <i>wubodu + moh-</i> ) ‘to help in case of serious mishap’.
UMA	Also <i>ŋaβa?</i> .
KON	Also <i>an-nunraŋ-i</i> ( <i>tunraŋ</i> ).
WOL	Also <i>ka-ha<sup>m</sup>ba, po-ha<sup>m</sup>ba, po-ha<sup>m</sup>ba-ha<sup>m</sup>ba, tuluŋ-i</i> ‘help rescue’.
RTI	Also <i>tulu-fali</i> .
BUR	Also [ <i>toloŋ</i> ] loanword.
DAM	‘third help third sing-infinitive’.
MAB	<i>-ur nama- pa</i> lit ‘put hand to’, i.e. ‘give a hand’; <i>-re</i> lit ‘look/see’.
YAB	‘do ... upward’.
KAU	Also <i>khø</i> .
M●T	Also <i>kaha-ia</i> .
MEK	<i>e-pa-laŋai-na</i> is analytically ‘cause someone to take their ease’.
ROV	Also <i>tokania</i> .
POR	‘hold out-to s.o.-s.th. hand (archaic)’.
KWA	Also <i>-o pehe</i> ‘do towards speaker/hearer’.
NEN	Also <i>katu(øn)</i> .
MSH	Also <i>ŋecetake</i> ‘concur, agree’.
WLE	<i>ŋiyeŋi</i> also ‘accompany’; <i>tepaŋi</i> .
WFI	Also <i>βuke ia</i> .
SAM	cognate with <i>soa</i> ‘friend’, 19.510.
RAP	Also <i>hā?ū?ū</i> .

### 19.590 HINDER, PREVENT

*ATA	č-um-ru?	YAM	zatən	*AKL	ābaŋ
TSO	a-fku-fkuŋu	ISN	lipnan	*PAL	apa?an
RUK		*KAL	taktak	MOL	gimbaŋ
PAI		*TAG	hadlaŋ	*KAG	əllaŋ

*BLA	m-ləŋ	RTI	nama- <sup>ɗ</sup> ge	RAG	
*SAB	sasaw + maka-	BUR	po-bele	PAA	dō kole
		*DOB	ʔa-dem	*LEW	kila-wo
*MUR	usik		ʔaywata	POR	či <sup>ɗ</sup> go
MGY	mi-sakana	IRA	daɸerə	NTA	-aniahau
ACE	tham	*SAW	n-fa-ket	KWA	-o tuk <sup>w</sup> ahaŋ
BAT	otap-i	NYI	soke	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> enūi
*MIN	alaŋ-i	MAM	zala ono	CEM	cî-b <sup>w</sup> ɔni-hi
*IND	mən-čəgah	TAK	-girani	AJI	pε r̄ewiři
*SUN	ŋa-halaŋ-an	*DAM	nābu-r gudū	XAR	xašɔ
JAV	nəgah (čəgah)	*MAB	-pakāla	*NEN	lae yokeun
*MAD	laŋ-ŋ-alaŋ-i	*YAB	-ko ... àu?	KIR	tūka
*BAL	ŋ-ambat	*KAU	ŋhen	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> ap <sup>u</sup> rae
SAS	ŋ-adaŋ	*TOL	tur bət	PON	
*GOR	molabuto	BUA	ɣerɪn	WLE	xatiweři
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-lava	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pa- + sib + in	EFI	tāro-β
UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-laβa?	KIL	-silibodi	*WFI	taro-β
BUG	pal-lawa	TAW	lutomgana	*RTU	fu <sup>?</sup> ɔki
KON	tan-ni-kella-i memaŋ	*MOT	laoahu	*TON	ta <sup>?</sup> ofi
WOL		*MEK	e-apua	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a- lavelave-a
*MAG	bənaŋ	ROV	hukatia	MEL	čip <sup>w</sup> āpiččia
NGA	βapa	*MAR	fater <sup>h</sup> e <sup>?</sup> o	*TAH	ārai
*SIK	aba-ŋ	LAU		RAP	haka hihi-hihi
		KWO	to <sup>?</sup> o fonosi-a		

ATA *ḱ-um-hut* ‘to obstruct’; *š-um-ḱaḱalax* ‘to block one’s way’.

KAL *taktak* + *-um/-on*.

TAG *hadlaŋ* + *-um/-an* ‘impede’; *abāla* + *-um/-in* ‘delay’.

AKL *ābaŋ* + *-an*; see 20.490.

PAL Also *məgbawal* ‘forbid’.

KAG *əllaŋ* + *mag/-an* implies a barrier; *awid* + *mag/-an* implies holding onto; *pəgəŋ* + *mag/-an* implies restraining.

BLA *m-ləbəl* ‘hinder’.

SAB Also *teggol* + *maka-/ka-an*; *tokko<sup>?</sup>* + *aN/-an* *bimbaŋ* + *maka-/ka-an*.

MUR *usik* (*maŋ- -on*).

MIN Also *laraŋ*, *tagah*.

IND Also *mərintaŋ-i*, *mənaŋkis* (*taŋkis*).

SUN Also [*nəgah*] (*[čəgah]*) from Javanese.

MAD	From RED- <i>ŋ-alaj-i</i> .
BAL	Also (N-) <i>andaŋ</i> ‘be placed crossways, be in the road’; (N-) <i>tambak-in</i> ‘block the way of a person, animal, by stretching out one’s arms’.
GOR	( <i>tabuto/labuto + moN-</i> ); also <i>mo-polēhi</i> .
MAG	Also <i>poʔe</i> .
SIK	Also <i>papar, papak, haβer, pita</i> .
DOB	‘do hindrance’.
SAW	Also <i>n-elep</i> ‘brush away a hit’; <i>n-dake</i> ‘stop a fight’.
DAM	‘road-on cut’.
MAB	<i>pakāla</i> ‘obstruct from’; <i>-rūtu</i> ‘refuse to give permission’; <i>-lil</i> ‘prevent from going’ (used of rain, floods, wind, etc.); <i>-sekāla</i> ‘magically make a woman sterile’; <i>-bīgi</i> ‘hinder, prevent’; also <i>-peteke</i> .
YAB	‘stand ... wrongly’; also <i>-seŋ</i> ‘prevent, oppose, demolish’.
KAU	Also <i>ten-ten</i> .
TOL	<i>tur</i> (vb intrans) ‘stand’, <i>bət</i> (vb trans) ‘obstruct’.
MOT	<i>lao</i> ‘to go’, <i>ahu</i> ‘to be closed’.
MEK	<i>e-apua</i> basically means ‘close, block, obstruct’. We also say <i>e-afi-apua</i> .
MAR	<i>fatet<sup>h</sup>eʔo</i> ‘put an end to, prevent’; <i>fanagra</i> ‘block, prevent’.
LEW	Also <i>visa-lup<sup>w</sup>ari</i> .
NEN	Also <i>akedini</i> .
MSH	<i>p<sup>w</sup>āreik</i> ; <i>rem<sup>w</sup>ake</i> also ‘oppose’.
WFI	Also <i>βa-taiō-takinia</i> .
RTU	Also <i>aʔ-letu</i> .
TON	Also <i>faka-feʔātuŋjaʔi</i> .
SAM	<i>lavelave</i> (vb intrans) ‘be tangled’, <i>faʔa</i> - CAUS, <i>-a</i> trans.
TAH	Also <i>haʔafifi</i> .

## 19.610 CUSTOM

**Arabic:** *āda*

ATA	yayaʔ	PAI	kakudan	KAL	ugāli
*TSO	prisia	YAM	ičičizawat	*TAG	ugāliʔ
RUK	kakođanə	ISN	gagāŋay	AKL	batāsan

*PAL	[adat]	*SIK	[hada-t]	RAG	
MOL	[addat]	RTI	[hada-k]	*PAA	sakien
*KAG	[kustumbri]	BUR	[adat]		telamun
*BLA	ukum	DOB	sere	LEW	p <sup>w</sup> elaja
SAB	[addat]	IRA	φeφə tatotə	POR	
MUR	[adat]	SAW	[adat]	*NTA	[kastəm]
MGY	fumba	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d'iyen	*KWA	naraïen
*ACE	rusam	MAM	mata	*NEM	wedō-i
BAT	[adat]	*TAK	bui firan	*CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ̄-mú
*MIN	[adat]	DAM	kubolu	AJI	nō ne nevã
*IND	kə-biasa-an	MAB	<sup>m</sup> bulu	*XAR	də tepə
*SUN	[adat]	*YAB	mete	NEN	pejen
*JAV	[adat]	*KAU	βuŋin	*KIR	te katei
MAD	[adat]	*TOL	məŋəməŋanə	*MSH	m <sup>u</sup> anit
*BAL	pərah	BUA	ayata	*PON	tiäk
SAS	[adat]	ADZ	wain	*WLE	kofařifařüwa
GOR	[?adati]	KIL	gulogula	EFI	i-toβo
DAA	[ada]	TAW	dewa	WFI	i-βarau
UMA	[ada]	*MOT	kara	RTU	aŋa
BUG	čukke	*MEK	kaŋa-kaŋa	*TON	aŋa
*KON	[ada?]	ROV	hakanana	*SAM	aŋa-nu <sup>?</sup> u
*WOL	[?adati]	*MAR	puhi (tifa)	MEL	[sup <sup>w</sup> e]
*MAG	laseŋ-	LAU	biriŋa	TAH	peu
NGA	[ad'a]	*KWO	tagi	RAP	mahani

TSO 'taboo'.

TAG *ugāli?* + *ka--an*.

PAL Also *raŋgar*.

KAG From Spanish *costumbre*.

BLA *ukum* 'custom (corporate)'; *Idam* 'custom, habit (personal)'.

ACE Also [*adat*].

MIN Also *bue?*

IND Also [*adat*].

SUN Also *ka-[biasa]-an* Sanskrit.

JAV Also *p-adat-an*, *kə-lumrah-an*.

BAL Also 'behaviour, manner'; *čarə* 'manner, way of doing things'; *awig-awig* 'laws of a village'.

GOR Also [*kabiyasa?an*], Malay *kəbiasaan*, both meaning 'habit'.

KON	Also <i>ka-biasa-aŋ</i> .
WOL	Also <i>kale lei, sara</i> .
MAG	<i>laseŋ-n</i> ‘he is accustomed’.
SIK	Also <i>ala-ŋ, [sara-t]</i> Arabic.
TAK	‘grandparent (vocative) way, manner’.
YAB	‘art, skill, craft, way, custom’; also <i>dem</i> ‘traditional way’.
KAU	‘idea, behaviour, manner’.
TOL	See <i>məŋanə</i> ‘thing, sort’.
MOT	Also ‘act, conduct, habit’.
MEK	<i>kaŋa-kaŋa</i> can be used for custom in the widest sense or for specific items of ornamentation or design seen as symbols of one’s clan or other affiliations.
MAR	‘(old) way’.
KWO	Also <i>fui ?ola</i> .
PAA	‘ancient doings’.
NTA	From Bislama.
KWA	‘living’.
NEM	‘customs-our pl incl’.
CEM	‘way-remain’.
XAR	<i>dɔ tɛpə</i> ‘true word’; <i>kē-nō-rē</i> ‘way of remaining’.
KIR	CAUS, lit ‘what makes stand’.
MSH	Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>anət; m<sup>w</sup>alik</i> arch.
PON	Also <i>ānepe</i> 3sg POSS; see <i>ān</i> ‘accustomed, used to’.
WLE	‘thing of the island’.
TON	Also <i>?uluŋaŋa</i> .
SAM	<i>aŋa</i> ‘conduct ways’, <i>nu<sup>?</sup>u</i> ‘village, home’ (19.120, 19.160).

## 19.620 STRIFE, QUARREL

*ATA	ma-ka-šʔaŋ	KAL	sūbog	*BLA	k-as-bulow
*TSO	rupa-ʔē-kvoʔi	*TAG	alit	*SAB	sasaʔ
RUK	mā-kaʔisi	*AKL	āway	*MUR	saŋəd
PAI	maʔivu	PAL	banta	MGY	adi
YAM	maʃivaivait	MOL	banta	ACE	mu-pakeə
ISN	sāwad	*KAG	butal	*BAT	par-[bada]-an

*MIN	siara <sup>?</sup>	*SAW	n-fa-geraŋ	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> ean
*IND	pər-təŋkar-an	NYI	a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> es	NTA	-ol təmat
SUN	pasea	MAM	ebulo-biabia	KWA	nawisaien
*JAV	padon	*TAK	pae-k	NEM	peḡāc
MAD	padu	*DAM	luwa i-rou-ya	*CEM	pī-ōkē
*BAL	m-iəg-an	MAB	ŋoŋi	AJI	vi vAɽA
SAS	pə-səlisi <sup>?</sup> -an	*YAB	kisa	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-puŋūvire
*GOR	hī <sup>n</sup> diŋo	*KAU	hek-βal	NEN	ičakore
DAA	posi <sup>ŋ</sup> ga-rau	*TOL	v-in-ər-ubu	*KIR	te kairiribai
*UMA	tuda <sup>?</sup> mo-si-	*BUA	sap sir	MSH	ak <sup>w</sup> æl
	sala	*ADZ	nan sasu-dan	PON	akamai
BUG	paŋewaŋ	KIL	-yowai	*WLE	xāŋiyawa
KON	pa-si-sala-aŋ	TAW	witona	*EFI	βeisei
WOL	po-gera-gera	MOT	heai	WFI	βī-oða-si
*MAG	ŋaok tau-	*MEK	lo <sup>?</sup> u	*RTU	həi-ē-aŋa
*NGA	robo	ROV	vinaritokei	TON	kē
*SIK	punu βi <sup>?</sup> i-ŋ	MAR	mamagra	*SAM	misa
RTI	na-le <sup>?</sup> a	*LAU	firua	MEL	tāp <sup>w</sup> ete
*BUR	pe-bahi-n	KWO	ila (ŋa)	*TAH	taputō
*DOB	ser- <sup>?</sup> usam	RAG		RAP	tatake
	φaφa	PAA	vuhu		
*IRA	φiφiera	*LEW	na-ŋorua-ena		

ATA *ma-γik-γik* ‘rebuttal (young people’s expression)’.

TSO *rupa-<sup>?</sup>ē-kvo<sup>?</sup>i*, *rupa-<sup>?</sup>ē-xvoi* ‘dispute’; *rupa-<sup>?</sup>ā-xvoi* ‘quarrel’ over the boundary (of fields, hunting ground, etc.), or water supply, etc.

TAG Also *āway*, *lāban*.

AKL Also 20.110.

KAG *butal + mag-/mag-ay*.

BLA *ka-s-wə<sup>?</sup> talu<sup>?</sup>* ‘argue’.

SAB *sasa<sup>?</sup> + aN-/an*.

MUR *saŋod* (n and vb) (*mag-*).

BAT [*bada*] Sanskrit ‘quarrel, argument’.

MIN Also *pa-təŋkar-an*, *čaka<sup>?</sup>*.

IND Also *bər-bantah*, *bər-səlisih*.

JAV From *padu-an*, *padu* ‘to quarrel’.



- BAL *m-iəg-an* ‘quarrel, fight, either verbally or physically’; *mə-ǰalǰal* ‘quarrel verbally’; *mə-rəbat, mə-sogsag* ‘quarrel, fight, either verbally or physically’.
- GOR Also *bīboŋ-a* and *hēŋet-a*.
- UMA *mo-tuda?* ‘to fight’; *mo-si-sala* ‘to reciprocally be different/at odds’.
- MAG *tau-* ‘reciprocal pronoun’.
- NGA Also *papa-rogi*.
- SIK Also *ǰərə-ŋ βiʔi-ŋ, ʔβəgur, ʔβəgur mara-ŋ, βetər βenə-t*.
- BUR Also *ep-sodi-n* ‘fist fight’; *ep-lata-n* ‘knife/machete fight’; *pem-roto-n* ‘a fight’; *pe-tobe-n sarə* ‘arguing toward a conclusion’.
- DOB The verb root *-ʔusam* ‘quarrel’, is combined with the nominalising prefix *ser-*; *ʔaʔa* means ‘mouth’, thus: ‘a quarrel with the mouth’.
- IRA *ʔiʔiərə* ‘argue’; *ʔəriemə* ‘fight’.
- SAW Also *n-fa-/ŋamo/* from Ternate.
- TAK ‘be cross with-NOM’; see *iŋ i-pai-ag-a* ‘he’ ‘he-be cross with-me-PERF’, i.e. ‘he was cross with me’.
- DAM ‘middle third-hold-infinitive’.
- YAB ‘enmity’; also *kaləm* ‘discord, disunity, strife’.
- KAU ‘to argue’ or ‘dispute’; *βal* ‘each other’ (reciprocal morpheme).
- TOL *-in-* nom., *vər-* REC, *ubu* (vb trans) ‘hit’; *vər-ubu* (vb intrans) ‘fight each other’; *gegelənəi* ‘quarrel, enmity’; *vəŋəŋar* ‘quarrel, dispute’; *vərtolək* ‘quarrel (esp. among children)’; *tultulənəi* ‘strive’ (from *tultuləne* (vb trans) ‘pass on an accusation’).
- BUA *sap sir* ‘talk, discuss, argue’; *ker yalək* ‘stir up strife and anger’; *pəməgin* ‘argue, fight’.
- ADZ ‘talk quarrel-PART’ = ‘quarrel’.
- MEK *loʔu* may originally have meant ‘be loud, noisy’; it means ‘quarrel’ nowadays and goes to either *loku* ‘quarrel’ or *oku* ‘noise, noisy’ in North Mekeo, West Mekeo. However, NW Mekeo has *oku* ‘fight’ (Brown).
- LAU Also *sūsū*.
- LEW Also *māŋ-ena* ‘noise’; *veveyu, viuweli* ‘swear at’.
- CEM ‘refl.-anger’.
- KIR CAUS; cf. *riba* ‘hatred’, with reciprocal prefix *i-*; *te buaka* also ‘war, conflict’.
- WLE ‘to argue’.

EFI Also *βeileti*.

RTU Also *hɔi-feke-ŋa*.

SAM Also *fīnau-ŋa*, *fīnau* (vb intrans) 'quarrel', -*ŋa* NOM.

TAH Also *tamaʔi*.

### 19.630 CONSPIRACY, PLOT

ATA		BUG	sikoŋkoloʔ	MAR	
TSO		KON	pa-si-turuk	LAU	
RUK			aŋ kodi	KWO	
PAI		WOL	po-sa-aŋu	RAG	
*YAM	manorib	MAG		PAA	
ISN		NGA		*LEW	na-viran-
KAL		*SIK	no nue βiʔi-ŋ		ruru-ena
TAG	sabwāt-an	RTI	lala hala-k	POR	
AKL		*BUR	raa-t la du es-	NTA	-atiahun
PAL			ŋoi-k boho-n		anion
MOL	dapit	*DOB	da-ba'k <sup>w</sup> ul	KWA	
*KAG	tuyuʔ	IRA		NEM	
BLA		SAW		CEM	nā-n
SAB	pinag-isun-an	NYI	atilik	AJI	vi ui
MUR		MAM	raba	XAR	
MGY	fi-uku-ana	TAK	palaŋ	NEN	
ACE	puʔeŋko	DAM	katō	*KIR	te
BAT		*MAB	- <sup>m</sup> būru ka-		kam <sup>w</sup> am <sup>w</sup> ane
*MIN	[mupakaiʔ] jæʔ	*YAB	kɛleŋ	MSH	
		*KAU	sakal laŋ	PON	
*IND	pər-səkəŋkəl-		poŋ-βal	WLE	
	an	*TOL	vər-pit	EFI	βere
*SUN	[komplotan]	BUA		WFI	βere
JAV	səkəŋkəl-an	*ADZ	nif u-n nab-a	RTU	rosi
*MAD	ab <sup>h</sup> əŋgiyan		nab-a nan	TON	fefonotaki
*BAL	dayə	*KIL	-sinapu	*SAM	taupulepule-
SAS	romboŋ-an	*TAW	wiwogatala		ŋa
GOR	wō <sup>m</sup> bowa	*MOT	ha-dika-ia	MEL	
	(wō <sup>m</sup> bo)		dala-na	TAH	
*DAA	si <sup>n</sup> tuvu	*MEK	e-aŋoŋa	RAP	
UMA		ROV			

YAM	Also <i>manivet</i> .
KAG	<i>tuyu?</i> + <i>mag-</i> 'to purpose to do'.
MIN	Arabic.
IND	Also [ <i>mupakat jahat</i> ] Arabic(?); [ <i>komplot</i> ]-an Dutch.
SUN	Dutch.
MAD	Not in Safioedin (1977); Penninga and Hendriks (1913).
BAL	<i>η-(r)ekə dayə</i> 'to plot, plan a course of action'.
DAA	Not only for evil purposes.
SIK	Also <i>ʔbate ha</i> .
BUR	Meeting to plan s.th. evil.
DOB	Means 'gather together to plan something'. It may or may not be with evil intent.
MAB	<i>-<sup>m</sup>būru ka</i> 'plot against'; <i>-<sup>m</sup>būru pa</i> 'make plans regarding', also <i>-sil ka-</i> .
YAB	'spying, observation'; <i>-keŋ keleŋ</i> 'give spying' i.e. 'spy'; <i>-dib</i> 'lie in wait for'.
KAU	Also <i>sakalenu</i> .
TOL	<i>pit</i> (vb trans) 'admonish', <i>vər-pit</i> (vb intrans) 'admonish, agree with one another', hence 'conspire'.
ADZ	'mouth-3sg POSS. grate-PART talk' = 'stir up fights, make trouble'.
KIL	<i>-keiwala-si</i> '(they) conspire' (a number of people plotting to injure or harm).
TAW	'plan'-context makes it clear that the plan is subversive.
MOT	'way of spoiling something' ( <i>ha-dika-ia</i> 'to cause to be bad'; <i>dala</i> 'way, road'). Also X <i>i-ha-dika-na henega-lai-a</i> 'to conspire against X', lit 'to meet to agree to harm X'.
MEK	<i>e-aogoa</i> means 'condone, facilitate, have complicity in' the use of sorcery against someone.
LEW	'agreement'.
KIR	CAUS <i>m<sup>w</sup>ane</i> 'trick'.
SAM	See 19.310. <i>taupulepule</i> (vb intrans) 'take counsel, plot', <i>-ŋa</i> NOM.

### 19.650 MEET

ATA	ma-kita-a†.	PAI	sə-ϕəvʊŋ	*KAL	ābat
TSO	rup-teidi	YAM	maŋimmo	*TAG	salūboŋ
RUK	ma-ɖa-ɖəsəŋ	ISN	maggu?urnuŋ	*AKL	sū†əŋ

PAL	tɔgduʔ	NGA	muʔa	RAG	
*MOL	tomu	*SIK	rəga-ŋ	PAA	visu
*KAG	mugat	RTI	na-toŋo	LEW	vitawe
BLA	siti	*BUR	dobo	POR	<sup>m</sup> bü <sup>m</sup> bü
*SAB	laŋgal	DOB	na-ta'noy	NTA	-ehm
*MUR	umaʔ	IRA	naʔesasi	*KWA	-ata
*MGY	mifanudzu	SAW	n-duk	*NEM	pe-bani
*ACE	mu-rumpɔʔ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʔo <sup>n</sup> dʔon	*CEM	bēni
BAT	pa-ʒuppaŋ	MAM	puraʔani	AJI	vi ʒaviru
*MIN	ba-suo	*TAK	-timani	XAR	pīte
*IND	bər-təmu	DAM	ʔotou	*NEN	eked
SUN	pa-paŋgih	*MAB	-lup	*KIR	bō
JAV	kə-təmu	YAB	-daʔ	*MSH	allɔɔ
MAD	təmmu	KAU	tut	*PON	tu
*BAL	nəpuk-in (təpuk)	*TOL	vər-kuvo	*WLE	ʃūŋi
SAS	bə-dait	BUA	tək βu	EFI	sota
GOR	mo-du-du <sup>ʰ</sup> gā- ya	*ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pruʔ-a ruan	WFI	hota
DAA	nosi-n-tomu	*KIL	-βabodi	*RTU	taunɔʔi
UMA	hi-ruaʔ	*TAW	tutuhaga	*TON	fakataha
BUG	siruntuʔ	*MOT	daβari-a	SAM	fetaui
*KON	as-si-itte	*MEK	ke-pi-aon-ai	MEL	[sūā]
*WOL	po-kawa	ROV	vəri tutuvi	TAH	fārerei
MAG	čumaŋ	*MAR	faidu	RAP	piri
		*LAU	konia		
		KWO	toʔo dari-a		

KAL ābat + man-/on.

TAG salūboŋ + -um-/in; also tagpoʔ + mag- 'join, come together'.

AKI sūʔaŋ + -un 'fetch someone arriving'.

MOL tomu + mog-/on.

KAG sugat + mag-/m-/ən.

SAB laŋgal + ag-/ta-; also bāk + ag-/ta- and andaʔ + ag-/ta-.

MUR umaʔ (mag- on), also owot (moko-; mo-) 'encounter'.

MGY From mifaN-tudzu; |tuju| from Malay.

ACE Also mu-tumɛə, mu-tumuŋ.

MIN Also ba-tamu.

IND Also kə-təmu, bər-ʒumpa.

BAL Also paum, saŋkəp 'meeting'.

- KON Also *aŋŋ-uraŋsi-itte*.
- WOL Also *toromu* ‘meet in meeting’.
- SIK Also *reŋa-ŋ βiʔi-t, aba-ŋ, papak*.
- BUR Homophone with ‘swell’; also *epa-k; raa-t* ‘meeting’.
- TAK For example, *di-timani-da* ‘they-meet-IMPRF’, i.e. ‘they are meeting’.
- MAB *-<sup>n</sup>dēŋe* ‘find, happen to meet’.
- TOL *kuvo* not attested.
- ADZ ‘be together-PART REFL’ = ‘being together, meeting together’.
- KIL *-βabodi* ‘meet walking’; *-bodi* ‘meet’.
- TAW *tutihaga* ‘meet on trail’; *omboino* ‘meet together’.
- MOT Also ‘to find’. ‘A and B met’ is ‘A B *ida e he-daβari*’ (*ida* ‘with’). ‘to meet (of a group)’ is *he-bou* (*bou* ‘together’).
- MEK *ke-pi-aon-ai* means ‘meet by accident’ (of people); analytically 3pl + reciprocal *pi-+aonai*. *ke-ʔani-fou* means ‘come together’ (of objects), which can be causativised as *e-pa-ʔani-fou-a*. The verb ‘see’, *isa (ia)*, is also used for ‘meet’: *aŋa-isa-ʔa puŋu* (lpl incl Fut-see-lpl incl again) ‘We’ll see one another again’, ‘We’ll meet again’.
- MAR *faidu* ‘hold a meeting’; *deni* ‘meet, encounter’.
- LAU Also *figua*.
- KWA *-ata* also means ‘see’; *-osəsumun* ‘meet as a group’.
- NEM Also *ŋaveŋi*.
- CEM Also *tōli*.
- NEN Also *ičəɖawen* (respectful).
- KIR *bō* ‘contact, meet’; *kaitibō* with causative prefix *ka-* and reciprocal *i-*; ‘meet, meeting’.
- MSH Also ‘get together’; *tōn* with suffix *-pene* ‘together’; *celm<sup>u</sup>ae* also ‘confront’; *k<sup>w</sup>eiɬok* also *k<sup>w</sup>elok*.
- PON *tiɬepene* with suffix *-pene* ‘together’; *kasaiŋ* ‘come across, meet by chance’.
- WLE *šūŋi* (vb trans); *tteiya* ‘(have a) meeting’
- RTU ‘assemble’; also *həi-pōaŋa* ‘come across’.
- TON Also *fetaulaki* ‘meet accidentally’.

## 19.720 PROSTITUTE

ATA		KON	bandaraŋ	*ROV	bibola
TSO		*WOL	ḡawine-na	MAR	kikirase
RUK			ḡala	LAU	geni e oe
PAI		*MAG	ata <sup>m</sup> beroŋ	KWO	
YAM	ṣomagpiəŋ	NGA	ana-fai-zeʔe	RAG	
ISN	[pūta]	*SIK	goḡa	*PAA	holaso
KAL		RTI		*LEW	sira na mrapa
*TAG	[pūta]	*BUR	warora-t	POR	
*AKL	alput	*DOB	ʔa-way ŋur	NTA	pətan ionəhan
PAL	məgkadla (makuyad)	IRA		*KWA	preinhap
*MOL	[puta]	SAW	slem	NEM	
*KAG	gapaŋ-mama	*NYI	badih ta	CEM	
*BLA	fa-bli diŋig		madasan	AJI	b <sup>w</sup> ε kui dō
SAB	denda laʔat	*MAM	aine-		wēyē
MUR			pogizagiza	XAR	a-piriri
MGY	vehi-vavi	*TAK	dal sa-n pein	NEN	
	dʒanga	*DAM	nōli kayau	*KIR	te kabekau
*ACE	ʒalaŋ	*MAB	mōri zāla	MSH	
*BAT	[lɔtte]		lwōno kana	*PON	lietipan
*MIN	ʒaŋaʔ	*YAB	məʔ-kaiŋ-ə	WLE	
*IND	pə-lačur	*KAU	ḡut a-pi ira	EFI	saŋamua
SUN	uŋkluk		soput	WFI	
*JAV	lonte	*TOL	igoro	RTU	hæn raksaʔa
MAD	sənnuʔ	BUA		*TON	paʔumutu
*BAL	sundəl	*ADZ	sagat mara	*SAM	fafine tali-
SAS	ubek		mais		tāne
*GOR	[sū <sup>n</sup> dali]	*KIL	to-kalim <sup>w</sup> ala	MEL	
*DAA	ba[ʒiŋa]	*TAW	tu matamaga	*TAH	vahine
UMA	kehe	*MOT	ariara hahine-		tauteʔa
BUG	čakkuribaŋ		na	RAP	taiʔo
		*MEK	fi-fia-li		

TAG Also *patūtot, pampan*.

AKL Also *pampam*.

MOL From Spanish.

KAG Also *bigʔaʔen*.

BLA *m-kat lagi* '(woman) prostitute'.

- ACE Also *bajwəŋ, biduən*.
- BAT Jakarta Malay or Javanese.
- MIN Also [*lonte*] from Javanese.
- IND Also *pər-əmpu-an ʃalaŋ, kupu-kupu malam*.
- JAV Also *pa-lañah-an*.
- BAL Also *nener*, fig., also ‘a k. o. fish found along the seashore’.
- GOR Malay *sunda*.
- DAA From Arabic *zinā* ‘adultery, prostitution’.
- WOL ‘woman of the street’.
- MAG ‘lady of easy virtue’; real prostitution was unknown in Manggarai.
- SIK Also *goβa pani*.
- BUR Primarily ‘whore’.
- DOB ?*a-way* is a verb meaning ‘have sexual intercourse’. ?*a-way gur* means ‘have sexual intercourse freely’, with negative connotations but not necessarily involving money.
- NYI ‘woman of road’.
- MAM Also *zala-aine*.
- TAK ‘road POSSESSION-its woman’, i.e. ‘woman of the road’: this term has come into use since European contact.
- DAM ‘immoral woman’.
- MAB ‘middle of the road woman’.
- YAB ‘bird-leg-feminine’ i.e. figuratively, ‘adulteress’; also *mɔʔ-wao-ə* ‘bird-plumage-feminine’ i.e. figuratively, ‘promiscuous woman’.
- KAU ‘of the road’; *apuluso* ‘of a coming together on the road’, i.e. ‘bastard’.
- TOL Also *kuabar*, lit ‘wild pig’; *luŋa* also ‘fool’.
- ADZ *sagat mara mais* lit ‘woman appearance bad’, i.e. ‘woman of bad reputation’; *sagat ragjararaʔ* lit ‘woman arse promiscuous’, i.e. ‘very promiscuous woman’; *sagat sasian ʉ* lit ‘woman grass skirt short’, ‘woman with short grass-skirt i.e. promiscuous’.
- KIL *to-kalim wala* (male); *na-kalim wala* (female).
- TAW ‘person with many eyes’-a promiscuous person.
- MOT *ariara* ‘village street’, *hahine* ‘woman’.
- MEK *fi-fia-li* is ‘whore, promiscuous female’ (from the root *fia* ‘bad; misbehave’). The word [*pamuk*] has been borrowed from Tok Pisin to refer to town prostitutes.

ROV	Also <i>magota</i> .
PAA	‘promiscuous person’.
LEW	‘woman of road’.
KWA	Woman who (traditionally) sexually initiated young men and who was available to men living in the men’s house.
KIR	Also <i>te nikiranroro</i> lit ‘remains of the generation’; woman who is not considered marriageable (typically for moral reasons), ‘old maid’.
PON	‘sinful woman’; used biblically.
TON	Also <i>muitau</i> pejorative.
SAM	<i>fafine</i> ‘woman’ (02.220, 02.240), <i>tali</i> (vb trans) ‘receive’, <i>tāne</i> ‘man’ (02.230).
TAH	Also <i>vahinefaʻaturi</i> , <i>vahine taiʻata</i> .

## 20.110 FIGHT (vb)

ATA	ma-čβuʻ	*BAL	mə-gərəŋ-an	*TOL	vər-ubu
TSO	rou-babai	SAS	bə-siaʻ	*BUA	sis
RUK	ki-a-ka-roboro	GOR	mo-lōhulu-wa	*ADZ	is- + ruan
PAI	ma-kakəʻi	DAA	nosi-baga	KIL	-yowai
YAM	mačililiman	*UMA	mə-tudaʻ	TAW	witona
ISN	magbākal	BUG	mal-laga	MOT	heatu
*KAL	tiliw	*KON	aʻ-laga	*MEK	ke-pi-paini
*TAG	āway	*WOL	po-βusu	ROV	varipera
*AKL	āway	MAG	paki tau	MAR	magra
*PAL	məŋatu	NGA	papa toli	LAU	firula
*MOL	banta	*SIK	punu βiʻi-ŋ	*KWO	funu
*KAG	[kuntra]	*RTI	la-hote	RAG	bʻalo
*BLA	s-fəti	*BUR	ep-sədi	PAA	muʻit
*SAB	bonoʻ	DOB	?a-yiʻar	*LEW	kila mara
*MUR	gabʻuʻ	IRA	φəriemə	*POR	tux-i
MGY	mi-adi	SAW	n-fan-pun	NTA	-oh ilat mən
ACE	mu-pake	*NYI	adai	*KWA	-aruəŋən
*BAT	mar-musu	MAM	eʻuŋ	NEM	pe-peyəč
MIN	ba-čakaʻ	*TAK	-fini	CEM	pî-pà
*IND	bər-kəlahi	DAM	kusi	AJI	vi pā
*SUN	ŋa-[gəlut]-an	*MAB	-porou	XAR	pia
JAV	pəraŋ	*YAB	-yàʻ siŋ	*NEN	eridiʻjeu
MAD	a-tukar	KAU	lek-βal	*KIR	buakā



*MSH	ir̥ɛik	*WFI	βala	*MEL	[fīčipa]
*PON	pei	RTU	hɔi-peluŋa	TAH	ʔaro
*WLE	fitexi	TON	fuhu	RAP	moto
EFI	βei-βala	SAM	tau		

KAL *tiliw + man-*.

TAG *āway + mag-*; also *lāban + mag-* or *-um-*.

AKL *āway + -un*; also 19.620.

PAL Also *məgbunu?*

MOL *banta + mөг*.

KAG [*kuntra*] + *mag-* from Spanish *contra*; *gira + mag-* lit 'be at war'.

BLA *sa-gla?* 'to fight (physically, usually individuals rather than groups)'.

ŠAB *bono?* + *aN-/ø*.

MUR *gabu?* (*mag-*), also *patoy (mag-)*.

BAT Also *mar-pɔraŋ*.

IND Also *bər-juaŋ, bər-təmpur*.

SUN (vb trans) from Javanese; also *gə-[gəlut]-an* (vb intrans); *ŋa-juŋit-an* (vb trans).

BAI *mə-gəraŋ-an* 'quarrel, fight physically'; *mə-jaŋur-an* 'punch one another'; *mə-rəbat*, *mə-sogsag* 'quarrel, fight, either verbally or physically'.

UMA *mo-tuda?* 'to fight, quarrel'; *ma-ŋa?e* 'to wage battle'.

KON *a?-laga* (physically); *a?-besere* (verbally).

WOL *po-gera* 'quarrel, dispute'; *po-βite* 'fight with each other'; also *po-ewaŋi, po-wand'u-wand'u*.

SIK Also *ŋəjə-ŋ βi?i-ŋ, ŋəjə-ŋ juja-ŋ, tau tola βi?i-ŋ, suda-ŋ dogor*.

RTI Also *musu*.

BUR *ep-sodi* 'fist fight'; *pe-bahi-n* 'argument'.

NYI Also *a?um*.

TAK 'hit' (09.210).

MAB *-porou* 'hit each other'; *-kam malmal* 'do fighting'; *-tēge zāba* 'hold a club to'; *-poroukāla* 'defend'.

YAB 'strike war'.

TOL See 19.620.

BUA Also *sis bəgɔ*.

ADZ ‘strike reflexive/ reciprocal’, i.e. ‘to fight each other’.

MEK *ke-pi-paini* seems to be the reciprocal of *paina* ‘tell(off), scold; attack verbally’ but it means quite unambiguously ‘fight, exchange blows’.  
NW Mekeo has *e-oku* ‘fight’.

KWO *funu* ‘cut’; *k<sup>w</sup>aʔi* ‘hit’; *age-amae* ‘make war’.

LEW Also *we*.

POR Also *tuxutux* ‘fight-s.o.’; ‘fight each other’.

KWA Also *-əkraha* ‘fight as children, or cocks’; *-amhaku* ‘fight with clubs’;  
*-apuhur* ‘trade blows’.

NEN Also *irue*.

KIR Also *buakana*.

MSH Also *kAM<sup>w</sup>m<sup>w</sup>aεcεk* CAUS, possibly from *m<sup>w</sup>aicεk* ‘gang up on’;  
*tam<sup>w</sup>*.

PON *pei* (vb intrans); *tōke*.

WLE Also *māuŕu*.

WFI Also *βi-yayaka*.

MEL From Efate.

## 20.130 WAR, BATTLE

ATA	ma-čβuʔ	ACE	praŋ	*SIK	tau
*TSO	ozomi	BAT	par-musu-ən	*RTI	musu
RUK	mā-ka-ro- roboro	*MIN	paraŋ	BUR	ba-p-lata
PAI	ma-kaʔəʔi	*IND	[pəraŋ]	DOB	ʔeyi
YAM	omazap	SUN	[pəraŋ]	IRA	marau
ISN	gubāt	*JAV	lɔgɔ	*SAW	[paraŋ]
*KAL	gubat	MAD	pərraŋ	NYI	bahun
*TAG	digmaʔ	*BAL	siat	MAM	ʔuai
*AKL	[gēra]	SAS	pəraŋ	*TAK	yu
PAL	bunuʔ	*GOR	po-pāte-ya	*DAM	kusi
MOL	bunuʔ	*DAA	posi-bali	MAB	malmal
*KAG	[gira]	UMA	pa-ŋaʔe-a	YAB	sij
BLA	ka-s-foti	BUG	musuʔ	KAU	ekβah
SAB	bonoʔ	KON	bunduʔ	*TOL	v-in-ər-ubu
*MUR	ayow	WOL	paraa	BUA	bəgɔ
MGY	adi	MAG	rəmpas	*ADZ	nam is-a ruan
		*NGA	toli	KIL	kabilia

TAW	wigawig <sup>w</sup> aiya	POR	<sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> ean	*PON	māwin
*MOT	tuari	*NTA	namouan	*WLE	māuřu
*MEK	ivani	*KWA	naruau <sup>ə</sup> nien	EFI	i-βalu
ROV	vinaripera	NEM	pāc	WFI	i-βalu
MAR	magra	CEM	pà	RTU	pelu
LAU	omea	AJI	vi pā	TON	tau
KWO	mae	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-pia	*SAM	taua
RAG		*NEN	ŋapene	MEL	āraŋa
PAA	rea	KIR	te buaka	TAH	tama <sup>?</sup> i
LEW	mara	*MSH	pata	*RAP	tama <sup>?</sup> i

TSO 'go to war'.

KAL Also *lāyaw*.

TAG Also [*gēra*], Spanish *guerra*.

AKL From Spanish *guerra*.

KAG From Spanish *guerra*.

MUR *ayow* (*maŋ-* -on) 'attack (in head hunting) (vb)'.

MIN Also *lago*.

SUN From Malay or Javanese.

JAV Also *jurit*.

BAL Also *mə-siat* 'do battle'.

GOR See *momate* 'to hit, to strike' (*pate + moN-*).

DAA *posi-bali* lit 'reciprocal oppose'; *posi-patesi* lit 'reciprocal kill'.

NGA *bu<sup>?</sup>u* traditionally refers to 'family feud'.

SIK Also *nuhu*, *tau nuhu*, *tau gəte*.

R'I See 20.110.

SAW Malay.

TAK 'spear' (20.260).

DAM See 20.430

TOL See 19.620.

ADZ 'thing strike-part reflexive/reciprocal', i.e. 'the fighting, war'.

MOT Also *alaala* (*ala-ia* 'to kill').

MEK *ivani* refers to traditional fighting; modern warfare is */wo/* ('war').

NTA Also *neluaŋənən*.

KWA Also *nusen*.

NEN Also *kedi*, *wawa*.

MSH Also *tařiŋ<sup>w</sup>ae*.

PON Also *moromor*.

WLE Also *fitexi*.

SAM See 20.110, (polite) *tāmaʔi*.

RAP *tamaʔi* 'war'; *tauʔa* 'to wage battle'.

## 20.140 PEACE

ATA	ma-š-βaʔaik	DAA	posi <sup>ɔ</sup> ga-belo	MAR	bule
TSO		UMA		LAU	g <sup>w</sup> aromābea
RUK	mā-ka- daodaḷo	BUG	siamiʔ	*KWO	nabe-ŋa
PAI	ma-juḷu	*KON	dame	RAG	tam <sup>w</sup> ata
YAM	mipiyapya	WOL	[amaani]	PAA	tomat
ISN	talna	MAG	ha <sup>m</sup> bor	LEW	sum <sup>w</sup> are
KAL	kappiya	NGA	ḷava	POR	ramar
*TAG	payāpaʔ	*SIK	bura	NTA	namelinuən
AKL	ka-linūŋ-an	*RTI	[dame]	*KWA	namərinuien
PAL	sanaŋ	*BUR	[dame-n]	NEM	haŋom
MOL	sullut	*DOB	dam soba	CEM	pēm
KAG	ka-linəŋ-an	IRA		AJI	nānevā
BLA	k-tanak	*SAW	n-fai-fio	XAR	tā
SAB	hāp lahat	NYI	mo <sup>n</sup> dʔei	NEN	doŋodoŋo
MUR		MAM	anua-uia	*KIR	te raoi
MGY	fand <sup>r</sup> iam	TAK	maror	MSH	aenəmm <sup>w</sup> an
	pahalemana	DAM	maror	*PON	onepek
ACE	dame	*MAB	lūmuŋana	WLE	ferāfiši
BAT	dame	YAB	wama	EFI	sautū
MIN	damay	KAU	aminis	WFI	haučū
*IND	pər-damai-an	*TOL	məlmal	RTU	nəh hai-aʔ
SUN		BUA	mamer		lelei-aŋ
JAV	kə-təntəm-an	*ADZ	nan nuf-an	TON	melino
MAD	tarəntəm	KIL	i-βakota βalu	*SAM	fīlēmū
*BAL	əntəg	TAW	nugədumola	*MEL	[tam <sup>w</sup> ate]
SAS	dame	MOT	maino	TAH	hau
*GOR	[dame]	*MEK	ŋaŋao	RAP	haumarū
		*ROV	bule		

TAG *payāpaʔ + ka--an*.

IND Also *aman* 'secure, safe'.

BAL	Also <i>dəgdəg</i> , <i>təgtəg</i> ‘calm, peaceful’ (of a country, state); [ <i>dame</i> ] from Malay.
GOR	Malay <i>damai</i> .
KON	Also <i>sama-turu?</i>
SIK	Also <i>naruk bura</i> , <i>naruk jāji bura</i> .
RTI	Malay <i>damai</i> .
BUR	Also <i>puna lal gosa-t saro</i> ‘make good feelings toward each other’.
DOB	‘they do good’, which means ‘make peace’, or ‘be at peace’.
SAW	‘make good/well’.
MAB	‘coolness’.
TOL	<i>məmal</i> (vb intrans) ‘be peaceful’ from <i>məl</i> (vb trans) ‘do well, make well, treat well’.
ADZ	‘talk be cold-part’, i.e. ‘peace’.
MEK	<i>ṇaṇao</i> can also mean ‘truce’ and was traditionally inaugurated with a symbolic breaking of arrows, bows, etc.
ROV	Also <i>binule</i> .
KWO	Also <i>aloaloṇa</i> .
KWA	‘calmness’.
KIR	Used like English ‘you’re welcome!’
PON	Also <i>popōl</i> .
SAM	(polite) <i>mālū</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

## 20.150 ARMY

English: *army*

Sanskrit: *tantra-*, *bala-*

Spanish: *soldado*

ATA	AKL	armi	*MGY	tafika
TSO	PAL	sandalu	*ACE	tuintra
RUK	*MOL	militar	*BAT	paraŋ]-an
PAI	KAG	armi	MIN	tantara
*YAM	*BLA	dad sundolu	IND	təntara
ISN	SAB	maṇa	SUN	tantara
KAL		sundalu	*JAV	bɔɔ
*TAG	MUR	āmi	*MAD	pañ jurit

*BAL	[balə]	*MAB	zāba kan	NTA	
SAS	[təntərə]	YAB		KWA	
GOR	[to <sup>n</sup> tāra]	KAU	po nolo	NEM	kan-pāc
DAA	[bala]	TOL	[ami]	CEM	pà
UMA	[ta <sup>n</sup> tara]	BUA	alam-bəgə-yi	AJI	pā
BUG	to-pam-musu?	*ADZ	garam is-a	*XAR	pa-pia
KON	[tantara]		ruan	*NEN	eat
WOL	toropu	KIL	to-k <sup>w</sup> abilia	*KIR	te tāŋa ni
MAG	lava	TAW	tu wigawiya		buaka
NGA			hai bolu	MSH	[ar̄mi]
SIK	rear	*MOT	tuari orea-na	*PON	sounpei
*RTI	[soloda <sup>?</sup> du]	*MEK	[ame]		nansap <sup>w</sup>
BUR		ROV	tie varipera	*WLE	xeitai
*DOB	ʔay rak <sup>w</sup> in	MAR		EFI	mata-i-βalu
	mata	LAU	[ami]	WFI	mata-i-βalu
IRA		KWO		RTU	kau-pelu
SAW		RAG		TON	kau-tau
NYI	lau ta bahun	PAA		*SAM	vaeŋā-ʔau
MAM	ʔuai-bagi	*LEW	p <sup>w</sup> eŋasi-ne-n	MEL	
TAK			li-na-mara	TAI	nu <sup>?</sup> u
*DAM	ot	POR		RAP	va <sup>?</sup> ehau

YAM Japanese borrowing.

TAG Chinese *hok* ‘conquer’ + *bu* ‘militia’; also [*armi*].

MOL From Spanish.

BLA Also [*soldado*].

MGY See Old Malay *manāpik* ‘organise a punitive expedition’.

ACE Also [*pasokan*] from Malay, [*lasuka*] from Persian *lashkar*, [*asuka*] from Arabic ‘*askar*’.

BAT From Malay.

MAD Javanese? (Gonda 1973: 453).

RTI Portuguese.

DOB ‘young leaves’, used for soldiers because of the colour of their clothes.

DAM ‘spear’; it was used to refer to an enemy raiding party, usually no more than twelve men. Organised armies were unknown before European contact.

MAB *wal zāba kan* ‘club ones’; *wal malmal kan* ‘fighting ones’.

ADZ	‘men strike-part reflexive/reciprocal’, i.e. ‘the fighting men’.
MOT	<i>orea</i> ‘group’.
MEK	From English <i>army</i> and refers to a modern standing army.
LEW	‘group of fighters’.
XAR	‘these who fight’.
NEN	Also <i>ṅaeat</i>
KIR	‘war group’.
PON	‘soldier on the land’.
WLE	[ <i>xeitai</i> ] ‘soldier, army’, also [ <i>rikuxuju</i> ] both Japanese.
SAM	<i>vāe-ṅa</i> ‘section, division, part’, <i>vavae</i> (vb trans) ‘divide’, <i>-ṅa</i> NOM, <i>?au</i> ‘team, army, collective’; also <i>?au-fitafita</i> , <i>fitafita</i> ‘soldier’; <i>?au-tau</i> , <i>tau</i> (vb intrans) ‘fight’; <i>itū-taua</i> , <i>itū</i> ‘side, part’, <i>taua</i> ‘battle’.

## 20.170 SOLDIER

Portuguese: <i>soldado</i>	Sanskrit: <i>tantra-</i>	Spanish: <i>soldado</i>
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ATA	*SUN	[tantara]	SAW		
TSO	*JAV	[pra]ḥjurit	NYI	lau ta bahun	
RUK	MAD	[tantara]	MAM	?uai-tamoata	
PAI	*BAL	[balə]	TAK		
*YAM	[itayṣaṅ]	SAS	[təntərə]	*DAM	kuṣi tamo
ISN	[suldādu]	*GOR	[paḥjule]	*MAB	tomtom zāba
KAL	[suldādu]	DAA	[ta <sup>n</sup> tara]		kana
*TAG	[kāwal]	UMA	[ta <sup>n</sup> tara]	*YAB	siṅ-waga
*AKL	[sondāʔoh]	BUG	pam-musu <sup>ʔ</sup>	KAU	elara
PAL	[sandalu]	KON	ana <sup>ʔ</sup> [guru]	*TOL	təna v-in-ər-ubu
MOL	[sundalu]		[tantara]		
KAG	[sundalu]	WOL	[suludadu]	BUA	məḃo-bəḃo-yi
BLA	[sundəlu]	*MAG	[tə <sup>n</sup> tara]	ADZ	
SAB	[sundalu]	NGA		KIL	to-kabilia
*MUR	[āmi]	*SIK	[sərdadu]	TAW	tu wigawiya
*MGY	[miaramila]	RTI	[soloda <sup>ʔ</sup> du]	*MOT	tuari tau-na
*ACE	[suɔdadu]	*BUR	geb paṅa-t	*MEK	[tsoltsia]
*BAT	[sɔldadu]	*DOB	?ay rak <sup>w</sup> in	ROV	[solodia]
*MIN	[para]-ḥjuri <sup>ʔ</sup>		mata	*MAR	mae ṅeta
*IND	[pra]-ḥjurit	IRA		LAU	[solodia]

KWO		*AJI	ka vi pā	*RTU	[čaučia]
RAG		*XAR	[jōçε]	TON	taŋata-tau
PAA		*NEN	[šoʃa]	SAM	fiŋafiŋa
LEW	yaru na mara	*KIR	te tia buaka	MEL	taŋata te-
POR		*MSH	riŋariŋae		āraga
NTA		*PON	sounpei	TAH	faʔehau
KWA		*WLE	[süřütōwa]	RAP	vaʔehau
NEM	ka-po-pāc	*EFI	[sōtia]		
*CEM	â-p*ô-pà	*WFI	lima-ni-kai		

YAM Japanese borrowing.

TAG Malay [*kawal*] ‘guard’ (Tamil); also [*sundālo*].

AKL Also [*soldādoh*].

MUR See 20.150.

MGY From French *mirmillions*.

ACE Also [*sidadu*].

BAT Portuguese via Malay.

MIN Sanskrit prefix, also [*sardadu*].

IND Sanskrit prefix, also [*scrdadu*].

SUN Also [*pra*]-*jurit*.

JAV Sanskrit prefix.

BAL Also [*prajurit*] from Old Javanese; [*sərdadu*].

GOR Malay *prajurit*. Also, especially of foreign soldiers, [*suludadu*], Malay [*sərdadu*].

MAG Formerly: [*səɾə-dadu*].

SIK Also *ola suda-ŋ dogor*.

BUR Person with a barb i.e. chevron; *sodadu* adapted from Portuguese; *kapitan/ep-kita-n* ‘clan fighting champion’; *kuwihil* ‘head-hunter’.

DOB ‘young leaves’, used for soldiers because of the colour of their clothes.

DAM ‘fight man’.

MAB ‘a club person’.

YAB ‘war-person’ i.e. ‘warrior’; also *ŋaʔ-siŋ* ‘man-war’.

TOL *təna* ‘expert’, *vinərubu* see 19.620.

MOT *tau* ‘man’.



MEK	From English <i>soldier</i> – many Mekeo served as [ <i>tsoltsia</i> ] in the Australian army during the last War. The nearest native term is <i>iso</i> ( <i>io</i> ) ‘warrior’.
MAR	‘warrior, “strong man”’.
CEM	‘one who makes war’.
AJI	Also <i>yōda</i> .
XAR	From English <i>soldier</i> .
NEN	From English <i>soldier</i> .
KIR	‘one who fights’.
MSH	‘one who fights’
PON	‘one who fights’.
WLE	From English.
EFI	Tongan, from English.
WFI	Also [ <i>sōčia</i> ] Standard Fijian, from Tongan, from English.
RTU	From English <i>soldier</i> .

## 20.210 WEAPONS, ARMS

**Sanskrit:** *saṃyata-*

ATA		ACE	alat praṅ	*KON	[pak'kakkasa]
TSO		BAT	[sidʒata]		manrak-i
RUK	rarokoḍanə	MIN	[siñʒato]		(panra?)
PAI	tu-rivəʃ-an	IND	[səñʒata]	*WOL	[sa <sup>ñ</sup> ʒata]
YAM	воковoko	SUN	[sañʒata]	*MAG	harat
ISN	[armas]	JAV	(gə-)gaman	*NGA	sau
KAL	[almas]	MAD	[sañʒata]	*SIK	dira-ŋ
*TAG	sandāta	BAL	[səñʒatə]	*RTI	te
*AKL	[armas]	SAS	bədil	BUR	fei
PAL	galaman	*GOR	t-il-oŋolo	DOB	
MOL	pokokos	*DAA	pareva posi-	IRA	
*KAG	[armas]		patesi	SAW	
BLA	tək	UMA	reβa <sup>m</sup> pa-	NYI	lakou ta
SAB	sinapaṅ		ŋa <sup>ʔ</sup> e		bahun
MUR	taṅgulan	BUG	parewa	MAM	ono-euṅa
MGY	fi-adi-ana		musu <sup>ʔ</sup>	TAK	

DAM		ROV	tiḡitoḡa	NEN	neirue
*MAB	m̄buru		variperā	*KIR	te kai
	malmal kana	MAR		*MSH	aḡaḡ in reḡreḡ
YAB		LAU		*PON	ṡṡṡṡṡṡ pṡ
KAU		KWO		*WLE	řimař
TOL	vərgal	RAG		EFI	i-yaraḡi
BUA	bəḡə	PAA	āitisa	WFI	i-yaraḡi
*ADZ	nam is-a	LEW		RTU	tṡ peluḡa
	garam in	POR		*TON	mahafu
*KIL	guguwa-la	NTA	natəmnat	*SAM	mea-tau
	kabilia		katamou lan	MEL	pāraḡa
*TAW	gawiya	KWA		TAH	moiha?a
	gapola	NEM	ba-po-pāc		tama?i
*MOT	alaala ḡau-	*CEM	pīhṡ-pā	RAP	haḡo
	dia	AJI	nek <sup>w</sup> ēřṡ pā		
MEK		*XAR	k <sup>w</sup> iṡ-pia		

TAG Also [*armas*], Spanish *arma* (+ -s plural).

AKL From Spanish *arma* (+ -s pl).

KAG From Spanish *armas*.

GOR (*tiloḡolo?*)

DAA ‘equipment of war’.

KON Malay.

WOL Also *ewaja*.

MAG ‘sharp weapons’.

NGA ‘sword’.

SIK Also [*bāndi*], [*bādi*] Malay.

RTI Rotinese have no general term for ‘weapons’. *te* ‘spear’; *tafa* ‘sword’; *sisilo* ‘musket, rifle’.

MAB ‘fighting possessions’.

ADZ ‘thing strike-PART man instr obj.’, i.e. ‘things for fighting men with’.

KIL ‘goods-its war’.

TAW ‘war things’.

MOT *ḡau* ‘thing’, *dia* plural suffix. Also *tuari kōhu-dia* (*tuari* ‘battle’, *kōhu* ‘goods, articles’).

CEM ‘accessories of war’.

XAR	‘tools of combat’.
KIR	e.g. <i>ua kai</i> ‘carry arms’; see entry for ‘tree’.
MSH	‘whipping stick’.
PON	<i>ṭēṭēn pē</i> also ‘implement’; anything signifying wealth; <i>kesik pos</i> ‘firearm’; lit ‘exploding gun’.
WLE	<i>řimar</i> CON ‘hand, instrument, weapon’, <i>paki</i> ‘firearm’.
TON	Also <i>ne?a tau</i> .
SAM	<i>mea</i> ‘thing’, <i>tau</i> (vb intrans) ‘fight’; also <i>?au, ?ā?upeṇa</i> .

## 20.220 CLUB

Sanskrit: *gada-*

ATA		*BAL	gə-gitik	TOL	ram
TSO		*SAS	pəmantok	*BUA	begə
RUK		GOR	bubohu	*ADZ	wa <sup>ɟ</sup> kiaŋ
PAI		DAA	pato	KIL	puluta
YAM	siṣipṛot	UMA		TAW	dabaluma
ISN	bambu	BUG	paḷu-paḷu	MOT	gahi
KAL	paŋ-ok	K●ON	pa?-peppe?	*MEK	fopaini
*TAG	bambo	WOL	[gada]	*ROV	vedara
AKL	paŋ-hampak	MAG	[səma <sup>m</sup> bu]	*MAR	nagrima
	ṇa kāhuy	NGA	ḡole	LAU	subi
*PAL	[baston]	*SIK	?ai oba	*KWO	subi
*MOL	pukul	*RTI	ai fe-fepa-k	*RAG	malio
*KAG	[batuta]	*BUR	mae	PAA	vaulev
BLA	bunəl	*DOB	?ay tobay ser-	*LEW	plaki
SAB	ka-kakal		ddayar	POR	na <sup>m</sup> bat
MUR	lalamba?	IRA		*NTA	noanatipre
MGY	kibai	SAW	paŋa-paŋa	KWA	nep
ACE	tujkat	*NYI	kci	NEM	b <sup>w</sup> at
*BAT	attuhattuk	MAM	meŋ	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ēt
MIN		TAK	gaŋgaŋ	AJI	o
IND	[gada]	DAM	sowor	XAR	šap <sup>w</sup> ari
SUN	paŋbabuk	*MAB	zāba	NEN	ṇu
JAV	[gəɗə]	YAB	əɗə	*KIR	te mbō
MAD		KAU	elip	*MSH	aḷaḷ in reŋreŋ

PON		RTU	ʔoi peluŋa	*TAH	tiera
WLE		*TON	ʔakau-tā	RAP	paoa
EFI	i-wau	SAM	uatoŋi		
WFI	i-raβu	MEL	čip <sup>w</sup> asale		

TAG *bambo + pam-*; also [*garōte*], from Spanish *garrote*.

PAL From Spanish *bastón*.

MOL *pukul + pu-*.

KAG From Spanish *batuta*.

BAT (*attuk-attuk*).

BAL ‘piece of wood used to hit someone’. Also [*gadə*].

SAS *pə-N-pantok*. Thoir et al. (1985) *pantok* ‘hit’.

SIK Also *dota*.

RTI ‘stick for striking’.

BUR Also *kau* ‘wood’.

DOB ‘a hitting stick’.

NYI ‘stick’.

BUA *bəwε gaga, bōk lin* ‘club varieties’.

MAB *zāba* ‘rounded club’.

ADZ Also *buŋaʔ; budub, a<sup>ŋ</sup>kiəŋ, a<sup>m</sup>poəŋ* different types.

MEK *fopaini* is a pineapple club, as is *mafui*. Other names for clubs are *ufake, ŋaŋa, ivo-ivo (= ifu-ifu)*; *akofa* is synonymous with *ufake*. *meŋi* and *fiŋipi* are names for a club with a disc-shaped head. *isakiaki (i-aki-aki)* is a ‘fighting-stick’. *ufake/akofa* seems to have been double-edged like a sword (Desnoës).

ROV ‘war club’.

MAR Also [*nalanaŋa*] from Bughotu.

KWO Also *alafolo*.

RAG Now used for ‘walking-stick’.

LEW Generic; also *kilamara-na-piŋa*.

NTA Also *neim*.

KIR Also *tebatiraku*.

MSH ‘beating stick’; *cem<sup>u</sup>Anna* for clubbing fish.

TON Also [*pōvai*] from Fijian *bōwai*.

TAH Obs. also *ʔōmore*.

## 20.222 BATTLE-AXE

ATA		BUG	wase	MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ila
TSO		KON		LAU	
RUK		WOL		KWO	
PAI		MAG		RAG	
YAM		NGA	taka	PAA	
ISN	bokog	SIK		LEW	taŋota
KAL	gaman	*RTI	ta-ka musu	POR	taŋot
TAG		*BUR	gomi-yau	NTA	
*AKL		DOB		KWA	
PAL		IRA		NEM	
MOL		*SAW	kmɔn sumo	CEM	gî
KAG			selue	AJI	gi
BLA		NYI	kayam	XAR	gie
SAB		MAM	ogi-ono-euŋa	NEN	giererue
*MUR	inain	TAK	gumagim	KIR	te unūn
*MGY	famaki	*DAM	manau	MSH	
ACE	kapak praŋ	MAB		PON	
*BAT	[kapak]	YAB		WLE	
MIN	kapa <sup>?</sup> -paraŋ	KAU		EFI	kiakaβo
IND	kapak jipaŋ	TOL	bior	WFI	kia kaβa
SUN		BUA		RTU	
JAV		ADZ		TON	toki
MAD		KIL	kema	*SAM	to <sup>?</sup> i
BAL	pədaŋ	TAW	gawiya	MEL	
*SAS	dameaŋ		ilama-na	*TAH	pārau
GOR		*MOT	tuari ira-na	RAP	ʔohio tama <sup>?</sup> i
DAA		*MEK	ʔoŋea		
UMA		ROV	kara maho		

AKL See 09.250 and 09.251.

MUR *inain* ‘long curved double-edged sword’, *ilaŋ* ‘straight one-edged sword decorated with human hair from slain enemies, used primarily for severing their heads’.

MGY From *faN-vaki*.

BAT Malay.

SAS Single morpheme.

RTI ‘axe for enemy’.

BUR Hachet (also used to fight).

SAW 'axe with two mouths'.

DAM See also 9.250

MOT *ira* 'axe'.

MEK *?oŋea* was one kind of stone-axe used in traditional warfare; others were *aleo/aŋeo* and the longer *iau/iaii*. West Mekeo and NW Mekeo have *balala* (wood-pecker type). NW Mekeo has *buŋo*.

SAM (polite) *aŋa?ese, ?ausulu, matau, meleke, uloŋe*.

TAH Obsolete.

## 20.230 SLING

**Spanish:** *tirador* 'good shot'

ATA		*BAL	sətip-an	TOL	vaion
TSO		SAS	pəlcon	BUA	
RUK		*GOR	[katapeli]	ADZ	u <sup>m</sup> pit
PAI		DAA		KIL	peu
YAM		UMA	βalu?	TAW	pipai
ISN	palsi it	BUG	salippaŋ	MOT	βilipopo
KAL	palsi?it	KON	pappe?	*MEK	[laapa]
TAG	[tirador]	*WOL	pate	ROV	kurkuru
AKL	[tirador]	MAG			pagala
PAL	[tiradur]	NGA	əba	MAR	p <sup>h</sup> ipiri kuava
MOL	salin-salin	*SIK	rəga βatu	LAU	
KAG	[tira'dur]	RTI	pi-pilu-k	KWO	
BLA	famintik	*BUR	[ali-ali]	RAG	γao-tal-bava
SAB	pitik-an	DOB		PAA	
MUR		IRA		*LEW	karo na
MGY	an-γamu-tadi	*SAW	tiŋes ni wələ		kuvini
ACE	pusu	NYI		POR	
BAT	siər	*MAM	[?atapela]	NTA	makatalip
MIN	umban tali	TAK	tabai	KWA	təriw
*IND	pəŋ-umban	DAM	seφerik	NEM	wedat
SUN	bandriŋ	MAB	te <sup>m</sup> be	CEM	wəclət
JAV	plintəŋ	YAB	dabaŋ	AJI	bəwə
MAD	bəndil	KAU	tep-tep-ŋin	XAR	çə

NEN		EFI	i-rabo	MEL	
KIR	te bana	WFI	i-rabo	TAH	maʔa
MSH	p <sup>m</sup> uwat	RTU	maktā	RAP	herepata
PON	pāi	TON	makatā		
*WLE	xaiiṛa	*SAM	maʔa tā		

IND Also *ali-ali*.

BAL Also *bāntet-an, plāsīt-an* all ‘Y-shaped catapult’.

GOR Indonesian Malay *katapel*, Dutch *katapult*.

WOL ‘catapult’.

SIK Also *pətetali noraβatu*.

BUR Malay; *pana-t* ‘slingshot that can be stretched’.

SAW Also *karteʔpel* from Dutch.

MAM From English *catapult*.

MEK [*laapa*] is *rubber*, used for modern slings. We also hear [*saŋga*].

LEW Also [*kausu*] (from Bislama).

WLE Also *pāciṅkō*.

SAM *maʔa* ‘stone’, *tā* (vb trans) ‘hit’.

## 20.240 BOW

**Sanskrit: gāṇḍīva-**

ATA	βuh-in-uy	SAB	panaʔ	*GOR	bu-butiʔ-a
*TSO	fsuru	*MUR		DAA	
RUK	bō	MGY	an-duha-	UMA	
PAI	vaçəl <sup>y</sup> at-an		lambu	BUG	pana
YAM		*ACE	busu	KON	pilau
ISN	būtug	BAT		WOL	pana
KAL	pāna	MIN	indu <sup>ʔ</sup> paṇah	MAG	
*TAG	būsog	IND	busur	NGA	leʔe
AKL	panaʔ	SUN	[gondewa]	SIK	utər
*PAL	pana	JAV	[gāndewə]	RTI	ko-kou-k
MOL	panaʔ	MAD	[gandiba]	*BUR	pana-t
KAG	panaʔ	BAL	[gāndewə]	DOB	ḡiyar
BLA	bohol	SAS	alu-an	*IRA	bəramo

SAW	tiŋes bao	*MEK	afeau	XAR	ñī
*NYI	[bonara]	ROV	bokala	NEN	peŋa
*MAM	pana	MAR	baye	KIR	te katebe
TAK	fui	*LAU	taumae	MSH	lippon <sup>w</sup>
DAM	wi	KWO	gano	*PON	kesiŋketieŋ
*MAB	pēne nāna	RAG	ihu	WLE	
YAB	talam	PAA	hisuput	EFI	dakai
KAU	taplim-ŋin	LEW	viu lama-sia	WFI	βuđu
TOL	pənak	*POR	na-viis xavoi	RTU	loloki
BUA	βasol	NTA	nəfaŋa	TON	kaufana
*ADZ	ba <sup>n</sup> ta	KWA	nəpəŋa	*SAM	ʔau-fana
*KIL	goubaku	*NEM	ŋe-n jiyet	MEL	fana
TAW	pidu gigi-na	CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ŋ-jige	*TAH	teʔa
MOT	peβa	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ãjĩ	RAP	teʔa

TSO Also *fsu no aidi* ‘true bow’.

TAG *pāna*? (and arrow).

PAL Also ‘underwater spear-gun’.

MUR Bow and arrows are unknown in Murut culture. Their place is taken by the blowpipe *sapuk* and the poisoned dart *damuk*. There are also specialised hunting-darts: *talip* for big game and *logot* for small game.

ACE Also [*gandɔə*] ‘k.o. cross-bow’, *panah*.

GOR Also [*pana*] Malay *panah*.

BUR Not used on Buru Island, but known from Seram.

IRA Also *ato*.

NYI From Tok Pisin.

MAM Also *ʔarama*.

MAB ‘mother of shooting’.

ADZ *ba<sup>n</sup>ta* Amari dialect; *da<sup>m</sup>pa* other dialects.

KIL The bow and arrow does not appear as a weapon of warfare or a hunting tool. This item quoted above (-*goubaku*) ‘bow’ is the name given to a small bow or rubber-powered shanghai-like toy children used for spearing small fish in the shallows; or to the small blood-letting tool used by the magician when making magic spells. My informants say it is not a loanword; however it may derive from the English *go-back*, in reference to the backward-drawing action preceding firing the projectile. My informants politely agree this may be true.



MEK	<i>afeau</i> corresponds to North Mekeo, West Mekeo <i>ŋuŋu</i> ; NW Mekeo has <i>apiu</i> .
LAU	‘war bow’, also <i>basi</i> .
POR	‘the-bow genuine’.
NEM	‘house of the arrow’.
PON	<i>ketieu</i> ‘spear, harpoon’.
SAM	<i>?au</i> ‘weapon’ (see 20.222).
TAH	Also <i>fana</i> . obs.

## 20.250 ARROW

*ATA	taw-nux	BUG	pāna	KWO	koa
TSO	ranosuru	KON	ana <sup>?</sup> pilau	RAG	lio
RUK	laili	WOL	mata-na pana	*PAA	hopu
PAI	panak	MAG		*LEW	merae
YAM		NGA	ana-le <sup>?</sup> e	POR	nau
ISN	mayān bütug	SIK	hupər	*NTA	naŋanən
KAL	bogās pāna	RTI	ko-kou ana-k	*KWA	nək <sup>w</sup> ai
*TAG	palaso <sup>?</sup>	*BUR	foros bana-t		nə <sup>?</sup> paŋa
AKL	pana <sup>?</sup>	*DOB	yiŋa	NEM	jiyet
*PAL	basləy	IRA	ɸæ	CEM	jiŋe
MOL	salab	SAW	tiŋes	AJI	ʝə
KAG	uwas	NYI		XAR	ʝə
BLA	tunul	MAM	io	NEN	gupeŋa
SAB	pana <sup>?</sup>	TAK	den	*KIR	kanoan te kai
*MUR		*DAM	magir		ni katebe
MGY	zana-ɸipika	*MAB	pēne lutūnu	MSH	lippəŋ <sup>w</sup>
ACE	anu <sup>?</sup> busu	YAB	sòb	*PON	arep
BAT	abbalaŋ	KAU		WLE	
*MIN	ana <sup>?</sup> panah	TOL	pu	EFI	ŋasau
IND	panah	*BUA	rayeβ	WFI	ŋahau
SUN	ĵampariŋ	ADZ	biriaŋ	RTU	kasa
JAV	panah	*KIL	kaiala	TON	ŋahau
MAD	pana	TAW	pidu	SAM	?auū
*BAL	panah	MOT	diba	*MEL	[lūā]
SAS	pana <sup>?</sup>	*MEK	ŋuŋu	*TAH	te <sup>?</sup> a
*GOR	wala <sup>?</sup> o [pana]	ROV	tupi	RAP	te <sup>?</sup> a
DAA		*MAR	ĵata		
UMA		*LAU	simo		

ATA	<i>ma-čxan</i> ‘an arrow with a single head’; <i>šaʔʔiy</i> ‘an arrow with triple heads’.
TAG	Also <i>tūnod</i> .
PAL	Also <i>barawaŋ</i> .
MUR	See 10.240.
MIN	Also <i>damaʔ</i> .
BAL	Also <i>anak[gəndewə]</i> .
GOR	Malay <i>panah</i> . <i>walaʔo</i> ‘child’
BUR	Not used on Buru Island, but known from Seram.
DOB	<i>yina</i> is a small arrow for birds, whereas <i>diʔal</i> is a large game arrow.
DAM	‘a single point arrow’, also <i>gereb</i> , which has three or four points. Both can be fired from a bow or thrown.
MAB	‘Child of shooting’.
BUA	Also <i>apop</i> .
KIL	See 20.260
MEK	<i>ŋuŋu</i> corresponds to North Mekeo, West Mekeo, NW Mekeo <i>bika</i> . There are many names for different types of arrows; <i>ipiaio</i> is a barbed arrow (East Mekeo); <i>kakai</i> is one with several points (also East Mekeo); others are <i>pule-pule</i> , <i>ʔala-koko</i> , <i>lae</i> , <i>amuʔe koā</i> and <i>ipa-piʔa</i> (Desnoës).
MAR	<i>jata</i> ‘long arrow with prongs’; <i>k<sup>h</sup>uali</i> ‘short arrow’.
LAU	Also <i>io</i> ‘war arrow with barbs’.
PAA	Also <i>atuv</i> .
LEW	Generic; also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ereŋawa</i> , <i>pia</i> , <i>pia-na-tāŋa</i> .
NTA	Also <i>noanfaram</i> , <i>βahaŋ</i> , <i>uaia</i> , <i>kitiahkitiah</i> depending on shape.
KWA	‘fruit-of bow’.
KIR	‘bullet for a bow’.
PON	‘spear, arrow’.
MEL	From Efate.
TAH	Also <i>ʔohe</i> obs.

## 20.260 SPEAR

ATA	šinβuaŋan	YAM	činalolot	*AKL	baŋkaw
TSO	meŋzu	ISN	siŋāl	*PAL	budyak
RUK	idiri	*KAL	sayʔāŋ	MOL	buʔak
PAI	vuluk	TAG	sibat	KAG	baŋkaw

BLA	ɔgɔs	*BUR	enhero	PAA	metas
SAB	bujak	DOB	butal	*LEW	kalie
*MUR	tanġulan	IRA	ebremətə	*POR	maras
MGY	lefuna	*SAW	sək-sage	NTA	nəro
ACE	lumberŋ	*NYI	ñah	KWA	nitei
BAT	huġur	MAM	io	*NEM	da
MIN	tomba?	TAK	yu	CEM	dà
IND	tombak	*DAM	ot	AJI	bəřada
SUN	tumbak	MAB	izi	XAR	bərada
JAV	tumba?	YAB	kem	NEN	čāč
MAD	tumbak	*KAU	pali	*KIR	te kain ewa
BAL	tumbak	TOL	rumu	*MSH	m <sup>ʷ</sup> are
SAS	tombak	BUA	ḳəle	*PON	arep
*GOR	to-tobu?o	ADZ	siŋan	*WLE	[pisexō]
*DAA		KIL	kaiala	EFI	moto
UMA	po <sup>n</sup> či?	TAW	kidiyali	WFI	hā
BUG	bissi	MOT	io	*RTU	tika
KON	poke	*MEK	iso (io)	TON	tao
*WOL	pa <sup>n</sup> daŋa	ROV	hopere	SAM	tao
MAG	koruŋ	*MAR	goru	MEL	tao
*NGA	gala	LAU	sua	*TAH	pātia
*SIK	ole	KWO	sua	RAP	
RTI	te	RAG	sari		

KAL Also *tūbay*.

AKL PHN *\*baŋkaw*.

PAL Also *kəlawit, surajaŋ*.

MUR Also *andiban, baŋkaw, salapaŋ*.

GOR Also [*juwelele*].

DAA No generic term.

WOL Also *gala, ka<sup>n</sup>-tabu, ka-rad'a*.

NGA *boru* has a hooked metal point.

SIK Also *tuba, horak* (of bamboo).

BUR Usually specified as to what type: *enher dofo-t* ‘no barbs, used for repeated jabbing’; *enher gomi* ‘like an *enher dofo-t*, but with a thick shaft’; *enhero pe-paŋa* ‘barbed spear (any number), for throwing’; *elawi-t* ‘single barbed spear’; (*enhero*) *paŋ-nee-t* ‘six barbs, for throwing’; *enhero paŋa-t goi-t* ‘special spear for humans, with regular

and reversed barbs'; *nasel* 'multi-pronged spear for crustaceans, eel or fish (smaller than *dapa-n*)'; *foro-n* 'sharpened wood or bamboo used when spear not available'; *ka frata-n* 'spear with bamboo tip'; *glipi* 'tip with single barb and no permanent shaft carried with machete scabbard, attachable to any shaft for temporary use, usually for jabbing cuscus from nest'; *sua-n* 'dibble stick'.

SAW Also *kalawi*; *tu<sup>?</sup>bak*.

NYI *ñyah* 'spear (for fishing)'; *beteleu* 'spear (for fighting)'.

DAM See also 20.250

KAU Also *sa mara keŋ*, *pamu*, *neβet-βet*, *βili*, *humko*, *eŋhak*, *koio*.

MEK *iso* is the general word for 'spear'; *iaiai* is a barbed, killing spear; *alala* is a long spear, as is *a<sup>?</sup>ala*; *apeamo* has a broad point; *vaŋafa* is for pigs. Other terms are *oalapa/valapa*, *ato*, *taula*, *kubaŋo*, *luko* (barbed); *peŋe-peŋe* (four cutting edges) is also mentioned in Desnoës.

MAR Also *grožo*.

LEW Generic; also *kalie-p<sup>w</sup>ereŋawa*, *kalie-pisi*.

POR Also *e-vai*.

NEM *da* (n); *k<sup>?</sup>eli* (vb).

KIR *te kain ewa* 'any pointed tool'; cf. *ewa* 'pierce, stab'; *te ie*; *te b<sup>w</sup>e* 'two-tipped javelin'; *te auabubuti* 'a very long spear'; *uabubuti*.

MSH 'harpoon'; also *wækare*.

PON *arep* also 'arrow'; *keŋieu* 'harpoon'.

WLE *pisexō* 'spear, lance' Palauan; *řixōffīši* 'arrow like spear'.

RTU Also *čao*.

TAH Also *mahae* arch.

## 20.270 SWORD

ATA		*TAG	[espāda]	*MUR	
TSO	porave	*AKL	talibuŋ	*MGY	[sabaŋ'a]
RUK		*PAL	baduŋ	ACE	puutuəŋ
PAI		MOL	baduŋ	BAT	poðaŋ
YAM		*KAG	[ispada]	MIN	paðaŋ
ISN	baladaw	*BLA	fais	*IND	pəðaŋ
KAL	baðaŋ	SAB	kalis	SUN	pəðaŋ

JAV	pəɖaŋ	*TAK	sabiri	POR	
MAD	pəɖdʰaŋ	DAM		NTA	
BAL	pəɖaŋ	MAB	buza	KWA	
SAS	pəɖaŋ	YAB	sɪŋ	NEM	
*GOR	dawata	KAU		CEM	təua
DAA	guma	TOL		AJI	o taua
UMA	pihoʔ	*BUA	paep	XAR	
BUG	pɪɖdaŋ	ADZ		*NEN	[soad]
KON	paddaŋ	*KIL	[sabu]	*KIR	te rēre
*WOL	ha <sup>n̄</sup> ču	*TAW	gawiya	*MSH	cæcɛ
*MAG	[ba <sup>n̄</sup> ʃar]		hwasik <sup>wasi-</sup>	PON	ketilās
NGA	sau		na	*WLE	saitaŋa
*SIK	[peda-ŋ]	*MOT	dare	EFI	i-sele-iwau
RTI	tafa	MEK		*WFI	[i-hele-i-wau]
*BUR	ka-tue-n	ROV		*RTU	sere
DOB	ʔuri	MAR		TON	hele-tā
IRA		LAU		*SAM	pelu
SAW	yete mlɔŋe	KWO		*MEL	[lōva]
NYI	samen ta	RAG		TAH	ʔoʔe
	bahun	PAA		RAP	hoe tiʔoʔe
MAM	asi-ono-euŋa	*LEW	[paenot]		

TAG [*sable*], Spanish *espada* ‘sword’, *sable* ‘cutlass’.

AKL Also [*espāda*], Spanish *espada*.

PAL Also [*karis*], *kris*.

KAG From Spanish *espada*.

BLA Also *sundaŋ*.

MUR See 20.222.

MGY From French *sabre*.

IND Also *paraŋ*.

GOR Also [*sumala*]; *wamilo* ‘short sword or knife’.

WOL Also *lolabi* ‘short double-edged sword’, *pinai*.

MAG From Makassarese (*beraŋ*) *ba<sup>n̄</sup>ʃara*; near synonym *sə<sup>m</sup>pilaŋ*.

SIK From Malay; also *sore*, *repa-ŋ*, *katana*, *bida*.

BUR See note for 09.230. Usually specified as to type: *katu rema-t* ‘long machete sometimes used for fighting’; *katu kche-t* ‘special fighting sword with inherited power, most common for fighting’; *katu čiŋe-t* ‘sabre type that makes a ringing sound *čiŋ* when used’; *patroŋe* ‘like

a *katu kehe-t* but with no powers'; *kehe-t horo* 'narrow pointed blade for a jabbing fighting style'; [*karisi*] 'dagger (kris)'; *pena-n* 'scabbard, sheath'. Central, WaeSama, Li Enyorot dialects *todo*.

TAK Made from the trunk of the black palm.

BUA 'large bushknife'.

KIL From English *sabre*; rarely used.

TAW 'war machete'.

MOT Also *alaalakaia-na* (*alaala* 'killing, battle', *kaia* 'knife').

LEW From Bislama/English *bayonet*.

NEN From English 'sword'.

KIR *ta rērē* 'sword with double edge of shark's teeth'; *te unun* 'long sword with shark's teeth'; *te arawa* 'sword edged with shark's teeth'.

MSH Also 'machete'.

WLE Alternate *saitana*.

WFI Standard Fijian [*iseleiwau*].

RTU Also [*katlasa*] from English *cutlass*.

SAM Also 'bushknife'.

MEL From Efate.

## 20.280 GUN, CANNON

**Tamil:** *bedil, thuppâkki*

ATA	patuš	*SAB	[timbak]	DAA	pana-gu <sup>n</sup> tu
*TSO	fsu no puzu	*MUR	[badil]	*UMA	[pana gu <sup>n</sup> tu]
RUK	kwaŋ	*MGY	[basi]	*BUG	sanapaŋ
PAI	kuəŋ	*ACE	[sunaŋpaŋ]	KON	['baddili]
YAM	paobən	BAT	[bodil]	*WOL	ka-[te <sup>m</sup> ba]
*ISN	palattug	*MIN	badi <sup>?</sup>	*MAG	[məriaŋ]
KAL	paltug	*IND	[səŋjata] api	NGA	[bədi]
*TAG	[baril]	*SUN	[bədil]	*SIK	[bədi]
*AKL	[baril]	JAV	bədi	*RTI	si-silo
PAL	[timbak]	MAD	tiŋg <sup>ar</sup>	BUR	esnapan
MOL	sinapaŋ	BAL		DOB	mina <sup>ʔ</sup> u
*KAG	ba'ril	*SAS	[səŋjatə]	*IRA	eφatə nəφutə
*BLA	[sinəfəŋ]	*GOR	[maŋiyamu]	SAW	

NYI	kabai	ROV		NEN	kupa
*MAM	[gaŋ]	*MAR	k <sup>h</sup> ukuro	*KIR	te kati
TAK		LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aŋa	*MSH	pakke
DAM		KWO		*PON	kesik
*MAB	pēne tubudu	RAG	bubusi	WLE	paki
*YAB	talam	*PAA	ahis	EFI	dakai-ni-
KAU	paim mhejin	LEW	viu		βanua
*TOL	[market]	POR		*WFI	[dakai]
BUA	taram	NTA	kapiel itoŋa	*RTU	fana
ADZ		*KWA	kəp <sup>w</sup> ier	TON	me <sup>ʔ</sup> a-fana
KIL	lusa	NEM	wedat	SAM	fana
TAW	lusa	CEM	kùha	*MEL	[suisui]
*MOT	i-pidi	AJI	kuwa	*TAH	pupuhi
*MEK	ipitsi	*XAR	[kux <sup>w</sup> a]	*RAP	haŋo

TSO 'fire-bow'.

ISN Also *kanyon*.

TAG Malay *bedil*.

AKL Malay *bedil*.

KAG Also [*pusil*] 'gun' from Spanish *fusil*; [*kañun*] 'cannon' from Spanish *cañon*.

BLA From Spanish; [*kañun*] from Spanish *cañon*.

SAB [*timbang*] 'gun'; [*lantaka?*, *paŋati?*] 'cannon'.

MUR [*badil*] 'cannon' from Malay [*bədil*]; [*sinapaŋ*] 'shotgun, rifle' from Dutch *snaphaan*.

MGY From archaic Dutch.

ACE Dutch via Malay, also [*muruyam*].

MIN Also [*mariam*], *sitenga*.

IND 'firearms' from Sanskrit; [*məriam*] 'cannon'.

SUN [*bədil*] 'gun'; [*mariaṃ*] 'cannon'.

ṢAS From Sanskrit.

GOR Malay *məriam*.

UMA 'thunder arrow'

BUG Also [*mariaŋ*].

WOL 'gun, artillery'.

MAG From Malay.

- SIK Also *pcsa, rantaka, lela*.
- RTI *sisilo* ‘musket, rifle’; *popoka* ‘canon’.
- IRA Also *sənade* ‘small bronze cannon about 5 ft. long’.
- MAM From English.
- MAB European shooting device.
- YAB Also *talam kap<sup>weg</sup>*; cf. 20.240.
- TOL Perhaps from English *musket*.
- MOT See 20.620.
- MEK *ipitsi* means ‘carbine; rifle; shotgun’; *piki* is a kind of bamboo and a knife made therefrom. But Motu has *ipidi* ‘gun’, and *pidi-a* ‘knock, fillip’.
- MAR ‘gun, rifle’.
- PAA Also used for ‘bow’.
- KWA Also means ‘stone’.
- XAR Borrowing.
- KIR Northern dialect: *te boboia*.
- MSH Also *p<sup>wu</sup>* ‘gun, rifle’; *likacik* ‘pistol’.
- PON *kesik lapalap* ‘cannon’, lit ‘large gun’.
- WFI Standard Fijian.
- RTU Also [*takoi fanua*] from Fijian *dakai ni vanua*.
- MEL From Efate.
- TAH Also *pupuhi fenua* ‘cannon’.
- RAP *haŋo* firearms (but not cannon).

### 20.310 ARMOUR (defensive)

**Persian:** *zirah, bāzū*

ATA	*TAG	balūti?	MUR	
TSO	*AKL	panamiŋ	MGY	
RUK	PAI		ACE	
PAI	MOL		*BAT	aliŋ-aliŋ
YAM	KAG	aşot	*MIN	[baŋu] basi
ISN	BLA	kluŋ	*IND	baŋu [zirah]
KAL	SAB		*SUN	[baŋu] kəre



JAV		*MAM	bara	POR	
MAD		TAK		NTA	
BAL		DAM		KWA	
*SAS	[kəlambi] [baǰə]	MAB		NEM	
		YAB		CEM	
GOR		KAU		AJI	āmā ne pā
DAA		TOL		XAR	
UMA		BUA		NEN	
BUG	parewa mūsu?	ADZ		KIR	te taŋa
		KIL		MSH	
KON		*TAW	gawiya	PON	
WOL			gapola-na	WLE	
MAG		MOT		EFI	
NGA		MEK		WFI	
*SIK	sətal	*ROV	poko varipera	RTU	
RTI		MAR		TON	kofu-tau
*BUR	labu plata-t	LAU		SAM	pūlou
DOB		KWO		MEL	
IRA		RAG		TAH	ha?ana tama?i
SAW		PAA		RAP	
NYI		LEW			

TAG Also [kutamāya], Mexican Spanish *cota de malla* ‘coat of mail’.

AKL PMP \*tamiŋ ‘round shield’.

BAT Also [baǰu] *bosi*.

MIN Persian.

IND Arabic.

SUN Dutch; also [baǰu] *bisi*.

SAS Javanese?

SIK Also *rəbu* [baǰa] Malay.

BUR Battle clothes.

MAM Also *numbala*.

TAW ‘war things’.

ROV Biblical usage.

## 20.330 HELMET

<b>Dutch:</b> <i>helm</i>
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ATA		UMA		*ROV	toropae
TSO		BUG	palo bāja	MAR	
RUK		KON		LAU	
PAI		WOL	so <sup>o</sup> ko waja	KWO	
YAM	şakop	MAG		RAG	
ISN	[halmet]	NGA		PAA	
KAL		SIK	sobok	LEW	karo
*TAG	[kupya?]	*RTI	ti?i laja	POR	
*AKL	[helmet]		[besi]	NTA	
PAL		BUR		KWA	
MOL		DOB		NEM	
*KAG	kalu	IRA		CEM	
BLA		*SAW	čokaiba	*AJI	yop <sup>w</sup> a ne pā
SAB		NYI		XAR	
MUR		MAM		NEN	
MGY	saŋ'uka kasika	TAK		*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ara
		DAM		MSH	
ACE		MAB		*PON	[erimetto]
BAT	takkuluk	YAB		WLE	
*MIN	topi basi	KAU		EFI	
*IND	kətopoŋ	TOL		WFI	
*SUN	topi waja	*BUA	asəŋ	*RTU	suru
JAV		ADZ		*TON	[helemeti]
MAD	[heləm]	KIL		*SAM	pūlou
*BAL	[čəpil][wajə]	*TAW	ununu	MEL	
SAS	soŋko? bajə		humahuma	*TAH	taupo?o ?auri
*GOR	[heləmu]	MOT		RAP	
DAA		MEK			

TAG Malay *kopiah* 'hat', from Arabic *kūffiyya* 'head wrapper'.

AKL From English.

KAG 'hat'.

MIN *topi-kareh*.

IND Also [heləm].

SUN	Also [ <i>heləm</i> ].
BAL	From Portuguese-Old Javanese ( <i>waḷə</i> ‘iron’ Old Javanese).
GOR	Indonesian Malay <i>helm</i> .
RTI	‘iron hat’.
SAW	Also [ <i>hələm</i> ].
BUA	‘bark cloth wrapped round the head to protect it when fighting’.
TAW	‘head sheaf’.
ROV	Also ‘hat’.
AJI	Also <i>kāyi</i> .
KIR	Also ‘hat’.
PON	Japanese (from English).
RTU	‘peaked head-dress’.
TON	From English <i>helmet</i> .
SAM	Headgear in general (06.550).
TAH	Also <i>faʔaupoʔo</i> , <i>fāupoʔo</i> , <i>tāupoʔo</i> obs.

## 20.340 SHIELD

Tamil: <i>parisai</i>
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ATA	ḱaḱiwaʔ	ACE	[pʊriɛ]	*MAG	ᵇgiliŋ
TSO	pixçi	BAT		NGA	gili
RUK		MIN	[parisay]	SIK	gili
PAI		IND	[pərisai]	RTI	baba-k
YAM		SUN	[tameŋ]	*BUR	em-luli
ISN	kalātag	JAV	[tameŋ]	DOB	
KAL	kalāsag	MAD	[tamiŋ]	IRA	
*TAG	kalāsag	*BAL	[tamiaŋ]	*SAW	[salewake]
*AKL	tamiŋ	SAS	ende	NYI	turuk
PAL	tamiŋ	*GOR	[parise]	*MAM	bara
MOL	tamiŋ	DAA	kaliavo	TAK	dumui
KAG	ta'miŋ	*UMA	u <sup>n</sup> taʔ	*DAM	[gubir]
BLA	kluŋ	BUG	pal-lapi arro	*MAB	si <sup>ᵇ</sup> giao
SAB	tamiŋ	KON	pañ-ñilaʔ	YAB	
MUR	kalid		(silaʔ)	KAU	ilio
MGY	ampinga	WOL	ka-ta <sup>ᵇ</sup> kesi	*TOL	rəmrvit

BUA	ḱale naβi	LEW	kulutakina-	PON	
ADZ	ḱa <sup>n</sup> ʔ		su-wo-ena	WLE	
KIL	βayoula	POR		EFI	
*TAW	lagena	NTA		WFI	
MOT	kesi	KWA		RTU	pæreŋa
*MEK	oŋo-apu	NEM		TON	pā
ROV	lave	CEM		*SAM	tali-tā
MAR	grereʔo	AJI	pɛ cavui	MEL	
LAU		XAR		TAH	pāruru
KWO	talo	NEN		*RAP	
RAG		KIR	te otaŋa		
PAA		MSH	təŋak		

TAG Also *sangalaŋ*.

AKL PMP *\*taming*.

SUN From Javanese?

MAD From Javanese?

BAL From Old Javanese?

GOR Malay *pərisai*, from Tamil. Also *po-pa<sup>u</sup>gu*.

UMA Also *kaliaβo*.

MAG Also *toda* means a 'war-shield made from plaited rattan'.

BUR Malay *salawaku*; also *ka-eŋa-u*.

SAW Malay *salawaku*.

MAM Also *numbala*.

DAM From Tok Pisin, this variety of shield is slightly wider than the human body, and extends from the knees to the shoulders. Also *makanam*, a shield about 1.7 metres long and 20 centimetres wide.

MAB Also *ʔgolo, kabəŋ* (*Kampalap* Northern dialect).

TOL Instrumental noun, derived by reduplication from *rəvit* (vb intrans) 'take shelter behind anything to get protection from spears'.

TAW 'shield/shelter'.

MEK *oŋo-apu* and *ketsi* (*keki*) both mean 'shield'. Also *kefeli*.

SAM *tali* (vb trans) 'guard against, shield off', *tā* (vb trans) 'hit'.

RAP Possibly *papae* (archaic).

## 20.350 FORTRESS

Sanskrit: <i>koṭa-</i>
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ATA	ta-t-ṭakiṅ-an	UMA	be <sup>n</sup> te	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> oa
TSO		BUG	benteṅ	LAU	
RUK		KON	benteṅ	KWO	labu
PAI		WOL	[be <sup>n</sup> te]	RAG	
YAM		*MAG	[be <sup>n</sup> teṅ]	PAA	
ISN		NGA	ture	LEW	
KAL		*SIK	[bentə-ŋ]	POR	
*TAG	[kūtaʔ]	*RTI	[kota]	NTA	
AKL		*BUR	ele-p-sohi-t	KWA	
PAL	[kutaʔ]	DOB	roʔu	NEM	
MOL		IRA		*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> əp <sup>w</sup> e
KAG	[kuta]	*SAW	[benteṅ]	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā gu
BLA		NYI		XAR	
SAB	[kutaʔ]	MAM		NEN	
MUR	[kutaʔ]	TAK		KIR	te nono ni
*MGY	ta'nana m-isi hadi-vuri	DAM			buaka
		MAB		MSH	me
*ACE	[kuta]	YAB		PON	
BAT		*KAU	enunu	*WLE	[tōtai]
MIN	benteṅ	TOL		EFI	koro-ni-βalu
IND	benteṅ	BUA	ḱatum	WFI	rārā ni iβalu
SUN	benteṅ	ADZ		RTU	koro
JAV	beteṅ	*KIL	bolela kabilia	TON	kolo-tau
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> intiṅ	*TAW	ani	SAM	ʔolo
BAL	benteṅ		megowada	MEL	
SAS		MOI		*IAH	pa
*GOR	[bī <sup>n</sup> deṅi]	*MEK	kaṅa	RAP	
*DAA	[be <sup>n</sup> te]	*ROV	bara ṅiṅira		

TAG Also *muʔog, taṅgūl-an*.

MGY *ta'nana mi-manda, manda ma-fi* (*manda* 'fortification').

ACE Also [*benteṅ*] Malay.

GOR Malay *benteṅ*.

DAA Indonesian *benteṅ*.

MAG	From Malay.
SIK	From Malay; also [ <i>kota</i> ] <i>kaβar</i> .
RTI	Malay <i>kota</i> 'fort, walled town'.
BUR	Place of waiting; also [ <i>benteŋ</i> ] and [ <i>kota</i> ].
SAW	Malay.
KAU	Traditionally referred to the wall which surrounded a fortified hamlet.
KIL	'house-its war'.
TAW	'hiding place'.
MEK	<i>kaŋa</i> signified the heavy fences built around villages or across trails in the old days of tribal fighting.
ROV	'wall strong'.
CEM	'fortification'.
WLE	Japanese, 'watchtower, lighthouse'.
TAH	Also <i>pare</i> arch.

## 20.360 TOWER

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>manāra</i> 'minaret, lighthouse'	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>torre</i>
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ATA	ra-raʔa-raʔan	ACE	[munara]	NGA	ada
TSO		BAT		SIK	
RUK		MIN	[bandaro]	RTI	
PAI		IND	[mənara]	BUR	
YAM		SUN	[munara]	DOB	ʔay taʔron
ISN	abayaw	JAV	[mənəŋə]	IRA	
KAL		MAD	[manara]	SAW	
TAG	[tōre]	BAL	mənarə	NYI	bokok
AKL	[tōreh]	SAS	[mənərə]	MAM	
PAL		GOR	[monara]	TAK	
MOL		DAA		DAM	
KAG	[turi]	UMA		MAB	
BLA		BUG	[manāra]	YAB	
SAB		KON	[manara]	KAU	
MUR		WOL	[manara]	TOL	
MGY		MAG		*BUA	ḱatum

ADZ		LEW		PON	
*KIL	buli-yamata	POR		WLE	
TAW		NTA		EFI	ŋataβa
*MOT	kohoro	KWA		WFI	
MEK		NEM		RTU	
ROV		CEM		*TON	[taua]
MAR		AJI	kā wea	SAM	ʔolo
LAU		XAR		MEL	
KWO		NEN		*TAH	pou
RAG		KIR		RAP	
PAA		MSH			

BUA 'high fence built round a village for protection'.

KIL 'house watch'.

MOT 'tree house'; and now used for *tower*.

TON From English 'tower'.

TAH Also *pare arch*.

## 20.410 VICTORY

ATA	r-um-uiʔ	BAT	ha-məʔnaŋ-an	RTI	se-seŋi-k
TSO		MIN	ka-manaŋ-an	*BUR	bahi-k nak
RUK		IND	kə-mənaŋ-an		roko
PAI		*SUN	mīnaŋ	*DOB	ɸol
*YAM	nimanazag	*JAV	[jɔyɔ]	IRA	ɸitə
ISN	aŋāba	MAD	mənaŋ	*SAW	[mənaŋ]
*KAL	ābak	BAL		NYI	
*TAG	tagumpay	SAS	mənaŋ	MAM	uasa
*AKL	ka-dagʔ-ānan	*GOR	mo-ʔ-hama	*TAK	samenak
PAL	pəŋdaʔag (daʔag)	DAA	pe-dagi	*DAM	total i-no-ya
*MOL	dəʔog	UMA	pe-dagi-a	*MAB	-lip pa
*KAG	daʔag	BUG	pa-kala		malmal
BLA	ɔtu	KON	paʔ-ka-saur- aŋ	*YAB	dimai
*SAB	daʔug	WOL	kana	KAU	lulto
MUR	mamanaŋ	*MAG	rəba-diʔa	*TOL	ni-uvie
*MGY	fan-dʔeʔsena	NGA	boka-goe	BUA	
*ACE	m-wŋ-wnaŋ	*SIK	[məna-ŋ]	*ADZ	yus-
				*KIL	-kalisau

*TAW	kadidili lagona	POR		PON	
		*NTA	-ol [uin]	WLE	
MOT	k <sup>w</sup> alimu	KWA		EFI	ŋāŋā
MEK		NEM		WFI	kaikai
ROV	matagara	*CEM	pàtiedeni-hi â	RTU	marō
MAR			pà	TON	ikuna
LAU		AJI	vigāřā	*SAM	mālō
KWO		XAR		MEL	
RAG		NEN	tačere	*TAH	rē
PAA	ipu	*KIR	tokanikai	RAP	rē
LEW	na-taula-ena	MSH	ancø		

YAM Also *makata*.

KAL *ābak + maN-/-on*.

TAG Also *panālo* root: *tālo*.

AKL Root: *da<sup>?</sup>ug* ‘win, beat’.

MOL *do<sup>?</sup>og + mon-*.

KAG *da<sup>?</sup>ag + mag-/ma-*.

SAB *da<sup>?</sup>ug + aN-*.

MGY From *faN resi ana*.

ACE From *munaj* ‘win’.

SUN See *minaj (binaj)* ‘get, obtain’.

JAV From Sanskrit.

GOR Verb ‘win’.

MAG Noun: *ata rāba-s ise* ‘victors (are) they’; also *ata rona* ‘man’.

SIK From Malay.

BUR ‘better than his counterpart’.

DOB ‘a kind of fruit’, it comes from the expression *ϕol yi k<sup>w</sup>ada* meaning ‘victory or defeat?’. *ϕol* and *k<sup>w</sup>ada* are both kinds of fruit but they signify victory and defeat respectively.

SAW From Malay.

TAK ‘victory dance and feast’.

DAM ‘strong third-put-infinitive’.

MAB ‘win in a fight’.

YAB ‘victory cry’.



TOL	<i>ni-</i> nom., <i>uviə</i> (vb intrans) ‘win, be stronger’; for <i>uvianə</i> ‘rich’, see 11.510.
ADZ	‘to win, defeat, be victorious’.
KIL	‘overcome’. Also <i>-tomg<sup>w</sup>aga</i> ‘be victors, triumph in battle’, <i>-peula</i> ‘be strong’ (ie proving others were weak).
TAW	‘overpower’.
NTA	From Bislama.
CEM	‘cause to lose the war’.
KIR	‘domination of weapons’.
SAM	Also <i>mānumālō</i> .
TAH	Also <i>upo<sup>?</sup>oti<sup>?</sup>ara<sup>?</sup>a, ora</i> .

## 20.420 DEFEAT

ATA	ši-rui <sup>?</sup>	SAS	kalah	BUA	
*TSO	a-tpiti-a	*GOR	ʔilaŋi-liyo	ADZ	yus-
RUK		DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-dagi	KIL	-mama
PAI		UMA	ka-dagi-a	*TAW	kadidili
*YAM	[mazaʃay]	BUG	kala		lagoni-hi
*ISN	ka <sup>?</sup> āba <sup>?</sup>	*KON	añ-ñauru	*MOT	darere
*KAL	ābak		(‘sauru)	MEK	
*TAG	tālo	*WOL	ka-talo	ROV	tava kilasa
*AKL	da <sup>?</sup> ug	MAG	kudu	*MAR	fapaipari
PAL	dina <sup>?</sup> ag	NGA	vika	LAU	
*MOL	do <sup>?</sup> og	*SIK	[kala-ŋ]	KWO	
*KAG	[piridi]	*RTI	[kala]	RAG	
*BLA	k-fisan	*BUR	kala	PAA	
SAB	da <sup>?</sup> ug + ta-	*DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ada	LEW	na-kila-luia-
*MUR	ala	IRA	ʔitə ti		ena
*MGY	fahare'sena	*SAW	n-duk pa	POR	
ACE	pui-talo	NYI		NTA	-akiah
BAT	ha-ta'lu-ɔn	MAM	leoa	KWA	
MIN	kalah	TAK		NEM	
*IND	kə-kalah-an	*DAM	lai	CEM	
SUN	eleh	*MAB	-rao som	AJI	vi pɛ gu
*JAV	ŋ-asɔr-ke	*YAB	-ku ... tulu	XAR	
MAD	kala	KAU	uspit	NEN	kuɔo
*BAL	-kalah-aŋ	TOL	ni-uviə	*KIR	taenikai

*MSH	ancɒ	WFI	lei-g <sup>w</sup> asi	MEL	karup <sup>w</sup> p <sup>w</sup> ōgia
*PON	kesep <sup>w</sup> eke	RTU	ravā	*TAH	paura <sup>?</sup> a
WLE		*TON	fo <sup>?</sup> i	RAP	mate
EFI	druka	SAM	to <sup>?</sup> ilalo		

TSO *a-ɕɲixi* (vb) in wrestling.

YAM Japanese borrowing.

ISN *na<sup>?</sup>aba<sup>?</sup>* 'lose, defeated'.

KAL *ābak +na-*.

TAG PHN *\*talū* or = Malay.

AKL Also [*pirdih*], Spanish *perde*.

MOL *do<sup>?</sup>og + mo-*.

KAG [*pirdi*] + *ma-* from Spanish *perder*.

BLA *k-fisan* (n); *f-n-isan* (vb).

MUR *ala (maŋ- -on)* (vb).

MGY From *faha-resi-ana*.

IND Also *gagal, alah*.

JAV 'cause to go down'.

BAL From *kalah* 'be defeated'.

GOR *ʔilaŋi* 'defeated', adjective.

KON Also *a<sup>?</sup>-ka-'sauru*.

WOL Also *tautaŋa*.

SIK From Malay.

RTI From Malay *kalah*.

BUR Possibly borrowing; also *sehe* 'retreat'.

DOB 'a kind of fruit', it comes from the expression *ɸol yi k<sup>w</sup>ada* meaning 'victory or defeat?'. *ɸol* and *k<sup>w</sup>ada* are both kinds of fruit but they signify victory and defeat respectively.

SAW Also [*kala*], Malay.

DAM 'to tread on' or 'press down'.

MAB *-rao som* 'not adequate', *-su* 'descend' (be defeated).

YAB '-roll someone broken'.

TAW 'overpower them'.

MOT *ha-darere-a* 'to defeat' (lit 'to cause to be defeated').

MAR 'put down'.

KIR See 'captive'.

MSH Also *cipok*<sup>wε</sup>, see 'captive'.

PON *kese*<sup>wεke</sup> 'drop, defeat in competition'; *kalūsī* causative form, from *lūs* 'lose', from English.

TON Also *?uluŋja*.

TAH Also *pau*.

## 20.430 ATTACK

*ATA	č-um-uŋuaš	UMA	me-suaki	ROV	rapata
*TSO	xo-sroŋi	BUG	kippuŋ	*MAR	snura
RUK		KON	am-bunduk-i	LAU	
PAI		*WOL	βite	KWO	
YAM	mililiman	MAG	čako	RAG	
ISN	maŋāyaw	NGA	vəgu	PAA	
*KAL	sāʔal	*SIK	lɔbo	LEW	we-lia
*TAG	salākay	RTI	usi	POR	
*AKL	gūbat	*BUR	keha	NTA	
PAL	dugpak	*DOB	φeyi	KWA	-os (i)
*MOL	rumpak	IRA	naφarieməno	NEM	kāi
*KAG	[ataki]	SAW	n-eripn-o (ripɛn)	CEM	
BLA	f-an-ŋayu	*NYI	asahuk	AJI	vi pā
*SAB	bonoʔ	MAM	eun-marəŋaʔa	XAR	
*MUR		TAK	wagai	NEN	leumumeɟa
*MGY	famelezana	DAM	kusī	KIR	eweka
ACE	sukrɛə	*MAB	-ma <sup>ɔ</sup> ga pa	*MSH	nitp <sup>w</sup> il
BAT	maddopaŋ	*YAB	-lɔ kem	*PON	ʔār
MIN	səraŋ	KAU	seβut	WLE	ʂɛrī
IND	səraŋ-an	*TOL	vər-ubu luə	EFI	kaba
*SUN	ñəraŋ (səraŋ)	BUA		WFI	ðake
JAV	ñəraŋ (səraŋ)	*ADZ	is- + funub	RTU	pelua
MAD	a-luruk	*KIL	-suβaisi kulu- si	TON	?ohofi
*BAL	ŋəbug (gəbug)	TAW	hulu	*SAM	osofaʔi
SAS	ñəraŋ (səraŋ)	MOT	guru heni-a	MEL	[takālia]
*GOR	mə-[rusu]	MEK		TAH	faʔaū
DAA	ne-bali			RAP	

- ATA Also *č-um-uṇuš*.
- TSO (*xo-srər-a*) (vb).
- KAL *sāʔal + -on*.
- TAG Also *lūsob + -um-/in*.
- AKL *gūbat + -un*; also [*atākih*] + *-un*, Spanish *ataque* (n).
- MOL Arch.
- KAG [*ataki*] + *mag-* from Spanish *ataque*.
- SAB *bonoʔ + aN-*.
- MUR See 20.130.
- MGY From *faN-veli-ana*.
- SUN From Malay or Javanese; also *naraḷaṅ (taraḷaṅ)*.
- BAL ‘strike, hit’.
- GOR From Malay *mərusuh* ‘to disturb the peace’?
- WOL Also *wure* ‘war cry’.
- SIK Also *tau, lobo holo, huma helak*.
- BUR ‘climb, ascend’; also *toho* ‘descend, attack’.
- DOB Also means ‘war’.
- NYI Refers only to animals attacking something.
- MAB Also *-se pa*.
- YAB ‘-shatter spear’.
- TOL ‘first fight’, *varubu* see 20.110, *lua* ‘first’.
- ADZ ‘strike destroyed, finished’, i.e. ‘attack, destroy’.
- KIL ‘they put in hair-their’.
- MAR *snura* ‘attack, raid’; *yoroḷo* ‘attack and kill, assault’.
- MSH Also *iap<sup>w</sup>oṅ* ‘attack by night’.
- PON Of animals and birds hunting.
- SAM *osofaʔi-ṅa* ‘attack’, *-ṅa* NOM.

## 20.440 DEFEND

ATA	<i>maḷahaṅ</i>	YAM	<i>mamṛat</i>	*AKL	[dependih]
TSO	<i>te-amt-a</i>	ISN	<i>igduʔ</i>	*PAL	<i>salaban</i>
RUK		*KAL	<i>tomam</i>	*MOL	<i>ḷaga</i>
PAI		*TAG	<i>taṅgol</i>	*KAG	[dipinsa]

BLA	t-m-ɔgɔʔ	RTI	na-he-hele	RAG	
*SAB	baogbog	*BUR	pesnira	PAA	
MUR		*DOB	dayiʔar ɸay	LEW	suwoyo
MGY	mi-arū	IRA		POR	
ACE	pu-thuun	*SAW	n-[melawan]	NTA	
*BAT	[ǰaga]	NYI	aturuk	KWA	
MIN	bela	MAM	oiaʔi	NEM	po-bale-n
*IND	məm-bela	TAK	-pirani	*CEM	pʷɔ̄-pàhi-n
SUN	nahan (tahan)	*DAM	gubir i-no-ya	AJI	weaʔi
JAV		MAB	-poroukāla	XAR	tān̄
MAD		*YAB	-yàm talaŋ	*NEN	čagoren
*BAL	nindih-aŋ (tindih)		tau-ŋ	KIR	otaŋa
SAS	bela	KAU	ut eya	MSH	cɔcɔmaŋ
*GOR	mo-po- [tāhaŋi]	*TOL	tur-bət	*PON	sawas
DAA		BUA		*WLE	pōsū-a
UMA	metaʔa	*ADZ	sigriʔ-	EFI	βiri-bai
BUG	tahaŋ	*KIL	-koli	WFI	hābai-sia
KON	aʔ-tahaŋ	TAW	wogagala	RTU	pære
*WOL	po-taŋi	*MOT	gima-ia	*TON	ʔaofi
MAG	taʔaŋ	MEK		SAM	pui-pui
NGA	saku	ROV	lavlavenia	MEL	piččia
*SIK	[bela-ŋ]	MAR	fothi	TAH	pāruru
		LAU		RAP	
		KWO			

KAL *tomam + man-*.

TAG *taŋgol + mag-/ipag-*.

AKL [*dependih*] + *-an* from Spanish *defender*.

PAL Also *sompunan*.

MOL *ǰaga + -um/-han*.

KAG [*dipinsa*] + *mag-* from Spanish *defensa*, also [*dipindir*] + *mag-* from Spanish *defender*; also *apin + mag-/an*.

SAB *baogbog + aN/-an*.

BAT From Hindi.

IND Also *mə-lawan*, *mə-linduŋ-i*

BAL Also (*N-*)*bela-nin*.

GOR The root, *tāhaŋi*, is a loanword from Malay *tahan*.

WOL ‘resist, defend’.

SIK	From Malay; also <i>doe mənə-ŋ</i> .
BUR	Also <i>em-luli</i> 'parry'; <i>pan-tata-k</i> 'evade by jumping'; <i>seh-tata-k</i> 'evade by retreating'.
DOB	'fight from'.
SAW	From Malay.
DAM	'shield third-put-infinitive'; also means a verbal defence. Also <i>galāi-no-ya</i> 'to make excuse/alibi'.
YAB	'-do evade self-our'.
TOL	<i>tur</i> (vb intrans) 'stand', <i>bat</i> (vb trans) 'oppose, stand in the way of, keep off, obstruct'.
ADZ	Also <i>sigri?</i> .
KIL	'defend sucessfully'.
MOT	'to watch, protect'. Also <i>nari-a</i> 'to wait for; look after'; <i>kito</i> 'to watch, as for enemy; guard'.
CEM	'defend something, fight for something'; <i>p<sup>w</sup>ŋ-pai-n</i> 'defend someone'.
NEN	Also <i>ŋakoe</i> .
PON	'help'.
WLE	Also [ <i>mamōrū</i> ] Japanese.
TON	Also <i>malu?i</i> .

## 20.450 RETREAT

ATA	βuynah	SAB	suhut + pa-	DAA	no-ka <sup>ŋ</sup> gaura
TSO		MUR		UMA	<sup>ŋ</sup> kala- <sup>?</sup> ura
RUK		MGY	mi-lefa	BUG	soro <sup>?</sup>
PAI		ACE	mundu	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -pa-soro <sup>?</sup>
YAM		BAT	s-um-urut	WOL	sowo
ISN	kumagtut	MIN	mundur	MAG	losi
*KAL	butik	IND	mundur	NGA	nore
*TAG	ūrəŋ	SUN	mundur	SIK	sərə
*AKL	[atras]		(pundur)	RTI	naka-de-dea-k
PAL	nəŋpasurut (surut)	JAV	m-undur	*BUR	sehe
		*MAD	ŋurut	DOB	dal tu <sup>?</sup> u
*MOL	sibog	*BAL	lilih	IRA	nanirə na <sup>ϕ</sup> a
*KAG	mlagan	*SAS	[mondur]	SAW	n-εsue
BLA	m-ila	*GOR	mo- mū <sup>n</sup> duru	NYI	atob <sup>w</sup> ak

MAM	mulenaʔi	ROV	yovete	*NEN	sič
*TAK	-mul	*MAR	rik <sup>h</sup> a	KIR	kērikaki
*DAM	i-ya-ya	LAU		MSH	eɔwilik
*MAB	-ko ma -mīli	KWO		PON	
*YAB	-yàʔ tau-ŋ	RAG		WLE	
	susu	PAA		EFI	suka
KAU	βon-βon	LEW	ure	WFI	huka
TOL		POR	veü	*RTU	čoni
BUA		NTA	-ətaləŋ	TON	holomui
ADZ	pipidziʔ-	*KWA	-ap	*SAM	tuʔu-muli
KIL	sakaula	NEM	talep	MEL	
*TAW	lowohale	CEM	cēla	*TAH	horo
*MOT	raka lou	*AJI	ořo	RAP	neke
MEK		XAR	xuru		

KAL *butik + man-*.

TAG *ūroŋ + -um-/i-*; also *balik*.

AKL From Spanish *atrás* ‘backward, behind’.

MOL *sibog + mog-po-*.

KAG *dlagan + m-* lit ‘to run’; *isol + mag-* lit ‘go backwards’.

MAD Morpheme break not indicated?

BAL Also *mə-kirig* ‘walk backwards step by step’.

SAS From Malay? *mundur*.

GOR From Malay *mundur*. Also *mo-towuli*.

BUR ‘go in reverse’; a crayfish is called *sche-t*.

TAK ‘go back’ (10.481).

DAM ‘third-runaway-infinitive’.

MAB ‘flee’.

YAB ‘strike self-our away’.

TAW ‘run throw’.

MOT *raka* ‘to walk’, *lou* ‘to return; again’. Also *raka oho* ‘to go away from’ (*oho* ‘off, away from’); *heau* ‘to run, run away, flee’.

MAR ‘flee’.

KWA ‘run away’.

AJI Also *gu*.

NEN Also *sičo(n)*.

RTU ‘run away, flee’.

SAM *tu<sup>?</sup>u* (vb trans) ‘put’, *muli* ‘back’; also *solo-muli* lit ‘move-back’.

TAH Also *tahoni* arch.; *pe<sup>?</sup>e, ma<sup>?</sup>ue*.

## 20.460 SURRENDER

*ATA	r-um-aŋa <sup>?</sup>	DAA	no-ara	ROV	kilasa
TSO		UMA	mo-ranem-	MAR	
RUK			pale	LAU	
PAI		BUG	čau <sup>?</sup>	KWO	
YAM		KON	am-pas-sare-	RAG	
ISN	mag-		aŋi	PAA	
	[surinder]	WOL	ta <sup>?</sup> aluku	*LEW	liŋani
*KAL	sūku	MAG	č <sup>o</sup> do vaki	POR	
*TAG	sūko <sup>?</sup>	NGA	lai	NTA	-uarisiŋin
AKL	ampu <sup>?</sup>	*SIK	[səra]	KWA	
PAL	nəglila <sup>?</sup>	RTI	do <sup>?</sup> o-k	*NEM	pe-dāŋi
	(lila <sup>?</sup> )	*BUR	ba-salo	CEM	
*MOL	saŋgup	DOB		AJI	kāyāi
*KAG	ampu <sup>?</sup>	IRA		XAR	
BLA	hudal	SAW	n-əsue	NEN	
*SAB	alluk	*NYI	ka <sup>?</sup> i ai	KIR	
*MUR	[salindo]	MAM	sege	MSH	
*MGY	mamui	*TAK	pae-n-na -ao	PON	
*ACE	[ta <sup>?</sup> lo <sup>?</sup> ]	DAM		WLE	
BAT		MAB	-zem itu- ila	EFI	soro
MIN	tundu <sup>?</sup>		ki-	WFI	horo
IND	məñərah	YAB		*RTU	?oli
	(sərah)	KAU	uspit mara po	TON	tukulolo
*SUN	[sərah]	TOL		*SAM	si <sup>?</sup> i-lima
	boŋkok-an	BUA		MEL	
JAV	təlu <sup>?</sup>	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pra <sup>?</sup> -	TAH	hōro <sup>?</sup> a iāna
*MAD	[asor]	*KIL	i-mama-si		iho
BAL	ñərah (sərah)	*TAW	weleme-ya	RAP	
SAS	ñərah (sərah)	*MOT			
*GOR	mohudu	MEK			

ATA *r-um-aŋa<sup>?</sup>* ‘to surrender, to coax a child’.

KAL *sūku + man-*.



TAG	<i>sūko?</i> + <i>-um-/i-</i> .
MOL	<i>sangup</i> + <i>-um-</i> .
KAG	<i>ampu?</i> + <i>mag-</i> .
SAB	<i>alluk</i> + <i>aN-/ta-</i> .
MUR	From English.
MGY	From <i>maN-fui</i> .
ACE	From Arabic <i>ṭulaqā</i> '.
SUN	From Malay or Javanese, also [ <i>taluk</i> ] from Arabic <i>tulaqā</i> '.
MAD	From Javanese.
GOR	( <i>wudu</i> + <i>moh-</i> ).
SIK	From Malay; also <i>tuj sara</i> .
BUR	'submit, accept punishment, surrender'.
NYI	'enough now'.
TAK	'underneath-his-at' 'go', i.e. 'go under'.
KIL	'they weak'.
TAW	'give oneself'.
MOT	No simple equivalent. <i>asi hereβa-na e ha-noho</i> 'he did not resist, he gave in' (lit 'without a word he remained'); <i>ima-na se ha-lou</i> 'he did not resist' (lit 'his hand he did not return'). <i>hereβa</i> can be used in place of <i>ima-na</i> .
LEW	Also <i>tam*ani</i> .
NEM	'ask-pardon, make peace'.
RTU	Also <i>hen rau?ifi</i> .
SAM	'raise hands', <i>si?i</i> (vb trans) 'raise', <i>lima</i> 'hand'.

## 20.470 CAPTIVE, PRISONER

ATA	βah†-an	AKL	bihag	*ACE	[tawan-an]
TSO		PAL	nəgdakəp	BAT	taban-an
RUK		*MOL	[pirisu]	MIN	tawan-an
PAI		KAG	biag	*IND	tawan-an
YAM	aptəŋən	BLA	ga-kfə?	SUN	tahanan
ISN	bālud	*SAB	ta-bihag	JAV	tawan-an
KAL	biyag	*MUR	dakop	*MAD	riŋ [ukum]-an
*TAG	bihag	*MGY	gad'a-lava	*BAL	(tə-)taban-an

*SAS	[pəñʃahat]	*DAM	kaφī φi-ya	*POR	e-tax
GOR	tawalo		tamo	*NTA	[presən]
DAA		MAB		KWA	
UMA	taβani	*YAB	-tu g <sup>w</sup> ada	*NEM	ka-po-t <sup>h</sup> ue-
BUG	to-ri-rappa	*KAU	po tin sun		aman
*KON	tau ni-tahaŋ		hiok hi li men	CEM	
WOL	totoru <sup>ɔ</sup> ku	*TOL	[kəɾəbus]	AJI	kāmə ē pə
MAG	ata dəko	BUA		XAR	ka
NGA	vika	*ADZ	garam <sup>m</sup> pu <sup>ɔ</sup> -	NEN	ŋawose
SIK			an	*KIR	te taenikai
*RTI	mana-kena	KIL	to-katupipi	*MSH	ci <sup>p</sup> ok <sup>w</sup> ε
	na-k	*TAW	tu panipani	*PON	[kalap <sup>w</sup> ūs]
*BUR	geb [rante]	*MOT	abi-a mauri	*WLE	şouxaxi
*DOB	?a-wuy ?i buy		tau-na	EFI	bōbula
IRA	matu sanə	MEK		WFI	bōbula
	gisie φutə	ROV	tie tapusina	RTU	lc? ?o?oro
*SAW	kyat səl-səl	MAR	nasneka	*TON	[pōpula]
NYI	lau ta	LAU		SAM	pāgotā
	bolokou	KWO		MEL	
MAM		RAG		*TAH	tītī
*TAK	sibane-k	PAA		RAP	
	tamol	LEW			

TAG PHN \*bihaR ‘permit (to live)’; also [pr̄eso], Spanish *preso*.

MOL From Spanish.

SAB More commonly used nowadays is [pilisu] from Spanish?.

MUR See note on 19.420; also *binduan* ‘convict from India in the days of the East Indian Co.’ from Hindi *bandhwaan*.

MGY gaɟ<sup>r</sup>a ‘chain, fetter’; lava ‘long’.

ACE Malay, also *t-un-awan*.

IND Also *tahan-an*.

MAD From Arabic *ḥukm* ‘condemnation’.

BAL (*tə*-)taban-an ‘impounded cattle, animals’; (*N*-)[tawan] from Old Javanese lit ‘take captive’; [taan-an] from Malay? Old Balinese has *tahan* glossed by Goris as ‘hold fast, restrain’.

SAS From Malay.

KON Also *tahaŋ-aŋ*.

RTI Also *mana-ho?u na-k*.

BUR	From Malay ‘chain’.
DOB	A clause meaning ‘he has entered captivity’.
SAW	‘person with wrongs’.
TAK	‘capture-NOM’ ‘man’; see <i>-sibani</i> ‘capture, tie up’.
DAM	‘capture third trans aux vb-INF man’.
YAB	‘-become game (i.e. hunted animals)’ i.e. ‘lose to one’s enemy’.
KAU	‘the ones who are carried away’.
TOL	From Tok Pisin <i>kalabus</i> ‘jail, prison; be imprisoned’.
ADZ	‘man capture-PART’ = ‘captured man’; <i>garam is-a buṅa? raṅan</i> ‘enemy man/brought home wounded, to be killed in village by young boy training to be a warrior’.
TAW	‘tied person’.
MOT	<i>abi-a</i> ‘to get, hold’, <i>mauri</i> ‘alive’. ‘prisoner (in jail)’ is <i>dibura tau-na</i> ( <i>dibura</i> ‘darkness, prison’).
POR	‘he is held prisoner’.
NTA	From Bislama.
NEM	‘one who-make-price of-thing’ (he who pays).
KIR	Also ‘defeat’, lit ‘removal of weapons’.
MSH	Also ‘refugee’, possibly from Kiribatese <i>te buaka</i> ‘war, strife’.
PON	Also <i>prison</i> from English; <i>lo</i> ‘caught’.
WLE	Also <i>yoxo</i> .
TON	From Fijian <i>bōbula</i> .
TAH	Also <i>mau ?āuri, ta?ata tāpe?ahia</i> .

## 20.471 GUARD, SENTINEL

**Hindi:** *jāgā*

ATA	γ-um-iβuhuy	*TAG	bantay	MUR	tamuṅ
TSO		*AKL	bantay	MGY	mpi-ambina
RUK	wa-kaḏəŋə	PAL	dyaga	*ACE	kaway
PAI	z-əm-azaw	MOL	ḷaga	BAT	pa-[ḷaga]
YAM	mamṛat	*KAG	[gwardya]	*MIN	[kawal]
ISN	[guwardiya]	*BLA	to m-unuṅ	*IND	pən-[ḷaga]
KAL	bantay	SAB	ag-ḷa-ḷaga	SUN	paṅ-apiṅ

*JAV	pəñ[ʃɔŋɔ]	TAK	titianek	LEW	na-kira-pioi-ena
*MAD	[wakər]	*DAM	koŋo tamo		
*BAL	gəbag-an	*MAB	me <sup>n</sup> derŋa-	POR	
*SAS	[pəŋawal]	*YAB	dib-waga	*NTA	-atul mətair
GOR	māyulu	*KAU	po tin haum	*KWA	iema matui
DAA	topa <sup>ŋ</sup> gatono		eia sun men	*NEM	ka-tu-hoa
	(katono)	*TOL	k-in-ovoi	*CEM	â-wêa
UMA	to-po-doŋo	BUA	[gat]	AJI	kānɔ ka wea
BUG	pat-tinro	*ADZ	garam <sup>m</sup> pa-	XAR	cucuanē
*KON	pa-[ʃaga]		da taiyaŋ	NEN	ačaŋawose
WOL	tu <sup>ŋ</sup> gu	KIL	to-yausa	*KIR	te tia tantanī
MAG	ata hami	TAW	tu galenaitete	*MSH	[p <sup>u</sup> am <sup>u</sup> pɛ]
NGA	mori-geo	*MOT	gima tau-na	*PON	[kaiko]
*SIK	ola [ʃaga]	*MEK	ima-ima au-	*WLE	[pōsu]
RTI	mana-manea		ŋa	EFI	yad <sup>r</sup> a
BUR	geba [ʃaga]	ROV	tie kopu	WFI	yad <sup>r</sup> a
DOB		*MAR	[sedere]	RTU	huɔ <sup>?</sup> i
IRA	matu segərə	LAU		TON	le <sup>?</sup> o
SAW	ʃo[ʃaga]	KWO		SAM	leoleo
NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amak ta	*RAG	mamata-goro	MEL	taŋata lēkoro
	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> okei	PAA		TAH	tīa <sup>?</sup> i
MAM	narinari			*RAP	auario

TAG Also *tānod*, [guwárdiya], Spanish *guardia*.

AKL Also [gwardiya], Spanish *guardia*.

KAG From Spanish *guardia*, also *bantay*.

BLA *to miyí* ‘the person watching’.

ACE Also [ʃaga].

MIN Tamil, also [ʃago].

IND Also *pəŋ-awal*.

JAV From *pə-N-[ʃɔŋɔ]*.

MAD From Dutch.

BAL Also *pə-[ʃaga]-(a)n* ‘the guard (those on guard duty)’; [ʃagə] Indic; [pə-kəmit] ‘guard of religious objects, or of someone of high status’ from Old Javanese, see 11.240.

SAS From Tamil *kāval*.

KON Also *tun-[ʃaga]-i*.

SIK From Malay.

DAM	‘guard man’.
MAB	‘standing one’.
YAB	‘lie in wait-person’; also <i>yali-waga</i> ‘awake at night-person’.
KAU	‘the ones who watch to protect the others’.
TOL	<i>-in-</i> nom., <i>kovoi</i> (vb intrans) ‘guard’.
ADZ	‘man stay-part watch’.
MOT	Also <i>kito tau-na</i> . See 20.440.
MEK	<i>ima</i> means ‘watch’.
MAR	Pijin; also <i>glapara</i> .
RAG	‘to keep watch on’.
NTA	‘stand and wake’.
KWA	‘man watch’.
NEM	‘he who-stand-watch over’.
CEM	‘one who mounts guard’.
KIR	With agentive formant <i>tia</i> .
MSH	From Japanese; also [ <i>p<sup>w</sup>ilicmæŋ<sup>w</sup></i> ] from English <i>policeman</i> .
PON	[ <i>kaiko</i> ] Japanese; [ <i>pampej</i> ] ‘security guard’.
WLE	From English.
RAP	Possibly from Spanish <i>guardia</i> . Also <i>mutoʔi</i> from Tahitian.

## 20.480 BOOTY, SPOILS

ATA		SAB	taban-an	*GOR	ʔu y-il-ahu
TSO		MUR		DAA	
RUK		MGY	babu	UMA	pamuru
PAI		*ACE	[rampas-an]	BUG	warəŋ paraŋ- rappa
YAM		BAT	taban-an	KON	
ISN		MIN	rampas-an	WOL	ka-ra <sup>m</sup> pasi
KAL	samsam	*IND	jarahan	MAG	(čəča) roču
*TAG	damboŋ	SUN	(baraŋ)	NGA	ŋawu-rebu
AKL			rampas-an	SIK	ŋaβu-ŋ
PAL	mayaʔat	JAV	jarah-an		huma-ŋ
MOL		MAD	rampas-an		
KAG		*BAL	[(jə-)jarahan]	RTI	
BLA	g-ibi di ka-s- fəti	SAS	baraŋjarah- an	*BUR	ii
				*DOB	bar'lay

IRA		TAW	gapola	AJI	ẽ pā
*SAW	[harta]	*MOT	dadidadi	XAR	
NYI			kohu-na	NEN	
MAM	ʔana- anaʔoaʔoaʔi	MEK		KIR	
TAK		ROV		MSH	
		MAR		PON	
*DAM	kuṣi boun be d-ale-di-n ani-di	LAU		WLE	
		KWO		EFI	i-toki
		RAG		WFI	
MAB		PAA		*RTU	vete
*YAB	siŋ ŋano	LEW	teŋaki	TON	koloa vete
*KAU	phaik	POR		SAM	vete
TOL		NTA		MEL	
BUA	kupək	KWA		TAH	taoʔa
ADZ		NEM	yan-ɟado	RAP	
KIL	-youli guguwa	CEM	é-pà		

TAG Also *samsam* + *na*-.

ACE Malay.

IND Also *rampas-an*, *harta*.

BAL From Old Javanese; [*tawan karanj*] from Old Javanese ‘booty from ships washed up on the shore’.

GOR Also *ʔu yi-la<sup>m</sup>bato*.

BUR ‘stuff, things’; also [*baranj*].

DOB *barʔlay* ‘baggage’, or ‘stuff’, and is used in the context of booty, there being no more specific word.

SAW From Malay.

DAM ‘fight in steal they-take-them-past that-plural’.

MAB ‘gather up possessions’.

YAB ‘war its-fruit’ i.e. ‘fruits of war’.

KAÜ ‘to spoil’.

MOT *dadi-a* ‘to snatch’, *dadidadi* ‘to pillage’.

RTU Also *pakao*.

## 20.490 AMBUSH

ATA	tuʃauŋ	DAA	ne-opo	ROV	tie horhorio
*TSO	no-mit-a	UMA	inaβu	*MAR	magra poru
RUK	i-a-bəŋəbəŋə	BUG	mal-lawa	LAU	
PAI		*KON	paʔ-tajaŋ-aŋ	KWO	ʔauŋaʔi
YAM		*WOL	pe- <sup>n</sup> taa	RAG	
ISN	mananab	*MAG	ŋapeŋ	PAA	
KAL	lopaŋ	NGA	dere	LEW	
*TAG	tambaŋ	*SIK	lobo	POR	
*AKL	ābaŋ + -an	*RTI	hoʔu	NTA	-alhuaŋ o
PAL	rampas	*BUR	oto-k	*KWA	-arer aφaφa
*MOL	[ambus]	*DOB	ʔa-k <sup>w</sup> oŋa	NEM	tu-m <sup>w</sup> aʃi
*KAG	tambaŋ	IRA		CEM	
BLA	f-an-ləʔəb	SAW	n-fa-f-tən	AJI	wēgō
*SAB	hapaʔ	NYI		XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-tākōtē
*MUR	awaŋ	MAM	ono-pusiʔa-	NEN	
*MGY	fi'e'rena		laʔo	*KIR	karana
*ACE	kupəŋ	TAK	-fitani	*MSH	apær
BAT	əŋgəp	*DAM	mama kusī	*PON	rukīti
*MIN	seraŋ tibo-	MAB	-zaŋzāŋa	WLE	
	tibo	*YAB	-dib	EFI	lawa
IND	pəŋ-adaŋ-an	*KAU	puhuk mi	WFI	daŋa-βia
SUN	panaraŋaŋ (taraŋaŋ)	*TOL	k-in-i ivəi	*RTU	fakpō
JAV	baris pəndəm	BUA	dum	TON	malumu
MAD	a-luruk	ADZ	ra <sup>n</sup> φ-	SAM	lama
BAL	ŋ-adaŋ	*KIL	i-kana-si	MEL	
*SAS	[nərgap (sərgap)]	TAW	weluigo-	*TAH	tāmoemoe
			hogohola	RAP	amoŋarau
GOR		*MOT	bani		
		*MEK	e-lamoŋe		

TSO Also *no-fkit-a*

TAG *tambaŋ + -um/-an.*

AKL *ābaŋ + -an* see 19.590.

MOL From English.

KAG *tambaŋ + mag/-an.*

SAB *hapaʔ + aN/-an.*

MUR (n), *awaŋ (mag- -in)* (vb).

MGY	Also <i>fi-eri-ana</i> .
ACE	Also <i>puḡlet</i> .
MIN	Also <i>čegat</i>
SAS	From Malay?
KON	Also <i>paŋŋ-adaŋ-aŋ</i> .
WOL	‘wait for, obstruct’ (not necessarily in ambush).
MAG	Verb: ‘lie in ambush’.
SIK	Also <i>tau</i> .
RTI	Also <i>kobo</i> .
BUR	‘wait in hiding’.
DOB	‘he stalks’ or ‘lies in wait for’.
DAM	‘shame fight’.
YAB	‘lie in wait for’.
KAU	‘to kill without provocation’.
TOL	<i>-in-</i> nom, <i>ki</i> (vb intrans) ‘sit, stay’, <i>ivəi</i> (vb intrans) ‘be hidden’.
KIL	‘they lie secretly’.
MOT	Also (vb) ‘to lie in wait’; <i>bani heni-a</i> ‘to ambush (vb trans)’.
MEK	‘wait in ambush’.
MAR	‘fight hide’.
KWA	‘stand’ + ‘secretly’.
KIR	Also ‘lie in wait’.
MSH	Also <i>kaḡca: kaḡpao</i>
PON	With dir <i>-ti</i> ‘down’.
RTU	Also <i>tataʔo</i> , <i>momoʔo</i> .
TAH	Also <i>tuʔu i te moemoe</i> archaic.

## 20.510 FISHERMAN

ATA	ta-kuḡih	ISN	marannīgay	*KAG	mananagat
TSO			ka sissida	BLA	to s-m-ageʔ
RUK	ta-ra-to-kāŋə	KAL		SAB	paN-pi-pissi
PAI	ru-ki-çika-	TAG	māŋiŋisdaʔ	MUR	maŋiŋimpait
	çikaw	AKL	maŋiŋ-isdaʔ	*MGY	mpamintana
*YAM	maŋap so	PAL	məŋəðədaʔ	ACE	uruəŋk-uŋm-
	amoŋ	*MOL	sodaʔ		awe



BAT	par-dəkke	*RTI	mana-dolu-	LAU	wane de
MIN	nelayan		dala	KWO	
*IND	nəlayən	*BUR	geb masi	RAG	
SUN	tukaŋ ŋ-ala	*DOB	tamatu ssiʔa	PAA	
	lauk	IRA		LEW	
*JAV	woŋ ameʔ	*SAW	[nelayan]	*POR	e-čačar
	iwaʔ	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʳamak ta	NTA	
*MAD	riŋ maʃaŋ		jai	KWA	
	(-paʃaŋ)	MAM	ʔonaʔona	NEM	ka-porau
*BAL	[mənegə]	TAK		*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> âtàu
SAS	tukaŋ əmpaq	DAM		AJI	ka k <sup>w</sup> āna
*GOR	tā mo-h-hala-	*MAB	tomtom ki	XAR	a-cā
	wa		ikamam ye	NEN	ŋomereʔeken
DAA	topo <sup>n</sup> pe-	*YAB	ŋaʔ i-waga	*KIR	te tia akawa
	mala bau	KAU	po tin kona-	*MSH	aewanlik
UMA	to-pe-bauʔ		ŋinan	*PON	sounlait
BUG	pab-bale	*TOL	tena tā	*WLE	taufitō
KON	paʔjakkala	BUA		*EFI	dau
	ʃukuʔ	ADZ		WFI	d <sup>r</sup> ou-taði
WOL	pe-ikane-na	*KIL	to-binibani	*RTU	
MAG		*TAW	tu ebaebaga	TON	toutai
NGA	dʳaŋa-dolu	*MOT	haoda tau-na	SAM	tautai
*SIK	ata soro-ŋ	*MEK	ino-ino au-ŋa	MEL	
	iʔa-ŋ	ROV	tie habu	*TAH	taʔata tāiʔa
		MAR	mae ugra	*RAP	taŋata hī ika

YAM 'one getting fish'.

MOL *sodaʔ + po-no-*.

KAG *dagat + maŋ- + redup.*; *dagat* 'ocean'.

MGY From *mpaN-fintana*.

IND Also *pənaŋkapikan*.

JAV 'person who catches fish'.

MAD *-paʃaŋ* 'fish' (vb intrans).

BAL From Sanskrit.

GOR (personal nominaliser + 'habitually fishes'); also *poŋayilo* (*ʔayilo + poN-*).

SIK Also *ata raʔa iʔa-ŋ*, *ata rəβa-ŋ iʔa-ŋ*.

- RTI Also *mana-seko-ndai*; *dolu-dala* and *seko-ndai* form dyadic sets in ritual language and can be used as doublets in ordinary speech. *dolu* ‘fish hook’; *dala* ‘fish-net’. Fishing by hook and line and by net is done by men; thus, *mana-dolu-dala* is ‘fisherman’. *seko* and *ndai* refer to tidal scoop-net fishing which is done by women; hence, *mana-seko-ndai* is ‘fisherwoman’.
- BUR ‘coastal person’; *geba ka hama ikan* ‘person who habitually looks for fish’. The people of Buru are mountain people and have not traditionally been fishermen. The lake and the streams only had eels and crayfish until 1975 when Rana was stocked with *ikan mujair* by the Indonesian army using a helicopter. Fishermen on the coast are predominantly *geb Binonko* from the Muna-Buton area off south-east Sulawesi, and thus much of the know-how and terminology is borrowed.
- DOB ‘fish person’.
- SAW From Malay.
- MAB ‘a person who gets fish’, also *tomtom ye kana* ‘a fish person’.
- YAB ‘fish-er’.
- TOL *tena* ‘expert’, *tā* ‘sea’.
- KIL *to-binibani* ‘person fishing with line’; *to-pulopola* ‘person fishing with net’.
- TAW ‘men who fish with a net’.
- MOT *haoda* ‘to fish with a net’, the most general term.
- MEK *ino-ino* is ‘fishing’; *e-ino* means ‘fish’ (verb). Brown gives NW Mekeo *kibai* ‘fish’ (verb); see Motu *kimai* ‘fish-hook’.
- POR ‘he-spear’.
- CEM ‘one who fishes’.
- KIR With agentive proclitic *tia*.
- MSH Also *riɛŋar* with agentive prefix *ri-*.
- PON With agentive formant *soun* ‘one who does’.
- WLE ‘skilled at fishing’.
- EFI Also *gone-dau*.
- RTU *haŋota* ‘to fish’; *tautei* ‘head fisherman’.
- TAH Also *rāvāʔai*, *taʔata rāvāʔai*.
- RAP Also *tere-vaka*.

## 20.520 FISHHOOK

ATA	nayip	UMA	peka	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> ayo
TSO	duŋu	BUG	meŋ	LAU	finau
RUK	ɕimora	KON	pekaŋ	KWO	finou
PAI	panadip	WOL	paŋati	RAG	mata
YAM	paŋnan	*MAG	[pekaŋ]	PAA	
ISN	lāwig	NGA	dolu	*LEW	[uk]
KAL	buŋwit	SIK	kaβir	POR	
TAG	taga?	RTI	dolu	NTA	noanmatau
*AKL	bunit	BUR	kawil	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anmatau
*PAL	kəkawit	DOB	?aliŋu yisin	NEM	maye-p <sup>w</sup> e
MOL	bonwit	IRA		*CEM	mī-p <sup>w</sup> é
KAG	kawil	SAW	yawel	AJI	pē je
BLA	dule	NYI	kau	*XAR	mere-šī
SAB	pissi	MAM	?aula	NEN	wagi
MUR	kait	TAK	oul	KIR	te matau
*MGY	fintana	DAM	awil	MSH	kāc
ACE	mata kawe	MAB	kwīli	PON	kēs
BAT	hail	YAB	eŋ	WLE	xō
*MIN	papeh	KAU	ili ko	EFI	bati-ni-siwa
IND	mata kail	TOL	il	WEI	basi-ni-hiwa
SUN	usip	BUA	g <sup>w</sup> āk	RTU	?ovi
JAV	pañciŋ	ADZ		TON	māta?u
MAD	pañciŋ	KIL	bani	SAM	mātau
BAL	pañciŋ	TAW	sili	*MEL	[tākau]
SAS	pañciŋ	MOT	kimai	TAH	matau
*GOR	hataŋo	*MEK	naku	*RAP	rou
DAA	me?i	ROV	vinetuŋu		

AKL Also *taga?*.

PAL Also *bōnit*.

MGY Also *vintana*, see Maanyan (and other Bornean languages) *wintan*.

MIN Also *kayia, pañciŋ*.

GOR Also *?o-?ayilo*.

MAG 'cast-net'.

MEK *naku* is probably a fairly recent borrowing (one would expect *\*ŋaku*); other terms are *meŋu* and *moŋoŋo* (= 'lawyer vine'). NW Mekeo has *eke*.

LEW From Bislama.

KWA Also *k<sup>w</sup>aruwinari*.

CEM 'point of the fishing line'.

XAR 'point of the fishing line'.

MEL From Efate.

RAP Also *maŋai* 'fish-hook (of stone or bone)'.

## 20.530 FISHING LINE

ATA		DAA	lui	ROV	taili habu
TSO	vroçɨ	UMA	koloro peka	MAR	t <sup>h</sup> aotayo
RUK	ovaçə	BUG	winnaŋ meŋ	LAU	kaso
PAI	çalış	KON	tulu <sup>?</sup> pekaŋ	KWO	k <sup>w</sup> alo
YAM	iktan	*WOL	ka-ɸua	RAG	
ISN	lūbid lāwig	MAG		PAA	
*KAL	sassallōpan	NGA	aze-dolu	*LEW	kilika
*TAG	biŋwit	SIK		POR	
AKL	kawil	RTI	tali do-dolu-k	*NTA	[striŋ]
PAL	tali	*BUR	wahe-n	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> anoka
MOL	laŋkiŋ	DOB	ʔaliŋu	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> e
*KAG	[naylun]	IRA	naɸie ʒe	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ê
BLA	tali dule	*SAW	beŋen	AJI	ʒe
SAB	tonda	NYI	ʒai	XAR	ʃi
*MUR	apon	MAM	ʔilolo	NEN	wa <sup>0</sup> en
MGY	tadi-m-pintana	TAK	mol	*KIR	te ao
ACE	taləwə kawe	*DAM	mu	*MSH	yo
*BAT	appot ni kail	MAB	yāba	*PON	epiep
*MIN	tali kayi <sup>o</sup>	YAB	gam	WLE	yō
*IND	tali kail	KAU		EFI	wā-ni-siwa
SUN	tali usip	TOL	davə	WFI	wā-ni-hiwa
JAV	kənur	BUA	[pislain]	RTU	ʔalol haŋotaŋa
*MAD	[sənnar]	ADZ		TON	afo
*BAL	tali	*KIL	kabo-biu	SAM	afo
SAS	ampən	TAW	gulawa	MEL	vāvā tākau
*GOR	[tali] lo ʔo-ʔayilo	MOT	kimai βaro-na	*TAH	uaua hī
		*MEK	uve (ue)	RAP	hau hī

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>salop-R<sup>2</sup>-an*).

TAG *biŋwit + paN-*.

- KAG From English *nylon*.
- MUR *apon* ‘rod and line’; *bintan* ‘fishing rod’.
- BAT Also *bōtik*.
- MIN Also *talipañčiaṅ*.
- IND Also *tali* [*nylon*], *tasi*.
- MAD From Dutch *snaar* ‘string, cord’?
- BAL Also *tasi*.
- GOR [*tali*] ‘line’, is a loanword from Malay. *bola* ‘thread’ *lo ?o-?ayilo* also occurs. *lo*, linker.
- WOL ‘fishing rod’.
- BUR Also [*tasi*] ‘nylon fishing line’.
- SAW Also [*nilon*] from English.
- DAM ‘string’ of any kind.
- KIL ‘instrument-pull’.
- MEK *uve* is essentially ‘vine’. NW Mekeo has *eke* for ‘hook’ or ‘line’, or perhaps both together.
- LEW See 08.670, also [*strig*] (from Bislama).
- NTA From Bislama.
- KWA Also *noua*.
- KIR *roarōa* ‘fish with a line’.
- MSH Also *meccε* ‘line attached to pole’.
- PON ‘fish with a line’.
- TAH Also *?ānave*.

## 20.540 FISH-NET

Sanskrit: *jāla-*

ATA	ayiṅ	KAL	tabūkul	*BLA	byolo
TSO	roi	TAG	lambat	SAB	pokot
RUK	θalidoko	AKL	ʔambat	*MUR	pukot
PAI	saray	PAL	rambat	MGY	haratu
YAM	tawar	MOL	[pukut]	ACE	[jwə]
ISN	sīgay	*KAG		*BAT	[jala]

*MIN	[ʃalo]	*SAW	loben	LEW	lili
*IND	[ʃala]	NYI	kub <sup>w</sup> in	POR	lvelev
SUN	ʃariŋ	MAM	raʔa	NTA	noupun
JAV	[ʃɔɔ]	TAK	kakaŋ	KWA	nəpun
MAD	ʃariŋ	DAM	yagem	NEM	p <sup>w</sup> ieç
*BAL	sau	MAB	pu ye kana	CEM	pûa
SAS	[ʃalə]	*YAB	wasan	AJI	pœ
*GOR	tayaŋo	KAU	nomkal	XAR	pue
DAA	po <sup>m</sup> pemala bau	TOL	ubene	NEN	waterereter
UMA		BUA	nag	*KIR	te karaun
BUG	[ʃala]	ADZ	ubiŋ	MSH	ɔk
*KON	[ʃala]	*KIL	wota	PON	ūk
*WOL	[ʃala]	TAW	hagida	*WLE	uxo
*MAG	[ʃala]	*MOT	reke	EFI	lawa
NGA	sao	*MEK	fei	WFI	lawa
SIK	pukə-t	ROV	vagara	RTU	vao
*RTI	puʔa-k	MAR	fagna	TON	kupeŋa
*BUR	bidu-t	LAU	furai	SAM	ʔupeŋa
*DOB	suʔe	KWO	ʔabe	MEL	tāraki
IRA	naϕie rigətə	RAG	ɣabe	*TAH	ʔupeʔa
		PAA	ulūl	RAP	kupeŋa

KAG No generic term; *panti* ‘a kind of gill net’; *pukut* ‘a kind of gill net’; *said* ‘a large seine net’; *salap* ‘a purse seine net’; *laya* ‘a kind of cast net’; *pasyak* ‘a kind of cast net’; *tippaw* ‘a long handled dip net’; *sibut* ‘a short handled dip net’.

BLA *byɔɔ*; *balin* fishnet varieties.

MUR Also *dambat* ‘casting-net’.

BAT Also *doton*.

MIN Also *pukeʔ*.

IND [*ʃala*] ‘cast-net’; *ʃariŋ* ‘drag-net’; *pukat* ‘large drag-net’.

BAL *sau* ‘small net with wooden frame’; *pəñčar* ‘small round casting net’; [*ʃariŋ*] Old Javanese/Malay; [*ʃalə*].

GOR ‘casting-net’.

KON Also *panja*.

WOL Also *buani* ‘casting-net’; *puka* ‘dragnet’.

MAG ‘cast-net’.

RTI Also *dala*.

BUR	More commonly [ <i>jarin</i> ] Malay; also [ <i>jala</i> ] ‘cast net, casting net’.
DOB	Specifically ‘net for throwing’.
SAW	Also [ <i>jala</i> ] ‘a smaller net’.
YAB	‘large fishing net’; smaller nets: <i>g<sup>w</sup>a?</i> , <i>kata</i> , <i>la</i> , <i>sapu</i> , <i>semem</i> .
KII	<i>wota</i> ‘hand net’; <i>maloβeka</i> ‘long net’.
MOT	Also <i>ole</i> ‘a large net’, and <i>βaro</i> ‘a very large net for dugong and turtle’.
MEK	<i>?epe</i> is a net on a frame, with a handle. <i>isoŋe</i> ( <i>i-oŋe</i> ) is a net made from a string-bag. Other nets are <i>aeama</i> , <i>i-mu?i</i> and <i>iafani</i> .
KIR	<i>re riena</i> ‘scoop net’; <i>te kuan</i> ‘bow net’; also ‘envelope’.
WLE	Also <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>atū</i> ‘fish or mosquito net’.
TAH	Also <i>?upe?a tāora</i> ; <i>?upe?a tārau</i> ‘landing net’.

## 20.550 FISH TRAP

*ATA	kawβu?	MAD	bubu	YAB	tak <sup>w</sup> a?
TSO	rfū	BAL	bubu	*KAU	[niik]
RUK		SAS	buu	TOL	vup
PAI		*GOR	bubu	BUA	
YAM		DAA		ADZ	
ISN	āsag	*UMA	ha <sup>ŋ</sup> ka	KIL	
KAL	obbōŋ	BUG	bubu	TAW	mahaba
TAG	baklad	KON	puka	MOT	idoa
*AKL	būbu,	*WOL	bubu	MEK	
PAL	kubu	*MAG	čapat	*ROV	sipota
MOL	bubu?	NGA	sosa	MAR	
KAG	bubu	SIK	here	*LAU	tori
BLA	bubu	RTI	bufu	KWO	mā
SAB	bubu	*BUR	fofo	RAG	
MUR	saluid	DOB	yar	PAA	
*MGY	vuvu	IRA	ϕukərə	LEW	karo
ACE	bubeə	SAW	igi	POR	
BAT	bubu	NYI	aleh	NTA	nasəkəl
MIN	lukah ikan	*MAM	u	KWA	nəsikər
*IND	bubu	TAK	saəŋ	NEM	
SUN	bubu	ĐAM	siyesiyə	CEM	táp
JAV	wuwu	MAB	kīzi	AJI	yigu

XAR	çe	WLE	ū	SAM	ʔenu
NEN	θugoč	*EFI	susu	MEL	
*KIR	te ruatu	WFI	βuβu	*TAH	hīnaʔi
MSH	u	RTU	faja	*RAP	[tarampa]
*PON	ū	*TON	finaki		

ATA *kawβuʔ* ‘a large fish trap’; *šayūʔ* ‘a small fish trap for shrimps’.

AKL PMP *\*būbu*.

MGY From PMP *\*buqu-buqu*.

IND Also *ǰərat, pənaŋkap ikan*.

GOR Used in the sea; *ʔolate* used in lakes; also *ti<sup>0</sup>gawaŋo* ‘fish trap’.

UMA Also *koŋko, uβu, taboa*.

WOL Also *o<sup>m</sup>po*.

MAG ‘eel-trap’.

BUR Also *kofa-n teha-n* ‘freshwater eel trap’.

MAM Also *teri*.

KAU From an Arawe dialect on the coast.

ROV Also *sipata*.

LAU ‘trap, snare’.

KIR Made of stones.

PON Also *mai*.

EFI Also *kawa*.

TON Also *pā*.

TAH Also *tāvae*.

RAP From Spanish *trampa*. Also *kupeŋa* ‘trap (of any kind)’.

## 20.560 BAIT

ATA	ʔuʔay	*TAG	pāʔin	MUR	upan
TSO	to-pan-a	AKL	pāʔun	MGY	qzunu
RUK	paəŋə	PAL	umpon	*ACE	umpuəŋ
PAI		MOL	ompon	BAT	ɔppan
YAM	bəɖbəɖən	KAG	paʔan	MIN	umpan
ISN	appān	BLA	fəŋ	IND	umpan
KAL	appan	SAB	ompan	SUN	ipan



JAV	umpan	*TAK	anaŋ	NTA	nəpiən
MAD	b <sup>h</sup> ani	DAM	sismut	KWA	nəpiən
BAL	baren	MAB	<sup>m</sup> ban	NEM	ñā
SAS	impan	YAB	beŋ	*CEM	wié-p <sup>w</sup> ê
GOR	pālo	KAU	auβan	AJI	ara ʒe
DAA	opa	TOL	ben	*XAR	nene-šī
UMA	opa	BUA		*NEN	guačo
BUG	eppiŋ	ADZ		KIR	te abea
KON	eppaŋ	KIL	m <sup>w</sup> aku	*MSH	anan
*WOL	ka-opaŋi	TAW	bani	*PON	pān
MAG	paniŋ	*MOT	koi	WLE	pōpō
NGA	dolu	*MEK	ʔola	EFI	baða
SIK	iʔa-ŋ ane	ROV	muziki	WFI	baða
RTI	hani-k	*MAR	baina	*RTU	poa
BUR	enai	LAU	mamu	TON	mounu
DOB	siyar	KWO	mamu	SAM	māunu
IRA	ʔeʒe	RAG	bea	MEL	
SAW	ɔle	PAA	heŋan	*TAH	ʔainu
NYI	ñamon ta jai	*LEW	koru	*RAP	maʔaŋa
*MAM	samadi	POR			

TAG PMP *\*paʔen*.

ACE ‘animal food in general’.

WOL Also *ka-peta<sup>m</sup>bo*.

MAM Also *masi*.

TAK ‘food’ (05.120).

MOT Also *guma*.

MEK *ʔola* is wild arum, used as bait for wild boars.

MAR *baina* ‘fish bait’; *mamu* ‘bait for birds or fish’.

LEW ‘hermit-crab’.

CEM ‘meat of the line’.

XAR ‘food of the fishing line’.

NEN Also *gumada*.

MSH *mōdɔ* ‘fish bait’; *cowæmūr* ‘live bait’.

PON *kam<sup>w</sup>er* ‘bait left on sea bed’; *kurəm<sup>w</sup>* ‘bait thrown around boat’.

RTU Also *popoa*, *mounu*.

TAH Also *marainu*.

RAP *maʔaŋa* ‘bait (most general term for anything taken along fishing to be used as bait)’; *moroki* ‘bait (specifically, one of three species of small fish when it is placed whole on a hook to be used as bait)’; *maunu* ‘bait (specifically, a piece of fish, meat, bread, etc. when it is tied onto a hook to be used as bait)’; *mamama* ‘bait (specifically, loose bait scattered or submerged to attract fish)’.

## 20.610 HUNT

*ATA	ḱ-um-aʔuap	UMA	mə-ʔahu	ROV	hukue
TSO	poa-ʔavʔu	BUG	riŋŋiŋ	*MAR	hili
RUK	wa-alopo	KON	aŋʔŋ-usiri	*LAU	fafana
PAI	ḱ-əm-alʔup		(usiri)	*KWO	fana
YAM		*WOL	ose	RAG	
*ISN	maŋanup	*MAG	vonok	PAA	lāu
*KAL	anup	NGA	para-vitu	LEW	yilivi
*TAG	āso	*SIK	raka-ŋ	POR	vakao
*AKL	paŋayam	*RTI	daŋa	NTA	-arupənin
*PAL	mənubuk	*BUR	hama	*KWA	-eʔaiuk
MOL		*DOB	na-r-kʷoŋa	NEM	vap
*KAG	ayam	*IRA	nəʔanaʔətə	*CEM	pī-tāi-nādo
*BLA	d-m-ulak	*SAW	n-ɛyowe	AJI	ya
*SAB	panhot	*NYI	a nʷi	XAR	cā
*MUR	talun (mag-)	MAM	ŋado	NEN	
MGY	mi-haza	*TAK	-kidi	*KIR	kāea
ACE	humuŋ	DAM	koira	*MSH	pukot
*BAT	mar-buru	*MAB	-no	PON	
MIN	ba-buru	*YAB	-wo keam	*WLE	faxiŋ
*IND	bər-buru	KAU	hip	EFI	βākati
*SUN	moro (boro)	*TOL	rov-e	WFI	βa-roro
*JAV	m-buru	BUA		*RTU	ʔofi
MAD	a-bʰuru	ADZ		TON	tuli manu
*BAL	mə-[boros]	KIL	-waiga	SAM	tuli
SAS		TAW	halo	*MEL	[pālako]
*GOR	moŋalupo	MOT	labana	TAH	aʔuaʔu
*DAA	no-asu	*MEK	e-kapu-kapu	RAP	

ATA Also *ḱ-um-aʔup*.

ISN *sabūg-an* ‘chase away (as animal)’.

KAL	<i>anup + maN-</i> .
TAG	<i>āso + maN-</i> ‘with dogs’; [ <i>baril</i> ] + <i>maN-</i> ‘with guns’.
AKL	‘hunt with dogs’.
PAL	<i>mənubuk</i> ‘hunt with blow-gun’; <i>mənugpu?</i> ‘hunt with spears and dogs’; <i>məgpori</i> ‘hunt game’.
KAG	<i>ayam + maŋ-</i> ‘hunt with dogs’; <i>baril + maŋ-</i> ( <i>mamaril</i> ) ‘hunt with guns’.
BLA	<i>d-m-ulak</i> ‘without dogs’; <i>m-lok</i> ‘to hunt (with dogs)’.
SAB	<i>panhot + aN-/ø</i> .
MUR	<i>talun (mag-)</i> (single day chase); <i>lula?</i> ( <i>mag-</i> ) (more than one day); <i>asu (mag-)</i> ‘hunt with dogs’.
BAT	<i>mar-buru</i> (itrans); <i>buru</i> (trans).
IND	Also <i>mən-čari</i> .
SUN	Also ‘chase after’.
JAV	Also <i>m-bədak</i> .
BAL	From Old Javanese? Old Balinese <i>buru</i> ‘hunt’ (vb trans), ‘hunter’.
GOR	( <i>?alupo + moN-</i> ).
DAA	‘hunt with dogs’.
WOL	‘follow, hunt’.
MAG	‘beat a field’ (sometimes with hundreds of people).
SIK	Also <i>ləba</i> .
RTI	<i>daŋa</i> ‘to stalk (quietly)’; <i>sopu</i> ‘to hunt with dogs’. <i>daŋa</i> and <i>sopu</i> from a dyadic set in ritual language.
BUR	<i>hama</i> ‘hunt, look for’; <i>ep-haga-k</i> ‘hunt for deer or boar using dogs’; <i>eŋati</i> ‘call cuscus at night’; [ <i>mansari</i> ] probable borrowing from Malay <i>məncari</i> ‘hunt’; <i>puke-k mehe-t</i> ‘beat the grass in a large circle to flush game’; <i>rohi</i> ‘stalk quietly’; <i>toma-k unc-t</i> ‘set cuscus snare’; <i>tane sura-n</i> ‘set bamboo stake trap’; <i>kuse-k fawe</i> ‘set spring snare for pig or deer using bent sapling’; <i>ep-rohi</i> ‘after heavy rain hunt pig house made from grass’.
DOB	If the hunting is done with dogs then they say <i>?a-tura k<sup>w</sup>oyar</i> ‘he is going with the dogs’.
IRA	<i>narə ɸunənə ɸa</i> ‘to take a dog to the forest’.
SAW	‘look for’; also <i>n-ēñyaw si</i> ‘hunt with dogs’.
NYI	<i>a m<sup>w</sup>i</i> ‘go dog’; also <i>a bou</i> ‘go pig’; <i>a lokei</i> ‘go bush’.
TAK	‘pursue’ (10.530).

MAB	- <sup>m</sup> <i>bāla</i> ‘hunt with a net’.
YAB	‘hunt with dog’.
TOL	<i>rov-oi</i> (vb intrans) ‘hunt for pigs, wallabies’.
MEK	<i>e-kapu(-ŋa)</i> is ‘search, seek’. The other dialects preserve words like <i>kala</i> (West Mekeo), ‘hunt alone with a gun’; <i>kaiwa</i> (West Mekeo) ‘hunt with dogs’; and <i>bauga</i> (West Mekeo; East Mekeo <i>pauka</i> ) is the temporary platform made in the bush when camping overnight on a hunting trip.
MAR	<i>hili</i> ‘hunt wild pig’; <i>kokopro</i> ‘hunt, stalk’.
LAU	‘hunt with bow and arrow’.
KWO	Also <i>ru<sup>?</sup>u</i> .
KWA	Also - <i>aiu aḥaḥa</i> ‘proceed secretly’.
CEM	‘pursue thing’.
KIR	<i>kāea</i> ‘chase, run after’; <i>kāe man</i> ‘chase animals’.
MSH	Also ‘search’.
WLE	<i>faxiri</i> also ‘search’, <i>wau</i> ‘strike, hit, hunt’.
RTU	Also <i>kolu</i> ‘chase’.
MEL	From Efate.

## 20.620 SHOOT

**Tamil:** *thuppākki; bədil*

ATA	č-um-βu <sup>?</sup>	*SAB	[timbak]	BAL	
*TSO	pono	*MUR	[timbak]	SAS	nəmbak
*RUK	wa-pana	MGY	mi-tifiṭ <sup>r</sup> a		([təmbak])
*PAI	p-ən-anaḥ	ACE	[timba <sup>?</sup> ]	*GOR	momotahu
YAM	paoban	BAT	[tebbak]	*DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-
ISN	maṇisab	MIN	[temba <sup>?</sup> ]		[te <sup>m</sup> ba]
*KAL	paltug	IND	mə[nembak]	UMA	
*TAG	[baril]		([tembak])	BUG	mappal-lippo
*AKL	pamaril	SUN	ŋa-[bədil]	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -[‘baddili]
PAL	[timabakən]	JAV	nemba <sup>?</sup>	*WOL	pe-pana
*MOL	[timbak]		([temba <sup>?</sup> ])	*MAG	pana
*KAG	[baril]	MAD	niŋg <sup>h</sup> ar	*NGA	[pasa]
BLA	[t-m-imbak]		(-tiŋg <sup>h</sup> ar)	SIK	pasak

RTI	silu	*KIL	-lusa	AJI	rāi
*BUR	pefa	TAW	launi	XAR	p <sup>w</sup> εɛ
DOB	ʔa-wana	*MOT	pidi-a	*NEN	kupa
IRA	nətunə	*MEK	e-pitsi(-na)	*KIR	katia
SAW	n-tapn-o (tapɛn)	*ROV	pidalia	*MSH	lippon <sup>w</sup>
		*MAR	fada	*PON	kapisel
NYI	orou	*LAU	ʔuia	WLE	pakī-a
MAM	pana	*KWO	fanasi-a	EFI	βana-a
TAK	-pane	*RAG	bubusi	*WFI	βana
MAB	-pēne	PAA	van	RTU	fana
DAM	ʔidur	LEW	vini	TON	fana
YAB	-pe	POR	či <sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> e	SAM	fana
*KAU	ni	NTA	-aht	*MEL	[suia]
*TOL	[sut]	*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> (i)	TAH	pupuhi
BUA	βanɛɣ	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> elēi	RAP	pu-puhi
*ADZ	<sup>n</sup> taŋ-	CEM	àhi		

TSO (*pna-a*).

RUK *wa-pana* 'to shoot with an arrow'; *wa-koanə* 'to shoot with a gun'  
*koanə* 'gun'.

PAI *pa-kədəv* 'shoot, aim at'.

KAL *paltug + man-/on*.

TAG [*baril*] + *-um/-in* 'gun'; *pa-putok + mag/-an* 'firearm'.

AKL Root [*baril*] 'gun'.

MOL *timbang + -um/-on*.

KAG [*baril*] + *mag/-ən*; also *patik + mag/-ən* 'to pull the trigger'.

SAB [*timbang*] + *aN-/ø*.

MUR [*timbang*] (*maŋ- -on*) 'shoot with firearm'; *sapuk* (*maŋ- -on*) 'shoot with blowpipe'.

GOR Also *momutahu* (*butahu + moN-*).

DAA Indonesian [*tembak*].

WOL *pe-pana* 'shoot with bow and arrow'; *te<sup>m</sup>ba* 'shoot-blow up'.

MAG Also [*pasaŋ*] Malay.

NGA Malay *pasaŋ*.

BUR 'burn, roast, singe', but used as the verb for shooting a gun.

KAU Also *peh, psiki*.

TOL From English *shoot*.

ADZ	<i><sup>n</sup>taŋ-</i> ‘shoot with something sharp, in hand, e.g. spear’; <i>faniŋ-</i> ‘shoot with bow and arrow’.
KIL	<i>lusa</i> ‘shoot (gun)’; <i>-loβa</i> ‘spear-throw’.
MOT	Esp. with a gun ( <i>i-pidi</i> ); ‘to shoot with an arrow’ is <i>taraki-a</i> .
MEK	<i>e-pitsi(-na)</i> means ‘shoot with a gun’. <i>e-ŋeva(-i-a)</i> is ‘shoot with bow and arrows’. <i>e-pou-ŋa</i> (or <i>e-pou-ŋa-fou-a</i> ) is ‘shoot dead with a gun’.
ROV	<i>pidalia</i> ‘fire spear gun’, <i>pakaia</i> ‘shoot with rifle’, <i>bokalia</i> ‘shoot with bow and arrow’.
MAR	<i>fada</i> ‘spear, shoot’; <i>vuhu</i> ‘shoot a gun’.
LAU	Also <i>fasia</i> .
KWO	Also <i>?ui-a</i> .
RAG	‘shoot with gun’; also <i>vau bubusi</i> and <i>bau bubusi</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-aruk<sup>w</sup>i</i> also means ‘throw a spherical object’; <i>-eruk<sup>w</sup></i> , also means ‘throw a spherical object’.
NEN	<i>kupa</i> (gun); <i>peŋani</i> (bow).
KIR	<i>katia</i> CAUS of <i>tī</i> ‘spurt, eject’; <i>katebea</i> CAUS of <i>tebe</i> ‘jump out, project’.
MSH	Of bow and arrow; <i>κλριν</i> of sling.
PON	Causative form, from <i>pisel</i> ‘lose one’s grip, discharged’.
WFI	Also <i>βania</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

### 20.630 MISS (target)

ATA		BLA	lɔʔ tadəʔ	BAL	ŋapliɾ (čapliɾ)
TSO	s-roxç-eni	SAB	insaʔ tawwaʔ	SAS	bauʔ
RUK		*MUR	kalo matiuʔ	*GOR	lapal-olo
PAI		MGY	çi maha-vua	*DAA	daʔa na-vela
YAM	ĵanao	ACE	hana kuunɔŋ	UMA	
ISN	ugtan	*BAT	dakkɔna	BUG	lesseʔ
*KAL	kobot	MIN	indak kanai	KON	na-sala-i
*TAG	sāla	IND	lunčas	WOL	i <sup>n</sup> da ka-
*AKL	pamaril	*SUN	ñalah-an		<sup>ŋ</sup> kanai-a
PAL	mɔgsalaʔ		(salah)	MAG	bōt
*MOL	kiaʔ sugat	JAV	luput	NGA	γobi
*KAG	ula kaʔigu	MAD	luput	SIK	

*RTI	siŋo-k	TAW	lupale	*XAR	g <sup>w</sup> e-šlə
*BUR	fage p-sala-k	*MOT	rea-ia	NEN	čaθon
*DOB	na-r-ʔalan	MEK	e-ŋea(-i-a)	*KIR	tua
IRA	nətunə sisəru	ROV	seania	MSH	le
*SAW	mgo pa	MAR	snapla	PON	
NYI	atalei	LAU	tala fāsia	WLE	
MAM	roʔapaʔa	*KWO	talafi-a	EFI	ðala-ta
TAK	-firfi	*RAG	vahala	WFI	ðala-sia
DAM	kū	PAA	fi	RTU	sara
*MAB	-pa <sup>n</sup> del	LEW	vini-pali	*TON	tauhala
YAB	-sə	*POR	e-pen etüs	SAM	ʔela
KAU	yek	NTA	-ahtarapən	MEL	sarāvia
*TOL	pipi	KWA	-eruk <sup>w</sup> ai	TAH	haere ʔē
BUA	yoy paya	*NEM	tei tai	RAP	
ADZ	<sup>n</sup> taŋ-ugrip	CEM	p <sup>w</sup> éēo		
KIL	-sala	AJI	řayāi		

KAL *kobot + -on.*

TAG *sāla + -um-/sanl-an; also [mintís] + mag-, Spanish mentís*  
‘contradiction’.

AKL Root [*baril*] ‘gun’; see note 20.620.

MOL *kiāʔ sugat + -um-/on.*

KAG ‘not hit’.

MUR ‘not hit’.

BAT (*daŋ h:na*) ‘not hit’

SUN Also *tīkina* ‘not hit’.

GOR Passive, or object-focus form only.

DAA ‘not hit’.

RTI *siŋo-k* ‘to miss, go astray’; *silo sala-n* ‘to shoot and miss’.

BUR ‘throw a spear wrong’; also *seka psala-k, pefa psala-k.*

DOB Intransitive.

SAW ‘not hit’.

MAB Also *nama-abata.*

TOL From *pi* (vb trans) ‘graze, as a passing spear’; var. *vāpipi* (vb intrans),  
also *pek* (vb intrans), *vapek* (vb intrans).

MOT Also ‘to forget’.

KWO Also *tala.*

RAG Also *bahala*.

POR 'shoot straight'.

NEM 'throw off target/crooked'.

XAR 'throw-miss'.

KIR 'deviate'; (vb trans) *katuā*; *bai b<sup>w</sup>ao* 'clumsy'.

TON Also *hala*.

## 20.640 TRAP (n)

*ATA	rapaʔ	*UMA	pome <sup>n</sup> ta	*MAR	naʔapigla
*TSO	x-ʔor-pon-a	BUG	ʒibbaʔ	LAU	tori
*RUK	taənə	KON	lapikaŋ	*KWO	ito
PAI	ɖiŋay	*WOL	a <sup>m</sup> pa	*RAG	vidi
YAM	katəb	*MAG	ʒere	*PAA	sākat
ISN	inninīgay	NGA	ɣate	*LEW	pove
KAL	balāʔis	*SIK	səda	POR	<sup>m</sup> bur <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ux-
*TAG	sīloʔ	*RTI	hi-hiʔi-k		<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> uŋ <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> uŋ
*AKL	bitag	*BUR	sura-n	NTA	noankulu
*PAL	bawɔg	*DOB	laɸar	*KWA	nəsikər
*MOL	dakop	IRA	tagu	NEM	je
*KAG	siəd	SAW	təbɔn	CEM	ʒê
*BLA	tufil	NYI	lolohon	AJI	de
SAB	litag	MAM	sausau	XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-ko
MUR		*TAK	tur	NEN	θugoč
MGY	fand <sup>r</sup> ika	*DAM	beleb	*KIR	te taware
ACE	biniət	*MAB	kilis	*MSH	aucīr
BAT	tirakkap	*YAB	lako	PON	litip
MIN	pa-raŋkoʔ	KAU	esih	WLE	tafiʒi
*IND	pə-raŋkap	TOL		EFI	dai
*SUN	[ʒirət]	*BUA	sapu	WFI	tai
*JAV	wisɔyɔ	ADZ	ruman	RTU	fɔi
MAD	ʒəbbak	*KIL	sikula	TON	tauhele
BAL	ʒəbag	*TAW	walo	SAM	māilei
SAS	ʒariŋ	*MOT	idoa	MEL	p <sup>w</sup> aurārave
*GOR	pə-potilo	*MEK	paa	*TAH	pata
*DAA		ROV	sipata	*RAP	[tarampa]



- ATA *rapat* ‘a trap for birds to step on’; *wahiy* ‘a trap for wild animals to step on’; *tat̃ŋa?* ‘a trap with a string to snare a small animal’s head’; *kuʔuaŋ* ‘a trap with a string to snare a big animal’s neck’; *raŋa* ‘a dead fall trap’; [*tiyaw*] ‘a bamboo trap to catch wild pigs or deer’, loan from Taiwanese; *pa-ši-βaβaw* ‘a trap on a tree or ground with a string for animals to step on’; *kuβuŋ* ‘a snare’.
- TSO *x-ʔor-za-zomi* ‘bird-trap’.
- RUK There is no general term for a trap. *katēmə* ‘a dead fall trap for rats’; *tokoʔo* ‘a string to snare an animal’s leg’; *lobāŋ* ‘a trap for animals to fall into a hidden hole’; *taənə* ‘a trap with a rock to drop on an animal’; *θiŋoʔo* ‘a trap, esp. one with a slit-knot to snare an animal’s neck’; *diŋay* ‘a trap, esp. one with a slit-knot, for catching birds and small animals’.
- TAG *sīlo?* ‘snare’; *bītag* ‘trap bird’.
- AKL Also *kīsiw* for fowls.
- PAL Also *litag*.
- MOL *dakop + do-*.
- KAG *siəd* ‘snare’ (circle of rope on ground into which the animal steps and is pulled up); *batəŋ* ‘net across the path to snare an animal’; *lumpit* ‘trap than snaps down on animal’s neck’.
- BLA *fawəl* ‘noose or net (for trapping)’; *limən* ‘snare or deadfall’.
- IND Also *ǰərat*.
- SUN From Javanese.
- JAV Also *pasaŋ-an*.
- GOR *po-potilo* ‘trap for birds’; also *wotobu* ‘mouse-/rat trap’.
- DAA No generic term, many specific kinds.
- UMA No generic; *pomenta* ‘trap for wild pig or deer’; *t-in-aʔa* ‘type of mouse trap’ (from root *taʔa* ‘to set a trap’); many other kinds too, e.g. *huda*, *bata?*, *teko?*, *teβo?*, *hodi?*, *pitika*.
- WOL *a<sup>m</sup>pa* ‘sharpened stick placed in pit, or pitfall for catching animals’; *ka-asa* ‘trap for catching bush fowls’; *ka-βesi* ‘trap for catching deer or fowls’; *ka-<sup>m</sup>pepe* ‘trap shaped like a hoop-net for mice, monkeys or birds’.
- MAG ‘snare’.
- SIK Also *komberu*, *ilu sɔda*.
- RTI *hi-hiʔi-k* ‘trap set on ground’; *fefeluk* ‘trap set in tree for birds’.

- BUR Sharpened bamboo stake trap of various types; *soo-t* 'slip-noose trap for deer or boar'; *une-t* 'snare for the marsupial cuscus (genus Phalanger)'; *uka ture-n* 'sections of bamboo buried in the trail to catch pig or deer legs'; *pehul* 'bird trap using sticky sap from breadfruit tree'; *fofo* 'fish trap'; *foros bana-t* 'spring trap using arrow or spear (used against the Japanese, known from Seram)'.
- DOB *laɸar* is a trap for large animals which catches them in a noose round the neck. *yaltu<sup>u</sup>* is a trap with a noose for the legs.
- TAK *tur* 'bandicoot trap, made of sticks'; *dob* 'net trap, used for catching pigs'.
- DAM 'dead fall trap' (a heavy log falls on an animal when it runs into a rope, thus releasing the log). Also *kosim*. (A branch or thin tree trunk is bent over and tied down with a rope, which is also stretched across the path and attached on the other side. When an animal runs into the rope, the tree springs back and if the animal hits the rope at the right point it will walk into a hanging noose also attached to the tree trunk or branch. When the tree springs back, the animal is left hanging from the tightened noose.) Also *kor* 'lassoo'. (This may be thrown or suspended as the *kosim*). Also *kuku*. (A hole is dug in a known game trail and then covered over with sticks and leaves and a layer of soil, so that when the animal passes by it will fall through the sticks and be unable to get out.)
- MAB Also *kulu<sup>mbo</sup>*, *zagzag*, *napitpit*.
- YAB *lako*, *lip* 'bird traps'; *sa* 'pig trap'.
- BUA *sapu* 'small snare for small game'; *gəg<sup>wēŋ</sup>* 'large snare for pigs, cassowary'; *zayəŋ* 'deadfall trap'.
- KIL *sikula* for animals; *nawadi* for birds.
- TAW Also *aebahibahi*.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) also *kisi* 'trap for birds'; *rikiriki* 'trap for bandicoots, rats, etc'.
- MEK *paa* is a trap with a timber deadfall for wild pigs, etc. *nio* and (West Mekeo) *aba-nio* are snares for birds and small animals. *i-aŋa* is an enclosure used to trap pigs. *ŋee* and *oo* are kinds of nets used for trapping game (which is driven into them).
- MAR 'trap made by setting a snare'.
- KWO ('snare'); also *lolo*.
- RAG 'loop trap'.
- PAA 'rat trap'.

LEW For birds.

KWA *nəsikər* ‘plaited bird or fish trap’; *kawahikeihap*, *k<sup>w</sup>ankuru* ‘bird trap’.

KIR ‘ell pot’; *te ū*, *te b<sup>w</sup>au*.

MSH *mæclat* for birds; *u* for fish.

TAH Also *mārei*; *here* ‘snare’.

RAP From Spanish *trampa*; also *kupega*.

## 20.650 TRAP (vb)

ATA		*UMA	mo-babehi-a	LAU	
*TSO	b-or-pono	BUG	bičči?	KWO	
*RUK	wa-taənə	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -kalolo <sup>?</sup>	*RAG	vidi
PAI		WOL	ka-ŋ <sup>o</sup> oa	PAA	sare
YAM	katbən	*MAG	tənaŋ	LEW	
ISN	maŋŋigay	NGA	ɣate	POR	
*KAL	gəŋat	SIK	səda	NTA	-atŋipər
*TAG	hūli	RTI	naka-hi-hi <sup>?</sup> i-k		noankulu toh
*AKL	dakup	*BUR	frake	*KWA	-awahi
PAL	bəwəgən	*DOB	ʔa-ʔoŋu	NEM	tēli
*MOL	dakəp	*IRA	samətə	CEM	
*KAG	dakəp	*SAW	n-əkbi	AJI	yə
*BLA	t-m-ufil	NYI	adeu lolohon	XAR	ko
*SAB	litag	MAM	do <sup>?</sup> i	NEN	čaŋaneton
MUR		*TAK	-abi	*KIR	kam <sup>w</sup> anea
*MGY	mamand <sup>r</sup> ika	DAM	y-ale-ya	MSH	auciri
*ACE	drəp	*MAB	kilis ikēne	*PON	litipī
BAT		*YAB	-wa lako	WLE	tafišī-a
*MIN	man-ǰare <sup>?</sup>	KAU	neim-neim	EFI	tūdai-taka
*IND	mə-raŋkap	TOL		WFI	čuki-tai-sia
SUN	ŋa-[ǰirət]	BUA	ko lok sapu	RTU	fəi
*JAV	misəyɔ	*ADZ	is-	TON	tauhele <sup>?</sup> i
	(wisəyɔ)	KIL	-leya	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a-māilei
MAD	a-ǰəbbak	TAW	walo-ya	MEL	
*BAL	ŋəbag	MOT	idoa-ia	TAH	here
SAS	ǰərət	MEK	e-pa-ao-a	*RAP	ʔa-ʔaru
*GOR	mohapa	ROV	sipatea		
*DAA		*MAR	solo		

TSO *b-or-za-zomi* 'trap bird'.

RUK ~~*wa-katəmə, wa-tokoŋo, wa-lobāŋ, wa-taənə, wa-θiŋoŋo, wa-ɕiŋay.*~~  
(See 20.640).

KAL *goŋat + -um/-on* (*gumŋat, goŋton*); also *kona + -um/-maN-* (*kumna, maŋna*).

TAG *hūli + -um/-in* 'catch'.

AKL (*dakp-un*) PHN \**dakep*.

MOL *dakop + -um/-on* 'capture'.

KAG *dakəp + mag/-ən*.

BLA *f-n-awəl* 'to trap (something by means of noose or net)'; *n-limən* 'to trap (something by means of snare or deadfall)'.

SAB *litag + aN-/ø*.

MGY From *maN-fanɕ'ika*.

ACE 'catch'.

MIN Also *ba-pike?*

IND Also *mənaŋkap* (*taŋkap*).

SUN From Javanese.

JAV Also *masaŋi* (*N-pasaŋ-i*).

BAL From *N-ǰəbag*, cf 20.640.

GOR (*wapa + moh-*); also *momotilo* (*potilo + moN-*) 'to trap (bird)'. Also *moŋolate* (*?olate + moN-*) 'trap fish with an *?olate*' (20.550).

DAA Use name of specific trap.

UMA *mo-babehi-a* 'to go into jungle and make traps' (from root *babehi* 'to make'); *boko?* 'to catch, snare in a trap'.

MAG 'to set (a trap)'.

BUR *frake* 'catch (a chicken) with one's hands'; *ŋei* 'approach/reach a goal, capture'; *tala-k* 'catch and run'; [*dapa-k*] (probable loan).

DOB 'to catch with hands'.

IRA *samətəɸane* 'catch pig in trap'.

SAW Also *n-wəkfo* 'using a trap'.

TAK 'hold' (11.150).

MAB Also *zagzagipun* 'trap catches'.

YAB '-plait bird.trap'; also *-sə sə* '-tie pigtrap'.

ADZ *is-* 'strike, hit, kill, get, capture'; *ruman i-is ifab asub* 'the trap has caught the pig'.

MAR	‘trap, snare with a noose’.
RAG	Also <i>bidi</i> and <i>sani</i> , both ‘to catch in a loop trap’.
KWA	‘take’.
KIR	CAUS of <i>m<sup>w</sup>ane</i> ‘trapped’; <i>tawarea</i> .
PON	<i>nsere</i> ‘trap in leg noose’.
SAM	<i>fa<sup>ʔ</sup>a</i> -CAUS, <i>māilei</i> ‘trap’.
RAP	<i>ʔa-ʔaru</i> ‘capture’.

## 21.110 LAW

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>ḥukm</i> ‘judgment, condemnation’; <i>‘āda</i> ‘custom’
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ATA	ɣaya <sup>ʔ</sup>	*SAS	[tatə kramə]	BUA	[lo]
TSO		*GOR	buto <sup>ʔ</sup> o	*ADZ	wain
RUK		*DAA	[atura]	KIL	karaiwaga
PAI		UMA	atura	TAW	taniwaga
YAM	iwawalam	*BUG	[addi <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	*MOT	taraβatu
ISN	lintag	KON	ator-aŋ	*MEK	kaŋa-kaŋa
KAL	bīlin		(‘atoro)	ROV	tinarae
*TAG	batas	*WOL	[sara <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	*MAR	[vetula]
*AKL	ka-sugū <sup>ʔ</sup> -an	*MAG	[adək]	LAU	[lo]
PAL	sara <sup>ʔ</sup>	*NGA	[adʔa]	KWO	
MOL	sara <sup>ʔ</sup>	*SIK	[uku-ŋ]	*RAG	leo
*KAG	[lai]	*RTI	[hada-k]	*PAA	[lou]
*BLA	[uldin]	*BUR	tita	LEW	na-visa-lua-
SAB	sada <sup>ʔ</sup>	*DOB	ler si ɸaɸi	ena	
*MUR	{undaŋ- undaŋ}	IRA		POR	
MGY	la'lana	*SAW	[hukum]	*NTA	[lou]
*ACE	undaŋ-undaŋ	NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> iyen	KWA	
BAT	[uhum]	MAM	mata	NEM	neŋ
MIN	undaŋ-undaŋ	*TAK	kibiae-ŋ	CEM	b <sup>w</sup> ɔ-mú
*IND	[hukum]	DAM	nūni	*AJI	māyɔ
SUN	[hukum]	MAB	tutu	XAR	tī
JAV	aŋgər-aŋgər	*YAB	[lɔ]	NEN	waθebo
MAD	[ukum]	*KAU	βuŋin	KIR	te tua
*BAL	awig-awig		siin-siin	MSH	kien
		*TOL	vər-kur-ai	PON	kosonnet

*WLE	kapata	RTU	foho	*MEL	[lō]
*EFI	[lawā]	TON	lao	*TAH	[ture]
*WFI	[lawā]	SAM	tuḷāfono	*RAP	[rei]

TAG Also [ley], from Spanish *ley*.

AKL 'orders'.

KAG From Spanish *ley*.

BLA *kitab* 'an order'; *katəd* 'an order, command'.

MUR From Malay.

ACE Also [ator-an] Malay.

IND Also *hukum adat* 'tribal law'; also *undaŋ-undaŋ* 'legal code'.

BAL *awig-awig* 'laws of a village, an irrigation unit'; [kərtə] from Sanskrit.

SAS From Javanese.

GOR Also [hukumu]. Also [salaʔa] 'Islamic law', Arabic *šarī'a*.

DAA Indonesian *peraturan*.

WOL Also [hukumu] 'broad term'.

NGA [ad'a], refers to moral and legal rules of conduct; to the traditional people of Ngada what is moral and what is legal are the same. The term *ad'a* also means 'to worship' and 'respect', thus also refers to rules of worship and paying respect, which is a near equivalent of 'religion'.

SIK Also *βet*, [uku]-ŋ *parinta*.

BUR Law, instructions from elders; also [adat].

DOB 'voice and mouth'.

SAW Also [adat] 'traditional laws'.

IAK See 19.450.

YAB From English; *ŋa-goliŋ*, *biŋ-su* 'commandment'.

KAU 'custom', 'basic'.

TOL From *kur-e* (vb trans) 'decide, rule', see 19.310.

ADZ 'custom, cause, origin, etc'.

MOT Also 'prohibition'. Used for 'covenant, testament' by Christian churches. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) gives *taraβa e atu* 'to make a law' (e 3sg subject prefix), with *taraβa* taking a suffix indicating those to whom the law is given.

MEK	<i>kaŋa-kaŋa</i> is here ‘tradition, custom; customary law’. <i>lao-mai</i> means ‘the usual way of doing things’. <i>maŋoŋo</i> means ‘lore, wisdom’. Nowadays people speak of (the) <i>[lo]</i> (‘law’).
MAR	From Bughotu.
RAG	Also <i>silo</i> ‘a minor law’.
PAA	Any special prohibition or taboo.
NTA	From Bislama.
AJI	Also <i>tāri</i> .
WLE	Also ‘language, word’.
EFI	Possibly Tongan <i>[lao]</i> from English.
WFI	Standard Fijian probably from Tongan, from English; also <i>tabu</i> .
MEL	From English, also <i>tapuŋa</i> .
TAH	From Hebrew.
RAP	From Spanish <i>ley</i> .

## 21.150 COURT

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>maḥkama</i> ; ‘ <i>ādil</i> ’ ‘just’	<b>English:</b> <i>court</i>	<b>Spanish:</b> <i>corte</i>
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ATA		*MGY	[tʰibunali]	MAG	
TSO		ACE	[muhakamah]	NGA	baŋo
RUK		*BAT	rapət uhum	SIK	
PAI		MIN	paŋ-[adil]-an	*RTI	nusa-k
YAM	pačičičan	*IND	[maḥkamah]	*BUR	[raat]
ISN	agbubusti- garān	SUN	paŋ-[adil]-an	*DOB	ʔayleli-di
		*JAV	pəŋ[adil]an	IRA	
KAL	[kolte]	*MAD	paŋ-[ad <sup>h</sup> il]-an	*SAW	[peŋadilan]
TAG	hūkūman	*BAL	[kərtə]	NYI	a ta sahou
AKL	[korte]	*SAS	pəŋ-[adil]-an	*MAM	[ʔoto]
PAL		*GOR	[poŋadilan]	*TAK	[kot]
MOL	[korte]	*DAA	petoʔo <sup>m</sup> po- taŋara	*DAM	[kot]
KAG	[kurti]			MAB	
BLA	gu-s-usəy	UMA		YAB	[kərt, kət]
SAB	sadaʔ	*BUG	paŋ-[adil]-aŋ	*KAU	[kot]
*MUR	pagigin- dagan	KON	ʔlantara	*TOL	pəl-nə-vər- kur-ai
		WOL			

BUA	[kot]	POR		*PON	m <sup>w</sup> olen
ADZ		NTA	kataŋhat lan		kop <sup>w</sup> uŋ
*KIL	gugula	KWA		WLE	
TAW	ani luhetala	NEM		EFI	mata-βei-
MOT	[kota]	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> ô-táuti-		lewai
MEK	[kot]		nâdo	*WFI	mataβilewai
*ROV	[koti]	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã vi rōŋu	RTU	a <sup>?</sup> leleŋa
MAR		XAR		TON	fakamaau <sup>?</sup> aŋa
LAU		NEN		*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a-masino-
KWO		*KIR	te bōwī ni		ŋa
RAG			kaburebure	MEL	
*PAA	āmal	*MSH	ekacet	*TAH	[tiripuna]
*LEW	kum <sup>w</sup> ali			RAP	hare [ture]

TAG From Arabic *ḥukm*, via Malay, also [*husgādo*], from Spanish *juzgado*.

MUR Also [*kūt*] from English.

MGY From French.

BAT 'law meeting'.

IND Also *peŋ-[adil]-an*.

JAV *pə-ŋ-[adil]-an* via Malay? Also [*landrat*] Dutch.

MAD Root Arabic, lexeme from Malay.

BAL From Sanskrit.

SAS Via Malay.

GOR Malay *pəŋadilan*, root as in 21.160.

DAA 'place of judging'.

RTI *nusa-k* 'domain, court (of the *mane-k* of the domain)'.

BUR From Dutch.

DOB 'the people who gather to convene a court'.

SAW Indonesian.

MAM Also *giri<sup>?</sup>i-adora<sup>?</sup>i*.

TAK From Tok Pisin.

DAM From Tok Pisin.

KAU Tok Pisin.

TOL *pal* 'house', *nə* CONN, *vər-kur-ai* 'judging'.

KIL 'a gathering'. Also *yakala* lit 'denial'; *kabo-yakala* place-denial 'court session'.



MOT	Bible uses <i>ha-he-maoroheni-a</i> See 21.150.
ROV	<i>varipitui</i> 'take to court'.
PAA	= Nakamal.
LEW	'men's meeting house'.
CEM	'container judge thing'.
KIR	'meeting about crimes/errors'.
MSH	'try in court'.
PON	'place of judgement'.
WFI	Also <i>hogoni</i> .
SAM	- <i>ŋa</i> NR, <i>faʔa-masino</i> (vb trans) 'investigate, try before a judge', <i>faʔa-CAUS</i> , <i>masino</i> (vb intrans) 'be known exactly'.
TAH	From French.

## 21.160 JUDGE (vb)

**Arabic:** *'ādil* 'just'; *ḥukm* 'judgement'

**Spanish:** *juez*

ATA		IND	məŋ-[adil]-i	*BUR	fasa
TSO		*SUN	mutus	*DOB	da-saman
RUK			([pərkarə])		wutar
PAI		JAV	ŋ-[adil]-i	IRA	
YAM	pačičičəŋ	MAD	mutus (-putus)	SAW	
ISN	məŋ-[guwes]	BAL		NYI	anuhun sahou
*KAL	məŋ[ūʔis]	SAS		MAM	giriʔi liliti
*TAG	[hətol]	*GOR	məŋ[ādili]	TAK	
*AKL	[hukum]	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-taŋara	DAM	esē
PAL	məŋg[ukum]	*UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-hura-i	*MAB	
*MOL	[hukum]	BUG	map-pittu ada	YAB	-metoʔ
*KAG	[usgar]	KON	an-nappuk-i	*KAU	ples βuŋin
BLA	m-ukum		(tappuʔ)	*TOL	kur-e
*SAB	hukum	WOL	[hukumu]-aka	BUA	
*MUR	[ukum]	MAG	bete biəar	*ADZ	raro-da nan
*MGY	mi-[çara]	NGA	vai	*KIL	-nagi
ACE	pau-tuntəə	SIK	tiba-ŋ bəra-t	*TAW	galena kaha
BAT	paŋ-uhum		heak	MOT	[kota] kara-ia
MIN	ma-[hukum]	*RTI	ke de-deʔa-k	*MEK	iva e-pa-kai-a

*ROV	pitui	*KWA	-oseri	WLE	
MAR	fate	NEM	pe-huwāi	EFI	lewa-a
LAU		CEM	táuti-nâdo	WFI	lewa-ia
KWO		AJI	rõřu	*RTU	fafa
RAG		*XAR	řue-ne	TON	fakamaau
PAA		NEN	anetitini	*SAM	fa?a-masino
LEW	lipre	*KIR	motiki taekan	*MEL	[pasāwota]
POR	pipius	*MSH	ekacete	TAH	ha?avā
*NTA	-akil	PON	kateik	RAP	ha?avā

KAL [kū?is] + maN-.

TAG [hātol] + -um-/-an from Malay *hatur* 'set in order', PMP \*qatur.

AKL (*hukm-an*) Malay *hukum*.

MOL [*hukum*] + -um-/-on.

KAG [*usgar*] + mag- from Spanish *juzgar*.

SAB [*hukum*] + aN-/ø.

MUR {*ukum*} (*maŋ- -on*).

MGY From Sanskrit via Malay or Javanese.

SUN Sanskrit; *mutus* (*putus*).

GOR ([?ādili] + moN-) from Malay *məjadili* (root: [adil]),. Also *momuto?o* (*buto?o* + moN-).

UMA *m<sup>o</sup>po-hura-i* 'to hear a case' (from root *hura* 'to sit'); *m<sup>o</sup>po-botu-hi* 'to make a judgement' (from root *botu?* 'to cut, decide').

RTI 'to cut (i.e. decide) the court case (speaking of the case)'; *keke-k* lit 'cutting (i.e. decision, judgement)'.

BUR *fasa* 'to bring s.th. to a settlement'; same word used to mean 'cut (with a chainsaw)'; *estor-lale-k-e* 'come to an agreement'; *ewaru-k susa* 'evaluate wrongs'; *pah nau* 'cast lots'; *pe-tobe-n* 'two sides arguing toward a conclusion'.

DOB 'they ask round' (the defendant).

MAB -*tīri patañana* 'examine the trouble'; -*re pa patañana* 'look at the trouble'; -*urpe patañana* 'fix the trouble'.

KAU 'discern behaviour'.

TOL *vər-kur-əi* (vb intrans).

ADZ 'straighten-PART talk'.

KIL 'choose'.

TAW 'look separate'.

MEK	‘make the word right’; we can also say <i>iva e-kapu-ŋa</i> ‘search (for) the word’.
ROV	<i>tie varipitui</i> ‘judge’ (n).
NTA	‘weigh’.
KWA	- <i>oseri</i> also means ‘ponder, consider, think about’; - <i>arhi</i> also means ‘unwind, open, solve’.
XAR	‘light the fire’ (judgements took place during the night).
KIR	‘to break the words of’.
MSH	[ <i>cæc</i> ] from English.
RTU	Also <i>a’lele</i> .
SAM	See 21.150.
MEL	From Efate.

## 21.170 JUDGEMENT

Arabic: *ḥukm; ḥakim*      Spanish: *sentencia*

ATA		MIN	pan-dapeʔ-	*BUR	efnasa-t
TSO			[hakim]		(fasa)
RUK		*IND	putus-an	*DOB	da-yetaʔu ʔaʔni
PAI			[hakim]		ɸarʔara
YAM	pačičičən	SUN	putus-an	IRA	
ISN	[sintinsiya]	*JAV	pañčas-an	SAW	
KAL	[sentensiya]	*MAD	[ka-putus-an]	NYI	maha
*TAG	pag-hätol	*BAL	[dandə]	MAM	giriʔi-adoraʔa
AKL	[hukum]	*SAS	[hasil]	TAK	
PAL	[ukum]-an	*GOR	[hukūmani]	*DAM	mala solo
MOL		DAA	po-taŋara	MAB	
*KAG	pag-atag ta	UMA	po-botu-hi-a	YAB	(ŋa-)metoʔ
	[sintinsiya]	BUG	pittu-ada	*KAU	βuŋin tin kə
BLA	[ukum]	KON	ka-tappuk-aŋ		uŋ po sun men
SAB	[hukum]-an	WOL	ka-[hukum]-a	*TOL	vər-kur-əi
*MUR	papuan	MAG	[ponis]	BUA	[zās]yi gagək
*MGY	fiçaʔrana	NGA	mayə	*ADZ	nan raro-dan
*ACE	[kutuputosan]	*SIK	gasə-ŋ	*KIL	kala naga
BAT	[uhum]-an	*RTI	keke-k	TAW	luhetala

MOT	ha-he-maoro	NTA		WLE	
*MEK	iva	KWA		EFI	lewā
ROV	vinaripitui	NEM		WEI	lewaia
MAR	nafate	CEM	táuti-nâdo	RTU	aʔhæe
LAU		AJI	vi rōru	TON	fakamaau
KWO		XAR	xʷã-šueɾe ne	*SAM	faʔa-masino-
RAG		NEN	ŋaʔanetitini		ŋa
PAA		KIR	te motiki taeka	MEL	
LEW	na-lipre-ena	MSH		TAH	haʔavāraʔa
POR	pipiusian	*PON	kateik	RAP	ture

TAG Also *pag-hu-[husga]*, Spanish *juzgar*, see also 21.160.

KAG ‘giving of a sentence’.

MUR Also [*ukuman*].

MGY From *fi-çara-ana*.

ACE From Malay.

IND Also *kə-putus-an*, *pər-timbaŋ-an*.

JAV Also *putus-an*.

MAD From Malay?

BAL From Sanskrit.

SAS From Arabic *hasil* ‘final outcome’.

GOR Arabic via Malay *hukuman*, root as in 21.110.

SIK Also *dugi dage*, *kula kara* (Tana ʼAi).

RTI See 21.160.

BUR *efnasa-t* ‘decision’; *maholo-n* ‘bring a case to a conclusion’; *bau-t* ‘sentence, judgement’.

DOB ‘they break his problem’, which means ‘they pass judgement on his case’.

DAM ‘punishment’ or ‘pay-back’, cff. 21.370. Also *kisi φi-ya ani* ‘the decision’, and *ese φi-ya ani* ‘the judgement’, which also has a negative connotation.

KAU ‘idea REL descend stay PREP someone REL’ (*tin ə men* brackets a relative clause) = ‘authoritative talk which has come down upon someone’.

TOL Verbal noun, see 21.110, 21.150. 21.160.

ADZ ‘talk straighten-PART’.

KIL ‘his choice’.

MEK *iva* means ‘word, speech’, here ‘true speech’, ‘true word’.

PON *soukateik* biblical.

SAM See 21.150.

## 21.180 JUDGE (n)

Arabic: <i>ḥukm; ḥakim</i>	Spanish: <i>juez</i>
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ATA		KON	tau nappuk-i	MEK	
TSO			(tappu <sup>?</sup> )	ROV	tie varipitui
RUK		WOL	[hakimi]	MAR	mae fate
PAI		*MAG	[adak]	LAU	
YAM		NGA	mosa-laki	KWO	
ISN	[guwes]	SIK	ata ola lahi	RAG	
KAL	[ku <sup>?</sup> is]		ləka-ŋ	PAA	
*TAG	[hukom]	*RTI	mane-k	LEW	
*AKL	[huwis]	*BUR	geba ka fasa	POR	
PAL	[ukum]		[perkara]	NTA	
MOL	[hues]	*DOB	ssa <sup>?</sup> ay	KWA	
KAG	[u <sup>'</sup> wis]	IRA		NEM	
BLA	to m-[ukum]	SAW		CEM	â-táuti
SAB	ag-hu- [hukum]	*NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amak ta anuhun sahou	AJI	ka vi rōŋu
MUR	[akim]	MAM	giri <sup>?</sup> i	XAR	a-šue rē ne
MGY	mpi-{çara]		adodora <sup>?</sup> i	NEN	
ACE	[hakim]	TAK		*KIR	te tia moti
BAT	paŋ-uhum	DAM		*MSH	[cæc]
MIN	[hakim]	*MAB	tīriŋana	*PON	soukamēlel
IND	[hakim]		katūnu	WLE	
SUN	{hakim]	*YAB	ŋa <sup>?</sup> -meto <sup>?</sup>	EFI	tūraŋa-ni-lewā
JAV	[hakim]	*KAU	[jas]	WFI	çuraŋa-ni- lewā
*MAD	[j <sup>h</sup> aksa]	*TOL	tenə vər-kur-ai	*RTU	le <sup>?</sup> rē a <sup>?</sup> -lele
*BAL	pə[dandə]	BUA	[zās]	TON	fakamaau
SAS	[hakim]	*ADZ	garam raro-da	*SAM	fa <sup>?</sup> a-masino
GOR	[hakīmu]		nan	*MEL	[jāji]
DAA	topo-taŋara	*KIL	to-kam <sup>w</sup> aga	*TAH	ha <sup>?</sup> avā
*UMA	to-po-hura	*TAW	tu luhetala	RAP	taŋata ha <sup>?</sup> a vā
BUG	to-map-pittu- ada	*MOT	kata heni-a tau-na		[ture]

- TAG From Malay [*hukum*]; also [*huwes*].
- MGY See note 21.160.
- MAD From Sanskrit.
- BAL From Sanskrit ‘priest’ (priests also acted as judges).
- UMA Also *to-po-botu-hi*.
- MAG Arabic ‘*āda* ‘law, custom’.
- RTI At a traditional court, the Lord of the domain, *mane-k*, heard and decided cases; his representative at court who announced these decisions was the *mana-ke*.
- BUR Possibly also *porwisi*.
- DOB A generic word used for any important person.
- NYI ‘person of hearing talk’.
- MAB ‘one responsible for examining’.
- YAB Also *meto<sup>2</sup>-waga* ‘judge-person’.
- KAU Tok Pisin.
- TOL *tenə* ‘expert’, *vər-kur-ai* (verbal noun) ‘judging’.
- ADZ ‘man straighten-PART’.
- KIL ‘person condemn’. Also used are: *to-karaiwaga* person-rule ‘the one who rules, decides’; *to-yakala* person-denial ‘the one who sentences’.
- TAW *tu ludumalu* lit ‘person who straightens things’.
- MOT Bible uses *ha-he-maorotau-na*.
- KIR With agentive formant *tia*.
- MSH From English.
- PON *sounkamēlel* lit ‘one who makes the truth’; *sounkop<sup>wuŋ</sup>* ‘trial judge’; see *kop<sup>wuŋ</sup>* ‘try in court’.
- RTU Also *ṅaṅačpure*.
- SAM See 21.150.
- MEL From English.
- TAH Also *ha<sup>2</sup>avā uiui* ‘examining judge’.

## 21.210 PLAINTIFF

ATA	PAI	*KAL	nandalum
TSO	YAM	*TAG	sakdal
RUK	ISN	*AKL	[demandante]

PAL	nəmɔgbɔg (bɔgbɔg)	*RTI	nana-kala-k	MAR	
		BUR		LAU	
*MOL	[rikramu]	*DOB	ne na-	KWO	
*KAG	ga[dimanda]		[maŋadu]	RAG	
BLA	to m-le sɔɔʔ	IRA		PAA	
SAB	aʔa aN-tokod	SAW		LEW	
MUR		NYI		POR	
*MGY	mpi-turi	MAM		NTA	
*ACE	[mɯdaʔi]	TAK		KWA	
BAT	paŋ-[adu]	*DAM	od i-no-ya	NEM	ka-yaruŋo
*MIN	pan-[dakwa]		tamo	*CEM	â-pî-téte-imi-
*IND	pənuntut (tuntut)	MAB	tomtom ta iuri ila	AJI	gêt ka vi kãrã
*SUN	nu ŋa-[dakwa]	YAB		XAR	a-çî šū
*JAV	ŋ-gugat	*KAU	hiaŋ tin wa	NEN	
MAD			βuŋin pit po	*KIR	te tai taŋ
BAL			sun men	MSH	
*SAS	[pənuntut]	*TOL	tenə vər-takun	PON	
*GOR	[ponūduti]	BUA		WLE	
DAA		*ADZ	garam oso-da	EFI	βei-βei-taki
UMA	to-pe-buaʔ		nan rut in	WFI	βī-tāβui
BUG	tau-map-pa-	*KIL	to-sula	RTU	
	sala	TAW	tu wigou	TON	talatalaaki
KON	tau pa-rapaʔ		lawana	*SAM	tuʔuaʔi-ŋa
WOL	mo-rae-akea	*MOT	[samani] tau-	MEL	
MAG			na	TAH	taʔata horo
NGA	mori-pəri	MEK		RAP	taŋata horo
SIK		ROV	tie zutu		ture

KAL From *nan-dalum*.

TAG *sakdal + may-*; also [*deman'dante*], Spanish *demandánte*.

AKL Spanish *demandánte*.

MOL [*rikramu*] + *mog-* from Spanish.

KAG (*[dimanda] + ga-*) from Spanish *demanda*.

MGY 'the one who pleads, accuses, reports, preaches'.

ACE From Arabic *mudda* ʾ.

MIN From Arabic *śakwā* 'plaint'.

IND Also *pəŋ-gugat*.

SUN	Arabic; lit ‘the one who accuses’.
JAV	(vb trans) ‘bring a charge against’.
SAS	From Malay.
GOR	From Malay <i>penuntut</i> .
RTI	See 21.220.
DOB	‘the one who reports’.
DAM	‘talk third-put-infinitive man’.
KAU	‘he REL say idea stand PREP someone REL’ ( <i>tin ə men</i> brackets a relative clause) = ‘the one who has brought talk against another’.
TOL	<i>tenə</i> ‘expert’, <i>vər-takun</i> (verbal noun) ‘accusing’.
ADZ	‘man accuse-part talk to him’ = ‘man accusing someone’.
KIL	‘person error’.
MOT	From English <i>summon</i> . Bible uses <i>ha-he-bade tau-na</i> ( <i>ha-bade-a</i> ‘to accuse, report on someone gossiping’; <i>bade</i> meaning not elicited). See 21.310.
CEM	‘one who runs with lie’.
KIR	‘one who cries/complains’.
SAM	<i>tu<sup>?</sup>ua<sup>?</sup>i</i> (vb trans) ‘blame someone, throw the blame on someone else’.

## 21.220 DEFENDANT

**Arabic:** *śakwa* ‘accusation’

ATA		BLA	to b-an-le	MAD	[da <sup>?</sup> wa]
TSO			sɔ <sup>?</sup> ɔ <sup>?</sup>	*BAL	bogolan
RUK		*SAB	a <sup>?</sup> ani-	*SAS	[pəsakit]
PAI			[hukum]	*GOR	tā <sup>?</sup> o-to-tala
YAM		MUR		DAA	
ISN	nedarum	*MGY	ni vuampanga	*UMA	to ra-bua <sup>?</sup>
*KAL	naidalum	*ACE	[mahkom]	BUG	tau-pa-sala
*TAG	nāsa-sakdal	*BAT	na ni-[adu]	KON	tau ni-bata-
*AKL	abusādoh	MIN	ta-[dakwa]		bata-i
*PAL	taga bisara	IND	tər-[dakwa]	WOL	torae-aka
*MOL	[rikramu]	SUN	nu di-[dakwa]	MAG	ata to <sup>?</sup> ka
*KAG	[kuntra]	*JAV	[da <sup>?</sup> wɔ]	*NGA	pəri



SIK	ata lorə-ŋ	*TOL	ninə di təkun	NEM	
*RTI	mana-kala-k	BUA		CEM	
BUR		*ADZ	garam nuŋ-an	AJI	ka e rōŋu-e
*DOB	neda- maŋadu-ni	*KIL	to-kamatula	XAR	
IRA		TAW		NEN	
		*MOT	he-lao-ahu	KIR	
*SAW	kyat ta n-čol (sɔl)		tau-na	MSH	
NYI		*MEK	[kelele] au-ŋa	*PON	mən pān repenp <sup>w</sup> uŋ
MAM	muri-tuitui	ROV	tie ta zutuna	WLE	
TAK		MAR		EFI	bei-taki
DAM	kiyēi	LAU		WFI	lei-tāβui
MAB	tomtom sosor kana	KWO		RTU	
YAB		RAG		TON	faka?iloa
*KAU	hiaŋ tin po wa βuŋin pit pon men	PAA		SAM	puluvāŋa
		LEW		MEL	
		POR		TAH	ta?ata parihia
		NTA		RAP	taŋata [ture]
		KWA			

KAL From *nai-dalum*.

TAG Also *nāha-[habla]*, Spanish *habla* speech.

AKL From Spanish *abusado* ‘abused’.

PAL Also *maya bisara*.

MOL [*rikramu*] + *-in-* from Spanish.

KAG From Spanish *contra*.

SAB From Arabic *ḥukm* ‘judgement’

MGY From *ni + vua-ampanga* ‘the accused’.

ACE From Arabic *maḥkama* ‘court’.

BAT ‘who is accused’.

SUN ‘the one accused’.

JAV Horne: ‘accusation’.

BAL ‘convicted person’.

SAS From Malay.

GOR (personal nominaliser + ‘do/have-wrong’)

UMA Also *tora-po-hura-i*.

NGA Also *bei*.

RTI	<i>mana-kala-k</i> for ‘plaintiff’ and ‘defendant’, i.e. the two opponents in a court case, possibly from Dutch <i>klagen</i> or <i>aanklagen</i> .
DOB	‘the one who is reported’.
SAW	‘person who is wrong’.
KAU	‘he REL PREP say idea stand PREP-him REL’ ( <i>tin ə men</i> brackets a relative clause) = ‘the one who has had talk brought against him’.
TOL	<i>nina</i> ‘that, those’, <i>di</i> indefinite subject marker, see Mosel (1984: 93), <i>təkun</i> (vb trans) ‘accuse’, lit ‘that one/those who are accused’.
ADZ	‘man defend-part’ = ‘man being defended’.
KIL	‘person declaring’.
MOT	<i>he-lao-ahu</i> ‘to be stopped, prevented’ ( <i>lao</i> ‘to go’; <i>anu</i> ‘to be closed’).
MEK	[ <i>kelele</i> ] means ‘fault, mistake; offence’; the expression begs the question of guilt or innocence.
PON	<i>mēn pān repen<sup>wu</sup></i> in a civil case, lit ‘one under judgement’; <i>mēn pān katip</i> in a criminal case, lit ‘one under accusation’.

### 21.230 WITNESS

Sanskrit: *sākṣīn*

Spanish: *testigo*

ATA	ACE	[saʔsi]	*SIK	[sasi]
TSO	BAT	[saksi]	RTI	[sakasi]
RUK	MIN	[sasi]	BUR	[saksiak]
PAI	IND	[saksi]	*DOB	[sasi]
*YAM	SUN	[saksi]	*IRA	sasirə
ISN	JAV	[səksi]	SAW	
KAL	MAD	[saksi]	NYI	<sup>n</sup> dʳamak
*TAG	BAL	[saksi]		ta atou
*AKL	SAS	[saksi]	MAM	mata-ita
PAL	*GOR	[sakusi]	TAK	
MOL	DAA	sabi	*DAM	i-senē-ya tamo
KAG	UMA	sabiʔ	*MAB	-re ki mata-
BLA	BUG	sabbi	YAB	
SAB	KON	sabbi	*KAU	hiaŋ tin ion
MUR	*WOL	[sakusii]		sun to βuŋin
*MGY	MAG	[sakə-si]	*TOL	tenə vər-v-ai
	NGA	beli	BUA	

*ADZ	garam muᵛ-a maran	*PAA	lēhāu	*MSH	ᵛikam <sup>u</sup> ōl
		LEW	na-ila-ena		kλcap <sup>u</sup>
*KIL	to-gigisa	POR		PON	
*TAW	tu limoina	NTA		WLE	
*MOT	ha-he- momokani	KWA		EFI	i-waka- dinadina
	tau-na	*NEM	ka-fa- duᵛeduyi	WFI	i-βā-ᵛinaᵛina
*MEK	pi-me <sup>ʔ</sup> e au-ᵛa	*CEM	â-pá-jūju-hi	*RTU	[uetnese]
ROV	tie va sosode	AJI	ka yə ve avāři	TON	fakamo <sup>ʔ</sup> oni
MAR		XAR		SAM	molimau
LAU		*NEN	ᵛa <sup>ʔ</sup> aseseᵛoni	MEL	
KWO		KIR		TAH	<sup>ʔ</sup> ite
RAG				RAP	mata- <sup>ʔ</sup> ite

YAM ‘the one who saw it’.

TAG Malay [*saksi*]; also [*testigo*].

AKL Malay [*saksi*].

MGY From *vava + uluna + veluna* ‘speech (mouth) of a (living) person’.

GOR Malay [*saksi*].

WOL Also *uᵛaa*.

SIK Also *ata[sasi]*.

DOB Malay [*saksi*].

IRA ‘one who has seen’

DAM ‘third-help-infinitive man’

MAB ‘see with one’s own eyes’.

KAU ‘the one who has seen another’s behaviour’.

TOL *vər-v-ai* (vb intrans) ‘inform’ (18.222).

ADZ ‘man defend-part eye’, i.e. ‘man defending with his eyes, i.e. a witness’.

KIL ‘person seeing’.

TAW ‘person who straightens (it)’.

MOT *ha-momokani-a* ‘to make true (*momokani*), confirm’. Also [*wusinesi*] from English *witness*.

MEK *pi-me<sup>ʔ</sup>e* means ‘look at, watch, stare’.

PAA ‘to witness’.

NEM ‘one who-caus-true-trans’ (‘he who does the truth’).

CEM ‘one who proves’.

NEN Also *ᵛu aseseᵛoni*.

MSH *apaŋ* ‘witness to a marriage’.

RTU From English *witness*.

## 21.240 SWEAR

ATA	k-um-na- ʔutux	*UMA	mo-ganeʔ	*MEK	e-iva-ŋome
		BUG	mat-tanro	ROV	zama rubruba
TSO		KON	aʔ-tunra	*MAR	ʔoyodo
RUK		*WOL	pə-tu <sup>n</sup> da	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> ala
PAI		*MAG	[su <sup>m</sup> pa]	KWO	tā
YAM		*NGA	tura-[ʃaʃi]	RAG	
ISN	mag-sipata	*SIK	[sumpa]	*PAA	vutuhut
*KAL	sapata	RTI	sə	LEW	visa-ari
*TAG	ākoʔ	BUR	smake	POR	
AKL	panumpaʔ	*DOB	ʔa-lor	NTA	noanaβl
PAL	mənumpa	IRA	nəmənūtənə	KWA	-ni k <sup>w</sup> asuahi
*MOL	sapaʔ	SAW	n-[časi] (sasi)	NEM	
*KAG	sumpa	NYI	aluhe	CEM	pî-áp <sup>w</sup> ə
BLA	s-m-əfəʔ	MAM	moimoi-pile	AJI	kibō
*SAB	sapa	TAK		XAR	
*MUR	patod	*DAM	mumei od i- rō-ya	NEN	ekonejəu
MGY	mi-aniana			KIR	
ACE	sumpah	*MAB	-po <sup>m</sup> bol sua	MSH	
*BAT	manəlon	*YAB	-toʔ leme-ŋ	PON	
MIN	sumpah	KAU	tuŋtuŋ	WLE	
*IND	bər-sumpah	*TOL	və-va-limə	EFI	būbūlui
*SUN	ŋ-učap-kin sumpah	BUA	tato nəma ya βaβunə	WFI	bubului
JAV	ñumpah (sumpah)	ADZ	raga-	RTU	pūlio
MAD	a-sumpa	*KIL	-kamtuli o-mata-la	TON	fuakava
*BAL	mə-saksi		yaubada	*SAM	tautō
SAS	bə-sumpaʔ	TAW	wig <sup>w</sup> ala	MEL	
GOR	mo-tadiya	*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> au	TAH	hōreo
DAA	ne-tu <sup>n</sup> da		momokani	*RAP	horea

KAL *sapata + man-*.

TAG *ākoʔ + maŋ- / ipaŋ-*, PHN *\*ākuʔ* ‘accept responsibility’.

MOL	<i>sapa?</i> + <i>-um/-an</i> .
KAG	<i>sumpa</i> + <i>mag</i> ; also <i>sa<sup>2</sup>ad</i> + <i>mag</i> ; also [ <i>urar</i> ] + <i>mag</i> - from Spanish <i>jurar</i> .
SAB	<i>sapa</i> + <i>aN-</i> .
MUR	<i>patod</i> ( <i>mag-</i> ).
BAT	( <i>maN-tɔlɔn</i> ) ‘to swallow’, see 05.181.
IND	Also <i>maki</i> (vulgar).
SUN	‘utter oath’; also <i>numpah</i> ( <i>N-sumpah</i> ).
BAL	<i>mə[-saksi]</i> Sanskrit, ‘swear one’s innocence’; <i>mə[-čor]-an</i> Old Javanese ‘swear one’s innocence, invoking the curse of the gods if lying’.
UMA	Also <i>mo-/[su<sup>m</sup>pa]</i> Malay.
WOL	‘swear, take an oath’.
MAG	From Malay.
NGA	From Malay.
SIK	Also [ <i>jaʃi</i> ] both Malay.
DOB	Used of swearing at something, usually in surprise, and usually using God’s, or a god’s name.
DAM	‘truth talk third-say-infinitive’.
MAB	<i>po<sup>m</sup>bol sua</i> ‘make the talk strong’.
YAB	‘-show hand-our’. For example, <i>ej ke-to? lema</i> ‘he he-show hand his’ i.e. ‘he swears’.
TOL	<i>va-</i> CAUS, <i>lima</i> ‘hand’.
KIL	‘declare before-eye-his God’.
MOT	<i>gwau</i> ‘to speak; <i>momokani</i> ‘true, truly’. Bible uses <i>g<sup>w</sup>au hamata</i> . (See 21.250).
MEK	<i>e-iva-ŋome</i> means ‘tell the truth’; also perhaps ‘protest the truth’.
MAR	‘make a formal swear’.
PAA	Only in the sense of ‘utter swearwords’.
SAM	Also <i>auŋani</i> .
RAP	Possibly from Spanish <i>jurar</i> .

## 21.250 OATH

ATA	PAI	KAL	<i>sapata</i>
TSO	YAM	*TAG	<i>sumpa?</i>
RUK	ISN	AKL	<i>sumpa?</i>
			<i>mag-sipata</i>

PAL	sumpa	*RTI	supa-so	LAU	
MOL		BUR	esmake-t	KWO	
KAG	sumpa	DOB		RAG	
BLA	sɔfɔʔ	IRA		PAA	
SAB		SAW	n-[časi] ([sasi])	LEW	visa-ari
MUR	uok			POR	
MGY	veli-ranu	NYI	ta <sup>n</sup> dʰakan	NTA	
ACE	sumpah	MAM	pile-tago- tototo	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> asuahi
BAT	gana			NEM	
MIN	sumpah	TAK		CEM	
IND	sumpah	*DAM	mumei-od	AJI	vi kibō
SUN	sumpah	MAB	sua	XAR	
*JAV	[pra][sɔpɔ]		<sup>m</sup> bukɳana	NEN	ekoneʒeu
MAD	sumpa	*YAB	toʔ leme-ŋ	*KIR	te taeka ni
BAL	sumpah	*KAU	sakal-ŋin tin		b <sup>w</sup> au
SAS	sumpaʔ		hiŋ tuŋtuŋ-i	MSH	kallim <sup>u</sup> uŋ
GOR	tadiya		men	*PON	kāula
DAA	tu <sup>n</sup> da	TOL	və-va-limə	*WLE	kekepaŋi
*UMA	pe-ganeʔ [su <sup>m</sup> pa]	BUA		EFI	būbūlui
		*ADZ	nan raga-dan	WFI	bubului
BUG	tanro	*KIL	katotila m <sup>w</sup> au	RTU	fæeaŋ reutu
KON	tunra	TAW	baha g <sup>w</sup> ala	TON	fuakava
*WOL	su <sup>m</sup> pa	*MOT	g <sup>w</sup> au-hamata	*SAM	tauto-ŋa
*MAG	vada	MEK		MEL	
*NGA	[jaʒi]	ROV	toktokoro	TAH	hōreoraʔa
*SIK	[sumpa]	MAR		*RAP	horea

TAG *sumpaʔ + paN-*.

JAV Sanskrit.

UMA Malay.

WOL Also *tu<sup>n</sup>da*.

MAG Certain manner of swearing.

NGA From Malay.

SIK From Malay.

RTI *supa-so* form a doublet in ordinary language and a dyadic set in ritual language.

DAM 'truth talk'.

YAB 'show hand-our': also, *p<sup>w</sup>aʔ* 'agreement, covenant'.

KAU	'speak-NOM REL he swear-it REL' ( <i>tin ə men</i> brackets a relative clause) = 'the talk which someone has sworn to'.
ADZ	'talk swear-PART'.
KIL	'promise heavy'.
MOT	<i>hamata</i> meaning not elicited.
KWA	'taken on the name of a sister'.
KIR	'vow' word'; a folk etymology might also be <i>b<sup>w</sup>au</i> 'knot, lasso'; [ <i>berita</i> ] also 'promise, covenant', introduced from Hebrew <i>brith</i> .
PON	With suffix <i>-la</i> 'away'; 'take an oath'.
WLE	'swear, promise'.
SAM	Also <i>auḡani</i> .
RAP	Possibly from Spanish <i>jurar</i> .

### 21.310 ACCUSE

ATA	JAV	n-[da <sup>ʔ</sup> wə]	MAM	pile-ono-	
TSO	MAD	a-[da <sup>ʔ</sup> wa]		naḡala <sup>ʔ</sup> o	
RUK	BAL	nalih (dalih)	TAK		
PAI	*SAS	maran	*DAM	od i-no-ya	
YAM		(paran)	*MAB	- <sup>ʔ</sup> gal sua	
ISN	mag-pabāsul	*GOR	mo-dulohu	*YAB	-goliḡ biḡ
*KAL	dalum	DAA	nom-paḡadu	*KAU	hik put sakal-
*TAG	parātaḡ	UMA	<sup>m</sup> po-rai <sup>ʔ</sup>		ḡin pit po sun
*AKL	pa-baḡud	BUG	mat-tūri <sup>ʔ</sup>	TOL	təkun
PAL	bəḡbəḡan	KON	an-nanra <sup>ʔ</sup>	BUA	ner raḡ
*MOL	tondos		(tanra <sup>ʔ</sup> )	*ADZ	oso- <b>da</b> nan
*KAG	baḡdan	WOL	rae-aka		rut in
*BLA	m-le səl <sup>ʔ</sup>	MAG	buḡ	KIL	-luluki
*SAB	tokod	*NGA	pəri	TAW	wigou
*MUR	ū <sup>ʔ</sup>	SIK	solo	*MOT	ha-ba <b>de</b> -lai-a
MGY	mi-ampanga	*RTI	kala-k	*MEK	iva-ḡa
*ACE	tudoh	*BUR	dohi-k rine	ROV	zutu
BAT	[adu]-hən	*DOB	na-ta'be	*MAR	fayoro
*MIN	manudu <sup>ʔ</sup> h		[sala] ya <sup>ʔ</sup> a-n	LAU	
*IND	mənuduh	IRA		*KWO	sufa-a
	(tuduh)	SAW	n-fa-səl	RAG	
*SUN	nuduh	NYI		PAA	
	(tuduh)			LEW	visi

POR		NEN	ikiwata(n)	*RTU	keu sar
NTA	-ən ... lan	*KIR	bukina	TON	talatalaaki-ʔi
KWA	-eri uta	MSH	kināk	SAM	mōlia
NEM	yanuŋo	*PON	katipa	MEL	čīlā
CEM	tēi-hi	WLE		TAH	pari
AJI	vi kārā	EFI	bei-taka	RAP	haʔaki
*XAR	čī šū	WEI	taβui-sia		

KAL *dalum + i-*.

TAG *parātaŋ + mag-/an*.

AKL *(pa-baŋd-an)*.

MOL *tondos + -an*.

KAG *baŋdan + mag-/an* also *[akusar] + mag-/an* from Spanish *acusar*.

BLA *d-m-alam* ‘to accuse or blame’.

SAB *tokod + aN-/ø*.

MUR *ūʔ (maŋ- -in)*.

ACE Also *[dakwa]*.

MIN *(maN-tuduʔh)*.

IND Also *mən-[dakwa]*, *məmpər-salah-kan*.

SUN Also *ŋa-[dakwa]*.

SAS Thoir et al. (1985): *paran* ‘consider to be; say to be’.

GOR Also *mohe<sup>n</sup>dobu* (*wa<sup>n</sup>dobu + moh-*), and *moluludu* (*tuludu + moN-*).

NGA Also *berī*.

RTI See 21.220. Also *sala-k* ‘guilty, guilty judgement’; *na-sala-k* ‘guilty’; *ta na-sala-k* ‘not guilty’.

BUR ‘tell about him/her’.

DOB ‘he throws wrong at him’.

DAM ‘talk third-put’, meaning ‘to put talk’ (always unfavourable). Also *bowa y-u-ya* (16.780) and *bowa boun od i-no-ya* ‘put talk on a body’.

MAB ‘pierce talk’, also *-suk sua*.

YAB ‘steer speech’.

KAU ‘break stem speak-NOM stand PREP someone’, i.e. ‘break talk against someone else’.

ADZ ‘accuse-PART talk to him’.



- MOT Also, in a more general sense, *g<sup>w</sup>au heni-a* ‘to scold, blame, accuse’,  
*lodu heni-a* ‘to shout at, scold, accuse’, not as strong as the other  
terms.
- MEK ‘call’. NW Mekeo has [*tamani*]-*na* from ‘summon’.
- MAR *yoro, fat<sup>h</sup>oro* ‘accuse, blame’.
- KWO Also *tōŋe<sup>?</sup>eni-a*.
- XAR ‘be suspicious of’.
- KIR *buki* ‘end, cause, reason’; *kabuakakā* CAUS *buaka* ‘bad’.
- PON Also *karaunī, pakaraun*.
- RTU Also *sæmæn-<sup>?</sup>æk* ‘summons’, from English.

## 21.320 CONDEMN

<b>Arabic:</b> <i>ḥukm</i> ‘condemnation’
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ATA		*JAV	midɔnɔ	NYI	
TSO			( pidɔnɔ )	MAM	giri <sup>?</sup> i-ono-
RUK		MAD	ŋ-[ukum]		nana-la <sup>?</sup> o
PAI		*BAL	nanda-in	TAK	
YAM			(danda-in)	*DAM	mala solo od
ISN	ma-pabāsul	SAS	ŋ-[ukum]		i-rō-ya
*KAL	bītay	*GOR	mɔ- la <sup>?</sup> anati	*MAB	- <sup>ɲ</sup> gal mata-
*TAG	tuligsa <sup>?</sup>	DAA		*YAB	-ki <sup>?</sup> ... biŋ
*AKL	[kondenar]	UMA		KAU	
*PAL	dusa <sup>?</sup> an	BUG	sala	*TOL	kur-e və-kaina
*MOL	botan	*KON	a <sup>?</sup> -pa-ntama <sup>?</sup>	BUA	
*KAG	[kundinar]		ri atɔr-aŋ	ADZ	
BLA	n-ukum	*WOL	hukumu]-aka	KIL	-kamogi
SAB	pina-tanna <sup>?</sup> -an	MAG	hukum	TAW	libahibahi
	[hukum]-an	NGA	βətu	*MOT	ha-he-maoro
MUR		SIK	[uku-ŋ]		heni-a
*MGY	manameluka	RTI	fe sala-k	*MEK	e-pa-tsipula-
ACE	pui-[hukom]	BUR	du-duwe-k		ŋa
BAT	[uhum]		rine	ROV	vakilasia
*MIN	maŋutu <sup>?</sup>	*DOB	naŋay yala-n	MAR	
*IND	məŋ-[hukum]	IRA		LAU	
SUN	ŋa-[hukum]	SAW	n-fa-sɔl	KWO	

RAG		AJI	pɔi	*WFI	[totoŋi-takinia]
PAA		XAR			
LEW		NEN	ŋaelo(n)	RTU	
POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>ŋ</sup> g	*KIR	kaburea	TON	fakahalaia
NTA		MSH	liākɭɔk	*SAM	faʔa-sala
KWA		PON		MEL	
NEM		WLE	ɾiya	TAH	faʔautuʔa
*CEM	p <sup>w</sup> ɔ-cúhi-n̄do-te-n	*EFI	totoŋi-taka	RAP	ūtuʔa

KAL *bītay + ma-* ‘condemn to death’.

TAG *tuligsaʔ + -um/-in* ‘criticise’, otherwise also ‘convict’.

AKL [*kondenar*] + *-un* from Spanish *condenar*.

PAL Also *batayan*.

MOL *botan + -an*.

KAG [*kundinar*] + *mag-* from Spanish *condenar*.

MGY From *mana-meluka*; *meluka* derived from *heluka*.

MIN (*maN-kutuʔ*).

IND Also *māñalah-kan* (*salah*), *mən-čəla*.

JAV From Sanskrit.

BAL (*N*-)*salah-aŋ* ‘find guilty’.

GOR Arabic *laʔana* ‘curse’.

KON Also *aʔ-pa-njariator-aŋ*.

WOL Also *po-sala*.

DOB ‘he says he is wrong’.

DAM ‘punishment third-say-infinitive’.

MAB ‘pierce someone’s eye’.

YAB ‘pay someone speech’; also *-masuʔ* ‘ban, chase away, condemn’.

TOL *kur-e* (vb trans) ‘judge’, *və*- CAUS, *kainə* ‘bad’.

MOT ‘to judge’ (see 21.160). Also Lister-Turner – Clark (n.d.) *reβa-ia* ‘to condemn to death’.

MEK *e-pa-tsipula-ŋa* in fact means ‘imprison’.

CEM ‘make price of thing to him’.

KIR CAUS of *bure* ‘fault, error, sin’.

WFI Standard Fijian, from Tongan *totoŋi* ‘pay’.

EFI Tongan *totoŋi* 'pay'.

SAM *faʔa*-CAUS, *sala* (vb intrans) 'be punished, be fined'.

### 21.330 CONVICT (VB)

**Arabic:** *ḥukm, śakwa*

ATA		UMA		*MEK	[kelele]e-
TSO		BUG	tau ri-taruŋku		kapu-lai-a
RUK		KON	aʔ-pa-sala	ROV	zutu
PAI		WOL	[hukumu]-	MAR	
YAM			aka	LAU	
ISN	na-pabāsul	MAG		KWO	
*KAL	[sentensiya]	NGA	vai	RAG	
*TAG	[hātōl]	SIK	[uku-ŋ]	PAA	
*AKL	hātu†	RTI	[hukun]	LEW	
PAL	dusaʔan	*BUR	fasa bau-t	POR	
MOL		DOB		NTA	
*KAG	[kunbiktar]	IRA		KWA	
BLA	n-[ukum]	SAW		NEM	
*SAB	daʔug + ta-	NYI		CEM	
MUR		MAM	giriʔi-ania	AJL	tuwiři
MGY	mi-ampanga	TAK		XAR	
ACE	puu-salah	*DAM	tamo mosor i-	NEN	
*BAT	[uhum]		no-n ani i-rō-	KIR	
MIN	ma-[hukum]-		ya	MSH	
	kan	*MAB	-tīri ūnu ma	PON	
IND	məŋ-[dakwa]		a <sup>m</sup> bai som	WLE	
SUN		YAB		EFI	βaka-ḏala-a
JAV	n-{daʔwə}	*KAU	βa lasiin ko	WFI	βa-ḏala-nia
MAD			po sun	RTU	təŋ-ʔəki
*BAL	nanda-in	*TOL	təkun ot pə	TON	fakahalaiaʔi
	(danda-in)	BUA		*SAM	taʔu-sala-ina
SAS	ŋ-[ukum]	ADZ		MEL	
GOR	mo-	KIL	-kamogi	TAH	faʔahapa
	[hukūmani]	TAW		RAP	
DAA		*MOT			

KAL	[ <i>sentensiya</i> ] + <i>-an</i> .
TAG	[ <i>hātól</i> ] + <i>-um/-an</i> from Malay <i>hatur</i> ‘arrange, order’.
AKL	<i>hātuł</i> + <i>-an</i> .
KAG	[ <i>kunbiktar</i> ] + <i>ma-</i> from Spanish <i>convicto</i> .
SAB	‘lose’.
BAT	See 21.110.
BAL	<i>bogolan</i> ‘convicted person’.
BUR	‘decide the penalty’; <i>bau-tmoho</i> ‘penalty falls’.
DAM	‘man wrong third-put-past that third-say-infinitive’.
MAB	‘examine someone’s culpability and (find it) not good’.
KAU	‘say fault descend PREP someone’ = ‘to put the blame on someone’.
TOL	<i>təkun</i> (vb trans) ‘accuse’, <i>ot</i> ‘completely’, <i>pə</i> see Mosel (1984: 131).
MOT	No term identified.
MEK	‘find the fault’.
SAM	<i>taʔu</i> (vb trans) ‘announce, declare’, <i>sala</i> (vb intrans) ‘be punished’, ‘punishment’, <i>-ina</i> TR.

## 21.340 ACQUIT

ATA		*MGY	mahafaka	UMA	
TSO			madiuidu	BUG	lippiʔ
RUK		*ACE	pu-	*KON	ni-lappas-aŋ
PAI			[muruudeka]		(‘lappasa)
YAM	nipaşawəy	BAT	pa-lua-hən	WOL	pa-lapa
ISN	akkan napabāsul	MIN	mam-bebas- kan dari	MAG	
KAL			tuduh-an	NGA	ʃəka
*TAG	pa-walaŋ-sāla	*IND	məm-bebas- kan	SIK	lose
*AKL	būhiʔ			RTI	poʔi-n
PAL	məgliwan (liwan)	*SUN	ŋa-bebas-kin	*BUR	ep-tila
MOL		JAV	ŋ-luar-i	*DOB	naŋay toŋar- ni
*KAG	[libri]	*MAD	a-[pariŋ ampun]	IRA	
BLA	fa-lwəʔ di			*SAW	n-čəpen (səpen)
	usəy	BAL			
*SAB	daʔug	SAS	ŋə-ləpas	NYI	
MUR		*GOR	mo-[bēbasi]	MAM	giriʔi-roʔaʔale
		DAA		TAK	

*DAM	i-tor-nē-ya	ROV	tarupaha	KIR	
*MAB	tīri ūnu ma	MAR		MSH	
	a <sup>m</sup> bai	LAU		PON	
YAB		KWO		WLE	
*KAU	maŋ ta sun li	RAG		EFI	tala-ḏa
*TOL	və-ləŋələŋə	PAA		WFI	tala-ḏia
BUA		LEW		RTU	sɔi-ʔɔki
ADZ		POR		TON	fakatonuhia
*KIL	-kamituli gala	NTA		*SAM	taʔu-mamā-
	aβaka kala	KWA			ina
	pakula	NEM		MEL	
TAW		CEM		TAH	faʔaora
*MOT	maoro-na	*AJI	da pɔi	RAP	haka kore
	g <sup>w</sup> au-rai-a	XAR			
*MEK	e-ŋupu-ka	NEN			

TAG *pa-walaŋ-sāla + mag-/i-*.

AKL *būhiʔ + -un* ‘to free, let go’.

KAG [*libri*] + *ma-/pa-* -ən from Spanish *libre*.

SAB *daʔug + aN-* ‘win’.

MGY From *maha-afaka + ma-diu-diu*.

ACE Sanskrit.

IND Also *mə-ləpas-kan*.

SUN ‘free (vb trans)’.

MAD Javanese.

GOR The root, [*bēbasi*], is a loanword from Malay *bebas* ‘free from restraint’.

KON Also *ni-pam-mopporəŋ(popporəŋ)*.

BUR Release; also *sal-gae*.

DOB ‘they say he’s innocent’.

SAW ‘he goes out’.

DAM ‘third-leave-third sing-INF’.

MAB ‘examine someone’s culpability and (find it) good’.

KAU ‘let PREP someone go’ = ‘let someone go’.

TOL *və-* CAUS, *ləŋələŋə* ‘free’; it is not clear, if *və-ləŋələŋə* ‘make free, disengage, release’ is also a juridical term’.

KIL ‘declare not what his blame’.

MOT *maoro* ‘straight, correct, right’, here noun ‘rightness’; *g<sup>w</sup>au-rai-a* ‘to talk about, speak about’.

MEK ‘undo, untie, release’; we can also say [*kelele*] *a-e-kapu-lai-a* ‘not find the fault’.

AJI Also *cō*.

SAM *ta<sup>?</sup>u* (vb trans) ‘announce, declare’, *mamā* ‘innocent’.

## 21.350 GUILTY

ATA	kiya <sup>?</sup> kinhamtan	DAA	na-sala	*MEK	[kelele]
TSO		UMA	ma-sala <sup>?</sup>	ROV	
RUK		BUG	tau-sala	MAR	
PAI		KON	sala	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aikudu
YAM	amian ʃo zazatən	WOL	iko-d <sup>o</sup> osa-aka	KWO	
ISN	nag-bāsul	MAG		RAG	
*KAL	bāsul	NGA	sala	PAA	
*TAG	sāla	SIK	hala	*LEW	viowa
*AKL	may saʃa <sup>?</sup>	*RTI	na-sala	POR	
PAL	mōsala <sup>?</sup> (sala <sup>?</sup> )	BUR	geba ep-haka-t	NTA	
MOL	togo sala <sup>?</sup>	DOB	yala-n	KWA	
*KAG	may sala	*IRA	a ɸonə ɸe kabia	*NEM	ka-po-t <sup>h</sup> ue- aman
BLA	ma-ble sɔɔ <sup>?</sup>	*SAW	n-čɔl (sɔl)	CEM	
SAB	la <sup>?</sup> at + a-	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i	AJI	kāmə ka tē
MUR		MAM	giri <sup>?</sup> i-moimoi- ema <sup>?</sup> i	*XAR	a-x <sup>w</sup> i re dɔu ɕā
MGY	vua-heluka	TAK		NEN	
ACE	salah	DAM	tutuk sā	*KIR	bure
BAT	mar-sala	*MAB	le-ūnu	*MSH	p <sup>w</sup> ər
MIN	ba-salah		sanangana	*PON	dipata
*IND	bər-salah	*YAB	-we (ŋa-)kaɪŋ	WLE	
SUN	salah	*KAU	in to lasiin	EFI	βaka-ðala-i
*JAV	[ɔsɔ]	*TOL	rərə	WFI	
MAD	sala	BUA		RTU	aŋsara
*BAL	pəlih	*ADZ	anu <sup>?</sup> sasa <sup>?</sup> -an	TON	halaiā
SAS	bə-sala <sup>?</sup>	*KIL	to-sula	*SAM	nofo-sala
GOR	tā-tāla-wa	*TAW	tulagona	MEL	
		*MOT	mai ena kerere	TAH	hara
				RAP	

KAL	<i>bāsul + na-</i> .
TAG	<i>sāla + may-</i> .
AKL	‘has a sin’.
KAG	‘has sin’.
IND	Also <i>bār-dosa</i> ‘sin, guilt’.
JAV	Sanskrit.
BAL	Also <i>salah</i> .
RTI	<i>sala-k</i> ‘guilty, guilty judgement’; <i>na-sala-k</i> ‘guilty’, <i>ta na-sala-k</i> ‘not guilty’.
IRA	‘I did a bad thing’
SAW	‘wrong’; also [ <i>sala</i> ], Malay.
MAB	<i>le-ūnu sananṅana</i> ‘have bad culpability’; <i>le-ūnu sa</i> ‘have culpability’, also <i>ūnu a<sup>m</sup>bai som</i> .
YAB	‘be caught leg’.
KAU	‘be at fault’.
TOL	Also ‘incorrect, go astray’.
ADZ	‘neg innocent-part’.
KIL	‘person-error’ (mistake).
TAW	‘to transgress’.
MOT	<i>kerere</i> ‘mistake, fault’.
MEK	<i>/kelele/au-ŋa</i> ‘guilty person’.
LEW	See 16.720.
NEM	See 20.470.
XAR	‘the one who has done a bad thing’.
KIR	See entry for ‘fault, error’.
MSH	CAUS of <i>mm<sup>w</sup>ag</i> ‘suspicious, dubious’.
PON	With directional <i>-ta</i> ‘up’.
SAM	<i>nofo</i> (vb intrans) ‘sit, stay’, <i>sala</i> see 21.330, also <i>aŋa-sala</i> ‘conduct deserving punishment’.

### 21.360 INNOCENT

ATA	ʔukaš ʔa kinhamtan	YAM	abo ʔaʔatən na	*AKL	uwa-t saʔaʔ
TSO		ISN	āwan bāsul	PAL	tipu
RUK		KAL	naʔid bāsul	MOL	inda koy ko- solaʔ- an
PAI		*TAG	kasalānan	*KAG	ulaʔ sala

BLA	landəʔ sələʔ	*RTI	ta na-sala	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aimagoloi
SAB	insaʔ bai ta-	*BUR	geba sas-sala-	KWO	
	hinaŋ na		n	RAG	
MUR		DOB	toŋar-ni	PAA	
MGY	ma-diu	*IRA	ja ɸonə ɸe	*LEW	lcləŋa
ACE	hān salah		kabia te	POR	
*BAT	daŋ mar-sala	*SAW	n-čəl pa (səl)	*NTA	iol atuətəp
MIN	indaʔ ba-	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> amak	KWA	
	salah		m <sup>w</sup> asin	NEM	
IND	tidak bər-	*MAM	giriʔi-ne-tago	*CEM	tíce-būne
	salah	TAK		AJI	kāmə ka da tē
*SUN	tī salah	DAM	tutuk	XAR	
*JAV	tanpə [ɸosə]	*MAB	le- ūnu	NEN	
*MAD	bərsi		a <sup>m</sup> baŋana	*KIR	eti
*BAL	siŋ pəlih	*YAB	laŋo-sawa	*MSI	cacələkceŋ <sup>w</sup>
*SAS	əndəʔ bə-	*KAU	pə tin buŋin	*PON	m <sup>v</sup> akelekel
	salaʔ		tahi om	WLE	
*GOR	ja tā-tāla-wa	*TOL	ləŋələŋə	EFI	talaði
DAA	daʔa na-sala	BUA		WFI	
UMA	uma ma-salaʔ	ADZ	sasaʔ-	RTU	
BUG	tau-tuŋu	*KIL	to-b <sup>w</sup> aila	TON	tonuhia
*KON	anreʔ na-sala	*TAW	ega a gou	SAM	mamā
WOL	i <sup>n</sup> da asala	MOT	asi ena kerere	MEL	
MAG		MEK	kelele  laai	TAH	hara ʔore
NGA	milo	ROV	tie toŋoto	RAP	
SIK	ene hala	MAR			

TAG *wala-ŋsāla*.

AKL ‘has no sin’.

KAG ‘has no sin’.

BAT Also *bənar*.

SUN ‘not guilty’; also *tī boga [dosa]* Sanskrit, ‘not have sin’.

JAV ‘not guilty’ Sanskrit.

MAD ‘clean’.

BAL ‘not guilty’.

SAS ‘not guilty’.

GOR ‘not’ + ‘guilty’.

KON Also *naba*.



RTI	See 21.350.
BUR	Person has done no wrong; <i>geba-em-dofon</i> 'innocent, righteous'.
IRA	'I didn't do something bad'.
SAW	'not wrong'.
MAM	Also <i>maloŋa-leuai</i> .
MAB	<i>le-ūnu a<sup>m</sup>baiŋana</i> 'have bad culpability'; <i>le-ūnu sa som</i> 'have no culpability'.
YAB	'face his empty' i.e. 'he is innocent'.
KAU	'those against whom there is no talk'.
TOL	Free, independant, healthy, immune, innocent.
KIL	'person blameless' (innocent of any evil).
TAW	'not his fault'.
LEW	See 16.660.
NTA	'innocent person'.
CEM	'without theft'.
KIR	'straight, righteous'.
MSH	Also 'ignorant' in the sense of not corrupted, immature.
PON	Also 'clean, honest'.

## 21.370 PENALTY, PUNISHMENT

Arabic: *ḥukm*

ATA	p-ši-rhuy	SAB	[hukum]-an	DAA	pe-suku
TSO		*MUR	[ukum]	UMA	[huku <sup>?</sup> ]
RUK		*MGY	[sazi]	BUG	
PAI		*ACE	[hukoman]	KON	[hukkuŋ]-aŋ
YAM	oya	BAT	[uhum]-an	WOL	ka[hukuma]
ISN	[pānis]	*MIN	[hukum]-an	MAG	
*KAL	[mūlta]	IND	[hukum]-an	NGA	lau-kora
*TAG	parūsa	SUN	[hukum]-an	SIK	[uku-ŋ]
*AKL	[pēnah]	*JAV	[ukum]-an	RTI	hu-[huku]-k
PAL	botaŋ	MAD	[ukum]-an	*BUR	bau-t
MOL	botan	*BAL	[dandə]	DOB	
*KAG	silut	*SAS	[gañjar-an]	IRA	
BLA	f-sələ <sup>?</sup>	GOR	[hukūmani]	*SAW	[katula]

NYI	maha	*MEK	[tsipula]	NEN	θuben
*MAM	sururu	ROV	vina kilasa	*KIR	te reke ni kai
TAK		*MAR	koko	MSH	kace
DAM	mala solo	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aelā	*PON	kalokolok
*MAB	kadōno	KWO		*WLE	[ϕ <sup>w</sup> akīŋe]
YAB	ŋa-geyo	RAG		*EFI	[i-totoŋi]
KAU		PAA		*WFI	[i-totoŋi]
*TOL	bəbəli	LEW	na-koa-ena	RTU	toŋi
BUA		POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>ŋ</sup> g	TON	tautea
*ADZ	nam barabin- dan	NTA	nalp <sup>w</sup> ənən	*SAM	fa <sup>ʔ</sup> a-sala-ŋa
*KIL	mapula la mitugaga	*KWA	nerup <sup>w</sup> unien	*MEL	[vara]
*TAW	bigo	*NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ue-aman	TAH	utu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
*MOT	kerere ahu-na	*CEM	cúhi-nâdo	RAP	ūtu <sup>ʔ</sup> a
		AJI	pε uñ		
		*XAR	dī		

KAL From Spanish.

TAG Also *ka-parusah-an*.

AKL From Spanish *pena*.

KAG Also [*pina*] from Spanish *pena*.

MUR Also *tagi<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘individual penalty’, *sagit* ‘communal penalty’.

MGY From English *charge* (?)

ACE Malay.

MIN Also [*seso*] Sanskrit.

JAV Also [*pi[dənə]*] Sanskrit.

BAL Also [*dosə*] from Sanskrit; *sə-salah-an*.

SAS From Malay?

BUR See 21.170; *mata lahi-n* ‘penalty/curse (from the spirits) that lasts for several generations’.

SAW Ternate (?)

MAM Also *moatubu*.

MAB *-ur kadōno* ‘to sentence’.

TOL Also ‘retaliation, compensation’, from *bəli* (vb trans) ‘recompense, repay’, see 18.320.

ADZ ‘thing heavy-PART’, i.e. ‘heavy thing, difficult thing’, ‘punishment’.

KIL ‘price his evil’.

TAW ‘payback’.

MOT	<i>ahu</i> ‘share’. Bible uses ( <i>kara</i> ) <i>dika</i> <i>daβa-na</i> or <i>ahu-na</i> ( <i>kara</i> ‘act, behaviour’, <i>dika</i> ‘bad’, <i>daβa</i> ‘pay, price’).
MEK	[ <i>tsipula</i> ] is from Motu (or Police Motu) where <i>dibura</i> ‘darkness’ was used to mean ‘prison’ and by extension ‘punishment’.
MAR	‘monetary penalty’.
KWA	‘reciprocity, paying back’.
NEM	‘price of-thing (payment)’.
CEM	‘price thing’.
XAR	‘price’.
KIR	cf. <i>reke</i> ‘caught, obtained’; <i>e a reke kaina</i> . ‘he was punished’. <i>te nenebo</i> ‘compensation in land for a death’.
PON	<i>kalokolok</i> causative form, from <i>lokolok</i> ‘suffering’; <i>outek</i> ‘destruction by order of a chief’.
WLE	[ <i>ϕ<sup>w</sup>akīŋe</i> ] ‘fine’ from Japanese, <i>paŋuwaŋi-moŋofiti</i> ‘penance’; lit ‘cost of sin’.
EFI	Tongan <i>totoŋi</i> ‘pay’.
WFI	Standard Fijian, from Tongan <i>totoŋi</i> ‘pay’.
SAM	See 21.320; also <i>toŋi-sala</i> , <i>toŋi-</i> ‘pay’, <i>totoŋi</i> (vb trans) ‘pay’.
MEL	From Efate.

## 21.380 FINE

Sanskrit: <i>daṇḍa-</i>	Spanish: <i>multa</i>
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ATA	ta-š-ya-yaβi†	*BLA	f-sɔɔʔ	SAS	
TSO		SAB	multa	GOR	[di <sup>n</sup> da]
RUK		MUR	[dandaʔ]	DAA	vaya
PAI		*MGY	[lamandi]	*UMA	βaeaʔ
YAM	tomozo	ACE	[dunda]	BUG	[dinda]
ISN	[multa]	*BAT	[daddɔ]	KON	paʔ-pas-sala
KAL	[mūlta]	*MIN	[dando]	*WOL	ka-ri <sup>m</sup> bi
TAG	[multa]	IND	[denda]	MAG	[de <sup>n</sup> da]
AKL	[multa]	SUN	[dəŋda]	NGA	vaʃa
*PAL	bɔtaŋ	JAV	[dəndɔ]	*SIK	[uku-ŋ]
MOL	[multa]	MAD	[dind <sup>h</sup> a]	RTI	na-huta
KAG	[multa]	*BAL		*BUR	pe-beha

*DOB	na-r- $\phi$ asir	*TAW	wimcihawila	XAR	
*IRA	na $\phi$ onə	*MOT	[faini]	NEN	
	muera	*MEK	?ava	KIR	te tuā
*SAW	n-fa-wag	ROV	here	*MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> akkīŋ]
NYI	akunoh	*MAR	koko	*PON	[pakkiŋ]
MAM	zaza-ono-	LAU		*WLE	[ $\phi^w$ akīŋe]
	giri?i-mateŋa	KWO		*EFI	[i-totoŋi]
TAK		RAG			i la $\beta$ o
DAM	wareg	PAA		WFI	totoŋi i-la $\beta$ o
MAB	kadōno	LEW	na-koa-ena	RTU	toŋi
YAB		POR	<sup>m</sup> ba <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>ŋ</sup> g	TON	tautea pa?aŋa
*KAU	kul lasiin	*NTA	[pain]	*SAM	sala
*TOL	bəbəli	KWA	nerup <sup>w</sup> unien	MEL	
BUA	bagosen kot	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ue-aman	TAH	utu?a moni
*ADZ	gudzu muŋa?	CEM	cúhi-nādo	RAP	te ūtu?a he
*KIL	-katumapu	AJI	pɛ uŋi		?ouhou

PAL Also *murta*.

BLA Also [*morta*].

MGY From French.

BAT Sanskrit via Minangkabau.

MIN Also [*pada*].

BAL See 21.370.

UMA Also *giβu?*

WOL Also *ri<sup>m</sup>bi-ti*.

SIK From Arabic.

BUR Also [*denda*].

DOB A verb 'he pays', the use of this verb with the *-r-* prefix usually refers to the payment of fines.

IRA 'pay a fine'.

SAW 'to fine'.

KAU 'pay fault', i.e. 'pay for a wrong done'.

TOL Also 'retaliation, compensation', from *bali* (vb trans) 'recompense, repay', see 18.320.

ADZ 'head debt', i.e. 'payment for debt; compensation payment revenge'.

KIL 'answer'. Also *i-mapu mani* he-answer money 'he pays money' (he answers his obligation using money).

TAW Also *meidumalu*.

MOT From English *fine*. Also *kerere daβa-na* (*daβa* ‘pay, price’).

MEK ?*ava* means ‘price; debt’; nowadays we often hear [*faene*] ‘fine’.

MAR Also [*faen*] Pijin.

NTA From Bislama.

MSH From English.

PON From English.

WLE From Japanese.

EFI Tongan *totoŋi* ‘pay’.

SAM See 21.320, 21.330.

## 21.390 PRISON, JAIL

Sanskrit: *pañjara-*

Dutch: *boei*

ATA	ʔiβuʔ	MAD	patandən	MAB	rūmu sanāna
TSO		*BAL	[bui]	*YAB	kap <sup>w</sup> aʔ-walo
RUK		SAS	[bui]	*KAU	karaβhus
PAI		*GOR	[tutupa]	*TOL	pəl-nə-
YAM	paməmtəŋan	DAA	taru <sup>ɔ</sup> gu		[kərəbus]
ISN	agbabalūdān	UMA	taru <sup>ɔ</sup> kuʔ	BUA	[karabus]
*KAL	baballūdan	BUG	taruŋku	ADZ	
*TAG	bīlaŋgūʔ-an	KON	taruŋku	*KIL	b <sup>w</sup> ala
*AKL	[prisoh]-an	*WOL	ka-toro <sup>ɔ</sup> ku		katupipi
PAL	kuruŋ	*MAG	[bui]	TAW	numa
*MOL	[pīrisu]	NGA	baru-dēke		panipani
*KAG	[prisu]	*SIK	ori-ŋ [bui]	*MOT	dībura
BLA	[bilanɡuʔ]	RTI	[bui]	*MEK	[tsipula]
*SAB	[kalaboso]	BUR	[bui]	ROV	vetu varipusi
*MUR	[jīl]	DOB	[buy]	*MĀR	sosolo
*MGY	ʔ <sup>r</sup> anu-maizina	*IRA	sanə ganitə	LAU	[beresini]
*ACE	glap		φutə	KWO	
BAT	hurun-an	SAW	[bui]	RAG	
*MIN	kuru <sup>ɔ</sup> ŋ-an	NYI	bolokou	PAA	
IND	[pəñjara]	MAM	uaura-pera	*LEW	[lokap]
*SUN	[pañjara]	TAK		POR	e-tax
*JAV	[kuñjɔɔ]	*DAM	kaφī φi-ya φō	*NTA	[kalapus]

KWA		*MSH	[p <sup>w</sup> irēk]	*RTU	rī hihiriŋa
*NEM	[karavūč]	*PON	im <sup>w</sup> eŋeŋ	TON	?api pōpula
*CEM	[kàrapū]	*WLE	[kōreϕ <sup>w</sup> ūsa]	*SAM	fale puipui
AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ã pɔ kāmɔ	EFI	βale-ni-	*MEL	[kalapūs]
*XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ã-ŋĩĩ		βeiβesu	TAH	fare ?auri
NEN	ewoθ	*WFI	were-ni-	RAP	hare ma?u
*KIR	ta karabuti		βiβehu		?auri

KAL (*R<sup>1</sup>balud-R<sup>2</sup>-an*).

TAG Also *kúlūŋ-an*, [kalabōso], from Spanish *calabozo* ‘dungeon’.

AKL From Spanish *preso* ‘prisoner’.

MOL [*pirisu*] + *pi--an* from Spanish.

KAG ? From Spanish *prisión*.

SAB From Spanish

MUR From English *gaol/jail*.

MGY ‘dark house’.

ACE Also [*benčara*] Sanskrit, probably via Malay.

MIN Also [*paseban*] Javanese, [*piñjaro*].

SUN Also [*bui*].

JAV Blend of [*kuĵana*] ‘bad person’ and [*pañjara*] ‘cage’?

BAL Also *paŋkeŋ*, see *kraŋkeŋ* ‘cage for animals, insane people’.

GOR Malay *tutupan* ‘cover (noun)’, ‘lid’; *rumah tutupan* ‘prison, jail’.

WOL Also *ka-toru<sup>ɖ</sup>ku*.

MAG Also [*pə<sup>n</sup>ĵara*], formerly: [*təru<sup>ɖ</sup>ku*], from Bimanese.

SIK Also *ori-ŋ* [*ruma-ŋ*].

IRA ‘house which is dark’.

DAM ‘capture 3sg TRANS AUX vb-INF house’.

YAB ‘*kap<sup>w</sup>a?* ‘couping’ i.e. ‘necklace’: *kap<sup>w</sup>a?* are a kind of shell used to make necklaces. By extension, *kap<sup>w</sup>a?-walo* means ‘chain’, ‘prison’.

KAU Tok Pisin.

TOL *pal* ‘house’, *nə* CONN, [*kərabus*] from Tok Pisin *kalabus* ‘jail, prison; prisoner’.

KIL ‘house bondage’.

MOT ‘darkness’. Also *dibura ruma-na* (*ruma* ‘house’).

MEK [*tsipula*] means ‘penalty, punishment’ in general (see 21.370, note).

MAR	<i>sosolo</i> (vb) 'imprison'; [ <i>preseni</i> ] Pijin.
LEW	From Bislama; also [ <i>nampasekis</i> ] (from Bislama), <i>kotom</i> <sup>wiu</sup> (see 03.819), <i>yum</i> <sup>wana-koa-ena</sup> .
NTA	From Bislama.
NEM	From Bislama <i>kalabus</i> .
CEM	From Bislama.
XAR	'house of darkness'; also [ <i>karapūci</i> ] from Bislama.
KIR	From English (from Spanish) <i>calaboose</i> .
MSH	From English <i>brig</i> ; [ <i>kalp</i> <sup>wūc</sup> ] from Spanish via English 'calaboose'.
PON	'tight house'; [ <i>kalap</i> <sup>wūs</sup> ] English (from Spanish).
WLE	From English (from Spanish).
WFI	Also [ <i>baleniu</i> ] Standard Fijian.
RTU	Also <i>rī</i> 'oroŋa.
SAM	<i>fale</i> 'house', <i>puipui</i> (vb trans) 'fence off, protect, defend, ward off'.
MEL	From English.

## 21.420 MURDER

ATA	IND	pəm-bunuh-an	*IRA	nəϕunə
TSO	SUN	maehan (paeh)	SAW	n-pun
RUK	*JAV	[rəjɔ]pati	NYI	adai imek
PAI	*MAD	pati <sup>?</sup> i	MAM	ramoate
YAM	BAL	ŋə-mati-aŋ	*TAK	
ISN	*SAS	pə-mate <sup>?</sup> aŋ	*DAM	y-ū-di lā ϕi-ya
KAL	*GOR	[po <sup>m</sup> bunuhan]	*MAB	-pun ma imēte
*TAG	DAA	pepatesi	*YAB	-yà <sup>?</sup> ... e <sup>n</sup> du
*AKL	UMA	patehi	*KAU	βi ko hun
PAL	BUG	pa-uno	*TOL	vər-dodoko
MOL	KON	am-muno	BUA	sis mədīk
*KAG		(huno)	ADZ	is-
BLA	*WOL	ka-po <sup>ŋ</sup> ko	*KIL	-katumati
*SAB	MAG	ala	TAW	omunugo
*MUR	NGA	golo	*MOT	roroma
*MGY	*SIK	dola mate	*MEK	e-au-puŋu-a
*ACE	RTI	ma-nisa-k	ROV	mate tie
BAT	*BUR	ep-mata	*MAR	fiti falehe
MIN	*DOB	na-r-ϕun	LAU	hauwane

KWO	k <sup>w</sup> aʔi-a	*CEM	táunu-âpulip	WFI	laba-sia
RAG		AJI	vi yɔ ve mī	RTU	čav-ʔɔki
PAA		XAR	kē-k <sup>w</sup> iame	TON	fakapō
LEW	we-mar-ena yaru	NEN	ŋaʔataŋoni	*SAM	fasi-oti
POR		*KIR	tiriŋa	MEL	
NTA	-ohamnu	*MSH	[m <sup>w</sup> ΛɾΛik]	TAH	taparahi taʔata
*KWA	-os(i) apune	PON		*RAP	tiŋaʔi
NEM		WLE			
		EFI	laba-ta		

TAG *patay* ‘kill’; *kātay* ‘butcher’.

AKL (*paty-un*), PAN \**paCey* ‘kill’.

KAG *patay + mag-/-ən*.

SAB *patay + ama-/ø* (vb)

MUR *patoy (maŋ- -on)*.

MGY From *faN-vunu-ana*.

ACE ‘kill’ Mon-Khmer.

JAV Sanskrit.

MAD See 04.760.

SAS (vb trans).

GOR Malay *pə<sup>m</sup>bunuhan* (root *bunuh*).

WOL Also *pe-ka-po<sup>ŋ</sup>ko*, *pe-ka-mate*.

SIK Also *pati mate*.

BUR ‘cause to die’

DOB A verb ‘he kills’. The use of the *-r-* prefix shifts the focus from the object to the action of killing.

IRA Also *ḥataḥ*.

TAK See 04.760.

DAM ‘third-hit-different subject death third trans aux vb-infinitive’.

MAB ‘hit someone and they die’; *-tēge siŋ pa* ‘hold blood for’.

YAB ‘hit ... completely’; also *-sèŋ ... sa* ‘destroy ... upwards’.

KAU ‘strike descend die’.

TOL *vər-* nom., *doko* (vb trans) ‘kill’.

KIL See also 04.760. If a reference more specific than ‘kill’ is needed, the additional information is supplied in context, as *i-katu-mati sa-la* ‘he killed his companions’.



MOT Often treacherously. Also *alaala* 'killing, murder'.

MEK *au-puŋu* (or *i-au-puŋu*) means 'killing'.

MAR 'just kill'.

KWA 'beat/effect intensifier', also means 'kill'.

CEM 'kill man'.

KIR Also 'slaughter, kill, massacre'.

MSH From English *murder*; also *uṛat*, *kowadoge*.

SAM *fasi* (vb trans) 'hit', *oti* (vb intrans) 'die'.

RAP Also *taparahi*.

## 21.430 ADULTERY

Arabic: *zinā*

ATA		SUN	ŋa-laku-kin	*NYI	karei ta badih
TSO			[ʃinah]		tasou
RUK		*JAV	[ʃinɔ]	MAM	rotiroti-etia
PAI		MAD		TAK	
*YAM	somagpiən	BAL	mə-[mitrə]	*DAM	kayau bē y-
ISN	manalādag	SAS	[ʃinə]		ale-ya
KAL	dagdagas	GOR	[ʃina]	*MAB	-pasāna ula
*TAG	apid	DAA	bualo	*YAB	geŋ mɔʔ-
*AKL	kawātan	UMA	bualoʔ		kaiŋ-ŋa
PAL	agɔw	BUG	[sīna]	KAU	seek sup si
MOL		KON	aʔ-gauʔ sala		kial
KAG	paŋbabai		bahine	*TOL	igoro
BLA	m-lɔfɔʔ i	*WOL	[masala]	BUA	bayeb
	yɔʔɔn	MAG	loma	*ADZ	nam araraʔ
SAB	[ʃina]	NGA	laʔa-sala	KIL	-kailasi
MUR	[ʃinaʔ]	*SIK	goβa pani	*TAW	matamaga
MGY	fi-ɕanga-	RTI	ho-hoŋe-k	*MOT	heuda hanai
	ɕangana	*BUR	ep-ketu-n	MEK	
ACE	[dina]	*DOB	ʔa-nay k <sup>w</sup> awi	ROV	barbarata
BAT			biŋan	*MAR	ei puhi
MIN	[sina]	IRA	naɸɔetə	LAU	oe
IND	[zinah]	*SAW	n-yɔ sɔl	*KWO	age maniŋa
				RAG	

PAA		XAR		WFI	laha-i-
*LEW	kolau	NEN	rusi(on)		taudaku
POR		*KIR	te wene ni	RTU	væe hæke
NTA	-aklah		bure	TON	tono
*KWA	-ak <sup>w</sup> ein pran	MSH	lecæn	*SAM	muli-lua
NEM		PON	nenek	MEL	
*CEM	bûne-tôm <sup>w</sup> o	WLE	xam <sup>w</sup> esau	TAH	fa <sup>?</sup> aturi
AJI	cû pãã	EFI	lasa-i-tuba	RAP	tai <sup>?</sup> ata

YAM *somagpiæn* if a woman; *manakaw* is used for a man.

TAG *apid + paki-ki-*.

AKL *kawātan + paN*.

IND Also [*zina*].

JAV Also [*jinah*].

BAL From Sanskrit.

WOL Also *sisala* 'commit adultery'; [*zinaa*].

SIK Also *bahu laput*.

BUR 'adultery, fornication'; also euphemisms *midi la kako* lit 'play outside (of marriage), *psablali* 'mix'.

DOB *biŋan* means 'woman', *ʔa-nay* means 'he cooks', but I was unable to elicit *k<sup>w</sup>awi* on its own, only in the context of this expression. The expression means 'he commits adultery'.

SAW Figurative, lit 'take a wrong'.

NYI 'sex-sin of woman married'.

DAM 'woman third-take INF'

MAB *-pasāna ula* 'ruin marriage', *-umol* 'set time' (= adultery). *-wa le-sorok* 'sleeping indiscriminately with men'.

YAB Figurative expression: 'thing bird-leg-for'. Also *mɔ<sup>?</sup>-kaiŋ-ð-ŋa* 'thing bird-leg-feminine-for'.

TOL Also *ni-po (n)* from *po* (vb intrans) 'have unlawful sexual intercourse'; *var-vol (n)* from *vol* (vb trans) 'seduce a woman'.

ADZ 'thing promiscuous'.

TAW 'many eyes'.

MOT *hanai* 'across'; *uda* 'to put the contents of e.g. one canoe or box into another'. Also *henaohenao* 'to have illicit sex, commit adultery'; 'to steal repeatedly' (See 21.510).

MAR	<i>ei puhi</i> ‘do wrong, especially commit adultery’ (vb); <i>ñoñoro</i> ‘be promiscuous’.
KWO	‘do-badding’.
LEW	Also <i>lau</i> .
KWA	<i>-ak<sup>w</sup>ein pran</i> ‘call out to woman’; <i>-ak<sup>w</sup>ein ierman</i> ‘call out to man’; <i>nəpri nari</i> ‘piece-of thing’, also ‘sinful behaviour’ in general (from 19th century Bible translation?).
CEM	‘steal woman’; also <i>p<sup>w</sup>ô-tôm<sup>w</sup>o</i> .
KIR	‘lying down in sin’.
SAM	<i>muli</i> ‘posterior, bottom’, <i>lua</i> ‘two’; vb intrans ‘commit adultery’.

## 21.440 RAPE

ATA		*JAV	ruḍɔ[pəksɔ]	*TOL	vər-kinim-nə-ni-po
TSO		MAD			
RUK		BAL	ḡosa (kosa)	BUA	
PAI		SAS		ADZ	yaub-
*YAM	manakaw	GOR		KIL	-mokaia
ISN	sumikap	DAA		TAW	omk <sup>w</sup> aya
KAL	kolās	UMA	me-hoko?	*MOT	ha-dika-ia
*TAG	gahis	BUG	paṅaddi	MEK	e-afi-fau-a
*AKL	ginhimuslan ropagka- babāyih	KON	a <sup>?</sup> -gau <sup>?</sup> passa	ROV	[repi]
		WOL	hu <sup>m</sup> buni	*MAR	huhuru
		MAG		LAU	
PAL	məŋdupaŋ	NGA	ku <sup>?</sup> a	KWO	
MOL		SIK	goḡa pani	*RAG	v <sup>w</sup> irihi
*KAG	ləgəs	RTI	ho-hoŋe-n	PAA	
*BLA	n-ligis i libun	*BUR	puna ḡahat	LEW	vioni
*SAB	ka <sup>?</sup> at + pa-an	DOB	<sup>?</sup> a-ḡawur	POR	
*MUR	gabu <sup>?</sup>	IRA		NTA	-ol apnapən
*MGY	fa <sup>?</sup> kana	*SAW	[pərkosa]		pək nat
	vehivavi	NYI	tawi iy	KWA	
	ankeri	MAM	repe <sup>?</sup> i-be-etia	NEM	
ACE	rupaih	*TAK	-abi	CEM	
*BAT	gogo-i	DAM	ḡē	AJI	cū pāṛā
MIN	pərkosa-an	MAB	-rāza	XAR	
IND	pərkosa	YAB	gɔle <sup>?</sup>	NEN	
*SUN	ḡa-gadabah	KAU	suŋ βo	KIR	

*MSH	latipŋəl	WFI	yaha-βia	MEL	
PON	aŋkēlail	RTU	sasap hæn	*TAH	haru
WLE	xemaü	TON	tohotoho	*RAP	?a-?aru
EFI	kuđu	*SAM	toso (le teine)		

YAM *manakaw* ‘steal’.

TAG Also *gahāsa?* + *maŋ-/in*.

AKL ‘womanhood was abused’.

KAG ‘forced’.

BLA *k-am-fə?* i *libun* ‘to molest a woman’.

SAB (vb).

MUR *gabu?* (*maŋ- -on*) (vb).

MGY From *fa-aka-ana + vehi-vavi + aN-heri* lit ‘the taking of a woman by force’.

BAT ‘force, impose one’s strength on someone’.

SUN Eringa (1984): ‘treat disrespectfully’.

JAV From Sanskrit.

BUR ‘do s.th. evil’, also *deŋ boho*.

SAW From Malay.

TAK ‘hold’ (11 150)

TOL *vər-kinim* (*n*) ‘catching’ from *kinim* ‘catch’, *nə* CONN, *ni-po*.

MOT Vb ‘to rape’, lit ‘to cause to be bad, spoil’.

MAR ‘force’.

RAG Also *b<sup>w</sup>irihi* ‘to seize a woman by force’.

MSH Also ‘trip, assault’.

SAM *le teine* ‘the girl’; (polite) *fa?a-mālosi*, *fa?a-CAUS*, *mālosi* (vb intrans) ‘strong’, if not used as a polite term: ‘force’.

TAH Also *māfera*.

RAP Also *teki*.

## 21.460 ARSON

ATA		DAA		MEK	
TSO		UMA		ROV	sulu vetu
RUK		BUG	mat-tunu-	MAR	
PAI			bola	LAU	
YAM	manləb	KON	paʔ-tunu-aŋ	KWO	
ISN		WOL		RAG	
KAL	sogob	MAG		PAA	
*TAG	panunūnog	NGA	tuŋi	LEW	
*AKL	suʃsuʃ	SIK		POR	
PAL	tutuŋ	RTI	dede uma	NTA	-an nima
MOL		*BUR	pefa	KWA	
*KAG	sunug	*DOB	ʔa-waw	NEM	yavaro
BLA			k <sup>w</sup> alar	*CEM	cini-m <sup>w</sup> à
SAB	t-in-uʔud tin- utuŋ	IRA		AJI	kēmōru kau
		SAW		XAR	ne-kē-toa
MUR		NYI		NEN	ṅaθenon
*MGY	fan-doro-ana	MAM	pera-sare-be- anaʔo	KIR	
ACE	puu-tutoŋ			MSH	
*BAT	manutuŋjabu	TAK		PON	
MIN	sia baka	DAM	ki	WLE	
*IND	pəm-bakar-an	*MAB	-tun rūmu	EFI	ḃākamakama
*SUN	ṅa-duruk	YAB		WFI	taḃutaḃu
JAV		KAU		RTU	
*MAD	pa-ṅ-ubbar- an	TOL		TON	tūfale
		BŪA		SAM	
*BAL	pənuñjəlan	*ADZ	fəŋa -da dʒaf	MEL	
*SAS	ñədut (sədut)	*KIL	-gabu ḃalu	TAH	tutuʔiraʔa fare
*GOR	məmōbu bele io tawu	TAW		RAP	
		MOT			

TAG Root: *sūnog*.

AKL *suʃsuʃ* + *-an*; also *sugaʔ* (*sugʔ-an*).

KAG ‘burn’.

MGY ‘the act of setting fire’.

BAT (*maN-tutuŋ*) ‘burn house’.

IND Also *pənunū-an*.

SUN ‘set fire to’.

MAD	'burning'.
BAL	<i>pə-N-tuñjəl-an</i> , 'burning' in a general sense.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985): <i>sədut</i> 'set fire to'.
GOR	<i>momobu</i> ( <i>pobu + moN-</i> ) 'to burn house linker person'; thus, 'to burn someone's house'.
BUR	'burn'.
DOB	'he burns a house'.
MAB	'set a house on fire'.
ADZ	'light fire'.
KIL	'burn place'.
CEM	'burn house'.

## 21.470 PERJURY

ATA		*SUN	sumpah	TAK	
TSO			[palsu]	*DAM	(kot boun) i-
RUK		JAV			degē-ya
PAI		MAD	liñuk	*MAB	-po <sup>m</sup> bol sua
YAM	maṅalalaṣ	*BAL			pakamṅana
ISN		*SAS	sumpa?	YAB	
KAL			[palsu]	*KAU	βo nuk mata
TAG		GOR			po
*AKL	līluṅ	*DAA	no-dava	TOL	
PAL	akal	UMA	sabi? boa?	BUA	kūṅ raḳ
MOL	napi	BUG	mab-bille	*ADZ	nan u <sup>m</sup> pur
KAG	bakak	KON	tunra bura-	KIL	-sasoupa
BLA	t-m-ulən keṅ		bura	TAW	koyama
*SAB	putiṅ	WOL		*MOT	ha-he-bade
MUR		MAG	sabi <sup>ᵈ</sup> gopit		koikoi
*MGY	fi-anianan-ϕi tu	NGA	beli-ye <sup>o</sup>	MEK	
		*SIK	[sumpa] hala	ROV	kokoha pa
ACE	muu-sulet	RTI	so pe-peko-k		koti
BAT	maṅ-allaṅ gana	*BUR	stor-dohi-k	MAR	
		DOB		LAU	
*MIN	sumpah	IRA		KWO	
	[duto]	SAW		RAG	
*IND	sumpah	NYI	wasai	PAA	
	[palsu]	MAM	boli	*LEW	vis-kokani

POR		NEN	ačiŋoni	RTU	
NTA	neiuan	KIR		TON	fuakava loi
KWA	-ni ap <sup>w</sup> ini	MSH		SAM	
NEM		PON		MEL	
CEM		WLE		TAH	hōreora?a
AJI	vēvē	EFI	būbūlui lasu		ha?a vare
*XAR	x <sup>w</sup> ā-šep <sup>w</sup> iri nāx <sup>w</sup> ā-re	WFI	bubului ŋiriŋiri	*RAP	horea reo-reo

AKL *īluŋ + -an*; also *puril* ‘lie’.

SAB *putiŋ + ag-* ‘lie’.

MGY From *fi-aniana-ana + ŋi* to lit ‘(the act of) swearing falsely’.

MIN Sanskrit.

IND From Portuguese, also *sumpah bohōŋ*, *sumpah ĵusta*.

SUN From Portuguese.

BAL See 16.670 ‘lie’.

SAS From Portuguese.

DAA ‘to lie’.

SIK From Malay; also *buhe*.

BUR Also *stor-leda-k*.

DAM ‘court in third-lie-infinitive’.

MAB ‘strengthen lying talk’.

KAU ‘speak stay eye PREP’.

ADZ ‘lie’.

MOT For *ha-he-bade* see 21.210, 310. *koikoi* ‘false, untrue’.

LEW See 16.670.

XAR ‘deed of turning one’s mouth’.

RAP *horea* possibly from Spanish *jurar*, also *ha?a vare*; *horea taħaŋa*.

## 21.510 STEAL

ATA	ḵ-um-uriḵ	ISN	mag-tākaw	PAL	takowon
TSO	meo-?oroi	*KAL	ākaw		(takaw)
RUK	ko-a-opa	*TAG	nākaw	*MOL	takow
PAI	ḵ-əm-akaw	*AKL	tākaw	*KAG	manakaw
YAM	manakaw			BLA	t-m-ɔku

*SAB	taŋkaw	*DOB	ʔa-luway	LEW	vinau
*MUR	takow	*IRA	nəbəna	POR	vönaxö
*MGY	mangalaʔa	SAW	n-lewes	NTA	-aklahin
ACE	[čuə]	NYI	bahana	KWA	-akres
BAT	takkɔ	MAM	anaʔo	NEM	guna
*MIN	man-čiloʔ	TAK	-gam	CEM	būne
*IND	mən-[čuri]	*DAM	bě-y-ale-ya	AJI	pāřā
*SUN	maok (paok)	*MAB	-kem	XAR	pede
JAV	ṅɔlɔŋ (čɔlɔŋ)	*YAB	-yàm gɛʔgɛŋ	NEN	eno
MAD	ŋičuʔ (-kičuʔ)	*KAU	yemyem	*KIR	irā
*BAL	malin (palin)	TOL	lɔŋ	*MSH	kōtte
SAS	ŋə-malin	BUA	ɣodək	*PON	pirap
GOR	mo-taʔo	ADZ	dzigin-	*WLE	pirō
DAA	naŋ-aʔga	*KIL	-βeilau	EFI	butako-đa
UMA	na-nako	TAW	danene	WFI	driβa-sia
BUG	men-nau	MOT	henao-a	RTU	hanaʔo
KON	aʔ-lukkaʔ	MEK	e-painao	TON	kaihaʔa
*WOL	ma-nako	ROV	hiko	*SAM	ŋaoi
MAG	tako	MAR	blau	MEL	kaiā-jia
NGA	naka	LAU	bcli	TAH	ʔēiā
*SIK	naʔu	KWO	beri-a	RAP	toke
RTI	nama-nako	RAG	sura		
BUR	enaka (taka)	PAA	vena		

KAL *ākaw + man-/-on.*

TAG *nākaw + mag-/-in, PAN \*Cākaw.*

AKL *tākaw + -un.*

MOL *takow + mon-/-on.*

KAG *takaw + ma-/-ən.*

SAB *taŋkaw + -aN-/ø.*

MUR *takow (mag- -on; -in).*

MGY *From maN-halaʔa.*

MIN *Also ma-liʔŋ.*

IND *From Sanskrit, also mə-rampok.*

SUN *Also malin(palin).*

BAL *Also (N-)malin south Bali.*

WOL *Also agoi.*



SIK	Also <i>huma</i> , <i>naʔo huma-ŋ</i> .
DOB	<i>ʔa-luway</i> means steal on one occasion, whereas <i>ʔa-naŋu</i> and <i>ʔa-yeri</i> both mean ‘steal habitually’.
IRA	<i>ǰa bana</i> ‘I stole (it)’.
DAM	‘steal third-take-infinitive’.
MAB	<i>-kam kū<sup>m</sup>bu</i> ‘do stealing’.
YAB	‘do theft’.
KAU	Also <i>tip</i> .
KIL	<i>-lebu</i> ‘rob violently’.
KIR	Also <i>kimoa</i> cf. <i>te kimoa</i> ‘rat’ (fig. ‘thief’).
MSH	<i>kæccen; pænæpnep</i> ‘be a kleptomaniac, have sticky fingers’.
PON	<i>kawai</i> ‘move something with stealth, do something illegal’.
WLE	<i>piṛō</i> (vb intransi) <i>piṛafa; xaṛifō</i> causative form, from <i>ṛifa</i> ‘sneak’.
SAM	(polite) <i>lima-taŋo-ʔese</i> (vb intrans), <i>lima</i> ‘hand’, <i>taŋo</i> (vb intrans) ‘touch’, <i>ʔese</i> ‘be other, be different’.

## 21.520 THIEF

ATA	pa-kuṛik	*BAT	panakkō	BUR	geb enaka
TSO	txokraini	MIN	uraŋ mali <sup>ŋ</sup>		(taka)
RUK	ma-opa-opa	*IND	pən- čuri	*DOB	ʔa-naŋu
PAI	ru-čaka-čakaw	SUN	baŋsat	*IRA	matu nəbana
*YAM	manakaw	JAV	maliŋ		ϕe
ISN	marag-tākaw	MAD	maliŋ	SAW	ma-fe-lewes
KAL	manʔaʔākaw	*BAL	maliŋ	NYI	lau ta bahana
TAG	mag-na-	SAS	maliŋ	MAM	anaʔo-naʔo
	nākaw	*GOR	tāmo-to-taʔo-	*TAK	gumagam
*AKL	manakaw		wa		tamol
PAL	mənanakow	DAA	to-paŋa <sup>ŋ</sup> ga	*DAM	ϕē tamo
*MOL	takow	UMA	to-pa-nako	*MAB	tomtom
*KAG	mananakaw	BUG	pāŋa		kū <sup>m</sup> buŋana
BLA	to t-m-ōku	KON	pa-lukkaʔ	*YAB	ge <sup>ŋ</sup> geŋ-tena
SAB	paN-ta-	*WOL	la <sup>m</sup> pu	*KAU	po tin yem-
	taŋkaw	MAG	ata tako		yem ŋinanjan
MUR	manakow	NGA	naka-zeʔe	*TOL	tenə ni-lōŋ
*MGY	mpangalaʔ <sup>a</sup>	SIK	ata naʔo	BUA	məyō yodək
*ACE	[pančuri]	*RTI	tou nako		

*ADZ	garam dʒigin- da nam	PAA	molatin tahnāen	*MSH	ɾicam <sup>w</sup>
*KIL	to-βeilau	LEW		*PON	pēsas
TAW	tu danene	POR	<sup>m</sup> barvanax	EFI	dau-butako
MOT	henaɔ tau-na	NTA	iaklah	WFI	d <sup>f</sup> ou-d <sup>f</sup> iβa
MEK	painao au-ŋa	KWA	iakres	RTU	le <sup>?</sup> hana <sup>?</sup> o
ROV	tie hikhiko	NEM	ka-guna	TON	kaiha <sup>?</sup> a
MAR	mae nablau	CEM	â-bûne	SAM	ŋaoi
LAU	wane beli	AJI	ka pāřā	MEL	taŋata kaiā
KWO		XAR	a-pede	TAH	ta <sup>?</sup> ata <sup>?</sup> ēiā
RAG		NEN	ŋaeno(n)	RAP	toke-toke
		*KIR	te tia kimoa		

YAM The root is *takaw*.

AKL Root: *tākaw* ‘steal’.

MOL *takow* + *po-no-*.

KAG From *takaw* + *maŋ-* + redup.

MGY From *mpaN-halaŋ<sup>f</sup>a*.

ACE From Sanskrit via Malay.

BAT (*paN-takkɔ*).

IND From Sanskrit; also *pə-rampok* ‘robber’; *pən-čopet* ‘pickpocket’.

BAL Also [*dustə*] from Sanskrit.

GOR *tā*, personal nominaliser, plus ‘habitually steals’.

WOL *la<sup>m</sup>pu* ‘especially in the night’; *mia ma-d<sup>f</sup>aki* ‘bad person’.

RTI Also *nako-da*.

DOB *?a-naŋu* is a verb meaning ‘to steal habitually’, a synonym is *?a-yeri*; there does not seem to be a noun ‘thief’. ‘He is a thief’ would be *ne ?a-naŋu*.

IRA ‘one who steals things’.

TAK ‘theft man’.

DAM ‘steal man’.

MAB ‘stealing person’.

YAB ‘theft-mother’.

KAU ‘those who habitually steal’.

TOL *tenə* ‘expert’ *ni-* nom., *lōŋ* (vb intrans/trans) ‘steal’.

ADZ ‘man steal-PART thing’, i.e. ‘man who steals things; thief’.

KIL *to-βeilau* ‘person-steal’ i.e. ‘thief’; *to-libulebu* ‘person-rob’ i.e. ‘robber’.

KIR Also *te tia ira* see entry for 'steal'.

MSH See 'steal'.

PON *lollap* 'rascal, criminal'.

WLE 'stocky'; see *řapa* 'large'.

## 22.110 RELIGION

Sanskrit: *āgama-*

Spanish: *religión*

ATA		UMA [agama]	*MAR k <sup>h</sup> ilo <sup>?</sup> au
TSO		BUG [agama]	LAU
RUK		*KON [agama]	KWO
PAI palisi		WOL [agama]	RAG
YAM panazalayan		MAG [agama]	*PAA [sukul]
ISN		*NGA [ad'a]	LEW na-lotu-ena
KAL		*SIK	POR
TAG [relihiyon]		RTI [a <sup>ɳ</sup> agama]	*NTA nafakan
AKL [relihi'yon]		*BUR [agama]	KWA
PAL [agama]		*DOB [ʔakama]	*NEM fine-aman
MOL [ogama]		IRA	*CEM p <sup>w</sup> ε-ítih
KAG [riliyun]		SAW [agama]	AJI nerū
BLA f-n-aglut		NYI	XAR xiti
SAB [āgama]		MAM	NEN ɱi(on)
MUR [ugamaʔ]		TAK	*KIR te aro
*MGY fi-vavah-ana		DAM	MSH kap <sup>u</sup> uŋ
ACE [agama]		MAB sunŋana	*PON kautok
BAT [ugama]		YAB	WLE
*MIN [agamə]		KAU	*EFI [lotu]
IND [agama]		*TOL [lotu]	*WFI [loču]
SUN [agama]		BUA	RTU rotu
JAV [agəmə]		ADZ	TON lotu
MAD [ag <sup>ɓ</sup> ama]		*KIL [tap <sup>w</sup> aroru]	*SAM [lotu]
*BAL [agamə]		TAW	MEL
SAS [agamə]		MOT	*TAH fa <sup>?</sup> aro <sup>?</sup> o
GOR [ʔagama]		MEK	RAP haka tere
DAA [agama]		ROV linotu	

- MGY *vavaka* ‘prayer, wishing’.
- MIN Also [*ugamo*].
- BAL Also [*darmə*] from Sanskrit.
- KON Also *ator-aŋ* (‘*atoro*’).
- NGA Arabic ‘*āda* ‘custom, manner’.
- SIK No word; *hada-t* ‘custom, ‘manners’ encompasses all religious and ritual practices. While many Ata Tana ’Ai are registered as Catholics, most still observe the rituals of the seven traditional ceremonial systems of the domains *tana* of Tana ’Ai. The lexicon of religion and ritual in Sara Tana ’Ai thus differs substantially from that of the dialects of Sika Natar and Krowe. The Ata Sika Natar and Ata Krowe have been Catholic for many generations and key words in their dialects for religious ideas reflect changes in religious practice in the past four centuries. In Sara Sika Natar [*agama*]; *sara* [*sərani*] Malay, ‘religion’.
- BUR A person of the Islamic religion is called *geba slame*; a Christian is called *geba srane* from the central Moluccan concept/word *serani* ‘baptise, Christianise’.
- DOB Now *agama* is the most used form (there is no *g* in Dobel).
- TOL From Fijian *lotu*.
- KIL Loanword, origin unknown.
- MAR ‘the church, Christianity’.
- PAA From English, via Bislama.
- NTA Also [*rilijin*] from Bislama.
- NEM ‘recite-thing’.
- CEM ‘make holy’.
- KIR Also ‘behaviour, nature, way, manner’.
- PON Also ‘pray’.
- WFI Probably Standard Fijian, from Tongan *lotu*; also *g<sup>w</sup>araβi βū*.
- EFI Tongan.
- SAM From Tongan *lotu*.
- TAH Also *haʔapaʔoraʔa*.

## 22.120 GOD

Arabic: *allāh*Sanskrit: *deva-*

ATA	ʔutux	UMA	[alatala]	ROV	tamasa
TSO	hamo	BUG	puaŋ-	*MAR	[god]
RUK			[alla-ta-ala]	LAU	agalo
PAI	ɕəmas	*KON	[alla taala]	KWO	
*YAM	tao ɖo to	*WOL	[alaahu]	*RAG	tayaro
ISN	[diyos]	*MAG	mori-n	PAA	ahi
*KAL	apu[djus]	NGA	[deva]	*LEW	sup <sup>w</sup> e
*TAG	[diyos]	*SIK	nian tana ləro	*POR	atua
*AKL	[diyos]		βula-ŋ	NTΛ	uuhŋən
PAL	ampuʔ	*RTI	lama-tua lai-n	*KWA	k <sup>w</sup> um <sup>w</sup> esin
MOL	tuhan	*BUR	opo	NEM	danu
*KAG	[djus]	*DOB	[ʔaɸala]	*CEM	pâ dûē
*BLA	m-uli	IRA		AJI	baō
SAB	tuhan	SAW	[dewa]	XAR	
*MUR	aki kapūnoʔ	NYI	ki <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ei	NEN	makaze
*MGY	and <sup>r</sup> ia- mani <sup>r</sup> a	MAM	nanaraja	*KIR	te [atua]
*ACE	[allah]	*TAK	tubud	MSH	anic
*BAT	[deba'ta]	DAM	waitou	*PON	nānsap <sup>w</sup> e
MIN	tuhan	*MAB	anutu	*WLE	yaŋisii
*IND	[dewa]	*YAB	anoto	EFI	kalou
*SUN	[paŋeran]	*KAU	auhmoŋ	*WFI	[kalou]
*JAV	[gusti]	*TOL	[kalou]	RTU	ʔoitu
MAD	[alla]	BUA	[anutu]	TON	ʔotua
*BAL	yaŋ	*ADZ	[anutu]	SAM	atua
SAS	neneʔ	*KIL	[yaubada]	*MEL	[atua]
GOR	ʔēya	*TAW	yabowaine	TAH	te atua
*DAA	[alatala]	*MOT	diraβa	RAP	ʔatua
		*MEK	[deo]		

YAM Also *ʃi ama ta ɖo to*.KAL (*apu-diyus*) from Kalinga *apu* 'lord' plus Spanish *dios* 'god'.TAG *bathālaʔ* 'God'. *diwātaʔ* 'gods'.AKL *diyos* 'God'; *anītos* 'gods'.KAG From Spanish *dios*.

- BLA *dwətɔ* ‘god’.
- MUR Also [*tuanala*] from Malay *Tuhan Allah* ‘Lord God’ (*Tuhan* ‘lord god’, *Allah* ‘God’).
- MGY See 19.360 and 15.250.
- ACE Also *tuhan*.
- IND [*allah*] Arabic; *tuhan* ‘supreme deity’.
- SUN From Sanskrit via Javanese?
- JAV From Sanskrit? see Gonda (1973:293), also [*paṅgeran*] Sanskrit Gonda (1973: 87-88).
- BAL Also *hyaŋ*; [*bətarə*], [*dewə*] from Sanskrit.
- DAA Arabic *allah-ta-alla*.
- KON Also *somba-somba* ‘gods’.
- WOL Also *kawasa-na opu* ‘God almighty’.
- MAG ‘The Lord’; a more recent name is *mori kəraeŋ* ‘God’.
- SIK Sara Sika Natar *amapu* ‘father of generations’, ‘father of the ancestors’ (a word contrived by early Catholic missionaries); also *deo-t* Portuguese; *reta*, *ama gəte*.
- RTI Also *mane tua lai-n*.
- BUR ‘grandfather, master’; *koi-n* is a neutral (neither inherently good nor evil) term meaning ‘spirit, deity’; *op-[la-tala]* ‘God’.
- DOB [*ʔaɸala*] means ‘a god’. ‘God’ is *dukway-da* lit ‘our lord’.
- TAK ‘earth spirit’, now used for the Christian God.
- MAB *merere* ‘lord’.
- YAB Originally the spirit of one of the ancestral owners of the tribal land.
- KAU The Kaulong name for the spirit who controls the growth of taro; since the introduction of Christianity he has come to be associated with God the Father; under Auhmong and working closely with him is *Anut*; he has come to be associated with Jesus Christ.
- TOL Methodist (Wesleyan) term; also *kaiə* (Catholic term), originally only ‘good spirit’, see 22.450 also [*god*].
- ADZ From Yabêm *anôtô*.
- KIL Loanword, from Suau *yau bada* ‘I (the) great (one)’.
- TAW Note that this person was the god of war, probably the supreme being.
- MOT Lister-Turner – Clark (n.d.) ‘spirit of the dead; a god’.
- MEK [*deo*, *dio*] or [*tsio*] is the christian ‘God’, or ‘lord’, from the Latin. The East Mekeo culture hero *Aʔaisa* (*Aʔaia*) is regarded as a god in many ways. His North Mekeo, West Mekeo counterpart and

opposite, known respectively as *Foikale* and *Poikale*, personifies Precultural Man, ignorant of fire and even sex, yet cunning enough to outwit *A?aisa* upon occasion.

MAR From English.

RAG 'a deity'.

LEW 'Christian God', also *te(wa)*.

POR Also *na-su<sup>mb</sup> mo-<sup>mbao</sup>* 'the-chief aspect-big'.

KWA Also means 'supranatural or inexplicable event', 'birthmark', 'eternity'.

CEM *dûē* 'ghost, devil, ancestor, god'; *pâ dûē* 'God'.

KIR Polynesian.

PON [*kōt*] 'Christian God' from English.

WLE *saurōro* 'sea god', [*tēusu*] Spanish 'Christian God'.

WFI Standard Fijian.

MEL From Efate.

## 22.130 TEMPLE, CHURCH

Arabic: *masjid*

Portuguese: *igreja*

Sanskrit: *caṇḍī*

ATA	ta-tuβun-an	ACE	[gureja]	*SIK	
*TSO	[kyōkai]	BAT	[gareja]	*RTI	uma ma-
RUK		*MIN	[musaji?]		maso-k
PAI		*IND	kənisah	*BUR	[greja]
*YAM	[kiokay]	*SUN	[čandi]	DOB	[greja]
ISN	simbā?an	*JAV	[čandi]	IRA	
*KAL	[simbā?an]	*MAD	[čand <sup>hi</sup> ]	*SAW	[gereja]
TAG	simbāh-an	*BAL	[purə]	*NYI	asiu ta ki <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ei
*AKL	simbāh-an	*SAS	[kuil]	*MAM	nanaraŋa-pera
*PAL	simbahan	GOR	[gareja]	*TAK	ubou ab
MOL	raŋgar	DAA	[gareja]	*DAM	ūbū φō
*KAG	simba-an	UMA	[gareja]	MAB	urum merere
BLA	[simbahan]	*BUG	[masiji?]	*YAB	lom dabuŋ
SAB	[masjid]	*KON	[gareja]	*KAU	maŋ ta [got]
MUR	[gadija]	WOL	[gareja]	*TOL	pəl-nə-[lotu]
*MGY	ʔ <sup>r</sup> anu-m- piangunana	MAG	[gareja]	BUA	dub βabūŋ
		NGA		*ADZ	uŋar dubuŋ

KIL	b <sup>w</sup> ala tap <sup>w</sup> aroru	*LEW	yum <sup>w</sup> a wā	*PON	im <sup>w</sup> enkautok
		*POR	na-im mo-kon	*WLE	[xɛʀɛisiyō]
*TAW	numa dalabu	NTA	nima afak	*EFI	βale-ni-lotu
*MOT	dubu	*KWA	nim <sup>w</sup> a aɸaki	*WFI	were-ni-horo
*MEK	ivi-eʔa	*NEM	ŋa hiri	*RTU	rī rotu
*ROV	vetu lotu	*CEM	m <sup>w</sup> à-ítihī	TON	fale-lotu
*MAR	suga t <sup>h</sup> arai	AJI	m <sup>w</sup> ā wā aŋī	*SAM	fale-sā
LAU	beu ābu	XAR	m <sup>w</sup> ā-xiti	MEL	far-tapu
KWO		NEN		*TAH	fare pureraʔa
*RAG	im <sup>w</sup> a tataro	*KIR	te um <sup>w</sup> an tabu	RAP	hare pure
*PAA	[sukul]	*MSH	m <sup>w</sup> an car		

TSO Loanword from Japanese.

YAM Japanese borrowing.

KAL From Ilocano.

AKL See 22.160.

PAL *simbahan* ‘Christian church’; also *məligal*.

KAG (*simba + -an*) lit ‘place of worship’; also [*iglisya*] from Spanish *iglesia*.

MGY ‘house of assembling’.

MIN [*musajīʔ*] ‘mosque’; also [*gareja*] ‘church’; *kalenteŋ* ‘Chinese temple’.

IND Also [*məsʃid*] ‘mosque’; [*čandi*] ‘temple’; [*greja*] ‘church’.

SUN [*čandi*] ‘ancient temple’; [*gareja*] ‘church’.

JAV [*čandī*] ‘temple’; [*grejō*] ‘church’.

MAD ‘Hindu temple dating from the pre-Islamic period’.

BAL From Sanskrit.

SAS [*kuil*] ‘temple’, from Malay?; [*gəreja*] ‘church’.

BUG [*masijīʔ*] ‘mosque’; *gareja* ‘church’.

KON [*gareja*] ‘church’; [*masigiʔ*] ‘mosque’; *sendi* ‘temple’.

SIK Sara Sika Natar [*gəreja*].

RTI ‘Sunday house’; [*ma-masok*], from Malay *masuk*, refers to Sunday.

BUR From Portuguese *igreja* via Malay; [*masigit*] ‘mosque’ (see Arabic/Malay *mesjid*); a traditional spirit house is called *huma koi-n*, but it is not used for gatherings; *hum en-mili-t* ‘sacred house’; *huma sneha-t* ‘house of worship’; *hum [puji]* ‘spirit house’.

SAW Also [*sigi*] ‘mosque’.



- NYI 'house of God'.
- MAM Also *pera-ono-beteŋa*.
- TAK 'Sunday house' (14.620, 07.120).
- DAM 'Sunday house'; another case of a Dami expression used for an introduced item. It parallels traditional expressions such as *y-abi-ya*  $\phi\tilde{o}$  'cook house'.
- YAB 'house taboo'.
- KAU 'house of God' (*got* from Tok Pisin).
- TOL *pəl* 'house', *nə* CONN, [*lotu*] 'service, worship, religion'.
- ADZ Also *oŋar dūbuŋ* 'big church'; *uŋar ataŋ<sup>?</sup>-an* 'village church'.
- TAW Lit. 'rest house'.
- MOT 'chief's platform in village where certain ceremonies were held; sacred house; church building'.
- MEK *ivi-e<sup>?</sup>a* means 'song-house' or 'house of song', with reference to hymn-singing.
- ROV Also *zelopade* 'traditional shrine'.
- MAR 'church, prayer house'.
- RAG Also *im<sup>w</sup>a sabuya*.
- PAA From English, via Bislama.
- LEW Also *yum<sup>w</sup>a na-lotu-ena*, *sum<sup>w</sup>are*, *yo wā*.
- POR 'the-house aspect-prohibited'.
- KWA 'house pray'.
- NEM 'house sacred'.
- CEM 'house holy'.
- KIR 'sacred house'; *te bāŋota* 'traditional shrine'.
- MSH 'sacred house'.
- PON 'traditional shrine'; *sinakoke* 'chapel'; from English *synagogue*.
- WLE Spanish *iglesia*.
- EFI *bure-kalou* 'traditional spirit-house', *βale-ni-soro* '(Catholic) church'.
- WFI Also *βale-ni-horo*.
- RTU *su<sup>?</sup>ura* 'heathen temple'.
- SAM *fale* 'house', *sā* (vb intrans) 'be sacred', see 18.380.
- TAH Also *fare pure*.

## 22.140 ALTAR

**Arabic:** *minbar, mambar* 'platform (for speaking)'

**Dutch:** *altar*

**Spanish:** *altar*

ATA		KON	pa <sup>?</sup> -jerek-an	*MAR	sape blahi
TSO		WOL		*LAU	[olota]
RUK		MAG	čo <sup>m</sup> paŋ	*KWO	umu
PAI		NGA	lanu	RAG	
YAM	panazalayan	*SIK	?ai βatu	PAA	
ISN	altar	*RTI	[minbar]	LEW	wonta
*KAL	dadattonan	*BUR	kide	POR	
*TAG	dambāna <sup>?</sup>	*DOB	moyum	NTA	nəfata asim
AKL	[al'tar]		suran-di	*KWA	nəfata
PAL	pinorujan du <sup>?</sup> ut uma	IRA		NEM	
MOL		SAW	[mimbar]	*CEM	â-p <sup>w</sup> ô-mîcá
KAG	[al'tar]	*NYI	bek ta <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ahu	AJI	kā yə ē p <sup>w</sup> aeŋ
*BLA	gu-m-ɔŋɔmfu <sup>?</sup>		salom	XAR	
SAB		MAM	bagi-ono- tabataba aniŋa	NEN	
MUR		TAK		*KIR	te b <sup>w</sup> ao ni karea
*MGY	[alitora]	DAM		*MSH	lokatok
ACE		*MAB	patoronŋana	PON	m <sup>w</sup> ɔ]
BAT	laŋgat-an		murīni	*WLE	[yantōra]
MIN		*YAB	[altar]	*EFI	[aletare]
*IND	[altar]	*KAU	[alta]	*WFI	[yaletare]
SUN	[altar]	TOL		*RTU	[altara]
JAV	[altar]	BUA	zəpɔ	*TON	[?olita]
MAD		ADZ		*SAM	fatafai- taulaŋa
*BAL	pə-[liŋgih]	KIL	kabo-lula		
SAS		TAW	ani	MEL	
GOR			witalaguyaba	TAH	fata
DAA		*MOT	pata helaya	*RAP	[fata]
UMA		*MEK	[altare]		
BUG	[mimbara <sup>?</sup> ]	ROV			

KAL (*R*<sup>1</sup>*daton-R*<sup>2</sup>-*an*)

TAG [*altar*], from Spanish *altar*.

BLA *gu-d-am-su*<sup>?</sup> 'place of sacrificing'.

MGY	From English.
IND	Also [ <i>mazbah</i> ], [ <i>mimbar</i> ].
BAL	'Shrine', from Old Javanese.
SIK	Sara Sika Natar <i>grau</i> .
BUR	The offerings of some types of blood sacrifices are placed in bamboo cups called <i>upa</i> .
DOB	'holy ends (places)'.
NYI	'stone of place sacrifice'.
MAB	'offering place', also [ <i>artala</i> ] borrowed from English.
YAB	Also [ <i>alatala</i> ] obsolete, both from German.
KAU	Tok Pisin; the vernacular word <i>suβiuŋ</i> has been used in translation of the Christian Scriptures as an equivalent term.
MOT	<i>pata</i> 'shelf, table', <i>helaya</i> see 22.190. Bible uses <i>i-ha-bou-lai-na-pata-na</i> 'a table for making offerings on' (Lister-Turner – Clark [n.d.] <i>bou-a</i> 'to sacrifice to').
MEK	From Latin.
MAR	<i>sape blahi</i> 'sacred table (bed)'; <i>p<sup>h</sup>adayi</i> 'shrine'.
LAU	Also <i>tafe ābu</i> .
KWO	<i>umu</i> 'sacred ovenstones'; <i>ba<sup>ʔ</sup>e</i> 'shrine'.
KWA	Also means 'bed', 'shelf'.
CEM	'place-make-mass'; <i>â-mâdebō-ila</i> lit 'place invocation pot' (invocation in steam of cooking pot traditional Kanak ritual).
KIR	Lit. 'offering platform'.
MSH	Also <i>tampe!</i> from English.
WLE	From English <i>communiontable</i> .
EFI	Latin <i>altare</i> .
WFI	Probably standard Fijian, Latin <i>altare</i> .
RTU	From Latin <i>altāre</i> .
TON	From English <i>altar</i> ; [ <i>ʔaletale</i> ] Catholic term, from Latin.
SAM	<i>fata</i> 'shelf', <i>fai</i> (vb trans) 'do, make', <i>tāulaŋa</i> 'offering', lit 'the shelf where the offering is done'.
RAP	From Tahitian <i>fata</i> .

## 22.150 SACRIFICE, OFFERING

Arabic: <i>qurbān</i>
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ATA		BUG	[karobaŋ]	LAU	k <sup>w</sup> aisusi
*TSO	to-proxi	KON	[korobaŋ]	KWO	fo <sup>ʔ</sup> ota
RUK		WOL	[kurubani]	*RAG	tataro
PAI		MAG		PAA	
YAM	kiŋkiŋ	NGA	ba <sup>ʔ</sup> u	*LEW	na-kup <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> a-
ISN	dātun	*SIK	pati		ena
KAL	dāton	*RTI	fe-fe-k	POR	
*TAG	handog	*BUR	pe-fua-t	NTA	
*AKL	sumbil	DOB	<sup>ʔ</sup> oba	*KWA	tamaϕa
PAL	uŋsud	IRA		*NEM	faludap
MOL	sodaka	*SAW	[sada <sup>ʔ</sup> ka]	CEM	
*KAG	dulut	NYI	salom	AJI	ẽ p <sup>w</sup> aeřo
BLA	dsu <sup>ʔ</sup>	MAM	tabataba	XAR	
SAB	[kulban]	TAK	lou	NEN	čihul
MUR		*DAM	kosẽ	*KIR	te karea
MGY	džuru	MAB	patoronjana	*MSH	cōřtak
ACE	[kurubwəŋ]	YAB	da	PON	meirəŋ
BAT	pele-an	*KAU	tal-u-ŋin	WLE	mařixace
MIN	[korban]	TOL		*EFI	i-soro
*IND	[kurban]	BUA	səriβəŋ	WFI	i-horo
*SUN	[kurban]	*ADZ	nam ɸara dan	*RTU	nā tẽ
*JAV	tumbal	*KIL	lula-	TON	feilaulau
MAD	[kurban]	TAW	talaguyaba	SAM	tāulaŋa
*BAL	[čaru]	*MOT	boubou ɣau-	MEL	
SAS	[korban]		na	*TAH	[tutia (tusia)]
GOR	[kurubani]	*MEK	[səkrifitsio]	*RAP	pū-pū
DAA	pe-so <sup>m</sup> ba	*ROV	vinavukvukihi		
UMA	pe-pue <sup>ʔ</sup>	*MAR	fafara		

TSO (to-prox-i).

TAG Also *ālay*; [səkripisyo] from Spanish *sacrificio*.

AKL *sumbil* + *i-*; also [səkripisyo] from Spanish *sacrificio*.

KAG *dulut* ‘sacrifice for the spirits’; *alad* ‘offering for God’.

IND [kurban/korban] ‘sacrifice’; *pər-səmbah-an* ‘offering’.

SUN	<i>[kurban]</i> ‘sacrifice’; <i>sasaʃen</i> ‘offering’.
JAV	<i>tumbal</i> ‘sacrifice’; <i>saʃen</i> ‘offering’, from <i>saʃi-an</i> , <i>-saʃi</i> ‘make an offering’.
BAL	From Sanskrit.
SIK	Also <i>əkak</i> , <i>pio-ŋ</i> . Sara Sika Natar <i>tuŋ</i> , <i>tuŋ səra beli</i> , <i>tuŋ tatu-ŋ</i> .
RTI	‘gift’ from verb, <i>fe</i> ‘to give’.
BUR	Also <i>komnia-n</i> ‘incense’.
SAW	From Malay.
DAM	‘a spell’, made partly by killing an animal.
KAU	A nominalised form of <i>talū</i> ‘to give as a present’; see 22.190.
ADZ	‘thing sacrifice-PART’
KIL	<i>lula</i> ‘sacrifice’ originally meant something burned in ceremonial; <i>se-makaβi</i> ‘offering’ put-for no reason ‘just give’ indicates a gift that the donor wishes to give with no thought of a return obligation being incurred.
MOT	<i>boubou</i> is also used for the annual church collection of the major church in the area.
MEK	From Latin.
ROV	<i>vinavukvukihi</i> ‘sacrifice’, <i>vinariponi</i> ‘offering’.
MAR	‘make sacrifice, offering’ (vb).
RAG	Also <i>dataro</i> ‘to sacrifice’.
LEW	Also <i>na-la-ena</i> .
KWA	‘libation of kava’.
NEM	Also <i>yan-gānigōn</i> .
KIR	Also ‘gift’.
MSH	<i>katoke</i> (vb trans); <i>wæɔkllik</i> (vb intrans); ‘offer food to the gods’.
EFI	<i>i-mādrali</i> .
RTU	Also <i>taumafa</i> .
TAH	From Greek.
RAP	Also (rarer) <i>api</i> .

## 22.160 WORSHIP

ATA	t-um-uβun	YAM	izazalay	*AKL	simbah
TSO		ISN	mag-dāyaw	*PAL	məŋandəl
RUK	mo-a-sakəŋə	*KAL	dāyaw	*MOL	sumbahayan
PAI	palisi	*TAG	[samba]	*KAG	simba

BLA	m-ṭṭṃfuʔ	*SIK		KWO	
SAB	sambahayaŋ	*RTI	hule	RAG	
MUR		*BUR	seba	PAA	
MGY	mi-ṭauka	DOB		LEW	lotu
*ACE	sumayaŋ	IRA		POR	mamau
BAT	səbba	*SAW	[sambayaŋ]	NTA	-afak
MIN	sumbayaŋ	*NYI	atudun	KWA	-aḥaki
*IND	mə[muʃa] [puʃa]	MAM	reʔeaʔi	NEM	cīluk
*SUN	sambeaŋ	*TAK	yaŋa- abi-sa	*CEM	pî-pʷṣ-ún
*JAV	ñəmbah (səmbah)	*DAM	waitou yana y-ale-se-ya	AJI	pɛ kau
*MAD	[ibada]	MAB	suŋjana	*XAR	fa-ṭe
*BAL	ñuŋsuŋ (suŋsuŋ)	*YAB	-liʔ am	NEN	
*SAS	[səmbayaŋ]	*KAU	βulu	KIR	te taromauri
GOR	molubo	*TOL	[lotu]	*MSH	p <sup>u</sup> uŋ-pedo
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-so <sup>m</sup> ba	*BUA	ḳo raḳ	*PON	kautok
UMA	me-pueʔ	ADZ	ṭarif-	WLE	maipirṣ
BUG	mak-kasiwiaŋ	*KIL	[-tap <sup>w</sup> aroru]	EFI	ŋara-βa
*KON	as-[sambaʃaŋ]	TAW	wotalagae	WFI	g <sup>w</sup> ara-βia
WOL	so <sup>m</sup> ba	*MOT	toma diho	*RTU	rotu
MAG	[suʃu]	*MEK	e-au-afaŋai-na	*TON	lotu
NGA	baʔu-gaʔe	*ROV	vahisi	*SAM	[lotu]
		*MAR	poyo soru	*MEL	[lotu]
		LAU		TAH	haʔamori
				RAP	pure

KAL *dāyaw + man-/on.*

TAG *[samba] + -um/-in* from Malay *sembah* ‘obeisance’.

AKL *simbah + -an.*

PAL Also *məṭṭṃpuʔ.*

MOL *sumbahayaŋ + mog-.*

KAG *simba + mag-/ən.*

ACE Also *sumah.*

IND Sanskrit, also *məñəmbah (səmbah)*. *[puʃa]* Sanskrit.

SUN Also *sambayaŋ; [muʃa] (puʃa)* Sanskrit.

JAV Also *(ma)ñəmbah.*

MAD Arabic.

BAL (vb trans) figurative extension of *(N-)suŋsuŋ* ‘carry (a god or a king) on one’s head’.

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SAS	Malay.
GOR	( <i>tubo + moN-</i> ).
KON	From Malay.
SIK	Sara Sika Natar <i>ŋajī</i> .
RTI	Also <i>haladoi</i> a doublet: 'to beseech and desire'.
BUR	Also <i>em-ŋada</i> 'to lift one's face or one's heart in supplication'; <i>huma sneha-t</i> 'house of worship'; <i>es-ŋapa-k</i> 'worship, pray, beseech'.
SAW	Via Malay.
NYI	Also <i>masiye, asore</i> .
TAK	See 16.790.
DAM	'god name third sg-take-up-INF'.
YAB	'see rest.day'.
KAU	'to show reverence, respect'.
TOL	From Fijian <i>lotu</i> .
KIL	(vb) see 22.110.
MOT	Also 'to prostrate oneself'; tr <i>toma heni-a diho</i> ( <i>diho</i> 'down' <i>toma</i> ? from 'to think, say, purpose').
MEK	<i>afaŋai</i> be an original ? <i>afaŋai</i> from Roro <i>kaparai</i> . We also get <i>e-pa-au-afaŋai-na</i> in the same sense as the above; and <i>e-(?)afaŋai-na</i> .
ROV	Also <i>vinahisi</i> .
MAR	'bow down'.
CEM	'middle voice PEF-make-big'.
XAR	'make big'.
MSH	Also <i>kap<sup>w</sup>uŋ, wiŋtak</i> .
PON	Also <i>p<sup>w</sup>uŋī</i> .
RTU	Also <i>titi-ʔŋki</i> .
TON	Also <i>hū</i> .
SAM	From Tongan <i>lotu</i> .
MEL	From Efate.

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## 22.170 PRAY

Arabic: <i>da'a</i>
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ATA	t-um-uβun	*DAA	no-[sa <sup>m</sup> baya]	ROV	varvara
TSO	reu <sup>o</sup> - <sup>?</sup> axɲi	*UMA	mo-[sa <sup>m</sup> paya]	*MAR	[tarai]
RUK		*BUG	[simpajɲ]	LAU	fōa
PAI		KON	aŋŋ-era-era	KWO	fo <sup>?</sup> a
*YAM	[minori]	*WOL	pe-lawo	*RAG	tataro
ISN	mag-karārag	MAG	[ɲafi]	*PAA	vīs
*KAL	luwālu + man-	NGA	ɲasi	LEW	leni
*TAG	dasal	*SIK	nəni not	POR	kikai ramar
*AKL	adyi <sup>?</sup>	*RTI	hulc	NTA	-afak
PAL	mɔɔgina (sɔgina)	*BUR	salawatu	KWA	-aɸaki
*MOL	du <sup>?</sup> a	*DOB	nam [sembayan]	*NEM	fine-aman
*KAG	maɲamuyu	IRA		AJI	p <sup>w</sup> aeŋ
BLA	d-m-asal	*SAW	[sambayaŋ]	XAR	viā
*SAB	amu-amu <sup>?</sup>	NYI	asalom	NEN	ɲe
*MUR	uok	*MAM	rabo	*KIR	[tataro]
MGY	mi-vavaka	TAK	-gudani	MSH	eaɸ
ACE	muu-[du <sup>?</sup> ā]	*DAM	sesewi	*PON	kapakap
BAT	mar-taɲiaŋ	MAB	-suŋ	*WLE	[maipirɔ]
MIN	sumbayaŋ	*YAB	-teŋ mɛ <sup>?</sup>	EFI	masu
*IND	bər-səmbah- yang	*KAU	kines	*WFI	[mahu]
SUN	ɲa-[doa]	*TOL	[lotu]	RTU	rō- <sup>?</sup> ɔitu
*JAV	səmbahyaŋ	*BUA	zom rak	*TON	lotu
*MAD	[sumbaɲaŋ]	ADZ	u- + gin	*SAM	tatalo
*BAL	m-[atur]-an	KIL	-niɲada	*MEL	[lotu]
*SAS	ɲ-endeŋ	TAW	lupali	*TAH	pure
*GOR	mo-[du <sup>?</sup> a]	MOT	ɣuriɣuri	RAP	pure
		*MEK	e-meɲa-meɲa		

YAM Japanese borrowing.

KAL *luwālu + man-*.

TAG *dasal + mag-/ipag-*; also *dalāɲin + maN-/ipaN-*.

AKL *adyi<sup>?</sup> + paN-*.

MOL *du<sup>?</sup>a + mog-*.



- KAG *paŋamuyu + m-* also *paŋaddi + m-* (*maŋaddi*).
- SAB *amu-amu?* + aN-; also *duwa?a + aN-*.
- MUR *uok* (*maŋ-*) (traditional), [*sambahyaŋ*] (Christian/Muslim) from Malay.
- IND Also *bər-[do?a]*.
- JAV Historically *\*səmbah-(h)yaŋ* ‘worship-gods’, also *n-(də)doŋə*.
- MAD From Javanese or Malay?
- BAL From Old Javanese; also *mə-[bakti]* from Sanskrit.
- SAS Also *be-[doə]*.
- GOR Also *mo-tabiya* ‘pray (of communal prayers)’; ‘pray for (something)’ and *mo-hile-du?a* ‘pray’.
- DAA Indonesian *sambahyaŋ*.
- UMA Malay; also *me-kakae*.
- BUG From Malay.
- WOL Also *pe-lawu, [do?a]*.
- SIK Also *pla plawi*. Sara Sika Natar *ŋaji nənı; nənı not*.
- RTI Also *sambayaŋ* from Malay *sembahyang*.
- BUR Also *es-ŋapa-k* ‘worship, pray’.
- DOB From Malay *sembahyaŋ*, lit ‘do praying’.
- SAW Via Malay.
- MAM Also [*bete*] from German *beten*.
- DAM ‘incantation’; see also 22.230.
- YAB ‘beg magic spell’.
- KAU ‘to ask, request’.
- TOL From Fijian *lotu*.
- BUA Also *βəŋeβrak*.
- MEK *e-meŋa* means ‘utter a spell’; the missionaries seem to have adopted the reduplicated form for Christian prayer.
- MAR From Bughotu; also *tamnai*.
- RAG Also *dataro*.
- PAA Also used for ‘ask’.
- NEM ‘recite-thing’.
- CEM ‘pray, conduct service’.
- KIR Samoan.

PON Also *kasakas; loulou; kautok* also ‘worship’.

WLE Yapese.

WFI Probably Standard Fijian *masu*.

TON Also *hū*.

SAM Also *talosia* (vb intrans).

MEL From Efate.

TAH Also *ani*.

## 22.180 PRIEST

**Arabic:** *imām* ‘prayer leader, master’

**French:** *père*

**Sanskrit:** *paṇḍita-*

**Spanish:** *padre*

ATA		*BAL	[pəˈlandə]	TAK	
TSO		*SAS	[kiyai]	DAM	
RUK		*GOR	[ʔimamu]	*MAB	patoronjana
PAI		*DAA	po[ima]		ka tomtom
YAM	şimboşan	UMA	[ima]	*YAB	dabuŋ-waga
ISN	[pādi]	BUG	[imaŋ]	*KAU	[pris]
KAL	[pādi]	*KON	[imaŋ]	*TOL	tələtələ
*TAG	[pāriʔ]	WOL	[imamu]	BUA	
AKL	[pāriʔ]	MAG		ADZ	
*PAL	[pariʔ]	NGA	gaʔe	KIL	tolula
MOL	imam	*SIK	ata βuʔun	*TAW	talaguyaba
KAG	[pari]		bia-ŋpuʔa-ŋ		bada-na
BLA	[fadiʔ]	*RTI	[paˈdeta]	*MOT	haroro tau-na
SAB	[imam]	*BUR	geb-m-tua	*MEK	[au-love]
*MUR	babalian		adat	ROV	hiama
MGY	mpi-suruna	DOB		*MAR	mae fafara
ACE	[imuum]	IRA		LAU	ārai fōa
BAT	[paddita]	*SAW	[pandita]	*KWO	wane nā beʔe
*MIN	[ulama]	*NYI	ˈdʳamak ta	*RAG	[mama]
*IND	[pastor]		ˈdʳokowa lau	*PAA	[pasta]
*SUN	[alim]-		hawe kiˈdʳei	LEW	yaru wā
	[ulama]	MAM	tamoata	POR	
JAV	[paṇḍitə]		tabataba-	NTA	
MAD	kiyai		iememaʔi	KWA	

*NEM	[pēt]	*MSH	ŋ <sup>w</sup> akŋ <sup>w</sup> ək	*TON	taula ʔeiki
*CEM	dâme-īīhi	*PON	sam <sup>w</sup> oro	*SAM	osi-tāulaŋa
*AJI	naip <sup>w</sup> a	*WLE	[pōterē]	MEL	
XAR	[pērɔ]	EFI	bete	*TAH	[perepitero]
NEN	[per]	*WFI	bese	RAP	oro-matuʔa
*KIR	te iboŋa	*RTU	apeʔɔitu		

TAG Also [pāreʔ].

PAL Also *bɔlyan* ‘shaman’.

MUR (traditional shamaness), [pādo] ‘Roman Catholic priest’ from English *father*.

MIN [ulama] ‘Moslem priest’ Arabic ‘*alīm* (‘*ulamā*’) ‘learned man’, [pandito] ‘priest’; [pastor] ‘Christian priest’ Dutch.

IND [pastor] Dutch, ‘Catholic priest’; [pandeta] ‘Protestant priest’; [imam] ‘Moslem priest’.

SUN Also [pandeta].

BAL Also [pərandə].

SAS Javanese? Also [ustat] from Arabic *ustāz* ‘professor’.

GOR (Muslim leader of communal prayers). Malay *imam*.

DAA Malay *imam* ‘Islamic priest’.

KON Also *puŋkaha-natu-sambaŋa-a*.

SIK ‘boundary person, ‘source’ person’ denotes most ritual practitioners and specialists. Sara Sika Natar *nokerua* provenience uncertain; possibly a Lionese word.

RTI Also [utusan] from Malay *utusan*. *Utusan* was the term used for Christian preachers.

BUR ‘expert’; also *geb* [puŋi] ‘person who frequently deals with the spirit world, but usually for themselves or their family’.

SAW Also [imam] ‘Moslem priest’.

NYI ‘person of between people and with god’.

MAB ‘offering person’.

YAB ‘sacred-person’.

KAU Tok Pisin.

TOL Also [pater] (from Latin) Catholic priest, *tələtalə* ‘minister of a Methodist or other Protestant congregation’.

TAW ‘the sacrifice leader’.

- MOT 'preacher, pastor', in everyday speech used of Roman Catholic priests also. The Motu term used by the Roman Catholic church itself was not elicited. Bible uses *ha-helaya tau-na* lit 'a man who makes things holy'; earlier *kohena* was used, borrowed from Hebrew *kōhēn*.
- MEK [*au-love*] is a Roro loanword (for *hau-robe*) meaning 'holy man'. It is no longer in use. The nuns were *iviao-love*. Nowadays the Catholic priests are called (and addressed as) [*fata*] or occasionally [*pe*] (from English *father* and French *père*, respectively). [*mikinali*] is 'missionary' (also [*mitsinali*]). The word [*sakerdote*] has been imported in liturgical contexts.
- MAR 'sacrifice man'.
- KWO Also *fatābu*.
- RAG Ref Anglican ex Mota(?); also *lalago* ref. Anglican, [*pere*] ref. Catholic from French *père*.
- PAA Most Paamese are Protestant.
- NEM From French *père*.
- CEM 'chief holy'.
- AJI *naip<sup>w</sup>a* 'pastor'; [*pērΛ*] 'priest' from French *père*.
- KIR *te tama* lit 'father'; 'Catholic priest'.
- MSH Also [*p<sup>w</sup>ata*] from English *father*, and [*p<sup>w</sup>iric*] 'Catholic priest'.
- PON *sam<sup>w</sup>oro* alternate *soum<sup>w</sup>arō*; [*pādire*] Catholic priest.
- WLE From Spanish; alternate *saum<sup>w</sup>aṛoh*.
- WFI *bete* Catholic, Anglican, Standard Fijian.
- RTU Also *fā ha<sup>?</sup>a* 'Roman Catholic priest'; *fekau* 'Methodist minister'.
- TON Also [*pātele*] 'Catholic priest' from Latin.
- SAM *osi* (vb trans) 'offer a sacrifice', *tāulaṇa* 22.190.
- TAH From French; *tahu<sup>?</sup>a*, *tahu<sup>?</sup>a pure* arch.

## 22.190 HOLY, SACRED

**Sanskrit:** *śuci-*

ATA		PAI		KAL	
*TSO	prisia	YAM		*TAG	[banal]
RUK		ISN	nadiyosān	*AKL	baṭā <sup>?</sup> -an

PAL	[banar]	*SIK	pire-ŋ glara-ŋ	*RAG	[sabuya]
MOL		RTI	luli	PAA	voŋtūt
*KAG	[banal]	*BUR	mili	LEW	wā
BLA	m-tiu	DOB	moyum	POR	
SAB	[sussi]	IRA		NTA	asim
*MUR	[kadumāt]	*SAW	[suči]	KWA	ikənan
*MGY	masina	NYI	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> abun	NEM	hiri
*ACE	[kturamat]	MAM	rata	CEM	ítih
BAT	badi'a	TAK	gun	ΛJI	añ
MIN	[suči]	*DAM	watēlu	XAR	xiti
*IND	[suči]	*MAB	potomŋana	NEN	ŋiŋjəč
*SUN	[suči]	YAB	dabuŋ	KIR	tabu
JAV	[suči]	KAU	aβulu-ŋin-an	MSH	kk <sup>w</sup> Λcaŋcaŋ
MAD	[succu]	TOL	tabu	PON	sarawi
*BAL	[suči]	BUA	βabūŋ	*WLE	taŋiya
*SAS	bərsih	ADZ	mararam	EFI	tabu
*GOR	[karāmati]	*KIL	boma-	WFI	tabu
*DAA	nakara <sup>m</sup> pua	TAW	woiyawa	RTU	haʔa
UMA	mo-roluʔ	*MOT	helaya	*T●N	toputapu
BUG	mapaččiŋ	*MEK	[santo]	SAM	sā
KON	'taŋkasa	*ROV	hopena	MEL	tapu
*WOL	ma <sup>ŋ</sup> kilo	*MAR	blahi	*TAH	moʔa
MAG	<sup>ŋ</sup> gəluk	LAU	ʔinito liu	*RAP	moʔa
NGA	maku	KWO	abu		

TSO 'taboo'.

TAG From Malay *benar* 'true'; also [santo], Spanish *santo*.

AKL Also [santo], from Spanish *santo*.

PAL From Malay.

KAG [banal] 'holy', from Malay via Tagalog; [balaʔn] 'holy' from Hiligaynon; [sagradu] 'sacred' from Spanish *sagrado*.

MUR Possibly from Malay *kədamat* 'holy place' from Arabic *karāmāt*.

MGY From *ma-hasina*.

ACE From Arabic.

IND Also *kudus*.

SUN [suči] 'holy'; also [kəramat] 'sacred' from Arabic *karāmāt*.

BAL Also *təŋət* 'dangerous because holy or taboo'.

SAS 'clean'.

- GOR ‘sacred’, Malay *kəramat*, from Arabic; *ma<sup>n</sup>dali* ‘holy’.
- DAA ‘sacred’.
- WOL ‘clean, pure, holy’.
- SIK (Sara Sika Natar) *meluk*; [*santo*], [*santa*] Portuguese.
- BUR *humaen-mili-t* ‘sacred house’.
- SAW Also [*kudus*] from Arabic *qudus* ‘holy, pure’.
- DAM ‘untouchable’ (not to be profaned by general usage), ‘the property of a supernatural being’, and ‘forbidden’. Also *tutuk* ‘straight’, and *ɸatuk* ‘correct’, are now used for holy in the sense of pure living.
- MĀB ‘forbidden’.
- KIL Also *bumaboma*.
- MOT ‘taboo, sacred, holy’.
- MEK [*santo*] (from the Latin) has for the most part replaced *love* (sometimes [*sankto*]). *isapu* (*iapu*) ‘hot, heat’ (see 15.850, note), is the precise native equivalent of ‘sacred’. *ɸope* ‘tied, bound’ (cognate with Roro *rove/robe*; see 22.180, note) has many of the same connotations – one binds one’s waist tightly to fast (in order to gain or become *isapu*), and one ties fronds around one’s fruit trees to make them *afu* or taboo.
- ROV Also *madina* ‘consecrated, blessed’.
- MAR Also [*tabu*] from Bughotu.
- RAG From Mota.
- WLE ‘have a sacred ceremony’.
- TON Also *mā<sup>?</sup>oni<sup>?</sup>oni*.
- TAH Also [*pcata, beata*] from Latin.
- RAP Also *tapu*.

## 22.220 PREACH

**Arabic:** *ḥuṭba* ‘speech’; *ḥaṭāba* ‘preaching’

ATA	YAM	maŋononŋ	*TAG	hikāyat
TSO	ISN	mag-	*AKL	[sermon]
RUK		ba <sup>?</sup> ba <sup>?</sup> nān	PAL	mogsugid
PAI	*KAL	palawag	MOL	

*KAG	laygay	RTI	[khotbah]	*RAG	tore-tore
BLA	t-am-do?	*BUR	fisara	PAA	
*SAB	[nasihat]	*DOB	na-r-si <sup>ɸ</sup> ar <sup>ɸ</sup> o	LEW	loloŋoni
MUR			[tuwan] nay	POR	
MGY	mi-turi teni		ɸuɸun ler si	NTA	-əniarap
*ACE	buət		ɸaɸi		naŋhatan raha
	[kōtubah]	IRA			uuhŋən
*BAT	[mar-ʃamita]	SAW	[hotba]	KWA	
MIN	ba-[katubah]	NYI	atiye sahou	NEM	ɤã
IND	bər-[xutbah]	MAM	maŋata-pile	CEM	pî-púne
*SUN	mača ([bača])	*TAK	-filale	AJI	puřã
	[hutbah]	DAM		*XAR	çue tɛpə
JAV	sə-sorah	MAB	-soyāra	NEN	pul(on)
*MAD	muruk	*YAB	-yàm mete	*KIR	kakarab <sup>w</sup> akau
	(-buruk)	*KAU	βo pul pit	MSH	caɾ
BAL		*TOL	vər-v-ai	*PON	patāk
SAS	[kotbah]	BUA	ner gagək	*WLE	feřaii-a
GOR	mō-[hutuba]	ADZ	fi-s-a + gin	EFI	βūnau
DAA	no-tara <sup>ɖ</sup> ga	*KIL	-kamituli	*WFI	[βunau]
UMA	mpo-keni	TAW	guguya	RTU	maraja
BUG	makkat-tobba	*MOT	haroro	TON	malaja
KON	a <sup>ʔ</sup> -katubba	*MEK	e-i-noŋo	*SAM	tāla <sup>ʔ</sup> i
WOL	[hutubaa]	ROV	tarae	MEL	vānau
MAG	[aʃar]	MAR		TAH	a <sup>ʔ</sup> o
NGA	poo-gəge	LAU	funao	RAP	tatara
*SIK		KWO			

KAL *palawag + i-*.

TAG *hikāyat + -um/-in* ‘urge’; *[ser'mon] + mag-/i-*, from Spanish *sermón*.

AKL *[sermon] + -an* from Spanish *sermón*.

KAG *laygay + mag-* also *wali + mag-*.

SAB *[nasihat] + ag-*.

ACE Also *[pidatɔ]* Malay.

BAT From Sanskrit.

SUN *[bača]* ‘read, recite’ Sanskrit; *[hutbah]* ‘sermon’.

MAD Safioedin (1977): *-buruk* ‘educate’.

SIK Sara Sika Natar *prəgasan; nao lami; koko hori*.

BUR	'speak with a formal discourse pattern (e.g. at a wedding, settling a dispute)'; also <i>bleta-k</i> 'proclaim'; Rana <i>psara</i> .
DOB	'he talks about the Lord who is above's law/talk'.
TAK	'untie' (09.161).
YAB	'do behaviour'.
KAU	'to admonish'; also <i>βo nut-nut</i> (see 18.670).
TOL	See 18.222.
KIL	'announce, proclaim'. Early word used was <i>guguya</i> , as the first missionaries were from the Dobu area and that Dobuan word (meaning 'speak peace') was used there for 'preach'. However in Kiriwinan it meant 'give a severe moral lecture', which led to rather vivid sermons. A consequence of this early error is that Kiriwinan preachers are still called <i>to-guguya</i> 'person preaching, lecturing'.
MOT	'to make a speech, proclaim, preach'.
MEK	<i>i-noŋo</i> is a 'speech', a sermon, a public tirade; <i>ma-ŋoŋo</i> 'traditional knowledge; instruction; advice' is undoubtedly related.
RAG	Also <i>dore-tore</i>
XAR	'put down the word'.
KIR	CAUS of <i>rab<sup>w</sup>akau</i> 'wise, skilled'; <i>kabarabara</i> CAUS of <i>bara</i> 'untied, absolved, explained'.
PON	Also 'teach'.
WLE	Also 'advise'.
WFI	Probably Standard Fijian.
SAM	Also <i>lauŋa</i> .

## 22.230 BLESS

**Arabic:** *baraka* 'blessing'

ATA	*TAG	pāla?	SAB	badakat + -in-
TSO	*AKL	pa-baʔa?		an
RUK	PAL		MUR	[balakat]
PAI	*MOL	iŋasi?	*MGY	mamafi ranu
*YAM	ipanlanlag	*KAG	[bindisyun]	*ACE
ISN	[bendisyonān]	BLA	m-le ka-fye	BAT
*KAL	gasat			pasu-pasu



MIN	mam- [barakat]-i	IRA		POR	
		SAW	n-fa-[barakat]	NTA	
IND	məm-[bərakat]-i	NYI	ñosowan	KWA	
SUN	ŋa-[bərəkah]- an	MAM	marou	NEM	
*JAV	maŋestoni	TAK	-bar	*CEM	âdeī-hi
		DAM	kosē	AJI	aʔvui
MAD	[bərakat]	*MAB	-po <sup>m</sup> bol	XAR	
*BAL	mica-in ([piča]-in)	*YAB	-yàm meʔ	NEN	ŋeo(n)
		KAU	βa emhoŋ	KIR	kabaia
*SAS	ŋə-[bərakat]-aŋ	*TOL	və-doən	MSH	
GOR	mo-[barakati]	BUA	βəŋeβ rak	*PON	kasarawi
DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-ganc	ADZ	fi <sup>n</sup> ti-	WLE	
UMA	mo-ganeʔ	KIL	-kab <sup>w</sup> aili	*EFI	βā-kalouŋata- taka
BUG	[barakkaʔ]	TAW	kawaidewa- dewa	*WFI	[βa-kalouŋata- takinia]
KON	as-sare [barakkaʔ]	*MOT	ha-namo-a	*RTU	ɔlɔlum-ʔoki
WOL	pe-ka- [barakati]	*MEK	e-ŋope	TON	tāpuakiʔi
		ROV	manania	*SAM	faʔa-paʔia
MAG	[bərakak]	MAR	fablahi	MEL	pas-mārīna
NGA	voʔo	LAU	baelafea	TAH	haʔamaitaʔi
*SIK		KWO		*RAP	haʔa moʔa
RTI	[berkat]	RAG			
*BUR	li-gosa-t	PAA	dokol kati		
DOB		LEW	visa-ruru		

YAM Name of a celebration like a feast when a baby is baptised.

KAL *gāsāt + pa-*.

TAG *pālaʔ + mag-/pag--in*; also [bendisyon], from Spanish *bendición* also used.

AKL *pa-baʔaʔ + -an*; also [bendisyon] + *-an*, from Spanish *bendición*.

MOL *iŋasiʔ + ko--an*.

KAG [bindisyun] + *mag-/an* from Spanish *bendición*.

MGY From *maN-fafi + ranu*; also *mi-ŋu-ŋʳanu* from *mi-čuka + ranu*.

ACE Sanskrit, also [burukat] 'blessing'.

JAV ([paŋestu]-ni) from Sanskrit (see Gonda 1973: 89).

BAL From Sanskrit.

SIK Sara Sika Natar [bənʃər] Portuguese?

BUR 'good voice'.

MAB	- <i>po<sup>m</sup>bol</i> ‘strengthen’; - <i>kampe</i> ‘do good to’.
YAB	‘do magic spell’; - <i>som mε?</i> ‘speak magic spell’.
TOL	<i>va-</i> CAUS, <i>doan</i> ‘fortunate’.
MOT	‘to cause to be good’.
MEK	<i>e-ŋope</i> actually means ‘bind, tie’ but is used for ‘bless’ (see 22.190, note). For ‘bless’ in the traditional Mekeo sense we should have to say <i>e-meŋa</i> , i.e. ‘utter a spell over’.
CEM	‘to raise up, bless’; also [ <i>bèni</i> ] from French <i>bénir</i> .
PON	Causative form, from <i>sarawi</i> ‘sacred’.
EFI	Also <i>tabu-raka</i> (Catholic).
WFI	Standard Fijian <i>βākalouŋata-taka</i> .
RTU	Also <i>tapuɔki</i> (Catholic term).
SAM	<i>fa?a-</i> CAUS, <i>pa?ia</i> (vb intrans) ‘be holy, sacred’; also <i>fa?a-manuia</i> (vb trans), <i>fa?a-</i> CAUS, <i>manuia</i> (vb intrans) ‘be happy, fortunate’.
RAP	<i>ha?a mo?a</i> ‘bless (objects and mothers of newborns)’; <i>ha?a maitai</i> ‘bless (persons-other than mothers of newborns)’; <i>tohu riva-riva</i> (archaic).

## 22.240 CURSE

ATA		BAT		*WOL	ka-tu <sup>n</sup> da
TSO		*MIN	mañumpah-i	MAG	mavaŋ
RUK		*IND	məŋutuk	NGA	noba
PAI			(kutuk)	*SIK	paʃu
YAM	maŋavay	*SUN	[ñapa]	RTI	nama-so
ISN	gedān		([sapa])	*BUR	p-luma-k
*KAL	īliw	*JAV	[ñupatani]	*DOB	?a-tuɸar
*TAG	sumpa?		([supata])	IRA	
*AKL	pabāraŋ	*MAD	[bastu]	*SAW	n-[bobeto]
PAL	suryɔb	*BAL	mastu (pastu)	NYI	aten
*MOL	sukna?	SAS	ñumpa?	MAM	ŋesua?i
*KAG	mulay		(sumpa?)	TAK	-misilani
BLA	flogi	*GOR	mo-pūlo (?)	*DAM	i-sis-ne-ya
*SAB	sukna?	DAA	no <sup>m</sup> ba-gane	*MAB	-piri sua
*MUR	ulas	*UMA	totoβi		sananŋana
MGY	man-uzuna	BUG	tanro	*YAB	-pu? b <sup>w</sup> a
*ACE	[surapa]	KON	a?-ka-larro	KAU	ŋilŋil

*TOL	vul	PAA	gur lesles	*PON	riāla
BUA	tərot	*LEW	kup <sup>w</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> ae	WLE	
ADZ	popoərap-	POR		EFI	rū-kaka
KIL	-bolata	*NTA	-au ierməs in	WFI	nene-sia
TAW	kawaiapapoe	KWA	-akunan	RTU	haʔo
*MOT	he-duguirai	NEM	t <sup>h</sup> ōi	*TON	fakamalaʔiaʔi
MEK	e-meŋa(-i-a).	CEM	áp <sup>w</sup> ε-hi	*SAM	faʔa-mālaia
*ROV	levenia	AJI	aʔve yərī	MEL	pas-sāčia
*MAR	tibri	XAR	xapɔ	*TAH	tuhituhi
LAU		*NEN	čede	*RAP	tohu
KWO	tāfi-a	*KIR	karereantia		
RAG	balahe	*MSH	kōl		

KAL *īliw + man-/-an.*

TAG *sumpaʔ + -in* ‘wish evil’; *tuŋāyaw + mag-/-in* bad language.

AKL *pabāraŋ + i-*; see 22.420.

MOL *suknaʔ + -um-/-an.*

KAG *mulay + mag-/-ən* also [*maldisyun*] + *mag-/-an* from Spanish *maldición*.

SAB *suknaʔ + aN-/-an.*

MUR *ulas (maŋ-ən).*

ACE From Sanskrit, probably via Malay.

MIN From *maN-sumpah-i*.

IND Also *mə-makī*.

SUN From Sanskrit.

JAV From Sanskrit.

MAD From Sanskrit.

BAL (vb trans) *tulah* ‘cursed’.

GOR Also *mo-[laʔanati]*, From Arabic *laʔana* ‘curse’, and *momilaʔo (bilaʔo + moN-)*, ‘put a curse on (someone) by means of reciting magic formulas (as, by an evil shaman)’.

UMA Also *kamo*.

WOL Also *pe-ka-tu<sup>n</sup>da*.

SIK Also *paju paka, paju paon*.

BUR Also *li-boho-t; li-ama li-ina* ‘curse one’s father and mother’; *flale em-sipe-k* lit ‘beat female genitals’ (an extreme curse); *cplag-ii-k*.

DOB	Transitive verb.
SAW	Ternate, also <i>n-[lolahi]</i> Ternate.
DAM	'third-spit-third sing-INF'.
MAB	'toss bad talk'; also <i>-suŋ sanāna</i> 'ask evil upon'.
YAB	'-put stem': figurative expression referring to picking taro too early (so that it does not come away from stem) and stopping its growth to maturity.
TOL	<i>var-vul</i> (vb intrans); also <i>tata kaina</i> (vb intrans), <i>tata</i> (vb intrans) 'speak', <i>kaina</i> 'bad'; <i>kāba</i> (vb trans) 'insult, abuse'.
MOT	Trans <i>uduguirai-a</i> . Presumably a compound, but structure uncertain; <i>udu-gui-rai-a</i> ( <i>udu</i> 'mouth', <i>-rai-</i> instrument/accompaniment).
ROV	<i>levenia</i> 'curse s.o.', <i>parparaŋa</i> 'swear grossly'.
MAR	'place a curse on'.
LEW	Also <i>viai, visavisa-ŋa</i> .
NTA	Also <i>-os tamafa o</i> .
NEN	Also <i>elo(n)</i> .
KIR	'throw to the spirits'.
MSH	<i>kapæle</i> 'curse with black magic'.
PON	<i>riāla</i> with suffix <i>-la</i> 'away'; <i>peined</i> 'use foul language'.
TON	Also <i>talatukiʔi</i> .
SAM	<i>faʔa</i> - CAUS, <i>mālaia</i> (vb intrans) 'be unlucky, ill fated'; also <i>tautuʔi</i> (vb trans); <i>fe-tuʔu</i> (vb trans).
TAH	Also <i>tuhi, ʔaituhituhi, faʔaʔino</i> .
RAP	Also <i>tohu-tohu</i> ; the word <i>tohu</i> means 'predict, prophesy, to make a pronouncement (either good or bad)'; thus, 'bless' or 'curse'.

## 22.260 FAST (vb)

**Sanskrit:** *upavāsa-*

ATA	ISN	mangabi	PAL	bilagan
ISO	*KAL	manlaŋana	MOL	[puasa]
RUK		maŋan	*KAG	[puasa]
PAI	*TAG	[ayūno]	BLA	[fwəsə]
*YAM	AKL	[puʔāsah]	*SAB	[puwasa]

*MUR	[puasaʔ]	IRA		POR	
*MGY	mi-fadi	SAW	n-čaum	NTA	-atuakam
ACE	[puwasa]		(saum)	*KWA	-are
BAT	mar-[puasa]	NYI	abeles	NEM	hodep
MIN	[puaso]	MAM	zirau	*CEM	pácīle ni
IND	bər-[puasa]	TAK			wínâdo
SUN	[puasa]	DAM	kuri	AJI	tɔ mēřē
JAV	[pəsə]	MAB	-sapāra	XAR	šā
MAD	a-[pasa]	YAB		NEN	konečawa
*BAL	mə-[puasə]	*KAU	suhmi	*KIR	aki māmatam
SAS	[puasə]	*TOL	vevel	*MSH	ciɬɔk
*GOR	[puwa- puwasa]	BUA	βaʔuñe	*PON	kalēk
DAA	na-[puasa]	ADZ	<sup>m</sup> pa-da gin	WLE	
UMA	mo-[puasaʔ]	KIL	-kamolu	EFI	lolo
BUG	imap-[puasa]	*TAW	hudi	WFI	lolo
KON	aʔ-[puasa]	*MOT	aniβaga	RTU	fak-soŋe
*WOL	gogo	*MEK	e-ŋope	TON	ʔaukai
MAG	[puasa]	ROV	ayoso	*SAM	ʔanapoŋi
NGA	nəsi-nəge	MAR	daŋna	*MEL	[pali]
*SIK	piʔe taʔi-ŋ	LAU	abufaŋa	TAH	haʔapae i te
RTI	[puasa]	KWO			māʔa
BUR	fuka flai-k	RAG		*RAP	ʔina ko kai
*DOB	nam [puasa]	PAA			
		*LEW	mono-mi		
YAM	'not eat'.				
KAL	<i>(man-lagan-amagan)</i> .				
TAG	<i>[kulasyon] + mag-</i> , Spanish <i>ayuno</i> fast; <i>colación</i> 'collation'.				
KAG	<i>[puasa] + mag-</i> .				
SAB	<i>[puwasa] + aN-</i> .				
MUR	<i>[puasa] (mag-)</i> .				
MGY	<i>fadi</i> from PMP * <i>pali</i> .				
BAL	Also <i>mə-[bratə]</i> from Sanskrit 'temporarily abstain from foods, certain behaviour, for religious reasons, live the life of an ascetic'.				
GOR	'is fasting'.				
WOL	Also <i>paga</i> , <i>[poasa]</i> .				
SIK	Also <i>məla ilur</i> .				
DOB	'do fast'.				

KAU	<i>suḥmi</i> ‘abstain from food in general’; <i>kala</i> ‘abstain from pork’; <i>hum</i> ‘abstain from pork and taro’.
TOL	<i>veveli-ane</i> (vb trans) ‘abstain from’; <i>tobo</i> (vb intrans) ‘abstain from anything in honour of a deceased person’.
TAW	Abstain from meat or other specific food.
MOT	<i>ani-a</i> ‘to eat’; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) <i>βaga</i> ‘to fast’.
MEK	<i>e-ḡope</i> actually means ‘bind, tie’ but by extension ‘fast’; traditionally the waist was tightly bound with wide woven belts of bush materials to assist in fasting by cutting the pangs of hunger. <i>maula</i> (? <i>ma-ula</i> ) and <i>pa-afu</i> are other words for ritual fasts; <i>maula</i> is also used of ‘want, famine’.
LEW	Also <i>mono-sil</i> .
KWA	Also <i>-atuakəm</i> .
CEM	‘forbid food’; also <i>jēmi</i> ‘food prohibition’.
KIR	‘not eat’.
MSH	Also ‘abstain’.
PON	CAUS, see entry for famine; <i>kaisisol</i> .
SAM	Also <i>fa?a-mole-manava</i> , <i>fa?a-</i> CAUS, <i>mole</i> (vb intrans) ‘choke’, <i>manava</i> ‘stomach’.
MEL	From Efate.
RAP	Also <i>tapu te kai</i> .

## 22.310 HEAVEN

Sanskrit: *svarga-*

ATA		*MOL	laṅit	SUN	[sawarga]
TSO		KAG	laṅit	JAV	[swargə]
RUK		BLA	laṅit	MAD	[suwarga]
PAI		*SAB	[sulgaʔ]	*BAL	[suargə]
*YAM	ḡo tiṅato	MUR	dasawat	SAS	[surgə]
ISN	lāṅit	*MGY	lanit <sup>r</sup> a	GOR	[soroga]
KAL	lāṅit	ACE	[šuruga]	DAA	[suruga]
*TAG	lāṅit	BAT	banua gidʒaṅ	UMA	[suruga]
AKL	ḡāṅit	*MIN	[sarugo]	BUG	[surūga]
*PAL	laṅit	*IND	[surga]	KON	[suruga]

WOL	[sorogaal]	*TOL	bələ-nə-bəkut	*CEM	éle-ʃêne-
MAG	[surga]	BUA	yagək		âpulip
*NGA	lizu	*ADZ	gunuŋun	AJI	nekə
*SIK	nia-ŋ βula βutu	*KIL	labuma	XAR	nexōa
RTI	nusa soda-k	*TAW	yada	NEN	
*BUR	laŋi	*MOT	guba	KIR	karawa
*DOB	ma'ŋar laʔar- di	*MEK	[palatiso]	*MSH	laŋ
IRA		ROV	maŋauru	*PON	lāŋ
SAW	[soroga]	MAR		*WLE	řaŋi-mařü
NYI	ka <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> ah	LAU	halo	EFI	lomālaŋi
*MAM	laŋ-anua	KWO		*WFI	[lomalaŋi]
*TAK	did panu	RAG		*RTU	[hevani]
*DAM	sā tano	*PAA	aut nesa	TON	laŋi
MAB	sā <sup>m</sup> ba	*LEW	sinapani	*SAM	laŋi
*YAB	un-da <sup>m</sup> be	POR	namav	*MEL	[laŋissau]
*KAU	[heßen]	NTA	ncai	TAH	raʔi
		*KWA	neai	RAP	raŋi
		*NEM	le pəa		

YAM Also *aŋit* and *laŋazaen*.

TAG Also *ka-laŋit-an*; PAN \**lāŋi*C.

PAL Also *anduwanan*.

MOL 'sky'.

MGY From PMP \**laŋit*.

MIN Also *laŋi*?

IND Also *laŋit*.

BAL Also [*suargan*] from Sanskrit.

NGA 'sky'.

SIK *ləro βula-ŋ*. Sara Sika Natar [*seu*] Portuguese; *seu sareŋ*, *seu kota*; *niaŋ βula βutu*; *reta bləbuk seu*, *reta kiku liluk*.

BUR 'sky'; sometimes *laŋi-t* possibly calquing to Malay, but perfectly regular historically. Malay-Arabic [*sorga*] also used.

DOB 'far away sky'.

MAM Also *laŋ*.

TAK 'mountain village' (01.220, 19.160).

DAM 'sky clan ground' meaning 'sky property', has only been used since the influence of Christianity has come to the area. There was no notion of a heaven in the traditional belief system.

- YAB From *uŋ-da<sup>m</sup>be* ‘firmament-middle’.
- KAU Tok Pisin; *pi minomu* is a traditional term for the place where departed spirits go.
- TOL See 01.510.
- ADZ ‘sky’, ‘heaven’ (new usage).
- KIL ‘sky’. Also *βalu walakaiwa* ‘place above’.
- TAW ‘sky/heaven’.
- MOT ‘sky, heaven’. Probably an introduced concept.
- MEK From Latin *paradisus*.
- PAA ‘upper place’.
- LEW Also [*(e)peni*] (from Bislama?) (see 01.510).
- KWA Also means ‘sky’.
- NEM ‘in the air, in the sky’.
- CEM ‘disappear soul human’; indicates resting place of souls (under the sea).
- MSH Also ‘sky’; *aeləŋin-laŋ* lit ‘country in the sky’.
- PON Also ‘sky’.
- WLE *teṛamiya* also ‘cloud, sky’, *weŋi-ŋaŋilit* ‘country in the sky’.
- WFI Probably standard Fijian *lomālaŋi*.
- RTU From English *heaven*.
- SAM See 01.510.
- MEL From Efate.

## 22.320 HELL

Sanskrit: *naraka-*

Spanish: *infierno*

ATA	AKL [impyerno]	*ACE [nuraka]
TSO	PAL [narka?]	BAT banua tōru
RUK	MOL	MIN [naraka]
PAI	KAG [impirnu]	*IND [nəraKa]
YAM kazazatan	BLA ʔəŋəw lifoh	SUN [naraka]
ISN [impiyernu]	SAB [nalka?]	JAV [narəkə]
KAL [impiyēlnu]	*MUR [nadaka?]	MAD [naraka]
TAG [impiyerno]	MGY afube	BAL [nərakə]



SAS	[nərakə]	*MAB	a <sup>n</sup> dewa	*NTA	tarat ikən
GOR	[naraka]	*YAB	la <sup>m</sup> b <sup>w</sup> am	*KWA	ip <sup>w</sup> ai
DAA	[naraka]	*KAU	[hel]	*NEM	le yāk
UMA	[naraka]	TOL		*CEM	póm <sup>w</sup> à-miù
BUG	[ranāka]	BUA	ñeg nipaya	AJI	gēna
KON	[naraka]	*ADZ	ganun	XAR	neāə
WOL	[narakaa]		ga <sup>m</sup> pan	NEN	
MAG	api [naraka]	*KIL	[eli]	KIR	mōne
NGA	nitū	*TAW	hiyoyowa	*MSH	[kena]
*SIK		*MOT	lahi gabu-na	*PON	nankisiniei
RTI	[naraka]	*MEK	[ipeli]	WLE	
*BUR	ban-haa-t	ROV	[heli]	*EFI	bulu
*DOB	say si ʔay	MAR		*WFI	[eli]
IRA		LAU		*RTU	ʔoroī
SAW	[naraka]	KWO		*TON	[heli]
NYI	bolo jih	RAG		*SAM	fafā
MAM	eoā-tago- matemate	*PAA	ahaŋ	MEL	fenua sā
		*LEW	lele-na-loŋe-	*TAH	[hātē]
TAK	ades		viowa-ena	RAP	poʔauahi
DAM	yā	*POR	na-xa <sup>m</sup> b		

ACE Also [*nuraka*].

IND Also [*ʒahanam*].

SIK Sara Sika Natar [*naraka*] Malay; also *ʒehə-ŋ; lau nitu matə-ŋ*.

BUR Great fire; [*neraka*].

DOB ‘fire and wood’.

MAB Volcanic mountain on New Britain thought to be the place of the dead.

YAB ‘underworld, abode of the departed’.

KAU Tok Pisin.

ADZ ‘spirit village-3sg POSS’, i.e. ‘the spirits’ place; hell’.

KIL From English *hell*; when contextual restraints permit, *Tuma* is used for ‘place of the dead’; *Tuma* being an island off the west coast of Kiriwina which is traditionally the abode of the spirits of deceased.

TAW *hiyoyowa* ‘abode of dead’.

MOT *lahi* ‘fire’, *gabu* ‘place’. Also *mase gabu-na* (*mase* ‘death’). Probably an introduced concept.

MEK From English *hell*.

PAA	Also used for 'fire'.
LEW	'place of suffering'; also <i>kapi</i> (see 01.810).
POR	(fire).
NTA	'it is no good there'.
KWA	'place of dead'
NEM	'in the fire'.
CEM	'habitation-fire'.
MSH	From English <i>Gehenna</i> .
PON	'in the ashes', [ <i>ēl</i> ] From English.
EFI	[ <i>eli</i> ] Tongan [ <i>heli</i> ] from English.
WFI	Probably standard Fijian, probably from Tongan, from English.
RTU	'underworld'.
TON	From English <i>hell</i> .
SAM	Originally 'lower world'.
TAH	( <i>hade</i> ) from Greek; also <i>te pāni auahi</i> ; <i>te pāni a tātane</i> ; <i>te Pō</i> 'place for the deaths'.

## 22.350 DEMON (evil spirit)

Arabic: *šaiṭān*, *jinn*, *iblis*

ATA	ʔutux ka akih	*MGY	[demuni]	*WOL	[jini]
TSO	xiɕu	*ACE	[jɛn]	MAG	[jɪŋ] daʔat
RUK		*BAT	[si-bolis]	NGA	polo
PAI	ɕumay	*MIN	(h)antu	*SIK	ata uʔə-ŋ
YAM	anito	*IND	[setan]	*RTI	nitu
ISN	an-anitu	*SUN	[setan]	*BUR	[setan] eboho-n
KAL	dimūnyu	JAV	[setan]	*DOB	ʔay tutuy
*TAG	[de'monyo]	MAD	[jim]	*IRA	ɸetabəbe
*AKL	yāwaʔ	*BAL	[butə]	SAW	gwɔ
*PAL	laŋgam	*SAS	[setan]	*NYI	malawi <sup>n</sup> d <sup>r</sup> aʔin
*MOL	[soytan]	*GOR	lati	MAM	mairaba-
*KAG	yawa	*DAA	[seta]		goaləʔa
*BLA	busɔw	*UMA	[seta]	TAK	bugai, weit
SAB	[saitan]	BUG	[billisiʔ]	*DAM	kā
*MUR	[diwato]	*KON	[jɪŋ]		

MAB	bubuṅana sananṅana	LAU	agalo tā	MSH	
		KWO	adalo k <sup>w</sup> asi	PON	
*YAB	ṅalau se?	*RAG	atmat-hantai	WLE	
*KAU	meṅeh	PAA	temat	*EFI	[tēβoro]
TOL	təbəran	*LEW	yer-mare	*WFI	niču
BUA	məmo	POR	ramač	RTU	ʔatua
ADZ	ganun	*NTA	ierməs	*TON	[tēvələ]
KIL	baloma gaga	KWA	nari ip <sup>w</sup> ai	*SAM	[tevolo]
*TAW	alugo palopaloumana	*NEM	[demonio]	MEL	ata sā
*MOT	lauma dika-na	*CEM	dūē	*TAH	[tiʔaporo (diabolo)]
*MEK	[tsiapolo]	AJI	meavořa	*RAP	ʔaku-ʔaku
ROV	tomate	*XAR	xō		
MAR	naʔitu	*NEN	kaze		
		KIR			

TAG [*diyablo*], Spanish *demonio* ‘demon’, *diablo* ‘devil’.

AKL Also [*demonyo, dyablo*] from Spanish *demonio, diablo*.

PAL Also [*saʔitan*].

MOL From Spanish.

KAG Also [*dimuñu*] from Spanish *demonio*; [*satanas*] from Spanish  
*'satanas; laʔin na ispiritu* ‘evil spirit’.

BLA Also *sasəʔ tulus*.

MUR From Malay *dewata* ‘godhead’ from Sanskrit.

MGY From English.

ACE Also *hantu, [šətan], [iblih]*, and *buroṅ*.

BAT From Arabic via Malay.

MIN Also [*setan*].

IND Also [*jin*].

SUN Also [*iblis*].

BAL Also [*kalə*] both from Sanskrit; [*məmədi*] from Javanese ‘evil spirit  
which steals children for short periods then returns them’; *bəbai* ‘an  
evil spirit which causes fits and illness’; *toñə* ‘spirit which lives near  
water or large trees’.

SAS Also [*iblis*].

GOR Also [*sətani*], also *bagōgo* and *pulu lo huta* ‘demon of the  
land/ground/soil’; *poʔgo* ‘a devil that takes one’s heart from one’s  
body’

DAA *nosa najəʔa* ‘evil spirit’.

UMA Also *βii*.

KON Also [*setaŋ*].

WOL *paraka* ‘man eating demon’; *wurake* ‘evil vampire-like demon living in banyan trees’.

SIK Also *ata ponu-ŋ*, *ata hela-ŋ*. Sara Sika Natar [*setan*] Malay, [*setan*] *diaβu*.

RTI Also *nitu-mula* form a doublet in ordinary language. They refer to the ancestral spirits of the dead. In Christian preaching, all such spirits have been castigated as demons.

BUR Specifically, *mau faha-n* lit ‘feline paw’ representing a major evil spirit; *rah tobo-n* ‘a rat’; *geb rawa* ‘an eagle’; *alam pau-t* ‘a snake’; *geb hisa* ‘chief of evil spirits’.

DOB ‘tree top’, because that is where they are believed to live.

IRA Also *uǰɛgə*, *ñə kabia*

NYI ‘spirit bad’.

DAM Also *buga*.

YAB ‘spirit bad’.

KAU Also *huŋ*, *esusu*, *emuhin*.

TAW ‘witch spirit’.

MOT *lauma* ‘spirit; ghost appearing at night, soul’. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) adds ‘formerly used only of ghosts of those killed, who appeared in terrible form’; *dika* ‘bad, evil’.

MEK [*tsiapolo*] (and older [*kiapolo*]) comes from Latin *diabolus*. NW Mekeo uses *pai-pai* here (see 22.440, note).

RAG Also *vui*.

LEW Also *ninu-na piowa*, *yer-mare leŋo*.

NTA Also *narmənrət*.

NEM [*demonio*] Biblical ‘devil’; *danu* ‘supernatural spirit, spirit of the dead, devil, god’

CEM Also [*démunio*] Biblical borrowing.

XAR x̄ supernatural spirits, devils or gods, spirits of the dead; Christian God is [*iōva*] French *ǰéhovah*.

NEN Also *yāč*

WFI Also *domihī*.

EFI Tongan [*tēβolo*] from English.

TON From Samoan, also *laumātie ʔuli*.

SAM From English 'devil'; also [*tiʔāpolo*] from Greek *diabolos*.

TAH From Greek; *vārua ʔino* 'bad spirit'.

RAP Also *tatane*, from Spanish *satanás*; *varua ʔino*.

## 22.370 IDOL

**Prākṛit:** *bharāla-*

ATA	βuŋiaʔ	DAA	para <sup>n</sup> tau	*MAR	mumuʃu
TSO		UMA		LAU	nuidō
RUK		BUG	[barahāla]	KWO	
PAI		KON	[barahala]	RAG	
YAM	nipazipazəŋ a taotao	WOL	[barahala]	PAA	nāna
ISN	sinan	MAG		*LEW	toutou
	diydiyos	NGA		POR	
*KAL	sinandiyus	SIK		NTA	narmə nat
*TAG	anīto	*RTI	so-soŋo-k	KWA	
*AKL	[idolo]	*BUR	ii [puʃi]-ro	NEM	
PAL	taw-taw	DOB		CEM	áʃeni-wō
*MOL	rimbaŋan	IRA		AJI	kaxō
*KAG	buat-buat na bagay	*SAW	[woŋi-woŋi]	XAR	
		NYI	sukumadakei	NEN	
BLA		MAM	aemʔai	*KIR	te boua n anti
SAB	[barhalaʔ]	TAK		*MSH	ekcap <sup>m</sup>
MUR		DAM		PON	
MGY	sampi	*MAB	merere	WLE	
*ACE	[buwrala]		pakamŋana	EFI	matakau
BAT	pele-ɔn	*YAB	g <sup>w</sup> am	WFI	
*MIN	[baralo]	KAU		RTU	tupuʔa
IND	[bərhalə]	*TOL		TON	tamapua
SUN	[bərhalə]	BUA		SAM	tupua
JAV	[brahələ]	*ADZ	mugus	MEL	tātapu
*MAD	[dʰiba]	KIL	tokolu	*TAH	[ʔitoro (idolo)]
*BAL	[prə-lingə]	TAW	talaoloto	*RAP	paina
SAS	[bərhalə]	*MOT	laulau		
GOR	buʔi (?)	MEK			
		ROV	beku		

KAL	( <i>sinan-diyus</i> ).
TAG	Also [ <i>ídolo</i> ], Spanish <i>ídolo</i> .
AKL	From Spanish <i>ídolo</i> .
MOL	‘image’.
KAG	‘a made thing’; also <i>dyus-dyus</i> .
ACE	Also [ <i>burahla</i> ] Malay, <i>paton</i> .
MIN	Also <i>patu<sup>2</sup>η</i> .
MAD	From Sanskrit.
BAL	Also [ <i>prətimə</i> ] from Sanskrit.
SAS	Thoir et al (1985): ‘kind of spirit’.
RTI	<i>soṅo</i> is the traditional verb ‘to offer, make contact with the <i>nitu</i> ’.
BUR	The worshipped things
SAW	Tobelo.
MAB	<i>merere pakamṅana</i> ‘false lord’; <i>ke tēteṅana</i> ‘the physical object’.
YAB	‘ancestor carving’.
TOL	See 01.510.
ADZ	‘carved tree-trunk with face of an ancestor or spirit, used as part of old ceremonies’; by extension now ‘idol, carved image’.
MOT	‘shadow; spirit; image, picture, photo’. Also <i>kaiβakuku</i> ‘image carved out of wood’; Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) ‘dancing mask; a mask worn by one who chases thieves’.
MAR	‘carved spirit figure’
LEW	Also <i>nono</i> .
KIR	‘spirit post’.
MSH	‘those gods’.
TAH	From English.
RAP	archaic.

## 22.420 MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT, SORCERY

**Arabic:** *siḥr*; ‘ilm (‘ulūm) ‘knowledge’

ATA	h-um-yuβ	YAM	maṅarīarīt	AKL	bāraṅ
TSO		ISN	aṅgamud	PAL	rundiṅan
RUK		KAL	dāwak	MOL	[ilmu?]
PAI		*TAG	kūlam	*KAG	[salamaṅka]

BLA	n-imoʔ dad m-loʔos	RTI	modo-ai do-k	*LEW	kimi
		*BUR	em-kehal	POR	tömtömv
*SAB	hinaŋ-hinaŋ	DOB	kʷay'dil	NTA	natiasim
*MUR	kodojo	IRA	sənənanə	*KWA	nahak
*MGY	fa-[musavi]- ana	*SAW	[doti]	NEM	
		*NYI	kau	CEM	
*ACE	[ɛluməə sihe]	*MAM	zere	*AJI	vi gayu
		*TAK	nawir	XAR	
BAT	ula-ula	DAM	kās	NEN	ačapāc
*MIN	[alemu]	*MAB	naborou	KIR	te tabunea
*IND	[sihir]	*YAB	bəŋ	*MSH	anienic
*SUN	[ilmu] [sihir]	*KAU	ŋilŋil-ŋin	*PON	sarawi
JAV	təluh	*TOL	pəpəit	*WLE	ϕʷaʔü-ϕʷaʔü
MAD	[sihir]	*BUA	nabō	EFI	βaka-
*BAL	pəŋiwa	*ADZ	opaʔ		dʳaudʳau
*SAS	[gunə-gunə]	*KIL	meguβa	WFI	dʳodʳosi
*GOR	[ʔilimu]	*TAW	pali	RTU	rē ʔoi
DAA	doti	*MOI	mea	TON	fakalouʔakau
*UMA	iñča	*MEK	uŋa-uŋa	*SAM	mana faʔa-
*BUG	[sehereʔ]	*ROV	vakvakutae		taulāitu
KON	paŋŋ-isseŋ-aŋ	*MAR	neilehe	MEL	sū
*WOL	guna-guna	LAU		TAH	tahutahu
MAG	ᵐbəko	KWO	gelema	RAP	tahu-tahu
NGA	βuu-βale	RAG			
SIK		PAA	aimas		

TAG Also *gāway* ‘sorcery’; *salamaŋka* ‘sleight-of-hand’.

KAG [*salamaŋka*] ‘magic’ from Spanish *salamanca*; *ubra ta malbal* ‘witchcraft’; *pagsísti* ‘sorcery’.

SAB *hinaŋ-hinaŋ* + *ag/-an*.

MUR From Malay *kərja* ‘work’ from Sanskrit.

MGY From Bantu.

ACE Also [*suŋlap*] from Malay, [*hekumat*] from Arabic.

MIN Also [*sihir*].

IND [*sihir*] ‘magic’; [*ilmu*] [*hikmat*], [*ilmu*] *hitam* ‘witchcraft, sorcery’.

SUN Also [*ilmu*] [*gaib*] from Arabic ‘*ilm al-gaib* ‘knowledge of the unseen’.

- BAL *pə-N-[kiwə]* ‘magic used with intention to harm’ (*kiwə* Old Javanese ‘left side’; *pənəṅən* (*pə-N-[təṅən]*) ‘magic used for good purposes’ (*təṅən* from Old Javanese ‘right side’); *tənuṅ* ‘divination used to find missing objects’.
- SAS Also [*mantrə*], both Sanskrit.
- GOR From Malay [*ilmu*] ‘branch of knowledge, science’. [*gayibu*] ‘magic’ From Malay *ghaib* ‘unseen, invisible’ from Arabic *gāyib*. [*sihiri*] ‘sorcery’ from Malay [*seher, sihir*] ‘the black art’.
- UMA Also *pake?*, *baraka* ‘knowledge, use, power’ -- three euphemisms for magic.
- BUG From Arabic *sāḥir* ‘witch’.
- WOL *ka-d’au-d’au-na* ‘magic spell’, *radi-radi*, [*sihiri*], [*wasi*] from Arabic *waṣī* ‘testament, formulaic utterance’; also *doti* ‘magical formula, charm’.
- BUR Also *ep-riji-t* ‘hex s.o. dear to you to force them to come home from afar due to adversity.
- SAW Tobelo; also [*boliga*] from Tobelo; *rua-rua*.
- NYI There are many specific terms.
- MAM Also *naboa*.
- TAK See 22.430.
- MAB *naborou* ‘white magic’; *yā<sup>m</sup>ba*, *pu* ‘sorcery’; *-<sup>m</sup>bel* ‘work love magic’; *-pasāna* ‘ruin’ (euphemism).
- YAB Also *soloṅ* ‘objects for making magic’.
- KAU ‘curse-NOM’; also *βam-ṅin*, *kahmar-ṅin*
- TOL With lime, betel etc, to cure sick people; *əgəgər* ‘magic performed by using an enemy’s foot-prints, his excrement, leftovers, etc, in order to injure him’.
- BUA *yu təkseṅ*, *parayək* ‘black magic’ *ktōṅ* ‘sorcery’.
- ADZ *opa?*= *sanguma* (Tok Pisin)-sorcerer renders victim unconscious, replaces vital body organ with leaves, etc.; when victim revives, becomes very ill and dies *ṅaruṅauṅ* ‘remains sorcery’: sorcerer uses remains of victim’s food etc., to make him or her sick, and finally die.
- KIL *meguβa* for healing, gardening, fishing; *bogau* for death, punishment.
- TAW *pali* ‘to sing magic’; *palouma* ‘witchcraft’; *balau* ‘sorcery’.
- MOT Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) ‘superhuman power, as possessed by sorcerers; prayer with evil results’.



- MEK *uŋa-uŋa* is ‘sorcery’; *meŋa* is the generic word for ‘magic, spells’; *mefu* is contagious magic whereby sickness is induced – theoretically at least – by ‘cooking’ someone’s leavings, belongings or wastes (*ofu* ‘body dirt’). War magic is *faiʔa* which also means ‘cinnamon’. *mafu* is a kind of magic stone used mainly by chiefs. *oŋa* and *ʔoŋa* are also magic stones (the latter extracted by the sorcerer from the body of a sick person).
- ROV *vakvakutae* ‘magic, witchcraft’, lit ‘fishing for excrement’, *baha* ‘sorcery’.
- MAR ‘sorcery’ (generic).
- LEW Generic; also *maseŋa*, *p<sup>w</sup>oŋi*, *suri na-su-wo-ena*.
- KWA *nahak* ‘sorcery’; *napaneien* ‘protective magic’.
- AJI Also *vi arui*.
- MSH cf. *anic* ‘god’; *ɾocak*; *κκλπæλ*, *τταρ<sup>w</sup>λη* ‘black magic’
- PON *kau* ‘black magic’.
- WLE *sausau* ‘black magic’.
- SAM *mana* ‘supernatural power’, *faʔa*- CAUS, *taulāitu* ‘spirit, medium’, *faʔa-taulāitu* ‘magical’.

## 22.430 SORCERER, WITCH

Arabic: <i>sāhīr</i> ; <i>sihr</i> ‘magic’
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ATA	ma-ha-huniʔ	SAB	balbalan	DAA	tope-doti
TSO	roifo	MUR	babalian	*UMA	to-balia
RUK	baɭakalay	MGY	mpa-musavi	BUG	pas-[sehereʔ]
*PAI	pa-zaŋi-zaŋi	*ACE	[dukon]	*KON	pa'-[sehere]
YAM	mamnək a tao	*BAT	datu	WOL	ɓisa
ISN	maranḡāmud	MIN		MAG	ata <sup>m</sup> bəko
*KAL	mandadāwak	*IND	tukaŋ [sihir]		ʃa <sup>n</sup> to
*TAG	maŋ-ku-kūlam	*SUN	tukaŋ [sihir]	NGA	ata-polo
AKL	manug-bāraŋ	*JAV	tənuŋ	*SIK	ata uʔə-ŋ
PAL	mənrrundiŋ	MAD	tukaŋ [sihir]	*RTI	[suani]
*MOL	bolian	*BAL	leak	*BUR	geba ka gao
*KAG	manugsisti	SAS	tukaŋ [seher]		em-kehal
BLA	m-loʔos	*GOR	tā mo-to-ta		

*DOB	tamatu ʔa-dem kʷay'dil	*KIL	to- migameguβa	*CEM	â-pʷʕ-éti-tà AJI jaū
IRA	magarigə	*TAW	tu balau	XAR	dōkī
*SAW	kyat ta n-fa- boliga	*MOT	babalau tau-na	NEN	
NYI	ⁿdʳamak ta kau	*MEK	uŋa-uŋa au-ŋa	*KIR	te tia tabunea
*MAM	naboanaboa	*ROV	tie vakvakutae	MSH	ɾicɲupʷe
TAK	nawir	*MAR	mæe (naikno) neilehe	*PON	sonwināni
*DAM	kosē tamo	LAU		WLE	
*MAB	tomtom	KWO		EFI	dau-βaka- dʳaudʳau
	yāᵐbaŋana	RAG		WFI	limalima-burā
*YAB	ŋaʔ-beŋ	PAA	aimas	RTU	leʔ rē ʔci
KAU	po kahmar-ŋin	*LEW	pʷuru-maki	TON	taŋatafai- fakalouʔakau
*TOL	tenə pəpəit	POR		*SAM	faʔa-taulāitu
*BUA	alam rob	NTA	iamək narək	*MEL	[kaimasi]
*ADZ	garam opaʔ	*KWA	nəmeikə- nanien	*TAH	tahuʔa pīfao
		NEM	ka-femom	RAP	tahu-tahu

PAI *pa-zaŋi-zaŋi* 'sorcerer (male)', *puŋiŋaw* 'priest, shaman (female)'.  
KAL (*man-R¹-dawak*)

TAG Also *maŋ-ga-gāway*.

MOL 'shaman'.

KAG *manugsisti* (*sisti + manug-*) 'sorcerer'; *malbal* 'witch'.

ACE Malay.

BAT Also *par-ula-ula*.

IND Also *ahli [sahir]*.

JAV Also *prewaŋan*.

BAL *leak* 'the animal or spirit form a sorcerer takes on temporarily'; *leak* suck the blood of humans, especially babies see *ŋ-leak* 'to transform oneself into a *leak*'.

GOR *tā mo-to-ta* 'shaman of either sex'; *tā huləŋo* 'female shaman'.

UMA *to-balia* 'shaman with a familiar spirit (*anitu*); *to-pe-doti* 'one who harms or kills others with black magic'.

KON Also *padoti*.

SIK Sara Sika Natar *ata busu-ŋ bele-ŋ*; *ata ʔunur bloŋ*.

RTI Malay *suang*.

- BUR 'person HAB hold witchcraft'.  
 DOB 'a person who does sorcery'.  
 SAW 'person who poisons'.  
 MAM Also *zere-zere*.  
 DAM 'bless man'.  
 MAB Also *tomtom ki pu*; *tomtom zenzenjiana* 'people who can undo sorcery'.  
 YAB 'man-sorcery'.  
 TOL *tenə* 'expert', also *əgəgər*.  
 BUA *alam rob* 'magical healer'; *məyo yu təkən* 'sorcerer'.  
 ADZ Also *garamjaruŋauŋ*.  
 KIL *to-migameguβa* 'magician'; *to-bogau* 'sorcerer'. Also *mluk<sup>w</sup>ausi* 'witch'.  
 TAW *tu balau* 'sorcerer'; *palouma* 'witch'.  
 MOT Also 'magician; traditional healer'. Also *mea tau-na* (See 22.420).  
 MEK The *uŋa-uŋa au-ŋa* was traditionally (and theoretically) responsible to the Peace Chief; he had inherited his powers in a direct line from *A<sup>?</sup>aisa* and used them to maintain social order. But private practitioners have always abounded. Widowers are traditionally highly suspect.  
 ROV Also *tieleveleve*.  
 MAR 'man (woman) with sorcery'  
 LEW Also *p<sup>w</sup>uru-wap*.  
 KWA *nəmeikənanien* 'spirit medium'; *urumun* 'spirit medium'.  
 CEM 'one who makes bad medicine'.  
 KIR 'practitioner of sorcery'; *te iboŋa*.  
 PON 'practitioner of sorcery'.  
 SAM See 22.420.  
 MEL From Efate.  
 TAH Also *tahutahu, hi<sup>?</sup>ohi<sup>?</sup>o*.

## 22.440 FAIRY, ELF

Sanskrit: <i>vidyādhari</i>
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ATA		BUG	pau-pau	*MAR	sualoʔa
*TSO	saruʕʔu		rikadoŋ	LAU	
RUK		*KON	[jɪŋ]	KWO	
PAI		WOL	[bidiadari]	*RAG	sari-vanua
YAM		MAG		*PAA	titamol
ISN		NGA	nitu	*LEW	leriko
KAL	liyāwan	SIK		POR	
*TAG	[eŋkanto]	RTI		*NTA	uaiseisa
AKL	duwindi	*BUR	[botol manči]	*KWA	karouase
PAL	linamin	*DOB	kʷakʷa ʔay	*NEM	mʷakeñ
MOL			ɸaɸuy	CEM	mʷakén
*KAG	[inkantu]	IRA		AJI	baõ bʷε
*BLA	yatut	SAW	[bidadari]	*XAR	xõ çẽ
SAB	[bidadali]	*NYI	ñam	NEN	uianet
MUR		MAM		KIR	
MGY	kukulampu	*TAK	tamolimol	MSH	
ACE		DAM	seseirā	PON	
BAT		*MAB	u <sup>n</sup> du	WLE	
MIN	uraŋ aluyh	*YAB	wasu wa <sup>m</sup> baʔ-	EFI	βeli
*IND	[bidadari]		wa <sup>m</sup> baʔ	WFI	lewa-
*SUN	[ipri]	*KAU	lahuŋ		tad <sup>f</sup> atad <sup>f</sup> a
JAV	pəri	TOL		RTU	sina
MAD	[biɖadari]	BUA		*TON	[feeli]
BAL		ADZ		SAM	
SAS	[biɖadari]	KIL	tok <sup>w</sup> ai	MEL	
*GOR	dulahu lo	TAW	balibaliyawa	*TAH	vahine
	ʔoʔabu	MOT			tahutahu
DAA		*MEK	fai-fai	RAP	
UMA	tau leru	ROV			

TSO *saruʕʔu* ‘dwarfs, very short people who appear in myths’.

TAG Spanish *encanto* ‘spell, charm’.

KAG From Spanish *encanto*; also *kama-kama*.

BLA *m-nuhul* ‘an elf-like creature who whistles to attract people to him’.

IND	<i>pəri</i> ‘elf’
SUN	From Arabic <i>ifrīt</i> ‘ghost’.
GOR	‘maiden/goddess with wings, from the abode of the gods’ <i>tā ʔanuwa</i> ‘dwarf’.
KON	From Arabic <i>jinn</i> ‘elf’.
BUR	Possibly borrowing.
DOB	‘wood hole children’.
NYI	‘bush spirit’.
TAK	Diminutive form of <i>tamol</i> ‘man’.
MAB	<i>u<sup>n</sup>du</i> ‘ground spirit’; also <i>tōno katūnu</i> .
YAB	‘legendary dwarf figure’.
KAU	Also <i>mihtikaŋ</i> , <i>hole</i> .
MEK	<i>fai-fai</i> are more accurately water-spirits- spirits of the bush and swamps.
MAR	‘mythical child-being’.
RAG	‘legendary “little people”’. Also <i>m<sup>w</sup>ai</i> .
PAA	Actually, a somewhat mischevous, short, hairy person with long fingernails that lives in the trunk of a banyan tree.
LEW	Also <i>kesu</i> .
NTA	Also <i>nakəpe</i> .
KWA	‘dwarf bush spirit’.
NEM	Little elves with long hair living in the bush.
XAR	‘spirit female’.
TON	From English <i>fairy</i> .
TAH	Also <i>vahine tūpāpaʔu</i> .

## 22.450 GHOST, PHANTOM

ATA	ʔutux	*TAG	[multo]	*SAB	pañataʔ
TSO	hiçu	*AKL	[muʔtuh]	MUR	maŋilalāʔ
*RUK	gaʎalə	*PAL	məmaŋgut	MGY	angaʔa
PAI	gaʎal <sup>y</sup>	MOL	bolbalan	*ACE	hantu
YAM	anito	*KAG	ittaw na dili	*BAT	begu
ISN	balaŋūbāŋ		makita	MIN	(h)antu
KAL	banig	BLA	lماجول	IND	hantu

BAL		MAB	kon	NTA	narmən
SAS	tusela?	*YAB	balom	*KWA	ieremha
*GOR	lati	*KAU	yuyun	NEM	[kutolo]
*DAA	<sup>m</sup> boa	TOL	kaia	CEM	dūē
*UMA	rate	*BUA	ḡayur	AJI	ko kāmō
*BUG	[setaŋ]	ADZ	ḡaram ganun	XAR	kavərə
*KON	parakaŋ	*KIL	baloma	NEN	uianet
*WOL	ha <sup>n</sup> tu	TAW	alugo	*KIR	te anti
MAG	poti	*MOT	lulau	*MSH	yakyak
*NGA	vəra	*MEK	isaŋe-lau-lau	PON	eni
*SIK	ata pōnu-ŋ		(iaŋe)	*WLE	ŋeřü
RTI	nitū-mula	*ROV	magmago	EFI	yalo
*BUR	[setaŋ]		kaleana	WFI	čū e-yalo
DOB	nitū	MAR	na <sup>?</sup> itu	RTU	<sup>?</sup> atua
*IRA	ḡəməŋə	LAU	nuidō	TON	fa <sup>?</sup> ahikehe
SAW	haiwan lē-o	*KWO	nunui <sup>?</sup> ola	SAM	aitu
NYI	balik	*RAG	atmate	*MEL	pakora
MAM	mairaba	PAA	temat	TAH	tūpāpa <sup>?</sup> u
*TAK	ḡutu-n	LEW	yer-mare	RAP	varua
DAM	malakanon	POR	ramač		

RUK *aididiŋanə* ‘invisible ghost’, *ḡaḡala* ‘visible ghost’.

TAG Spanish *muerto* ‘dead’.

AKL From Spanish *muerto*.

PAL Also *məŋliliməw*.

KAG ‘person that can’t be seen’.

SAB Also *lutaw* and *santu?*

ACE Also [ʃen] from Arabic *jinn* ‘elf, demon’.

BAT *begu* ‘bad ghost’, see 16.110.

JAV Also *məmədi*, from \*\*REDN-*wədi*, *wədi* ‘afraid’.

MAD From RED-*daḡin*.

GOR Also *po<sup>ḡ</sup>go*.

DAA Also *ka<sup>?</sup>u*.

UMA Also *kiu*.

BUG From Arabic *šaitān* ‘demon (evil spirit)’.

KON Also *hantu*.

WOL *ko<sup>n̄</sup>ḡoli* ‘ghost, demon’; *wania<sup>m</sup>pasi* ‘ghost, spirit bringing decease’, *wa<sup>n</sup>towage*.

- WOL *ko<sup>n</sup>ʃoli* ‘ghost, demon’; *wania<sup>m</sup>pasi* ‘ghost, spirit bringing decease’, *wa<sup>n</sup>towage*.
- NGA Also *bapu, ibu-ŋiu*.
- SIK Also *ata hela-ŋ, ata u<sup>?</sup>e-ŋ*.
- BUR Also *ŋis bo-raha-t* ‘vampire, teeth that drink blood’.
- IRA Also *irəwə*.
- TAK ‘soul, spirit’ (16.110).
- YAB ‘spirit of the dead’; also *alɛŋ* ‘spirit of the dead returning to work mischief’.
- KAU Also *iβun, atiem, apiluk, kisaŋ ilŋinin, tahmi*.
- BUA ‘bush spirit’.
- KIL Spirits of deceased go through stages: *kosa* ‘ghost’ (very active and malign, first week after death) *yaluwa* ‘spirit’ (now only mischievous, indulges in playful hauntings, may be appeased). *baloma* ‘spirit’ (a neutral shade; may become active some time later, e.g. during harvest celebrations). This latter is also the general term for spirits of the rocks, trees, etc.
- MOT See 22.370. Also *lauma* (see 22.350), *βada* ‘ghost, spirit with the power to kill, human prowlers who kill at night’.
- MEK *isaŋe-lau-lau* are spirits of the dead, in human form, or incorporeal and invisible.
- ROV *magmao* ‘soul’.
- KWO Also *adalo*.
- RAG ‘spirit of dead person’.
- KWA Also means ‘ancestor’.
- KIR *te rao* ‘phantom, spectre, apparition’.
- MSH *m<sup>w</sup>Λkare* also ‘wizard, champion’; *oŋ<sup>w</sup>ɛŋ<sup>w</sup>ak*.
- WLE *ŋe<sup>r</sup>ü* also ‘image, picture’; *ya<sup>r</sup>üsü* ‘ghost, spirit, god’.
- MEL Also *ata*.

## 22.470 OMEN, PORTENT

**Arabic:** ‘*alāmāt* ‘signs’

- |      |                            |     |             |
|------|----------------------------|-----|-------------|
| ATA  | RUK                        | YAM | tartarmamaw |
| *TSO | m-a <sup>?</sup> -ç-a-çeri | PAI | labag       |

BLA		DOB	k <sup>w</sup> ayfϕϕa	LEW	kile
SAB	bā <sup>?</sup>	IRA		*POR	kar vi sūr
*MUR	kapio	SAW	sosem	NTA	tatol uah
*MGY	fambara	NYI	malawiu	*KWA	nəmtetien
ACE	[alamat]	MAM	ʔilala	*NEM	nep
BAT		TAK	bagor	*CEM	íne-nâdo
*MIN	[alamat]-jæe <sup>?</sup>	*DAM	memelik	AJI	kotoa
*IND	padah	MAB	kilalan	XAR	jāo
*SUN	[alamat]	*YAB	(ŋa-)we <sup>?</sup>	*NEN	kadačiere
JAV	[ŋalamat]	*KAU	pok-ŋin	*KIR	
MAD		TOL		*MSH	p <sup>m</sup> iceŋo
*BAL	[čihnə]	BUA		*PON	tāta
*SAS	[mala <sup>?</sup> ]	*ADZ	nam rim-a	WLE	xaxina
*GOR	humu <sup>?</sup> udu		sisi <sup>0?</sup>	EFI	i-βakatā-
DAA		*KIL	kabo-βitusi		kilakila
UMA	oni	TAW		WFI	i-čukučuku
*BUG	pab-[biritta]	*MOT	toa	*RTU	tō-ʔæk ʔatua
KON	tanra(-tanra)	*MEK	opa	*TON	pekepekātama
*WOL	[ʔalaamati]	ROV	vinayilyila	SAM	sāsā
MAG	ga <sup>n</sup> taŋ	MAR	boboi	MEL	
NGA		LAU		*TAH	tohu
SIK		KWO		RAP	haka ʔatu uŋa
*RTI	tadu	RAG			
BUR	eta-n	PAA	metai		

TSO Tell one's fortune by dreams. There are a number of terms of telling one's fortune by watching the direction and the way of chirping of some spp. of birds, but no general word for 'omen, portent'.

TAG Also *tanda?*, *páŋitā?* in root: *kīta*.

AKL From Spanish *malas* 'evil ones' (pl).

KAG Also *paŋandam* lit 'warning'; also *tanda* lit 'sign'.

MUR *kapio* 'good omen', *kadāl* 'bad omen'.

MGY From *f-ambara*.

MIN 'bad omen'.

IND Also *[alamat]buruk* 'bad omen'. Also *tanda* 'sign'.

SUN Also *to-tonde*.

BAL From Sanskrit.



- SAS Thoir et al (1985): *mala?* ([*pala?*]) ‘divine (vb), read stars’, from Arabic *fa’l* ‘omen’.
- GOR ‘omen/portent of approaching death’. The word *tuwoto* is ‘sign’; it is a neutral term, representing neither anything ominous nor anything that is necessarily supernatural.
- BUG Sanskrit.
- WOL Also *tumi<sup>n</sup>da*.
- RTI Also *tana*.
- DAM Also means ‘miracle’.
- YAB ‘omen, portent, suspicion’; also *pu?* ‘hint, warning’
- KAU ‘announce-NOM’. Also *lalβa, elasi*.
- ADZ ‘thing give-part news’, i.e. ‘thing giving news (about future)’.
- KIL ‘instrument-recognise’.
- MOT ‘mark; limit, sign’. Also *g<sup>w</sup>are* ‘sign of bad news’.
- MEK *opa* also means ‘premonition’. *ma<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>e* is ‘evil omen’. Omens are often attributed to the spirits of the dead (*isaŋe-lau-lau*) and may consist of no more than the sight or sound of a certain insect, or a certain bird. Finger-pulling, *ima i-oŋe*, is a commonly practised method of divination.
- POR ‘look to follow’.
- KWA Also means ‘trace’, ‘blaze’, ‘sign’.
- NEM ‘dream’.
- CEM ‘sign-thing’.
- NEN Also *kačen*.
- KIR ‘divination’; *te m<sup>w</sup>an*.
- MSH Also ‘tragedy’; *kakλλe* see *kakəlkəl* ‘examine’ (vb trans *kakilen*); CAUS of *kəl* method; *ttap<sup>w</sup>an* also ‘black magic’.
- PON Also *kīlenuwo* ‘omen of death’.
- RTU ‘oracle, utter messages from the gods’, also *tō-<sup>?</sup>æk<sup>?</sup> ʔitu fakperperu*.
- TON Also *fakamōmoatea*.
- TAH Also *tāpa<sup>?</sup>o*.



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mortar	07.630	niece	02.540
mosquito	03.832	night	14.420
mother	02.360	nine	13.090
mother's brother	02.511	nipple, teat	04.412
mother's sister	02.521	nit (louse egg)	03.812
mother-in-law		no, negative	17.560
(of a woman)	02.621	noble, nobleman	19.360
mother-in-law		noon, midday	14.450
(of a man)	02.620	north	12.470
mountain, hill	01.220	nose	04.230
mouse, rat	03.630	nostril	04.231
mouth	04.240	now	14.180
move	10.110	nut	05.770
mow, reap	08.320	oak	08.610
much, many	13.150	oar	10.850
mucus (nasal)	04.232	oath	21.250
mud	01.214	oats	08.460
mule	03.470	obey	19.460
multitude, crowd	13.190	obscure	17.350
mumble	18.160	ocean	01.329
murder	21.420	offspring	
mushroom	08.980	(son or daughter)	02.430
nail	09.500	often	14.320
naked, bare	04.990	oil	05.790
name	18.280	ointment	06.940
nape of neck	04.281	old	14.150
narrow	12.620	old man	02.461
navel	04.430	old woman	02.471
near (adv)	12.430	older brother	02.444

older sister	02.454	pepper	05.820
olive	05.780	perjury	21.470
omen, portent	22.470	person, human being	02.100
one	13.010	perspire	04.550
one's native country	19.120	pestle	05.590
one-hundred	13.105	physician	04.870
one-thousand	13.106	pick up	12.212
open	12.240	pig	03.350
opossum	03.622	pile up	12.213
or	17.540	pillow	07.421
ornament, adornment	06.710	pin	06.630
orphan	02.750	pinch	15.712
outrigger	10.832	pine	08.640
outside	12.060	pipe	08.691
oven	05.250	pitcher, jug	05.340
owe	11.630	pity	16.350
owl	03.596	place	12.110
own, possess	11.120	plain, field	01.230
ox	03.220	plaintiff	21.210
paddle (noun)	10.851	plant (noun)	08.530
pain	16.310	plant (verb)	08.531
paint (noun)	09.880	plate	05.320
paint (vb)	09.890	play	16.260
pair	13.370	plough	08.210
palm	08.810	pocket	06.610
palm of hand	04.331	poet	18.670
pan	05.280	pointed	12.352
paper	18.560	poison	04.890
parents	02.370	poncho	06.411
parrot	03.592	poor	11.520
part, piece	13.230	porpoise, dolphin	03.662
pasture	03.160	post, pole	07.560
path	10.720	pot, cooking vessel	05.260
pay (vb)	11.650	potato	05.700
peace	20.140	potter	09.710
peel	05.460	pound with fist	09.211
pen	18.570	pour	09.350
penalty, punishment	21.370	praise	16.790
penis	04.492	pray	22.170
people (populace)	19.210	preach	22.220

pregnant	04.730	relatives, kinsmen, kin	02.810
preserve, look after	11.240	release, let go	11.340
press	09.342	religion	22.110
price	11.870	remain, stay	12.160
priest	22.180	remains, left overs	12.170
prison, jail	21.390	remember	17.310
promise	18.360	rest	04.912
prostitute	19.720	retard, delay	14.240
proud	16.480	retreat	20.450
pubic hair	04.145	rib	04.162
pull	09.330	rice	08.480
pumpkin, squash	08.931	rich	11.510
pupil	17.260	ride	10.660
pursue	10.530	ridgepole	07.530
pus	04.857	right (side)	12.410
push, shove	10.670	right, correct	16.730
put	12.120	ring (for finger)	06.730
put on (clothes)	06.110	ripe	05.123
queen	19.330	rise	10.210
quiet, silence	15.460	river, stream, brook	01.360
rabbit	03.614	road	10.710
raft	10.840	roast, fry	05.230
rafters	07.540	roll	10.150
rain (noun)	01.750	roof	07.510
rainbow	01.590	room	07.210
raise, lift	10.220	root	08.540
rake	08.270	rope, cord	09.190
ram	03.260	rotten	05.125
rape	21.440	rough	15.760
rattle	18.740	rough (of sea)	01.323
raw	05.122	round	12.810
razor	06.930	row (vb)	10.852
reach, arrive	10.550	rub, wipe	09.310
read	18.520	rudder	10.860
ready	14.290	rug	09.771
rebuke, scold	18.390	rule, govern	19.310
red	15.660	run	10.460
reef	01.342	rye	08.450
refuse	18.370	sacrifice, offering	22.150
regret, be sorry	16.340	sail	10.360

sail (noun)	10.880	sharp	15.780
salt	05.810	sheep	03.250
salty	15.360	shelf	07.470
sand	01.215	shell	03.655
sandfly (midge), gnat	03.831	shield	20.340
sap	08.760	shine	15.560
Saturday	14.680	ship	10.810
saucer	05.360	shirt	06.440
sausage	05.630	shiver	04.680
save, rescue	11.250	shoe	06.510
saw	09.480	shoemaker, cobbler	06.540
say	18.220	shoot	20.620
scar	04.858	shore	01.270
school	17.280	short	12.590
scissors, shears	09.240	shoulder	04.300
scorpion	03.815	shoulderblade	04.301
scrape	05.480	shout, cry out	18.130
sculptor	09.820	shovel	08.240
sea	01.320	show	15.550
seagull	03.582	shriek, screech	18.180
season	14.780	shut, close	12.250
second	13.360	sibling	02.456
secret	17.360	sick, sickness	04.840
see	15.510	sickle, scythe	08.330
seed	08.311	side	12.360
seek, look for	11.310	side of head, temple	04.201
seem	17.180	sieve, strain	05.470
seize, grasp	11.140	silent (be)	18.230
sell	11.820	silk	06.250
send	10.630	silver	09.650
separate	12.230	sing	18.120
servant	19.430	sink	10.330
seven	13.070	sister	02.450
sew	06.350	sit	12.130
shade, shadow	01.630	six	13.060
shake	10.260	skin, hide	04.120
shallow	12.680	skirt	06.460
shame (noun)	16.450	skull	04.202
share (distribute)	11.910	sky, heavens	01.510
shark	03.661	slave	19.420

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sleep	04.610	spider	03.818
slide, slip	10.420	spider web	03.819
sling	20.230	spin	06.310
slow	14.220	spindle	06.320
small, little	12.560	spine	04.191
smell (vb intrans)	15.210	spit	04.560
smell (vb trans)	15.220	splash	10.352
smile	16.251	spleen	04.452
smith, blacksmith	09.600	split	09.270
smoke (noun)	01.830	spoon	05.370
smoke (tobacco)	08.690	spread out	09.340
smooth	15.770	spring	14.750
snail	03.940	spring, well	01.370
snake	03.850	square	12.780
sneeze	04.540	squeeze, wring	09.343
sniff	15.212	stab	09.223
snore	04.612	stable, stall	03.190
snow (noun)	01.760	staff, walking stick	19.250
soap	06.950	stallion	03.420
soft	15.750	stand	12.150
soldier	20.170	star	01.540
some	13.181	statue	09.830
sometimes	14.330	steal	21.510
son	02.410	stepdaughter	02.740
son-in-law (of a man)	02.630	stepfather	02.710
son-in-law (of a woman)	02.631	stepmother	02.720
soon	14.331	stepson	02.730
sorceror, witch	22.430	stingray	03.664
soul, spirit	16.110	stinking, bad smelling	15.260
sound, noise	15.440	stir, mix	05.490
soup, broth	05.640	stocking, sock	06.490
south	12.480	stomach	04.460
sow	03.340	stone, rock	01.440
sow	08.310	store, shop	11.860
spade	08.230	storm	01.580
span, fathom	12.541	stove	07.320
speak, talk	18.210	straight	12.730
spear	20.260	stranger	19.550
speech (make a)	18.222	stretch	09.320
sphere, ball	12.830	strife, quarrel	19.620



strike (hit, beat)	09.210	temple, church	22.130
strong, mighty, powerful	04.810	ten	13.100
study	17.242	tent	07.140
stutter, stammer	18.211	testicle	04.490
suck	05.160	thatch	07.520
sugar	05.850	they	02.960
sugar cane	08.941	thick (in dimension)	12.630
summer	14.760	thief	21.520
sun	01.520	thigh	04.351
Sunday	14.620	thin (in dimension)	12.650
supper	05.450	thing	11.180
sure, certain	17.370	think (= be of the opinion)	17.140
surprised, astonished	16.150	think (= reflect)	17.130
surrender	20.460	third	13.420
suspect	17.440	thirst	05.150
swallow	05.181	thread	06.380
swamp	01.380	threaten	18.440
swear	21.240	three	13.030
sweep	09.370	three times	13.440
sweet	15.350	thresh	08.340
sweet potato	08.910	threshing-floor	08.350
swelling	04.853	throat	04.290
swift, fast, quick	14.210	throw	10.250
swim	10.350	thumb	04.342
sword	20.270	thunder	01.560
table	07.440	Thursday	14.660
tail	04.180	tide	01.352
tailor	06.130	tie, bind	09.160
take	11.130	time	14.110
tall	12.580	tin; tin-plate	09.690
tapioca, manioc, cassava	08.920	tired, weary	04.910
taste	15.310	tobacco	08.680
tattoo	06.790	today	14.470
tax, tribute	11.690	toe	04.380
teach	17.250	tomorrow	14.480
teacher	17.270	tongs	05.391
tear	09.280	tongue	04.260
tear (noun)	16.380	tool	09.422
tell story	18.221	tooth	04.270

top	12.330	vine	08.670
touch	15.710	voice	18.110
towel	06.820	vomit	04.570
tower	20.360	vulture	03.586
trade, barter	11.830	wages	11.780
trap (noun)	20.640	waist	04.462
trap (verb)	20.650	wake up	04.630
tree	08.600	walk	10.450
tree (cf 08.600)	01.420	wall	07.270
tree stump	08.720	war, battle	20.130
tree trunk	08.730	warm	15.851
tribe, clan	19.230	wash	09.360
trough	07.480	wasp	03.823
trousers	06.480	water	01.310
true	16.660	waterfall	01.390
try, attempt	17.480	wave	01.350
Tuesday	14.640	way, manner	17.490
turn around	10.130	we	02.940
turn over	10.120	we exclusive	02.942
turtle	03.980	we inclusive	02.941
twelve	13.102	weak	04.820
twenty	13.104	weapons, arms	20.210
twins	02.458	weather	01.780
twist	10.170	weave	06.330
two	13.020	weave, plait	09.750
two times	13.380	Wednesday	14.650
udder	04.420	week	14.610
ugly	16.820	weigh	11.920
uncle	02.510	well; health	04.830
under	12.070	west	12.460
understand	17.160	wet, damp	15.830
untie	09.161	whale	03.663
up, above	12.080	what?	17.640
urinate	04.650	wheat	08.430
valley	01.240	wheel	10.760
vegetables	05.650	when?	17.650
veil	06.590	where?	17.660
vein, artery	04.151	which?	17.670
victory	20.410	whirlpool	01.362
village	19.160	whisper	18.150

