

Survey of Cia-Cia and closely related languages of southern Buton Island, Indonesia

by
David Mead
and
Christina Truong

2021

**Sulang Language Data and Working Papers:
Survey Reports, no. 3**



Sulawesi Language Alliance
<http://sulang.org/>

LANGUAGES

Subject languages : Cia-Cia, Kaisabu, Kumbewaha, Lasalimu
Language of materials : English

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of a dialect survey of the Cia-Cia language of southern Buton Island in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. This survey also encompassed the closely related Kumbewaha and Lasalimu languages, that is to say, all three languages belonging to the Butonic branch of the Muna-Buton group of languages. The principal results of this survey are as follows: (a) the Cia-Cia language comprises two primary dialect areas, a western dialect and a central-eastern dialect complex; (b) the small (and previously undocumented) Wasambua lect is recognized as a third, outlier dialect; (c) Kaisabu is elevated to the status of a separate language; (d) Kumbewaha is more dialectally complex than has previously been recognized; (e) the unity of the Butonic subgroup within Muna-Buton is confirmed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 Introduction; 2 Previous research; 3 Survey procedure; 4 Lexicostatistical analysis; 5 Lexical isogloss maps; 6 Sound change; 7 Conclusions; References; Appendix 1: Administrative divisions; Appendix 2: Distribution of languages and dialects; Appendix 3: Pronouns and person markers; Appendix 4: Word lists.

VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [11 February 2021]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The field portion of this survey was funded by SIL International.

© 2021 by the authors and SIL International
All Rights Reserved

Survey of Cia-Cia and closely related languages of southern Buton Island, Indonesia

by David Mead
and Christina Truong

1 Introduction

Cia-Cia is spoken in the southern part of Buton Island, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is also spoken on the southern half of Binongko Island in the Tukang Besi (Wakatobi) archipelago, and on the small island of Batu Atas in the middle of the Flores Sea. Heretofore there has existed no definitive statement on the number of Cia-Cia dialects. Previous proposals have ranged from two dialects to nine dialects to even three separate languages.

Donohue (2004:33) proposed that Cia-Cia shares its closest linguistic affinities with Kumbewaha and Lasalimu, two small, underdescribed languages spoken along the coast of Buton Island to the east and north of Cia-Cia.

Given the lack of consensus regarding the dialect situation in Cia-Cia, and the paucity of data on Kumbewaha and Lasalimu, in August and September of 2015 we conducted a dialect survey of southern Buton Island. In total we collected word lists from twenty-seven locations, including Kumbewaha and Lasalimu. We also used a sociolinguistic questionnaire and gleaned further information from informal conversations with respondents.

This paper is arranged as follows. Section 2 is a review of the previous literature on Cia-Cia dialects. In this section we also discuss the history of research on the Kumbewaha and Lasalimu languages. Section 3 is an overview of the survey and how it was executed. Section 4 presents our lexicostatistical analysis of twenty-seven word lists and what lexical similarity scores indicate about how these lects are related to each other in a network of languages and dialects. Section 5 presents selected lexical isogloss maps. Section 6 is a discussion of sound changes, one of which defines the Butonic subgroup, and others which crosscut the Butonic languages. Section 7 presents our conclusions. Here we combine perspectives from synchronic lexicostatistics and historical sound change along with native speaker intuitions to present the first truly comprehensive picture of the dialect situation in Cia-Cia.

2 Previous research

In this section we review the previous literature on Cia-Cia dialects. We also review published research on the Lasalimu and Kumbewaha languages. Prior to our survey this amounted to little more than two word lists each.

2.1 Proposals concerning Cia-Cia dialects

No less than ten previous researchers or research teams have investigated and reported on the dialect situation in Cia-Cia. Most authors fail to document the basis on which they made dialect distinctions. Conversely, Konisi and Hidayat (2001) document the basis for their bipartite division, but fail to clarify the boundaries of their two dialect areas.

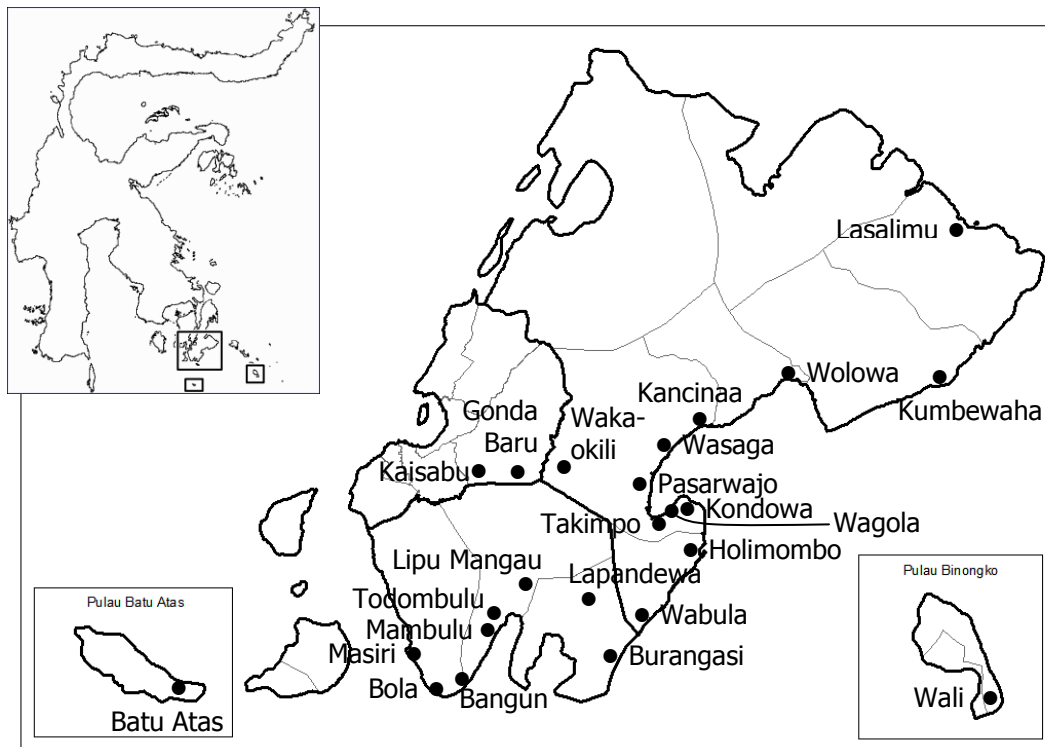


Figure 1. Map of Southern Buton showing the location of selected towns and villages.

The map in Figure 1 locates certain places that come up in the discussions of Cia-Cia dialects. We provide this map to help the reader track the following discussions. Our aim is to present each proposal fairly in its own terms. Given the strikingly different views encompassed by these proposals, we do not attempt a synthesis. Indeed, one cannot even assume that these researchers would delimit Cia-Cia the same way.

2.1.1 Two dialects: Konisi (1999) and Konisi & Hidayat (2001)

Konisi (1999:6) and Konisi and Hidayat (2001:10–11) recognize two dialects:

- (a) a costal dialect (*dialek pesisir*) characterized by the retention of the phoneme *r* (e.g. *rato* ‘arrive’ < PMP **dateŋ* ‘arrive’);

(b) an interior dialect (*dialek pedalaman*) in which *r* has shifted to a uvular fricative, which the authors write as *gh* (e.g. *ghato* ‘arrive’), with subsequent re-introduction of /r/ in loan words, e.g. *roti* ‘bread,’ *radio* ‘radio.’

The topic of Konisi’s research, Cia Liwungau, is a variety of the interior dialect. The official name of the village where Cia Liwungau is spoken is Lipu Mangau.

In his preliminary investigation of Cia-Cia phonology and grammar, Van den Berg (1991c) also encountered two dialects, which he labeled ‘dialect A’ (respondent from Lapandewa village in Kecamatan Sampolawa) and ‘dialect B’ (respondent from Gonda village in Kecamatan Pasarwajo). However he also made note of this same isogloss feature: “In dialect B, /r/ is phonetically realized as a voiced velar or uvular fricative” (1991c:308). However, in the speech of Van den Berg’s respondent, this also held true of loan words, e.g. [kamaya] ‘room’ < Malay *kamar*.

In contrast Hanan (2013:72) outlines four different realizations of *r across the Cia-Cia and Kumbewaha area, namely *r* (voiced apico-alveolar trill), *R* (voiced uvular fricative), *X* (voiceless uvular fricative), and glottalization (never fully explained but written as *r*² word initially and as *V²V* between vowels). Hanan also discusses the fact that *w*, ordinarily a bilabial semivowel, is realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative *ϕ* in Gonda Baru (Hanan 2012:90 ff.; 2013:73). She does not mention, however, how many Cia-Cia dialects are to be recognized. We return to these sound changes below in section 6.

2.1.2 Two dialects: Bhurhanuddin 1979

Bhurhanuddin (1979:50) reported two dialects of Cia-Cia, each with various subdialects.

- (a) Sampolawa¹
 - Mambulu
 - Laporo
- (b) Wabula
 - Wabula
 - Burangasi
 - Wali
 - Takimpo
 - Kondowa
 - Holimombo

Bhurhanuddin does not explicitly state the basis for his conclusions, and unfortunately does not report similarity scores between Cia-Cia lects but only between Cia-Cia and certain other languages.

¹ In print Bhurhanuddin wrote ‘Mawasangka,’ an obvious error. Mawasangka is a subdialect of Southern Muna.

In fact since he collected only six word lists, one must wonder how he concluded that Cia-Cia comprised eight subdialects. In partial answer to this question, it appears that Bhurhanuddin was reacting to a prior source, *Monografi Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara* (1975), that had reported eight dialects (see § 2.1.7). In light of this report Burhanuddin wanted to clarify that only two dialects needed to be recognized.

In a further twist, Bhurhanuddin presented Kaisabu (in his spelling: KaEsabu) as a Cia-Cia word list, but failed to include it later in his presentation of Cia-Cia dialects and subdialects. In fact Kaisabu is unmentioned in all subsequent reports except in Andersen's inventory of the languages of Southeast Sulawesi, where he presents it (without discussion) as a separate language (Andersen 2006:6).

When we peruse Bhurhanuddin's Cia-Cia data (lists from Mambulu, Laporo, Kaisabu, Wabula, Burangasi and Wali) (1979:34–36), we encounter no examples of an $r \sim gh$ correspondence, but only several lexical items where all lists have r (e.g. 11. *doruo* 'two'; 24. *roo* 'leaf'; 29 *rea* 'blood'; 53. *poroku* 'drink'; 66. *pinkora* / *kora* 'sit'; 84. *moriri* 'yellow'). This need not imply any duplicity, since according to Van den Berg this variation is noncontrastive, and perhaps was not noted by Bhurhanuddin in his transcription.

2.1.3 Two dialect areas: Nazar, Machmoed and Nurlatif (2014)

Although by its title this paper purports to be an historical-comparative study, the two dialect groups arrived at by Nazar, Machmoed and Nurlatif (2014) were based on a lexicostatistical analysis. The authors took as their starting point the nine dialects identified by Abdulah et al. (1991) (see § 2.1.10 below). However it should be noted that by doing so, they limited themselves geographically to the area covered by the (then) Pasarwajo district, not the entirety of the the Cia-Cia language area.

Within the confines of their study, they identified two dialects. Roughly, Lilowiwoka² is a 'northern' dialect and Tahowaka is a 'southern' dialect.

- (a) Lilowiwoka
 - Lapodi
 - Laporo
 - Wakaokili
 - Wolowa
 - Wasaga-Kancinaa
- (b) Tahowaka
 - Takimpo
 - Holimombo

² Lilowiwoka is blended from Lapodi, Laporo, Wakaoliki, Wolowa and Kancinaa, similarly for the name Tahowaka. It is not made clear from which village the authors' Laporo data was obtained. Names and locations of the other subdialects can be found on the map included in Abdullah et al. (1991:92).

Wabula
Kondowa

Besides the limited geographical coverage, there are additional reasons for not accepting their results uncritically. First, their methodology produced only bifurcating branches, so it was a foregone conclusion that, at the highest level, they would identify only two dialect groups. Second, the similarity scores on which they construct a tree model are in many cases so close in range as to not be statistically significant. Third, even when accepting their data as presented, it is possible to construct alternate trees with less distortion. For example Wolowa scores highest in similarity (85%) with Wabula and Holimombo, and could have been joined to the southern dialect area—except perhaps out of some desire to maintain geographical continuity. This short paper does not include any of the primary data on which the authors based their analysis.

2.1.4 Three languages: Donohue (2004)

Donohue (2004:33, Figure 4) presents an internal classification of the Muna-Buton languages. Under his ‘Buton’ node, he indicates a bipartite division. His ‘East Buton’ group comprises Kumbewaha and Lasalimu, while under his ‘West Buton’ node he distinguishes three varieties, which he treats as distinct languages.

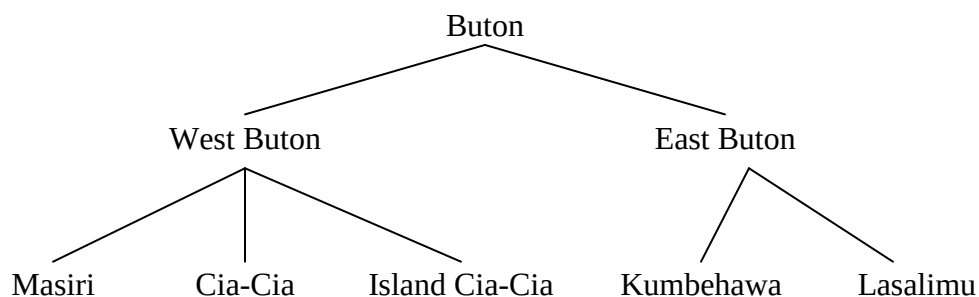


Figure 2. Internal relationships of the Butonic subgroup following Donohue (2004).

Although not stated explicitly, by ‘Island Cia-Cia’ Donohue meant the Cia-Cia variety spoken on the southern part of Binongko Island. In other discussions this variety is usually termed ‘Wali’ (after the name of a village where this variety is spoken). No basis for Donohue’s divisions is given. Instead he leaves this as a topic “for a later, more detailed discussion of the Muna-Buton languages” (2004:32).

2.1.5 Three languages: Kaseng et al. (1983) and (1987)

The authors of *Pemetaan Bahasa-Bahasa di Sulawesi Tenggara* collected 200-item Swadesh word lists from Masiri, Wabula, and ‘Cia-Cia’ (we will refer to this last variety as Pasarwajo, since that is where their informant was from). Based on a lexicostatistical analysis that they performed on this data, they concluded that all three word lists

represented separate languages. Figure 3 gives the lexical similarity values calculated by these authors.

Masiri		
48.5		Pasarwajo
45	75	Wabula

Figure 3. Selected lexical similarity values from Kaseng et al. (1987:83, 86)

However, because of the strict criteria they employed in order for two responses to be considered the ‘same,’ overall their similarity scores generally fall well below what other researchers have found. For example, René van den Berg (1991a:47) calculated Masiri and Cia-Cia (from Sampolawa) to be 93% lexically similar.

From the above matrix it is clear that, even on their own terms, Masiri was the most lexically divergent of their three lists. Furthermore Masiri scored significantly higher with Wolio than their other two word lists:

Masiri – Wolio : **46%** lexically similar
 Wabula – Wolio : 31% lexically similar
 Pasarwajo – Wolio : 28% lexically similar

This suggests that the Masiri lect—or at least the speech of their Masiri respondent—has been relatively more influenced by Wolio than the two other varieties. Compared with Muna, differences were not significant.

Masiri – Muna : 33.5% lexically similar
 Wabula – Muna : 31.5% lexically similar
 Pasarwajo – Muna : 29% lexically similar

2.1.6 Three dialect groups: Alirman (2010)

We have not been able to locate a copy of Alirman’s paper presented at the 2010 *Kongres Internasional Bahasa-Bahasa Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara* held in Baubau. However a summary is presented in Hanan’s doctoral thesis (2014:14–15). According to her summary, Alirman proposed three major dialect groups with various subdialects:

(a) Ciacia Kapara’e

Tira, Lande and Sampubalo Wapulaka
 Batuatas, Wapulaka, Burangasi, Pogalampa, Rano
 Lapandewa group (Sempa-Sempa, Rongi, Kaindea, Kaongke-ongke
 and Tambunaloko)
 Todombulu, Saumolewa, Lapola

- Laporo group
- Wakaokili
- Wabula, Wolowa, Matanauwe
- Lasalimu-Ambuau
- Binongko
- (b) Ciacia Mbahae
 - Sampolawa (Mambulu, Katilombu and Uwebonto)
 - Wawoangi, Wawulaka, Makolona
 - Masiri, Honelalo
- (c) Ciacia Taina
 - Takimpo, Kondowa, Holimompo

Although partly conjecture on our part, it would appear that Ciacia Kapara'e encompasses lects which use *para'e* as their word for 'who?'; Ciacia Mbahae encompasses lects which use *mbahae* as their word for 'how?'; while Ciacia Taina encompasses lects which use *taina* as their word for 'no.'

2.1.7 Four dialects: *Ethnologue* 18th ed. (2015)

The 18th edition of the *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015) lists four Cia-Cia dialects, of which one, Wabula, has several subdialects. Locations where these dialects are spoken is not given.

- (a) Kaesabu
- (b) Sampolawa (Mambulu-Laporo)
- (c) Wabula
 - Wabula
 - Burangasi
 - Wali
 - Takimpo
 - Kondowa
 - Holimombo
- (d) Masiri

Their list is the same as Bhurhanuddin's (§ 2.1.2) with the addition of Kaesabu and Masiri.

2.1.8 Six dialects: Tanasale (1999)

Yoce Tanasale (October 2, 1999;pers.comm. to David Andersen) reports six dialects of Cia-Cia. These dialects are not based on quantitative evidence, but rather reflect an insider's view of the similarity or dissimilarity of the speech of different Cia-Cia villages.

The main dialects, Laporo and Lapandewa, are apparently based on clan or ethnic distinctions. People refer to *suku Laporo* and *suku Lapandewa*. The other dialect names are based on the names of the village or district (*kecamatan*) where the dialect is spoken.

(a) Laporo

Kec. Sampolawa: Desa Gunung Sejuk, Sandang Pangan (Dusun Katolemando, Hendea)

Kec. Pasar Wajo: Desa Wagola, Lapanda, Takimpo Lipugena, Banabungi, Pasar Wajo, Lapodi, Wasaga, Kancinaa, Wolowa

Kec. Sorawolio: Desa Karya Baru, Gonda Baru, Bugi

Kec. Lasalimu: Desa Sampuabalo

(b) Lapandewa

Kec. Sampolawa: Desa Batu Atas Timur, Wacuala, Batu Atas Barat, Tira, Bahari, Gerak Makmur, Gaya Baru, Lapandewa, Sandang Pangan (Dusun Rongi, Benteng)

Kec. Pasar Wajo: Desa Wasuemba, Wabula, Kondowa

Kec. Lasalimu: Desa Matanauwe

(c) Batauga

Kec. Batauga: Desa Masiri, Bola, Rano, Pogalampa

Kec. Sampolawa: Desa Bangun, Katilombu, Jaya Bakti

(d) Todombulu

Kec. Sampolawa: Desa Todombulu

(e) Wakaokili

Kec. Pasar Wajo: Desa Wakaokili

(f) Cia-Cia Kepulauan

Kec. Binongko: Desa Wali.

2.1.9 Eight dialects: Monografi Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara (1975)

We have not been able to obtain a copy of the 1975 publication *Monografi Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara*. However, on pages 67–68 the authors present a classification of Southeast Sulawesi languages, which is reproduced in Bhurhanuddin (1979:2–3). According to this classification, Cia-Cia has eight dialects:

(a) Wabula

(b) Sampolawa

(c) Laporo

(d) Takimpo

- (e) Kondowa
- (f) Holimombo
- (g) Watuata [Batu Atas]
- (h) Wali

2.1.10 Nine or ten dialects: Abdullah et al. (1991)

Abdullah et al. (1991:9) give nine or ten dialects. According to these authors, one of these dialects (or two of them) is nearly extinct, its speakers having switched to more prestigious dialects of Cia-Cia.

- (a) The Takimpo dialect used in the area around Pasarwajo and Takimpo.
- (b) The Wabula dialect, spoken in and around the villages of Wabula and Wasuemba; speakers have also spread to other villages.
- (c) The Holimombo dialect used in the area around Holimombo and Bagola villages.
- (d) The Kondowa dialect used only around the village of Kondowa.
- (e) The Laporo dialect used around Laponda village; speakers have also spread to other villages.
- (f) The Lapodi dialect used only in the area of Lapodi village.
- (g) The Wakaokili dialect used in the area of Wakaokili village.
- (h) The Wolowa dialect used in the area around Wolowa, Wasoga and Kancinaa villages.
- (i) The dialect(s) of Kancinaa and Wasoga; these nearly extinct dialects have been crowded out by other dialects that have entered the area, and only a few speakers remain.

The basis for making these dialect distinctions is not made clear, although the authors provide a small amount of sample data, namely the responses for 'sweet potato,' 'banana,' 'walk' and 'go' in the respective dialects (Abudullah et al. 1991:9).

Looking at their population figures and map of the research area, it appears that what they defined to be Cia-Cia was limited to the then Pasarwajo district (which at that time still included the present-day Wabula and Wolowa districts). Konisi and Hidayat (2001:11) are skeptical of their claims, and even dispute the correctness of the sample data that Abdullah and his coauthors provided.

2.2 Research on Lasalimu

The first linguist to collect information on the Lasalimu language was J. C. Anceaux in 1975. According to a lexicostatistical study that included thirty-two word lists from in

and around Muna and Buton islands, he concluded that Lasalimu (his ‘Language E’) related most closely to Wolio and Kamaru (Anceaux 1978). Figure 4 reproduces a portion of his table of percentages of shared cognates (Anceaux 1978:280).

A (Wolio)			
67	H (Kamaru)		
50	68	E (Lasalimu)	
56	54	64	C (Cia-Cia)

Figure 4. Selected lexical similarity values from Anceaux (1987:280).

Looking at patterns of historical sound change, Donohue (2004) in fact argued for the *removal* of Wolio and Kamaru from the Muna-Buton group (and we concur). At best the pattern of lexical similarity scores observed in Figure 4 might suggest a chaining relationship: Wolio and Cia-Cia lie at the ends of a dialect chain, Kamaru and Lasalimu in the middle. However even this interpretation is not supported by our own data and lexicostatistical analysis (§ 4.4).

These results notwithstanding, the notion of a close relationship between Kamaru and Lasalimu has persisted in certain circles. In both the first and second editions of *Bahasa dan Peta Bahasa di Indonesia* (Pusta Bahasa 2008, Tim Pemetaan Bahasa 2017:129), Lasalimu and Kamaru are presented as dialects of a single language. Firman (2016, 2017) includes not only Lasalimu and Kamaru but also nearby Pancana lects within his ‘Lasalimu-Kamaru language,’ despite consistently low lexical similarity scores. A Lasalimu-Kamaru language defined in this way is simply incompatible with Donohue’s (and our) view of language relatedness, namely Lasalimu is a Butonic language, Pancana is a Munic language, and Kamaru is to be removed from the Muna-Buton group altogether.

Anceaux’s Lasalimu list can be found in a collection of his Southeast Sulawesi word lists that was published posthumously (Anceaux 2016). Four years after Anceaux’s research trip the Indonesian linguist B. H. Bhurhanuddin published a 100-item Lasalimu word list, but left Lasalimu unclassified among Muna-Buton languages (Bhurhanuddin 1979:40–42, 47).

In the early 1990s Mark Donohue collected two Lasalimu lists of around two hundred and five hundred words. While he used this information to develop a picture of the classification of languages of the Muna-Buton area (Donohue 2004), the lists themselves were not published.

2.3 *Research on Kumbewaha*

During the course of his fieldwork on Wanci Island in the Tukang Besi archipelago, in the early 1990s Mark Donohue made a side trip to Buton Island to collect word lists from various locations, including Kumbewaha and Lasalimu. In contrast to Anceaux, Donohue saw a close connection between Kumbewaha, Lasalimu and Cia-Cia (Donohue 2004:33), but he did not elaborate the basis for his classification. A small amount of Kumbewaha data appears in Donohue's paper itself, while 186 items from his word list have been incorporated as part of the online LexiRumah database (Kaiping, Edwards and Klammer 2019).

A 200-item Kumbewaha word list with typographical errors is included in Lauder et al. (2000). A small amount of Kumbewaha data can also be gleaned from Hanan's papers (2012, 2013) on sound changes in the Cia-Cia area. In these papers Hanan assumes Kumbewaha to be a dialect of Cia-Cia.

3 Survey procedure

3.1 *General scope and conduct of the survey*

A proper study of Cia-Cia dialects would be worth a dissertation, and would include not only a full account of linguistic differences but also politics that existed under the Sultanate at Baubau, origin tales, recent migrations, and the cultural practices and celebrations whereby one group is distinguished from or united with another group.

By comparison the goals of this survey were modest: to gain an initial appreciation of the Cia-Cia dialect situation using the measures of lexical similarity (lexicostatistics) and historical sound change. We also set out to clarify the relationship between Cia-Cia and its sister languages Kumbewaha and Lasalimu.

To investigate lexical similarity and historical sound change we collected word lists. The standard word list used in most locations comprised 349 items. In selected locations we used the 814-item Sulawesi Long List.³ The reason for using the longer list was to have a fuller record of the local speech variety (lect) in question.

The 349-item list was prepared especially for the Cia-Cia survey. It includes all the items on the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary list, the Leipzig-Jakarta list, and the Swadesh 100, 200 and 218 lists (except for a few items not relevant to the Indonesian context such as ice and snow). It also contained a number of additional items that were chosen

³ Subsequent to this survey, the Sulawesi Long List was expanded, and in its finalized version it comprises 844 items. See *Sulawesi Language Alliance*, s.v. "Survey Instruments: Sulawesi Umbrella Wordlist and the Sulawesi Long List" <http://sulang.org/resources/survey-instruments#wordlists> (accessed August 3, 2017).

specifically to inform us about the distribution of certain sound changes across the Butonic languages.

Based on previous reports concerning Cia-Cia dialects (§ 2.1), we prepared a list of fifteen locations to collect word list data. The survey commenced on August 8th, 2015 and ended on September 7th. By then a total of twenty-seven word lists had been elicited. See Figures 5 and 7 below for the location of word list elicitation sites. Even so, it was not possible to follow up on every report that the next village down the road had a different *logat* ‘accent’ than the one next to it. Some corners had to be cut; part of the field portion of the survey was figuring out which ones. In hindsight twenty-seven word lists were probably too few, and we should have collected a handful more (§ 7.2).

3.2 *Calculation of lexical similarity scores*

The starting point for our lexicostatistical comparison was the 218-item Swadesh list (Samarin 1967:220). This list was chosen to make our results comparable with other Sulawesi surveys. The data we collected would also allow a different set of words to be used, or even to compare results using different standards (e.g. Swadesh versus Austronesian Basic Vocabulary versus Leipzig-Jakarta), but we leave this for a future study.

When calculating lexical similarity scores, some items on the 218-item Swadesh list were excluded, and others modified for the Indonesian context.

The items ‘freeze,’ ‘snow,’ and ‘ice’ were not elicited as these terms are not relevant to the tropics. The items ‘clothing,’ ‘dance,’ and ‘spear’ were not elicited as experience has shown that local languages do not have a generic term, or if they do it is invariably borrowed from Indonesian.

The following substitutions were made as being more appropriate in the Indonesian context (see further Martens 1989):

‘brother’ → ‘older sibling’
 ‘sister’ → ‘younger sibling’
 ‘claw’ → ‘fingernail’
 ‘in’ → ‘inside’
 ‘leg’ → ‘thigh’
 ‘stick’ → ‘wood’
 ‘warm’ → ‘hot (water)’

In the context of this survey we also eliminated the following items, for the stated reason:

‘husband’ (overlap with responses for ‘man, male’)
 ‘wife’ (overlap with responses for ‘woman, female’)
 ‘lake’ (collected for too few varieties; few lakes are present in this geographical area)
 ‘rope’ (apparent synonyms including ropes made of various materials)

- ‘bark’ (overlap with responses for ‘skin’ and ‘tree’)
- ‘seed’ (overlap with responses for ‘bone’ and ‘stone’)
- ‘here’ (overlap with responses for ‘this’)
- ‘there’ (overlap with responses for ‘that’)
- ‘twenty’ (overlap with responses for ‘two’ and ‘ten’)
- ‘with’ (overlap with responses for ‘and’)
- ‘day’ (overlap with responses for ‘sun’)
- ‘hunt’ (various specific terms, e.g. hunt with spear, hunt with dogs, etc.)

These exclusions⁴ left an even 200 items to be compared between lists.

Comparisons were compiled and tallied using the WordSurv7 computer program. For each item, word forms were sorted into groups considered to be lexically similar. For this we modified an adaptation of the Blair Method developed by Noel Mann (Blair 1990; Mann and Markowski 2005). Two word forms were considered to be lexically similar if 50% of the segments were Category 1 and 75% of the segments were Category 1 or 2, as defined in Table 1. If a given word form A was lexically similar to any word form B for an item, word form A was considered to be in the same group as all other word forms lexically similar to word form B.

For the purpose of this study, a regular sound correspondence (Table 1, Category 1c) is defined as two phones that appear in the same position in the same item for at least 3 items in the data set.

Category 1	a. exact matches b. vowels differing by one feature c. a regular sound correspondence
Category 2	a. phonetically similar consonants b. vowels differing by two or more features
Category 3	a. non-phonetically similar consonants b. non-regularly occurring deletion
Ignored	a. supplemental semantic morphemes 1. verb morphology affixes 2. nominal morphology affixes 3. nouns that modify a head noun b. reduplication c. regularly occurring deletions

Table 1. Categories in the modified Blair Method.

⁴ We also excluded the Wasambua response for ‘dull,’ which translates as ‘not sharp.’

Note that similarity of two vowel segments was based on the number of features by which they differ. The varieties in this study have five-vowel systems for which only three features are necessary to distinguish vowel phonemes: high, low, and front. Because of this almost all pairs of vowels differ in only one or two features. The result is a slight overcount of lexical similarity for items with a small number of segments, particularly items with four or fewer segments containing at least two vowels.

A ‘rule of thumb’ used in some initial surveys is that lexical similarity scores below 80% can be taken to indicate separate languages (see among others Smith 1984; Grimes and Grimes 1987; Friberg 1987, 1991). Others have proposed 70% as a cutoff point: similarity scores below this value indicate lack of intelligibility, but not vice versa (Boone 2007). While the reader may wish to keep these cut-off values in mind as a reference point, it should be noted that we do not use lexical similarity scores to determine language boundaries. In fact apart from Lasalimu almost all of the similarity scores between survey word lists fall in the gray area between 60% and 90%, where intelligibility must be determined by other means (Grimes 1992). Lexical similarity scores, however, proved their worth in determining *relative* closeness between Cia-Cia lects.

4 Lexicostatistical analysis

At the heart of our survey results is a lexicostatistical analysis. Before proceeding to the detailed results, however, we start with a bird’s eye view. In order to best understand the languages and dialects of the survey area, a basic distinction must be made between the core Cia-Cia language area on the one hand (which itself is internally complex) versus what we term on the other hand the six outlier or ‘northern tier’ communities. From west to east the northern tier communities are Wasambua, Kaisabu, Kabawakole, Wolowa, Lasalimu, and Kumbewaha (see Figure 5).

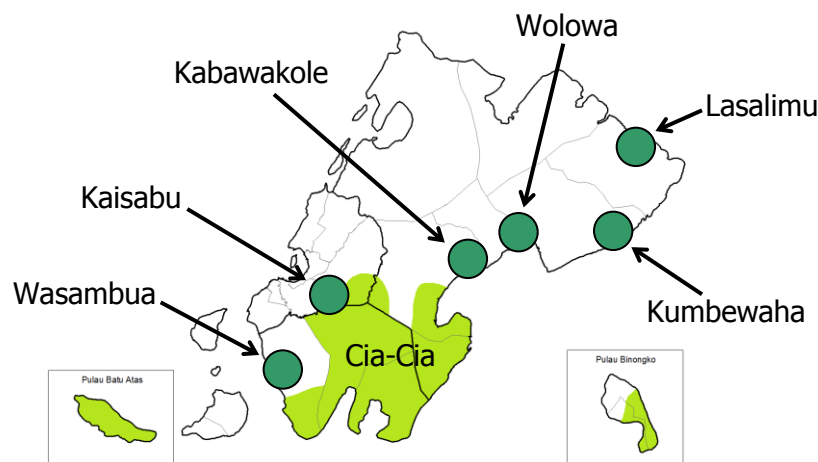


Figure 5. The six northern tier communities in relationship to the core Cia-Cia area.

The core represents an area that is heavily settled by Cia-Cia speakers. Some districts (*kecamatan*) are even said to be 100% Cia-Cia. This area has also been settled long enough for a complex dialect situation to develop in situ. When we turn to the northern tier communities, we also find long-standing language communities. In fact their distribution suggests that they represent the original inhabitants of their respective areas. However these areas later became subject to expansion by other groups, so that the northern tier lects now exist as remnant communities in a sea of more recent immigrants (see Appendix 2). Based on trends in language transmission as described below, it appears that their unique languages (or divergent dialects) will not survive beyond another fifty years. In terms of word stock and in some cases sound change, they are also less closely tied to the core Cia-Cia language area. We conclude that Wasambua is a dialect of Cia-Cia—albeit its most divergent dialect—while the remaining communities represent languages even more distant from Cia-Cia.

We present our survey results beginning with these northern tier communities before turning to a discussion of dialectal variation within the core Cia-Cia language area.

4.1 Wasambua

Wasambua is spoken in the village of Lakambau. Formerly Wasambua was spoken in an interior location, but in 1969 the Wasambua were resettled by the government to what at that time was a sparsely inhabited stretch of coastline in the southwest of Buton Island. As outsiders have moved into this area—primarily Cia-Cia from Batu Atas Island—the original Wasambua community has come to comprise only a single neighborhood (*dusun*) out of five in the village of Lakambau. Wasambua is spoken in no more than 130 households, and even then only by people in their thirties and older.

In our lexicostatistical analysis (see Figure 8 on page 20), Wasambua averaged only 72% lexically similar with all other core Cia-Cia dialects and subdialects (range 77% to 69%). It scored highest with the western dialect of Cia-Cia (77% lexically similar with Mambululu and Bangun; 76% with Bola; 74% with Masiri). While such low lexical similarity could suggest that Wasambua be considered a separate language, we found no such sentiments among our respondents. Whenever we spoke to them about the use, development, or steps to preserve the *bahasa daerah* (local language), to them that always meant the broader Cia-Cia community, of which Wasambua was a part. It appears that most Wasambua adults are also fluent in the Batu Atas dialect, while their children—along with the rest of the youth in Lakambau village—are shifting to Indonesian.

Our conclusion is that Wasambua should be considered a dialect of Cia-Cia. It is an outlier dialect that stands apart from both the western and central-eastern dialect clusters that make up the core of the Cia-Cia language area.

By way of documentation, we collected an 844-item word list along with further information on pronoun sets and deictics, and recorded and transcribed a brief text.

Results have been published in a paper titled “Wasambua word list, notes, and sample text” (Mead 2017c).

4.2 Kaisabu

Kaisabu is spoken in the eastern portion of the village (*kelurahan*) Kaisabu Baru, where they were resettled by the government from a more isolated location in 1969. It too exists in a very multilingual environment, with Cia-Cia communities immediately to their east, and Pancana- and Wolio-speaking communities to their west. Many Kaisabu speakers learn to speak some Cia-Cia and Wolio, but few outsiders bother to learn Kaisabu.

While Kaisabu is 74% lexically similar with Wasambua, it scores on average only 69% lexically similar with all other Cia-Cia word lists (range 72% to 66%). More important to us, however, are the reports we received from Cia-Cia communities that Kaisabu was not intelligible. In fact on a scale of easily understood to partially, slightly, or not at all understood, Kaisabu was consistently rated with the likes of Muna and Tukang Besi, *even in the Cia-Cia communities geographically closest to Kaisabu*.

Until our survey it was moot whether Kaisabu should be considered a dialect of Cia-Cia or a separate language. The lexicostatistical results combined with reports concerning inherent intelligibility from both inside and outside the Kaisabu community paint a consistent picture that Kaisabu should be regarded as a separate language.

Unfortunately this language is endangered. It is only being learned by children in households where both parents speak Kaisabu, and even then not always. When only one parent speaks Kaisabu, then Indonesian, or less often Wolio, becomes the language used at home. As a result, only 20% to 30% of children are learning Kaisabu. On the positive side, many adults recognize that their language is under threat, and some adults have committed to speaking just Kaisabu with each other. But the lack of intergenerational language transfer remains a threat.

By way of documentation, we collected an 814-item word list, along with further information on pronoun sets and deictics. Results have been published in a paper titled “Kaisabu word list and notes” (Mead 2017a).

4.3 Kabawakole, Wolowa and Kumbewaha

Kumbewaha is spoken in three geographically discontinuous villages. These are ‘remnant’ villages where the language still survives, surrounded by Cia-Cia who have migrated here locally; by Javanese and Balinese transplanted here by the Indonesian government; and most recently by people fleeing the sectarian violence that occurred in Ambon around the year 2000. From east to west these three communities are:

Kumbewaha (*kecamatan* Siotapina S 05° 24.320' E 123° 06.013'). The language is still being learned by children in Kumbewaha village.

Wolowa Baru (*kecamatan* Wolowa S 05° 23.621' E 122° 58.736'). In Wolowa Baru the language is spoken by children of junior high school age and above; that it is not known by younger children seems to be primarily the result of a particular teacher who went around the village insisting that children must come to school knowing Indonesian.

Kabawakole village (*kecamatan* Pasarwajo S 05° 26.202' E 122° 53.979'). All reports indicate that these people formerly inhabited Wakole (= present-day Matawia S 05° 24.189' E 122° 57.637'), a sister village to Wolowa Baru, but during a time of sickness and death sometime after Indonesian independence, they abandoned this village. A portion sought their fortune in the Moluccas, while another portion relocated to Tana Maeta, which now comprises a neighborhood (*dusun*) of Kabawakole village. Here the language is spoken only by those forty and over, in a very multilingual environment.

In all three locations, the word stock of the local language has been considerably eroded by Indonesian as well as Cia-Cia. Word list elicitation sessions in general proved difficult, as people struggled to remember the *asli* (original) terms in distinction to the borrowed Indonesian and Cia-Cia terms in use in everyday speech.

Kumbewaha scores relatively low in lexical similarity vis-à-vis the core Cia-Cia lects (average 66%, range 61% to 70%) and Kaisabu (64%). Kumbewaha is listed as a separate language in the current edition of the Ethnologue, and during the course of this survey we found no evidence to suggest revising that status.

Figure 6 presents the picture when Wakole and Wolowa are added to the mix. Note that lexical similarity scores reported in the Cia-Cia column are *averaged* values representing twenty-one different word lists.

Cia-Cia		
79	Wakole	
70	87	Wolowa
66	78	82 Kumbewaha

Figure 6. Percentages of lexical similarity between Cia-Cia, Kabawakole, Wolowa and Kumbewaha (this survey).

Under normal circumstances this pattern would be indicative of a chaining relationship, that is to say, each speech community shares its highest lexical similarity scores with its neighbors. To wit:

Cia-Cia – 79% – Wakole – 87% – Wolowa – 82% – Kumbewaha

This may be the case. However, not only was our Wakole respondent bilingual in Cia-Cia, but we also have reasons to suspect that the Kabawakole list included responses that are reflective of Cia-Cia rather than bona fide Wakole (Mead 2017d:2). This would have the effect of artificially raising the similarity of the Kabawakole word list with Cia-Cia while lowering it vis-à-vis Wolowa and Kumbewaha.

Given that we have more confidence in the Wolowa word list—and here we see a clear difference, 82% lexically similar with Kumbewaha, versus 70% lexically similar on average with Cia-Cia—it seems prudent at this time to consider Wolowa and Wakole to be dialects of Kumbewaha.

By way of documentation, 814-item word lists were collected in all three locations, along with further information on pronoun sets and deictics in Kumbewaha. This information has been separately published (Mead 2017b,d).

4.4 Lasalimu

The Lasalimu language is spoken in a single village, Lasalimu Pantai. This language is clearly endangered. Fluent speakers are all in their forties or older. Adults in their twenties and thirties also speak a version of Lasalimu, but without full command and with considerable lexical replacement from Indonesian. Children and teenagers do not speak the language, having at best only a passive knowledge of it.

Lasalimu scores relatively low in lexical similarity even with other Butonic languages.

Cia-Cia – Lasalimu	:	57% lexically similar (range 54% to 59%)
Kaisabu – Lasalimu	:	56% lexically similar
Kumbewaha – Lasalimu	:	68% lexically similar (range 64% to 73%)
Kamaru – Lasalimu	:	54% lexically similar
Wolio – Lasalimu	:	50% lexically similar

We found no evidence to back up a chaining relationship with Kamaru (§ 2.2). Conversely the data indicate that the dialect chain extending from Cia-Cia into Kumbewaha (§ 4.3) continues into Lasalimu:

Cia-Cia – 79% – Wakole – 87% – Wolowa – 82% – Kumbewaha – 73% – Lasalimu

However a *single* lexical similarity score in the low seventies is hardly enough to consider Lasalimu to be a dialect of Kumbewaha. We propose that Lasalimu continue to be regarded as a distinct language, just as it is in the current edition of the Ethnologue.

By way of documentation, we collected an 814-item word list, along with further information on pronoun sets and deictics. Results have been published separately in a paper titled “Lasalimu word list and notes” (Mead 2018).

4.5 *Dialects of the core Cia-Cia area*

Having looked at the northern tier dialects and languages (§ 4.1 through 4.4), we now turn to the core of the Cia-Cia language area. For the core area we collected word lists in twenty-one locations: nineteen from the mainland, one from Batu Atas Island, and one from Wali village on Binongko Island. See Figure 7.

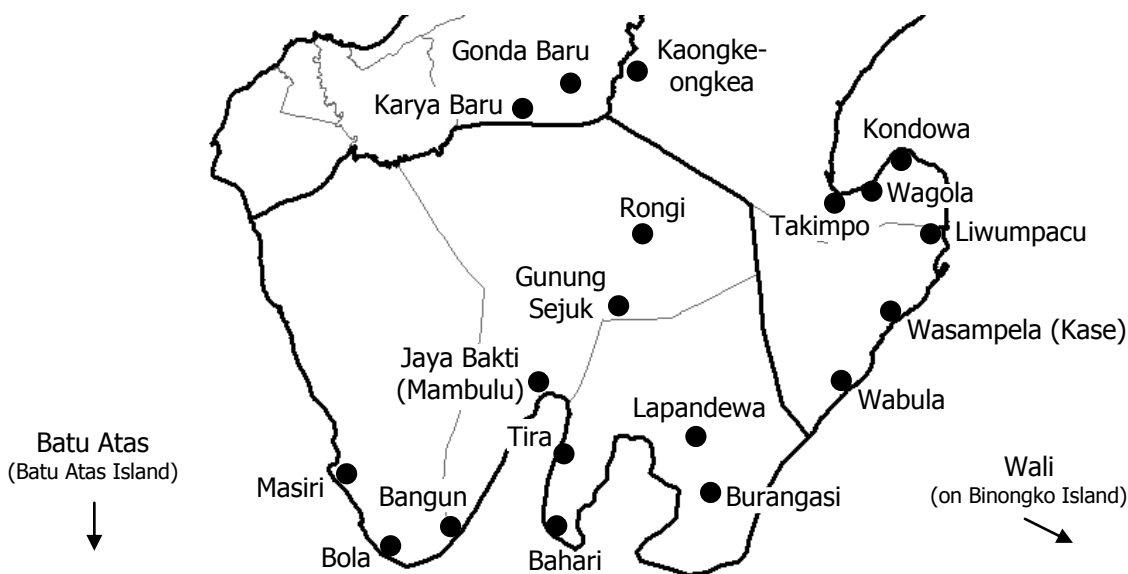


Figure 7. Word list elicitation locations for the core Cia-Cia area.

The results of our pair-wise comparison of these word lists are presented in Figure 8. This matrix includes similarity scores calculated pair-wise for all the word lists we collected, along with comparisons with five outside languages (Kamaru, Wolio, Muna, Tukang Besi, and Kulisusu).

As is standard in such presentations, we have permuted the matrix so that higher values appear closer to the diagonal. In order to help the reader more easily apprehend the picture presented by the data, we have employed shading from dark green to light blue to indicate greater or lesser degree of lexical similarity.

The principle result of this study is that the core Cia-Cia language area divides into a western dialect, represented by the Masiri, Bangun, Bola, and Mambulu lects, and a central-eastern dialect complex represented by the other lects. Internally the word lists representing the western dialect exhibit a high and narrow range of lexical similarity (85% to 90% lexically similar compared to each other), whereas outside of this group they score significantly lower (average 78%)—although Bola and to a lesser extent Mambulu exhibit a slight degree of convergence toward some of the central-eastern lects (at 85% lexically similar, Bola – Batu Atas is the highest among these scores).

	rng	koo	lap	gnd	kry	gsj	wab	lwp	wag	knd	tak	kas	bat	bah	tir	bur	wal	bol	mbi	bng	mas	was	kai	wkl	wlw	kmb	llm	kdt	smn	mun	tbw	tbb	kls	kmr	wol
Rongi	100	88	84	86	85	83	84	84	83	84	82	81	81	82	82	83	78	78	76	76	74	71	70	78	68	64	57	51	48	52	51	43	45	43	47
Kaongkeongkea	88	100	86	85	84	83	82	82	81	80	79	80	82	83	84	82	77	78	76	76	72	71	72	78	72	67	58	51	47	50	50	42	43	43	46
Lapandewa	84	86	100	86	88	86	86	86	83	86	86	84	86	88	88	87	86	81	80	77	75	69	68	82	69	68	56	52	47	50	51	43	46	42	49
Gonda Baru	86	85	86	100	94	91	86	85	86	87	84	84	84	83	85	85	82	80	78	77	77	71	68	80	70	66	57	54	49	52	51	42	45	44	50
Karya Baru	85	84	88	94	100	93	88	86	87	86	85	83	85	86	86	84	84	82	78	78	76	71	68	82	70	66	58	52	47	51	51	42	46	44	49
Gunung Sejuk	83	83	86	91	93	100	84	85	84	84	83	82	85	84	84	85	82	80	78	76	74	69	66	78	69	64	58	50	46	49	52	43	44	44	50
Wabula	84	82	86	86	88	84	100	90	87	87	85	84	84	82	84	84	81	78	76	74	74	71	68	80	70	66	54	53	48	50	49	42	43	42	46
Liwumpacu	84	82	86	85	86	85	90	100	91	90	88	84	86	84	86	84	84	80	78	77	73	70	68	83	72	68	58	52	47	50	54	45	46	43	46
Wagola	83	81	83	86	87	84	87	91	100	92	88	86	84	82	84	84	83	80	77	73	73	71	69	82	71	66	56	54	51	52	52	46	47	42	48
Kondowa	84	80	86	87	86	84	87	90	92	100	90	88	86	82	87	84	85	80	80	75	74	70	70	82	72	68	57	53	50	52	53	46	48	42	48
Takimpo	82	79	86	84	85	83	85	88	88	90	100	86	86	84	86	84	85	81	80	76	74	72	69	83	72	69	57	53	51	52	52	45	48	43	47
Kase	81	80	84	84	83	82	84	84	86	88	86	100	84	80	86	83	82	78	78	73	72	69	66	79	69	68	56	52	49	50	52	46	45	44	48
Batu Atas	81	82	86	84	85	85	84	86	84	86	86	84	100	90	90	86	88	85	83	80	75	74	67	80	70	68	59	53	48	52	52	46	47	41	48
Bahari	82	83	88	83	86	84	82	84	82	82	84	80	90	100	91	87	88	84	82	80	74	70	68	80	70	68	58	52	48	50	50	44	47	41	48
Tira	82	84	88	85	86	84	84	86	84	87	86	86	90	91	100	90	90	84	84	80	78	73	68	82	72	70	59	54	51	52	52	44	45	41	47
Burangasi	83	82	87	85	84	85	84	84	84	84	84	83	86	87	90	100	88	82	79	77	77	71	68	80	68	66	58	52	48	51	52	42	45	39	46
Wali	78	77	86	82	84	82	81	84	83	85	85	82	88	88	90	88	100	84	80	77	74	70	68	80	68	67	56	52	48	52	52	47	46	40	46
Bola	78	78	81	80	82	80	78	80	80	80	81	78	85	84	84	82	84	100	89	86	85	76	72	78	70	66	58	58	52	56	52	44	48	43	54
Mambulu	76	76	80	78	78	78	76	78	77	80	80	78	83	82	84	79	80	89	100	90	87	77	70	76	68	66	58	60	56	58	52	46	47	47	54
Bangun	76	76	77	77	78	76	74	77	73	75	76	73	80	80	80	77	77	86	90	100	87	77	68	72	65	62	56	58	53	56	52	44	44	46	50
Masiri	74	72	75	77	76	74	74	73	73	74	74	72	75	74	78	77	74	85	87	87	100	74	70	71	66	62	56	61	55	60	51	44	42	45	56
Wasambua	71	71	69	71	71	69	71	70	71	70	72	69	74	70	73	71	70	76	77	77	74	100	74	68	67	61	57	59	52	59	53	43	44	42	52
Kaisabu	70	72	68	68	68	66	68	68	69	70	69	66	67	68	68	68	68	72	70	68	70	74	100	70	70	64	56	60	53	60	51	44	44	45	54
Wakole	78	78	82	80	82	78	80	83	82	82	83	79	80	80	82	80	80	78	76	72	71	68	70	100	87	78	64	57	51	53	54	48	47	46	49
Wolowa	68	72	69	70	70	69	70	72	71	72	72	69	70	70	72	68	68	70	68	65	66	67	70	87	100	82	68	54	49	52	53	46	45	46	49
Kumbewaha	64	67	68	66	66	64	66	68	66	68	69	68	68	68	70	66	67	66	66	62	62	61	64	78	82	100	73	49	48	48	54	48	46	47	50
Lasalimu	57	58	56	57	58	58	54	58	56	57	57	56	59	58	59	58	56	58	58	56	56	57	56	64	68	73	100	47	44	44	50	43	44	54	50
Kadatua	51	51	52	54	52	50	53	52	54	53	53	52	53	52	54	52	52	58	60	58	61	59	60	57	54	49	47	100	73	80	42	38	41	38	49
Southern Muna	48	47	47	49	47	46	48	47	51	50	51	49	48	48	51	48	48	52	56	53	55	52	53	51	49	48	44	73	100	78	39	37	41	36	45
Standard Muna	52	50	50	52	51	49	50	50	52	52	52	50	52	50	52	51	52	56	58	56	60	59	60	53	52	48	44	80	78	100	41	38	40	36	44
Tukang Besi Wanci	51	50	51	51	51	52	49	54	52	53	52	52	52	50	52	52	52	52	52	52	51	53	51	54	53	54	50	42	39	41	100	70	44	39	43
Tukang Besi Binongko	43	42	43	42	42	43	42	45	46	46	45	46	46	44	44	42	47	44	46	44	44	43	44	48	46	48	43	38	37	38	70	100	43	34	36
Kulisusu	45	43	46	45	46	44	43	46	47	48	48	45	47	47	45	45	46	48	47	44	42	44	44	47	45	46	44	41	41	40	44	43	100	35	46
Kamaru	43	43	42	44	44	44	42	43	42	42	43	44	41	41	41	39	40	43	47	46	45	42	45	46	46	47	54	38	36	36	39	34	35	100	58
Wolio	47	46	49	50	49	50	46	46	48	48	47	48	48	48	47	46	46	54	54	50	56	52	54	49	49	50	50	49	45	44	43	36	46	58	100

Figure 8. Matrix of lexical similarity scores.

Internal relationships within the central-eastern complex are not easily captured in a single statement. Patterns of lexical similarity scores reveal both clustering and chaining. In fact we have already indicated some clusters in Figure 8 using thick black lines. These clusters, discovered through lexicostatistics, also correspond to geographic regions.

Cluster 1 : Tira, Bahari, Burangasi, Wali, and Batu Atas (coastal areas of Lapandewa district, also includes the two island locations)

Cluster 2 : Kase, Takimpo, Kondowa, Wagola, Liwumpacu, and Wabula (all of these villages are along the Pasarwajo coast)

Cluster 3 : Gunung Sejuk, Karya Baru, and Gonda Baru (mouth of the Sampolawa River and points interior)

Cluster 4 : Lapandewa, Rongi, and Kaongkeongkea (interior villages that lie on an almost direct north-to-south line; this is the 'loosest' of the four clusters and perhaps should not be recognized)

These clusters are illustrated graphically in Figures 9 and 10, which are clique analyses. In a clique analysis, all of the speech varieties within a circle relate to each other at or above the specified percentage of lexical similarity. At a very high percentage of lexical similarity, each word list would be isolated in its own clique, while at a low percentage of lexical similarity all word lists would fall within a single clique. Such diagrams would of course be unrevealing. However it is usually possible to hit upon lexical similarity values which are particularly revealing of patterns of relationships. In the present case, Figure 9 is a clique analysis at 90% lexical similarity. At this value we see the first three clusters emerge from the data, as it were. (The Kase, Lapandewa, Kaongkeongkea, and Rongi word lists do not relate to any word list at or above 90%, therefore they are not included within any circle.)

Figure 10 is a clique analysis at 88% lexical similarity. By dropping the percentage of lexical similarity just two points lower, the clusters are more solidified, and the fourth cluster emerges for the first time (represented by the circle which encompasses Kaongkeongkea and Rongi). We can now also observe the chaining which broadly characterizes the central-eastern dialect area, although the clique containing Kaongkeongkea and Rongi stands apart from any other clique. It would link to other cliques when the percentage of lexical similarity is dropped to 86%. Similarly a link between the central-eastern and western dialect areas (not shown) would be achieved only if the percentage of lexical similarity were dropped to 85%.

Ideally the speech varieties in a clique analysis would be positioned in a way that at least roughly corresponded to their geographic locations in the real world. This has not been possible with the Cia-Cia lects. Especially notable about Figure 10 is the link between Wabula and Gunung Sejuk, even though these communities are not geographically close to each other.

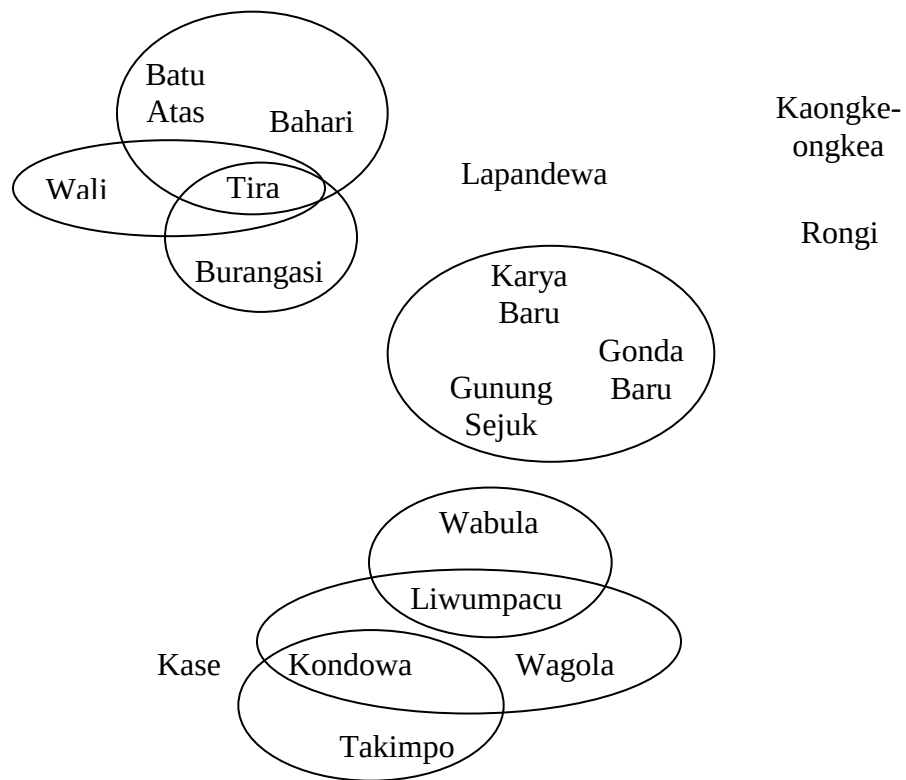


Figure 9. Clique analysis of central-eastern lects at 90% lexical similarity.

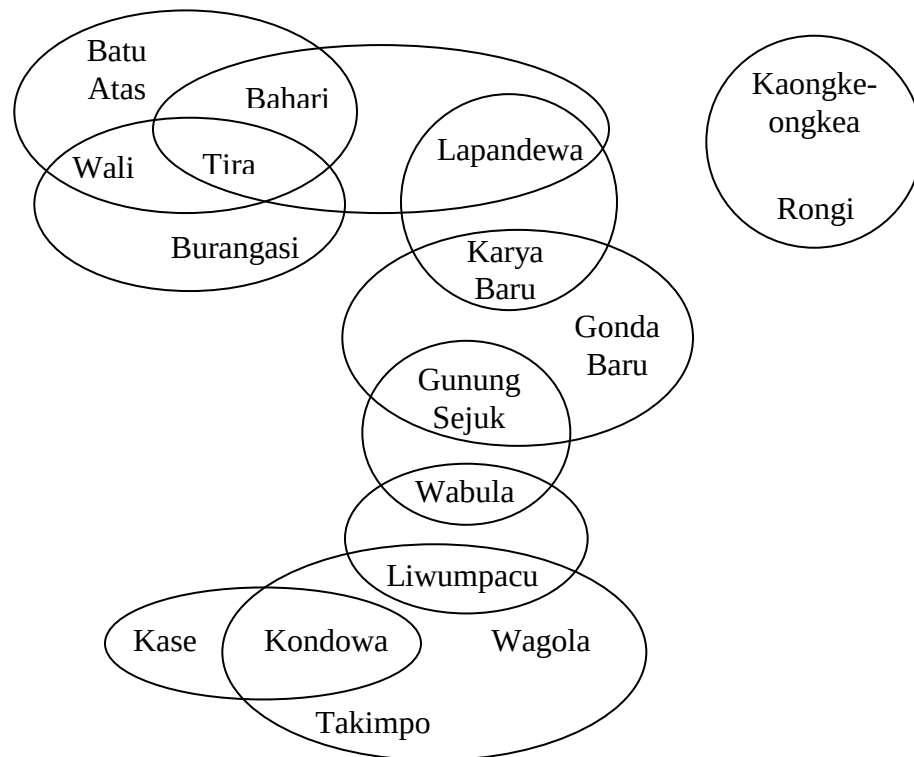


Figure 10. Clique analysis of central-eastern lects at 88% lexical similarity.

5 Lexical isogloss maps

During the process of collecting word lists in Cia-Cia, Kaisabu, Kumbewaha, and Lasalimu, we encountered two words for ‘cat’: in some locations cats are known as *beka*, in other locations they are called *mbuta*. One of the things we can do with this information is map all the locations where *beka* is used and all the locations where *mbuta* is used—see Figure 11 below—and then draw a line which separates these two geographic areas. In linguistics the line that separates them is called as isogloss (or isogloss line). In this case, it would specifically be a lexical isogloss because it demarcates the area where a word is used.

In this section we present lexical isogloss maps for selected word list responses. Of all the maps we could have prepared—after all, we elicited more than three hundred lexical items in each location—Figures 11 through 15 are simply a few of the maps that we found interesting. In particular we have avoided maps where the same word is used in all lects, and maps which would likely be inaccurate because we didn’t sufficiently control the response (e.g. we asked for the word for ‘fence’ but people use different words depending on the type of fence). In the preceding section we quantified the lexical data. In these maps we move away from numbers and percentages in order to give the reader a feel for what those numbers mean practically when it comes to actual words and speaking the language. Finally, it should be noted that these maps are all based on a small number of data points and could be refined by collecting information in more locations.

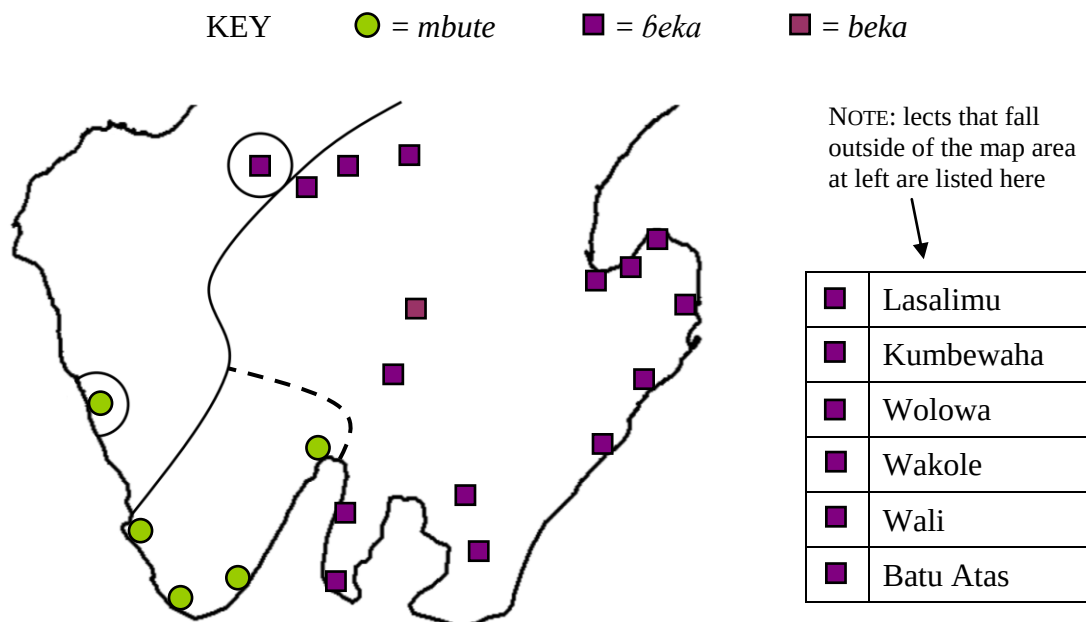


Figure 11. Lexical isogloss map for ‘cat’ (word list no. 086).

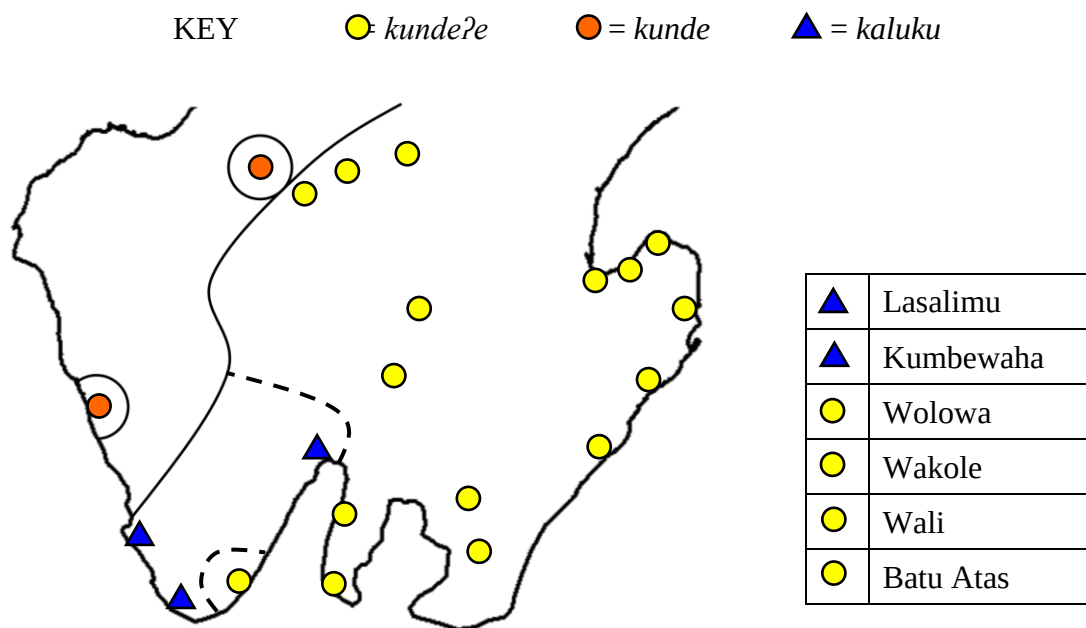


Figure 12. Lexical isogloss map for ‘coconut’ (word list no. 099).

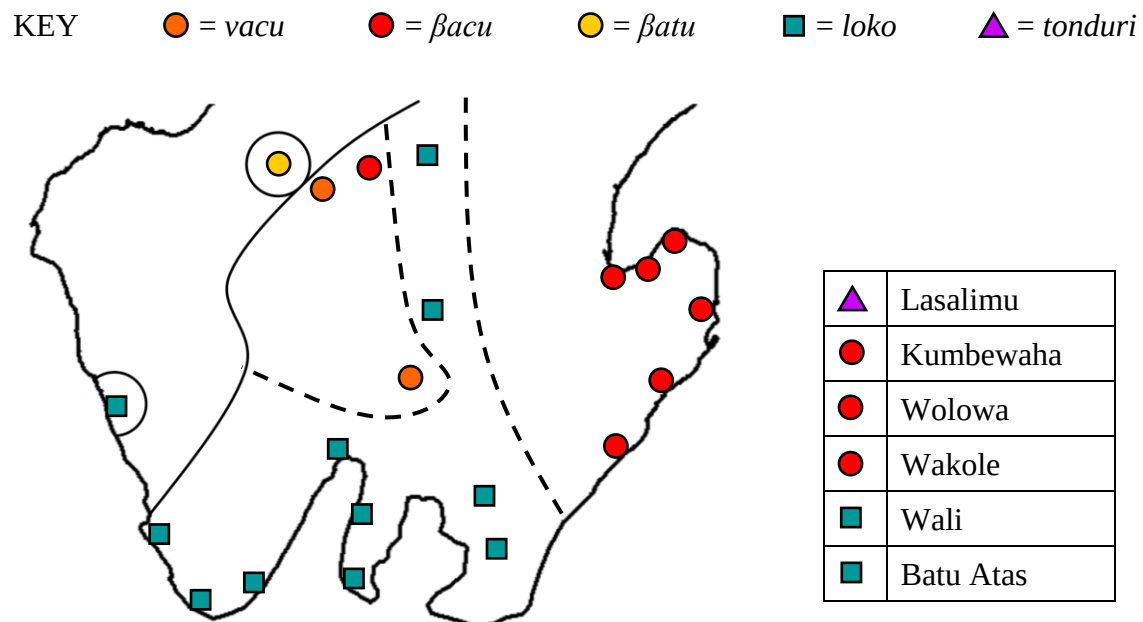


Figure 13. Lexical isogloss map for ‘stone’ (word list no. 138).

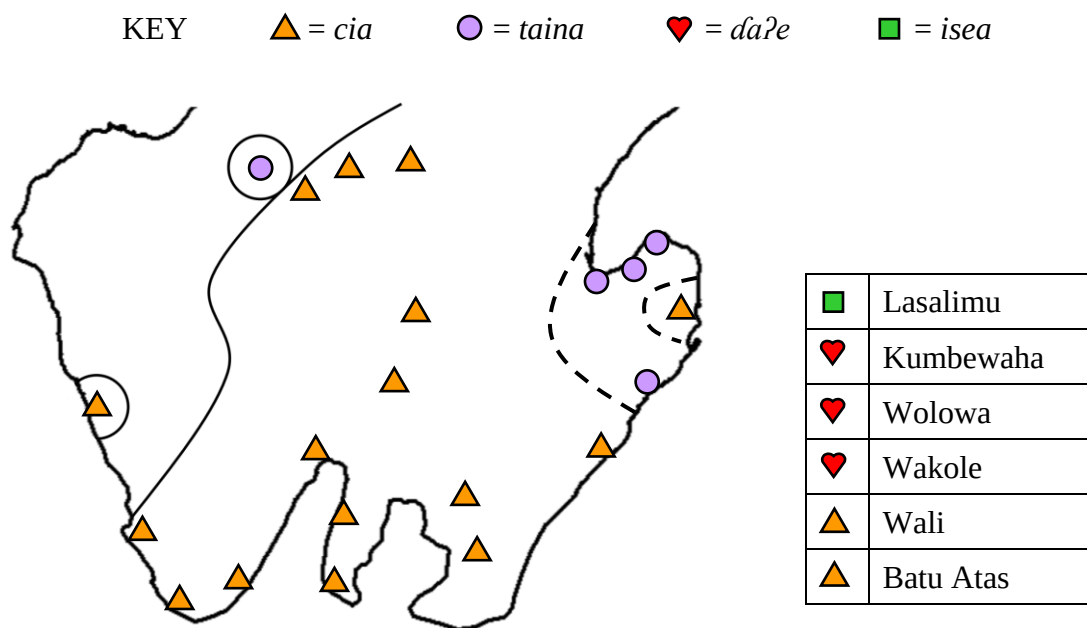


Figure 14. Lexical isogloss map for ‘no’ (word list no. 207).

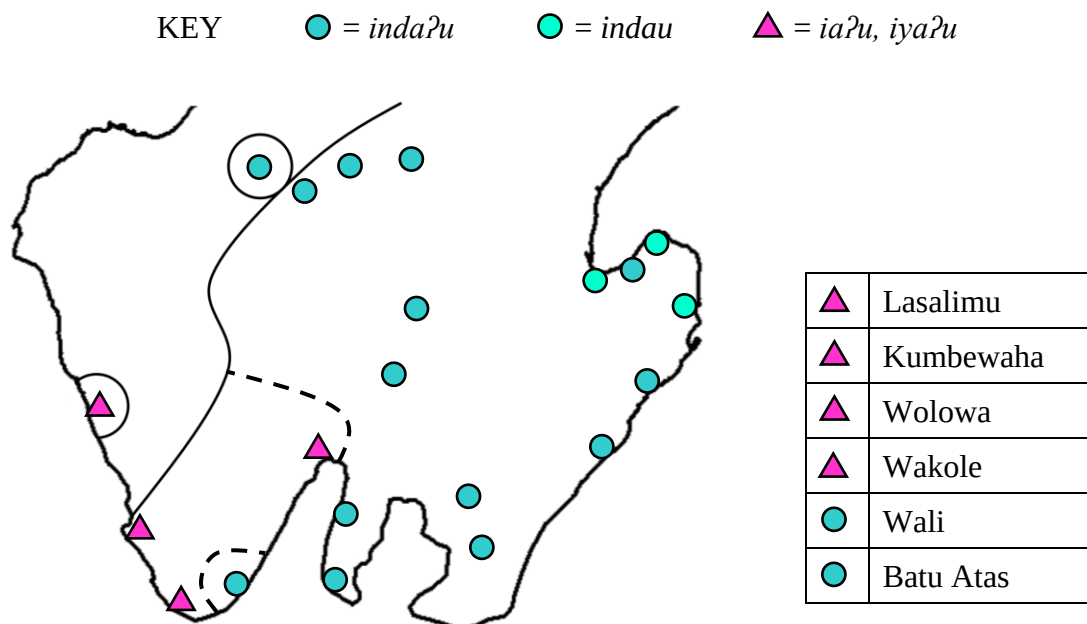


Figure 15. Lexical isogloss map for ‘I’ (word list no. 055).

6 Notes on sound change among Butonic languages

In this section we discuss several sound changes that are significant for the Butonic languages. Although these changes happened historically, they have resulted in consistent differences between lects which can be observed today, and could be mapped in much the same way as lexical isoglosses were in the preceding section. These sound change isoglosses are important for a Cia-Cia dialect geography. In some cases these sound changes may also present challenges for orthography development.

The first sound change discussed below concerns the fate of the proto phoneme *q in Butonic languages. As this sound change is exhibited by all lects, it is significant for establishing the Butonic branch as a valid genetic group. Other sound changes crosscut the Butonic languages. The other sound changes discussed here are the shift of *t to an affricate; the shift of *r to a back fricative; the loss of *l; the shift of *h to glottal stop or zero; and the intercalation of glottal stop between like vowels.

6.1 Split of *q

The Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) phoneme symbolized as *q is thought to have been a voiceless back velar (probably uvular) stop (Blust 1990:233). In most areas of Western Malayo-Polynesian, PMP *q is realized as glottal stop or zero. However it survived as a distinct phoneme in initial and medial position in Proto Muna-Buton (PMB). Outside of the Butonic group its reflexes in present-day languages are:

- a uvular fricative in Muna (written as *gh*);
- *h* in Busoa, Kambowa, and Kaimbulawa;
- zero word initially and glottal stop word medially in Southern Muna, Pancana, Kioko, and Liabuku.

Among Butonic languages we find a split: in some words PMP *q is realized as *k* in all four languages, while in another set of words *q is realized as *h* in Kaisabu, Cia-Cia, and Kumbewaha, and as zero (via *h*) in Lasalimu. See respectively the top and bottom halves of Table 2. Italics indicate a replacement (non-cognate) form, while an em-dash indicates lack of data. The word list number corresponds to the numbering system used in Appendix 2. Proto Muna-Buton (PMB) reconstructions are mostly from Van den Berg (2001), although a few are our own.

For the most part we can explain these different reflexes by assuming that *q became *k preceding *i, *u and *e, but became *h preceding *a (with the initial consonant of *kake < *qake ‘foot’ explained as regressive assimilation). Preceding *o there is a mixed pattern.

PMP	PMB	Kaisabu	Cia-Cia	Kumbe-waha	Lasalimu	meaning	word list no.
*quhuŋ	*quu	kuu	kuʔu	kuʔu	kuʔu	‘mushroom’	108
*quay	*que	<i>xauxo</i>	kue	kue	kue	‘rattan’	103
*quləj	*qule	kule	kule	kule	kule	‘snake’	077
*quzan	*qusa	<i>hise</i> (<Busoa)	kia	<i>monda</i>	<i>monda</i>	‘rain’	121
*qulu	*qulu	—	kulu	—	—	‘head’ (classifier)	—
*qubi	*qubi	kuβi	<i>santa</i>	kuβi	kuβi	‘yam’	—
*qə(n)tut	*qotu	<i>tebuu</i>	kocu	kocu	kocu	‘pass gas’	324
*qatəluR	*qotolu	tikolu	cikolu	cikolu	<i>ontolu</i> (<Wolio)	‘egg’	068
*qaqay	*qaqe	kake	kake	kake	kake	‘foot’	026
*taqi	*taqi	taki	taki	taki	taki	‘feces’	039
*paqit	*paqi	mopaki	mopaki	mopaki	mopaki	‘bitter’	181
*ma-qitəm	*moqito	mokito	mokito	mokito	<i>mokilo</i>	‘black’	203
*laqia	*loqia	lokia	lokia	lokia	lokia	‘ginger’	104
*puqun	*puqu	pepuku	pepuku	pipuku	pepuku	‘begin’	—
*taqun	*taqu	taku	taku	<i>βaha</i>	taku	‘year’	245
*tuqah	*tuqa	motuka	mocuka	<i>moleŋo</i>	<i>moleŋo</i>	‘old’	—
*baqəRu	*boqou	βokou	βokou	βokou	βokoʔu	‘new’	168
*tuqəD	*tuqo	<i>katumpu</i>	<i>katumpu</i>	<i>katumpu</i>	cuko	‘stump’	
*bituqən	*wituqo	<i>kalipopo</i>	βicuko	βicuko	<i>mpio-mpio</i>	‘star’	115
*qabu	*qabu	habu	habu	habu	awu	‘ashes’	136
*qatay	*qate	hate	hate	hate	ate	‘liver’	035
*qatəp	*qato	hato	hato	hato	<i>kotowo</i>	‘roof’	114
*qajəŋ	*qayo	heo	haeo	<i>ŋaeo</i>	<i>ŋao</i>	‘charcoal’	149
*qazay	*qase	hase	hae	<i>ŋaxe</i>	<i>ade</i>	‘chin’	016
*qalipan	*qalipa	<i>molalano</i>	holipa ~ honipa	holipa	lipa	‘centipede’	074
*qaləjaw	*qoloyo	holeo	holeo	holeo	oleo	‘sun’	113
*qapəju	*qopoyu	piu	hopiu	hopiu	<i>kampaki</i>	‘gall’	036
PCel *qəli	*qoli	holi	holi	holi	<i>balu</i>	‘buy’	315
*qənay	*qone	hone	hone	hone	<i>komea</i>	‘sand’	125
*maRuqanay	*moqane	mohane	mohane	mohane	moane	‘male’	043
*daqan	*raqa	xaha	raha	xaxa	raa	‘branch’	089
*paqa	*paqa	paha	paha	paha	paa	‘thigh’	027

Table 2. Reflexes of PMP *q in Butonic languages.

The conditioned split of PMP *q into *k and *h observed in these data⁵ is not just rare, but unique among Malayo-Polynesian languages. We must assume that this sound change occurred once, that is, in the ancestor language shared by Cia-Cia, Kaisabu, Kumbewaha, and Lasalimu. This sound change affirms the genetic unity of Donohue's (2004) proposed Butonic branch.⁶

6.2 Shift of *t

The phoneme *t shifted to an affricate preceding high vowels *i and *u. This shift is attested in all lects except Kaisabu. The data in Table 3 is exemplary; additional examples can be gleaned from the word list responses in Appendix 4.

PMB	Kaisabu	Cia-Cia	Kumbe-waha	Lasalimu	meaning	word list no.
*titi	titi	cici	cici	cici	'breast'	023
*atiho	atiho	aciho	aciho	aciho	'sneeze'	–
*qanti	hanti	hanci	hanci	<i>bara</i>	'sweat'	041
*timpa	timpa	cimpa	cimpa	cimpa	'tusk'	–
*tumbu	tumbu	cumbu	<i>ido</i>	cumbu	'grow'	281
*tuu	tuu	cuʔu	cuʔu	cuu	'knee'	028
*pitu	pitu	popicu	popicu	popicu	'seven'	223
*Ratu	hatu	hacu	hacu	acu	'hundred'	229
*potu	potu	pocu	<i>keʔe</i>	<i>keʔe</i>	'head'	001
*watu	βatu	βacu	βacu	<i>tonduri</i>	'stone'	138
*kucu	tutu	cucu	kucu	kucu	'louse'	070

Table 3. Shift of *t > *c in Cia-Cia, Kumbewaha and Lasalimu.

⁵ We are also aware of three etyma—not shown in Table 2—where reflexes of *q follow neither pattern. These are: PMP *qasu 'smoke' > PMB *qahu > Cia-Cia *hau*, Kumbewaha and Lasalimu *kaʔu* (Kaisabu has replacement form *humbo*; see word list no. 134); PMP *taqən > PMB *taqo > Kaisabu, Cia-Cia *taho*, Kumbewaha, Lasalimu *taʔo* (word list no. 303); and PMP *tuqu > PMB *kotuqu > Kaisabu *kotuhu*, Cia-Cia *kocuhu*, Kumbewaha, Lasalimu *tocuʔu* (word list no. 201). These reflexes are unexplained in the current analysis.

⁶ A second change which unites the Butonic languages is the split of of *k > *k, *s. Sibilant reflexes are seen for example in the pronouns *ikoo > *isoo (2SG), *ikami > *isami (1PL.EXCL) and *ikomiu > *isomiu (2PL) (see Appendix 3); in the applicative suffix *ako > *aso; in *kuhe > *suhe 'cuscus'; and in other forms. However as it requires comparison with the *k > *k, *s split which occurred in Muna *but under different conditioning environments* (Van den Berg 1991b:11–12), we leave the discussion of this change for the future.

Despite the near-universality of this change across lects (except Kaisabu) and throughout the lexicon, there are reasons to suppose that it may be an areal feature rather than an inherited characteristic. Consider the following lexemes:

- The word for ‘no’ (word list item 207) throughout most of the Cia-Cia area is *cia*, but an older form is retained in Kaisabu, Wagola, Kondowa, Takimpo and Kase *taina* (see Figure 14 above). The original stem **tai* must have metathesized to **tia* sometime after Cia-Cia dialects and subdialects had begun to differentiate, and subsequently **tia* shifted to **cia*.
- Throughout nearly the entire Cia-Cia area, the word for ‘slave’ (word list item 054) is *bacua*, and in Kaisabu *batua*. However the broader comparative picture suggests that **batuan* was an innovation in the Kaili-Wolio group, and its use across most of Buton Island must be ascribed to widespread borrowing from Wolio.⁷ The shift to *c* must have occurred after this word was introduced, presumably not earlier than the thirteenth century AD.
- Lasalimu has *cimposu* ‘bear cuscus’, borrowed from Kamaru or Wolio *timposu*. Initial *t* must have shifted to *c* after this word was borrowed, that is to say, after Lasalimu had differentiated from the other Butonic lects.
- The word for ‘derris’ (a kind plant, the roots of which are used to poison fish) is *ciβele* in Lapandewa, Wali, and Masiri; *cuβele* in Wakole, *cuvele* in Wasambua, and *tuβele* in Kaisabu (from PWMP **tub(e)liq*). There are no surprises here, but the Lasalimu word is *toβole*, in which irregular vowel developments protected the initial *t* from shifting to an affricate. However this also implies that Lasalimu still had a form with initial **t* at the time it separated from the other Butonic languages.

Finally, the shift of **t* > **c* preceding high vowels is found elsewhere on Buton Island, for example in Kioko but not Kambowa (Mead 2020a:42), in a *portion* of the Pancana language area, in Liabuku, in a *portion* of the Southern Muna dialect area (but not standard Muna), and even in Kulisusu (which is not a Muna-Buton language) (Mead 2020b:36). Since the shift **t* > **c* must be regarded as an areal feature elsewhere on Buton Island, it is not difficult to suppose it is also an areal feature of southern Buton.

6.3 Loss of **l*

The sound **l* was lost between back vowels. In our data this change affected only one lect, Kondowa. This sound change is striking in its regularity as well as its effect. Compare the forms in Table 4.

⁷ The inherited term for ‘slave,’ **qata*, is retained in Standard Muna *ghata* and Wolowa *hata*.

Kondowa	other Cia-Cia lects	meaning	word list no.
kocikou	cikolu	‘egg’	068
βuu	βulu	‘feathers’	069
ou	olu	‘cloud’	117
laa	lala	‘trail, road’	157
moaa	molala	‘sick’	185
totou	totolu	‘three’	219
ompuu	ompulu	‘ten’	226
i lao	i lalo	‘inside’	239
ao	alo	‘day’	241
ko’ao-’ao	ko’alo-’alo	‘ashamed’	246
jujuai	jujulai	‘to push’	287
pikahokoo	pikahokolo	‘to hunt’	302
loa	lola	‘to fly’	304
mboako	mbolako	‘to steal’	311
aa	ala	‘take’	317
poonai	polonai	‘to vomit’	323

Table 4. Loss of *l in Kondowa.

The sound *l was retained contiguous to a front vowel, as in Kondowa *ela* ‘tongue’, *sili* ‘skin’, *tolinga* ‘ear’, *lale* ‘fly’ (insect), *holeo* ‘sun’ (113) and *kasele* ‘sheath’ (152) among others. It is also irregularly retained in *oalu* ‘eight’ (224).⁸

6.4 Shift of *r

We presume that the Proto Muna-Buton phoneme *r was an alveolar trill or flap. However it shifted to a back fricative in all of the northern tier lects except Lasalimu, as well as in a portion of central-eastern dialect area. Specifically we now find five different reflexes of *r across the Butonic language area. See also illustrative forms in Table 5.

- a voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] in Rongi, Kaongkeongkea, and Wagola;
- a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] in Gonda Baru, Karya Baru, Gunung Sejuk, Kondowa and Takimpo;

⁸ Alternatively, our conditioning environment for the loss of *l* may need to be reformulated to exclude *a_u* and *u_a*. Whether this is the right tact to take could be clarified with additional data. Note also Kondowa *alusu* ‘smooth’ and *pahalusu* ‘to crush,’ both straightforward borrowings from Malay *halus*.

- a voiceless uvular fricative [χ] in Wasambua;
- a voiceless velar fricative [x] in Kaisabu and the three Kumbewaha lects;
- an alveolar trill or flap [r] elsewhere.

	blood (034)	thorn (097)	eyebrow (006)	salt (127)	two (218)
Rongi	ʃea	ʃui	keʃe	gaʃa	doʃua
Kaongkeongkea	ʃea	ʃui	keʃe	gaʃa	doʃua
Lapandewa	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	dorua
Gonda Baru	ɤea	ɤui	keɤe	gaɤa	doɤua
Karya Baru	ɤea	kaɤui	keɤe	gaɤa	doɤua
Gunung Sejuk	ɤea	ɤui	keɤe	gaɤa	doɤua
Wabula	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	dorua
Liwumpacu	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	doɾua
Wagola	ʃea	ʃui	keʃe	gaʃa	doʃua
Kondowa	ɤea	ɤui	keɤe	gaɤa	doɤua
Takimpo	ɤea	<i>bici</i>	keɤe	gaɤa	doɤua
Kase	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	doɾua
Batu Atas	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	dorua
Bahari	rea	karui	kere	gara	doɾua
Tira	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	dorua
Burangasi	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	doɾua
Wali	rea	ruɪ	kire	gara	doɾua
Bola	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	dorua
Mambulu	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	dorua
Bangun	rea	karui	kere	gara	dorua
Masiri	rea	ruɪ	kere	gara	doɾua
Wasambua	χea	χui	keχe	gaχa	doχua
Kaisabu	xea	kaxii	kexe	gaxa	xoanu
Wakole	xea	xui	kexe	gaxa	doχua
Wolowa	xea	xui	kexe	gaxa	doχua
Kumbewaha	xea	xui	kexe	gaxa	doχua
Lasalimu	rea	ruɪ	kire	gara	doɾua

Table 5. Shift of *r to a back fricative.

The geographic distribution of reflexes of *r is illustrated in Figure 16. Shift to a back voiceless fricative, [x] or [χ], is broadly characteristic of the northern tier lects except for Lasalimu. The shift to a back voiced fricative, [ʁ] or [ʕ], is more characteristic of the northern part of the Cia-Cia language area, versus the southern coast which has retained [r].

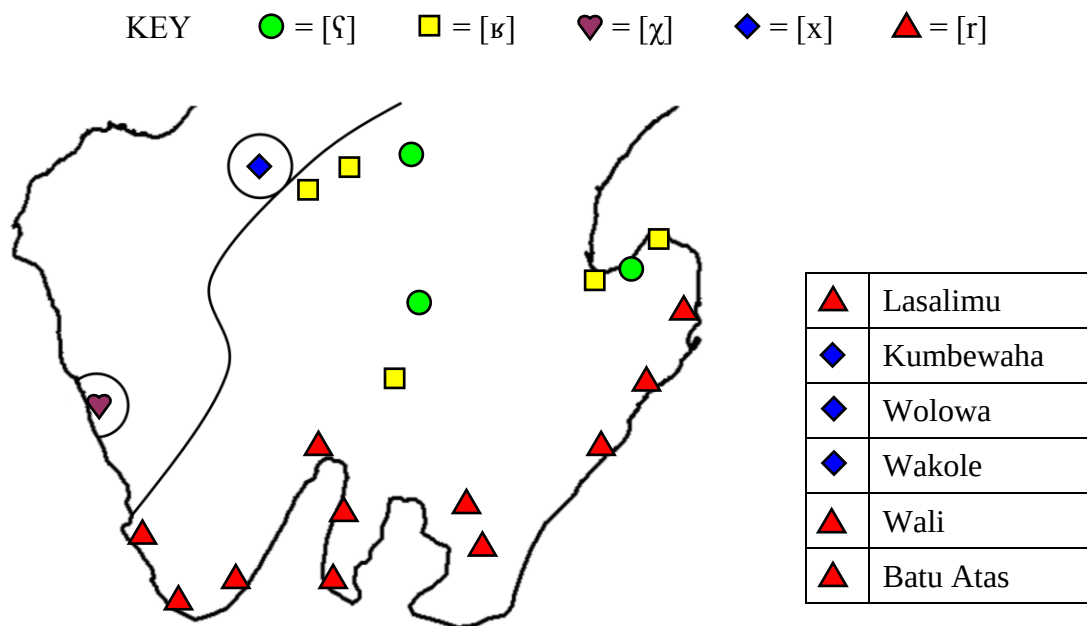


Figure 16. Geographic distribution of reflexes of Proto Butonic *r.

That much said, we wonder what the distribution would look like if more data points were included. In particular it seems the Pasarwajo district was inadequately covered in our survey, and that a finer-grained map of this region would reveal more variation than Figure 16 suggests.

Wherever the shift to a back fricative has been noted, it occurred unconditionally nearly throughout the lexicon, including in recent loanwords such as *pikiri* ‘to think’ (249) (recorded as [pikiri], [pikiʕi], [pikiʁi], etc.) from Arabic *fikr* via Malay *pikir*. This could suggest that the differences between lects, as exemplified in Table 5, are sub-phonemic (Van den Berg 1991c:302). This in turn would simplify the orthographic issue, since the grapheme *r* could then be used for writing throughout the Cia-Cia area, e.g. *rea*, *rui*, *kere*, etc., with people pronouncing these words with their own local flavor.

However this is not true of the most recent loan words. For example *radio* ‘radio’ and *roti* ‘bread’ have not been affected and were recorded with [r] wherever we elicited these terms (see word list entries 348 and 349). Furthermore people seemed well aware when the local sound was not an *r*, and even had suggestions as to how it should be written, e.g. *gh* for the voiced uvular fricative—doubtless from familiarity with how this sound is

written in Standard Muna.⁹ In Wagola respondents told us we should write the voiced pharyngeal fricative with an apostrophe.

6.5 Fate of Proto Muna-Buton *h

Where it has been reconstructed, Proto Muna-Buton *h generally reflects PMP *s. The evidence assembled in Table 6 shows that this sound is reflected as glottal stop in Kumbewaha and Lasalimu. In Cia-Cia and Kaisabu it was usually lost, but retained as *h* following *u*. Because this pattern is partly obscured by replacement forms, we use light blue shading to indicate forms in which *h > zero, light green to indicate forms in which it became glottal stop, and light yellow to indicate forms in which it was retained.

PMP	PMB	Kaisabu	Cia-Cia	Kumbe-waha	Lasalimu	meaning	word list no.
*qasin	*qahi	<i>mokaxa</i>	hai	<i>mogaxa</i>	<i>mogara</i>	‘salty’	183
*qasu	*qahu	<i>humbo</i>	hau	kaʔu	kaʔu	‘smoke’	134
PCel *kimbosu	*kimbohu	simbou	simbou	simboʔu	<i>cimposu</i>	‘monitor lizard’	083
*asu	*ahu	<i>dahu</i>	au	<i>kiau</i>	<i>kiau</i> ¹⁰	‘dog’	085
*basəq	*baho	<i>bangka</i>	<i>bere, buru, etc.</i>	<i>motopa</i>	moʔaʔo	‘wet’	162
*nasuk	*nahu	<i>pepokotaa</i>	<i>pereka, pitoro, etc.</i>	piʔonaʔu	peʔonaʔu	‘to cook’	262
PCel *kuse	*kuhe	<i>mante</i>	<i>mante</i>	suʔe	suʔe	‘cuscus’	–
*pusəj	*puhoy	puhe	puhe	puʔe	puʔe	‘navel’	025
*pusuq	*puhu	kopuhu	kopuhu	pepuʔu	<i>karusa-rusa</i>	‘banana blossom’	aʔa

Table 6. Etyma exhibiting shift of *s > zero in Butonic languages.

One form not shown in Table 6 constitutes an exception. In Cia-Cia *tai*, Kumbewaha *tei* and Lasalimu *tei* we see loss of *h across all lects (Kaisabu has the replacement form

⁹ This sound in Standard Muna originates not from *r but rather from *q (Van den Berg 1991b:4, 8), thus it appears in a different set of words than the ones under consideration here. To take a simple example, compare Muna *ghato*, Cia-Cia *hato* ‘roof, thatch’ (< PMP *qatəp), versus Muna *rato*, Cia-Cia Karya Baru *ghato* ‘come, arrive’ (< PMP *datəŋ).

¹⁰ Related to Barang-Barang *kiyau*, Laiyolo *keyau* and Kalao *keau* ‘dog’ (Laidig and Maingak 1999:67).

mokahi, see word list no. 124), compare PMB *tahi from PMP *tasik. Kumbewaha and Lasalimu *tei* also exhibit vowel raising, a second apparent irregularity. Nonetheless these forms cannot easily be explained from borrowing, and may indicate that the conditioning environment needs to be refined.

6.6 Intercalation of glottal stop

In this section we look at the intercalation (also called epenthesis or insertion) of glottal stop between like vowels that occurred as an historical process in most Butonic lects. This intercalation is one of a handful of processes that have given rise to glottal stop in Cia-Cia and the other Butonic languages. Other processes include:

- The regular shift of PMB *h to glottal stop in Kumbewaha and Lasalimu, discussed in § 5.5.
- Irregular shift of *k to glottal stop. This is known to us only in the first person singular independent, post-verbal and genitive pronouns, respectively Proto-Butonic *i(n)aʔu, *-aʔu and *-ʔu from earlier *i(n)aku, *aku and *ku. See forms in Appendix 3.
- The glottal stop which sometimes precedes the third person singular post-verbal person marker. In Kumbewaha and Lasalimu the glottal stop is always present (Mead 2017b:36, 2018:36); in the Lapandewa and Wasambua lects it is present only when the preceding verb stem ends in *e*, *a*, or *o* (Van den Berg 1991c:309; Mead 2017c:38). In Kondowa glottal stop occurs only following *e* (in other words, between identical vowels). In Kaisabu glottal stop never occurs. See Table 7. Patterns in other lects have yet to be verified.

stem final vowel	Kaisabu	Cia-Cia Kondowa	Cia-Cia Wasambua	Cia-Cia Lapandewa	Kumbe- waha	Lasalimu
i	-e	-e	-e	-e	-ʔe	-ʔe
u	-e	-e	-e	-e	-ʔe	-ʔe
e	-e	-ʔe	-ʔe	-ʔe	-ʔe	-ʔe
a	-e	-e	-ʔe	-ʔe	-ʔe	-ʔe
o	-e	-e	-ʔe	-ʔe	-ʔe	-ʔe

Table 7. Form of the third person object suffix conditioned by the final vowel of the stem in selected Butonic lects.

- The glottal stop which sometimes precedes other suffixes, in particular the applicative suffix *-aso/-ʔaso* and the related indirect object pronominal markers (which historically result from the fusion of the applicative suffix with a following object marker). See Table A5 in Appendix 3.
- The hard onset with which most vowel initial stems are articulated, and which shows up as glottal stop when such stems are prefixed, for example *ana* [ʔana] ‘child’, *koʔana* ‘have children’ (but compare without glottal stop *posoanaho* ‘nephew’).
- Irregular shift of *q to glottal stop, known to us only in Kumbewaha and Lasalimu in only in two forms. See footnote 5 at the bottom of page 28.¹¹

Against this background, compare the instances of intercalation of glottal stop between like vowels shown in Table 8 on the following page. From the forms shown here, it is apparent that intercalation of glottal stop had its full effect in Kumbewaha, but had almost no effect in Kaisabu (where it is exhibited only in *eʔe* ‘water’). In Lasalimu we find three cases where no glottal stop occurs in the sequence *uu*, otherwise intercalation appears to be regular. Intercalation is also regular in Cia-Cia except that in the Liwumpacu, Wagola, Kondowa and Takimpo lects no glottal stop occurs when the like vowels occur in the antepenultimate and penultimate positions (*toobʔa* ‘big’, *kaana* ‘house’, *kaaβo* ‘grass’).

Writing about glottal stop in the Lapandewa dialect, Van den Berg held out the possibility that glottal stop insertion between like vowels could be considered a current, synchronic process, that is to say, a glottal stop between two identical vowels is inserted by rule rather than being part of the underlying structure of the concerned lexeme.

All in all, it seems that the occurrence of the glottal can to a large extent be predicted, especially initially, between like vowels. and when a prefix attaches to a vowel-initial base. The problematic cases are the loanwords. some vowel-initial suffixes, and the glottals in (seemingly) monomorphemic roots. In a rigidly generative approach, enough rules and exceptions can probably be formulated to fully account for its occurrence. (Van den Berg 1991c:310)

However even intercalated glottal stops may be difficult to account for by rule. In Lasalimu no glottal stop is inserted where the shift of *q > *h > zero (§ 5.1) resulted in contiguous geminate vowels, compare Lasalimu *raa* ‘branch’ and *paa* ‘thigh’ from Table 2 (without glottal stop) versus *popaʔa* ‘four’ in Table 8 (with intercalated glottal stop). The Kondowa lect of Cia-Cia appears to be a similar case, since no glottal stop is inserted where loss of *l (§ 5.3) resulted in contiguous geminate vowels, compare *βuu* ‘feathers’,

¹¹ An identical pattern (ʔ ~ h correspondence) is seen in Kumbewaha, Lasalimu *toʔuʔu*, Cia-Cia *kocuhu*, Kaisabu *kotuhu* ‘true, correct’ < PMB *kotuqu < PMP *tuqu, but here the glottal stop could be the result of epenthesis between like vowels.

PMP	PMB	Kaisabu	Cia-Cia	Kumbe-waha	Lasalimu	meaning	word list no.
*suqun, *zuŋzuŋ	*suu	suu	suʔu	suʔu	suu	‘carry on the head’	320
*luhəq	*luu	<i>eʔe mata</i>	luʔu	luʔu	luu	‘tear’	007
*tuhud	*tuu	tuu	cuʔu	cuʔu	cuu	‘knee’	028
*quhuŋ	*quu	kuu	kuʔu	kuʔu	kuʔu	‘mushroom’	108
*dahən	*roo	xoo	roʔo	xoʔo	roʔo	‘leaf’	088
*pahuq	*poo	<i>taepa</i>	poʔo	<i>taipa</i>	<i>taipa</i>	‘mango’	–
*ñawa	*naa	pesinaa	pisinaʔa	pesineʔe	pesineʔe	‘to breathe’	321
*əpat	*paa, *pato-	patoanu	popaʔa	popaʔa	popaʔa	‘four’	220
*ənəm	*noo, *nomo-	nomoanu	nonoʔo	nonoʔo	nonoʔo	‘six’	222
*i-kau	*ikoo	isoo	isoʔo	isoʔo	isoʔo	‘you’	056
*tawa	*potaa	ḡotaa	ḡotaʔa	<i>pomboi</i>	<i>pemboi</i>	‘laugh’	256
*sawa	*saa	saa	saʔa	<i>saβa</i> (<Wolio)	<i>kule</i>	‘python’	077
*lawas	*laa	laa	laʔa	laβa (β unexpl.)	<i>lae</i> (<Wolio)	‘trunk’	090
*ŋisi	*ŋihi	ŋii	ŋiʔi	<i>leke</i>	<i>ŋinsi</i> (< Kamaru)	‘tooth’	014
	*lehe	lelee	(le)leʔe	leʔe	leʔe	‘urine’	038
	*maa	maa	maʔa	maʔa	<i>ṃta</i>	‘to eat’	264
		ŋoo	ŋoʔo	oŋo	<i>ḡobo</i>	‘nose’	008
		danee	daneʔe	daneʔe	aneʔe	‘there is’	208
		tooβa	toʔoβa, tooβa	toʔoβe	toʔoβe	‘big’	158
		kaana	kaʔana, kaana	<i>βonua</i>	<i>sapo</i>	‘house’	141
		<i>kaxuku</i>	kaʔaβo, kaaβo	<i>βoliʔi</i>	<i>βoliʔi</i>	‘grass’	109
		kunde	kundeʔe	<i>kaluku</i>	<i>kaluku</i>	‘coconut’	099
*waiR	*ue, *ee	eʔe	eʔe, oeʔe, weʔe, βeʔe	uβe	uβe	‘water’	128

Table 8. Butonic forms exhibiting intercalation of glottal stop.

ompuu ‘ten’, *laa* ‘road, trail’, *moaa* ‘sick’ and *aa* ‘take’ from Table 4, all without glottal stop. The implication in both cases is that while intercalation of glottal stop occurred as an historical process, at some point it ceased in its application and cannot be regarded as a current, synchronic process.

Even in Kaisabu with its relative paucity of glottal stops, we should simply say that a process of intercalation of glottal stop never occurred here. The language does have glottal stop from other sources, just not very many. It has glottal stop in first person pronominal forms *indaʔu*, *-aʔu*, *-ʔu*, and at morpheme boundaries *kaʔanaʔana* ‘newborn’, *koloʔuma* ‘hermit crab’, *kaʔolu* ‘cloud’, *poʔombai* ‘to say’ among others. Kaisabu lacks glottal stop preceding third person singular *-e* but, unique among Butonic lects, it exhibits the shift of the completive marker (clitic) **po* > *ʔo* (Mead 2017a:38–39) as in *tainaʔo* ‘not yet’, *daneeʔo* ‘there still is, there still are’. And while Kaisabu generally eschews glottal stop insertion between like vowels, a glottal stop is found in all three deictic presentatives *noʔoya* (near speaker), *ntuʔuya* (near hearer), and *loʔoya* (distant) (Mead 2017a:37).

If there are places where intercalation of glottal stop is automatic, we might be able to determine this by looking at recent borrowings. In some locations we recorded the word for ‘to work’ as *karajaa*, a loanword from Malay *kerja* (ultimately Sanskrit *kārya*) with expected lengthening of the final vowel (to avoid placing stress where none exists in the source word). However only in the following locations did we record it with intercalated glottal stop: Wagola, Liwumpacu, Wagola *karajaʔa*; Kondowa *kaʔajaʔa*, Wakole, Wolowa *kaxajaʔa* (see word list no. 278 in Appendix 4). Unfortunately we failed to elicit other terms which could further inform us on the matter. The following is a partial list of some additional loanwords with geminate vowels, drawn from a draft Cia-Cia dictionary compiled by a native speaker (Abidin 2015).

<i>haragaa</i> ‘price’	< Malay <i>harga</i> < Sanskrit <i>argha</i>
<i>arabaa</i> ‘Wednesday’	< Malay <i>Arbaa</i> < Arabic <i>al-arba</i> ‘ā’
<i>banaa</i> ‘spool, string’	< Malay <i>benang</i> < PWMP <i>*bənaŋ</i> ¹²
<i>gataa</i> ‘rubber’	< Malay <i>getah</i> < PWMP <i>*gətəq</i> ¹³
<i>patee</i> ‘stink bean’	< Malay <i>petai</i> ¹⁴
<i>see</i> ‘cent’	< Malay <i>sen</i> < Dutch <i>cent</i>
<i>sakusii</i> ‘witness’	< Malay <i>saksi</i> < Sanskrit <i>sākṣi(n)</i>
<i>roo</i> ‘skirt’	< Malay <i>rok</i> < Dutch <i>rok</i>

¹² Although ultimately of native Austronesian provenance, /a/ in the penultimate syllable and final long vowel indicate borrowing.

¹³ Although ultimately of native Austronesian provenance, /a/ in the penultimate syllable and final long vowel indicate borrowing.

¹⁴ A kind of plant (*Parkia* sp.) with edible beans. Whilst an etymology for Malay *petai* is unknown, /a/ in the penultimate syllable and final long vowel in the Cia-Cia form indicate borrowing.

<i>raboo</i> ‘bamboo shoot’	< Malay <i>rebung</i> < PMP * <i>rəbuŋ</i> ¹⁵
<i>saputuu</i> ‘Saturday’	< Malay <i>Sabtu</i> , <i>Saptu</i> < Arabic <i>as-sabt</i>
<i>wakutuu</i> ‘time’	< Malay <i>waktu</i> < Arabic <i>waqt</i>
<i>paraluu</i> ‘need’	< Malay <i>perlu</i> < Arabic <i>perdu</i>

Because Abidin leaves glottal stop unrepresented throughout his dictionary, we cannot tell by this source whether these forms have an intercalated glottal stop or not. In a future study some or all of these forms could be elicited across the Butonic language area to check for presence or absence glottal stop between like vowels.

6.7 Labial fricative

Sanjoko (2015:62) indicates that the bilabial fricative is voiceless in Lasalimu, while Hanan (2012:90 ff.; 2013:73) indicates that it is voiceless (ɸ) in Gonda Baru. While we found some (subphonemic) variation in whether this sound was bilabial or labio-dental, in no location did we record it as voiceless. Orthographically this sound can be written unproblematically as *w* throughout the Butonic language area.

6.8 Nasal-sibilant sequence *ns* versus *nc*

There was probably some natural, subphonemic variation across the Butonic area whether the nasal-sibilant combination had a ‘soft’ [ns] articulation or a ‘hard’ [nɲ] articulation, a situation not unfamiliar in other parts of Sulawesi such as Bobongko (Mead 2001:67) and Uma (Martens 2014:1). It is one of the features which distinguishes Taa from other Pamona dialects (Martens 1997), Kulawi from Lindu (Adriani and Esser 1939 I:8, III:1), and closer to home also Wolio from Kamaru. Compare:

Wolio	Kamaru	
<i>lenci</i>	<i>lensi</i>	‘tail’
<i>nginci</i>	<i>nginsi</i>	‘tooth’
<i>muncu</i>	<i>ngunsu</i>	‘snout’
<i>kancili</i>	<i>kansili</i>	‘pinky finger’
<i>incia</i>	<i>isia</i>	‘he, she, they’
<i>mincuana</i>	<i>mensuana</i>	‘not’ (ascriptive negator)

Our information on this variation in Butonic languages is thin, and we limit our presentation to noting only a few words where we encountered differences.

¹⁵ Although ultimately of native Austronesian provenance, /a/ in the penultimate syllable and final long vowel indicate borrowing. We ourselves recorded *raboo* (with unimploded voiced stop and no intercalated glottal stop) in Lapandewa, Wali, Masiri and Kumbewaha. Compare via direct inheritance Wasambua *χobu*, Lasalimu *robu*, Kaisabu *lobu* (this last exhibits irregular shift of *r > l).

- *kansili ~ kancili* ‘pinky finger’

We recorded the response for ‘pinky finger’ as *kansili* in Wali and Lasalimu, and as *kancili* in Lapandewa, Masiri, Wasambua, Wakole, Wolowa, and Kumbewaha. Kaisabu has similar *kaincili* (with excrement *i*).

- *gonso ~ gonco* ‘throat, neck’

We recorded *gonso* as the word for ‘throat’ in Wali, elsewhere *gonco* predominates, including Lapandewa, Bahari, Masiri, Kaisabu, Wakole, and Kumbewaha. In a further set of lects *gonco* has apparently shifted in meaning to ‘neck’ (see word list no. 018), including Gonda Baru, Karya Baru, Gunung Sejuk and Wabula. Compare Wolio *gonco* ‘throat, pharynx, larynx’ (Anceaux 1987:38).

- *ngunsu ~ nguncu* ‘labial circle; beak, bill; nipple, teat’

ngunsu was recorded in Lasalimu as the word for ‘labial circle, external mouth area’ (word list no. 012) and in Wali as the word for ‘beak, bill’ and ‘nipple, teat’ (*ngunsuno cici*). In certain other locations the form was recorded as *nguncu*, including Lapandewa, Kaongkeongkea, Masiri, Wasambua, Wakole, Wolowa, and Kumbewaha. Kaisabu has instead *muncu*, borrowed from Wolio.

- *konusu ~ konuncu* ‘fingernail’

The usual word for ‘fingernail’ is *konusu* or *kunusu*, except in Wabula and Kase where we recorded the response as *konuncu* (western Cia-Cia lects and Kaisabu have *konisi* or *kunisi*) (see word list no. 021). This suggests that, at least in Wabula and Kase, when *s* is prenasalized it naturally has a ‘hard’ (affricate) articulation.

- *mansuana ~ mancuana* ‘old (of persons)’

The form *mancuana* predominates across the survey area; the form *mansuana*, with [ns], was recorded only in Lasalimu, Wali, Wagola, and Kondowa. See item no. 169 in the appended word lists. These forms are borrowed from Wolio *mancuana* ‘old’.

Despite the small amount of data, one can still draw certain generalizations. First *ns* is a relatively infrequent consonant sequence in Butonic languages. In our data it is found only in the Lasalimu, Wali, Wagola and Kondowa lects, although it may also exist in other locations where we did not collect data (or also in Kase, where our data are silent). Elsewhere it developed (or naturally had) a ‘hard’ (affricate) articulation and merged with *nc* sequences that originated from the affricatization of *t* that occurred preceding high vowels (§ 6.2). Kaisabu on the other hand retains a contrast between *nc* and *nt* as the latter never underwent affricatization. Figure 17 illustrates these three pathways of development. As concrete examples we also give the reflexes of three protoforms, **kansili* ‘pinky finger’, **mobunti* ‘full, satiated’, and **munte* ‘citrus’.

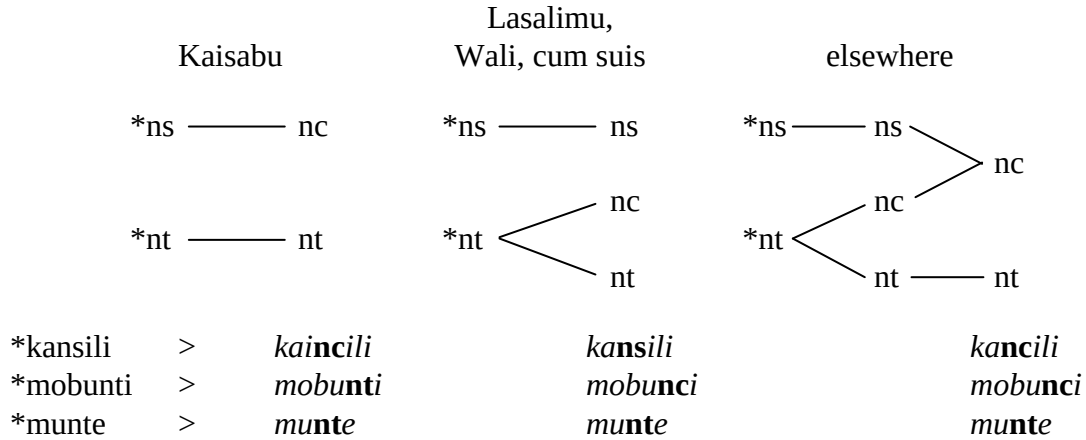


Figure 17. Historical sources and development of *ns*, *nc* and *nt* in Butonic lects.

6.9 Adjectives with *ka-* versus *mo-*

An interesting feature of these word lists is encountered in the adjectives. Although not a hard and fast rule, in three lects—Rongi, Kaongkeongkea, and Lapandewa—adjectives were more often than not elicited with the prefix *ka-*, whereas in other lects adjectives were usually elicited with the prefix *mo-* (also realized as a syllabic *m̥-*, *m-* onset, or a homorganic nasal). An example of this is Rongi, Kaongkeongkea and Lapadewa *kacuka* ‘hard’ versus *mocuka*, *m̥cuka*, *mcuka*, and *ncuka* elsewhere in the Cia-Cia area (word list no. 194). Additional examples can be gleaned from Appendix 4, items 161 through 206.

The implications this has outside the context of word list elicitation—for example for grammar, speaking, writing, or the preferred citation forms of words in a dictionary—is currently not clear.

7 Conclusions

7.1 Languages and dialects

The purpose of this survey was to determine the dialect situation in Cia-Cia. From the perspective of lexicostatistics, the main Cia-Cia language area comprises a western dialect and a central-eastern dialect complex (more on this below). We also collected data in six ‘northern tier’ communities which stand further apart from from Cia-Cia.

We consider Wasambua to be a third, outlier dialect of Cia-Cia. On average it is 76% lexically similar with western Cia-Cia lects, and 71% lexically similar with central-eastern lects.

Kaisabu is 74% lexically similar with Wasambua and on average 69% lexically similar with other Cia-Cia lects. From the perspective of historical sound change Kaisabu is

conservative. It retains *t* whereas this sound shifted to an affricate before high vowels in other Butonic lects (e.g. Kaisabu *titi* ‘breast’ elsewhere *cici*, see further § 6.2), and lacks intercalated glottal stops (e.g. Kaisabu *kuu* ‘mushroom’, elsewhere *kuʔu*, see further § 6.6). In the current edition of the Ethnologue, Kaisabu is listed as a dialect of Cia-Cia. However because of reported low intelligibility—Cia-Cia respondents considered Kaisabu to be as difficult to understand as Muna and Tukung Besi—we propose that Kaisabu be elevated to separate language.

Prior to this study Kumbewaha was regarded as a separate language, and we see no reason to overturn this status. However the present study reveals that Kumbewaha is more dialectally complex than had heretofore been recognized. Wolowa should be considered a distinct dialect of Kumbewaha. A third lect, Wakole, is probably best regarded as a subdialect of Wolowa. Lexical similarity scores (Wakole-Wolowa 87%, Wakole-Kumbewaha 78%) could indicate that it is a third dialect; however these low scores could just as well be the artefact of a poorly collected word list rather than reflective of actual differences.

Prior to this study Lasalimu was regarded as a separate language, and we see no reason to overturn this status. Lexically Lasalimu is the most divergent of all Butonic lects (73% to 64% lexically similar with Kumbewaha lects, 59% to 54% with all other Butonic lects). Nonetheless historical sound change clearly points to Lasalimu being a Butonic language (§ 6.1). It should *not* be joined with Kamaru or with nearby Pancana lects as has sometimes been proposed (§ 2.2).

As stated previously, the core Cia-Cia language area divides into a western dialect and a central-eastern dialect complex. Within both of these areas a number of subdialects can be recognized.

Western dialect. The western dialect is spoken in the southern portions of the Batauga and Sampolawa districts. It is represented in our survey by word lists collected in Masiri, Bola, Bangun, and Mambulu. In consultation with La Ode Abidin, compiler of a Cia-Cia dictionary who is from this area, we suggest that at least three subdialects be recognized within the western area. Following the coast counterclockwise, these are *Masiri* (spoken in Masiri and Majapahit), *Pogalampa* (spoken in Lampanairi, Bola, Pogalampa, Bangun, and Wawoangi) and *Mambulu* (spoken in Katilombu, Jaya Bakti, and Todombulu). Wawoangi has some peculiarities unique to itself and could possibly be recognized as a distinct subdialect, but this requires further investigation.

Central-eastern dialect, cluster 1: Following the coast past the mouth of the Sampolawa River, the next villages one comes to are Tira, Bahari, and Lande. These villages compose what could be called the *Wapulaka* subdialect (a traditional name for this area). The variety spoken in Bahari is recognized as being close to that of the two island dialects, *Wali* (on the southern half of Binongko Island) and *Batu Atas*, which also clearly belong to this cluster. Wapulaka may thus represent the homeland area from where speakers

spread to Binongko and Batu Atas.¹⁶ To the east of Tira, Bahari, and Lande, the village of Burangasi is located in the sothern part of the Lapandewa district, but occupies an interior rather than a coastal lication. Nonetheless from the viewpoint of lexicostatistics *Burangasi* also belongs to this cluster.

Central-eastern dialect, cluster 2: Separating Burangasi from villages further to the east is a high ridge. At the time we conducted our survey this ridge could only be crossed on foot. After passing over this ridge and descending to the coast, the first village one arrives at is Wabula. From Wabula one can travel by coastal road to the town of Pasarwajo.

In the coastal stretch from Wabula to Pasarwajo several subdialects can be recognized, and even then we still don't know whether we have captured the full range of the linguistic diversity in this area: *Wabula*, *Kase*, *Holimombo* (purportedly represented by our Liwumpacu and Wagola lists), *Kondowa*, and *Takimpo*. It should be noted that four sound changes cut across this area: loss of *l (§ 6.3), shift of *r to a back fricative (§ 6.4), intercalation of glottal stop (§ 6.6), and phonetic realization of the nasal-sibilant sequence (§ 6.8). Although we do not repeat those discussions here, representative lexemes which illustrate each of these changes are given in the first four columns of Table 9. One of the generally recognized features of the Takimpo dialect is the use of *taina* as the word for 'no', versus *cia* throughout most of the rest of the Cia-Cia language area. However *taina* is also used in the Wagola, Kondowa and Kase lects; see the last column of Table 9 and also Figure 14 on page 25.

	'cloud'	'blood'	'house'	'old'	'no'
Takimpo	olu	ɤea	kana	mancuana	taina
Wagola	olu	ʕea	kaana	mansuana	taina
Kondowa	ou	ɤea	kaana	mansuana	taina
Liwumpacu	olu	rea	kaana	mancuana	<i>cia</i>
Kase	olu	rea	kaʔana	—	taina
Wabula	olu	rea	kaʔana	mancuana	<i>cia</i>

Table 9. Selected lexemes from cluster 2 lects.

Immediately to the north of Takimpo are three villages, Kombeli, Awainulu, and Laburunci. We were told the inhabitants of these villages speak the Laporo dialect (see further below). Beyond Laburunci there are reportedly additional Takimpo speakers in Banabungi, Pasarwajo proper, and Kambulambulana. However during the course of this survey we didn't collect data in any of these villages. Beyond Kambulambulana

¹⁶ The close relationship of these two 'island' dialects is generally recognized. On Batu Atas we even heard tales of how the two islands, Batu Atas and Binongko, were at one time a single island, in fact the first land to appear anywhere above the surface of the ocean, and thus the place whence all humanity originated. Going along with this is a belief that Batu Atas–Wali was the original language of the world.

commences an area where the coastal strip has been settled by recent migrants, including Cia-Cia migrants from various dialect areas (see Appendix 2), with the possible exceptions of Wasaga and Kancinaa. These two villages were reported to us as Wabula-speaking, but according to Abdullah et al. (1991:9) they have their own though nearly extinct dialect.

Central-eastern dialect, cluster 3: Our third cluster comprises the six interior villages of Lipu Mangau, Gunung Sejuk, Hendea, Gonda Baru, Bugi, and Karya Baru. These villages are located in the watershed of the Sampolawa river albeit in two different districts (Sampolawa and Sorawolio). These villages constitute part of the *Laporo* subdialect area, which appears to be geographically discontinuous as this dialect is also spoken on the outskirts of the town of Pasarwajo (reportedly Kombeli, Awainulu, Laburunci, Lapodi, and Warinta villages).

The sound *r* shifted to a back fricative in Lipu Mangau (Konisi 1999) as well as the three lects where we collected data: Gunung Sejuk, Gonda Baru and Karya Baru (§ 6.4). However the Laporo-speaking villages of Kombeli and Awainulu (south of Pasarwajo) were reported to us as retaining this sound as an apical trill.

How the Laporo attained their present locations also requires further investigation. A 1964 U.S. Army map locates Gonda and Bugi further east than their present locations. Van den Berg (1991c:306) too referred to Gonda village as located in the Pasarwajo district, although no village by that name is found there today—only Gonda Baru (‘New Gonda’) in the Sorawolio district. These data suggest a relatively recent westward migration.

Central-eastern dialect, cluster 4: This is the ‘loosest’ of our four recognized clusters. The *Lapandewa* subdialect is spoken in the southern portion of the area. In the northern portion is the *Wakaokili* subdialect spoken in Waanguangu and Kaongkeongkea villages. South of Kaongkeongkea in the direction of Lapandewa lies the village of *Rongi*. In our analysis Kaongkeongkea and Rongi are the most divergent lects of the central-eastern cluster. In fact one can suppose they stand at one end of a dialect chain that runs across the core Cia-Cia language area until reaching its other end at Masiri.

One potential reason for uniting Lapandewa with Rongi and Kaongkeongkea as a cluster is that adjectives in these lects were consistently elicited with the prefix *ka-*, see § 6.9.

Of all the dialects and subdialects of the core Cia-Cia language area, during the course of this survey we found no evidence to indicate one of them was more prestigious than another. One of the questions we asked on the sociolinguistic questionnaire to get at this notion was: “If one dialect of Cia-Cia were to be chosen for radio broadcasts or books, which one should it be?” The consistent response was people either demurred to answer, or they chose their own dialect.

7.2 Survey shortcomings

Although we had set out to survey the entire Cia-Cia language area, in hindsight it is clear that we failed in certain areas. In particular the northern part of the Pasarwajo district was inadequately covered. For completeness we should have included one or more word lists from the northern Takimpo area (Banabungi, Pasarwajo, or Kambulambulana) and at least two word lists from the eastern Laporo area (one from Kombeli, Awainulu, or Laburunci, another from Lapodi or Warinta). We should also have attempted to collect a word list in Wasaga or Kancinaa that was representative of the speech of the original inhabitants (and not the more recent Cia-Cia migrants who mostly populate these villages).

Despite these shortcomings, we hope that we have managed to shed some light on the Cia-Cia dialect situation, and that this study will serve as a springboard for further research and development of the Cia-Cia language.

References

- Abdullah, Mustafa; Sjahrudin Kaseng, Said Mursalin, Kulla Lagousi, and Zalili Sailan. 1991. *Struktur bahasa Cia-cia*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Abidin. 2015. *Kamus Ciacia – Indonesia*. Edisi percobaan ke-1. Unpublished typescript, iii, 204 pages.
- Adriani, N.; and S. J. Esser. 1939. *Koelawische taalstudiën*. 3 parts. (Bibliotheca Celebica, I II III.) Bandoeng: Nix.
- Alirman, La Ode. 2010. Bahasa Cia-Cia dalam peradaban di lingkungannya. Paper presented at the Kongres Internasional Bahasa-Bahasa Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara, Baubau, July 18–20.
- Anceaux, J. C. 1978. The linguistic position of South-east Sulawesi: A preliminary outline. *Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics: Proceedings, fascicle 1: Western Austronesian* (Pacific Linguistics, C-61), edited by S. A. Wurm and Lois Carrington, 275-283. Canberra: Australian National University. [Reproduced online. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15144/PL-C61.275>.]
- Anceaux, J. C. 1987. *Wolio dictionary (Wolio – English – Indonesian)*. Dordrecht: Holland.

Anceaux, J. C. 2016. *Southeast Sulawesi word lists*. Keyboarded and with an introduction by David Mead. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 3.) Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/003> (accessed July 28, 2017).

Andersen, T. David. 2006. Suku bahasa di Sulawesi Tenggara. Typescript, 12 pages. Kendari: Kerjasama Summer Institute of Linguistics Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat SULTRA.

Army Map Service. 1964. *Butung (Baubau), Indonesia*. Colorized map, scale: 1:250,000. Series T503, reference SB 51-6. Washington, DC: Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army. [Reproduced online. URL: <http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ams/indonesia/txu-oclc-21752461-sb51-6.jpg> (accessed November 4, 2020).]

Berg, Rene van den. 1991a. Muna dialects and Munc languages: Towards a reconstruction. *VICAL 2: Western Austronesian and contact languages: Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Auckland, New Zealand, 1991*, edited by Ray Harlow, 21–51. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

Berg, Ren"e van den. 1991b. Muna historical phonology. *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics, part II* (NUSA Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia, 33) edited by J. N. Sneddon, 3–28. Jakarta: Lembaga Bahasa, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya.

Berg, René van den. 1991c. Preliminary notes on the Cia-Cia language (South Buton). *Excursies in Celebes: Een bundel bijdragen bij het afscheid van J. Noorduyt als directeur-secretaris van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 147), edited by Harry A. Poeze and Pim Schoorl, 305–324. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.

Berg, René van den. December 2001. Proto Muna-Buton etyma. Version 1c. Unpublished typescript, 16 pp.

Berg, René van den. 2003. The place of Tukang Besi and the Muna-Buton languages. *Issues in Austronesian historical phonology* (Pacific Linguistics, 550), edited by John Lynch, 87–113. Canberra: Australian National University. [Reproduced online. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15144/PL-550.87>.]

Berg, René van den. 2020. *The Busoa language of Southeast Sulawesi: Grammar sketch, texts, vocabulary*. (SIL Language and Culture Documentation and Description, 48.) Dallas: SIL International. Online. URL: <https://www.sil.org/resources/publications/entry/86202> (accessed November 3, 2020).

Bhurhanuddin, B. H. 1979. Bahasa-bahasa daerah di Sulawesi Tenggara. Unpublished typescript, 60 pp.

- Blair, Frank. 1990. *Survey on a shoestring: A manual for small-scale language surveys*. (SIL International Publications in Linguistics, 96.) Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.
- Blust, Robert. 1990a. Patterns of sound change in the Austronesian languages. *Linguistic change and reconstruction methodology* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 45), edited by Philip Baldi, 231–267. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Boone, Douglas W. 2007. On the uses of word lists and the implications for surveyors. Unpublished typescript, 9 pages.
- Donohue, Mark. 2004. The pretenders to the Muna-Buton group. *Papers in Austronesian subgrouping and dialectology* (Pacific Linguistics, 563), edited by John Bowden and Nikolaus Himmelmann, 21–35. Canberra: Australian National University. [Reproduced online. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15144/PL-563.21>.]
- Firman A. D. 2012. Bahasa Lasalimu-Kamaru: Dulu, kini, dan masa depan. *Aspek-aspek bahasa daerah di Sulawesi bagian selatan*, edited by Masao Yamaguchi, 43–62. Kyoto: Hokuto Publishing.
- Firman A. D. 2016. Meneropong eksistensi bahasa Lasalimu-Kamaru di pulau Puton. *Pemberdayaan bahasa dan sastra daerah Sulawesi Tenggara dalam membangun karakter masyarakat multikultur (prosiding seminar nasional)*, edited by Sandra Safitri Hanan and Firman A. D., 205–215. Kendari: Kantor Bahasa Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Firman A. D. 2017. Bahasa Lasalimu-Kamaru: Kajian dialektologi. *Telaga Bahasa* 5(1):17–36.
- Friberg, Timothy (ed.) 1987. *UNHAS-SIL: South Sulawesi sociolinguistic surveys, 1983–1987*. (Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures, 5.) Ujung Pandang: Summer Institute of Linguistics. [Reproduced online. URL: <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/61302> (accessed August 4, 2017).]
- Friberg, Timothy (ed.) 1991. *UNHAS-SIL: More Sulawesi sociolinguistic surveys, 1987–1991*. (Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures, 11.) Ujung Pandang: Summer Institute of Linguistics. [Reproduced online. URL: <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/61262> (accessed August 4, 2017).]
- Grimes, Charles E. and Barbara D. Grimes. 1987. Languages of South Sulawesi. (Pacific Linguistics, D-78.) Canberra: Australian National University. [Reproduced online. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15144/PL-D78>.]
- Grimes, Joseph. 1992. Correlations between vocabulary similarity and intelligibility. *Windows on bilingualism* (Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington, Publications in Linguistics 110), edited by Eugene H. Casad, 17–32. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. [Originally published 1988. *Notes on Linguistics* 41:19–

33. Dallas: SIL.] [Reproduced online. URL: <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/8408> (accessed June 5, 2017).]

Hanan, Sandra Safitri. 2012. Bahasa Cia-Cia: Dulu, kini, dan masa depan. *Aspek-aspek bahasa daerah di Sulawesi bagian selatan*, edited by Masao Yamaguchi, 87–101. Kyoto: Hokuto Publishing.

Hanan, Sandra Safitri. 2013. Karakteristik fonologi bahasa Cia-Cia. *Fonologi bahasa daerah di pulau Sulawesi bagian selatan*, edited by Masao Yamaguchi, Adri and Cho Tae Young, 65–79. Kyoto: Hokuto Publishing.

Hanan, Sandra Safitri. 2014. Genealogi bahasa Ciacia. Doctoral thesis. Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta.

Kaiping, Gereon A.; Owen Edwards, and Marian Klamer (eds.). 2019. *LexiRumah 3.0.0*. Leiden: Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. Online. URL: <https://lexirumah.model-ling.eu/lexirumah/>, accessed February 7, 2020.

Kaseng, Syahrudin; Alimuddin D. P., Andi Mahmuddin, and Rasdiana P. 1983. *Pemetaan bahasa di Sulawesi Tenggara*. Ujung Pandang: Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan daerah Sulawesi Selatan.

Kaseng, Syahrudin; Alimuddin D. P., Andi Mahmuddin, and Rasdiana P. 1987. *Pemetaan bahasa-bahasa di Sulawesi Tenggara*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Konisi, La Yani. 1999. Konstruksi verba aktif-pasif bahasa Cia Liwungau. Master's thesis, Program Pascasarjana, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung.

Konisi, La Yani; and Ahid Hidayat. 2001. Analisis kategori kata bahasa Cia Liwungau. Research report, vii, 62 pp. Kendari: Unit Belajar Jarak Jauh, Universitas Terbuka. Available online at the e-Library, Universitas Terbuka. URL: <http://pustaka.ut.ac.id/puslata/?menu=digital> (accessed February 15, 2015).

Laidig, Wyn D.; and Sahabu Dg. Maingak. 1999. Barang-barang phonology: A preliminary description. *Studies in Sulawesi linguistics, part VI* (NUSA: Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia, 46), edited by Wyn D. Laidig, 46–83. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya.

Lauder, Multamia R. M. T.; Ayatrohaedi, Frans Asisi Datang, Hans Lapoliwa, Buha Aritonang, Ferry Feirizal, Sugiyono, Non Martis, Wati Kurniawati, and Hidayatul Astar. 2000. *Penelitian kekerabatan dan pemetaan bahasa-bahasa daerah di Indonesia: Propinsi Sulawesi Tenggara*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.) 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 18th edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online. URL: <http://www.ethnologue.com/> (accessed June 6, 2015).
- Mann, Noel; and Linda Markowski. 2005. *A rapid appraisal survey of Kuy dialects spoken in Cambodia*. (SIL Electronic Survey Reports, 2005-018.) Dallas: SIL International. Online. URL: <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/9014> (accessed August 4, 2017).
- Martens, Michael P. 1989. Swadesh 100- and 200-wordlists on the Sulawesi Umbrella Wordlist (488 items). *Bits and Pieces* (December):29–33.
- Martens, Michael P. 1997. Proto Kaili-Pamona: Reconstruction of the protolanguage of a language subgroup in Sulawesi. Unpublished computer file.
- Martens, Michael P. 2014. *Uma dialect word lists*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 1). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/001> (accessed September 15, 2020).
- Mead, David. 2001. A preliminary sketch of the Bobongko language. *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics, part VII* (NUSA Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia, 49), edited by Wyn D. Laidig, 61–94. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri Nusa, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya.
- Mead, David. 2017a. *Kaisabu word list and notes*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 5). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/005> (accessed August 31, 2017).
- Mead, David. 2017b. *Kumbewaha word lists and notes*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 7). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/007> (accessed August 31, 2017).
- Mead, David. 2017c. *Wasambua word list, notes, and sample text*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 4). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/004> (accessed August 31, 2017).
- Mead, David. 2017d. *Wolowa word lists*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 8). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/008> (accessed August 31, 2017).
- Mead, David. 2018. *Lasalimu word list and notes*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 6). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/006> (accessed August 31, 2019).
- Mead, David. 2020a. *Kambowa word list and notes*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 9). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/009> (accessed August 28, 2020).

Mead, David. 2020b. *Taaloki word list and notes*. (Sulang Language Data and Working Papers: Word Lists, 11). Sulawesi Language Alliance. Online. URL: <http://sulang.org/resources/word-lists/011> (accessed August 28, 2020).

Monografi Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara. [1975]. [Jakarta]: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan, Ditjen. Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI. [216 pp.]

Nazar, Asrul; Hamzah A. Machmoed, and Muhammad Nurlatif. 2016. Rekonstruksi fonem proto kelompok bahasa Ciacia: Linguistik historis komparatif. *Pemberdayaan bahasa dan sastra daerah Sulawesi Tenggara dalam membangun karakter masyarakat multikultur (prosiding seminar nasional)*, edited by Sandra Safitri Hanan and Firman A. D., 227–236. Kendari: Kantor Bahasa Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Pusat Bahasa. 2008. *Bahasa dan peta bahasa di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

Samarin, William. 1967. *Field linguistics: A guide to linguistic field work*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Sanjoko, Yohanis. 2015. Perbandingan karakteristik fonem bahasa Indonesia dengan bahasa Lasalimu. *Kandai* 11(1):55–67.

Smith, Kenneth D. 1984. The languages of Sabah: A tentative lexicostatistical classification. *Languages of Sabah: A survey report* (Pacific Linguistics, C-78), edited by Julie K. King and John Wayne King, 1–49. Canberra: Australian National University. [Reproduced online. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15144/PL-C78.1>.]

Tim Pemetaan Bahasa. 2017. *Bahasa dan peta bahasa di Indonesia*, 2nd edition. Jakarta: Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa.

Appendix 1: Administrative divisions

Cia-Cia, Kaisabu, Kumbewaha and Lasalimu are spoken in the city (*kota madya*) of Baubau and in the regencies (*kabupaten*) of Buton, South Buton and Wakatobi.

Table A1 is a list of these second-level administrative divisions along with their third-level divisions or districts (*kecamatan*). At the time that this survey was conducted, Baubau and Wakatobi comprised eight districts each, while Buton and South Buton comprised seven districts. The maps in the third column are links. Click on the map to visit an internet page where a larger map can be viewed or downloaded.

Baubau City	Lea-Lea	
	Bungi	
	Sorawolio	
	Kokalukuna	
	Wolio	
	Murhum	
	Batu Poaro	
	Betoambari	
Buton Regency	Kapontori	
	Lasalimu	
	Lasalimu Selatan	
	Siotapina	
	Wolowa	
	Pasarwajo	
	Wabula	
South Buton Regency	Lapandewa	
	Sampolawa	
	Batauga	
	Batu Atas	
	Siompu	
	Siompu Barat	
	Kadatua	
Wakatobi Regency	Wangi-Wangi	
	Wangi-Wangi Selatan	
	Tomia	
	Tomia Timur	
	Kaledupa	
	Kaledupa Selatan	
	Binongko	
	Togo Binongko	

Table A1. Second- and third-level administrative divisions in the survey area.

Appendix 2: Distribution of languages and dialects

In this appendix we present our best estimate of the village-by-village distribution of languages and dialects in the survey area. This picture is coarse grained, as often our information was collected outside of the area with little or no attempt to verify or crosscheck the reports we were receiving.

District names, followed by the name of the regency (or city) to which it belongs, are given in bold capital letters. An asterisk preceding the name of a village means that we collected a word list in that location. The second column indicates whether the village is administratively a *desa* (rural village) or a *kelurahan* (urban village or ward). Latitude (south) and longitude (east) are given in the third and fourth columns, if collected during the course of this survey.

The fifth column gives our notes concerning what languages and/or dialects are spoken in that village. In this column we also use color coding: **purple** for the core Cia-Cia language area, **red** for one of the northern tier Butonic lects (see § 4 as well as Figure 5 in the body of this paper), **green** for a Pancanic lect (simply noted during the course of the survey, but no data was collected from these locations), and **blue** for Busoa and the closely related Kambe-kambero lect (Van den Berg 1991:44–45, 2020). All other languages are given in normal font. ‘Exodus from Ambon’ is not a linguistic category per se but refers to people who fled (returned) to Buton Island during a period sectarian violence in the Maluku Islands from 1999 to 2001. ‘Cia-Cia Sampolawa’ as used below means one of the western subdialects (Mambulu, Poogalampa, Masiri). ‘Wakatobi’ refers to a Tukang Besi dialect, sometimes further specified according to island of origin (Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomea, Binongko).

name of village	desa / kelurahan	latitude	longitude	notes
SORAWOLIO, BAUBAU CITY				
* Kaisabu Baru	kelurahan	5° 28.513'	122° 41.204'	Wolio, Pancana , Kaisabu
* Karya Baru	kelurahan	5° 29.370'	122° 42.247'	Cia-Cia Laporo
Bugi	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Laporo
* Gonda Baru	kelurahan	5° 28.625'	122° 43.714'	Cia-Cia Laporo
BATU ATAS, SOUTH BUTON				
Batu Atas Timur	desa	6° 12.357'	122° 43.125'	Cia-Cia Batu Atas
Tolando Jaya	desa			Cia-Cia Batu Atas
Wambongi	desa			Cia-Cia Batu Atas
Batu Atas Barat	desa			Cia-Cia Batu Atas
* Batu Atas Liwu	desa	6° 12.149'	122° 41.022'	Cia-Cia Batu Atas
Taduala	desa			Cia-Cia Batu Atas
Wacuala	desa			Cia-Cia Batu Atas

BINONGKO, WAKATOBI				
Taipabu	kelurahan	5° 55.260'	123° 58.309'	Wakatobi Binongko
Makoro	desa			Wakatobi Binongko
Palahidu Barat	desa	5° 53.583'	124° 0.847'	Wakatobi Binongko
Palahidu	kelurahan	5° 54.488'	124° 2.265'	Wakatobi Binongko
Rukuwa ¹⁷	kelurahan	5° 54.288'	124° 2.130'	Wakatobi Binongko
Wakarumende ¹⁸	desa	5° 55.736'	124° 2.929'	Cia-Cia Wali
One Laro ¹⁹	desa	5° 56.558'	124° 3.312'	Cia-Cia Wali
Jaya Makmur	desa			Cia-Cia Wali
* Wali ²⁰	kelurahan	5° 58.343'	124° 3.992'	Cia-Cia Wali
TOGO BINONGKO, WAKATOBI				
Popalia ²¹	kelurahan			Wakatobi Binongko
Oihu	desa			Cia-Cia Wali
Sowa	kelurahan			Wakatobi Binongko
Mole	desa			Cia-Cia Wali
Haka	desa			Cia-Cia Wali
Waloini	desa			Wakatobi Binongko
BATAUGA, SOUTH BUTON				
Lawela Induk	desa	5° 32.696'	122° 35.998'	Muna Gumas
Lawela Selatan	desa			Muna Gumas
Bandar Batauga	kelurahan			Wolio (for the most part)
Busoa	kelurahan	5° 35.057'	122° 35.744'	Cia-Cia Batu Atas, Busoa , ²² Muna, Wolio
* Lakambau	kelurahan	5° 36.381'	122° 35.808'	Cia-Cia Batu Atas, Wasambua , exodus from Ambon (Cia-Cia speaking) ²³
Laompo	kelurahan	5° 36.711'	122° 36.056'	Muna Gumas ²⁴
Molagina	kelurahan			exodus from Ambon
* Masiri	kelurahan	5° 39.344'	122° 37.022'	Cia-Cia Masiri, Kambe-kambero
Majapahit	kelurahan	5° 40.171'	122° 37.333'	Cia-Cia Masiri

¹⁷ District capital.

¹⁸ Unofficially known as Kampo-Kampo.

¹⁹ Unofficially known as Lagongga.

²⁰ To get to Wali, be sure to take a boat that docks at Rukuwa.

²¹ District capital.

²² According to Van den Berg (2020:1) there are also Busoa speakers in Lakambau.

²³ Batu Atas dialect spoken in kelingkungan Batu Atas and Bahari ; Wasambua spoken in kelingkungan Wasambua ; Ambon exodus spoken in kelingkungan Pasar Timur and Pasar Barat.

²⁴ The Muna dialect spoken in kelingkungan Burukene is slightly different but still “Gumas”.

Lampanairi	desa	5° 40.890'	122° 37.630'	Cia-Cia Poogalampa
* Bola	desa	5° 41.372'	122° 38.229'	Cia-Cia Poogalampa
Pogalampa	desa	5° 41.347'	122° 39.732'	Cia-Cia Poogalampa
SAMPOLAWA, SOUTH BUTON				
* Bangun	desa	5° 40.988'	122° 40.266'	Cia-Cia Poogalampa
Wawoangi	desa			Cia-Cia Poogalampa (Wawoangi)
Katilumbu	kelurahan	5° 38.338'	122° 41.747'	Cia-Cia Mambulu
* Jaya Bakti	kelurahan	5° 37.699'	122° 42.311'	Cia-Cia Mambulu
Todombulu	kelurahan	5° 37.091'	122° 42.515'	Cia-Cia Mambulu
Lipu Mangau	desa	5° 35.324'	122° 43.922'	Cia-Cia Laporo
* Gunung Sejuk	desa	5° 34.867'	122° 44.371'	Cia-Cia Laporo
* Sandang Pangan ²⁵	desa	5° 32.035'	122° 44.714'	Cia-Cia Rongi
Hendea	desa	5° 30.631'	122° 44.911'	Cia-Cia Laporo
* Tira	desa	5° 38.968'	122° 43.000'	Cia-Cia Wapulaka
* Bahari	desa	5° 40.816'	122° 42.893'	Cia-Cia Wapulaka
Bahari 2	desa			Cia-Cia Wapulaka
Bahari 3	desa			Cia-Cia Wapulaka
Gerak Makmur ²⁶	desa			Cia-Cia Wapulaka
Windu Makmur	desa			Cia-Cia (dialect unknown)
Watiginanda	desa			Cia-Cia (dialect unknown)
LAPANDEWA, SOUTH BUTON				
Lapandewa Makmur	desa			Cia-Cia Lapandewa
Lapandewa Kaindea	desa			Cia-Cia Lapandewa
* Lapandewa	desa	5° 38.832'	122° 47.230'	Cia-Cia Lapandewa
Lapandewa Jaya	desa			Cia-Cia Lapandewa
Gaya Baru ²⁷	desa			Cia-Cia Burangasi
* Burangasi	desa	5° 40.263'	122° 47.239'	Cia-Cia Burangasi
Burangasi Rumbia	desa			Cia-Cia Burangasi
WABULA, BUTON				
Wasuemba	desa			Cia-Cia Wabula
* Wabula I	desa	5° 36.754'	122° 51.416'	Cia-Cia Wabula 99%
Wabula Induk	desa	5° 36.329'	122° 51.690'	Cia-Cia Wabula
* Wasumpela ²⁸	desa	5° 35.020'	122° 52.580'	Cia-Cia Kase 99%

²⁵ Alternate name: Rongi.

²⁶ The village of Londe is located here, on the coast.

²⁷ Former name: Kalaliba.

Holimombo ²⁹	desa	5° 33.925'	122° 53.498'	Cia-Cia Wabula, Bajau ³⁰
* Koholimombona ³¹	desa	5° 33.237'	122° 53.503'	Cia-Cia Holimombo 99%
PASARWAJO, BUTON³²				
Holimombo Jaya ³³	desa	5° 32.078'	122° 53.830'	Cia-Cia Holimombo 50% Cia-Cia Burangasi 50%
* Kondowa	desa	5° 30.475'	122° 52.645'	Cia-Cia Kondowa 90% Cia-Cia Wabula 4% Binongko 4% others 2% (Wolio four households)
Dongkala	desa	5° 30.870'	122° 52.142'	Cia-Cia Wabula 50% Wakatobi Binongko 50%
* Wagola	kelurahan	5° 31.429'	122° 51.656'	Cia-Cia Holimombo 95% ³⁴ Cia-Cia Takimpo
* Takimpo	kelurahan	5° 31.766'	122° 50.829'	Cia-Cia Takimpo
Kombeli	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Laporo ³⁵
Awainulu	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Laporo ³⁶
Laburunci	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo ³⁷
Banabungi ³⁸	desa			Wolio (majority); Cia-Cia Takimpo, Cia-Cia Wabula
Pasarwajo	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Takimpo 60% Cia-Cia Wabula 15%
Kambula-mbulana	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Takimpo 70%
Saragi	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Burangasi
Wasaga ³⁹	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Wabula
Kahulungaya	kelurahan			Cia-Cia Wabula
Kancinaa	desa			Cia-Cia Wabula
* Kabawakole	desa	5° 26.202'	122° 53.979'	Cia-Cia Wabula, Wakole

²⁸ Unofficially known as Kase.

²⁹ Unofficially known as Tolando.

³⁰ This village has two divisions, Holimombo, which is Cia-Cia speaking, and Bajo Bahari which is Bajau speaking; the Cia-Cia here speak the Wabula dialect, even though they use the name Holimombo.

³¹ Unofficially known as Liwumpacu, sometimes shortened to Lipacu; this is the original “Holimombo”, the name Koholimombona was given by the Butonese Sultanate.

³² There are also Cia-Cia Sampolawa in Kecamatan Pasarwajo, but they don’t have their own village anywhere.

³³ Unofficially known as Belo.

³⁴ Here people use /s/; Holimombo speakers in Liwumpacu use /r/.

³⁵ Use /ɸ/.

³⁶ Use /r/.

³⁷ Use /r/.

³⁸ Formerly the site of a business undertaking that attracted outsiders.

³⁹ Formerly named Wakoko.

Mantowu	desa			Lambusango, Wolio
Winning ⁴⁰	desa			Lambusango, Wolio
Lapodi	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo, Cia-Cia Takimpo
Warinta	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo
Waanguangu	desa			Cia-Cia Wakaokili ⁴¹
* Kaongkeongkea ⁴²	desa	5° 28.181'	122° 45.164'	Cia-Cia Wakaokili
WOLOWA, BUTON				
Kaumbu ⁴³	desa	5° 26.292'	122° 54.318'	Cia-Cia Laporo
Galanti ⁴⁴	desa	5° 26.077'	122° 54.933'	Cia-Cia Laporo
Wolowa	desa	5° 25.735'	122° 56.584'	Cia-Cia Wabula
Bungi ⁴⁵	desa			Cia-Cia Sampolawa
Matawia	desa	5° 24.189'	122° 57.637'	Cia-Cia Burangasi, Cia-Cia Lapandewa
* Wolowa Baru	desa	5° 23.621'	122° 58.736'	Wolowa
Sukamaju ⁴⁶	desa			exodus from Ambon
SIOTAPINA, BUTON				
Walompo	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo 80%, Wolio 20%
Bahari Makmur ⁴⁷	desa			Bajau 100%
Matanauwe	desa			Cia-Cia Wabula
Sambuabalo	desa			Cia-Cia Sampolawa 100%
Gunung Jaya ⁴⁸	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo 90% Cia-Cia Wabula 10%
Kuraa ⁴⁹	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo 90% Cia-Cia Wabula 10%
Manuru	desa			Ambon exodus 80% Cia-Cia Laporo 10% Cia-Cia Wabula 10%
* Kumbewaha ⁵⁰	desa	5° 24.320'	123° 6.013'	Kumbewaha 60%, Bajo 20%, Cia-Cia mixed (Laporo, Sampolawa) 20%

⁴⁰ Sometimes spelled Wining.

⁴¹ Language differs from Kaongkeongkea, but more similar to it than to Hendea.

⁴² Former name Wakaokili.

⁴³ Name is articulated with glottal stop: Ka'umbu.

⁴⁴ Formerly part of Kaumbu village.

⁴⁵ Formerly part of Matawia village.

⁴⁶ Formerly part of Wolowa Baru village.

⁴⁷ Split off from Matanauwe; to reach this village follow the turn-off toward the coast after desa Walompo.

⁴⁸ Split off from Kuraa.

⁴⁹ Name is articulated with glottal stop Kura'a.

⁵⁰ Also referred to as Kanawa, and the Kumbewaha people as To Kanawa.

Karya Jaya	desa			Wakatobi Kaledupa
Sumber Sari	desa			Javanese transmigrants 100%
Labuandiri	desa			Pancana ⁵¹
LASALIMU SELATAN, BUTON				
Ambuau Indah ⁵²	desa	5° 19.130'	123° 9.908'	Cia-Cia Laporo, Wakatobi, Javanese, Balinese
Ambuau Togo	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo, Wakatobi
Megabahari	desa			Wakatobi, exodus from Ambon
Mopaano	desa			Wakatobi
Umalaoge	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo, Cia-Cia Wabula, Cia-Cia Burangasi, Wakatobi
* Lasalimu ⁵³	desa	5° 15.087'	123° 9.565'	Lasalimu , Wakatobi, Wolio, Kulisusu
Balimu ⁵⁴	desa			Bajau
Kinapani Makmur	desa			Cia-Cia Laporo, Wakatobi
Siomanuru	desa			Javanese, Balinese
Siontapina	desa			Wakatobi, Javanese
Rejo Sari ⁵⁵	desa			Javanese
Sangia Arano	desa			exodus from Ambon
Sumber Agung	desa			Javanese
Wajah Jaya	desa			(unknown)
Mulia Jaya	desa			Wakatobi, exodus from Ambon
Harapan Jaya	desa			Wakatobi, exodus from Ambon

⁵¹ The dialect of Pancana spoken here is said to be similar to that of Wasuamba in the Lasalimu district.

⁵² District capital.

⁵³ Officially Lasalimu, but informally called Lasalimu Pantai to distinguish it from Lasalimu district.

⁵⁴ Split from Lasalimu village; the name Balimu is blended from Bajo + Lasalimu.

⁵⁵ Split from Siontapina village.

Appendix 3: Pronouns and person markers

For independent pronouns in other Butonic lects see Appendix 4, word list items numbers 055 through 061, also Figure 14 in the main text. Information has been drawn from the following sources: Lapandewa dialect of Cia-Cia (Van den Berg 1991c:313); Wasambua (Mead 2017c:36ff.); Kaisabu (Mead 2017a:36ff.); Kumbewaha (Mead 2017b:35ff.); and Lasalimu (Van den Berg 2003:100, Mead 2018:34ff.). Batu Atas forms are from field notes.

	Cia-Cia Lapandewa	Cia-Cia Batu Atas	Cia-Cia Wasambua	Kaisabu	Kumbe- waha	Lasalimu
1SG	indaʔu	indaʔu	iaʔu	indaʔu	iaʔu	iaʔu
1PL.INCL	ingkita	ingkita	ingkita	ingkita	ikita	ikita
1PL.EXCL	isami	isami	isami	isami	isami	isami
2SG	(i)soʔo	isoʔo	isoʔo	isoo	isoʔo	isoʔo
2PL	isimiu	isimiu	isimiu	isomiu	isimiu	isimiu
3SG	ia	ia	oʔia, ia	oia	oʔia, ia	iʔia
3PL	moʔia	moʔia	mohoʔia	mangaya ^(a)	moʔia	moʔia

(a) from plural marker *manga* plus third person pronoun *ia*, similar to Wolio *manga incia* ‘they’

Table A2. Independent pronouns in six Butonic lects.

	Cia-Cia Lapandewa	Cia-Cia Batu Atas	Cia-Cia Wasambua	Kaisabu	Kumbe- waha	Lasalimu
1SG	o- / a-	u-, o- / a-	o- / a-	a-	a-	a-
1PL.INCL	to- / ta-	to- / ta-	to- / ta-	tao- / ta-	to-	to- / ta-
1PL.EXCL	to- / ta-	to, toka- / ta-, taka-	to- / ta-	ta-	to-	to- / ta-
2SG	mu-, mo- / cu-	mu- / cu-	Ø- / Ø-	so-	Ø-	u- / si-
2PL	ka- / cuka-	mu-, ka- / cu-, cuka-	Ø- / ka-	ka-	i-	i-
3SG	no- / na-	no- / na-	no- / na-	no- / na-	no-	no- / na-
3PL	no(ka)- / na(ka)	no- / na-	no- / na-	no- / na-	no-	no- / na-

Table A3. Subject markers in six Butonic lects.

	Cia-Cia Lapandewa	Cia-Cia Batu Atas	Cia-Cia Wasambua	Kaisabu	Kumbe- waha	Lasalimu
1SG	-aaʔu, -ʔu ^(a)	-aʔu	-aʔu	-aʔu	-aʔu	-aʔu
1PL.INCL	-kita	-kita	-kita	-kita	-kita	-kita
1PL.EXCL	-sami	-sami	-sami	-sami	-sami	-sami
2SG	-so	-so	-so	-so	-so	-so
2PL	-simiu	-simiu	-simiu	-somi	-simiu	-simiu
3SG	-ʔe, -e ^(b)	-e	-ʔe, -e ^(b)	-e	-ʔe	-ʔe
3PL	-ʔe, -e ^(b)	moʔia	-ʔe, -e ^(b)	-e	moʔia	-ʔe

(a) -ʔu follows stems ending in *a*, -aaʔu elsewhere.

(b) -e following stems ending in *i*, *u*; -ʔe elsewhere

Table A4. Object markers in six Butonic lects.

	Cia-Cia Lapandewa	Cia-Cia Batu Atas	Cia-Cia Wasambua	Kaisabu ^(b)	Kumbe- waha ^(c)	Lasalimu ^(a)
1SG	-ʔisaʔu	-saʔu ^(a)	-siaʔu, -sinaʔu	soindau	-ʔasinaʔu	-ʔasunaʔu
1PL.INCL	-ʔikita	-kita ^(a)	-ikita	soingkita	-kita	-ʔasokita
1PL.EXCL	-ʔisami	-sami ^(a)	-asami	soisami	-ʔasami	-ʔasosami
2SG	-ʔiso	nggaso isoʔo	-iso	soisoo	-ʔasoso	-ʔasoso
2PL	-ʔisimiu	nggaso isimiu	-isimiu, -asimiu	soisomiu	-ʔasimiu	-ʔasosimiu
3SG	-ʔisie	-sie ^(a)	-asine	soʔoia	-ʔasene	-ʔaseʔe
3PL	-ʔisie	-sie ^(a)	-asine	somangaya	-ʔasene	-ʔaso moʔia

(a) alternatively *nggaso* plus the corresponding independent pronoun

(b) formed from *so* plus the corresponding independent pronoun

(c) initial syllable *ʔa* deletes when following a stem ending in *a*, e.g. *ala-sinaʔu* ‘fetch for me’.

Table A5. Indirect object markers in six Butonic lects.

	Cia-Cia Lapandewa	Cia-Cia Batu Atas	Cia-Cia Wasambua	Kaisabu	Kumbe- waha	Lasalimu
1SG	-ʔu	-ʔu	-ʔu	-ʔu	-ʔu	-ʔu
1PL.INCL	-nto	-nto	-nto	-nto	-nto	-nto
1PL.EXCL	-mami	-mami	-mami	-mami	-mami	-mami
2SG	-mu, -mo	-mu	-mu	-mu	-mu	-mu
2PL	-miu	-miu	-miu	-miu	-miu	-miu
3SG	-no	-no	-no	-no	-no	-no
3PL	-no (moʔia)			-no (mangaya)	-no moʔia	

Table A6. Possessive markers in six Butonic lects.

Appendix 4: Word lists

During the course of the survey we collected word lists in twenty-seven locations across southern Buton Island, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Most of these word lists comprised 349 responses. The 349 items were selected especially for the Cia-Cia survey, therefore this list does not correspond to any previously used survey word list. However it includes all of the items of the Swadesh 100, 200 and 218 lists (as amended for the Austronesian context, see Martens 1989), the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary list, and Leipzig-Jakarta list.

An 844-item word list was collected in Wasambua, while 814-item lists were collected in the other northern tier lects (Kaisabu, Wakole, Wolowa, Kumbewaha, and Lasalimu) and in Masiri, Lapandewa, and Wali. However, in this appendix we report only the core 349 items. The full lists for the northern tier lects have already been published (Mead 2017a,b,c,d, 2018). In addition we are making all the word lists we collected available in their full forms in a companion Excel table.

Transcription and presentation of word list responses

We present responses using a phonemic transcription. Symbols have their expected IPA values with the following exceptions: the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ is symbolized in the word lists as *c* and the voiced affricate /dʒ/ is symbolized as *j*, while the approximant /j/ is symbolized as *y*.

(a) *Glottal stop*. Glottal stop is not symbolized in word-initial position. Nonetheless, with perhaps only a few exceptions, most words that are written as vowel initial can be assumed to begin with a hard (glottal stop) onset. In word medial position glottal stop is written wherever it was heard, even in cases where it may be automatically intercalated between like vowels. See further the discussion in § 6.6.

(b) *Stress*. Stress is not written on most words. It is predictable according to the following rules. These rules are illustrated here with data from Lasalimu, but they apply throughout the data set.

Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

mata	[ˈmata]	‘eye’
ontolu	[oˈntolu]	‘egg’
βoˈlaβo	[βoˈlaβo]	‘rat’
loˈkia	[loˈkia]	‘ginger’

When the first of two identical vowels in sequence receives stress, they are articulated as one long vowel.

luu	['lu:]	‘tear’ (from crying)
momaa	[mo'ma:]	‘to yawn’

Conversely, when the second of two like vowels is stressed, stress can be clearly heard on the second part:

kaancu	[ka'anʃu]	‘there’
--------	-----------	---------

Third person genitive *–no*, third person accusative *–e*, and other person and aspectual markers that occur in these data precipitate stress movement.

uβe	['ʔuβe]	‘water’
uβeno	[ʔu'βeno]	‘its water’

In longer words secondary stress can usually be heard on the fourth-from-the-last syllable. In words involving two-syllable reduplication, however, the first syllable of the reduplicated portion attracts secondary stress, whether it is the fourth- or fifth-from-the-last syllable. Note the following contrastive patterns:

kamia-mia	[ka,mia'mia]	‘reflection’
limba-limbaʔa	[,limbali'mbaʔa]	‘doorway’

In the few cases where it is not predictable according to one of these rules, stress is indicated.

(c) *Comments and multiple responses.* Comments are included in square brackets following the response.

ate [no glottal stop onset]	‘liver’
-----------------------------	---------

Sometimes a single word list item elicited multiple responses. This is indicated by separating the responses using a vertical bar (|). If known, differences in meaning are explained in comments.

boβa [mouth, interior] ŋunsu [labial circle]	‘mouth’
--	---------

In order to provide a full a record as possible of these languages, we have never deleted word list responses. When it is clear that a word was a less appropriate response for that word list item, the response has sometimes been placed in a comment field, e.g.

taβa [cf. jalubi ‘roll of fat on the belly’]	‘fat’
--	-------

Word list metadata and responses

A three-letter code has been assigned to each of the twenty-seven word lists. Here follow other details about each list, followed by the word list responses themselves. For geographic locations see Figures 5 and 7 in the main text.

Code	Word List	Village, District, Regency	Language	Date	Respondent(s) (gender/age)
RNG	Rongi	Rongi, Sampolawa, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-13	La Musa (m54), La Haru (m62), La Dara (m62)
KOO	Kaongkeongkea	Kaongkeongkea, Pasarwajo, Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-09-05	La Halidi (m53), Wa Kate (f46), Lusna (f33), La Toto (m70), Wa Rina (f38)
LAP	Lapandewa	Lapandewa, Lapandewa, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-09	La Sonco (m39)
GND	Gonda Baru	Gonda Baru, Sorawolio, Kota Baubau	Cia-Cia	2015-08-13	Tahir Gade (m42), Ramsili (m42)
KRY	Karya Baru	Karya Baru, Sorawolio, Kota Baubau	Cia-Cia	2015-08-12	La Jarubi (m49), Ridwan (m48)
GSJ	Gunung Sejuk	Gunung Sejuk, Sampolawa, S. Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-09	Siti B. (f48), Naipere (f65), Wariundi (f47)
WAB	Wabula	Wabula I, Wabula, Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-21	La Umuru (m), La Suvu (m68), Rismawati (f32), La Dij (m59)
LWP	Liwumpacu	Koholimombono, Wabula, Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-21	Aliani (m26)
WAG	Wagola	Wagola, Pasarwajo, Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-27	Usman (m33), La Siari (m39)
KND	Kondowa	Kondowa, Pasarwajo, Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-27	La Damasi (m52)
TAK	Takimpo	Takimpo, Pasarwajo, Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-20	Sarlin (m31)
KAS	Kase	Wasampela, Wabula, Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-30	La Karudini (m35), Saharuddin (m43)
BAT	Batu Atas	Batu Atas Liwu, Batu Atas, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-17	La Ida (m47), La Bola (m~40), La Yusri (m34), La Asisi (m~38)
BAH	Bahari	Bahari, Sampolawa, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-09-05	La Ode Hajia (m62), La Jidi (m45), Wa Para (f36)
TIR	Tira	Tira, Sampolawa, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-14	La Surina (m40), La Hani (m39), Andri (m41)
BUR	Burangasi	Burangasi, Lapandewa, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-09	Jurlia (f22), Yulu (f33)
WAL	Wali	Wali, Binongko, Wakatobi	Cia-Cia	2015-09-01	Jaenuddin (m50)
BOL	Bola	Bola, Batauga, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-08	La Ganti (m60), La Ode Majulani (m41)
MBL	Mambulu	Jaya Bakti, Sampolawa, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-09	Wa Ode Makrifa (f38), La Ode Haori (m50)
BNG	Bangun	Bangun, Sampolawa, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-08	Marlia (f34)
MAS	Masiri	Masiri, Batauga, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-08-08	La Ode Muslim (m63), L.M. Mslim (m31), La Ode Asmin (m28)
WAS	Wasambua	Lakambau, Batauga, South Buton	Cia-Cia	2015-09-07	Hasnia (f42), Nurhaida (f38)
KAI	Kaisabu	Kaisabu Baru, Sorawolio, Kota Baubau	Kaisabu	2015-09-04	La Udu (m61)
WKL	Wakole	Kabawakole, Pasarwajo, Buton	Kumbewaha	2015-08-29	La Enti (m52)
WLW	Wolowa	Wolowa Baru, Wolowa, Buton	Kumbewaha	2015-08-28	Sumirwan (m42)
KMB	Kumbewaha	Kumbewaha, Siotapina, Buton	Kumbewaha	2015-08-25	Ishak S. H. (m), La Hedu (m), L. M. Kasim (m)
LLM	Lasalimu	Lasalimu, Lasalimu Selatan, Buton	Lasalimu	2015-08-22	Jabaluddin (m43), Alimuddin (m71)

	001 <i>kepala</i> head	002 <i>otak</i> brain	003 <i>rambut</i> hair (of head)	004 <i>dahi</i> forehead	005 <i>mata</i> eye	006 <i>kening, alis mata</i> eyebrow	007 <i>air mata</i> tear (from crying)
RNG	pocu	ota	βuluno pocu	βusa	mata	keʃe	luʔuno mata
KOO	pocu	ota	βulu pocu	βusa	mata	keʃe	luʔu
LAP	pocu	ota	βuluno pocu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔu
GND	pocu	ota	βuluno pocu	ende	mata	keʃe	luʔuno mata
KRY	pocu	ota	βulu pocu	ende	mata	keʃe	luʔu mata
GSJ	kabulaluno pocu	kaʔito	pocu	ende	mata	keʃe	eʔeno mata
WAB	pocu	ota	βuluno pocu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔu
LWP	pocu	kaʔito	βuluno pocu	βosa	mata	kere	luʔuno mata
WAG	pocu	ota	βulumpocu	βusa	mata	keʃe	luʔu mata
KND	pocu	ota	βuuno pocu	βusa	mata	keʃe	luʔuno mata / eʔeno mata
TAK	pocu	ota / kaito	βulumpocu	βusa	mata	keʃe	luʔu
KAS	pocu	ota	βulu pocu	ende	mata	kere	luʔuno mata
BAT	pocu	kaʔito	βulu	hula	mata	kere	luʔu mata
BAH	pocu	kaʔoti	βulu pocu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔu
TIR	pocu	ota	βulu pocu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔu mata
BUR	pocu	kaʔito	βanano pocu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔu
WAL	pocu	kaʔito	pocu	hula	mata	kire	luʔu
BOL	pocu	kaʔito	βuʔu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔuno mata
MBL	pocu	kaʔito	βulu pocu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔu
BNG	pocu	kaʔito	βuʔu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔuno mata
MAS	pocu	kaʔito	βuʔu	βusa	mata	kere	luʔu
WAS	pocu	ota	vuʔu	vusa	mata	keʃe	luʔuno mata
KAI	potu	'si:to	βulumpotu	inde	mata	kexe	eʔe mata
WKL	pocu	ota	βuluno pocu	keʔe	mata	kexe	luʔuno mata
WLW	keʔe	ota	pocu	βose	mata	kexe	luʔuno mata
KMB	keʔe	ota	pocu	βose	mata	kexe	luʔuno mata
LLM	keʔe	ito	pocu	βose	mata	kire	luu

	008	009	010	011	012	013	014
	<i>hidung</i>	<i>ingus</i>	<i>pipi</i>	<i>mulut</i>	<i>bibir</i>	<i>lidah</i>	<i>gigi</i>
	nose	mucus	cheek	mouth	lip	tongue	tooth
RNG	ηο?ο	momo	hiηki	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
KOO	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa / ηuncu [labial circle]	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
LAP	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
GND	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	vivi	ela	ηi?i
KRY	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
GSJ	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	vivi	ela	ηi?i
WAB	ηο?ο	βiri	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
LWP	ηο?ο	βiri	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
WAG	ηο?ο	βiʕi	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
KND	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
TAK	ηο?ο	βixi	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
KAS	ηο?ο	βiri	ḡaga	ηuncu	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
BAT	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
BAH	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
TIR	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
BUR	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
WAL	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ηara	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
BOL	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
MBL	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	ηi?i
BNG	ηο?ο	momo	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	lela	ηi?i
MAS	ηο?ο	sopu	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	lela	ηi?i
WAS	ηο?ο	momo / viʕi [if a lot]	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	vivi	lela	ηi?i
KAI	ηoo	toli	ḡaga	muncu	βiβi	ela	ηii
WKL	ηο?ο	βixi	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	leke
WLW	οηο	βixi	ḡaga	ḡoḡa	βiβi	ela	leke
KMB	οηο	βixi	ḡaga	ḡoḡa / ηuncu [labial circle]	βiβi	ela	leke
LLM	ḡoḡo	βiri	pili	ḡoḡa / ηunsu [labial circle]	βiβi	ela	ηinsi

	015 <i>geraham</i> molar tooth	016 <i>dagu</i> chin	017 <i>telinga</i> ear	018 <i>leher</i> neck	019 <i>bahu</i> shoulder	020 <i>tangan</i> hand, forearm
RNG	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	katoa	ḡahu	lima
KOO	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	katoa	ḡahu	lima
LAP	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	katoa	ḡahu	lima
GND	vaṅka	hae	tolija	gonco	ḡahu	lima
KRY	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	gonco	ḡoḡose	lima
GSJ	vaṅka	hae	tolija	gonco	ḡoḡose	lima
WAB	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	gonco	ḡahu	lima
LWP	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	ḡuku	bahu / ḡoḡose	lima
WAG	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	laḡuku	ḡahu	lima
KND	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	ḡuku	ḡahu	lima
TAK	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	ḡuku	ḡaḡahu	lima
KAS	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	ḡuku	ḡahu	lima
BAT	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	laḡuku	baho	lima
BAH	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	katoa [front of neck] / poṅko [back of neck]	ḡose	lima
TIR	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	poṅko	ḡahu	lima
BUR	ḡaṅka	hae	tolija	katoa [front of neck] / poṅko [back of neck]	bahu	lima
WAL	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	laḡaḡuku	ḡaho	lima
BOL	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	laḡaḡuku	baho	lima
MBL	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	ḡuku	ḡaho	lima
BNG	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	katoa	ḡaho	lima
MAS	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	ḡuku	ḡaho	lima
WAS	vaṅka	ḡaṅku	tolija	gonco [front] / laḡano vuku [back of neck]	ḡahu	lima
KAI	ḡaṅka / timpa [canines]	hase	tolija	laaḡuku	buhu	lima
WKL	ḡaṅka	ḡaṅku	culi	ḡuku	ḡahu	lima
WLW	ḡaṅka	jaṅku	culi	ḡuku	ḡahu	lima
KMB	ḡaṅka	ṅaxe	culi	ḡuku	ḡahu	lima
LLM	ḡaga / lambaji [canines]	aḡe	culi	ḡuku	ḡau	lima

	021 <i>kuku jari</i> fingernail	022 <i>punggung, belakang</i> back (person)	023 <i>susu, buah dada</i> breast	024 <i>perut</i> belly	025 <i>pusat</i> navel	026 <i>kaki</i> leg, foot
RNG	konusu	toʃuku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
KOO	konusu	taliku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
LAP	konusu	taliku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
GND	kunusu	toʁuku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
KRY	kunusu	taliku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
GSJ	kunusu	taliku	cici	hava	puhe	kake
WAB	konuncu	toruku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
LWP	kunusu	taliku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
WAG	kunusu	toʃuku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
KND	kunusu	toʁuku	cici	haβa	bunde	kake
TAK	konusu	toʁoku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
KAS	konuncu	toruku	cici	haβa	puhe	kake
BAT	kunusu	toruku	cici	haβa	tuβuni	kake
BAH	konusu	taliku	cici	haβa	tuβuni	kake
TIR	kunusu	toruku / taliku	cici	haβa	tuβuni	kake
BUR	konusu	turuku	cici	haβa	tuβuni	kake
WAL	konusu	toruku	cici	haβa	toβuni	kake
BOL	kunisi	toruku	cici	haβa	tiβuni	kake
MBL	kunisi	poŋko / bubuŋko	cici	kompo	tiβuni	kake
BNG	kunisi	buʔu	cici	kompo	tuβuni	kake
MAS	konisi	taliku [entire back] / toruku [upper back]	cici	kompo	teβuni	kake
WAS	konosu	buʔu	cici	hava	puhe	kake [includes lower leg]
KAI	konisi	taliku	titi	haβa	puhe	kake
WKL	konusu	taliku	cici	haβa	puʔe	kake
WLW	konusu	taliku	cici	haβa	puʔe	kake
KMB	konosu	taliku	cici	haβa	puʔe	kake
LLM	konusu	taliku [entire back including tailbone] / toruku [does not include the lower back, which is part of one's toŋa, waist]	cici	kompo	puʔe	kake

	027 <i>paha</i> thigh	028 <i>lutut</i> knee	029 <i>kulit</i> skin (person)	030 <i>(jaringan) daging</i> meat, flesh	031 <i>lemak</i> fat	032 <i>tulang</i> bone	033 <i>jantung</i> heart
RNG	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
KOO	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
LAP	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
GND	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
KRY	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
GSJ	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	ḡalubi	buku	ʔake
WAB	paha	cuʔu	sili	dage	taba	buku	bake
LWP	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
WAG	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi / dage	taʔa	buku	ʔake
KND	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
TAK	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	ḡalubi	buku	ʔake
KAS	paha	cuʔu	sili	dage	taʔa	buku	jantun
BAT	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
BAH	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa	buku	dadi
TIR	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taba	buku	sinaʔa
BUR	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
WAL	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
BOL	paha	cuʔu	kuli	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
MBL	paha	cuʔu	kuli	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
BNG	paha	cuʔu	kuli	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
MAS	paha	cuʔu	kuli	isi	taba	buku	ʔake
WAS	paha	cuʔu	kuli	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
KAI	paha	tuu	kuli	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
WKL	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
WLW	paha	cuʔu	siʔa	isi	taʔa	buku	ʔake
KMB	paha	cuʔu	sili	isi	taʔa [cf. ḡalubi ‘roll of fat on the belly’]	buku	ʔake
LLM	paa	cuu	siʔa	neʔi	taʔa [cf. jalubi ‘roll of fat on the belly’]	buku	ʔake

	034 <i>darah</i> blood	035 <i>hati</i> liver	036 <i>empedu</i> gall, bile	037 <i>usus</i> intestines	038 <i>air kencing</i> urine	039 <i>tahi</i> excrement
RNG	ʕea	hate	hopiu	usu	leʔe	taki
KOO	ʕea	hate	hopiu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu [cf. kaʔola ‘guts’]	leʔe	taki
LAP	rea	hate	hopiu	paku-paku [entire] / kompabulu [large] / ŋkalu-ŋkalu [long]	leʔe	taki
GND	ʔea	hate	hopiu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
KRY	ʔea	hate	hopiu	paku-paku	ʔou	taki
GSJ	ʔea	hate	hopiu	kakaʔeseno hava	leleʔe / ʔou	taki
WAB	rea	hate	hopiu	mpuru-mpuru	leleʔe	taki
LWP	rea	hate	hopiu	pumpuru	leleʔe	taki
WAG	ʕea	hate	hopiu	pumpuʕu	leʔe	taki
KND	ʔea	hate	hopiu	mpuʔu-mpuʔu	leʔe	taki
TAK	ʔea	hate	hapio	pumpuʔu	leleʔe	taki
KAS	rea	hate	hopiu	usu	leleʔe	taki
BAT	rea	hate	hapiu	kaŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
BAH	rea	hate	hopiu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
TIR	rea	hate	hopiu	ŋkaŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
BUR	rea	hate	hapiu	mpuru-mpuru / usu [< Malay]	leleʔe	taki
WAL	rea	hate	hopiu	lempaku	leleʔe	taki
BOL	rea	hate	piu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
MBL	rea	hate	piu	kaŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
BNG	rea	hate	piu	ŋkaŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
MAS	rea	hate	piu	usu [< Malay]	leleʔe	taki
WAS	ʒea	hate	pio	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
KAI	xea	hate	piu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	lelee	taki
WKL	xea	hate	hopiu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
WLW	xea	hate	piu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	leleʔe	taki
KMB	xea	hate	hopiu	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	leʔe	taki
LLM	rea	ate [no glottal stop onset]	kampaki	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	uʔeno leʔe	taki

	040 <i>kemaluan laki-laki</i> penis	041 <i>keringat</i> sweat (n)	042 <i>orang</i> person	043 <i>laki-laki</i> man, male	044 <i>perempuan</i> woman, female	045 <i>suami</i> husband
RNG	lau	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
KOO	cikolu [polite] / taβu [coarse]	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
LAP	lau	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
GND	lau	hanci	mia	mohane	movine	mancuana mohane
KRY	kaɖu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
GSJ	kaɖoʔo	hanci	mia	mohane	movine	mancuana mohane
WAB	koɖo / cikolu / lau	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
LWP	taβu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
WAG	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mansuana mohane
KND	cikou	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohaneno
TAK	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
KAS	lau	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mancuana mohane
BAT	lau [penis] / cikolu [penis]	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
BAH	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
TIR	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
BUR	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
WAL	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane / mansuana mohane
BOL	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
MBL	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mancuana mohane
BNG	cikolu / lau	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
MAS	laʔa cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	robine	mohane
WAS	tavu	hanci	mia	mohane	movine	mohane
KAI	hobu	hanti	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
WKL	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohaneno
WLW	lau	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohaneno
KMB	cikolu	hanci	mia	mohane	moβine	mohane
LLM	taβu [entire] / laeno taβu [penis]	ɖara	mia	moane	βoβine	moane

	046 <i>isteri</i> wife	047 <i>bapak, ayah</i> father	048 <i>ibu</i> mother	049 <i>anak</i> child	050 <i>anak sulung</i> first born child	051 <i>anak bungsu</i> last born child
RNG	moβine	ama	ina	ana?ana	cumpe	kaka?opu
KOO	moβine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	kaka?opu
LAP	moβine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	ka?opu
GND	mancuana movine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	kakaopu
KRY	moβine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	kaopu
GSJ	mancuana mvine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	kakaopu
WAB	moβine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	kaopu
LWP	moβine	ama	ina	uŋka?uŋkaka	cumpe	kakaopu
WAG	mansuana moβine	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	kakaopu
KND	moβineno	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	kao-kaopu
TAK	moβine	ama	ina	a?ana	cumpe	kakaopu
KAS	mancuana moβine	ama	ina	ana	ana paŋulu	ka?opu
BAT	moβine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	ka?opu
BAH	moβine	ama	ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	ka?opu
TIR	moβine	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	ka?opu
BUR	moβine	la?ama	βa?ina	uŋkaka	cumpe	ka?opu
WAL	moβine / mansuana moβine	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	ka?opu
BOL	moβine	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	ka?epu
MBL	mancuana moβine	ama	ina	ana?ana	cumpe	kaka?epu
BNG	moβine	ama	ina	kaindai	cumpe	ka?epu
MAS	robine	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	ka?epu
WAS	movine	ama	ina	moha?ana	aka	ka?epu
KAI	moβine	ama	ina	ana	tumpe	kaipu
WKL	moβineno	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	kaopu
WLW	moβineno	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	kaopu
KMB	moβine	ama	ina	ana	cumpe	kaka?opu
LLM	βoβine	ama	ina	ana [old enough to play] / gorau [newborn through toddler]	cumpe	kaka?opu

	052 <i>kakak laki-laki</i> older brother	053 <i>adik laki-laki</i> younger brother	054 <i>hamba, budak</i> slave	055 <i>aku, saya</i> I	056 <i>engkau, kamu</i> you (fam.)	057 <i>dia, ia</i> he, she	058 <i>kami</i> we (excl.)
RNG	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	bacua / kaʔuŋkaβi [helper]	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
KOO	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua	ndaʔu	soʔo	ia	sami
LAP	aka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
GND	aka-ʔaka	aiʔai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
KRY	aka-ʔaka	aiʔai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
GSJ	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
WAB	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
LWP	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua	indau	soʔo	ia	sami
WAG	aka	ai	ʔabu	indaʔu	isoʔo	sumii	isami
KND	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua	indau	isoʔo	oia	isami
TAK	aʔaka	aʔai	ʔacua	indau	isoʔo	oya	isami
KAS	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua / cindalaʔa	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
BAT	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔabu	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
BAH	aka	ai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
TIR	aka-ʔaka	ai	ʔabu	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
BUR	aka-ʔaka	ai-ʔai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
WAL	aka	ai	ʔacua [cf. hata ‘servant, helper’]	ndaʔu	soʔo	iaro	sami
BOL	aka	ai	ʔacua	indaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
MBL	aka-ʔaka	ai	ʔacua	iʔaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
BNG	aka	ai	ʔacua	iyaʔu	soʔo	ia	sami
MAS	aka	ai	ʔacua	iyaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
WAS	aka	ai	ʔacua	iyaʔu	isoʔo	oʔia	isami
KAI	aka	ai	ʔatua	indaʔu	isoo	oia	isami
WKL	aka	ai	ʔacua	iaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
WLW	aka	ai	hata	iaʔu	soʔo	ia	sami
KMB	aka	ai	ʔacua	iaʔu	isoʔo	ia	isami
LLM	isa	ai	ʔacua	iʔaʔu	isoʔo	iʔia	isami

	059 <i>kita</i> we (incl.)	060 <i>kalian</i> you (plural)	061 <i>mereka</i> they	062 <i>binatang</i> animal	063 <i>kerbau</i> water buffalo	064 <i>tanduk</i> horn
RNG	ikita	isimiu	moʔia	kadadi	kaʕambau	tandu
KOO	kita	simiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	kaʕambau	tandu
LAP	iŋkita	isimiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	karambau	tandu
GND	ikita	isimiu	moʔia	binata	kaʕambau	tandu
KRY	ikita	isimiu	moʔia	binata	kaʕambau	tandu
GSJ	ikita	isimiu	moʔia	binata	kaʕambau	tandu
WAB	ikita	isimiu	hamoʔia	kadadi	karambau	tandu
LWP	kita	simii	hoia	kakadaji	karambau	tandu
WAG	ikita	isimiuancu	hoʔia	binata	korobou [r confirmed]	tandu
KND	ikita	isimimu	hoia	kaɖaɖi	kaʕambau	tandu
TAK	iŋkita	isimiu	hamoya	kakadadi	kaʕambau	tandu
KAS	ikita	isimiu	hamoʔia	kaɖaɖi	karambau	tandu
BAT	iŋkita	isimiu	moʔia	kadadi	korobou	tandu
BAH	iŋkita	isimiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	karambau	tandu
TIR	iŋkita	isimiu	moʔia	kaɖiɖi	'kɾbaʷ [< Malay]	tandu
BUR	iŋkita	isimiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	korobou	tandu
WAL	sami / kita [respectful address for 2nd person]	simiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	karambau	tandu
BOL	Iŋkita	isimiu	maŋaʔia	kadadi	karambau	tandu
MBL	iŋkita	isimiu	ŋaʔia	kadadi	karambau	tandu
BNG	ŋkita	simiu	ŋaʔia	kadadi	karambau	tandu
MAS	iŋkita	isimiu	maŋaʔia	binata	karambau	tandu
WAS	iŋkita	isimiu	mohoʔia [vowels are somewhat nasalized]	kaɖaɖi	kaʕambau	tandu
KAI	iŋkita	isomiu	maŋaya	kaɖaɖi	kaxambau	tandu
WKL	iŋkita	isimiu	hamoʔia	kaɖaɖi	kaxambau	tandu
WLW	kita	simiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	kaxambau	tandu
KMB	ikita	isimiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	kaxambau	tandu
LLM	ikita	isimiu	moʔia	kaɖaɖi	karambau	tandu

	065 <i>ekor</i> tail	066 <i>burung</i> bird	067 <i>sayap</i> wing	068 <i>telur (ayam)</i> egg (chicken)	069 <i>bulu (ayam)</i> feather
RNG	pui	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu
KOO	pui	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu
LAP	kapui	manu-manu	pali	cikolu	βulu
GND	kapui	kakadadi	pani	cikolu	βulu
KRY	kaʔisu	manu-manu / kakadadi	pani	cikolu	βulu
GSJ	kaʔisu	kakadadi	pani	cikolu	vulu
WAB	pui	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu
LWP	pui	kakadaji	pani	cikolu	βulu
WAG	pui	kadaji	pani	cikolu	βulu
KND	pui	kakadadi	pani	kocikou [probably a verbal form meaning 'having eggs']	βuu [cf. koβuu 'have feathers']
TAK	kapui	mamanu	pani	cikolu	βulu
KAS	pui	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu
BAT	kaʔisu	mamanu	pani	cikolu	βulu
BAH	kaʔisu	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu manu
TIR	kapui	mamanu	pani	cikolu	βulu
BUR	kapui / kaʔisu	manu-manu	pani	cikoluno manu	βulu
WAL	kaʔisu	kamanu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu
BOL	lenci	manu-manu	pani	ontolu	βulu
MBL	kapui / kaʔisu	manu-manu	pani	cikolu manu	βulu
BNG	kaʔisu	ŋkamamanu	pani	cikolu manu	βulu
MAS	pui	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu
WAS	kaʔesu	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	vulu
KAI	lenci	manu-manu	pani	tikolu	βulu
WKL	kapui	kakadola	pani	cikolu	βulu
WLW	kapui	kakadola	pani	cikolu	βulu
KMB	kapui	manu-manu	pani	cikolu	βulu
LLM	kaʔisu	manu-manu	pani	ontolu	βulu

	070 <i>kutu (kepala)</i> louse (head)	071 <i>nyamuk</i> mosquito	072 <i>lalat</i> fly	073 <i>semut</i> ant	074 <i>lipan</i> centipede	075 <i>labah-labah</i> spider
RNG	cucu	buŋoto	lale	sea	mulalano	kaŋka
KOO	cucu	buroto [<i>r</i> is confirmed]	lale	sea	mulalano	kaŋka
LAP	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	honipa	kaŋka
GND	cucu	bukoto	lale	sea	mlalano	kaŋka
KRY	cucu	bukoto	lale	sea	mlalano	kaŋka
GSJ	cucu	bukoto	lale	sea	nla:la: no	kaŋka
WAB	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	honipa	kaŋka
LWP	cucu	boroto	lale	sea	honipa	kaŋka
WAG	cucu	boŋoto	lale	sea	honipa	kaŋka
KND	cucu	bukoto	lale	sea	maŋkai	kaŋka
TAK	cucu	bukoto	lale	sea	maŋkai	kaŋka
KAS	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	maŋkai	kaŋka
BAT	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
BAH	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
TIR	cucu	ŋuroto	lale	sea	hunipa	kaŋka
BUR	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	hunipa	kaŋka
WAL	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
BOL	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
MBL	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
BNG	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
MAS	cucu	buroto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
WAS	cucu	buxuto	lale	sea	maŋkai	— [people here usually say laba-laba < Malay]
KAI	tutuno potu	ŋoxoto	lale	sea	molalano	laŋa-laŋa
WKL	kucu	buxoto	lale	sea	holipa	kaŋka
WLW	kucu	pepi	lale	sea	holipa	kalaŋka
KMB	kucu	buxoto	lale	kesu	holipa	ŋkalelema
LLM	kucu / kumoni [young lousenepi still whitish]		lale	kalemeʔu [general] / kalimonsi [large, black, painful bite]	lipa	kalaŋka

	076 <i>cacing tanah</i> earthworm	077 <i>ular</i> snake	078 <i>ular sawa</i> python	079 <i>ikan</i> fish	080 <i>udang</i> shrimp	081 <i>udang karang</i> lobster
RNG	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔano saβa	isa	milama	milama kamalea
KOO	kandeleci [initial k is confirmed]	kule	saʔa	isa	milama	milamano tai [animal not known in this area]
LAP	hendeleci	saʔa	bobolaβasulanʔka	isa	uda [< Malay]	kura
GND	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔa	isa	milama	paŋko
KRY	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔa manu	isa	milama	—
GSJ	hendeleci	saʔa	βabalevasulanʔka	isa	milama	—
WAB	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔa	isa	milama	kurampapa
LWP	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔa βasulanʔka	isa	uda	kuraʔau
WAG	hendeleci / kule βuta	saʔa	saʔa βasulanʔka	isa	melama	kuʃaʔau
KND	hendeleci / kuleno βuta	saʔa	saʔa	isa	milama	kuʋaʔau
TAK	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔa βasulanʔka	isa	milama	urampapa
KAS	kule-kuleno βuta	saʔa	saʔa	isa	milama / kandaga	kurampapa
BAT	kandeleci	saʔa	saʔa	isa	milama	kura
BAH	kindeleci	saʔa	saʔa	isa	milama	kura
TIR	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔa	isa	milama / udan	kura
BUR	hindeleci	saʔa	saʔa	isa	uda [< Malay]	kura
WAL	kandeleci	saʔa	saʔaβata	isa	milama	kura
BOL	hindeleci	saʔa	bo βola βasuʔlanʔka	isa	nilama	koroura
MBL	kuleno βuta	saʔa	saʔa	kenta	milama	kuraura
BNG	hendeleci	saʔa	bolasulanʔka	kenta	milama	koroura
MAS	hendeleci	saʔa	saʔa	kenta	melama	koroura
WAS	hundelevu	kule	βalu βasuʔlanʔka	isa	melama	melama noloko
KAI	hundelevu	kule	saa	kenta	melama	koxouxa
WKL	hundelevu	saβa	saβa	ise	milama	xurampapa
WLW	hundelevu	kule	saβa	ise	kuxa	kuxampapa
KMB	hendelevu / kule-kule	saβa	saβa	ise	lelemo	xoxu
LLM	ŋgala-ŋgala	kule / lampolulu [poisonous snake about 30 cm long]	kule βola βolasulanʔka	ise	kura	roru

	082 <i>katak</i> frog	083 <i>biawak</i> monitor lizard	084 <i>tikus</i> rat, mouse	085 <i>anjing</i> dog	086 <i>kucing</i> cat	087 <i>pohon</i> tree
RNG	puʕakaka	simbou	sibu	au	beka	sau
KOO	kaʕaʕakaka	simbou	sibu	au	ʔeka	sau
LAP	puraa	simbou	sibu	au	ʔeka	pukua
GND	puʕakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	pukuno sau / hoʕano sau [denotes the entire tree]
KRY	puʕakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	hoʕansau
GSJ	puʕakaka	simbou	vulavo	au	ʔeka	sau
WAB	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	laʔa
LWP	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	asau [lit. ‘one wood’]
WAG	puʕakaka	simbou	ʔolaʔo	au	ʔeka	puku
KND	purakaka [r in this form confirmed]	simbou	ʔoaʔo	au	ʔeka	puʕasa [e.g. puʕasano taepa ‘mango tree’ puʕasa lit. ‘root’] / puku [offered by s.o. else in the room]
TAK	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	sau
KAS	purakaka	simbou	ʔolaʔo	au	ʔeka	sau
BAT	kodo	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	sau
BAH	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	pukua
TIR	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	sau
BUR	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	au	ʔeka	pukuano sau
WAL	kodo	simbou	ʔolaʔo	au	ʔeka	pukuno sau
BOL	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	mantoa	mbuta	sau
MBL	burakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	mantoa	mbuta	‘saunto’ ʔoʕa
BNG	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	mantoa	mbuta	sau
MAS	purakaka	simbohu	ʔolaʔo	mantoa	mbuta	laʔa
WAS	kapurakaka	simbou	sibu	mantoa	mbuta	asau [with prefix a- ‘one’]
KAI	ʕaxakaka	simbou	sibu	ʕahu	ʔeka	xapuno
WKL	purakaka	simbou	ʔulaʔo	kiau	ʔeka	puku
WLW	kaʔa ~ kaa	simbou	ʔolaʔo	kiau	ʔeka	hoʕo [e.g. hoʕono konau ‘sugar palm tree’]
KMB	puxakaka	simboʔu	ʔolaʔo	kiau	ʔeka	hoʕo
LLM	ŋkaa	cimposu	ʔolaʔo	kiʔau	ʔeka	kau

	088 <i>daun</i> leaf	089 <i>cabang</i> branch	090 <i>batang</i> trunk	091 <i>akar</i> root	092 <i>tunggul (pohon)</i> tree stump	093 <i>kulit kayu</i> bark (tree)
RNG	foʔo	kampaŋa	laʔa	puʔasa	kacumpu	silino sau
KOO	foʔo	haʕa	pukuano sau	puʔasa	kacumpu	silino sau
LAP	roʔo	hara	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	silino sau
GND	koʔo	ʔaha	laʔa	puʔasa	kacumpu	hekano sau
KRY	koʔo	ʔaha	laʔa	puʔasa	kacumpu	hekano sau
GSJ	koʔo	ʔaŋka	laʔa	puʔasa	kacumpu	silino sau
WAB	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kolocumpu	silino sau
LWP	roʔo	raha / kampaŋa	laʔa	asa	kolocumpu	silinsau
WAG	foʔo	haʕa	laʔa	puʔasa	kolocumpu	silinsau
KND	koʔo	ʔaha	laʔa	puʔasa	kacumpu	silino sau
TAK	koʔo	haka / kampaŋa [large]	laʔa	asa	kulicumpu	silino sau
KAS	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	silino sau
BAT	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	silino sau
BAH	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu [cf. kancuna ‘sprout from stump’]	silino sau
TIR	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kacumbu [small] / pueŋke [very large]	silino sau
BUR	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	silino sau
WAL	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	silino sau
BOL	roʔo	kanci	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	kulisau
MBL	roʔo	raha	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	kuli sau
BNG	roʔo	kanci	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	kulino sau
MAS	roʔo	kanci	laʔa	purasa	kacumpu	kuli sau
WAS	xoʔo	ʔaxa	laʔa	kulese	kacumpu	kulino sau
KAI	xoo	xaha	laa	kulese	katumpu	kulino sau
WKL	xoʔo	xaxa	laʔa	asa	kacumpu	silino sau
WLW	xoʔo	xaxa	laʔa	asa	kacumpu	siʔano sau
KMB	xoʔo	kampaŋa [main branch] / kampakampaŋa [branch]	laʔa	asa	kacumpu	silino sau
LLM	roʔo	kampaŋa [main branch] / raa [smaller]	lae	uʔaka	cuko	siʔano kau

	094 <i>kayu</i> wood	095 <i>buah</i> fruit	096 <i>bunga</i> flower	097 <i>duri</i> thorn	098 <i>pisang</i> banana	099 <i>kelapa tua</i> coconut (ripe)
RNG	sau	βua	kambakamba / βuŋa	ʕui	kadese	kundeʔe
KOO	sau	βua	buŋano	ʕui	kadese	kundeʔe
LAP	sau	βua	buŋa	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
GND	sau	βua	kamba	ɤui	kadese	kundeʔe
KRY	sau	βua	kamba	kaɤui	kadese	kundeʔe
GSJ	sau	vua	buŋa	ɤui	kadese	kundeʔe
WAB	sau	βua	βuŋa	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
LWP	sau	βua	kamba	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
WAG	sau	βua	kamba	ʕui	kadese	kundeʔe
KND	sau	βua	kamba	ɤui	kadese	kundeʔe
TAK	sau	βua	kamba	ʕici	kadese	kundeʔe
KAS	sau	βua	buŋa	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
BAT	sau	βua	kamba / bubuŋa	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
BAH	sau	βua	kamba	karui	kadese	kundeʔe
TIR	sau	βua	kamba	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
BUR	sau	βua	kamba	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
WAL	sau	βua	kamba	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
BOL	sau	βua	kakamba	ruɪ	kadese	kundeʔe
MBL	sau	βua	kakamba	ruɪ	kadese	kaluku
BNG	sau	βua	kamba	karui	kadese	kaluku
MAS	sau	βua	kamba	ruɪ	kadese	kaluku
WAS	sau	vua	kamba	χui	kadese	kunde mocuka
KAI	sau	ʔake	kamba	kaxii	ŋane	kunde [final vowel is not long]
WKL	sau	ʔake	kamba	xui	ŋane	kundeʔe
WLW	sau	ʔake	kamba	xui	ŋane	kundeʔe
KMB	sau	ʔake	kamba	xui	koxai	kaluku
LLM	kau	ʔake	βuŋa	ruɪ	ŋane	kaluku

100		101	102
<i>bambu</i>		<i>rumbia</i>	<i>tepung sagu</i>
bamboo		sago palm	sago flour
RNG	paʃaβata	sagu	sagu
KOO	paʃaβata / ʃalo / dāma [small]	rombia [r is confirmed]	tabaʃo
LAP	paraβata / hoʔo [large, yellow] / dāma / pacu [largest]	sagu	tabaro
GND	ʃalo [common] / paraβata / pacu [yellow]	sagu	tabaʔo
KRY	pakaβata [long internodes, thick] / ʃalo [thick] / hoʔo [large] / dāma [small] / pacu [very large]	ʔumbia	sagu
GSJ	pakaβata / pacu / hoʔo / dāma [small]	sagu	sagu
WAB	paraβata [used for floors, fishing weirs] / mʃalo [used for cooking rice] / hoʔo / dāma	sagu	tabaro
LWP	paraβata	sagu	tabaro
WAG	paʃaβata	sagu	tabaʃo
KND	pakaβata	sagu	tabaʔo
TAK	hoʔo [large] / paraβata / tombula / usiʔi [small] / pacu [largest]	sagu	tabaʔo
KAS	paraβata / hoʔo / tombula / osiʔi [small]	sagu	sagu
BAT	pareβata / hoʔo / dāma	sagu	tabaro
BAH	pariβata / hoʔo / pacu [large] / dāma [small]	sagu	tabaro
TIR	paraβata / dāma [small] / tari / hoʔo / pacu / ʃalo	rumbia	tabaro
BUR	paraβata [usual] / hoʔo [yellow & thick; good] / ʃalo	sagu	tabaro
WAL	ʃemba [large] / hoʔo [short internodes] / ʃalo / dāma [small]	panasa [confirmed]	tabaro
BOL	paraβata / hoʔo / dāma [small]	rumbia	tabaro
MBL	paraβata / patu / hoʔo / dāma	sagu	tabaro
BNG	paraβata	sagu	sagu
MAS	paraβata / hoʔo [thick skin, small hole] / dāma [small]	rumbia	tabaro
WAS	hoʔo [has short internodes, #7] / paʃavata [#1] / dāma [slender bamboo] / pacu [#5] / ʃalo [used for cooking rice, #4]	ʔumbia	sagu
KAI	paxaβata [not many stems] / hoo [many stems] / patu / tombula	xumbia	tabaxo
WKL	paxaβata / lobu / kabataxi / osiʔi [small]	sagu	tabaxo
WLW	paxaβata / lobu / taxi / osiʔi	sagu	tabaxo
KMB	paxaβata / ʃalo [used for cooking rice] / hoʔo / ʃulu	sagu	tabaxo
LLM	ʃalo [thin] / paraβata [thicker] / pacu [thickest] / kauro [small] / laleba	rumbia	tabaro

	103 <i>rotan</i> rattan	104 <i>jahe</i> ginger	105 <i>ubi jalar</i> sweet potato	106 <i>sirih</i> betel	107 <i>pinang</i> areca nut
RNG	᠑au᠑o	lokia	᠑anda	ka᠑o᠑o	pa᠑ana
KOO	᠑au᠑o	lokia	᠑anda	ka᠑o᠑o [leaf and fruit]	pa᠑ana
LAP	rauro	lokia	kaja᠑a	karo᠑o	pa᠑ana
GND	᠑auko	lokia	kaja᠑a	gili / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
KRY	kue	lokia	kaja᠑a	gili / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
GSJ	᠑auko / kue [small]	lokia	kajava	gili	pa᠑ana
WAB	kue	lokia	katamana	gili	pa᠑ana
LWP	rauro	lokia	katela᠑ao	karo᠑o	pa᠑ana
WAG	᠑au᠑o	lokia	katela᠑ao	ka᠑o᠑o	pa᠑ana
KND	᠑auko	lokia	kasitela᠑ao	ka᠑oko᠑o	pa᠑ana
TAK	᠑auko	lokia	katakalonda	ka᠑oko᠑o / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
KAS	rauro	lokia	kanija᠑a	karo᠑o	pa᠑ana
BAT	rauro	lokia	kaja᠑a	karo᠑o / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
BAH	rauro	lokia	kaja᠑a	karo᠑o / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
TIR	rauro	lokia	kaja᠑a	karo᠑o / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
BUR	rauro	lokia	kaja᠑a	karo᠑o	pa᠑ana
WAL	rauro	halia	kandija᠑a	bite [leaf and fruit]	pa᠑ana
BOL	rauro	lokia	ka᠑ko	karo᠑o	pa᠑ana
MBL	rauro	lokia	ka᠑ko	karo᠑o	pa᠑ana
BNG	rauro	lokia	ka᠑ko	karo᠑o [leaf] / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
MAS	rauro	lokia	kanjora	gili	pa᠑ana
WAS	᠑au᠑o	lokia	kando᠑a	ku᠑u / bite [fruit]	pa᠑ana
KAI	᠑auko	lokia	᠑kaobi-o᠑i	gili / ᠑e᠑ulu [fruit]	pa᠑ana
WKL	᠑auko	lokia	ta᠑ko᠑io	kaxoxo᠑o	pa᠑ana
WLW	᠑auko	lokia	ta᠑ko᠑io	kaxoxo᠑o	pa᠑ana
KMB	kue	lokia	᠑ka᠑io᠑i	gili	᠑e᠑ka
LLM	kue	lokia	kadeido	komba / kandi᠑a [fruit]	᠑e᠑ka

	108 <i>cendawan, jamur</i> mushroom	109 <i>rumpu</i> short grass	110 <i>biji</i> seed
RNG	kuʔu	kaʃumpu	buku
KOO	kululu	kaʃumpu	buku
LAP	kuʔu	kaʔaβo	buku
GND	hulampi [on tree trunks] / kululu [ground, umbrella-shaped]	kaʃumpu	kalulu
KRY	kuʔu [grows singly] / hulampi [in clusters]	kaʔaβo	kalulu
GSJ	kululu	kaʔavo	buku
WAB	kululu / hulampi [different kind of fungus]	kaʔaβo	buku / kalulu [classifier for counting fruit]
LWP	kuʔu [on ground] / hulampi [on tree]	kaaβo	buku
WAG	kuʔu	kaaβo	buku
KND	kuu / huampi	kaaβo	bukuno
TAK	kumbonua [toadstool, single] / kululu [toadstools growing in clusters] / hulampi [grows on trees]	'ka:βo	βacu
KAS	kuʔu / hulampi [kululu is Wabula]	karumpu	βacu
BAT	holampi	kaʔaβo	buku
BAH	kuʔu [grows from ground] / holampi [grows on trees]	kaʔaβo	buku
TIR	kuʔu / hulampi	kaʔaβo	buku
BUR	kuʔu	kaʔaβo	buku
WAL	kuʔu / hulampi [grows on trees]	kaʔaβo	buku
BOL	kuʔu	kaʔaβo	buku
MBL	kuʔu	kaʔaβo / karumpu	buku
BNG	kuʔu	mao	buku
MAS	kuʔu	karumpu	buku
WAS	kuʔu	χumpu	ampole [with prefix a- 'one', cf. χoampole 'two seeds']
KAI	kuu	kaxuku	holompe
WKL	kuʔu	βuliʔi / kaʔaβo	βacu
WLW	kuʔu [singly] / bunantaxa [in clusters] / holempi [on tree trunks, edible]	βuliʔi / xompo [tall]	βacu
KMB	kuʔu / holempi	βoliʔi	βacu
LLM	kuʔu [small toadstool] / buɲantara [k.o. large toadstool] / lempi [on tree trunks]	βoliʔi	βacu

	111 <i>bibit (padi)</i> (rice) seedling	112 <i>jagung</i> corn	113 <i>matahari</i> sun	114 <i>bulan</i> moon	115 <i>bintang</i> star	116 <i>langit</i> sky
RNG	βine	katela	holeo	βula	βacuko	laŋi
KOO	βine	katela	huleo [u is confirmed]	βula	βicuko	laŋi
LAP	βine	kasitela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laŋi
GND	vine	katela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laŋi
KRY	βine	katela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laŋi
GSJ	vine	katela	holeo	vula	vicuko	laŋi
WAB	βine	katela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laŋi
LWP	βine	kasitela	holeo	βula	biciko	laŋi
WAG	βede / βine [original]	kasutela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laŋi
KND	βine	kasitela	holeo	βua	βicuko	laŋi
TAK	βine	kasitela	holeo	βula	βiciko	laŋi
KAS	βine	katela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laŋi
BAT	βine	gandu	holea	βula	βicuko	laŋi
BAH	βine	gandu	huleo	βulaβo	βicuko	laŋi
TIR	βine	gandu	huleo	βula	kalipopo / βicuko	laŋi
BUR	βine	katela	huleo	βula	βicuko	laŋi
WAL	βine	gandu	holeo [cf. omba holeo ‘sunrise’, motama holeo ‘sunset’]	βula	βicuko	laŋi
BOL	βine	kahitela	holeo	βula	kalipopo	laŋi
MBL	βine	katela	holeo	βula	kalipopo	laŋi
BNG	βine	kasitela	holeo	βula	kalipopo	laŋi
MAS	βine	kahitela	holeo	βula	kalipopo	laŋi
WAS	vine	kahitela	holeo	vula	kalipopo	laya
KAI	βine	kahitela	matano holeo	βula	kalipopo	laiano
WKL	βine	katela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laŋi [sky] / laya [up high]
WLW	βine	katela	holeo	βula	βicuko	laia
KMB	pembulo	katela	holeo	βula	βiciko	laia
LLM	pembulo	kaitea	leo	budo	mpio-mpio [also means firefly]	laiano

	117	118	119	120	121	122
	<i>awan</i>	<i>kabut</i>	<i>guntur</i>	<i>kilat</i>	<i>hujan</i>	<i>pelangi</i>
	cloud	fog	thunder	lightning	rain	rainbow
RNG	olu	gaβu	ʒundu	beβena	kia	ntoʒoʒe
KOO	olu	gaβu	ʒundu	biβito	kia	ntoʒuʒe
LAP	olu	gaβu	rundu	biβito	kia	ntorure
GND	olu	gaβu	ʁundu	biβito	kia	toʁoʁe
KRY	olu	gaβu	ʁundu	biβito	kia	toʁoʁe
GSJ	olu	gavu	ʁundu	biβito	kia	toʁoʁe
WAB	olu	gaβu	rundu	bebena	kia	ntoroure
LWP	olu	gaβu	rundu	beβena	kia	toroure
WAG	olu	gaβu	ʒundu	baʒabete	kia	toʒouʒe
KND	ou	gaβu	ʁundu	beβena	kia	ntoʁouʁe
TAK	olu	gaβu	ʁundu	kila	kia	toʁoʁe
KAS	olu	raβuto	rundu	beβena [cf. berese ‘thunderbolt’]	kia	ntoroure
BAT	olu	kamu-kamu	rundu	kila	kia	ntoloure
BAH	olu	gaβu	rundu	kila [cf. barese ‘thunderbolt, crash of lightning’]	kia	ntoloure
TIR	olu	gaβu	rundu	kila	kia	ntoloure
BUR	olu	gaβu	rundu	kila / berese [lightning strike]	kia	βantoloure
WAL	olu	kamu-kamu	rundu	beβena	kia	tandara
BOL	olu	kamu-kamu	rundu / berese	kila	kia	ntoroure
MBL	olu	gaβu	rundu	berese / bibito [far-away lightning]	kia	ntorouβe
BNG	olu	gaβu	rundu / barese [large crash]	kila	kia	ntoroure
MAS	olu	gaβu	rundu	kila	kia	ntorouβe
WAS	olu	gavu	χundu	biβito [cf. beχese ‘thunderbolt’]	hise	toχoχe
KAI	kaʔolu	gaβu	guntu	biβito	hise	toxooxe
WKL	olu	gaβu	guncu	biβito	monda	toxouxe
WLW	olu	gaβu	guncu	biβito	monda	toxouxe
KMB	olu	gaβu	boxuxu	biβito	monda	ntoxouβe
LLM	ruto	gaβu	guncu	berese [makes noise] / beβela [distant, does not make noise]	monda / ηkunu-ηkunu [light rain] / monda kaɖata [heavy rain day & night]	toroʔuβe

	123 <i>angin</i> wind	124 <i>laut</i> sea, ocean	125 <i>pasir</i> sand	126 <i>tanah</i> earth, ground	127 <i>garam</i> salt	128 <i>air</i> water
RNG	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gaʕa	oeʔe
KOO	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gaʕa	eʔe ~ oeʔe ~ weʔe
LAP	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	eeʔe
GND	ŋoi	tai	hone	vuta	gaʕa	eʔe
KRY	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gaʕa	eʔe
GSJ	ŋoi	tai	hone	vuta	gaʕa	eʔe
WAB	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	eʔe
LWP	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	eʔe
WAG	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gaʕa	eʔe
KND	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gaʕa	eʔe
TAK	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gaʕa	eʔe
KAS	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	eʔe
BAT	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	βeʔe
BAH	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	βeʔe
TIR	ŋoi	tai / undalo [deep sea]	hone	βuta	gara	βeʔe
BUR	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	βeʔe
WAL	ŋoi	tai	hone	βuta	gara	eʔe ~ βeʔe
BOL	kaβea	tai	hone	βuta	gara	oeʔe
MBL	kaβea	tai	hone	βuta	gara	iʔeʔe
BNG	kaβea	maβi / tai / ŋapa	hone	βuta	gara	βeʔe
MAS	kaβea	maβi	hone	βuta	gara	weʔe
WAS	kavea	mokahi	hone	vuta	gaʕa	weʔe
KAI	kaβea	mokahi	hone	βuta	gaxa	eʔe
WKL	kaβea	tei	hone	βute	gaxa	eʔe
WLW	kaβea	tei	hone	βute	gaxa	eʔe
KMB	xibu	tei	hone	βute	gaxa	uβe
LLM	ribu	tei	komea	βute	gara	uβe

	129 <i>gunung</i> mountain	130 <i>hutan</i> woods, forest	131 <i>sungai</i> river
RNG	gunu / toʃuku	kaʃumpu	oeʔe ntoʔoʃa
KOO	toʃuku	kaʃumpu [note: same as ‘grass’] / ponue [virgin forest]	weʔe toʔoʃa [lit. ‘big water’]
LAP	gunu	buntou	kumele
GND	gunu	nuntou	kambara
KRY	gunu	buntou	kambara
GSJ	gunu	buntou	kumele
WAB	gunu [> 300m] / tombuku [< 300m]	buntou	kambara
LWP	gunu	buntou / kamocuka [used by old persons]	kambara
WAG	gunu	buntou	kambaʃa
KND	gunu	kamocuka	kumele
TAK	gunu	buntou	kuleme
KAS	gunu	buntou	kumele
BAT	gunu	karompu	kumele
BAH	gunu	karompu	kumele
TIR	gunu	karompu	kumele
BUR	turuku	buntou / kamocuka [used by old people]	kumele
WAL	gunu	karompu / kamocuka [jungle]	eʔe ʃulu
BOL	gunu	kamocuka	raha
MBL	gunu	karumpu	kumele
BNG	gunu	karumpu / kamocuka	raha
MAS	gunu	kamocuka	hora
WAS	gunu	ponue	vaʔaʔa
KAI	kabumbu	ponue	eʔe tooʃa
WKL	tombuku / ʃoŋko	ponue [has large trees] / ome [previous garden]	kumele
WLW	ʃoŋko	ponue	kumele
KMB	gunu [mountain] / tombuku [hill]	xompo	kumele [large] / kambaxa [small]
LLM	gunu / toruku [tall mountain without trees] / kaʃoko [small, grassy rise]	ponue	minaja

	132	133	134	135	136	137
	<i>danau</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>asap</i>	<i>bara api</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>debu</i>
	lake	fire	smoke	embers	ashes	dust
RNG	uecumambu [water that doesn't flow]	api	hau	beano api	haβu	ηaβu
KOO	teβeku [small, not a lake]	api	hau	haeo	haβu [cf. ηaŋo 'fire litter that flies up in the air']	ηaβu
LAP	—	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu
GND	kalebo	api	hau	vea	havu	gavu
KRY	kalebo [pooled water]	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu βuta
GSJ	—	api	hau	vea	havu	gavu
WAB	—	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu
LWP	talaga / kalende [small, from rain water]	api	hau	ηalano api	haβu	gaβu
WAG	— [teβeku (small) / salaŋi ntooβa]	api	hau	ηala	haβu	gaβu
KND	— [teβeku (small)]	api	hau	ηaʔano api	haβu	gaβu / gaβuno βuta
TAK	talaga [large] / kalembu [collected runoff]	api	hau	kaβea	haβu	gaβu
KAS	'dana ^w [< Malay]	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu
BAT	topa	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu
BAH	—	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu
TIR	teβeku [small pool]	api	hau	βea	ηaŋo	gaβu
BUR	teβuku [small waterhole between rocks in forest]	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu
WAL	—	api	hau	βea	haβu	gaβu
BOL	dano	api	hau	βea	habu	gaβu
MBL	talaga / hou	api	hau	βea	habu	gaβu
BNG	'dana ^w [< Malay]	api	hau	βea	habu	gaβu
MAS	talaga [small] / teβeku [small, between rocks]	api	humbo	βea	habu	gaβu
WAS	—	api	hau	veano api	habu	gavu
KAI	lembo	api	humbo	beano api	habu	ηaβu
WKL	—	api	hau	ηala	haβu	gaβu
WLW	kalembo [small]	api	kau	ηala	haβu	gaβu
KMB	—	api	kaʔu	βea	haβu	gaβu
LLM	kalembo	api	kaʔu	beano api	ηaβu	gaβu

	138 <i>batu</i> stone	139 <i>kapur</i> lime	140 <i>bayang-bayang</i> shadow	141 <i>rumah</i> house	142 <i>tangga</i> ladder
RNG	loko	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
KOO	loko	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
LAP	loko	hapu	holuŋa	kaʔana	ea
GND	vacu	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
KRY	βacu	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
GSJ	vacu	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
WAB	βacu	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
LWP	βacu	hapu	huluŋa	kaana	ea
WAG	βacu	hapu	huluŋa	kaana	ea
KND	βacu	hapu	houŋa	kaana	ea
TAK	βacu	hapu	huluŋa	kana	ea
KAS	βacu	hapu	holuŋa	kaʔana	ea
BAT	loko	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	kaʔeʔea
BAH	loko	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
TIR	loko	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
BUR	loko	hapu	huluŋa	kaʔana	ea
WAL	loko	hapu	holuŋa	kaʔana	ea
BOL	loko	hapu	kamia-mia	kaʔana	pulaŋku
MBL	loko	hapu	ŋkamia-mia	banua	polan̄ku
BNG	loko	hapu	kamimia	banua	pulaŋku
MAS	loko	kaporo	ŋkamia-mia	banua	polan̄ku
WAS	loko	hapu	kamia-mia	banua	polan̄ku
KAI	βatu	hapu	ŋkamia-mia	kaana [cf. toŋa ata ‘yard’]	polan̄ku
WKL	βacu	kepu	kamia-mia	βunua / kaʔana	oxe / ea
WLW	βacu	kepu	kamimia	βunua	oxe
KMB	βacu	kepu	ŋkamia-mia	βonua	oxe
LLM	tonduri	kepu	kakaʔoluno [shadow] / kamia-mia [reflection]	sapo	ekata

143		144		145	
<i>pintu</i>		<i>atap</i>		<i>tiang rumah</i>	
door		roof		house post	
RNG	kahompo / 6o6a [doorway]	hato		koʃiʔi	
KOO	kahompo	hato		koʃiʔi	
LAP	kahompo	hato		koriʔi	
GND	kahompo	hato		koʃiʔi	
KRY	kahompo	hau [mistakenly recorded the response for asap 'smoke']		kuxiʔi	
GSJ	kahompo	hato		koʃiʔi	
WAB	kahompo / 6o6a [doorway]	hato		oriʔi	
LWP	kahompo / 6o6a [doorway]	hato		kacu6o	
WAG	kahompo	hato		kacu6o	
KND	kahompo	hato		oxiʔi	
TAK	kahompo	hato		uxiʔi	
KAS	kahompo [door leaf] / 6o6a [doorway]	hato		oriʔi [koriʔi is Wabula]	
BAT	kahompo / 6o6a [doorway]	hato		kuriʔi	
BAH	kahompo	hato		kuriʔi	
TIR	kahompo	hato		kuriʔi	
BUR	kahompo	hato		kuriʔi	
WAL	kahompo	hato		koriʔi	
BOL	kajoli	hato		koriʔi	
MBL	kajoli	hato		koriʔi	
BNG	kahonto	hato		kuriʔi	
MAS	kahonto	hato		koriʔi	
WAS	kajoli [door leaf] / 6o6a [doorway]	hato		kuxiʔi	
KAI	kajoli [door leaf] / 6o6a [doorway]	hato		koxihi	
WKL	kahompo	hato		koriʔi ~ koxiʔi	
WLW	kahompono 6o6a [door leaf] / kajoli [door leaf] / 6o6a [door opening]	hato		kulaʔi	
KMB	hombono 6o6a [6o6a itself refers to the door opening]	hato		oxiʔi	
LLM	kaunto [door] / limba-limbaʔa [door opening]	koto6o		taʔei	

	146	147	148
	<i>pagar</i> fence	<i>layar</i> sail	<i>rakit</i> raft
RNG	pagala / tondo [garden]	παῖαβα	aki
KOO	pagala / tondo [garden fence]	παῖαβα	ῥaki
LAP	pagala	παῖαβα	raki
GND	pagala / tondo [garden fence]	παῖαβα	ῥaki
KRY	pagala / tondo [garden fence]	παῖαβα	ῥaki
GSJ	tondo	παῖαβα	raki
WAB	pagala [wood] / tondo [stone]	παῖαβα	raki
LWP	pagala / tondo [in garden]	παῖαβα	ῥarata
WAG	tondo	παῖαβα	—
KND	pagaa / tondo	παῖαβα	raki [r confirmed]
TAK	pagala [wood] / tondo [stone]	παῖαβα	ῥaki
KAS	pagala	παῖαβα	raki
BAT	pagara	παῖαβα	raki [base only] / rompo [seaworthy]
BAH	pagala / tondo [dry stone wall]	παῖαβα	raki
TIR	pagala	παῖαβα	raki
BUR	pagala	παῖαβα	raki
WAL	pagara	παῖαβα	raki
BOL	pagala	παῖαβα	raki
MBL	tondo	παῖαβα	raki
BNG	pagala	παῖαβα	raki
MAS	pagala	παῖαβα	raki
WAS	pagala	παῖαβα	ῥaki
KAI	tondo	παῖαβα	xaki
WKL	pagala [members placed vertically] / tondo [members placed horizontally, also stone fence]	παῖαβα	raki
WLW	pagala / tondo [garden fence]	παῖαβα	xaki
KMB	pagala	παῖαβα	raki / gusepa [bamboo tied together] / pincara
LLM	pagara [upright stakes] / tondo [logs laying flat] / kiki [interwoven bamboo] / kaβoβosu [fence made of hoops]	παῖαβα	raki

	149 <i>arang</i> charcoal	150 <i>lesung</i> mortar	151 <i>parang</i> machete	152 <i>sarung parang</i> sheath for machete	153 <i>cincin</i> ring (for finger)	154 <i>sisir</i> comb
RNG	haeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaŋu	kasuŋu
KOO	haeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaŋu	kasuŋu
LAP	haeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
GND	haeo	losu	kacumpo	kasele	siŋkaɁu	kasuɁu
KRY	haeo	losu	kacumpo	kasele	siŋkaɁu	kasuɁu
GSJ	haeo	losu	kacumpo	kasele	siŋkaɁu	kasuɁu
WAB	ara / haeo [sooty deposit on pots]	losu	kacumpo	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
LWP	haeho	losu	kaɓali	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
WAG	haeo	losu	kaɓali	kasele	siŋkaŋu	kasuŋu
KND	haeo	losu	kaɓali	kasele	siŋkaɁu	kasuɁu
TAK	ara [from coconut] / haŋeo [charred wood from fire] / haeo [charred wood]	losu	kaɓali	kasele	siŋkaɁu	kasuɁu
KAS	ara	losu	kaɓali	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
BAT	hoŋeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
BAH	haŋeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
TIR	haŋeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
BUR	hoŋeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
WAL	ŋaeo	losu	paɗe	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuru
BOL	hoŋeo	losu	kapade	kasele	siŋkaru	kasuaɓi
MBL	ŋaeo	losu	kapulu	pahota	siŋkaru	kasuaɓi
BNG	heo	losu	kapulu	salu	siŋkaru	kasuaɓi
MAS	heo	losu	kapulu	kasele	siŋkaru	kasoaɓi
WAS	hio	nosu	kapulu	kasele	siŋkaɁu	suavi
KAI	heo	nosu	kapulu	kasele	siŋkaxu	suaɓi
WKL	ŋaeo	nosu	kapulu	kasele	siŋkaxu	kasuxu
WLW	ŋaeo	nosu	kapulu	kasele	siŋkaxu	susuxu
KMB	ŋaeo	nosu	kaɓali	kasele	siŋkaxu	kasuxu
LLM	ŋao	nosu	kaɓali	sele	siŋkaru	siu

	155 <i>tali (besar, pintal)</i> rope	156 <i>jarum</i> needle	157 <i>jalanan</i> trail, road	158 <i>besar</i> big	159 <i>kecil</i> small (object)	160 <i>baik</i> good
RNG	ao	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kakodi	umela
KOO	tali	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	kakesa
LAP	tali / rabuta [from coir]	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	bajiŋa
GND	tali / ʁabuta [used on boats] / kaʁoke [for tying]	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	umela
KRY	ʁabuta	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	umela
GSJ	tali	d̥eu	lala	toʔova	kokodi	umela
WAB	ao	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	umela
LWP	ao / tali	d̥eu	lala	tooβa	kokodi	mela
WAG	ao	d̥eu	lala	tooβa	d̥ed̥eku / kokodi	mela
KND	ʁabuta	d̥eu	laa	tooβa	d̥ed̥eku	mela
TAK	tali / kaʁoke	d̥eu	lala	'to:βa	dedeku	mela
KAS	nilo / ao	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	ʁajiŋa
BAT	tali	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	umela
BAH	tali / ao	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	umela
TIR	tali	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	umela
BUR	nilo / kaʁoke	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	mela
WAL	nilo / kalabu	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβa	kokodi	umela
BOL	rabuta	surumba	lala	toʔoβa	kikidi	umela
MBL	tali / rabuta [term used by old people]	sorumba	lala	toʔoβa	kikidi	belo
BNG	rabuta	surumba	lala	toʔoβa	kikidi	ʁelo
MAS	tali	sorumba	lala	toʔoβa	kikidi	ʁelo
WAS	ɣambu	d̥eu	lala	toʔova	d̥iidi	ʁelo [cf. ʁelo lalono 'good hearted']
KAI	xabuta	d̥eu	lala	tooβa	makidi-kidi	mela
WKL	tali nilo [nylon rope or fishing line] / kaʁoke	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβe	kokodi	umela
WLW	tali / kaxaxa [from tree bark] / koloʔio [from tree root]	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβe	kokodi / kikidi	umela
KMB	tali [cf. xoŋo 'headstrap']	d̥eu	lala	toʔoβe	kikici	umela / ʁajiŋa
LLM	roŋo	sorumba	loloʔo	toʔoβe	kikidi	umela

	161 <i>jahat</i> bad, evil	162 <i>basah</i> wet	163 <i>kering</i> dry	164 <i>lebar</i> wide
RNG	kadai	kabeŋe	mokata	kaleβa
KOO	kasega	kabuŋu	kakata	kaleβa
LAP	kaʔejeʔeje [naughty]	kaburu	mokata	kaleβa
GND	mdai	mbuku [partially] / mbeke [entirely]	mŋinci	mleβa
KRY	daki	mbuku	ŋinci	moleβa
GSJ	mhaki	mbuku	mŋinci	mleva
WAB	maβaŋa	mobere	moŋinci	moleβa
LWP	sega	mbere	kariʔi	mleβa
WAG	sega [cf. also taa mela 'not good']	buŋu / beŋe	kariʔi [r in this form confirmed]	leβa
KND	mosega	beke	kariʔi [r in this form confirmed]	moleβa
TAK	kaʔeje	mbeke	muŋinci	moleβa
KAS	mosega	mobere	kariʔi	moleβa
BAT	pideu	moburu	moŋinci	moleβa
BAH	maʔeje-ʔeje / mohaja [naughty]	moburu	moŋinci	moleβa
TIR	mosega	mobere	moŋinci	muleβa
BUR	mosega	muβere	muŋinci	muleβa
WAL	mosega	mobere	moŋinci	moleβa
BOL	maricu	morama	moŋinci / kari	maheβa
MBL	mohaja	morama	mokele	moleβa
BNG	musega	murama	mukele	muleβa
MAS	modaki	morama	mokele	maheβa
WAS	moχikiu	moχama	mokele	maeva
KAI	modaki	baŋka	mokele	moleβa
WKL	mosega	mobexe	moŋinci	moleβa
WLW	mosega	mogode	mokai	moleβa
KMB	kodaʔo	mojepe / motopa	mokaʔi	moβaxe
LLM	mosega [evil] / kodaʔo [bad, ruined]	mobaʔo	mokai	moβare

	165 <i>sempit</i> narrow	166 <i>jauh</i> far	167 <i>dekat</i> near	168 <i>baru</i> new (objects)	169 <i>tua</i> old (persons)
RNG	kaseke	kambilai	kakeʔesu	βukou	mancuana
KOO	kagimpi	kambolai	kakeʔesu	βukou	moncuana [cf. moncua'nam with completive marker]
LAP	kagimpi	kambilai	katumanʔku	βukou	mancuana
GND	mgimpi	mbelai	tataŋku	vukou	mancuana
KRY	gimpi	mbilai	tataŋku	βukou	mancuana
GSJ	maseke	mbelai	tataŋku	vukou	mancuana
WAB	moʔipi	mbilai	koʔisu	βukou	mancuana
LWP	gimpi [original] / maseke [borrowed]	mbilai	koisu	βokou	mancuana
WAG	gimpi	mbilai	koisu	βukou	mansuana
KND	mogimpi	mbilai	koisu	βukou	mansuana
TAK	mugimpi	mbilai	tataŋku	βokou	mancuana
KAS	mogimpi	mbilai	koisu	βukou	moleŋo [people, things]
BAT	moʔipi	mbelai	tataŋku	βokou	mancuana
BAH	maseke	mbilai	taŋku	βokou [vowel o in antepen- ultimate is confirmed]	mancuana
TIR	mogimpi / moʔipi	mbilai	taŋku	βukou	mancuana
BUR	maseke	mbilai	tataŋku	βukou	mancuana
WAL	moʔipi	mbelai	taŋku	βukou	mansuana
BOL	mogimpi	mbilai	tataŋku	βukou	mancuana
MBL	mogimpi	mbilai	tataŋku	βukou	mancuana
BNG	mugimpi	mbilai	taŋku	βukou	mancuana
MAS	maseke / mogimpi [tight fitting, of clothes]	mbelai	taŋku	βukou	mancuana
WAS	mogimpi	mbelai	taŋku	vukou	mancuana
KAI	moseke	mbilai	mosumpe	βukou	mancuana
WKL	mogimpi / moʔipi	todoʔo	motampi	βukou	mancuana
WLW	mogimpi	todoʔo	motampi	βukou	mancuana
KMB	mogimpi	todoʔo	motampi	βukou	mancuana
LLM	maseke	todoʔo	motampi	βukou	mansuana

	170 <i>tebal</i> thick (object)	171 <i>tipis</i> thin (object)	172 <i>panas (air)</i> hot (water)	173 <i>dingin (air)</i> cold (water)	174 <i>tumpul</i> dull (knife)	175 <i>tajam</i> sharp (knife)
RNG	kakapa	kanipi	kampana	kadindi	kaŋampa	kantaŋo
KOO	kakapa	kanipi	kampana	kaɗindi	kaŋampa	kantaŋo
LAP	kakapa	kanipi	kampana	kadindi	kaŋampa	kantaro
GND	mkapa	mnipi	mpana	mdindi	mŋaɓa	mtako
KRY	mkapa	mnipi	mpana	dindi	ŋaɓa	mtako
GSJ	mkapa	mnipi	mpana	mdindi	mkaɓa	mtako
WAB	mokapa	monipi	mompana	modindi	moŋampa	montaro
LWP	ŋkapa	nipi	sodo	modindi	ŋampa	taro
WAG	kapa	nipi	mpana	jindi	ŋampa	ntaŋo
KND	mokapa	monipi	mompana	modindi	moŋampa	montako
TAK	mokapa	munipi	mpana	mudindi	moŋampa	montako
KAS	mokapa	monipi	mompana	moɗindi [mogari is Wabula]	moŋampa	montaro
BAT	mokapa	monipi	mosodo	modindi	moŋaba	montaro
BAH	mokapa	monipi	mosoɗo	moɗindi	moŋampa	montaro
TIR	mokapa	munipi	musodo	mudindi	muŋaɓa	muntaro
BUR	mukapa	munipi	mumpana	mudindi	muŋampa	muntaro
WAL	mokapa	monipi	mosoɗo	modindi	moŋaɓa	montaro
BOL	mokapa	monipi	mosodo	modindi	mokaba	montaro
MBL	mokapa	monipi	mosodo	modindi	moŋaba	montaro
BNG	mukapa	munipi	musodo	mudindi	mukaba	muroko
MAS	mokapa	monipi	mosoɗo	modindi	mokaɓa	meŋkoto
WAS	mokapa	monipi	mompana	moɗindi	cia nakoto [lit. ‘it’s not sharp’]	nokoto
KAI	mokapa	monipi	mompana	moɗindi	mokuɗo	moxoko
WKL	mokapa / mokoɓo	monipi	mompana	moɗindi	moŋampa	montaxo
WLW	mokoɓo	monipi	mompana	moɗindi	ɓoko	motona
KMB	mokoɓo	monipi	mompana	mogaxi	mokaɓa	montaxo
LLM	mokoɓo	monipi	mompana	mogari	mopapa	montaro

	176 <i>pendek</i> short (length)	177 <i>rendah</i> short (height)	178 <i>panjang</i> long (object)	179 <i>matang, masak (buah)</i> ripe
RNG	kago?ampu	kago?ampu	kako?ata	mtaha
KOO	kako?ampu	kako?ampu	kako?ata	kataha [cf. muta'ham with completive marker]
LAP	ko?ampu	kaka?ampu	ko?ata	motaha
GND	koko?ampu	koko?ampu	ko?ata	mtaha
KRY	ko?ampu	koko?ampu	ko?ata	mukiki
GSJ	koko?ampu	koko?ampu	ka?ata	mtaha
WAB	kaka?ampu	kaka?ampu	ko?ata	moriri [fruit] / mota?a [food]
LWP	kaampu	kaampu	ŋkoata	nta?a
WAG	kaampu	kaampu	koata	nta?a
KND	kakaampu	kakaampu	koata	mota?a
TAK	kakampu	mulimbu	koata	monta?a
KAS	kakalampu	kakalampu	ko?ata	mota?a
BAT	kukuḍu	marerempe	ko?ata	momata
BAH	kukuḍu	marerempe	ko?ata	montaha
TIR	ḍuḍuampu	marerempe	ko?ata	muntaha
BUR	ku?ampu	marerempe	ku?ata	muntaha
WAL	ḍa?ampu	marerepa	ko?ata	mota?a
BOL	kukundo	mopanda	ŋko?ata	montaha
MBL	mompodo	mopanda	marambe	montaha
BNG	mupanda	mupanda	mulampa	mutaha
MAS	molimbu	mopanda	marambe	motaha
WAS	molimbu	mopanda	ko?ata	montaha
KAI	molimbu	molimbu	koata	motaa
WKL	molimbu	kaka?ampu	koata	mota?a
WLW	molimbu	molimbu	koata	mota?a
KMB	kumbaḥa	kumbaḥa	ko?ata	mota?a [cf. pepona?u 'nearly ready, e.g. cooked rice' momaŋka 'not yet truly ripe, e.g. mango']
LLM	makipu	kokombaḥa	ma?eḥa [also meaning 'broad']	mota?a

	180 <i>busuk</i> rotten (fruit)	181 <i>pahit</i> bitter	182 <i>manis</i> sweet	183 <i>asin</i> salty	184 <i>tuli</i> deaf
RNG	kabuto	kapaki	kameko	kahai	kaponjke
KOO	kaḃonko [fruit] / kabuto [e.g. meat]	kapaki [final i voiceless]	kameko	kahai	kaponjke
LAP	kabuto	kapaki	kameko	kahai	kaponjke
GND	mbuto	mpaki	meko	mhai	mponjke
KRY	ḃonko	mpaki	meko	mhai ~ muhai	mponjke
GSJ	mbuto	mpaki	meko	mhai	mponjke
WAB	moḃonko [fruit] / mobuto [fish, meat]	mopaki	momeko	mohai	moponjke
LWP	mbuto	mpaki	meko	hai	mponjke
WAG	ḃonko	mpaki	meko	hai	ponjke
KND	mobuto	mopaki	momeko	mohai	moponjke
TAK	mbuto	paki	mumeko	mohai	mponjke
KAS	mobuto	mopaki	momeko	mohai	kaponko
BAT	mobuto	mopaki	momeko	mohai	moḃonjo
BAH	moḃonko	mopaki	momeko	mohai	moḃonjo
TIR	moḃonko	mupaki	mumeko	muhai	kaḃonjo
BUR	mubuto / mubun̄ku [esp. fruit]	mupaki	mumeko	muhai	kaponjke
WAL	mobuto / molao / moḃonko	mopaki	momeko	mohai	moḃonjo
BOL	mobuto [general, incl. meat] / mobon̄ko [fruits]	mopaki	momeko	mokara / mohai	mobon̄jo
MBL	mobuto	mopaki	momeko	mohai	moḃonjo
BNG	mobuto	mupaki	mumeko	mukara	mubon̄jo
MAS	mobuto / moḃonko [fruit]	mopaki	momeko	mokara	moḃonjo
WAS	mobuto	mopaki	momeko	mopaxa	moḃonjo
KAI	moḃonko	mopaki	momeko	mokaxa	moponjke
WKL	moḃonko / mobuto [smells rotten, has odor]	mopaki	momeko	mohai	ponjke
WLW	moḃonko [fruits] / moḃosi [e.g. meat]	mopaki	momeko	mogaxa	moponjke
KMB	moḃosi [general] / molau [of fish]	mopaki	momeko	mogaxa	moponjke
LLM	mobuto	mopaki	momeko	mogara	moponjke

	185 <i>sakit</i> pain, to be sick	186 <i>haus</i> thirsty	187 <i>lapar</i> hungry	188 <i>lain (orang lain)</i> other, different	189 <i>semua</i> all
RNG	sodo	kaŋinci [lit. 'dry']	kahaŋo	aga?ano	sambalie
KOO	kalala / kopanaki	kaŋinci	kahaŋo	aga?ano [cf. posalai 'different']	sambalie
LAP	kalala [smarting] / kopanaki [sick]	kaŋinci [lit. 'dry']	kaharo	aga?ano	siaβuta?e
GND	kopanaki	mŋinci [lit. 'dry']	mhaŋo	aga?ano	sambalie
KRY	mlala	moŋinci [lit. 'dry']	mhaŋo	aga?ano	sambalie
GSJ	mlala	mŋinci [lit. 'dry']	mhaŋo	aga?ano	sambambalie
WAB	kapanaki	moŋinci βuku [lit. 'dry throat']	moharo	aga?ano	siaβuta?e
LWP	ŋkopanaki [sick] / lala [sharp pain]	ŋau βuku	haro	aga?ano	saβuta?e
WAG	lala [pinched] / kopanaki [sick]	ŋinci	haŋo	agaano	sambai-mbalie
KND	moaa [e.g. pinched] / kopanaki [sick, sakit keras]	moŋinci	mohaŋo	aga?ano	siaβuta-βutae
TAK	kopanaki	muŋinci [lit. 'dry']	mohaŋo	aga?ano	saβutae
KAS	molala / panaki	moŋinci	moharo	aga?ano	sambali-mbalie
BAT	kopanaki [sick] / molala [acute pain]	moŋinci [lit. 'dry']	moharo	aga?ano	saβuta?e
BAH	molala / kopanaki	moŋinci	moharo	aga?ano	siaβuta?e
TIR	kupanaki [sick] / mulala [acute pain]	muŋinci [lit. 'dry']	muharo	aga?ano	saβuta?e
BUR	kupanaki [infection] / mulala [sharp pain, e.g. pinched]	muŋinci [lit. 'dry']	muharo	aga?ano	kato?arue
WAL	molala / kopanaki	moŋinci	moharo	aga?ano	saβuta?e
BOL	molala	moŋinci [lit. 'dry']	moharo	aga?ano	babarie
MBL	molala	mokele [lit. dry]	moharo	aga?ano	βari-barie
BNG	mulala	mukele [lit. 'dry']	muharo	aga?ano	βabarie
MAS	moreo [sick] / molala [hurt from pinch, wound]	mokele [lit. 'dry']	moharo	aga?ano	βabarie
WAS	mopanaki / mosodo	mokele	moχaχo	aga?ano	satatana?e
KAI	molea [confer molea potu 'have a headache']	mokele	mohaxo	agaano	totoaxue
WKL	molea	moŋinci βuku	moxaxo / moharo	olota	haβute?e
WLW	molea [cf. molea haβa = stomach ache]	mokaka βuku	moxaxo	olota	haβute-βute?e
KMB	posopanaki [sick] / molea [e.g. hit, pinched]	moŋasa	mohaxo	xaga?ano	haβute?e
LLM	molea	mocindo?u	moaro	raga?ano	rajujunia?e

	190 <i>banyak</i> many	191 <i>sedikit</i> few, little	192 <i>beberapa</i> some	193 <i>berat</i> heavy	194 <i>keras</i> hard (substance)
RNG	katoʔaʃu	aɖeɖe	popia	kaboa	kacuka
KOO	katoʔaʃu	aɖaide	popia-popia	kaɖoa	kacuka
LAP	katoʔaru	adeide	popia	kaboa	kacuka
GND	toʔaʁu	aide / akikide	popia	mboa	mcuka
KRY	toʔaʁu	akikide	popopia	ɖoa	mcuka
GSJ	toʔaʁo	aɖeɖe / aide	pipia	mboa	mcuka
WAB	toʔaru	aide-ide	popia	moɖoa	mocuka
LWP	toaru	aide / akikide	popopia	mboa	ncuka
WAG	toaʃu	akikide	popopia [cf. pia mia ‘how many people?’]	ɖoa	cuka
KND	toaʁu	aideide	pia-pia	moboa	mocuka
TAK	toʔaʁu	akikide	popopia	mboa	mcuka
KAS	toʔaru	aide	popopia	moɖoa	mocuka
BAT	dohata / toʔaru	aide	popopia	moboa	mocuka
BAH	toʔaru	aide	napopia	moɖoa	mocuka
TIR	toʔaru	aide	popia / ,mincini' mea	moboa	mucuka
BUR	toʔaru	aide	popopia	muɖoa	mucuka
WAL	toʔaru	aide	popopia	moɖoa	mocuka
BOL	bari	aide	popopia	moboa	mocuka
MBL	ɖari	aide	mintene	moboa	mocuka
BNG	toʔaru / ɖari	aide	popia	moboa	mucuka
MAS	ɖari	aide	pia-pia	moboa	mocuka
WAS	toʔaʁu	aide	popia-popia	moɖoa	mocuka
KAI	toaxu	akide	nigaaʔo	mobua	motuka
WKL	moide	hakuna	popia / hapena	mobue	mocuka
WLW	moide	xakidi	popopia / xaxaapa	mobue	mocuka
KMB	moide	hakici	pia-pia [cf. moide giu ‘many kinds’]	mobue	mokaha
LLM	ŋkoruo	rakidi	popia	mobue	mocika [cf. molui ‘somewhat yielding, e.g. tire’, and moloe ‘soft, e.g. sago porridge’]

	195 <i>kotor</i> dirty	196 <i>lurus</i> straight	197 <i>bulat (seperti bola)</i> round (spherical)	198 <i>halus, licin</i> smooth
RNG	kakotoro	kaŝonto	kalimbu	kandolu
KOO	kakoŝasi / kakotoro	kaŝonto	kalimbu	kamelo
LAP	kaʔini	karonto	kalimbu	kandolu
GND	katoro	m̥k̥onto	molimbu	halusu
KRY	m̥k̥umbu / kotoro	m̥k̥onto	mlimbu	sindolapu / ndolu [slippery]
GSJ	kotoro	m̥k̥onto	mlimbu	malu
WAB	morumbu	moronto	molimbu	mondolu
LWP	rama	ronto	molimbu	ndolu
WAG	ŝama	ŝonto	limbu	ndolu
KND	jahana	mok̥onto	molimbu	alusu
TAK	mundaŋi	mu̯k̥onto	malimboko / mlimbu	muhaindolu
KAS	kotoro	moronto	molimbu	alusu [cf. mondolu 'slippery']
BAT	kotoro	muronto	mabobolu	alusu
BAH	kotoro / korasi	moronto	maʔobolu	mondolu
TIR	kotoro	moronto	molimbu	alusu
BUR	kurasi	muronto	ʔobolu	alusu [smooth] / mundolu [slippery]
WAL	korasi	moronto	maʔobolu	mondolu
BOL	korasi	moronto / makate	maɖoɖolulu / m̥bolole	mondolu
MBL	kotoro / morobusi	moronto	molimbu	mondolu
BNG	kotoro	muronto	mbolole	mundeli
MAS	morubu	makate	mbolole	halusu / mondeli [slippery]
WAS	moʒobu	molaʔa	mandoo-ndoo	halusu
KAI	mobuxusi	moxonto	molimbu	alusu
WKL	moxumbu	moxonto	molimbu	mondolu
WLW	moxumbu	moxonto	buloli	halusu
KMB	moxumbu	molobu	molimbu	alusu
LLM	morumbu	mokate [cf. kelu 'crooked']	molimbu [cf. molae 'oval', gopa 'irregularly shaped']	alusu

	199 <i>lekas, cepat</i> fast	200 <i>penuh</i> full (container)	201 <i>benar</i> true, correct	202 <i>putih</i> white	203 <i>hitam</i> black
RNG	masimba	mpono	banafa / kocuhu	kapute	kakito
KOO	makida	pono [cf. po'nom with completive marker]	kocuhu	kapute	kakito
LAP	masimba	mompono	kocuhu	pute	kakito
GND	masimba	mpono	banaka	mpute	mkito
KRY	masimba	mpono	banaka	mpute	mokito
GSJ	masimba	mpono	banaka	mpute	mkito
WAB	marimba / agori	mompono	kocuhu	mopute	mokito
LWP	agori	mpono	ɲkocuhu	mpute	ɲkito
WAG	masimba	mpono	banara	mpute	kito
KND	masimba	mompono	banara [r is confirmed]	mopute	mokito
TAK	masimbu	mpono	kocuhu	mpute	ɲkito
KAS	marimba / masimba / makida	mompono	banara	mopute	mokito
BAT	marede / marimba	mompono	taβa	mompute	mokito
BAH	marimba	mompono	kocuhu	mopute	mokito
TIR	marede	mumpono	banara	mpute	mokito
BUR	marimba	mumpono	taβa	mupute	mukito
WAL	marimba	mompono	taβa	mopute	mokito
BOL	agori	mempono	kocuhu / kana	mopute	mokito
MBL	marimba	mompono	kana	mopute	mokito
BNG	marimba	mumpono	kocuhu	mupute	mukito
MAS	marimba	mompono	kocuhu	mopute	mokito
WAS	maximba	mompono	kocuhu	mopute	mokito
KAI	maximba	mompono	kotuhu	mopute	mokito
WKL	maliga	buke	tocu?u	mopute	mokito
WLW	maliga	buke	tocu?u	mopute	mokito
KMB	agoxi	buke	tocu?u	mopute	mokito
LLM	medoka [cf. mononoe 'slow']	buke	banara [correct] / tocu?u [verify] [cf. sala 'incorrect']	mopute	mokilo

	204 <i>kuning</i> yellow	205 <i>merah</i> red	206 <i>hijau</i> green	207 <i>tidak</i> not	208 <i>ada</i> there is, there are	209 <i>bukan</i> no
RNG	kaʃiʃi	kadea	kakanda	cia	daneʔe	suano
KOO	kaʃiʃi	kadea	kaijo	cia	daneʔe	suano
LAP	kariri	kadea	moiyo	cia	daneʔe	suano
GND	mʊiʊi	mdea	ijo	cia	daneʔe	ncuano
KRY	moʊiʊi	modea	mokuʊi	cia	daneʔe	ncuano
GSJ	mʊiʊi	mdea	ŋkui	cia	daneʔe	ncuano
WAB	moriri	modea	lumu	cia	daneʔe	suano
LWP	riri	modea	kakanda	cia	daneʔe	nsuano / mincuano
WAG	ʃiʃi	d̪ea	ijo / kuʃi	taina	daneʔe	suano
KND	moʊiʊi	modea	moiyo	taina	daneʔe	suano
TAK	muʊiʊi	mdea	moʔijo	'taina	daneʔe	cuano
KAS	moriri	modea	ijo [without glottal stop onset]	taina	daneʔe	suano
BAT	moriri	modea	βuluβauri [green] / ʁaʁale [light green]	cia	daneʔe	mincuano
BAH	moriri	modea	moiyo	cia	daneʔe	nciano
TIR	moriri	modea	moiyo	cia	daneʔe	muncuano
BUR	muriri	mudea	muiyo	cia	aneʔe	nciano
WAL	moriri	modea	moiyo	cia	aneʔe	ciano
BOL	moiyo	modea	moiyo	cia	daneʔe	mincuano
MBL	moriri	modea	moiyo	cia	daneʔe	moncuano / nciano
BNG	muriri / muiyo	modea	muranda	cia	daneʔe	nciano
MAS	moriri	modea	moiyo	cia	daneʔe	mincuano
WAS	moiyo	modea	moiyo	cia	daneʔe	muncuano
KAI	moŋkuni	modea	moiyo	ta'ina ~ 'taina	danee [cf. d̪a'ne:ʔo 'still is, still are']	mincuano
WKL	moxixi	modea	moiyo	d̪aʔe	daneʔe	mencuano
WLW	moxixi	modea	moiyo	d̪aʔe	daneʔe	mencuano
KMB	moxixi	moxea	moiyo	d̪aʔe	daneʔe	mincuano
LLM	moriri	mondera	moiyo	isea	aneʔe	mensuano

	210 <i>kalau, jika</i> if	211 <i>karena</i> because	212 <i>dan</i> and	213 <i>ini</i> this	214 <i>itu</i> that
RNG	ane	karena	mai	ine	incu
KOO	ane	saba'am	mai	ine	incu
LAP	ane	ane	mai	ine	ire
GND	ane	sababu	mai	nake?e	luma?ia / monke?e
KRY	ane	ꦏꦩꦥꦤ	mai	na?ia	cuke?e
GSJ	ane	—	mai	na?ia	ncu?ia
WAB	ane	rampa	me	nake?e	cunke?e
LWP	ane	rampa	me	iana	iancu
WAG	ane	hagau	mai	iana	iancu / iaomai
KND	ane	asaa	mai	nake?e	cuke?e
TAK	ane	no	me	neke?e	cunke?e
KAS	ane	rampa	mai ~ me	nake?e	cunke?e
BAT	ane	haβane	mai	ine?e	incu?u
BAH	ane	pantea	mai	ina?a ~ ine?e	incue
TIR	ane?uka	ane?uka	mai	nake?e	incue
BUR	ane	mbulamo	mai	nake?e	ncua
WAL	ane	pantea	mai	na?e	iri?e
BOL	ane	hulanomo	mai	ina / ina?e [visible]	incu / incu?e [visible]
MBL	ane	hulanomo	mai	dina ~ di?ina	di?incu
BNG	ane	hulanomo	mai	nina / dina	incu
MAS	ane	hulanomo	se	di?ina	di?incu
WAS	ane	karena	se	inaa	incu / incu?e
KAI	ane	holanomo	βee	iina	iintu
WKL	ane	xampa	mai	niana	ancu
WLW	ane	xampa	mei	na?a	ancu
KMB	ane	hulanomo	me	nadia	lodia
LLM	ane / ane mpuu ['if possible', used politely]	sababuno	βe	naa	iancu

	215 <i>di sini</i> here	216 <i>di situ</i> there	217 <i>satu</i> one	218 <i>dua</i> two	219 <i>tiga</i> three
RNG	kaʔine	kaʔincu	ise	doʃua	totolu
KOO	kaʔine	kaʔincu	amea	dɔʃua	totolu
LAP	kaʔine	kaʔire	amea	dɔrua	totolu
GND	kanakeʔe	kalumai	amea / ise	dɔʁua	totolu
KRY	kaʔina	kaʔincu / kacukeʔe	amea	dɔʁua	totolu
GSJ	kaʔina	kaʔincu	amea	dɔʁua	totolu
WAB	kaina / naina	kaincu	amea / ise [if straight counting]	dɔrua	totolu
LWP	kaina	kaincu	amea	dɔrua	totolu
WAG	naina	naincu / kailoŋe	amea/ ise	doʃua	totolu
KND	naina	naincu	amea / ise [if straight counting]	dɔʁua	totou
TAK	kaina	kaincu / necuŋkeʔe	amea / ise	dɔʁua	totolu
KAS	naina	naincu	amea	dɔrua	totolu
BAT	kaʔina	kaʔincu	amea / ise [straight counting]	dɔrua / rua [straight counting]	totolu / tolu [etc.]
BAH	kaʔina	kaʔincu	amea	dɔrua	totolu
TIR	kaʔina	kaʔincu	amea	dɔrua	totolu
BUR	kanakeʔe	kaʔincu	amea	dɔrua	totolu
WAL	kaʔina	kaʔiri	amea	dɔrua	totolu
BOL	kaʔina	kaʔincu	amea	dɔrua	totolu
MBL	kaʔina	kaʔincu	amea	dɔrua	totolu
BNG	kaʔina	kaʔincu	ameʔea	dɔrua	totolu
MAS	kaʔina	kaʔincu	satu [straight counting] / ameʔea [counting things]	dɔrua	totolu
WAS	kaʔina	kaʔincu	aʔanu	dɔʁua	totolu
KAI	keʔana	keʔantu	aanu	xoanu	toluanu
WKL	nakeʔe	ncukeʔe	xamea	dɔxua	totolu
WLW	niana	niancu	xamea	dɔxua	totolu
KMB	niana	niancu	hameʔa / ise [if straight counting] / ha- [as in hatonde ‘one glass’, hapixi ‘one plate’]	dɔxua / xua [if straight counting]	totolu / tolu
LLM	kanaa	kaancu	raʔanu	dɔrua	totolu

	220 <i>empat</i> four	221 <i>lima</i> five	222 <i>enam</i> six	223 <i>tujuh</i> seven	224 <i>delapan</i> eight	225 <i>sembilan</i> nine	226 <i>sepuluh</i> ten
RNG	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
KOO	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
LAP	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
GND	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
KRY	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
GSJ	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	umpulu
WAB	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
LWP	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
WAG	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
KND	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompuu
TAK	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
KAS	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
BAT	popa?a / pa?a	lolima / lima	nono?o / no?o	popicu / picu	olau / βalu	siua	ompulu
BAH	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oβalu	siua	ompulu
TIR	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oβalu	siua	umpulu
BUR	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	umpulu
WAL	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
BOL	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oβalu	siua	ompulu
MBL	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oβalu	siua	ompulu
BNG	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	βoβalu	siua	ompulu
MAS	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oβalu	siua	ompulu
WAS	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	uvalu	siua	ompulu
KAI	patoanu	limaanu	nomoanu	pituanu	aluanu	siuanu	ompuluanu
WKL	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
WLW	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	siua	ompulu
KMB	popa?a / pa?a	lolima / lima	nono?o / no?o	popicu / picu	oalu / oalu	siua / siua	ompulu
LLM	popa?a	lolima	nono?o	popicu	oalu	sosia	ompulu

	227 <i>dua puluh</i> twenty	228 <i>lima puluh</i> fifty	229 <i>seratus</i> hundred	230 <i>seribu</i> thousand	231 <i>di</i> at	232 <i>kiri</i> left (hand/side)	233 <i>kanan</i> right (hand/side)
RNG	ʕuapulu	limapulu	ahacu	aʕiβu	i	sombali	soana
KOO	ʕuapulu	limapulu	ahacu	aʕiβu	i	sombali	suana
LAP	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali	suana
GND	ɤuapulu	limapulu	ahacu	aɤiβu	i	sumbali	soana
KRY	ɤuapulu	limapulu	ahacu	aɤiβu	i	sumbali	suana
GSJ	ɤuapulu	limapulu	ahacu	aɤivu	i	sombali	soana
WAB	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sombali	soana
LWP	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali ~ sombali	soana
WAG	ʕuapulu	limapulu	ahacu	aʕiβu	i	sombali	soana
KND	ɤuapuu	limapuu	ahacu	aɤiβu	i	sombali	soana
TAK	ɤuapulu	limapulu	ahacu	aɤiβu	i	sumbali	suana
KAS	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sombali	soana
BAT	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali	suana
BAH	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali	soana
TIR	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali	soana
BUR	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali	suana
WAL	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali	suana
BOL	raupulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sombali	soana
MBL	raupulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sombali	soana
BNG	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sumbali	suana
MAS	ruapulu	limapulu	ahacu	ariβu	i	sombali	soana
WAS	xoapulu	limapulu	amohono	aɣevu	ve [e.g. ve ʕanua ‘in the house’ ve oto ‘in the car’]	ema	suana
KAI	xoapuluanu	limapuluanu	ahatuanu	axiβuanu	i [e.g. i kaana ‘at home’]	sombali	soana
WKL	xuapulu	limapulu	xaxacu	xaxiβu	i	sombali	soana
WLW	xuapulu	limapulu	xaxacu	xaxiβu	i	sombali	soana
KMB	xuapulu	limapulu	hahacu	xaxiβu	i	sombali	soana
LLM	ruapulu	limapulu	raacu	rariβu	i	sombali	soana

	234 <i>barat</i> west	235 <i>timur</i> east	236 <i>di bawah</i> under	237 <i>di atas</i> on top of, above	238 <i>di depan</i> in front	239 <i>di dalam</i> inside
RNG	matabaŋa	cimburu	i ʔoŋu	i ʔaʔo	i haŋoa	i lalo
KOO	baŋa	cimburu [r is confirmed]	i ʔoŋu	i ʔaʔo / i hocu [e.g. up in a tree]	i haŋoa	i lalo
LAP	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i haroa	i lalo
GND	baŋa	cimburu	i ʔoku	i ʔaʔo	i haŋoa	i lalo
KRY	baŋa / santamaŋa	mataholeo	i ʔakuaba	i ʔaʔo	i haŋoa	i lalo
GSJ	baŋa	cimbuŋu	i voŋu	i vavo	i haroa	i lalo
WAB	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i haroa	i lalo
LWP	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i ʔakaʔa	i lalo
WAG	baŋa	cimburu	i ʔoŋu	i ʔaʔo	i ʔakaʔa	i lalo
KND	baŋa	cimbuŋu	i ʔoku	i ʔaʔo	i haŋoa / i ʔakaʔa	i lao
TAK	baŋa	cimu	i ʔoku	i ʔaʔo	i haŋoa	i lalo
KAS	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i haroa	i lalo
BAT	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo
BAH	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo
TIR	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo
BUR	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i haroa	i laro
WAL	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i haroa	i lalo
BOL	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo
MBL	bara	cimburu	i ʔoru	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo
BNG	bara	cimburu	i panda	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo
MAS	bara	cimburu	i panda	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo
WAS	baŋa	cimbuŋu	ve voŋu	ve bumbu	ve aŋoa	ve lalo
KAI	ʔeʔaxa	tetimbu	ʔe ʔoxu	te ʔaʔo	le xanda	i lalo
WKL	ʔaxa	cimburu	i ʔui	i ʔaʔo	i xaxoa	i lalo
WLW	ʔaxa	cimburu	i ʔui	i ʔaʔo	i laxoa	i lalo
KMB	ʔaxa	cimu	i ʔui	i ʔaʔo	i xaxo	i lalo
LLM	bara	cimu	i ʔui	i ʔaʔo	i aroa	i lalo

	240 <i>dengan</i> with	241 <i>hari</i> day	242 <i>malam</i> night	243 <i>kemarin</i> yesterday
RNG	mai	alo	mʒondo	hanoβia
KOO	mai	alo	moʒondo-ʒondo	hanoβia
LAP	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
GND	mai	alo	ʒondo-ʒondo [already night] / mʒondo [dark]	hanuvia
KRY	mai	alo	mʒondo	hanoβia
GSJ	mai	alo	mʒondo	hanovia
WAB	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
LWP	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
WAG	mai	alo	ʒondo	hanoβia
KND	mai	ao	moʒondo	hanoβia
TAK	mai	alo	muʒondo	hanoβia
KAS	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
BAT	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
BAH	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
TIR	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
BUR	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
WAL	mai	alo	morondo	hanoβia
BOL	mai	holeo / alo	morondo	hanoβia
MBL	mai	holeo	morondo	hanuβia
BNG	mai	holeo	murondo	hanoβia
MAS	se	holeo	korondoa	hanoβia
WAS	se	holeo	moʔapu	hanuvia
KAI	ʒe [cf. ambu ʒe ieno? '(you) came with who?']	hoholeo	kohondoxa	,haino'βia
WKL	mai	alo	moxondo	noβia
WLW	mei	holeo [cf. xaholeo 'one day', xuaholeo 'two days']	moxidondo	noβia
KMB	me	holeo	xondo-xondo [cf. mokiʔi 'dark, as when electricity goes out']	sandoβia
LLM	βe	leo [but cf. raoleo 'one day', ruaoleo 'two days', toluoleo 'three days' etc.]	ʒonji-ʒonji [cf. rambonji 'one night', ruambonji 'two nights' etc.]	iβianai

	244 <i>besok</i> tomorrow	245 <i>tahun</i> year	246 <i>malu</i> ashamed, shy	247 <i>takut (kepada)</i> to fear, be afraid of	248 <i>menghitung</i> to count
RNG	naʔite	taku	maea	musasu	gagaʔi
KOO	naʔita	taku	kamaea	kasasu	pigagaʔi
LAP	naʔita	taku	kaʔalo-ʔalo	mosasu	pigagari
GND	nambita	taku	maea	msasu	pigagaxi
KRY	naʔita	taku	maea	mosasu	pigagaxi
GSJ	nambita	taku	maea	msasu	pigagari
WAB	naʔita	taku	kaʔalo-ʔalo / maea	mosasu	gagari
LWP	nantalea	taku	kaʔaʔalo	nsasu	gagari
WAG	naʔita / nantalea	taku	kaʔao-ʔalo	sasu	reke [r is confirmed]
KND	naʔita	taku	kaʔao-ʔao	mosasu	gagaxi
TAK	nebita	taku	kaʔalo	musasu	pigigaxi
KAS	naʔita	taku	koʔalo-ʔalo / maea	mosasu	gagari
BAT	naʔite	taku	kakaʔalo / maea	mosasu	pigagari
BAH	naʔita	taku	kakaʔalo	mosasu	pigagari
TIR	naʔita	taku	kaʔalo-ʔalo	musasu	pigagari
BUR	naʔita	taku	kolaʔalo	musasu	pigagari
WAL	naʔita	taku	kaʔalo-ʔalo	mosasu	reke / gagari
BOL	nabita	taku	maea	mosasu	pigagari
MBL	naʔita	taku	maea	montehi	pigagari
BNG	naʔile	taku	maea	mutehi	pigagari
MAS	naʔile	taku	maea	motehi	pegagari
WAS	naʔile	taku	maea	montehi	pelencu
KAI	naile	taku	ambanju	mosasu	peise ~ peife
WKL	naile	taku	maea	mosesu	kagagaxi
WLW	naile	taku	maea	mosesu	gagaxi
KMB	naʔile [cf. mompeʔela ‘tomorrow morning (after sleeping)’]	ʔaha [cf. ʔaha haʔahano ‘next year’, ʔaha dianaʔa ‘this year’]	kaʔalo-ʔalo [cf. koli kaʔalo-ʔalo ‘don’t be shy’]	mosesu	pegagaxi
LLM	moinda	taku	maea	mosesu	era

	249 <i>berpikir</i> to think	250 <i>tahu (sesuatu)</i> to know (a thing)	251 <i>kenal (orang)</i> to know a person	252 <i>memilih</i> to choose	253 <i>berkata</i> to say, speak, utter
RNG	pikiʕi	koni	koni	pili	pogau
KOO	pikiʕi	koni	koni	hule	pogau
LAP	piburi-buri	koni	koni	pili	pogau
GND	kopikixi	koni	koni	pileki	pogau
KRY	pikixi	koni	koni	pili	pogau
GSJ	pikiri	koni	koni	pili	pogau
WAB	buri-buri	koni	pokoni	pili	pigora-gora / poga-pogau
LWP	buburi	koni	koni	pileki	pugau
WAG	pikiʕi	koni	koni	pili	pogau
KND	pipikixi	koni	koni	pili / peeta	pogau
TAK	pikixi	koni	koni	pili	bisara
KAS	pikiri	koni	koni	pili	pogau
BAT	pikiri	koni	koni	pili	pogau / bisara
BAH	kopikiri	koni	koni	—	pogau
TIR	pikiri / pibuburi	koni	koni	pili	pugau / bisara
BUR	pipikiri	koni	koni	pili	pugao
WAL	pikiri / buri-buri	koni	koni	pili	bisara
BOL	pikiri	koni	koni	pili	pogau
MBL	pikiri	ʕora	ʕora	pili	pogau
BNG	pikiri	ʕora	ʕora	pili	pugau
MAS	pikiri	ʕora	ʕora	pili	pogau
WAS	pikiri	pandeʔe	pandeʔe [nopandeʔeaʔu 'he knows me']	pilie	pogau
KAI	pikixi	koni	koni	pili	pogau
WKL	pikixi / kalencu	koni	koni	pili	ʕoasa
WLW	pikixi	koni	koni	pili	pogau [speak] / ʕoasa [utter, articulate]
KMB	posopikixi	piseneʔe	piseneʔe	pili	pogau
LLM	pikiri	pesene	pesene	pili	pogau

	254 <i>menyanyi</i> to sing	255 <i>menangis</i> to cry	256 <i>tertawa</i> to laugh	257 <i>mendengar</i> to hear	258 <i>melihat</i> to see	259 <i>mencium</i> to smell, sniff
RNG	pilagu	keʔe	βele	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
KOO	lagu	keʔe	βele	pindoŋo	ita	βono [cf. ʋoʋo 'kiss']
LAP	pilagu	keʔe	βele	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
GND	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
KRY	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
GSJ	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	pivono
WAB	pilagu-lagu	keʔe	βeleβele	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
LWP	pilagu	keʔe	βede	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
WAG	pilagu	keʔe	βede	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
KND	lagu	keʔe	βede	pindoŋo	ita	piβono [cf. ʋoʋo 'kiss on the cheek']
TAK	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
KAS	pilagu	keʔe	pikahede	pindoŋoi	ita	piβono
BAT	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
BAH	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
TIR	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔe	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
BUR	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
WAL	pilaŋu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono [cf. ʋoʋo 'kiss']
BOL	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
MBL	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
BNG	pilagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	pindoŋo	ita	puβondu
MAS	pelagu	keʔe	ʋotaʔa	rodoŋo	ita	peβono [cf. peβondu 'kiss']
WAS	nolagu	nokeʔe	noʋotaʔa	nohogono	noʔitaʔe	novondue
KAI	lagu	kee	sedeli [cf. pemboi 'to smile']	pendoŋo	ita	peβono
WKL	pilagu	tani [also keʔe < Cia-Cia]	βele	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
WLW	pelalagu	tani	pomboi	pindoŋo	ita	peβono [cf. ʋoʋo 'kiss']
KMB	lagu / pikaβanci [quatrain]	tani	pomboi	pindoŋo	ita	piβono
LLM	lagu	tani	pemboi	pendoŋo	ita	peβono

	260 <i>memotong (kayu)</i> to cut (wood, across grain)	261 <i>membelah (kayu)</i> to split (wood)	262 <i>memasak</i> to cook	263 <i>membuka</i> to open, uncover	264 <i>makan</i> to eat
RNG	cumpo	boŋka	paŋeka	ambe	maʔa
KOO	cumpo [wood] / dodo [e.g. fish]	boŋka [with machete] / kaβulasi [with axe]	pitoŋo	leŋka / ambe [cf. kasonko 'lid']	maʔa
LAP	cumpo	boŋka	pitoro	leŋka	maʔa
GND	picumpo	piβoŋka	piŋeka	ambe / buŋkale	maʔa
KRY	cumpo	boŋka [large object] / seka [small object]	piŋeka	ambe	maʔa
GSJ	cumpo-cumpo	boβoŋka	piŋeka	ambe	maʔa
WAB	cumpo	boŋka	pereka	ambe	maʔa
LWP	cumpo	boβoŋka	pireka	buŋkale	maʔa
WAG	cumpo	boŋka	peŋeke	ambe	maʔa
KND	picumpo	boŋka	peŋeka	buŋkale	maʔa
TAK	cumpo	boŋka	pitoŋo	buŋkale	maʔa
KAS	cumpo / dodo	boŋka	pereka	ambe [also buka < Malay]	maʔa
BAT	cumpo	boŋka	pitoro / pireka	buka	maʔa
BAH	cumpo	boŋka	pitoro / pereka	leŋka	maʔa
TIR	cumpo	boŋka	pireka	buka	maʔa
BUR	tamba	boŋka	pereka	buka / leŋka	maʔa
WAL	dali	boŋka	pereka	leŋka	maʔa
BOL	cumpo	boŋka	potoro	leŋka	maʔa
MBL	cumpo	boŋka	pitoro	buŋkale	maʔa
BNG	picumpo	boŋka	pitoro	buka / leŋka	maʔa
MAS	pecumpo	peβeta	pepotoro	leŋka	maʔa
WAS	nokanda sau	noveta sau	pepocuko	leŋkaʔe	maʔa
KAI	petumpo	peβoha	pepokotaa	pelenka	maa
WKL	cumpo	boŋka	pitoro / pereka	ambe	maʔa
WLW	cumpo	boŋka	peponau	buŋkale	maʔa
KMB	kolo	βola	piponaʔu	buŋkale	maʔa
LLM	βolo-βolo [original] / kokolo [borrowed]	βeβeŋka	peponaʔu	buŋkale	mta ~ munta

	265 <i>minum</i> to drink	266 <i>menggigit</i> to bite	267 <i>mencicipi</i> to taste (food)	268 <i>mengunyah</i> to chew (not to swallow)	269 <i>mengisap</i> to suck (not nurse)	270 <i>meniup</i> to blow (on fire)
RNG	poʃoku	kaʃepu	pinami	pimunta	soʃobo	poʃo
KOO	poʃoku	kaʃepu	pinami	pimunta	munco	poʃo
LAP	poroku	kukuci	pinami	pimunta	sosopi	poro
GND	puʋoku	keʋepu	pinami	pimunta	pisosopi	poʋo
KRY	poʋoku	keʋepu	pinami	pimunta	sosopi	poʋo
GSJ	poʋoku	keʋepu	pinami	pimunta	sosopi	poʋo
WAB	poroku	kukuci	pinami	pimunta	sosopi / gomi	poro
LWP	poroku	kukuci	pinami	pimunta	sosopi	poro
WAG	poʃoku	kuci	pinami	pimunta	sosopi	poʃo
KND	poʋoku	kuci	pinami	pimunta	sosopi	poʋo
TAK	puʋoku	kukuci	pinami	pimunta	gomi	poʋo
KAS	poroku	kukuci	pinami	pimunta	gomi	poro
BAT	poroku	kuci	pinami	pimunta	sonde	poro
BAH	poroku	kuci	pinami	piɲunte	pisoroʃo	poro
TIR	poroku	kuci	pinami	pimunta	gomi	poro
BUR	poroku	kukuci	pinami	pimunta	gomi	poro
WAL	poroku	kuci	pinami	pimunta	gomi / sosopi	poro
BOL	poroku	kerepu	pinami	pimunta	sosopi	poro
MBL	poroku	papaki	pinami	pimunta	gomi ~ gogomi	poro
BNG	puʋoku	karepu	pinami	pimunta	gomi	poro
MAS	poroku	kerepu	penami	pemunta	pegomi	poro
WAS	sumpu	papakie	penamie	pemuntaʔe	gomie	poʃoʔe
KAI	poxoku	papaki	penami	naɲku	gomi	pii
WKL	poxoku	kukuci	pinami	naɲku	sosopi	poxo
WLW	poxoku	sagu	penami	naɲku	sosopi	piʔixi
KMB	sumpu	kukuci	penami	pinanɲku	gomi	pixi
LLM	sumpu	kurapa	penami	naɲku	gomi	piri

	271 <i>menyala</i> to flame, blaze	272 <i>menunjuk</i> to point	273 <i>memegang</i> to hold	274 <i>memeras</i> to squeeze (in hand)	275 <i>jatuh</i> to fall, drop (as fruit)
RNG	lela	cui	unta / pidanda	peo	bua
KOO	lela	cui	unta	peo	bua
LAP	lela	cui	unta	peo	ɓua
GND	lela	cui	unta	peo	mdaβu
KRY	lela	cui	unta	peo	mdaβu
GSJ	lela	cui	unta	peo	mdavu
WAB	lela	cui	unta	peo	mondaβu
LWP	lela	cui	unta	peo	ndaβu
WAG	lela	cui	unta	peo	ndaβu
KND	lela	cui	unta	peo	mondaβu
TAK	lela	cui	unta	peo	mundaβu
KAS	saʔa	cui	unta	kopuʔu	mondaβu
BAT	lela	cui	unta / pidanda	peo	mondaβu
BAH	lela	cui	pidanda	peo	cinanta [e.g. coconut] / mondaβu [person]
TIR	lela	cui	unta	peo	bua
BUR	lela	cui	unta	peo	ɓua
WAL	lela	cui	unta	peo	monanta [e.g. fruit] / mondaβu [person]
BOL	bena	cui	unta	pio	mondaβu
MBL	lela	cui	unta	pio	mondaβu
BNG	lela	cui	piʔunta	pio	mundaβu
MAS	kambea	cui	peʔunta	pepio	mondaβu
WAS	lela	susue	peʔunta	pioʔe	mondavu / mokocibu
KAI	ɓombo	susu	unta	pio	mondaβu
WKL	lela	cui	unta	pio	mondaβu
WLW	gela	cui	unta [hold with the hand] / kopo [hold inside the hand/fist]	pio	mondaβu
KMB	seʔe	cui	unta	pio	sikaɓi
LLM	ruru	cui	onta	pio	monanta [e.g. coconut] / mandaβu [e.g. slip and fall down]

	276 <i>menjatuhkan</i> to drop	277 <i>bermain</i> to play	278 <i>bekerja</i> to work	279 <i>membakar (kebun)</i> to burn (field)
RNG	pobua	baʃaba	kaʃajaa	cunu
KOO	pobua	kadadaoa	kaʃajaa / kalencu	sula
LAP	pobua	baraba	komiŋku / karajaa	cunu
GND	pikondaβu	poʔandea	pikarajaa	picunu
KRY	tabuʔa	baʔoa	kaʔajaa	cunu
GSJ	pondavu	poʔandea	kaʔajaa	cunu
WAB	pokondaβu	pikuri-kuri	karajaʔa	sula
LWP	pikondaβu	pikakukuri	karajaʔa	sula
WAG	kondaβu	pikakuikuʃi	karajaʔa	sula
KND	pokondaβu	pikakukuʔi	kaʔajaʔa	cucu [cf. tampoe api 'restart from embers']
TAK	kundaβu	babaʔaba	kaʔajaa	cunu
KAS	pokondaβu	baraʔa	karajaʔa	sula
BAT	ponanta	baraba	pikarajaa	pikasusula
BAH	ponanta	baraʔa	komiŋku	sula [cf. pikancunu 'grill, as fish']
TIR	pubua / punanta	baraba	pikumiŋku	sula
BUR	pubua	baraʔa / poandea	pira / kumiŋkua [work (n.), stem miŋku 'move']	tampoi [e.g. trash] / sula [e.g. grass in the forest]
WAL	ponanta	baraʔa	pirae	cunu
BOL	pokondaβu	baraba / mogasia / poandea	karajaa / komiŋku	cunu
MBL	pikondaβu	magasia	karajaa / komiŋku	cunu
BNG	pundaβu	puʔandea	pumiŋku	kancuncunu
MAS	pokondaβu	poʔandea	pekomiŋku	cunu
WAS	tabuʔaʔe	pekadao-daʔa [stem daʔa 'market']	kaʔajaa	pesula vuta
KAI	pokondaβu	mogasia	kaxajaa	petunu
WKL	pokondaβu	poʔandea / baraʔa	kaxajaʔa	sula
WLW	pokondaβu	poʔandea	kaxajaʔa	sule [cf. cunu 'grill, as fish']
KMB	tabuʔaʔasene [with third person indirect object marker -ʔasene]	mohaʔa / kadadaʔia	kaxajaa	sule [cf. pecinaβu 'gather unburnt pieces of wood to burn again']
LLM	nanta	pekaʔina-ʔina	karajaa	sule / [cf. rampu 'grill, as fish']

280		281		282	
<i>menanam</i>		<i>tumbuh</i>		<i>menumbuk (padi)</i>	
	to plant		to grow		to pound (rice)
RNG	tadu	cumbu		cucu	
KOO	pimbula [e.g. coffee] / tadu [e.g. corn]	cumbu [cf. cu'mbum with completive marker]		picucu	
LAP	pimbula [e.g. coconut] / pitadu [e.g. corn]	cuna		cucu	
GND	pontasu [rice, etc.] / cika [seed, e.g. corn]	cumbu		picucu	
KRY	pimbula [live plant] / cika [seed, e.g. corn, rice]	cumbu		picucu	
GSJ	picuka	cumbu		picucu	
WAB	pimbula [sprouted] / cika [seed]	cumbu		picucu	
LWP	pimbula [coconut] / cika [seed]	cumbu		picucu	
WAG	pimbula / cika [e.g. corn]	cumbu		cucu	
KND	pimbua [e.g. tree] / cika [e.g. corn]	cumbu		picucu	
TAK	cika	cumbu		picucu	
KAS	pimbula [e.g. coconut] / pilandu [e.g. corn]	cumbu		cucu	
BAT	pimbula / pitadu	cumbu		picucu	
BAH	pimbula [e.g. cassava, what already has a stem] / pitadu [e.g. corn]	cumbu		picucu	
TIR	pimbula	cumbu		cucu	
BUR	pitadu	cumbu		picucu	
WAL	pimbula / cika [plant with dibble]	duđu [grow] / cumbu [sprout, e.g. coconut]		picucu	
BOL	pimbula / picika [plant with dibble]	cumbu		picucu	
MBL	pimbula [large] / picika [e.g. rice, corn, sorghum]	cumbu		cucu	
BNG	pimbula	cumbu		picucu	
MAS	pembula	cumbu		pecucu	
WAS	pembula	cumbu		pecucu	
KAI	pembula / tika [plant with dibble]	tumbu		petutu	
WKL	pimbula / tadu [e.g. corn]	cumbu / ido		cucu	
WLW	pembula [e.g. coconut] / tadu [e.g. corn] / pontasu [e.g. rice]	ido		cucu	
KMB	tadu [with dibble] / pimbula	ido		cucu	
LLM	pembula [e.g. cassava] / tadu [with dibble, e.g. corn, rice]	cumbu		cucu	

	283 <i>melumatkan</i> to crush	284 <i>hidup</i> to live, be alive	285 <i>mati</i> to die, dead	286 <i>menggali</i> to dig (hole)	287 <i>mendorong</i> to push
RNG	cucue pokoŕuta?e [pound it until fine]	dadi	mate	ponali	cumpu
KOO	ŕuta [cf. muŕu'tam with completive marker]	dadi	mate	ponali	jujulai
LAP	palana	dadi	mate	ponali	jujula
GND	pikoŕita	dadi	mate	ponali	jujula
KRY	pepu	dadi	mate	ponali	jujula
GSJ	pikomalu	dadi	mate	ponali	jujula
WAB	kapaŕandu	dadi	mate	ponali	jujula?isi
LWP	pupuro [e.g. rice into rice flour]	dadi	mate	ponali	tola
WAG	piko?alusu / pahancuru	dadi	mate	ponali	jujulai
KND	pahalusu	dadi	mate	sese	jujuai
TAK	kumalu	dadi	mate	ponali	jujulai
KAS	pokoruta	dadi	mate	gale	jujulai ~ jujulasi
BAT	pokoruta	dadi	mate	pisese	jujulai
BAH	puro	dadi	mate	pisese	pajuju
TIR	pahalusu	dadi	mate	sese	jujulai
BUR	poro?e	dadi	mate	ponali	tola / ndoo
WAL	palana	dadi	mate	pisese	pojulu / ndo?o
BOL	palana / purokoci	dadi	mate	seli	jujulai
MBL	ŕitaki	dadi	mate	piseli	jujulai
BNG	puroku	dadi	mate	seli	jujulai
MAS	puro	dadi	mate	peseli	pajuju
WAS	pokovita / pohancurue	mokuxi	mate	galue / polani [dig a hole]	jujula?e
KAI	po?alusu	mokuxi	mate	peseli	juxu
WKL	pahancuru	dadi	mate	ponali / seli	jujulai
WLW	pahancuru	dadi	mate	seli	juhai [push person] / juju [push, e.g. furniture]
KMB	puxo	dadi / mokuhi	mate	sali	jujulai
LLM	puroki / pa?alusu	cumbu	mate	peŕaro	soro

	288 <i>menarik (sesuatu)</i> to pull	289 <i>mengikat, menambatkan</i> to tie (tether animal)	290 <i>berbelok</i> to turn (right/left)	291 <i>berputar</i> to turn around	292 <i>mengelap</i> to wipe
RNG	hela	boke	belo	putoli / putara	pilapu
KOO	hela	boke	toli?isie	pipopokou	gigisi / lapu [< Malay]
LAP	soro / hela	boke	pali	cigili	goso
GND	hela	boke	toli	pajala	pilapu
KRY	hela	boke	belo	pikambululi	pigoso
GSJ	hela	boke	balili	bulili	gigisi
WAB	hela	boke	pali / belo [< Malay]	pokou	gigisi
LWP	hela	boke	balili / pali / paliŋku	mpokou	goso
WAG	hela	boke	liŋku	pikou-kou	pigigisi
KND	hela	boke	nopali	putara / bululi [turn around, change directions, as when sailing]	goso
TAK	hela	boke	balili	popokou	gigisi
KAS	hela	boke	pali	putara	goso
BAT	hela	boke	pali	potili [e.g. top]	pigigisi
BAH	hela	boke	pali	pokou	pigigisi
TIR	hela	boke	pali	pokou	pigigisi
BUR	hela	boke	pali	pokou	pigigisi
WAL	hela / soro	boke	palisu	pokou	gigisi
BOL	hela	boke	pali	pokou	gigisi
MBL	hela	boke	pali	katimbululi	gigisi
BNG	hela	boke	pali	gili	goso
MAS	hela	boke	pali	patii	pegigisi
WAS	hela?e	boke?e	balili	,pekapa'tii	lapue
KAI	hela	tapu	belo	tii [intransitive] / patii [transitive] / soŋo [to back up, equiv. to Malay mundur]	pegigisi
WKL	hela	boke	belo	putaxa	gigisi
WLW	hela	boke	belo	pakaputaxa	gigisi
KMB	hela	boŋko	belo	pokou / patii [make spin, e.g. patii?e mesin]	gigisi
LLM	hela	boŋko	bulili / belo [< Malay belok]	putara [< Malay putar]	gigisi

	293 <i>mencuci pakaian</i> to wash clothes	294 <i>menjemur (pakaian)</i> to dry (clothes) in sun	295 <i>memandikan</i> to give someone a bath	296 <i>berenang</i> to swim	297 <i>mengapung</i> to float	298 <i>memanjat (pohon)</i> to climb (tree)
RNG	pitopa	pohai	baho	pikanaju	ampe	pikahende
KOO	pitopa	pohai	ḡaho	pikanajo	piʔampe-ʔampe	pikahende
LAP	pitopa	pohai	ḡaho	pikanaju	ampe / lanto	hende
GND	pitopa	pohai	pibaho	pikanaju	ampe	pikahende
KRY	pitopa	pohai	piḡaho	pikanaju	ampe	pikahende
GSJ	pitopa	pohai	piḡaho	pikanaju	ampe	mlomo
WAB	pitopa	pipohai	ḡaho	ponaju	ampe	pikahende
LWP	pitopa	piholeo	pibaho	pikanaju	ampe / lanto	pikahende
WAG	pitopa	piholeo	piḡaho	pikanaju	lanto	pikahende
KND	pitopa	piholeo	piḡaho	pikanaju	piʔampe-ʔampe / pilanto-lanto	pikahende
TAK	pitopa	piholeo	piḡaho	pikanaju	lanto	pikahende
KAS	pitopa	pipohai	ḡaho	pikanaju	pilanto-lanto	pikahende
BAT	pitopa	pohai	pibaho	pikanaju	lanto	pikahende
BAH	pitopa	pohai	piḡaho	pikanaju	lanto	pikahende
TIR	pitopa	pohai	baho	pikanaju	palanto	pikahende
BUR	pitopa	puhai	piḡaho	pikanaju	lanto	pikahende
WAL	pitopa	pohai	piḡaho	pikanaju	palanto	hende
BOL	pitopa	pohai	pibaho	ponaju	lanto	hende
MBL	pitopa	pipohai	pibaho	pikanaju	lanto	pikahende
BNG	pitopa	pohai	ḡaho	pikanaju	lanto	hende
MAS	petopa	pepohai	peḡaho	ponaju	lanto	pekahende
WAS	metopa	pepohai	peḡahoʔe	ponajo	pelanto-lanto	pemone
KAI	petopa	peholeo	ḡaho	ponano [verified]	lanto	hende
WKL	pitopa / potapasi	piholeo	piḡaho	pikanaju	lanto	pikahende
WLW	petopa	peholeo	peḡaho	soda ~ pekasosoda [medial d contrasts with soda 'soft drink']	lanto	pekahende
KMB	petopa	piholeo	petambusi	leju	lanto	hendeci
LLM	petopasi	peoleo	petambusi (gorau)	leju	lanto	ekaci

	299 <i>mendaki (gunung)</i> to climb (mountain)	300 <i>naik</i> to ascend	301 <i>bersembunyi</i> to hide	302 <i>berburu</i> to hunt (for game)	303 <i>memasang (jerat)</i> to set (traps)
RNG	paŋaŋa	hende	pikahoko	pihule	pikapipi
KOO	paŋaŋa	pikahende	pihoko	pikulu	pikantoʔo [for deer] / pikapipi [for chicken]
LAP	paŋara	hende	pihoko	kulu	pikaʔela / pitaho
GND	sukuŋi	hende	pikahoko	kulu	pikaʔela
KRY	sukuŋi	hende	pikahoko	kulu	pitaho kaʔela
GSJ	hende	hende	pikahoko	kulu	pakana kaʔela [cf. pakana ‘do, make’]
WAB	paŋaraci	hende	pihoko	poasu	pikaʔela
LWP	toma	hende	pihoko	pikahokolo	pitaho kaʔela / pikaʔela
WAG	hende	hende	pihoko	pikahokolo	pikaela
KND	hende	hende	pihoko	pikahokoo	pikaʔela
TAK	hende	hende	pihoko	pikulu / pikusa [hunt deer] / piʔaʔi [hunt pigs]	pikaela
KAS	hende	hende	pikahoko	poasu	pikaʔela
BAT	hende	hende	pihoko	—	pikaʔela
BAH	paŋara	hende	pihoko	kumuluno	taho
TIR	toma	hende	pihoko	kulu	pikaʔela
BUR	paŋara	hende	pihoko	kulu	pikaʔela
WAL	paŋara	hende	pihoko	pimata [lit. ‘seek’]	pikaʔela
BOL	saka	hende	pihoko	kulu	pitaho kaʔela / pikaʔela
MBL	toma	hende	pihoko	kulu	taho
BNG	paŋara	hende	pihoko	pajere	pitaho kaʔele [cf. kaʔele ‘trap’]
MAS	saka	hende	pehoko	pekaʔaŋka	petaho / pekaʔela
WAS	taga kabumbu	mone	pehoko	—	petaho kaʔela
KAI	taga	hende	pehoko	pekahokolo	petaho
WKL	hende	hende	pihoko	poasu	taho
WLW	taga	hende	pekaʔoko	poʔasu	taho
KMB	cumbuhi	hende	pikaʔoko	pajexe	taʔo [cf. kaʔinda ‘trap’]
LLM	pandake	eka	pekaʔoko	pajere	taʔo [cf. kaʔila ‘trap’]

	304 <i>terbang</i> to fly	305 <i>memanah</i> to shoot an arrow	306 <i>menikam</i> to stab	307 <i>membunuh (orang)</i> to kill	308 <i>melemparkan</i> to throw
RNG	leo	pipana	toboki	poŋko	pando
KOO	leo	pipana	toʔoki	poŋko	pando
LAP	leo / lola	pana	toʔoki	poŋko	kabi
GND	leo	pana	toboki	poŋko	pikapando
KRY	leo	pana	toboki	poŋko	pikapandoaso
GSJ	leo	pana	toboki	poŋko	pando
WAB	lola	pipana	toʔoki	poŋko	pando
LWP	lola	pana	toboki	poŋko / komate	pando
WAG	lola	pana	toʔoki	pikomate	pando / pikapando
KND	loa	pana	toʔoki	pokomate	pando
TAK	lola	pipana	toboki	pikomate	pikapando
KAS	loʔo	pana	toʔoki	pokomate	pikapando
BAT	lola	pipana	toboki	pokomate	mbeta
BAH	lola	pipana	toʔoki	pikomate	panaʔu
TIR	lola	pana	toboki	poŋko / pikamate	panaʔu
BUR	lola	pipana	toboki	poŋko	panaʔu
WAL	lola	pana	toʔo	pokomate	panaʔu [overhand] / eʔa [underhand] / tompalasi
BOL	lola	pipana	toboki	pokomate	cuda
MBL	lola	pana	toboki	pikomate	cuda [overhand] / cubela [underhand]
BNG	leo	pipana	toboki	pikumate	pikacuda
MAS	horo	pepana	toʔoki	poŋko	pekacuda
WAS	hoho	pepana	toʔoʔe [cf. nocucue manu ‘stab a chicken (in order to kill it)’]	pokomateʔe	pehampasi
KAI	lola	pepana	petoʔo	pepoŋko	peʔambexi
WKL	lola	pipana	toʔoki	pikamate / poŋko	pando
WLW	lola	pepana	toʔoki	pokomate	ʔacika
KMB	lola	pana	toʔoki	kumate	pikacikaʔasene
LLM	lola	pana	toʔoki [thrust forward] / cumbusi [plunge downward]	pokomate	pekacika

	309 <i>memukul (dengan sesuatu)</i> to hit (with a stick, club)	310 <i>berkelahi</i> to fight	311 <i>mencuri</i> to steal	312 <i>membuat</i> to make
RNG	βoβa	pogiŋa / pocumbu	mbolaku	pakana
KOO	βembe / βaβasi	pogiŋa / pocumfoxbu	mbulaku	paŋabua / pokana
LAP	bebe	pogira	mbolaku	pigau
GND	βebe	pogixa	mbolaku	pakana
KRY	βebe	pugixa	mbolaku	pigau / pipande [do competently]
GSJ	βebe	pogixa	mbolaku	pakana
WAB	βoβa [w/ instrument] / βebe [w/ hand]	poraso	mbolaku	pakana
LWP	βoβa	pogera [with words] / pocumbu [physical]	mbolaku	pokana / pirabu
WAG	βoβa	pocumbu	mbolaku	pigau
KND	βoβa [use wood] / βabele [use wood, hand, etc.]	pogexa [verbal] / pocumbu [physical]	mboaku	piɤabu
TAK	βoβa	picumbu / pogixa [with words]	mbolaku	piɤabu
KAS	βebe	pogira [quarrel] / pocumbu [physical]	mbolaku	pigau / pirabu / pakana
BAT	βoβa	podole [general] / pocumbu [fistfight]	mbolaku	piβau [original] / pigau [borrowed]
BAH	βebe	pogera [quarrel] / podole [physical]	mbolaku	pigau
TIR	βebe	pogera	mbolaku	piβau
BUR	βebe	pocumbu [physical] / pogera [words only]	mbolaku	pakana / piβau
WAL	rambi / βebe	pogera [quarrel] / poʔanu [physical] / pocumbu [physical]	mbolaku	piβau
BOL	bebe	pobusu [physical] / pogera [words only]	mbolaku	pigau
MBL	βebe / βoβa	pogera	mbolaku	pigau / piβau [e.g. cake]
BNG	βebe	pugera	mbulaku	piβau
MAS	βebe	pobusu [physical] / pogera [non-physical]	mbolaku	peβau
WAS	vesie	pogexa	mbolaku	kaxajaʔe
KAI	pehado	pogexa [quarrel] / pobusu [with fist] / potopa [slap]	mbolaku	pekaxajaa
WKL	pikaβebe	pogexa / potagali	mbolaku	pikarajaʔa / piβau
WLW	pomako	pogixa [quarrel] / pobusu [physical]	mbolaku	pekaxajaʔa / peβau
KMB	βebe	pogixa [with words] / pobusu [physical]	mbolaku	piβau
LLM	palu	pogira	polaku	peβau

	313 <i>menjahit</i> to sew	314 <i>menyapu</i> to sweep	315 <i>membeli</i> to buy	316 <i>menjual</i> to sell	317 <i>mengambil</i> to take	318 <i>memberi</i> to give	319 <i>membawa</i> to bring, carry
RNG	pidɛu	pisambuʃe	holi	aso	ala	bicu	baβa
KOO	pidɛu	pisambuʃe	holi	aso ~ paʃaʔaso	ala	bicu	baβa
LAP	pidɛu	pisambure	balu	aso	ala	daβu	baβa
GND	pidɛu	pisambuxɛ	holi	aso	ala	daβu	baβa
KRY	pidɛu	pisambuxɛ	holi	aso	ala	daβu	baβa
GSJ	pidɛu	pisambuxɛ	holi	aso	ala	daʋu	bava
WAB	pidɛu	pisambure	holi	aso	ala	daβu	baβa
LWP	pidɛu	pisambure	balu	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
WAG	pidɛu	pisambuʃe	balu	paʃaʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
KND	pidɛu	pisambuxɛ	holi	pakaaso / aso	aa	daβu	baβa
TAK	pidɛu	pisambuxɛ	holi	pakaaso	ala	daβusi	baβa
KAS	pidɛu	pisambure	holi	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
BAT	pidɛu	pisambure	balu	paraʔaso	ala	daβusi	baβa
BAH	pidɛu	pisambure	balu / holi	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
TIR	pidɛu	pisambure	balu	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
BUR	pidɛu	pisambure	balu	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
WAL	pidɛu	pisambure	balu	aso	ala	daβu / daβusi	baβa
BOL	pisurumba	pisambure	holi	aso	ala	daβu	baβa
MBL	pisurumba	pisambure	holi	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
BNG	pisurumba	pisambure	holi	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa / ato
MAS	pesurumba	pesambure	holi	paraʔaso	ala	daβu	baβa
WAS	pedɛu	pesambuxɛ	peholi	paxaʔaso	peʔala	daʋue	atoʔe
KAI	medɛu	pesambuxɛ	holi	aso	ala	betu	ato
WKL	pidɛu	pisambuxɛ	holi	aso	ala	bicu / daβu	ato
WLW	pededɛu	pesambuxɛ	holi	aso ~ paxaʔaso	ala	becu	ato
KMB	pidedɛu	sambuxɛ	holi	aso	ala	becu	untaʔunta / ato
LLM	pesorumba	pekaʔisi	balu	paraaso	ala	daβu	baβa

	320 <i>menjunjung</i> to carry on the head	321 <i>bernafas</i> to breathe	322 <i>berludah, meludah</i> to spit	323 <i>muntah</i> to vomit	324 <i>berkentut</i> to fart	325 <i>bergaruk</i> to scratch (an itch)
RNG	su?u	pisina?a	pikacupe	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
KOO	su?u	pisina?a	picupe	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
LAP	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
GND	su?u	pisina?a	pikapeɾa	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
KRY	su?u	pisina?a	pikapeɾa	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
GSJ	su?u	pisana?a	pikapeɾa	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
WAB	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera	polonai	pikokocu	pikosai
LWP	su?u	pisina?a	pikapontori	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
WAG	su?u	pisina?a	pikapuntoʃi	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
KND	su?u	pisina?a	pikapeɾa	po:nai	pikokocu	pikusai
TAK	su?u	pisina?a	pintoxi	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
KAS	su?u	pisina?a	pikapuntori / pikapera	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
BAT	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
BAH	su?u	pisina?a	pikacupe	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
TIR	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
BUR	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera / pikacupe	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
WAL	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
BOL	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera	polonai	pikocu	pikusai
MBL	su?u	hela sina?a	pikacupe / pikapera	polonai	pikocu	pikosai
BNG	su?u	sina?a	kacupera	pulunai	pikocu	pikusai
MAS	su?u	pesina?a	pekapera	po?ue	pekocu	pekusai
WAS	su?ue	pesina?a	pekacue	polonai	pekohocu	kusaie
KAI	suu	pesinaa	pekatupe	polonai	pebuu	pekusai
WKL	su?u	pisina?a	pikapera	polonai	pikokocu	pikusai
WLW	su?u	pesine?e	pehode	po?ue	pekokocu	pekusai
KMB	su?u	pisine?e	pe?elu	po?uβe	pikokocu	kusai
LLM	suu	pesine?e	pe?elu	tolua	kokocu	peŋkao

	326 <i>menggosok (badan)</i> to rub (massage)	327 <i>bergembung, membengkak</i> to swell (as an abcess)	328 <i>mengalir</i> to flow	329 <i>pergi</i> to go	330 <i>berlari</i> to run
RNG	pagiʼe	kaβao	βaʔa	inte	lumpa
KOO	jampu / pisi [massage]	βao [cf. noβa'om 'it has swelled']	βaʔa	haŋka [cf. ha'ŋkam with completive marker]	lumpa
LAP	puro	tente	βulu / βaʔa	haŋka	toɔe
GND	pigigisi	tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
KRY	pigigisi	tente	βaʔa	haŋka	toɔe
GSJ	pipuxo	tente	vaʔa	haŋka	toɔe
WAB	pikurai	tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
LWP	pipisi	tente / baŋka	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
WAG	pikoso	tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
KND	pigoso	tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
TAK	sapulei	tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
KAS	pipuro	tente	βaʔa	haŋka / liŋka	toɔe
BAT	pigoso	tente	βulu / βaʔa	inte	toɔe
BAH	pisapulei [rub] / pipisi [massage]	tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
TIR	pipuro	tente / baŋka	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
BUR	pipuro	moβao / tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
WAL	pipuro	tente	βulu	inte	toɔe
BOL	pipuro	tente / beke [swell, of belly]	βaʔa / siβulu	inte	toɔe
MBL	pipuro	tente	βaʔa	inte	toɔe
BNG	gigisi	tente	βaʔa	inte	kajuju
MAS	pejampu	tente	βaʔa	inte / βila	toɔe
WAS	pepuxo	notente	novaʔa	novila	toɔe
KAI	pepisi	tente	siβulu	inte	tende
WKL	sapulei / pigigisi	tente	siβulu	inte / liŋka	toɔe
WLW	sapulei	tente	laʔa / siβulu [flow, also flotsam]	liŋka	kampulei
KMB	piʔicu	βokoβoko	βinulu	ompa	toɔe
LLM	gigisi [rub] / pisi-pisi [massage]	βoko	βulu	ompa	bunculi

	331 <i>berjalan</i> to walk	332 <i>berdiri</i> to stand	333 <i>duduk</i> to sit	334 <i>berbaring</i> to lie down	335 <i>menguap</i> to yawn	336 <i>tidur</i> to sleep
RNG	pikake / haŋka	tade	hoŋa	pindondole	hahaʔaʔe	minoko
KOO	haŋka	tade	hoŋa	pindondole	kaŋaeβa	minoko
LAP	haŋka	tade	hora	pindondole	piŋaβa	mocuru
GND	haŋka	tade	hoʔa	pindondole / pindole-ndole	mŋaβa	mucuʔu
KRY	haŋka	tade	hoʔa	ndole / pindondole	mŋaβa	mucuʔu
GSJ	haŋka	tade	hoʔa	pindondole	piŋava	mucuʔu
WAB	βilaka	tade	hora	pindole-ndole	moŋaβa	minoko
LWP	haŋka	tade	hora	pindondole	piŋaβa	ncuru
WAG	laŋka	tade	hoŋa	pindoe-ndole	piŋaβa	ncuŋu
KND	liŋkaliŋka	tade	hoʔa	ndole / pindole-ndole	piŋaβa	mocuʔu
TAK	pihahaŋka	tade	hoʔa	ndole	piŋaβa	moncuʔu
KAS	liŋka	tade	hora	pindole-ndole	piŋaβa	mocuru
BAT	haŋka	tade	hora	pindondole	piŋaβa	moncuru
BAH	haŋka	tade	hora	ndole	piŋaβa	moncuru
TIR	haŋka	tade	hora	ndole	piŋawa	muncuru
BUR	haŋka	tade	hora	pindondole	piŋaβa	muncuru
WAL	haŋka	tade	hora	ndondole	piŋaβa	mocuru
BOL	liŋka	tade	piŋkora	pindondole	piŋaβa	monoko
MBL	liŋka	tade	piŋkora	pindondole	piŋaβa	mo:do
BNG	βila	pintantade	piŋkora	pindondole	piŋaβa	moodo
MAS	βila	tade	peŋkora	pendondole	peŋaβa	moodo
WAS	pevila-vila	tade / pentade-ntade	pecuko-cuko	ndole-ndole	moŋava	monoko
KAI	liŋka	tade	poŋkoxa	ndole	moŋaβa	monoko
WKL	haŋka	tade	hora	ndole-ndole	piŋaβa	mocuxu
WLW	liŋka	tade	pupunda	pedodole	moŋaβa	monoko
KMB	lampa	tade	pupunda	keŋkele	muŋaβa	mocuxu
LLM	lampa	tade	popunda	keŋkele ~ peŋkele-ŋkele	momaa	mocuru

	337 <i>(ber)mimpi</i> to dream	338 <i>datang, tiba</i> to come, arrive	339 <i>tinggal</i> to live, dwell	340 <i>nama</i> name
RNG	poʔinipi	bundo	ʃokoli	ŋea
KOO	poʔonipi [o in penultimate syllable is confirmed]	bundo [cf. bu'ndom with completive marker]	pihohoʃa	ŋia
LAP	ponipi	bundo	hora	ŋea
GND	poinipi	bundo	taʔa	ŋea
KRY	poinipi	bundo [come] / ʔato [arrive]	taʔa	ŋea
GSJ	poinipi	bundo	taʔa	ŋea
WAB	poinipi	bundo	hora	ŋea
LWP	poinipi	bundo	hora	ŋea
WAG	poinipi	bundo / ʃato	hoʃa	ŋea
KND	poinipi	bundo	hoʔa	ŋea
TAK	pupunipi	bundo	pihohoʔa	ŋea
KAS	poinipi	bundo	hora	ŋea
BAT	ponipi	bundo	hora	ŋea
BAH	poʔinipi	bundo	hora	ŋea
TIR	poʔonipi	bundo	hora	ŋea
BUR	puʔinipi	bundo	hora	ŋia
WAL	ponipi	bundo / rato	hora	ŋea
BOL	poʔinipi	bundo [come] / rato [arrive]	piŋkora	ŋea
MBL	poʔonipi	bundo	piŋkoŋkora	ŋea
BNG	pipuʔinipi	bundo	pihohora	ŋea
MAS	poʔinipi	bundo [come] / rato [arrive]	peŋkora	ŋea
WAS	poʔinipi	noʔumba	kotaʔu	kona
KAI	poinipi	ambu / xato	mea-meate [mea-meate i kaana 'stay at home', mea-meate i kinamo 'stay in (one's) garden']	kona
WKL	poinipi	bundo / kumbo / rato	punda	ŋea
WLW	poinipi	kumbo	punda [cf. bucu 'stop by']	ŋea
KMB	poinipi	bundo	popunda [cf. bucu 'stop by']	ŋea
LLM	poʔinipi	bua	pepunda-punda	ŋea

	341 <i>apa?</i> what?	342 <i>siapa?</i> who?	343 <i>di mana?</i> where?	344 <i>kapan?</i> when?	345 <i>bagaimana?</i> how?
RNG	hecike?e	he?eno	impa?e	naipia	maimpa?e
KOO	paʕa?ea	he?eno	impa?ea	naipia	mpampa?ea
LAP	para?eno	nde?eno	ka?umpa?e	na?ipia	mpa?umpa?e
GND	paʕa?e	inde?eno	impa?e	naipia	maimpa?e
KRY	paʕa?e	inde?e	impa?e	naipia	maimpa?e
GSJ	paʕa?e	nde?ea	impa?e	naipia	maimpa?e
WAB	para?e	ye?eno	impa?e	naipia	maimpa?e
LWP	parae	nde?eno	impae	naipia	mbo?impae
WAG	paʕae	oie?e	impae	naipia	mba?impae
KND	paʕae	ie?e	impae	nipiamo [past] / naipia [future]	mba?impae
TAK	paʕae	eenno	impae	naipia	mbampae
KAS	parae	inde?e	impae	nipiamo [past] / naipia [future]	ma?impa?e
BAT	para?a	inde?e	kaimpa?a	naipia	mbaimpa?e
BAH	para?a	inde?eno	kaimpa?a	naipia [cf. nipiamo asking about the past]	mba?impa?a
TIR	para?e	nde?eno	kaimpa?e	naipia	maimpa?e
BUR	para?e	nde?eno	kaempa?e ~ kaempa?a	naipia	maimpa?eno
WAL	para?e	nde?eno	iβampa?e	naipia	maimpa?e
BOL	para?e	inde?e	impa?e	naipia	mboimpa?e
MBL	haeno	ye?eno	impa?e	ipiamo / naipia	mbahae
BNG	haeno	ye?eno	impa?e	naipia	mbahae
MAS	hae / haeno	ie?eno	βaimpa?e	naipia	mbohae
WAS	ohae	he?eno	vehae	naipia	mbahae [vowels are nasalized]
KAI	paxae	iyeno ~ i:eno	impae	nipiamo [past] / naipia [future]	to:mpae
WKL	paxa?e ~ paxae ~ a?e	inde?eno	impa?e	naipia [cf. nipiamo kumbo? 'when did (you) arrive?']	mompae
WLW	paxa?e ~ paxae	ie?eno	ipa?e	naipia	mompae
KMB	paxa?e	ye?eno	dipa?e	naipia	mompaxa?e
LLM	para?e	iʔe?eno	ipa?e	pa?apa ~ apa?apa	mbepara?e

	346 <i>mengapa?, kenapa?</i> why?	347 <i>kamar</i> room	348 <i>roti</i> bread	349 <i>radio</i> radio
RNG	mo?apa	kamara	roti	radio
KOO	mo?apa	kamara	roti	radio
LAP	mo?apa	—	—	—
GND	mo?apa	kamara	roti	radio
KRY	mo?apa	kado?o	roti	radio
GSJ	mo?apa	kamara	roti	radio
WAB	mo?apa	kamara	roti	radio
LWP	mo?apa	kamara / kado?o	roti	radio
WAG	moapa	kamara	roti	radio
KND	moapa	kamara	roti	radio
TAK	moapa	kamara / kakaḍogo	roti	radio
KAS	mo?apa	kado?o / kamara	roti	radio
BAT	mo?apa	kamara	kui	radio
BAH	mo?apa	kamara	roti	radio
TIR	mo?apa	kamara	roti	radio
BUR	mo?apa	kamara / kaḍo?o	roti	radio
WAL	mo?apa	—	—	—
BOL	mo?apa	konokoa	roti	radio
MBL	mo?apa	ko:doa [bedroom]	roti	radio
BNG	mo?apa	kamara / ko:doa [bedroom]	roti	radio
MAS	mo?apa	—	—	—
WAS	mo?apa	kamara	—	—
KAI	moapa	—	—	—
WKL	moapa	—	—	—
WLW	moapa	kaḍo?o	roti	radio
KMB	mo?apa?ia	—	—	—
LLM	mo?apa / pe?apa	—	—	—