

Kumbewaha word list and notes

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DESCRIPTION

Kumbewaha is a minor language of Buton Island in southeastern Sulawesi, Indonesia. In this paper I bring to light some information about its sociolinguistic context, sound system, word stock, person markers, and deictics. At the heart of this paper is an annotated word list comprising more than eight hundred items.

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VERSION HISTORY

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1. Introduction

Kumbewaha is a minor language spoken on the southeastern coast of Buton Island in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is spoken in a single village, also named Kumbewaha,² by around 1200 people out of a total village population of over 2000. The Kumbewaha are the original inhabitants of this area. Other languages spoken in this village include Indonesian, Bajau, and Cia-Cia. Indeed apart from the Kumbewaha community, the entire district has been settled by speakers of other languages who have either immigrated locally (primarily Cia-Cia from various dialect areas, but also Bajau, Tukang Besi from Kaledupa Island, Pancana from Wasuamba, and Wolio) or who have been resettled here through government-sponsored transmigration (Javanese).

Despite the few number of speakers and multi-ethnic milieu, there are some encouraging signs for the continued use of the Kumbewaha language. Importantly, it was reported to me that children are learning and speaking the language—not just with adults, but with each other as well. Furthermore Kumbewaha continues to be used in a number of different domains besides the home, including traditional ceremonies, public announcements, and village meetings. On the other hand bilingualism in Indonesian appears to be having a negative effect on the Kumbewaha lexicon. This was evidenced during the word list elicitation session when people experienced difficulty recalling the bona fide Kumbewaha term (see further § 4).

I also have in hand two Wolowa word lists, collected in communities to the west of Kumbewaha. Wolowa and Kumbewaha share a close relationship, either as dialects or as closely related languages (Mead and Truong In preparation). Until further research settles this question, it seems best to approach the situation conservatively and consider Wolowa and Kumbewaha to be dialects of a single language—although even what that language should be named remains an open question.

In this paper I consider only the speech variety in Kumbewaha village. At some future time I hope to treat the Wolowa data separately.

¹ I would like to acknowledge L. M. Kasim, the head of Kumbewaha village, Ishak S. V., village secretary, and La Hedu for the assistance they willingly offered me over two days in August, 2015, as we explored the wordstock and grammatical patterns of their language. Any shortcomings in the data or presentation are solely my responsibility.

² Pinpoint coordinates for this village can be given as 5° 24' 19.2" S and 123° 6' 0.8" E. The village (*desa*) of Kumbewaha is located in the district (*kecamatan*) of Siotapina in the regency (*kabupaten*) of Buton in the province (*provinsi*) of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.

2. Previous research

In the early 1990s Mark Donohue collected a Kumbewaha word list, and it was on the basis of his historical-comparative paper (first circulated 1993, officially published 2004) that Kumbewaha was recognized as a separate language. The word list itself however was never published.

A 200-item Kumbewaha word list of dubious quality is included in Lauder et al. (2000). A small amount of Kumbewaha data can also be gleaned from Donohue's (2004) paper as well as Hanan's papers (2012, 2013) on sound changes in the Cia-Cia area (Hanan treats Kumbewaha as a dialect of Cia-Cia).

3. Sound system and transcription

Kumbewaha has the following consonants and vowels:

voiceless stops and affricates: /p/, /t/, /ʃ/, /k/, /χ/

voiced stops and affricates: /b/, /v/, /d/, /d/, /dʒ/, /g/

fricatives: /β/, /s/, /x/, /h/

nasals; /m/, /n/, /ŋ/

resonants: /r/, /l/

vowels: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/

When not enclosed in phonemic or phonetic brackets, orthographic *c* is used to symbolize the voiceless palatal affricate /ʃ/, *j* to symbolize the voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/, and *w* to symbolize the voiced bilabial fricative /β/. Orthographic *x* symbolizes a voiceless velar fricative, just as it does in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

No approximants occur in the corpus, except that *y* (/j/) appears in the borrowed word *bayara* ‘to buy’ (< Malay *bayar*). The interrogative pronoun ‘who?’ was transcribed as *ye?eno*, but underlyingly should probably be regarded as *ie?eno*.

The only allowable consonant combinations are a nasal followed by a homorganic consonant: /mp/, /nt/, /nʃ/, /ŋk/, /mb/, /nd/, /ŋg/. The sequence /ndʒ/ has not been attested but this may reflect limited data.

A hyphen is used to set off two-syllable reduplication, e.g. *pili-pili* ‘temple (of the head),’ *kampio-mpio* ‘firefly.’

Stress falls predictably on the penultimate syllable. Secondary stress can usually be heard on the fourth-from-the-last syllable. An exception occurs with two-syllable reduplication. Note the following contrasts:

<i>kampio-mpio</i>	[ka,mpio 'mpio]	'firefly'
<i>ka?alo-?alo</i>	[ka,?alo '?alo]	'ashamed'
<i>kampa-kampaña</i>	[,kampaka'mpaña]	'small branch'

The remainder of this section is devoted to discussions of particular phonemes.

3.1 *Voiced bilabial stop /b/*

The contrast between /b/ and /b/ is neutralized following /m/ as well as preceding the vowel /u/, where only /b/ occurs. Outside of these two contexts /b/ predominates, and /b/ occurs but rarely, where its presence can usually be attributed to borrowing. Examples:

<i>bada</i>	'body'	cf. Malay <i>badan</i>
<i>banaa</i>	'string'	cf. Malay <i>benang</i>
<i>barani</i>	'brave'	cf. Malay <i>berani</i>
<i>barasii</i>	'clean'	cf. Malay <i>bersih</i>
<i>bayara</i>	'pay'	cf. Malay <i>bayar</i>
<i>bebe</i>	'duck'	cf. Malay <i>bebek</i>
<i>belo</i>	'turn'	cf. Malay <i>belok</i>
<i>bolajara</i>	'study'	cf. Malay <i>belajar</i>
<i>dalubi</i>	'roll of fat on the belly'	cf. Muna <i>dhalubi</i> ³
<i>pilaba-laba</i>	'tell lies'	cf. Malay <i>laba</i> 'profit, gain' ⁴

3.2 *Voiced dental and alveolar stops /d/ and /d/*

The phonemes /d/ and /d/ are rare. /d/ is known to occur in the following words, probably all borrowed:

<i>bada</i>	'body'	cf. Malay <i>badan</i>
<i>dalubi</i>	'roll of fat on the belly'	cf. Muna <i>dhalubi</i>
<i>doe</i>	'money'	cf. Malay <i>duit</i>
<i>dunia</i>	'world'	cf. Malay <i>dunia</i>
<i>kaladi</i>	'taro'	cf. Malay <i>keladi</i>

In the corpus, /d/ is known to occur in the following three words, all borrowed:

³ Defined by Van den Berg (1996:91) as 'skin fold, dewlap, wattle (of animals, fat people).'

⁴ The connection here is tenuous and assumes Kumbewaha *pilaba-laba* originally meant something like 'overcharge.'

<i>duda</i>	'widower'	cf. Malay <i>duda</i>
<i>duria</i>	'durian'	cf. Malay <i>durian</i>
<i>madu</i>	'honey'	cf. Malay <i>madu</i>

3.3 Voiced alveopalatal affricate /dʒ/

The phoneme /dʒ/ was recorded in the following words. Probably all examples can be attributed to borrowing.

<i>ajaja</i>	'horse'	cf. Wolio <i>ajara</i> < Old Javanese <i>ajaran</i>
<i>bajija</i>	'good'	cf. Malay <i>bajingan</i> 'rascal, scoundrel' ⁵
<i>bolajara</i>	'study'	cf. Malay <i>belajar</i>
<i>janda</i>	'widow'	cf. Malay <i>janda</i>
<i>jina</i>	'civet'	cf. Wolio <i>jina</i>
<i>jujulai</i>	'to push'	cf. Wolio <i>jujulaka</i> 'push forward'
<i>kapajawa</i>	'kapok'	Malay <i>kapas</i> 'cotton' + <i>jawa</i> 'Java'
<i>kaxajaa</i>	'work'	cf. Malay <i>kerja</i>
<i>moijo</i>	'green'	cf. Wolio <i>maiyo</i> , Malay <i>hijau</i>
<i>mojepe</i>	'wet'	cf. Wolio <i>majepe</i> 'mushy'
<i>pajexe</i>	'to hunt (for game)'	cf. Wolio <i>pajere</i> 'follow, pursue'
<i>uju</i>	'cape, headland'	cf. Wolio <i>uju</i> 'tongue of land'

3.4 Alveolar trill /r/

In pre-Kumbewaha, the protophoneme *r shifted to a voiceless velar fricative /x/. Nonetheless /r/ has been reintroduced through borrowing. In the corpus, the following words contain /r/:

<i>barasii</i>	'clean'	cf. Malay <i>bersih</i>
<i>duria</i>	'durian'	cf. Malay <i>durian</i>
<i>pincara</i>	'raft'	cf. Malay <i>pincara</i>
<i>raboo</i>	'bamboo shoot'	cf. Malay <i>rebung</i>
<i>raki</i>	'raft'	cf. Malay <i>rakit</i>
<i>rapo-rapo</i>	'peanuts'	cf. Wolio, Muna <i>rapo-rapo</i>
<i>rari</i>	'lower leg'	cf. Malay <i>lari</i>
<i>rata</i>	'flat, level'	cf. Malay <i>rata</i>

3.5 Glottal stop and long vowels

In Kumbewaha a glottal stop is usually intercalated between two like vowels. Examples include the following:

⁵ The semantic shift is unexplained. However we also recorded *bajija* 'good' in the Lapandewa dialect of Cia-Cia.

<i>woliʔi</i>	'grass'
<i>oxiʔi</i>	'house post'
<i>keʔe</i>	'head'
<i>leʔe</i>	'urine'
<i>toŋkaʔa</i>	'crow'
<i>popaʔa</i>	'four'
<i>xoʔo</i>	'leaf'
<i>isoʔo</i>	'you (sg.)'
<i>cuʔu</i>	'knee'
<i>kuʔu</i>	'mushroom'

In the word list however there are exceptions where only a long vowel is heard. In at least four cases the long vowel can be attributed to recent borrowings where the source (Indonesian) word has schwa in the penultimate syllable:

<i>raboo</i>	[ra'bo:]	'bamboo shoot'	cf. Malay <i>rebung</i>
<i>banaa</i>	[ba'na:]	'string'	cf. Malay <i>benang</i>
<i>barasii</i>	[,bara'si:]	'clean'	cf. Malay <i>bersih</i>
<i>kaxajaa</i>	[,kaxa'dʒa:]	'to work'	cf. Malay <i>kerja</i>

The remaining three exceptions can perhaps also be explained by borrowing, although I have yet to identify a source for Kumbewaha *olompuu* 'dammar.'

<i>guu</i>	['gu:]	'horsetail pine'	cf. Muna, Kulisu su <i>guu</i>
<i>patii</i>	[pa'ti:]	'turn, rotate'	cf. Wolio <i>patii</i> ⁶
<i>olompuu</i>	[,olo'mpu:]	'dammar'	

I leave open the question whether glottal stop contrasts with its absence word initially. The words *uju* 'cape, headland' and *ompo* 'fishing weir' left me with the impression that they had a soft onset (versus the hard onset of most vowel-initial words such as *isi* 'flesh,' *uato* 'sago grub,' *oani* 'honey bee,' *umela* 'good,' etc.). Note also the following words where the third person subject marker *no-* is attached without glottal stop:

<i>noidomo</i>	'he is grown' (stem <i>ido</i> 'to grow')
<i>nooda</i>	'he asks' (stem <i>oda</i> 'to request')
<i>noodu</i>	'he belches' (stem <i>odu</i> 'to belch')
<i>noada</i>	'he borrows' (stem <i>ada</i> 'to borrow')

4. Word list

For eliciting Kumbewaha data, I used an 814-item version of the Sulawesi Long List (SLL). Subsequent to this survey the Sulawesi Long List was expanded, and in its

⁶ Defined by Anceaux as 'turn (a screw), wind (a clock)' causative of the Wolio intransitive stem *tii* 'turn, rotate, revolve, go' (Anceaux 1987:130, 180).

published version comprises 844 items.⁷ In the presentation of responses below I follow the ordering of the 844-item list, even though some responses are necessarily left blank.

Multiple responses to a single word list item are separated by a forward slash; see the annotations for an explanation of differences (if known).

The lexical influence of Indonesian on Kumbewaha can be seen in the following responses, for which my respondents knew only the word adopted from Indonesian, and could not remember the original Kumbewaha term:

‘lungs’	<i>paru-paru</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>paru-paru</i>
‘kidney’	<i>ginjal</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>ginjal</i>
‘honey’	<i>madu</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>madu</i>
‘bamboo shoot’	<i>raboo</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>rebung</i>
‘beads’	<i>mani-mani</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>manik-manik</i>
‘rope’	<i>tali</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>tali</i>
‘string’	<i>banaa</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>benang</i>
‘level’	<i>rata</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>rata</i>
‘study’	<i>bolajara</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>belajar</i>
‘turn’	<i>belo</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>belok</i>

It can also be seen in the following items, for which I was *first* given the (phonemicized) Indonesian term, and only upon further reflection did my respondents recall the bone fide Kumbewaha term:

‘skull’	<i>tejkora / kawulouno keʔe</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>tengkorak</i>
‘face’	<i>muka / hula</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>muka</i>
‘intestines’	<i>usu / ɻkalu-ɻkalu</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>usus</i>
‘widow’	<i>janda / iaxo</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>janda</i>
‘widower’	<i>duda / iaxo</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>duda</i>
‘anoa’	<i>anoa / onua</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>anoa</i>
‘dammar’	<i>damar / olompuu</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>damar</i>
‘peak’	<i>punca / hocu</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>puncak</i>
‘valley’	<i>lemba / kolowu</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>lembah</i>
‘blanket’	<i>salimu / kagoloncu</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>selimut</i>
‘blowgun’	<i>sumpita / sopu</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>sumpitan</i>
‘clean’	<i>barasii / moŋilo</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>bersih</i>
‘bronze’	<i>tambaga / xici</i>	cf. Indonesian <i>tembaga</i>

Given the dearth of information on Kumbewaha, during the elicitation process I was unwilling to throw out any word, even if it ended up not matching the target term. These ‘extra’ items often appear in the annotations.

⁷ 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).

SLL	English	Indonesian	Kumbewaha	Annotations
001	body	<i>badan, tubuh</i>	bada	
002	head	<i>kepala</i>	keʔe	people also use <i>pocu</i> from Cia-Cia influence
003	skull	<i>tengkorak</i>	kawulouno keʔe	literally ‘coconut shell of the head,’ cf. 276; initial response was <i>teykora</i> (from Indonesian <i>tengkorak</i>)
004	fontanelle	<i>ubun-ubun</i>	wuwu	
005	brain	<i>otak</i>	ota	
006	hair (head)	<i>rambut</i>	pocu	
007	hair whorl	<i>unyeng-unyeng</i>	tonuana	
008	hair bun	<i>sanggul</i>	piŋkolu	
009	gray hair	<i>uban</i>	kua	
010	face	<i>muka, wajah</i>	hula	
011	forehead	<i>dahi</i>	wose	
012	eye	<i>mata</i>	mata	
013	eyeball	<i>bola mata</i>	wacuno mata	
014	pupil of the eye	<i>biji mata, manik mata</i>	kamia-mia mata	
015	eyebrow	<i>kening, alis mata</i>	kexe	
016	eyelashes	<i>bulu mata</i>	wulu mata	
017	tear (from crying)	<i>air mata</i>	luʔuno mata	
018	temple	<i>pelipis</i>	pili-pili	
019	nose	<i>hidung</i>	ono	
020	nostril	<i>lubang hidung</i>	lowano ono	
021	mucus	<i>ingus</i>	wixi	
022	cheek	<i>pipi</i>	baga	
023	cheekbone	<i>tulang pipi, pasu-pasu</i>	ŋili-ŋili	
024	mouth	<i>mulut</i>	boba / ɻuncu	<i>boba</i> refers to the mouth cavity; <i>ɻuncu</i> refers to the external mouth area as well as beaks (of birds) and snouts (of animals), cf. 176, 246
025	lip	<i>bibir</i>	wiwi	also meaning ‘edge,’ cf. 630
026	tongue	<i>lidah</i>	ela	
027	tooth	<i>gigi</i>	leke	

028	molar tooth	<i>geraham</i>	wanka	
029	gums	<i>gusi</i>	guo	
030	palate	<i>langit-langit mulut</i>	jaxo	
031	saliva	<i>ludah, air liur</i>	elu	
032	chin	<i>dagu</i>	ŋaxe	
033	ear	<i>telinga</i>	culi	
034	earwax	<i>tahi telinga</i>	takino culi	
035	neck	<i>leher</i>	wuku	
036	throat (esophagus)	<i>kerongkongan</i>	gonco	
037	nape (of neck)	<i>tengkuk, kuduk</i>	puntojo	
038	shoulder	<i>bahu</i>	bahu	
039	armpit	<i>ketiak, kelek</i>	koxopai	
040	arm	<i>lengan</i>	sae	from shoulder to wrist
041	elbow	<i>siku</i>	siku	
042	hand, forearm	<i>tangan</i>	lima	
043	palm of hand	<i>tapak tangan</i>	xandano lima	note <i>xanda</i> in reference to the palm, but <i>pala</i> in reference to the sole (cf. 068)
044	span (eight inches)	<i>jengkal</i>	kacuda	
045	fathom	<i>depa</i>	kaxopa	
046	finger	<i>jari</i>	wujano lima	literally ‘(branching) inflorescence of the hand’
047	thumb	<i>ibu jari</i>	ompuno wujano lima	with stem <i>ompu</i> ‘grandparent, elder’ (cf. 116, 117)
048	index finger	<i>(jari) telunjuk</i>	sahada	cf. Malay <i>syahadat</i> ‘testimony’; shift in meaning presumably is based on the use of the raised index finger as a silent agreement with the Islamic creed
049	pinky, little finger	<i>jari kelingking</i>	kancili	
050	fingernail	<i>kuku jari</i>	konosu	
051	back (person)	<i>punggung, belakang</i>	taliku	
052	spine, backbone	<i>tulang punggung</i>	buku kaxambau	
053	tailbone	<i>tulang tongkeng</i>	kudu-kudu	

054	chest	<i>dada</i>	xanda	
055	breast	<i>susu, buah dada</i>	cici	
056	nipple, teat	<i>puting susu</i>	ŋuncuno cici	cf. 024, 176, 246
057	belly	<i>perut</i>	hawa	
058	navel	<i>pusat</i>	puʔe	
059	waist	<i>pinggang</i>	toŋa	
060	leg, foot	<i>kaki</i>	kake	
061	thigh	<i>paha</i>	paha	
062	shin	<i>tulang kering</i>	oŋono labici	
063	calf of leg	<i>betis</i>	rari	
064	knee	<i>lutut</i>	cuʔu	
065	popliteal space	<i>(pe)lipatan lutut</i>	kolopota	
066	malleolus	<i>mata kaki</i>	biku-biku	
067	ankle	<i>pergelangan kaki</i>	lolosuano keke	literally ‘joint of the foot’; note also <i>yule-yule</i> ‘wrist’
068	sole of foot	<i>tapak kaki</i>	palano kake	note <i>xanda</i> in reference to the palm (cf. 043), but <i>pala</i> in reference to the sole
069	heel	<i>tumit</i>	koxoncuŋo	
070	toe	<i>jari kaki</i>	wunano kake	literally ‘(branching) inflorescence of the hand’
071	body hair	<i>bulu (badan)</i>	wulu	also meaning ‘feathers,’ cf. 179
072	skin (person)	<i>kulit</i>	sili	
073	meat, flesh	<i>(jaringan) daging</i>	isi	
074	fat	<i>lemak</i>	taba	note also <i>dalubi</i> ‘roll of fat on the belly’
075	bone	<i>tulang</i>	buku	
076	rib	<i>tulang rusuk</i>	kaxa-kaxa	
077	heart	<i>jantung</i>	bake	
078	blood	<i>darah</i>	xeā	
079	vein (blood)	<i>urat darah</i>	uweno xeā	
080	liver	<i>hati</i>	hate	
081	gall, bile	<i>empedu</i>	hopiu	
082	lungs	<i>paru-paru</i>	paru-paru	
083	intestines	<i>usus</i>	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	
084	kidney	<i>ginjal</i>	—	

085	buttocks	<i>pantat, bokong</i>	wenke	
086	anus	<i>dubur, pelepasan</i>	kuni	note also <i>kapui</i> ‘back side of the body in the area of the butt’ (cf. 164)
087	urine	<i>air kencing</i>	le?e	
088	excrement	<i>tahi</i>	taki	
089	penis	<i>kemaluan laki-laki</i>	cikolu	also meaning ‘egg,’ cf. 177
090	testicle	<i>buah pelir</i>	wacuno cikolu	with stem <i>wacu</i> ‘seed, stone,’ cf. 329, 388
091	vagina	<i>kemaluan perempuan</i>	buta	
092	clitoris	<i>kelentit</i>	kantui	
093	womb	<i>rahim, peranakan</i>	kakadu	
094	afterbirth	<i>tembuni</i>	aka	
095	umbilical cord	<i>tali pusat</i>	lolai	
096	wound	<i>luka</i>	kabela	cf. <i>mobela</i> ‘wounded, having a wound’
097	scar	<i>bekas luka</i>	ponte	
098	callus	<i>risa, belulang</i>	balula	
099	boil	<i>bisul</i>	kawincu	
100	mole, nevus	<i>tahi lalat</i>	kila	
101	sweat (n)	<i>keringat</i>	hanci	
102	person	<i>orang</i>	mia	
103	man, male	<i>laki-laki</i>	mohane	
104	woman, female	<i>perempuan</i>	mowine	
105	husband	<i>suami</i>	mohane	
106	wife	<i>isteri</i>	mowine	
107	father	<i>bapak, ayah</i>	ama	
108	father (term of address)	<i>bapak (panggilan)</i>	ama	
109	mother	<i>ibu</i>	ina	
110	mother (term of address)	<i>ibu (panggilan)</i>	ina	
111	child	<i>anak</i>	ana	
112	baby	<i>bayi</i>	ana moxuna	
113	first born child	<i>anak sulung</i>	cumpe	
114	last born child	<i>anak bungsu</i>	kaka?opu	
115	grandchild	<i>cucu</i>	ompu?ompu	

116	grandmother	<i>nenek perempuan</i>	ompu	
117	grandfather	<i>nenek laki-laki, kakek</i>	ompu	
118	ancestor	<i>nenek moyang</i>	ompu	
119	offspring	<i>keturunan</i>	sio	
120	sibling	<i>saudara</i>	luli	
121	older brother	<i>kakak laki-laki</i>	aka	
122	older sister	<i>kakak perempuan</i>	aka	
123	younger brother	<i>adik laki-laki</i>	ai	
124	younger sister	<i>adik perempuan</i>	ai	
125	twins	<i>anak kembar</i>	xapi	
126	mother's brother	<i>saudara laki-laki dari ibu</i>	posoama?a	
127	father's brother	<i>saudara laki-laki dari ayah</i>	posoama?a	
128	mother's sister	<i>saudara perempuan dari ibu</i>	posoina?a	
129	father's sister	<i>saudara perempuan dari ayah</i>	posoina?a	
130	niece, nephew	<i>kemenakan</i>	posoana?a	
131	cousin	<i>sepupu</i>	tolida	note also <i>topendua</i> 'second cousin,' <i>topentolu</i> 'third cousin,' etc.
132	parent-in-law	<i>mertua</i>	ko?ompu	
133	child-in-law	<i>menantu</i>	ko?ompu	
134	co-parent-in-law	<i>besan</i>	samponi	
135	sibling-in-law	<i>ipar</i>	dawo / ka?ewa	<i>dawo</i> 'brother-in-law,' <i>ka?ewa</i> 'sister-in-law'
136	spouse of sibling-in-law	<i>biras</i>	lago	from Ambonese Malay (?)
137	stepfather	<i>ayah tiri</i>	ama we?e	
138	stepmother	<i>ibu tiri</i>	ina we?e	
139	stepchild	<i>anak tiri</i>	ana we?e	
140	stepsibling	<i>saudara tiri</i>	aka we?e / ai we?e	
141	co-wife	<i>madu</i>	samaxue	
142	slave	<i>hamba, budak</i>	bacua	

143	widow	<i>janda</i>	iaxo	also <i>janda</i> from Indonesian is in common use
144	widower	<i>duda</i>	iaxo	also <i>duda</i> from Indonesian is in common use
145	orphan	<i>anak yatim</i>	anaŋkaelu	
146	adopted child	<i>anak angkat</i>		this item not elicited
147	guest	<i>tamu</i>	mia bundo	literally ‘person who comes,’ cf. 102, 816
148	companion	<i>kawan, teman</i>	wai	
149	enemy	<i>musuh</i>	bali	
150	midwife	<i>bidan</i>	bisa	
151	shaman	<i>dukun, balian</i>	bisa	
152	I	<i>aku, saya</i>	iaʔu	
153	you (fam.)	<i>engkau, kamu</i>	isoʔo	
154	he, she	<i>dia, ia</i>	ia	
155	we (excl.)	<i>kami</i>	isami	
156	we (incl.)	<i>kita</i>	ikita	
157	you (plural)	<i>kalian</i>	isimiу	
158	they	<i>mereka</i>	moʔia	
159	animal	<i>binatang</i>	kadadi	
160	water buffalo	<i>kerbau</i>	kaxambau	
161	anoa depressicornis	<i>anoa</i>	onua	
162	cow	<i>sapi</i>	sapi	
163	horn	<i>tanduk</i>	tandu	
164	tail	<i>ekor</i>	kapui	
165	hide, skin (of animals)	<i>jangat, kulit binatang</i>	sili	
166	leather	<i>belulang</i>	sili	
167	bird	<i>burung</i>	manu-manu	
168	crow	<i>burung gagak</i>	toŋkaʔa	
169	owl	<i>burung hantu</i>	koa	
170	megapode	<i>burung maleo</i>	monde	
171	lorikeet	<i>burung nuri</i>	kululi	
172	cockatoo	<i>burung kakatua</i>	kea-kea	
173	duck	<i>bebek</i>	bebe	

174	chicken	<i>ayam</i>	manu	
175	wing	<i>sayap</i>	pani	
176	beak	<i>paruh</i>	ŋuncu	also meaning ‘snout, external mouth area,’ cf. 024, 246
177	egg (chicken)	<i>telur (ayam)</i>	cikolu	
178	nest	<i>sarang</i>	kampupu	
179	feather	<i>bulu (ayam)</i>	wulu	also meaning ‘body hair,’ cf. 071
180	louse (chicken)	<i>kutu ayam</i>	kucuno manu	
181	louse (head)	<i>kutu (kepala)</i>	kucu	
182	nit, louse egg	<i>lisa, telur kutu</i>	humana	
183	louse (clothes)	<i>tuma (pakaian)</i>	cuma	note also <i>ka?umalo</i> , larger than an ant, also bites but not painful, found in rotten wood and in clothing
184	bedbug	<i>kutu busuk</i>	koloka	
185	tick	<i>caplak</i>	supia	
186	flea	<i>pinjal</i>	—	
187	bat	<i>kelelawar</i>	ponisi	
188	fruit bat, flying fox	<i>keluang, kalong</i>	kaloa	
189	caterpillar	<i>ulat</i>	kule	
190	butterfly	<i>kupu-kupu</i>	ŋkalelema	
191	sago grub	<i>lundi</i>	uato	
192	palm weevil	<i>kumbang sagu</i>	—	note also <i>koko</i> ‘antlion, doodlebug’
193	coconut rhinoceros beetle	<i>bangbung</i>	kulewulu	may refer to some other beetle or insect rather than the coconut rhinoceros beetle
194	mosquito	<i>nyamuk</i>	buxoto	
195	fly	<i>lalat</i>	lale	
196	honey bee	<i>lebah</i>	ŋka?enua / oani	<i>ŋka?enua</i> is yellowish (probably <i>Apis nigrocincta</i>); <i>oani</i> is blackish (<i>Apis dorsata</i>)
197	honey	<i>madu</i>	madu	
198	beeswax	<i>lilin lebah</i>	taxu	
199	wasp	<i>tabuhan, penyengat</i>	towua	
200	ant	<i>semut</i>	kesu	
201	termite	<i>anai-anai</i>	ane	
202	cockroach	<i>lipas, kecoak</i>	lalepe	

203	centipede	<i>lipan</i>	holipa	
204	luminous centipede	<i>kelema(n)yar</i>	honda-honda	
205	millipede	<i>kaki seribu</i>	holonai	
206	firefly	<i>kunang-kunang</i>	kampio-mpio	
207	scorpion	<i>kalajengking</i>	supiganda	
208	cicada	<i>tonggeret</i>	ŋai-ŋai	
209	spider	<i>labah-labah</i>	ŋkalelema	
210	leech	<i>lintah, pacet</i>	kalimanto	found in the forest
211	earthworm	<i>cacing tanah</i>	hendeleci / kule-kule	
212	snake	<i>ular</i>	sawa	note also <i>sawa moijo</i> ‘a kind of green snake’
213	python	<i>ular sawa</i>	sawa	
214	fish	<i>ikan</i>	ise	
215	fish scales	<i>sisik</i>	hana	
216	fish gills	<i>insang</i>	anca	
217	eel	<i>ikan belut</i>	kambulecu / wolo	<i>kambulecu</i> are found in freshwater, <i>wolo</i> in saltwater
218	shark	<i>ikan hiu</i>	mojiwa	
219	stingray	<i>ikan pari</i>	waxa-waxa	
220	whale	<i>ikan paus</i>	sincoa-ncoa	
221	dolphin	<i>lumba-lumba</i>	lumba-lumba	
222	dugong	<i>duyung</i>	diu	
223	squid	<i>cumi-cumi</i>	cumi-cumi / kondowua	<i>kondowua</i> is a kind of large squid
224	octopus	<i>gurita</i>	kancuho	
225	shrimp	<i>udang</i>	lelemo	
226	lobster	<i>udang karang</i>	xoxu	
227	crab	<i>kepiting</i>	bunka	
228	pincher, claw (of crab)	<i>jepitan (kepiting)</i>	ganci	
229	hermit crab	<i>umang-umang</i>	kala?uma	
230	frog	<i>katak</i>	puvakaka	
231	toad	<i>katak pura</i>	puvakaka	

232	turtle	<i>kura-kura</i>	kakalapua	
233	sea turtle	<i>penyu</i>	koila / ponu	presumably <i>koila</i> is the hawksbill sea turtle, <i>ponu</i> is the green sea turtle
234	crocodile	<i>buaya</i>	buea	
235	monitor lizard	<i>biawak</i>	simbo?u	
236	tokay gecko	<i>tokek</i>	toke	
237	house gecko	<i>cicak</i>	siho	
238	deer	<i>rusa</i>	xusa	
239	monkey	<i>monyet</i>	ndoke	
240	rat, mouse	<i>tikus</i>	wolawo	
241	shrew	<i>celurut</i>	pojinci	
242	pig	<i>babi</i>	kambolai	note also <i>kambolai yencu</i> ‘young pig with a sharp mouth/snout’
243	babirusa	<i>babi rusa</i>	—	
244	tusk	<i>taring</i>	cimpa	
245	dog	<i>anjing</i>	kiau	
246	snout	<i>moncong</i>	ŋuncu	also meaning ‘external mouth area, beak (of birds),’ cf. 024, 176
247	cat	<i>kucing</i>	beka	
248	claw	<i>cakar</i>	konosu	
249	goat	<i>kambing</i>	bembe	
250	horse	<i>kuda</i>	ajaxa	
251	civet	<i>musang</i>	jina	identified from pictures as the common palm civet
252	squirrel	<i>tupai</i>	kacihu	has dark brown coloring
253	bear cuscus	<i>kuskus beruang</i>	su?e	
254	small cuscus	<i>kuskus kecil</i>	tojali	
255	tarsier	<i>tangkasi, binatang hantu</i>	—	
256	male (of animals)	<i>jantan</i>	mohane	
257	female (of animals)	<i>betina</i>	mowine	
258	tree	<i>pohon</i>	hobo	
259	leaf	<i>daun</i>	xo?o	

260	branch	<i>cabang</i>	kampaja / kampa-kampaja	<i>kampaja</i> is a main branch, <i>kampa-kampaja</i> is smaller
261	trunk	<i>batang</i>	lawa	
262	root	<i>akar</i>	asa	
263	tree stump	<i>tunggul (pohon)</i>	kacumpu	
264	bark (tree)	<i>kulit kayu</i>	silinosau	
265	sap	<i>getah</i>		this item not elicited
266	wood	<i>kayu</i>	sau	
267	fruit	<i>buah</i>	ɓake	
268	flower	<i>bunga</i>	kamba	
269	stem	<i>tangkai</i>	—	
270	thorn	<i>duri</i>	xui	
271	banana	<i>pisang</i>	koxai	
272	banana blossom	<i>jantung pisang</i>	pepu?u	
273	coconut (ripe)	<i>kelapa tua</i>	kaluku	
274	coconut (unripe)	<i>kelapa muda</i>	kalimbujo	
275	coconut husk	<i>sabut kelapa</i>	ɓenu	
276	coconut shell	<i>tempurung</i>	kawulou	
277	coconut apple, haustorium	<i>tombong kelapa</i>	homba	
278	copra	<i>kopra</i>	ɓakaki	note also <i>kusea</i> ‘coconut pulp (leftover from making coconut milk)’
279	coconut frond stipule	<i>tapas kelapa</i>	komunto	
280	oil	<i>minyak</i>		this item not elicited
281	bamboo	<i>bambu</i>	paxawata / ɓalo / ho?o / wulu	different kinds of bamboo (no generic term); <i>ɓalo</i> is used for cooking rice
282	internode (bamboo)	<i>ruas (bambu)</i>		this item not elicited
283	bamboo shoot	<i>rebung</i>	raboo	
284	sago palm	<i>rumbia</i>	sagu	
285	sago flour	<i>tepung sagu</i>	tabaxo	
286	nipa palm	<i>nipah</i>	panasa	
287	sugar palm	<i>enau, aren</i>	konau	note also <i>sonta</i> ‘fruit of the sugar palm’

288	palm toddy	<i>nira</i>	konau	
289	ijuk fiber	<i>ijuk</i>	kampuga	
290	rattan	<i>rotan</i>	kue	
291	sugarcane	<i>tebu</i>	towu	
292	peanut	<i>kacang tanah</i>	rapo-rapo	
293	candlenut	<i>kemiri</i>		this item not elicited
294	kapok	<i>kapok</i>	kapajawa	
295	eggplant	<i>terung</i>	pandola	
296	gourd	<i>labu kendi</i>	—	
297	squash, pumpkin	<i>labu manis</i>	hacukala	
298	cucumber	<i>ketimun</i>	ntimu	
299	watermelon	<i>semangka</i>	kadawa	
300	papaya	<i>pepaya</i>	kapaea	
301	chili pepper	<i>cabe, lombok</i>	saha	
302	garlic, onion	<i>bawang</i>	bawa	cf. <i>bawa mopute</i> ‘garlic,’ <i>bawa moxea</i> ‘shallots’
303	tomato	<i>tomat</i>	ntamate	
304	citrus fruit	<i>jeruk</i>	munte	
305	mango	<i>mangga</i>	taipa	
306	durian	<i>durian</i>	duria	not also <i>dunia</i> ‘world’ showing contrast between the two <i>d</i> sounds
307	breadfruit	<i>sukun</i>		this item not elicited
308	ginger	<i>jahe</i>	lokia	
309	turmeric	<i>kunyit</i>	baŋule	
310	cassava	<i>ubi kayu</i>	kuwisau	cf. 313, 266
311	sweet potato	<i>ubi jalar</i>	ŋkawiowi	
312	taro	<i>talas, keladi</i>	kaladi	
313	greater yam	<i>ubi</i>	kuwi	
314	lesser yam	<i>ubi kembili</i>	hopa	
315	bitter yam	<i>gadung, ubi arak</i>	hondo	
316	betel	<i>sirih</i>	gili	
317	areca nut	<i>pinang</i>	wenka	
318	banyan	<i>beringin</i>	hopali	

319	dammar	<i>damar</i>	olompuu	
320	casuarina	<i>eru</i>	guu	
321	ti plant	<i>andong</i>	—	a specimen growing in the house yard was only known as <i>buya</i> (ornamental plant)
322	derris (fish poison)	<i>tuba</i>	cu?asa	<i>cu?asa</i> , poison comes from the roots; note also <i>cua</i> ‘kind of plant with poisonous fruits’
323	mushroom	<i>cendawan, jamur</i>	ku?u / holempi	
324	short grass	<i>rumput</i>	woli?i	
325	cogon grass	<i>alang-alang</i>	pada	
326	pineapple	<i>nenas</i>	nanasi	
327	pandanus	<i>pandan</i>	ponda	
328	fragrant pandan	<i>pandan wangi</i>	panda	the marketed leaves are called <i>xo?ono</i> <i>panda</i>
329	seed	<i>biji</i>	wacu	
330	(rice) seedling	<i>bibit (padi)</i>	pembulo	
331	field rice	<i>padi</i>	bae	
332	rice (cut, unhulled)	<i>gabah</i>	bae	
333	hull of rice	<i>sekam (gabah)</i>	homea	
334	straw	<i>jerami</i>	lawano bae	
335	hulled rice	<i>beras</i>	bae	
336	cooked rice	<i>nasi</i>	nasi	
337	corn	<i>jagung</i>	katela	
338	millet	<i>jawawut, sekoi</i>	woto	
339	Job's tears	<i>enjelai</i>	sole	
340	sorghum	<i>jawaras, cantel</i>	kamintowu	
341	sun	<i>matahari</i>	holeo	
342	moon	<i>bulan</i>	wula	
343	star	<i>bintang</i>	wiciko	
344	sky	<i>langit</i>	laia	
345	cloud	<i>awan</i>	olu	
346	raincloud	<i>awan hitam</i>	olu mokito	cf. 345, 552
347	fog	<i>kabut</i>	gawu	
348	dew	<i>embun</i>	kamindango	

349	thunder	<i>guntur</i>	boxuxu	
350	lightning	<i>kilat</i>	bibito	
351	rain	<i>hujan</i>	monda	
352	flood	<i>banjir</i>	winulu	
353	rainbow	<i>pelangi</i>	ntoxouwe	
354	wind	<i>angin</i>	xibu	
355	sea, ocean	<i>laut</i>	tei	
356	wave	<i>ombak</i>		this item not elicited
357	low tide	<i>air surut</i>	tei siwulu / mokaʔi tei	with stem <i>mokaʔi</i> ‘dry,’ cf. 469
358	high tide	<i>air pasang</i>	teino hende / hende buso	with stem <i>hende</i> ‘ascend,’ cf. 742
359	island	<i>pulau</i>	pulo	
360	cape, headland	<i>tanjung</i>	uju	
361	bay	<i>teluk</i>	kolowa	
362	shore	<i>pantai</i>	hone	
363	sand	<i>pasir</i>	hone	
364	mud	<i>lumpur</i>	tomba	
365	earth, ground	<i>tanah</i>	wute	
366	earthquake	<i>gempa bumi</i>	lendu	
367	cave	<i>gua</i>	lia	
368	hole	<i>lubang</i>	lowa	
369	salt	<i>garam</i>	gaxa	
370	sugar	<i>gula</i>	gola	
371	water	<i>air</i>	uwe	
372	waterfall	<i>air terjun</i>	uwe sumabu	
373	spring	<i>mata air</i>	matano uwe	
374	mountain	<i>gunung</i>	gunu	note also <i>tombuku</i> ‘hill’
375	summit	<i>puncak</i>	hocu	e.g. <i>hocuno gunu</i> ‘peak of the mountain’
376	plain	<i>dataran</i>	xete	
377	valley	<i>lembah</i>	kolowu	<i>lemba</i> (from Indonesian <i>lembah</i>) also used
378	woods, forest	<i>hutan</i>	xompo	
379	river	<i>sungai</i>	kumele / kambaxa	<i>kumele</i> is large, <i>kambaxa</i> is small

380	current (of stream, river)	<i>arus</i>	solo	
381	river mouth	<i>muara, kuala</i>		this item not elicited
382	lake	<i>danau</i>	—	
383	fire	<i>api</i>	api	
384	smoke (from fire)	<i>asap</i>	ka?u	
385	embers	<i>bara api</i>	wea	
386	ashes	<i>abu</i>	hawu	
387	dust	<i>debu</i>	gawu	
388	stone	<i>batu</i>	wacu	
389	lime	<i>kapur</i>	kepu	
390	gold	<i>emas</i>	bulawa	
391	silver	<i>perak</i>	pera	
392	bronze	<i>tembaga</i>	xici / tambaga	as in <i>tabē xici</i> ‘bronze cook pot’; <i>tambaga</i> (from Indonesian <i>tembaga</i>) is also used
393	iron	<i>besi</i>	ase	
394	earthen	<i>tembikar</i>	wute	as in <i>tawe wute</i> ‘earthen cook pot’
395	shadow	<i>bayang-bayang</i>	ŋkamia-mia	
396	house	<i>rumah</i>	wonua	
397	floor	<i>lantai</i>	galaga	floor, whether wood, bamboo or other material
398	ladder	<i>tangga</i>	oxe	
399	wall (of house)	<i>dinding</i>	hompo	
400	door	<i>pintu</i>	hombono boba	<i>hombono boba</i> is the door leaf; <i>boba</i> itself refers to the door opening, cf. 024
401	window	<i>jendela</i>	kakamboba	
402	roof	<i>atap</i>	hato	
403	ridge (of roof)	<i>bubungan</i>	sampobubu	
404	rafter	<i>kasau</i>	kaso	
405	storage shelf above hearth	<i>para</i>	para-para	
406	house post	<i>tiang rumah</i>	oxi?i	
407	space under house	<i>kolong</i>	wawa	
408	fence	<i>pagar</i>	pagala	

409	canoe, boat	<i>perahu</i>	londe / koli-koli / sope-sope	<i>koli-koli</i> is small; <i>sope-sope</i> as in elicitation picture
410	bow (of boat)	<i>haluan</i>	xope	
411	stern	<i>buritan</i>	wana	
412	rudder	<i>kemudi</i>	uli	
413	sail	<i>layar</i>	panjawa	
414	canoe paddle	<i>dayung</i>	bose	
415	raft	<i>rakit</i>	raki / gusepa / pincara	<i>gusepa</i> described as ‘bamboo tied together’
416	charcoal	<i>arang</i>	ŋaeo	
417	three-stone fireplace	<i>tungku</i>	cu?uki	
418	firewood	<i>kayu api</i>	sauno api	
419	tinder	<i>rabuk</i>	baxu	
420	torch	<i>obor</i>		this item not elicited
421	cooking pot	<i>periuk, belanga</i>	tawe	
422	water jar	<i>tempayan</i>	bosu	
423	bamboo water container	<i>tempat air bambu</i>	balo	cf. 281
424	ladle of coconut shell	<i>gayung</i>	kasiwu	
425	mortar	<i>lesung</i>	nosu	
426	pestle (rice)	<i>penumbuk, alu</i>	anano nosu	
427	winnowing basket	<i>nyiru</i>		this item not elicited
428	dibble	<i>tugal</i>	kantasu	
429	rice harvest knife	<i>ani-ani</i>	ponkocu	
430	knife	<i>pisau</i>	kapiso	
431	machete	<i>parang</i>	kabali	
432	sheath for machete	<i>sarung parang</i>	kasele	
433	chopping block	<i>papan pemotong</i>	kapitandoa	
434	ax, hatchet	<i>kapak, kampak</i>	baliu	
435	grub hoe	<i>pacul, cangkul</i>		this item not elicited
436	blowgun	<i>sumpitan</i>	sopu	<i>sumpita</i> (from Indonesian <i>sumpit</i>) is also used

437	pitfall spike	<i>ranjau</i>	simbu	
438	fish trap	<i>bubu</i>	katambuni	note also <i>ompo</i> ‘fish weir’
439	top (toy)	<i>gasing</i>	gasi	
440	staff, walking stick	<i>tongkat</i>	cuba	
441	ring (for finger)	<i>cincin</i>	siŋkaxu	
442	comb	<i>sisir</i>	kasuxu	
443	necklace	<i>kalung</i>	xante / wui-wui	<i>xante</i> is a store-bought necklace; <i>wui-wui</i> is a necklace made of job’s tears
444	beads	<i>manik-manik</i>	mani-mani	
445	rope	<i>tali (besar, pintal)</i>	tali	note also <i>xoyo</i> ‘head strap’
446	string	<i>benang, tali (kecil)</i>	banaa	
447	peg, nail	<i>paku</i>	paso	
448	needle	<i>jarum</i>	deu	
449	sarong	<i>sarung</i>	xambai	
450	trousers	<i>celana</i>	sala	
451	mat	<i>tikar</i>	sie / kawalea	
452	blanket	<i>selimut</i>	kagoloncu	people also use <i>salimu</i> (from Indonesian <i>selimut</i>)
453	pillow	<i>bantal</i>	polanju	
454	cradle	<i>ayunan</i>		this item not elicited
455	loincloth	<i>cawat, kain pinggang</i>	isala cidaku	
456	bark cloth	<i>jeluang</i>	—	
457	wine	<i>saguer</i>	konau	
458	medicine	<i>obat</i>	pakuli	
459	swidden, dry rice/corn field	<i>ladang</i>	pewutea	note also <i>hamoa</i> ‘garden’
460	trail, road	<i>jalanan</i>	lala	
461	footbridge	<i>titi, titian</i>	lelea	
462	village	<i>kampung</i>	kampo	
463	market	<i>pasar</i>	daoa	
464	big	<i>besar</i>	toʔowe	
465	small (object)	<i>kecil</i>	kikici	<i>kikidi</i> (from Cia-Cia) is also used

466	good	<i>baik</i>	umela / bajiña	
467	bad, evil	<i>jahat</i>	koda?o	
468	wet	<i>basah</i>	mojepe / motopa	note Wolio <i>majepe</i> ‘mushy’
469	dry	<i>kering</i>	moka?i	
470	dark	<i>gelap</i>	galapu	
471	bright	<i>terang</i>	montalea	
472	wide	<i>lebar</i>	mowaxe	
473	broad	<i>luas</i>	lalesa	
474	narrow	<i>sempit</i>	mogimpi	
475	strong	<i>kuat</i>	mokaha	
476	weak	<i>lemah</i>	molute	
477	brave	<i>berani</i>	barani	
478	tame (animal)	<i>jinak (binatang)</i>	monea	
479	wild (animal)	<i>liar (binatang)</i>	mokila	
480	far	<i>jauh</i>	todo?o	
481	near	<i>dekat</i>	motampi	
482	new (objects)	<i>baru</i>	wukou	
483	old (objects)	<i>lama</i>	molejo	
484	old (persons)	<i>tua</i>	mancuana	
485	young	<i>muda</i>	moxunja	
486	thick (object)	<i>tebal</i>	mokobo	
487	thin (object)	<i>tipis</i>	monipi	
488	skinny	<i>kurus</i>	mokuku	
489	fat	<i>gemuk</i>	mokunto / to?owe bukuno	<i>to?owe bukuno</i> literally means ‘large-boned,’ cf. 464, 075
490	hot (water)	<i>panas (air)</i>	mompana	
491	cold (water)	<i>dingin (air)</i>	mogaxi	
492	(luke)warm (water)	<i>hangat (air)</i>	mompanakuku	
493	clear (water)	<i>jernih (air)</i>	molino	
494	fresh (water)	<i>tawar (air)</i>	motembe	
495	dull (knife)	<i>tumpul</i>	mokaba	
496	sharp (knife)	<i>tajam</i>	montaxo	
497	slack (rope)	<i>kendur (tali)</i>	moluba	

498	taut (rope)	<i>kencang, berentang (tali)</i>	nobinta	
499	short (length)	<i>pendek</i>	kumbawa	
500	short (height)	<i>rendah</i>	kumbawa	
501	tall	<i>tinggi</i>	ko?ata	
502	long (object)	<i>panjang</i>	ko?ata	
503	ripe	<i>matang, masak (buah)</i>	mota?a	note also <i>pepona?u</i> ‘nearly ready, e.g. cooked rice,’ <i>moma?ka</i> ‘not yet truly ripe, e.g. mango’
504	unripe	<i>mentah (buah)</i>	momata	note also <i>pelawulu</i> ‘between unripe and ripe, said of bananas’
505	rotten (fruit)	<i>busuk</i>	mobosi / molau	<i>mobosi</i> is a general term; <i>molau</i> is said specifically of fish
506	withered	<i>layu</i>	moleleu	
507	sour	<i>masam, asam</i>	moholo	
508	bitter	<i>pahit</i>	mopaki	
509	sweet	<i>manis</i>	momeko	
510	salty	<i>asin</i>	mogaxa	
511	spicy	<i>pedas</i>	mopolala	
512	tasty, delicious	<i>enak</i>		this term not elicited
513	fragrant	<i>harum, wangi</i>	mowondu	
514	blind	<i>buta</i>	mowilo	
515	deaf	<i>tuli</i>	moponke	
516	drunk, intoxicated	<i>mabuk</i>	mola?u	
517	healthy	<i>sehat</i>		this term not elicited
518	pain, to be sick	<i>sakit</i>	posopanaki / molea	<i>posopanaki</i> means sick, <i>molea</i> refers to pain e.g. of being hit or pinched
519	feverish	<i>demam</i>	sosoga / sodo	
520	lame	<i>pincang</i>		this item not elicited
521	thirsty	<i>haus</i>	monasa	
522	hungry	<i>lapar</i>	mohaxo	
523	full (satiated)	<i>kenyang</i>	mobunci	
524	other, different	<i>lain (orang lain)</i>	xaga?ano	
525	all	<i>semua</i>	hawute?e	
526	many	<i>banyak</i>	moide	

527	few, little (quantity)	<i>sedikit</i>	hakici	
528	some	<i>beberapa</i>	pia-pia	as in <i>dane?emo mia pia-pia mia mia</i> ‘there are some people’; note also <i>moide giu</i> ‘many kinds’
529	enough, sufficient	<i>cukup</i>	humbu	
530	heavy	<i>berat</i>	mobue	
531	light (in weight)	<i>ringan</i>	mosape	
532	hard (substance)	<i>keras</i>	mokaha	
533	dirty	<i>kotor</i>	moxumbu	
534	clean	<i>bersih</i>	mongilo	<i>barasii</i> (from Indonesian <i>bersih</i>) is also used
535	straight	<i>lurus</i>	molobu	
536	round (spherical)	<i>bulat (seperti bola)</i>	molimbu	
537	flat	<i>rata</i>	rata	
538	lonely	<i>sunyi, sepi</i>	molino	
539	difficult	<i>sukar</i>	mohali	
540	easy	<i>gampang, mudah</i>	mamuda	
541	expensive	<i>mahal</i>	mohali	
542	cheap	<i>murah</i>	mamuda	
543	smooth	<i>halus, licin</i>	alusu	
544	slippery	<i>licin</i>		this item not elicited
545	fast	<i>lekas, cepat</i>	agoxi	
546	deep	<i>dalam (airnya)</i>	kondalo	
547	shallow	<i>dangkal</i>	mokaka	
548	full (container)	<i>penuh</i>	buke	
549	true, correct	<i>benar</i>	tocu?u	
550	false, incorrect	<i>salah</i>		this item not elicited
551	white	<i>putih</i>	mopute	
552	black	<i>hitam</i>	mokito	
553	yellow	<i>kuning</i>	moxixi	
554	red	<i>merah</i>	moxea	

555	green	<i>hijau</i>	moijo	
556	blue	<i>biru</i>	kakanda	
557	not	<i>tidak</i>	daʔe	
558	no longer	<i>tidak lagi</i>	daʔemo	
559	there is, there are	<i>ada</i>	daneʔe	
560	none	<i>tidak ada</i>	mongilo	‘finished up,’ also meaning ‘clean,’ cf. 534
561	no	<i>bukan</i>	mincuano	
562	don’t	<i>jangan</i>	koliʔe	
563	if	<i>kalau, jika</i>	ane	
564	because	<i>karena</i>	hulanomo	
565	whatever you call it	<i>anu</i>	anu	
566	now, already (perfective)	<i>sudah</i>	pusamo	cf. 823
567	not yet	<i>belum</i>	daepo	
568	and	<i>dan</i>	me	
569	this	<i>ini</i>	nadia	
570	that	<i>itu</i>	lodia	
571	that distant	<i>itu yang jauh</i>	mbeloʔane	
572	here	<i>di sini</i>	niana	
573	there	<i>di situ</i>	niancu	
574	way over there	<i>di sana</i>	mbeloʔa	
575	one	<i>satu</i>	hameʔa / ise	<i>ise</i> is used in straight counting; note also prefix <i>ha-</i> as in <i>hatonde</i> ‘one glass,’ <i>hapixi</i> ‘one plate’
576	two	<i>dua</i>	doxua / xua	<i>xua</i> in straight counting (<i>ise, xua, tolu</i> , etc.)
577	three	<i>tiga</i>	totolu / tolu	<i>tolu</i> is used in straight counting
578	four	<i>empat</i>	popaʔa / paʔa	<i>paʔa</i> is used in straight counting
579	five	<i>lima</i>	lolima / lima	<i>lima</i> is used in straight counting
580	six	<i>enam</i>	nonoʔo / noʔo	<i>noʔo</i> is used in straight counting
581	seven	<i>tujuh</i>	popicu / picu	<i>picu</i> is used in straight counting
582	eight	<i>delapan</i>	oalu	<i>oalu</i> is used in straight counting
583	nine	<i>sembilan</i>	siua	<i>siua</i> is used in straight counting
584	ten	<i>sepuluh</i>	ompulu	

585	eleven	<i>sebelas</i>	ompulu hame?a	
586	twelve	<i>dua belas</i>	ompulu doxua	
587	thirteen	<i>tiga belas</i>	ompulu totolu	
588	fourteen	<i>empat belas</i>	ompulu popa?a	
589	fifteen	<i>lima belas</i>	ompulu lolima	
590	sixteen	<i>enam belas</i>	ompulu nono?o	
591	seventeen	<i>tujuh belas</i>	ompulupopicu	
592	eighteen	<i>delapan belas</i>	ompulu oalu	
593	nineteen	<i>sembilan belas</i>	ompulu siua	
594	twenty	<i>dua puluh</i>	xuapulu	
595	twenty-one	<i>dua puluh satu</i>	xuapulu hame?a	
596	twenty-two	<i>dua puluh dua</i>	xuapulu doxua	
597	twenty-three	<i>dua puluh tiga</i>	xuapulu totolu	
598	twenty-four	<i>dua puluh empat</i>	xuapulu popa?a	
599	twenty-five	<i>dua puluh lima</i>	xuapulu lolima	
600	twenty-six	<i>dua puluh enam</i>	xuapulu nono?o	
601	twenty-seven	<i>dua puluh tujuh</i>	xuapulu popicu	
602	twenty-eight	<i>dua puluh delapan</i>	xuapulu oalu	
603	twenty-nine	<i>dua puluh sembilan</i>	xuapulu siua	
604	thirty	<i>tiga puluh</i>	tolupulu	
605	forty	<i>empat puluh</i>	patopulu	
606	fifty	<i>lima puluh</i>	limapulu	
607	sixty	<i>enam puluh</i>	nomopulu	
608	seventy	<i>tujuh puluh</i>	picupulu	
609	eighty	<i>delapan puluh</i>	walupulu	
610	ninety	<i>sembilan puluh</i>	siopulu	
611	hundred	<i>seratus</i>	hahacu	
612	two hundred	<i>dua ratus</i>	xuahacu	
613	thousand	<i>seribu</i>	xaxiwu	
614	two thousand	<i>dua ribu</i>	xuaxiwu	
615	at	<i>di</i>	i	
616	left (hand/side)	<i>kiri</i>	sombali	
617	right (hand/side)	<i>kanan</i>	soana	

618	west	<i>barat</i>	baxa	
619	east	<i>timur</i>	cimu	
620	north	<i>utara</i>	napa	
621	south	<i>selatan</i>	salata	
622	toward the sea	<i>ke arah laut</i>	bata i tei	
623	toward the interior	<i>ke arah (pe)dalam(an)</i>	bata i gunu	
624	under	<i>di bawah</i>	i wui	
625	on top of, above	<i>di atas</i>	i wawo	
626	behind	<i>di belakang</i>	i taliku	
627	in front	<i>di depan</i>	i xaxo	
628	outside	<i>di luar</i>	i luara / i taliku	
629	inside	<i>di dalam</i>	i lalo	
630	edge	<i>pinggir</i>	wiwi	also meaning 'lips,' cf. 025
631	with	<i>dengan</i>	me	
632	day	<i>hari</i>	holeo	
633	night	<i>malam</i>	xondo-xondo	note also <i>moki?i</i> 'dark, as when electricity goes out'
634	morning	<i>pagi</i>	cihomo	
635	midday	<i>siang</i>	kondocua	
636	afternoon	<i>sore</i>	malu-malu	
637	yesterday	<i>kemarin</i>	sandowia	
638	day before yesterday	<i>kemarin dulu</i>	ipuamo	
639	three days ago	<i>tiga hari yang lalu</i>	itolomo	note also <i>ipatomo</i> 'four days ago,' etc.
640	today	<i>hari ini</i>	holeo na?a	
641	tomorrow	<i>besok</i>	na?ile	note also <i>mompe?ela</i> 'tomorrow morning (after sleeping)'
642	day after tomorrow	<i>lusa</i>	na?ipua	
643	three days hence	<i>tiga hari di depan</i>	na?itolu	note also <i>na?ipato</i> 'four days from now,' <i>na?ilima</i> , <i>na?inomo</i> , <i>na?ipicu</i> , <i>na?ialu</i> , etc.
644	year	<i>tahun</i>	waha	note also <i>waha hawahano</i> 'next year,' <i>waha diana?a</i> 'this year'
645	ashamed, shy	<i>malu</i>	ka?alo-?alo	as in <i>koli ka?alo-?alo</i> 'don't be shy'

646	angry	<i>marah</i>	penanau	
647	to fear, be afraid of	<i>takut (kepada)</i>	mosesu	
648	to count	<i>menghitung</i>	pegagaxi	
649	to learn	<i>belajar</i>	bolajara	e.g. at school
650	to think	<i>berpikir</i>	posopikixi	
651	to know (a thing)	<i>tahu (sesuatu)</i>	piseneʔe	distinct from <i>pisineʔe</i> ‘to breathe’ (784)
652	to know a person	<i>kenal (orang)</i>	piseneʔe	
653	to forget	<i>lupa</i>	molija / moliju	<i>molija</i> is transitive: <i>molijaʔe</i> ‘forget something’; <i>moliju</i> is adjectival form (?)
654	to remember	<i>mengingat</i>	ufaŋi	
655	to lie (untruth)	<i>berbohong, mendusta</i>	pigau-gau / pilaba-laba	
656	to choose	<i>memilih</i>	pili	
657	to beckon with the hand	<i>memanggil (dengan tangan)</i>	bexo	<i>bexo</i> means to beckon with the hand; note also <i>kaŋonci</i> ‘beckon (using one’s voice)’
658	to tell	<i>memberitahu, kasi tahu</i>	pokombo	
659	to say, speak, utter	<i>berkata</i>	pogau	
660	to order, command	<i>menyuruh</i>	cudu	
661	to repeat	<i>mengulangi</i>	pendua	
662	to request	<i>meminta</i>	oda	
663	to invite	<i>mengundang</i>	ompasi / undaja	<i>ompasi</i> means to dispatch someone to invite orally; <i>undaja</i> (from Indonesian <i>undang</i>) means to send a formal invitation
664	to ask, inquire	<i>bertanya</i>	peʔena	
665	to answer	<i>menjawab</i>	balo	
666	to accuse	<i>menuduh</i>	xaeʔaso	
667	to deny	<i>menyangkal</i>	gaga	
668	to sing	<i>menyanyi</i>	lagu	<i>pikabanci</i> is to sing <i>pantun</i> (quatrain verse)
669	to cry	<i>menangis</i>	tanji	
670	to laugh	<i>tertawa</i>	pomboi	
671	to shout	<i>berteriak</i>	pekei	

672	to hear	<i>mendengar</i>	pindojo	
673	to see	<i>melihat</i>	ita	
674	look up	<i>melihat ke atas</i>	toxaja	also <i>ita i wawo</i> (literal translation)
675	look down	<i>melihat ke bawah</i>	pincixo	also <i>ita i wui</i> (literal translation)
676	to smell, sniff	<i>mencium</i>	piwono	
677	to fell (tree)	<i>menebang</i>	lokani	
678	to cut (wood, across grain)	<i>memotong (kayu)</i>	kolo	
679	to split (wood)	<i>membelah (kayu)</i>	wola	
680	to slice	<i>mengiris</i>	keo / dodo	
681	to grate	<i>memarut</i>		this item not elicited
682	to sharpen	<i>mengasah</i>	pekanci	
683	to fold	<i>melipat</i>	pilopo	
684	to roll up	<i>menggulung</i>	lulu	
685	to cook	<i>memasak</i>	piponaʔu	
686	to (be) boil(ing) (of water)	<i>mendidih</i>	xede	
687	to open, uncover	<i>membuka</i>	bunjale	
688	to cover	<i>menutup</i>	cinkobi / banto	
689	to fry	<i>menggoreng</i>		this item not elicited
690	to eat	<i>makan</i>	maʔa	
691	to drink	<i>minum</i>	sumpu	
692	to bite	<i>mengigit</i>	kukuci	
693	to taste (food)	<i>mencicipi</i>	penami	
694	to lick	<i>menjilat</i>	elaki	
695	to chew (not to swallow)	<i>mengunyah</i>	pinaŋku	
696	to chew betelnut	<i>makan pinang</i>	wenka	
697	to swallow	<i>menelan</i>	tolo	
698	to suck (not nurse)	<i>mengisap</i>	gomi	
699	to blow (on fire)	<i>meniup</i>	pixi	

700	to flame, blaze	<i>menyalा</i>	seʔe	
701	to point	<i>menunjuk</i>	cui	
702	to hold	<i>memegang</i>	unta	
703	to use	<i>memakai</i>	pake	
704	to squeeze (in hand)	<i>memeras</i>	pio	
705	to throw away	<i>membuang</i>	kabi	
706	to fall, drop (as fruit)	<i>jatuh</i>	sikabi	
707	to drop	<i>menjatuhkan</i>	tabuxaʔasene	
708	to play	<i>bermain</i>	mohaja / kadadaxia	
709	to work	<i>bekerja</i>	kaxajaa	
710	to rest	<i>beristirahat</i>	pimale	
711	to burn (field)	<i>membakar (kebun)</i>	sule	note also <i>pecinawu</i> ‘gather unburnt pieces of wood to burn again’
712	to plant	<i>menanam</i>	tadu / pimbula	<i>tadu</i> specifically means to plant using a dibble
713	to grow	<i>tumbuh</i>	ifo	
714	to winnow	<i>menampi</i>	pitepi	
715	to pound (rice)	<i>menumbuk (padi)</i>	cucu	
716	to mill	<i>menggiling</i>	pikagili	
717	to crush spices (in mortar)	<i>mengulek</i>	dole	
718	to crush	<i>melumatkan</i>	pxoxo	
719	to live, be alive	<i>hidup</i>	dadi / mokuhı	
720	to die, dead	<i>mati</i>	mate	
721	to dig (hole)	<i>menggali</i>	sali	
722	to bury, inter	<i>menguburkan</i>	kobuxu	note also <i>tano</i> ‘bury (thing, not corpse)’
723	to push	<i>mendorong</i>	jujurai	
724	to pull	<i>menarik (sesuatu)</i>	hela	
725	to lift	<i>mengangkat</i>	lajke	
726	to tie (tether animal)	<i>mengikat, menambatkan</i>	boŋko	
727	to turn (right/left)	<i>berbelok</i>	belo	

728	to turn around	<i>berputar</i>	pokou / patii	<i>patii</i> is transitive, e.g. <i>patii?e mesin</i>
729	to stick to	<i>melekat, berlekat</i>	pika	
730	to wipe	<i>mengelap</i>	gigisi	
731	to wash clothes	<i>mencuci pakaian</i>	petopa	
732	to dry (clothes) in sun	<i>menjemur (pakaian)</i>	piholeo	
733	to wash hands	<i>mencuci tangan</i>	pewuki lima	
734	to bathe	<i>mandi</i>	petambusi	
735	to give someone a bath	<i>memandikan</i>	petambusi	
736	to swim	<i>berenang</i>	leju	
737	to dive, submerge	<i>menyelam</i>	lejuwi	<i>lejuwi</i> means to dive down to get something, e.g. sea cucumber; compare <i>mentoga noleyuwi</i> ‘able to submerge for a long time,’ with stem <i>mentoga</i> ‘endure’
738	to float	<i>mengapung</i>	lanto	
739	to sink	<i>tenggelam</i>	tondu	
740	to climb (tree)	<i>memanjat (pohon)</i>	hendeci	
741	to climb (mountain)	<i>mendaki (gunung)</i>	cumbuhi	
742	to ascend	<i>naik</i>	hende	
743	to descend	<i>turun</i>	sampu	
744	to hide	<i>bersembunyi</i>	pika?oko	
745	to hunt (for game)	<i>berburu</i>	pajexe	
746	to set (traps)	<i>memasang (jerat)</i>	ta?o	note also <i>ka?inda</i> ‘trap’
747	to catch	<i>menangkap</i>	xaso	
748	to fly	<i>terbang</i>	lola	
749	to brood	<i>mengeram</i>		this item not elicited
750	to hatch	<i>menetes</i>		this item not elicited
751	to shoot an arrow	<i>memanah</i>	pana	
752	to stab	<i>menikam</i>	toboki	
753	to kill	<i>membunuh (orang)</i>	kumate	
754	to headhunt	<i>mengayau</i>		this item not elicited
755	to throw	<i>melemparkan</i>	pikacika?asene	with third person indirect object marker -?asene

756	to hit (with a stick, club)	<i>memukul</i> (<i>dengan sesuatu</i>)	bebē	
757	to kick (ball)	<i>menendang</i> (<i>bola</i>)	sepa	
758	to fight	<i>berkelahi</i>	pogixa / pobusu	<i>pogixa</i> means to quarrel; <i>pobusu</i> refers to physical fighting
759	to steal	<i>mencuri</i>	mbolaku	
760	to make	<i>membuat</i>	piwau	
761	to sew	<i>menjahit</i>	pidedeū	
762	to sew roofing thatch	<i>menjahit atap</i>	pecu?u	also recorded as <i>pidedeū hato</i> (literal translation)
763	to weave cloth	<i>menenun</i>	pimo?oxu	
764	to plait (mat, basket)	<i>menganyam</i> (<i>tikar, bakul</i>)	wasa	
765	to sweep	<i>menyapu</i>	sambuxē	
766	to buy	<i>membeli</i>	holi	
767	to sell	<i>menjual</i>	aso	
768	to pay	<i>membayar</i>	bayara	
769	to borrow	<i>meminjam</i>	ada	
770	to take	<i>mengambil</i>	ala	
771	to seek	<i>mencari</i>	pilaha	
772	to get, obtain	<i>mendapat</i>	pitabu	
773	to store	<i>menyimpan</i>	poso	as in <i>poso?umela?e</i> ‘store it well’
774	to replace	<i>mengganti</i>		this item not elicited
775	to send	<i>mengirim</i>	lamboko	
776	to give	<i>memberi</i>	becu	
777	to bring, carry	<i>membawa</i>	unta-?unta / ato	
778	to carry on the head	<i>menjunjung</i>	su?u	
779	to carry on the shoulder	<i>memikul</i>	kowea	
780	to load, take on cargo	<i>memuat barang</i>	pi?ulea	
781	to lose something, lost	<i>hilang, kehilangan</i>	sikabi	
782	to shut (eyes)	<i>memejamkan</i> (<i>mata</i>)	pimpixo	
783	to smile	<i>tersenyum</i>		this item not elicited

784	to breathe	<i>bernafas</i>	pisineʔe	
785	to cough	<i>batuk</i>	kabu	
786	to sneeze	<i>bersin</i>	aciho	
787	to belch	<i>beserdawa</i>	odfu	
788	to hiccup	<i>cegukan</i>		this item not elicited
789	to spit	<i>berludah, meludah</i>	peʔelu	
790	to vomit (not to spit out)	<i>muntah</i>	poʔuwe	
791	to fart	<i>berkentut</i>	pikokocu	
792	to defecate	<i>membuang air besar, berak</i>	pakabi	
793	to itch, be itchy	<i>gatal</i>	mokaʔito	
794	to scratch (an itch)	<i>bergaruk</i>	kusai	
795	to delouse	<i>menghilangkan kutu</i>	pikucui	with stem <i>kucu</i> 'louse,' cf. 181
796	to rub (massage)	<i>menggosok (badan)</i>	piʔicu	
797	to pull out, extract	<i>mencabut</i>	—	note <i>piwoliʔi</i> 'pull out grass' (stem <i>woliʔi</i> 'grass,' cf. 324) and <i>piwului</i> 'pull out feathers' (stem <i>wulu</i> 'feathers,' cf. 170)
798	to swell (as an abcess)	<i>bergembung, membengkak</i>	boko-boko	
799	to flow	<i>mengalir</i>	winulu	
800	to go	<i>pergi</i>	ompa	
801	to enter	<i>masuk</i>	usu	
802	to exit	<i>keluar</i>	limba	
803	to follow	<i>mengikut</i>	dala	
804	to run	<i>berlari</i>	tode	
805	to walk	<i>berjalan</i>	lampa	
806	to stand	<i>berdiri</i>	tade	
807	to sit	<i>duduk</i>	pupunda	
808	to squat	<i>berjongkot</i>		this item not elicited
809	to lie down	<i>berbaring</i>	keŋkele	
810	to nod, be sleepy	<i>mengantuk</i>	mocucuxu	
811	to yawn	<i>menguap</i>	muŋawa	

812	to sleep	<i>tidur</i>	mocuxu	
813	to dream	<i>(ber)mimpi</i>	poinipi	
814	to wake up	<i>bangun</i>	baŋu	
815	to awaken s.o.	<i>membangunkan</i>	baŋu / iŋku	
816	to come, arrive	<i>datang, tiba</i>	bundo	
817	to depart	<i>berangkat</i>	lampa	
818	to return home	<i>pulang</i>	bancule	
819	to live, dwell	<i>tinggal</i>	popunda	note also <i>bucu</i> ‘stop by’
820	to wait	<i>menunggu</i>	ta?isi	
821	to help	<i>menolong</i>	culupi	
822	to begin	<i>mulai</i>	pipuku	
823	to finish	<i>selesai</i>	pusa(mo)	cf. 566
824	to be pregnant	<i>mengandung, hamil</i>	babawa	
825	to rise (of sun)	<i>terbit (matahari)</i>		this item not elicited
826	to set (of sun)	<i>terbenam (matahari)</i>		this item not elicited
827	name	<i>nama</i>	ŋea	
828	story	<i>cerita</i>	cucula	
829	word	<i>kata</i>	pogau	
830	language	<i>bahasa</i>	pogau	
831	riddle	<i>teka-teki</i>	tataŋkiu	
832	money	<i>uang</i>	doe	
833	debt	<i>utang</i>	dosa	
834	breakfast	<i>sarapan pagi</i>	ma?apo cihomo	literally ‘eat in the morning,’ cf. 634, 690
835	bride price	<i>mas kawin</i>	popolo	
836	what?	<i>apa?</i>	paxə?e	
837	who?	<i>siapa?</i>	ye?eno	
838	where?	<i>di mana?</i>	dipa?e	
839	whither?	<i>ke mana?</i>	pasimompa	from <i>pa?e simompa</i> ‘where are you going?’
840	whence?	<i>dari mana?</i>	pa?e mina	
841	when?	<i>kapan?</i>	naipia	
842	how many?	<i>berapa?</i>	popia	
843	how?	<i>bagaimana?</i>	mompaxə?e	
844	why?	<i>mengapa?, kenapa?</i>	mo?apa?ia	

5. Person markers

The following table lays out the Kumbewaha person markers as far as they are known to me.

	Independent	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Possessive
1s	ia?u	a-	-a?u	-asina?u	-?u
1pn	ikita	to-	-kita	-kita	-nto
1px	isami		-sami	-asami	-mami
2s	iso?o	Ø-	-so	-asoso	-mu
2p	isimiu	i-	-simiu	-asimiu	-miu
3s	o?ia, ia	no-	-?e	-asene	-no
3p	mo?ia		mo?ia		-no mo?ia

5.1 Subject markers

In my brief investigations, I found no evidence that Kumbewaha distinguishes realis and irrealis subject markers. The following paradigms indicate that the markers used in regular indicative sentences are also used in negative contexts. Both paradigms are based on the stem *mokei* ‘tired.’

<i>Ia?u mokeimo. / Amokeimo.</i>	‘I’m tired’
<i>Ikita tomokeimo.</i>	‘We (incl.) are tired.’
<i>Isami tomokeimo.</i>	‘We (excl.) are tired.’
<i>Iso?o mokeimo ka?</i>	‘Are you (sg.) tired?’
<i>Isimiu imokeimo.</i>	‘You (pl.) are tired.’
<i>Ia mokeimo. / Nomokeimo.</i>	‘He/she is tired.’
<i>Mo?ia nomokeimo.</i>	‘They are tired.’
<i>Ia?u da?e amokei.</i>	‘I’m not tired.’
<i>Ikita da?e tomokei.</i>	‘We (incl.) are not tired.’
<i>Isami da?e tomokei.</i>	‘We (excl.) are not tired.’
<i>Iso?o da?e mokei.</i>	‘You (sg.) are not tired.’
<i>Isimiu dai mokei.</i>	‘You (pl.) are not tired.’
<i>Ia da?e nomokei.</i>	‘He/she is not tired.’
<i>Mo?ia da?e nomokei.</i>	‘They are not tired.’

5.2 Object markers

The following paradigm based on the stem *ita* ‘see’ illustrates the object markers.

<i>Oʔia noʔitaaʔu.</i>	‘He sees me.’
<i>Oʔia noʔitakita.</i>	‘He sees us (incl.).’
<i>Oʔia noʔitasami.</i>	‘He sees us (excl.).’
<i>Oʔia noʔitaso.</i>	‘He sees you (sg.).’
<i>Oʔia noʔitasimiu.</i>	‘He sees you (pl.).’
<i>Oʔia noʔitaʔe.</i>	‘He sees him.’
<i>Oʔia noʔita moʔia.</i>	‘He sees them.’ ⁸

The third person singular object marker is always joined to the preceding stem with glottal stop, regardless of the quality of the final stem vowel.

<i>kanciʔe</i>	‘sharpen it’
<i>gomiʔe</i>	‘suck it’
<i>pixiʔe</i>	‘blow on it’
<i>elakiʔe</i>	‘lick it’
<i>suleʔe</i>	‘burn it’
<i>laŋkeʔe</i>	‘pick it up’
<i>pakeʔe</i>	‘use it’
<i>buŋkaleʔe</i>	‘open it’
<i>wolaʔe</i>	‘split it’
<i>untaʔe</i>	‘hold it’
<i>helaʔe</i>	‘pull it’
<i>pimbulaʔe</i>	‘plant it’
<i>koloʔe</i>	‘cut it’
<i>lopoʔe</i>	‘fold it’
<i>bantoʔe</i>	‘close it’
<i>holeoʔe</i>	‘dry it in the sun’
<i>sumpuʔe</i>	‘drink it’
<i>luluʔe</i>	‘roll it’
<i>cucuʔe</i>	‘pound it’
<i>pipukuʔe</i>	‘begin it’

I recorded the suffixed form of the stem *ponau* ‘to cook’ as *ponauʔe*, and the suffixed form of *suʔu* ‘carry on the head’ as *suuʔe*. With limited data, it is unclear whether the loss of glottal stop in this context is regular, or simply an artifact of fast speech.

⁸ According to my respondent, one cannot say **Oʔia noʔitaʔe moʔia*.

5.3 *Indirect object markers*

Indirect object markers are illustrated by the following paradigm based on the intransitive stem *peponaʔu* ‘to cook.’ In this context a glottal stop occurs between the stem and the initial vowel /a/ of the marker.

<i>Peponaʔuʔasinaʔu.</i>	‘Cook for me.’
<i>Peponaʔukita.</i>	‘Cook for us (incl.).’
<i>Peponaʔuʔasami.</i>	‘Cook for us (excl.).’
<i>Apeponaʔuʔasoso.</i>	‘I’m cooking for you (sg.).’
<i>Apeponaʔuʔasimiu.</i>	‘I’m cooking for you (pl.).’
<i>Peponaʔuʔasene.</i>	‘Cook for him.’

Following the stem *ala* ‘take, get, fetch,’ the initial vowel /a/ of the suffix elides. I do not have examples of indirect object markers following other verbs.

<i>Alasinaʔupo polaju.</i>	‘Get me a pillow.’
<i>Alakita polaju.</i>	‘Get us (incl.) a pillow.’
<i>Alasami polangu.</i>	‘Get us (excl.) a pillow.’
<i>Amalasoso polaju.</i>	‘I will get you a pillow.’
<i>Amalasimiu polaju.</i>	‘I will get you (pl.) a pillow.’
<i>Alasene polaju.</i>	‘Get him a pillow.’
<i>Alasene polaju moʔia.</i>	‘Get them a pillow.’

It is also possible for a beneficiary to be encoded as an independent pronoun following the preposition *aso*. Compare:

Ala-kita polaju.
get-1PN.IO pillow
‘Get us a pillow.’

Ala-ʔe aso ikita.
get-3.OBJ for 1PN.INDEP
‘Get get it for us.’

The full paradigm of *aso* followed by an independent pronoun is as follows:

<i>aso iaʔu</i>	‘for me’
<i>aso ikita</i>	‘for us (incl.)’
<i>aso isami</i>	‘for us (incl.)’
<i>aso isoʔo</i>	‘for you (sg.)’
<i>aso isimiu</i>	‘for you (pl.)’
<i>aso ia</i>	‘for him/her’
<i>aso moʔia</i>	‘for them’

5.4 Possessive markers

The following paradigm illustrates the possessive markers. The third person marker *-no* can be made explicitly plural with the addition of *mo?ia*.

<i>wonua</i>	'house'
<i>wonua?u</i>	'my house'
<i>wonuanto</i>	'our (incl.) house'
<i>wonuamami</i>	'our (excl.) house'
<i>wunuamu</i>	'your (sg.) house'
<i>womuamiu</i>	'your (pl.) house'
<i>wonuano</i>	'his/her house'
<i>wonuano mo?ia</i>	'their house'

6. Deictics

Deictics in Kumbewaha are not well understood. They occur in possibly five different sets.

	1	2	3	4	5
Proximal	<i>na?a</i>	<i>diana?a</i>	<i>nadia</i>	<i>niana</i>	<i>naana</i>
Medial	<i>incu</i>	<i>diana?ancu</i>	??	<i>niancu</i>	<i>naancu</i>
Distal Level	<i>lo?a</i>	<i>dialo?a</i> <i>dialo?anje</i>	<i>lodia</i>	<i>mbelo?a</i> <i>mbelo?anje</i>	<i>enolo?a</i> <i>enolo?ana</i>
Distal Higher	??	<i>diata?a</i> <i>diata?ana</i>	??	<i>mbeta?a</i> <i>mbeta?ana</i>	<i>enota?a</i> <i>enota?ana</i>
Distal Lower	??	<i>diawa?a</i> <i>diawa?ana</i>	??	<i>mbewa?a</i> <i>mbewa?ana</i>	<i>enowa?a</i> <i>enowa?ana</i>

The suffix *-na* seen with some of the distal terms indicates that the referent has a known, specific location. Without *-na* the referent has only a general location.⁹ The meaning of the suffix *-ye* (in *dialo?anje* and *mbelo?anje*) is unknown.

The forms *na?a*, *incu* and *lo?a* were reported on other word lists (Donohue c1992; Lauder et al. 2000:168, 170).

All the forms of the second set can be used to modify nouns: *tonde diana?a* 'this glass,' *tonde diana?ancu* 'that glass,' etc.

⁹ As described by my respondent, *mbeta?a* means 'di atas, masih luas tempatnya' while *mbeta?ana* means 'di atas, sudah jelas sekali itu tempatnya.' Similarly *enolo?a* was described as 'belum terlalu fokus' versus *enolo?ana* 'sudah fokus.'

The forms *nadia* and *lodia* (set 3) were given as word list responses for ‘this’ and ‘that.’ One could predict the other forms in this series, but they do not occur in the present corpus.

The form *niana*, *niancu* and *mbelo?a* (set 4) were given as the word list responses for ‘here,’ ‘there,’ and ‘over there.’ These are possibly adverbial demonstratives.

All of the forms of the fifth set were elicited in the context ‘What is ...?’

<i>Paxə?e naana ?</i>	‘What is this?’
<i>Paxə?e naancu ?</i>	‘What is that?’
<i>Paxə?e enolo?a ?</i>	‘What is that over there?’
<i>Paxə?e enolo?ana ?</i>	‘What is that over there?’
<i>Paxə?e enota?a ?</i>	‘What is that up there?’
<i>Paxə?e enta?ana ?</i>	‘What is that up there?’
<i>Paxə?e enowa?a ?</i>	‘What is that down there?’
<i>Paxə?e enowa?ana ?</i>	‘What is that down there?’

7. Aspectual clitics

Kumbewaha has two aspectual markers, *-mo* and *-po*. Both markers precipitate stress movement when added to a stem. Their functions can roughly be captured by the labels ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective.’ Compare for example when combined to the negator *da?e* ‘no, not’:

<i>de?emo</i>	‘no longer’
<i>daepo</i>	‘not yet’

Both aspectual markers are compatible with imperative contexts, where *-po* encodes a polite request (action can be delayed) and *-mo* encodes a stronger command (immediate action requested).

<i>Ala-sina?u-po</i>	<i>polaju.</i>
get-1S.IO-IPFV	pillow
‘Please fetch me a pillow.’ (polite request)	

<i>Ala-sina?u-mo</i>	<i>polaju.</i>
get-1S.IO-PFV	pillow
‘Fetch me a pillow.’ (strong command)	

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